

A Grammar of Wandala

Mouton Grammar Library

47

Editors

Georg Bossong

Bernard Comrie

Matthew Dryer

De Gruyter Mouton

A Grammar of Wandala

by

Zygmunt Frajzyngier

De Gruyter Mouton

ISBN 978-3-11-021840-4
e-ISBN 978-3-11-021841-1
ISSN 0933-7636

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2012 Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, Berlin/Boston

Printing: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen

⊗ Printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

I dedicate this modest work to the memory of my parents Franciszka and Emanuel Frajzyngier, who did not live to see this book in print.

Acknowledgments

The work on Wandala has been supported over the years by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Science Foundation, the Charles and Jane Butcher Foundation, and the University of Colorado. The most recent work has been supported by the National Science Foundation Grant No. 0439940. A University of Colorado Faculty Fellowship gave me the necessary time to devote to this work. I am most grateful for the support of all of these institutions.

While working in Cameroon I was hosted over many years by the Institut de Recherche Agricole pour le Développement in Maroua. The institute provided me with much-needed institutional and logistic support. I am most grateful to its then director, Dr. Noé Woin, for support during the years 2004-2008.

I am very grateful to the following Wandala speakers for their understanding and patience during sessions that sometimes must have been tedious to them: Seini Aji Alhaji, Oumaté Mahamat, Ali Mahamat, and especially Ramadan Abba (*ràmàdàrà nàbbà*), with whom I worked during the last two seasons of fieldwork.

I am most grateful to Seini Boukar Lamide for his hospitality on many occasions in N'Djamena and his assistance with a number of logistic arrangements, not the least of which involved getting to Maroua and back. In the years 2004-2008 that was a somewhat complicated matter. Henry Tourneaux, as always, was helpful with some of these arrangements. He also aided in identifying some plants. Roger Prafé facilitated the fieldwork by establishing initial contacts with some language assistants.

I would also like to thank my friends who generously shared their knowledge of other languages: Henry Tourneaux (Fula), John Hutchison (Kanuri), and Erin Shay (Giziga).

Meredith Padgett and Trevor Rockford, onetime students at the University of Colorado, have assisted in the construction of the Wandala-English dictionary. Although the dictionary is not yet finished, the data already compiled proved to be a useful tool in the writing of this grammar.

To Marian Safran, I am most grateful for her editorial work, without which this book would have been much less readable. Bernard Comrie carefully read the whole manuscript, asked numerous questions, and made many constructive comments and suggestions concerning the analyses and presentations. This dedication to editorial work is seldom seen nowadays. No words of thanks can express my appreciations for his work. As in much of my work for more than fifteen years, I owe many thanks to Erin Shay. In this case she has read the whole manuscript and saved me from many mistakes. Needless to say, none of the people who helped me with this work is responsible in any way for mistakes and errors of facts or interpretation.

I would like to thank Viktoriya Oliynyk, Mark Gammon, and especially PJ Bennett for their last-minute help in the formatting of this book. I would like to thank Monika Feinen for producing the map of Wandala. I also thank Wolfgang Konwitschny, whose sharp eye caught multiple errors in the formatting of the book.

Contents

Acknowledgments	v
Abbreviations and typographical conventions	xv
Chapter 1. Introduction	
1. Names, speakers, places, and classification	1
2. Dialect variations	5
3. Scholarship on the language	6
4. The aim, scope, and theoretical approach	7
5. The importance of Wandala	7
6. An outline of the grammar of Wandala	10
7. The sources and the nature of the data	22
Chapter 2. Phonology	
1. The aim of the chapter	24
2. Consonantal system	24
3. Phonotactics of consonants	36
4. Vowel system	40
5. Underlying <i>a</i>	42
6. Underlying <i>i</i>	44
7. Underlying <i>u</i>	45
8. The status of the vowel <i>e</i>	47
9. Syllable structure	50
10. Vowel epenthesis	53
11. Phonotactics of vowels	61
12. Tone	67
13. Conclusions	76
Chapter 3. Morphological marking of syntactic organization	
1. Introduction	77
2. A phonological explanation of the root form	78
3. A phonological explanation of the root + <i>a</i> form	79
4. Hypothesis	80
5. Syntactic environments of the root form	81
6. Syntactic environments of the root + <i>a</i> form	90
7. The functions of the word-final vowel <i>e</i>	97
8. Conclusions	97

Chapter 4. Lexical categories and morphological processes	
1. Introduction	98
2. Verbs	98
3. Nouns	99
4. Number	104
5. Gender	106
6. Independent pronouns	107
7. Adjectives	108
8. Numerals	113
9. Adverbs	115
10. The locative predicator	115
11. Prepositions	116
12. Intensifiers	118
13. Ideophones	118
14. Complementizers and subordinating particles	119
15. Morphological processes	119
16. Conclusions	120
Chapter 5. Noun phrase	
1. Introduction	121
2. Noun phrases consisting of just one constituent	121
3. Modification by a noun	122
4. Modification by adjectives	133
5. Modification by numerals	135
6. Modification by quantifiers	137
7. The quantifier <i>rà</i> 'any'	140
8. Delimiters	140
9. Modification by determiners	140
10. Verbal modification of an agentive noun	142
11. Verbal modification of a non-agentive noun	143
12. Modification by a clause	143
13. Conjoined noun phrases	144
14. Conclusions	148
Chapter 6. Verbal roots and stems	
1. Introduction	149
2. The underlying form of the verb	149
3. The initial vowel of the phonetic forms of the verb	150
4. Internal vowels of the verb	152
5. The tone of the verb	158
6. Verbal plurality	159
7. Verbal nouns	165

8. The imperfective stem	171
9. Reduplication of the type R1(Pro)R2	176
10. Conclusions	179

Chapter 7. Grammatical relations

1. Means and terms	180
2. Subject pronouns	181
3. Object pronouns	184
4. Coding of nominal arguments	192
5. Distinguishing between arguments that do not follow the verb	207
6. Possessive subject pronouns	208
7. Grammatical and semantic relations with the R1ProR2 form	214
8. Coding the definiteness of the object	216
9. The indirect object	217
10. Coding grammatical relations in argument fronting	229
11. The coreferentiality of the subject and the addressee of the verb of saying	231
12. Conclusions	232

Chapter 8. Verbal extensions and semantic relations

1. Introduction	234
2. The applicative extension <i>v</i>	234
3. The ventive extension <i>w</i>	248
4. The reverse extension <i>lí</i>	256
5. The collective extension	257
6. The goal extension <i>á</i>	260
7. The role-changing extension <i>ar</i> ‘ON’	273
8. Conclusions	276

Chapter 9. Locative extensions

1. Introduction	278
2. The inner-space extension <i>m</i> ‘in’	279
3. The target extension <i>t</i>	281
4. The source-oriented extension <i>s</i>	291
5. Conclusions	296

Chapter 10. Locative predication

1. The components of locative predication	297
2. Inherently locative predicates	297
3. Locative predicator	300
4. Inherently locative complements	302
5. Coding the directionality of movement	304
6. [+human] nouns in directional locative predication	306

7. Stative locative predication	307
8. Prepositions and spatial specifiers	308
9. The parameters of manner and directionality of movement	313
10. Coding altrilocality	314
11. Conclusions	315

Chapter 11. Verbless predications

1. Introduction	317
2. Verbless locative predication	317
3. Equational predication	318
4. Property predication	322
5. Nonspecific predication	324
6. Existential predication	324
7. Possessive predication	329
8. Conclusions	330

Chapter 12. Adjunct phrases

1. Introduction	331
2. Destinative	331
3. Associative	333
4. Adjuncts of time	337
5. Other adverbs	342
6. Derived adverbs	344
7. Adjunct of reason	348
8. Comparative constructions	348
9. Conclusions	351

Chapter 13. Aspect

1. An outline of the system	352
2. The perfective aspect	353
3. The imperfective aspect	359
4. The function of the imperfective Pro R1R2 form	365
5. The backgrounding and comment clause aspect	366
6. The punctual aspect	376
7. The progressive aspect	383
8. The inceptive aspect	385
9. The stative aspect	386
10. Conclusions	389

Chapter 14. Tense

1. Introduction	390
2. The present tense	390
3. The future tense	393

4. The past tense	398
5. Conclusions	401

Chapter 15. Mood

1. Introduction	402
2. Epistemic modality	402
3. The imperative	406
4. The obligative	414
5. The mood of obligation through the predicator <i>á</i>	419
6. Deontic adverbs	419
7. Conclusions	419

Chapter 16. Negation

1. Introduction	421
2. Negation of verbless clauses	421
3. The forms of the negative marker <i>kà</i>	422
4. Aspectual and tense distinctions in negation	423
5. Evidence for the functions of the two aspects in the negative	428
6. Nominal arguments in negative clauses	432
7. Negation and questions	434
8. The intensifier of negation: the marker <i>tà</i>	434
9. Negation with the negative existential form	435
10. The prohibitive	436
11. Conclusions	438

Chapter 17. Interrogative

1. Introduction	439
2. Polar questions	439
3. Asking for the confirmation of an assumption	443
4. Content questions	443
5. Focus on the subject in content questions	452
6. Questions about the object of the verb of saying	454
7. Questions about manner	455
8. Questions about reason	457
9. Questions about place	459
10. Questions about time	459
11. Conclusions	459

Chapter 18. Comment clause

1. Introduction	461
2. Functions of the comment clause	463
3. Conclusions	478

Chapter 19. Topicalization

1. Introduction	479
2. The formal means of topicalization	479
3. Topicalization through the determiner <i>w</i>	482
4. Topicalization of the subject	482
5. Topicalization of the object	484
6. Topicalization of the content of a verbs of saying	487
7. Topicalization of the adjunct	488
8. Topicalization of a proposition	488
9. Conclusions	489

Chapter 20. Focus

1. Introduction	490
2. Focus on truth in equational clauses	490
3. Focus on the subject	491
4. Focus on the object	492
5. Focus on adjuncts	494
6. Focus within the topic	495
7. Focus on the predicate	496
8. Focus on the proposition	497
9. Focus within a noun phrase	497
10. Contrastive focus	498
11. Conclusions	505

Chapter 21. Reference system

1. Introduction	506
2. No overt coding of the object	507
3. Deixis	507
4. Reference to the speaker	517
5. Reference to the third person	520
6. Reference to an indefinite entity	521
7. Nouns without determiners: first and subsequent mentions	525
8. Previous mention	527
9. Deduced reference	532
10. Locative anaphora	535
11. Indefiniteness	536
12. Coding the vocative	538
13. Switch reference	540
14. Conclusions	545

Chapter 22. Paratactic and sequential clauses

1. Introduction	546
-----------------	-----

2.	Asyndetic paratactic constructions	546
3.	Counter-expectation	548
4.	Coordinated clauses	549
5.	Disjunctive clauses	550
6.	The conjunction <i>má</i>	551
7.	The sequential apodosis form <i>nábà</i>	552
8.	The sequential protasis	555
9.	Conclusions	558

Chapter 23. Complementation

1.	The formal means	559
2.	Complementizers	559
3.	Complements of verbs of saying	560
4.	Locutionary predication without a verb of saying	565
5.	Direct speech	566
6.	Complementizer <i>nts`</i>	568
7.	Interrogative complements of verbs of saying	568
8.	The imperative in complement clauses	569
9.	Complements of verbs of perception	572
10.	Complements of cognitive verbs	573
11.	Causative construction: complements of the verb <i>fá</i> ‘put’	574
12.	Complements of verbs of ability	575
13.	Complements of volitional verbs	576
14.	Altrilocality	578
15.	Complements of the verbs ‘spend the day/night’	580
16.	Conclusions	581

Chapter 24. Conditional and temporal sentences

1.	Introduction	582
2.	The conditional protasis	582
3.	<i>Conditio sine qua non</i>	584
4.	The conditional apodosis	584
5.	The conditional with the intensifier	586
6.	The temporal protasis	587
7.	The temporal apodosis	591
8.	Conclusions	594

Chapter 25. Adjunct clauses

1.	Introduction	595
2.	Purpose clauses	595
3.	Reason clauses	598
4.	Manner clauses	598
5.	Conclusion clauses	599

6. Conclusions	599
Chapter 26. The relative clause	
1. The structure of the relative clause	600
2. The head of the relative clause	600
3. The de dicto/de re distinction in the relative clause	601
4. The post-relative marker	602
5. Relativization of the subject	602
6. Relativization of the object	604
7. The determiner of the head	607
8. The object pronoun after the verb	608
9. Relativization of the possessor	610
10. Relativization of the content of verbs of saying	611
11. Relativization of the associative	611
12. Relativization of the locative complement	612
13. Relativization of the time adjunct	612
14. Tense and aspect in relative clauses	612
15. Negation in relative clauses	615
16. Conclusions	616
Chapter 27. Discourse characteristics	
1. Introduction	618
2. Backgrounding of information in discourse	618
3. The presentative function	621
4. Discourse sequencing	623
5. The hearer's acknowledgment	628
6. Coding an unexpected conclusion	628
7. Coding hesitation	628
8. Politeness in rhetorical questions	629
9. Conclusions	630
Chapter 28. Sample texts	
1. Introduction	631
2. Three men and a grain of sesame	632
3. Marriage among Wandala	646
4. Dead father's story	657
5. Conversation	670
6. A life's story	697
References	711
Index	716

Abbreviations and typographical conventions

1	First-person	NEG	Negative
2	Second-person	NOM	Nominalizer
3	Third-person	NP	Noun phrase
AFF	Affected	NUM	Numeral
APPL	Applicative	ON	Extension ‘on’
Ar	Arabic	ONOM	Onomatopoeic
ASSC	Associative	OPT	Optative
C	Consonant	OUT	Extension ‘out’
C.FOC	Contrastive focus	PAST	Past
COL	Collective	PB	Phrasal boundary
COM	Comment marker	PL	Plural
COMP	Complementizer	POL	Polite
CONJ	Conjunction	POSS	Possessive
DAT	Dative	PNCT	Punctual
DEF	Definite	PRED	Predicator
DEM	Demonstrative	PREP	Preposition
DEST	Destinative	PRES	Presentative
DET	Determiner	PRO	Pronoun
EP	Epenthetic	PROG	Progressive
EX	Existential	PROX	Proximate
EXCL	Exclusive	Q	Question
F	Fula (Fulfulde)	R	Root
FOC	Focus	R1	First reduplicant
FUT	Future	R2	Second reduplicant
G	Glide	RE	Reverse
GEN	Genitive	REFL	Reflexive
GO	Goal	REM	Remote
H	Hausa	RQ	Rhetorical question
HL	Human locative	S	Source; subject
HYP	Hypothetical	SEQ	Sequential
IMP	Imperative	SG	Singular
IN	Inner space	T	Target
INCL	Inclusive	TAG	Tag question
INTNS	Intensifier	TO	Destinative preposition ‘to’
K	Kanuri	TOG	Together (plural participants)
Lam	Lamang	TOP	Topicalization
M	Masculine	TR	Transitive
N	Noun; nasal consonant	V	Vowel

VENT Ventive

VN Verbal noun

Wandala material enclosed in slash brackets / . . . / represents the underlying form. Wandala material enclosed in square brackets [. . .] represents the phonetic form in broad transcription. Wandala material enclosed in parentheses (. . .) indicates optional material. English material enclosed in square brackets [. . .] indicates material that is included in the translation but that has no overt morphological representation in the corresponding Wandala text. Conventional typographical usage is not listed.

Examples from natural discourse begin with a capital letter and have final punctuation. Examples obtained through elicitation begin with a lower-case letter and do not have final punctuation. Many, but not all, such examples have '(elicited)' appended to the English translation.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Names, speakers, places, and classification

The self-name of the language described in this grammar, *w-á wándàlà*, consists of the noun *wè* ‘mouth, language’, the genitive marker *á*, and the noun *wándàlà*, which can serve both as a head and as a modifier of a noun phrase:

- (1) *nóovà tánkìní yèságdzànrwàndzà*
nóo và tán kìnì yè s-á gdzà
 PRES day DEF C.FOC 1SG come-GO small
 ‘Here today, I brought a small story’
nàrwàndzà
 story
ánwá wándàlà
án w-á wándàlà
 ASSC mouth-GEN Wandala
 ‘in Wandala.’¹

The self-name of the people is *wándàlà*. A single Wandala man is called *žil wándàlà* (*žilé* or *žillé* ‘man’ in isolation). A Wandala person is called *ùr wándàlà* (*wrà* ‘person’).

The form *hàhà* ‘land’ combined with the noun *wándàlà* designates the land of Wandala:

1 The full presentation of a typical example in the present grammar consists of four lines: (1) a broad phonetic transcription reflecting vowel deletions, epenthetic vowels, and audible pauses marked by spaces. This line reflects the rhythmic structure of the utterance. Often, the rhythmic structure does not overlap with the word or morpheme divisions; (2) the underlying structure of the morphemes for the given context, with hyphens separating affixes and spaces separating words; (3) glosses; and (4) free translations. Some examples do not contain the broad phonetic transcription and consequently consist of three lines only. Wandala morphemes within the text are represented in either citation or underlying form, depending on whether the underlying form is relevant for the purpose of the given paragraph or not. When the recorded forms differ from forms obtained during analysis, this is noted as ‘recording different’, or ‘not in the recording’.

2 Introduction

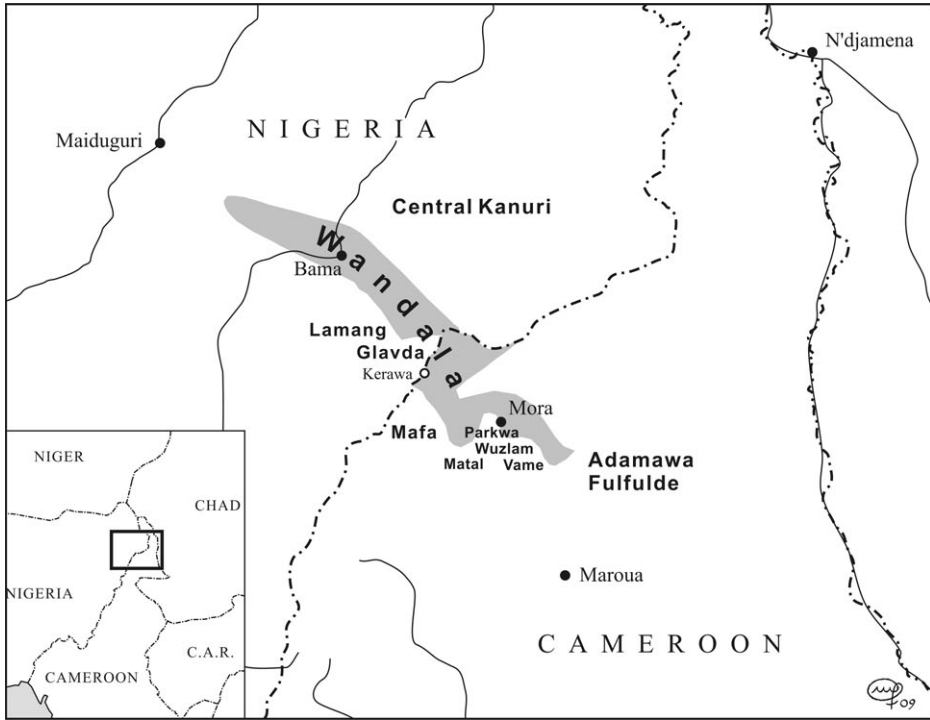
- (2) *làríúsá mé* [pause] *làríú sámhàhà wándàlà*
làríúsà á mé làríúsà á-m hàhà wándàlà
marriage PRED where marriage PRED-IN land Wandala
'Marriage where? Marriage in the land of Wandala.'

In general scholarly literature and in official documents, speakers of the language and the language itself are referred to as 'Wandala' or as 'Mandara', the term used by Hausa, Fula, and Kanuri speakers and government officials. The Sultan's palace in Mora displays the sign *Sultanat de Wandala*. In Newman's 1977 classification, the language is referred to as 'Wandala'. In Jungraithmayr and Ibriszimow's 1994 lexical reconstructions, the language is referred to as 'Mandara'. *Ethnologue* gives the name 'Wandala' with alternates 'Mandara', 'Ndara', and 'Mandara Montagnard'. In studies of the language itself, it is referred to as 'Mandara' (Mirt 1969-70, 1971; Eguchi 1969; Frajzyngier 1984; Whaley and Fluckiger 1980 and their other common or separate publications, as listed in the references). Some speakers prefer the term 'Mandara' partly because that is the way the language and people are sometimes referred to in French and English, the official languages in Cameroon and Nigeria. Some speakers claim to disprefer the name 'Mandara', even if they use it themselves, especially when speaking French, English, Hausa, or Fula. Given that the term 'Mandara' is not the only one used in reference to the language and people, and given that it does not yet have a long tradition or an extensive usage in scholarly literature, there is no reason to retain this potentially foreign ethnonym.

According to *Ethnologue*, the language is spoken by some 23,500 speakers in Northern Cameroon and 20,000 speakers in Nigeria. In Cameroon, many speakers live in Wandala communities, while in Nigeria, they are dispersed among speakers of other languages.

Wandala people used to wield considerable influence in the extreme north of Cameroon. The capital of the Mandara Sultanate (the term used in historical literature), founded in the sixteenth century, has moved a number of times over the years and is currently located in Mora. The Sultanate was an important political entity in the region from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries (Forkl 1983, 1984, 1985, 1989, 1993, 1995; Barkindo 1989; Lange 1977). For anthropological and cultural information on Wandala, see Fluckiger 1980 and Forkl 1988. Among the present inhabitants of Mora, there are Moslems, Christians, and believers in traditional religion. Some refer to the third group by the term *Kirdi*² *Mora* 'Mora pagans', perceived by some as derogatory (cf. Forkl 1986).

2 The term *kirdi* 'pagan' is commonly used in Fula.



The name ‘Mandara Mountains’ designates a mountain chain inhabited by speakers of various Central Chadic languages, most of whom share similar agricultural practices and similar culture, including oral literature, tools, and elements of architecture (Seignobos 1982). Because of their geographical proximity these groups often participated in the same historical events, albeit not always in the same roles. For bibliography and other information on the ethnic groups of the area, see Gerhard Müller-Kosack’s website dedicated to the Mandara Mountains: <http://www.mandaras.info/index.html>. As there is some anthropological and cultural information and an abundance of historical information available concerning Wandala, references to anthropological facts in the present work are limited to a bare minimum, and there are no references to historical events.

Newman 1977 and Jungraithmayr and Ibrizimow 1994 place Wandala in the A.4 group of ‘Biu-Mandara’, labeled ‘Central Chadic’ by Jungraithmayr and Ibrizimow, a term accepted in the present work.

Speakers of Wandala have been in contact with major languages of North-Eastern Nigeria and Northern Cameroon, viz. Hausa (Chadic), Kanuri (Nilo-Saharan), and Fula (West Atlantic, a group of Niger-Congo family). Many Wandala speakers are multilingual, with Hausa and English being the second and third languages in Nigeria and Fula and French being the second and third languages in Cameroon. Some Wandala speakers also know Kanuri. Nevertheless, as of 2009 there are Wandala speakers who do not know Fula, Kanuri, or Hausa.

Lexical borrowings from vehicular languages are quite abundant. Many Wandala are Moslems, and consequently many items pertaining to religious and moral terminology, names for some customs, and a large number of proper names are borrowed from Arabic, usually via Kanuri, Hausa, or Fula.³

3 According to information that I could not check for accuracy there are four major and two minor clans in Mora. Major clans are:

sànkɾé Chiefs of Wandala come from this clan, members of which are said to be warriors and chiefs, but not farmers.

níǹǹà The clan reputed to be that of spiritual chiefs. Their chief is called *híǹǹà*, i.e. ‘one of *íǹǹà*’. Members of the clan are said to have been involved in hunting and spiritual matters. The only potential etymon is the noun *íǹǹà* ‘salt’.

vàkòké The clan of animal husbandry and farmers.

mìfàllàmà A clan said to be related to Kanuri. Members of the clan are believed to be descendants of Kanuri who brought Islam to Wandala and intermarried with Wandala. They are farmers and teachers of Islam (‘marabouts’).

Minor clans:

màyá A clan of hunters that used to inhabit Dulo but was absorbed by the Wandala. It is not known what language they spoke before they were absorbed by the Wandala.

májwàné Formally a ‘clan of warriors’. Now they farm and raise goats and sheep.

2. Dialect variations

According to traditional Wandala folk wisdom, there are thirty-three varieties of the Wandala language, and no person can speak more than six of them. This belief testifies to the native speakers' recognition of the existence of Wandala as a separate language, and to the mutual intelligibility among its dialects. The incorporation of the awareness of language unity and dialectal diversity in the folk wisdom, regardless of the validity of the beliefs held, is in itself an interesting fact, given the absence of Wandala from any educational curriculum. This awareness may be linked with the long political tradition and spread of the Mandara Sultanate. The radio station in Maroua used to have a weekly one-hour program in Wandala.

I have collected data on two varieties of Wandala. In 1980, I worked with one speaker from Pulka (Nigeria). The remaining data come from the dialect spoken in Mora (Cameroon) and vicinity and were provided by a number of speakers starting in 1990, with most of the material being collected in the years 2004-2008. Even for the variety spoken in Mora, there are significant differences among speakers. Some have voiceless continuants in word-initial position where others have voiced continuants. Some have continuants where others have affricates. I have even observed differences in the speech of members of the same family, where one speaker would have a high-central vowel and another speaker a mid-central vowel, and where one speaker would have a lateral continuant palatalized in environments where other speakers would have a non-palatalized variant. For some speakers, velar nasals are realized with a velar stop, viz. [ŋg], rather than just [ŋ], especially in the first-person plural inclusive independent pronoun *ŋr*. There are also differences in syntactic structures, more specifically in relative clause constructions. Some differences may be due to extensive contacts with other languages, but the influence of these contacts varies for individual speakers. One of the interesting effects of language contact on syntax is that multilingual speakers of Wandala tend to give SVO order in sentences elicited through an SVO language while monolingual speakers provide verb-initial responses. This may be the source of reports that Wandala is an SVO language.

Data gathered by Johannes Lukas, as described in Mirt 1969-70 and 1971, come from a variety of areas. Given the fact that the origins of individual examples in Mirt are not marked, it is not possible to identify and describe regional characteristics on the basis of those data. In order to avoid premature generalizations, I refrain from making statements regarding dialect differentiation. The present work is based mainly on the most common variety of Wandala spoken in and around Mora, as represented in the speech of several male speakers ranging in age from 20 to over 60 years. Two speakers were siblings.

3. Scholarship on the language

Lukas gathered data on Wandala in the course of several seasons of fieldwork spanning more than twenty years, as described in Mirt 1971. In comparative notes accompanying his grammar of Giziga (1970), Lukas cites Wandala data. On the basis of Lukas's field-notes, Heide Mirt published two papers, one covering aspects of the vowel system (1969) and the other covering aspects of the verbal system (1969-70). Even though the present grammar differs substantially with respect to the analyses offered by Mirt (some of which, dealing with phonology, can also be found in Lukas 1970), one should recognize the considerable contributions she made even though working mainly with data gathered by someone else.

Paul Eguchi published notes on Wandala (Mandara) spoken in Mora (Eguchi 1969). Annie Whaley and Cheryl Fluckiger's collaboration resulted in a number of publications (Fluckiger and Whaley 1981a, 1981b, 1983). In 1980, they prepared at least seven issues of the mimeographed 'Wandala pedagogical grammar notes'. I had access to notes nr. 1, 3, and 7, each containing between four and five pages. Cheryl Fluckiger also filled out a six-page grammatical questionnaire I prepared in the early 1980s. My heartfelt thanks go to her for this scholarly generosity.

The present grammar is based on data gathered through my own fieldwork over a period of many years. My work with the speaker from Pulka in 1980 resulted in a paper (Frajzyngier 1984) dealing with an issue for which the present grammar provides a more satisfactory analysis. Wendy Morris, while a graduate student at the University of Colorado, did some work based on my field notes. I have used Wandala data in a several comparative studies (e.g. Frajzyngier 1996, 2002). All data and many of the analyses of Wandala in my previous publications are superseded by the present grammar.

The closest relative of Wandala that has been described is Malgwa (Löhr 2002). Language assistants I worked with, and who had contact with Malgwa, insist that Wandala do not understand Malgwa, although they can understand individual words. Lexical similarities between the two languages are indeed extensive. Löhr's description focuses on phonology and morphological paradigms. Although there are significant phonological and lexical similarities between Malgwa and Wandala, even in these two areas there are many differences. Some of the differences may be due to different analyses. In order to assess whether the differences are due to different analyses or represent genuine differences between the languages, one would need to reanalyze data in both grammars using the same theoretical framework. Löhr's description contains little information about the syntax of Malgwa or the interaction of the phonology and the syntax, and leaves under-described the interaction of the verbal morphology with the rest of the grammatical system, a crucial issue for

the structure of Wandala. So, even if the two languages are closely related, the present grammar and Löhr's grammar supplement each other.

4. The aim, scope, and theoretical approach

The present grammar is intended to be a complete description of all coding means as represented in the texts gathered. The coding means are phonological means, morphological means, lexical categories and subcategories, linear order, repetition of morphemes, lexical items, and phrases. The grammar also aims at a description of the functions coded by these means. The phonological means, including segmental and supra-segmental structures and phonological processes, are described in chapter 2. The use of morpho-phonological means for the coding of the syntactic organization of the utterance is described in chapter 3. Lexical categories and associated inflectional morphology are described in chapter 4. Specific functional domains where the inflectional means interact with other coding means, viz. with linear order and phonology, as well as linear order and tone are described throughout the grammar.

The illustration of forms of morphemes and constructions often involves elicited phrases and simple or complex sentences in isolation. These illustrations should not be taken as instantiations of natural language nor should they be used as evidence of the functions involved. The form of all natural clauses in Wandala codes information on how the listener should interpret the clause, viz. independently or in connection with the preceding discourse. That information cannot be conveyed in the translations of most examples.

Considerable effort went into providing the evidence for all forms and all functions discovered. The grammar is verifiable in that another scholar may check whether the postulated forms, processes, and functions actually exist in the grammar of the language and have the properties ascribed to them. The grammar intends to be partially explanatory in that, for certain means, it explains why the language has the forms it has. The explanations do not cover all the formal means.

5. The importance of Wandala

A description of Wandala is particularly important because of the system-wide interaction of phonology, morphology, and syntax. Wandala has grammaticalized phonological means marking several types of connection between the elements of the utterance. The types of connections are: (1) membership of the same grammaticalized relationship, (2) a grammaticalized relationship when none is expected given the properties of lexical items involved; and (3) the end of the clause or sentence. This marking enables the listener to parse the

discourse into sentences and clauses and to identify the roles of various elements in the utterance. The phonological means include use of the root form, addition of a final vowel, and tone. For a wide variety of morphemes, the root form indicates that the following noun phrase is an object. The root + *a* form indicates that the following noun phrase is the subject. The high tone on the morpheme indicates that although the lexical and grammatical properties of the antecedent phrase would imply no connection with the following phrase, the two phrases should nevertheless be interpreted together. The high tone is thus used to code one type of genitive connection, a transitive predication for inherently intransitive verbs, and a comment clause that can be added to any type of sentence. In this way, the language overtly marks the syntactic organization of the utterance, dividing it into phrases, clauses, and sentences. The epenthesis of the mid-front vowel *e* to morphemes that underlyingly end in a consonant codes the clause- or sentence-final position, or a pause in all other positions. The phonological means, the epenthetic vowel *e*, the high tone, and the vowel *a* thus represent a class of morphemes that do not carry any meaning of their own but without which the utterance cannot be interpreted.

This grammaticalization has in turn resulted in the most important typological characteristic of Wandala, namely that the coding of some grammatical relations, such as subject and object, is distributed over a wide range of morphemes. With respect to these relations, and also for some other relations, the language is neither head-marking nor dependent-marking. While dependent marking never occurs, some suspected instances of head-marking, such as between the verb and the object or the verb and the subject, are to a large degree subsumed by the type of connection among the elements of the utterance.

A number of characteristics of Wandala phonology, morphology, and syntax differ considerably even from the closely related Chadic languages Lamang and Hdi. Wandala has three underlying vowels: *a*, *i*, and *u*; and six phonetic vowels: *a*, *i*, *u*, *ə*, *e*, and *o*. The three underlying vowels differ in the functions they perform. All three may be part of the underlying form of a lexical morpheme. Only one grammatical morpheme, however, has the phonetic realization *u*, which is most likely a predictable variant of the underlying *w*. Only one morpheme consists only of the vowel *i*. The vowel *a* is the only segment (tones may differ) of a large number of morphemes, including: the third-person singular subject and object pronoun; the locative predicator; the verbal plural marker; the goal marker; the genitive marker; the verbal noun marker; and the most widespread of all, a marker of one type of phrasal connection. Some of these functions may turn out to be related through grammaticalization processes, an interesting subject for a separate study.

Wandala has two tones. The functions of the tones differ among the various classes of morphemes. While both tones can be part of the underlying structure of a noun, tones are not part of the underlying structure of verbs but have an important grammatical function.

The language has a rich verbal morphology coding syntactic and semantic relations within the clause. An unusual characteristic of Wandala is that in clauses in which no noun phrase is topicalized, focused, or represents switch reference for the subject, there may be at most one nominal argument. This argument follows the verb. Subject pronouns must precede the verb (except in the backgrounding aspect) even if there is a nominal subject in the clause. These pronouns are not prefixes, as other constituents can separate them from the verb. The pragmatically neutral clause has the form $S_{[\text{pronoun}]}-V-(NP)$, where NP can be either a subject or an object. This configuration has far-reaching effects on other aspects of the grammar, viz. on the morphology of the verb and on the deployment of additional syntactic means. Interestingly, for a closely related Malgwa, Löhr 2002 states that Malgwa has the structure SVO, even if in the sample of texts attached to her grammar there are many clauses with the nominal subject following the verb.

Inflectional markers on the verb indicate the grammatical relation of the noun phrase following the verb; semantic relations within the clause; spatial orientations of the event; tense; aspect; mood; discourse status of the clause; and the point of view from which the proposition is presented. The negative marker and the content interrogative markers follow the verb and precede the nominal subject and objects, a structure that is shared by very few Central Chadic languages and is very rare in languages of the world (Dryer 2009). The semantic role of the noun phrase that follows the negative marker or the content-interrogative marker is marked by the form of the negative and interrogative markers.

In addition to the pronominal subjects that precede the verb, verbs can have subject suffixes that mark aspectual and modal functions different from those marked by subject pronouns preceding the verb. Subject pronouns follow the verb in the negative perfective.

The grammar of Wandala may well hold the key to the understanding of historical changes in Chadic syntax. Most Chadic languages are subject-initial. Some languages in the Central branch are predicate-initial in all tenses and aspects, and some languages are verb-initial in the perfective aspect and verb-medial in the imperfective aspect. Since the nominal argument in Wandala follows the verb and the pronominal subject precedes the verb, this language may represent an intermediate stage between subject-initial and verb-initial languages. However, a descriptive grammar is not the proper place to argue for different comparative analyses. Once the facts of Wandala are well understood, it may indeed serve as an exemplar of an intermediate stage in the study of syntactic change in languages without a written tradition.

The present grammar dispels several misconceptions regarding the phonological, morphological, and syntactic structure of Wandala, misconceptions that have percolated into a number of comparative Chadic studies, including some by this author.

6. An outline of the grammar of Wandala

6.1 Phonology

The language has a rich consonantal inventory. There are over forty consonantal segments. Some segments are simple in the sense of having one place of articulation, and others are complex ('heavy', in Frajzyngier 2004) in the sense of having two or more places of articulation. There are three underlying vowels. There are significant differences in the phonotactics of consonants and vowels in the underlying structures and in phonetic realizations. Although a number of morphemes underlyingly end in a consonant or consist of a consonant (and tone) only, no word, apart from some ideophones and a few very recent borrowings, can end in a consonant in isolation in the surface structure. Since glides also require an epenthetic vowel in word-final position, this provides a piece of evidence that glides in Wandala are phonologically consonants.

Word- and morpheme-final vowels constitute a major coding means for the syntactic system of Wandala. Only two vowels may occur in the word-final position: *a*, for the majority of lexical items, and *e*. The vowel *e* in the clause-internal position signals a pause. The vowel *e* is epenthetic in this position and is suffixed to morphemes that underlyingly end in a consonant. In clause-internal, non-pre-pausal position, most lexical items and grammatical morphemes can end in either a consonant or the vowel *a*.

Although the underlying forms can begin with complex consonant clusters, including geminated consonants, only some clusters are allowed in the word-initial position in the phonetic realization. The presence of the word-final vowel codes the phrase-final position. The absence of the word-final vowel codes the clause-internal position. Vowels that are grammatical morphemes by themselves rather than part of a grammatical morpheme are not deleted.

Wandala has labial and palatal harmonies triggered by consonants but having vowels as their targets.

Tone plays an important role in the grammatical system, coding tense, mood, aspects, relationships between nouns, and semantic relationships within a proposition. The tone also codes several lexical distinctions. Tone also has an important, although at present poorly understood, role in the rhythmic structure of the utterance. The rhythmic structure does not coincide with the

lexical and morphological divisions of the utterance, as demonstrated throughout this grammar in the broad phonetic transcription (first line) of many examples. There are complex rules concerning tonal behavior accompanying vowel fusion, vowel insertion, and vowel deletion. Most generally, the low tone is replaced by the high tone when two vowels fuse.

6.2 Lexical categories

In addition to nouns and verbs, Wandala has a relatively large number of adjectives and adverbs. It also has a category ‘predicator’. Predicators differ from verbs in a number of characteristics.

Within the nominal system, there is a class of nouns characterized by the reduplicated second syllable; the class comprises a large number of body parts, names of animals, and insects. No syntactic consequences are associated with this class.

6.3 Morphology

Affixation in Wandala includes suffixes, a very few prefixes, and one infix. Grammatical morphemes that precede verbs, including subject pronouns, are not phonologically linked to the verb and can be separated from the verb by other morphemes. Prefixes have been observed only in the nominal system, and in most cases are not productive, representing vestiges of an older grammatical system.

Infixation has been observed only in verbs and is limited to just one morpheme *a*, potentially an Afroasiatic retention (Greenberg 1951) coding the plurality of the verb.

Suffixes occur in all lexical categories. They are added to nouns or verbs before these lexical items are inserted into a higher formal structures, e.g. a phrase or a clause. Suffixes on verbs code semantic and grammatical relations within the clause, directionality, point of view, verbal nouns, and a host of other categories. Suffixes on nouns code plural number, genitive relation, and pronominal possession. Suffixes added to numerals and adjectives derive nouns.

Tones on verbs and subject pronouns code tenses, aspects, and moods.

Reduplication is a major morphological means available in different lexical categories. Reduplication has different forms and different functions even within the same lexical category. Some functions of reduplication are shared across lexical categories. Reduplication may also have phrases in its scope. The reduplication of the interrogative phrase *jìbà rà* ‘thing Q’ yields a nominal category *jìbà-r-jìbà-rà* ‘all kinds of things, whatnot’. Verbs have two types of complete reduplication, each type coding a different aspect. Reduplication is also a means to derive adverbs from other lexical categories.

Gemination of consonants is available as a coding means for verbs only. It has two functions within the verbal system. In the imperfective aspect, it marks transitive verbs when there is no overt nominal or pronominal object in the clause. It also codes the imperative mood.

Nominal inflectional morphology is limited to the plural suffix added to some nouns only and the genitive marker coding one type of relationship between two nouns.

Verbal inflectional morphology, viz. reduplication, infixation, and suffixation, codes aspect (reduplication, tone); mood (tone); number (infixation and reduplication); subject; direct and indirect object; goal; ventive extension; applicative extension; spatial configuration of the event; and co-participation. Functions referred to as 'causative' in traditional literature are subsumed under the category 'goal', which, however, has a much larger scope. The language has no passive form, i.e. a form indicating that the subject of a transitive verb is not the expected controller but rather the affected argument.

Inflectional changes on subject pronouns that precede the verb code tense. Auxiliary verbs and prepositions code aspectual systems, modality, altrilocality, and sequential clauses.

6.4 Linear order as a coding means

The juxtaposition of two nouns is a coding means for kinship relations. The juxtaposition of a [+locative] verb and a toponym referring to a Wandala town or a noun from a very limited set is a coding means for locative predication. Locative predication with other nouns, including other toponyms, requires the use of prepositions.

Subject pronouns precede the verb but are not prefixed to the verb, in that they are not part of the phonological unit represented by the predicate. They can occur in verbless clauses, and they can follow the verb in negative perfective.

Constraints on the linear order interact with the morphology of the verb and with the phonological means of coding throughout the grammatical system.

6.5 The internal organization of the utterance

All prepositional phrases begin a new phonological phrase, as evidenced by the fact that lexical items that have the root- and phrase-final *a/e* vowel alternations have the vowel *e* before the prepositional phrase, including in the position before the locative predicator *a*.

A most interesting case is presented by the question words *m* 'where', *w* 'what', and *wàr* 'who', which in the phrase-final form have what appears to

be the epenthetic vowel *e*, viz. *mè*, *wè*, and *wàrè*; end in a consonant before an object; and have the vowel *a*, viz. *mà*, *wà*, and *wàrà*, before the subject.

6.6 The structure of the noun phrase

Nominal and adjectival modifiers, determiners, and quantifiers follow the head. Some adjectives, however, can function as the head because they not only occur in phrase-initial position in the noun phrase but can also be linked to the following noun by the genitive marker. Wandala shares this interesting characteristic with certain other Chadic languages, e.g. Hausa (Newman 2000).

Wandala makes a most interesting distinction between two types of nominal modification: kinship terms and some ethnonyms, where modification is coded by juxtaposition of the head and modifier (in that order), and all other relations, where modification is coded by the genitive marker *á* added to the head. Most modifiers follow the head, although adjectives can both precede and follow the head.

6.7 Grammatical relations within a clause

The language makes a distinction between the grammatical relations ‘subject’ and ‘object’. There exist distinct sets of subject and object pronouns. The coding of the grammatical roles of nominal arguments crucially depends on the inherent properties of verbs. Some verbs take the controller as their unmarked argument, and others take the affected entity as their unmarked argument. The coding of the grammatical roles of noun phrases is subsumed by a much broader distinction between the root, root + *a*, and root + *á* forms that precede nominal arguments. Either the nominal objects or the nominal subject can occur after the verb, but they do not have to immediately follow the verb. Constituents other than arguments can follow the verb. Since both arguments can occupy the same position in the clause, a nominal subject and a nominal object cannot co-occur in the same clause unless one of them is fronted. The fronting of an argument codes topicalization, focus, or switch reference. The distinction between the nominal subject and the nominal object, a fascinating issue in Wandala syntax, is coded by subject pronouns and, most important, by the ending on the morpheme preceding the argument. This morpheme can be the verbal stem, a verbal extension, the negative morpheme, a question word, or a few other constituents. Use of the root + *a* form of these morphemes indicates that the following noun is the subject, while use of the root form indicates that the following noun is the object. The grammatical relation is thus coded by a combination of two means: the lexical category ‘noun’ and the ending on the preceding morpheme.

When the noun phrase directly follows the verb, the distinction between the subject and object depends on the aspect and on the inherent transitivity of the verb. In the perfective aspect of transitive verbs, the ending *a* on the verb indicates that the following noun phrase is the subject. The root ending indicates that the following noun phrase is the object. In other aspects and with other types of verbs, the ending *a* on the verb may code the following noun phrase as the object.

Subject-initial and object-initial structures, SV and OV respectively, when they occur, are products of the resumption of a preceding argument in a subsequent clause.

6.8 Semantic relations within the clause

The semantic relations that may be coded in the clause include: the indirect object; the affected subject or object; the co-participants; the associative argument; the source and the target for predicates involving movement.

The coding of indirect objects depends on the inherent properties of verbs. Verbs that take an indirect object as their inherent characteristic, such as the verb ‘to give’ and some verbs of saying, are marked by an object pronoun that indicates the indirect object. Verbs that do not inherently take indirect objects must have an object pronoun followed by the third-person singular object pronoun. The third-person singular object pronoun codes the indirect object function of the preceding object pronoun.

The affectedness of the subject or another argument is coded by the applicative extension *v*. An event performed for the benefit of the subject or another argument is coded by the ventive extension *w'*, realized as *ú* in the inter-consonantal position. The associative relation is coded by the extension *án*, identical with the associative preposition. The spatial relations are coded by the source extension *s*, the target extension *t*, the inner-space extension *m*, and the ‘on’ extension *ar*.

6.9 Number

The verbal system codes number in two ways. The plurality of the addressee in the imperative is coded through the suffix *wa*. The infix *a* codes plurality of the event, which in the case of transitive verbs may imply plurality of the object. This means constitutes a retention from an earlier grammatical system, possibly going as far back as Proto-Afroasiatic (Greenberg 1951).

There is one plural marker in the nominal system, *a* or *ahà*. This marker is used mainly with human nouns. It does not, however, have to be used if the noun is modified by a numeral larger than one.

6.10 Locative predication

The functional domain of the locative predication includes the following functions: directional predication, stative predication, point of view, spatial orientation with respect to the locative complement, manner, and altrilocality.

The forms of locative predications in all functions depend on the inherent properties of the predicates and the complements. If the predicate is inherently locative and the complement is inherently locative, no locative predicator or preposition is used in the predication. If the predicate is not inherently locative, the locative predicator *á* must precede the complement. If the predicate is locative but separated from the complement by other material, such as the subject or the object, the predicator *á* must also precede the complement. If the complement is not inherently locative, i.e., if it is not a locative adverb; a noun corresponding to ‘home’, ‘compound’, ‘town’; or a place where Wandala live, the locative complement must be marked by a preposition. Spatial specifiers that situate the subject or object with respect to the locative complement may in turn follow a preposition.

Directionality of the event is coded by the auxiliary verbs *dà* ‘depart’ and *sà* ‘come from’, which follow the main verb of the clause. The markers of directionality may occur even if the main verbs are *dà* ‘depart’ and *sà* ‘come from’. Verbs coding the manner of movement precede verbs coding directionality.

Altrilocality indicates that the event happens at a place different from the place where subject is or will be. Altrilocality can be coded either from the point of view of the preceding place or from the point of view of the subsequent place. Altrilocality coding differs from the coding of directionality in that the markers of altrilocality, derived from the verbs *dà* ‘depart’ and *sà* ‘come from’, are first in the construction, and the other verbs are considered complements of the verbs coding altrilocality.

6.11 Locative extensions

Wandala has grammaticalized a number of locative verbal extensions involving movement of the subject or object. The category ventive codes movement toward the speaker or the place of speech. The inner-space extension *m* indicates movement of the subject or object into an enclosed space. The target extension *t* indicates movement toward a target. The source extension *s* indicates movement from the source. The latter two extensions add directionality to the verbs of movement and the features ‘movement’ and ‘directionality’ to the verbs that do not code movement. Both extensions have acquired other, non-locative, functions.

6.12 Adjuncts

Adjuncts, or noun phrases that can be added to any clause, can be coded by four means: (1) inherent lexical adverbs; (2) adverbs derived through the reduplication of any lexical item; (3) the destinative preposition *gà*; or (4) complexes consisting of the predicate *á* followed by preposition *t* or *m*. Adverbs can occur in clause-initial or clause-final position, but they cannot occur in the position between the verb and the argument.

Targets of comparison are a type of adjuncts as they can be added to a number of predications. Equal comparison is coded by the preposition *skè*, which precedes the target of comparison. Unequal predication is coded through the verb *jà* ‘surpass’. The target of predication can be marked by the preposition *ár* ‘on’, by the destinative preposition *gà* ‘to’ or by the associative preposition *án*.

6.13 Verbless predication

Verbless predications serve a variety of functions, whose only common characteristic is the absence of the verb. Locative verbless predication must have the locative predicator *á*. The form of the locative verbless predication is: S *á* (PREP) NP.

Equational predication has the form NP NP, with the first NP being the subject. Attributive predication has property concepts preceding the subject. Property concepts have the root + *a* form preceding the subject even if their citation forms end in the vowel *e*.

Affirmative existential predication has the predicate *ánkwà* preceding or following the element whose existence is asserted. The different word orders code the information status of either the predicate or the element whose existence is asserted. Negative existential predication is coded by the form *ákà* following the element whose existence is denied.

Possessive predication has the form NP1 *án* NP2, where NP1 represents the possessor and NP2 the possessum.

6.14 Aspect

There are different aspectual systems in affirmative and negative clauses. In the affirmative clause, the aspectual system distinguishes: the perfective aspect, which has a variety of forms coding the grammatical roles of the following nouns; an imperfective aspect formed with the verbal noun; an imperfective aspect formed through the subject pronoun followed by the reduplicated verbal noun; the backgrounding aspect, which has the form R1ProR2; the punctual aspect, formed with the suffix *hè*; and the inceptive aspect, formed with the auxiliary *tsè*. The elicited data demonstrate also the

existence of the progressive aspect, formed through the particle *t-irè*, which appears to be a composite structure consisting of the preposition *t* ‘on’ and the noun *irè* ‘head’; and the stative aspect, formed with the associative preposition *án*. The roles of noun phrases are marked in different ways, depending on the aspect and on the inherent properties of verbs.

A verb in the punctual aspect represents the event as a whole, and cannot be followed by a nominal object. A nominal subject can be added to the punctual aspect only with the destinative preposition *gə*.

In addition to aspectual distinctions, various aspects carry different discourse functions. The backgrounding aspect provides the background for the interpretation of the following clauses within the same sentence. It also provides the comment on the preceding clauses within the same sentence. The punctual aspect provides the discourse background for the following narrative.

6.15 Tense

The tense system of Wandala includes the unmarked form coded by low tone on the subject pronoun. This form can have reference to the past or the general present. This form is in contrast with the specific present, coded by high tone on the subject pronoun. This form refers to a specific time in the present, which may be the time of speech or another time defined in the previous discourse. The future tense is coded by the auxiliary *d*, derived from the verb ‘go to’, or by the verb *kàtə* ‘want’. The specific past time is coded by high tone on monosyllabic verbs and on the final syllable of bisyllabic verbs. The subject pronoun has low tone in the specific past. Trisyllabic verbs code the specific past by high tone on the first syllable.

6.16 Mood

The unmarked clause in Wandala codes the speaker’s belief in the truth of the proposition. The evidence for this hypothesis is provided by the fact that the hypothetical and all other moods must be overtly marked. The hypothetical mood and hedging on the truth can be coded by a variety of means, including the marker *má* in clause-initial position. Another means is the use of the expression *bà kà* ‘you say’.

The deontic modality has two sub-domains, imperative (an order to the addressee(s)), and obligative (wishes with respect to all grammatical persons). The imperative is coded through gemination of the initial consonant. This gemination triggers a number of phonological changes, including the insertion of epenthetic vowels and the raising of the tone on the first syllable of the verb. The obligative mood is coded through the high tone subject pronoun followed by the imperative form of the verb.

6.17 Negation

Negation of verbal clauses is coded through the obligatory negative morpheme *k* (*kà* in phrase-final position) placed after the verb and before the nominal subject or object. The position of negative markers in Wandala is the same as the position of question words in interrogative clauses, which also precede the subject or the object of the clause. Negation can also be coded by the morpheme *tà* placed between the subject pronoun and the verb. This morpheme must co-occur with the negative marker *k*. There is a special verb coding the non-existence or the absence of an entity, the negative equivalent of a predicate coding the existence of an entity. The reduplicated form of the verb, which codes backgrounding aspect, cannot occur in negative clauses. The system of aspects in negative clauses is different from aspects in affirmative clauses in that it consists of a completive and non-completive distinction. The non-completive aspect is coded by the form Pro V(root) NEG. The completive aspect is coded by the form V-*a*-Pro NEG. Within the non-completive aspect there is a distinction between the unmarked and specific present tense. Prohibitive predication has the root form of the verb with high tone followed by the negative marker *kà*.

6.18 Questions

There is a fundamental difference between the coding of polar questions and the coding of content questions. Polar questions can be coded by intonation or by the particle *hè*, which occurs after the predicate but before the arguments or adjuncts. This marker thus occurs in the same position as the negative marker *k*. Polar questions can also be coded by the disjoint conjunction *mtú* ‘or’.

Polar questions can have the simple or the reduplicated form of the verb, and accordingly have a full range of tenses and aspects.

Content questions can be marked in two ways. One is through question words that code the semantic classes ‘human’, ‘non-human’, and ‘place’. Other classes, such as ‘reason’, are derived through the use of prepositions with a content question word. Content question words, similarly to the polar question marker *hè*, occur after the verb but before the nominal arguments and adjuncts. The grammatical role of the content question word is coded through the same means that code the grammatical role of the nominal arguments. These means depend on the inherent properties of verbs. The grammatical role of the nominal arguments that follow the question words is marked in the same way that all other morphemes mark grammatical roles: the root ending indicates that the following noun phrase is the object, and the root + *a* form indicates that the following noun phrase is the subject.

The other means of coding content questions is through the use of various nouns together with the content interrogative marker *rà*.

The tense and aspectual system in content questions is reduced, in that no reduplicated form of the verb can be used in content questions.

6.19 Comment clause

Wandala has grammaticalized a type of dependent clause here called ‘comment clause’. The syntactic environments of the comment clause, i.e. the categories that precede the comment-clause marker *wá*, do not have much in common. This indicates that the presence of the comment-clause marker *wá* is not triggered by the properties of the phrases or clauses that precede it. In all cases, the marker *wá* is followed by a clause, hence the evidence that it is some type of clause marker. But not all clauses, even those in complex sentences, are preceded by the comment-clause marker *wá*. The fact that the presence of the marker *wá* cannot be predicted from the material that precedes it or that follows it is the evidence that it is an independent coding means, a property shared by complementizers in other languages (Frajzyngier 1996).

The form *wá* marks the following clause as being a comment on what precedes it. It is also a part of the preceding clause or phrase. The marker *wá* indicates to the listener that something else follows in the utterance and that this something else is a comment on the immediately preceding material.

6.20 Topicalization

The main means of coding topicalization is the fronting of the topicalized element with a subsequent separation of the topicalized noun phrase from the comment clause, which may be marked by the marker *wá*. This separation may be marked by a pause, by the root + *a* form, or by a determiner that follows the topicalized element. The determiners indicate that the listener should identify the topicalized element as being previously mentioned in the discourse.

The grammatical relations of the topicalized noun phrase are coded through subject and object pronouns. The grammatical relation ‘object’ is coded through the third-person object pronoun *n* suffixed to the verb. Adjuncts are coded through the markers of adjuncts preceding the noun phrase. The absence of the object pronoun on the verb, and the absence of any markers of adjuncts, indicate that the topicalized noun phrase is the subject.

6.21 Focus

There are two focus constructions in Wandala. One uses the particle *bà* preceding the element in focus. The focused element, which can be any component of the utterance, remains in situ. Any constituent of the clause can be in the scope of the focus.

The other focus construction, contrastive focus, uses the form *kínì*, which follows the element in focus. Contrastive focus on nominal subjects often involves placing the subject in the clause-initial position. Such subjects are followed by the particle *kínì*.

6.22 Reference system

The major subdomains within the domain of reference in Wandala are deixis, deixis with previous mention, previous mention (without deixis); deduced reference; indefiniteness; and switch reference. The coding means involved in the coding of these subdomains are deictic markers and anaphoric markers; overt use of nouns; pronouns and determiners; word order, and the use of an existential verb to code indefiniteness.

6.23 Paratactic constructions

Like most Chadic languages (Frajzyngier 1996), Wandala does not have a coordinated clausal conjunction whose role would be to instruct the listener to interpret two or more clauses in connection with each other. Instead, clauses are marked for a specific semantic relation with either a preceding or a following clause, and some markers indicate a connection with both the preceding and the following material.

The specific semantic relations of a clause include: temporal simultaneity, coded by asyndetic parataxis; counter-expectation, marked mainly by the borrowed marker *à(m)má*; exclusive clauses, coded by the marker *mtú* 'or'; temporal apodosis clauses, coded by the form *nábà*; and temporal protasis clauses coded by the form *dà*. The scope of any of these overt markers may be a sentence or a discourse, which is the case when the marker occurs in a sentence consisting of a single clause.

6.24 Complementation

The coding means within the domain of complementation include complementizers, the nominalized form of the complement clause, and, to a lesser extent, the clausal order.

The most frequent clausal order is matrix clause-complement clause. Content-interrogative complements of verbs of saying may precede the matrix clause.

Direct speech may be preceded by the complementizer *gàní* or the complementizer *dàgìyá* 'behold', or it may be marked by a pause preceding it.

The comment-clause marker *wá* precedes the complement clause of a variety of verbs when some other material, such as a nominal subject, occurs between the verb and the complement clause. The complement clause preced-

ed by the comment marker *wá* may be direct or indirect speech, and may have indicative or deontic modality.

Matrix coding of the subject of the complement clause marks direct perception. The absence of matrix coding marks indirect perception.

6.25 Conditional and temporal clauses

Conditional and temporal clauses share the property of having both protasis and apodosis clauses. While apodosis clauses of the two types of sentences share many similarities, the protasis clauses are quite different. The conditional protasis is coded by the hypothetical marker *má*. The temporal protasis clause can code the time simultaneous with the time of the apodosis clause, the time before the time of the apodosis clause, and the time after the time of the apodosis clause. These different time relations are coded by the use of prepositions. The time before that of the protasis clause may also be marked through the backgrounding aspect, i.e. the form R1ProR2.

6.26 Adjunct clauses

Adjunct clauses follow the matrix clause. They are marked by the subordinators *wàrà* and *mbàtə̀*, by the predicator *á*, and by the destinative preposition *gə̀*. The use of the altrilocality constructions with the auxiliary verbs *s* ‘come’ and *d* ‘go’ implies that the clause that follows the auxiliaries is a purpose clause.

6.27 The relative clause

The head always precedes the relative clause. There is a fundamental difference in Wandala between the relativization of the subject and the relativization of other grammatical relations. The relativization of the subject involves placing the nominal subject in the clause-initial position, and additional coding of the subject through the subject pronoun.

The relativization of the object involves placing the nominal object in the clause-initial position and the pronominal subject before the verb and a nominal or pronominal subject after the verb. The remaining grammatical and semantic relations are coded by prepositions.

6.28 Discourse characteristics

Most of the questions concerning discourse structure in Wandala remain to be explored. I have no information regarding conversations between men and women, between children and adults, and conversations involving multiple participants.

7. The sources and the nature of the data

The data analyzed in the present grammar were gathered at various times since 1980, with the bulk of the data being gathered starting in 2004. The data consist of texts in natural use and elicited sentences. Elicited sentences are used to provide the evidence for hypotheses regarding the underlying forms and their phonetic realizations. Elicited utterances also serve to assess whether gaps in the natural-language data are due to the fact that a given form happens not to occur in the texts gathered or whether the gap is systematic, i.e., whether the grammatical system does not include a given form and/or function. Hypotheses about the function of a linguistic form are supported with a combination of natural language data and elicited utterances to check for ungrammaticality. The elicited utterances bear the hallmarks of the way they were obtained: they are short and non-idiomatic, their subject matter is quite artificial, and they usually are complete sentences. In citations of Wandala, the elicited sentences should not be used to illustrate a function.

The following were the principal language assistants over the course of the years:

Seini Adjil Alhadji, born in February 1971 in Mora, son of a Wandala father and a Kanuri mother. The family spoke Wandala at home. He was raised and educated in Mora, where he completed secondary school (*lycée*). During the time of the data-gathering he was a teacher in an Islamic elementary school. In addition to Wandala, he speaks Fula, French, and Kanuri. For several years, he served as co-host of a Wandala-language program at the radio station in Maroua.

Hamidou Zake Umar, born around 1967, was at one time a student at the University of Yaoundé.

Oumaté Mahamat was born in 1974 in Mora to Wandala parents. He graduated from a *lycée* in Mora and spent one year in N'Djamena. His other education included one year of management and information technology. Ali Mahamat, about 40 years old at the time of the data-gathering, is the brother of Oumaté Mahamat and has two years of education at the University of Yaoundé.

Ramadan Abba was born in 1953 in the Antale neighborhood of Mora. His father and mother were Wandala, his spouse is Wandala, and Wandala is the language spoken at home. In addition to French, he has some knowledge of Fula and Hausa.

In addition to the above assistants, other speakers of Wandala helped over shorter time periods (one or two days). All language assistants displayed great patience and understanding, for which I am most thankful.

The identification of plants mentioned in the grammar was done either directly, when I happened to know the name (very few cases), or indirectly, through the name of the plant in Fula. I used Tourneaux and Daïrou 1998 to

identify the plants whose names I obtained in Fula. The identification of birds was done with the help of Serle and Morel 1993. For the identification of mammals I used Halternoth and Diller 1985, and for insects I used Boorman 1981. The identification of Kanuri borrowings was done with the help of Hutchison 1981, Jarett 2007, and the electronic form of his Kanuri dictionary kindly provided by Norbert Cyffer. For Arabic borrowings, I relied on de Pommerol 1999, and for Fula borrowings I consulted Noye 1989 and Tourneaux and Daïrou 1998.

Chapter 2

Phonology

1. The aim of the chapter

The aim of the present chapter is to propose an underlying segmental and tonal system for Wandala and rules for the realization of morphemes within an utterance and in isolation. The fundamental rules that determine the phonological structure of the utterance in Wandala, viz. vowel alternations and vowel epenthesis, operate within phonological phrases rather than within a word. The phonological form of a morpheme in isolation is quite different from its form within an utterance. The phonological rules of word-final vowel deletion and vowel retention are a means to code phrasal boundaries. The rules of vowel insertion are determined by syllabic structure within the phrase rather than within a word. The phonotactics of consonants and vowels is determined by the constraints on syllabic structure, again within a phrase rather than within a word. The chapter is organized as follows: It begins with a description of the consonantal system, including evidence for the underlying consonants and their phonotactics, followed by a description of the vocalic system and the phonotactics of vowels. This is followed by the description of syllables and syllabic constraints. The chapter concludes with the discussion of tone.

2. Consonantal system

2.1 The inventory of underlying consonants

Wandala has a rather rich consonantal system, both in the underlying and in the phonetic inventory. There are over forty underlying consonantal segments (Table 2.1). Glides are underlyingly consonants, as demonstrated further in this chapter.

The phonetic consonants include all of the segments in Table 2.1 plus the velar continuant *x*, palatal nasal *ɲ*, palatalized stops, palatalized fricatives and lateral continuants, glottalized consonants, and liquids, represented as *b'*, *d'*, *g'*, *k'*, *f'*, *l'*, *ʃ'* and *l'*, *ʃ'*, and *d'*. The palatalized variants occur before the palatal glide *y*. The palatalization of consonants, being fully predictable, is not further marked throughout this grammar. The palatal underlying segments are represented as *py*, *dy*, *dʲy*, *ky*, *gy*, and *ʃy*.

There are two tests of mono-segmental rather than cluster status of complex consonants. One is provided by the rules of epenthesis. The epenthetic vowel is inserted between segments. Therefore, if an epenthetic vowel cannot be inserted between the perceptually initial and final components of a sound, that sound represents a complex single segment. If an epenthetic vowel can occur there, the sound represents a cluster of underlying segments.

Table 2.1 Underlying consonants and glides

	Lab.	Alv.	Pal.	Pal-Vel	Velar	Lab-Vel	Glottal
Stops							
Voiceless	p	t	py	ky	k	kp	
Voiced	b	d	dy	gy	g		
Prenasalized		mb	nd			ŋg	
Glottalized	b	ɸ	y'	ɣy		ɣw	
Affricates							
		ts	c				
		dz	j				
Continuants							
Voiceless	f	s	ʃ				h
Voiced	v	z		ʒ			
Nasals							
	m	n		ɲ	ŋ		
Liquids							
		r		ry			
		l					
Lateral continuants							
Voiceless		ɬ					
Voiced		ɮ					
Glides							
	w		y				

Another test of segmental structure is provided by the formation of the plural form of verbs through the insertion of the vowel *a* after the first consonant of the root. In the case of prenasalized stops, this vowel is inserted after the stop component rather than after the nasal component. Thus the verb *mbd'* 'fall (about objects in initial vertical position, single event)' has the plural *mbàd'* 'fall (plural event)' rather than **màbd'* or **màbàd'*.

2.2 Evidence for the underlying status of consonants and their phonetic realization

The evidence for the underlying status of consonants is provided by contrast with other segments having the same place or the same manner of articulation.

In the examples below, verbs are represented in the imperative form ending in the vowel *a*. This representation is intended to facilitate reading and

does not represent the underlying forms. No examples of phrase-final consonants are given, because no consonant can occur in this position.

Labials

- p The voiceless labial stop, like all other voiceless stops, is unaspirated. *pát'è* 'short, brief', *pàfà* 'milk (V)', *áp̄f̄áp̄f̄à* 'grill (meat, peanuts)', *pàcàkálè* 'pubic apron', *pàtàrì* 'skirt'.
- b *bá* 'say', *bìdàlà* 'adolescence (of donkeys and horses only)'. There are no instances of [b] in intervocalic position within a morpheme. In intervocalic position across morphemes and with no pause in between, the underlying *b* is realized as a geminated voiced continuant [vv]:

tà bú kùrd-á → [táv̄vùkùrdá]
 3PL two all-GEN
 'Both of them . . .'

Borrowed words that have voiced bilabial stops in their original languages are realized with voiceless bilabial stops in Wandala, e.g. *tàpìskè* 'a variety of bread', cf. Chadian Arabic *tabuska* 'large beignets made from guinea corn'. Some phonetic instantiations of [b] represent the realization of the underlying *v* before a voiced continuant *z*.

- 6 *ḃákà* 'NEG.EX'. Glottalized consonants are voiceless.
- f *fà* 'put', *wáf̄kè* 'face', *fè* 'field', *fùŋwà* 'blow the nose'. Before voiceless continuants and affricates, the labial continuant becomes a labial stop: *f* → *p* / ___C[-voice, +continuant]. The verb *fìsà* [ptsà] 'return' has the plural form *fàtsà* 'return many times', not **pàtsà*.
- v *và* 'give', *vràndé* 'brown' (about persons only). The voiced labial continuant *v* becomes a stop when preceding the continuants *l*, *ʒ*, *z*, *s*, and *f*. The feature [voice] of the bilabial stop is determined by the feature [voice] of the continuant, hence the rule *v* → bilabial stop [αvoice] / ___C[αvoice, +continuant]. The evidence for the existence of this rule is provided by the behavior of the applicative extension, which is realized as [v] before voiced consonants and in intervocalic position and as [p] before voiceless continuants. Compare the two forms of the verb *ly* 'mature'. In the first the applicative extension is word-final, realized as *vá*, and in the second, it is word-internal preceding the consonant *l*, and realized as [p]: *tà-vá* vs. *lyá-p-tyè*. The evidence that the continuant becomes a voiced bilabial stop in front of a voiced continuant is provided by the alternations of the verb /vzà/

‘jump’. The citation form of this verb is *bzà*. The plural form of this verb is *vàzà*, not **bàzà*. Similarly the plural of the verb *ábǵyà* ‘throw’ is *váǵyà* ‘throw many things’.

mb *mbdâ* ‘fall’. The evidence that the sequence *mb* represents a single segment is provided by the imperative form for the singular addressee of the simple verb, which is derived through gemination of the first consonant of the verb. In *mbá-mbâdâ* ‘fall!’, the sequence *mb* is geminated, with an epenthetic vowel inserted after the first instantiation of *mb*.

Alveolars

t *mtù* ‘or’, *t* ‘target extension’. *t* becomes voiced when preceded by a vowel and followed by a sonorant:

(1a) *mbà-t-mbà kàrà* → [mbà**d**mbà kàrà]
lit-T-lit:PB fire
‘the fire lit up’

d *d* ‘go’, *dàgzà* ‘flow (as a liquid) and make noise at the same time’. The consonant *d* does occur in the intervocalic position within a morpheme. The voiced stop *d* becomes voiceless in front of a voiceless obstruent:

(1b) *à d kàtà gyálè* → [à**t**xàtègyáalè]
3SG SEQ want girl
‘He wanted to marry a girl . . .’

dy The evidence that *dy* is a single segment is provided by the imperative form of the verb *dy* ‘know’. The imperative for a single addressee is coded through gemination of the first consonant. For the verb *dy* ‘know’ such gemination involves insertion of an epenthetic vowel (*i*, in this case, because of the palatal consonant):

(2) *dyídyì púwá léyà*
know pour writing
‘know how to write!’

Compare a verb with a simple initial underlying segment *z*:

(3) *ázzà hìy-á-ηà*
eat corn-GEN-2SG
‘eat your corn!’

- d *hùdè* ‘belly’, *rdě* ‘fart’
- ɖy *ɖyéké* ‘fat one (about a person)’
- nd *ndrá* ‘braided hair’. The evidence for the existence of this prenasalized stop is provided by the fact that gemination of the initial consonant has the sequence *nd* rather than just *n* in its scope. The obligative form of the verb *ndr* ‘build’ is *ndàndâr brè* ‘one has to build a house’. The imperative form of this verb does not involve gemination, so gemination cannot be used as a test: *àndâr brè* ‘build a house!’.
- ts Voiceless alveolar affricate. *dâtsé* ‘cut with knife, machete’.
- c Voiceless palatal affricate. *ycá* ‘cut one thing with a knife, machete’.
- dz Voiced alveolar affricate, *dzrà* ‘select’, *gdzà* ‘small’. The speaker from Pulka produced a voiced fricative, *ágzàrà* ‘children’, rather than the affricate, as attested in Mora: *ágdzàrà* ‘children’.
- s *sà* ‘come’, *bàŋgúsà* ‘papaya’. The alveolar *s* is palatalized before a high-front vowel *i* and becomes *ʃ*. There are no instances of the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in front of a high front vowel [i].
- z *zà* ‘locative marker for [+human] nouns’. The voiced alveolar fricative is palatalized before a high front vowel. The noun *žílé* ‘man, husband’ may well have the underlying *z* rather than *ž*, cf. *zálà* ‘men’.

Palatals

- c *ìcìcá* ‘cut!’ (imperative form with initial epenthetic vowel)
- j *jà* ‘hit’, *njà* ‘sit’
- ʃ *foyà* ‘story’, *ʃkw* ‘buy’
- ž *žàrà* ‘see’, *žàgàdè* ‘run’

The palatals *ʃ* and *ž* contrast with clusters consisting of an alveolar consonant and the palatal glide. In addition, they are in contrast with a palatal consonant followed by the palatal glide, of the type *ʃyi*, although these are realized phonetically as long vowels: [ʃiili] ‘sand’. Therefore, the segments *ʃ* and *ž* are phonemic.

Velars

k *klà* ‘run (about liquids without making noise)’. The voiceless velar stop becomes voiced when followed by a voiced stop or a nasal consonant:

- (4a) *yá nà-k-ná* → [yá nà-g-ná]
 1SG look-2SG-look
 ‘I am looking at you’

The voiceless velar stop becomes voiceless continuant after a voiceless stop or before a vowel:

- (4b) *à d kàtà gyálè* → [àtxàtègyáalè]
 3SG SEQ want girl
 ‘He wanted to marry a girl . . .’

ky *kyàbà* ‘disperse, scatter’ (a plural verb); *kyéɲnè* ‘dark red, blood color’.

g *gè* preposition ‘to, for’, *gà* ‘contract a marriage’. Unlike *b* and *d*, *g* can occur in intervocalic position within a morpheme: *màgà* ‘make’.

The velar voiced stop becomes the velar nasal before the voiceless velar stop:

- (5) *á màg-k péd-á-rà* → [á màŋ-k pédàrà]
 3SG make-NEG use-GEN-3SG
 ‘it does not make a force’ i.e. ‘has no validity’

gy *gyà* ‘cook’. The evidence for the monosegmental nature of *gy* (*y* is just a graphemic representation of palatalization) is provided by the fact that when the verb *gy* ‘cook’ receives the suffix *a*, the vowel *a* is not raised, e.g. *ègygyá* and *ìgygyá* both variants recorded for the imperative form. If there were a palatal glide in the underlying structure, the imperative form would have had only the first consonant *g* geminated. As it is, the first consonant is reduplicated together with its palatal feature.

gŷ *gŷirè* (1) ‘beans (generic term)’ (2) ‘smoke’, *gŷinà* ‘peanuts’, *gŷàwè* ‘playing pebbles’, *gŷimè* ‘soap tree’ (*Balanites aegyptiaca* (L.)), *gŷá* ‘leave, expel from body, defecate’; *gwàgŷé* ‘lower back of head’ compare with *gwàyè* ‘male baby’. The glottalized velar has been recorded only when palatalized or followed by the palatal glide. At-

tempts to discover the non-palatalized glottalized velar followed by the vowels *u* and *a* gave negative results. The phonemic status of the glottalized velar is established because of the contrast obtained between the palatal voiced velar, as in *gyà* ‘cook’, and the glottalized velar, as in *fyà* ‘defecate, expel other bodily substances’.

gw *gwà* ‘seasonal river’, *gwè* ‘elephant’, *gwè* ‘to help somebody in a fight’.

kp The labial velar *kp* has been recorded in the verb *ùkpádá* ‘have a pulsating pain’, as in a toothache, abscess, etc. The imperative of the verb *ùkpádá* is formed through the reduplication of the *kp*: *ùkpùkpádá* ‘crunch (peanuts, cola nuts)’. The labial velar *kp* is a heavy segment, as it requires vowel epenthesis before or after *kp* in word-initial and in word-medial positions, and does not allow vowel epenthesis between its velar and labial components.

Glottal continuant

h *he* ‘punctual marker’, *hè* interrogative marker, *háñnè* ‘pale red’, *hàrè* ‘night, 24-hour period’. The glottal continuant is realized as a velar continuant [x] before high-central vowels and before round vowels, *xàdà* ‘hide’, *xùdè* ‘belly’, *xàdòrà* ‘funeral’, [əxóngyàdà] ‘clean a cavity’. For some speakers only, the glottal continuant is also realized as a velar continuant before the vowel *a*.

The glottal continuant is realized as a velar continuant when followed by another glottal continuant: *h* → *x*/ __ *h*. The imperative of the simple form of the verb is derived through the gemination of the first consonant. Consequently, the verb *hàlà* ‘gather’ should have the imperative *hhàlà*. An epenthetic vowel is added at the beginning of the word, resulting in the form [əxhàlà].

The glottal continuant *h* becomes a voiced velar continuant when preceded by a vowel and followed by a voiced velar stop: *h* → *gh*/V __ *g*:

- (6) *àná bùm̀tsàgh* *gà* *dàdà*
à *nábà* *mtsà-hè* *gà* *dàdà*
 3SG then die-PNCT TO father
 ‘The father died.’

Some phonetic realizations of the glottal continuant are the product of continuant epenthesis in phrase-initial and intervocalic position, by the rules: $\emptyset \rightarrow h/\# _ a$ and $\emptyset \rightarrow h/a _ V$. The epenthetic glottal continuant, unlike the underlying glottal continuant, does not

occur after labial and alveolar stops. The verb ‘sleep’ is *p*. The noun *àrè* ‘night’ has no glottal continuant when following a consonant:

- (7) *ká dǎ pàrá má hùnà*
ká dǎ p-àr á-m á hùnà
 2SG FUT sleep-night PRED-IN PRED here
 ‘where will you sleep here?’ (i.e. there is no space here)

The noun *àrè* ‘night’ has a glottal continuant inserted after a pause:

- (8) *pà-w-pǎ àrè* → [pǒ-pǎ hǎrè]
 sleep-IMPER.PL-sleep night
 ‘sleep!’

The locative predicator *á* in phrase-initial position is realized as [há]:

- (9a) *á-m nj-á dùní-nà* → [há m já dùnínà]
 PRED-IN life-GEN world-DEM
 ‘In this life . . .’

The demonstrative *únà* ‘that’ becomes [húnà] when preceded by the locative predicator *á*:

- (9b) *á únà* → [á húnà]
 PRED that
 ‘here’

The citation form of the verb ‘to speak’ is *ndàhà*. In the phrase-internal position, the verb occurs without the final vowel and the glottal continuant *h* does not occur:

- (10) [yándàlvà wándàlà]
yá ndà lvà Wandala
 1SG speak language Wandala
 ‘I am speaking the Wandala language’

When the suffix *a* is added to a verb ending in the vowel *a*, the glottal continuant is inserted. Consider the verb *jà* ‘get together’. Its nominalized form is derived through the addition of the suffix *a*. This suffix triggers the insertion of the glottal continuant, lest the morphological coding be lost: *jà + a* → [jàhà]:

- (11) *tá* *jàhá-mmè*
 3PL unite-COL
 ‘They get together.’

When the suffix to the verb is consonantal rather than vocalic, there is no trace of *h*. If the glottal continuant *h* were the underlying consonant, an epenthetic vowel would have been required before the consonantal suffix. No such phenomenon has been recorded, and attempts to produce such a form were roundly rejected by speakers:

- (12) *tà* *já-mmè*
 3PL unite-COL
 ‘they met (on the road)’
- **tà* *jàh-á-mmè*
 3PL unite-EP COL
 ‘they met (on the road)’

Nasals

n *án* ‘associative preposition’.

m *m* ‘spatial specifier ‘IN’, *mákè* ‘week’.

ɲ *ɲàmlàkè* ‘dirty’, *ɲáɲà* ‘put in order’. The consonant *ɲ* is produced without a palatal glide. After the initial contact of the tongue with the palatal region, the tongue remains at the bottom of the mouth.

ŋ *ɲànè* ‘3SG’. In some dialects, this phoneme is pronounced as a velar nasal, e.g. [ŋár] ‘1EXCL’. In other dialects, it is pronounced as a velar nasal followed by a velar voiced stop [ŋgár]. A velar nasal occurs in the morpheme-initial position, both word-initial and word-medial, but there are no cases of the velar nasal in the morpheme-internal position.

Lateral continuants

ɬ *àklá* ‘cow’, *àklyà* ‘to get better’. This consonant is slightly palatalized before front vowels: *lèlè* ‘bone’, *pàtè* ‘confection made from ground millet mixed with sugar’.

ɮ *ɮáɮà* ‘go!’, *ɮàbè* ‘yet’. The voiced lateral fricative has a considerable narrowing just before the release, producing an impression of ending in a stop. In the voiceless lateral fricative, this characteristic is much

less pronounced, and in some dialects it does not have this characteristic at all. The voiced lateral fricative is reduced to [l] before an obstruent. The underlying sequence *ɬv* is realized phonetically as [lv]:

- (13a) à *kkəl-v-á* *zàdè*
 3SG break-APPL-GO stick
 ‘he broke a stick’

Cf.:

- (13b) à *kkəɬ-yà-n-vé*
 3SG break-1SG-3SG-APPL
 ‘he broke it for me’

Liquids

r *rà* ‘any’, *re* ‘nominalizing suffix’.

ry The segment *ry* is postulated to be a unitary segment because it behaves like one segment with respect to reduplication. The formation of plural forms of adjectives involves reduplication of the first three segments. However, in adjectives in which the third segment is the rhotic *r* followed by the palatal glide, both the rhotic and the glide undergo reduplication: *zàryá* ‘beautiful, nice (about things, people)’, plural form *zàrizàryá*. The derivation of this form has the following steps: *zàry-zàryá* → *zàryi zàryá*, followed by high vowel epenthesis and glide deletion: → *zàrizàryá*.

l *liipà* ‘an animal not slaughtered according to Moslem laws, hence forbidden to eat’, ‘carcass’; *umlè* ‘another’; *həŋkàlè* ‘spirit, ideas, memory, thoughts’ (borrowed, most probably from Hausa *hankali* ‘wisdom’, potentially from Arabic). The liquid *l* is deleted before the voiced lateral continuant. The verb *ɬálà* ‘walk’ occurs without the last vowel in the first reduplicated part (R1), which results in the cluster *ɬɬ*. Subsequently, this cluster is reduced to *ɬ*:

- (14) *ɬà-ɬálà*
 walk-walk
 ‘they walked’

The liquid *l* is also deleted before the rhotic when it is part of a three-consonant cluster:

- (15) *ɬàl-r-ɬálà* → [ɬàɾɬálà]
 walk-3-walk
 ‘they walked’

The epenthetic vowel after the liquids *r* and *l* is *e* rather than schwa, as is the case with majority of other consonants.

Glides

w *w* (*wà* phrase-final) ‘ventive extension’, *wá* ‘complementizer’.

y *yà* ‘first-person singular subject’. The palatal glide is deleted in intervocalic position, thus resulting in a sequence of two vowels.

An underlying glide in word-initial position followed by a consonant is realized as a corresponding back or front vowel. The following are the possible intermediate states: GC → GEC → EC, where G stands for the glide, C for the consonant, and E for the epenthetic vowel. Thus, the noun *wrà* ‘person’ is realized as [ùrà] ‘person’. When a glide occurs between consonants it requires insertion of an epenthetic vowel. The epenthetic vowel after the labial glide must be *u*, by the rules of epenthesis. The labial glide is subsequently deleted between the consonant and the vowel *u*. The sequence of rules is as follows:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow u/Cw_C$$

$$w \rightarrow \emptyset/C_uC$$

The first-person singular possessive pronoun *rwà*, e.g. *rv-á-rwà* ‘my hand’, is reduced to *rw* in phrase-internal position. If the next word begins with a consonant, an epenthetic vowel must be inserted after the labial glide to break up the sequence CCC. The epenthetic vowel must be *u*. Subsequently, the labial glide is deleted, and the vowel *u* is the only trace of the underlying labial glide:

- (16) *áyáwálvá rùbákà*
 á *yà-wá* *álvá-á-rwá* *bákà*
 well 1SG-COM word-GEN-1SG NEG.EX
 ‘Well, I have no words.’

The ventive marker *w’* is realized as *u* after a consonant:

- (17) *tádâ-n-ú-tádâ* *tápá*
 pull-1SG-VENT-pull tobacco
 ‘I smoked tobacco’ (finished the package of cigarettes)

If the glide is followed by a front vowel, it remains a glide:

- (18) \grave{a} *z-w-ížè* → [à zwižè]
 3SG eat-VENT-salt
 ‘he ate salt’

The ventive marker *w* is realized as *u* in word-final position when preceding a nominal object:

- (19) *kwánjárà-há-ŋrè* *ŋà* *fâfâ-n-n-ú*
 hook-1PL:GEN-1EXCL1EXCL put:PL-3SG-3SG-VENT
lúwà
 meat
 ‘We put the meat on our hooks.’

Similar rules apply to the palatal glide. The epenthetic vowel after the palatal glide must be [i]. The palatal glide is deleted before the front vowel, and the vowel *i* is the only trace of the underlying palatal glide. Consider the following example, where the first-person object pronoun *y* is followed by the target extension *t*. The verbal complex is followed by the object *úkkùlà* ‘chicken’. The palatal glide of the pronoun is reduced in the phrase-internal position, and consequently the sequence *v-y-t* produces the phonetic result [vit]:

- (20) \grave{a} *v-y-t* *úkkùlà* → à *v-yì-t-úkkùlà* → [à vitúkkùlà]
 3SG give-1SG-T chicken
 ‘he gave me a chicken’

The palatal glide can be deleted in the intervocalic position G[+pal] → Ø/V[-back ___ V2:

- (21) *fòì* *ŋáŋŋà* *yè* *cinné-yà* → [fòì ŋáŋŋà yè cinnéà]
 story DEF 1SG listen-1SG
 ‘the story that I heard’

The palatal glide is often deleted after a palatal consonant and before the epenthetic *i*. Thus, the verb whose underlying structure is /yc/ ‘cut’ is [yicá] (infinitival form), and when reduplicated it becomes [yicícà].

- y’ The glottalized palatal glide has been recorded in several nouns: *ŋy’á* ‘morning’; *ŋyé* ‘become a sorcerer, a monster’; *y’é* ‘back of the neck’.

3. Phonotactics of consonants

3.1 Introduction

The rules of phonotactics of underlying consonants differ from the rules of phonotactics for phonetic realizations. Wandala allows any two consonants in the underlying structures in word-initial position, including geminated consonants. In the phonetic structures, no geminated consonants may occur in word-initial position, and only some clusters are allowed in that position. In word-final position, some consonants may occur in the underlying structure, but there are no word-final consonants in the phonetic structure unless they form syllabic onsets with the next vowel or a sonorant. The phonotactics of the underlying structures does not take into consideration larger structures, such as the phrase, which must be taken into consideration in the phonotactics of phonetic realizations.

The structure of consonant clusters depends on whether the cluster is in word-initial or word-internal position. There are no consonant clusters in word-final position. There are no single consonants in pre-pausal position, e.g. in citation forms, in clause-final position, or before pauses in sentence-internal position. A cluster of consonants may emerge across word boundaries, when the word-final vowel is deleted and the next word begins with a consonant. If the resulting cluster is disallowed, an epenthetic vowel is inserted.

There are no word-initial geminate consonants in phonetic structures. The underlying geminate consonants are preceded by an epenthetic vowel in phonetic realizations. Thus, the noun *úkkùlà* ‘chicken’ most probably has an initial geminated *k*. The noun is inserted into larger structures together with its epenthetic vowel:

- (22) *yà* *và-n-t-úkkùlà*
 1SG give-3SG-T-chicken
 ‘I gave him a chicken’

3.2 Clusters in word-initial position

Clusters of a sonorant and a stop or a stop and a sonorant are common in word-initial position:

- | | |
|----|--|
| br | <i>brè</i> ‘single house in a compound’ |
| pw | <i>pwà fiya</i> ‘to fart’ (lit. ‘pour air’ (a polite form)): |
| rd | <i>pàšà rdě</i> ‘to fart’ (a vulgar term) (<i>rdě</i> ‘fart’; the only other attested meaning for the verb <i>pàšà</i> is ‘milk’) |
| gm | <i>gmà</i> ‘loan’ |

Nasals do not have to be homorganic with the following consonant: *mtù* ‘or’, *mdè* ‘people’.

There are certain restrictions on clusters of stops or fricatives followed by a sonorant. A continuant followed by a stop and a sonorant is allowed: *fkwa* ‘buy’. A stop followed by an affricate and the rhotic *r* is not allowed and requires initial-vowel epenthesis:

(23) *ágdzrè* ‘son, child’

Any stop or fricative can be followed by the palatal glide. The verb *vy* ‘forget’ has such a cluster in the initial position. In forms that require gemination of the first consonant, only the first component of the cluster is geminated:

(24) *àvvyá* ‘forget!’

The cluster involving a stop followed by a lateral continuant is not allowed in word-initial position. Any such underlying sequence requires schwa epenthesis in the phonetic realization: *àklà* ‘cow’.

3.3 Clusters in word-medial position

In word-medial position, a much larger number of clusters are allowed. Three-consonant clusters have at least one sonorant, e.g. *nth*:

(25) *yà* *và-n-t-hè*
 1SG give-3SG-T-PNCT
 ‘I gave him [something]’

The clusters *ph* and *rɫ* have been attested only at morpheme boundaries:

(26) *àp-hàré*
 sleep-day
 ‘sleep!’

(27) *ìr-tyà*
 head-calm
 ‘grave’

The sequence *bd* has been recorded in word-medial position only in the proper name *nábdà*, a borrowing of Arabic *Abdul*, most probably via Fula.

The underlying cluster *mn* is reduced to *m* by the rule $n \rightarrow \emptyset / m_$:

- (28) *yòò, kínnánà ám jínà*
yòò, kín nánà á-m ní nà
 well now DEF PRED-IN sitting DEM
 ‘Well, while sitting here . . .’

The labial nasal is deleted after the alveolar nasal by the rule $m \rightarrow \emptyset / n _$. Consider the verb *mbà* ‘learn to do something’ (*bà* in Mirt 1971: 5). In the reduplicated form, the first-person subject is coded by the alveolar nasal *n*. When the alveolar nasal precedes the labial nasal, the labial nasal is deleted:

- (29) *mbà-n-mbà* → [mbà-n-bà]
 learn-1SG-learn
 ‘I learned’

The lateral liquid *l* is deleted before the sonorants *r*, and *n*, the stop *k*, and the lateral continuant *ʃ*: $l \rightarrow \emptyset / _ r/n/k/ʃ$:

- (30) *ʃàl-r-ʃálà* → [ʃà-r-ʃálà]
 walk-3PL-walk
 ‘they having gone’

The epenthetic vowel after a palatal consonant is *e* rather than the high central vowel. This is illustrated after the cluster *ff*:

- (31) *àffèn-và-ffè tìwà*
 grill-APPL-grill meat
 ‘he grilled meat’

The rhotic *r* is subject to metathesis with the preceding vowel, thus creating consonant clusters in which the consonant precedes the metathesized vowel. The underlying sequence *mù-rwà* ‘my mother’ may be heard as [mrùwà]:

- (32) *nàzàn bànrántàrmrùwà*
nà z-à-n bà nr àntà
 1EXCL eat-GO-3SG FOC 1EXCL ASSC:PL
mù-rwà
 mother-1SG
 ‘We will eat it, me and my mother.’

When the rhotic consonant *r* is preceded in the underlying structure by the high round vowel, the high round vowel may follow the rhotic in the phonetic realization. The high round vowel may then be realized as a labial glide:

- (33) *álvà ñánnà yè sàndkrwàyà nà*
álvà ñánnà yè sà-ndà-kùrù-yà nà
 story DEF 1SG come-speak-3SG-1SG DEM
 ‘The story I came to tell you (pl) . . .’

One of the ways of avoiding a cluster of two stops is through metathesis. The recorded case involves the sequence *á-m ktà* ‘PRED-IN under’ when it is followed by the noun *drà* ‘bed’. In this underlying sequence, *k* is moved to the end of the word, with the final vowel *a* occurring in between the consonants:

- (34) *à fò-ì-vá á-m ták drà*
 3SG hide-1SG-APPL PRED-IN under bed
 ‘she hid me under the bed’

In other examples the epenthesis does not take place and the relevant sequence is realized as *ámàktà*.

3.4 The parameter [voice] in clusters

A voiceless consonant becomes voiced before another voiced consonant:

- (35) *ǰàl-g-ǰá alá wàyà*
ǰàl-k-ǰá alá wàyà
 walk-2SG-walk PRED yesterday
 ‘you walked yesterday’

- (36) *yá nà-k-ná* [yá nà-g-ná]
 1SG look-2SG-look
 ‘I am looking at you’

The voicing rule is blocked when the voiceless consonant is a product of the reduction of a voiceless consonant cluster. The verb ‘break’ has the initial geminated consonant [kkǰ], which is reduced to [kǰ]. The rule of assimilation of voiceless stops to voiced stops is blocked when the voiceless stop is geminated:

- (37) *kǰ-ì-yà-n-tá-kǰà zàdè*
 break-EP-1SG-3SG-T-breakstick
 ‘bend a stick for me!’

3.4 Geminates

The sequence *bb* has been recorded only in the noun *dábbà* ‘animal’, a borrowing from Hausa, possibly via Fula. There is no phonetic geminate [mm]. The sequence *mm*, resulting from the contact of two morphemes, is reduced to [m]:

- (38) *á-m-múra* → [á múrà]
 PRED-IN-Mora
 ‘in Mora’

The sequence of two voiced velars, *gg*, has been recorded only as a product of gemination deriving imperatives. The verb *gà* ‘marry’ has the imperative form *àggá* ‘marry!’

The sequence of two voiceless velars, *kk*, is reduced to a single consonant in intervocalic position (periods in phonetic transcription indicate syllabic boundary):

- (39) *yà tɾdàk-ká-hè* → [yà tɾ`dà.ká.hè]
 1SG slip- 2SG-PNCT
 ‘I removed leaves for you’

Most interesting, from the phonological and phonetic point of view, is the gemination of heavy consonants, such as labial velar stops. The gemination process involves both components of the consonant. The gemination of such consonants requires vowel epenthesis in between the geminated segments as illustrated above for the verb *ùkpáǎǎ* ‘crack (about nuts), have pulsating pain’. The imperative is formed through the gemination of the first consonant and the resulting addition of an epenthetic vowel viz. *ùkpùkpáǎǎ*.

The gemination of the voiceless affricate can have two realizations. One consists of producing a stop followed by the affricate. For the verb *tsè* ‘rise’, the imperative is *átsè* ‘get up!’; for the verb *dzè* ‘measure dry goods (corn, peanuts, beans, with a recipient)’, ‘measure length’, ‘make incisions on the body’, the imperative is *àddzé* ‘fetch it’. The other realization is the gemination of the affricate, e.g. *àdzdzé*.

Gemination is different from reduplication. In reduplication, the epenthetic vowel is inserted after rather than before the first geminate: *tsá-tsè* ‘rise!’.

4. Vowel system

The analysis and the description of the vowel system is organized as follows: (1) description of the phonetic vowels; (2) underlying vowels, evidence for

their phonological status and a description of their phonetic realizations; (3) vowel epenthesis; and (4) an explanation of vowel alternations.

4.1 Phonetic vowels

The phonetic vowels of Wandala (broad transcription) include:

i	ə	u
e		o
		a

There are also instances of the nasal vowel δ . Vowel length is not distinctive. The occasional long vowels result from speaker's hesitation or are a by-product of some rules involved in discourse functions. Thus, the demonstrative *únà* has its first vowel lengthened when it functions as the background for the following proposition:

- (40) *úunà* *àtsá* *dàdà*
úunà *à* *ts-á* *dàdà*
 DEF 3SG get up-GO father
 'Now, it is up to the father.'

Some instances of phonetic [e] occur in borrowed words, e.g. *lèkè* 'sugar cane', which possibly comes from the Fula *reke*.

The phonetic vowels include also products of the fusion of underlying vowels, of the glides becoming vowels, and of vowel epenthesis. Some phonetic instances of [i] and [u] represent epenthetic vowels, and others represent products of palatal and labial glides becoming vowels after a consonant, as described in the section on consonants.

The high-central vowel [ɪ] is represented in the present work by ə in order to better distinguish it from the graphically similar representation of the high-front vowel *i*, especially when tones are marked. The high central vowel, very frequent in the data, is a product of vowel insertion motivated by syllable structure constraints in the word-initial, word-medial, and word-final position. For some morphemes, it is the only vowel in the phonetic realization.

4.2 Underlying vowels: evidence and phonetic realization

Mirt 1969 postulates only two underlying vowels: low, represented by the vowel *a*, and high, represented by schwa. The remaining phonetic vowels, viz. [i], [u], [e], [o] and the long vowels [ii] and [uu], are said to be allophones of the two underlying vowels occurring in various phonetic environments, such

as before a pause or next to various consonants. Thus the high-front vowel *i* is said to be a variant of schwa occurring in the environment of palatal consonants. This analysis, attractive in its reductionism, does not, however, account for all phonetic realizations of vowels. For example, there are instantiations of the high front vowel in non-palatal environments: *irè* ‘iron’, *kini* ‘also’, ‘contrastive focus’. The variation in the word-final and phrase-final position is limited to [a] and [e], so although there is the form *brà* ‘find’ (phrase-internal *brə̀*) and the form *brè* ‘house’, there is no **bri*, **bru*, or **bro*. Although there is *gwà* ‘river’ and *gwé* ‘elephant’, there is no **gwi*, **gwo*, **gwu*. No lexical item or grammatical morpheme ends in a high central or mid central vowel in isolation, thus there is no **gwə* or **brə* in isolation.

Mirt 1969 states that the vowel [e] is a predictable variant of *a* between alveolar nasals and in palatal environments and of schwa before a pause. The present study demonstrates that the vowel *e* in pre-pausal position is not the realization of schwa, as schwa is not an underlying vowel, and that it is not always an epenthetic vowel. It may have two sources, one of which is an epenthetic vowel and the other is the historic high front vowel. The high central vowel (‘schwa’) is an epenthetic vowel in all of its instantiations. Since there are instantiations of the vowel [e] in interconsonantal position, e.g. between lateral continuants: *lèlè* ‘bone’, in contrast with *làlà* ‘that’s enough, it finished’, one cannot say that *e* is a variant of *a*. The mid vowels *e* and *o* are accounted for in the present analysis by the fusion of the vowels *a* with *i* and *u* respectively, by vowel raising and fronting, and by rules of epenthesis.

In the present analysis, there are three underlying vowels, viz. *a*, *i*, and *u*:

i	u
a	

Not every instantiation of phonetic [i] or [u] represents the corresponding underlying vowel. Every phonetic [a] represents the underlying *a*. The vowels *i*, *u*, and *a* contrast in word-initial position, which is sufficient evidence for their underlying status. Here is the specific evidence for each vowel together with the description of its phonetic realization in various environments.

5. Underlying *a*

The vowel *a* with various tones is the third-person singular subject pronoun. With high tone, the vowel *á* is a locative predicator; when used as a suffix, it is a genitive marker. The unmarked pronunciation of the vowel is [+low] and [+back] in most environments: *tàtà* ‘place’, *mbà* ‘compound, home’, *wándàlà* ‘Wandala’, *nàrwàndzà* ‘story’.

The underlying *a* becomes the mid front [e] when preceding the palatal glide, and optionally when following the palatal glide *y*: $a \rightarrow e/ y$. Thus the first-person singular subject pronoun *ya* is realized as [ye] or [ya]. The third-person subject pronoun *a* is often realized as [e] before a palatal glide:

- (41) *à ycà* → [è-ycà]
 3SG slaughter
 ‘he slaughtered’

Following the sequence *Cy*, the vowel *a* remains low: [myà] ‘first-person plural inclusive’ and *fyàrà* ‘put on me’:

- (42) *yó álv wándàl ñánnà à fyàrà málrùwà* [error]
yó álv wándàl ñánnà à f-y-àr-à
 well speech Wandala DEF 3SG put-1SG-ON-PB
mál-rùwà
 older brother-1SG
 ‘This Wandala speech is requested from me by my older brother.’

The vowel *a* followed by the labial glide *w* followed by a consonant becomes [o], i.e. $a + w \rightarrow o/ ___C$. In the following example the verb *sà* ‘come’ is followed by the ventive extension *w*. The sequence *sa + w* results in the form [só] before a following consonant:

- (43) *táláwà kùrsómbàrskè*
táláwà kùr sà-w mbàr skè
 please 2PL come-VENT altogether like (POL)
 ‘Please, come along.’

- (44) *tà sà-w ǰàmá* → [tà s-ò ǰàmá]
 3PL come-VENT assembly
 ‘the assembly came’

When *w* is followed by a vowel it does not cause rounding of the preceding *a*. The ventive suffix ends in *a* before a nominal subject, and the verb and the ventive suffix are not reduced to [sò]:

- (45) *tásàwàm dá žilé táksà gyálè*
tá sà-wà md-á žilé
 3PL come-VENT people-GEN husband
tá ksà gyálè
 3PL take girl
 ‘The people of the groom come and take the girl.’

The velar nasal is transparent with respect to the feature [round]. Consequently, a low vowel preceding the velar nasal becomes round when the velar nasal is followed by the labial glide in the syllable-final position, e.g., the noun *úksòṅwà* ‘idiot’.

6. Underlying *i*

The vowel *i* occurs in word-initial position in nouns and pronouns: *ítàrè* ‘third-person plural independent pronoun’, *íẓè* ‘salt’, *írà* ‘nominal *írè* ‘iron (metal)’’, *yìrè* ‘head’. The vowel *i* occurs in word-medial position:

(46a) *yà ná-n-ír-á-rà*
 1SG see-3SG-iron-GEN-3SG
 ‘I saw his iron’

(46b) *yà án ír-á-rà* → [yánírárà]
 1SG ASSC iron-GEN-3SG
 ‘I have his iron (metal)’

When a word-initial *yi* follows a word ending in *a*, the vowel *a* is not raised and the palatal glide is realized without the epenthetic vowel [i], as in (47a). In (47b), where *yi* is not word-initial, the preceding *a* is raised to [e]:

(47a) *yà ná yíẓbè* → [yà náyǫ́íḃè]
 1SG see five
 ‘I saw five [of them]’

(47b) *yà nè-yr-á-rà*
 1SG see-head-GEN-3SG
 ‘I saw him in person’

The vowel *i* also occurs in interconsonantal position after velar stops and alveolar nasals: *kíni* ‘contrastive focus marker, ‘also’.

The vowel *i* occurs seldom in word-final position: *gèni* ‘complementizer’, *ní* ‘intensifier’, *bí* ‘then’. The word-final *i* may be a product of the reduction of the word-final sequence *y* + epenthetic high vowel. An argument for such a possibility is provided by the possessive construction in which nouns with final phonetic [i] are followed by the genitive marker *á*. The product of such a sequence is the palatal glide followed by the vowel *a*:

- (48) *nyári-á-tàré* → [nyáry-á-tàré]
 bad behavior-GEN-3PL
 ‘their bad behavior’

If the word *nyári* had an underlying word-final *i*, it would have been deleted before the genitive suffix, and there would have been no trace of it as a palatal glide or in any other form.

The vowel *i* also occurs in word-final position in borrowed words, e.g. *Fáadî* (from Fula *Fadimatu*), *Háfimî*, and *Náli* (from Arabic *Ali*), all of which are proper names. Apart from these words, the vowel *i* does not occur in phrase-final position. Therefore, the following rule seems to have operated at some point in Wandala:

i → e/___## (## designates phrase-final position)

6.1 Glide formation

When a high-front vowel (found mainly in borrowed words) is followed by another vowel, the palatal glide is inserted between the two vowels, as per the rule:

∅ → y/V[+high, +front] ___V

- (49) *háfimî* *án* *fúngù* → [háʃimî yán fúnʒù]
 Hashimi ASSC money
 ‘Hashimi has money’ (*fúngù* most likely from Fula *suŋku* ‘money’).

7. Underlying *u*

Mirt claims that the vowel [u] is an allophone of schwa occurring in the environment of velar and sometimes bilabial consonants. Given that schwa is not considered an underlying vowel in the present work, a different approach is required. The vowel *u* can occur between consonants that do not cause rounding, e.g.: *húdê* ‘belly’, *dúksá* ‘thing’, *fúlà* ‘travel’. In this position, the vowel *u* is in contrast with the vowels *a* and *i*. As it is in contrastive distribution, it must be postulated to be underlying. The vowel *u* also occurs, albeit rarely, in word-final position: *ɲázù* ‘that which’. The vowel *u* occurs in word-initial position, where it contrasts with both *i* and *a*: *úzà* ‘hoe’, *únà* ‘demonstrative’, *wrà* ‘person’, *úyà* ‘chat’:

- (50) *tà vyá ùz'-àhà-á-tàrè* → [*tà vyózá-tàrè*]
 3PL forget hoe-PL-GEN-3PL
 'they (1) forgot their (1) hoes'

Some word-initial phonetic instantiations of *u* derive from the underlying labial glide *w*; others derive from the underlying *u* in the word-initial position. The glide in word-initial position must be followed by an epenthetic vowel. Upon the insertion of the epenthetic vowel the glide is deleted, and the phonetic form of the word does not differ from a word with an underlying initial vowel:

Underlying vowel	Underlying glide
<i>ùgjà</i> 'knee'	<i>wrà</i> [ùrà] 'person'
<i>úgjà</i> 'hair'	

The difference between the two underlying structures is manifested in their interaction with a preceding vowel *a*. The underlying glide is realized as such because there is no motivation for the insertion of the epenthetic vowel, as the glide forms the coda of the preceding word:

- (51) *bàdàcí máǵàrà názù à hàynáwrà*
bà dàcí máǵàrà názù à hày-ná wrà
 FOC then rest what 3SG want-3SG person
 'And for the rest, what a person wants . . .'

The underlying round vowel fuses with the preceding low vowel to produce the form *o* (the example is nonsensical, but it illustrates the phonological characteristics being described):

- (52) *názù à hày-ná úgjà/ùgjà* [názù à hàynóǵjà]
 what 3SG want-3SG hair/knee
 'the thing that the hair/knee wants' (the tonal difference between the two nouns has been neutralized because of the preceding high tone)

The underlying vowel becomes the syllabic peak if the preceding morpheme ends in a consonant:

- (52) *yà n-úǵj-á-rà*
 1SG see-hair-GEN-3SG
 'I saw his hair'

The high-round vowel *u* becomes a labial glide when followed by the low vowel *a*:

- (53) *fúŋgù-á* *rwà* [fúŋgwárwà]
 money-GEN 1SG
 ‘my money’

The vowel *u* has been preserved in borrowed words, e.g. *làríusà* ‘marriage, bride, wedding’ (*làríusà* in Manga Kanuri (Jarret 2007), *arus* in Shua Arabic (de Pommerol 1999)) and *gùsà* ‘game, musical performance’ from Fula.

Given the contrast between vowels *u*, *a*, and *i* in word-initial position and in interconsonantal position, there is no other choice but to accept the vowel *u* as underlying, along with the vowels *a* and *i*.

8. The status of the vowel *e*

The phonetic vowel [e] occurs in only two environments: in pre-pausal position clause-medially and in clause-final position. In a few items, the vowel *e* occurs in interconsonantal position. Two hypotheses can account for the presence of *e*: (1) *e* is an epenthetic vowel satisfying the constraint that no morpheme can end in a consonant in isolation, and (2) *e* is a product of high front vowel lowering before a pause: $i \rightarrow e / __\# \#$. In pre-pausal position the vowel *e* contrasts only with the vowel *a* and can occur after all consonants: *mákè* ‘week’, *wáfkè* ‘face’, *gwè* ‘elephant’, cf. *gwà* ‘seasonal river’, *gyálè* ‘girl’, *tskádè* ‘silence’, *zàdè* ‘stick’.

The evidence that certain phonetic [e]s are historically products of neutralization of [i] in word-final position is provided by comparative data:

Wandala	Hdi	Gloss
<i>gwè</i>	<i>gùyáy</i>	‘elephant’
<i>krè</i>	<i>kri</i>	‘dog’
<i>kàlfé</i>	<i>klipi</i>	‘fish’

A number of nouns end in the vowel *i*, but they all appear to be recent borrowings and do not contradict the hypothesis of the word-final $i \rightarrow e$ change. All verbs whose citation form ends in *e* share a common semantic characteristic, that of separation of the subject or object from a source (see chapter 5). That may indicate that they end in a morpheme indicating such a separation. A related Central Chadic language, Hdi, has a verbal extension *i* coding just such a function. It is possible that the question words *wè* ‘what’, *wàrè* ‘who’, and *mè* ‘where’ also end in what historically might have been the

vowel *i*, as this vowel is a frequent marker of content questions in other Central Chadic languages.

Given the constraint that no word in Wandala can end in an obstruent or a glide in pre-pausal position, the vowel *e* could be epenthetic. The third-person plural independent and possessive pronoun is *tàr* in phrase-internal position, but *tàrè* in phrase-final position and in isolation:

- (54) *tà nábà ks-t-á bàrám-á-tàr ñánnà*
 3PL then take-T-GO road-GEN-3PL DEF
 ‘They took their road.’

Pre-pausal, before a modifier:

- (55) *má ún ká tá màgá ágdzàrà sàwàri-*
 HYP DEF NEG 3PL make small reunion
yáhà-tàrè cùkcùkwà á tè bàrámà
 PL-3PL small PRED T road
 ‘If it is not that, they arrange small meetings at the road.’

In the following example, the first-person plural exclusive pronoun *ɲr* occurs twice, once in the middle of the sentence and once at the end of the sentence, each time ending in the vowel [e]. The instantiation in the middle of the sentence signals the pre-pausal position, the position before the adjunct phrase. The vowel *e* on the pronoun also signals the end of the sentence:

- (56) *tàlvángəl̀àksè d̀əgíyà nó nó nó nàzù̀̀nàcìnáɲrè*
tà lv-á-n g̀ə l̀àksè d̀əgíyà nó nó nó
 3PL say-GO-3SG TO chief COMP PRES X3
ɲàzú ɲà cìn-á-ɲrè
 what 1EXCL hear-GO-1EXCL
á-m hùd-á f-á-ɲrè
 PRED-IN belly-GEN field-GEN-1EXCL
 ‘They said to the Sultan, “Here is what we heard in our field.”’

The position before adjunct clauses marked by prepositions is pre-pausal, and morphemes in that position accordingly end in the vowel [e]. This vowel does not fuse with the following vowel:

- (57) *tàbànjátàrè ánhéerànkìlápírè*
tà bà nj-á-tàrè án héer-àn-klápí-rè
 3PL FOC stay-GO-3PL ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘They lived together in peace and good health.’⁴

Here is an example of the alternation between *e* in pre-pausal position and the epenthetic high-central vowel in clause-internal position. The verb *td* ‘pull’ in phrase-internal position before an object ends in the high central vowel:

- (58) *tádā-n-ú-tādē*
 pull-1SG-VENT-pull
 ‘I smoked’
- tádā-n-ú-tādā wáyé*
 pull-1SG-VENT-pull oil
 ‘give him some oil’

Some instantiations of the phonetic *e* in word-final position may be products of vowel raising under the influence of the preceding high front vowel or the palatal glide: *áyékè* ‘fat one (about a person)’, *ìrè* ‘head’. Some instantiations of the phonetic *e* are products of vowel insertion after the liquid consonants *r* and *l*. Thus, when other lexical items end in a consonant or the epenthetic schwa, words with the final consonant *r* end in *e*: *ágdzrè bà* ‘child FOC’.

The vowel *e* affects the quality of the preceding epenthetic vowel, which becomes high and front: *lídē* ‘property, place that one has’. Compare the same lexical item without the final *e*: *lādā-nà* ‘the property, the place’.

4 The expression *héer-àn-klápí-rè* is most probably a compound of *héerè* ‘peace’ (Arabic *hayra*), the associative preposition *án*, *klápí* ‘good health’ (from Kanuri, which in turn borrowed it from Hausa *lafía*, originally from Arabic), and the nominalizing suffix *re*. The evidence that the form is a lexical compound rather than a noun phrase followed by an associative phrase is provided by the fact that the internal associative preposition has low rather than high tone. Below, this expression is glossed as ‘peace-ASSC-health-NOM’.

9. Syllable structure

9.1 Types of syllables

Syllabic onsets and codas have been extracted through the examination of clause-initial and clause-final structures. Syllabic boundaries were established through the examination of speech fragments where the speakers were asked to divide a fragment of speech in any way they want. This method does not always guarantee a division of a natural speech fragment into syllables, because sometimes speakers produce what resemble underlying forms of morphemes rather than the phonetic syllables existing in the fragment. Nevertheless, this method sometimes yields natural-discourse syllables and information about potential syllabic onsets and codas.

Different types of syllabic structures are allowed in word-initial position and in word-internal position. Those differences are duly noted below. The following are allowed syllabic structures:

V *a* ‘third-person singular subject pronoun’, *á* ‘locative predicator’

N A nasal consonant can constitute a syllable. The syllabic status of the velar nasal is confirmed by the fact that it is a tone-bearing unit, and by the lento pronunciation, which gives the syllabic division as indicated: *m.dìgwá* ‘old’.

nr ‘first-person plural exclusive pronoun’, in word-medial position

GV (G = glide): *wà* ‘ventive extension’, *ya* ‘first-person subject pronoun’

CV *sá* ‘come’, *bà* ‘focus marker’

VC *á-m* ‘predicator-IN’

Cr [yá ɫr.dà.ké]
‘I am slipping down’

CVC [kəl.fé] ‘fish’

Several constraints apply to the type of consonants that can occupy the syllabic coda position. There is no syllable-final affricate *j*, but there is the syllable-final, clause-internal affricate *ts*: *wàts* ‘FUT’:

- (59) *wàts* *ɲá* *zá*
 FUT 1PL:EXCL eat
 ‘we will eat’

CGVC *kwànjár* ‘hook’, *cùkwá* ‘small’, *ndàɲglá* ‘cheek’

CCV(X) *kni* ‘also’ (recorded only as a second morpheme of a word)

CrCV Numerous syllables whose onset is composed of the third-person plural object pronoun *tr* and the first consonant of the verb:

- (60) *á* *fà-tr-fà*
 3SG find-3PL-find
 ‘he finds them’

No syllable can have consonant clusters in the coda, i.e. no *(C)VCC. This constraint is responsible for the central vowel insertion in word-final position: *dàrvà* ‘pond’ (phrase-internal position).

The clusters stop-fricative and stop-affricate are disallowed in syllable-initial position. Consequently, an epenthetic vowel is inserted before or after the first consonant of the disallowed sequence.

The cluster affricate-sonorant is allowed in syllable-initial position, as evidenced by the verb *dzrà* ‘select’.

The cluster of underlying phonemes *by* is disallowed in phonetic realization in word-initial position, as evidenced by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel between *b* and *y*. The epenthetic vowel is *i* before the palatal glide. Example: the verb *b* ‘say, tell’ followed by the first-person singular object *y*:

- (61) *à* *b-iy-án-bà*
 3SG say-1SG-3SG-say
 ‘he talked to me’

The rhotic *r* can constitute the syllabic peak, as evidenced by the syllable division and tonal structure of the verb *tr.dà.ká* ‘slip’:

- (62) *yà* *tr'.dà.kà*
 1SG slip
 ‘I slipped down’ [past, non-punctual, completed]
- yà* *tr'.dák-hè*
 1SG slip-PNCT
 ‘I slipped down’ [past, punctual]

There are no syllables of the structure stop-continuant[-sonorant]-stop.

9.2 Syllabification

As already noted by Mirt 1969, the underlying structure of many free morphemes does not include a vowel, e.g. *ndz* 'PAST (tense)'. Such morphemes are syllabified through the addition of an epenthetic vowel or with the initial vowel of the next morpheme:

- (63) *ndzə* *yám* *níyá-rwà* *á* *nín-ngì-nà*
ndzə *y-ám* *níy-á-rwà* *án* *íngì-nà*
 R.PAST 1SG-IN ready-GEN-1SG ASSC morning-DEM
 'I was ready this morning'

A number of monoconsonantal verbs that are phonetically realized with a central vowel have no vowel in the underlying structure. This is the case with the auxiliary *də* coding the sequential clause, and with a number of prepositions. The representation of so many morphemes with tones but without vowels constitutes a hindrance in reading. Therefore, morphemes with no vowel in the underlying structure are often represented through their phonetic representation in some form, e.g. with the central vowel, represented by schwa, in the place where it actually occurs.

Syllabification applies to morphemes already in their linear arrangement in the utterance, after final vowel deletion, if applicable, and after the augmentation of the root by the vowel *a*. Final vowel deletion constitutes an additional motivation for vowel insertion.

The syllabification proceeds from the beginning of the utterance and involves screening for allowed onsets. A vowel is inserted in the first disallowed place encountered. Consider a clause that includes the verb *jà* 'hit' and the noun *krè* 'dog' (citation forms for both morphemes). Both of these morphemes occur without their final vowels in phrase-internal position. The verb ends in a consonant when followed by the object. This results in a disallowed sequence [jkr]. Consequently, a central vowel is inserted between *j* and *k*:

- (64) *à* *jə* *kr* *án* *zàdè* → [à.jə.krán.zà.dè]
 3SG hit dog ASSC stick
 'he hit a dog with a stick'

The sequence *sIC* is disallowed. When the verb *sl* 'roast' is followed by a consonant, an epenthetic vowel is inserted. When the verb is followed by a vowel, an allowed syllabic structure *sIV* is created:

- (65) *sàlà-n-tá-slà* *lùwà*
 fry:3SG-3SG-T-fry meat
 ‘he fried the meat’

Morpheme-internal consonant clusters may result in ambisyllabicity, i.e. cases where one segment serves as the coda of the preceding syllable and the onset of the next syllable. This is the case with the noun *ndànglá* ‘cheek’, which is syllabified as [ndəŋ.ŋlá].

Syllabification rules provide an argument for the treatment of the phonetic sequences *gy*, *dy*, and *py* as one segment rather than as a consonantal cluster. The proposed segments *g*, *d*, and *p* cannot be separated from the palatal glide by an epenthetic vowel. The numeral *kígyé* ‘three’ is syllabified as [kí.ǵyé], and not as *[kíǵ.yé] or *[kíǵi.yé].

There exist syllabification preferences. Although the syllabic onset *rv* is allowed in natural discourse, the initial rhotic is attached to the preceding syllable if such a possibility exists. Thus, the rhotic onset of the noun *rvòndè* ‘heart’ is attached to the preceding syllable in natural discourse:

- (66) *à* *hárábàdzàr* *vòndè* *bàkín* *kínì*
à *háré* *á* *bàdzà* *rvòndè* *bà* *kín* *kínì*
 3SG spend the night PRED spoil heart FOC now
 ‘He spent all night vomiting, even now [he is vomiting].’

10. Vowel epenthesis

10.1 The patterns of vowel epenthesis

Given the constraints on word structure, syllable structure, and consonant clusters, the main means to prevent disallowed structures from occurring is vowel epenthesis. Consonant reduction is a rare phenomenon, possibly because it may prevent the identification of the morphemes. A vowel is epenthetic if its presence and its quality can be predicted from constraints on phonological structures, from the rules coding syntactic organization of the clause and from the comparison of the morpheme in question in various environments. The tones on epenthetic vowels depend on the lexical category and on other morphemes included in the word. Often, the tones on initial epenthetic vowels are polar. The rules of tone assignment on epenthetic vowels are discussed in section 12.3.

Vowel epenthesis applies to four positions in Wandala: word-initial, phrase-initial, interconsonantal, and pre-pausal. The term ‘interconsonantal’ includes both the word-internal and phrase-internal positions, i.e. between

lexical items or between lexical items and grammatical morphemes, in any order. The pre-pausal position includes the word-final position, by definition.

The quality of epenthetic vowels depends on the position where the vowel is inserted and on the preceding or following consonants and vowels. Vowel epenthesis in the phrase-initial and interconsonantal position involves high vowels, and vowel epenthesis in the pre-pausal positions involves the vowel *a* and mid-front vowel *e*.

In word-final, pre-pausal position, the most frequently inserted vowel is *a*. This vowel occurs in the majority of verbs and nouns, in some numerals, and in a number of free grammatical morphemes. The presence of the same vowel in word-final position in a majority of words belonging to different lexical categories could be attributed either to the marking of a grammatical category or to the underlying structure. The presence of the vowel as part of the underlying structure is ruled out because the vowel does not code a distinction between one lexical item and another. There is also evidence from borrowed words. Arabic borrowings that end in a consonant have an epenthetic vowel in Wandala. Thus the name of one of the language assistants in this project, Ramadan Abba, is pronounced [ràràdàrà nàbbà]. The presence of the alveolar nasal /n/ in the name [nàbbà] is due to nasal epenthesis, as explained earlier in this chapter.

In phrase-initial position, the epenthetic vowel is the high round vowel *u* if the following segment is [+labial]:

$\emptyset \rightarrow V[+\text{high}] [+\text{round}] / \# ___ C[+\text{back}]C$

If the first consonant of the morpheme is [+palatal], the epenthetic vowel is the high front vowel *i*:

$\emptyset \rightarrow V[+\text{high}] [+\text{front}] / \# ___ C[+\text{palatal}]C$

In all remaining cases, the epenthetic vowel in phrase-initial position is high central:

$\emptyset \rightarrow V[+\text{high}] [-\text{back}, -\text{front}] / \# ___ C[-\text{round}, -\text{front}]C$, e.g.:

àgdzrè ‘child’

The quality of the epenthetic vowel in interconsonantal position depends on the features of the preceding consonant:

$\emptyset \rightarrow V[+\text{high}] [+\text{round}] / C[+\text{back}; +\text{round}] ___$

$\emptyset \rightarrow V[+\text{high}] [+\text{front}] / C[+\text{palatal}] ___$

The sequence *nt* is allowed, but the longer sequence *ntk* is not. Such a sequence of underlying consonants requires high central vowel epenthesis between *t* and *k*, the first disallowed juncture (the relevant sequences are bolded):

(71a) *è, má ksà-n-tà-ksá ágdzà gyálè*
 eh, HYP take:3SG-3SG-T-take young girl
 ‘if the young girl takes it’

(71b) *è, má ksà-nà-n-tà-ksá-yà*
 eh HYP take-1SG-3SG-T-take-1SG
 ‘if I take it’

Vowel epenthesis or its absence may serve as a clue to the synchronic derivational history of lexical items. Compare the two identical sequences of consonantal segments, only one of which contains the epenthetic high-central vowel: *tsànátsè* ‘I got up’ and *tsántsè* ‘standing position’. The first one has to include an epenthetic vowel because it includes the consonant-only morpheme *n* (1SG subject pronoun). Its proposed derivational history is as follows (pre-pro = pre-pronominal):

(72) 1SG subject affixation schwa insertion pre-pro *a* insertion
n-tsè *ná-tsè* *à-ná-tsè*

verb reduplication

tsà-ná-tsè

‘I got up’

The initial state of the reduplicated verb has the form:

V-Pro-V

If the pronoun consists of the consonant only, an epenthetic vowel is inserted:

V-Pro-EP-V

The form *ts-àn-tsè* ‘standing position’ has a different morphological makeup. It has the nominalizing suffix *àn*. Its derivational history is as follows:

(73a) nominalizing affix verb reduplication
àn-tsè *ts-àn-tsè*

- (73b) *yà bə̀fɣà tsántɕè*
yà bə̀fɣ-à tsè-án-tsè
 1SG find-PB rise-ASSC-rise
 ‘I found him standing’

Pronouns that have a vowel as part of their underlying structure retain this vowel in the reduplicated form:

- (74) *tsà-nə̀/kə̀/ɣrə̀/mi/kùr-tsè*
 ‘I/you/we(excl)/we(incl)/you(pl) stood/got up’

10.3 Epenthetic *i*

The epenthetic vowel before and after the palatal consonant is [i], as per the rule:

$\emptyset \rightarrow i/C[\text{palatal}]$ in environments requiring vowel epenthesis

The first-person singular object pronoun *y* follows the verbal root directly (i.e. without the preceding vowel *a*). The epenthetic vowel is inserted between the last consonant of the verb and the glide coding the first-person object pronoun:

- (75a) *kɕ-ì-yà-n-tá-kɕə̀ zàdè*
 break-EP-1SG-3SG-T-break stick
 ‘bend a stick for me!’

- (75b) *à f-y-ú nàrwàndzà* → [àfɣyú nàrwàndzà]
 3SG tell-1SG-VENT story
 ‘he told me a short story’

The palatal glide is deleted after the nasal consonant and before a high-front vowel:

- (76) *ycà-n-ycà* → *yicà-n-yicà* → [icà-ní-cà]
 cut-1SG:EP-cut
 ‘I cut indeed’

yicà is the citation form of the reduplicated verb ‘to cut’

In the following example, the sequence that requires vowel insertion is *nnj*. Although geminated alveolar consonants are allowed, the three-consonant sequence *nnj* is not. One of the options would be a reduction of one of the

geminated consonants. That would result in the loss of identity of a morpheme (cf. Blevins 2004), either of the first-person singular subject or of the verb-initial consonant of the verb ‘to sit’. Therefore, an epenthetic vowel is inserted after the first *n*. The epenthetic vowel *i* is conditioned by the palatal affricate *j* in the following sequence:

- (77) *njà-n-njà* → [njà-n-í-njà]
 sit-1SG-sit sit-1SG-EP-sit
 ‘I am sitting’ ‘I sat down’

If a word ends in a palatal consonant and the next word begins with a palatal glide, the epenthetic vowel is also *i*:

- (78) *májàrà mmùjìyá tàrè*
má jà-rà-mm-ú-j yà-á tàrè
 HYP unite-3PL-RECIPR-VENT-unite voice-GEN 3PL
 ‘If they unite their voices . . .’ (if they agree)

For the underlying word-initial cluster *ʃb*, the epenthetic vowel is inserted not before, but rather after, the first consonant, e.g. *ʃibé* ‘hide’. Since there is a palatal consonant in the environment, the epenthetic vowel is realized as [i]. The evidence for the proposed analysis is provided by the forms of the verb that do not require vowel epenthesis. The sequence *ʃb* is then realized without the epenthetic vowel:

- (79a) *à ʃb-í-yèn-vè*
 3SG hide-1SG-3SG-APPL
 ‘she hid for me the thing’

There are no instances of the word-initial cluster *ʃC* preceded by an epenthetic vowel, so the condition for this rule appears to be the palatal nature of the first consonant of the cluster.

The epenthetic vowel is [i] if the place of epenthesis is phrase-final position and the next word begins with the vowel *i*. In the following example, the definite marker *ɲánnà* occurs in phrase-final but clause-internal position. Its final vowel is deleted and replaced by an epenthetic vowel identical with the vowel of the following word:

- (79b) *átàlá tàrɲánnì itàrkìní*
á tàl-á-tàr ɲánnà itàr kìnì
 PRED borough-GEN-3PL DEF 3PL C.FOC
 ‘In their neighborhood, they [people of the neighborhood]’

10.4 Epenthetic *u*

The epenthetic vowel is [u] after or before a labial consonant and labial glide:

∅ → u/C__C[+labial]

Examples:

The cluster *bm* is disallowed. Consequently, an epenthetic vowel is inserted:

- (80) *èè, àbùm̀d̀ànàwá ámbàt̀è bàjírè*
èè, à b md̀è ná wá áa mbàt̀è bà jírè
 eh 3SG say people DEM COM ah hence FOC truth
 ‘Eh, the people there said, hence it is true!’

A disallowed sequence *blmd* obtains when the verb *bl* ‘send’ is followed by the noun *mdè* ‘people’. The vowel [u] is inserted between *l* and *ð*:

- (81) *yè blú mdè à d́á z̀è k̀ùr ñánnà*
 ‘I sent people to go to your place’

The cluster *mvg* is disallowed by the constraint on *stop-continuant-stop clusters. Hence, an epenthetic vowel is inserted in the first disallowed position, after the nasal *m*. The tone on the epenthetic vowel is the opposite of the following tone, which in this case is high, the opposite of the low tone of the noun.

- (82) *áñkórán d́álvám̀úv̀g̀àb̀ìná*
áñk wrà á ndá lv ám vg
 exist person 3SG speak word in grave
à b-ìná
 3SG say-3SG
 ‘‘There is somebody talking in the grave,’’ he said.’

The epenthetic vowel may be *u* when the vowel in the next syllable is *u*. Consider the verb *tá* ‘pull’. When this verb has the ventive marker *u*, the epenthetic vowel after the first consonant of the verb is [u]:

- (83) *yè t̀ùd-ú tàpá á wáyà* [tàpáwáyà]
 1SG pull-VENT tobacco PRED yesterday
 ‘I smoked tobacco yesterday’

If the vowel in the next syllable is *a*, as is the case in the imperfective aspect, the epenthetic vowel after the first consonant is central:

- (84) *yá tǎdǎ tǎpá*
 1SG pull tobacco
 ‘I smoke’

The epenthetic vowel is *u* when the next cluster has the labial glide as the second segment. Consider the verb *dzgwà* ‘be able’. In the reduplicated form, an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the first consonant *dz* and the second consonant *g*. The epenthetic vowel is *u*, because the third phonetic segment of the sequence is the labial glide:

- (85) *á dzùgw-án-dzùgù mágà trà*
 3SG be able-ASSC-be able do work
 ‘he is able to do the work’

10.5 Epenthetic mid-front vowel

The epenthetic vowel is mid front [e] when the preceding consonant or the consonant of the preceding syllable is palatal (and the syllable itself is final). Here are examples with the palatal consonant immediately preceding the epenthetic vowel:

- (86) *mándà súwèè kìnì àgdzárwá ákìpkyèkákàbè*
má á ndà-sú wèè kìnì àgdz-á-r wá
 HYP 3SG say-S what C.FOC child-GEN-3SGCOM
á kì-p-kýè ká kábè
 3SG accept-APPL-accept NEG again
 ‘Whatever he says, his child should accept, shouldn’t she?’

Verbs whose final consonant is palatal end in the vowel *e* before a nominal object. Other verbs end in a consonant or epenthetic high central vowel in the same environment:

- (87) *má fá-p-tǎ-fè cǎkwá ngùdì*
má fǎ-p-tǎ-fè cǎkwá ngùdì
 HYP find-APPL-T-find a little bit
 ‘If she is a little bit free . . .’

Not all word-final mid front vowels *e* are epenthetic. In some cases the word-final *e* is an underlying *i*, which becomes *e* in pre-pausal position. The evidence that some word-final mid front vowels derive from high front vowels is provided by the fact that there are no high front vowels in pre-pausal position (other than those following a palatal glide). Comparative evidence is

provided by the fact that corresponding lexical items in other Central Chadic languages often have the vowel *i* in word-final position where Wandala has the vowel *e*.

11. Phonotactics of vowels

11.1 Vowels in contact

The following table represents the products of the sequence of two underlying vowels. The column “First” represents the first vowel; the other three columns represent the second vowel. The product of the contact is spelled out at the intersection of the first and the second vowel:

Table 2.2. Vowels in contact

First	Second		
	i	u	a
i	i	iu/yu	ya, ye
u	w	u	o
a	e	o	ha

Two vowels can come into contact only in one environment, when the first vowel is word-final *a* and the second is morpheme-initial. Whenever there is a sequence of two vowels *a* belonging to different morphemes, the glottal continuant *h* is inserted. The insertion appears to operate only within a phonological word. The following example illustrates the insertion of the glottal continuant in two environments. The first is in the sequence *álvà-hàgègdzàrà* ‘words to their children’ and the second is in the sequence *gdzàràháatàrè*:

- (88) *béetàrè álvà-hàgègdzàrà háatàrè*
bà itàrè álvà-a gè gdzàrà-há-tàrè
 FOC 3PL story-PL TO child:PL-GEN-3PL
 ‘They tell stories to their daughters.’

If two adjacent vowels belong to different phonological words and there is a phrasal boundary between them, the two vocalic morphemes fuse into a different vowel: *gýóvvè* ‘to defecate’ (*gýá* ‘leave’ + *úvvè* ‘feces’).

In the following example, the phrasal boundary obtains between the post-verbal subject marker *kà* and the following object demonstrative *únà*. The

evidence for the presence of the phrasal boundary is the realization of the subject pronoun as *kà* rather than the phrase-internal form *k*. The fusion of *a* and *u* gives the predictable product [o]:

- (89) *kái kándángwà kónà*
kái ká ndà-n g wà kà únà
 no 2SG say-3SG TO what 2SG DEF
 ‘Hey, why do you say this?’

- (90a) *málà kàtàṅàrómlè*
má làkàtò ṅà rà úmlè
 HYP fellow DEM 3SG another
 ‘Or with one of his buddies.’

When the high round vowel is preceded by a high front vowel, the two vowels appear to be realized as a sequence of vowels (elicited examples):

- (90b) *nyári úmlè*
 bad behavior another
 ‘another bad behavior’

dì úmlè
 knowledge another
 ‘another knowledge’ (*dìyá* ‘knowledge’)

The sequence of the third-person singular subject marker *a* on the verb followed by the ventive extension *w* results in the vowel *o*:

- (91) *àksó-ksé fúṅgwárwà*
àksá-w'-ksé fúṅgw-á-rwà
 take:3SG-VENT-take money-GEN-1SG
 ‘he stole my money’

The underlying form of the noun *w'zà* ‘hoe’ is *wzà*. The sequence of the verb *vyà* ‘forget’ followed by the noun *w'zà* ‘hoe’ results in the vowel [o] between the two morphemes:

- (92) *tà vyó z-á-tàrè*
tà vyá wz-á-tàrè
 3PL forget:GO hoe-GEN-3PL
 ‘they (1) forgot their (1) hoes’ ($a + u = o$)

Two vowels flanking a velar or glottal continuant behave as if they were adjacent to each other. Thus, the phonetic sequence [ahu] results in the

sequence [ox]. This change can be explained by transparency of the glottal continuant, followed by the subsequent deletion of the vowel following the glottal continuant:

- (93a) *á* *bá* *húnà* [á bóxnà]
 á *bá* *únà*
 3SG FOC here
 ‘he is here indeed’

- (93b) *á* *húnà*
 á *únà*
 3SG here
 ‘he is here’

The velar stop behaves similarly to the glottal continuant, in that the vowel following the consonant affects the vowel preceding the consonant. The verb ‘to say’ *bá* is realized as *bó* in (94):

- (94) *à-zà-rà* *bó-kùrè*
 what-any say-2PL
 ‘what do you (pl) say?’

The palatal glide *y* is realized as *i* in word-final position when it follows another consonant. This realization is the effect of the addition of the epenthetic vowel, which must be *i*, and the subsequent deletion of the palatal glide. The relevant rules are:

$\emptyset \rightarrow i/y_ \#$

$y \rightarrow \emptyset/C_ i\#$

Thus, the 1INCL pronoun *myà* is realized as [mì] in phrase-internal position:

- (95) *fīllyá* *zàrvá* *mì* *pàllè* *kày* *mbàdá* *mbàdám* *dámyáwnà*
 fīlì-á *zàrv-á* *myà* *pàllè* *kày* *mbàdá-m-mbàd*
 sand-GEN sesame-GEN 1INCL one ? fall-IN-fall
 á-m *d-ár* *yàwè* *nà*
 PRED go:ON water DEM
 ‘One of our sesame seeds fell into the water.’

11.2 Vowel raising

The low vowel *a* is raised to [e] when it precedes or follows a palatal glide or a high front vowel in the preceding syllable. The rule of vowel raising is not a mechanical rule applying to any phonetic vowel but rather a coding means for syntactic organization and semantic functions. The first-person singular object pronoun is *y*, realized as [i] in interconsonantal position. The vowel [i] causes the raising of the vowel *a* in the next syllable. In the example below, the rule applies to the goal marker *á*:

(96a) *à* *ʃb-ì-vé/*a/*á* *zènápa*
 3SG hide-1SG-APPL Zenapa
 ‘Zenapa hid me’⁵

(96b) *à* *ʃb-àk-vá* *zènápa*
 3SG hide-1SG-APPL Zenapa
 ‘Zenapa hid you’

(96c) *yà* *ʃb-à-và* *zènápa*
 1SG hide-APPL Zenapa
 ‘I hid Zenapa’

The raising rule does not apply to phonemes that code a specific semantic function. Thus, the raising rule does not apply to the vowel *a* preceding an object noun phrase:

(97) *à* *ʃb-ì-v-á/*e/è* *ʃúŋgù*
 3SG hide-1SG-APPL-GO money
 ‘she hid money for me’

The low vowel *a* is raised when followed by a palatal glide or a palatal consonant, even across word boundaries:

(98a) *mà* *ycí-ycà* → [mèycíicà]
 IPL:INCL cut-cut
 ‘we cut it’

5 The proper name Zenapa comes from the Arabic Zeenaba/Zeenabay, which in turn is borrowed from Greek (de Pommerol 1999: 1347). As in many other borrowed words, the intervocalic voiced stop is devoiced in Wandala.

- (98b) *áŋkwè žilmtú wàyàrkàbéetàrèè*
áŋkwà žil mtú wàyà-r kà bà itàrèè
 exist man or love-3PL NEG FOC 3PL
 ‘or else, there is a man, but they [the girls] don’t like [him].’

The raising of a low vowel results in the sequence [ey] or with glide deletion in the long vowel [ee]:

- (99) *álvà ŋánnà yè sà-ndà-née nà*
álvà ŋánnà yè sà-ndà-ná-y nà
 story DEF 1SG FUT-speak-3SG-1SG DEM
 ‘The story I came to tell him . . .’

The raising rule does not apply when the consonant preceding *a* is the glottal continuant. The application and the non-application of the raising rule is illustrated in the example below:

- (100) *tèycàs hàyè*
tà yc-s hàyè
 3PL cut-S river
 ‘they crossed the river’

The high-front vowel *i* is inserted when the palatal glide follows a stop. The palatal glide may be subsequently deleted, and in lento speech there is no vowel raising. Thus, [díyèndíyà] ‘I know’ in lento speech is produced as [dí.àn.dí.à], i.e., the speaker produces what he believes are the components involved.

