A GRAMMAR OF SAKUN (SUKUR)

by

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A Grammar of Sakun (Sukur)

Thesis directed by Professor Zygmunt Frajzyngier

Sakun (Sukur) is a Chadic language from the Biu-Mandara branch spoken by approximately 20,000 people in and around the UNESCO Sukur World Heritage site in Adamawa State, Nigeria. Previous work on Sakun is limited to wordlists collected by ethnographers and archaeologists working in the region. This dissertation represents the first systematic description of the grammar of the language. The categories and functions discussed for the grammar are defined through language internal evidence rather than reliance on a priori categories imposed on the data. The description is based on more than a year of participant observation in the Sakun community, work with Sakun consultants and the analysis of a corpus of 24 hours of time-aligned, transcribed and translated videos.

The phonemic inventory of Sakun includes 39 consonants and 3 vowels. The consonantal inventory includes prenasalized segments, glottalized segments and a single labialized segment. Sakun distinguishes high and low tones, and exhibits polar tone phenomena. Tone functions both lexically and grammatically in Sakun.

Derivational and inflectional morphology is very limited in Sakun for all words classes and there is no obligatory inflectional coding. Morphological processes include suffixation, reduplication, tone alternation and cliticization.

In pragmatically neutral clauses, Sakun exhibits VOS word order although constructions with SVO orders are also frequent. Future clauses and negated clauses both exhibit distinct patterns of coding in relative clauses.

Discourse structure plays an important role in the grammar. Domains of the grammar distinguish between general reference and reference restricted to discourse topics as well as between both general reference and reference to particular events. Complex sentences play an important role in building and maintaining discourse structure in Sakun and the grammar includes particles for coding comment clauses, backgrounding clauses, sequential clauses and temporal subordination.

To Hallie,
Isa and Rowan

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GLOSSES

-	affix
=	clitic
.	fusion
\	tone function
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ASSOC	associative plural
BEN	beneficiary
COND	conditional
CENT	centrifugal; from speaker
CNTF	counterfactual
COP	copula
DET	determiner
DOWN	down; downwards
DSC	discourse particle
EX	exclusive
F	feminine; non-human
FREE	free pronoun paradigm
FOC	focus
FUT	future
GOAL	goal marker
HAB	habitual
HON	honorific, polite form
HYP	hypothetical
IMP	imperative
IN	inclusive
INCL	inclusiory pronoun
IP	ideophone
M	masculine, human
MOD	modifier
NEG	negative
NOM	nominal
NSBJ	non-subject
NUM	numerator
OBJ	object
OM	object marker
OUT	out; outwards
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PFV	perfective
PROHIB	prohibitive
PRT	partitive
PURP	purpose
Q	interrogative
REDUP	reduplicated form
REF	reference marker
REFL	reflexive
REL	relativizer
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subunctive
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
TO	allative, towards, following
TOP	topic
UP	up; upwards
VENT	ventive; towards speaker
VOC	vocative

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

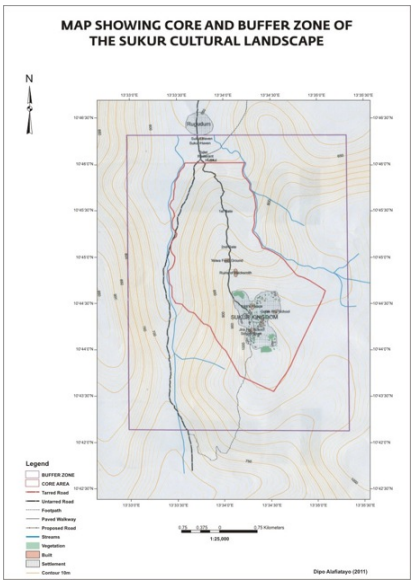
This dissertation, A Grammar of Sakun (Sukur), provides a descriptive grammar of an endangered and undocumented language on the border of Nigeria and Cameroon. There has been a pressing need for work on the Sakun language. With the inscription of the Sukur Cultural Landscape on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1999 and the increased contacts that have followed infrastructure development, Sakun is joining Blench's list of Nigerian minority languages "giving way to Hausa" (2007: 140-62). Chadic languages constitute over half the languages that make up the Afroasiatic phylum but are the least studied. Sakun is no exception. Other than a handful of wordlists collected by anthropologists working in the region there has been no published description of the language. This grammar attempts to fill a gap in the knowledge of the world's languages, provide typologically significant data on Biu-Mandara, and provide an empirically based description of a language system accessible without a background in a specific formal linguistic framework.

1 Background

1.1 The language and its speakers

Sakun is a Central Chadic language spoken in the Mandara mountains of Nigeria. The Sakun occupy the massif west of Bama road stretching S.E. from Madagali towards the Cameroon border (13°34'E and 10°44'N). Sakun speakers are also found in Gwoza, Michika, Mubi and several major Nigerian cities. The following maps illustrate the Sakun territory:

Figure 1 Maps of the region and Sakun territory[1]



[1] The regional map was created with the generous support of Scott Wolfskill, GIS Consultant. The map of the Sukur World Heritage Site and buffer zones was provided by the Nigerian National Commission of Museums and Monuments.

There are approximately 15,000 (Gordon 2005) to 20,000 (Simon Waida, p.c.[2]) speakers of Sakun living in and around the Sukur Cultural Landscape in the Sukur District of the Madagali North Development Area in Madagali Local Government Area of Adamawa State.

Sakun was inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Cultural Landscape in 1999. Sakun was recommended for inscription on the World Heritage List primarily for the integration and maintenance of their terraced farming system and the pre-industrial local iron industry. These practices among the Sakun have resisted change for centuries[3] and the cultural landscape is 'eloquent testimony to a strong and continuing cultural tradition' (UNESCO 1999: 91). Anecdotal evidence suggests that the UNESCO enlistment has strengthened the local Sakun identity. Stories of Sakun living in Mubi who were 'passing' as Margi that began projecting their Sakun heritage after the enlistment are common. The criteria for enlistment may appear to bode well for the maintenance of the language. However, the enlistment has put increased

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[2] The number 20,000 is based on a survey conducted in 2010 by the District Head in Mataka. This number still does not reflect the number of Sakun speakers living down in Sukur Settlement adjacent Madagali. Estimates are as high as 27,000 total native Sakun speakers. As with many languages in the area, the estimated number of speakers does not reflect those speaking Sakun as a second language. Just as many Sakun speaker other minority languages in the area, many non-Sakun may still speak Sakun.

[3] The local iron industry collapsed when cheap iron from Europe arrived after the industrial revolution. For further discussion see MacEachern (2003).

pressure on the language in the community due to the subsequent infrastructure development and visitation which has substantially increased outside contact. Local population pressure leading to more Sakun leaving the area for work in nearby cities such as Mubi and Maiduguri and development of the educational infrastructure with many teachers coming from outside the community has also lead to increased incursion of Hausa independent of the UNESCO enlistment. The language is not moribund, i.e. children are still speaking it as a first language and children are often cited as being the best tellers of the traditional stories or *gəmakákaw*. However, Hausa is occupying more and more domains. Hausa is the language of the church and the strong majority of Sakun are at least nominally Christian. Hausa, along with English, is the language of education. From the corpus collected it is readily evident that speakers are mixing Hausa into their Sakun heavily at times. Although most Sakun speak four or more languages, often local minority languages such as Margi and varieties of Kamwe (Kapsiki/Higi), it is only Hausa that appears to be permeating their Sakun speech directly with easily recognizable loan words.

Multilingualism is prominent in the area with speakers of Sakun typically speaking 4 or 5 languages. Main contact languages are Hausa, Fulfulde and English. Other local languages spoken by Sakun are mostly varieties of Kamwe (Kapsiki/Higi) and Margi (both Central Chadic languages). Based on an informal survey (the participants in the documentation project)

of 200 Sakun speakers, Sakun speak between 2 and 7 languages with the majority speaking Hausa in addition to Sakun. The local languages are often referred to by the name of the villages where they are spoken rather than by the name of a linguistic or ethnic group. The names of the languages claimed to be spoken by Sakun are provided first and then the name or variety common in the literature provided next when known. For example, many Sakun claim to speak *Dwa* which is the name of a village on the border with Cameroon with strong ties to the Sakun community. The language spoken there appears to be a variety of Kamwe. The distribution of languages spoken by native speakers of Sakun is provided in the following tables:

Table 1 Speakers of *Lingua Francas* (out of 200)

Language	Hausa	English	Fulfulde	Kanuri
# of speakers	157	37	65	1

Table 2 Speakers of local languages (out of 200)

Language	Margi	*Dwa* (Kamwe)	*Rwa* (Wula)	Ghumshi (Kamwe)	Ciɗuk; Mədəvu (Wula)	Dəvun	Matakam (Kilba, Mafa)
# of speakers	56	86	45	9	3	2	1

Typically those Sakun who did not speak Hausa also did not speak English. Access to education appeared to be the driving force behind the acquisition of the national languages.

Polygamy is commonly practiced in the area, with wives often coming from neighboring communities. This leads to variation in the multilingualism present even at the level of individual compounds.

There is some minor dialectal variation between the hilltop communities and those living on the plains. For example, in word initial contexts, lateral fricatives are giving way to velar fricatives (*ɬîdî* versus *xîdî* 'chief' and *ɬjaɓər* versus *xjaɓər* 'maize').

The only text produced in Sakun to date has been Reverend L.T. Waziri's pamphlet titled "*Dzum tahda gəma zhəglah nə gəma sakun*" meaning 'teachings of the word of God in the Sakun language' which consists of a translation of the Lord's Prayer, a collection of Psalms and an introduction explaining why the text was produced.

1.2 Previous work and genetic classification

There has been minimal published data available on the Sakun language to date. While the speech community refers to the language and the group by the name *Sakun*, the language has gone by other terms in the literature. Meek (1931) used the term *Sugur*. The name currently found in the linguistic and ethnographic literature as well as in the formal title of the UNESCO Enlistment is *Sukur*. The reasons for the misnomer *Sukur* have been suggested by several sources. Some scholars have claimed that *Sukur* comes from the Margi and Kilba

terms for vengeance (Sterner 2003: n.78). Some people in the Sakun community claim the name results from Hausa mispronunciation although nothing in Hausa phonology would lead one from *Sákún* to *Sukur*. Still other Sakun claim the term comes from the ants. There is a species of ant in the region that have the habit of invading the mounds of other ant species and displacing them. These ants are called *maʃalak* ***sukur*** in Margi. The District Head explained that the name came from a Margi ideophone, *sukur*, which indicates a humorous shaking of traditional skins and women's ornaments. According to the District Head, the Margi would tease the Sakun for going about with a '*sukur sukur sukur sukur'* motion, implying that they were backwards and ignorant. Whatever the source of the name, the Sakun are clear that they refer to themselves as *Sákún*, a native Sakun is an *ⁿda Sákún,* 'a person of Sakun', and their language is *Gəma Sákún* 'the language of Sakun'. In this work both the people and the language will be referred to as *Sákún*.

Work specific to the Sakun language is limited to word lists collected by ethnographers working in the region (David 2003; Meek 1931: 317-20). There is a growing body of ethnographic literature on the peoples of the Mandara mountains, although this work is heavily biased towards communities living on the Cameroon side of the mountains (c.f. Sterner 2003).

Chadic's status as part of the Afroasiatic phylum is no longer contested since Greenberg (1963). However, the internal relations of the Chadic subgroups are still a matter

of some debate. Sakun is a member of Subgroup A of the Biu-Mandara branch of the Chadic family according to Newman (1977, 1990). Newman's classification is taken to be the standard by scholars of Chadic linguistics, however, even Newman cautions that the 'unity of Biu-Mandara as now defined is not above challenge' (Newman 1990: 5). One recent challenge to the current organization of the Biu-Mandara branch is that of Gravina (2007, In press). According to Gravina's findings, Biu-Mandara should be split into two major sub-groups: North and South. Sakun would fall into the South branch of Biu-Mandara (In press: 6).

Sakun is an isolate within the Biu-Mandara branch. There are 79 languages within Biu-Mandara and to date only 12 have been documented in any detail. Of the 8 Families within subgroup A of Biu-Mandara, there has been an in-depth grammar written for at least one language within each family except for A.6 (Sukur) and A.3. These languages and grammars are outlined in the following table:

Table 3 Biu-Mandara Subgroup A – Grammars produced to date

Family	Number of languages	Language name (Only languages with grammars included)	Grammar
A.1	5	Tera	(Newman 1970)
A.2	8	Margi Cibak	(Hoffmann 1963) (Hoffmann 1955)
A.3	4		

A.4	11	Lamang Hdi Wandala	(Wolff 1983) (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002) (Frajzyngier 2012)
A.5	20	Mofu-gudur Mafa	(Barreteau 1988) (Barreteau & Le Bleis 1990)
A.6	**1**	**Sakun (Sukur)**	
A.7	5	Mina	(Frajzyngier, Johnston, & Edwards 2005)
A.8	12	Gude	(Hoskison 1983)

The present work hopes to fill an important gap in the description of this branch of the Chadic language family.

2 The corpus

The description of the grammar of Sakun began with a systematic documentation of the language in the form of a corpus of 24 hours of time-aligned, transcribed and translated video recordings of Sakun speech. From mid-May until the end of July, 2008, a pilot project was conducted at the field site with support from the University of Colorado Department of Linguistics. Then with the generous support of the Hans Rausing Endangered Language Fund and the National Science Foundation[4], three more field trips to the Sukur World Heritage Site

[4] This project was completed with the support of Hans Rausing Endangered Langauge Fund: IGS00083, The National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant: Award 0921714, and a Graduate Student Research Grant from the University of Colorado, Boulder, Department of Linguistics.

were then undertaken to conduct the documentation of the language and the analysis of the grammar of Sakun. The first trip was from January through the end of April, 2010. The second field trip was from mid-November, 2010 through February, 2011. The third and final field trip was from December 2011 through January 2012. In total, the investigator lived for more than a year in the Sakun community collecting and analyzing texts, pursuing participant observation of Sakun language usage, and working with consultants to test hypotheses regarding the grammar of the language.

2.1 The documentation team

The members of the documentation include the lead consultant, Simon Waida, along with Joseph Zera and Luka John. Simon is from the village of Rugudum in the valley, Joseph Zera from Baba up on the western ridge, and Luka John from Gwassa next to the Chief's palace on the hilltop. Having members of the team representing each major geographic area occupied by Sakun immediately gave the project input from across the community. The training of the documentation team began with an introduction to computers and the development of a working orthography for the transcription of the corpus. The members of the documentation team knew of computers, but none of them had ever operated one before the start of the project. Likewise, the team were all literate in English and Hausa, but had never

attempted to write Sakun. The computer training began with turning the machine on and maneuvering the cursor. Each machine was prepared with a typing-training program and the first day was spent turning the machine on and off and familiarizing the team with the keyboard by playing the typing games. The majority of Sakun are guineacorn farmers. The work is hard on the body and each of the team members had at some point suffered an injury to the hands such that efficient touch typing would never be possible. However, spending the time up front working on typing instilled a sense of confidence with the machine in addition to speeding up the hunting and pecking. By the end of the project the team was doing unsupervised time-alignment, transcription and translation in ELAN. Team members often stated that learning how to use the computers was an early motivator for participation in the project and time was spent each week working on general computing skills such as understanding files and folders, running programs, using Word and Excel, as well as the work specific to the documentation. Since the team was learning both the use of the computers and working out issues in the orthography, the learning curve was steep. At the end of the first month only an hour of the proposed 24 hours were time-aligned, transcribed and translated. However, the pace of work quickened and by the end of the second month 3 hours were complete and by the end of the third month 12 hours were complete. The full 24 hours of the corpus were prepared in the first draft format with enough time in the documentation phase of

the project remaining for review and revision of the corpus. The corpus forms the foundation on which this grammar is based.

2.2 Balancing the corpus

The Sakun were given first choice in deciding what was to be documented. This was then balanced by areas which had gaps in the ethnographic coverage as identified through collaboration with scholars in other fields[5]. There was already a growing ethnographic literature on the Sakun before the outset of the project. As a result of the UNESCO enlistment, the group was familiar to many scholars at the University of Maiduguri and beyond who offered advice on topics for inclusion. Attempts were also made to balance the corpus for speech genres. The corpus includes examples of conversation in a range of settings, traditional narratives, discussion of local history, descriptions of local cultural practices, instructions in local prodcution techniques and so on. The Sakun speech of over 200 different speakers are included in the corpus. The corpus includes a selection of Sakun speech from all the major Sakun villages although the corpus is biased towards the hilltop communities in and around the core of the Sukur World Heritage Site. The corpus has a significant gender bias, with the

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[5] Thanks go out to Professor N. David, Ishanlosen Odiaua and faculty at the University of Maiduguri for input on items for inclusion in the corpus.

majority of speakers being male. Cultural reasons made it difficult for the investigator (male) to collect a sample of speech balanced for gender. For example, when interviewing Sakun women, they would become reticent and deferential if any adult male from their compound appeared. Despite these challenges, there are several hours of female speech included in the corpus.

In total, the corpus upon which this grammar is based has 24 hours of video recording with more than 26,300 separate utterances time-aligned, transcribed and translated.

3 Methodology

What is to be described in the grammar of a language? Wittgenstein tells us that 'the harmony between thought and reality is to be found in the grammar of a language' (1953: §112). This harmony reflected in a grammar manifests, according to Sapir, 'a structural *genius*… much more fundamental, much more pervasive, than any single feature of it that we can mention, nor can we gain an adequate idea of its nature by a mere recital of the sundry facts that make up the grammar of a language' (Sapir 1921: 120). The recital of these facts is of course a necessary part of a grammatical description. However, it is the organization of these facts into the systems that a grammar employs to code meaning which elevates them from a 'sundry list'

to a statement of the structural *genius* reflecting Wittgenstein's harmony between thought and reality.

Following Frajzyngier and Shay, the approach adopted for this study assumes that the formal domains which constitute the available coding means for a language include the lexicon; inflectional and derivational morphology; linear order and phonology (2003: 11). The description of the grammar is 'the characterization of grammatical regularities of particular languages' (Haspelmath 2008: 2). The grammatical regularities are the patterns of form and function, the patterns of the coding means brought into paradigmatic opposition through complementary and contrastive functions.

The basic methodology employed in the discovery of form and function in the present work is to undertake distributional analyses of the forms of the language and then formulate hypotheses regarding the function of these forms. Hypotheses are tested against the corpus and through work with native speaker consultants – the members of the documentation team in this case - in order to discover the most consistent and simple theory of the structure and functions in the language. The elements of the system - the units and relations between the units - are motivated by the patterns of relation between form and meaning found in the corpus rather than via the application of *a priori* categories, basic or otherwise.

4 Brief overview of the Sakun grammar

4.1 Phonology

The phonological system of Sakun is characterized by a rich consonantal inventory and a small vowel inventory. The phonemic inventory of Sakun includes 39 consonants and 3 vowels. The consonantal inventory includes prenasalized segments, glottalized segments and a single labialized segment. Phonological rules of deletion and raising interact with intonation phrase boundaries. Vowel retention is an indication of intonation phrase final position. Consonant deletion is also an indication of phrase final position. Tone plays an important role in Sakun both lexically and grammatically. Most morphemes have inherent high or low tone but there are a few morphemes exhibiting polar tone. Tonal phenomena are active in the system of argument coding, distinguishing between transitive clauses with instantiated objects, and transitive clauses without instantiated objects. Syllable structure is typically CV although some consonants can form clusters in the onset with glides, and closed syllables are allowed with restrictions. Intonation phrase boundaries are signaled by boundary tones, pitch reset and pause as well as interacting with patterns of segmental deletion.

4.2 Lexical categories

Lexical categories in Sakun are defined here in terms of the properties of words which serve specific functions in relation to a clause. For example, nouns are the heads of phrases which can serve as arguments in a clause. The defining characteristics for each category are discussed in the chapters relevant to the category. There is little derivational morphology for changing words from one category into words of another. Nouns can be derived from a small class of verbs with the nominalizing extension *-n*. Verbs belonging to other classes can function as nouns simply by not taking any extension and being in the position of a noun in a clause. Adverbs can be derived from verbs through a pattern of partial then full root reduplication. However, nouns can typically serve as adverbials simply by being in an adverbial position in a clause without any derivational morphology. Many verbal derivational extensions can function as prepositions by being used independently of a verbal root, although not all prepositions can function as verbal extensions. In addition to verbs, adverbs, nouns and prepositions, the following word classes are also present: quantifiers, deictics and pronouns, conjunctions, ideophones and a wide range of grammatical particles which are morphophonologically independent of other words in a clause.

Within the pronominal system three persons are distinguished: speaker, addressee and non-speech-act-participant. Masculine and feminine gender are distinguished, although

masculine gender is only used for human males. There are two numbers distinguished: singular and plural. However, first person plural further distinguishes between first person inclusive; i.e. ‘we’ includes the addressee, and first person exclusive where ‘we’ does not include the addressee.

4.3 Morphology

Derivational morphology is very limited as discussed in the previous section. There is no obligatory inflectional morphology for any word class. Plural nouns may or may not have plural number coded in the noun phrase. Verbs do not have any obligatory agreement or TAM values coded on them. Sakun may be best described as somewhat isolating. Morphological processes include suffixation, reduplication, tone alternation and cliticization. The forms of morphemes can be conditioned by their placement within the intonation phrase: e.g., determiners have phrase internal forms lacking the final high back vowel found when the same morpheme occurs at the boundary of the intonation phrase and first person subject pronouns lack the high front vowel when phrase internal.

4.4 Syntax

In pragmatically neutral clauses the word order is typically verb, object then subject (VOS). However, subjects move around within the clause to a range of positions depending

on the construction and the tense, aspect and modal values of the clause. Many conditions result in an SVO order: e.g., subjunctive clauses, focused subject constructions, and so on.

A number of Chadic languages exhibit special tense, aspect and mood coding in relative clauses (c.f. Newman 2000; Wolff 2001, inter alia). In Sakun, the future tense exhibits a different pattern of subject placement in relative clauses - a pattern shared with interrogatives. Likewise, negation in relative clauses, and dependent clauses more generally, uses a different form than independent clauses.

In the Sakun clause, it is frequently the case that an adjunct will comment on an argument in the same clause although the adjunct will be morphosyntactically independent of the noun phrase coding said argument. Adverbial numerals often indicate the number of the subject or object although the numeral is independent of the noun phrase coding the subject or object. Comment clauses often function in a manner very similar to relative clauses, although comment clauses are never part of a noun phrase.

4.5 Discourse structure

There are two oppositions in the grammar related to discourse structure that are of particular interest. First, there are a number of domains in the grammar where two morphemes or constructions coding the same domain will have one pattern restricted to

reference to actual events, whereas the other will be underspecified or more general in application. For example, the habitual and progressive aspect can both be used in clauses referring to ongoing or current activities. However, the progressive is restricted to reference to an actual instance of an activity whereas the habitual can refer to an activity in general. Likewise, independent negation has a preverbal and post-verbal pattern. Preverbal placement of the negation marker can indicate a general negation of a state of affairs whereas post-verbal placement of the negation marker indicates that something didn't happen at a particular time and place. Finally, temporal subordinators *má* and *xu* both indicate the clause is a point of reference in the discourse. The subordinator *xu* can only be used to indicate particular historical events whereas *má* can be used to indicate any instance of the event described by the clause.

The second opposition in the grammar relevant to discourse is the pairing of forms coding the same domain with one form restricted to discourse reference and the other more general. For example, there are two determiners, *kʷkwá* and *=ju*. The determiner *kʷkwá* can only be used to refer to discourse topics whereas *=ju* can refer to both discourse topics and entities relevant because they are visible or present at the location of the speech act. Likewise, there are two morphemes used to code comment clauses: *kɔ́* and *tʃá*. The particle *kɔ́* can only

be used to refer to discourse topics whereas *tʃá* can code either discourse topics or entities and activities relevant through the location of the discourse.

Complex sentences play an important role in building and maintaining discourse structure in Sakun. Comment clauses, backgrounding clauses, sequential clauses and temporal subordinators all serve to shape the discourse structure by linking events together and providing the context for interpreting propositions.

5 Conclusion

The typological characteristics of Chadic languages provide exciting data contributing to the understanding of the kinds of categories that a language can employ. Just as the categories present in the languages of native North America prompted field workers like Boas to reconsider the categories inherited from European grammatical traditions (Haspelmath 2007: 122), Chadic languages such as Sakun present many challenges to current assumptions about the cross-linguistic validity of the *a priori* categories often applied. The answering of these challenges has similar potential to spur innovations in our understanding of language.

CHAPTER 2 PHONOLOGY

1 Introduction

This chapter describes the phonetic patterns in Sakun speech and presents arguments for the categories and relations posited as the underlying phonological system. Evidence will include contrastive minimal pairs, the distribution of segments in the lexicon, and the behavior of segments in restricted phonetic environments. This chapter also includes a discussion of syllabification patterns, stress assignment and elements of intonation patterns found in Sakun utterances.

The phonemic inventory of Sakun includes 39 consonants and 3 vowels. There are a number of segments that occur as a result of conditioning by the phonetic environment (e.g. [*e*] and [*o*]) or are attested only in ideophones (e.g. [*v̩*]). Geminate consonants are found in the lexicon with geminate consonants contrasting with single consonants. Phonological rules include vowel raising, and both consonant and vowel deletion conditioned by intonation phrase boundaries. Sakun is a tonal language, utilizing tone both lexically and grammatically. The final section of this chapter details the current orthography in use in the Sakun community. This chapter employs the international phonetic alphabet (IPA) for clarity and ease of exposition. However, chapters that follow will use the Sakun orthography with minor

modifications (e.g. phonemic distinctions such as tone which are not coded by the orthography will be marked on examples).

2 The consonantal system

The following table contains a list of the phonetic consonants in Sakun. Segments in brackets '[]' are phonetic but not part of the phonemic inventory.

Table 4 **Consonants**

	bilabial	labio-dental	lamino-alveolar	lamino-lateral	lamino-palatal	dorso-velar	glottal
Stops	p b ɓ ^{m}b		t d ɗ ^{n}d			k g k^{w} ^{n}g	ʔ
Fricatives		f v	s z ^{n}z	ɬ ɮ	ʃ ʒ	x ɣ	[h]
Affricates			ts dz		tʃ dʒ ^{n}dʒ		
Nasals	m		n			ŋ	
Liquids			l				
Glides	w				j		
Flaps and trills		[ѵ]	r				

The following sections provide evidence in the form of minimal pairs for inclusion of segments in the phonemic inventory as well as outlining the conditioning environments for allophonic variation.

2.1 The phonemic status of segments and allophonic variation.

Labial articulations include voicing distinctions, glottalized segments, prenasalized segments and approximates. Minimal pairs demonstrating the distinctiveness of the features are listed in the table below:

Labial	pî̂s	*sun*	pás	*bed*
	bis	*teeth*	ba	*cloud*
	ɓit	*press*	ɓats	*take*
	mis	*urine*	má	*want*
	wis	*scatter*	wá	VOCATIVE
	ʔwî	*soup*	paʔwa	*cotton*
	^{m}bî̂ŋ	*break*	^{m}ba	*again*

Labio-dental articulations are restricted to fricatives and a flap. The voicing distinction between labio-dentals are demonstrated below:

Labio-dental	fiɗ	*yam*	fa	father
	viɗ	*sickle*	va	*year*

The labio-dental flap, [ⱱ], is uncommon and only occurs intervocalically in ideophones, thus it is not analyzed as part of the phonemic inventory. Examples of labio-dental flaps include *əⱱuf* 'the action of jumping out in surprise' and *hə́ŋ əⱱaw* 'the end of the story' (used at the close of traditional story telling).

All manner of articulation except glides are possible among the alveolars, demonstrated in the following table:

Alveolar	tá	3PL	sá	*know*.NEG
	da	*something*	zár	*look.for*
	ɗa	*hit*	ɬá	*take*
	ná	TOPIC	ɮa	*speak*
	tsa	*pierce*	rá	*go*.PFV
	dza	*go*	lapáláj	*bark*
	ⁿda	*person*		

The voiceless lamino-alveolar lateral fricative, /ɬ/, shows some dialect variation between those living on the hilltop and those living down on the flats. While the voiceless lamino-alveolar lateral fricative is possible in all word positions, for many speakers this segment is often produced as [x] in word initial position. Thus terms like *ɬidî* 'chief' and *ɬjaɓər* 'maize' are often produced [xîdî] and [xjáɓər] respectively. This is popularly attributed to the spelling of signs with 'h' on World Heritage Site locations (e.g. "Hidi's Palace"). However, the pronunciation change appears to be affecting all voiceless lateral fricatives for speakers, not just those words with the 'h' spelling on signs.

Sakun utilizes laminal rather than apical points as the active articulator for alveolar and palatal segments with the exception of the trilled rhotic /r/ which is apical.

Palatal articulations include only fricatives, affricates and glides. These are presented in the next table:

Palatal	tʃam	*parlour*	tʃikuri	*iron*
	dʒáŋ	*sword*	dʒif	*stick*
	ⁿdʒîka	*before*		

ʃáw	*all*	ʃi	*follow*
tapə́ʃam	*calabash*		
ʒjamá	*tomorrow*	ʒik	*shadow*
jam	*water*	jîm	*stone*

Many speakers exhibit lenition of affricates in allegro speech, with affricates realized as fricatives.

Velar articulations include stops, nasals, prenasalized stops and fricatives:

Velar	gá	*true*
	ka	3SG.F
	ŋá	1SG.POSS
	k^{w}kwa	DET
	^{n}ga	*trap*
	xalîd	*intestines*
	ɣaláj	*long ago*

There are a number of allophonic variants of the voiceless velar stop. In allegro speech the segment /k/ undergoes lenition, labialization and voicing in the environments described below.

The segment /k/ occasionally undergoes lenition when preceded by a glottalized segment in allegro speech. In the next example, the onset of *ka*, 3F, undergoes lenition and is realized as a fricative:

1 k´ **ɓ** **ka** kúmá ná → [kəɓə**x**akúmáná]
REF good 3F again TOP
Another of it's advantages,

The intervocalic position of the segment is not triggering the lenition. Even when followed by a consonant, the lenition occurs. In the next example, the ventive verbal extension *k´,* followed by a consonant, undergoes lenition:

1 **ɓa-k´** xamjádʒi → [ɓa**x̲**xămjádʒi]
call-VENT Hammanyaji
[They went] calling Hammanyaji.

For some speakers, voiceless velar stops undergo labialization in allegro speech. In the next example the clause initial particle /*ka* / is realized with [k^w] as the initial segment:

2 **ka** ja-va xaŋi → [**k̲ʷ**ejavaxáŋi]
PURP come-OUT some
So some came out…

In some instances the stop is omitted altogether, leaving only the labial secondary articulation in its wake. In the next example the same clause initial particle /*ka* / is realized as [^{w}]:

3 **ka** yá-xa → [**ʷ̲**ejáxa]
PURP come-DOWN
In order to come down…

Labialization is not frequent, and only some speakers demonstrate this alternation.

Voiceless velar stops always become voiced when following voiced lateral fricatives:

4 a ^{n}da dʒiɮ-**k̲**a-ʃi njarga → [andadʒiɮ**g̲**áʃ̌injárga]

SEQ person add-3F.OBJ-FOLLOW salt
One adds salt to it

Voicing occurs even when the voiced lateral fricative is separated from the stop by an epenthetic schwa:

5 a ⁿda bɮ**k**-má n ku → [andabəɮə**g**mánəku]
SEQ person burn-UP with fire
One partially burns it with fire.

The labialized voiceless dorso-velar stop, [kʷ], generally occurs as the onset of the word final syllable with one exception, *kʷkwa* 'that' where it occurs word initially. This segment is always followed by a voiceless high back rounded vowel unless it forms the onset of a syllable with a vowel from a suffix or the following word. The height and rounding of the epenthetic schwa are the result of labialization of the segment (*cf.* schwa insertion and vowel allophony below). When followed by a vowel such as the demonstrative suffix /-i/, the high back rounded vowel is not present and the onset of the syllable is realized with [*.kʷV*] For example, /*ɮjakʷ* / + /*-i* / is realized as [*ɮja.kʷí*] 'This rooster'. When followed by a stop, /kʷ/ is phonetically indistinguishable from /k/. When phrase final deletion of the stop occurs, the labialization is preserved on the final vowel. For example, when *dʒikʷ* 'grandfather' occurs in phrase final position it is realized as [dʒiʷ]. Evidence against this being a /kw/ cluster comes from the voicing of the epenthetic schwa. The vowel following /kʷ/ is voiceless when epenthetic. If it

were a cluster, a voiced bilabial glide would result in a voiced epenthetic vowel, which is not the case. This suggests that the labialization is a secondary articulation without the voicing associated with the glide. In other environments, allowable clusters are always followed by an underlying vowel. Thus the presence of an epenthetic vowel also argues against analysis as a cluster.

Glottal	ʔwaj	*neck*	wá	VOCATIVE
	ʔis	*eye*	ir	*room*

The glottal stop, [ʔ], occurs word initial and medial as in *ʔis* 'eye' and *ŋaɮaʔwi* 'okra' but not word final. Word initial vowels also occur without a glottal stop as in *ir* 'room', and *amá* 'but', thus the glottal stop is not derived from a phonotactic constraint. Clusters are formed with /w/ and /j/ as in *ʔwa* 'milk' and *ʔjak* 'bird'. When glottalized segments occur before a homorganic stop, they are often realized as glottal stops. In the next example the glottalized bilabial stop precedes a bilabial nasal and thus is realized simply as a glottal stop:

6 gya**ɓ**-má → [gjaˀmá]
meet-UP
meet

2.1.1 Prenasalized segments

The alignment of prenasalized segments in minimal pairs with other segments does not by itself demonstrate that these are phonemes. The prenasalized segments could in fact be clusters of nasal and stop. However, there is additional evidence from phonotactic constraints and syllabification patterns in support of a phonemic analysis for prenasalized segments as a single unit.

The formation of clusters with prenasalized segments and glides supports analyzing prenasalized segments as single phonemes. Examples of words with clusters including prenasalized segments include: ***ⁿdj****ar* 'to place' or ***ᵐbw****ava* 'take one's own share of something'. Syllables typically can have the maximal form of $C_1C_2VC_3$ with C_2 being a glide (see the discussion of phonotactics below for details). Analyzing prenasalized segments as clusters would require an exception to this generalization about syllable structure specific to nasals.

The rules of syllabification and schwa insertion also argue for a phonemic analysis of prenasalized segments. Schwa is inserted to break up disallowed consonant clusters. When the prefix *m-* is attached to a verb root beginning with a voiced bilabial stop, schwa is inserted to break up the cluster as in the next example:

7 m-bz-n → [mə.bə.zən]
HAB-problem-NOM
be a problem

However, prenasalized segments are never split with schwa. In the next example with a prenasalized segment, the nasal and stop articulations are not separated by schwa:

8 ᵐbrm → [ᵐbə.rəm]
town

2.2 Phonotactics of consonants

The majority of segments occur freely in words, i.e. in initial, medial, and final positions. However certain segments, including all voiced stops, never occur in word final position. There is also a rule of intonation phrase final deletion of voiceless velar stops. The distributional restrictions on segments are outlined in the following table:

Table 5 Restrictions on the distribution of consonantal segments in words

Position	Segments	Examples	
No restriction on position	p, ɓ, t, ɗ, k, f, v, s, z, ɬ, ɮ, ʃ, x, ɣ, ts, m, n, ŋ, l, w, j, r, k^w	p̲ə́r tap̲ał kɨ́p̲	untie shoulder fill
Segments NOT occurring word final	ʔ, b, d, g, ᵐb, ⁿd, ⁿg, ⁿz, ⁿdʒ, dz, tʃ, dʒ, ʒ, ʋ	b̲us ʒib̲ədək	navel start

The next section outlines rules of allophonic variation according to natural classes not discussed in the preceding section.

2.2.1 Deletion of obstruents

Voiceless velar stops in intonation phrase final position are deleted. The rule can be stated as follows:

FINAL CONSONANT DELETION /k/ → ø \ _ %
Note: the % sign indicates a phrasal boundary

The following examples illustrate the operation of this rule. The rules of schwa insertion are discussed later in the chapter. For these examples, it is enough to know that schwa is inserted as a tone bearing unit when tone is underlying. Thus, /pḱ/ will be realized as two syllables: [pə.ká], but /mk/ will be realized as a single syllable: [mək]. In the next examples, /mk/ is realized as [mə] when phrase final, but [mək] when phrase internal:

9	pḱ	m**k**		→	[pəkámə]
	about	3F.FREE			
	… *about it.*				Phrase final
10	pḱ	m**k**	wa	→	[pəkáməkwa]
	about	3F.FREE	Q		
	… *about it.*				Phrase internal

In the next pair of examples, the labialized velar stop is illustrated with the word for hawk, */mátak^{w}/*. In phrase final position, the stop is deleted but the secondary labial articulation remains:

11 ʃi gan-t mátak^{w} → [ʃigantəmáta^{w}]
follow show-OBJ hawk
… so the hawk shows (something). Phrase final

However, in phrase internal position the velar stop remains and the labialization is realized on the epenthetic schwa that follows:

12 má já mátak^{w} ná → [májámátakʊ̨ná]
HYP come hawk TOP
When the hawk came, Phrase internal

The deletion of intonation phrase final voiceless velar stops is consistent across speakers and contexts. However, in allegro speech other word and phrase final stops may also be reduced or deleted, but this process does not follow any consistent patterns nor does it appear to be conditioned by specific phonetic contexts.

2.2.2 Restrictions on voiced stops

The voiced stops [b] and [d] are common in word initial position but word medial examples are rare. Word medial examples are restricted to the following contexts:

1) at morpheme boundaries
pə.-də.bə LOC-between
də.-da cook-something

2) at a syllable boundary where the preceding syllable is closed
kur.dək *softness*
^{n}zə́l.baŋ *medicinal root*
gə́t.gə́t *hide.PL*

3) when preceded by an open syllable with H tone

gə́.d̲əm	'cattle'
î.d̲an	'fever'
mu.kú.d̲ək	'vulture'
ɬəf.ɣá.d̲ə	'ribs'

Across morpheme boundaries, when the preceeding syllable is closed by a voiceless obstruent and followed by a homorganic voiced obstruent, the voiceless obstruent is realized as voiced in allegro speech. In the next example, the final segment of the verb */pʼt/* 'confuse' is realized as [d]:

13	pʼ**t**	dʼgvu	→	[pə**d̲**dəgəvu]
	confuse	hyena		

2.2.3 Metathesis

Frequently in allegro speech vowels and consonants undergo metathesis. This is most frequent with nasals, with the vowel moving to the left of the nasal. In the following example the vowel *î* from the first person exclusive pronoun *ŋî* is realized between the verb and the pronoun:

14	u-r-r	**ŋ̲í̲**	kúmá	ná	→	[úrr**í̲ŋ̲**kúmáná]
	get-PFV-OM	1EX	again	TOP		

However, movement to the right is also possible. In the next example the vowel from the first person possessive pronoun *ŋá* is realized after the clause final negation clitic *=w*:

15 da ŋá = w ná → [daŋ.wá.ná]
thing 1SG.POSS = NEG TOP

3 Vowel system

Sakun has a three vowel system; high front, high back rounded and low back. The following table contains a list of the phonetic vowels in Sakun. Vowels in brackets '[]' are attested but not phonemic:

Table 6 Vowels.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u, [ụ]
Mid	[e]	[ə], [ə̰]	[o]
Low			a

All three vowels; /a/, /i/, and /u/, are contrastive. Minimal pairs demonstrating the contrasts are provided in the next table:

Table 7 Contrasts demonstrating phonemic status of vowels.

kî	2PL	dî	*burn*	ƷÌm	*calabash*
ku	*fire*	du	*pot*		
ká	NEG	da	*something*	Ʒam	*five*

All phonemic vowels can be found in word initial, word medial, word final and as the only articulation for a particular word. These distributions are illustrated in the next table:

Table 8 Distribution of phonemic vowels.

Vowel only		Word initial		Word final		Word medial	
î	*see*	î^{n}za	*sit*	ɓi	*python*	kîr	*bite*
a	*say*	amá	*but*	ta	2SG.POSS	ɓáts	*give*
ú	*get*	úr	*get*	kú	*fire*	túr	*tail*

3.1.1 Factors affecting vowel length

Vowel length is not a phonemic distinction in Sakun although vowel length varies in different environments. The segment following the vowel can affect the length of the vowel as illustrated in the following cline:

Figure 2 Segments Affecting Vowel Length

Length of vowel	Segment following vowel	
Long ↑ ↓ Short	*Vowel*	[ɬidi: a]
	Voiced segment	[da:m]
	Voiceless segment	[tap]
	Glottal	[xaɗ]

The cline generally follows the sonority hierarchy, although fricatives are not associated with vowel lengthening. Tone can also affect vowel length. Somewhat suprisingly, low tone syllables have longer vowels than high tone syllables when the phonetic environment is otherwise the same.

3.2 Vowel Raising

There are two types of vowel raising in Sakun speech. Low back vowels can be realized as [o] and [e]. This section considers raising to [o]. The next section will cover raising to [e].

3.2.1 Mid-back vowel, [o]

Under certain conditions the low back vowel /a/ will be realized as [o]. Anywhere within a word boundary, /a/ is realized as [o] when between a cluster containing an obstruent and a biliabial glide in the onset, and a labial or velar segment in the onset of the following syllable. This rule can be stated as follows:

RAISING /a/ → [o] \ $C_{OBSTR}C_{LAB.GLIDE}$ __ .$C_{LABIAL|VELAR}$

The following examples illustrate raising in this context. In the first example, the object pronoun with the underlying form of /kwa/ is realized as [kwo]:

16 / d-kwa-k´ → [ˌdə.kwo.ˈkə́]
cook-2SG.OBJ-CENT

In other examples where the second person object pronoun is not followed by a labial or velar segment, the pronoun is realized as [kwa]. This is true if the object pronoun takes high tone because of the clause structure as in the next example:

17 / da d-kw**a** ɗăf ŋi bná / → [ˌda.də.kw**á**.ɗăf.ˈŋi]
FUT cook-2SG.OBJ food another

The object pronoun is also realized as [kwa] rather than [kwo] when the object pronoun takes low tone because of the verbal extension as in the following example:

18 / má d-kw**a-rá** ɗáf ŋi / → [ˌmá.də.kw**a**.rá.ɗáf.ˈŋi]
HYP cook-2SG.OBJ-CENT food another

Another example of raising of /a/ to [o] is the plural form of the word for 'girl':

19 / dgwam / → [ˈdə.gwom]
girl.PL

The word *dəgwam* 'girl.PL' is one of the class of nouns that require the –a modification suffix. When using this suffix, the final consonant is deleted. This suffix is required before determiners and possessive suffixes. When the derived stem no longer contains the labial or velar segment after the cluster and vowel combination, the raising does not occur:

20 / dgwam-a-ta-j / →
girl.PL-MOD-2SG.POSS-DET

DELETION	/ dəgwaataj /
ASSIMILATION	/ dəgwataj /
* RAISING	[ˈdə.gwa.ˌtaj]

However, with possessive suffixes that have velar onsets, the raising still occurs:

21 / dgwam-a-ka-j / →
girl.PL-MOD-3F.POSS-DET

DELETION	/ dəgwaakaj /
ASSIMILATION	/ dəgwakaj /
RAISING	[ˈdə.gwo.ˌkaj]

In addition to labial and velar segments, voiced fricatives (including alveolar and palatal voiced fricatives) and voiced alveolar (but not voiced palatal) affricates also result in raising.

22 / **kwadz**ɣwak´ / → [ˌ**kwo.dz**ə.ɣwa.kə́]
peanuts

23 / **gwaʒ**-ma / → [**gwoʒ**.má]
mix-UP

The onset cluster of obstruent and labial glide triggering raising does not include velar fricatives. Thus in the above example *kwadzəghwakə* 'peanuts', raising does not occur for the /a/ in the penultimate syllable. This also holds for voiceless velar fricatives as in the next example:

24 / tʃi**xwa-m**a / → [tʃi.**xwa**.má]
cram-UP

In addition to raising of /a/ to [o], there are a few contexts where /a/ is realized as [u]. In one lexical item, *ɗwá* 'eat', the suffix *–m* results in [ɗúm]. Without an extension or object pronoun, /*ɗwá* / is realized as [*ɗwá*]:

25 / ɗw**á** / → [ɗw**á**]
eat

However, with the first person inclusive object pronoun *–ma*, /ɗwá/ is realized as [ɗwó]:

26 / ɗwá-ma-má / → [ɗw**ó**.ma.má]

eat-1IN.OBJ-UP

When followed by an object pronoun that does not provide the context for raising such as /-tʃa/, raising does not occur:

27 / ɗwá-tʃa-m / → [ɗwá.tʃa-m]
eat-3M.OBJ-EXT

But when the root is followed by the extension /-m/ the word is consistently realized as [ɗům] across speakers and situations:

28 / ɗwá-m / → [ɗům]
eat-EXT

There are also a few examples in the data of epenthetic schwa being realized as [ụ̊] when bracketed by labial segments as in the next example.

29 a tá f´-má → [a.tá.fụ̊.má…]
SEQ 3PL put-UP
They put it (… in order to come eat it quickly).

The realization of [ə] as [ụ̊] occurs only in allegro speech and is not predictable. In contexts very similar to the above, the same word will be realized with a schwa rather than a voiceless high back rounded vowel. In both cases, the voiceless quality of the epenthetic vowel stems from the lack of voicing on the preceding segment:

30 a f´-má ka p k´ → [a.fə̥.má.ga.pə.kə́]
SEQ put-UP 3F on head
It put (it) on (its) head.

3.2.2 Mid-front vowel, [e]

Sakun has a second raising rule where /a/ is realized as [e]. This mid-front vowel is not part of the phonemic inventory. The low back vowel /a/ tends to be realized as [e] in allegro speech when adjacent to a palatal glide. When two low back vowels are adjacent to /j/, the /a/ with greater stress will be realized as [e]. This alternation can be retrogressive as in the next example:

31 / da=j / → [de]
thing-REL

The alternation can also be progressive as in the following example, although is less common:

32 / a tʃá já-má / → [a.ʃá.ˈjé.má]
SEQ 3M come-UP

The frequency of the realization of /a/ as [e] in this context varies from speaker to speaker and even for individual speakers in a given discourse.

3.3 Vowel Lowering

Occassionally the /u/ in the demonstrative clitic will be realized as [o] also. The vowel of the demonstrative clitic is only realized in intonation phrase final position so this lowering

then only occurs in phrase final position. The lowering of the /u/ to [o] is illustrated in the next example:

33 / dgwam xa=**ju** / → [də.gwa.ˈxáj.**jo**]
girl.PL PL=DET

The realization of /u/ as [o] is not frequent and not predictable.

3.4 Vowel Fronting

Epenthetic mid-central vowels preceded by palatal glides in intonation phrase final position will be frequently realized as mid-front vowels. In the next example the interrogative particle binds to the determiner. The final syllable should be [jəj] but because of the fronting phenomenon it is realized as [je]:

34 baxá m a mîɗ=j =j → [ba.xá.ma.a.mîˀ.ɗəj.**je**]
how 1IN CAUSE wind=DET Q
How are we with the wind?

3.5 Diphthongization

Occasionally in allegro speech vowels will undergo a process of diphthongization where vowels will acquire a high front quality at the end of their articulation. This can occur when the vowel is followed by velar stops, palatal fricatives and alveopalatal fricatives. The next three examples illustrate the diphthongization in each of the contexts just mentioned:

35 / dm-a k̲irîf / → [də.maʲ.ki.rîf]

girl.SG-MOD fish

36 / kwá dʒiwuwú / → [kwaʲ.dʒi.wu.wú]
even small

37 / n ʃikʷ / → [nəʲ.ʃikᵚ]
EXIST firewood

3.6 Assimilation

When two vowels of the same kind become adjacent through another word internal process such as metathesis, they tend to fuse into a single vowel in allegro speech. This phenomenon is illustrated in the next example with the low back vowels in the verb root and the verb extension. The vowels become adjacent through metathesis, then merge into a single vowel through assimilation:

38 / dza-ra tá dza-ra tá /
go-VENT 3PL go-VENT 3PL
METATHESIS → / dzaar tá dzaar tá /
ASSIMILATION → [dzar.tá.dzar.tá]

In allegro speech, schwa also frequently assimilates to an adjacent vowel although this is not obligatory. In the next example the schwa inserted to carry the tone of the ventive extension *k´* assimilates to the low back vowel which follows it:

39 / ɗn-k´ a mk /
think-VENT 3PL 3F.FREE
EPENTHESIS → / ɗən.kə́.a.mək /

ASSIMILATION → [ɗən.ká.a.mək]

4 Syllable Structure

Basic syllable structure in Sakun is $(C_1)(C_2)[V](C_3)$. The minimal syllable in Sakun is a vowel. There are phonotactic restrictions on the C_2 and C_3 positions of the template. The second slot in the onset of the syllable, (C_2), is restricted to bilabial and lamino-palatal glides: /w/ and /j/. Voiced plosives, *b, d* and *g*, do not occur in the coda, (C_3), position. The range of syllables attested in Sakun are illustrated in the following table.

Table 9 Syllable structures in Sakun

$C_1C_2VC_3$	C_1C_2V	C_1VC_3	C_1V
ɮjaŋ ‘cave’	*pwa* ‘powder’	*waŋ* ‘ten’	*ka* ‘3F’
kwar ‘to dry’	*tja* ‘moon’	*dək* ‘gather’	*ma* ‘to want’
			^{n}du ‘person’
V	VC_3		
á ‘to say’	*an* ‘PFV-1SG’		
î ‘to see’	*ir* ‘room’		
ú ‘to get’			

The majority of segments in the consonantal inventory can form onset clusters with either /w/ or /j/ in the C_2 slot. However, a few segments show restrictions as outlined in the following table:

Table 10 Cluster patterns with w/j

Both /w/ and /j/	Only /w/	Only /j/	No clusters
p, b, t, d, k, g, ʃ, ts, tʃ, ŋ, l,	r, x, s, z, f, v, dz, ɗ, ʔ, ^{m}b, ^{n}g, ^{n}z, ^{n}dʒ	w, ɓ, ʒ, ɮ, ɬ, dʒ, m, n, ^{n}d	j, ɣ

Syllables in Sakun have three distinct parts; onset, nucleus and coda.

σ	onset	nucleus	coda
$(C_1)(C_2)[V](C_3)$	$(C_1)(C_2)$	V	(C_3)

The minimal syllable in Sakun then consists of only a nucleus. Reduplication patterns seem to favor onset and nucleus reduplication rather than full root reduplication, simple onset reduplication or nucleus and coda patterns. For example, when the root /*^{n}daɗ*/ 'leave' undergoes partial reduplication the onset and vowel are repeated, but not the coda, resulting in /*^{n}da.^{n}daɗ*/. The nucleus and coda therefore do not appear to form a separate constituent with relation to the onset. Sakun roots tend to be monosyllabic although disyllabic roots are also common. Word roots with more than three syllables are very uncommon.

4.1 Syllable formation

Syllables are formed left to right, following the template of allowable syllable structures based on the underlying forms of the morphemes. Consonants only occur as codas when an ill-formed onset would otherwise occur in the next syllable (i.e. a disallowed cluster) or word finally when a final H tone does not require an epenthetic schwa to carry the tone. As a result,

closed syllables (syllables with consonant codas) tend to only occur in the final syllable of words without derivational or inflectional morphology:

40	/maparam / *gate*	→	[ˈma.pa.ram]	*[map.ar.am] *[ma.par.am]

Consonant codas are extremely rare in the internal structure of word roots; i.e. syllables with consonant codas are typically word final. In general, an adjacent consonant coda and onset results from the addition of derivational or inflectional morphology such as object markers, directional extensions, possessive pronouns or the gemination of word final consonants through the addition of a negative particle or determiner (see below for discussion of gemination). These patterns are illustrated in the following examples:

41	/ tsák-t / cover-OM	→	[ˈtsak.tə]	*[tsa.kə.tə] *[tsa.kət]
42	/ jáɓ-rá / abuse-CENT	→	[ˈjáɓ.rá]	*[ja.ɓə.ra]
43	/jáɓ=ju/ abuse-DET	→	[ˈjáɓ.ɓju]	*[ja.ɓju]

Nasal codas are more common in allegro speech. When preceded by an open syllable, a nasal which follows will tend to be realized as the coda of that syllable rather than the onset of a new syllable with an epenthetic schwa. The preposition /n/ ‘with’ is often realized as *nə*.

However, in the next examples it is realized as the coda of open syllables which precede the preposition:

44	á	tá	n	tur		→	[á.**tán**.tur]
	say	3PL	with	tail			*[á.tá.nə.tur]
	They say with tail.						

45	ɬ	tá	n	nas	tá	→	[ɬə.**tán**.nás.tá]
	depart	3PL	with	leg	3PL.POSS		*[ɬə.tá.nə.nás.tá]
	They departed with their legs (on foot)						

Likewise the habitual particle /m/ is typically realized as *mə*. However in the next example it is realized as the coda of the open syllable preceding the particle:

46	ká	ⁿda	m	tsʹ	ʔjukʷ	zwakʷ	→ [ká.**ⁿdam**.tsə́.ʔju.kṵ.zwó.kṵw]
	NEG	person	HAB	catch	goat	Zwak'u	*[.ⁿ**da.mə**.tsə́…]
	They were not bringing the goat of Zwak'u.						

When a nasal that could potentially be realized as the coda of the preceeding syllable is followed by a vowel, the nasal often forms its own syllable with an epenthetic schwa which assimilates to the following vowel. This may in fact be conditioned by prosody rather than the local phonetic environment (e.g. stress on the subject):

47	baxá	m	a	mîdʹ=j=j	→	[ba.xá.ˈ**ma**.a.mîˀ.ɗəj.je]
	how	1IN	CAUSE	wind=DET=Q		
	How are we with the wind?					

In the case of /m/, when the following segment is a labial glide, /m/ forms a cluster with the glide rather than being realized as the coda of the preceding syllable. This is illustrated in the next example:

48	tʃá	m	wawa-má	→	[tʃá.**mwa**.wa.má]
	3M	HAB	able.to-UP		*[**tʃám.wa**.wa.má]
	He can do (something)…				

4.2 Schwa insertion

Schwa functions as the nucleus for syllable without an underlying vowel and plays the role of tone bearing unit in words without an underlying vowel, but with a phonemic tone. Schwa is inserted to function as the tone bearing unit or schwa is inserted to prevent consonants from forming disallowed clusters.

Schwa is often realized as only partially voiced, [ə̥]. The voicing of schwa is determined by the voicing of the onset of the syllable in which it appears: [tə̥]. vs. [də]. If the schwa is tone bearing, then it will be fully voiced regardless of the voicing of the onset segment: [**kə̥.**ná] vs [**ká**].

Schwa is typically shorter than the phonemic vowels and unlike phonemic vowels, the length of schwa is unaffected by the segments which follow. If the following segment is a

vowel, a schwa inserted as the tone bearing unit will often assimilate to that vowel (*cf.* assimilation above).

When the underlying string of segments includes a disallowed consonant cluster, a schwa is inserted to create a well-formed syllable. In the next example, the onset cluster of / ɓl / is disallowed and schwa is inserted:

49	/ɓla-xá/ tell-DOWN	→	[ɓə̲.la.ˈxá]	*[ɓla.ˈxá]

In the following example the / zw / is an allowable cluster and so no schwa is inserted:

50	/ zwa / weed	→	[ˈzwa]	*[zə.wa]

Clusters (of the C_1 C_{GLIDE} type) only occur with an underlying vowel following the glide. There are no attested syllable onsets of the form C_1 C_{GLIDE} having [ə] in the nucleus.

51	/ kwx / IP.enter.forest	→	[ˈkə.wəx] *[ˈkwəx]

The underlying form of words can have tone associated with any segment, even if this segment itself cannot be a tone-bearing unit. If the segment is not a tone-bearing unit, then schwa will be inserted to carry the tone.

52	/ kˊ / head	→	[kə́]

This has repercussions for syllabification. The following contrast will serve to illustrate the point. Both *vus* 'heat' and *kusə́* 'dry season' have three segments in their underlying form. However *vus* is realized as one syllable, whereas *kusə́* is realized as two syllables:

53	/ vus /	→	[vus]
	heat		*[vu.sə]
54	/ kuś /	→	[ku.sə́]
	harmattan		*[kus]

The schwa inserted as the tone-bearing unit following the /s/ results in the /s/ being realized as the onset of a second syllable rather than as the coda of the first as is the case with *vus.*

The presence of tone in the underlying form can also break up otherwise allowable clusters if it occurs between the two segments:

55	/ɬ́wala/	→	[ˈɬə́.wa.la]
	rainmaker		*[ɬwá.la]

Nasals can be tone bearing and syllabic when preceding homorganic stops, although this varies from utterance to utterance. In the next example, both surface forms are in free variation with the syllabic tone bearing nasal or epenthetic schwa inserted as the tone bearing unit:

56	/ ḿᵐbuz /	→	[**m̀**.ᵐbuz]
	blood	→	[**mə̀**.ᵐbuz]

Nasals can also hold the phrase final pitch drop, %L. In the next example the second syllable of the word *pa.ráŋ* takes an H tone. But the word is in intonation phrase final position and needs to carry the L boundary tone. In many circumstances this would result in the deletion of the H tone. However, since *paráŋ* ends in a nasal the nasal can carry the intonation phrase boundary tone and the tone on the nucleus of the final syllable remains high:

57	/ paráŋ /	→	[pa.ráŋ̍]
	long.ago		%L realized on [ŋ]

4.3 Voiceless high-back vowel

Vowel insertion in a few instances results in a voiceless high-back rounded vowel being realized. The [ụ] is phonetic, only occuring after [k^w] in the contexts discussed above in the consonantal inventory. This phone is the result of raising from the labialization of the preceding consonant and voicing assimilation of the inserted schwa to the preceding consonant. The next figure illustrates the realization of epenthetic schwa as [ụ] following labialized voiceless velar stops:

Figure 3 Realization of [ụ]

Underlying form	/máták^w /	/k^{w}kwa /
EPENTHESIS	má.tá.k^{w}ə	/k^{w}ə.kwa /
VOICING ASSIMILATION	má.tá.k^{w}ə̥	/k^{w}ə̥.kwa /
RAISING	[má.tá.kụ̥]	[kụ̥.kwa]
	hawk	*that*

The realization of [u̯] is the result of schwa epenthesis rather than simply the insertion of a high back rounded vowel. The realization of a high back rounded vowel follows from the general rules of epenthesis and raising. When the context for the application of those rules is absent the high back rounded vowel does not materialize. For example, when the syllable is closed by /j/ a schwa appears as expected. When the segment is followed by a vowel which can serve as the nucleus of the syllable, there is no vowel insertion. These two alternatives are illustrated in the following figure:

Figure 4 Alternatives to [u̯] after /kʷ/

Underlying form	/máták^{w}=ju /	/máták^{w} irin /
EPENTHESIS	[má.tá.k^{w}ə=ju]	*[má.tá.k^{w}**ir.in**]
GEMINATION	[má.tá.k^{w}ə**j**.ju]	*[má.tá.k^{w}**ir.in**]
Surface form	[má.tá.k^{w}əj.ju]	[má.tá.k^{w}**ir.in**]
	that hawk	*hawk (different species)*

4.4 Morphophonemic variation

There are a number of processes affecting syllable structure that are limited to particular morphophonemic environments. These processes will be listed here but the discussion of each phenomenon will be with the discussion of the relevant morphemes in later chapters. These processes include vowel deletion on subject pronouns and demonstratives and gemination of consonants triggered by certain closed class morphemes.

4.4.1 Subject pronoun vowel deletion

The first person singular subject pronoun often cliticizes to the verb stem. The nasal onset of the pronoun will be realized as the coda of verb stems ending in open syllables, and the high front vowel will be deleted. Both the full pronoun, *nî* and the pronoun with the vowel deleted, *=n*, are illustrated in the next example:

58 ɓə̀n-a-má **= n** á **nî**
do-OM-UP = 1SG say 1SG
"I've done it" I said.

The differences in function of the two forms, along with conditioning environments, are discussed in more detail with subject pronouns in the chapter on argument coding.

