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    ASPECTS OF PA'ANCI GRAMMAR

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Aspects of Pa'anci Grammar

A thesis submitted to the Graduate School of the

University of Wisconsin-Madison in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

BY

Margaret Gardner Skinner

Degree to be awarded: December 19_____   May 19 _79_   August 19_____

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                                            Dean, Graduate School

ASPECTS OF PA'ANCI GRAMMAR

BY

MARGARET GARDNER SKINNER

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

African Languages and Literature

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

1979

ASPECTS OF PA'ANCI GRAMMAR

Margaret Gardner Skinner

Under the supervision of Professor Valdis Zeps

Aspects of the grammar of Pa'anci, a Chadic (Afro-Asiatic) language spoken north of Bauchi, Nigeria, are described verbally, and analyzed using a transformational-generative approach. Included are rules accounting for the major syntactic structures, agreement and segmentalization rules accounting for the surface structure of the verbal piece, limited morphological and morphophonemic description, and an extensive lexicon.

Following the Introduction, which includes a description of the methodology employed to obtain and analyze the data, Chapter 1 is a brief description of the Phonology of Pa'anci, including charts (using IPA and typescript symbols) of the consonantal phonemes, and an accompanying verbal description of the more unusual phonemes.
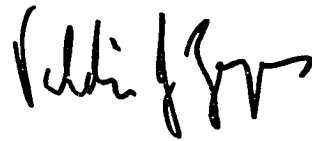
Chapter 2 is a description of the verbal system, including the three aspects (Perfective, Imperfective, and Aorist), and the seven tenses based on them. Chapter 3 outlines the Phrase Structure rules of Pa'anci, including the basic distinction between verbal and non-verbal sentences.

Chapters 4 and 5 present the major syntactic transformations of Pa'anci. Chapter 4 deals with sentence and verb phrase level transformations, and includes rules accounting for datives, complementizer placement, reflexives, emphasis and question formation, subject AUX-tp (Auxiliary tense-pronoun) agreement, imperatives, and locative and associative constructions (including existentials). Chapter 5 deals with noun phrase level transformations, and accounts for two types of attributive adjective constructions (one derived from non-verbal sentences, the other from underlying associative sentences), relative clauses, and focused NP pre-position.

Chapter 6 outlines the morphology of the verbal piece, including a description of causatives, plural (reduplicated, "intensive") and stative verbs, a passive construction, and several irregular verbs. It concludes with the agreement, segmentalization and negative placement rules which account for the surface structure of verbal constructions in Pa'anci.

Chapter 7 outlines two morphological aspects of Pa'anci nominals, gender and number, and contains a brief note on morphophonemics, including two common contractions, and a tone rule.

An extensive Pa'anci-English lexicon follows, which contains nouns, verbs, modifiers, particles, and some formatives, but not pronouns. Those are included in the second, "look-up" lexicon, which follows the English-Pa'anci word list, meant as a guide to the main lexicon. Verbal paradigms of two "typical" verbs, and one decidedly atypical one are next, followed by selections from narrative texts with word-by-word, if not morph-by-morph translation, as well as a freer translation.

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gratefully acknowledged.

Without the co-operation and patient assistance
of the Pa'a people, I would know nothing of their
rich language. A great deal of what I now know about
the language, I learned from my main informant Wakili,
the Wakilin Gona, Mohammed Gambo Aliyu Tiffi. He
gave generously of his time, and willingly shared his
vast knowledge of his language, a knowledge recognized
by many of his fellow Pa'anci speakers. I only hope
that some of what I have produced, in particular the
lexicon, will be of some use to him, and his country-
men.

Haruna Sammako Tiffi, who put down his hoe after
a long day in the fields to labor long hours over a
tape recorder, also provided invaluable assistance.

My familiarity with the traditions of the Pa'a people
is due in large part to Umaru Saleh Tiffi, who pre-
pared long narrative accounts of Pa'a rites of pass-
age, and annual festivals. To the late Sarkin Tiffi
Tsoho, Adamu, who told me what he knew of Pa'a his-
tory, and identified many large game animals unknown
to younger Pa'anci speakers, and to his friend, Gala-
dima Tiffi, who shared the musical tradition of the
b<u>i</u>sakwa, I am most grateful.

Three Pa'anci speakers must be singled out
for their willingness to share Pa'anci's rich liter-
ary heritage: Gwazangi, Dogon Malam (Tiffi), and
Binta are all excellent oral performers, with a vast
and interesting repertoire of stories which they gra-
ciously allowed me to record.

Other Pa'anci speakers who helped me in my
work include Adamu Dubeni, Sama'ila Tiffi, the then
Baturen Makaranta, Idi Usman Guda, and the then Acting
Treasurer of Ningi, Abubakar Alhaji Adamu Tiffi, all
of whose voices I have on tape. To Kura, with whom we
shared a compound and who insured we were not disturbed
unnecessarily, and to Balaza, the traditional religious
leader of the Pa'a, I am grateful for allowing my work
to proceed.

Other officials of the Ningi Local Government Area who were not Pa'anci speakers, provided valuable logistic support. These include the late Emir, and especially the Madaki, Alhaji Jibir Nayaya, who enabled me to stay in the District Officer's rest house during a follow-up trip in the summer of 1975, and who shared Sallah meat, and farm produce with us during our stay in Ningi. Our absentee landlord, Alhaji Bala, the clinic's midwife, and several district officers were helpful in ensuring that we had adequate accommodation and water supply. The aging Sarkin Bariki was ever cheerful and solicitous.

Outside of Ningi, several people provided additional logistic support. Paul and Roxana Newman often provided room, board, and linguistic insight in Kano, and acted as our Post Office, since the Ningi agent had been jailed for absconding with government monies. Much of what I know about the Chadic language family is due to the writings of, and conversations with, the Newmans, Russell Schuh, and Herrmann Jungraithmayr, who graciously shared his vast knowledge of the family during trips to Marburg before and after our stay in Ningi.

To my husband Neil, who made research in the bush possible, by boiling and filtering muddy well

water, by ensuring a constant supply of green vege-
tables, and by injecting humor into even the hottest,
driest times, I am most grateful. His superior know-
ledge of Hausa was often tapped to explain a tricky
point of grammar to an uncomprehending informant, and
his library of Chadic materials was in invaluable re-
source in Madison. Once the final writing was under-
way, he helped in proofreading, in Xeroxing, and in
conveying drafts to and from my readers.

To Malam Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya, to Roland Dresel,
and to members of the Center for the Study of Nigerian
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enabled me to get Nigerian and state government per-
mission to do the research.

Finally, to the reading members of my committee,
I owe a particular debt of gratitude. My advisor,
Valdis Zeps, has been reading drafts of this thesis
for nearly five years, and throughout has provided
valuable insight into the linguistic theory employed,
and my application of that theory. Aside from lin-
guistic assistance, he has been supportive, and caring
throughout this long ordeal.

Linda Hunter, both in Nigeria and in Madison, gave valuable comparative insight, based on her knowledge of the most widely spoken Chadic language, Hausa. And Patrick Bennett provided comparative evidence from the wider Afro-Asiatic family, and from neighboring Niger-Congo languages. The latter's concern for detail also enabled me to catch many of the inconsistencies of treatment and typographical errors that otherwise would have marred the finished product. Neither he nor anyone other than myself is, of course, responsible for the errors which remain.

Aspects of Pa'anci Grammar

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

With more pressing problems of selection of a
national language and development of literacy materials
in major African languages competing for a linguist's
time, what justification can there be for spending sever-
al years researching and analyzing an obscure African
language, spoken by perhaps only 20,000 Nigerians, that
probably would have died a natural death within 50 to
100 years, had outside interest not been shown in it?

This question, which occurred to me not infre-
quently in the years I have spent working on Pa'anci,
has in part governed the form that this thesis has taken.
For my answer to the question lies in the usefulness of
descriptive grammars to comparative linguists and histor-
ians, who may, at some time in the future, try to recon-
struct what the parent language, of the more than 150
Chadic languages, was like, how, and perhaps (for the
braver linguistic historians) when, the languages diver-
ged and who their neighbors were, from whom they borrow-
ed vocabulary.

The desire to make the linguistic facts of Pa'-
anci accessible to comparative linguists has governed the
selection of materials used, and the format used to pre-
sent them. I have concentrated on those aspects of the

grammar of Pa'anci which are of most interest to comparative Chadicists, in particular the syntax, verbal system, and lexicon.

By thus narrowing the focus of the grammar, I have perforce neglected, or at least paid less attention to some areas. One of these is the phonology and tonology of Pa'anci, which I have treated only briefly, with little more than a list of phonemes and tonemes, and explanations of the more unusual among them. This should be, however, sufficient to make the data in the grammar comprehensible, and to provide a basis for the few morphophonemic rules contained in the text.

I am not endeavoring to break any new ground in the field of theoretical linguistics by this thesis. I have elected to present the major syntactic structures of Pa'anci using the vehicle of the transformational-generative approach. It is thereby understood that I regard as fundamental the propositions that there is a difference between deep and surface structure, and that certain sentences are transformationally related to one another. These assumptions underlay my elicitation of Pa'anci data, as will be seen in the later section of this introduction dealing with methodology.

On the other hand, the usual formalism of a transformational-generative approach is not always the

most comprehensible means of presenting data, as for many, algebraic formulae tend to obscure rather than clarify the generalizations being made about the language. Furthermore, I want the Pa'anci data in this grammar to be accessible to comparative Chadic linguists in Europe and Africa, whose training may not have included a transformational-generative component. I have therefore expressed the rules in prose as well as formulae, even to the extent of rejecting some rules which could not readily be expressed in English, albeit linguistic prose.

A further departure which this grammar makes from most grammars written on Chadic languages to date, is the extensive lexicon which it contains. This reflects my own bias that lexicon represents the real substance of any language, but also is an attempt to meet the needs of comparative Chadicists who have often been frustrated, as I myself have been, by the lack of a word list, or even an index to the data scattered throughout the grammar.

Similarly, I have included as appendices specimens of narrative texts which I recorded, transcribed, translated, and analyzed in the field in order to get data unconstrained by my elicitation through Hausa. While this is a small fraction of my entire collection,

I believe it represents a fair sample of narrative types, including history, animal stories, feminist narratives, and a recounting of some of the traditions of the Pa'a people.

Format of the Present Work

Following the sections of this introduction which deal with the position of Pa'anci among world languages, and the methodology employed, the first chapter is a brief description of the phonology of Pa'anci. This includes phonemic charts with both International Phonetic Alphabet and typescript symbols, and explanations of some of the more unusual entries thereon.

A prose description of the verbal system of Pa'anci follows. Though this is accounted for by transformational rules elsewhere in the grammar, I thought a more traditional description, complete with pre-verbal tense-pronoun paradigms might be of use to comparative linguists. In this I am following the example of one previous transformational-generative thesis grammar done on a Chadic language, that of Russell Schuh on Ngizim.[1]

The verbal description is followed by the formal phrase structure and transformational rules which account for the major syntactic structures of Pa'anci.

[1]Russell Schuh, <u>Aspects of Ngizim Syntax</u>, Diss. U.C.-L.A. 1972 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1972).

To enhance accessibility as a reference grammar, these
are grouped by topic, rather than by strict order of
application, though the verbal descriptions which ac-
company them should make the order clear. In addition
to the major syntactic structures, a few aspects of
verbal and nominal morphology are discussed, and two
points of morphophonemic importance outlined.

A Pa'anci-English lexicon is next, which gives
not only 600 or more nominals with plurals and gender,
more than 300 verbs in the perfective, aorist, and **im**-
perfective form (marked for intransitivity and optional
extensions, eg. causatives, statives, intensive (plural)
forms) but also several hundred particles, modifiers,
ideophones, etc. An English-Pa'anci word list, intended
as a guide to the Pa'anci-English lexicon, follows it
immediately.

The Pa'anci-English lexicon does not include
inflected grammatical formatives or individual pronouns,
which are contained in a second "look-up" lexicon,
which follows the English-Pa'anci Word List. Included
are tables of complete pronominal paradigms (independent,
direct and indirect object, pre-verbal tense-marking,
suffixed possessive, etc.), listed by the features spec-
ified by the output of the phrase structure and trans-
formational rules.

Following the pronoun paradigms are two complete paradigms for "typical" verbs, and one that is decidedly atypical, 'to go'. The last appendix consists of narrative texts, with literal translation -- word by word if not morph by morph -- plus a freer translation.

The Position of Pa'anci

Pa'anci is a Chadic (Afro-Asiatic) language spoken by some 20,000 Nigerians[2] living in an area south and west of Ningi in the present Bauchi State of Nigeria.[3] The largest of the Pa'a villages is Tiffi, immediately southwest of Ningi, but the villages of Guda, Ari, Tabela and Rabina are predominantly inhabited by Pa'anci speakers, with others in Kwarangwadi, Kafin Zaki, Kalasu, Zakara, Wushi, Zida, Njaken, Kujera, Kici, Bunga, Gada, and Ningi itself.

Those who speak the language refer to it as fuucaka, but the Hausa name for the language, Pa'anci, (or without the 'language' suffix -ci, Pa'a) has become the standard designation for the language both in Nigerian government and demographic usage, and in reference to

[2]Estimate of number of speakers is based on the educated guess of Ningi local government area officials who asked not to be quoted by name, my chief informant Wakili, and myself, all of whom came up with the same figure independently.

[3]Ningi was in the North East State, since subdivided, when the initial research was undertaken.

the language by linguists abroad. The earliest mention

of the language by linguists refers to "Afawa",[4] but this

is not now accepted by speakers of the language, govern-

ment officials, or linguists.

According to the latest Chadic language class-

ifications,[5] Pa'anci belongs to the North Bauchi or

Warji group of the Plateau-Sahel or West Chadic branch

(Subbranch WST-B) of the Chadic language family, the

most south-westerly of the Afro-Asiatic phylum. Green-

berg's 1966 classification placed it in Group I(c)i a-

mong Chadic languages. Hausa, the most widely spoken

Chadic language, was, incidentally, in group I(a) in that

classification, and in Subbranch WST-A of Newman's most

recent classification.

In addition to Pa'anci, other members of the

North Bauchi group are Warji, with the largest number of

speakers, some 50,000; Siri, Diri, Kariya, and Tsagu with

3,000 each, Miya with 5,000, Mburku with 4,000 and Jimbin

[4]See, among others, Joseph Greenberg, The Languages
of Africa [reprint] (Bloomington: Indiana University,
1966), p. 46.

[5]See Carl Hoffman, "Provisional Check List of Chadic
Languages, Chadic Newsletter [Marburg, Germany] (Special
Edition), 1971, and Paul Newman, "Chadic Classification
and Reconstructions," Afro-Asiatic Linguistics, 5, No. 1
(1977), 5.

with 1,500.[6] All population figures must be regarded
as approximate, as the results of the most recent census
(1973), during which questions were asked about first
and other languages spoken, were never released for
political reasons.

According to a comparative North Bauchi word
list compiled by Neil Skinner,[7] no one language in the
group was significantly closer, on lexical grounds, to
Pa'anci than any other, although speakers of Pa'anci
claim that it is closer to Siri than others in the clus-
ter. This may be due more to geographical proximity,
intermarriage, and back borrowings than genetic linguis-
tic relationship, however.

Previous Work on Pa'anci

Other than the above and articles by the pre-
sent author,[8] the only previously published article con-

[6]A. N. Skinner, "A Note on the North Bauchi Language
Group (with map)," Africana Marburgensia, 7, No. 1
(1974), 50.

[7]Neil Skinner, "North Bauchi Chadic Languages:
Common Roots," Afro-Asiatic Linguistics, 4, No. 1
(1977), 1-49.

[8]Margaret G. Skinner, "The Two Fathers of Seven
Children and the Kano Man: An Analysis of a Pa'anci
Oral Narrative," Africana Marburgensia, 7, No. 1 (1974)
51-74 and "Gender in Pa'a", in P. Newman and R. M. New-
man, Ed., Papers in Chadic Linguistics (Leiden: Afrika-
Studiecentrum, 1977), 167-174.

taining Pa'anci data was by Herrmann Jungraithmayr.[9] It included some ethnographic material, limited vocabulary, some numerals, pronouns, and verbal constructions, with a sentence of running text inaccurately translated, taken from an eight page duplicated manuscript written in the 1950s by a Bauchi Native Authority Information Officer. Both Charles Kraft and Paul Newman have collected some data (especially lexicon) on Warji, but their only published work on the language has been occasional references in comparative articles, particularly those dealing with lateral fricatives in Chadic languages. No other North Bauchi Chadic language has been described.

Although there has been a Sudan Interior Mission (now ECWA, Evangelical Church of West Africa) Church in Tiffi for several decades, no evidence could be found of any attempt to translate the scriptures into Pa'anci; the church presently uses Hausa for all its services.

There is some non-linguistic, ethnographic material on the Pa'a to be found in Gunn and Temple,[10]

[9] Herrmann Jungraithmayr, "Specimens of the Pa'a ("Afa") and Warja Languages with Notes on the Tribes of Ningi Chiefdom (Bauchi Province, Northern Nigeria)", Afrika und Übersee, Band L (1966-67), 194-205.

[10] Harold D. Gunn, Pagan Peoples of the Central Area of Northern Nigeria, (London: International African Institute, 1956), 22-35, and O. and C.L. Temple, Notes on the Tribes etc. of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, [2nd ed.],(Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S. Bookshop, 1922), 3-4.

confined largely to a brief description of initiation
and burial rites, marriage practices and the importance
of ancestor worship to the "Afawa". Their population
estimates are at some variance with my own, indicating
a decline from Temple's 1915 estimate of 10,010 to the
Native Authority Tribal Census (Bauchi Division) of 1949-
50, which showed a Pa'a population of merely 2,236,
though Gunn later admits that census to be highly inac-
curate, probably limited to tax-paying adult males.

Funding for Present Research

The research on which the present work is
based was conducted in Ningi, Tiffi and Guda in 1973-74,
funded by Fulbright-Hayes grant OEG-O-73-5396. Checking
of data and some additional elicitation was done on a
follow-up trip in the summer of 1975, funded by the Fran-
ces Hibbard Award of the Phi Kappa Phi Honorary Society,
and a University Bookstore "Award for Academic Excellence."
Final checking, including confirmation of all examples
used in the text, was conducted during the weeks of 1977-
78 when my chief informant and I were both resident in
Zaria, Nigeria, at Ahmadu Bello University, my presence
there made possible by my husband's employment with the
Department of Nigerian and African Languages.

Informants

My chief informants for the linguistic data
were Mohammed Gambo Aliyu Tiffi (Wakilin Gona), known to
most as simply "Wakili", presently Acting Head of Natural
Resources and Agriculture of Ningi Local Government Area,
and Haruna Sammako Tiffi, a farmer, and farm co-operative
representative in Tiffi. Wakili in particular was an
excellent informant, never blinking at complicated verbal
paradigms, awkward constructions devised to test rules
as they were being formulated, or at plugging away at of-
ten tedious minutiae. Often our sessions were held after
he had put in a hard day's work at the Agricultural Office
or at school (for several months of 1977-78, he was on an
Agriculture Extension Refresher course at the School of
Agriculture, ABU, Zaria), but nonetheless, he could usual-
ly produce an appropriate example (or counter-example) for
the grammatical point in question. Sammako was employed
for the more pedestrian aspects of the work (help in
transcribing,etc.) which were too time-consuming to
trouble Wakili with.

Long descriptions of Pa'a traditions and some
linguistic information were obtained from Umaru Saleh
Tiffi, one of the best educated Pa'a speakers, though
for that reason, not always the best informant, as all
of his education has been in languages other than Pa'anci,

and most away from the Pa'anci speaking community. Ex-
cellent oral narratives were obtained from Dogon Malam
(Tiffi) and Gwazangi (aunt of chief informant Wakili),
with a set of "women's stories" told by my best Pa'a
friend Binta, wife of Kura. Binta and her female friends
and relations, while illiterate, were often able to iden-
tify a puzzling lexical item, or antiquated grammatical
structure that the better educated Pa'a men could not.
The late Sarkin Tiffi Tsoho, Adamu, recorded a history
of the Pa'a, and was helpful in identifying the Pa'a
names for large wild animals, as he was one of the lead-
ing hunters among the Pa'a. He died in early 1977. His
friend Galadima Tiffi introduced me to the music of the
bisakwa, the Pa'a five-string harp, which he played for
the noted musicologist Willard Rhodes to record in 1974.

The charismatic traditional religious head of
the Pa'awa, Balaza, came to inquire my business among his
people, but declined to be recorded. As he refuses, on
principle, to converse in any language but Pa'anci, it is
suspected by many speakers that he speaks a "purer" form
of Pa'anci, without loans from Hausa or other neighbor-
ing languages. However, Wakili was able to check some
points of lexicon with him, out of the range of my re-
corder (or ear).

While there are no recognized dialects among

Pa'a speakers today, idiolectal differences (tones, voicing of some consonants, palatalization, etc.) have occasionally been observed, and are noted in the text and lexicon where appropriate.

Methodology

The methodology employed in eliciting data for this grammar involved a combination of a traditional Bloomfield-Pike Structuralist approach in the initial stages, and a transformational-generative approach in the later, analytical stages. I began by eliciting the 734 word "Proposed Bilingual Word List for Chadic Linguistic Research" prepared by H. Jungraithmayr and W. Gunther, which I had translated (with the help of Neil Skinner) into Hausa before going into the field. I had also tested the translation by eliciting all 734 words in Bacama, the first language of University of Wisconsin student Nicholas Pweddon, and devised a means of eliciting verbal paradigms. In the field, I elicited the list twice, with two different sets of informants, the second time expanding it to include plurals and gender in the case of nouns, and Perfective, Aorist and Imperfective verb forms.

As my Hausa was better than the English of all but perhaps one of my informants, I made an early decision to work through Hausa. But occasionally, for example with the word 'harp', there was no Hausa equivalent,

and so one had to demonstrate, explain, or illustrate.
For the latter purpose, I had a book of the large mammals
of Africa which I took to the most experience Pa'a hunt-
ers. Later, as I began eliciting more complex grammatical
structures, I was further limited to constructions pos-
sible in Hausa, or rarely, English, and so came to rely
increasingly on examples of narrative speech for new
structures, those without parallel equivalents in Hausa.

All new material elicited (but not all check-
ing,to save on tape recorder batteries) was recorded and
transcribed in numerous exercise books. Depending on
the type of material, once I was satisfied that I had a
reasonably complete picture of a particular item, the
information was then transfered to an "Indecks" punch
card. In the case of lexical items, these were noted
on 4" by 6" cards, punched for both English and Pa'anci
alphabetical order, plus whether the entry was a noun,
verb, modifier, or particle/formative.

Information on each card included, in the case
of nominals, singular and plural forms, gender, close
synonyms, tonal or phonemic minimal pairs, derivatives,
etc. In the case of verbs, they were entered in the
Perfective, Aorist, and Imperfective (verbal noun) forms,
with notations for transitivity, causative and/or redu-
plicated forms, usual collocations, etc., plus a page

reference to the exercise book in which the complete paradigm for the verb could be found. More than 300 verbal paradigms were recorded, though I soon learned which persons and objects were the most revealing and/or representative, so that only some twenty verbs were elicited with all persons, numbers and genders as subjects and objects.

As I elicited lexicon and verbal paradigms, I began to formulate highly explicit rules for the micro-phenomena I was encountering. For example, as soon as a pattern began to emerge with regard to plural formation, I devised a set of generative rules to account for the observed phenomena, initially correlating plural formation with gender of the singular. It later became apparent that plurals were formed more strictly on phonological grounds, as I tested the output of my rules against new lexicon for which I had not previously elicited plural forms.

This pattern of rule formulation, testing of output, and re-formulation of rules was repeated again and again with increasingly complex structures, once I had a grasp of a vocabulary of some 1000 items. It was as instructive to discover which structures were not permissible to informants, and why, as those that were.

Simultaneously, I began recording oral narra-

tives, initially of Pa'a traditions, then stories told in evening session, Pa'a history, etc. These were transcribed and translated (with the aid of one of the informants, usually Sammako), and culled for new vocabulary, structures, and tests of rules being formulated. The traditions, in some ways the most interesting by subject matter, were told in a somewhat stilted, pedantic Pa'anci by the best educated of my informants, whose schooling in Hausa and English interfered, I suspect, with his Pa'anci fluency. Not only did many loan words appear, but also, for example, the frequency of relative clauses was much greater than in the running speech of other, less literate speakers.

Once a sufficient corpus of Pa'anci data was accumulated, I began to formulate rules for more major structures, for example, locatives, relative clauses, question formation, etc., having some sense of what the basic sentence order was. It is perhaps worth noting that the procedure thus followed, working from the specific to the general, formulating morphophonemic rules before major syntactic rules, is the reverse order of the grammar as it now appears. This sense of "normal" sentence order was then formulated into what have become the base rules of Pa'anci. Then the transformational rules, to account for optional permutations of the base rules,

were formalized and ordered. The output of these rules was then tested against textual material and elicited structures, and necessary adjustments made.

As material was elicited or culled from textual materials, similar structures were entered together on larger (5" by 8") "Indecks" cards, punched for category (eg. relative clauses with continuous) rather than alphabetical order. Rules formulated to account for the phenomena encountered were entered at the top.

While the data analysis was still in progress, I isolated certain aspects of it to write up and present as papers or publish as articles. Even though the material had not been fully synthesized, the useful feedback from peers, especially on the paper presented at the Chadic Colloquium in Holland, helped in integrating the isolated aspect (eg. of gender) into the larger entity. Similarly, Professor Jungraithmayr's comments on the article prepared for <u>Africana Marburgensia</u> (an analysis of a Pa'a oral narrative) were useful in deciding on the format of the appended texts.[11]

Once the rules had been ordered and tested and retested (some of the retesting occurred on the second and third trips to Nigeria), the problem of writing up

[11]See footnote 8, above, for references.

the material had to be tackled. Fortunately, there were several models, previous theses that had been written on Chadic languages using a transformational-generative approach.

None of them was entirely satisfactory for my purposes, however. For example, the particulars of Pa'-anci grammar did not lend themselves to analysis as a Fillmorean Case grammar, as readily as Ga'anda for Roxana Ma Newman.[12] Paul Newman's strictly ordered transformational generative grammar of Tera[13] is largely unintelligible due to excessive formalism, and the data in it virtually inaccessible, though his later grammar of Kanakuru,[14] in press at the time of my initial research, has proved a more useful model, and at least contained a minimal word list.

Russell Schuh's thesis on Ngizim[15] was to me the most logically ordered, with verbal descriptions of

[12]Roxana Ma Newman, A Case Grammar of Ga'anda, Diss. U.C.L.A. 1971 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1977).

[13]Paul Newman, A Grammar of Tera: Transformational Syntax and Texts. Diss. U.C.L.A. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Publications in Linguistics 57, 1970).

[14]Paul Newman, The Kanakuru Language (Leeds: Institute of Modern English Language Studies and West African Linguistic Society, 1974).

[15]See footnote 1 for full reference.

the phonological and verbal systems preceding the rules, which were grouped by topic rather than strict ordering procedure. His lexicon, however, was limited to grammatical formatives, and no texts were appended for examples of running speech, though his text was generously sprinkled with examples.

Thus for the reasons cited at the outset, I decided to incorporate Schuh's practice of a verbal description of the phonological and verbal systems, and his presentation of rules by topic rather than strict ordering. As his thesis was almost exclusively syntax, his syntactic rules are perforce more detailed than mine. However, I was determined that my grammar should provide an extensive lexicon, not just of grammatical formatives, and appended texts, to provide examples of running, unelicited speech, the major structures of which are, it is hoped, accounted for by the rules which precede it.

CHAPTER 1: PHONOLOGY

The charts on the pages which follow list the consonantal and vocalic phonemes of Pa'anci. The first set lists the consonantal phonemes using the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet; the second employs the typescript symbols that are used throughout the text. All are unit phonemes, even if represented on the charts as di- or tri-graphs.

Stops

Stop consonants in Pa'anci may be either voiced or voiceless, and in addition, there are glottalized and pre-nasalized series. The non-glottalized stops are fairly symmetrical, with a voiceless, voiced and pre-nasal stop at each of the following points of articulation: labial (p, b, and mb), alveolar (t, d, and nd), palatal (c, j, and nj), velar (k, g, and ng), and labialized velar (kw, gw, and ngw). There is, additionally, the voiceless glottal stop (').

Pa'anci does not normally permit consonantal clusters, so both nasal-stop and stop-sonorant clusters must be regarded as unit phonemes, at least initially. mb, nd, nj, ng, and ngw occur frequently initially, eg. mbura 'place', nduku 'to feel', njir 'anus', ngarsɨma 'elder brother', and ngwil 'to look for'. Medially,

Chart 1: Pa'anci Consonants [+cons]   IPA Symbols

	Labial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labial-ized Velar	Glottal
STOPS [-vd][-gl][-cont]	p		t	c	k	kʷ	ʔ
(ejective) [-vd][+gl][-cont]					kʼ	kʼʷ	
[+vd][-gl][-cont][-nas]	b		d	ɟ	g	gʷ	
(laryngealized) [+vd][+gl][-cont]	ʔb		ʔd				
Pre-nasal [+vd][+nas][-cont][-gl]	m͡b		n͡d	n͡ɟ	ŋ͡g	ŋ͡gʷ	
FRICATIVES [-vd][-gl][+cont]		f	s	ʃ			
(ejective) [-vd][+gl][+cont]			sʼ				
[+vd][-gl][+cont]		v	z	ʒ			
Lateral [-vd][-gl][+cont][+lat]			ɬ				
[-vd][+gl][+cont][+lat]			ɬʼ				
[+vd][-gl][+cont][+lat]			ɮ				

OBSTRUENTS [-son]

Key: vd = voiced gl = glottalized   cont = continuant   nas = nasal lat=lateral

Chart 1 (Cont'd):   Pa'anci Consonants [+cons]   IPA Symbols

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Labio-velar	Labial-ized Glottal	Palatal-ized Glottal	Glottal
	LIQUIDS [+vd][-gl][+cont][+lat]		l					
	[+vd][-gl][+cont][-lat]		r/ɾ , ɽ					
	NASALS [+vd][+nas][+cont]	m	n					
	GLIDES/SEMIVOWELS [-vd][-gl][+cont]					h^w	h^y	h
	[+vd][-gl][+cont]			j	w	ɦ^w	ɦ^y	ɦ [1]
	[+vd][+gl][-cont]			ʔj				

Key: vd = voiced   gl = glottalized   cont = continuant nas = nasal lat = lateral

SONORANTS [+son]

[1]All three voiced ɦ phonemes (ɦ^w, ɦ^y, and ɦ) are decidedly breathy-voiced.

Chart 2: Pa'anci Consonants [+cons] Typescript Symbols

		Labial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labial-ized Velar	Glottal
OBSTRUENTS [-son]	STOPS [-vd][-gl][-cont]	p		t	c	k	kw	'
	(ejective) [-vd][+gl][-cont]					k̓	k̓w	
	[+vd][-gl][-cont][-nas]	b		d	j	g	gw	
	(laryngealized) [+vd][+gl][-cont]	ɓ		ɗ				
	Pre-nasal [+vd][+nas][-cont][-gl]	mb		nd	nj	ŋg	ŋgw	
	FRICATIVES [-vd][-gl][+cont]		f	s	y̌			
	(ejective) [-vd][+gl][+cont]			ts				
	[+vd][-gl][+cont]		v	z	y̌			
	Lateral [-vd][-gl][+cont][+lat]			tl				
	[-vd][-gl][+cont][+lat]			tl'				
	[+vd][-gl][+cont][+lat]			dl				

Key: vd = voiced gl = glottalized cont = continuant nas = nasal lat=lateral

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Chart 2 (Cont'd): Pa'anci Consonants [+cons]   Typescript Symbols

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Labio-velar	Labial-ized Glottal	Palatal-ized Glottal	Glottal
	LIQUIDS [+vd][-gl][+cont][+lat]		l					
	[+vd][-gl][+cont][-lat]		r, ɼ					
	NASALS [+vd][+nas][+cont]	m	n					
	GLIDES/SEMIVOWELS [-vd][-gl][+cont]					hw	hy	h
	[+vd][-gl][+cont]			y	w	ɦw	ɦy	ɦ [1]
	[+vd][+gl][-cont]			'y				
	Key: vd = voiced gl = glottalized cont = continuant nas = nasal lat = lateral							

SONORANTS [+son]

[1] All three voiced ɦ phonemes (ɦw, ɦy and ɦ) are decidedly breathy-voiced.

however, they can act as a sequence, with the nasal closing the previous syllable, and the stop beginning the new one. Labialized velars occur both initially (eg. _kwali_ 'lie', _gwursaa_ 'wrestling' and _ƙwati_ 'now') and medially, for example, _tirƙwasa_ 'kidney'. Informant intuition confirms the treatment of prenasal stops (syllable initially) and labialized velars as unit phonemes.

The glottalized stops must be further subdivided between the front (labial and alveolar) voiced consonants _ɓ_ and _ɗ_ which are laryngealized, and the back, (velar and labialized velar) voiceless consonants _ƙ_ and _ƙw_, which are ejective. This division is not unique to Pa'anci: many of the other Chadic languages, notably Hausa, have the same.

Fricatives

The most notable of Pa'anci's fricatives are the three laterals: voiceless _tl_, voiced _dl_, and glottalized _tl'_. Despite the typescript representation, these are genuine lateral fricatives, not affricates. Until fairly recently, lateral fricatives were seen as a marker of Biu-Mandara, or East Chadic languages,[2] so

[2]Paul Newman and Roxana Ma, "Comparative Chadic: Phonology and Lexicon," _Journal of African Linguistics_, 5 (1966), 225-6.

it is somewhat unusual to find all three in a Plateau-Sahel, West Chadic language.[3] The glottalized lateral fricative was first noted by Jungraithmayr in his 1966-67 article for the lexeme 'five' vaatl'u.[4]

Otherwise, Pa'anci's fricative inventory has much in common with other Chadic languages, voiceless f, s, and ɫ, and voiced v, z, and ẕ, and the glottalized ejective /s'/, typescript ts.

<center>Sonorants</center>

Pa'anci sonorants include liquids, nasals, glides and semi-vowels. There is a lateral, l, distinct from the lateral fricatives. There are two r allophones, flapped and trilled, presumed to be in complementary dis-tribution, as I have never found a minimal pair distin-guished only by this difference. In typescript, the two allophones are represented by the phonemic (but under-specified) r. There is a syllabic r̥, which occurs, as far as I can determine, only in two words, both having to

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[3]First challenged in print by Charles Kraft, "A Note on Lateral Fricatives in Chadic," Studies in African Lin-guistics, 2 (1971), 271-81, Paul Newman's second thoughts on the subject are reflected in his paper entitled "Later-al Fricatives ("hlaterals") in Chadic" in Papers in Chadic Linguistics, 107-119.

[4]Jungraithmayr, p. 197.

do with the annual circumcision ceremony: r̀n̂á and rfama.
As the environment is so limited, the phonemic status is
doubtful [Were they part of a secret initiation language?],
but my informants specifically rejected the acoustic im-
plication of an re transcription, and the tone-bearing
segment is apparently the trill, not an epenthetic vowel.

The only two sonorant nasals are m and n. The
velar ŋ does not have independent phonemic status, but
only occurs as part of an ŋg or ŋgw cluster. Phonetically
however, n is often realized as ŋ when followed by word
juncture or a word-medial velar.

Pa'anci has the two semivowels y and w, plus
the glottalized palatal 'y, common to many of the western
Chadic languages. In addition, there is a full set of
sonorant glottals: voiced (n̂) and voiceless (h), labial-
ized (n̂w, hw), and palatalized (n̂y, hy). There is a
decidedly breathy voiced quality about the production of
n̂. Minimal pairs justifying the independent phonemic
status of the labialized and palatalized glottals abound,
eg. n̂wân 'to mould, eg. pot' and n̂an, 'to see'.

In limited environments (before a nasal), the
voiced n̂ can carry tone, as a syllabic consonant. Ex-
amples include n̂má 'to eat' and n̂nnà, the tense-pronoun
for the second person, feminine, continuous tense. As in
the case of syllabic ɾ, my informants rejected the impli-

cation that there was an epenthetic schwa between the
n̂ and the nasal.

Vowels

Pa'anci's vowel inventory consists of five ba-
sic vowels (i̠,e̠,a̠,o̠,u̠), which can be short or long (in-
dicated by doubling the vowel.) Medially, the three
short vowels i̠, a̠, and u̠ are phonetically realized as ɨ,
ə, and ʉ, respectively, and have generally been transcri-
bed as such in most texts and examples. All other trans-
cription, including the r/ɽ alternation, is phonemic.

There are two diphthongs, ei̠ and au̠. I suspect
the latter is the origin of the comparatively infrequent
Pa'anci vowel o̠, which appears most often in the verbal
noun ending -o̠, occasionally realized as -au̠.

Tones

Pa'anci has three level tones, high [ˊ], low
[ˋ], and mid [unmarked], plus a contour (falling) tone
[ˆ]. Isolated examples of a rising tone can be explained
historically by a sequence of a low (hereafter lo),
followed by a high (hereafter hi) tone.

In addition to lexical tone, there is the phe-
nomenon of downdrift, apparently universal to Chadic, in
which a hi following a lo has a lower pitch than the hi
which preceded the lo in the same phonological phrase.
Intonation, particularly question intonation, may raise

certain tones above the normal range, and the operation
of certain morpho-phonemic rules may alter the lexical
tone of a word completely. For example, as will be seen
in Chapter 7, the suffixation of the lo-toned pronominal
set to verbal nouns raises the final lexical tone of the
verbal nouns.

For these and other reasons involving tonal
sandhi, the marking of tone is not as straight-forward in
Pa'anci as in Hausa or other languages where tones remain
fairly constant. While tonal minimal pairs do exist, the
functional load of tone is low, except in the tense-pronoun
system of the verbal piece. Practically, while in the
field, I tone marked all the sentences, lexical items in
citation form, and paradigms which I elicited, but only
about half of the connected texts. For those I often had
to rely on the help of Sammako, who repeated problem seg-
ments (those I was unable to tone mark from taped speech)
more slowly.

Therefore, in this grammar, I have elected to
mark tone only where tone is an issue. This will include
marking tone on all tense-pronouns, in the lexicon for all
items in citation form (but not, for example, all colloca-
tions), and elsewhere where tone is crucial to the phenom-
enon under discussion. In this I am again following the
examples of the three previous transformational-generative
thesis grammars of Chadic languages.

CHAPTER 2: THE VERBAL SYSTEM

This chapter is an attempt to describe, in words rather than rules and formulae, the verbal system of Pa'anci. After an initial section in which terms are defined, the chapter will first outline the lexical verb classes, based on the citation, Perfective form, then describe the derived verb aspects (Imperfective and Aorist) and the correlation of these aspects with the tense-marking auxiliary pre-verbal pronouns. The four basic tenses (completed, continuous, future and subjunctive) are outlined, as well as the three relative tenses (relative completed, continuous, and future), and the imperative.

Since writing about Chadic languages began in earnest more than a decade ago, a variety of terms have been used to describe the different constituent parts of the verbal system. The terms tense and aspect, perfective, imperfective and aorist have been used with overlapping and occasionally conflicting meanings by the leading scholars. To avoid confusion in this presentation, I have elected to use the terminology employed by Herrmann Jungraithmayr in 1974 and Paul Newman in 1977.[1]

[1]H. Jungraithmayr, "A Tentative Four Stage Model for the Development of the Chadic Languages" (unpublished paper), 2nd Hamito-Semitic Linguistic Conference, Florence, 1974; Paul Newman, "The Formation of the Imperfective Verb Stem in Chadic," Afrika und Übersee, Band LX (1977), 178-192.

According to their usage, <u>tense</u> covers the surface conjugational forms which express "completed", "continuous", "future", etc. <u>Aspect</u>, on the other hand, covers the distinction between Perfective and Imperfective, and, in the case of Pa'anci, Aorist. Each of the tenses involves one or other of the aspects. For example, the completed and subjunctive tenses involve the Perfective Aspect, the continuous, future, relative continuous and relative future involve the Imperfective, and the relative completed the Aorist.

The distinction is clarified by looking at the formal difference between the two in Pa'anci. Tense, and the person, number and gender of the subject, are marked by an auxiliary pre-verbal element. This element will be called the AUX-tp (for Auxiliary Tense Pronoun) in the body of this grammar. Aspect, on the other hand, is marked on the verb itself, by suffixation and tone pattern. Because the tone pattern and shape of the perfective suffix is the least predictable in Pa'anci, the Perfective must be regarded as the citation form, with the Imperfective and Aorist forms in large part predictable from it.

It should be noted that part of the objection of other scholars (among them Russell Schuh) to this terminology is the misleading semantic (temporal) overtones to the terms "tense", "perfective", and "imperfec-

tive". In fact, Pa'anci "tenses" have less to do with time per se, and more with completion or non-completion of the action in question, than the name implies. I have tried to capture some of this implication in the names for the individual tenses, "completed" rather than past, "continuous" rather than present. I have, however, rejected Newman's semantically preferable alternative to Perfective and Imperfective ("Non-durative" and "Durative") because such terminology has not been accepted in standard usage, even by Newman. Similarly, Aorist, as used here,[2] does not carry its usual semantic implications, but rather is used to describe the third verbal aspect used with the relative completed tense.

Lexical Verb Classes

Because it is of interest to comparative Chadicists, I have included a section on the formal verb classes in Pa'anci. It should be emphasized, however, that the classes are differentiated solely by formal criteria which have no effect on the conjugational tense system. There appear to be no semantic-formal correlations; no neat correspondences between, for example, tone and/or suffix and transitivity.

[2]Suggested by Herrmann Jungraithmayr in personal correspondence.

Pa'anci verbs can be divided into lexical class-
es by tone pattern, number of syllables, and final vowel
of the Perfective Aspect. The Imperfective and Aorist
forms are in large part predictable from the Perfective,
by rules which shall be formulated herein. As there are
numerous exceptions, however, all three forms have been
cited in the lexicon of this grammar.

Most Pa'anci verbs end in <u>a</u> or <u>u</u>, though a few
end in a nasal (<u>n</u> or <u>m</u> -- the latter only in monosyllables),
<u>i</u>, <u>e</u>, <u>ei</u>, <u>r</u>, <u>l</u>, or in monosyllables only, <u>o</u>. Among two
syllable verbs, the most numerous, there is a fairly equal
division between those which end in <u>a</u> and those which end
in <u>u</u>. Examples of the former include <u>bəla</u> 'return'; <u>cina</u>
'send, work'; <u>kufa</u>, 'forge(metal)' and <u>taaka</u> 'wipe'. Ex-
amples of <u>u</u> final Perfectives include <u>batlu</u> 'break, snap';
<u>ciɗu</u> 'push'; <u>kucuu</u> 'go blind' and <u>takuu</u> 'ask'. The ending
cannot reliably be predicted by the first vowel, length
of the first syllable, consonantal voicing, or other phono-
logical variables.

Most tri-syllable verbs recorded in the language
end in <u>u</u>, but vary in tone pattern. For example, <u>bakùsù</u>
'envelop (as in palm leaves)'; <u>béékitù</u> 'fan'; <u>dərgùɗu</u>
'knead, massage' and <u>dlərɓáátu</u> 'hollow out'. The only
example of an <u>a</u> final three syllable Perfective recorded
(other than derived, i.e. reduplicated, intensive forms)
was <u>dlíbídàà</u> 'cool (i.e. of sun).

Monosyllables, on the other hand, tend to end in a, ei, r, n, i, u, o, m, or l in that order of frequency. Examples include ba 'finish'; cei 'grab, hold, seize'; bar 'begin'; ɲan 'see'; ƙii 'bite'; kuu 'fail'; hwo 'like'; gwam 'lack', and kwal 'prevent'.

The most common tone pattern for two syllable verbs in the Perfective is mid-lo, though a substantial fraction have the opposite tonal pattern, lo-mid. A still smaller fraction of verbs have hi-lo tones in the Perfective, and there are a few exceptional cases of hi-mid, lo-lo, and lo-hi toned Perfectives.

The tones of tri-syllable verbs show more variation, but hi-mid-lo Perfectives are statistically dominant. The second most common pattern is hi-lo-mid, with a scattered few mid-lo-mid, hi-lo-hi, and mid-lo-hi verbs.

Most mono-syllabic verbs are mid-toned in the Perfective, but a substantial number are low or have a falling tone. There was only one verb recorded with a hi-tone Perfective. This is unusual, in that in many Chadic languages, hi-toned mono-syllabic verbs predominate.[3] It is of course possible that, viewed historically, hi-toned verbs have been re-interpreted as mid-toned monosyllables, as in other African languages.

[3] Russell G. Schuh, "West Chadic Verb Classes", in Newman and Newman, ed., Papers in Chadic linguistics, pp. 143-146.

Pa'anci verbs in the Perfective can be summarized as follows: A majority are bi-syllabic, of which most have a mid-lo tonal pattern. The final vowel may be a or u, or much less frequently, another vowel, liquid or nasal. Tri-syllabic verbs usually end in u, with a variety of tone patterns, but most commonly, a hi first syllable. Mono-syllables end in a variety of vowels, nasals and liquids, and carry mid, lo, or falling tones.

The Perfective Aspect

Two tenses, completed and subjunctive, are based on the Perfective Aspect. The tense-pronoun [AUX-tp] paradigm for the two is virtually identical, except that the completed set uses hi tone, and the subjunctive, mid. The paradigm is as follows:

Completed and Subjunctive AUX-tps

Singular			Plural
1st		ma	mi + Perfective verb
	m.	u	
2nd			u...[Perf. verb]..na(ni)[4]
	f.	in	
3rd	m.	na	
	f.	i	tli + Perfective verb
impersonal		a	

+ verb in Perfective Aspect

Tones: hi for completed
        mid for subjunctive

[4]A discontinuous AUX-tp; ni is not used if an object follows. Only the tone of u varies with tense; the mid-lo tones of na(ni) remain constant.

Completed Tense

The completed tense, as the name implies, is
used to indicate completed action, irrespective of time,
in the sense of English tenses. The completed action may
thus be in the past, present, or even future (in the case
of some conditional sentences.) It is commonly used in
narratives, often followed by subjunctive or relative
past, once the "completedness" has been established. Some
performers, as a stylistic variant, tend to use the con-
tinuous tense, perhaps to bring a sense of immediacy to
the action, stimulating audience involvement.

Examples:

(1) ...tlí kuɗu, tli dava aki ala yei they+compl. pass
    (Perf.Asp.), they+subj. come(Perf.Asp) here under
    rock 'they passed, they came here under the rock'

(2) í ɗɨma hwahwa she+compl. carry(Perf.Asp.) load 'she
    carried the load'

(3) kəsaanaa ú puɗa bangwara njala na? why(Q-word) you(m.)
    +compl. pour(Perf.Asp.) quiver outside it-is 'why is
    it you poured [the] quiver outside?'

(4) amati-kiki í vərɗa dla nju mother-this she+compl.
    gave-birth(Perf.Asp.)[to] son male 'this mother gave
    birth to a male child'

As can be seen by the example (4) above, the
completed AUX-tp is never deleted, even following an ex-
ressed nominal subject. Some Chadic languages, eg. Ngizim,
do not have third person, completed, AUX-tps with noun
subjects. But in Pa'anci, the AUX-tp tone carries vital

tense information in addition to the person-number-gender code.

Subjunctive Tense

The subjunctive tense, formed with the mid-toned AUX-tp set (given on page 35) followed by the Perfective verb form, is used in a variety of situations. These include commands other than the second person masculine singular; sequential to another tense, usually completed, in narrative and other constructions; as sentential complements of certain verbs, including 'to want' and 'to refuse'; and in purpose and 'before' clauses. The subjunctive AUX-tps are also used to form the three (past, present, future) relative tenses, in collocation with different aspects of the verb, the rel marker ka, and the future formative in the case of the relative future tense.