The low vowel is raised when between it and the palatal glide there is a sonorant. Compare the realization of the vowel *a* (part of the pronominal subject coding) preceding the third-person plural pronoun *r* in the following examples. In the first one the vowel is raised because it is followed by a sonorant, and the sonorant is followed by a high-front vowel realized as the palatal glide:

- (101) *dìy-é-r-yì-díyà*
 know-3PL-1SG-know
 ‘they know me’

In the following example, the same vowel is followed by a sonorant, but the next segment is a low vowel, and there is no raising:

- (102) *dìy-à-r-á-k-díyà*
 know-3PL-GO-2SG-know
 ‘they know you’

If in between the low vowel and the palatal glide there is a consonant other than a sonorant, no vowel raising takes place:

- (103) *díyà-k-yì-díyà* *hè*
 know-2SG-1SG-know Q
 ‘do you know me?’

11.3 Labial harmony

Wandala has very interesting processes of labial harmony whose trigger is a round vowel and whose target is a velar consonant. The velar consonant becomes labialized because of the rounding harmony. The labial harmony operates across other segments. Consider the sequence of the presentative marker *ɲó* and the demonstrative *ɲánnà*, which is phonetically realized as [ɲóɲwán]:

- (104) ***nóɲwán*** *yénjátófká* *pàtrónárwà*
nó *ɲán* *yá* *ɲà á* *tù* *wáfk-á*
 PRES 3SG 1SG sit PRED before face-GEN
patron-á-rwà
 boss-GEN-1SG
 ‘Here I am sitting in front of my boss.’

The explanation for this phonetic realization is that the feature [+ round] present in the trigger *nó* spreads and finds a landing place that is the same environment from which it originated, i.e. after the velar nasal. In other environments, the demonstrative *ɲánnà* is produced without the labial glide.

11.4 The nasalization of vowels

The nasalization of vowels has been recorded very rarely. A nasal consonant in the phrase-final position can be realized as the nasalization of the preceding vowel. Such nasalization is made possible when the target vowel is preceded by the labial glide, which is deleted in the process. In the following example, the locative predicator *a* followed by spatial specifier *m* ‘IN’ is fused with the preceding verb ending in a vowel resulting in the nasal vowel: *sá-wà á-m* → [sǎ̃]:

- (105) *àptsà-rà-ptsà* *sá-wà* *á-m[sǒ]* *kwàskwé*
 return-3PL-return come-VENT PRED-IN market
 ‘They returned from the market.’ (*fɪsà* [ptsà] ‘go and return’)

If there is no labial glide in the immediately preceding sequence, nasalization does not take place, and the final *m* is realized as a consonant:

- (106) *sà-s* *á-m[sàsám]* *kwàskwé*
 come from:3SG-come from PRED-IN market
 ‘He came from the market.’

12. Tone

12.1 Underlying tones

There are two underlying tones: high (H), marked in this grammar by the acute ´, and low (L), marked by the grave ` , placed over the vowel or consonant. The tones have lexical and grammatical functions. Lexical distinctions coded solely by tone are found chiefly among nouns:

- (107) *irè* *irè*
 ‘iron’ ‘head’
 (there happens to be no noun of the form *iré*)

fyìrè *fyíré*
 ‘smoke’ ‘beans’

ngúdi ‘a useless, good-for-nothing person’

The grammatical functions of the high tone include, among others, the coding of aspect and tense, the imperative mood, transitivity, and the syntactic organization of the clause. The following example contains a phrase followed by an afterthought clause. The phrase ends in the noun *niká* ‘marriage’, with high tone. The underlying tones of this noun are LL:

- (107a) *àskà* *fúngwániká* *mádàndà*
àskè *fúngw-á* *nikà* *má* *d-á-n-d-à*
 like money-GEN marriage HYP go-GO-3SG-go-GO
 ‘Like money of the marriage, if he brought it.’

The default tone in Wandala is low. The high tone is a coding means for a number of unrelated grammatical functions. The evidence for this hypothesis

is provided by two arguments: (1) When there is a distinction between low and high tone for the same grammatical morpheme, the low tone codes the semantically or pragmatically unmarked form and the high tone codes the semantically or pragmatically marked form. This is the case with the past/unmarked tense, coded by low tone on subject pronouns, and the present/ marked tense, coded by high tone on subject pronouns:

(108) *yá ndàhà*
‘I speak’

yà ndàhà
‘I spoke’

The second argument in support of the marked status of the high tone is provided by the fact that whenever two vowels with different tones fuse, the high tone is preserved and the low tone is deleted.

The high tone on a vowel may be a product of gemination of the preceding consonant, as per the rule: $T \rightarrow H/\#C1C1V$. In the imperfective aspect of transitive verbs, the third-person singular object pronoun is marked by gemination of the first consonant of the verb. The vowel after the geminated consonant has high tone:

(109) *yá ddàhà* ‘I called him’
yá jjáhà ‘I gathered it’
yá jjá ‘I hit him’

Compare the tone on the same verb without the geminated consonant:

(110) *yá dā-k-dàhà*
1SG call-2SG-call
‘I am calling you’

yá jàhà-tàr-jàhà
1SG gather-3PL-gather
‘I am gathering them’

When the clause has a third-person singular object but there is no gemination, as is the case for some verbs with a word-initial underlying cluster, the verb does not have high tone:

(111) *yá plè*
‘I am detaching it’, cf. plural: *yá pàlè* ‘I am detaching many things’

yà mbè
 ‘I cured him’, not **yàmbàmbè*

Thus there is a phonological rule that converts the low tone into the high tone after an initial geminated consonant.

12.2 Tone and vowel deletion

When two vowels come into contact and one of them is deleted, and if the vowels have the same tone, there are no tonal consequences of the vowel deletion. When two vowels with different tones are in contact, and when the two vowels fuse or when one vowel is deleted, the high tone becomes the tone of the new syllable. The rule of tones in contact under the conditions of vowel deletion (or vowel fusion) is as follows: $T_L + T_H \rightarrow T_H$. In other words, the high tone stays. The reason that the high tone is preserved is that in Wandala it is the marked tone, usually coding a narrower function than that coded by the low (unmarked) tone within the same functional domain. The loss of the high tone would result in the loss of the coding means for some function. The deletion of a low tone does not involve the loss of coding means for any function.

(112a) *ɲóɲwá nè yénjátwáfkápàtrónárwà*
ɲó ɲàné yá ɲà á tù wáfk-á
 PRES 3SG 1SG sit PRED before face-GEN
patron-á-rwà
 boss-GEN-1SG
 ‘Here I sit in front of my boss.’

(112b) *máǵàrà b́éetàrè séetá dá f́ùlà*
máǵàrà á bà ítàrè séi tá d-á f́ùlà
 now (F) 3SG say 3PL then 3PL go-GO travel
 ‘Now they say that they have to travel.’

Theoretically, one would also expect the rule: $T_H + T_L \rightarrow T_H$. The recorded data do not contain an instantiation of such an environment.

12.3 Tone and the epenthetic vowels

Given that epenthetic vowels constitute an important part of the phonetic material of any utterance in Wandala, the tone on the epenthetic vowel constitutes another facet of every utterance that has to be accounted for.

The tone on an epenthetic vowel in word-initial position depends on the category of the lexical item to which the epenthetic vowel is added. With

nouns, the epenthetic vowel has a polar tone, opposite to that of the following tone of the noun. The test of tones is supplemented by forms preceding the demonstrative *nà*, which always has low tone:

- (113) *àklá* *àklánà*
 ‘cow’ cow DEM
- ágbà* *ágbà* *nà*
 ‘smithy’
- árbà* *árbà* *nà*
 ‘mid-size clay pot’
- àrgá* *àrgá* *nà*
 ‘fertilizer (natural)’
- àffiyà* *àffiyà* *nà*
 ‘red sorrel’ (*folere*, in F.)

The tone on the initial epenthetic vowel of the verb depends on the grammatical form of the verb. In the infinitive and imperative, the tone is low:

- (114) *àptsá*
 ‘return’
- àksá*
 ‘arrest’

12.4 Tone on epenthetic vowels in word- and phrase-internal position

The tone on epenthetic vowels in word- and phrase-internal position is polar with respect to the neighboring tone. The rules for choosing which tone will serve as the source of the polar tone are as follows. First, tones within the same lexical word are chosen. The first choice is the preceding tone. If there is no preceding tone, the following tone serves as the polarizing tone.

The evidence for the proposed hypothesis is provided by the formation of the reduplicated imperative forms of the verb. The structure of such verbs is R1R2, where R2 represents the nominalized form of the verb. By default, R2 has low tone, as evidenced by forms without any epenthetic vowels:

- (115) *mb-à-n-á-mbè*
 cure-GO-3SG-GO-cure
 ‘cure him!’

If a consonantal morpheme is inserted into such a structure, and if an epenthetic vowel has to follow such a morpheme, the tone of this vowel is the opposite of the preceding tone in the word:

- (116) *mb-à-n-sá-mbè*
 learn-GO-3SG-S-learn
 ‘teach him!’

mb-ì-sá-mbè
 teach-1SG-teach
 ‘teach me!’

If there are two epenthetic vowels in the word, the tone on these vowels depends on the order of the insertion of the epenthetic vowels. Consider the form:

- (117) *mbá-sà-mbè*
 learn-S-learn
 ‘learn!’

The question is why the first rather than the second epenthetic vowel has the high tone. The answer lies in the order of derivation of the imperative form. The first component in the derivation is R2, which must have low tone. The next step is the creation of R1, which is formed through reduplication of the first segment, *mb-mbè*. The next step is the insertion of the epenthetic vowel, which must have high tone, in contrast with the next tone, which is low: *mbá-mbè*. The insertion of the source extension *s* is next, producing a disallowed sequence **mbásmbè*. The high central vowel is inserted with the low tone, the opposite of the tone of the preceding vowel, giving the form *mbá-sà-mbè*. High tone on the second epenthetic vowel is ungrammatical:

- (118) **mbá-sá-mbè*
 learn-S-learn
 ‘learn!’

Consider now the derivation of another imperative, this time involving the verb *và* ‘give’. This verb requires the target extension *t*, coding the change of the position of the object in space:

- (119) *v-ì-t-và*
 give-1SG-T-give:GO
 ‘give me!’

The addition of a nominal object requires the verb to have the root form. The addition of the nominal object *hiyà* ‘corn’ creates a disallowed consonant sequence **tvh*:

- (120) **v-ì-t-v-hiyà*
give-1SG-T-give-corn

In order to realize all the morphemes involved, an epenthetic vowel is inserted in the first disallowed sequence, between *t* and *v*. The tone of this vowel is opposite to the preceding tone. Since the preceding tone is low, the tone on the epenthetic vowel is high:

- (121) *v-ì-tá-v* *hiyà*
give-1SG-T-give corn
‘give me some guinea corn!’

The addition of an object pronoun other than the first-person singular requires that the goal marker *á* precede the object. This creates an initial syllable with high tone. Consequently, the epenthetic vowel after the target extension has to have low tone:

- (122) *v-á-n-tà-vá*
give-GO-3SG-T-give
‘give him!’
- v-á-ŋr-tà-vá*
give-GO-1EXCL-T-give
‘give us!’

Additional evidence that it is the preceding tone, when available, rather than the following tone, that serves as the polarizing tone is provided by clauses where the last tone of the verb becomes high as a result of the absorption of the epenthetic tone on the following word. Consider the verb *và* ‘give’ with the first-person singular object pronoun and with the target extension *t* followed by the nominal object with the quantifier *ágdzà* ‘small, a little’. The quantifier is inserted in the sequence of morphemes together with its epenthetic vowel and the tone of the epenthetic vowel. The sequence of derivation is as follows:

- (123) *v-ì-t-v* *ágdzà hiyà*
give-1SG-T-give small corn
‘give me some guinea corn!’

An epenthetic vowel is inserted after the verb and receives its tone from the epenthetic vowel of the following morpheme:

- (124) *v-ì-t-vá* *gdzà* *hiyà*
 give-1SG-T-give small corn
 ‘give me some guinea corn!’

Next, an epenthetic vowel is inserted after the target extension *t*. The tone on this vowel is the opposite of the tone of the preceding syllable rather than of the following syllable:

- (125) *v-ì-tá-vá* *gdzà* *hiyà*
 give-1SG-T-give small corn
 ‘give me some guinea corn!’

Consider now the imperative form of the verb *ptsà*. The imperative form of this verb has an epenthetic vowel with high tone, the opposite of the low tone of the next syllable:

- (126) *ptsá-ptsà*
 return-return
 ‘return!’

The tone on word-final epenthetic vowels in nouns is polar, the opposite of the tone of the preceding syllable. Consider the noun *íwè* ‘cricket’. The vowel *e* at the end is epenthetic, as per the discussion of the vowel system. Its tone is opposite to the preceding tone. When this epenthetic vowel is replaced by another epenthetic vowel in phrase-internal position, the tone of the new epenthetic vowel is still the opposite of the preceding tone:

- (128) *íw-ù* *nà*
 cricket-EP DEM
 ‘this cricket’
- mùks-á* *nà*
 woman-EP DEM
 ‘the woman’

When the internal tonal structure of the lexical item changes, so does the tone on the epenthetic vowel. The noun *árvà* ‘hand’ has high tone on the initial epenthetic vowel. The addition of a possessive suffix with the genitive marker *á* changes the tonal structure, and the syllable *rvá* has high tone. Consequently, the initial epenthetic vowel has low tone:

- (129) *ərv-á-rwà*
 hand-GEN-1SG
 ‘my hand’

12.5 Tone shift

Nouns are inserted into higher structures with their initial epenthetic vowels. If the epenthetic high-central vowel is preceded by a morpheme ending in a vowel, the high-central vowel is deleted. The high tone of the epenthetic vowel is retained and realized on the preceding vowel. Thus, when the noun *ágdzrè* ‘child’ follows the verb *žàgàdà* ‘run away, escape’, the last syllable of the verb carries the high tone of the epenthetic vowel of the following noun:

- (130) *á* *dá* *žàgàdá* *gdzrè*
 3SG FUT run away child
 ‘the child will run away’

The verb retains the low tone when it is followed by a subject with no epenthetic vowels:

- (131) *á* *dá* *žàgàdà* *gyálè*
 3SG FUT run away girl
 ‘the girl will run away’

- (132) *á* *kátá* *lvá* *ndzà*
à *kàtà* *álvà-á* *ndzà*
 3SG want story-GEN past
 ‘He wants a story.’

The evidence that the high tone on *kátá* is a result of a tone shift from *álvà* is provided by the fact that when the verb is followed by nouns without epenthetic vowels, it has low tones throughout:

- (133) *á* *kàtà* *fúngù*
 3SG want money
 ‘he wants money’

Compare also the verb *cìnà* ‘hear’ when followed by a noun beginning with a consonant and a noun beginning with an epenthetic vowel. In the latter case, the high tone on the epenthetic vowel shifts to the last syllable of the verb:

(134) *à cinà nábbà*
 3SG hear Nabba
 ‘he heard Nabba’

à ciná Ivà
 3SG hear speech
 ‘he heard the speech’

The tone on the negative marker *kà* is inherently low, as evidenced by its form in phrase-final position. Before a subject that, in isolation, has an initial epenthetic schwa with high tone, the tone on the negative marker becomes high, *ká*:

(135) *dàcí tá màgànàzú wàyà kárvòndámìyà*
dàcí tá màgá nàzú wàyà kà érvònd-á-mìyà
 then 3PL do what like NEG heart-GEN-IINCL
 ‘Then, they do what our heart does not want.’

The preposition *g* has an inherent low tone and is realized most often as *gè*. When this preposition is followed by a noun with an epenthetic vowel, the high tone replaces the low tone of the preposition:

(136) *tálvángágdzèná bállàhànrwàrà*
tá Ivá-n gá gdzè nà bál
 3PL say-3SG TO child DEM sing
láh-á-ηà rwàrà
 song-GEN-2SG REM.DEF
 ‘They told the child, “Sing your song again.”’

When two identical vowels follow each other in different morphemes, a glottal continuant is inserted between them. The insertion of the glottal continuant does not prevent the high tone from spreading to the preceding vowel. In the following example, the low-tone verb *tsà* ‘stand’ is followed by the predicator *á*. The glottal continuant is inserted between the two vowels. The tone on the verb ‘to stand’ becomes high:

(137) *tà tsáhá tùwá hàyyánà* [recording different]
tà tsá-á á-t w-á hàyy ànnà
 3PL stop-PL PRED-T mouth-GEN river DEF
 ‘They stand at the river shore.’

13. Conclusions

Word-structure constraints do not allow a word to end in a consonant in clause-final position. No syllable can have a consonant cluster in the coda; i.e., there are no *(C)VCC syllables.

The underlying segments of Wandala consist of a large number of consonants (forty-one) and three vowels, *a*, *u*, and *i*. The language has an extensive system of vowel insertion in order to satisfy syllable structure conditions. It has only one type of consonant epenthesis, between two vowels. There exist vowel-raising and rounding rules operating across segments. The high central vowel (represented as schwa) is a product of epenthesis in various positions in the utterance. The phonetic *e* is epenthetic, a product of the fusion of *a* and *i* or a product of neutralization of the high front vowel in pre-pausal position. The mid-round vowel *o* is a product of the fusion of *a* and *u*. The vowel *a* in clause-final position is epenthetic.

Wandala has two tones. The tones have a lexical function and a grammatical function. The tones are part of the underlying structure of nouns. Within the verbal system, the tones have only a grammatical function. Tones have also syntactic function, marking the end of some syntactic units.

Chapter 3

Morphological marking of syntactic organization

1. Introduction

The purpose of the present chapter is to demonstrate that Wandala has grammaticalized morphological means that divide the stream of the utterance into various parts, such that the relationships within one part are computed before the relationship between that part and other parts of the utterance is computed. The division into these parts in turn allows the listener to compute the grammatical and semantic relations among the elements of the utterance. This coding is achieved through vowel alternations in word-final position.

No Wandala word ends in a consonant in any of the possible citation forms or in clause- or sentence-final position. For the sake of brevity, these are referred to in the rest of the grammar as ‘clause-final’ positions and the forms occurring there are referred to as ‘clause-final forms’, ‘sentence-final forms’ or ‘citation forms’. Lexical and grammatical morphemes may have two or three phonological forms in natural discourse:

- (1) Lexical items and grammatical morphemes that end in the vowel *a* in clause-final position can occur with or without this vowel in clause-internal position. The form without the final vowel *a* is called the ‘root form’. Root forms may be realized with an epenthetic vowel, as required by syllable structure conditions. The form with the vowel *a* is called the ‘root + *a* form’.
- (2) Morphemes that have the final vowel *e* in clause-final position can end in a consonant (the root form) or in the root + *a* form in clause-internal position.

The root versus root + *a* alternation in clause-internal position has been grammaticalized to code two types of boundaries, which allow and instruct the listener how to parse the utterance. The two types of boundaries, combined with the lexical and grammatical categories on either side of the boundary, allow the listener to infer the semantic connections between the constituents separated by the boundary. The functions that can be inferred include, but are not limited to: grammatical and semantic relationships between the predicate and arguments; relationships between the verb and adjuncts; relations between the noun and its modifiers; modal functions; pragmatic functions; and distinctions between the adverbial phrase and the topicalization phrase. The two types of boundaries are thus the fundamental coding means within the gram-

mar of Wandala. The distinction between the two types of boundaries is fundamental for the understanding of the grammatical system of Wandala. The two types of boundaries do not coincide with any preconceived notion of phrase structure rules. They do not coincide with assumptions that languages are head-marking, dependent-marking, both head- and dependent-marking, or neither head- nor dependent-marking (Nichols and Bickel 2005). In Wandala, the locus of marking is often neither head nor dependent, and yet the marking exists.

2. A phonological explanation of the root form

The most frequent approach in Chadic linguistics is to consider the root forms as being reduced in comparison to the phrase-final forms, with the reduction in most cases involving vowel deletion. This approach is taken in a variety of Chadic grammars, including Mafa (Barreteau and Le Bléis 1990), Hausa (Newman 2000), Hdi (Frajzyngier with Shay 2002), Mina (Frajzyngier and Johnston with Edwards 2005), and Gidar (Frajzyngier 2008).

Given that Wandala forms ending in *e* or *a* in clause-final position end in a consonant in some positions, vowel deletion accounts best for the presence versus the absence of the vowel. Consider the indefinite inanimate/question word *wè* ‘what’. This is the citation, clause-final form:

- (1) *tà* *sá* *wè*
 3PL come:GO what
 ‘what did they bring?’ (elicited)

The citation form of the question word *wè* also occurs in clause-internal position before a pause:

- (2) *máfâtárm skùwé ámhùdávà*
 má fâ-tár-m skù wé á-m
 HYP put-3PL-IN like what PRED-IN
 hùd-á-vwà
 belly-GEN-body
 ‘What should one put into their bodies?’

Some realizations of the question word consist only of the vowel *u*, the product of the underlying labial glide:

- (3) *ábáṅánè kòndángù kòbúunà*
á bá ṅàné kò nd-á-n g wè
 3SG say 3SG 2SG say-GO-3SG TO what
kò bwá nà
 2PL two DEM
 ‘He says, “Why do you say the two of you?”’

Forms that end in *a* in clause-final position can also end in a consonant in clause-internal position. Given that one cannot predict which forms end in the vowel *e* and which end in the vowel *a* in clause-final position, one has to postulate that the clause-internal consonantal ending (with an epenthetic vowel if necessary) represents the deletion of the final vowel.

3. A phonological explanation of the root + *a* form

Lexical and grammatical morphemes in some root positions end in the vowel *a*. In order to explain those forms, it would be tempting to postulate that they are merely clause-final forms that for some reason did not have their vowel reduced. While this explanation would account for the forms that end in *a* in the clause-final form, it does not account for the presence of *a* in forms that end in *e* in the clause-final form, e.g. for the question word *wè*:

- (4) *kái kándángwà kónà*
kái ká ndá-n gè wà kà únà
 EXCL 2SG say-3SG TO what 2SG DEF
 ‘hey, why do you say this?’

Similarly with the question word *wàrè* ‘who’, which in clause-final position ends in the vowel *e*:

- (5) *kà pàká wàrè*
 2SG wait:GO who
 ‘who are you waiting for?’ (elicited)

In some clause-internal positions, the form ends in the consonant:

- (6) *màǰármá wàrkínà kyádámbatàrè*
màǰár má wàr kín à kyà
 now HYP who C.FOC 3SG scatter
á dám mb-á-tàrè
 PRED go:IN home-GEN-3PL
mátə̀gàrsátə̀gər [error and attempt at correction] *górò*
má tə̀gà-r-sá-tə̀gə̀ górò
 HYP distribute-3PL-S-distribute cola nut
 ‘Now, everybody goes home, having partaken of the cola nuts.’

In other clause-internal positions, the form ends in the vowel *a*:

- (7) *wàtskàpàkàwàrà kánḡàné*
wàts kà pàkà wàrà kà án ḡàné
 FUT 2SG wait:GO who 2SG ASSC 3SG
 “‘Who are you going to wait for, with her?’”

The fact that forms that end in the vowel *e* in clause-final position end in the consonant in some clause-internal positions and in the vowel *a* in other clause-internal positions indicates that the vowel *a* in some clause-internal positions is a suffix. With respect to morphemes that end in the vowel *a* in clause-final position, the addition of the suffix *a* in clause-internal position leaves no phonological traces. The suffix *a* is added to the root form rather than to the form ending in the vowel *a*. The addition of the suffix *a* to the form ending in *a* would result in the insertion of the glottal continuant *h*, and this does not happen.

The fundamental question is what function is coded by the suffix *a*. As is shown later in the present chapter, the suffix *a* can be added to all morphemes that end in *e* in clause-final position, which includes verbs, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, and nouns. Therefore, the function of the suffix cannot be linked to any specific grammatical category to which it is added.

4. Hypothesis

The root form of a lexical or grammatical item indicates membership of the lexical item that follows in the same grammaticalized relationship.

The root + *a* form indicates a grammaticalized relationship when none is expected given the properties of lexical items involved.

The two types of coding, combined with the lexical categories and associated inflectional marking, enable the speaker to interpret a large variety of semantic relations that obtain between forms separated by different boundaries.

5. Syntactic environments of the root form

What follows are the major syntactic environments in which morphemes must or may have the root form.

5.1 Prepositions before the noun phrase

Prepositions always occur in the root form, because they are always followed by their complements. There are no prepositions in clause-final position in Wandala:

- (8) *ηόηwá nè yénjátwáfkápatrónárwà*
ηό ηànè yá njà á tũ wáfκ-á
 PRES 3SG 1SG sit PRED before face-GEN
patron-á-rwà
 boss-GEN-1SG
 ‘Here I sit in front of my boss.’
yá fà-tr-ú gè bàmá
 1SG speak-3PL-VENT TO population
 ‘I speak to people.’
- (9) *tà hàlsám bùhá ηánnà*
tà hàl-s á-m bùhá ηánnà
 3PL gather-S PRED-IN bag DEF
 ‘They gathered the bag.’
- (10) *yò ágdzè kínnàní zùηwé bàtánmàlà tàrà màrà árg dàdà*
yò ágdzè kínnà-ní zùηwé bà t-án
 hence child C.FOC-INTNS first of all FOC 3PL-ASSC
màlà tàr á màrà á r g dàdà
 attach 3PL PRED mother PRED ON TO father
 ‘And therefore, as for the daughter, she is more attached to her mother than to her father.’

5.2 Root form of nouns before adjectives

Nouns have the root form before adjectives:

- (11) *ágdzàr žilé má ndàvèndà vè mùksè*
ágdzàr žilé má ndàvè-ndàvè mùksè
 child boy HYP ask-ask girl
 ‘A young man, if he asks for a woman,’

- (12a) *yándà trólɔ̀ gè tàrógdzà gyálà nà*
yá ndà-tró lv gè tàr ógdzà gyálà nà
 1SG speak-3PL speech TO 3PL young girl:PL DEM
ántàr gdzàrzálánà dè gíyá
ántàr gdzàr zálá nà dègíyá
 ASSC:PL child male DEM behold
 ‘I am speaking to the girls and boys, as follows.’

Possessive pronouns have the root form before adjectives:

- (12b) *málà kàtòhàrúmlè*
má tàkàtò hàr úmlè
 HYP fellow 3SG another
 ‘or [with] one of his buddies’

As is shown later, adjectives before nouns end in the vowel *a*.

5.3 Root forms before adverbs

Verbs have the root form before all modifying adverbs. Consider the verbs *ptsà* ‘return’ and *hàlà* ‘gather’ before the adverbs *hàbè* ‘again’, *fágrà* ‘well’, and *bàdé* ‘for nothing’:

- (13) *tá ptsà hãbè á dãm gyàkàrà*
 3PL return again PRED go:IN cemetery
 ‘they return/are returning again to the cemetery’

Similarly with adverbs of manner:

- (14) *tà hãrdã fágrà/bàdé*
 3PL farm well/for nothing
 ‘they farmed well/for nothing’
- (15) *hòhò màhàrà*
 finish:VENT-finish now
 ‘That finished.’
- (16) *àlhãmdùlilàhì máná bàhãl màhàrà*
àlhãmdùlilàhì má nábà hãl màhàrà
 May God be praised (Ar) 1INCL then depart now
 ‘“May God be praised. Now we can go.”’

Compare the same verb in clause-final position, where it ends in the vowel *a*:

- (17) *àlhámdùlilàhì máná bàǵàlà*
àlhámdùlilàhì má nábà ǵàlà
 IINCL then depart
 ‘May God be praised. We can go.’

- (18a) *má fá-p-tà-fè/ə cəkwá ηgùdì*
má fá-p-tà-f cəkwá ηgùdì
 HYP find-APPL-T-find a little bit
 ‘If she is a little bit free . . .’

The verb cannot end in the vowel *a* before an adverb:

- (18b) **má fá-p-tà-fà cəkwá ηgùdì*
 HYP find-APPL-T-find a little bit
 ‘If she is a little bit free . . .’

Verbs whose roots include the final vowel *a* retain this vowel before adverbs. This is the case with the verb *ndà* which, when followed by the suffix *à*, becomes *ndàhà* ‘talk’:

- (19) *tà ndá ǵàbè/fáǵrà/bàdé*
 3PL say again/well/for nothing
 ‘they said again/well/for nothing’

The punctual extension, which has the form *hè* in clause-final position, has only the root form before adverbs:

- (20a) *tà ptsə-hə ǵàbé á dəm ǵyàkàrà*
 3PL return-PNCT again PRED go-IN cemetery
 ‘they returned again to the cemetery’

The rhetorical question marker *kwà* has the root form before an adverb:

- (20b) *yó ásò hárá làrúskùmàǵàrà*
yó á sà-w há-r-á làrús
 well 3SG come-VENT day-GEN marriage
kwàmàǵàrà
 RQ now
 ‘Well, there finally comes the day of the marriage [the betrothal].’

Note also, in the above example, that the noun *làrúsà* ‘marriage, bride’ ends in the consonant before the rhetorical question marker *kwà*.

A noun or a determiner before the adverb ends in the vowel *a*. Adverbs do not modify the preceding nouns or determiners:

- (21a) *ée à bà dādà ʒàbá dályè á-m úvgè ʒánnà*
éh, 3SG say father again again PRED-IN grave
ʒánnà
 DEF
 ‘And the father in the grave said.’

- (21b) *ágdzè ʒánnà ɓlà làh ʒánnà ʒàbà dályé*
ágdzè ʒánnà à ɓlà làh ʒánnà ʒàbà dályé
 child DEF 3SG send song DEF again
 ‘The child sings the song again.’

5.4 Root forms before prepositions

Nouns that in isolation end in the vowel *a* have the root form before prepositions. The motivation for this ending is the relationship between the preceding constituent, of which the noun is the last component, and the preposition. The constituent preceding the preposition is the predicate, with its object or subject:

- (22a) *à bərdá-n-ú ɡín ɡá málm-á-rà*
 3SG pull out-3SG-VENT peanuts TO teacher-GEN-3SG
 ‘he pulled out peanuts for his teacher’ (from somebody)

Compare the noun *ɡínà* ‘peanuts’ in the clause-final position:

- (22b) *à də bərdà ɡínà*
 3SG FUT pull peanuts
 ‘it/he will grab peanuts’ (about birds, boys playing)

Similarly, the noun *vwa* ‘body’ has the form *vù* (product of the change of the labial glide to the high round vowel) before a preposition:

- (23) *táfà-nmámvù ɡədàdà táfà-nmámvù ɡəmàmà*
tá fà-n-m á-m vw ɡè dádà
 3PL put-3SG-IN PRED-IN body TO father
tá fà-n-m á-m vw ɡè màmà
 3PL put-3SG-IN PRED-IN body TO mother
 ‘They announce to the father, they announce to the mother.’

The negative marker *kà* (clause-final form) has the form *k* before a preposition:

- (24) *mábà kàḷà kùlà wá ájìyù kàgìyà*
má bà kàḷà kùlà wá
 HYP FOC count calculus COM
à jì-y-ú kà gè iyà
 3SG surpass-1SG-VENT NEG TO 1SG
 ‘If it concerns counting, nobody surpasses me.’

The source extension *s* has the root form before the human locative marker *z*. This indicates that human locative marker has the same properties as a preposition:

- (25) *tá ptsà-sá z-rùwà*
 3PL return-S HL-1SG
 ‘they return to me’

5.5 Root form of verbs before objects

Inherently transitive verbs in the perfect aspect have the root form before an object:

- (26a) *yò dikdì zàrvàḡḡnnà kìnì*
yò dyì-k-dyì zàrvà ḡḡnnà kìnì
 well know-2SG-know sesame DEF C.FOC
 ‘“You know sesame, don’t you?”’ [the fast tempo of speech led to the reduction of the vowel *a* preceding the 2SG marker *k*]

- (26b) *má fá-n-fǎ gdzà fúngù*
 HYP find-3SG-find small money
 ‘if she found a bit of money . . .’

The negative existential predicate *bákà* ‘there is not’ has the root form before a single argument:

- (27) *bá kùr tátàttàyà à júg-iyì bákà*
bákà wrà tà tàttàyà à j-ú g-iyà
 NEG.EX person 3PL search 3SG surpass-VENT TO-1SG
bákà
 NEG.EX
 ‘One does not look for a person to surpass me.’

The root form of the source extension *s* indicates that the following noun phrase is the object rather than the subject of the predicate (the form *sú* below exhibits the epenthetic *u* before a labial glide):

- (28a) *mándà súwèè kìnì àgdzárwá ákìpìkìyèkákàbè*
má á ndà-sú wèè kìnì àgdz-á-r
 HYP 3SG say-S what C.FOC child-GEN-3SG
wá á kì-p-kìyè ká kàbè
 COM 3SG accept-APPL-accept NEG again
 ‘whatever he says, his child should accept, shouldn’t she?’

Similarly, object pronouns have the root form before a nominal object:

- (28b) *yé fà-k úyì cùkwá ngùdì*
 1SG tell-2SG story small small
 ‘I will tell you a short story’ (*úyà* ‘story’)

A transitivized verb has the root form before an object. This is the case with the verb *kà* ‘finish’:

- (29) *kà-r-ná-kà lvá hàrdà*
 finish-3PL-3SG-finish business:GEN farming
 ‘when they finished farming’
 **kà-r-ná-kà lvá hàrdà*
 finish-3PL-3SG-finish business:GEN farm
 ‘when they finished farming’

5.6 Root form of morphemes before the focus marker

The ventive extension *w* has the root form form before the focus marker *bà*:

- (30) *à kú bà s-t-wà*
 3SG finish:VENT FOC DEF-DEF-DEF
 ‘it ended like that’
 **à/á kà bà s-t-wà*
 3SG finish FOC DEF-DEF-DEF
 ‘it ended/ends like that’

5.7 Root forms of nominalized verbs before the predicate

Nominalized verbs serving as subjects of verbless clauses end in the root form before either a nominal or adjectival predicate. The examples below are elicited. Since only the phonological form is at issue, the naturalness of examples at other levels is irrelevant:

- (31) *í-yì fágàr kà*
 dig-dig good NEG
 ‘to dig is not good’

yì-v-yì mtán kà
 dig-APPL-dig good NEG
 ‘to refuse is bad’ (yì ‘dig’ plus the applicative extension *v* means ‘refuse’)

5.8 Root form before a complement clause

Verbs and other lexical items have the root form before a complement clause. The root ending of the form preceding the subject pronoun indicates that the pronoun does not belong to the same clause as the lexical item that precedes it. In the following example, the ventive marker *wà* is reduced to *w*:

- (32) *sébà kásókásáccínkákínì*
sé bà ká sá-w ká sá
 then FOC 2SG come-VENT 2SG come
ccín ká kínì
 listen:IMP 2SG C.FOC
 ‘You should come and listen as well.’

The verb has the root form when it precedes the hypothetical marker *má*:

- (33) *mákí dàrá dè má tándá vágdzà gyálè*
má-kí dà-r-á-dè má tá ndávà
 HYP-? go-3PL-GO-go HYP 3PL ask
ágdzà gyálè
 young girl
 ‘When they arrive, they ask for the girl.’

5.9 Root form of the head of a relative clause before the subject of the clause

The head of a relative clause occurs in the root form:

- (34) *nàrwàndzà* *tà* *sà-nétàr* *nà*
 story 3PL come-3SG:3PL DEM
 ‘the story they brought’ (*nàrwàndzà* ‘story’)

This provides an important argument against identifying heads of relative clauses with topicalized noun phrases, since topicalized noun phrases have the root + *a* form before the comment clause (see 6.2 below).

5.10 Root form before a conjunction

Lexical items preceding a conjunction occur in the root form, as a conjunction is an allowed follow-up of the preceding clause. The noun *žilé* ‘man’ ends in a consonant before a conjunction:

- (35) *tá pwám̀bà* *ńánnà g̀b̀ákìrà* *žilmtú*
tá *pwà* *á-m* *mbá* *ńánnà g̀* *b̀ák*
 3PL pour PRED-IN home DEF TO NEG.EX
ìr-á *žil* *mtú*
 head-GEN man or
 ‘They [the girls] loaf around the house because of the absence of a man,’

ánkwè žilmtú *ẁyàrk̀b̀éet̀arèè*
ánkwè žil *mtú* *ẁyà-r* *k̀à* *b̀à* *it̀arèè*
 exist man or love-3PL NEG FOC 3PL
 ‘or else, there is a man, but they [the girls] don’t like [him].’

The form *hwà* (citation form) ‘outside’ has an adverbial function rather than a locative goal function, as indicated by the fact that the ventive marker attached to the preceding verb has the root form. The adverb itself has the root form *hù* before the interrogative marker *mtú* ‘or’:

- (36) *k̀ad̀uh̀um̀ tú*
k̀à *d̀úw* *hw* *mtú*
 2SG go:VENT outside or
 ‘Did you go anywhere?’

5.11 Root form before the negative marker

Lexical items and grammatical morphemes have the root form before the negative marker. The following example illustrates the use of the root form of the verb *ğyiyà* ‘extract’:

- (37a) *ká* *ɛ̀yì* *mtùká* ***ɛ̀yì*** *kà* *hè*
 2SG extract OR 2SG extract NEG Q
 ‘are you extracting or you are not extracting’

Compare the affirmative:

- (37b) *á* *ɛ̀yà* *fúngù*
 3SG extract money
 ‘he extracts money’

5.12 Auxiliaries before main verbs

Auxiliaries that precede main verbs have the root form:

- (38) *á* ***dá*** *zàgàdá* *gdzrè*
 3SG FUT escape child
 ‘the child will run away’

5.13 Root forms before determiners

Nouns and verbs have root forms before various types of determiners:

- (39) *áppákúmdànàní* *wàtsèmàgàrènkè* *itàrniyà*
áppàkà *mdà* *nà* *ní* *wàtsè*
 wait:IMP people DEM INTNS FUT
màgà-rá-n-kè-itàr
 make-3PL-3SG-NEG-3PL
sákátà *gdzàná* *ní* *kává* *tàrtàvànà*
níyà *sá* *kátà* *gdzá* *nà* *ní* *ká*
 desire come ask child DEM INTNS 2SG
vá-tàr-tà-vá *nà*
 give-3PL-T-give DEM
 ‘Wait then until those who have no desire to come to ask for your child, it is to those people that you will give her.’

- (40) *álvèhànnà* *nóyéfíná* *wá*
álvè *hànnà* *nó* *yé* *fí* *ná* *wá*
 matter DEF PRES 1SG tell DEM COM
ádàbà *yiyékní* *yètápántàp* *kàràrà* *cikwángùdì*
ádàbà *iyá* *kní* *yè* *tàpá-n-tàp*
 because 1SG C.FOC 1SG taste-3SG-taste
kár-á-rà *cikwángùdì*
 fire-GEN-3SG a little bit
 ‘“What I am telling you, is because I myself tasted its fire a little bit.”’

5.14 Summary of the occurrence of the root form

- Spatial specifiers and prepositions that obligatorily precede the noun in locative predication;
- Auxiliaries, including the future tense marker *dá* and sequential marker *dà*, both of which immediately precede the verb;
- All lexical categories before the disjunction *mtù* or the hypothetical marker *má*;
- Inherently transitive verbs or transitivized verbs before their objects in the perfective and perfect aspects;
- Nouns before adjectives and determiners;
- All lexical categories before complement clauses;
- Verbs before adverbs.

In all of these cases, the root form is followed by an element that is not unexpected for the given category.

6. Syntactic environments of the root + a form

6.1 Subject pronouns that precede the predicate

Subject pronouns that precede the verb always have the vowel *a*. In the present tense, this vowel has high tone. In the past tense, it has low tone:

- (41) *tá kkàǝǝ tá kkàǝǝ tá kkàǝǝ mbàtè*[not recorded] *tà bǝǝyì*
tá kkàǝǝ tá kkàǝǝ tá kkàǝǝ
 3PL count 3PL count 3PL count
 They counted, they counted, they counted,

mbàtè tá bǝǝyì bà jirè lisáfyà
 indeed 3PL find FOC true number (Ar.)

filyá zàrvà pállà báakà
fìlì-á zàrvà pállà báakà
 sand-GEN sesame one NEG.EX

‘and they found that indeed it is true that one of their sesame seeds is missing.’

- (42) *sèyédótàttàyé sàns sábiná*
sèi yá dǎ tǎttàyà yé s-á-n-sè
 then 1SG FUT search 1SG come-GO-3SG-come
á b-inà
 3SG say-3SG
 ‘‘I will search, I will bring it back,’’ he said.’

- (43) *kàdúhùm tù*
kà dúw hw mtù
 2SG go:VENT outside or
 ‘Did you go anywhere?’

Question words that end in the vowel *e* in clause-final position end in the vowel *a* when they precede the verb:

- (44) *wàrá žàgàdè*
wàr á žàgàdè
 who 3SG run
 ‘who is running?’

6.2 Topicalized noun phrases

Topicalized noun phrases end in the vowel *a* regardless of what morpheme occurs at the end of the noun phrase. Here is an example with the definite marker at the end of the noun phrase:

- (45) *yó élv wándàl ñánnà à fyàrà málrùwà* [error]
yó élv wándàl ñánnà à f-y-àr-à
 well speech Wandala DEF 3SG put-1SG-ON-PB
mál-rùwà
 older brother-1SG
 ‘This Wandala speech is requested from me by my older brother.’

6.3 Root + *a* before the nominal subject

All morphemes, whether lexical or grammatical, end in the vowel *a* before a nominal subject.

The source extension *s + a* indicates that the following noun is the subject:

- (46) *séy bàná zènání àndásá màmèná*
séy bà nážè ná ní à ndà-sá
 except FOC what DEF INTNS 3SG say-S
màmè ná
 mother DEM
 ‘Except what the mother says.’ [i.e., what the mother says goes.]

The verb followed by the pronominal subject of the same clause has the root + *a* form:

- (47) *máki dà-r-á-dà tàrà mùksè žilé*
 HYP go-3PL-GO-go:PB 3PL woman man
 ‘Before they arrived, the woman, the man . . .’

The complementizer *nts` + a* precedes the nominal subject:

- (48) *à bá ntsà náli gè fáadi à žálà*
 3SG tell COMP Nali TO Faadi 3SG go
 ‘Nali told Faadi to go’

The complementizer has the root form when followed by the verb of the complement clause:

- (49) *à bà-ná ntsə žálà*
 3SG tell-3SG COMP depart
 ‘he told her to go’

The question marker *w* ends in the vowel *a* before the subject:

- (50) *kái kándángwà kónà*
kái ká ndá-n g wà kà únà
 no 2SG say-3SG TO what 2SG DEM
 ‘Hey, why do you say this?’

The following example illustrates the question word *w* in pre-pausal position, where it has the form *wè*:

- (51) *mándà súwèe kìnì àgdžárwá àžìpžyèkàžàbè*
má á ndà-sú wèe kìnì àgdž-á-r wá
 HYP 3SG say-S what C.FOC child-GEN-3SGCOM
á žì-p-žyè ká žàbè
 3SG accept-APPL-accept NEG again
 ‘whatever he says, his child should accept, shouldn’t she?’

- (52) *yòwmá bàní áksàràksà gdžàrwá*
yòw má bàní áksà-rá-ksà gdžàr wá
 well, HYP since take-ON-take child COM
 ‘“Well, since the child has accepted,”’

Additional evidence that the ending *a* is a grammatical marker rather than part of the underlying form of the verb is provided by the fact that verbs that end in the vowel *e* in isolation have the ending *a* when followed by the subject:

- (53) *àstùwá ʒóʒà nàrwàndzàḡánnà*
àstù wá ʒóʒà nàr-wà-ndzà ḡánnà
 like thatCOM finish:PB language-mouth-past DEF
 ‘Like that finished this story.’

Compare the clause-final form:

- (54) *àstùwá ʒóʒè*
àstù wá ʒóʒè
 like thatCOM finish
 ‘It finished like that.’

Here is another verb ending in the vowel *e* in clause-final position and in the vowel *a* before the subject:

- (55a) *à ʒàgàdà làkàtá tàrè*
 3SG ran fellow 3PL
 ‘their buddy ran away’ (elicited)

Compare the same verb in clause-final position:

- (55b) *mákáfár ndzèdàbákà ógdzrè dá ʒàgàdè*
má ká fá-r ndzèdà bá-kà ógdzrè dá
 HYP 2SG put-ON force say-2SG child FUT
ʒàgàdè
 escape
 ‘If you apply force, the child will run away.’

An existential verb before a single argument occurs in the root + *a* form. Recall that the negative existential occurs in the root form before the single argument:

- (56a) *áḡkwà dùksá kà màgà-ná kà*
áḡkwà dùksá kà màgà-ná kà
 exist thing 2SG do-3SG 2SG
 ‘Was there anything you did?’

Before the object, the verb may have the root form or the vowel *á* with high tone:

(56b) *à/tà* *ycá-s* *hàyè*
 3SG/3PL cross-S river
 ‘he/they crossed the river’

à/tà *ycà-s-á* *hàyè*
 3SG/3PL cross-S-GO river
 ‘he/they crossed the river’

6.4 Root and root + *a* forms and grammatical relations

The root and the root + *a* forms have been further grammaticalized for environments where any lexical or grammatical category can be followed by a noun phrase and where the grammatical relation of this noun phrase needs to be indicated. In such situations, the root + *a* form indicates that the following noun is the subject. The root form indicates that the following noun is the object. The importance of this grammaticalization is that the relevant endings do not have to appear on the verbs. If the clause has a question word, the subject function of the following noun is coded by the vowel *a* at the end of the question word. The evidence that the vowel *a* on the question word is a grammatical marker rather than a part of the underlying form of the question word is provided by the fact that the citation forms of the question words end in the vowel *e*. The object function of the noun following the question word is coded by the root form of the question word.

The question word about a human participant, *wàrè* ‘who’, has the root form before the object and the root + *a* form before the subject:

(57a) *á* *bàdà-ná* ***wàr*** *kèllù*
 3SG flatter-3SG who Kellu
 ‘who flatters Kellu?’

(57b) *á* *bàdà* ***wàrà*** *Nàbbà/žíl-nà*
 3SG flatter who:PB Nabba/man-DEM
 ‘who does Nabba/this man flatter?’

The question word about place, *mè*, has the form *mà* before the subject and the consonantal ending (plus an epenthetic vowel) before the object:

(58a) *á* *bàdà-n* *á* *mà* *kèllù*
 3SG flatter-3SG PRED where:PB Kellu
 ‘where does Kellu flatter him?’ (the high tone coding the transitive event is realized on the predicator *á*)

The object role of the noun is coded by the root form of the question word:

- (58b) *á* *bàdà-n* *á* *mè* *kèllù*
 3SG flatter-3SG PRED where Kellu
 ‘where does he flatter Kellu?’

In clause-final position, the question word about place has the form *mè*:

- (58c) *á* *bàdà-trá* *mè*
 3SG flatter-3PL:PRED where
 ‘where does he flatter them?’

Here are examples of the root versus root + *a* alternation with the question word *w* ‘what’ preceded by the preposition *g* ‘to’. The use of the preposition requires the root form of the object pronoun on the verb.

Clause-final position:

- (59a) *á* *bàdà-tár* *g-wè*
 3SG flatter-3PL TO-what
 ‘why does he flatter them?’

Coding the following noun as the subject:

- (59b) *á* *bàdà-trá* *g-w-à* *kèllù*
 3SG flatter-3PL TO-what-PB Kellu
 ‘why does Kellu flatter them?’

Coding the following noun as the object: If the object pronoun is consonantal only, the high tone coding a transitive event shifts to the preceding vowel:

- (59c) *á* *bàdà-n* *gù* *kèllù*
 3SG flatter-3SG TO:what Kellu
 ‘why does he flatter Kellu?’

The negative marker consists of the consonant alone (plus epenthetic vowel) when followed by the nominal object:

- (60) *yó* *màmà* *ávántákà* *sàwàrì* *fágrà* *gègdzrè*
yó *màmà* *á* *và-n-tá* *k* *sàwàrì*
 well mother 3SG give-3SG-TNEG advice (F)
fágrà *gè* *gdzrè*
 good TO child

‘Yes, the mother does not give good advice to her child.’

The negative marker has the form *kà* to indicate that the following noun is the subject:

- (61) *mádám tàtàrkìní áwàmikàlzyáwà*
má dǎ-m tǎtǎ-r kìnì á wà-mì
 1INCL go-IN place-Q C.FOC 3SG bite-1INCL
kà lzyáwà
 NEG:PB fear
 ‘Wherever we would go the fear will not bite us.’

6.5. Adjectives before nouns

Adjectives preceding the noun have the root + *a* form:

- (62) *ǎgdzǎ fǒyá làríúsà*
ǎgdzǎ fǒy-á làríúsà
 small story-GEN marriage
 ‘A short story of a marriage.’

cùkwá fǒyì ñánnà
 small story DEF
 ‘this is a small story’

6.6 Root + *a* before question particle *hè*

The root + *a* form occurs before the question marker *hè* even if the verb in the indicative form ends in the vowel *e*:

- (63) *yá mlà-k-ú-mlà hè*
 1SG help-2SG-help Q
 ‘can I help you/him/them?’

yà mlà-kú-mlè
 1SG help-2PL-help
 ‘I helped you’ (elicited, the use of Pro R1R2 in the past tense is unnatural for this verb)

6.7 Summary of the environments in which the *root + a* form is used

- (1) Subject pronouns that precede the verb always have the vowel *a*.
- (2) The root + *a* forms of various morphemes are typically used when followed by nominal subjects.

- (3) Adjectives preceding nouns have the root + *a* form.
- (4) Verbs before interrogative particle *hè* have the root + *a* form.
- (5) Topicalized noun phrases end in the root + *a* form.
- (6) Grammatical morphemes + *a* indicate that the following noun is the subject.

7. The functions of the word-final vowel *e*

In sentence-internal position, the vowel *e* on a lexical item that ends in *e* in clause-final position indicates that the element that follows is a new syntactic element. One such environment is when an adverbial phrase of time or place precedes a clause:

- (64) *mávà cātàn ʒàmùb dàlyé hárbò kígyé*
má vácíyà t̃-nà ʒàbù dàlyé hárè bwà kígyé
 HYP time DEF-DEM again day two three
 ‘After some time, two or three days,’

tátsàtá dúʒàbè
tá ts̃ tá d-úw ʒàbè
 3PL get up 3PL go-VENT again
 ‘they get up, they go there again.’

8. Conclusions

In pre-pausal position, i.e. position that includes clause-final and sentence-final positions, as well as in citation forms, lexical or grammatical morphemes can end in the vowel *a* or the vowel *e*. The vowel *e* represents either the historic vowel *i* (possibly a grammatical morpheme) or an epenthetic vowel. In clause-internal position, all morphemes can have either the root form (ending in a consonant, an epenthetic vowel, or, for a few verbs, the underlying vowel *a*) or the added vowel *a*. The two endings mark different types of connections between the preceding and the following constituents. The root form indicates that the constituent that follows belongs to the same grammaticalized construction. The root + *a* form indicates that the constituent that follows, although not part of the same grammaticalized construction should nevertheless be interpreted in connection with the preceding constituent. The two endings, combined with the lexical categories involved, allow for interpretations of the wide variety of grammatical and semantic relations between the constituent bearing the marker and the following constituent.

Chapter 4

Lexical categories and morphological processes

1. Introduction

Wandala has the following lexical categories: verbs, nouns, independent pronouns, numerals, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, a locative predicator, ideophones, complementizers, subordinating particles, and intensifiers. The present chapter describes the defining properties of each category. The sub-categories of each category are described in the chapters dealing with noun phrases, argument structure, locative predication, and the reference system.

The morphological processes in Wandala include: suffixation, infixation, gemination, several types of reduplication, and very limited prefixation. The functions of these processes are described in chapters dealing with the various functional domains.

As proposed in Frajzyngier and Shay 2003, the defining characteristic of each lexical category is its role in a larger domain. Any morphological differences among the categories derive from that fundamental difference. However, the morphological characteristics allow the identification of the role of the lexical item without the need to conduct a syntactic analysis.

2. Verbs

The defining property of verbs in Wandala is that they can serve, without any other additional markers, as predicates of a proposition, but cannot serve as arguments without previous nominalization. The syntactic characteristics of verbs include their ability to co-occur with subject pronouns preceding the verb. The morphological characteristics of verbs include their ability to take subject and object pronominal suffixes; numerous verbal extensions; tense coding through tonal changes; root-internal coding of plurality; two types of reduplication to code aspect; one type of reduplication to code number; and coding of the semantic relations within the proposition. A separate chapter describes the structure of the verbs.

3. Nouns

3.1 Defining characteristics and phonological form of nouns

One of the defining characteristics of nouns is that they are inherently arguments of a proposition. Their use as such does not require any morphological or phonological changes to the noun. Most nouns begin with a consonant or a glide. A few nouns can begin with the vowels *i* or *u*, but there are no nouns beginning with the vowel *a*. The absence of nouns beginning with the vowel *a* may not be accidental. Names of Arabic origin that begin with a glottal stop followed by the vowel *a* in Arabic are realized in Wandala with an initial alveolar nasal. The Arabic *Abba* is thus *Naba*, *Amba* is *Namba*, *Ali* is *Nali*, *al-haji* ‘someone who performed pilgrimage to Mecca’ is *Nalaji* (which is now a proper name that can be passed from one generation to another, although bearers of this name are not expected to have performed the pilgrimage). In official documents, e.g. identity cards, these names are most often written without the initial *n*. Even the name of God, Allah, is *nállà* for some speakers. Arabs are called *nàràbà-hà*. The name for ‘paper’ is *nàlmifèri*, most probably derived through the addition of the alveolar nasal and other changes to *al miṣri* ‘Egyptian’⁶ (*masir*, in Chadian Arabic; de Pommerol 1999:839). The initial *i* of Arabic names is deleted, and *Ibrahim* becomes *Brahim*.

The explanation for the epenthetic nasal cannot be purely phonological, e.g. motivated by such factors as prohibition of the initial vowel *a*, because there are a number of morphemes that consist only of the vowel *a*, e.g. the third-person singular marker and the locative predicator. The most likely explanation is that the vocalic onset is reserved for a closed set of morphemes, mainly grammatical markers and demonstratives.

Some lexical items that begin in Arabic with the definite article ‘*al*’ have been borrowed into Wandala from Kanuri, where they begin with *la*. The endings of these nouns, however, have a final *e* in Wandala:

<i>málàmìsè</i>		<i>máláadè</i>	
<i>má</i>	<i>làmisè</i>	<i>má</i>	<i>láadè</i>
HYP	Thursday (Manga K. <i>làmisù</i>)	HYP	Sunday (Ar.)
‘Possibly [on] Thursday, [on] Sunday.’			

The word-initial high central vowel in any lexical item is epenthetic. The absence of the vowel, combined with the function of the high central vowel in word-initial position, makes the presence of the word-initial high vowels found in some nouns somewhat suspect. It is possible that they derive syn-

⁶ I am grateful to Bernard Comrie for drawing my attention to the fact that the form may actually be derived from the Arabic adjective.

chronically or diachronically from word-initial palatal or labial glides followed by an epenthetic vowel: GCV → G-epenthetic vowel-CV → VCV

<i>ígà</i> ‘back’	<i>íg</i> <i>nà</i> ‘the back’	<i>íg-á-rà</i> ‘his back’	*[yga]
<i>icè</i> ‘eye’	<i>ici</i> <i>nà</i> ‘the eye’	<i>íc-á-rà</i> ‘his eye’	*[yca]
<i>irè</i> ‘head’	<i>ir</i> <i>nà</i> ‘the head’	<i>ir-á-rwà</i> ‘my head’	*[yra]
<i>ifà</i> ‘locust’	<i>if</i> <i>nà</i> ‘the locust’		
<i>ùmà</i> ‘beard’	<i>ùm</i> <i>nà</i> <i>ùm-á-rwà</i> ‘my beard’		*[wma]
<i>urà</i> ‘person’	<i>ur</i> <i>nà</i> <i>ur-á-rwà</i> ‘fellow’ lit. ‘my person’		*[wra]

In clause-final position, the majority of nouns end in the vowel *a* and a significantly smaller number end in the vowel *e*. A very small number end in the vowel *i*. All of these are recent borrowings. The presence of the vowel *e* is not conditioned by the phonological environment, as it follows all kinds of consonants, including alveolar and velar stops, lateral and labial continuants, voiceless and voiced, lateral *l* and rhotic *r*. The vowel *e* occurs in the same environments in which the vowel *a* occurs:

<i>tàkáté</i>	‘friend’
<i>zàhè</i>	‘snake’
<i>áfkè</i>	‘forehead’
<i>làhè</i>	‘song’
<i>gyálè</i>	‘girl’
<i>bùcè</i>	‘mat’
<i>málè</i>	‘older brother, superior’
<i>dàrvè</i>	(1) ‘pond’ (2) ‘leprosy’
<i>málè</i>	‘fart’
<i>gíré</i>	‘beans’
<i>lèlè</i>	‘bone’
<i>léyè</i>	‘road’
<i>kàbávè</i>	‘edge, side’
<i>krè</i>	‘dog’ (<i>kri</i> , in Hdi)
<i>vrè</i>	‘monkey’
<i>brè</i>	‘house’
<i>trè</i>	‘moon’

Since one cannot predict which nouns end in the vowel *e* and which end in the vowel *a*, both endings must be assumed to be characteristic of nouns. The vowel *e* can represent the underlying *i* or can be epenthetic. Some borrowings suggest that the vowel *e* actually derives from the vowel *i*. This is the case with the noun *hàṅkàlè* ‘reason, intelligence’, which is borrowed from Hausa *hánkali*.

Very few nouns end in a sonorant. One of them is *gwélgwèl* ‘hard surface’ (the sonorant is not released). The evidence that *gwélgwèl* is a noun rather than an ideophone is provided by the fact that it can serve as the complement of a preposition:

- (1) *má mbàdā-mbàdā á-tà gwélgwèl nà á fyàw gjànà*
má mbàdā-mbàdā á-tà gwélgwèl nà
 HYP fall-fall PRED-T hard surface DEM
á fyà ùgì-á-ḡà
 3SG peel knee-GEN-2SG
 ‘If you fall on the gravel that will peel [the skin] of your knee.’

The presence of underlying vowels in word-final position distinguishes nouns from verbs. The final vowel (other than *i*) of the noun is deleted when the noun is followed by the determiner *nà*. The tone on the noun preceding the determiner becomes high:

Noun plus determiner	Citation form
<i>há y nà</i>	<i>hàyè</i> ‘river, sea, any large body of water’
<i>gyál nà</i>	<i>gyálè</i> ‘girl’
<i>yá w nà</i>	<i>yà wè</i> ‘water’

An epenthetic vowel is inserted if so required by the consonant cluster or syllable structure conditions. The tone on the epenthetic vowel is polar to the preceding tone:

Noun plus determiner	Citation form
<i>kà wú nà</i>	<i>kà wé</i> ‘main beam on the ceiling’
<i>mù ksá nà</i>	<i>mù ksè</i> ‘woman’
<i>á g dzà r nà</i>	<i>á g dzrè</i> ‘child’ (the tone on the noun preceding the determiner remains low; this is an exception)

3.2 Derived nouns

A few derivational markers do not have a corresponding free form. One of these is *là*, which derives human nouns corresponding to ‘one of’. There is no corresponding form **lè* or **là*:

<i>là</i>	<i>ksè</i>
one of	town
‘chief, Sultan’	

(In the present work this noun is represented without morphemic division, viz. as *l̀̀ks̀̀è*. It is sometimes translated as ‘Sultan’, and sometimes as ‘chief’ depending on which title is actually involved.)

l̀̀ h̀̀lé
one of bad mood
‘mean person’

l̀̀lvwándàl̀̀
l̀̀ lv wándàl̀̀
one of language wandala
‘a talker’

l̀̀ nzàd̀̀
‘a rich person’

About twenty nouns begin with the form *ǹ̀*. Seventeen of them designate names of animals or body parts. The elements that follow *ǹ̀* do not occur without it and have no meaning of their own:

<i>ǹ̀g̀̀l̀̀</i>	‘baboon’
<i>ǹ̀k̀̀wá̀yàk̀̀wá̀yà</i>	‘Cattle Egret (a type of bird)’
<i>ǹ̀l̀̀m̀̀l̀̀m̀̀</i>	‘red ant’
<i>ǹ̀ǹ̀s̀̀àl̀̀g̀̀</i>	‘cockroach’
<i>ǹ̀ǹ̀gl̀̀</i>	‘grasshopper’
<i>ǹ̀r̀̀v̀̀ǹ̀j̀̀</i>	‘the edible termites that fly after the big rain’
<i>ǹ̀ǹ̀j̀̀</i>	‘intestines’

Given the absence of the forms without *ǹ̀* for these items, it is likely that they represent borrowings from other languages (perhaps Niger-Congo, where the prefix *n* often codes the class of animals and body parts) rather than products of language-internal derivation.

Some derivations originate in an earlier compounding. A nominalizing suffix, *ir̀̀è*, is potentially derived from the noun *ir̀̀è* ‘head’. This suffix derives abstract nouns from adjectives and ordinal numerals from cardinal numerals.

<i>t̀̀p̀̀d̀̀amm-ir̀̀è</i>	‘darkness’	<i>t̀̀p̀̀d̀̀ammè</i>	‘dark’
<i>p̀̀àr̀̀àk̀̀i-ir̀̀è</i>	‘lightness’	<i>p̀̀àr̀̀àké</i>	‘light’
<i>j̀̀ir̀̀-ir̀̀è</i>	‘truth’	<i>j̀̀ir̀̀è</i>	‘true’
<i>kl̀̀àp̀̀-ir̀̀è</i>	‘health’	<i>kl̀̀àp̀̀yà</i>	‘healthy’ (Kanuri, Hausa: <i>lafiya</i>)

The noun *̀̀gdzr̀̀è* ‘child’ is most likely derived from the adjective *gdz̀̀* ‘young, small’ through the addition of the suffix *r̀̀è*. This derivation is interesting in view of the fact that in many African languages the adjective ‘young,

small' is derived from the noun 'child' (cf. Heine and Hünemeyer 1988). The derivation in Wandala would indicate the opposite direction of derivation, from the adjective to noun.

The noun *žilé* 'man, husband, male' may be derived from the root *zál*, cf. the plural *zálàhà* 'men' and the adjective *zálá* 'male'. The two forms are phonologically similar, having the same two consonants, and semantically similar, referring to the male component in the opposition male-female. One possibility would be that the form is derived through the addition of the nominalizing suffix *ir* to the form *zálá*. The resulting form *zálirè* would have to undergo vowel raising in the first syllable, vowel reduction in the second, assimilation of *r* to *l*, and reduction of the geminated *l*: *zál + irè* → *zilré* → *žillé* → *žilé*. Vowel reduction in the second syllable has otherwise not been attested. The assimilation of *r* to *l* and the reduction of geminated *ll* to a single *l* are realistic rules, as there are no sequences *rl* or *ll* anywhere in the language.

Some names of languages, places, and people begin with a form *mV*, reminiscent of a prefix designating language names in other Chadic languages:

<i>múfàkè</i>	'Kanuri'
<i>màdāá</i>	'Mada'
<i>màsǵáyá</i>	'Giziga'
<i>múyánè</i>	(a Podoko village in the Tukumbere region)
<i>múktúlè</i>	(place name in Oujila)

Other names of languages and ethnic groups appear to be borrowed from self-names:

<i>pàdàkwá</i>	'Padoko'
<i>xúrzà</i>	'Hurza' (Tukumbere)
<i>úldémè</i>	(Ouldeme)
<i>plátà</i>	(Fula)
<i>gàbžégè</i>	(a village in the Tukumbere region)
<i>bàdàwáyà</i>	'Shua Arabs' (Bedouins)
<i>àzàrgwá</i>	'Zulgo'
<i>álvólà</i>	'the language of Mafa' <i>úlá</i> 'Mafa'

Whites and Asians are called *nasara*, a widely used term in various languages of Northern Cameroon, e.g. *nasaara* in Fula (Noye 1989: 260), originally from the Arabic term for Christians.

4. Number

4.1 The form of the plural

Wandala has grammaticalized two numbers, singular and plural, with the default number for most nouns being singular. The plural marker is *ahà*, but its realization in natural discourse may be reduced to the single vowel *a*, as described below. The vowel *a* of the plural suffix replaces the last vowel of the noun and assumes the tone of the last syllable of the noun:

Singular	Plural			
<i>brè</i>	<i>bràhà</i>	‘room’	not	* <i>brà</i>
<i>gwé</i>	<i>gwàhà</i>	‘elephant’	not	* <i>gwá</i>
<i>kímàkè</i>	<i>kímàk-àhà</i>	‘shoes’ (in elicited example)		
<i>dùksà</i>	<i>dùks-àhà</i>	‘thing’		
<i>iyaału</i> (F, Parietti n.d. 143)	<i>yàl-àhà</i>	‘family’		
[singular not recorded]	<i>kwánjár-àh-á-ɲrè</i>	‘our hooks’		
<i>màlè</i>	<i>màl-àhà</i>	‘parent’		
<i>zə̀ɲwà</i>	<i>zə̀ɲw-àhà</i>	‘donkey’		
<i>turmi</i> (F, Noye 1989, 358)	<i>tùrmíy-àhá-tàrè</i>	‘their clothes’		

The final vowel *i* becomes a glide after the addition of the plural suffix *ahà*:

Singular	Plural
<i>sàwàrì</i> (Fula, Parietti n.d. 78)	<i>sàwáryàhà</i> ‘advice’ not * <i>sàwár-yà</i>

The plural marker *ahà* undergoes reduction when followed by determiners or quantifiers. The product of reduction is the single vowel *a*. The following is proposed as the process of deriving the clause-internal form:

Underlying	Fusion	Vowel deletion	Glottal deletion
<i>làkàté</i> + <i>ahà</i>	<i>làkàtáhà</i>	<i>làkàtáh</i>	<i>làkàtá</i>

- (2) *làkàtá* *tákífyè*
làkàt-á *tá* *kífyè*
 fellow-PL 3PL three
 ‘There were three buddies.’

gyálè ‘girl’ *gyálàhà* ‘girls’ *gyá alá nà* ‘the girls’

The plural of the noun *ágdzrè* has the vowel *a* inserted before and after the *r*:

ágdzrè ‘child’ *àgdzàrà*

The same noun can have two plural variants in isolation. This is the case with the noun *lákàtè* ‘fellow’, whose plural may be given as [lákàtá] or [lákàtáhà]. The shorter form is a product of reduction.

4.2 The function of plural coding

The coding of the plurality of nouns is not obligatory if the event or state involves more than one participant. Human nouns are more likely to be marked for plurality than non-human nouns. Compare the following natural discourse examples in which the head noun is modified by the numeral ‘two’. In (3a) the [+human] noun *wáhwà* ‘representative’ has the plural suffix. In (3b), the non-human noun *háрэ* ‘day’ does not have the plural suffix:

- (3a) *tájáhàmmà wáluàhà bwà*
tá jàh-á-mm-à wáhw-àhà bwà
 3PL unite-GO-COL-GO representative-PL two
 ‘They get together the two representatives.’

- (3b) *mávà cáтèñ òàmùb dàlyé hárbò kígyé*
má vácíyà tè-nà òàbù dàlyé háрэ bwà kígyé
 HYP time DEF-DEM again day two three
 ‘After some time, two or three days.’

Names of animals, fish, birds, and inanimate objects do not have to have the plural form when followed by a numeral larger than ‘one’:

- (4a) *yàràbà/gwù/úzà/bèr kígyé*
 duck/elephant/hoe/house three
 ‘three ducks/elephants/hoes/houses’

These nouns can have the plural form when followed by the quantifier *kwàkyà* ‘many’, as illustrated for the noun *gwè* ‘elephant’, whose plural is *gwàhà* in isolation and *gwà* in clause-internal position:

- (4b) *gwà kwàkyà*
 elephant:PL many
 ‘many elephants’

Some nouns are inherently plural, as evidenced by the fact that they require plural subject pronouns in the subject function, e.g. *òàmá* ‘assembly’:

- (5) *tà* *s-ò* *ḡàmá*
 3PL come-VENT assembly
 ‘the assembly came’

The noun *wrà* ‘person’ has a suppletive plural *mdè* ‘people’.

5. Gender

The category ‘gender’ is not coded in the pronominal system, in verbal inflection, or in any other domain of the grammatical system. The sex of referents may be expressed through the nouns *žilé* ‘male’ and *mùksè* ‘female’ for the singular, and *zzálá* ‘male’ and *ḡwáfà* ‘female’ for the plural:

- (6) *dà-ḡgré sèlàwré àgdzàrà mùksè kìnì sèlàwré,*
dà-ḡgré sèlàwré àgdz-à-rà mùksè kìnì sèlàwré,
 father-1EXCL pants child-GEN-3SG female C.FOC pants
 ‘One’s father—pants, even his daughter—pants.’

- (7) *àgdzàr žilé má ndàvándà vè mùksè*
àgdzàr žilé má ndàv-ndàv mùksè
 child boy HYP ask-ask girl
 ‘A young man, if he asks for a woman,’

Plural markers and possessive markers are added to the head noun rather than to the gender modifier:

- (8) *àská gdzàrámyà zzálá àská gdzàrámyà ḡwáfà*
àská gdzàr-á-myà zzálá
 like child:PL-GEN-1INCL male:PL
àská gdzàr-á-myà ḡwáfà
 like child:PL-GEN-1INCL female:PL
 ‘like our boys and girls . . .’

- (9) *àgdzàrzálá kìnì úmlùwàyàrwàyà*
àgdzàr zálá kìnì úml wàyà-r-wàyà
 child male C.FOC other want-3PL-want
bákà dábàryàrà
bákà dábàrì-á-rà
 NEG.EX means-GEN-3SG
 ‘Boys, there are some who want [to marry], but they have no means.’
 (lit. ‘but his means do not exist’)

The evidence that the forms *zálá* ‘male’ and *ɲwáfà* ‘female’ are nouns rather than adjectives is provided by clauses where they function as heads rather than modifiers:

- (10) *bàjìbá zálá hàṅánnà yàndànyà nàbí*
bà jìb-á zálá-àhà ṅánnà yà
 FOC type-GEN male-PL DEF 1SG
ndà-n-á-y nà bí
 speak-3SG-GO-1SG DEM INTNS
 ‘Those are the men that I was talking about.’

The overt coding of gender, as illustrated above, is motivated by the need to distinguish between male and female participants in discourse rather than by the need to satisfy the requirements of the grammatical system.

6. Independent pronouns

Independent pronouns behave like nouns in syntactic constructions. The evidence for this is provided by the fact that they can be conjoined by the nominal coordinating conjunction *ántàrà*:

- (11) *ɲr ántàrà kùré* → [ɲrántàràkùré]
 1EXCL ASSC:PL 2PL
 ‘we and you (pl)’

As is the case with other pronouns, the set of independent pronouns includes three persons and two numbers, singular and plural. There is a distinction between the first-person plural inclusive and exclusive. Independent pronouns have clause-final and clause-internal forms. The citation forms of the first- and second-person singular independent pronouns, but not other pronouns, have the first consonant geminated. The gemination in turn requires the insertion of an epenthetic vowel in word-initial position:

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>íyyà</i>	<i>míyà</i> (incl) <i>ɲrè</i> (excl)
2	<i>àkká</i>	<i>kùré</i>
3	<i>ṅánè</i>	<i>ítàrè</i> or <i>ítèrè</i>

The evidence that the initial vowel *ì* in the first-person singular pronoun and the initial schwa *ə* in the second-person singular are epenthetic is provided by the fact that these vowels do not occur when the pronouns are the second

conjuncts. In such constructions, the first consonant of the pronoun is not geminated either. Before the nominal conjunction, the pronoun has the root form. The conjunction has the root + *a* form before the second conjunct:

- (12) *ɲán ántàrá yà/kà* → [ɲánántàráyà/kà]
 3SG ASSC:PL 1SG/2SG
 ‘he and I/you’

All plural pronouns except the first-person inclusive have a component *r*. This component is identical with the third-person plural subject pronoun, infixed in the reduplicated form of the verb and suffixed to the verb in negative clauses. It is likely then that the plural pronouns other than the first-person inclusive are complex structures consisting of the person marker and the plural marker *r*. The vowel *e* following *r* is epenthetic.

Independent pronouns, like nouns, can be followed by the deictic/determiner *nà*. The determiner is the marker of topicalization: *ɲánnà* ‘3SG’, *kúr nà* ‘2PL’, *ítàr nà* ‘3PL’:

- (13) *àkká nà ká màg-yá wè*
 2SG DEM 2SG make-1SG what
 ‘So what are you going to do to me?’ (a reply to a threat)

The first-person plural inclusive *míyà* may well be a complex form consisting of the form *ma* ‘first-person plural inclusive’, attested as the subject marker, and the first-person singular marker *ìyyà*.

7. Adjectives

7.1 Defining characteristics of adjectives

The lexical category ‘adjective’ in Wandala is characterized by the fact that its members cannot be used as subjects without previous nominalization, but they can be used as objects. Nouns occur in the root form before adjectives. When adjectives precede nouns, adjectives have the root + *a* form.

Size

làdé ‘tall’ (about persons, houses, things, plants)

náfə làdé ‘a tall tree’

ùr làdé ‘a tall person’

dýékè ‘fat’ (about a person)

fàrè ‘thin, slim’ (about a person, animal, thing) pl. *fàrfàrè*

pàlè ‘short’
dàgàrzé ‘small (not young)’ (about humans and animals that did not grow)

None of these forms can be used as the subject of a clause. Thus, the following are all ungrammatical:

(14a) **sámsà* *làdé/pàlè/dàgàrzé/fàgrà*
 come-IN-come tall/short/small/good
 for ‘a tall/short/a small/a good one came’

There are some property terms referring to size that do not end in the vowel *e*:

àklá ñumbà ‘a thin cow’

Color terms end in the vowel *e*:

tàpďämmè ‘dark’
kéyè ‘red’ (bright red color, as in poppies)
hànyè ‘red, brown’ (of cows, horses, dogs, birds, inanimate things)

àkláhànyè
 ‘a brown cow’

Some color terms are formed through genitive constructions whose head, the noun *yáwè* ‘water’ is followed by the modifier having the appropriate color as one of its characteristics:

yáw-á *tàmbàlí*
 water-GEN yellow
 ‘yellow’ (*tàmbàlí*: what remains after oil has been extracted from cotton seeds)

Adjectives designating colors can be used as objects without any additional marking on the condition that the potential head of the construction has been referred to in the previous discourse. Thus, one can say:

(15) *à* *fkùfkyànyè/líiplà/vràndè/tàrtè*
 3SG buy red/blue/brown/green
 ‘he bought red/blue/brown/green X’

None of these forms can be used with the nominalizing suffix *-irè*.

From the adjective *jìrè* ‘true’ one can derive a verb:

- (16) *jìr-á-v-jìre*
 true-APPL-true
 ‘he told the truth’

In order to use an adjective as a subject, the nominalizing suffix *ìrè*, identical with the noun *ìrè* ‘head’, is added. Many adjectives describing tastes, some colors, and sizes are characterized by the ending *e* in clause-final position, which indicates that either (1) their underlying form ends in the consonant or (2) they have underlying final *i*.

Adjectives can be followed by possessive pronouns. Such forms can serve as the subject of the clause:

- (17a) *cùkw-á-rà*
 small-GEN-3SG
 ‘the smallest one’

cùkw-á-myà
 small-GEN-1PL
 ‘the smallest among us’

- (17b) *sà-m-sà* *cùkw-á-tàrè*
 come-IN-come:PB small-GEN-3PL
 ‘the smallest among them came’

7.2 Plural form of adjectives

Some adjectives have a plural formed through the leftward reduplication of the first three segments. The newly formed syllable has low tone: C1VC2C3V → C1VC2-C1VC2C3V:

<i>cìxàxcìxèè</i>	‘a taste of <i>nábùkdàlàrè</i> (a red fruit, content similar to that of a grape)’ (<i>làrè</i> ‘tooth/teeth’, no plural)
<i>dàldàlè</i>	‘sour taste’, as a lemon
<i>dèdèhèè</i>	‘bitter’
<i>làmlàmè</i>	‘sweet’

làmlàm-ìr-á-rà
 sweet-NOM-GEN-3SG
 ‘its sweetness’

cùkwà pl. *cùkcùkwà* ‘small’
pàràkè pl. *pàràpàràkè* ‘light’

The plural forms of adjectives can be used as arguments without any additional morphological changes. The reduplicated forms (but not the simple forms) may can be nominalized by the nominal plural marker *a*. Thus from the adjective *dzèydzèyè* is derived the form *dzèydzèyá* ‘white people (includes albinos)’. The plural form *dzèydzèyá* can be used as a subject:

- (18) *sá-rə-m-sà* *dzèydzèyá*
 come-3PL-IN-come:PB white people
 ‘white people came’
- (19) *sá-rə-m-sà* *pàlpàlà-hà/ zàrìzàryá-à*
 come-3PL-IN-come:PB short:PL-PL /nice:PL-PL
 ‘short/nice people came’

sá-rə-m-sà *dàgàrzé/dàgàrzá-à/dàgdàjè*
 come-3PL-IN-come:PB dwarf-PL
 ‘dwarfs came’

The adjective *fàgrà* ‘good’ does not have a plural form. The nominal property of plural forms of adjectives is attested in other Chadic languages (Frajzyngier 1993).

Adjectives designating colors can have their first syllable reduplicated to code the distributiveness of the property over a large number of objects:

- (20) *á mdə mbàdǎmmù vrànvràndé*
á mdə mbàdǎmm vrànvràndé
 PRED people all brown
 ‘these people are all brown’ (*vràndé* ‘brown’, about people only)

The plural form of an adjective can modify a plural nominal head:

- (21) *má ún ká tá mágá égdzàrà sàwàri-*
 HYP DEF NEG 3PL make small reunion-
yáhà-tàrè cùkcùkwà á tə bàràrà
 PL-3PL small PRED T road
 ‘If it is not that, they arrange small meetings at the road.’

Some adjectives referring to size, color, and other qualities end in the vowel *a*. They form their plurals like other adjectives, viz. through the reduplication of the first syllable:

zàryá pl. *zàrìzàryá* ‘beautiful, nice’ (about things, people)

and the pair cited earlier:

cùkwà pl. *cùkcùkwà* ‘small’

The adjective *liplá* ‘blue’ (dark and light) cannot have a plural form derived through reduplication:

nàngyùwè liplá ‘blue shirt’

7.3 Negation of adjectives

The negative marker *kà* follows the adjective. Adjectives before the negative morpheme occur in the root form, i.e. without the vowel they have in the citation form:

fàgèr kà ‘bad’ (lit. ‘good’-NEG); *fàgrà* ‘good’

pàràk kà
‘not clear’

liiplà kà and *liipli kà*
‘not blue’

Adjectives that end in the vowel *i* retain this vowel before the negative marker:

zàrí kà
‘not beautiful’

The adjective *cùkwà* ‘small’ occurs without the labial glide *w* before the negative marker. This indicates that the labial glide in the citation form is the result of rightward labial harmony:

cúk kà
small NEG
‘not small’

cìxàxcìxèxà kà
‘not having the taste [of *cìxàxcìxèxà*, an unidentified taste]’

dýékà-kà *dýékè*
fat-NEG
‘not fat, about person’

8. Numerals

The numeral system is decimal. The numerals from one to ten appear to be all primary, i.e., no item within this set is derived from another item. All numerals begin with an underlying consonant. The numeral *úffádē* ‘four’ begins with a phonetic vowel, but this vowel is epenthetic, inserted before the underlying initial geminated consonant. Numerals other than *bùà* ‘two’ and *kláwà* ‘ten’ end in the vowel *e*:

1	<i>pállè</i>	<i>pállè</i>	<i>kà</i>	‘not one’
2	<i>bùà</i>	<i>bù</i>	<i>kà</i>	‘not two’
3	<i>kígyé</i>	<i>kígyí</i>	<i>kà</i>	‘not three’
4	<i>úffádē</i>	<i>úffád</i>	<i>kà</i>	‘not four’
5	<i>yíḡbè</i>	<i>yíḡàb</i>	<i>kà</i>	‘not five’
6	<i>ḡkwàhè</i>	<i>ḡkwàh</i>	<i>kà</i>	‘not six’
7	<i>vúuyè</i>	<i>vúui</i>	<i>kà</i>	‘not seven’
8	<i>tíisè</i>	<i>tíis</i>	<i>kà</i>	‘not eight’
9	<i>másálmànè</i>	<i>másálmàn</i>	<i>kà</i>	‘not nine’
10	<i>kláwà</i>	<i>kláw</i>	<i>kà</i>	‘not ten’

The negative forms of ‘two’ and ‘ten’ indicate that these numerals may have a different source than the remaining numerals. The numeral *másálmànè* ‘nine’ is clearly the odd man out in this list. Its origin is mysterious, as it does not occur in Hausa, Fula, Kanuri, or Kotoko, languages with which Wandala has been in contact.

Numerals above ten are expressed through a construction consisting of the morphemes *kláwà* ‘ten’, *jú* ‘above, over’, and the single digit numeral. This rule operates for the numerals twelve to nineteen. The form for ‘eleven’ has a different word for the single digit, viz. *mtùkwè*:

11	<i>kláwà jú mtùkwè</i>	
12	<i>kláwà jú bwà</i>	
13	<i>kláwà jú kígyé</i>	
14	<i>kláwà jú fádē</i>	
15	<i>kláwà j-íḡbè</i>	
16	<i>kláwà júḡkwàhè</i>	syllabic division: [júḡ.kwà.hè]
17	<i>kláwà jú vúuyè</i>	
18	<i>kláwà jú tíisè</i>	
19	<i>kláwà jú mäsálmànè</i>	
20	<i>kúl bwà</i>	(‘ten two’)
30	<i>kúl kígyé</i>	
40	<i>kúl fádē</i>	

The evidence that the form *jú* means ‘over’ is provided by its spatial use, as described in the section on inherent adverbs.

For the numerals twenty to ninety in phrase-internal position, the form *kláwà* is reduced to [kúl] through final-vowel reduction and the subsequent rounding and raising of the preceding vowel.

Numerals other than ‘one’ cannot occur as subjects of a clause, but they can occur as objects, a property they share with adjectives (all examples elicited):

(22a) **tá kàtà-nà kláwà*
 3PL like-3SG ten/all
 ‘ten like it’

(22b) *tá kàtà kláwà*
 3PL like ten/all
 ‘they like ten’

The numeral *pállè* ‘one’ can function as either subject or object. Like other nouns, it can be connected to a following nominal or pronominal modifier by the genitive marker *á*:

(23a) *èí màmàgà-nàstàrà àbà pállá tàrè*
èí má màgà-n àstà-rà à b páll-á-tàrè
 so 1INCL do-3SG DEF-Q 3SG say one-GEN-3PL
 ‘“So, what shall we do?” said one of them.’

(23b) **mà màgà-n àstà-rà tà bà bùà*
 1INCL do-3SG DEF-Q 3SG say two
 ‘“what shall we do?” said two’

The form *kláwà* is also a quantifier meaning ‘all’, ‘large number’ as in (24), where the interpretation ‘ten’ does not make sense:

(24) *yò fòyì ñánnà wàtsè kwà-dá cìn-ná*
 well chat DEF FUT 2PL-FUT hear-3SG
kúr nà nó-ñwàné álvà wàndàl
 2PL DEM PRES-DEF language Wandala
ñánnà tákàtàrà ðàmá kláwà
ñánnà tá kàtà-n-à ðàmá kláwà
 DEF 3PL want-3SG-PB world all
 ‘Here is the chat that you will hear in Wandala and that the world desires.’

Numerals can be followed by the determiner:

- (25) *àbámdèn búunà kní wá tàlánà skè*
à b mdà nà búunà kìnì wá
 3SG say people DEM twoDEM C.FOC COM
tàlánà skè
 please
 ‘The two others said, “Please.”’

The omission of the determiner after the numeral still produces a grammatical sentence, but the referent is some indefinite two people:

- (26) *á bá mdá bùukìnì wá tàlánà skè*
 3SG say people twoC.FOC COM please
 ‘two people said, “please,”’

Ordinal numerals are derived through the addition of the nominalizing suffix *irè* to the cardinal numerals. In the process of suffixation, the last vowel of the cardinal numeral is deleted:

- pàll-irè* ‘first’
bú-irè ‘second’

The numeral ‘first’ has also the variant *mùtáfè*.

9. Adverbs

There are two types of lexical adverbs, inherent and derived. The inherent adverbs do not require any additional marking for the adverbial function. Other lexical items are marked by prepositions in the adverbial function. The inherent and derived adverbs are described in the section ‘Adjunct phrases’ in chapter 7.

10. The locative predicator

The category ‘locative predicator’, or simply ‘predicator’ (glossed as PRED), as it is called later in this volume, contains only one item, the particle *á*. The function of this marker is to code a predication as locative either when the predication does not have a verb or when the verb of the predication is not inherently locative:

- (27) *púm ànábàmbdǎ́ dǎm hùdǎ́ yàwè*
pum à nábà mbdǎ́ á dǎ-m hùd-á yàwè
 pum! 3SG then fell PRED go-IN belly-GEN water
 ‘pum, he fell into the water’

The locative predicator is not a preposition, since its presence or absence is not a function of the noun phrase. Moreover, it does not have to precede the noun phrase, as is the case in the preceding example.

11. Prepositions

The present section describes the underlying form of prepositions, the evidence for their forms, and their approximate function. Detailed information about the function of individual prepositions can be found in the description of individual functional domains, such as grammatical relations (chapter 7), locative predication (chapter 10), adjuncts (chapter 12), and discourse backgrounding (chapter 27). Lexical items occur in the root form before prepositions.

11.1 Preposition *t* ‘target’

When the target preposition is followed by the locative complement, it is realized as a consonant or as a consonant followed by an epenthetic vowel. The preposition indicates that the complement is a target of movement or that an object or event occurs at the place marked by the preposition. The preposition is sometimes translated as ‘at’ or ‘to’.

11.2 Preposition *tú* ‘before’

The preposition *tú* ‘before’ may be a composite consisting of the preposition *t* ‘target’ followed by the noun *w(è)* ‘mouth, edge’. In clause-internal position, the labial glide is realized as the vowel *u* after a consonant. Note, however, that the preposition has high tone. Native speakers treat *tú* as a single lexical entry and are not aware of its possible internal complexity.

The preposition *tú* can be used in spatial and temporal expressions. When predication does not involve an inherently locative verb, the preposition is preceded by the locative predicator *á* and the initial consonant of the preposition is geminated:

- (28) *á ttú án ínxyà*
 PRED before PRED morning
 ‘before morning’

á ttú yà
 PRED before 1SG
 ‘before me’

- (29) *lòktúyàsów kìnì yè ðúwá vántá pàràsètàmól*
lòkt tú yà sá-w kìnì
 time before 1SG come:VENT C.FOC
yè ðú-wá vâ-n-tá pàràsètàmól
 1SG finish-VENT give-3SG-T paracetamol
 ‘Before I came here, I gave him paracetamol.’

11.3 Preposition *m* ‘in’

The preposition *m* ‘in’ precedes locative complements. It codes location or movement inside a space. This preposition can follow the verbs of movement *d* ‘go to’ or *s* ‘come from’ (with an epenthetic vowel inserted) or the locative predicator *á*:

- (30) *zárva ñánnà ákyè tà dâvvàlà ámtá tómlè*
zárva ñánnà á kiyè tà dâ vâlà á-m
 sesame DEF ‘one says’ 3PL FUT sell PRED-IN
tátà úmlè
 place other
 ‘That sesame, they say, they will sell at some other place.’ [i.e. a place other than the one where they harvested the sesame]

11.4 Preposition *án* ‘associative’

The preposition *án* ‘associative’ has a variety of functions, including the coding of the adverbial phrase of time, the instrumental adjunct, and the co-participant with the same role in the event (‘associative’). The form of the preposition is similar to that of the locative predicator followed by spatial specifiers such as *á-t*, *á-m*, and *á-k*. While these forms have readily identifiable second components, no such identification is available for the form *n* within the associative preposition. Therefore, this preposition is represented in the grammar as one morpheme, *án*.

11.5 Preposition *gâ* ‘to’

The preposition *g* (the central vowel is the product of epenthesis) precedes the nominal indirect object; addressees of verbs of saying; targets of comparative constructions; and nominal subjects in the punctual aspect.

12. Intensifiers

There are at least two intensifiers in Wandala, *bí* and *ní*. The retention of the vowel *i* in clause-final position may well indicate that the high vowel is a grammatical marker. Both intensifiers occur in clause-final position:

- (31) *màtattèy kìnì inà zùnì máfānmámvù gèmdàní*
mà tattèy kìnì názù nì
 1INCL search C.FOC what INTNS
má fā-n-má m vù gè mdà ní
 1INCL put-3SG-ININ body TO people INTNS
 ‘Can we search for a solution to educate others?’

- (32) *tákàtà bà ngùdí rkwá tákàtà bàtá bà dzá gdzàràhàbí*
tá kàtá bà ngùdí r kwá tá kàtá
 3PL want FOC promiscuity CONJ 3PL want
bà tá bàdzà ágdzàrà-àhà bí
 FOC 3PL spoil child-PL INTNS
 ‘They want promiscuity and spoil the girls completely.’

The maker *bí*, unlike the marker *ní*, must be preceded by the vowel *a*:

- (33) *ṅà sókà sándávà bí*
ṅà só kà á sá ndává á
 1EXCL come NEG PRED come ask PRED
bí
 INTNS
 ‘We wouldn’t have come to ask for her, for sure.’

13. Ideophones

Ideophones are lexical items that have a restricted distribution, or narrow function, and that are often unusual for the given language’s phonological characteristics. Unlike in other Chadic languages, the number of ideophones in Wandala appears to be relatively small.

One of the phonological characteristics of the ideophones in Wandala is that, unlike other morphemes, they may end in a consonant, more precisely in a sonorant. The ideophone *dàgəm* refers to ‘manner/effect of a collision of two animals or people’. The transitive verb has the root form before the ideophone:

- (34) *tà jì dàgàm*
 3PL hit dàgàm
 ‘they collided’

Some ideophones modify nouns. The form *góngòn*, or *gwángwàn* ‘knotty’, describes only gourds. It cannot serve as either the subject or the object of a clause. The noun *fàkà* ‘gourd’, when occurring with the ideophone *góngòn*, must have the genitive marker *á*: *fàkà góngòn* ‘a knotty calabash’. The evidence that *góngòn* is an ideophone rather than an adjective comes from phonology and syntax. Phonologically, this is one of the few lexical items that end in a consonant, albeit a sonorant. The syntactic evidence is that it cannot be used to modify any other noun, including fruits and vegetables.

14. Complementizers and subordinating particles

The category ‘complementizer’ includes markers whose function is to code the discourse and sentence function of the clause, the modality of the complement clause, and the relationships between clauses (cf. Frajzyngier 1996 for discussion of the functions of complementizers in Chadic). Wandala has the following complementizers: *wá* (comment clause marker, glossed as COM); *kà* (after verbs of perception); *gèni* ‘behold’ (with complements of verbs of saying); *dàgiyá* ‘behold’, *wàrà* ‘obligation’, *tsá* ‘obligation’, and *kwà* ‘optative’. The functions of complementizers are described in chapter 23 (Complementation).

15. Morphological processes

Wandala has abundant suffixation in verbs, limited suffixation in nouns, pronouns, and determiners, and limited prefixation in nouns. Within the verbal system the language also has infixation of the vowel *a* to code verbal plurality. The same marker, functioning as a suffix, codes nominal plurality.

The language makes ample use of tonal changes to code a variety of unrelated functional categories, including mood in verbs; inalienable possession in nouns; and tense coded on subject pronouns and on some verbs.

The language makes an abundant use of partial or complete reduplication. Both types of reduplication are leftward. Partial reduplication derives the plural forms of verbs and adjectives. Complete reduplication derives the aspectual and modal forms of verbs. Complete reduplication also derives adverbs from other lexical categories. Detailed analysis of reduplication is to be found in the chapter on the structure of the verb and in the present chapter.

16. Conclusions

In addition to the commonly found categories ‘noun’, ‘verb’, ‘adjective’, ‘adverb’, and ‘preposition’, Wandala also has the less frequently found category ‘predicator’. The lexical category ‘modifier’ may include lexical items that modify nouns and verbs. The language has a relatively small class of ideophones.

The category ‘noun’ differs from the category ‘verb’ in that nouns, unlike verbs, allow vowels in the word-final position in the underlying form.

Lexical and grammatical morphemes have the root form when preceding prepositions, adverbs, and determiners.

Morphological processes in the language include multiple suffixations to the verb, with some items containing seven or eight morphemes in a sequence; tonal coding of various categories; infixation, limited to the category ‘plural’ in verbs; and two types of reduplication, partial and complete. Partial reduplication codes number; complete reduplication codes aspectual categories. Since the two types of reduplication code different categories, they may co-occur on the same lexical item. Prefixation is very limited.

Chapter 5

Noun phrase

1. Introduction

A noun phrase is a construction whose head is a noun. The evidence for the existence of the category 'noun phrase' is provided by the fact that all of its components must remain in structural contiguity, i.e., they cannot be separated by elements belonging to other constituents. This chapter deals with the structure of the noun phrase and with the functions coded by different forms of the noun phrase. Although modifiers most often follow the modified, the reverse order does occur. The following are the potential structures of the noun phrase:

- Noun or pronoun
- Demonstrative or sequence of demonstratives
- Numeral *pàllè* 'one'
- NP[root] NP
- N-GEN N
- N ADJ
- ADJ+a N
- N NUM
- N PRED N
- N DET(s)
- ADJ (only in the function of object)

2. Noun phrases consisting of just one constituent

The evidence for the existence of this type of noun phrase is provided by natural discourse examples where the given noun or pronoun is an argument (subject or object) of a verb or a complement of a preposition:

- Noun
- Pronoun (both illustrated in the following example)

- (1) *yò cáamànkìni názù àkàtànórwá*
yò cáamàn kìnì názù à kàtà-nà ùr
 well first of all C.FOC what 3SG want-3SG person
wá
 COM
bà gè njà-rí-njà án hèer-àn-klàpi-rè
 FOC TO stay-3PL-stay ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘First of all, what one wants is for them to live in peace and good health.’

Numeral *pállè* ‘one’:

- (2) *á bà páll-á-tàr wá nó kìnà ògíyà*
 3SG say one-GEN-3PL COM PRES now COMP
 ‘One among them says, thus.’

3. Modification by a noun

3.1. Types of nominal modification

The following are the means to modify one noun by another:

NN
 N[root] N
 N-á N
 N PREP N

3.2. The structure NN

The structure NN differs from compounds in that the first noun preserves its final vowel. This structure is prevalent with the names of trees. The derivation of the name of the tree has the form *nàfà* ‘plant, tree’ + the species-specific name for the most useful part of the tree. The derivation is through juxtaposition without the deletion of the final vowel of the noun *nàfà*. The part of the tree could be the fruit or the leaf. Such a part has a unique name for the given species.

nàfà ‘plant, tree’ *ùrè* ‘fruit of tamarind’ *nàfòrè* ‘tamarind tree’

ìcà vácíyà
 eye sun
 ‘afternoon’ (the sun has passed its highest point)

The evidence for the meaning of the nominal category of the form *úrè* is provided by its use as an object:

- (3a) *à hál-t-órè*
 3SG gather-T-fruit of tamarind
 ‘he gathered tamarind fruits’ (rather than tamarind trees)

úkǵà ‘leaf of baobab’, used for making a much appreciated sauce, served at the chief’s court.

ágdzà úkǵà ‘baobab fruit’ (eaten when ripe)

nàfókǵà ‘baobab tree’ the same as *kòkwà*

- (3b) *má mbàdǎ-mbàdǎ nàfókǵà/kòkwà*
 HYP fall-fall baobab/baobab
 ‘when the baobab has fallen’

3.3. Modification through the structure N[root] N

In the N[root] N construction, the first noun has the root form. Epenthetic vowels may be inserted as required by syllabification rules. The result of the construction is a noun whose meaning does not have to be the sum of the meanings of its components:

ír-tyà
 head-cool
 ‘grave’ the same as *ávgè* ‘hole’.

vàcǐy lǎrùsà
 time marriage
 ‘the day of the marriage’

The plural suffix is added to the last component:

lǎ-ks-àhà ‘Sultans’ (lit. ‘the ones of the village’)

The noun *álvà* ‘speech, word’ and *wè* ‘mouth’, combined with the ethnonym *wándalà*, yield the meaning ‘the speech, the words of Wandala’, and ‘the Wandala language’:

álv wándalà
 ‘the way Wandala speak’

More than two nouns can be combined, as is the case with the noun *nàrwàndzà* ‘story’, which consists most likely of *nára* ‘tongue’, *wà* ‘mouth’, and *ndzà* ‘past’:

- (4a) *nóovà tánkìni yèságdzà nàrwàndzà ánwá wándàlà*
nóo và tán kìnì yè s-á gdzà
 PRES day DEF C.FOC 1SG come-GO small
nàrwàndzà án w-á wándàlà
 story ASSC mouth-GEN Wandala
 ‘Here today, I brought a small story in Wandala.’

- (4b) *tàrdádámámá ántàrgdzá tàržílé*
tàr dádá mámá ántàr gdz-á-tàr žílé
 3PL father mother ASSC:PL child-GEN-3PL male
 ‘They are a father, a mother, and their son.’

3.4 Modification through the marker *á*

The modifying construction has the form: N-*á* modifier. The modifier can be either nominal or pronominal. When the modifier is pronominal, it is suffixed to the noun. The marker *á*, referred to from now on as ‘genitive marker’ and glossed as GEN, is identical with the locative predicator. The marker *á* indicates a relationship between the two nouns without specifying what kind of relationship it is, other than it is not a kinship relationship:

- (5a) *ðlv-á ndzà*
 word-GEN past
 ‘the old speech, old words’
- (5b) *yò tàsálvàmdè kígýé*
yò tà s-á lv-á mdè kígýé
 well 3PL come-GO story-GEN people three
 ‘They brought a story of three people.’
- (5c) *à bə pàlè dá òimà*
à bà pàllè d-á òimà
 3SG say one man-GEN ear
 ‘The one who hears all said.’
- (6) *ábà ddá káǵà kùlùwá*
á bà dd-á káǵà kùlà wá
 3SG say man-GEN counting units COM
 ‘The one of counting says.’

The construction N-á N is used to code possession, without a distinction between inalienable possessums, such as body parts, and alienable possessums. In possessive constructions other than analytic ones, as described below, the possessum precedes the possessor. All possessive constructions can be followed by determiners coding deixis, anaphora, and other categories from the system of reference:

- (7) *názù àfámyàrmàlámì nákatáfká mínà*
názù à fá-myà-r màl-á-mí-nà
 what 3SG put-1INCL-ON boss-GEN-1INCL-DEM
á kà-tá fk-á mí-nà
 PRED PREP-T face-GEN 1INCL-DEM
 ‘that which has been asked/imposed by our boss who is in front of us.’

The noun *fìlì* ‘sand’ as the head of the construction N-á N has been grammaticalized as a classifier, with the meaning ‘a grain of’:

- (8) *fìlyá zàrvà pállè báakà*
fìly-á zàrvà pállè báakà
 sand-GEN sesame one NEG.EX
 ‘One of their sesame seeds is missing.’

The quantifiers *kyàlmá* ‘half’ and *úmlè* ‘rest’ precede the head noun and have the genitive marker. The head noun must be followed by the determiner *nà*:

- (9) *xàl-áf-xàl kyàlmá fír nà*
 gather-APPL-gatherhalf:GEN beans DEM
 ‘gather half of the beans!’
- (10) *xàl-áf-xà úmlá fír nà*
 gather-APPL-gatherhalf:GEN beans DEM
 ‘gather some of the beans!’
- (11) *ákt-á dè-rwà*
 cow-GEN father-1SG
 ‘my father’s cow’
- wùlf-á hyà*
 seed-GEN sorghum
 ‘seed of sorghum’ (*wùlfè* ‘seed’)

3.5 Pronominal modifiers

There are two types of constructions with pronominal modifiers, referred to as ‘possessive pronouns’, as they are often called in linguistic theory. In one, the pronominal modifier follows the head without the genitive marker, and in the other, the pronoun follows the head with the genitive marker, in the construction Possesum-*á*-Possessive pronoun. The set of possessive pronouns is as follows:

Table 4.1. Possessive pronouns (phrase final forms)

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>r(ú)wà</i>	<i>ɲè</i> <i>myà</i>
2	<i>ɲà</i>	<i>kùrè</i>
3	<i>rà</i> (<i>nè Pulka dialect</i>) <i>ɲàrà</i>	<i>tàrè</i>

The genitive marker *a* replaces underlying final vowels of nouns:

<i>irè</i>	‘head’	<i>irè</i>	‘iron’
<i>ir-á-rà</i>	‘his head’	<i>ir-á-rà</i>	‘his iron’
<i>ir-à-ɲà</i>	‘your head’	<i>ir-á-ɲà</i>	‘your iron’
<i>ir-à-rwà</i>	‘my head’	<i>ir-á-rwà</i>	‘my iron’
<i>ir-á-myà</i>	‘our head’	<i>ir-á-myà</i>	‘our iron’
<i>ir-á-ɲrè</i>	‘our (excl) head’	<i>ir-á-ɲrè</i>	‘our (excl) iron’
<i>ir-á-kùrè</i>	‘your (pl) head’	<i>ir-á-kùrè</i>	‘your (pl) iron’
<i>ir-á-tàrè</i>	‘their head’	<i>ir-á-tàrè</i>	‘their iron’
<i>kùmà</i>	‘jaw’	<i>kùm-á-rwà</i>	‘my jaw’
<i>árvà</i>	‘hand’	<i>árv-á-rwà</i>	‘my hand’
<i>ígà</i>	‘back’	<i>íg-á-rà</i>	‘his back’
<i>lòmà</i>	‘ear’	<i>lòm-á-rwà</i>	‘my ear’
<i>ùmà</i>	‘beard’	<i>ùm-á-rwà</i>	‘my beard’
<i>kwàrà</i>	‘throat’	<i>kwàr-á-rwà</i>	‘my throat’
<i>iyè</i>	‘neck’	<i>iy-á-rwà</i>	‘my neck’
<i>wé</i>	‘mouth’	<i>wárwà</i>	‘my mouth’
<i>àrvòndè</i>	‘heart’	<i>àrvònd-á-rwà</i>	‘my heart’
<i>àrvònd-á-rà</i>	‘his heart’ (cf. F. <i>bérndè</i> ‘heart’?)		

Tri-syllabic nouns:

<i>ndəŋglá</i>	‘cheek’	<i>ndəŋgl-á-rwà</i>	‘my cheek’
----------------	---------	---------------------	------------

<i>óktàrè</i>	‘nose’	<i>óktàr-á-rwà</i>	‘my nose’
<i>mòkòkòfà</i>	‘liver’	<i>mòkòkòf-á-rwà</i>	‘my liver’ (body or meat)
<i>kùlùmbè</i>	‘stomach’	<i>kùlùmb-á-rwà</i>	‘my stomach’
<i>màràrè</i>	‘stomach meat’	<i>màràr-á-rà</i>	‘his stomach meat’
<i>bàràrà</i>	‘road’	<i>bàràrà-á-rwà</i>	‘my road’
<i>kwánjàr</i>	‘hook’ (K.)	<i>kwánjàr-á-rwà</i>	‘my hook’
<i>dzàkwà</i>	‘hat’	<i>dzàkw-á-rwà</i>	‘my hat’

The nouns *žilè* ‘man, husband’ and *mùksè* ‘woman, wife’ are not treated as kinship terms and require the genitive marker *á*:

žil-á-rà
man-GEN-3SG
‘her husband’

mùks-á-rà
woman-GEN-3SG
‘his wife’

The third-person singular pronoun has different forms in the speech of a Pulka speaker and the speech of people from Mora. The speaker from Pulka had the form *nè* instead of *rà* in phrase-final position:

- (12) *ácinàyéddà ñàràmhùdávge*
á cinà yé ddà ñàrà á-m hùd-á
 3SG hear voice father 3SG PRED-IN belly-GEN
vgè
 grave
 ‘He hears the voice of his father in the grave.’ (the father of the subject, one of the protagonists of the story, has been previously mentioned in discourse)

The third-person plural possessive pronoun, in addition to having a third-person plural antecedent (as in many other languages), may also have in its scope the singular subject and an associative argument mentioned after the third-person possessive pronoun:

- (13) *yó màrà álvátàrèpàllé ántàrà gdzàrà*
yó màrà álvá-tàrè pàllé ántàrà gdz-á-rà
 well mother word:GEN-3PL one with child-GEN-3SG
 ‘And then, the mother and the daughter have the same opinion.’

3.6. The structure V-á N

The structure Verb-á Noun is nominal rather than verbal, as shown by the fact that it can be followed by determiners and possessive pronouns. The high tone on the suffix *á* added to the verb suggests that it is the genitive marker *á*:

- (14) *távàtèrtèlòktà gání kàṅánnà*
tá vâ-târ-tê lóktà gá-nikà ṅánnà
 3PL give-3PL-T moment contract:GEN-marriage DEF
 ‘They give them a date for contracting the marriage.’
- (15) *má bàlvá kùrḷóḷántàr gdzàgyálwá*
má bà lv-á-kùr ḷóḷè ántàrà gdzà gyál
 HYP FOC word-GEN-2PL finish ASSC:PL young girl
 ‘‘Since your conversation with the young girl is finished,’’
- (16) *máḷóḷà màgàtrṅánnà [màwàrkínì ákyàrá dâmbá (not recorded)]*
má ḷóḷ-à màgà tr ṅánnà má
 HYP finish:VENT-finish-PB do work DEF HYP
wàr kínì á kyá-rà á dâ-m mbá
 who C.FOC 3SG disperse-3SG PRED go-IN home
 ‘If the work is finished, everybody returns home.’

The verb *f* ‘drink’, ‘tell’ combined with the noun *úyà* ‘speech, story’ produces the nominal compound *fóyá* ‘story’. Such a compound can in turn have a genitive suffix added:

- (17) *ágdzá fóyá làrúusà*
ágdzà fú úy-á làrúusà
 small say:GEN chat-GEN marriage
 ‘A small story of a marriage ...’

The evidence that the form *fóyá* is a complex expression consisting of several elements is provided by structures where the posited components are separated by other material, and where the first component functions as a predicate and the second as an argument:

- (18) *yé fâ-k úyì cùkwá ngùdì*
 1SG tell-2SG story small small
 ‘I will tell you a short story.’

3.7 Kinship construction with nominal possessor

In the kinship construction with nominal possessor, the possessum precedes the possessor. The possessor is marked by the preposition *gà*. The possessum has a possessive pronoun coding the number of the possessor. The possessive pronoun is preceded by the genitive marker *á*. For a noun on first mention, the possessive pronoun is *rà*, reduced to *r* before a preposition:

- (19) *tá ddámhá dárgè gdzàgyálè*
tá ddá mbá-á dǎ-r gè gdzà gyálè
 3PL go home-GEN father-3SG TO young girl
 ‘They should go to the father of the girl.’

The pronoun *ǎrà* indicates that the noun has been previously mentioned or is otherwise identifiable:

- (20) *àddǎnár gùrǎrwà àmgìgùžǎltsà àmmá wáyáwày žàgàdè*
àddǎ-ǎr g ùr-á-rwà àmgìgù žǎl tsà
 father-3SG TO friend-GEN-1SG old man yet
àmmá wáyáwày žàgàdè
 but likes run
 ‘my friend’s father is old, and yet he likes to run’ (elicited)

3.8 Kinship constructions with pronominal possessor

The kinship construction with pronominal possessor consists of the juxtaposition of the head noun (possessum) in the root form and the possessive pronoun, without the genitive marker in between. Moreover, the final vowel of the noun is deleted, and an epenthetic vowel is inserted if so required by syllabification rules. The epenthetic vowel bears a high or low tone depending on the tone of the last syllable of the noun. Here are possessive pronoun paradigms for a noun with an inherent high tone, *àddǎ* ‘father’, an inherent low tone, *àmmá* ‘mother’, and *lǎkàtè* ‘fellow, buddy’, which also behaves like a kinship noun in the first and second person and the third person-singular:

<i>àd-rùwà</i>	‘my father’
<i>àddǎ-ǎ</i>	‘your father’
<i>àddǎ-ǎrà</i>	‘his father’
<i>àddǎ-myà</i>	‘our (incl) father’
<i>àddǎ-ǎrè</i>	‘our (excl) father’
<i>àddǎ-kùrè</i>	‘your (pl) father’
<i>àddǎ-tàrè</i>	‘their father’

<i>əm-rùwà</i>	‘my mother’
<i>əm-ηà</i> or <i>mməηà</i>	‘your mother’
<i>əmmə-ηàrà</i>	‘his mother’
<i>əmm-ə-mìyà</i>	‘our (incl) mother’
<i>əmmə-ηrè</i>	‘our (excl) mother’
<i>əmmə-kùrè</i>	‘your (pl) mother’
<i>əmmə-tàrè</i>	‘their mother’

làkàtá ηàrà/ηà
fellow 3SG/2SG
‘his/your buddy’

làkàtá myà/ηrè/ kùrè
fellow 1INCL/1EXCL/2PL
‘our (INCL/EXCL)/your buddy’

The high tone of the noun can shift rightward and be carried by the segments of the possessive pronoun:

làkàt-rúwà
fellow-1SG
‘my buddy’

With the third-person plural possessive pronoun, the noun *làkàtá* ‘friend’ must have the genitive marker *á*, i.e., it is treated like a non-kinship relation:

làkàt-á-trè
fellow-GEN-3PL
‘their buddy’

The following example contains an inherent kinship noun, followed by the third-person plural possessive pronoun without the genitive marker, and a non-kinship term followed by the same pronoun, but this time with the genitive marker:

- (21) *ée, bàddátàrηánnà kìn tàxɔám*
ée, á bá ddə tàr ηánnà kìn tà hdà
well 3SG say father 3PL DEF now 3PL bury
fátàrηánnà kìnì wá
á-m f-á-tàr ηánnà kìnì wá
PRED-IN field-GEN-3PL DEF C.FOC COM
‘And now, their father, who was buried in their field, . . .’

The form *ɲàrà* indicates that the head noun is identifiable from the information provided in the preceding discourse.

- (22) *à dándàvà ázà dǎ ɲàrwà gyálè ná*
à dǎ ndàvà á zà dǎ ɲàr wá
 3SG go ask PRED HL father 3SG COM
gyálè-ná
 girl-DEM
hàyèn hàyá àmá dǎ ɲàrwá à kàtá yényvè
hàyé-n-hàyà àmá dǎ ɲàr wá à kàtá
 love-3SG-love but father 3SG COM 3SG want
á yé-n-v-yè
 3SG refuse-3SG-APPL-refuse
 ‘He went to ask her father, saying that the girl loves him. But her father wants to refuse him.’

The following example illustrates a so far unexplained use of third-person pronouns with nouns that are mentioned for the first time:

- (23) *átséáɓàlà máɲùràrà*
ná wá á tsé á ɓàlà
 DEM COM 3SG get up 3SG go
m-áɲ ɲr-á-rà
 HYP-ASSC man-GEN-3SG
 ‘he gets up and goes either with his man’
- málà kàtəɲàrómlè*
má làkàtə ɲàrà úmlè
 HYP fellow 3SG another
 ‘or with another fellow.’

When reference is made to a specific father, the third-person possessive pronoun is *ɲàrà* rather *rà*:

- (24) *tàbúkùrdá tər wá àpwàtr dǎzà ddánàrà gəgyálè*
tà bú kùrd-á tər wá à pwà-trè
 3PL two all-GEN 3PL COM 3SG send:PL-3PL
də zà ddǎ ɲàrà gə gyálè
 go HL father 3SG TO girl
 ‘Both of them, he sent to the father of the girl.’

The same noun can be used with or without the genitive particle, each form coding a different type of relationship. The genitive marker *á* excludes a kinship relationship:

àd-rùwà ‘my father’ *àdd-á-rwà* ‘my boss, my superior’
mál-rùwà ‘my oldest brother’ *mál-á-rwà* ‘my superior’ (*màlé* ‘old’)

Here is a list of other kinship constructions:

dé màrà ‘grandfather’ (on the father’s or on the mother’s side)
jölá-rù žílé ‘father-in-law, son-in-law’ (either wife’s or husband’s)
gí-rwà ‘my grandson’, ‘my granddaughter’
xàm-rúwà ‘my sibling-in-law’ (*žílé* (male) or *mùksè* (female))

3.9 Intimate kinship relationships

Intimate kinship terms are used only among family members and close friends. The same referent may have a different form depending on the addressee. The following forms are intimate terms when used without possessive pronouns:

máyè ‘our mother’ (when talking with siblings)
áddà ‘daddy’

The noun *màrà* ‘mother’ can be used with respect to anybody’s mother. The terms *àddá* ‘father’ and *àmmà* ‘mother’ and the term *áddà* ‘daddy’ when followed by the third-person plural possessive pronoun rather than the singular pronoun, refer to a position within a household rather than to a kinship relation. In the narrative from which the following example is taken,, ‘father’ has only one child but the third-person plural pronoun is used:

- (25) *ée, bàddàtàryánnà kìn tàxdám*
ée, á bá ddà tàr ñánnà kìn tà hdã
 well 3SG say father 3PL DEF now 3PL bury
fátàryánnà kìnì wá
á-m f-á-tàr ñánnà kìnì wá
 PRED-IN field-GEN-3PL DEF C.FOC COM
 ‘And now, their father, who was buried in the field, . . .’

Nominal modifiers with kinship terms have the structure $N_{[\text{possessor}]-á}$ $\text{Pro}_{[\text{possessive}]}$ $g\ddot{o}$ $N_{[\text{possessum}]}$:

- (26) *dárgè gdzàrà béetàrè séi dóolè*
d-á-r gè gdzà-r-a à bà-ítaré
 father-GEN-3SG TO child-NOM-PL 3SG say-3PL
séi dóolè
 then necessary (H, F)
tádágdzàrà tàrè dǎmbá žilè
tá d-á gdzàr-á-tàrè d-ám mb-á žilè
 3PL go-GO child-PL-GEN-3PL go-IN house-GEN man
 ‘Parents say that it is necessary for them to marry off their daughters.’
 [lit. ‘take their daughters to a husband’]
- (27) *yò dárgà gdzàrkíni*
yò d-á-r gè gdzà-r kíni
 well father-GEN-3SG TO young-NOM C.FOC
 ‘Well, the father of the child [the bride]’
- áǎlǎná lǎlá-rà*
á ǎlǎ-n á lǎl-á-rà
 3SG announce-3SG PRED borough-GEN-3SG
 ‘‘is announcing it in his neighborhood.’’

The preposition *gè* can also precede an independent pronoun:

- (28) *wùrá dèǎárnà ántàr wùrá gèǎánnà*
wùrá dè ǎár-r-nà ántàr
 friend-GEN father POSS-3SG-DEM ASSC:PL
wùr-á gè ǎàné-nà
 friend-GEN TO 3SG-DEM
 ‘friend of his father and his own friend’

4. Modification by adjectives

Most adjectives follow the noun they modify. Some adjectives precede the noun they modify. The distinction is lexical. When the adjective follows the head noun, the head noun has the root form:

<i>krè ǎàmlàkè</i>	‘dirty dog’
<i>krè dónwè</i>	‘black dog’
<i>krè dzáyé</i>	‘white dog’
<i>ùr vràndè</i>	‘a brown person’
<i>nyàngìwù líiplà</i>	‘a blue gown’
<i>ùr zùǎwè</i>	‘the first person’

ùr fágrà 'a good person'

When the adjective precedes the head noun, the adjective has the root + *a* form.⁷ To this category belong the adjectives *ámjùgwà* 'old' (about persons and things), *gdzà* 'young, small' and *cùkwá* 'small', *ɓàɓàɓà* 'difficult':

- (29a) *ámjùgwà mùksè/žilé/lvà*
old woman/man/word
'an old woman/man/word'

gdzà gyálè
'a young girl'

mdìgwá lvà
'an old word'

mdìgwà gyáalè/dàwàlè
'an old girl/man'

- (29b) *cùkwá fòyìhànnà*
small story DEF
'this is a small story'

- (30) *ɓàɓàɓà gáná kìmàk-àhà ájwàtírè á-m*
difficult price shoe-PL new PRED-IN
kwàskwè
market
'new shoes are expensive'

- (31a) *ágdzà fòyá làríusà*
ágdzà fòy-á làríusà
small story-GEN marriage
'A short story of a marriage.'

Placing an adjective from the class of adjectives that precede the noun in post-nominal position results in an ungrammatical expression:

⁷ In some Chadic languages, when the adjective precedes the noun there is a marker identical to the one that follows the nominal head of a modifying construction, corresponding in a way to the expression 'an old of x'.

- (31b) *fóyà égdzà
 story small
 ‘a short story’

The adjective *émgìgwà* (variant *ndìgwà*) has its final vowel raised when it precedes a syllable with a high front vowel:

- (32) *tígà yánémgìgwè kímàkàa*
t-íigà y-án émgìgwè kímàkàa
 T-back 1SG-ASSC old shoes
 ‘after all, I have only old shoes’

The expression *ckwá ngùdì* ‘very small’ can follow the noun and can co-occur with the adjective *gdzà* ‘small’, which precedes the noun:

- (33) *àfìyú gdzói ckwángùdì*
à fì-y-ú gdzà úyá ckwá ngùdì
 3SG tell-1SG-VENT small speech very small
 ‘he told me a short story’

The plurality of adjectives is coded through leftward reduplication of the first three segments of the adjective, with low tone, e.g. *cùkwá* ‘small’, pl. *cùkcùkwà*.

- (34) *má ún ká tá màgá égdzàrà sàwàri-*
 HYP DEF NEG 3PL make small reunion
yáhà-tàrè cùkcùkwà á tè bàràrà
yáhà-tàrè cùkcùkwà á tè bàràrà
 PL-3PL small PRED T road
 ‘If it is not that, they arrange small meetings at the road.’

5. Modification by numerals

In modification by numerals, the numeral follows the head noun. Non-human nouns followed by a numeral greater than ‘one’ do not have to have the plural marker. A noun followed by a numeral occurs in the root form, i.e. it ends in the consonant:

àkláyígbè
 ‘five cows’

kré nkwàhé
 ‘six dogs’

nàf tiisè
‘eight trees’

nó màsálmàné
‘nine goats’

kyów kláwà
‘ten sheep’

The difference between the numeral function of the form *kláwà* and its quantifier function is that the noun before a quantifier has the root + *a* form:

ǵámá kláwà
assembly all
‘everybody’

Numerals follow possessive pronouns:

fīlī-á zàrv-á myà pàllè
sand-GEN sesame-GEN 1INCL one
‘one of our sesame seeds’

The numeral *pàllè* ‘one’ can either precede or follow the head noun and can itself be the head of the noun phrase. It is therefore likely that it is an erstwhile noun rather than a numeral:

- (35) *fīlyá zàrvà tàrpàllè báakà*
fīlī-á zàrv-á-tàr pàllè báakà
sand-GEN sesame-GEN-3PL one NEG.EX
‘one of their sesame seeds is missing’

The numeral *pàllè* ‘one’ combined with the noun *àddá* ‘father, Mister (honorific titles), man’ is used as an anaphor whose antecedent was not mentioned by name but rather by its attributes. In such a function the numeral precedes rather than follows the noun:

- (36) *à bə̀ pàlè ddá tìmà*
à bà pàllè dd-á tìmà
3SG say one man-GEN ear
‘The one who hears all said:’

Pronominal heads have the root + *a* form when followed by a numeral:

- (37a) *ɲá* *bùá*
 1EXCL two
 ‘the two of us (excl)’
- (33) *àbàdàdà* *káí* *màkígyé*
à *bà* *dàdà* *káí* *má* *kígyé*
 3SG say father no 1INCL three
 ‘The father said, “No, it’s the three of us.”’

Nouns referring to humans have the plural form when followed by numerals larger than ‘one’:

ágdzàrà *vúyè*
 child:PL seven
 ‘seven children’

The noun *mdè* ‘people’, which is inherently plural, occurs in the root form when followed by a numeral:

- (38) *yò* *tàsálvàm**dàkígyé*
yò *tà* *s-á* *lv-á* *mdè* *kígyé*
 well 3PL come-GO story-GEN people three
 ‘They brought a story of three people’

Numerals can occur in a sequence without any conjunction:

- (39) *mávà* *cátàn* *ǰàmùb* *dàlyé* *hárbò* *kígyé*
má *vàcǰyà* *tè-nà* *ǰàbù* *dàlyé* *háré* *bwà* *kígyé*
 HYP time DEF-DEM again day two three
 ‘After some time, two or three days,’

tátsàtá *dúǰàbè*
tá *tsà* *tá* *d-úw* *ǰàbè*
 3PL get up 3PL go-VENT again
 ‘they get up, they go there again.’

6. Modification by quantifiers

The class of quantifiers is relatively small and includes: (*m*)*bàdǰmmè* ‘all’, *kláwà* ‘all’ (identical with the numeral ‘ten’), *kwàkyà* ‘many (about people, animals, houses)’, *tǰrmè* ‘much (about grains)’, *cámballé* ‘many (about corn-

stalks, firewood)’, *dàpé* ‘all’, and *úmlè* ‘some’ (identical with the determiner ‘another’).

Quantifiers represent a different category from numerals. Some quantifiers precede the head noun; other quantifiers, e.g. *kláwà* ‘all’, *rà* ‘any’ follow the head noun. Some quantifiers, e.g. *bàdǎmmè* ‘all’ and *úmlè* ‘some’ can either precede or follow the head noun. When the quantifier follows the head noun, the head noun has the root form:

- (40) *má* *bàní* *lisáfíy-á* *dùksà* *bàdǎmmè*
má *bàní* *lisáfí-á* *dùksà* *bàdǎmmè*
 HYP concern calculation(F)-GEN thing all
 ‘If it concerns any kind of calculation,’

With the quantifier ‘all’, the [+human] head noun, whether pronominal or nominal, must be preceded by the form *irè* ‘head’. This indicates that the noun *irè* functions as a classifier, individuating [+human] nouns. The quantifier *bàdǎmmè* has the root form when it precedes the noun:

- (41a) *má* *bàní* *bàdǎm* *mírámýà* *mándìyámýà*
má-á *bàní* *bàdǎmm* *ir-á-myà* *mà*
 HYP-PREDconcern all head-GEN-1INCL 1INCL
án *dìy-á-myà*
 ASSC knowledge-GEN-1INCL
wá *jàgrónà* *máhi* *gámýà*
wá *jàgrà* *únà* *má* *híg-á-myà* [not in the recording]
 COM well DEF 1INCL happy-GEN-1INCL
 ‘Because we all have this knowledge, it is good. As far as we are concerned, we are happy.’ [*híg-á-myà* is not clear to other speakers.]

- (41b) *bàdǎmm* *ir-á-myà/kùrè/tàrè*
 all head-GEN-1INCL/2PL/3PL
 ‘all of us/you/them’

The quantifier *bàdǎmmè* can be used with a single possessor:

- (41c) *bàdǎm* *ir-á-rwà*
 all head-GEN-1SG
 ‘all of me’

The form *dàppé* ‘all’ appears to be an erstwhile noun, as it is preceded by the genitive marker in a modifying construction:

- (42) à n-í-n v-á dèppé
 3SG see-1SG-see time-GEN all
 ‘he saw me all day’ (*dèppé* cannot be an argument)

Nouns preceding the quantifiers *kwákyà* ‘many’, *tàrmè* ‘much’, and *càmbàllè* ‘much’ are in the singular and in the root form:

ùz kwákyà
 hoe many
 ‘many hoes’

hì tàrmè
 grain much
 ‘much grain’

háǵè càmbàllè
 wood much
 ‘much wood’

The equivalent of the quantifier ‘everybody’ is formed through the hypothetical marker *má* followed by the interrogative word *wàr* ‘who’. This quantifier takes a singular subject pronoun:

- (43) màǵármá wàrkínà kyádámbatàrè
 màǵár má wàr kín à kyà
 now HYP who C.FOC 3SG scatter
 á dám mb-á-tàrè
 PRED go:IN home-GEN-3PL
 màtàngàrsátàngà [error and attempt at correction] góró
 má tàngà-r-sá-tàngà góró
 HYP distribute-3PL-S-distribute cola nut
 ‘Now, everybody goes home, having partaken of the cola nuts.’

A set of numerals is formed through the construction: (3PL) numeral *kùrdé* ‘all’ + GEN + 3PL, e.g. *tà bú kùrdá tàrè* ‘both of them’, *kígyí kùrdá tàrè* ‘the three of them’, *ηkwàhá kùrdá tàrè* ‘the six of them’:

- (44) tàbúkùrdá tàrwá àpwàtr dázà ddàḡàrà gègyálè
 tà bú kùrd-á tàr wá à
 3PL two all-GEN 3PL COM 3SG
 pwà-trè dè zà ddá ḡàrà gè gyálè
 send:PL-3PL go HL father 3SG TO girl
 ‘Both of them, he sent to the father of the girl.’

It is of interest that in this construction the third-person plural pronoun is *tà*, the same as the subject pronoun, rather than the independent third-person pronoun *ítàrè*.

7. The quantifier *rà* ‘any’

The quantifier *rà* is identical with one of the polar interrogative markers. This form follows the head in the quantifier function. The quantifier has the root form in the clause-internal position:

- (45a) *mádám tatarínì máná bàǵàlà*
má dǎ-m tatar place-Q kìnì má nábà ǵàlà
 HYP go-IN place-Q C.FOC 1INCL then go
 ‘No matter into what place, we can go there.’

- (45b) *májùbàrkìnì séì bà yá ǵǵàrà*
má jùbà rà kìnì séì bà yá ǵǵàrà
 HYP entity Q C.FOC then FOC 1SG look
 ‘No matter what it is, I can/will see it.’

8. Delimiters

‘Delimiter’ is a category that constrains the potential referents of the noun phrase to the group in the scope of the delimiter. The gathered data contain only one delimiter for nominal expressions, *tàné* ‘only’, which occurs after the noun phrase:

- (46) *ǵàzàná bàǵrè àntàrà mùrwá tàné*
ǵá zà-ná bà ǵrè àntàrà
 1EXCL eat-3SG FOC 1EXCL ASSC:PL
mù-rwá tàné
 mother-1SG only (F)
 ‘We will eat it, only me and my mother.’

9. Modification by determiners

Determiners occur after possessive pronouns but before the numerals. Most morphemes preceding determiners, viz. nouns and possessive pronouns, have the root form.

Here is the list of determiners and a brief account of their functions. For a full discussion of their functions see chapter 21 on the reference system.

The determiner *ɲánnà* consists of the third-person singular pronoun *ɲán* and the determiner *nà*. It is represented here as a single form and glossed DEF:

- (47a) *má kyórà dùksà̀ ɲánnà̀ séì bà̀ yá̀ nánnà̀*
má á kyáw rà̀ dùksà̀ ɲánnà̀ séì bà̀
 HYP PRED place any thing DEF then FOC
yá ná-n-nà̀
 1SG see-3SG-see
 ‘No matter where the object is, I will see it.’

The determiner can follow the numeral or precede it. The functions of the different position of the determiner are not clear. Here is an example with the determiner following the numeral. The numeral ends in the consonant before the determiner, just as nouns do:

- (47b) *ámdà̀ kígyí̀ ná̀*
 people three DEM
 ‘these three men’

The following example illustrates the determiner following the noun but preceding the numeral:

- (47c) *lákàtá̀ ɲánnà̀ tá-kígyémá̀ [pause] tà̀ dè̀ hərə̀dã̀*
lákàt-à ɲánnà̀ tá-kígyé-má̀ tà̀ dè̀ hərə̀dã̀
 fellow-PL DEF 3PL-three-and 3PL go farm
 ‘And these three friends went to farm.’

The form *nà*, glossed as DEM, is a deictic and a previous reference marker (as described in the system of reference, chapter 21). It is also a post-relative marker (see chapter 26, ‘Relative clause’), and a part of the plural possessive and independent pronouns in phrase-final position.

The determiner *úmlè* ‘another’ codes the noun as an indefinite member of a specific set. The determiner follows the head noun. Nouns and pronouns have the root form before the determiner *úmlè*:

- (48a) *də̀rv úmlè̀*
 pond another
 ‘another pond’

- (48b) *málà kàtòḡàrúmlè*
má kàkàtò ḡàr úmlè
 HYP fellow 3SG another
 ‘or [with] one of his buddies’

For reasons that are poorly understood, the noun *tàtá* ‘place’ retains its final vowel before the modifier:

- (49) *ám-tà-tó-mlè bà-bákìr-à žìl-ḡánn-à kìnì*
á-m tàtá úmlè bà bák ìr-á žìl
 PRED-IN place other FOC NEG.EX head-GEN man
ḡánn-à kìnì
 DEF C.FOC
á-gdzàr-à-tá-bà pwóm-bà
á-gdzàr-à tá bà pwà á-m mbà
 child-PL 3PL FOC pour PRED-IN home
 ‘Where there are no men, girls just loaf around the house.’

Nouns that end in the vowel *i* retain this vowel before the determiner. These include a few names of insects and birds, e.g. *nàrvànjí* ‘large termites’, *kùrí* ‘swift’, a recent borrowing. Examples have been observed only under elicitation:

kùrínà
 ‘this swift’

nàrvànjí nà
 ‘this little termite’

pàlí nà
 ‘a part of a cola nut, other nuts that can be separated’

10. Verbal modification of an agentive noun

Agentive modification of a noun by the verb has the form: N V (infinitival form) (N). Nouns have the root + *a* form:

- (49) *ánkórán dálvàmúvgàbiná*
ánk wrà á ndá lv ám vg
 exist person 3SG speak word in grave
à b-íná
 3SG say-3SG
 ‘‘There is somebody talking in the grave,’’ he said.’

Verbs whose citation form ends in *e* end in *a* when followed by their objects:

dónà fìbà fúngù
 person hide money
 ‘the person hiding money’

wrà jjà wrà
 person hit person
 ‘a hitting person’

11. Verbal modification of a non-agentive noun

The coding of the single participant as affected rather than controlling has the structure S - associative preposition *án* followed by the verb with the low tone(s), i.e. the form of the verb used in the stative aspect:

wrà án jà → [úrá njà]
 person ASSC hit
 ‘person that was hit’

wràán fìbè → [úrán fìbè]
 ‘the hidden person’

Plural affected participants are coded by the third-person plural pronoun:

mdà t án cìbà → [mdà tán cìbà]
 people 3PL ASSC hit
 ‘the persons that were hit’

12. Modification by a clause

This section deals only with modification by a clause that is not a relative clause. A noun modified by such a clause has the form root + *á* (genitive marker). The modifying clause is preceded by its pronominal subject:

- (51) *dàcí fúlàrà fàńánkàpútá só ńánnà*
dàcí fúl-á-rà fà-n-á-n
 then travel-GEN-3SG find-1SG-GO-3SG
kà pútà-á só ńánnà
 NEG means-GEN come:VENT DEF
 ‘And then [with] his travel, I didn’t find a possibility to come.’

kímàk-á žàgàdè
 shoes-GEN run
 ‘shoes for running’ (*kímàkè* ‘shoes’)

fúńgw-á ńàlà
 money-GEN go
 ‘the money to go’

bákà lúž-á ńàbè
 NEG.EX cotton sewing
 ‘there is no cotton for sewing’ (*lúžè* ‘cotton (cloth, fiber, or plant)’)

13. Conjoined noun phrases

13.1 Two types of coordinated noun phrases

There are two types of coordinated noun phrases. One involves a structure with a conjunction between the noun phrases, and the other involves juxtaposition of two noun phrases without a conjunction. Both types of conjoined noun phrases can begin with the third-person plural pronoun *tàrà*.

13.2 Conjoined noun phrases without a conjunction

The structure of the noun phrase without a conjunction is *tàrà* (3PL) NP NP (lit. ‘they NP NP’). The function of this structure is to create a set of two participants having the same role with respect to the predicate. The evidence for this analysis is provided by two other elements in the example below the verb *gá* ‘marry’, whose default meaning involves ‘man marrying a woman’, and the applicative extension *v*, which indicates the same role for both participants:

- (52a) *yò cá mánkìni tàràžilé mùksè sé tágávà*
yò cá màn kìnì tàrà žilé mùksè sé
 well before C.FOC 3PL man woman then
tá gá-và
 3PL marry-APPL
 ‘Well, before a man and a woman get married,’

The insertion of a conjunction in the above sentence results in an ungrammatical expression:

- (52b) **yò cáwmàn kìnì tàrà žilé ántàrà mùksè sé*
 well before C.FOC 3PL man ASSC:PL woman then
tá gá-và
 3PL marry-APPL
 ‘well, before the man and the woman get married, . . .’

13.3 The preposition/conjunction *ántàrà*

The form *ántàrà* is actually a preposition that codes the role of the following noun, as shown by the fact that it does not have to be preceded by a noun. In the following example, the first conjunct *lv-á kùr* ‘your conversation’ precedes the verb (and is preceded by the focus marker *bà*). The second conjunct, preceded by the preposition *ántàrà*, follows the verb. The verb before the preposition has the clause-final form ending in the vowel *e*:

- (53) *má bàlvá kùržóžántàrà gdzàgyálvá*
má bà lv-á-kùr žóžè ántàrà gdzà gyál
 HYP FOC word-GEN-2PL finish ASSC:PL young girl
 ‘‘Since your conversation with the young girl is finished,’’

When both conjuncts are in post-verbal position, neither conjunct can be placed in focus by means of the particle *bà*. The fact that the position before the preposition *ántàrà* is phrase-final is evidenced by the vowel *e* occurring before the preposition, regardless of the lexical category that precedes it. In the preceding example, the preposition is preceded by the verb; in the following, it is preceded by the second-person plural possessive pronoun:

- (54) *má žóžè lvákrè ántàrà gdzàgyálvá*
má žóžè lv-á-krè ántàrà gdzà gyál
 since finish word-GEN-2PL ASSC:PL young girl
wá
 COM
 ‘Since your conversation with the young girl is finished, . . .’

The coordinated conjunction can have the subject pronoun (as opposed to the independent pronoun) as the first conjunct and a noun phrase as the second conjunct. The root form of the conjunction codes a different functional relationship from the root + *a*. In the following example, the conjunction precedes the same noun *gdzà gyál* ‘young girl’. The preposition ends in the vowel *a*. The form that ends in the vowel codes existential predication of the type ‘X is with Y’. The form ending in the consonant codes an associative phrase, ‘X with Y’:

- (55) *yò jibámdəŋá tənjámbá žilnà*
yò jib-á mdə ŋá tá njà
 well type-GEN people DEM 3PL stay
á mb-á žil nà
 PRED home-GEN man DEM
 ‘Well, the type of people who remain at the husband’s.’

tántàrè gdzàgyálnà áskè málárŋàrà
tá àntàrè gdzà gyál nà áskè málàrè ŋàrà
 3PL ASSC:PL young girl DEM like aunt 3SG
 ‘who are with the young girl, are like her aunt . . .’

If the number of conjoined noun phrases is greater than two, the conjunction occurs only before the final noun phrase, in the pattern NP NP (NP) ASSC:PL NP. The first noun of the conjoined noun phrases may be preceded by the third-person plural pronoun *tàr*. When the construction consists of several noun phrases, it becomes a new construction, a list. A property of a list is that each noun in a list has high tone, regardless of its inherent tone when it forms a single argument of a clause. The nouns for ‘father’ and ‘mother’ have inherently low tones: *dàdà* and *màmà*. When they are a part of a list, these nouns have high tones throughout:

- (56) *tàrdádámámá àntàrgdzá tàržilé*
tàr dádá mámá àntàr gdz-á-tàr žilé
 3PL father mother ASSC:PL child-GEN-3PL male
 ‘They are a father, a mother, and their son.’

Compare the noun *màmà* when it is not part of a list:

- (57) *àgyátàr màmà àntàrgdzrè [àntàrəgdzrè]*
à gy-á tàr màmà àntàr gdz-rè
 3SG leave-GO 3PL mother ASSC:PL child-NOM
 ‘He left the mother and the child.’