4.4.2 Determiner vowel deletion

Determiners in an intonation phrase final position have the form *ju*. However, in phrase internal position the vowel is deleted and the palatal glide cliticizes to the right edge of the NP it modifies. Unlike vowel deletion with subject pronouns, this process is predictable from the place of the morpheme in the intonation phrase. In the next example, the determiner is in the final position of the intonation phrase and has the final vowel, *=ju*:

59 á tʃá kə́ **zər-a = ju**
say 3M REF wife.SG-MOD = DET
He said to that wife.

However, when the morpheme does not occur at the boundary of the intonation phrase, the vowel is deleted as can be seen in the next example:

60 á **zər-a=j** kə́ tsə̀j
say wife.SG-MOD=DET REF 3M.FREE
That wife said to him.

A more detailed discussion of the form and function of the determiner can be found in the chapter on the noun phrase.

In a number of Chadic languages phrase internal vowel deletion is a phonological process. This is attested in East Dangla (Shay 1999) and Hdi (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002) and Mina (Frajzyngier, Johnston, & Edwards 2005) among others. In contrast, Sakun only exhibits phrase internal vowel deletion with determiners. In other words, intonation phrase boundary effects on vowels are limited to specific members of closed class morphemes in Sakun.

4.4.3 Gemination with consonant suffixes

When consonantal clitics such as the phrase internal determiner, the phrase final negation marker *=w*, and the phrase final interrogative marker *=j* bind to a closed syllable, they trigger gemination of the consonant closing the syllable.

Geminate consonants can be phonemic. For example /*waŋ*/ ‘ten’ and /*waŋŋ*/ ‘clean’ are contrasted by the word final geminate /ŋ/. However, such examples are rare.

Gemination with specific closed class morphemes such as determiners, negation particles and interrogative particles will be discussed in more detail in the chapters on noun phrases, negation and interrogatives respectively.

5 Tone

Sakun has two tones; high (H) and low (L). Tone is important for both the lexicon and grammar. Tone is phonemic in Sakun, distinguishing words whose segmental structure is otherwise identical. Examples of minimal pairs contrasted by tone are illustrated in the following table.

Table 11 Examples of contrastive tone

mîɗ	*wind*	mɨ̀ɗ	*lazy*
ƭán	*sister*	ƭàn	*river*
tə́	3SG.M	tə̀	1IN
tá	3PL	tà	2SG.POSS
láj	*to dowry*	làj	*amulet*
ɣálá	*all day*	ɣàlà	*ridge between farms*
ɣî	*compound*	ɣɨ̀	*inside*
ŋ̂i	1EX	ŋ̀i	*another*

Words in all classes can be distinguished by tone (i.e. Nouns, pronouns, verbs, grammatical particles, etc.). In addition to inherent H and L tones in the underlying form of morphemes, two morphemes in Sakun exhibit polar tone. In the verb stem, the object marker –*a*, and the object pronouns both occur in the same position between the root and extension.

Both the pronouns and the object markers have tone contrasting with that of the extension following them. This alternation is illustrated in the next table. The same pattern holds for object pronouns:

Table 12 Polar tone on the object marker

	ROOT tone	OM tone	extension tone
tsaɗ-a-má sweep-OM-UP	L	L	H
tsaɗ-á-va sweep-OM-OUT	L	H	L
xə̀n-a-rá butcher-OM-CENT	H	L	H
xə́n-á-va butcher-OM-OUT	H	H	L

Sentence level prosody can neutralize inherent tone. Several types of sentence prosody require a low tone on the final syllable. However, the underlying tone of the morpheme will still condition morphemes with polar tone as illustrated in the next example. In this example the underlying H tone of the extention triggers L tone on the object pronoun even though the H tone of the extension is neutralized by the sentence final prosody:

61 mək=ĵ ma ŋî a kwá ɮá-ŋja-xa
3F.FREE=REL want 1EX SBJV 2SG say-1EX.OBJ-DOWN
That is why we want you to tell us.

When object pronouns are not followed by a directional extension the tone is variable, and argument coding conditions the alternations. The following examples demonstrate that the morpheme after the object pronoun is not the conditioning factor. The first two examples illustrate H tone on the object pronoun followed by morphemes with both L and H tones:

62	a	sá-**ká**	**ri**	a	nda	ná	**H**	**L**
	PFV	touch-3F.OBJ	hand	say	person	TOP		
	They will say "The hand touched it"							

63	da=j	ká=j	ɓə́n-**tʃá**	**kwá**	ɣaláj	ná	**H**	**H**
	thing=DET	REF=REL	do-3M.OBJ	2SG	past	TOP		
	The thing that you are doing to him in the past,							

The next two examples illustrate L tone object pronouns followed by morphemes with both L and H tones:

64	hajî	ka	ɓə́n-**tʃa**	**da**-xa=i	táxu	**L**	**L**
	like.this	PURP	do-3M.OBJ	thing-PL=ATT	wicked		
	Like this, (for me) to do bad things to him.						

65	ká	ŋ̂	nda=j́	sá-**ka**	**mí**ɗa	nə	ri=w	**L**	**H**
	NEG	other	per.=REL	touch-3F.OBJ	hockey	with	hand=NEG		
	Noboby touches the hockey puck with hands.								

In the above examples where the object pronouns has an H tone, the clause lacks a nominal object. However, in the examples with an L tone object pronoun, the clause has a nominal object. The function of H tone on object pronouns is discussed in more detail in the chapter on argument coding.

Tone plays a role in other aspects of the grammar related to argument coding. Tone can be used to disambiguate argument roles in a focus construction. In the focus construction where one of the arguments occurs before the verb, H tone indicates it is the subject:

66 kena=j́ kə́ ka
1SG.FREE=REL\SBJ see 3F.OBJ
It's me that saw it.

67 kena=j kə́ ka
1SG.FREE=REL see 3F
It's me that she saw.

This alternation of tone on the relativizer distinguishes focus constructions from relative clauses proper.

6 Stress and Intonation

6.1 Stress

Word level stress assignment is not predictable from syllable structure. Rather, stress falls on syllables with H tone. If a word lacks an H tone, stress falls on the first syllable by default. The following three tables illustrate words with similar syllable structures and distinct stress patterns:

Table 13 Stress assignment for 2 syllable words

First syllable	ˈkə. ra	*dog*	Second syllable	za. ˈbə́n	*guinea fowl*

ˈmá. gan	*squirrel*	ta. ˈkúr	*chicken*
ˈʃĩm. but	*hair*	ɣa. ˈláj	*long ago*
ˈʒi. ʒjax	*soup*	bə. ˈlám	*baboon*

Table 14 Stress assignment for 3 syllable words

First Syllable		Final Syllable	
ˈmá. pa. ram	*gate*	ta. pə. ˈʃám	*calabash*
ˈxán. dʒi. ga	*now*	kə. xə. ˈrán	*dry season*
ˈdə́. gə. vu	*hyena*	ɓə. la. ˈmá	*say (count)*
ˈmá. za. ɣar	*bat*	ji. gə. ˈɮá	*axe*

Medial Syllable

gats. ˈxá. ra	*lizard, male*
rwa. ˈɬĩ. dĩ	*prince*

Table 15 Stress assignment for words of more than 3 syllables

ˈgə́. ɮəm. bə. la	*large, undivided calabash*
ˌma. ⁿgu. ra. ta. ˈtán	*army ants*

6.1.1 Morphological processes affecting stress assignment

Changes in the morphology of words can result in stress shift. For example, with the two forms of the word for ‘man’ or ‘husband’, intonation shifts are apparent in the suppletive SG/PL forms:

68	ˈma.ɮax	ma.ɮi.ˈxə́
	husband.SG	husband.PL

The addition of the phrase final determiner clitic /=ju/ and plural and determiner combination /-xa-ĵ/ cause stress to fall on the final syllable if the word lacks an underlying H tone. This does not appear to be the case with the reduced phrase internal form of the determiner, /=j/:

69	/lbt/	[ˈlə. bət]	Without suffix
	/ lbt = ju /	[ˈlə. bət. təj]	Phrase internal /=j /
	/ lbt = ju /	[lə. ˈbət. tju]	Phrase final / =ju /
	granary cover =DET		

However, with the plural suffix *–xa*, even in phrase internal position this causes a shift in stress placement:

70	/ maparam /	[ˈma. pa. ram]	Without suffix
	/ maparam–xá=ju /	[ma. pa. ˈram. xáj]	Phrase internal / xa=j /
	/ maparam=ju /	[ma. pa. ˈram. mju]	Phrase final / =ju /
	gate - PL=DET		

The addition of the derivational suffix *–n* to a verb root, forming a property concept term, causes the final syllable to take the primary stress, even if there is a competing H tone within the root:

71	ⁿdas	[ˈ ⁿdás]	*to stand*
	m-ⁿdás-n	[mə.ⁿdá.ˈsən]	*be standing*

6.1.2 Stress and argument structure

Stress also generally falls on the left edge of the subject NP of the clause. Subjects lacking an H tone still have phrase initial stress. In the first example, the subject has high tone. There is neither stress nor tone on the OBJ suffix *-tə*:

72	/ ɮa-t	tʃá /	→	[ɮa.tə.ˈtʃá]
	say-OM	3M	→	*He says (it).*

In the next example, the subject is not high tone, but the stress remains:

73	/ ɬá-t	ka /	→	[ɬá.tə.ˈka]
	take-OM	3F	→	*It takes (it)*

6.2 Intonation

Intonation unit boundaries in Sakun are signalled by a combination of prosodic cues including phrase final lengthening, pitch reset at the beginning of the phrase and pause. In Sakun certain morphemes that occur clause or utterance initial will tend to be lengthened, followed by a rapid succession of shorter syllables before being bracketed by a second elongated syllable at the final boundary. Each prosodic cue is a sufficient cue for an intonation phrase boundary, but none are necessary and they can combine in various ways.

Several intonation units in succession tend to show overall declination both within and across the units. This suggests that major intonation units are formed with one or more smaller

prosodic constituents. For example, pitch reset, which often indicates the beginning boundary of a new intonation unit, will not be as high as the start of the preceding unit when both are part of a larger intonation unit. The presence of phonological constituents between the level of the syllable and major intonation phrase is further suggested by the patterns of vowel raising, tone alternations on object pronouns and stress assignment on subject NPs which may in fact fall out from pitch reset at the onset of minor intonation units. However, the details of minor intonation phrases remain to be worked out.

In general, the intonation contour of an utterance follows the tone and stress patterns of the words in the utterance. Points of stress at the sentence level mirror word level stress assignment, except where intonation contours conflict. At points of conflict between word stress and sentence intonation, sentence level considerations trump word level considerations. The clearest example of this is words with H tone falling sentence final in negation patterns. The final word in this intonation pattern always has a markedly lower F_0 no matter the lexical tone.

Intonation contours which signal particular functions will be discussed in the chapters where the associated functions are covered. These include interrogative intonation patters, backgrounded clauses, and negative clauses, *inter alia.*

Most utterances exhibit a lack of isomorphism between prosodic constituents and morphosyntactic constituents. The initial element of morphosyntactic constituents often occur at the final boundary of the preceding prosodic unit when both occur within a larger intonation phrase.

7 Orthography

The current orthography generally follows the conventions implemented by Professor Nicholas David in the Sakun word lists collected over several field trips to Sakun from 1992-93 and as recently as 2008 (c.f. David 2003). There are small deviations made for the sake of consistency, ease of implementation and the wishes expressed by the Sakun community after consensus was reached on each point. The following two tables outline the orthographic representation of Sakun:

Table 16 Orthographic Consonants

	labial	labio-dental	alveolar	lateral	palatal	velar	glottal
Stops	p b ɓ mb		t d ɗ nd			k g k'u ng	‘
Fricatives		f v	s z	tl dl	sh zh	h gh	
Affricates			ts dz		c j		
Nasals	m		n			ŋ	

Liquids			l,r				
Glides	w				y		

Table 17 Orthographic Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid		ə	
Low			a

The writing system does not represent phonemic tone distinctions as is the common practice in writing systems of related languages. Epenthetic schwa is represented in the writing system for the sake of clarity.

There are a number of issues remaining for the successful implementation of the orthography. Consistent representation of the morphology is the greatest hurdle. Regardless of the underlying phonemic segments, word final bilabial glides are represented as *u* rather than *w* with the exception of the negation marker. The clause final negation marker *=w* is always written as *w*. Determiners, which are underlying palatal glides, are written as *i,* and often preceded by a schwa. The gemination triggered by these clitics is also not represented in the writing system. For example, 'this food' is written *ɗafəi* rather than *ɗaffəj* which would be closer to the phonetic realization.

Another issue facing the writing system is consistent representation of word boundaries. Word boundaries are particularly difficult within the verbal piece. For example, verb roots, object pronouns and extensions are all part of the same phonological word. However, there is a great deal of variation in how different consultants would break up the word in orthographic transcriptions. The following example may have three variants showing up in the corpus:

74	Orthographic representations
ɓə́n-kwa-má	*ɓənkwama*
do-3F.OBJ-UP	*ɓənkwa ma*
do (it) for you	*ɓən kwama*

Despite these difficulties, members of the Sakun community have reacted positively to the new orthography. Those who are already literate in English and Hausa are able to read Sakun in the new orthography easily and with little additional explanation. The consultants on the project have expressed the view that the new orthography is superior to previous attempts to transliterate the language.

8 Conclusions

The phonological system of Sakun is characterized by a rich consonantal inventory and a small vowel inventory. The consonantal inventory includes prenasalized segments, glottalized segments and a single labialized segment. Phonological rules of deletion and raising interact with intonation phrase boundaries. Vowel retention is an indication of intonation phrase final

position. Consonant deletion is also an indication of phrase final position. Tone plays an important role in Sakun both lexically and grammatically. Most morphemes have inherent tone but there a few morphemes exhibiting polar tone. Syllable structure is typically CV although some consonants can form clusters in the onset with glides and closed syllables are allowed with restrictions. Intonation phrase boundaries are signaled by boundary tones, pitch reset and pause as well as interacting with patterns of segmental deletion.

CHAPTER 3 THE NOUN PHRASE

1 Introduction

Nouns are defined as the elements of a clause which can serve as the arguments of a proposition. Nouns can also be the objects of prepositions or they can modify other nouns. The noun phrase in Sakun consists minimally of a noun or pronoun. Nouns have a number of coding means available which can elaborate and specify the referent. These elements occur both before and after the noun. Prenominal modification consists only of a small set of quantifiers and a small set of derivational morphemes. Post-nominal modification consists of noun-noun juxtaposition, participial phrases, a plural marker, relative clauses, and determiners. Generally noun phrases in Sakun have the structure of (HEAD) followed by (MODIFIER). With the exception of relative clause structures, noun phrases in Sakun are 'light', meaning there is typically little modification of a noun beyond inflectional morphemes, quantifiers and determiners. There is no distinct category of adjective in Sakun. Restriction and specification can be accomplished with nouns, verbs, adverbials and other clause types in a variety of constructions. Often the meanings of nouns are modified by terms which are not morphosyntactically part of the NP of which the noun is head. These phenomena are discussed below under the heading 'disjunct modification of the NP'.

An important feature of the Sakun noun phrase is the number and variety of means for coding plurality. Number is a feature often used to index referents in order to code functions other than the semantics of number. Generally number is coded in order to manage presuppositions about possible groups in discourse. The morphosyntax of number coding in the noun phrase will be outlined in this chapter but the functionality will be discussed in more detail in the chapter on the reference system.

Sakun does not have grammatical gender encoded on the noun phrase although there is a gender distinction in the third person singular pronouns.

2 Nouns

Formally, nouns exhibit no specific patterns in terms of syllable structure, tone or stress assignment. Nouns follow the general rules for lexical items outlined in the phonology chapter.

Nominal morphology in Sakun is limited. Morphological processes include reduplication, affixation, compounding and cliticization. Derivational morphology is limited to a prefix, *tu*, indicating a type of person, the prefix *gə*, which derives ordinal from cardinal numbers, and the suffix *–mxá* which derives a second set of birth order names when the number of children passes ten. Plural morphology includes reduplication of the root, the suffix *-xa-* and quantifiers which indicate plural reference.

There are subcategories of nouns with restricted distribution and/or distinct morphology. These include the small set of nouns with suppletive plural forms, and a subset of suppletive nouns which have distinct modification patterns.

2.1 Proper Names

In Sakun, people will collect a number of names. The social functions of each name will be discussed in the chapter on the reference system. Proper names behave much like other nouns. Proper names can include birth order names, such as *təʒi* 'first born', praise names like the name *gədəm* for Karandu clan members, place names and so on. Proper names are often morphologically complex. The chief's name *Kənákákaw,* means 'It isn't me':

1 kəná ká ka=w
1SG.FREE NEG 3SG=NEG
It isn't me.

The founders of Ndalmi were called *Mbakŋima* meaning 'Increase us':

2 ^{m}bák-ŋi-má
increase-1EX.OBJ-UP
Increase us.

Even though these names are meaningful clauses on their own, they are treated syntactically as nouns.

The birth order names have a derivational suffix which allows the orders to be repeated once ten children have been born to the same woman. When the eleventh child is born, the order begins from the first, *təʒi* if male and *kuvə* if female, but the suffix *–^{m}xá* is added resulting in *təʒi^{m}xá and kuvə^{m}xá* respectively for the male or female eleventh child.

2.2 Nouns taking the *–a* MOD suffix

There is a small set of nouns which require morphological changes in order to add any kind of modification after the noun. Modification is used here in the broad sense of any dependent elements to the right of the head noun. The nouns belonging to this set include *zər* 'woman/wife', *dəm* 'girl/daughter', *dəgwám* 'girl.PL/daughter.PL', *maɬax* 'man/husband' and with restrictions, *rwi* 'child/son'. These terms are part of the group of terms with suppletive plural forms discussed below. In the case of *zər* and *dəm,* the suffix *–a* is added. For *dəgwám* and *maɬax,* the final consonant is dropped resulting in the forms *dəgwá* and *maɬa;* and for *rwi,* the final vowel is dropped before the suffixation of *–a.* Examples are provided in the following table:

Table 18 Examples of terms with –a MOD

zər	*woman*	zər-a=ju	*that woman*
dəm	*girl*	dəm-a=ju	*that girl*
dəgwám	*girl.PL*	dəgwá=ju	*those girls*

maɬɜáx	*husband*	maɬɜá=ju	*that man*
rwi	*son*	rw-a ɬíɗì	*prince (lit. son of chief)*

All members of this set of nouns belong to the set of nouns with suppletive plural forms. The plural forms of these nouns do not exhibit any changes except for *dəgwam*, the plural of *dəm*. The term *rwi* 'son' only exhibits this change in certain idiomatic expressions and unlike the other terms, does not exhibit the change in every circumstance of modification. So there are examples of the change with terms like *rwaɬidî* 'son of the chief' but the change is missing with more productive examples like *rwiŋa/*rwaŋa* 'my son' or *rwizana/*rwazana* 'Zana's son'.

The interactions of this pattern of modification will be discussed in more detail with the general discussion of various modification patterns below. The presence or absence of the modified form of these nouns will provide important evidence for determining the structure of many aspects of noun phrases.

2.3 Pronouns

2.3.1 Personal pronouns

There are five sets of pronominal paradigms in Sakun. The label used for each set of pronouns reflects one function of the pronouns in the grammatical system. However, it should be noted that many serve multiple functions depending on the construction in which the

pronoun appears. For example, possessive pronouns can also code non-subject arguments in particular tense, aspect, and mood configurations. The object pronouns are not marked for tone here because the tone is polar to the extension or conditioned by the argument structure of the clause. The usage of the particular pronouns, placement in clauses and variations of forms will be discussed in detail in the relevant chapters on argument coding and tense, aspect and mood. As is typical in the Biu-Mandara branch, Sakun has an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person plural, although there is no dual form. Sakun also has a gender distinction in the third person singular. 3M refers specifically to human males. The 3F refers to human females, spirits, and any non-human or inanimate referent. The forms of all the pronouns are presented here in the following table for ease of reference:

Table 19 Pronominal paradigms.

	SBJ	OBJ	POSS	FREE	REFL
1SG	nî, nə, =n	-ŋa, -ŋ	ŋá	kəná	kə́ŋá
2SG	kwá, ta	-kwa	ta	kú	kə́ta
3F	ka	-ka	ka	mək	kə́ka
3M	tʃá	-tʃa	tə	tsə́j	kə́tə
1IN	mə́	-ma	tə́	mə́	kə́tə́
1EX	ŋî	-ŋja	ŋî	ŋî	kə́ŋî
2PL	kî	-kja	təku	kî	kə́təku
3PL	tá	-ta	tá	tá	kə́tá

The five pronominal paradigms presented above are: the subject pronouns (SBJ) which primarily code clausal subjects; the object pronouns (OBJ) which primarily code recipients or beneficiaries; the possessive pronouns (POSS) which primarily code possessors; the free pronouns (FREE) which serve as objects to prepositions or the argument in focus constructions with a pronominal argument in focus; and reflexive pronouns (REFL) which function as objects coreferential with the subject.

Personal pronouns can take determiners, although this usage is not frequent. In the next example the subject of *já* 'come', *tʃá* '3M' takes a determiner:

3	taɓa kə́latʃi	ná,	xa	já	**tʃá = j**	ná,
	Taɓa Kəlaci	TOP	as	come	3M = DET	TOP
	So, Taɓa Kəlaci, as he came,					

The usage of the determiner with a pronoun generally occurs when a pronoun has a new referent. In the above example, *tʃá* refers to *Taɓa Kəlatʃi*. But in the previous utterances, *tʃá* was refering to a different discourse topic. The use of the determiner with *tʃá* here emphasises the change of referent.

2.3.2 Indefinite pronouns

Interrogative pronouns (e.g. *mi* 'what', *wu* 'who', *ŋəna* 'where', etc…) can be used as indefinite pronouns in clauses without interrogative mood marking:

4	kaďá	ka	dza	**ŋəná,**	xa	łə	tá	nə	nas	tá
	maybe	PURP	go	**where**	when	stand	3PL	with	feet	3PL.POSS

Maybe to go anywhere, when they went off with their feet.

Plural indefinite pronouns can be formed from interrogative pronouns through reduplication of the interrogative. In the next example the interrogative pronoun *ŋəná* 'where' is reduplicated to indicate a plurality of indefinite locations:

5	łə	já-va	vəra	va	lamîďî	tá,	ba	já-má	xa
	stand	come-OUT	across	house	chief	3PL	and	come-UP	DOWN

járwa,	ba	**ŋəná.ŋəná**
Maiduguri	and	**where.REDUP**

They are from the District head and from Maiduguri, and from everywhere.

Interrogative pronouns will be discussed separately in the chapter on interrogative mood with other aspects of question formation in Sakun.

3 Prenominal modification of the NP

The modification of nouns follows the general pattern of (Head) (Modifier). Two exceptions to this pattern are prenominal quantifiers and certain derivational prefixes.

3.1 Derivational morphology

There are two derivational prefixes for nouns in Sakun. The first is the prefix *gə-* for deriving ordinal numbers from cardinal numbers discussed in more detail with numerals below.

The second is *tu* which is used to generate a type of person related to the root. Examples of nouns derived with *tu-* are presented in the following table:

Table 20 Terms derived with *tu-*

Root		Derived form	
kǐkə̀n	*poverty*	tù-kǐkə̀n	*poor person*
gĭwà	*hamlet*	tú-gĭwà	*neighbor*
gùʁə̀ŋ	*blind person*	tú-gùʁə̀ŋ	*blind person (inherited)*
dənà	*leprosy*	tú-dənà	*leper*
xàɗ	*land*	tú-xàɗ	*landowner*

Evidence that the morpheme is a prefix rather than a separate word is provided by the polarity of the tone of the prefix. The tone of the prefix is polar to the tone of the following syllable; i.e. there is an L tone on *tu-* when preceding *kîkən* but there is an H tone on *tu-* in the remaining examples, all of which have an L tone in the first syllable. The examples of this morpheme in the corpus are few and it is not clear whether the morpheme is productive.

3.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers in Sakun occur before the head noun. Many quantifiers can also function independently as nouns on their own. Quantifiers in Sakun are defined as the elements of an NP which can occur to the left of the head of the NP. Many words which have the typical semantics of quantifiers, for example: *kiŋ* 'many'; *pát* 'all'; and *kiva* 'few', are not morphosyntactically quantifiers and often are not part of the NP to which they relate

semantically. These are discussed in a later section focusing on the disjunct modification of NPs.

There is a subset of quantifiers which are restricted to a position before the noun they modify and cannot function independently to head an NP. These are outlined in the following table:

Table 21 Prenominal quantifiers occuring only as part of an NP.

Prenominal Quantifiers I:	
ɮa	*only*
ɮə́r	*many*
və́	ASS.PL; associative plural*
*The associative plural will be discussed below in the section on plural morphology.	

The quantifier *ɮə́r* is restricted to use with human referents. In the next example, *ɮə́r* modifies *mə́təbəj* 'visitors':

6	má	ja	**xáŋi**	**ɮə́r**	**mə́təbəj**	ná
	HYP	come	some	many	visitor	TOP
	When many visitors come,					

The second set of prenominal quantifiers occur syntactically in the same position as the first set of quantifiers but also can function as the head of an NP without further modification.

Table 22 Prenominal quantifiers which can also function as the head of an NP.

Prenominal Quantifiers II:

ʃá	*any*
vúk	*specific*
ŋi	*other/another*
kála	*each/every*
xáŋi	*some*
nakanaká	*any/every*
ʃik	*increased*
NUMERALS	

The following example illustrates *vúk* as a prenominal quantifier:

7	kəna=j	pəkə	**vúk**	**ᵐbərə́m=j**	**tʃíju**	
	1SG.FREE=REL	about	specific	town=REL	DEM	
	I am (speaking) about this here particular town.					

The characterization of the term *vúk* as a quantifier is simply a result its syntactic properties rather than the semantics, unusual for a quantifier. Compare the previous example with the next example which illustrates *vúk* functioning as the head of an NP:

8	**vúk=j**	**mə-dzax-ə́n=j**	ná,	wúⁿda=j	má-kwa=j	
	specific=REL	HAB-clear-NOM=DET	TOP	who=REL	give-2SG.OBJ=Q	
	This one that is clear, who will give (it) to you?					

More than one quantifier can occur in a noun phrase although this is infrequent. When more than one occurs, the following orders have been observed in the corpus:

Table 23 Ordering of multiple quantifiers

ORDER	EXAMPLE	
ɮa ɮər N	ɮa ɮər náf	*only the brothers*
xáŋi ɮər N	xáŋi ɮər mátəbəj	*some visitors*

və́	ʁər N	və́ ʁər ʁán ka zər	*those with the woman's sisters*
kála	vúk N	kála vúk daj	*any specific thing that…*
ʁa	vúk N	ʁa vúk ɣi ŋ̂i	*only our specific house*
ka	vúk N	ka vúk ndaj	*as this specific kind of person*

The use of multiple quantifiers in the prenominal position is unusual. See the discussion of complex numerals below for an interesting example of a gambit employed to avoid heavy prenominal structures.

4 Post-nominal modification of the NP

Nouns phrases can be modified after the head noun by another noun through simple juxtaposition of elements, by relative clause structures, by plural morphology and determiners. The next section outlines modification strategies that do not require any additional morphology, such as the relativizer. The sections following this one will describe the use of plural morphology and determiners. Relative clause structures will be discussed in a separate chapter.

4.1 Juxtaposition

Nouns can modify other nouns by way of simple juxtaposition. A nominal modifier can follow the head noun without any further morphological marking with the exception of the small *–a* MOD class of nouns discussed earlier.

The function of the modifier is to categorize the head noun. In other words, the modifier indicates that the head noun is 'of a type X'. This construction is the same as that

used to indicate most types of possession (see Kinship possession below for an example of an exception) and the semantics of the nominal modifier is underspecified with regard to a distinction between 'of a category' and 'belonging to' (in the sense of prototypical possession). In the following example it is ambiguous whether the relation between the nouns is best understood as possession or categorization:

9	(HEAD)	(MODIFIER)
	twám	ɬɜə
	horn	cattle
	Cow's horn.	

In other words, the above example is potentially ambiguous between a ram's horn belonging to an anthropomorphic cow in a story or a horn of the type found on cattle. However, in the next example it is a clear case of categorization:

10	dʒir	ɬɜə
	male.animal	cattle
	Bull.	

It could be argued from the above example that *dʒir* must be a prenominal modifier, but examples from the *–a* MOD class of nouns demonstrate that this is not the case. Typically the male of a type of animal is marked with *dʒir* and the female unmarked. Sometimes speakers will use the terms *zər* and *maɬax* when discussing animals or inanimate objects. When this happens, the element to the right is clearly dependent on the term to the left morphologically.

In other words, the terms *zər* and *maɮax* undergo the changes indicating that a dependent element follows them:

11 maɮá-ø xi
male-MOD guineacorn
Male guineacorn (special type of guinea corn with magical properties).

12 zər-a ɮə
female-MOD cattle
Cow.

The morphology suggests that these noun phrases are best understood to mean ‘male of the guineacorn type’ or ‘female of the cattle type’; i.e. *maɮax* and *zər* are the heads of the NPs in the above examples. Compare these with clear examples of possession:

13 zər-a ta
wife.SG-MOD 2SG.POSS
Your wife.

14 twám ka=j
horn 3F.POSS=DET
It’s horn (the one being discussed),

In the above examples, *zər* and *twám* are the heads of the NPs in which they occur. There is no formal difference between nominal modifiers in a (HEAD) (CATEGORY) relationship and those in a (POSSESSEE) (POSSESSOR) relationship.

The modifying noun can be a complex NP. In the next example the noun is modified by a prenominal quantifier:

15 (HEAD) (MODIFIER)
va ŋ́ ⁿdu
house another person
House of another person

In the next example, the modifier of the head *maɮáx* 'husband' is itself a juxtaposed set of nouns in a head modifier relation:

16 (HEAD) (MODIFIER)
maɮá-ø dəm-a ɬídi
husband-MOD daughter-MOD chief
Husband of the chief's daughter.

The use of nominal modifiers is also common in word formation where the meaning is not predictable from the sum of the parts. The next series of examples illustrate sets of juxtaposed nouns forming new words:

17 ʔják xələləm
bird river.bank
Kingfisher (lit. 'bird of the river bank')

18 zər-a-dʒik
wife.SG-MOD-bent.rafter
Old woman (lit. 'woman of the bent type')

19 twám kərá
horn dog

Flute (lit. 'Horn of the dog', a type of flute which emits a high pitched sound disturbing all dogs within hearing range).

4.2 Possessive constructions

Coding possession in Sakun is formally the same as any other type of nominal modification as discussed in the preceding section. Possessors follow possessees without any other coding to express the relation. However, there are a few constructions specific to possession relations. First, there is a set of pronouns used to code possessors. These are outlined in the following table:

Table 24 Possesive pronouns.

	SG	PL
1IN	*ŋá*	*tə́*
1EX		*ŋî*
2	*ta*	*təku*
3M	*tə*	*tá*
3F	*ka*	

Possesive pronouns follow the possessed noun and precede other elements of the NP such as plural markers, determiners, etc., just as with any other nominal modifier:

20 kərá **ŋá**
dog 1SG.POSS
My dog

21 twám **ka**=j
horn 3F.POSS=DET

It's horn (the one being discussed),

There is a special possessive construction used when a particular set of human relations including father, mother, brother, sister and neighbor are the head of the phrase. The construction used in these situations has the form: Head Noun – Possessive pronoun - Possessor Noun, where the possessor noun and possessive pronoun agree in number and gender. The following two examples illustrate a mismatch in gender between the head noun and possessive pronoun, but agreement between the possessor noun and possessive pronoun:

22 fa **ka$_j$** **ɮja$_j$**
father 3F.POSS furnace
Father of the furnace (the owner of the furnace).

23 xanáwa á **ma** **tə$_j$** **maɮá$_j$ -ø** **ka = j** kjaná
IP.say say mother 3M.POSS husband-MOD 3F.POSS = DET now
Said her mother-in-law (her husband's mother)

Not all family relations require this construction. When referring to children this construction is not used, as in the following examples:

24 rwî dəm-a tə = n *rwî **ka** dəm-a tə = n
son daughter-MOD 3M.POSS = 1SG
I am the son of his daughter.

25 dəgwa-ø ɬîdî *dəgwa **tə** ɬîdî
daughter.PL-MOD chief
The daughters of the chief.

The terms for relations which require the kinship possession construction are outlined in the following table:

Table 25 Relations using the kinship possession construction.

dʒúk	*grandparent*	zərafa	*father of wife*
kənəî	*uncle*	man	*relative*
rwáda	*male clan member*	túgiwa	*neighbor*
rwádəm	*female clan member*	mjá	*friend*
ma	*mother*	məgús	*parents of wife*
fa	*father*	madzwa	*brother-in-law*
ɮán	*sister*	^{m}bərə́mai	*daughter-in-law*
náf	*brother*		

Possessive pronouns also combine with *ja-* to form a meaning of "X's own". This construction is idiosyncratic in that it precedes the noun it modifies semantically, although morphosyntactically *ja* is the head of the NP:

26 vúk **ja** sákun
specific own Sakun
The one for Sakun

27 ma ɣî **ja** **tá** **kulə́**
UP house own 3PL.POSS grave
Those living above have their own graveyard

28 pə **ja** **tə** **ɓá**
on own 3M.POSS name
on his own name (on his behalf)

4.3 Deverbal nominal modifiers

Post nominal modification can also be achieved by deriving a property concept term from a verbal root. This is accomplished with the habitual prefix *m-* preceding the verb root and the addition of the nominalizing suffix *–n*. Syntactically these terms behave in the same way as nominal modifiers of nouns. This type of modifier can only be derived from a limited set of verbs which predominantly have stative meaning. The derivation is illustrated in the following example:

29

	ROOT	
m-	dʒamák	-ń
HAB	be.big	NOM

mədʒamákə́n

big thing

When modifying a noun, a deverbal nominal modifier follows the noun and the noun requires no additional morphological marking:

30

ɣə́n	**mə-ɣəw-ə́n**	ná,
bean	HAB-red-NOM	TOP

Red beans,

31

jím	**mə-dʒamak-ə́n**	**xá = j**	**pə́ka**	**kí**	**tʃitʃíji**	ná
stone	HAB-big.PL-NOM	PL = REL	collect	2PL	DEM	TOP

These big stones that you collect,

In a few cases terms that are generally used as nouns can take part in this construction. For example, there is the term for cleverness, *pəʃím*. There are two ways to say 'He is clever'. The first is clearly nominal, as it is expressed through an existential predication:

32 nə́ **pəʃím** a tsə́j
EXIST cleverness GOAL 3M.FREE
There is cleverness to him.

However, this meaning can also be expressed through an equational predication, in which case the deverbal nominalized form is used:

33 **mə-pəʃím-ə́n** tʃá
HAB-clever-NOM 3M
He is clever.

The use of the derived form may be indicating that he acts in a clever way in general whereas the existential predication may mean something more to the effect that he has a number of tricks at his disposal.

4.4 Participial modifiers

In Sakun, nouns can be modified by 'participial[1] constructions' without further coding. The participial clause precedes nominal modification, occurring between the head of the NP

[1] The term 'participial' is used here for convenience to distinguish between clausal modification requiring the relativizer and these 'participial' constructions. Sakun verbs do not have a marked

and any nominal modifier. In the next example the participial construction *ɗwá-tə* modifies the object of the clause, *da* 'thing':

34	má	dza	tʃá	sə́pa-kə́	da	**ɗwá-tə** = ju
	HYP	go	3M	find-CENT	thing	eat-OM = DET
	When he goes to find those things to eat…					

When the noun being modified by a participial clause is coreferential with the object of that clause, the object marker *–tə* is used. Participial clauses do not take subjects in the clause. Participial clauses are formed with a verb root. If the object of the participial clause is not the head noun, the verb can take an indefinite noun as in the next example. Here the head noun is *ir* 'place' and the object of the verb *zwa* 'weed' is the indefinite noun *ⁿgaɮaʔwáj* 'okra':

35	ir	**zwa**	**ⁿgaɮaʔwáj**	tə́	
	place	weed	okra	1EX.POSS	
	our place of cultivating okra				

Participial clauses occur directly after the head noun. If the noun phrase also contains a possessor noun, this follows the participial cclause. The previous example illustrated a possessive pronoun following the participial clause. The next example illustrates the same pattern with the noun *kərá* 'dog':

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participial form. The verb stem in participial constructions does not take directional extensions and the subject is not coded with subject pronouns. This form is discussed further in the chapter on the Sakun verb.

36 ká **da** **ɗwá-tə** **kərá** pə ir=j átʃitʃ̃ij=w
NEG thing eat-OM dog at place=REL DEM.DISTAL=NEG
There is no dog's food at that place.

Evidence that participial clauses are part of the noun phrase include the fact that other nominal morphology follows the clause. In previous examples, the determiner or possessive pronoun followed the participial clause. In the next example the participial clause is followed by plural coding and a relative clause, all of which modify the head noun *da* 'thing':

37 da **ɗwá-tə** **xá=j** pəká-va ⁿda
thing eat-OM PL=REL bring-OUT person
the things to eat that they brought outside

Participial clauses can function alone as the heads of noun phrases. Consider the next example of an equational predication. Equational predications take the form (PREDICATE) (SUBJECT). The participial phrase is the subject of the predication and the whole phrase is modified by the determiner:

38 mə-bəz-ə́n [**ɬa** **zər** **zúŋ**]$_{NP}$ =ju
HAB-bad-NOM take wife one =DET
This marrying of one wife is bad.

4.5 Relativizer *=j*

The most frequent means of modifying a noun phrase after the head noun is through the use of the relativizer, *=j*. The relative clause and the use of the relativizer *=j* in Sakun is

discussed in a separate chapter. This section will provide some examples of the range of clausal elements requiring the use of the relativizer.

Modifying an NP with a verbal predication requires the use of the relativizer. This is the traditional notion of the relative clause. In the next example the object *da* 'thing' of the preposition *pəkə́* 'about' is modified by a clause preceded by the relativizer:

39 pəkə́ **da**-xá **= j** **ɓál-má** **ⁿda** = j ná
about thing-PL = REL mention-UP person = DET TOP
About those things that someone has mentioned, …

In addition to verbal predications, the relativizer is used to include a number of other elements to the NP including: prepositional phrases, demonstratives and dissociative elements coded with *karáa*. The next example illustrates the relativizer with a prepositional phrase. The head noun *kərá* 'dog' takes the relativizer and the prepositional phrase is interpreted as modifying the noun:

40 a dắ-r **kərá = j** **nə** **ʤíf** Lawu
PFV hit-EXT dog = REL with stick Lawu
Lawu hit the dog with the stick (The dog has the stick). [elicited]

The next example illustrates the same utterance as above, but lacking the relativizer:

41 a dắ-r **kərá** Lawu **nə** **ʤíf**
PFV hit-EXT dog Lawu with stick
Lawu hit the dog with the stick (The stick is the instrument of hitting). [elicited]

Without the relativizer, the prepositional phrase functions as an adjunct to the clause and does not modify the noun immediately preceding it. In other words, it is not the case that there are several people named Lawu and the one with the stick hit the dog.

The relativizer is also used when modifying an NP with a demonstrative pronoun. Demonstratives are discussed in more detail with determiners in this chapter. The next example serves to illustrate the use of the relativizer with the demonstrative:

42	a	já-má	tá	vəra	pə	jîm=**j**	**átʃíju**
	PFV	come-UP	3PL	over	at	stone=REL	DEM.DIST

They came up over on that stone over there.

Noun phrases also require the use of the relativizer when adding dissociative elements with the dependent negation particle *kará*. The use of *kará* is discussed in detail in the chapter on negation. The next example illustrates the use the relativizer with the particle modifying the noun *ir* 'place':

43	má	**ir=j**	**kará**	**ka**	ná
	HYP	place=REL	without	3F	TOP

If the place lacks it (guineacorn),

5 Number in Sakun

Number in Sakun can be indicated through a variety of coding means. The plurality of referents can be coded through pluriactional verb forms and through adverbials. Within the

noun phrase, number can be coded through prenominal quantifiers, a plural suffix, suppletive plural forms of nouns when available, reduplication of noun roots and a variety of number related constructions. Nouns in Sakun are best understood as underspecified for number. In other words, a lack of overt plural coding does not mean the referent is automatically understood to be singular. Number is typically recoverable through context. Each coding means that indexes number has a discourse function other than simply coding a plurality of referents.

Numerals are discussed in the next subsection followed by discussion of other number related morphology and constructions.

5.1 Numerals

Numerals can function as quantifiers, nouns or adverbs. They can have reduplicated forms for emphasis or distributive readings. Most frequently numerals function syntactically as adverbs. While they relate to the nouns semantically, they are not syntactically part of the noun phrase of the noun they modify. Numerals do infrequently occur prenominally as quantifiers, however, more typically they follow the noun they modify in an NN Juxtaposition construction or a relative clause. Most frequently numerals occur as an adverb rather than as part of an NP.

5.1.1 Cardinal Numbers

The cardinal numbers 1 to 21 are listed below. In practice the term *twái,* 'one' is not used. Instead *zúŋ,* more correctly 'first' or *kəlí* 'single / alone' occurs instead. For numbers eleven through nineteen (and twenty-one through twenty-nine; etc.) the number begins with the head which states the factor of ten, followed by the addition of the simple number to be added and the term indicating that the simple number is added to the factor of ten, *kə^{m}bə* glossed as 'NUM'. 'One' and 'two' have irregular forms in this construction:

Table 26 Cardinal numbers 1 – 21

1	twái	11	waŋ **tan** kə^{m}bə	21	sara sək tan kə^{m}bə
2	bák	12	waŋ **dúk** (bək) kə^{m}bə		
3	mákən	13	waŋ mákən kə^{m}bə		
4	fwáɗ	14	waŋ fwáɗ kə^{m}bə		
5	ɮám	15	waŋ ɮám kə^{m}bə		
6	məkwa	16	waŋ məkwa kə^{m}bə		
7	máɗáf	17	waŋ máɗáf kə^{m}bə		
8	təkəz	18	waŋ təkəz kə^{m}bə		
9	məɬi	19	waŋ məɬi kə^{m}bə		
10	waŋ	20	sara sək		

Counting from 21 through 29 proceeds in the same manner as 11 through 19, substituting *sara sək* for *waŋ.* The same holds for the 30's through the 90's.

Numbers 30 – 90 are formed by the simple numbers with final consonant deleted, followed by the multiplier *pəsə́k*:

Table 27 Numbers 30 and above.

30	mák pəsə́k	31	mak pəsək tan kə́^{m}bə
40	fwá pəsə́k	100	wasə́k
50	ɮá pəsə́k	200	dú wasə́k
60	məkwa pəsə́k	300	mákən wasə́k
70	mádə́ pəsə́k	1,000	waŋ wasə́k
80	tək pəsə́k	2,000	waŋ wasə́k bák
90	məɬî pəsə́k	3,000	waŋ wasə́k mákən

When numbers are above 100, the preposition *ʃî* 'follow' separates the elements indicating 1-9 from the elements indicating the tens and hundreds. The next example illustrates the number 'one hundred and twenty five':

44	wasə́k	sarasə́k	ʃi	ɮám	kə́^{m}bə
	100	20	follow	5	NUM
	One hundred and twenty five				

When modifying a noun, complex numerals can be disjunct. In the next example, the term *waŋ,* indicating 'ten', is in position as the predicate of an equational predication, but the remainder of the numerals, *dúk kə́^{m}bə* and *fwáḋ kə́^{m}bə* follow the equational predication in the adverbial position:

45	kwá	**waŋ**	va	ka	**dúk**	**kə́^{m}bə**,	**waŋ**	va	ka
	even	ten	year	3F.POSS	two	NUM	ten	year	3F.POSS

fwáɗ	**kə^{m}bə**	mə	tswá-tə	ka
four	NUM	HAB	make-OM	3F

Even if she is twelve years old or fourteen years old, she can make it.

Sakun lacks a specific term for zero. Attempts at elicitation of the term sparked a long debate and the consensus reached was *tə̀kwalkwal* meaning 'having a round shape'. This was in favor of *da^{n}gaɮ́áj* meaning 'egg'. The proponents of the latter argued that the mark for 'zero' is not round, but egg shaped.

5.1.2 Ordinal Numbers

With the exception of 1st, *zúŋ* or *bərá*, the ordinal numbers are derived from the cardinal numbers by the addition of the prefix *gə-*. There is a reduced form of *bák* used in forming the term 'second', *gəbə́*:

Table 28 Ordinal Numbers

1st	zúŋ, bərá	6th	gəmə́kwá
2nd	gəbə́	7th	gəmáɗaf
3rd	gəmakən	8th	gətəkəz
4th	gəfwáɗ	9th	gəməɬî
5th	gəɮ́ám	10th	waŋ

After nine, cardinal numbers are used without the *gə-* prefix. In the next example, 'eleventh' occurs without the *gə-* prefix although 'second' occurs as *gəbə́*:

46	**waŋ**	**tán**	**ká^{m}bə**	rwi,	mək=j	ja	^{n}da	
	ten	one	NUM	boy	3F.FREE=REL	come	person	

ma	^{m}bá-má	ka	təʒî	**gə-bə**
again	again-UP	PURP	Təzhi	ORD-two

(When) the eleventh is a boy, that is why it changes for a second Təzhi.

Actions are generally described with *bərá* rather than *zúŋ*:

47	**bərá**	xaʔî	ba-má	ɣî	kî	pə	dəv	kə́ja	dza-má
	first	here	build-UP	house	2PL	at	flats	before	go-UP

mə	ŋwa
on	mountain

You build a house first on the lower land before you go into the mountain?

Addition can be expressed with the following construction, using the verb *gjaɓ* meaning 'be together':

48	bák	a	kwá	gjaɓ	ba	ma	nə	má	bák
	two	GOAL	2SG	be.together	CONJ	increase	with	UP	two

mək=ĵ	ka	fwáɗ	
3F.FREE=REL	PURP	four	

If you are two and are together increased with two, that is for four.

Subtraction can be expressed with the following construction, using the verb *ɬárá* meaning 'take away':

49	fwáɗ	a	kwá	ɬá-rá	zúŋ	ʒî	ka	mákən

four GOAL 2SG take-CENT one remains 3SG.F three
If you are four and one is taken away, it remains three.

5.1.3 Reduplication of numerals

Numerals can be reduplicated. Sometimes this results in a distributive reading, although often it is used in other contexts, e.g. for emphasis. Simple numerals repeat the root with the final consonant deleted. Questioning the same domain can also result in the interrogative pronoun being reduplicated as well. The following examples all come from the same discussion of cattle. In the first example the interrogative pronoun for questioning number is reduplicated:

50 **taná.taná** va ɮə tá xá^{n}dʒiga tʃivi=j î-rá
how.many.REDUP year bull 3PL.POSS now way=REL see-CENT

kî
2PL
How many years is their bull based on what you've seen?

In the next two examples, the questioned numbers are reduplicated:

51 da já-va ɮə tá **mákmákən** va ka
FUT come-OUT bull 3PL.POSS three.three year 3F.POSS
Their bull will come out three year.

52 **bábák** va ɮə tá
two.two year bull 3PL.POSS

Their bull is a two-year bull.

Compare with the following example where the non-reduplicated form is used:

53 **“ʁám** va ka ka” á ŋî
five year 3F.POSS 3F say 1EX
We say “It’s a five year (bull).”

When the numeral is adverbial it also does not have to have a distributive reading, although it can. In the next two examples, the first lacks a distributive reading whereas the second does have a distributive reading:

54 tʃá, kwaɓá ŋá mə bə́gə́və́ dza-xa nájra **ʁá.ʁám**
here money 1SG.POSS HAB move go-DOWN NGN five.five
Here, my money is falling down, five naira. (One NGN5 note is falling)

Composite numerals reduplicate the root minus final consonant of each element, except the multiplier:

55 kîŋ ⁿdu ná, mə ijá-má ⁿda na-r kwá
many person TOP HAB reach-UP until get-EXT 2SG

wa.wáŋ ʁá.ʁám kə́ᵐbə
ten.ten five.five NUM
If you are many, you can get fifteen (for each team).

The distributive reading generally falls out from context. To emphasize a distributive reading, the numeral will be stated and then repeated in its reduplicated form:

56 **bák** **bá.bák** sə́-m ⁿda ɮáwa
two two.two drink-EXT person yesterday
They scored two each yesterday.

Numerals have a special counting specifier, *tʃitʃik*. This term can follow a numeral indicating "this number and not more":

57 bák **tʃitʃik**
two only
two only

There is also a noun, *zəgəj,* which translates roughly as 'times' or 'occurences' used for counting actions. This noun must be followed by, or precede a numeral:

58 kwá **zəgəj** **mákən**
even time three
Even three times.

59 a də́-rá=n **zúŋ** **zəgəj**
PFV cook-CENT=1SG one time
I cooked it one time.

5.1.4 Numerals functioning as quantifiers

Numerals can function as quantifiers, preceding the nouns they modify. The following example contains an equational predication. The noun *va* is the head of the NP. The head is preceded by the numeral and followed by a possessive pronoun. The second pronoun is the subject of the equational predication.

60 “ [ɮám va ka]$_{NP}$ ka” á ŋî
five year 3F.POSS 3F say 1EX
We say “It’s a five year (bull).”

5.1.5 Numerals in the Noun Phrase

Numerals can function as modifiers in a juxtaposition construction. As with other nominal modifiers, numerals occur between the head noun and the determiner. This is illustrated in the next example:

61 jîm kəlî kə́ dzə **ʔjak^{w}** **bák=ju**
stone single REF kill bird two=DET
A single stone, (it) kills two birds.

Further evidence that the numeral is functioning as a modifier in this position comes from the use with –a MOD class nouns. In the next example, the second numeral *wásə́k sarasə́k* is modifying *zər* ‘wife’ and triggers the modifed form of the noun, *zər-a*:

62 bák=ĵ ʒi, amá a ɬa-má=n **zər-a** **wásə́k sarasə́k**
two=REL remain but PFV take-UP=1SG wife-MOD one.hundred.twenty

ʃi
follow
Only two remain, but I married hundred and twenty wives.

In cases where a numeral could appear in a similar position but in an adverbial function, the *–a* MOD marker is absent as in the next example:

63 mája dza ^{n}du ɬa **zər** **bák**

before go person take wife.SG two
Before a person marries two wives,

5.2 Plural morphology

The coding of nouns as plural is not obligatory in Sakun. Coding means for plurals include a small class of nouns with suppletive plural forms, a plural suffix and the reduplication of nouns. There are also a set of constructions specific to the coding of a plurality of referents.

5.2.1 Plural nouns

Most nouns in Sakun are not marked for plurality. However there is a small class of nouns which show irregular singular/plural alternations. All of the nouns found to date have human referents. These are outlined in the following table:

Table 29 Nouns with suppletive plural forms.

SG	PL	
zər	ʒîrî	*wife*
dəm	dəgwam	*girl*
maɮax	maɮîxə	*husband*
ɗai	i	*blacksmith caste*
ᵐbəɮə́v	ᵐbáɮávaj	*initiate*
mə́kə́r	makáráj	*thief*
gəla	gəlîxə	*age-mate*
rwi	vərʃîn	*child*

This set of nouns forms its own class with distinct modification patterns discussed earlier in the chapter.

5.2.2 The plural suffix *–xá*

The suffix *– xá* only occurs with plural referents, although not every reference to a plurality requires the use of *–xá.* The plural morpheme *–xá* never occurs without being followed by either a possessive pronoun, a relativizer or a determiner:

64 kərá-**xá** = ju
dog-PL-DET
These dogs

Plural referents don't always require *–xá-* . Compare the following examples. In the first, the plural form of woman, *ʒîrî*, takes *-xá*:

65 **ʒírí-xá = j** pə giwa, mə já tá ka dɔ́ ɗaf ɣî
wife.PL-PL = REL in village HAB come 3PL PURP cook food house
The women in the neighborhood, they are coming to cook food at the compound.

But in the next example the plural form of woman does not:

66 **ʒírí = j** ɓɔ́n-tə
wife.PL = REL do-OM
It is women that do it (in contrast to men).

In the example without *-xá*, the reference is to women in general. In the first example, where *ʒîrî* takes *–xá,* a specific group of women – those in the neighborhood – are being contrasted with other possible groups of women (*e.g.* women from the person's clan).

The suffix *–xá* codes not simply plural. The suppletive form of the noun would be sufficient for that function. The suffix *–xá* presupposes contrast with a topical group of the same type. In the next example *sákun* takes the *–xá* suffix even though *sákun* has no suppletive plural form:

67	nə	sákun-**xá**=j	ká=j	má	ɣî	ja	tá	kulə́
	with	Sakun-PL=DET	REF= REL	up	house	own	3PL.POSS	grave

The Sakun on top have their own grave there.

In the above example the group of Sakun being refered to is in contrast with with other Sakun living down on the flats.

When a noun takes both a possessor and the plural marker, the plural marker occurs after the possessor. In the next example, the plural marker occurs between the possessive pronoun *ta* and the determiner *=ju*:

68	tu,	ja-rá	mamáʃ	ka	gjá-rá	**da**	**ta**	**xá=ju**
	so	come-CENT	quick	PURP	help-CENT	thing	2SG.POSS	PL=DET

So, come quickly to repair these your things.

There is also a special pattern restricted to human referent where *–xá* occurs before the possessor and repeats after the possessor. The previous example had a non-human referent, *da*

'thing', and *xá* appeared once, after the possessor. However in the next example *xá* occurs first between the head noun and the possessor, then again between the possessor and the relativizer:

69	xu	já	**ⁿda-xá-tə́**	**xá = j**	dʒámdʒámak	ɣalaj	na
	when	come	person-PL-1IN.POSS	PL = REL	big.REDUP	long.ago	Q
	When the elders came long ago?						

5.2.3 Reduplication

Another means of indicating the plurality of referents on the noun is through the full reduplication of the root. The following example illustrates the noun *ijuk*^{w} 'goat' in its reduplicated form:

70	má	**ijuk^{w}.ijuk^{w}**	mə	tsə́-tə	ka
	when	goat.REDUP	HAB	catch-OM	3F
	When it is catching only many goats.				

The coding of plurality by reduplication has the function of indicating the exclusion of types other than those of the noun, i.e. *only* this type of thing. In the above example with the goats, the speaker was indicating that he only knew of leopards catching goats, not sheep, cattle, baboons or other things. Likewise, consider the following example. Someone was bragging that they were catching many kinds of small animals. The speaker in the following example is conceding the point with regard to squirrels, but expressing doubt about rats:

71	má	**magan.magan**	mə	tsə́-tə	kwá
	HYP	**squirrel.REDUP**	HAB	catch-OM	2SG

amá kúm á kwá mə tsə́-r = w
but rat NEG 2SG HAB catch-EXT = NEG
(Maybe) You are catching many squirrels, but rats you cannot catch.

When nouns are modifying another noun through juxtaposition, the reduplication of the modifying noun can cause the noun to be interpreted idiomatically. Examples of this pattern are from elicitation, as no examples were found in the corpus:

72 da fwájfwáj
thing tree.REDUP
Thing made of wood

The above example differs from a non-reduplicated reading in that *da* 'thing' is not part of the tree. Compare with the next examples where *fwáj* is not reduplicated:

73 lapalə́j fwáj
bark tree
Bark of a tree

74 ɮə́^{m}bur fwáj
hollow tree
Hollow of a tree

There are too few examples to make any generalization about the function of reduplication of the modifying noun. Some of the meanings appear idiomatic. Two more examples are provided below:

75 da twátwá
thing skin.REDUP

Something a skin can be taken from.

76 ir jîmjîm
place stone.REDUP
A stony place

5.2.4 Associative plural /və́/

The associative marker *və́* precedes a noun, typically a proper name, and indicates that those associated with the person or group are included. In the following example, Hacu and his people are indicated by *və́ xatʃju*:

77 náx a ja-rá **və́** **xátʃju**
when PFV come-CENT ASSOC Hacu
When Hacu's people came away,

The NP *və́ xátʃju* may or may not include Hacu himself and in many instances would not.

5.2.5 Inclusive plural

The inclusive plural marker, *tata*, is used with numerals or plural pronouns to indicate that the number or group referred to includes the entire group. This function is contrasted with simple use of a numeral in the following two examples:

78 a sə́ ʒîrî ŋá bák tata
PFV know wife.PL 1SG.POSS two inclusive
My wives know, both of them. (presupposes only two wives)

79 a sə́ ʒîrî ŋá bák
PFV know wife.PL 1SG.POSS two
My wives know, two of them. (presupposes three or more wives)

5.2.6 Inclusiory pronouns

As is common in Biu-Mandara languages, Sakun has an assymetrical coordination construction. In this construction two (potentially) singular referents are indexed by a plural pronoun – here referred to as an *inclusiory pronoun*. One of the referents is then stated in a coordinated phrase. The English phrase 'John and I' would be expressed in Sakun as 'We with John'. In the next example, both noun phrases are stated along with the plural pronoun indexing both referents:

80 xá gəma dwa **tá** nə gəma rwa=j ná,
as.for word Dwa 3PL with word Rwa=DET TOP
This Rwa language and Dwa language,

Again in the next example, two singular referents - Fəla and Dəva - are coded with a single plural pronoun, *tá*:

81 tu, xá və́ Fəla **tá** nə Dəvə́=j ná,
so as.for ASSOC Fəla 3PL with Dəvə=DET TOP
So, what of Fəla and Dəvə,

Both noun phrases need not be stated. The plural pronoun and the coordinated prepositional phrase can also be disjunct as illustrated by the next example:

82 ⁿzáp a dza **tá** ᵐba gi tsú **nə** **ⁿdʒaməŕ** **kʷkwá**
IP.meet PFV go 3PL again meet again with Njamər DET
They meet with Njamər again (only two including *Njamər*).

5.2.7 "Exclusive" construction

The pattern of *bá* 'up to' followed by a pronoun taking a determiner is used to indicate the referent is the only referent in contrast to other possible referents. Typically this construction is used in response to an inquiry about additional items:

83 **bá** **tá = ju**
up.to 3PL = DET
These are the only ones.

84 **bá** **ka = ju**
up.to 3F = DET
This is the only one.

A pronoun is necessary. The use of pronouns from the subject pronominal paradigm rather than the free pronominal paradigm indicates that *bá* is not a preposition, as prepositions require free pronouns as objects. In cases where the nominal referent must be stated, a relative clause is added to the pronoun as in the next example:

85 bá **ka = j** **kərá = ju**
up.to 3F = REL dog = DET
This is the only dog.

This construction can be compared with the more typical usage of *ba* in temporal clauses, indicating a span from a time in the past to the point given:

86 bá bəná
up.to today
Up to today.

6 Determiners

Determiners can head noun phrases or modify more complex noun phrases. When they are modifying an NP, they occur at the right edge of NPs. There are two determiners in Sakun, *=ju* and *kʷkwa*. The determiner *=ju* functions broadly to code topicality and recoverability from context. The determiner *kʷkwa* specifically codes previous mention. The placement in the NP and allomorphic variation of these morphemes are discussed below along with a brief discussion of the demonstratives. The function of determiners will be discussed in more detail in the chapter on the reference system.

6.1 The *=ju* determiner

The determiner *=ju* and its allomorph *=j* are clitics which merge with the noun phrase they modify and cause the final consonant of the host to geminate if the word is consonant final. The intonation phrase internal form of the determiner has the same form as the relativizer. However, the determiner is always on the rightmost edge of the noun phrase – even

if the noun phrase is in the middle of a larger intonation phrase triggering the deletion of the final vowel on the determiner – while the relativizer is never the final element of an NP. The following figure illustrates the various forms of the determiner along with the gemination of the final consonant of the element to which the clitic is bound:

Figure 5 Gemination with determiner clitics.

Root	Phrase internal	Phrase final	Gloss
ⁿguləm	ⁿgu.ləm.məj	ⁿgu.ləm.mju	*that voice*
dʒîf	dʒîf.fəj	dʒîf.fju	*that stick*
kə́ɗ	kə́ɗ.ɗəj	kə́ɗ.ɗju	*that ending*
dəm-a	də.maj	də.ma.ju	*that girl*

The realization of *=ju* as either [*=j*] or [*=ju*] is conditioned by the placement of the morpheme within the intonation phrase. The allomorph [*=ju*] occurs in the phrase final position of an intonation phrase:

87 tsə́j=j da ɬá dəm-a=**ju**
3SG.M=REL FUT lift girl.SG-MOD=DET
It is he that will marry that girl.