(5) anjani: u dɨma-na hwahwa   I+tire(irregular verb):
    you(pl.)+subj. carry-(pl.) load 'I'm tired: You
    carry the load'

(6) aǐin, u miya, u ñan aǐimbaani-nu   lie-down(Imperative)
    you(m.s.)+subj. die(Perf.Asp.), you see friends-your
    'lie down and die and see who your friends are'

(7) mi zaa? we+subj. go-in(Perf.Asp.) 'should we go in?'

(8) ná munde in kwan ƙundiñdiƙi   he+compl. said(Perf.Asp.)
    you(f.s.)+subj. buy(Perf.Asp.) sweet-potatoes 'he said
    you should buy sweet potatoes'

(9) i tla hara (ñamaa) i ɗu kan   she+compl. go(Perf.Asp.)
    home (in-order-to[optional; lit. head]) she+subj. cook
    sauce 'she went home to cook stew'

(10) <u>kafin tli dava</u>, <u>(sei) in ba cin-ta</u> before they+subj.
come(Perf.Asp.), (then[Hausa loan?]) you(f.s.)+subj.
finish(Perf.Asp.) work-the   'before they come, fin-
ish the work.'

(11) <u>Ɣinda i mbure-mi</u> God she+subj. help(Perf.Asp.)-us
'may God help us!'

The Imperfective Aspect

Given the lexical form of the Perfective Aspect,
the form of the Imperfective Aspect is usually predictable
from it. The Imperfective Aspect is used, with the appro-
priate AUX-tps, to form the continuous, future, relative
continuous and relative future. The Imperfective Aspect
is identical in form to the Verbal Noun, and so, for brev-
ity, Verbal Noun (or its abbreviation VN) will often be
substituted for Imperfective Aspect when speaking of form.
The usual way to form the Imperfective Aspect (or Verbal
Noun) is to replace the final vowel of the Perfective by
-<u>o</u>, sometimes realized as -<u>au</u>.[5] In the case of consonant
final bi- and mono-syllabic verbs, the -<u>o</u> is suffixed to
the consonant. Regardless of the tone pattern of the
Perfective, the Imperfective tone pattern is most frequent-
ly hi-lo (hi-mi-lo in the case of tri-syllables, and fall-
ing in the case of monosyllables).

[5]cf. Newman's (1977) conclusion: "Imperfective stems
[in Proto-Chadic] were formed by suffixation....and con-
tained the vowel <u>a</u>." Newman, "The Formation of the Imper-
fective.." p. 189.

Continuous Tense

The continuous tense is one of four tenses that are based on the Imperfective Aspect. It is used to indicate incompleted action at some time of reference, which can be past, present or future.[6] The AUX-tps used (with the Imperfective Aspect of the verb) to form the continuous tense are as follows:

Continuous AUX-tps

		Singular	Plural
1st		mᵼnà	mᵼnà
2nd	m.	hᵼnà, u[7]	hᵼnà
	f.	ɦnnà	
3rd	m.	tᵼnà	tli[7](na)
	f.	i	
impersonal		ánà	

These AUX-tps are also used, without a verb, to form locative constructions (with a following locative word), or associative (possessive) constructs, with the preposition i or yaa plus an object. Schuh states unequivocally of Ngizim that "The imperfective [his term for continuous] derives historically from the locative predicate

[6] Unambiguously future time is expressed by the future tense, q.v.

[7] Homophony with the subjunctive AUX-tps is disambiguated by the aspect which follows, -o Imperfective in the case of the continuous.

construction."[8] While there may be some support for this argument in Pa'anci as well, for the purposes of this grammar, I have chosen to derive the locatives (and associatives) from the deletion of an unspecified locative verb feature bundle.

Examples of the use of the continuous AUX-tps follow:

(12) tɨna burɗo keekee na   he+cont. repairing(VN) bicycle
                            it-is(emph.) 'it's that he's
                            repairing a bicycle'

(13) vura i juuwoo aci   girl she+cont. pounding(VN) corn
                        'the girl is pounding corn'

(14) ɲnà ndəro mišina?   you(f.s.)+cont. doing(VN) what(Q-
                        word) 'what are you doing?'

(15) minà hara   we+cont. [loc. V deleted] home 'we're
                home'

(16) tli a ɲari na   they+cont. [loc. V deleted] inside
                    [lit. 'at stomach'] it-is(emph)
                    'it's that they're inside'

(17) huni [hunà + i] va fuu   you(m.s.)+cont.+with [deleted
                             loc. V] thing (of) world 'you
                             are wealthy'

Future Tense

The future tense is formed with the Imperfective Aspect, preceded by the appropriate (in person, number, gender agreement with the subject) subjunctive of the verb 'to go'. The verb 'to go' is highly irregular

[8]Schuh, Aspects of Ngizim Syntax, p. 25.

[see appendix #2], in part because the completed and sub-
junctive tenses incorporate what Paul Newman calls an
"ICP", an "Intransitive Copy Pronoun", a pronominal suffix
which copies the person, number and gender of the subject
onto the verb.[9] Thus the subjunctive of 'to go', which
is used as the future formative, has person, number, and
gender features suffixed ɔ each of the conjugational
forms. Though further marks of subject agreement within
the pre-verbal element would be redundant, occasionally
for emphasis, or obligatorily in negative future construc-
tions, either the subjunctive or the continuous set of
AUX-tps may be used, preceding the appropriate form of the
subjunctive of 'to go'.

<div align="center">

Future Formatives
(Subjunctive of the verb 'to go')

</div>

		Singular	Plural
1st		tín	cín
	m.	tú	
2nd			cína
	f.	tín	
	m.	táá	
3rd			tlitli[10]
	f.	itlá	

[9]Newman, The Kanakuru Language, p. 23, et passim.

[10]Not only is person, number, and gender information
copied, but in this case, the verb totally assimilates to
the suffixed pronoun.

The mere fact that Pa'anci forms the future tense using the Imperfective is worth noting, as in some Chadic languages, notably Hausa, the future is formed with the Perfective Aspect. Examples of the future in Pa'anci follow:

(18) <u>tin jeno ħamaa ɓatura</u> I+go step(VN) on[lit. head] scorpion. 'I will step on (the) scorpion'

(19) <u>mi cín ħwocu Kano suu</u> we+subj we+go go[suppletive VN] Kano tomorrow 'we will go (to) Kano tomorrow'

Relative Continuous Tense

Two of Pa'anci's three relative tenses, the relative continuous and the relative future, are based on the Imperfective Aspect.

The relative continuous tense is used to indicate uncompleted action within a relative clause or following a front-shifted emphatic noun or adverb, or, with the verb deleted, in relative locative or associative constructions. The AUX-tps used with the Imperfective are basically the subjunctive ones, followed by the rel marker <u>ka</u>, which is repeated at the end of the verb phrase.

The complete paradigm is listed on the next page:

Relative Continuous AUX-tps

		Singular		Plural	
1st		ma kà		mi kà + VN	
2nd	m.	u kà	+ Imper-fective (VN) verb + ka	u kà..[VN]..na	+ ka
	f.	in kà			
3rd	m.	na kà		tli kà + VN	
	f.	i kà			
impersonal		a kà			

Examples of relative continuous constructions follow:

(20) má nduku avi-ta u ka mundo ka I+compl. hear(Perf.Asp.) thing-the you(m.s.) rel saying(VN) rel. 'I hear what you are saying'

(21) fei-ta ma kà ĥwocu ka, munà tlô ɓaɓa day-the I rel going(VN) rel, I+cont. getting-up(VN) early. 'on the day I go, I'll get up early'

(22) ngaa avi-ta na kà ĥamaa teebor ka give-me thing-the he-is rel on table rel 'give me the thing on the table'

(23) má ĥan ama-ta i kà a ĥari ka wa I+compl. see(Perf. Asp.) mother-the she+rel.cont. at inside rel neg 'I didn't see the one who was inside'

Relative Future Tense

Even among those Chadic languages which have relative tenses, a relative future tense is comparatively rare. Pa'anci's is formed by preposing the relative continuous AUX-tps to the future formatives, the ICP subjunctive of the verb 'to go', followed by the Imperfective form of the verb, and the rel marker ka, sometimes deleted

when objects are suffixed to the Verbal Noun. The relative future tense is used in unambiguously future references in relative clauses and in pre-posed emphatic sentences. Some examples follow:

(24) hwahwa-ta u kà tú dɨmo ka i ndan-ndan pa load-the you(m.s.) rel will carry(VN) rel with heaviness indeed 'the load you will carry is indeed heavy.'

(25) har ƙwati, mí ɦan mbarin-ta mi ka cín ngo-su wa until now, we+compl. see(Perf.Asp.) person-the we rel will give(VN)-it not 'up to now, we haven't found the person to give it to'

(26) mbura-ta ma kà tín sikwo ka, aba anuɦwanti na place-the I rel will live(VN) rel, father [of] goodness it-is(equalizer/stabilizer) 'the place where I will live is a good one'

The Aorist Aspect

The last of the seven tenses of Pa'anci is the relative completed, based on the Aorist Aspect of the verb. Given the Perfective form of the verb, the Aorist is in large part predictable from it: the final vowel of poly-syllabic Perfective verbs is replaced by the long, hi suffix -íí. This Aorist suffix usually replaces the back, low vowels of monosyllables, but is suffixed, with an epenthetic y, to high front vowels or diphthongs (i.e. i, e, and ei). Mono-syllables which end in a nasal or liquid become bi-syllabic with the addition of the Aorist suffix.

Relative Completed

The relative completed tense is formed with the subjunctive AUX-tps, followed by the Aorist form of the verb, and a verb phrase final ka.

The relative completed tense is used in two distinct settings: relative clauses wherein completed action is indicated and medial in a sequential list of completed actions, usually in a narrative context. Having scanned several hundred pages of transcribed texts for examples of relative past constructions, I can say that there is considerable variability with regard to frequency of usage among speakers, or even different performances of the same speaker.

Examples using the relative completed follow:

(27) nda i belii hara ka, sei a nguna na munda ka when
      she return(Aorist) home rel, then PRAM[11]Spider he
      said..... 'when she returned home, Spider said...'

(28) i riga i sinii calo nguna ka she+compl. knew(Aorist)
      character [of] Spider rel. 'she already knew Spider's
      character'

(29) tli ñyii mujiki, na ciyii ka 'they find(Aorist) ri-
      ver, he bring(Aorist)[water] rel. 'they found the
      river, it was flooded'

(30) nda tli dava, tli dedii ka, tli barii dladlo ka
      when they came, they lined-up(Aorist) rel., they
      began(Aorist) running rel. 'when they came, they
      lined-up and began running.'

[11]PRAM = Previous Reference Animate Marker; see next
chapter for explanation.

Imperative

There are two ways of expressing commands in Pa'anci: with the imperative and the subjunctive. The imperative is used only for commands in the second person, masculine singular. The form is that of the Perfective Aspect, with the AUX-tp deleted. Commands for persons other than second masculine use the subjunctive. Even second person masculine imperatives sequential to an imperative use the subjunctive, as illustrated by example (6) above, and (32) below. The tones of all commands remain the same as the lexical Perfective tones (and the subjunctive AUX-tps). The only intonational overlay effect of the imperative is occasionally to lower the register of the whole word. While this is by no means a consistent feature, it is mentioned mainly because it is the opposite of the tonal behavior of imperatives in several other Chadic languages.

Isolated examples have been elicited of imperatives using the Aorist form of the verb, but when pressed, informants have usually said it was an error. It is, however, an intriguing one, as several other Chadic languages form imperatives with an -i̲ suffix.

(31) tú 'go' [imperative, 2nd masculine ICP verb]

(32) zaa, u ǰiki, u rɨma zuwe go-in[imp.], you[m.s.]+
      subj. sit(Perf.Asp.), you[m.s.]+subj. eat(Perf.Asp.)
      groundnuts 'go in, sit down, and have some peanuts'

CHAPTER 3: PHRASE STRUCTURE RULES

The following rules, which are explained on subsequent pages, account for basic Pa'anci sentence types:

P.S. # 1

$$S \longrightarrow [\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{Conj} \\ \underline{\text{ko}} \end{matrix} \right\} S]^n, \quad n \geq 2.$$

P.S. # 2

$$S \longrightarrow (\left\{ \begin{matrix} Q \\ \text{Imp} \end{matrix} \right\})(\text{emp})(\text{focus})NP \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{aux VP} \\ \text{NP pred} \end{matrix} \right\} (\text{adv}^*)(\text{neg})$$

P.S. # 3

$$VP \longrightarrow V(NP)(NP)(NP)(PP_{loc})(PP_{assoc})(PP_{inst}) (\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{man} \\ \text{PP} \end{matrix} \right\})(\text{pur})$$

P.S. # 4

$$PP \longrightarrow \text{prep NP}$$

P.S. # 5

$$NP \longrightarrow [\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{i/yaa} \\ \underline{\text{ko}} \end{matrix} \right\} NP]^n, \quad n \geq 2.$$

P.S. # 6

$$NP \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} N_{[png]} \; (\text{Det}^*) \\ S \\ NP \; S^* \end{matrix} \right\}$$

Key to reading symbols: Conj = conjoiner; <u>ko</u> = Pa'anci disjoiner; emp = emphasis; pred = predicator; aux = auxiliary; * = iterative; loc = locative; assoc = associative; inst = instrumental; man = manner; pur = purpose; <u>i/yaa</u> = Pa'anci nominal conjoiners; png = person, number, gender; Det = determiner.

P.S. # 7

pur ---> <u>ñamaa</u> S

P.S. # 8

aux ---> AUX-tp$_{[\pm\ continuous]}$

AUX-tp$_{[+continuous]}$ ---> AUX-tp$_{[\pm\ future]}$

AUX-tp$_{[-continuous]}$ ---> AUX-tp$_{[\pm\ completed]}$

AUX-tp$_{\left[\begin{smallmatrix}-continuous\\-completed\end{smallmatrix}\right]}$ ---> AUX-tp$_{[subjunctive]}$

Key to Reading Symbols cont'd: <u>ñamaa</u> = (lit. 'head'),
purpose conjunction 'in order to'; AUX-tp = Auxiliary
tense pronoun. Tenses will hereafter be abbreviated
cont. for continuous, fut. for future, compl. for com-
pleted, and subj. for subjunctive.

Rule by Rule Explanation:

P. S. # 1: Sentence $\begin{smallmatrix}Con\\Dis\end{smallmatrix}$joining

Phrase Structure Rule # 1, S ---> [$\begin{smallmatrix}Conj\\ko\end{smallmatrix}$ S]^n,

allows for any number of sentences to be generated iter-

atively and conjoined or disjoined. There is normally no

overt marker in the surface structure of conjoined sen-

tences, though often a particle borrowed from Hausa will

appear to indicate 'on the other hand' or 'also' or 'and

then'. Such particles would be subsumed under Conj in

P.S. # 1, though most often the surface conjoiner is $\emptyset$.

Examples of conjoined sentences follow:

(1) <u>á dava, á di, ná miya</u> one+compl. came(Perf.Asp),
one+compl. hit(Perf. Asp.)+him,
he+compl. died. '[some]one came
[and]hit him,[and]he died.'

(2) <u>na tá mbo</u>, <u>a kà tuma ɾfama</u>,   he will come-out, one+rel.
                                           cont. sings ɾfama [songs]
    <u>a kà tafo-sin</u>,<u>a kà tuko-sin</u>   one+rel.cont. follows-them,
                                             one+rel.cont. escorts-them
                                             'he will come out, [then]
                                             one sings "rfama" songs,
                                             [and] one follows them
                                             [and] escorts them'

Neither of the above have surface conjoiners. The following sentence contains a particle borrowed from Hausa., and follows Hausa [conj] insertion rules:

(3) <u>a Musa ná taa kanti</u>, PRAM[1] Musa he+compl. went store
    <u>a Mohammadu kuwa</u>, <u>na taa sina</u> PRAM Mohammed on-the-
                                             other-hand, he+compl.
                                             went farm
    'Musa went to the store, Mohammed, on the other hand,
    went to the farm'

Disjunction of two sentences usually involves the placement of the disjoiner <u>ko</u> (a probable Hausa loan) in front of each sentence to be disjoined:

(4) <u>ko u tu ko ma tin</u> either you(m.s.)+subj. go or I+subj.
                           go 'either you go, or I go'

P.S. # 2: S Expansion

$$[S \longrightarrow (\, \{ {}^Q_{Imp} \} \,)(emp)(focus)NP \, \{ {}^{aux\ VP}_{NP\ pred} \} \, (adv^*)(neg)]$$

To deal with the obligatory parts of the Pa'anci sentence first, NP ${}^{aux\ VP}_{NP\ pred}$ accounts for the two major types of Pa'anci sentences, those with verbal predicates, and those with nominal predicates. The latter involve the equalizer/stabilizer <u>na</u>(m.) or <u>ya</u>(f.).

[1]PRAM = Previous Reference Animate Marker. See explanation under NP Expansion, p. 61-62.

(5) Musa ná mba [NP aux VP] Musa he+compl. went-out(Perf. Asp.) 'Musa went out'

(6) suu Gurami na [NP NP pred] tomorrow harvest-festival equalizer/stabilizer(m.) 'tomorrow is [the] harvest festival'

It should be noted that later transformations may delete, in certain circumstances, the NP of a verbal sentence, or alternatively, the VP of a verbal sentence (which, for locative and associative [possessive] constructions, are unspecified locative semantic feature bundles never realized in the surface structure), or even one of the NPs of a non-verbal construction. These deletions would result in surface structures like the following:

(7) ná mba he+compl. went-out [subject NP deleted after subject-aux agreement, leaving aux VP] 'he went out'

(8) tinà Tiffi he+cont. [deleted loc. VP] Tiffi 'he's in Tiffi'

(9) ani aci añari pangwa existential[one+cont+prep'with'] guinea corn inside cornbin 'there is corn in the bin' [Ø subject NP followed by contraction of continuous aux and the prepesition 'with', unspecfied loc. V deleted]

(10) tini tsalliya he+cont.+with money 'he has money' [deleted unemphatic subject pronoun; deleted unspecified loc. VP]

(11) suu na tomorrow equalizer/stabilizer 'tomorrow it is' [deleted NP implied]

Yet another deletion is possible, though infrequent: the deletion of the pred equalizer-stabilizer in

an NP NP pred sentence. By this deletion, example 6
would become:

(12) <u>suu Gurami</u> [NP NP (deleted pred)] 'tomorrow (is the)
                         harvest-festival'

Question and imperative nodes are mutually ex-
clusive in Pa'anci. Imperatives can only occur with [aux
VP] predicates, aux deletion only occurring when the sub-
ject is 2nd person masculine singular. (Subjunctive is
used for other genders and numbers.) Questions can be
formed by a question word or, less frequently, intonation-
al change, with or without tag or yes/no question forma-
tion. Transformational rules governing imperatives and
questions are contained in the next chapter.

The Pa'anci negative can co-occur with either
question or imperative nodes. The surface form of the
negative is usually a sentence final <u>wa</u>. However, when
the negation involves an embedded sentence with an aux
in the subjunctive, or a negative command, the negative
is realized as <u>mba</u>...[aux VP]...<u>wa</u>. These surface struc-
ture realizations will be handled by the segmentalization
rules of Chapter 6.

(13) <u>ú tu wa</u> you+compl. went neg. 'you didn't go'

(14) <u>ná munde mba ma tuku wa</u> he+compl. said neg I+subj.
                                   accept neg. 'he said I
                                   shouldn't accept'

The options (emp)(focus) account for emphatic
and focus constructions in the language. Whole sentences

can be made emphatic as in:

(15) i̱ dava na [aux VP e/s] she+compl. came(Perf.Asp.) it-
is. (loosely)'it is a fact that she came'

Alternatively, a single item can be assigned the feature

[+emph]. Focus is usually realized by a front shifted

clause, and the implication of this optional node in P.S.

2 is that such front shifting would be obligatory if the

focus node were selected. Both sentence and word level

[emph] constructions involve na (m.) or ya (f.), formally

identical to the equalizing/stabilizing pred.

True Pa'anci adverbs, other than ideophones, are

rare: Most of what translate into English as adverbs are

in fact NPs or PPs, and as such are dealt with in P.S. # 3

the expansion of VP. In addition to ideophones, there are

a few noun-derived adverbs, differentiated from the noun

by tone and/or vowel length. [eg. ɲàri 'inside' from ɲarí

'belly' (c.f. aɲàri 'in' prep)].

When adverbs co-occur, they are generally in the

order place-purpose-manner-time, though time adverbs are

often front shifted, when used with pred or other adverbs.

(16) d̑aami a Aliyu malvi na last-year PRAM Aliyu king e/s
'last year Aliyu (was) king'

Time adverbs are virtually the only way of es-

tablishing temporal perspective with pred, whereas aux +

verb give some indication, at least of completed, on-going

or future action, in the case of verbal predicates.

P.S. # 3: VP Expansion

$$[VP \rightarrow V(NP)(NP)(NP)(PP_{loc})(PP_{assoc})(PP_{inst})(\{^{man}_{PP}\})(pur)]$$

Phrase Structure rule # 3, the re-write of VP, accounts for objectival and adverbial structures, the latter realized in Pa'anci by prepositional phrases or embedded sentences.

When more than one of the optional NPs is present, the last NP is always the direct object, whether it is a noun or pronoun. Some verbs, eg. 'ask', 'give', etc., can take up to three following NPs:

(17) <u>ná takwaandi dalili</u> he+compl. asked-for-me-him reason
'he asked him the reason for me'

(18) <u>mùnà tərd́o Binta aci</u> I+cont. grinding(VN) Binta guinea-corn 'I am grinding guinea-corn for Binta'

(19) <u>tìnà n̂wano-su kan</u> he+cont. building-her hut 'he is building her a hut'

Motion verbs, or unspecified locative semantic feature bundles (later deleted) take locative goal complements as the following NPs.

Certain verbs in the language take, in place of noun or pronoun objects, verbal noun complements, which may in turn have objects. The verbs which take such complements would be called in English "auxiliary verbs", as semantically they modify the meaning of the "main" verbal action expressed in the verbal noun. But from the surface structure, it is impossible in Pa'anci to differentiate

them from other "main" verbs, as the aux-verb agreement is with the verb, not the verbal noun. Most of the verbs which take verbal noun complements can also occur without them, or with noun or pronoun objects.

(20) í tukwe ndəro-su godiya she+compl. kept-on (Perf. Asp.) giving(VN)-him
thanks 'she kept giving him thanks'

cf.

(21) í ndəri godiya she+compl. gave+him thanks 'she gave him thanks'

Verbs which can take verbal noun complements include gwam 'lack', tukwe 'keep on' and two verbs which only take verbal noun complements, ri and gaje, whose semantic content is hard to pinpoint. Such verbs are noted as [+VN compl.] in the lexicon. Two verbs take sentential complements only, allowed for by P.S. # 5, (NP ---> S). The first is probably borrowed from Hausa, riga 'already', as in:

(22) atle kuwa, í riga i sine hali ŋgwɨna, sare! she on the other hand, she+compl. already she+subj knew character [of] Spider, completely 'she, on the other hand, she already knew the character of Spider, completely.'

The second is an irregular verb, haraa 'be necessary to, ought to', [H. kamata] as in:

(23) á haraa tlitli one+compl. ought they+subj. go [ICP]
(loosely) 'they ought to go'

Many other verbs which can take nominal objects, can alternately take sentential complements, e.g. sine 'know', hwo 'want', munda 'say'. The AUX-tps of such S

complements will often be in the subjunctive.

In the post-objectival position, P.S. # 3's expansion of VP accounts for a number of specific adverbial phrases, including locative, associative, instrumental, and manner prepositional phrases, and purpose embedded sentences.

In addition to locative goal complements, verbs of motion and unspecified locative verb semantic feature bundles commonly take following locative prepositional phrases. In fact, it may well be that locative goal complements represent underlying objects of deleted locative prepositions. Two examples of sentences with locative prepositional phrases follow:

(24) <u>mbarmbi-ta tlí tlu daga mbura barau-ta</u> people-the
they+compl. took-off from place [of] wedding-the
[In answer to my question 'Where is everybody?' on
arriving three minutes late for informant's wedding]
'the people scattered from the wedding place'

(25) <u>Fooni tli ñari ritl'a Ningu</u>(sic) Pa'awa they+cont.
[loc. verb deleted] in land [of] Ningi. 'the Pa'a
are in the Ningi region'

In order to give an indication of the range of lexical options to fill some of the post-verbal slots, I have compiled the lists which appear on the following pages. The first of these is a list of the most common locative prepositions, with a notation, where appropriate, of their nominal derivation:

(26) (á)ñamaa 'on, on top of' < ñàma 'head'

(á)ñàri 'in, inside' < ñarí 'belly, stomach'

ála(la) 'after, behind, beneath, at back or base'

áñwân 'in front'

(á)vìngi '(at) edge of' < vìngí 'mouth'

tsítsiku(ti) 'in the middle of' < tsitsíkɔ 'middle'

dlɨbíya 'next to' [rare]

At least the first of the following locative ad-
verbs can be used prepositionally:

(27) njàláa 'outside' < njàlaa 'outside, outdoors'

rítl'u 'on the ground' < rìtl'á 'earth, land'

(ko) wajè wácɪ 'at the side, beside' < 'side one'

ƙəman magu 'left' < ƙəman mágù 'hand left'

bìšicəkà 'right' < cf. ƙəman biši 'hand right'

ñwaasu 'up' < ñwásu 'sky'

Two of the most common Pa'anci prepositions are
identical, except for tone, to common Hausa prepositions.
Because of the productive use of the morpheme á as in (26)
above, my suspicion is that it is more likely common Cha-
dic stock, while dagà may be a more recent loan:

(28) á 'at' cf. H. à 'at, in, on'

dagà 'from' ?< H. dàgà 'from'

The origin of the locative adverbs meaning 'near'
and 'far' is unknown, though reduplication suggests it
may be ideophonic:

(29) ng<u>í</u>r-ng<u>í</u>r 'near, close' [can be made prepositional by addition of lexeme <u>yaa</u> 'with' eg. 'close or near to']

    <u>kwun-kwun</u> 'near, close'

    <u>šišu</u> 'far' [can be made prepositional by addition of lexeme <u>daga</u> 'from' or <u>yaa</u> 'with']

Compass points, when used, are borrowed from Hausa: <u>arewa</u> 'north', <u>kudu</u> 'south', <u>gabas</u> 'east', and <u>yamma</u>, 'west', often followed by [the Hausa loan] <u>daga</u> 'from', or <u>i</u>, 'with'. Most commonly, directions are given with respect to fixed places, then made more explicit by use of one or more of the above locatives, or if in respect to the speaker, 'here' <u>áki</u>(<u>ki</u>) [repetition of <u>ki</u> implies 'right here'], 'there' (<u>á</u>)<u>ka</u> [<u>ká</u> implies 'way over there'] or <u>fa</u> 'here/there' [not far].

The prepositions used in associative and instrumental phrases are <u>i</u> and <u>yaa</u> 'with'. The fact that the prepositions are the same for both usages may lead one eventually to collapse the two categories, but as they can co-occur, I have elected to separate them for the present. An illustration of their co-occurence follows:

(30) <u>á geɗuu ĥwaasu yaa tin,yaa ziiki</u>, <u>á ɗikəni</u> 'one+ compl. climbed <u>up with</u>(assoc.) him,with(instrumental) rope, one+compl. tied-him 'one climbed up with him, with a rope one tied him'

The lexemes <u>i</u> and <u>yaa</u> are used for NP conjoining, as will be seen in the explication of P.S. # 5. The lexeme <u>i</u> can also occur with nominals, including verbal

nouns, to form manner adverbials.

The difficulty of categorizing adverbials is made even more apparent with manner words. Some are clearly ideophonic, others are formed with prepositions. Most modify the action of the verb, but some intensify (or soften) the impact of another modifier. The range may be indicated by the following selection from running texts:

(31) bazau [Hausa loan?] ideophone for falling

  ca intensifies meaning of another modifier, as in
    dliɓu-su ca 'all (of) them ca' or ca dluwi-su
    (all) alone-his'

  ciɓu-ciɓu 'little-little, small-small'

  cuwan(-cuwan) 'quietly, carefully'

  dliɓu, dlip 'all' (can also be used as nominal modi-
          fier)

  gaɓu(-gaɓu) 'small-(small)'

  gɨji-gɨji, guju-guju sound of running footsteps

  karapa da gungume (Hausa?) sound of dodo's approach-
               ing footsteps

  ƙutu-ƙutu 'greatly'

  ngam 'tightly closed'

  i šaašaa 'with haste'

  i dladlo 'with running' (other VNs possible as object
             of preposition i)

  vanginga (ca) 'a lot'

  vilung [ideophone, meaning difficult to pin down,
      eg. u dei ɦama-su vilung 'you cut-off head-
      his ...]

<u>zuutu</u> 'completely'

<u>ẑeẑe</u> 'a little, small-small'

Purpose adverbials, as will be seen by the expansion of (pur) in P.S. # 7, usually involve a conjoiner (<u>ñamaa</u>, 'in order to, because') followed by a sentence, though the conjoiner is sometimes deleted.

P.S. # 4: PP Expansion
[PP ---> prep NP]

Prepositional phrases in Pa'anci are formed by a preposition followed by a noun phrase. As can be seen by the list of locative preposition on page 56, many Pa'anci prepositions are of nominal origin, or have been borrowed from Hausa. Other than the locative and associative prepositions previously mentioned, only one additional prepositional use should be mentioned here.

The verbal noun of the verb 'to lack' can be used to form dissociative constructions, as in:

(32) <u>gara ma ẑiki gwamo meka</u> it-is-better [Hausa loan]
I+subj. live(Perf. Asp.) lacking(VN) woman 'it is better that I live without a wife'

P.S. # 5:   NP {Con / Dis}joining

$$NP \longrightarrow [\{\tfrac{i/\underline{yaa}}{\underline{ko}}\}\ NP]^n$$

Noun Phrases will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 5, but the expansion of NP in P.S. # 5 and 6 gives the most basic options. I will deal with each of the options in turn.

Conjoined NPs are accounted for by NP --->
$[\{\tfrac{i}{\underline{yaa}}\}\ NP]^n$, $n \geq 2$. Formally identical with the associative and instrumental prepositions (see page 57), i and yaa are comitative conjoiners, with semantic implications of simultaneity. It is therefore not the case that conjoined NPs result from sentence conjunction reduction, as is argued for English and other languages. Subject verb agreement with conjoined subjects is often clarified by an independent subject pronoun, as in:

(33) yaə zaki, yaə wuraciki, yaə ñañanciki, yaə bitangwil,

atlin faɗu tlí hwa mbura tli Ɣiki mbura waci   with
Lion, with Leopard, with Puff Adder, with Hyena,
they four they+compl. looked-for place they+subj.
live place one 'Lion, Leopard, Puff Adder and Hyena,
the four of them looked for a place they could live
together'

It is admittedly more difficult to argue that nominal disjunction is not a result of sentence disjunction reduction, as the sentential and nominal disjoiners are identical in form (the probable Hausa loan ko), and the semantic restraints are not as constricting for dis-

junction as for conjunction.

P.S. # 5: NP Expansion

$$[NP \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} N_{[png]}(Det^*) \\ S \\ NP\ S^* \end{Bmatrix}]$$

The first optional re-write of NP accounts for a noun (or pronoun or verbal noun, all subsumed under N) with person, number and gender features specified, with or without one or more determiners. Det is used here as a cover term for a limited range of nominal modifiers -- nominal markers, indefinites, deictics, demonstrative pronouns, and quantifiers. As will be seen by subsequent chapters, attributive adjectives (and nominal) will be derived from relative clause reduction, and so are not included at this stage.

It is imperative that person, number and gender features be specified for nouns as part of the deep structure, as these features will govern later agreement rules, eg. subject-AUX tp, noun-adjective, etc.

Not all determiners are post-nominal, so the placing of (Det*) in the rule is somewhat arbitrary. Two determiners, in particular, are always pre-nominal: the PRAM [Previous Reference Animate Marker] a (plural ȟya), and the indefinites waci (m.) and wace (f.), 'a, a certain', and wuŠi (indef. interrogative). PRAM is in complementary distribution with all other modifiers,

perhaps because semantically no other modifier is needed if speaker and listener are both aware to whom reference is made. PRAM can modify animate and in fact humanoid (eg. animal characters in stories) subjects, which may be nouns, independent pronouns, titles or proper names, providing previous reference has been made to the subject.

The demonstratives amati (f.), abiti (m.) 'this' [< ama 'mother', aba 'father'] and amata (f.), abita (m.) 'that' can also precede the noun, follow it, or even appear independently ('this/that (other) one'), plural ñanti/ñanta, 'these, those'.

However, perhaps the most common deictics are post nominal: -ti and/or kiki 'this' [cf. aki, ki 'here'], and -ta and/or kaki/a 'that' [cf. ka 'there'], káaki for 'that one way over there'). For emphasis, however, even kiki may appear pre-nominally, in addition to a post nominal -ti kiki.

Numerals tend to follow the nouns they quantify, but can precede. Unlike the indefinites and demonstratives, numerals are not inflected for gender, or number. Numerals include:

(34) 1 waci

2 cir(u)

3 kədu

4 <u>faɗu</u>

5 <u>vaatl'u</u>

6 <u>maha</u>

7 <u>tsirƙwun</u>, <u>cirƙwun</u> (idiolectical variants)

8 <u>fafaɗiki</u>

9 <u>ƙemanəmma</u>

10 <u>daaɓu</u>

11 <u>da'mbo waci</u>

12 etc. " <u>ciru</u> etc.

20 <u>daaɓu ciru</u>

21 <u>daaɓu ciru mbo waci</u> etc.

30 <u>daaɓu kədu</u> etc.

100 <u>daaɓu har daaɓu</u>

200 <u>daaɓu har daaɓu ciru</u> etc.

Det would also include such words as <u>dliɓu</u> 'all', <u>ɓaku</u> 'many', and other similar quantifiers.

In short, an expansion of determiner would result in the following options:

$$\text{NP} \longrightarrow \left(\left\{\begin{matrix}\alpha\text{PRAM}\\ \alpha\text{indef.}\end{matrix}\right\}\right)(-\alpha\text{demon}\left\{\begin{matrix}[a\text{-}t\text{-}]\\ [\text{kiki}]\\ [\text{kikiki}]\end{matrix}\right\}\text{N}_{[\text{png}]}(-\alpha\text{demon})(-\alpha\text{quant})$$

More on nominal modifiers, including attributive adjectives, statives, possessives, etc. will appear in Chapter 5.

(35) <u>amata harcəka kaka ayu ya</u>   that cow that yours it-is
                                              'that cow over there is
                                              yours'

Semantically, at the discourse level, the indefinites and the demonstrative pronouns (<u>abiti</u> etc.) will have different connotations depending on whether they are initial or follow another: The initial indefinite, 'a', subsequent indefinites, 'another'; the initial demonstrative 'this', subsequent demonstratives 'this other'. As example 37 below will show, a reference to the subject of a previous demonstrative would require a qualifying phrase, or switch from 'this' to 'that'.

(36) <u>waci vasuwa ná dava, na kəsa, na ríma</u> a wildcat he+
 ——— compl. came, he+subj. cut, he+subj. ate

 <u>waci vasuwa-ta na dava, na kəsa, na ríma</u> another
 ——— wildcat etc.

 <u>waci vasuwa-ta na davi ka, sei na kəsi, dliɓu-su ca!</u>
 ——— another wildcat-ref. he+rel.compl. came(Aorist)
 rel, then he+subj. cut-up+him, all(of)him ca!

 'One wildcat came, tore into him, and ate. Another
 wildcat came, tore into him, and ate. Still an-
 other wildcat came and then tore him all up — com-
 pletely!'

(37) [beginning of a story after two co-wives have been
 mentioned. Both have just given birth...]

 <u>amati kiki í vərda dla njuu</u> this-one this she+compl.
 ———————————— delivered son.male

 <u>amati kiki í vərda meka</u> this-other this she+compl.
 ———————————— delivered female

 <u>ama vura meka-ti kiki, sei í miya</u> mother(of)child
 ——————————————————— female-this, then she+compl.
 died

 <u>amata kiki, ama dla nju-ti</u> that-one-this, mother(of)
 ———————————— son male-this
 'this one delivered a son; the other one delivered
 a daughter. The mother of the daughter died, the
 other mother, the mother of the boy....'

Because the indefinite <u>waci</u> and the quantifier
<u>waci</u> are homophonous and share certain semantic charac-
teristics, it may be worth clarifying the distinctions
between them. As modifiers of a noun, the surface order-
ing of the NP should make clear which is which: The in-
definite precedes the noun, the quantifier follows it.
The difficulty comes when the quantifier becomes the
head noun, as in:

(38) <u>a waci ya caaka i njuu ho-su</u> PRAM one she-is with
                                                       male love(VN)-her 'the
                                                       one is with her lover'

In this case, both the presence of the PRAM (which can
not co-occur with an indefinite), and the gender agree-
ment with the pred equalizer/stabilizer <u>ya</u> give this
away as 'one' rather than the indefinite. [It would be
<u>wace</u> if indefinite.] The following two, using the in-
definite (with head noun deleted in 40) were also accep-
table to my informant:

(39) <u>wace meka ya caaka i njuu ho-su</u> 'a certain woman is
                                                    with her lover'

(40) <u>wace ya caaka i njuu ho-su</u> 'a certain(female) is with
                                                   her lover'

Ambiguity will arise with the masculine indefinite, how-
ever, as the <u>waci</u> of (41) can mean either 'a certain'
(head noun deleted) or 'one':

(41) <u>waci na caaka i meka ho-su</u>'........ and his lover'
Here gender agreement (quantifiers do not inflect for
gender) does not help to disambiguate them.

NP ---> S

The NP ---> S option accounts for surface struc-
tures such as examples 14 and 22, wherein a sentence is
object of a verb. Sentence may also be subject, though
most often in such cases, the verb would be realized
(through complementizer placement and extra-position) as
a front-shifted Verbal Noun phrase. Within sentential
complements, the verb is often the Perfective, the AUX-tp
subjunctive.

Verbs which most commonly take sentential comple-
ments include aju 'leave, let(in imperative)', cina 'send',
dadil, til 'remember', gale 'tell', hwo 'want', kwal 'pre-
vent', loo 'request', munda, mune 'say, tell', mbambər
'forget', nau 'try', nduku 'hear', rii 'refuse', sine
'know', takuu 'ask', and the two previously mentioned,
haraa 'ought to' and the probable Hausa loan riga, 'al-
ready', both of which only take sentential complements.

(42) mʉnà hwo tli tl'ar diiki I+cont. want(VN) they+subj.
     ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾ split wood 'I want them
                               to split firewood'

(43) í kwal mi zaa kan she+compl. prevented(Perf.Asp.) we+
     ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾ subj. enter room 'she prevented
                        us from entering the room'

(44) abiti kuwa, tʉnà hwo a ɦani wa ya ata cir wa this-
                       ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾
     one on-the-other-hand, he+cont. wants(VN) one+subj.
     see+him neg with eye two neg 'this one, on the other
     hand, didn't want anyone to see him with their two
     eyes'

NP ---> NP S*

NP S*, the final optional re-write of NP, is the underlying structure of relative clauses in Pa'anci. The AUX-tps of unreduced verbal sentences of this derivation will have the feature [+rel] added later (as a result of the Relative Tense Assignment Rule.) Relative clauses are also marked by a phrase final ka, and usually by a Relativized Category (RC, comparable to a WH-word in English) word, or by a suffixed -ta on the head NP. Attributive adjectival and associative (including possessive) constructions in Pa'anci are accounted for by rules which reduced NP S* underlying structures.

(45) <u>dla-ta mi hanii ka, ná miya</u> boy-the (who) we+rel.
we+rel.compl. saw(Aorist)
rel, he+compl. died(Perf.
Asp.) 'the boy who we
saw, died' [NP subject]

(46) <u>sei a tane-tli cama, mbura-ta aka ta saro-sin ka</u>
then one+subj. takes-them grove, place-the one+rel.
fut. circumcize(VN)-them rel 'then one takes them
to the sacred grove, where one will circumcize them'
[NP locative goal complement]

(47) <u>ñamaa mbuku, ú ñan dlibu-sin tli miya akan avita</u>
<u>tli gwamii hwo ka</u> because(of)thus, you+compl. see
all(of)them they+subj. died on(H. loan) thing-that
they+rel.compl. lacked(Aorist) wanting(VN) rel
'because of this, you see all of them died because
of what they didn't want' [NP object of prep]

(48) <u>ná ñan waci mbarim abita na ta kasuwa ka</u> I+compl.
saw(Perf.Asp.) a man who he+rel.compl. went market
rel 'I saw a man who went to the market' [NP object,
RC has indefinite antecedent]

P.S. # 7: Purpose Clauses
[pur ---> ñamaa S]

Phrase Structure rule # 7 is a somewhat ad hoc solution to account for purpose clauses, which are formed with the lexeme ñamaa [lit. head], here used as a conjunction meaning, roughly, 'in order to'. The AUX-tp of the embedded sentence, which is adverbial, takes the subjunctive:

(49) ná ta hara ñamaa na huta he+compl. went home in-order-to he+subj. rest 'he went home to rest'

(50) í da pana, ñamaa i ɗu kan she+compl. struck fire, in-order-to she+subj. cook sauce 'she lit the fire in order to cook the stew'

The conjunction can be deleted in either of the above sentences, or in the following, where the deletion was the preferred alternative:

(51) tlí tli kasuwa tli kwan tlu they+compl. went market they+subj. buy meat 'they went to the market to buy meat'

(52) [acceptable, but 51 preferred] tlí tli kasuwa, ñamaa tli kwan tlu 'they went to the market in order to buy meat'

P.S. # 8: aux Expansion

aux ---> AUX-tp$_{[\underline{+}\text{ continuous}]}$

AUX-tp$_{[+\text{ continuous}]}$ --->AUX-tp$_{[\underline{+}\text{ future}]}$

AUX-tp$_{[-\text{ continuous}]}$ --->AUX-tp$_{[\underline{+}\text{ completed}]}$

AUX-tp$_{\left[\begin{smallmatrix}-\text{ continuous}\\-\text{ completed}\end{smallmatrix}\right]}$ ---> AUX-tp$_{[\text{subjunctive}]}$

Note: While spelled out in the rule and the explanation which follows, continuous will often hereafter be abbreviated cont., future fut., completed compl., and subjunctive subj.

While later agreement rules will account for the person, number and gender features of aux, tense, or at least one of the four basic (non-relative) tenses, must be specified in the deep structure. Phrase Structure rule # 8 assigns tense to the aux by means of a series of binary cuts.

The cut between + and - continuous is felt to be fundamental, as a later aux-verb agreement rule will select the form of the verb (Imperfective, verbal noun in the case of the continuous) on the basis of this division. Electing [+ continuous] gives one the choice of + or - future: $\left[\begin{smallmatrix}+\text{ continuous}\\-\text{ future}\end{smallmatrix}\right]$ accounts for the continuous tense, while $\left[\begin{smallmatrix}+\text{ continuous}\\+\text{ future}\end{smallmatrix}\right]$ accounts for the future tense. In either case, the feature [+rel] may be added by the Relative Tense Assignment Rule.

However, if the feature [+rel] is added to a [- continuous] aux by the Relative Tense Assignment Rule,

this will trigger selection of the Aorist form of the
verb (specified by a later aux-verb agreement rule), and
the appropriate AUX-tps, to form the relative completed
tense.

If an aux were re-written [-continuous], a
further choice would be necessitated between + or - com-
pleted. The former would account for the completed tense
in Pa'anci, while the latter would be defined, in an ad
hoc way, as [subjunctive].

CHAPTER 4:   SENTENCE LEVEL TRANSFORMATIONS

This chapter of transformational rules will
deal primarily with sentence level and verb phrase-relat-
ed transformations. These include dative, complementizer
placement and pre-position, reflexives, questions, empha-
sis, subject-aux agreement, gapping, imperatives, loca-
tive and associative sentences. A second chapter of
transformations will deal explicitly with the noun phrase
and include relative clauses and their reduction to ac-
count for attributive adjectival constructions, two types
of associative NP constructions, and word level focus.

Subsequent chapters will deal with verbal mor-
phology, including causatives, plural (reduplicated, "in-
tensive") verbs, statives, aux-verb segmentalization
rules, and negative placement; and with noun morphology,
including gender and plural formation, and two morpho-
phonemic phenomena.

Dative

As should be apparent from the Phrase Structure
rules, Pa'anci is an SVO language. In sentences with
multiple place predicates, there is a fairly rigid order-
ing of complements, such that, as stated previously, the
direct object is always last, the indirect object first.
Such a sentence, with a multiple-place complement, will
meet the structural description of the Dative transforma-

tional rule, if the AUX-tp is [-cont] and the Indirect
Object is not a pronoun:

<div align="center">T. # 1: Dative</div>

$$X - \underset{1}{\underset{[-cont]}{AUX\text{-}tp}} - \underset{3}{V} - \underset{4}{\underset{[-pn]}{NP}} - \underset{5}{\underset{[-pn]}{NP}} - \underset{6}{Y} \xrightarrow{\underline{oblig}} 1\ 2\ 3\text{+-}\underline{e}\ 4\ 5\ 6$$

This rule states that the benefactive marker -$\underline{e}$
is obligatorily right-sister adjoined to the verbal stem[1]
which follows a non-continuous AUX-tp, before a noun in-
direct object.

If the indirect object is a pronoun, the rule
does not apply, for the set of indirect object pronouns
is suffixed directly to the verbal stem which follows a
non-continuous AUX-tp. Neither will the rule apply in
the case of a continuous AUX-tp, because a later aux-verb
agreement rule will suffix the verbal noun ending -$\underline{o}$ to
the verbal stem, followed by the possessive pronoun set
in the case of a pronoun indirect object, or the unmarked
noun, in the case of a noun indirect object.

The benefactive marker is not moved when the
indirect object is front-shifted either for relative
clause formation, or for focus constructions, but rather
remains suffixed to the verbal stem. Therefore, the
Dative rule must precede rules which account for such

[1]Stem = verb minus the aspectual suffix.

movement. Sometimes, an indirect object pronoun agreeing in person, number and gender with the front-shifted NP may be substituted for the benefactive marker as the suffix to a non-continuous verb.

To clarify the examples given below, the pronominal indirect object paradigms, which can also be found in the second ("look-up") lexicon, are given here:

Indirect Object Pronouns

		Suffixed to Verb Stem [-cont.] AUX-tp		Suffixed to Imperfective [+cont. AUX-tp	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st		-aa	-in	-na	-nɨn
2nd	m.	-uu		-nu	
			-inani		-nɨye
	f.	-in		-nɨn	
3rd	m.	-i		-su	
			-etli		-sɨn
	f.	-etla		-su	

Examples follow, of indirect objects with Perfective and Imperfective verbal aspects, then of front-shifted (for emphasis/focus) indirect objects. It should be noted that all examples of front-shifted indirect objects were elicited; I found none in the running texts. Even if these examples are felt to be "artificial" or "unnatural", this would not affect the validity of the rule, only the ordering with respect to front-shifting, etc.

(1) má kəre Binta tin   I+compl. stole+benefactive Binta it
'I stole it for Binta'

(2) mənà kəro-su va ĥmo   I+cont. steal(VN)-her thing(of)
eating(VN) 'I am stealing food
for her' [no benefactive because
verb in Imperfective Aspect, and
indirect object a pronoun].