- (58) *tànjìhéǵàtàrmàmántàrgdzrè*
tà nǵì-hé gè tàr mà m ántà r gdz-rè
 3PL remain-PNCT TO 3PL mother ASSC:PL small-NOM
 ‘There remained the mother and child.’

The form *tà r* ‘3PL’ can be omitted:

- (59) *à gǵyá mà m ántà r gdz-rè*
 3SG leave mother ASSC:PL child-NOM
 ‘He left the mother and the child’

The conjunction of the speaker and another participant has as the first component the first-person plural inclusive or exclusive pronoun, rather than the first-person singular. The second component can be a noun or a pronoun. In the following example, the speaker is using the first-person exclusive pronoun *ǵá* because he is addressing potential listeners to the recording but excluding those present at the conversation:

- (60a) *ǵán tà r à pàtróǵá r wà*
ǵà ántà r à pàtróǵ-á-r wà
 1EXCL ASSC.PL boss-GEN-1SG
 ‘We are together with my boss.’

The conjunction of the second-person singular and a noun can be referred to in the subsequent utterance by the second-person singular pronoun alone:

- (60b) *kàkántà r à gdzǵà n à sà wà kàžà r à b à dùksà*
kà kà ántà r à gdz-á-ǵà kà
 2SG 2SG ASSC:PL child-GEN-2SG 2SG
sà-wà kà žà r à b à dùks-á
 come-VENT 2SG look FOC thing-GEN
žilé skiyà
žilé ski yà
 man like 1SG
 ‘You, you and your child, come, you just look at the problem of a man like me . . .’

13.4 The disjunctive conjunction

The disjunctive conjunction, partially overlapping with ‘or’, is *mtú*. The conjunction is identical with the disjunctive clausal conjunction and an interrogative marker. When the form *mtù* functions as a nominal conjunction, the noun preceding the conjunction has the root + *a* form:

dáfà mtú yàwè
 food or water
 ‘food or water’ (elicited)

The disjunctive conjunction can also occur between two demonstratives (the following example also uses the disjunctive conjunction between the two clauses). When the form *mtù* functions as clausal conjunction, the noun preceding the form *mtù* has the root form:

(61) *áηkwè žíłmtú wàyàrkàbéetàrèè*
áηkwè žíl mtú wàyà-r kà bà ítàrèè
 exist man or love-3PL NEG FOC 3PL
 ‘or else, there is a man, but they [the girls] don’t like [him].’

ηánnàm tústàrà
ηánnà àmtú stà rà
 DEF or what INTNS
 ‘Or what?’

14. Conclusions

There are several means to modify a noun. Juxtaposition, the simplest coding means, is deployed for the coding of the attributes of the head. In this juxtaposition, the head noun, the first noun in the construction, has the root form. The other means, for some modifiers, is to place the modifier before the head noun. Modifiers in such a construction have the root + *a* form. The head noun may be followed by the genitive marker *á*. In such constructions, the modifiers are either nouns or clauses. The modifying function of a noun or pronoun preceding the head noun subsumes the possessive function.

Adjectives can follow or precede the head. When adjectives follow the head, the head has the root form. When adjectives precede the head, they have the root + *a* form.

Numerals follow the head. The head has the root form before numerals.

Determiners follow the head or other modifiers. The elements preceding determiners have the root form.

The coordinating nominal conjunction *ántàrà* may well be a complex structure consisting of the associative preposition *án* and the form *tàrà*, the third-person plural independent and possessive pronoun.

Chapter 6

Verbal roots and stems

1. Introduction

The present chapter deals with the underlying structure of verbs; the derivation of plural verbs; the forms of verbal nouns; and the derivation of two types of reduplicated verbs. The inflectional forms coding mood, negation, grammatical and semantic relations, and their associated functions, are discussed in subsequent chapters dealing with the various functions.

The verb in Wandala may occur in the simple and in the reduplicated form. Subject pronouns precede the simple form of the verb and the reduplicated form of the verb in the imperfective aspect. In one type of negation, subject pronouns are suffixed to the verb. In the backgrounding aspect, which is coded by the R1R2 form, subject pronouns are inserted between R1 and R2, resulting in the R1ProR2 form. The addition of object pronouns in the imperfective aspect requires reduplication of the verb. In the construction R1ProR2, object pronouns follow the subject pronouns. In both types of reduplication, extensions occur between R1 and R2. The endings on R1 and R2 code modal functions, spatial orientation, and the presence or absence of a goal. In addition, the endings on R2 code the grammatical relations of the following noun phrase. The endings on R1 and R2 are discussed in the description of the relevant functional domains.

Verbs are cited here in the imperfective aspect. This is just one of the ‘citation forms’, i.e. forms given spontaneously when the speakers are asked to provide an equivalent of a French or an English citation form. Speakers of Wandala provide a host of other citation forms, including reduplicated forms, depending on what form corresponds best to the speaker’s understanding of the requested meaning. A ‘citation form’ of the verb does not exist as a unique structural entity.

2. The underlying form of the verb

The underlying form of the verb (‘root’) includes, by definition, only those elements whose presence is unpredictable from the phonological structure of the language and which are not part of the inflectional or derivational morphemes. The underlying form of the verb consists of all consonants and, for some verbs, a vowel following the first consonant. No underlying form of the verb begins with a vowel and no verb may consist of a vowel alone. This fact

is one of the characteristics of verbs as opposed to other categories, e.g. nouns and pronouns, which may have a vowel in the word-initial position. The only vowel that may be verb-final in the underlying structure is *a*.

An analysis of verbs yields the following underlying forms:

C	<i>z</i> ‘eat’, <i>s</i> ‘drink’, <i>ts</i> ‘rise’, <i>v</i> ‘give’, <i>ʒ</i> ‘finish’
CC	<i>ʒl</i> ‘send (a plural object)’
C(C)a	<i>ndà</i> ‘speak’
C(C)aC	<i>ʒàl</i> ‘depart’
CaCaCa/e	<i>àxhájàtá</i> ‘scrape’ (the initial vowel in this verb is epenthetic, and the final vowel is a grammatical morpheme), <i>tàtàyà</i> ‘search’, <i>ʒàgàdè</i> ‘run away’

The number of consonants is an important factor in the inflectional morphology of verbs. One of the ways of deriving the plural form of the verb is through the insertion of the infix *a* after the first consonant.

Tone is not part of the underlying structure of individual verbs. Tones are inflectional markers coding a variety of functions. Tone plays an important role in the derivation of all verbal forms, but it appears that these forms are the same for all verbs having the same segmental structure. With respect to tone, Wandala is similar to Lamang, as described in Wolff 1984, and Hausa, as described in Frajzyngier and Munkaila 2004 (for a different approach to Hausa, see Newman 2000), but is quite different from Hdi (Frajzyngier with Shay 2003) and Malgwa (Löhr 2002).

Since some verbs begin with a vowel phonetically, they constitute potential counterevidence to the hypothesis about the underlying structure of the verb as not having an initial vowel; therefore the initial phonetic vowels of those verbs need to be explained.

3. The initial vowel of the phonetic forms of the verb

The initial vowels of verbs in their phonetic realization are not underlying, as they are fully predictable from the phonological constraints and processes attested elsewhere in the language. Verb-initial vowels derive from two sources: (a) vowel insertion when the underlying form of the verb has a phonetically disallowed consonant cluster in word-initial position, and (b) the vocalization of initial palatal or labial glides.

3.1 Epenthetic vowels

A phonetically disallowed cluster in word-initial position triggers vowel insertion by the rule:

$\emptyset \rightarrow \text{ə} \quad / \# _ _ \text{C1C2}$ (C1 is a stop, C2 is either a stop or a continuant)

əptsá 'return'
əksá 'catch'

All initial geminated consonants (one of the means of deriving the imperative form) require vowel epenthesis in word-initial position: *əkkə̀kà* 'count!'.
 Complex segments, which underlyingly are not clusters of consonants, may require an epenthetic vowel in phrase-initial position, behaving in this respect like consonant clusters:

ə́fjà 'remain'

3.2 Initial vowels from glides

Underlying palatal or labial glides are realized as the corresponding vowels *u* or *i* when followed by another consonant. Two rules are responsible for this process. The first inserts an epenthetic vowel before a cluster consisting of the palatal or labial glide and another consonant. The epenthetic vowel agrees with the features [+round] or [+front]-of the glide:

$\emptyset \rightarrow \text{V[+high, round]} \quad / \# _ _ \text{G[round]C}$

A subsequent rule deletes the glide after the vowel:

$\text{G} \rightarrow \emptyset \quad / \text{V[+ high, round]} _ _ \text{C}$

Consider the derivation of the verb-initial vowel *i* in the phonetic realization of the verb *yc* 'cut'. The epenthesis of the high vowel yields the form *iy**c*. The deletion of the palatal glide after the initial high vowel yields the form [i*c*]. The reduplicated form of this verb provides evidence for vowel epenthesis: *yeyca* → *yicyica* (high vowel insertion) → [i*ci*ica] (glide deletion). The evidence that this verb has an initial underlying palatal glide is provided by the form resulting from the addition of the third-person singular pronoun *a* to the verb. The pronoun is realized as [e] and the verb is realized as [yc]:

- (1) *ə́ycàs* *hà̀yè*
à *yc-s* *hà̀yè*
 3SG cut-S river
 'he crossed the river'

The phonetic forms *óǎ* ‘bother’ and *ócà* ‘shake off (water, dust)’ derive from the roots *wǎ* and *wc* respectively by three rules. The first inserts a high round vowel in front of a labial glide:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow V [+high] [+round] / \# _ _ wC$$

This rule derives the forms [uwǎ] and [uwca]. The second rule lowers the epenthetic vowel to the mid round vowel *o*:

$$V [+high] [+round] \rightarrow [-high] / \# _ _ wC [+palatal]$$

This rule derives the forms *ówǎ* and *ówcà*.

The third rule deletes the labial glide after the round vowel:

$$w \rightarrow \emptyset / V [+high] [+round] _ _ C [+palatal]$$

Support for the proposed analysis of the underlying structure and the processes involved is provided by the stative construction, which consists of the associative marker *án* and the nominal form of the verb, i.e. *án-root-a*. The underlying stative constructions for the two verbs are *án-wǎ-a* and *án-wc-a* respectively. The labial glide becomes a high round vowel between consonants. Here are phonetic realizations of the two stative constructions:

- (2) *làkàtrúwà ánùfè rárà*
làkàt-rúwà án-wǎ ir-á-rà
 fellow-1SG ASSC-bother head-GEN-3SG
 ‘my buddy is disturbed’ (lit. ‘my buddy, his head is bothered’)

- (3) [yàwè án-úcà]
 water ASSC-splash
 ‘the water is splashed’

4. Internal vowels of the verb

The internal phonetic vowels of polyconsonantal verbs are: *i*, *u*, *a* and high central *ə*. The analysis of verbal forms indicates that vowels *i*, *u*, and the central vowel *ə* in the verb-internal position are all epenthetic and that the vowel *a* is underlying. Here is the evidence.

4.1 The internal vowel *i*

The vowel *i* between the consonants of the verb is epenthetic in the majority of cases in which it occurs. Its feature [+front] is determined by the palatal feature of the consonant preceding or following the epenthesis position (verbs are cited in the imperfective frame *á* Verb, ‘he verb’):

- (4) *á fíbè* ‘hide’
á cìnà ‘listen’
á ddiyà ‘he will know’
á gyìgà ‘pound’
á viyà ‘forget’
á p’yà ‘defend’ (*p*’ is a palatal voiceless labial stop)

In order to prove the epenthetic nature of the internal vowel *i* one needs to see whether this vowel is always retained, as there are no rules in Wandala that delete word-internal vowels. For the verb *fíbè* ‘hide’ there are indeed forms without the internal vowel:

- (5a) *à fɓ-àk-v-á* *fúngù* or *à fíb-àk-v-á* *fúngù*
 3SG hide-2SG-APPL-GO money
 ‘she hid money for you’
- (5b) *à fɓb-v-á* *fúngw-á-ɲà*
 3SG hide-APPL-GO money-GEN-2SG
 ‘she hid your money’

Compare the form with the vowel *i*:

- (5c) *à fɓ-i-v-á* *fúngù* or *àfíb-i-v-á*
 3SG hide-1SG-APPL-GO money
 ‘she hid money for me’

Forms with the consonant *f* followed by another non-palatal consonant demonstrate that *f* is not always a product of palatalization of *s* in the environment of a front vowel.

With respect to the verb *cìnà* ‘listen’, the data do not contain instances of this verb without the internal vowel, because the cluster *cn* is disallowed in any position and across word boundaries.

The verb *gyìgà* ‘pound in a mortar, hit’ has the initial palatal consonant *gy*, and consequently the epenthetic vowel must be *i*:

- (6) *à* *sà* *gyìgà* *hìyà*
 3SG come pound corn
 ‘he came to pound corn’

The vowel *i* in the verb *fìkwà* ‘whistle’ is not epenthetic. The whole word, however, may be onomatopoeic, as in a number of unrelated languages lexical items encoding whistling have an initial *f* and a front vowel following it.

4.2 The internal vowel *u*

The internal vowel *u* is inserted before the labial glide or a labialized consonant (all verbs are in the sequence *á* Verb, ‘he verb . . .’):

- (7) *á* *fùkwà* ‘he buys’
 á *dùwà* ‘he goes’
 á *pùwà* ‘he pours’

The form *dùwà* ‘go’ is composed of the verb *d* ‘go’, the ventive marker *w*, and the marker *a*, which occurs on the great majority of verbal nouns. The evidence that the vowel *u* is epenthetic is provided by the verbal forms *fw* or *pw*, i.e. forms without this vowel:

- (8a) [*á*-*fwà* *klà*]
 á *fwà* *klà*
 3SG buy cow
 ‘he buys a cow’

- (8b) *ám-tát-ómlè* *bà-bák-ìr-à* *žìl-ǰánnà* *kínì*
 á-m *tà-tà* *ú-mlè* *bà* *bák* *ìr-á* *žìl*
 PRED-IN place other FOC NEG.EX head-GEN man
 ǰánnà *kínì*
 DEF C.FOC
 ǰgdzàr-à-tábà *pwóm-bà*
 ǰgdzàr-à *tá* *bà* *pwà* *á-m* *mbà*
 child-PL 3PL FOC pour PRED-IN home
 ‘Where there are no men, girls just loaf around the house.’

4.3 The internal central vowel

The internal central vowel has been recorded in many verbs, with different surrounding consonants. This fact indicates that the quality of the vowel is not determined by the phonological environment:

- (9) *á* *bàrdà* ‘pull out forcibly and flee (as in a hawk grabbing a chicken)’
 á *bbàrhà* ‘push’
 á *kkàǵà* ‘break (through bending)’
 á *xàdà* ‘close’

The underlying forms of these verbs have no vowels: *kǵ* ‘break’, *brd* ‘pull out forcibly’, *hd* ‘close’, and *bbrh* ‘push’. The epenthetic vowels are inserted after the first consonant, as in the verbs *bàrdà* ‘pull out forcibly’, *xàdà* ‘close’ and *kàǵà* ‘break’, and both before the first and after the second consonant, as in the verb *àbbàrhà* ‘push’. The word-initial sequences **kǵa* and **xad* are disallowed. There are not enough examples to determine with certainty when the epenthetic vowel precedes the first consonant and when it follows the first consonant. It appears, however, that when a word begins with identical segments, the epenthetic vowel precedes the first segment:

- (10a) *kàǵà-ηà-η-v-àkàǵè*
 break-1SG-3SG-APPL-break
 ‘I broke it’
- (10b) *à* *xàd-tà* *pàrè*
 3SG close-T door
 ‘he closed the door’

The evidence that the high central vowel is epenthetic is provided by the fact that plural verbs formed through the insertion of the vowel *a* between the first and second consonants have no trace of the high central vowel after the first consonant:

- (11) *à* *h-à-dǎ-t(ǎ)* *brè*
 3SG close-PL-close-T room
 ‘he closed rooms’

The verb *vl* ‘sell, send’ has no epenthetic vowel when followed by a vowel:

- (12) *à* *vlòsá-rà*
 à *vlà* *ùsá-rà*
 3SG send greeting-3SG
 ‘he sent his greetings’ (*use* (F); Parietti, n.d. 326)

When this verb is followed by a morpheme beginning with a consonant, two epenthetic central vowels are inserted:

- (13) *ká* *vəl̀ə* *mtú* *ká* *ʃkwà* *hè*
 2SG sell OR 2SG buy Q
 ‘are you selling or are you buying?’

4.4 The internal vowel *a*

The presence of the internal vowel *a* is not predictable from any phonological constraints. This vowel can follow or precede any consonant, including the palatal and labial series:

- (14) *ʒà-ʒàlà* ‘he got up and left’
žàgàdè ‘run away, escape’
bàkà (mótà) ‘drive (a car)’, ‘chase away’
pàlè ‘pound (with hammer or stone, but not with a pestle)’
tsàkà ‘gather, pick-up things one after another’
tsàkwà təmá ‘hear ear’ i.e. listen attentively
mmàgà ‘do’
hàlà ‘gather’
hàbà ‘scrap soil (from plants, from any surface)’
jàṅà ‘put many things in order’
kyàbà ‘break many things, smash’
hàyà ‘love’
wàyá ‘love’
dzàmà ‘think’
màgà ‘do, make’

Such a wide range of surrounding consonants makes it unlikely that the presence of the vowel *a* is determined by the phonetic environment. Moreover, in all of those environments the central vowel can occur as well. Most important, the internal vowel *a* is never deleted within the verbal paradigm. Given that the presence of the vowel *a* is unpredictable and that it is never deleted, it is either part of the underlying structure of the verb or a grammatical morpheme. Choosing the first option would divide verbs into those without an underlying vowel and those with the underlying *a*. Such a division is somewhat suspect given that the vowel *a* would not contribute much to the distinction among verbs. Such a hypothesis would also need to explain why the vowels *i* and *u* are not part of the underlying structure of verbs although they are phonemic.

The only productive grammatical morpheme occurring between the first and the second consonants of the verb is the plural marker *a*. Would the internal *a* represent a lexicalized plural marker? Some verbs with the internal *a* do indeed imply multiple activities or the presence of plural objects:

<i>pàlè</i>	‘pound (with hammer or stone, but not with a pestle)’
<i>tsàkà</i>	‘gather, pick-up things one after another’
<i>hàlà</i>	‘gather’
<i>nájà</i>	‘put many things in order’
<i>kyàbà</i>	‘break many things, smash’

Some verbs are inherently imperfective, a category that in Wandala shares some morphological characteristics with plural verbs:

<i>hàyà</i>	‘love’
<i>wàyá</i>	‘love’

The verbs in (14) do not have a variant with the internal central vowel. Whether one postulates that the internal vowel *a* represents part of the underlying form or that it represents a lexicalized plural marker has no implications for the syntax of these verbs. There are, however, implications for the morphological processes, especially for the plural formation of these verbs.

4.5 Verbs with the underlying final vowel *a*

A small class of verbs end in *a* in clause-internal position and in *-hà* in clause-final position:

<i>á</i>	<i>dāhà</i>	‘he calls’
<i>á</i>	<i>ndàhà</i>	‘he speaks’
<i>á</i>	<i>jjàhà</i>	‘he gathers’, ‘he establishes a family’
<i>á</i>	<i>nnàhà</i>	‘he sees’

The form without the glottal continuant occurs in all other environments;

(15)	<i>à</i>	<i>ná-n-nà</i>	<i>gyálè</i>
	3SG	see-3SG-see	girl
	‘a girl saw him’		

<i>á</i>	<i>ná-n</i>	<i>kà</i>
3SG	see-3SG	NEG
‘he will not see it’		

These verbs can be analyzed as having the underlying form *Cah*, with the glottal continuant deleted in word-internal position, or as having the structure *Ca*, with the glottal continuant inserted when the verb is followed by the morpheme *a*. The rule $\emptyset \rightarrow h/V_V$ is independently attested in other

morphemes (cf. chapter 2). This rule can explain the phonetic realizations of the verbs *na* ‘see’, *ja* ‘gather’, *da* ‘call’, *nda* ‘speak’, when the suffix *a* is added. The importance of these verbs for the explanation of the verbal system of Wandala is considerable, as they show that the ending *a* on the citation forms of the verbs is a grammatical morpheme. Monosyllabic verbs that end in *a* rather than *-ha* in clause-final position underlyingly end in the consonant. This is the case with the verb *ŋ* ‘hold’, whose citation form is *ŋà* rather than **ŋàhà*:

- (16) *á* *ŋŋà*
 ‘he gets/holds’

Verbs, unlike nouns, occur without the final vowel before adverbs of manner, in accordance with the fact described in chapter 3, namely that adverbs of manner are an expected follow-up after verbs.

5. The tone of the verb

Tones on the verb differ considerably across Chadic languages, and the question whether tones are only grammatical morphemes or are also part of the lexical structure remains controversial, even for individual languages. For most Chadic languages it is postulated that tone is part of the underlying structure of individual verbs. Newman 2000 postulates that tone in Hausa verbs is part of the underlying structure in addition to being a grammatical marker. Frajzyngier with Shay 2002 postulate that tone in Hdi is part of the underlying structure and also has a grammatical function. For Malgwa, the language most closely related to Wandala, Löhr 2002 postulates inherent tones on verbs. Mirt 1971 proposes that tone in Wandala verbs is only grammatical.

The present study could not detect evidence for the existence of underlying tones of verbs. All realizations of tones in the verbal piece are accounted for either by grammatical structures or by phonological rules. Tone codes tense, mood, and grammatical relations, as described later in various chapters.

Citation forms usually have low tone:

- (17) *á* *blà*
 ‘he is putting down’ ‘he is sending’

blà-tá-blà
 ‘he sent’

má *tsà-tse*
 HYP rise-rise
 ‘when he got up’

Verbs whose underlying structure begins with a cluster of voiceless obstruents have high tone on the first syllable. Hence, the tone assignment for these verbs is phonologically motivated:

Tone → High /#CCV

àklyá ‘get better’
àpfá ‘grill’
àksá ‘take’
àptsá ‘return’

Verbs that have an initial heavy segment rather than a consonant cluster have high tone on the first syllable of the verb (not on the epenthetic vowel):

ùkpádà ‘bite’ *ùkpùkpádà* ‘bite!’

There are exceptions. The verb *ndávà* ‘ask’ has high tone on the first syllable. It is likely that this verb is related to the verb *ndà* ‘talk’. The nature of the relationship, if any, remains obscure.

6. Verbal plurality

There are two number categories for the verb: the singular, which is unmarked, and the plural, which is marked by two means: a partial reduplication of the verb and the vowel *a*. The vowel *a* is inserted between the first and the second underlying consonants of polyconsonantal verbs and is suffixed to monoconsonantal verbs. There also exist suppletive plurals.

6.1 Verbal plurality through the vowel *a*

The infix *a* is inserted most often after the first consonant of the root.⁸ The infix *a* may well be a retention from an older grammatical system, going as far back as Proto-Afroasiatic (Greenberg 1951).

⁸ The plural marker *a* may occur before the first consonant as a result of metathesis: *áy o* ‘fall’, pl. *ábl* and *vànd* ‘fall (about many things)’ (the underlying first consonant is *v* and it becomes *b* before another consonant).

The plural form of verb codes plurality of the object, plurality of the intransitive subject, or plurality of the event, including the distributive function.

The following example shows the plurality of the intransitive subject. The verb *mbádà* ‘fall (sg)’ has the same form in the plural for some speakers, while for others it has the form *mbàd* ‘fall (pl)’ :

- (18) *tà mbàd-m á dám yàwè*
 3PL fall:PL-IN PRED go:IN water
 ‘they fell into the water’ (together, as a group)

Compare the singular:

- (19) *púm ñán kìnì ànábàmbdā dām hūdā yàwè*
pum ñán kìnì à nábà mbdā
 pum! 3SG also 3SG then fall
á dā-m hūd-á yàwè
 PRED go-IN belly-GEN water
 ‘Pum, he also fell into the water.’

The plurality of the object: *vlà* ‘send, sell’:

- (20) *à vl-ù nàwè*
 3SG sell-VENT sheep
 ‘he sold a sheep’
- à v-à-l-ù nàwà*
 3SG sell:PL-VENT sheep:PL
 ‘he sold sheep (pl)’

The verbal plural is not an agreement phenomenon in the sense of being triggered by the plurality of an intransitive or transitive subject or of an object of a transitive verb. It is an independent coding of plurality, as evidenced by the fact that the transitive verb may have plural coding without any nominal or pronominal direct object:

- (21) *à kkàḷ-ya-n-vé*
 3SG break-1SG-3SG-APPL
 ‘he broke it for me’
- à kkàḷ-ya-n-vé*
 3SG break:PL-1SG-3SG-APPL
 ‘he broke it into many pieces for me’

The plural form of the verb *vzà* [bzà] ‘jump’ indicates a plural action rather than plurality of the object, even though the verb can take the nominal object:

(22) *à bz-ú ryà*
 3SG jump-VENT wall
 ‘she jumped the wall’ (about a dog)

á vâzâ ryà
 3SG jump:PL wall
 ‘she jumps the walls’

The coding of plurality through the infix *a* can be combined with the coding of plurality through reduplication (*fîsà* [ptsà] ‘return’):

(23) *á fâtsâ-fâtsâ*
 3SG return:PL-return:PL
 ‘he returns many times’

The plural form of the verb *hâ* ‘close’ (infinitive [xêdǎ]; recall that *h* is realized as [x] before the high central vowel), can be used with singular or plural objects:

(24a) *à hâd-tâ brè*
 3SG close-T hut
 ‘he closed the house’

à h-â-dâ-t brè/br-âhâ
 3SG close-PL-T hut/hut-PL
 ‘he closed huts’

Here are additional examples:

(24b) *yè vâkyâ-tr-â-hè*
 1SG fall:PL-3PL-GO-PNCT
 ‘I threw them down’

à vâkyâ-my-â-hè
 1SG fall:PL-1INCL-GO-PNCT
 ‘he threw us all down, one after another’

Plural verbs can be derived from monoconsonantal verbs through the addition of the vowel *a*. The singular verb *ts* ‘stand, put’ has the consonantal

ending when followed by the object. The number of the subject of a transitive verb has no bearing on plurality coding on the verb:

- (25) *tá tsà k-wá gwátámà pàllè*
 3PL stand PREP-down load one
 ‘they put the load down’

tá ts-à k-wá gwátámà
 3PL stand-PL PREP-down load
 ‘they put the loads down’

Additional evidence that the form *ts-à* codes the plurality of objects is provided by the fact that the verb with *a* cannot be used with an object explicitly marked as singular:

- (26) *tá ts-à kwá gwátámà (*pàllè)*
 3PL stand-PL PREP:down load one
 ‘they put loads down’

In the punctual aspect, the verbal plural is not used with a singular object:

- (27) *yè bkyà-n-á-hè*
 1SG fall-3SG-GO-PNCT
 ‘I threw him down’

In the non-punctual aspect, a plural verb may have a singular object pronoun, but then the event is interpreted as distributive:

- (28a) *yà vâky-à-n-té*
 1SG fall:PL-GO-3SG-T
 ‘I threw them one after another’

àbkyà-η-á-n-vá-bkyè
 fall-1SG-GO-3SG-APPL-fall
 ‘I threw it’

Compare with the plural object pronoun:

- (28b) *yà vâky-á-tr-té*
 1SG fall:PL-GO-3PL-T
 ‘I threw them all together’

The elicited data provide examples of verbal plurality derived through suffixation rather than infixation of *a* to the CVC form, when the internal vowel is *a*. Recall, that verbs with the internal vowel are inherently plural. The plurality is unspecified as to its scope. The addition of the suffix to code plurality of the object in the elicited example below may be a case of reanalysis on the part of the speaker:

- (29) *tà wáyà-ná itèr nà*
 3PL like:PL-3SG 3PL DEM
 ‘[those] whom they used to liked’

Compare the singular:

- (30) *ágdzàrámi tápúnáwá mánà názùní ámmàgnáwá*
ágdzàr-á-mì tá pú ná wá
 child:PL-GEN-1INCL 3PL pour DEM COM
má nà názù ní á mmâg ná wá
 HYP DEM what INTNS 3SG do DEM COM
únèní táwáynètèrnà táfàtrà rùksònwìrè
únè ní tá wáy-ná itèr nà tá
 DEM INTNS 3PL want-3SG 3PL DEM 3PL
fà-trà-r úksòŋw irè
 put-3PL-ON idiot head
 ‘The thing that makes our girls loaf around is that the men that the girls like cheat on them.’

The verbal plural marker *a* is identical with the nominal plural marker *a*. This identity is not only in their segmental characteristics, but also in the fact that neither marker carries a tone of its own. For the relationship between verbal and nominal plural markers across Chadic languages, see Frajzyngier 1997.

6.2 Verbal plurality through reduplication

The plurality of the verb can be coded by the leftward reduplication of the first CV sequence of the verb, in the pattern C1V1-C1V1. No pronominal arguments, extensions, or any other inflectional markers can be inserted between the first and second reduplicant. In the data gathered, the events coded by the plural reduplicated verbs are unbounded. Consider the verb *fà* in the perfective and imperfective aspects:

- (31) *tà fá tè zèŋwà*
tà f-á á tè zèŋwà
 3PL put-GO PRED T donkey ‘They put it on the donkey.’

The plural through reduplication is imperfective:

- (32) *tà fà-fà-nà tá zəŋw-àhà á wàyà*
 3PL put-put-3SG T donkey-PL PRED yesterday
 ‘they were putting it on donkeys yesterday’ (plural verb, imperfective)

The aspectual reduplicated structure R1ProR2 derives the plural through reduplication of the first syllable in the pattern: C1V1C1V1-Pro-(EXT)-(C1V1)C1V1:

- (33) *má wà-wà-rà-trú-wà*
 HYP bite-bite-3PL-3PL-bite
 ‘when they bit them’

As is the case with the plural marker *a*, the plural through reduplication codes either plurality of the event or plurality of the object. The verb coded for plurality does not have to have the plural object marker, and yet such forms are interpreted as having a plural object or coding a plural event:

- (34) *fà-fà-r-ú-fà-fè*
 drink-drink-3PL-VENT-drink-drink
 ‘they drank them (bottles of beer)’

6.3 The suppletive plural

Some verbs have suppletive plural forms. The verb *bl* ‘put’ has the suppletive plural *pw*, although some speakers also produce the plural form through the insertion of the vowel *a*, e.g. *bàlá*:

- (35) *dùksá à bà blá*
 thing 3SG FOC put
 ‘the thing is put’

dùks-áhà tá bà pwá
 thing-PL 3PL FOC put:PL
 ‘the things are put/spread’

Other examples of suppletive plurals:

- (36) *ycà* ‘cut’ *dátsà* ‘cut into many pieces’
kyà ‘break’ *kyàbà* ‘break into many pieces’

The above pair might suggest the existence of a plural marker *-bà*. Such a suffix, however, is not independently attested otherwise, although it may represent an earlier plural suffix. Although there exists the verb *cìbà* ‘kill many’, there is no corresponding form **cì*:

- (37) *án cìbà kr-àhà*
 ASSC kill many dog-PL
 ‘the dogs are killed’

The predication with this verb is interpreted as involving plural objects even if the object is not marked for plurality, as is the case with non-human nouns:

- (38) *à cìbà krè/klà/náwè/pátú*
 3SG kill.PL dog/cow/sheep/cat
 ‘he killed dogs/cows/sheep/cats’

Another piece of evidence that the verb inherently codes plurality is provided by the fact that it cannot be used with nouns that inherently code the singular number:

- (39) *à cìbà zálà/*zìlé*
 3SG kill.PL men/man
 ‘he killed people’

Like other plural verbs, the suppletive plurals can occur with a singular subject and a plural object:

- (40) *tàbúkùrdá tàrwá àpwàtr dǎzà ddánàrà gègyálè*
tà bú kùrd-á tàr wá à pwà-trè dè
 3PL two all-GEN 3PL COM 3SG send:PL-3PL go
zà ddá ñà-rà gè gyálè
 HL father POSS-3SG TO girl
 ‘Both of them, he sent to the father of the girl.’

7. Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns have two forms: most end in the vowel *a*, and a small number end in the vowel *e* in clause-final position. The nominalized form of the verb is used in the imperfective aspect.

7.1 Forms ending in the vowel *a*

Verbs that have the final underlying vowel *a* have the epenthetic glottal continuant before the suffix *a*. Hence, their last syllable is *ha*, e.g. *ndàhà* ‘speak’. The majority of verbal nouns end in the vowel *a* in isolation and before nominal subjects. Verbal nouns of transitive verbs end in the vowel *a* before nominal objects:

- (41) *à d̥ kà yàwè*
 3SG go fetch water
 ‘she went to fetch water’

á kà yàwè
 ‘she is fetching water’

The nominalized verb has the root form when followed by the demonstrative *nà*, the conjunction *mtú* ‘or’, or before an adverb:

- (42) *njì nà bákà pédàrà*
 sit DEM NEG.EX benefit
 ‘to be sitting is not good’ (*njà* ‘to sit’)

yá njì mtú yá tsà hè
 1SG sit or 1SG stand Q
 ‘do I sit down or do I stand?’

gyì nà bákà pédàrà
 cook DEM NEG.EX good
 ‘this cooking is not good’

The tone on the vowel *a* of the nominalized form is low:

- (43) *á gyà dǎfà*
 3SG cook food
 ‘she is cooking’

ká k̥ mtú ká párà hè
 2SG fetch or 2SG sleep Q
 ‘are you fetching [water] or are you sleeping?’

á mbàdà
 ‘he falls/is falling’

The nominalized verb may have the genitive marker when it is the head of the noun phrase:

- (44) *fágàr kà fà mbàzà*
 good NEG drink:GEN beer

or:

fà mbàzà bákà pédàrà
 drink:GEN beer NEG.EX benefit
 ‘drinking beer is not good’

Without an object following, the verb *fà* ‘drink’ has low tone. Before a conjunction the verb has the root form:

- (45) *ká fì mtú kà fòyà hè*
 2SG drink or 2SG chat Q
 ‘are you drinking or are you chatting?’

ká ñgà mtú ká pàrá hè
 2SG hold or 2SG sleep Q
 ‘are you holding or are you sleeping?’

The nominalized verb has low tone preceding the object when the two elements are part of the verbal predication:

- (46) *á fà gùsà*
 3SG put music
 ‘he makes music’

á ñà bàrsà
 3SG hold horse
 ‘he holds a horse’

á fkwà hiyà
 3SG buy sorgho
 ‘he buys sorgho’ (*fùkwà* ‘buy’)

7.2 Forms ending in the vowel *e*

The simple form of a relatively small class of verbs ends in the vowel *e* in prepausal position. This vowel follows labial, alveolar, palatal, and velar obstruents, liquids, and the palatal glide. Hence, the presence of the vowel *e* is not determined by the phonological environment. Verbs with the ending *e* share one semantic characteristic, the separation of the subject or object from its

source or its permanent or previous place. The only meaning that does not involve separation is *mbè* ‘to light a fire’:

<i>žàgàdè</i>	‘run, escape’, e.g. <i>á žàgàdè</i> ‘he escapes’
<i>tsè</i>	‘rise’, ‘leave’
<i>fyè</i>	‘peel (the skin), take the bark off a tree, take one page out of many’
<i>plè</i>	‘detach’
<i>tàsè</i>	‘husk’ (separate grains from their cover)
<i>hè</i>	‘crush grains’ (which results in separation of parts), but not yams (which does not result in separation of the parts!)
<i>mbè</i>	‘light a fire’
<i>bàzè</i>	‘scratch, polish’
<i>tr`dàké</i>	‘slip’
<i>hùlmbè</i>	‘crawl’
<i>fìbè</i>	‘hide oneself’
<i>ábkyè</i>	‘fall’ (from one place to another, not to fall down from a standing position)
<i>mbè</i>	‘to cure’ (more specifically, to cause an illness to go away)
<i>bàtè</i>	‘pull out’ (teeth or plants, but not plows or wagons, i.e. not entities that do not have a permanent place)’

Here is an example of the use of the nominal forms:

- (47) *fkwà-fkwà* *fyè/plè/tsè*
 spend time-spend time decorate/detach/rise
 ‘he took a long time to decorate/detach/rise’

Verbs with the final vowel *e*, just like verbs with the final vowel *a*, have the root form before the conjunction *mtú* or the negative marker *kà*:

- (48) *ká* *bàtè* *mtú* *ká* *bàt* *kà* *hè*
 2SG pull OR 2SG pull NEG Q
 ‘are you pulling or are you not?’

Verbs ending in the vowel *e* retain this vowel before the interrogative marker *hè*, just as verbs ending in *a* retain *a* before the interrogative marker:

- (49) *ká* *žàvè* *mtú* *ká* *tsè* *hè*
 2SG lie OR 2SG rise Q
 ‘are you lying or are you getting up?’

Since the vowel *e* is not underlying in Wandala, its presence in some citation forms may be the result of: (1) epenthesis; (2) a realization of another vowel; or (3) the fusion of two vowels. The best candidate for the underlying vowel realized by *e* would be the vowel *i*. Indeed, equivalents of some Wandala verbs ending in *e* have *i* or *u* in the verb-final position in Hdi:

- (50) *plè* ‘detach’ (Hdi: *plín-tà*)
 hè ‘crush grains’ (Hdi: *húù*)
 tr`dàké ‘slip’ (Hdi: *lídàkù*)

Moreover, Hdi has an extension *i* coding separation from a source (Frajzyngier with Shay 2002).

The assumption that *e* is epenthetic would require not only an assumption that the verbs to which *e* is added end underlyingly in a consonant but also an assumption that the vowel *a* on all other verbs is a grammatical marker whose function is somehow incompatible with the meaning of verbs with a consonantal ending. Given that all verbs with the final *e* share a common feature of separation from the source, one would have to assume that this feature is incompatible with the function of the vowel *a*. Hence, the vowel *a* could indicate direction toward some entity. This hypothesis is not supported, as many verbs whose verbal nouns end in *a* do not imply directionality of any kind.

The evidence that the vowel *e* is a grammatical morpheme is provided by the fact that predications that do not involve separation end in the vowel *a* while predications with the same verb that do involve separation end in the vowel *e*:

- (51) *á* *sàwà* *á* *ɓàlà*
 3SG come:VENT 3SG go
 ‘he comes and goes’ (separation not involved, as the going may involve going back)

ɓàl-ɓàlè

‘he went, departed’

7.3 Functions of the nominalized forms

Nouns derived from the simple form of the verb can function as purpose complements of the verb *dà* ‘go’, as complements of prepositions, and as modifiers of other nouns:

- (52) *lākàtá* *ḡánnà* *tá-kígyémá* [pause] *tà* *dè* ***hàrdū***
lākàt-a *ḡánnà* *tá* *kígyé-má* *tà* *dè* ***hàrdū***
 fellow-PL DEF 3PL three-and 3PL go farm
 ‘And these three friends went to farm.’

The nominalized form can serve as a complement of a locative predication. Before a determiner, the verbal noun has the root form:

- (53) *ámhàrdā* *ḡánnà* *ágdzrè* *bámáḡàḡàlá* *dám* *fátàrwá*
á-m ***hàrdā*** *ḡánnà* *ágdzrè* *bà* *má*
 PRED-IN farm DEF child FOC HYP
ḡà-ḡàlá *d-ám* *f-á-tàr* *wá*
 go-go go-IN field-GEN-3PL COM
 ‘While farming, when the child goes to their field,’

áblà làhàrà
á *blà* *làh-á-rà*
 3SG send song-GEN-3SG
 ‘he sings his song.’

The nominalized form can serve as a modifier of another noun:

- (54) *ḡóḡà* *lvá* *hàrdū* [má added in analysis]
ḡà-ú-ḡà *lv-á* *hàrd* [má]
 finish-VENT-finish:PB business-GEN farm [and]
 ‘Their farming finished . . .’

Verbal nouns may have possessive pronouns added with the genitive marker *á*:

- (55) *ánkwà* *dìyárù* *dìgíyà*
ánkwà *dìy-á-rwà* *dìgíyà*
 exist knowledge-GEN-1SG COMP
 ‘I have my knowledge, behold.’ (*dìyà* ‘know’)

7.4 Reduplicated verbal nouns

Verbal nouns can be formed from through reduplication of the verbal stems. They have the structure: R1-(EXT/NOM)-R2. R1 in a verbal noun ends in the consonant rather than in the vowel *a*:

- (56) *tsə̀-tsé* ‘getting up’
 get up-get up

tsə-t-ts-á-rwà
 get up-T-get up-GEN-1SG
 ‘my getting up’

Nominalized reduplicated form can include all extensions:

(57) *z-ú-z-á-rwà*
 eat-VENT-eat-GEN-1SG
 ‘my eating’

f-ú-f-á-rwà
 drink-VENT-drink-GEN-1SG
 ‘my drinking’

Verbal nouns are derived from intransitive verbs through the addition of *àn* in between the two reduplicants, yielding the structure V-*àn*-V:

tsàntsè ‘standing position’
jànjà ‘sitting position’
ɛ̀v̀v̀ ‘lying position’ Underlying form is *ɛ̀v̀v̀*; *n* is
 deleted before lateral voiced continuant *ɛ̀*.
ʒàgàdànʒàgàdè ‘running’

ʒàgàdànʒàgàdè bákà *pèdà-rà*
 running NEG.EX benefit-3SG
 ‘running is not good!’

When a noun derived from a verb is the complement of another verb, the main verb has the root + *a* form, i.e. the same form that it has before the subject, rather than the root form, which it has before the object:

(58) *yà* *bəfyà* *ts-àn-tse*
 1SG find rise-NOM-rise
 ‘I found him standing’

8. The imperfective stem

The imperfective stem has several forms, determined by the transitivity of the verb, the presence of a pronominal or nominal object, and the verbal extensions.

8.1 The imperfective of intransitive verbs

The imperfective for intransitive verbs has the following form: PRO VN-*a/e*. Although the citation forms of the simple imperfective and perfective stems are identical, their properties are quite different. The simple imperfective form, unlike the perfective form, cannot have verbal extensions or object pronouns. Here are examples of the simple stems in the imperfective and perfective aspects:

(59) *yá ndàhà*
'I speak'

yà ndàhà
'I spoke'

sáí bà yá ndàhà
then FOC 1SG speak
'I have to talk'

yá ɣàlà
'I am leaving'

yà ɣàlà
'I left' (perfective)

yá tsè
'I am getting up'

yà tsè á níngyà á ícà vácíyà
1SG rise PRED morning PRED eye day
'I was getting up morning and evenings' (imperfective)

yà vâ
1SG day
'I passed the day' not **yà vvâ*

8.2 The imperfective of transitive verbs

If there is no nominal or pronominal object, the first consonant of the transitive verb is geminated:

- (60a) *á/yá/tá* *jjá*
 3SG/1SG/3PL hit
 ‘he /I/they is/am/are hitting’

Compare the perfective:

- (60b) *à* *ji* *hè*
 3SG hit Q
 ‘he hit him?’

Gemination of the verb allows us to determine the categoriality of the lexical item that follows the verb. The distinction between adverbs of time and manner and direct objects is that when an object follows the verb, the verb is not geminated. When an adverb follows the verb, the verb is geminated:

- (61) *á* *jjì* *ǵàbè*
 3G hit again
 ‘he is hitting him again’

yá *dáàhà*
 ‘I call him’

‘I gathered it’

á *kkàtá*
 ‘he wants it’

yá *žžàrà*
 ‘I am looking’

Here is the paradigm (in linear form, to save space) of all persons in the imperfective:

- (62) *á/yá/ká/má/ńá/kwá/tá* ***bbádza***
 3SG/1SG/2SG/1INCL/1EXCL/2PL/3PL spoil
 ‘he/I/you/we(incl)we(excl)/you(pl)/they spoil(s) him/it’

If the verb has a nominal object, the first consonant of the verb is not geminated. The verb ends in the vowel *a* before the object:

- (63) *á kàtá lvà ndzà*
á kàtà áǵvà ndzà
 3SG want story past
 ‘He wants an old story.’

**á kkàtà lvà ndzà*
á kàtà áǵvà ndzà
 3SG want story past
 ‘He wants an old story.’

An object pronoun cannot be added to the simple form of the verb in the imperfective:

- (64) **á kàtà-nà*
 3SG want-3SG
 ‘He wants it.’

The evidence that the gemination of the initial consonant does not necessarily code specifically the third-person singular object is provided by inherently plural transitive verbs. When no object follows the verb, the first consonant is still geminated but the object must be interpreted as plural rather than singular:

- (65) *yá ccíḃà*
 1SG hit.PL
 ‘I am hitting them’

Verbs whose plurality is derived through the infix *a* do not have the first consonant geminated when the plural infix is inserted:

- (66) *yá pàlè*
 1SG detach:PL
 ‘I am detaching (many things)’

Compare the singular counterpart of the same verb with the first consonant geminated:

- (67) *yá pplè*
 1SG detach
 ‘I am detaching it’

Consonants in clusters that include a sonorant or a heavy segment are not geminated for an unmarked object:

- (68) *yá fɹè*
 'I am stripping it off'

yá fàyè
 1SG peel:PL
 'I am peeling them off'

yá fàyà mbàyà/bólà
 1SG peel:PL cassava/yam
 'I am peeling off cassava/yam'

For verbs whose initial cluster consists of obstruents rather than sonorants, the gemination involves the first two segments:

- (69) *yá ksà-ksà*
 'I catch him' (this verb has only a suppletive plural form, *á lùwà* 'he caught them')

The overt coding of the object requires leftward reduplication of the root and insertion of the pronoun after R1. The evidence of the directionality of reduplication is provided by the fact that R2 preserves the ending of the verbal noun. The first-person singular object pronoun directly follows the first reduplicant:

- (70) *á pl-ì-plè*
 3SG detach-1SG-detach
 'he is detaching me'

á j-ì-jà
 3SG hit-1SG-hit
 'he is hitting me'

Before object pronouns other than the third singular, the verb has low tone:

- (71) *mà kyó-rà kìnì séy bà à j-ì-jà*
 HYP place-Q C.FOC then FOC 3SG hit-1SG-hit
 'no matter where, he will hit me'

à jà-g/kùr/tr-jà
 3SG hit-2SG/2PL/3PL-hit
 'he will hit you(sg)/you(pl)/them'

The third-person object is coded by high tone on the first syllable. If there is a palatal consonant in the root, the epenthetic vowel is *i*. For such verbs the distinction between the first-person singular object and the third-person singular object is in tone only:

- (72) *mà kyòrà kìnì séy bà jí-jà*
mà kyòrà kìnì séy bà à j-í-jà
 HYP place-Q C.FOC then FOC 3SG hit-EP-hit
 ‘no matter where [he is], he hits him’

Verbs with internal underlying vowels reduplicate the sequence CVC. The vowel *a* is inserted before object pronouns other than the first singular. The tone on the first syllable of the verb is low. The full paradigm follows:

- (73) *á bàdz-ì-bàdzà*
 ‘he spoils me’
- á bàdzà-k/mì/ɲr/kùr/tàr-bàdzà*
 ‘he spoils you/us(incl)/us(excl)/you(pl)/them’
- yá cìbà-tàr-cìbà*
 1SG hit.PL-3PL-hit.PL
 ‘I am hitting them’

Here is a paradigm of the verb *kàtà* ‘like’:

- (74) *á k̀kàtà* ‘he loves (her)’
á k̀àt-ì-k̀àtà ‘he loves me’
á k̀àtà-k/mì/ɲr/kùr/tàr-k̀àtà
 ‘he loves you/us(incl)/us(excl)/you(pl)/them’

9. Reduplication of the type R1(Pro)R2

There are two structures involving the R1(Pro) R2 form. One has the subject pronouns following R1. The subject pronouns may be followed by object pronouns and extensions: R1Pro_[Subject](EXT)(Pro_[Object])(EXT)(EXT)R2. This structure is used in affirmative indicative clauses and in polar questions. The other structure is identical except that it does not have subject pronouns: R1(EXT)(Pro_[Object])(EXT)(EXT)R2. This structure is used in the imperative mood. The reduplicated form cannot be used in the negative mood. The following table represents subject pronouns inserted between R1 and R2:

Table 6.1. Subject and object pronouns paradigm in the R1ProR2 form

Person	Subject (SG)	Object (SG)	Subject (PL)	Object (PL)
1	n	y	myá (INCL)	mì (INCL)
			ŋr (EXC)	ŋr (EXCL)
2	k	k	kùr	kùr
3	a	Ø or n	r	tr

The evidence that the vowel *a* is the third-person singular subject pronoun is provided by the fact that it does not occur in the imperative form, which is used only with respect to the addressee, or in the Pro R1R2 forms, i.e. forms where the subject pronoun precedes the verb. Here is an illustration using the verb *fiḃè* ‘hide’:

Imperative: *fiḃá-f-fiḃè* ‘hide yourself!’
 Backgrounding: *fiḃ-á-f-fiḃé* ‘he hid’
 Imperfective: *à fiḃá-f-fiḃè* ‘he was hiding/let him hide’

The vowel *a* precedes all other suffixed subject pronouns:

(75) *má tsà-n/k/mì/ŋr/kùr/r-tse*
 HYP rise-1SG/2SG/1INCL/1EXCL/2PL/3PL-rise
 ‘if I/you/we (incl)/we (excl)/you (pl)/they get up’

má ts-à-tse
 HYP rise-3SG-rise
 ‘if he gets up’, ‘if he stops’

The vowel *a* cannot be part of the underlying form of the pronouns, because it does not contribute to the differentiation among pronouns or between pronouns and other lexical or grammatical categories and because the vowel *a* also precedes object pronouns. For the time being, the best analysis of the vowel *a* preceding subject and object pronouns is that it represents the verbal root + *a* form. In examples that follow throughout the grammar, the marker *a* is not separated from the verb.

All plural pronouns other than the first-person inclusive contain the segment *r*, which by itself is the third-person plural subject marker. The use of the third-person plural pronoun as a plural marker for other persons (and often nouns) has been described for other Chadic languages in Frajzyngier 1997.

Two verbs have a defective paradigm in that the third-person singular pronoun is not marked by the vowel *a* after R1. One is the verb *ḃàlà* ‘depart’, and the other is *ndàvà* ‘ask for a thing’:

- (76a) *ɓàl-ɓàlà*
‘he left’

Monosegmental subject pronouns are attached to the verb *ɓàl* ‘depart’ without the preceding vowel *a*:

- (76b) *ɓàl-n/k/r-ɓàlà*
depart-1SG/2SG/3PL-depart
‘I/you/they went’

Polysegmental subject pronouns must be preceded by the vowel *a*. This applies to both CV and CC pronominal structures:

- (76c) *ɓàlà-mi/ɲr/kùr/-ɓàlà*
depart-1INCL/EXCL/2PL-depart
‘we(incl)/we(excl)/you went’

The verb *ndàvà* ‘ask’ has R1 ending in the high-tone epenthetic vowel:

- (77) *má ndàvǎ-ndàvè*
HYP ask-ask
‘if he asked . . .’

má ndàvǎ-ndàvè mùksè
HYP ask-ask woman
‘If he asked for a woman (for marriage) . . .’

má ndàvǎ-ndàvè mùksè
HYP ask-ask:PB woman
‘If a woman asked . . .’

R1 ends in the vowel *a* before extensions:

- (78) *má ndàvǎ-d-ndàvè*
HYP ask-DIST-ask
‘if he had to ask’

má ndàvǎ-s-ndàvè
HYP ask-S-ask
‘if he had to ask [for somebody else]’

10. Conclusions

The underlying form of the verb consists of the consonants and for a small number of verbs, the vowel *a* in root-internal or root-final position. No underlying form of the verb begins in a vowel. Some verbs may have initial epenthetic vowels in the phonetic realization. The verbs can be monoconsonantal, biconsonantal, and triconsonantal. Tone is not part of the underlying representation of individual verbs. It is, however, a separate coding means for a variety of functions.

There are two types of verbal nouns. One ends in the vowel *a* and the other in the vowel *e*. Verbs that end in the vowel *a* do not display any common characteristic. Most of the verbs that end in the vowel *e* share a semantic characteristic in that they involve the separation of the subject or object from the source.

The simple form of the verb is preceded by subject pronouns. In the perfective, object pronouns can be added to the simple form. In the imperfective, the verb must be reduplicated if object pronouns are to be added. The subject pronoun precedes the reduplicated form (R1R2).

The language also has a reduplicated form where subject pronouns are inserted between R1 and R2. Object pronouns and verbal extensions follow subject pronouns between the reduplicated forms in both types of reduplication.

In the R1ProR2 form, the third-person singular object of inherently transitive verbs is unmarked. The third-person singular object of inherently intransitive verbs must be marked by the goal marker or the object marker *n*. In the imperfective aspect, the transitivity of the verb is marked by gemination of the first consonant of the verb if the verb is not followed by a nominal or pronominal object.

Chapter 7

Grammatical relations

1. Means and terms

The term ‘grammatical relations’ refers to the relations subject, object, and indirect object, all of which are marked by pronouns and inflection on the verb. The grammatical relations of noun phrases, especially the subject and indirect object, may also be coded by prepositions. The formal means deployed depend on the properties of individual verbs, on tense, mood, and aspect. The way the pronominal and nominal arguments are marked is one of the exponents of aspect. Hence, the discussion of the coding of grammatical relations must involve the discussion of aspect.

In natural discourse, only one full noun phrase, i.e. a noun phrase that has a noun (rather than a pronoun) as its head, may occur in a pragmatically neutral clause, i.e. a clause that does not involve topicalization, switch reference, or focus. This noun phrase follows the verb. If one of the noun phrases is a pronoun, including the interrogative pronoun, the verb may be followed by a pronoun and a full noun phrase. Consequently, the linear order of full noun phrases with respect to the verb is not a means to distinguish between the arguments. This fact has serious consequences for the structure of the clause, the structure of the individual sentence, and the structure of discourse. Linear order is a means of coding pragmatic functions. Only in some specific types of subordinated clauses is linear order a means to code grammatical relations, as described in chapter 23, Complementation.

The term ‘subject’ refers to an argument represented by a set of subject pronouns that are distinct from all other sets of pronouns. Pronominal subjects, whether free or affixed, must be used in all moods other than imperative. Nominal subjects must agree in number with the pronominal subject. Additional coding means distinguish nominal subjects from other arguments in clause-internal position. Within a clause, morphemes other than the verb code the following noun phrase as the subject through the suffix *a*.

The term ‘object’ refers to an argument coded by a specific set of object pronouns that differ from subject pronouns in their segmental structure and in their position with respect to the verb. Additional means of differentiation are used for various persons.

The categories ‘subject’ and ‘object’ are not necessarily associated with any specific semantic functions such as ‘controller’ and ‘affected’. Thus, the equivalent of the English notion ‘stumble’ has the person who stumbles as the object, and the subject is the thing against which the person stumbles:

- (1) *bà klóra ksé à j-íyà ktàpàrà á tð bàràrà*
bà klà ùrà ksé à j-íyà ktàpàrà
 FOC all time 3SG hit-1SG obstacle
á tð bàràrà
 PRED T road
 ‘all the time I stumble on the road’ (lit. ‘an obstacle hits me all the time on the road’)

Semantic relations between the arguments and the predicate are determined by the properties of individual verbs, by the system of verbal extensions (chapter 8), by other inflectional coding on the verb, and by prepositions. Each verb determines the semantic relation of its unmarked object pronoun. That relationship, however, can be changed through the addition of nominal arguments or other object pronouns.

This chapter is organized as follows: I first describe the system of subject and object pronouns. This is followed by the coding of the nominal subject with intransitive verbs, and the subject and object with transitive verbs. Next is the coding of pronominal and nominal objects with inherently intransitive verbs. The coding of adjuncts, and their semantic functions, are discussed in chapter 12.

2. Subject pronouns

All clauses in the non-imperative mood must have a pronominal subject. One set of subject pronouns precedes the verb, and another set is suffixed to the verb. In one type of reduplication, subject pronouns precede the verb. In another type of reduplication, subject pronouns occur between the two parts of the verb. There is yet another set, that of possessive subject pronouns, that is suffixed to the verb.

Subject pronouns that precede the verb consist of the person and number marker, the vowel *a*, and a tone:

Subject pronouns (the low tone variants):

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>yè/yà</i>	<i>mà</i> (INCL) <i>myà</i> (INCL) <i>ṅà</i> (EXCL)
2	<i>kà</i>	<i>kwà</i>
3	<i>à</i>	<i>tà</i>

The low tone is unmarked, i.e., it does not carry a function in the contemporary language. The high tone is marked, and it codes the specific present tense. Löhr 2002, analyzing subject pronouns in closely related Malgwa, where they also have the vowel *a*, claims that subject pronouns consist of the marker of person and number and the vowel *a*, a tense marker. This attractive analysis cannot be sustained for Wandala, because different tenses are coded by the tone on the vowel *a*; hence the vowel *a* cannot be a tense marker. The ending *a* on subject pronouns has its parallel in the ending *a* on other morphemes in clause-internal position (chapter 3), including the negative marker, interrogative markers, nouns, and adjectives, where *a* cannot be considered a tense marker under any interpretation.

Subject pronouns occurring before the verb are not prefixes, because they do not undergo phonological changes that might be triggered by the verb. Subject pronouns are not a characteristic of verbal predication, as they can occur before non-verbal predicates:

- (2) *l à k à t á t á k í g y é*
l à k à t - a t ú k í g y é
 fellow-PL 3PL three
 ‘There were three friends.’

Subject pronouns can be separated from the verb by a number of morphemes, including *nábà* ‘then’ and one type of negative marker:

- (3) *t à n á b à k s - t - á b à r á m - á - t à r ñ á n n à*
 3PL then take-T-GO road-GEN-3PL DEF
 ‘Then they took their road.’

The underlying form for the first-person singular pronoun is *ya*. The form may be realized as *ya* or *ye*, the variant *ye* being the result of optional vowel raising when the vowel *a* follows (or precedes) the palatal glide. The forms *ya* and *ye* are heard quite often in natural discourse, even by the same speakers.

The two forms given for the first-person plural inclusive have different functions. The form *ma* codes the first-person plural inclusive with the same referent as the preceding subject. The form *myà*, identical with the first-person plural inclusive independent pronoun, codes the first-person plural inclusive switch-reference subject. This most interesting distinction is described later, in the chapter on reference.

The second-person plural may be realized as [ko], the vowel [o] being a product of the lowering of [+round, +high] when preceded or followed by a syllable with [+low] vowel:

- (4) *gyáwánfískà* *kógá* *jàwá* *jìbàrà*
gyà-wá-n-gí *skè* *kwá* *gá*
 leave-IMP:PL-3SG-leave POL 2PL take
jáw-á *jìbà* *rà*
 doubt-GO type Q
 ‘Leave that, please, why do you doubt?’

The following are suffixed subject pronouns that occur in the reduplicated form of the verb and in negative clauses:

Table 7.1. Subject suffix pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>n</i>	<i>my</i> (INCL) <i>ɲr</i> (EXCL)
2	<i>kà</i>	<i>kr</i>
3	<i>a</i>	<i>r</i>

The operation of these pronouns is described in chapters 13, ‘Aspect’, and 16, ‘Negation’.

The verb *b* ‘say’ has syntactic and morphological properties of its own: in all persons the verb is preceded by the form *a*, identical with the third-person singular subject pronoun. Differences in person and number are coded by subject pronouns that follow the verb. Pronouns that follow the verb are different in the perfective and imperfective aspects. In the perfective aspect, subject pronouns are suffixed. These suffixes are, however, different from the suffixed subject pronouns occurring within the reduplicated form of the verb and in negative clauses:

- (5) *àstàrá* *ábinà*
àstàrá *á* *b-ínà*
 so how is 3SG say-3SG
 ‘“So, how is it?” he said.’ [The pronoun has high tone here.]

The following paradigm presents the full set of suffixed subject pronouns of the verb *b* ‘say’ in the perfective aspect:

<i>bá-yà</i>	‘I said’
<i>bá-kà</i>	‘you said’
<i>b-ínà</i>	‘he/she said’
<i>bá-myà</i>	‘we (incl) said’
<i>bá-ɲrè</i>	‘we (excl) said’
<i>bá-kùrè</i>	‘you (pl) said’
<i>bá-ítàrè</i> [bétàrè]	‘they said’

In the imperfective aspect, where the verb has the form *bà*, subject pronouns are drawn from the independent set and are not suffixed:

- (6) *àstàrá* *à* *bá* *ɲàné*
 so how is 3SG say 3SG
 ‘so, how is it, he says’ (elicited)

If the verb *b* ‘say’ is followed by a nominal subject, the subject pronouns do not occur. This is distinct from the syntax of other verbs, which must have subject pronouns regardless of the presence of the nominal subject.

3. Object pronouns

3.1 The forms and the placement of object pronouns

The term ‘object’ stands for the second argument of the verb. Although it does not imply any specific semantic relationship between the verb and the noun phrase, it does exclude a control relationship. Object pronouns differ from subject pronouns in their segmental structure. Besides anaphoric and deictic use, object pronouns have other functions. The set of object pronouns in the affirmative clause is different from the set of object pronouns in the negative clause.

There are two sets of object pronouns, independent and suffixed. Suffixed object pronouns have two variants, the root and root + *a* form.

Table 7.2. Object pronouns in the affirmative clause

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>yi</i>	<i>mi</i> (INCL), <i>ɲr</i> (EXCL)
2	<i>a, k, ɲ</i>	<i>kur</i>
3	Ø or <i>n</i>	<i>tr</i>

The common distinctive element in the plural object pronouns except for the first person plural inclusive is the marker *r*, identical with the third-person plural subject suffix *r*. This marker is added to person markers. The third-person plural object pronoun is *tr* rather than *r* and is most often realized as the onset of the next syllable. The first-person plural exclusive is formed through the addition of the plural marker *r* to the second-person singular variant *ɲ*. Henceforth, object pronouns are not divided into their components.

The third-person singular direct object is unmarked with inherently transitive verbs:

- (7) *dìyà-kùr-dìyà* *hè*
 know-2PL-know Q
 ‘do you know him/it?’
- jà-r-jà*
 ‘they hit him’

The punctual marker has high tone when the underlying object is the third-person singular. This tonal behavior remains unexplained:

- (8) *à* *jì-hé*
 3SG hit-PNCT
 ‘he hit him’

The first-person object pronoun *y* is added directly to the verb or to the subject pronouns. This addition may require an epenthetic vowel, which must be high front *i*:

- (9) *dìyà-kùr-yì-dìyà* *hè*
 know-2PL-1SG-know Q
 ‘do you know me?’

The palatal glide is deleted after complex segments, and after affricates and the first-person singular it is realized as the high front vowel:

- (10) *à* *j-ì-hè*
 3SG hit-1SG-PNCT
 ‘he hit me’

à *nd-ì-ndá*
 3SG tell-1SG-tell
 ‘he talked to me’

(The high tone on the last syllable in the second example above may well be the result of the reduction of the full form, which is said to be preserved in the speech of older speakers,)

- (11) *à* *nd-ì-ndàhà*
 3SG tell-1SG-tell
 ‘he talked to me’

The palatal glide plus the epenthetic vowel results in the vowel *i*. The tone on this vowel is high after a preceding low tone, indicating that the high tone may be a result of the reduction of the erstwhile geminate: *yyi* → *yí*:

- (12) *hày-i-hàyà*
 love-1G-love
 ‘he loves me’

The first-person object pronoun is realized as [iy] when followed by the vowel *a*:

- (13) *à w-iy-á ðyáwà*
 3SG bite-1SG-GO fear
 ‘the fear bit me’

The remaining pronouns must be preceded by the marker *a* in all aspects in the indicative mood, a frequent characteristic of object pronouns in Chadic languages (Frajzyngier 1982):

- (14a) *à jà-k/mì/ŋrè/kùr/tr-hè*
 3SG hit-2SG/1(incl)/1(excl)/2(PL/3PL-PNCT)
 ‘he hit you/us(incl)/us(excl)/you(pl)/them’
- (14b) *tá/á bàdà-trà á tè ksè ká*
 3PL/3SG flatter-3PL PRED T town NEG:Q
 ‘they/he manage to flatter them in town, don’t they?’

The second-person singular object pronoun has three variants: *a*, *k*, and *ŋ*. The form *a* is used with inherently intransitive verbs in the affirmative, the form *k* is used with transitive verbs in the affirmative mood, and the form *ŋ* is used in negative clauses.

If the object pronoun follows the subject pronoun, the object pronoun must be preceded by the vowel *a*, with high tone, identical with the goal marker:

- (15) *dìyà-kùr-á-tr/ŋr-dìyà hè*
 know-2PL-GO-3PL/1EXCL-know Q
 ‘do you know them/us (excl)?’
- tà jà-mí-jà*
 3PL hit-1INCL-hit
 ‘they used to hit us’

jà-rà-mí-jà
hit-3PL-1INCL-hit
'they hit us'

Object pronouns in negative clauses differ in the second-person singular, where, instead of the form *k*, the velar nasal *ŋ* is used.

The way that object pronouns are included in the verb depends on the inherent transitivity of the verb, the modality, and the aspect. In the imperative, the inclusion of object pronouns requires the reduplication of the root of the verb. In the hypothetical mood, object pronouns can be included only in the reduplicated form of the verb.

The third-person direct object in the simple imperfective is marked by gemination of the first consonant of the verb. The evidence is provided by verbs whose gemination has a phonetic realization, and where it is in contrast with the coding of the object for other persons, in both affirmative and negative clauses:

- (16) *á gà-mí-gà* 'he should marry us (incl)'
á gà-ŋrǎ-gà 'he should marry us (excl)'
á g-ì-gà 'he should marry me'
á gà-g-gá 'he should marry you'
á ggá 'he should marry her'
á gà-kùr/tàr-gà 'he will marry you (pl)/them'

All other types of clauses and moods require reduplication of the verb in order for the object pronouns to be included.

Object pronouns of inherently intransitive verbs differ from those of transitive verbs only in that the third-person singular is overtly coded by the marker *n* and, like object pronouns other than the first-person singular, must be preceded by the vowel *a*. The second-person singular object pronoun of an inherently intransitive verb is *a*. All pronouns have low tone, and the vowel *a* preceding them has low tone as well:

- (17) *à s-yì-hè*
3SG come-1SG-PNCT
'he brought me'
- à sà-hè*
3SG come:2SG-PNCT
'he brought you'
- à sà-n-hè*
3SG come-3SG-PNCT
'he brought him'

à *sà-mì/kùr/tr-hè*
 3SG come-1INCL/2PL/3PL-PNCT
 ‘he brought us/you(pl)/them’

à *f-i-hè*
 3SG find-1SG-PNCT
 ‘he found me’

à *f-à-hè*
 3SG find-2SG-PNCT
 ‘he found you’

à *fà-n/mì/ηàr-hè*
 3SG find-3SG/1INCL/1EXCL-PNCT
 ‘he found him/us(incl)/us(excl)’

In content-interrogative clauses, the system of object pronouns is again different, in that the second-person singular is marked by the form *kà*. The third-person singular is marked by the form *nà*. In clause-internal position, object pronouns fuse with the next vowel, and if that vowel has high tone, the tone on the new syllable is high as well:

- (18) à *fà-ká/ná/myá/ηrâ/kàrà/trá* *mè*
 à *fà-kà/nà/my/ηr/kùr/tr* *á* *mè*
 3SG find-2SG/3SG/1INCL/1EXCL/2PL/3PL PRED where
 ‘where did he reach/see you?’

Before a nominal subject, all object pronouns end in *a*:

- (19) à *wà-ká/ná/ myá/ηrâ/kùrà/trá* *kyáwà*
 3SG bite-2SG/1SG/1INCL/1EXCL/2PL/3PL fear
 ‘the fear bit you/him/us (incl)/us(excl)/you/them’

Before the focus particle *bà*, object pronouns end in the consonant, except for the first-person plural inclusive, which ends in the vowel *i*:

- (20) *á* *fà-ηrâ* *bà* *klázàrè*
 3SG find-1EXCL FOC always
 ‘he always found/finds us (excl)’
á *fà-ηrâ* *bàstùwà*
 3SG find-1EXCL like that
 ‘he found us like that’

á fâ-ŋrâ-fâ bástùwà
 3SG find-1EXCL-find like that
 'he can find us like that'

á fâ-mì bà klázàrè
 3SG find-1INCL FOC always
 'he always finds us (incl)'

à fâ-mì bástùwà
 3SG find-1INCL like that
 'he found us like that'

á fâ-tr bà klázàrè
 3SG find-3PL FOC always
 'he always finds them'

à fâ-tr bástùwà
 3SG find-3PL like that
 'he found them like that'

à jâ-tr bástùwà
 3SG hit-3PL like that
 'he hit them like that'

- (21) *tà nj-yá kàtàfká t̀àksé*
tà nj-y á kàtà fk-á t̀àksé
 3PL sat-1SG PRED PREP front-GEN chief
 'they sat me in front of the chief'

In the imperfective aspect, the verb must be reduplicated for the object pronouns to be included. Object pronouns are inserted between the reduplicated forms.

- (22) *á f-ì-fâ*
 3SG find-1SG-find
 'he finds me/reaches me'

á fâ-k/n/mì/ŋrâ/kùr/tr-fâ
 3SG find-2SG/3SG/1INCL/1EXCL/2PL/3PL-find
 'he finds/reaches you/him/us(incl)/us(excl)/you (pl)/them'

Here are examples of inherently transitive verbs in the imperfective aspect, where the third-person singular object is coded by the gemination of the first consonant of the verb:

(23) *á* ***jjà***
 3SG hit
 ‘he hits him’

á ***ndrà***
 ‘he builds it’

á ***ttàtàyà***
 ‘he is searching for him’

Object pronouns for other persons are inserted between the reduplicated parts of the verb. The first consonant of the verb is not geminated (the pronouns are bolded):

(24) *á* *tàtàyà-k/mù/ɲr/kùr/tr-tàtàyà*
 ‘he is looking for you/us(incl)/us(excl)/you(pl)/them’

á *fà-ɲr-à-fà* *bà* *klázàr-è*
 3SG find-1EXCL-find FOC always
 ‘he can always find us (excl)’

3.2 The functions of the third-person object pronoun

The third-person singular object pronoun *n* requires special discussion, since its function is quite different from that of other object pronouns. The most expected function (as transmitted through traditional linguistics) of the third-person object pronoun, that of coding anaphora or deixis, occurs only in very special cases. It is deployed to mark the following functions:

- Anaphora when the object precedes the verb (recall that the unmarked position of arguments is after the verb);
- Addition of an object to an inherently intransitive verb;
- Coding the indirect object function;
- Information status of the antecedent.

Here is an example of the use of the third-person object pronoun with inherently intransitive verbs to indicate the presence of a direct object in the clause (‘transitivizing function’):

- (25) *májàrà mmùjìyá tàrè*
má jà-rà-n-mmè-j yà-á-tàrè
 HYP unite-3PL-3SG-COL-unite voice-GEN-3PL
 ‘If they agree,’ [if they unite their voices]

The evidence that the verb *jà* is intransitive is provided by the following example:

- (26) *má jà-rà-mmè-jà*
 HYP unite-3PL-COL-unite
 ‘if they unite’

The third-person object pronoun is used with transitive verbs in sequential clauses:

- (27) *mágyávgyé mágàyánrè*
má gyá-v-gyé mágày-á-nrè
 HYP cook-APPL-cook hungry rice-GEN-1EXCL
 ‘When our hungry rice is cooked,’

ηázàn bànrántàrmrùwà
ηà zà-n bà ηr ántàr
 1EXCL eat-3SG FOC 1EXCL ASSC:PL
mù-rwà
 mother-1SG
 ‘we will eat it, me and my mother.’

If the second clause were to be produced in isolation, the object pronoun would be omitted and instead the verb would have a geminated first consonant:

- (28) *ηà zz-á bà ηr ántàr mù-rwà*
 1EXCL eat FOC 1EXCL ASSC:PL mother-1SG
 ‘We will eat it, only me and my mother.’

The third-person object pronoun is not used in perfective if the verb is transitive, and if there was only one potential antecedent in the preceding discourse:

- (29) *tà nábà hál-sà á dám hùdǎ bùhá ǵàbádàlyè*
tà nábà hál-sà á dǎ-m hùd-á bùhá
 3PL then gather-S PRED go-IN belly-GEN sack
ǵàbè á dǎlyè
 yet PRED again
 ‘They gathered [the sesame of the mat] into the sack again.’

4. Coding of nominal arguments

4.1 Classes of verbs

The grammatical relations of noun phrases following verbs are coded through inflectional means on the verb. The grammatical relations of noun phrases following other lexical items are coded through inflectional means on the verb and through inflectional changes on the lexical items preceding the noun phrases. The coding of grammatical relations on the verb depends on the inherent properties of the verbs and the aspects, which are interrelated. The inherent properties of verbs can be altered by the verbal extensions discussed in chapter 8. The following table summarizes the major classes of verbs and the inflectional means involved in the coding of the role of the following noun phrase. The table should be read in the following way: The left column indicates the type of verb. The inflectional form of the verb indicates the grammatical role of the following noun phrase. The grammatical role is indicated in square brackets:

Table 7.3. Verb classes

Class	Perfective	Imperfective
Class 1	Root [Object]	Root-a [Object]
	Root-á [Subject]	Root-n-a [Subject of tr. verb]
	Root-Pro-Root-a [Subject of tr. verb]	Root-Pro-Root [Object]
Class 2	Root-a [Clause-final]	Root-a [Clause-final]
	Root-a [Object]	Root-a [Object]
Class 3	Root-a-n-á [Subject]	Root-a-n-á [Subject]
	Root-a [Subject of intr. verb]	
Class 4	Root-á [Object]	
	Root-a-n-á [Subject of tr. verb]	
Class 4	Root-a [Subject or object]	

The properties of these classes of verbs with respect to the coding of arguments are discussed in sections to follow.

4.2 Class 1 verbs

The verbs of class 1 are inherently transitive. The verb before the nominal object has the root form only. These verbs add the goal marker *á* to indicate that the following noun phrase is the subject. To this class belong: *bàlà* ‘announce’, *hdā* ‘bury’, *bàgfyà* ‘find’, *fā* ‘put’. These verbs indicate bounded events. Examples:

- (30) *à* *bàl* *làríúsà*
 3SG announce marriage
 ‘he announced the marriage’

The goal marker *á* added to this class of verbs indicates that the following noun phrase is the controlling subject:

- (31) *à* *bàl-á* *žilé*
 3SG announce-GO man
 ‘the man announced’

The nominalized form in the imperfective indicates that the following noun phrase is the object:

- (32) *yá/á* *bàlà* *làríúsà*
 1SG/3SG announce marriage
 ‘I/he announce(s) the marriage’

In the imperfective aspect, the third-person singular object marker *n* followed by the vowel *a* in this class of verbs indicates that the following noun phrase is the controlling subject:

- (33) *à* *bàlà-n-à* *žilé*
 3SG announce-3SG-PB man
 ‘the man announces’

The root ending on R2 of the R1ProR2 form indicates that the following noun phrase is the object:

- (34) *bàlà-n-bál* *làríúsà*
 announce-1SG-announce marriage
 ‘I announced the marriage’

The root + *a* ending on R2 indicates that the following noun phrase is the controlling subject:

- (35) *bàlà-r-bàl-à* *zàlà*
 announce-3PL-announce:PB people
 ‘men announced’

Verb *bàgy* ‘find’. The object role of the following NP is coded by the root form of the verb:

- (36a) *à* *bàgyì* *dàdà*
 3SG find father
 ‘he found the father’

Subject role of the following NP is coded by goal marker on the verb:

- (36b) *à* *bàgyá* *dàdà*
 3SG find:GO father
 ‘the father found him’

The use of a transitive verb without any nominal argument is fully acceptable. The verb ends in the vowel *à* in clause-final position:

- (37) *tà* *bàgyà*
 3PL find
 ‘they found it’

The verb *xá* ‘bury’. The object role of the following NP is coded by the root form of the verb:

- (38a) *à* *xá* *ddà* *ɲàrà*
 3SG burry father 3SG
 ‘he buried his father’

The subject role of the following NP is coded by the goal marker on the verb:

- (38b) *à* *xá* *ddà* *ɲàrà*
 3SG burry:GO father 3SG
 ‘his father buried him’

The verb *w* ‘bite’. The object role of the following NP is coded by the root form of the verb:

(39a) *à wà kré*
 3SG bite dog
 ‘it bit a dog’

(39b) *à w-à kré*
 3SG bite-PB dog
 ‘a dog bit him’

The verb *f* ‘put’. The object role of the following NP is coded by the root form of the verb:

(40a) *tà fə bùhù á tǎ zəŋwà*
 3PL put bag PRED T donkey
 ‘they put a bag on the donkey’

The subject role of the following NP is coded by the goal marker on the verb:

(40b) *tà f-á mdè á tǎ zəŋwà*
 3PL put-GO people PRED T donkey
 ‘People put it on the donkey’

The root form of the extension codes the object role of the noun phrase. The goal marker following the extension codes the subject role of the noun phrase. The following example has the ventive extension *w*’ added to the verb *vzà* [bzà] ‘jump’:

(41a) *à bz-ú ryà*
 3SG jump-VENT wall
 ‘she jumped the wall’

(41b) *tàsawàm dá žilé táksà gyálè*
tá sà-wà md-á žilé
 3PL come-VENT people-GEN husband
tá ksà gyálè
 3PL take girl
 ‘The people of the groom come and take the girl.’

In the imperfective, the verb *vz* ‘jump’ ends in the vowel *a* before the nominal object:

(41c) *á bzà ryà*
 3SG jump wall
 ‘she jumps the wall’

4.2 Class 2 verbs

The root + goal marker (*á*) form of verbs of class 2 indicates that the following noun phrase is the object. The root-*a-n-á* form indicates that the following noun phrase is the controlling subject. The form *n* is the third-person singular object marker. The common semantic characteristic of verbs in this class is that their objects do not change their shape or position. The objects of these verbs are not affected. Class 2 verbs code the point of view of the subject, rather than the object. To this class belong transitive verbs coding unbounded events, hence they always have an imperfective interpretation: *vyà* ‘forget’, *tàtàyà* ‘search for’, *tàgà* ‘share’, ‘hold’, *ks* ‘grasp’, and *kàtà* ‘want’:

- (42) *ɲá* *kàtà* *kèllù*
 1EXCL want:GO Kellu
 ‘we wanted Kellu [for marriage]’⁹

à *kàtà-n-á* *kèllù* *mbákyà*
 3SG want-3SG-GO Kellu last year
 ‘Kellu wanted him last year’

Present-time reference:

- (43) *dàdà* *kàtà* *gdzá-rá* *dám* *mbá* *žilé*
dàdà *á* *kàtà* *gdz-á-rà* *á* *dám*
 father 3SG want:PB daughter:GEN-3SG 3SG go:IN
mbá *žilé*
 house man
 ‘A father wants his daughter to marry, . . .’

á *kàtà-n-á* *kèllù*
 3SG want-3SG-GO Kellu
 ‘Kellu wants him’

- (44a) *à /tà* *vyà* *úz-a-tàrè* → [à vyózá-tàrè]
 3SG/3PL forget:PB hoe-PL-3PL
 ‘he/they forgot their hoes’

⁹ The name *kèllù* is probably a loan from Kanuri *kéllú*, where it is given to a girl born between boys (Jarret 2007). Among Wandala, it can be given to any girl.

- (44b) *à* *vyà-ná* *d-rùwà*
 3SG forget-3SG:GO father-1SG
 ‘my father forgot it’
- (45a) *á* *tàgà* *dàfà*
 3SG share food
 ‘he shares food’
- (45b) *á* *tàgà-ná* *dúkjà*
 3SG share-3SG:GO Dukje
 ‘Dukje shares’
- (46a) *à* *tàtàyà* *hàlímà*
 3SG look for Halima
 ‘he looked for Halima’
- (46b) *à* *tàttàyà-ná* *hàlímà*
 3SG look for-3SG:GO Halima
 ‘Halima looked for him’
- (47a) *á* *ks-à-n-á* *d-rúwà*
 3SG take-GO-3SG-GO father-1SG
 ‘my father will take it’
- (47b) *à* *ks-à-n-t-á* *d-rúwà*
 3SG take-GO-3G-T-GO father-1SG
 ‘my father took it’ (coding of movement with this verb in the perfective requires the target extension *t*)
- (48a) *yà* *pàkà* *nàbbà*
 1SG wait Nabba
 ‘I am waiting for Nabba’
- (48b) *à* *pàkà-n-á* *nàbbà*
 3SG wait-3SG-GO Nabba
 ‘Nabba waited for him’
- (49a) *tà* *fà* *hàyè* (not **tàfà* *hàyè*)
 3PL reach river
 ‘they reached the river’
- (49b) *tà* *fá* *wè*
 3PL reach what

‘what did they reach?’ (high tone on the verb is part of the coding of interrogative modality)

To class 2 also belong the verbs of perception *nà* ‘see’, *cìnà* ‘hear’, *žàrà* ‘look, watch, see’, and *tàpà* ‘taste’. In the simple form, they have the root + *a* form before the object:

- (50a) *yè žàrà télè*
 1SG watch TV
 ‘I watched TV’

The subject function of the noun phrase following the verb is coded through the addition of the third-person singular object pronoun and the goal marker *á* to the verb:

- (50b) *tà nà-n-á mdè*
 3PL see-3SG-GO people
 ‘people saw him/it’

The verb *nà* codes non-controlled perception, as shown by the fact that it has no imperative form:

- (51) **ánàhà* ‘see!’

The verb *žàrà* ‘look’ represents an event from the point of view of the controller, as evidenced by the fact that it can be used in the imperative mood:

- (52) *ážžàrà* ‘look!’
- (53) *à žàr-n-á-hè*
 3SG look-3SG-GO-PNCT
 ‘he saw something’

In the imperfective, without a nominal or pronominal object, the first consonant of the verb is geminated:

- (54) *á žžàrà*
 ‘he watches’

The verb *jà* ‘hit’, which on its own is a transitive verb, means ‘meet’ when followed by the complement *irè* ‘head’ and belongs to class 2. The person met is marked by the associative preposition *án*. The vowel *i* of the noun *irè* fuses with the vowel *a* of the verb, resulting in the vowel *e*:

- (55) *yà jérán gyálè/kré*
yà já irè án gyálè/kré
 1SG hit head ASSC girl/dog
 ‘I met a girl/a dog’

há jéré
há já-irè
 1EXCL hit-head
 ‘we met’, i.e. ‘he met me I met him’

The meaning ‘to hit each other on the head’ involves the reduplicated form of the verb and the addition of possessive pronouns to the noun *irè* ‘head’:

- (56) *há jà-jiránrè*
há já-jè ir-á-nrè
 1EXCL hit-hit head-GEN-1EXCL
 ‘we hit each other on the head’ (some do not accept this clause)

4.4 Class 3 verbs

Class 3 verbs are all inherent intransitives whose subjects are affected and non-controlling. The root + *a* ending indicates that the following noun phrase is a non-controlling, affected subject in both the imperfective and the perfective aspect. The form root + goal marker *á* indicates that the following noun phrase is the object of the event under control. The root-*a-n-á* form indicates that the following noun phrase is the controlling subject of a transitive verb. In the perfective aspect the verb must be reduplicated, and R2 ends in the vowel *a*. To this class belong inherently intransitive verbs of movement and change of posture or shape: *tsè* ‘rise’, ‘stop’, *kyà* ‘break (about a round object), break into several pieces, disperse’, the corresponding plural verb *kyàbà* ‘break into many pieces’, *mbè* ‘heal (intr)’, and *tsàkwà* ‘settle (about water)’.

The vowel *a* after such verbs indicates that the following noun phrase is the subject:

- (57) *à tsà nábbà*
 3SG stop Nabba
 ‘Nabba stopped’

In the imperfective aspect, the ending *a* on the verb indicates that the following noun phrase is the object:

- (58) *á tsà dzrà*
 3SG raise mortar
 ‘he is lifting mortar’

To indicate that the noun phrase that follows the verb is an object under control in the perfective aspect, the goal marker *á* must be added to the verb:

- (59a) *à ts-á nábbà*
 3SG stop-GO Nabba
 ‘he stopped Nabba’

With the target extension *t* (required if the object or subject changes place):

- (59b) *à ts-à-t-á nábbà/dzrà*
 3SG raise-T-GO Nabba/mortar
 ‘he raised Nabba/mortar’, not ‘Nabba/mortar got up’

To indicate that the noun phrase that follows the verb is a controlling subject of an event that includes an object, an object pronoun with goal marker *á* must be added to the verb:

- (60) *à ts-à-n-á nábbà*
 3SG stop-3SG-GO Nabba
 ‘Nabba stopped him’

Other verbs in this class are:

- tè* ‘tear apart’
à tá fyè ‘he tore apart the fibers’
á tà fyè ‘he tears the fibers’
à t-à-s-á fyè ‘he separated the fibers’

- mbè* ‘heal’ ‘go away (of sickness)’
à mb-áa zènápa
 3SG heal-GO Zenapa
 ‘he cured Zenapa’

- (61) *à kyà gànhè*
 3SG break:PB pot
 ‘a pot broke’
kyà-kyà gànhè
 break-break:PB pot
 ‘the pot broke’

à ky-á gàhè
 3G break-GO pot
 ‘he broke a pot’

The form with the root ending is ungrammatical:

(62) *à kyí gàhè
 ‘he broke a pot’

The suppletive plural *kyàbà* ‘break into many pieces’ has similar properties with respect to the coding of grammatical relations:

(63) à kyàbá gàhè
 3SG smash:GO pot
 ‘he smashed a pot’

à kyàbà gàhè
 3SG smash:PB pot
 ‘the pot broke into many pieces’

kyàbà-kyàbà gàhè
 break-break:PB pot
 ‘the pot broke into many pieces’

The addition of a controlling nominal subject to such verbs requires an object pronoun added to the verb. The goal marker *á* codes transitivity:

(64) à kyà-n-á kèllù
 3SG break-3SG-GO Kellu
 ‘Kellu broke it’

à kyàbà-ná d-rúwà
 3SG smash-3SG:GO father-1SG
 ‘my father broke it into many pieces’

The verb *tsàkwà* ‘settle’ has the same properties:

(65) á tsàkwà yàwè
 3SG settle water
 ‘the water settles’

tsàkwà-tsàkwà yàwè
 settle-settle:PB water
 ‘the water settled’

The high tone *á* before a nominal argument codes its role as the object of an event under control:

(66) *à tsàkw-á yàwè*
 3SG settle-GO water
 ‘he settled the water’

The form with the root ending is ungrammatical before an object:

(67) **à tsàkwé yàwè*
 3SG settle water
 ‘he settled the water’

The addition of the object pronoun and the goal marker *á* indicates that the following noun phrase is the subject:

(68) *à tsàkwà-n-á hálímà*
 3SG settle-3SG-GO water
 ‘Halima has settled the water’

4.5 Class 4 verbs

Class 4 (labile) consists of verbs whose sole argument, the subject, without any additional marking on the verb, can be interpreted as affected. To this class belong *xrà* ‘melt’ and *mbrà* ‘heat up, boil’. These verbs end in the vowel *a* before a nominal argument in the backgrounding aspect.

(69) *xrà-xrà sùpléyè*
 melt-melt butter
 ‘the butter melted’

In the imperfective, the argument following the verb can be interpreted as either the object of a controlled event or the affected subject of a non-controlled event:

(70) *á xrà sùpléyè*
 3SG melt butter
 ‘he melts the butter’ and ‘the butter melts’

In the perfective aspect, the ending *à* (low tone) indicates that the following noun phrase is the subject of an intransitive predication:

- (71) *à xrà sùpléyè*
 3SG melt butter
 ‘butter melted’

The goal marker after the verb indicates that the noun phrase that follows the verb in the perfective aspect is the object under control:

- (72) *à xrá sùpléyè*
 3SG melt:GO butter
 ‘he melted butter’

Coding the noun phrase that follows the verb as the controlling subject requires the third-person object marker *n* and the goal marker *á*:

- (73) *à xrà-n-á zénàpà*
 3SG melt-3SG-GO Zenapa
 ‘Zenapa melted it’
tà xrà-n-á mdè
 3PL melt-3SG-GO people
 ‘people melted it’

The non-human noun phrase after the verb with the object pronoun and the goal marker is interpreted as the affected and non-controlling argument (the object) and the object pronoun is a marker of the indirectly affected object:

- (74) *à xrà-n-á sùpléyè*
 3SG melt-3SG-GO butter
 ‘he melted butter for him’

In the reduplicated form of the verb, the presence of a controlling subject in the proposition requires the third-person object pronoun followed by the goal marker *á*. R2 has the root form before a nominal object, i.e. it behaves like a class 1 verb with respect to object coding:

- (75) *xrà-n-á-xàr sùpléyè*
 mel-3SG-GO-melt butter
 ‘he melted butter’

xrà-n-á-xàr *mùksá* *nà*
 mel-3SG-GO-melt woman DEM
 ‘he melted the woman’ [i.e. the woman consented]

The verb *xrà* also means ‘skin’:

(76) *tá* *xrà* *kyàwè*
 3PL skin sheep
 ‘they skin/are skinning a sheep’

(77) *tá* *xrà-n-á* *mdè*
 3PL melt-3SG-GO people
 ‘people are skinning’

á *mbrà* *yàwè*
 3SG boil water
 ‘water boils’ and ‘he boils water’

à *mbrà-ná* *mrùwà*
 3SG boil-3SG:GO mother:1SG
 ‘my mother boiled water’

The verb *mbrà* ‘boil’ may have the target extension *t*:

(78) *à* *mbàr-t-à* *yàwè*
 3SG boil-T-PB water
 ‘the water boiled’

mbrà-t-à-mbrà *yàwè*
 boil-T-boil:PB water
 ‘water boiled/heated’

The addition of the goal marker indicates that the argument following the verb is the object of an event under control:

(79) *à* *mbàr-t-á* *yàwè*
 3SG boil-T-GO water
 ‘he boiled water’

To indicate that the argument following the verb is affected and under control, an object pronoun must be added after R1, and R2 must have the root form:

- (80) *mbrà-n-tà-mbrà* *yàwè*
 boil-3SG-T-boil water
 ‘he boiled water’

The applicative extension *v* used with the reduplicated verbs of class 4 indicates the state of the subject:

- (81) *mbrà-và-mbrà* *yàwè*
 boil-APPL-boil water
 ‘the water has boiled’

The controlling subject role of the noun phrase following the reduplicated verb is coded by the object pronoun and the root + *a* form of R2:

- (82) *mbrà-n-tà-mbrà* *zénàpà*
 boil-3SG-T-boil:PB Zenapa
 ‘Zenapa boiled it’

The verb *fy* ‘remain’ is also intransitive, its subject being the entity that remains:

- (83) *à* *fyà* *lùwà*
 3SG remain meat
 ‘the meat remained’

The addition of the goal marker indicates that the following noun is the object of a transitive verb rather than the subject of an intransitive verb:

- (84) *à* *fy-á* *lùwà*
 3SG leave-GO meat
 ‘he left the meat’

The root ending, a characteristic of transitive perfective verbs, is disallowed before the object in the simple form of the labile verb:

- (85) **à* *fyí* *lùwà*
 3SG leave meat
 ‘he left the meat’

In the reduplicated form of the verb with the third-person object marker, the verb has the root form before an object NP:

- (86) *ɣyà-n-ɣyí* *lùwà*
 leave-3SG-leave meat
 ‘he left the meat’ [meaning: he physically deposited the meat]

Without an object noun phrase, the reduplicated form of the verb with the object pronoun ends in the vowel *a*, and the proposition is interpreted as having two arguments:

- (87) *ɣyà-n-ɣyà*
 leave-3SG-leave
 ‘he left something’

The addition of the vowel *a* after the object pronoun changes the meaning from the physical abandoning of an object to the absence of the contact with the object:

- (88) *ɣyà-n-à-ɣyí* *lùwà*
 leave-3SG-GO-leave meat
 ‘he refused the meat’

Another labile verb is *ktyà* ‘cool off’:

- (89) *á* *ktyà* *yàwè*
 3SG cool water
 ‘water cools off’

There appears to be no difference between transitive and intransitive predication in the past tense:

- (90) *à* *ktyà* *yàwè*
 3SG cool water
 ‘water cooled off’, ‘he cooled water’

In the backgrounding aspect, a transitive predication with the entity that cools off as the object requires the marker *n* followed by the vowel *a*:

- (91) *ktyà-n-à-ktyí* *yàwè*
 cool-3SG-GO-cool water
 ‘he cooled water’

The omission of the vowel *a* after the object pronoun *n* yields an ungrammatical expression:

- (92a) **klyà-n-klyì* yàwè
 cool-3SG-cool water
 ‘he cooled water’

Compare the intransitive:

- (92b) *klyà-klyà* yàwè
 cool-cool water
 ‘water cooled off’

5. Distinguishing between arguments that do not follow the verb

The distinction between the root and the root + *a* form is also the coding means to distinguish between nominal subjects and objects when the nouns are preceded by categories other than the verb. When a noun phrase is preceded by the root form of a morpheme, it is interpreted as the object. When a noun phrase is preceded by the root + *a* form, it is interpreted as the subject. These two means are available to all morphemes preceding noun phrases, including the question words.

In content questions, nominal arguments follow the question word. The inflectional means on the verb code the transitivity of the event and the presence of the object in the proposition. Thus, the controlling subject role of the question word for an intransitive verb is coded by the third-person singular object pronoun *n* followed by the goal marker *á*. The question words code the features human, non-human, place, etc. Only one distinction is made through inflectional means on the question word, viz. subject versus object. The object role of the noun phrase following the question word is marked by the root form of the question word. Here is the evidence and illustration, using the question word about human participant *wàrè* (citation form) ‘who’.

- (93) *à* *tsà-n-á* *wàr* *nábbà*
 3SG stop-3SG-PB who Nabba
 ‘who stopped Nabba?’

The subject role of the noun phrase following the question word is marked by the root + *à* form of the question word. The semantic roles of the questioned entity are marked on the verb through inflectional means:

- (94) *à* *tsá* *wàr-à* *nábbà*
 3SG stop:GO who-PB Nabba
 ‘whom did Nabba stop?’

An object pronoun in a question about the object indicates that the object pronoun represents the indirect object:

- (95) *à* *tsà-my-á* *wàr-à* *nábbà*
 3SG stop-1PL.INC-GO who-PB Nabba
 ‘whom did Nabba stop for us?’

Here is an example with the verb *gàdè* ‘be/become lame’ with the target extension *t*:

- (96) *à* *tsà* *gàdè-t-á* *wàr-à* *nábbà*
 3SG stop lame-T-GO who-PB Nabba
 ‘whom did Nabba make lame?’

à *tsà* *gàd-án-t-á* *wàr* *nábbà*
 3SG stop lame-3SG-T-GO who Nabba
 ‘who made Nabba lame?’

Morphemes that precede the nominal arguments include other question words such as *wè* ‘what’, *mè* ‘where’, and the negation marker *k*:

- (97) *tsà-n-á* *kà* *nábbà*
 stop-3SG-GO NEG:PB Nabba
 ‘Nabba did not stop him’

tsà-n-á *k* *nábbà*
 stop-3SG-GO NEG Nabba
 ‘he did not stop Nabba’

6. Possessive subject pronouns

6.1 The form of possessive subject pronouns

In addition to subject suffixes in the reduplicated form of the verb and focus constructions, there are constructions in which verbs take possessive subject suffixes. Possessive subject pronouns differ from subject suffixes in their segmental structure. Related forms in some grammars of Chadic languages are called Intransitive Copy Pronouns (ICP, Newman 1974).

Table 7.4. Possessive subject pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
First	rwà	myà (INCL) ngr (EXCL)
Second	ɲà	kùrè
Third	rà	tàrè

Verbs preceding these suffixes end in the high tone vowel *á*, identical with the genitive marker and accordingly glossed as GEN. Subject suffixes co-occur in the clause with pronominal subjects preceding the verb. The possessive subject pronouns can be used only with intransitive verbs.

- (98) *dàcì yá s-á-rwà*
 then 1SG come-GEN-1SG
 ‘I return home’
- dàcì yá d-á-rwà*
 then 1SG go-GEN-1SG
 ‘I return home’
- dàcì á s-á-rà*
 then 3SG come-GEN-3SG
 ‘he returns home’
- dàcì ká s-á-ɲà*
 then 2SG come-GEN-2SG
 ‘you return home’
- dàcì mí s-á-myà*
 then 1INCL come-GEN-1INCL
 ‘we (incl) return home’
- dàcì ɲá s-á-ɲgrè*
 then 1EXCL come-GEN-1EXCL
 ‘we return home’
- dàcì kwá s-á-kùrè*
 then 2PL come-GEN-2PL
 ‘you return home’

Possessive subject pronouns are disallowed with transitive verbs:

- (99) **dàcì yá ndàv-á-rwà*
 then 1SG ask-GEN-1SG
 ‘then I asked myself’

**dàcì yá jj-á-rwà*
 then 1SG hit-GEN-1SG
 ‘then I hit myself’

The addition of the locative complement to a locative verb with the possessive subject suffix requires the repetition of the verb before the locative complement:

- (100) *dàcì yá s-á-rwà s-á múrà*
 then 1SG come-GEN-1SG come-GO Mora
 ‘I return to Mora.’

Hence, the use of possessive suffixes changes the inherent directionality of the verb *s* ‘come from’, making it a non-directional verb, ‘turn back’. Given that locative verbs cannot take the applicative extension *v*, one of whose functions is to code an event from the point of view of the subject, the possessive suffixes perform this function with intransitive verbs.

In all attested cases, possessive subject suffixes occur in the imperfective aspect. This fact is important, as they are in complementary distribution with the applicative extension *v*, whose use always implies the completive aspect. The function of possessive subject pronouns is to limit the event to the subject only, with no goal or any other additional interpretation. With none of these verbs can the applicative extension be used in the imperfective:

- (101) *dàcì á mts-á-rà*
 then 3SG die-GEN-3SG
 ‘he is dying’

dàcì yá ts-á-rwà
 then 1SG rise-GEN-1SG
 ‘then I am up’

dàcì yá nj-á-rwà
 then 1SG sit-GEN-1SG
 ‘then I am just sitting [without making noise]’

ɓàlá-nà ɓyà-ɲèr-ɓyà ná nj-á-ɲgrè
 go-2SG leave-1EXCL-leave 1EXCL sit-GEN-1EXCL
 ‘go away, let us (excl) sit in peace!’

The possessive subject pronouns can be used with verbs whose subjects are affected:

- (102) *dàcì á gy-á-rà*
 then 3SG cook-GEN-3SG
 ‘it is cooking’
- dàcì á xr-á-rà*
 then 3SG melt-GEN-3SG
 ‘it is melting’
- dàcì á kwàá-á-rà*
 then 3SG cook-GEN-3SG
 ‘it is boiling’ [*kwàá* ‘boil violently’]

The verb *kyà* ‘disperse, split, inject’ occurs with the possessive subject suffix when its subject represents people or things that get dispersed:

- (103) *kínà mín náwá má nábà*
 now 1INCL DEF:COM 1INCL then
ky-á-myà
 disperse-GEN-1INCL
 ‘as far as we are concerned, now we can disperse’
- kínà mín náwá, kwá nábà ky-á-kùrè*
 now 1INCL DEF:COM 2PL then disperse-GEN-2PL
 ‘as far as we are concerned, you can disperse’
- kínà mín náwá, tá nábà ky-á-tàrè*
 now 1INCL DEF:COM 3PL then disperse-GEN-3PL
 ‘as far as we are concerned they can disperse’

6.2 The function of possessive subject pronouns

All possessive subject pronouns can be omitted, which indicates that their presence is not caused by some other element in the clause; therefore they have a function of their own. The function of possessive subject pronouns has been a controversial issue in Chadic literature. One analysis implies that they mark intransitivity (Newman 1974). Another postulates that they mark the inceptive aspect (Frajzyngier 1977b). The possessive subject pronouns in Wandala, contrary to the postulated functions of analogous forms in other Chadic languages, do not code either intransitivity (although they occur only

with intransitive verbs) or the inceptive or any other aspect, although they cannot occur in the completive aspect.

In Wandala, possessive subject pronouns code the point of view of the subject. The point of view of the subject instructs the listener to look at how the event affects the subject to the exclusion of other participants or of the event itself, or to the exclusion of any other circumstance (see Frajzyngier 2000):

- (104) *mádàddàm njánjáɲrè ányàlàhárwà*
má dàddàm njá nj-á-ɲrè án
 HYP meantime EXCL remain-GEN-1EXCL ASSC
yàl-àh-á-rwà
 family-PL-GEN-1SG
 ‘In the meantime, I remain with my family.’

yá-ɓàl-á-rwà
 1SG-leave-GEN-1SG
 ‘I am leaving’ [told to group of people while getting up]

tàbànjátàrè ànhéerànklàpírè
tà bà nj-á-tàrè
 3PL FOC stay-GEN-3PL
án héer-àn-klàpí-rè
 ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘They lived together in peace and good health.’

The possessive subject pronouns are disallowed with reduplicated verbs coding either the perfective or the imperfective aspect:

- (105) *tà nj-í-njà *tàrè án héer-àn-klàpí-rè*
 3PL live-live 3PL ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘they lived in peace and good health’

The statement is grammatical without the possessive subject pronoun:

- (106) *tà nj-í-njà án héer-àn-klàpí-rè*
 3PL live-live ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘They lived in peace and good health’

The possessive subject pronouns are used to code an event that concerns only the subject and disregards any other arguments, participants, or complements.

- (107) *è, má ksà-ró-ks-à gdzà gyálè*
 eh HYP take-ON-take-PB young girl
 ‘Then if the young girl accepts,’

dàcìtá sàtàrè
dàcì tá s-á-tàrè
 then 3PL come-GO-3PL:POSS
 ‘they return home.’

mátsàtsánà bàǵàlárà
má tsà-ts á nábà ǵàl-á-rà
 HYP rise-rise 3SG then leave-GEN-3SG
 ‘It happens that he can leave on his own.’ [i.e. abandon the project of marriage]

má tsà-ts yá nábà ǵàl-á-rwà
 HYP rise-rise 3SG then leave-GEN-3SG
 ‘It happens that I can leave on my own.’

tá kyá-tàrè
 3PL break-3PL
 ‘they disperse’

Only intransitive verbs can be followed by possessive subject pronouns. This is consistent with the function of indicating the point of view of the subject, because the introduction of a second argument without any additional marking would produce an internal contradiction, as that addition would change the point of view.

The possessive subject suffixes in Wandala do not code the inceptive function, as postulated for other Chadic languages in Frajzyngier 1977b. The possessive subject suffixes can occur in clauses describing states, a function that is incompatible with the inceptive function:

- (108) *yá bà nj-á-rwà*
 1SG FOC live-GEN-1SG
án héer-àn-klàpí-rè
 ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘I live in peace and good health’

tàbànjátàrè ànhéerànkàlápí-rè
tà bà nj-á-tàrè
 3PL FOC stay-GEN-3PL

án héer-àn-klàpí-rè
 ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘They lived together in peace and good health.’

Possessive subject pronouns cannot be used with the R1ProR2 form of the verb.

7. Grammatical and semantic relations with the R1ProR2 form

The formal means of coding the grammatical relations of nouns following reduplicated verbs is the same as with simple verbs. The properties of reduplicated verbs can be different from the properties of the corresponding simple verbs. More specifically, verbs that in the simple form belong to class 2, i.e. end in the vowel *a* before the object, have the root form before the object in the reduplicated form. Thus they behave like simple verbs of class 1. The reduplicated verbs of class 1 have the same properties as the simple verbs of the same class. A noun following the ending R2 + *à* may be interpreted as the subject or object depending on the properties of the verb. The root form of R2 indicates that the following noun phrase is the object of a transitive verb. The ending *e* on the verb indicates the clause-final position for a verb (with all of its extensions) that is incompatible with the category ‘goal’. In natural discourse, this is also a variant of the consonantal ending before a pause, e.g. when the speaker is slowing down for any reason.

Reduplicated verbs of class 1:

The object role of the noun phrase is coded by the root form and the subject role of the noun phrase is coded by the root + *á* form, just as in the simple form of the verb in this class:

(109) *bàgfyà-bàgfy í dádà*
 find-find father
 ‘he found his father’

bàgfyà-bàgfy-á dádà
 find-find-GO father
 ‘his father found him’

Reduplicated verbs of class 2:

The reduplicated forms of class 2 verbs have the same properties as the simple and reduplicated forms of class 1 verbs. The object is coded by the root form, and the controlling subject is coded by the root + *á* form.

The root form of R2, with epenthetic vowels if necessary, indicates that the following noun phrase is the object:

- (110) *yò dikdì zàrvàḡḡànnà kìnì*
yò dyì-k-dyì zàrvà ḡḡànnà kìnì
 well know-2SG-know sesame DEF C.FOC
 “‘You know sesame, don’t you?’” [The fast tempo led to the reduction of the vowel *a* preceding the 2SG marker *k*]

Reduplicated verbs of class 3:

Class 3 consists of inherently intransitive verbs. The coding of the subject with such verbs has the root + *a* form on R2:

- (111) *má kyà-kyà gàhè*
 HYP break-break pot
 ‘if the pot broke’

To indicate that the noun phrase that follows the verb is the object under control, the third-person singular object pronoun must be inserted after R1. The object pronoun must be followed by the goal marker *á*. With these inflectional changes, the verb behaves as a transitive verb, and the R2 has the root form:

- (112) *má kyà-n-á-kì gàhè*
 HYP break-3SG-GO-break pot
 ‘if he broke a pot’

The coding of an intransitive subject:

- (113) *máḡóḡà màgàtrḡḡànnà* [*màwàrkìnì ákyàrá dámhá* (not recorded)]
má ḡó-ḡ-à màgà tr ḡḡànnà má
 HYP finish:VENT-finish-PB do work DEF HYP
wàr kìnì á kyà-rà á dâ-m mbá
 who C.FOC 3SG disperse-3SG PRED go-IN home
 ‘If the work is finished, everybody returns home.’

The coding of the object:

- (114) *má ḡà-n-á-ḡà tr-á-rà*
 HYP finish-3SG-GO-finish work-GEN-3SG
 ‘if she finished her work’
má bàní áksà-r-án-tâ-ksà gdzàr wá
 HYP since take-3PL-3SG-T-take child COMP
 ‘Since they have taken the child, then . . .’

cùkwá ngùdì màgà-n-á-màg kímàkè
 small very make-3SG-GO-make shoes
 ‘after a little [while], he made shoes’ (*n-á* is obligatory)

Compare the reduplicated verb without an argument following it:

(115) *cùkwá ngùdì màgà-n-á-màgà*
 small very make-3SG-GO-make
 ‘after a little [while], he made them’ (elicited)

8. Coding the definiteness of the object

The third-person singular object pronoun of an inherently transitive verb can co-occur with a nominal object. In this configuration, the object pronoun codes the definiteness of the direct object, a function observed in other Chadic languages (e.g. in Gidar, Frajzyngier 2008):

(116) *màgà-n-á k trà áwàyà*
 do-3SG-GO NEG work yesterday
 ‘he did not do the work yesterday’

màgà-k trà áwàyà
 do-NEG work yesterday
 ‘he did not do any work yesterday’ [The verb has low tone despite the fact that the clause refers to an event in the past.]

The evidence that the pronoun *n-á* represents the object is provided by the fact that it cannot be used when the clause represents the event from the point of view of the affected argument:

(117) *màgá-k-à trà áwàyà*
 do:PAST-NEG-PB work yesterday
 ‘the work was not done yesterday’

kàkà kàfànéstàrà
kà kà kà fà-ŋá stà-rà
 2SG 2SG 2SG find-3SG DEF-any
 ‘How are you going to find it?’

The object pronoun must be included in the inherently transitive verb if the object is definite or has a possessive pronoun:

- (118) *pwà-nà-tàr-sá-pwè* *gyàl-à-h-á-rwà* *á* *dá márwa*
 send:PL-1SG-3PL-S-send girl-PL-1SG PRED go Maroua
 ‘I sent my girls away to Maroua’

pwà-nà-tàr-sá-pwè *dá márwa*
 send:PL-1SG-3PL-S-send go Maroua
 ‘I sent them away to Maroua’

If the object is not definite, the object pronoun cannot occur:

- (119) *pwà-n-sá-pwè* *gyàl-àhà* *á* *dá márwa*
 send:PL-1SG-S-send girl-PL PRED go Maroua
 ‘I sent some girls away to Maroua’ (elicited)

The use of the object pronoun alone is a means to code the definiteness of the object, even if the object is not overtly marked for definiteness:

- (120) *pwà-nà-tàr-sá-pwè* *gyàl-àhà* *á* *dá márwa*
 send:PL-1SG-3PL-S-send girl-PL PRED go Maroua
 ‘I sent the girls away to Maroua’ (elicited)

9. The indirect object

9.1 Introduction

The term ‘indirect object’ designates a form referring to a participant affected by an event that directly affects another object or, for intransitive verbs, to an object for whose benefit or detriment the event occurs. The following are the formal means to code presence of indirect object:

- Object pronouns after verbs that do not inherently imply the direct object interpretation. These include many intransitive verbs.
- Object pronouns with verbs that inherently imply the presence of an indirect object.
- The third-person singular object pronoun *a* following other object pronouns. This means can be used with all verbs. The object pronouns other than the first-person singular must be preceded by the vowel *a*. Indirect object pronouns, unlike direct object pronouns, may not be followed by the goal marker *á*.

9.2 The indirect object interpretation of object pronouns

Wandala has only one set of object pronouns, which are used for both the direct and the indirect object function, with one important difference. In the third-person singular, the indirect object pronoun must be overtly marked, while the direct object is unmarked:

- (121) *jà-r-á-n-jà*
hit-3PL-GO-3SG-hit
'they hit him for him'

The way the indirect object function is coded is linked with the type of verbal class, which in turn is linked with the type of verbal predication.

With inherently transitive verbs, a pronoun is interpreted as the indirect object if it follows another pronoun. Hence, the relative order of pronouns indicates which one is direct and which is indirect:

- (122) *tà fã-k-yì-m ám áklà*
3SG put-2SG-1SG-IN PRED:IN courtier
'they made you a courtier for me'

Given that the third-person singular direct object with inherently transitive verbs is unmarked, any single pronoun following the verb can be interpreted as the indirect object:

- (123) *à fá-k-m ám áklà*
3SG put-2SG-IN PRED:IN courtier
'he made him a courtier for you' [on your behalf, at your behest]

An object pronoun is interpreted as indirect if the clause with an inherently transitive verb has a nominal direct object. In the example below, the noun in post-verbal position is marked as object by the root form of the R2:

- (124) *gy-í-gyì dãfã*
cook-1SG-cook food
'cook food for me!'

The addition of the third-person object pronoun *n* to any transitive verb codes the indirect object function of the third-person pronoun. The object pronoun has the root form when followed by a nominal object:

- (125) *tà fã-n bùhù á tó zèhwà*
3PL put-3SG bag PRED T donkey
'they put a bag on the donkey for him'

tà f-àn-m ám əklà
 3PL put-3SG-IN PRED:IN courtier
 ‘they made him₁ a courtier for him₂’

The verb *mb* without object pronouns means ‘know’:

(126) *mbà-mbá bbákà mótà*
 know-know drive car
 ‘he knows how to drive a car’

The addition of a pronominal object changes the meaning of the verb *mb* to ‘teach’. The pronominal object is indirect, as evidenced by the fact that a nominal object can be added to the clause:

(127) *mb-ì-sá-mbè dzàbá kèkè*
 teach-1SG-S-teach sew:GEN sewing machine
 ‘teach me how to sew on a sewing machine!’

The third-person singular object pronoun must be included in order to code the indirect object function:

(128) *mbà-n-sá-mbè dzàbá kèkè*
 teach-3SG-S-teach sew sewing machine
 ‘teach him how to sew on a sewing machine!’

(129) *à mbà-n-s-á wàr léy nà*
 3SG teach-3-S-GO who writing DEM
 ‘who taught him how to write?’

à mbà-n-s-á wàr léyà
 3SG teach-3-S-GO who writing
 ‘who taught him how to write?’

The presence of a nominal object in the clause implies that the pronominal object on the verb is indirect. The pronominal object must be followed by the goal marker *a*:

(130) *yè màgà-n-á trà*
 1SG work-3SG-GO work
 ‘I worked for him’

à *blà-my-á* *láhè*
 3SG sing-1INCL-GO song
 ‘he was singing for us’

tá *ndrà-n-á* *mbà* *žil* *nà*
 3PL build-3SG-GO home man DEM
 ‘those who build a home for him’

The indirect object can code an adversely affected argument:

- (131) *tó fàtàrtéerè mátsàràtsé gègdzàrá gyálà-hà*
tá wǎ-tàr-t-á irè má tsà-rè-tsé gè
 3PL bother-3PL-T-GO head HYP rise-3PL-rise TO
gdzàr-á gyál-àhà
 child-GEN female-PL
 ‘Well, sometimes, it is they [the boys], who bother the girls . . .’

With intransitive verbs and a nominal object, the object pronoun is interpreted as indirect:

- (132) *à s-y-á názù yá fà-n-ú*
 3SG come-1SG-GO what 1SG put-3SG-VENT
gè w-á-rwà
 TO mouth-GEN-1SG
 ‘he brought me something to eat’
- à s-iy-á kré*
 3SG come-1SG-GO dog
 ‘he brought me a dog’

If the verb has an indirect object and a third-person singular direct object, the direct object follows the indirect object; is not preceded by the goal marker *a*, but is followed by the goal marker *a*:

- (133) *à mág-ì-n-á-hè*
 3SG make-1SG-3SG-GO-PNCT
 ‘she made it for me’

9.3 Indirect-object verbs

Indirect-object verbs are verbs whose inherent second argument is indirect object. Object pronouns occurring with inherently dative/benefactive verbs code the recipient, beneficiary, or addressee, without any additional marking:

- (134) *và-n-à-tà-r-tà-và*
 give-1SG-3PL-T-give
 ‘I gave them something’

The third-person pronoun *n* must be used if the indirect object is the third-person singular:

- (135) *ηdzè tà ndàhá-ná mbátè bà jirè*
 PAST 3PL say-3SG really FOC true
 ‘[he said] the story they have been telling, is indeed true.’

In addition to *và* ‘give’, objects of the verbs *ndà* ‘tell’ and *bà* ‘say’ are also interpreted as indirect:

- (136) *yá ndà-kúr l̥và*
 3SG tell-2PL word
 ‘I speak to you (pl)’

- (137) *áyò égdzaràkinnà wá mákábà*
áyò égdzar-à kinnà wá má ká
 now child-PL C.FOC COM HYP 2SG
trálvà àbétàrè àsàná zàmàné
bà-trá l̥và à bà-ítaré á s-á-nà zàmàné
 talk-3PL speech 3SG say-3PL 3SG come-3SG time (F)
 ‘And now, children, when you talk to them, they say it is modern times that brought it.’

- (138) *àkàtá zàrvà filyá zàrvè ηánnà àvàtrtè*
à kà-t-á zàrvà fily-á zàrvà ηánnà
 3SG raise-T-GO sesame sand-GEN sesame DEF
à v-à-tr-tè
 3SG give-3PL-T
 ‘He raised the sesame, the grain of that sesame, he gave it to them.’

9.4 Non-indirect-object verbs

For verbs whose inherent object is not indirect, the third-person singular object marker *n* codes the indirect-object function for all persons, including the third-person singular which must also be coded by the pronoun *n*. The relevant construction has the form verb-Pronoun-*n*.

- (139) *yòo názùyisà kùrnèyàvátánkìni*
yòo názù yè s-à-kùr-nè-yà và
 well what 1SG come-GO-2PL-3SG-1SG day
tá-n kìnì
 DEF-DEF C.FOC
 ‘What I am bringing to you today’
àgdzá fòyá làríusà
àgdz-á fòy-á làríusà
 small-GEN story-GEN marriage
 ‘is a small story of a marriage.’

For the reduplicated (but not the simple) form of the verb *bà* ‘say’, the object pronoun must be followed by the third-person singular object pronoun *n*, to be interpreted as the addressee:

- (140) *dàcí tà bà-trà-n-bà*
 then 3PL say-3PL-3SG-say
 ‘they can tell them’

The object marker *n* is never followed by the goal marker *a* when it codes the preceding pronoun as an indirect object (after the palatal glide the underlying *a* is realized as [e]):

- (141) *kàkà-míy-é-n-kàkà*
 count-1INCL-GO-3SG-count
 ‘count it for us!’

má ksà-r-y-àn-tè-ksè gyál wá
 HYP take-3PL-1SG-3SG-T-take girl COM
 ‘if they have taken the girl for me . . .’

The use of the pronoun *n* indicates the indirect third-person singular object:

- (142) *tà pw-á-n-vá zàrvà á dám bùhà*
tà pw-á-n-vá zàrvà á d-á-m bùhà
 3PL pour-GO-3SG-APPL sesame PRED go-IN bag
 ‘They poured sesame for him into a sack’

máksàrànn tàksè gyálwá
má ksà-r-à-n-tè-ksè gyál wá
 HYP take-3PL-3SG-T-take girl COM
 ‘If they take the girl for him, then . . .’

Compare an example without the third-person object pronoun:

- (143) *tà ksà-tá wè*
 3PL grasp-T what
 ‘what did they take?’

The evidence that the form *n* codes the indirect object rather than the direct object is provided by constructions where the verb has a dative form, an object pronoun, and a marker of the indirect object:

- (144) *kàǵà-n-à-tr-à-n-vá-kàǵè*
 break-1SG-GO-3PL-GO-3SG-APPL-break
 ‘I broke it for them’

The absence of the third-person singular object pronoun triggers the interpretation of the third-person plural pronoun *tr* as the direct object:

- (145) *kàǵà-n-à-tr-vá-kàǵè*
 break-1SG-3PL-APPL-break
 ‘I broke them’

Coding a single third-person beneficiary with transitive plural verbs involves the use of two singular object pronouns, the first coding the referentiality of the object and the second its indirect-object function:

- (146a) *à kàǵ-yà-n-vè*
 3SG break-1SG-3SG-APPL
 ‘he broke it for me’

For the third-person singular, the object pronoun *n* occurs twice, first to code referentiality of the object and the second its indirect-object function:

- (146b) *à kàǵà-n-à-n-vè*
 3SG break:PL-3SG-GO-3SG-APPL
 ‘he broke them for him’

Here is the rest of the paradigm presented in linear form to save space:

- (147) *à kàǵà-k/my/ŋr/kùr-à-n-vè*
 3SG break-2SG/1INCL/1EXCL/2PL-GO-3SG-APPL
 ‘he broke it for you/us (incl)/us(excl)/you(pl)’

The verbal extensions occur after the marker of the indirect object:

- (148) *mlà-nà-k-à-n-úmlè*
 help-1SG-2SG-GO-3SG-help
 ‘I helped you’

à vl-íy-à-n-ú káfi
 3SG send-1SG-3SG-VENT gift
 ‘he sent me a gift’

Without the third-person object pronoun following the first-person object pronoun, the first-person object pronoun is interpreted as the direct object:

- (149) *àvliyà dǎmbá žílé*
à vl-íyà dǎ-m mb-á žílé
 3SG send-1SG go-IN house-GEN man
 ‘he sent me to my husband’

Intransitive verbs behave in the same way as transitive verbs that take direct-object pronouns, viz., the first pronoun codes the referential object, and the third-person singular object pronoun codes the indirect-object role of the preceding pronoun. In the following example, the addition of the indirect-object pronouns to the intransitive verb *nj* ‘stay’ and the transitive verb *mlá* ‘help’ requires two pronouns, the first pronoun having the referential function and the second pronoun indicating the indirect object function of the first pronoun:

- (150) *tántàrè gdzàgyálnà áskè málárǎrà*
tá ántàrè gdzà gyál nà áskè málàrè ǎrà
 3PL ASSC:PL young girl DEM like aunt 3SG
 ‘Those who are with the young girl are like her aunt’

áskè gdzámǎǎrà tǎnjǎnnúhè
áskè gdzà mǎ ǎrà tá
 like young mother 3SG 3PL

njá-n-n-ú-hè

stay-3SG-3SG-VENT-PNCT

támlǎnnùwá màgàtrà

tá mlà-n-n-ù wá màgà trà
 3PL help-3SG-3SG-VENT COM do work

‘like her sister, they remain with her to help her with the work.’

If a simple verb has only the third-person singular object pronoun, the function of this pronoun is that of coding the subject as the beneficiary. The verb *tàg* ‘distribute’ acquires the meaning ‘share, partake’ with the marker *n*:

- (151) *tà* *tàgà-n-sé*
 3PL distribute-3SG-S
 ‘they shared it among themselves’

Compare the same verb without the object pronoun:

- (152) *tà* *tàg-hé*
 3PL distribute-PNCT
 ‘they distributed’

9.5 The nominal indirect object

A nominal argument is marked as an indirect object by the preposition *gè*:

- (153) *à* *v-i-tá* *gè žilé*
 3SG give-1SG-T TO husband
 ‘he gave me to a husband’
à *và-k-tá* *gè* *žilé*
 3SG give-2SG-T TO husband
 ‘he gave you to a husband’

The verb *fà* ‘put’ with the third-person object pronoun followed by the IN extension *m* and followed later in the clause by the noun *vúà* ‘body’ means ‘inform, announce’. The nominal argument to whom the announcement is made is coded by the preposition *gè* ‘to’:

- (154) *mádèzèmalàlàlà* *máfànmámvúà*
má *dè zè* *mál-á* *làlà* *mà*
 1INCL go HL chief-GEN borough 1INCL
fá-n-m *á-m* *vúà*
 put-3SG-IN PRED-IN body
 ‘Let’s go to the chief of the neighborhood, to let him know.’

- táfà-nmámvù* *gèdàdà* *táfà-nmámvù* *gèmàmà*
tá *fà-n-m* *á-m* *vù* *gè dádà*
 3PL put-3SG-IN PRED-IN body TO father
tá *fà-n-m* *á-m* *vù* *gè màmà*
 3PL put-3SG-IN PRED-IN body TO mother
 ‘They announce [it] to the father, they announce [it] to the mother.’

If the verb is inherently intransitive, the goal extension *a* added to the target extension marks the following noun as the direct object:

- (155) *à səl-t-á t́wà gè ɲré*
 3SG roast-T-GO meat TO 1EXCL
 ‘he roasted the meat for us’

9.6 The indirect-object function through the ventive extension

The addition of the ventive extension *w* to the object pronoun codes the indirect-object function of the pronoun. This coding is accompanied by the coding of the indirect object through the prepositional phrase, with the argument in the complement of the prepositional phrase co-referential with the object pronoun added to the verb:

- (156) *ùks-ì-ú-ksà míusà g-yá bàdé*
 take-1SG-VENT-take Musa TO-1SG for no reason
 ‘Musa stole for me for no reason’

The coding of the indirect third-person singular object requires the use of the third-person singular object pronoun *n*:

- (157) *á žàgàdà nú gè žílàrà*
á žàgàdà-n-ú gè žíl-á-rà
 3SG run-3SG-VENT TO husband-GEN-3SG
 ‘she will run away from her husband’
- tá žàgàdà-tr-ú gè zál-àh-á-tàrè*
 SG run-3PL-VENT TO husband-PL-GEN-3SG
 ‘they will run away from their husbands’

Because the nominal indirect object is marked by the preposition (in addition to the coding on the verb), indirect-object nominal phrases can occur after a nominal direct object:

- (158) *èkínúwá ámtátómlè ɲándàhà*
è kín wá á-m tàt úmlè ɲá ndàhà
 eh, now COM PRED-IN place other 1EXCL say
 ‘And now, it is said,’
- béetàrè álvà-hà gègdzàrà háatàrè*
bà itàrè álvà-a gè gdzàrà-hú-tàrè

FOC 3PL story-PL TO child:PL-GEN-3PL
 ‘the stories to their daughters.’

In the reduplicated form, unlike in the simple form, there appears to be no distinction among the inherently indirect-object verbs, the intransitive verbs, and the inherently direct-object verbs. All of them require the third-person object suffix *n* to code the indirect-object function of the preceding pronoun.

The verb *b* ‘say’, whose objects in the simple form are indirect, in the reduplicated form requires the third-person singular object pronoun *n* to code the indirect function of pronouns:

(159) *bà-n/ŋr/tr-á-n-bà*
 say-3SG/1EXCL/3PL-GO-3SG-say
 ‘tell him/us(excl)/them!’

b-y-é-n-bà
 say-1SG-GO-3SG-say
 ‘tell me!’

à *bà-n/tr-á-n-bà*
 3SG say-3SG/3PL-GO-3SG-say
 ‘he talked to him/them’

In the imperative plural, the third-person object pronoun is coded by the object marker *n* only:

(160) *bà-wá-n-bà*
 tell-PL-3SG-him
 ‘tell him!’

The addition of another object marker codes the third-person direct object:

(161a) *bà-w-á-n-á-n-bà*
 say-PL-GO-3SG-GO-3SG-say
 ‘tell (pl) him that!’

à *b-ìy-á-n-bà*
 3SG say-1SG-GO-3SG-say
 ‘he talked to me’

The marker *n* is added to code the indirect-object function of another referential pronoun:

- (161b) *má žàrà-nà-tr-á-n-žàrà*
 HYP look-1SG-3PL-GO-3SG-look
 ‘when I looked [at him] for them’

Without the third-person object pronoun *n*, the other object pronoun is treated as direct, e.g. the verb *žàrà* ‘look’ with the direct-object pronoun:

- (162a) *má žàrà-n-à-tr-á-žàrà*
 HYP look-1SG-3PL-GO-look
 ‘when I looked at them’

The second argument of the verb *žàrà* must be marked by the associative preposition *án*:

- (162b) *má žžàrà ánn gdžàr-á-mì nánà*
 HYP look ASSC child:PL-GEN-1INCL DEF
 ‘If one looks at our children’
kintá pùstwáná wá àm tájkè gèmíyá
kín tà pù st-wá ná wá
 now 3PL pour DEF-DEF.R DEM COM
àmátè-kè gè míyá
 good-NEG TO 1INCL
 as they loaf like that [in the house], it is not good for us.’

The verbs of perception *nàhà* ‘see’ and *cìnà* ‘hear, understand, smell, feel (for perception of temperatures)’ must have an object pronoun even if no object is included in the logical proposition. These verbs can take their third (benefactive) argument through the addition of the third-person singular object pronoun after another object pronoun:

- (163) *má cìnà-nà-n/tr-á-n-cìnà*
 HYP hear-1SG-3SG/3PL-GO-3SG-hear
 ‘when I heard it for him/them’
má nà-nà-tr-á-n-nà
 HYP see-1SG-3PL-GO-3SG-see
 ‘when I saw it for them’

9.7 Complements of the verbs *ndàvà* ‘ask’ and *ndà* ‘say’

The verb *ndàvà* ‘ask’ merits a separate discussion, as its complements are different from those of other verbs. The noun that follows the verb ending in the vowel *a* (the object of transitive verbs) is the topic of the question:

- (164) *tà ndàvà dād kwá màm kà*
 3PL ask father COMP mother NEG
 ‘they asked about the father, not about the mother’

The addressee must be coded by the object pronoun *n* followed by the ventive marker *w*. The addressee is marked by the preposition *gè*:

- (165) *tándà vànú gè dādà kìnì*
tá ndàvà-n-ú gè dādà kìnì
 3PL ask-3SG-VENTTO father C.FOC
 ‘They ask the father [a question].’

The evidence that the verb *ndà* ‘say’ takes the addressee as its inherent second argument is provided by the fact that with this verb the pronoun coding the addressee cannot be followed by the ventive marker:

- (166) *àskà žilé ándánè gèmdátàrè gèni*
àskà žilé á ndá-nè gè
 like man 3SG tell-3SG TO
md-á-tàrè gèni
 people-GEN-3PL COMP
 ‘And then the groom says to the members of his family,’

10. Coding grammatical relations in argument fronting

In Wandala any of the arguments can be put in the position before the verb. Given that in a pragmatically neutral clause either the subject or the object can follow the verb, the question arises as to how the grammatical roles are coded when one of the arguments precedes the verb. The coding of the arguments in such a situation depends on the aspect of the clause.

The fronting of the argument may be triggered by the need to select one participant from a set of potential antecedents. The coding of the fronted argument as the subject is achieved through having the subject pronouns precede the verb. These pronouns code the same number as the nominal subject. Consider the following fragment. In the first sentence several noun phrases are mentioned: the subject, represented by the third-person singular pronoun *a*, the father of a girl *dá nà-r*, and the girl *gyálè-ná*. The subject of the last clause is the father of the girl, *dá nà-r* (all bolded in the example):

- (167) *à dándàvà ázà dǎ ñàrwà gyálà ná*
à dǎ ndàvà á zà dǎ ñà-r wá
 3SG go ask PRED HL father POSS-3 COM
gyálà-ná
 girl-DEM
hàyèn hàyá àmá dǎ ñàrwá à kàtá yénvyè
hàyé-n-hàyà àmá dǎ ñà-r wá à
 love-3SG-love but father POSS-3SG COM 3SG
kàtá á yé-n-v-yè
 want 3SG refuse-3SG-APPL-refuse
 ‘He went to ask her father, saying that the girl loves him. But her father wants to refuse him.’

In the next sentence, one of the participants in the preceding event is overtly marked by a noun rather than a pronoun, and this noun precedes the verb:

- (168) *yó ágdzà dǎwálná à dǎ žàrà-n ùrará*
yó ágdzà dǎwál-ná à dǎ žàrà-n
 well young man-DEM 3SG go see-[pause]
wr-á-rà
 friend-GEN-3SG
 ‘Well [the] boy went to see his friend.’

The nominal subject in (168) occurs before the verb, and the object follows the verb to code the switch reference of the subject (cf. chapter 21, ‘Reference system’). In the imperfective aspect, the subject is not marked, and the object is marked as such by the position following the verb. Recall that this form ends in the vowel *a*, and the tone on the last syllable of the verb is low:

- (169) *tàlvángègdzèñánnà kǎbádàlyè*
tà lv-á-n gè gdzè ñánnà kǎb á dàlyé
 3PL say-GO-3SG TO child DEF again PRED repeat
 ‘They say to the child again.’

bǎllàxñánnà

bǎk làh ñánnà

sing song DEF

‘Sing that song.’

ágdzènú blàlàx kǎb-ádàlyè

ágdzè ná á blà làh kǎb á dàlyé

child DEF 3SG sing song again PRED repeat

‘The child sings the song again.’

ée má kìnì dādà á kwàrà màmà
 well, HYP BCKG father 3SG order-3SG mother
 ‘if it is like that, the father orders the mother.’

The object role of the fronted argument is computed from the way the noun phrase that follows the verb is marked. Recall that the controlling-subject role is marked by the object pronoun on the verb. If that is the case, the fronted argument is interpreted as the object:

(170) *éemákìnì dādà ákwàrná màmà*
ée má kìnì dādà á kwàr-ná màmà
 well, HYP C.FOC father 3SG order-3SG mother
 ‘If it is like that, the father is ordered by the mother.’

If the clause has an auxiliary verb, it is through the consonantal ending that the main verb codes the object function of the noun phrase that follows:

(171) *dàcìi ée, nánṅà rónà kà ɓàbé*
dàcìi ée, nánà nàrà únà kà ɓàbé
 then eh, DEF R.DEM DEM again
 ‘Then, well, that is why again’
dàdà átádzgwanà kwàrhàrkà
dàdà á tà dzgwá-ṅ kà kwàr há-r
 father 3SG NEG be able-3SG NEG order home-3SG
kà
 NEG
 ‘the father cannot give orders in his family, can he?’

The subject role of the fronted argument in the completive aspect is computed from the root form of the verb preceding the nominal object. In other words, the coding of the object allows the listener to compute the role of the fronted noun phrase:

(172) *ée má kìnì dādà à kwàr màmà*
 well, HYP BCKG father 3SG order mother
 ‘If it is like that, the father ordered the mother.’

11. The coreferentiality of the subject and the addressee of the verb of saying

The third-person singular object pronoun preceded by the high-tone vowel *á* has the function of coding the coreferentiality of the subject pronoun and the

addressee of verbs of saying. The subject pronoun is used only once but it has two functions: the subject and the addressee:

- (173) *mákàmàgà-náttàrkínì mábàkánbà kàdàdà*
má kà màgà-ná stà-r kìnì
 HYP 2SG do-3SG DEF-Q C.FOC
má bà-ká-n-bà kà dádà
 HYP say-2SG-3SG-say 2SG father
 ‘No matter what you do, even if you tell yourself that you are a father
 . . .’ [i.e. ‘even if you feel responsible’]

má yà màgà-ná stà-r kìnì
 HYP 1SG do-3SG DEF-Q C.FOC
má bà-n-á-n-bà yà dádà
 HYP say-1SG-3SG-say 1SG father
 ‘no matter what I do, even if I tell myself that I am a father’

In the third-person singular, the only indicator of the coreferentiality of the third-person subject and the addressee is the third-person object marker preceded by the vowel *á*. The third-person subject pronoun preceding the verb *màgà* ‘do’ and the noun *dádà* ‘father’ has most probably been absorbed by the preceding vowel:

- (174) *má màgà-ná stà-r kìnì*
 HYP do-3SG DEF-Q C.FOC
má b-á-n-bà dádà
 HYP say-GO-3SG-say father
 ‘No matter what he does, even if he tells himself, “I am a father”’

I did not record any instances of the coding of the coreferentiality of the subject and the direct object. Attempts at elicitation of such forms did not yield uniform results and are unreliable.

12. Conclusions

Wandala codes the grammatical relations ‘subject’, ‘object’, and ‘indirect object’ through the interplay of subject and object pronouns and inflectional coding on the verb. The category ‘subject’ is coded through a set of subject pronouns preceding the verb and through subject pronouns suffixed to the R1 of the reduplicated form of the verb. A set of possessive subject pronouns codes the point of view of the subject with inherently intransitive verbs.

There is only one set of object pronouns, used in the coding of direct and indirect objects. The object pronoun may be interpreted as direct or indirect with some verbs. With others, the object pronoun may be interpreted as direct only or indirect only, the latter with inherently indirect object verbs. The third-person singular object pronoun is unmarked with inherently transitive verbs, and must be marked with inherently intransitive verbs and in the indirect-object function.

Only one full noun phrase can follow the verb. The grammatical role of such a noun is coded by inflectional markers at the end of the verb. These markers depend on the inherent properties of the verb and on the aspect. The root form of the verb or other morpheme codes the direct-object function of the following noun.

Chapter 8

Verbal extensions and semantic relations

1. Introduction

1.1 The terms and the scope of the chapter

The term ‘verbal extension’, widely used in Bantu and Chadic linguistics, refers to affixes to the verb that have a variety of functions. By convention, the coding of the subject and the direct object, and of tense, aspect, and mood, is not included among verbal extensions. The present chapter describes extensions whose main function is to code semantic relations within the proposition, mainly the relationship between the verb and noun phrases. The noun phrases do not have to be overtly present in the clause. Chapter 9 describes extensions whose main function is to code semantic components of locative predication.

1.2 The form of the verb with extensions

Verbal extensions are suffixes to the simple form of the verb or to the R1 of the reduplicated form. When added to the simple form of the verb, most verbal extensions perfectivize the proposition. The extensions follow object pronouns. Morphemes preceding verbal extensions have the root or the root + *a* form. If the verb ends in a consonant, an epenthetic high vowel is inserted to prevent a disallowed sequence of consonants. The quality of the epenthetic vowel is determined by the preceding or the following consonant.