The phrase final form is again illustrated in the next example:

88 á **zər-a=ju**
say wife.SG-MOD=DET
That wife said.

Compare the above example with the next example which has more phonological material following the speaker:

89	á	**zər-a = j**	kə́	tsə̀j	
	say	wife.SG-MOD = DET	REF	3M.FREE	
	That wife said to him.				

Further evidence that the alternation is conditioned by placement in the intonation phrase rather than the morphosyntactic environment comes from the following excerpt from a narrative where the speaker repeated himself. In the first instantiation of the utterance, the wife takes *=j*, in the second, the wife takes *=ju*. The rest of the phrase is the same, the only difference being an intonation break at 'the wife' in the second example:

90	ɣî	ᵐbə	**zər-a = j**	ká	ka	mə	kə́
	compound	within	wife.SG-MOD = DET	NEG	3F	HAB	see
	ir = j	vəra	pə́ntʃa = w				
	place = REL	across	outside = NEG				
	…the wife inside the compound, she can not see anyplace outside.						

91	ɣî	ᵐbə	**zər-a = ju,**	ká	ka	mə	kə́
	compound	within	wife.SG-MOD = DET	NEG	3F	HAB	see
	ir = j	vəra	pə́ntʃa = w				
	place = REL	across	outside = NEG				
	…the wife inside the compound, she can not see anyplace outside.						

The functionality of the determiner *=ju* is discussed in detail in the chapter on the reference system.

6.2 The *kʷkwá* determiner

The other determiner, *kʷkwá,* is in contrastive distribution with *=ju.* This determiner, *kʷkwá,* refers specifically to a discourse topic. The next example illustrates *kʷkwá* modifying *pîs* 'day':

92 **pís** **kʷkwá** ná
day DET TOP
On that day, (at that time we are talking about)

The determiner *kʷkwá* occurs after the head noun and other modifying elements except for the relativizer. In the next example the determiner *kʷkwá* falls between the possessive pronoun *ta* and the relativizer:

93 a bi **zər-a** **ta** **kʷkwá=j** də-rá zwá
PFV NEG.COND wife-MOD 2SG.POSS DET=REL cook-CENT beer

kʷkwá ná,
DET TOP
If it is not this your wife who cooked this brown beer, …

The determiner *kʷkwá* does not cliticize to a host but does generally occur in the same syntactic position as the other determiner *=ju.* The determiner *kʷkwá* cannot modify a noun

also modified by the determiner *=j*. In the above example, the *=j* following *kʷkwá* is the relativizer, not the determiner. The function of *kʷkwá* is discussed in more detail in the chapter on the reference system.

6.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Sakun occur phrase final and require the use of a relativizer in the noun phrase to be integrated into the NP. Demonstratives do not occur in the same noun phrase as the other two determiners. The next example illustrates an NP modified by the distal demonstrative, *átʃíj*:

94	má	dzá	ka	gə́t-rá		**túr**	**ka=j**	**átʃíj**	ná
	HYP	go	3F	hide-VENT		tail	3F. POSS=REL	DEM.DIST	TOP
	When it goes and hides that its tail,								

Demonstratives have two allomorphs. In intonation phrase internal position, the final high back rounded vowel, /u/, is deleted. The phrase internal form with the deleted vowel is in the previous example. This is the same pattern as found with the determiner *=ju* discussed above. The next example illustrates the intonation phrase final form of the distal demonstrative with final vowel present:

95	a	já-má	tá	vəra	pə	jîm=j	**átʃíju**
	PFV	come-UP	3PL	over	at	stone=REL	DEM.DIST
	They came up over on that stone over there.						

Demonstratives have forms to distinguish between proximate and distal deixis. These forms are outlined in the following table:

Table 30 Demonstrative forms

	Phrase final	*Phrase internal*	*Reduplicated form*
PROXIMATE	tʃ̃iju	tʃ̃ij	tʃitʃ̃íj(u)
DISTAL	átʃ̃iju	átʃ̃ij	átʃitʃ̃ij(u)

The distance refered to here can be either physical location or discourse status, with proximate being more topical than distal. These functions will be addressed in the chapter on the reference system. The reduplicated form adds emphasis to either proximity or distance.

The separation of the relativizer from the demonstrative is evident in clauses where the demonstrative is modifying an NP which includes a relative clause. The demonstrative will modify the head noun rather than the noun immediately preceding it. In this situation, the noun immediately preceding the demonstrative will not have the relativizer. The relativizer does not need to be repeated in any way to include both a relative clause and a demonstrative to the same NP. This is ilustrated in the following two examples:

96	ŋə́ná	**da=j**	já	xa	kərá	**átʃíj**	wá
	where	thing=REL	come	as	dog	DEM.DIST	Q
	Where is that thing coming like a dog?						

In the above example, *kərá* lacks the relativizer and the demonstrative is understood to modify the head of the NP, *da,* rather than 'dog'. In the next example, again the demonstrative modifies the head of the NP, *jím* 'stone':

97	**jím**	mə-dʒamak-ən	xá = **j**	pəka	kî	**tʃitʃíji**	ná
	stone	HAB-big-NOM	PL = REL	collect	2PL	DEM.PROX	TOP
	These big stones that you collect, …						

7 Conclusion

The general structure of the noun phrase in Sakun is that of Head Modifier. Nominal modifiers can follow the head noun without further morphological coding but verbal and prepositional modifiers require placement within a relative clause. Sakun lacks a separate category of adjective. Derivational and inflectional morphology is very limited and nouns are not coded for grammatical gender in the noun phrase. The functionality of many of the coding means outlined here in the noun phrase chapter will be taken up again in the chapter on the reference system since their domain of function is manipulating the discourse-pragmatic status of referents.

CHAPTER 4 THE VERB AND ITS FORMS

1 Introduction

This chapter describes the verbal root and the morphological processes involved in deriving the the verbal stem in the Sakun clause. Morphological processes involved in deriving the verbal stem include suffixation and reduplication. There is tone shift on the suffixes when there are several interacting. However, Sakun does not exhibit tonal coding of aspectual categories. Suffixes include object pronouns, object markers, derivational extensions, and the progressive marker. Reduplication is involved in the formation of pluractional stems. Repetition of the verb root is involved in the formation of contrastive stems and intensive stems. Auxiliary verbs can be added to a clause and they then form the reference point for subject placement in the clause. Participial constructions can be formed with roots lacking any extension, but the roots undergo no change to indicate they are nominalized.

2 Verb stem formation

The verb stem consists minimally of a root in order to function in a clause as the predicate. The next example illustrates the root *ɓə́n* ‘do’ in the imperative:

1	**ɓə́n**	və́na	ɣə́n=j	pəkə́	da=j	tʃ̃iju
	do	2PL.IMP	work=DET	about	thng=REL	DEM.PROX

Do this work about this thing!

In addition to the root, the formation of verb stems can involve a range of morphological processes. In the next example the verb root *pat* 'rub' has undergone reduplication and takes both an object pronoun and a derivational extension:

2	a	kwá	**papat-ta-má**	xanáwa	á	ka,
	SBJV	3F	rub.PL-3PL.OBJ-UP	HON.say	say	3F

You should go and rub them." it said.

The basic structure of the verb stem follows the following template:

[ROOT] - [OBJ coding] - [extension] - [PROG]

The root can undergo reduplication to form pluractional stems. Object coding can exhibit tone alternations coding the presence or absence of arguments in the clause. The verb root can be repeated in different ways to code different functions. Each of these elements and processes of the stem are discussed below, starting with the verb root.

2.1 The verb root

Verb roots tend to be monosyllabic, although there are a few examples of disyllabic roots such as *pʼka* 'collect', *ɬʼmá* 'buy', and *tsakál* 'gather'. The majority of monosyllabic roots are of the form C(C)V although there are many examples of roots with closed syllables C(C)VC, e.g. *bʼn* 'do', *pʼt* 'confuse', *tsaɬ* 'cut' and *gún* 'open' as well as simple V roots such as

î 'look', *u* 'get' and *á* 'say'. As can be seen from the above examples, verb roots do not exhibit a distinctive tone pattern. Lexical tone on verb roots varies widely. Monosyllabic roots can be either H or L tone. Polysyllabic roots display a variety of tone patterns. Examples of monosyllabic verb roots illustrating the range of forms are provided in the following table:

Table 31 Verb Roots

SYLLABLE STRUCTURE	UNDERLYING FORM	GLOSS
V	u	*get*
V´	î	*look*
CV	ɓa	*call*
CV´	ɬá	*take*
CV´C	gún	*open*
CCV´C	kwár	*dry*
C	ɬ	*stand*
C ´	s´	*know*
CC ´	ts´	*catch*
C ´C	ɓ´n	*do*

The verb root can be found by taking a verb stem with a derivational extension. The root is defined as the part of the stem which combines with the extension. Verb stems can and often do appear without extensions. The form which appears is almost always equivalent to the form of the root found by taking a stem with an extension and removing the extension. There is a single verb, / *ʒîn* / 'remain', which has a form without an extension that is not identical to the root found through a derived stem. The verb / *ʒîn* / is common and generally appears

without an extension. However, without an extension the verb is lacking the final /n/ of the root:

3	a	də́k-va	ka	ɣə́n,	**ʒi**	ka	dʒî́wu
	PFV	pick-OUT	3F	bean	remain	3F	small
	It (Hyena) had picked the beans (until) they remained few.						

With an extension however, the full root is apparent:

4	a	də́gə́vu	**ʒin**-rá	xádə	ka	ba	pəsar	ka
	SEQ	hyena	remain-CENT	chest	3F.POSS	CONJ	thigh	3F.POSS
	Then Hyena kept its chest and its thigh (of the butchered goat).							

The absence of the root final /n/ is not phonologically driven. For example, *bîn-rá* 'tie-CENT' has a similar form as *ʒin-rá*. However, when the root appears without an extension, the form is [bîn] not *[bî].

There are a few verbs with suppletive root forms coding aspectual and modal distinctions. The verbs *dza* 'go' and *ja* 'come' have the forms *ru* and *ju* respectively in the subjunctive. The verb *dza* 'go' also has an alternate root *ra* in the perfective. The form and function of these alternate forms are discussed in more detail in the chapter on tense, aspect and modality.

2.2 Object pronouns

The verb stem can include object pronouns. When object pronouns are added to the stem, they occur directly after the root, before the addition of a derivational extension if present. The next example illustrates the root *u* 'get' with an object pronoun followed by a derivational extension:

5	a	ka	**u-tʃa**-r	xán
	SBJV	3F	get-3M.OBJ-EXT	like.this
	Let it get for him like this.			

The form and function of the object pronouns are discussed in detail in the chapter on argument coding and again in the chapter on the reference system.

2.3 Object markers

Verb stems can also have object markers in lieu of object pronouns. A verb stem that has an object marker cannot also take an object pronoun and vice versa. There are two forms of the object marker. The object marker *-a-* occurs when the root and object marker are followed by a derivational extension. The object marker *-t* occurs when the verb stem does not have a derivational extension. The following example illustrates both forms of the object marker being used in parallel clauses. The verb root *xə́n* in the first clause takes the extension *rá*

'CENT' and thus has the *–a-* object marker between the root and the extension. The second example of the root *hə́n* does not take an extension and has the *–tə* object marker:

6 má **hə́n-a-rá** ⁿda vja
HYP slaughter-OM-CENT person this.year

ká ⁿda da **hə́n-tə** ʃiʃá=w
NEG person FUT slaughter-OM next.year=NEG

ʃimî ná, va damaj ʃiʃá
because TOP year Damai next.year
When people slaughter (it) this year, they will not slaughter it next year. The reason being the next year is the year of Damai.

The form and function of the object markers are discussed in detail in the chapter on argument coding and again in the chapter on the reference system.

2.4 Extensions

Verb roots in Sakun may take one or more derivational extensions. Many of these extensions have directional meaning when used with verbs of motion: e.g. *-má* 'UP' or *-xá* 'DOWN' . With verbs other than verbs of motion, the derived meanings are idiosyncratic and unpredictable. For example, the root *tʃĭd* means 'to leak'. When combined with the extension *-xá* 'DOWN' *tʃĭd-xá* means 'to filter'. However, when combined with *-má* 'UP', *tʃĭd-má* means 'to coil'. The verbal extensions and their functions are outlined in the following table:

Table 32 Verbal extensions

Extension	Function		Extension	Function
-má	UP		-^{m}ta	TO.BUSH
-xá	DOWN		-tʃikə́	SPREAD
-va	OUT		-j	DIR[1]
-vá	ACROSS		-r	EXT[1]
-rá	CENT		-m	EXT[1]
-kə́	VENT		-ń	NOM
-ɣə	INTO		-v	PASS
-ʃi	TO		-və́	REFL
			-^{n}də́	PRT

[1]Note: EXT is simply an abbreviation for extension as the function of the –r/-m extension is far from clear. DIR is an abbreviation for 'direction'. This extension only occurs with *dza* 'go' and is used when the direction of motion is unspecified.

Most of the derivational extensions have a directional aspect to their meaning. However some of them have functions interacting with other aspects of the grammatical system. The passive exentsion, *-v* 'PASS', and the reflexive extension, *-və́* 'REFL', are discussed in the chapter on argument coding. The nominalizing extension, *-n* 'NOM', is discussed below and again in the chapter on the noun phrase. The partitive extension, *-^{n}də́* PART, occurs only with transitive clauses and indicates that the object is not completely affected. For example, the partitive extension with the verb *sə́* 'to drink' indicates that some liquid remains, available for consumption, after each episode of drinking:

7 má sə́-**^{n}də́** ɬidî tám ná, dzá=j ná sə́-**^{n}də́** má ŋwa
HYP drink-PRT chief now TOP go=DET TOP drink-PRT up on
When the chief has drunk, each goes and drinks up on (that place).

Verbal extensions tend to exhibit a correlation with the telicity of events, or the viewing of the event as bounded or completed. However, unlike Margi (Hoffmann 1963: 115-16), the verbal extensions in Sakun do not code perfective aspect directly. Rather, any aspectual effect is indirect. In English, the quantification of an object noun can affect aspectual interpretations of the clause. For example, *'I am drinking a calabash of beer'* is bounded while '*I drank beer'* is unbounded despite the aspectual coding of each clause. Likewise, the verbal extensions in Sakun typically associate with a bounded view of an event, yet can occur with imperfective aspectual markers such as the habitual marker *mə* and the progressive suffix *-j*. Conversely, perfective clauses can have verbs without extensions.

Further evidence that the extensions in general do not code perfective aspect directly includes the fact that even without the preverbal habitual marker *mə*, verbs with extensions can still have a habitual reading:

8	kwáwani	da = j	**ɓə́n-má**	kwá,	ká	ŋîwun	ŋwá = w
	whatever	thing = REL	do-UP	2SG	NEG	medicine	on = NEG

á = ka mə ɓə́n-v́ = w
NEG = 3F HAB do-PASS = NEG
Whatever thing that you do, without insecticide on it, it will not produce a good yield.

Generally a verbal stem will have only a single extension. However there are a few examples of –və 'REFL' combining with other extensions such as with *-rá* 'CENT' in the following example:

9	xáŋi	ⁿda	xáⁿdʒiga	ná,	a	já	tá	ᵐbar-**rá-və́**
	some	person	now	TOP	PFV	come	3PL	turn-**CENT-REFL**

pəkə́ mə́ ná,
about 1IN.FREE TOP
Some people have come and changed on us.

Not every verb root can combine with every extension. For example, the directional extension *–ᵐta* 'to the bush' only combines with the root *dza* 'to go' and its perfective form *ra*.

There are three extensions whose pairing with roots are in complementary distribution. In other words, verb roots in Sakun fall roughly into four classes based on the extensions they can combine with. The majority of verbs can combine with the extension *–r*. There is a small set of verbs which can combine with the extension *–m*. There is a set of verbs which can combine with the nominalizing extension *–n*. Finally there is a small set of verbs which do not combine with any of the above. The function of the extensions *–m* and *–r* is not clear. They do not appear to combine with verbs of motion so a directional meaning is not readily transparent. The extensions *–r* and *–m* do not appear to be restricted to morpho-syntactic environments which distinguish them from other extensions. The following table presents a

complete list of the verb roots which combine with *–m* and a sample of the roots which combine with *–r* for comparison:

Table 33 -r and -m class verbs

ROOT	ROOT *-r*	MEANING
tsə́	tsə́-r	*hold/catch*
ɓá	ɓá-r	*call*
î	î-r	*see*
u	u-r	*get*
bats	bats-r	*get a little*
də́k	də́k-r	*gather*
dlə́má	dlə́má-r	*sell*
tsáɬ	tsáɬ-r	*cut wood*
ɓə́n	ɓə́n-r	*do/make*

ROOT	ROOT *-m*	MEANING
sə	sə-m	*drink*
fə́	fə́-m	*put*
ƪá	ƪá-m	*say*
pəra	pəra-m	*sell*
rîn	rîn-m	*cry/funeral*
ɬá/ɬjá	ɬá-m/ɬjá-m	*hear*
kər	kər-m	*steal*

Noun can be derived from one class of verbs through the use of the nominalizing extension *–ń* along with the habitual marker *mə* preceding the verb. The extension –ń has an underlying high tone associated with it and derived nominals always have a high tone on the final syllable. Verbs with the *–ń* extension typically function as either the predicate of an equational predication or as a nominal modifier in a noun phrase. A derived noun functioning as a predicate nominal in an equational predication is illustrated in the next example:

10 **mə-báj-ə́n** ʃîga
HAB-wash-NOM pot
The pot is a washed one.

The next example illustrates the use of a derived noun modifying the head of a noun phrase:

11	jîm	**mə-dʒamak-ə́n**	xá=j	pə́ka	kî	tʃitʃîji	ná
	stone	HAB-big.PL-NOM	PL=REL	collect	2PL	DEM	TOP
	These big stones that you collect,							

The following table presents a list of verb roots which can combine with the nominalizing extension *–ń*:

Table 34 Verbs taking the extension –ń

ROOT	GLOSS	NOMINAL	GLOSS
nəx	*ripen*	mə nəxə́n	*ripened*
lwá	*make calm*	mə lwán	*calmed*
gún	*open*	mə gúnə́n	*opened*
i^{n}zá	*sit*	mə i^{n}zán	*sitting*
báj	*wash*	mə bájə́n	*cleaned*
gə́n	*help*	mə gə́nə́n	*helped*
kaɓ	*make tense*	mə kaɓə́n	*tensed*
^{n}dás	*stand*	mə ^{n}dásə́n	*standing*
dzax	*make clear*	mə dzaxə́n	*clear*
njáɓnjaɓ	*make soft*	mə njáɓnjaɓə́n	*softened*
ɓə	*make good*	mə ɓə́n	*good*
gwaʒi	*mix in*	mə gwaʒîn	*mixed in*
pən	*roast*	mə pənə́n	*roasted*
tsuf	*protect*	mə tsufə́n	*protected*
bə́gə́	*put around*	mə bə́gə́n	*put around*
dʒamak	*be.big*.PL	mə dʒamakə́n	*big.ones*.PL

The function and distribution of nominalized verbs with –ń are discussed further in the chapter on the noun phrase.

In addition to verbs which take either *-r*, *-m,* or *-n*, there is a small class of verbs which do not combine with any of these three extensions. These roots are presented in the following table. The roots which do not combine with *-r*, *-m,* or *-n*, but do combine with other extensions (e.g. *–xá*, *-rá*, *-má*, etc…) are listed under group A. Verb roots which do not combine with any extensions whatsoever are listed under group B:

Table 35 Verbs which do not combine with either –r, -m or -n

GROUP A			GROUP B	
yá	*come*		sə́	*know*
dza	*go*		ɬə	*stand/start off*
ivî	*lie down*		ma	*want*
ji	*give birth*			
zár	*search*			
kə́	*see*			
dzwa	*move*			

The verb roots in group A above can combine with extensions other than *-r*, *-m,* or *-n.* Thus examples such as *zár-má* ‘search-UP’ and *ji-xá* ‘birth-DOWN’ are common in the corpus.

2.5 Progressive forms of the verb

The progressive aspect is coded by the verb root followed by the progressive suffix *-j* and then the repetition of the verb root. The next example illustrates the progressive with the verb root *ɬá* 'take':

12 **ɬá-j ɬá** tʃá xaʔì
take-PROG take 3M here
He is taking (it) now [pointing at child]

Verbal stems with extensions can also take the progressive suffix. In this case, the progressive suffix comes after the extension of the first stem as illustrated in the next example:

13 má **ja-vá-j ja-vá** kwá ná,
when come-OUT-PROG come-OUT 2SG TOP
Immediately when you come out,

The progressive stem is discussed in more detail with progressive aspect in the chapter on tense, aspect and modality.

2.6 Pluractional verb forms

The reduplication of the onset of the first syllable of a verbal root yields what will be referred to as the pluractional form of the verb. As is common in Chadic languages, verbs have alternate plural forms when there is a plurality of the most affected argument or repetition of the action. In Sakun, the regular production of this form of the verb is the result of

reduplication of all segments of the root except for a final consonant. Thus, if the root ends in a vowel, the full root is reduplicated. If the root ends in a consonant, the final consonant is not repeated. Examples of the derivation of pluractional forms of verbs are provided in the following table:

Table 36 Pluractional verb forms.

ROOT		PLURACTIONAL STEM	PHONETIC FORM	MEANING
/ɓá/	→	/ɓá ɓá/	[ɓá.ɓá]	*call*.PL
/ⁿzwa/	→	/ⁿzwa ⁿzwa/	[ⁿzwa.ⁿzwa]	*put*.PL
/ṕt/	→	/ṕ ṕ t/	[pɔ́.pɔ́t]	*confuse*.PL
/tsáɬ/	→	/tsá tsá ɬ/	[tsá.tsáɬ]	*cut*.PL
/bîn/	→	/bî bî n/	[bî.bîn]	*tie*.PL
/ɗwá/	→	/ɗwáɗwá/	[ɗwá.ɗwá]	*eat*.PL
/ɓx/	→	/ɓ ɓx/	[ɓə.ɓəx]	*break*.PL
/tsáɗ/	→	/tsá tsáɗ/	[tsá.tsáɗ]	*dig*.PL
/ɗ́k/	→	/ɗ́ ɗ́k/	[dɔ́.dɔ́k]	*pick*.PL

Pluractional verb stems can take extensions, but the extensions do not factor into the reduplication. This is illustrated in the following two examples:

14 fə-má fəfə-má
put-UP put.PL-UP

15 ᵐba ᵐbaᵐba-və
turn turn.PL-REFL
wander aimlessly

In most cases the pluractional form of the verb is derived from the root through a regular process of reduplication. However, there are a few examples from the corpus of suppletive pluractional forms. These form are listed in the following table:

Table 37 Irregular pluractional forms

Root	Pluractional form	Meaning
kir	ʔjat	*bite*.PL
dzə́	ⁿdʒjá	*kill*.PL
di	dʒamák	*be.big*.PL
təŋ-kə́	təŋtəŋ-kə́	*move*.PL-VENT

Pluractional verb forms can occur with repeated actions or plural objects. Pluractional verb forms often have a distributional reading when paired with plural objects. In the next example, the action of rubbing is repeated one by one with each child that had eaten beans:

16 a kwá **papat-ta-má** xanáwa á ka,
SBJV 3F rub.PL-3PL.OBJ-UP HON.say say 3F

bá dza ka **papat-ta-má** ɓa=j kə́ vərʃ̂in ka
then go 3F rub.PL-3PL.OBJ-UP soup=DET REF child.PL 3F.POSS
You should go and rub them." it said. Then it went and rubbed its children with that ɓa soup.

Likewise in the next example the action of taking life is understood to have happened separately for each possible referent:

17 ɮa ⁿda-xá=j kə́=j wás ʒigəla mə **ɓaɓa-r**
only person-PL=DET REF=REL already god HAB call.PL-EXT

saf tá
life 3PL.POSS
It is only those that God has already called their life.

When there is an intransitive predication with a singular subject, the action is clearly the element of proposition repeated. This is illustrated in the next example:

18 bəzaf ná, ɮa mə **təŋtəŋ**-kə́ **kwá**
useless top only HAB move.PL-VENT 2SG
It was a problem, you are just wandering around aimlessly.

2.7 Repetition as intensifier

Repetition of the verb root can simply act as an intensifier. In the next example, the repeated *ja* 'come' means to come from very far away or to have migrated:

19 **ja** **já** ka, fərət a ji-xá ka rwi
come come 3F IP.give.birth PFV bear-DOWN 3F child
She came. She bore a child.

Repetition of the verb root can also be interpreted as exhorting the hearer to continue an activity, or perhaps put more effort into an activity, with the imperative. The next two examples illustrate this pattern:

20 **i.i**
look.REDUP
Keep looking!

21 **ɓə́n.ɓə́n**

do.REDUP
Keep working!

In addition to indicating an intensity of activity, the repetition of a root in the imperative may also indicate an intensity of desire on the part of the speaker. In the next example, the speaker - Hyena - believes he will die from Squirrel's shrine without the soup:

22	**"ɗá-ŋa-ɗá**	ɓa"	xanáwa	á	ka	
	get-1SG.OBJ-get	soup	IP.say.HON	say	3F	
	"Get soup for me" it said.					

When repetition of the root is coding intensity, the stem does not take any derivational extensions.

2.8 Repetition coding contrastive focus

Repetition of the verb root may also code contrastive focus. This pattern of repetition is distinct from the pattern described for coding intensity. The pattern for contrastive focus requires that the stem have an extension. When the root is repeated, the extension is not. If the verb root has an underlying high tone, the tone is absent on the repeated root. The next example illustrates the pattern with *vúr-má*, 'fight-UP':

23	a	ja-va	və́	ɮáŋ	**vúr-má**	**vur**	nə	^{n}da	sakún
	PFV	come-OUT	ASSOC	Dlaŋ	fight-UP	fight	with	person	Sakun

á	^{n}da	ná,
say	person	TOP

There had been a time when the Dlaŋ and Sakun fought, people say.

The stem can also take object pronouns. However, the repeated root does not include the pronoun or the extension. If the root has an underlying low tone, the repeated root is high tone. In other words, the repeated root is polar to the underlying tone of the verb root. This pattern is illustrated in the next example with *tsə-ʧa-r* 'catch-3M.OBJ-EXT':

24 já **tsə-ʧa-r** **tsə́** xamanjádʒi
come hold-3M.OBJ-EXT hold Hammanyaji
Hammanyaji came and caught him…

Contrastive focus on the verb is discussed in more detail in the chapter on focus constructions and relative clauses.

3 Auxiliary verbs

Sakun has a small set of frequently occurring auxiliary verbs. Auxiliary verbs occur before the main verb in the clause and are the point of reference for subject placement; i.e. depending on the type of construction, subjects are either before or after the auxiliary verb rather than being placed in a position relative to the main verb. Clauses with *a* PFV particles require post-verbal subjects. In the next example the subject, *=n* '1SG', comes between the auxiliary verb and the main verb, indicating that the auxiliary is the point of reference for subject placement:

25 a **dza=n** bágə́-xa kə́ ɣə́n=ju
PFV go=1SG put-DOWN REF bean=DET

I have gone and dropped those beans.

There are three auxiliary verbs: *dza* 'go', *ja* 'come' and *ᵐba* 'again'. The auxiliary *dza* 'go' indicates a change in location and emphasizes progression of a narrative or process:

26	náx	a	**dza**	ka	ivi	pə	ʃáʃana	ná,
	after	PFV	go	3F	lie	on	stink.ants	TOP

After it went and lay down on the house of stinky black ants, …

27	a	tʃá	**dza**	ɓə́n	ja	tə	ɮə́n	ka	kə́tə́
	SEQ	3M	go	do	own	3M.POSS	work	GENR	3M.RFLX\Q

(Then) He would go do his own work by himself?

The auxiliary *dza* 'go' has a subjunctive form *ru* discussed above and in the chapter on tense, aspect and modality.

The auxiliary *ja* 'come' is used to focus on the events leading up to a particular action, similar to the English phrase '*It came to be that…*' The next example illustrates the use of *ja* to focus on the evolution from the topic state, the way things were long ago, and the current state of division:

28	xá	mə	sákun	kə́=j	ɣaláj	ná,	amá=j	ⁿdʒíka	ná,
	as	in	Sakun	REF=REL	long.ago	TOP	but=REL	nowadays	TOP

a	**já**	ᵐbərə́m	**táx-va-və́,**	kwá,	a	**já**	gwaɓ
PFV	come	town	divide-OUT-REFL	or	PFV	come	brain

táx-va-və́
divide-OUT-REFL

Thus it was in Sakun long ago. But nowadays, the town has come to be divided,

brains have come to be divided.

Like *dza* ‘go’, *ja* ‘come’ can also be used to integrate events in a narrative, relating a series of actions which form a single coherent episode. In the next example the actor is moving, acting, moving and acting, all as part of a single episode in the story. Even in this function, the actions described by clauses with *ja* tend to be the prerequisite actions for the next action in the sequence:

29 a ka **ja** bə̀gə́-xá va ka
SEQ 3F come put-DOWN house 3F.POSS

łə ka ná, də́k-va ka ɣə́n mágan ná
depart 3F TOP pick-OUT 3F bean squirrel TOP

ja ka ná, bə̀gə́ ka mə ɣər ka
come 3F TOP put 3F in farm 3F.POSS
It came and put them in its house. It went off. It picked Squirrel’s beans. It came and it put them on its farm.

The auxiliary *ja* ‘come’ has a subjunctive form, *ju* and takes H tone with the perfective discussed in the chapter on tense, aspect and modality.

The auxiliary verb *^{m}ba* ‘again’ indicates the repetition of an action presupposed to have occurred at least once in the past:

30 a **^{m}ba** ^{n}da surá-rá mîɗa ka gə́-mákən
PFV again person fry-CENT hockey GENR ORD-three
They came again to start hockey for the third time.

31 a=n **ᵐba** nás-kwa-má
SBJV=1SG again ask-2SG.OBJ-UP
I would ask you again (another question).

Auxiliary verbs are distinct from regular verbs in that they do not form complex stems. In other words, auxiliaries do not take either object coding or derivational extensions. Only when the terms *dza, ja* and *ᵐba* function as the main verb can they have complex stems. Clauses with auxiliary verbs can be distinguished from a verb taking a complement clause because complement clauses can take TAM coding separate from the main clause, complement clauses can be negated independent of the main clause and complement clauses can have subjects different from the subject of the matrix verb. A clause with an auxiliary and main verb will have only the TAM coding permitted for a single clause, a single subject shared between both auxiliary and main verb, and the main verb cannot be negated independent of of the auxiliary verb. In the previous example, repeated below for convenience, there is a single clause initial TAM marker and a single subject for both the auxiliary verb *ᵐba* 'again' and the main verb *nás-kwa-má* 'ask you':

32 a=n **ᵐba** nás-kwa-má
SBJV=1SG again ask-2SG.OBJ-UP
I would ask you again (another question).

Compare the above example with the next example illustrating a complement clause. In the next example, the complement clause is in the negative, has a different subject and takes its own TAM coding distinct from the matrix verb:

33	a	kə	ⁿda	**ká**	**jam**	**mə**	**sa-ka-ma**	**da**	**xa**
	PFV	see	person	NEG	water	HAB	touch-3F.OBJ-UP	thing	down

ᵐbə = w
within = NEG
People have seen that the water did not touch anything inside.

4 Participial constructions

Participial[1] constructions are clauses which function as nominals. Clauses can function as nominals with no overt coding on the verb stem and few restrictions on the clause itself. Evidence that the participial constructions are in fact nominalized clauses comes from the fact that participial constructions can serve as the arguments of predications. In the following example, the participial construction is the subject of the equational predication and the whole phrase is modified by the determiner:

34	mə-bəz-ə́n	[	**ɬa**	**zər**	**zúŋ**	]$_{NP}$	= ju
	HAB-bad-NOM		take	wife	one		= DET

This marrying of one wife is bad.

[1] The term 'participial' is used here for convenience although the verb stem is not marked explicitly as a participial form; i.e. there is no distinct form of the stem which is a participial form.

Participial constructions differ from other complement clauses in that they take no tense or aspectual coding. There is a small set of verbs taking clausal complements which have there own TAM coding. These verbs include verbs of saying, desiring, perception and knowing. Participial constructions can serve as the subjects of clauses, unlike more complex complement clauses.

The verb stems in participial constructions do not take derivational extensions. If an object is coded with a noun phrase in a participial construction, the object does not take determiners (i.e. nominal objects must be non-referential in participial constructions). Subjects are not coded in participial constructions although the nominalized clause can be possessed. If the nominalized clause takes a possessive pronoun, the possessor is the understood subject of the nominalized clause.

Participial constructions can be part of a noun phrase as nominal modifiers. In the next example the participial construction *ɗwá-tə* 'eat-OM' modifies the object of the clause, *da* 'thing':

35	má	dza	tʃá	sə́pa-ká	da	**ɗwá-tə** = ju
	HYP	go	3M	find-CENT	thing	eat-OM = DET
	When he goes to find those things to eat…					

When the noun being modified by a participial construction is coreferential with the object of that clause, the object marker *–tə* is used. If the object of the participial clause is not the head noun, the verb can take an indefinite noun as in the next example. Here the head noun is *ir* 'place' and the object of the verb *zwa* 'weed' is the indefinite noun *ⁿgaɮaʔwáj* 'okra':

36	ir	**zwa**	**ⁿgaɮaʔwáj**	tə́	
	place	weed	okra	1EX.POSS	
	our place of cultivating okra				

The next example illustrates the same pattern with the noun *kərá* 'dog' as the possessor rather than a possessive pronoun:

37	ká	**da**	**ɗwá-tə**	**kərá**	pə	ir=j	átʃitʃ̌ij=w
	NEG	thing	eat-OBJ	dog	at	place=REL	DEM.DISTAL=NEG
	There is no dog's food at that place.						

Participial constructions take no tense or aspectual coding. Further discussion of the role of participial clauses in the noun phrase is provided in the chapter on the noun phrase.

5 Conclusion

The root of the verb in Sakun can be either monosyllabic or disyllabic. There are no restrictions on syllable structure or tone pattern for verbal roots. The verb stem has no obligatory inflectional morphology, no agreement or TAM categories that must be included. The verb stem can have suffixes coding the object, but these are prohibited when the object is

coded nominally in the clause. The progressive aspect can be coded on the verb stem with the suffix *-j*. There is a selection of derivational extensions that can be added to the verb root in order to derive terms of different meaning and indicate the direction of the action coded by the verb. Reduplication and repetition of the root is used to form pluractional stems and to code both focus and intensity. Verbal clauses can function as nominals if the root does not take an extension, the subject is not overtly expressed in the clause and nominal objects are non-referential.

CHAPTER 5 ARGUMENT CODING

1 Introduction

The system of argument coding is the system of coding clausal participants which are in a grammatical relation with the predicate. In Sakun, arguments can be distinguished from adjuncts coding thematic roles (discussed in a separate chapter) because the latter require the use of a preposition to code participants in a clause. Up to three arguments can be part of a predication in Sakun without the use of a preposition to introduce the participant. These arguments can be said to be in a grammatical relation with the verb, i.e. these arguments are the *subject*, the *object* or the *indirect object*.

The coding means available for indicating grammatical relations varies according to word class (noun versus pronoun). Sakun exhibits neither agreement morphology on the verb nor case marking on full noun phrases. This leaves linear order as the only means for making the grammatical relations of full noun phrases transparent. However, the subject position in a clause varies considerably depending on the aspect and pragmatic status of the clause (e.g. subjunctive clauses have preverbal subjects, perfective clauses have postverbal subjects). Nominal objects always occur after the verb. But objects and subjects are both often omitted leaving a noun following the verb still potentially ambiguous between possible grammatical

relations. Despite the lack of overt coding of grammatical relations on full noun phrases, clauses are rarely in any way ambiguous. This follows from the fact that at least one of the arguments is generally coded pronominally, and pronominal paradigms distinguish between grammatical relations. Likewise, omitted noun phrases are highly salient to the discourse and a discourse topic in an unexpected role in a predication is likely to be coded with contrastive focus. The tendency in Sakun clauses is to code arguments with pronouns lacking clear antecedents rather than use a full noun phrase with an ambiguous grammatical role.

Only *subject* and *object* can be coded with full noun phrases. *Indirect objects* are only coded by pronouns in the verb stem. While *objects* can be coded on the verb with an object marker, a single verb stem cannot take both an object marker and a pronoun coding an indirect object. In cases where the verb stem takes a pronoun coding the indirect object, the direct object will be coded through tone alternations. In cases where a full noun phrase is used to code a participant which is thematically identical to a participant which could be coded as an indirect object, a preposition must be used to introduce the participant. Adjuncts must take a preposition in order to increase the number of arguments in a clause beyond the grammatical relations typically required by a particular predication. These coding means are illustrated in the following two examples. In the first example, all three grammatical relations are present. The subject, *ⁿda* 'person', occurs preverbally here. The object, *ir* 'place' occurs in the object

position directly after the verb and the indirect object, *ʧa* '3M.DAT', is coded by means of a pronoun on the verb stem:

1		**SBJ**		V-**IOBJ**-	**OBJ**			
	a	**ⁿda**	dza	rə-**ʧa**-má	**ir**	xa	ɗiɗa = j	xáⁿdʒiga
	SEQ	person	go	make-3M.OBJ-UP	room	down	Diɗa = DET	now

People went and made the room for him at Diɗa now (at that time).

In the second example, the subject is postverbal, coming after the object:

2			V	OBJ	[**SBJ**			]
	ba	a	ɬá-rá	ɬìɗì	ⁿda	xá = j	va	ⁿdʒatʃú
	then	PFV	take-CENT	chief	person	PL = REL	house	Njacu

Then the people of Njacu took the kingship.

As can be seen in the above example, when two nominal arguments follow the verb, the object precedes the subject. In situations where the object is not coded by a nominal argument the verb will take an object marker or the object will be coded through tonal alternations on the verb stem. Because of the additional coding means for objects on the verb stem, the transparency of the role of the noun phrase following the verb - either subject or object - is maintained.

In addition to full noun phrases, arguments can also be coded pronominally. The grammatical relations of pronouns can be distinguished by suppletive case marking of pronouns, i.e. there are distinct pronominal paradigms correlating with distinct grammatical relations. Subject pronouns can only code the grammatical relation of subject, although the

grammatical relation of subject can be coded with other sets of pronouns in certain predications discussed below. The other paradigms vary in the grammatical relation with which they can be associated.

Up to three arguments can be included as arguments in a clause. When there are three arguments in a single clause, one of the non-subject arguments (the indirect object) must be pronominal and the direct object cannot be pronominal. Both of the clauses in the following example contain three arguments. The subject is nominal in the first clause and pronominal in the second clause. The indirect objects are coded by the object pronouns on the verbs and the nominal objects follow the verb:

3	a	**ʒígəla**	^{m}bá	táx-**kwa**-má	**pəʃím**,
	SBJV	god	again	learn-2SG.OBJ-UP	wisdom

a	**ka**	zán-**kwá**-va	**saf**
SBJV	3F	shift-2SG.OBJ-OUT	life

May God teach you wisdom and grant you long life.

Sakun has five sets of pronouns. The labels for the pronominal paradigms reflect one of the functional domains in which they are used. However, all the paradigms are relevant for the coding of arguments in Sakun and are presented here for ease of reference. The individual paradigms will be repeated in the section related to their primary functional domain (*e.g.* subject pronouns and their various positions will be discussed under the realization of subjects,

object pronouns with non-subject arguments, etc.) and any related morphophonemic rules, such as the final vowel deletion of 1SG subject pronouns, will be covered at that time. The pronominal paradigms are outlined in the following table:

Table 38 Pronominal paradigms in Sakun

	SBJ	OBJ*	POSS	FREE	RFLX
1SG	ni, =n	-ŋa, -ŋ-	ŋá	kəná	kə́ŋá
2SG	kwá, ta	-kwa	ta	kú	kə́ta
3M	tʃá	-tʃa	tə	tsî	kə́tə
3F	ka	-ka	ka	mək	kə́ka
1IN	mə́	-ma	tə́	mə́	kə́tə́
1EX	ŋî	-ŋja	ŋî	ŋî	kə́ŋî
2PL	kî	-kja	təku	kî	kə́təku
3PL	tá	-ta	tá	tá	kə́tá

*Tone on OBJ pronouns is polar to the extension that follows. An object /kwa/ followed by /má/ UP is L tone, [kwa]; /kwa/ followed by /va/ is H tone, [kwá]. If there is no extension, the tone varies according to argument structure of the clause.

In addition to nouns phrases in set orders and pronouns, arguments can also be coded through object markers on the verb. These object markers do not vary for person or number the way pronouns do. The presence of nominal objects can be coded through tone alternations on the object pronouns and verbal extensions. The role of focused arguments can be coded though tone alternation on the relativizer. Arguments can be omitted given sufficient discourse context. The remainder of the chapter is organized by the grammatical relation of the arguments under discussion, beginning with the subject. The use of tone on dative pronouns

and verbal extensions for coding grammatical relations will be treated separately in the section on object coding. The use of tone for coding grammatical relations with focus constructions will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

2 Subject coding

2.1 The category subject in Sakun

A subject is a grammatical relation rather than a semantic or pragmatic relation. Thus the subject has distinct coding properties that cannot be attributed to the semantic role of the argument or whether or not the argument is the topic of the clause.

Several aspects of clause structure provide evidence for the category subject in the grammar of Sakun. First, there is a special pronominal paradigm reserved for subjects. While other pronouns can be used to code subjects in certain constructions, the subject pronouns cannot be used to code other functions. The choice of this pronoun set depends entirely on grammatical, rather than semantic or pragmatic criteria. Another piece of evidence for recognizing the category subject is the alternation in placement of one of the arguments (the subject) relative to the verb. For example, the subject cliticizes to the negation particle in negated clauses:

4	ká = **kwá**	mə	ga	zər-a	^{n}du = w	
	NEG = 2SG	HAB	copulate	wife.SG-MOD	person = NEG	

You are not having sex with another person's wife!

Preverbal subjects cliticized to the negation particle occur with the single argument of an intransitive predications as well as with one argument, the subject, of transitive predications:

5 ká = **ka** mə vaj xá^{n}dʒiga xá ^{m}bə = w
NEG = 3F HAB night now down within = NEG
It will not spend the night down inside.

Finally, the presence of subject control structures, where the missing element in dependent clauses such as complements to verbs of motion or purpose clauses are determined by the subject of the matrix clause. The next example illustrates this with a purpose clause:

6 mə surá-tə ^{n}da **ka** **ɗwá-tə**
HAB fry-OM person PURP eat-OM
People are frying (it) to eat (it).

The category of subject is not assigned according to the semantic role of the argument. Semantic roles are understood here to be the actual roles played by participants in the situation rather than roles assigned through grammatical encoding. The next examples demonstrate subjects with different semantic roles in the predication:

7 a tʃwátʃwá-ŋa-má **mágán** AGENT
PFV cheat-1SG.OBJ-UP squirrel
Squirrel has cheated me!

8 da vaj **^{n}da** THEME
FUT sleep person
People will sleep.

9 a ŋwus **tʃá** PATIENT
PFV die 3M
He died.

The subject can take different semantic roles even with the same verb, depending on the coding means employed. In the next example the verb *də* 'cook' has an AGENT as subject:

10 da də-ka ɗaf **ⁿda** AGENT
FUT cook-3F.OBJ food person
They will cook food for her.

However, with the use of the extension *-v* 'PASS' (see discussion of agentless passive stem below) the single argument *ɗaf* is understood to be the subject:

11 a **ɗaf=j** də-**v** PATIENT
SEQ food=DET cook-PASS
The food was cooked.

Pragmatic status also does not condition the position or pronominal paradigm of the subject unless the subject is a focused element fronted in a construction specifically coding focus. In the next example, the people questioned in the first clause (thus, the people in focus) are then coded as subjects in the following clause (where they are now topics):

1 **wu** **ⁿda=j** ᵐba tsáw-ŋá-m tʃiⁿgər mə ɣər=ĵ
2
who person=REL again plant-1SG.OBJ-EXT bad.seed at farm=DET

sákun, a tsáw-ŋá-m **tá** tʃiⁿgər mə ɣər
Sakun PRF plant-1SG.OBJ-EXT 3PL bad.seed at farm

Sakun are who are those that planted bad seeds for me in the farm. They planted bad seeds in the farm for me.

The subject *tá* '3PL' in the above example is in the typical position for perfective clauses with pronominal subjects. In the next pair of question and response, a non-subject argument is questioned. The subject is neither the focused element nor is it the topic, rather, the subject is the indefinite person pronoun (see discussion below with pronominal subjects). The skin is the topic, the oil is the new information:

13 nə mî ɓə́n-a-má **ⁿda**=j
with what do-OM-UP person=Q

nə mîr, ɻa tsə-ká-va **ⁿda**
with oil COND tan-3F.OBJ-out person
With what do they make it? With oil, if they are tanning it.

The subject in Sakun then is a category not conditioned by the semantic role of the referent (subjects with different thematic roles are possible as has been demonstrated above) and not conditioned by the pragmatic status of the referent (i.e. topical, focused, and non-referential elements can be subjects).

The realization of subjects varies considerably in different clause types. The linear order of the subject depends on the TAM value of the clause and the lexical category of the subject (i.e. nominal and pronominal subjects can have different distributional properties). The different ways of coding subjects are discussed in the following subsections.

2.2 Subject noun phrases

Subjects can be realized as full noun phrases. The position of the subject in the clause is conditioned by the TAM or polarity value of the prediction. Preverbal subjects are common in the subjunctive mood, in general negation patterns, and in sequential clauses.

The clause initial sequential marker, *a* and the subjunctive marker, *a,* are always followed by the subject of the clause. In the next example, an expression said to the mother of twins illustrates this pattern:

14 a **ʒigəla** gîgîr-má xúli
SBJV god raise.REDUP-UP twins
May God raise the twins.

Sequential sentences; i.e. sentences which describe a series of actions, often hypothetical as in instructions or general descriptions of processes, these sentences also have preverbal subjects as in the next example from the description of a general interaction between the subject, *zərajîk* 'old woman', and the *bjákwal* (a cursed skin that prevents the victim from eating any food by taking it for itself):

15 a **zəradʒík=j** dzə́-ká-m
SEQ old.woman-DET do-3F.OBJ-EXT
That old woman would then give to it (the byakwal).

Unrestricted negated propositions (see chapter on negation) also take preverbal subjects as in the next example:

16 ká **zər** mə ⁿdjá-tə = w
NEG wife HAB weave-OM = NEG
A woman is not weaving it (rope).

Subject noun phrases can also occur post-verbally. This is the pattern found in most independent clause types. If the object is also coded with a noun phrase, the subject will follow the object. Post verbal NP subjects are the default for the future as in the next example:

17 da **pəká** ɮwi = j **dɔ́gɔ́vu** já-rá
FUT gather meat = DET hyena come-CENT
Hyena will gather this meat away.

This is also the case with both perfective clauses as in the next example and with habitual clauses as in the example following:

18 ba a **ɬá-rá** ɬìdì **ⁿda-xá = j** **va** **ⁿdʒatʃú**
CONJ PFV take-CENT chief person-PL = REL house Njacu
Then the people of Njacu took the kingship.

19 mə **fɔ́** ja ka **zər**
HAB put own 3F.POSS woman
A woman puts her own (money).

As has been demonstrated above, the position of the subject in the clause varies considerably. Subjects can follow preverbal grammatical particles or come after the verbal piece. Subjects following the verb also follow the nominal objects. The default position for subjects in affirmative, indicative, realis clauses is after the verb and object. These positions are outlined in the following table:

Table 39 Nominal subject positions in the clause

GRAMMATICAL PARTICLES PRECEDING SUBJECTS		POSTVERBAL SUBJECTS
ká, á	NEG (unrestricted)	*Default position for verbal and non-verbal predications. Nominal subjects follow nominal objects.*
kará	NEG	
bi	MOD.NEG	
da	FUT (only in dependent clauses; information questions)	
a	SEQ, SBJV	

While noun phrases serve as subjects without further coding in Sakun, it is far more common for subjects (and other grammatical relations) to be realized as pronouns.

2.3 Pronominal subjects

Subjects are typically coded by a SUBJECT pronoun. Exceptions to this are detailed below after the subject pronouns are discussed. Placement of the subject when realized as a pronoun is the same as placement of subjects realized as noun. There is one notable exception, perfective clauses, discussed below.

2.3.1 Subject pronouns

The paradigm of subject pronouns is outlined in the following table. Exceptions and variations are discussed afterwards:

Table 40 SUBJECT pronouns

	SBJ

1SG	ni; =n
2SG	kwá; ta
3M	tʃá
3F	ka
1IN	mə́
1EX	ŋ̂
2PL	kî
3PL	tá

The variant *ta* for the second person singular is restricted to certain negation patterns. Since the form *ta* is the same as the 2nd person singular possessive pronoun, this form is discussed with possessive subjects below.

The first person singular subject pronoun, *ni*, has two different forms, a phrase internal form and a phrase final form. When adjacent to the verbal piece (i.e. either the root, a possessive pronoun object, or a verbal extension) or a clause intial marker (e.g. the future marker *da* or the negation marker *ká*) the 1st person singular subject pronoun is a bound clitic, =n, but only in phrase internal position. This is illustrated in the next examples. In the first example, =n binds to the pronoun coding the object:

20 tʃú mə î=ta=**n** bəná
here HAB see=2SG.POSS=1SG today
Here! I am seeing you, today.

In the next example, =n binds directly to the verb root, *a* 'say':

21 a=**n** ká mək
say=1SG REF 3F.FREE
I said to her.

In the following example =n binds to the extension *má*. The verb *a* 'say' has no object, and in phrase final position the final vowel is retained:

22 ɓə́n-a-má=**n** a **ni**
do-OM-UP=1SG say 1SG
"I've done it" I said.

The phrase internal form of the 1st person singular pronoun also occurs when subject pronouns bind to clause initial markers such as the future marker and negation markers. These are illustrated in the next two examples. In the first example, the subject occurs after the future marker *da* because it is in a dependent clause. The pronoun has the phrase internal form here:

23 ma da=j **da=n** ɓə́n-tə
what thing=REL FUT=1SG do-OM
What is the thing that I will do?

In the next example, the subject occurs after the negation marker:

24 **ká=n** mə **ɓə́n-a-má=w**
NEG=1SG HAB do-OM-UP=NEG
I cannot do it.

Subject pronouns are also used with non-verbal predications. In the next example, the subject pronoun can be seen to follow the predicative noun in this equational predication:

25 [PRED] **[SBJ]**

ka	rwî = j	dʒiwú	**ni**
GENR	child = REL	small	1SG

I was a small child.

Subject pronouns follow the same distributional patterns in clauses as subjects realized as full noun phrases – subjects coming after the verb also follow a nominal object - with one exception. Post verbal subjects in clauses with a referential, completed meaning, such as clauses with the *a* perfective marker, occur in different positions in relation to the object depending on whether the subject is nominal or pronominal. In clauses with the perfective particle, *a*, a pronominal subject precedes the object where under the same conditions a subject realized as an NP would follow the object. This alternation is demonstrated with the following pair of examples. In the first example, the nominal subject follows the object (repeated from the discussion of nominal subjects):

26		V	OBJ	[**SBJ**		]
ba	**a**	**ɬá-rá**	ɬîdì	**ⁿda-xá = j**	**va**	**ⁿdʒatʃú**
CONJ	PFV	take-CENT	chief	person-PL = REL	house	Njacu

Then the people of Njacu took the kingship.

However, in perfective clauses, the pronominal subject follows the verb but precedes the object. In the next example the subject pronoun *tʃa* '3M' is positioned between the verb and the nominal object:

27	V	**SBJ**	OBJ	[ADJUNCT	]
a	ɬá-rá	**tʃá**	ɬîdì	a fa	tə

PFV take-CENT 3M chief GOAL father 3M.POSS
He took the kingship from his father.

In the next pair of examples which follow each other in the same discourse, the alternation does not occur when the object is indefinite and the clause is hypothetical rather than referring to an actual occurance:

28 V OBJ **SBJ**
má ba-má ɣî ŋî ka vak ná
HYP build-UP house 1EX GENR afternoon TOP
When we would build a house in the afternoon, … (the Dlaŋ would destroy it).

But when the speaker refers to a specific instance of the event, the subject then precedes the object, even though the perfective particle has been omitted:

29 V **SBJ** OBJ
ba-má ŋî ɣî=j ka vak ná
build-UP 1EX house=DET GENR afternoon TOP
We built this house in the afternoon, … (and the Dlaŋ destroyed it).

Clauses with pronominal subjects positioned between the verb and a nominal object as in the above example are uncommon if the perfective particle *a* is absent. The formal means which allow one to deduce whether or not the the noun phrase following the verb is the subject or object are the presence or absence of object markers on the verb and tone patterns on object pronouns and verbal extensions. These phenomena are discussed with the coding of objects.

Unless the verb has some formal coding for the object present, the noun following the verb will be understood to be the object.

2.3.2 Possessive subjects

In addition to coding pronominal subjects with the subject pronoun paradigm, there are contexts where possessive pronouns can code the subject of the predication. The possessive pronouns are illustrated in the following table:

Table 41 Possessive pronouns

	POSS
1SG	ŋá
2SG	ta
3M	tə
3F	ka
1IN	tə́
1EX	ŋî
2PL	təku
3PL	tá

There are two clause types that can require the subject to be coded with a possessive pronoun rather than a subject pronoun. The first clause type is the nominalized verb as illustrated in the next example:

30 a î-tə=**ŋá** məɓən zər kəlî
CAUSE see-OM=1SG.POSS good wife.SG single
Based on my view, one wife is good.
(Lit. *From my having seen it, a wife is good, singularly*)

The second clause type which can have the subject coded with a possessive pronoun is a construction typically occurring with verbs of motion with a partitive reading. In other words, when the subject is understood to have acted in a way separating the subject from other possible actors. This construction is similar to what has often been described as an 'intransitive copy pronoun' (ICP) construction in the Chadic literature[1]. The 'copy' refers to the fact that the subject is coded twice, once with a possessive pronoun and again with a subject pronoun. This construction is illustrated in the following two examples:

31 ivî-**ŋá** = **n** xaʔi
sleep-1SG.POSS = 1SG here
I slept here.

32 a **tʃá** ᵐba rá-má **tə**
SEQ 3M again go.PRF-UP 3M.POSS
He will climb again (leaving the others).

The possessive pronoun always occurs after the main verb in the clause even in situations where the subject is preverbal due to the modality of the predication. However, the description 'intransitive copy pronoun' is not accurate because the possessive pronoun is not required by intransitive verbs, and there are also situations where the possessive pronoun is the

[1] For a detailed overview of the discussion of the 'ICP' in Chadic the reader is refered to "Intransitive Copy Pronouns in Chadic" (Leger & Zoch 2011).

only coding of the subject, indicating it is not in fact a copy but an independent coding means[2]. The first clause in the next example illustrates an intransitive predication with the subject coded only by a subject pronoun. The third clause has the same structure as the previous example:

33	a	**tʃá**	já-xa,		a	**tʃá**	guf-a-və́,
	SEQ	3M	come-DOWN		SEQ	3M	show-OM-REFL
	a	**tʃá**	ᵐbá	rá-má	**tə**		
	SEQ	3M	again	go.PFV-UP	3M.POSS		

He will come down. He will show himself. He will return up again.

Less common than coding either with a subject pronoun or both subject and possessive pronouns, there are cases where the possessive pronoun is the only coding of the subject. The next two examples illustrate the problem with considering the possessive subject a 'copy' since the possessive pronoun is the only instantiation of the subject of *iⁿzá* in both cases:

34	ⁿgə	tʃivî=j	iⁿzá	**ŋá**	ka	rwi	ɬîdî
	BEN	way=REL	sit	1SG.POSS	GENR	child	chief

Because of the way that I am sitting as the son of the king.

35	xá	ɬjari	ná,	a	iⁿzá	**ta**	xaʔîʔî	bəná
	as	magic.killing	TOP	PFV	sit	2SG.POSS	here	today

As for the magic herbal killing, you are living here today.

---

[2] Similar findings have been reported for other Chadic languages including Wandala (see Frajzyngier in press).

2.3.3 2nd person singular *ta* subjects in the negative

In negative predications where the first negation marker is postverbal, the second person singular pronoun for subjects employed is *ta* rather than *kwá*, although other subject pronouns remain the same. An alternate form of 2SG is illustrated in the following example:

36	a	tsə́-tʃa-r	ká	**ta**	sənzá = w
	PFV	catch-3M.OBJ-EXT	NEG	2SG.POSS	doubt = NEG
	Did you not catch him?				

Other pronouns in the same context are the same as regular subject pronouns. This alternate form does not occur for every speaker. The next example should have the *ta* form but the speaker employed the usual subject pronoun, *kwá*. The only difference between this example and the preceding examples is the presence of overt interrogative mood marking:

37	ɬjá-m	ká	**kwá**	sənzá = w = i
	hear-EXT	NEG	2SG	doubt = NEG = Q
	Did you not hear?! (Mother chastising a child)			

2.3.4 "Distributive" subject pronoun *ju*

Subjects can be coded with the 3rd person anaphoric pronoun, *ju*. Coding of the subject with *ju* is used to code members of a group doing something one by one; i.e. predications have a distributive reading. This is the same morpheme which functions as the determiner with an anaphoric function, generally coding previous mention (see discussion of determiners in the

chapter on the noun phrases for a description of [=ju] and [=j] allomorphy). However, when functioning as a proform rather than as a determiner modifying a noun phrase, *ju* codes reference to individual members of a topical group. In the next two examples, the actions of a group of elders performing a ceremony are being discussed. The pronoun *=ju* codes the subject when the participants are each doing the same action individually:

38	má	sə́-ndə	ɬîdî	ná,	dzá	**=j**	ná,	sə́-ndə	má	ŋwa
	HYP	drink-PRT	king	TOP	go	=DET	TOP	drink-PRT	up	on

After the king drinks it, they go one by one and drink it up on (that place).

39	dzá	**=j**	ná,	ɬá-má	yá	tə
	go	=DET	TOP	take-up	own	3M.POSS

Each goes and takes his own.

Even in cases where the subject could be coded with both a subject pronoun and a possessive pronoun, the determiner can replace the subject pronoun and the possessive pronoun will be singular. In the next example the subject is coded with both *ju* and the 3rd person masculine possessive pronoun *tə*:

40	mə	təŋ-kə́	tə	**ji**	ka	já	da	ɣî
	HAB	find-VENT	3M.POSS	DET	PURP	come	GOAL	compound

Each is finding his way back home.

2.3.5 The indefinite personal pronoun, *ⁿda*

The term *ⁿda* translates as 'person'. It takes nominal morphology and clearly can function as the head of complex NPs (e.g. NPs with relative clauses, plural morphology, etc.). However, there is some evidence that this morpheme may also function as a pronoun. In clauses which require subject pronouns to precede the object of the clause, *ⁿda* will precede the object. This is illustrated in the next example:

		V	**SBJ**	[OBJ	]
41	a	tsə́-r	**ⁿda**	fa	tə
	PFV	catch-PRF	person	father	3M
	Someone caught his father.				

When functioning as a subject in this position it is ungrammatical to modify the morpheme in any way. In other words, *ⁿda* will not take a determiner, a relative clause or any other form of nominal modification.

2.4 "Null" subjects

Subjects in Sakun can be omitted given sufficient discourse context. The following example occurs in an independent intonation phrase, but the actor is clear from context:

42	xə́n-a-vá	tám
	butcher-OM-OUT	now
	(It) butchered them, now.	

Often in dependent clauses, such as *ka* purpose clauses, the subject will be omitted if it is clear from context as in the next example:

43	mə	surá-tə	ⁿda	ka	ɗwá-tə
	HAB	fry-OM	person	PURP	eat-OM
	People are frying (it) to eat (it).				

However, if the subject is not easily accessible from context, the subject can be included in *ka* purpose clauses. This is illustrated in the next example where the subject *ɬə* 'cattle' of the verb *ɗwá-tə* 'eat it' is part of the *ka* clause:

44	ⁿdə́	ɬaxwar	**ka**	**ɗwá-tə**	**ɮə**
	EXIST	cornstalk	PURP	eat-OM	cattle
	There is cornstalk for cattle to eat.				