(3) Binta ya ma kəreyii va ĥmo ka   Binta (front-shifted in-
direct object) it-was(emph) I+rel.
compl. stole+benefactive+Aorist
thing(of)eating rel 'It was for
Binta that I stole food'

Or, with a pronominal indirect object substitu-

ting for the front-shifted dative:

(4) Binta ya ma kərii-tla va ĥmo ka   Binta(focused IO) it-
was(emph) I+rel.compl. stole+Ao-
rist(for)-her(IO pn) thing(of)
eating rel 'Binta it was I stole
food for her'

Complementizer Placement

The output of Phrase Structure rules #2, 3, 6,

and 8 can be a sentence in which the verb takes a sen-

tential complement, with the AUX-tp of the complement in

the subjunctive. Such a sentence would meet the structur-

al description of T. # 2, Complementizer Placement, if

the subject of the sentential complement were a pronoun,

and no object followed the verb of the sentence comple-

ment:

T. # 2: Complementizer Placement

X - V - $_S$[NP - AUX-tp - V]$_S$ - Y
        $\begin{bmatrix}\alpha png \\ +pn\end{bmatrix}$ [subj] $\underset{=\!=\!=\!=\!=\!>}{opt}$

1   2   3   4   5   6

1 2   5   +   3   Ø   Ø   6
    $[^{+-o}_{+V\bar N}]$ $\begin{bmatrix}+pn \\ +poss \\ \alpha png\end{bmatrix}$

Condition: Does not apply to relative clauses.

In this rule, the verb of a sentence complement is transformed into a verbal noun, and a possessive pronoun agreeing in person, number and gender with the subject of the embedded sentence is suffixed to it. By this rule, example (5) would become example (6):

(5) *<u>atin tɨnà hwo ami mi Ŷiki</u>   he he+cont. want(VN) we
                                        we+subj sit(Perf. Asp.)
                                        'he wants us to sit'

[If T. # 2, an optional rule, does not apply, unemphatic pronoun subject deletion would eliminate <u>atin</u> and <u>ami</u> (independent subject pronouns) from the above sentence, yielding the plausible, therefore unstarred string <u>tinà hwo mi Ŷiki</u>.] Application of T # 2 to example (5) as it stands, would yield:

(6) *<u>atin tinà hwo sikwo-nin</u> he he+cont. want(VN) sitting
                                    (VN)-our 'he wants our sit-
                                    ting'

Most commonly, the output of T. # 2 would be transformed further by application of another optional rule:

T. # 3:   Complement Pre-position

X - AUX-tp - V - $_S$[V + NP]$_S$ - Y
$$[\begin{smallmatrix}+-o\\+V\overline{N}\end{smallmatrix}]\quad\begin{bmatrix}+pn\\+poss\\+png\end{bmatrix}$$

1   2   3   4   5   6

$\underset{===}{\text{opt}}$=>

4   5+<u>na</u> 1   2   3 6
         [+rel]

   Transformational rule # 3 pre-poses the verbal
noun, with suffixed possessive pronoun, to sentence
initial position, adds the masculine emphatic particle
<u>na</u> to the pre-posed complement, and adds the feature
[+rel] to the features of the AUX-tp of the main verb.
The procedure described by this rule is identical to
that employed in front-shifting focused NPs, so it might
be possible to collapse the two rules. The difficulty
with such a combination would be in determining the point
at which [+emph] and [+focus] would be assigned to the
complement [Part of the deep structure, or following
application of T. # 2?]. Therefore I have chosen to
maintain separate rules, optional for complement pre-
position, obligatory for NPs marked [+emph] and [+focus]
in the deep structure.

   Following application of lexical insertion,
unemphatic subject pronoun deletion, and segmentaliza-
tion rules, the output of T. # 3's application to exam-
ple (6) would be:

(7) Y̌ikwo-nin na na ka hwo ka   sitting(VN)-our emph he+
rel.cont. want(VN) rel
'our sitting he is wanting'

(8) n̂wocu-nu na i ka kwalo ka   going(suppletive VN of 'to
go')-your emph. she+rel.
cont. prevent(VN) rel
'our going she is pre-
venting'

Because of the irregular nature of the verb 'to
go', the antecedent structure from which (8) is derived
might be less readily identifiable:

(9) i kwalo u tu she+cont. prevent(VN) you+subj. go(Perf.
Asp.) 'she is preventing you (from) go-
ing'

And after complementizer placement:

(10) i kwalo n̂wocu-nu she+cont. prevent(VN) going-your
'she is preventing your going'

Reflexives and Reciprocals

Moving to more explicitly sentence level phe-
nomenona, two reflexive constructions and one reciprocal,
must be accounted for in Pa'anci. The most basic, the
reflexive involving animate subjects, is captured by
T. # 4, as follows:

T. # 4: Reflexive I (Animates)

$$X - NP - Y - NP - Z$$
$$\quad\quad \begin{bmatrix} \alpha png \\ +anim \end{bmatrix} \quad\quad \begin{bmatrix} \alpha png \\ +anim \end{bmatrix} \quad \underset{=====}{\underline{oblig}} \Rightarrow 1 - 2 - 3 - \underline{n̂ama} + 4 \quad 5$$
$$1 \quad\quad 2 \quad\quad 3 \quad\quad 4 \quad\quad 5 \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad \begin{bmatrix} +pn \\ +poss \\ png \end{bmatrix}$$

Conditions: 2 = 4 and are in the same simplex verbal
                sentence.

This basic reflexive rule, for animate subjects, states that when two co-referential NPs are in the same simplex sentence, the second is replaced by a noun phrase composed of the lexeme 'head'[2] with a suffixed possessive pronoun which agrees in person, number and gender with the NP it replaces. While the first NP must be the subject of the sentence, the second may be object, or object of a prepositional phrase. By this rule, the deep structure *a Musa ná da Musa [PRAM Musa he+compl. hit(Perf. Asp.) Musa] would become:

(11) a Musa ná da ĥama-su   PRAM Musa he+compl. hit head-
                              his 'Musa killed himself' (lit.
                              'hit himself')

Example (12) illustrates the reflexive as object of a preposition:

(12) Binta í ndərii ĥama-su   Binta she+compl. did+it(D.O.)
                               +with head-her 'Binta did it
                               by herself' [the long ii suf-
                               fixed to the Perfective ndər
                               is a combination of 'it+with'

From:

*Binta í ndəri i Binta   Binta she+compl. did-it with Binta

Inanimate subjects, endowed (in fictional narratives etc.) with powers of action, form reflexives

---

[2]Use of 'head' to form reflexives is a pattern common to many other Chadic languages, including Hausa and Kanakuru, and even to Afro-Asiatic languages, e.g. Berber.

without the lexeme 'head':[3]

T. # 5: Reflexive II (Inanimate)

$$X - \underset{\underset{1}{\begin{bmatrix}\alpha png \\ -anim\end{bmatrix}}}{NP} - \underset{2}{Y} - \underset{3}{V} - \underset{\underset{4}{\begin{bmatrix}\curlyvee png \\ -anim \\ +DO\end{bmatrix}}}{NP} - \underset{5}{Z} \quad \underset{6}{} =====> 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ \underset{[-\underline{\acute{a}\acute{a}}]}{4,+} \ \underset{\begin{bmatrix}+pn \\ +poss \\ \alpha png\end{bmatrix}}{5} \ 6$$

Conditions: 2 = 5 and are in the same simplex sentence.

This second reflexive rule (T. # 5), states that when two co-referential inanimate noun phrases are in the same simplex sentence, a long, high áá suffix is added to the verbal stem, with a suffixed possessive pronoun which agrees in person, number and gender with the NP it replaces. Practically, all my textual examples of inanimate subjects involved the third person, and I failed to elicit any in other persons (eg. a personified object in stories), but it is possible that further restrictions might be necessary on the person of the NP.

(13) <u>vingi-gaduwa</u> í <u>jabáá-su</u> mouth(of)doorway she+compl. shut+aá-her 'door shut it-self'

From:

*<u>vingi-gaduwa</u> í jabu <u>vingi-gaduwa</u> mouth(of)doorway she+ compl. shut(Perf.Asp.) mouth(of)doorway

[3]Formal (though not strictly semantic) identity with what I have later described as "passive potential" structures in Pa'anci raises some doubt as to the validity of the separate treatment of inanimate reflexives and passive potentials. While there is some semantic overlap, I have elected to suggest both possible analyses at this stage.

It would probably be possible to collapse the two reflexive rules into one, by means of further use of the alpha convention, but until all constraints on the inanimate reflexives are known, the two will remain separate.

Reciprocals

Though semantically antithetical, reciprocal constructions, involving plural subjects, are formally very similar to reflexives in Pa'anci. In place of the lexeme 'head', the lexeme kwur, 'body', with suffixed possessive pronoun agreeing in person, number, and gender with the subject, is used to denote 'each other'. As kwur is masculine, the suffixed possessive pronoun set is slightly different from that used with ḫama, which is feminine, though the difference is neutralized in the third person. The possessive pronoun sets, which can also be found in the second, look-up lexicon, follow:

Suffixed Possessive Pronouns

	Suffixed to [-masc] (eg. ḫama)		Suffixed to [+masc] (eg. kwur, or VN)	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	-ya(yi)	-yɨn,-yimi	-na(ni)	-nɨn,nɨmi
2nd m.	-yu	-yiye	-nu	-niani
2nd f.	-yɨn		-nɨn	
3rd m.	-su	-sɨn	-su	-sɨn
3rd f.	-su		-su	

A fairly typical reciprocal construction follows:

(14) <u>tlí mbure kwur-sin</u>   they+compl. help(Perf.Asp.) body-their 'they helped each other'

I have not formulated a rule accounting for reciprocals, because I believe the semantic constraints involved are beyond the limited scope of the present work. One solution would be to derive reciprocals from sentence conjunction reduction (as is argued by some for English, eg. 'John and Mary helped each other' from 'John helped Mary and Mary helped John') But the nature of Pa'anci sentence conjunction, and the formal parallelism with the reflexives, would, I think, argue for a more direct derivation.

Emphasis and Question Formation

Many aspects of emphasis and question formation are parallel, and the two are interdependent to a certain extent, so this section will combine a discussion of the two.

Both (Q) and (emp), and, for that matter, (focus) are deep structure options of Pa'anci sentences. A whole sentence may be emphasized (by a sentence final <u>na</u>), most often the response to a question, and/or an element of the sentence, usually an NP or an ad-

verb,[4] may be marked, at the deep structure level,

[+emph]. Similarly, while the whole sentence may be

made a question (involving tag formation or Q intonation),

the most common type of question involves deep structure

level assignment of [+Q] to the features of one or more

of the elements (NP or adv) of the sentence. Formally,

too, there are parallels, in that all question word sen-

tences involve a na element which usually occurs sentence

finally, as part of the Q-word itself (in the case of

[-focus] objectival or adverbial Q-words) and or as a

separate morpheme (in the case of subject and/or [+focus]

Q-words). For obviously feminine [+emph] and [+Q] words,

(eg. 'who gave birth'), the feminine ya may be used in

place of na. The emphatic and question-forming na and ya

are formally identical to the predicating equalizer-

stabilizers, but for the purposes of this analysis, their

functions have been differentiated.

The following two rules, which account for word

and sentence level emphasis respectively, could doubtless

be collapsed, but have been differentiated here for

clarity:

[4]See discussion of complement pre-position for an
illustration of verbal element emphasis.

T. # 6: Word Level Emphasis

$$\text{emp} - \;_S[\; X \; - \; \underset{[+\text{emph}]}{Y} \; - \; Z \;]_S \; \underline{\underline{\text{oblig}}} > \; \emptyset \; 2 \; 3 + \begin{Bmatrix} \underline{na} \\ \underline{ya} \end{Bmatrix} \; 4$$

1 2 3 4

Condition: elimination of 1 blocked if S = [+emph]

Transformational rule # 6 places the emphatic particle na (m.) or ya (f.) post-positional to any sentential element marked [+emph] in the deep structure. Emp is only eliminated if S = [-emph]. Sentences in which emp is not eliminated, or those which do not contain a [+emph] word as a result of deep structure assignment, fit the structural description of the following rule:

T. # 7: Sentence Level Emphasis

$$\text{emp} - \;_S[\; X \; - \; Y \; - \; Z \;]_S \; \underline{\underline{\text{oblig}}} => \; \emptyset \; 2 \; 3 \; 4 + \underline{na}$$

1 2 3 4

Condition: na is not post-posed if 4 = na.

Transformational rule # 7 eliminates the emp node by placing the emphatic particle na in sentence final position. An ad hoc co-occurence restriction would not add na if na were already sentence final, for example because of previous addition of na to a [+emph] object or adverb.

It should be noted that probably most [+emph] words are also [+focus], and as such, will be pre-posed, with the word level emphasizing particle, by a later

movement rule to sentence initial position, and the feature [+rel] will be added to the features of the AUX-tp of a verbal sentence.

The following sentences illustrate word and sentence level emphasis, with and without the subsequent application of focus rules:

(15) ná dava mbun na   he+compl. came yesterday emph. 'he came <u>yesterday</u>' ($\begin{bmatrix} +\text{emph} \\ -\text{focus} \end{bmatrix}$ adv)

(16) <u>mbun na na davii ka</u> yesterday emph he+rel.compl. came+Aorist rel 'it was yesterday that he came' ($\begin{bmatrix} +\text{emph} \\ +\text{focus} \end{bmatrix}$ adv preposed).

(17) <u>ná munde na dava wa na</u> he+compl. said he+subj. come neg emph. [probably in answer to a question] 'he said he hadn't come' Note that the sentence level emphasizer na is in sentence final position, a position normally (in un-emphatic sentences) occupied by the negative marker wa.

Note that even after the application of T. # 6, the feature [+emph] is retained as a feature of the word in question. This is particularly important with respect to subject NPs which are [+pn], for the [+emph] feature will block deletion of the pronoun after subject-AUX-tp agreement has applied.

Paul Newman has argued for Kanakuru that all question words are inherently [+emph]. The surface realization of emphasis in Kanakuru is closer to what I re-

gard as focus in Pa'anci, that is, movement of focused element (post-posed, rather than pre-posed as in Pa'anci) and addition of an extra feature to the aux of the verb. And question words are not automatically focused in Pa-'anci. Nevertheless, an analysis which makes all Q-words inherently [+emph] is a tempting one, as it might account for the na (or ya) element which appears in all question word sentences. But since the na element does not always immediately follow the question word, as, by my previous rule, it should for [+emph] words, I have elected to re-gard the two phenomena as separate but parallel. It may be that sentences involving Q-words are, as sentences, [+emph].

In general, normal sentence order is maintained for questions involving Q-words, except that na is always sentence final -- either as part of an objectival or ad-verbial Q-word in normal order, or by itself, when the Q-word is either subject of the sentence, or a pre-posed, focused objectival or adverbial Q-word. The following rule, which assumes the deep structure assignment of the features [+ emph], [+ Q], and [+ focus] to sentential elements, accounts for the elimination of the Q-node, which would otherwise trigger tag formation, yes/no question formation, and/or Q intonation, and the post-position of na.

T. # 8:   Q-Word Question Formation

$$Q - {}_S[NP - X - (\{\begin{smallmatrix} NP \\ adv \end{smallmatrix}\}) - (\{\begin{smallmatrix} NP \\ adv \end{smallmatrix}\})]_S$$

$$=======>\emptyset\ 2\ 3\ 4\ 5\ +\ \underline{na}$$

1	2	3	4	5

Conditions: 2, 4, or 5 or any 2 have [+Q] feature
             <u>na</u> is not post-posed if 5 =   -focus
                                                  +emph
                                                  +Q

Pa'anci's question words, which appear in the deep structure lexicon marked with the feature [+Q], are listed here for convenience in interpreting the examples which follow. The parenthetical <u>na</u>/<u>ya</u> are optional variants, obligatory if the [+Q] word is also [+emph].

Question Words

<u>asa</u>(<u>na</u>) m., <u>ase</u>(<u>ya</u>) f. 'who' [idiolectal variant: <u>asane</u>
                                               m. <u>aseye</u> f.] <u>yaa asa</u>(<u>na</u>)
                                               'who all' [lit.'with who']

<u>kaacɨna</u> 'when' [idiolectal variant <u>kaacɨne</u>]

<u>kəsaanaa</u>, <u>kəsa-kəsa</u>(<u>na</u>) no exact English equivalent, but
                                depending on context can mean
                                'why', 'what', or 'how'

<u>mana</u>(<u>na</u>) 'how much, many'

<u>miŝii</u>(<u>na</u>) 'what' [idiolectal variant <u>miŝiine</u>] <u>ñamaa</u>
                      <u>miŝiina</u> [because(of) what] 'why'

<u>munaa</u> 'what'

<u>soona</u> 'where' [idiolectal variant <u>soone</u>]

<u>wuŝi</u>(<u>na</u>) 'which (of several)'

The following examples of Q-word questions are grouped according to the function of the Q-word in the sentence:

[Q-word as subject, or part thereof]

(18) <u>asa ná miya</u> na? who(Q-word) he+compl. died Q-marker —— —— 'who died?'

(19) <u>yæ asa tli tli mburo-nin</u> na? with who(Q-word) they+ —— fut. help(VN)-us Q-marker 'who all will help us?'

(20) <u>misii na ki</u> na? what(Q-word) pred this Q-marker —— —— 'what is this?' [non-verbal S]

(21) <u>munæ ná ƙiiyaa</u> na? what(Q-word) he+compl. bit+me Q- —— —— marker 'what bit me?'

(22) <u>mana</u> na? how-much(Q-word) pred 'how much is it?'

(23) <u>wuŠi iri vingi na kiki</u> na? which(Q-word) kind(of) —— —— language this Q-marker 'what kind of language is this?'

[Q-word as predicate nominative in non-verbal S]

(24) <u>aɦn aseya</u>? you(f.s.) who(f.) 'you are who?' (ad- —— dressing a female)

[Q-word as object or part thereof]

(25) <u>ná ɦan asa na</u> he+compl. saw who(Q-word) Q-marker —— 'he saw whom?' or 'whom did he see?'

(26) <u>tín mundo miŠiine</u> I+fut say(VN) what(Q-word) 'I —— will say what?' or 'what will I say?'

(27) <u>tá ngo asa-na muna</u> he+fut. give(VN) who(Q-word)-emph —— what(Q-word) 'he will give what to whom?' [+emph indirect object]

(28) <u>u tu dapaa, u ndər miŠii na</u> you+subj went bush, you+ —— subj. did what(Q-word) Q-marker '(when)you went to bush, what did you do?'

(29) wuši vani na tli mumii ka na? which(Q-word) things
    ——— — emph they+rel.compl.
    lost(Aorist) rel Q-
    marker 'which things
    did they lose?' [Q-
    word in object pre-
    posed by focusing]

[Q-word as object of preposition]

(30) u tú zeyo-su añari munaa? you+future will(lit.go)
    ——— put(VN)-it inside what
    (Q-word) 'you will put
    it inside what?'

Compare the focused transform of (30):

(31) añari munaa, u ka tú zeyo-su ka na? inside what, you
    ——— — +rel.fut. put(VN)
    it rel Q-marker 'in what will you put it?'

(32) Binta ii mišiina? Binta she+with what? 'what does
    ——— Binta have?' [Associative con-
    struction formed with deleted
    locative verbal feature bundle]

[Q-word as adverb]

(33) ú ndukwi cin-ta kəsaanaa? you+compl. feel work-the
    ——— how(Q-word) 'how's the
    work treating you?'

(34) mɨna cin soona we+cont. go where(Q-word) 'where are
    ——— we going?'

(35) ú dava kaacɨna? you+compl. came when? 'when did you
    ——— come?'

(36) kaacɨna u ka tu dangu ka na when(focused Q-word) will
    ——— — you rel.fut. go somewhere
    'when will you go where?' [Note that in this ques-
    tion, elicited with 2 Q-words, the indefinite dangu
    (? Hausa loan) has been substituted for the Q-word
    soona in this sentence where two adverbials are
    questioned, one focused]

In addition to question word sentences, there are several other means of forming questions in Pa'anci. All involve question intonation, and two optional types (tag and yes/no questions) involve the use of the negative, wa.

Unless the Q node has been eliminated through previous application of T. # 8 (involving Q-words), a deep structure sentence containing Q might meet the structural description of either rule # 9 or # 10.

T. # 9: Tag Question Formation

$$Q - {}_S[X - NP - AUX\text{-}tp\ V - Y]_S \ \underset{=\!=\!=\!=\!=\!=\!=\!>}{opt}$$

$$1 \quad 2\ 3 \qquad 4 \qquad 5$$

1 (ko)+2 3 4 5+ko 3 4+wa

Condition: 5 ≠ neg

T. # 9, Tag Formation, forms an 'or...not' construction out of the basic subject - aux - verb elements in question in the sentence. A [-emph] subject, 3, may later be eliminated in the tag, once subject-aux agreement has taken place. Note that the Q node is maintained in order to meet the structural description of the sentence intonation rule.

By this rule, the simple underlying sentence *Q ahu(NP) u(aux) tu(V) [you(m.s.) you+subj. go ----> *Q(ko) ahu u tu ko ahu u tu wa, which, after Q intonation and un-emphatic subject deletion rules have applied,

would yield the unstarred string:

(37) (ko) u tu ko u tu wa? 'are you going or not?'

Perhaps a more general type of question formation involves the negation of the entire sentence, and question intonation:

T. # 10: Yes/No Question Formation

$$Q - _S[\ X - Y \ ]_S \overset{opt}{=\!=\!=\!=\!>} 1 \ 2 \ 3 + \underline{wa}$$
$$1 \quad 2 \quad 3$$

Condition: $3 \neq$ neg

By this rule, the deep structure *Q ahu u ndukwi njamaa Q you(m.s.) you+compl feel tiredness would become, after Rules # 10 and un-emphatic subject deletion had applied:

(38) u ndukwi njamaa wa? 'don't you feel tiredness?'

Interestingly enough, the anticipated short answer to such a question is the affirmative aaa. This contrasts with languages such as English, for which the anticipated reply would be: "No, I don't feel tired," instead of the anticipated Pa'anci response,

(39) aaa, ma ndukwi njamaa wa 'yes, I don't feel tired'

It should be noted parenthetically, that in eliciting questions through Hausa from bi-lingual speakers, I have obtained sentences which would be accounted for by making the ubiquitous na an alternative to wa in the above rule. But as I have no examples in running speech, my suspicion is that use of wa in yes/no ques-
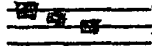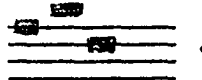
tions is basic to Pa'anci, and elicited examples of <u>na</u>
are a result of informants' analogy with Hausa <u>ne</u>:
(40) ná ta na? he+compl. went e/s 'did he go?' was
elicited through the Hausa <u>ya tafi ne</u>? which is parallel
in all respects.

All sentences involving a sentence-level Q node,
including the output of T. rules # 9 and 10, meet the
structural description of T. # 11:

T. # 11: Question Intonation

$$Q - {}_S[X - Y - Z]_S \xrightarrow{\text{oblig}} \emptyset - {}_{Q\text{-inton}}[2\ 3\ 4]_{Q\text{-inton}}$$
$$1 \quad\quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4$$

Q-inton will be defined, in an <u>ad hoc</u> way, as pitch of
whole sentence in upper register of voice range, raising
of final lexical high tone even higher (indicated by
double hi-tone marks) and absence of downdrift. As an
illustration, as an emphatic statement, (40) above,
lexically hi-hi-mid, would be realized tonally
but as a question, the whole sentence would be in an
upper register, and the realization would be approximate-
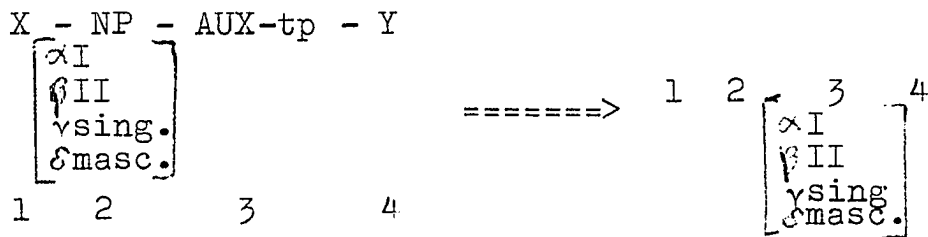ly: .

To summarize question formation in Pa'anci:
Most questions are formed with question words. All
those questions which do not contain question words are
marked by question intonation, and may or may not in-
volve tag or yes/no question formation.

Subject AUX-tp Agreement

As derived in the Phrase Structure rules, a
simple verbal sentence consists of a subject NP, marked
for person, number and gender, followed by an AUX-tp,
marked for tense, and a relatively unspecified verbal
semantic feature bundle. Previous application of the
dative or complementizer placement T. rules may have
added suffixal features to the verb by this point. But
subject agreement is marked in Pa'anci not on the verb,
but on the AUX-tp, as can be seen by the following rule:

T. # 12: Subject AUX-tp Agreement

$$X - NP - AUX\text{-}tp - Y$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \alpha I \\ \beta II \\ \gamma sing. \\ \delta masc. \end{bmatrix}$$

$$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad =======> \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad \begin{bmatrix} \alpha I \\ \beta II \\ \gamma sing \\ \delta masc. \end{bmatrix}^{3} \quad {}^{4}$$

Note: Though the longer abbreviation is used in the
rule, singular will often be further abbreviated
s., and masculine, m.

A later convention will specify the following:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -II \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{1st person}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{3rd person}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{2nd person}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +II \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \text{4th person (impersonal -- \O \text{ subject}}$$
NP -- if singular;
1st person plural
if the result of
subject NP conjunc-
tion)

Subject AUX-tp agreement obviously must precede the various segmentalization rules which give form to the AUX-tp, as well as un-emphatic subject pronoun deletion and imperative formation rules.

(41) Musa   ná   dava   'Musa came'

$$
\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +s. \\ +m. \end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix} -cont. \\ +compl. \\ -I \\ -II \\ +s. \\ +m. \end{bmatrix} \text{came}
$$

(42) atlin tli   mba   '(that) they go out'

$$
\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ -s. \\ +m. \end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix} -cont. \\ -compl. \\ -I \\ -II \\ -s. \\ +m. \end{bmatrix} \text{go-out}
$$

Assuming the subject of (42) is [-emph], it would meet the structural description of transformational rule # 13, in which un-emphatic subject pronouns are deleted, once Subject AUX-tp agreement has taken place:

T. # 13:   Un-emphatic Subject Pronoun Deletion

$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
X & - \; NP & - \; AUX\text{-}tp & - \; Y \\
 & \begin{bmatrix} +pn \\ \alpha png \end{bmatrix} & [\alpha png] & \\
 & & & \underline{\text{oblig}} \Longrightarrow 1 \; \emptyset \; 3 \; 4 \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4
\end{array}
$$

Condition: 2 = [-emph].

Application of T. # 13 to (42) would result in the surface string:

(43) <u>tli mba</u>   they+subj. go-out '(that) they go out'

Examples 1-4, 7-10, and 14-17 in this chapter give further illustration of surface sentences for which it is assumed subject AUX-tp agreement and unemphatic subject pronoun deletion have applied.

Another deletion rule, used as a stylistic variant in narratives, involves the "gapping" of AUX-tp and verb in conjoined sentences (after the first), when the deleted material is identical to that in the first of the conjoined sentences. It is possible that "gapping" is a wider phenomenon in Pa'anci, involving, for example, deletion of identical nouns with different modifiers, or identical objects of differing verbs. However, since I failed to elicite these forms, and the only textual examples are limited to AUX-tp verb deletion, I have, for the present, confined the rule's application to this limited sphere. The presence of a "gapping" phenomena in the language, incidentally, enhances the argument for sentence conjunction, even when there is no surface conjoiner.

T. # 14: Gapping

Conj $_S$[W NP AUX-tp V X]$_S$ conj $_S$[Y NP AUX-tp V Z]$_S$

1   2 3   4   5 6   7   8 9   10   11 12

$\underline{opt}$=> 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 $\emptyset$ $\emptyset$ 12

Condition: 4,5 = 10, 11
         Can be repeated for any number of conjoined sentences as long as condition (above) is satisfied.

Although always optional, gapping is most com-

monly used when more than two sentences are conjoined:

(44) ñya-wi tli tsɨkər ñarcəka pl.PRAM-certain they+subj.
                                 slaughter cow,
ñya-wi tli tsɨkər tori pl.PRAM-certain they+subj.
                                 slaughter goats
ñya-wi [...] gam pl.PRAM-certain [delet. aux V] ram,
ñya-wi [...] tumacəka   "   "   "   sheep,
ñy ñya-wi [...] dlurki   "   "   "   fowl,
ñy dlibu, ana tsɨkəro all, one+cont. slaughters(VN)
'certain ones slaughter [a] cow, some slaughter
goats, some [a] ram, some sheep, some fowl, all
one slaughters'

Imperatives

There are three different types of commands in

Pa'anci: negative commands, those non-negative commands

involving a $[^{+m\cdot}_{+s\cdot}]$ AUX-tp, and those involving all other

numbers and genders. All rules which account for impera-

tives in Pa'anci assume a deep structure, unemphatic $[^{-I}_{+II}]$

pronoun subject, which has been deleted, following AUX-tp

agreement, through previous application of T. # 12 and 13.

The second person features of the AUX-tp and the deep

structure Imp node are essential to the structural des-

cription of all three imperative rules.

T. # 15: Negative Commands

Imp - AUX-tp - V - X - neg
     ⎡-cont. ⎤
     ⎢-compl.⎥
     ⎢-I   ⎥
     ⎢+II   ⎥ $\underset{=====}{oblig}$=> Ø mba + 2   3 4 wa
     ⎢masc. ⎥   [+subj]
     ⎣sing. ⎦
 1   2   3   4   5

Negative imperatives are formed by left sister adjoining the prohibitive particle _mba_ to the subjunctive second person AUX-tp. A later morpho-phonemic contraction rule may reduce the particle and AUX-tp combination, as in example (45):

(45) _mbu tlɨfaa wa_   prohib.+you(m.s.+subj) shoot neg
                       'don't shoot'

The second imperative rule, for non-negative commands to masculine, singular subjects, most closely parallels the usual treatment of imperative formation in English, except that the intonational change involved lowers the sentence intonation:

T. # 16: Imperative Formation

$$\text{Imp} - \begin{bmatrix} \text{AUX-tp} \\ -\text{cont.} \\ -\text{compl.} \\ -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{masc.} \\ +\text{sing.} \end{bmatrix} - V - X \quad \underset{===}{\underline{\text{oblig}}} \Rightarrow \emptyset \; \emptyset \; \text{Imp.Inton.}_{[+\text{perf}]}^{3} \; {}^{4}\text{Imp.I.}$$

1   2   3   4

Condition: if 3 = 'to go', png features of AUX-tp must
            be copied on 3.

Two _ad hoc_ conventions are used here: The first, the addition of the feature [+Perf.] to the verb, will result in selection of the Perfective aspect of the verb at the time of lexical insertion. Normally, this would be handled by agreement with the AUX-tp, but since this rule eliminates the AUX-tp node, this convention is necessary. Secondly, Imp. Inton. (for Imperative Intonation),

will trigger interpretation in the phonological compon-
ent. The realization is generally a lowering of regis-
ter, such that lexical hi tones are at or below the nor-
mal range of lexical lo, and mid and lo are lowered ac-
cordingly. Lowering of pitch for commands is the oppo-
site of the intonational pattern in some other Chadic
languages.[5]

Since the surface structure of these masculine
singular imperatives is much reduced from what I am
assuming the deep structure to be, I would like to illus-
trate by taking one example through the various applic-
able rules. Starting with a basic Imp NP aux VP struc-
ture, and assuming for simplicity the intransitive verb
'come', the deep structure would be:

$$\text{Imp} - \text{NP} - \text{AUX-tp} - \text{V} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{pn} \\ -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{m.} \\ +\text{s.} \\ -\text{emph.} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cont.} \\ -\text{compl.} \end{bmatrix} \text{'come'}$$

. T. # 12, Subject AUX-tp
Agreement, would map the per-
son, number and gender fea-
tures of the subject NP onto

the AUX-tp, and the un-emphatic subject pronoun would be
eliminated by T. # 13, leaving a structure like the fol-
lowing:

[5]Not including Hausa, in which the sentence intona-
tion is often lowered, though the imperative tone pattern
is lo*hi. It should be noted that I have not subjected
my data to instrumental (eg. Oscillomink) testing. There-
fore, while I am confident (because of repeated question-
ing of informants) of my analysis of the general pattern,
I am unable to provide exact gradients of the range of Q
or Imp intonational change.

Imp - ∅ - AUX-tp - V

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cont.} \\ -\text{compl.} \\ -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{m.} \\ +\text{s.} \end{bmatrix} \text{'come'}$$

This would meet the structural description of T. # 15, the output of which would be a ∅ ∅ ∅ V structure:

$$\text{Imp.Int.} \begin{bmatrix} \text{'come'} \\ +\text{Perf.} \end{bmatrix} \text{Imp. Inton.}$$

(46) <u>dava</u> (lowered intonation) 'come'

Other examples include:

(47) <u>zei-tli</u> (lowered intonation) 'put them in'

(48) <u>belaa</u> (lowered intonation) 'return'

As the structural description of T. # 16 implies, deletion of the masculine, singular AUX-tp occurs only when it is sentence initial. Subsequent conjoined AUX-tps, even involving the same masculine, singular subject, are not deleted. This is also true of commands involving all other number and gender subjects:

T. # 17: Non-negative, Non-$[^{+\text{m.}}_{\text{s.}}]$ Commands

Imp - X - AUX-tp - V - Y

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cont.} \\ -\text{compl.} \\ \alpha\text{png} \end{bmatrix}$$

1   2   3   4   5

$$\underset{=====}{\text{oblig}} \Rightarrow \varnothing \quad 2 \quad \underset{[\text{subj}]}{3} \quad 4 \quad 5$$

As obligatory T. # 15 should have already eliminated those commands involving negatives, it is not necessary to exclude $[^{+\text{m.}}_{+\text{s.}}]$ AUX-tps from the description, as T. # 16 must have been applied previously. The main effect of this rule is to eliminate the Imp node; other-

wise AUX-tp Verb agreement, etc. will apply as for any other subjunctive construction. This rule will pick up non-initial masculine-singular subjects as well, as illustrated by the following conjoined sentences, already cited in Chapter 2:

(49) ašin, u miya, u ĥan ašimbani-nu lie-down(Imp., m.s.
                                      subject implied),
     you(m.s.+subj.) die, you(m.s.+subj.) see friends-
     your 'lie down and die and see who your friends are'

Locative and Associative Constructions

The following section deals with a sub-set of locative and associative constructions, which are formed, I would argue, in essentially the same way.

Many sentences involving locative and associative prepositional phrases, and locative goal complements and locative adverbs, are a direct output of the phrase structure rules described in Chapter 3. Such sentences might involve such active or motion verbs as 'go', 'come', 'live', etc., used with AUX-tps of any tense, and be of the structure:

$$\text{NP} \quad \text{AUX-tp} \quad \text{VP}\begin{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{NP} \\ \text{adv} \end{Bmatrix}[\text{loc}] \\ \text{PP} \\ [\begin{Bmatrix} \text{loc} \\ \text{assoc} \end{Bmatrix}] \end{Bmatrix}$$

The locative and associative sentences that I am dealing with here are similar, but with two differences: The AUX-tp must be [+cont], and the features of

the verb are never specified, but rather, at the deep
structure level, comprise a vague locative semantic
feature bundle, never realized in the surface structure.
The deletion of such a verbal feature bundle is handled
by T. # 18, which follows:

T. # 18: Locative Verb Deletion

$$X - \underset{\left[\substack{+cont. \\ -fut.}\right]}{AUX\text{-}tp} - \underset{\left[\substack{+loc. \\ -spec.}\right]}{V} - \left\{\begin{matrix}\left\{\substack{NP \\ adv}\right\}_{[loc]} \\ PP_{\left[\substack{loc \\ assoc}\right]}\end{matrix}\right\} - Y \xRightarrow{oblig} 1\ 2\ \emptyset\ 4\ 5$$

$$\quad 1 \qquad 2 \qquad 3 \qquad\qquad 4 \qquad \cdot 5$$

Although it is possible to imply past time with
the use of an adverb ('yesterday', 'formerly', etc.),
locative and associative constructions of this type are
limited to AUX-tps of the specific feature combination
$\left[\substack{+cont. \\ -fut.}\right]$. Future locative and associative constructions
never involve the deletion of the verb, but rather
locative verbs, or verbs such as 'get', or 'obtain',
occur with noun complements, or associative preposition-
al phrases.

Locative verb deletion through T. # 18 would
result in such locative sentences as the following:

(50) <u>zimii tli añamaa kan</u>   birds they+cont. on[lit.head]
                         hut 'birds are on the hut'

(51) <u>mɨna Guda</u>   we+cont. Guda(loc. NP, name of Pa'a
              town) 'we're (in) Guda'

(52) <u>tlí ñan Binta, i fa wa</u>   they+compl. saw Binta;
                      she+cont. here(loc. adv.)
    neg. 'they saw Binta; she's not here'

(53) <u>tli soona?</u> they+cont. where(loc.adv.Q-word)?
'where are they?'

(54) <u>fooni tli ĥari ritl'a Ningu</u> Pa'awa (the Pa'a peo-
ple they+cont. inside
area (lit. earth, country) (of) Ningi(sic.final
vowel change) 'the Pa'a are in the Ningi area'

(55) <u>tinà hara na</u> he+cont. house(loc. goal complement)
emph. [emphatic answer to a question]
'he's at home'

In order to clarify some of the examples of
associative sentences that follow, I will here (out of
order) cite the relevant portions of a morpho-phonemic
contraction rule, which affects the surface form of
associative sentences: __nà + i ---> __ni/ AUX-tp+prep
$\begin{bmatrix} +cont. \\ -fut. \end{bmatrix}$[assoc]

(56) <u>u$^{(w)}$i zakumba?</u> you+cont.(epenthetic w)+with donkey
[+ Q inton.] 'have you a donkey?'

(57) <u>muni jiki wa</u> I+cont.+with (contraction) horse neg
'I don't have a horse'

(58) <u>tɨni va fuu</u> he+cont.+with (contraction) things (of)
world 'he has things of the world'
(i.e. 'he is rich')

It is possible to have locative and associative
constructions in relative or front-shifted focus clauses.
Subsequent application of rules accounting for relatives
and focus constructions would result in surface sen-
tences like the following:

(59) <u>vura-ta i ka i tsalliya ka</u> girl-the she+cont. rel
with money rel 'the girl
who is with money' (i.e. 'the girl who is rich')

(60) <u>dla-ta na ka makaranta ka</u> boy-the he+cont. rel
school(loc.NP) rel
'the boy who is at school'

Existential Sentences

A variant of the deleted locative verb associative sentence is the existential sentence. Such sentences have as their underlying structure ∅ in place of the subject NP. After application of subject AUX-tp agreement, (T. # 12), the result would be an AUX-tp with the features $\begin{bmatrix} +cont. \\ +I \\ +II \end{bmatrix}$ followed by a locative verb feature bundle, which is then deleted by T. # 18, followed by an associative prepositional phrase. The obligatory contraction rule summarized on the previous page would result in the following phonological change ánà + i ---> áni. This would account for surface sentences like the following:

(61) <u>ani tsalliya</u>   one+cont.+with money 'there is money'

(62) <u>ani ambi wa</u> one+cont.+with neg 'there is no water'

Existential sentences can also be relativized or the NP focused (through subsequent application of the appropriate T. rules), resulting in structures like (63), which is a transform of (61):

(63) <u>tsalliya-ta aka i tle ka</u>   money-the one+rel.cont. with it(f.) rel 'the money that there is'

Existential statements can also occur with locative prepositional phrases, for example:

(64) <u>ani aci añari pangwa</u> one+cont.+with guinea-corn inside corn-bin. 'there is guinea corn in the bin'

When existential sentences are conjoined, the
"Gapping" rule (T. # 14) may apply to delete the imper-
sonal AUX-tp from the second and subsequent conjoined
existential sentences. As this rule would apply before
the morphophonemic rule which contracts the AUX-tp plus
the preposition i, the associative preposition will re-
main unaffected by the deletion of the AUX-tp. For ex-
ample, the conjoining of (65) and (66) would result in
(67) by this rule:

(65) <u>ani gishira ya</u> one+cont.+with salt[Hausa loan] **emph.**

(66) <u>ani dlidlu wa</u> one+cont.+with oil neg 'there is no
oil'

(67) <u>ani gishira ya, amma i dlidlu wa</u> one+cont.+with
— salt emph., but
[Hausa loan](gapped AUX-tp) with oil neg. 'there
is salt, but no oil.'

CHAPTER 5:   NOUN PHRASE LEVEL TRANSFORMATIONS

This chapter deals with Noun Phrase level trans-
formations. These include those structures which I
claim are derived from the optional re-write of NP (in
P.S. # 6) as NP S*, and also focused NPs.

By limiting the expansion of NP to conjoined
NPs, and those of the shape NP S* and $N_{[png]}$ (Det*), I
am implicitly rejecting, for Pa'anci, direct adnominal
derivation. This solution, based on Chomsky,[1] and used
by Russell Schuh (for Ngizim) and Paul Newman (for Kana-
kuru),[2] might well have been a simpler one to account
for complex NP constructions. But as I see them, the
facts of Pa'anci, as opposed to those of English, Ngizim,
and Kanakuru, suggest to me relationships which I be-
lieve can best be captured by embedded sentences and
relative clauses and their reduction, rather than direct
adnominal derivation. For instance, there is no formal
distinction in Pa'anci between alienable and inalienable
possession (as there is in Kanakuru), no variable forms
of the linker (as in Ngizim). True, there are nominals

[1]Noam Chomsky, "Remarks on Nominalization", in
Readings in English Transformational Grammar, ed. Roder-
ick A. Jacobs and Peter S. Rosenbaum (Waltham, Mass.:
Ginn, 1970), pp. 184-221.

[2]Schuh, Aspects of Ngizim Syntax, pp. 96-106, and
Newman, Kanakuru Language, pp. 88-93.

derived from verbs (eg. <u>aba-kuco</u> 'blind man'[owner(of) going-blind(VN)]), part of the justification used by Chomsky, but I would argue that a transformationally pre-posed agent (eg. <u>aba</u>, lit.'father') would more correctly reflect the probable derivation.

Attributive Adjectival Constructions

I would like to begin the discussion of Noun Phrase level transformations with an analysis of attributive adjectival constructions. My contention is that attributive adjectival constructions are of two types. One is derived from an underlying [NP NP pred] sentence, in which the first NP is identical to the NP of the higher sentence, and the second is a [+qual] noun. The second type is derived from an underlying associative sentence, in which the subject NP is identical to the NP of the higher sentence, and the object of the associative preposition is a $\begin{bmatrix} +qual \\ +abst \end{bmatrix}$ word. Reduction of the associative sentence for attributive adjective formation involves the obligatory prefixation of an agent, agreeing in number and gender with the higher NP, to the $\begin{bmatrix} +qual \\ +abst \end{bmatrix}$ word, which is then post-posed to the higher NP. Reduction of the first type of embedded sentence [NP NP pred], involves the copying of number and gender features on the [+qual] word, and its pre-position to the higher NP.

T. # 19: Attributive Adjectival Formation I:

Quality Words

$$X - _{NP}[\,_{NP}[_{[\alpha png]}]\ -\ _{S}[\,_{NP}[_{[x png]}]\ -\ _{NP}[_{[+qual\ -abst]}]\ -\ pred\,]_S\ ]_{NP}\ Y$$

1   2   3   4   5   6

$\underset{[\alpha ng]}{\underline{=oblig=}}\!\!\Rightarrow\ 1\quad 4\ +\ 2\text{+-}\underline{ta}\ \emptyset\ \emptyset\ 6$

Conditions: 2 = 3
-ta is not suffixed if 2 is modified by
a post-posed Det

To illustrate the operation of the above T.
rule, presume two sentences: *na cei ziiki [he+compl.
grabbed rope] and *ziiki bəl-- pred [rope big-one it-is].
By this rule, the number and gender features of ziiki
(masculine, singular) would be copied onto bəl--, a
[+qual] word, which would then be pre-posed to ziiki.
The reference marker -ta would be suffixed to ziiki,
an indication of the embedded sentence derivation of
the construction. [-ta is also suffixed to the head
NP of unreduced relative clauses]. The resulting
sentence would be:

(1) ná cei bəlan ziiki-ta   he+compl. grabbed big(m.s.)
                             rope-the 'he grabbed the big
                             rope'

More than one [+qual] word may be pre-posed to
the NP of the higher sentence, allowed for, at the deep
structure level, by NP ---> NP S*. I have been able to
discern no semantic constraints on the ordering of pre-

posed modifiers (i.e. color before or after size terms, etc.) with respect to one another.

The list below includes most of the $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{qual} \\ -\text{abst} \end{bmatrix}$ words I have noted in the language. I have included masculine, feminine and plural forms where known, as well as a few intensive forms, which are not marked for gender or number, but are otherwise used in the same way as the inflected forms. The question marks indicate isolated examples from texts, unconfirmed by direct elicitation.

Quality Words

bihan (m.), bihei (f.) bihanaani (pl.) 'red' bi 'very red'

butsahan (m.), butsahei?(f.), butsahanaani (pl.)'short'

bəlan (m.), bəlei (f.), bəlanaani (pl.) 'big' babəla 'very big'

cilhan (m.), cilhei (f.), cilhanaani (pl.) 'white' cili-li 'very white'

dahan (m.), dahei?(f.) 'long, deep' dadar 'very long, deep'

datsi (s.), datsaani (pl.) 'worthless' [usually post-posed]

durhan (m.), durhei?(f.), durhanaani (pl.) 'black' duro-duro 'very black'

kacan.(s.), kacanaani (pl.) 'good, beautiful'

kanjaa (s.) kanjaani or kanji (pl.) 'big'

lallan (no gender or plural form obtained) 'tasteless'

litsitsa (no gender or plural form obtained) 'sweet'

makanja (s.), makanji (pl.) [< kanja (?) 'big] 'old'

marhwan (m.), marhwi (f.), marhwanaani (pl.) 'new'

mbasi (m.), mbasa (f.), mbasanaani (pl.) 'bad, ugly'

njuu (s.), njoni (pl.) 'male'

siyen (m.), siyei? (f.), siyenaani (pl.) 'small'

terter (no gender or plural form obtained) 'thin' (can
be postposed)

tl'am(u)maa (no gender or plural form obtained) 'bitter'
tl'an-tl'an 'very bitter'

ǰirtan (no gender or plural form obtained) 'green, not
ripe'

Although the pre-position of [+qual] words is
felt to be basic, isolated examples of post-posed qual-
ity words have been found in texts, and directly elici-
ted. Accordingly, it may be necessary to formulate an
optional post-position rule, once more is known about
the environment which triggers such post-position. The
quality word, marked for gender and number of the head
noun, would replace the suffixed -ta when post-posed.
It is even possible that such post-position carries some
subtle semantic connotation (eg. more emphatic), though
my informants could give no consistent explanation for
the rare examples of post-position of quality words,
which were usually pre-posed.

However, words marked in the lexicon [$^{+qual}_{+abst}$]
are always post-posed to the head noun, with a pre-
fixed agent, and a suffixed relationship -ti. The pre-

fixed agent [aba (m.), ama (f.), masu (pl.) 'owner of']

betrays the derivation of abstract, quality nouns from

underlying associative sentences:

T. # 20:   Attributive Adjectival Formation II:

Abstract Quality Nouns

$$X - {}_{NP}[\ {}_{NP}[\begin{smallmatrix} NP \\ [\alpha png] \end{smallmatrix} - {}_S[\begin{smallmatrix} NP \\ [\alpha png] \end{smallmatrix} - \begin{smallmatrix} AUX\text{-}tp \\ [\begin{smallmatrix}+cont.\\-fut.\end{smallmatrix}] \end{smallmatrix} - \begin{smallmatrix} prep \\ [assoc] \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} NP \\ [\begin{smallmatrix}+qual\\+abst\end{smallmatrix}] \end{smallmatrix}]_S]_{NP}\ Y$$

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

$\underset{=\!=\!=\!=\!=\!=}{oblig}$=> 1   2(+-ta)   agent + 6 +-ti   Ø Ø Ø 7
                    [αng]

Condition: 2 = 3
             the reference marker -ta (suffixed to the
             head noun) and the relationship suffix -ti
             are both optional, although the latter is
             more regularly used than the former.