2. The applicative extension *v*

2.1 The form of the applicative extension

The underlying form of the applicative extension is *v*, as attested in several phonological environments, including the position after voiceless consonants. The epenthetic vowel before the applicative extension *v* is [u], as determined by the [+labial] feature of the extension *v*. When the consonant cluster resulting from the addition of the extension is not allowed, the extension is followed by an epenthetic vowel:

- (1) *à fkw-àk-vú wè*
 3SG buy-2SG-APPL what
 ‘what did he buy for you?’

The extension is realized as the voiceless labial stop *p* before the voiceless alveolar stop *t* or the voiceless continuants *s*, *f*, *t*:

- (2) *fùkù-p-fùk úkkùlà*
 buy-APPL-buy chicken
 ‘buy a chicken!’

tyá-p-tyè
 reach-APPL-reach
 ‘it has matured’

fá-p-tà-fâ
 find-APPL-T-find
 ‘find oneself’

The extension is realized as the voiceless labial continuant *f* before the velar voiceless stop *k*, before the voiced stop *b*, and before the glottal continuant *h*:

- (3) *dàci à nábà bàdzà-f-hè*
 then 3SG then spoil-APPL-PNCT
 ‘then it got spoiled’

When followed by a labial glide, and if the resulting consonant cluster is allowed, the extension is realized as [b]:

- (4) *à fku-b wè*
 3SG buy-APPL what
 ‘what did he buy?’

The applicative extension can be added to the root form or to the root + *a* form coding the third-person subject:

- (5) *bàdzà-f-bàdzè*
 spoil:IMP-APPL-spoil
 ‘spoil yourself, I don’t care’

bàdzà-f-bàdzè
 spoil-APPL-spoil
 ‘it was spoiled’

á-m *kàkú-f-kàkà* *figù* *nà*
 PRED-IN break-APPL-break stick DEM
à-vàl-ár-hè *gè* *mú-àrà*
 3SG-scream-ON- PNCT TO mother-3SG
 ‘when the mixing stick broke, his mother screamed at him’

Vowels (or their absence) after the applicative extension in the simple form of the verb code the grammatical relationship of the following noun phrase. The vowel *a* with low tone after the extension indicates that the following full noun phrase is the subject, and the root form of the extension indicates that the following full noun phrase is the object of a transitive verb:

(6a) *à* *tyì-và* *sàrtà*
 3SG reach-APPL:PB time
 ‘The time has arrived.’ [indirect means for saying ‘he/she is dead’]

(6b) *ká* *yè-n-và* *gdz-á-à*
 2SG refuse to give-3SG-APPL child-GEN-2SG
 ‘You refuse to [give] your child.’

yà *yè-n-và* *fúngù*
 1SG refuse to give-3SG-APPL money
 ‘I refused to give [him] money’

2.2 The functions of the applicative extension

The applicative extension represents the event from the point of view of the argument preceding the extension. When the extension follows the verb directly, it represents the event from the point of view of the subject. The applicative extension indicates that the subject is undergoing change or is otherwise affected:

(7a) *àbìná* *màgyávgyèn* *mágyàànrùwà*
à *b-ìná* *má* *gyá-v-gyè-n*
 3SG say-3SG HYP cook-APPL-cook-pause
mágyà-á-à *wá*
 hungry rice-GEN-1EXCL COM
 ‘He said, “If our hungry rice is cooked . . .”’

The default subject of the verb *gyà* ‘cook’ is controlling and not affected:

- (7b) *má* *gyà-gyà* *mrúwà*
 HYP cook-cook mother:1SG
 ‘if my mother cooked’

The addition of the applicative extension perfectivizes the event. The extension is not, however, an aspectual marker, as it can co-occur in several aspectual forms.

The evidence for the point-of-view hypothesis is provided by a number of systemic facts. The applicative extension cannot co-occur with the ventive extension. The ventive extension indicates movement toward the place of speech, the speaker, or another deictic center. It also represents the event from the point of view of the predicate. The use of both the ventive extension and the applicative extension within the same predication would constitute the coding of contradictory functions with respect to the verb, and similar functions with respect to arguments:

- (8) *yà* *ks-ú* *náwè*
 1SG grasp-VENT sheep
 ‘I stole a sheep’
- *yà* *ks-ú-và* *náwè*
 1SG grasp-VENT-APPL sheep
 ‘I stole a sheep’

The addition of the extension to an inherently transitive verb makes the verb intransitive, as illustrated below in the example (11b). Consequently, the coding of the following noun phrase as the object requires some additional marker. The goal marker *á* is deployed for this function:

- (9) *à* *ksà-v-á* *rdzà*
 3SG catch-APPL-GO scorpion
 ‘he caught a scorpion’
- à* *bàdzà-v-á* *màsàné*
 3SG spoil-APPL-GO meal
 ‘he spoiled the food’
- yà* *fɓ-á-k-v-á* *fúngù*
 1SG hide-GO-2SG-APPL-GO money
 ‘I hid money for you’

The addition of the nominal subject of a transitive predication with the verb that has the applicative extension requires the addition of the third-person singular object pronoun to the verb:

- (10) *à* *bàdzà-n-vá* *gdzá-rwà*
 3SG spoil-3SG-APPL:GO son-3SG
 ‘my son spoiled it’
 à *tyà-n-vá* *sártà*
 3SG reach-3SG-APPL:GO time
 ‘the time has reached him’, i.e. his time has come

The systemic argument in favor of the representation of the event from the point of view of the argument followed by the applicative extension is provided by the fact that the R2 has the root form when the object pronoun is followed by the applicative extension. In other words, the R2 is not goal-oriented. With the applicative extension *v*, the third-person singular object must be overtly marked by the form *n*:

- (11a) *bàdz-à-n-vá-bàdzè*
 spoil-GO-3SG-APPL-spoil
 ‘he spoiled it’

 bàdz-à-n-à-n/g-vá-bàdzè
 spoil-GO-1SG-GO-3SG/2SG-APPL-spoil
 ‘I spoiled her/you’

 bàdz-à-k-yì-vá-bàdzè
 spoil-GO-2SG-1SG-APPL-spoil
 ‘you spoiled me’

 bàdz-à-k-à-n-vá-bàdzè
 spoil-GO-2SG-GO-3SG-APPL-spoil
 ‘you spoiled something’

 bàdz-yì-vá-bàdzè
 spoil-1SG-APPL-spoil
 ‘he spoiled me’

 bàdz-à-mì/ηàr/tàr-vá-bàdzè
 spoil-GO-1INCL/1ECL/3PL-APPL-spoil
 ‘he spoiled us (incl)/excl/them’

When the applicative extension follows the subject pronoun, it indicates the affectedness of the subject:

- (11b) *bàdzà-ná/ká/mí/kúr/rá-v-bàdzè*
 spoil-1/2SG/1PL/2PL/3PL-APPL-spoil
 'I/you (sg)/we/you (pl)/they are spoiled'

The applicative extension cannot be used in the stative aspect, whose main function is to indicate the state of the subject:

- (12a) *án bàdzè kìnkìnkà mótà*
 STAT spoil long time car
 'the car has been spoiled for a long time'

**án bàdzè-và kìnkìnkà mótà*
 STAT spoil-APPL long time car
 for 'the car is spoiled all the time'

An additional argument that the extension following the verb represents the event from the point of view of the subject is provided by clauses where the subject is the beneficiary of the event:

- (12b) *à fku-vá klà/náwè*
 3SG buy-APPL cow/sheep
 'he bought a cow/sheep'

Although the applicative extension occurs only in the perfective aspect, it is not an aspectual marker, as evidenced by the fact that it can co-occur with the punctual marker *hè*. The applicative extension does not code coreferentiality, as evidenced by the fact that it can occur with intransitive verbs:

- (13) *dàcí ànábè bɛɛf-hà gəfilyá zàrvá tàr pàllè*
dàcí à nábà bɛɛf-v-hè gə fíli-á
 then 3SG then fall-APPL-PNCT TO sand-GEN
zàrv-á-tàr pàllè
 sesame-GEN-3PL one
 'Then, one grain of their sesame seeds fell down.'

One can omit the applicative marker, and the sentence is still grammatical:

- (14) *dàcí ànábà bǝí-hè gəfĩilyá zàrvá tàr pàllè*
dàcí à nábà bǝí-hè gə fĩilì-á
 then 3SG then fall-PNCT TO sand-GEN
zàrv-á-tàr pàllè
 sesame-GEN-3PL one
 ‘then, one grain of their sesame seeds fell down’

The applicative extension can be followed by the target extension *t* or by the source extension *s*:

- (15) *má fá-p-tà-fè/ə cəkwá ɲgùdì*
má fá-p-tà-f cəkwá ɲgùdì
 HYP find-APPL-T-find a little bit
 ‘If she is a little bit free . . .’
tà ndà-v-s-á mdè
 3PL speak-APPL-S-GO people
 ‘people talked to each other’ [another interpretation: ‘people asked’
 with the verb *ndàvə* ‘ask’]

The following review of the use of the applicative extension with intransitive and transitive verbs provides further evidence for the postulated function of the extension.

The applicative extension with intransitive verbs represents the events from the point of view of the subject unless another marker, such as the goal marker *á*, is added:

- (16) *àtəvá wúdrkà nó ágdzə gyálè kìnì ṭyá-p̣ṭyè*
à ṭə-vá wúdr kà
 3SG mature-APPL situation (?) NEG
nó ágdzə gyálè kìnì ṭyá-p̣ṭyè
 PRES young girl C.FOC reach-APPL-reach
 ‘It has reached a situation, that if the girl has matured (biologically),’
 [The narrator claims that the noun *wúdr*, not recognized by other Wandala speakers, is a Kanuri word. Neither Jarret’s 2007 Kanuri dictionary nor Cyffer’s dictionary data base lists such an item. Apparently it is not known in Fula (Tourneux, p.c.)]
- (17) *màrá-b-sà-màré*
 show-APPL-S-show
 ‘Show yourself!’ [said to a child playing hide-and-seek]

One additional piece of evidence for the applicative function of the form *v* is that intransitive verbs whose inherent argument is affected, such as *slà* ‘fry’,

mbè ‘go away’ (about an illness), *mbrà* ‘boil, heat up’, cannot have the extension *v* added directly to the verb, as the extension would replicate the inherent properties of the verb:

- (18) *sàlà-t-sàlà lùwà*
 fry-T-fry meat
 ‘the meat is fried’

**sàl-v-á-slà lùwà*
 fry-APPL-GO-fry meat
 ‘he fried the meat (in oil)’, or ‘the meat fried’

mbà-n-n-á-mbà gdzrè
 cure-1SG-3SG-GO-cure child
 ‘I cured the child’

mbrà-n-n-á-mbrà yàwè
 boil-1SG-3SG-GO-boil water
 ‘I boiled water’

The applicative extension following the object pronoun indicates that the event is done for the benefit of the object. In the following example, the verb *kàtà* ‘want’ occurs without the extension in the first clause, and the meaning is the ‘subject wants’. In the second clause, the verb has the object pronoun and the applicative extension, with the meaning ‘want for [on behalf of] somebody’:

- (19) *ástàrà nówàjá kàtágdzàǵnà ñákàtàn vág mǵnyà*
ástàrà ná wá ñá kàtá gǵá-ǵ nà
 so here DEM COM 1EXCL want child-2SG DEM
ñá kàtá-n-vá g mǵnyà
 1EXCL want-3SG-APPL TO such and such
 ‘Well, we want your child, we want her for so and so.’

Löhr 2002 describes the extension *v* in related Malgwa as a reflexive marker. Although she does not define the term ‘reflexive’, one may assume the usual understanding, which may include coreferentiality of the subject and object. The applicative extension in Wandala does not code coreferentiality. The form *v* in Wandala partially overlaps with the non-coreferential function of the short reflexives in Indo-European languages, which code the event from the point of view of the subject (Frajzyngier 2000). In Wandala the same intransitive verb can occur with or without the applicative extension:

(20a) *à bɛyà nákwà*
 3SG fall stone
 ‘the stone fell’

à bɛyi-và nákwà
 3SG fall-APPL stone
 ‘the stone fell’

The verbs *ɛyà* ‘mature’ and *ɛi* ‘become’ may occur without or with the applicative extension:

(20b) *dàdànəkìni ɛyàptyè dàdámbarwá*
dàdà nè kìnì ɛyà-v-tyè dàd á-m
 father DEM C.FOC be able-APPL-be able father PRED-IN
mb-á-rà wá
 house-GEN-3SG COM
 ‘As for the father, once he is a father at his home,’
mándà súwèe kìnì əgdzárwá áɛipɛyèkəkɛzàbè
má á ndà-sú wèe kìnì əgdz-á-r wá
 HYP 3SG say-S what C.FOC child-GEN-3SG COM
á ɛi-p-ɛyè ká ɛzàbè
 3SG accept-APPL-accept NEG again
 ‘whatever he says, his child should accept, shouldn’t she?’

The evidence that the applicative marker does not code coreferentiality is provided by its presence in clauses with non-coreferential subjects and objects:

(21) *à bɛi-v-á nákwà*
 3SG throw-APPL-GO stone
 ‘he threw the stone’

When the extension follows the verb, the event is represented from the point of view of the subject:

(22) *bàtwá à də s-á-n-sə-sè à*
 like that 3SG SEQ come-GO-3SG-S-come 3SG
ksə-v-á bà zàhè
 grasp-APPL-GO FOC snake
 ‘Like that, when he pulled it out, he caught a snake.’

When the extension *v* follows the object pronoun it represents the event as performed for the benefit of the argument represented by the pronominal object:

- (23) *bàtwá à dè s-à-n-sà-sè*
 like that 3SG SEQ come-GO-3SG-S-come
à ks-yì-v-á kàlfè
 3SG catch-1SG-APPL-GO fish
 ‘like that, when he pulled it out, he caught me a fish’ (elicited on the pattern of the preceding example)

Another piece of systemic evidence for the applicative function of the form *v* comes from clauses where the marker *v* can occur and clauses where it cannot. The marker *v* cannot occur with verbs of perception, which in Wanda already represent the state of the subject. Compare an example using the verb *fìb* ‘put, hide’, which with the applicative extension and without any object pronouns means ‘to put for oneself’, with an example using a verb of perception *na* ‘see’ or *cíná* ‘hear’, which cannot have the applicative extension:

- (24) *kwánjár-àh-á-ɲrè ɲà fìbà-n-v á-m ʒìbà*
 hook-PL-GEN-1EXCL 1EXCL put-3SG-APPL PRED-IN pocket
 ‘we put our hooks in the pocket’
- kwánjár-àh-á-ɲrè ɲà nà-n á-m ʒìbà*
 hook-PL-GEN-1EXCL 1EXCL see-3SG PRED-IN pocket
 ‘we saw our hooks in a pocket’ (*v* cannot be inserted)

With verbs whose pronominal objects are interpreted as indirect, the extension indicates the event from the point of view of the indirect object:

- (25) *à fkw-ì-v-á klà*
 3SG buy-1SG-APPL cow
 ‘he bought me a cow’
- kwàl-á-tr-v-á-kwàlà dàdà*
 forbid-GO-3PL-APPL-forbid father
 ‘the father forbade them’

In a transitive predication, the extension *v* must be followed by the goal marker *a* when the verb is followed by a nominal object:

- (26) *mábàdzávbàdzà hálámùksè móonkà*
má bàdzá-v-bàdzà hál-á mùksè má ún-kà
 HYP spoil-APPL-spoil mood-GEN woman HYP DEF-DEF
bàdzà-vá hálà žílè dàciyá žòbàstwà
à bàdzà-vá hál-á žílè dàciy
 3SG spoil-APPL mood-GEN man then
á žò bà s-t-wà
 3SG finish FOC DEF-DEF-DEF
 ‘If the mood of the woman spoils, it spoils the mood of the man, it ends like that.’

à fǐ-ì-v-á dùks-á-rwà
 3SG hide-1SG-APPL-GO thing-GEN-1SG
 ‘she hid for me [for my benefit] my thing’ [ə or e disallowed at the end of the verb]

à fǐ-à-v-á dùks-á-rwà
 3SG hide-APPL-GO thing-GEN-1SG
 ‘she hid my thing’ [ə or e disallowed at the end of the verb]

The addition of a controlling subject also requires the goal marker after the applicative extension. The interpretation of the noun phrase as the subject is ensured by the presence of the object pronoun in the verb:

- (27) *à fǐ-ì-v-á màyé*
 3SG hide-1SG-APPL-GO my mother
 ‘my mother hid me’

Within a reduplicated verb, the goal marker occurs after the applicative extension, and consequently the R2 ends in *a* before a nominal object:

- (28) *səl-mì-v-á-slà tíwà*
 roast-1INCL-APPL-GO-roast meat
 ‘he roasted the meat for us’

The applicative extension used with verbs whose subjects could be either controlling or affected indicates the affectedness of the subject. This is the case with the verb *kàžà* ‘break’:

- (29) *kàž-á-v-kàžà hè zàdè*
 break-GO-APPL-break Q stick
 ‘did the stick break?’

Other verbs in this group:

fyè ‘separate flat objects from their source, e.g. something that has been glued; take fibers off a tree; anything whose separation makes noise’
(*fyè* ‘fiber’)

The past tense is coded by high tone on the verb:

à *fyá* *fyè/nànmífiri*
3SG separate fibers/paper
‘he separated fibers/unglued paper’

á *fyà fyè*
‘he is separating the fibers’

à *fyì-vá* *nànmífiri*
3G separate-APPL:PB:PAST paper
‘the paper came unglued’

blyè ‘take the bark of a tree’, *vwá nàfà* ‘bark of a tree’

The past tense is coded by high tone on the verb:

à *blyá* *vwá nàfà*
3G separate- PB:PAST bark:GEN tree
‘he took the bark off a tree’

à *blyì-vá* *vwá nàfà*
3G separate-APPL:PB:PAST bark:GEN tree
‘the bark became separated’

plè ‘detach, untie cords, bundles, buttons’

à *plà záwà* ‘he untied the cord’
à *pl-vá záwà* ‘the cord came untied’

fìbè ‘hide’

yè *fìb-vá nábbà* ‘I hid Nabba’
fìbà-v-fìbà nábbà ‘Nabba hid’

With verbs whose subjects cannot be affected, the applicative extension cannot be used, as is the case with the following verbs:

tàsè ‘husk’ (separate grains from their cover)

à tàsà hìyà ‘he husks the sorgho’
à tàsá hìyà ‘he husked the sorgho’
 (no intransitive form with *va*)

bàzè ‘clean’

à bázà gáhè
 3SG clean pot
 ‘he cleaned the pot’ (no intransitive form with *va*)

hè ‘crush grains’

à há hìyà ‘he crushed sorgho’
 (no intransitive form with *va*)

If the verb has a pronominal object marker, then the nominal argument that follows the verb represents the affected object:

(30) *à kàḷ-á-n-vá-kàḷà* *hè zádà ḡánnà*
 3SG break-GO-3SG-APPL-break Q stick DEF
 ‘did he break this stick?’ (elicited)

The verb *gà* ‘marry, play a game’ has the meaning ‘acquire’ when combined with the applicative extension:

(31) *ékwà ánkù ḡàbá gdzrè vácí*
ékwà ánkù ḡàbá gdzrè vácí
 and thus exist still child day
pállè ágávkà búutù àbí
pállè á gá-v kà búutù àbí
 one 3SG acquire-APPL NEG low price at all
 ‘And then, such a girl will not fetch but a low price.’

Added to intransitive verbs with a plural subject, the applicative extension indicates the reciprocal predication:

(32) *tà cbá-và*
 3PL fight-APPL
 ‘they fight’

tà mlá-và-mlè
 3PL help-APPL-help
 ‘they help each other’

tà pwá-và-pwè
 3PL write-APPL-write
 ‘they write to each other’

tà ndává-vá lwà
 3PL ask-APPL speech
 ‘they asked each other’

hàyà-r-á-và-hàyè
 love-3PL-go-APPL-love
 ‘they loved each other’

- (33) *yò cá mánkínì tàràžilé mùksè sé tágávà*
yò cá màn kìnì tàrà žilé mùksè sé
 well before C.FOC 3PL man woman then
tá gá-và
 3PL marry-APPL
 ‘Well, before a man and a woman get married,’

- (34) *mágàráv gùsé ándávà màkí áksà ráksèmtu áksàrkàhè*
má gá-rá-v-g ùsé á ndávà
 HYP greet-3PL-APPL-greet greetings 3SG ask
mákí á ksà-rá-ksè mtúá ksà-r kà hè
 HYP 3SG take-ON-take or 3SG take-ON NEG Q
 ‘After their mutual salutations, he asks [the girl] whether she accepts or not.’

The semantic role of the subject of a transitive verb can be changed from controlling only to controlling and affected through the addition of the applicative extension *v* directly to the verb. The verb *hàlà* is transitive and means ‘gather’ without any implication of a change of place of the object:

- (35) *hàlà-rà-hàlà mdè*
 gather-3PL-gather people
 ‘people gathered things together’

The applicative extension *v* added after the subject pronoun indicates the affectedness of the subject in an intransitive predication:

- (36) *hàlà-rà-v-hàlà* *mdè*
gather-3PL-APPL-gather people
'people gathered'

In order to indicate movement with this verb the target extension *t* must be used:

- (37) *hàlà-v-tà-hàlà* *mdè*
gather-APPL-T-gather people
'people gathered in another place'

3. The ventive extension *w*

3.1 The form of the ventive extension

The ventive extension *w'*, i.e. a glide and an associated high tone (*wà* clause-final), can be added to the verbal root or to the root + *a*. The extension is realized as the high round vowel *ú* when it follows a consonant:

- (38a) *à* *z-ú* *àmàlàlàlè*
3SG eat-VENT race
'he won the race'
- tàtsátá* *dúǵàbè*
tá *tsá* *tá* *d-ú* *ǵàbè*
3PL get up 3PL go-VENT again
'they get up, they go there again'

When the extension is followed by a high front vowel, it is realized as *w*:

- (38b) *à* *z-w-ížè*
3SG eat-VENT-salt
'he ate salt'

When the extension follows a stop and is followed by the vowel *a*, an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the stop and the glide:

- (39) *và-w-ì-tú-w-à*
give-PL:IMP-1SG-T-VENT-PB
'give me!' (plural addressees)

When the ventive marker *w* follows the vowel *a*, the two segments fuse into [o]:

- (40) *á gy-ó ɓà*
 3SG cooks-VENT a plant
 ‘she cooks ɓà sauce’ (*ɓà* - *Celtis integrifolia*; Lam, Tourneux and Daïrou 1998: 465)

Compare the ventive extension added directly to the verb:

- (41) *à gy-ú ɓà*
 3SG cook-VENT (*Celtis integrifolia*; Lam)
 ‘she cooked ɓà sauce’

When the ventive extension follows a vowel, the high tone is realized on the preceding vowel:

- (42) *á sá-wà*
 3SG come-VENT
 ‘he is coming’

Compare the low tone on the verb without the ventive extension:

- (43) *á sà*
 ‘he is returning’

The ventive marker occurs between the R1 and R2, and it follows the pronominal subject or object marker:

- (44) *fà-n-ú-fà yàwè*
 drink-1SG-VENT-drink water
 ‘I drank water’

For two verbs, *s* ‘come from’ and *d* ‘go to’, the ventive extension is suffixed to the R2 rather than R1:

- (45) *bí má dà-dù-wà žilé*
 when HYP go-do-VENT man
 ‘once the man goes [to the place previously mentioned]’

- (46) *bimásàsáwà žílé bí àsáwán sále*
bí má sà-sá-wà žílé bí á
 when HYP come-come-VENT man when 3SG
sá-w án sále
 come-VENT ASSC money [Hausa, from English ‘shilling’]
dàdà átándà sèkèlvà
dàdà tá ndà-s k lvà
 father 3PL say-S NEG word
 ‘And then, if the man arrives, when he comes with the money, the father cannot say a word’

3.2 The locative function of the ventive extension

The ventive extension has a locative and a non-locative function. The locative function is to indicate movement toward the place of the speaker (not necessarily the place of speech) or to a deictic center mentioned before. The ventive with the verb *s* ‘come out’ means ‘come in’:

- (47) *dàcí tàbàtrà tásóm lóktùstíunà*
dàcí tà bà-trà tá sà-w á-m
 then 3PL tell-3PL 3PL come-VENT PRED-IN
lóktù st únà
 date DEF:PROXDEM
 ‘then, they tell them to come on the same day.’

The locative complement of the verb *s-* with the ventive extension indicates the source rather than the goal:

- (48) *à sá-wò mùrà*
 3SG come:GO-VENT Mora
 ‘he came from Mora’

Compare the same verb with the goal marker *á* rather than with the ventive extension. The locative complement indicates the place of arrival, but not the place where the speaker was:

- (49) *à sá mùrà*
 3SG come:GO Mora
 ‘he came to Mora’

The clause with the ventive extension and a verb of movement can be used only if the speaker was or intends to be at the destination. In the following example, the participants go to the place where they were before, the place

that has been mentioned previously in the discourse, as evidenced not only by the flow of discourse but also by the use of the adverb *ɓàbè* ‘again’:

- (50) *mávà cātàn ɓàmùb dàlyé hárbò kígyé*
má vácíyà t̄-nà ɓàbù dàlyé hárè bwà kígyé
 HYP time DEF-DEM again day two three
 ‘After some time, two or three days,’

tátsàtá dúɓàbè
tá tsà tá d-úw ɓàbè
 3PL get up 3PL go-VENT again
 ‘they get up, they go there again.’

The verb *dá* ‘go’ with the ventive extension means ‘go and come back’. The ventive extension has an interesting effect in that the addition of the locative complement requires the predicator *á* and the directional auxiliary *dá*:

- (51) *tà dú-wá á dá mbá t̄ksé*
 3PL go-VENT PRED go house-GEN Sultan
 ‘they were at the house of the chief and they have returned’

Without the ventive extension the clause does not imply the return:

- (52) *tà dà dá mbá t̄ksé*
 3PL go go house-GEN Sultan
 ‘they went to the house of the chief (and stayed there)’

3.3. The non-locative function of the ventive extension

The ventive extension may be used in a predication that does not involve any physical movement. In such usages, the ventive extension represents the point of view of the predicate:

- (53) *yò, ádàsò hàránìkà ñánnà*
yò, á dá sà-w hár-á
 well 3SG FUT come-VENT day-GEN
nikà ñánnà
 marriage DEF
 ‘Well, then the very day of the marriage will come.’

- (54) *ǰóǰà lvá hèrdū* [má added in analysis]
ǰà-ú-ǰà lv-á hèrd [má]
 finish-VENT-finish:PB business-GEN farm [and]
 ‘Their farming finished . . .’

- (55a) *à ǰú bà s-t-wà*
 3SG end:VENT FOC DEM-DEM-DEM
 ‘it ended like that’

- (55b) *à ǰwó wè*
 3SG finish:VENT:PB what
 ‘what finished?’ (intr) (*ǰ-w-a*)

The ventive extension indicates the argument that is affected or is not a controller in the event:

- (56) *bá kùr tátàttàyà à júg-íyì bákà*
bákà ùrà tà tàttàyà à j-ú g-íyà
 NEG.EX person 3PL search 3SG surpass-VENT TO-1SG
bákà
 NEG.EX
 ‘One does not look for a person to surpass me.’

- (57) *tàsəndəwìwəlvà kàǰànáa rúgyà wá*
tà sá ndāv-i-w əlvà kàǰànáa-rú
 3PL come ask-1SG-VENT matter goods-GEN-1SG
g-yà wá
 TO-1SG COM
 ‘They came to ask me about the matter of the goods [sent while court-
 ing the girl].’

The ventive extension may have the object rather than the subject in its scope. This is the case when the ventive extension follows the object pronoun. The ventive extension indicates that the event occurred for the benefit/detriment of the object, or simply that the event is directed at the object:

- (58) *mábà kəǰà kùlà wá ájìyù kəgìyà*
má bà kəǰà kùlà wá
 HYP FOC count calculus COM
à jì-y-ú kà gè iyà
 3SG surpass-1SG-VENT NEG TO 1SG
 ‘If it concerns counting, nobody surpasses me.’

bá kùrà jà-k-ú-jè
bák ùrà jà-k-ú-jè
 NEG person surpass-2SG-VENT-surpass
 ‘nobody surpasses you’

jà-nà-tr-ú-jè
 hit-1SG-3SG-VENT-hit
 ‘I surpassed them’

Indirect objects, including addressees, can also be in the scope of the ventive extension:

(59a) *èkínúwá ámtátómlè ñándàhà*
è kìn wá á-m tāt úmlè ñá ndàhà
 eh, now COM PRED-IN place other 1EXCL say
 ‘And now, it is said,’

márgè gdzàrà cámaǹkínìndzè táfàtrú
már gè gdzàr-a cámaǹ kìnì ndzè tá
 mother TO child-PL before C.FOC ? 3PL
fà-tr-ú
 put-3PL-VENT
 ‘that usually it is the mothers that teach their daughters, it is they who tell’

béetàrè òlvà-hà gègdzàrà háatàrè
bà itàrè òlvà-a gè gdzàrà-há-tàrè
 FOC 3PL story-PL TO child:PL-GEN-3PL
 ‘the stories to their daughters.’

(59b) *tándà v̀nú gè dàdà kìnì*
tá ndàv̀à-n-ú gè dàdà kìnì
 3PL ask-3SG-VENT TO father C.FOC
 ‘They ask the father [a question].’

(59c) *yá fà-tr-ú gè b̀amá*
 1SG speak-3PL-VENT TO population
 ‘I speak to people.’

f̀kwà-n-ú-p-f̀kwè
 buy-1SG-VENT-APPL-buy
 ‘I bought it’

à b̀ard-ú g̀fìnà
 3SG pull out-VENT peanuts
 ‘he pulled out peanuts’ [for himself]

à b̀ard-ì-yú g̀fìnà
 3SG pull out-1SG-VENT peanuts
 ‘he pulled out peanuts for me’

Consider now the verb *b̀ad̀à* ‘sweet-talk’. Sweet-talking does not affect the person who talks but rather the addressee. This is coded through the addition of the ventive marker *u* after the object pronoun. Given the orientation of the event toward the pronominal object, a situation that excludes other goals, the verb has the root form:

(60a) *b̀ad̀à-tr-ú-b̀ad̀è*
 sweet-talk-3PL-VENT-sweet-talk
 ‘he seduced them’

Compare a phrase without the ventive extension:

(60b) *t̀ab̀ad̀à-t̀ar-b̀ad̀à* á t̀àks̀è-ká
 t̀à b̀ad̀à-t̀ar-b̀ad̀à á t̀à ks̀è ká
 3PL sweet-talk-3PL-sweet-talk PRED T town NEG:TAG
 ‘they sweet-talk them in the village, isn’t it so?’

The ventive extension is used with verbs of consumption:

(61) *t̀à nd-ú k̀urg̀ùnà /lvá-t̀arè*
 3PL swallow-VENT medicine/word-3PL
 ‘they swallowed medicine/their word’

à f-ú ỳawè
 3SG drink-VENT water
 ‘he drank water’

ỳà t̀ud-ú t̀apá á ẁaỳà
 1SG pull-VENT tobacco PRED yesterday
 ‘I smoked tobacco yesterday’

The verb *vl* ‘sell’ by default implies movement away from the subject. The addition of the ventive extension indicates the affectedness of the subject:

- (62a) *vlà-n-ú-vlà* *bàbùr-á-rwà*
 sell-1SG-VENT-sell motorbike-GEN-1SG
 ‘I sold my motorbike’

When the extension follows the object pronoun, it is the object that is the deictic center:

- (62b) *yà* *vlà-n-ú* *bàbùr-á-rwà*
 1SG sell-3SG-VENT motorbike-1SG
 ‘I sold him my motorbike’

The verb with the ventive extension can be transitivized through the use of the goal marker *á*, the same way in which the verb without the ventive marker is transitivized:

- (63) *à* *ǵwá* *wè*
 3SG finish:VEN:GO what
 ‘what did he finish?’

The ventive extension cannot be used in the future tense:

- (64a) **à* *dá* *ks-ú* *fúngw-á-rwà*
 3SG FUT take-VENT money-GEN-1SG
 for ‘he will steal my money’

Compare the use of the ventive with past-time reference:

- (64b) *úksò-ksè* *fúngw-á-rwà*
 steal:VENT-steal money-GEN-1SG
 ‘he stole my money’
- à* *ksà-n-ú* *fúngw-á-rwà*
 3SG steal-3SG-VENT money-GEN-1SG
 ‘he stole my money for somebody else’

The verb *ábzà* ‘jump’ requires the ventive extension in the backgrounding and perfective aspects:

- (65) *ábz-ó-bzè*
 jump-VENT-jump
 ‘he jumped’

à bz-ú ryà
 3SG jump-VENT wall
 ‘she jumped the wall’ [about a dog]

Compare the imperfective without the ventive extension:

(66) á v à z à ryà
 3SG jump:PL wall
 ‘she jumps the walls’

It is possible that the contemporary ventive extension represents a historical fusion of two extensions, the ventive marker, as described above, and the totality marker. The indicator of the presence of the totality function is provided by the following pair of examples:

(67) má ɓ à -r-n-ú-ɓ è lv-á h à r d á
 HYP finish-3PL-3SG-VENT-finish business-GEN farming
 ‘when they completely finished farming’

Compare the same utterance without the totality marker:

(68) má ɓ à -r-n-á-ɓ è lv-á h à r d á
 HYP finish-3PL-3SG-GO-finish business-GEN farming
 ‘when they finished farming . . .’

In Hausa, another Chadic languages, there exists a totality marker *u*.

4. The reverse extension *lí*

The reverse extension *lí* is added to the root + *a* form of the verb. It always carries high tone. It has been recorded only with two verbs of movement, *sà* ‘come from’ and *dà* ‘go’. The function of the extension is to change the direction of movement:

(69) m à ɓ à r t á s à l i k à
 m à ɓ à r à t á s à -l í k à
 now 3PL come-RE NEG
 ‘Finally, now, they never come back.’

The evidence that the form *lí* is an extension is provided by the fact that it can occur between the reduplicated forms of the verb, i.e. in the position occupied by other extensions. The R2 with the reverse extension has the root form,

ending in the vowel *e* in the clause-final position. This fact confirms the proposed function of the extension as implying an action not direct toward a goal:

- (70) *máǵár tá sà-lí-sè*
 finally 3PL come-REV-come
 ‘finally, they will come back’

The meaning of the verb *sà* with the extension *lí* is equivalent to the verb *ptsá* ‘return’:

- (71) *máǵár tá ptsá kà*
 finally 3PL return NEG
 ‘finally, they do not come back’

The verb *d* ‘go’ acquires the meaning ‘redo’ with the extension *lí*:

- (72) *yá dà-lí-dè*
 1SG go-RE-go
 ‘I will redo’

Attempts to use the reverse extension *lí* with any other verbs, even other verbs of movement or posture, such as *žàǵàdà* ‘run, escape’ or *tsé* ‘rise’, yielded ungrammatical expressions.

5. The collective extension

5.1 The form of the collective extension

The ‘collective’ extension is coded by the form *mm* in word-internal position, *mmè* in clause-final position, and *mmà* when preceding the nominal subject. The three phonetic realizations indicate that the underlying form of the extension is *mm*. The clause-final form *mmè* indicates that the event is not goal oriented:

- (73) *tà jà-mm-à mdè*
 3PL unite-COL-PB people
 ‘people united’
- tà/mà/ηà/kò jàjá-mmè*
 3PL/1INCL/1EXCL/2PL meet-COL
 ‘they/we(incl)/we(excl)/you met’

Like other extensions, the ‘collective’ extension occurs after subject suffixes:

- (74) *má jà-rá-mmà-jè*
 HYP meet-3PL-COL-meet
 ‘when they met’

kà màgà-ná stàrà á wáyàa
 2SG make-3SG how PRED yesterday
 ‘What happened yesterday?’ (lit. ‘how did you make it, yesterday?’)

5.2 The function of the collective extension

The collective extension indicates the involvement of two or more participants in the same event. The scope of the extension could be either the plural subject or the plural object. When the extension is followed by the object, it has the goal marker *á*, which further indicates that the extension is goal-oriented:

- (75) *tájàhámmà wálúàhà bwà*
tá jàh-á-mm-à wálw-a bwà
 3PL unite-GO-COL-GO representative-PL two
 ‘They get together the two representatives,’

tá jà-há-mmè
 3PL unite-GO-COL
 ‘They get together.’

The collective extension follows the object pronouns. It may be followed by the ventive extension. The object function of the noun phrase that follows the verb is coded by the third-person object pronoun suffixed to the verb and by the root form of the verb:

- (76) *májàrà mmùjìyá tàrè*
má jà-rà-n-mm-à-j yà-á-tàrè
 HYP unite-3PL-3SG-COL-unite voice-GEN-3PL
 ‘If they agree,’ [if they unite their voices]

The collective extension overlaps partially with reciprocal function of Indo-European languages:

- (77) *májàrám m̀àjè ské t̀b̀àrám̀à h̀àt̀ùẁánà*
má jà-rá-mm̀-à-jè ské á t̀
 HYP meet-3PL-COL-meet like that PRED T
b̀àrá-m-a t̀ùẁánà
 road-PL just like that
 ‘When they meet at the roads, just like that,’

The collective extension is, however, not a reciprocal marker, as it does not code prototypical reciprocal events when X acts on Y and Y acts on X at the same time, e.g. in predications of the type ‘hit each other’, ‘help each other’. The evidence that the extension is not a reciprocal marker is provided by clauses with the collective extension and an object different from the subject:

- (78) *má jà-rá-n-mm̀-à-j ǹàlm̀àn-á-t̀àrè*
 HYP unite-3PL-3SG-COL-unite money-GEN-3PL
 ‘if they unite their money’

Further evidence that the ‘collective’ extension is not a reciprocal marker is provided by clauses where the reciprocal interpretation is ruled out:

- (79) *t̀ánábà pẁóm̀m̀è ád̀ám̀ h̀ùd̀á h̀àyà ò́áǹnà*
t̀à nábà pẁá-mm̀ è á d̀á-m h̀ùd̀-á h̀àyè ò́áǹnà
 3PLthen pour-COL PRED go-IN belly-GEN water DEF
 ‘they threw themselves into the water’ [not ‘they threw each other into the water’]

The verb *pwá* with the collective extension cannot be used with a singular subject:

- (80) **à nábà pẁá-mm̀ è á d̀á-m h̀ùd̀-á*
 3SG then pour-COL PRED go-IN belly-GEN
h̀àyè ò́áǹnà
 water DEF
 ‘he threw himself into the water’

An additional argument against the reciprocal function of the extension *mm* is provided by the fact that with some verbs it can be used with a singular subject:

- (81) *à j̀áhám̀m̀è*
à j̀áh-á-mm̀ è
 1SG unite-GO-COL
 ‘he got himself together’

This expression is used in reference to behavior in the presence of a person of higher authority, e.g. chief, father, Sultan, whereby the socially inferior person wraps his clothing tightly around himself to make himself smaller.

6. The goal extension *á*

6.1 Hypothesis

Wandala has grammaticalized the category ‘goal’, realized through the vowel *a* added to different morphemes within the verbal complex. The function of the category is to indicate that the event has a goal. The specific scope of the goal depends on the properties of individual verbs and the other extensions added to the verb. The scope often involves a locative goal or an object. In all cases the category ‘goal’ implies an event under the control of the subject.¹⁰

The extension can have the high tone coding transitivity. In such cases, the extension is glossed as GO. The goal marker can be added to the verbal root, before verbal extensions, to the pronominal subject, before the pronominal or nominal object, after the pronominal object, after another extension, and to several places at the same time.

6.2 The evidence for the existence of the goal extension

One piece of evidence for the existence of the goal extension is provided by the behavior of inherently intransitive verbs when they are followed by the direct object. In such cases the verb has to end in the goal marker *á*. Consider the verb *ɓà* ‘end’. The evidence that the verb is inherently intransitive is provided by clauses with a single argument, the subject. The verb, as expected, ends in the vowel *à* in the imperfective:

- (82) *á* *ɓà* *ʃóyà*
 3SG finish:PB conversation
 ‘the conversation is ending’

In the perfective the verb takes the ventive extension:

¹⁰ Some Chadic languages, specifically Hausa (Frajzyngier and Munkaila 2004), Hdi (Frajzyngier with Shay 2002), and Mina (Frajzyngier, Johnston with Edwards 2005), have similar extensions (see also Frajzyngier 2005).

- (83) *à* *ǰàw-à* *fóyà*
 3SG finish-PB chat
 ‘the chat ended’

Given that the verb is inherently intransitive, a transitive predication with this verb must have the goal marker *á* with the high tone coding transitivity:

- (84) *à* *ǰá* *fóyà*
 3SG finish:GO chat
 ‘he finished the chat’

The goal marker *á* may follow the ventive extension:

- (85) *à* *ǰùwá* *màgà* *lrà*
 3SG finish:VENT:GO do work
 ‘he finished working’

The goal extension can occur after the subject and object pronouns. Since the goal marker does not occur after all subject or object pronouns, the question is what its function is, and indeed whether the same or a different function is involved after the subject and object pronouns. These uses of the form *á* provide further evidence for the existence of the goal extension.

6.3 The goal extension after subject pronouns

Hypothesis: the form *á* following subject and object pronouns represents the same function, viz. to indicate that the event has a goal. The evidence that the marker *á* after the subject pronoun codes the goal is provided by the differences in meaning between the forms with and without the marker. In the R1ProR2 form, the goal marker occurs after the Pro, and it has the same function as the goal marker added to the simple form of the verb. The goal marker cannot occur after the R2:

- (86) *máki* *dàrá* *dà* *má* *tándá* *vágdzà* *gyálè*
 má-kí *dà-r-á-dè* *má* *tá* *ndávà*
 HYP-? go-3PL-GO-go HYP 3PL ask
 ágdzà *gyálè*
 young girl
 ‘When they arrive, they ask for the girl.’

Without the goal marker, the reduplicated form codes departure rather than arrival at the goal:

- (87) *má dá-rá-d-dà má*
 HYP go-3PL-T-go HYP
 ‘when they left, then . . .’

The goal marker *a* added after pronoun of the reduplicated verb *tsè* ‘rise’ derives the equivalent of ‘stop’. In the reduplicated form, the goal marker *a* occurs after the subject pronoun:

- (88) *tsà-n-à-tsè*
 rise-1SG-rise
 ‘I got up’
- tsà-n-á-tsè*
 rise-1SG-GO-rise
 ‘I stopped’

Intransitive verbs that inherently cannot have a goal, such as the verb ‘depart’, cannot have *á* after the subject pronoun:

- (89) **ʒàl-n/my/kùr/r/ɲr-á-ʒàlà*
 leave-1SG/1INCL/2PL/3PL/1EXCL-GO-leave
 for ‘I/we(incl)/you/they/we(excl) left’

The goal marker indicates the presence of a goal with verbs that do not have a goal as their inherent characteristic. This is the case with the verb *sà* ‘come from’, which with the goal marker has the meaning ‘return’, i.e. an event that has a locative goal:

- (90) *má sà-n/k/my/kùr/r-á-sà*
 HYP come-1SG/2SG/1INCL/2PL/3PL-GO-come
 ‘if/when I/you/we/you(pl)/they returned’

Without the goal marker following them, the pronouns are interpreted as objects rather than subjects:

- (91) *má sà-n/k/mi/ɲr-á/kùr/tr-sà*
 HYP come-1SG/2SG/1INC/1EXCL/2PL/3PL-come
 ‘if/when he brought him/you/us(incl)/us(excl)you(pl)/them’

Verbs that are transitive only, i.e. that code events whose outcome does not affect the subject at all, cannot have the goal marker *á* after the subject pronoun. This is the case with the verb *gyà* ‘cook’:

- (92a) *gyà-n/mì/kùr/rà/ŋrà-gyà*
 cook-1SG/1INCL/2PL/3PL/1EXCL-cook
 ‘I/we(incl)/you/they/we(excl) cooked’

The expression is ungrammatical with the vowel *a* following the subject marker:

- (92b) **gyà-n/my/kùr/r/ŋr-á-gyà*
 cook-1SG/1INCL/2PL/3PL/1EXCL-GO-cook
 ‘I/we(incl)/you/they/we(excl) cooked’

Nominal objects of such verbs are preceded by the root form:

- (93) *gyà-gyì hìyà*
 cook-cook sorgho
 ‘he cooked sorgho’

Based on the behavior of verbs with respect to the deployment of the goal marker, one can divide them into those that are goal-oriented and those that are not. Goal-orientation or its absence does not overlap with the transitive-intransitive distinction. The evidence that the use of the goal marker after subject pronouns is linked with the inherent properties of the verb is provided by the verb *fyà* ‘remain, leave’. This verb requires the goal marker after all subject pronouns other than the third-person singular:

- (94) *fyà-n-á-gyà*
 leave-1SG-GO-leave
 ‘I left’

The third-person singular subject must have the object pronoun *n* added:

- (95) *fyà-n-gyà*
 leave-3SG-leave
 ‘he left (tr)’
- fyà-n-gyì hìyà/mùrà*
 leave-3SG-leave sorgho/Mora
 ‘he left sorgho/Mora’

The deployment of the goal marker after subject pronouns transativizes the verb in a way similar to the deployment of the third-person object pronoun.

The pronominal subject of the verb *hrdâ* ‘farm, plow’ must also be followed by the marker *á*, indicating that this verb does not have an inherent goal:

- (96) *hrdâ-n/my/kùr/r/ŋr-á-hrdê*
 farm-1SG/1INCL/2PL/3PL/1EXCL-GO-farm
 ‘I/we(incl)/you/they/we(excl) finished farming’

The marker *á* after the subject pronoun must be retained when the verb is followed by the nominal object:

- (97) *hrdâ-n/my/kùr/r/ŋr-á-hrdê* *fê*
 plow-1SG/1INCL/2PL/3PL/1EXCL-GO-plow field
 ‘I/we(incl)/you/they/we(excl) finished plowing the field’

Additional evidence that the verb *hàrdâ* is not goal-oriented is provided by the simple form, which must have the goal marker when followed by the nominal object:

- (98) *tà* *hàrdá* *fátàrè*
tà *hàrdá* *f-á-tàr-[má* added by the speaker during analysis]
 3PL farm field-GEN-3PL[-and]
 ‘And they finished farming on the field’

The verb *ksà* ‘grasp’ implies grabbing an object without any implication of a subsequent movement. The verb does not imply the goal:

- (99) *ksà-ksè*
 ‘he grabbed it’

**ksà-ksà*
 for ‘he took it’

In order to indicate movement, all subject pronouns other than the third-person singular must be followed by the goal marker *á*. The function of the goal marker is to code directionality:

- (100) *àksà-r-á-ksè*
 take-3PL-GO-take
 ‘they took it down’
àksà-r-á-ksè *hìyà*
 take-3PL-GO-take sorgho
 ‘they took down sorgho’

6.4 The goal marker after object pronouns

The addition of an object pronoun to an inherently intransitive verb requires the addition of the goal extension.

- (101) *tsà-n/myì/kùr/rà/ɲrà-n-á-tsè*
 stand-1SG/1INCL/2PL/3PL/1EXCL-3SG-GO-stop
 ‘I/we(incl)/you/they/we(excl) stopped him’

Compare the absence of the vowel *a* with the meaning ‘rise’:

- (102) *tsà-nà/myì/kùr/rà/ɲrà-tsè*
 rise-1SG/1INCL/2PL/3PL/1EXCL-rise
 ‘I/we(incl)/you/they/we(excl) got up’

The category ‘goal’ is different from transitivity, as transitive verbs may inherently lack a goal. In addition to the verb *ksà* ‘grasp’, illustrated above, consider the verb *màgà* ‘do’. In the imperfective it can be followed by a nominal object without the object marker:

- (102) *yà màgà nyà mè yà sá z-ɲà*
 1SG make preparations HYP 1SG come HL-2SG
 ‘I was preparing myself to come to you’ [I did not finish making preparations]

The addition of a nominal object in the perfective requires the goal marker at the end of the simple verb:

- (103) *yà màgá nyà*
 1SG make:GO preparations
 ‘I made preparations’

The addition of an object pronoun in the past imperfective aspect requires the addition of the goal marker *á* after the object pronoun:

- (104) *yà màgà-n-á-màgà*
 1SG make-3SG-GO-make
 ‘I did’

Similarly in the backgrounding aspect:

- (105) *màga-n-n-á-màgà*
 ake-1SG-3SG-GO-make
 ‘I did it’

**yà màgà-màgà*
 for ‘I did’

Without a specific object, the transitive predication in the imperfective is coded by gemination of the first consonant:

- (106) *yà mmágà*
 ‘I was doing/making it’

yá mmágà
 ‘I will do it’

The addition of a nominal object requires a pronominal object with the goal marker:

- (107) *cùkwá ηgùdì màgà-rà-n-á-màg kímàkè*
 small very make-3PL-3SG-GO-make shoes
 ‘after a little while, they made shoes for him.’

Object pronouns of the verb *žàrà* ‘see, look’ must be followed by the goal marker:

- (108) *žàrà-n-á-žàrà*
 see-3SG-GO-see
 ‘he saw’ **žàrà-n-žàrà*

The third-person object pronoun does not represent a referential object, as shown by the fact that the object pronoun can co-occur with the demonstrative *únà*:

- (109) [*žàrà-n-á-žà-rúnà*]
 see-3SG-GO-see-it
 ‘he saw it’

Another verb of perception, *cìnà* ‘hear’, does not have goal markers following the object pronouns, because this verb involves perception without control:

- (108) *dón ciná-n-cìnə mtákəná à fəmfállám klárà*
dó nà ciná-n-cìn mtákə ná
 man DEM hear-3SG-hear good DEM
à fə-m-f álla á-m kl-á-rà
 3SG put-IN-put God PRED-IN place-GEN-3SG
 ‘The person who understands this well, may God reward him for that.’

6.5 The goal marker as the only extension

The evidence for the existence of the goal marker *a* is provided by alternations of forms with and without this marker. The verb *dà* ‘go to’ has no inherent goal. The addition of the goal marker means ‘go back to the place from which one has started, other than the place of speech’:

- (111) *á d-á*
 3SG go-GO
 ‘he goes back [somewhere]’

In the reduplicated form of the verb, the root form of the R2, realized with the vowel *e* in clause-final position, indicates the absence of a goal:

- (112) *dáddè*
 ‘he left’

The presence of the goal marker *a* on the R2 indicates that there was some place to which the subject moved:

- (113) *dá-d-à*
 go-go-GO
 ‘he returned, he arrived’

The goal extension used with the verb *sà* ‘come’ means ‘come to a certain place’.

The goal marker with verbs that do not inherently indicate movement or directionality indicates movement and an associated directionality. Consider the verb *ksà* ‘take’. Inherently, the verb is transitive and involves an object, something that is taken:

- (114) *yá d́ ksà-ksà*
 1SG FUT grasp-grasp
 ‘I will grasp it’ [no displacement of the object involved]

The addition of the goal marker after the R1 implies the displacement of the object in a specific direction:

- (115) *yá dǎ ks-á-ksè*
 1SG FUT grasp-GO-grasp
 ‘I will take it down’ [not movement on a plane]

In the negative form, the distinction between the presence and the absence of the goal is preserved through the consonantal ending, coding the absence of the goal, and the vowel *a*, coding the presence of the goal:

- (116) *ǎksǎ-kǎ*
 take-NEG
 ‘do not grab it!’ [no movement of the object implied]
- ǎks-á-kǎ*
 take-GO-NEG
 ‘do not take it down!’

6.6 Evidence from the behavior of other extensions

Some extensions are compatible with the category ‘goal’, and other extensions are incompatible. The compatible extensions include the T ‘target’ and M ‘movement in’ extensions. The incompatible extensions are the S ‘source’ and V ‘applicative’ extensions. Those that are compatible can co-occur with the goal marker on the R2, realized as the low-tone vowel *a*. Those that are not compatible have the R2 in the root form. The target extension *t* involves movement toward a goal and is compatible with the extension ‘goal’. It cannot co-occur with the ending *e*, which is associated with separation from a source:

- (117) *bàrhà-n-tǎ-bàrhà*
 push-3SG-T-push:GO
 ‘he pushed it’ or ‘push it!’
- *bàrhà-n-tǎ-bàrhè*
 push-3SG-T-push
 ‘push it!’

The source extension indicates movement outward from inside the source. Such movement is incompatible with movement toward a goal but is compatible with the ending *e*, which indicates separation from a source:

- (118) *bàrhà-n-sá-bàrhè*
 push-3SG-S-push
 ‘push it out!’

**bàrhà-n-sá-bàrhà*
 push-3SG-S-push:GO
 ‘push it out!’

The notion of ‘pouring out’ is incompatible with the category ‘goal’, but ‘pouring in’ is compatible:

- (119a) *pwà-n-vú-pwè/*a*
 pour-3SG-APPL-pour
 ‘pour (out)!’

*pù-m-pwà/*e*
 pour-IN-pour:GO
 ‘pour in’

Similarly, ‘escaping, running away’ is incompatible with the category goal:

- (119b) *à zàgàdè á ɓà mbá làksè*
 3SG escape PRED go home Sultan
 ‘he escaped to the Sultan’s house’

zàgàd-à-zàgàdè
 ‘he escaped’

Incompatibility with the category ‘goal’ explains why all verbs that involve separation of either the subject or the object from the source end in the vowel *e*: *tsè* ‘rise’, *fyè* ‘peel’, *plè* ‘detach’, *tàsè* ‘husk’, *hè* ‘crush (objects whose parts can be separated)’. Such verbs are inherently marked for the lack of a goal must have the goal marker *a* before the direct object:

- (120) *à fyà ftyè*
à fyà fyé
 3SG peel:GO fiber
 ‘he peeled the fiber’

à plé ráháɓà
à plá irè-á háɓà
 3SG detach:GO head-GEN wood
 ‘he detached a chip of wood (fagot) for [the] fire’

à plá zàḡwà
 3SG untie:GO donkey
 ‘he untied the donkey’

pl-á-plè
 untie-GO-untie
 ‘he untied it’

à tàsá càgè
 3SG husk sorghum
 ‘he husked sorghum (yellow)’

à há càgè
 3SG crush sorghum
 ‘he crushed sorghum’

Consider now the evidence from the applicative extension. When the applicative extension directly follows the verb, it codes the point of view of the subject and, by default, the verb ends in the consonant:

(121) à gá-và-n-gè
 3SG bend-APPL-3SG-bend
 ‘he bent himself’

The addition of the vowel *a* after the extension indicates a goal in the action:

(122) à gá-và-n-g-à
 3SG bend-APPL-3SG-bend-GO
 ‘he has to bend for a purpose [e.g. so that I can jump over him]’

The goal marker added after the applicative extension has the same function as after the verbal root, viz. to indicate the presence of a goal with verbs that inherently do not include goal in their meaning.

The applicative extension *v* represents the point of view of the argument to which it is added. When added to a verb, it indicates the point of view of the subject. The addition of a nominal argument following the verb requires the addition of the goal marker *á* after the extension:

(123) à/yà ksà-v-á kàlfé
 3SG/1SG catch-APPL-GO fish
 ‘he/I caught a fish’

When there is no nominal complement, the marker *á* indicates the presence of the object only:

- (124) *à ksà-v-á*
 3SG catch-APPL-GO
 ‘he caught it’

If the meaning of the verb is incompatible with the goal extension, the applicative marker has the root form (epenthetic *e* at the end of the phrase):

- (125) *à bɛy-àn-vè*
 3SG throw-3SG-APPL
 ‘he threw it away’

6.7 Evidence from the form of R2

The vowel *a* on R2 codes the presence of a goal when no object follows. The evidence for this hypothesis is provided by the contrast between R2 in the root form and the root + *a* form. The root form is used when the verb is followed by a nominal object:

- (126) *cùkwà ηgùdì fàrnáfə hàyè*
cùkwà á ηgùdì fà-r-n-á-fə hàyè
 small GEN very reach-3PL-3SG-GO-reach river
 ‘After a little [while], they reached the river.’

The root + *a* form is used when the predication has a goal and yet there is no nominal object after the verb:

- (127) *cùkwà ηgùdì fà-r-y-á-fà*
 small very reach-3PL-1SG-GO-reach
 ‘After a little [while], they reached me.’

With intransitive verbs the addition of the goal extension may result in a transitive or an intransitive predication. The addition of the goal extension to a verb of movement indicates that the movement has a goal, which may be an object or a locative goal. With the addition of the goal marker *á* to the verbs *d* ‘go’, and *s* ‘come’, the goal extension derives transitive predications corresponding to ‘take somewhere’ and ‘bring’:

- (128) *nóovà tónkìni yèságdzànrwàndzà ánwá wándàlà*
nóo và tón kìnì yè s-á gdzà
 PRES day DEF C.FOC 1SG come-GO small
nàrwàndzà án w-á wándàlà
 story ASSC mouth-GEN Wandala
 ‘Here today, I brought a small story in Wandala.’
- (129) *tàdàsàsá dàdámúvgè*
tà dè s-á-d-á dàdà á-m úvgè
 3PL SEQ come-S-GO father PRED-IN grave
 ‘They raised the father from the grave.’
- (130) *àskè fún gwáníká mádá ndà*
àskè fún gw-á níkà má d-á-n-d-à
 like money-GEN marriage HYP go-GO-3SG-go-GO
 ‘Like money of the marriage, if he brought it.’

The goal extension does not occur after the R2 of verbs that cannot have a goal, e.g. the verb *dà* ‘to become silent’:

- (131) *dà-r-ú-d-é*
 become silent-3PL-VENT-become silent
 ‘they became silent’ and ‘they are silent’

6.8 The vowel *a* before object pronouns

All object pronouns except the first-person singular are preceded by the vowel *a*. The presence of the same marker before all pronouns does not contribute to differentiation among them. The proposed analysis of *a* as a goal marker provides an explanation of why object pronouns are preceded by the vowel *a*. The vowel *a* that occurs before the object pronouns is the goal marker, marking the object as the goal of the verb.

Consider the verb *mbè* ‘recover’. In intransitive predication, the verb does not have the vowel *a* in the R1:

- (132) *à mbè-mbá hè*
 3SG recover-recover Q
 ‘did he recover?’

The addition of the third-person object pronoun *n* requires that the vowel *a* precedes the pronoun, and that the goal marker *á* follows the pronoun:

- (133) *à mbà-ná hè*
 3SG recover:GO-3SG:GO Q
 'did he cure him?'

6.9 Conclusions regarding the category goal

The goal extension plays a major role in the grammar of Wandala. The analysis of the function of the goal extension has led to the discovery of three classes of verbs:

- (1) Verbs that inherently imply the presence of a goal. These verbs do not take the goal marker.
- (2) Verbs that are incompatible with the goal marker. The goal marker cannot be used with this class.
- (3) Verbs that do not imply a goal. The addition of the goal marker may allow the addition of a nominal or pronominal object to those verbs, or the addition of a locative goal.

Some extensions, in particular the applicative, ventive, and source extensions (the last discussed in the next chapter), change the point of view of the proposition, and may require the addition of the goal marker if an additional argument is to be added.

7. The role-changing extension *ar* 'ON'

7.1 The form of the extension

The role-changing extension is marked by the suffix *ar* added to the verb. If a disallowed consonant cluster emerges after *r*, an epenthetic vowel is inserted between *r* and the following consonant:

- (134) *mágàrán gùsé ándàvà màkí áksà ráksàmtu áksàrkàhè*
má gá-rá-v-g ùsé á ndàvà
 HYP greet-3PL-APPL-greet greetings 3SG ask
mákí á ksà-rá-ksè mtúá ksà-r kà hè
 HYP 3SG take-ON-take or 3SG take-ON NEG Q
 'After their mutual salutations, he asks [the girl] whether she accepts or not.'

When the role-changing extension follows the object pronoun, the vowel *à* preceding the extension keeps the low tone:

- (135) *tá fâ-trà-r úksòṅw ìrè*
 3PL put-3PL-ON idiot head
 ‘They put an idiot head on them.’ [they cheat on them]

If there is no subject following the extension *r*, the extension ends in the vowel *e*. This shows that the extension does not imply the existence of a goal:

- (136) *yó élv wándàl ṅánnà à fyàrà málrùwà* [error]
yó élv wándàl ṅánnà à f-y-àr-à
 well speech Wandala DEF 3SG put-1SG-ON-PB
mál-rùwà
 older brother-1SG
 ‘This Wandala speech is requested from me by my older brother.’

- (137) *fâ-ṅgr-à-r-f-é*
 put-1EXCL-ON-put-?
 ‘we have added’ or ‘we have to add’

Compare the use of the same verb without the extension *r*:

- (138) *fâ-fâ*
 ‘he put’

The object can be placed after the verb, which has the root form:

- (139) *yó à fyàrèlvèwándàl ṅánnà*
yó à f-y-àr élv wándàl ṅánnà
 well 3SG put-1SG-ON speech Wandala DEF
 ‘he imposed on me this Wandala speech.’

7.2 The function of the extension *ar* ‘ON’

The extension *ar* codes the object role of the fronted argument. In order not to create new glosses, I shall gloss this extension as ‘ON’, because the extension has the same segmental structure as the predicator-cum-preposition complex ‘on’. The verb *ptsà* ‘return’ is inherently intransitive. The addition of another argument to this verb requires the extension *ar* ‘ON’:

- (140a) *yà màgá nyà sàwmá*
yà màgá nyà sàw má
 1SG make preparation come:VENT HYP

əgdzàrwà àptsàr ʒágʒági ánvàdyá
əgdz-á-rwà à ptsà-rà ʒágʒági án vadyá
 child-GEN-1SG 3SG return-ON fever ASSC night
 'When I was making my preparations to come, the fever returned to my child at night.'

The omission of the marker *ar* results in an ungrammatical utterance:

(140b) **əgdz-á-rwà à ptsà ʒágʒági án vadyá*
 child-GEN-1SG 3SG return fever ASSC night
 for 'the fever returned to my child at night.' or any other meaning

Added to the verb *fà* 'put', the extension means 'add, impose':

(141) *móŋkó m̀̀lkinì mánábàfàrfé*
má àŋkwà úmlè kinì má nábà fà-r-fé
 HYP exist another C.FOC 1INCL then put-ON-put
 'If there is anything else, we can add [it].'

The fronted object may be an indirect object, as in the following example. The noun phrase *əgdzàr-á-mì* 'our daughters' is resumed through the third-person object pronoun *tr* in the verb *fà-trà-r* 'put on them':

(142) *əgdzàramì tápúnáwá mánà nàzùnì ámmàgnáwá*
əgdzàr-á-mì tá pú ná wá
 child:PL-GEN-1INCL 3PL pour DEM COM
má nà nàzù ní á mmàg ná wá
 HYP DEM what INTNS 3SG do DEM COM
únèní táwáynetèrnà táfàtrà rùksònwìrè
únè ní tá wáy-ná itèr nà tá
 DEM INTNS 3PL want-3SG 3PL DEM 3PL
fà-trà-r úksòŋw irè
 put-3PL-ON idiot head
 'The thing that makes our girls loaf around is that the men that the girls like cheat on them.' [*úksòŋw* 'idiot, somebody who cannot talk']

The extension occurs with the verb *ksà* 'take'. The resulting meaning does not involve movement or even holding of the object, but rather a notion corresponding to 'accept':

(143) *dólè séy žil-ŋánnà máksàrà-ksè*
dólè séy žil ŋánnà má ksà-rá-ksè
 necessary then man DEF HYP take-ON-take

názù *àwwàyná* *ηànè*
názù *à* *wwày-ná* *ηànè*
 what 3SG like-3SG 3SG
 ‘It is necessary that the man [father] accepts what she [his daughter] likes.’

The evidence of the erstwhile locative meaning of the extension is provided by clauses where it has only the locative meaning ‘on’:

(144) *nàrkálàm* *á* *bál-àr* *gè* *nàlmífrì*
 pen 3SG put-ON TO paper
 ‘he put the pen on the paper’¹¹

The role-changing extension *ár* can co-occur with the source extension *s*:

(145) *yé ndàndá* *gèmàηàr* *gè* *gdzré* *dàfìηá* *hùsárhwè*
yé *ndà-ndá* *gè* *mà* *ηàr* *gè* *gdzré*
 1SG talk-talk TO mother POSS:3SG TO child
dàfìηá *hùsárhwè*
dàfì *ηá* *hù-s-ár-hwè*
 then 1EXCL agree-S-ON-agree
 ‘I will tell the mother of the child, and then we [the mother and I] will agree.’

8. Conclusions

Verbal extensions in Wandala are one of the fundamental coding means for the semantic interpretation of the clause. The applicative extension codes the point of view of the arguments. When added to the verb, it represents the point of view of the subject. When following an object pronoun, it represents the point of view of the argument represented by the pronoun.

The ventive extension has three functions. With the verbs of motion *dà* ‘go to’ and *sà* ‘come from’, it codes movement toward the speaker. With all verbs, including verbs of movement, the ventive extension represents the point of view of the predicate. When added to pronouns, it indicates that the event is

11 The form *nàrkálàm* comes from the Arabic *al-qalam*, through nasal epenthesis in word-initial position and *l* to *r* dissimilation in the presence of another *l* in the word. The liquid *l* does not become *r* in *nàlmífrì* ‘paper’ because there is no other *l* in the word. The form *nàlmífrì* comes from the Arabic *al mişri* ‘Egyptian’.

performed for the benefit or the detriment of the argument represent by the pronoun.

The 'collective' extension codes the participation of several people in the event.

The goal extension codes the semantic relations between the verb and the arguments. For verbs that inherently do not code the category 'goal', the addition of a nominal or pronominal object requires the goal extension on the verb. With verbs of movement, the goal extension codes the locative goal. The goal extension can be added in several places within the verbal piece.

The extension *ar*, glossed as 'ON', codes, among other things, the object role of the fronted noun phrase.

Chapter 9

Locative extensions

1. Introduction

There exist two groups of extensions involved in the coding of locative predication and spatial relations. The formal difference between the two groups is that in the reduplicated form of the verb, members of the group that codes spatial relations are inserted between R1 and R2, and members that code orientation with respect to the deictic center are suffixed to R2. When the extensions are added to the simple form of the verb, there is no formal difference between the two groups. The two groups belong, nevertheless, to different functional domains because they can co-occur with the same verb.

Locative extensions code a number of functions: (1) the position of the subject or object with respect to a locative complement; (2) the nature of the movement with respect to a locative complement; and (3) the position of the subject or object with respect to a previous place. The first two functions are marked by extensions occurring after the simple form and between the reduplicated forms; the third function is coded by extensions occurring after the verb in both the simple and the reduplicated form of the verb.

Locative extensions code the spatial characteristics of an event independently of prepositions and locative complements. Locative extensions can occur without a locative complement overtly coded in the clause. The locative extensions inserted between the R1 and R2 are similar to the spatial specifiers and are likely derived from them. Locative extensions suffixed to R2 do not have a synchronic source within Wandala.

Spatial extensions code the spatial relationships between the subject or the second argument (the object) and the locative complement. These relations involve movement toward or away from the locative complement or the position within the locative complement, movement to or from the position at the locative complement, movement out of the locative complement, and movement or position on the locative complement. Spatial extensions can co-occur with prepositions that precede the locative complement and code the spatial specification. Each spatial extension may also have semantic extensions outside of the domain of spatial relations.

2. The inner-space extension *m* 'in'

2.1 The form of the inner-space extension

The inner-space extension occurs after the simple form of the verb and between the R1 and R2, where it follows the object pronoun. In the phrase-final position, the extension ends in the vowel *e*, which indicates that the extension consists of just the consonant *m*:

- (1) *tà nábà pú-mè á dú-m hùd-á*
 3PL then throw-IN PRED go-IN belly-GEN
hàyè
 water
 'they threw something into the water'

à f-yì-mè
 3SG put-1SG-IN
 'he put it on me'

Additional evidence that the extension consists of the consonant *m* only is provided by its form in the reduplicated verb:

- (2) *á f-yì-m-fè*
 3SG put-1SG-IN-put
 'he is putting it on me'

á f-yì-m-fà sáli
 3SG put-1SG-IN-put:PB Sali
 'Sali is putting it on me'

The extension occurs after the pronominal direct or indirect object. It has the root form before a nominal object. It has the root + *a* form before a nominal subject:

- (3) *á f-yè-má dzàkwà á-m irè*
 3SG put-1SG-IN hat PRED-IN head
 'he is putting a hat on my head' [1SG is the indirect object pronoun]

á f-yè-m-à sáli
 3SG put-1SG-IN-PB Sali
 'Sali is putting it on me'

2.2 The function of the inner-space extension

The extension *m* codes movement into a space:

- (4) *à* *dà* *sá-m-hà* *gà* *làksé*
 3SG SEQ come-IN-PNCTTO Sultan
 ‘When the Sultan came in . . .’

The inner-space extension *m* can co-occur with the spatial specifier *m* preceding the locative complement:

- (5) *à* *pù-má* *gdzàr* *á-m* *kúvrè*
 3SG put(PL)-IN children PRED-IN granary
 ‘she put the children in the granary’

à *blà-m* *á-m* *kúvrè*
 3SG put-IN PRED-IN granary
 ‘she put him in the granary’

dá-m-d-á-rà *á* *dá-m* *hùd-á*
 go-IN-go-GEN-3SG PRED go-IN belly-GEN
yàwè *á* *tàttàyà* *tàttàyà* *tàttàyà*
 water 3SG search search search

‘Having entered the water, he is looking, he is looking, he is looking.’

tà *mbàdà-m-hè* *á* *dá-m* *yàwè*
 3PL fall:PL-IN-PNCT PRED go-IN water
 ‘they fell into the water’

à *fā-mà-m* *kúvrè*
 3SG put-IN-IN granary

‘she put it in the granary’ (the verb *f* ‘put’ is inherently locative, hence the locative predication with this verb does not require the locative predicator *á*. The spatial relation preposition *m* ‘in’ is attached to the verb and follows the inner space extension *m*.)

In the perfective aspect, the verb must have the inner-space extension if the locative complement is preceded by the inner-space marker:

- (6) *à* *pwà-tr-m* *á-m* *kúvrè*
 3SG put:PL-3PL-IN PRED-IN granary
 ‘she put them in the granary’

In the imperfective aspect the verb has no inner-space extension:

- (7) *á pwà-tr á-m kúvrè*
 3SG put:PL-3PL PRED-IN granary
 ‘she puts them in the granary’
- á pwá gdzàrà ám kúvrè*
 3SG put:PL:GO children PRED:IN granary
 ‘she puts children in the granary’ [to clean the granary]
- á blà-n á-m kúvrè*
 3SG put-3SG PRED-IN granary
 ‘she puts him in the granary’
- á bl-y á-m kúvrè*
 3SG put-1SG PRED-IN granary
 ‘she puts me in the granary’

The extension is not used if the locative complement is preceded by the target preposition *t*. The in extension would be incompatible with the target extension:

- (8) *á fà gáh á-t kúvrè*
 3SG put pot PRED-T granary
 ‘she puts a pot on the granary’

The verb with the inner-space extension can have a non-locative complement, similar to English ‘they got into an argument’:

- (9) *dà-rá-m-dà fóyà*
 go-3PL-IN-go speech
 ‘When they started talking . . .’

3. The target extension *t*

3.1 The forms of the target extension

The target extension is realized as *te* in clause-final position if there is no goal involved; *ta* in word-final position before the subject; *t* with an epenthetic vowel in word-final position before an object and in all cases in word-internal position; and *t-á* when in combination with the goal marker.

In the reduplicated forms, the extension has the form *t*, which may assimilate to the following voiced consonant:

- (10) *má dá-t-dè* [dàddè]
 HYP go-T-go
 ‘if he left’

The extension follows the subject pronoun, which must have an epenthetic vowel with the high tone:

- (11) *má dà-ná/ká/rá/-d-dè*
 HYP go-1SG/2SG/3PL-T-go
 ‘if I/you/they left’

tsà-ná-t-tsé
 get up-1SG-T-get up
 ‘I got up’

The presence of the target extension *t* requires the overt marking of the third-person singular object suffix *n* if a third-person object is involved (recall that the third-person object is not overtly marked with transitive verbs):

- (12) *slà-n-á-n-tá-slà*
 roast-1SG-GO-3SG-T- roast
 ‘I roasted it’

tsà-n-tá-tsè
 get up-3SG-T-get up
 ‘he got him up’

The extension is added to the root form of the verb. The rules concerning vowels following the target extension are the same as the rules that apply after simple verbs. They depend on the properties of the verbs. Thus, if a non-goal verb is to be followed by an object, the goal marker *á* is added to the target extension. In the following examples, the goal marker is added when the extension follows the inherently intransitive verbs *kà* ‘rise’, *mbrà* ‘boil’, and *ksà* ‘grab’, if the verbs are followed by the objects. The high tone on the vowel following the extension codes transitive predication with inherently intransitive verbs:

- (13) *àkàtá zàrvà filyá zàrvà ñánnà àvàtrtè*
à kà-t-á zàrvà fily-á zàrvà ñánnà
 3SG raise-T-GO sesame sand-GEN sesame DEF
à và-tr-tè
 3SG give-3PL-T
 ‘He raised the sesame, the grain of that sesame, he gave it to them.’

à k-àn-té
 3SG raise-3SG-T
 ‘he raised it’

*à mbàr-t-á/*á yàwè*
 3SG boil-T-GO water
 ‘he boiled water’

à ksà-t-á rdzà
 3SG grasp-T-GO scorpion
 ‘he took a scorpion in his hand’

à wr-t-á páré [órtá páré]
 3SG open-T-GO gate
 ‘he opened the gate’

The transitive subject role of a noun phrase following an intransitive verb is coded by the object pronoun *n* suffixed to the verb and by the goal marker *á* following the extension:

- (13b) *órà-n-t-á nádàmà*
à ùrà-n-t-á Nadama
 3SG open-3SG-T-GO Nadama
 ‘Nadama [Adam] opened it’

The addition of the extension to the root + *a* form yields an ungrammatical expression:

- (14) **à ksà-t-á rdzà*
 3SG grasp-T-GO scorpion
 for ‘he took a scorpion into his hand’

In clause-final position, the extension has the root form with an epenthetic *e*:

- (15) *tà ksà-n-té*
 3PL grasp-GO-3SG-T
 ‘they took it’ (the object changed place)

tà ksà-trà-n-té
 3PL grasp-3PL-3SG-T
 ‘they took it for them’

The extension cannot have the vowel *a* in clause-final position:

- (16) **tà ksà-n-tá*
 3PL grab-3SG-T:GO
 for ‘they took it’

The object role of a noun following an inherently intransitive verb is coded by the vowel *a* added to the target extension:

- (17) *à k-àn-tà zàrvà*
 3SG raise-3SG-T sesame
 ‘he raised sesame for him’

The object role of the noun following an inherently transitive verb is coded by the root form of the target. The verb *ks* ‘take, grab’ requires an object pronoun before the extension *t*, regardless of whether the verb is followed by the subject or object:

- (18) *má ks-á-n-tà-ksà mùksè*
 HYP take-GO-3SG-T-take woman
 ‘If he took a woman’

**má ks-á-Ø-tà-ksà mùksè*
 HYP take-GO-T-take woman
 for ‘if he took a woman’

The subject role of the noun following a transitive verb with the target extension is marked by the goal marker *á* (the following is a paradigm with various subject and object pronouns):

- (19) *má ks-á-n-tà-ksá mùksè*
 HYP take-GO-3SG-T-take:GO woman
 ‘if a woman took him’

**má ks-á-Ø-tà-ks-á mùksè*
 for ‘if a woman took’

má ksà-nà-n-tò-ksò mùksè
 HYP take-1SG-3SG-T-take woman
 ‘if I took a woman’

má ks-ì-tò-ksá mùksè
 HYP take-1SG-T-take:GO woman
 ‘if a woman took me’

má ksà-kà-n-tò-ksò mùksè
 HYP take-1SG-3SG-T-take woman
 ‘if you took a woman’

má ksà-k-tò-ksá mùksè
 HYP take-2SG-T-take:GO woman
 ‘if a woman took you’

3.2 The perfectivizing effects of the target extension

The target extension has locative and non-locative functions. In both functions, it perfectivizes the event. The evidence for this hypothesis is provided by the fact that the extension cannot be used with the verbal form that is overtly coded for the imperfective:

(20) *ìcà-ná-n-t-ìcì kyáw-á-rwà*
 slaughter-1SG-3SG-T-slaughter male sheep-GEN-1SG
 ‘I slaughtered my sheep’

**yá cà-n-tí-cì kyáw-á-rwà*
 1SG slughter-3SG-T-slaughter male sheep-GEN-1SG
 for ‘I slaughter my sheep’

á fà ləmà tó rdzà
 3SG put ear T scorpion
 ‘he is observing a scorpion’

á f-tò ləmà tó rdzà
 3SG put-T ear T scorpion
 ‘he observed a scorpion’

Although all clauses with the target extension describe a bounded event, the coding of perfective is not the function of the extension but rather a by-product of the use of the extension.

3.3 The locative function of the target extension

The locative function of the target extension indicates that an object or subject has a new location as the result of the event. The target extension adds directionality to verbs that are inherently non-directional. The extension added to the verb *ksà* ‘grab’ implies movement of the object:

(21a) *à ksà-t-á zàrvà nánà*
 3SG take-T-GO sesame DEF
 ‘he took that sesame’

à ksà-n-tá mùksè
 3SG take-3SG-T:GO woman
 ‘a woman took it’

à ks-àn-á-n-tá mùksè
 3SG take-3SG-GO-3SG-T woman
 ‘a woman took it for him’

The extension added to the verb *hàlà* ‘gather’ means ‘gather into another place’:

(21b) *tà dè hàltá zàrvà tàr nánà tà púmá dèm bùhá*
tà dè hàl-t-á zàrv-á-tàr nánà tà
 3PL SEQ gather-T-GO sesame-GEN-3PL DEF 3PL
pú-m á dè-m bùhá
 pour-IN PRED go-IN bag
 ‘And then they gathered their sesame in and poured it into a bag.’

The target extension can imply movement even if the verb to which it is added does not. Consider the verb *fà* ‘find’. Without the extension, the verb means that somebody has found an object:

(22) *à fá mbàzà*
 3SG find beer
 ‘he found beer’ [no implication that he took it with him]

With the extension *t*, the clause implies that the subject found the beer and took it with him:

(23) *à f-t-á mbàzà*
 3SG find-T-GO beer
 ‘he found the beer’ [and took it with him]

à fâ-n-t-á mùksè
 3SG find-3SG-T:GO woman
 ‘a woman found it’ [she has it in her hand]

à fâ-ná mùksè
 3SG find-3SG:GO woman
 ‘a woman found it’ [no implication that she has it]

When the object cannot change its place, the target extension is not used:

(24) yè fá hàyé
 1SG find river
 ‘I found a river’ [ungrammatical with the extension *t*]

fâ-ná-f hàyé
 reach-3SG:GO-reach river
 ‘I reached a river’

The systemic evidence for the new-location function of the target is that it never co-occurs with its opposite, the source extension *s*. The target extension is obligatory for verbs whose referential meaning implies the movement of an object into a new place, e.g. with the verb *và* ‘give’:

(25a) yòo ksà-sá zàrvà ñánnà vâtrtámòrvà
 yòo ksà-sá zàrvà **ñánnà à**
 well take-S sesame DEF 3SG
vâ-tr-t-á á-m órvà
 give:GO-3PL-T- GO PRED-IN hand
 ‘well, he took this sesame and he gave them into their hand’

(25b) àkàtá zàrvà filyá zàrvà ñánnà àvâtrtè
 à kâ-t-á zàrvà fily-á zàrvà ñánnà
 3SG raise-T-GO sesame sand-GEN sesame DEF
 à vâ-tr-tè
 3SG give-3PL-T
 ‘He raised the sesame, the grain of that sesame, he gave it to them.’

Here is an example of the target extension *t* used with an intransitive verb, coding the new position of the subject:

- (26) *tàtsáthà t ànábàdámhùdák s è*
tà tsá-t-h è tà nábà dám hùd-á
 3PL rise-T-PNCT 3PL then go:IN belly-GEN
ks è
 town
 ‘They got up and they went to the town.’

The extension may indicate the new position of the subject, albeit through the coding on the grammatical object, as in the expression ‘take the road’:

- (27) *tà nábà ks-t-á bàrá má-tà r ñánnà*
 3PL then take-T-GO road-GEN-3PL DEF
 ‘They took their road.’

3.4 The non-locative functions of the target extension

The non-locative functions of the target extension are semantic broadenings of the locative function. One of these functions is the acquisition of a new state:

- (28) *à slà-ñr-t-á t ùwá*
 3SG grill-1EXCL-T-GO meat
 ‘she grilled the meat for us’

slá-t-sl è t ùw-á-ñà
 grill-T-grill meat-GEN-2SG
 ‘your meat is grilled’

slà-n-á-n-tá-sl à
 grill-1SG-GO-3SG-T-grill
 ‘I grilled it’

mbrà-tà-mbr è yáw-á-ñà
 boil-T-boil water-GEN-2SG
 ‘your water boiled’

The target extension can code a new condition that may emerge:

- (29) *máẓà r dàc í máwà yát ùwà yá llà*
máẓà ràc í má wà yá-t-wà yà á llà
 now then HYP want-T-want Allah
 ‘And then, if God wants,’

njà-rí-njà máwáyát kállà
njà-rí-njà má wáyá-t kà állà
 remain-3PL-remain HYP:3SG want-T NEG God
 ‘they can remain. If God does not want, . . .’

The absence of the target extension implies a condition that was not met:

(30) *má wáyá-wáyà állà yè dùwá dás žàrà*
 HYP want-want Allah 1SG go go see
 ‘if God had wanted, I would have gone to see [you]’

The target extension *t* with the goal marker is used with body-part complements in a variety of expressions, the common characteristic of which is the indirect affectedness of the argument represented by the pronominal object:

(31) *yò ámtà túmlè bàgdžàrà mížálàhà nà kìnì wá*
yò ám tàt úmlè bà gdžàr-á-mì
 well IN place other FOC child-GEN-1PL
žál-àhà nà kìnì wá
 male-PL DEM C.FOC COM

tó fàtèrtéerè mátsàràtsé gègdžàrà gyàlà-hà
tá wfà-tèr-t-á irè má tsà-rè-tsé
 3PL bother-3PL-T-GO head HYP rise-3PL-rise
gè gdžàrà gyàlà-hà
 TO child-GEN female-PL
 ‘Well, sometimes, it is they [the boys], who bother the girls . . .’

tà wf-í-tá srà
 3PL bother-1SG-T:GO foot
 ‘they bother me’

The target extension must be used if the object of the verb finds itself in a different location after the event. Thus, the target extension is used with the verb *wrà* [ùrà] ‘open’:

(32) *òrtá brè*
à wr-t-á brè
 3SG open-T-GO hut
 ‘he opened the hut’

ùrà-n-t-ùrà *gdzrè* or *wrà-n-tá* *gdzrè*
 open-3SG-T-open child
 ‘the child opened it’

The target extension occurs in questions about the object in the completive aspect but does not occur in the imperfective:

(33) *à* *wr-tá* *wè*
 3SG open-T what
 ‘what did he open?’

á *wrá* *wè*
 3SG open what
 ‘what does he open?’

The target extension can be followed by the ventive extension. The ventive extension can be used with verbs where the movement involves the object rather than the subject. It can be used with the verb *và* ‘give’:

(34) *v-i-tù-wà*
 give-1SG-T-VENT
 ‘give me!’

và-n-tù-wà
 give-3SG-T-VENT
 ‘give him!’

và-w-i-tù-wà
 give-PL:IMPER-1SG-T-VENT
 ‘give me!’

3.5 Grammaticalization of the target extension

The segmental structure of the extension is identical with the spatial specifier *t* which follows the locative predicator *á*. Given the fact that at least one other locative extension, *m* ‘IN’, is identical with the spatial specifier *m*, I assume that the target extension *t* and the spatial specifier *t* have the same source. The segmental identity of the target extension with the spatial specifier *t* indicates that the locative function of the extension is historically primary, as the spatial specifier participates only in the coding of locative functions.

4. The source-oriented extension *s*

4.1 The form of the source extension *s*

The word-internal form of the source-oriented extension is *s*, with an epenthetic vowel added if necessary:

- (35) *á sà-s-sè*
 ‘let him get out’
*á s-à-n-sà-s-è/*a*
 ‘let him get it out’

The extension is added to the root form of the verb unless the verb has a plural suffix, in which case it is added after the suffix. The word-final form of the extension depends on the properties of the verb to which the extension is added and on the grammatical relation of the noun that follows the extension. With inherently transitive verbs, the consonantal ending indicates that the following noun phrase is the object. The source extension has high tone when used in a transitive predication with the object following:

- (36a) *à ksà-sá rdzà*
 3SG grasp-S scorpion
 ‘he took a scorpion out [of a hole]’

**à ksà-sá rdzà*
 3SG grasp-S scorpion
 for ‘he took a scorpion out [of a hole]’

yà yì-sá vgè
 1SG dig-S hole
 ‘I dug out a hole’

à xrà-sá kyàwè
 1SG skin-S sheep
 ‘he skinned a sheep’

The root form of some verbs includes the vowel *a*. Accordingly, these verbs have the vowel *a* before the source extension:

- (36b) *à bàpállánè kìnì wá mábà ní bà jìr bǝyàsáǝbǝyè*
à bà pàllè nà kìnì wá má-bà ní
 3SG say one DEM C.FOC COM HYP-FOC INTNS
bà jìr bǝyà-sá-bǝyè
 FOC true fall-S-fall
dám hùdà hàyi wá
dá-m hùd-á hàyè wá
 go-IN belly-GEN river COM

‘One among them said, “If really [a grain] has fallen into the river, ”’

gìgá-s-gìgè
 ‘he pounded’

**gìgá-s-gìgè*
 for ‘he pounded’

The verb ‘dig’ with the suffix *a* signifies digging a new object:

- (36c) *pàf-á-s-pàf-à fádì vgá-nà *á únà*
 dig-GO-S-dig-PB Fadi hole-DEM PRED DEF
 ‘Fadi dug up this hole’ [a new hole]

pàf-á-s-pàf-à fádì
 dig-GO-S-dig-PB Fadi
 ‘Fadi dug a hole’ [Fadi is done digging]

Compare the verb without the suffix *á*:

- (36d) *à pàfâ-s-á fádì*
 3SG dig-S-GO Fadi
 ‘Fadi dug it up’ [as an answer to the question ‘who dug it up?’]

The ending *a*, with low tone, indicates that the following noun phrase is the subject:

- (37) *tà ndá-s-à nwáfã*
 3PL speak-S-PB women
 ‘women talked’

má yà-s-yà nábbà
 HYP dig:3SG-S-dig Nabba
 ‘when Nabba dug up’ [not **má yá-s-yì nábbà*]

The goal marker *á* after the extension indicates the transitive subject function of the following noun phrase:

- (38) *tà xàr-s-á mdè*
 3PL skin-S-GO people
 ‘people skinned [something]’

The object role of a noun phrase following an intransitive verb with the source extension is coded by the goal marker *á* suffixed to the extension:

- (39) *à sà-s-á bókt ám kwàlbà*
 3SG get out-S-GO cloth PRED-IN bottle
 ‘he got the cloth out of a bottle’ [Strips of cloth for ritual purposes, e.g. for covering the dead, are kept in a bottle.]

When the verb with extension *s* is not followed by a nominal subject or object, the verb has the root form with the epenthetic vowel *e* if it is in clause-final position. This ending is consistent with the incompatibility of representing the event coding movement away from the source and the use of the marker *a*, which codes the movement toward a goal. The source extension is added after the subject and object pronouns. The tone on the first syllable immediately preceding the extension is low. The epenthetic vowel following the extension has high tone:

- (40) *dìyà-k-sá-dyè* ‘you recognized’
dìyà-k-ì-sá-dyè ‘you recognized me’
dìyà-kà-tr-sá-dyè ‘you recognized them’
dìyà-kùr-àŋr-sá-dyè ‘you (pl) recognized us’

*gà-n-sá-gè/*a*
 ‘push it away!’

ndrà-rè-ndrà *tá ndàr-sá-ndrè*
 build-3PL-build:GO 3PL build-S-build
 ‘they built’ ‘they had to build’

The source extension can follow the applicative extension:

- (41) *tà ndá-v-s-à nwáfà*
 3PL speak-APPL-S-PB women
 ‘women talked to each other’

4.2 The locative function of the source extension

In locative predications, the extension *s* codes movement out of a container or another enclosed space and movement away from the source:

- (42) *púm t ànábàpùsə z árvànáátə bùcé*
púm t à nábà pw-sə z árvà-nà
 ONOM 3PL then pour-S sesame-DEM
á t ə bùcé
 PRED T mat
 ‘Pum! They poured out sesame onto a mat.’

- (43) *t ànábàhàlsə á d əm h ɔd á b ɔh á ŋ ánn ʒ áb ád əly è*
t à nábà h àl-s ə á d ə-m h ɔd-á b ɔh á ŋ ánn
 3PL then gather-S PRED go-IN belly-GEN sack DEF
ʒ áb è á d əly è
 yet PRED again
 ‘They gathered [the sesame] off [the mat] into the bag again.’

- (44) *t ànáb ày ísh è*
t à nábà y í-s-h è
 3PL then give birth-S-PNCT
 ‘Then they dug it [grave] up’,¹²

The importance of the extension *s* lies in the fact that Wandala has no preposition coding directionality from the source, corresponding to ‘from’. The extension is the only marker of directionality from the source:

- (45) *g à-n-s á-g á h ɔn à*
g à-n-s á-g á h ɔn à
 push-3SG-S-push PRED here
 ‘push it away from here’

The evidence for the proposed hypothesis about the function of the source extension comes from the fact that the verb *f à* ‘find, reach’ cannot be used with the source extension, because the extension coding leaving the place is inherently contradictory with the notion of finding, reaching.

The source extension *s* has the root + *a* form before the question word asking about the subject:

12 The verb *y è* ‘give birth, beget’ also means ‘make a hole to get something out’.

- (46) *à pà/ð-s-á wàrǎ vgè*
 3SG dig-S-PB who hole
 ‘who dug up the hole?’

4.3 The non-locative functions of the source extension

In addition to its primary function of indicating the source from which the movement or the object originated, the extension is also used with verbs that do not imply any kind of movement of either the subject or the object. This is the case with the verb *ndà* ‘speak’. In the absence of the object pronoun, the source extension is obligatory:

- (47) *mándà súwèe kìnì àgdzárwá áḻìpḻyèkǎḻàbè*
má á ndà-sú wèe kìnì àgdz-á-r
 HYP 3SG say-S what C.FOC child-GEN-3SG
wá á ḻì-p-ḻyè kǎ ḻàbè
 COM 3SG accept-APPL-accept NEG again
 ‘whatever he says, his child should accept, shouldn’t she?’

- (48) *tà ndà-s-à zálà*
 3PL speak-S-PB men
 ‘men talked.’

If the verb has an object pronoun and a goal marker, the source extension does not occur:

- (49) *tà ndà-n-á zálà*
 3PL speak-3SG-GO men
 ‘men talked about it.’

If the source extension follows the applicative extension, the tone of the preceding syllable is high, i.e., it is determined by the applicative extension rather than by the source extension:

- (50a) *tà ndá-v-s-à zálà*
 3PL speak-APPL-S-PB men
 ‘men told each other’

Compare the verb *ndàv* ‘ask’:

- (50b) *tà ndàv-s-à zálà*
 3PL ask-S-PB men
 ‘men asked each other, .’

4.4 The grammaticalization of the source extension *s*

The source extension *s* most probably derives from the verb *sà* ‘come from’. The semantic explanation for this grammaticalization is straightforward: the verb ‘come from’ entails leaving some place, and therefore the entailment of the verb became the function of the extension derived from the verb. In a number of Chadic languages verbal extensions coding movement away from a place or toward a place derive from erstwhile verbs ‘go’, ‘leave’, ‘come’ (Frajzyngier 1987).

5. Conclusions

Wandala has grammaticalized a number of categories involving movement of the subject or object. One category, ventive, was described in the preceding chapter. In the present chapter three other categories have been discussed: the inner-space extension *m*, which indicates movement of the subject or object into an enclosed space; the target extension *t*, which indicates movement toward a target; and the source extension *s*, which indicates movement from the source. The latter two extensions add directionality to verbs of movement and the features ‘movement’ and ‘directionality’ to verbs that do not code movement. Both extensions have acquired non-locative functions.

A verb may have several extensions occurring at the same time. Which extensions can co-occur and which cannot is determined by semantic conditions. More specifically, if two extensions code overlapping meanings they cannot co-occur. If two extensions code contradictory meanings, they also cannot co-occur. The following table represents co-occurrence of verbal extensions. Recall that the goal extension and applicative have functions in addition to the locative function. In the table, ‘X’ represents occurrence, ‘-’ represents non-occurrence, and ‘0’ represents impossible sequence. The forms in the left column represent the first extension in the sequence, the forms in the subsequent represent the second extension in the sequence:

	GO	VENT	IN	S	T	APPL	ON
GO	0	X	-	X	-	X	X
VENT	-	0	-	-	X	X	-
IN	-	-	0	-	-	-	-
S	X	-	-	0	X	-	X
T	X	X	-	-	0	-	-
APPL	X	-	-	X	X	0	X
ON	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Chapter 10

Locative predication

1. The components of locative predication

Locative predication codes either a directional movement or the presence of an object or an activity in a given place. The coding means involved in locative predication are the inherent locative characteristics of nouns and verbs; the locative predicator *a*; auxiliary verbs; prepositions; verbal extensions; serial verb constructions; and spatial specifiers. The following functions are coded by these means: movement toward or away from a location; arrival at a location; movement from the source; spatial orientation for movement; presence of an entity or activity in a given place; manner of movement; and altrilocality. The forms of the locative predications in various domains depend on whether the verb or the complement is inherently locative.

2. Inherently locative predicates

A complement is inherently locative if it does not require a marker of being a locative complement. Inherently locative complements are the nouns *mbà* ‘compound, home’, ‘house’, *lálá* ‘borough’, and, most interestingly, toponyms of towns and villages inhabited by Wandala. A predicate is inherently locative if it codes directionality toward or away from a location or presence at a location. Inherently locative predicates are the verbs *d* ‘go to’ and *s* ‘come from’. No other markers of locative predication, such as prepositions or the locative predicator *á*, are used if the predicate and the complement are both inherently locative. The evidence that the verb *d* is inherently directional, hence locative, and means ‘go to’ rather than simply ‘go’, is provided by the fact that it does not require the locative predicator *á*. The verb has the root form before a locative complement:

- (1) *tàdámháłàksè*
tà dá mbá-á łàksè
3PL go house-GEN Sultan
‘They went to the Sultan.’

- (2) *tá ddámhá dárgè gdzàgyálè*
tá ddá mbá-á d-á-r gè
 3PL go:IMP home-GEN father-GEN-3SG TO
gdzà gyálè
 young girl
 ‘They should go to the father of the girl.’

Additional evidence that the verb *d* means ‘go to’ is provided by questions about the place one goes to. These questions do not have the predicator *á* (unlike all other questions about directionality). The verb has the root form before a question word about the place:

- (3) *ká dá mè*
 2SG go where
 ‘where are you going?’

The verbs *d* ‘go to’ and *s* ‘come from’ can have the ventive marker *w* without coding a change in directionality:

- (4) *mávà cáttàn ðàmùb dàlyé hárbò kífyé*
má vácíyà tè-nà ðàbù dàlyé háre bwà kífyé
 HYP time DEF-DEM again day two three
 ‘After some time, two or three days,’
- tátsàtá dúðàbè*
tá tsà tá d-úw ðàbè
 3PL get up 3PL go-VENT again
 ‘they get up, they go there again.’

The ending *a* on verbs *d* and *s* indicates movement toward the place of speech:

- (5) *má dà-dà (dà múrà)*
 HYP go-go go Mora
 ‘if he arrived/returned (to Mora)’
- (6a) *má sà-sà*
 HYP go-go
 ‘if he arrived’
- (6b) *sà-m-sà*
 come-IN-come
 ‘he came’

When only departure from the place is involved, the verb *s* ‘come from’ ends in the separation marker *e*:

(7a) *sá-nə̀-sé*
 come-1SG- come
 ‘I left’

(7b) *sà-n-án-sə̀-s-è*
 come-1SG-GO-3SG-S-come
 ‘I took it out’

When the verb coding departure from the source is followed by the subject, the only marker of the departure is the source extension *s*. The verb ends in the vowel *a* before the nominal subject:

(8) *à sə̀-s-s-á mùksèn*
 3SG come-S-come-PB woman
 ‘the woman left’

The goal extension on the inherently locative verb *d* indicates that the subject (or object) moved to a place other than the one where the speaker is. If the locative complement belongs to the set of Wandala home localities, no preposition marks the locative complement:

(9) *à d-á múrà/dǎlà*
 3SG go-GO Mora/Dulo
 ‘he returned to Mora/Dulo’ [cannot be said in Mora or Dulo]

The evidence that the verb *s* means ‘come from’ rather than ‘come to’ is provided by the fact that the locative source from which the subject comes is unmarked by other means coding directionality. In the example below, the goal marker added to the verb refers to the place the subject came to:

(10) *à sàwá márwa*
 3SG come from:VENT:GO Maroua
 ‘He comes from Maroua.’ [said in Meme about this writer, who was present at the time and place of speech]

The source component of the verb *sà* is neutralized by the ventive extension:

(11) *yó ásò hárá làrúskùmàžàrà*
yó á sà-w há-r-á làrús
 well 3SG come-VENT day-GEN marriage

kwàmàǵàrà

RQ now

‘Well, there finally comes the day of the marriage [the betrothal].’

The meanings of the complex consisting of the verbs *d* and *s* and verbal extensions can deviate significantly from the inherent meanings of the verbs. Further in this study, the verbs *d* and *s* are often glossed as ‘go’ and ‘come’ respectively.

Coding the presence of the subject at the place where the speaker is involves the form *bà*, followed by the predicator and spatial specifiers:

- (12) *á b-á-m múrà/dǵlà*
 3SG be-PRED-IN Mora/Dulo
 ‘he is in Mora/Dulo’

With the adverb of place *hùná* [*xùná*] ‘here’, the form *bá* must be used, but there is no preposition:

- (13) *á bá hùná [á bóxnà]*
 3SG be here
 ‘he is here’

The verb *njà* ‘sit, stay, remain’ is not inherently locative, as it does require the locative predicator *á* in a locative predication. Since the noun *mbà* ‘home’ is inherently locative, the complement does not require a locative preposition:

- (14) *yò jìbámdǵà tǵnjámbá žílnà*
yò jìb-á mdǵ ñá tá njà
 well type-GEN people DEM 3PL stay
á mb-á žíl nà
 PRED home-GEN man DEM
 ‘Well, the type of people who remain at the husband’s,’

3. Locative predicator

Locative predication is coded by the locative predicator *á* when the predicate is not inherently locative or when the predicate, even if locative, is separated from the complement by other material. Moreover, if the locative predication involves movement, the auxiliary *dǵ* follows the predicator and is followed by the appropriate spatial specifier, usually *m*: This is the case with the verbs *ǵǵrhà* ‘push’, *mbǵ* ‘fall from vertical position’, and *fǵ* ‘put’:

- (15) *bónà ñánnà kínà b̀rhá gdzàrà ñánnà*
bà únà ñánnà kínà à b̀rhá gdzàrà ñánnà
 FOC DEF DEF now 3SG push child:PL DEF
 ‘That’s what pushes those children’
ádám̀názù tàhàynárvónđátàrnà
*á d̀-**m** názù tà hà̀y-ná rvónđ-á-tà̀r*
 PRED go-IN what 3PL want-3SG heart-GEN-3PL
nà
 DEM
 ‘into something that their hearts want.’
- (16) *prám ñán kínà ná b̀mb̀d̀d̀á d̀ám hùd̀á yàwè*
*prám ñán kìnì à ná b̀ mb̀d̀á á d̀-**m***
 pum! 3SG C.FOC 3SG then fall PRED go-IN
hùd̀-á yàwè
 belly-GEN water
 ‘Pum, he threw himself into the water.’

The predicator *á* is not followed by the directional auxiliary when the matrix verb is *f̀á* ‘put’, indicating that the predication is stative rather than directional:

- (17) *má f̀átà̀rm skùwé ámhùd̀áv̀wà*
*má f̀á-tà̀r-**m** skù wé á-**m** hùd̀-á-**v̀wà***
 HYP put-3PL-IN like what PRED-IN belly-GEN-body
 ‘What should one put into their bodies?’
- (18) *tà f̀á t̀ z̀à̀ỳwà*
tà f̀-á á t̀ z̀à̀ỳwà
 3PL put-GO PRED T donkey
 ‘They put it on the donkey.’

The evidence that the presence of the marker *á* depends on the characteristics of the predicate rather than on the characteristics of the complement is provided by the fact that an inherently locative complement may occur with or without the predicator *á*, depending on the characteristics of the predicate:

- (19) *kàd̀ùh̀ùm t̀*
kà d̀íw hw mt̀ù
 2SG go:VENT outside or
 ‘Did you go anywhere?’

Compare the use of the predicator *á* with locative predicates:

- (20) *kà fúfè lémó hwá*
kà f-ú-fè lèmù (H.?) á hwá
 2SG drink-VENT-drink lemon PRED there
 ‘did you eat a lemon there?’

yè ddá brà á mbá
 1SG FUT find PRED house
 ‘I will find him at his place.’

The locative predicator is used when a clause contains a locative predication but has no verb at all:

- (21) *á tè baramà tà foyà [fòì ñánnà] not in the recording]*
á tè baramà tà fà úyà [ñánnà]
 PRED T way 3PL drink chat [DEF]
 ‘On the way they talked.’

má dá dùmá máǵárwà
má dá-d má máǵár wá
 HYP go-go HYP now COM
 ‘And when he [the groom] goes,’
álvá tàr ñán nbàd dǎ zè dàdàw
álv-á tàr ñánnà bàdǎmmè á dǎ zè dàdà
 speech-GEN 3PL DEF all PRED go HL father
 ‘everything that they have to say is to the father.’

4. Inherently locative complements

Inherently locative complements are not marked by locative prepositions, but they may be preceded by spatial specifiers. These complements include the names of Wandala villages. A non-locative complement must be coded by one of the locative prepositions: *m*, *t*, or *n*. In addition, a non-locative complement may be marked by spatial specifiers. A [+human] noun must be additionally marked if it is to be used as a locative complement. The evidence that a complement is inherently locative in the sense described above is provided by the fact that, in a stative locative predication or in a verbal predication with a locative predicate, such a complement does not require any preposition:

- (22) *á mǐrà*
 3SG Mora
 ‘he is in Mora’

á *dɔ́lá*
 3SG Dulo
 ‘he is [back] in Dulo’ (Mora and Dulo are Wandala towns)

The noun *lálá* ‘neighborhood, borough’ is inherently locative. If the predicate is not inherently locative, as is the case with the verb *bàlá* ‘announce’, the predicator *á* must be used:

(23) *ábàlá**ná* *lálá-rà*
 á *bàlá-n* *á* *lál-á-rà*
 3SG announce-3SG PRED borough-GEN-3SG
 ‘He announces it in his neighborhood.’

*ábàlá**ná* *múra*
á *bàlá-n* *á* *múra*
 3SG announce-3SG PRED Mora
 ‘he announces it in Mora’

The noun *mbá* ‘home’ is inherently locative. When *mbà* is used, no preposition is used in a stative locative clause:

(24) *hármákè* *mdágyálè* *támbážílé*
 hár *mákè* *md-á* *gyálè* *tá*
 up to (H) week people-GEN girl 3PL:PRED
 mb-á *žílé*
 home-GEN husband
 ‘Up to one week, the people of the girl are at the home of the husband.’

The adverb *hwà* ‘there, somewhere’ is inherently locative, as evidenced by the fact that it is not preceded by a preposition:

(25) *kàdúhùm* *tù*
 kà *dúw* *hw* *mtù*
 2SG go:VENT outside or
 ‘Did you go anywhere?’

That which is an inherently locative predicate and an inherently locative complement is not determined by some analysis of the real-world phenomena referred to by nouns and verbs, but rather by the semantic relations encoded in the lexical system of Wandala. Thus, the verb *fá* ‘put’ is not an inherently locative predicate, and the noun *vúà* ‘body’ is not an inherently locative

complement. Consequently, the use of the two lexical items as a predicate and a locative complement requires the locative predicator and a preposition:

- (26) *mádàzè̀málátà̀là̀ máfànámávúà̀*
má dè zè̀ mál-á̀ tálà̀ mà̀
 1INCL go HL chief-GEN borough 1INCL
fá-n-m á-m vúà̀
 put:GO-3SG-IN PRED-IN body
 ‘Let’s go to the chief of the neighborhood, to let him know.’

5. Coding the directionality of movement

The coding of directionality with non-movement verbs involves a serial verb construction consisting of the main verb followed by a verb of movement. The direction ‘to’ is marked by the verb *d* ‘go’, and the movement ‘from’ by the verb *s* ‘come from’:

- (27a) *yè vlà-nà d-á múrà̀*
 1SG send-3SG go-GO Mora
 ‘I sent it to Mora’
- (27b) *tà vlà-nà sà-wá múrà̀*
 3PL send-3SG come-VENT Mora
 ‘they sent it from Mora’

If an inherently directional and inherently intransitive verb is transitivized, e.g. through the addition of goal marker *á*, the locative complement must be preceded by the directional verb *d* or *s* with the goal marker, or by the verb *s* with the ventive marker, depending on whether the source of the object is included in the information:

- (28a) *tà d-á hìyà d-á múrà̀*
 3PL go-GO corn-1SG go-GO Mora
 ‘they took guinea corn to Mora’
- (28b) *tà s-y-á hìyá sà-wá múrà̀*
 3PL come-1SG-GO corn come-VENT Mora
 ‘they brought me guinea corn from Mora’

If the locative complement is the destination rather than the source, the goal marker rather than the ventive marker is used with the verb *s* ‘come from’:

- (29) *tà s-y-á hìyá-rwà s-á múrà*
 3PL come-1SG-GO corn-1SG come-GO Mora
 ‘they brought my guinea corn to me in Mora’ [the speaker is in Mora]

If the predicate is not inherently directional, the locative complement must be preceded by the locative predicator *á* and a directionality marker e.g. *dám* ‘go-in’, in that order:

- (30a) *tà mbàdǎ-m-hé á dǎ-m yàwè*
 3PL fall:PL-IN-PNCT PRED go-IN water
 ‘they fell into the water’

- (30b) *táná bǎptsàhá dǎmfǎñánn ǒbàdàlyé*
tà náb ptsà-hè á dǎm fǎ ñánnà
 3PL then return-PNCT PRED go:IN field DEF
ǒbè á dàlyé
 again PRED again
 ‘They returned to the field.’

Even if the verb is inherently locative, but the form in which it is used is nominalized, the locative complement must be preceded by the locative predicator. If the locative complement is not inherently locative, it must be preceded by the directional marker *dǎ-m*:

- (31) *dǎ-m-d-á-rà á dǎ-m hùd-á yàwè*
 go-IN-go-GEN-3SG PRED go-IN belly-GEN water
á tàttàyà tàttàyà tàttàyà
 3SG search search search
 ‘Having entered the water, he is looking, he is looking, he is looking.’

Before a toponym that does not refer to a Wandala town, and before all other nouns, including inherently non-locative nouns, the general directional marker is *dǎ-m*. If the verb is inherently locative, the locative predicator *á* is not used:

- (32) *dá-dà dǎ-m Gider/Pete/Marua*
 go-go go-IN Guider/Pété/Maroua
 ‘He returned to Guider/Pété/Maroua for good’ [said outside of these places]

á dǎ-m kánò/márwà/Yaoundé
 3SG go-IN Kano/Maroua/Yaoundé
 ‘he is going (back) to Kano/Maroua/Yaoundé’

**á dá kánò/márwà/Yaoundé*
 3SG go:GO Kano/Maroua/Yaoundé
 ‘he is going back to Kano/Maroua/Yaoundé’

The coding of the directional complement, even in the absence of the predicate, is realized through the verb *d* followed by the spatial specifier *m* preceding the noun:

(33) *mádám tàtárkínì máná bàǵálà*
má dǎ-m tàtá-r kìnì má nábà ǵálà
 HYP go-IN place-Q C.FOC IINCL then go
 ‘No matter into what place, we can go there.’

The verb *s* ‘come from’ behaves similarly to the verb *d* ‘go to’. If the locative complement is drawn from the name of a Wandala village, and if the complement is the target of movement, the directional marker *s* has the goal marker *á* suffixed:

(34) *sá-sà sá múrà/mime/krèwà*
 come-come come:GO Mora/Meme/Krewa
 ‘he came to Mora/Meme/Kerawa for good’ [said in those villages]

Locative complements that are not Wandala villages require the locative preposition *m* added to the directional marker *s*:

(35) *sá-sà sám Gider/Pete/Marua/Kolofata/Banki*
 come-come come:IN Guider/Peté/Maroua/Kolofata/Banki
 ‘he came to Guider/Peté/Maroua/Kolofata/Banki for good’ [said in those towns]

6. [+human] nouns in directional locative predication

Two markers of the locative complement are used for [+human] nouns. Both markers precede the [+human] noun. One marker is *mbà* ‘compound, home’, glossed as ‘home’. The other marker is *zà* or *zè*, depending on syllabic structure resulting from contact with the initial segment of the following noun. I gloss this marker as HL for ‘human locative’ to indicate that its function is to mark the following [+human] noun as a locative complement. There is no corresponding noun within Wandala, but it may be related to the noun *z* ‘body’ frequently found in Chadic languages.

- (36) *à dá zà lákàtá ñàrà*
 3SG go HL fellow 3SG
 'he went to his fellow'

àdázàlàksé
à dá zà làksé
 3SG go HL Sultan
 'He went to the Sultan'

The marker itself behaves like a preposition in that the verbs preceding it have the root form:

- (37) *tádánàdázàm mdámùksè*
tá dà-nà dá zà-m md-á mùksè
 3PL go-3SG go HL-IN people-GEN woman
 'They take it to the people of the bride.'

The human locative marker precedes pronouns:

- (38) *àbàlàksùwá dómbaré nóyàblámdè*
à bà làksè wá dú-wà mbàré
 3PL say Sultan COM go-PL.IMP together
nó yá blá mdè á dá zà
 PRES 1SG send people PRED go HL
kùr ñánnà
 2PL DEF
 'The sultan said, "Go, I am sending people to your place.'"

à sá zà-rwà
 3SG come HL-1SG
 'he came to me'

7. Stative locative predication

Stative locative predications are those that predicate the existence of an entity A at a place B or the occurrence of an event A at a place B. There are two constructions coding stative locatives: one where the predication is coded as locative just by the form of the complement, and the other where the predication is coded as locative by the locative predicator *á*.

Locative stative predication has the form: S *á* locative complement. If the complement noun is inherently locative, there are no other markers of locative predication. Subject pronouns fuse with the locative predicator *á*. The evi-

dence that the locative predicator is involved is provided uniformly by the high-tone vowel *á* preceding the locative complement:

(39) *á* *múra*
3SG:PRED Mora
'he is in Mora'

tá *múra*
3PL:PRED Mora
'they are in Mora'

yé *múra*
1SG:PRED Mora
'I am in Mora'

á *zà* *làkátá* *ńára*
3SG:PRED HL fellow 3SG
'he is at his buddy's'

Nominal subjects precede the locative predicator and fuse with it:

(40) *mù-rwá* *múra*
mother-1SG:PRED Mora
'my mother is in Mora'

8. Prepositions and spatial specifiers

The function of prepositions is to code an inherently non-locative noun as a locative complement. There are three prepositions, two of which correspond to the spatial extensions: *t* 'target', *m* 'IN', and *k* 'on'. Prepositions cannot be the only markers of locative predications, but they can be the only markers of locative complements. The preposition *m* functions as the general locative marker, i.e. a marker that does not specify a narrow spatial relationship. Regardless of whether a noun is inherently locative, if it occurs in a position other than the one after a locative verb, it must be coded by the locative predicator *á* and the spatial specifier *m*. In the following example, the locative complement follows another noun and, accordingly, is marked by the locative predicator and the preposition *m*:

(41) *ńà* *dá* *lúwà* *kàlfé* *á-m* *dàrv-úmlè*
1EXCL go catch fish PRED-at pond-another

žìr-á-rà *tàpàfákò*
 name-GEN-3SG Toposako
 ‘We went fishing in a pond called Toposako.’

à *nà* *yá* *á-t* *bàráamá*
 3SG see 1SG PRED-T road
 ‘he saw me on the road’

nàmblámbрэ
nàmbl *á-m* *brè*
 sack PRED-IN room
 ‘the sack is in the room’

nàmblá á *tà* *dzàndzánè*
 sack PRED T bed
 ‘the sack is on the bed’

Spatial specifiers cannot be the only markers of the locative complement. They must follow locative prepositions. Spatial specifiers code the spatial relationship with respect to the deictic center. Most spatial specifiers are derived from body-part nouns, and they are linked to the following nouns through the genitive marker *á*. The reference point for spatial orientation is the locative complement itself, rather than the speaker or the hearer.

For horizontal configurations, the point of reference is the front of the object; i.e., the position of the object A (even if A is the speaker) with respect to the object B is determined by the front of the object B. Consider the following cases. The speaker facing the back of the computer said that he is sitting ‘behind the computer’:

(42) *á-m* *íg-á* *ordinater*
 PRED-IN back-GEN computer
 ‘behind the computer’ [*ígà* ‘back (of man, animal)']

á-m *íg-árwà*
 PRED-IN back-1SG
 ‘at my back’, i.e. right behind me

yà *án-íg-á* *ordinater* or *ám-ígà*
 1SG ASSC-back-GEN computer
 ‘I am behind the computer’ [said by a person who is facing the back of the computer]

ká kàt á-fk-á ordinator
 2SG PREP-T PRED-face-GEN computer
 ‘you are in front of computer’ [about a person facing the front of the computer; the speaker is on the other side of the computer]-

á-t-ìr-á ordinator
 PRED-IN-head-GEN computer
 ‘above the computer’

á-m-átt-á ordinator
 PRED-IN-below-GEN computer
 ‘below the computer’ [*áttà* ‘below’, not a body-part term]

á-m-làrp-á ordinator
 PRED-IN-side of body-GEN computer
 ‘at the side of the computer’

The preposition *kà*, which has no cognates among body-part terms, describes the position of an object with respect to the end limits of the space where the objects are, considering their horizontal linear order. The preposition *kà* can be followed by the preposition *t*:

(43) *á kà-t á fk-á minà*
 PRED PREP-T PRED face-GEN 1INCL
 ‘in front us’

á kà-tàlyà
 ‘the one at the back, the last one’ [within the enclosed space]

ǎá-k-tá brè
 finish-LIMIT-T room
 ‘the end of the room’

When the speaker addresses an audience that does not see the spatial configuration, the speaker may use the term ‘in front’ as the default spatial orientation:

- (44) *nóovà tón kìnìnjànínjá twáfká ordinator yándál vwándàlà*
nóo và tó-n kìnì njà-n-í-njà á tù
 PRES time T-DEMC.FOC sit-1SG-EP-sit PRED before
wáfk-á ordinator yá ndà lv wándàlà
 face-GEN computer 1SG speak language Wandala
 ‘Today, I sat down in front of the computer, I am speaking the Wandala language.’

Another speaker questions the use of *kà* here. According to him, the expression *kà* is used only if the speaker has his back turned toward the point of reference, in this case toward the computer.

When several prepositions and spatial specifiers are involved, the first one is *m*, the second is *k*, and the third is *t*, in the order *m (k) t*:

- (45) *nàmblá á-mè k tá dzèndzèné*
 sack PRED-IN PREP T bed
 ‘the sack is under the bed’

nàmblá á-m tàtà dzèndzèné
 sack PRED-IN side bed

‘the sack is beside the bed’ [either side of the bed, with the front of the bed as a reference point]

nàmblá á ká tá-fk-á dzèndzèné
 sack PRED PREP T-face-GEN bed

‘the sack is in front of the bed’ [The bed has an inherent front side and the back side. The relationship is only with respect to the bed, not to the speaker/hearer.]

nàf á ká tá-fk-á ryà
 wood PRED PREP T-face-GEN wall

‘the wood is in front of the wall’

kr-ám hùvyá-myà

dog-IN between-GEN-1INCL

‘the dog is between us’ [*hùv-ìr* ‘the turning of the head’]

There is an important difference between the functions of prepositions in many IE languages and the function of prepositions in Wandala. In Wandala, the preposition marks the locative complement only when the complement is not inherently locative.

With spatial modifiers, the [+human] noun alone cannot be used as a point of reference. Instead, a part of the body must be used as a reference point:

- (46) *dzàkwá á-m-àktá hùd-á gdzré*
 hat PRED-IN-under belly-GEN child
 ‘the hat is under the child’s belly’ [*hùdě* ‘belly’]

A noun preceded by the human locative marker *zà* cannot serve as the locative complement in a stative locative predication:

- (47) **dzàkwá á-m-àktá zà gdzré*
 hat PRED:IN:under HL child
 ‘the hat is under the child’

The noun *hùdè* ‘belly’ codes the spatial position within some space:

- (48) *ácinàyéddá ñàrámhùdávè*
á cinà yé ddà ñàrà á-m
 3SG hear voice father 3SG PRED-IN
hùd-á vgè
 belly-GEN grave
 ‘He hears the voice of his father in the grave.’

The noun *wáfkè* ‘face’ is used to code the position in front of the deictic center:

- (49) *nónwányénjátófká pàtrónárwà*
nó ñán yá ñà á tù wáfk-á
 PRES 3SG 1SG sit PRED before face-GEN
patron-á-rwà
 boss-GEN-1SG
 ‘Here I am sitting in front of my boss.’

The locative adverbial phrase may occur in clause-initial position if it is preceded by the locative predicator *á*:

- (50) *ámárvònd-á-rà màwàyáwày žílár ñánnà*
á-má rvònd-á-rà má wàyà-wày
 PRED-IN heart-GEN-3SG HYP love-love
žíl-á-r ñánnà
 husband-GEN-3SG DEF
 ‘if in her heart she loves her husband’

The verb *fá* ‘put’ must be followed by a locative complement or by an extension indicating a locative complement:

- (51) *tà fá tǝ zǝŋwà*
tà f-á á tǝ zǝŋwà
 3PL put-GO PRED T donkey
 ‘They put it on the donkey.’

**tà fǝ zǝrv-á-tǝrè*
 3PL put sesame-GEN-3PL
 ‘they put their sesame’

The addition of the locative extension makes the clause grammatical:

- (52) *tà fǝm zǝrv-á-tǝrè*
 3PL put-IN sesame:GEN-3PL
 ‘they put it in their sesame’

9. The parameters of manner and directionality of movement

The parameters of manner and directionality of movement are coded by two verbs, in the following order: first manner, then directionality. In the following examples, the verb *žǝgàdè* codes the manner, ‘run’, and the verb *d* ‘go to’ and *s* ‘come from’ code the directionality of movement. Each verb in this construction is preceded by its subject pronoun:

- (53) *á žǝgàdà dǝ zà lǝkàtǝ ŋàrà*
á žǝgàd à dǝ zà lǝkàtǝ ŋàrà
 3SG run 3SG go HL fellow 3SG
 ‘he runs to his fellow’s [place]’

à žǝgàdà dǝ zà lǝkàtǝ ŋàrà
à žǝgàd à dǝ zà lǝkàtǝ ŋàrà
 3SG run 3SG go HL fellow 3SG
 ‘he ran to his fellow’s [place]’

Directionality ‘from’ with the verb of manner is coded by the verb *sà-w* ‘come from’ following the manner verb:

- (54) *á žǝgàdà só zà lǝkàtǝ ŋàrà*
á žǝgàd à sá-w zà lǝkàtǝ ŋàrà
 3SG run 3SG come from:VENT HL fellow 3SG
 ‘he runs from his fellow’s [place]’

10. Coding altrilocality

Altrilocality indicates that the event occurs, has occurred, or will occur at a place other than the one at which subject was/is before the event. Altrilocality is coded either by the verb *d* ‘go to’ or *s* ‘come from’, depending on whether the event is represented from the point of view of the previous place or the subsequent place. The coding of altrilocality differs from the coding of directionality in that the altrilocality marker is first and the other verb is its complement. The subject of the clause precedes the verb coding altrilocality. The verb coding altrilocality has the root form, the same form that verbs have before complement clauses:

- (55) *tátsámdá žilé*
tá tsá md-á žilé
 3PL get-up people-GEN man
 ‘People of the groom get up,’
tásàbàgfyì mdámùksè
tá sà bàgfyì md-á mùksè
 3PL come meet people-GEN woman
 ‘they come to find the people of the bride.’

Here are examples of the coding of altrilocality from the point of view of the preceding place:

- (56a) *àbàṅán kàyà sèyàdè sánsè sábinà*
à bà ṅán kàyà sèi yà dè
 3SG say 3SG nevertheless then 1SG SEQ
sá-n-sà-sè á b-inà
 come-3SG-S-come 3SG say-3SG
 ‘He says, “Nevertheless, I will get it out.”’
- (56b) *tàdúhè dāmtàttàyà á vḡèṅánnàtátsáhé*
tà dú-hè dā-m tàttàyá ávḡè ṅánnà tà
 3PL go:VENT-PNCT go-IN search grave DEF3 PL
tsá-hè
 stop-PNCT
 ‘They got going in search of that grave, [and] they stopped [where they found the grave].’

Here is an example of the coding of altrilocality from the point of view of the subsequent place:

- (57) *yáwwà átù ánicá wáyà táksàgyálè ʒàbádàlyè*
yáwwà á tù án yc-á wáyà tá sà
 well PRED before ASSC look-GEN night 3PL come
ksà gyálè ʒàb á dàlyè
 take girl yet PRED more
 ‘Well, before the night, they come to take the girl as well.’

The coding of altrilocality is quite different from the coding of the purpose clause, even if translations might suggest otherwise. The purpose clause is coded by the preposition *gə* preceding the verb of the embedded clause:

- (58) *yà dú gə s-á mùksè á sà-m*
 1SG go TO come-GO woman PRED come-IN
mb-á ʒil-á-rà
 house-GEN husband-GEN-3SG
 ‘I went to bring back the woman to her husband’ (elicited)

11. Conclusions

The domain of the locative predication includes the following functions: directional predication, stative predication, point of view, spatial orientation with respect to the locative complement, manner, and altrilocality.

The forms of locative predications in all functions depend on the inherent properties of the predicates and the complements. If the predicate is inherently locative and the complement is inherently locative, no locative predicator or preposition is used in the predication. If the predicate is not inherently locative, the locative predicator *á* must precede the complement. If the predicate is locative but separated from the complement by other material, such as the subject or the object, the predicator *á* must also precede the complement. If the complement is not inherently locative, i.e. is not one of the locative adverbs; a noun corresponding to ‘home’, ‘compound’, ‘town’; or a toponym representing a place where Wandala live, the locative complement must be marked by a preposition. A preposition may in turn be followed by spatial specifiers that orient the subject or object with respect to the locative complement.

Directionality of the event is coded by auxiliary verbs *d* ‘go to’ and *s* ‘come from’, which follow the main verb of the clause. The markers of directionality may occur even if the main verbs are *d* ‘go to’ and *s* ‘come from’.

Verbs coding the manner of movement precede verbs coding directionality.

Altrilocality indicates that the event happens at a place different from the place at which subject is or will be. Altrilocality can be coded either from the point of view of the preceding place or from the point of view of the subsequent place. The coding of altrilocality differs from the coding of directionality in that the markers of altrilocality, derived from the verbs *d* 'go to' and *s* 'come from', are first in the construction, and the other verbs are considered complements of the verbs coding altrilocality.

Chapter 11

Verbless predications

1. Introduction

Verbless predications have a variety of forms. Verbless clauses code a number of functions in Wandala, including locative predication, equational predication, existential predication, property predication, and possessive predication. Each of these predications is marked by different formal means.

2. Verbless locative predication

Verbless locative predication has the form S *á* Locative complement. Even if the subject is nominal, the subject pronoun must still precede the locative predicator *á*. The locative predicator *á* fuses with the preceding subject pronoun. The presence of the locative predicator is attested by the high tone on the syllable of which the predicator is the nucleus. The verbless locative predication is stative, indicating the presence of the element X at the place Y.

- (1) *yàndànéenàwá ádàbà kwàkyétrà tám hùdàrà*
yà ndà-né-yà nà wá ádàbà
 1SG say-3SG-1SG DEM COM because
kwàkyé trà t-á-m hùd-á-rà
 much work 3PL-PRED-IN belly-GEN-3SG
 ‘Like what I said earlier, there is too much work in it.’

hármákè mdágyálè támbážilé
hár mákè md-á gyálè tá
 up to (H) week people-GEN girl 3PL:PRED
mb-á žilé
 home-GEN husband
 ‘Up to one week, the people of the girl are at the home of the husband.’

When the subject pronoun is the third-person singular, its presence in the clause does not leave traces in the phonetic structure because the vowel of the pronoun is *a*, which fuses with the locative predicator *á*. The tone on the locative predicator is high; therefore, the syllable resulting from the fusion of the third-person singular subject pronoun and the locative predicator must

have high tone:

- (2) *mábám hùdáyèw ɣánnè kìnì*
má bà á-m hùd-á yàw ɣánnè kìnì
 HYP FOC PRED-IN belly-GEN water DEF C.FOC
 ‘Even if it is in this water!’

á zè mùks-á-rà
 3SG.PRED HL wife-GEN-3SG
 ‘he is at his wife’s’

The presence of the locative predicator is evidenced by clauses with nominal subjects. The phrase preceding the nominal predicator has the prepausal form:

- (3) *ólà tàr ɣánnà bàdāmmè á dá zè dàdà*
 speech 3PL DEF all PRED go HL father
 ‘Everything that they have to say is to the father.’

èlā-h-á-rwà á-m kwàskwé
 cows-PL-GEN-1SG PRED-IN market
 ‘my cows are at the market’

àd-rú á-m sòjì-rè
 father-1SG PRED-IN soldier-NOM
 ‘my father is in the army’

3. Equational predication

Equational predication has the structure subject-predicate; i.e., like the locative predication, it has a different word order than the pragmatically neutral verbal predication with nominal arguments. There is no copula:

- (4) *yò jìbámðéǵá tànjámhá žílnà*
yò jìb-á mdà ɣá tá njà
 well type-GEN people DEM 3PLstay
á mb-á žíl nà
 PRED home-GEN man DEM
 ‘Well, the type of people who remain at the husband’s,’

tántàrè gdzàgyálnà áskà málàrḡàrà
tá ántàrè gdzà gyál nà áskà málàrè ḡàrà
 3PL ASSC:PL young girl DEM like aunt 3SG

‘who are with the young girl, are like her aunt’

áskà gdzáməḡàrà tǎnjǎnnúhè
áskà gdzà má ḡàrà tá
 like young mother 3PL 3PL

nǎ-n-n-ú-hè
 stay-3SG-3SG-VENT-PNCT

‘like her sister, ‘

támlǎnnùwá mǎgàtrà
tá mlà-n-n-ù wá mǎgà trà
 3PL help-3SG-3SG-VENT COM do work
 ‘[and] they remain with her to help her with the work.’

ḡà dá lúwá kǎlfé á-m dǎrvá (úmlè)
 1EXCL go catch fish PRED-IN pond another

ǒr-á-rà tǎpǎfákò
 name-GEN-3SG Toposako

‘We went fishing in another pond which is called Toposako.’ (speaker from Pulka)

mùksá sùpléyè
 woman butter
 ‘The woman is butter.’ [i.e., she melts easily; a saying]

The subject of the equational clause can be a demonstrative or a pronoun.

- (5) *támùsəl mátsà tǎmàsəlǎwrè*
tà mùsəlmá tsà t-á-m səlǎwré
 3PL Moslems yet 3PL-PRED-IN pants
 ‘They are Moslems, and yet they wear pants!’ (lit. ‘they are in pants’)

The third-person plural subject can be marked by the form *tǎr*, related to the third-person independent pronoun *ítàrè*, rather than the third-person plural subject marker *tà*:

- (6) *tǎrdádámámá ántàrgdzá tǎrǒilé*
tǎr dádá mámá ántàr gdz-á-tàr ǒilé
 3PL father mother ASSC:PL child-GEN-3PL male
 ‘They are the father, the mother, and their son.’

- (7a) *ɲàrkàè ɲàjìbàrà*
wá ɲár kàyà ɲà jìbà rà
 COM 1EXCL FOC 1EXCL type Q
 ‘What are we?’
- (7b) *cáamànkìni ɲà dǎrgè gdzrè*
cáamàn kìnì ɲà dá-r gè gdzrè
 first of all (K) C.FOC 1EXCL father:GEN-3SG TO child
 ‘‘First of all, we are the parents of the child.’’
- (8) *mábàhàyàkánkwa tìgákàdrúuwà*
má bà hàyà-ká-n-k wá tìgá
 HYP FOC like-2SG-3SG-NEG COM nevertheless
kà d-rúuwà
 2SG father-1SG
 ‘Although you do not like him, nevertheless you are my father.’

When the subject is nominal plural, the subject pronoun of the equational clause is *tá* rather than *tàr*:

- (9) *tàkàtá tákígyé*
tàkàt-a tá kígyé
 fellow-PL 3PL three
 ‘There were three friends.’

The subject of an equational clause can be a relative clause:

- (10) *yòo nǎzùysà kùrnèyàvátánkìnì*
yòo nǎzù yè s-à-kùr-nè-yà và
 well what 1SG come-GO-2PL-3SG-1SG day
tá-n kìnì
 DEF-DEF C.FOC
 ‘What I am bringing to you today’
- àgdzá fòyá làrúusà*
àgdz-á fòy-á làrúusà
 small-GEN story-GEN marriage
 ‘is a small story of a marriage.’

The subject of an equational clause may be a deictic or an anaphoric expression. Such subjects have the root form. Possessive pronouns suffixed to nominal subjects also have the root form:

- (11) *únà nàfá*
 DEF tree
 ‘that’s a tree’ [*únà* ‘that’]

àdd-rù sójì
 father-1SG soldier
 ‘my father is a soldier’

yá mágà sàníyàrù máǰàrà yágdzá žilè
yá mágà sàníy-á-rwà máǰàrà
 1SG make profession-GEN-1SG now
yá gǰz-á žilè
 1SG child-GEN man
 ‘I work in my profession, I am a free man.’

mùksárwúr wándàlà
mùks-á-rw ùr wándàlà
 woman-GEN-1SG person Wandala
 ‘my wife is Wandala’

The anaphoric element may have a narrative or a proposition as its antecedent:

- (12) *às-t-wá làríusà á-m xàx-á wándàlà*
 DEM-DEM-DEM marriage PRED-IN land-GEN Wandala
 ‘That is marriage in the Wandala land.’

The predicate of an equational clause may be the numeral ‘one’:

- (13) *yó màrà álvàtàrèpàllé ántàrà gǰzàrà*
yó màrà álvà-tàrè pàllé ántàrà gǰz-á-rà
 well mother word-3PL one with child-GEN-3SG
 ‘And then, the mother and the daughter have the same opinion.’

The predicate of an equational clause can be a question word:

- (14) *málarù ñán nùmú wàré*
mál-á-rùwà ñánn-mú wàré
 superior-GEN-1SG DEF-FOC who
 ‘This boss of mine is who?’ [‘Who is this boss of mine?’]

An equational clause may consist of a predicate only. The scope of the predication could be an entity present in the environment of speech or an antecedent in discourse:

- (15a) *àb̀̀ p̀̀̀ll̀̀ k̀̀̀ǹ̀ẁ̀á t̀̀̀l̀̀áǹ̀sk̀̀è f̀̀ì d̀̀á̀j̀̀ǹ̀à*
à b̀̀̀ p̀̀̀ll̀̀ k̀̀̀ǹ̀ì ẁ̀á t̀̀̀l̀̀áǹ̀ sk̀̀è
 3SG say one C.FOC COM sorry POL
f̀̀ìd̀̀-á-̀̀ ǹ̀à
 lie-GEN-2SG DEM
 ‘The other said, “Sorry, this is your lie [you are lying].”’

- (15b) *áa f̀̀ìd̀̀á̀j̀̀ǹ̀à*
áa f̀̀ìd̀̀-á-̀̀ǹ̀à
 no lie-GEN-2SG
 ‘No, [it is] your lie [you are lying].’

Equational clauses can have a numeral as a predicate and a pronoun as a subject, again, without any copula:

- (16) *k̀̀áì m̀̀àk̀̀ígỳ̀ísk̀̀è g̀̀dz̀̀árẁ̀à*
k̀̀áì m̀̀à k̀̀ígỳ̀ì sk̀̀è g̀̀dz̀̀árẁ̀à
 no, 1INCL three POL son-GEN-1SG
 ‘No, we are three [or no, there are three of us], my child.’

The predicate of the equational clause can be focused with the help of the focus marker *b̀̀̀*:

- (17) *̀̀ǹ̀ó̀̀j̀̀ẁ̀aǹ̀è z̀̀árẁ̀à ̀̀ǹ̀ánǹ̀à mb̀̀àt̀̀è b̀̀àj̀̀í̀r̀̀è*
̀̀ǹ̀ó̀̀ ̀̀ǹ̀áǹ̀è z̀̀árẁ̀à ̀̀ǹ̀ánǹ̀à mb̀̀àt̀̀è b̀̀̀ j̀̀í̀r̀̀è
 PRES 3SG sesame DEF indeed FOC true
 ‘Here it is, the sesame in question. Hence it is true.’

4. Property predication

Property predication is a predication whereby a property is attributed to a subject. Property predication, like equational predication, has no copula.

4.1 Adjectives in the predicative function

In natural discourse, an adjectival predicate precedes the subject, in both affirmative and in negative clauses. Before the subject, an adjectival predicate has the vowel *a* at the end, as verbal predicates do:

- (18) *má fágrà hálàrà má fágrà kà hálàrà*
má fágrà hál-á-rà má fágrà kà
 HYP good character-GEN-3SG HYP good NEG
hál-á-rà
 character-GEN-3SG
kàkní dīkdīyà
kà kní dī-k-dīyà
 2SG TOP know-2SG-know
 ‘Whether he has a good character or a bad character, you know your-
 self.’

In elicited sentences, sometimes the order is subject predicate. Given the uncertainty of meaning of elicited sentences, I do not include them in the description of property predication.

Property predication can consist of the predicate only. In the following example the predicate *jirè* ‘true’ has in its scope the claim made in the preceding discourse:

- (16) *nóywanè zàrvà ñánnà mbàtè bàjirè*
nó ñánè zàrvà ñánnà mbàtè bà jirè
 PRES 3SG sesame DEF indeed FOC true
 ‘Here it is, the sesame in question. Hence it is true.’

Some property-concept words appear to be derived through reduplication. The first syllable of the reduplicated form has low tone and the second syllable has high tone. Both syllables have central high vowels, which indicates that the forms in question are derived from roots consisting of just two consonants. The consonant between the reduplicated parts does not have to be repeated in the second syllable. These modifiers code both qualities and dimensions:

- (20) *zádè-ná kàḡà-n-vá ñánnà*
 stick-DEM.REM break-3SG-APPL DEF
dzàndzàd/dàgdàg/dāmdām kà
 strong/hard/heavy NEG
 ‘the stick that he broke was not strong/hard/heavy’

The evidence for the adjectival status of the reduplicated forms is provided by their modifying function in the postnominal position:

- (21) *s-yé-n-sà zádè dzàndzàdà/dàgdàgè/dāmdāmè*
 come-1SG-3SG-come stick strong/hard/heavy
 ‘bring me a hard/strong/heavy stick’

5. Nonspecific predication

Nonspecific predication consists of the apposition of two utterances, the first of which is marked by the end of clause marker. Nonspecific predication is a type of predication whereby the semantic relation between the two components is not specified. Indeed, it is not even clear whether a distinction between the subject and the predicate is involved. One instance of such predication has been recorded, but its formal structure indicates that the construction was not an ad hoc creation of the speaker:

- (22) *dá-ŋgré sàlàwré ágdzàrà mùksàkìni sàlàwré,*
dá-ŋgré sàlàwré ágdz-à-rà mùksè kìnì sàlàwré
 father-1EXCL pants child-GEN-3SGfemale C.FOC pants
 ‘One’s father—pants, even his daughter—pants.’