When subjects change from clause to clause, they will be instantiated in the following clauses in order to make the changes transparent. This is illustrated in the following example with a series of *ka* clauses. The series is in response to a question about what a second person singular subject should do. In the first *ka* clause, there is a 3F subject and thus the subject is realized. In the second clause the subject changes to 2SG and again, the subject is realized. In the third clause, the subject is the same and the subject is omitted:

45	kə́	da	ɣərák	ka=j	ná,	ka	má-kwa	**ka**	tam,
	REF	thing	vagina	3F.POSS=DET	TOP	PURP	give-2SG.OBJ	3F	now
	ka	səpa-tə	**kwá,**	ka	tərúɗ-və́	dza	ɣə	ᵐbə	
	PURP	find-OM	2SG	PURP	move-REFL	go	in	within	

This thing for her vagina, so she gives (it) to you now, so you find (it) to move in.

Noun phrases coded for discourse salience with a determiner are often omitted in contiguous clauses. In the next example the argument in the first clause coded with the determiner is the most salient discourse topic. This argument is then omitted in the following two clauses. First it is the understood location indexed by *ŋwa* 'on' and then the understood ACTOR for *tsə* 'catch':

46	da=ʃ	gan-va	ná,	mə	bəgə́	**swá**	**ka=j**		ⁿda
	thing=REL	show-OUT	TOP	HAB	put	ash	3F.POSS=DET		person
	pə	tʃivi,	má	ja	ⁿda	fəfə-má	nas	**ŋwa**	ná,
	on	path	HYP	come	person	put.REDUP-UP	leg	on	TOP
	da	**tsə́**	ⁿdu						
	FUT	catch	person						

This shows, if someone puts its ash on the path, when someone puts a leg on (it), (it) catches a person.

The function of subject omission is discussed in more detail in the chapter on the reference system.

2.5 Agentless passive stem

The agentless passive stem is formed with the verb root plus *–v*. The coding of the subject does not change with the use of the extension *-v*. However the interpretation of the role of the subject argument in the clause is affected so the extension is discussed here briefly. The

stated argument is never volitional although it has the attributes of a syntactic subject (i.e. it takes subject pronouns and it occurs in the subject position of clauses) even with verbs which typically take a volitional subject. The following examples illustrate this usage of this extension:

47 a **ɗaf=j** də́-v
SEQ food=DET cook-PASS
The food was cooked.

In the next example, the subject of the verb *ᵐbav* is not volitional. It is a trap placed on a farm:

48 dʒaw=j tam ná, kə́ja dza **ka** já **mba-v**
Jau=DET now TOP before go 3F come turn-PASS

ka tsə́ ndu=j ná
PURP catch person=DET TOP
This Jau now, before it will come and be turned to catch someone,

In the above example, the verb *ᵐba-v* 'turn-PASS' presupposes a volitional agent acting upon the subject. When the same verb has both a subject and an object, the subject is understood to be the volitional agent acting upon the object. In the next example the subject, *ʒîgəla* 'God', is acting upon the object:

49 da **ᵐba** tə́ **ʒígəla** mə ɗənkə́ tə́
FUT turn 3M.POSS god in thought 3M.POSS
God will change his mind (Lit. God will turn him in his thoughts).

In the next example, the subject *ka* '3F' of *ta-v* 'grind-PASS' is the semantic undergoer of the grinding process but it functions as the syntactic subject:

50 baxá dza kwá sə́ ná,
how go 2SG know TOP

a **ta-v** **ka** dzək ka də-tə wa
PFV grind-PASS 3F sufficient PURP cook-OM Q
How will you know that it (the flour) is sufficiently ground to cook it?

The *–v* extension is analyzed as a passivizer because it promotes a semantic object to the status of syntactic subject and the semantic actor is never included in the clause. This extension is only used with inherently transitive verbs. Verbs that have both transitive and intransitive senses such as *^{m}ba* 'turn' only have the transitive sense when occuring together with the extension *-v.*

2.6 Subjects in non-verbal predications

Non-verbal predications in Sakun have the basic structure: (predicate) (subject). Subjects in non-verbal predications have the same characteristics as subjects in verbal predications. The subject folows the predicator in equational predications as illustrated in the next example:

51 [PRED] **[SBJ]**
ka rwî=j dʒiwú **ni**
GENR child=REL small 1SG
I was a small child.

Subjects of non-verbal predications can occur before the predicator in the same contexts as preverbal subjects in verbal predications. For example, subjects in non-verbal predications will follow negation particles in front of the predicator:

52

	[SBJ]	[PRED]
ká	**tʃá**	xaʔi=w
NEG	3M	here=NEG

He is not here.

Subjects in non-verbal predications can be nominal or pronominal. The pronominal subjects in non-verbal predications use pronouns from the subject pronoun paradigm. For a more in depth treatment of non-verbal predications the reader is refered to the chapter on non-verbal predications.

3 Non-subject argument coding

The coding of non-subject arguments can be accomplished through a variety of coding means conditioned by the construction in which the argument is relevant. Sakun distinguishes between two non-subject arguments: the *direct object* and the *indirect object*. Only direct objects can be realized as noun phrases when functioning as arguments in a clause. Indirect objects can only be realized as pronouns within the verb stem. Nominal participants with thematic roles similar to indirect objects can only be introduced as adjuncts. Coding means for direct objects include full noun phrases, pronouns, 3rd person object markers on the verb, or

tone. Objects coded by noun phrases typically follow the verb and require no morphosyntactic marking other than position to indicate the grammatical relation of the NP. If an indirect object is coded on the verb then the direct object is coded by a noun phrase or through tone alternations on the verb stem.

3.1 Nominal objects

Objects can be full noun phrases. Only a single nominal object can be instantiated in a single clause without a preposition. The NP which immediately follows the verb is the object NP unless the object has already been coded on the verb by the object marker, pronoun or tone. A nominal object following the verb is illustrated in the following example where the object *ɬîdî* follows the verb *ɬárá*:

53		V	**OBJ**	SBJ			
ba	a	**ɬá-rá**	**ɬídî**	ⁿda	xá=j	va	ⁿdʒatʃú
then	PFV	take-CENT	chief	person	PL=REL	house	Njacu

Then the people of Njacu took the kingship.

Nominal objects can be definite and topical as illustrated in the next example where the object *da* takes the determiner *=ju*:

54	V	**OBJ**	SBJ	
á	ɓə́n-má	**da=j**	kwá	ná
HYP	do-UP	thing=DET	2SG	TOP

When you do this thing, …

3.2 Object markers

Direct objects in Sakun can be coded with object markers. When these markers are part of the verb, the direct object cannot be coded in the same clause with an NP and an indirect object cannot be part of the verb stem. There are two such object markers, one for verbs taking extensions and one for verbs without extensions. Object markers do not vary for person or number. The next example illustrates both forms of the object marker being used in parallel clauses. The verb root *xə́n* in the first clause takes the extension *rá* 'CENT' and thus has the *–a-* object marker between the root and the extension. The second example of the root *xə́n* does not take an extension and has the *–tə* object marker:

55 má **xə́n-a-rá** ⁿda vja
HYP slaughter-**OM**-CENT person this.year

ká ⁿda da **xə́n-tə** ʃiʃá=w
NEG person FUT slaughter-**OM** next.year=NEG

ʃimî ná, va damaj ʃiʃá
because TOP year Damai next.year
When people slaughter (it) this year, they will not slaughter it next year. The reason being the next year is the year of Damai.

The tone of the object marker occuring before an extension, *-a*, is polar to the tone of the extension. Examples of the tone alternation are presented in the following table:

Table 42 Polar tone on the object marker

	ROOT tone	OM tone	extension tone
tsaɗ-a-má sweep-OM-UP	L	L	H
tsaɗ-á-va sweep-OM-OUT	L	H	L
xə̀n-a-rá butcher-OM-CENT	H	L	H
xə̀n-á-va butcher-OM-OUT	H	H	L

The functionality of object markers in relation to nominal or pronominal objects will be discussed in the chapter on the reference system.

3.3 Pronominal non-subject arguments

The object pronominal paradigm can be used to code non-subject arguments. The argument coded by the object pronouns is interpreted as the indirect object when the direct object is coded through other means such as the object marker or tone. In the next example the object pronoun is the only non-subject argument coded in the clause and it is interpreted as the direct object:

56 náx a ɗá-**tʃá**-r ka ná,
after PFV beat-3M.OBJ-EXT 3F TOP
After she beat him, …

However, if an object is coded through other means, the object pronoun will be interpreted as the indirect object. In the next example, the object *takur* 'chicken' is coded by

noun phrase and the object pronoun *kwa* '2SG.OBJ' is understood to be the beneficiary rather than the undergoer:

57 a xə́n-**kwa**-rá ta **takur**
PFV slaughter-2SG.OBJ-CENT 3PL chicken
They slaughtered chickens for you.

The tone of the object pronoun is polar to the tone of the extension that follows. The object pronominal paradigm is outlined in the following table:

Table 43 OBJECT pronouns

	OBJ
1SG	-ŋa, -ŋ-
2SG	-kwa
3M	-tʃa
3F	-ka
1IN	-ma
1EX	-ŋja
2PL	-kja
3PL	-ta

The alternate form of the 1st person singular object pronoun lacking the final vowel only occurs in a few examples with the root taking a *–kə́* VENT extension. Otherwise, the full form is preferred. Most likely this is an example of metathesis, as all examples of the alternate form occur with verb roots having open syllables with low back vowels.

The polarity of the tone in relation to the extension can be observed in the following two examples. In the first example, the extension *má* has H tone and the object pronoun has L tone:

58	a	tʃwatʃwá-**ŋa-má**	magán	xanáwa	á	ka
	PFV	cheat.REDUP-1SG.OBJ-UP	squirrel	say.HON	say	3F
	"Squirrel has cheated me!" it said.					

In the next example the extension *va* has L tone and the dative pronoun has H tone:

59	gan-**ŋá-va**	vəna
	show-1SG.OBJ-OUT	2PL.IMP
	You show it to me.	

The polarity of tone on the object pronouns follows the same pattern as that of the object markers which occur between the verb root and an extension.

When the an object pronoun occurs on a verb which does not take an extension, the tone still alternates. This is discussed below with tonal coding of non-subject arguments.

The semantic role of the arguments introduced by the object pronoun is generally limited to benefactive and malefactive. In the next example, the object pronoun is coding the beneficiary of the action:

60	má	ɓə́n-**kwa**-má	ɓə	^{n}du	ná,	a	kwá	ɓə́n-**tʃa**-má	ɓə
	HYP	do-2SG.OBJ-UP	good	person	TOP	SEQ	2SG	do-3M.OBJ-UP	good
	If a person does good for you, you would do good for him.									

The object pronoun can also code arguments adversely affected by the action:

61 náx a ɗá-**tʃá**-r ka ná,
after PFV beat-3M.OBJ-PRF 3F TOP
After she beat him, …

There is no special causative construction in Sakun. In the following example, the causee is being coded by the object pronoun. Many verbs, especially those of bodily function like eating and drinking, are rendered causative simply by adding a third argument. In the next example, *ɗwa* 'eat' is rendered 'feed' by adding a pronominal object which is understood to be the causee:

62 amá ⁿda = j ná ɗwá-**ká**-m ká = tʃá da ɮə = w
but person = DET TOP eat-3F.OBJ-EXT NEG = 3M thing bull = NEG
But this person, he didn't feed it (the bull) the things of the bull.

A pronominal object need not be the most affected participant. In the next example, the indirect object is affected by the action, but not as much as the direct object of *ⁿdʒá* 'kill':

63 da ⁿdʒá-**ŋa** vərʃin ŋá xáⁿdʒiga ká da = ju
FUT kill-**1SG.OBJ** child.PL 1SG.POSS now REF thing = DET
(It) will kill my children on me, this thing.

With some examples it is difficult to say which argument, the nominal object or the pronominal object, is most affected by the action:

64 náx a kwi-ta-má ⁿda ku ná,
after PFV ignite-3PL-UP person fire TOP
After someone set them on fire.

The object pronouns are not used to code non-subject arguments in clauses in all cases. In a small set of constructions, pronouns from the possessive pronoun paradigm are used to code the same function.

3.3.1 Non-subject arguments and the possessive pronoun paradigm

Non-subject arguments are also coded with pronouns from the possessive pronoun paradigm. Pronouns from the possessive paradigm coding non-subject arguments are required in three situations: with the future tense, with the habitual aspect and with *ka* purpose clauses. These are illustrated in the following examples.

Habitual predications with *mə* use pronouns from the possessive pronoun paradigm to code non-subject arguments as in the next example:

65 tʃú mə î-**ta = n** bəná
here HAB see = **2SG.POSS** = 1SG today
Here! I am seeing you, today.

The next example illustrates the same pattern for future predications:

66 da nas-**ta** = n tsə́w wa bəláma
FUT ask-**2SG.POSS** = 1SG again VOC ward head
I will ask you again, Ward head.

The same argument for the same verb can alternate between pronouns from the object and possessive paradigms, thus demonstrating that they are coding the same function. Compare

the above example with *ta* 2SG.POSS coding the non-subject argument for the verb *nas* 'ask' to the use of an object pronoun coding the same argument below:

67 ir=j ma ni a=n nas-**kwa**-má ɣi-^{m}bə ná
place=REL want 1SG SEQ=1SG ask-**2SG.OBJ**-UP in-within TOP
The place that I wanted to ask you within again, …

Future coded with *dza* rather than *da* also requires non-subject arguments to be coded with pronouns from the possessive pronominal paradigm. The following pair of examples illustrate this:

68 da dzák^{w}-tə ka
FUT stop-3M.POSS 3F
It will stop him.

69 dza zá^{m}ba-tə kəɓ=ju
FUT cheat-3M.POSS knife=DET
That knife will cheat him.

Purpose clauses with *ka* also require pronominal non-subject arguments to be coded with pronouns from the possessive paradigm:

70 tán tʃá ka tsə́-**ta** ná
start 3M PURP hold-**2SG.POSS** TOP
He tries to hold you.

71 tán ka ka jajáɓ-**ta**
start 3F PURP abuse.REDUP-**2SG.POSS**
She starts to abuse you (all the time).

Again, evidence that the pronouns from the possessive paradigm are coding the same argument as the object pronouns is provided by the contrast between the above example and the example that follows:

72	kəná	kɔ́=j	jáɓ-**kwa**-rá		wá	mja	ŋá
	1SG.FREE	REF=REL	abuse-**2SG.OBJ**-CENT		VOC	friend	1SG.POSS
	I am the one that abused you my friend?						

There is also some evidence that the use of pronouns from the possessive paradigm may not be required for verbs of certain classes. For example, it does not appear to be the case that possessive pronouns need be used to code beneficiaries with the verb to give:

73	da	má-**kwa/*ta**	pəʃim	ka
	FUT	give-2SG.OBJ	wisdom	3F
	It will give you wisdom.			

3.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns coding objects

Demonstrative pronouns can be used to code the direct object. When demonstratives code direct objects, the distribution is the same as with nominal objects (i.e. directly after the verb). Demonstrative pronouns have the same form as determiners and are glossed *DET.* The following two examples illustrate demonstratives coding objects:

74	a	ŋ̂i	dza	bá-má=**j**	da	vəra	^{m}bwarará
	SEQ	1EX	go	build-UP=**DET**	GOAL	over	Mbororo
	We went and built one at Mbororo						

75 pə wú dza ⁿda pə-rá = **j** wa
on who go person place-CENT = **DET** Q
On whom will people go and put this?

3.3.3 Free pronouns coding non-subject arguments

Verbs which take clausal complements such as verbs of giving, knowing, saying, etc., can take a single pronoun as their complement. When this happens, the pronoun is taken from the FREE pronoun paradigm as illustrated in the next example:

76 ká ⁿda kə́ sə́ **tsə́j** = w
NEG person REF know 3M.FREE = NEG
There were no people who knew him.

3.4 Tone coding objects

When object pronouns are not followed by a directional extension the tone is variable, with H tone coding the absence of a nominal object in the clause. The following examples demonstrate that the morpheme after the object pronoun is not the conditioning factor. The following examples illustrate H tone on the object pronoun followed by morphemes with both L and H tones:

77 a sá-**ká** **ri** á ⁿda ná **H L**
PFV touch-3F.OBJ hand say person TOP
They will say "The hand touched it"

In the above example, the clause lacks a nominal object and the pronoun is understood to code the object. In the next example the clause also lacks a nominal object and the tone on the object pronoun *tʃa* '3M.OBJ' is H:

78	da=j	ká=j	ɓán-**tʃá**	**kwá**	ɣaláj	ná	**H H**
	thing=DET	REF=REL	do-3M.OBJ	2SG	past	TOP	
	The thing that you are doing to him in the past,						

The next two examples illustrate L tone object pronouns followed by morphemes with both L and H tones. In both cases there is a nominal object in the clause:

79	hayî	ka	ɓán-**tʃa**	**da**	**xá=j**	**táxu**	**L L**
	like.this	PURP	do-3M.OBJ	thing	PL=REL	wicked	
	Like this, (for me) to do bad things to him.						

80	ká	ŋ̂	nda=ĵ	sá-**ka**	**míɗa**	nə	ri=w	**L H**
	NEG	another	person=REL	touch-3F	hockey	with	hand=NEG	
	Noboby touches the hockey puck with hands.							

The following two examples illustrate the tone distinction on the object pronoun providing the only cue for the different parses of the utterance:

81	a	sá-**ká**	[ká	rwi] $_{SBJ}$	**H OBJ**
	PFV	touch-3F.OBJ	head	boy	
	The boy's head touched it.				

82	a	sá-**ka**	[ká] $_{OBJ}$	[rwi] $_{SBJ}$	**L OBJ**
	PFV	touch-3F.OBJ	head	boy	
	The boy touched the head for it.				

In the first example, the high tone on *ká* '3F.OBJ' indicates that the object is not instantiated and the two nouns which follow, *kə* 'head' and *rui* 'boy', are interpreted as a single noun phrase. In the second example, *ka* '3F.OBJ' takes L tone and the two nouns which follow are interpreted as distinct arguments to the predicate. The above examples regarding the boy and the head were elicited. However, the following near minimal pair of utterances from the corpus provide more evidence. Consider the following example where the dative pronoun takes an L tone:

83	nə́	da=j	ɓə́n-**tʃa**	**ⁿda**	ka	tsə́-tə	nə	pət	na
	EXIST	thing=DET	do-3M.OBJ	person	PURP	cut-OM	with	confuse	Q
	Is there anything one does to him as an offense?								

Now consider again the following example repeated from above with an H tone on the dative pronoun:

84	da=j	kə́=j	ɓə́n-**tʃá**	**kwá**	ɣaláj	ná
	thing=DET	REF=REL	do-3M.OBJ	2SG	past	TOP
	The thing that you are doing to him in the past,					

Both have very similar structures but in the first example with the L tone object pronoun, the object *da* 'thing' is the head of the relative clause and thus the argument is part of the same syntactic constituency. In the second clause, the object is separate from the *kə́* clause structure (although the *kə́* clause references the object *da* 'thing') and lacking an instantiated object within the clause, the object pronoun takes the H tone.

Due to the role that linear order plays in maintaining the transparency of argument roles, the alternation of tone helps disambiguate the role of the NP directly following the verb given the possibility of omitting the direct object.

3.5 Pluractional verbs

Plural verb forms that index multiple objects rather than repeated actions will index the most affected object. The most affected object can be coded with an object pronoun:

85 a kî-**ŋá**-r dəgəvu
PFV bite-1SG.OBJ-EXT hyena
Hyena bit me!

86 a ʔjat-**tá**-m dəgəvu
PFV bite.PL-3P.OBJ-EXT hyena
Hyena bit them!

But if the most affected object is not the argument coded by the object pronoun, the verb can still code the plurality of the most affected argument. In both of the following examples the most affected object is construed as plural, even when the object pronoun alternates between plural in the first and singular in the second:

87 mə dədə-**ta** **da**=n
HAB cook.PL-3PL thing=1SG
I am cooking them many things. [elicited]

88 mə dədə-**tʃa** **da**=n
HAB cook.PL-3M thing=1SG

I am cooking him many things. [elicited]

In the above examples, the verb is the only element coding the plurality of the object *da* 'something'.

Pluractional verb forms and the coding of repeated action are discussed in more detail in the chapter on tense, aspect and modality.

3.6 Null objects

Direct objects with sufficient discourse salience can be omitted. This is most common when the object is highly topical and the events are construed as having happened as in the next example from a story where the omitted object, the beans, are the focus of the current plot:

89	nax	a	tsən-má	ka	kə́	magán	ná
	after	PFV	gather-UP	3F	REF	squirrel	TOP

After Squirrel has gathered (it).

However, objects can be dropped in hypothetical contexts as well. In the next example, the hypothetical person being discussed (someone affected by a particular medicine) is omitted from the clause:

90	a	motá	dza	dzə́-xá
	SEQ	car	go	kill-DOWN

The car will go and kill (him).

Another example of a highly topical object being dropped is the following question and answer pair. The action, rather than the object was the focus of the question, and the object is dropped from the answer:

91	a	xə́n-rá	tʃá	ɮə
	PFV	slaughter-CENT	3M	bull
	He slaughtered a bull?			

92	a	xə́n-rá	tʃá
	PFV	slaughter-CENT	3M
	He slaughtered (a bull) [response to previous question]		

Pluractional verb stems usually lack instantiated objects. In the following example *ɮwi* 'meat' is coded as topical by the determiner *=ju*. In the two clauses which follow, the verbs have plural forms and the objects are not instantiated:

93	ja	náx	a	tá-rá	ⁿda	**ɮwi=j**	tam	ná
	come	after	PFV	divide-CENT	person	meat=DET	now	TOP

	a	**xə́xə́n-rá**	a	**pə́pə́n-rá**	ⁿda	ʃáw
	PFV	slaughter.PL-CENT	PFV	fry.PL-CENT	person	all
	After butchering the meat now, one slaughters and fries it all.					

The functions of omitted objects, object markers, pronominal objects and object coded by NPs will be discussed further in the chapter on the reference system.

4 Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexives and reciprocals are both coded with reflexive pronouns. Reflexives refer to non-subject arguments which refer to the same entity as the subject. The reflexive pronoun paradigm is presented in the following table:

Table 44 Reflexive pronouns

	REFL
1SG	kə́ŋá
2SG	kə́ta
3M	kə́tə
3F	kə́ka
1IN	kə́tə́
1EX	kə́ŋ̀ì
2PL	kə́təku
3PL	kə́tá

Reflexives are coded with a reflexive pronoun and occur in the same position as a nominal object in the clause:

94 ká = n mə ɬá-rá **kəŋá** a dəgəvú = w
NEG = 1SG HAB take-CENT 1SG.REFL CAUSE hyena = NEG
I cannot take myself away from Hyena.

Reciprocal arguments are also coded with the reflexive pronouns. Plural reflexive pronouns tend to be construed as reciprocals although in contexts suggesting otherwise, they

will be construed as reflexive. In the next example the plural reflexive pronoun is interpreted with a reciprocal meaning:

95 ja-va = á = ŋî jaɓ-rá **kə́ŋí** ná
come-OUT = NEG = 1EX abuse-CENT 1EX.REFL TOP

ka tiɗ-ma **kə́ŋí** ŋî xaʔî = w
PURP point-UP 1EX.REFL 1EX here = NEG
We've never abused each other to point at each other.

In the following example, the meaning can only be reflexive. The meaning is distributive, in that each person protects himself rather than them protecting each other with the herbs:

96 ^{n}da xá = j də-rá **kə́tá** nə ŋiwún
person PL = REL protect-CENT **3PL.REFL** with medicine
Those that protect themselves with herbs, …

In addition to the use of the reflexive pronouns, there are a few examples in the corpus of the associative plural being used with a reciprocal reading. These are only with the verb *a* 'say':

97 á **və́** dəgə́vu tá nə magán
say ASSOC hyena 3PL with squirrel
Hyena and Squirrel said to each other.

In addition to the associative plural, there is a verbal extension that indicates action towards the subject or affecting the subject, *və́*. This extension often results in a reflexive reading:

98 a tʃá já-xa, a tʃá guf-a-**və́**,
SEQ 3M come-DOWN SEQ 3M show-OM-**REFL**
He will come down. He will show himself.

5 Focus constructions

Focus constructions are formed with the focused element first, a relativizer, then followed by the remainder of the clause. Focus constructions are discussed in detail in a separate chapter. However, there are two aspects of focus constructions salient to argument coding. First, pronominal arguments are common and they are always from the paradigm of free pronouns whether or not they are coding the subject or a non-subject argument. Second, the tone of the relativizer alternates, with high tone coding a fronted subject, and low tone coding a fronted non-subject argument. The following example illustrates these aspects of the focus construction. The first clause with a focused element is a non-subject argument and a low tone on the relativizer. The second clause has a fronted subject and high tone on the relativizer:

99 ma mə dza ⁿda da ɓən ŋi da kaⁿgə ɬidî na,
HYP HAB go person GOAL do another thing BEN chief TOP

tsəj=j da ⁿda ɣuna-tə, kwa ɣi va ɬidî na,

3M.FREE=REL FUT person send-TR even.if in house chief TOP

tsəj=ǰ dza da ɓən ɮən
3M.FREE=REL go LOC do work
If there is some thing to do for the King, he is the one to be sent. Even in the King's house he will do the work

6 Conclusion

The clause in Sakun can have up to three arguments; the subject, the direct object and the indirect object. Subject positions can vary while nominal objects always follow the verb in pragmatically neutral clauses. Indirect objects can only be coded in the clause pronominally in the verb stem. Subjects have a distinct pronominal paradigm. Objects can be coded through nouns, pronouns, object markers and tone. Tone can also distinguish subjects from non-subjects in focus constructions. Because of the potential lack of transparency of grammatical roles with full nominal arguments, often it is the case that Sakun clauses will contain pronominal arguments or object markers lacking clear antecedents. Sakun speakers overcome the potential referential ambiguity by using *kə́* constructions, discussed in the chapter on the reference system.

CHAPTER 6 TENSE, ASPECT AND MODALITY

1 Introduction

This chapter discusses how the categories of tense, aspect and modality (TAM) are coded in the grammar of Sakun. Tense places the proposition in relation to a frame of reference; either speech time or some point salient to the discourse. Aspect codes the viewpoint of the proposition – whether an activity, process or state is viewed as ongoing, habitual or bounded. The domain of modality has to do with the speaker's commitment to the reality of the proposition or the type of speech act such as a declaration, command, wish, or suggestion. Each coding means in Sakun is in contrast to an unmarked proposition rather than being in contrast with each other. No TAM coding is obligatory. The unmarked proposition is typically interpreted contextually rather than exhibiting a 'default' TAM value. Take for example the following utterances. Both utterances have relative clauses with no overt TAM coding. The first clause is interpreted as habitual:

1	**kwáwani**	**da=j**	**ɓə́n-má**	**kwá,**	ká	ŋ̂wun	ŋwá=w
	whatever	thing=REL	do-UP	2SG	NEG	medicine	on=NEG

á=ka	mə	ɓə́n-ý=w
NEG=3F	HAB	do-PASS=NEG

Whatever thing that you do, without insecticide on it, it will not produce a good yield.

However the next utterance refers to a specific event in the past:

2 **xán da=j ɓɔ́n-má-v́**
like.this thing=REL do-UP-PASS
This is how the thing was done.

Tense and aspectual coding cannot occur together in the same clause. A predicate coded with the future particle cannot also be coded as either habitual or perfective. Because tense and aspect are mutually exclusive in a clause, tense and aspect coding are analyzed as part of the same domain. Modal categories can interact with tense and aspect within limitations discussed below, and thus modality is analyzed a domain separate from tense and aspect.

The functions of the different coding means involved with tense, aspect and modality discussed in this chapter are outlined in the following table:

Table 45 TAM Coding means and function

CODING MEANS		FUNCTION	
da		Future: FUT	TENSE
mə		Habitual: HAB	ASPECT
V_j-i V_j		Progressive: PROG	
a	*rá* 'go'	Perfective: PFV	
a	*ru/ju* and *ja* (L tone)	Subjunctive: SBJV	MODALITY

The remainder of the chapter is organized as follows. Tense is discussed first. Sakun only marks a future tense. However, temporal information can be related through adverbials and subordinators discussed in the chapters on adverbials and the complex sentence,

respectively. Aspect is discussed next. The perfective aspect entails ingressive readings but only presupposes the completion of an activity or process. There is a general habitual marker which can code habitual and ongoing activities. The habitual marker is in contrast with the progressive which is limited to reference to single ongoing actions. Modality is discussed last. Sakun codes the subjunctive through the particle *a* in conjunction with preverbal subject position. There are also irregular verb forms of *dzai* 'go' and *já* 'come' used in the subjunctive. The subjunctive can occur in clauses also coded for habitual aspect, thus indicating they are not in the same grammatical domain in Sakun. The indication of meanings associated with epistemic modality, such as doubt and hypothetical situations, is achieved through adverbials and subordinators and is not discussed in this chapter.

2 Tense

Tense coding in Sakun is limited to the future particle *da*. Otherwise, relating a proposition to a reference time is managed through adverbials, subordinating particles and context.

2.1 Future tense

The future tense is formed with the particle *da*. The default position for the particle *da* is clause initial, followed by the verb:

3	**da**	**já**	ⁿda	ɓə́n	ɟə́n	nə	mək
	FUT	come	person	do	work	with	3F.FREE

People will come do work with it (fertilizer).

When both a subject and object are part of the clause, the subject comes after both the verb and object as in the following examples:

4 **da** ɬá kúm=j **ⁿda**,
FUT take rat=DET person
Someone will take the rat, …

5 **da** ɬá ja ta **maɮixə** dam
FUT take own 3PL.POSS husband.PL different
Men will take their own separately.

However, in dependent clauses and interrogative clauses, the subject occurs directly after the future particle. This is illustrated in the following two examples, first in an interrogative clause, then in a relative clause:

6 baxa **da=n** ɓə́n-tə təj
how FUT=1SG do-OM Q
How will I do it?

7 kú ná, dam da=j **kə́=j** **da=n** **nas-ta**
2SG.FREE TOP different thing=DET REF=REL FUT=1SG ask-2SG.POSS

pəkə́ **mək,** pəkə́ tʃuɬɮəma á=ka=w
about 3F.FREE about bull-judging NEG=3F=NEG
I will ask you about different thing, is not about seeing the bull

Clauses taking future tense cannot be coded for aspect. Future clauses can be interpreted as complete singulative situations:

8 **da** ɮa gəma=n pəkə́ da makə́n xaʔi
FUT speak word=1SG about thing three here
I will speak about three things here.

Future clauses are also compatible with habitual readings:

9 má mə ɓə́n ɮən kwá, **da** kə́-tə rwî ta
HYP HAB do work 2SG FUT see-OM child 2SG.POSS
When you are working, your son will see it. [Your son will watch you and want to do as you do].

3 Aspect

Aspectual distinctions in Sakun code whether an event or state is habitual, ongoing or bounded. Habitual or ongoing activities, processes or states are coded by *mə* 'HAB' or the pattern VROOT-*j* VROOT. Bounded activities, processes and states are coded by the perfective particle *a* and the perfective form of the verb in the case of *dza* 'go' and *já* 'come'. Aspectual coding is not obligatory. The unmarked form is simply unmarked and thus underspecified for an aspectual category. Unlike many related languages, Sakun does not obligatorily code a perfective/imperfective distinction on the verb stem. Verbal extensions exhibit a correlation with bounded events, however the extensions do not code perfective aspect *per se*, as they do, for example, in Margi (Hoffman, 1963:115-116).

3.1 Progressive and habitual

The functions of progressive and habitual aspect overlap in Sakun. Habitual aspect is the more general form, indicating both actions ongoing at the reference time as well as habitual actions. Progressive aspect is restricted to events going on immediately around the reference time. Clauses with progressive aspect are limited to reference to a specific episode of an event.

3.1.1 Habitual

Habitual aspect is coded with the preverbal morpheme *mə*. This morpheme can also code ongoing action in narrative contexts. Typically events coded with *mə* are not presently ongoing at the time of speech.

In the next example, the event is construed as having already happened. The event coded with *mə* is ongoing when another action occurs:

10 **mə** **wútʃi=n** ná,
HAB pass=1SG TOP
When I was passing,

kə́ljaw a ɬá-má və́, və́ ʁjaw nás ŋá mə ɣər
IP.catch PFV take-UP REFL REFL toe leg 1SG.POSS in farm

ka, a sə kwá ɣən-xa=j ⁿdər pə tʃivi ná
3F.POSS PFV know 2SG bean-PL=REL spread on path TOP
"Kəlyau" The space between my toes took them in his farm. You know, those beans that are normally spread on the road.

Processes that occur over a long period of time can be coded with *mə*. The next example illustrates *mə* with an ongoing process at the time of speech:

11	"a,	bəx	**mə**	**tʃír**	áj	kənî"	á	ka
	oh	still	**HAB**	**sprout**	VOC	uncle	say	3F
	"Oh, it is still in the process of sprouting, Uncle." it (Squirrel) said.							

Habitual actions that are not necessarily ongoing at the time of speech are coded with *mə*. In the next example the action has occurred several times and all of the beans have yet to be picked:

12	má	ir=j	**já**	**dɔ́gɔ́vu**	**mə**	**pəká**	**ɣɔ́n**	ka=j	ná
	HYP	place=REL	come	hyena	HAB	pick	bean	3F.POSS=DET	TOP
	The place where Hyena came picking its (Squirrel's) beans,								

The most common use of *mə* 'HAB' is to code general states of affairs. In the next example, the speaker is asking whether or not the *Yawal* festival is held in the village of *Taula*. The speaker uses *mə* 'HAB' even though it is not the time of year for *Yawal*:

13	**mə**	**ɓɔ́n**	**jawal**	tá	xaʔi	tám	na,
	HAB	do	Yawal	3PL	here	now	Q

na	ká	tá	**mə**	**ɓɔ́n**	**jawal=w**
or	NEG	3PL	HAB	do	Yawal=NEG

They are doing Yawal here now or are they not doing Yawal?

When the habitual marker combines with a verb taking an extension, an ability reading is usually rendered. This appears to be the result of the semantics of asserting the habitual

doing with the focus on the completion of the action (or affectedness of the object) which the extensions typically carry. As illustrated in the next example, this pattern most often occurs in the negative, although future and positive asssertions can also have this reading:

14 ká ri kəlî **mə** **ɬá-má** **dʒwí** **ɣí = w**
NEG hand single HAB take-UP grass house = NEG
One hand cannot take up the grass thatch.

3.1.2 Progressive

Progressive aspect is coded by adding the suffix *–j* to the verb root and then repeating the root: V_j-j V_j. The use of this form of progressive is more restricted than the use of *mə* 'HAB'. The use of the suffix along with the repeated verb root can only be used to indicate an action ongoing at the reference time. Generally this form is used for actions or states ongoing at the time of speech. This is illustrated in the following examples:

15 **ɬá-j ɬá** tʃá xaʔî
take-PROG take 3M here
He is taking (it) now [pointing at child]

16 **ɮama-j ɮama** ŋî xáⁿdʒiga, kwá wu **mə** **ɓís** xáⁿdʒiga
happy-PROG happy 1EX now any who HAB laugh now

ɣi xu ŋî, pját ŋî
within among 1EX all 1EX
We are happy now. Everyone is laughing now among us, all of us.

There are also a few examples of the progressive stem pattern in backgrounded clauses occurring in narratives. Rather than indicating an action ongoing at a reference time, the progressive clause is coding the reference time itself. In these cases verbs typically occur with extensions and the meaning is one of immediate action setting the background for continuation of the narrative:

17	má	**dza-ra-j**	**dza-ra**	ka	ná,	a	dza	ka	da=j
	HYP	go-CENT-PROG	go-CENT	3F	TOP	PFV	go	3F	thing=DET

ná,	kənî	kə̂j
TOP	uncle	IP.exasperation

Immediately when it went home, it went and (did) this thing. "Uncle, hey.

As can be seen in the previous examples, the use of the progressive restricts the range of reference of the proposition to a *single episode of an event* (in contrast to the habitual).

3.2 Perfective

Perfective aspect in Sakun presents a situation as a complete whole. Most predicates in the perfective presuppose the completion of the event, activity or process. However, the perfective does not entail that the situation denoted by the predicate has been completed. As has been noted for many languages with a distinction between perfective and imperfective forms, the perfective forms can have an ingressive meaning, especially for stative verbs (Comrie 1976: 19). Sakun is no exception. Perfective aspect entails the start of a new

situation, the undertaking of an activity or a change of state. Even with verbs which are not stative, the perfective can indicate a process has substantially affected an argument rather than indicate the completion of the process.

The perfective is coded by the clause initial particle *a* 'PFV' and a post-verbal subject. Clauses with *a* 'PFV' are typically foregrounded and not subordinate to another clause (complement clauses being one exception). Independent assertions are often coded with the clause initial perfective particle, *a*:

18	**a**	ɬá-kə́	tʃá	ja-má	ká^{n}gə	kwádʒî ɣə paɮani
	PFV	take-CENT	3M	come-UP	BEN	Kwájî Ghə Padlani
	He brought (it) for Kwaji Ghə Padlani.					

Evidence that *a* 'PFV' codes an aspectual category rather than tense includes the fact that it can occur with adverbials denoting future times. The next example illustrates an *a* 'PFV' clause with the adverbial *ʒjama* 'tomorrow':

19	**a**	já=n	ʒjamá,	ʔjak	ŋá
	PFV	come-1SG	tomorrow	bird	1SG.POSS
	(By the time) I will have arrived tomorrow, my bird, …				

Several *a* 'PFV' initial clauses can follow one another sequentially. Unlike sequential clauses, these perfective clauses will be in a paratactic relation; i.e. they are not subordinate to another clause. In the next example, the two clauses are not dependent upon one another the way the clauses in the English translation are in a dependent/matrix relation:

20	**a**	tsáw-má = n,	**a**	zwa-va	ⁿda	fwáɗ
	PFV	plant-UP = 1SG	PFV	weed-OUT	person	four

(Since) I have planted (this guineacorn), (it) has been weeded four times.

The *a* 'PFV' particle also exhibits an unusual alternation in subject placement when the subject is pronominal. The perfective particle *a* always takes postverbal subjects. When the subject is nominal, it occurs after the object as is typical of other postverbal subject placements. However, when the subject is pronominal, the subject occurs between the verb and the object. This is discussed in detail in the chapter on argument coding, but examples of the alternation are repeated here. The first example illustrates a nominal subject occuring after the object:

21		V	OBJ	[**SBJ**			]
	ba	**a**	ɬá-rá	ɬídì	**ⁿda-xá = j**	**va**	**ⁿdʒatʃú**
	then	PFV	take-CENT	chief	person-PL = REL	house	Njacu

Then the people of Njacu took the kingship.

The next example illustrates a pronominal subject occuring between the verb and object:

22		V	**SBJ**	OBJ	[ADJUNCT		]
	a	ɬá-rá	**tʃá**	ɬídì	a	fa	tə
	PFV	take-CENT	3M	chief	SOURCE	father	3M.POSS

He took the chieftancy from his father.

When the predicate is an event or process, the event or process is generally viewed as completed and the resultant state applies across the reference frame. Thus in the next example, Hamman Yaji is understood to have taken the kingship at the time of reference:

23	**a**	ɬá-rá	tʃá	ɬídì	a	fa	tə

PFV take-CENT 3M chief SOURCE father 3M.POSS
He took the chieftancy from his father.

The default reading is one of completion. However, the presupposition of completion can be defeased. Only the attempt or beginning of the event is entailed by clauses with *a* 'PFV'. For example, clauses with a temporal span will indicate that an activity started and continues, rather than was over after the span is complete. In the next example 'doing' is not over:

24 **a** ɓə́n-má kwá va ɧə́pə́sə́k
PFV do-UP 2SG year fifty
You have done this for fifty years [and are still doing it].

When the predicate is a process, the process is not necessarily viewed as completed, but is understood to be at least substantially underway – such that some effect is evident. In the next example, the process of growth had continued from the past to the reference time of the clause. However, the process of growth was not complete – i.e. the guineacorn was not ready for harvest. The clause only entailed that the growth was significant enough for Hyena to be impressed with the growth. The story continues with a discussion of how long it might be before the guineacorn is ready for harvest:

25 **a** gər xi də́gə́vu
PFV grow guineacorn hyena
Hyena's guineacorn had grown.

Activities which are not inherently bounded, such as movement, also are not coded as completed by the use of the perfective. While the completion of an activity is presupposesd by clauses with the perfective, this presupposition can be defeased as in the following example:

26	**a**	**ra-má**	tá,	dza	da	rîn	mə́	ma	va	ʒîgəla	á	tá
	PFV	go-UP	3PL	go	GOAL	funeral	1IN	up	house	god	say	3PL

náx	**a**	**ra-má**	tá	da	rîn	ma	va	ʒîgəla	ná,
after	PFV	go-UP	3PL	GOAL	funeral	up	house	god	TOP

They (emissaries from heaven) went up. "We will go to the funeral in heaven," they (Hyena and Squirrel) said. After they went up to the funeral in heaven,
…[Squirrel then says wait, it must get something first]

Before they arrive at the funeral they stop and collect proper attire for the funeral, where Squirrel tricks Hyena into wearing a granary cover for a necklace and a grass mat for a turban. The entire focus of the narrative shifts to the journey. The use of the perfective does not entail the completion of the journey, only that the journey has begun.

When the predicate is stative, then the state is understood to have come into being and is ongoing across the reference frame. The next example illustrates this ingressive reading:

27	kú	bəná,	**a**	**^{n}za**	kwá	ka	túmə^{n}guʒî	kə́=j	də́j
	2SG.FREE	today	PFV	be	2SG	GENR	herbalist	REF=REL	big

pə	xaɗ	sákun
in	land	Sakun

You today, you have become an herbalist very big in the land of Sakun.

3.2.1 Perfective verb form *ra* ‘go’

Verbs do not exhibit a formal distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect in Sakun with one exception. The verb *dza* ‘go’ has an alternate form *ra* when used with *a* ‘PFV’. The next example illustrates the usage of the *ra* form:

28 **a** **ra-**va magán pə túr ɮə
PFV go.PFV-OUT squirrel on tail bull
Squirrel went out on the bull’s tail.

The perfective form of the verb, *ra,* is still frequent but not required:

29 náx **a** **dza-**ra dáli ná
after PFV go-OUT Dali TOP
After Dali went there, …

It is not clear from the data what distinction, if any, is indicated by the alternation between *ra* and *dza*. The form *ra* is preferred in the perfective, but not obligatory. The form *ra* is not used when *dza* ‘go’ is functioning as an auxiliary:

30 **a** **dza** = n bə́gə́-xa ká ɣə́n = ju
PFV go = 1SG put-DOWN REF bean = DET
I have gone and dropped those beans.

4 Modality

Modality can be understood as the coding of the status of the proposition, rather than describing the characteristics of a particular event (Palmer 2006: 1). *Status* here can refer to

the type of speech act (a declaration, a question, a wish, a command, etc…) in the case of deontic modality, or the speaker's stance towards the truth or reality of the proposition in the case of epistemic modality. Deontic modalities discussed here include the subjunctive, the imperative, prohibitive, and suggestions. Meanings associated with epistemic modality such as doubt, surprise and hypothetical situations are coded through adverbials and complex sentences and are discussed in the chapters on adverbials and the complex sentence.

4.1 Deontic modalities

Deontic modalities, the expression of wishes, commands, prohibitions, and suggestions, are coded with a range of constructions as outlined below.

4.1.1 Subjunctive

The subjunctive is coded with the clause initial morpheme *a* combined with preverbal subjects. The subjunctive is typically used to express hopes or wishes. A common type of expression in Sakun is to ask God to do something for the hearer as in the following examples:

31	**a**	**ʒígəla**	ᵐba	zan-kjá-va	saf
	SBJV	god	again	shift-2PL.OBJ-OUT	life
	May God prolong your life!				

32	**a**	**ʒígəla**	ᵐba	táx-kwa-má	pəʃîm
	SBJV	god	again	teach-2SG.OBJ-UP	wisdom
	May God grant you wisdom!				

The subjunctive can be used to express suppositions as in the next example:

33	ja,	**a**=n	dza	tswá-má=j	pə	ɗəɓ=j	sə^{n}zá,	kwá
	yes	SBJV=1SG	go	plant-UP=REL	on	loam=DET	doubt	even

mə	tsə́	nas	ŋá	ka	hán	ná,
HAB	catch	leg	1SG.POSS	3F	like.this	TOP

I suppose I'm going to plant the one on loamy soil, even though it catches my leg, like this.

The subjunctive can also be used to make suggestions:

34	a	**ki**	ɮamá-rá	gwára
	SBJV	2PL	buy-CENT	kolanuts

You should buy kolanuts

The subjunctive is formally similar to the sequential marker. Both the subjunctive and the sequential particles are followed by the subject of the clause. This parallelism between the subjunctive and sequential coding has been attested in a number of Chadic languages (*c.f.* Frajzyngier 1996 and 2002). Examples of the sequential marker follow. As can be seen, the sequential marker is used in both historical accounts (next example) and general discussions of processes (following example):

35	wútʃi	^{n}da	nə	tsî,	**a**	**^{n}da**	dza	rə-tʃa-má	ir
	pass	person	with	3M.FREE	SEQ	person	go	dig-3M.OBJ-UP	room

xa	ɗîɗaj	xá^{n}dʒiga	á	tʃá	
down	Diɗai	now	say	3M	

They passed with him. People went and built a room for him down at Diɗai, he said.

36 má kə́ ɬá-má zər tʃá ná, **a** **tʃá** gə́n-ŋa-má
HYP REF take-UP wife 3M TOP SEQ 3M help-1SG.OBJ-UP
When he has taken a wife, he will help me.

The auxiliary verbs *dza* 'go' and *ja* 'come' have special forms which can be used in the subjunctive. These are discussed separately at the end of the section on *deontic modalities*.

A clause coded as subjunctive can also take the habitual as illustrated in the next example:

37 **a** kwá **mə** i ja ta
SBJV 2SG HAB see own 2SG.POSS
You should be seeing your own!

However, clauses coded with the subjunctive particle cannot also be coded as either perfective, progressive or future.

4.1.2 Imperative

Imperatives are formed with a clause initial verb. No other coding is necessary to indicate the imperative. Generally verbs with extensions are preferred in the imperative although there are exceptions:

38 də-ra
cook-CENT
Cook!

39 də-r ɗaf dza da va ^{n}da=j ŋwus=ju

cook-EXT food go GOAL house person = REL die = DET
Prepare food to go to the house of that person who has died.

Even without an extension, a clause initial verb is interpreted as imperative[1] and takes the imperative pronoun *vəna*:

40 **ɓə́n** vəna ɣə́n = j pəkə́ da = j tʃ'iju
do 2PL.IMP work = REL about thing = REL DEM
Do the work that is about this thing. (all of you)

The verbs *ja* 'come' and *dza* 'go' have subjunctive forms which can be used in the imperative:

41 **ju** vəna xáʔi mjá
come.SBJV 2PL.IMP here friend
Come here, friends!

42 **ru** vəna dzə kərá
go.SBJV 2PL.IMP kill dog
Go kill the (rabid) dog!

However these irregular subjunctive forms are not required and other forms in clause initial position can function as imperatives. In the case of *ja* 'come', the L tone subjunctive form is not used in the imperative. If the irregular form *ju* is not used, then the high tone *já* 'come' is used in the imperative:

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[1]This is similar to the situation described for Margi, where the resultant state of objects described by many of the extensions is complementary with the imperative (Hoffmann 1963: 170n).

43 **já-rá** xaʔi
come-CENT here
Come here!

44 **já** vəna ɓərá-ŋa
come 2PL.IMP initiate-1SG.OBJ
Come here and initiate me!

In the case of *dza* 'go', the perfective form *ra* 'go.PFV' can be used as well as the subjunctive form *ru*:

45 **ra-ra** vəna átʃu
go.PFV-CENT 2PL.IMP DEM.DIST
Go there! [pointing]

When addressing a single person, the addressee is not marked. However, when addressing more than one person in the imperative, the addressees are indicated with *vəna*:

46 ⁿdaɗ-ʃi **vəna**
leave-FOLLOW 2PL.IMP
Leave it! (all of you)

47 ɓán **vəna** ɮán=j pəkə́ da=j tʃíju
do 2PL.IMP work=REL about thing=REL DEM
Do the work that is about this thing. (all of you)

The placement of v*əna* follows the pattern of subject placement for pronominal subjects of perfective clauses (see below). While *vəna* occurs in a pronominal subject position, it is not the second person plural pronoun. The second person plural pronoun is *ki.* The next example illustrates the use of *ki*:

48 a **ki** ɮamá-rá gwára
SBJV 2PL buy-CENT kolanuts
You should buy kolanuts

The pronoun *vəna* is also commonly used other forms of direct address, such as in greetings when addressing several people:

49 baɦa vak vəna=j
how afternoon 2PL.IMP=Q
How is the afternoon? (to a group)

To make a command more polite, occasionally the particle *gwa* will be included. The next example illustrates the use of *gwa*:

50 ɓá-ŋa-r vəna ɣuɗa gwa
break-1SG.OBJ-EXT 2PL.IMP lash please
Break for me some lashes, please.

4.1.3 Prohibitive

There are two forms of the prohibitive; *îⁿda* and *kə́ⁿda*[2], with *îⁿda* being the more common form. The prohibitive typically takes a verb without an extension. As with the

[2] It may be the case that the form *kə́ⁿda* is related to the Hausa *kadà* which is also used to form negative commands. However, it is more likely that the use of *kə́ⁿda* to code negative commands is indirect. The form *kə́ⁿda* is more commonly used to code conditionals. The negative command may simply be an inference. The literal translation of example 25 above may be '[That is true] IF you make me the mouse of the lowland' which implies the negative

imperative, when multiple addressees are intended, *vəna* is used. The next three examples illustrate differing expressions of the prohibitive:

51 **íⁿda** ɮa xáŋî gə́ma mbə
PROHIB say some word within
Don't say anything!

52 **íⁿda** vəna ɣə́ɮə
PROHIB 2PL.IMP afraid
Don't be afraid.

53 **kə́ⁿda** ᵐba-ŋá ka ʃúɓa dəv
PROHIB change-1SG.OBJ GENR mouse lowland
Don't make me as the mouse of the low land

When stating a subject in the imperative or prohibitive, the utterance is interpreted as an indirect command. Verb initial utterances are often interpreted as imperatives. A command with the third person subject is illustrated in the next example:

54 ɬá-má **tʃá** kəɓ ŋá
carry-UP 3M knife 1SG.POSS
Make him bring my knife! [elicited]

The subject of an indirect command, as with the plural imperative subject pronoun *vəna*, occurs in the same position as that of perfective clauses (see below).

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command. This would be similar to the pattern in English where someone makes a threat using the only the protasis of the conditional; e.g. 'If you lay one hand on her…'

Prohibitives can also contain a subject and result in an indirect command interpretation. This is illustrated in the next example:

55 îⁿda **mara** ɬa sə́li ja-má xaʔi áj
PROHIB Mara carry shame come-UP here EXCL
Don't let Mara bring shame here!

It is worth noting that the subject in the prohibitive example occurs directly after the prohibitive marker – not after the verb as in the affirmative indirect commands. The placement of the subject in the prohibitive follows the general pattern for negation.

4.1.4 Suggestions

There are a number of ways of making suggestions in Sakun. A simple command with question intonation can be used to make suggestions. The subjunctive can be used to make suggestions (discussed above). The clause initial morpheme *náŋwá* is also commonly used to indicate suggestions:

56 **náŋwá** ja-má zəkʷŋa á kwá ná
suggest come-UP Zəkuŋa say 2SG TOP
You said "Let Zəkuŋa come." [Let's wait for Zəkuŋa]

Clauses modified by *náŋwá* can still take other TAM coding, such as future marking. This is illustrated in the next example:

57 **náŋwá** **da**=n tara mis
suggest FUT=1SG urinate urine

Let me urinate.

As illustrated in the above example, the use of the future with *náŋwá* requires the subject to occur directly after the future particle instead of after the object. This is the same subject position occurring with the use of the future in relative and interrogative clauses. It is not clear from the data whether or not *náŋwá* is better analyzed as a verb taking sentential complements or a clause initial particle.

There is a special term for suggesting departure, *ᵐbə́j*. This term is only used to make suggestions and does not occur as a verb in other contexts:

58	**ᵐbə́j**	tam	dza	ɣî	á	ka	dəm-a	ka
	lets.go	now	go	home	say	3F	girl.SG-MOD	3F.POSS

"Let us go home now!" it said to its daughter.

The term *ᵐbə́j* may be best understood as a polite command. As with other forms of direct address, *ᵐbə́j* takes *vəna* '2PL.IMP' as the subject when making a suggestion to several people:

59	**ᵐbə́j**	**vəna**
	lets.go	IMP.PL

"Lets go! (to a group of people)"

4.1.5 Irregular verb forms

The verbs *dza* ‘to go’ and *ja* ‘to come’ have irregular forms when used in deontic modal contexts. The irregular forms are *ru* and *ju,* respectively. These forms of the verb can occur in dependent clauses, expressions of wishes and hopes, and in the imperative. These forms of the verbs are not obligatory in these contexts, only restricted to these contexts. The next two examples illustrate the use of these forms in the imperative:

60 **ju** vəna xáʔi mjá
come.SBJV IMP.PL here friend
Come here, friend!

61 **ru** vəna dzə́ kərá
go.SBJV IMP.PL kill dog
Go kill the dog!

The next example illustrates the use of the *ru* form in a hypothetical clause:

62 á ru=n gan-tʃa kə́ rwî ná
HYP go.SBJV=1SG help-3M.OBJ REF child TOP
If I were to show a child, …

Note that in the above example, the subject comes after the auxiliary verb rather than between the modal particle and auxiliary verb as in other subjunctive constructions. The typical position of subject in subjunctive constructions is illustrated in the following example:

63 a **ʒígəla** ^{m}ba táx-kwa-má pəʃîm

SBJV god again teach-2SG.OBJ-UP wisdom
May God grant you wisdom!

The placement of the subject after the verb with irregular verb forms, along with the post-verbal subject placement in indirect commands discussed above, may be evidence that the coding of subjunctive used to be through verbal coding in the past. However now the subjunctive is predominantly coded through preverbal subject position and modal particles.

The auxiliary verb *já* 'come' also exhibits a tone alternation when used in the subjunctive. The auxiliary verb *já* takes a high tone in most circumstances. The next example illustrates *já* 'come' with H tone in an independent perfective clause:

64 **a** **já** ka táx-nja-má pəʃím=j tʃítʃíju
PFV come 3F teach-1EX.OBJ-UP wisdom=REL DEM.PROX
It has come and taught us this wisdom.

The next example illustrates the auxiliary *já* with a high tone in the future:

65 **da** **já** ka ɮa-tə ná
FUT come 3F say-OM TOP
She will come and say it,

However, in the subjunctive, *já* 'come' takes a low tone. The next example illustrates low tone on *já* 'come' in a subjunctive clause:

66 a kwá **ja** dʒám-má gəma ta ná
SBJV 2SG come finish-UP word 2SG.POSS TOP
You may conclude your speech

The next example illustrates low tone on *ja* ‘come’ in a dependent clause:

67	a	ka	**ja**	bə̀gə́-xá	va	ka		
	SEQ	3F	come	put-DOWN	house	3F.POSS		
	ɬə	ka	ná,	də́k-va	ka	ɣə́n	mágan	ná,
	depart	3F	TOP	pick-OUT	3F	bean	squirrel	TOP
	ja	ka	ná,	bə̀gə́	ka	mə	ɣər	ka
	come	3F	TOP	put	3F	in	farm	3F.POSS

It came and put them in its house. It went off. It picked Squirrel’s beans. It came and it put them on its farm.

The auxiliary *dza* does not exhibit this alternation even when used in place of *ru* in subjunctive clauses. In the next clause *dza* ‘go’ takes an L tone in the subjunctive:

68	a	kwá	**dza**	ⁿga-tʃá	dʒif	tá=ju
	SBJV	2SG	go	trap-3M.OBJ	stick	2SG.POSS=DET

You would go and trap him (with) your stick [playing the traditional field hockey game, *midə̀*]

In the following clause, unlike *já* ‘come’, *dza* ‘go’ does not have an H tone in the perfective:

69	bá	a	**dza**	kwá	ɓa-ká	ŋ̂i	ⁿdu	dám
	CONJ	PFV	go	2SG	call-CENT	another	person	different

Then you have gone and called a different person.

Likewise, *dza* ‘go’ does not take an H tone in the future:

70	**da**	**dza**	ɻə́ɻə-ma	kwá	pəsár	ɻə=j	ka	já	má-tʃa
	FUT	go	buy.PL-UP	2SG	thigh	bull=DET	PURP	come	give-3M.OBJ

na
Q
You will go and buy the bull's thigh to give him?

Other verbs also show no tonal alternation between subjunctive and other clause types. The next two examples illustrates the stable H tone of *ɓə́n* 'do' in both perfective and subjunctive:

71	a	**ɓə́n-má**	ka	va	məkwa	wasək
	PFV	do-UP	3F	year	six	100
	It has reached six hundred years (since people have first started playing Midə).					

72	a	ʒigəla	**ɓə́n-má**	bárka
	SBJV	god	do-UP	blessing
	May God bless it!			

The following two examples show the stable L tone of *u* 'get' in both perfective and subjunctive:

73	a	**u-r**	ka	mádu
	PFV	get-EXT	3F	gum
	It (tortoise) got some gum.			

74	a	kwá	**u-r**	mam
	SBJV	2SG	get-EXT	honey
	You should get some honey.			

The subjunctive in Sakun is then coded by a combination of one or more subordinating particles, subject placement and verb alternation in the case of the auxiliaries *ja* 'come' and *dza*

'go'. This is a preliminary description of the subjunctive in Sakun and this domain of the grammar requires further exploration.

5 Conclusion

The categories of tense, aspect and modality in Sakun are not obligatory. The unmarked clause is not specified for TAM categories and TAM related interpretations change according to context.

Tense coding is limited to the future operator, *da*. Temporal relations can be managed through the use of subordinators and time adverbials. Aspectual categories coded in Sakun include habitual, progressive, and perfective. Aspectual coding means include the particles *mə* HAB and *a* PFV, and the progressive suffix *–j*. The use of the perfective entails an ingressive reading, but only presupposes the completion of an activity or process. Deontic modalities include the subjunctive, imperative, prohibitive, and suggestions. Modality is coded through particles and a pair of irregular verb forms in the case of *dza* 'go' and *ja* 'come'. With the exception of the habitual with subjunctive - tense, aspect and modal particles do not occur together in the same clause.

CHAPTER 7 INTERROGATIVES

1 Introduction

Sakun has two types of interrogative clauses: clauses querying the truth of a proposition (*yes-no* or *polar* questions), and clauses asking about a specific element of the proposition (‘*wh-*questions’ or ‘information’ questions).

Sakun generally employs clause final interrogative particles alone, or in conjunction with question words to indicate interrogative mood. The particles available for coding interrogative mood can index different semantic domains, including: discourse status and the speaker’s stance towards the queried proposition.

2 Yes/no or polar questions

Polar questions are independent and have no restrictions on the TAM coding. There are two means for coding polar questions: intonation and clause final particles.

In Sakun any proposition can be made a question by adding a rising intonation to the end of the utterance, much as with English. In the next example, the noun phrase *ŋwá mîd* ‘wind mountain’ is coded as a question by a rise of intonation at end of the intonation phrase. The tone rises even though the final word of the intonation phrase is already H tone:

1 ŋwá mîɗ á ⁿda
mountain wind say person [Speaker A]

ŋwá míɗ
mountain wind [Speaker B]
People call it 'wind mountain'.
'Wind mountain'? [Phrase marked by rising intonation: HH%]

However, it is more common to indicate a question through the use of one of the interrogative particles. Polar questions make use of three particles: *=ĵ, nà*, and *tsá*. These particles are outlined in the following table:

Table 46 Polar interrogative particles

Particle	FUNCTION
=ĵ	Q
nà	Q
tsá	Q; counter-expectations

The polar interrogative particles are added to the end of a proposition to indicate a question is intended. The interrogative particle *=ĵ* is a clitic which binds to the edge of the clause. The next example illustrates a perfective clause coded as interrogative by clause final *=ĵ*:

2 a sə́ kwá ɓá tə́ kə́ ⁿda=j rá-ɣə=ĵ
PFV know 2SG name 3M.POSS REF person=REL go.PFV-IN=Q
Do you know the name of the person who entered?