To illustrate the operation of T. # 20, presume

the same basic sentence, *na cei ziiki 'he pulled rope',

plus the embedded associative *ziiki tinà yaa tl'in

[rope he+cont. with(assoc. prep) strength[$\begin{smallmatrix}+qual.\\+abst.\end{smallmatrix}$]].

This rule would prefix an agent, agreeing in number (s.)

and gender (m.) with the head noun to the [$\begin{smallmatrix}+qual.\\+abst.\end{smallmatrix}$]

object of the associative preposition, and add the

relationship suffix -ti. This whole modifying element

(agent+[$\begin{smallmatrix}+qual.\\+abst.\end{smallmatrix}$] noun+-ti) is then post-posed to the

head noun, which may or may not have the suffix -ta,

resulting in:

(2) ná cei ziiki-ta aba-tl'in-ti   'he grabbed the
                                      strong rope'

The following is a list of $[\begin{smallmatrix}+\text{qual.}\\+\text{abst.}\end{smallmatrix}]$ nouns which appear in attributive adjectival constructions with a prefixed agent [aba (m.), ama (f.) or masu[Hausa loan] (pl.)], and the suffixed relationship suffix -ti. Except where noted, the abstract quality noun is not itself marked for number and gender agreement with the head noun to which it is post-posed; number and gender agreement is with the prefixed agent.

Abstract Quality Nouns

an'uwan 'goodness' [can also be used as a post-posed quality word (without agant prefix) in which case the plural form is an'uwanaani 'good']

arša 'cunning'

aršo, aršu 'hardness'

bootaa 'difficulty'

bubau, bubo 'heat (as in fire or pepper)'

dar 'length, depth'   gwamo dar 'shallow' [lit.'lacking (VN) depth']

ɗau, ɗo 'length, height'

gətlu 'hardness'

hwaapana 'greed'

kəvu 'weakness'

lafu-lafu 'lightness'(vs. heaviness) [usually without agent]

liɓu-liɓu 'softness, tenderness (eg. meat)'

ndan-ndan 'heaviness'

pooti 'toughness'

rinŠi 'fatness'

tau 'sharpness'   gwamo tau 'dullness' [lit.'lacking(VN)
                                      sharpness']

tl'in 'strength'

tsɨmumu, tsəmumu 'sourness'

    An alternative means of forming attributive ad-
jectival constructions from abstract, quality words is
by using the nominal suffixes -ciki (m.), cəka (f.) and
plurals -cikaani and cəki. While this means may once
have been more productive, the only two examples in
common usage today are the following:

gajerciki (m.), gajercəka?(f.), gajercikaani, gajercəki
          (pl.)'short' [Probable Hausa loan gajeri]

kəvuciki (m.) kəvucəka (f.) kəvunaani (pl.) 'weak'
       < kəvu (see above)

"Comparatives"

    Unreduced associative prepositional phrases
with $\left[\begin{smallmatrix}+\text{qual.}\\+\text{abst.}\end{smallmatrix}\right]$ nouns as objects, are used with the verb
'to exceed' to form constructions comparable to English
comparatives. The verb can be in the completed, con-
tinuous, or future tense, and no major "movement" rule
is involved. For example:

(3) Binta i ɓiyo Kura i arŠa   Binta she+cont. exceeds(VN)
                              Kura with(respect to) cun-
                              ning 'Binta is more cun-
                              ning than Kura'
This means of forming "comparatives", with the verb 'to
exceed' plus associative prepositional phrase, is common
to many Chadic languages, including Hausa and Kanakuru.

Statives

Rarely, statives are used as nominal modifiers.
Statives in Pa'anci are formed by reduplicating the verbal noun of a [+cont] verbal sentence, for example:

(4) <u>munà tsiro-tsiro</u>   I+cont. standing-standing(reduplicated VN) 'I am (in a) standing (position)'

    cf.

(5) <u>munà tsiroo</u> I+cont. standing(VN) 'I'm standing'

If the verb is transitive, then the subject of the stative is the semantic object of the verb, for example:

(6) <u>masu kəra tli ceyo-ceyo na</u>   thieves [lit. owners(of) theft] they+cont. grabbed grabbed it-is 'the thieves are captured'

Statives can be used as modifiers, post-posed to the element they modify. Such constructions are presumably derived from underlying sentences involving stative verbs for which the subject is identical to that element of the higher sentence modified by the embedded sentence. The reduction would parallel that of attributive adjectives, except that statives are always post-posed. For example:

(7) <u>tlí ñan bɨtangwil tlino-tlino</u> 'they saw hyena tied-up'

is presumably derived from two sentences *<u>tlí ñan bɨtangwil</u> [they+compl. saw hyena] and *<u>bɨtangwil tinà tlino-tlino</u> [hyena he+cont. tied-up(reduplicated VN)).

In line with their verbal derivation, statives
(but not attributive adjectives derived from quality
nouns) can also be post-posed to adverbs, as in:

(8) ná ɦan nguna fa tsiro-tsiro   he+compl. saw Spider
                                  there standing(redup.VN)
    'he saw Spider standing there'

If my assumptions are correct, this would be derived

from a reduction of two sentences, *ná ɦan nguna fa and

*nguna tinà tsiro-tsiro fa ['he saw Spider there' and

'Spider was standing there'].

The following are among those statives which

I have noted in use as modifiers:

ašin-ašin 'lying down' < ašin 'sleep, lie down, spend
                                the night' [irreg. form]

dlo-dlo 'opened' < dla 'open'

ɦyango-ɦyango 'filled-up' < ɦyangu 'fill'

jaabo-jaabo 'closed' < jaabu 'close'

miyo-miyo 'dead' < miya 'die'

šiki-šiki[3] 'sitting, seated' [irregular formation] <
            šiki 'sit'

tlino-tlino 'tied-up' < tlin 'tie'

[3]My elicitation of šiki-šiki as a stative modifier
brought to the mind of my informant Wakili a story he
had been told of the colonial days, when Pa'a men were
conscripted to work in the tin mines of the Jos Plateau.
One unwilling Pa'a conscript was asked, in Hausa, what
kind of work he wanted to do. His reply, in Pa'anci,
was immediate: "Cin šiki-šiki!" [work sitting]. His
fellow Pa'a conscripts broke up laughing, but the fore-
man was not amused, when he learned, through an inter-
preter, what he had said.

tsifo-tsifo 'dried-up' < tsifaa 'dry'

tsiro-tsiro 'standing < tsiraa 'stand'

Isolated examples have been noted in texts of a post-posed VN, seeming to modify the noun which precedes it. I would argue that most of such cases are in fact further reduced stative modifiers, derived from underlying stative sentences.

Diminutives

Before moving on to associative NP constructions, relative clauses and focused NPs, parenthetical mention should be made of diminutives. Unlike attributive adjectives and stative modifiers, diminutives are not, I would argue, transformationally derived.

Most concrete nouns can be marked [+dim] at the deep structure level of any given sentence. This would trigger, at the time of lexical insertion, the prefixing of the appropriate (in number and gender agreement with the noun) form of 'child': i.e. vura 'daughter', dla 'son' or vuran 'children'. Such prefixation insures that any other attributive adjectives must be post-posed. For example:

(9) anà dɨkəno-su yaa vura-zare-ki tərtər one+cont. ty-
                                            ing(VN)-it with
    daughter(of)-thread[Hausa loan]-this thin 'one was
    tying it with this tiny thin thread'

Associative NP Constructions

Like the associative sentences from which they are derived, associative NP constructions include but are not limited to possessive or genitival relationships.[4] Many relationships which have the underlying structure "A is with B", such as those involving abstract, quality words as described earlier in this chapter, have little or nothing to do with ownership as such. At the level of surface structure, associative noun phrases consist of an NP followed by a noun or pronoun, with no formal linker between them, unless the associative is separated from the head noun.

In my analysis, associatives are derived from the reduction of underlying associative sentences (A is with B), which have noun subjects in the case of nominal associatives, and unemphatic pronoun subjects in the case of pronominal associatives. The B of the underlying sentence is equal to the NP of the higher sentence. Once reduction has taken place, the associatives (A), with few exceptions, immediately follow the head NP (= B), so that any attributive adjectives which have been post-posed as a result of the previous application of T. # 20 will follow the associated noun or pronoun.

[4]The more neutral term is used by Schuh (Ngizim) pp. 99-117, based on William E. Welmers, "Associative a and ka in Niger-Congo," Language, 39 (1963), 432-447.

My formulation of the associative rules follows. Both assume the previous application of T. # 18, which deletes the unspecified locative verb feature bundle before the associative prepositions i or yaa.

T. # 21: Nominal Associatives

$$X \ -_{NP}[\ _{NP}[\ ^{NP}_{[-VN]}\ -\ _S[\ ^{NP}_{[^{-pn}_{-VN}]}\ -\ ^{AUX\text{-}tp}_{\begin{bmatrix}+cont.\\-I\\-II\end{bmatrix}}\ -\ ^{prep}_{[assoc]}\ -\ ^{NP}_{[-VN]}\ ]_S\ ]_{NP}\ Y$$

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

=====oblig====> 1 2+3 Ø Ø Ø 7

Condition: 2 is equal to and co-referential with 6

    In an embedded sentence, "A is with B", the B is equal to, and co-referential with, the NP which dominates it in the higher sentence. The transformation forms an associative NP by right-sister adjoining A to the higher NP (= to B). For example, if we assume two underlying sentences hara belei ya [house big(f.s.) pred] and malvi tini hara [king he+cont.+with(contraction) house], then a reduction by T. # 21 would result in:

(10) hara malvi bəlei ya   house(of)king big(f.s.) pred
                               'the king's palace is big'

An example of an associative NP construction which involves a head NP already modified by a post-posed attributive adjective follows:

(11) <u>ná 'atla hwahwa zakumba ama-ndan-ndan-ti</u> he+compl.
lifted load(of)donkey owner (of)-heaviness-relat. suffix 'he lifted off the donkey's heavy load'

The second associative formation rule, with possessive pronouns, assumes the previous application of T. # 18, as above, and also T. # 13, Unemphatic Subject Pronoun deletion:

T. # 22:   Pronominal Associatives

$$X - _{NP}[\, _{[-VN]}^{NP} - _S[\, \begin{bmatrix} AUX\text{-}tp \\ +cont. \\ \alpha I \\ \beta II \\ \gamma m. \\ \delta s. \end{bmatrix} - _{[assoc]}^{prep} - _{[-VN]}^{NP} \,]_S \,]_{NP} \; Y$$

1   2   3   4   5   6

$$\underline{\underline{oblig}} \Rightarrow 1 \quad 2 \; + \; \begin{matrix} -3 \\ \begin{bmatrix} +pn \\ +poss \\ \alpha I \\ \beta II \\ \gamma m. \\ \delta s. \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix} \quad \emptyset \quad \emptyset \quad 6$$

Condition: 2 = and co-referential with 6
The hyphen before the 3 is meant to indicate that the possessive pronoun is suffixed.

By T. # 22, a possessive pronoun, agreeing in person, number, and gender with the previously deleted pronominal subject of an "A am/is/are with B" sentence, is suffixed to the NP of the higher sentence, identical to the B of the embedded sentence. The sets of possessive pronouns used are listed on page 80 and in the second, 'look-up' lexicon. A later agreement rule will

select either the masculine or feminine set, according
to the gender of the head noun. As there is no formal
difference between alienable and inalienable possession,
a pronominal associative like <u>cimun-nani</u> can mean either
'my leg' or 'my leg (eg. of lamb)'. The pronoun set is
suffixed directly to the noun it modifies, before any
other modifiers, including numerals, attributives
adjectives, or even suffixed demonstratives or reference
markers:

(12) ...<u>i ñan zuwe-su-ta</u> she+subj. saw groundnut(s)-her
                                 -the 'that she see her ground-
                                 nuts'[the ones under discus-
                                 sion]

Pronominal associatives can, however, modify numerals
functioning as head nouns, in which case the possessive
pronoun follows the numeral, eg. <u>cir-sin</u> 'two(of)them'.

The possessive pronouns are suffixed to the
noun with which they are most closely associated, even
if it is the last of a series of nominal associatives,
for example:

(13) <u>kaba malvi dlanga-yimi</u> gown(of)king(of)town-our
                                  'the gown of our town's king'

If, on the other hand, a possessive pronoun is
suffixed to the head noun, and there are subsequent nomi-
nal associatives, the (linking?) morpheme <u>ta</u> may be pre-
posed to the nominal associative(s). <u>Ta</u>, a probable
Hausa loan, also occurs when a nominal possessor is

separated from its head noun by relativization or focus

front-shifting, or before an unknown possessor. For

example:

(14) <u>nguna-su ta keman i ta ciman</u> ring-her of arm and
   ———   ———   of leg 'her bracelet
                              and her anklet'

   Compare:

(15) <u>nguna keman</u> ring(of)arm 'bracelet'

(16) <u>labari-ta i ciyii ka ta biki-ta.</u> .news-the she+rel.
                        ———   compl. brought[Ao-
                                         rist] rel of party
                                         -the 'the news she
                                         brought of ·the par-
                                         ty...'

   Compare:

(17) <u>í ciye labari biki-ta</u> she+compl. brought news(of)
                                  party-the 'she brought news
                                  of the party'

(18) <u>kiki cin-ti kiki ta^5 asa-na?</u> this work-this this
                             of who-it-is? 'this work here
                             -- whose is it?' (eg. is be-
                             ing done for whom)

While some might argue that <u>ta</u> is the underlying

form of the Pa'a linker, my contention is that there is

basically no (or $\emptyset$) linker, and that the <u>ta</u> is inserted

only in limited environments, by analogy with Hausa, us-

ing the full form of the Hausa feminine linker. Until

the environments have been more precisely delineated,

---

^{5}I have no record of having elicited 'work whose'
(with no intervening demonstrative), so I cannot be sure
that the insertion of <u>ta</u> is due to the unknown possessor
rather than the separation of the associative <u>asa</u> from
the noun it modifies (<u>cin</u>).

such an insertion rule must remain unformulated. By
suggesting such an insertion rule, I am not making a
diachronic statement, for there is ample evidence of a
Proto-Chadic linker *k. But the synchronic facts of
Pa'anci do not support an underlying linker which is
deleted in all but very limited environments.

In one other environment, the form of the inde-
pendent possessive pronouns ('mine', 'yours', etc.),
there is possible evidence of a linking element, a-,
which precedes the appropriate possessive pronoun set[5]
(in gender agreement with the noun it modifies). In
other Chadic languages, including Hausa and Ngizim,
the independent possessive pronouns are formed by a com-
bination of linker plus possessive pronoun, so it is
reasonable to suspect that is the case here.

On the other hand, the a- is identical in form
to that used for the independent subject pronouns,[6] and
in fact, my informant (Wakili) suggested that it is in
fact what I have identified as the PRAM (Previous Refer-
ence Animate Marker) plus possessive pronoun. I do not
have enough evidence to suggest which is correct (linker,
PRAM, or neither), but I have formulated a rule to ac-
count for the use of the independent possessive pronouns
in associative noun phrases:

[6]Complete paradigms of independent possessive and
subject pronouns can be found in the "look-up' lexicon.

T. # 23: Emphatic Pronominal Associatives

$$X \; {}_{NP}[\; {}_{-VN}^{NP} \; {}_{S}[\; {}_{NP} \; - \; {}_{ya}^{na} \; - \; AUX\text{-}tp \; - \; prep \; - \; {}_{-VN}^{NP} \;]_{S}]_{NP} \; Y$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +pn \\ +emph \\ \alpha I \\ \beta II \\ \chi\; m. \\ \delta\; s. \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +cont. \\ \alpha I \\ \beta II \\ \chi\; m. \\ \delta\; s. \end{bmatrix} \quad [assoc]$$

1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8

$$\underline{oblig} \Rightarrow 1 \quad 2 \quad + \quad 3 \quad (4) \quad \emptyset \; \emptyset \; \emptyset \quad 8$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +pn \\ +poss \\ +ind \\ \alpha I \\ \beta II \\ \chi\; m. \\ \delta\; s. \end{bmatrix}$$
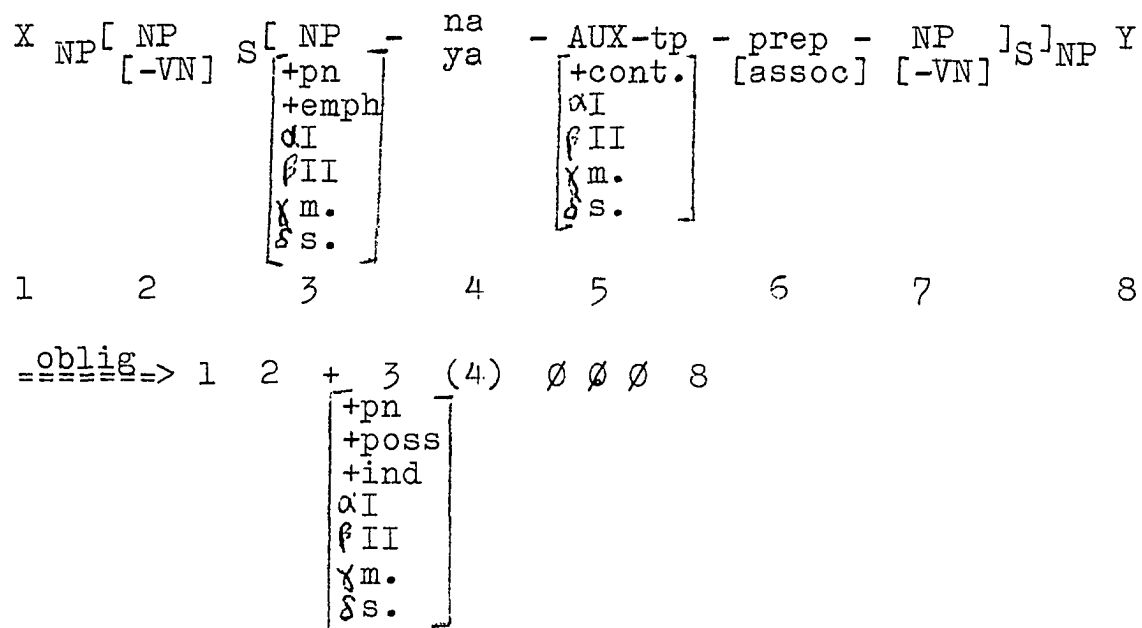
Condition: 2 = 7
Rule makes emphatic particles <u>na</u> (m.) or
ya (f.) optional, hence (4).

T. # 23 takes the emphatic subject pronoun of
an embedded associative sentence, transforms it into an
independent possessive pronoun, and post-poses it to the
NP which dominates it in the higher sentence. The empha-
tic particle may or may not remain. For example, take
two underlying sentences *<u>á kəra kaba</u> [one+compl. stole
gown] and *<u>amin na mɨna yaa kaba</u> [I emph I+cont. with
gown]. The operation of T. # 23 will transform the two
into:

(19) <u>á kəra kaba ayayi</u> one+compl. stole gown mine 'one
                 stole <u>my</u> gown' (i.e. not yours)

It should be admitted that I have few textual
examples of independent possessive pronouns as associa-

tives; most were elicited.

Verbal nouns have been excluded from the three preceding rules, because it is not at all clear in my mind that juxtaposed noun phrases involving verbal nouns, while formally identical to associative constructions, are in fact derived from underlying associative senten- ces. As has been seen by the complementizer placement rule, some constructions involving "possessed" verbal nouns are in fact derived from underlying subjectival or objectival relationships. For example, hwo barau 'seeking marriage' is probably derived from an under- lying objectival relationship, whereas in ɦaro kaba 'ageing(of)gown', it is likely that 'gown' is the under- lying subject, eg. *kaba i ɦaro 'gown is growing-old'.

As the second NP, the verbal noun may in fact be a reduced stative modifier, eg. ambi zəgʉmo [water warmed] 'hot water', as has been suggested earlier (see page 114). I would argue that this is derived from an underlying stative predicate ambi tinà zəgʉmo-zəgumo. Therefore, due to the multiplicity of possible deriva- tions, I have elected to exclude verbal nouns from the rules governing associative constructions, although it is possible that associative sentences represent an intermediate stage in the derivation of some NPs in- volving verbal nouns.

Relative Clauses

The last of the noun phrase constructions de- rived from NP S* deep structures to be discussed in this chapter are relative clauses. I have formulated two rules which account for most relative clauses in Pa'anci:

T. # 24: Relative Clause Formation

$$X - {}_{NP}[\ \underset{[\alpha ng]}{NP}\ {}_S[\ Y - \underset{[\alpha ng]}{NP} - Z\ ]_S\ ]_{NP}\ \underset{\underline{oblig}}{W} =>$$

$$1 \qquad 2 \qquad 3 \qquad 4 \qquad 5 \qquad 6$$

$$1\quad 2 \left\{ \begin{matrix} + & \underline{-ta} \\ 4 & + \\ [+RC] & \end{matrix} \right\} 3 \left\{ \begin{matrix} \emptyset \\ 4 \\ [\underset{\alpha ng}{+pn}] \end{matrix} \right\} 5 + \underline{ka} \quad 6$$

Conditions: 2 = to and co-referential with 4
Pronominalization of 4 is an option if 4 is an animate object (D.O. or I.O) or the object of an associative preposition (i or yaa).

[RC = relativized category]

T. # 24 maps an embedded sentence containing an NP identical to that which immediately precedes the sentence, into a relative clause in which either the NP is realized as a Relativized Category (RC) or the NP of the higher sentence is suffixed with the reference (or 'the one referred to') marker -ta. The now redundant identical NP within the relative clause is either deleted, or, in the case of direct or indirect animate objects or objects of the associative prepositions, transformed into a place-holding pronoun, agreeing with it in num-

ber and gender. Additionally, the relative marker <u>ka</u> is inserted in clause final position.

The few Pa'anci lexemes which can serve as relative clause introducers are listed below, as well as in the lexicon (marked +RC). Most contain the reference marker <u>ta</u>. Their probable nominal origin is also noted, where known:

Relativized Category Words

<u>abita</u> m. 'who' < <u>aba</u> 'father, owner'

<u>amata</u> f. 'who' < <u>ama</u> 'mother, owner'(f.)

<u>avita</u> m. 'what, thing that, that which' < <u>avu</u> 'thing'

<u>ñanta</u> pl. 'those who, which' (pl.)

<u>inda</u>-(<u>ta</u>) 'where' < ? Hausa loan <u>inda</u>, contraction of <u>wurinda</u>

<u>lokacita</u> 'when, time when' < <u>lokaci</u> 'time' (H. loan)

<u>masu ñanta</u> 'those who' < <u>masu</u> (Hausa loan) 'owners of' +<u>ñanta</u> (plural of <u>abita</u> and <u>amata</u> above)

<u>mburata</u> 'where, place where' < <u>mbura</u> 'place'

<u>nda</u> 'when' (in sentence initial position only, as a result of pre-position)

<u>vanita</u> 'what (pl.), those which' < <u>vani</u>, suppletive plural of <u>avu</u> 'thing'

The embedded sentence can be a verbal or nonverbal sentence. An example of the latter would be the following, derived from an underlying NP NP pred sentence *<u>asiyaani cilili</u>(<u>na</u>) eggs very-white(it-is)[pred deletable]:

(20) <u>asiyaani n̂anta cilili ka</u>.... 'eggs which are white'

Embedded verbal sentences, on the other hand, are subject to a further transformation, Relative Tense Assignment:

T. # 25:   Relative Tense Assignment

$$X - _{NP}[_{NP} \quad \underset{\substack{\alpha \\ +-\underline{ta}}}{} \quad _{S}[\underset{\substack{-\alpha \\ NP \\ [+RC]}}{} \quad Y - AUX\text{-}tp - Z]_{S}]_{NP} \quad W$$

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

$$\underset{=====}{\underline{oblig}} => 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4 \underset{[+rel]}{5} \ 6 \ 7$$

T. # 25 adds the feature [+rel] to the features of the AUX-tp in a relative clause.   This rule accounts for the relative tenses in Pa'anci: Relative Continuous in the case of $\begin{bmatrix} +cont. \\ -fut. \\ +rel \end{bmatrix}$ AUX-tps; Relative Future for $\begin{bmatrix} +cont. \\ +fut. \\ +rel \end{bmatrix}$ AUX-tps; and Relative Completed for $[\begin{smallmatrix} -cont. \\ +rel \end{smallmatrix}]$ AUX-tps.

Below are numerous examples of relative clause constructions in Pa'anci.   I have indicated beside each the probable form of the underlying sentence from which, I argue, it is derived:

(21) <u>waci dla abita na kà i n̂arcəka ka</u> indef. boy who (RC) he+rel.cont. with cow rel.   [< <u>waci dla tinà i n̂arcəka</u> 'a boy is with a cow'] 'a boy who has a cow...'   [RC subject of embedded associative sentence]

(22) <u>ngwina-ngwina abita na kà rei-su ka</u> spider who he+ rel.cont. neckher rel [< <u>ngwina-ngwina tinà rei-su</u> spider is (on) her neck] 'the spider that is on her neck...' [RC subject of embedded locative sentence]

(23) <u>Wakilin Gona abita na gwamii tlaɗa ka</u> Representa-
tive(of)Farm
[H. title] who he+rel.çompl. lacked[Aorist] farming
rel. [< <u>Wakilin Gona na gwam (ndəro) tlaɗa</u> 'WG
<u>lacked doing farming'</u>] 'the Wakilin Gona who did
not farm' [RC subject]

(24) <u>dlɨrki-ta tli ka tli mbo ka</u> path they+rel.fut. will
follow rel. [< <u>tli-tli</u>
<u>mbo dlɨrki</u> 'they will follow road'] 'the road that
<u>they will follow....</u>' [relative NP is D.O. of verb]

(25) <u>jikaani-ta na ka i tlin ka</u> horses-the he+rel.cont.
with them rel. [< <u>tina</u>
<u>i jikaani</u> 'he's with horses'] 'the horses that he
<u>has</u>' [relative NP is object of associative preposi-
tion in embedded sentence; note inserted "dummy"
pronoun]

(26) <u>wakili-ta a ka ta tano-su labari ka</u> representative
-the one+rel.
fut. will take[VN]-him news rel. [< <u>a ta tano</u>
<u>wakili labari</u> 'one will take (to) the rep. news]
'the representative to whom one will take the news'
[relative NP is I.O. of verb; note inserted "dummy"
pronoun]

(27) <u>dlanga mburata mi ka cin ka</u> town place-where we+rel.
cont. work rel. [< <u>mɨ</u>
<u>na (ndəro) cin(ñari) dlanga</u> 'we are (doing) work
<u>(in) the town</u>] 'the town where we are working...'
[RC is locative NP in embedded sentence]

(28) <u>tsalliya-ta a ka i tle ka</u> money-the one+rel.cont.
with it(f.) rel. [< <u>ani</u>
<u>tsalliya</u> 'there is money'(lit. one-is-with money)]
'the money that there is...' [Relative NP is ob-
ject of associative preposition in underlying exis-
tential sentence. Note "dummy" pronominal object
of associative preposition]

(29) <u>ma nduku avita u ka mundo ka</u> I+compl. heard what
[RC] you+rel.cont.
saying[VN] rel. [< <u>hɨna mundo avu</u> 'you are say-
ing (some)thing'] 'I heard what you are saying'
[RC is object of both embedded and higher sentence]

(30) <u>lokacita mi ka ñwocu ka, bɨtangwil na mba</u> time-when
(RC) we+rel cont. traveling
[suppletive VN of 'go'] rel, hyena he+compl. came-
out [< <u>mɨna ñwocu (waci) lokaci</u> 'we were traveling

(a certain) time] 'when we were going, a hyena came
out' [RC is pre-posed time adverbial]

Compare:

(31) m&nà ĥwocu lokacita b&tangwil na mbii ka we+cont.
                                             traveling
     when(RC) hyena he+rel.compl. came-out rel. [< b&-
     tangwil nà mba (waci) lokaci 'hyena came out (a
     certain) time] 'we were traveling when the hyena
     came out' [higher sentence in normal word order,
     RC time adverbial].

Focused Noun Phrases

The transformations involved in relative clause
formation and relative tense assignment, and in pre-posi-
tion of focused NPs are closely parallel, and could
probably be combined into one set of rules, with more
extensive use of Alpha conventions. For clarity, how-
ever, I have separated them here. It is also difficult
to separate a discussion of focus from a discussion of
emphasis, for most word level focused elements in Pa'an-
ci are also [+emph], although not all [+emph] words are
[+focus]. The feature [+focus] must be assigned at the
deep structure level, and the effect of the following
two transformational rules is to bring the focused ele-
ment (plus the emphatic particle ya/na if the element is
also [+emph]) to sentence initial position, post-pose
the rel marker ka to all but the neg marker (if present),
and add the feature [+rel] to the features of any AUX-tp
in the sentence:

T. # 26:   Focused NP Pre-position

$$X - \underset{1}{\underset{[+focus]}{NP}} - \underset{3}{Y} - \underset{4}{(neg)} \quad \underset{=====}{\overset{oblig}{\Longrightarrow}} 2 \; 1 \left\{\begin{matrix} \emptyset \\ 2 \\ [+pn] \end{matrix}\right\} 3 + \underline{ka} \; 4$$

Conditions: If 2 = [+emph], the emph. particle na (m.)
              or ya (f.) is obligatorily brought forward
              with the focused NP.
                  2 is pronominalized only when object of
              associative preposition, and prep is not
              pre-posed.
                  Any NP modifiers (Det., poss, attri-
              butive adjectives, etc.) are normally
              brought forward with the NP

Those outputs of T. # 26 which contain an AUX-
tp, meet the structural description of T. # 27, focused
NP relative tense assignment, which, like T. # 25, adds
the feature [+rel] to the features of the AUX-tp:

T. # 27:   Focused NP Relative Tense Assignment

$$\underset{1}{\underset{[+focus]}{NP}} - \underset{2}{X} - \underset{3}{AUX\text{-}tp} - \underset{4}{Y} - \underset{5}{\underline{ka}} \; \underset{6}{(neg)} \quad \underset{=====}{\overset{oblig}{\Longrightarrow}} 1 \; 2 \; \underset{[+rel]}{3} \; 4 \; 5 \; 6$$

The following examples of focused NP construc-
tions are cited together with their non-focused counter-
parts.

(32) a Ladi ya i kà ɗuwo doya-ta ka PRAM Ladi [woman's
     ───────── name] emph.part.(f.) she+rel.cont. cook-
     ing(VN) yam(H. loan)-the rel. [< a Ladi i ɗuwo
     doya-ta 'Ladi is cooking yams'] 'It's Ladi(who) is
     cooking yams' [Focused [+emph] element is subject]

(33) a-min na ma ka ho-nu ka PRAM+I emph.part(m.) I+rel.
     ───────── cont. looking(VN)for-you rel. [< munà ho-
     nu 'I am looking for you'([-focus], [-emph]] 'It
     is I who am looking for you' [focused,[+emph.]pro-
     nominal subject]

(34) 'yaari na tli kà ho ka dogs emph.part. they+rel.cont.
————————— looking(VN)for rel. [< tli ho 'yaari 'they
are looking-for dogs'] 'it is dogs they are looking
for' [focused [+emph.] plural object]

(35) aŝin⁷ na tli kà ndəro ka wa sleeping emph.part.
————————— they+rel.cont. doing(VN) rel. neg [< tli
ndəro aŝin wa 'they are not doing sleep'] 'it is
not sleeping they are doing' [negated focused,
[+emph.] NP object]

(36) Kano na mi davii ka Kano emph.part. we+rel.compl.
————————— came(Aorist) rel. [< mi dava Kano 'we
came (to) Kano'] 'it was Kano we came (to)' [focus-
ed, [+emph.] locative goal complement]

(37) Suu na mi ka cin cu ka tomorrow emph.part. we+rel.
————————— future will come(contracted suppletive VN)
rel. [< mi cin cuwi suu 'we will come tomorrow']
'it is tomorrow that we will come' [focused [+emph.]
time adverbial]

(38) ñari mbasi na tli kà i tin ka character(lit.stomach)
————————— bad emph.part. they+rel.cont. with it
rel. [< tli yaa ñari mbasi 'they have bad charac-
ters'] 'bad character it is they are with' [focus-
ed, [+emph.] NP object of associative prep; "dummy"
pronoun agreeing in number and gender with focused
NP is inserted in place of pre-posed object]

The associative preposition is sometimes pre-

posed with the NP:

(39) i dladlo na tli ka ka with running(VN) emph. part.
————————— they+rel. cont. rel [< tli yaa dladlo
'they are with running'] 'off running they are'
[focused [+emph.]prepositional phrase]

⁷aŝin, like cin (work), and tlada (farming) [both
used in relative clause examples] are verb derived nom-
inals, which when used in verbal constructions, are
usually preceded by ndər 'to make, or do'. An equivalent
non-focused sentence would be tli aŝino wa 'they are not
sleeping'.

CHAPTER 6: AUX-TP AND VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

This chapter will deal with a number of verbal extensions, including causatives, plural (reduplicated) "intensive" verbs, statives, and passive (potential) constructions. It will do so not in terms of ordered rules, but word descriptions. This will be followed by a note on several verbs which have unusual conjugations. Finally, the AUX-tp verb agreement, segmentalization and negative placement rules which give shape to the verbal piece in Pa'anci will be stated.

Causatives

Most Pa'anci verbs can be generated as either transitives or intransitives (i.e. with or without a following complement.) Some verbs, however, are basically [-trans], requiring the addition of a causative suffix before any nominal complement. Most motion verbs fall somewhere in between, allowing locative goal complements, but requiring a causative suffix for any non-locative complement.

The causative suffix in isolation is -ei, realized as -e before consonant-initial complements, and represented as -ey before vowels. Most intransitive verbs can be made transitive by the addition of the causative suffix to the verb stem; in the case of the

Imperfective and Aorist aspects, the verbal noun and
Aorist suffixes -o and -ii, respectively, are suffixed
to the causative suffix. In some cases, the causative
forms of the verb are as common as the basic intransi-
tives; in such cases the two forms have been entered
separately in the lexicon. Less frequently used causa-
tives are listed under the basic intransitive form.

The use of causatives is illustrated by three
common motion verbs, in order to contrast the basic in-
transitive form with the causative form. Sentences with
locative goal complements are also cited.

(1) ná mba 'he went out' (basic intransitive use)

ná mba kan 'he left the room' (locative goal compl.)

ná mbei 'he took out' (rare in isolation, without
following object)

ná mbe dla 'he took the boy out'

ná mbe tli 'he took them out'

nda na mbeyíí dla ka 'when he took the boy out'[rel]

tinà mbo 'he is/was going out'

tinà mbeyo dla 'he is/was taking the boy out'

tinà mbeyo-su 'he is/was taking him out'

(2) í zaa 'she entered' (basic intransitive)

í zaa kan 'she entered the room' (locative goal com-
plement)

í zei 'she put in' (rare without following object)

í zeyi 'she put him in'

í ze hwahwa-su kan 'she put her load in the room'

nda i zii kan ka 'when she entered the room'[rel]

nda i zeyíi hwahwa-su kan ka 'when she put her load
in the room...'[rel]

i zau kan 'she is/was entering the room'

i zeyo-su kan 'she is putting it in the room'

(3) má bəla 'I returned' (basic intransitive use)

má bəla hara 'I returned home' (locative goal com-
plement)

má bəlei 'I took back' (rare in isolation)

má bəleyi 'I took it back'

nda ma bəlíi hara ka 'when I returned home'[rel]

nda ma bəleyíi zakumba kan ka 'when I took the don-
key back to the hut'

munà bəlo hara 'I am/was returning home'

munà bəleyo avun 'I am/was taking the charcoal back'

In terms of rules to account for causatives,
there appear to be two options: Either the feature
[$\pm$caus] must obligatorily be specified for all [-trans]
verbs at the deep structure level, or the causative suf-
fix could be obligatorily added to intransitive verb
stems if there was a following [-loc] NP. The problem
with the latter would be the isolated examples of causa-
tive verbs not immediately followed by a non-locative
noun or pronoun, though this could presumably be handled
by a deletion rule, when the unemphatic complement is
understood by the context.

Since returning from the field, I have wondered whether or not it is mere co-incidence that the benefactive and causative markers are identical in form. I can find no textual example of their co-occurrence, and since the identity of form struck me only after I had left the range of informant query, I failed to elicit an example with both, for instance 'I took back to the woman the charcoal for (on behalf of) Binta'.

Plural (Reduplicated) Verbs

At the deep structure level, many Pa'anci verbs can be marked with the optional feature [+plur], which carries the semantic implication that the action of the verb is repeated. The effect of the assignment of such a feature would be to trigger the reduplication of the first syllable of any verb so marked. The vowel of the repeated syllable tends to be short. In the case of consonant final monosyllables, the syllable closing sonorant is not repeated. In the case of vowel final monosyllables, the repeated vowel is that of the Perfective form, without any extension (for example, the causative suffix just described). So it is obvious that assignment of the feature [+plur] must be at the deep structure level, and the segmentalization rules which give form to it must be ordered before those which alter the Perfective vowel.

The following examples of [+plur], reduplicated (also called "intensive" in some of the Afro-Asiatic literature) verb forms were culled from the texts I collected in the field. An indication is made of the [-plur] forms from which they are derived:

[+plur] Reduplicated Verbs

ɓəɓəla 'return again and again' < ɓəla 'return'

ɓaɓatlu 'break, snap repeatedly' < ɓatlu 'break, snap, eg. a stick'

ɓɨɓii 'make many holes in' < ɓii 'pierce'

ɓʉɓʉzuu 'keep on skinning, flaying' < ɓʉzuu 'skin, flay'

dəda 'beat, strike, kill repeatedly' < da 'hit, strike, kill'
    cf. dədaa (note glottalization), 'line up'[-plur]

ɗuɗuba 'keep putting away, down' < ɗuba 'put away, down'

ɗʉɗugusu 'keep on stacking' < ɗugusu 'stack'

ɲaɲan 'see again and again' < ɲan 'see'

kəkəna 'distribute (among many)' < kəna 'distribute'

kəkəsaa 'chop (into small pieces) < kəsaa 'cut (with knife)'

pɨpɨtla 'smash repeatedly, shatter' < pɨtla 'break'

pʉpʉɗa 'keep on pouring out' < pʉɗa 'pour out'

səsa 'drink a lot of' < sa 'drink'

sasapu 'keep on grilling (eg. meat)' < sapu 'grill, roast'

tlɨtlin 'keep on tying' < tlin 'tie'

tsitsikər 'cut into small bits' < tsikər 'cut with knife'

zazei 'keep on putting in' < zei 'put in' [causative of zaa 'enter']

Statives

Another form of verbal reduplication is that used to form statives, which have been discussed (in the preceding chapter) in their role as modifiers. But unlike the plural verbs which repeat one syllable only, the entire shape of the verbal aspect, usually the Imperfective,[1] is repeated to form stative verbs. The semantic implication of such reduplication is , as the name implies, to 'be in a state of ... [the action of the verb]'.

Many Pa'anci verbs, in addition to those listed on pages 113-114, can form predicating statives by reduplicating the verbal noun. As the most common verbal noun tone pattern is hi-lo, the stative tones tend to be hi-lo hi-lo, for example:

(4) tinà áfò-áfò   'he is in a squatting or kneeling position' < tinà áfò 'he is squatting, kneeling'

Passive Type Constructions

One of the areas of Pa'anci grammar for which I have no satisfactory explanation is the area of passive-like constructions. Though the formative process in Pa'anci is fairly straightforward and therefore readily

---

[1]Two commonly used exceptions have been noted: ašin-ašin 'lying down' and šiki-šiki 'seated'.

describable, the semantic implications, and therefore the categorization of the formation, are less clear-cut. There are elements of passivity, potentiality, and reflexivity involved. The form is identical to that which I have described as inanimate reflexives in Chapter 4, and it may be that despite the different glosses I have elicited, that analysis is incorrect, and in fact those constructions and the ones described below are one and the same.

Formally, the construction I am describing is formed with a completed, continuous, or future AUX-tp, followed by a verb, which has a hi-toned, long áá ending substituted for the Perfective or Imperfective vowel ending. To this is suffixed a possessive pronoun agreeing in number with the formal subject (semantic object?) of the construction. The construction can be negated by pre-posing the verb rii 'to refuse' to the form of the verb.

The semantic implications of these constructions are more difficult to pin-point, and may belong in the Phrase Structure component, or the lexicon. Especially with [+cont] AUX-tps, there is an element of potentiality involved,[2] hence my term 'passive potential'. With

[2]Similar semantically to the -u verb forms in Hausa (Grade 7 in Parsonian terms). See F.W. Parsons, "The Verbal System in Hausa", Afrika und Übersee, Band XLIV (1960), 1-36.

[+compl] AUX-tps, the semantic implications are more variable, from straightforward passives, to potentiality with uncertainty of outcome. [There is,however,less of the notion of 'well done' than in the corresponding -u̱ verbs in Hausa.[3]] The following examples give some indication of the semantic range of the construction:

(5) akwati tina dɨmáá-sù 'box [Hausa loan] is liftable' cf. ana dimo akwati 'one lifts box'

(6) ɦwaɦwa i dimáá-sù 'load was liftable' [informants insisted there was no inherent implication of the outcome, eg. 'and some-one lifted it' or 'but no one lifted it']

(7) gula na rii dimaa-su 'gourd refused to be picked up'

(8) va-ɦmo tina duwáá-su 'food (lit. 'thing(of)eating·) is cookable' cf. ana duwo va-ɦmo 'one is cooking food'

(9) va-ɦmo na duwáá-sù 'food could be cooked' or 'food was cooked' [informants insisted either was an acceptable gloss]

(10) biẎi na rii duwáá-su 'mush [staple starchy food] refused to be cooked'

(11) tá ndəráá-sù '(it) can be done, is possible'. [Hausa zai yiwu]

(12) cuwon tlĩ rii mbisáá-sìn 'women they refused to be washed'

To complicate matters, on three separate occa-

___

[3]The semantic implications of the -u̱ verbs in Hausa are discussed in some detail in R.C. Abraham, The Language of the Hausa People (London: Univ. of London Press, 1959), p. 47.

sions I elicited 'the car was repaired', and got mota í

burɗu,[4] mota í burɗáá-sù, and á burɗu mota. When I ques-

tioned the informant, he contended that they were all

equivalent, which could not be true if the translations

he gave me for the examples above are accurate.

Nevertheless, there is a certain semantic over-

lap between the impersonal (∅ subject NP) verb construc-

tions and those described above, though they are formal-

ly quite different. For example, the semantic object

of an impersonal construction is the formal subject of

the ..áá-sù construction. One wonders whether it is in

fact a form of reflexive, with the -su (s.), -sin (pl.)

suffix a dummy replacement for the object-turned-subject.

As there are no (formal and semantic) parallels with any

other Chadic language that I know of, this area of the

grammar must remain a query.

Irregular Verbs

Before moving on to the AUX-tp Verb agreement

and segmentalization rules which account for the sur-

face form of most verbal constructions in Pa'anci, it

is necessary to point out several verbs which do not

follow those rules.

[4]Possibly formed by analogy to the Hausa mota ta
gyaru, which carries the additional semantic implica-
tion of being completely repaired.

Three verbs, ꞵwar-- 'to be angry', mb-- 'to be enough for', and nj-- 'to be tired', are limited to [-cont] conjugations. They are conjugated with a fourth person (impersonal) AUX-tp,[5] followed by the verb to which is suffixed the objective pronoun agreeing in person, number and gender with the semantic subject (or object, in the case of mb--) of the construction. The long form of the object pronoun is used for $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{compl.} \\ -\text{rel} \end{bmatrix}$ conjugations, the short form for relative completed constructions, followed immediately by the rel marker ka. To illustrate with one of the verbs, 'to be tired':

	[-rel]		[+rel]	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st	a[6] njani	a nj⁺mi	a nja ka	a nj⁺n ka
2nd m.	a nju	a njinani	a nju ka	a njina ka
2nd f.	a nj⁺n		a nj⁺n ka	
3rd m.	a nji	a nj⁺tli	a nji ka	a njitli ka
3rd f.	a njitla		a njitla	

It is also possible to form verbal constructions using all tenses, employing the secondary verbal nouns njaamaa 'fatigue, tiredness' and ꞵwar(ti) 'anger', pre-

[5] 'to be enough for' can also be conjugated with a masculine singular AUX-tp.

[6] Tone of AUX-tp: hi for completed, mid for subjunctive.

ceded by the regular conjugations of nduku 'to feel'
and ndər 'make, do', respectively. The irregular con-
jugation and the 'feel/do' collocations are roughly
equivalent semantically.

(13) má nduku njaamaa 'I feel tired'

    á njani 'I am/was tired'

(14) nda mi nderíí ƙwarti 'when we were angry' [lit.
                                        'made anger']

    nda a ƙwarin ka 'when we were angry'

Another verb, camba- 'to try very hard, is con-
jugated with suffixed possessive pronouns, but with the
usual AUX-tps preceding the verb. This verb can be
used with [+cont] AUX-tps, though followed not by the
expected verbal noun, but camba-plus-pronominal suffix.
I presume this is the relic of what was once a more
widespread Chadic phenomenon, what Paul Newman has call-
ed an ICP, Intransitive Copy Pronoun,[7] implying that the
person, number and gender features of the subject are
copied as a suffix to an intransitive verb. The three
verbs cited above may also be modified relics of the
same phenomenon, re-interpreted with impersonal AUX-tps.

Camba- differs also from the preceding three
verbs in that it can take a following indirect object,
which replaces the ICP. When used without this follow-

[7]Newman, Kanakuru, p. 23 et passim.

benefactive construction, however, the poss. pronoun
ICP is always present:

(15) má camba-nani 'I tried very hard' [compl. AUX-tp]

(16) ná camba-ni 'he tried very hard for me [compl. AUX-
            tp, 1st sing. IO]

(17) mɐná camba-nani 'I am trying very hard'

(18) táá camba-su 'he will try very hard'

     Perhaps the most irregular verb in the language,
and also the most frequently used, is the verb 'to go'.
It too incorporates an intransitive copy pronoun, with
[-cont] AUX-tps:

<div align="center">'To go'</div>

		Singular		Plural
1st		ma[8] tín[9] (ka)[10]		mi cín (ka)
2nd	m.	u tú	"	u cína $\left(\frac{nì)}{ka}\right)$
	f.	in tín	"	
3rd	m.	na táá	"	tlitli (ka)
	f.	i tlá	"	

    There are two means of forming the $[^{+cont.}_{-fut}]$

[8]Tones are hi for completed, mid for subjunctive
(and relative completed).

[9]As can be seen by ex. (18) above, 'to go' plus
the appropriate ICP suffix serves as the future forma-
tive.

[10]ka is used for relative completed constructions,
with the mid-toned AUX-tps. There is no Aorist form
of the verb 'to go'.

tenses of the verb 'to go'. The first is, as with the camba- verb just discussed, to precede the ICP form by the appropriate [+cont.] AUX-tp. The relative continuous is formed by the appropriate [subj] AUX-tp, followed by the relative ka plus the appropriate ICP form of 'to go'. For example:

(19) m̵nà tín hara   'I am going home'

(20) nda mi kà cín hara ka 'when we are going home'

An alternative is to use the suppletive verbal noun form ɦwocu with the usual [+cont.] AUX-tps. This is the only way to express unambiguously future time using the verb 'to go' (preceded by the future formative ICP form of 'to go', resulting in a 'going to go' construction), but is an option for the other [+cont.] tenses. As a noun, ɦwocu (pl. ɦwocuwaani) means 'journey, travel', and my suspicion is that verbal constructions formed with ɦwocu have more emphasis on the action of traveling, though my informants insisted that they were synonymous.