6. Existential predication

There are two types of existential predication in Wandala. One type codes the existence or non-existence of an entity. The other type codes the co-existence of one entity with another entity having the same role. I discuss first the existential predication of the first type and then the existential predication of the second type.

There are distinct predictors for affirmative existential clauses and negative existential clauses. In both types of clauses, the subject can precede or follow the predicate. The existential predication may be coded by the predicate of existence or by the juxtaposition of the subject and predicate.

6.1 Affirmative existential predication

The affirmative existential construction has the predicate *áŋkwà* preceding the argument:

- (23a) *áŋkwà dàd-á-myà*
 exist father-GEN-1INCL
 ‘God exists’
- ám hùd-á hàyè[pause]diyàkùrdiyáŋkwà yàwè*
ám hùd-á hàyè diyà-kùr-diyà áŋkwà yàwè
 IN belly-GEN river know-2PL-know exist water
 ‘In the river, you know, there is water.’

It is possible that the predicate of existence *áŋkwà* is composed of the associa-

tive marker *án* and the predicate of existence *kwà*. The support for this analysis is provided by the fact that the above sentence has been accepted without the predicate of existence *kwà*:

- (23b) *ám hùd-á hàyè dìyà-kùr-diyà án yàwè*
 IN belly-GEN river know-2PL-know ASSC water
 ‘in the river, you know, there is water’ (elicited)

Existential predication may have past time reference:

- (24) *áηkwà dùksákàmàgànáká*
áηkwà dùksá kà màgà-ná kà
 exist thing 2SG do-3SG 2SG
 ‘Was there anything you did’

áttú kàsóhèn ηánnà
á-t tú kà sá-w hùn ηánnà
 PRED-T before 2SG come-VENT here DEF
 ‘before you came here?’ [*hùnà* ‘here’]

The predicate of existence is different from predication of the manner of being, which does not take the existential predicate. It is also different from the locative predication, as it does not take the locative complement:

- (25) *ηán tàrà pàtrónárwà*
ηà ántàrà pàtrón-á-rwà
 1INCL and boss-GEN-1SG
 ‘We are together with my boss.’

Pronominal subjects precede the predicate of existence, as they precede all other simple verbs:

- (26) *t-áηkwà*
 3PL-exist
 ‘they are there’

m-áηkwà
 1INCL-exist
 ‘We are [together].’ [greeting when parting]

The third-person singular subject pronoun *a* is absorbed by the vowel *á* of the associative preposition. The evidence that such a pronoun exists in the underlying structure is provided by the meaning of some clauses:

- (27) [áŋkwà mbá] ← à áŋkwà mbá
 exist home
 ‘he is at home’ [not ‘there is a home’]

Existential predication can code possession when the subject of existence has a possessive pronoun:

- (28) áŋkwà diyárwà digiyá
 áŋkwà diy-á-rwà digiyá
 exist knowledge-GEN-1SG behold
 ‘I have my knowledge, behold.’

The existential predicate can be used in interrogative clauses:

- (29) áŋkwà-hà yàwè
 exist-Q water
 ‘is there water?’, ‘do you have water?’ (elicited)

The affirmative answer to such a question repeats only the predicate of existence, *áŋkwà*:

- (30) áŋkwà
 exist
 ‘there is’

The predication of existence can be made locative by the use of the predicator *á* after the subject and by using a locative complement:

- (31) áŋkwùlà-hà á tálá-myà
 áŋkwà t-àhà á tálá-myà
 exist cow-PL PRED neighborhood-1INCL
 ‘there are cows in our neighborhood’

6.2 Negative existential clauses

Negative existential clauses are formed by the negative predicator *bákà* or *báakà* in clause-initial or clause-final position. The position of the predicator indicates a distinction between old and new information. The construction subject-predicate has the subject as new information. All subjects in the following examples appear for the first time in their respective discourses:

- (13) *áyáwálvá rùbákà*
á yà-wá ðlvà-á-rwà bákà
 well 1SG-COM word-GEN-1SG NEG.EX
 ‘Well, I have no words.’
- (33) *ùrà fálimbákà*
ùrà fá limà bákà
 person put ears NEG.EX
 ‘There is nobody who minds.’
- (34) *tá kkàḷḷà tá kkàḷḷà tá kkàḷḷà mbàtè*[not recorded] *tà bəḡfì*
tá kkàḷḷà tá kkàḷḷà tá kkàḷḷà
 3PL count 3PL count 3PL count
mbàtè tà bəḡfì bà jirè lisáfya
 indeed 3PL find FOC truenumber (Ar.)
filyà zàrvà pállə bákà
filyà zàrvà pállə bákà
 sand sesame one NEG.EX
 ‘They counted, they counted, they counted, and they found that indeed it is true that one of their sesame seeds is missing.’
- (35) *ùràkwàré kimbákà*
ùrà kwàré kìn bákà
 person order C.FOC NEG.EX
 ‘No one gives me orders.’
- ùrà yà kwàrà-né-yà kìnì bákà*
ùrà yà kwàrà-né-yà kìnì bákà
 person 1SG order-3SG-1SG C.FOC NEG.EX
 ‘There is no person whom I order.’

The order predicate-subject codes the predicate as the new information.

- (36) *bákálvkwákya*
bákà ðlv kwákya
 NEG.EX matter much
 ‘There is not much to say.’

In the following examples, the subjects *kàlfé* ‘fish’ and *gùsà* ‘concert’ have both been mentioned in the previous discourse:

- (37a) *dàcí nánjà nánjà nánjà màzàrà*
 then wait wait wait and then
ḃákà kàlfé ḃákà kàlfé ḃákà kàlfé
 NEG.EX fish NEG.EX fish NEG.EX fish
 ‘We waited a long time, and there was no fish.’
- (37b) *ée, máḃákà gùsà ádàgà jḃàstwà tskádē*
ée, má ḃákà gùsà á dá gàfè
 well HYP NEG.EX concert 3SG go outside
ḃà s-t-wà tskádē
 FOC DEM-DEM-DEM silence
 ‘If there is no concert, it [the marriage] goes [on] in silence.’
- (37c) *nánkìní sé àhàyà ḃà dònà nánà*
nán kìnì sé à hàyà ḃà dó nà
 3SG C.FOC only 3SG like FOC man DEM
nánà
 DEF
 ‘She, she likes only the man that’
ḃákà pédárnàkà
ḃákà pèdà-á-r nà kà
 NEG.EX means/use-GEN-3SG DEM NEG
 ‘does not have any means.’ [or ‘only useless men’]

6.3 Coding co-existence

The co-existence of two entities is coded by the associative structure NP1 ASSC:PL NP2, where the structure constitutes an independent predication, i.e. when it is not part of another clause:

- (38) *nán tàrà pàtrónárwà*
nà àntàrà pàtrón-á-rwà
 1EXCL and boss-GEN-1SG
 ‘We are together with my boss.’
- (39) *ántàrà mùks-á-rà*
 3SG:ASSC:PL wife-GEN-3SG
 ‘he is with his wife’

The predication of co-existence differs from the possessive predication in that the latter has the singular associative preposition.

7. Possessive predication

Possessive predication codes the possession of the object X by the subject Y. The form of such clauses is S[N, PRO] *án* NP or *án* NP[N], where *án* is the singular associative preposition. Subject pronouns in possessive clauses have low tone, but the vowel of the subject pronoun fuses with the vowel of the associative marker and assumes the high tone of the associative marker:

(40a) *án* *mùks-á-rà*
 3SG:ASSC wife-GEN-3SG
 ‘he has a wife’

án *fúŋgù*
 3SG:ASSC money
 ‘she has money’

y-án *fúŋgù*
 1SG:ASSC money
 ‘I have money’

(40b) *má bàní bàdēm mírámyà mándiyámyà*
má-á bàní bàdēm ír-á-myà mà
 HYP-PRED concernall head-GEN-1INCL 1INCL
án diy-á-myà
 ASSC knowledge-GEN-1INCL
wá fágrónà máhí gámyà
wá fágrà únà má híg-á-myà [not in the recording]
 COM well DEF 1INCL happy-GEN-1INCL
 ‘‘Because we have all of this knowledge, it is good. As far as we are concerned, we are happy.’’ [*híg-á-myà* is not clear to other speakers.]

The nominal subject can follow or precede the possessum, depending on the pragmatic status of the subject. The third-person subject pronoun fuses with the associative marker:

(41) *án diy-á-rà lǎksè*
 ASSC knowledge-GEN-3SG chief
 ‘the chief has his knowledge’

tán diy-á-tàrà lǎks-àhà
 3PL:ASSC knowledge-GEN-3PL chief-PL
 ‘the chiefs have their knowledge’

The nominal subject can precede the associative preposition:

- (42) *háḡimì* *án* *fúḡgù* → [háḡimì yán fúḡgù]
 Hashimi ASSC money
 ‘Hashimi has money’

8. Conclusions

Verbless predications serve a variety of functions whose only common characteristic is the absence of the verb. Locative verbless predication must have the locative predicator *á*. The form of the locative verbless predication is: S *á* (PREP) NP.

Equational predication has the form NP NP. Property predication has property concepts preceding the subject. Property concepts have the root + *a* form preceding the subject even if their citation forms end in the vowel *e*.

Affirmative existential predication has the predicate *ánkwà* preceding or following the element whose existence is asserted. The different word orders code the information status of either the predicate or the element whose existence is asserted. Negative existential predication is coded by the form *ḡákà* following the element whose existence is denied.

Possessive predication has the form NP1[N, PRO] *án* NP2 or *án* NP2 NP1[N], where NP1 represents the possessor and NP2 the possessum.

Chapter 12

Adjunct phrases

1. Introduction

Adjuncts are nominal constituents that can be added to any proposition, provided that no nonsensical, contradictory, or tautological meaning results from such an addition. Given the fact that post-verbal position (the only position available as a coding means) is already taken by the category ‘subject’ or ‘object’, all adjuncts other than lexically inherent adjuncts are coded by prepositions.

2. Destinative

The destinative preposition *g*, often realized as *gə* (the central vowel insertion is phonologically conditioned), has the widest scope of all prepositions in Wandala. It codes the addressees of verbs of saying, nominal beneficiaries, possessive attributions, and, as discussed in chapter 7 (‘Grammatical relations’), nominal subjects in discourse-backgrounding clauses. It also codes clausal complements of purpose. The functions of the preposition *gə* partially overlap with the functions of the English prepositions ‘to’ and ‘for’. I gloss this preposition as ‘TO’. Here is an example of the preposition coding the addressee of the verb of saying:

- (1) *ítàrɲànnà máská má bàtráwè gəgdzàrà zálàhà ɲànnà*
ítàr ɲànnà má ské á má bà-trá wè
 3PL DEF HYP like that 3SG HYP say-3PL what
gə gdzàrà zál-àhà ɲànnà
 TO small male-PL DEF
 ‘If they are like that, so what does one tell those boys?’

The preposition codes nominal and pronominal targets of comparative constructions:

- (2) *bá kùr tátàttàyà à júg-íyì bákà*
bákà ùrà tà tàttàyà à j-ú g-íyà
 NEG.EX person 3PL search 3SG surpass-VENT TO-1SG
bákà
 NEG.EX
 ‘One does not look for a person to surpass me.’

The preposition *gè* codes nominal addressees of verbs of saying:

- (3) *tándà váníu gè dàdà kìnì*
tá ndávà-n-ú gè dàdà kìnì
 3PL ask-3SG-VENTTO father C.FOC
 ‘They ask the father [a question].’

If the addressee is nominal plural, the object pronoun coding the addressee may be singular or plural:

- (4) *àskà žilé ándánè gèmdátàrè gèní*
àskà žilé á ndá-nè gè md-á-tàrè
 like man 3SG tell-3SG TO people-GEN-3PL
gèní
 COMP
 ‘And then the man (groom) says to the members of his family,’

- (5) *á ndà-tr-ndà gè md-á-tàrè gèní*
 3SG tell-3PL-say TO people-GEN-3PL COMP
 ‘he says to the members of his family’

Conditions ruling the use of the singular versus the plural object pronouns remain to be explored.

Nominal subjects in the punctual aspect are treated like adjuncts:

- (6) *áná bùmstəgh gè dàdà*
à nábà mtsə-hè gè dàdà
 3SG then die-PNCT TO father
 ‘The father died.’

tànjihégàtàrmámántàrgdzrè

- tà nì-hé gè tàr màm ántàr gdz-rè*
 3PL remain-PNCT TO 3PL mother ASSC:PL small-NOM
 ‘There remained the mother and child.’

The preposition *gè* combined with the interrogative word *wè* ‘what’ codes purpose clauses:

- (7) *ábánánè kòndángù kòbíunà*
á bá nánè kò nd-á-n gè wè
 3SG say 3SG 2SG say-GO-3SG TO what
kò bwá nà
 2PL two DEM
 ‘He says, “Why do you say the two of you?”’

The preposition *gè* also marks adjuncts of reason. This usage is quite similar to the function of the preposition ‘for’ in English:

- (8) *tá pwám̀bà nánà gèbákìrà žilmtú*
tá pwám̀bà nánà gè bák
 3PL pour PRED-IN home DEF TO NEG
ir-á žil mtú
 head-GEN man or
 ‘They [the girls] loaf around home because of the absence of man . . .’

The preposition marks the indirect nominal object, both benefactive and adversative:

- (9) *f̀ag̀ar m̀ad̀af̀ánm̀ám̀v̀ù g̀èl̀áksé*
f̀ágrà m̀à d̀ó f̀-á-n-m á-m v̀wà
 good 1INCL FUT put-GO-3SG-IN PRED-IN body
g̀è l̀áksé
 TO Sultan
 ‘We need to inform the chief.’
- (10) *kátàf̀ark̀àndz̀àd̀à d̀ákidiki g̀ègdzrè*
ká tà f̀á-r k̀è ndz̀àd̀à d̀ákidiki g̀è gdzrè
 2SG NEG put-ON NEG force never TO child
 ‘You can never force the child.’

3. Associative

The term ‘associative’ is used as a cover term for functions marked by the preposition *án* and its plural form, *ántàrà*. Although the marker *án* has a structure similar to other prepositional complexes consisting of the predicator *á* and a preposition/spatial specifier, e.g. *á-m*, *á-t*, and *á-r*, the form *n* alone is not recorded as a preposition or as any other free grammatical morpheme. The

form *n* is, however, a frequent locative preposition in a number of Central Chadic languages, including languages closely related to Wandala, e.g. Hdi and Mina (Frajzyngier with Shay 2002; Frajzyngier, Johnston with Edwards 2005). Given the uncertain origins of the form *n* in the associative preposition, I represent the preposition as a single morpheme *án*, and gloss it ASSC. The plural associative form is glossed as ASSC:PL. The singular and plural associative forms have distinct functions, as described in the sections on possessive predication and the predication of coexistence in the preceding chapter, and as further described in the present section.

The singular associative preposition codes the objects of intransitive verbs of movement (things brought or taken away); the instrumental; the general circumstance of an event; and the names of languages in the expression corresponding to ‘in the language Y’. The associative preposition can also code adverbial phrases of time. None of these semantic features is an inherent semantic property of verbs in Wandala.

A clause may have two associative phrases: one at the beginning, coding the general circumstance or an adverbial phrase of time, and the other after the verb, coding the instrument or the object of intransitive verb of movement:

- (11) *yò, ánicà vácýàràmdá žilé*
yò, án íc-á vácý-á-rà md-á žilé
 well ASSC eye-GEN day-GEN-3SG people-GEN husband
tádásáwàn tùmíyà há-tà-rè jìbàrjìbàr-átà-rè
tá dā s-á-w án tùmíyà-há-tà-rè
 3PL FUT come-GO-VENT ASSC cloth-PL:GEN-3PL
jìbà-r-jìbà-r-á-tà-rè
 type-Q-type-Q-GEN-3PL
 ‘Well, in the evening of that day, the people of the husband bring pieces of cloth and other things as well.’

If there is more than one noun phrase in the associative phrase, the associative marker is used with the first noun phrase, even if the second noun phrase is preceded by the hypothetical marker *má*:

- (12) *átséáǵálà máñùrará*
á tsé á ǵálà m-áñ ùr-á-rà
 3SG get up 3SG go HYP-ASSC man-GEN-3SG
málà kàtə̀nàrómlè
má làkàtə̀ nàrà úmlè
 HYP fellow 3SG another
 ‘He gets up and goes either with his man or with another fellow.’

The associative phrase coding the general circumstance of an event can occur in clause-initial or clause-final position:

- (13) *án wùdr-á-rà tápyàntámbà*
án wùdr-á-rà tá pyà-n t-ámbà
 ASSC situation-GEN-3SG 3PL forbid-3SG T-house
 ‘In her situation, they confine her to home.’

The associative preposition can code an instrumental function:

- (14) *žilé ádá názù ádóndàvànányàné*
žilé á d-á názù á dǎ ndàvǎ-ŋ
 man 3SG go-GO that 3SG FUT ask-3SG
án ñànè
 ASSC 3SG
 ‘The man brings that with which he is going to ask for [the girl].’
- à jì kr án zǎdè*
 3SG hit dog ASSC stick
 ‘he hit a dog with a stick’

An associative phrase, like other prepositional phrases, is preceded by the phrasal boundary, as evidenced by the fact that lexical items preceding the associative preposition end in the vowel *e*:

- (15) *tàbànjátàrè ánhéerànklàpírè*
tà bà ñj-á-tǎrè án héer-àn-klàpí-rè
 3PL FOC stay-GO-3PL ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘They lived together in peace and good health.’

The general circumstances and instrumental phrases occur after the locative complements and after the pronominal or nominal object.

- (16) *séy bàáǰàlá á dǎmbážílǰánnán ndzǎdà*
séy bà á ǰàlá á dǎm mbá žíl
 then FOC 3SG go PRED go:IN home husband
ǰánn án ndzǎdà
 DEF ASSC force
 ‘She has to go into marriage under duress’

One of the functions of the associative marker *an* is to code the language of discourse or expression:

- (17) *ánwú wándàlà*
án w wándàlà
 ASSC mouth Wandala
 ‘in the Wandala language’

Negation of the associative function has the form ASSC noun/pronoun *kà*:

- (18) *à dàm kwàskwé án nán kà*
 3SG go:IN market ASSC 3SG NEG
 ‘he/she went to the market without her/him’

The associative marker followed by the third-person plural pronoun *tàrà* indicates that the two members of the associative pair have the same syntactic roles within the predication:

- (19a) *àbìná màgyágyè n mágàyànrùwà*
à b-iná má gyá-v-gyè-n
 3SG say-3SG HYP cook-APPL-cook-pause
mágày-á-ηrè wá
 hungry rice-GEN-1EXCL COM
 ‘He said, “If our hungry rice is cooked . . .”’
ηàzàná bàηrè àntàrà mūr wá t àné
ηá zà-ná bà ηrè àntàrà mù-rwá t àné
 1EXCL eat-3SG FOC 1EXCL ASSC:PL mother-1SG only(F)
 ‘we will eat it, only me and my mother.’”

- (19b) *kàkántàrà gdzàηà kàsàwà kàzàràbà dùksà*
kà kà àntàrà gdz-á-ηà kà
 2SG 2SG ASSC:PL child-GEN-2SG 2SG
sà-wà kà zàrà bà dùks-á
 come-VENT 2SG look FOC thing-GEN
žílè skìyà
žílè skì yà
 man like 1SG
 ‘You and your child, come, you just look at the problem of a man like me . . .’

Members of the associative pair may be separated by other elements that are not part of the associative construction:

- (19c) *má bálvá kùr̀k̀ó̀k̀ántàr̀ gdzàgyálwá*
má bà lv-á-kùr̀ k̀ó̀k̀è ántàrà gdzà gyál
 HYP FOC word-GEN-2PL finish ASSC:PL young girl
wá
 COM
 ‘Since your conversation with the young girl is finished,’

- (19d) *yó màrà álvátàrèpàllé ántàrà gdzàrà*
yó màrà álvá-tàrè pàllé ántàrà gdz-á-rà
 well mother word:GEN-3PL one ASSC:PL child-GEN-3SG
 ‘And then, the mother and the daughter have the same opinion.’

The plural associative may conjoin phrases in roles other than that of the subject:

- (19e) *yándà trálv gè tàràgdzà gyálà nà*
yá ndà-tró lv gè tàr̀ ógdzà gyálà nà
 1SG speak-3PL speech TO 3PL young girl:PL DEM
ántàr̀ gdzàrzálánà dè giyá
ántàr̀ gdzàr̀ zálá nà dègiyá
 ASSC:PL child male DEM behold
 ‘I am speaking to the girls and boys, as follows:’

4. Adjuncts of time

Lexical items that are inherent adverbs of time are not marked for the adjunct function morphologically or by their position with respect to some other element. Other lexical items must be marked for the adverbial function by a preposition. The noun *vá* ‘time’ followed by the preposition *t* and by the determiner *n*, resulting in the meaning ‘now’ ‘today’, can occur at the beginning or at the end of the clause:

- (20) *nóo và tán kìnì njànínjá twáfká ordinator yándál vwándàlà*
nóo và tá-n kìnì njà-ní-njà á-t
 PRES time T-DEM C.FOC sit-1SG -sit PRED-T
wáfk-á ordinator yá ndà álv wándàlà
 face-GEN computer 1SG speak language Wandala
 ‘Here I am sitting in front of the computer speaking the Wandala language.’

názù yèkàtàṅdà kàyà vátènmá
názù yè kàtà ṅdà-kà-yà vâ-tè-n má
 what 1SG want say-2SG-1SG time-T-DEM COM
 ‘What I will tell you today is . . .’

In a negative clause the adverb *dikidikimà* ‘ever’ ‘never’ occurs at the end of the clause:

- (21) *эгdzàràtámàlàn màrà*
эгdzàr-a tá màrà án màrà
 child-PL 3PL attach ASSC mother
bákà dàbàrì dikidikimà
bákà dàbàrì dikidikimà
 NEG.EX means (Hausa) never ever
 ‘The girls are attached to the mother, there is no possibility, ever.’

Lexical items that are not inherent adverbs of time are coded for the adverbial function by one of several means. One is through reduplication. Another means is through the predicative marker *á* or the associative preposition *án*. The third means is through the focus marker *bà*.

The reduplication of the noun involves the addition of the genitive marker *á* after R1. The noun *hàr* ‘day’ is realized as [hàrè] in clause-final position. R1 has the form *hàrà*, and the most plausible explanation for the vowel *á* is that it is the genitive marker:

- (22) *à ndà-y-álvâ hàr-á hàrè*
 3SG speak-1SG-word day-GEN day
 ‘he spoke to me for a long time’

The locative predicator *á* is used to code a temporal adverbial phrase, without any further narrowing with respect to the relationship in time. The predicator *á* may be followed by a variety of temporal specifiers. The adverbial phrase of time may occur in clause-final position (pragmatically unmarked) or in clause-initial position, where the adverb of time is topicalized. The following natural-discourse fragment provides evidence and an illustration for both hypotheses. The noun *wáyà* ‘yesterday’ is not an inherent adverb of time and must be marked for the adverbial function by the predicator *á*:

- (23) *kà màgà-ná stàrà á wáyàa* [long vowel as pause marker]
 2SG make-3SG how PRED yesterday
jàmyámmè kènà
jà-myá-mmè kè ná
 meet-1INCL-COL NEG DEM
 ‘What did you do yesterday that we did not meet?’

- (24) *áwáyà nává tàdá kràwà*
á wáyà ná wá tà dá kràwà
 PRED yesterday DEM COM 3PL go:GO Krawa
 ‘As for yesterday, they went to Krawa . . .’
- (25) *á wáyà yà mágányà [má] ndzè yè sà-wá*
á wáyà yà mágá nyà [má] ndzè
 PRED yesterday 1SG make preparation HYP PAST
yè sà-wá
 1SG come-VENT
 ‘Yesterday I was making preparations with the intention to come.’
 [the speaker didn’t come]

Similarly, the nouns *vàdíyá* ‘night’ and *ìcè* ‘eye’ used in the expression *ìc-á vacy-á-rà* ‘evening’ do not appear to be inherent adverbs of time:

- (26) *yà mágá nyà sàwmá*
yà mágá nyà sàw má
 1SG make preparation come:VENT HYP
ègdzàrwà àksàr ǵáǵǵáǵì ánvàdíyá
ègdz-á-rwà à ptsà-rà ǵáǵǵáǵì án vàdíyá
 child-GEN-1SG 3SG return-ON fever ASSC night
 ‘When I was making my preparations to come, the fever has again returned to my child at night.’
- (27) *yò, ánicà vacyàràmdá žilé*
yò, án ìc-á vacy-á-rà md-á žilé
 well ASSC eye-GEN day-GEN-3SG people-GEN husband
tádásáwàn tùmíyà hátàrè jìbàrjìbàràtàrè
tá dás s-á-w án tùmíyà-há-tàrè
 3PL FUT come-GO-VENT ASSC cloth-PL:GEN-3PL
jìbà-r-jìbà-r-á-tàrè
 type-Q-type-Q-GEN-3PL
 ‘Well, in the evening of that day, the people of the husband bring pieces of cloth and other things as well.’

The hypothetical marker *má* preceding the temporal complex *và cá tè nà* ‘time’ may code an adverbial phrase of time:

- (28) *mávà cáṭən ǵàmùb dàlyé hárbò kígyé*
má vacyà tè-nà ǵàbù dàlyé hárè bwà kígyé
 HYP time DEF-DEM again day two three
 ‘After some time, two or three days,’

tátsàtá dúǵàbè
tá tsà tá d-úw ǵàbè
 3PL get up 3PL go-VENT again
 ‘they get up, they go there again.’

Wandala has grammaticalized the coding of the indefinite time of an event. This is realized through the reduplicated form of the verb *tsé* ‘rise, get up’, unmarked for person and number:

(29) *má tsà-tsé á pàlà-néré*
má tsà-tsé á pàlà-nà irè
 HYP rise-rise 3SG hit-3SG head
 ‘from time to time, he has a headache’

The reduplicated form *tsà-tsé* codes the number and the person of the subject:

(30) *tó fātàrtéerè mátsàràtsé gǵdzàrà gyàlà-hà*
tá wfà-tàr-tá irè má tsà-rà-tsé gǵ
 3PL bother-3PL-T head HYP rise-3PL-rise TO
gdzàrà gyàlà-hà
 child-GEN female-PL
 ‘Well, sometimes, it is they [our boys] who bother the girls.’

The evidence that the expression *má tsà-rà-tsé* is temporal and that it means ‘from time to time’ is provided by the fact that it does not occur when the adverb meaning ‘all the time’ is used:

(31) *tá wfà-tàr-tá irè bà klá zàre gǵ*
 3PL bother-3PL-T head FOC all the time TO
gdzàrà gyàlà-hà
 child-GEN female-PL
 ‘well, it is our boys who bother the girls all the time’ [elicited on the pattern of the preceding example]

The adverb *dàci* ‘when, then’ occurs in clause-initial position. It codes the following clause as temporal. The adverb can mark the protasis clause (‘when’ clause) or the apodosis clause (‘then’ clause). The adverb may occur with the sequential auxiliary *dǵ* (see sequential clauses chapter 22):

- (32) *dàci* *ńánjà* *ńánjà* *ńánjà* *màḷzàrà*
 then wait wait wait and then
bákà *kàlfé* *bákà* *kàlfé* *bákà* *kàlfé*
 NEG fish NEG fish NEG fish
 ‘We waited a long time, and [there were] no fish.’

dàci *tá* *màgánàzú* *wàyà* *kárvòndámìyà*
dàci *tá* *màgá* *nàzú* *wàyà* *ká* *rvònd-á-mìyà*
 then 3PL do what like NEG heart-GEN-1INCL
 ‘Then, they do what our heart does not want.’

The complex structure *cùkwá ńgùdì* in clause-initial position has the temporal function ‘after a little while’:

- (33) *cùkwá* *ńgìdì* *fà-r-ná-fə* *hàyè*
cùkwá *ńgùdì* *fà-r-n-á-fə* *hàyè*
 small very reach-3PL-3-GO-reach river
 ‘After a little while, they arrived at a river.’

The adverb *dàci* ‘then, when’ can introduce adverbial phrases other than those of time, as in the following example, where the core of the adverbial phrase is the expression of the circumstance rather than the time:

- (34) *dàci* *fùlárà* *fà-n-á-n* *só* *ńánnà*
dàci *fùl-á-rà* *fà-n-á-n*
 then travel-GEN-3SG find-1SG-GO-3SG
kà *pútà-á* *só* *ńánnà*
 NEG means-GEN come:VENT DEF
 ‘And then [with] his travel I didn’t find an occasion to come.’

The inherent adverb of time *ńíngyà* ‘morning’ occurs at the end of the clause with the preceding noun in the phrase-internal form. Thus, the noun *mágàrà* ‘gruel’ has the form *mágàr* before an adverb of time. The adverb is not preceded by any preposition:

- (35) *à* *bàdzə-và* *mágàr* *ńíngyà*
 3SG spoil-APPL gruel morning
 ‘the gruel got spoiled this morning’

The adverb *kínkínkà* ‘a long time ago’ can occur in clause-final position or after the verb and before the subject in the stative construction. Verbs preceding this adverb have the root form:

- (36) *án b̀adz̀ə̀ k̀ink̀ink̀à m̀ót̀à*
 STAT spoil long time car
 ‘the car has not been working for a long time’

or:

- án b̀adz̀à m̀ót̀à k̀ink̀ink̀à*
 STAT spoil car long time
 ‘the car has not been working for a long time’

The following adverbs have been recorded in elicited utterances:
m̀àl ‘suddenly, immediately’, *ùr̀è* ‘early’:

- (37) [*á ɣ̀à v-ùr̀è*]
 3SG lie early
 ‘he goes to bed early’ [*ɣ̀àv̀à* ‘lie down’, *á ɣ̀àv̀à* ‘he lies down’]

If the adverb is preceded by a constituent other than the verb, that constituent occurs without the final vowel:

- (38) *á z̀à d̀áf̀ur̀è*
á z̀à d̀áf̀à ùr̀è
 3SG eat food early
 ‘he eats early’

5. Other adverbs

The adverb *k̀iǹì* or *k̀ǹì* ‘also’ follows a noun or a pronoun and may occur wherever the noun or pronoun occurs, e.g. in clause-initial or clause-final position. Only pre-pausal forms of morphemes precede this adverb:

- (39) *à ks̀ə̀-v-á k̀àlf̀é ɲ̀áɲ-k̀iǹì*
 3SG catch-APPL-GO fish he-also
 ‘he also caught fish’

- ìỳá-k̀ǹì ks̀à-n-v-à-ks̀á k̀àlf̀é*
 1SG-also catch-1SG-APPL-GO-catch fish
 ‘I also caught a fish’ [*ìỳá* and *ìỳé* are optional]

The adverb *ɣ̀àb̀è* ‘yet’ can occur alone or in association with the phrase *á d̀àlỳé* ‘again’. It can occur at the beginning of a clause:

- (40) *ɲán wá ʒàbà là màrará wàtsátsá kánúunà*
ɲán wá ʒàbè làmàr-á-rà wàtsè
 3SG COM yet power-GEN-3SG FUT
á tsá kà án únà
 3SG stop NEG ASSC DEF
 ‘as far as he is concerned, his power cannot cope with this’

ádàblàláchàrà ʒàbàdàlyé
á dè bəl làh ʒàb á dàlyé
 3SG SEQ sing song again PRED again
 ‘He begins to sing [his] song again.’

The form *á dàlyé* ‘still, further on, again’ can occur without the form *ʒàbè*:

- (41) *fònúfè gè fójá kúrná dàlyè*
fà-wà-nú-fè gè fà úyà-á-kùr
 put-PL-3SG-VENT-put ASSC talk chat-GEN-2PL
nà á dàlyè
 DEM PRED again
 ‘keep (PL) continuing your conversation’

The form *dàlyè* can occur in other expressions in which it appears to behave like a verb, in that it can be preceded by a subject pronoun and followed by the negative marker *kà*:

- (42) *yá dàlí kà*
 1SG repeat NEG
 ‘I will not repeat’

yá dàlí dè
 1SG repeat ?
 ‘I will repeat’

ká dàlí-dè
 ‘you will repeat’

As in some other Chadic languages (Shay 1999), one lexical category in Wandala can serve as both a modifier of nouns and a modifier of verbs without any additional morphological changes. Thus the forms *mtáké* ‘good’ and *fəgə̀r-kà* ‘not good’ can serve as adverbs when placed in the post-verbal position:

- (48) *kà-fkwà-hè* *cùkwá ngúdí* *lóktù* *ká* *sà-wà*
 2SG-last-PNCT a little time 2SG come-VENT
 ‘one has to wait a little bit before coming’

Here is an adverb, *kínnà kìnì* ‘now’, derived from the adverb *kìnì* through reduplication:

- (49) *à hárábàdzár* *vòndě* *bàkín* *kìnì*
à *hàrè* *á* *bàdzá* *rvòndě* *bà* ***kín kìnì***
 3SG spend the night PRED spoil heart FOC now
 ‘He spent all the night vomiting, even now [he is vomiting].’

Adverbs derived from numerals code the manner of doing things. Adverbs from ‘one by one’ to ‘three by three’ are preceded by the associative preposition *án*. R1 has the root form:

- (50) *tà sà-wá-npàl-pállè*
tà *sà-wà* *án* *pàl-pállè*
 3PL come-VENT ASSC one-one
 ‘they came one by one’

The adverb ‘two by two’ has high tone on R1:

- (51) *tà sà-wá-nbú-bwà*
tà *sà-wà* *án* *bú-bwà*
 3PL come-VENT ASSC two-two
 ‘they came two by two’

Derivations of the adverbs ‘three by three’ and higher are seldom found in natural discourse, and speakers are somewhat hesitant to produce such forms:

- (52) *tà sà-wà* *án* *kìgyí-kìgyé*
 3PL come-VENT ASSC three-three
 ‘they came three by three’

The derivation of the adverb ‘four by four’ and higher differs from other adverbs in that there is no associative preposition *án* preceding the reduplicated form, but there is the consonant *n* between the reduplicated forms of the numeral. This consonant may be a trace of the associative preposition, as in the construction ‘four-ASSC-four’, a construction confirmed in deliberately slow speech:

- (53) *tà sà-wúffàdǎ-n-úffàdǎ*
tà sà-wà úffàdǎ-n-úffàdǎ
 3PL come-VENT four-ASSC-four
 ‘they came four by four’

tà sà-wíḡìbàniḡìbè or [*yíḡbìḡbè*]
tà sà-wà yíḡb-àn-yíḡìbè
 3PL come-VENT five-ASSC-five
 ‘they came five by five’

Some reduplicated adverbs do not have a corresponding simple form. This is the case with the adverb *dǎkídǎki* ‘never’.

Multiple reduplication of the verb can also code manner, but it does not derive a lexical adverb:

- (54) *dàcí ḡánjà ḡánjà ḡánjà màḡàrà*
 then wait wait wait and then
ḡákà kǎlfé ḡákà kǎlfé ḡákà kǎlfé
 NEG.EX fish NEG.EX fish NEG.EX fish
 ‘We waited a long time, and there was no fish.’ (lit. ‘no fish’)

The adverb *bí* ‘completely’ occurs in clause-final position:

- (55) *tákàtà bà ḡùdǎ rkwá tákàtà bàtá bà dzá ḡdzàràhàbí*
tá kàtà bà ḡùdǎr kwá tá kàtà
 3PL want FOC promiscuity CONJ 3PL want
bà tá bàdzà áḡdzàrà-hà bí
 FOC 3PL spoil child-PL completely
 ‘They want promiscuity and spoil the girls completely.’ [high tone on *bàdzá* because of the tone shift from the epenthetic vowel on *áḡdzàrà* ‘child’]

Non-inherent adverbs of manner can be coded by a combination of the predicator *á* and the preposition *t*, which precede either a noun or an adjective:

- (56) *má kí tá mágà trátìr pàllè tá ḡà-ná-ḡé*
má kí tá mágà trá á-t-yír pàllè
 HYP 3PL do work PRED-T-head one
tá ḡà-n-á-ḡé fé á-t wàtsótsi-rè
 3PL finish-3SG-GO-finish field PRED-T fast-NOM
 ‘if they work together they will finish the field soon’ (elicited)

Some lexical items can function as both adverbs of manner and as quantifiers. One such item is *kwàkyà* ‘too much’. As an adverb of manner, *kwàkyà* occurs in postverbal position:

- (57) *à pàhàr kwàkyà*
 3SG sleep too much
 ‘he sleeps too much’

The adverb follows the object, if any. If the adverb were to precede the noun phrase, there would be no means to mark the object role of the noun phrase:

- (58) *tà kàtà fúngù kwàkyà á-t hánà*
 3PL want money too much PRED-T house
 ‘they want too much money for this house’

As a quantifier, the marker *kwàkyà* precedes the noun:

- (59) *kwàkyà fúngù*
 much money
 ‘that’s a lot of money’

The expression *cùkwà ngùdì* ‘small’ has the meaning ‘almost’ in clause-final position. In clause-initial position, it has the temporal function, ‘after a little while’:

- (60) *fà-r-n-á-fè hàyè cùkwà ngùdì*
 reach-3PL-3SG-GO-reach river small very
 ‘They almost reached the river.’

The notion ‘again’ can be coded either by the adverb *dàlyé* or by the adverb *ʒàlbè*. The first must be preceded by the predicator *á*. The second is used without a predicator:

- (61) *à bə màrà* ‘the mother said’:

zz á dàlyé ‘eat again!’
ʃf á dàlyé ‘drink again!’

zzə ʒàlbè ‘eat again!’
ʃfə ʒàlbè ‘drink again!’

The repetition of an event is coded by a complex expression consisting of the preposition *há* (possibly cognate of Hausa *har* ‘until’), the directional

prepositional complex *dám*, and finally the noun *sàr* ‘foot’. This complex is followed by a numeral indicating the number of repetitions:

- (62) *àbínl̥àbàdám̥sàrkígyè*
à b-ín l̥àbè há dām sàr kígyè
 3SG say-3SG again till go:IN foot three
 ‘He [the father] said it three more times.’

The anaphor of the adverb of manner is the form *ské* ‘like that’:

- (63) *ítàrñànnà máská má bàtráwè gègdzàrà zálàhà ñànnà*
ítàr ñànnà má ské á má bà-trá
 3PL DEF HYP like that 3SG HYP say-3PL
wè gè gdzàrà zál-àhà ñànnà
 what TO small male-PL DEF
 ‘If they are like that, so what does one tell those boys?’

7. Adjunct of reason

An adverbial phrase of reason is marked by the form *á dābà* ‘because’. The same marker marks reason clauses. This phrase must occur after the verb:

- (64) *ñàná bá dà bà l̥yàf̥lyè*
ñà ná bà á dābà l̥yàf̥lyè
 1EXCL see FOC PRED because ripe
 ‘Because we saw her ripe’ [not ‘ripen’]
- yè ts-á dābà ñàné/kà*
 1SG stop-GO because 3SG/2SG
 ‘I stopped because of him/you’ [i.e., I stopped for him]

8. Comparative constructions

The information on comparative constructions is limited to the few examples from natural discourse. For equal comparison, the data are elicited.

8.1 Equal comparison

The preposition *skè* or *skè* (phrase-internal) ‘like’ preceded by the focus marker *bà* is used to mark comparative predication both among noun phrases

‘NP like NP’ and among propositions. The target noun phrase is also preceded by the focus particle *bà*:

- (65) *ndzà-ndzàdǎ* *bà* *skà* *bà* *yà*
 strong-strong FOC like FOC 1SG
 ‘he is as strong as I am’

8.2 Unequal comparison

The complex consisting of the predicator *á* followed by the preposition *r* ‘on, above’ marks unequal comparison. The target of comparison is preceded by the preposition *g*:

- (66) *ám* *já* *dùninà* *hónànnàwá* *bákà* *árgfàrvónè*
á-m *nj-á* *dùní-nà* *hó* *hànnà* *wá*
 PRED-IN life:GEN world-DEM PRES DEF COM
bákà *á-r* *g* *fà-rvónè*
 NEG.EX PRED-ON TO put-heart
 ‘In this life here, there is nothing above patience’

- (67) *yò* *ágdzè* *kínnàní* *zùhwé* *bàtánmálà*
yò *ágdzè* *kínnà-ní* *zùhwé* *bà*
 therefore child C.FOC-INTNS first of all FOC
tàrá *màmà* *árg* *dàdà*
t-án *mál* *tàr* *á* *màmà* *á* *r*
 3PL-ASSC attach 3PL PRED mother PRED ON
gè *dàdà*
 TO father
 ‘And therefore, this child is first of all attached to her mother more than to her father’

The property with respect to which the comparison is made occurs at the beginning of the clause. If the property has been lexicalized as a noun, it is reduplicated, presumably to derive an adverb. Thus, from the noun *nzèdǎ* ‘strength’, the property of comparison *nzènzèdǎ* ‘strengthwise’ is derived:

- (68) *nzènzèdǎ* *bà* *hàné* *á-r* *g-yà*
 strength FOC 3SG PRED-ON TO-1SG
 ‘he is stronger than I am’

nzènzèdǎ *bà* *yá* *á-r* *gè* *hàné*
 strength FOC 1SG PRED-ON TO 3SG
 ‘I am stronger than he is’

When the comparison involves negation, the property of comparison is preceded by the form *ncùkwá* ‘small’. Each of the arguments in the comparative construction is preceded by the preposition *gè*:

- (69) *ncùkwá nzàdá-rà* *bà* *gè* *ɲàn*
 small strength:GEN-3SG FOC TO 3SG
á-r *g-yà*
 PRED-ON TO-1SG
 ‘he is less strong than I am’
- á* *làkàlà* *bà* *ɲàn* *á-r* *g-yà*
 3SG fight FOC 3SG PRED-ON TO-1SG
 ‘he fights better than I do’

The verb *jà* ‘surpass’ codes comparative predication. This verb can take pronominal objects coding the target of comparison. The target of comparison, whether nominal or pronominal, is coded by the destinative preposition *g* ‘TO’ followed by the object pronoun or by an associative phrase. Here is an example of the target coded by the preposition *g*:

- (70) *mábà* *káɓà* *kùlá* *wá* *ájìyù* *kègà**yà*
má *bà* *káɓà* *kùlá* *wá* *á*
 HYP FOC count calculus COM 3SG
j-y-ù *kà* *g* *yà*
 surpass-1SG-VENT NEG TO 1SG
 ‘If it concerns counting, nobody surpasses me.’
- (71) *á* *jà-k-ú* *kà* *gè* *kà*
 3SG surpass-2SG-VENT NEG TO 2SG
 ‘He does not surpass you.’

In the above examples, the associative preposition *án* cannot replace the preposition *gè*. Here is an example of the target of comparison coded by an associative phrase. In this example, the associative preposition *án* can be replaced by the preposition *gè*:

- (72) *kínàminnáwá ájúkà áníunè òánnà*
kínà míná wá á j-ú kà
 now right COM 3SG surpass-VENT NEG
án únà òánnà
 ASSC DEF DEF

‘As far as we are concerned, it cannot surpass what is there.’ (i.e. there is nothing to be added to what we have already said)

9. Conclusions

Adjuncts can be marked by four means: (1) inherent lexical adverbs; (2) adverbs derived through the reduplication of any lexical item; (3) the destinative preposition *gè*; or (4) complexes consisting of the predicator *á* followed by the preposition *t* or *m*. Adverbs can occur in clause-initial or clause-final position, but they cannot occur after the verb and before the arguments. The presence of the adverb in post-verbal position would eliminate the coding means of the grammatical relation of the argument.

Equal comparison is coded by the preposition *skè*, which precedes the target of comparison. Unequal predication is coded through the verb *jà* ‘surpass’. The target of predication can be marked by the preposition *ár* ‘on’, by the destinative preposition *gè* ‘to’ or by the associative preposition *án*.

Chapter 13

Aspect

1. An outline of the system

Aspectual distinctions are coded by inflectional coding on the verb, including suffixation and reduplication; auxiliaries; and prepositions. Some verbal extensions described in chapters 8 and 9 trigger a bounded, perfective interpretation of the event.

In the affirmative modality, Wandala has the following aspects (the term Verb refers to verbal root; the term Pronoun refers to ‘subject pronoun’):

Aspect	Coding means
Perfective	Pronoun Verb
Imperfective	Pronoun Verbal noun, Pronoun R1(Obj)R2
Backgrounding	R1Pro[subject]R2
Punctual	Pronoun Verb- <i>hè</i>
Inceptive	Pronoun <i>tsè</i> Verb
[Progressive	<i>tirè</i> Verbal noun] (elicited only)
Stative	Pronoun <i>án</i> Verbal noun

The aspectual distinctions in negation are reduced to a binary opposition between the non-completive and completive aspects.

There is no phonological interaction between subject pronouns and the following verb. Subject pronouns are not prefixes, and they can be followed by lexical categories other than the verb. Aspects differ not only in their form but also in the constraints they impose on the argument structure and the way the arguments are marked. The description of each aspect consists of four parts:

- The form of the aspect;
- The evidence for the aspectual function of the form;
- The aspectual value the form conveys;
- The coding of grammatical relations for the given aspect.



2. The perfective aspect

2.1 The form of the perfective aspect

Some verbs are inherently perfective, and other verbs are inherently imperfective. The former can be used in the perfective and the imperfective aspect. The latter cannot be used in the perfective aspect.

The verb in the perfective aspect has different forms depending on its inherent transitivity and the type of arguments that follow it. The form of the verb before the nominal subject and the nominal object distinguishes the perfective from the imperfective aspect.

Inherently perfective verbs have the following formal characteristics:

The root form before the object:

- (1) *tàbágyìdàdánjárláη ámxùdǎvgèηánnà*
tà bǎgyì dǎdǎ á njá-r láηnè
 3PL find father 3SG sit:GEN-3SG like that
á-m hùd-á vgè ηánnà
 PRED-IN belly-GEN grave DEF
 ‘They found the father sitting in the grave, just like that.’

Root + *a* form before the nominal subject:

- (2) *yó álv wándàl ηánnà à fyàrà málrùwà* [error]
yó álv wándàl ηánnà à f-y-àr-à
 well speech Wandala DEF 3SG put-1SG-ON-PB
mál-rùwà
 older brother-1SG
 ‘This Wandala speech is requested from me by my older brother.’

The root form before the target and the source extensions:

- (3) *tàycás hàyè*
tà yc-s hàyè
 3Pl cut-S river
 ‘They crossed the river.’

- (4) *tà dè hàltá zàrvá tàr ñánnà tà púmá dám bùhá*
tà dè hàl-t-á zàrv-á-tàr ñánnà tà
 3PL SEQ gather-T-GO sesame-GEN-3PL DEF 3PL
pú-m á dè-m bùhá
 pour-IN PRED go-IN bag
 ‘And then they gathered their sesame in and poured it into a bag.’

Verbs in the perfective have the root form before a pronominal object. This is in contrast to verbs in the imperfective, which have the root + *a* form preceding the pronominal object (both cases illustrated in the example below):

- (5) *yò fòyì ñánnà wàtsè kwà-dá cìn-ná*
 well chat DEF FUT 2PL-FUT hear-3SG
kúr ná nó-ñwàné álvà wàndàl
 2PL DEM PRES-DEF language Wandala
ñánnà tákàtànà ðámá kláwà
ñánnà tá kàtá-n-à ðámá kláwà
 DEF 3PL want-3SG-PB world all
 ‘Here is the chat that you will hear in Wandala and that the world desires.’

In clause-final position the verb ends in the vowel *a*, and the distinction between the perfective and the imperfective is neutralized. Interestingly, examples containing such forms do not occur in natural discourse and had to be elicited:

- (6) *tà bə̀g̀yà*
 3PL find
 ‘they found’ (elicited)

Inherently imperfective verbs cannot be deployed in the perfective aspect. They end in the vowel *a* before the object:

- (7) *tà hàrdà f-á-tàrè*
 3PL farm field-GEN-3PL
 ‘they farmed their field’

Intransitive verbs have the goal marker *á* before a nominal object:

- (8) *nóovà tánkìni yèságdzànràwàndzà*
nóo và tán kìnì yè s-á gdzà
 PRES day DEF C.FOC 1SG come-GO small
ánwá wàndàlà

nàrwàndzà án w-á wándàlà
 story ASSC mouth-GEN Wandala
 ‘Here today, I brought a small story in Wandala.’

If the clause has an object pronoun and no nominal object, the verb must be reduplicated in the pattern R1ProR2:

(9) *nóovà tánkìni*
nóo vâ tán kìnì sà-nà-kùr-án-sà
 PRES day DEF C.FOC come-1SG-2PL-3SG-come
 ‘here today I brought for you’ (elicited)

If the clause has a nominal object, the verb is not reduplicated even if it has a pronominal dative object:

(10) *nóo vâ tán kìnì yè s-á-kura gdzà*
 PRES day DEF C.FOC 1SG come-GO small
nàrwàndzà
 story
 ‘Here today, I brought you a small story’

In content-interrogative clauses, only the simple form of the verb is used:

(11) *tà sá wè/wàrè*
 3PL come:GO what/who
 ‘what/who did they bring?’

Transitive and intransitive verbs in a transitive predication must have an object pronoun in questions about the subject:

(12) *tà sà-ná wàrè*
 3PL come-3SG:GO who
 ‘who brought it?’

In natural discourse, only the verb *b* ‘say’ can have the root form when followed by the nominal subject:

(13) *èi màmàgànástàrà àbà pállá tàrè*
èi má màgà-n ástà-rà à b páll-á-tàrè
 so 1INCL do-3SG DEF-Q 3SG say one-GEN-3PL
 ‘“So, what shall we do?” said one of them.’

- (14) *àbà pàllà kìnùwá tálánèskè fī dáyìnà*
à b̀ p̀llè kìnì wá tálánè skè fíd-á-̀nà
 3SG say one C.FOC COM sorry POL lie-GEN-2SG
 ‘The other said, sorry, [this is] your lie.’

2.2 The functions of the perfective aspect

The evidence that the form Pro Verb (as opposed to Pro Verbal noun) codes aspectual rather than tense or modal distinctions is provided by the fact that the form can be used with different time references and in different moods. The evidence that the form codes a bounded event or an event represented as a whole, the defining characteristic of the perfective, is provided by the fact the form cannot be used with adverbs that explicitly indicate the duration of the event.

The perfective with future time reference:

- (15) *bànázhèní àwàynágdzèrnà àmà g̀b̀b̀ánánkàa*
b̀ nàz nì à wáy-ná g̀dzèr nà
 FOC thing INTNS 3SG want-3SG child DEM
á m̀g̀g̀ b̀ ̀nán kàa
 3SG do FOC DEF NEG
 ‘What the girl wants, that’s what he is going to do, isn’t it so?’

The perfective codes bounded events:

- (16) *àb̀m̀m̀m̀ b̀l̀k̀b̀àd̀d̀l̀ỳ*
à b̀ m̀m̀m̀ b̀l̀ k̀b̀ á d̀d̀l̀ỳ
 3SG say mother sing again PRED again
 ‘The mother said, ‘Sing again!’

ágdzè ̀nánà b̀l̀ l̀h̀nánà k̀b̀à d̀d̀l̀ỳ
ágdzè ̀nánà à b̀l̀ l̀h̀ ̀nánà k̀b̀à d̀d̀l̀ỳ
 child DEF 3SG sing song DEF again
 ‘So the child sang his song again’

Durational events are coded by the imperfective, i.e. the nominalized form:

- (17a) *ágdzrà à b̀l̀ l̀h̀-á-rà b̀ kl̀á ícà v̀àc̀t̀ỳà*
 child 3SG sing song-GEN-3SG FOC all eye Sun
 ‘the child sang his song all evening’

Ungrammatical with the form *b̀l̀*:

- (17b) **ógdzrà* à **ɓ̀ɗɗ** *làh-á-rà* *bà* *klá*
 child 3SG sing song-GEN-3SG FOC all
ícà *vàcíyà*
 eye sun
 ‘the child sang his song all evening’

The perfective is used in temporal protasis clauses, again in bounded events:

- (18a) *méyàb̀ɗ̀llághnàwá*
mé *yà* **ɓ̀ɗɗ** *làh* *nà* *wá*
 HYP 1SG sing song DEM COM
 ‘When I sang the song’

Compare the representation of an unbounded event, which must be coded by the imperfective:

- (18b) *máki* *yà* *ɓ̀là* *làh* *ɲánnà* *bà* *klá* *ycà* *vàcíyà*
 HYP 1SG sing song DEF FOC all evening
 ‘When I sang this song the whole evening . . .’

The sentence is ungrammatical with *ɓ̀ɗɗ*:

- (18c) **máki* *yà* **ɓ̀ɗɗ** *làh* *ɲánnà* *bà* *klá* *ycà* *vàcíyà*
 HYP 1SG sing song DEF FOC all evening
 ‘when I sang this song the whole evening . . .’

The perfective aspect does not overtly mark the third-person singular object:

- (19) *tà* **fú** *tá* *zàɲwà*
 3PL put:PRED T donkey
 ‘They put it [sesame] on the donkey.’

The imperfective aspect must have the third-person singular object coded overtly:

- (20) *tà* *fá-nà* *tá* *zàɲwà*
 3PL put-3SG-GO T donkey
 ‘They put it on the donkey [now].’

Inherently imperfective verbs cannot be used in the perfective aspect. To this class belong *hàrdà* ‘farm’ and *tàtàyà* ‘search’:

- (21) **tà hãrdã zãrvà (bà klá vìyà)*
 3PL farm:PL sesame FOC all rainy season
 ‘they farmed sesame all the rainy season.’

Compare the imperfective:

- (22) *tà hãrdã zãrvà (bà klá vìyà)*
 3PL farm:PL sesame FOC all rainy season
 ‘they farmed sesame all the rainy season’

**mà tàtèy dùksè bà klà ícà vácíyà*
 1INCL search thing FOC all eye sun
 ‘we looked for the thing all evening’

Compare the imperfective:

- (23) *mà tàtàyà dùksè bà klà ícà vácíyà*
 1INCL search thing FOC all eye sun
 ‘we looked for the thing all evening’

All instantiations of the root form involve bounded events:

- (24) *tà hàlsám bùhá ñánnà*
tà hàl-s á-m bùhá ñánnà
 3PL gather-S PRED-IN bag DEF
 ‘They gathered the bag.’

- (25) *dàcí màlà-há ñrè tà dè*
 when parent-PL:GEN 1EXCL 3PL SEQ
sò-hè tà ḅár zàhó nà
 come:VENT-PNCT 3PL find snake DEM
 ‘When our parents came, they found the snake.’

- (26) *àlhámdùlilàhì màná bàḡàl màḡàrà*
àlhámdùlilàhì mà nábà ḡàl màḡàrà
 1INCL then depart now
 ‘God be praised (Ar.). Now we can go.’

3. The imperfective aspect

3.1 The form of the imperfective aspect

The imperfective aspect is coded by the construction Pro Verbal noun in clauses without an object pronoun, or with an object pronoun when the clause is followed by a nominal object or by a complement clause (both cases are illustrated in the following example). The verbal noun may end in the vowel *a* or *e*. The verbal noun retains the final vowel *a* before a nominal subject or object:

- (27) *èkíníwá ámtátómlè ñándàhà*
 è kín wá á-m tāt úmlè **ñá** **ndàhà**
 eh, now COM PRED-IN place other 1EXCL say

márgè gdzàrà cámanínindzè táfàtrú
márgè gdzàr-a cáàn kìnì ndzè tá
 mother TO child-PL before C.FOC ? 3PL

béetàrè álvà-hà gègdzàrà háatàrè
fà-tr-ú bà itàrè álvà-a
 put-3PL-VENT FOC 3PL story-PL
gè gdzàrà-hà-tàrè
 TO child:PL-GEN-3PL

‘And now it is said that usually it is the mothers that teach their daughters, it is they who tell the stories to their daughters.’

The imperfective is coded by the form Pro R1ObjR2 for clauses with an object pronoun but without a nominal object or a complement clause:

- (28) *tá fà-tàr-fà*
 3PL put-3PL-put
 ‘they will put it for them’

Nominal subjects or objects follow the verb. Recall that the perfective is marked by the root form of the verb before the object:

- (29) *tá fá gùsà*
tá fá gùsà
 3PL put concert (Fula)
 ‘One puts up a concert.’

Transitive verbs without a nominal or pronominal object have the first consonant geminated:

- (30) *tá ffá*
 3PL put:IMPF
 ‘they will put it’
- (31) *á b̄b̄àlà á làl-á-rà*
 3SG announce PRED neighborhood-GEN-3SG
 ‘he announces in his neighborhood’

When the verb has an object suffix, direct or indirect, the first consonant of the verb is not geminated:

- (32) *ábàlàná làlá-rà*
á b̄àlà-n á làl-á-rà
 3SG announce-3SG PRED neighborhood-GEN-3SG
 ‘he announces it in his neighborhood’
- (33) *yò d̄árgà gdzàrkìni*
yò d-á-r gè gdzà-r kìnì
 well father-GEN-3SG TO young-NOM C.FOC
á b̄àlà-tr-b̄àlà
 3SG announce-3PL-announce
 ‘Well, the father of the child (the bride), announces to them . . .’

The indirect object function of the pronoun with a verb that does not inherently imply an indirect object is coded by the third-person object pronoun *n* following the referential object:

- (34) *nóovà tánkìnì*
nóo và tán kìnì ye sà-kùr-án-sà
 PRES day DEF C.FOC 1SG come-2PL-3SG-come
 ‘Here today I bring for you’

The verb ends in the vowel *à* when followed directly by the nominal subject:

- (35) *ée àbàdàdàl̩zàbàdàl̩yè àmùv̩gèh̩ánnà*
ée à b̩à d̩àdà l̩zàbà d̩àl̩yè á-mù
 well, 3SG say father again again PRED-IN
v̩gè h̩ánnà
 grave DEF
 ‘And the father in the grave says, . . .’

- (36) *áb̩l̩yè d̩ùksám̩hùd̩āyèw h̩án-ní*
á b̩l̩yà d̩ùksà á-m h̩ùd-à yàwè
 3SG fall thing PRED-IN belly-GEN water
h̩án-ní
 DEF-INTNS
 ‘Something falls into this water, . . .’

Nominal objects follow transitive verbs ending in a vowel with low tone:

- (37) *ábl̩l̩àh̩ánnà* [pause] *l̩zàbàl̩zàl̩yè*
á bl̩l̩à l̩àh h̩ánnà l̩zàbàd̩àl̩yè
 3SG sing song DEF again
 ‘He sings this song again.’

- (38) *á k̩àt̩à l̩v̩à ndzà*
 3SG want story past
 ‘He wants a[n old] story.’

Inherently intransitive verbs code the object through the suffix *nà*, as is the case with the verb *pwà* ‘pour’, below:

- (39) *tà h̩àl̩à z̩árv-á-tà h̩ánnà tà pwà-nà*
 3PLgather sesame-GEN-3PL DEF 3PL pour-3SG
d̩á-m b̩h̩à
 go-IN bag
 ‘and then they were gathering their sesame in and pouring it into a bag’ [elicited on the basis of the similar sentence in the perfective, cited earlier]

When a transitive subject follows the verb, the verb must have an object pronoun. In the absence of other object pronouns, the third-person singular marker *n* is used:

- (40) *má dá-dà má á ndàv̩à-ná gdzà gyálè*
 HYP go-go:GO HYP 3SG ask-3SG young girl
 ‘when he arrives, the girl asks him’

- (41) *à bà-itàrè à s-á-nà zàmàné*
 3SG say-3PL 3SG come-3SG time (F)
 ‘they say it is [modern] times that brought it’
- (42) *yò fòyì ñánnà wàtsè kwàdà cìn-ná*
 well chat DEF FUT 2PL-FUT hear-3SG
kúr ná nó-ñwàné álvà wàndàl
 2PL DEM PRES-DEF language Wandala
ñánnà tákàtànà ðámá kláwà
ñánnà tá kàtá-n-à ðámá kláwà
 DEF 3PL want-3SG-PB world all
 ‘Here is the chat that you will hear in Wandala and that the world de-
 sires.’
- (43) *éemákìni dàdà ákwàrná màmà*
ée má kìnì dādà á kwàr-ná màmà
 well, HYP C.FOC father 3SG order-3SG mother
 ‘If it is like that, the father is ordered by the mother.’

A nominal subject can occur in clause-initial position, presumably as a topicalization means:

- (44) *gágá gágá gágá yáwà dègzám hùdà hàye*
gágá gágá gágá yáw á dègzà á-m hùd-á hàye
 gul, gul, gul, **water** 3SG run PRED-IN belly-GEN river
 ‘Gul, gul, gul, the water runs within the river.’

3.2 The functions of the imperfective aspect

The evidence that the form Pro Verbal noun is aspectual rather than a tense category is provided by the fact that it can occur with various time references.

Present time reference of the imperfective:

In the specific present, the subject pronoun has high tone. In the unmarked time reference, the subject pronoun has low tone. In various time references the form Pro Verbal noun codes an incomplete, unbounded event.

Present time reference of the imperfective includes events that are ongoing at the time of speech or another defined time or that take place habitually:

- (45) *máki dàrá dè má tándà vágdzà gyálè*
máki dà-r-á-dè má tá ndává
 HYP go-3PL-GO-go HYP 3PL ask

gdzà gyálè

young girl

‘Having arrived, they ask for the girl.’ [The high tone on the verb *ndává* is the result of the tone shift from the preceding epenthetic vowel.]

- (46) *á kàtá Ivà ndzà*
á kàtá áǵvà ndzà
 3SG want story past
 ‘He wants an old story.’

- (47) *tákàtá bà ɲgùdí rkwá tákàtá bàtá bà dzà gdzàràbí*
tá kàtá bà ɲgùdí kwá tá kàtá
 3PL want FOC promiscuity CONJ 3PL want
bà tá bàdzà gdzàrà-hà bí
 FOC 3PL spoil child-PL completely
 ‘They seek promiscuity and to spoil the girls completely.’

- (48) *žilé mávácátènáá dótàtàyé mùksè nává*
žilé má-và-cà á-tè nà á dè tàyé mùksè
 man HYP-time PRED-T DEM 3SG go search woman
ná wá
 DEM COM
 ‘The man, at the time when he will go to look for a woman . . .’

átséáǵálà máɲùràrà

á-tsé á-ǵálà m-áɲ ùr-á-rà
 3SG-get up 3SG-go HYP-ASSC man-GEN-3SG
 ‘he gets up he goes either with his man . . .’

The imperfective noun form can have its time reference simultaneous with some other time specified in narration:

- (49) *áblàlàɲánnà ǵàbàǵàlyé*
á blà làh ɲánnà [pause] ǵàbàǵàlyé
 3SG sing song DEF again
 ‘He sings this song again.’

Past time reference of the dependent imperfective:

The use of overt indicators of the past time provides the evidence that the dependent imperfective is not a tense form. The past time indicators could be adverbial expressions or the marker *ndzè* ‘past’. The subject pronouns have

low tone. The past tense is also coded by high tone on the last syllable of the verb:

- (50) *á wáyà yà màgányà [má] ndzè yè sà-wá*
á wáyà yà màgá nyà [má] ndzè
 PRED yesterday 1SG make preparation HYP PAST
yè sà-wá
 1SG come-VENT
 ‘Yesterday, I was making preparations with the intention to come.’

The past time interpretation can also be provided by the context:

- (51) *àcinàyéddá ñáramhùdávge*
à cìnà yé ddá ñàrà á-m hùd-á
 3SG hear voice father 3SG PRED-IN belly-GEN
vgè
 grave
 ‘He heard the voice of his father in the grave.’

Future time reference of the imperfective aspect:

- (52) *àbiná mágyávgyèn mágàyáñrùwá*
à b-iná má gyá-v-gyè-n
 3SG say-3SG HYP cook-APPL-cook-pause marker
mágày-á-ñrè wá
 millet-GEN-1EXCL COM
ñázàná bàñrè ántàrà mùrwá tànné
ñá zà-ná bà ñrè ántàrà
 1EXCL eat-3SG FOC 1EXCL ASSC:PL
mù-rwá tànné
 mother-1SG only
 ‘He said, “If our hungry rice (a variety of millet) is cooked we will eat it only, me with my mother.”’

The imperfective codes events occurring habitually:

- (53) *káلكálè ñázàdāfāñgrè*
káلكálè ñá zà dāf-á-ñgrè
 properly (F) 1EXCL eat food-GEN-1EXCL
án əngy-á án yècìvácíyà
 ASSC morning ASSC evening
 ‘We eat our own food, in the morning and in the evening.’

The imperfective can be used in content questions and in answers to such questions:

(54a) *tà hãrdã jibã rá*
 3PL farm:PL type Q
 ‘What things did they farm?’

(54b) *tã hãrdã zãrvã*
 3PL farm:PL sesame
 ‘They farmed sesame.’

4. The function of the imperfective Pro R1R2 form

Most forms of the type Pro R1R2 are in complementary distribution with the forms Pro Verbal noun, in that the Pro R1R2 form is required when the verb has object pronouns and does not have a nominal object. There are, however, Pro R1R2 i.e. forms that have neither an object pronoun nor a nominal object. This indicates that the Pro R1R2 form is a separate construction, not predictable from any other property of the clause. The natural discourse examples of such a construction indicate not only that the form is imperfective but also that it refers to an event that has not yet happened:

(55) *yé ndãndã gãmèhãr gè gdzré dãfĩhã hùsãrhwè*
yé ndã-ndã gè mè hãr gè gdzré
 1SG talk-talk TO mother POSS:3SG TO child
dãfĩhã hùsãrhwè
dãfĩ hã hù-s-ãr-hwè
 then 1EXCL agree-S-ON-agree
 ‘And I tell the mother of the child, and then we will agree.’

The hypothetical nature of the Pro R1R2 form is further supported by the following:

(56) *yé vãkùrtãvã kniyéndãkã yé vãkùrtãkã kniyéndãkã bìnã*
yé vã-kùr-tã-vã kní yé ndã kã
 1SG give-2PL-T-give C.FOC 1SG tell NEG
yé vã-kùr-tã kã kní yé ndã kã
 1SG give-2PL-T NEG C.FOC 1SG tell NEG

á *b-inà*
 3SG say-3SG

‘Whether I will give [her] to you, that I cannot tell you. Whether I will not give [her] to you, that I cannot tell you, he said.’

If the event is represented as imperfective but also actual, the simple form of the verb is used:

- (57) *méyàbèllághnàwá*
mé *yà* *bèl* *làh* *nà* *wá*
 HYP 1SG sing song DEM COM
ánkúràn *dálvàmúvgàbìná*
ánk *ùrà* *ndá* *lv* *ám* *vg* *à* *b-iná*
 exist person speak word in grave 3SG say-3SG
 “‘When I sang the song there was somebody talking in the grave.’” he said’

The use of the imperfective form Pro R1R2 as a means to code hypothetical modality is further described in chapter 15, ‘Mood’.

5. The backgrounding and comment clause aspect

5.1 The aspectual categoriality of the R1ProR2 form

The backgrounding and comment clause aspect is coded by the verbal form R1ProR2, i.e. a form that has the subject pronoun between the reduplicated parts of the verb. The object pronouns and most of the extensions follow the subject pronouns. The evidence that the form R1ProR2 codes an aspect is provided by the fact that it can occur with different time references and in different moods. Hence, it is neither a tense nor a mood category. Here is the evidence.

Future time reference:

- (58) *mágyávyè mà mágàyànrè*
má gy-á-v-gyà mágày-á-nrè
 HYP cook-GO-APPL-cook millet-GEN-1EXCL
ηázàn bànrántàrmùwà
ηà z-à-n bà ηr ántàr
 1EXCL eat-GO-3SG FOC 1EXCL ASSC:PL
mù-rwà
 mother-1SG
 ‘When our millet is cooked, we will eat it, me and my mother.’

Past time reference:

- (59a) *dàràmdà fòyà*
dà-r-á-m-dà fá-ú yà
 go-3PL-IN-go drink-VENT sound
 ‘When they started talking . . .’
- (59b) *émràǵàrà sàràmsàmdànà*
é màǵàrà.sá-r-á-m-s-à mdè nà
 well now come-3PL-IN-come-PB people DEM
 ‘And now, those people came.’

The backgrounding aspect may denote a state concurrent with the time of speech:

- (60) *nóo và tén kìnì njànjá twáfká ordinator yándál vwándàlà*
nóo và t-én kìnì njà-n-í-njà
 PRES time T-DEM C.FOC sit-1SG-EP-sit
á-t wáfk-á
 PRED-T face-GEN
ordinator yá ndà élv wándàlà
 computer 1SG speak language Wandala
 ‘Here I am sitting in front of the computer speaking the Wandala language.’

The form R1ProR2 can be used in the hypothetical mood:

- (61) *bimásàsàwà žilé bí àsáwán sále*
bí má sà-sà-wà žilé bí á
 when HYP come-come-VENT man when 3SG
sá-w án sále
 come-VENT ASSC money (Hausa, from English ‘shilling’)
dàdà átándà sèkàlvà
dàdà tá ndà-s k lvà
 father 3PL say-S NEG word
 ‘And then, once the man arrives, once he comes with the money, the father cannot say a word.’

5.2 The functions of the R1ProR2 form

I first describe the propositional backgrounding function of the R1ProR2 form, then the aspectual values of the form and, finally, its comment-clause function.

Events described by the backgrounding aspect can be bounded or unbounded. As demonstrated in the preceding section, they can have past, present, or future time reference. Backgrounding is provided as a necessary condition for the proper understanding of the following proposition. The systemic evidence for the backgrounding function of the R1ProR2 form is that it cannot occur in content interrogatives and in negative clauses, i.e. in types of clauses where the backgrounding function contradicts the function of interrogative and negative predications. The backgrounding aspect cannot be deployed in the second clause of a sequential construction, as the second clause cannot serve as the background to the first clause in the sequence:

- (62a) *púm tànábàpùsè zàrvànáátè bùcé*
púm tà nábà púw-sè zàrvà ná
 ONOM 3PL then pour-S sesame DEM
á tè bùcé
 PRED T mat
 ‘Pum! Then they poured out sesame onto a mat.’

Without the sequential marker *nábà*, the reduplicated form is possible:

- (62b) *prúm pú-r-sè-pù zàrvà ná á tè bùcé*
 pum pour-3PL-S-pour sesame DEM PRED T mat
 ‘pum, they poured the sesame onto a mat’ (elicited)’

While no specific background is implied, the types of backgrounds vary a great deal. One type is a temporal or spatial background:

- (63a) *dàrám dà à dǒzà ddá ñà-r gègyálè*
dà-rǎ-m-dà á dǒ-zà ddá ñà-r
 arrive-3PL-IN-arrive PRED go-side father POSS-3SG
gè gyálè
 TO girl
 ‘They arrived to the father of the girl.’

ǎstàrà nówáñá kàtágdzàñnà ñákàtàn vágmanya
ǎstàrà ná wá ñá kàtá gdzá-ñ ná
 so here DEM COM 1EXCL want child-2SG DEM
ñá kàtá-n-vá g manya
 1EXCL want-3SG-APPL:GO TO such and such
 ‘Well, we want your child, we want her for so and so.’

- (64) *ámhàrdǎ ñánnà ǎgdzrè bà mákàkàlálà dǎm fátàrwá*
á-m hǎrdǎ ñánnà ǎgdzrè bà má
 PRED-IN farm DEF child FOC HYP
kà-kàlálà d-ám f-á-tàr wá
 go-go go-IN field-GEN-3PL COM
áblà làhàrà
á blà làh-á-rà
 3SG send song-GEN-3SG
 ‘While farming, when the child goes to their field he sings his song.’

Another type of backgrounding is a conditional protasis, in opposition to an apodosis clause, which uses the Pro R1R2 form for a hypothetical event:

- (65) *ǎgdzàr žilé má ndàvòndà vè mùksè*
ǎgdzàr žilé má ndàvò-ndàvò mùksè
 child boy HYP ask-ask girl
á fǎmfǎ mǎrvòndàrà
á fǎ-m-fǎ á-m ǎrvònd-á-rà
 3SG put-IN-put PRED-IN heart-GEN-3SG
 ‘A young man, if he asked for a woman, he should put into his heart . . .’

- (66) *mùksè ñánnà má wáyáy wáy žilé*
mùksè ñánnà má wáyáy-wáy žilé
 woman DEF HYP love-love man

ámárvònd-á-rà màwàyáwày žílár ḡánnà
á-má rvònd-á-rà má wàyà-wày
 PRED-IN heart-GEN-3SG HYP love-love
žíl-á-r ḡánnà
 man-GEN-3SG DEF

‘The woman, if she loves the man, if in her heart she loves her husband,’

The R1ProR2 form can be used in the mood of obligation ((67) follows (66) in natural discourse):

- (67) *ánjàrénjà bàtúnḡánnà*
á njà-rá-njà bà t-únḡánnà
 PRED stay-3PL-stay FOC T-DEF DEF
 ‘they should remain on that very thing’

The backgrounding aspect may establish the premise for the following discourse:

- (68) *yò díkdì zàrvàḡánnà kìnì*
yò dyà-k-dyì zàrvà ḡánnà kìnì
 well know-2SG-know sesame DEF C.FOC
 ‘You know the sesame, don’t you?’

á-m hùd-á fílì-n
 PRED-IN belly-GEN sand-DEM
 ‘Inside the sand’
kàkà kàfànéstàrà
kà kà kà fà-ḡá stà-rà
 2SG 2SG 2SG find-3SG DEF-Q
 ‘how do you find it?’

- (69) *má bàlvá kùržóžántàr gdzàgyálvá*
má bà lv-á-kùr kóžè ántàrà gdzà gyál
 HYP FOC word-GEN-2PL finish ASSC:PL young girl
 ‘“Since your conversation with the young girl is finished,
ḡárkàè ḡàjìbàrà
wá ḡár kàyà ḡà jìbà rà
 COM 1EXCL FOC 1EXCL type Q
 ‘what are we?’”’

The R1ProR2 form can be used in the imperative mood, as a background to what the speaker is going to say next:

- (70a) *fyáwánfískà kógá jàwá jìbàrà*
fyà-wá-n-ǵí skè kwá gá
 leave-IMP:PL-3SG-leave POL 2PL take
jáw-á jìbà rà
 doubt-GO type Q
 ‘Leave that, please, why do you doubt?’

- (70b) *ám hùdá hàyé[pause]diyàkùrdíyàṅkwà yàwè*
ám hùd-á hàyé diyà-kùr-díyà áṅkwà yàwè
 PRED:IN belly-GEN river know-2PL-know exist water
 ‘In the river, you know, there is water.’

The backgrounding aspect is used in polar questions:

- (71a) *ábɔyè dùksámhùdáyéw ṅán-ní*
á bɔyà dùksà á-m hùd-à yàwè
 3SG fall thing PRED-IN belly-GEN water
ṅán-ní cìnà-ká-n-cìná bákà
 DEF-INTNS listen-2SG-3-listen NEG.EX
 ‘Something falls into this water.’ ‘You have heard it?’ ‘No way!’

- (71b) *àbɔyàsábɔyè dùksámkwá*
àbɔyà-s-á-bɔyè dùksà á-m k-wá
 fall-S-fall thing PRED-IN PREP-down
 ‘Something fell out?’

Events in the clauses that follow the backgrounding aspect are the logical or temporal consequences for which the background was provided in the preceding clause:

- (72) *hàttá ágdzàr jàjàr vónlè*
hàttá ágdzàr já-jà rvónlè
 till child hit-hit heart
 ‘Till the child became angry [with her father].’

ànábàfígàfè ámbátèrè
à nábà fígàfè á mb-á-tàrè
 3SG then leave PRED home-GEN-3PL
 ‘she left from her home’
ànábà dámdunyàrà

à nábà dǎm dùny-á-rà
 3 then go world-GEN-3SG
 ‘She became a vagabond.’

The R1ProR2 form can occur in a focus clause providing background for the subsequent clause:

- (73) àstàrà nóyyà hàynénhàyá-n ágdzè ñánnà
 àstàrà nó yyà **hày-n-én-hàyá-n**
 how PRES 1SG like-1SG-3SG-like-[pause]
 ágdzè ñánnà
 boy DEF
 àkká hàyà-kánkà
 àkká hàyà-ká-n-kà
 2SG like-2SG-3SG-NEG
 ‘How is it? Here, I like this boy and you don’t like him.’

The backgrounding aspect is not allowed in clauses with the focus marked by the particle *bà*.

- (74a) àwàlá bàkàtàfkánà
 à wàlá á bà kà tà fk-á-ηà
 3SG grow up PRED FOC PREP T front-GEN-2SG
 ‘He grew up in front of you.’
- (74b) *wàlàwàlà á bà kà tà fk-á-ηà
 grow up-grow up PRED FOC PREP T front-GEN-2SG
 ‘he grew up in front of you’

Without the focus-marking particle *bà*, the form R1ProR2 is allowed:

- (74c) wàlà-wàlà á kà tà fk-á-ηà
 grow up-grow up PRED PREP T front-GEN-2SG
 ‘he grew up in front of you’

The reduplicated form of the verb can be used in the final utterance of a narrative. On the face of it, that may be considered counterevidence to the backgrounding function of the form:

- (75) ǒóǒǒ màǒàrà
 finish:VENT-finish now
 ‘That finished’ [Corrected to ǒóǒè; the simple form of the verb cannot be used here.]

The impression of counterevidence is actually illusory. The speaker refers to the end of the narrative, indicating that now the speaker and the addressee can undertake other things.

5.3 The aspectual values of the R1ProR2 form

The R1ProR2 form codes the state of the subject or object resulting from an event. The state must have occurred by the time of speech or by the time of another event, whether in the past or in the future. The events described by the completive may be bounded or unbounded, but are always completive in the sense that the event described by the state has been achieved. The aspect does not represent the event as one whole.

Bounded:

- (76) *cùkwá ngùdì fã-r-ná-fè hàyè*
cùkw-á ngùdì fã-r-n-á-fè hàyè
 small-GEN very find-3PL-3SG-GO-find river
 ‘After a little while, they reached a river.’

- (77a) *àbɔyàsáɔbɔyè dùksá*
àbɔyà-sá-bɔyè dùksá
 fall-S-fall thing
 ‘something fell out?’

- (77b) *fũilyá zàrvá mì pàllè kày mbàdǎ mbàdám dǎmyáwnà*
fũilì-á zàrv-á myà pàllè kày mbàdǎ-m-mbàd
 sand-GEN sesame-GEN 1INCL one EXCL? fall-IN-fall
á-m d-ár yàwè nà
 PRED go:ON water DEM
 ‘‘One of our sesame seeds fell into the water.’’

Unbounded:

- (78) *dàdànàkìni ɣyàpɣyè dàdámbarwá*
dàdà nà kìnì ɣyà-v-ɣyè dàd á-m
 father DEM C.FOC be able-APPL-be able father PRED-IN
mb-á-rà wá
 house-GEN-3SG COM
 ‘As for the father, once he is a father at his home’

mándà súwèè kìnì àgdzàrwá àḷipḷyèkàḷàbè
má á ndà-sú wèè kìnì àgdz-á-r wá
 HYP 3SG say-S what C.FOC child-GEN-3SG COM
á ḷì-p-ḷyè ká ḷàbè
 3SG accept-APPL-accept NEG again
 ‘whatever he says, his child should accept, shouldn’t she?’

- (79) *yò ámtà túmlè bàgdzàramìzálàhà nà kìnì wá*
yò ám tàt úmlè bà gdzàr-á-mì zál-àhà
 well IN place other FOC child-GEN-1PL male-PL
nà kìnì wá
 DEM C.FOC COM
tó fàtàrtéèrè mátsàràtsé gègdzàrà gyálà-hà
tá wfà-tàr-tá irè má tsà-rà-tsé gè
 3PL bother-3PL-T head HYP rise-3PL-rise TO
gdzàr-á gyálà-hà
 child-GEN female-PL
 ‘Well, sometimes, it is they [boys], who bother the girls’

- (80) *á fāmfá mār̀vòndàrà*
á fā-m-fà á-m àrvònd-á-rà
 3SG put-IN-put PRED-IN heart-GEN-3SG
gè wàyáwày mùksàrà
gè wàyá-wáy mùks-á-rà
 TO love-love wife-GEN-3SG
 ‘He should put into his heart to love his wife.’

The systemic evidence for the completive value of the R1ProR2 form is provided by the fact that it does not occur in negative clauses, as an event that did not happen cannot be completed.

- (81) *máḷzàr dàcì máwàyát ùwàyállà*
máḷzàr dàcì má wàyá-t-ùwàyà àllà
 now then HYP want-T-want Allah
 ‘And then, if God wants,’
njà-rí-njà máwàyát kállà
njà-rí-njà má wàyá-t kà àllà
 stay-3PL-stay HYP:3SG want-T NEG God
 ‘they can remain. If God does not want, . . .’

5.4 The R1ProR2 form as a comment clause completive aspect

The backgrounding aspect occurs in complement clauses, i.e. in clauses that must be interpreted in connection with the main clause, when there is no other marker of dependency, e.g. no complementizer:

- (82) *tàksàsá* [2mls pause, false start] *pàllè* *mínè* *báakà* *dyàrsádyè*
tà *ksà-sá* *pàllè* *mínè* *báakà* *dyà-r-sá-dyè*
 3PL take-S one 1INCL NEG.EX know-3PL-S-know
 ‘They concluded . . . “one of our sesame seed is missing”, they realized.’

The simple form of the verb cannot replace the reduplicated form in the above example, providing evidence that the reduplicated verb is indeed a comment on the fronted element.

The systemic evidence that the R1ProR2 is a dependent clause marker is provided by the fact that this form alone can code the complement clause:

- (83a) *yá* *ná* *gyá-r-gí* *dáfá*
 1SG see cook-3PL-cook food
 ‘I see that they prepared the food’

When there is a complementizer indicating dependency, the perfective (i.e. the simple form rather than the reduplicated form) is used:

- (83b) *yà* *ná* *wá* *tà* *gyí* *dáfá*
 1SG see COM 3PL cook food
 ‘I saw that they prepared food’

- (83c) **yà* *ná* *wá* *gyá-r-gí* *dáfá*
 1SG see COM cook-3PL-cook food
 ‘I saw that they prepared food’

The simple form of the verb is used in comments in relative clauses:

- (84) *názù* *yá* *kàtà* *yá* *vàtèrtáyà* *kínì*
názù *yá* *kàtà* *yá* *v-à-tèr-tá-yà* *kínì*
 what 1SG want 1SG give-GO-3PL-T-1SG C.FOC
 ‘What I would like to give them . . .’

The completive form can be used in purpose clauses:

- (85) *yò cáamànkìni názù àkàtànòrwá*
yò cáamàn kìnì názù à kátá-n ùr
 well first of all C.FOC what 3SG want-3SG person
wá bà gè njà-rí-njà án
 COM FOC TO stay-3PL-stay ASSC
hèer-àn-klàpì-rè
 peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘First of all, what one wants, is for them to live in peace and good health.’

6. The punctual aspect

The punctual aspect is coded by the suffix *h* (clause-internal) or *hè* (clause-final form). Mirt 1970/71 does not describe the function of this marker, saying only that it appears to be a particle. For the closely related Malgwa, Löhr 2002 postulates the existence of the high-tone suffix *hé* as one of three suffixes that are said to nominalize verbs. Löhr lists intransitive, transitive, and derived transitive verbs that take this suffix but provides no evidence for the postulated function of the suffix.

6.1 The form of the punctual aspect

The punctual aspect is coded by the form: S_[pronoun] V-(Pro:O) *hè*. The suffix is added to the root form of the verb rather than to the root + *a* form. Hence, it is added to forms that are otherwise associated with the perfective aspect:

- (86) *tà náb ptsà-hè*
 3PL then return-PNCT
 ‘then they returned’

**tà náb ptsà-hè*

Here is the paradigm of the verb *jà* ‘hit’ in the imperfective and the punctual:

- (87) *á j-já à jì-hè*
 3SG hit:IMPF 3SG hit-PNCT
 ‘he hits him’ ‘he hit him’
- á j-ì-jà à j-ì-hè*
 3SG hit-1SG-hit 3SG hit-1SG-PNCT
 ‘he hits me’ ‘he hit me’

á *jà-mì/ŋr/kùr/-jà*
 ‘he hits us(incl)/us(excl)/you/them’

à *jà-mì/ŋr/kùr/tàr-hè*
 ‘he hit us(incl)/excl/you(pl)/them-PNCT’

Here is the paradigm of the verb *yà* ‘give birth, beget’ with various object pronouns:

<i>yà yì-hè</i>	‘I gave birth/begot’
à <i>yà-k-hè</i>	‘she gave birth to you’
à <i>yà-mì-hè</i>	‘she gave birth to us (incl)’
à <i>yà-kùr-hè</i>	‘she gave birth to you (pl)’
à <i>yà-tàr-hè</i>	‘she gave birth to them’

The suffix can be added directly to the verb or after extensions:

(88) *tà tsà-t-hè tà ptsà-hè*
 3PL rise-T-PNCT 3PL return-PNCT
 ‘they got up and returned’

à *tsà-hè*
 3SG stop-PNCT
 ‘he stopped’

The crucial formal characteristic of the punctual aspect is that it cannot occur with a nominal object following the verb. The object can, however, precede the verb in the punctual aspect. A nominal subject following the verb in the punctual aspect is coded by the destinative preposition *gà*.

6.2 The function of the punctual aspect

The evidence that marker *hè* is an aspectual rather than a tense marker is provided by the fact that the form can be used in both past and in future time reference. The evidence that the marker *hè* codes an aspectual category is provided by the fact that it cannot co-occur with two other aspectual forms, viz., the backgrounding R1ProR2 form or the imperfective, Pro R1R2. The marker *hè* cannot co-occur with the simple imperfective formed with the nominal form of the verb. The punctual aspect is always bounded. The evidence that *hè* is not a modal marker is provided by the fact that it can be used in the indicative and interrogative moods.

- (89) *tàná b̀ə̀ptsə̀há d̀ə̀mfə̀ŋánn ʒ̀à̀b̀à̀d̀à̀lyé*
tà náb ptsə̀-hə á d̀ə̀m fə ɲánnà
 3PL then return-PNCT PRED go:IN field DEF
ʒ̀à̀b̀à̀ d̀à̀lyé
 again
 ‘They returned to the field.’

Future time reference:

- (90) *t̀à̀b̀ú̀k̀ú̀rd̀á t̀ə̀rwá à̀pwá-t̀ə̀rhé d̀á̀zà d̀ánárà g̀ə̀gyálè*
t̀à bú k̀ú̀rd̀á t̀ə̀r wá tsé à
 3PL two all 3PL COM FUT 3SG
pwá-t̀ə̀r-hé
 send-3PLPNCT
d̀á zà d̀á ɲàrà g̀ə̀ gyálè
 go side father POSS:3SG DEST girl
 ‘Both of them, he will send to the father of the girl.’

The difference between the punctual and the backgrounding aspect is that the backgrounding aspect indicates the accomplishment and the state. The punctual excludes the state:

- (91) *àsòhàsə̀zàd̀óonà*
à sò-hè à sá zà d̀óo-nà
 3SG come:VENT-PNCT 3SG come HL man-DEM
 ‘She came to the man.’

The fundamental function of the punctual aspect is to represent the event from the point of view of the predicate rather than from the point of view of one of the participants. The punctual aspect can be conceived of as stating what happened, rather than what happened to one or another argument of the proposition. The evidence for this function is provided by the fact that the punctual aspect cannot be used in content interrogatives about the subject or the place:

- (92) **à mtsə̀-hé wà̀rè/á mè*
 3SG die-PNCT who/PRED where
 ‘who died?’/‘where did he die?’
- *à mtsə̀-hé g̀ə̀ wà̀rè*
 3SG die-PNCT TO who
 ‘who died?’

*à mbàd-hé wàrè
 3SG fall-PNCT who
 ‘who fell down?’ [All morphemes preceding a question word have the final tone high.]

Only the root form can be used in content questions in the perfective aspect:

(93) à mts á mè
 3SG die PRED where
 ‘where did he die?’

Another systemic piece of evidence that the punctual aspect represents the event from the point of view of the predicate is provided by the fact that the punctual aspect cannot occur in a negative clause:

(94) *à mtsà-hè kà
 3SG die-PNCT NEG
 ‘he did not die’

The punctual marker can follow the source extension *s*, the inner-space extension *m*, the applicative extension *v*, and the target extension *t*:

(95) tànábyíshè
 tà nábà yí-s-hè
 3PL then dig-S-PNCT
 ‘Then they dug it up.’

à tsà-t-hè
 3SG rise-T-PNCT
 ‘he got up’

tànábùpúm há dúmhúdà hàyè [not in the recording]
 tà nábà pú-m-hè
 3PL then fell-IN-PNCT
 ‘Then they poured it.’

The evidence for the punctual function of the marker *hè* comes from the fact that it is incompatible with verbs that are marked for the imperfective function by the ending *a*:

(96) à gyì-v-hè
 3SG cook-APPL-PNCT
 ‘it cooked’ [punctual, not durative, not stative]

The use of the imperfective form of the verb with the suffix *hè* yields ungrammatical utterances:

- (97) *à gyà-*hè*
 3SG cook:IMP-PNCT
 ‘she cooked it’

One can use the punctual marker *hè* with the goal marker *á* on the simple verb:

- (98) à ks-*á-hè*
 3SG take-GO-PNCT
 ‘he took it down from the upper level’

The fundamental evidence for the hypothesis that the punctual codes an event from the point of view of the predicate is provided by its constraints with respect to the addition of the arguments. The nominal subject can be added only through the preposition *gə* ‘to’, which otherwise also codes nominal datives and beneficiaries:

- (99a) àdàsámhəgə̀tə̀ksé
 à də sá-*m-hə* gə̀ təkse
 3SG SEQ come-IN-PNCT TO Sultan
 ‘When the Sultan arrived [not to the place of speech] . . .’

- (99b) àsámhə gə̀víyà
 à sá-*m-hə* gə̀ víyà
 3SG come-IN-PNCT TO rainy season
 ‘There came the rainy season.’

*à sá-*m-hə* víyà

- (100) dàcí ànábə̀ bɛ́ɛf-*hə* gə̀fílyá zàrvá tər pàllè
 dàcí à nábə̀ bɛ́ɛf-*v-hə* gə̀ fíli-á
 then 3SG then all-APPL-PNCT TO sand-GEN
 zàrv-á-tər pàllè
 sesame-GEN-3PL one
 ‘Then, one grain of their sesame seeds fell down.’

- (101) àná bùmstgə̀ gə̀ dàdà
 à nábə̀ mts-*h* gə̀ dàdà
 3SG then die-PNCT TO father
 ‘The father died.’

In another language, Polish, there exists a somewhat similar construction that also represents the event from the point of view of the predicate, and whose only argument is also coded in the same way in which the dative/benefactive argument is coded.

- (102) *zmarło się ojcu*
 die:PRF:3N REFL father:DAT
 ‘the father died’

The evidence that the noun phrase marked by the preposition *gà* is the subject (unlike the argument in Polish ex. (102)) is provided by the agreement system. The subject pronoun preceding the verb must have the same number as the argument marked by the preposition *gà*:

- (103) *tànjihè gètàr màmántàrgdzrè*
tà nji-hè gè tår màm ántàr gdz-rè
 3PL remain-PNCT TO 3PL mother ASSC:PL small-NOM
 ‘There remained mother and child.’

Interestingly, verbs in the punctual aspect may be inherently transitive and even have object pronouns:

- (104a) *tànábyíshè*
tà nába yì-s-hè
 3PL then dig-S-PNCT
 ‘Then they dug it up.’

à ksà-n-t-hè
 3SG take-3SG-T-PNCT
 ‘he took it down’

à ks-yì-t-hè
 3SG take-1SG-T-PNCT
 ‘he took me down’

This fact indicates that the pronominal object within the verb has a different propositional status than the nominal object, which cannot be included in the punctual aspect:

- (104b) **tà nába yì-s-hè ávgè*
 3PL then dig-S-PNCT grave
 ‘then they dug up the grave’

The pronominal object incorporated in the verb does not affect the point of view of the predicate. The nominal object included in the clause is incompatible with the point of view of the predicate.

6.3 The evidence for the punctual value of the suffix *hè*

The evidence for the punctual value of the suffix *hè* is provided by the fact that with stative verbs, the punctual aspect codes entering into a state:

- (105) *tànjìhè gètàr màmantàrgdzrè*
tà njì-hè gè tàr màm àntàr gdz-rè
 3PL live-PNCT TO 3PL mother ASSC:PL small-NOM
 ‘There came to live [alone] mother and child.’

Compare the imperfective:

- (106) *tàbànjátàrè ànhéerànkìpìrè*
tà bà nj-á-tàrè án héer-àn-klàpì-rè
 3PL FOC stay-GO-3PL ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘They lived together in peace and good health.’

With verbs of movement, the punctual codes the inception of movement:

- (107) *tàdúhè dāmtàttàyà á vgèñánnàtàtsáhé*
tà dú-hè dā-m tàttàyá ávgè ñánnà tà
 3PL go:VENT-PNCT go-IN search grave DEF 3PL
tsá-hè
 stop-PNCT
 ‘They got going in search of that grave, they stopped [where they found the grave]’ [Some speakers do not accept the use of the spatial specifier *m* in the form *dā-m*]

The lexical evidence for the punctual value of the suffix *hè* is provided by the fact that the marker *hè* cannot be used with verbs that are inherently unbounded, such as the verb *tàttàyà* ‘search’:

- (108) **à tàttàyà-myá-hè*
 3SG search-1PL-PNCT
 for ‘he searched for us’

The marker *hè* cannot co-occur with verbs that are inherently punctual, as such coding would produce internal tautology. Thus the punctual marker may not be used with the verbs *ḱálà* ‘depart or *kyá* ‘disperse’:

(109) *à kʷál-hè
 3SG go-PNCT
 'he went'

*tà kyá-hè
 3PL disperse-PNCT
 'they dispersed'

Cf.

à kyá mdè
 3SG disperse people
 'he dispersed people'

The only way that the nominal subject can be added after the verb *kyà* is by the destinative preposition *gə̀*, i.e. in the same way in which nominal subjects can be added to verbs with the punctual marker *he*:

(110) tà nábà kyá gə̀ mdè
 3PL then disperse TO people
 'the people dispersed'

Thus, the inherently punctual verbs have the same characteristics that the suffix *he* adds to other, non-punctual verbs.

7. The progressive aspect

The discussion of the progressive aspect in Wandala is based solely on elicited data. Two constructions with what is usually taken to be the 'progressive' function emerged during the elicitation. The productivity of these constructions is unknown, and the findings regarding their functions are at best preliminary.

One progressive construction consists of the form *t-irè* followed by the verbal noun. The marker *tirè* precedes the main verb of the clause. The form *tirè* is preceded by subject pronouns and the verb is followed by nominal subjects. The form *tirè* appears to be a complex structure, consisting of the target preposition *t* 'on' and the noun *irè* 'head':

(111) yá tirè njà
 1SG PROG sit
 'I am in the process of sitting down'

á tìrè là yàwè tà jà dǎbà
 3SG PROG rainwater 3PL hit walk
 ‘they take their walks while it is raining’

The description of an ongoing event does not have to have the marker *tìrè*:

(112) *á là nàlǎndzè*
 3SG rain hail
 ‘the hail is falling’

The evidence that the verb following the progressive marker is nominalized is provided by the fact that if the object follows it, the verb must have the genitive marker *á*:

(113) *á tìrè màg-á trá ám fé*
 3SG PROG do-GEN work PRED-IN field
 ‘he is working in the field right now’

(114) *yà tìrè z-á dǎfá ám lókt nà*
 1SG PROG eat-GEN food IN time DEM
sá-w nà
 come-VENT DEM
 ‘I was eating at the time he came’

(115) *yà tìrè fá kùrgùnrwà á-m*
 1SG PROG drink medicine-GEN-1SG PRED-IN
lókt nà sá-w nà
 time DEM come-VENT DEM
 ‘I was drinking my medicine at the time he came’

The form *tìrè* may occur in a locative predication, where it is linked by the genitive marker *á* with the following noun:

(116) *á tìr-á tábl*
 3SG on-head-GEN table (Fr)
 ‘it is on the table’

An ongoing event may also be coded by the predicate *áɲkwà* ‘exist’, preceded by a pronominal subject and followed by the nominalized form of the verb and an object, if the verb is transitive:

- (117) *áńkwà zà māsàné*
 exist eat food
 ‘he is eating’ (elicited)

yá áńkwà zà māsàné
 1SG exist eat food
 ‘I am eating’ (elicited)

This construction, if ever attested in natural discourse, would require an explanation, because it is not clear how an existential construction can be preceded by subject pronoun.

8. The inceptive aspect

The inceptive aspect is coded by the verb *tsè* ‘rise’. The structure for this aspectual distinction is Pro *tsè* Pro Verb. The verb *tsè* ends in the vowel before the following subject, because that subject is the subject of a different, main verb:

- (118) *žilé māvácátèná dātàttàyà mùksè nává*
žilé má-vàcà á-tè-nà á dā tātàyà mùksè
 man HYP-time PRED-T-3SG 3SG go search woman
ná wá
 DEM COM
 ‘The man, at the time when he will go to look for a woman,’

átséážàlà mánùrará
á tsé á žàlà m-áj ùr-á-rà
 3SG get up 3SG go HYP-ASSC man-GEN-3SG
 ‘he gets up he goes either with his man [imperfective]’

The evidence that the form *á-tsé*, literally ‘he gets up’, has a grammatical rather than referential function is provided by the fact that in narratives it is never preceded by any kind of a statement that the subject was seated or was lying down prior to the event with the verb *tsé*:

- (119) *mávà cātèn žàmùb dàlyé hárbò kígyé*
má vācīyà tē-nà žàbù dàlyé hárè bwà kígyé
 HYP time DEF-DEM again day two three
 ‘After some time, two or three days,’

tátsàtá dúlǵàbè
tá tsà tá d-úw ǵàbè
 3PL get up 3PL go-VENT again
 ‘they get up, they go there again.’

The evidence that the auxiliary *tsé* codes the inceptive function is provided also by the situations when it is not used. The following fragment illustrates both. The second clause represents a new event, as evidenced by the introductory clause that sets the time of the event. The last clause represents the same event, hence no auxiliary *tsé*:

- (120) *yò, ádásó háránìkà ǵánnà*
yò, á dǵ s-wá hár-á nìkà ǵánnà
 well 3SG FUT come-VENT day-GEN marriage DEF
 ‘Well, then the very day of the marriage will come’

tàtsámdá žilé
tà tsá md-á žilé
 3PL get-up people-GEN man
 ‘People of the groom get up’

tásàbàdǵà mdámùksè
tá sè bàdǵá md-á mùksè
 3PL come meet people-GEN woman
 ‘they come to find the people of the bride’

tá jàhámme
tá jàh-á-mmè
 3PL unite-GO-COL
 ‘they unite.’

9. The stative aspect

The data on the stative, like the data on the progressive, have all been elicited. The consistent pattern of the elicited constructions with different types of verbs indicates that the elicited forms have not been produced ad hoc. The clausal and the discourse functions of the stative remain to be discovered. There are two constructions coding the stative aspect. One derives the stative from transitive verbs, and the other derives the stative from intransitive verbs.

9.1 The stative aspect from transitive verbs

The stative aspect has the form: (S_[nominal]) S_[pronominal] *án*-V (S_[nominal]), i.e., the nominal subject may precede or follow the verb. The verb in the stative aspect is the nominal form ending in the vowel *a*. The vowel *a* is deleted in the clause-internal position. The clause in the stative aspect can have only one argument, which represents the affected participant of a transitive verb. Some semantic properties of this form thus partially overlap with the properties of passives of some verbs in Indo-European languages:

- (121) *ánàksà* *ùrá*
 ASSC:take man
 ‘a man has been arrested’
- áηà-ksá* *kàlfé*
 3SG:ASSC-take fish
 ‘the fish is taken’
- kàlfé* *ánà-ksá* [kàlfá nè-ksá]
 fish 3SG:ASSC-take
 ‘the fish is taken’ and ‘the fish was taken’

The ending *a* on the verb in the root position has been recorded with the plural subject:

- (122) *t-ánà-ksá* *mdè*
 3PL-ASSC-take people
 ‘the people have been taken (e.g. into the army)’

The third-person singular subject pronoun is completely absorbed by the associative marker:

- (123) *án* *gyà*
 ASSC cook
 ‘it is cooked’
- t-án-gyà*
 3PL-ASSC-cook
 ‘they are cooked’ [about a soccer team that has been beaten]

The past time reference of the stative verb can be overtly marked through the use of the form *ndz* ‘past’ at the beginning of the clause. The past time marker *ndz* forms one syllable with the following associative marker:

- (124) *ndzán jà krè*
 past:ASSC hit dog
 ‘the dog was killed’

9.2 The stative aspect from intransitive verbs

The stative from intransitive verbs has the form: Subject pronoun V-ASSC-V. Here is an example with the verb *tsè* ‘get up’:

- (125) *á tsántse*
á ts-án-tsè
 3SG rise-ASSC-rise
 ‘he is standing’

tá tsántse
 ‘they are standing’

Verbs whose citation forms end in the vowel *a* retain this vowel in R2:

- (126) *tá kàvà*
 ‘they are lying’

tá kàv-án-kàvà
 3PL lie-ASSC-lie
 ‘they are in a lying position’

tá njà-án-njà
 3PL sit-ASSC-sit
 ‘they are in a sitting position’

á žàgàd-án-žàgàdè
 3SG run-ASSC-run
 ‘he goes on running’

ká ts-án-tsè
 2SG rise-ASSC-rise
 ‘you are standing’

á kàv-án-kàvà
 3SG lie-ASSC-lie
 ‘he is lying’

10. Conclusions

In the affirmative clause, the aspectual system distinguishes: the perfective aspect, which has a variety of forms coding the grammatical roles of the following nouns; an imperfective aspect formed with the verbal noun; an imperfective aspect formed through the subject pronoun followed by the reduplicated verbal noun; the backgrounding aspect, which has the form R1ProR2; the punctual aspect, formed with the suffix *hè*; and the inceptive aspect, formed with the auxiliary *tsè*. The elicited data indicate the existence of the progressive aspect, formed through the particle *t-irè*, which is a composite structure consisting of the preposition *t* 'on' and the noun *irè* 'head'; and the stative aspect, formed with the associative preposition *án*. The functions of the last two aspects remain to be investigated, as they have not been recorded in natural discourse. Arguments are coded in a different way depending on the aspect and on the inherent properties of verbs.

The punctual aspect represents the event as one whole, and cannot be followed by a nominal object. A nominal subject can be added to the punctual aspect only with the preposition *gè*.

In addition to aspectual distinctions, various aspects carry different discourse functions. The backgrounding aspect provides the background for the interpretation of the following clauses within the same sentence. It also provides the comment on the preceding clauses within the same sentence. The punctual aspect provides the discourse background for the following narrative.

Chapter 14

Tense

1. Introduction

Tense distinctions are coded by tones on subject pronouns, by tones on the verbs, and by the auxiliary *d* 'go'. The following are subdomains within the domain of tense:

The unmarked tense, characterized by low tone on the subject pronoun and low tone on the verb: This tense does not restrict the truth of the proposition to any specific time; the temporal interpretation of this tense depends on the discourse environment and may include past, present, and indefinite time:

- (1) *àsòtàrván màmàbí*
à sà-wà-t rvà án màmà bí
3SG come-VENT-T hand ASSC mother INTNS
'Yes, so it is, it comes from the mother.'

Specific past is coded by low tone on the pronouns and high tone on the last syllable of the verb.

Present is coded by high tone on the subject pronouns and low tone on the verb: This tense codes the time of the event as simultaneous with the time of speech or with some other time as specified in the discourse. Thus, according to the context, some clauses with this tense are translated by the English present and other clauses by the English present progressive.

Future tense is marked by auxiliary verb *d* 'go' with high tone.

Tense marking can co-occur with the completive and imperfective aspects. All clauses in the punctual aspect have past time reference. In the stative aspect, there is a distinction between the unmarked tense and the overtly marked specific past.

2. The present tense

2.1 The form of the present tense

The present tense is coded by the high tone on subject pronouns. The coding of the present tense is only possible in the imperfective aspect as evidenced by the vowel *a* ending on the verb before the direct object:

- (2a) *á gyà hiyà kìnà*
 3SG cook sorghum now
 ‘she cooks sorghum right now’

Not all instantiations of the imperfective aspect indicate present tense:

- (2b) *tà hàrdà zàrvà*
 3PL farm:PL sesame
 ‘They farmed sesame.’

Given the high tone on the subject pronoun, it is tempting to postulate that these pronouns consist of the person and number marker followed by the morpheme *á*, potentially the locative predicator, to correspond to the putative construction ‘X is at Y’, where Y is the nominalized verb. Language assistants, however, do not accept the insertion of *a* between the subject pronoun and the reduplicated form of the verb in lento speech: **yà á sá-n-s-à-sè*, or **kù á sá-n-s-à-sè*.

2.2 The functions of the present tense

The temporal reference of the present tense could be the time of speech, the past, or the future, provided that the time is specific, i.e. defined either by the temporal adverb or by preceding discourse. The evidence for this analysis is provided by the natural discourse data, where the high tone on the subject pronoun is used only in the description of events that must be interpreted in connection with some specific reference mentioned in the discourse. The following examples illustrate the use of the present tense whose actual time is simultaneous with the time of speech, hence they represent the specific time reference:

- (3) *àbàlèksúwá dómbaré nóyàblámdè*
à bà lèksú wá dú-wà mbàré
 3PL say Sultan COM go-PL.IMP together
nó yá blá mdè á dè zè kùr ñánnà
 PRES 1SG send people PRED go HL 2PL DEF
 ‘The sultan said, ‘Go, I am sending people to go to your place’
- (4) *é, tátsàlè má*
é, tú ts-à lè má
 well 3PL raise-GO ear
 ‘They pay attention.’

- (5) *á-m vǵè ǵàb á dàlyè á ndá bà*
 PRED-IN hole again PRED again 3SG say FOC
lvà
 speech
 ‘In the grave again, he keeps on talking.’

In the following example, the present tense represents the actual time, which could be present or future, but is specific with respect to the event that is about to happen:

- (6) *yò fǒyì ǵánnà wàtsè kwà-dá cìn-ná*
 well chat DEF FUT 2PL-FUT hear-3SG
kúr nà nó-ǵwàné álvà wàndàl
 2PL DEM PRES-DEF language Wandala
ǵánnà tákàtànà ǵámá kláwà
ǵánnà tá kàtá-n-à ǵámá kláwà
 DEF 3PL want-3SG-PB world all
 ‘Here is the chat that you will hear in Wandala and that the world desires.’

When reference is made to some hypothetical time, the unmarked tense is used:

- (7) *ánó vácí stwà nává yàǵánikà*
á nó vácí s-t-wà ná-wá
 eh PRES day DEF-DEF-DEF DEM-COM
yà gá níkà
 1SG contract marriage
 ‘On such and such day I am going to get married.’

Once the time of the event has been defined, as in example (7), the specific present is used. The example (8), which follows (7) in the natural discourse:

- (8) *mácinà ráncìnà ítárkìnì vácí kwàskwè stúnáwá*
má cìnà-r-án-cìnà ítár kìnì vácí
 HYP hear-3PL-3SG-hear 3PL C.FOC day
kwàskwè s-t-úná wá
 market DEF-DEF-DEF COM
 ‘Then they understand, that on such and such day’

ḡáḡànikà ámbáḡrè
ḡá ḡà níkà ám mb-á-ḡrè
 1EXCL marry marriage PRED-IN compound-GEN-1EXCL
 ‘we are contracting the marriage at our place.’

The following example illustrates the present tense whose actual time of reference is an event in the past, similar to the historical present in English:

- (9) *tá kkàḡà tá kkàḡà tá kkàḡà mbàtè*[not recorded] *tà bəḡfì*
tá kkàḡà tá kkàḡà tá kkàḡà
 3PL count 3PL count 3PL count
mbàtè tà bəḡfì bə jìrè lísfyà
 indeed 3PL find FOC truenumber (Ar.)
filyà zàrvà pállà báakà
filyà zàrvà pállà báakà
 sand sesame one NEG.EX
 ‘They counted, they counted, they counted, and they found that indeed it is true that one of their sesame seeds is missing.’

3. The future tense

There are two means of coding the future tense. One is through the form Subject pronoun *də* Verbal noun. The other is through the obligative form Pro R1R2, preceded by the subject pronoun with high tone.

3.1 The future through the auxiliary *də* ‘go’

In an affirmative clause subject pronouns in the future tense have low tone. They precede the future marker *də* with high tone. The auxiliary is realized as a consonant *d* alone when vowel insertion is not required.

The point of reference for the future tense may be the time of speech or some other time set in the narrative. Here is an example where the time of reference is the time of speech:

- (10) *yò fòyì ñánnà wàtsè kwà-dá cìn-ná*
 well chat DEF FUT 2PL-FUT hear-3SG
kúr nà nó-ñwàné álvà wàndàl
 2PL DEM PRES-DEF language Wandala
ñánnà tákàtànà ðámá kláwà
ñánnà tá kàtá-n-á ðámá kláwà
 DEF 3PL want-3SG-PB world all
 ‘Here is the chat that you will hear in Wandala and that the world de-
 sires.’

Here are examples where the time of reference is set in the narrative:

- (11) *yò, áðsò hàránìkà ñánnà*
yò, á dá sà-w hàr-á
 well 3SG FUT come-VENT day-GEN
nikà ñánnà
 marriage DEF
 ‘Well, then the very day of the marriage will come.’
- (12) *zàrvà ñánnà ákyè tà dónvàlà ámtá tómlè*
zàrvà ñánnà á kíyè tà dá vâlà á-m
 sesame DEF ‘one says’ 3PL FUT sell PRED-IN
tátà úmlè
 place other
 ‘That sesame, they say, they will sell at some other place.’ [i.e. a place
 other than the one where they harvested the sesame]

The future marked by the auxiliary *dá* includes hypothetical events:

- (13) *mákáfár ndzàdàbákà ágdzrè dá žàgàdè*
má ká fá-r ndzàdà bá-kà ágdzrè dá
 HYP 2SG put-ON force say-2SG child FUT
žàgàdè
 escape
 ‘If you apply force, the child will run away’

When the nominal subject occurs before the verb, coding switch reference, it precedes the future marker and there is no subject pronoun preceding the verb.

In negative clauses, the future time reference is expressed by the imperfective. The auxiliary *dá* cannot be used in negative clauses:

- (14) *tà cìnà-mí kà*
 3PL hear-1PL NEG
 ‘they will not hear us’

**yà dǎ cìn-kà*

The future with the auxiliary *dǎ* can be used in content questions:

- (15) *á dǎ cìn-n-á wàrè*
 3SG FUT hear-3SG-PB who
 ‘who will hear it?’

3.2 The future through the verb *kàtà* ‘want’

The verb *kàtà* ‘want’ can be used as a future time marker. In this function, the verb *kàtà* is preceded by the subject pronoun with high tone and followed by the main verb in the simple or the reduplicated form:

- (16) *bóonè ɣánnè kìnì kándàhà á kàtàksǎksǎ*
bà únà ɣánnè kìnì ká ndàhà á kàtà
 FOC DEF DEF C.FOC 2SG say 3SG want
á ksǎ-ksǎ
 3SG take-take
 ‘That is the thing that you should say, so that he may record it.’

- (17) *názù yè kàtà ɣdà-kà-yà vǎ-tǎ-n má*
 what 1SG want say-2SG-1SG time-T-DEM COM
 ‘What I will tell you today is . . .’

It is likely that the simple form codes a perfective event, i.e. an event seen as a whole, and the reduplicated form indicates the imperfective, i.e. an unbounded event:

- (18) *názù yè kàtà ɣdà-kà-yà vǎ-tǎ-n má*
 what 1SG want say-2SG-1SG time-T-DEM COM
 ‘What I will tell you today is . . .’

The evidence that the verb *kàtà* has been grammaticalized as a tense marker and is not the matrix clause volitional verb is provided by the fact that the verb that follows the verb *kàtà* is not preceded by the subject pronoun.

Complement clauses of the verb *kàtá* are preceded by subject pronouns, as described in chapter 23, section 13, on complements of volitional verbs.

3.3 The future through the specific present

The mood of obligation coded by high tone on the subject pronoun can be used to code the future time reference:

- (19) *májùbàrkìní séi bà yá žžàrà*
má jùbà rà kìnì séi bà yá žžàrà
 HYP entity Q C.FOC then FOC 1SG look
 ‘No matter what it is, I can/will see it.’

3.4 The future through the imperfective

The future time reference may be coded through the imperfective form of the verb:

- (20) *àbìná màgyávgyèné màgàyáñrùwà*
à b-ìná má gyá-v-gyè-n
 3SG say-3SG HYP cook-APPL-cook-pause
mágày-á-ñrè wá
 hungry rice-GEN-1EXCL COM
 ‘He says, “If our hungry rice is cooked . . .”’

ñàzàná bàñrè àntàrà mùrwá tàné
ñá zà-ná bà ñrè àntàrà
 1EXCL eat-3SG FOC 1EXCL ASSC:PL
mù-rwá tàné
 mother-1SG only (F)
 ‘we will eat it only, me and my mother.’”

3.5 The negative future

The negative future is coded by the subject pronoun with high tone, followed by the root form of the verb. The negative marker follows the verb:

- (21) *á fǎ/zá/fǎ kà*
 3SG drink/eat/put NEG
 ‘he will not drink/eat/put’

á wà-mì kà ǵyáwà
3SG bite-1INCL NEG fear

‘the fear will not bite us’

á gà/mbà/jà -mì kà
3SG marry/cure/hit-1INCL NEG

‘he will not marry/cure/hit us’

á tsà-mì kà
3SG rise-1INCL NEG

‘he will not raise/stop us’

The future marker *dá* can precede the verb in a negative clause:

(22) á dá zè k lípà
3SG FUT eat NEG dead animal

‘he will not eat dead animals’

The verb *b* ‘say’ in the negative future must be followed by an object pronoun coding the addressee:

(23) á bá-n kà
3SG say-3SG NEG
‘he will not say, he doesn’t say’

*á b́ kà

Verbs that have the form *Caha* in isolation have the form *Ca* in negative future:

(24) á ná kà
3SG see NEG
‘he will not see’

If the verb has an object suffix, the suffix is preceded by the vowel *a*. The suffix itself, however, has the root form:

(25) á ml-à-tár kà
3SG reconcile-GO-3PL NEG
‘he will not reconcile them’

4. The past tense

The common denominator in all past tense expressions is the low tone on the subject pronoun that precedes the verb. In addition, the final syllable of the verb has high tone, as opposed to the low tone in the present tense:

- (26a) *à* *ʒá* *trà*
 3SG finish:PAST work
 ‘he finished the work’

Compare the specific present:

- (26b) *á* *ʒà* *trà*
 ‘he finishes the work’

- (27a) *à* *pàlá* *fyè/cicilè*
 3SG pound:PAST fiber/fibers of the acacia tree
 ‘he was pounding fibers’

- (27b) *à* *pàlà* *fyè/cicilè*
 3SG pound fiber/fibers of the acacia tree
 ‘he is pounding fibers’

- (28a) *à* *cíná* *gùsà*
 3SG hear:PAST music
 ‘he heard music’

- (28b) *á* *cìnà* *gùsà*
 3SG hear music
 ‘he hears music’

- (29a) *à* *màgá* *gàné*
 3SG do:PAST sale
 ‘he made sales’

à *màgá* *trà*
 ‘he worked’

Compare the present time reference:

- (29b) *á* *màgà* *trà*
 3SG do work
 ‘he works’

In content questions, where the tone of the syllable preceding the question word is raised, the indicator of the past tense is the lengthened vowel on the last syllable of the verb:

- (30a) *à cìnáa wè*
 3SG hear what
 ‘what did he hear?’

Compare with the present tense:

- (30b) *á cíná wè*
 3SG hear what
 ‘what does he hear?’

The verb *hùyà* ‘make a profit’ cannot be used in the past tense in the simple form, although the simple form can be used in the present tense:

- (31a) *á hùyà gànè*
 3SG make profit sale
 ‘he is making profits’

Instead, the R1ProR2 form must be used:

- (31b) *hùyà-n-á-hùyì gànè*
 make a profit-3SG-GO-make a profit sale
 ‘he made a profit’

At the present state I do not know whether there are other verbs that have this property.

For some verbs, the coding of the past tense is accompanied by verbal extensions. These are verbs where the use of the past tense involves boundedness of the event:

- (32) *tà ksà-t-á gdzà gyálè*
 3PL take-T-GO young girl
 ‘they took a girl’

Compare:

- (33) *tá ksà gdzà gyálè*
 3PL take young girl
 ‘they take a girl’

Trisyllabic verbs mark the specific past through the high tone on the first syllable:

(34) *yà žàgàdè*
‘I ran’

yá žàgàdè
‘I run’

The evidence for the hypothesis that the high tone on the verb codes the specific past is provided by the fact that whenever the high tone on the verb is used, it is preceded by some fragment in discourse that provides the specific time reference. Example (35) sets the time reference for the event described in the example (36):

(35) *tà hàlsám bùhá nánà*
tà hál-s á-m bùhá nánà
3PL gather-S PRED-IN bag DEF
‘They gathered the bag.’

(36) *tà fá tē zəŋwà*
tà f-á á tē zəŋwà
3PL put-GO PRED T donkey
‘They put it on the donkey.’

Examples (37-38) set time reference for the question in example (39):

(37) *tày cás hàyè*
tà ycá-s hàyè
3PL cut-S river
‘They crossed the river.’

tsà-rà-ts á-t w-á hày nánà
stop-3PL-stop PRED-T mouth-GEN river DEF
‘They stopped at the river bank.’

(38) *ábŷyè dùksámhùdáyèw nán-nì*
á bŷyà dùksà á-m hùd-á yàwè
3SG fall thing PRED-IN belly-GEN water
‘Something fell into this very water, ...’

...

cìnà-ká-n-cìná *ǎkà*
 listen-2SG-3-listen NEG.EX
 “‘You heard it?’” “‘No way!’”

5. Conclusions

The tense system of Wandala includes the unmarked form, coded by subject pronouns with low tone and low tone on the verbs. This form can have the past or the general present time reference. This form is in contrast with the specific present, coded by high tone on the subject pronoun. This form refers to a specific time in the present, which may be the time of speech or another time defined in the previous discourse. The future tense is coded by the auxiliary *d*, derived from the verb ‘go to’, or by the auxiliary verb *kàtá* ‘want’. The specific past time is coded by high tone on the final syllable of bisyllabic verbs and the only syllable of monosyllabic verbs. The subject pronoun has low tone in the specific past. Trisyllabic verbs code the specific past by the high tone on the first syllable.

Chapter 15

Mood

1. Introduction

The domain of modality in the grammatical system of Wandala consists of epistemic and deontic modality. Epistemic modality consists of the unmarked modality, which expresses belief in the truth of the proposition; the hypothetical modality, which covers a large range of less-than-truth meanings; and the interrogative modality, comprising questions about the truth of the proposition and about specific elements of the proposition.

Deontic modality is coded by modal adverbs, tone on subject pronouns, tonal inflection on the verb, auxiliary verbs, and the locative predicator *á*. Deontic modality consists of the imperative, and obligative modalities.

2. Epistemic modality

The unmarked clause, with a verbal or nominal predicate, codes what the speaker wants to convey as his/her belief in the truth of the proposition. The evidence for the epistemic value of the unmarked form is provided by extrapolation from the marked modal values, all of which express either intensification of the truth, hedging on the truth, or possibility rather than truth.

The adverb *mbàté* ‘indeed’ serves as an intensifier of the intended truth of the proposition. This adverb occurs before the proposition:

- (1) *tá kkàǝǝ tá kkàǝǝ tá kkàǝǝ mbàtè*[not recorded] *tà bəǝfɪ*
tá kkàǝǝ tá kkàǝǝ tá kkàǝǝ
 3PL count 3PL count 3PL count
mbàté *tà bəǝfɪ* *bà jírè lisáfyà*
 indeed 3PL find FOC truenumber (Ar.)
filyà zàrvà pállə báakà
filyà zàrvà pállə báakà
 sand sesame one NEG.EX

‘They counted, they counted, they counted, and they found that indeed it is true that one of their sesame seeds is missing.’

- (2) *ηόηwanè zàrvà ηάnnà mbàtè bàjirè*
ηό ηάνè zàrvà ηάnnà mbàtè bà jirè
 PRES 3SG sesame DEF indeed FOC true
 ‘Here it is, the sesame in question. Hence it is true.’

Hypothetical modality is coded by several means, including the hypothetical marker *má* preceding the predicate in the simple and the reduplicated form; the modal particle *bí*; and the periphrastic expression *bà kà* ‘you say’, functionally corresponding to ‘[let’s] say’ and its common western Indo-European equivalents.

2.1 Hypothetical modality through the particle *má*

The particle *má* most often is the marker of a conditional or temporal protasis. It does occur, however, as a marker of a hypothetical event in a simple sentence, as illustrated by the three clauses containing *má* in the following fragment:

- (3) *é ttàrkín égdzàrà wáz-wàhà*
é ttàr kínà égdzàrà wázù-a
 eh how now small exhortation-PL (F: *waazu*, Noye 1989)
 ‘And how to give some advice’

kínì mávàtèrté gè márgègdzàràhà
kínì má vâ-târ-té gè már gè gdzàrà-àhà
 C.FOC HYP give-3PL-T TO mother TO child-PL
 ‘to the mother of those children,’

mónkà gèdàrgègdzàràhàηάnnà
má ún kà gè dár gè gdzàrà-a ηάnnà
 HYP DEF NEG TO father TO child-PL DEF
 ‘or to the father of those children,’

gè gdzàràhàmíηάnnà
gè gdzàrà-a-mí ηάnnà
 TO child-PL-1INCL DEF
 ‘to our children?’

máfâtèrm skùwé ámhùdávà
má fâ-târ-m skù wé á-m
 HYP put-3PL-IN like what PRED-IN
hùd-á-vwà

belly-GEN-body

‘What should one put into their bodies?’ (i.e. what should one tell them?)

The hypothetical marker may precede an adverbial phrase, a nominal predicate, or a verbal predicate:

- (4) *mám tàpdàm mírkínì séì bà yá nánà*
má á-m tàpdammè-rè kìnì séì
 HYP PRED-IN dark-NOM C.FOC then
bà yá ná-n-nà
 FOC 1SG see-3SG-see
 ‘Even in the darkness, I can see it.’

Here is an example of the hypothetical marker before a nominal predicate:

- (5) *má bàní lisáfi-á dùksè bàdāmmè*
má bàní lisáfi-á dùksè bàdāmmè
 HYP concern calculation(F)-GEN thing all
 ‘If it concerns any kind of calculation,’
bá kùr tátàttàyà à júg-íyì bákà
bákà ùrà tà tàttàyà à j-ú g-íyà
 NEG.EX person 3PL search 3SG surpass-VENT TO-1SG
bákà
 NEG.EX
 ‘One does not look for a person to surpass me.’

Hypothetical modality may also be coded by the form *mándzè* preceding the subject pronoun. The form *mándzè* may well consist of the hypothetical marker *má* followed by the marker *ndzè*, which appears as a separate morpheme in only one place in the texts, also referring to a hypothetical situation. The function of this morpheme is not clear:

- (6) *mándzè àtífkà káyènvəgdzàŋà*
màndzè à lí-f-kà ká yè-n-və
 HYP 3SG reach-APPL-NEG 2SG refuse-3SG-APPL
gdz-á-ŋà
 child-GEN-2SG
 ‘It may not be sufficient for you to refuse your child.’

2.2 Hypothetical modality through the expression *bá-ká* ‘you say’

The periphrastic expression *bá-ká* ‘you say’, with the obvious parallel in English ‘[let’s] say’ and similar expressions in other western Indo-European languages, follows the clause whose mood it marks. The evidence that it has a grammatical function is provided by the fact that the referential meaning yields nonsensical results:

- (7) *kà tsà-tsàbàkà ófàkàrífè*
kà tsà-tsà bà-kà à úfà-kà-r-úf-è
 2SG stop-stop say-2SG 3SG bother-2SG-ON-bother
 ‘If you take a stand, it is going to be worse for you.’

- (8) *mákáfár ndzèdàbákà ágdzrè dá žàgàdè*
má ká fá-r ndzèdà bá-kà ágdzrè dá
 HYP 2SG put-ON force say-2SG child FUT
žàgàdè
 escape
 ‘If you apply force, the child will run away’

2.3 Coding less than certainty through the verb *tsé* ‘rise’

Another means to code less than certainty in the actual occurrence of the event is through the use of the verb *tsé* ‘rise’. The function of this form corresponds to the modal function of the western Indo-European verbs ‘happen’, ‘arriver’ (French), *slučat’-sia* (Russian), etc. In Wandala, the verb used to code an unspecified event is *tsà* ‘rise’, used with the third-person singular subject. The verb *tsé* is reduplicated, and the reduplicated form ends in the high tone. The verb itself is preceded by the hypothetical marker *má*. Such a complex can occur in clause-initial position or even between the object and the indirect object, as illustrated in the second example:

- (9) *yò ámtà túmlè bàgdzàrà mízálàhà nà kìnì wá*
yò ám tàt úmlè bà gdzàrà-á-mì zál-àhà
 well IN place other FOC child-GEN-1PL male-PL
nà kìnì wá
 DEM C.FOC COM
tó fàtèrtéerè mátsàràtsé gègdzàrà gyàlà-hà
tá wǎ-tà-r-t-á ìrè má tsà-r-è-tsé gè
 3PL bother-3PL-T-GO head HYP rise-3PL-rise TO
gdzàrà gyàlà-hà
 child-GEN female-PL
 ‘Well, sometimes, it is they [the boys], who bother the girls . . .’

- (10) *mátsàtsánà bàǵàlárá*
má tsà-ts á nábà ǵàl-á-rà
 HYP rise-rise 3SG then leave-GEN-3SG
 ‘It happens that he can leave on his own.’ [i.e. abandon the project of marriage]

The modality of possibility is coded by the auxiliary verb *tàttàya* ‘search’, which precedes the main verb of the clause. The main verb must be preceded by the subject pronoun:

- (11) *bá kùr tátàttàya à júg-íyì bákà*
bákà ùrà tà tàttàya à j-ú g-íyà
 NEG.EX person 3PL search 3SG surpass-VENT TO-1SG
bákà
 NEG.EX
 ‘One does not look for a person to surpass me.’

3. The imperative

3.1 The form of the imperative

The imperative is derived from the simple form of the verb through gemination of the first consonant. The gemination of the first consonant in turn triggers high tone on the vowel following the geminated consonant, if the verb is not preceded by a subject pronoun. If there is no object following, the imperative ends in the vowel *a* or *e*, depending on the class of the verb (the relevant parts of the verb are bolded):

- (12a) *mmága*
 ‘do!’

The gemination of the first consonant may require the insertion of an epenthetic vowel in clause-initial position, if the syllable or consonant cluster conditions would be violated otherwise:

- (12b) *žàgàdè* ‘run’ Imp. *ǎžžágaðè* ‘run!’
fìbè ‘hide’ Imp. *ǎffìbè* ‘hide (tr.)!’

For some verbs there is variation among speakers with respect to the insertion of epenthetic vowels. Some speakers geminate the first consonant without an epenthetic vowel, while for others, gemination of the first consonant involves

the insertion of the vowel between the geminated consonants. This is the case with the verbs *gà* ‘marry’, *fà* ‘put’, *zà* ‘eat’, *fà* ‘drink’, *gàjà* ‘touch, hit’:

- (13) *àggú* *móyèwòyà*
àggú *má* *wàyà-wàyà*
 marry HYP want-want
 ‘marry if you want!’

gàgá *móyèwòyà*
gàgá *má* *wàyà-wàyà*
 marry HYP want-want
 ‘marry if you want!’

àzzá or *zà* ‘eat!’
àffá or *ffá* ‘put!’
àffá or *ffá* ‘drink!’
ázzàrà ‘look!’

ájjì krè or *jìjì krè*
 hit dog
 ‘hit the dog!’

àggàjà ‘touch!’ compare: *á gàjà* ‘he touches, is touching’ [Native speakers did not perceive any difference between the pronunciations *àggàjà* and *gàjà*.]

Gemination of the glottal continuant results in the sequence Velar continuant-Glottal continuant:

- (14) *àxhálà* ‘gather!’ citation form: *hàlà*
àxhábà-tà ‘remove soil’ [from plants, from any surface, but not through digging]

The evidence that the formation of the imperative is through gemination rather than reduplication is provided by the fact that polyconsonantal verbs with an internal vowel form the imperative through gemination of the first consonant only:

- (15) *àkkyábà*
 ‘smash!’

In clause-internal position, the epenthetic vowel of the imperative does not occur. The only trace of gemination of the consonant in clause-internal position is the high tone on the first syllable of the verb:

- (16) *tàlvángágdzànà bállàhájànwàrà*
tà lv-á-n gè gdzà nà bál
 3PL say-GO-3SG TO child DEM sing:IMP
làh-á-η nán-wá-rà
 song-GEN-2SG DEF-REM-DEF
 ‘They said to the child, “Sing that song of yours again!”’

Compare the verb in sentence-initial position:

- (17) *àbbál làh-á-ηà*
 sing song-GEN-2SG
 ‘sing your song!’

Complex segments are not geminated in the imperative. However, the first syllable of the verb has high tone:

- (18) *ndár gàhé*
 build pot
 ‘make a pot!’

The nasal before an affricate is not geminated, but the sequence of these two consonants is preceded by the epenthetic vowel, which must be high and front because of the palatal affricate. Moreover, the epenthetic vowel has high tone:

- (19a) *ínjà*
 ‘remain seated!’ [to a person who is about to get up]

There is no vowel epenthesis in the reduplicated form:

- (19b) *njí-njà*
 ‘sit down!’ [to a person standing]

The ending of the imperative form obeys the same rules as the ending of the indicative form, i.e., it codes the grammatical role of the following noun phrase. The high-tone vowel *á* on intransitive verbs indicates that the following noun phrase is the object. The root ending on transitive verbs indicates that the following noun phrase is the object:

- (20) *àkkyábà nákwà*
 smash stone
 ‘smash the stone!’ [for building purposes]

mmágà trá
 do work
 ‘do the work!’

àggó mùksè/žilé
 acquire wife
 ‘take a wife/a husband!’

àggi gdzánà
 advise child
 ‘advise your child!’, ‘admonish your child!’ [g_yà ‘advise’]

When the imperative form precedes an adverb, the verb has the root form, as it does in the indicative mood:

- (21a) *àbàmàmà bálɔ̀bádàlyé*
à bə màmà bəl ɔ̀b á dàlyé
 3SG say mother sing again PRED again
 ‘The mother said, “Sing again!”’

Compare the imperative in clause-final position:

- (21b) *àbàmàmà blá*
à bə màmà blá
 3SG say mother sing
 ‘The mother says, “Sing!”’

The verbs *fà* ‘drink’ and *zà* ‘eat’ are preceded by the vowel *u* in the imperative when followed by an object. This interesting fact is linked with the property of verbs of consumption, which in the perfective aspect must have the ventive extension *u*:

- (22) *úfi krùgn-á-ηà*
 drink medicine-GEN-2SG
 ‘drink your medicine!’

úzə tàpisk-á-ηà
 eat tapiske-GEN-2SG
 ‘eat your tapiske bread!’

3.2 Object pronouns and extensions in the imperative: the reduplicated form

If the pronominal direct or indirect object or an extension is to be incorporated into the verb (other than a verb of consumption), the verb has to be reduplicated:

- (23) *ɲà-n-á-ɲà*
get-3SG-GO-get
'get it!'

f-ìy-ú-fè
tell-1SG-APPL-tell
'tell me a story!'

f-à-ɲr-ú-fè
'tell us a story'

vl-ì-sá-vlè *zàdà* *nà*
send-1SG-S-send stick DEM
'send me this stick!'

vl-ì-sá-vlè
send-1SG-S-send
'send it to me!'

tsá-t-ts *á* *únà*
get up-T-get up PRED here
'get up from here!'

The imperative form of the reduplicated verb differs from the back-grounding aspect form in that there is no subject pronoun after R1:

- (24a) *mbá-mbè*
'cure yourself!'

fìbà-f-fìbè
hide-APPL-hide
'hide yourself!'

For inherently stative verbs, the reduplicated form in the imperative codes a bounded event:

(24b) *njí-njà*
 ‘sit down!’ [to a person standing]

tsá-tsè
 ‘stand up!’

ǵà-là
 ‘walk’

pà-hàrè
 ‘sleep’

Compare the simple form:

(24c) *injà*
 ‘remain seated!’ [to a person who is about to get up]

Compare the backgrounding aspect:

(25) *fìbà-ká-f-fìbè*
 hide-2SG-APPL-hide
 ‘you hid yourself’

The first-person object pronoun directly follows the root form of R1:

(26) *syénskwa dón nání kàwàynákàrà*
s-y-én-s kwà dó-n nání
 come-1SG-3SG-come Q man-DEM DEM-INTNS
kà wàyà-ná-kà nà
 2SG like-3SG-2SG DEM
 ‘Bring me then the one you like.’

ndr-ì-ndàr gàhè
 build-1SG-build pot
 ‘make me a pot!’

**àndr-ì gàhè*
 build-1SG pot
 ‘make me a pot!’

Verbs of perception have to have an object pronoun, and so must be reduplicated in the imperative mood:

- (27) *nà-n-á-nà*
 see-3SG-GO-see
 ‘look at it!’

The imperative may have any of the extensions that the indicative forms may have:

- (28a) *và-n-t-ú-và* *dùksà* *gà làksè*
 give-3SG-T-VENT-give thing TO chief
 ‘give something to the chief!’

The form without reduplication is not allowed with verbal extensions:

- (28b) **và-n-t-ú* *dùksà* *gà làksè*
 give-3SG-T-VENT thing TO chief
 ‘give something to the chief!’

The reduplicated form must be used in the imperative if the clause is the background for another clause, even if there are no object pronouns or extensions:

- (29a) *ndàndàr* *gàhé* *fàmám kwà*
ndàndàr *gàhè* *fà-m-f* *ám* *kwà*
 make-make pot put-IN-put PRED:IN inside
 ‘make the pot, put it inside!’

Compare the imperative in the simple sentence without an object pronoun or extension:

- (29b) *àndàr* *gàhè*
 ‘make a pot!’

The ventive extension *u* in the imperative is added to the root of the verb (unlike in the backgrounding aspect, where it is added to the verb followed by the suffix *a*):

- (30) *z-ú-zè*
 eat-VENT-eat
 ‘eat!’

f-ú-fè
 ‘drink!’

The second-person singular addressee can be added to the reduplicated imperative form:

- (31) *mbà-n-àn-sá-mbá-kà*
 learn-3SG-3SG-S-learn-2SG
 ‘teach him that!’

3.3 Number coding in the imperative

The plural imperative is marked by the suffix *w* in the reduplicated form and by *wà* in clause-final position. The plural addressee marker must be preceded by the goal marker *a*:

- (32) *zà-wú-zè*
 ‘eat (pl)!’ [cf. *àzzá* ‘eat!’]