The interrogative particles *nà* and *tsá* also occur in clause final position. The next example illustrates *nà*:

3	kú=j	ka	fa	ka	xúli	**nà**
	2SG.FREE=REL	GENR	father	3F.POSS	twins	Q
	You are the father of twins?					

The following example illustrates a polar question with *tsá*:

4	da	pəɗa	**tsá**
	FUT	lack	Q
	(The rope) will be insufficient?!		

When clauses have more than one clause final clitic (e.g. both *=ẁ* 'NEG' and *=ǰ* 'Q'), the interrogative particle comes last. The next example illustrates a clause with both negative and interrogative coded:

5	ɬja-m	ká=kwá	sə^{n}za**=ẁ=ĵ**
	hear-EXT	NEG=2SG	doubt=NEG=Q
	You didn't hear?! (I don't believe you)		

The particles *nà* and *=ĵ* are used to simply indicate a question without regard to presuppositions about an answer. They are used interchangeably and there appears to be no difference in meaning. However, the use of *tsá* indicates that the opposite of the proposition is the expected state of affairs (*i.e.* the truth of the proposition is surprising). As a result *tsá* is often employed in teasing. In the next example, a husband teases a wife about her comment on another man:

6 məɓən maɮá-ø=j **tsá**
good man.SG-MOD=DET Q
This man is handsome?

The presupposition is that the woman would not see the man as handsome (because she is married). In the next example, when placing a thatch cap on a room an observer asks skeptically:

7 a já, a rá-xá dəⁿgər **tsá**
PFV come PFV go.PFV-DOWN very Q
It has come. Has it gone down too much?!

This form is being replaced frequently with *kyana*, derived from Hausa. However, it maintains the presuppositional content of the Sakun *tsá*.

A common pattern in Sakun polar questions is to state a proposition with a question marker, followed by the disjunctive conjunction *na* 'or'. The proposition coordinated with *na* is either a re-statement of the proposition in the negative, or a statement of an alternative (*i.e.* a disjunctive question). The second proposition can take a question marker, however it is also common for speakers to substitute the question marker with question intonation (i.e. a rise in pitch on the final syllable, even in the negative). The next example illustrates this pattern with the question particle on the second clause:

8 kikə́n jam tám **nà,**
few water now Q

na kikə́n da ɗwá-tə tám **nà**
or few thing eat-OM now Q
Is it lack of water, or lack of something to eat?

The next example illustrates this pattern with intonation coding the interrogative on the second clause:

9 mə ɓə́n jáwal tá xaʔi tám **nà,**
HAB do Yawal 3PL here now Q

na ká tá mə ɓə́n jáwal=ŵ
or NEG 3PL HAB do Yawal=NEG\Q
Are they doing yawal festival here or they are not doing it?
(Rising tone on final *=w* a result of question intonation)

3 Information questions

Information questions, or 'wh-questions' in Sakun are formed by using one of the interrogative pronouns and a clause final interrogative particle. Sakun allows for *in-situ* positions for the interrogative pronouns but this is uncommon. Typically the interrogative pronouns and the noun phrases they are a part of are in a clause initial position. Having the interrogative elements in the initial focus position leads to TAM restrictions on the clause that follows.

3.1 Interrogative particles for information questions

Information questions are formed with a clause final interrogative particle as well as an interrogative pronoun indicating the questioned element. Interrogative particles always occur in clause final position. There are several interrogative particles occurring with information questions. These are outlined in the following table:

Table 47 Information question interrogative particles

wà	Q
=ǰ	Q
bə̂j	Q; 'contrast'
tə̀j; tə̀	Q; locative

The first two particles, *wà* and *=ǰ*, carry no presuppositions and are the most common. These are heard frequently in greetings such as:

10 baxá váj **wà,** dʒikʷə́
how day Q grandfather
How is the day, grandfather?

11 baxá váj mə́ nə njalák=j nə kusə́=j**=ǰ̂**
how day 1IN with cold=DET with harmattan=DET=Q
How did we sleep with this cold and with this harmattan?

The next particle *bə̂j* Q is only used when the questioned element is being considered in contrast to other aspects of the current discourse. For example, in one story, Hyena comes across Squirrel looking very ill and asks:

12 mî=j zəɗa ta **wà** á nî á ka

what=REL feel 2SG.POSS Q say 1SG say 3F
" 'What is wrong with you?' I said!", it [Hyena] *said.*

The state of Squirrel in the above example was not tied to the current discourse and presuppositions are not triggered regarding the illness other than 'something' is clearly wrong. However, later on Squirrel pretends to be a chief on horseback. Hyena is asking the chief what it wants. After listing several possibilities, Hyena asks:

13 mî=j má kwá bə̂j
what=REL want 2SG Q
What do you want? (If not the things I've already said)

The question with *bə̂j* indicates that the question itself, or the thing being questioned is counter-expectations. The next example is from a discussion of weaving baskets for carrying guineacorn from the field to the threshing floor. After discussing the fact that the person weaving has made them for other people, someone asks:

14 mî=j kará kwá mə dzə ja pəra-tə bə̂j
what=REL NEG 2SG HAB weave come sell-OM Q
Why are you not weaving one to sell?

The action in the above example is in contrast to previously mentioned actions. However, a simple follow up question will not necessarily take *bə̂j*. In the next example someone is questioning the other person's assertion, not contrasting one possibility with other topical possibilities. In this case *=ǰ* is the particle used:

15 a mî=j **kará** kî dzwa ka də-tə=ĵ
CAUSE what=REL cook 2PL move PURP cook-OM=Q
Because of what you don't want to cook it?

The interrogative particle *bə̂j* can also occur when the question is counter-expectation as with the next example:

16 ka kə́ta kwá ɓats xi, ŋənáa zər-a
GENR 2SG.REFL 2SG harvest guineacorn where wife-MOD

ta **bə̂j**
2SG.POSS Q
You are by yourself harvesting guineacorn. Where is your wife?

The interrogative particle *bə̂j* is very likely related to the negative conditional particle *bî*.

The locative interrogative particle *tə̀j* is discussed below with questions about location.

3.2 Placement of interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pronouns in Sakun can occur *in situ* or far more commonly, in clause initial position. Clauses with interrogative pronouns placed *in situ* have no restrictions on TAM coding, just as polar questions have no restrictions on TAM coding. The next example illustrates an example of a perfective clause with a question about quantity. The interrogative pronoun *taná* 'how many' is in the typical post-verbal adverbial position for temporal adjuncts:

17 **a** ɓə́n-má ka tja **taná** pə ɣər xáⁿdʒiga

PFV do-UP 3F month how.many at farm now

kɔ́ja já kwá báts-tə=j̃
before come 2SG harvest-OM=Q
It has been on the farm how many months now before you came to harvest it?

The next example demonstrates a future clause with an *in situ* interrogative:

18 da ᵐba **va** **taná** î-tə kwá xáⁿdʒiga=j
FUT again year how.many see-OM 2SG now=Q
(The basket) will continue (to serve) how many years in your opinion now?

When the interrogative pronoun is in the clause initial position, TAM and polarity follow the restrictions for clauses with fronted focused elements and relative clauses: i.e. perfective *a* and progressive aspect are not used; future tense requires the subject to appear directly after the future particle *da*; negation requires the use of *kará* rather than *ká/á*. When an argument is being questioned, the typical construction used is an equational predication. The interrogative pronoun functions as the predicate of the equational predication and the questioned argument is both the subject of the equational predication and the head of a relative clause. The next example illustrates a questioned argument (the head of a subject-relative clause):

19 [**wú**]$_{\text{PRED}}$ [ⁿ**da**=j dək ɣən ŋá]$_{\text{SBJ}}$=ĵ
who person=REL pick beans 1SG.POSS=Q
Who is the person that has been picking my beans?!

The next example illustrates question with an object-relative clause:

20 **[ma]$_{PRED}$** **[da = j** da = n ɓə́n]$_{SBJ}$ tə̂
which thing = REL FUT = 1SG do Q
What shall I do?

In the above example the head of the relative clause is the object of the relative clause. The relative clause is in the future and the subject of the relative clause occurs directly after the future particle *da* rather than after the verb and object as is the case in an independent future clause.

The next example illustrates a question with an indirect object being relativized upon in the subject of the equational predication:

21 **[wú]$_{PRED}$** **[^{n}da$_{i}$ = j** já ^{n}da má-**tʃa$_{i}$** ka
who person = REL come person give-3M.OBJ PURP

tsə́ ^{m}bərə́m = j tam]$_{SBJ}$ =ɲ̃
hold town = DET now = Q
Who is it that they came and entrusted this village to him [as Wardhead]?

In the above example the head of the relative clause is co-referential with the resumptive object pronoun within the restricting clause.

When the interrogative is not questioning an argument of the clause, but a category such as manner, quantity, location, time, reason and so on, the phrase including the fronted interrogative pronoun does not take the relativizer. The clause initial interrogative behaves in a

manner similar to that of other adverbials in the fronted focus position. The next example illustrates a question about manner:

22 **baxá** **da=n** ɓə́n-tə təj
how FUT=1SG do-OM Q
How will I do it?

In the above example, the future clause following the interrogative pronoun *baxá* 'how' is following the dependent pattern seen also with future relative clauses – the subject immediately follows the future particle *da* rather than following the verb and object.

The dependent status of the clause following the fronted interrogative pronoun is also demonstrated under negation. Unlike polar questions, information questions typically do not occur with the clause final negation clitic *=w*. Any negation in information questions with fronted, focused elements will be with the dependent negation marker *karà* which does not utilize the clause final clitic. The next example illustrates an information question in the negative:

23 **baxá** **karà** ⁿda mə sáká **wà**
how NEG person HAB touch\OM Q
How is it that nobody touches (him)?

The dependent status of clauses with initial placement of the interrogative pronouns means that such clauses will take only future or habitual TAM coding, and *karà* NEG in the

negative (as opposed to *ká/á … =w* negation patterns). See the chapters on adverbials and relative clauses for more discussion of the restrictions on dependent clauses.

3.3 Questions about human referents

The interrogative pronoun *wú* is used for human referents. The pronoun can be the head of a noun phrase. In the next example, the pronoun functions as the object of the preposition *pə* 'on':

24 **pə** **wú** dza ^{n}da pəra=j wâ
on who go person put=DET Q
On whom will people go and put this one?

The pronoun can also occur in a noun phrase as a possessor. The next example illustrates the interrogative pronoun taking the associative plural marker *və*:

25 fi **və** **wú=ĵ**
ruins ASSOC who=Q
Ruins of who?

Most frequently, the interrogative pronoun *wú* functions as the predicate in an equational predication. The subject of the predication can be simple (i.e. only a bare noun) as in the next example:

26 [wú]$_{PRED}$ [rwi]$_{SBJ}$ wa
who child Q
Which boy? (Lit. The boy is who?)

The subject of the equational predication is frequently the head of a relative clause:

27	[wú]$_{PRED}$	**[^{n}da = j**	fə́-ká	pə	gəma	vərʃîn]$_{SBJ}$	wà
	who	person = REL	put-CENT	on	word	child.PL	Q

Who believes children's talk? (Lit. Who is the person that puts [credence] on the words of children?)

The form of the interrogative pronoun does not change for plural referents. The next example illustrates a query about groups of people:

28	[wú]$_{PRED}$	**[^{n}da-xá = j**	da	ɬá	ɮui	dza	ɣî
	who	person-PL = REL	FUT	carry	meat	go	home

xá^{n}dʒiga] $_{SBJ}$ = ĵ,	maɮixə́	na,	ʒirî
now = Q	man.PL	or	woman.PL

Who will carry the meat home now, is it men, or women?

3.4 Questions about non-human referents

Questions about non-human referents use one of three interrogative pronouns: *mî*, *má*, or *ná*. When the interrogative pronoun is the object of a preposition or an argument in a clause in a bare NP, the form *mî* is prefered. The next example illustrates *mî* as the object of a preposition:

29	**nə**	**mí**	dzə-tə	^{n}da = ĵ
	with	what	weave-OM	person = Q

With what did they weave it?

The next example illustrates *mî* querying the object of the clause:

30 **mí = j** dzu-rá ⁿda xa ᵐbə xáⁿdʒiga = ĵ
what = REL cover-CENT person down within now = Q
What is there covered in it now?

The next example illustrates *mí* querying the subject of an equational predication:

31 twá mî = ĵ
skin what = Q
Skin of what?

When the interrogative pronoun is the predicate nominal of an equational predication, the forms *na* and *ma* are preferred. If the question asks the hearer to choose between members of a presupposed set, the form *na* is preferred. The next example illustrates *na*:

32 [**na**]$_{PRED}$ [ɻə́n = j ɓə́n-má maɻixə́ ᵐbə baʔî]$_{SBJ}$ = ĵ
which work = REL do-UP men within before = Q
Which work did the men do within this before?

In the above example, the speakers are discussing an ongoing episode of threshing. The question asks the hearer to select among the many evident topical jobs that had been done prior to the threshing. In the next example the question presupposes a limited set of names from which to select:

33 [**na**]$_{PRED}$ [ɓa-xá = j kə́ = j sə kwá mə sákun,
which name-PL = DET REF = REL know 2SG in Sakun

kə́ = j mə ijá-má kwá ɻa-ŋja-xá maʔáná ka]$_{SBJ}$ wà
REF = REL HAB able-UP 2sg tell-1EX-DOWN meaning 3F.POSS Q
Which of the names that you know in Sakun are those that you are able to tell us the meaning of?

If the question is not asking the hearer to select from a limited set accesible from the context of the discourse, the form *ma* is used. The next two examples illustrate *ma* functioning as the predicate in equational predications:

34 xá təɓəɣî=j ná, [**ma**]$_{PRED}$ [ɓa ɮən ka]$_{SBJ}$ =ĵ
as center.of.compound=DET TOP what name work 3F.POSS=Q
As for this center room, what is its work called?

35 [**ma**]$_{PRED}$ [da=j dzú-ka-cîkə́ ^{n}da]$_{SBJ}$ =ĵ
what thing=REL cover-3F.OBJ-OVER person=Q
What do they cover it with?

3.5 Questions about beneficiaries

Typically when a beneficiary is being questioned, the interrogative pronoun is not part of a prepositional phrase directly coding the beneficiary role. Instead, the interrogative pronoun is in a clause initial position and the beneficiary role is coded in the clause with a resumptive pronoun. This is illustrated in the next example:

36 **wú$_{j}$** **^{n}da=j** já ^{n}da má-**tʃa$_{j}$** ka tsə́ ^{m}bərə́m=j
who person=REL come person give-3M.OBJ PURP hold town=DET

tam=ĵ
now=Q
Who is it that they came and entrusted this village to him [as Wardhead]?

The only example in the corpus of an interrogative pronoun occurring with the preposition coding beneficiary was from an equational predication. The interlocutors were discussing the distribution of a part of a bull they had slaughtered:

37 [**ká^{n}gə wu**]$_{PRED}$ [kwá]$_{SBJ}$ nə mək=ĵ
BEN who 2SG with 3F.FREE=Q
To whom will you give it? [Lit. You are for who with it?]

The prepositional phrase serves as the predicate of the equational predication.

3.6 Questions about quantity

The interrogative pronoun *taná* 'how many' is used for questions about quantity. The pronoun can occur alone. In the next example the pronoun serves as the predicate in an equational predication:

38 xá ɮə=j xá^{n}dʒiga ná, [**taná**]$_{PRED}$ [va ka]$_{SBJ}$=ĵ
as bull=DET now TOP how.many year 3F.POSS=Q
This bull now, how many years does it have?

The pronoun can also occur as a nominal modifier in a larger noun phrase as in:

39 da ^{m}ba [**va taná**]$_{NP}$ î-tə kwá xá^{n}dʒiga=j
FUT again year how.many see-OM 2SG now=Q
(The basket) will continue (to serve) how many years in your opinion now?

The interrogative pronoun occurred *in situ* in the above example. However questioned elements are generally fronted. The next example illustrates the typical placement of the interrogative pronoun:

40	**vaj**	**tana**	da	ⁿda	ɓən-tə	ka	ɗwa-tə=ĵ
	day	how.many	FUT	person	do-OM	PURP	eat-OM=Q
	How many days will people take to eat it?						

3.7 Questions about time

The interrogative pronoun for time is *səwu.* However, temporal queries rarely use this form, and are generally expressed as a disjunctive question such as: *váj na, na vak na?* 'Morning or evening?'. In the corpus, only one example of a temporal query with *səwu* is present, although it occurred occasionally during participant observation at the field site. The example from the corpus follows:

41	**səwú**	**da**	**ya**	**ŋá**	**tʃír**	**tə̀**	kə́nəj	á	ka	mágan
	when	FUT	own	1SG.POSS	sprout	Q	uncle	say	3F	squirrel
	"When will my own sprout uncle?" it said to Squirrel.									

As the above example illustrates, the future clause being questioned takes the dependent pattern with the subject occuring directly after the future particle *da* rather than after the verb.

3.8 Questions about location

Questions about location use the interrogative pronoun *ŋəná* and its allomorphs *məná* and *ŋə*. The three forms are in free variation with individual speakers preferring one to the others. By far the more common of the three forms is *ŋəná* with most speakers using this form exclusively. The next example illustrates a question about location:

42	**ŋəná**	fa	tá	kə́ja	dzə́dzə́	fa	ŋá	xútsa	**tə̀j**
	where	father	2SG.POSS	before	beat.REDUP	father	1SG.POSS	before	Q
	Where is your father since my father beat (him) the day before yesterday ?								

The preferred clause final interrogative particle for location questions is *tə̀j* (or its allomorph *tə̀*) and this particle is tentatively analyzed as a locative interrogative particle. There are examples of questioning location without the use of the interrogative pronoun and only the presence of *tə̀j* such as:

43	dza	kwá	**tə̀j**
	go	2SG	Q
	Where are you going?		

The form of the locative interrogative particle *tə̀j* suggests it may be related to the locative suffix –*tə́* used with prepositions:

44	xa-**tə́**	xaɗ	ɬí	ka
	down-LOC	soil	root	3F.POSS
	Its root is under the soil.			

However, the particle *tə̀j* is not required for questions about location. Other interrogative particles such as *wà* can be used:

45 ŋənáˊ tʃáˊ wà
where 3M Q
Where is he (now)?

There are also a number of examples of *tə̀j* without any clear locative meaning. It is common for speakers to use *tə̀j* when rhetorically asking whether or not the speaker had just said something:

46 áˊ=n kú tə̀j
say=1SG 2SG.FREE Q
Didn't I say to you?

There are also a number of examples in the corpus of questions taking *tə̀j* with no clear locative meaning:

47 na dzəxîˊ=j bənáˊ tə̀j
which festival=DET today Q
Which festival is today?

3.9 Questions about manner

The interrogative pronoun *baxáˊ* 'how' is used for questions about manner:

48 **baxáˊ** ɓə́n-v ka wà
how do-PASS 3F Q
How was it done?

Questions about manner use any of the interrogative particles. The previous example used *wà*. The next example illustrates a question about manner with *=ĵ*:

49 **baxá** da=n táx-ta=**ĵ**
how FUT=1SG teach-3PL.OBJ=Q
How will I teach them?

3.10 Questions about reasons

Questions about reasons are asked with prepositional phrases containing the interrogative pronoun *mî*. Often the phrase is *ʃî mî* 'following what':

50 ʃî mî já tá tswá ^{m}bərə́m=j wà
follow what come 3PL cut town=DET Q
Why did they come and found this village?

Occasionally the phrase will be *ka mî* 'for what':

51 ka mî dzú-ka-tʃîkə́ ɮaváj ^{n}da wà
PURP what cover-3F.OBJ-COVER zanamat[1] person Q
Why did he not celebrate yawal?

Questions about reason, as with other interrogatives in the clause initial position, will have the following clause in dependent form. The next example illustrates a reason question in the negative. The negation particle is the dependent particle, *karâ*:

---

[1] A zanamat is the mat over the small thatch structure built over the courtyard of a compound on which meat is typically dried.

52 ʃi mî **karáː** tʃá mə jawal=ĵ
follow what NEG 3M in Yawal=Q
Why did he not celebrate yawal?

3.11 Indefinite pronouns and question words

Interrogative pronouns can be used as indefinite pronouns in clauses without interrogative mood marking. The next example illustrates *ŋəná* 'where' functioning as an indefinite pronoun:

53 kaɗáː ka dza **ŋəná,** xa ɬə tá nə nas tá
maybe PURP go **where** when stand 3PL with feet 3PL.POSS
Maybe to go anywhere, when they went off with their feet.

When used as indefinite pronouns, question words can be reduplicated to form plurals. The next example illustrates *mi* 'what' in reduplicated form indicating many things:

54 nə mək ɣəmáː **mímí** tá
with 3F.FREE buy what.REDUP 3PL
They were buying everything with it.

Interrogative pronouns functioning as indefinite pronouns are discussed in more detail in the chapter on the noun phrase.

4 Conclusion

Interrogative mood in Sakun can be indicated by an assertion with rising intonation at the phrase boundary or the use of a clause final question particle. The clitic *=ĵ* is used for both

polar and information questions. Other clause final particles are typically restricted to either polar or information questions. Different interrogative particles code presuppositions about the speaker's stance towards the proposition being questioned. Interrogative pronouns typically occur in a clause initial position although occasionally they are left *in situ*. When interrogative pronouns and their associated phrases are placed in the clause initial position, the following clause is coded as dependent: i.e. TAM coding is restricted, the dependent negation particle *karáa* is used and future subjects follow the future particle rather than occurring after the object.

CHAPTER 8 NEGATION

1 Introduction

Negation in Sakun follows two primary patterns. First, negated propositions can utilize the pre-subject particle *ká* or its allomorph *á*, in conjunction with a clause final clitic *=w*. The position of the negation particle and subject with *ká/á* indicates whether or not the proposition refers to a particular situation. The second pattern utilizes the negative particle *kará* which does not require a clause final morpheme. However, negation with *kará* is restricted to dependent elements of clauses and phrases. Sakun also has negation particles specific to conditionals, and the prohibitive. Negation in focus constructions follows distinct patterns. In addition to formal coding means for negation, there are several pragmatic triggers for negative readings of propositions such as questioning a proposition to indicate a belief that the opposite is true or stating the antithesis when context strongly points toward the contrary.

2 Negation with ká/á

The negation of independent clauses is accomplished through the use of a pair of morphemes working together: the pre-subject negation particle *ká* or its allomorph *á* and the clitic *=w*

which binds to the right edge of the clause. The negation particle and clitic pairing are illustrated in the next example:

1 **ká** = ⁿda pwá-tə **= w**
NEG = person pound-OM = NEG
People are not pounding it (discussing the making of rope).

While *ká* is the more frequent form, the allomorph *á* is also common. There appears to be no difference in meaning and the two forms are in free variation. The particle *á* is illustrated in the next example:

2 **á** = kwá mə nas-tə kîŋ **= w**
NEG = 2SG HAB ask-OM many = NEG
You don't ask much.

Negated utterances are marked by a strong downstep on the final syllable containing the *= w* clitic. The clitic triggers gemination of the final consonant of words ending in closed syllables. In the above example, the final word *kîŋ* together with the clitic *= w* are realized [kîŋ.ŋə̀w]. When the clitic binds to an open syllable with H tone, the downstep associated with negation intonation overrides the lexical tone and the syllable is realized with an L tone. In the next example the clitic *= w* binds with the first person possessive pronoun *ŋá*. The pronoun has an underlying H tone. However when combined with the negation clitic the syllable is realized with an L tone:

3 [ká.is.mə.kə́. vər.ʃîn.**ŋà w**]

ká	is	mə	kə́	vərʃ̂in	**ŋá = w**
NEG	eye	in	head	child.PL	1SG.POSS = NEG

There are no eyes in my children's heads!

When a clause is negated and also an interrogative, the negation clitic precedes the interrogative clitic. The two clitics will form their own syllable and the negation clitic does not trigger gemination of the final consonant of the preceding word. This is illustrated in the next example for a negated proposition coded as a yes/no question:

4 [ká.ŋ̂im.twa.sa.kún.xán.**wə̀j**]

ká	ŋ̂i	mə	twa	sakún	xán	**w = j**
NEG	1EX	HAB	guard	Sakun	like.this	NEG = Q

Are we not guarding Sakun like this?

2.1 Position of the negation particles **ká/á**

The negation particle *ká/á* can occur either preverbally, or post-verbally. In either position, the subject of the negated clause follows the negation particle *ká/á*. In the case of the first person singular pronoun *ní*, the vowel is deleted and the nasal cliticizes to the negation particle. This is illustrated in the following example for a preverbal negation particle:

5 **ká = n** mə ɓə́n-a-má = w

NEG = 1SG	HAB	do-OM-UP = NEG

I can't do it!

The first person singular pronoun cliticizes to the negation particle even when the negation particle is post-verbal. The next example illustrates a post-verbal *ká* with a first person singular subject:

6 ⁿdaɗ-tʃa-ʃi **ká = n = w**
leave-3M.OBJ-TO NEG = 1SG = NEG
I didn't leave him (at that time).

The placement of the negation particle *ká* or *á* together with the subject either before or after the verb correlates strongly with whether or not the clause refers to a general state of affairs or to a specific event. Preverbal negation particles indicate negation of a general state of affairs. Thus in the next example, the clause is understood to mean that the subject is deaf:

7 **ká = n** ɬja = w
NEG = 1SG hear = NEG
I don't hear (i.e. I'm deaf).

The same clause with a post-verbal negation particle and subject restricts the proposition to reference to a particular event or episode of hearing:

8 ɬja-m **ká** = n = w
hear-EXT NEG = 1SG = NEG
I didn't hear (what was just said).

Likewise, a woman discussing her experience as the mother of twins during the *xulî* celebration, complained that no one gave her anything at the celebration:

9 má-ŋa **ká** = ⁿda da = w

give-1SG.OBJ NEG = person thing = NEG
Nobody gives me anything. (at that time, in that situation)

The same clause with a preverbal negation particle and subject results in a more general complaint:

10 **ká** = ⁿda má-ŋa da = w
NEG = person give-1SG.OBJ thing = NEG
Nobody gives me anything, ever. (elicited)

The same pattern of preverbal and post-verbal position alternations also occurs with the allomorph *á*. The next example illustrates a preverbal *á*:

11 **á** ka mə ᵐba gən-ŋi = w
NEG 3F HAB again help-1EX.OBJ = NEG
It is not helping us.

Post-verbal *á* is frequent with verbs that do not take extensions such as *sə́* 'know'. The following examples illustrate post-verbal *á* with *sə́*:

12 sə́ **á** ŋ̂i da = j ɓən ʒ̂igəla = w
know NEG 1EX thing = REL do god = NEG
We don't know what thing God is doing.

When following an open syllable with schwa or a low back vowel, *á* will assimilate with the syllable. In the above example, *sə́* 'know' + *á* 'NEG' are realized as [*sá*]. Auxilliaries such as *ᵐba* 'again' and *ja-va* 'come out' are realized [ᵐbá] and [ja-vá] when combined with *á* NEG. Examples of each of these auxiliaries follow:

13 **ᵐba** **á** ka tsə-r ⁿdu xaʔi = w
again NEG 3F catch-EXT person here = NEG
It (leopards) has not caught people here (since the time given in context).

14 ba xáⁿdʒiga, ja-va á ⁿda zwa-má zwa ŋwa = w
up.to now come-OUT NEG person weed-UP weed on = NEG
And up to now, people have never cultivated on it.

Post-verbal position of the negation particle generally is directly after the verb. However, there are a few examples in the corpus of locative predications intervening between the verb and the negation particle. The following examples illustrate locative predications between the verb and the negation particle:

15 já **a** **fa** **ŋá** ká = ǰ = w
come GOAL father 1SG.POSS NEG = DET = NEG
This didn't come from my father.

16 já **a** **ŋi** **ⁿdu** á = ka = w
come GOAL another person NEG = 3F = NEG
It didn't come from anybody. (The shrine is putting the salt within)

A similar finding has been reported for Hdi (Frajzyngier & Shay 2002: 382-84), although in Hdi tone differences on the negative marker code the referential/non-referential distinction.

2.2 Negation, tense and aspect

Clauses with preverbal negation particles can take habitual aspect or future tense. However, negative clauses cannot take either perfective or progressive.

The only difference between negative clauses in the habitual and affirmative clauses in the habitual is the placement of the subject. In the affirmative, subjects are always post-verbal. The next example illustrates the position of the subject in an affirmative habitual clause:

17	**mə**	bəzan	ɣə́n	ŋá	**ⁿda**	á	kwá	xútsa	kənî	ná,
	HAB	spoil	bean	1SG.POSS	person	say	2SG	yesterday	uncle	TOP

"They are spoiling my beans!" you said yesterday, Uncle.

In the negative, the subject directly follows the negative particle which is always the first element in the clause when the particle is preverbal. The next example illustrates a negative habitual clause:

18	**ká = tʃá**	**mə**	ɗwá-m	da	ɗwá-tə = w
	NEG = 3M	HAB	eat-EXT	thing	eat-OM = NEG

He cannot eat anything (edible things).

The same pattern in the affirmative and negative holds with future clauses. In the future affirmative, the subject occurs after the verb and object. The next example illustrates the subject position in the future:

19	**da**	ɬá	kúm = j	**ⁿda**,
	FUT	take	rat = DET	person

The rat shall be taken, …

In negated future clauses, the negation particle and subject precede the future marker. The next example illustrates the position of the subject and the future particle in a negated future clause:

20	**ká = ka**	**da**	tsaɗ-tə	já-rá	pə	ban = ĵ = w
	NEG = 3F	FUT	sweep-OM	come-CENT	LOC	grindstone = DET = NEG
	She will not sweep it from that grinding stone.					

Clauses with post-verbal negation particles cannot be coded for tense, aspect or modality.

2.3 Negaton of existential predications

Negation of existential predications is accomplished by simply negating the noun phrase. The existential marker *nə* is not used:

21	**ká =** kwáɓa = **w**		
	NEG = money = NEG		
	There is no money.		

22	**ká =** ŋi	da = **w**	
	NEG = another	thing = NEG	
	There is no other thing.		

The verb *ⁿza*, which occurs in certain existential constructions (see chapter on non-verbal predications), does not occur in negative contexts.

2.4 Negation of equational and locative predications with *ká/á*

Negation of equational and locative predications with *ká/á* has the same alternations as verbal predications. Negation of the entire clause indicates that a general state of affairs is untrue. In equational predications of this type, the predicate nominal typically takes the generic marker *ka*. If the negation particle occurs after the predicate, context consistently suggests that this indicates that the state of affairs is untrue with reference to a particular instance:

23 xán **ká = ka = w**
like.this NEG = 3F = NEG
It is not like this. (Speaker was chastising someone for dividing meat incorrectly)

If the negation particle occurs before the predicate, then the general state of affairs is negated:

24 **á** = ka xán = **w**
NEG = 3F like.this = NEG
It is not like this. (In general)

This preverbal pattern is the pattern found when discussing definitions, which are general by nature. In the next example the topical term *mətəkwi* is contrasted with a similar term *zwazwa*:

25 mətəkwi$_i$, **ká = ka$_i$** ka zwazwa = **w**
partenership.work NEG = 3F GENR communal.work = NEG
Partnership work is not communal work.

Examples of the referential versus general distinction are readily found in locative predications. When referring to a general state of affairs, the negation particle and subject occur before the locative predicate as in:

26 má fa ka dəm-a = ju,
HYP father 3F.POSS girl.SG-MOD = DET

á = tʃá pə ir = j = w
NEG = 3M on place = DET = NEG
The father of this girl, he was not there.
(He was living and working in Maiduguri at the time)

But in situations where reference to the absence of something is restricted to a particular occasion, the negation particle is positioned after the locative predicate:

27 xaʔi **á = ka = w**
here NEG = 3F = NEG
It is not here (where we are doing it today) [reference only holds for the specific event]

3 Negation with *kará*

There is another negation particle, *kará*, which does not require the clause final clitic *= w*. Negation with *kará* is only restricted to dependent clause structures such as background clauses, adverbials and relative clauses. As with *ká/á* 'NEG', the subject immediately follows *kará* 'NEG' when negating predications. Only preverbal position occurs with *kará*. The next example illustrates *kará* negating a backgrounded clause:

28 **kará** **tá** **da** **já** **ná**, ká=ka mə ɓə́n-má-v=w
NEG 3PL FUT come TOP NEG=3F HAB do-UP-PASS=NEG
(Since) they will not come, it cannot happen.

Kará is also the form used when relative clauses are negated:

29 ɮa vərʃîn djagú ba dəma=j **kará** **ɓə́r=j**
only child.PL youth CONJ girl.SG=REL NEG initiate=DET
Only uninitiated young men, and unmarried girls.

Kará 'NEG' is also the form used when negating existential predications in dependent contexts. The next example illustrates the use of *kará* in negating an existential predication:

30 **má** **kará** **já ɓ** **ᵐbə**
HYP NEG abuse within
When there has been no abuse, …

Kará 'NEG' is also the means for negating adverbial clauses. The next example illustrates a negative temporal adverbial clause:

31 á rə́-m ⁿda **kará** **ka** **kapakwa** ná
HYP bury-EXT person NEG 3F evening TOP
When people bury (someone with leprosy) and it is not evening, …

While the *kará* negation particle can only be used in these dependent contexts, other forms of negation can also be used in dependent contexts. When *ká/á* 'NEG' is used in a backgrounded clause, in general only post-verbal negation is used. The next example illustrates a post-verbal negation with *ká* in a backgrounded clause:

32 **ja** **pəʃím** **ká=n=w** **ná,** wə́n ɗwá ɬîdî

come clever NEG = 1SG = NEG TOP play eat king
If I am not wise, to be king is not a joke.

4 Negation in focus constructions

Negation in focus constructions requires the placement of the focus marker *ká* between the fronted focus element and the relativizer. Negation in this construction type is coded only with the clause final clitic, *= w.* The next examples illustrate subject focus. In the first example, the third person plural free pronoun codes the argument in focus and the only marker of negation is the clause final clitic, *= w*:

33 ⁿda xá = j xə́n ɮə = j kumá
person PL = REL slaughter bull = DET again

tá **ká = j** da ᵐba tʃúɬ-tə = **w**
3PL.FREE FOC = REL FUT again judge-OM = NEG
Those who will slaughter the bull, they are not the ones to be judging it.

In the next example *ⁿdu* 'person' is the argument in focus:

34 **ⁿdu** **ká = j** táx-á-va = **w**
person FOC = REL divide-OM-OUT = NEG
No human being divided it.

In the next example *fa ŋá* 'my father' is the subject in focus:

35 fa ŋá **ká = j** ɓərá-ŋa-rá w = j
father 1SG.POSS FOC = REL initiate-1SG.OBJ-CENT NEG = Q
It wasn't my father that initiated me?

The same pattern holds for non-verbal predications. The next example illustrates subject focus and negation in a non-verbal predication:

36	**kí**	**ká = j**	ka	xukúma = **w**
	2PL.FREE	FOC = REL	GENR	judge = NEG
	You are not judges.			

Even when the subject is not the argument in focus, the subject does not follow the particle and relativizer combination *ká = j* (as might be expected if the particle *ká* were the negation particle rather than a focus particle). In the next example, the instrument is the argument in focus but the subject *ⁿda* 'person' occurs after the object:

37	**mək**	**ká = j**	ɓə́n	xi	**ⁿda** = w
	3F.FREE	FOC = REL	do	guineacorn	person = NEG
	This they are not using for harvest.				

In the following example, the direct object is the focused argument of the clause:

38	**mək$_i$**	**ká = j**	dza	tʃá	ɗwá-tə$_i$ = **w**	ná
	3F.FREE	FOC = REL	go	3M	eat-OM = NEG	TOP
	It is not the one he will go eat.					

4.1 The status of the *ká* particle in focus constructions

Despite formal similarities, the status of the *ká* particle used in focus constructions as the negation particle is doubtful, thus the gloss 'FOC'. The same particle also occurs in

interrogative focus constructions. In the next example, the particle *ká* occurs in a question with the goal in focus:

39 má ⁿda=j ɓats-kwa-má ɓə́ɬ pə ɣi na
HYP person=REL get-2SG.OBJ-UP mud on house top

tsə́j$_i$ **ká=j** dza kwá dza=j **a** **tsə́j$_i$** **wa**
3M.FREE FOC=REL go 2SG go=DIR GOAL 3M.FREE Q
When a person puts mud on your house, is it he that you will go to (if you need something)?

Further evidence that the *ká* particle codes focus rather than negation comes from the fact that there are examples of focus constructions using *kará* which also take the *ká* particle:

40 kəná **ká=j** **kará** ɻá-kwa-xá bagá wá kənə́j
3F.FREE FOC=REL NEG say-2SG.OBJ-DOWN surprise Q uncle
I failed to tell you, uncle?! (Its my fault. I can't believe I failed to tell you.)

If the particle *ká* is not the negation particle, then negation in focus constructions is coded only by the clause final clitic *=w* or the dependent negation particle *kará*.

5 Modal contexts

Special negation markers are used in modal contexts. There are prohibitive markers and a distinct negator for conditionals. The forms and functions of these negation particles are discussed in detail in the chapter on tense, aspect and modality, and the chapter on the complex sentence, but examples of each are provided here.

5.1 Prohibitive

The prohibitive is coded by *îⁿda* or *kə́ⁿda*. As with other negation particles, a subject will follow the prohibitive if the clause has an explicit subject. The following example illustrates the prohibitive particle *îⁿda* with the pronoun for plural direct address:

41	"**índa**	**vəna**	kə́r	da	ⁿdu"	á	tʃá
	PROHIB	2PL.IMP	steal	thing	person	say	3M
	Don't steal someone's thing, he said.						

5.2 Negative conditional

Negative conditionals are coded by the negative conditional particle *bî*. No other marker of either negation or conditional is necessary:

42	ma	**bí**	ŋi	mə	ɬá	gəmá	ta	ná,
	HYP	NEG.COND	another	HAB	take	word	2SG.POSS	TOP
	When one (of your wives) is not taking your advice,							

6 Pragmatic negation

In addition to explicitly coded negation, Sakun speakers frequently exploit pragmatic triggers to negate propositions. The two main methods of this are to question an assertion, indicating the opposite is true, and to state the antithesis in a context where the opposite is understood to be the case. The next two examples illustrate the questioning of an assertion as a means for indicating negation:

43 mə də́ məpaɮə́ máɮɨɦə = j, ʒirî
HAB cook beer man.PL = Q wife.PL
Men are not cooking beer. It is women.

44 a kwá mə ɬa-má = ĵ
SBJV 2SG HAB lift-UP = Q
You cannot lift it.

Sometimes both means are used to express the negation. First the proposition will stated as a question, followed by its negation:

45 tá = j ⁿda dza dzwa ka də́-tə = ĵ
3PL.FREE = REL COND go move PURP cook-OBJ = Q

ká tá dzwa ka də́-tə = w
NEG 3PL move PURP cook-OBJ = NEG
It is they that would go and cook it? They don't go to cook it.

Prohibition can be triggered pragmatically by stating the antithesis of the desired action:

46 ja kî ɗwá-m ɗaf ŋá
come 2PL eat-PFV food 1SG.POSS
Don't eat my food! (Lit. *You come and eat my food!*) [Field Notes]

7 Conclusion

Negation in Sakun is achieved by the usage of a combination of *ká/á* and the clause final clitic *= w*; through the use of *kará* or through negative form of the modal marker, *bî*. The position of the negative particle in relation to the predicate codes distinctions in reference: preverbal position of the negation particle codes general reference, post-verbal position of the negation

particle codes reference to a specific situation. This function of negation particle position alternations is mirrored in non-verbal predications. Focus constructions have distinct patterns under negation. In addition to the explicit coding of negation, Sakun speakers frequently exploit pragmatics to trigger a negative reading of questions and to trigger a prohibitive reading of an assertion.

CHAPTER 9 ADVERBIALS

1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the modification of clauses by adverbial constructions and lexical adverbs. Adverbs constitute a distinct lexical category in Sakun, but adverb is a category with very few members. Most lexical items in an adverbial function come from other lexical categories, primarily nouns and verbs.

If one considers the notion of adverb from a functional perspective by observing constructions which code time, manner, quality, quantity, location and so on, a family of constructions emerge with similar syntactic properties; i.e. these constructions all occur in the same position within the clause and when placed in clause initial position for focus, they take no relativizer. This family of constructions will be referred to as adverbials. Thus, lexical items and phrases are interpreted as adverbials primarily through position and other morphosyntactic properties such as the absence of a relativizer when in clause initial focus position. Formally, adverbials can be realized as prepositional phrases, nouns and noun phrases, verbs and the small group of adverbs. Subordinating particles with adverbial-like meanings (e.g. temporal anteriority) have syntactic properties distinct from those to be

described below for adverbials and such subordinating particles are discussed elsewhere with related complex sentences.

Adverbials occur after the verb and arguments. Adverbials generally occur after the arguments in a clause and typically code manner, time, location, quality and quantity. Prepositional phrases which add participants to the clause have the same properties as other adverbials and are treated here as belonging to the same class of grammatical elements. Adverbials are free in their relative order when both occur in the same clause – although prepositional phrases adding participants to the clause tend to precede adverbials indicating manner, time, location, etc.. In the next example the adverb *mamaʃ* 'fast' occurs after the verb *gər* 'grow':

1	má	ⁿzə́	tʃá	mə	gər	**mamáʃ**
	HYP	COND	3M	HAB	grow	fast
	If he is growing very fast…					

In the next example *fát* 'very' modifies an equational predication, occurring after the subject of the predication:

2	[małájaŋ]$_{PRED}$	[tʃá]$_{SBJ}$	**fát**,	bák	tá	mákən	va	tá
	magical	3M	very	two	3PL	three	year	3PL.POSS

mə	xuɗ	kə́ja	jî-ta-xá	ⁿda
in	stomach	before	born-3PL.OBJ-DOWN	person

He is very 'matlayaŋ[1]'. Both of them spent three years in the womb before they were born.

Adverbials occurring after the verb are free in their order in relation to each other. Examples of clauses with multiple adverbials are provided below in the section on multiple adverbials. There does not appear to be any significance to precedence after the verb. Clause initial adverbials are discussed below under adverbial constructions in focus.

2 Lexical category of adverb

The grammar of Sakun includes a small group of lexical adverbs. There are no phonological patterns or restrictions specific to a class of adverbs. Adverbs can be derived from other lexical categories such as nouns and verbs through a process of reduplication described below. However, most adverbials are members of lexical categories other than adverb with no change in form[2]. Position in the clause is the only indication that the lexical item is functioning as an

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[1] *małájaŋ* is a term for people born with magical powers such as the ability to fly and do superhuman feats of strength. They are distinguished from witches. The power of the *małajaŋ* is not hereditary although one must be born with it – i.e. the child of a *małajaŋ* will not necessarily be *małajaŋ* as well. The comment above was made of *Fulə* and *Dəvə*, the mythical creators of the king's palace and surrounding road system.

[2] Sakun numerals have a pattern of reduplication described in the chapter on the noun phrase which is distinct from the pattern for adverbial derivation. A similar pattern is described for Hausa (Newman 2000: 42) as derivation of adverb from noun. For Sakun both forms of numeral can function as nouns or adverbials without further change so the reduplicated form of the numeral cannot be analyzed as a derivation of one lexical category from another.

adverbial. Similar issues with the category adverb are described for Margi (Hoffmann 1963: 229) where many would-be adverbs clearly belong to other lexical categories such as noun and adjective.

While most adverbials are nouns or prepositional phrases, there is a small class of lexical items which only occur in the positions described for adverbials. Members of this lexical category include the terms *tsú* 'also', and *kumá* 'again', illustrated in the example:

3	nə́	ŋwu	gəbə́	**tsú**	**kumá**
	EXIST	gate	second	also	again
	There is a second gate, also again.				

There is the degree adverb *dəⁿgər* 'very'. This term can modify a clause on its own as in the next example:

4	a	jaɓ-ŋja-rá	kwá	**dəⁿgər**	á	tá
	PFV	abuse-1EX.OBJ-CENT	2SG	too.much	say	3PL
	"You abused us too much!" they said.					

Or *dəⁿgər* 'very' can work with other adverbials to augment the meaning of a clause as in the following example:

5	a	ⁿdʒá-m	tá	ⁿdu	**kíŋ**	**dəⁿgər**	**mə**	**sákun**
	PFV	kill.PL-EXT	3PL	person	many	too.much	in	Sakun
	They killed very many people in Sakun?							

There are several modal-like meanings coded through the use of adverbials. These meanings are doubt, surprise and counterfactual statements. The first of these is the coding of doubt, or 'dubitative', with *sə^{n}zá*. This is illustrated in the next example:

6 łja-m ká kwá **sə^{n}zá** = w = j
hear-EXT NEG 2SG doubt = NEG = Q
You didn't hear (what I just said)?! [Mother admonishing a child]

Dubitative can be coded without either negation or the interrogative as illustrated in the next example:

7 bú^{n}dibú^{n}di a kwá zár-má ja ta **sə^{n}zá,** á ka
IP.no SBJV 2SG find-UP own 2SG.POSS doubt say 3F
'Maybe you will find your own', it said.

Surprise or counter-expectations, can be indicated with *baga*. The next example indicates that the addressee should in fact know something while the proposition asserts that the addressee does not in fact know:

8 sɔ́ = á = kwá **baga** = w
know = NEG = 2SG surprise = NEG
You don't know?!

Likewise, the next example asserts the addressee is a hero while signaling that this is not the expected course of events:

9 a katsála kwá **baga**
PFV success 2SG surprise
You have become a success (surprisingly).

Counterfactual statements are coded with *bîska*:

10	a	ʒi	ka	^{m}ba = n	já	də	sə́rɗəm	kapakwa
	PFV	remain	PURP	again = 1SG	come	cook	soup	this.evening

bíska	kə́ni	xanáwa	á	də́gəvu	
CNTF	uncle	HON.say	say	hyena	

[Some] remains so that I would otherwise have come and cooked soup this evening, Uncle." said Hyena.

Terms like *sə^{n}zá, bîska* and *baga* rarely occur anywhere other than in clause final position and behave similarly to clause final mood particles, like negation and interrogative particles. However, there are a few examples of these particles occurring in clause initial position, suggesting they are adverbs rather than modal particles. In the next example, *sə^{n}zá* occurs in the clause initial position:

11	**sə^{n}zá**	da	tə = j	kará	tʃá	ka	^{n}da	sakún	gága
	doubt	thing	3M.POSS = REL	NEG	3M	as	person	Sakun	true

Doubtfully his thing is true when he is not a Sakun person.

Likewise, there are examples with these adverbs occurring with other adverbs post-verbally as in the next example:

12	ɮə-i ɮə	mə́	**bíska**	**tam**
	cut-PROG cut	1IN	CNTF	now

We are supposed to be crossing it!

The majority of adverbials consisting of a single lexical item (i.e. adverbials which are not a larger unit such as a prepositional phrase) are members of lexical categories other than adverb. These lexical items function as adverbials without any change in form. In the next example, the word *dam* 'separate' functions as an adverbial in the focus position. The evidence that *dam* is an adverbial in the focus position rather than a noun is the absence of a relativizer. The term describes the manner of the event coded in the clause:

13	**dam**	já-má	tá	pə	ir=j	já	tá
	separate	come-UP	3PL	at	place=REL	come	3PL

kəjá	já	tá	î^{n}za	mə	sákun
before	come	3PL	stay	at	Sakun

Separately they came up from the place that they came (from) before they settled in Sakun.

However, *dam* frequently behaves as a noun. In the next example, the term *dam* 'separate' takes the relativizer and functions as an argument in the clause:

14	**dam=j**	də	^{n}da	ma-tə́	ir
	separate=REL	cook	person	up-LOC	room

There is a different (one) that people cook above the room, …

Nouns with meanings related to quantity most frequently appear as adverbials. In the next example, *kîŋ,* meaning 'many', functions as an adverbial. As the next example illustrates, the term *kîŋ* 'many' is separated from *pəʃîm* 'clever' by both the subject of the clause

gwamənátî ‘government’ and an adverbial of time *xá^{n}dʒiga* ‘now’ despite the fact that it appears to be modifying *pəʃim*:

15	a	ɬá-ká	pəʃîm	gwamənátî	xá^{n}dʒiga	**kíŋ**
	PFV	carry-VENT	clever	government	now	many
	The government has brought many plans (for farming).					

The above example is vague between the translation provided and ‘The government has brought plans *many times’*. The vagueness between plurality of object and plurality of action also frequently occurs with pluractional verb forms.

And again in the next example *kîŋ* functions as an adverbial in focus position. Evidence of adverbial focus is the absence of the relativizer (see discussion of adverbial focus constructions below):

16	**kíŋ**	dza	nə	tswá-tə	ká	ja	ŋá	xá^{n}dʒiga
	many	go	1SG	cut-OM	REF	own	1SG.POSS	now
	Many I will make for my own now.							

Evidence that numerals can function as adverbials include examples such as the following where a fronted numeral is modified by another quantifier (suggesting the numeral is functioning nominally) but is not linked to the following clause by means of a relativizer:

17	**ma^{n}gaʡá**	**wasə́k**	lama-və́	ŋî	bagá,	á = n
	even	one-hundred	arrange-REFL	1EX	surprise	SBJV = 1SG

tsə-kwa-r
catch-2SG.OBJ-EXT

Even if we arranged ourselves one-hundred, would I hold you? (says Squirrel to Elephant)

In the next example, the numeral is included in the clause with the verb *dzə* 'weave' which has the object coded through the object marker *–tə*. In clauses where the object is coded by an object marker, the nominal object cannot be included in the clause as an argument, thus the numeral cannot be functioning as an argument in the clause:

18	má	ⁿda	xá=j	dzə-**tə**	**waŋdúkkə́ᵐbə=j**		ná,
	HYP	person	PL=REL	weave-OM	twelve=DET		TOP
	za	tá	ɓə́n	mamáʃ	kə́	kəná	tsú
	better	3PL	do	fast	REF	1SG.FREE	also

As for those who are weaving it twelve (times), they are faster than me again.

The determiner after the numeral in the previous example is a clitic attaching to the right edge of the entire NP headed by *ⁿda* 'person', rather than modifying the numeral. The presence of the determiner on this NP codes the relative clause as restricting. The placement of the clitic after the numeral provides evidence that the numeral is part of the clause.

There are examples of verbs functioning as adverbials. However, most examples of verbs in adverbial roles are with the verbs of motion *ja* 'come' and *dza* 'go'. Preverbal examples of these verbs are often difficult to distinguish from the auxiliary function of these verbs:

19	**ja**	ʒíbə́dək	ⁿda	pə	twáj	tam,	a	ⁿda	lá-va

come start Person on skin now SEQ person strip-OUT
Arriving, they start on the skin now, they cut (it) into one long strip.

In the above example, the function of *ja* 'come' is adverbial rather than auxiliary. In auxiliary function, the clause would still require a clause initial TAM or subordinating particle and the subject, *ⁿda* 'person', would be adjacent to *ja*. The pattern of *ja* in the above example follows that of other clause initial adverbials, displacing the TAM or subordinating particles usually necessary to orient a clause in the discourse.

Verbs can also function as adverbials in post-verbal positions. The next example illustrates the use of *já-va* 'come out' as an adverbial in post-verbal position:

20 da ᵐba tʃá dəɗá ja tə **já-va**
FUT again 3M Pull own 3M.POSS come-OUT
He will again pull (weeds) from his own, coming out.

These verbs of motion will occur after the main verb in the clause indicating the resulting direction or motion of the event. This pattern is described in more detail in the chapter on locative predications.

3 Reduplication

Adverbs can be derived from nominal or verbal roots through reduplication. The root is followed by the first syllable, then the root is repeated. The repeated syllable between the two

roots is always low tone, even of the same syllable from the root is high tone. The next example illustrates this pattern with *kə́li* ‘single’:

21 **kə́li.kə.kə́li** ɓə́n ja tə ɮə́ń tʃá ná
single.REDUP do own 3M.POSS work 3M TOP
One by one he is doing his own work, …

As can be seen in the above example, the first syllable of *kə́li* has a high tone, but when repeated between the roots, the syllable *kə* is low tone. The directionality of the reduplication is not clear from the available examples. Adverbs have a distributional reading when reduplicated. The reduplicated adverb is compatible with pluractional verb forms and the iterative meaning of the pluractional form complements the distributive reading from the reduplicated adverbial. This is illustrated in the next example with the pluractional verb *na.nas-kwa-ma=n* ‘I asked for you’ and the reduplicated adverb *damdadam* ‘separately’:

22 a **na.nas-kwa-má=n** ⁿda xá=j tʃǐtʃǐj
PFV ask.PL-2SG.OBJ-UP=1SG person PL=REL DEM.PROX

dam.da.dam ⁿdʒǐka
separate.REDUP just.before
I asked these people for you, each separately just now.

While adverbs can be derived from nominal and verbal roots, it is far more common for nouns and verbs to function as adverbs without any derivation. The next example illustrates *dam* ‘separate’ in an adverbial role without reduplication:

23	mə	fə̌	ja	ka	kwáɓa	ka	**dam**	kjaná
	HAB	put	own	3F.POSS	money	3F	separate	[H.] ?

She is putting her own money separately.

4 Multiple adverbials

Clauses frequently take multiple adverbials. Typically when a clause takes more than one adverbial, they all occur post-verbally. Adverbials exhibit variation in their order after the verb. In the next example the adverb *tsú* 'also' follows the object but precedes the prepositional phrase *ka^{n}gə dəmaju* :

24	a	ka	ɓáts-ká	daf=j	**tsú**	**ká^{n}gə**	**də́m-a=ju**	
	SBJV	3F	gather-VENT	food=DET	also	BEN	girl-MOD=DET	

She will bring in that food also, for that girl.

However, in the next example *tsú* follows the prepositional phrase *nə mək*:

25	nə́	ŋ̂i	da=j	ká=j	gə́n-kwa-má	má	ta
	EXIST	another	thing=DET	REF=REL	help-2SG.OBJ-UP	mother	2SG.POSS

nə	**mək**	**tsú**	na
with	3F.FREE	also	Q

Is there something else that your mother helps you with?

In some cases, there are multiple meanings added to the clause through the use of multiple adverbials. In the next example, adverbials of time and place follow the arguments:

26	a	^{n}da	dʒiɮ-rá	má^{n}da	ka=j	**tám**	**xaʔí**
	SEQ	person	beat-CENT	bottom	3F=DET	now	here

They will beat its bottom now here.

Likewise, in the following example a series of adverials follow the object clarifying location and manner:

27	ka	ja	ŋî	ɓə́n	prajmárîskúl	**xaʔí**	**gjáɓ,**
	PURP	come	1EX	do	primary school	here	together

ŋí	**nə**	**tá**
1EX	with	3PL.FREE

We will come and do a primary school together, we with them.

However, it is also frequently the case that multiple adverbials with similar if not identical meanings occur in the same clause. In the next example, both *tsú* and *kumá* have the meaning of 'again':

28	nə́	ŋwu	gəbə́	**tsú**	**kumá**
	EXIST	gate	second	also	again

There is a second gate, also again.

In the next example the adverbials *xá^{n}dʒiga* and *tam* both code 'now':

29	kî	ka	ɮər	kənî	**xá^{n}dʒiga**	**tam**	na	baxá=i
	2PL. FREE	as	many	uncle	now	now	or	how=Q

You are the uncles now, or how is it?

Adverbials can be repeated for either effect (as in emphasis) or to indicate a plurality of actions as in the next example:

30	^{n}də	xaŋi	ɬə́n	xá=j	ɓə́n-má	tá	**dam**	**dam**
	EXIST	some	work	PL=REL	do-UP	3PL	separate	separate

dam **dam** **kúmá** ná
separate separate again TOP
There was some work that they did, different, different, different, different again, …
[each *dam* accompanied by gesture indicating iterative working events]

In the above example, the work of the mythical brothers Fulə and Dəvə who founded Sukur are being discussed. Each *dám* refers to a different feat attributed to them, e.g. the *Tlîdî's* palace, the paved walkways, and so on.

5 Adverbial constructions in focus

Adverbials can be positioned at the beginning of the clause if the adverbial is in focus. In the next example, the adverb *samə́,* 'slow' occurs clause initially and the quality is being contrasted with *mamáʃ* 'fast' in the clause that follows:

31 **samə́** dzə ja ŋá=n ká=ka **mamáʃ=**w
slow weave own 1SG.POSS=1SG NEG=3F fast=NEG
I weave my own slowly, it is not very fast.

In the above example, the clause does not have any subordinating particle nor TAM markers before the verb *dzə* 'weave'. Absent an adverbial in focus, such a clause requires a TAM marker or subordinating particle. The next example illustrates a similar clause without an adverbial in focus. The clause has the *mə* 'habitual' marker:

32 **mə** dzə ja kîⁿdək ⁿda nə swaram
HAB weave own guineacorn.granary person with strong.grass
One weaves the men's granary cover with swaram [a type of strong grass].

Clauses with adverbials in focus are restricted in the TAM coding they can take and also use dependent negation forms. The pattern for adverbials in focus follows the pattern described for focus constructions in general in the chapter on focus constructions. When adverbials are in the initial position, the subject of a *da* 'future' clause occurs in the dependent position; i.e. the same position used in relative clauses, focus constructions and with information questions. The next example illustrates a clause in the future tense with an initial adverbial:

33	**ʃwát**	da	**kwá**	ɮa-tə	ʃwát
	completely	FUT	2SG	speak-OM	completely
	Completely you will tell it all.				

Dependent negation is coded with the *karáa* negation marker. Clauses with adverbials in focus can only use *karáa* to code the negative. The next example illustrates *karáa* with a clause initial adverbial:

34	**ɮa**	**paráŋ**	**karáa**	ⁿda	mə	zwa	ɬjaɓər
	only	long.ago	NEG	person	HAB	farm	maize
	Only in the past people were not cultivating maize.						

Further evidence of the initial adverbial coding contrastive focus comes from the preference for the initial position when the adverbial is the element of the clause being questioned. This is illustrated in the next example:

35	**xáⁿdʒiga**	dza=n	fára-kja	na
	now	go=1SG	start-2PL.OBJ	Q

Is it now that I should start (speaking) for you?

Focused adverbials can be distinguished from focused arguments and relative clauses by the absence of the relativizer. In the next example, the word *dam* 'separate' functions as a clause initial adverbial. The term describes the manner of the event coded in the clause and there is no relativizer following *dam*:

36	**dam**	já-má	tá	pə	ir=j	já	tá
	separate	come-UP	3PL	at	place=REL	come	3PL

kəjá	já	tá	î^{n}za	mə	sákun
before	come	3PL	stay	at	Sakun

Separately they came up from the place that they came (from) before they settled in Sakun.

However, *dam* typically functions as a noun. In the next example, the term *dam* 'separate' takes the relativizer and functions as an argument (the object) in the clause:

37	**dam=j**	də	^{n}da	ma-tə́	ir
	separate=REL	cook	person	up-LOC	room

There is a different (one) that people cook above the room, …

Prepositional phrases functioning as adverbials can also be in focus. When any adjunct is fronted for focus, the relativizer is not used:

38	**pə**	**va**	**ɓər**	ja	^{n}da	xən	ɮə,	xan	a=ka=w
	on	year	initiate	come	person	slaughter	bull	like.this	NEG=3F=NEG

On the initiation year people will come and slaughter a bull, isn't it?

Adjuncts adding participants to the clause also follow this pattern as illustrated in the next example:

39 **ⁿgə** **vərʃín** táx-tə ŋî pját
BEN child.PL divide-OM 1EX all
To the children, we distributed it, all of it.