(21) m̵nà ɦwocu hara 'I am going home' [cf. 19 above]

(22) nda mi ka ɦwocu hara ka 'when we are going home [cf. 20 above]

(23) ({ m̵nà / mi }) cín ɦwocu hara 'we will go home' [lit. we are going to go home]. subj or cont. AUX-tps or neither can be used.

(24) nda mi kà cín ɦwocu hara ka 'when we will be going home...'

Neg Placement and AUX-V Segmentalization Rules

The last set of transformational rules in this grammar that deals with the verbal piece is concerned with negative placement and the various segmentalization rules which must account for the AUX-tp verb agreement and shape (after lexical insertion) of the AUX-tps. While it is probably the case that the latter are on the order of 'last-cyclic', 'housekeeping' transformations, it is by no means clear that the same is true of negative placement.

AUX-tp Verb Agreement Rules

There are three agreement rules to account for the three verbal aspects of Pa'anci: Imperfective (Verbal Noun), Aorist, and Perfective (the citation form).

T. # 28: Continuous AUX-tp Verb Agreement

$$X - \underset{\substack{1}}{\text{AUX-tp}} - \underset{3}{V} - \underset{4}{Y}$$
$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cont.} \\ \text{png} \end{bmatrix}$$
$$\underset{=====}{\text{oblig}}> 1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4$$
$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{VN} \\ +\text{-o} \end{bmatrix}$$

T. # 28 states that for any of the four continuous tenses in Pa'anci, the verb which follows the continuous AUX-tp must obligatorily be an -o ending verbal noun. The Imperfective aspect marking -o is suffixed to the verbal stem, or verbal stem plus causative suffix, if the verb is [+caus].

T. # 29:   Relative Completed AUX-tp Verb Agreement

$$
X - \underset{1}{\underbrace{\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cont.} \\ +\text{compl.} \\ +\text{rel.} \\ \alpha\text{png} \end{bmatrix}}_{2}} - \underset{3}{V} - \underset{4}{Y} - \underset{5}{\underline{ka}} - \underset{6}{Z}
$$

$$
\underline{\underline{\text{oblig}}} \Rightarrow 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6 \\
\begin{bmatrix} +\text{Aor} \\ +\underline{\text{-ii}} \end{bmatrix}
$$

T. # 29 states that only for the relative com-
pleted tense in Pa'anci, the verb which follows the rel.
compl. AUX-tp must obligatorily be the -íí ending Aorist
aspect. As with the verbal noun suffix, the Aorist -íí
is suffixed either to the verbal stem or the stem plus
causative suffix.

T. # 30: $[{}^{-\text{cont.}}_{-\text{rel}}]$ AUX-tp Verb Agreement

$$
X - \underset{1}{\text{AUX-tp}} - \underset{3}{V} - (\text{NP}) - \underset{5}{Y}
$$

$$
\underset{2}{\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cont.} \\ -\text{rel.} \\ \text{png} \end{bmatrix}} \quad \underset{4}{\begin{matrix} [-\text{caus}] \\ [- \text{ -e}] \end{matrix}}
$$

$$
\underline{\underline{\text{oblig}}} \Rightarrow 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \\
[+\text{Perf.}]
$$

T. # 30 states that for either of the non-rela-
tive, non-continuous tenses in Pa'anci, the verb which
follows the $[{}^{-\text{cont.}}_{-\text{rel.}}]$ AUX-tp must obligatorily be the
lexical, citation form of the verb, the Perfective as-
pect, <u>providing</u> that the verb is not [+caus], nor has
had the benefactive marker -e suffixed to the stem by
previous application of T. # 1 (Dative), nor is follow-
ed by a pronominal object.

Segmentalization Rules

T. # 31: Subjunctive Segmentalization

$$X - \begin{array}{c} AUX\text{-}tp \\ \begin{bmatrix} subj. \\ \beta I \\ \gamma II \\ \delta m. \\ \epsilon s. \end{bmatrix} \end{array} - \begin{array}{c} V \\ [+Perf.] \end{array} - Y - \alpha neg - \begin{array}{c} (na) \\ [+emph] \end{array}$$

$$\underline{\underline{\text{oblig}}}\Rightarrow$$

$$\begin{array}{cccccc} 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 \end{array}$$

$$1 \; \alpha mba + \begin{bmatrix} subj. \\ \beta I \\ \gamma II \\ \delta m. \\ \epsilon s. \end{bmatrix} \; 3 \; 4 \; \alpha \underline{wa} \; 6$$

In the case of the negative subjunctive, <u>mba</u> is left-sister adjoined to the AUX-tp, and the negative <u>wa</u> is in sentence final position (unless there is a sentence level emphatic particle, in which case the <u>wa</u> immediately precedes the <u>na</u>). Lexical insertion will select the appropriate AUX-tp from the following set:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -II \end{bmatrix}^{+s.} \longrightarrow \underline{ma}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -II \end{bmatrix}^{-s.} \longrightarrow \underline{mi}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +m. \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \underline{u}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ -m. \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \underline{in}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \underline{u}...(V)..\underline{n\grave{a}}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +m. \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \underline{na}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \underline{tli}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ -m. \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \underline{i}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \underline{a}$$

T. # 32:   Relative [+cont] Segmentalization

X -   AUX-tp   -   V   -   Y -   ka   - Z
      $\begin{bmatrix} +cont. \\ \alpha fut. \\ +rel. \\ \beta I \\ \gamma II \\ \delta m. \\ \epsilon s. \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +VN \\ +-o \end{bmatrix}$ [rel]

                                                        oblig=>

1   2   3   4   5   6

1   2   + kà α + 3   4   5   6
   $\begin{bmatrix} subj \\ \beta I \\ \gamma II \\ \delta m. \\ \epsilon s. \end{bmatrix}$ ['go'+ICP] $\begin{bmatrix} \beta I \\ \gamma II \\ \delta m. \\ \epsilon s. \end{bmatrix}$
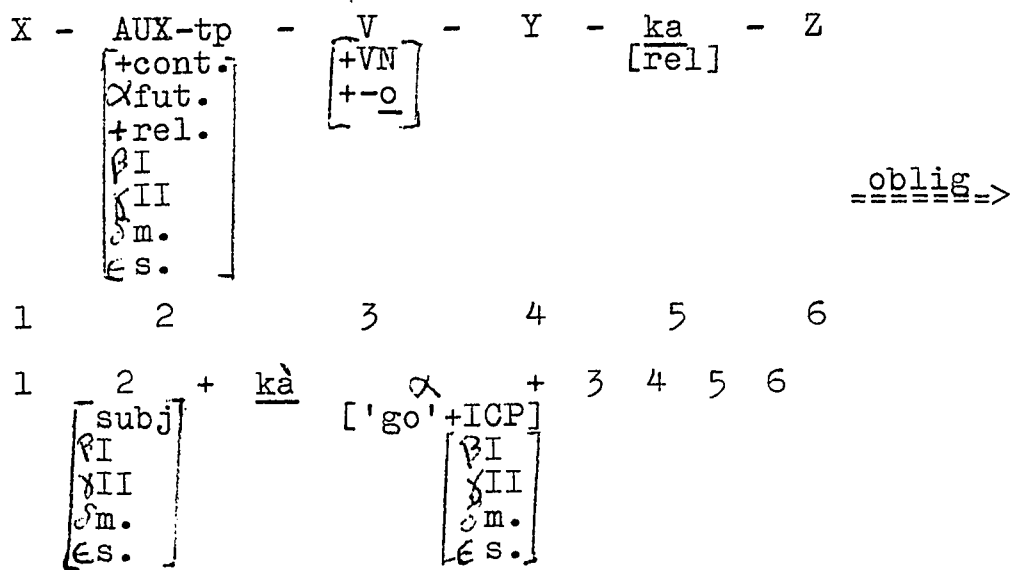
Both relative [+cont.] tenses are formed by right-sister adjoining kà to the appropriate subjunctive AUX-tp, the set of which appears on the previous page. If the AUX-tp is also [+fut.], the appropriate ICP form of the verb 'to go' [see page 141 or the second, "look-up" lexicon for form] is obligatorily left-sister adjoined to the verbal noun.

T. # 33: [+cont.] Segmentalization

X - AUX-tp - V - Y

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cont.} \\ \alpha\text{fut.} \\ \beta\text{I} \\ \gamma\text{II} \\ \delta\text{m.} \\ \epsilon\text{s.} \end{bmatrix} \qquad [\begin{smallmatrix} +\text{VN} \\ +\text{-o} \end{smallmatrix}]$$

$$\underline{\underline{\text{Oblig}}} \Rightarrow 1 \quad 2 \quad \alpha \quad + 3 \quad 4$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cont.} \\ \beta\text{I} \\ \gamma\text{II} \\ \delta\text{m.} \\ \epsilon\text{s.} \end{bmatrix} [\text{'go'} +\text{ICP}] \begin{bmatrix} \beta\text{I} \\ \gamma\text{II} \\ \delta\text{m.} \\ \epsilon\text{s.} \end{bmatrix}$$
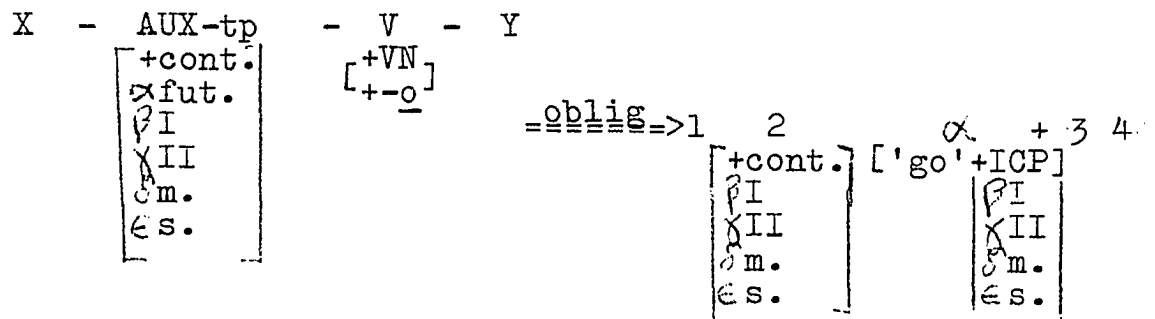
Note: [subj] AUX-tps may be used in place of [+cont.]
AUX-tps for [+fut], or AUX-tp may be realized
as Ø once agreement with ICP form of 'to go'
has taken place. Either form of the AUX-tp
must be used if Y includes [neg], or X includes
a [+emph.] subject.

Lexical insertion will select the appropriate

[+cont.] AUX-tp from the following set, obligatorily

in the case of $[\begin{smallmatrix} +\text{cont.} \\ -\text{fut.} \end{smallmatrix}]$ AUX-tps, optionally in the case

of $[\begin{smallmatrix} +\text{cont.} \\ +\text{fut.} \end{smallmatrix}]$ AUX-tps.

[+cont.] AUX-tps

+s.

$[\begin{smallmatrix} +\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \end{smallmatrix}]$ ---> <u>mɨnà</u>

$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$ ---> <u>hɨnà</u>, <u>u</u>

$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ -\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$ ---> <u>ĥnnà</u>

$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$ ---> <u>tɨnà</u>

$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ -\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$ ---> <u>i</u>

$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \end{bmatrix}$ ---> <u>ánà</u>

-s.

$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \end{bmatrix}$ ---> <u>mɨnà</u>

$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \end{bmatrix}$ ---> <u>hɨnà</u>

$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \end{bmatrix}$ ---> <u>tli</u>

If the AUX-tp is also [+fut.], the ICP form of
the verb 'to go' is obligatorily left-sister adjoined
to the verbal noun. This paradigm is listed on page
141 and in the second "look-up" lexicon.

Since person, number and gender information is
copied on the future formative (the ICP form of the
verb 'to go'), an AUX-tp would carry redundant informa-
tion. Not surprisingly, for affirmative future con-
structions, the AUX-tp is most often deleted. If, how-
ever, the subject is [+emph.], or the sentence contains
[neg], an AUX-tp, either [+cont.] or [subj] is used in
addition to the ICP form of 'to go'.

T. # 34:   Relative Completed Segmentalization

$$
X - \begin{bmatrix} -cont. \\ +compl. \\ +rel. \\ \alpha I \\ \beta II \\ \chi m. \\ \delta s. \end{bmatrix} - \begin{bmatrix} +Aor \\ +-ii \end{bmatrix} - Y - \underline{ka} - Z
$$
$$
 \quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad [\overline{rel}]
$$

$$
1 \qquad 2 \qquad\quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5 \quad 6
$$

$$
\underline{\underline{oblig}} \Rightarrow 1 \quad 2 \quad\quad 3 \ 4 \ 5 \ 6
$$
$$
\begin{bmatrix} subj \\ \alpha I \\ \beta II \\ \chi m. \\ \delta s. \end{bmatrix}
$$

The relative completed tense employs the [subj]
AUX-tps, followed by the Aorist form of the verb, and
the verb phrase final rel marker <u>ka</u>. Lexical insertion
will select the appropriate AUX-tp form from among those
listed on page 145.

T. # 35:   Completed Segmentalization

$$
\text{X} - \underset{1}{\text{AUX-tp}} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cont.} \\ +\text{compl.} \\ \emptyset\text{I} \\ \beta\text{II} \\ \gamma\text{m.} \\ \delta\text{s.} \end{bmatrix} \quad - \quad \underset{3}{\underset{\text{V}}{\left\{ \begin{array}{c} [+\text{Perf}] \\ [+\text{caus}] \\ [+-\underline{e}] \\ [+ -\underline{pn}] \end{array} \right\}}} \quad \underset{4}{- \text{Y}} \quad =\underline{\underline{\text{Oblig}}}=> \quad 1 \quad \underset{\begin{bmatrix} \emptyset\text{I} \\ \beta\text{II} \\ \gamma\text{m.} \\ \delta\text{s.} \end{bmatrix}}{\underset{[\text{compl}]}{2}} \quad 3 \quad 4
$$

1   2   3   4
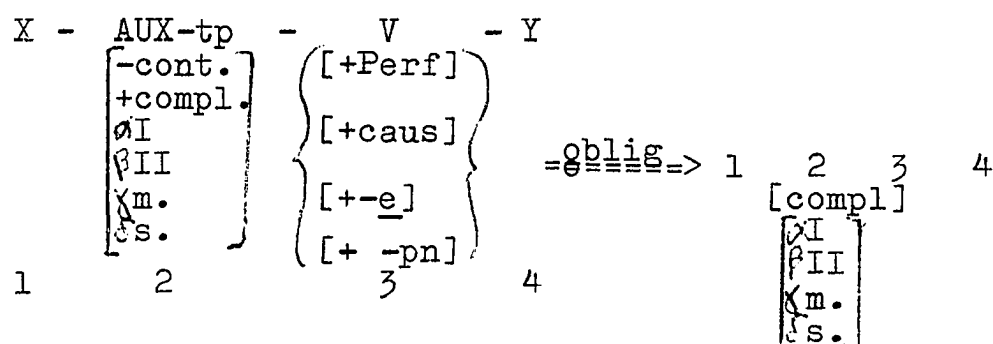
The set of completed AUX-tps, the appropriate one of which will be selected by lexical insertion, is identical to the subjunctive set listed on page 145, except that the tones are hi, rather than mid. This is followed by the verb, with either the Perfective suffix, the causative or benefactive suffix, or a pronominal complement suffixed to the stem

Negation

Excluding the two exceptions previously mentioned (negation of passive potentials with rii, and negative subjunctives with mba...wa), negation in Pa-'anci is marked formally by sentence final wa. The only morph that can be post-posed to neg is sentence level emphatic particle na. This is true of verbal and non-verbal (NP NP pred) sentence. Some examples follow the formulation of the Negative Placement rule on the next page.

T. # 36: Negative Placement

X   -   neg   -   (na)
                  [S.emph]
                          ᵈᵒᵇˡⁱᵍ⟹ 1 wa 3
1   2   3

(25) ná munde na dava wa na   'he said he didn't come'
     _____ he said + neg. sentence
                               complement + emphatic

(26) mbun ii ya wa   'yesterday is not today' NP NP pred
     _____   neg

(27) tli aki na wa   'they (are) not there' [locative ad-
     _____   verb emphasized, not whole sentence]

Even if it is a front-shifted element that is

negated, there is no formal indication of the negation

until the end of the sentence, for example:

(28) aŝin na tli ka ndəro ka wa   'it is not sleeping
     _____   they are doing'[focused
                                   negated complement]

Sentences whose English gloss involves 'no one,

no where, etc.' are similarly negated sentences invol-

ving RCs:

(29) ani abita ma ñaníí ka wa   'there is no one that I
     _____   saw' [Existential with
                                  RC as object, negated]

CHAPTER 7:   NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY AND MORPHOPHONEMICS

This chapter deals primarily with two aspects of nominal morphology, gender and number (plurality), and with two morphophonemic phenomena, contractions (involving the associative preposition i̱, and the prohibitive particle mba) and tonal changes (resulting from the suffixation of pronouns to the verbal noun.) As I have dealt with gender (and to a lesser extent plurality as well) in a previously published paper,[1] the first half of this chapter will serve mainly to summarize the main features of the gender system, and state the rules for plural formation in Pa'anci.

<div align="center">Gender</div>

Gender is marked as a feature of all nouns at the deep structure level, and governs selection of the appropriate AUX-tp if the noun is subject, choice of two sets of suffixed possessive pronouns, agreement with [+qual] words used as attributive or predicate adjec-tives, choice among pairs of RCs, Q-words, agentives, etc., and agreement with the equalizing/stabilizing pred and the word level emphatic particles.

While gender usually correlates with semantic

[1]MGS, "Gender in Pa'a" in Papers in Chadic Linguistics, Newman and Newman eds., pp. 167-174.

sex where present, nouns with no semantic sex are assign-
ed gender in a seemingly arbitrary fashion. There is
some correlation between the vowel ending of the singu-
lar of polysyllabic nouns and gender, in that most -a
final nouns are feminine, while nouns whose singular
form ends in a vowel other than -a, a diphthong, or a
sonorant consonant, tend to be masculine. As there are
numerous exceptions, however, I have found it necessary
to mark gender (by $\pm$m.) for all nouns in the lexicon.
Nouns derived transformationally from verbs are usually
[+m.], as are time and place adverbials. There are,
additionally, two gender-marking nominal suffixes, -cəka
(-m.) and -ciki (+m.), commonly used, though no longer
fully productive. All plural nouns, regardless of the
gender of the singular, are regarded as (+m.) for agree-
ment with pred and the emphatic particle na.

The importance of gender to Pa'anci's grammar
is perhaps most strikingly illustrated by the suffixed
possessive pronouns. Not only are the pronouns distin-
guished for gender of the possessor in the second per-
son singular, but a different set is used depending on
the grammatical gender of that which is possessed.
Though several Chadic languages do distinguish between
masculine and feminine second and third person singular
pronouns (as Pa'anci does, in agreement with the gender
of the subject, for all AUX-tps), it is comparatively

rare to have the form of the possessive pronouns also determined by the gender of the noun possessed. Complete paradigms are listed in the second, "look-up" lexicon.

One common phonological thread runs through several of those categories controlled by agreement with the gender of the head noun: n̲ is associated with (+m.), y̲ with (-m.). This can be seen in the masculine/feminine forms of the emphatic particles and pred na̲/y̲a̲, the suffixed possessive pronouns -nani̲ etc. vs.-y̲ayi̲ etc., and even in the differences between the masculine and feminine forms of some adjectives, eg. bəlan̲ vs. bəlei̲.

A last-cyclic agreement rule -- or set of rules -- will mark gender and number of the head noun onto the controlled category. The latter include pred, emphatic particles, predicate adjectives, and possessive pronouns (which presumably have already been marked for the person, number, and gender of the possessor), plus any other agentials whose agreement has not been handled by a previous transformation. In the case of NP NP pred sentences, the controlling NP is usually the first. Agreement with emphatic particles na̲/y̲a̲ is determined not only by the inherent gender of the emphatic word, but also by its sentential function. To repeat two

previously quoted examples, (1) and (2) below involve the inherently (-m.) noun mbun 'yesterday', which, when serving as a preposed time adverbial, takes a (+m.) emphatic particle:

(1) mbun ii ya wa   'yesterday is not today' NP NP pred
    ———   —   neg

(2) mbun na na davíí ka 'yesterday it was (that) he came'
    ———   pre-posed $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{emph.} \\ +\text{focus} \end{bmatrix}$ time adverbial

Plurality

Most Pa'anci nouns have both singular and plural forms. [The few exceptions are noted as [-pl] in the lexicon]. All nouns must be marked for number (as well as gender) at the deep structure level, and [+pl] will trigger selection of the plural form at the time of lexical insertion. Subject AUX-tp agreement copies number of subject onto the AUX-tp and adjectival agreement rules will normally copy the plurality feature onto those adjectives which have plural forms, or the preposed agent of $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{qual} \\ +\text{abst} \end{bmatrix}$ nouns modifying a head noun which is plural.

Given the lexical form of the singular, the plural form is in large part predictable on phonological grounds, even more so than its gender. However, as there are exceptions, both singular and plural forms, where known, have been listed in this grammar's lexicon.

Polysyllabic nouns which end in -a (the major-
ity of which are feminine), form their plurals by re-
placing the -a by -i, usually hi-toned. Polysyllabic
nouns which end in vowels other than -a, or in a con-
sonant (the majority of which are masculine), form
their plurals in -aani, which is suffixed to final
consonants, and either replaces or (more often) is
suffixed to (with an epenthetic y or w) final vowels.

(3) taka (-m.) > taki (+pl) 'arrow'

(4) dliꞵerꞵuma (-m.) > dliꞵerꞵumi (+pl) 'bee'

(5) cira (+m.) > ciri (+pl) 'month, moon' [gender excep-
tion]

(6) jinki (+m.) > jinkiyaani, jinkaani [alternative plur-
al forms] 'cooking pot'

(7) jombo (+m.) > jombowaani (+pl) 'toad'

(8) gambəli (+m.) > gambəlaani (+pl.) 'bandicoot rat'

Most nouns whose singular contains the nominal
suffix -cəka or -ciki form plural according to the rules
just stated, resulting in nominal plural suffixes -cəki
or -cikaani. But a substantial number of Pa'anci nouns
ignore the nominal suffix in forming the plural.

(9) gancəka (-m.) > gancəki (+pl) 'cheek'

(10) muzanciki (+m.) > muzancikaani (+pl) 'hunter'

(11) samburciki (+m.) > samburi (+pl) 'guest'

(12) kokinciki (+m.) > kokinaani (+pl) 'land monitor'

(13) ñarcəka (-m.) > ñarwi (+pl) 'cow'

Similarly, singulars containing the relationship suffix -ti, tend to form plurals in -aani, replacing the final vowel and relationship suffix. 'Father', however, adds the plural suffix to the relationship suffix, with an epenthetic vowel:

(14) kakati (±m.) > kakaani (+pl) 'grandson or grand-
daughter', depending
on gender

(15) jijiti (+m.) > jijaani (+pl) 'grandfather'

(16) abati (+m.) > abatiyaani (+pl) 'father'

Monosyllables form their plurals with the -aani suffix, regardless of the ending of the singular. The plural suffix is added to consonant final monosyllables, or, with an epenthetic semi-vowel, to vowels other than a. [-aani replaces the vowel of -a(a) final monosyllables.

(17) naa (+m.) > naani (+pl) 'antelope'

(18) wei (+m.) > weyaani (+pl) 'grass'

(19) kan (-m.) > kanaani (+pl) 'sauce, stew'

There are a few commonly used nouns whose suppletive plural forms are inexplicable synchronically. These include:

(20) acəka (-m.) > tori (+pl) 'goat'

(21) meka (-m.) > cuwan (+pl) 'woman'

(22) vura (-m.) 'girl, daughter', dla (+m.) 'boy,son' >
vuran (+pl) 'children'

(23) jiki (+m.) > dooni (+pl) 'horse' [more regular plural
form jikaani also used

(24) mbarin (+m.) > mbarmbi (+pl) 'person, man' > people'

A Note on Morphophonemics

Although some morphophonemic phenomena have been dealt with in previous sections of this grammar (for example, formation of plural verbs and nouns), this brief note will concentrate on two areas merely hinted at in the text. The first has to do with contractions (involving the associative preposition i, and the prohibitive particle mba), and the second concerns tonal changes necessitated by suffixation of possessive pronouns.

Contractions

The most common contraction occurs when a preceding vowel is totally assimilated to the following associative preposition i. This perhaps most frequently occurs in associative or existential sentences, in which the final -a of the [+cont.] AUX-tp is replaced by i.

(25) tini tsalliya 'he has money' < tina+i tsalliya 'he-is with money'

(26) muni jiki wa 'I don't have a horse' < muna+i jiki wa 'I-am with horse neg'

(27) ani gishira 'there is salt' < ana+i gishira 'one+is with salt' [existential]

But in other environments as well, a preceding vowel may be replaced by a following associative preposition. For example, compounds of locative plus associative preposition are often contracted, for example:

(28) <u>zimii tli n̄waasi kan</u> '(the) birds are skyward above the hut' < <u>zimii tli n̄waasu + i kan</u> birds [suppletive plural of <u>zənciki</u>] they+ cont. up+with hut

(29) <u>tlí ndər zaa kudi dlanga</u> 'they fought [lit. made bow] south of the town' < <u>tlí ndər zaa kudu+i dlanga</u> they+compl. made bow south with town

Doubtless there are restrictions governing the contraction of preceding vowels to the associative prepositions, but the only ones I have been able to establish to date are that the preceding word must be polysyllabic, and the associative preposition must be immediately adjacent. Obviously, the rule applies only to the associative preposition <u>i</u>, not to <u>yaa</u>. If the preceding word is monosyllabic, <u>i</u> may be combined with it by means of an epenthetic semi-vowel, for example:

(30) <u>u^wi zakumba</u>? 'have you a donkey?' < <u>u+i zakumba</u> you+cont.+with donkey

cf.

(31) <u>huni va fuu</u> 'you are rich' [lit. you are with thing (of) world'] < <u>huna+i va fuu</u> you+cont. [alternate form to above]+with thing world

The second instance of the contraction of a previous vowel to the following one-vowel word, involves the prohibitive particle <u>mba</u> and the 2nd person subjunctive AUX-tps. The most frequent use is in commands, e.g. <u>mbu dava wa</u> 'don't come' < <u>mba+u dava wa</u> [prohibitive particle+you(subj) come neg]

Tonal Morphophonemics

Perhaps the most dramatic tone rule in Pa'anci applies when one of the sets of object or possessive pronouns is suffixed to the Imperfective aspect, or verbal noun. The effect of the suffixation of the lo-toned pronoun is to raise the previous tone to hi, and lower any preceding tone to mid or lo. Thus this rule may have the effect of totally reversing the tones of a hi-lo verbal noun: $\bar{\text{-}}\ \bar{\text{-}} + \bar{\text{-}} = \grave{\text{-}}\ \acute{\text{-}}\ \grave{\text{-}}$. The suffixation of the pronoun may be as a result of complementizer placement (T. # 2), or a pronominal direct or indirect object.

(31) <u>tɨnà ndəró-sù</u> 'he is doing it' cf. <u>tinà ndərò cin</u>
he-is doing work

(32) <u>tinà hwo šìkwó-nìn</u> 'he wants our sitting' cf. <u>tɨnà</u>
<u>síkwò aki</u> 'he-is sitting here'

In fact, in a more formal grammar, the tones of the verbal noun and and Aorist forms of the verb could, in the main, be predicted by a series of morpho-phonemic rules, given the lexical tones of the Perfective aspect. In such a grammar, only the exceptions need be listed in the lexicon. For the present purposes, however, I have elected to predict by agreement rule only the vowel endings of the verbal noun and Aorist form, while giving only a passing indication of the usual tone contours, listing the tones of all three aspects for each verb in the lexicon, which follows.

PA'ANCI-ENGLISH LEXICON

In this Pa'anci-English lexicon, the following
alphabetical order has been adopted for Pa'anci: a, b,
ɓ, c, d, ɗ, dl, e, f, g, gw, h, hw, hy, ẖ, ẖw, ẖy, i, j,
k, kw, ƙ, ƙw, l, m, mb, n, nd, ŋg, ŋgw, nj, o, p, r, s,
š, t, tl, tl', ts, u, ə, v, w, y, 'y, z and ž. Glottal
stops have been ignored for the purposes of alphabetiza-
tion, and diphthongs are regarded as sequences of two
vowels, i.e. e+i, and a+u. Long vowels are written with
double letters, but are treated as units. Tones, marked
on citation forms (including singular and plural, and
all three verbal aspects) of nouns and verbs, but not
all collocations or extensions, are marked as follows:
hi [´], lo [`], falling [ˆ], and mid [unmarked]. Words
for which I am unsure of the tones are marked by a
question mark in square brackets following the entry,
[?].

The lexicon contains nouns, verbs, modifiers
(including ideophones), particles and some formatives.
It does not contain pronouns or AUX-tps, which are list-
ed in the Second "Look-up" Lexicon, which follows the
English-Pa'anci Word List. Nouns are listed by the
form of the singular, followed by a parenthetical nota-
tion of gender ($\pm$m.), followed by the plural form and
(+pl), or (-pl) if none, then the English gloss, and

any additional notations where relevant, eg. [+anim],
[+qual], [+abst.], or [Q-word]. Derivational informa-
tion is noted where known, for example verbal origin,
[H. (for Hausa) loan], [+relat. suff], or origin of a
suppletive plural form. The plural forms and gender of
some words, esp. game animals and trees, were obtained
from untrained informants (hunters and farmers), uncon-
firmed by direct elicitation with my trained informants,
and so have been marked by [?+m], [?+pl] where relevant.

Verbs are listed by the Perfective form first,
followed by the Aorist (used to form the relative com-
pleted tense), and the Imperfective or verbal noun
form. This is followed by the English gloss, then nota-
tions of transitivity ([$^{\pm}$trans],[+VN compl.], [+S.
compl.], and/or extensions [+caus], [+pl], statives,
etc. Some common collocations are listed for both
verbs and nouns.

Modifiers are listed with masculine, feminine
and plural forms where present, or with the base form
of the abstract, quality noun (without pre-posed agent,
although aba, 'owner-of', contains a sub-listing of
the most common ones). Ideophones have as their gloss
the closest approximation I could manage in English.
Particles are marked for grammatical function (e.g.
PRAM, [assoc.prep] and gloss, where possible.

It should be noted that vowels, especially medial vowels, have been over-specified in the lexical transcription, to reflect phonetic reality, rather than phonemic status. Final vowel length is somewhat un-stable, varying with what follows.

Abbreviations used in the lexicon include the following:

;   separates glosses of homophones
<   derived from, from
?   questionable, unconfirm-ed, unknown
abst   abstract
adv.   adverb
alt.   alternative
anim   animimate
Ar.   Arabic
assoc.   associative
AUX-tp   Auxiliary tense-pronoun
caus.   causative
cf.   compare
compl.   complement
cont.   continuous
det   determiner
e.g.   for example
emph.   emphatic
esp.   especially
ex.   example
gen.   general, generic
H.   Hausa
i.e.   that is
incl.   including
ind.   independent
lit.   literally
loc.   locative
+m.   masculine gender
-m.   feminine gender
n.   noun
NP   noun phrase

opp: opposite
+pl   plural form of noun, intensive, reduplica-ted form of verb
-pl   no plural form
pn, pns   pronoun, pronouns
PP   prepositional phrase
PRAM   Previously referred to animate marker
prep   prepositional phrase
Q   question, as in Q-word
qual.   quality word
quant   quantifier
q.v.   which see
RC   relativized category
rel   relative
relat.suff.   relationship suffix
sec. VN   secondary verbal noun
s.o.   someone
s.t.   something
suff.   suffix, suffixed
suppl.   suppletive
syn: synonym
+trans.   transitive
-trans.   basic intransitive
V, v.   verb
VN   verbal noun

Other notations

"or" indicates variants, same gloss

a

<u>a</u> [loc.prep] 'at, in, on' [cf. H. <u>à</u>], also used with
other loc.preps. and advs. e.g. <u>añamaa</u> 'on top of',
<u>añari</u> 'inside', <u>avingi</u> 'at edge of', <u>aki(ki)</u> 'here',
<u>akaka</u> 'there'

<u>à</u>, <u>ñyà</u> (+pl) [PRAM] pre-posed to previously referred
to subject animate nouns and ind. pns., including
titles, proper names, etc.

<u>á'à</u> 'no' [negative response to a Q]

<u>aaà</u> 'yes' [affirmative response to a Q]

<u>abà</u> (+m.), <u>másu</u> (+pl) 'owner of' [s. < 'father' q.v.,
pl. H. loan] Used as agentive with abst.qual. nouns,
VNs, and other NPs, e.g.: <u>aba-cucu</u> 'fisherman', <u>aba-</u>
<u>dar-ti</u> 'deep', <u>aba-gwamo dar-ti</u> 'shallow', <u>aba-gwamo</u>
<u>tau</u> 'blunt', <u>aba-ñaniki</u> 'traditional doctor', <u>aba-</u>
<u>kuco</u> 'blind', <u>aba-kuufa</u> 'blacksmith', <u>aba-kəra</u> 'thief',
<u>aba-libu-libu-ti</u> 'soft', <u>aba-lima</u> 'sorcerer', <u>aba-</u>
<u>ndan-ndan-ti</u> 'heavy', <u>aba-rinši</u> 'thick, fat', <u>aba-tau</u>
'sharp eg. knife', <u>aba-tl'in</u> 'strong', <u>aba-tsəmumu-ti</u>
'sour'

<u>abatì</u> (+m.) <u>abàtíyaanì</u> (+pl) 'father' [+relat.suff]
poss. pns. added to <u>aba</u> [-relat.suff], eg. <u>aba-nani</u>
'my father' [+anim]

<u>abità</u> (+m.) 'that' [det]; 'who, the one referred to' [RC]

<u>abítì</u> (+m.) 'this' [det], Often followed by -<u>kiki</u>

<u>abùgucì</u> (+m.) (-pl) 'dawn'

<u>ací</u> (+m.), <u>acáánì</u> (+pl) 'guinea-corn'

<u>acəka</u> (-m.) <u>tóri</u> (suppl.pl) 'goat' [+anim]

<u>'afù</u>, <u>'afíì</u>, <u>'afò</u> 'kneel, squat' [-trans] <u>'áfei</u>, <u>'áfeyò</u>
etc. [+caus]

<u>agwàdá</u> (?-m.) agwadí [?] (?pl) 'hyrax (dassie)' [+anim]

<u>añwân</u> [loc.prep] 'in front of, ahead' <u>ñma añwan</u> [lit.
'eat ahead'] 'progress, get ahead'

<u>ai</u>, <u>àyíì</u>, <u>áyò</u> 'do' [less frequently used than <u>ndər</u>,
q.v.] [+trans]

<u>ájù</u>, <u>ajíí</u>, <u>ájò</u> 'leave, let, allow' [+trans]

<u>áki(ki)</u> [loc. **adv**] 'here'[<<u>á</u> + <u>ki(ki)</u> 'at + this'?]

<u>ála(la)</u> [loc.prep] 'after, behind, beneath, at back or base' <u>ala bama</u> '(at) trunk, base of tree'

'<u>áálà</u>, usually <u>gyelà</u> '<u>áálà</u> q.v. 'millet'

<u>àlbása</u> (-m.) <u>àlbasí</u> (+pl) 'onion' [H.<Ar. loan]

<u>ámà</u> (-m.) 'owner-of' (fem. equivalent of agentive <u>aba</u>, q.v.) <u>ama-'ì</u> 'pregnant woman'

<u>àmàti</u> (-m.) <u>amááni</u> (+pl) 'mother' [plural formed, and poss. pns. added -relat.suff -<u>ti</u>] <u>ama-yayi</u> 'my mother'

<u>ámatà</u> (-m.) 'that' [det]; 'she who, the one referred to' [RC]

<u>amatì</u> (-m.) 'this' [det] Often followed by -<u>kiki</u>

<u>ámbii</u> (+m.) (-pl) 'water' <u>ambi so</u> 'drinking water' metaphorical use: 'business': <u>ani ambi-nu wa</u> 'it's no business of yours' <u>ambi kacan</u> 'sweet water', <u>ambi dliƙerƙuma</u> 'honey'[water(of)bees]

<u>àmmá</u> [conj] 'but' [H. loan]

<u>ánà</u>, <u>áni</u> [existential] 'there is, are' [impersonal subj AUX-tp (+ assoc.prep)] See <u>ambi</u> above for ex.

<u>aní</u> (+m.) <u>aníyaanì</u> (+pl) 'smoke'

<u>àní</u> (+m.) <u>aníyaanì</u> (+pl) 'saliva'

'<u>án'ùwán</u> (+m.) '<u>án'ùwánaanì</u> (+pl) 'good' [+qual] can also be [+abst.] and take agent, <u>aba-'an'uwan-ti</u> 'good'

<u>ápi</u> (+m.), <u>apíyaanì</u> (+pl) 'breast, milk' [+body part]

'<u>ar</u>, '<u>àríí</u>, '<u>árò</u> 'place on fire' [+trans]

<u>Ari</u> (alternative to Ri) [loc. NP] name of Pa'a town

<u>árna</u> (-m.) <u>ární</u> (+pl) 'shadow, shade'

<u>arša</u> (+m.) (-pl) 'cunning' [+qual, +abst] [sec.VN<<u>aršu</u>]

árš̌u, arš̌íí, árš̌ò 'be cunning' [-trans]

àrš̌ú, árš̌ò (?m., -pl] 'hardness' [+qual.+abst]

ása(na), ása(ne) [alternatives] (+m.) yaa asa [lit. with who] (+pl) 'who, whom' [Q-word]

áse(ya), áse(ye) [alternatives] (-m.) [pl. as above] 'who, whom' [Q-word]

àsí (+m.) asíyaanì (+pl) 'egg'

àsíncəkà (-m.) àsíncə̀ki (+pl) 'co-wife' [+anim] [+nom. suff]

àš̌ɨmba-tì (+m.) àš̌ɨmbáánì (+pl) 'friend' [+anim] [+relat. suffix; pl. formed without it]

àš̌ín (+m.) (-pl) 'sleep! [sec.VN< aš̌in, q.v.]; 'day (24 hours)' (+pl. aš̌ínaanì)

áš̌ìn, aš̌íníí, àš̌ínò 'lie down, sleep' [-trans]; aš̌inei aš̌ineyo [?] [+caus] stative: aš̌in-aš̌in [suppl.form] 'lying down'

atá (-m.) atí (+pl) 'eye' [+body part]

átìn (+m.) atínaanì (+pl) 'nose' [+body part]

àtìn (+m.) (?-pl -- once given àtináánì) 'blood'

átuwí (+m.) atùwìyááni (+pl) 'housefly' [+anim]

'átlà, 'atlíí, 'átlò 'lift, raise, awaken (someone), get s.o. up' [+trans] 'atla ritl'a 'raise dust, earth'

'átlɨm (or 'átlɨn), 'atlɨmíí,'atlɨmò (or 'átlɨmó)[alternative nasals in Perfective, tones in VN] 'shave' [+trans]

atlíma (-m.) atlímí (+pl) 'knife'

átlò (+m.) átlòwááni (+pl) 'cough' ndər atlo 'to cough' [lit. make cough]

ávità (+m.) vàhítà(+pl) 'what, that which, thing that' [RC] [<'thing'+ ref. marker 'ta']

àvù (+m.) vaaní (+pl), 'thing' variants: avi before
poss.pns., e.g. na taa avi-su 'he went [to do] his
thing', va in compounds, e.g. va ĥmo 'food', va lifi
'cloth for tying baby on back'

àvùn (+m.) àvùnáaní, àvúnaani (+pl, alternate tones)
'charcoal'

àwí, wí (+m.) ĥyàwí (+pl) 'a certain, another' [< PRAM +
wi,'certain'?]

'àwën (+m.) 'àwunáaní (+pl) 'kolanut'

àyo [exclamation of surprise]

b

ba, bíí, bo 'finish' [+trans]

bàbár (+m.) bàrbaráaní (+pl) 'roan antelope' [+anim]

bá(m)bùrm(b)àka (+m.) bá(m)bùrm(b)àkí (+pl) (parentheses
indicate alternate pronunciations) (-m.) 'pigeon'
[+anim]

bàbəlà [intensive of bəlan, q.v.] 'very big' [+qual]

bàdàĸəla (+m.) bàdàĸəlaaní (+pl) 'bushbuck' [+anim]

badàtí (+m.) badatí (+pl) 'adornment, finery, decoration'
ndər badati (loosely) 'get dressed up'

bàjàka (-m.) bàjakí (+pl) 'basket'

bakùsù, bàkùsíí, bàkùsàù 'envelop (as in palm leaves)'

báĸàlti (+m.) báĸàltiyáaní (+pl) 'bark (tree)'

Bàlàzà title of traditional religious ritual leader

bali, bàlíí, bàló 'bewitch' [+trans] bàlàmà [sec.VN]
'witchcraft'

bàmà (-m.) bamí (+pl)'tree'

bàngá (-m.) bàngí 'drum (gen.)'

bangwárá (-m.) bàngwàrí (+pl) 'quiver'

bantsál, bantsár [ideophone] 'leaping, or sound thereof'

bar, baríí, báró (or báràù) 'marry' [+trans]

barau (+m.) (?pl) 'marriage' [< VN of bar, above]

bàrkwan (+m.) bàrkwanáàni (+pl) 'pepper (hot)' [< H.
　barkono?]

bàrwacíkì (+m.), bàrwacèka (-m), barwaaní (+pl) 'rela-
　tives, incl. siblings' [nom. suff. in singular only]

bàsá (-m.) bàsí (+pl) 'health' i yaa basa wa 'she's
　not healthy' [+qual,+abst?]

bàatáá (+m.) (-pl) 'fog'

bata ŋgám [formulaic command for closing magical door]
　'close sesame' cf. ŋgám 'closed tight'

bàtà sàkwáp [formulaic command for opening magical
　door] 'open sesame'

bàzáû [ideophone]　'falling, or sound thereof' [<H.?]

béékɨtù, beekətíí, béékatò 'fan' [+trans]

bèèna (-m.) bèèní (+pl) 'fever'

bìì (+m.) bìyáání 'bag'

bihân (+m.) bihêi (-m.) bìhánaaní (+pl) 'red' [+qual]
　bi [intensive]'very red'

bɨjá (-m.) bìjí (+pl) 'grave (tomb), burial'

bìmí (+m.) bìmíyaaní (+pl) 'ashes' [syn: bətiki q.v.]

bìncikí (+m.) bìnàaní (+pl) 'devil, spirit' [pl. formed
　without nom. suff]

bɨnza (-m.) bìnzí (+pl) 'beard'

bɨsákwà (-m.) bɨsakwí (+pl) '5-string, hand-held harp'
　[as played by Galadima Tiffi]

bɨší (+m.) bɨšáàní (+pl) 'mush (staple starchy food)'

biˇsicə̀ka̋ (-m.) [loc] 'right side' cf. kə́man biˇsi̋ 'right
    hand'

bḭtangwíl (+m.) bḭtangwilaẚni̥ (+pl) 'hyena' [+anim]

bòceló (+m.) bòcelaẚni̥ (+pl) 'fetish, "juju"'

bòmbə̀raa (-m.) bòmbərí̋i̥ (+pl) 'walk, stroll'

bòòtaa (-m.)(-pl) 'difficulty' [+qual,+abst]

bubâu, bubô (+m) (-pl)'heat (as in fire or pepper)'
    [+qual.+abst]

bụ́buduù̥, bubudíi̥, bubudò 'pour out, or fill narrow neck
    bottle by submersion' [+trans]

bụ́dúgu (?+m.) bụ̀dugaani̥ (?pl) 'mongoose'

budụ̀, budíi̥, bụ̀dô 'be rotten' [-trans]

bə̂n (+m.) bə̂naani̥ (+pl) 'baboon'

bụ́r (+m.) bụ̀raẚni̥ (+pl) 'arm and leg decorations made
    of hemp, for ceremonial purposes'

bụ̀rama̋ (-m.) bụ̀rami (+pl) 'clay'

bụ̀rɗu, bụ̀rɗíi̥, bụ́rɗo 'repair' [+trans]

bə̀rmi (+m.) bə̀rmí, bə̀rmaẚni̥ (alternate plurals) 'knee'
    [+ body part]

bə̀so dlánga̋ (?+m.) (?-pl) 'ritual sacrifice' [colloca-
    tion of ? + 'town']

bə̀tsahán (+m.) bə̀tsahé̋i̥ (-m.) bə̀tsahánaani̥ (+pl) 'short'
    [+qual]

bə̀la, bə̀líi̥, bə̀lòò 'return' [motion V, +loc.compl]
    [-trans] bə̀lei, bə̀leyíi̥, bə̀léyò [+caus]'take back,
    return s.t.' bə̀bə̀la [+pl] 'return again and again'

bə̀lan (+m.) bə̀lé̋i̥ (-m.) bə̀lánaani̥ (+pl) 'big' [+qual]
    bàbə̀la 'very big'

bə̀lei, bə̀leyíi̥, bə̀léyò [caus. of bə̀la, q.v.] 'take back,
    return s.t. or s.o.' also 'treat' [+trans]

belévùrmátî (-m.)(?-pl) 'elder sister' [?'big' + ?]
  [+anim]

bètikì (+m.) bètikíyaanî (+pl) 'ashes' [syn: bimi q.v.]

ɓ

ɓaɓa [time adv.] 'early' [syn: kwakwa q.v.]