The plural imperative is realized as the vowel [o], the predictable product of the fusion of the vowel *a* and the labial glide *w*, when the latter is the syllabic coda: $a + w \rightarrow o/ _ .C$:

- (33) *é, àbàlàksáwá pàfó pàfǎvgèhánà*
é, à bà làksá wá pàfǎ-w-pàf ávgè hánà
 eh, 3SG say Sultan COM dig-PL-dig grave DEF
 ‘And the Sultan said, “Dig up this grave.”’

mbàdómbàdà
mbàdà-w-mbàdà
 fall-PL:IMP-fall
 ‘fall!’ [plural addressees] *mbá-mbàdà* ‘fall!’ [singular addressee]

Object pronouns are added after the plural addressee marker. The addition of object pronouns after the plural marker does not require reduplication of the verb:

- (34) *và-w-ì-tù-wá*
 give-PL:IMP-1SG-T-VENT
 ‘give me!’ [plural addressees]

The plural imperative may be followed by the adverb *mbàré* ‘collective’, whose scope is the addressees or the speaker and the addressees:

- (35) *àbàl̀̀ksùwá dóm̀̀bàré nóyà̀̀blámdè*
 à bà l̀̀ksè wá dí-wà mbàré
 3PL say Sultan COM go-PL.IMP together
nó yá blá mdè á d́ z̀̀
 PRES 1SG send people PRED go HL
k̀̀r ñánnà
 2PL DEF
 ‘The sultan said, “Go, I am sending people to your place.”’

3.4 The polite imperative

The plural form of the imperative can be preceded by the second-person plural pronoun from the independent rather than from the subject pronoun set. When the addressee is a person of higher social status than the speaker, the imperative form has the plural coding and is followed by the adverb *mb̀̀r* ‘collective’. An order to a person of higher social status may be preceded by the politeness marker *tá́láwà* ‘please’ and followed by the politeness marker *ské*:

- (36) *tá́láwà k̀̀rsómbà̀̀rsàké*
tá́láwà k̀̀r sá-w mb̀̀r ské
 please 2PL come-PL.IMP together POL
 ‘Please, come together.’ [the explanation of the adverb ‘together’ in this expression is that the chief never walks alone]

The reduplicated form may be used in polite imperative:

- (37) *fyàwàngfískè* *kógá jàwá jìbàrà*
fyà-wà-n-fí *skè kwá gá*
 leave-IMP:PL-3SG-leave POL 2PL take
jáw-á jìbà rà
 doubt-GO type Q
 ‘Leave that, please, why do you doubt?’

4. The obligative

4.1 The form of the obligative

One of the means to code the modality of obligation with respect to all persons and numbers is through the use of the subject pronoun followed by the imperative form of the verb. The subject pronoun must have high tone. The imperative form of the verb has low tone, which may be due to the fact that the first geminate of the verb is the coda of the preceding syllable, as

evidenced by a somewhat slower pronunciation. Such forms function as an indirect order with respect to all persons:

- (38) *yòwmá bání áksàràksà gdzàrwá*
yòw má bání áksà-rá-ksà gdzàr wá
 well, HYP since take-ON-take child COM
 ‘‘Well, since the child has accepted,’’

dàcí bàkágǵè kùmústàrà
dàcí bà ká ggè kù mú s-tà rà
 then FOC 2SG marry RQ FOC DEF Q
 ‘then, you marry [her], otherwise what?’

bà á ggè kù mú s-tà rà
 FOC 3SG marry RQ FOC DEF Q
 ‘then he has to marry, otherwise what?’

bà má ggè kù mú s-tà rà
 FOC 1INCL marry RQ FOC DEF Q
 ‘then we have to marry, otherwise what?’

á ffly-á fyè
 3SG take the bark off:IMPER bark
 ‘he has to take the bark off the tree’ [*fyè* ‘to take the bark off the tree’]

The verb must be reduplicated if it has an object pronoun. In the imperfective mood, the distinction between the indicative mood and the mood of obligation is coded through the absence of the goal marker *a* on R2 in the obligative mood:

- (39) *kà ksà-tàr-vá-r-ksè*
 2SG take-3PL-APPL-ON-take
 ‘you will accept them!’ [an order]

kà ksà-tàr-vá-r-ksà
 2SG take-3PL-APPL-ON-take
 ‘you will accept them’

4.2 The functions of the obligative

The main function of the ProR1R2 is to code a promise, an intention to do something. It is therefore always incomplete. The obligative is the preferred form to code obligation for the first and third person in pragmatically inde-

pendent clauses. In natural discourse, the obligative is used to code social norms and obligations:

- (40a) *mágaráv gùsé ándàvà màkí áksà ráksàmtu áksàrkàhè*
má gà-rá-v-g ùsé á ndàvà
 HYP greet-3PL-APPL-greet greetings 3SG ask
máki á ksà-rá-ksè mtú á ksà-r
 HYP 3SG take-ON-take or 3SG take-ON
kà hè
 NEG Q
 ‘After their mutual salutations, he asks [the girl] whether she accepts or not.’

- (40b) *sèi bà méycícùkùmù mgànsàrà*
sèi bà má yìc-íic kùmù má màgà-n ástà-rà
 then, FOC 1INCL cut-cut if not 1INCL do-3SG how-Q
 ‘We have to cross [the river], otherwise, what will we do?’ [*stà* reduced to *sà*]

- (40c) *áklà-ná-klálà*
á klyà-n-á-klyà állà
 3SG cool-3SG-GO-cool God
 ‘May God cure him!’ [an expression of good wishes for all kinds of troubles, not only health-related]

- (40d) *dàcí tàbàtrà tásóm lóktùstíunà*
dàcí tà bà-trà tá sà-w á-m
 then 3PL tell-3PL 3PL come-VENT PRED-IN
lóktù st únà
 date DEF:PROXDEM
 ‘then, they tell them to come on the same day.’

- (40e) *yézzàrà bíyíná bàk káǵà*
yé žžàrà bí yé nábà kkáǵà
 1SG look INTNS 1SG then count
 ‘I will look first. Then I [will] count.’

The obligative can also be used with the second-person singular:

- (41a) *bóonè ñánnè kìnì kándàhà á kàtáksàksà*
bà únà ñánnè kìnì ká ndàhà á kàtà
 FOC DEF DEF C.FOC 2SG say 3SG want
á ksà-ksá
 3SG take-take

‘that is the thing that you should say, so that he may record it.’

- (41b) *sébà kásókásáccínkákìni*
sé bà ká sá-w ká sá
 then FOC 2SG come-VENT 2SG come
ccín ká kìnì
 listen:IMP 2SG C.FOC

‘You should come and listen as well.’

- (42) *à mábàstúwà àgdzárwà mížàlá*
à má bà stù wá àgdz-á-rwà
 eh, HYP FOC like that COM child-GEN-1SG
mí žàlá
 1INCL go

‘If it is like that, my child, let’s go!’

- (43) *mándà súwèe kìnì àgdzárwá ážìpžyèkàžàbè*
má á ndà-sú wèe kìnì àgdz-á-r wá
 HYP 3SG say-S what C.FOC child-GEN-3SG COM
á žì-p-žyè ká žàbè
 3SG accept-APPL-accept NEG again

‘Whatever he says, his child should accept, shouldn’t she?’

The mood of obligation is reinforced by the intensifier *bì*, which follows the verb:

- (44) *yéžžàrà bíyìná bàk kàžá*
yé žžàrà bì yà nábà kàžá
 1SG see INTNS 1SG then count

‘I have to see first. Then I count.’

A clause with the obligative mood may be preceded by the sequence *séi dóolè* ‘is necessary’, a combination of two Hausa morphemes marking obligation: *sai* and the adverb *doole* ‘perforce’:

- (45) *dárgə̀ gdzàrà̀ béetàrè̀ séí dóolè̀*
d-á-r gè gdzà-r-a à bà-itáré̀
 father-GEN-3SG TO child-NOM-PL 3SG say-3PL
séí dóolè̀
 then necessary (H, F)
tádágdzàrà̀ tàrè̀ dám̀bá žilé̀
tá d-á gdzàr-á-tàrè̀ d-ám̀ mb-á žilé̀
 3PL go-GO child-PL-GEN-3PL go-IN house-GEN man
 ‘Parents say that it is necessary for them to marry off their daughters.’
- (46) *dón cìná-n-cìnè̀ mtákànà̀ à fə̀mfállám klárà*
dó nà cìná-n-cìn mtáké̀ nà
 man DEM hear-3SG-hear good DEM
à fə̀-m-f àllà́ á-m kl-á-rà̀
 3SG put-IN-put God PRED-IN place-GEN-3SG
 ‘The person who understands this well, may God reward him for that.’

4.3 The mood of obligation coded by the clause-final particle *kwà*

The mood of obligation may be coded by the particle *kwà* occurring after the predicate. If the particle occurs in clause-internal position, its final vowel is reduced and replaced with an epenthetic vowel if the syllable structure conditions require one. The particle may occur after verbless or verbal clauses:

- (47) *mà kífýé̀ kùgdzárwà̀*
mà kífýé̀ kwù̀ gdz-á-rwà̀
 1INCL three OPT child-GEN-1SG
 ‘It should be the three of us, my child.’

The particle *kwà* may co-occur with the verb in the imperative form:

- (48a) *mázzək̀wà̀*
á /má/ tá zzə̀ kwà̀
 3SG/1INCL/3PL eat OPT
 ‘let him/us/them eat’
- (48b) *máŋŋək̀wà̀*
má/tá ɲŋə̀ kwà̀
 1INCL/3PL drink OPT
 ‘let us/them drink’

The form *kwà* may be cognate with the form *ko*, which is widespread in Chadic, where it codes various types of interrogative clauses. It also occurs in clause-final position.

5. The mood of obligation through the predicator *á*

The mood of obligation with respect to persons other than the second can be coded by the locative predicator *á* followed by the reduplicated form of the verb with subject pronouns inserted between R1 and R2:

- (49a) *ánjàrínjà bàtúnǵánnà*
á njà-rí-njà bà t-únà ǵánnà
 PRED stay-3PL-stay FOC T-DEF DEF
 ‘they should remain on that very thing’

- (49b) *á njà-ní/mí-njà bà t-únà ǵánnà*
 PRED stay-1SG/1INCL-stay FOC T-DEF DEF
 ‘I/we should remain on that very thing’

6. Deontic adverbs

The adjective *fágrà* ‘good’, used in clause-initial position and phonologically reduced, codes the adverb of manner corresponding to ‘one should’. The following clause may be in the indicative mood:

- (50) *fàgàr màdáfánmámvù gəl̀àksé*
fágrà mà d́ f-á-n-m á-m v̀wà
 good 1INCL FUT put-GO-3SG-IN PRED-IN body
g̀è l̀àksé
 TO Sultan
 ‘We need to inform the chief.’

7. Conclusions

The unmarked clause in Wandala codes the speaker’s belief in the truth of the proposition. The evidence for this hypothesis is provided by the fact that the hypothetical mood must be overtly marked. The hypothetical mood and hedging on the truth can be coded by a variety of means, including the marker *má* in clause-initial position. Another means to code hedging on the truth is the use of the expression *bà kà* ‘you say’.

The deontic modality has the sub-domains of the imperative (an order to the addressee(s)) and the obligative (wishes with respect to all persons). The imperative is coded through the gemination of the initial consonant. This gemination triggers a number of phonological changes, including the insertion of epenthetic vowels and the raising of the tone on the first syllable of the verb. The obligative mood is coded through the high-tone subject pronoun followed by the imperative form of the verb.

Chapter 16

Negation

1. Introduction

The semantics and syntax of negative predications is quite different from that of affirmative predications. The differences include: the types of relations between verb and noun phrases; the coding of these relations; and the system of aspects and tenses. Negation in Wandala is quite different from negation in many other Chadic languages in that the obligatory negative marker, *kà* (clause-final form) or *k* (in some phrase-internal constructions), occurs after the verb and before the nominal subject or object. Only when the verb is not followed by an argument does the negative marker occur in the clause-final position. Negative existential clauses are unrelated to affirmative existential clauses. Unlike in some other Chadic languages, the prohibitive clause is derived from the imperative clause.

In what follows, I first describe negation in verbless clauses; then the general form of the negative markers; then the tense and aspectual system in negative clauses; and finally the coding of relations between the verb and noun phrases.

2. Negation of verbless clauses

Negation may be the only component of the utterance. In such a case it is marked by the form *bákà*:

<i>cìnà-ká-n-cíná</i>	<i>bákà</i>
listen-2SG-3-listen	NEG.EX
“‘You heard it?’”	“‘No way!’”

Negative verbless clauses have the form ‘predicate NEG’ where the predicate can be an adverb, an adjective, or a demonstrative. The negative marker has the root form before the determiner *nà*:

Adverb as a predicate:

- (1) *mám táŋkè nà á zàmìv-àr-zà*
má mtáj kè nà á zà-mì-v-àr-zà
 HYP good NEG DEM 3SG eat-1INCL-APPL-ON-eat
á llà
 God
 ‘If it is not good, may God have pity on us.’ (lit. ‘may God eat on our behalf’)

Adjective as a predicate:

- (2) *má fágrà hálàrà má fágrè kà hálàrà*
má fágrà hál-á-rà má fágrè kà
 HYP good character-GEN-3SG HYP good NEG
hál-á-rà
 character-GEN-3SG
kà kní òk-díyà
kà kní òk-díyà
 2SG C.FOC know-2SG-know
 ‘‘Whether he has a good character or a bad character, you know yourself.’’

Demonstrative as a predicate:

- (3) *àá wúnkàà ádàbà á gdzè nánà yècínàncìnà*
àá wún-kàà ádàbà á gdzè nánà yè
 no DEF-NEG because PRED child DEF 1SG
cínà-n-cìnà
 hear-3SG-hear
tàndálvà átkwà kyà
tà ndá lvà á-t kwàkyà
 3PL speak matter PRED-T too much
 ‘No, that’s not it. Because that child there, I heard, they talked too much about him.’

3. The forms of the negative marker *kà*

The negative marker has two forms: the root consisting of *k* plus an epenthetic vowel if required by syllabification rules and the clause-final form *kà*. In both forms, the tone on the marker is low.

Before the object, the negative marker has the root form *k*, with an epenthetic vowel if so required by syllabification rules:

- (4) *dàcí fùlárà fàná nkèpútá só ɲánnà*
dàcí fùl-á-rà fà-n-á-n
 then travel-GEN-3SG find-1SG-GO-3SG
kà *pútà-á* *só ɲánnà*
 NEG means-GEN come:VENT DEF
 ‘And then [with] his travel, I didn’t find a chance to come.’

Before the subject the negative marker has the form *kà*, i.e. it consists of the root + *a*. In the following example the tone on the negative marker is high because of the tone on the epenthetic vowel of the noun *árvònd-á-miyà* ‘our heart’:

- (5) *dàcí tá màgánàzú wàyà kárvòndámìyà*
*dàcí tá màgá nàzú wàyà **ká** rvònd-á-miyà*
 then 3PL do what like NEG heart-GEN-1INCL
 ‘Then, they do what our heart does not want.’

The negative clause may also contain the negative intensifier marker *tà*, which follows the preverbal pronominal subject and precedes the verb. The function of this marker is described later in this chapter.

The verb may have extensions in the negative form, added in the same way as in the affirmative form. Verbal extensions follow subject pronouns:

- (6) *zà-n/k/my/ɲr/kr/r-ú* *kà*
 eat-1SG/2SG/1INCL/1EXCL/2PL/3PL-VENT NEG
 ‘I/you/we(incl)/we(excl)/you (pl)/they did not eat
- tsá-t kà*
 stop-T NEG
 ‘he did not get up’

Some verbs have suppletive forms before the negative marker. Thus, instead of the verb *b* ‘say’, the verb *ndàhà* is used.

4. Aspectual and tense distinctions in negation

The aspectual distinctions in negation are reduced to a binary opposition between the non-completive and completive aspects.

The non-completive negative has the form: subject pronoun, verb ending in consonant, and the negative marker *kà* or *k*. Recall that in the affirmative, the simple form of the verb ending in a consonant marks the perfective aspect for a class of transitive verbs.

The negative completive consists of the verb followed by the pre-pronominal marker *a*, which is followed by suffixed subject pronouns and the negative marker *k(à)*. Subject pronouns in the negative completive are suffixed to the simple form of the verb. These pronouns are identical with subject pronouns inserted between the R1 and R2 of the reduplicated form of the verb. Just as in the reduplicated verb, the third-person singular subject pronoun is the vowel *a*. The vowel *a*, presumably identical with the third person singular suffix precedes all subject pronouns in the negative perfective:

Table 15.1: Subject suffixes in the negative

Person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>n</i>	<i>my</i> (INCL) <i>ɲr</i> (EXCL)
2	<i>kà</i>	<i>kr</i>
3	<i>a</i>	<i>r</i>

Most monosyllabic verbs have low tone in the negative imperfective but high tone in the negative perfective. Recall that in affirmative clauses, the past tense is coded by the high tone on the verb:

- (7)
- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>á mbàd kà</i>
'he does not fall' | <i>mbá kà</i>
'he didn't fall' |
| <i>á jì kà</i>
'he doesn't hit' | <i>já kà</i>
'he did not hit' |
| <i>á tsà kà</i>
'he does not rise' | <i>tsá-t kà</i>
'he didn't rise' |
| <i>á mbà kà</i>
'he does not cure himself' | <i>mbá kà</i>
'he didn't cure himself' |
| <i>á ndàr kà</i>
'he does not build' | <i>ndrá kà</i>
'he didn't build' |

A number of verbs, however, have low tones in both the perfective and the imperfective. These include the verbs *fà* 'drink' and *zà* 'eat':

- (8)
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>á fà-kà</i>
'he does not drink' | <i>fà-kà</i>
'he didn't drink' |
| <i>á zà kà</i>
'he does not eat' | <i>zà-kà</i>
'he didn't eat' |

These verbs have high tone in completive if they have the ventive suffix *ú*:

- (9) *fà-ú* [*fó*] *kà*
 drink-VENT NEG
 ‘he didn’t drink’
- zó* *kà*
 eat-VENT NEG
 ‘he did not eat’
- á* *žàgàd* *kà* *žàgàd-àkà*
 3SG run NEG run-3SG NEG
 ‘he does not run’ ‘he didn’t run’
- á* *tàtày* *kà* *tàtàyà* *kà*
 ‘he does not search’ ‘he didn’t search’
- á* *žàl* *kà* *žàlà* *kà*
 ‘he does not walk’ ‘he didn’t walk’

One cannot use the root + *a* form in the negative imperfective:

- (10) *á* *vál* *kù* *ǎà*
á *vál* *k* *ùǎà*
 3SG sell NEG milk
 ‘she does not sell milk’
- **á* *vlà* *kù* *ǎà*

At least one verb, *màgà* ‘do’, has different segmental representations in the negative and affirmative clauses. In the affirmative clause it is bisyllabic and has a velar voiced stop at the onset of the second syllable:

- (11) *á* *màgà* *trà*
 3SG do work
 ‘he works’

In the negative clause, it is monosyllabic, has high tone, and ends in the velar nasal. The high tone on the verb in the negative clause may be explained by syllable reduction:

- (12) *á máη k trà*
 3SG do NEG work
 ‘he does not work’

The phonological form of this verb will be explained below.

Object pronouns (other than the first-person singular) in finite clauses in the negative, just as in the affirmative, must be preceded by the pre-pronominal marker *a*. The third-person singular object pronoun is unmarked with inherently transitive verbs. The negative marker follows object pronouns in both tenses:

- (13a) *á j-í kà* ‘he will not hit me’
á j-á-η/mìkà ‘he will not hit you/us’

j-í kà ‘he didn’t hit me’
j-á-η/mìkà ‘he didn’t hit you/us’
- (13b) *á g-ì kà* ‘he cannot marry me’
á g-àη kà ‘he cannot marry you’
á ggá kà ‘he cannot marry her’
á gà kùr/tàr/ηrè kà ‘he cannot marry you/them/us(excl)’

In negative clauses, the second-person singular object pronoun is *η* rather than *k*, the object pronoun found in affirmative clauses. Superficially, the form *η* is similar to the second-person possessive object pronoun *ηa*. The behavior of the second-person singular object pronoun and the verb *màgà* in negative clauses, where it becomes *màη*, point to the existence of a phonological rule of dissimilation, whereby a velar obstruent becomes a velar nasal before a velar consonant, by the rule: C[+velar, +stop] → η/___k. The monosyllabic verb *ga* ‘marry’, which one might suspect of having the same properties as *màgà*, actually preserves its segmental structure in the negative:

- (14) *á gè kà nìkà* [not **áη kà nìkà*]
 3SG marry NEG dowry
 ‘he does not marry’

gá kà nìkà
 marry NEG dowry
 ‘he did not marry’

The fact that the velar consonant of the verb *gà* ‘marry’ does not become a velar nasal before the negative marker may provide an argument that mono-

consonantal verbs are inserted into the surface structure with their epenthetic vowels.

A verb that represents the event from the point of view of the subject must have an object pronoun in the negative perfective. In the absence of any referential object, the third-person singular object pronoun *n* is used:

- (15) *á* *hày* *kà* *hàyá-n* *kà*
 3SG want NEG want-3SG NEG
 ‘he does not want’ ‘he didn’t want’
- *hàyà* *kà* ‘he did not want’
hàyà-tár *kà* ‘he did not want them’

Object pronouns follow subject pronouns in the negative completive. The third-person pronominal object *n* follows the pronominal subject (with the vowel *a* preceding the *n*). This pronoun is obligatory with verbs of perception; when the verb is not inherently transitive; or when there is a pronominal dative argument:

- (16a) *nà-n-á-n* *kà* *kré*
 see-1SG-GO-3SG NEG dog
 ‘I did not see a dog’
- f-à-n-à-n* *kà* *dáfá*
 put-GO-1SG-GO-3SG NEG food
 ‘I didn’t keep food for him’
- hàyà-ká-n* *kà*
 want-2SG-3SG NEG
 ‘you did not want’
- hàyà-nà-n* *kà*
 want-1SG-3SG NEG
 ‘I did not want’

Object pronouns follow subject pronouns:

- (16b) *pàkà-k-i* *kà*
 wait-2SG-1SG NEG
 ‘you did not wait for me’

Like transitive verbs in affirmative clauses, transitive verbs in negative clauses must have gemination of the first consonant if there is no object:

- (17) *tággákà*
tá ggá kà
 3PL marry NEG
 ‘They [men] do not marry [her].’

5. Evidence for the functions of the two aspects in the negative

The completive aspect indicates that the event or state is closed, i.e. that there will be no further changes. The negative completive indicates that there are no further changes expected with respect to the negated event. The evidence that the negative form with subject suffixes represents the aspectual category rather than the past tense, as some of the translations might suggest, is provided by the fact that it can be used with present and future time references, e.g. *wàyà* ‘love’:

- (18) *wàyàrkà tágàtèrkà díkídiki*
wàyà-r-kà tá gà-tèr-kà díkídiki
 love-3PL-NEG 3PL marry-3PL-NEG never ever
 ‘They do not love them, they will never marry them.’

- (19) *àddónáni àskàtàtèrkàtónà wàyàrkà*
àddá únà ní à s kàtà-tèr-kátá nà
 man DEM INTNS 3SG come want-3PL-want DEM
wàyà-r kà
 love-3PL NEG
 ‘The one who comes wanting them, they do not love [him].’

- (20) *yò è à bá mdè n wá*
yò è à bá mdè n wá
 well 3SG say people DEF COM
bàwáyàṅkà bàṅgráṅá vaktàkè kwá
bà wáyà-ṅ-kà bà-ṅgrá ṅá vá-k-tè-kè kwá
 FOC want-2SG-NEG tell-1EXCL 1EXCL give-2SG-T-NEG Q
 ‘These people say, “You just don’t want to tell us that we are not giving [her] to you.”’

The completive may have past time reference:

- (21) *yò, únàwá dáci mánà dàdá dàdùwá*
yò, únà ná wá dáci má-nà dàdá dàdù
 well DEF DEF COM then HYP-DEM father dàd
wá
 COM
tyápkà dàdùwá ámbárkà
tyá-p kà dàdú wá á-m
 become able-APPL NEG:PB father COM PRED-IN
mb-á-r kà
 house-GEN-3SG NEG
 ‘Well, as for that, if that is so, [it means that] the father was not able to be a father at his home.’

The completive may refer to a state, which is the evidence that the form does not code a bounded event:

- (22) *kínàlvámì ñánnùwá dáci mál màlžárdyènkàa*
kín àžv-á-mì ñánnù wá
 now conversation-GEN-1PL DEF COMP
dáci mál màlžár dyè-n kàa
 then now the rest know-1SG NEG
 ‘And now that our conversation is almost finished, I don’t know . . .’

- (23) *àstàrà nóyà hàynénhàyan ágdzè ñánnà*
àstàrà nó yya hàv-n-én-hàyá-n
 how is it PRES 1SG like-1SG-3SG-like-[pause]
ágdzè ñánnà
 boy DEF
 ‘‘How is it?Here, I like this boy’’
àkká hàyàkánkà
àkká hàyà-ká-n-kà
 2SG like-2SG-3SG-NEG
 ‘and you don’t like him.’

The negative completive may have future time reference. To code future time reference in the completive aspect, the subject pronoun occurs twice, first as a suffix to the verb and again following the negative marker:

- (24) *áppàkúmdànàni wàtsəmàgàránkə itàrníyà*
áppàkà mdə nà ní wàtsə
 wait:IMP people DEM INTNS FUT
màgù-rə-n-kə-itàr *níyà*
 make-3PL-3SG-NEG-3PL desire
sákàtə gdzánà ní kává tərtəvənà
sá kátə gdzá nà ní ká
 come ask child DEM INTNS 2SG
vá-tər-tə-vá nà
 give-3PL-T-give DEM
 ‘Wait then until those who have no desire to come to ask for your child, it is to those people that you will give her.’

The non-completive aspect can have either present or future time reference.

Present time reference includes general present time and specific present time reference. The general present is marked by low tone on the subject pronoun, just as in the affirmative clauses:

- (25) *dàci kà nánàkə ʒàlàvəhárá àdəmàgəmtáykə*
dàci kà ná-n kə ʒàlà-və hár á
 then 2SG see-3SG NEG go-APPL time [Ar.] 3SG
dá màgà mtáŋ kə
 FUT do good NEG
 ‘So, you see, don’t you, that the passage of time does not do any good.’
- (26) *tàtəttáyé tərtə gəgárkə tàggəkə*
tà təttáyé-tər-tə gə gá-r kə
 3PLsearch-3PL-T TO marry-3PL NEG
tə ggə kə
 3PL marry NEG
 ‘They do not seek to marry them, they do not marry.’

The specific present is marked by high tone on the subject pronoun, again as it is in the affirmative clause:

- (27) *yó màmà ávəntəkə sàwàri fágrà gəgdzrè*
yó màmà á və-n-tə k sàwàri
 well mother 3SG give-3SG-TNEG advice (F)
fágrà gə gdzrè
 good TO child
 ‘Yes, the mother does not give good advice to her child.’

- (28) *bímásàsáwà žilé bí àsáwán sǎlé*
bí má sà-sá-wà žilé bí á
 when HYP come-come-VENT man when 3SG
sá-w án sǎlé
 come-VENT ASSC money [Hausa, from English ‘shilling’]
dàdà átándà sǎkǎlvà
dàdà tá ndà-s k lvà
 father 3PL say-S NEG word
 ‘And then, if the man arrives, when he comes with the money, the father cannot say a word’

Future time reference:

- (29) *mádám tàtǎrkìni áwàmikàžyáwà*
má dǎ-m tàtǎ-r kìnì á wà-mì kà
 1INCL go-IN place-Q C.FOC 3SG bite-1INCL NEG:PB
žyáwà
 fear
 ‘Wherever we would go the fear will not bite us.’

- (30) *ékwà ánkù žàbá gdzrè vǎcí*
ékwà ánkù žàbá gdzrè vǎcí
 and thus exist still child day
pállè ágǎvkà búutù àbí
pállè á gǎ-v kà búutù àbí
 one 3SG acquire-APPL NEG low price at all
 ‘And then, such a girl will not fetch but a low price.’

The reduplicated verb form Pro R1R2 cannot occur in a negative clauses in the indicative mood. Compare the following sentence, where the first clause has the structure Pro R1R2 coding the hypothetical mood. The simple form cannot be used in the first clause. In the second clause, the negative, the verb *vǎ* ‘give’ occurs in the simple form:

- (31a) *yé vǎkùrtǎvǎ kníyéndákà yé vǎkùrtǎkà kníyéndákà bìnà*
yé vǎ-kùr-tǎ-vǎ kní yé ndá kà
 1SG give-2PL-T-give C.FOC 1SG tell NEG
yé vǎ-kùr-tǎ kà kní yé ndá kà
 1SG give-2PL-T NEG C.FOC 1SG tell NEG
á b-ìnà
 3SG say-3SG

‘“Whether I will give you [her], that I cannot tell you. Whether I will not give you [her], that I cannot tell you,” he said.’

The form Pro R1R2 codes the mood of obligation in rhetorical negation:

- (31b) *mándà súwèe[pause] kìnì gdzárwá áǝpǝyèkǝǝbè*
má á ndà-sú wèe kìnì àgdz-á-r wá
 HYP 3SG say-S what C.FOC child-GEN-3SG COM
á ǝi-p-ǝyè ká ǝàbè
 3SG accept-APPL-accept NEG again
 ‘whatever he says, his child should accept, shouldn’t she?’

6. Nominal arguments in negative clauses

Nominal subjects or nominal second arguments follow the negative marker. Like other lexical and grammatical morphemes, the negative marker has the root + *a* form before the nominal subject in both aspects:

Completive:

- (32a) *w-í kà ǝyàwà*
 bite-1SG NEG fear
 ‘the fear didn’t bite me’ i.e. ‘I was not afraid’

wá-ŋ kà ǝyàwà
 bite-2SG NEG fear
 ‘you were not afraid’

Compare the non-completive:

- (32b) *á wà-ŋ-kà ǝyàwà*
 3SG bite-2SG-NEG fear
 ‘the fear will not bite you’

á wà-mì/ kùr/tàr-kà ǝyàwà
 3SG bite-1INCL/2PL/3PL-NEG fear
 ‘the fear will not bite us(incl)/you/them’

á w-í kà ǝyàwà
 3SG bite-1SG NEG fear
 ‘the fear will not bite me’

- (32c) *mádám tâtàrkínì áwàmikàɓyáwà*
má dǎ-m tâtà-r kìnì á wà-mì
 1INCL go-IN place-Q C.FOC 3SG bite-1INCL
kà ɓyáwà
 NEG:PB fear
 ‘Wherever we would go the fear will not bite us.’

The nominal subjects and objects are inserted with epenthetic vowels and tones, as evidenced by the fact that the negative marker acquires the high tone of the following epenthetic vowel:

- (33) *dàcì tá màgánàzú wàyà kàrvòndámìyà*
dàcì tá màgá nàzú wàyà ká rvònd-á-mìyà
 then 3PL do what like NEG heart-GEN-1INCL
 ‘Then, they do what our heart does not want.’

The root form of the negative marker indicates that the following noun phrase is the object:

- (34) *yó màrà ávántákè sàwàrì fágrà gègdzrè*
yó màrà á vǎ-n-tǎ k sàwàrì
 well mother 3SG give-3SG-T NEG advice (F)
fágrà gè gdzrè
 good TO child
 ‘Yes, the mother does not give good advice to her child.’

The nominal subject can precede the verb in the negative clause when it codes switch reference, just as in affirmative clauses. The object follows the negative marker, which has the root form:

- (35) *bímásàsáwà žilé bí àsáwán sǎlé*
bí má sǎ-sǎ-wà žilé bí á
 when HYP come-come-VENT man when 3SG
sǎ-w án sǎlé
 come-VENT ASSC money [Hausa, from English ‘shilling’]
dàdà átándà sǎkǎlvà
dàdà tá ndà-s k lvà
 father 3PL say-S NEG word
 ‘And then, if the man arrives, when he comes with the money, the father cannot say a word.’

The negative marker may have high tone when preceding a nominal object with an epenthetic vowel:

- (36a) *kátá ká lvà ndzà*
 want NEG story old
 ‘he did not want an old story’

Compare the negative marker with a nominal object without the epenthetic vowel:

- (36b) *ndr-á-s kà brè*
 build-GO-S NEG house
 ‘he did not build a house’

7. Negation and questions

In polar questions, the question marker follows the negative marker:

- (37) *ngùlmù mtú ngùlmà kà hè*
 recover OR recover NEG Q
 ‘are you getting better or you are not?’ [*ngùlmà* ‘recover’]

8. The intensifier of negation: the marker *tà*

The marker *tà* cannot function alone as the negative marker, and it must co-occur with the marker *k(à)*. The marker *tà* precedes the verb and follows the nominal fronted or pronominal subject. The function of the marker *tà* is to intensify negation:

- (38) *dàcìi ée, òányà rónà kà kàbé*
dàcìi ée, òánà òàrà únàkà kàbé
 then ehh, DEF R.DEM DEM again
 ‘Then, well, that is why again’

dàdá átàdzgwáŋkà kwàrhàrkà
dàdá á tà dzgwá-ŋ kà kwàr há-r
 father 3SG NEG be able-3SG NEG order home-3SG
kà
 NEG
 ‘the father cannot give orders in his family, can he?’

The omission of the marker *tà* in a negative sentence is possible:

- (39a) *á dzgwá-ŋ kà kwàr hár kà*
 3SG be able-3SG NEG order home NEG
 ‘he is not able to give orders in his family, is he?’

The omission of the marker *kà* after the verb, even with retention of the marker *tà*, results in an ungrammatical utterance:

- (39b) **dàdà á tà dzgwá-ŋ kwàrá hár kà*
 father 3SG NEG be able-3SG order home NEG
 ‘the father cannot give orders in his family, can he?’

In the example below, the marker *tà* co-occurs with the form *dǎkídíkì* ‘never’. But even in this example, the form *tà* can be omitted:

- (40) *kátàfàrkàndzàdà dǎkídíkì gègdzrè*
ká tà fà-r kè ndzàdà dǎkídíkì gè gdzrè
 2SG NEG put-ON NEG force never TO child
 ‘You can never force the child.’

9. Negation with the negative existential form

The negative existential form *bákà* can also be used in verbal clauses that have the negative markers *tà* and *kà*. The negative existential marker can occur at the beginning and at the end of the clause or in both places at the same time:

- (41) *bá kùr tátàttàyà à júg-íyì bákà*
bákà ùrà tà tàttàyà à j-ú g-íyà
 NEG.EX person 3PL search 3SG surpass-VENT TO-1SG
bákà
 NEG.EX
 ‘One does not look for a person to surpass me.’

The negative existential predication can have only one instantiation of the negative marker *bákà*, at the beginning or at the end of the clause:

- (42) *ẓàmá má cìnàkùr-ncìn jùbóonènáwá*
ẓàmá má cìnà-kùr-n-cìn jùbà únà ná-wá
 assembly HYP hear-2PL-3SG-hear matter DEF DEM-COM
 ‘Listeners, if you understand this matter,’

bákár gíná
bákà ár gí ná

NEG.EX over TO DEM
 ‘there is no greater [truth/goodness] than that.’

- (43) *á yàwálvá rùbákà*
á yà-wà álvà-á-rwà bákà
 well 1SG-DET word-GEN-1SG NEG.EX
 ‘Well, I have no words.’

The negative existential clause can have the negative marker *kà* in addition to the clause-initial negative existential predicate *bákà*. The particle *kà* occurs after the subject, hence in clause-final position:

- (44) *ḡánkínì sé àhàyà bà dònà ḡánnà*
ḡán kìnì sé à hàyà bà dó nà
 3SG C.FOC only 3SG like FOC man DEM
ḡánnà
 DEF
 ‘She, she likes only the man that’

bákà pédárnàkà
bákà pédà-á-r nà kà
 NEG.EX means-GEN-3SG DEM NEG
 ‘does not have any means.’ [or ‘only useless men’]

10. The prohibitive

Unlike in some other Chadic languages, e.g. Hausa, the prohibitive in Wanda-la is formally a subdomain of negation, as it is coded by the same marker that codes negation. As in the imperative, the verb has high tone. It has the root form before the negative marker:

- (45) *dúu kà /dḡ-w kà/*
 go:VENT NEG
 ‘don’t go!’

ndār/tsá kà
 build/get up NEG
 ‘do not build/get up’

wáy-kà
 ‘do not love him!’

há-y-kà
 ‘do not want it!’

The verb in the prohibitive can have extensions added:

- (46) *só* *kà*
 come:VENT NEG
 ‘don’t come!’

Prohibition to plural addressees requires the plural addressee marker *wa* preceded by the pre-pronominal marker *a*:

- (47) *ndr-á-w* *kà*
 build-GO-PL NEG
 ‘do not build!’

Prohibition to plural addressees of verbs of movement must involve the adverb *mbàr* ‘collective’, which follows the verb and precedes the negative marker:

- (48) *dú* *mbàr* *kà*
 go:PL together NEG
 ‘don’t go!’ (pl)

só *mbàr* *kà*
 come:PL together NEG
 ‘don’t come!’ (pl)

Prohibition to the third-person subject requires subject pronouns with high tone, which precede the verb:

- (49) *á* *dú* *kà* [or *á dáw kà*]
 3SG go:VENT NEG
 ‘don’t let him go!’

á *ndr* *kà*
 3SG build NEG
 ‘let him not build’

á *sá* *kà*
 3SG come:GO NEG
 ‘don’t let him come!’

Interestingly, prohibition to the third-person plural involves the third-person singular subject marker *á* and the third-person plural marker *-r* suffixed to the verb or inserted between the reduplicated forms of the verb:

- (50) *á dá/sá/ndrá-r kà*
 3SG go/come/build-3PL NEG
 ‘they should not go/come/build!’

If the predicate is a serial verb construction, the plural subject marker occurs after the last verb:

- (51) *á ǵá dá-r kà*
 3SG come go-3PL NEG
 ‘don’t let them go!’

11. Conclusions

The fundamental marker of negative predication is the particle *k* or *kà* in the position following the predicate but preceding the nominal arguments. The negation may be intensified by the marker *tà*, which must co-occur with the marker *kà*. Only the simple form of the verb can occur in the negative clause. The non-completive aspect in the negative clause is coded by the form Pro V(root) NEG. The completive aspect is coded by the form V-*a*-Pro NEG. Prohibitive predication has the root form of the verb with high tone, followed by the negative marker *kà*.

The negative existential clause is marked by the clause-initial or clause-final negative predicate *ǵákà* and may have the negative marker *kà* in clause-final position.

Chapter 17

Interrogative

1. Introduction

Wandala codes the following subdomains within the domain of the interrogative: questions concerning the truth of the proposition (polar questions); questions asking for confirmation of an assumption ('tag' questions in English); and content questions.

2. Polar questions

Polar questions, i.e. questions about the truth of the proposition, are coded by raised intonation at the end of the clause; by the particle *hè* (phrase-final), *hè* (root), or the particle *mtú* 'or'.

2.1 Polar questions through raised intonation

High tone on the last syllable of the clause codes a polar question. The noun *dùksà* in isolation has low tones. When it is the last word in a clause, the high tone on the last syllable codes a polar question:

- (1) *àbbɣàsábbɣà* *dùksá*
 àbbɣà-sá-bɣy-à *dùksá*
 fall-S-fall-PB thing:Q
 'Something fell out?'

2.2 Questions with the marker *hè*

The particle *hè* occurs after the verb and before the nominal object, subject, or an adverb. Its position is similar to the position of the negative marker *k*. Polar questions can have the simple or the reduplicated form of the verb. Both the reduplicated forms Pro R1R2 and R1ProR2 can be used:

- (2) *dìyà-kà-ɲàr/tàr-dìyà* *hè*
 know-2SG-1EXCL/3PL-know Q
 'do you know us (excl)/them?'

à *kàḷ-á-n-vó-kàḷà* *hè zàdè ḡánnà*
 3SG break-GO-3SG-APPL-break Q stick DEF
 ‘did he break this stick?’

kàḷ-á-n-vó-kàḷà *hè zàdè ḡánnà*
 break-GO-3SG-APPL-break Q stick DEF
 ‘did he break this stick?’

The marker *hè* cannot occur before a nominal subject:

(3a) *kàḷá-v-kàḷà* **hè zàdè ḡánnà*
 break-APPL-break Q stick DEF
 ‘did the stick break?’

(3b) *kàḷá-v-kàḷà* *zàdè ḡánnà*
 break-APPL-break stick DEF
 ‘did the stick break?’

Here is an example of the question marker *hè* followed by an adverb:

(4) à *gígà háwàyà*
 à *gígà hè áwàyà*
 3SG pound Q yesterday
 ‘did he pound yesterday?’

The affirmative answer to this question may have two forms:

(5) à *gígà*
 ‘he pounded’

gígà-gígà
 ‘he pounded indeed’

In the imperfective, verbal nouns end in the vowel *a* before the question marker *hè* even though, in the indicative form, such nouns may end in the vowel *e*:

(6a) á *zzà/ffá/hèrdà* *hè*
 3SG eat/drink/farm Q
 ‘does he eat/drink/farm?’

yá mlà-k-úmlà hè
 1SG help-2SG-help Q
 ‘can I help you/him/them?’

Compare the affirmative clauses:

(6b) *yá mlà-n/tr-úmlè*
 1SG help-3SG/PL-help
 ‘I am helping him/them’

If the clause does not have a nominal object or subject, the interrogative particle occurs in clause-final position. The tone on the verb is not affected by the polar question. If the verb has the ventive extension, it ends in the vowel *e* before the marker *hè*:

(7) *à z-ú-zè hè*
 3SG eat-VENT-eat Q
 ‘did he eat?’
à f-ú-fè hè
 3SG drink-VENT-drink Q
 ‘did he drink?’

The clause-final interrogative marker can also occur with non-verbal predicates, in which case it comes at the end of the clause:

(8) *àklá-nà cùkwá hè/mtù*
 cow-DEM small Q/or
 ‘is this cow small?’

Cf.

àklá-nà cùkwá
 cow-DEM small
 ‘the cow is small’

The question marker *hè* follows the negative marker. The negative marker has the root + *a* form before the question marker:

- (9) *mágàráv gùsé ándàvà màkí áksà ráksàmtu áksàrkàhè*
má gá-rá-v-g ùsé á ndàvà
 HYP greet-3PL-APPL-greet greetings 3SG ask
mákí á ksà-rá-ksè mtúá ksà-r
 HYP 3SG take-ON-take or 3SG take-ON
kà hè
 NEG Q
 ‘After their mutual salutations, he asks [the girl] whether she accepts or not.’

2.3 Questions with the particle *mtú*

Unlike the interrogative particle *hè*, the particle *mtú* occurs in clause-final position regardless of the presence of various arguments and adjuncts in the clause:

- (10) *kàdúhùm tù*
kà dúw hw mtú
 2SG go:VENT outside or
 ‘Did you go anywhere?’
- à dú huà nábbà mtú*
 3SG go outside Abba or
 ‘did Abba go anywhere?’
- à ndàr-ndré brè mtú*
 3SG build-build house or
 ‘did he build a house?’

Questions about the identity of an element in the environment of speech consist only of the noun and the interrogative particle, which could be either *hè* or *mtú*:

- (10) *kàlfé hè/mtú*
 fish Q/OR
 ‘is it a fish?’

The noun in an identificational interrogative clause may be put in focus with the interrogative marker *hè* alone, but not with the interrogative marker *mtú*:

- (11) *bà kàlfé hè*
 FOC fish Q
 ‘is it a fish, again?’

**bà kàlfé mtú*
 FOC fish or
 ‘is it a fish or . . .?’

3. Asking for the confirmation of an assumption

Questions asking for the confirmation of the speaker’s positive or negative assumptions are formed through the negative marker *ká* with high rather than low tone. The high tone is therefore the marker of interrogative predication:

- (12) *mdènkini táyàtár gyálà kinì táfàtràrúksòḡwìrè*
mdè n kinì tá yà-tár gyál-a kinì
 people DEM C.FOC 3PL beget-3PL girl-PL C.FOC
tá fà-tr-àr úksòḡw ìrè
 3PL put-3PL-ON idiot head
tábàdà-tár-bàdà á tàksà-ká
tá bàdà-tár-bàdà á tà ksà ká
 3PL flatter-3PL-flatter PRED T town NEG:TAG
 ‘People, one begets girls, they [boys] cheat on them, flatter them in
 the village, isn’t it so?’

4. Content questions

4.1 Coding means for content questions

The coding means for content questions include: question words, which narrow the scope of the question to a semantic class; an interrogative particle different from the interrogative particle coding polar questions; linear order; repetition of the subject; and inflectional changes on the question words.

The semantic domains coded by question words are: ‘human’, coded by the form *wàrè*; ‘non-human’, coded by the form *wè* (clause- and sentence-final), or *wà* (phrase-final, clause-internal); ‘locative’ and ‘temporal’, coded by the form *mé*; and ‘manner’, coded by a variety of means. The fact that all question words end in the vowel *e* may also indicate that they are complex structures, consisting of the morpheme coding an indefinite entity belonging to some semantic class, such as *w* ‘non human’, *wàr* ‘human’, plus the content interrogative marker *-i*. Some support for this hypothesis is provided by the fact that the morpheme coding an indefinite non-human entity is *wà*. This is the form of the morpheme in non-interrogative expressions. When the interrogative marker *i* is added, the form becomes *wè*, in agreement with the

phonological rules of the language. Similarly, the morpheme coding indefinite time, *má*, which corresponds to ‘if/when’ in coding the hypothetical and temporal protasis, becomes *mé* when serving as the question word ‘when?’ or ‘where?’. The question word for an indefinite human, *wàré* ‘who?’, may consist of three morphemes, *wà* ‘indefinite entity’, *rà* ‘any’, and the question particle *i*. The comparative evidence is provided by the forms *mi* and *wi* occurring in other Central Chadic languages (Giziga, Hdi). In the present grammar, question words are each represented as one entity, without indication of their internal structure.

There are different forms of content questions for verbless and for verbal clauses.

4.2 Content questions in verbless clauses

In verbless clauses the specific question word occurs in clause-final position. The description that follows illustrates the function of individual question words independently of the verbs. Syllables preceding question words must have high tone. The evidence that it is the syllable preceding the question word that gets the high tone is provided by the fact that the same morphemes occurring in a position other than that preceding the question word have low tone.

Questions about a human participant are marked by the form *wàré* ‘who’. The clause preceding the question word can be followed by the marker *mù*, which codes focus in interrogative clauses:

- (13a) *málarù* *ɲán* *nùmú* *wàré*
mál-á-rùwà *ɲánn-mù* *wàré*
 superior-GEN-1SG DEF-FOC who
 ‘This boss of mine is who?’ [‘Who is this boss of mine?’]

If some element is inserted between the forms *mu* and *wàré*, *mù* retains the low tone. The syllable that then precedes the question word receives high tone:

- (13b) *mál-á-rùwà* *ɲánn-mù* *ká* *kùrán* *wàré*
 superior-GEN-1SG DEF-FOC 2SG think? who
 ‘this boss of mine, who do you think he is?’

The evidence that the form *kùrán* has low tone is provided by its form in a polar question:

- (13c) *ká* *kùrán* *yá* *dà*
 2SG think 1SG go
 ‘you think I am going to return?’

If the word coding the scope of the content question is not inherently interrogative, it is followed by the form *rà*, which otherwise functions as the intensifier ‘any’. Any noun or pronoun followed by the form *ra* in clause-final position becomes a question phrase. The clause-final *mdà-rà* ‘people who?’ has been grammaticalized to code questions about human plural participants:

- (14) *mdà kígýé ñánnà mdàrà*
mdà kígýé ñánnà md-á-rà
 people three DEF people-GEN-Q
 ‘Those three people, who are they?’

Questions about the type are formed through the noun *jibà* ‘type’ followed by the interrogative particle *rà*. In the following example the particle bears high tone, possibly a marker of a rhetorical question:

- (15) *má bàlvá kùrǒǒǒántàr gdzàgyálwá*
má bà lv-á-kùr ǒǒǒè ántàrà gdzà gyál
 HYP FOC word-GEN-2PL finish ASSC:PL young girl
 ‘Since your conversation with the young girl is finished,’
ñàrkàè ñàjibàrà
wá ñàr kàyà ñà jibà rà
 COM 1EXCL FOC 1EXCL type Q
 ‘what are we?’

Questions about an attribute of a noun or an adverb of manner (to be described later in this section) are coded by the marker *mú* followed by the demonstrative *s-tà* ‘how’ and by the marker *rà*:

- (16) *làhñánnè mústàrà*
làh ñánn mú stà-rà
 song DEF FOC DEM-Q
 ‘How is this song?’

Questions about a place are formed by the clause-final form *mé* preceded by the locative predicator *á*. When the predicator follows a noun ending in the vowel *a*, the vowels of the noun and the predicator fuse, and the high tone of the predicator is the tone of the syllable. In the following fragment of a narrative, the first two lines provide the context necessary to understand the question and the answer, both of which are given in the third sentence of the narrative:

- (17) *yòo názù yisà kùrnèyàvátónkìni*
yòo názù yè s-à-kùr-nè-yà vâ
 well what 1SG come-GO-2PL-3SG-1SG day
tâ-n kîni
 DEF-DEF C.FOC
 ‘What I am bringing to you today’

âgdzá fôyá làríusâ
âgdz-á fôy-á làríusâ
 small-GEN story-GEN marriage
 ‘is a small story of a marriage.’

làríusâ mé [pause] làríú sámhàhà wándàlà
làríusâ á mé làríusâ á-m hàhà wándàlà
 marriage PRED where marriage PRED-IN land Wandala
 ‘Marriage where? Marriage in the land of Wandala.’

4.3 Content questions and grammatical relations in verbal clauses

Content questions and replies to content questions in verbal clauses have only the simple forms of verbs. In this way, content questions differ from relative clauses, which may have the Pro R1R2 form of the verb. The primary categories coded by question words are the same as in verbless questions: human *wàrè* ‘who’, non-human *wè* ‘what’, locative *á mè* ‘where’. Other categories are derived from these forms with the help of prepositions. Content question markers occur in post-verbal position. If there is other material in the clause, such material follows the content question marker. The position of content question markers is therefore similar to the position of the negative marker and the polar question marker.

The system of coding the grammatical roles of question words is the same as that used to code the grammatical roles of noun phrases following verbs. The coding means vary depending on the inherent transitivity of the verbs and the point of view lexicalized in them. The specific morphemes used depend on the class of the verb.

The question word is the subject of an intransitive verb. Such a subject must be preceded by the vowel *á*:

- (18) *á ts-á wàrè*
 3SG rise-PB who
 ‘who gets up?’

Even if an inherently intransitive verb has an object suffix and therefore becomes transitivized, the question word is still preceded by the vowel *a* to code its subject role:

- (19) *ɲánwá àžàgàdà káwɣəkà*
ɲán wá à žàgàdà-ká w gè kà
 DEF COM 3SG run-2SG what TO 2SG
 ‘What made you run away?’ [the girl’s father speaking]

Questions about the controlling subjects of clauses with inherently intransitive verbs whose inherent subjects are non-controlling and affected must have an object pronoun suffixed to the verb. The object pronoun codes the subject role of the question word through the root + *a* form:

- (20a) *à kyà-ná wàrè*
 3SG break-3SG who
 ‘who broke it?’

à cìn-ná wàrè
 3SG hear-3SG who
 ‘who heard?’

Wandala distinguishes between questions about potentially singular and potentially plural participants through the use of the form *mdè* ‘people’ followed by the question particle *rà*:

- (20b) *tà kyà-ná mdà-rá*
 3SG break-3SG people-Q
 ‘who (pl) broke it?’

Verbs that inherently represent the event from the point of view of the subject must have the goal marker to indicate that the question is about the object:

- (21) *tà màgá wá hwá*
tà màgá wè á hwá
 3PL do what PRED there
 ‘what did they do there?’

tá kàtá wè
 3PL want what
 ‘what do they want?’

à cíná wè
 3SG hear what
 ‘what did he hear?’

à cíná wàrè
 3SG hear who
 ‘whom did he hear?’

Inherently transitive verbs in the imperfective aspect end in *a* before the object. Since the object is the question word, the vowel *a* has high tone:

(22a) á já wàrè
 3SG beat who
 ‘whom does he beat?’

Inherently transitive verbs in the perfective code the object role of the question word through the root form:

(22b) à wú wàrè
 3SG bite who
 ‘whom did he/it bite?’

Compare a question about the subject:

(22c) à w-á wàrè
 3SG bite-PB who
 ‘who bit him?’

In the imperfective aspect, questions about the subject of a transitive verb must have the third-person singular object marker added to the verb. The role of this object marker is to indicate that the question is about the subject:

(23) á dǎksà ná wàrè
 á dǎ-ksà-ná wàrè
 3SG FUT-take-3SG who
 ‘who will take it?’

á ksà ná wàrè
 á ksà-ná wàrè
 3SG take-3SG who
 ‘who takes it?’

The evidence that the function of the object pronoun is to code the grammatical role of the question word following the verb is provided by the fact that even if an independent object demonstrative is added, the object pronoun is still suffixed to the verb:

- (24) *á dǎksà ná wàrójà*
á dǎ-ksà-ná wàrà únà
 3SG FUT-take-3SG who that
 ‘who will take it?’

An answer to a question about the subject must involve the reduplicated Pro R1R2 verb and cannot have the simple form of the verb. This is in accordance with the dependent nature of the reduplicated forms. Such an answer does not have to have the object coded overtly. Note that in statements that are not answers to questions about the subject, the simple form of the verb can be used:

- (25a) *yá dǎ ksà-ksà*
 1SG FUT take-take
 ‘I am going to take it’

or:

- (25b) *yá ksà-ksá*
 1SG take-take
 ‘I am going to take it’

but not:

**yá ksà*

or

**yá dǎ ksà*

Here is an illustration using the verb *fǎ* ‘drink, reach’ from class 2 (see chapter 7), i.e. a transitive verb that does not code the affectedness of the object. A question about a transitive subject must have the third-person singular object marker *n* on the verb, followed by the goal marker. The root form of the question word itself indicates that the following noun phrase is the object:

- (26) *à fǎ-ná wàrà hàjà*
 3SG reach-3SG:GO who river
 ‘who reached the river?’

Questions about the object have the high tone vowel *á*, which may be the result of the assignment of the high tone to the syllable preceding the question word:

- (27) *á fǎ wè*
 3SG drink/find/reach what
 ‘what does he drink/find/reach?’

mbákyà à fǎ wè
 last year 3SG drink what
 ‘what was he drinking last year?’

The ventive extension has the root form (with *w* becoming *u*) before the question word:

- (28) *à f-ú wè*
 3SG drink-VENT what
 ‘what did he drink?’

Questions about the subject add the vowel *a* after the ventive extension. This is an important piece of evidence that the vowel *a* preceding nominal subjects represents an addition of a morpheme rather than a part of the verbal root or stem. It is a morphological marker:

- (29) *à fú-w-á wàrè*
 3SG drink-VENT-PB who
 ‘who drank?’

In the imperfective aspect, the verb must have an object pronoun, again with the marker *á* to indicate the subject role of the following noun phrase:

- (30) *à fà-n-á wàrè*
 3SG drink-3SG-PB who
 ‘who was drinking?’

á fà-n-á wàrè
 3SG drink-3SG-PB who
 ‘who is drinking?’

In the perfective aspect, verbs from class 1 (which are inherently transitive) indicate the object role of the following noun phrase through the root form (an epenthetic *u* is added before the labial glide):

- (31) *à bálú wè*
 3SG announce what
 ‘what did he announce?’

In the imperfective, these verbs end in the vowel *a*:

- (32) *á bálá wè*
 3SG announce what
 ‘what does he announce?’

The subject role of the question word is coded by the ending *a* on the verb. Here is an example of the perfective:

- (33) *à bálá wàrè*
 3SG announce who
 ‘who announced?’

In the imperfective, the subject role of the question word is coded by an object suffix and the vowel *a*:

- (34) *á bálà-n-á wàrè*
 3SG announce-3SG-PB who
 ‘who announces?’

á bàdzà-trá wè
 3SG spoil-3PL what
 ‘what spoils them?’

à bàdzà-tr-vá wè
 3SG spoil-3PL-APPL what
 ‘what spoiled them?’

à mára wè
 3SG show what
 ‘what did he show?’

tá kátá wà mdè
 3PL want what people
 ‘what do people want?’

à mâr-ná wàrè
 3SG show-3SG who
 ‘who has shown?’

The coding of the grammatical categories ‘subject’ and ‘object’ of nouns following the question words obeys the same principle that applies to other grammatical and lexical morphemes. The root form of the morpheme indicates that the following noun phrase is the object. The root + *a* form indicates that the following noun phrase is the subject. This coding is illustrated on the question word *m* ‘where’.

Directional locative. The noun phrase that follows the verb is the subject:

- (35) *á dǎ mà kèllù*
 3SG go where Kellu
 ‘where does Kellu go?’

à dǎ mà kèllù
 3SG go where Kellu
 ‘where did Kellu go?’

Stative locative. The noun phrase that follows the verb is the subject:

- (36) *à bàdǎ-trù-w-ó mà kèllù*
 3SG flatter-3PL-VENT-PRED where:PB Kellu
 ‘where did Kellu flatter them?’

à bàdǎ-á-w-á mà kèllù
 3SG flatter-GO-VENT-PRED where:PB Kellu
 ‘where did Kellu flatter him?’

Stative locative. The noun phrase that follows the verb is the object. The question word about the place is *mì* when followed by the object:

- (37) *à bàdù-w-á mì kèllù*
 3SG flatter-VENT-PRED where Kellu
 ‘where did he flatter Kellu?’

5. Focus on the subject in content questions

For focus on the subject in questions, the subject pronoun precedes the verb and the subject pronoun follows the interrogative complex. This characteristic of focus on the subject in questions is shared with relative clauses. Most of the examples involve focus on the subject in content questions:

- (38) *éekà dzàmáštàrkám hùdàrà*
éè kà dzàm áštà-r k á-m
 eh 2SG think DEM-Q 2SG PRED-IN
hùd-á-rà
 belly-GEN-3SG
 ‘Well, what do you think about that?’

The content question word used in past time reference for the verb *dzàm* ‘think’ can be either *ttà* or *áštà*:

- (39) *kà dzàm-tá-ttà-rà kà á-m hùd-á-rà*
 2SG think-T-DEM-Q 2SG PRED-IN belly-GEN-3SG
 ‘well, what did you think about it?’ (elicited)
- éè kò dzàm áštàr kùr ám hùd-á-rà*
 eh 2PL think what 2PL IN belly-GEN-3SG
 ‘well, what do you (PL) think about it?’

The third-person singular subject pronoun following the verb in questions about the object is *hàn(è)*:

- (40) *éè à/tà/yà/mà dzàm áštàr hàn/tàré/y/my*
 eh 3SG/3PL/1SG/1INCL think what 3SG/3PL/1SG/1INCL
ám hùd-á-rà
 PRED-IN belly-GEN-3SG
 ‘well, what do(es) he/they/I/we think about it?’
- éè hù dzàm áštàr hr á-m*
 eh 1EXCL think what 1EXCL PRED-IN
hùd-á-rà
 belly-GEN-3SG
 ‘well, what kind of opinion can we (excl) have about it?’

ká zá wàkà
ká zá wà-kà
 2SG eat what-2SG
 ‘what do you eat?’

ká zá wè
ká zá wè
 2SG eat what
 ‘what do you eat?’

If there is a nominal subject, there cannot be a repeated subject pronoun:

- (41) *á zà wà nábbà*
 3SG eat what Nabba
 ‘what is Nabba eating?’

6. Questions about the object of the verb of saying

Questions about the object of the verb of saying are formed through the expression *á-zà-rà bá* ‘what said . . .’ at the beginning of the clause, followed by the nominal or pronominal subject:

- (42) *ázà-rà bá-yà*
 what-Q say-1SG
 ‘what [did] I say?’

ázàrà bé tàrè
ázà rà bà ítàrè
 what Q say 3PL
 ‘what do they say?’

Some speakers use the form *názà rà*. The form *ázà* is thus a free variant of *názà*, the de dicto relative marker, glossed as ‘what, thing’. The form *rà* is the content interrogative marker and is used as an emphatic interrogative marker, ‘what in the world?’. In clause-internal position, it has just the root form, *r*:

- (43) *má-názà-r kìnì bà fàgrà*
 HYP-what-Q C.FOC FOC good
 ‘No matter what, it is good’

The verb *bá* ‘say’ is invariably preceded by the form *a*, identical with the third-person singular subject pronoun, regardless of the person and number of the subject. The pronoun *a* forms one syllable with the marker *r*, resulting in the form *rà*.

- (44) *á-zà-rà à bá-ŋrè/myà*
 what 3SG say-1EXCL/1INCL
 ‘what do we (excl) say?’

á-zà-rà *à* *bá* *bàkár*
 what 3SG say Bukar

‘what did Bukar say?’ [*bàkár* is a borrowed proper name. Various versions of this name occur in Chadic and non-Chadic languages of Northern Cameroon. The ultimate source of this name may be Arabic Bakari.]

Reply:

bákà ‘nothing’

7. Questions about manner

Several constructions code questions about manner. Each of these constructions involves the use of the marker *rà* in clause-final position. The interrogative phrase itself may occur at the beginning or at the end of the clause. The non-verbal predication has the interrogative phrase in clause-initial position, and the subject follows the interrogative phrase:

(45) *kàkà-rà* *gdzà-ŋá*
 how-Q child-2SG
 ‘how is your son?’

Questions about manner for verbal predication are coded by a complex consisting of the remote anaphor (*stà*) or the proximate anaphor (*ttà*) with the interrogative marker *-rà*, realized respectively as *stà-rà* or *t-tà-rà*. The interrogative complex occurs at the end of the verbal clause. The use of the interrogative complex corresponding to ‘how’ requires the use of the third-person singular object pronoun with the verb, even if there is no object in the proposition:

(46) *kàkà* *kàfānéstàrà*
kà *kà* *kà* *fà-ŋá* *stà-rà*
 2SG 2SG 2SG find-3SG DEM-Q
 ‘How do you find it?’

màgyànéstàrà
mà *gyà-n* *stà-rà*
 1INCL cook-3SG DEM-Q
 ‘how shall we cook?’

màzànéstàrà
mà *zà-n* *stà-rà*

1INCL eat-3SG DEM-Q
 ‘how shall we eat?’ [when there is nothing to eat]

èi màmàgànástàrà àbà pállá tàrè
èi má màgà-n ástà-rà à b páll-á-tàrè
 so 1INCL do-3SG DEF-Q 3SG say one-GEN-3PL
 ‘‘So, what shall we do?’’ said one of them.’

sèi bà méycícùkùmùm mgànástàrà
sèi bà má yìc-íic kùmù má màgà-n ástà-rà
 then, FOC 1INCL cut-cut if not 1INCL do-3SG DEM-Q
 ‘‘We have to cross [the river], otherwise, what will we do?’’ [stà reduced to sà]

One can replace the remote anaphor with the proximate anaphor *tà* in the above clause without losing the truth conditions of the sentence:

- (47) *sèi bà mèycí-cà ékùmù mà màgànáttàrà*
sèi bà mà yìcícà é-k-ùmù
 then, FOC 1INCL cut-cut PROX-not
mà màgà-n àttá rà
 1INCL do-3SG DEF Q
 ‘one has to cross [the river], otherwise, what will we do?’

The omission of the third-person singular object morpheme from the clauses above results in an ungrammatical utterance:

- (48) **mà màgà stà-rà à b pállè*
 1INCL do like that-Q 3SG say one
 ‘what shall we do?, said one’

The evidence that the suffix *-n* is indeed the third-person singular object marker is provided by forms with the third-person plural object marker *-tr*. Since two object pronouns coding the same semantic relation cannot cooccur, the form *n* is absent:

- (49) *à/kà/mà nà-trá stà-rà*
 3SG/2SG/1INCL see-3PL like that-Q
 ‘how shall he/you/we see them?’ (elicited)

A nominal subject occurs after the interrogative complex:

- (50) *à* *nà-trá* *stà-rà* *náli*
 3SG see-3PL like that-Q Nali
 ‘how will/did Nali see them?’ (elicited)

The interrogative complex in clause-initial position is followed by the contrastive focus marker *kini*. The vowel *a* of the interrogative marker *rà* is reduced in phrase-internal position:

- (51) *éttà-r* *kini* *yà* *dá múrà*
 how-Q C.FOC 1SG go Mora
 ‘how do I go to Mora?’ (elicited)

The complex *ástà-r* ‘how’ is used for inquiries about the topic of the cognitive verb *dzàm* ‘think’. The specific issue involved in the inquiry is coded by the locative predicator *á* followed by the spatial specifier *m* ‘in’. The subject pronoun precedes and follows the predicate:

- (52) *éekà* *dzàmástàrkám* *hùdàrà*
é *kà* *dzàm* *ástà-r* *k* *á-m*
 eh 2SG think DEM-Q 2SG PRED-IN
hùd-á-rà
 belly-GEN-3SG
 ‘Well, what do you think about that?’

8. Questions about reason

Questions about reason can be marked in several ways. One means involves a complex consisting of the destinative marker *gə* and the interrogative word *wè* ‘what’. This complex follows the verb. The post-verbal pronominal subject follows the interrogative phrase. Morphemes preceding the question form ‘*g-wè*’ are in the root form. Part of the reason for this is that form *g* is a preposition, and all morphemes are in the root form when preceding a preposition:

- (53) *kà/à* *žàgàdú* *g-wè*
 2SG/3SG run TO-what
 ‘Why did you/he run away?’ [the vowel *u* in *žàgàdú* is epenthetic]

If the predicate is a verb of saying, it must have the third-person object pronoun *-n*. It may be that the function of the object pronoun is to code the existence of a complement:

- (54) *kái kà ndá-n g-wà únà*
 no 2SG say-3SG why DEF
 ‘hey, why do you say this?’

kái kà vi-yá g-wè
 no 2SG forget-1SG TO-what
 ‘hey, why did you forget me?’

If the subject is in focus, the pronominal subject follows the question phrase. The pre-pronominal marker *a* precedes the subject suffix:

- (55) *ábáñánè kòndángù kòbúunà*
á bá ñánè kò nd-á-n gè wè
 3SG say 3SG 2SG say-GO-3SG TO what
kò bwá nà
 2PL two DEM
 ‘He says, “Why do you say the two of you?”’

The nominal object follows the interrogative complex:

- (56) *ée àbàdàdàḥàbádàlyè ámúvǵèḥánnà*
ée à bà dàdà ḥàbá dàlyè á-m úvǵè
 eh, 3SG say father again again PRED-IN grave
ḥánnà
 DEF
 ‘And the father in the grave said,’

kái kándángwà kónà
kái ká ndá-n gè wà kà únà
 no 2SG say-3SG TO what 2SG DEM
 ‘“Hey, why do you say this?”’

The subject pronoun may be repeated after the interrogative marker:

- (57) *kái kà vi-yá g-w-à-kà*
 no 2SG forget-1SG TO-what-PB-2SG
 ‘hey, why did you forget me?’

Another means to code a question about reason consists of the borrowed item *làbàré*, related to Hausa *labari* ‘story, matter’, at the beginning of the clause:

- (58) *làbàrtàr zàwàrán mùksór tàwóvnà*
làbár tàr zàwàr án mùksá ùrà tà
 reason(H) 3PL prostitute ASSC wife:GEN man 3PL
wà-ú-ν nà
 bite-VENT-APPL DEM
 ‘Why did the prostitute and the wife of the man fight?’

9. Questions about place

Questions about place are marked by the clause-final particle *mè*. If the predicate is not inherently locative, this particle is preceded by the locative predicator *á*. In addition to numerous examples in the preceding sections, compare also the following:

- (59) *á hàrà mè*
á hàr á mè
 3SG spend the night PRED where
 ‘where does he sleep?’

10. Questions about time

Questions about time are formed with the form *vá* ‘time’ followed by the form *tà* and the intensifier *rà*.

- (60) *kà só vátà rà*
 2SG come:VENT time INTNS
 ‘when did you come?’

11. Conclusions

There is a fundamental difference between the coding of polar questions and the coding of content questions. Polar questions can be coded by intonation or by the particle *hè*, which occurs after the predicate but before the arguments or adjuncts. This marker thus occurs in the same position as the negative maker *k*. Polar questions can also be coded by the disjoint conjunction *mtú* ‘or’.

Polar questions can have the simple or the reduplicated form of the verb, and accordingly have a full range of tenses and aspects.

Content questions can be marked in two ways. One is through specific question words that code the classes ‘human’, ‘non-human’, and ‘place’. Other classes, such as ‘reason’, are marked through the use of prepositions

with a content question word. Content question words, like the polar question marker *hè*, occur after the verb but before the nominal arguments and adjuncts. The grammatical role of the content question word is coded by the same means through which the grammatical role of the nominal arguments is coded. These means depend on the inherent properties of verbs. The grammatical role of a nominal argument that follows the question word is marked in the same way that all other morphemes mark grammatical roles: the root ending indicates that the following noun is the object, and the root + *a* ending indicates that the following noun is the subject.

The other means of coding content questions is through the use of various nouns together with the content interrogative marker *rà*.

The tense and aspectual system in content questions is reduced, in that no reduplicated form of the verb can be used in content questions.

Chapter 18

Comment clause

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate that there exists a type of dependent clause that can be used in a variety of environments. I shall call it a ‘comment clause’.¹³ In addition to a topicalized noun, the comment clause may have in its scope an element in focus, an adverbial phrase and, most important, a wide variety of clauses. The distinction between a wide range of complex sentences and the simple sentence with a comment clause boils down to what element is in the scope of the comment clause.

The importance of the category comment clause as defined in this study is that it can occur in simple or complex sentences.

The comment clause is marked by the particle *wá*, which marks the following clause, but sometimes it is joined prosodically to what precedes. Consequently, it is sometimes represented as a suffix.

The interest of the comment clause in Wandala is that it is used for functions that in many languages have been analyzed as belonging to a variety of unrelated functional domains, such as clausal complementation and subordination, topicalization, temporal and conditional apodosis, clausal complements of a noun phrase, and afterthought clauses. In some cases, such as indirect speech, the marker corresponds to Indo-European complementizers like English ‘that’, but the function of *wá* is much broader and is not to be equated with these complementizers. Here is a non-exhaustive sample of various contexts in which the comment clause is deployed.

Complements of verbs of saying:

¹³ The term ‘comment clause’ is used in traditional linguistics in at least two senses. One is the distinction introduced by the Prague School between the topic and comment. This distinction is fully compatible with and fully subsumed by the expanded notion of comment clause as proposed here. The other sense of the term ‘comment clause’ is used, in descriptive studies of English, for parenthetical clauses within another clause (Matthews 1997: 61, Quirk et al. 1985). There is no connection between that understanding of the term and the category described in this chapter.

- (1) *á bə páll-á-tàr wá nó kìnà dīgíyà*
 3SG say one-GEN-3PL COM PRES now COMP
 ‘One among them says, thus.’

àṅkwà dīyárù dīgíyà
àṅkwà dīy-á-rwà dīgíyà
 exist knowledge-GEN-1SG COMP
 ‘‘I have my knowledge, behold.’’

Temporal apodosis:

- (2) *má dá dùmá màḷárwà*
má dá-d má màḷár wá
 HYP go-go HYP now COM
 ‘And when he [the groom] goes,’

əlvà tàr ṅánnà bàd̩əmmè á də zə dádà
 speech 3PL DEF all PRED go HL father
 ‘everything that they have to say is to the father.’

Conditional apodosis:

- (3) *ḷámá má cìnàkùr-ncìn jùbóonànáwá*
ḷámá má cìnà-kùr-n-cìn jùbà únà ná-wá
 assembly HYP hear-2PL-3SG-hear matter DEF DEM-COM
 ‘Listeners, if you understand this matter,’

bákà-r gíná
bákà ár gí ná
 NEG.EX over TO DEM
 ‘there is no greater [truth/goodness] than that.’

Comment on a topicalized noun phrase:

- (4) *mábà kəḷà kùlà wá ájìyù kəgìyà*
má bà kəḷà kùlà wá
 HYP FOC count calculus COM
á jì-y-ú kà gè iyà
 3SG surpass-1SG-VENT NEG TO 1SG
 ‘If it concerns counting, nobody surpasses me.’

(Although the sentence begins with a conditional apodosis marker, *wá* actually marks the comment on the topic of ‘counting’)

Comment on a reason clause:

- (5) *má bàní bàdê̄m mírámýà mándiyámýà*
má-á bàní bàdê̄m ir-á-myà mà
 HYP-PRED concern all head-GEN-1INCL 1INCL
án diy-á-myà
 ASSC knowledge-GEN-1INCL
wá fágrónà máhí gámyà
wá fágrà únà má híg-á-myà [not in the recording]
 COM well DEF 1INCL happy-GEN-1INCL
 “‘Because we have all of this knowledge, it is good. As far as we are concerned, we are happy.’” [*híg-á-myà* is not clear to other speakers.]

An afterthought clause:

- (6) *álvà ñánnà yè sè ndà-n-ée nà kwá* [error]
 story DEF 1SG come tell-3SG-1SG DEM
wá
 COM
 ‘The story I came to tell . . . ‘

á kàtá lvà ndzà
á kàtá álvà ndzà
 3SG want story past
 ‘He wants an old story.’

2. Functions of the comment clause

The comment clause is syntactically dependent, as evidenced by the fact that it is never the sole component of a sentence. Moreover, its dependency is within the sentence rather than within the discourse. This property of the comment clause is fully confirmed by all natural language examples in the data gathered, many of which are included in this study. Moreover, the element on which the clause is a comment always precedes the comment clause. Again, the evidence is provided by all natural language examples in the data gathered as well as by all elicited examples cited in this study.

The comment clause is also pragmatically dependent, as evidenced by the fact that it cannot be interpreted on its own. It has to be interpreted in connection with the element that precedes it, not with the element that follows the comment clause. The sections below describe the various syntactic environments in which the comment clause occurs. The overall function of the clause

preceded by *wá* is to serve as a comment on the preceding material, be it a clause, a noun phrase, or an adverbial phrase.

The comment clause can be a complement of a verb of saying, a temporal or conditional apodosis clause, or a complement of any fronted constituent.

2.1 Comment on a topicalized noun phrase

The comment clause marked by the marker *wá* follows the topicalized noun phrase. In Western Indo-European languages, complementizers do not occur in this syntactic environment. When the comment clause occurs after the topicalized noun phrase, the noun phrase preceding the comment-clause marker *wá* ends in the vowel *a*, marking a phrasal boundary.

- (7) *yò, únàwá dáci mánà dádá dádúwá*
yò, únà ná wá dáci má-nà dádá
 well DEF DEF COM then HYP-DEM father
dádù wá
 dad COM

tyápkà dádúwá ámbàrkà
tyá-p kà dádú wá á-m
 become able-APPL NEG:PB father COM PRED-IN
mb-á-r kà
 house-GEN-3SG NEG

‘Well, as for that, if that is so, [it means that] the father was not able to be a father at his home.’ [If there are unmarried girls at home, that is the father’s fault.]

In the following example, the last word of the topic phrase *kùlà* ends in the vowel *a*:

- (8) *mábà kàkà kùlà wá áiyù kàgìyà*
má bà kàkà kùlà wá
 HYP FOC count calculus COM
à jì-y-ú kà gè iyà
 3SG surpass-1SG-VENT NEG TO 1SG
 ‘If it concerns counting, nobody surpasses me.’

When the comment-clause marker *wá* follows other, non-topicalized constituents, the preceding morpheme has the root form:

- (9) *ńánwá dùksèńánnèwá séí mábàni áklyànà bàddámyà*
ńán wá dùksè ńánnè wá séí má bà
 DEF COM thing DEF COM only HYP FOC
nì á klyà-nà bà ddá-myà
 INTNS 3SG cool-3SG FOC father-1INCL
 ‘That, that thing, only God knows how to cool it.’ [‘Only God knows how to repair the bad things that parents do.’]

- (10) *yó égdzà dàwàlná à dè žàràn ùrará*
yó égdzà dàwàl-ná à dè žàrà-n
 well young man-DEM 3SG go see-[pause]
ùr-á-rà
 friend-GEN-3SG
 ‘Well [the] boy went to see his friend, ‘
ùrá dš ńàrà
ùr-á dš ńàrà
 man-GEN father POSS-3SG
 ‘a friend of his father.’

tàbúkùrdá tèrwá àpwàtr dšzà ddánàrà gègyálè
tà bú kùrd-á tèr wá à pwà-trè
 3PL two all-GEN 3PL COM 3SG send:PL-3PL
dè zà ddá ńà-rà gè gyálè
 go HL father POSS-3SG TO girl
 ‘Both of them, he sent to the father of the girl.’

The comment marker may form a unit with the demonstrative *ná*, where the demonstrative retains its final vowel. It appears that the division of labor between the two markers is that the demonstrative marks the topic phrase and the form *wá* anticipates the comment clause. In the following example, the adverbial phrase is the topic:

- (11) *ánó váci stwà nává yágánikà*
á nó váci s-t-wá ná-wá
 eh PRES day DEM-DEM-DEM DEM-COM
yá gá níkà
 1SG contract marriage
 ‘On such and such day I am going to get married.’

- (12) *áwáyà nává tàdà kràwà*
á wáyà ná-wá tà dá kràwà
 PRED yesterday DEM-COM 3PL go:GO Krawa
 ‘As for yesterday, they went to Krawa . . .’

The evidence that the comment-clause marker *wá* is not a topic marker is provided by its contrast with the demonstrative *w*, which in the function of topicalizer, does not have the vowel *a*. In the following example, *w* topicalizes the first-person pronoun:

- (13) *áyáwálvá rùbákà*
á yà-w álvà-á-rwà bákà
 well 1SG-TOP word-GEN-1SG NEG.EX
 ‘Well, I have no words.’

2.2 Comment on contrastive focus

Wandala has the contrastive focus marker *kinnà*. The comment on the contrastive focus phrase may be preceded by the marker *wá*:

- (14) *áyò ágdzaràkinnà wá mákábà*
áyò ágdzar-à kinnà wá má ká
 now child-PL C.FOC COM HYP 2SG
trálvà àbétàrè àsàná zàmàné
bà-trá lvà à bà-ítaré á s-á-nà zàmàné
 talk-3PL speech 3SG say-3PL 3SG come-3SG time (F)
 ‘And now, children, when you talk to them, they say it is modern times that brought it.’

- (15) *ée, bàddàtàrḡánnà kìn tàxdám*
ée, á bá ddà tàr ḡánnà kìn tà hdã
 well 3SG say father 3PL DEF now 3PL bury
fátàrḡánnà kìnì wá
á-m f-á-tàr ḡánnà kìnì wá
 PRED-IN field-GEN-3PL DEF C.FOC COM
 ‘And now, their father, who was buried in the field, . . .’

ábáḡánè kòndáḡù kòbíunà
á bá ḡánè kò nd-á-n ḡè wè
 3SG say 3SG 2SG say-GO-3SG TO what
kò bwá nà
 2PL two DEM
 ‘He says, “Why do you say the two of you?”’

2.3 Comment on reason clauses

Reason clauses can be marked by the sequence *má-á bàní* ‘because’. A reason clause can be the first clause in a sentence. The comment on a reason clause,

which codes the result or consequence of the reason clause, may be marked by the form *wá*:-

- (16) *má bàní bàdēm mírámyà mándìyámyà*
má-á bàní bàdēm ìr-á-myà mà
 HYP-PRED concern all head-GEN-1INCL 1INCL
án dìy-á-myà
 ASSC knowledge-GEN-1INCL
wá fàgrónà máhí gámyà
wá fàgrà únà má híg-á-myà [not in the recording]
 COM well DEF 1INCL happy-GEN-1INCL
 “‘Because we have all of this knowledge, it is good. As far as we are concerned, we are happy.’” [*híg-á-myà* is not clear to other speakers.]

- (17) *mábàyàkànvíwábákàdàbàrí*
má bà yà-kà-n-v-y wá
 HYP FOC refuse-2SG-3SG-APPL-refuse COM
bákà dàbàrí
 NEG.EX solution (H,F)
 ‘Since you have refused him, there is no other solution.’

- (18) *mábàhàyàkànkwà tìgàkàdrúuwà*
má bà hàyà-ká-n-k wá tìgá
 HYP FOC like-2SG-3SG-NEG COM nevertheless
kà d-rúuwà
 2SG father-1SG
 ‘Although you do not like him, nevertheless you are my father.’

The clause marked by *wá* may be interpreted as a reason for the preceding constituent:

- (19) *álvèhànnà nòyéfíná wá*
álvè hànnà nó yé fí ná wá
 matter DEF PRES 1SG tell DEM COM
ádàbà yiyékní yètápántàp káràrà cikwángùdì
ádàbà iyá kní yè tàpá-n-tàp
 because 1SG C.FOC 1SG taste-3SG-taste
kár-á-rà cikwángùdì
 fire-GEN-3SG a little bit
 “‘What I am telling you, is because I myself tasted its fire a little bit.’”

- (20) *ágdzàràmi tápúnáwá mánà názùni ámmàgnáwá*
ágdzàr-á-mì tá pú ná wá
 child:PL-GEN-1INCL 3PL pour DEM COM
má nà názù ní á mmàg ná wá
 HYP DEM what INTNS 3SG do DEM COM
únèní táwáynetèrnà táfàtrà rùksònwirè
únè ní tá wáy-ná itèr nà tá
 DEM INTNS 3PL want-3SG 3PL DEM 3PL
fà-trà-r úksòŋw irè
 put-3PL-ON idiot head
 ‘The thing that makes our girls loaf around is that the men that the girls like cheat on them.’

2.4 Comment clauses as complements of verbs of saying

The de dicto complements of verbs of saying can be marked by the comment-clause marker *wá*. In this case, the function of *wá* corresponds to the function of the de dicto complementizer (for the notion of de dicto complementizers, see Frajzyngier 1991):

- (21) *èe, à binùwá akàtà bàká kàmàgànéstàràwáyàa*
èe, à b-in-ù wá á kàtà bà-ká
 e 3SG say-3SG-EP COM 3SG want tell-2SG
 ‘He said, he wants you to tell.’
- (22) *yàndànéenàwá adàbà kwàkyétrà tám hùdàrà*
yà ndà-né-yà nà wá adàbà
 1SG say-3SG-1SG DEM COM because
kwàkyé trà t-á-m hùd-á-rà
 much work 3PL-PRED-IN belly-GEN-3SG
 ‘Like what I said earlier, there is too much work in it.’
- (23) *á bà páll-á-tàr wá nó kìnà digíyà*
 3SG say one -GEN-3PL COM PRES now COMP
 ‘One among them says, thus.’
- ánkwà diyárù digíyà*
ánkwà diy-á-rwà digíyà
 exist knowledge-GEN-1SG COMP
 ‘‘I have my knowledge, behold.’’

The comment-clause marker may precede any type of direct speech. While it is quite common for de dicto complementizers in Chadic languages to

precede direct or indirect speech (Frajzyngier 1996), this is not the case in Western Indo-European languages, where a de dicto complementizer such as ‘that’ in English cannot precede direct speech:

- (24) *àbà pàllè kìnùwá tàtánèskè fì dáyà*
à bà pàllè kìnì wá tàtánè skè
 3SG say one C.FOC COM sorry POL
fìd-á-η nà
 lie-GEN-2SG DEM
 ‘The other said, “Sorry, this is your lie [you are lying].”’

- (25) *ábà ddákáǵà kùlùwá*
á bà dd-á káǵà kùlù wá
 3SG say man-GEN counting units COM
 ‘The one of counting says:’

ǵyàwàngǵìskè kógá jàwá jìbàrà
ǵyà-wà-n-ǵì skè kwá gá
 leave-IMP:PL-3SG-leave POL 2PL take
jáw-á jìbà rà
 doubt-GO type Q
 ‘“Leave that, please, why do you doubt?”’

- (26) *ábà pàl kìnì wá*
á bà pàllè kìnì wá
 3SG say one C.FOC COM
 ‘Another one says:’

má kyórà dùksè ηánnà séi bà yá nánnà
má á kyáv rà dùksà ηánnà séi bà
 HYP PRED place any thing DEF then FOC
yá ná-n-nà
 1SG see-3SG-see
 ‘“No matter where the object is, I will see it.”’

The marker *wá* can precede a clause in the imperative:

- (27) *é, àbàlèkséwá pàfò pàfǻvgèηánnà*
é, à bà lèksé wá pàfà-w-pàf ǻvgè ηánnà
 eh, 3SG say Sultan COM dig-PL-dig grave DEF
 ‘And the Sultan said, “Dig up this grave.”’

- (28) *àbàlèksùwá dómbàré nóyàblámè*
à bà lèksè wá dú-wà mbàré
 3PL say Sultan COM go-PL.IMP together
nó yá blá mdè á dè zè
 PRES 1SG send people PRED go HL
kùr ñánnà
 2PL DEF
 ‘The sultan said, “Go, I am sending people to your place.”’

The marker *wá* alone may be a marker of de dicto complementation, even if the main clause does not contain a verb of saying. This is the case with the first instantiation of the marker *wá* in the following example:

- (29) *à dándàvà ázà dè ñàrwà gyálè ná*
à dè ndàvà á zà dè ñà-r wá
 3SG go ask PRED HL father POSS-3 COM
gyálè-ná
 girl-DEM
hàyèn hàyá àmá dè ñàrwà à kàtá yénvyè
hàyè-n-hàyá àmá dè ñàr wá à kàtá
 love-3SG-love but father 3SG COM 3SG want
á yé-n-v-yè
 3SG refuse-3SG-APPL-refuse
 ‘He went to ask her father, saying that the girl loves him. But her father wants to refuse him.’

- (30) *tàsándàvìwólà kàžánáa rúgyà wá*
tà sá ndàv-ì-w ólvà kàžánáa-rú
 3PL come ask-1SG-VENT matter goods-GEN-1SG
g-yà wá
 TO-1SG COM
 ‘They came to ask me about the matter of the goods [that I had sent while courting the girl].’
bákà ólvà kàžánà
 NEG.EX matter goods
 ‘There is no matter of goods.’

The only example of the comment-clause marker *wá* occurring after a verb of perception is in an elicited sentence, hence its validity is somewhat doubtful:

- (31) *yà ná wá tà gyá dáfà*
 1SG see COM 3PL prepare food
 ‘I saw that they prepared food.’

The comment-clause marker *wá* is not an obligatory component of the complements of verbs of saying. Thus, it does not have to precede direct speech:

- (32) *à bə pàllə ddá límà*
à bə pàllə dd-á límà
 3SG say one man-GEN ear
 ‘The one who hears all said.’

filyá zàrvá mì pàllə kày mbədá mbədám dəmyáwnà
fìlì-á zàrv-á myà pàllə kày mbədá-m-mbəd
 sand-GEN sesame-GEN 1INCL one ? fall-IN-fall
á-m d-ár yàwè nà
 PRED go:ON water DEM
 ‘‘One of our sesame seeds fell into the water.’’

Compare a structurally identical fragment with the comment-clause marker *wá*:

- (33) *ábà ddá kə̀zà kùlùwá*
á bə dd-á kə̀zà kùlù wá
 3SG say man-GEN counting units COM
 ‘The one of counting says.’

gyàwàngfiskə̀ kógá jàwá jìbàrà
gyà-wà-n-gí skè kwá gá
 leave-IMP:PL-3SG-leave POL 2PL take
jáw-á jìbà rà
 doubt-GO type Q
 ‘‘Leave that, please, why do you doubt?’’

The comment marker *wá* does not occur if the complement clause precedes rather than follows the verb of saying, thus providing the evidence that the form *wá* marks the clause as a comment on the preceding material within the same sentence:

- (34) *sèyédàtattàyé sàns sábiná*
sèi yá dǎ tattàya yé s-á-n-sè
 then 1SG FUT search 1SG come-GO-3SG-come
á b-inà
 3SG say-3SG
 ‘‘I will search, I will bring it back,’’ he said.’

- (35) *méyáblà lághnàwá*
mé yá blà làh ná wá
 HYP 1SG send song DEM COM
 ‘‘When I sing the song,’’

àḡkórán dálvàmúvgàbiná
àḡk ùrà á ndá lv ám vg
 exist person 3SG speak word in grave
à b-iná
 3SG say-3SG
 ‘there is somebody talking in the grave,’’ he said.’

Most examples in which the comment-clause marker *wá* does occur have some material after the verb of the first clause and before the comment-clause marker *wá*. It is usually the subject of the clause. If the complement clause immediately follows the verb of saying, the comment-clause marker *wá* usually does not occur:

- (36) *ábáḡánè kòndáḡgù kòbúunà*
á bá ḡánè kò nd-á-n gè wè
 3SG say 3SG 2SG say-GO-3SG TO what
kò bwá ná
 2PL two DEM
 ‘He says, ‘‘Why do you say the two of you?’’’

- (37) *é ddà ḡàrà-mùvgèkíní àbàbà*
é ddà ḡàr á-mú vgè kíní à bà bà
 eh father 3SG PRED-IN grave C.FOC 3SG say FOC
kái màkíḡyískè gdzárwà
kái mà kíḡyí skè gdz-á-rwà
 no, 1INCL three POL child-GEN-1SG
 ‘And his father in the grave says, ‘‘No, we are nevertheless three, my son.’’’

The comment-clause marker *wá* does not occur if the complement clause has the deontic complementizer *séi* ‘then, therefore’, borrowed from Hausa

via Fula. The reason the form *wá* does not occur is that its function is subsumed by the complementizer *séi*:

- (38) *máǵàrá béetàrè séetá dá fùlà*
máǵàrà á bà itàrè séi tá d-á fùlà
 now (F) 3SG say 3PL then 3PL go-GO travel
 ‘Now they say that they have to travel.’

- (39) *àbàñán kàyà sèyàdà sánsà sábinà*
à bà ñán kàyà séi yà dè
 3SG say 3SG nevertheless then 1SG SEQ
sá-n-sà-sè á b-inà
 come-3SG-S-come 3SG say-3SG
 ‘He says, “Nevertheless, I will get it out.”’

The comment-clause marker *wá* is often used if there is some other material between the verb of saying and the complement clause, e.g. the subject of the main clause. The marker *wá* is not used if the complement clause precedes the verb of saying. The role of the marker *wá* is thus to mark the clause as a comment on the preceding material.

2.5 Comment on a relative clause

A clause marked by the marker *wá* may be a comment on a noun which is already modified by a relative clause:

- (40) *kínnázù ábà dzàtèrbádzènáwá*
kín názù á bàdz-à-tèr-bádzè ná wá
 now what 3SG spoil-GO-3PL-spoil DEM COM
ágdzrè á màlán màrà
ágdzrè á màlà án màrà
 daughter 3SG attach ASSC mother
 ‘Actually, what spoils them, is **that** the daughter is attached to her mother.’

- (41) *álvá mdè mákállàm mìrwá ámàñkpéedà*
álv-á mdè mákállàm-ìr wá
 word-GEN people denigrate-NOM COM
á màñ-k péedà
 PRED make-NEG force
 ‘The words of those who denigrate are of no use.’

2.6 Comment on an adverbial phrase

A comment clause can occur after an adverbial phrase:

- (42) *àstùwá ðóðà nàrwàndzàhànnà*
àstù wá ðóðà nàr-wà-ndzà hànnà
 like that COM finish:PB language-mouth-past DEF
 ‘Like that finished this story.’

The adverbial phrase may be locative:

- (43) *ám já dùnínà hónànnàwá bákà árgfàrvóhè*
á-m ñj-á dùní-nà hó hànnà wá
 PRED-IN life-GEN world-DEM PRES DEF COM
bákà á-r g fà-rvóhè
 NEG.EX PRED-ON TO put-heart
 ‘In this life here, there is nothing that surpasses patience.’

2.7 Comment clause after volitional verbs

A comment clause can follow a volitional verb. The role of the marker *wá* is merely to mark the comment clause rather than deontic modality. The deontic modality is coded by the preposition *gè* before the verb of the complement clause:

- (44) *yò cáamànkínì názù àkàtànórwá*
yò cáamàn kínì názù à kàtá-nà ùr
 well first of all C.FOC what 3SG want-3SG person
wá bà gè njà-rí-njà án
 COM FOC TO stay-3PL-stay ASSC
hèer-àn-klàpì-rè
 peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘First of all, what one wants is for them to live in peace and good health.’

2.8 Temporal and conditional apodosis clauses

The marker *wá* occurs in both temporal and conditional sentences, but it marks only apodosis clauses:

- (45) *ámhàrdè hànnà ógdzrè bà máðàðàlálà dám fátàrwá*
á-m hàrdè hànnà ógdzrè bà má
 PRED-IN farm DEF child FOC HYP

ʒà-ʒálà d-ám f-á-tàr wá
 go-go go-IN field-GEN-3PL COM
 ‘While farming, when the child goes to their field,’

áblà làhàrà
á blà làh-á-rà
 3SG send song-GEN-3SG
 ‘he sings his song.’

- (46) *mádá dùmá máʒárwà*
má dá-d má máʒár wá
 HYP go-go HYP now COM
 ‘And when he [the groom] goes,’

álvá tàr ɲán nbàd' d' zè dàdàw
álv-á tàr ɲánnà bàd'èmmè á d' zè dàdà
 speech-GEN 3PL DEF all PRED go HL father
 ‘everything that they have to say is to the father.’

- (47) *dàd'ènkìni ɲàp'ɲè dàd'ámbarwá*
dàd'è nè kìnì ɲà-v-ɲè dàd' á-m
 father DEM C.FOC be able-APPL-be able father PRED-IN
mb-á-rà wá
 house-GEN-3SG COM
 ‘As for the father, once he is a father at his home,’

mándà súwèe kìnì àgdzárwá áʒìp'ɲèk'áʒàbè
má á ndà-sú wèe kìnì àgdz-á-r wá
 HYP 3SG say-S what C.FOC child-GEN-3SG COM
á ʒì-p-ɲè k'á ʒàbè
 3SG accept-APPL-accept NEG again
 ‘whatever he says, his child should accept, shouldn’t she?’

The marker *wá* often follows the demonstrative *ná* in all types of clauses:

- (48) *méyáblà lághnàwá*
mé yá blà làh ná wá
 HYP 1SG send song DEM COM
 ‘“When I sing the song,”’

àṅkórán dǎlvàmúvgàbìná
àṅk ùrà á ndá lv ám vg
 exist person 3SG speak word in grave
à b-ìná
 3SG say-3SG
 ‘‘there is somebody talking in the grave,’’ he said.’

- (49) *žílè mávácàtènáá dǎtǎttàyà mùksè náwá*
žílè má-vácà á-tè-nà á dǎ tǎttàyà mùksè
 man HYP-time PRED-T-3SG 3SG go search woman
 ‘The man, at the time when he will go to look for a woman,’

átséáḡàlà máṅùràrà
ná wá á tsé á ḡàlà
 DEM COM 3SG get up 3SG go
m-áṅ ùr-á-rà
 HYP-ASSC man-GEN-3SG
 ‘he gets up, he goes either with his man’

málà kàtèṅàrómlè
má ḡàkàtè ṅàrà úmlè
 HYP fellow 3SG another
 ‘or with another fellow.’

The comment clause can function as a conditional apodosis:

- (50) *àbìná màḡyávyèṅ màḡàyáṅrùwà*
à b-ìná má ḡyá-v-gyè-n
 3SG say-3SG HYP cook-APPL-cook-pause
màḡày-á-ṅrè wá
 hungry rice-GEN-1EXCL COM
 ‘He says, ‘‘If our hungry rice is cooked . . .’’

ṅàzàná bàṅrè ántàrà mùrwá tǎné
ṅá zà-ná bà ṅrè ántàrà
 1EXCL eat-3SG FOC 1EXCL ASSC:PL
mù-rwá tǎné
 mother-1SG only (F)
 ‘we will eat it, only me and my mother.’’’

- (51) *à bàpállánè kìnì wá mábà ní bà jìr bǝyàsábbǝyè*
à bà pállè nà kìnì wá má-bà ní
 3SG say one DEM C.FOC COM HYP-FOC INTNS
bà jìr bǝyà-sá-bǝyè
 FOC true fall-S-fall
dám hùdǎ hàyi wá
dá-m hùd-á hàye wá
 go-IN belly-GEN river COM
 ‘One among them said, “If really [a grain] has fallen into the river,”’

sèyédátàttàyé sàns sábiná
sèi yá dǎ tàttàyà yé s-á-n-sè
 then 1SG FUT search 1SG come-GO-3SG-come
á b-inà
 3SG say-3SG
 ‘“I will search, I will bring it back,” he said.’

- (52) *ǝàmá má cìnà-kùr-áncìn jùbóonànáwá*
ǝàmá má cìnà-kùr-n-cìn jùbà únà ná-wá
 assembly HYP hear-2PL-3SG-hear matter DEF DEM-COM
 ‘Listeners, if you understand this matter,’

bákà-r giná
bákà ár gí ná
 NEG.EX over TO DEM
 ‘there is no greater [truth/goodness] than that.’

2.9 Comment clause in counter-expectation predication

The comment clause can clarify the reason for a counter-expectation:

- (53) *yò àyá fágrà*
 well EXCL good
 ‘Well, it is good.’

ámá wá yàcìnàncìnálvè òánnà
ámá wá yà cìn-àn-cìná lvè òánnà
 however COM 1SG hear-3SG-hear matter DEF
 ‘However, it seems I [the father] have already heard about this thing.’

- (54) *àmáwá gdzárùǵàbé cíkwá ándá lè yà*
àmá wá gdzá-rù ǵàbé cíkwá á ndáhà lèyà
 but COM child-1SG still small 3 read lecture
 ‘But my child is still small, she is still in school.’ [*lèyà* ‘reading’ in a
 Koranic school]

3. Conclusions

The syntactic environments listed above do not have much in common in terms of the categories that precede the form *wá*. This indicates that the presence of the marker *wá* is not triggered by the properties of the phrases or clauses that precede it. In all cases the marker *wá* is followed by a clause, hence the evidence that it is some type of clause marker. But not all non-initial clauses, even those in complex sentences, are preceded by the marker *wá*. The fact that the presence of the marker *wá* cannot be predicted from the material that precedes it or that follows it is the evidence that it is an independent coding means, a property shared by complementizers in other languages (Frajzyngier 1996).

The form *wá* marks the following clause as being a comment on what precedes it. It is also a part of the preceding clause or phrase, as evidenced by the root form of morphemes that precede it. The marker *wá* indicates to the listener that something else follows in the utterance and that this something else is a comment on the immediately preceding material.

lànhánnà mústàrà
lành ***hán*** *mú* *stà-rà*
 song DEF FOC DEM-Q
 ‘How is this song?’

A typical pattern of sentential topicalization is that a noun is mentioned first, as either the subject or the object, and then it is topicalized in the subsequent clause:

(2a) *yò tàsálvàmdà kífyé*
yò tà s-á lv-á mdà kífyé
 well 3PL come-GO story-GEN people three
 ‘They brought a story of three people.’

(2b) *mdà kífyé hánna mdàrà*
mdà kífyé hánna md-á-rà
 people three DEF people-GEN-Q
 ‘Those three people, who are they?’

The following example of topicalization of the subject of an equational interrogative clause is preceded in the narrative by a sentence containing the first mention of the noun. The lexical item preceding the demonstrative complex may end in the vowel *e*, which indicates a phrasal boundary between the topicalized noun phrase and the topicalization marker *hánna*:

(3a) *yó élv wándàl hánna à fyàrà málrùwà* [error]
yó élv wándàl hánna à f-y-àr-à
 well speech Wandala DEF 3SG put-1SG-ON-PB
mál-rùwà
 older brother-1SG
 ‘This Wandala speech is requested from me by my older brother.’

(3b) *málarù hán nùmú wàré*
mál-á-rùwà hánn-mú wàré
 superior-GEN-1SG DEF-FOC who
 ‘This boss of mine is who?’ [‘Who is this boss of mine?’]

In the following fragment, the first clause provides the topic of the narrative, equivalent to the English ‘There was once . . .’. In the subsequent sentence the subject is topicalized by its placement in clause-initial position and by the marker *hánna*:

- (4a) *làkàtá tákígyé*
lákàt-a tá kígyé
 fellow-PL 3PL three
 ‘There were three friends.’
- (4b) *lákàtá ñánnà tá kígyémá [pause] tà dè hàrdà*
lákàt-a ñánnà tá kígyé-má tà dè hàrdà
 fellow-PL DEF 3PL three-and 3PL go farm
 ‘And these three friends went to farm.’

The evidence that the nominal subject has been topicalized is provided by the fact that in subsequent clauses it is referred to by a pronoun:

- (4c) *tà hàrdà fátàrè*
tà hàrdà f-á-tàrè
 3PL farm field-GEN-3PL
 ‘And they finished farming.’

The topicalized phrase may also contain the first mention of the topicalized element. Its content, however, must be predictable for listeners. For members of the Wandala culture, arranging a marriage involves a conversation with the father of the bride. Hence, in the following example, the conversation with the father of the bride is topicalized, even though it is mentioned for the first time in the narrative. The evidence that the phrase *álvà tàr ñánnà bàdèmmé* ‘everything they have to say’ is topicalized is provided by the fact that the quantifier *bàdèmmé* ends in the vowel *e*, marking the phrasal boundary:

- (5) *má dá dùmá máǵárwà*
má dá-d má máǵár wá
 HYP go-go HYP now COM
 ‘And when he [the groom] goes,’
- álvà tàr ñán nbàd' d' zè dàdàw*
álv-á tàr ñánnà bàdèmmè á d' zè dàdà
 speech-GEN 3PL DEF all PRED go HL father
 ‘everything that they have to say is to the father.’

3. Topicalization through the determiner *w*

The remote deictic *w*, which is often the last component of the determiner complex, topicalizes the noun phrase that is not directly an argument of the comment:

- (6) *è dàdè kìnì mátsàtsá bàtrá*
è dàdè kìnì má tsà-tsè á bà-trá
 eh, father C.FOC HYP rise-rise 3SG say-3PL
 ‘Eh, the father, sometimes, tells them,’

áyáwálvá rùbákà
á yà-w álvà-á-rwà bákà
 well 1SG-DET word-GEN-1SG NEG.EX
 ‘‘Well, I have no words.’’

èkkà-w kà màg-à-n gwàkkónà
èkkà-w kà màg-à-n g-wè ká únà
 2SG-DET 2SG do-3SG TO-what 2SG DEF
 ‘you, why do you do that?’

ítàr-w tà màg-à-n g-wè ítàr-ónà
 3PL-DET 3PL do-3SG TO-what 3PL-DEF
 ‘they, why do they do that?’

4. Topicalization of the subject

The default position of the subject in pragmatically neutral clauses is post-verbal, hence fronting is available as a potential means for topicalization. The subject can be topicalized through:

- Placing it in the position preceding the verb and inserting a pause between the subject noun phrase and the rest of the sentence;
- The use of the demonstrative *ńánnà* following the subject in clause-initial position;
- The use of the marker *kàyà* (only one example attested, which involves topicalization of the subject).

The evidence for the existence of the pause as a coding means is provided by phrase-final forms, i.e. those containing the vowel *e*, at the end of the topicalized phrase. Topicalization by means of the pause is used when the noun has not been mentioned in the preceding discourse. In the following fragment,

several participants are introduced in the first clause. In the subsequent clause, one of the participants, *žilé* ‘man’, is topicalized, as evidenced by the fact that in the subsequent clauses this participant is marked by pronouns only:

- (7) *yò cá mánkínì tàràžilé mùksè sé tágávà*
yò cá mán kìnì tàrà žilé mùksè sé
 well before C.FOC 3PL man woman then
tá gá-và
 3PL marry-APPL
 ‘Well, before a man and a woman get married,’

žilé mánvácátènáá dótàttàyà mùksè nává
žilé má-vàcà á-tè-nà á dótàttàyà mùksè
 man HYP-time PRED-T-3SG 3SG go search woman
 ‘The man, at the time when he will go to look for a woman,’

átsé ážàlà máñùràrà
ná wá á tsé á žàlà
 DEM COM 3SG get up 3SG go
m-áj ùr-á-rà
 HYP-ASSC man-GEN-3SG
 ‘he gets up and goes either with his man’

mála kàtèñàrómlè
má làkàtè ñàrà úmlè
 HYP fellow 3SG another
 ‘or with another fellow.’

Topicalization of the subject allows the clause to have both a nominal subject and a nominal object. The nominal object is coded by the root ending of the preceding morpheme. The subject role of the noun phrase in clause-initial position is extrapolated from the fact that the other noun phrase in the clause is marked as the object:

- (8a) *yà màgá nyà sàwmá*
yà màgá nyà sàw má
 1SG make preparation come:VENT HYP
ègdzárwà àptsàr žágžági ánvàdyá
ègdz-á-rwà à ptsà-rà žágžági án vādīyá
 child-GEN-1SG3SG return-ON fever ASSC night
 ‘When I was making my preparations to come, the fever returned to my child at night.’

The evidence that the noun *əgdz-á-rwà* ‘my child’ has been topicalized is provided by the fact that it is the recurrent topic of subsequent utterances, where it is represented by either subject or object pronouns.

The mere fronting of the subject without a pause and without a determiner does not code topicalization. This is the case with the noun *yàwè* ‘water’ in the following example:

- (8b) *gágágágágágá yàwá dəgzám hùdá hàyè*
gágágágágágá yàw á dəgzà á-m
 gul, gul, gul, water 3SG run PRED-IN
hùd-á hàyè
 belly-GEN river
 ‘Gul, gul, gul, the water runs within the river.’

It is not clear what is the function of this fronting, as this example follows another almost identical example in which the noun *yàwè* follows the verb.

In the recorded natural discourse data there is one instance of the use of the form *kàyà* as a topicalization marker. The evidence for its function is provided by the fact that it can be replaced by the marker *ɲánnà*:

- (9) *ɲárkàè ɲàjìbàrá*
wá ɲár kàyà ɲà jìbà rà
 COM 1EXCL TOP 1EXCL type Q
 ‘“What are we?”’

Topicalization of the subject may co-occur with focusing of the object. While topicalization of the subject is coded by fronting and the demonstrative that follows the fronted element, focus on the object is coded by the particle *bà* preceding the object noun phrase:

- (10) *gyál-àhà ɲánnà tà hàyá bà jìb á-m*
 child-PL DEF 3PL like FOC type PRED-IN
mdə ɲánnà
 people DEF
 ‘Those girls like this type of person.’

5. Topicalization of the object

Topicalization of the object is coded by placing the object noun phrase in clause-initial position and by the clause-final form of the last element of the topicalized phrase. The demonstrative *ɲánnà* frequently follows the topicalized object. The phonological coding of the end of the phrase indicates that

whatever follows is a new phrase. The object role of the topicalized noun phrase is computed from the way the subject is coded:

- (11) *zàrvà ñánnà ákyè tà dǎvvàlà ámtá tómlè*
zàrvà ñánnà á kiyè tà dǎ vǎlà á-m
 sesame DEF ‘one says’ 3PL FUT sell PRED-IN
tátà úmlè
 place other
 ‘That sesame, they say, they will sell at some other place.’ [i.e. a place other than the one where they harvested the sesame]

The presence of the object pronoun suffixed to the verb is an additional means to identify the object role of the topicalized noun phrase. The perfective aspect in the comment is marked by the simple form of the verb:

- (12) *tàbúkùrdá tǎrwá àpwàtr dǎzà ddánàrà gǎgyálè*
tà bú kùrd-á tǎr wá à pwà-trè
 3PL two all-GEN 3PL COM 3SG send:PL-3PL
dè zà ddá ñà-rà gǎ gyálè
 go HL father POSS-3SG TO girl
 ‘Both of them, he sent to the father of the girl.’

The object pronoun suffixed to the verb may be the only indicator of the grammatical role of the fronted noun phrase:

- (13a) *éemákínì dádà ákwàrná màrà*
é má kìnì dádà á kwàr-ná màrà
 well, HYP C.FOC father 3SG order-3SG mother
 ‘If it is like that, the father is ordered by the mother.’

A change in the order of nouns, with retention of the object pronoun after the verb, reverses the subject-object relationship:

- (13b) *màrà á kwàr-ná dádà*
 wife 3SG order-3SG father
 ‘the mother is ordered by the father’

The absence of the object marker on the verb, with the retention of the nouns before and after the verb, produces a different meaning, where the nominal that precedes the verb is the subject and the nominal that follows the verb is the object: [Elicited: no such clauses in the recorded natural discourse.]

- (14) *éé mà kìnì dādà á kwàrá màrà*
 well, HYP C.FOC father 3SG order wife
 ‘if it is like that, the husband orders his wife.’

Topicalization of the object can be coded simultaneously with focusing of the subject, as illustrated in the following example. The evidence that the object in the first clause is topicalized is provided by the fact that it is coded by the resumptive pronoun alone in the second clause of the example:

- (15) *àtligà gdzrè kàknidìgdiyà*
á-t-lìgà gdzrè kà kní dyì-g-diyà
 PRED-T-back child 2SG TOP know-2SG-know
 ‘After all, you yourself you know the child,’

àwàlá bàkàtàfkánà
à wàlà á bà kà tà fk-á-ḡà
 3SG grow up PRED FOC PREP T front-GEN-2SG
 ‘he grew up in front of you.’

The demonstrative *ḡánà* following the topicalized noun phrase indicates that this noun has been previously mentioned in the discourse:

- (16) *yó òlv wándàl ḡánà à fyàrà mál-rùwà*
yó òlv wándàl ḡánà à f-y-àr-à
 well speech Wandala DEF 3SG put-1SG-ON-PB
mál-rùwà
 older brother-1SG
 ‘This Wandala speech is requested from me by my older brother.’

Consider also the following fragment. The first clause is an answer to the question ‘What did they farm?’. The second sentence topicalizes the object *zàrvà* ‘sesame’. The evidence that fronting accompanied by the determiner *ḡánà* codes topicalization is provided by the fact that the noun so marked is the persistent topic in the subsequent discourse:

- (17a) *tà hàrdǎ zàrvà*
 3PL farm:PL sesame
 ‘They farmed sesame.’ [Corrected to: *tà hàrdà zàrvà*.]

- (17b) *zàrvà ñánnà ákyè tà dǎvvàlà ámtá tómlè*
zàrvà ñánnà á kíyè tà dǎ vǎlà á-m
 sesame DEF 'one says' 3PL FUT sell PRED-IN
tátà úmlè
 place other
 'That sesame, they say, they will sell at some other place.' [i.e. a place other than the one where they harvested the sesame]

- (17c) *tà dè hàltá zàrvá tàr ñánnà tà púmá dóm bùhá*
tà dè hàl-t-á zàrv-á-tàr ñánnà tà
 3PL SEQ gather-T-GO sesame-GEN-3PL DEF 3PL
pú-m á dǎ-m bùhá
 pour-IN PRED go-IN bag
 'And then they gathered their sesame in and poured it into a bag.'

When the object is topicalized through fronting, the distinction between the object and the subject is coded by the object pronoun on the verb. The object pronoun has the function of indicating the role of the fronted noun phrase rather than an anaphoric function. The evidence for this is provided by the fact that it is not preceded by the goal marker *a*:

6. Topicalization of the content of a verbs of saying

The content of a verbs of saying corresponds to the noun phrase marked by the preposition 'about' in 'tell about', 'think about', etc. The marker of the content of a verbs of saying remains in the position that the noun phrase occupies in the pragmatically neutral clause. Topicalization of the content of a verb of saying is marked by the complex *á-t* 'PRED-T', i.e. the predicator followed by the target preposition. This complex is stranded, in the sense that its complement precedes the verb:

- (18a) *àá wúnkáà ádàbà á gdzè ñánnà yècìnáncìnà*
àá wún-káà ádàbà á gdzè ñánnà yè
 no DEF-NEG because PRED child DEF 1SG
cìná-n-cìnà
 hear-3SG-hear
tàndálvà átkwà kyà
tà ndá lvà á-t kwàkyà
 3PL speak matter PRED-T too much
 'No, that's not it. Because that child there, I heard, they talked too much about him.'

7. Topicalization of the adjunct

Topicalized adjunct phrases differ from adverbs in that they must precede the verb. The evidence that they are topicalized is provided by the fact that the comment is related to the topicalized adjunct. The topicalized adjunct is marked by the preposition:

- (19) *ám hùdǎ hàyè*[pause]*diyàkùrdiyàṅkwà yàwè*
ám hùd-á hàyè diyà-kùr-diyà áṅkwà yàwè
 IN belly-GEN river know-2PL-know exist water
 ‘In the river, you know, there is water.’

- (20) *á nó vácístwà náwáyá gánìkà*
á nó vácí s-t-wà ná-wá
 eh PRES day DEM-DEM-DEM DEM-COM
yá gà níkà
 1SG contract marriage
 ‘‘On such and such day I am going to get married.’’

màlámìsé màláadè
má làmìsè má láadè
 HYP Thursday (K. *làmisù*, Ar. *alhamis*) HYP Sunday (Ar.)
 ‘possibly [on] Thursday, [on] Sunday’

8. Topicalization of a proposition

A proposition can be topicalized through placement in sentence-initial position. The determiner *na* may follow the proposition. In addition, topicalization is marked by comment marker *wá*, which precedes the comment:

- (21) *эгдзàрámì tápúnáwá mánà nàzùní ámmàgnáwá*
эгдзàр-á-mì tú pú ná wá
 child:PL-GEN-1INCL 3PL pour DEM COM
má nà nàzù ní á mmàg ná wá
 HYP DEM what INTNS 3SG do DEM COM
únèní táwáynetèrnà táfàtrà rùksònwirè
únè ní tá wáy-ná itèr nà tá
 DEM INTNS 3PL want-3SG 3PL DEM 3PL
fà-trà-r úksòṅw irè
 put-3PL-ON idiot head
 ‘The thing that makes our girls loaf around is that the men that the girls like cheat on them.’

A proposition may be topicalized through the use of an equational clause with the noun ‘thing’ as the subject and the topicalized clause as the predicate:

- (22) *dùksá dək zàyàwè*
dùksá dəgzà yàwè
 thing run:PB water
 ‘The thing is that the water runs.’

9. Conclusions

The main means of coding topicalization is the fronting of the topicalized element with subsequent separation of the topicalized noun phrase from the comment. This separation may be in the form of a pause or of a determiner that follows the topicalized element. The determiner indicates that the listener should identify the topicalized element as being previously mentioned in discourse.

The grammatical relations of the topicalized noun phrase are coded through subject and object pronouns. The grammatical relation ‘object’ is coded through the third-person object pronoun *n* suffixed to the verb. Topicalized adjuncts are marked for their role in the clause through the markers of adjuncts preceding the noun phrase. The role of the topicalized noun phrase as a content of a verbs of saying is coded through the presence of the marker *in situ*.

The absence of the object pronoun on the verb, and the absence of any adjunct marker, indicates that the topicalized noun phrase is the subject.

Chapter 20

Focus

1. Introduction

Wandala has grammaticalized two types of foci. The first indicates that the entity is not an expected element of the utterance or an expected outcome of the preceding event, or that the speaker wants to indicate the specific importance of the given element. This type is referred to as ‘focus’. In the second type, the speaker contrasts one element with other potential elements. This type is referred to as ‘contrastive focus’. The two types are coded by distinct formal means.

The particle *bà*, glossed as FOC, codes the following element as being in focus. The focus phrase so coded can occur in any position in the clause. The marker *bà* can precede lexical items belonging to different categories and having different functions within the utterance. The marker *bà* is identical with the verb *bà* ‘say’. This similarity may be fortuitous.

Every constituent of the clause, e.g. an argument, a predicate, an adjunct, a part of an adjunct, or an argument phrase, can be focused, including constituents that are topicalized. Even the modality of truth can be focused, albeit only in equational clauses. The focused element can occur in any position in the sentence, as required by the coding of the given relationship with the predicate or with the head of the noun phrase. The focus marker *bà* occurs at the end of the phrase, as it is never reduced to the form *b*.

The second type of focus is marked by the particle *kinì*, glossed as C.FOC, which marks the preceding element as being in contrastive focus. As is the case with focus constructions, any element of the clause can be in the scope of the contrastive focus.

2. Focus on truth in equational clauses

For equational clauses, the focus marker *bà* precedes the predicate and has the function of insistence on the truth of the proposition:

- (1) *á* *bà* *húnà* [á bóxnà]
 3SG FOC here
 ‘he is here indeed’

Compare the form without the focus marker:

- (2) *á húnà*
‘he is here’

The evidence that the form *bà* codes insistence on the truth is provided by the fact that it cannot be negated:

- (3) **bákà bà húnà*
NEG FOC here
‘he is not here’

The form without *bà* can be negated:

- (4) *bákà húnà*
NEG here
‘he is not here’

Recall from chapter 16, ‘Negation’, that negation can be intensified through the use of the particle *tà* preceding the verb.

The form *bà* can code focus on an equational predication:

- (5) *bá gdz-à mí-rwà*
FOC child-GEN mother-1SG
‘it is indeed my brother’

bà ònè
FOC 3SG
‘it is him indeed’

3. Focus on the subject

There are several means to code focus on the subject. One means involves the particle *bà* preceding the subject noun phrase. This coding involves selecting one referent out of a set of all possible referents:

- (6) *òánwá dùksèòánnèwá séí mábàni áktyànàbàddámýà*
òán wá dùksè òánnè wá séí má bà
DEF COM thing DEF COM only HYP FOC
nì á ktyà-nà bà ddá-myà
INTNS 3SG cool-3SG FOC father-1INCL
‘That, that thing, only God knows how to cool it.’ [‘Only God knows how to repair the bad things that parents do.’]

Focus on a pronominal subject may be coded through the particle *bà* preceding the pronoun:

- (7a) *mágyávgyé mágàyáŋrè*
má gyá-v-gyé mágày-á-ŋrè
 HYP cook-APPL-cook hungry rice-GEN-1EXCL
 ‘When our hungry rice is cooked,’
ŋázàn bàŋrántàrmrùwà
ŋà zà-n bà ŋr àntàr
 1EXCL eat-3SG FOC 1EXCL ASSC:PL
mù-rwà
 mother-1SG
 ‘we will eat it, me and my mother.’

- (7b) *sébà kásókáséccínkákini*
sé bà ká sá-w ká sá
 then FOC 2SG come-VENT 2SG come
ccín ká kìnì
 listen:IMP 2SG C.FOC
 ‘You should come and listen as well.’

More on the coding of focus on the subject can be found in the section on contrastive focus below.

4. Focus on the object

Focus on the object can be coded through the focus marker *bà* preceding the object noun or pronoun in situ or by fronting of the noun phrase. The verb in the comment on the focus clause has the simple rather than the reduplicated form. Here is an example of focusing of the object in situ:

- (8a) *è màmá séy á hàyà bóonà*
è màmá séy á hàyá bà-únà à
 eh mother then 3SG love FOC-DEM 3SG
wwàyná rvòndárnà
wwày-nà rvònd-á-r-nà
 love-3SG heart-GEN-3SG-DEM
 ‘and the mother wants what her [the girl’s] heart wants’

And here is an example of the coding of focus through fronting, without the particle *bà*. The object role of the fronted noun phrase is marked by the

third-person singular object pronoun suffixed to the verb. The object pronoun is singular even if the topicalized noun is plural:

- (8b) *səláwùràhàná tskwànáǰánnà*
səláwùr-áhà ná tskwà-ná ǰánnà
 pants-PL DEM wear-3SG DEF
 ‘They [girls] wear the pants!’ (lit. ‘pants they wear!’)

A clause may have more than one focus marked by the same marker, *bà*. In the following example, focus on the predicate (to be described below) co-occurs with focus on the subject in the same clause:

- (9) *yòò, kíńǰánà ám jíńà kwàì kyábbà*
yòò, kíń ǰánà á-m níjì ná kwàìkyá
 well now DEF PRED-IN sitting DEM many
bbà
 FOC
gdzàrámyà tábà pwámbà
gdzàrà-á-myà tá b̀à pwà ám mbá
 child- GEN-1INCL 3PL FOC pour PRED-IN home
 ‘Now, while we are sitting here, many of our children loaf around the house.’

Focus on the content of the verb of saying is coded by the particle *bà*. In the following example, the subject pronoun is repeated after the verb, because the focused object is also the head of the relative clause. The resumptive pronoun is followed by the vowel *a*:

- (10) *b̀ájìbá zálá hàǰánnà yàndàńáy nàbí*
b̀à jìb-á zálá-áhà ǰánnà yà
 FOC type-GEN male-PL DEF 1SG
ńdà-n-á-y ná bí
 speak-3SG-GO-1SG DEM INTNS
 ‘Those are the men that I was talking about.’

There are no natural discourse examples of focus on a pronominal object. Elicited data yielded forms with independent pronouns as objects:

- (11) *yè díyé tàrè (yè díyà ítàrè)*
 1SG know 3PL
 ‘I knew them’

yè díyà ñàné
 1SG know 3SG
 ‘I knew him’

The focus on a nominal object indicates that it is an unexpected outcome of the event. Consider the following sentence from a narrative about fishing, when the narrator caught a snake instead of the expected fish. The noun *zàhé* ‘snake’ is preceded by the focus marker *bà*:

- (12) *bàstwá* *à* *dà* *sá-n-sà-sé*
bà *st-wá* *à* *dà* *sá-n-sà-sé*
 FOC DEF-COM 3SG SEQ come-3SG-S-come
à *ksá-và* ***bà*** *zàhé*
 3SG take-APPL FOC snake
 ‘Like that, when he was pulling [the fishing line] out, instead he caught a snake.’

The following sentence is infelicitous because the focus marker precedes the expected product of fishing, the fish:

- (13) *dacii* *yà* *dà* *tàdsé* *yà* *tàdsé* (?*bà*) *kàlfé*
 then 1SG SEQ pull 1SG pull FOC fish
 ‘Then when I pulled it out, I pulled instead only fish’ (elicited)

Although speech is the expected product of a verb of saying, a sound coming from the grave is not expected, and consequently the predicate describing a voice coming from the grave is marked by the focus marker:

- (14) *ámúvǵè* *ǵàbádàlyè* *ándábàlvà*
á-m *vǵè* *ǵàb* *á* *dàlyè* *á* *ndá* ***bà***
 PRED-IN hole again PRED again 3SG say FOC
lvà
 speech
 ‘In the grave again, he keeps on talking.’

5. Focus on adjuncts

Adverbial expressions of time and manner can be put into focus with the focus marker *bà*.

- (15) *ánjàrónjà* *bàtúnǵánnà*
á *njà-rá-njà* *bà* *t-ún* *ǵánnà*

PRED stay-3PL-stay FOC T-DEF DEF
 ‘They should remain on that very thing.’

Here is an example of focus on the adverb of time:

- (16) *à hárábàdzàr vòndē bàkin kini*
à háré á bàdzà rvòndē bà
 3SG spend the night PRED spoil heart FOC
kínkínì
 now
 ‘He spent all night vomiting, even now [he is vomiting].’

If an adjunct has been mentioned in previous discourse with its proper marking, its subsequent mention does not have to have the preposition marking its role:

- (17) *séy bàáǵàlá á dómháǵílǵánnán ndzédà*
séy bà á ǵàlá á dóm mbá žil
 then FOC 3SG go PRED go:IN home husband
ǵánn án ndzédà
 DEF ASSC force
 ‘She has to enter the marriage under duress.’

séy bà ndzènnǵánnà
séy bà ndzènn ǵánnà
 then FOC force DEF
 ‘Only by force ...’

6. Focus within the topic

A topicalized noun phrase can also be in the scope of focus. The focus on such a phrase is coded by the particle *bà*. The noun phrase itself is fronted for the topicalization function. Like other topics, such a phrase does not have to be part of the comment. The comment is marked by the particle *wá*:

- (18) *mábà kàǵà kùlà wá ájìyù kàǵiyà*
má bà kàǵà kùlà wá
 HYP FOC count calculus COM
à jì-y-ú kà gè iyà
 3SG surpass-1SG-VENT NEG TO 1SG
 ‘If it concerns counting, nobody surpasses me.’

7. Focus on the predicate

The focus marker *bà* occurring after the subject pronoun and before the predicate codes focus on the predicate alone. The verb may be in the simple or in the reduplicated form.

Focus on the predicate codes the predicate as unusual, unexpected, or in some way contrasting with the predicates of the following discourse:

- (19) *tàbànjátàrè ànhéerànklàpirè*
*tà **bà** nj-á-tàrè án*
 3PL FOC stay-GEN-3PL ASSC
héer-àn-klàpí-rè
 peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘They lived together in peace and good health.’

Here is an example of the focus marker preceding the predicate of a verbless clause. The focus marker indicates that the predicate, a statement by the participants, was an unexpected conclusion that was contrary to the previous assumptions:

- (20) *èe, àbùmdànàwá àmbàtè bàjírè*
èe, à b mdè nà wá áa mbàtè bà jírè
 eh 3SG say people DEM COM ah hence FOC true
 ‘Eh, the people there said, “Hence it is true!”’

A given sentence can have one predicate in contrastive focus and another predicate marked by the focus particle *bà*:

- (22) *ám-tátómlè bàbákìrà žìl-ǵánnà kìnì*
á-m tàtá úmlè bà bák ìr-á žíl
 PRED-IN place other FOC NEG.EX head-GEN man
ǵánnà kìnì
 DEF C.FOC
ágdzàràtábà pwómbà
ágdzàr-à tá bà pwà á-m mbà
 child-PL 3PL FOC pour PRED-IN home
 ‘Where there are no men, girls just loaf around the house.’

The focus particle may also precede the predicate in the obligative mood:

- (23) *sèi bà méycícùkùmùm mgànásàrà*
sèi bà má yìc-lic kùmù má màgà-n ástà-rà
 then, FOC 1INCL cut-cut if not 1INCL do-3SG how-Q
 ‘‘We have to cross [the river], otherwise, what will we do?’’ [*stà* reduced to *sà*]

8. Focus on the proposition

Focus on the proposition is coded by the marker *bà* preceding the subject pronoun. This differs from focus on the predication, where the focus marker follows the subject pronoun. If the verb has an object pronoun, it must be reduplicated:

- (24) *má kyórà dùksà nánà sèi bà yá nánà*
má á kyáw rà dùksà nánà sèi bà
 HYP PRED place any thing DEF then FOC
yá ná-n-nà
 1SG see-3SG-see
 ‘No matter where the object is, I will see it.’

- (25) *mám tàpdàm mirkìni sèi bà yá nánà*
má á-m tàpdämmè-rè kìnì sèi
 HYP PRED-IN dark-NOM C.FOC then
bà yá ná-n-nà
 FOC 1SG see-3SG-see
 ‘Even in the darkness, I can see it.’

- (26) *tákàtà bà ngùdí rkwá tákàtà bátá bà dzá gdzàràhàbí*
tá kàtà bà ngùdí kwá tá kàtà
 3PL want FOC promiscuity CONJ 3PL want
bà tá bàdzà ágdzàrà-hà bí
 FOC 3PL spoil child-PL completely
 ‘They want promiscuity and spoil the girls completely.’

9. Focus within a noun phrase

Every component of a noun phrase may receive a separate focus, but no two components of a noun phrase may be in focus at the same time.

9.1 Focus on the head of a noun phrase

The head of a noun phrase is coded by the particle *bà* preceding the head. If the noun phrase has a quantifier, the focus particle occurs after the quantifier, as illustrated in example (21) (repeated here for convenience):

- (27) *yòò, kínjànà ám jínà kwàì kyábbà (S. talks)*
yòò, kín jànà á-m ní nà kwàìkyá
 well now DEF PRED-IN sitting DEM many
bbà
 FOC
gdzàrámyà tábà pwámbà
gdzàrà-á-myà tá bà pwà ám mbá
 child- GEN-1INCL 3PL FOC pour PRED-IN home
 ‘Now, while we are sitting here, many of our children loaf around the house.’

9.2 Focus on a nominal modifier

A nominal modifier can also be focused through the particle *bà*. The particle precedes the modifier, i.e. occurs after the genitive marker. The implication of this fact is that the focus particle is transparent with respect to the function of the following noun, i.e., it is not a barrier to the connection between the two nouns coded by the genitive marker:

- (28) *yòò, àlvá jìbàrà àǵvá bà làrusà*
yòò, àlv-á jìbà rà àlv-á bà làrusà
 well, chat-GEN kind Q chat-GEN FOC marriage
 ‘Conversation about what? Conversation about marriage.’

10. Contrastive focus

The contrastive focus marker *kínì* can be reduced to [kín] or [kní] in phrase-internal position. The same marker functions as the adverb ‘also’. This marker follows the element in contrastive focus. The marker denies the hearer’s presuppositions, or selects the element from all possible elements in a given situation.

10.1 Contrastive focus on the subject

Contrastive focus on the subject is coded by the particle *kní/kínì*, which follows the nominal or pronominal subject. Many nominal subjects in contras-

tive focus occur in clause-initial position. Recall that the pragmatically neutral position for the nominal subject is after the verb:

- (29a) *yó gdzàr kìnì à hàyá bà m dàfáywá*
yó gdzàr kìnì à hàyá bà mdè fá
 well child C.FOC 3SG want FOC people drink
ywá
 water
 ‘Well, the girl likes only drunks.’

- (29b) *yò d-á-r gdzàr kìnì*
yò d-á-r gè gdzà-r kìnì
 well father-GEN-3SG TO young-NOM C.FOC
 ‘Well, the father of the child [the bride]’
ábaláná lálá-rà
á bálá-n á lál-á-rà
 3SG announce-3SG PRED borough-GEN-3SG
 ‘is announcing it in his neighborhood.’

In the following example, the noun phrase in contrastive focus, *dàdà nè* ‘the father’, is different from the subject of the preceding clause in the conversation:

- (30) *dàdànèkìnì lyàp̄lyè dàdámbarwá*
dàdà nè kìnì lyà-v-lyè dàd á-m
 father DEM C.FOC be able-APPL-be able father PRED-IN
mb-á-rà wá
 house-GEN-3SG COM
 ‘As for the father, once he is a father at his home,’
mándà súwèe kìnì àgdzárwá ázìp̄lyèkàzàbè
má á ndà-sú wèe kìnì àgdz-á-r wá
 HYP 3SG say-S what C.FOC child-GEN-3SG COM
á zì-p-lyè ká zàbè
 3SG accept-APPL-accept NEG again
 ‘whatever he says, his child should accept, shouldn’t she?’

The coding of pronominal subjects involves the use of independent pronouns preceded by the particle *bà*. The verb has its own pronominal subject, which can be suffixed to the verb or precede the verb:

- (31a) *àtìgà gdzrè kàknidìgdiyá*
á-t-ìgà gdzrè kà kní dyì-g-diyá
 PRED-T-back child 2SG C.FOC know-2SG-know
 ‘After all, you yourself you know the child,’

- (31b) *má fágrà hálàrà má fágrè kà hálàrà*
má fágrà hál-á-rà má fágrè kà
 HYP good character-GEN-3SG HYP good NEG
hál-á-rà
 character-GEN-3SG
kàkní dikdiyà
kà kní di-k-diyà
 2SG TOP know-2SG-know
 ‘Whether he has a good character or a bad character, you know yourself.’
- (32) *álvèhánà nóyéfiná wá*
álvè hánà nó yé fí ná wá
 matter DEF PRES 1SG tell DEM COM
ádàbà yiyékní yètápántàp káràrà cìkwàngùdì
ádàbà iyá kní yè tàpá-n-tàp
 because 1SG C.FOC 1SG taste-3SG-taste
kár-á-rà cìkwàngùdì
 fire-GEN-3SG a little bit
 ‘What I am telling you is because I myself tasted its fire a little bit.’
- (33) *átàlá tàrhánà itárkínì*
á tàl-á-tàrhánà itàrhánà itàrhánà kínì
 PRED borough-GEN-3PL DEF 3PL C.FOC
 ‘In their neighborhood, they [people of the neighborhood]’
mácinà ráncinà itárkínì vácí kwàskwè stúnáwá
má cinà-r-á-n-cinà itàrhánà kínì vácí
 HYP hear-3PL-GO-3SG-hear 3PL C.FOC day
kwàskwè s-t-únà wá
 market DEF-DEF-DEF COM
 ‘they understand, on such and such day,’
hágánikà ámbáhrè
hágánikà gá níkà á-m
 1EXCL acquire marriage PRED-IN
mb-á-hrè
 home-GEN-1EXCL
 ‘We are acquiring marriage at our place.’

The evidence that form *kínì* codes contrastive focus is provided by utterances where the speaker corrects himself, and instead of the noun used by mistake substitutes the correct noun. In the following example, the speaker first said *md-á zílè* ‘people of the groom’. The correction to *md-á mùksè* ‘people of the bride’ is accompanied by the marker *kínì*:

- (34) *átútàdó sálàrúsà sàmbá žilé mdá žilé [corr.] mdámùksè kìnì*
á tù tá dǎ s-á lárúsà
 PRED before 3PL FUT come-GO bride
sà-m mb-á žilé
 come-IN home-GEN man
md-á žilé md-á mùksè kìnì
 people-GEN man people-GEN woman C.FOC
tá sá-w án kàžàná tà d-ám
 3PL come-VENT ASSC goods 3PL go-IN
mb-á žilé
 house-GEN man
 ‘Before the people of the bride take her to the husband, they will first take the goods to the husband.’

The contrastive focus marker is used when a subject that is different from the previous subject is introduced:

- (35) *ábà ddá kàžà kùlákìnì*
á bà àddá kàžà kùlà kìnì
 3SG say one of counting C.FOC
 ‘The one of counting says:’ [what follows is a citation]
- (36) *ábà pàl kìnì wá*
á bà pàllè kìnì wá
 3SG say one C.FOC COM
 ‘Another one says:’
- (37) *ée, bàddàtàrhánnà kìn tàxǎm*
ée, á bá ddà tàr hánná kìn tà hǎá
 eh 3SG say father 3PL DEF now 3PL bury
fátàrhánnà kìnì wá
á-m f-á-tàr hánná kìnì wá
 PRED-IN field-GEN-3PL DEF C.FOC COM
 ‘And now, their father, who was buried in their field, . . .’

The subject marked for contrastive focus does not have to agree in number with the subject pronouns preceding the verb. In the following fragment, the focused noun phrase is in the singular and the subject pronoun in the comment is the third-person plural *ta*:

- (37) *yò ágdzà kinnini zùjwé bàtánmàlà tàràámàmà árg dàdà*
yò ágdzà kinnì-ní zùjwé bà t-án
 hence child C.FOC-INTNS first of all FOC 3PL-ASSC
màlà tàr á màrà á r g dàdà
 attach 3PL PRED mother PRED ON TO father
 ‘And therefore, as for the daughter, she is more attached to her mother
 than to her father.’

A constituent marked by the contrastive focus marker *kini* may co-occur in the same clause with a constituent marked by the focus marker *bà*. In the following example, the subject is coded for contrastive focus by the particle *kini* and the object is coded for focus by the particle *bà*:

- (38) *ñánkini sé àhàya bà dónà ñánnà*
ñán kinni sé à hàya bà dó nà
 3SG C.FOC only 3SG like FOC man DEM
ñánnà
 DEF
 ‘She, she likes only the man that’
bákà pédàrnàkà
bákà pédà-á-r nà kà
 NEG.EX means,use-GEN-3SG DEM NEG
 ‘does not have any means.’ [or ‘only useless men’]

- (39) *é ddà ñàrà múvgèkini àbàbà*
é ddà ñàr á-mú vgè kinni à bà bà
 eh father 3SG PRED-IN grave C.FOC 3SG say FOC
kái màkífyískè gdzàrwà
kái mà kífyí skè gdz-á-rwà
 no, 1INCL three POL child-GEN-1SG
 ‘And his father in the grave says, “No, we are nevertheless three, my son.”’

The noun phrase can be preceded by the marker *bà* and followed by the marker *kini*. The function of this marking remains to be explored:

- (40) *bóonà ñánnà kinni kándàhà á kàtáksàksà*
bà ún ñánnà kinni ká ndàhà á kàtà
 FOC DEM DEF C.FOC 2SG say 3SG want
á ksà-ksà
 3SG take-take
 ‘That is the thing that you should say, so that he may record it.’