Adverbials can also occur in backgrounding *ná* clauses. While the clause initial adverbials just discussed put the manner, quality, quantity, and so forth in focus, adverbials in *ná* clauses set the manner, quality, etc., as the background. The following short passage from a discussion on the birth of twins illustrates the difference. The passage begins with setting up the topic of the birth of twins. The specific example of the twins born a few days prior is invoked and ***bəna*** 'today' is placed in contrastive focus with *xutsa* 'before yesterday':

40 a kə́=n, á ji-xá xúlî ⁿda ná, á ji-xá
PFV see=1SG HYP born-DOWN twins person TOP HYP born-DOWN

ⁿda ná, **xa** ji-xá ⁿda **xusta=j** **ná,**
person TOP as born-DOWN person before.yesterday=DET TOP

bəna tsúf-tə ⁿda,
today protect-OM person
I saw. When twins are born, when people bear them as those that were born ***a few days ago, today*** *people protect them.*

The passage continues but in the clause immediately following, *bəna* 'today' is backgrounded and simply sets up the time frame for the events which follow:

41 **bəna ná,** mə ɬə́ fa ka xúlĩ,
today TOP HAB depart father 3F.POSS twins

mə dza tʃá da zár məpaʁə
HAB go 3M GOAL find beer
Today then, the father departs. He goes out looking for beer…

Typically, adverbials which occur in a backgrounded clause with *ná* will have scope over several clauses which follow.

6 Conclusion

The set of lexical adverbs is very small. A reduplication pattern can be used to derive an adverb from another lexical category – most frequently nouns, however words from other lexical categories typically serve as adverbs without any change in form. Adverbials are defined functionally – the elements in a clause coding time, manner, quality, quantity and stance. Formally adverbials can be prepositional phrases, nouns or noun phrases, verbs and adverbs. When adverbials are fronted for contrastive focus no relativizer is used, the TAM coding for the clause is restricted and negated clauses must use the dependent negation marker *kará*.

CHAPTER 10 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

1 Introduction

Prepositional phrases add participants and other elements to a clause with additional means, prepositions, to indicate the role of the noun phrase in relation to the predicate. Syntactically, prepositional phrases behave in a clause in the same way as other adverbials even when adding participants to a clause rather than indicating the manner, time or location more typical of adverbials. In other words, prepositional phrases typically occur after the verb and arguments and their position is in free variation with other adverbials. When prepositional phrases are in clause initial focus position, they do not take a relativizer and the following clause shows the same pattern of future tense and negation discussed below. Prepositional phrases consist minimally of a preposition and generally take a noun phrase as an object to the preposition. In the next example a prepositional phrase introduces an instrument to the clause:

1	a	ⁿda	já	tsákál-a-má	ka	já	ɮi-tə	**nə**	**dʒíf**
	SEQ	person	come	gather-OM-UP	PURP	come	thresh-OM	with	stick

They come gather it up to come and thresh it with a stick.

Beneficiaries are also introduced with prepositional phrases when the beneficiary is coded with a full noun phrase (rather than a pronoun within the verbal piece). This is illustrated in the following example:

2 má mə dza ⁿda da ɓə́n ŋi da **kaⁿgə** **ɬíɗi** ná
HYP HAB go person GOAL do another thing BEN chief TOP
When one is needed to go and do something for the chief, …

Prepositional phrases typically occur post-verbally after the arguments and pattern in ways similar to other adverbials if they code the same domains (e.g. locative prepositional phrases occur in the same position as other locative adverbials). In the next example the prepositional phrase indicating location follows the deictic pronoun also indicating location:

3 məɓən jîm=j tʃi̋ji ka já fə́-tə **xaʔí** **ɣi-mə**
good stone=REL DEM.PROX PURP come put-OM **here** **in-at**

ɣí=ju
house=DET
This stone is good to put in this house.

As can be seen in the above example, prepositions can be morphologically complex: *ɣi* 'in' and *mə* 'at' both occur independently as prepositions on their own but in the above example come together to form a complex preposition with more specific meanings than the independent prepositions. The morphology of prepositions is discussed in the next section.

Prepositional phrases in the clause initial position are in contrastive focus and follow the pattern for this focus position described for adverbials in the chapter on adverbials and the chapter on focus constructions. As with other clause initial adverbials, the clause initial prepositional phrase does not occur with other clause initial subordinating particles. A clause

following a fronted prepositional phrase will use the dependent negation form *karáˀ* and will follow the pattern of subject position in the future tense for relative clauses and interrogatives. The next example illustrates a prepositional phrase indicating a location in contrastive focus. The speaker has been searching for a missing stool. Failing to locate the stool, he says the following:

4	**pə**	**jím**	dza=n	i^{n}zá	ka	dzə-tə
	at	**stone**	FUT=1SG	sit	PURP	weave-OM
	On a stone I will sit to weave it.					

The object of the preposition does not take a relativizer. The clause that follows is in the future and the subject is in the dependent position – the subject follows the future marker rather than occurring post-verbally.

2 Morphology of complex prepositions

Prepositions in Sakun can be morphologically complex in two ways: prepositions can join together to form compound prepositions with different or more specific meanings; and some prepositions can take a locative suffix, *-tə́*. The next two examples provide illustrations of compound prepositions:

5	kwá	**xa-pə**	xaɗ	tá	ná
	even	**down-at**	ground	3PL	TOP
	Even they are down below (living on the flats).				

6 nə́ fwáj **ɣi-ᵐbə** xáⁿdʒiga
EXIST tree in-within now
There is a stick inside? (Question coded by intonation)

Typically prepositions that are also used as verbal extensions such as *xa* and *ɣi* in the above examples, join with more prototypical prepositions to form compound prepositions. Verbal directional extensions are often used as prepositions on their own, occurring separate from the verbal piece and taking objects of their own. Alone, verbal extensions indicate a property that is inherent in the object of the preposition. For example, a common expression for the hilltop community is *ma ɣi* 'upper compound'. Even if one is above the hilltop village, perhaps in Damai[1], one would still refer to Sukur as *ma ɣi.* In contrast, to speak of a bird flying above a compound, one would use the locative suffix to say *ma-tə́ ɣi* 'above the compound'.

The locative suffix *–tə́* is added to prepositions to indicate that the object of the preposition is the point of reference for another entity. In the next example, the preposition *xa* takes *–tə́* and indicates 'below X' rather than 'down to/at X' or the 'lower X':

7 **xa-tə́** **xaɗ** ɬi ka

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[1] *Damai* is the name of the village on the N.W. edge of the Sukur kingdom. The inhabitants speak Sakun, however, they have separate initiation ceremonies, their own chief and other distinct modes of cultural expression such as dance. The elevation of Damai is higher than that of the central plateau of the Sukur Kingdom.

down-LOC soil root 3F.POSS
Its root is under the soil.

Contrast the above example with the following example which illustrates *xa* without the locative suffix:

8 xán, sakún ná, má xu ɬə́ tá já-má
like.this Sakun TOP HYP when depart 3PL come-UP

xa **xaɗú**
down distant.place
Yes, it was like this. The Sakun, long ago when they came up from the distant lower lands…

Likewise, in the next examples the preposition *mə* 'at' takes *-tə́* and the object of the preposition is the point of reference where another entity is in relation:

9 a ⁿda bə́gə́-xa **mə-tə́** **da** **pə** **kə́ri**
SBJV person put-DOWN at-LOC thing on mat
One will put (it) under something on a mat.

10 kwa **mə-tə́** **karkaʃi íⁿdaŋ** mə tʃîr ka kə́ məkis
even at-LOC groundnut HAB sprout 3F REF sorrel.seed
Even under groundnuts it can sprout, the sorrel seeds.

Contrast the previous example with the preposition *mə* without the locative suffix in the next example:

11 mək=j ɓə́n-tə ⁿda **mə** **íⁿdaŋ**
3F.FREE=REL do-OM person at groundnut
That is why they do it among the groundnuts (in the groundnut farm).

In both cases, the presence of the locative suffix *–tə́* on the preposition in a sense signals that the prepositional phrase indicates a relative position of two entities rather than simply the location of an event or entity.

3 Coding the arguments of prepositions

The object of the preposition follows the preposition. Objects of prepositions can be full noun phrases or pronouns. When the object of the preposition is pronominal, the pronoun will come from the 'free' pronoun paradigm. This is illustrated in the next example:

12	tʃivî=j	da	xáŋi	ⁿda	já	sə́	**mə-tə́**	**kú**
	way=REL	FUT	some	person	come	know	**at-LOC**	**2SG.FREE**
	The way that some will come know (this) under you, …							

There is a subset of prepositions which, when used alone, often do not take objects. It is tempting to analyze them as lexical adverbs rather than prepositions. However, these terms also form compound prepositions which then generally take objects. Members of this group include *ᵐbə* 'within' and *ŋwa* 'on'. The next two examples illustrate *ᵐbə* without an object. The first example has the potential object as the head of the relative clause:

13	xərî=j	ɗa	jám	**ᵐbə**	ná
	shrine=REL	fetch	water	within	TOP
	The shrine which we fetched water from within,				

The next example lacks any instantiated object, although the object is the general topic of the discourse (in this case a furnace which the speakers are discussing in front of them), not an argument in the clause:

14	a	ⁿda	já	bəgə́-xá	vîzu	**ᵐbə**
	SEQ	person	come	put-DOWN	ore	within

People would come put iron ore within.

The next example illustrates *ᵐbə* in a compound with *ɣi*, still without an object:

15	nə́	fwáj	**ɣi-ᵐbə**	xáⁿdʒiga	
	EXIST	tree	in-within	now	

There is a stick inside? (Question coded by intonation)

In the case of compound prepositions with *ᵐbə*, the object is optional. The following example illustrates the compound of *ɣiᵐbə* taking an object:

16	ka	vîr-tá	já-va	**ɣi-ᵐbə**	**ɮáŋ=ju**
	PURP	burn-3PL.OBJ	come-OUT	**in-within**	**cave=DET**

To burn them coming out (from) within those caves.

Since prepositional phrases are analyzed here as a type of adverbial, the presence of an object in compound prepositions with *ᵐbə* and *ŋwa* is the only basis for including thm as prepositions rather than analyzing them as lexical adverbs.

4 Conclusion

Prepositional phrases can add a number of different thematic roles to a clause. Prepositions are used to add instruments, beneficiaries, causes, and locations to clauses. Prepositional phrases adding participants to clauses behave in the same manner as prepositional phrases indicating more prototypical adverbial meanings such as manner, time and location. Prepositions can be simple or complex and for a two prepositions, the object is generally omitted. When placed in clause initial position for contrastive focus, the object of the preposition does not take a relativizer but the clause that follows will have dependent coding for negation (*karáa*), subjects following the future marker *da* and an absence of clause initial subordinating particles. The use of prepositions to code location is discussed further with the presentation of locative predications.

CHAPTER 11 LOCATIVE PREDICATIONS

1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the coding of locative adjuncts. Many locative predications are simply prepositional phrases indicating location and as such would require no special treatment. However, there are a number of special forms and constructions specific to coding spatial relations in events. The verbs *dza* ‘go’ and *já* ‘come’ take locative adjuncts coded with goal markers unique to these verbs. The verbs *dza* ‘go’ and *já* ‘come’ also frequently support clauses after the matrix verb in the form of secondary predications coding trajectories of events. Clauses can also have contrasting spatial relations coded (e.g. both 'above' and 'below'), in which case the directional extension of the verb is goal oriented, and the contrasting spatial location is interpreted as the source of the movement (e.g. 'going up from below').

2 Locative adverbials

Locations can be added to a clause through the use of adverbials. In the next example the prepositional phrase indicating location follows another adverbial, the deictic pronoun *xaʔî* ‘here’, also indicating location:

1	məɓən	jîm=j	tʃîji	ka	já	fə̌-tə	**xaʔí**	**ɣi-mə**
	good	stone=REL	DEM.PROX	PURP	come	put-OM	**here**	**in-at**

ɣí = ju
house = DET
This stone is good to put in this house.

Nouns functioning as adverbials can also indicate location without the use of a preposition to indicate a specific spatial relationship. The next example illustrates *ɣi* 'house or compound' indicating location after the arguments in the clause, but without any preposition:

2 da zár zər tʃá **ɣi**
FUT search wife 3M house
He will look for a wife at the house.

Locations can be put in contrastive focus through the use of clause initial position such as the prepositional phrases as in the next example:

3 **pə** **jím** dza = n i^{n}zá ka dzə-tə
at **stone** go = 1SG sit PURP weave-OM
On a stone I will sit to weave it.

This type of locative predication follows the general pattern of adverbials discussed in the chapter on adverbials.

3 Goal markers

The verbs of motion *dza* 'go' and *ja* 'come' can take goal markers which code the goal of the movement. Such a goal can be a noun phrase and understood to be a physical location as in the next example:

4 mə təŋ-kə́ tə ji ka **já** **da** **ɣi**
HAB find-CENT 3M.POSS DET PURP come GOAL house
Each is finding his way back home.

Or the goal can be verbal complement indicating an action or activity as in:

5 má **dza** tʃá **da** **dzə-tə** ɣi pə́ ir=j tʃǐtʃǐj ná
HYP go 3M GOAL do-OM in at place=REL DEM.PROX TOP
When he goes to play it at this particular place (describing a game)

The goal marker is always *da* when the goal is a verbal complement. However, in the case of noun phrases, the form of the goal marker alternates depending on the animacy of the goal. In the case of inanimate goals, the marker *da* is used as illustrated in the next example:

6 ka dza-xa **da** **vuɗ=ju**
PURP go-OUT GOAL hole=DET
… to go down in that hole.

However, if the goal is animate, the marker *a* is used:

7 ka dza-xa **a** **ma** **ka** **xúlí** **bák**
PURP go-DOWN GOAL mother 3F.POSS twin two
… to go down to the mother of the twins.

The next example illustrates both markers being used in concessive clauses (a disjunctive question), with the first goal being inanimate and taking *da,* and the second goal being animate and taking *a*:

8 rá-má **da** **fə́lí** kwá má ŋwa na, kú=j ɮá dza
go-UP GOAL trading 2SG up on Q 2SG.FREE=REL only go

a **ŋi** **^{n}dú**
GOAL another person\Q
You went there for the travelling trade or you just went to (visit) another person?

Even if the goal is something that can be moved, such as a calabash, the inanimate goal marker is still used when the object cannot move itself. The use of *da* with calabash is illustrated in the next example:

9 xaʔi tʃiju, ka dza-xa **da** **tapɔ́j**
here DEM.PROX PURP go-DOWN GOAL calabash
Like this [picking groundnuts]*, to put it in a calabash.*

In addition to forming locative adjuncts for *dza* 'go' and *ja* 'come', the animate goal marker can also be used to code possessors in existential and equational predications. In the next example, the goal marker *a* codes the possessor of *zər* 'wife' in an equational predication (despite the existential predication in the English translation):

10 tʃivi=j kɔ́=j kará ka mɔ́ɓən, má ^{n}zɔ́ zər zúŋ
way=DET REF=REL NEG 3F good HYP COND wife.SG one

a **kú** ná
GOAL 2SG.FREE TOP
The way it is not good, when there is one wife to you.

The next example illustrates a similar construction found with an existential predication:

11 nə ŋî **a** **kəná** a gadʒirîm na
EXIST another GOAL 1SG.FREE CAUSE bacteria Q
There is something to me because of the bacteria? (Meaning 'There is nothing that is mine because bacteria is paining me!')

There are no examples of this construction with inanimate goals or verbal goals taking the *da* goal marker. All examples of the animate goal marker being used to code a possessor in an existential predication have personal pronouns as the 'objects' of the goal marker. As the above examples demonstrate, the goal markers function much like prepositions and like prepositions, take pronominal objects from the ‘free’ pronoun paradigm. This is true of both the animate and inanimate goal markers. The above examples illustrated pronominal objects with the animate goal marker *a*. The next example illustrates the inanimate goal marker *da* taking a pronominal goal:

12	ka	ná	háɗ	ⁿda	dza-xa	**da**	**mək**
	PURP	get	soil	person	go-DOWN	GOAL	3F.FREE

To put soil down into it (the grinding basin).

Most frequently the goal markers are followed by a noun indicating location. However goal markers can also be used to indicate event goals as well. In this case, only the inanimate marker is used. Generally the meaning of event goal is that of purpose. The goal markers can occur in *ka* clauses which also code purpose. The use of both in the same clause suggests that purpose is not the inherent meaning of the goal marker. The next example illustrates a goal marker with a verbal object in a *ka* clause:

13	xwî	tʃá	**ka**	dza-má	**da**	**gət-vɔ́**
	run	3M	PURP	go-UP	GOAL	hide-REFL

He ran to go up and hide himself.

But as the next example illustrates, the purpose reading is possible even when the construction is not part of a *ka* clause:

14 má **dza** tʃá **da** **dzə-tə** ɣi-pə́ ir=j tʃ̈itʃ̈ij ná
HYP go 3M GOAL do-OM in-at place=REL DEM.PROX TOP
When he goes to play it at this particular place (describing a game)

In fact, it is difficult to get a reading other than purpose with these locative complements. An additional example with *ja* 'come' is provided next:

15 a kwá **já-**va **da** **tsáw** **iⁿdáŋ**
SEQ 2SG come-OUT GOAL plant groundnut
Then you will come to plant groundnuts (after planting maize).

4 Locative secondary predications

The goal markers are only used with *dza* and *ja*. Using these goal markers with other verbs of motion results in ungrammatical utterances. The next example illustrates an ungrammatical use of the goal marker:

16 *a **xwí** ka **da** **səku**
PFV run 3F GOAL market
She ran to the market.

Speakers needing to code goals with other verbs will simply adjoin a locative secondary predication to the clause, usually in the form of *dza* 'go' or *ja* 'come'. The previous example

was ungrammatical. However, with a locative secondary predication the goal marker is now grammatical:

17 a **xwí** ka **dza-xa** **da** **səku**
PFV run 3F go-DOWN GOAL market
She ran to the market.

Locative secondary predications also occur without the goal marker. In the next example, a story is being told about how leopards are entering huts to catch the people hiding inside. The person telling the story has indicated that leopards would soften the clay dome with their urine in order to come through the roof. The second speaker is clarifying by asking the following question and the secondary predication *já-xa* 'come down' indicates the result of the 'doing':

18 a ka já ná, ka já ka ɓə́n ir **já-xa**
SBJV 3F come TOP PURP come 3F do room come-DOWN
It would come and bring down the room (destroy the dome)?

The next example illustrates a locative secondary predication indicating the resulting direction of the 'taking':

19 da ɬá ɗáf ta=j nə́ **ja-rá**
FUT take food 2SG.POSS= DET 1SG come-CENT
I'm going to take away your food! [Lit. I will take your food (and then) come away.]

The final example here illustrates a locative secondary predication describing the resulting distribution of stones after the placing of them:

20	xá	sə̀ɗ	jîm	xá=j	bəgə́	ⁿda	**já-rá**	tʃìtʃìj	ná,
	as	type	stone	PL=REL	put	person	come-CENT	DEM.PROX	TOP

ka mî
PURP what
As for this type of stone that they put around here, for what (reason do they do it)?

In the above example, the secondary predication *já-rá* indicates that the stones are in a line coming away from the speaker rather than indicating that the stones have been removed from the location. Locative secondary predications do not require a verb to take a directional extension. In the following example, the verb *já* 'come' occurs without an extension but still codes the direction of the action. In this case clarifying whether or not the father is the one to move:

21	kú=j	da	tsə́-tʃá	fa	ka	já
	2SG.FREE=REL	FUT	catch-3M.OBJ	father	3F.POSS	come

You are the one who will bring for him, her father (coming to the place being discussed).

The following (elicited) sentence is also grammatical, but direction is ambiguous. In other words, it is not clear whether the father goes to you or if you come to the father:

22	kú=j	da	tsə́-tʃá	fa	ka
	2SG.FREE=REL	FUT	catch-3M.OBJ	father	3F.POSS

You are the one who will catch (it) for him, her father.

Secondary locative predications only occur with clauses when the main verb does not take a directional extension although the secondary predicates do not need extensions themselves to serve their function.

5 Locative predications coding the *source* of action

The coding of location and direction in Sakun primarily focuses on the location, trajectory or resulting position of an object or event. In other words, locative predication is primarily *goal* oriented. Directional extensions on verbs code the trajectory of an action. Prepositional phrases tend to code locations of entities or resulting positions. Locative secondary predications code either trajectories or resulting movements. The verbs *dza* 'go' and *ja* 'come' take goal-oriented complements. However, when the trajectory of a directional extension is contradicted, the contradicting element can be interpreted as the source of the action. This can be accomplished through a range of formal means although most frequently the source is coded with a prepositional phrase with inverse direction relative to the verbal extension indicating the goal. In the following example this pattern is illustrated with the verbal extension *–má* 'up' (coding goal) followed by the extension *–xa* 'down' being used as a preposition (coding source):

23 ja-**má** **xa** **sakún** ŋî, dza ŋî dza da xaʔi

come-UP DOWN Sakun 1EX go 1EX go GOAL here
We came up from Sakun, before going up here [Damai].

In the next example, the speaker does not use an extension on *ja* 'come' in the first clause and then repeats the phrase with the extension *xa* 'down' to clarify that *ma ŋwa* 'upper mountain' indicates the source rather than resulting location:

24 və́ małáj, **a** já tá má ŋwa, ja-**xa** **má** **ŋwa**
ASSOC Matlai PFV come 3PL up mountain come-DOWN up mountain
The people of Matlai, they came from up the mountain.

The semantic conflict required for a locative adjunct to be interpreted as a source does not have to come from the directional extension on the main verb of the clause. In the next example the verb is followed by a secondary locative predication coding the direction of the action, then a prepositional phrase indicating the source of the action:

25 ja dəgə́vu, ká ka tʃ'ir já-**va** **xa** **mə** ʃáwʃawa=w
own hyena NEG 3F sprout come-OUT down in sand=NEG
Hyena's own, It failed to sprout up from down in the sandy soil.

The phrase coding the source can be inserted between the verb and subject. In the next example the source, *ɣi va tə* 'from within his house' comes between the verb *já-va* and the subject *xî* 'guineacorn':

26 já-va **ɣi** **va** **tə** xî
come-OUT within house 3M.POSS guineacorn
The guinea corn comes out from his house.

The source of the action can also be fronted as in the following example:

27	dəɓəl	xa=j	ⁿdʒika=j	xaⁿdʒiga	na,	**ᵐbə**	**səɗ**
	iron.currency	PL=REL	before=DET	now	TOP	within	type

da=j	**tʃiji**	ja-va	ka
thing=REL	DEM.PROX	come-OUT	3F

The iron currency just before, from within this kind of thing it came out?

With the verb *ɬɔ́* 'depart', any locative predication will be interpreted as the source of the action since the direction or goal is inherent in the semantics of the verb (i.e. the verb is inherently centrifugal, indicating movement away from some location):

28	xá	xu	**ɬɔ́**	tá	**dara**	**ⁿdálmi,**	xu	já	tá	iⁿza
	as	when	depart	3PL	over	Ndalmi	when	come	3PL	stay

xaʔi	ná,	mə	ɓər-rá	ⁿdu	tá	xaʔi	tám	na
here	TOP	HAB	initiate-CENT	person	3PL	here	now	Q

When they left Ndalmi and came and settled here, were they initiating people here?

Given sufficient context, phrases adjoined to verbs of motion marked with the goal marker can be interpreted as the source rather than goal of movement. In the next example the goal marker codes the entity that serves as the reference point for the 'away' motion of the centrifugal extension *–rá* :

29	ája,	ka	ɬá	ɣər	kwá	ja-**rá**	**a**	**kəná**
	EXCLAM	PURP	take	farm	2SG	come-CENT	GOAL	1SG.FREE

kənî,	xanáwa	á	mágan

uncle HON.say say squirrel
"Oh no, you will take the farm from me, Uncle?" said Squirrel.

Simply indicating a location with a noun such as *xaʔî,* 'here', can indicate a source rather than goal of movement when the context demands it. In the following example the speaker is in a hilltop village and *xaʔî* refers to the village, not the market place:

30 má rá-xa ŋ̂ **xaʔí** ná, ir=j i^{n}zá ŋ̂ kəlî
HYP go.PFV-DOWN 1EX here TOP place=REL sit 1EX single

ɣi-mə sə́ku
within-at market
When we went down from here, the place that we sit is one within the market.

Contrast this with the following example illustrating the noun *ɣî* 'home' coding the goal without further marking:

31 túl a kwa dza-ɣə **ɣí** tam
IP.flee SEQ 2SG go-INTO compound now
"Tul!" You then run into the house now.

Locative predication is primarily goal oriented in Sakun grammar. However, given sufficient context this orientation can be complemented by indications of sources of trajectories.

6 Conclusion

The coding of spatial relations is an important aspect of Sakun grammar. Locative predication is coded through adverbials, secondary locative predications and the use of goal markers with the verbs *dza* 'go' and *ja* 'come'. While locations are primarily viewed with an orientation towards the goal of actions, a conflicting trajectory coded within the same clause can be interpreted as the source of an action.

CHAPTER 12 IDEOPHONES

Sakun possess a wide array of terms occurring before a clause which express the sound, smell, feeling, intensity or stance evoked by the clause which follows it. These terms, known as ideophones, often have an onomatopoeic or expressive quality to them and their meanings are very precise. Unlike adverbials, where the same proposition could be described as occuring *mamáʃ* 'quickly' or *sámə* 'slowly', generally only one ideophone would be appropriate for a particular proposition. Ideophones often will be descriptive of a very specific action and then be followed by a proposition asserting that such an action occurred. In the next example, the ideophone describes the action of a dog moving. The clause which follows the ideophone states that the dog came:

1	**məs**	**məs**	**məs**	a	já	dʒir	kə́ra
	IP.dog.move	IP.dog.move	IP.dog.move	PFV	come	male	dog
	'məs, məs, məs'	*The male dog came.*					

While *məs məs məs* describes the movement of a big male dog, this ideophone cannot be used to describe the movement of a fox. As illustrated in the next example (from the same narrative as the previous example), a fox moves *sə́ⁿdələ́ŋ*:

2	**sə́ⁿdələ́ŋ**	a	já	dzəgulák
	IP.fox.move	PFV	come	fox
	'sə́ndələ́ŋ'	*The fox came.*		

Ideophones in conjunction with the verb ‘to say’ indicate a ‘performance’ of the act. In other words, the action described or entailed by a particular ideophone is understood to have been performed by the subject of the verb to say. Ideophones functioning in this way can be used for effect when a speaker demonstrates an action for an audience as in the next example:

3	ɮa	**kwátsar**	**kwátsar**	**kwátsar**	**kwátsar,**	tu,		
	only	IP.filter.beer	IP.filter.beer	IP.filter.beer	IP.filter.beer	so		
	ɓít	**ɓít**	**ɓít**	**ɓít**	**ɓít**	á	kwá	xaʔi
	IP.press	IP.press	IP.press	IP.press	IP.press	say	2SG	here

Only ‘kwátsar, kwátsar, kwátsar, kwátsar’ [said while miming action]*, so, ‘ɓít, ɓít, ɓít, ɓít, ɓít’* [said while pressing sides of filter] *you do here (as I am doing).*

Ideophones are also used in narratives in conjunction with the verb ‘to say’ to indicate that the action described by the ideophone is the action performed by the character. In the next example, Hyena is keenly watching “elephant’s thing”, and the ideophone *zə́kʷ* describes this action:

4	**zə́kʷ**	**zə́kʷ**	**zə́kʷ**	**zə́kʷ**	á	dəgəvu	ka	ᵐba
	IP.stare	IP.stare	IP.stare	IP.stare	say	hyena	PURP	again
	î-ʃî	da	dʒiwán					
	see-TO	thing	elephant					

‘*zəkʷ, zəkʷ, zəkʷ, zəkʷ’ Hyena kept staring intently after Elephant’s thing (testicles).*

In the preceding two examples, the subject of the verb to say is not understood to have uttered the ideophone, rather the ideophone represents the actions of the subject of the verb to say.

Formally, ideophones are distinct from other word classes in that they exhibit phones which are not allophones of any element of the phonemic inventory. For example, only ideophones have the labio-dental flap, [*ⱱ*]; a linguistic feature that appears in languages across many parts of the Sahel (Güldemann 2008), but is not part of the Sakun phonemic inventory. This phone appears in several ideophones. For example, *waⱱaⱱaⱱa* means 'the action of falling from a great height'; *xə́ŋəⱱaw* means 'the action of concluding a story'; and *xə́ⱱəw* means 'the action of rolling out a skin for display'. Distributionally, ideophones precede the clause they augment, often in a distinct intonation phrase. Preclausal position, distinct intonation phrase, use of phones not allophones of phonemes in the Sakun inventory, and the ability to precede clauses with other clause initial TAM markers or subordinating particles all serve to distinguish ideophones from adverbials.

CHAPTER 13 NONVERBAL PREDICATIONS

1 Introduction

Nonverbal predications in Sakun include existential predications, with the meaning 'there is X' and equational predications which assert the identity of two nominal referents. Equational predications in Sakun can indicate an ascriptive relation or a relation of possession. Equational predications can also indicate proper inclusion. Sakun does not distinguish grammatically between identity and proper inclusion. Equational predications can be further divided into attributive predications coded through juxtaposition of NPs or the copula, *ⁿza* and locative predications which can be coded through the juxtaposition of prepositonal phrases and subject noun phrases. In nonverbal predications, the predicator generally precedes the subject except under well-determined conditions. The discussion begins with existential predications, followed by attributive predications and then locative predications.

2 Existential Predications

Affirmative existential predications in Sakun are coded with the existential predicator *nə́*. This marker is the same as the preposition *nə́* meaning 'with'. The existential marker *nə́* has an allomorph, *ⁿdə́* which is the same as the preposition *ⁿdə́* meaning 'with.PL'. However, *ⁿdə́* is

not required with plural subjects in existential predications and the two forms appear to be in free variation. The existential marker *nə́* is the more common of the two. In existential predications, the existential marker comes first, followed by the asserted entity or clause. Two examples each of *nə́* and *ⁿdə́* follow:

1 **nə́ ka** kə́=j də-rá sə́rɗəm nə́ xútsa
EXIST 3F REF=REL cook-CENT soup 1SG two.days.past
There is it which I cooked for soup the day before yesterday.

2 **nə́ ⁿda xá ta xá=j ʤamák**
EXIST person PL 3PL.POSS PL=REL big.PL

a ka dza tsátsáɗ-**ta**-má ir kə́ zər-a=j
SBJV 3F go sweep.PL-3PL.OBJ-UP room REF woman-MOD=REL

də-j zər-a=ju
accompany-EXT wife-MOD=DET
There are their elders. She will go sweep the room for them, she and the woman who accompanies your wife.

3 a ja-va kwá mə təká-ŋi nə zər-a ŋá
PFV come-OUT 2SG HAB separate-1EX.OBJ with wife-MOD 1SG.POSS

na? bəna alaxámⁿdililáxi, pə bárka ʒîgəla ná
Q today thank.god [A.] in grace god TOP

ⁿdə́ ka mákən mə kəmá ŋá ná
EXIST AS three at front 1SG.POSS TOP
Have you ever come and separated me from my wives (when we are fighting)? (No!) Thank God! By God's grace! There are three in front of me.

4 **ⁿdə́ səmáj ka ɓa-tə ⁿda,** pə bán kə́

EXIST song PURP sing-OM person on grinding.stone REF

ⁿdɔ́ ⁿda mə tá á ⁿda, mə îjamá kwá
COND person HAB grind say person HAB able 2SG

ɓa-ŋja-má səmáj = jŭ
sing-1EX.OBJ-UP song = DET\Q
There is a song people sing. People say that on the grinding stone if people are grinding (it is sung). Can you sing for us that song? [Question coded with rising intonation on phrase final determiner]

The existential predicator can take both NP subjects and pronominal subjects as illustrated in the above examples. When the subject of an existential predication is pronominal, the subject paradigm is used rather than the free pronouns as with prepositional phrases. This provides evidence that the existential marker is indeed performing a different function in existential predications than the function performed as a commitative or instrumental marker. Prepositional usage of *nə́* is illustrated in the next example:

5 da já kwá a fa = ka **nə́** **mək**
FUT come 2SG GOAL father = 3F.POSS with 3F.FREE
You will come to her father with it.

As can be seen in the above example, the pronoun used in the prepositional phrase is *mək,* from the free pronoun paradigm; rather than *ka* from the subject paradigm as in:

6 **nə́** **ka** kə́ = j də-rá sə́rɗəm nə́ xútsa
EXIST 3F REF = REL cook-CENT soup 1SG two.days.past
There is it which I cooked for soup the day before yesterday.

Existential predications assert the existence of an entity and generally serve to introduce a topical referent. In general, entities introduced with existential predications are subsequently commented on in the discourse that follows. The use of pronominal subjects in existential predications is infrequent. The reference of pronominal subjects in existential predications is typically cataphoric. If the reference of the pronoun cannot be easily understood from the context of the discourse, a *kə́* REF construction will be used as in the previous example.

Existential predications can be the protasis of a conditional. Conditional marking with *ⁿda* preceding *nə́* is illustrated in the next example:

7	má	**ⁿda**	**nə́**	dəm	va	ŋi	ⁿdu	kə́=j		ma	tʃá
	HYP	COND	EXIST	girl	house	another	person	REF=REL		want	3M
	a	rwi	łá-má…	da	łá	kum=j	ⁿda	da	dza		
	SBJV	boy	take-UP	FUT	take	rat=DET	person	FUT	go		
	ⁿda	da	má-ka	má	ka	dəm-a=j		tʃitʃiju			
	person	GOAL	give-3F.OBJ	mother	3F.POSS	girl-MOD=REL		DEM			

If there is a girl of somebody's house that he wants, the boy will take… one takes the rat and goes and gives (it) to her, the mother of that girl.

The existential marker can also be preceded by the perfective marker, *a*. When existential predications take the perfective *a*, the existence of the subject is understood to be restricted to a particular place and time. In the next example, the place being asserted is contingent upon the circumstances of the particular situation:

8 **a** nə́ ir = j fə́ ⁿda
PFV EXIST place = REL put person
There is a place where they had put it (before the game started).

Without the perfective particle, the assertion of the existence of a place is understood to be general:

9 nə́ ir = j dzwá vîzu
EXIST place = REL move iron.ore
There is the place of moving iron ore (in general).

Likewise, the perfective particle is used with existential predications when the existence is only asserted for a limited time, often for an unusual circumstance. In the next example the existence of a bull at the orphan's house is being asserted. The use of the perfective emphasizes the fact that this is counter expectations:

10 **a** nə́ ɮə va múzutə
PFV EXIST bull house Orphan
There is a bull at the house of the orphan (and has been for some time as it is big).

Negation of existentential predications does not require the use of the existential marker. Simply negating a noun phrase asserts its non-existence. Sakun does not have any special negative existential marker. The next example illustrates a negated noun phrase with the negation pattern *ká* SUBJECT… = *w* [clause boundary]:

11 **ká** da = j dəŋ-tə = **w**
NEG thing = REL stop-OBJ = NEG
There is nothing that stops it.

Likewise, in negative conditionals the special negative conditional *bî* with the noun is sufficient to code the hypothetical negation of existence:

12	má	bî	kwaɓa	a	kú
	TEMP	NEG.COND	money	GOAL	2SG.FREE
	If there is no money to you (If you don't have any money), …				

3 Equational Predications

Equational predications indicate identity between the predicator and the subject. Sakun does not distinguish grammatically between equation and proper inclusion. Equational predication refers here broadly to constructions where a predicator in the form of a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase or an adverb is identified with a subject. Equational predications include both attributive predications and locative predications. However, locative predications have a number of constructions which are not equational predications and are discussed separately in the chapter on locative predication.

3.1 Juxtaposition

Basic equational predication is accomplished through the juxtaposition of equated elements. The predicator precedes the subject:

13	[dəm-a	damaj]$_{PRED}$	[kwá]$_{SBJ}$
	girl.SG-GEN	Damai	2SG
	You are a girl of Damai.		

14 [ka ruî jiwú]$_{PRED}$ [ni]$_{PRED}$
AS child small 1SG
I was a small child.

The subject can be nominal as well as pronominal:

15 [məɓən]$_{PRED}$ [maʁá-ø=j]$_{SBJ}$ **tsá**
good man.SG-MOD=DET Q
This man is handsome?

Subjects can also be in focus in equational predications. As with verbal predications, a fronted pronominal subject is from the free pronoun paradigm. This is illustrated in the next example:

16 **[mək]$_{SBJ}$=j́** [ka da túl-tə a ʒigəlá]$_{PRED}$
3F.FREE=REL AS thing beg-OM GOAL god
(Because) It is a (kind of) thing begged from God.

Pronouns can also serve as the predicator of an equational predication. When pronouns serve as the predicator rather than the subject, the free pronominal paradigm is used:

17 á ka, [**kə́na**]$_{PRED}$ [mai]$_{SBJ}$ xanáwa á ka
say 3F 1SG.FREE antelope IP.say say 3F
It said, "The antelope is me" (The antelope appears very ill in this story and is not easily recognizable).

This construction can be distinguished from the focus construction by the absence of the relativizer on the pronoun.

Prepositional phrases can also function as predicators in equational predications:

18 [**ma** **pə** **ŋwá** **sákun**]$_{PRED}$ [ka]$_{SBJ}$
up on mountain Sakun 3F
It is up on the mountain of Sakun.

Equational predications can be modified with limited TAM coding as was the case with existential predications. Conditional and perfective coding is used, but not future and habitual:

19 má **ⁿda** [ɮə=i dǒj] $_{PRED}$ [ka] $_{SBJ}$
HYP COND cattle=REL big 3F
If it is a big cattle.

The use of the clause initial perfective marker results in the limiting of the scope of the state described by the equational predication.

20 **a** kîva ŋî ka vur
PFV few 1EX PURP fight
We were too few for war.

21 **a** kîva ⁿgər ta ʃî da=j kə́=j ɓə́n kwá
PFV few strong 2SG.POSS follow thing=DET REF=REL do 2SG
Your strength is too little to pursue the thing that you are doing.

The perfective marker with equational predications asserts that the state only applies to a particular situation (i.e. being too few to fight, but not too few to do other things, too weak to do a particular job, not weak in general).

It has been demonstrated that pronominal predicators are from the free pronoun paradigm. Equational predications allow for the dropping of subjects just as with verbal predications. Dropped subjects in equational predications are not common, although dropped

subjects are preferred to pleonastic subjects. The next example ilustrates a pronominal predicator without a subject. The predicator is *kəna* 1SG.FREE. If a subject were to be included, the utterance would have been *kəná **ka** tə kəni* :

22 “ [**kəná**]$_{PRED}$ tə kəni” á ka
1SG.FREE VOC uncle say 3F
“It’s me, Uncle” it said.

Negation of equational predications parallels negation of verbal predications. There are two negation markers that bracket the negated proposition: the particle *ká* or *á* followed by the subject and the clause final clitic *=w*. The initial negation marker can either precede the predicate, in which case the subject also precedes the predicate, or the initial negation marker occurs directly after the predicate. In the first case with NEG SBJ PRED=NEG order, the negation is of a general state of affairs. When the predicate is not included between the initial and clause final negation markers, the range of reference of the negation is limited, i.e. the negation is understood to hold for a particular instance or particular time. The next examples illustrate the first case, where the initial and final negation markers bracket the entire proposition and the subject precedes the predicate:

23 **ká=** [**ka**]$_{SBJ}$ [ka kwaɓa]$_{PRED}$**=w**
NEG=3F AS money=NEG
It is not (as) money.

24 **á=**[**ka**]$_{SBJ}$ [xán]$_{PRED}$**=w**

NEG = 3F like.this = NEG
It is not like this. (In general)

In the following examples, the predicate precedes the initial negation marker and the range of reference of the negated proposition is limited:

25 [kwaɓa]$_{PRED}$ **ká = [ka]$_{SBJ}$ = w**
money NEG = 3F = NEG
It is not money.

26 [xán]$_{PRED}$ **ká = [ka]$_{SBJ}$ = w**
like.this NEG = 3F = NEG
It is not like this. (In this case)

The same pattern holds for locative predications with prepositional phrases or adverbs functioning as the predicates of equational clauses. When the negators bracket the clause, the range of reference is general as in the next example:

27 má fa ka dəm-a = ju,
HYP father 3F.POSS girl.SG-MOD = DET

á = [tʃá]$_{SBJ}$ [pə ir = j]$_{PRED}$ = w
NEG = 3M LOC place = DET = NEG
The father of this girl, he was not there.
(He was living and working in Maiduguri at the time)

When the negators follow the verb, the range of reference of the proposition is limited:

28 [xaʔi]$_{PRED}$ **á = [ka]$_{SBJ}$ = w**
here NEG = 3F = NEG
It is not here.
(At a special occasion, where it was not normally to be found regardless)

3.2 Copula *ⁿza*

Equational predications can be coded with the copula *ⁿza* as well as through juxtaposition of equated elements. Unlike equational predication through juxtaposition, the use of the copula allows the full range of TAM markers. In addition to coding identity between the equated elements, the copula can also be used to code possession of the object by the subject.

Equational predications with the copula *ⁿza* have the form: *ⁿza* X Y, where X is the subject and Y is the attribute or possessee. The next example illustrates the 'X is Y' function of the copular equational predication:

29 á bî kwá ɓə́r ná,
HYP NEG.COND 2SG initiate TOP,

da **ⁿza** [kwá]$_{\textbf{SBJ}}$ [xa və́rʃin kə́=j kará sə́ ŋi]$_{\textbf{PRED}}$
FUT COP 2SG as child.PL REF=REL NEG know another
If you have not initiated, you will be as children that don't know anything.

The 'X has Y' function of the copular equational predication is illustrated in the next example:

30 ká indáŋ ᵐbərə́m mə ji a ⁿda=j **ⁿzá** xən=w
NEG bambara.nut HAB born GOAL person=REL **COP** teeth=NEG
The person who has teeth cannot produce bambaranut

The subject of equational predications with *ⁿza* can be a full noun phrase, a subject pronoun or a possessive pronoun. The following example illustrates *ⁿza* with a full NP subject:

31 pis=j ⁿzá [**ⁿzani**]$_{SBJ}$ ka ɬíɗì
day=REL COP Nzani AS king
During the time that Nzani was king…

The next example illustrates *ⁿza* with a subject pronoun:

32 a ⁿza=**n** xa ⁿda=j di bəná
PFV COP=1SG as person=REL big today
I am as an elder today.

Compare the above example with the following examples which illustrate *ⁿza* with a possessive pronoun as subject:

33 mə tʃivi=j ⁿza=ŋá ka rwi ɬíɗì
in way=REL COP=1SG.POSS AS son chief
Based on the way I am a son of the king.

34 ⁿza=**ta** ka ⁿda=j di xaʔì xáⁿdʒiga
COP=2SG.POSS AS person=REL big here now
As you are an elder here, now,…

The subject pronoun only occurs in clauses where the speaker is emphasizing the uniqueness of the attribute. In other words, in the first example, only the speaker is the son of the chief. In the second example, the speaker is emphasizing that the hearer is an elder, not the speaker or others he may be speaking with. This is similar to the construction found with intransitive verbs of motion indicating that the subject acted independently of other possible

topical actors. However, with intransitive verbs of motion, typically the subejct is coded with both the possessive pronoun and a subject pronoun as illustrated in the next example:

35	a=**n**	rá-xá=**ŋá**	xá	ʃì	dəgwá-ø	xá=j
	SBJV=1SG	go.PRF-DOWN=1SG.POSS	down	follow	girl.PL-MOD	PL=REL

xa	dwadwa	sə^{n}zá	ka	ɗa-ŋa-r	vu	tá
DOWN	room	doubt	PURP	hit-1SG.OBJ-EXT	feces	3PL

(Maybe) I should get down to the girls in the Dwadwa (Cameroun-style room) so they can release for me a fart.

Copular constructions occur with the full range of clausal TAM markers. The next example illustrates the use of the perfective marker, *a*.

36	a	^{n}za=**n**	xa	^{n}da=j	di	bəná
	PFV	COP=1SG	as	person=REL	big	today

I am as an elder today.

Copular constructions also can occur with the future particle, *da*:

37	á	bî	kwá	ɓɔ́r	ná,
	HYP	NEG.COND	2SG	initiate	TOP,

da	**^{n}za**	[kwá]	[xa	vɔ́rʃin	kə́=j	kará	sə́	ŋi]
FUT	**COP**	2SG	as	child.PL	REF=REL	NEG	know	another

If you have not initiated, you will be as children that don't know anything.

Copular constructions can occur in the subjunctive and take auxiliaries. Generally if the copula takes an auxiliary, the clause is in the subjunctive. The subjunctive both with and without an auxiliary are illustrated in the next examples:

38	a	ŋ̂i	já	ⁿza	xán	xa	səɗ=j	tʃ̂itʃ̂i	gwa
	SBJV	1EX	come	COP	like.this	as	kind=REL	DEM.PROX	please

Let us come to be like this, as this kind of thing.

39	a	kî	ⁿza	ka	ⁿda	xá=j	kə́=j	ma	kə́tə́ku
	SBJV	2PL	COP	AS	person	PL=DET	REF=REL	want	2PL.REFL

Let you be as those who love themselves.

4 Conclusion

Sakun equational and existential constructions include both verbal and nonverbal predications. Existential predications can either be coded with the existential marker *nə́/ⁿdə́* or with a bare NP. Equational predications can be coded with the copula *ⁿzá* or through juxtaposition of a subject NP and a nonverbal predicator. Nonverbal predicators include both noun phrases and prepositional phrases. While equational predications coded through juxtaposition can take the perfective particle, the use of the copula allows for the full range of TAM coding.

CHAPTER 14 REFERENCE SYSTEM

1 Introduction

The reference system is the domain of grammar in which context dependent aspects of meaning are managed. Where the description of other systems in the grammar such as TAM or argument structure are oriented towards propositional modification, the description of the reference system is oriented towards discourse integration. In addition to describing the systems indexing the speech act (deixis), the reference system explains alternations between nouns, pronouns and omission in the coding of arguments. The reference system also explains how such nominal coding choices interact with other clausal constructions (topic, focus and comment constructions in particular) in the managing of a referent's discourse status and the recoverability of the antecedents of pronouns and object markers. The discussion of reference is divided into two parts. Sakun has a number of terms and constructions which can directly index the speech act. These are discussed under deixis. Sakun grammar codes a range of referential distinctions such as *reference to a previously mentioned entity* versus *reference to a discourse topic* and *reference to a specific event* versus *reference to a general situation coded by a proposition*. These distinctions are discussed under definiteness.

2 Deixis

Deixis uses reference to either the speech act or a discourse defined center in establishing the meaning of a term. Thus, the meanings of deictic terms are context dependent. Deictic terms can reference the speech act in a number of dimensions: space; speech act participant; time; situation; and social interaction. The dimensions of each domain and the associated coding means are discussed below.

2.1 Spatial deixis

Spatial deixis is coded through demonstratives. The deictic center can be either the speech act or the deictic center can be discourse based; *i.e.* a highly topical location other than the location of the speech act. Sakun distinguishes between proximal and distal deixis with its demonstratives. Proximal deixis is indicated with the demonstrative *tʃĩju*, which occurs at the right edge of the noun phrase. The next example illustrates this demonstrative modifying the term *baɬawaj* 'large pot' and indicating that the pot is close to the speaker:

1	tʃá	baɬawaj=j	**tʃíju**	mə	î-tə	kwá	pə	swá
	here	large.pot=REL	DEM.PROX	HAB	see-OM	2SG	on	ash
	Here is this here big pot on the ash you are seeing.								

Distal deixis is indicated with *atʃĩju*. In the next example the speaker is pointing towards a stone at some distance from the conversation:

2	salamtam	a	já-má	tá	vəra	pə	jîm = j	**atʃíju**
	IP.arriving	PFV	come-UP	3PL	across	on	stone = REL	DEM.DIST

'Salamtam' They came up over on that stone.

For both forms, the syllable /tʃi/ can be reduplicated for emphasis:

3	ɣalaj	xaʔi	mə	mbərəm = j	**tʃítʃiju**
	those.days	here	at	town = REL	DEM.PROX

In those days, here in this town.

Both the proximal and distal demonstratives have allomorphs when the demonstrative is not the final morpheme of an intonation phrase. Phrase internal demonstratives lose the final vowel under the same conditions as determiners (see discussion below). In the next example, the demonstrative is in a phrase internal position and lacks the final [u]:

4	ir = j	**atʃí**	ná
	place = REL	DEM.DIST	TOP

(As for) that place, …

Contrast the above example with the following which contains the same term occuring in phrase final position:

5	kîŋ	bəlám	pə	ir = j	**atʃíju**
	many	baboon	at	place = REL	DEM.DIST

Baboons are many at that place.

Demonstratives modifying a noun phrase require the use of the relativizer, *=j*. When demonstratives function as pronouns, the relativizer is not present. In the next example, the

demonstrative is functioning as the argument to the preposition *ma* ‘up’ and the *=j* is not present:

6 nə́ ir twá da **má** **atʃíju**,
EXIST place watch thing up DEM.DIST

ma tʃini=j xá^{n}dʒiga
up mahagony=DET now
There is a place of keeping watch up there, up at that mahagony tree now.

Place adverbs do not make the proximal/distal distinction; i.e. Sakun does not distinguish between ‘here’ and ‘there’. However, there is a distinction between ‘here’ referring to the physical situation and ‘here’ referring to the discourse situation. This distinction is discussed below under situation deixis.

2.2 Person deixis

Person deixis is coded through oppositions in the pronominal paradigms. Sakun distinguishes between speakers, hearers and non-speech act participants. As with many related languages, Sakun also distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive forms. The inclusive is ‘we’ with both first and second person included; “You and I”. The exclusive is ‘we’ with first but not second person; “Somebody else and I”. Non-speech act participants can be coded with

third person forms of personal pronouns, with demonstrative pronouns, and with determiners functioning as pronouns.

The forms and distributions of pronouns are described at length in the chapters on the noun phrase and argument coding. The function of pronouns in the reference system is discussed below under definiteness.

2.3 Temporal deixis

The temporal reference frame of a clause can be indicated using adverbs of time. Adverbs of time can be absolute or deictic. Absolute reference is independent of the context of the speech act. For example, *maʃin warəkə́* means 'earliest morning' and *tja mákən* means 'third month'. The reference is not dependent on the contextual time. However other terms such as *bəna* 'today' and *ʃaʃa* 'next year' are dependent upon the time of speech for their meaning; i.e. they are deictic.

Clauses can take several of these temporal adverbs for emphasis. The following example is an utterance made by Goat after nearly being eaten by Hyena. The clause includes three temporal adverbs:

7	a	ᵐbəlíd̰	nə	**bəna**	**xáⁿdʒiga**	**tam**
	PFV	escape	1SG	today	now	now
	I have escaped now, today!					

As can be seen in the above example, forms indexing the time of speech such as *tam* and *xáⁿdʒiga* which occur in perfective clauses indicate the very recent past (i.e. 'just now'). Time adverbials in Sakun can distinguish two degrees of distance from the deictic center (typically speech time). For example, there is a term for 'today', 'tomorrow' and 'the day after tomorrow'. Likewise there is a term for both 'yesterday' and 'the day before yesterday'. These terms are outlined in the following table for 'day' and 'year':

Table 48 Temporal adverbs

xutsa *the day before yesterday*	ɻáwa *yesterday*	bəna *today*	ʒjamá *tomorrow*	ᵐbə́ʒjátaj *the day after tomorrow*
bəgə́j *the year before last*	ɻáj *last year*	vja *this year*	ʃáʃá *next year*	tsədavan *the year after next*

While the time of speech is the default center point of reference for temporal deixis, if a point in time in discourse is salient enough, the point of reference can switch from speech time to the time of the discourse center. In the next example, the protasis of the conditional clause doesn't refer to the moment of speech, but to a hypothetical state:

8	á	ⁿda	bə́x	kwá	ka	ɻjagu	**xáⁿdʒiga**	ná	maɻáx	kwá=j	
	HYP	COND	still	2SG	as	youth	now	TOP	man	2SG=Q	
	If you are still an uninitiated child now, are you a man?										

The shifting nature of the deictic center according to discourse conditions is seen also with situation deixis coded by *xaʔí* 'here'.

2.4 Situation deixis

The term situation deixis describes terms used to refer to the events, actions and contexts of the speech act or discourse topic. For reference to events described in the preceding discourse, the term *xán* 'like this' is used. In the next example the speaker is asking whether or not the current situation is or is not like the situation just described. The context elicits an assertive interpretation:

9 **xán** ká = ka = w
like.this NEG = 3F = NEG
It isn't like this? [meaning *Yes, it is like this.*]

To refer to actions at speech time, as in demonstrating a movement, the place adverb *xaʔí* is employed - typically in conjunction with a demonstrative pronoun. In the next example, the speaker is demonstrating the actions of harvesting groundnuts:

10 **xaʔí** tʃĩju, **xaʔí** tʃĩju, **xaʔí** tʃĩju
here DEM.PROX here DEM.PROX here DEM.PROX
Like this, like this, like this (pulling peanuts from the plant each time).

The place adverb *xaʔí* can index the location of the speech act as in the next example:

11 da xə́n ɮə tə́ mə́ **xaʔí** tam
FUT butcher bull 1IN.POSS 1IN here now

We will slaughter out bull here, now.

The place adverb makes no distinction between proximal and distal deixis. The term *xaʔí* can also refer to locations at a distance from the location of the speech act:

12 náx a já-xa tʃá **xaʔí** ná
after PFV come-DOWN 3M here TOP
After he had come down there. [pointing away]

Locations even beyond sight of the speech act can be referenced with *xaʔí.* In the next example, the topical location is a different village from the physical location of the conversation:

13 tʃá fi fájwa dara **xaʔí** xá^{n}dʒiga
REF ruin Faiwa over here now
See here! The ruins of Faiwa are there now!

3 Definiteness

The domain of definiteness covers the specificity of the referent, the topicality of the referent, and number of referents. The definiteness of a referent will affect whether or not an argument will be realized as a noun phrase, a pronoun or even be omitted. Unmarked noun phrases are underspecified for definiteness. In other words, unmarked noun phrases may or may not refer to a specific entity, a topical entity or a set number of entities. When coding a noun phrase as definite one of the following coding means can be used. Known entities, inferable entities and

topical entities can be coded with the determiner *=ju.* Previously mentioned entities can take the determiner *kʷkwá*, but only if they are at the center of the discourse. Classes of entities, rather than a specific member of a class, can be referenced with the prenominal particle *ka.* Unique individuals can be referenced with proper names. In addition to coding nouns for definiteness, Sakun also has special aspectual, modal and negative forms for coding propositions as referring to specific events. These are discussed under the domain of event reference.

3.1 Nouns, anaphora and omitted arguments

Arguments in predications can be indexed with a variety of coding means including full noun phrases, pronouns and related anaphora, or in some situations arguments can be omitted. These choices interact with the definiteness of the argument in question but are not determined by the definiteness of the argument. Because of the lack of transparency in the coding of grammatical relations, decisions to code an argument as pronominal rather than with an NP are often made independent of the ease with which the antecedent of the pronoun can be recovered. As a result, Sakun speakers often use pronouns lacking clear antecedents and then make use of constructions such as kə́ constructions (see discussion under discourse structure below) to disambiguate the antecedents of the anaphors or arguments omitted from a clause. This

disambiguation of anaphora is illustrated in the next example taken from a discussion of the farming of groundnuts:

14	náx	a	ru	ⁿda	zwa	ɣər	ná,	a	**ka**	tʃĭr-kə́
	after	PFV	go.SBJV	person	weed	farm	TOP	SEQ	3F	sprout-CENT

səɓə́k,	a	ⁿda	já	ka	já	zwa-**tə**	já-va
grass	SEQ	Person	Come	PURP	come	weed-OM	come-OUT

kə́ iⁿdáŋ = ju

REF groundnut = DET

After people have gone away to weed (other guineacorn) farms, it (the groundnuts) grows some weeds. Then people come to weed the grass out of it, the groundnuts.

In the above example, the subject of *tʃĭr-kə́* 'sprout', is the 3F pronoun *ka.* This pronoun refers to 'groundnuts'. Likewise, the object marker *–tə* on the verb *zwa* 'weed' also refers to 'groundnuts'. However, guineacorn is also topical so the speaker appends the *kə́* construction to clarify that the previously mentioned *iⁿdaŋ* 'groundnuts' are indicated by the pronoun and object marker, rather than 'guineacorn'.

When the subject of a clause is different from the previous subject, a determiner can be used, even with a pronoun, to indicate the change in reference (see discussion of determiner usage below for examples). More frequently, a noun rather than pronoun will be used when there is a new subject. In the following excerpt, the conversation is about the planting and harvesting of *iⁿdaŋ,* 'groundnuts'. At times *ⁿgaɮawáj*, 'okra' is planted in with the groundnuts.

The okra is mentioned as an NP, then is referenced as a pronoun in the following clause.

When the topic returns to groundnuts, the noun *iⁿdaŋ* ‘groundnuts’ is used:

15	a	kwá	tsáw-má	**ⁿgaɮawáj** = ju,	a	**ka**	tʃ̂ir	
	SEQ	2SG	plant-UP	okra = DET	SEQ	3F	sprout	
	sáʔánán	a	**iⁿdaŋ**	já	tʃ̂ir			
	then (H)	SEQ	groundnut	come	sprout			

You plant that okra. It sprouts. Then the groundnuts will come and sprout.

Topical objects can be tracked through the discourse by means of the object marker. This marker, *-tə* when verb final and *–a-* when between the root and an extension, differs from pronouns in that it does not vary for person and number. The object marker can follow a number of verbs in successive clauses as in the next excerpt from a discussion of guineacorn cultivation:

16	xá	ɣər = j	ná,	ɣálá	tsáw-a-má	kwá	ná,	ⁿda	ka
	as	farm = DET	TOP	since	plant-OM-UP	2SG	TOP	only	PURP
	já	bats-tə	xá	ji	na,	mə	zwa-tə	já-va	
	come	harvest-OM	as	DET	Q	HAB	weed-OM	come-OUT	

This farm, after you have planted it, is there only to come and harvest it like this or have you been weeding it? [Speaker A]

The polarity of tone on the object marker is discussed in the chapter on argument coding.

The coding of objects is not required in every context. When clauses take the perfective particle *a*, objects can be omitted when recoverable from context. The next example is the response to the previous example. The farm being discussed is not coded in either clause:

17	a,	ɣálá	a	tsáw-má=n,	a	zwa-va	ⁿda	fwáɗ
	yes	since	PFV	plant-UP=1SG	PFV	weed-OUT	person	four

Yes. Since I've planted, someone has weeded four times. [Speaker B]

While perfective objects can be omitted, they also can be included. The next example illustrates a perfective clause with a nominal, animate object:

18	**a**	xə́n-rá	ⁿda	**ɮə**	xaʔi	pə́ntʃa
	PFV	slaughter-CENT	person	bull	here	outside.compound

They slaughtered a bull here, outside the compound.

The next example illustrates a perfective clause with an inanimate object:

19	**a**	ɬá-má	tʃá	**ᵐbəɣaz**
	PFV	take-UP	3M	spear

He took up a spear.

Prepositions as well as verbs can have omitted arguments. There are two prepositions which commonly do not take an object unless part of a complex preposition (see discussion of prepositions in the chapter on adjunts): *ŋwa* 'on' and *ᵐbə,* 'within'. The next example illustrates *ŋwa* 'on' without an object:

20	kwáwani	da=j	ɓə́n-má	kwá,	ká	ŋ̂iwun	**ŋwá=w**	
	whatever	thing=REL	do-UP	2SG	NEG	medicine	on=NEG	

á = ka mə ɓɔ́n-ý = w
NEG = 3F HAB do-PASS = NEG
Whatever thing that you do, without insecticide on it, it will not produce a good yield.

The omission of arguments by these prepositions is not a coding means, as these prepositions never take objects. The omission does not carry a functional load the way the omission of clausal objects is conditioned by the discourse status of the object.

3.2 Determiners

Sakun has two determiners; *=ju* and *kʷkwá*. The more common of the two, *=ju*, has a broad range of function. Any referent which is topical, known or inferable from the discourse context can take the determiner *=ju*. The use of the determiner *kʷkwá* is restricted to entities that have been previously mentioned in addition to being highly salient to the discourse.

3.2.1 =ju

The determiner *=ju* can be employed to track topics through a discourse, to indicate previous mention and to code contrastive focus. The determiner *=ju* has the allomorph *=j* when occurring phrase internally. The details of allomorphy are discussed in the chapter on the noun phrase.