ɓákù [+quant] 'many'

ɓar, ɓaríí, ɓárò 'begin' [+trans]

ɓarè, ɓadlè [alternate pronunciations] 'how much more,
much less' [?< H. balle(sic)]

ɓatlù, ɓatlíí, ɓátlò 'break, snap (e.g. stick)' [+trans]
  ɓaɓatlu (+pl) 'break repeatedly' (also)'break up a
fight several times'

ɓii, ɓiyíí, ɓíyò 'exceed, surpass'[+trans]; 'pierce'
[+trans] ɓiɓii [+pl] 'make many holes in' [+trans]

ɓin (+m.) ɓináánî (+pl) 'anthill'

ɓʉzùù, ɓʉzíí, ɓʉzò 'skin, flay' [+tran] ɓʉɓʉzùù [+pl)
'skin many, repeatedly'

ɓésà (-m.) ɓesí (?pl) 'custard apple (tree)'

c

cáá [emphatic ideophone] [intensifies that which pre-
cedes or follows it, e.g. dliɓu-su ca 'all of him up'
ca dluwi-su 'all alone-his' caa ka [H. ke nan]

ca.[+obj.].vàmá, cíí.[+obj.].vàmá, cò.[obj].vàmá 'contra-
dict' [+trans] [object placed between discontinuous
morpheme]

cadàà or cadùù, cadíí, cédò 'chop off (esp. wood)'
  [+trans]

càkíí (+m.) (-pl) 'shame' nduku cakii 'feel shame'

cákwa (-m.) cakwí (+pl) 'temporary shelter (in bush)'

cál, càlíi, cáloò 'gossip' [-trans], cálaamaa [sec.VN], calo[<VN] 'gossip' [noun] calo ná ba [formulaic closing to story] 'gossip it finished'

càma (-m.) càmí (+pl) 'forest, ritual grove (i.e. where annual circumcision ceremony takes place)' cama bama 'forest (of) trees'

camba[+poss.pns], cambíí[+poss.pns] [-VN] 'try (very hard)'[+trans] [+cont. tenses can be formed with cont. AUX-tps, plus ICP form]

càncên (+m.) càncànááni (+pl) 'adze'

Cángwidi (+m.) name of clan-related dodo (masqueraded figure that appears following death of important clan member, or other Pa'a festivities) [+anim]

cei, ceyíí, céyò 'grab, seize, hold' [+trans]

cíbu [adv.] 'silently' šika cibu 'be, remain silent'

cíbu-cíbu [adv.] 'small-small, little-little'

cɨd̀ù, cɨdíí, cɨd̀ò 'push, send on way' [+trans]

cìdlá [?-m.] cìdlí (+pl) 'flying squirrel' [+anim]

cìkwílì (+m.) cìkwiliyáánì (+pl) 'shell, peel'

cìlhan (+m.) çilhéí (-m.) cìlhánaanì (+pl) 'white' [+qual] cìlíli 'very white'

cɨm̀ìn (+masc) cɨmanì (+pl) 'foot, leg' [+body part]

cín [ICP form of 'to go', 1st pl.] [future formative] 'we will, we go'

cɨn (+m.) cɨní, cɨnáánì 'work' [sec. VN of cɨna q.v.]

cɨnà, cɨníí, cɨnò 'send (s.o.to do s.t.)' [+trans]; 'work'

cína(nì) [ICP form of 'to go', 2nd pl.] [future formative] 'you (pl) will, you (pl) go'

cìnjá (-m.) cìnjí (+pl) 'hedgehog' [+anim]

cìra (+m.) cìrí (+pl) 'moon, month'

cir(ù) [+quant] 'two'

cirꞓwún (also tsírꞓwún, alt. pronunciation) 'seven'

ciyè, ciyíí, ciyò 'bring' [+trans.] miꞏjiki ná ciye
'river it flooded' [lit. brought (water?)]

còsì-ti (⁺m.) còsáani (+pl) 'in-law' [gender depends
on referant's sex, e.g. cosi (+m.) 'father- or brother-
in-law'(-m.) 'mother- or daughter-in-law']

cumà, cumíí, cimò 'swear' [-trans] cimei, cimeyíí, ci-
meyò [+caus]

cuwàn (suppl. pl. of meka 'woman', q.v.) 'women'; [adv.]
'quietly, carefully' also cuwan-cuwan (intensive)

cùwí, cu 'coming' [suppletive VN of dava 'come' q.v.]

cən, cəníí, cénò 'swim, go around outside of water'
[-trans]

d

da, dii, dâu or do 'beat, hit, strike, (even) kill'
[+trans] dəda [+pl] 'keep on hitting, killing'
many collocations, incl. da gitlo 'belch', da huma
'prick ears', da ñama [<head] 'meet', da pana 'extin-
guish fire', da vingi [lit.'kill mouth'] 'settle
debts' da zale 'spin thread'

dáabu [+quant] 'ten' daabu cir(u) 'twenty' etc. [see
p. 63] 30, 40, etc. daabu + numbers to 9; daaƀu ciru
mbo waci 'twenty-one' etc. daabu har daabu 'one hun-
dred' etc.

dádár [+qual] [intensive of dahən, dar, q.v.] 'very
long'

Dàdlúrnà (-m.) name of clan-related dodo (cf. Cangwidi)

dagà [loc.prep] 'from' [H. loan]

dàhán (+m.) dàhéí (?-m.) dàhánaaní (?pl) 'long, deep'
dadar 'very long' [+qual]

dàkwá (-m.) dàkwí or dooni (+pl, latter can include
stallions) 'mare' [+anim] cf. jiki 'horse'

dáƙwanƙwan (+m.) 'dirt', also [+qual] 'dirty'

dàƙən (+m.) dàƙənááni (+pl) 'hand' [+body part] cf.
ƙəman 'arm'

dàmáá, damíí, dàmóó 'annoy, nag, bother' [+trans] [< H.
dame]

da'máha [+quant] 'sixty' [contraction of daabu maha,
see daabu, above]

dàmííki (+m.) dàmíkiyaaní (+pl) 'hare, rabbit' [+anim]

da'mbo (waci, ciru, kedu, etc.) [+quant] 'teen' forma-
mative (11, 12, 13 etc.) [see p. 63]

Dandamíyà (-m.) name of clan-related dodo (cf. Cangwidi)

dàngál (+m.) dàngílwà (-m.) dàngàláání (+pl) 'mantis
(praying)' [+anim]

dangìl, dangílíí, dangílo 'protect' [+trans]

dàngwadí (+m.) dàngwadíyaaní (+pl.) 'stick'

dár 'depth, length' [+qual,+abst] dadar [intensive]

Dàrá [loc. NP] name of Pa'a village between Tiffi and
Guda

dàtsí(-ti) (+m.) dàtsáàni (+pl) 'worthless' [+qual]
(usually post-posed]

dàvá, dàvíí, cùwí or cu [suppl. VN] 'come' [motion V,
+loc. compl] [-trans]

dei, deyíí, déyò 'cut (with machete), chop (e.g. tree)'
[+trans]

dòmbừrdíti (+m.) dòmburdítiyaaní (+pl) 'period of time
immediately postpartum'

dòʃí (+m.) dòʃíyaaní (+pl) 'harvesting tool'

dùmbákà (-m.) dùmbáki (+pl) 'snail' [+anim]

durhàn (+m.) durhèi̱ (?-m.) dùrhánàani (+pl) 'black'
[+qual]

dùwaa (-m.) dùwí (+pl) 'border' [loc. NP]

dùwi̱ (+m.) dùwíi̱ (+pl) 'site of abandoned town'[loc.NP]

dəddèr, dəddəríi, déddero̱ 'shake, tremble' [-trans]
  cf. dangudu 'shake'[+trans]

dədàa, dədíi, déd̯o̱ 'line up' [+trans]

dəràá (+m.) dəri̱ (+pl) 'big bull frog' [+anim]

dərgùdu, dərgùdíi̱, dérgudo̱ 'knead, massage, rub' [+trans]

ɗ

ɗa, (ɗíi?), ɗau 'grow' [one informant insisted there was
  no Aorist, the other offered ɗíi] [-trans]

ɗádɨl (or ɗédil), ɗədílií, ɗədílo̱ 'remember' [+trans]

ɗáldal (+m.) (-pl) 'red, biting ant' [+anim]

ɗaami [?] 'last year'

ɗa(n), ɗaníi, ɗáno̱ 'bend (bow)' [+trans]

ɗàndan, ɗàndaníi, ɗándano̱ 'taste' [+trans] [?H. loan]

ɗángù (+m.) (-pl) 'somewhere, another place' [?< H.
  langu?] [loc. NP]

ɗangùù, ɗangwíi̱, ɗángwo̱ 'see, with connotation pay at-
  tention to, look, stare' [+trans]

ɗángudù, ɗangùdíi, ɗángwido̱ 'shake s.t.' [+trans.]
  cf. dəddəro 'shake, tremble [-trans]

ɗápaâ (-m.) ɗápi (+pl) 'bush' [loc. NP]

ɗau, ɗoo 'height, length' [+qual.+abst]

ɗi 'as ever is' [interjection?]

ɗɨbà, ɗɨbíi̱, ɗɨbôo 'lodge' [-trans] ɗɨbei, ɗɨbeyii,
  ɗɨbeyo 'lodge s.o.' [+caus]

díɗà or ɗìɗá (-m.) ɗìɗí (-pl) 'flea' [+anim]

ɗìkípàna (+m.) ɗìkíyaanì pàna (+pl) 'firewood' pana=
'fire'

ɗɨkèn, ɗɨkəníí, ɗɨkənò 'tie' [+trans] va ɗɨkəno 'cloth
wrapper' [lit. 'thing(of)tying']

ɗìvɨɗi (+m.) ɗìvɨɗìì or ɗìvìɗáání (+pl) 'thighs'

ɗooti (+m.) ɗòotíyaanì or ɗootíní (+pl) 'games, festival'

ɗu, ɗuwíí, ɗuwò 'cook' [+trans];'count' [+trans]

ɗubàà, ɗùbíí, ɗɨbôo 'put away, down' [+trans] ɗúɗubà
(+pl) 'put away repeatedly'

ɗɨbù, ɗɨbíí, ɗɨbôo 'descend' [-trans] ɗɨbei, ɗɨbeyíí,
ɗɨbeyo [+caus]'get s.t. down'

ɗúgùsu, ɗugùsíí, ɗúgusò 'stack' [+trans] ɗuɗúgùsu (+pl)
'keep on stacking'

ɗɨmà, ɗɨmíí, ɗɨmo 'take, carry (load)' [+trans]

dərmàà, dèrmíí, dèrmó 'endure' [+trans]

dl

dla (+m.) vurân (+pl) 'boy, son, male child' [suppl.pl,
cf. vura 'girl'] Used as diminutive for +m. NPs.
Collocations incl: dlañàrcəka 'bull' [lit. 'son(of)
cow'] dla-gatara 'son of castrated goat', dla'yar
'son of a bitch' dlañànti 'first child'

dla, dlíí, dlò 'open (door etc.)' [+trans]

dlaabàà, dlaabíí, dlààbó 'knead' (cf. dərgudu) [+trans]

dláábuɗù, dlaabùɗíí, dláábuɗo 'hit with heavy stick,
bludgeon' [+trans]

dladlù, dlàdlíí, dlàdláú or dládlò 'run' [motion V,
loc. NP compl] dladlei etc. [+caus] 'run s.o. or
run from s.t.'

dlàámà-ti (+m.) (?pl) 'brother' [< dla + ama 'son +
mother'] [+relat. suff] [+anim]

dlaámaába-ti (+m.) (?pl) 'uncle (father's brother)'
[< dla + ama + aba 'son(of)mother(of)father'] [+relat.
suff] [+anim]

dlángá (-m.) dlángí (+pl) 'town'

dlàngír (+m.) dlàngiráaní (+pl) 'wealth'

dlàrbe (-m.) dlarbí (+pl) 'mud'

dlàrtsítsa (+m.) 'sweet' [+qual]

dlíbídaà, dlibídíí, dlibidóò 'cool (of sun)" [-trans]

dlíbíya [loc.prep] 'next to'

dlíbu, sometimes contracted to dlip 'all' [+quant]

dlídlá (-m.) dlídlí (+pl) 'woven straw fence or mat'

dlídlù (+m.) (-pl) 'cooking oil, butter'

dlíkaà, dlíkíí, dlíkwôo 'pull off (eg. groundnuts)'
[+trans]

dlíkərkumà (-m.) dlíkərkumi (+pl) 'bee' ambi dlíkərkuma
[lit.'water(of)bee'] 'honey' [+anim ('bee')]

dlímbá-dlímbá kayì (-m.) (-pl) 'small bat'[+anim]

dlírkí (+m.) dlírkíyaaní (+pl) 'path, road, way'

dlukwíti (+m.) dlúkwítíyaaní (+pl) 'leaves'alt: lukwíti

dlurkíyà (-m.) dlùrkí (+pl) 'chicken' [+anim]

dlùwí 'alone, only' dlídluwí 'all alone' [intensive]

dlər, dləríí, dlərò 'pour in, draw (water)' [+trans]

dlər, dləríí, dləróó 'cry' [-trans] [?caus] dlər [sec.
VN] 'cry' ndər dlər 'make cry'

dləraa, dləríí, dləro 'divide' [+trans]

dlərkáátu, dlərkáátíí, dlərkaatàu 'hollow out (eg. log)'
[+trans]

<u>f</u>

<u>fa</u> [loc.adv] 'there, here (not far) <u>fa ká</u> 'way over there'

<u>fáádu</u> 'four' [+quant]

<u>fafádiki</u> 'eight' [+quant]

<u>fáfiya</u> (-m.) (-pl) 'rain' <u>fafiya zimi</u> 'sufficient rain to sow'

<u>faki</u>, <u>fakiyíi</u>, <u>fakò</u> or <u>fákiyò</u> 'blow (with mouth)' [+trans]

<u>féí</u> (-m.) (-pl) 'day, daylight, sun'

<u>fɨlá</u> (-m.) <u>fɨlí</u> (+pl) 'entrance hut'

<u>fɨrcí</u> (-m.) (-pl) 'evening'

<u>fɨtá</u> (-m.) <u>fɨtí</u> (+pl) 'dust'

<u>fíya</u> (-m.) <u>fiyí</u> (+pl) 'flour'

<u>fuu</u> (-m.) (-pl) 'world'

<u>fúúciki</u> (+m.) <u>fóóni</u> (+pl) 'Pa'a man' [< ? 'world' + nom. m. suff] [+anim]

<u>fúúcəka</u> (-m.) (-pl) 'Pa'anci (language)'; (+pl) <u>fóóni</u> 'Pa'a woman' [+anim] [+nom.-m.suff]

<u>fuugù</u>, <u>fuugwíi</u>, <u>fúúgò</u> 'lay eggs, metaphorically, leave things' [+trans]

<u>fər-tla</u>, <u>fər-tla</u>, <u>fəró-su</u> 'copulate-her' [+trans, obj. required]

<u>férhà</u> (-m.) <u>fərhí</u> (+pl) 'small pot (for beer)'

g

gábàcangá (-m.) gábàcangí (+pl) 'chin, lower jaw'
[+body part] syn: ŋgamaŋgama q.v.

gaaɓù, gaɓù-gaɓù [adv] 'little, small small'

gadúwa, usually vìngá gadúwa (-m.) 'door (opening'

gàdlá (+m.) gàdlí (+pl) 'big pot (for water storage)'

gâaga (+m.) gáágááni (+pl) 'crow' [+anim]

gájà, gàjíí, gàjo 'measure, weigh'

gàje [no Aorist or VN] [+ VN compl] '?' eg. sei i gaje
vərɗo 'then she .?. give-birth'

gàjércìki (+m.) gàjércìkááni (+pl) 'short (of stick or
man) [+qual, +abst, -pre-posed agent] [< H. gajere +
nom. suff] syn: bʉtsahan q.v.

gàji (+m.) gàjáani (+pl) 'sword'

gàlká (-m.) gàlkí (+pl) 'calabash'

gámbəlì (+m.) gàmbəláánì (+pl) 'bandicoot rat'

gan (+m.) ganááni (+pl) 'ram' [+anim]

gàncəka (-m.) gàncəki (+pl) 'cheeks' [+body part]

gáncikì (+m.) gáánì (+pl) 'Kano man' [+anim][+nom.suff]

gáncəkà (-m.) gáncəkí (+pl) 'Kano woman' [+anim][+nom.
suff]

Gándanì (+m.) (-pl) 'clan whose major circumcision fes-
tival is held 3 of 4 years.' dodo = ƙwal-ƙwal

gandárà (-m.) (-pl) 'dances held every 4 years when no
circumcision festival (cf. Gandani); men dance dressed
in women's clothes'

gàngá (+m.) gàngááni (+pl) 'marabou stork' [+anim] syn:
kwasa-kwasa q.v.

gángaší (+m.) gàngašiyáánì (+pl) 'elbow' [+body part]
syn: ƙarƙaava q.v.

gàrin-dáwa (+m.) gàrin-dawí (+pl) 'maize' [< H. 'flour
(of)guinea-corn']

gárna (-m.) garní (+pl) 'iron, shilling, hour'

gàru (-m.) gàrúwaani (+pl) 'stone **wall**'

gàšéka (-m.) gàšéki (+pl) 'termite' [+anim]

gàtará (-m!) gàtarí (+pl) 'he-goat (usually castrated)'
[+anim]

ge(i), geyíí, géyò 'lift' [+trans] sei ma gei ata-ya
'then I lifted my eye(s)'

gídàmbèncíkí (+m.) gídàmbènáání (?pl) 'white gum tree'
[+nom. suff. in s.]

gìgi, gigìyíí, gigìyô 'learn, teach' [+trans] [no formal
difference e.g. ± caus., context determines meaning]

gɨjì-gɨjì [ideophone] 'sound of footfalls, running steps,
also sound of crackling fire if flame is very high'
[also guju-guju q.v.]

gɨ́katù, gɨ́kàtíí, gɨ́katòò 'shake' [+trans] syn: ɗanguɗu
q.v.

gɨ́lfí (+m.) gɨ́lfáƙa (-m.) gɨ́lfáƙa (+pl) 'reedbuck'
[+anim]

gìširá (-m.)(-pl) 'salt' [< H. gishiri]

gɨ̀tàà, gɨ̀tíí, gɨ̀tòò 'wait' [+trans]

gòòdu, gòòdíí, goodó 'thank' [+trans]

gɨ̀bèì, gɨ̀bíí, gɨ̀beyò 'join' [+trans]

Gúda (-m.) 'name of Pa'a town, s.w. of Tiffi'

gùdafá (-m.) (-pl) 'rainy season'

gùdáncèka (-m.) gùdáncəkí (+pl) 'western kob' [+anim]

gùdùbi (+m.) gùdùbááni, gùdùbí (+pl) 'door screen (mat
or string)'

gùdlu, gùdlíí, gùdló 'bend(bow)' [+trans] syn: ɗa(n)q.v.

gújù-gújù [ideophone] 'sound of running footsteps'
[also gɨji-gɨji q.v.]

gùlá (+m.) gùlí (+pl) 'gourd'

gùmaa [conj.] 'again, only' [< ? H. kuma]

Gurámi (+m.) 'name of big Pa'a festival, like Hausa"s
sallah' [also Gùran]

gurɓù, gùrɓíí, gùrɓóó 'embrace, hold' [+trans]

gurdù, gurdíí, gúrdò 'overthrow, wrestle' [+trans]
gursaa, gwursaa [sec. VN] 'wrestling'

gùrgwàtl'á (-m.) gùrgwàtl'íí (+pl) 'throat'

gùrju, gùrjíí, gùrjóo 'creep (child), crawl' [motion
V, +loc. NP compl]

gùrmatlí (+m.) gùrmátliyáání (+pl) 'hartebeest (West
African or bubal)' [+anim]

gəduwi (+m.) gəduwíí (+pl) 'bed' [< H. gado?]

gəɗuu, gəɗíí, gəɗôo 'climb, mount (eg. animal)' [+trans]

gəla, gəlíí, gəlò 'tell' [+trans] [usually with bene-
factive, e.g. gəle]

gəràà, gəríí, gəróo 'become slim' [-trans]

gərtlù (+m.) 'hard' [+qual.+abst]

gyélà (-m.) gyélì (+pl) 'bulrush millet' [also gyela
'aala]

gw

gwàdar(ti) (+m.) (-pl) 'dirt, filth' [also +qual.+abst]
syn: daƙwanƙwan q.v.

gwàláá (+m.) gwàlíí (+pl) 'chair, stool'

gwam, gwamíí, gwàmó 'lack' [+ trans, + VN compl] gwamo
[VN] used as prep 'without', also in compounds e.g.
gwamo dar-ti 'shallow (lacking depth)' gwamo tau
'blunt (lacking sharpness)'

gwàr, gwàríí, gwàróô 'lean against' [+trans]

Gwàtáma (-m.) 'name of clan-related dodo' [cf. Cangwidi]

gwùrsáá (-m.) [sec. VN of gurdu q.v.] 'wrestling'

<h3>h</h3>

hàláci, hàlílu (+m.) (-pl) 'pity'

háli (+m.) 'character' [H. loan]

har, hàríí, háròò 'annoy' [+trans] syn: damaa [< H.] q.v.

hàra (-m.) harí (+pl) 'compound, house, home' [loc. NP]

hàra, haríí, hárò 'be too much for, exceed' [+trans]

haráa, hàríí (no VN) 'be necessary to, ought to' [irreg-
ular] limited to [+ rel] compl. constructions, with
m.s. or impersonal subject, and sentential complement
e.g. a haraa u tu 'it is necessary (that) you go'

hìɗur (+m.) hìɗuráání (+pl) 'fat' [can be +qual.+abst]

hìhyeelá (+m.) hihyèèlí (+pl) 'dish'

ho, ho, ho [can be used with all AUX-tps, form of V un-
changed] 'like, love, wish, want' [+trans. often S.
compl] also hwo q.v.

hòri, hòríí, hòró 'punish' [+trans] [?< H. hora]

humá (+m.) humí or hùmáání (+pl) 'ear' [+body part]

hûrtu, hurtíí, hártò 'snatch' [+trans]

<h3>hw</h3>

hwàhwa (-m.) hwàhwí (+pl) 'load'

hwaapana (-m.) (-pl) [sec. VN of hwapuu, q.v.] 'greed,
greediness, repletion' [also +qual.+abst]

hwapùù, hwapíí, hwápòò 'be satisfied' [-trans] hwápei
etc. [+caus] 'satisfy'

hwiƙa (-m.) hwiƙí (+pl) 'sand (coarse, wet)' [cf. tɨl-
vuɗa 'dry, fine sand']

hwo, hwo, hwo [alternative to ho, q.v.] 'like, love,
want, wish' [+trans. often takes S. compl]

hy

hyéƙa (-m.) hyeƙí (+pl) 'straw (stalks)'

h

ñàñánciki (+m.) ñàñáncikáání (?pl) 'puff adder' [+anim]

ñàma (-m.) ñami (+pl) 'head' [+body part] with suffixed
poss. pn, reflexive 'self' [see pp. 77-78] many collo-
cations, incl: ñama fei 'noon' ñama tsi 'midnight'
da hama 'meet'

ñamaa [conj] 'because of, in order to' [introduces pur-
pose clauses] [see p. 68] ñamaa mbuku 'because of
this (lit. thus)'; [loc.prep] also añamaa 'on, on top
of' [< ñama 'head']; also can be use between AUX-tp
and V to indicate repeated action, e.g. tinà ñamaa
ngo tlu 'he kept on giving meat'

ñamàà, ñamíí, ñámò 'take (a lot of)' [+trans]

ñân, ñaníí, ñànó 'see' [+trans] ñañán (+pl) 'see repeat-
edly, keep on seeing'

ñànaki (+m.) ñànakíyaaní (+pl) 'medicine' aba-ñanaki
'traditional doctor'

ñansàà, ñansíí, ñansò 'laugh' [-trans]

ñànǯí (+m.) (-pl) 'laughter' [?sec. VN of ñansaa q.v.]
(note diff. in palatalization) nдɔr ñanǯi 'make laugh-
ter, laugh'

ñántà (+pl) [pl. of abita, q.v.] 'those'[det]; 'those
who, the ones referred to' [RC]

ñánti (+pl) [pl. of abiti, amati q.v.] 'these' [det]
. can be followed by -kiki to emphasize proximity

ɦara̰, ɦàríí, ɦàro 'grow old' [-trans] ɦarei etc. [caus]
'age s.o. or s.t.'

ɦarcíkì (+m.) ɦàrcikáání or ɦàrní (+pl) 'dodo (masquer-
aded figures, attached to specific Pa'a clans, which
appear at traditional ceremonies, incl. funerals,
ascension of ruler to throne, etc. Pa'a dodos incl:
Cangwiɗi, Dadlurna, Dandamiya, ɦwola-ɦwola, Kulɓo,
Ƙwal-Ƙwal, Mbe-Mbe, Ndozi q.v.);'ogre' (feared crea-
ture in stories) [+anim] [+nom.suff]

ɦàrcəká (-m.) ɦàrwí (+pl) 'cow (zebu)' [+anim]

ɦarí (+m.) ɦàríyaaní (+pl) 'belly (external), stomach'
[+body part] va hari 'intestines' cilhan ɦari [lit.
'white stomach''pleasure, happiness'

ɦàri [loc.prep] 'in, inside' also aɦari [ɦari can be
used between AUX-tp and V to emphasize in progress
activity, e.g. tina ɦari ndəro cin 'he is in-the-mid-
dle-of doing work'

ɦèká (-m.) ɦìníí (+pl) 'female' [+qual, usually post-
posed] opp. njuu q.v.

ɦma̰, ɦmíí, ɦmô 'eat (eg. grain)' [+trans] many colloca-
tions, incl: ɦma aɦwan 'get ahead, progress' ɦma
dlanga 'win'

ɦəcáá (?-m.) ɦəcí (?pl) 'locust bean (tree)'

ɦw

ɦwa (+m.) ɦwí (+pl) 'door(way)' cf. vinga gaɗuwa

ɦwàlínciki (+m.) ɦwàlíncəkà (-m.) ɦwàlíyaaní (+pl)
'slave' [+anim] [+nom.suff. in s.]

ɦwàn, ɦwaníí, ɦwàno 'build, mould (eg. a pot)' [trans]

ɦwápùù [ideophone] 'plop!'

ɦwásu (-m.) (-pl) 'sky' [loc. NP]

ɦwaasu [loc.adv] 'up' e.g. a gəɗuu ɦwaasu 'one climbed
up'

ĥwi, ĥwíí, ĥwíyò 'jump' [motion V, +loc. NP compl]
[-trans] ĥwiye etc. [+caus] 'cross' q.v.

ĥwɨna, ĥwɨníí, ĥwɨnò 'mix (general)' [+trans]

ĥwìyé, ĥwiyíí, ĥwìyéyò 'cross' [+trans] [+caus. of ĥwi, q.v.]

ĥwòcú [suppletive VN of 'to go'] 'going' [motion V, +loc. NP compl]

ĥwòcú (+m.) ĥwòcuwáani (+pl) 'journey, travel' [< VN of 'to go'

ĥwòlá-ĥwòlá (-m.) 'name of clan-related dodo' [cf. Can-gwidi]

ĥwùɓu, ĥwùɓíí, ĥwùɓo 'burn' [+trans]

ĥwùlei, ĥwulèyíí, ĥwùléyo 'greet, salute' [+trans]

ĥwun (?m.) (?pl) 'cane rat' [+anim]

ĥwûn, ĥwuníí, ĥwùno 'climb, mount (animal)' [+trans]
syn: geɗuu q.v.

ĥwùnaa, ĥwuníí, ĥwúnò 'stir, eg. sugar into tea'

ĥy

ĥyà [suppl. pl. of à, q.v.] [PRAM] plural marker for previously referred to animate nouns and independent pns.

ĥya- [prefix] 'the likes of —'

ĥyá, ĥyiɏíí, ĥyô 'agree, answer, reply' [+trans]

ĥyaâ, ĥyàɏíí, ĥyô 'find, get, obtain' [+trans]

ĥyangù, ĥyangwíí, ĥyáng(w)ò 'fill' [+trans] ĥyángò-ĥyangò [stative] 'full, filled up'

ĥyàwí [+pl(of àwí)] 'some' [< PRAM + wi, 'certain'?]

ĥyɨfí (+m.) ĥyɨfíyaani (+pl) 'lake, pond, stagnant river'

ĥyiĥyùù (+m.) ĥyiĥyuwaani (+pl)'stirring stick'

i [assoc.prep] 'with' [often contracted with preceding
  -a AUX-tp (e.g. tini < tinà i) or loc.adv.; [NP conj]
  many uses incl: i dladlo 'with running' (and other VNs)

'í (+m.) (-pl) 'stomach of pregnancy' eg. 'í na ndər ba-
  bəla 'stomach is getting very big' 'i na hara 'stom-
  ach was near to delivery' [lit. 'grew old']

ii (?m.) (-pl) 'today' [time adv]

i ké 'it is, is it?' [phrase-final emphatic interjec-
  tion or particle, stronger than na] cf. H. ke nan

indà, indà-ta 'where' [RC] [< H. wurinda, inda] [loc.]

'íyaa, 'ìyíí, 'íyàà (sic.) 'hunt' ndər'ìyaa (alternate
  verbal construction) mbura 'iyaa 'place of hunting'

iyè, iyíí, iyò 'be able' [+trans, can take S. compl.]

ižii (+m.) (-pl) 'groaning, heavy breathing (from ill-
  ness)'

j

ja, jíí, jò 'take care of (child or sick person)'
  [+trans]

jààbu, jààbíí, jààbô 'close, cover (door or pot)'
  [+trans]

jágwùr (+m.) jágwuràani (+pl) 'hawk' [+anim]

jàkàdá (?-m.) jakadí (+pl) 'deleb palm (tree)'

jàlaa (-m.) jàlí (+pl) 'fish' [+anim]

jàma (+m.) jàmí (+pl) 'bean'

jàmakúwò (+m.)(-pl) 'cow pea'

jaambár (+m.) jaambaráani (+pl) 'baobab (tree)'

jángà (?-m.) jangí or jaangáani (?pl) 'torso' usual col-
  location janga kwur 'torso(of)body [+body part][infor-
  mants differed on plural form, or even if there was
  one]

jànƙá (-m.) jànƙáàní or jànƙíí (+pl) 'voice'

jar̩, jaríí, járò 'leave behind, ignore' [+trans]

jàávʉnaa (-m.) jàávʉni (+pl) 'guinea fowl' [+anim]

jen, jeníí, jénò 'press, step, tread on' [+trans]

ji (+m.) jáání (+pl) 'lion' [+anim] syn: zaagi [< H.]

jìgaa, jigíí, jígòò 'dig, uncover' [+trans]

jìjì, jijìyíí, jijìyô 'throw' [+trans]

jììjí (+m.) jììjíyaaní (+pl) 'porcupine' [+anim]

jíjìti (+m.)jìjaaní (+pl) 'grandfather' [+anim][+rel.
    suff]

jiká(ka) (-m.)(-pl) 'chat' nd̩r jika(ka) 'have a chat'

jikɨl, jikɨlíí, jikɨlô 'turn round' [+trans]

jikɨlò vɨngí (+m.) 'language' [<'turning around (VN) +
    mouth']

jìkí (+m.) dòòní or jìkáání (+pl) 'horse, stallion'
    [+anim] [suppl. pl. more common] cf. dakwa 'mare'

jìlélé d̩apà (+m.) jìlèlí d̩apà (+pl) 'giraffe' [+anim]
    [d̩apa = bush]

jìnkí (+m.) jìnkáání or jìnkiyáání (+pl) '(cooking) pot'

jìrá (+m.) jìrí (+pl) 'francolin' [+anim]

jiitàà, jììtíí, jiitòò 'vomit' [+trans]

jóombo (+m.) jòmbí (?pl) 'big bull frog' [+anim] syn:
    d̩raa q.v.

jùkwá (?m.) usually va jùkwá ['delicacy']'pleasant tas-
    ting' [?+qual.+abst]

júngwà (-m.) júngwi (+pl) 'hippopotamus' [+anim]

jùùwaa, juuwíí, jùùwôo 'pound (in mortar)' [+trans]

k

__ka__ verb phrase or sentence final rel marker; __ka__ post-posed to [subj] AUX-tp form for rel. cont. and rel. future tense formation; introduces reported talk

__kâa__ [loc.adv] 'there(some distance'

__kàba__ (-m.) __kàbí__ (+pl) 'gown, robe'

__kácà__ (-m.) __káci__ (+pl) 'spring (water)'

__kàcá__ (-m.) __kàcí__ (+pl) 'laterite'

__kàcán__ (?m.) __kàcánaaní__ (+pl) 'good, beautiful' [+qual, can be postposed]

__kacì__, __kacíí__, __kácò__ 'insult' [+trans]

__káacìnà__ (alt: __káacìnè__) 'when' [Q-word]

__Káfin Záki__ [loc.NP] name of Pa'a town

__kaka__ (also -kaka) 'that, there' [det],[loc.adv]

__kàká(ti)__ (⁺m.) __kàkáaní__ (+pl) 'grand-daughter, grandson' [+anim] gender depends on semantic sex [relat. suff. optional in s.]

__kakèn__, __kakèníí__, __kákəmò__ (sic) 'suck' [+trans]

__Kaláasu__ [loc.NP] name of Pa'a town

__kan__ (+m.) __kànáaní__ (+pl) 'hut, room' [loc.NP]; __kanù__ [loc.adv. used with +cont AUX-tp] '(in)hut, room'

__kan__ (also __kam__) (-m.) __kànáni__ (+pl) 'sauce, stew'(served with __biʃi__ q.v.)

__kàndá__ (-m.) __kàndí__ (+pl) 'locust' [+anim]

__kànjáá__ (⁺m.)__kanjáaní__ or __kanjí__ (+pl) 'big' [+qual]

__kápù__ 'until' [phrase introducer] syn: __har__ [< H.]

__kar__ (+m.) __karáaní__ (+pl) 'back' [+body part]

__kara__, __kàríí__, __káròò__ 'turn aside' [motion V, +loc. compl]

karápa da gúngume [ideophone] 'klop-klop' [sound of
   dodo's approaching footsteps]

Kíci [loc.NP] name of Pa'a town

kiicí (+m.) kìcíyaanì (+pl) '(Grimm's) crested duiker'
   [+anim]

ki(ki)(also -kiki) 'here, this' [loc.adv],[det]

kɨn (+m.) kìnáání (+pl) 'crocodile' [+anim]

kìtlí (+m.) kìtlíyaanì (+pl) '(big) bat'

ko'àsà (+m.)(-pl) 'everyone, whoever' [< universal + Q-
   word]

kòkínciki (+m.) kokɨnáání (+pl) 'land monitor' [+anim]

korosó (+m.)(-pl) 'palm leaves (as for wrapping kola
   nuts or bean cakes)'

kòòta (+m.) kòòtí (+pl) 'shoe'

ko wúši ávu (+m.)(-pl) 'everything, whatever' [< univer-
   sal + Q-word + 'thing]

ku, kuwíí, kúwò 'fry' [+trans]

kùù, kwíí, kwôo 'fail, be too short (little, small) for,
   be not enough for' [+trans]

kucuu, kùcíí, kúcòò 'go blind' [-trans] kucei etc.
   [+caus] 'blind s.o.'

kùdá (-m.) kudí (+pl) 'bitter tomato'

kúdu, kudíí, kúdùwo 'pass (by)' [+trans]

kufa, kùfíí, kúfò 'forge (metal)' [+trans]

kufí (+m.) kùfíyaanì (+pl) 'lungs' [+body part]

Kújera [loc. NP] name of Pa'a town

kùjí (+m.) kùjíyaanì (+pl) 'sesame'(plant or seed)

kùkwá(ti) (-m.) kùkwą́áni (+pl) 'grandmother' [relat.
   suff. optional in s.]

Kùlbó (+m.) name of clan-related dodo (cf. Cangwidi)

kùlí (+m.) kùliyáaní (+pl) '(field) rat' [+anim]

kɥlkúɗa (-m.) kɥlkúɗi (+pl) 'dove' [+anim]

kun(kun) [prep] 'near' also kwun-kwun q.v.

kúrmbatlù, kúrmbatlíí, kúrmbatlàù 'knot' [+trans]

kùrsá (-m.) kùrsí (+pl) 'mat'

kùrtô (+m.) kùrtówaaní (+pl) 'pain, sickness'

kùsánciki̇̀ (+m.) kùsaaní (+pl) 'mouse' [+anim] [nom.suff.
     in s. only]

kɥ̀ǰi (-m.) kɥ̀ǰiyáaní (+pl) 'bog, swamp'

kədu [quant] 'three'

kə̀kə̀sá, kə̀kə̀sí, kə̀kə̀sò 'chop into small pieces' [+pl]
     [intensive of kəsaa 'cut' q.v.]

kənà, kəníí, kínò 'distribute' [+trans] kə̀kə́nà [+pl]
     'distribute to many'

kə̀ra, kəríí, kə́rò 'steal' [+trans]

kə̀rá (-m.) kə̀rí (+pl) 'theft' [sec. VN of kə̀ra q.v.]

kə́rfatù, kərfàtíí, kə́rfatò 'dive' [-trans][motion V,+loc.
     NP compl]

kəsàà, kə̀síí, kə̀sòò 'cut (wood, rope, etc. with knife)'
     [+trans]

kəsáánaa [also kəsa-kəsa(na)] 'what, why, how' (depending
     on context) [Q-word]

kəvu (+m.) 'weakness, laxity' [+qual.+abst]

kə́vucíki (+m.) kə́vùnáání (+pl) 'weakling' [+anim] [nom.
     suff. in s. only] cf. kəvu, above

kw

kwácì [adv] 'together'

kwakwa [adv] 'early'

kwal, kwalíí, kwálo 'prevent' [+trans][can take S compl]

kwálì (+m.) (-pl) 'lie' ndər kwali 'tell lie'

kwàma (-m.)(-pl) 'oil (e.g. to rub on body)' cf. dlidlu

kwàn, kwamíí, kwámò 'buy,₊sell s.t.' [+trans] context
    determines meaning, no ± caus. difference]

Kwáràngwàdí [loc NP] name of Pa'a town

kwàsá-kwàsí (+m.) kwàsá-kwàsáani (+pl) 'marabou stork'
    [+anim] [?H.loan]

kwun-kwún (+m.)(-pl) 'side' kwun-kwun 'near' [loc.adv]

kwur (+m.) kwùráani (+pl) 'body' [+body part] [used to
    form reciprocal constructions, see pp 80-81]

ƙ

ƙa, ƙíí, ƙwo 'call' [+trans]

ƙàrƙáàvà (+m.) ƙàrƙáávi (+pl) 'elbow' [+body part]

ƙàtúrà (-m.) ƙàtúri (+pl) 'scorpion' [+anim]

ƙau, ƙauyíí, ƙáúwò 'shout (said only of dodos, unearthly
    sound impossible to articulate with human voice)'
    [-trans] ƙauwo [VN] 'shout of dodo'

ƙii, ƙiyíí, ƙíyò 'bite' [+trans]

ƙɨ̀ƙà, ƙìƙíí, ƙiƙwo 'decrease, take away' [+trans]

ƙiʃì (+m.) ƙiʃiyáàni (+pl) 'war'

ƙùƙwá (-m.) ƙuƙwi (+pl) 'chameleon' [+anim]

ƙùlánda (-m.) ƙùlandí (+pl) 'compound, house' cf. hara
    [loc. NP]

ƙùndíndiƙí (+m.) (-pl) 'sweet potato'

ƙútù-ƙútù (adv) 'greatly'

ƙəfàà, ƙəfíí, ƙəfó 'take a handful of' [+trans]

ƙəmambiƴí 'right hand' [< 'hand'(of eating) 'mush']

ƙə́man (+m.) ƙəmaní (+pl) 'arm, also hand'[+body part]

ƙəmàn mágù 'left hand'

ƙə̀manə́mmà 'nine' [+quant]

ƙən(a), ƙəníí, ƙə́nò 'count' [+trans] syn: ɗu q.v.

ƙə́rfʉn (+m.) ƙə́rfʉnáání (+pl) 'fingernail, toe nail'
[+body part]

ƙəs(ɨ)kí (+m.) ƙəskíyaaní (+pl) 'bone'

ƙətà, ƙéta, ƙétò 'add, increase' [+trans]

ƙw

ƙwàƙwàrcíkí (+m.) ƙwàƙwàrcə́kà (-m.) ƙwàƙwàrcikáání, ƙwà-
ƙwàrcəki (+pl) 'Warji (member of neighboring, rival,
ethnic group)' [+anim]

ƙwal-ƙwal (+m.) name of Gandani (q.v.) clan-related
dodo' (cf. Cangwiɗi)

ƙwàr [irregular] 'be angry'[verbal constructions formed
with impersonal [-cont].AUX-tp, and ICP suffix agree-
ing in png with semantic subject] see pp. 138-140.

ƙwar(ti) (+m)(-pl) 'anger' [sec. VN of ƙwar] [also +qual
+abst]

ƙwátì [adv] 'now' ƙùƙwátì 'right now' (intensive)

ƙwàttárà (+m.) ƙwàttarí (+pl) 'squirrel' [+anim]

ƙwíji-ƙwíji [emphatic plea] (loosely: 'please, for the
love of God')

<u>1</u>

<u>là</u> (?m.) <u>laani</u> (?pl) 'fennec (desert fox)' [+anim]

<u>láfu-láfu</u> 'light (not heavy)' [+qual.+abst]

<u>làjí</u> (+m.) <u>làjíyaaní</u> (+pl) 'gruel'

<u>laka</u>, <u>làkíí</u>, <u>láka</u> (sic) 'dance' [±trans] also <u>ndər laka</u>
    [lit. 'do dance']

<u>laka</u>, <u>lakíí</u>, <u>lakò</u> (or <u>lákàu</u>) 'decay' [-trans] <u>lakei</u>,
    <u>lakeyíí</u>, <u>lakeyó</u> [+caus] 'spoil s.t., lose s.t.'

<u>làkwa</u> (+m.) (-pl) 'storm'

<u>lakwàtu</u>, <u>lakwàtíí</u>, <u>làkwàtau</u> 'hollow out' [+trans] syn:
    <u>dlərɬaatu</u> q.v.

<u>làƙwádà</u> (-m.) (+pl) 'special drink (made from fried
    flour and wild, black plum juice); [by extension]
    anything sweet'

<u>lalàà</u>, <u>ləlíí</u>, <u>lélò</u> 'surround' [+trans]

<u>lálíyà</u> (-m.) <u>láliyí</u> (?pl) 'thorn acacia (tree)'

<u>lállàn</u> (?m.?pl) 'tasteless, insipid (eg. no salt)'
    [+qual] can be post-posed

<u>làmánciki</u> or <u>lánciki</u> (+m.) <u>lamání</u> (+pl) 'head pad (for
    supporting pots etc. carried on head)'

<u>lànda</u> (-m.) <u>làndí</u> (+pl) 'stone partridge' [+anim]

<u>làngá</u> (-m.) <u>làngí</u> (+pl) 'elephant' [+anim]

<u>lɨbá</u>, <u>lɨbíí</u>, <u>lɨbôo</u> 'mix (clay, etc.)' [+trans]

<u>lɨbu-lɨbù</u> 'softness' [+qual,+abst]

<u>lidí</u> (+m.)(-pl) 'butter'

<u>lɨfùù</u> (or <u>lafàà</u>), <u>lɨfíí</u>, <u>lɨfòò</u> 'carry on back' [+trans]
    <u>va lɨfi</u> 'cloth for carrying baby on back'

<u>liiha</u> (-m.) <u>liihí</u> (+pl) 'kite hawk (black)' [+anim]

lɨkə̀n, lɨkəníi, lɨkənò 'lick' [+trans]

lɨkə̀tá (-m.) lɨkíti (+pl) 'armpit' [+body part]

lɨkwɨcí (+m.)`lìkwìcíyaanì (+pl) 'ceremonial drum [as played by informant Sammako], made with skin stretched over opening of large, heavy, spherical clay pot' (esp. played to accompany rⁿa songs and gandara dances)

lɨ́lu (+m.)(-pl) 'sweat'

lin (+m.) lináani (+pl) 'rat' [+anim]

lìtsɨtsa (?m.?pl) 'sweet' [+qual,+abst]

lɨ̀vyin (+m.) lɨvináani (+pl) 'buffalo (bushcow)' [+anim]

lɨ̀vyìn (+m.) lɨvínaanì (+pl) 'cloud'

lòò, lowíi, láawò 'request, beg' [+trans]

lókàci (+m.) lókàciyáani (+pl) 'time' [H. loan] lókà-cita 'when' [RC]

luu, lùwíi, lúwò 'mix, brew (e.g. beer, 'yu)' [+trans]

lùgùbára (-m.)(-pl) 'morning star'

lɐkwɨti (+m.) lɨkwɨtíyaanì (+pl) 'leaf' (often lɐkwɨti bama "(of)tree) alt: dlukwɨti q.v.

lulu (+m.)(?pl) 'very spiny · fish' [+anim]

lùùlúú (+m.)(-pl) 'lukewarm water'

Lùngwí, Lùngwáni name of clan whose heads give the right to the gandara dances, held 1 in 4 years (when major circumcision festival is not held)

m

mádà (-m.)(-pl) 'dew'

máha [+quant] 'six'

màkanjá (+m.) màkanjí (+pl) 'old (person)' [+anim]
  [< ? kanja 'big'] also [+qual]

makù, màkwíí, mákwò 'spend (a little) time' [-trans]

maalàà, maalíí, máálòò 'remain, be left over' [-trans]
  maalaamà [sec. VN] 'remainder, left-over, rest of'

málvì (+m.) málvaanì (+pl) 'ruler, king, emir' [+anim]

mamárì (+m.)(-pl.) 'black ant' [+anim]

mána na 'how much' [Q-word]

màrhwán (+m.) màrhwi (-m.) màrhwánáánì (+pl) 'new'
  [+qual]

márnì (+m.) marní or márniyáánì (+pl) 'rib' [+body part]

masɨn, masɨníí, másɨnò 'dream' [+trans]

màsɨna (-m.) màsɨní (+pl) 'dream' [sec. VN of masin]
  ndər masɨna (alternate V construction) 'dream'

màsíntà (+m.) màsáánì (+pl) 'age-mate'(esp. those cir-
  cumcized in same year)

masù (+pl) 'owners of' [plural of agentives aba and ama
  q.v.]; masu ñanta 'those who' [RC]

mei (-m.)(-pl) 'hunger'

meiƙoƙó (-m.)(+pl) 'groundnut (Bambarra)'

mékà (-m.) cuwàn (+pl) 'woman' [+anim]

mewá (≠m.)(if sex of referent is not known, -m.) mewí
  (+pl) 'baby' [+anim]

mɨjíkí (or mʉjíkí q.v.) (+m.) mɨjikáánì (+pl) 'river'
  [loc. NP]

mišíí(na) 'what' [Q-word] also mišíine. ñamaa mišiina
  'because of what, why'

<u>miyà</u>, <u>mìyíí</u>, <u>míyàù</u> 'die' [-trans]

<u>míyàù</u> (+m.) <u>míyàwáání</u> (+pl) 'death' [VN of <u>miya</u> q.v.]

<u>mùɗàha</u> (-m.) <u>mùɗàhí</u> (+pl) 'royal python' [+anim]

<u>mùgwìncèkà</u>, <u>mágù</u> 'left (vs. right)'

<u>mʉjìkí</u> (+m.) <u>mʉjikáání</u> (+pl) 'river'

<u>mùkúrciki</u> (+m.) <u>mukuráání</u> (+pl) 'thief' [+anim] syn:
  <u>aba kəra</u> q.v. [nom. suff. in s. only]

<u>mumà</u>, <u>mumíí</u>, <u>múmò</u> 'get lost' [-trans] <u>mùmei</u>, <u>mùmeyíí</u>,
  <u>mumeyo</u> [+caus] 'lose s.t.'

<u>mʉnáá</u> (also <u>munéé</u> q.v.) 'what' [Q-word] eg. <u>munaa ná</u>
  <u>n̂yʉ̀u na</u> 'what's wrong with you' [lit. 'what's got you]

<u>mʉnda</u>, <u>mʉ̀ndíí</u>, <u>múndò</u> 'say' <u>munde</u> 'tell to' [+trans]
  <u>mune</u> ideolectal variant

<u>mùnéé</u> 'why' [Q-word] [also <u>munaa</u>, q.v.]

<u>mʉ̀tsí</u> (+m.) <u>mʉ̀tsáani</u> (+pl) 'chest' [+body part]

<u>mùzáncìki</u> (+m.) <u>mùzáncikáání</u> (+pl) 'hunter' [+anim]

<u>mb</u>

<u>mb</u>..[+pn] [irregular] 'be enough for' [verbal construc-
  tions formed with [-cont] m.s. or impersonal AUX-tp,
  + pns. suffixed to <u>mb</u>] see pp. 138-140.