10.2 Contrastive focus on an adjunct

The contrastive focus marker is used when a new environment of speech is introduced. The speaker, who at the time of the recording was co-host of a Wandala radio program, talks as if he were speaking into a microphone at the radio station and addressing the radio audience, even though he is in fact speaking into a computer:

- (41) *nóovà tǎn kǐnì njànjǎ ǰàbè ákátáfká ordinator*
nóo vǎ t-ǎn kǐnì njà-ní-nǎ ǰàbè
 PRES time T-DEM.C.FOC sit-1SG-sit again
á kǎ tá fk-á ordinator
 PRED front T face-GEN computer
 ‘Today, I am sitting again in front of a computer.’

- (42) *nóovà tǎnkǐnì yèságdzànrwǎndzà ánwá wǎndàlà*
nóo vǎ tǎn kǐnì yè s-á gdzà
 PRES day DEF C.FOC 1SG come-GO small
nǎrwǎndzà án w-á wǎndàlà
 story ASSC mouth-GEN Wandala
 ‘Here today, I brought a small story in Wandala.’

Contrastive focus on the adjunct can co-occur with focus on the proposition, marked by the particle *bà*:

- (43) *mám tàpǎm mǐrkǐnì séi bà yá nánnà*
má á-m tàp ðámmè-rè kǐnì séi
 HYP PRED-IN dark-NOM C.FOC then
bà yá ná-n-nà
 FOC 1SG see-3SG-see
 ‘Even in the darkness, I can see it.’

- (44) *májùbàrkǐnì séi bà yá ǰǰàrà*
má jùbà rà kǐnì séi bà yá ǰǰàrà
 HYP entity Q C.FOC then FOC 1SG look
 ‘No matter what it is, I can/will see it.’

The clause containing the contrastive focus on the adjunct may be the last clause in the sentence. The contrastive focus marker may be the final element of the sentence:

- (45) *àbàǰón kàyà sèyàdà sánsà sábinà*
à bà ǰán kàyà sèi yá dè

3SG say 3SG nevertheless then 1SG SEQ
sá-n-sà-sè á b-inà
 come-3SG-S-come 3SG say-3SG
 ‘He says, “Nevertheless, I will get it out.”’
mábám hùdáyèw ñánnà kìnì
má bà á-m hùd-á yàw ñánnà kìnì
 HYP FOC PRED-IN belly-GEN water DEF C.FOC
 ““Even if it is in this water!””

- (46) *àbà pàllè kìnùwá tàlánàskè fì dáɣnà*
à bà pàllè kìnì wá tàlánà skè
 3SG say one C.FOC COM sorry POL
fìd-á-ɣ nà
 lie-GEN-2SG DEM
 ‘The other said, “Sorry, this is your lie [you are lying].”’

10.3 Contrastive focus on the proposition

The contrastive focus may have the whole proposition in its scope:

- (47) *yò dikdì zàrvàñánnà kìnì*
yò dyì-k-dyì zàrvà ñánnà kìnì
 well know-2SG-know sesame DEF C.FOC
 ““You know sesame, don’t you?””

á-m hùd-á fìlì-n
 PRED-IN belly-GEN sand-DEM
 ‘Inside the sand . . .’

kàkà kàfànástàrà
kà kà kà fà-ɣá stà-rà
 2SG 2SG 2SG find-3SG DEF-Q
 ““How do you find it?””

10.4 Contrastive focus in the appositional construction

The marker *kìnì* can be deployed in an appositional construction that has the form X *kìnì* Y. In this construction, Y does not follow from X:

- (48) *mdènkìnì táyàtár gyálà kìnì táfàtràrúksòɣwirè*
mdè n kìnì tá yà-tár gyál-a kìnì
 people DEM C.FOC 3PL beget-3PL girl-PL C.FOC
tá fà-tr-àr úksòɣw irè

3PL put-3PL-ON idiot head
tábàdà-tár-bàdà á tàksà-ká
tá bàdà-tár-bàdà á tà ksà ká
 3PL flatter-3PL-flatter PRED T town NEG:TAG
 ‘People, one begets girls, they [boys] cheat them, flatter them, in the vil-
 lage, isn’t it so?’

- (49) *làrúsà hàṅánnà kinni*
làrúsà-hà ṅánnà kinni
 marriage-PL DEF C.FOC
 ‘These [contemporary] marriages,’
názù mà nà nàmìyà
názù mà nà-ná mìyà
 what 1INCL see-3SG 1INCL
 ‘that we have seen,’

11. Conclusions

There are two focus constructions in Wandala. One is marked by the particle *bà* preceding the element in focus. The focused element, which can be any component of the utterance, remains in situ. Any constituent of the clause can be in the scope of the focus so marked.

The other focus construction, contrastive focus, uses the form *kini*, which follows the element in focus. Contrastive focus on nominal subjects often involves placing the subject in clause-initial position. Such subjects are followed by the particle *kini*.

Chapter 21

Reference system

1. Introduction

This chapter describes how Wandala codes reference to entities in the speech environment (deixis) and entities in discourse (anaphora). Some means have already been described in the chapters dealing with the structure of the noun phrase (chapter 5) and the coding of grammatical relations (chapter 7). Some means are mentioned here for the first time. The chapter deals mainly with the functions and interactions of the individual coding means. The need for a separate discussion of the system of reference is justified by the fact that the presence of any coding means in the grammatical system, such as pronouns and determiners, does not tell us what their function is and how they interact with other coding means. Moreover, it turns out that not all determiners that modify a noun function in the domain of reference.

The formal means involved in the coding of reference in Wandala include:

- (1) Absence of a noun;
- (2) Bare noun, i.e. a noun without any modifiers;
- (3) Noun modified by a possessor, nominal or pronominal;
- (4) Noun phrase without determiners;
- (5) Independent pronouns; subject pronouns; object pronouns;
- (6) Independent demonstrative;
- (7) Determiners;
- (8) The verb of existence *ákwà*, which precedes the noun phrase and may even occur without a noun phrase.

Many of the formal means listed above are also used in other domains. Thus the marker *wá*, sometimes in the complex *ná wá*, is a comment clause marker, and forms related to *ástù-wà* are discourse markers, mainly serving to voice agreement with what the other speaker says, equivalents of 'so it is'. The contrastive focus marker *kinì* functions also in the domain of reference, since it often implies switch reference when it follows the subject.

I describe first deixis and reference to participants in the speech environment, and then proceed to describe anaphora.

2. No overt coding of the object

With inherently transitive verbs in the past tense and in the perfective aspect, the argument representing the object doesn't have to be overtly coded by either a noun or a pronoun. Here is an example. In the text from which the example was culled, the noun *zàrvà* 'sesame' is mentioned fairly frequently, and it does not have to be mentioned in the object function:

- (1) *tà nábàhàlsə á dóm hùdá bùhá ɲánn ʒàbádàlyè*
tà nábà hál-sə á də-m hùd-á bùhá ɲánn
 3PL then gather-S PRED go-IN belly-GEN sack DEF
ʒàbè á dályè
 yet PRED again
 'They gathered [the sesame] off [the mat] into the bag again.'

- (2) *tà fá tə zəɲwà*
tə f-á á tə zəɲwà
 3PL put-GO PRED T donkey
 'They put it on the donkey.'

3. Deixis

Deixis in Wandala consists of two subdomains: deixis to elements that have not been previously mentioned, and deixis to elements that have been previously mentioned.

Deixis is coded by independent deictic markers and by markers that can only determine another noun or pronoun. The independent demonstratives include *únà* (variant *ínà*) and *ástù-wà* (variants *áktù-wà*, *əttù-wà*).

All determiners follow the head noun, an independent pronoun, or even another determiner. They are listed here in their phrase-final forms. By far the most frequent is the determiner *nà*. Nouns preceding the marker *nà* end in a consonant. The tone on the determiner is low, regardless of the tone of the preceding noun. The tone on the syllable preceding the deictic marker is high, regardless of the tone of the noun in isolation:

kər *nà*
 dog DEM
 'the dog' *kré* 'dog'

ʒil *nà*
 man DEM
 'the man' *ʒilé* 'man'

The epenthetic vowel has high tone when it is in the syllable preceding the deictic:

mùksá *nà*
‘the woman’ *mùksè* ‘woman’

dádá *nà*
‘this father’

áddá *nà*
‘the father’

hál *nà*
‘the idol’ *hlè* [xlè] ‘idol’ (a term Wandala Moslems use with respect to non-Moslem deities)

náf *nà*
‘this tree here’ (can be touched)

hál *nà*
‘this character’ *hàlà* ‘character’

ágdzè *nà*
‘this child’ (The noun *ágdz-rè* ‘son, child’ drops the suffix *rè* before the demonstrative *nà*.)

Nouns that end in the vowel *i* in the citation form keep this vowel before the deictic *nà*. The reason for this retention may be that these nouns appear to be recent borrowings and their incorporation into the grammar of Wandala is not yet complete:

<i>tùlí</i>	‘mahogany tree’	<i>tùlí</i> <i>nà</i>
<i>nàrvànjí</i>	‘termites (edible variety)’	<i>nàrvànjí</i> <i>nà</i>
<i>dàrkídàrki</i>	‘mourning dove’	<i>dàrkídàrki</i> <i>nà</i>
<i>kùmbìdídí</i>	‘fine sand’	<i>kùmbìdídí</i> <i>nà</i>

Other determiners in Wandala include:

wà
r-wa
únà (variant *ínà*)
ḡán-nà
ḡán-wà

The set of deictics and anaphors is derived from the following forms: *ás-k/t-n/w*. Up to five determiners can be combined into more complex markers to modify a noun. Some determiners can occur both before and after a noun, thus creating even more complex coding means. There are constraints with respect to the order of those combinations. The marker *s* cannot be the only determiner in the phrase, and it always comes first if it comes at all. It may be followed by either the marker *k* or the marker *t*, but never both at the same time. The sequence *st* or *sk* can be followed by the marker *wá*. The markers *k*, *t*, and *n* can serve alone as determiners of nouns. The functions of the markers *k*, *t*, and *s* are poorly understood.

The forms *nà* and *wà* are components of other determiners, viz. *hànnà* (most probably *hán + nà*), *ú-nà*, and *àtt-únà* ‘like that’. The form *wà* is a component of *hán-wà* and *ástù-wá* or *áktù-wá* ‘like that’. The complex structure of demonstratives and determiners in Wandala parallels that of other Chadic languages, where they often consist of a marker of gender, a distance marker, and a third marker coding the domains *de re* or *de dicto*.

3.1 Deixis to entities

Independent deixis to entities is coded by pronouns for humans and by the independent demonstrative for non-humans:

- (3) *žàr hánè/iyà/ itàrè/únà*
 look 3SG/1SG/3PL/DEM
 ‘look at him/me/them/it’

The deictic marker *únà* can serve as subject or object:

- (4) *ée à bà dàdà žàbá dàlyè á-m úvgè hánà*
ée à bà dàdà žàbá dàlyè á-m úvgè
 eh, 3SG say father again again PRED-IN grave
hánà
 DEF
 ‘And the father in the grave said,’

kái kándángwà kónà
kái ká ndá-n gè wà kà únà
 no 2SG say-3SG TO what 2SG DEM
 ‘“Hey, why do you say this?”’

The form *únà* can designate an object in the domain *de dicto* whose reference is to be narrowed, e.g. by a relative clause:

- (5) è *màmá séy á hàyà bóonà*
 è *màmá séy á hàyá bà-únà à*
 eh mother then 3SG love FOC-DEM 3SG
wwàyná rvòndǎárnà
wwày-nà rvònd-á-r-nà
 love-3SG heart-GEN-3SG-DEM
 ‘and the mother wants what her [the girl’s] heart wants.’

As an independent deictic, the form *únà* can be modified by the determiner *ǎánnà*. Such a construction designates an entity as belonging to the domain de dicto, i.e., that which has just been said:

- (6) *bàní álvànjátàrè ágdzàrhámyà*
bàní álvà nj-á-tàrè ágdzàr-h-á-myà
 given problem stay-GEN-3PL child-PL-GEN-1INCL
 ‘Given the problem of the life of our children,’

kínà mínnáwá ájúkà ànúunè ǎánnà
kínà míná wá á j-ú kà
 now right COM 3SG surpass-VENT NEG
án únà ǎánnà
 ASSC DEM DEF
 ‘as far as we are concerned, it cannot surpass what is there.’ [i.e., there is nothing to be added to what we have already said]

The form *únà* can function as a determiner of a noun or a pronoun. In the following fragment, it is a determiner of the nominal head of the relative clause. The noun so determined is in the domain de dicto:

- (7) *àddónání àskàtàtèrkàtónà wàyàrkà*
àddá únà ní à s kàtá-tàr-kàtá
 man DEM INTNS 3SG come want-3PL-want
nà wàyà-r kà
 DEM love-3PL NEG
 ‘The one who comes wanting them, they do not love [him].’

The form *jùbà únà* ‘this matter’, in the following fragment, refers to the topic of a conversation that is winding up. The form *ná* at the end of the clause is the complement of the destinative preposition *g*:

- (8) *ʒàmá má cìnà-kùr-áncín jùbóonènáwá*
ʒàmá má cìnàkùr-ncín jùbóonènáwá
ʒàmá má cìnà-kùr-n-cìn jùbà únà ná-wá
 assembly HYP hear-2PL-3SG-hear matter DEF DEM-COM
 ‘Listeners, if you understand this matter,’

bákà-r gíná
bákà ár gí ná
 NEG.EX over TO DEM
 ‘there is no greater [truth/goodness] than that.’ (The high tone on the determiner *ná* marks the end of one of the three phrases with which the speakers ends the story.)

The proximate independent deictic marker *únà* can be used in reference to a proposition (rather than a clause) just mentioned:

- (9) *má bàní bàdēm mírámyà mándiyámyà*
má-á bàní bàdēm ír-á-myà mà
 HYP-PRED concernall head-GEN-1INCL 1INCL
án dìy-á-myà
 ASSC knowledge-GEN-1INCL

wá fágrónà máhí gámyà
wá fágrà únà má híg-á-myà [not in the recording]
 COM well DEM 1INCL happy-GEN-1INCL
 ‘Because we have all of this knowledge, it is good. As far as we are concerned, we are happy.’

Similarly, a noun may be used for the first time in the discourse, but its referent may be a proposition stated earlier in discourse. Such a noun can be marked by the demonstrative *nà*:

- (10) *àbè pàllè kìnùwá tàtánèskè fí dáɣnà*
à bà pàllè kìnì wá tàtánè skè
 3SG say one C.FOC COM sorry POL
fíd-á-ɣ ná
 lie-GEN-2SG DEM
 ‘The other said, “Sorry, this is your lie [you are lying].”’

Deixis to proximate elements in the discourse environment is coded by the demonstrative *nà*. The evidence for the deictic function is provided by natural discourse when the noun modified by the deictic marker has not been men-

tioned before in the discourse and when its referent is present in the physical environment of speech:

- (11) *fīllyá zàrvá mì pàllè kày mbàdà mbàdám dámyáwnà*
fīlì-á zàrv-á myà pàllè kày mbàdà-m-mbàd
 sand-GEN sesame-GEN 1INCL one ? fall-IN-fall
á-m d-ár yàwè nà
 PRED go:ON water DEM
 ‘‘One of our sesame seeds fell into the water.’’

- (12) *yò lámàràdùninàwá séy fàrvóhìè*
yò lámàr-á dùnì-nà wá
 well way of living-GEN world-DEM COM
séy fàrvóhìè
 only patience
 ‘Well, in this world, only patience ...’

Deixis to a conclusion drawn from the discourse is coded by the complex determiner *s-t-wá*. The following fragment includes a sentence where the speaker summarizes the preceding conversation. The phrase *dyá-mì* ‘our knowledge’ has not been used in the preceding discourse:

- (13) *yòò àbè pàllátàrwà*
yòò à bè pàll-á-tàr wá
 well 3SG say one-GEN-3PL COM
 ‘One among them says,’

mbàtèbàdè mìrámyà mándyìstùwá
mbàtè bádám ìr-á-myà mà án
 therefore all head-GEN-1INCL 1INCL ASSC
dy s-t-wá
 knowledge DEF-DEF-DEF
 ‘‘Then we all have our knowledge like that.’’

Deixis to a proposition mentioned in previous discourse and known to the speaker and hearer is coded by the sequence *únà òánnà*. The evidence that the form is deictic rather than anaphoric is that it does not point to a fragment of speech but rather to the proposition(s) contained in the speech:

- (14) *ánjàrànjà bàtúnòánnà*
á njà-rá-njà bà t-ún òánnà
 PRED stay-3PL-stay FOC T-DEF DEF
 ‘They should remain on that very thing.’

- (15) *bónà ñánnà kìnà b̀rhá g̀zàrà ñánnà*
bà únà ñánnà kìnà à b̀rhá g̀zàrà ñánnà
 FOC DEF DEF now 3SG push child:PL DEF
 ‘That’s what pushes those children.’

The independent demonstrative *únà* has the function of a propositional anaphor:

- (16) *jìbàb̀rhá g̀zàrà d̀mbá žìlnà*
jìbà b̀rhá g̀zàrà á d̀m mbá žìl nà
 type push child:PL PRED go-IN home man DEM
 ‘The way to push girls toward marriage’

á ndzàdà
án ndzàdà
 ASSC force
 ‘by force,’

únkìnnì mtáj̀kà
ún kìnnì mtáj̀ kà
 DEF C.FOC good NEG
 that is also not good.’

The sequence *às-t-wà* can also code propositional proximate deixis having in its scope the content of the preceding discourse. After the narration of the customs involved in marriage, the narrator says:

- (17) *às-t-wá l̀r̀úsà á-m hàh-á wándalà*
 DEM-DEM-DEM marriage PRED-IN land-GEN Wandala
 ‘That is marriage in the Wandala land.’

The form *s-t-wà* can also be used without any antecedent:

- (18) *mábàdzàvbàdzàhálàmùksè móonkà*
má bàdzà-v-bàdzà hál-á mùksè má ún-kà
 HYP spoil-APPL-spoil mood-GEN woman HYP DEF-DEF
bàdzà-và hálà žìlé d̀cìyá ž̀bàstwà
bàdzà-và hál-á žìlé d̀cìy
 spoil-APPL mood-GEN man then
á ž̀è bà s-t-wà
 3SG finish FOC DEF-DEF-DEF
 ‘If the mood of the woman spoils, then the mood of the man spoils,
 [and] it ends like that.’

Wandala has grammaticalized a remote deictic marker that codes an entity farther away from the speaker. This function is coded by the form *wá*. The marker *wá* does not affect the tone of the preceding noun:

- nàf wá* ‘that tree’ cf. *nàfà* ‘tree’
žil wá ‘that man, behind another man’
mùksà wá ‘that woman, behind another woman’

The data gathered contain no natural discourse examples with remote deixis.

3.2 Deixis to time

Deixis to time deploys the form *và* ‘time’ and the form *t*, either followed by or preceded and followed by determiners.

- (19) *nóo và tón kìnì njànjá twáfká ordinator yándál vwándàlà*
nóo và tó-n kìnì njà-n-i-njà á t
 PRES time T-DEM C.FOC sit-1SG-EP-sit PRED T
wáfk-á ordinator yá ndà lv wándàlà
 face-GEN computer 1SG speak language Wandala
 ‘Today, I sat down in front of the computer, I am speaking the Wandala language.’

The sequence of markers *s-t-wa* codes a reference known to the speaker of the event. The form codes deixis, as its referent has not been previously mentioned:

- (20) *ánó vácí stwà náwá yágánikà*
á nó vácí s-t-wà ná-wá
 eh PRES day DEM-DEM-DEM DEM-COM
yá gá níkà
 1SG contract marriage
 “‘On such and such day I am going to get married.’”

Once the element is presumed to be known to the participants in the event, the form *s-t-únà* is used:

- (21) *dàcí tàbàtrà tásóm lóktùstúunà*
dàcí tà bà-trà tá sà-w á-m
 then 3PL tell-3PL 3PL come-VENT PRED-IN
lóktù st únà
 date DEF:PROX DEM
 ‘Then, they tell them to come on the same day.’

When the same noun is modified by determiners in subsequent discourse, a different set of determiners is chosen:

- (22) *álàlá tàrjǎnnà itárkìni*
á làl-á-tàr jǎnnà itàr kìni
 PRED borough-GEN-3PL DEF 3PL C.FOC
 ‘In their neighborhood, they [people of the neighborhood]’
- mácìnà ráncìnà itárkìni vácí kwàskwè stúnàwá*
má cìnà-r-á-n-cìnà itàr kìni vácí
 HYP hear-3PL-GO-3SG-hear 3PL C.FOC day
kwàskwè s-t-únà wá
 market DEF-DEF-DEF COM
 ‘they understand, on such and such day, . . .’

3.3 Deixis and anaphora

The form *jǎnnà* modifying a noun has an anaphoric and a deictic function at the same time, namely, it points to an element in the discourse environment that has also been mentioned in the previous discourse. The evidence for the deictic function of the form modifying a noun is provided by the fact that referents of nouns are present in the environment of speech. The evidence for the anaphoric function is that the nouns have been previously mentioned. Here is a report about a chief who arrived at a grave that was previously reported to him:

- (23) *é, àbàlǎksáwá pàfó pàfǎvgèjǎnnà*
é, à bà lǎksá wá pàfǎ-w-pàf ǎvgè jǎnnà
 eh, 3SG say Sultan COM dig-PL-dig grave DEF
 ‘And the Sultan said, “Dig up this grave.”’

A speaker standing in front of water that has been mentioned in the previous discourse says:

- (24) *àbàjón kàyà sèyàdà sánsà sábinà*
à bà ján kàyà sèi yà dè

3SG say 3SG nevertheless then 1SG SEQ
sá-n-sà-sè á b-inà
 come-3SG-S-come 3SG say-3SG
 ‘He says, “Nevertheless, I will get it out.”’

mábám hùdáyèw ñánnà kìnì
má bà á-m hùd-á yàw ñánnà kìnì
 HYP FOC PRED-IN belly-GEN water DEF C.FOC
 “‘Even if it is in this water!’”

Further evidence for the deictic and anaphoric function of the form *ñánnà* modifying a noun is provided by the fact that the narrator who is not standing in front of the water does not use the determiner in mentioning the water:

(25) *púm ànàbàmbdā dām hùdā yàwè*
pum à nábà mbdā á dām hùd-á yàwè
 pum! 3SG then fell PRED go:IN belly-GEN water
 ‘Pum, he fell into the water.’

After a speaker has listed a few questions addressed to another speaker, he continues:

(26) *bóonà ñánnà kìnì kándàhà á kàtáksàksà*
bà únà ñánn kìnì ká ndàhà á kàtā
 FOC DEF DEF C.FOC 2SG say 3SG want
á ksà-ksá
 3SG take-take
 ‘That is the thing that you should say, so that he may record it.’

3.4 Locative deixis

Locative deixis is coded by several sets of markers. One set consists of the remote deixis *hwà* and the proximate *hùnà* (derived from *hwà*). The derivation involves the suffixation of the marker *nà* to the remote deictic marker *hwà*.

(27) *á fá w-á hwà*
 3SG put what-PRED there
 ‘what does he put there?’

à fǽ w-á hwà/hùnà
 3SG put what-PRED there/here
 ‘what did he put there/here?’ (elicited)

4. Reference to the speaker

Reference to the individual speaker is coded by the first-person singular pronoun or the first-person singular coding on the verb. No indirect means of reference to the speaker have been observed:

- (28) *yá fâ-tr-ú gè ɓàmá*
 1SG speak-3PL-VENT TO population
 ‘I speak to people.’

The conjunction of the speaker and other participants has the sequence corresponding to ‘we and X’. Reference to first-person plural speakers crucially depends on whether the intended referent is the first-person plural inclusive or the first-person plural exclusive. That decision, in turn, depends on who the addressee is. If the addressee is a person outside of the speech situation, the first-person plural exclusive form is used. Thus the language assistant, who is used to addressing radio listeners who are outside of the speech situation, uses the first-person exclusive when referring to himself and the linguist but excluding the audience:

- (29) *nóovà tán kìnì njàninjà ɓàbè ákátáfká ordinator*
nóo và t-án kìnì njà-ni-njà ɓàbè
 PRES time T-DEMC.FOC sit-1SG-sit again
á kà tá fk-á ordinator
 PRED front T face-GEN computer
 ‘Today, I am sitting again in front of a computer.’

ɲán tàrà pàtróɲárwà
ɲà ántàrà pàtróɲ-á-rwà
 1EXCL ASSC.PL boss-GEN-1SG
 ‘We are together with my boss.’

The first-person plural exclusive refers to the speaker and some other people but excludes the addressee. The other people may be present at the scene. In the following example, the mother is not present when the child talks:

- (30) *àbiná màgyávyèn màgàyáɲrùwà*
à b-iná má gyá-v-gyè-n
 3SG say-3SG HYP cook-APPL-cook-[pause]
màgày-á-ɲrè wá
 hungry rice-GEN-1EXCL COM
 ‘He said, “If our hungry rice is cooked . . .”’

ɲàzàná bàɲrè àntàrà mùrwá t àné
ɲá zà-ná bà ɲrè àntàrà
 1EXCL eat-3SG FOC 1EXCL ASSC:PL
mù-rwá t àné
 mother-1SG only (F)
 ‘we will eat it, only me and my mother.’”

In the following example, there are three participants in the conversation, and the speaker excludes the addressee from the first-person plural:

- (31) *áskè kínáwáyà ɲà tàttàyà-k-tàttàyà*
áskè kín á wáyà ɲà tàttàyà-k-tàttàyà
 like C.FOC PRED yesterday 1EXCL search-2SG-search
 ‘Since we were looking for you yesterday,’

The first-person plural inclusive may include persons present at the scene and potentially other persons, as evidenced by the following example, where the reference is to the father, the son, and the mother:

- (32) *àbàdàdà kái màkígyé*
à bà dàdà kái má kígyé
 3SG say father no 1INCL three
 ‘The father said, “No, it’s the three of us.”’

The focus on the first-person plural inclusive has the same systemic implication as the use of the first-person plural exclusive. In the following example, which follows (32) and (33) in discourse, the mother calls the son to go and report to the chief. She uses the first-person plural inclusive independent pronoun *myà* (realized as [mì] in clause-internal position) rather than *mà*), so as to exclude the father from the event:

- (33) *à mábàstíwà àgdzárwà míkàlá*
à má bà stù wá àgdz-á-rwà
 eh, HYP FOC like that COM child-GEN-1SG
mí kàlá
 1INCL go
 ‘If it is like that, my child, let’s go!’

mádə̀zə̀málálàlà mǎfànǎmǎmvúà
má dè zè *mál-á* *làlà* **mà**
 1INCL go HL chief-GEN borough 1INCL
fá-n-m á-m vúà
 put:GO-3SG-IN PRED-IN body
 ‘Let’s go to the chief of the neighborhood, to let him know.’

Consider now the following fragment (the son is addressing his mother):

(34) *méyáblà lǎghnàwá*
mé yá blà lǎh ná wá
 HYP 1SG send song DEM COM
 ‘‘When I sing the song,’’

ǎḡkórǎn dǎlvǎmúvgǎbiná
ǎḡk ùrà á ndá lv ǎm vg
 exist person 3SG speak word in grave
à b-íná
 3SG say-3SG
 ‘‘there is somebody talking in the grave,’’ he said.’

(35) *èè, ǎbǎmùḡǎrwà mǐḡǎlkwà*
èè, à bá mù ḡǎr wà myà lǎl kwà
 well, 3SG say mother 3SG COM 1INCL go OPT
 ‘So, his mother said, ‘‘Let’s go.’’

In the above sentence, one can replace the pronoun *míyà* with the pronoun *mà*. This does not imply the selection of some individuals out of a larger number of people present, but rather all individuals who are present:

(36) *èè, ǎbǎmùḡǎrwà mǎḡǎlkwà*
èè, à bǎ mù ḡǎr wà mà lǎl kwà
 well, 3SG say mother 3SG COM 1INCL go OPT
 ‘so, his mother said, ‘‘Let’s go.’’ (elicited)

And here is an example where two participants in the conversation are talking about themselves and potentially about other people not present at the scene, but are excluding a third-person entity who is present at the scene but not participating in the conversation:

- (37) *é kìnùwá átùmìdèndàlvámì ñánwá*
é kìnà wá á tù m̀ì d̀è
 eh now COM PRED before 1INCL SEQ
ndà lv-á-m̀ì ñán wá
 say chat-GEN-1INCL DEF COM
 ‘And now, before continuing our chat.’

When reference to the first person has a quantifier, the lexical item ‘head’ is used, followed by the first-person possessive pronoun:

- (38) *má bàní bàd̀əm mirámyà mándiyámyà*
má-á bàní bàd̀əm ìr-á-myà mà
 HYP-PRED concernall head-GEN-1INCL 1INCL
án diy-á-myà
 ASSC knowledge-GEN-1INCL
wá f̀ágrónà máhí gámyà
wá f̀ágrà únà má híg-á-myà [not in the recording]
 COM well DEF 1INCL happy-GEN-1INCL
 ‘Because we have all of this knowledge, it is good. As far as we are concerned, we are happy.’

5. Reference to the third person

The form *ñànè* is used as the third-person singular independent pronoun. In this function the form *ñànè* occupies the position of the nominal subject, i.e. the position after the verb. The verb must still be preceded by the third-person singular subject pronoun:

- (39) *ábáñànè kòndàngù kòbíunà*
á bá ñànè kò nd-á-n g̀è wè
 3SG say 3SG 2SG say-GO-3SG TO what
kò bwá nà
 2PL two DEM
 ‘He says, “Why do you say the two of you?”’

If the nominal subject is fronted, the verb must still be preceded by the third-person singular subject pronoun *a*:

- (40) *è dàd̀è kìnì mátsàtsá bàtrá*
è dàd̀è kìnì má tsà-tsè á bà-trá
 eh, father C.FOC HYP rise-rise 3SG say-3PL
 ‘Eh, the father, sometimes, tells them.’

The evidence that the plural form does not code the associative plural is provided by the fact that the antecedent of the pronoun is a singular noun phrase.

6. Reference to an indefinite entity

There are two domains of indefinite entity: indefinite human entities and all the other entities, which are referred to here as non-human.

6.1 An indefinite human

The reference to the indefinite human entity is further differentiated depending on whether the speaker and/or the hearer is involved. The following means are involved:

- The third-person plural pronoun;
- The noun *ùrà* ‘person’;
- The first-person plural exclusive subject pronoun;
- The third-person singular pronoun.

The third-person plural pronoun can code an indefinite human referent. The speaker, announcing that he is going to tell a story that did not originate with him, says:

- (41) *yò tà s-á lv-á mdà kígyé*
 well 3PL come-GO story-GEN people three
 ‘They brought a story of three people.’

An indefinite hypothetical human referent that includes the speaker is coded by the first-person plural exclusive pronoun *ηà*. The evidence that the form can code indefinite human subjects is provided by clauses where the the actual speaker may in fact not be the part of the group involved:

- (42) *dó-ηgré sàlàwré ógdzàrà mùksè kìnì sàlàwré,*
dó-ηgré sàlàwré ógdz-à-rà mùksè kìnì
 father-1EXCL pants child-GEN-3SG female C.FOC
sàlàwré,
 pants
 ‘One’s father—pants, even his daughter—pants.’

- (43) *èkínúwá ámtàtómlè nándàhà*
è kìn wá á-m tāt úmlè nǎ ndàhà
 eh, now COM PRED-IN place other 1EXCL say
 ‘And now, it is said,’

márgè gdzàrà càmànkìnindzè táfàtrú
már gè gdzàrà-a càmàn kìnì ndzè tá
 mother TO child-PL before C.FOC ? 3PL
fǎ-tr-ú
 put-3PL-VENT

béetàrè álvà-hà gègdzàrà háatàrè
bà itàrè álvà-a gè gdzàrà-há-tàrè
 FOC 3PL story-PL TO child:PL-GEN-3PL
 ‘that usually it is the mothers that teach their daughters, it is they who tell the stories to their daughters.’

The second-person singular pronoun codes an indefinite human referent in the domain de re that may include both the speaker and the listener:

- (44) *áyò ágdzaràkínnà wá mákábà*
áyò ágdzar-à kínnà wá má ká
 now child-PL C.FOC COM HYP 2SG
trálvà àbétàrè àsàná zàmàné
bà-trá lvà à bà-itàré á s-á-nà zàmàné
 talk-3PL speech 3SG say-3PL 3SG come-3SG time (F)
 ‘And now, children, when you talk to them, they say it is modern times that brought it.’

The third-person singular subject pronoun codes an indefinite subject of the verb of saying *bà*, which normally takes the third-person singular subject pronoun preceding the verb and a suffix coding the person and number of the subject. The indefinite subject is coded only by the subject pronoun preceding the verb. The referent may include the speaker and hearer:

- (45) *ítàrǎnnà máská má bàtráwè gègdzàrà zálàhà nǎnnà*
ítàr nǎnnà má ské á má bà-trá
 3PL DEF HYP like that 3SG HYP say-3PL
wè gè gdzàrà zál-àhà nǎnnà
 what TO small male-PL DEF
 ‘If they are like that, so what does one tell those boys?’

The noun *ùrà* ‘person’ is another means to code an indefinite human subject:

- (46) *yò cáamànkìnì názù àkàtànórwá*
yò cáamàn kìnì názù à kàtà-nà ùr
 well first of all C.FOC what 3SG want-3SG person
wá
 COM
bà gò njà-rí-njà án hèer-àn-klàpì-rè
 FOC TO stay-3PL-stay ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘First of all, what one wants is for them to live in peace and good health.’

The sequence of morphemes consisting of the hypothetical marker *má* followed by the question word *wàr* ‘who’ is used to render the meaning ‘everybody’. This sequence can be used as a subject, and it takes the third-person singular subject pronoun, even if the possessive subject suffix co-referential with the subject is plural and the co-referential suffixed subject in the next clause is also plural (the three subject pronouns and the co-referential possessive subject are in bold letters):

- (47) *màḡármá wàrkìnà kyádámbatàrè*
màḡár má wàr kìn à kyà
 now HYP who C.FOC 3SG scatter
á dóm mb-á-tàrè
 PRED go:IN home-GEN-3PL
mátàḡàrsátàḡàr [error and attempt at correction] *górò*
má tàḡà-r-sá-tàḡà górò
 HYP distribute-3PL-S-distribute cola nut
 ‘Now, everybody goes home, having partaken of the cola nuts.’

6.2 An indefinite non-human entity

Reference to an indefinite non-human entity is coded by two forms: *názù* ‘what’ and ‘thing’, and *wè* ‘what’. The categoriality of the form *názù* is not clear, as it does not take the plural marker *-ahà* but can take possessive pronouns:

- (48) *náz-á-rwà*
 something-GEN-1SG
 ‘something of mine’

This form can be used as the subject or object, but in the latter function it appears only as the head of a relative clause:

- (49) *žílé ádá názù ádǎndàvànánǎnǎnè*
žílé á d-á názù á dǎ ndàvǎ-ǎ-án
 man 3SG go-GO that 3SG FUT ask-3SG-ASSC
ǎnè
 3SG
 ‘The man brings that with which he is going to ask for her,’

The form *názù* cannot be used in the object function in reference to an actual object in the real world:

- (50) **ǎ s-yá názù*
 3SG come-1SG something
 ‘he brought me something’

The form *názù* can, however, be used in reference to an object in the real world in the subject function, albeit in preverbal position:

- (51) *názù óf-i tá ìrè* [názù ófì téré]
 thing bother-1SG T head
 ‘something bothers me’
- názù óf-án téré*
názù óf-3SG tá ìrè
 thing bother-3SG T head
 ‘something bothers him’

The form *dùksá* ‘thing, something’ can be used as the subject or the object:

- (52a) *ǎbǎyàsǎbǎyà dùksá*
ǎbǎyà-sǎ-bǎy-ǎ dùksá
 fall -S-fall-PB thing:Q
 ‘Something fell out?’

- (52b) *kàkántàrà gdzáṅà kàsàwà kàžàràbà dùksà*
kà kà ántàrà gdz-á-ṅà kà
 2SG 2SG ASSC:PL child-GEN-2SG 2SG
sà-wà kà žàrà bà dùks-á
 come-VENT 2SG look FOC thing-GEN
žilé skiyà
žilé ski yà
 man like 1SG
 ‘You and your child, come, you just look at the problem of a man like me . . .’

The form *wrà* ‘person, someone’ may well be derived from the indefinite entity marker *w* followed by the quantifier *rà* ‘any’. The labial glide becomes *ú* when followed by a consonant. It is likely that the form *únà* ‘that’ is also derived from the indefinite entity *w*, followed by the demonstrative *nà*:

- (53) *únà* ‘this one’
rúwà ‘that one’ (for remote things or person).

6.3 An indefinite place

An indefinite place is coded by the modifier *úmlè* ‘other’, which follows the noun:

- (54) *zàrvà ṅánnà ákyè tà dǎvvàlà ámtá tómlè*
zàrvà ṅánnà á kiyè tà dǎ vǎlà á-m
 sesame DEF ‘one says’ 3PL FUT sell PRED-IN
tátà úmlè
 place other
 ‘That sesame, they say, they will sell at some other place.’ [i.e. a place other than the one where they harvested the sesame]

7. Nouns without determiners: first and subsequent mentions

On first mention, an ordinary noun is not accompanied by any determiners if its use does not involve topicalization:

- (55) *hármákè mdágyálè támbážílé*
hár mákè md-á gyálè tá
 up to (H) week people-GEN girl 3PL:PRED

mb-á žilé

home-GEN husband

‘Up to one week, the people of the girl are at the home of the husband.’

If the noun has a unique reference, its subsequent mention does not have to be accompanied by determiners either. In the following fragment, the noun *dàdà* ‘father’ is mentioned twice (and it has already been mentioned in the previous discourse), each time without any determiners:

(56) *álvà tàr ñánnà bàd̄ammè á d̄á z̄è d̄àdà*
 speech 3PL DEF all PRED go HL father
 ‘everything that they have to say is to the father.’

(57) *tándà v̄ànú ḡè d̄àdà k̄inì*
tá nd̄àv̄à-n-ú ḡè d̄àdà k̄inì
 3PL ask-3SG-VENT TO father C.FOC
 ‘They ask the father [a question].’

If a noun represents an entity in the hypothetical domain or in the domain de dicto, i.e. nouns that do not actually exist in the real world, such nouns are not accompanied by determiners on first or subsequent mention, as in the following example, where the noun phrase *gdzà gyálè* ‘young woman’ is mentioned twice, each time without any determiner:

(58) *tá dd̄ám̄bá d̄árḡè gdzàgyálè*
tá dd̄á mbá-á d̄á-r ḡè gdzà gyálè
 3PL go home-GEN father-3SG TO young girl
 ‘They should go to the father of the girl.’

máki d̄àrá d̄è má tándá v̄ágdzà gyálè
má-kí d̄à-r-á-d̄è má tá nd̄àv̄à
 HYP-? go-3PL-GO-go HYP 3PL ask
ágdzà gyálè
 young girl
 ‘When they arrive, they ask for the girl.’

In the following example, the noun *žilé* ‘man’, referring to a protagonist in a narrative, is mentioned several times, each time without any determiners, because the entire narrative deals with hypothetical situations:

- (59) *yò cá mánkínì tàràžilé mùksè sé tágávà*
yò cá mán kínì tàrà žilé mùksè sé
 well before C.FOC 3PL man woman then
tá gá-và
 3PL marry-APPL
 ‘Well, before a man and a woman get married,’
- žilé mávàcátènáá dótàttàyà mùksè náwá*
žilé má-vàcà á-tè-nà á dótàttàyà mùksè
 man HYP-time PRED-T-3SG 3SG go search woman
 ‘The man, at the time when he will go to look for a woman,’

There are at least two ways in which reference to God is made. The most frequent is the term *állà*, borrowed from Arabic. This term occurs without any determiner:

- (60) *mážàr dàcí máwàyát ùwàyállà*
mážàr dàcí má wàyá-t-wàyà állà
 now then HYP want-T-want Allah
 ‘And then, if God wants,’
- njà-rí-njà máwàyát kállà*
njà-rí-njà má wàyá-t kà állà
 remain-3PL-remain HYP:3SG want-T NEG God
 ‘they can remain. If God does not want, . . .’

Another means involves the use of the expression *ddà* ‘father’ followed by the first-person inclusive possessive pronoun:

- (61) *dàcí átumàžàrà názù màgànàddámyà*
dàcí á tù mà žàrà názù màgà nà
 then PRED before 1INCL see thing make DEM
ddá-myà
 father-1INCL
 ‘Then we [will] see what the Lord decides.’

8. Previous mention

8.1 Use of pronouns

Subject pronouns, when not accompanied by an overt nominal subject, code previous mention. In the R1ProR2 form, the third-person singular subject is

coded by the marker *a* suffixed to R1. (Since this form also occurs with other subject pronouns, it is not glossed separately from the verb.)

- (62) *à bàpállánè kìnì wá mábà ní bà jìr bǔyàsábbǔyè*
à bà pállè nà kìnì wá má-bà ní
 3SG say one DEM C.FOC COM HYP-FOC INTNS
bà jìr bǔyà-sá-bǔyè
 FOC true fall-S-fall
dám hùdá hàyì wá
dá-m hùd-á hàyè wá
 go-IN belly-GEN river COM
 ‘One among them said, “If really [a grain] has fallen into the river, ”’

8.2 The third-person plural object pronoun

The third-person plural pronoun is used mostly for [+human] antecedents. Dative objects in natural discourse are most often [+human]:

- (63) *àkàtá zàrvà fìlyá zàrvè ñánnà àvàtrtè*
à kà-t-á zàrvà fìly-á zàrvà ñánnà
 3SG raise-T-GO sesame sand-GEN sesame DEF
à v-à-tr-tè
 3SG give-3PL-T
 ‘He raised the sesame, the grain of that sesame, he gave it to them.’

- (64) *yò, dónnì ásò ánníyà ágàtàrgánà*
yò, dà únà ní á sá-wà
 well man DEM INTNS 3SG come-VENT
án níyà á g-à-tà-r-gá nà
 ASSC faith 3SG marry-3PL-marry DEM
ítàr wàyàr kà
ítàr wàyà-r kà
 3PL want-3PL NEG
 ‘Well, the person who comes with the intention to marry them, they [the girls] do not like them.’

- (65) *kínnázù ábà dzàtèrbádzènáwá*
kín názù á bàdz-à-tèr-bádzè ná wá
 now what 3SG spoil-GO-3PL-spoil DEM COM
ágdzrè á màlàn màrà
ágdzrè á màlà án màrà
 daughter 3SG attach ASSC mother
 ‘Actually, what spoils them, is that the daughter is attached to her mother.’

8.3 Determiners in the coding of an anaphora

Previously mentioned nouns do not have to have any overt markers of their previous mention. Such nouns do not have to be repeated, and verbs do not carry any anaphoric markers. Given the fact that the first and the subsequent mention of nouns can occur without any determiners, it is particularly important to understand the functions of determiners.

The form *hánnà* codes previous mention of a specific, non-hypothetical noun in the discourse:

- (66) *yò, bàjillì á lvèhánnà*
yò, bà jillì-á lvà hánnà
 well FOC type (F)-GEN story DEF
 ‘Well, it is true, this story.’ [two instances recorded: (1) A speaker refers to the story that he just narrated; (2) A messenger confirms the story that the chief and his courtiers heard on a previous occasion.]

- (67) *yò dikdì zàrvàhánnà kìnì*
yò dyì-k-dyì zàrvà hánnà kìnì
 well know-2SG-know sesame DEF C.FOC
 ‘You know sesame, don’t you?’ [The fast tempo led to the reduction of the vowel *a* preceding the 2SG marker *k*, and the form *hánnà* is reduced to *hánnè*]

The form *hánnà* can occur after possessive pronouns. In the following fragment, the first mention of *gdzàr-àhà* ‘children’ has no determiner. In each of the next two mentions, the noun is followed by the determiner *hánnà*. On the third mention, the determiner follows the possessive pronoun:

- (68) *é ttàrkín ágdzàrà wáz-wàhà*
é ttàr kìnà ágdzàrà wázù-a
 eh how now small exhortation-PL
 ‘And how to give some advice’

kíni mávàtèrtá gè márgègdzàràhà
kíni má v-à-t-àr-tá gè márgè gdzàr-àhà
 C.FOC HYP give-3PL-T TO mother TO child-PL
 ‘to the mothers of those children,’

mónkà gèdàrgègdzàràhàḡánà
má ún kà gè dár gè gdzàr-a ḡánà
 HYP DEF NEG TO father TO child-PL DEF
 ‘or to the father of those children,’

gè gdzàràhà mí ḡánà
gè gdzàr-a-mí ḡánà
 TO child-PL-1INCL DEF
 to our children?’

The previous mention marker may follow a numeral *pállè* ‘one’ if the numeral itself refers to a previously mentioned noun. In the first part of the following fragment, a statement is made that one grain of sesame is missing. In the subsequent sentence, that grain of sesame is referred to by the numeral *pállè* ‘one’ and the previous mention marker:

- (69) *tá kkàḡà tá kkàḡà tá kkàḡà mbàtè*[not recorded] *tà bəḡyì*
tá kkàḡà tá kkàḡà tá kkàḡà
 3PL count 3PL count 3PL count
mbàtè tà bəḡyì bà jírè lisáfyà
 indeed 3PL find FOC true number (Ar.)
filyà zàrvà pállè báakà
filyà zàrvà pállè báakà
 sand sesame one NEG.EX
 ‘They counted, they counted, they counted, and they found that indeed it is true that one of their sesame seeds was missing.’
- (70) *tàksàsá* [2ms pause, false start] *pállè mínè báakà dyàrsádyè*
tà ks-à-sá pállè mínè báakà dyà-r-s-á-dyè
 3PL take-S one 1INCL NEG.EX know-3PL-S-know
 ‘They concluded . . . “one of our sesame seeds is missing”, they realized.’

The determiner *ḡánà* follows the modifier:

- (71) *távàtə̀rtəlòktà gáni kàḡánnà*
tá v-à-tər-tə̀ lóktà gá-nìkà ḡánnà
 3PL give-3PL-T moment contract-marriage DEF
 ‘They give them a date for contracting the marriage.’

The previous mention may be quite remote. There are three sentences between the antecedent *f-á-tà̀r* ‘their field’ and the use of the form *f-á-tà̀r ḡánnà* ‘their field:DEF’ in the following fragment:

- (72) *ámhə̀rdə̀ ḡánnà ə̀gdzrè bà máḡàḡàḡàl à dəm fátà̀rwá*
á-m hə̀rdə̀ ḡánnà ə̀gdzrè bà má
 PRED-IN farm DEF child FOC HYP
ḡà-ḡàḡà d-əm f-á-tà̀r wá
 go-go go-IN field-GEN-3PL COM
 ‘While farming, when the child goes to their field,’
 (three sentences later)

- (73) *éé, bàddə̀tərḡánnà kìn tà̀xdám*
éé, á bá ddə̀ tər ḡánnà kìn tà̀ hɔ̀dà
 eh 3SG say father 3PL DEF now 3PL bury
fátà̀rḡánnà kìnì wá
á-m f-á-tà̀r ḡánnà kìnì wá
 PRED-IN field-GEN-3PL DEF C.FOC COM
 ‘And now, their father, who was buried in the field, . . .’

In the following fragment the last sentence (77) contains the expression *fə̀ ḡánnà* ‘the field’. Its antecedent is either the noun mentioned four sentences earlier, in ex. 72 or the noun mentioned by the narrator much earlier in the discourse (the potential antecedent and anaphors are in bold):

- (74) *tàlvə̀ngə̀lə̀ksè də̀ḡiyà ḡó nó nó nàzùḡàcìnáḡrè*
tà lv-á-n gə̀ lə̀ksè də̀ḡiyà ḡó nó nó
 3PL say-GO-3SG TO chief COMP PRES X3
ḡàzú ḡà cìn-á-ḡrè
 what 1EXCL hear-GO-1EXCL
á-m hùd-á f-á-ḡrè
 PRED-IN belly-GEN field-GEN-1EXCL
 ‘They said to the Sultan, “Here is what we heard in our field.”’

- (75) *àbàlàksùwá dómbàré nóyàblámdè*
à bà làksè wá dú-wà mbàré
 3PL say Sultan COM go-PL.IMP together
nó yá blá mdè á dá zà
 PRES 1SG send people PRED go HL
kùr ñánnà
 2PL DEF
 ‘The sultan said, “Go, I am sending people to your place.”’

- (76) *tàná bə̀ptsə̀há dámfə̀ñánn ʒàbàdàlyé*
tà náb ptsə̀-hə́ á dám fə́ ñánnà
 3PL then return-PNCT PRED go:IN field DEF
ʒàbè á dàlyé
 again PRED again
 ‘They returned to the field.’

The following example provides the evidence for the hypothesis that the marker *ñánnà* codes previous mention. In the first clause, a reference is made to *hàyè* ‘river’. In the second clause, the same noun is followed by the determiner *ñánnà*:

- (77) *tèycəs hə̀yè tànábàtsá twáhè ñánnà*
tà yc-s hə̀yè tà nábà tsá á-t
 3PL cut-S river 3PL then stop PRED-T
w-á hə̀y ñánnà
 mouth:GEN river DEF
 ‘They crossed the river, they stood at the river bank.’

9. Deduced reference

Like at least one other Central Chadic language, Hdi, Wandala codes the category of deduced reference. Deduced reference for nominal arguments is coded by the form *nà* if the noun is not followed by a possessive pronoun and by the form *ñánnà* if the noun is followed by a possessive pronoun. Deduced reference may also be coded by the third-person singular object pronoun, as illustrated in the next section.

The category ‘deduced reference’ tells the hearer to identify the referent of the noun on the basis of extrapolation through previous discourse rather than on the basis of direct mention of an identical noun. Consider the following example where the expression *mdə̀-nà búu- nə́* ‘the two men’ refers to two participants out of a set of three protagonists of a story. They are not identifiable otherwise:

- (78) *àbám̀d̀ən búuǹə kní wá tàlànà skè*
à b md̀ə nà búunà kìnì wá
 3SG say people DEM two DEM C.FOC COM
tàlànà skè
 please
 ‘The two others said, “Please.”’

Consider also the following fragment, where the people that the chief intends to send are not identifiable, but the noun *mdè* ‘people’ is followed by the marker *na* in the last clause:

- (79) *àbàl̀əks̀ùwá dóm̀bàré nóyà̀blám̀dè*
à bà l̀əksè wá dú-wà mbàré
 3PL say Sultan COM go-PL.IMP together
nó yá blá mdè á d̀ə zè
 PRES 1SG send people PRED go HL
k̀ur ɣánnà
 2PL DEF
 ‘The sultan said, “Go, I am sending people to your place.”’
- (80) *tàná b̀ə̀pts̀əhá dám̀fə̀ɣánn ɣ̀àb̀àd̀àlyé*
tà náb pts̀ə-h̀ə á dám̀ fə ɣánnà
 3PL then return-PNCT PRED go:IN field DEF
ɣ̀àb̀è á d̀àlyé
 again PRED again
 ‘They returned to the field.’
- (81) *é mmà̀ɣ̀ár sà̀rə̀msám̀d̀ənà*
é mà̀ɣ̀àràsà-r̀ə-m-s-á md̀ə nà
 well now come-3PL-IN-come-GO people DEM
 ‘And now, those people [the ones whom the Sultan sent] came.’

In the following example, the noun *fíli* ‘sand’ is followed by the determiner, although the noun has not been mentioned before. But what was mentioned before is the river into which a grain of sesame has fallen, and it undoubtedly landed in the sand:

- (82) *á-m h̀ùd-á fíli-n*
 PRED-IN belly-GEN sand-DEM
 ‘Inside the sand . . .’

kàkà kàfàństàrà
kà kà kà fã-ńj stà-rà
 2SG 2SG 2SG find-3SG DEF-Q
 ‘how do you find it?’

In the following sentence, the noun *gdzè* ‘child’ is followed by the demonstrative *ńánnà*, and the noun *láh* ‘song’ is followed by the deduced reference marker *nà*:

(83) *á mà gdzèńánnà ábláláxnà sàwà*
*á mà **gdzè** **ńánnà** à blà **lák** **nà***
 PRED where child DEF 3SG sing song DEM
sá-wà
 come-VENT
 ‘Where is this child who sings that song? Come!’

Once the song has been identified by a possessive pronoun, it is followed by the previous reference marker:

(84) *yò bállàhá ń ńánnà ńàbá dályè ńáccìnà*
*yò bál **láh-á-ń** **ńánnà** ńàbè á dályè*
 well sing song-GEN-2SG DEF yet PRED again
wá ńá ccìnà
 COM 1EXCL hear:IMP
 ‘Sing your song again, so that we can hear it.’

The form *ńánnà* can be used with nouns that are followed by possessive pronouns but that have not been previously mentioned. The following sentence follows sentences describing preparations for a trip, in which the noun *bàrámá* ‘road’ was not mentioned:

(85) *tà nábà ks-t-á bàrámà [-tàr ńánnà]* added in analysis
 3PL then take-T-GO road-[3PL DEF]
 ‘And then they took their road.’

Whether a noun is modified by a determiner depends not only on its previous mention but also on its pragmatic status in the discourse. If the pragmatic saliency of the noun is low, it is not followed by determiners. This is the case with the noun *láh* ‘song’ when the narrator is simply using this noun in order to cite the text of the song:

- (86) *àdðblàláchàrà ðàbàdàlyé*
à dè blà làhà ñàrà ðàb á dàlyé
 3SG SEQ sing song 3SG yet PRED again
 ‘And he sang [his] song again.’

Not all uses of determiners are a function of the reference system or of the information status. The determiner *nà*, in addition to being the deduced reference marker, appears to be required when the noun that has been previously mentioned is fronted. Consider the following fragment, where the first sentence from a narrator’s utterance has the noun *gdzè* ‘child’ marked by the determiner *ñánnà*. The child is one of the protagonists of the story. The second sentence, a report on what the participants in the event said, has the noun *láh* ‘song’ followed by the determiner *ñánnà*. The song is an important and recurring element of the story. The third sentence, produced by the narrator and reflecting the narrator’s take on the event, has the *ágdzè-nà* ‘the child’ in the subject role and in clause-initial position. The noun *láh* ‘song’ is unmarked, presumably because of the low saliency of the object in the clause:

- (87) *tàlvángágdzèná bállàháñànwàrà*
tà lv-á-n gè gdzè nà bál
 3PL say-GO-3SG TO child DEM send:IMP
láh-á-ñ ñán-wá-rà
 song-GEN-2SG DEF-REM-DEF
 ‘They said to the child, “Sing that song of yours again!”’

- (88) *ágdzèná blàlàhè*
ágdzè nà á blà làhè
 child DEM 3SG sing song
 ‘The child sings the song.’

10. Locative anaphora

Locative anaphora is marked by the form *kyáw* followed by the determiner *nà*:

- (89) *yòwjiám dèñkíni tàtùlénàhà*
yòw jib-á mdè nà kíni tá tù wà
 well type-GEN people DEM C.FOC 3PL T mouth
lèè nà
 road DEM
tàtsámðàbàvè àkyáwnà tándàtárlvè à kyáwnà itárkínní gyálàhà
tá ts á-m ðàbávè á kyáw nà
 3PL stand PRED-IN edge PRED there DEM

tá ndà-tár lvà tàr kinni
 3PL speak-3PL speech 3PL C.FOC

‘Those who are at the road side, who lurk there, they speak with the girls.’

The form *kyáw* alone means ‘place’, as evidenced by the fact that it occurs without the marker *nà* in question words about the place:

(90) *á kyáw rà*
 PRED place Q
 ‘where?’

(91) *yà nà-ná kyáw-nà*
 1SG see-3SG place-DEM
 ‘I saw him there’

11. Indefiniteness

The coding of indefinite reference varies, depending on whether the noun is topicalized or not. The topicalized indefinite noun is coded by the verb of existence *áñkwà* followed by the noun, resulting in the literal meaning ‘there is/was X’. Such nouns can be either subjects or objects, but they must occur in preverbal position:

(92) *áñkwà gdzà dóolè [pause] à dèkàtàgyáalè*
áñkwà gdzà dáwalè à dè kàtà gyáalè
 exist young boy 3SG SEQ want girl
 ‘A certain boy wanted to marry a girl.’

(93) *áñkwà nàsàràúmlè á tàtàyè úmdè*
áñkwà nàsàrà úmlè á tàtàyè úmdè
 exist white man other 3SG search people
 ‘There is a white man who is looking for people

tàsú ndàhà álvà wándàlà
tà sú ndàhà álvà wándàlà
 3PL come:VENT speak language wandala
 to come to speak the Wandala language.’ (the speaker is judged not to be a native speaker of Wandala)

The object marked by *áñkwà* must also be in the preverbal position:

- (94) *áṅkwà dùksákàmàgànáká*
áṅkwà dùksá kà màgà-ná kà
 exist thing 2SG do-3SG 2SG
 ‘Was there anything you did?’
- (95) *áṅkwà gdrè yèdákàtá tàyyèvá bàstùwá*
áṅkwà gdrè yè dá kàtá tà yyè-vá bàstùwá
 exist child 1SG go want 3PL refuse-APPL like that
 ‘A child [girl] whom I went to ask for, I was refused like that.’
- (96) *méyáblà lághnàwá*
mé yá blà làh ná wá
 HYP 1SG send song DEM COM
 ‘“When I sing the song,”’
- áṅkórán dálvàmúvgàbiná*
áṅk ùrà á ndá lv ám vgè
 exist person 3SG speak word PRED:IN grave
à b-ìná
 3SG say-3SG
 ‘“there is somebody talking in the grave,” he said.’

The grammaticalization from the verb of existence to the indefinite marker is illustrated by clauses where either the existence or the indefinite entity interpretation is available:

- (97) *tá pwámbà ṅánnà gèbákìrà žilmtú*
tá pwà á-m mbá ṅánnà gè bák
 3PL pour PRED-IN home DEF TO NEG.EX
ìr-á žil mtú
 head-GEN man or
 ‘They loaf around the house because of the absence of a man,’
- áṅkwè žilmtú wàyàrkàbéetàrèè*
áṅkwè žil mtú wàyà-r kà bà itàrèè
 exist man or love-3PL NEG FOC 3PL
 ‘or else, there is a man, but they [the girls] don’t like [him].’

Other material may be inserted between the verb of existence and the noun coded as indefinite by this verb:

- (98) *ékwà ánkù ɣàbá gdzrè váci*
ékwà áŋkù ɣàbá gdzrè váci
 and thus exist still child day
pàllè ágávkà bíutù àbí
pàllè á gá-v kà bíutù àbí
 one 3SG acquire-APPL NEG low price at all
 ‘And then, such a girl will not fetch but a low price.’

Indefinite nouns in post-verbal position are coded by the form *úmlè* ‘other, another’, which follows the noun:

- (99) *àgdzà-r-zálá kìnì úmlùwàyàrwàyà*
àgdzàr zálá kìnì úml wàyà-r-wàyà
 child male C.FOC other want-3PL-want
bákà dàbàryàrà
bákà dàbàrì-á-rà
 NEG.EX means-GEN-3SG
 ‘Boys, there are some who want [to marry], but they have no means.’
 (lit. ‘but his means do not exist’)

- (100) *é dè cìnà cìnánn mùksúmlè álàlátàrè*
é dè cìná-n-cìná-nn mùks úmlè
 eh SEQ hear-3SG-hear-pause woman another
á làl-á-tàrè
 PRED borough-GEN-3PL
 ‘A woman in their borough heard.’

One cannot replace *mùks úmlè* ‘another woman’ in the above clause with the phrase *áŋkwà mùksé* ‘a certain woman’.

12. Coding the vocative

The category vocative is different from the notion of the second person in that the vocative may, but does not have to be, a participant in the event described by the proposition. The vocative, whether nominal or pronominal, is overtly coded at the end of the clause. In addition, the vocative may be coded by honorifics, a category that is not coded in subject pronouns.

12.1 Forms of address

Nominal vocatives occupy clause-final position. Moreover, they are preceded by a pause, as indicated by the phrase-final form of the preceding word:

- (101) *ùsów* *ǰàbè* *ǰàmá*
greetings (F) again assembly
'Greetings again, listeners!'
- (102) *kái* *mà* *kígyí* *skè* *gdzárwà*
no, 1INCL three POL son-GEN-1SG
'No, we are three [or no, there are three of us], my child.'

When addressing an older person, one uses the form *ddà*, one of the realizations of the lexeme 'father', for a male addressee and *mài* for a female addressee, followed by the proper name:

- (103) *ǰàbámùkò* *ddàyámìdò*
ǰàp *bámà* *kwà* *ddà* *yámìdò*
receive part of welcome OPT father Yamido
'Welcome father Yamido!' (there is no natural discourse example with the female vocative)

The second-person plural pronoun can be used with respect to a single participant, as a marker of respect and politeness. In the following example, the addressee is the chief of the village:

- (104) *táláwà* *kùrsómbarškè*
táláwà *kùr* *sá-w* *mbàr* *skè*
please 2PL come-VENT alltogether POL
'Please, all come together.' [The chief never walks alone.]

In the following example, the addressee is the person who is recording the text and who is older than the speaker:

- (105) *yò* *fóyì* *ǰánnà* *wàtsè* *kwà* *d* *cìn-ná*
well chat DEF FUT 2PL FUT hear-3SG
kúr *nà* *nó-ǰwàné* *ǰlvà* *wàndàl*
2PL DEM PRES-DEF language Wandala
ǰánnà *tákàtànà* *ǰàmá* *kláwà*
ǰánnà *tá* *kàtá-n-à* *ǰàmá* *kláwà*
DEF 3PL want-3SG-PB world all
'Here is the chat that you will hear in Wandala and that the world desires.'

True plural addressees can be coded by the form *ǰàmá*, which occurs at the beginning of the clause:

- (106) *ḡàmá má cìnàkùr-ncìn jùbóonànwá*
ḡàmá má cìnà-kùr-n-cìn jùbà únà ná-wá
 assembly HYP hear-2PL-3SG-hear matter DEF DEM-COM
 ‘Listeners, if you understand this matter,’

13. Switch reference

13.1 Absence of formal coding of switch reference

Switch reference for the third-person subject does not have to be overtly marked. In the following fragment, the third-person subjects of the preceding and the following clauses are not co-referential, and yet there appear to be no formal means to code this fact:

- (107) *bànáẓènni àwàyànágdzèrná ámà ḡèbànánkàa*
bà názù nà níi á wàyà-ná
 FOC what DEM INTNS PRED love-3SG
gdzèr ná
 child DEM
á màḡè bà ḡán kàa
 3SG do FOC DEF NEG
 ‘Whatever the girl wants, that’s what is going to be done, isn’t it so?’

The sentence above can equally well mean: ‘whatever the girl wants, the girl does’. Participants in conversations rely on the flow of discourse to interpret the identity of the subject of the second clause. Compare also the following fragment, where the subject of the first clause (108) is different from the subject of the second clause (109), and yet this fact is not overtly marked:

- (108) *àbínḡàbàdám sàr kíḡyè*
à b-ín ḡàbè há dám sàr kíḡyè
 3SG say-3SG again till go:IN foot three
 ‘He [the father] said it three more times.’
- (109) *màḡàrà nà bàdá*
màḡàrà à nábà d-á
 now 3SG then go:GO
 ‘Now he [the child] returned.’

There are no formal switch reference markers in the following fragment, and yet the speakers interpret the subject of the second clause as being different from the subject of the first clause:

- (110a) *áttùádáksá gdzàr ñánnà dǎvántǎgžílnáwá*
á-t tù á dǎ ksá gdz-á-r
 PRED-T before 3SG FUT take child-GEN-3SG
ñánnà
 DEF
dǎ vǎ-n-tǎ g-žíl ná wá
 FUT give-3SG-T TO-man DEM COM
 ‘Before he sends his daughter to the [future] husband,

- (110b) *dólè séy žíl-ñánnà máksàrǎ-ksè*
dólè séy žíl ñánnà má ksà-rǎ-ksè
 necessary then man DEF HYP take-ON-take
názù àwwayná ñàné
názù à wway-ná ñàné
 what 3SG like-3SG 3SG
 ‘it is necessary that the man [father] accepts what she [his daughter] likes.’

There exist, nevertheless, formal means to mark switch reference, as described in the next section.

13.2 Switch reference and the position of the subject

One of the means to code switch reference with respect to the subject is placing the subject in the position before the verb. The evidence for this hypothesis is provided by pairs of sentences in which the object of the first sentence is the subject of the subsequent sentence:

- (111a) *tàlvángǎgdzǎnà bǎllàhǎñànwàrà*
tà lv-á-n gǎ gdzǎ nà bǎl
 3PL say-GO-3SG TO child DEM send:IMP
làh-á-ñ ñán-wá-rǎ
 song-GEN-2SG DEF-REM-DEF
 ‘They said to the child, “Sing that song of yours again!”’

- (111b) *ǎgdzǎnà blàlàhè*
ǎgdzǎ nà á blà làhè
 child DEM 3SG sing song
 ‘The child sings the song.’

- (113) *é, ágdzrè à hàyáyà àddòhàrà wàyàkvítvà*
*é, ágdzrè à hàyá-yà àddò-**hàrà** wàyà-k*
 eh child 3SG love-1SG father-3SG want-NEG
v-í-t-và
 give-1SG-T-give
 ‘The child loved me. Her father did not want to give her to me.’

- (114) *hàttá ágdzàr jàjàr vónlè*
hàttá ágdzàr jà-jà rvónlè
 till child hit-hit heart
 ‘Till the child became angry [with her father] ... ‘

Compare also the following sentence, where the subject of the second clause occurs before, rather than after, the verb, and where the two subjects are different:

- (115) *bimásàsáwà žilè bí àsáwán sálé*
bí má sà-sá-wà žilè bí á
 when HYP come-come-VENT man when 3SG
sá-w án sálé
 come-VENT ASSC money [Hausa, from English ‘shilling’]
dàdà átándà sàkàlvà
***dàdà** tá ndà-s k lvà*
 father 3PL say-S NEG word
 ‘And then, if the man arrives, when he comes with the money, the father cannot say a word.’

The subject occurs in clause-initial position not merely because of the change in subject, but precisely because the new subject is one of the arguments of the preceding sentence. In the following fragment, the first clause has a pronominal subject and a nominal object. The subsequent clause has a nominal subject, the same as the nominal object of the preceding clause (the relevant subjects and object are in bold):

- (116a) *yòw jìbám dènhàkìni tàtùàlénàhà*
yòw jìb-á mdè nè kìnì tá tù wà
 well type-GEN people DEM C.FOC 3PL T mouth
lèè nà
 road DEM
tàtsámkǝbàvànà àkyáwnà tándàtǝrlvànà à kyáwnà ìtárkìnní gyálàhà
tá ts á-m ǝbávè á kyáw nà
 3PL stand PRED-IN edge PRED there DEM

tá ndù-tór lvà tàr kinní
 3PL speak-3PL speech 3PL C.FOC

‘Those who are at the road side, who lurk there, they speak with the girls.’

- (116b) *gyál-àhà ḡánnà tà hàyá bà jìb á-m*
 child-PL DEF 3PL like FOC type PRED-IN
mdà ḡánnà
 people DEF

‘Those girls like this type of person.’

When the new subject is not one of the arguments of the preceding sentence, it follows the verb. In the following fragment, the first sentence has two participants: a third-person pronominal subject, the father in the narrative, and the addressee, the son. The second sentence has a new subject, *tàksè* ‘Sultan’, which occurs in postverbal position:

- (117a) *á, kàndángùgdzárwà màkígyé*
á, kà ndá-n g wè gdz-á-rwà
 ah, 3SG say-3SG TO what child-GEN-1SG
mà kígyé
 1INCL three

‘Why did you say [so] my son? We are three.’

- (117b) *é, àbàtàksówá pàfó pàfǎvgèḡánnà*
é, à bà tàksó wá pàfǎ-w-páf ǎvgè ḡánnà
 eh, 3SG say Sultan COM dig-PL-dig grave DEF
 ‘And the Sultan said, “Dig up this grave.”’

And finally, consider the following fragment, where in the first sentence there are several participants, including a generic reference to the mother. The second sentence has the mother as a new subject, and accordingly the noun ‘mother’ occurs before the verb:

- (118) *kínnázù ábà dzàtǎrbádzènáwá*
kín názù á bàdz-à-tǎr-bádzè ná wá
 now what 3SG spoil-GO-3PL-spoil DEM COM
ǎgdzrè á màlàn màrà
ǎgdzrè á màlà án màrà
 daughter 3SG attach ASSC mother

‘Actually, what spoils them is that the daughter is attached to her mother.’

bàstúwà
‘So it is indeed.’

- (119) *yó màrà ávántákè sàwàrì fágrà gègdzrè*
yó màrà á và-n-tá k sàwàrì
 well mother 3SG give-3SG-TNEG advice (F)
fágrà gè gdzrè
 good TO child
 ‘Yes, the mother does not give good advice to her child.’

The preverbal nominal subject may represent a noun that has been mentioned in previous discourse but not necessarily in the immediately preceding sentence. The preverbal position still codes switch reference:

- (120) *yó ásò hárá làrúskùmàḡàrà*
yó á sà-w há-r-á làrús
 well 3SG come-VENT day-GEN marriage
kwà màḡàrà
 RQ now
 ‘Well, there finally comes the day of the marriage [the betrothal].’

žilé ádá názù ádèndàvànánḡàné
žilé á d-á názù á dá ndàv-ḡ-án
 man 3SG go-GO that 3SG FUT ask-3SG-ASSC
ḡàné
 3SG
 ‘The man brings that with which he is going to ask for her,’

Another means to code switch reference is to use the full noun for the subject of the second clause. In the following example the noun *mdà* ‘people’ is a switch reference marker rather than a mere referential noun, since all the participants in the events of the story are people:

- (121a) *táná bə̀ptsə̀há dəm̀fə̀ḡánn ḡàbàdàlyé*
tà náb ptsə̀-hə́ á dəm̀ fə̀ ḡánnà
 3PL then return-PNCT PRED go:IN field DEF
ḡàbè á dàlyé
 again PRED again
 ‘They returned to the field.’

- (121b) *é mmàǵár sàràmsámdànà*
é mǵàrà.sà-r-à-m-s-á mdà nà
 well now come-3PL-IN-come-GO people DEM
 ‘And now, those people [the ones whom the Sultan sent] came.’ [The geminated *m* in *mmàǵár* is a result of an extended pause.]

For sentences in which the nominal subject follows the verb of the second clause, and where there is a possibility of switch reference or co-reference interpretation, the switch reference interpretation is a by-product of the focus construction marked by the form *bà*, preceding the second clause:

- (122) *è màmá séy á hàyà bóonà*
è màmá séy á hàyà bà-únà à
 eh mother then 3SG love FOC-DEM 3SG
wwàyná rvòndárnà
wwáy-nà rvònd-á-r-nà
 love-3SG heart-GEN-3SG-DEM
 ‘and the mother wants what her [the girl’s] heart wants.’

Compare now a clause without the focus marker:

- (123) *è màmá séy á hàyà únà à*
 and mother then 3SG love DEF 3SG
wwáy-nà rvònd-á-r-nà
wwáy-nà rvònd-á-r-nà
 love-3SG heart-GEN-3SG-DEM
 ‘and the mother wants what her [the mother’s] heart wants.’

14. Conclusions

The major subdomains within the domain of reference in Wandala are deixis, deixis and previous mention, and previous mention without deixis; deduced reference; indefiniteness; and switch reference. The coding means involved in these subdomains are deictic markers, anaphoric markers, overt use of nouns, pronouns and determiners, linear order of the subject with respect to the verb, and use of an existential verb to code indefiniteness.

Chapter 22

Paratactic and sequential clauses

1. Introduction

There are several types of sentences consisting of two or more clauses, each of which could occur as an independent sentence. These include asyndetic paratactic constructions, a type of construction frequently found in Chadic languages; coordinated conjoined clauses, a category seldom found in Chadic languages; and disjunctive clauses. Clausal coordination of the type commonly found in Indo-European languages, as represented by the form *and*, has not been grammaticalized in Wandala.

Wandala has grammaticalized two types of temporal sequential clauses. One type codes the sequential apodosis, i.e. the first clause in a sequence, through the auxiliary verb *dà*, derived from the verb *d* ‘go’. The other codes the sequential protasis, the second clause in the sequence, through the form *nábà*. Within a sentence, it is sufficient to code only one of the clauses through an overt sequential marker to assure a sequential clause interpretation.

2. Asyndetic paratactic constructions

Wandala has an asyndetic paratactic construction, i.e. a construction with two clauses without a conjunction in between (see Matthews 1997, Frajzyngier 1996). Each clause within such a construction may appear as an independent clause. In such clauses, the subject pronoun precedes each verb. Most paratactic constructions occurring in natural language indicate more or less the same time frame, although there may be a temporal succession between the events. One of the coding means deployed in paratactic constructions is high tone on the last syllable of the first clause. This is the coding means for building lists in Wandala:

- (1) *ndàndàr gáhé fàmám kwà*
ndàndàr gáhé fâ-m-f á-m kwà
 make pot put-IN-put PRED-IN inside
 ‘make the pot, put it inside!’ [*kwà* ‘inside’]

The inherent tone of the noun *gáhè* ‘pot’ is low, as evidenced by the clause-final form of the noun:

(2) *àndór gàhè*
‘make a pot!’

(3) *tátsámdá žilé*
tá tsá md-á žilé
3PL get-up people-GEN man
‘People of the groom get up,’

tásàbàǵyì mdámùksè
tá sà bàǵyì md-á mùksè
3PL come meet people-GEN woman
‘they come to find the people of the bride.’

If the two clauses have transitive verbs that share the same object, the object is overtly coded only in the first clause:

(4) *tà dè hàl-tá zàrvà tàr ñánnà tà púmá d-ám bùhá*
tà dè hàl-t-á zàrv-á-tàr ñánnà tà
3PL SEQ gather-T-GO sesame-GEN-3PL DEF 3PL
pú-m á d-ám bùhá
pour-IN PRED go-IN bag
‘And then they gathered their sesame in and poured it into a bag.’

(5) *àdè ksàsà zàrvà ñánnà*
à dè ksà-s-á zàrvà ñánnà
3SG SEQ take-S-GO sesame DEF
‘He pulled out that sesame and . . .’

àkàtá zàrvà filyá zàrvà ñánnà àvàtrtè
à kà-t-á zàrvà fily-á zàrvà ñánnà
3SG raise-T-GO sesame sand-GEN sesame DEF
à v-à-tr-tè
3SG give-3PL-T
‘He raised the sesame, the grain of that sesame, he gave it to them.’

In many paratactic constructions the verb of the first clause is intransitive, coding altrilocality, e.g. ‘go’ or ‘come’. The verb of the second clause may be transitive:

- (6) *tàsàwàm dá žilé táksà gyálè*
tá sà-wà md-á žilé
 3PL come-VENT people-GEN husband
tá ksà gyálè
 3PL take girl
 ‘The people of the groom come and take the girl.’

There appears to be no clear-cut distinction between a paratactic construction consisting of two clauses and a sequence of sentences in a discourse. If there are transitive verbs in both clauses, the best indicator of a paratactic construction is the omission of the object in the second clause:

- (7) *tà hàlsám bùhá ηánnà*
tà hàl-s á-m bùhá ηánnà
 3PL gather-S PRED-IN bag DEF
 ‘They gathered the bag,’
- tà fá tè zèηwà*
tà f-á á t é zèηwà
 3PL put-GO PRED T donkey
 ‘and put it on the donkey.’

The second clause of this fragment could not occur as the first clause in a narrative.

3. Counter-expectation

Counter-expectation is coded by the complementizer *tsà* occurring between the protasis and the apodosis clauses:

- (8) *tàmùsèl mátsà támèsèláwrè*
tà mùsèlmá tsà t-á-m sèlàwré
 3PL Moslems yet 3PL-PRED-IN pants
 ‘They are Moslems, and yet they wear pants!’ (lit. ‘they are in pants’)

The form *à(m)má* ‘but’, borrowed from Arabic via Hausa or Fula, can supplement the marker *tsà* or can be the only counter-expectation marker:

- (9) *à dóndàvà ázà dǎ ñàrwà gyálà ná*
à dǎ ndàvà á zà dǎ ñà-r wá
 3SG go ask PRED HL father POSS-3 COM
gyálà-ná
 girl-DEM
hàyèn hàyá àmá dǎ ñàrwá à kàtá yénvyè
hàyé-n-hàyá àmá dǎ ñà-r wá à kàtá
 love-3SG-love but father POSS-3SG COM 3SG want
á yé-n-v-yè
 3SG refuse-3SG-APPL-refuse
 ‘He went to ask her father, saying that the girl loves him. But her father wants to refuse him.’

4. Coordinated clauses

4.1 Coordination through the repetition of the verb *s* ‘come’

As in some other Chadic languages (Frajzyngier 2005), verbs corresponding to ‘come’ and ‘go’ have come to serve as conjunctions for same-subject clauses. They are preceded by pronominal subjects and followed by the main verb of the clause. The evidence that these items have been grammaticalized is provided by the fact that the auxiliaries may follow the same verb in the preceding clause, which precludes both the lexical meaning of the verb and any potential altrilocality function:

- (10) *sébà kásókásǎccínkákìni*
sé bà ká sá-w ká sǎ
 then FOC 2SG come-VENT 2SG come
ccín ká kìnì
 listen:IMP 2SG C.FOC
 ‘You should come and listen as well.’

Without the auxiliary *sǎ* before the verb of the second clause, the sentence would not overtly code sequentiality:

- (11) *sé bà ká sá-w ká ccín ká kìnì*
 then FOC 2SG come-VENT 2SG listen 2SG also
 ‘it is necessary that you too come and listen’

4.2 Coordination through the marker *kwá*

The marker *kwá* occurs between two independent clauses that have the same aspectual and time values and the same subjects:

- (12) *tákàtá bà ngùdí rkwá tákàtá bàtá bà dzá gdzàràhàbí*
tá kàtá bà ngùdí́r kwá tá kàtá
 3PL want FOC promiscuity CONJ 3PL want
bà tá bàdzà ágdzàrà-hà bí
 FOC 3PL spoil child-PL completely
 ‘They want promiscuity and spoil the girls completely.’

The function of this form is not clear, as there are not enough examples in natural discourse for proper analysis. The marker may be derived from the clause-final interrogative particle *ko*, potentially borrowed from Hausa. It may well be a marker of a rhetorical question.

5. Disjunctive clauses

The disjunctive clause marker is the conjunction *mtú*, the same one that codes disjunctive nominal coordination. If the predicates of the two clauses are identical, i.e. if one of the clauses presents an affirmative choice and the other a negative choice, the verb is repeated in both clauses. A reduplicated verb cannot be used in a negative clause:

- (13) *mágàráv gùsé ándàvà màkí áksà ráksàmtu áksàrkàhè*
má gá-rá-v-g ùsé á ndàvà
 HYP greet-3PL-APPL-greet greetings 3SG ask
mákí á ksà-rá-ksè mtú á ksà-r
 HYP 3SG take-ON-take or 3SG take-ON
kà hè
 NEG Q
 ‘After their mutual salutations, he asks [the girl] whether she accepts or not.’

The disjunctive conjunction has also acquired the meaning of a counter-presupposition conjunction. In the following fragment both clausal functions of the conjunction *mtú* are illustrated: first as the disjunctive conjunction, and then as the counter-presupposition conjunction:

- (14) *tá pwám̀bà ñánnà g̀èb̀ákìrà žilmtú*
tá pwà á-m mbá ñánnà g̀è b̀ák
 3PL pour PRED-IN home DEF TO NEG.EX
ìr-á žil mtú
 head-GEN man or
 ‘They loaf around the house because of the absence of a man,’

áñkwè žilmtú wàyàrkàbèetàrèè
áñkwè žil mtú wàyà-r kà bà itàrèè
 exist man or love-3PL NEG FOC 3PL
 ‘or else, there is a man, but they [the girls] don’t like [him].’

6. The conjunction *má*

The coordinated conjunction *má* is phonologically part of the preceding clause. The conjunction can occur after the noun phrase as well as after the clause. The following fragment contains three instantiations of the conjunction *má*. The conjunction can be omitted in all these instances, and its omission was actually preferred by other speakers who consider the use of conjunction in this fragment to be excessive:

- (15) *l̀àkàtá tákígyé*
l̀àkàt-a tá kígyé
 fellow-PL 3PL three
 ‘There were three friends.’

l̀àkàtá ñánnà tá-kígyémá [pause] tà d̀è h̀èrdà
l̀àkàt-a ñánnà tá-kígyé-má tà d̀è h̀èrdà
 fellow-PL DEF 3PL-three-and 3PL go farm
 ‘And these three friends went to farm.’

tà h̀èrdà f̀átàrè
tà h̀èrdà f-á-tàr [má] (added during analysis)
 3PL farm field-GEN-3PL [and]
 ‘And they finished farming.’

žóžà lvá h̀èrdà [má added in analysis]
žà-ú-žà lv-á h̀èrd [má]
 finish-VENT-finish business-GEN farm [and]
 ‘Their farming finished ...’

The marker *má* anticipates a connection with the following clause, as evidenced by the fact that it does not occur in the final clauses of the paragraph:

- (16) *máǵàrà* *béetàrè* *séetá* *dá* *fùlà*
máǵàrà *á* *bà* *ítàrè* *séi* *tá* *d-á* *fùlà*
 now (F) 3SG say 3PL then 3PL go-GO travel
 ‘Now they say that they have to travel.’

Given the absence of the marker *má* in most clauses where a coordinating conjunction would have been expected, one may conclude that is a discourse conjunction.

7. The sequential apodosis form *nábà*

The form *nábà* or *bà* occurs after subject pronouns and before the verb. The verb in a sequential clause must be simple, and it can be in either the perfective or the imperfective aspect. The tense of the sequential clause is coded by the tone on the subject pronouns. Subject pronouns must precede the form *nábà* even if they are co-referential with the subject of the preceding clause or sentence. The form *nábà* is a clausal marker, and it can occur in independent clauses as well as in clauses that form part of a complex sentence. The sequential marker codes a sequence of events within a discourse and within a sentence. When *nábà* functions within discourse, it can be replaced by the sequential marker *d*. The following examples represent the function of the marker *nábà* within a discourse:

- (17) *mádám* *tàtárkìní* *máná* *bàǵàlà*
má *dá-m* *tàtá-r* *kìní* *má* *nábà* *ǵàlà*
 HYP go-IN place-Q C.FOC 1INCL then go
 ‘No matter into what place, we can go there.’

tàná *bàǵà*
tà *nábà* *ǵàlà*
 3PL then depart
 ‘And then they left.’

- (18) *é* *ǵà-r-ǵàlá*
é *ǵà-r-ǵàlá*
 eh depart-3PL-depart
 ‘They left.’

- (19) *yéžžàrà bíyíná* *bàk káǵà*
yé *žžàrà* *bí* *yé* *nábà* *kkáǵà*
 1SG look INTNS 1SG then count
 ‘I will look first. Then I [will] count.’

Here is another example where the form *nábà* functions in a discourse rather than within a sentence. Example (20) below follows the preceding example (19) in the text, but it is produced by the narrator, whereas example (19) represents speech by a participant in the event:

- (20) *púm* *tànábàpùsà* *zàrvànáátè* *bùcé*
púm *tà* *nábà* *pw-sà* *zàrvà-nà*
 ONOM 3PL then pour-S sesame-DEM
á *tà* *bùcé*
 PRED T mat
 ‘Pum! They poured out sesame onto a mat.’

Similarly, the sequence of sentences (21a) and (21b) illustrates the deployment of *nábà* as discourse connector:

- (21a) *sèi bà méycícùkùmùm* *mgànsàrà*
sèi *bà* *má* *yìc-lic* *kùmù* *má* *màgà-n* *éstà-rà*
 then, FOC 1INCL cut-cut if not 1INCL do-3SG how-Q
 ‘‘We have to cross [the river], otherwise, what will we do?’’ [*stà* reduced to *sà*]
- (21b) *tànábùpúm há dúmhúďà* *hàyè* [recording different]
tà *nábà* *pú-m-hè* *á* *dú-m* *hùď-á* *hàyè*
 3PL then fell-IN-PNCT PRED go-IN belly-GEN river
 ‘Then they threw themselves into the river.’

When the marker *nábà* codes the sequence of events within a clause, it cannot be replaced by the marker *d* (see section 8). This is the case in the following example:

- (22) *yéžžàrà bíyíná* *bàk káǵà*
yé *žžàrà* *bí* *yé* *nábà* *kkáǵà*
 1SG look INTNS 1SG then count
 ‘‘I will look first. Then I [will] count.’’

The contrast between the sequential functions of *nábà* and *d* is illustrated in the following fragment, which has both markers. The marker *nábà* codes an

apodosis, what happened after some event. The marker *də*, while it indicates what happened, also prepares the ground for the subsequent clauses:

- (23a) *é, àbàlèksáwá pàjò pàjəvgə̀hànnà*
é, à bā lèksá wá pàfā-w-pàf əvgə̀ hānnà
 eh, 3SG say Sultan COM dig-PL-dig grave DEF
 ‘And the Sultan said, “Dig up this grave.”’

- (23b) *tànábà̀yíshè*
tà nábà yí-s-hè
 3PL then dig-S-PNCT
 ‘Then they dug it up.’

- (24) *tàdəsəsá dádámúvgè*
tà də sè-s-á dádà á-m úvgè
 3PL SEQ come-S-GO father PRED-IN grave
 ‘They raised the father from the grave.’

When the form *nábà* codes sequential events within a discourse, it can be replaced by the form *d*:

- (25) *tèycəs hàyè tànábàtsá twáhè hānnà* [not on the recording]
tà yc-s hàyè tà nábà tsá á-t
 3PL cut-S river 3PL then stop PRED-T
w-á hày hānnà
 mouth:GEN river DEF
 ‘They crossed the river, they stood at the river bank.’

A temporal protasis clause may be coded by the R1ProR2 form, the backgrounding aspect:

- (26a) *ḥóḥə̀ mǎḥàrà*
 finish:VENT-finish now
 ‘That finished.’

- (26b) *tà nábà ks-t-á bàrà́m-á-tà̀r hānnà*
 3PL then take-T-GO road-GEN-3PL DEF
 ‘Then they took their road.’

Since the subject pronoun must always occur before the form *nábà*, the only way an ambiguity with respect to the identity of the subject may arise is if the subjects of the protasis and the apodosis clause are both third person and

have the same number. The introduction of a nominal subject in the clause marked by *nábà* implies the introduction of a new subject into the sentence. A new nominal subject may be introduced in a clause marked by *nábà*, but such a subject must be preceded by the preposition *gè*:

- (27) *à nábà ʒál-à gè ləksé*
 3SG then depart-GO TO chief
 ‘and then, the Sultan left’

The numeral *pállè* ‘one’, in the function of coding an indefinite but referential function, is not preceded by the preposition *gè*:

- (28) *à nábà ʒál-à páll-á-tàrè*
 3SG then depart one-GEN-3PL
 ‘And then, one of them left.’ [for the Sultan]

8. The sequential protasis

The term ‘sequential protasis’ refers to a clause that is a temporal or logical follow-up of another clause and at the same time serves as a protasis for some other clause, again related to the protasis clause either by time or by consequence. It is thus a different notion than the one usually referred to by this term. The sequential protasis is coded by the form *dà*, which follows the pronominal subject and precedes the main verb. The fact that the form *dà* follows the subject pronoun indicates that it has a verbal origin, most likely in the verb *d* ‘go’. The form of the verb following the auxiliary could be either simple or reduplicated, having the pattern Pro R1R2 rather than R1ProR2. In sequential clauses, object pronouns are suffixed to the simple or the reduplicated form, depending on the modality of the clause:

- (29) *à dà yè-n-vè*
 3SG SEQ refuse-3SG-APPL
 ‘and he refused’

à dì yì-vè
 ‘he refused me’

à dà yà-k-vè
 ‘he refused you’

à dè j-ì-jà 'and he hit me'
 à dè jì-k-jà 'and he hit you'

The evidence for the protasis function as defined above is provided by the fact that clauses with the marker *dè* are preceded by temporally or logically related clauses and followed by temporally or logically related clauses. Compare the following fragment where the clause (30b) with the marker *dè* is the logical consequence of the request made in (30a). The fragment in (30c) is the direct citation of what the subject of (30b) did:

(30a) yò bállàhá η ηánnà ζàbá dályè ηáccìnà
 yò bál làh-á-η ηánnà ζàbè á dályè
 well sing song-GEN-2SG DEF yet PRED again
 wá ηά ccìnà
 COM 1EXCL hear:IMP
 'Sing your song again, so that we can hear it.'

(30b) àdèblàláxηàrà ζàbàdályé
 à dè blà làhà ηàrà ζàb á dályé
 3SG SEQ sing song 3SG yet PRED again
 'And he sang [his] song again.'

(30c) mágyávgyè mágàyáηrùwà yázànbàyánè mùrwà
 má gyá-v-gyè mágày-á-ηrù wá
 HYP cook-APPL-cook hungry rice-GEN-1EXCL COM
 bàηρά ηάbúwà
 bà ηρά ηά bwà
 FOC 1EXCL 1EXCL two
 yá zà-n bà yà ánè mù-rwà
 1SG eat-3SG FOC 1SG ASSC mother-1SG
 bà ηρά ηά bwà
 FOC 1EXCL 1EXCL two
 'When our hungry rice is cooked, it is me who will eat with my mother, just us, just the two of us.'

Compare also the following fragment where again the clause with the sequential marker is in the middle, being in temporal sequence to the preceding clause and a logical protasis for the following clause. The tenses and aspects in the clauses can be different. In the following fragment the preceding clause has the imperfective aspect, and the following clause has the perfective aspect:

- (31a) *dá-m-d-á-rà á dá-m hùd-á yàwè*
 go-IN-go-GEN-3SG PRED go-IN belly-GEN water
á tàttàyà tàttàyà tàttàyà
 3SG search search search
 ‘Having entered the water, he is looking, he is looking, he is looking.’
- (31b) *àdè ksàsà zàrvà ñánnà*
à dè ksà-s-á zàrvà ñánnà
 3SG SEQ take-S-GO sesame DEF
 ‘He pulled out that sesame and . . .’
- (31c) *àkàtá zàrvà filyá zàrvà ñánnà àvàtrtè*
à kà-t-á zàrvà fily-á zàrvà ñánnà
 3SG raise-T-GO sesame sand-GEN sesame DEF
à v-à-tr-tè
 3SG give-3PL-T
 ‘He raised the sesame, the grain of that sesame, he gave it to them.’

The antecedent of the sequential clause may be another clause or an adverb of time, such as *dàcí* ‘when, then’:

- (32) *dàcí yà dè tādā-s-hé yà tādā-s bà kàlfé*
 then 1SG SEQ pull-S-PNCT 1SG pull-S FOC fish
 ‘Then when I pulled it [hook] out, I pulled a fish.’
- (33) *dàcí màlà-há ñrè tà dè sò-hè*
 when parent-PL:GEN 1EXCL 3PL SEQ come:VENT-PNCT
tà bār zàhó nà
 3PL findsnake DEM
 ‘When our parents came there, they found the snake.’
- (34) *bàstwá à dè sá-n-sà-sé*
bà st-wá à dè sá-n-sà-sé
 SEQ DEF-COM 3SG SEQ come-3SG-S-come
à ksà-vá bà zàhé
 3SG take-APPL only snake
 ‘Like that, when he was pulling out he caught a snake instead.’

The sequential marker *dè* can also code discourse connection, as illustrated by examples (35) and (36):

- (35) *zàrvà ñánnà ákyè tà dǎnvàlà ámtá tómlè*
zàrvà ñánnà á kíyè tà dǎ vǎlà á-m
 sesame DEF ‘one says’ 3PL FUT sell PRED-IN
tátà úmlè
 place other
 ‘That sesame, they say, they will sell at some other place.’ [i.e. a place
 other than the one where they harvested the sesame]

- (36) *tà dǎ hǎltá zàrvá tàr ñánnà tà púmá dǎm bùhá*
tà dǎ hǎl-t-á zàrv-á-tàr ñánnà tà
 3PL SEQ gather-T-GO sesame-GEN-3PL DEF 3PL
pú-m á dǎ-m bùhá
 pour-IN PRED go-IN bag
 ‘And then they gathered their sesame in and poured it into a bag.’

9. Conclusions

Like most Chadic languages (Frajzyngier 1996), Wandala does not have a coordinated clausal conjunction whose role would be to instruct the listener to interpret two or more clauses in connection with each other without specifying the type of semantic connection involved. Instead, clauses are marked for a specific semantic relation with either a preceding or a following clause, and some markers indicate a connection with both the preceding and following material.

The following are the specific semantic relations of a clause: temporal simultaneity, coded by asyndetic parataxis; counter-expectation, coded mainly by the borrowed marker *à(m)má*; disjunctive clauses, coded by the marker *mtú* ‘or’; temporal apodosis clauses, coded by the form *nábà*; and temporal protasis clauses coded by the form *dǎ*. The scope of all overt markers could be a sentence or a discourse, in the sense that all these markers can occur in sentences consisting of a single clause.

Chapter 23

Complementation

1. The formal means

The present chapter deals only with clausal complements of verbs. Clausal complements of noun phrases are discussed in chapter 5 ('Noun phrase'), chapter 18 ('Comment clauses'), and in chapter 26 ('The relative clause').

The formal means involved in complementation include complementizers, aspectual forms, and nominalization. The functions of the complement clause may correspond to those of arguments, such as subject and object, but they also may correspond to those of adverbs.

2. Complementizers

The complementizers include *wá* 'comment marker', *tsà* 'mood of obligation', *gàní*, *gà* 'TO', and the complex complementizer *ná wá*. Each complementizer has a specific epistemic or deontic function and can be used with a variety of verbs. Certain verbs, however, are more likely to be associated with some complementizers than with others. The description below deals with all complementizers other than the comment-clause marker *wá*, which is amply discussed in chapter 18 ('Comment clauses').

2.1 Complementizer *gàní*

The complementizer *gàní* precedes indicative complements. Complement clauses marked by *gàní* can be statements either by the speaker or by the subject of the matrix clause:

- (1a) *àskà žilé ándánà gèmdátàrè gàní*
àskà žilé á ndá-nè gè
like man 3SG tell-3SG TO
md-á-tàrè gàní
people-GEN-3PL COMP
'And then the groom says to the members of his family,'

- (1b) *ánó vácí stwà náwá yágánikà*
á nó vácí s-t-wà ná-wá
 eh PRES day DEM-DEM-DEM DEM-COM
yá gá níkà
 1SG contract marriage
 “‘On such and such day I am going to get married.’”

The citation may be followed by the matrix clause with the verb of saying, essentially repeating the matrix clause that precedes the complement clause:

- (2) *ándàtr gùmdàrà*
á ndà-tr gù md-á-rà
 3SG say-3PL TO people-GEN-3SG
 ‘He says to his people.’

The rest of the chapter is organized by categories of verbs whose clausal complements show similar characteristics that are distinct from clausal complements of other verbs.

3. Complements of verbs of saying

3.1 The verbs of saying

The verbs of saying are *ndà* ‘tell’, *bá* ‘say’, *ndàvà* ‘ask’, and *lvá* or *vvá*, depending on the dialect. Each of these verbs has a different argument structure. The main clause may occur without a verb, in which case only the complementizer indicates that the matrix clause is a locutionary predication. The comment-clause marker *wá* precedes the complement clause if there is no verb of saying:

- (3) *à dóndàvà ázà dǎ ñàrwà gyálà ná*
à dǎ ndàvà á zà dǎ ñà-r wá
 3SG go ask PRED HL father POSS-3 COM
gyálà-ná
 girl-DEM
hàyèn hàyá àmá dǎ ñàrwá à kàtá yénvyè
hàyé-n-hàyá àmá dǎ ñà-r wá à kàtá
 love-3SG-love but father POSS-3SG COM 3SG want
á yé-n-v-yè
 3SG refuse-3SG-APPL-refuse
 ‘He went to ask her father, saying that the girl loves him. But her father wants to refuse him.’

3.2 Complements of the verb *ndà* ‘say’

The use of the complementizer *gèni* as coding the direct speech complement of the verb of saying *ndà* has been illustrated above in the examples (1a)-(1c). The complementizer *dǎgiyá* is also followed by direct speech. It also occurs at the end of the matrix clause and immediately before the complement clause:

- (4) *yándà trálv gè tàràgdzà gyálà ná*
yá ndà-trǎ lv gè tàr ágdzà gyálà ná
 1SG speak-3PL speech TO 3PL young girl:PL DEM
ántàr gdzàrzálánà dǎ giyá
ántàr gdzàr zálá ná dǎgiyá
 ASSC:PL child male DEM behold
 ‘I am speaking to the girls and boys, as follows:’

ágdzàr žilé má ndàvándà vè mùksè
ágdzàr žilé má ndává-ndávà mùksè
 child boy HYP ask-ask girl
 ‘A young man, if he asks for a woman,’

3.3 Complements of the verb *b* ‘say’

The complement of the verb *b* ‘say’ can follow the matrix verb directly or it may be preceded by one of the complementizers, such as the comment-clause marker *wá*. The nominal subject of the matrix clause follows the matrix verb. The complement can be direct speech even if preceded by the comment-clause marker *wá*:

- (5) *á bə páll-á-tàr wá nó kìnà òìgíyà*
 3SG say one-GEN-3PL COM PRES now COMP
 ‘One among them says, thus.’
- (6) *èe, àbəm̀ùnàrwá mìḡàlkwà*
èe, à bə mù ḡàr wá mì ḡàl kwà
 eh, 3SG say mother 3SG COM 1INCL go OPT
 ‘So, his mother said, “Let’s go!”’

The verb *bə* is preceded, for all persons and numbers, by the form *à*, identical with the third-person subject pronoun. Unlike all other verbs, it is followed by the subject pronoun. The suffixed subject pronoun for the third-person singular is *ìnà*, related to the demonstrative *únà* ‘this’.

- (7) *méyáblà lághnàwá*
mé yá blà làh ná wá
 HYP 1SG send song DEM COM
 ‘“When I sing the song,”’
- àḡkórán dàlvàmúvgàbìná*
àḡk ùrà á ndá lv ám vg
 exist person 3SG speak word in grave
à b-ìná
 3SG say-3SG
 ‘“there is somebody talking in the grave,” he said.’
- (8) *àbínḡàbàdám̀sər kígyé*
à b-ín ḡàbè há dám̀ sər kígyé
 3SG say-3SG again till go:IN foot three
 ‘He said it three more times.’

All the remaining pronouns are identical with object pronouns rather than with the subject pronouns used with all other verbs. Moreover, the verb *bə* has high rather than low tone with pronouns other than the third-person singular. The evidence that subjects are suffixed is provided by the third-person plural form, where the first vowel of the form *ítàrè* fuses with the vowel *á* of the verb, resulting in the mid front vowel [e]. In the following examples, the third-person singular subject pronoun *à*, if present, has been fused with the last vowel of the verb:

- (9) *yéḡḡàrà bìná*
yé ḡàrà b-ìná

1SG see say-3SG
 ‘I see, he says’

yéžžàrà báya
yé žàrà bá-yà
 1SG see say-1SG
 ‘I will see, I say’

tážžàrà bétàrè
tá d-žàrà bá-ítàrè
 3PL FUT-see say-3PL
 ‘they will see, they say’

kážžàrà bá-kà
ká d-žàrà bá-kà
 2SG FUT-see say-2SG
 ‘you will see, you say’

má-žžàrà bá-myà
 1INCL-FUT:see say-1INCL
 ‘we will see, we say’

ŋá-žžàrà bá-ŋrè
 1EXCL-FUT-see say-1EXCL
 ‘we will see, we say’

kó-žžàrà bá-kùrè
 2PL-FUT:see say-2PL
 ‘you will see, you say’

If there is some material between the verb of saying and the complement clause, the complement clause is preceded by the comment-clause marker *wá*. This is the case for all sentences where the nominal subject follows the verb of saying:

- (10) *á bə páll-á-tàr wá nó kìnà dīgíyà*
 3SG say one -GEN-3PL COM PRES now COMP
 ‘One among them says, thus.’

- (11) *àbè pàllè kìnùwá tàlànèskè fì dáɣnà*
à bà pàllè kìnì wá tàlànè skè
 3SG say one C.FOC COM sorry POL
fid-á-ŋ nà
 lie-GEN-2SG DEM
 ‘The other said, “Sorry, this is your lie [you are lying].”’
- (12) *à bàpàllànè kìnì wá mábà ní bà jìr bɣyàsábbɣyè*
à bà pàllè nà kìnì wá má-bà ní
 3SG say one DEM C.FOC COM HYP-FOC INTNS
bà jìr bɣyà-sá-bɣyè
 FOC true fall-S-fall
dám hùdá hàyi wá
dá-m hùd-á hàye wá
 go-IN belly-GEN river COM
 ‘One among them said, “If really [a grain] has fallen into the river, ”’

If there is a nominal subject following the verb, there is no subject suffix to the verb. The third-person singular pronominal subject precedes the verb of the main clause even if the nominal subject that follows the verb is inherently plural. Thus the noun *mdá* ‘men’, a suppletive plural of the noun *ùrà* ‘person’, has the third-person singular pronoun as its subject:

- (13) *àbámdàn búunè kní wá tàlànè skè*
à b mdà nà búunà kìnì wá
 3SG say people DEM twoDEM C.FOC COM
tàlànè skè
 please
 ‘The two others said, “Please.”’

dùksá dək zàyàwè
dùksá dægza yàwè
 thing run water
 ‘The thing is that the water runs.’

- (14) *èe, àbùmdànàwá ámbàtè bàjìrè*
èe, à b mdà nà wá áa mbàtè bà jìrè
 eh 3SG say people DEM COM ah hence FOC true
 ‘Eh, the people there said, “Hence it is true!”’

If the complement clause directly follows the verb *bà*, there is no complementizer.

- (15) *tá bàtrá àwwàyà nàkwáyà*
tá bà-trá à wwàyà-n-à-k-wáyà
 3PL say-3PL ah love-1SG-GO-2SG-love
 ‘They tell them, ah, I love you.’
- (16) *é ddà òrààmùvèkíní àbàbà*
é ddà òrà á-mù vè kíní à bà bà
 eh father 3SG PRED-IN grave C.FOC 3SG say FOC
kái màkífyískè gdzàrwà
kái mà kífyí skè gdz-á-rwà
 no, IINCL three POL child-GEN-1SG
 ‘And his father in the grave says, “No, we are nevertheless three, my son.”’

4. Locutionary predication without a verb of saying

The term ‘locutionary predication’ is used here to refer to a predication that states that something has been said. It is thus used differently from the same term in speech act theory, as proposed by Austin. This use, however, goes back to its Latin origin. I use this term because there are matrix clauses that do not have verbs of saying but that are interpreted as involving a speech act. The only indication that the main clause is locutionary is provided by the comment-clause marker *wá* that precedes the complement clause. In the following example, the first clause has the verb of saying *ndàvà* ‘ask’. But the complement clause is not the complement of this verb; it is rather a complement of a locutionary predication that is not overtly marked:

- (17) *à dónàvà ázà dó òràrwà gyálè ná*
à dó ndàvà á zà dó òrà wá
 3SG go ask PRED HL father 3SG COM
gyálè-ná
 girl-DEM
hàyèn hàyá àmá dó òràwá à kàtá yénvyè
hàyé-n-hàyà àmá dó òrà wá à kàtá
 love-3SG-love but father 3SG COM 3SG want
á yé-n-v-yè
 3SG refuse-3SG-APPL-refuse
 ‘He went to ask her father, saying that the girl loves him. But her father wants to refuse him.’

5. Direct speech

The use of the first- or second-person pronoun in the embedded clause is one of the best indicators of direct speech. A number of complement clauses that represent direct speech have such pronouns. Certain instantiations of direct speech do not have the de dicto complementizer *wá* in environments where indirect speech has it, e.g. when the complement clause is separated from the verb of saying by other material:

- (18) *à bə̀ pàllə̀ ddá tìmə̀*
à bə̀ pàllè̀ dd-á tìmə̀
 3SG say one man-GEN ear
 ‘The one who hears all said.’

fīllyá zàrvá mì pàllə̀ kày mbə̀dà mbə̀dám dāmyáwnà
fīlì-á zàrv-á myá pàllè̀ kày mbə̀dà-m-mbə̀d
 sand-GEN sesame-GEN 1INCL one ? fall-IN-fall
á-m d-ár yàwè̀ nà
 PRED go:ON water DEM
 ‘‘‘One of our sesame seeds fell into the water.’’’

- (19) *àbàṅán kàyà sèyàdè̀ sánsè̀ sábinà*
à bə̀ ṅán kàyà sèi yà də̀
 3SG say 3SG nevertheless then 1SG SEQ
sá-n-sə̀-sè̀ á b-inà
 come-3SG-S-come 3SG say-3SG
 ‘He says, ‘‘Nevertheless, I will get it out.’’’

The root *lv*, otherwise recorded as ‘speech, word’, can be used as a verb of saying. It takes a third-person pronoun coding the addressee, and the nominal addressee is marked by the preposition *gə̀*. The natural discourse example with this verb contains the complementizer *də̀gìyá* followed by direct speech:

- (20) *àlvàngəmṅàr də̀gìyà nònònónázàicìnáyà*
à lv-á-n gə̀ mṅ-ṅàr də̀gìyà
 3SG say-GO-3SG TO mother-3SG behold
nò nò nò názù yè̀ cìn-ná-yà
 PRES PRES PRES what 1SG hear-3SG-1SG
 ‘He said to his mother, ‘‘Here is what I heard.’’’

- (21) *yòo àbè pàllátàrwà*
yòo à bè pàll-á-tàr wá
 well 3SG say one-GEN-3PL COM
 ‘One among them says,’
mbàtèbàdè mirámyà mándyìstùwá
mbàtè bàdèm ìr-á-myà mà án
 therefore all head-GEN-1INCL 1INCL ASSC
dy s-t-wá
 knowledge DEF-DEF-DEF
 ‘‘Then we all have our knowledge like that.’’

The complement clause that has the imperative mood also represents direct speech:

- (22) *talvàngègdzèn [ʒàbádàlyé bálʒàbè]* not on the recording.
tá lvá-n gè gdzè nà [ʒàb á dályé
 3PL say-3SG TO child DEM again PRED repeat
bál *ʒàbè]*
 send again
 ‘They say again to the child, ‘‘Sing again.’’

- (23) *àbèmdèn búunè kní wá tàlánà skè*
à b mdè nà búunà kinì wá
 3SG say people DEM twoDEM C.FOC COM
tàlánà skè
 please
 ‘The two others said, ‘‘Please.’’

As already illustrated in examples (1a) and (6), the complementizers *gèní* or *dègiyá* ‘behold’ indicate direct speech. Here is an additional example:

- (24a) *àskè žilé ándánè gèmdátàrè gèní*
àskè žilé á ndá-nè gè
 like man 3SG tell-3SG TO
md-á-tàrè gèní
 people-GEN-3PL COMP
 ‘And then the groom says to the members of his family,’

- (24b) *ánó vácí stwà nává yágánikà*
á nó vácí s-t-wà ná-wá
 eh PRES day DEM-DEM-DEM DEM-COM
yá gá níkà
 1SG contract marriage
 “‘On such and such day I am going to get married.’”

- (25) *tàlvángèlèksè dègíyà nó nó nó nàzùñàcìnáñrè*
tà lv-á-n gè lèksè dègíyà nó nó nó
 3PL say-GO-3SG TO chief COMP PRES X3
ñàzú ñà cìn-á-ñrè
 what 1EXCL hear-GO-1EXCL
á-m hùd-á f-á-ñrè
 PRED-IN belly-GEN field-GEN-1EXCL
 ‘They said to the Sultan, “Here is what we heard in our field.’”

6. Complementizer *nts`*

The complement of the verb *bà* may be preceded by the complementizer *nts`* (root form; phrase-final form *ntsà*). Regardless of whether subjects of the matrix and the embedded clauses are co-referential or not, the pronominal subject must precede the verb of the embedded clause. Since the complementizer *nts`* has been recorded only in elicited material, its function cannot at present be properly described:

- (26) *yà bà-ná ntsà á gá mùksè*
 1SG say-3SG COMP 3SG marry woman
 ‘I told him that he is going to marry’
- yà bà nts yà gá mùksè*
 1SG say COMP 1SG marry woman
 ‘I said that I am going to marry’

The form of the complementizer resembles the demonstrative *tsà* in a related Central Chadic language, Hdi (Frajzyngier with Shay 2002).

7. Interrogative complements of verbs of saying

The polar complement clause has the marker *hè* at the end, the same marker that the polar question has in the matrix clause. The interrogative complement is marked by the hypothetical marker *máki*:

- (27) *mágàráv gùsé ándàvà màkí áksà ráksèmtu áksàrkàhè*
má gá-rá-v-g ùsé á ndàvà
 HYP greet-3PL-APPL-greet greetings 3SG ask
mákí á ksà-rá-ksè mtú á ksà-r
 HYP 3SG take-ON-take or 3SG take-ON
kà hè
 NEG Q
 ‘After their mutual salutations, he asks [the girl] whether she accepts or not.’

The direct-speech interrogative complement clause may occur in clause-initial position:

- (28) *èi màmàgànástàrà àbà pállá tàrè*
èi má màgà-n ástà-rà à b páll-á-tàrè
 so 1INCL do-3SG DEF-Q 3SG say one-GEN-3PL
 ‘“So, what shall we do?” said one of them.’

8. The imperative in complement clauses

The imperative mood in complement clauses is coded by the imperative form of the verb:

- (29) *àbàmàmà bálkàbàdàlyé*
à bàmàmà bál kàb á dàlyé
 3SG say mother sing again PRED again
 ‘The mother said, “Sing again!”’
- yà bà-ná zžàrà*
 1SG tell-3SG look:IMP
 I told him, “Look!” (elicited)

The complement clause in the imperative may be preceded by the comment-clause marker *wá* if the matrix verb is separated from the complement clause by other material, e.g. by the nominal subject. When the complement clause has a plural addressee, the verb of the complement clause has the same properties as verbs with plural imperative addressees in the matrix clause, viz. the verb may be simple (ex. 30) or reduplicated (ex. 31-32):

- (30) *àbàl̀̀ksùwá dómbàré nóyà̀blámdè*
à bà l̀̀ksè wá dú-wà mbàré
 3PL say Sultan COM go-PL.IMP together
nó yá blá mdè á dá zè
 PRES 1SG send people PRED go HL
kùr ñánnà
 2PL DEF
 ‘The sultan said, “Go, I am sending people to your place.”’
- (31) *é, àbàl̀̀ksáwá pàfó pàfə̀vgə̀ñánnà*
é, à bà l̀̀ksá wá pàfä-w-pàf ə̀vgə̀ ñánnà
 eh, 3SG say Sultan COM dig-PL.IMP-dig grave DEF
 ‘And the Sultan said, “Dig up this grave.”’
- (32) *à bà-trá ntsə̀ wá kó-w-̀kálà*
 3SG tell-3PL COMP COM depart-PL.IMP-depart
 ‘he told them to go’

The third-person plural subject of the embedded clause in the mood of obligation is coded only by the third-person subject pronoun:

- (33) *dàcí tàbàtrà tásóm lóktùstíunà*
dàcí tà bà-trà tá sà-w á-m
 then 3PL tell-3PL 3PL come-VENT PRED-IN
lóktù st únà
 date DEF:PROX DEM
 ‘Then, they tell them to come on the same day.’

The modality of necessity is coded by high tone on the pronominal subject. This means may be accompanied by the use of the borrowed modal particles *séi* or *séi dóolè* ‘necessary’ (Hausa). The subject of the complement may be the same as or different from the subject of the matrix clause:

- (34a) *má̀zàrà béetà̀rè séetá dá fùl̀à*
má̀zàrà á bà ítà̀rè séi tá d-á fùl̀à
 now (F) 3SG say 3PL then 3PL go-GO travel
 ‘Now they say that they have to travel.’

- (34b) *dárgà gdzàrà béetàrè séi dóolè*
d-á-r gè gdzà-r-a à bà-ítaré
 father-GEN-3SG TO child-NOM-PL 3SG say-3PL
séi dóolè
 then necessary (H)
tádágdzàrà tàrè dǎmbá žilé
tá d-á gdzàr-á-tàrè d-ám mb-á žilé
 3PL go-GO child-PL-GEN-3PL go-IN house-GEN man
 ‘Parents say that it is necessary for them to marry off their daughters.’

Focus on the pronominal subject in the embedded clause is coded by the marker *kíni* following the repeated pronouns in the clause-final position:

- (35a) *sébà kásókásǎccínkákíni*
sé bà ká sá-w ká sǎ
 then FOC 2SG come-VENT 2SG come
ccín ká kíni
 listen:IMP 2SG C.FOC
 ‘You should come and listen as well.’
- sé bà yá sà-wà yé ccín yè kíni*
 then FOC 1SG come-VENT 3SG listen 1SG also
 ‘it is necessary that I come and listen as well’

The third-person subject pronoun is *ǎnè*:

- (35b) *sé bà á sà-wà á ccín*
 then FOC 3SG come-VENT 3SG listen
ǎn kíni
 3SG also
 ‘it is necessary that he comes and listens as well’

In the mood of obligation, the nominal subject of the embedded clause precedes the verb:

- (36) *máǎrà béetàrè sée gdz-á múrwá dá fúla*
máǎràbá itàrè séi gdzá mú-rw á
 now say 3PL then child-GEN mother-1SG 3SG
d-á fúla
 go-GO travel
 ‘then they said that my brother has to travel’

9. Complements of verbs of perception

The verbs of perception *nà* ‘see’ and *cìnà* ‘hear’ can take clausal complements. Direct perception is coded through the complement clause immediately following the verb of the matrix clause. As in the matrix clause, when the verb of perception is followed by an object it must have the third-person object marker *n*:

- (37) *àá wúnkàà ádàbà á gdzè ñánnà yècìnáncìnà*
àá wún-kàà ádàbà á gdzè ñánnà yè
 no DEF-NEG becausePRED child DEF 1SG
cìná-n-cìnà
 hear-3SG-hear
tàndálvà átkwà kyà
tà ndá lvà á-t kwàkyà
 3PL speak matter PRED-T too much
 ‘‘No, that’s not it. Because that child there, I heard them talking too much about him.’’ [the father’s reply]

- (38) *yà ná-n á gy-á dáfà*
 1SG see-3SG 3SG cook-GO food
 ‘I saw him prepare food’ (elicited)

yà cìn-n á gy-á dáfà
 1SG hear-3SG 3SG cook-GO food
 ‘I heard him prepare food’ (elicited)

- (39) *dàcí kànáncà ʒàlàvàhárá àdámàgàm táncà*
dàcí kà ná-n kà ʒàlà-và hárá á
 then 2SG see-3SG NEG go-APPL time 3SG
dá màgà mtánj kà
 FUT do good NEG
 ‘So, you see, don’t you, the passage of time not doing any good.’

The verb *bágyà* ‘find’ behaves like a verb of perception in that the subject of the complement clause can be coded as the object of the matrix clause, as evidenced by the root form of the verb preceding the noun:

- (40) *tàbàgyìdàdánjárláη ámxùdávǵèηánnà*
tà bàgyì dàdà á njá-r láηnè
 3PL find father 3SG sit:GEN-3SG like that
á-m xùd-á vǵè ηánnà
 PRED-IN belly-GEN grave DEF
 ‘They found the father sitting in the grave, just like that.’

The verb also has the root form before the complement clause:

- (41) *tá kkàǵà tá kkàǵà tá kkàǵà mbàtè*[not recorded] *tà bàgyì*
tá kkàǵà tá kkàǵà tá kkàǵà
 3PL count 3PL count 3PL count
mbàtè tà bàgyì bà jirè lisáfyà
 indeed 3PL find FOC true number (Ar.)
filyà zàrvà pállè báakà
filyà zàrvà pállè báakà
 sand sesame one NEG.EX
 ‘They counted, they counted, they counted, and they found that indeed it is true that one of their sesame seeds is missing.’

10. Complements of cognitive verbs

Complements of cognitive verbs can occur before the matrix verb without the complementizer. Such complements indicate knowledge from direct perception:

- (42) *tàksàsá* [2ms pause, false start] *pállè mínè báakà dyàrsódye*
tà ksà-sá pállè mínè báakà dyà-r-sá-dye
 3PL take-S one 1INCL NEG.EX know-3PL-S-know
 ‘They concluded . . . “one of our sesame seeds is missing”, they realized.’

Indirect evidence is coded by the preposition *ǵè* preceding the complement clause. Hence, the order of the constituents in the clause is the preposition *ǵè*-subject-verb X:

- (43) *yà dí-sè ǵè tà tírà ǵy-á dáfà*
 1SG know-S TO 3PL PROG cook-GEN food
 ‘I recognized that they were in the process of cooking’ (elicited)

The evidence that the preposition *gə̀* codes indirect evidence is provided by the fact that it cannot co-occur with the main verb *nà* ‘to see’ in the first-person singular, i.e. when the speaker can have the most direct evidence for the existence of the event:

- (44) **yà* *ná gə̀ tà* *tíirà* *gy-á* *dáfà*
 1SG see TO 3PL PROG cook-GEN food
 ‘I saw them preparing the food’

11. Causative construction: complements of the verb *fá* ‘put’

The verb *fá* ‘put’ followed by a pronominal object and the extension *ár* ‘ON’ is a main means to code the causative function. There is no complementizer, nor is there a subject pronoun preceding the verb of the complement clause. The pronominal object of the matrix verb is the subject of the complement clause; hence, the construction represents a case of matrix coding (‘subject to object raising’). The third-person singular object must be overtly marked by the form *n*. This may be explained by the fact that the inherent argument of the verb *fá* ‘put’ must be locative:

- (45) *à* *f-y-ár* *bzà*
 3SG put-1SG-ON jump
 ‘he made me jump’
- à* *f-y-ár* *žàgàdè*
 3SG put-1SG-ON run away
 ‘he made me run’

When the subject of the complement clause is nominal, it is coded by the preposition *gə̀* ‘TO’. The prepositional phrase follows the verb of the complement clause. The matrix verb *f* ‘put’ does not have the pronominal object marker:

- (46) *à* *f-ár* *žàgàdè* *gə̀ kré*
 3SG put-ON run away TO dog
 ‘he made the dog escape’

12. Complements of verbs of ability

Clausal complements of the verb *dzgwá* ‘be able’ directly follow the verb, without any complementizers. The matrix verb must have the third-person singular object marker *n*:

- (47) *dàcì ée, nánà rónà kà l̀zàbé*
dàcì ée, nánà nàrà únà kà l̀zàbé
 then eh, DEF R.DEM DEM DEM again
 ‘Then, well, that is why again’
dàdá átàdzgwánkà kwàrhàrkà
dàdá á tà dzgwá-ŋ kà kwàr há-r
 father 3SG NEG be able-3SG NEG order home-3SG
kà
 NEG
 ‘the father cannot give orders in his family, can he?’
- (48) *á tà dzgwá-ŋ kà kwàrà há-r kà*
 3SG NEG be able-3SG NEG order home NEG
 ‘he is not able to order his family, is he?’
- (49) *á dzgwá-ŋ-dzgwá kwàr-á há-r kà*
 3SG be able-3SG-be able order-GEN home NEG
 ‘he is able to order his family, isn’t he?’

The complement of the verb *l̀yà* ‘be able, reach, achieve’ can be a verbal or a verbless clause. Here are two examples where the complement clause is verbless, ‘be a father’. The complement clause is not preceded by any complementizer. The verb *l̀yà* has the applicative marker to represent the event from the point of view of the subject, i.e. describe what happens to the subject:

- (50) *yò, únàwá dàcì mánà dàdá dàdùwá*
yò, únà ná wá dàcì má-nà dàdá dàdù
 well DEF DEF COM then HYP-DEM father dad
wá
 COM
l̀yápkà dàdúwá ámbàrkà
l̀yá-p kà dàdú wá á-m
 be able-APPL NEG:PB father COM PRED-IN
mb-á-r kà

- (55) *à dándàvà ázà dǎ ñàrwà gyálè ná*
à dǎ ndàvà á zà dǎ ñà-r wá
 3SG go ask PRED HL father POSS-3 COM
gyálè-ná
 girl-DEM
hàyèn hàyá àmá dǎ ñàrwá à kàtá yénvyè
hàyé-n-hàyà àmá dǎ ñà-r wá à kàtá
 love-3SG-love but father POSS-3SG COM 3SG want
á yé-n-v-yè
 3SG refuse-3SG-APPL-refuse
 ‘He went to ask her father, saying that the girl loves him. But her father wants to refuse him.’

Here is an example of the non-co-referential subject pronoun coded through the suffix to the complement-clause verb *bà*:

- (56) *èe, à binùwá ákàtá bàká kàmàgàñstàràwáyàa*
èe, à b-ìn-ù wá á kàtá bà-ká
 e 3SG say-3SG-EP COM 3SG want tell-2SG
 ‘He said, he wants you to tell.’

When the complement of a volitional verb is in focus, the focus marker occurs before the subject of the complement clause:

- (57) *tákàtá bà ñgùdǐ rkwá tákàtá bàtá bà dzá gdzàràhàbí*
tá kàtá bà ñgùdǐr kwá tá kàtá
 3PL want FOC promiscuity CONJ 3PL want
bà tá bàdzá ógdzàrà-hà bí
 FOC 3PL spoil child-PL completely
 ‘They want promiscuity and spoil the girls completely.’

If the subject of the complement clause is nominal and therefore different from the subject of the matrix clause, it is coded as the object of the matrix clause:

- (58) *dàdà kàtá gdzá-rá dóm mbá žilé*
dàdà á kàtá gdz-á-rà á dóm
 father 3SG want daughter:GEN-3SG 3SG go:IN
mbá žilé
 house man
 ‘A father wants his daughter to marry.’

The evidence that *gdz-á-rà* ‘his daughter’ is the object of the matrix clause is provided by the absence of gemination of the first consonant of the verb.

The embedded clause may be marked by the preposition *gə̀*. The volitional verb of the matrix clause has the third-person object pronoun anticipating the complement clause. The verb of the complement clause may have the reduplicated form, with the subject pronoun inserted. The complement clause of volitional verbs is marked by the comment-clause marker *wá* if the matrix-clause verb is separated from the complement clause by some other material, e.g. by a nominal subject:

- (59) *yò cáamànkíni názù àkàtànórwá*
yò cáamàn kíni názù à kàtá-nà ùr
 well first of all C.FOC what 3SG want-3SG person
wá
 COM
bà gə̀ njà-rí-njà án hèer-àn-klàpì-rè
 FOC TO stay-3PL-stay ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘First of all, what one wants is for them to live in peace and good health.’

14. Altrilocality

The function of altrilocality coding is to indicate that the subject was previously at another location. Altrilocality is marked by two verbs: *d* ‘go to’ and *s* ‘come from’. These auxiliaries are followed by the nominalized form of the verb, and, unlike in directional predications, are not followed by spatial specifiers:

- (60) *làkàtá ñánnà tá-kígyémá [pause] tà dè hèrdà*
làkàt-a ñánnà tá-kígyé-má tà dè hèrdà
 fellow-PL DEF 3PL-three-and 3PL go farm
 ‘And these three friends went to farm.’
- (61) *álvà ñánnà yè sè ndà-n-ée nà kwá [error]*
 story DEF 1SG come tell-3SG-1SG DEM
wá
 COM
 ‘The story I came to tell . . . ‘

The evidence that the form *sə̀* is a grammatical marker here rather than the lexical verb of movement is provided by the consonantal ending. Morphemes

that have a consonantal ending in phrase-internal position, such as the negative marker *k*, end in the vowel *a* before the altrilocality marker *sà*:

- (62) *ɲà sókà sòndávà bí*
ɲà só kà á sá
 1EXCL come:VENT NEG PRED come
ndává á bí
 ask PRED INTNS
 ‘We wouldn’t have come to ask for her, for sure.’

Altrilocality can be coded from the point of view of the source or from the point of view of the goal. Altrilocality from the point of view of the source is coded by the root form of the verb *d* ‘go’ followed by the nominal form of the main verb. The verbal complement of the verb ‘go’ is treated like a noun:

- (63) *ɲà dè lùwá kàlfé á-m dàrvá (úmlè)*
 1EXCL go catch fish PRED-IN pond another
žir-á-rà tàpàfákò
 name-GEN-3SG Toposako
 ‘We went fishing in another pond which is called Toposako.’

Altrilocality from the point of view of the target is coded by the verb *s* ‘come’, also followed by the nominal form of the verb:

- (64) *yáwwà átù ánicá wáyà táksàgyálè ʒàbádàlyè*
yáwwà á tù án yc-á wáyà tá sà
 well PRED before ASSC look-GEN night 3PL come
ksà gyálè ʒàb á dàlyè
 take girl yet PRED more
 ‘Well, before the night, they come to take the girl as well.’

- (65) *àddónání àskàtàtèrkàtánà wàyàrkà*
àddá únà ní à s kàtà-tèr-kàtá nà
 man DEM INTNS 3SG come want-3PL-want DEM
wàyà-r kà
 love-3PL NEG
 ‘The one who comes wanting them, they do not love [him].’

Without the overt object pronoun, the simple form of the verb can be used:

- (66) *àddá únà ní à s kàtá nà*
 man DEM INTNS 3SG come want DEM
wàyà kà
 love NEG
 ‘The one who comes wanting her, she does not love [him].’

Altrilocality can be coded by a two-clause construction, where the first clause indicates movement and the second clause codes the main event:

- (67) *tásàwàm dá žilé táksà gyálè*
tá sà-wà md-á žilé
 3PL come-VENT people-GEN husband
tá ksà gyálè
 3PL take girl
 ‘The people of the groom come and take the girl.’

15. Complements of the verbs ‘spend the day/night’

Complements of the verb *hàrè* ‘spend the night’ and *và* ‘spend the day’ are coded by the nominalized form of the complement-clause verb. The matrix-clause verb has the root + *a* form:

- (68) *à hárábàdzàr vòndē bàkíin kìnì*
à hárè á bàdzà rvòndē bà
 3SG spend the night PRED spoil heart FOC
kínkìnì
 now
 ‘He spent all night vomiting, even now [he is vomiting].’

The evidence that the matrix-clause verbal ending *a* represents the root + *a* form is provided by the fact that the citation form of the verb ends in the vowel *e* rather than *a*: *hàrè* ‘spend the night’. The clause-internal form has the consonantal ending:

- (69) *yà hàr bà lápyà*
 1SG spend the night FOC healthy
 ‘I spent the night well’

Similarly with the verb *và* ‘pass the day’:

- (70) *à* *và* *gyà* *mbàḷà*
 3SG pass the day cook beer
 ‘she passed all day cooking beer’

The use of the verb *và* ‘pass the day’ in the root form yields an ungrammatical utterance:

- (71) **à* *və* *gyà* *mbàḷà*
 3SG pass the day cook beer
 ‘she passed all day cooking beer’

16. Conclusions

The coding means within the domain of complementation include complementizers, the nominalized form of the complement clause and, less frequently, clausal order. The complement clause may follow or precede the matrix clause.

Direct speech may be preceded by complementizer *gəní* or the complementizer *dəgìyá* ‘behold’.

The comment-clause marker *wá* precedes the complement clause of a variety of verbs when some other material, such as a nominal subject, occurs between the verb and the complement clause. The function of the marker *wá* in the complex sentence is thus to indicate that the material that follows is a complement clause. The complement clause preceded by the comment marker *wá* may be direct or indirect speech, and may have the indicative or deontic modality.

Matrix coding of the subject of the complement clause codes direct perception. The absence of matrix coding codes indirect perception.

Complex sentences are also coding means for two functional domains: causative predication, coded by the verb *fà* ‘put’, and altrilocality, coded by the verbs *s* ‘come from’ and *d* ‘go to’.

Chapter 24

Conditional and temporal sentences

1. Introduction

Conditional and temporal sentences share the structural property of having a protasis and an apodosis clause and several formal means of coding the two types of clauses. The hypothetical marker, which has come to serve as the conditional protasis marker, is also used for several types of temporal protasis clauses. The markers *nábà* ‘then’ and *wá* ‘comment marker’ are shared by both conditional and temporal apodoses. The forms of temporal and conditional apodoses depend on the aspect and the modality of the apodosis clause and on the temporal reference of the protasis clause, viz. before the time of S, after the time of S, or at the time of S.

2. The conditional protasis

The main means of coding the conditional protasis is the use of the particle *má* at the beginning of the clause. The marker *má* may be reduced to *má* in fast speech. The protasis clause usually precedes the apodosis clause; hence the protasis marker occurs most often at the beginning of a conditional sentence. The protasis clause may end with the determiner *nà* or the contrastive focus marker *kínì*, which marks a clausal boundary. The protasis clause may be verbless:

- (1) *mámtánkènà ázàmivárzàllà*
má mtán kè nà á zà-mì-v-ár-zà
HYP good NEG DEM 3SG eat-1INCL-APPL-ON-eat
állà
God
‘If it is not good, may God have pity on us.’

The protasis clause, regardless of what morpheme occupies the clause-final position, ends in the clause-final form, i.e. either with the vowel *a* or with the vowel *e*, if that is the clause-final form of the morpheme:

- (2) *má bání lisáfíyá dùksà bàdèmmè*
má bání lisáfí-á dùksà bàdèmmè
 HYP concern calculation(F)-GEN thing all
 ‘If it concerns any kind of calculation,’
ḃá kùr tátàttàyà à júg-íyì ḃákà
ḃákà ùrà tà tátàttàyà à j-ú g-íyà
 NEG.EX person 3PL search 3SG surpass-VENT TO-1SG
ḃákà
 NEG.EX
 ‘one does not look for a person to surpass me.’

The apodosis clause may have the sequential marker *nábà*:

- (3) *móhko m̀̀lkinì mánáb̀̀fàrfé*
má àhkwà úmlè kinì má nábà fà-r-fé
 HYP exist another C.FOC 1INCL then put-ON-put
 ‘If there is anything else, we can add [it].’

Verbs that follow the particle *má* in conditional protases have the R1ProR2 form to code the completive aspect. In the potential modality, the verb ends in the consonant before the object:

- (4) *mùksà ḡánnà má wàyáwày žilé*
mùksà ḡánnà má wàyá-wày žilé
 woman DEF HYP love-love husband
 ‘The woman, if she loves her husband,’
- (5) *è, má ksà-r̀̀-ks-à gdzà gyálè*
 eh HYP take-ON-take-PB young girl
 ‘Then if the young girl accepts,’
dàcìtá sàtàrè
dàcì tá s-á-tàrè
 then 3PL come-GO-3PL:POSS
 ‘they return home.’

The R1ProR2 form alone can code the conditional realis protasis:

- (6) *dàdànəkínì t̩yàpt̩yè dàdámbarwá*
dàdà n̩ə k̩ínì t̩yà-v-t̩yè dàd á-m
 father DEM C.FOC be able-APPL-be able father PRED-IN
mb-á-rà wá
 house-GEN-3SG COM
 ‘As for the father, once he is a father at his home,’
mándà súwèe k̩ínì àgdzárwá áḷipḷyèkákàbè
má á ndà-sú wèe k̩ínì àgdz-á-r wá
 HYP 3SG say-S what C.FOC child-GEN-3SG COM
á ḷi-p-ḷyè ká ḷàbè
 3SG accept-APPL-accept NEG again
 ‘whatever he says, his child should accept, shouldn’t she?’

3. *Conditio sine qua non*

Conditio sine qua non, or inalienable condition, is coded by the phrase *k-ùmù*, occurring after the conditional protasis clause:

- (7) *sèi bà méycícùkùmù mgànásàrà*
sèi bà má yìc-íic kùmù má màgà-n ástà-rà
 then, FOC 1INCL cut-cut if not 1INCL do-3SG how-Q
 ‘‘We have to cross [the river], otherwise, what will we do?’’ [*stà* reduced to *sà*]

The first part of the sequence *k-ùmù* consists of the proximate demonstrative *k*. The particle *mù* is the same as the one that codes the focus on question words. In isolation, the sequence *k-ùmù* is preceded by the vowel *é*, which is potentially derived from the vowel *i*.

- (8) *é-k-ùmù* ‘if not this’ (proximate anaphor)
é-st-ùmù ‘if not that’ (remote anaphor)

4. The conditional apodosis

The conditional apodosis clause can be marked by a variety of means. One of these is the comment clause marker *wá* occurring alone or preceded by the form *ná*, identical with the determiner. The evidence that the form *ná* is part of the apodosis marker, not the determiner, is provided by the fact that it can follow a demonstrative:

- (9) *ḷàmá má cìnàkùr-ncín jùbóonènáwá*
ḷàmá má cìnà-kùr-n-cìn jùbà únà ná-wá
 assembly HYP hear-2PL-3SG-hear matter DEF DEM-COM
 ‘Listeners, if you understand this matter,’

ḃákà-r gíná
ḃákà ár gí ná
 NEG.EX over TO DEM
 ‘there is no greater [truth/goodness] than that.’

mónkó m̀̀lkinì mánáb̀̀fàrfé
má à̀̀nk̀̀wà úmlè k̀̀nì má ná̀̀bà f̀̀à-r-fé
 HYP exist another C.FOC 1INCL then put-ON-put
 ‘If there is anything else, we can add [it].’

- (10) *mábà k̀̀ḷḷà k̀̀l̀̀à wá à̀̀jìyù k̀̀ḷḷiyà*
má b̀̀à k̀̀ḷḷà k̀̀l̀̀à wá
 HYP FOC count calculus COM
à̀̀ j̀̀i-y-ú k̀̀à g̀̀è iyà
 3SG surpass-1SG-VENT NEG TO 1SG
 ‘‘If it concerns counting, nobody surpasses me.’’

- (11) *máksàrà̀̀n t̀̀àks̀̀è gyálwá*
má ksà-rà-n-t̀̀è-ks̀̀è gyál wá
 HYP take-3PL-3SG-T-take girl COM
 ‘If they take the girl for him, then . . .

hármákè mdágyálè támbá̀̀žilè
hár m̀̀ákè md-á gyálè tá
 up to (H) week people-GEN girl 3PL:PRED
mb-á žilè
 home-GEN husband
 ‘Up to one week, the people of the girl are at the home of the husband.’

The unrealized condition is coded by the past time reference marker *ndzè* before the subject pronoun of the apodosis. There exist unrealized condition clauses without the hypothetical marker *má*. Some speakers preferred the marker *má* before the past tense marker *ndzè*:

- (12) *á wáyà yà màgányà [má] ndzè yè sà-wá*
á wáyà yà màgá nyà [má] ndzè
 PRED yesterday 1SG make preparation HYP PAST
yè sà-wá
 1SG come-VENT
 ‘Yesterday I was making preparations with the intention to come.’

The marker *má* in apodosis clauses codes hypothetical modality:

- (13) *ítàrhánnà máská má bàtráwè gègdzàrà zálàhà ñánnà*
ítàr ñánnà má ské á má bà-trá wè
 3PL DEF HYP like that 3SG HYP say-3PL what
gè gdzàrà zál-àhà ñánnà
 TO small male-PL DEF
 ‘If they are like that, so what does one tell those boys?’

The conditional apodosis can also be marked by the form *bí* in clause-initial position:

- (14) *mákáfár ndzèdàbákà ágdzrè dá žàgàdè*
má ká fá-r ndzèdà bá-kà ágdzrè dá
 HYP 2SG put-ON force say-2SG child FUT
žàgàdè
 escape
 ‘If you apply force, the child will run away’
- bíyá dám màgà ñgúdi ràhómlè*
bí á dám màgà ñgúdirè-a úmlè
 then 3SG FUT do bad behavior-PL other
 ‘and do bad things.’