When a particular referent is mentioned multiple times in a discourse, *=ju* is often used to indicate that a noun phrase occuring later in the discourse refers to the same entity mentioned earlier in the discourse. The discourse tracking function of this morpheme is clearly demonstrated in the beginning of the following story about a jealous husband. The word for 'story', *gəmakákaw*, first occurs with the quantifier *ŋi* but without a determiner. The second time the story is mentioned, it has *=ju*. The same situation with respect to the determiner applies for *zəra tə,* 'his wife':

21	tʃwam majáka,	nə́	ŋi	**gəmakákaw**	
	once.upon.a.time	EXIST	another	story	
	Once upon a time, there was a story.				

22	gəmakakáw**=j**	ná,	nə́	ŋi	ndu,	nə	**zər-a**	**tə**
	story=DET	TOP	EXIST	another	person	with	wife.SG-MOD	3SG.M.POSS
	(In) this story, there was a person with his wife.							

23	zər-a	tə**=j**	ná	məɓə́n	ka	a	tsə́j
	wife.SG-MOD	3M.POSS=DET	TOP	good	3F	GOAL	3M.FREE
	His wife, she's beautiful to him.						

The protagonist wife is mentioned 31 times with a full noun (*i.e.* this does not include pronominal references) in the course of the story and is coded with the determiner in all cases except in the following:

24	kə́	və	maɮa-ø=ĵ	tá	nə	zər-a	tə
	REF	ASSOC	man-MOD=DET	3PL	with	wife.SG-MOD	3M.POSS

… (they are) that husband together with his wife.

In the above example, 'his wife' *zəra tə* does not take a determiner. However, the referent is clearly defined by the relation to the husband which does take the determiner.

There is another instance in the story where the term *zər* occurs without a determiner:

25 i^{n}zá və́ zər nə maɮax
sit ASSOC wife with husband
… sitting together as a wife with a husband (i.e. committing adultery).

But in the above example this use of *zər* 'wife' does not refer to the protagonist's wife in particular, but to the general idea of wife.

The determiner *=ju* can be used to code more than previous mention or to track discourse topics. The determiner *=ju* can also be used to code contrastive focus. Consider the following examples:

26 nə́ ɮə kəlî
EXIST bull single
There is a single bull. [elicited]

27 nə́ ɮə=**j** kəlî xaʔî
EXIST bull=DET single here
There is a single bull here (not the one you are seeking). [elicited]

In both examples, the truth conditional value of the proposition is the same. However, in the second example, the speaker is indicating that this bull is to be understood in contrast

with other topical bulls (*i.e.*, the bull being sought). The use of the determiner here does not indicate co-reference with the previously mentioned bull. Rather, the determiner here contrasts the bull present with the interlocutors with a previously mentioned entity of the same class. There is insufficient data to determine whether or not an entity topical through presence at the speech act will always trump an entity topical through discourse with the use of the determiner *=ju*. It is also unclear why the deictic determiner *=tʃĭju* is not preferred in such examples.

Personal pronouns can take determiners, although this usage is not frequent. Personal pronouns tend to take determiners when there are several possible antecedents. The determiner indicates that the most topical antecedent is the intended. This is illustrated in the next example:

28	kəmá	ŋwu	tʃá	ka	já	**tʃá**	wà
	front	mouth	as	PURP	come	3M	Q

taɓa kə́latʃi	ná,	xa	já	**tʃá = j**	ná,
Taɓa Kəlaci	TOP	as	come	3M = DET	TOP

To be at the gate he (Kwasəni Kulici) came out, didn't he? Taɓa Kəlaci, as he had come, … [speaker is comparing the action of two individuals]

In the above example, the pronoun *tʃá* is used in two consecutive clauses. In the first clause, the pronoun refers to *Kwasəni Kulitʃi.* In the second clause the topic changes to *Taɓa Kəlatʃi* and the pronoun takes the determiner to emphasize that the new discourse topic is the antecedent rather than the more general topic of the death of *Kwasəni* Kulitʃi.

3.2.2 kʷkwá

While the determiner *=ju* has a broad range of function, coding topical referents, previously mentioned referents and in some cases deictic reference, the determiner *kʷkwá* refers specifically to a previously mentioned discourse topic. In the following examples, the NPs modified by *kʷkwá* all are highly topical and all refer to entities previously mentioned in the discourse - 'highly topical' here means that the entity is already established as the main focus of the conversation at the time of the use of *kʷkwá*, has been mentioned recently:

29 pîs **kʷkwá** ná
day DET TOP
On that day, [at that time we are talking about]

30 pə va xamádʒi **kʷkwá**
on year Hammanyaji DET
In that year of Hammanyaji [while discussing Hammanyaji]

In the above examples, the conversation continues to be about the times referred to by the nouns taking *kʷkwá* but the discussion of the nouns is changing direction or a different aspect of the times in question are then considered.

As is the case with the other determiner *=ju*, *kʷkwá* can be followed by the relativizer *=j* as is illustrated in the next example:

31 ⁿda rwádəm, ⁿda **kʷkwá=j** ʒi ɣi səⁿzá wa
only clan.members person DET=REL remain compound doubt Q

(It is) only rwadəm (girls from her clan), those people that remain in the compound, isn't it?

The determiner *kʷkwá* occurs far less frequently than the determiner *=ju*.

3.3 Proper names

Unique entities can be referenced with proper names. There is no formal difference between proper names and common nouns. Proper names can take determiners, but this is very infrequent compared to the usage of determiners with common nouns. The next example illustrates the proper name *ⁿdʒamə́r* taking the determiner *kʷkwá*:

32	ⁿzáp	a	dza	tá	ᵐba	gi	tsú	nə	ⁿdʒamə́r	kʷkwá
	IP.meet	PFV	go	3PL	again	meet	also	with	Njamər	DET
	They went again and met with that Njamər.									

Proper names also rarely function as the head of complex noun phrases, but frequently occur as nominal modifiers. For example, constructions like the following are common:

33	zər-a	tə́ʒi
	wife.SG-MOD	Təzhi
	Təzhi's wife.	

In the above example, *zər* 'wife' is the head of the noun phrase and the proper name *Təzhi* is modifying the noun.

In Sakun, people will collect a number of names including birth order names, praise names, names given by family members and nicknames. The most commonly used name is the

name which is given according to one's birth order (counted by children from the same mother). Some places in the order have distinct names for males and females, while others such as 4th, 5th, and 7th have the same names for both genders. The praise name associated with birth order is self-explanatory, i.e. this is the name used when praising a person with the associated birth order name. A separate set of praise names are also associated with clan lineages. Birth order names along with their associated praise names are outlined in the following table:

Table 49 Birth order names

Children's names	Praise name	Order/Gender
tə̀ʒi	gəzaŋa	1st/M
kúvə	gəzaŋa	1st/F
zəra	zərᵐbaŋa	2nd/M
másə́	masəᵐbaŋa	2nd/F
dali	rəᵐbaŋa	3rd/M
kwárə́	rəᵐbaŋa	3rd/F
kwaŋ̂i	tsəᵐbaŋa	4th
kwádʒi	madʒiŋa	5th
tarə	kunəŋa	6th/M
kwáta	kunəŋa	6th/F
kwásənə	kunəŋa	7th
kwada	kunəŋa	8th
kwájaŋ	kunəŋa	9th
saᵐxa	kunəŋa	10th/M
kwáxa	kunəŋa	10th/F
təʒi-ᵐxá	gəzaŋa	11th/M

kuvə-^{m}xá gəzaŋa 11th/F

After the tenth child the naming cycle repeats and the names have the suffix -*^{m}xá* appended. Thus the eleventh child has *təʒi* (same as first born male) with -*^{m}xá* appended forming *təzi^{m}xá*.

In addition to the birth order name, Sakun are also given names during a naming ceremony which occurs at a prescribed time after birth. This name typically reflects some aspect of the father, uncle or grandfather's life at the time the respective person bestows the name. It can also reflect the context of the birth or be an aphorism meant to guide the person's life. For example, the previous chief had *Gəzik Kənakákaw* as his name. *Gəzik* means 'garbage heap'. This may seem an unusual name for a chief but it reflects the circumstances of his birth. *Gəzik* is a name often given to children of mothers who have lost other children in infancy. The hope is that with a name like 'garbage heap', spirits will be less interested in the child. It might also be a name given to one destined to lead. As a leader, all of the people of the village will put their problems on you as if you were their garbage heap. *Kənakákaw* means 'It isn't me':

34 kəna ká ka=w
1SG NEG 3SG=NEG
It isn't me.

As with the praise names associated with children's birth order names, praise names are associated with clan lineages as well. Thus if one is a member of the *Karandu* clan, then when being praised one will be called *Gəɗəm.* Praise names can be shared by several clans as illustrated in the following table:

Table 50 Clans sharing the *Gəɗəm* praise name

Clan	Praise name
Dur	Gəɗəm
Karandu	Gəɗəm
Shagwam	Gəɗəm
Kəmavuɗ	Gəɗəm

For a more complete list of kin groups and associated praise names the reader is refered to Sterner (2003: 246-47).

In addition to birth order names, praise names, kinship names, and names given early in life during the naming ritual, individuals will also be known by nicknames. For example, Hyena, the protagonist in many of the traditional stories, is also known as *^{n}gal^{n}gal kə twa* which means roughly 'one who's skin (traditional male clothing) shakes like a woman dancing'.

3.4 Domain of event reference

Definiteness has been presented here as a domain focused on noun phrases. However, there are grammaticalized distinctions between events that are analogous to distinctions of definiteness of noun phrases. Specifically, there are contrasts in Sakun between a marked form indicating reference to a particular event, and an unmarked form which can refer to either a particular event or to any instance of the event described by the proposition. This distinction is found in a range of functional domains in the grammar of Sakun including negation, imperfective aspect and subordination. In negated propositions, the clause initial placement of the negation marker is the unmarked form. This is illustrated in the next example:

35 ká=n mə ɬja=w
NEG=1SG HAB hear=NEG
I don't hear (i.e. I'm deaf).

In the above example, the negation is a general state of affairs - it is never the case that the person can hear. When the verb precedes the initial negation marker, the proposition refers to a specific time frame:

36 ɬja-m ká=n=w
hear-EXT NEG=1SG=NEG
I didn't hear (what was just said).

In other words, the negation of the proposition only pertains to a limited range. In the above example the negation only holds for the period under discussion – the *Huli* festival. The different types of negation are discussed in more detail in the chapter on negation.

A similar contrast is found in the contrast between habitual and progressive aspect. Habitual aspect is the general form, indicating both habitual and possibly ongoing action. Progressive is limited to ongoing events at the reference time. In the next example, the habitual is used to discuss whether or not people are celebrating the *Yawal* festival in the village of *Taula* even though the discussion is not taking place at the time of year for *Yawal*:

37 **mə ɓɔ́n jawal** tá xaʔi tám na,
HAB do Yawal 3PL here now Q

na ká tá **mə ɓɔ́n jawal=w**
or NEG 3PL HAB do Yawal=NEG
They are doing Yawal here now or are they not doing Yawal?

When referring to an ongoing action at the reference time, usually speech time, the progressive form can be used. In the next example the action of taking is occurring as the utterance is spoken:

38 **ɬá-j ɬá** tʃá xaʔi
take-PROG take 3M here
He is taking (it) now [pointing at child]

Likewise, the contrast between the subordinators *má* and *xu* is between a general, non-referential form – *má*; and a specific referential form – *xu.* When a specific instance of an event is not being referenced, the temporal subordinator *má* is used:

39	**má**	**ba-má**	**ɣí**	**ŋí**	**kavak**	**ná,**	**má**	**já**	**ɬaŋ**	**ná,**
	HYP	build-UP	house	1EX	in.day	TOP	HYP	come	Dlaŋ	TOP

páɬa-ra	tá	ka	kə́və́ɗ
destroy-CENT	3PL	as	at.night

Whenever we built a house during the day, when the Dlaŋ came, they destroyed it in the night.

In the previous example the speaker is referring to an actual series of events in Sakun history, but particular instances of house building are not being referenced. The form *má* is also common with the conditional. However, when a particular event is being referenced, the temporal subordinator *xu* is used. The next example illustrates the use of *xu* referring to a particular period of time - the period preceding the wedding:

40	**xu**	ɬá-má=n	ná,	gam	ká=n=w
	when	take-UP=1SG	TOP	intercourse	NEG=1SG=NEG

During the time I married (her), I didn't have any sex (with her).

These distinctions between the patterns of negation, habitual and progressive, and temporal subordinators are treated in more detail in the chapter on negation, tense, aspect and modality and the complex sentence, respectively.

3.5 Comment constructions

There are two construction types that signal a comment on a discourse topic: *kə́* constructions and *tʃá* constructions. Constructions with the particle *kə́* serve to comment on an established discourse topic or to clarify the reference of pronouns or object markers when more than one discourse topic is available. Constructions with the particle *tʃá* serve to present comments on topics which are counter-expectation. Constructions with *tʃá* typically refer to the speech situation and are often accompanied with hand gestures toward the thing being commented on.

3.5.1 Comment constructions with *kə́*

Constructions with the particle *kə́* consist of the particle *kə́* followed by a comment in the form of a clause, phrase or lexical item pragmatically linked to a discourse topic. These constructions typically occur within a clause following the pattern of an adverbial; *i.e. kə́* constructions follow the verb and arguments. These constructions are also often used to ask syntactically independent comprehension-check questions when another person is speaking. One common function of *kə́* is to clarify the reference of a pronoun required for structural reasons. For example, object pronouns are required to introduce indirect objects to a clause

and often such clauses are followed by a *kə́* construction clarifying the antecedent of the pronoun. This is illustrated in the next example:

41	bá	dza	ka	papat-**ta**$_j$-má	ɓa=j	**[kə́**	**vərʃín**	**ka]**$_j$
	CONJ	go	3F	rub.PL-3PL.OBJ-UP	soup=DET	REF	child.PL	3F.POSS

Then it went and rubbed its children with that ɓa soup.

In the above example the object pronoun *ta,* 3PL.OBJ, refers to Hyena's children. Because they were potentially difficult to recover from the discourse as the antecedent of *ta* (other possible antecedents included Squirrel's children or even possibly Squirrel and Hyena themselves), the *kə́* clause serves to clarify the antecedent of the object pronoun by explicitly stating the antecedent in the form of a noun phrase.

Another common use of the *kə́* construction is to clarify the reference of object markers. In the next example, the *kə́* clause clarifies the referent of the *–tə* OM marker on the verb *pəra-tə* 'sell something':

42	mə	pəra-**tə́**$_j$	^{n}da	**[kə́**	**vwax**	**i^{n}dáŋ**	**ka]**$_j$	na
	HAB	sell-OM	person	REF	leaf	groundnut	3F.POSS	Q

Are people selling the leaves of groundnut?

In the above example, both groundnuts and its leaves have recently been mentioned. Given the context, the object marker could easily be interpreted as referring to either the groundnuts, or its leaves. Because of the ambiguity, the *kə́* construction provides a means for

indicating the referent while still using the object marker in the clause in order to maintain the transparency of grammatical relations.

More than one *kə́* clause can be used to clarify more than one underspecified element in the same clause. In the next example, the main clause is followed by two consecutive *kə́* constructions. The first *kə́* construction clarifies the antecedent of the *–tə* OM suffix on the verb. The second *kə́* construction clarifies the antecedent of the pronominal subject, *ʧá* 3M (or arguably, the antecedent of the possessive pronoun in the preceding *kə́* clause):

43	ka	pəra-**tə**$_j$	ʧá$_i$,	**[kə́**	**ja**	**tə**$_i$ **]**$_j$ **,**	[kə́	dali faŋ]$_i$
	PURP	sell-OM	3M	REF	own	3M.POSS	REF	Dali Flyaŋ
	He is selling it [beer], his own, Dali Flyaŋ.								

As can be seen in the above example, the relation between the *kə́* construction and the element in the preceding clause is not direct. In other words, the relation between the *kə́* construction and the underspecified element is interpreted contextually. In the above example the reference of both the object marker and the third person masculine pronoun need clarification because culturally it is very unusual for men to make and sell their own beer.

The standard in comparative clauses are generally coded with a *kə́* construction. The next example illustrates this pattern:

44	ʤará	na-r	i^{n}dáŋ = j	kwa	**kə**	da = j	da	kwa
	better	get-EXT	groundnuts = DET	2SG	REF	thing = REL	FUT	2SG

na vwax ka
get leaf 3F.POSS
Better you fetch the groundnut than for you to fetch it's leaves.

Kə́ clauses need not refer to specific elements in the preceding clause. Frequently *kə́* will precede headless relative clauses and provide a comment on or clarification of the discourse topic. In the next example, the topic under discussion is the cause of Antelope's distress. The beans stolen from Squirrel's farm triggered the illness. The speaker, Antelope, is explaining to Hyena why he ate the beans. His foot accidently caught some beans lying half on the path to dry. The comment clause with *kə́* provides the answer to the rhetorical question posed in the previous utterance:

45 náx a kəɬjá-rá ka və́ ná, ja, baxá da=n
after PFV separate-CENT 3F REFL TOP O.K. how FUT=1SG

pəra da ɗwá-tə pə xaɗ wa á nî **kə́=j**
throw thing eat-OM on ground Q say 1SG REF=REL

ɬá-va=n mə nás ŋá=ju
take-OUT=1SG at leg 1SG.POSS=DET
After it has pulled apart, how can I throw it away on the ground? I said. Since I had taken on this my leg, …

The *kə́* construction also frequently occurs in conversation in order to clarify the topic being discussed. A person listening to another speaker will interject with a *kə́* construction in order to clarify the topic as illustrated in the next example:

46	jaw,	tɔ́hu	ja	ŋá,	kəná=j	dza	da	ɬá
	OK	IP.take	own	1SG.POSS	1SG.FREE=REL	go	GOAL	take

da	ŋá	nɔ́	kəŋá
thing	1SG.POSS	1SG	1SG.REFL

Speaker B: **kɔ́** **húrɔ́m** Speaker A: **kɔ́** **húrɔ́m**
REF pot REF pot

[Speaker A] *OK. Taking my own, it is I that goes and takes my thing by myself.*
[Speaker B] *A pot* [?] [Speaker A] *A pot.*

In the above example the speaker is explaining their role in a ritual. At this point in the conversation the speaker states that they will drink down a whole pot of beer. The person they are speaking with interjects with a *kɔ́* construction to clarify that the speaker meant a whole pot and not simply a calabash from the pot. Speaker A replies in kind, repeating the *kɔ́* construction to confirm.

The use of the comment marker *kɔ́* is frequent and permeates Sakun discourse regardless of genre.

3.5.2 Comment constructions with tʃá

Constructions with the particle *tʃá* indicate that the clause or noun phrase that follows the particle is a comment on a discourse topic or speech situation which is counter-expectation. The referent or event must be physically proximate to the speech act and the use of *tʃá* is

generally accompanied by hand gestures. The particle *tʃá* always occurs in clause initial position. When the element following *tʃá* is a clause rather than a noun phrase, the subject generally directly follows *tʃá.* The next example illustrates the use of *tʃá* with a clause:

47	**tʃá**	ⁿda	rə́-a-m		dara	kəma	rák	á	tʃá
	REF	person	bury-OM-EXT		over	in.front	gate	say	3M
	People buried (him) at the front of the first gate (rak), he said.								

The comment construction with *tʃá* codes a comment on the discourse topic, but this comment is understood to be counter the hearer's expectations. In the previous example, the death of Ndushikən, a former *ɬîdî* of Sakun was being discussed. The comment on the topic of his death – the burial – was surprising as the *ɬîdî* is usually buried in the royal graveyard, not down by the first gate. Likewise, in response to a question suggesting a person's ancestors had lived in Rwa, the person responds pointing away from Rwa towards Sukur:

48	**tʃá**	fi	fájwa	dara	xaʔi	xáⁿdʒiga
	REF	ruin	Faiwa	over	here	now
	See here! The ruins of Faiwa are there now!					

Surprising comments on the situation of the speech act, rather than the discourse topic, can also be coded with the particle *tʃá.* In the next example, Squirrel is crying out for help:

49	**wá**	**tʃá**	ⁿda	xá=j	mə	xáɗ	mə	pəká	ɮwi	tə́
	VOC	REF	person	PL=REL	in	ground	HAB	take	meat	1IN.POSS

kənî	xanáwa	á	mágan	mə	ᵐba	ɓaɓa	dəgə́vu

uncle say.HON say squirrel HAB again call.PL hyena
'The ancestors are taking away our meat, uncle!' said Squirrel crying out repeatedly to Hyena.

A *tʃá* construction can also be used to signal a change in direction of a conversation (as opposed to a change in topic). In the next example, there had been a discussion of the planting of guineacorn. The speaker wants to continue discussing the farm, but not the guineacorn. The speaker uses a *tʃá* construction to introduce the change:

50 **tʃá** ká ŋî xáⁿdʒiga mə ɣər ta **ná**, ná tapə́j
REF see 1IN now in farm 2SG.POSS TOP EXIST calabash
Here we see in your farm now, there is calabash.

In the above example the subject follows the verb rather than coming directly after *tʃá.* Unfortunately there are not enough examples to suggest a function for this alternation.

4 Conclusion

The reference system in Sakun helps speakers and hearers track referents, build structure in discourse move between multiple discourse topics. Sakun distinguishes between entity and situation deixis. Sakun only distinguishes between proximal and distal deixis with regard to spatial relations. Temporal terms that index speech time typically have two degrees of distinction. Since these are not present in spatial terms, this could present a puzzle for those who attempt to explain temporal reference through extension of spatial reference.

Choices between the use of full noun phrases, pronouns, object markers and omitted arguments are often driven by the needs of maintaining transparent grammatical relations. As a result, pronouns and object markers often lack clear antecedents and the reference system provides tactics for clarifying these – especially the use of *kə́* clauses.

Noun phrases can be unmarked for discourse status, coded as having been previously mentioned or as discourse topics. Noun phrases can also be coded as not refering to particular entities but to attributes of a class. Propositions can likewise distinguish between reference to a particular event and non-specific reference (i.e. a general state of affairs).

There are several morpheme pairs in Sakun in which one morpheme is dedicated to the domain of speech, and the other underspecified between speech or situation. There are the determiners *kʷkwá* and *=ju* where the determiner *kʷkwá* only refers to discourse topics. There are the situational deictic terms *xán* and *xaʔî* where *xán* only refers to the situation being discussed whereas *xaʔî* can refer to either the situation being discussed or the situation of the speech act. Finally there are comment markers *kə́* and *ʧá*. The *kə́* constructions are restricted to reference to discourse topics whereas *ʧá* constructions can refer to either a highly salient discourse topic or the situation of the speech act.

CHAPTER 15 FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS AND RELATIVE CLAUSES

1 Introduction

This chapter presents the relative clause and focus constructions in Sakun. The reason these two topics are treated in the same chapter is similarity in coding means for both functions. The relativizer *=j* is used for both relative clauses and focus constructions. The same restrictions on TAM coding and negation also hold for both relative clauses and most focus constructions. The fundamental difference between the relative clause and the focus construction with the relativizer is that the head noun of a relative clause has a role in both a matrix clause and the restricting clause coded by the relativizer. The next example illustrates a relative clause modifying the subject of an existential predication:

1	ká	ⁿgər	ta=w	ná,	nə́	**pəʃím=j**	**da**	**kwá**
	NEG	strength	2SG.POSS=NEG	TOP	EXIST	clever=REL	FUT	2SG

ɓə́n-tə
do-OM
(If) you are not strong, there is some cleverness that you will do.

In the above example, the subject of the existential predication is modified by a relative clause. The subject of the existential predication is also the object of the relative clause (the role is coded within the relative clause by the object marker).

The fronted element in the focus construction with the relativizer only plays a role in the clause following the relativizer. The next example is a response to a question about who will carry the meat home. The speaker responds:

2	maɮixɔ́=ĵ	da	ɬá	ɮwi	dza	**ɣi**
	men=REL\SBJ	FUT	take	meat	go	home
	It is the men that will take the meat home.					

In addition to focus constructions which parallel relativization, there are several other focus constructions discussed below including: focus constructions with *ka*, contrastive focus on arguments with the plural marker *xá*, and contrastive focus on predicates through verb root repetition.

2 Relative clause

The relative clause follows the noun it modifies. The relativizer *=j* occurs between other post-nominal modification such as the plural marker *xá*, nominal modifiers, participial constructions and possessors. The relativizer must precede the elements requiring the relativizer such as the relative clause, prepositional phrases and demonstratives. The next example illustrates the relativizer occurring after the plural marker *xá* and the modifier *mədʒamakə́n* 'big.PL', then followed by a relative clause and demonstrative:

3	**jím**	mə-dʒamak-ə́n	xá=**j**	**pɔ́ka**	**kí**	**tʃitʃíji**	ná
	stone	HAB-big.PL-NOM	PL=REL	collect	2PL	DEM.PROX	TOP

These big stones that you collect,

Modification of the noun phrase requires the relativizer *=j* for a wide range of constructions rather than simply the modification by a relative clause. Constructions employing the relativizer include modification of the noun phrase by verbal predications (i.e. relative clauses), prepositional phrases, and demonstratives.

2.1 Tense, aspect and negation in the relative clause

The coding of tense and aspect in the relative clause is restricted to future tense and habitual aspect, following the dependent patterns found in the interrogative. The coding of negation in the relative clause uses the dependent negation marker *karáˑ*. These patterns have some similarities to those described for related languages, with languages like Mina exhibiting distinct aspectual patterns for relative clauses, interrogatives and negation (Frajzyngier & Shay 2010: 292-95).

Future tense can be coded in the relative clause. When the future is coded, the subject occurs directly after the future particle *da*. The subject of an independent future clause occurs after both the verb and the object: *da* VERB OBJ SBJ. Only relative clauses, focus constructions, and interrogatives in the future tense have subjects which directly follow the future marker *da*.

The next example contains two relative clauses. Both clauses illustrate relativization on a non-subject argument and the subject of the relative clause follows the future particle in each case:

4	tʃiví=**j**	**da=n**	ɓə́n-má	xáⁿdʒiga	kə=**j**	**da=n**	ⁿdaɗ-ʃi	
	way=REL	FUT=1SG	do-UP	now	REF=REL	FUT=1SG	leave-TO	
	(Is there) the way how I can do now so that I will leave?							

If the subject of the restricting clause is the head of the relative clause (i.e. subject relativization) then the subject is simply absent within the restricting clause. The next example illustrates subject relativization with the future tense:

5	a	tá	ⁿza	**ka**	**ⁿda**	**xá=j**	**da**	já	ᵐbák
	SBJV	3PL	COP	GENR	person	PL=REL	FUT	come	increase

sákun	dza	pə	kə́ma
Sakun	go	at	front

Let them become those people that will move Sakun forward.

Relative clauses can be coded with habitual aspect, although this is not common. The next example illustrates a relative clause with the habitual marker *mə*:

6	nə́	xaŋi	dzə́xi=**j**	**mə**	ɓə́n-tə	ⁿda	ɣi	va	ɬíɗì
	EXIST	some	festival=REL	HAB	do-OM	person	in	house	king
	There is some other festival they are doing in the king's house.								

Unlike interrogatives and negative clauses, relative clauses can take the perfective particle *a*. It is not common for relative clauses to be coded for perfective. Relative clauses

directly modifying a nominal head do not take the perfective. The few examples from the corpus with a relative clause taking the perfective particle are from the headless relative clause structure with *kə́=j* 'REF=REL'. Headless relative clauses are discussed in more detail below but an example of a relative clause with the perfective particle *a* follows:

7	xa	pîs=j	**kə́=j**	**a**	də-kwa-kə́	^{n}da
	as	day=DET	REF=REL	PFV	escort-2SG.OBJ-CENT	person

zər-a	ta	ja-va	da	va	ta	ná
wife.SG-MOD	2SG.POSS	come-OUT	GOAL	house	2SG.POSS	TOP

On the day people have escorted your wife to come over to your house for you, …

Negation of relative clauses requires the dependent negation marker *karə́* 'NEG' to code the dissociative elements of noun phrases. The form of negation used with the relative clause is different from that used on matrix clauses. See the chapter on negation for a comparison of *karə́* with other types of negation patterns. The dissociated elements can be nouns or verbal predications. The next examples illustrate the negation of a relative clause with a verbal predication:

8	xa	^{n}da=j	**karə́**	**sə́**	**məpaɮə**
	as	person=REL	NEG	drink	beer

Like a person not taking beer,

9	ɮa	ʒîrî=j	**karə́**	**mə**	**dzə-tə**
	only	wife.PL=REL	without	HAB	weave-OM

(It is) Only women who are not weaving it.

The next example illustrates the use of *kará* with a nominal complement:

10	má	ir=**j**	**kará**	**ka**	ná
	HYP	place=REL	NEG	3F	TOP
	If the place lacks it (guineacorn),				

The negation of a nominal complement typically results in a possessive reading – i.e. the negated element is understood to be lacking. The next example illustrates a figurative usage of this pattern:

11	kəɓ	ŋá=j	**kará**	**ŋwu**	**ŋwa**
	knife	1SG.POSS=REL	NEG	mouth	on
	It is my knife that is not sharp? (Question coded through intonation)				

2.2 Relativization and grammatical relations

The head of the relative clause can be any grammatical relation within the relative clause except for the possessor. Unlike with focus constructions, there is no tonal difference on the relativizer that distinguishes between subject and object roles of the clause initial noun. The role of the head noun within the restricting clause is not marked in any consistent way and it appears that context is the deciding factor in interpreting the role of the head noun. There does appear to be a strong preference for animate subjects for subject relative clauses and

inanimate objects for object relative clauses. The next example illustrates subject relativization:

12 nə́ **ⁿda** **xá=j** **ɓats-tə** **nə** **ⁿgúɗəm,**
EXIST person PL=REL harvest-OM with hoe

nə́ **ⁿda** **xá=j** **ɓats-tə** **nə** **viɗ**
EXIST person PL=REL harvest-OM with hoe
There are those that harvest (it) with a hoe, there those that harvest (it) with a sickle.

In each of the relative clauses in the above example, *ⁿda xá=j* 'those people' is the subject of *ɓats-tə* 'harvest it'. The next example illustrates object relativization:

13 pəkə **da** **xá=j** **ɓál-má** **ⁿda=j** ná
about thing PL=REL mention-UP person=DET TOP
about these things that someone has mentioned…

In the above example, *da xáj* 'things' is the object of *ɓál-má* 'mention' in the relative clause. Subject relative clauses have no resumptive pronoun within the clause. Object relative clauses do not require a resumptive pronoun (for direct objects) or object marker, although they do occur on occassion. The next illustrates an object relative clause with a resumptive object marker within the restricting clause:

14 ká ⁿgər ta=w ná, nə́ **pəʃím$_i$=j** da kwá
NEG strength 2SG.POSS=NEG TOP EXIST clever=REL FUT 2SG

ɓə́n**-tə$_i$**
do-OM

(If) you are not strong, there is some cleverness that you will do.

In the above example, the head of the noun phrase, *pəʃ̌im* 'clever' is coded within the restricting clause with the object marker *-tə*. In cases where the speaker modifies an animate entity in an object role within a restricting clause, a *kə́* construction is used rather than relative clause. In the next example the subject of the existential predication, *ⁿdaxaj* 'those people' is the object of the restricting clause (in the English translation). In the Sakun, the speaker uses a *kə́* construction to avoid an object relative clause with an animate head noun:

15	nə́	**ⁿda**	**xá$_i$=j**	kə́=j	gə́n-**a$_i$**-má	kwá
	EXIST	person	PL=DET	REF=REL	help-OM-UP	2SG

There are those people whom you have helped.

Examples such as the one presented above are common in the data. Further work with consultants will be necessary to confirm if this is a grammatical restriction or a pragmatically driven tendency.

Indirect objects can also be relativized. However, when indirect objects are relativized, a resumptive object pronoun in the restricting clause must be used. The next example illustrates an indirect object relative clause:

16	**ká la**	**ⁿda$_j$=j**	bîn-**tʃa$_j$**-má	kwá	da	jaw=j	ná,
	each	person=REL	tie-3M.OBJ-UP	2SG	thing	Jau=DET	TOP

a	tə́n	tʃá	na
PFV	recover	3M	Q

Each person that you tied the thing of Jau on him, did he recover?

In the above example the head of the relative clause is co-referential with the object pronoun in the verb stem. Non-argument roles can also be relativized upon. Oblique roles such as location and manner can be relativized upon. The next example illustrates relativization on the location:

17	má	**ir = j**	já	dəgə́vu	mə	pəká	ɣə́n	ka = j	ná
	HYP	place = REL	come	hyena	HAB	pick	bean	3F.POSS = DET	TOP

When [it was] *the place where Hyena came picking its* [Squirrel's] *beans,*

In oblique relative clauses, there is no prepositional phrase with a gap within the relative clause. The role of the head noun must be transparent (through context) within the relative clause. In cases where the head noun is preceded by a preposition, the preposition codes the role of the head noun in the matrix clause. In the next example the object of the preposition *ⁿgə* 'beneficiary' is the head of a subject relative clause:

18	ka	dza	ɗǎ-kə́	jám	**ⁿgə**	**mjá**	**ta = j**
	PURP	go	fetch-CENT	water	BEN	friend	2SG.POSS = REL

karə́	**sə́**	**gəma**	**təku**
NEG	know	word	2PL

… to go and fetch water for your friend who doesn't understand your language.

In the above example, the preposition *ⁿgə*[1] codes the role of its object in relation to the matrix verb *dǎ-kə́* 'fetch', not the role in the relative clause. Within the restricting clause, the role of *mjá taj* 'your friend' is that of subject.

In clauses where the role of the argument (other than subject or direct object) is not transparent, a resumptive pronoun will occur within the restricting clause. This was already discussed for indirect object roles. With the indirect object role, the object pronoun is sufficient to indicate the role of the participant within the clause; i.e. beneficiary. However, with other roles, a prepositional phrase with the resumptive pronoun as object is used to make the role transparent. In the next example, the head noun refers to the instrument which is coded by the prepositional phrase *nə mək* 'with 3F.FREE' in the restricting clause:

19	xa	**da=j**	dzə-tə	ⁿda	**nə**	**mək=j**	ná
	as	thing=REL	weave-OM	person	with	3F.FREE=DET	TOP

ⁿgəná	ú-tə	kî	xáⁿdʒiga=j
where	get-OM	2PL	now=Q

As for the thing that you weave it with, where do you get it?

---

[1] The coding of the indirect object can be accomplished either through the use of an object pronoun, or through a prepositional phrase with the prepositions *ⁿgə* or *kaⁿgə* - but not both. Thus, the example does not include the object pronoun in the verb stem since the role of the beneficiary is coded through the prepositional phrase *ⁿgə mja ta=j.*

2.3 The relativizer and non-clausal elements of the noun phrase

In addition to modifying noun phrases with clauses, the relativizer is required to add prepositional phrases and demonstratives to a noun phrase. These two noun phrase constituents are discussed in the following sections.

2.3.1 Prepositional phrases

The use of a prepositional phrase to modify a noun phrase requires the use of the relativizer. In the next example, the prepositional phrase *nə dʒîf* 'with a stick' is coding the instrument of the action and is not part of the noun phrase *lawu* nor *kəra*:

20 a dă-r kərá lawu nə dʒîf
PFV hit-EXT dog Lawu with stick
Lawu hit the dog with the stick (Lawu has the stick – i.e. the stick is the instrument of hitting). [elicited]

Contrast the previous example with the next example where *nə dʒîf* is modifying the NP headed by *kərá* 'dog':

21 a dă-r **kərá=j** **nə** **dʒíf** Lawu
PFV hit-EXT dog=REL with stick Lawu
Lawu hit the dog with the stick (The dog has the stick). [elicited]

In the above example the head of the noun phrase takes the relativizer *=j*. Evidence that this is indeed relative clause modification is the restrictive reading when the entire clause

takes a determiner. In the following example both the noun *dʒíf* 'stick' and the entire clause take determiners.

22	a	dǎ-r	**[kərá=j**	**nə**	**[dʒíf=j]=j]**		Lawu
	PFV	hit-EXT	dog=REL	with	stick=DET=DET		Lawu

Lawu hit the dog with the stick [The dog has the stick, there are many dogs and one among them is the one with the stick. The stick is identifiable]. [elicited]

This construction occurs with any prepositional modifying a noun phrase. The next example illustrates a prepositional phrase coding location:

23	a=n	ɮə	**takúr=j**	**mə**	**ga^{m}bá=ju**
	SEQ=1SG	cut	chicken=REL	at	bush=DET

I will slaughter this chicken that is in the bush.

2.3.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Sakun occur phrase final and require the use of a relativizer in the noun phrase to be integrated into the NP:

24	má	dzá	ka	gə̀t-rá	**túr**	ka=j	**átʃíj**	ná
	HYP	go	3F	hide-VENT	tail	3F. POSS=REL	DEM.DIST	TOP

When it goes and hides that its tail,

Demonstratives have two allomorphs. In intonation phrase internal position, the final high back rounded vowel, /u/, is deleted. The phrase internal form with the deleted vowel is in the previous example. A similar pattern is found with determiners (see chapters on noun

phrase and reference system). The next example illustrates the intonation phrase final form of the distal demonstrative with final vowel present:

25	a	já-má	tá	vəra	pə	jím=j	átʃíju
	PFV	come-UP	3PL	over	at	stone=REL	DEM.DIST

They came up over on that stone over there.

Demonstratives have forms to distinguish between proximate and distal deixis. These are outlined in the following table:

Table 51 Demonstrative forms

	Phrase final	Phrase internal	Reduplicated form
PROXIMATE	tʃíju	tʃíj	tʃitʃíju
DISTAL	átʃíju	átʃíj	átʃitʃíju

The distance referred to here can be either physical location or discourse status, with proximate being more topical than distal. These functions are addressed in the chapter on the reference system. The reduplicated form adds emphasis to either proximity or distance.

The separation of the relativizer from the demonstrative is evident in clauses where the demonstrative is modifying an NP which includes a relative clause. The demonstrative will modify the head noun rather than the noun immediately preceding it. In this situation, the noun immediately preceding the demonstrative will not have the relativizer. The relativizer does not need to be repeated in any way to include both a relative clause and a demonstrative to the same NP. This is illustrated in the following two examples:

26	ŋə́ná	**da = j**	já	xa	kərá	**átʃíj**	wá
	where	thing = REL	come	as	dog	DEM.DIST	Q

Where is that thing coming like a dog?

In the above example, *kərá* lacks the relativizer and the demonstrative is understood to modify the head of the NP, *da,* rather than 'dog'. In the next example, again the demonstrative modifies the head of the NP:

27	**jím**	**mə-ʤamak-ə́n**	**xá = j**	**pə́ka**	**kí**	**tʃitʃíji**	ná
	stone	HAB-big-NOM	PL = REL	collect	2PL	DEM.PROX	TOP

These big stones that you collect, …

The use of determiners in general after a relative clause marks the clause as a restricting relative clause; i.e. the relative clause indicates one among several possible referents rather than simply providing more information about the referent.

2.4 Headless relative clauses

Relative clauses can be formed without a head noun where the relative clause itself functions as an argument in a predication or object of a preposition. The relativizer is simply followed by a clause and the relativizer will cliticize to some functional particle. This structure is most commonly found in *kə́* constructions although sometimes it will also occur in existential predications or backgrounded clauses. The next example illustrates an existential predication taking a headless relative clause as the subject:

28 má ⁿda mə́ɓən xuɗ ŋ̂i nə tá ná,
HYP COND good stomache 1EX.POSS with 3PL TOP

tá=j da ⁿza iⁿzá və ŋ̂i, a ŋ̂i
3PL.FREE=REL FUT COND sit beside 1EX.FREE SBJV 1EX

ɗwá-m da ɗwá-tə, a ŋ̂i ⁿgał, ka Ɣamáŋ̂i
eat-EXT thing eat-OM SBJV 1EX satisfy PURP happy 1EX

kavak, **nə́=j** **gan-á-va** ná a wás ⁿdu
afternoon EXIST=REL show-OM-OUT TOP PFV finish person

mə xə́n-rá Ɣə
HAB slaughter-CENT bull

If our heart is pure with them, even if they will sit beside us, we would eat something and we would be satisfied. We are happy this afternoon. ***This is what shows that*** *a person has already slaughtered a bull.*

Far more common is the headless relative clause structure with the *kə́* construction. The *kə́* REF particle, discussed in detail in the chapter on the reference system, codes phrases and clauses as comments on discourse topics. The next example illustrates a *kə́* construction with a headless relative clause:

29 ir=ju, ŋi ir ka,
place=DET another place 3F

kə́=j **fə́** **sákun** **ka** **tsa** **ŋ̂íwun**
REF=REF put Sakun PURP plant medicine

This place [pointing]… *It is another place… That which the Sakun have put aside to grown medicine on it.*

Headless relative clauses in *kə́* constructions often occur directly after a noun which they reference without any intonation break. However, relative clauses are syntactically independent of the nouns they reference if they are part of a *kə́* REF clause. Consider the following example. The object of the matrix clause is *ləbət* 'granary cover'. The *kə́* relative clause references the granary cover, but the subject of the clause, *=n* '1SG', separates *ləbət* from the *kə́* clause:

30	ⁿda	ú-r	**ləbət**	ŋá=n	**kə́=j**	**bərə́j**
	until	get-PRF	granary.cover	1SG.POSS=1SG	REF=REL	wide

Until I find my granary cover, (one) that is wide,

Additional evidence that the *kə́=j* clause is not part of the NP it references comes from modification of nouns requiring the *–a* MOD suffix. If a noun of the *–a* MOD class is modified by a relative clause, the *-a* MOD suffix is present. In the next example *zər* 'wife' is modified by a relative clause and the *–a* MOD suffix is present:

31	**zər-a=j́**	**də́-kwa-rá**	**ɗaf**	**kapakwa=j**	kjáná	ná,	
	wife-MOD=REL	cook-2SG.OBJ-EXT	food	evening=DET	[H.]?	TOP	

mək=j	dza	kwá	îvi	nə	mək
3F.FREE=REL	go	2SG	lie	with	3F.FREE

The wife that cooks for you in the evening, she is the one you will go and lie with.

However, when such nouns are referenced by a *kə́* construction, the *–a* MOD suffix is not present. In the next example *zər* 'wife' does not take the *–a* MOD suffix when followed by the *kə́* construction:

32	nə́	ŋi	**zər**	**kə́ = j**	**ji-xá**	**rwi**	**bák**
	EXIST	another	woman	REF = REL	birth-DOWN	child	two

There is another woman, (one) who gave birth to two children.

It is not clear functionally why disjunct modification with a *kə́* clause would be preferred to simple modification of an NP with a relative clause. Speakers will often use both options in otherwise parallel constructions as with the next example:

33	nə́	**ŋwu = j**	**dʒiwu,**	nə́	**ŋwu = j**	**kə́ = j**	**bərə́j**
	EXIST	gate = REL	small	EXIST	gate = DET	REF = REL	wide

There are gates that are small, there are these gates, (ones) which are wide.

As can be seen in the above example, nouns which are referenced by *kə́* constructions can take a determiner – in fact this is generally the case although not required. The presence of the determiner is likely to emphasize the discourse status of the noun so it will be the element indexed by *kə́* unambiguously.

3 Focus constructions

Sakun employs different coding means for term focus and predicate focus. Term focus[2] refers to focus on subjects, objects, or adjuncts. There are two means for coding term focus. The first is clause initial position of the focused element and the use of the relativizer. The second coding means for term focus is the *xá* 'PL' marker used with plural nouns. Predicate focus presents the event or action against the background of contradictory expectations; i.e. one action is presented when others are expected. Predicate focus is coded through repetition of the verb root.

3.1 Focus constructions with the relativizer

The primary means for placing an argument or adjunct in focus is to place the focal element in clause initial position and, if the focused element is a noun, use the relativizer. In the next example the object is in focus and the noun phrase takes the relativizer:

34	**ʒigəla**	**ta=j**	fwál	kwá	ɣi-^{m}bə,	
	god	2SG.POSS=REL	praise	2SG	in-within	
	na,	maɮá-ø	ta			
	or	husband-MOD	2SG.POSS			

[2] The label 'term focus' is borrowed from Wolff (2001: 138). However, 'predicate focus' in this work is distinct from 'predication focus', with the former simply refering to contrastive focus on the verbal piece.

Is it your God you are praising, or your husband…

Focus constructions behave in the same way as relative clauses under most conditions. Focus constructions with the relativizer use the dependent negation marker *karáʼ* just as relative clauses do. Focus constructions with the relativizer also have the same pattern of subject placement in the future as relative clauses: subjects occur after the future marker *da* rather than after the verb and object.

There are two aspects of focus constructions which distinguish them from typical relative clauses. First, pronominal arguments are common and they are always from the paradigm of free pronouns. The next example illustrates a first person subject in focus:

35 **kənáʼ=j** łá ʔjúkʷ=ju
1SG.FREE=REL\SBJ take goat=DET
I am the one that takes that goat.

Second, in focus constructions the tone of the relativizer alternates, with high tone coding a fronted subject, and low tone coding a fronted non-subject argument. The following example illustrates the tone alternation on the relativizer. The first clause with a focused element is a non-subject argument and a low tone on the relativizer. The second clause has a fronted subject and high tone on the relativizer:

36 má mə dza ⁿda da ɓɔ́n ŋi da kaⁿgə ɬîdî ná,
HYP HAB go person GOAL do another thing BEN chief TOP

tsə́j=j	**da**	**ⁿda**	**ɣúná-tə,**	kwá	ɣi	va	ɬîdî	ná,
3M.FREE=REL	FUT	person	send-OM	even	in	house	chief	TOP

tsə́j=j́	**dza**	**da**	**ɓə́n**	**ƀə́n**
3M.FREE=REL\SBJ	go	LOC	do	Work

If there is some thing to do for the King, he is the one to be sent. Even in the King's house he will do the work

3.1.1 Focused adjuncts

Focused adjuncts (in the form of prepositional phrases or other adverbials) occur in the clause initial position, show the same patterns regarding the future and with negation, but do not take the relativizer. The next example illustrates a fronted adverbial:

37

samə́	dzə	ja	ŋá=n	ká=ka	mamáʃ=w
slow	weave	own	1SG.POSS=1SG	NEG=3F	fast=NEG

I weave my own slowly, it is not very fast.

The next example illustrates a fronted prepositional phrase:

38

ⁿgə	**vərʃín**	táx-tə	ŋî	pját
BEN	child.PL	divide-OM	1EX	all

To the children, we distributed it, all of it.

Focused adjuncts are discussed in more detail in the chapters on adverbials and prepositional phrases.

3.1.2 Interrogative, negation and focus

There are two domains where focus constructions can differ from relative clauses: interrogatives and negation. In the interrogative and the negative, there are two forms of the focus construction. Focus constructions can mirror relative clauses in the interrogative and negative or they can use the particle *ka*. The next example illustrates a disjunctive question with focused subjects. The structure is the same as found in the relative clause or declarative focus constructions:

39	**tá = j**	**ɓɔ́n-a-má**	na,	na	**maɣixɔ́ = j**	**ɓɔ́n-a-má**
	3PL.FREE = REL\SBJ	do-OM-UP	Q	or	man.PL = REL\SBJ	do-OM-UP
	Are they the ones who make it, or do the men make it?					

The questioned element in information questions also tend to be in a focus construction and these are also the same as focus constructions described for declarative sentences. The next example illustrates a questioned subject with a high tone on the relativizer:

40	wú	**ⁿda = j**	fɔ́-kɔ́	pə	gəma	vərʃîn	wà
	who	person = REL\SBJ	put-CENT	on	word	child.PL	Q
	Who believes children's talk?						

Focus constructions in the negative take the dependent negation marker *kará* just as relative clauses. The next two examples illustrate focused objects with negated clauses:

41	a	ᵐbá	zamán	ɬá-kɔ́	gəma,	**jím = j**	**kará**	**ⁿda**
	PFV	again	situation	take-VENT	word	stone = REL	NEG	person

bəx mə ma
still HAB want
The situation has changed. Stone (for the house) they don't want anymore.

42 **ɮa baɮawa=j karáⁿda mə ɗa-tə ká=j di xaʔi**
only large.pot NEG person HAB add-OM REF=REL big here
Only the badlawa [large pot for brown beer] *is not getting it, like the big one here.*

Most focus constructions exhibit the relative clause patterns just described and differ only in the function of the noun taking the relativizer: the head noun of a relative clause will function as an argument in a predication outside the restricting clause marked by the relativizer. In the case of focus constructions, the fronted noun phrase only has a grammatical relation within the 'restricting clause'. However, focus constructions can also be formed with a combination of the particle *ká* 'FOC' and the relativizer. When the particle *ká* 'FOC' and the relativizer are used to code focus constructions, there are differences in how interrogatives and negative clauses are coded.

The particle *ká* 'FOC' occurs between the focused noun phrase and the relativizer. The next example illustrates the use of *ká* 'FOC' in the interrogative:

43 má ⁿda=j ɓats-kwa-má ɓáɬ pə ɣi na
HYP person=REL get-2SG.OBJ-UP mud on house TOP

tsə́j **ká=j** dza kwá dza=j a tsə́j **wa**
3M.FREE FOC=REL go 2SG go=DIR GOAL 3M.FREE Q
When a person puts mud on your house, is it he that you will go to (if you need

something)?

Questions with the *ká* 'FOC' marker take interrogative particles typically reserved for information questions despite the absence of an interrogative pronoun and the polar question semantics. Compare the following examples. Both of them have a focused subject and are questions about whether or not the clause that follows applies to them: i.e. did the subject do the action. The first example uses only the relativizer and a polar question particle:

44	**kəná=j**	ⁿza	mə	xarám	**na**	
	1SG.FREE=REL\SBJ	COP	HAB	wicked	Q	
	Am I wicked?					

The next example uses the *ká* 'FOC' particle and an information question particle:

45	**tsə́j**	ká=j	tsə́-va	**wa**
	3M.FREE	FOC=REL	catch-OUT	Q
	Was it he that caught it?			

There are differences in the negative between focus constructions using only the relativizer and those using *ká* 'FOC'. Constructions with *ká* 'FOC' can take *kará* in the negative, but only if the presence of *ká* has been triggered by interrogative:

46	**kəná**	**ka=j**	**kará**	ɣá-kwa-xá	bagá	**wá**	kənə́j
	3F.FREE	FOC=REL\SBJ	NEG	say-2SG.OBJ-DOWN	surprise	Q	uncle
	I failed to tell you, uncle?! (Its my fault. I can't believe I failed to tell you.)						

Otherwise, negative *ká* 'FOC' constructions take the clause final negation clitic *=w* as the only marker of negation. The next illustrates a pair of parallel focus constructions: one

affirmative and one negative. The negative example only has the clause final clitic marking negation:

47	fa	ŋá=ĵ	láj-ŋá-va,	**kəná**	**ká=ĵ**
	father	1SG.POSS=REL\SBJ	pay.bride-1SG-OUT	1SG.FREE	FOC=REL\SBJ

láj-á-va**=w**
pay.bride-OM-OUT=NEG
It was my father that paid the bride price for me. I was not the one who paid it.

Focus constructions with *ká* 'FOC' in the interrogative do not have to use *kará* for negation. Clauses which are both interrogative and negative with the *ká* 'FOC' marker can also use the clause final negation clitic *= w* instead of *kará*. The next example illustrates this pattern:

48	fa	ŋá	**ká=j**	ɓərá-ŋa-rá	**w=j**
	father	1SG.POSS	FOC=REL	initiate-1SG.OBJ-CENT	NEG=Q

It wasn't my father that initiated me?

It is not clear what functional difference, if any, is coded by the alternate focus constructions.

3.2 Predicate focus through verb root repetition

The repetition of the verb root codes contrastive focus on the predicate. The event is understood as occuring despite other likely alternatives. In the next example, the repetition of the root *ɬa* 'carry' highlights the unusual mode of the transportation:

49	xanáwa	á	tʃá,	**ɬá**	**ɬa**	^{n}da	pə	kə́
	HON.say	say	3M	carry	carry	person	on	head
	He said, people carried (Hamayaji) on their heads.							

The next example illustrates the same verb repeated, this time directly contrasting the preceding clause:

50	á	zər-a = j		ná,	kəná,	ká = n	mə	dza	nə
	say	wife-MOD = DET		TOP	1SG.FREE	NEG = 1SG	HAB	go	with
	nas = w,	**ɬá-ŋá**	**ɬa**	^{n}da					
	foot = NEG	carry-1SG.OBJ	carry	person					
	That wife said, "Me… I don't walk. People carry me.								

Compare the above examples with *ɬá* 'take' without the repeated root:

51	já,	^{m}ba-r,	da	**ɬá**-tʃá	kwá	dza-ra	kə́	dʒivə́na
	O.K.	turn-EXT	FUT	carry-3M.OBJ	2SG	go-CENT	REF	Jivena
	O.K., Turn it! You will take it to him, Jivena, going over…							

Further evidence that the repeated root form codes focus comes from the fact that the repeated form is incompatible with constructions where a term has been fronted. The next example ilustrates *ɬá* 'carry' with a fronted argument:

52	fwátə́	ká	ká = j	**ɬá**	tʃá	w = j
	photo	3F.POSS	FOC = REL	carry	3M	NEG = Q
	He is taking its picture. Isn't it?					

The above example would be ungrammatical with the repeated root form for *ɬá*.

Focus can also be coded through repetition of the root with verbs taking extensions. The first root takes the extension. In the next example 'fighting' *vúrmá vur* contrasts the fighting with the current peaceful state of affairs between Sakun and Dlaŋ:

53	a	ja-va	və	ɮáŋ	vúr-má-vur	nə	^{n}da	sakún
	PFV	come-OUT	ASSOC	Dlaŋ	fight-UP-fight	with	person	Sakun

á ^{n}da ná,
say person TOP
There had been a time when the Dlaŋ and Sakun fought, people say.

The tone on the repeated root is always low, even if the root has an underlying H tone. Both of the above examples illustrate the low tone on the second root. This repetition of the verb root should not be confused with the pluriactional form of the verb. Pluriactional forms reduplicate only the onset and nucleus of first syllable of the root and there is no loss of tone on the reduplicated form.

4 Conclusion

Relative clauses in Sakun are formed with the relativizer *=j* following the head of the relative clause and then the restricting clause. Future tense in the relative clause follows the pattern also found in interrogatives and focus constructions, with the subject directly following the future particle rather than occurring after the verb. Negation in the relative clause uses the

negation particle *karáˀ*, also found in other dependent structures such as adverbials. Clauses can relativize on all participant roles except for that of possessor. The grammatical relation of the head noun within the restricting clause is not marked but there is a strong preference for animate subject relativization and inanimate object relativization. In addition to modifying head nouns with clauses, the relativizer is also required to modify a head noun with both prepositional phrases and demonstratives. Headless relative clause constructions with the reference marker *kə́* are common in Sakun discourse.

Focus constructions are formally very similar to relative clauses, the difference being whether or not the head of the restricting clause plays a role in a matrix clause (for relative clauses) or only plays a role in the clause following the relativizer (for focus constructions). Adverbials which are in focus do not require the relativizer, but they do follow the same restrictions on TAM and negation found with relative clauses and focus constructions employing the relativizer. In addition to constructions coding focus on arguments or adverbials, there is a reduplication pattern for verbs which codes contrastive focus on the action; i.e. predicate focus. A second focus pattern for nominals using the marker *ká* 'FOC' is found but the distinction between the function of focus with *ká* and without *ká* is unclear.

CHAPTER 16 COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

1 Equal comparisons

Equal comparisons are expressed with the preposition *xa*, meaning ‘as’ or ‘like’, often in the form of an equational predication. In the next example, Simon is being compared with Squirrel:

1 **xa** **mágan** sájmən
as squirrel Simon
Simon is like Squirrel (implying cleverness). [elicited]

The prepositional phrase ‘*xa* X’ can also be appended to an equational predication as in the next example where the parameter (‘cleverness’) is the predicate, the comparee (‘Simon’) is the subject and the standard is expressed with the prepositional phrase *xá mágan*:

2 mə-pəʃ̈m-ə́n sájmən **xa** **mágan**
HAB-clever-NOM Simon as squirrel
Simon is clever, like Squirrel (is clever). [elicited]

There are no morphemes or constructions unique to equal comparisons. The equational predications are the same as those described in the chapter on nonverbal predications and the prepositional phrases here operate in the same way as other prepositional phrases described in the chapter on prepositional phrases.

2 Unequal comparisons

Unequal comparisons are made through the use of a clause initial particle specific to comparison. The index of comparison, the morpheme signaling a comparee, has several forms. The most common morpheme used for unequal comparisons is the verb *zá.* The clause initial particles *ʤara*, *ɓatəkə*, and *ʤikʷ* also are used, albeit less frequently. The reference marker *kə́* typically signals the standard of comparison. The parameter, the quality being compared, can be either a verb or a noun and typically follows the comparee. In the following example the local beer, *məpaɬə,* is the standard of comparison preceded by the mark, *kə́.* The red beer, *zwa*, is the comparee preceded by the index*, zá.* The quality of taste is the parameter. The comparee is always 'more' of the quality than the standard:

3	zá	zwa	zəɗ	kə́	məpaɬə
	be.more	beer.red	tasty	REF	beer.white
	INDEX	COMPAREE	PARAMETER	MARK	STANDARD

Red beer is tastier than white beer.

As illustrated in the above example, the basic pattern of comparisons in Sakun is Index Comparee: Parameter: Mark Standard. Exceptions to this pattern are discussed with the individual particles functioning as the index in the next section.

2.1 Particles indexing comparison

The most common morpheme, the verb *zá*, occurs in the clause initial position. The verb is followed by the comparee, then the parameter being judged. The standard against which the comparee is being judged can be omitted or made explicit through the use of a *kə́* construction. In the next example the parameter is 'many' *kîŋ*:

4	**zá**	ɗur	kîŋ	kə́	kwáwani	sə́ɗ=j	ná	
	better	ɗur	many	REF	whichever	clan=DET	TOP	

The Ɗur have more people than any other clan (in Sakun), …

Clauses with *zá* can take TAM coding such as the perfective particle *a*:

5	**a**	**zá**	pəkə́	va	ɣəpəsə́k	dzə	mîɗa	ⁿda
	PFV	better	about	year	fifty	strike	miɗa	person

People have been playing miɗa for more than fifty years.

There are a number of examples of *zá* taking the extension *–má*. In these cases the verb appears to be functioning in a manner similar to the copula *ⁿzá*.

6	**a**	**zá-má**	ŋî	ka	damaj,	damaj	ŋî	ná,	sákun	ŋî
	PFV	better-UP	1EX	as	Damai	Damai	1EX	TOP	Sakun	1EX

We have been more as Damai. (Even as) we are Damai, we are Sakun.

However, the particle *zá* is not an allomorph of the copula *ⁿzá*, despite the similarity in form and function. The two morphemes can occur in the same clause as with the next examples:

7	**zá**	ⁿdʒîka	**ⁿzá**	da	ɗwá-tə	pə	rîn

better now COP thing eat-OM at funeral
Nowadays is better as there is something to eat at the funeral.

8 **zá** ⁿdʒîka **ⁿzá** ⁿdu kîŋ
better now COP person many
Nowadays is better as there are many people.

In the above two examples the parameter is being expressed through a complement clause with *ⁿzá* as the verb.

Rather than relating a comparee to a standard, unequal comparisons can be achieved through the disjunction of two comparees:

9 amá xá tʃîvi = j î-tə kwá ná, **zá** **ɬá** **zər** **ɣaláj**
but as way = REL see-OM 2SG TOP better take wife past

ɓə́ ná, **zá** **ᵐba** **ɬá** **zər** **xáⁿdʒiga**
good TOP better again take wife now
But the way you are looking, the married in the past is better, or the married now is better?

In the above example, the parameter is not stated in the second clause, although *ɓə* 'good' is understood to be the parameter for both.

In addition to *zá*, Sakun also has *dʒara* and *dʒikʷ* for coding unequal comparisons. Both occur before the noun phrase or clause serving as comparee. In the examples that follow, the first illustrates an NP comparee and the second illustrates a clausal comparee:

10 dʒará **ⁿda = j** **ká = j** **zəɗa-tə** da ká tsə́j fá
better person = DET REF = REL feel-3M.POSS thing REF 3M.FREE HON

Better a person that is sick than him.