<u>mbá</u> [clause introducer] 'if, when'

<u>mba</u>(...<u>wa</u>) [prohibitive particle] 'lest..., don't...'
  [neg <u>wa</u> always S final] contracts with 2nd person
  pn <u>u</u> = <u>mbu</u>

<u>mba</u>, <u>mbíí</u>, <u>mbò</u> 'go out, germinate' [motion V, +loc. NP
  compl] <u>mbei</u> etc. [+caus] 'take out' see pp. 131-132

<u>mbambə̀r</u>, <u>mbambə̀ríí</u>, <u>mbámbərò</u> 'forget' [+trans]

<u>mbàrìn</u> (+m.) <u>mbármbì</u> (+pl) 'person' [+anim]

mbàsí (+m.) mbasa (-m.) mbàsánaaní (+pl) 'ugly' [+qual]
mbasisín 'very ugly' [intensive]

mbasù, mbasíí, mbásàù or mbásò 'pull out (eg. of sheath)ʷ
[+trans] [?< mba q.v.]

mbei, mbeyíí, mbéyò [+caus. of mba q.v.] 'take out, off'
[+trans]

Mbe-mbe (+m.) name of clan-related dodo (cf. Cangwidi)

mbɨcɨna (-m.) mbɨcíni (?pl) 'tamarind (tree)'

mbɨdàà, mbɨdíí, mbɨdò 'release, untie' [+trans]

mbɨdaa, mbídíí, mbídò 'leave behind, leave up to'
[+trans] mbɨde sinda 'leave it to God'

mbɨsù, mbɨsíí, mbɨsòò 'wash' [+trans] [reflexive -hama
e.g. ma mbɨsaa-nani 'I washed myself'

mbòtsíki (+m.) mbòtsíkí (+pl) 'finger' [+body part]

mbu, mbu (sic), mbo 'arrive at, reach' [motion V, +loc.
NP compl]

mbɐcɨn (+m.) mbɨcìnáàní (+pl) 'tear'

mbuku (adv) 'thus' hamaa mbuku 'because of this (thus)'

mbûm or mbûn, mbùní, mbɐnó 'light (e.g. fire)' [+trans]
usually mbum pana 'light fire'

mbún [adv] 'yesterday'

mbùrá (-m.) mbùrí (+pl) 'place' [loc. NP] many colloca-
tions, incl: mbura po hama (lit. 'place (of) gather-
ing head') 'market', mbura siki 'place (of) living';
mbùrátà [RC] 'where' [<'place' + rel marker]

mbùrdí (+m.) mbùrdiyáàní (+pl) 'mucus that collects in
eye after sleep'

mbɐre, mbɐríí, mbɐrò 'help' [+trans] sinda i mbɐre-mi
'may God (she) help us'

<u>n</u>

<u>na</u> [pred] equalizer/stabilizer in non-verbal S when sub-
ject NP is (+m.) [opp: <u>ya</u> q.v.]; [emph] particle
post-posed to (+m.)[+emph] word, or S final if whole
S is [+emph]; sentence final in Q-word questions and
occasional alternative to <u>wa</u> S final in yes/no ques-
tions

<u>na</u>, <u>nii</u>, <u>no</u> 'become ripe' [-trans] <u>nana</u> [?sec. VN,
?irregular stative] 'ripe' [+qual]

<u>naa</u> (+m.) <u>naani</u> (+pl) 'antelope (gen.)' [+anim]

<u>naƙuù</u>, <u>naƙwii</u>, <u>naƙwò</u> 'stir' [+trans]

<u>nau</u>, <u>nawii</u>, <u>nawò</u> 'touch, try' [+trans]

<u>Nìngù</u> [loc.NP] Pa'a name for Ningi

<u>nd</u>

<u>nda</u> 'when' [RC] very common in narratives

<u>ndâa</u>, <u>ndii</u>, <u>ndo</u> or <u>ndaû</u> 'fall, land (after jump)'
[motion V, +loc. NP compl][-trans]

<u>ndamá</u> (-m.) <u>ndami</u> (+pl) 'nape (of neck)' [+body part]

<u>ndàn</u>, <u>ndànii</u>, <u>ndanò</u> 'light (a place), shine (beam)'
[+trans]

<u>ndàn-ndán</u> 'heaviness' [+qual.+abst]

<u>ndìɓaa</u> (-m.) <u>ndìɓi</u> (+pl) 'spear'

<u>ndìƙii</u> (+m.)(-pl) 'sticky gum, as tar'

<u>ndìƙəsà</u> (+m.) <u>ndìƙəsii</u> or <u>ndìƙəsáani</u> (+pl) 'thighs'
[+body part]

<u>ndìncəka</u> (-m.) <u>ndìncəki</u> or <u>ndìntli</u> (+pl) 'jaw' [+body
part] [-m. nom. suff.]

<u>Ndòzí</u> (+m.) name of clan-related dodo (cf. <u>Cangwiɗi</u>)

nduku, ndukwii, ndukwò 'hear, feel' [+trans] many collo-
    cations, incl: nduku paaci 'feel pleasure', nduku
    wowal 'feel fear'

ndúkú [adv] 'yet'

ndúƙwərciki (+m.) ndúƙwərcəkà (?-m.) ndúƙwəráání (?pl)
    'deaf mute' [+anim] [nom.suffixes in s. only]

ndunà (-m.)(-pl) 'darkness'; nduní (+pl) 'shadow'

ndər, ndərii, ndərò 'do, make' [+trans] many colloca-
    tions incl: ndər ɗooti 'play', ndər dlúrgunà 'snore',
    ndər 'i 'be pregnant', ndər 'iyaa 'hunt', ndər kwali
    'lie', ndər sakwaa 'breathe, pant', ndər saasaa 'hur-
    ry', ndər tlawa 'tattoo (body)', ndər ridi 'fart',
    ndər wudi 'defecate', ndər zaa 'fight'

ndərndər (+m.) ndərndəráání (+pl) 'brains' [+body part]

ng

ŋgacama (-m.) ŋgácamí (+pl) 'cat' [+anim]

ŋgálveenà (+m.) ŋgálveèní (+pl) 'spotted catfish (with
    sticky skin)' [+anim]

ŋgám [adv] 'closed tightly' bata ŋgam 'close sesame'
    [formulaic command for closing magical door]

ŋgámaŋgamà (-m.) ŋgámáŋgàmáání (+pl) 'chin' [+body part]
    cf. gabacanga

ŋgàráka (-m.) ŋgàrsɨma (+m.) ŋgàráкí (+pl) 'elder sib-
    ling (i.e. sister, brother)' [+anim]

ŋgàrsɨma (+m.) ŋgɨrní (+pl) 'adult, big person, (in pl.)
    greatness' [+anim]

ŋgàzá (-m.) ŋgàzáání (+pl) 'daughter-in-law' [+anim]

ŋge, ŋgɨí, ŋgo 'give' [+trans] can take up to 3 NP compl.
    collocations incl: ŋge aro 'lend', ŋge rama 'lend'

ŋgèzá (-m.) ŋgèzí (+pl) 'hair' [+body part] ŋgeza zən-
    ciki 'feather' [lit. 'hair + bird']

ŋgìkáácìn (+m.) ŋgìkáácìnaanì (?pl) 'waterbuck (western or dafassa) [+anim]

ŋgɨ́làciki (+m.) ŋgɨ́laanì (+pl) 'lizard' [+anim]

ŋgir (+m.) ŋgìráánì (+pl) 'hole' also, euphem., 'rectum' [+body part]

ŋgɨ́r-ŋgɨ́r (yaa) [prep] 'near (to), close (to)' also, occasionally,(à)ŋgər(-ŋgər) q.v. [loc.adv. without prep. yaa or a]

ŋgùbá, usually ndər ŋgùbá 'change into' [+trans]

ŋgùna (-m.) ŋgùnì (+pl) 'ring' ŋguna kəman 'bracelet' ŋguna cɨman 'anklet'

ŋgɨ́zɨ̀n (+m.) ŋgɨ̀zìyaanì (?pl) 'water monitor' [+anim]

ŋgəláú (+m.) ŋgəlínŸì (+pl) 'dirt' [can be +qual,+abst] cf. daꞗwanꞗwan

ŋgənà, ŋgənìí, ŋgənò 'show, point out' [+trans] usually with benefactive e, e.g. ngəne [can take up to 3 NP compl]

(á) ŋgər,(á) ŋgər-ŋgər 'near' [prep (with a), loc.adv] alternative to ŋgir-ŋgir q.v.

ŋgw

ŋgwil, ŋgwilíí, ŋgwiló 'look for (seek actively for something lost)' [+trans]

Ŋgwɨna (+m.) 'Spider, the trickster' (proper name) [+anim] also, occasionally, Ngɯna

ŋgwɨna-ŋgwinà (+m.)(-pl?) 'spider' (gen.) also, occasionally, ŋgɯ́na-ŋgɯ́nà

<u>nj</u>

<u>nj</u>- [irregular] 'be tired' [forms [-cont] tenses with impersonal AUX-tp and pns agreeing with semantic subject suffixed to <u>nj</u>) see pp. 138-140

<u>nja</u>(dí) 'indeed, also, what?' [emphatic particle, more emphatic than <u>na</u>/<u>ya</u>, but similarly post-posed]

<u>Njakən</u> [loc.NP] name of Pa'a town

<u>njàlạa</u> (-m.) (-pl) 'outside, outdoors' [loc.NP]; <u>njà-lạ̃a</u> 'outside' [loc. adv]

<u>njaláa</u> (-m.) <u>njàlíí</u> (+pl) 'shea butter (tree)'

<u>njáamàà</u> (-m.)(-pl) 'fatigue, tiredness' [sec. VN of <u>nj</u>-] nduku njaamaa 'feel tired' [alternate verbal construction to <u>nj</u>-, q.v.]

<u>njànjín</u> (-m.) <u>njànjínaanì</u> (-pl) 'story, tale'

<u>njèló</u> (-m.) <u>njèlamí</u> (+pl) 'lightning'

<u>njìɓákà</u> (-m.) <u>njìɓáki</u> (+pl) 'buttocks' [+body part]

<u>njínjaƙwa</u> (-m.) <u>njínjaƙwí</u> (+pl) 'frog' [+anim]

<u>njir</u> (+m.) <u>njìráani</u> (+pl) 'anus' [+body part] cf. euphem. <u>ngir</u> 'hole' q.v.

<u>njììsá</u> (-m.) <u>njììsíí</u> (+pl) 'hedgehog' [+anim] syn: <u>cinja</u> q.v.

<u>njú</u> (?+m.) <u>njúwaanì</u> (?pl) 'small, black (vervet) monkey'

<u>njuu</u> (+m.) <u>njóni</u> (?pl) 'man' [+anim] opp: <u>meka</u> 'woman' q.v.; 'male' [+qual, usually post-posed] opp: <u>ñeka</u> 'female' q.v.

<u>njuwí</u> (+m.)(?-pl) 'husband' [+anim] [< 'man' + 'certain']

p

pá, píí, po 'gather' [+trans] pa n̄ama 'assemble' pəpá
  [+pl] 'gather repeatedly, or gather many'

pààcí (+m.) (-pl) 'pleasure' nduku paaci 'feel pleasure'

pál, pálu [ideophone] 'a lot' [adv]

pàna (-m.) pàní (+pl) 'fire' da pana 'extinguish' sink̄i
  pana 'flame' [lit. 'tongue(of)fire']

pána (-m.) paní (+pl) 'shoulder' [+body part]

pangàà, pangíí, pángwò 'set up' [+trans]

pàngwa (-m.) pàngwí (+pl) 'cornbin'

para (-m.)(-pl) 'joy'

patà, pàtíí, pátò 'split (other than wood), rip up,
  tear' [+trans] cf. tl'ar 'split (esp.wood)'

patèè, patíí, patéyò 'escape' [-trans] pateye etc.
  [caus][+trans]

pei, peyíí, péyò 'sweep' [+trans]

peit [ideophone] 'all, completely' [adv]

pémà (-m.) pémi (+pl) 'pumpkin'

pi, píí, píyò 'transplant' [+trans]

picùù, picíí, picò 'swell, puff up (as stomach after eat-
  ing too many beans' [?trans]

pidà, pidíí, pidò 'lay out (e.g. straw mat before plait-
  ing)' [+trans]

pisau (+m.) pisówààni (+pl) 'burial' (sec. VN of pisu)

pisù, pisíí, pisò 'bury' [+trans]

pisùù, pisíí, pisò 'spit' [?trans]

pitàà, pitíí, pítò 'pluck' [+trans]

pɨtlà, pɨtlíí, pɨtlò 'break, smash (e.g. a pot)' [+trans]
  pɨpɨtla [+pl] 'shatter'; 'pull up (e.g. groundnuts)'

póoti (+m.)(-pl) 'toughness' [+qual,+abst]

pooti (+m.)(?-pl) 'feather' syn: ŋgeza zənciki q.v.

pu, puwíí, pùwô 'hide (oneself)' [-trans]

pʉɗa, pʉɗíí, pʉɗò 'pour out' [+trans] pʉpʉɗá [+pl] 'keep
  on pouring out'

pʉn, pʉníí, pʉnò 'pay (for s.t.), repay' [+trans]

púrkɨti (+m.) púrkɨtíyaanì (+pl) 'horn'

pəl, pəlíí, pélò or pɨlò 'turn out' [+trans]

pən, pəníí, pénò or pɨnò 'ransom, free' [+trans]

r

rakù, rakwíí, rákwò 'drive away' [+trans]

ramà (-m.) ramí (+pl) 'debt'

ràngá (-m.) ràngí (+pl) 'testicles' [+body part]

rángaši (-m.) rangàšiyáanì (+pl) 'mudfish' [+anim]

réí (+m.)(-pl) 'damp cold' cf. sɨndi 'dry cold'

rèì (+m.) reyáanì (+pl) 'neck' [+body part]

rfama (?m.) 'songs, chants of annual circumcision cere-
  mony'

rña (?m.) 'ceremonial drum, played only by women during
  gandara dances, in the one year in four that there is
  not a circumcision festival. Said to have been cover-
  ed in human skin'

ri [irregular V] [+VN compl] (loosely) 'proceed to'

rii, riyíí, ríiyò 'refuse, deny' [+trans] only means of
  negating passive-potential constructions, see pp. 136-
  137

rɨbún (+m.) rɨbunáání (+pl) 'clay (for making pots)'

rɨdàà, rɨdíí, rɨdòò 'glean, e.g. groundnuts' [+trans]

rígà [irregular V] 'already' [used only with (-cont.)
AUX-tps, with following S compl] [H. loan]

rìncəka (-m.) rìncəkí (+pl) 'crab' [+anim] [+nom. suff]

rinsà, rìnsíí, rínsò or rínšì 'become fat' [-trans]
rinsei [+caus] 'fatten' opp: gəràà 'become slim' q.v.

rìtl'á (-m.) rìtl'í (+pl) 'earth, ground, country'
rìtl'u [loc. adv] 'on, to the ground'

ru, ruwíí, rúwò 'hoe, ridge up' [+trans]

rɯmà, rɯmíí, rɯmò 'chew, eat (e.g. meat, groundnuts)'
[+trans] cf. n̄ma 'eat (e.g. grain)'

rùwóó (+m.) rùwáání (+pl) 'year'

s

sa, síí, sâu 'drink, smoke' [+trans] səsa (+pl) 'drink,
smoke a lot of'

sàkwàà, sàkwíí, sákwòò 'breathe, pant' [-trans] also
ndər sakwaa. do sakwaa 'panting, sobbing after crying'

sàmbúrcikì (+m.) sámburí (+pl) 'guest' [+anim][+nom.suff]

san (+m.) sànáání (+pl) 'penis' [+body part]

sá'anàn 'then' [clause introducer] [H. loan]

Sáání 'one of the stages of Pa'a burial, mourning' cf.
Tsígaama, Vatl'a n̄an

sânta (-m.) sântí (+pl) 'liver' [+body part]

sapéí (-m.) sàpáyaanì (+pl) 'hammer'

sápù, sapíí, sápò 'roast (grill)' [+trans] sasapù (+pl)
'roast or grill a lot of'

sar, sàrí, sárò 'circumcize' [+trans] cf. sɨr 'circumci-
sion'

saasaa (-m.)(-pl) 'haste' [often part of adverbial PP i saasaa 'with haste'] also saasaa q.v.

sasɨn, sasɨnii, sasɨno 'smell' [+trans]

sei 'then, until' [clause introducer] [H. loan sai]

sikɩ̀, sɪkii, sikwo 'sit, dwell, live' [+loc.NP compl] also šiki q.v.

sɨɠən, sɨɠənii, sɨɠəno 'swallow' [+trans]

sil, silii, silo 'change' [+trans]

sɨm (+m.) sɨnaani (+pl) 'name' also sun q.v.

sɨmaa, sɨmii, sɨmoo 'shoot' [+trans] syn: tl'ɨfaa q.v.

sɨna (+m.) sɨni (+pl) 'farm' [+loc. NP]

sinciki (+m.) sincikaani (+pl) 'cock (rooster)' [+anim] also sɨnciki q.v.

sɨndi (+m.) sɨndiyaani (+pl) 'dry cold (as from harmattan)' opp: rei 'damp cold' q.v. also 'harmattan'

sɨnèè, sɨnii, sɨno 'know' [+trans]

sinɠi (+m.) sinɠi, sinɠiyaani, sinɠənaani, sinɠaani (alt. +pls) 'tongue' [+body part] sinɠi pana 'flame'

sɨpiya (-m.) sɨpiyi (+pl) 'navel' [+body part]

sɨr (+m.) sɨraani (+pl) 'circumcision' cf. sar 'circum-cize' war sɨr 'year in which circumcision festival is held'

siyen (+m.) siyei (?-m) siyenaani (+pl) 'small' [+qual]

siyevurmati (-m.) vurasiye (+pl) 'younger sister' [+relat, suff] [< contraction of 'small'+'daughter'(of)'mother']

soona or soone 'where' [Q-word]

suu (-m.) (-pl) 'tomorrow' can be time adverb

suu, suwii, suwo 'cross (river), swim' [motion V, +loc. NP compl] suwei [+caus] 'take someone across'

suƙúmbi (+m.)(?-pl) 'pants, trousers'

sᵻmᵾmu, usually ndər sᵻmᵾmu, nəərìí sᵻmumu, etc. 'stink'
   [-trans]

sun (+m.) sunáàni (+pl) 'name' [less frequently used
   than sᵻm, q.v.]

sᵾnciki̇ (+m.) sᵾncikáàni̇ (+pl) 'cock (rooster)' [+anim]
   also sinciki q.v. [+nom.suff]

sùwá (-m.) suwí (+pl) 'tail'

š

šaašạa (-m.)(-pl.) 'haste' [often part of adverbial PP
   i šaašaa 'with haste'] also saasaa q.v.

šèšúwà (-m.) šèšuwí or šèšúwì (+pl) 'star'

šiki̇, šikíi, šikwo 'sit, dwell, live' [+loc. NP compl]
   more frequently used than non-palatal form siki q.v.
   šiki-šiki [stative] 'sitting, seated' see p. 113
   šikei etc. [+caus] 'seat s.o.'

šil (+m.) silíi (+pl) 'thatching (long grasses)'

šìla (+m.) šilí (+pl) 'axe'

šindári̇ (?+m.) šindari̇ or šindáriyáàni̇ (?pl) 'great
   white egret' [+anim]

šínɗa (-m�)(-pl) 'God' [+anim]

šìšu 'far' [loc.adv]

t

-tà 'that' [det];[reference marker in rel clauses]

ta 'of' [linker used only when nominal possessor is
   separated from its head noun by relativization or
   focus pre-position] [H. loan (form and function)]
   see pp. 118-120

tà, tíí, tâu or too 'beat (e.g. drum)' [+trans] ná ta i cɨmʉn 'he beat with foot i.e. he kicked'

táá [ICP form of 'to go', 3rd m.s.] [future formative] 'he will, he is going'

taa, tíí, tâu 'soak' [+trans]

Tàbéla [loc. NP] name of Pa'a town

tafù, tafíí, táfò 'follow [+trans]

tàka (-m.) tàkí (+pl) 'arrow'

tàaka, taakíí, táákwò 'wipe' [+trans]

takùù, takwíí, tákwò 'ask' [+trans][can take up to three NP compl]

tákudù, takùdíí, tákwɨdò 'plait (rope)' [+trans]

tàla (-m.) tàlí (+pl) 'skin (beast)' tala kwur 'skin (human)' tala vɨngi 'lip'

támburà (-m.) táburi (+pl) 'red fronted gazelle' [+anim]

tánè, taníí, tánò 'take' [?< causative of 'to go'?] [+trans]

táári (+m.) taaríyaanì or taaráánì (+pl) 'hoe'

tàsu, tàsíí, tasàù 'close, block (hole or doorway)' [+trans]

tàselákà (-m.) tàselákí (+pl) 'okra'

tàtínàà (-m.)(-pl) 'ash-water' kam tatinaà 'sauce strained through ashes'

tâu 'sharpness' [+qual.+abst] gwamo tâu 'dullness, bluntness'

Taavìyéyà (-m.)(-pl) name of Spider's wife (in trickster stories)

télka (-m.) tèlkí (+pl) 'pot (for beer)'

-ti 'this' [det]; [relat. suffix, used for relationship terms and abstract quality NP constructions]

ti, tíí, to [also tɨfá, tɨfíí, tɨfò] 'stab' [+trans]

Tíffi [loc.NP] name of largest Pa'a town, immediately southwest of Ningi

tɨkà, tɨkíí, tɨkwòò 'accompany, see someone on their way' [+trans]

tɨl, tɨlíí, tɨlò 'remember' [+trans] syn: dadɨl q.v.

tɨlvùda (-m.) tɨlvùdí (+pl) 'dry, fine sand' cf. hwiɓa 'coarse, wet sand'

tɨmá (-m.) tɨmí (+pl) 'song' [< tɨmaa 'sing' q.v.]

tɨmà, tɨmíí, tɨmò 'harvest, esp. cut guinea corn' [+trans]

tɨmaa, tɨmíí, tɨmò 'sing' [+trans] also ndər tɨma .

tɨmpa (-m.) tɨmpí (+pl) 'hoe' syn: taari q.v.

tín [ICP forms of 'to go' 1st and 2nd f.s.][future formative] 'I, you (f.s.) will; I am, you are going'

tɨpàà, tɨpíí, tɨpò 'hide' [+trans] cf. pu [-trans] also tʉpaa, etc.

tírɓwasà (-m.) tírɓwàsi (+pl) 'kidney' [+body part]

tú [ICP form of 'to go' 2nd m.s.] [future formative] 'you (m.s.) will, you are going'; also Imp 'go'

tukù, tukwíí, tʉkwo 'accept, receive' [+trans] tuku aro, tuku rama 'borrow'

tuukwè, tuukwíí, túkwò 'keep on (doing something)' [+ VN compl]

túmacəkà (-m.) túmààni or túmàcəkí (+pl) 'sheep' [+anim]

túúra (-m.) túúri (+pl) 'ant' [+anim][?< H. tururuwa]

tərdà, tərdíí, tərdò 'grind' [+trans]

təro (+m.) tərówaani (+pl) 'journey (business)'

tərtər (+m.) tərtəraani (+pl) 'warthog' [+anim]

tərtər (?m.?pl) 'thin' [+qual] can be post-posed

tĺá [ICP form of 'to go' 3rd f.s.] [future formative] 'she will, she is going'

tlaďa (-m.) tladí (+pl) 'farming' [sec. VN of tlaďu q.v.]

tláďù, tlàďíí, tláďò 'cultivate, farm, hoe' [+trans]

tlaakaa, tlaakíí, tláakwò 'scratch' [+trans] cf. tlàò

tlákàmáÊà (-m.) tlákàmaÊí (+pl) 'greater bustard' [+anim]

tlaò, tlawíí, tláwò 'scratch, tattoo, write' [+trans] cf. tlawa 'scarifications'

tlàrdóya (+m.) tlàráání (+pl) 'cassava' cf. tlari 'root', doya = H. yam

tlári (-m.) tlàríyaaní or tlàráání 'root (gen)'

tlàwa (-m.) tlàwí (+pl) 'scarifications, facial and otherwise' [Pa'as traditionally scarify belly and chest as well as face]

tlɨbàà, tlɨbíí, tlɨbòò 'collect (odds and ends)' [+trans]

tlin, tliníí, tlínò 'tie' [+trans] tlino-tlino [stative] 'tied up'; tli-tlin (+pl) 'tied repeatedly'

tlipí (+m.) tlipíyaaní (+pl) '(man's) apron (worn for ceremonial occasions)'

tlitli, sometimes tli [ICP form of 'to go' 3rd pl] [future formative]; 'they will, they are going'

tlu, also tlúwi (+m.) tluwí or tluwáání (+pl) 'animal, flesh, meat' can be [+anim] tlu hara 'domestic animal' tlu ďapa 'wild animal'

tlùù, tlíí, tloô 'fly, get up, stand, seʈ off' [-trans] [motion V, +loc. NP compl] tlei, tleyii, tléyò [+caus] 'stand (s.o. or s.t.) up']

tluuďàà, tluuďíí, tlúúďò 'mix (liquids other than laji q.v.)' [+trans]

tlur (-m.) tlùráání or tluri (+pl) '(scrotal) elephantiasis'

tl'

tl'ábudu, tl'abùdíí, tl'ábudò 'whip' [+trans]

tl'akwáná (-m.) tl'akwàní (+pl) 'cave' [+loc.NP]

tl'am(ù)máá (?m.?pl) 'bitter' [+qual] tl'an-tl'an [intensive] 'very bitter'

tl'aapàà, tl'aapíí, tl'áápòò 'hide, lurk' [-trans][+loc. NP compl]

tl'ar, tl'aríí, tl'árò 'rip up, split (esp. wood)' [+trans] cf. pata 'split (other than wood)'

tl'ei, tl'eyíí, tl'éyò 'wring' [+trans]

tl'ɨfàà, tl'ɨfíí, tl'ɨfoo 'shoot' [+trans] syn: sɨmaa q.v.

tl'imbàà, tl'imbíí, tl'ímbò 'sew' [+trans]

tl'in (+m.) tl'ináání (+pl) 'strength' also [+qual.+abst]

ts

tsà, tsíí, tsau 'close (n̈wa only)' [+trans]; 'pull' many collocations, including tsa n̈ari 'creep' tsa purkɨti 'bleed s.o. by horn'

tsaa, tsíí, tsâu 'get light, lighten (of town)' [+trans] usually dlanga i tsaa 'the town got light' (i.e.'dawn came')

tsàgáda (+m.) tsàgádi (+pl) 'clitoris' [+body part]

tsallíya (-m.) tsàllí (+pl) 'money' i, yaa tsalliya 'wealthy'

tsàngwɨn (+m.)(-pl) 'dried meat'

tsáránda (?m.) tsáràndí (?pl) '(cimola) genet' [+anim]

tsi (+m.)(-pl) 'night'

tsɨfàà, tsɨfíí, tsɨfò 'dry up' [-trans] tsɨfo-tsɨfo 'dried-up' [stative]

Tsigáama 'one of the stages of Pa'a burial, mourning'
cf. Saani, Vatl'a ñan

tsikər, tsikəríí, tsikərò 'cut, slaughter' [+trans]
syn: kəsaa q.v. tsitsiker (+pl) 'cut into many small
bits'

tsima, tsimíí, tsimò 'dip out' [+trans]

tsimúmù, also tsəmumú 'sourness' [+qual.+abst]

tsina (-m.) tsiní (+pl) 'sweat'

tsinki (+m.) tsinkáání (+pl.) 'heart' [+body part]

tsipura (-m.) tsipurí (+pl) 'urine'

tsiraà, tsiríí, tsiròò 'stand' [-trans] tsirei [+caus]
'stand (s.o. or s.t.) up' tsiro-tsiro [stative]
'standing-up'

tsitsiku (-m.)(-pl) 'middle' [loc.NP]; tsitsiku(ti) 'in
the middle of' [prep]

tsúgunti (+m.)(-pl) 'disgust'

V

va- shortened form of avu used in collocations, e.g.
va ñari 'intestines', va ñmo 'food' va fuu 'worldly
goods'

vàgamá (-m.) vàgamí (+pl) 'hat (cap)'

vàkàcəká (-f.) vàkàcəkí (+pl) 'oribi (Gambian)' [+anim]

vàkíyau (+m.) vákiwáání (+pl) 'snake' [+anim]

vàngìngá [ideophone] 'a lot' [adv]

vánkà (-m.) vànkí (+pl) 'grinding stone'

vàarí (+m.) vàaríyaaní (+pl) 'kernel, seed'

vàsúwa (+m.) vasúwi (+pl) 'wildcat'

Vatl'a ñan 'one of the stages of Pa'a burial, mourning'
cf. Saani, Tsigaama

vaatl'u 'five' [+quant]

vatsáu (+m.)(pl) 'creepy-crawler, incl. snake (gen)'
[?< avu + tsau 'thing (of) pulling']

váwi (+m.) vawíyaaní (+pl) 'fireplace' [loc.NP]

vilúng [ideophone] '?completely' [adv]

vìngí (+m.) vìngáaní (+pl) 'mouth' [+ body part]; by
extension,'words, language'

vìngi [prep] 'at edge, side of' vìngimìjì, vingi ambi
'riverbank, shoreline'

vìtuwí (+m.) vìtuwiyáaní (+pl)'mosquito' [+anim]

vìvìtl'u, vìvìtl'íí, vìvìtl'ó 'roll on the ground, e.g.
horse' [-trans] vìvìtl'ei etc. [+caus] 'roll s.t.,
e.g. log'

vìyá (-m.) vìyí (+pl) 'corpse'

vùdacikí (+m.) vùdaní (+pl) '(patas) monkey' [+anim]
[nom.suffix in s. only]

vùra (-m.) vurân (+pl) 'girl, daughter, female child'
[+anim] Used as diminutive for -m. NPs. opp: dla q.v.
collocations incl: vura bama 'fruit' vura ñeka 'maid-
en'

vùraàmá (?m.?pl) 'aardvark'

vùrmábatì (-m.) 'aunt (father's sister)' [< contraction
of vura + ama + aba +relat.suff] [+anim]

vùrma'àmàtì (-m.) vurmáaní ámati (+pl) 'aunt (mother's
sister)' [< contraction of vura + ama + ama +relat.
suff] [+anim]

vùrmáti (-m.) vúràmáaní (+pl) 'sister' [< contraction of
vura + ama +relat. suff]

vùvu, vuvíí, vùvó 'boil' [+trans]

vèjikí (+m.) vèjikiyáaní (+pl) 'rubbish heap'

vèrdaa, vèrdíí, vèrdò 'beget, give birth to, deliver (a
child)' [gloss depends on sex of subject][+trans]

vyeɗuu, vyeɗíí, vyéɗò 'sharpen' [+trans]

w

wa [neg] 'not, no' [usually sentence final]

wacè (-m.) wácì (+m.) wúⱮì (+pl) [indefinites] 'a,a cer-
tain' [det]

wácì 'one' [+quant]; also (+m.) 'the one'

wajè wácì also ko wajè wácì [loc.adv] 'beside, to one
side' [< H. waje 'side' + 'one']

wàláàwálà (?m.?pl) 'wild hunting dog' [+anim] cf. 'yaa-
raa

war (-m.) wàráánì (+pl) 'year of festival' e.g. war sir
'year in which circumcision festival is held'

wàsaa [clause introducer] 'if not'

wàsù, wàsíí, wásò 'swell, as from injury' [-trans] cf.
pьcu

wàtsín (+m.) (-pl) 'dry season'

wei (+m.) wèyáánì (+pl) 'grass'

wòwál (+m.)(-pl) 'fear'

wьdí (-m.) wьdíyaanì (+pl) 'faeces'

wùráciki (+m.) wùráánì (+pl) 'leopard' [+anim]

wúⱮì 'which(ever)' [Q-word]; (+pl. of wace, waci q.v.)
[+pl. indefinite]

WuⱮí [loc. NP] name of Pa'a town

y

<u>ya</u> [pred] equalizer/stabilizer in non-verbal S when sub-
ject NP is (-m.) [opp: <u>na</u> q.v.]; [emph] particle post-
posed to (-m.)[+emph] word

<u>yaa</u> [assoc.prep] 'with'; also nom. conj. syn: <u>i</u> q.v.

<u>yei</u> (+m.) yeyáàní (+pl) 'hill, mountain' [loc.NP] <u>yei </u>V<u>ar</u>
'name of hill near Tiffi'

'y

<u>'yákatù</u>, <u>'yakatíí</u>, <u>'yákatò</u> 'bail (out)' [+trans] [< H.
<u>yakuta</u> ?]

<u>'yára</u> (+m.) <u>'yárí</u> (+pl) 'grey heron' [+anim]

<u>'yaaraa</u> (+m.) <u>'yaarí</u> (+pl) '(wild hunting?) dog' [+anim]
<u>dla 'yar</u> 'son of a bitch' [?contraction]

<u>'yu</u> (+m.)(-pl) 'beer (usually guinea corn)'

z

<u>za</u>, <u>zíí</u>, <u>zo</u> 'mix (only <u>laji</u>) [+trans, but NP compl. li-
mited to <u>laji</u> 'gruel']

<u>zaa</u>, <u>zíí</u>, <u>zàù</u> or <u>zò</u> 'enter' [motion V, +loc. NP compl]
<u>zei</u>, etc. [caus] 'put in' <u>zazei</u> (+pl)[caus] 'keep on
putting in'

<u>zaa</u> (+m.) <u>záàni</u> (+pl) 'bow (weapon)' <u>ndər zaa</u> 'make war,
fight'

<u>zábù</u>, <u>zabíí</u>, <u>zàbó</u> 'choose' [+trans] [? H. loan <u>zaba</u>]

<u>záági</u> (+m.) <u>záágiyáàní</u> (+pl) 'lion' [+anim] [not accepted
by all Pa'anci speakers] [< H. <u>zaki</u>] syn: <u>ji</u> q.v.

<u>Zàkárà</u> [loc.NP] name of Pa'a town

<u>zàkúmba</u> (+m.) <u>zàkumbí</u> (+pl) 'donkey' [+anim]

zakwatáá (+m.)(?pl) 'youth' [+anim]

zàmánda or zàmandá (+m.) zàmandí (+pl) 'jackal' [+anim]

zámbà, zàmbíí, zámbò 'deceive' [+trans] [H. loan?<yi(wa) zamba]

zei, zeyíí, zèyó or zéyò 'put (in, on)' [caus. of zaa] zazei (+pl) 'keep on putting in'

Zìdá [loc.NP] name of Pa'a town

zɨgìya (-m.) zɨgʉmí (suppl.+pl) 'rock, stone'

zíìki (+m.) ẓikiyáání (+pl) 'rope'

zììma, ziimíí, zììmôo 'sow (seeds)' [+trans]

ziimáá (-m.)(-pl) 'red earth (rubbed on body as cosmetic for ceremonial occasions)'

zìmíí (+pl) 'birds' (alternate plural of zənciki q.v.)

zuu, zuwíí, zúwò 'awake(n)' [+trans]

zukwá(ti) (+m.) zùkwáání (+pl) 'mother's brother' [+anim] [powerful figures in Pa'a family life]

zuutu [ideophone] 'completely' da zuutu 'pass by without stopping or speaking'

zùwé (-m.)(-pl) 'groundnut(peanut)'

zəgùn, zəgùmíí, zəgumòò 'warm (not boil) e.g. water' [+trans]

zəmán (+m.)(-pl) 'morning' zəman-zəman 'early morning'

zənciki (+m.) zəncikáání (+pl) 'bird (gen)' [+anim] zimii (alternate, suppl. pl) q.v.

zərngá (-m.) zərngí (+pl) 'red flowered silk cotton tree'

ž̌

žažǎ (+m.)(-pl) 'rainbow'

žežě [ideophone?] 'a little, small-small' [adv]

žéžǜnáka (?m.?pl) 'musk shrew' [+anim]

žîrtán (?m.?pl) 'green, unripe' [+qual]

ENGLISH-PA'ANCI WORD LIST

This English-Pa'anci Word List is intended merely as a guide to the preceding Lexicon. Tones are not marked herein, and parts of speech are marked only in ambiguous cases.

a

a, an wace, waci

aardvark vuraama

abandoned town (site) duwi

able (to be ..) iye

acacia, thorn laliya

accept tuku

accompany tɨka

add ƙəta

adder, puff ñañanciki

adornment badʼati

adze cancən

again, only gumaa

age-mate masinta

agree n̂ya

ahead, in front of an̂wan

all dliɓu, peiṭ

already riga (v)

and yaa

anger (n) ƙwar(ti)

angry, be or get (v) ƙwar

animal, meat tluwi

annoy damaa, har

another, a certain awi

another place dʼangu

answer n̂ya

ant tuura, mamari, dʼaldʼal

antelope naa, roan babar

anthill ɓin

anus njir

apple, custard ɓəsa

apron, man's tlipi

arm ƙəman

armpit lɨkəta

arrive mbu

arrow taka

ashes bətiki, bimi

ash-water tatinaa

ashamed, be nduku caaki

ask takuu

assemble pa ñama

at a

aunt, maternal vurma'amati

aunt, paternal vurmabati

awake zuu

axe šila

b

baboon ban

baby mewa

back (n) kar

bag bii

bail (v) 'yakatu

Bambarra groundnut meiƙoƙo

bandicoot rat gambəli

baobab jaambar

bark (tree) baƙalti

basket bajaka

bat kitli, dlimba-dlimba ƙayi

bean jama

beard binza

beat (person) da, (drum) ta

beautiful kacan

because of ñamaa

bed gəduwi

bee dliƙərƙuma

beer 'yu

beget vərɗaa

begin bar

behind ala

belly ñari

bend (bow) ɗa(n), gudlu

beside waje waci

bewitch bali

big bəlan, babəla, kanjaa

bird zənciki (pl) zimii

birth; give vərɗaa

bite ƙii

bitter tl'am(u)maa, tl'an-tl'an

bitter tomato kuda

black durhan

blacksmith aba kuufa

bleed s.o. by horn tsa purkiti

blind aba kuco

blind, go kucuu

block, close tasu

blood atin

blow (with mouth) faki

blunt (aba) gwamo tau

body kwur

bog kɐ̌si

boil vuvu

bone ƙəsiki

border duwaa

borrow tukwo aro, tukwo rama

bow (weapon) zaa

boy dla

brains ndərndər

break ɓatlu, pɨtla

breast api

breathe sakwaa, (heavily from illness) ižii

brew (beer) luu

bring ciye

brother dlaamati

brother, elder ngarsɨma

buffalo (bushcow) lɨvyin

build ɦwan

bull dlaɦarcəka

bulrush millet gyela

burial pisau, (stages of) Saani, Tsigaama, Vatl'a ɦan

burn ɦwuɓu

bury pɨsu

bush ɗapaa

bushbuck badaƙəla

bustard tlakamaƙa

but amma

butter lidi

buttocks njiɓaka

buy kwan

c

calabash galka

call ƙa

cane rat ɦwun

care for child, ailing ja

carefully cuwan(-cuwan)

carry(load) dɐma, (on back) lɨfuu

cassava tladoya

cat ŋacama

catfish ŋgalveena

cave tl'akwana

chair, stool gwalaa

chameleon ƙuƙwa

change sil, (into) (ndər) nguɓa

character   hali

charcoal   avun

chat   jika(ka)

cheeks   ganceka

chest   mutsi

chew   ruma

chicken   dlurkiya

child   dla, vura, (first) dlahanti

chin   ŋgamaŋgama, gabacanga

choose   zabu

chop   kekesa, dei, caduu

circumcision   sir

circumcize   sar

clay   ribun, burama

climb   geduu, hwun

clitoris   tsagada

close   jaabu, tasu, tsa

close to   ngir-ngir (ya)

closed tightly   ngam

'close sesame'   bata ngam

cloth   va dikeno, (for tying baby on back) va lifi

cloud   livyin

cock (rooster)   sinciki, or sunciki

cold (damp) rei, (dry) sendi

collect (odds and ends)   tli-baa

come   dava

completely   zuutu

compound   kulanda, hara

contradict   ca...vama

cook   du

cooking pot   jinki

cool (esp. sun)   dlibidaa

copulate   fer (tla)

cornbin   pangwa

corpse   viya

cough   atlo

count   kena, du

cow (zebu)   harceka

co-wife   asinceka

crab   rinceka

creep, crawl (child) gurju (snake) tsa hari

creepy crawlers   va tsau

crocodile   kin

cross (river)   suu

crow   gaaga

cry   dler

cultivate, farm   tladu

cunning, be   ar$\overset{v}{s}$u

cut (with knife) tsikər, kə-
    saa (machete) dei, timaa

d

dance   laka

darkness   nduna

daughter   vura

daughter-in-law   ngaza

dawn   abuguci

day   a$\overset{v}{s}$in, (light) fei

deaf   nduɓwərciki

death   miyau

debt   rama

decay   laka

deceive   zamba

decrease   ɓiɓa

deep   dar, aba darti

deleb palm   jakada

delicacy   va jukwa

deliver (child)   vərdaa

depth   darti

descend   dɐbu

devil   binciki

dew   mada

die   miya

difficulty   bootaa

dig, uncover   jigaa

dip out   tsima

dirt   daɓwanɓwan, gwadarti,
    ngəlau

disgust   tsugunti

dish hihyeela n.

distribute   kəna

dive kərfatu

divide   dləraa

do   ndər, ai

doctor (trad.) aba ɦaniki

dodo   ɦarciki   cf.(names of)
    Cangwidi, Dadlurna, Dan-
    damiya, ɦwola-ɦwola,
    Kulɓo, ɓwal-ɓwal, Mbe-
    mbe & Ndozi

dog, wild hunting walaa-wala,
    'yaaraa

donkey   zakumba

door (way) ɦwa, vinga gaduwa

door screen   guduɓi

dove   kɐlkuda

draw (water) dlər

dream   masina

dried meat   tsangwin

drink   sa

drink, special sweet laꝁwada

drive away raku

drum banga, (spherical ceremonial) lᵻkwᵻci

dry tsᵻfo-tsᵻfo

dry up tsᵻfaa

dry season watsin

duiker, Grimm's crested kiici

dust fᵻta

dwell siki, x̌iki

e

ear huma

early kwakwa, ɓaɓa

earth ritl'a

earth, red ziimaa

eat (grain) ɦma, (meat) rᵾma

edge of vᵻngi

egg asi

egret, great white x̌indari

eight fafaɗiki, 18 da'mbo fafaɗiki, 80 daaɓu fafaɗiki, hawya faɗu

elbow ꝁarꝁaava, gangasi

elephant langa

elephantiasis, scrotal tlur

eleven da'mbo waci

embrace gurɓu

endure dərmaa

enough, be....for mb--

enter zaa

envelop bakusu

escape patee

evening fᵻrci

everyone, whoever ko'asa

everything ko wux̌i avu

exceed hara, ɓii

extinguish da pana

eye ata

f

faeces wᵾɗi

fail kuu

fall ndaa

falling (sound of) bazau

fan beekᵻtu

far x̌ix̌u

farm n. sᵻna, v. tlaɗu

farming (occupation) tlaɗa

fat hiɗur n.

fat, become rinsa

father abati

father-in-law cosi(ti)

fatigue njaamaa

fear wowal, v. nduko wowal

feather pooti, ngeza zon-ciki

feel nduku
female ñeka

fence (straw) dlidla

fennec (desert fox) la

festival year war

fetish ("juju") bocelo

fever beena

fifteen da'mbo vatl'u

fifty daabu vatl'u, hawya cir i daabu

fill ñyaŋgu

find ñyaa

finger mbotsiki

fingernail kərfʉn

finish ba

fire pana

fireplace vawi

firewood dikipana

fish jalaa,(spiny) lulu

fisherman aba cucu

five vaatl'u

flame sinki pana

flea dida

flesh (meat) tlu

flour fiya

fly .v. tlu, n. housefly atuwi

flying squirrel cidla

fog baataa

follow tafu

food va ñmo

foot cɨmun

footfalls (sound of dodo's) gɨji-gɨji, guju-guju

forest cama, cama bama

forge(metal) kufa

forget mbambər

forty daabu fadu, hawya cir

four faadu

fourteen da'mbo fadu

francolin jira

friend ašimba(ti)

frog njinjakwa,(big bull) dəraa, joombo

from daga

fruit vura bama

fry ku

full ñyango-ñyango

games   dooti

gather   pa, pəpa

gazelle, red fronted   tambura

genet (cimola)   tsaranda

germinate   mba

get, obtain   ĥya

giraffe   jilele dapa

girl   vɨra

give   nge

glean, e.g. groundnuts   rɨdaa

go   tin   etc. (see pp. 141-42)
   going ĥwocu, go out   mba

goat   acəka, he- gatara

God   ʸšinda

good   'an'uwan

goods, worldly   va fuu

gossip v。 cal   n. cɐlaamaa,
   calo

gourd   gula

grab   cei

grass   wei

greatly   ƙutu-ƙutu

greatness   ngirni

grand-child   kaka-ti

grandfather   jiji-ti

grandmother   kukwa-tɨ

greed   hwaapana

green (not ripe)   ʸširtan

greet, salute   ĥwuley

grill, roast   sapu

grind   tərda

grinding stone   vanƙa

groaning   iʸžii

ground   ritl'a, on the ..
   ritl'u

groundnut   zuwe

groundnut, Bambarra   meiƙoƙo

grove   cama

grow   da

grow old   ĥara

gruel   laji

guest   samburciki

guinea corn   aci

guinea fowl   jaavɨnaa

gum (sticky)   ndiƙii

gum tree, white   gidambən-
   ciki

h

hair   ngeza

hammer   sapei

hand   daƙen, ƙəman

hand, left ƙəman magu, right ƙəmambiʃi

handful, take a ƙəfaa

hard gərtlu, arʃu

hare damiiki

harmattan sɨndi

harp bɨsakwa

hartebeest gurmatli

harvest tɨma v.

haste saasaa, ʃaaʃaa

hat vagama

hawk jagwur, black kite.. liiha

head ɦama

head pad lamanciki, lanciki

health basa

hear, feel nduku

heart tsinƙi

heat bubau, bubo

heaviness ndan-ndan

hedgehog cinja, njiisa

height ɗau, ɗoo

help mbɐre

here aki(ki)

heron, grey 'yara

hide tɨpaa, pu,tl'aapaa

hippopotamus jungwa

hit (with heavy stick) dlaa-budu

hoe v. ru, tladu, n. taari, tɨmpa

hold cei

hole ngir

hollow out lakwatu, dlər-ƙaatu

honey ambi dliƙərƙuma

horn purkɨti

horse jiki, mare dakwa

hot aba bubau-ti

hour garna

how kəsaanaa

how much mana-na

hundred daɓu har daɓu, hawya vatl'u

hunger mei

hunt 'iyaa

hunter muzanciki

husband njuwi

hut kan

hut, entrance fɨla

hyena bɨtangwil

hyrax, dassie agwada

i

if, when   mba

if not   wasaa

ignore   jar

in, inside   (a)ñari

increase   ƙeta

indeed   njadi

in-laws   cosi-ti

insult   kaci

intestines   va ñari

j

jackal   zamanda

jaw   ndinceka

join   gʉbei

journey   ñwocu, (business) təro

joy   para

jump   ñwi, ndaa

k

Kano man   ganciki

keep on   tuukwe

kernel   vaari

kidney   tirƙwasa

kill   da

king   malvi

klop-klop   karapa da gungume

knead   dlaaɓaa, dərgudu

knee   bʉrmi

kneel   afu

knife   atlima

knot   kurmbatlu

know   sɨnee

kob, western   gudanceka

kolanut   'awʉn

l

lack   gwam

lake   ñyɨfi

language   jikɨlo vɨngi

last year   daami

laterite   kaca

laugh   ñansaa

laughter   ñanŠi

lay eggs   fuugu

lay out (eg. mat before plaiting)   pɨda

leaf   lʉkwɨti or dlukwɨti

lean against   gwar

leaping bantsal, bantsar

learn gigi

leave aju, (behind) jar,
    mbɨɗaa, fuugu

left magu, mugwincəka

leg cimʉn

lend ngɐ aro, ngɐ rama

leopard wuraciki

lick lɨkən

lie kwali ɲ.