11	dʒará	**na-r**	**iⁿdáŋ=j**	**kwá**	kə́	dá=j	da	kwá
	better	get-EXT	groundnut=DET	2SG	REF	thing=REL	FUT	2SG

	ná	vwáx ka
	get	leaf 3F.POSS

Better you fetch the groundnut than for you to fetch it's leaves.

The use of the particle *dʒikʷə́* is far less frequent that the use of *dʒará*. Both are less frequent than *zá* for coding comaprisons in the corpus. With *dʒikʷə́,* the standard of comparison is left unstated. The following examples illustrate the use of *dʒikʷə́*:

12	dʒikʷə́	gán-kwa-vá	fwáj	ni	
	better	show-2SG.OBJ-OUT	tree	1SG	
	It's better that I show you herbs (from trees).				

13	dʒikʷə́	ma	kwa	ɮwi	gabaɗaja,	təka-va	mə	nə
	better	give	2SG	meat	completely	divide-OUT	1IN	CONJ

	də-m	mə
	cook-EXT	1IN

It is better you give all the meat, let us divide it and cook it.

Typically, *zá* requires a parameter to be stated in the clause. However, the use of *dʒara* and *dʒikʷə́* do not permit the statement of a parameter.

2.2 Coding the standard of unequal comparisons

The standard in unequal comparisons is generally expressed through the use of a *kə́* construction. The use of *kə́* here is in line with its more prototypical function of disambiguating referents in preceding clauses (see the chapter on the Reference System for further discussion of *kə́* constructions). The next example illustrates the use of *kə́* coding the standard of comparison:

14	amá	zázá=j	atʃîji	di	**kə́=j**	**dzə-rá**	
	but	better.REDUP= REL	DIST.DEM	big	REF=REL	weave-CENT	
	ⁿda	**tʃíji**	tsú				
	person	PROX.DEM	also				

But, that one is bigger than the one that they are weaving here again.

The use of *kə́* constructions to indicate the standard of comparison is not restricted to unequal comparisons with *zá*. A *kə́* construction can also be used with *ʤará*:

15	ʤará	**ⁿda=j**	**kə́=j**	**zəɗa-tə**	da	kə́	tsə́j	fá
	better	person=DET	REF=REL	feel-3M.POSS	thing	REF	3M.FREE	HON

Better a person that is sick than him.

3 Conclusion

Equal comparisons are coded with the preposition *xa* 'as'. Unequal comparisons are coded using *zá, ʤará,* or *ʤikʷə́* to code the comparee. The parameter of comparison can be either a noun or a verb. The standard of comparison is introduced with a *kə́* comment construction.

CHAPTER 17 COMPLEX SENTENCE

1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the more common complex sentence constructions in Sakun. The constructions discussed here include coordinated clauses, sequential clauses, backgrounding constructions, temporal subordination, and conditionals. Disjunction is more common than conjunction at the level of the clause. Sequential clauses are common and the form of sequential clauses is identical to that of the subjunctive. The use of the particle *ná* 'TOP' to code constructions as background information providing context for the surrounding discourse is frequent. Sakun grammar makes use of temporal subordinators to put events in relative chronology rather than relying on a complex tense and aspect system. Conditionals are coded with clause initial particles and have a special form for coding negative conditionals.

2 Coordinated clauses

2.1 Asyndetic conjunction

In natural discourse typically clauses are conjoined asyndetically. Two clauses are simply juxtaposed with no marker of the relation between the two:

1	kú=j	da	tsə́-tʃá	fa	ka	ja
	2SG.FREE=REL	FUT	catch-3M.OBJ	father	3F.POSS	come

[mə	ba	ɗáf	fa	ka]$_S$	[mə	ba	ɗaf	kwa]$_S$
HAB	make	food	father	3F.POSS	HAB	make	food	2SG

It is you that will catch and bring (it) to him, her father. Her father makes food and you make food, too.

Clauses that are coordinated in this way will have parallel structures and TAM coding. Clauses that simply follow each other in discourse will typically have their relation coded through a combination backgrounding markers, temporal markers, sequential marking and so on.

2.2 Clausal conjunction with *ba*

There are no clear examples of parallel clausal structures coordinated with a conjunction. Typically when a clause takes a coordinating conjunction, the clause following the conjunction is understood to be contingent upon a preceding clause or situation, either temporally or causally. In the next example, the clause which has the coordinating conjunction *ba* is not coordinated with either the previous or following clause. The preceding clause is coded as dependent with the backgrounding marker *ná*. The following clause is coded as dependent with the sequential marker *a*. The use of the conjunction *ba* here is interpreted as coding temporal sequence and emphasizes the interruption:

2	dam	da=ĵ	ɮa	gəma	^{n}da	pəkə́	mək	ná,
	different	thing=REL	say	word	person	about	3F.FREE	TOP

ba **já** **kwá** **ɬá-ká** **ja** **tá** a kwá pərá ᵐbə
CONJ come 2SG take-CENT own 2SG.POSS SEQ 2SG put in
People are speaking on a different thing. You come and bring your own which is different from other people's views.

Typically the use of the coordinating conjunction *ba* with a clause yields an interpretation of 'then X happens'.

2.3 Disjunction

In contrast to an almost complete lack of conjunctive coordination, the use of disjunction is common. Disjunction is coded with either *nà*, or *kwá*. The conjunction *na* is commonly used for disjunctive questions:

3 kikə́n jam tám **nà,**
few water now Q

na kikə́n da ɗwá-tə tám **nà**
or few thing eat-OM now Q
Is it lack of water, or lack of something to eat?

The disjunctive coordinator *kwá* is also used for disjunctive questions:

4 nə́ ŋi ir=j kə́=j ɬjá-m ⁿda na, a
EXIST another place=DET REF=REL hear-EXT person Q PFV

rá-ʃi tá, **kwá** a ŋwus tá a já ⁿda rin
go-FOLLOW 3PL or PFV die 3PL PFV come person funeral

kwá ir=j ⁿza kulé tá

or place = REL COP grave 3PL
Is there any place people have heard that they have gone to, or they have died and people have come to their funeral or place of their grave?

Of course, disjunction is not restricted to interrogatives and commonly occurs in affirmative clauses:

5 **kwá** pə́ná-tʃa-rá pəna ⁿda, **kwá** súrá-tʃa-rá sura
or roast-3M.OBJ-CENT roast person or fry-3M.OBJ-CENT fry

ⁿda,
person
Either someone should roast it for him or someone should fry it for him.

3 Sequential clauses

Sequential clauses link a series of actions in order of occurrence. The clause marked as sequential with the sequential marker *a* will have the same tense and aspectual value as the preceding clause. The next excerpt illustrates two sequential clauses. The first follows a clause with future tense and is interpreted as a future action. The second follows a clause indicating a past event and is interpreted as the same:

6 máɓənkatəkən, a nas-ŋa-má kwá, **da** ɓə́n kwakwalî = n
excellent PFV ask-1SG.OBJ-UP 2SG FUT do effort = 1SG

a = n **ɮa-kwa-xá** **tʃivi = j** **kə = j** **ɬjá-a-m = n**
SEQ = 1SG say-2SG.OBJ-DOWN way = DET REF = REL hear-OM-EXT = 1SG

xu ɬə tá xa pəsakalî, **a** **tá** **já** **iⁿzá** **xa** **makú**

when depart 3PL down Mchakili SEQ 3PL come stay down Maku
Very good. You have asked me and I will try. I will tell you the things that I have heard. When they left Mchakili (Gudur), they came and rested at Maku.

Sequential clauses are formally identical with subjunctive clauses (see discussion in chapter on TAM). Multiple sequential clauses can be strung together. This is very common when giving instruction or describing a process. The next excerpt illustrates multiple sequential clauses used to describe the manufacture of potash:

7 səɗ=j ná, mə kə-tə=n a xáŋi ⁿda ná,
kind=DET TOP HAB see-OM=1SG CAUSE some person TOP

a tsá-va swá ⁿda mə ɮəma ná, **a** ⁿda
PFV dig-OUT dung person in pen TOP SEQ person

dza kwî-ka-ʃî kú, **a** ⁿda já bəgə́-xá mə
go ignite-3F.OBJ-TO fire SEQ person come put-DOWN in

da=j tʃîtʃîj, **a** ⁿda ɗa-má jam ŋwa, **a** ka
thing=REL DEM.PROX SEQ person pour-UP water on SEQ 3F

rá-xá xa mə-tə́ mək, mək ká=j ka twî
go.PFV-DOWN down at-LOC 3F.FREE 3F.FREE FOC=REL GENR potash

səⁿzá=w̌
doubt=NEG
This kind, I have seen from other people. They dig out dung from an animal pen. ***They set fire to it. People will come along and put it inside this thing. One pours water on it. It goes down to the bottom.*** *This isn't potash?* [question coded through intonation]

In the above example, the description of the process begins with a perfective clause. Each step of the process is described with a sequential clause. The difference between the perfective and sequential clauses are seen easily by the placement of the subject: subjects follow the sequential marker immediately but occur after the verb in perfective clauses.

4 Background constructions

Any element of a Sakun clause, up to an entire clause, can be coded as background information by appending the particle *ná* 'TOP' to the word, phrase or clause. In the next example, the speaker quotes the hearer to provide the context for the question the speaker is about to ask:

8	**mə**	**ɗwá-tʃa**	**da=n**	**á**	**kwá**	**ná,**	ma	da	xá
	HAB	eat-3M.OBJ	thing=1SG	say	2SG	TOP	what	thing	PL

ma	da	xá=j	ɗwá-tʃa	kwá=j
what	thing	PL=REL	eat-3M.OBJ	2SG=Q

You say 'I am feeding him something'. What and what things are you feeding him?

A very common turn of phrase in Sakun is to claim that the hearer knows the information about to be presented, with the claim taking the form of a backgrounded construction:

9	**a**	**sə́**	**kwá**	**ná,**	damdadam	gwáɓ
	PFV	know	2SG	TOP	different.PL	brain

As you know, brains are different (there are different kinds of brains).

Backgrounded elements don't have to be complete clauses. Backgrounded elements can be noun phrases or even pronouns as illustrated in the next two examples:

10 **iswa ná,** a ⁿda xə̀ɗ-má twî xa ju
spices TOP SBJV person mix-UP potash as DET
Spices, one mixes potash like this [pointing to potash].

11 **kwá kú ná,** a kə́ kwá
even 2SG.FREE TOP PFV see 2SG
Even you, you have seen.

Frequently temporal or spatial information is presented as background information rather than included in the clause as an adverbial. In the next example the temporal term *maʃîn warakə́* 'earliest morning' is presented as the background for the following clause:

12 **má maʃín warakə́ ná,** a kwá łá-tá-va vərʃîn xaʔi
HYP early.morning TOP SBJV 2SG take-3PL.OBJ-OUT child.PL here
Early in the morning, you will take (it) out to the children.

The presentation of temporal information as background rather than as part of the clause as an adverbial generally means that the backgrounded time-frame will hold across several of the following clauses.

Because the backgrounded information is often commented upon in the clauses that follow, there is a functional similarity between backgrounded information and topicalization. The next example illustrates the element in the *ná* 'TOP' construction functioning as the

discourse topic. The clause that follows the *ná* 'TOP' construction is a comment upon the *ná* 'TOP' construction:

13	**má**	**dɔ́gɔ́vu**	**ná,**	sɔ́xu	a	ra-xá	ka	xa	mə	ɮəma	ɮə
	HYP	hyena	TOP	IP.go	PFV	go-DOWN	3F	down	at	pen	bull

ʃî məɓɔ́ɬ
follow pumpkin
Hyena, 'Səxu!' It went down in the cattle pen after the pumpkins.

Topics in Sakun are tracked through the use of the determiners *=ju* and *kʷkwá.* However, the determiners don't establish discourse topics, they simply signal that the noun taking the determiner is already an identifiable discourse topic. The use of a backgrounding construction is one way to change or establish a new discourse topic. This fact in part is why the particle is glossed TOP.

Typically backgrounding constructions precede the clauses which they provide context for. However, there are occasions where the backgrounded construction follows the clause for which it provides context. The following example is a summation of a discussion about the disadvantages of having a single wife. After the particle *ná*, the discussion switches to the disadvantages of two or more wives:

14	tʃivî=j	kə́=j	kará	ka	məɓən,	**má**	**ⁿzɔ́**	**zər**	**zúŋ**
	way=DET	REF=REL	NEG	3F	good	HYP	be	wife.SG	one

a kú ná

GOAL 2SG.FREE TOP
That is the way it is not good, when there is one wife to you.

Likewise, in the next example the backgrounded construction follows the clause for which it is providing context:

15	ja,	a=n	dza	tswá-má=j	pə	ɗəɓ=j	sə^{n}zá,	**kwá**
	yes	SBJV=1SG	go	plant-UP=REL	on	loam=DET	doubt	even

	mə	**tsɔ́**	**nas**	**ŋá**	**ka**	**xán**	**ná,**
	HAB	catch	leg	1SG.POSS	3F	like.this	TOP

I suppose I'm going to plant the one on loamy soil, even though it catches my leg, like this.

5 Temporal subordinators

Sakun has very little in the way of coding grammatical tense. The timing of an event relative to other events is generally indicated through the use of subordinating particles which position one point of reference in relation to another. Frequently constructions taking a temporal subordinator also take the *ná* 'TOP' particle, presenting the subordinated element as context for the interpretation of another event.

The next example illustrates the use of the temporal subordinating particle *náx* 'after' working together with the particle *ná* 'TOP':

16	**náx**	**a**	**xɔ́n-rá**	**tá**	**ɣə=j**	**ná,**	nɔ́	vîgî
	after	PFV	slaughter-CENT	3PL	bull=DET	TOP	EXIST	termite.mound

pə ir = ju
on place = DET
After they had slaughtered that bull, there was a termite mound at that place.

As the above example illustrates, the subordinating particle occurs clause initially, before any TAM coding. These particles can not be used with focus constructions requiring the initial position of the focused constituent.

Subordinated constructions with these particles often have scope over backgrounded constructions with *ná* 'TOP'. However, the use of *ná* 'TOP' in conjunction with the subordinating particle is not a necessity. The next example illustrates a clause with *ɣalá* 'since' but no backgrounding particle:

17 **ɣalá dʒa-má ɮɔ́n = j tá,** ba já-va tá, sɔ́ = á
since finish-UP work = DET 3PL CONJ come-OUT 3PL know = NEG

ⁿda ir = j rá-ʃi tá = ẁ
person place = REL go.PFV-TO 3PL = NEG
Since they finished that work, then they went out. Nobody knows where they have gone.

In the above example, the clause taking the temporal subordinator is coordinated with the following clause. The use of the conjunction *ba* with clauses usually leads to an interpretation of consecutive events, rather than concurrent events.

The subordinated constructions generally precede the clauses they are in relation with. However, some subordinators and their constructions tend to follow the clause they are in

relation with. The next example illustrates *kə́ja* 'before' and its construction coming after the clause it is in relation with:

18	mə	xə́n-a-rá	ⁿdu	**kə́ja**	**dza**	**tʃá**	**dza-xa**	**da**
	HAB	slaughter-OM-CENT	person	before	go	3M	go-DOWN	GOAL

xaɗ	kwá	mákən	na
ground	even	three	Q

Can a person slaughter even three times before he goes to the ground (death)?

5.1 Concurrent elements

There are two ways of coding events as concurrent; the particles *má* 'HYP' and *xú* 'when'. Both typically work together with *ná* 'TOP' to present one event as ongoing at the time of another. The next example illustrates the use of *má* with a clause coding an ongoing activity during which another action takes place:

19	**má**	**mə**	**zwá**	**kwá**	**ná,**	tʃá	jam	á	ka	kú	ná
	HYP	HAB	weed	2SG	TOP	REF	water	say	3F	2SG.FREE	TOP

When you are weeding, 'Here is water' she says to you, …

The particle *má* indicates that the clause does not refer to a particular event but any instance of that type. Consider the difference between the statements in English, '*When you come back from the market…'* and '*If you come back from the market…'*. The *if* statement carries with it the presupposition that one might not come back from the market. The *when* statement indicates the speaker's confidence that return is likely. However, in Sakun this

distinction is lost. Both propositions are possible events, not realized events. Therefore both propositions take *má*.

The particle *má* is also used when an action is understood to have been repeated on several different occasions and the result holds for any of those occasions:

20	**má**	**ba-má**	**ɣí**	**ŋí**	**kavak**	**ná,**	**má**	**já**	**ɬaŋ**	**ná,**
	HYP	build-UP	house	1EX	in.day	TOP	HYP	come	Dlaŋ	TOP

páɬa-ra	tá	ka	kəvə́ɗ
destroy-CENT	3PL	GENR	at.night

Whenever we built a house during the day, when the Dlaŋ came, they destroyed it in the night.

In the above example, in the first clause the events of building did in fact happen. The speaker was relating a history of one of the Sakun migrations. However, a particular instance of building was not being referenced.

If the English *when* statement '*When I come back from the market…*' is changed to past tense, the proposition codes an event that has been realized. To get the same reading as the above Sakun example, the statement would have to be changed to something like *'Whenever I came back from the market, X happened.'* In Sakun this distinction is coded by the subordinating particle *xu*. When the backgrounded clause indicates a particular event or time-frame, the particle *xu* is used:

21	**xu**	ɬá-má=n	ná,	gam	ká=n=w

when take-UP = 1SG TOP intercourse NEG = 1SG = NEG
During the time I married (her), I didn't have any sex (with her).

In the above example the speaker was referring not to the actual wedding day, but to the long process leading to the wedding. The courtship of the first wife can take several years with the would-be groom providing labor to the future father-in-law. The use of *xu* in the above example is due to the reference to a particular courtship. The use of *má* in the above example would indicate the general practices of the Sakun, or at least the speaker, rather than reference to the speaker's courtship of his first wife.

The next example illustrates the use of *xu* 'when' coding concurrent actions in the recent past:

22 **xu** **já** **ŋí** **vəra** **va** **ta** **ná** kîŋ da
when come 1EX across house 2SG.POSS TOP many thing

ɗwá-tə xá = j pə́ka-va ⁿda ⁿdʒîka xáⁿdʒiga
eat-OM PL = REL put-OUT person just.now now
When we went to your house just before now, the things that people brought out to eat were many.

The particles *má* and *xu* combine occasionally to form a legendary past. In the next example, the particles combine in a discussion of the founding of Damai – a settlement close to Sakun where residents speak Sakun but have their own *ɬidî* and ritual cycle:

23 a ɬjá-m kwá = j, **má** **xu** **ɓə́n-a-má** **ⁿda** **xán** **ná**
PFV hear-EXT 2SG = Q HYP when do-OM-UP person like.this TOP

Have you heard (about it)? When it was done like this, …

This combination of *má* and *xu* occurs when the frame of reference is a specific event so far in the past that no one could have experienced it.

The functional distinction between *má* and *xu* – the distinction between a form restricted to reference to an actual event (*xu*) versus a form that need not refer to an actual event (*má*) – this distinction is mirrored in other aspects of the grammar. The distinction can be found in negation where post verbal placement of the negation particle indicates that negation only applies to a specific event. The distinction can also be found in imperfective aspects where the progressive with *–j* only can be used for events ongoing at the time of speech (or point of reference in a narrative) but *mə* 'HAB' can be used generally to refer to any ongoing or habitual action.

6 Conditional

The protasis clause of the conditional, the 'if' clause, is coded with *ⁿda* or less commonly with one of the allomorphs *ɮa, ⁿza, or ⁿzə*. The protasis clause is generally coded as dependent by a clause initial subordinator - typically this is achieved through *má* which codes the clause as backgrounded or *kə́* which indicates the clause is a comment on a discourse topic. In either

case, the conditional marker follows the subordinating particle. These are illustrated in the following two examples:

24 **má** **ⁿda** mə xaram tʃá
HYP COND at wicked 3M
If he is wicked…

25 **kə́** **ⁿda** ka fa tə kwá ná, xə́n-rá
REF COND GENR father 3M.POSS 2SG TOP butcher-CENT

lawláwmaraj ja mjá á kwá tsî
bull VOC person say 2SG 3M.FREE
"If you are as his father, slaughter a bull, friend" you say to him ['lawláwmaraj' is the bull a person slaughters the first time they take part in *xə́n ɮə* 'The slaughtering of the bulls' festival].

The protasis clause in the conditional can follow the apodosis clause (the contingent clause) but this is less common than the protasis-apodosis order. The next example illustrates the apodosis-protasis order:

26 a jafî-má nî, **má** **ⁿda** **da** zəva-ŋá ⁿda
PFV forget-UP 1SG HYP COND FUT separate-1SG.OBJ person
I'll forget it since you will divorce me.

While the protasis clause is generally coded as subordinated to the apodosis clause, this does not have to be the case as illustrated in the next example:

27 **ⁿda** ɮáx kwá, nə́ ŋi da a kú
COND difficult 2SG EXIST another thing GOAL 2SG.FREE

á ⁿda

say person

If you are causing lots of trouble, they say there is a thing with you.

There do not appear to be any restrictions on the TAM coding of either the apodosis or protasis clause of the conditional. The protasis clause can occur with the future:

28 a jafi-má nî, má **ⁿda** **da** zəva-ŋá ⁿda
PFV forget-UP 1SG HYP COND FUT separate-1SG.OBJ person
I'll forget it since you will divorce me.

The protasis clause can also occur with the habitual:

29 má **ⁿda** **mə** dzá mə́ ná,
HYP COND HAB go 1IN TOP
If we are going,

The protasis clause can also occur with the perfective, although this is less common than future or habitual:

30 má **ⁿda** **a** də-rá ⁿda mə́paɮə ná
HYP COND PFV cook-CENT person beer TOP
If we are going,

The conditional does not occur with the subjunctive. The conditional also does not occur with the progressive. This follows from the fact that the progressive can generally only be used to code actual ongoing events.

Negation in the protasis clause of the conditional requires the use of special negator, *bî.* Negative conditionals require preverbal subjects directly following the negator as is the common pattern with other types of negation:

31 kwá **bí** **tʃá** ú-a-r, kwá **bí** **ní** ú-a-r
even NEG.COND 3M get-OM-EXT even NEG.COND 1SG get-OM-EXT
Even if he doesn't get it, even if I don't get it…

As can be seen in the above example, the use of *bî* does not require the conditional particle *ⁿda*. However, *bi* does usually occur with the conditional particle *ⁿda*. The next example shows *bî* with conditional coding:

32 **má** **ⁿda** **bí** kwá pə́r-ká-va da iⁿzá=ju, da
HYP COND NEG.COND 2SG pay-3F.OBJ-OUT thing sit=DET FUT

dza-j kwá da túl a ma ka
go-DIR 2SG GOAL beg GOAL mother 3F.POSS
So, if you didn't pay her the thing for sitting, you will go and beg her mother.

When *bî* 'NEG.COND' occurs with the perfective, the perfective particle is in clause initial position and the subject follows *bî*:

33 **a** **bí** **tá** sə gəma=j ná
PFV NEG.COND 3PL know word=DET TOP
If they haven't learned that language, …

When a negative conditional clause takes the habitual marker *mə*, the negation marker and the subject occur before the verb as with other forms of negation:

34 á **bí** **kwá** **mə** ɓə́n da mə ᵐbərəm məɓənkatəkən
HYP NEG.COND 2SG HAB do thing at village excellent
If you are not doing good things in the village,…

It is not entirely clear what the difference in function between *má* HYP and *ⁿda* COND is. When they occur together, *ⁿda* always follows *má*, just as *ⁿda* always follows *kə́* when they occur together. Examples of *ⁿda* without *má* are rare in the corpus. Unlike adverbials which code meanings related to epistemic modality such as *biska* 'counterfactual' and *səⁿza* 'doubt', the particle *ⁿda* only occurs preverbally. This together with the special negative form used in the same context suggest that *ⁿda* belongs to a different class of grammatical elements than adverbials. One other piece of evidence is worth considering with *ⁿda*. There is a particle *ɟa* which is in free variation with a morpheme *ⁿda*, both of which mean 'only/until'. It might be the case that the *ⁿda* found in conditionals is related to this other morpheme, indicating a distinction between 'if' (without *ⁿda*) and 'only if' (with *ⁿda*). However, *ɟa* 'only' does not occur in free variation with *ⁿda* in the case of conditional protasis clauses and more analysis is required to sort out the different functions being coded between the three morphemes discussed here: *má, ⁿda* and *bî*.

7 Conclusion

Complex sentences in Sakun function to provide temporal relations, context and order to events unfolding in discourse. The majority of complex constructions involve a hypotactic relation between two clauses. The subordinate clause will be marked with either a clause initial or

clause final particle. Most subordinators can have scope over a range of structures from words, to phrases, to full predications. The different domains coded with complex sentences can interact and backgrounded constructions often take other subordinating particles positioning the contextual information (usually temporally) in relation to the independent clause.

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APPENDIX 1 SAKUN TEXTS

Hyena and Squirrel farm by the river (*Gəmakákaw,* 'Traditional story-telling').

1 báa łə və́ dza da ɓats ɣər=j mə́
then depart ASSOC go GOAL get farm=DET 1IN

á kə́nî á və́ dəgə́vu tá nə́ mágan
VOC uncle say ASSOC hyena 3PL with squirrel
Hyena and Squirrel said to each other "We should go and get our farm"

2 tán tá dza da ɓats ɣər,
start 3PL go GOAL get farm

náx a dza tá da ɓats ɣər ná,
after PFV go 3PL GOAL get farm TOP
They started off to go get a farm. When they went to get a farm,

3 má ɣər=j tʃîjî tam ná,
HYP farm=REL DEM now TOP

má=j dza-xa pə ʃáwʃawa=j á kənî ná
HYP=REL go-DOWN on sandy.soil=DET VOC uncle TOP
"This here farm now, this goes down on this sandy soil, my uncle,

4 'ə, kəná=ĵ da tsáw-tə xanáwa á mágan
yes 1SG.FREE=REL\SBJ FUT plant-OM HON.say say squirrel
It is I that will plant it." said Squirrel.

5 pú^{n}di pú^{n}di pú^{n}di
no no no
"*No! No! No! (disagreeing)*

6 məná já kwá ^{m}bə ka tsáw ɣər kwá

where come 2SG within PURP plant farm 2SG

pə ʃáwʃáwá=j, ɣər=j mə dza-xa=n kará givi ʃi
on sandy.soil=Q farm=REL HAB go-DOWN= 1SG NEG suffer follow

ɓátəkə ná
better TOP
"Where do you come in so that you plant a farm on sandy soil. The clear farm without suffering (from weeding) is better.

7 kəná ká=j da tsáw da ŋá=w ná,
1SG.FREE FOC=REL FUT plant thing 1SG.POSS= NEG TOP

xánawa á dəgəvu
HON.say say hyena
I am not going to plant mine?" said Hyena.

8 ája ka łá ɣər kwá ja-rá a kəná
EXCLAM PURP take farm 2SG come-CENT GOAL 1SG.FREE

kənî, xánawa á mágan
uncle HON.say say squirrel
"Oh no, you will take the farm from me, Uncle?" said Squirrel.

9 'ə, a kwá já kuʃaláxa xaʔi=j tʃîju ná,
yes SBJV 2SG come IP.move here=REL DEM TOP
"Yes, you'd just come here now,

10 a kwá já łá-má ɣər ka tsáw-tə xaʔi pə
SBJV 2SG come take-UP farm PURP plant-OM here at

ir=j kə́=j mə-dzax-ə́n ná xánawa á
place=DET REF=REL HAB-be.sand-NOM TOP HON.say say

dəgəvu kə́ mágan

hyena REF squirrel
"Is it you would come and taken the farm for planting here on the place that is clear?" said Hyena to Squirrel.

11 ja, a=n dza tswá-má=j pə ɗəɓ=j sə^{n}zá, kwá
yes SBJV=1SG go plant-UP=REL on loam=DET doubt even

mə tsə́ nas ŋá ka hán ná,
HAB catch leg 1SG.POSS 3F like.this TOP
I suppose I'm going to plant the one on loamy soil, even though it catches my leg, like this,

12 ka tsáw-tə=n mə ɗəɓ=j sə^{n}zá xánawa á mágan
PURP plant-OM=1SG on loam=DET doubt HON.say say squirrel
So then, I guess I'll plant on the loamy soil." said Squirrel.

13 hán á kwá=w ná, vúk=j mə-dzax-ə́n=j ná,
like.this NEG 2SG=NEG TOP specific=REL HAB-clear-NOM=DET TOP

wu ^{n}da=j má-kwa=j xánawa á ^{n}da mágan
who person=REL give-2SG.OBJ=Q HON.say say person squirrel
"If you didn't agree, this clear one, who will give (it) to you?" was said to Squirrel.

14 ja, jaw, á tá bá ja tá na-r sə́ɗ xi
yes O.K. say 3PL then come 3PL get-EXT seed guineacorn
"OK" they said. Then they came and got the guineacorn seed.

15 təp təp təp təp təp a tsáw-má xi=j də́gə́vu
IP.planting PFV plant-UP guineacorn=DET hyena

dza-xa pə ʃáwʃawa
go-DOWN on sandy.soil
"təp, təp, təp, təp, təp" Hyena planted that guineacorn down on the sandy soil.

16 təp təp təp təp təp ja mágan pə ɗəɓ dzá kə́ma
IP.planting come squirrel on loam go in.front

ɮa kə́ma ɮan pə ɗəɓ
only in.front river on loam
"təp, təp, təp, təp, təp, təp" Squirrel planted its own on the loamy soil going around the bank of the river on the loamy soil.

17 to, vaj mákən ná, bá tʃir já mágan
DSC day three TOP CONJ sprout own squirrel
After three days, Squirrel's own sprouted.

18 ja dəgə́vu, ká ka tʃir ja-va xa mə ʃáwʃawa=w
own hyena NEG 3F sprout come-OUT down in sand=NEG
Hyena's own, It failed to sprout up from down in the sandy soil.

19 ʒjamá má ja-rá dəgə́vu, a tʃir já mágan
next.day HYP come-CENT hyena PFV sprout own squirrel
The next day, when Hyena came, Squirrel's own has already sprouted.

20 ʒjama ná, î-rá ka ja ka=j ná,
next.day TOP see-CENT 3F own 3F.POSS=DET TOP

sə́wú da já ŋá tʃir tə kənî á ka mágan
when FUT own 1SG.POSS sprout Q uncle say 3F squirrel
The next day, it saw its own. "When will my own sprout, uncle?" it said to Squirrel.

21 a, bəx mə tʃîr áj kənî á ka ʔə́, jaw
oh still HAB sprout VOC uncle say 3F yes OK
"Oh, it is still in the process of sprouting, Uncle." it (Squirrel) said. "Yes, OK."

22 a sə́ kwá ir=j wjáŋŋə kənî ná,
PFV know 2SG place=REL clean uncle TOP

ⁿda mək=ǰ tʃ̌ir máɓən kə́ja da ka ʃa já-va
until 3F.FREE sprout good before FUT 3F later come-OUT
As you know, the clean place, Uncle, it must be well germinated before it will come out.

23 xanáwa á ka, ƪam gər xi magan,
HON.say say 3F IP.start grow guineacorn squirrel

tʃ̌ir ka ja dəgəvu=w
sprout NEG own hyena=NEG
it said. "dlam" Squirrel's guineacorn began to grow. Hyena's own did not sprout.

24 ƪám gər xi mágan,
IP.start grow guineacorn squirrel

tʃ̌ir ká ja də́gə́vu=w
sprout NEG own hyena=NEG
"dlam" Squirrel's guineacorn began to grow. Hyena's own did not sprout.

25 to, náx a ja də́gə́vu î-rá
DSC after PFV come hyena see-CENT
So, When Hyena had come to see.

26 á tʃá xi mə ɬá-ká já-va ná
HYP REF guineacorn HAB take-CENT come-OUT TOP

xaʔi ka ja î-rá ná,
here 3F come see-CENT TOP
There the guineacorn is about ready to harvest, here, it came and saw,

27 á gər xi də́gə́vu, a kwá mə î ja ta,
HYP grow guineacorn hyena SEQ 2SG HAB see own 2SG.POSS

nə=j ja-má ka mə xaɗ a tʃú
EXIST=REL come-UP 3F in ground GOAL here

Hyena's guineacorn has grown. "You are seeing your own. There is it just coming up from the ground.

28 tʃú tám wá kənî á ka,
here now VOC uncle say 3F

mə́ʒik xi ka=j xa-mə jam=j kə́ də́gə́vu
shadow guineacorn 3F.POSS=REL down-in water=DET see hyena
Here now uncle" it said. It was the reflection of its guineacorn down in the water that Hyena was looking at.

29 ʔə, á ⁿda gwadʈará ka wá kənî, á ⁿda
yes HYP COND correct 3F VOC uncle HYP COND

xaʔi ja ka já-va ná, ka ɬá-kə́ á
here come 3F come-OUT TOP PURP take-CENT NEG

ka xa ja ta=j=w=j xanáwa á ka
3F as own 2SG.POSS=DET=NEG=Q HON.say say 3F
"Hey, Uncle, you were right. Like this it has come out, it won't bear fruit like your own?" it said.

30 á ka xi=j xa
say 3F guineacorn=DET down
It said to the guineacorn below.

31 á ka xi=ǰ xa-mə jám=ju,
say 3F guineacorn=REL down-in water=DET

to, daga pə ir=j ná
DSC from on place=DET TOP
It said to the guineacorn down in that water. So, from that point,

32 á, gwadʈa kənî
yes correct uncle

"Yes, it's just like you said, Uncle.

33 á xi ná, ⁿda gər ká ka xa-mə
HYP guineacorn TOP COND grow NEG 3F down-in

jam = w = j xanáwa á ka, á ka mágan kə́ dəgə́vu
water = NEG = Q HON.say say 3F say 3F squirrel REF hyena
"That guineacorn, if it hasn't grown down in the water!?" Hyena said to Squirrel.

34 já ka î-tə á tʃá xi mə kwár ná,
come 3F see-OM HYP here guineacorn HAB dry TOP

ja-má ka já ka = j xa-tə́ ləm kə́ = j kə́
come-UP 3F own 3F.POSS = REL down-LOC bank REF = REL see

məʒîk xi mágan ka xa, xa-mə ɣər ka = ju
shadow guineacorn squirrel 3F as down-in farm 3F.POSS = DET
It came to check. There the guineacorn was drying up, but it took for its own coming up down by the bank of the river because it saw the reflection of Squirrel's guineacorn as inside that his farm.

35 to, fə̆w a já ka da = ju, má da = j ná,
DSC IP.come PFV come 3F thing = DET HYP thing = DET TOP

a tʃwatʃwá-ŋa-má mágan xanáwa á ka,
PFV cheat.PL-1SG.OBJ-UP squirrel HON.say say 3F
So, "fau" it came and this thing (had happened). When this thing, "Squirrel has cheated me!" it said.

36 vuk a já ka ɬə kə́ vəɗ
IP.go PFV come 3F depart REF night
"Vuk" It went off in the night.

37 a ka dza də́k-va ɣə́n mágan
SEQ 3F go pick-OUT beans squirrel

It went and picked Squirrel's beans.

38 a ka ja bə́gə́-xá va ka
SEQ 3F come put-DOWN house 3F.POSS

łə ka ná, də́k-va ka ɣə́n mágan ná
depart 3F TOP pick-OUT 3F bean squirrel TOP

ja ka ná, bə́gə́ ka mə ɣər ka
come 3F TOP put 3F in farm 3F.POSS
It came and put them in its house. It went off. It picked Squirrel's beans. It came and it put them on its farm.

39 to, xaʔì á mágan ná, a já mágan ná
DSC here GOAL squirrel TOP PFV come squirrel TOP

a də́k-va ka ɣə́n ʒî ka dʒîwu
PFV pick-OUT 3F bean remain 3F small
Here to Squirrel, Squirrel came. It (Hyena) had picked the beans (until) they remained few.

40 wú nda=j də́k ɣə́n ŋá=j ə, kənî ŋá
which person=REL pick bean 1SG.POSS=Q yes uncle 1SG.POSS

kə́ də́gə́vu
REF hyena
Who is picking my beans? Yes, my uncle, Hyena.

41 má da=j da=n ɓə́n-tə́
what thing=REL FUT=1SG do-OM\Q
What I will do?

42 ká=n mə pə́ł və ka dza dzə-tə kə́ də́gə́vu=w
NEG=1SG HAB defeat REFL PURP go kill-OM REF hyena=NEG
I cannot overcome Hyena to kill it.

43 ká = n mə ɬá-rá kə́ŋá á də́gə́vu = w
NEG = 1SG HAB take-CENT 1SG.REFL SOURCE hyena = NEG

da ɓə́n wáju nə́ á ka
FUT do plan 1SG say 3F
I cannot take myself away from Hyena. I will make a plan," it said.

44 xwáʔ a ɬə ka bá dza ka ɬá-kə́ twá,
IP.surprise PFV depart 3F CONJ go PURP take-VENT skin

twám maʃ ba twá ka
horn antelope CONJ skin 3F.POSS
"Hwa'" It went and it took a skin, the horn of an antelope and its skin.

45 káp a ba-m ka twá maʃ = jú́
IP.put.on PFV wear-EXT 3F skin antelope = DET
"Kap" It put on that antelope skin.

46 bá ɬá-má ka twám maʃ = ju gə́rətsgəgə́rəts
CONJ take-UP 3F horn antelope = DET IP.put.large

a fə́-má ka pə kə́
PFV put-UP 3F on head
And (It) took those antelope horns. "Gərəts gə gərəts" It put (them) on the head.

47 bá ɬá-má ka ɗaⁿgaɮaj, zúŋ mə ɣuləm ka = j xaʔi
CONJ take-UP 3F egg one in cheek 3F.POSS = DET here

zúŋ mə ɣuləm ka = j xaʔi
one in cheek 3F.POSS = DET here
Then it took eggs, one in its cheek here, one in its cheek here.

48 náx a já ka ná
after PFV come 3F TOP

When it had arrived,

49 má ir=j já dɔ́gɔ́vu mə pəká ɣə́n ka=j ná
HYP place=REL come hyena HAB pick bean 3F.POSS=DET TOP
The place where Hyena came picking its beans,

50 bá já ka i^{n}zá pə tʃîvi
CONJ come 3F sit on path
Then it (Squirrel) sat on the path.

51 náx a já ka i^{n}zá pə tʃîvi ná,
after PFV come 3F sit on path TOP
When it had arrived,

52 má ja-rá dɔ́gɔ́vu ná
HYP come-CENT hyena TOP
When Hyena came across,

53 xu já ka nə ɣə́n mágan=j kɔ́ dɔ́gɔ́vu
when come 3F with bean squirrel=DET REF hyena

ka ja ^{m}ba ka já ʃikut ɣə́n mágan=j
PURP come again PURP come finish bean squirrel=DET

ka dza ka dɔ́k-tə já-va kɔ́ dɔ́gɔ́vu ná
PURP go 3F pick-OM come-OUT REF hyena TOP
When Hyena came with Squirrel's beans, so it again came to finish Squirrel's beans, so it went to collect them,

54 pə ir=j
on place=DET
At the place,

55 mágan=j kiná nə ja ka wáju ɓə́n-má ka
squirrel=DET again with own 3F.POSS plan do-UP 3F

	nə	twám	maj = jú,	ba	ɗaⁿgaɮaj	mə	ŋwú	ka
	with	horn	antelope = DET	CONJ	egg	in	mouth	3F.POSS

	ba	twá	maj = ju
	CONJ	skin	antelope = DET

That Squirrel, with its own plan that it did with the horn of the antelope, the egg in its mouth and the antelope skin.

56	wú	ⁿda	xaʔi	xa	kənə́j	ŋá	maj	təʃ́
	who	person	here	as	uncle	1SG.POSS	antelope	Q

Who is here like my uncle, Antelope.

57	á	ka	kəná	maj	xanáwa	á	[ka]
	say	3F	1SG.FREE	antelope	say.HON	say	3F

It said, "I am Antelope."

58	mî	zəɗa-ta	ká = j	ⁿgwáf-kwa-m	bə́lî̀nu = ʃ́
	what	affect-2SG.POSS	REF = REL	thin-2SG.OBJ-EXT	terrible = DET\Q

	xanáwa	á	ka	mək
	say.HON	say	3F	3F.FREE

"What affected you that made you terribly thin?" it said to it.

59	kəná	tə	kənə́j	á	ka
	1SG.FREE	VOC	uncle	say	3F

"It's me, Uncle" it said.

60	mî	zəɗa-ta	wa	á	ni	á	ka
	what	affect-2SG.POSS	Q	say	1SG	say	3F

" 'What is wrong with you?' I said" it said.

61	kəná = j	dza	dzwá-má	dzwá	ná,	ɣər	mágán	xanáwa
	1SG.FREE = REL	go	walk-UP	walk	TOP	farm	squirrel	say.HON

á ⁿda dara xaʔi ná, mə wútʃi=n ná,
say person over here TOP HAB pass=1SG TOP
I went walking over there. They said the farm belongs to Squirrel. When I was passing,

62 kə́ljaw a ɬá-má və́, və́ ʁjaw nás ŋá mə ɣər
IP.catch PFV take-UP REFL REFL toe leg 1SG.POSS in farm

ka, a sə kwá ɣən-xa=j ⁿdər pə tʃivi ná
3F.POSS PFV know 2SG bean-PL=REL spread on path TOP
"Kəlyau" The space between my toes took them in his farm. You know, those beans that are normally spread on the road.

63 pə́ɬətʃ a kəɬjá-rá ka ɣə́n ka ná, xú ⁿzá
IP.pick.apart PFV pull-CENT 3F bean 3F.POSS TOP when EXIST

ɣə́n ɣəw xutsa pə tʃivi ná,
bean ripe yesterday on path TOP
"Pətləc" It pulled apart its beans when the beans were ripe yesterday on the road.

64 náx a kəɬjá-rá ka və́ ná ja, baxá da=n
after PFV pull-CENT 3F REFL TOP come how FUT=1SG

pərá da ɗwá-tə pə xaɗ wá á nî
throw thing eat-OM on ground Q say 1SG
After it has pulled apart, how can I throw it away on the ground? I said.

65 kə́=j ɬá-va=n mə nás ŋá=ju tə́xjáljám
REF=REL take-OUT=1SG on leg 1SG.POSS=DET IP.put.small.in.mouth

a dzə-m nə mə ŋwu xáⁿdʒiga ná, mək=j
PFV hit-EXT 1SG in mouth now TOP 3F.FREE=REL

ɣúrjaɓ-ŋa-má=ju xanáwa á ka
fold-1SG.OBJ-UP=DET HON.say say 3F

So I took it on this my leg. "Təhyalyam" I put it in my mouth now. That is why this folded up my face," it said.

66 kú=ĵ xáⁿdʒiga á ka, á
2SG.FREE=REL now say 3F yes
"Are you the one now?" it said. "Yes!"

67 á tîfá-kwa-xá=n mə ŋwú ŋá xáⁿdʒiga ná,
HYP spit-2SG.OBJ-DOWN=1SG on mouth 1SG.POSS now TOP

márə́w=j, tán=n a mək xáⁿdʒiga
pus=DET depart=1SG CAUSE 3F.FREE now
If I spit it out for you from my mouth now, it is pus. I am defeated because of it now.

68 mək=ĵ da dzə́-ŋa w=j, kú=ĵ
3F.FREE=REL FUT kill-1SG.OBJ NEG=Q 2SG.FREE=REL

maj ŋwá məɬəŋ=j bə́linu ka di=j ná
antelope mountain Mədləŋ=REL great GENR big=DET TOP
It is it that will kill me, isn't it?" "You are an antelope of Mədləŋ mountain that are very big,

69 kú=ĵ ⁿgwáf bə́linu ká=j dʒiwúwú ja ʔəʔə
2SG.FREE=REL thin great REF=REL small come EXCLAM

[á ka ná] pjaxu
say 3F TOP IP.cracking.oozing
It is you that have become very thin, oh." "Pyahu"

70 a pə́łá ka ɗaⁿgaɮáj=j dara mə ɣuləm ka=j zúŋ
PFV break 3F egg=DET over in cheek 3F.POSS=DET one

ná wáà a ka zuɗə́-xá ɗaⁿgaɮáj=j ná
TOP IP.vomit SEQ 3F vomit-DOWN egg=DET TOP

It broke that egg inside one of its cheeks. "Waa" It spat down that egg.

71 ʔáʔə səkú ɗwá mágan=j xáⁿdʒiga xanáwa á dəgə́vu
yes shrine eat squirrel=DET now HON.say say hyena
"Yes, yes, It is the shrine of eating of Squirrel," said Hyena.

72 a kəná a kəná, ja gwáda, já-rá dara
VOC 1SG.FREE VOC 1SG.FREE come measure come-CENT over

ᵐbə=n tʃú xáⁿdʒiga ná
within=1SG DEM now TOP
"Oh me, oh me. It is as you've said. I've just come from over there now.

73 ja ɣə́n kənî ŋá ná xanáwa á=n ká=j
come bean uncle 1SG.POSS TOP HON.say say=1SG REF=REL

ɗə́k-r=n ka də sərə́ɗəm bîska,
pick-EXT=1SG PURP cook soup surprise

bák mə ri=j tʃú xáⁿdʒiga ná
two in hand=REL DEM now TOP
I assumed that since it was my uncle's beans, so I picked them and would have cooked bean soup. In both hands there, now.

74 ⁿda xán sə́ku ɗwá mágan na, ɮá da bə́gə́-ká
COND like.this shrine eat squirrel Q until FUT put-3F.OBJ

nə xanáwa á ka
1SG HON.say say 3F
Maybe the shrine of Squirrel like this?! I will go to put it" it said.

75 ɓáw a ᵐbá ka və́ nə ɣə́n=j ka vák
IP.return PFV return 3F REFL with bean=DET in.the.afternoon
"ɓau" It returned together with those beans in the afternoon.

76 tán ka dzá-rá da ɣî
depart 3F go-CENT GOAL home
It left to go home.

77 má dza-rá-j dza-rá ka ná, a dza ka da=j
HYP go-CENT-PROG go-CENT 3F TOP PFV go 3F thing=DET

ná, kənî kə̂j
TOP uncle IP.exasperation
Immediately when it went home, it went and (did) this thing. "Uncle, hey.

78 məɓən mə nə́ kú na, kará kwá ɮá-ŋá da=j
good 1IN with 2SG.FREE Q NEG 2SG say-1SG.OBJ thing=DET

(pə) [a] kú ɣaláj ná
in GOAL 2SG.FREE before TOP
Our relationship is cordial but you didn't tell me that thing is with you before.
(Speaker error: said *pə* but should have said *a*)

79 ⁿda ɮáx kwá nə́ ŋi da a kú
COND difficult 2SG EXIST another thing GOAL 2SG.FREE

á ⁿda
say person
If you are causing lots of trouble, they say there is a thing with you.

80 má já-rá=n dara xaᵐtá kə́=j dara ɣər
HYP come-CENT=1SG over bush REF=REL over farm

tə́=j ja=n mə î vərʃîn xa=ĵ
1EX.POSS=DET come=1SG HAB see child.PL PL=REL

kakał ɣən xa=j
steal bean PL=DET
When I came from the bush, from our farm. I was looking for those children

stealing beans there.

81 mə bə́zan ɣən ŋá ⁿda á kwá xútsa kənî
HAB trouble bean 1SG.POSS person say 2SG yesterday uncle

ná, ja vərʃîn xa=ju, dza da tʃikə́ ɣən vərʃîn
TOP come child.PL PL=DET go GOAL spy bean child.PL

nə́ pəkə́ ɣən kənî ŋá=ju xanáwa á= n ná
1SG about bean uncle 1SG.POSS=DET HON.say say=1SG TOP
'They were spoiling my beans' you said yesterday, uncle. Those children came. 'I'll go to spy on them all over my uncle's beans' I said. [speech gets confused towards end of utterance]

82 kə́=j dza-ra=n da tʃikə́-tá kə́ vərʃîn ná,
REF=REL go-CENT=1SG GOAL spy-3PL.OBJ REF child.PL TOP

dza-ra=n ná,
go-CENT=1SG TOP
I went to spy on them, the children. I went,

83 a ŋî gî nə maj ŋwá məɮəŋ pə tʃivi ná,
SEQ 1EX meet with antelope mountain Mədləŋ on path TOP
We met with Mədləŋ Antelope on the way.

84 mî zə́ɗa-ta wá á=n kə́ mək
what affect-2SG.POSS Q say=1SG REF 3F.FREE
'What is affecting you?' I said to it.

85 maj ŋwá məɮəŋ kəná=ĵ ⁿzá dzwa-má dzwa
antelope mountain Mədləŋ 1SG.FREE=REL be walk-UP walk

mə ɣər magán kə́=j sá-ŋá səkú ɗwa magán
at farm squirrel REL=REF touch-1SG.OBJ shrine eat squirrel

xanáwa á ka ná,
HON.say say 3F TOP
Mədləŋ Antilope, 'I was walking in Squirrel's farm, that is why Squirrel's shrine touched me,' it said.

86 tʃáxʔu a ka tsa-ŋa-xá ja-xa mə ŋwu
IP.crack SEQ 3F crack-1SG.OBJ-DOWN come-DOWN at mouth

ka ná, máru=j ta-ká ⁿda xán da=j
3F.POSS TOP pus=REL succumb-3F.OBJ COND like.this thing=REL

a kú=ju
GOAL.ANIM 2SG.FREE=DET
"Cah'u" It cracked for me coming down from its mouth. It will succumb to that pus, if it is like that, this thing you have.

87 amá a kəɬja-r nə bák tʃitʃik ka kəní ŋá kə́
but PFV pick-EXT 1SG two only 3F uncle 1SG.POSS REF

ɣə́n=j ná
bean=DET TOP
But I picked, it is only two my uncle, the beans.

88 mək=ĵ ja-ra=n xáⁿdʒiga ná, a kwá sa-ŋa
3F.FREE=REL come-CENT=1SG now TOP SEQ 2SG touch-1SG.OBJ

nə ɓa xanáwa á ka
with soup HON.say say 3F
That is why I came over now, so you would touch me with ɓa soup." it said.

89 áʃ kəná ká=j kará ɮá-kwa-xá baga=w
IP.expletive 1SG.FREE FOC=REL NEG say-2SG.OBJ-DOWN surprise=NEG

wa kəní
Q uncle

"Ash!" It wasn't me that didn't tell you Uncle (was it?!)?

90 nə́ ka ɣaláj mə ŋwá fə́-tə ⁿda má ⁿda
with GENR long.ago at mountain put-OM person HYP COND

mə bəzan da ká ⁿzə vərʃ̀in mə bəzan da ná,
HAB trouble thing REF be child.PL HAB trouble thing TOP
In those days people put it in the mountains. When someone was destroying something, if children were destroying things,

91 a ⁿda łá-má ná, a ⁿda ja njáxaxa mə
SEQ person take-UP TOP SEQ person come smear in

ɣər ná, kwá dzwa=j dzwa-má kwá mə ɣər=j ná
farm TOP even move=PROG move-UP 2SG in farm=DET TOP
one would take it. One comes and smears it at the farm. You have walked on the farm.

92 ⁿda ka ⁿgwáf-ta ka mək=j ká=j ɓə́n-ka-má
COND PURP thin-2SG.POSS 3F 3F.FREE=DET REF=REL do-3F.OBJ-UP

maj=j xáⁿdʒiga a sə́ kwá maj ná, mə
antelope=DET now PFV know 2SG antelope TOP HAB

ɗwá da ⁿdu nə ⁿgə́r
eat thing person with strength
Then you will become thin. That is why it happened to Antelope. As you know, Antelope is using strength to eat other people's things.

93 ká=j dzwá-má dzwa ká ja ka ʒiwáŋ-a-r
REF=REL walk-UP walk REF come 3F see-OM-EXT

xáⁿdʒiga kə́ja táwa-má ka ká ja ɗú-a-m ka=j
now before meet-UP 3F REF come eat-OM-EXT 3F=DET

ná, mək=ĵ zəɗa ka maj
TOP 3F.FREE=REL\SBJ feel 3F.POSS antelope
Because it was moving around, it came and caught sight of it now. After it met it then it ate it. That is why it affected Antelope." It said.

94 tətə́x wá kənî ká=n bəx=w, nə və́ vərʃ̂in
beg.PL VOC uncle NEG=1SG still=NEG with ASSOC child.PL

xá^{n}dʒiga ná, a də-rá=n zúŋ zəgi ka sə́rɗə̂m
now TOP PFV cook-CENT=1SG one time GENR soup

da ndʒjá-ŋa vərʃ̂in ŋá xá^{n}dʒiga kə́ da=ju
FUT kill-1SG.OBJ child.PL 1SG.POSS now REF thing=DET
I am begging you Uncle. I will die together with my children. I cooked one time as soup. This thing will kill my children on me.

95 ɗə́-ŋa ɗa ɓa xanáwa á ka
fetch-1SG.OBJ fetch soup HON.say say 3F
Get ɓa soup for me!" it said.

96 ja, mamaʃ̂in wárakə́ ná, a kwá ja, a=n dza
OK morning early TOP SEQ 2SG come SEQ=1SG go

^{n}zu-kwa-má ɓa amá á ^{n}da a ʒî ka
prepare-2SG.OBJ-UP soup but HYP COND PFV remain 3F

ɣî va ta kə́ ɣən=j ná
in house 2SG.POSS REF bean=DET TOP
Yes, you should come very early in the morning. I will go and prepare for you the ɓa soup. But if unexpectedly any beans remain in your house,

97 a kwá pə́ká-va wjáɗɗî a kwá dza bə́gə́-xa pə
SBJV 2SG pick-OUT all SBJV 2SG go put-DOWN on

ir=j də́k-a-kə́ kwá ná, kə́ja da=n má-kwa

place = REL pick-om-VENT 2SG TOP before FUT = 1SG give-2SG.OBJ

ɓa xanáwa á magán kə́ dəgə́vu
soup HON.say say squirrel REF hyena
you should pick them up, all! You should go and put them back in the place where you have collected them before I will give you the ɓa soup." said Squirrel to Hyena.

98 jáw, aʃ a ʒi, nə ka kə́ = j də-rá
OK IP.expletive PFV remain EXIST 3F REF = REL cook-CENT

sə́rɗəm nə xútsa, a ʒi dʒîwu mə ᵐbutə́ dara
soup 1SG yesterday PFV remain small in baobab over

ɣî ná,
house TOP
"OK. 'Ash!' There remains (some). There is that which I used to cook soup yesterday. A little remains on the shell of baobab over in my house.

99 a ʒi ka ᵐba = n já də sə́rɗəm kapakwa
SEQ remain PURP again = 1SG come cook soup this.evening

bîska kə́ni xanáwa á dəgə́vu
surprise uncle HON.say say hyena
Remaining so that I would otherwise have come and cooked soup this evening, Uncle." said Hyena.

100 aʃ ja a bî kwá pə́ká-va ná, ká = n
IP.expletive come PFV NEG.COND 2SG collect-OUT TOP NEG = 1SG

mə ⁿzu-kwa-má ɓa wa kə́ni xanáwa á mágan
hab prepare-2SG.OBJ-UP soup VOC uncle HON.say say squirrel
" 'Ash!' If you don't collect it, I can't give you ɓa soup, Uncle!" said Squirrel.

101 ɣalá vak ka mə də́k ɣə́n = j nə dʒik ɣaláj kjana ná

after day 3F HAB pick bean = DET with dome up.to.now TOP
After it had spent the day picking beans with a grass dome up to now.

102 ᵐbə́j və́na və́ civiliŋliŋ á ⁿda vərʃ̂in ka və́
lets.go IMP.PL ASSOC Civiliŋliŋ say person child.PL 3F.POSS beside

kəɗakalî
Kəɗakali
"Let's go, you with Civi Liŋliŋ" Hyena said to some of its children near Kəɗakali (its wife).

103 dáɗ a ja ta fə́-ká ɣə́n = j pə,
IP.take.completely PFV come 3PL put-VENT bean = DET on

pə da
on thing
'dad!' They came and put those beans on something,

104 pə dʒik tám, dza ⁿda ná, dzə́wa ⁿda mə ɣər mágan,
on dome now go person TOP dump person at farm squirrel

ɬá-má ⁿda ɣə́n = j ná, dzə́wa ⁿda mə ɣər mágan
take-UP person bean = DET TOP dump person at farm squirrel
on the dome now. They went. They dumped those beans on Squirrel's farm. They carried more beans and they dumped them on Squirrel's farm.

105 tu, wjáɗɗə́ da ir kəɗ ná, a ᵐba-r ka
DSC IP.completely sunrise finish TOP PFV turn-EXT 3F

ɣə́n = j dza-j da va mágan, kwá ŋi da á = ka
bean = DET go-DIR GOAL house squirrel even another thing NEG = 3F

ʒi tám ᵐbə = w
remain now within = NEG
So, completely before the rising of the sun, it had returned those beans to

Squirrel's house. Not even a single thing remained.

106 tu, saʔa nán náx a ja-rá ka tam ná, ú-r
DSC [H.]? after PFV come-CENT 3F now TOP get-EXT

tam a kənî, ká ŋi da=j kə́=j bəx=w,
now VOC uncle NEG another thing=DET REF=REL still=NEG

a dza=n bə́gə́=j nə və́=j kə́=j kəɬjá-r
PFV go=1SG put=DET with ASSOC=DET REF=REL take-EXT

və́ tʃivîlîŋliŋ=j ná
ASSOC Civiliŋliŋ=DET TOP
So, then when it had arrived now, "It's done, Uncle. There is nothing that remains. I collected those along with the ones that those with Civi liŋliŋ took.

107 a dza=n bə́gə́-xá kə́ ɣə́n=ju
PFV go=1SG put-DOWN REF bean=DET
I have gone and dropped those beans.

108 ká ŋi da bəx va ŋá wá kə́nî
NEG another thing still house 1SG.POSS VOC uncle

xanáwa á ka mək
HON.say say 3F 3F.FREE
There is nothing still at my house, Uncle." it (Hyena) said to it (Squirrel).

109 a bə́gə́ kwá ʃáw á kə́nî? xanáwa á ka a
PFV put 2SG all VOC uncle HON.say say 3F PFV

bə́gə́ nə́ ʃáw
put 1SG all
"Have you dropped it all, Uncle?" it said. "I've dropped it all."

110 tu, bá ja-ra ka tam bá ɓats-kə́ ɓá mágan,

DSC then come-CENT 3F now then collect.small-VENT soup squirrel

bá ɗa-xa ka jam mə gərə́m kiɗ
then fetch-DOWN 3F water at broken.pot pot.cover
So, when it had come, Squirrel had collected small some ɓa soup. Then it put water in a clay pot cover.

111 bá xə́ɗ-má ka, njáxnjáx a sá-ka ⁿda dəgə́vu
then mix-UP 3F IP.smear PFV touch-3F.OBJ person hyena
When it had mixed it, it smeared it on Hyena

112 a kwá dza îsa vərʃîn ta xá=j ɗwá-m ʔwî
SBJV 2SG go spray child.PL 2SG.POSS PL=REL eat-EXT soup

ta=ju
2SG.POSS=DET
"You should go and spray your children that ate your soup.

113 a kwá papat-ta-má xanáwa á ka, bá dza ka
SBJV 2SG rub-3PL.OBJ-UP HON.say say 3F then go 3F

papat-ta-má ɓá=j kə́ vərʃîn ka
rub-3PL.OBJ-UP soup=DET REF child.PL 3F.POSS
You should go and rub them." it said. Then it went and rubbed its children with that ɓa soup.

114 tu, bá ja mágan dza ɓats-kə́ xi ka, ⁿda
DSC then come squirrel go get-VENT guineacorn 3F.POSS COND

da pə́ká xi dəgə́vu ja-rá kjár pəkə́ mágan
FUT collect guineacorn hyena come-CENT all about squirrel

bîska ká mágan da ú xi=w
surprise NEG squirrel FUT get guineacorn=NEG
Then Squirrel went and harvested its guineacorn. Otherwise Hyena would have

collected all the guineacorn away from Squirrel. Squirrel would not get guineacorn.

115	a	wîŋ=j	ká	gəmakákaw	a	kánî,	bəx	ŋi	tsú	na
	PFV	end=DET	REF	story	VOC	uncle	still	another	also	Q

This story is over, Uncle. Is there also still another?

116	a	kəɗ=ju	á	kwá	tsə́j
	PFV	finish=DET	say	2SG	3M.FREE

'This is finished' you say to him.