lie down aŝin

lift 'atla, gei

light (fire) mbum, (place)
    ndan

light (not heavy) lafu-lafu

lighten (eg. town..) tsaa

lightning njelo

like, want ho, hwo

likes of ɦya --

line up dəɗaa

lion ji, zaagi

lip tala vɨngi

little, a gaɓu(-gaɓu) ʐeʐe,
    ciɓu-ciɓu adv.

live siki, ʃiki

liver santa

lizard ngɨlaciki

load hwahwa

locust kanda

locust bean tree ɦəcaa

lodge (s.o.) dɨba, dɨbe

long dahan, dahei, da-dar

look for ŋgwil

lose, get lost mumei, muma

lungs kufi

m

maiden vuraɦyeka

maize garin dawa

male, man njuu

mantis (praying) dangal

many baku

marabou stork ganga, kwasa-
    kwasa

mare dakwa

market mbura po ɦama

marry bar

massage dərguɗu, dlaaɓaa

mat kursa

measure gaja

meat tluwi

medicine ɦanaki

meet   da n̈ama

middle   tsitsɨku

midnight   n̈ama tsi

milk   api

millet   gyela 'aala

mix (gen.) n̈wɨna, (clay etc.)
    liɓa,(liquids other than
    gruel) tluudaa, (gruel
    only) za

money   tsalliya

mongoose   budugu

monitor (land) kokinciki
        (water) nguzun

monkey (patas) vudaciki
       (vervet) nju

moon, month   cira

morning   zəman

mosquito   vɨtuwi

mother   ama-ti

mother-in-law   cosi

mould (pot)   n̈wan

mount (animal) gəduu, n̈wun

mountain, hill   yei   hill
        near Tiffi šar

mouse   kusanciki

mouth   vɨngi

much less   ɓare, ɓadle

mucus that collects in eye
    after sleep   mburdi

mud   dlarɓe

mudfish   rangaši

mush   bɨši

n

nail (finger or toe)   ƙərfun

name   sɨm, sun

nape   ndama

navel   sɨpiya

near   k(w)un-k(w)un, ngir-
    ngir,   ngər-ngər

neck   rei

new   marhwan, marhwi

next to   dliɓiya

night   tsi

nine   ƙəmanəmma, 19 da'mbo
    ƙəmanəmma, 90 daaɓu
    ƙəmanəmma

no, not (S. neg)   wa

no   a'a

noon   n̈ama fei

nose   atɨn

now   ƙwati

o

of ta

oil kwama, (cooking) dlidlu

okra taselaƙa

old makanja

one waci

onion albasa

only gɯma, dluwi

open (door) dla

'open sesame' bᵈta sakwap

oribi vakacəka

outdoors, outside njalaa

ought to haraa

owner of aba, ama, masu

p

Pa'a man fuuciki

Pa'a woman, language fuucəka

palm leaves koroso

pants suƙumbi

partridge, stone landa

pass (by) kuɗu

pay (for s.t.), repay pɯn

pea jamakuwo

peel cikwuli

penis san

pepper barkwan

person mbarin

pierce ɓii

pigeon ba(m)burm(b)aka

pity halaci, halilu

place mbura n.

place on fire 'ar

plait (rope) takuɗu

plant (seeds) ziima

pleasure paaci

plop ɦwapuu

pluck pɨtaa

pond ɦyɨfi

porcupine jiiji

post-partum (time) dombur-
             dɨti

pot (gen.) jinki, (beer)
    fərha, telka, (big)
    gadla

pound (in mortar) juuwaa

pour out bubuduu, pɯɗa

pregant stomach 'i, woman
    with ama⌐'i

press, tread on jen

prevent kwal

prick ears (horse) da huma

protect dangil

pull tsa,(off) dli&aa,
     (out of sheath) mbasu

pumpkin pema

punish hori

push, send on way c&du

put (away, down) dubaa,
    (in) zei

python, royal mudaha

q

quiver bangwara

r

rabbit damiiki

rain fafiya

rainbow njanja, žaža

rainy season gudafa

raise (children) ja

ram gan

ransom pen

rat lin, (bandicoot) gam-
     beli, (field) kuli

reach mbu

receive tuku

red bihan, bihei, bi

reedbuck g&lfi

refuse, deny rii

rel marker ka

release mb&daa

remain, be left over maalaa

remember dad&l, t&l

repair burdu

request, beg loo

rest of maalaama

return bela

ribs marni

right (side) bišiceka

ring nguna

rip up tl'ar, pataa

ripe (become) na

ritual sacrifice buso dlanga

river m&jiki

road dl&rki

roan antelope babar

robe, gown kaba

rock zigiya

roll on ground v&v&tl'u

room kan

root tlari

rope ziiki

rotten, be budu

rub dergudu

rubbish heap vəjiki

run dladlu

s

sacrifice, see ritual

saliva ani

salt gišira

sand (dry, fine) tɨlvuda,
(wet, coarse) hwiƙa

satisfied, be hwapuu

sauce kam, kan

say, tell munda, mune

scarifications tlawa

scorpion ƙatura

scratch tlao, tlaakaa

see ɦan, (pay attention to)
danguu

seed vaari

seize cei

sell kwan

send(s.o. to do s.t.) cɨna

sesame kuji

set up pangaa

seven cirƙwun, tsirƙwun,
17 da'mbo tsirkwun,
70 daabu har tsirƙwun

sew tl'imbaa

shadow arna, nduna

shake dəd(d)ər, (s.t.) gɨ-
katu, dangudu

shallow gwamo darti

shame cakii

sharp(ness) tau, (taste)
bubo

sharpen vyeduu

shave 'atlɨm

shea butter (tree) njalaa

sheep tumacəka

shell, peel cikwuli

shelter cakwa

shine ndan

shoe koota

shoot tl'ɨfaa, sɨmaa

short bɐtsahan, gajerciki
(be too..for) kuu

shoulder pana

shout ƙawo

show ngəna

shrew (musk) žežɐnaka

siblings barwaciki

sickness, pain kurto

side kwunkwun

silent, be šika cibu

silk cotton tree zərnga

sing   tɨmaa

sister   vurmati,(younger)
         siyevurmati, (elder)
         bəlevurmati, ngaraka

sit (down) šiki, siki

six   maha, 16 da'mbo maha,
      60 da'maha, daabu (har)
      maha

skin tala,(human) tala kwur

skin, flay bʉzuu

sky   ĥwasu

slaughter   tsɨkər

slave   ĥwalinciki

sleep   ašin

slim, become   gəraa

small   siyen, siyei

smell   sasʉn

smoke   ani, v. sa

snail   dumbaka

snake   vakiyau

snatch   hurtu

soak   taa

soft(ness)   lɨbu-libu

some   ĥyawi

son   dla

son-in-law   cosi

song   tɨma

sorcerer   abalima

sour(ness)   tsəmumu, tsɨmumu

sow (seeds)   ziima

spear   ndibaa

spend time   maku

spider (gen.)   ŋgwɨna-ŋgwɨna

Spider (trickster) Ngwɨna
        or Ngʉna; (his wife)
        Taaviyeya

spit   pɨsuu

split   pata, (wood) tl'ar

spring (water)   kaca

squat   'afu

squirrel   ƙwattara

stab   ti, tɨfa

stack   ɗugusu

stallion   jiki

stand   tsiraa, (and set off)
        tɨuu

star   šešuwa, (morning)
       lugubara

steal   kəra

stick   dangwaɗi, (stirring)
        ĥyiĥyuu

stink   sʉmumu

stir   naƙuu, (as sugar into
       tea) ĥwunaa

stomach   ĥari,(of pregnan-
          cy) 'i

stone   z̷giya

stork (marabou)   kwasa-kwasa
ganga

storm   lakwa

story   njanjin

straw (stalks)   hyeƙa

strength   'tlin

suck   kakən

sun   fei

surround   lalaa

swallow   s̷ƙən

swamp, bog   kwši

swear   cʉma

sweat   l̷lu, tsina

sweep   pei

sweet   dlartsitsa, litsitsa

sweet water   ambi kacan

swell   p̷cuu,(from injury)
wasu

swim   suu, cən

sword   gaji

t

tail   suwa

take   tane, (back) bəlei,
(a handful) ƙəfaa,
(a lot of) ĥamaa, (off,
out) mbei

tamarind   mb̷c̷na

taste   ɗanɗan

tasteless, insipid   lallan

teach   gigi

tear (n.)   mbʉcin

tell   gəle, munde

ten   daaɓu

termite   gašeka

testicles   ranga

thank   goodu

that, the one referred to
amata, abita, -ka(ka)

thatching   šil

the (def., ref. marker)   -ta

theft   kəra

then   sei, sa'anan

there   kaka, fa, kaa

there is, are   ana or ani

thief   mukurciki, aba kəra

thighs   d̷v̷ɗi, nd̷ƙəsa

thin   tərtər

thing   avu,(pl.) vaani

this   abati, amati, -ti, -ki-
ki

those   ĥanta, ĥanti kaka

three   kədu

throat   gurgwatl'a

throw   jiji

thus   mbuku

tie   tlin, diken

time   lokaci

tired, be   nj--

today   ii

together   kwaci

tomb   bija

tomorrow   suu

tongue   sinki

tool (harvesting)   doŝi

torso   janga (kwur)

touch   nau

tough   pooti

town   dlanga   Pa'a towns
incl: Ari (Ri),
Dara, Guda, Kafin Za-
ki, Kalaasu, Kici,
Kujera, Kwarangwadi
Ningu, Njaken, Tabe-
la, Tiffi, Wuŝi, Za-
kara, & Zida

transplant   pi

tree   bama

trousers   sukumbi

try   nau, (very hard)
camba--

turn   jikil, (aside) kara,
(out) pel

two   cir(u)

u

ugly   mbasi, mbasa

uncle (maternal) zukwa(ti)
(paternal) dlamaba(ti)

untie   mbidaa

until   kapu

up   ñwaasu

urine   tsipura

v

voice   janka

vomit   jiitaa

w

wait   gitaa

walk   bomberaa

wall (stone)   garu

war   kiŝi

Warji (people)   kwakwarciki

warm   zegun

warthog   terter

wash   mbisu

water   ambii,(lukewarm)luu-
luu

waterbuck ngikaacin

water monitor nguzun

weakness, laxity kəvuti, kəvuciki

wealth dlangir

what mišii, munaa or munee, kəsaanaa

when kaacɨna, kaacɨne, nda

where soona, soone, inda-ta

which(ever) wuši

white cilhan, cilhei, cilili

who asana or asane, əseya or aseye

why ñamaa misii-na, munaa, (occasionally) kəsaanaa

whip tl'abudu

wildcat vasuwa

wipe taaka

with i, yaa

woman meka

work cin

world fuu

worthless datsi-ti

wrestle gurdu
wrestling gwursaa

wring tl'ei

Y

year ruwoo (of festival)
war

yes aaa (affirmative)

yesterday mbun

yet nduku

youth zakwataa n.

SECOND "LOOK-UP" LEXICON

The second, "look-up" lexicon which follows
contains all Pa'anci pronominal paradigms, which were
excluded from the preceding lexicon. These include
the pre-verbal tense proncuns (AUX-tps), object pronouns,
possessive pronouns, and the independent pronouns, sub-
ject and possessive. They are listed according to the
features specified in the text of the grammar, and selec-
tion of the appropriate pronominal form would normally
take place at the time of lexical insertion.

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cont} \\ -\text{rel} \end{bmatrix} \text{AUX-tps}$$

(followed by [+Perf.] Verb form)

	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cont.} \\ +\text{compl.} \end{bmatrix}$	[subj]
$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -II \\ +s. \end{bmatrix}$	má	ma
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +s. \\ +m. \end{bmatrix}$	ú	u
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +s. \\ -m. \end{bmatrix}$	ín	in
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +s. \\ +m. \end{bmatrix}$	ná	na
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +s. \\ -m. \end{bmatrix}$	í	i
$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +II \end{bmatrix}$	á	a
$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -II \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$	mí	mi
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$	ú..(V)..nà(ni)	u..(V)..nà(ni)
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$	tlí	tli

$$\begin{bmatrix} +cont \\ -rel \end{bmatrix} \text{AUX-tps}$$

(followed by [+VN] Verb form)

$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -II \\ +s. \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +cont. \\ -fut. \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +cont. \\ +fut. \end{bmatrix}$ [1]
$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -II \\ +s. \end{bmatrix}$	<u>mɨnà</u>	<u>tín</u>
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +s. \\ +m. \end{bmatrix}$	<u>hɨnà</u>, <u>u</u>	<u>tú</u>
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +s. \\ -m. \end{bmatrix}$	<u>ñnnà</u>	<u>tín</u>
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +s. \\ +m. \end{bmatrix}$	<u>tɨnà</u>	<u>táá</u>
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +s. \\ -m. \end{bmatrix}$	<u>i</u>	<u>tlá</u>
$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +II \end{bmatrix}$	<u>ánà</u>	(<u>a</u>) <u>táá</u>
$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -II \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$	<u>mɨnà</u>	<u>cín</u>
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$	<u>hɨnà</u>	<u>cína</u>
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$	<u>tli</u>	<u>tlitli</u>

[1]The appropriate AUX-tp (in person, number and gender agreement with the subject) from either the $\begin{bmatrix} +cont. \\ -fut. \end{bmatrix}$ or the [+subj] set may precede the future formatives. Either is obligatory if the subject is [+emph] or S = neg.

[+rel] AUX-tps

	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cont.} \\ +\text{compl.} \end{bmatrix}$ (followed by Aorist)	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cont.} \\ +\text{fut.} \end{bmatrix}$ (followed by VN)	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cont.} \\ +\text{fut.} \end{bmatrix}$
$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \end{bmatrix}$	ma	ma kà	ma kà tín
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ +\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	u	u kà	u ka tú
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ -\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	in	in kà	in kà tín
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ +\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	na	na kà	na kà táá
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ -\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	i	i kà	i kà tlá
$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \end{bmatrix}$	a	a kà	a kà táá
$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{pl} \end{bmatrix}$	mi	mi kà	mi kà cín
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{pl} \end{bmatrix}$	u..V..nà	u kà..V..nà	u kà cína
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{pl} \end{bmatrix}$	tli	tli kà	tli kà tli

Pronoun Objects

	Indirect Object (suffixed to Perf. V minus final vowel)	Direct Object (with no Indirect Object, suffixed to Perf. V $\pm$ vowel)
$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -II \\ +s. \end{bmatrix}$	-aa	-[v]ni[2]
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +s. \\ +m. \end{bmatrix}$	-uu	-uu
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +s. \\ -m. \end{bmatrix}$	-in	-in
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +s. \\ +m. \end{bmatrix}$	-í	-í
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +s. \\ -m. \end{bmatrix}$	-etla	-[v]tla
$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -II \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$	-in	-in
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$	-ina(ní)	-ina(ní)
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$	-etli	-[v]tli

[2][v] = final vowel of Perfective Aspect. Direct Object pronouns which begin with i or u replace the final vowel of the Perfective.

Pronoun Objects

	Direct or Indirect (suffixed to VN)	Direct or Indirect (following Aorist) or Direct with intervening IO (also object of preposition)
$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -II \\ +s. \end{bmatrix}$	-nà(nì)[3]	min
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +s. \\ +m. \end{bmatrix}$	-nù	hu
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +s. \\ -m. \end{bmatrix}$	-nɨn	n̂ǝn
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +s. \\ +m. \end{bmatrix}$	-sù	tin, -ndi[4]
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +s. \\ -m. \end{bmatrix}$	-sù	tle
$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -II \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$	-nɨn	mi
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$	-nɨyè, -nɨyànì[5]	hɨnànì
$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$	-sɨn	tlin

[3] nì is not used if Direct Object follows.

[4] ndi is used only following pronominal Indirect Object, tin elsewhere.

[5] equal variants with no known conditioning factors.

Suffixed Possessive Pronouns

	Suffixed to +m. NP (including VN)	Suffixed to -m. NP
$\begin{bmatrix} +\mathrm{I} \\ -\mathrm{II} \\ +\mathrm{s.} \end{bmatrix}$	-na(nì)	-ya(yì)
$\begin{bmatrix} -\mathrm{I} \\ +\mathrm{II} \\ +\mathrm{s.} \\ +\mathrm{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	-nù	-yù
$\begin{bmatrix} -\mathrm{I} \\ +\mathrm{II} \\ +\mathrm{s.} \\ -\mathrm{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	-nɨ́n	-yɨ́n
$\begin{bmatrix} -\mathrm{I} \\ -\mathrm{II} \\ +\mathrm{s.} \\ +\mathrm{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	-sù	-sù
$\begin{bmatrix} -\mathrm{I} \\ -\mathrm{II} \\ +\mathrm{s.} \\ -\mathrm{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	-sù	-sù
$\begin{bmatrix} +\mathrm{I} \\ -\mathrm{II} \\ +\mathrm{pl} \end{bmatrix}$	-nɨ́n, -nɨ́mì	-yɨ́n, -yɨ́mì
$\begin{bmatrix} -\mathrm{I} \\ +\mathrm{II} \\ +\mathrm{pl} \end{bmatrix}$	-nɨyè, -nɨyànì	-yɨyè, -yɨyànì
$\begin{bmatrix} -\mathrm{I} \\ -\mathrm{II} \\ +\mathrm{pl} \end{bmatrix}$	-sɨ́n	-sɨ́n

Independent Pronouns

Subject ('I, you, etc.')   Poss. PN ('mine, yours)

(+m. referent)(-m. referent)

	Subject	Poss. PN (+m.)	Poss. PN (-m.)
$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \end{bmatrix}$	àmɨ́n	anàní	ayàyí
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ +\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	àhú	anú	ayú
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ -\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	àn̂ɨ́n	anɨ̂n	ayɨ̂n
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ +\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	àtɨ́n	asú	asú
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ -\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	àtlé	asú	àstlé
$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{pl} \end{bmatrix}$	àmí	ànɨ́mi	àyɨ́mi
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{pl} \end{bmatrix}$	àhɨ́na	àníyàni	àyíyàyi
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{pl} \end{bmatrix}$	àtlín	àsɨ̂n	àsɨ̂n

APPENDIX I: VERBAL PARADIGMS

The first appendix gives sample verbal paradigms for two "typical" Pa'anci verbs, and one decided a-typical one, the verb 'to go'. I have chosen a transitive, -u final verb (n̂yangù 'to fill'), and a basic intransitive (motion verb which can take locative NP goal complements) -a final verb (bèla 'to return') in order to give an illustration of the range of verbal constructions. The latter verb also has causative forms.

The paradigms are ordered by tense, and then by person, number, and gender of the subject, following the pattern set on the preceding pages. In order to avoid excessive repetition, the selection of objects following the two verbs includes both pronominal and nominal direct and indirect objects, locative goal complements, and a few prepositional phrases. A morph by morph gloss clarifies the order, with a less literal translation following.

The paradigm is complete (for all tenses and person, number and gender of subjects) for the verb n̂yangù, but the continuous tenses (cont. and fut.) and the relative tenses (rel. compl., rel. cont. and rel. fut.) have been collapsed into two paradigms for the verb bèla.

ĥyangù, ĥyangíí, ĥyángwò 'fill'

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cont.} \\ +\text{compl.} \end{bmatrix}$$
[subj]

àmín má ĥyangù gùlá [I(emph)
I+compl. filled(Perf.) gourd]
'I filled the gourd'

í hwo ma ĥyangù [she+compl
wanted I+subj fill(Perf)]
"she wanted me to fill'

ú ĥyangwaa gàlká [you(m.s.)
+compl. filled(Perf.)me(IO)
calabash] 'you filled the
calabash for me'

tìnà hwo u ĥyangwí bii
[he+subj. wants(VN) you
(m.s.) fill(Perf.)him(DO)
'he wants you to fill
the bag for him'

ín ĥyangwe Bíntà tin [you
(m.s.) filled+dative Binta
it(DO)]'you filled it for
Binta'

in ĥyangwetli bàjakí [Imp
you(f.s.)subj fill-them
(IO) baskets]'fill the
baskets for them' (com-
mand to female)

ná ĥyangwetla-ndi [he+compl
filled-her(IO)-it(DO)]'he
filled it for her'

tli hwo na ĥyangutli
[they+cont. want(VN) he+
subj. fill-them (DO)'they
want him to fill them'

í ĥyangwin hihyèèlí [she+
compl. filled-us(IO) dishes]
'she filled the dishes for
us'

tìna hwọ i ĥyangwe Músà
hihyeela [he+cont. wants
she+subj. fill+dative
Musa dish]'he wants her
to fill the dish for Musà

á ĥyangwí ndi [one+compl.
filled+him(IO) it(DO)]'one
filled it for him'

tìnà hwo a ĥyangwina tlin
[he+cont. wants one+subj
fill+you(pl)(IO) them]
'he wants one to fill
them for you'(pl)

mí ĥyangutli i hwíꞣa [we+
compl. filled-them(DO) with
sand] 'we filled them with
sand'

ájì mi ĥyangutla [let(IMP)
we+subj. fill-it(f.)]
'let us fill it'(eg. bas-
ket)

ú ĥyangwí-nanì [you(pl)+
compl. filled it(DO)] 'you
filled it]

u ĥyangutli-nanì [IMP you
+subj fill them(DO) 'fill
them' (to pl. subject)

tlí ĥyangwe Binta bii they
+compl filled+dative Binta
bag]'they filled the bag for
Binta'

ájì tli ĥyanguu bii [let
IMP they+subj fill-you(m.
s.IO) bag]'let them fill
the bag for you'

ɦyangù, ɦyangwíí, ɦyángò 'fill'

$\left[\begin{array}{c}\text{+cont.}\\\text{-fut.}\end{array}\right]$ $\left[\begin{array}{c}\text{+cont.}\\\text{+fut.}\end{array}\right]$

mɨnà ɦyángwò pàngwa [I+cont
filling(VN) cornbin]'I am
filling the cornbin'

tín ɦyangwó-sù [I+fut. fill
(VN)-it] 'I will fill it'

u ɦyangwó-nìn tlin [you+
cont. fill(VN)-us(IO) them
(DO) 'you are filling them
for us'

u tú ɦyángwò hìhyeelá yaa
va ɦmò [you(m.s.) fut.
fill(VN) dish with food]
'you will fill the dish
with food'

ɦnnà ɦyangwó-sɨn gùlí [you
(f.s.)+cont. fill-them(IO)
gourds] 'you are filling
the gourds for them'

in tín ɦyangwó-sù i tlìn
[you(f.s.) fut. fill-it(DO)
with them]'you will fill
it with them'

tɨnà ɦyángwò bii Mùsà [he+
cont. fill(VN) bag(of)Musa]
'he is filling Musa's bag'

táá ɦyangwó-nà gàlká [he+
fut. fill(VN)-me(IO) cala-
bash] 'he will fill the
calabash for me'

i ɦyángwò gùlá àsíncəkà-sù
yaa hwiƚa [she+cont. fill
(VN) gourd(of)co-wife-her
with sand]'she is filling
her co-wife's gourd with
sand'

i tlá ɦyangwó-nɨyàni galka
[she fut. fill(VN)-you(pl.
IO) calabash]'she will
fill the calabash for you'
(addressed to pl. subject)

ánà ɦyangwó-nù bii [one+
cont. fill(VN)-you(m.s.IO)
bag]'one is filling the bag
for you'

a tǽá ɦyángwò pàngwa suu
[one fut. fill(VN) cornbin
tomorrow]'the cornbin will
be filled tomorrow'

mi ɦyangwó-nìn bàjàka [we
+cont. fill(VN)-you(f.s.IO)
basket]'we are filling the
basket for you'

mi cín ɦyangó-sɨn [we fut.
fill(VN)-them 'we will
fill them'

hɨnà ɦyángwò télkà i 'yu
[you(pl) fill(VN) pot with
beer]'you are filling the
pot with beer'

cína ɦyangwó-sù pàngwí [you
fut. fill(VN)-him cornbins]
'you (pl) are filling the
cornbins for him'

tli ɦyangwó-nɨyè gàlkí [they
+cont. fill(VN)-you(pl.IO)
calabashes] 'they are fill-
the calabashes for you'(pl)

tlitli ɦyángwò Mùsà bii
[they fut. fill(VN) Musa
(IO) bag] 'they will fill
the bag for Musa'

ñyangù, ñyangwíí, ñyángwò 'fill'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +cont. \\ -fut. \\ +rel. \end{bmatrix}$$
$$\begin{bmatrix} +cont. \\ +fut. \\ +rel. \end{bmatrix}$$

gùlá-tà ma kà ñyángwò ka
[gourd-the I+rel.cont. fill
(VN) rel] 'the gourd that
I am filling'

ii na u kà ñyangwó-sìn ka
[today emph you+rel.cont.
fill(VN)-them(DO) rel 'to-
day('s the day) you fill
them'

nda in kà ñwángwò bii ka
[when you(f.s.)+rel.cont.
fill(VN) bag rel] 'when you
are filling the bag..'

i 'yu na kà ñyangwó-sù ka
[with beer he+rel.cont.
fill(VN)-it(DO) rel] 'with
beer he is filling it'

mbùrá-tà i kà ñyángwò gùlá
ka [place-the she+rel.cont.
fill(VN) gourd rel] 'place
where she is filling the
gourd'

nda a kà ñyangwó-sù ka
[when one+rel.cont. fill(VN)
-it rel]'when one is fill-
ing it,...'

ávità mi kà ñyangwó-nìyè ka
[thing-that we+rel.cont.
fill(VN)-you(pl.IO) rel]
'the thing that we are
filling for you'(pl)

bii-tà u kà ñyángwò nà ka
[bag-the you+rel.cont.pl.
rel]'the bag you are filling'

ñántà tli kà ñyangwó-nìn ka
[those-who they+rel.fut. fill
(VN)-you]'those who fill for

ávità ma kà tín ñyangwó-nù
ka [thing-that I+rel.fut.
fill-you(m.s.IO) rel 'the
thing I will fill for you'

suu na u kà tú ñyangwó-sù
ka [tomorrow emph. you+rel
fut. fill(VN)-it(DO)'it's
tomorrow you will fill it'

wùšì bàjakí in kà tín ñyán-
gwò ka [which bag you(f.s.)
+rel.fut. fill(VN) rel]
'which bag are you filling?'

Musa abita na ka táá ñyan-
gwò-sù ka [Musa he-who he
+rel.fut. fill(VN)-it rel
'Musa, who will fill it..'

mba i kà tlá ñyangwó-nù
tlin ka [if she+rel.fut.
fill(VN)-you(m.s.IO) them
(DO) rel] 'if she will fill
them for you'

pàngwa na a kà táá ñyángwò
ka [cornbin emph one+rel.
fut. fill(VN) rel]'it's
the cornbin one will fill'

i ámbii mi kà cín ñyangwó-
nù ndi ka [with water we+
rel.fut. fill(VN)-you(m.s.
IO it(DO) rel]'with water
we will fill it for you'

inda u kà cína ñyángwò ka
[where you+rel.fut. fill
(VN) rel]'where you will be
filling'

mba tli kà tli ñyángwò ka
[if they+rel.fut.fill rel]
'if they will fill..'

ĥyangù, ĥyangwíí, ĥyangwo 'fill'

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-cont.} \\ \text{+compl.} \\ \text{+rel.} \end{bmatrix}$$

nda ma ĥyangwíí télkà yaa 'yu ka [when I+rel.compl.
filled(Aorist) pot with beer rel] 'when I filled the
pot with beer'....

bii-tà u ĥyangwíí ka [bag-the you+rel.compl. filled(Ao-
rist) rel] 'bag that you filled..'

Bíntà ya, in ĥyangweyíí hihyeelá ka [Binta emph you(f.s.)
+rel.compl. filled+dative+Aorist dish rel] 'it was for
Binta that you filled the dish'

ábità na ĥyangwíí ĥen gàlká ka [he-who he+rel.compl.
filled(Aorist) you(f.s.IO) calabash rel] 'he who filled
the calabash for you'

ámatà i ĥyangwíí hɨnànɨ hihyeelá ka [she-who she+rel.
compl. filled(Aorist) you(pl.IO) dish rel] 'she who
filled the dish for you(pl.)

mburata a ĥyangwíí tlin ka [place the one+rel.compl.
filled(Aorist) them(DO) rel] 'the place where one fill-
ed them'

yaa ámbii mi ĥyangwíí hu gàlká ka [with water we+rel.
compl. filled(Aorist) you(m.s.IO) calabash rel] 'with
water we filled the calabash for you'

vanita u ĥyangwíí-nà min ka [things-that you+rel.compl.
filled(Aorist)-pl me(IO) rel] 'the things that you fill-
ed for me'

ĥantà tli ĥyangwíí bàjakí ka [those who they+rel.compl.
filled(Aorist) baskets rel] 'those who filled the bas-
kets'

[Imp]

ĥyangù 'fill' ĥyangutli 'fill them'

Negative Pseudo-Passive

gulá ná rii ĥyangáá-su 'gourd it refused to be filled'

bə̰la, bə̀líí, bə̀lòò 'return'[-trans][+loc.NP complement]
bə̀lei, bə̀leyíi, bə̀leyò 'return s.t., take s.t. back'

$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-cont.} \\ \text{+compl.} \end{bmatrix}$ [subj]

má bə̀la [I+compl. return (Perf.)] 'I returned'

ájì ma bə̀la hàra [Imp let I+subj return(Perf.) home] 'let me return home'

ú bə̀leyí [you+compl. return (+caus)+it(m.)]'you return- ed it'

mbu bə̀letli wa [prohib.+ you+compl. return(+caus)+ them neg]'don't return them'

ín bə̀la hàra i tlin [you(f. s.) returned home with them] 'you returned home with them'

in bə̀la! [you(f.s.)return] 'return!'(command to fe- male)

ná bə̀le tsallíya [he+compl. returned(+caus.) money] 'he returned the money'

ájì na bə̀la yaa tsallíya [Imp let he+subj. return with money]'let him return with money'

í bə̀la ɗapâa [she+compl. returned bush] 'she return- ed to the bush'

ñamaa i bə̀le naa ɗapâa [in- order-to she return(+caus.) antelope bush]'in-order that she take the antelope back to the bush'

á bə̀la [one+compl. return- ed] 'one returned'

tìnà hwo a bə̀letla [he+cont. wants(VN) one+subj. return (+caus.)her]'he wants one to take her back'

mí bə̀leyin tsallíya [we+ compl. returned(+caus.)- you(f.s.) money]'we return- ed the money to you'

ájì mi bə̀lei [Imp let we+ subj. take back(+caus.) 'let us take back'(object understood)

ú bə̀la-na Tiffi [you+compl. returned-pl Tiffi] 'you(pl) returned to Tiffi'

u bə̀la-nanî [(that) you+subj return-pl] 'that you(pl) might return'

tlí bə̀leyaa tlin [they+ compl. returned(+caus.)me (IO) them] 'they returned them to me'

tìnà hwo tli bə̀letla hàra [he+cont. wants(VN) they+ subj. take(+caus)-her home] 'he wants them to take her home'

[Imp]

bə̀la 'return'   bə̀leyí 'take it back'

bèla, bèlíí, bèlòò 'return'[-trans][+loc.NP complement]
bèlei, bèleyíi, bèleyò 'return s.t., take s.t. back'

[+cont.]	[+rel.]

[+cont.]

mɨnà bèleyó-sù hàra[I+cont.
return (+caus.VN)-him home]
'I am taking him home'

u tú bèleyò ngùna [you(m.s.
+fut. return (+caus.VN)ring]
'you will take back the
ring'

in tín bèlòò [you(f.s.)
+fut. return (VN)]'you
will return'

tɨnà bèleyó-nà ngùna [he+
cont. return(+caus.VN)-me
(IO) ring]'he is returning
the ring to me'

i bèlòò [she+cont. return-
ing(VN)] 'she is returning'

a táá bèlòò i tsallíya [one
+fut. return(VN) with money]
'one will return with money'

mi cín bèleyó-nɨyè tlin [we
+fut. return (+caus.VN)-
you(pl.IO) them(DO)]'we will
return them to you'(pl)

hɨnà bèleyò bàjakí [you(pl)+
cont. return(+caus.VN) bas-
kets]'you are returning the
baskets'

tlitli bèleyó-nà tsallíya-
yayi [they+fut. return(+caus
VN)-me(IO) money-my]'they
will return my money to me'

[+rel.]

nda ma bèlíí dapaa ka
[when I+rel.compl. returned
(Aorist) bush rel] 'when I
returned to the bush'

tsallíya-tà u kà bèleyò ka
[money-the you(m.s.)+rel.
cont. return(+caus.VN)rel
'the money that you are
returning'

lókàcità in ka tín bèlòò ka
[when you(f.s.)+rel.fut.
return(VN)rel]'the time
when you will return'

nda na bèleyíí min tsallíya
ka [when he+rel.compl. re-
turned(Aorist) me(IO) money
rel]'when he returned the
money to me'

i dládlò i kà bèlòò ka
[with running she+rel.cont.
returning(VN) rel]'with
running she is returning'

lókàcità a kà bèlòò áki ka
[when one+rel.cont. return-
ing(VN) here rel] 'when
one is returning here'

ngùna-tà mi kà cín bèleyò
ka [ring-the we+rel.fut.
return(+caus.VN) rel]'ring
that we will return'

nda u bèlíí-nà ka [when
you+rel.compl. returned(Ao-
rist)-pl rel]'when you(pl)
returned..'

i saasaa tli kà tli bèlòò
hara ka [with haste they
+rel.fut. return(VN) home
rel] 'with haste they will
return home'

The Verb 'to go'

The format used to present the paradigm for
the irregular verb 'to go' is different from that used
to present the preceding more typical verbs. I have
elected not to give a morph-by-morph gloss for two
reasons: The first is that the glosses are predict-
able, so that only the translation of the first person,
at the top of each column, is needed. Only a locative
goal complement may follow the verb, so complications
of pronominal objects do not arise.

The second reason is that segmentalization
of the verbal element of the verb 'to go' is not at
all straightforward, given its copy pronoun nature.[1]
In some persons, most notably the third person plural,
the verb is totally assimilated to the pronominal ele-
ment.

Therefore, the paradigms are given by tense,
with only a sample gloss at the top of each column,
but with alternate forms listed where appropriate.
Locative goal complements are not listed, though an
indication is made of the position of such a locative.
NPs or adverbs marked [+loc] in the lexicon could op-
tionally fill that slot.

[1]For explanation of ICP nature, see pp. 140-142.

'to go'

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cont.} \\ +\text{compl} \\ -\text{rel.} \end{bmatrix}$$
['I went']

[+subj.]
['that I go']

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cont.} \\ +\text{compl.} \\ +\text{rel.} \end{bmatrix}$$
['(when)I went']

$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \end{bmatrix}$	má tín (loc)	ma tín (loc)	(nda) ma tín (loc) ka
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ +\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	ú tú "	u tú "	" u tú " ka
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ -\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	ín tín "	in tín "	" in tín " ka
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ +\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	ná táá "	na táá "	" na táá " ka
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ -\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	í tlá "	i tlá "	" i tlá " ka
$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \end{bmatrix}$	á táá "	a táá "	" a táá " ka
$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{pl} \end{bmatrix}$	mí cín "	mi cín "	" mi cín " ka
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{pl} \end{bmatrix}$	ú cína(ni) "	u cína(ni) "	" u cína " ka
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{pl} \end{bmatrix}$	tlítlí "	tlitli "	" tlitlí " ka

'to go'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cont.} \\ -\text{fut.} \\ -\text{rel.} \end{bmatrix} \qquad\qquad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cont.} \\ -\text{fut.} \\ +\text{rel.} \end{bmatrix}$$

['I am going, traveling']['(when)I am going']

$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \end{bmatrix}$	ma̱nà $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{tín}}\\\underline{\text{ĥwocú}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ (loc)	(nda)	ma kà tín (loc)	ka
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ +\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	ha̱nà $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{tú}}\\\underline{\text{ĥwòcú}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ "	"	u kà tú "	ka
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ -\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	ĥnnà $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{tín}}\\\underline{\text{ĥwocú}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ "	"	in kà tín "	ka
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ +\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	ti̱nà $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{táá}}\\\underline{\text{ĥwòcú}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ "	"	na kà táá "	ka
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \\ -\text{m.} \end{bmatrix}$	i̱ $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{tlá}}\\\underline{\text{ĥwocú}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ "	"	i kà tláá "	ka
$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{s.} \end{bmatrix}$	ánà $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{táá}}\\\underline{\text{ĥwocú}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ "	"	a kà táá "	ka
$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{pl} \end{bmatrix}$	mi̱nà $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{cín}}\\\underline{\text{ĥwocú}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ "	"	mi kà cín "	ka
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ +\text{II} \\ +\text{pl} \end{bmatrix}$	hi̱na $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{cína(ni̱)}}\\\underline{\text{ĥwòcú}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ "	"	u kà cina "	ka
$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{I} \\ -\text{II} \\ +\text{pl} \end{bmatrix}$	tli̱(na) $\left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\text{tlitli}}\\\underline{\text{ĥwocu}}\end{matrix}\right\}$ "	"	tli kà tlí "	ka

'to go'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cont.} \\ +\text{fut.} \\ -\text{rel.} \end{bmatrix}$$
['I will go, travel']

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cont.} \\ +\text{fut.} \\ -\text{rel.} \end{bmatrix}$$
['(when) I will go, travel']

$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -II \\ +s. \end{bmatrix}$ {ma / mɨna} tín ĥwòcú (loc)   (nda)ma kà tín ĥwòcú(loc) ka

$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +s. \\ +m. \end{bmatrix}$ {u / hɨna} tú ĥwòcú   "   "   u kà tú ĥwòcú   "   ka

$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +s. \\ -m. \end{bmatrix}$ {in / ĥnna} tín ĥwòcú   "   "   in kà tín ĥwócú   "   ka

$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +s. \\ +m. \end{bmatrix}$ {na / tɨna} táá ĥwòcú   "   "   na kà táá ĥwòcú   "   ka

$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +s. \\ -m. \end{bmatrix}$ i tlá ĥwòcú   "   "   i kà tlá ĥwòcú   "   ka

$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +II \\ +s. \end{bmatrix}$ {a / ana} táá ĥwòcú   "   "   a kà táá ĥwòcú   "   ka

$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -II \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$ {mi / mɨna} cín ĥwòcú "   "   mi kà cín ĥwòcú   "   ka

$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ +II \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$ {u / hɨna} cína ĥwòcú   "   u kà cína ĥwòcú "   ka

$\begin{bmatrix} -I \\ -II \\ +pl \end{bmatrix}$ {tli / tlɨna} tlí ĥwòcú   "   tli kà tlí ĥwòcú "   ka

Imperatives of 'to go'

Imperatives, like most other aspects of the
verb 'to go', are formed irregularly. Because the
number and gender information has been copied on the
verbal element, it is possible to delete the second
person AUX-tp, not only for the masculine singular
subject, but also for feminine and plural forms. When
the AUX-tp is deleted, a morpheme -ni is usually suf-
fixed to the Imperative form. The origin of -ni is
unknown.

tú(ni) 'go!'(m.s. 2nd person)

tínni, in tín 'go!'(f.s. 2nd person)

cínani, u cína 'go!'(pl. 2nd person)

The subjunctive is used for indirect commands
to persons other than 'you'.

APPENDIX II: SPECIMENS OF NARRATIVE TEXTS

The second and last appendix contains specimens of Pa'a narrative texts, to provide a context of running speech, rather than the fragmented sentences that have been cited heretofore. Although the textual examples are but brief portions of longer narratives,[1] and a mere fraction of my total collection, they are, I believe, a representative sample of the whole, which includes Pa'a history, traditions and tales. And although they include some discourse level phenomena not touched upon in the grammar, they do provide an illustrative context for much of the grammatical information contained in the grammar.

The texts have been divided into phrases (generally corresponding to breath group segments), which have been translated literally, word by word, if not morph by morph. At the end of each brief selection is a freer translation. Following the pattern established in the grammar, tone has been marked only on AUX-tps. Vowels have been transcribed as heard in context, which may or may not correspond to the lexical length or quality (particularly centrality).

[1]One complete narrative was transcribed and analyzed in my _Africana Marburgensia_ article, q.v.

Pa'a History

[selection from an oral history of the Pa'a people
related by the late Sarkin Tiffi Tsoho Adamu, then
67 years old, on March 19, 1974, in the entrance
hut of his compound in Tiffi. Adamu died in early
1977]

Ami Fooni, jijaani-nimi,	we(Ind.pn) Pa'awa, grand-parents-ours,
jijaani abatiyaani-nimi,	grandparents(of)fathers-our,
nda tlitlí daga Birnin Tsaure ka,	when they(rel.compl.) went from Birnin Tsaure rel
sei tli dava Barno.	then they+subj. came(to) Bornu.
Daga Barno tlitlí ka,	From Bornu they(rel.compl.) went rel,
sei tli dava Kefin Kawu.	then they+subj. came(to) Kefin Kawu.
Daga Kefin Kawu,	From Kefin Kawu,
n̂yawi tlí ̌siki vɨngi ɗapaa Jangwani,	some they+compl. lived (at) mouth (of) bush (of the) Jangwani.
atlin Jangu na	they(Ind.pn) Jangu(people) pred.
Fooni Ri, sei tlítlí Tabəla;	Pa'a (of) Ri, then they (compl.) went (to) Tabəla;
daga Tabəla, sei...Guda,	from Tabəla, then (they went to) Guda,
sei...Ri, sei...Rabina,	then (to) Ri, then (to) Rabina,
amma ami akiki, Tiffi	but we(Ind.pn) here, Tiffi.

'We Pa'a, our grandfathers and parents' grandfathers,
when they came from Birnin Tsaure (mythical origin),
they came to Bornu. From Bornu they went until they
came to Kefin Kawu. From Kafin Kawu, some settled
at the edge of the Jangwani bush. They are the Jangu.
But the Pa'a of Ari, they went to Tabela; from there
to Guda, and Ri, and Rabina, but we came here, to
Tiffi.'

Pa'a Traditions: Death

[The opening section of an account   of Pa'a tradi-
tions concerning death, related by Umaru Saleh Tiffi
on April 7, 1974 in Ningi]

<u>Miyau -- áni abita na kà ho miyau</u>,	death -- there-is [lit. 'one is+with'] he-who(RC) he+rel.cont. want(VN) death
<u>na miyíí ka wa</u>.	he+rel.compl. die(Aorist) rel neg.
<u>Fooni gumaa, mba mbarin na miya</u>,	Pa'a also, if man he+subj die(Perf.)
<u>mba atin Fuuciki na ka</u>,	if he(Ind.pn) Pa'a-man pred rel
<u>tli yæ dlɨrki bija-su</u>.	they+cont. with way (of) burial-his.
<u>Mba mbarim na miya</u>,	If man he+subj. die(Perf.),
<u>mba a pɨsi</u>,	if one+subj. bury-him(DO),
<u>a táá ĥyo marhwi galka</u>,	one fut. find(VN) new qual. calabash
<u>a ĥya dlurkiya</u>, <u>a tsɨkǝr</u>,	one+subj. find(Perf.) chic-ken, one+subj. slaughters (Perf.)
<u>a pɨɗa atin dlurkiya-ta</u>	one+subj. pour(Perf.) blood (of)chicken-the
<u>ĥari galka</u>.	inside(prep) calabash.
<u>Sa'anan a pɨtaa pooti dlurkiya-ta</u>	Then one+subj. plucks(Perf.) feathers (of) chicken-the
<u>a ze-tli ĥari galka-ta</u>	one+subj. put(+caus.of enter) them inside(prep) calabash-the

'Death -- there is no-one that wants death, wants to
die. Pa'a also, if a man dies, and he is a Pa'a, they
have a way of burying him. If a man dies, when one
buries him, one finds a new calabash and a chicken.
One slaughters (the chicken), one pours the blood of
the chicken into the calabash. Then one plucks the
feathers of the chicken, and puts them in the calabash'

Pa'a Tales

[The opening section of a Pa'a tale [njanjin] perform-
ed by Dogon Malam Tiffi on April 4, 1974 in Ningi]

Waci fei, sei naani tlinà po ñama. One day, then
                                        antelopes they+cont. gather-
                                        ing(VN) head.

Po ñama-sin-ta, mbura ñwuleyo malvi-sin-ta Gathering
                                        (VN)(of) head. -their-the,
                                        place(of) greeting king-their
                                        -the.

Malvi-sin-ta kuwa, zaagi na. King-their-the also, Lion
                                        pred.

Zaagi tìnà a ñari tl'akwana-su. Lion he+cont. at in-
                                        side cave-his.

Naani d'apaa tlí pa ñama-sin. Antelopes(of)bush they+
                                        compl. gathered(Perf.) head
                                        their.

Abiti ná dava, na zaa ñari tl'akwana-ta, This-one he
                                        +compl. came(Perf.), he+subj.
                                        enter(Perf.) inside cave-the

abiti ná dava, na zaa ñari tl'akwana-ta, "   "

abiti ná dava, na zaa, abiti ná dava, na zaa, this-one
                                        he+compl. came(Perf.), he+
                                        subj. entered(Perf.)[repeat]
abiti ná dava, na zaa, abiti ná dava, na zaa," "

tli tukwo cu waci-waci.   they+cont. keep-on(VN) coming
                                  (VN) one(by)one

'One day, the antelopes were gathering their heads to-
gether. The meeting place was the place of greeting
the King. Their King was Lion. Lion was inside his
cave. The antelopes of the bush gathered their heads
together. This one came, he entered the cave. Another
one came and entered the cave. Still another came and
entered, and another, and another and yet another.
They keep on coming, one by one.'

[Beginning of the Pa'a version of the Tar Baby story, performed by Dogon Malam on April 4, 1977 in Ningi]

<u>Lokaci ruwo zuwe ná ndər</u>	Time (of) hoeing(VN) ground-nuts he+compl. made(Perf.
<u>Waci meka i ho a ruwetla zuwe</u>.	A(indef.) woman she+cont. wanting(VN) one+subj. hoed-her(IO) groundnuts.
<u>I n̂ya aba-ruwo-su wa</u>,	she+compl. found(Perf.) ow-ner(of)hoeing(VN)-it not,
<u>sei a N̪gwɨna na dava</u>.	until PRAM Spider he+subj. came.
<u>Ná munda ka táá ruwo-su zuwe-ta</u>.	He+compl. said(Perf.) <u>that</u> he+fut. hoe(VN)-her(IO) groundnut-the.
<u>I munda ka, to, í nduku paaci</u>.	She+compl. said(Perf.) <u>that</u> OK,[H.loan], she+compl. felt(Perf.) pleasure.
<u>Ná zama kamar dla-su hara na, dla-su kan</u>.	He+compl. became [H.loan] like [H.] son-her(of)house pred, son-her(of)room.
<u>Sei ná munde-tla ka, i ndəri va-n̂mo</u>	Then he+compl. said-her(IO) that she+subj. make-him(DO) thing(of)eating.
<u>I dava, i tsikər dlurkiya, i ɗuwi biꝨi</u>.	She+compl. came, she+subj. slaughtered (Perf.) chicken, she+subj. cooked-him(IO) mush.
<u>Sa'anan, ná munde-tla ka</u>,	Then he+compl. said-her(IO) that
"<u>zuwe-ta sei in ku-tla, in pude-tla gishira</u>"	"groundnuts the, then you(f.s.subj.) fry -her, you(f.s.subj.) pour- -her(IO) salt"

'The time of hoeing groundnuts came. A woman wanted someone to hoe her groundnuts for her. She didn't find anyone to hoe for her, until Spider came. He said he would hoe the groundnut crop for her. She said she was very pleased. He became like a son of

the house, a son of her room.

Then he said to her that she should make him some food. She came, she slaughtered a chicken, she cooked some mush. Then he said to her, "These ground-nuts, fry them and salt them."'

ƙurunƙus. í ba.

[formulaic closing] It finished.

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