5. The conditional with the intensifier

The hypothetical marker *má* can co-occur in the same clause with the intensifier *rà*. The intensifier follows the intensified element, be it an argument or an adjunct. In clause-internal position the intensifier is reduced to the consonant only. The following fragment contains four sentences, each of which contains an intensifier marking the adverb of place, the adverb of condition (darkness), an entity, and a place:

- (15) *má kyórà dùksà ɲánnà séi bà yá nánnà*
má á kyáw rà dùksà ɲánnà séi bà
 HYP PRED place any thing DEF then FOC
yá ná-n-nà
 1SG see-3SG-see
 ‘No matter where the object is, I will see it.’
- (16) *mám tàpdàm mírkínì séi bà yá nánnà*
má á-m tàpdàmmè-rè kínì séi
 HYP PRED-IN dark-NOM C.FOC then
bà yá ná-n-nà
 FOC 1SG see-3SG-see
 ‘‘Even in the darkness, I can see it.’’
- (17) *májùbàrkínì séi bà yá ẓẓàrà*
má jùbà rà kínì séi bà yá ẓẓàrà
 HYP entity Q C.FOC then FOC 1SG look
 ‘No matter what it is, I can/will see it.’
- (18) *mádám tàtárkínì máná bàɓàlà*
má dâ-m tàtá-r kínì má nábà ɓàlà
 HYP go-IN place-Q C.FOC 1INCL then go
 ‘No matter into what place, we can go there.’

6. The temporal protasis

The temporal protasis can code temporal simultaneity with the apodosis clause, completion of the event of the protasis before the event of the apodosis clause, or the completion of the event of the protasis after the event of the apodosis clause.

Temporal simultaneity can be marked by a variety of means. One of these is the noun *láktù* or *lóktù* ‘time, moment’, probably from the Arabic root *wqt*¹⁴ *al-waqt* via Hausa *lokaci* ‘time’, followed by the sequential marker:

14 I am grateful to Bernard Comrie for drawing my attention to the potential Arabic origin of this noun.

- (19) *láktù dəsəmsà dàŋùbàrà tàgstán əgdznà tàvənté*
láktù də sə-m-sà dà ŋùbàrà
 time SEQ come-IN-come man lucky person
tà g-s-t-á-n
 3PL take-S-T-[pause]
əgdz nə tà və-n-té
 child DEM 3PL give-3SG-T
 ‘When the lucky person came, they took the child, [and] they gave her to him.’

Temporal simultaneity may be coded by the prepositional complex *á-m*, whose complement is the nominalized form of the verb:

- (20) *ámhərdə ɲánnà əgdzrè bàmáɣàɣálà dəm fátàrwá*
á-m hərdə ɲánnà əgdzrè bə má
 PRED-IN farm DEF child FOC HYP
ɣà-ɣálà d-əm f-á-tàr wá
 go-go go-IN field-GEN-3PL COM
 ‘While farming, when the child goes to their field,’

áblà làhàrà
á blà làh-á-rà
 3SG send song-GEN-3SG
 ‘he sings his song.’

Sentences expressing temporal simultaneity may also have the hypothetical marker *má* in the protasis clause, with the simple form of the verb:

- (21) *méyáblà lághnàwá*
mé yá blà làh ná wá
 HYP 1SG send song DEM COM
 ‘“When I sing the song,”’

əŋkórán dálnàmúvgàbiná
əŋk ɹrà á ndá lv ám vg
 exist person 3SG speak word in grave
à b-íná
 3SG say-3SG
 ‘“there is somebody talking in the grave,” he said.’

Completion of the event of the protasis clause before the event of the apodosis clause is coded by several means, including the hypothetical marker

má and the optional form *ki* preceding the protasis clause; specific temporal markers corresponding to ‘before’, ‘after’, etc., also preceding the protasis clause; and the form R1ProR2 of the verb of the protasis clause:

- (22a) *mágàràv gùsé* [pause] *ándàvà máksà ráksàmtóksàrkà*
má gà-rá-v-g ùsé á ndàvà
 HYP greet-3PL-APPL-greet greetings 3SG ask
má á ksà-rá-ks mtúá ksà-r kà
 HYP 3SG take-ON-take or 3SG take-ON NEG
 [hè] [not in the recording]
 Q
 ‘After their mutual salutations, he asks [the girl] whether she accepts or not.’

- (22b) *máki dàrá dè má tándá vágdzà gyálè*
má-ki dà-r-á-dè má tá ndávà
 HYP-? go-3PL-GO-go HYP 3PL ask
ágdzà gyálè
 young girl
 ‘When they arrive they ask for the girl.’

The backgrounding aspect R1ProR2 alone can code a temporal protasis, indicating the precedence of the event of the protasis clause with respect to the event of the apodosis clause:

- (23) *ǒǒǒà lvá hèrdà* [*má* added in analysis]
ǒǒ-ú-ǒǒ lv-á hèrd [*má*
 finish-VENT-finish:PB business-GEN farm [and
 ‘Their farming finished . . .’

máǒǒà béetàré séetá dá fùlà
máǒǒà á bà itàré séi tá d-á fùlà
 now (F) 3SG say 3PL then 3PL go-GO travel
 ‘Now they say that they have to travel.’

- (24) *é ǒǒ-r-ǒǒà*
é ǒǒ-r-ǒǒà
 eh depart-3PL-depart
 ‘They left.’

Completion of the event of the protasis clause after the event of the apodosis clause is coded by the preposition *tú* ‘before’ preceding the protasis clause:

- (27a) *ákinùwá átùmàdádǵdànáǵè nòǵàbàdàlyé wá*
á kìnù wá á tú mà
 PRED now COM PRED before 1INCL
dá ǵà-n-á-ǵè nò ǵàbà dàlyé wá
 FUT finish-3SG-GO-finish PRES again COM
 ‘And now, before we end that again, . . .’

- (27b) *lòktúyàsów kìnìyèǵúwá vántá pàràsètámól*
lòkt tú yà sá-w kìnì
 time before 1SG come:VENT C.FOC
yè ǵú-wá và-n-tá pàràsètámól
 1SG finish-VENT give-3SG-T paracetamol
 ‘Before I came here, I gave him paracetamol.’

The coding of the event of the protasis clause as occurring after the event of the apodosis clause can also be realized through the use of the marker *cáwmàn* ‘before’ preceding the protasis clause. The predicate itself may also be preceded by the temporal particle *sé* ‘then’:

- (28) *yò cá mánkìnì tàràžilé mùksè sé tágávà*
yò cáwàn kìnì tàrà žilé mùksè sé
 well before C.FOC 3PL man woman then
tá gá-và
 3PL marry-APPL
 ‘Well, before a man and a woman get married,’

žilé mánvácátèná dótàttàyà mùksè nává
žilé má-vàcà á-tè-nà á dótàttàyà mùksè
 man HYP-time PRED-T-3SG 3SG go search woman
 ‘The man, at the time when he will go to look for a woman,’

7. The temporal apodosis

The temporal apodosis may follow or precede the protasis clause. If the protasis clause is overtly marked as such, the temporal apodosis may be unmarked, its function being easily extrapolated from the coding of the temporal protasis:

- (29) *dàci yà dè tādā-s-hé yà tādā-s bà kàlfé*
 then 1SG SEQ pull-S-PNCT 1SG pull-S FOC fish
 ‘Then, when I pulled it [the line] out, I pulled a fish.’

The temporal apodosis may be marked by one of the sequential markers, such as *nábà* ‘then’ or *dàci* ‘then’. The form *nábà* occurs after the subject pronoun and before the verb:

- (30) *tà nábà ks-t-á bàrám-á-tàr ñánnà*
 3PL then take-T-GO road-GEN-3PL DEF
 ‘then they took their road.’

- (31) *è, má ksà-rá-ks-à gdzà gyálè*
 eh HYP take-ON-take-PB young girl
 ‘Then if the young girl accepts,’

dàcità sàtàrè
dàci tá s-á-tàrè
 then 3PL come-GO-3PL:POSS
 ‘they return home.’

- (32) *májàrám màjè ské tábàrámà hàtùwánà*
má jà-rá-mmè-jè ské á tè
 HYP meet-3PL-COL-meet like that PRED T
bàrám-a tùwánà
 road-PL just like that
 ‘When they meet at the roads, just like that,’

dàci tá màgánàzú wàyà kàrvòndámìyà
dàci tá màgá nàzú wàyà ká rvònd-á-mìyà
 then 3PL do what like NEG heart-GEN-1INCL
 ‘then, they do what our heart does not want.’

The form *dàci* may be followed by the form *məl*, which also marks the temporal apodosis:

- (33) *kínàlvámì ñánnùwá dàci mál màğár dyènkàa*
kín àļv-á-mì ñánnù wá
 now conversation-GEN-1PL DEF COMP
dàci mál màğár dyè-n kàa
 then now the rest know-1SG NEG
 ‘And now that our conversation is almost finished, I don’t know . . .’

The hypothetical modality of the temporal apodosis is marked through the hypothetical marker *má*. This is the case with the description of any event whose occurrence is linked to a potential event:

- (34a) *áttùádáksá gdzàr ñánnà dāvántágzílnáwá*
á-t tù á dá ksá gdz-á-r
 PRED-T before 3SG FUT take child-GEN-3SG
ñánnà
 DEF
dá vā-n-tá g-žil ná wá
 FUT give-3SG-T TO-man DEM COM
 ‘Before he sends his daughter to the [future] husband,
- dólè séy žil-ñánnà máksàr-á-ksè*
dólè séy žil ñánnà má ksà-r-á-ksè
 necessary then man DEF HYP take-ON-take
názù àwwàyná ñànè
názù à wwáy-ná ñànè
 what 3SG like-3SG 3SG
 ‘it is necessary that the man [father] accepts what she [his daughter] likes.’
- (34b) *mákí dàrá dè má tándá vágdzà gyálè*
má-kí dà-r-á-dè má tá ndává
 HYP-? go-3PL-GO-go HYP 3PL ask
gdzà gyálè
 young girl
 ‘When they arrive they ask for the girl.’
- (34c) *máǝǝǝ màgàtrñánná [màwàrkíni ákyára dámhá (not recorded)]*
má ǝǝǝ-à màgà tr
 HYP finish:VENT-finish-PB do work
ñánná má wàr
 DEF HYP who
kíni á kyá-rà á d-á-m mbá
 C.FOC 3SG disperse-3SG PRED go-IN home
 ‘If the work is finished, everybody returns home.’

The temporal apodosis may precede the protasis clause, but then the protasis clause must be overtly marked. The apodosis clause has the simple form of the verb. The verb in the protasis clause that follows the apodosis clause is in the reduplicated form, coding the completive:

- (35) *màǰármá wàrkínà kyádámbatàrè*
màǰár má wàr kìn à kyà
 now HYP who C.FOC 3SG scatter
á dám mb-á-tàrè
 PRED go:IN home-GEN-3PL
mátàgàrsátàgàr [error and attempt at correction] *górò*
má tàgà-r-sá-tàgà gòrò
 HYP distribute-3PL-S-distribute cola nut
 ‘Now, everybody goes home, having partaken of the cola nuts.’

The apodosis clause can be preceded by the comment clause marker *wá*:

- (36) *àbìná màgyávgyèn màgàyáñrùwà*
à b-ìná má gyá-v-gyè-n
 3SG say-3SG HYP cook-APPL-cook-pause
màgày-á-ñrè wá
 hungry rice-GEN-1EXCL COM
 ‘He said, “If our hungry rice is cooked . . .”’
- ñàzàná bàñrè ántàrà mùrwá tànè*
ñá zà-ná bà ñrè ántàrà
 1EXCL eat-3SG FOC 1EXCL ASSC:PL
mù-rwá tànè
 mother-1SG only (F)
 ‘we will eat it, only me and my mother.’”

8. Conclusions

Conditional and temporal clauses share the property of having both protasis and apodosis clauses. While apodosis clauses of the two types of sentences share many similarities, the protasis clauses are quite different. The conditional protasis is coded by the hypothetical marker *má*. The temporal protasis clause can code the time simultaneous with the time of the apodosis clause, the time before the time of the apodosis clause, and the time after the time of the apodosis clause. These different time relations are coded by the use of prepositions. The time before that of the time of the apodosis clause is coded also through the use of the backgrounding aspect, i.e. the use of the form R1ProR2.

Chapter 25

Adjunct clauses

1. Introduction

A large number of adjunct clauses have already been described in the chapter dealing with locative predication (chapter 10) and with temporal sentences (chapter 24). The present chapter deals only with purpose, reason, manner, and conclusion clauses. All adjunct clauses follow the matrix clause. The coding means for adjunct clauses are the subordinator *wàrà*, the destinative preposition *gè*, and the locative predicator *á*.

2. Purpose clauses

2.1 The purpose subordinator *wàrà*

The complementizer *wàrà* codes the proposition of the embedded clause as the purpose of the main clause. The complementizer also codes the embedded clause as being an obligation of the subject of the embedded clause:

- (1) *àbállàhá ñàrà wàràñáccìnà*
àbál làh-á ñàrà wàrà ñá ccìnà
sing:IMPR song-GEN 3SG PURP 1EXCL hear
'Sing your song again, so that we could hear it.'

- (2) *áñgà wàrà yázzàrà*
áñgà wàrà yá zzàrà
hand PURP 1SG see
'hand it to me so that I can see' (elicited)

The form *áñgà* 'hand it!' is inherently imperative and cannot be used with subject or object pronouns. It can only be used with the first-person singular or plural recipient:

- (3) *áñgà wàrà ñá zzàrà*
hand PURP 1EXCL see
'Hand it to us so that we can see.'

2.2 Coding purpose through the preposition *gə*

The purpose clause may be coded through the preposition *gə*. The verb after the preposition may be in the simple or in the reduplicated form. The reduplicated form indicates the durative function. The simple form of the verb is unmarked:

- (4) *yò cáamànkínì názù àkàtànórwá*
yò cáamàn kìnì názù à kàtá-nà ùr
 well first of all C.FOC what 3SG want-3SG person
wá
 COM
bà gə njà-rí-njà án hèer-àn-klàpì-rè
 FOC TO stay-3PL-stay ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘First of all, what one wants is for them to live in peace and good health.’

- (5) *yà só gə hərə*
 1SG come:VENT DEST sleep
 ‘I came to sleep’
- yà só gə hərə-hərə*
 1SG come:VENT DEST sleep-sleep
 ‘I came to sleep’ [I will stay for some time]

The preposition *gə* can also mark an obligation. The preposition is followed by the infinitive form of the verb, which ends in the vowel *a* before a nominal object:

- (6) *à fəmfà mərvòndàrà*
à fə-m-fà m ərvònd-á-rà
 3SG put-IN-put IN heart-GEN-3SG
 ‘He should put into his heart’
- gə wáyáwáy mùksàrà*
gə wáyá-wáy mùks-á-rà
 TO love-love wife-GEN-3SG
 ‘to love his wife.’

2.3 Coding purpose through the altrilocality construction

The purpose function may also be coded, through implication, by altrilocality, corresponding to the English ‘X came to . . .’ and ‘X went to . . .’. The purpose clause may have either the perfective or the imperfective aspect. The perfective aspect is coded through the root form of the verb:

- (7) *tátsámdá žilé*
tá tsá md-á žilé
 3PL get-up people-GEN man
 ‘People of the groom get up,’

tásàbàgyì mdámùksè
tá sà bəgyì md-á mùksè
 3PL come meet people-GEN woman
 ‘they come to find the people of the bride.’

In the imperfective aspect the verb of the matrix clause ends in the vowel *a*, which has high tone before the object (example 8 elicited):

- (8) *à sà yá vgè*
 3SG come dig hole
 ‘he came to dig a hole’

à sà ŋá ŋgúfí
 3SG come catch thief (Kanuri)
 ‘he came to catch a thief’

à sà yá wè
 3SG come dig what
 ‘what did he come to dig?’

2.4. Coding purpose through the marker *ndzə̀*

The marker *ndzə̀* preceding the adjunct clause codes the non-achieved purpose:

- (9) *á wáyà yà màgányà [má] ndzè yè sà-wá*
á wáyà yà màgá nyà [má] ndzè
 PRED yesterday 1SG make preparation HYP PAST
yè sà-wá
 1SG come-VENT
 ‘Yesterday I was making preparations with the intention to come.’

3. Reason clauses

Reason clauses are marked by the same marker that codes reason phrases, viz. *dàbà* ‘because’. When marking reason clauses, this form is preceded by the predicator *á*:

- (10) *tsà-ná-t-tsé á dàbà sá-wá t̀ksè*
 get up-1SG-T-get up PRED because come-VENT chief
 ‘I got up because the chief was coming’
- yà tsá-t-hè á dàbà sá-wá t̀ksè*
 1SG get up-T-PNCT PRED cause come-VENT chief
 ‘I got up because the chief was coming’

4. Manner clauses

The locative predicator *á* precedes infinitive complements, i.e. complements that do not have an overt subject. They may, however, have an object. A nominalized complement that codes the manner of the matrix clause is marked by the locative predicator *á*. The verb *há-rè* ‘spend the night’ takes its complement in this way:

- (11) *à há-rábàdzàr vòndè bàkín kìnì*
à há-rè á bàdzà rvòndè bà
 SG spend the night PRED spoil heart FOC
kínkìnì
 now
 ‘He spent all night vomiting, even now [he is vomiting].’

5. Conclusion clauses

The conclusion clause is coded by the form *mbàtə̀*, glossed here as ‘hence’. This form may well be a complex structure. The form *mbàtə̀* precedes the conclusion clause:

- (12) *èe, àbùmdənàwá ámbàtə̀ bàjírè*
èe, à b mdə̀ nà wá áa mbàtə̀ bà jírè
 eh 3SG say people DEM COM ah hence FOC true
 ‘Eh, the people there said, “Hence it is true!”’
- (13) *ηóηwanè zàrvà ηánnà mbàtə̀ bàjírè*
ηó ηánè zàrvà ηánnà mbàtə̀ bà jírè
 PRES 3SG sesame DEF indeed FOC true
 ‘Here it is, the sesame in question. Hence it is true.’
- (14) *sá-m-kà mbàtə̀ ǰàǰálà*
 come-IN-NEG therefore go
 ‘he did not come, therefore he left’

6. Conclusions

Adjunct clauses follow the matrix clause. They are marked by the subordinators *wàrà* and *mbàtə̀*, by the predicator *á*, and by the destinative preposition *ǰə̀*. The use of altrilocality constructions with the auxiliary verbs *s* ‘come’ and *d* ‘go’ implies that the clause that follows the auxiliaries is a purpose clause.

Chapter 26

The relative clause

1. The structure of the relative clause

The term ‘relative clause’ as used here refers to a clause that modifies a noun phrase. The modified noun phrase is referred to as ‘head of the relative clause’, or simply ‘head’. The term ‘relativization’ refers to the modification of a nominal constituent by a clause. The formal characteristics of modification through the relative clause include:

- The head, when present, obligatorily precedes the relative clause;
- The determiner *nà*, referred to as a post-relative marker, obligatorily follows the relative clause;
- The system of negation in relative clauses is different from that in matrix clauses;
- A unique system of coding the object role of the head of the relative clause, where ‘object role’ is the role within the relative clause;
- Determiners that optionally follow the head.

As in many other Chadic languages, relative clauses in Wandala have a different system of tenses and aspects than that displayed in matrix clauses. The differences are in both affirmative and negative relative clauses.

2. The head of the relative clause

The head of the relative clause is a phonological phrase apart, as evidenced by the fact that its final vowel is not deleted even when followed by a demonstrative. The head of the relative clause thus behaves similarly to the topicalized phrase:

- (1) *álvà nánà yè sà ndà-n-ée nà kwá* [error]
story DEF 1SG come tell-3SG-1SG DEM
wá
COM
‘The story I came to tell . . . ‘

While most relative clauses have a head, there do exist headless relative clauses. The evidence that the structure involved is indeed that of a relative clause is provided by the repetition of the subject pronoun after the verb, a characteristic of clauses with a relativized object:

- (2) *yàndànéenàwá ádàbà kwàkyétrà tám hùdàrà*
yà ndà-né-yà nà wá ádàbà
 1SG say-3SG-1SG DEM COM because
kwàkyé trà t-á-m hùd-á-rà
 much work 3PL-PRED-IN belly-GEN-3SG
 ‘Like what I said earlier, there is too much work in it.’

The head of the relative clause may be followed by one of the determiners *nà*, *únà*, or *ɣánnà* to indicate that the hearer should identify it as having been mentioned in the previous discourse, being present in the speech situation, or being defined by the situation.

3. The *de dicto/de re* distinction in the relative clause

Wandala makes a distinction between the *de dicto* and the *de re* domains in relative clauses. In the *de dicto* domain, the only means of identifying the head is provided by the relative clause. The marker of the *de dicto* domain is *názù* ‘what, thing’. This marker alone can be the head of the relative clause, or it can follow other nouns. When it occurs as the head, it can be followed by the determiner *nà*. The form *názù* can be used in reference to people and inanimate entities. It can represent either the subject or the object:

- (3) *kín názè nà dám dám nàlmànè*
kínà názè nà d-á-m-d á-m nàlmànè
 now what DEM go-IN-go PRED-IN money
 ‘Now, those who came into money . . .’ [*nàlmànè* comes from Arabic *al-mal* ‘riches, goods’]

- (4) *názù ófi téré*
názù á úf-ì tá irè
 what 3SG bother-1SG T head
 ‘that which bothers me . . .’

The form *názù* can follow the nominal head. It is still used to code the *de dicto* domain of the head of the relative clause:

- (5) *làrúsà hàḡánnà kinnà*
làrúsà-hà ḡánnà kinnà
 marriage-PL DEF C.FOC
 ‘These [contemporary] marriages,’

názù mà nà námìyà
názù mà nà-ná mìyà
 what 1INCL see-3SG 1INCL
 ‘that we have seen,’ [unfinished sentence, hence no post-relative marker]

The form *názù* can function as a noun, as it can be followed by a possessive pronoun:

- (6) *náz-á-rà/rwà*
 that-GEN-3SG/1SG
 ‘it is his/mine’ (elicited)

4. The post-relative marker

The relative clause often ends with the determiner *na*. This post-relative marker follows nominal or pronominal subjects:

- (7) *yò fòyì ḡánnà wàtsè kwàdád cìn-ná*
 well chat DEF FUT 2PL-FUT hear-3SG
kúr nà nó-ḡwàné álvà wàndàl
 2PL DEM PRES-DEF language Wandala
ḡánnà tákàtànà ḡàmá kláwà
ḡánnà tá kàtá-n-à ḡàmá kláwà
 DEF 3PL want-3SG-PB world all
 ‘Here is the chat that you will hear in Wandala and that the world desires.’

The formal means above are deployed in all types of relative clauses.

5. Relativization of the subject

The nominal subject of the relative clause precedes the relative clause and may be followed by a determiner. The verb of the relative clause must be preceded by the subject pronoun coding the number of the head:

- (8a) *yò jìbámdèḡá tànjámbá žilnà*
yò jìb-á mdà ḡá tá njà
 well type-GEN people DEM 3PL stay
á mb-á žil nà
 PRED home-GEN man DEM
 ‘Well, the type of people who remain at the husband’s,’

tántàrè gdzàgyálnà áskè málárḡàrà
tá ántàrè gdzà gyál nà áskè málàrè ḡàrà
 3PL ASSC:PL young girl DEM like aunt 3SG
 ‘who are with the young girl, are like her aunt’

- (8b) *ámdè nà tá sà-wà án nìyà-tàrè*
 men DEM 3PL come-VENT ASSC intent-PL
tà sá ḡá-tèr-ḡá nà
 3PL AUX marry-3PL-marry DEM
ítàrè wàyà-rà-tár kà
 3PL like-ON-3PL NEG
 ‘men who come with the intention to marry them, they [girls] don’t like them’

The subject role of the head is computed from the presence of the subject pronoun that precedes the verb and the presence of a nominal or a pronominal object:

- (9a) *á mà gdzèḡánnà áblàláxnà sàwà*
á mà gdzè ḡánnà à blà lác nà
 PRED where child DEF 3SG sing song DEM
sá-wà
 come-VENT
 ‘Where is this child who sings that song? Come!’

- (9b) *èddá únà (má) kàtà-tèr-kàtá nà wàyà-r kà*
 man DEM HYP want-3PL-want DEM love-3PL NEG
 ‘the one who wanted them, they did not love [him]’

- (10) *dón cìná-n-cìnè mtákánà à fāmfallám klára*
dó nà cìná-n-cìn mtáké nà
 man DEM hear-3SG-hear good DEM
à fā-m-f állà á-m kl-á-rà
 3SG put-IN-put God PRED-IN place-GEN-3SG
 ‘The person who understands this well, may God reward him for that.’

The verb of existence *áŋkwà* codes the subject as unknown or not identifiable. Such subjects cannot be followed by a determiner:

- (11) *máŋkwà gdzrè áblàlàhè ásàwà*
má áŋkwà gdzrè á blà làh á
 HYP exist child 3SG sing song 3SG
sà-wà
 come-VENT
 ‘if there is a child who sings, let him come!’

The de dicto domain of the head of the relative clause is coded by the form *názù*:

- (12) *kinnázù àbà dzàtèrbádzènáwá*
*kín **názù** á bàdz-à-tèr-bádzè ná wá*
 now what 3SG spoil-GO-3PL-spoil DEM COM
ágdzrè á màlàn màrà
ágdzrè á màlà án màrà
 daughter 3SG attach ASSC mother
 ‘Actually, what spoils them is that the daughter is attached to her mother.’

In the negative relative clause, the first subject pronoun is suffixed to the verb before the negative marker, and the second subject pronoun follows the negative marker.

6. Relativization of the object

The object role of the head of the relative clause is marked by (1) the repetition of the pronominal subject after the verb or the use of the nominal subject after the verb; (2) and for some verbs, the anaphoric object pronoun. The repetition of the subject after the verb can be used together with the object pronoun after the verb. The relative clause may end with a post-relative demonstrative. Several means of coding the object role can be used at the same time.

- (13) *dùksè ñánnà tá hàrdàné tàr nà*
dùksè ñánnà tá hàrdà-ná ítàrè nà
 thing DEF 3PL farm:PL-3SG 3PL DEM
 ‘The thing that they farm . . . ‘

In the first-and second-person singular, the subject pronouns that follow the verb are the same as the subject pronouns that precede the verb (the head and the verb of the relative clause are bolded):

- (14) *syénskwa dón nání kàwàynákàrà*
s-y-én-s kwà dón nání
 come-1SG-3SG-come Q man-DEM DEM:INTNS
kà wàyà-ná-kà nà
 2SG like-3SG-2SG DEM
 ‘Bring me then the man you like.’

The third-person singular subject in the post-verbal position is *ɲàné*:

- (15) *dólè séy žilɲànnà máksàrá-ksè*
dólè séy žil ɲànnà má ksà-rá-ksè
 necessary then man DEF HYP take-ON-take
názù àwwàyná ɲàné
názù à wwày-ná ɲàné
 what 3SG like-3SG 3SG
 ‘It is necessary that the man [father] accepts what she [his daughter] likes.’

The indefinite human subject is coded by the third-person plural subject pronoun preceding the verb, with no repeated pronoun after the verb:

- (16a) *ée, bàddàtàrɲànnà kín tàxdám*
ée, á bá ddà tàr ɲànnà kín tà hdà
 eh 3SG say father 3PL DEF now 3PL bury
fátàrɲànnà kìnì wá
á-m f-á-tàr ɲànnà kìnì wá
 PRED-IN field-GEN-3PL DEF C.FOC COM
 ‘And now, their father, who was buried in the field, . . .’

Insertion of the repeated third-person plural subject pronoun is acceptable:

- (16b) *à bà ddá tàr ɲànnà kín tà xd ítàré*
 3SG say father 3PL DEF now 3PL bury 3PL
á-m f-á-tàr ɲànnà kìnì wá
 PRED-IN field-GEN-3PL DEF C.FOC COM
 ‘and now, their father, who was buried in the field, says’

The object of the relative clause is the head, and when it is separated from the relative clause by complementizers and tense markers, the subject of the clause is not coded twice:

- (17) *dàdàrà dázàtàksé àlvàn dègiyà ɲdzà tàndàháná mbátè bàjirè*
dà-d-á-rà dá zà tàksé àlvà-n dègiyà
 go-go-GEN-3SG(POSS) go HL sultan word-DEM COMP
ɲdzà tà ndàhá-ná mbátè bà jirè
 PAST 3PL say-3SG really FOC true
 ‘They came to the Sultan, [and he said], “The story they have been telling is indeed true.”’

The de dicto domain of the object is coded by the form *názù* serving as the head of the relative clause (the head and the verb of the relative clause are bolded):

- (18a) *yòo náyùisà kùrnèyàvátánkìni*
yòo náyù yè s-à-kùr-nè-yà và
 well what 1SG come-GO-2PL-3SG-1SG day
tá-n kìnì
 DEF-DEF C.FOC
 ‘What I am bringing to you today’

àgdzá fójá làríusà
àgdz-á fój-á làríusà
 small-GEN story-GEN marriage
 ‘is a small story of a marriage.’

- (18b) *àlvàngàmàɲàr dègiyà nònònónázàicìnáyà*
à lv-á-n gè m-à-ɲàr dègiyà
 3SG say-GO-3SG TO mother-3SG behold
nò nò nò náyù yè cìn-ná-yà
 PRES PRES PRES what 1SG hear-3SG-1SG
 ‘He said to his mother, “Here is what I heard.”’

The head of the relative clause can be focused by the form *kinnà*. Recall that the marker *kinnì* is the contrastive focus marker in matrix clauses. When the head of the relative clause is in focus, the head noun phrase is followed by the de dicto marker *názù*:

- (19) *làrúsà hàṅánnà kinnà*
làrúsà-hà ṅánnà kinnà
 marriage-PL DEF C.FOC
 ‘These [contemporary] marriages,’

názù mà nà námiyà
názù mà nà-ná miyà
 what 1INCL see-3SG 1INCL
 ‘that we have seen,’

If the relative clause has a complement clause, the double coding of the subject pronoun frames the complement verb:

- (20) *názù yá kàtà yá v à̀t à̀rtáyà kìnì*
názù yá kàtà yá v-à̀t-à̀r-tá-yà kìnì
 what 1SG want 1SG give-GO-3PL-T-1SG C.FOC
 ‘what I would like to give them . . .’

7. The determiner of the head

The head of the relative clause may be followed by the definite marker *ṅánnà* or the demonstrative *nà*. Determiners instruct the hearer to identify the referent of the noun phrase. Such noun phrases can be identified through previous mention as elements present in the environment of speech. The head noun followed by a determiner may be the first mention of the noun in the discourse:

- (21) *álvà ṅánnà yè sè ndà-n-ée nà kwá* [error]
 story DEF 1SG come tell-3SG-1SG DEM
wá
 COM
 ‘The story I came to tell . . .’

The determiners are not relative clause markers (contrary to what is claimed for closely related Malgwa by Löhr 2002:97, 252), as there are relative clauses whose heads are not followed by determiners. The determiner may follow the de dicto head of the relative clause:

- (22) *séy bàná zə́nání àndásá mà̀məná*
séy bà názə́ ná ní à ndà-sá
 except FOC what DEF INTNS 3SG say-S
màmə́ ná
 mother DEM
 ‘Except what the mother says.’ [i.e., what the mother says goes.]

The evidence that determiners code definiteness or previous mention is provided by the fact that if the head of the relative clause is overtly marked as indefinite, it is not followed by a determiner. In the example below, the object role of the head is computed only from the presence of the subject pronoun before the verb:

- (23a) *ə̀ŋkwà gdzrè yè̀dákàtə́ tàyyè̀və́ bà̀stùwá*
ə̀ŋkwà gdzrè yè́ də́ kàtə́ tà yyè̀-və́
 there exist child 1SG go want 3PL refuse-APPL
bà̀stùwá
 like that
 ‘A child [girl] whom I went to ask for, I was refused like that.’
- (23b) *ə̀ŋkwà dùksə́ kà mà̀gà-ná kà*
 exist thing 2SG do-3SG 2SG
 ‘Was there anything you did?’

In the relativization of object in the imperfective aspect, the subject pronoun is not repeated after the verb:

- (23c) *ə̀ŋkwà dùksə́kà mà̀gà*
ə̀ŋkwà dùksə́ kà mà̀gà
 exist thing 2SG do
 ‘is there anything you do?’

8. The object pronoun after the verb

If the head of the relative clause is the object, the verb may have an object pronoun. As in matrix clauses, the presence of the third-person singular object pronoun is an effect of the properties of verbs. Inherently intransitive verbs must have the object pronoun to code the head of the relative clause as the object:

(24) *gàhè mà kyà-ná mì nà*
 pot 1INCL break-3SG:GO 1INCL DEM
 ‘the pot that we broke’

gáh-nè yà kyà -ná-y nà
 pot-DEM 1SG break-3SG:GO-1SG DEM
 ‘the pot that I broke’

gáh nà nà kyà-n-á ngèr nà
 pot DEM 1EXCL break-3SG:GO 1EXCL DEM
 ‘the pot that we are breaking is not good’

(25) *ùrà yà kwàrà-né-yà kìní bákà*
ùrà yà kwàrà-né-yà kìní bákà
 person 1SG order-3SG-1SG C.FOC NEG.EX
 ‘There is no person whom I order.’

For verbs of perception, relativization of the object requires the coding of the object on the verb through the third-person object pronoun *n*:

(26) *dòn-n tà zàr-nà ítàr nà*
 man-DEM 3PL see-3SG 3PL DEM
 ‘the man they saw’

The use of the object pronoun codes the incomplete, and its absence codes the complete aspect:

(27a) *dùksè nánà kò hàrd-àn-á kúr nà*
 thing DEF 2PL farm:PL-3SG-GO 2PL DEM
 ‘the thing that you (PL) farm . . .’

(27b) *dùksè nánà kò hàrd-á kúr nà*
 thing DEF 2PL farm:PL-GO 2PL DEM
 ‘the thing that you (PL) farmed . . .’

For inherently transitive verbs, the absence of the object pronoun in the relative clause codes the perfective aspect:

(28a) *dò-n tà jé-tàr nà*
 man-DEM 3PL like-3PL DEM
 ‘the man they killed’

- (28b) *éé, bàddòtàrḡánnà kín tàxdám*
éé, á bá ddò tàr ḡánnà kín
 well 3SG say father 3PL DEF now
à hǎ á-m
 3SG bury PRED-IN
 ‘well, says their father whom he buried in . . .’

There are no object pronouns in negative relative clauses:

- (29) *dàcì tá màgá-nà zú wàyà kárvòndámìyà*
dàcì tá màgá nàzú wày-à ká
 then 3PL do what like-GO NEG
rvònd-á-mìyà
 heart-GEN-1INCL
 ‘and then, they do what our heart did not want’

- (30) *dàcì tá màgá-nà zú á wàykárvòndámìyà*
dàcì tá màgá nàzú á wày ká
 then 3PL do what 3SG like NEG
rvònd-á-mìyà
 heart-GEN-1INCL
 ‘and then, they do what our heart does not want’

9. Relativization of the possessor

The head of the relative clause is marked as the possessor through the possessive predicate in the comment. The relativization of the possessor depends on what kind of predication is involved. If the predication is of the type that affects the possessor, the verb has the ventive marker *w*, and the possessum has a possessive pronoun coding the number of the possessor:

- (31) *žíl nà tàilú wùlárnà*
žíl nà tà il-w òlá-r nà
 man DEM 3PL steal-VENT cow:GEN-3SG DEM
 ‘man whose cow has been stolen’

If the possessor is not affected, the semantic role is computed from the possessive predication in the complement clause. In the following example, the phrase *dó nà* ‘the man’ is marked as somebody who does not have something through the negative marker *bákà* in the comment. The relative-clause marker is the demonstrative *ḡánnà* and post-relative marker is the determiner

nà (all in bold). The head of the relative clause is also marked for focus by the particle *bà*:

- (32) *ɲánkíni sé àhàyà bà dónè ɲánnà*
ɲán kɪni sé à hàyà bà dó nà
 3SG C.FOC only 3SG like FOC man DEM
ɲánnà
 DEF
 ‘She, she likes only the man that’

bákà péďárnàkà
bákà péďà-á-r nà kà
 NEG.EX means-GEN-3SG DEM NEG
 ‘does not have any means.’ [or ‘only useless men’]

10. Relativization of the content of verbs of saying

Relativization of the content of verbs of saying has properties similar to those of the relativization of the object, viz., the subject pronoun must precede the verb, and the subject pronoun or a nominal subject follows the verb:

- (33) *bàjìbá zálá hàɲánnà yàndàny nàbí*
bà jìb-á zálá-àhà ɲánnà yà
 FOC type-GEN male-PL DEF 1SG
ndà-n-á-y nà bí
 speak-3SG-GO-1SG DEM INTNS
 ‘Those are the men that I was talking about.’

11. Relativization of the associative

The associative function of the head of the relative clause is coded by the associative phrase consisting of the marker *án* and the 3SG pronoun *ɲàné* following the verb:

- (34) *žilé ádá názù áďəndàvànánɲàné*
žilé á d-á názù á dá ndàv-ɲ-án
 man 3SG go-GO that 3SG FUT ask-3SG-ASSC
ɲàné
 3SG
 ‘The man brings that with which he is going to ask for her,’

- (35) *tá d-á názù tá dǎ ndàvǎ-ŋ-án ɲàné*
 3PL go-GO that 3SG FUT ask-3SG-ASSC 3SG
 ‘they should bring that with which they are going to ask for her’

12. Relativization of the locative complement

The locative complement, together with the prepositions that code its function, is fronted. If the locative complement has not been mentioned before, it is not followed by the determiner.

- (36) *ám̀t̀át̀óm̀l̀è b̀áb̀ák̀ìr̀à ž̀ìl̀h̀ánǹà k̀íǹì*
á-m t̀àt̀à úm̀l̀è b̀à b̀ák ìr-á ž̀ìl
 PRED-IN place other FOC NEG.EX head-GEN man
ɲ̀ánǹà k̀íǹì
 DEF C.FOC
ágdz̀àràt̀áb̀à p̀ẁómb̀à
ágdz̀àr-à tá b̀à p̀ẁà á-m mb̀à
 child-PL 3PL FOC pour PRED-IN home
 ‘Where there are no men, girls just loaf around the house.’ (lit. ‘at the place at which . . .’)

13. Relativization of the time adjunct

The time adjunct is fronted and placed in the position before the subject pronoun. The time is preceded by the hypothetical marker *má* and followed by the predicator *á*, the determiner *t*, and the determiner *na*.

- (37) *ž̀ìl̀é m̀áv̀àc̀át̀è̀ǹà á d̀át̀àtt̀à̀ỳà mùks̀è ǹáẁá*
ž̀ìl̀é m̀á-v̀àc̀à á-t̀è-ǹà á d̀á t̀àtt̀à̀ỳà mùks̀è
 man HYP-time PRED-T-3SG 3SG go search woman
 ‘The man, at the time when he will go to look for a woman,’
 (lit. ‘at the time at which . . .’)

14. Tense and aspect in relative clauses

14.1 Tenses in relative clauses

The specific present tense is coded by high tone on the subject pronoun, i.e., in the same way as in the matrix clause:

- (38) *á mà gdzèḡánnà áblàláxnà sàwà*
á mà gdzè ḡánnà à blà lác nà
 PRED where child DEF 3SG sing song DEM
sá-wà
 come-VENT
 ‘Where is this child who sings that song? Come!’

The subject pronoun of the relative clause may be omitted as in the example (39a). The time of such a clause is inferred as the same as the preceding clause:

- (39a) *dàcì átùmàžàrà názù màgànddámýà*
dàcì á tù mà žàrà názù màgà nà
 then PRED before 1INCL see thing make DEM
ddá-myà
 father-1INCL
 ‘Then we [will] see what the Lord decides.’

As in simple clauses, low tone on the subject pronoun codes the unmarked tense. Such clauses can be interpreted as either past (ex. 39b) and (40b) or present (ex. 40a):

- (39b) *mà ná nnà náz-nà à màgà nà*
 then 1INCL see thing-DEM 3SG make DEM
ddá-myà
 father-1INCL
 ‘then we saw what the Lord decided’

- (40a) *yòò náyùysà kùrnèyàvátánkìní*
yòò názù yè s-à-kùr-nè-yà và
 well what 1SG come-GO-2PL-3SG-1SG day
tá-n kìnì
 DEF-DEF C.FOC
 ‘What I am bringing to you today’

ègdzá fójá làríusà
ègdz-á fój-á làríusà
 small-GEN story-GEN marriage
 ‘is a small story of a marriage.’

- (40b) *yòò náyùysà kùrnèyàá wàyà*
yòò názù yè s-à-kùr-nè-yà
 well what 1SG come-GO-2PL-3SG-1SG

á wàyà
 PRED yesterday
àgdzá fójá làrúusà
àgdz-á fój-á làrúusà
 small-GEN chat-GEN marriage
 ‘what I brought you yesterday was a small story of a marriage’ (elicited on the pattern of the preceding sentence)

14.2 The perfective-imperfective distinction in relative clauses

Aspectual distinctions in relative clauses are the same as those in matrix clauses, but the way they are marked is different from the marking in the matrix clauses. Some of the means were described in the section above dealing with object pronouns.

For verbs of internal state, the distinction between the actual state and the potential state is coded by the root form for the actual and the root + *a* form for the potential:

- (41a) *áttùádòksá gdzàr ñánnà dǎvántǎgžílnáwá*
á-t tù á dǎ ksá gdz-á-r
 PRED-T before 3SG FUT take child-GEN-3SG
ñánnà
 DEF
dǎ vǎ-n-tǎ g-žíl ná wá
 FUT give-3SG-T TO-man DEM COM
 ‘Before he sends his daughter to the [future] husband,
dólè séy žíl-ñánnà máksàrǎ-ksè
dólè séy žíl ñánnà má ksà-rǎ-ksè
 necessary then man DEF HYP take-ON-take
názù àwwàyná ñàné
názù à wwày-ná ñàné
 what 3SG like-3SG 3SG
 ‘it is necessary that the man [father] accepts what she [his daughter] likes.’

- (41b) *bànážànní àwàyànágdzàrná ámà gèbànánkàa*
bà názù nà níí á wàyà-ná
 FOC what DEM INTNS PRED love-3SG
gdzàr ná
 child DEM
á màgè bà ñán kàa
 3SG do FOC DEF NEG
 ‘Whatever the girl wants, that’s what is going to be done, isn’t it so?’

The distinction between the perfective and the imperfective in relative clauses is coded through the use of the simple form for the perfective and the Pro R1R2 form for the imperfective:

- (42a) *názù yèkàtànḡdà kàyà vátànmá*
názù yè kàtá ḡdà-kà-yà và-tà-n má
 what 1SG want say-2SG-1SG time-T-DEM COM
 ‘What I will tell you today is’

názù àfámyàrmàlámì nákatáfká mínà
názù à fá-myà-r màl-á-mí-nà
 what 3SG put-1INCL-ON boss-GEN-1INCL-DEM
á kà-tá fk-á mí-nà
 PRED PREP-T face-GEN 1INCL-DEM
 ‘that which has been asked/imposed by our boss who is in front us.’

The vowel *a* after an object pronoun codes the imperfective aspect. In the perfective aspect, the object pronoun directly follows the indirect object pronoun:

- (42b) *žil nà tà s-i-nè-tàr/nà/itàr/ nà*
 man DEM 3PL come-1SG-3SG-3PL DEM
 ‘the man they brought for me’

- (42c) *žil nà tà s-i-yà-n-sà*
 man DEM 3PL come-1SG-3SG-come
 ‘the man they bring for me’

15. Negation in relative clauses

The forms used for negation in relative clauses are different from those used for negation in affirmative clauses. In the matrix clause, the root + *a* form of the verb before the negative marker codes the perfective. In the relative clause, it codes the imperfective:

- (43) *názù žàbádàlyé wàyàkàhəḡkà lámýà*
názù žàbádàlyé wàyà kà həḡkàl-á-myà
 thing again like NEG reason-GEN-1INCL
 ‘The thing again, that our reason does not accept . . .’

The perfective can be coded through the addition of extensions, e.g. the target extension *t*:

- (44) *názù ãàbádàlyé à wáy-tá kà háŋkàl-á-myà*
 thing again 3SG like-T NEG reason-GEN-1INCL
 ‘the thing again, that our reason did not accept’

The imperfective/future tense is coded by the root form:

- (45) *názù ãàbádàlyé á wáy kà háŋkàl-á-myà*
 thing again 3SG like NEG reason-GEN-1INCL
 ‘the thing again, that our reason will not accept.’

Relativization of the subject in negative clauses involves the placement of an independent pronoun coding the number of the subject at the end of the clause:

- (46) *áppàkúmdànnàní wàtsəmàgàránkà ìtárníyà*
áppàkà mdà nà ní wàtsə
 wait:IMP people DEM INTNS FUT
màgà-rə-n-kə-ìtər
 make-3PL-3SG-NEG-3PL
sákátà gdzánà ní kává tətəvəná
níyà sá kátà gdzá nà ní ká
 desire come ask child DEM INTNS 2SG
vá-tər-tə-vá nà
 give-3PL-T-give DEM
 ‘Wait then until those who have no desire come to ask for your child.
 It is to those people that you will give her.’

16. Conclusions

The head always precedes the clause that modifies it. There is a fundamental difference in Wandala between the relativization of the subject of the relative clause and the relativization of other grammatical relations. The relativization of the subject involves placing the nominal subject before the relative clause and additional coding of the subject through the subject pronoun preceding the verb of the relative clause.

The relativization of the object involves placing the nominal object before the relative clause and adding the pronominal subject before the verb and a nominal or pronominal subject after the verb of the relative clause. The remaining grammatical and semantic relations are coded by prepositions.

The tense and aspectual system in relative clauses differs from that in matrix clauses. Negation in relative clauses is also different from that of negation in matrix clauses.

Chapter 27

Discourse characteristics

1. Introduction

The present chapter describes selected discourse and conversation characteristics that were detected within the recorded natural language samples. These characteristics include: the backgrounding of information in discourse; the presentative function; discourse sequencing; and several types of discourse connection.

2. Backgrounding of information in discourse

The backgrounding of information in discourse refers to an operation whereby some event is represented with the aim of creating a background necessary for the understanding of the following discourse. The elements in the backgrounded information may, but do not have to, recur in the following discourse. The fundamental means of backgrounding the information is the use of the punctual aspect marked by the suffix *hè* added to the verb. The evidence that the punctual aspect codes backgrounding for discourse is that clauses in the punctual aspect cannot be the final clauses of a narrative or of conversation:

- (1a) *tsà-rà-ts* *á-t* *w-á* *hày* *ηάννά*
stop-3PL-stop PRED-T mouth-GEN river DEF
'They stopped at the river bank.'

- (1b) *tàná* *bàptsàhá* *dámfəηánn* *ξàbàdàlyé*
tà *náb* *ptsà-hà* *á* *dám* *fə* *ηάννά*
3PL then return-PNCT PRED go:IN field DEF
ξàbè *á* *dàlyé*
again PRED again
'They returned to the field.'

- (1c) *tàdúhè dóm-tàttàyà óvgè ñánnà tàtsáhé*
tà dú-hè dǎ-m tàttàyá óvgè ñánnà tà
 3PL go:VENT-PNCT go-IN search grave DEF3 PL
tsá-hè
 stop-PNCT
 ‘They got going in search of that grave, [and] they stopped [where they found the grave].’

An additional argument in support of the backgrounding function of the punctual aspect is provided by the fact that the nominal subject of the clause with the punctual marker *hè* is coded by the preposition *gè*:

- (2a) *dàcì ànábà bǝif-hà gèjũlyá zàrvá tàr pàllè*
dàcì à nábà bǝi-v-hè gè jũli-á
 then 3SG then fall-APPL-PNCT TO sand-GEN
zàrv-á-tàr pàllè
 sesame-GEN-3PL one
 ‘Then, one grain of their sesame seeds fell down.’

The preposition *gè* preceding the subject cannot be omitted from the above clauses:

- (2b) **dàcì ànábà bǝif-hà jũlyá zàrvá tàr pàllè*
dàcì à nábà bǝi-v-hè jũli-á
 then 3SG then fall-APPL-PNCT sand-GEN
zàrv-á-tàr pàllè
 sesame-GEN-3PL one
 ‘then, one grain of their sesame seeds fell down.’

Nominal subjects are marked by the preposition *gè* to indicate that this is not the prominent element of the following discourse. If the nominal subject is fronted for any pragmatic function, it is not preceded by the preposition *gè* or by another preposition:

- (3) *dàcì màl-àhá ñrè tà dè*
 then parent-PL:GEN 1EXCL 3PL SEQ
sò-hè tà bǝr zàhá nà
 come:VENT-PNCT 3PL find snake DEM
 ‘When our parents came, they found the snake.’ [recorded from a speaker from Pulka]

More evidence for the proposed hypothesis about the discourse function of the punctual aspect is provided by the analysis of the following fragment of

a narrative. In line (4) the speaker announces the title of the story. Lines (5)-(7) introduce the main characters:

- (4) *yò tàsálvàmdà kígyé*
yò tà s-á lv-á mdà kígyé
 well 3PL come-GO story-GEN people three
 ‘They brought a story of three people.’
- (5) *mdà kígyé ñánnà mdàrà*
mdà kígyé ñánnà md-á-rà
 people three DEF people-GEN-Q
 ‘Those three people, who are they?’
- (6) *tàrdádámámá àntàrgdzá tàržilé*
tàr dádá mámá àntàr gdz-á-tàr žilé
 3PL father mother ASSC:PL child-GEN-3PL male
 ‘They are a father, a mother, and their son.’
- (7) *tàbànjátàrè ànhéerànkìpìrè*
tà bà ñj-á-tàrè án
 3PL FOC stay-GEN-3PL ASSC
héer-àn-klàpì-rè
 peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘They lived together in peace and good health.’

In line (8) an event is introduced with the punctual marker *hè*, and its subject is coded by the preposition *gè*. This event is crucial for the understanding of the rest of the story, as the dead father is going to interact with his son throughout the story:

- (8) *àná bùmtsègh gè dádà*
à nábà mtsè-hè gè dádà
 3SG then die-PNCT TO father
 ‘The father died.’

In the next line, the remaining participants are mentioned without the preposition *gè*:

- (9) *àgyátàr màmà àntàrgdzrè [àntàrágdzrè]*
à gy-á tàr màmà àntàr gdz-rè
 3SG leave-GO 3PL mother ASSC:PL child-NOM
 ‘He left the mother and the child.’

A new participant, *víyà* ‘rainy season’, is introduced in the next line with the punctual aspect, and it is preceded by the preposition *gə̀*. This participant does not appear in the story any more, but it is important for the understanding of the planting activity described later in the story:

- (10) *àsámhà gə̀víyà*
à sá-m-hə̀ gə̀ víyà
 3SG come-IN-PNCT TO rainy season
 ‘There came the rainy season.’

The text about the beginning of agricultural work follows. The rainy season is not mentioned anymore anywhere in the narrative.

Similarly, the sentence where the single argument ‘a grain of the sesame’ is marked by the dative preposition is followed by a description of activities in which the grain appears much later, and only as an object:

- (11) *dàcí ànábə̀ bǝ́ɟif-hə̀ gə̀fǝ́ilyá zàrvá tàr pàllè*
dàcí à nábà bǝ́ɟi-v-hè gə̀ fǝ́ili-á
 then 3SG then fall-APPL-PNCT TO sand-GEN
zàrv-á-tàr pàllè
 sesame-GEN-3PL one
 ‘Then, one grain of their sesame seeds fell down’

3. The presentative function

The term ‘presentative function’ (an early mention of the term, and possibly the first, is in Hetzron 1971) refers to the function of introducing a new element into the discourse. This new element is not necessarily a topic of the discourse. The coding means for the presentative function is the form *nóo* or *nó*, which can precede nouns or demonstratives, most often *ɲánnà*, resulting in *ɲóɲwanè* ‘here’, ‘voici’. This complex occurs at the beginning of the utterance:

- (12) *yò foyi ɲánnà wàtsè kwàdə̀ cìn-ná*
 well chat DEF FUT 2PL-FUT hear-3SG
kúr nà nó-ɲwàné ə́lvà wàndàl
 2PL DEM PRES-DEF language Wandala
ɲánnà tákàtànà ɟámá kláwà
ɲánnà tá kàtá-n-à ɟámá kláwà
 DEF 3PL want-3SG-PB world all
 ‘Here is the chat that you will hear in Wandala and that the world desires.’

The presentative construction does not have to have a verb:

- (13) *ηόηwanè zàrvà ηάnnà mbàtè bàjírè*
ηό ηάνè zàrvà ηάnnà mbàtè bà jírè
 PRES 3SG sesame DEF indeed FOC true
 ‘Here it is, the sesame in question. Hence it is true.’

The following example illustrates the use of the form *nóo* (long *oo* this time) at the beginning of the narrative:

- (14) *nóovà tèn kìnì njànínjá twáfká ordinator yándál vwándàlà*
nóo và tã-n kìnì njà-n-í-njà á tù
 PRES time T-DEM C.FOC sit-1SG-EP-sit PRED before
wáfk-á ordinator yá ndà lv wándàlà
 face-GEN computer 1SG speak language Wandala
 ‘Today, I sat down in front of the computer, I am speaking the Wandala language.’

- (15) *nóηwányénjátófká pàtrònrwà*
nó ηàn yá njà á tù wáfk-á
 PRES 3SG 1SG sit PRED before face-GEN
patron-á-rwà
 boss-GEN-1SG
 ‘Here I am sitting in front of my boss.’

The presentative function may be coded by one or several demonstratives.

- (16) *dàcìi ée, ηánηà rónà kè ʒàbé*
dàcìi ée, ηánè ηàrà únà kè ʒàbé
 then eh, 3SG R.DEF DEM DEM again
 ‘Then, well, that is why again’

dàdá átàdzgwáηkà kwàrhàrkà
dàdá á tà dzgwá-η kà kwàr
 father 3SG NEG be able-3SG NEG order
há-r kà
 home-3SG NEG
 ‘the father cannot give orders in his family, can he?’

4. Discourse sequencing

Discourse sequencing refers to the speaker's connecting of elements in discourse. These elements could be noun phrases, clauses, or virtually any other category. Discourse sequencing has keeping the floor as a by-product, because the speaker overtly indicates that something else follows. There are several means involved in discourse sequencing. One is phonological and the others are morphological and configurational, i.e. utilizing linear order as a coding means.

4.1 The phonological means of discourse sequencing

The phonological means of discourse sequencing is through the raising of the last tone of the phrase. Thus, when a speaker produces a list of nouns, e.g. mother, father, and child, each of the nouns ends in high tone, regardless of its underlying tone:

- (17) *mdə kígýé ɲánnà mdàrà*
mdə kígýé ɲánnà md-á-rà
 people three DEF people-GEN-Q
 'Those three people, who are they?'

- (18) *tàrdádámámá ántàrgdzá tàržilé*
tàr dádá mámá ántàr gdz-á-tàr žilé
 3PL father mother ASSC:PL child-GEN-3PL male
 'They are a father, a mother, and their son.'

In isolation, two of the nouns, *dàdà* and *mama*, the low tone. The high tone on *gdzà* 'child' is the result of the addition of the genitive marker *á*.

The raised tone indicates that despite the pauses, something else follows. This is why the comment-clause marker *wá* has high tone. As a determiner of the preceding noun, *wà* has low tone. The marker with high tone is followed by the apodosis clause, which has its own marker of sequentiality, *dàcí* 'then':

- (19) *yòwmá bàní áksàràksà gdzèrwá*
yòw má bàní áksà-rá-ksà gdzèr wá
 well, HYP since take-ON-take child COM
 "Well, since the child has accepted,"

dàcí bàkággè kùmústàrà
dàcí bà ká ggè kù mú s-tà rà
 then FOC 2SG marry RQ FOC DEF Q
 'then, you marry [her], otherwise what?'

Raising of the tone is also a means of indicating that the speaker is searching for the right word. Consider the following utterance, where the speaker produces the inherently low tone noun *dàdà* with high tone on the last syllable. This form is corrected in the next word by *dàdù wá*:

- (20) *yò, únàwá dáci mánà dàdà dàdùwá*
yò, únà ná wá dáci má-nà dàdà
 well DEM DEM COM then HYP-DEM father
dàdù wá
 dad COM
tyápkà dàdùwá ámbàrkà
tyá-p kà dàdù wá á-m
 become able-APPL NEG:PB father COM PRED-IN
mb-á-r kà
 house-GEN-3SG NEG
 ‘Well, as for that, if that is so, [it means that] the father was not able to be a father at his home.’ [If there are unmarried girls at home, that is the father’s fault.]

And here is another example of the raising of tone as a means of indicating that, despite the pause, other material follows. The first-person possessive pronoun has underlying low tone. When it occurs as part of a phrase that announces the presence of another element in the discourse, the first-person pronoun receives high tone:

- (21) *ùsów ógdzàrà màmàrwá*
ùsáawà ógdzàr-a màmà-rwá
 greeting (F) child-PL mother-1SG
 ‘Greetings, my brothers and sisters!’
- (21b) *nóovà tán kìnìnjànjá twáfká ordinator yándál wándàl*
nóo và tã-n kìnì njà-n-í-njà á tù
 PRES time T-DEMC.FOC sit-1SG-EP-sit PRED before
wáfk-á ordinator yá ndà lv wándàl
 face-GEN computer 1SG speak language Wandala
 ‘Today, I sat down in front of the computer, I am speaking the Wandala language.’

4.2 The non-temporal discourse connection

The non-temporal discourse connection is coded by the particle *má*, with high tone, occurring at the end of the phrase. I gloss this particle as ‘and’ because

its function partially overlaps with the English coordinating conjunction ‘and’. The particle *má* can occur after the noun phrase or the verb phrase. Propositions connected by the marker *má* are part of the same discourse entity, or theme. The marker *má* does not occur if what follows is another discourse theme. In the following fragment both of these cases occur. The last sentence in the fragment begins another episode in the discourse and thus does not have the particle *má*:

- (22) *làkàtá tákígyé*
lákàt-a tá kígyé
 fellow-PL 3PL three
 ‘There were three friends.’

lákàtá ñánnà tá-kígyémá [pause] tà dè hàrdà
lákàt-a ñánnà tá-kígyé-má tà dè hàrdà
 fellow-PL DEF 3PL-three-and 3PL go farm
 ‘And these three friends went to farm.’

tà hàrdà fátàrè
tà hàrdà f-á-tàr [má] (added during analysis)
 3PL farm field-GEN-3PL [and]
 ‘And they finished farming.’

ǵóǵà lvá hàrdà [má] (added during analysis)
ǵà-ú-ǵà lv-á hàrd [má]
 finish-VENT-finish:PB business-GEN farm [and]
 ‘Their farming finished . . .’

máǵàrá béetàrè séetá dá fùlà
máǵàrà á bà itàrè séi tá d-á fùlà
 now (F) 3SG say 3PL then 3PL go-GO travel
 ‘Now they say that they have to travel.’

The other marker of discourse sequence is the form *dàcì* ‘then’, which occurs at the beginning of the sentence. The discourse beginning with *dàcì* codes a new episode in the narrative. In clause-initial position it has high tone and a long vowel to indicate that something follows:

- (23) *dàcìi ée, ñánnà rónà kà ǵàbè*
dàcìi ée, ñánè ñàrà únàkè ǵàbè
 then eh, DEF R.DEF that again
 ‘Then, well, that is why again . . .’

A clause with the discourse-sequencing particle may also have the temporal sequence marker *nábà*. In the following fragment, the first two sentences describe events that are not necessarily temporal or causal antecedents of the event described in the third sentence. The third sentence has the discourse-sequencing marker:

- (24) *tà nábà pómme á dúm hùdā hàye*
tà nábà pw-mmè á dú-m hùd-á hàye
 3PL then fell-COL PRED go-IN belly-GEN river
 ‘Then they threw themselves into the water.’

gágágágágágá á dègzàyàwè [recording different]
á dègzà yàwè
 gulgulgul 3SG run:PB water
 ‘Gul, gul, gul, runs the water.’

(corrected as)

gágágágágágá yàwá dègzám hùdā hàye
gágágágágágá yàw á dègzà á-m hùd-á
 gul, gul, gul, water 3SG run PRED-IN belly-GEN
hàye
 river
 ‘Gul, gul, gul, the water runs within the river.’

dàcí ànábà bǝí-f-hè gèfīilyá zàrvá tàr pàllè
dàcí à nábà bǝí-v-hè gè fīilī-á
 then 3SG then fall-APPL-PNCT TO sand-GEN
zàrv-á-tàr pàllè
 sesame-GEN-3PL one
 ‘Then, one grain of their sesame seeds fell down.’

The sequential marker *nábà* can also be used as a discourse sequential marker, i.e. connecting elements in discourse rather than events in the narrative. In the following fragment, the marker *nábà* cannot code sequentiality of the events, since the first clause does not represent an event but rather a state:

- (25a) *tàbànjátàrè ànhéerànklàpírè*
tà bà nj-á-tàrè án
 3PL FOC stay-GEN-3PL ASSC
héer-àn-klàpí-rè
 peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘They lived together in peace and good health.’

àná bùm̀tsə̀gh gə̀ d̀àd̀à
à náb̀à m̀tsə̀-hè̀ gə̀ d̀àd̀à
 3SG then die-PNCT TO father
 ‘The father died.’

The high tone marks the boundary that precedes an afterthought clause. The noun *nikà* marriage becomes *niká* when at the end of the phrase preceding an afterthought clause:

(25b) *ə̀skə̀ f̀uŋ̀wánìk̀á m̀ádá ǹd̀à*
ə̀skè f̀uŋ̀w-á nìk̀á m̀á d-á-n-d-à
 like money-GEN marriage HYP go-GO-3SG-go-GO
 ‘Like the marriage money, if he brought it.’

4.3 Discourse connection through repetition of the verb

Repetition of the last verb of the preceding clause appears to perform the function of connecting sentences in a discourse. In the following fragment, the first sentence has the main verb *bà* ‘say’, and the second sentence has the same verb again. Both sentences have the same subject. The first sentence ends in the complementizer *wá*. The repetition of the last verb is a means of conjoining clauses in discourse in other Chadic languages as well (Frajzyngier 2005):

(26) *éé, bàddət̀àr̀h̀ánǹà k̀ín t̀àxd̀ám*
éé, á bá dd̀ə t̀àr̀ h̀ánǹà k̀ín t̀à h̀d̀á
 eh 3SG say father 3PL DEF now 3PL bury
f̀át̀àr̀h̀ánǹə k̀ínì ẁá
á-m f-á-t̀àr̀ h̀ánǹə k̀ínì ẁá
 PRED-IN field-GEN-3PL DEF C.FOC COM
 ‘And now, their father, who was buried in the field said, . . .’

(27) *áb̀áh̀ánè̀ k̀ònd̀áng̀ù k̀òb̀úuǹà*
á bá h̀ánè̀ k̀ò nd-á-n gə̀ wè
 3SG say 3SG 2SG say-GO-3SG TO what
k̀ò bẁá ǹà
 2PL two DEM
 ‘He says, “Why do you say the two of you?”’

5. The hearer's acknowledgment

The hearer acknowledges his involvement in a conversation by using the expression *bàstwá* 'it is so indeed', composed of the focus marker *bà*, the anaphoric complex *st*, and the complementizer *wà*:

- (28) *yò, únàwá dâcí mánà dâdá dâdùwá*
yò, únà ná wá dâcí má-nà dâdá dâdù
 well DEF DEF COM then HYP-DEM father dâd
wá
 COM
tyápkà dâdùwá ámbárkà
tyá-p kà dâdú wá á-m
 become able-APPL NEG:PB father COM PRED-IN
mb-á-r kà
 house-GEN-3SG NEG
 'Well, as for that, if that is so, [it means that] the father was not able to be a father at his home.' [If there are unmarried girls at home, that is the father's fault.]

6. Coding an unexpected conclusion

The intensifier *ní* added after the first clause codes an unexpected conclusion to be found in the following clause:

- (29) *àbkyàsábkyà dũksá*
àbkyà-sá-bky-à dũksá
 fall-S-fall-PB thing:Q
 'Something fell out?' [The high tone on the last vowel codes a question]

- (30) *ùrà wá-nà wáyà nà ní à bá-kà*
 person cut-3SG hunger DEM INTNS 3SG say-2SG
à dâ hárdâ
 3SG go farm
 'If a person is hungry, you say he should go and farm?'

7. Coding hesitation

Hesitation is coded by demonstratives, sometimes several in succession, as is the case in other languages. In the following fragment the proximate demon-

strative is followed by the remote demonstrative, and finally by the entity demonstrative:

- (31) *dàci ée, ɣánnà rónà kà ɓàbé*
dàci ée, ɣánè ɣàrà únà kà ɓàbé
 then eh, 3SG R.DEF DEM DEM again
 ‘Then, well, that is why again’
dàdá átàdzgwáŋkà kwàrhárkà
dàdá á tà dzgwá-ŋ kà kwàr
 father 3SG NEG be able-3SG NEG order
há-r kà
 home-3SG NEG
 ‘the father cannot give orders in his family, can he?’

The speaker can keep the floor by using the expression *ɓóɓà màɓàrà* ‘finally’, which may be followed by the sentence that preceded it:

- (32a) *tà nábà ks-t-á bàràrà[-tà ɣánnà]* (not recorded)
 3PL then take-T-GO road[-3PL DEF]
 ‘And then they took their road.’
- (32b) *ɓóɓà màɓàrà*
 finish:VENT-finish now
 ‘That finished,’
- (32c) *tà nábà ks-t-á bàràrà-á-tà ɣánnà*
 3PL then take-T-GO road-GEN-3PL DEF
 ‘Then they took their road.’

8. Politeness in rhetorical questions

The definite marker occurring at the end of a statement indicates politeness in rhetorical question. The definite marker is not linked with any nominal expression within the clause:

- (33) *tàskàtànámndàní vākàtərtákàná*
tà s-kàtá-ɣá mndà ní
 3PL come-want-3SG people INTNS
và-kà-tàr-tá-ká nà
 give-2SG-3PL-T-NEG DEF
 ‘People came to ask about her, and you didn’t give [her]?.’

9. Conclusions

Most of the questions concerning discourse structure in Wandala remain to be explored. I had no information regarding conversations between men and women, between children and adults, and conversations involving multiple participants.

Chapter 28

Sample texts

1. Introduction

The sample contains texts recorded in Cameroon during the 2004-2007 field trips. The narratives, except for one, were given without titles. I have supplied titles as best I could for the purpose of reference. One text is a conversation between two participants on the theme of marrying off daughters. There are significant linguistic differences between the stories and the conversation. The former are more structured, with fewer hesitations and breaks, and most utterances within stories are complete sentences. The conversation has a larger number of demonstratives, which perform all kinds of conversational functions unrelated to either deixis or anaphora. Many utterances are not complete clauses, and there is considerable repetition of issues, phrases, and clauses.

The texts contain borrowings from Fula (West Atlantic), marked as F; Hausa (West Chadic), marked as H; Kanuri (Nilo-Saharan), marked as K; Arabic (via Fula, Hausa, or Kanuri), marked as Ar.; French; and even one borrowing from English via Hausa.

The analyses of the texts involved the narrators themselves as well as other speakers. As can be expected, speakers differ occasionally with respect to the choice of lexical items and grammatical forms and with respect to the interpretations of utterances. As also expected, the analyses of forms and their functions, and the translations, changed frequently over the years.

The first line of the representation of most utterances is a broad phonetic representation that includes epenthetic vowels, underlying glides realized as vowels, and pauses, marked by spaces. These pauses often come inside a phonological word, sometimes assigning parts of a consonant cluster to two rhythmic entities. An occasional alveolar nasal at the end of a word serves as a pause marker when speakers are looking for the proper continuation of their speech. These nasals are included in the first line as either *n* or *nn* (depending on the length of the pause) and are glossed as [pause]. The second line represents the underlying forms of the morphemes within the given context, as well as the epenthetic vowels. The third line represents the lexical and grammatical glosses. Some utterances are represented by three lines only, i.e. without the broad phonetic transcription. The phonetic form can in most cases be deduced from the phonological representation and the rules given in chapter 2. Glosses are conventionalized representations of a given morpheme rather than reflections of the function of the morpheme within the specific utterance. Thus, in order to distinguish the proximate demonstrative *nà* from

the anaphoric *ɲánnà*, glossed as DEF, *nà* is glossed as DEM regardless of its function in a given clause. Glosses should not be taken as representations of the functions of the morphemes. The fourth line in each example is a translation of the utterance within its context rather than in isolation. Translations of the same utterances in isolation may be quite different.

2. Three men and a grain of sesame

Versions of this story are known in cultures speaking different languages in Northern Cameroon. I recorded a similar story in Mina (Central Chadic, Frajzyngier et al. 2005), and a similar story is known in Hdi. The text was recorded on July 5, 2004. The speaker, Seini Adji Alhadji, also speaks French, Fula and Kanuri. The text shows some Kanuri influences. Changes proposed by other speakers are included in the text and marked as such. The corrections do not necessarily indicate an error; they may just represent preferences of other speakers.

- (1) *yò foyi ɲánnà wàtsè kwà-dá cìn-ná*
 well chat DEF FUT 2PL-FUT hear-3SG
kúr ná nó-ɲwàné álvà wàndàl
 2PL DEM PRES-DEF language Wandala
ɲánnà tákàtànà ɣámá kláwà
ɲánnà tá kàtá-n-à ɣámá kláwà
 DEF 3PL want-3SG-PB world all
 ‘Here is the chat that you will hear in Wandala and that the world desires.’
- (2) *yá ɣyá rvárwà*
yá ɣyá rv-á-rwà
 1SG retrieve hand-GEN-1SG
 ‘Greetings!’
- (3a) *nóovà tən kìnì njànínjǎ twáfká ordinator yándál vwándàlà*
nóo và tǎ-n kìnì njà-n-í-njà á tù
 PRES time T-DEMC.FOC sit-1SG-EP-sit PRED before
wáfk-á ordinator yá ndà lv wándàlà
 face-GEN computer 1SG speak language Wandala
 ‘Today, I sat down in front of the computer, I am speaking the Wandala language.’

- (3b) *yó élv wándàl ñánnà à fyàrà málrùwà* [error]
yó élv wándàl ñánnà à f-y-àr-à
 well speech Wandala DEF 3SG put-1SG-ON-PB
mál-rùwà
 older brother-1SG
 ‘This Wandala speech is requested from me by my older brother.’¹⁵
- (4) *málarù ñán nùmú wàré*
mál-á-rùwà ñánn-mú wàré
 superior-GEN-1SG DEF-FOC who
 ‘This boss of mine is who?’ [‘Who is this boss of mine?’]
- (5) *nóy wányénjatófka pàtrónárwà*
nó ñán yá njà á tù wáfk-á
 PRES 3SG 1SG sit PRED before face-GEN
patron-á-rwà
 boss-GEN-1SG
 ‘Here I am sitting in front of my boss.’
- yá fà-tr-ú gè bàmá*
 1SG speak-3PL-VENT TO population
 ‘I speak to people.’ [not recorded, added in analysis]
- (6) *álvà ñánnà yè sè ndà-n-ée nà kwá* [error]
 story DEF 1SG come tell-3SG-1SG DEM
wá
 COM
 ‘The story I came to tell . . .’
- á kàtá lvà ndzà*
á kàtá élvà ndzà
 3SG want story past
 ‘He wants an old story.’
- (7) *làkàtá tákífyé*
làkàt-a tá kífyé
 fellow-PL 3PL three
 ‘There were three friends.’

15 The error consists of using the form *mál* ‘older’ without the genitive marker, which suggests a kinship relation, e.g. ‘older brother’. In the next sentence, the speaker corrects himself and uses the form *mál* with the genitive marker *á* to mean ‘boss’.

- (8) *lákàtá ñánnà tá-kígyémá [pause] tà dè hèrdà*
lákàt-a ñánnà tá-kígyé-má tà dè hèrdà
 fellow-PL DEF 3PL-three-and 3PL go farm
 ‘And these three friends went to farm.’
- (9) *tà hèrdǎs fátàrè [má added in analysis]*
tà hèrdǎ-s f-á-tàr [má]
 3PL farm-S field-GEN-3PL [and]
 ‘And they finished farming.’ [In the analysis of this fragment one speaker substituted -s for -t in the form *hèrdǎ-t*. Another speaker accepted neither *hèrdǎ-s* nor *hèrdǎ-t*, and suggested instead: *tà hèrdà fátàrè* ‘they farmed their field’. The original form codes a bounded event (‘they finished farming’). The revised form codes an unbounded event.]
- (10) *ḡóḡà lvá hèrdà [má added in analysis]*
ḡà-ú-ḡà lv-á hèrd [má]
 finish-VENT-finish:PB business-GEN farm [and]
 ‘Their farming finished . . .’
- (11) *máḡàrà béetàrè séetá dá fúlà*
máḡàrà á bà ítàrè séi tá d-á fúlà
 now (F) 3SG say 3PL then 3PL go-GO travel
 ‘Now they say that they have to travel.’
- (12) *dùksè ñánnà tá hèrdǎné tàr nà*
dùksè ñánnà tá hèrdǎ-ná ítàrè nà
 thing DEF 3PL farm:PL-3SG 3PL DEM
 ‘The thing that they farm . . .’
- (13) *tà hèrdǎ jìbà rá*
 3PL farm:PL type Q
 ‘What things did they farm?’
- (14) *tà hèrdǎ zàrvà*
 3PL farm:PL sesame
 ‘They farmed sesame.’ [Corrected to: *tà hèrdà zàrvà*.]

- (15) *zàrvà ñánnà ákyè tà dǎvvàlà ámtá tómlè*
zàrvà ñánnà á kíyè tà dǎ vǎlà á-m
 sesame DEF 'one says' 3PL FUT sell PRED-IN
tátà úmlè
 place other
 'That sesame, they say, they will sell at some other place.' [i.e. a place other than the one where they harvested the sesame]
- (16a) *tà dè hàltá zàrvá tàr ñánnà tà púmá dóm bùhá*
tà dè hàl-t-á zàrv-á-tàr ñánnà tà
 3PL SEQ gather-T-GO sesame-GEN-3PL DEF 3PL
pú-m á dǎ-m bùhá
 pour-IN PRED go-IN bag
 'And then they gathered their sesame in and poured it into a bag.'
- (16b) *tà hàlsám bùhá ñánnà*
tà hàl-s á-m bùhá ñánnà
 3PL gather-S PRED-IN bag DEF
 'They gathered the bag.'¹⁶
- (17) *tà fá tǎ zǎŋwà*
tà f-á á tǎ zǎŋwà
 3PL put-GO PRED T donkey
 'They put it on the donkey.'
- (18) *tà nábà ks-t-á bàràrà[-tàr ñánnà]* (not recorded)
 3PL then take-T-GO road[-3PL DEF]
 'And then they took their road.'
- (19) *ǒǒǒà màǒàrà*
 finish:VENT-finish now
 'That finished.'
- (20) *tà nábà ks-t-á bàràrà-á-tàr ñánnà*
 3PL then take-T-GO road-GEN-3PL DEF
 'Then they took their road.'

16 Some speakers interpret this sentence to mean 'they took it out of the bag'. This interpretation, justified by the grammatical structure, is not supported by the further development of the story. It appears that the speaker made a mistake, perhaps by analogy with his preceding sentence, where the form *hal-s* was used as well.

- (26) *má kyórà dùksà ɲánnà séi bà yá nánnà*
má á kyáw rà dùksà ɲánnà séi bà
 HYP PRED place any thing DEF then FOC
yá ná-n-nà
 1SG see-3SG-see
 “No matter where the object is, I will see it.”
- (27) *mám tàpďám mírkínì séi bà yá nánnà*
má á-m tàpďammè-rè kínì séi
 HYP PRED-IN dark-NOM C.FOC then
bà yá ná-n-nà
 FOC 1SG see-3SG-see
 “Even in the darkness, I can see it.”
- (28) *májùbàrkínì séi bà yá ẓẓàrà*
má jùbà rà kínì séi bà yá ẓẓàrà
 HYP entity Q C.FOC then FOC 1SG look
 “No matter what it is, I can/will see it.”
- (29) *má bàní bàďəm mírámyà mándiyámyà*
má-á bàní bàďəm ír-á-myà mà
 HYP-PRED concernall head-GEN-1INCL 1INCL
án diy-á-myà
 ASSC knowledge-GEN-1INCL
wá fágrónà máhí gámyà
wá fágrà únà má híg-á-myà [not in the recording]
 COM well DEF 1INCL happy-GEN-1INCL
 “Because we all have this knowledge, it is good. As far as we are concerned, we are happy.” [híg-á-myà is not clear to other speakers.]
- (29) *máďəm tàtárkínì máná bàʒàlà*
má ďá-m tàtá-r kínì má nábà ʒàlà
 HYP go-IN place-Q C.FOC 1INCL then go
 “No matter into what place, we can go there.”
- (30a) *táná bàʒà* [different on the recording]
tà nábà ʒàlà
 3PL then depart
 ‘And then they left.’

(30b) *é ɣàrɣàlá*
é ɣà-r-ɣàlá
 eh depart-3PL-depart
 ‘They left.’

(31) *cùkwá ngùdì fàrnáfè hàye*
cùkw-á ngùdì fà-r-n-á-fè hàye
 small-GEN very find-3PL-3SG-GO-find river
 ‘After a little while, they reached a river.’

(32) *ám hùdá hàye[pause]diyàkùrdiyàŋkwà yàwè*
ám hùd-á hàye diyà-kùr-diyà àŋkwà yàwè
 IN belly-GEN river know-2PL-know exist water
 ‘In the river, you know, there is water.’

(33) *èi màmàgànástàrà àbà pállá tàrè*
èi má màgà-n ástà-rà à b páll-á-tàrè
 so 1INCL do-3SG DEF-Q 3SG say one-GEN-3PL
 ‘‘So, what shall we do?’’ said one of them.’

(34) *sèi bà méycícùkùmùm mgànástàrà*
sèi bà má yìc-íic kùmù má màgà-n ástà-rà
 then, FOC 1INCL cut-cut if not 1INCL do-3SG how-Q
 ‘‘We have to cross [the river], otherwise, what will we do?’’ [*stà* reduced to *sà*]

(35a) *tà nábà púm-hè á dú-m hùd-á hàye* [recording different]
tà nábà púm-hè á dú-m hùd-á hàye
 3PL then fell-IN-PNCT PRED go-IN belly-GEN river
 ‘Then they threw themselves into the river.’ [The recording has *púm* *sè*.] Another speaker suggested that once the form *hè* is used, it can not be followed by the adverbial phrase *á dú-m hùd-á hàye*. Instead of the sentence above, which was considered erroneous by yet another speaker, the following was suggested:

(35b) *prúm*
 ideophone of sudden motion
tà nábà púmsè á dúm hùdá hàyi ɣánnà
tà nábà pw-m-sè á dú-m hùd-á hàyi ɣánnà
 3PL then fell-COL-S PRED go-IN belly-GEN riverDEF
 ‘Then they threw themselves into the water.’

(36) *gágá gágá gágá á dægzá yàwè* [recording different]

á dægzá yàwè
gulgulgul 3SG run:PB water
'Gul, gul, gul, runs the water.'

(36 corrected)

gágá gágá gágá yàwá dægám hùdá hà yè
gágá gágá gágá yàw á dægzá á-m hùd-á hà yè
gul, gul, gul, water 3SG run PRED-IN belly-GEN river
'Gul, gul, gul, the water runs within the river.'

(37) *dàcí ànábà bǒjif-hè gəfīlyá zàrvá tàr pàllè*

dàcí à nábà bǒjī-v-hè gə fīlì-á
then 3SG then fall-APPL-PNCT TO sand-GEN
zàrv-á-tàr pàllè
sesame-GEN-3PL one
'Then, one grain of their sesame seeds fell down.'

[(38a) *tèycás hà yè tà nábàtsá twáhè ñánnà* [not on the recording]

tà yc-s hà yè tà nábà tsá á-t
3PL cut-S river 3PL then stop PRED-T
w-á hà yè ñánnà
mouth:GEN river DEF
'They crossed the river, they stood at the river bank.'

(38b) *tàycás hà yè* [error]

tà ycá-s hà yè
3PL cut-S river
'They crossed the river.' (All speakers consulted consider the verbal form to be an error. It should have been *tàycás hà yè*).

(38c) *tsà-rà-ts á-t w-á hà yè ñánnà*

stop-3PL-stop PRED-T mouth-GEN river DEF
'They stopped at the river bank.'

(38d) *tà tsáhá tùwá hà yè ñánnà* [recording different]

tà tsá á-t w-á hà yè ñánnà
3PL stop PRED-T mouth-GEN river DEF
'They stand at the river bank.'

- (39) *à bə pàllə ddá òimà*
à bə pàllè dd-á òimà
 3SG say one man-GEN ear
 ‘The one who hears all said.’
- (40) *fiilyá zàrvá mì pàllə kày mbəḍḍá mbəḍḍám dəmyáwnà*
fiili-á zàrv-á myá pàllè kày mbəḍḍá-m-mbəḍḍ
 sand-GEN sesame-GEN 1INCL one ? fall-IN-fall
á-m d-ár yàwè nà
 PRED go:ON water DEM
 ‘‘‘One of our sesame seeds fell into the water.’’¹⁷
- (41) *àbə pàllə kìnìwá tàlànəskə fì dáyənà*
à bə pàllè kìnì wá tàlànə skə
 3SG say one C.FOC COM sorry POL
fìd-á-ŋ nà
 lie-GEN-2SG DEM
 ‘The other said, ‘‘Sorry, this is your lie [you are lying].’’
- (42) *ábɣyì dùksámhùḍḍáyéw ŋán-nì*
á bɣyà dùksà á-m hùḍ-á yàwè ŋán-nì
 3SG fall thing PRED-IN belly-GEN water DEF-INTNS
 ‘‘‘Something fell into this very water, . . .’’
- (42) *hábi rádmè* [not on the recording]
 [uninterpretable in Wandala]
cìnà-ká-n-cìná bákà
 listen-2SG-3-listen NEG.EX
 ‘‘‘You heard it?’’ ‘‘‘No way!’’
- (43) *bɣyèsəbɣyè dùksá*
bɣyà-sə-bɣy-à dùksá
 fall-S-fall-PB thing:Q
 ‘‘‘Something fell out?’’ [The high tone on the last vowel codes a question.]

17 The use of the verb *mbəḍḍá* here is an error, as this verb codes a fall from a standing position. It can be applied to people, trees, houses, etc. The verb *vɣyà* [bɣyà] ‘fall’ should have been used instead. In the subsequent description of the same event, the speaker does indeed use the verb *vɣyà* ‘fall’.

- (44) *áa fidánà*
áa fid-á-ηà
 no lie-GEN-2SG
 ‘‘No, [it is] your lie [you are lying].’’
- (45) *ábà ddá káǵà kùlùwá*
á bà dd-á káǵà kùlà wá
 3SG say man-GEN counting units COM
 ‘The one of counting says.’
- (46) *ǵyàwàngǵiskà kógá jàwá jìbàrà*
ǵyà-wà-n-ǵì skè kwá gá
 leave-IMP:PL-3SG-leave POL 2PL take
jáw-á jibà rà
 doubt-GO type Q
 ‘‘Leave that, please, why do you doubt?’’
- (47) *yéǵǵàrà biyíná bàk káǵà*
yé ǵǵàrà bí yé nábà kkáǵà
 1SG look INTNS 1SG then count
 ‘‘I will look first. Then I [will] count.’’
- (48) *púm tànábàpùsè zàrvànáátè bùcé*
púm tà nábà pw-sè zàrvà-nà
 ONOM 3PL then pour-S sesame-DEM
á tè bùcé
 PRED T mat
 ‘Pum! They poured out sesame onto a mat.’
- (49) *tá kkàǵà tá kkàǵà tá kkàǵà mbàtè*[not recorded] *tà bàǵyì*
tá kkàǵà tá kkàǵà tá kkàǵà
 3PL count 3PL count 3PL count
[mbàtè] tà bàǵyì bà jírè lisáfyà
 indeed 3PL find FOC true number (Ar.)
filyà zàrvà pállà báakà
filyà zàrvà pállà báakà
 sand sesame one NEG.EX
 ‘They counted, they counted, they counted, and they found that indeed it is true that one of their sesame seeds is missing.’

- (50) *tàksàsá* [2ms pause, false start] *pàllè minè báakà dyàrsádyè*
tà ksà-sá pàllè minè báakà dyà-r-sá-dyè
 3PL take-S one 1INCL NEG.EX know-3PL-S-know
 ‘They concluded . . . ‘one of our sesame seeds is missing’, they realized.’
- (51) *á bàjirè bàjirè bàjirè bàjirè*
á bà jirè bà jirè bà jirè
 Ah, FOC true FOC true FOC true
 ‘Ah, it is true, it is true, it is true.’
- (52) *tànábhàlsà á dám hùdá bùhá ñánn ǵàbádàlyè*
tà nába hál-sà á dá-m hùd-á bùhá ñánn
 3PL then gather-S PRED go-IN belly-GEN sack DEF
ǵàbè á dàlyè
 yet PRED again
 ‘They gathered [the sesame] off [the mat] into the bag again.’
- (53) *à bàpàllánà kìnì wá mábà ní bà jìr bǵyàsábbǵyè*
à bà pàllè nà kìnì wá má-bà ní
 3SG say one DEM C.FOC COM HYP-FOC INTNS
bà jìr bǵyà-sá-bǵyè
 FOC true fall-S-fall
dám hùdá hàyi wá
dá-m hùd-á hàyè wá
 go-IN belly-GEN river COM
 ‘One among them said, “If really [a grain] has fallen into the river, ”’
- (54) *sèyédátàttàyé sàns sábiná*
sèi yá dǎ tàttàyà yé s-á-n-sè
 then 1SG FUT search 1SG come-GO-3SG-come
á b-ìnà
 3SG say-3SG
 ‘‘I will search, I will bring it back,’’ he said.’
- (55) *àbámdàn búunè kní wá tàlánà skè*
à b mdè nà búunà kìnì wá
 3SG say people DEM twoDEM C.FOC COM
tàlánà skè
 please
 ‘The two others said, “Please.”’

- (56) *dùksá dək zà yà wè*
dùksá dəgzà yà wè
 thing run:PB water
 ‘The thing is that the water runs.’
- (57) *yò dikdi zàrvà ηánnà kìnì*
yò dyi-k-dyi zàrvà ηánnà kìnì
 well know-2SG-know sesame DEF C.FOC
 ‘‘You know sesame, don’t you?’’ [The fast tempo led to the reduction of the vowel *a* preceding the 2SG marker *k*.]
- (58) *á-m hùd-á fìlì-n*
 PRED-IN belly-GEN sand-DEM
 ‘‘Inside the sand . . .’’
- (59) *kàkà kàfānástàrà*
kà kà kà fā-ηó stà-rà
 2SG 2SG 2SG find-3SG DEF-Q
 ‘‘how do you find it?’’
- (60) *àbà ηán kàyà sèyàdà sánsà sábinà*
à bà ηán kàyà sèi yà dà
 3SG say 3SG nevertheless then 1SG SEQ
sá-n-sà-sè á b-inà
 come-3SG-S-come 3SG say-3SG
 ‘He says, ‘‘Nevertheless, I will get it out.’’
- (61) *mábám hùdáyèw ηánnà kìnì*
má bà á-m hùd-á yàw ηánnà kìnì
 HYP FOC PRED-IN belly-GEN water DEF C.FOC
 ‘‘Even if it is in this water!’’
- (62) *prám ηán kìnà nábòmbèdǎ dóm hùdá yàwè*
prám ηán kìnì à nábà mbdǎ á dá-m
 prum! 3SG C.FOC 3SG then fall PRED go-IN
hùd-á yàwè
 belly-GEN water
 ‘Prum, he threw himself into the water.’

- (63a) *də-m-d-á-rà á də-m hùd-á yàwè*
 go-IN-go-GEN-3SG PRED go-IN belly-GEN water
á tàttàyà tàttàyà tàttàyà
 3SG search search search
 ‘Having entered the water, he is looking, he is looking, he is looking.’

- (63b) *á tàttàyà tàttàyà tàttàyà*
 3SG look look look
 ‘He is looking, he is looking, he is looking.’

- (64) *àdè ksàsà zàrvè òánnà*
à dè ksə-s-à zàrvà òánnà
 3SG SEQ take-S-PB sesame DEF
 ‘He pulled out that sesame and . . .’ [violation of the rule of object coding and an error, according to some speakers]

Sentence (64), as corrected by other speakers:

à dè ksə-s-ə zàrvè òánnà
 3SG SEQ take-S sesame DEF
 ‘He pulled out this sesame.’

or:

à dè ksə-t-á zàrvè òánnà
 3SG SEQ take-T-GO sesame DEF
 ‘He took this sesame.’

- (65) *àkàtá zàrvà filyá zàrvè òánnà àvàtrtè*
à kə-t-á zàrvà fily-á zàrvà òánnà
 3SG raise-T-GO sesame sand-GEN sesame DEF
à vət-tr-tè
 3SG give-3PL-T
 ‘He raised the sesame, the grain of that sesame, he gave it to them.’

- (66) *əŋwanə zàrvè òánnə mbàtə bàcírè*
nó òánè zàrvà òánnà mbàtə bà círè
 PRES 3SG sesame DEF indeed FOC true
 ‘Here it is, the sesame in question. Hence it is true.’

- (67) *yòò sàsá zàrvəòánnà àvàtrtámàrvà*
yòò sə-s-á zàrvà òánnà à vət-tr-t
 well come-S-GO sesame DEF 3SG give-3PL-T

á-m órvà
 PRED-IN hand
 ‘Well, he got out this sesame and handed it to them.’

- (68) *yòò àbè pàllátàrwà*
yòò à bè pàll-á-tàr wá
 well 3SG say one-GEN-3PL COM
 ‘One among them says,’

mbàtèbàdè mìrámyà mándyistùwá
mbàtè bàdèm ìr-á-myà mà án
 therefore all head-GEN-1INCL 1INCL ASSC
dy s-t-wá
 knowledge DEF-DEF-DEF
 ‘‘Then we all have our knowledge like that.’’

- (69) *àlhámdùlilàhì máná bàǵàl máǵàrà*
àlhámdùlilàhì má nábà ǵàl máǵàrà
 May God be praised (Ar) 1INCL then depart now
 ‘‘May God be praised. Now we can go.’’

- (70) *mádám tàtárkìni áwàmikàǵyáwà*
má dá-m tàtá-r kìnì á wà-mì kà
 1INCL go-IN place-QC.FOC 3SG bite-1INCL NEG:PB
ǵyáwà
 fear
 ‘‘Wherever we would go the fear will not bite us.’’

- (71) *yòò, bàjìllì á lvanànnà*
yòò, bà jìllì-á lva ñànnà
 well FOC type (F)-GEN story DEF
 ‘Well, it is true, this story.’

- (72) *ǵàmá má cìnàkùr-ncín jùbóonènáwá*
ǵàmá má cìnà-kùr-n-cìn jùbà únà ná-wá
 assembly HYP hear-2PL-3SG-hear matter DEF DEM-COM
 ‘Listeners, if you understand this matter,’

bákár gíná
bákà ár gí ná
 NEG.EX over TO DEM
 ‘there is no greater [truth/goodness] than that.’

móŋkó m̀̀l̀k̀ǹi m̀̀ǹáb̀à f̀̀à r̀̀f̀é
m̀̀ á ̀̀ŋ̀kẁà ú̀ml̀è k̀ǹi m̀̀ ná̀b̀à f̀̀à-r-f̀é
 HYP exist another C.FOC 1INCL then put-ON-put
 ‘If there is anything else, we can add [it].’

- (73) *m̀̀á f̀̀à ll̀à*
 ‘Thank God.’ [traditional ending of a story or conversation]

3. Marriage among Wandala

Recorded July 14, 2004. Speaker: Seini Aji Alhaji.

- (1) *ù̀s̀ów g̀dz̀àrà m̀̀m̀árwá*
ù̀s̀áawà g̀dz̀àr-a m̀̀m̀-á-rwá
 greeting (F) child-PL mother-GEN-1SG
 ‘Greetings, my brothers and sisters!’
 [The high tone on the last syllable of *m̀̀m̀á rwá* indicates that the speaker is searching for the next utterance.]

- (2) *ǹ̀óovà t̀̀n k̀ǹi nj̀̀à ǹ̀j̀̀à k̀̀b̀á d̀̀àlyé k̀̀t̀á f̀̀k̀á ordínater*
ǹ̀ó v̀̀à t̀̀n k̀ǹi nj̀̀-ní-nj̀̀ k̀̀b̀á d̀̀àlyé
 PRES time T:DEM C.FOC sit-1SG-sit again
á k̀̀à t̀̀á f̀̀k̀-á ordínater
 PRED front T:PRED face-GEN computer
 ‘Today, I am sitting again in front of a computer.’¹⁸

ŋ̀̀án tàrà p̀̀àtr̀̀óŋ̀̀árwà
ŋ̀̀à ánt̀̀àrà p̀̀àtr̀̀óŋ̀̀-á-rwà
 1EXCL and boss-GEN-1SG
 ‘We are together with my boss.’

18 Another speaker questions the use of the spatial specifier *k̀̀à* here. Allegedly, the form *k̀̀à* should be used only if the speaker is facing the front of the computer rather than its back, as was actually the case during the recording. A speaker facing the back of the computer is supposed to say:

á-m ígá ordínater
 PRED-IN back computer
 ‘behind the computer’

- (2a) *yòo nàzùyisà kùrnèyàvátànkìnì*
yòo nàzù yè s-à-kùr-nè-yà và
 well what 1SG come-GO-2PL-3SG-1SG day
tá-n kìnì
 DEF-DEF C.FOC
 ‘What I am bringing to you today’

gdzá fójá làríusà
gdz-á fój-á làríusà
 small-GEN story-GEN marriage
 ‘is a small story of a marriage.’

- (3) *làríusá mé [pause] làríú sámhàhà wándalà*
làríusà á mé làríusà á-m hàhà wándalà
 marriage PRED where marriage PRED-IN land Wandala
 ‘Marriage where? Marriage in the land of Wandala.’

- (4) *yòo cá mánkìnì tàràžilé mùksəwá sé tágávà*
yòo cáman kìnì tàrà žilé mùks wá sé
 well before C.FOC 3PL man woman COM then
tá gá-và
 3PL marry-APPL
 ‘Well, before a man and a woman get married,’

- (5) *žilé mávàcátə̀nàá dətàttà̀yà mùksə̀ nàwá*
žilé má-vàcà á-tə̀-nà á də̀ tàttà̀yà mùksə̀
 man HYP-time PRED-T-3SG 3SG go search woman
 ‘The man, at the time when he will go to look for a woman,’

átsé ážàlà má̀nùrà̀rà
ná wá á tsé á žàlà
 DEM COM 3SG get up 3SG go
m-á̀ŋ ùr-á-rà
 HYP-ASSC man-GEN-3SG
 ‘he gets up and goes either with his man’

mátà kàtə̀ŋàrómlè
má làkàtə̀ ŋàrà úmlè
 HYP fellow 3SG another
 ‘or with another fellow.’

- (6) *tá ddámhá dárgà gdzàgyálè*
tá ddám mbá-á dá-r gè gdzà gyálè
 3PL go home-GEN father-3SG TO young girl
 ‘They should go to the father of the girl.’
- (7) *máki dàrá dè má tándá vágdzà gyálè*
má-kí dà-r-á-dè má tá ndávà
 HYP-? go-3PL-GO-go HYP 3PL ask
gdzà gyálè
 young girl
 ‘When they arrive they ask for the girl.’
- (8) *mágàrán gùsé [pause] ándávà máksà rəksəmtóksàrkà*
má gá-rá-v-g úsé á ndávà
 HYP greet-3PL-APPL-greet greetings 3SG ask
má á ksà-rá-ks mtú á ksà-r kà
 HYP 3SG take-ON-take or 3SG take-ON NEG
 [hè] [not in the recording]
 Q
 ‘After their mutual salutations, he asks [the girl] whether she accepts or not.’
- (9) *è, má ksà-rá-ks-à gdzà gyálè*
 eh HYP take-ON-take-PB young girl
 ‘Then if the young girl accepts,’
- dàcìtá sàtərə*
dàcì tá s-á-tərə
 then 3PL come-GO-3PL:POSS
 ‘they return home.’
- (10) *mávà cātən ɣàmùb dàlyé hárbò kífyé*
má vácíyà tə-nà ɣàbù dàlyé háрэ bwà kífyé
 HYP time DEF-DEM again day two three
 ‘After some time, two or three days,’
- tátsətá dúɣàbè*
tá tsə tá d-úw ɣàbè
 3PL get up 3PL go-VENT again
 ‘they get up, they go there again.’

- (11a) *má dá dùmá máǰárwà*
má dá-d má máǰár wá
 HYP go-go HYP now COM
 ‘And when he [the groom] goes,’
- álvá tàr ɲán nbàd' dǎ zè dàdàw*
álv-á tàr ɲánnà bàdǎmmè á dǎ zè dàdà
 speech-GEN 3PL DEF all PRED go HL father
 ‘everything that they have to say is to the father.’
- (11b) *tándà vǎnú gè dàdè kìnì*
tá ndǎvǎ-n-ú gè dàdà kìnì
 3PL ask-3SG-VENTTO father C.FOC
 ‘They ask the father [a question].’
- (12) *è dàdè kìnì mátsǎtsǎ bàtrá*
è dàdà kìnì má tsà-tsè á bà-trá
 eh, father C.FOC HYP rise-rise 3SG say-3PL
 ‘Eh, the father, sometimes, tells them.’
- (13) *á yǎwǎlvá rùbákà*
á yǎ-wǎ álvǎ-á-rwà bákà
 well 1SG-DET word-GEN-1SG NEG.EX
 ‘‘Well, I have no words.’’
- (14) *má bàlvá kùrǰóǰántàr gdzǎgyǎlvá*
má bà lv-á-kùr ǰóǰè ántàrà gdzà gyǎl
 HYP FOC word-GEN-2PL finish ASSC:PL young girl
 ‘‘Since your conversation with the young girl is finished,’’
- ɲǎrkàè ɲǎjìbàrà*
wá ɲǎr kǎyà ɲà jìbà rà
 COM 1EXCL FOC 1EXCL type Q
 ‘‘what are we?’’
- (15) *cáamàn kìnì ɲà dǎrgè gdzrè*
cáamàn kìnì ɲà dá-r gè gdzrè
 first of all (K) C.FOC 1EXCL father:GEN-3SG TO child
 ‘‘First of all, we are the parents of the child.’’

- (16) *yòwmá bàní áksàràksà gdzàrwá*
yòw má bàní áksà-rá-ksà gdzàr wá
 well, HYP since take-ON-take child COM
 ‘‘Well, since the child has accepted,’’
- (17) *dàcí bàkággè kùmústàrà*
dàcí bà ká ggè kù mú s-tà rà
 then FOC 2SG marry RQ FOC DEF Q
 ‘‘then, you marry [her], otherwise what?’’
- (18) *yó ásò hárá làrúskùmàḷàrnà*
yó á sà-w há-r-á làrús
 well 3SG come-VENT day-GEN marriage
kwà màḷàrà nà
 RQ now DEM
 ‘Well, finally there comes the day of the marriage [the betrothal].’
- (19) *žílé ádá názù ádámndàvànḡànè*
žílé á d-á názù á dóm ndàvà
 man 3SG go-GO that 3SG go:IN ask
ḡànè
 3SG
 ‘The man brings that with which he is going to ask for her,’ [Bringing the goods indicates serious intentions on the part of the man.]
- (20) *àskè fúḡwáníká mádá ndà*
àskè fúḡw-á níkà má d-á-n-d-à
 like money-GEN marriage HYP go-GO-3SG-go-GO
 ‘Like the marriage money, if he brought it.’
- (21) *távàtèrtèlòktà gání kèḡánnà*
tá v-à-tèr-tè lóktà gá-níkà ḡánnà
 3PL give-3PL-T moment contract-marriage DEF
 ‘They give them a date for contracting the marriage.’
- (22) *únà átsá dàdà*
únà á tsá dàdà
 DEF 3SG rise father
 ‘Now, it is up to the father.’¹⁹

19 The forms *tsè* and *tsá* ‘rise’, ‘stop’ acquire the meaning ‘decide’.

- (23) *mátsará tsítàrkí námniyá tárè*
má tsà-r-á-tsé itàr kín á-m
 HYP stand-3PL-GO-stand 3PL C.FOC PRED-IN
níy-á tárè
 faith-GEN 3PL
 ‘If they are convinced of their faith,’ [this clause is questioned by other speakers]

- (24) *dàcí tàbàtrà tásóm lóktùskúunà*
dàcí tà bà-trà tá sà-w á-m
 then 3PL tell-3PL 3PL come-VENT PRED-IN
lóktù sk únà
 date DEF:PROXDEM
 ‘then, they tell them to come on the same day.’

- (25) *yò, vácí háràni kəḡánnà*
yò, vácí hár-á níkà ḡánnà
 well time day-GEN marriage DEF
 ‘Well, on the very day of the marriage ...’

- (26) *àskà žilé ándán gəmdátàr gəní*
àskà žilé á ndá-n gə
 like man 3SG tell-3SG TO
md-á-tàrè gəní
 people-GEN-3PL COMP
 ‘And then the groom says to the members of his family,’

- (27) *á nó vácístwà náwáyá gáníkà*
á nó vácí s-t-wà ná-wá
 eh PRES day DEM-DEM-DEM DEM-COM
yá gə níkà
 1SG contract marriage
 ‘‘On such and such day I am going to get married,’’

màlàmisé màláadè
má làmisè má láadè
 HYP Thursday (Manga K. *làmisù*, Ar. *alhamis*) HYP Sunday (Ar.)
 ‘‘possibly [on] Thursday, [on] Sunday’’

àngiwùrù màwàyàllàh
àngiwùrù mà wày àllàh
 ? ? HYP want God
 ‘‘if God wants’’

yà gá nìkà
yà gá nìkà
 1SG contract marriage
 ‘‘I will get married.’’

ándàtr gùmdàrà
á ndà-tr g md-á-rà
 3SG say-3PL TO people-GEN-3SG
 ‘He says to his people.’

- (28) *yò d-á-r gè gdzè-r kìnì*
yò d-á-r gè gdzè-r kìnì
 well father-GEN-3SG TO young-NOM C.FOC
 ‘Well, the father of the child [the bride]’

ábàlàná tálàrà
á bàlà-n á tál-á-rà
 3SG announce-3SG PRED borough-GEN-3SG
 ‘is announcing it in his neighborhood.’

- (29) *átàlá tàrḡánnì ítàrkìnì*
á tál-á-tà ḡánnà ítàr kìnì
 PRED borough-GEN-3PL DEF 3PL C.FOC
 ‘In their neighborhood, they [people of the neighborhood]’

mácinà ráncìn vácí kùskùs túnàwá
má cinà-r-á-n-cìnà vácí
 HYP hear-3PL-GO-3SG-hear day
kwàskwè s-t-únà wá
 market DEF-DEF-DEF COM
 ‘they understand, on such and such day,’

ḡágánìkà ámbáḡrè
ḡá gá nìkà á-m mb-á-ḡrè
 1EXCL acquire marriage PRED-IN home-GEN-1EXCL
 ‘we are acquiring marriage at our place.’ [There will be a marriage at our home.]

- (30) *yò, ádàsò hàrà níkà ñánnà*
yò, á dǎ sà-w hár-á
 well 3SG FUT come-VENT day-GEN
níkà ñánnà
 marriage DEF
 ‘Well, then the very day of the marriage will come.’

- (31) *tátsámdá žilé*
tá tsá md-á žilé
 3PL get-up people-GEN man
 ‘People of the groom get up,’

tásàbàgyí mdámùksè
tá sè bəgyí md-á mùksè
 3PL come meet people-GEN woman
 ‘they come to find the people of the bride.’

- (32) *tá jàhámme*
tá jàh-á-mmè
 3PL unite-GO-COL
 ‘They get together.’

- (33) *tá ndávsè lvá tàrè*
tá ndá-v-sè lv-á tàrè
 3PL speak-APPL-S word-GEN 3PL
 ‘They exchange the words.’

- (34) *tájàhámme wálúàhà bwà*
tá jàh-á-mm-à wálw-a bwà
 3PL unite-GO-COL-GO representative-PL two
 ‘They get together the two representatives,’

wàlwá žilé àntàr wàlwá mùksè
wàlw-á žilé àntàr wàlw-á mùksè
 representative-GEN man ASSC:PL representative-GEN woman
 ‘a representative of the man with a representative of the woman.’

- (36) *májàrà mmùjìyá tàrè*
má já-rà-n-mm-à-j yà-á-tàrè
 HYP unite-3PL-3SG-COL-unite voice-GEN-3PL
 ‘If they agree,’ [if they unite their voices]

- (37) *táksàlfátìyà*
tá ksà àlfátìyà
 3PL take prayer (first sura in the Koran; Arabic via Fula)
 ‘they [everybody present] recite the *faatih*a prayer.’

- (38) *màlžármá wàrkínà kyádámbatàrè*
màlžár má wàr kìn à kyà
 now HYP who C.FOC 3SG scatter
á dám mb-á-tàrè
 PRED go:IN home-GEN-3PL
mátàgàrsátàgèr [error and attempt at correction] *górò*
má tэгà-r-sà-tэгè górò
 HYP distribute-3PL-S-distribute cola nut
 ‘Now, everybody goes home, having partaken of the cola nuts.’

Another variant provided during analysis:

má tэгà-r-sà-tэгè górò

And yet another variant, with the third-person singular object pronoun:

tэгà-r-án-sà-tэгè górò

‘having distributed cola nuts among themselves’

- (39) *yò, ànicá vácýàràmdá žilè*
yò, án ìc-á vácý-á-rà md-á
 well ASSC eye-GEN day-GEN-3SG people-GEN
žilè
 husband
tádásáwàn tùrmíyà hátàrè jìbàrjìbàrátàrè
tá dá s-á-w án tùrmíyà-há-tàrè
 3PL FUT come-GO-VENT ASSC cloth-PL:GEN-3PL
jìbà-r-jìbà-r-á-tàrè
 type-Q-type-Q-GEN-3PL
 ‘Well, in the evening of that day, the people of the husband bring pieces of cloth and other things as well.’

- (40) *tádánàdžèzm mdámùksè*
tá dá-nà dá zè-m md-á mùksè
 3PL go-3SG go HL-IN people-GEN woman
 ‘They take it to the people of the bride.’

- (41) *átútàdò sàlàrúsà sàmbá žilé mdá žilé [correction] mdámùksè kìnì*
á tù tá dǎ s-á lárúsà
 PRED before 3PL FUT come-GO bride
sà-m mb-á žilé
 come-IN home-GEN man
md-á žilé md-á mùksè kìnì
 people-GEN man people-GEN woman C.FOC
tá sà-w án kàžànà tà d-ám
 3PL come-VENT ASSC goods 3PL go-IN
mb-á žilé
 house-GEN man
 ‘Before the people of the bride take her to the husband, they will first take the goods to the husband.’
- (42) *yáwwà átù ánicá wáyà tásàksàgyálè žàbádàlyè*
yáwwà á tù án ic-á wáyà tá sǎ
 well PRED before ASSC eye-GEN night 3PL come
ksà gyálè žàb á dàlyè
 take girl yet PRED more
 ‘Well, before the night, they come to take the girl as well.’
- (43) *tásàwàm dá žilé táksà gyálè*
tá sà-wà md-á žilé
 3PL come-VENT people-GEN husband
tá ksà gyálè
 3PL take girl
 ‘The people of the groom come and take the girl.’
- (44) *máksàràn tǎksà gyálwá*
má ksà-rà-n-tǎ-ksà gyál wá
 HYP take-3PL-3SG-T-take girl COM
 ‘If they take the girl for him, then . . .
- hármákè mdágyálè támbážilé*
hár mákè md-á gyálè tá
 up to (H) week people-GEN girl 3PL:PRED
mb-á žilé
 home-GEN husband
 ‘Up to one week, the people of the girl are at the home of the husband.’

- (45) *yò jibámdəŋá tənjàmbá žilnà*
yò jib-á mdə ŋá tá njà
 well type-GEN people DEM 3PL stay
á mb-á žil nà
 PRED home-GEN man DEM
 ‘Well, the type of people who remain at the husband’s,’

tántàrə gdzàgyálnà əskə málàrŋàrà
tá àntàrə gdzà gyál nà əskə málàrə ŋàrà
 3PL ASSC:PL young girl DEM like aunt 3SG
 ‘who are with the young girl, are like her aunt’

əskə gdzəmə ŋàrà tənjànnúhè
əskə gdzə mə ŋàrà tá njá-n-n-ú-hè
 like young mother 3PL 3PL stay-3SG-3SG-VENT-PNCT
támlànnúwá mǎgàtrà
tá mlà-n-n-ù wá mǎgà trà
 3PL help-3SG-3SG-VENT COM do work
 ‘like her sister, [and] they remain with her to help her with the work.’

- (46) *mǎžòžà mǎgàtrŋánná [màwàrkìni ákyárá dǎmbá (not recorded)]*
má žòž-à mǎgà tr ŋánná má wàr
 HYP finish:VENT-finish-PB do work DEF HYP who
kìni á kyá-rà á dǎ-m mbá
 C.FOC 3SG disperse-3SG PRED go-IN home
 ‘If the work is finished, everybody returns home.’

- (47) *é, vácíylàrús ŋánnəmá ámtátómlè ədàrmándòksàrà*
é, vácíy làrús ŋánnè má á-m
 well, day marriage DEF HYP PRED-IN
tàtà úmlè əddá rà má án dùks-á-rà
 place some man Q HYP ASSC thing-GEN-3SG
 ‘Well, the very day of the marriage, if there is a rich person,’

tá fá gùsà
tá fá gùsà
 3PL put concert (Fula; drums, flute, singing)
 ‘they put up a concert.’

- (48) *ée, mábákàgùsà ádágà ʃbàstwà tskádè*
ée, má bákà gùsà á dá gáfè
 well HYP NEG.EX concert 3SG go outside
bà s-t-wà tskádè
 FOC DEM-DEM-DEM silence
 'If there is no concert, it [the marriage] goes [on] in silence.'
- (49) *máʒàr dàcí máwàyát ùwàyállà*
máʒàr dàcí má wàyá-t-wàyà àllà
 now then HYP want-T-want God
 'And then, if God wants,'
- njàrínjà máwàyát kállà*
njà-rí-njà má wàyá-t kà àllà
 remain-3PL-remain HYP:3SG want-T NEG God
 'they can remain. If God does not want, . . .'
- (50) *yò cáamànkínì názù àkàtànórwá*
yò cáamàn kìnì názù à kàtá-nà ùr
 well first of all C.FOC what 3SG want-3SG person
wá
 COM
bà gè njà-rí-njà án hèer-án-klàpì-rè
 FOC TO stay-3PL-stay ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 'First of all, what one wants is for them to live in peace and good health.' [some speakers say: *hèyr-án-klàpì-rè*]
- (51) *às-t-wá làrúusà á-m xàx-á wándàlà*
 DEM-DEM-DEM marriage PRED-IN land-GEN Wandala
 'That is marriage in the Wandala land.'

4. Dead father's story

Recorded July 24, 2004. Speaker: Seini Aji Alhaji

- (1) *ùsów ʒàbé ʒàmá*
 greetings (F) again assembly
 'Greetings again, listeners!'

- (2) *nóovà tónkìni yèságdzànràwàndzà ánwá wándàlà*
nóo và tón kìnì yè s-á gdzà
 PRES day DEF C.FOC 1SG come-GO small
nàrwàndzà án w-á wándàlà
 story ASSC mouth-GEN Wandala
 ‘Here today, I brought a small story in Wandala.’
- (3) *yò tàsálvàmdà kífýé*
yò tà s-á lv-á mdà kífýé
 well 3PL come-GO story-GEN people three
 ‘They brought a story of three people.’
- (4) *mdà kífýé ñánnà mdàrà*
mdà kífýé ñánnà md-á-rà
 people three DEF people-GEN-Q
 ‘Those three people, who are they?’
- (5) *tàrdádá màmá àntàrgdzá tàržilé*
tàr dádá màmá àntàr gdz-á-tàr žilé
 3PL father mother ASSC:PL child-GEN-3PL male
 ‘They are a father, a mother, and their son.’
- (6) *tàbànjátàrè ànhéerànkìpìrè*
tà bà nj-á-tàrè án héer-àn-klàpì-rè
 3PL FOC stay-GEN-3PL ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM
 ‘They lived together in peace and good health.’
- (7) *àná bàmtságh gè dádà*
à nábà mtsá-hè gè dádà
 3SG then die-PNCT TO father
 ‘The father died.’
- (8) *àgýátàr màmá ntàrэгdzrè]*
à gý-á tàr màmá àntàr gdzrè
 3SG leave-GO 3PL mother ASSC:PL child
 ‘He left the mother and the child.’
- (9) *àsámhà gèvíyà*
à sá-m-hà gè víyà
 3SG come-IN-PNCT TO rainy season
 ‘There came the rainy season.’

(10) *tànjìhéǎtàrmàmántàrógdzrè*
tà nì-hé gè tàr màm ántàr gdz-rè
 3PL remain-PNCT TO 3PL mother ASSC:PL small-NOM
 'There remained the mother and child.'

(11) *tàhàrdā fáatàrè*
tà hàrdā f-áa-tàrè
 3PL farm field-GEN-3PL
 'They worked in their field'. [correction: *tà hàrdā f-áa-tàrè*]

(12) *ámhàrdā ñánnà ágdzèr bà máǎǎáàlǎ dám fátàrwá*
á-m hàrdā ñánnà ágdzèr bà má
 PRED-IN farm DEF child FOC HYP
ǎà-ǎáà d-ám f-á-tàr wá
 go-go go-IN field-GEN-3PL COM
 'While farming, when the child goes to their field.'

áblà làhàrà
á blà làh-á-rà
 3SG send song-GEN-3SG
 'he sings his song.'

(13) *làhñánnè mústàrà*
làh ñánn mú stà-rà
 song DEF FOC DEM-Q
 'How is this song?'

(14) *àbìná màgyávgyèn màgàyáǎrùwá*
à b-ìná má gyá-v-gyè-n
 3SG say-3SG HYP cook-APPL-cook-pause
màgày-á-ǎrè wá
 hungry rice-GEN-1EXCL COM
 'He said, "If our hungry rice is cooked . . ."

ñàzàná bàǎrè ántàrà mùrwá tàné
ñá zà-ná bà ǎrè ántàrà mù-rwá tàné
 1EXCL eat-3SG FOC 1EXCL ASSC:PL mother-1SG only(F)
 'we will eat it, only me and my mother.'

- (15) *éé, bódđótàrḡánnà kìn tàxđám*
éé, á bá ddá tār ḡánnà kìn tà hdà
 eh 3SG say father 3PL DEF now 3PL bury
fátàrḡánnà kìnì wá
á-m f-á-tār ḡánnà kìnì wá
 PRED-IN field-GEN-3PL DEF C.FOC COM
 ‘And now, their father, who was buried in the field, . . .’

- (16) *ábáḡánè kòndáḡù kòbúunà*
á bá ḡánè kò nd-á-n ḡà wè
 3SG say 3SG 2SG say-GO-3SG TO what
kò bwá nà
 2PL two DEM
 ‘He says, “Why do you say the two of you?”’(error)²⁰

màkíḡyí kúḡdzámyà [corrected as *ḡdzárwà*]
mà kíḡyí kú ḡdz-á-myà [corrected: *-rwà*]
 1INCL three Q child-GEN-1INCL [1SG]
 ‘“Rather [you] should [say], “We three”, our child.”’ [correction: ‘my child’]

- (17) *ácináyéddá ḡàrámhùdávḡè*
á cìnà yé ddá ḡàrà á-m hùd-á
 3SG hear voice father 3SG PRED-IN belly-GEN
vḡè
 grave
 ‘He hears the voice of his father in the grave.’

- (18) *áblàláhḡánnà ḡàbàḡàlyé*
á blà làh ḡánnà [pause] *ḡàbàḡàlyé*
 3SG send song DEF again
 ‘He sings this song again.’

- (19) *máḡyávḡyè máḡáyáḡrè*
má ḡyá-v-ḡyè máḡáy-á-ḡrè
 HYP cook-APPL-cook hungry rice-GEN-1EXCL
 ‘“When our hungry rice is cooked,”’

²⁰ The alleged error consists of the use of the form *kò* 2PL instead of the 2SG *kà*. A father does not address his son by the form used for plural addressees or honorifics.

ɲázà̀n b̀à̀ɲrà̀ntà̀r̀m̀r̀ù̀wà̀
ɲà zà-n bà ɲr ántà̀r mù-rwà̀
 1EXCL eat-3SG FOC 1EXCL ASSC:PL mother-1SG
 “‘we will eat it, me and my mother.’”

- (20) *é ddə̀ɲà̀rám̀ù̀vgà̀kíní à̀bà̀bà̀*
é ddə̀ ɲà̀r á-mú̀ vgè kíní à̀ bà̀ bà̀
 eh father 3SG PRED-IN grave C.FOC 3SG say FOC
káí mà̀kígyískè gdzárwà̀
káí mà̀ kígyí skè gdz-á-rwà̀
 no, 1INCL three POL child-GEN-1SG
 ‘And his father in the grave says, “No, we are nevertheless three, my son.”’

káí mà̀ kígyí skè gdzárwà̀
 no, 1INCL three POL son-GEN-1SG
 “‘No, we are three [or ‘no, there are three of us’], my child.’”

- (21) *à̀bínz̀à̀bà̀dám̀s̀ər̀ kígyé*
à̀ b-ín z̀à̀bè há dám̀ s̀ər̀ kígyé
 3SG say-3SG again till go:IN foot three
 ‘He [the father] said it three more times.’

- (22) *mà̀z̀à̀rà̀nà̀ bà̀dá̀*
mà̀z̀à̀rà̀ à̀ ná̀bà̀ d-á̀
 now 3SG then go:GO
 ‘Now he [the child] returned.’

- (23) *à̀lvàng̀əm̀ə̀ɲà̀r̀ d̀ə̀giyà̀ ǹò̀ǹò̀ǹà̀z̀à̀ìcìnáyà̀*
à̀ lv-á-n gè m̀ə̀-ɲà̀r̀ d̀ə̀giyà̀
 3SG say-GO-3SG TO mother-3SG behold
nò̀ nò̀ nò̀ ná̀z̀ù̀ yè̀ cìn-ná-yà̀
 PRES PRES PRES what 1SG hear-3SG-1SG
 ‘He said to his mother, “Here is what I heard.”’

- (24) *méyá̀blà̀ lág̀hnà̀wá̀*
mé yá̀ blà̀ là̀h ná̀ wá̀
 HYP 1SG send song DEM COM
 “‘When I sing the song.’”

àṅkórán dǎlvàmúvgàbìná
àṅk ùrà á ndá lv ám vg
 exist person 3SG speak word in grave
à b-ìná
 3SG say-3SG
 ‘‘there is somebody talking in the grave,’’ he said.’

- (25) *èe, àbè̀mù̀nà̀r̀wá mì̀ḡà̀lk̀wá*
èe, à bè̀ mà nà̀r̀ wá mì ḡà̀l kwá
 eh, 3SG say mother 3SG COM 1INCL go OPT
 ‘So, his mother said, ‘‘Let’s go!’’’

- (26) *tàdùhè dǎmtàttà̀yà ávgè̀ṅánnà tǎtsáhé*
tà dú-hè dǎ-m tàttà̀yá ávgè̀ ṅánnà tà
 3PL go:VENT-PNCT go-IN search grave DEF3 PL
tsá-hè
 stop-PNCT
 ‘They got going in search of that grave, [and] they stopped [where they found the grave].’

- (27) *ábágdzrè má gyávgyè mágàyáṅrùwà*
á bá gdzrè má gyá-v-gyà
 3SG say child HYP cook-APPL-cook:PB
mágày-á-ṅrù wá
 hungry rice-GEN-1EXCL COM
 ‘The child said, ‘‘If our hungry rice gets cooked,’’

yázàná̀bà̀yà̀ à̀ntà̀rm̀r̀wà̀
yá z-à-ná̀ bà̀ yà̀ à̀ntà̀r̀ mù-r̀wà̀
 1SG eat-GO-3SG FOC 1SG ASSC:PL mother-1SG
 ‘‘I will eat it, only me and my mother.’’

- (28) *éé à̀bà̀dà̀dà̀ḡà̀bà̀dà̀lyè̀ á̀m̀ú̀vgè̀ṅánnà̀*
éé à̀ bà̀ dà̀dà̀ ḡà̀bá̀ dà̀lyè̀ á-m̀ úvgè̀
 eh, 3SG say father again again PRED-IN grave
ṅánnà̀
 DEF
 ‘And the father in the grave said,’

kái kándángwà kónà
kái ká ndá-n gè wà kà únà
 no 2SG say-3SG TO what 2SG DEM
 ‘‘Hey, why do you say this?’’’

- (29) *mà kígýé kùgdzárwà*
mà kígýé kwù gdz-á-rwà
 1INCL three OPT child-GEN-1SG
 “‘It should be the three of us, my child.’”
- (30) *àbàmàmà bálkàbàdàlyé*
à bà màmà bál kàb á dàlyé
 3SG say mother sing again PRED again
 ‘The mother said, “Sing again!”’
- Correction:
à bá màm kìnìblá á dàlyé
 ‘The mother said, “Sing again!”’
- (31) *эгдзə ηάnnà blà làhηάnnà kàbà dàlyé*
эгдзə ηάnnà à blà làh ηάnnà kàbà dàlyé
 child DEF 3SG send song DEF again
 ‘The child sings the song again.’
- (32) *mágyávgýè mágàyáηrùwá*
má gyá-v-gýè mágày-á-ηrù
 HYP cook-APPL-cook:PB hungry rice-GEN-1EXCL
 “‘If our hungry rice is cooked,’”
- yázànbàyà àntàrmrùwà ηábúà*
wá yá z-à-ná bà yà àntàr
 COM 1SG eat-GO-3SG FOC 1SG ASSC:PL
mà-rwà ηá búà
 mother-1SG 1EXCL two
 “‘I will eat it, only me and my mother, the two of us.’”
- (33) *àbàdàdà kái màkígýé*
à bà dàdà kái má kígýé
 3SG say father no 1INCL three
 ‘The father said, “No, it’s the three of us.’”
- (34) *à mábàstúwà əgdzárwà míkàlá*
à má bà stù wá əgdz-á-rwà
 eh, HYP FOC like that COM child-GEN-1SG
mí kàlá
 1INCL go
 “‘If it is like that, my child, let’s go!’”

- (35) *mádèzəmá lálàlà máfānmám vùà*
má dè zè mál-á lálà mà
 1INCL go HL chief-GEN borough 1INCL
fá-n-m á-m vùà
 put:GO-3SG-IN PRED-IN body
 ‘‘Let’s go to the chief of the neighborhood, to let him know.’’
- (36) *tàtsáthè tànábèdámhùdák sè*
tà tsá-t-hè tà nábè dām hùd-á
 3PL rise-T-PNCT 3PL then go:IN belly-GEN
ksè
 town
 ‘They got up and they went to the town.’
- (37) *tàdāmbálàksè*
tà dā mb-á lāksè
 3PL go house-GEN Sultan
 ‘They went to the Sultan.’
- (38) *tàlvángèlāksè dāgíyà ñó nó nó nāzùñàcìnáñrè*
tà lv-á-n gè lāksè dāgíyà ñó nó nó
 3PL say-GO-3SG TO chief COMP PRES X3
ñàzú ñà cìn-á-ñrè
 what 1EXCL hear-GO-1EXCL
á-m hùd-á f-á-ñrè
 PRED-IN belly-GEN field-GEN-1EXCL
 ‘They said to the Sultan, ‘‘Here is what we heard in our field.’’
- (39) *àbàlāksùwá dómbaré nóyàblámdè*
à bà lāksè wá dú-wà mbàré
 3PL say Sultan COM go-PL.IMP together
nó yá blá mdè á dā zè
 PRES 1SG send people PRED go HL
kùr ñánnà
 2PL DEF
 ‘The sultan said, ‘‘Go, I am sending people to your place.’’
- (40) *tàná bàptsàhá dām fāñánn lābàdàlyé*
tà náb ptsà-hè á dām fā ñánnà
 3PL then return-PNCT PRED go:IN field DEF
lābè á dālyé
 again PRED again
 ‘They returned to the field.’

- (41) *é mmàkár sàrəmsámdənà*
é màkàràsà-rə-m-s-á mdə nà
 well now come-3PL-IN-come-GO people DEM
 ‘And now, those people [the ones whom the Sultan sent] came.’ [The geminated *m* in *mmàkár* is a result of an extended pause.]
- (42) *á mà gdzəhànnà áblàlálnà sàwà*
á mà gdzə hànnà à blà làh nà
 PRED where child DEF 3SG sing song DEM
sá-wà
 come-VENT
 ‘‘Where is this child who sings that song? Come!’’
- (43) *yò bállàhàh hànnà kàbà dalyè haccìnà*
yò bál làh-á-h hànnà kàbè á dalyè
 well sing song-GEN-2SG DEF yet PRED again
wá hà ccìnà
 COM 1EXCL hear:IMP
 ‘‘Sing your song again, so that we can hear it.’’
- (44) *ádəblàlálnàrà kàbàdalyè*
à dè blà làh hàrà kàb à dalyè
 3SG SEQ sing song 3SG yet PRED again
 ‘And he sang his song again.’
- (45) *mágyágyè mágyáhrùwà yàzànbàyánəmúrwà*
má gyá-v-gyè mágy-á-hrù wá
 HYP cook-APPL-cook hungry rice-GEN-1EXCL COM
bàhrə hàbúwà
bà hrə hà bwà
 FOC 1EXCL 1EXCL two
yá zà-n bà yà ànə mù-rwà
 1SG eat-3SG FOC 1SG ASSC mother-1SG
bà hrə hà bwà
 FOC 1EXCL 1EXCL two
 ‘‘When our hungry rice is cooked, it is me who will eat with my mother, just us, just the two of us.’’
- (46) *é, tátsàkwáləmà*
é, tá tsàkwá ləmà
 eh 3PL set ear
 ‘They pay attention.’

- (47) *ámhùdávǵǵèhǵǵànnìkìní tǵcìná*
á-m hùd-á vǵǵè hǵǵànnà kìní tǵ cìná
 PRED-IN belly-GEN grave DEF C.FOC 3PL hear
 ‘In the grave they hear.’

kàndǵǵwǵè gǵdǵǵǵrǵwǵà màkìǵǵyǵè kwǵbǵàkǵà
kǵ ndǵ g-wǵ gǵdǵ-ǵ-rǵwǵà
 2SG say TO-what child-GEN-1SG
mǵ kǵǵǵyǵè kwǵ bà-kǵà
 1INCL three OPT say-2SG

‘‘‘Why do you say that, my son? Say that it is the three of us.’’’

- (48) *tǵlvǵǵǵǵègǵdǵǵèhǵǵànnǵ kǵbǵàdǵǵyǵè*
tǵ lv-ǵ-n gǵè gǵdǵè hǵǵànnǵ kǵb ǵ dǵǵyǵè
 3PL say-GO-3SG TO child DEF again PRED repeat
 ‘They say to the child again.’

bǵllǵǵhǵǵànnǵ
bǵǵ lǵh hǵǵànnǵ
 sing song DEF
 ‘‘‘Sing that song.’’’

- (49) *ǵgǵdǵèná blǵlǵǵ kǵb-ǵdǵǵyǵè*
ǵgǵdǵè nǵ ǵ blǵ lǵh kǵb ǵ dǵǵyǵè
 child DEF 3SG sing song again PRED repeat
 ‘The child sings the song again.’

- (50) *ámúvǵǵè kǵbǵàdǵǵyǵè ándǵbǵàlvǵ*
á-m vǵǵè kǵb ǵ dǵǵyǵè ǵ ndǵ bǵ
 PRED-IN hole again PRED again 3SG say FOC
lvǵ
 speech
 ‘In the grave again, he keeps on talking.’

- (51) *èe, àbùmdǵnǵwǵà ámbǵtǵè bǵǵjǵrǵè*
èe, à b mdǵ nǵ wǵ áa mbǵtǵè bǵ jǵrǵè
 eh 3SG say people DEM COM ah hence FOC true
 ‘Eh, the people there said, ‘‘‘Hence it is true!’’’’ Corrected: *àbǵ mdǵ*

- (52) *fàgàr màdáfánmámvù gèlèksé*
fágrà mà dǎ f-á-n-m á-m vw
 good 1INCL FUT put-GO-3SG-IN PRED-IN body
gè lèksé
 TO chief
 ‘‘We need to inform the chief.’’

ànábèǵálàpállátàrè
à nábà ǵálà páll-á-tàrè
 3SG then depart one-GEN-3PL
 ‘And then, one of them left.’ [to go to the chief]

àdázèlèksé
à dǎ zè lèksé
 3SG go HL chief
 ‘He went to the chief.’

- (55) *dàdàrà dǎzèlèksé álvàn dǎgíyà ɲdzè tàndàháná mbátè bàjírè*
dà-d-á-rà dǎ zè lèksé álvà-n dǎgíyà
 go-go-GEN-3SG(POSS) go HL chief word-DEM COMP
ɲdzè tà ndàhá-ná mbátè bà jírè
 PAST 3PL say-3SG really FOC true
 ‘They came to the chief, [and he said], ‘‘The story they have been telling is indeed true.’’

- (56) *sébà kásókásóccínkákìni*
sé bà ká sá-w ká sǎ
 then FOC 2SG come-VENT 2SG come
ccín ká kìnì
 listen:IMP 2SG C.FOC
 ‘‘You should come and listen as well.’’ [An unusual request, as the chief moves only on his own will.]

- (57) *àdàsámhàgèlèksé*
à dǎ sǎ-m-hà gè lèksé
 3SG SEQ come-IN-PNCT TO Sultan
 ‘When the Sultan came,’ [high tone on *lèksé* marks unfinished sentence]

- (58) *tàlvángògdzè nà bállàhàjànwàrà*
tà lv-á-n gè gdzè nà bál
 3PL say-GO-3SG TO child DEM send:IMP
làh-á-ŋ ñán-wá-rà
 song-GEN-2SG DEF-REM-DEF
 ‘They said to the child, “Sing that song of yours again!”’
- (59) *ògdzè nà blàlàhè*
ògdzè nà á blà làhè
 child DEM 3SG sing song
 ‘The child sings the song.’
- (60) *áamágyàvgyè mágàyáñrùwà yàzànbàyántàrmúr wà*
áa má gyá-v-gyè mágày-á ñrù wá
 ah, HYP cook-APPL-cook hungry rice-GEN 1EXCL COM
yá zè-n bà yà àntàrà mú-rwà
 1SG eat-3SG FOC 1SG ASSC:PL mother-1SG
 ‘‘If our hungry rice gets cooked, I will eat it only with my mother.’’
- (61) *talvángògdzè nà [ʒàbádàlyé bálʒàbè]* [not on the recording]
tá lvá-n gè gdzè nà [ʒàb á dàlyé
 3PL say-3SG TO child DEM again PRED repeat
bál ʒàbè]
 send again
 ‘They say again to the child, “Sing again.”’

What is actually recorded is:

- tá lvá-n gè gdzè nà bál làh-á-ŋ*
 3PL say-3SG TO child DEM send song-GEN-2SG
ñán-wá-rà
 DEF-REM-any
 ‘They say to the child, “Sing that song of yours again.”’
- (62) *áamágyàvgyè mágàyáñrùwà yàzànbàyántàrmúr wà*
áa má gyá-v-gyè mágày-á-ñrù wá
 ah, HYP cook-APPL-cook hungry rice-GEN-1EXCL COM
yá zà-n bà yà àntàrà mà-rwà
 1SG eat-3SG FOC 1SG ASSC:PL mother-1SG
 ‘‘If our hungry rice gets cooked, I will eat it only with my mother.’’

- (63) *tácinnám xùdávè ǰàbádàlyé*
tá cinnà á-m hùd-á vgè ǰàb
 3PL hear PRED-IN belly-GEN grave again
á dàlyé
 PRED repeat
 ‘They hear inside the grave again.’
- (64) *á, kàndángùdzárwà màkígyé*
á, kà ndá-n g wè gdz-á-rwà mà kígyé
 ah 3SG say-3SG TO what child-GEN-1SG 1INCL three
 ‘‘Why did you say [so] my son? We are three.’’
- (65) *é, àbàlàksáwá pàfó pàfǎvgèhǎnnà*
é, à bà lǎksá wá pàfǎ-w-pàf ǎvgè hǎnnà
 eh, 3SG say Sultan COM dig-PL-dig grave DEF
 ‘And the Sultan said, ‘Dig up this grave.’’
- (66) *tànábyíshè*
tà nábà yí-s-hè
 3PL then dig-S-PNCT
 ‘Then they dug it up.’
- (67) *tàdǎsǎsá dádámívgè*
tà dè sǎ-s-á dádà á-m úvgè
 3PL SEQ come-S-GO father PRED-IN grave
 ‘They raised the father from the grave.’
- (68) *tàbǎgyìdádánjǎrlǎh ámxùdávèhǎnnà*
tà bǎgyì dádà á njá-r lǎh nè á-m
 3PL find father 3SG sit:GEN-3SG like that PRED-IN
xùd-á vgè hǎnnà
 belly-GEN grave DEF
 ‘They found the father sitting in the grave, just like that.’
- (69) *è tànábà kyà*
tà nábà kyà
 3PL then disperse
 ‘They all dispersed.’
- (70) *àstùwá ǰóǰà nàrwàndzàhǎnnà*
àstù wá ǰóǰà nàr-wà-ndzà hǎnnà
 like that COM finish:PB language-mouth-past DEF
 ‘Like that finished this story.’

- (71) *àstùwá ǵóǵè*
àstù wá ǵóǵè
 like that COM finish
 ‘It finished like that.’

5. Conversation

This conversation involved two participants one of whom acted mostly like an interviewer. Recorded August 3, 2004.

jàbámùkò ddà yámidò
jàp bàmà kwà ddà yámidò
 receive part of welcome OPT father Yamido
 ‘Welcome, father Yamido!’

èe, mi jábì
 ‘Greetings!’ [All greetings are in Fula, except for the optative *kwà* and the form of address *ddà*]

- (1) *názùyèkàtàṅdà kàyà vátənmá*
názù yè kàtà ṅdà-kà-yà và-tə-n má
 what 1SG want say-2SG-1SG time-T-DEM COM
 ‘What I will tell you today is’
- (2) *názù àfámyàrmàlámì nàkátáfká mínà*
názù à fá-myà-r màl-á-mí-nà
 what 3SG put-1INCL-ON boss-GEN-1INCL-DEM
á kà-tá fk-á mí-nà
 PRED PREP-T face-GEN 1INCL-DEM
 ‘that which has been asked/imposed by our boss who is in front us.’
- (3) *yàa*
 well
- (4) *yòo, àlvá jìbàrà àǵvá bà làrusà*
yòo, àlv-á jìbà rà àlv-á bà làrusà
 well, chat-GEN kind Q chat-GEN FOC marriage
 ‘Conversation about what? Conversation about marriage.’

- (5) *làrúsà hàṅánnè kinnà*
làrúsà-hà ṅánnè kinnà
 marriage-PL DEF C.FOC
 ‘These [contemporary] marriages,’
názù mà nà námìyà
názù mà nà-ná mìyà
 what 1INCL see-3SG 1INCL
 ‘that we have seen,’
- (6) *bàstwà*
bà stùwà
 FOC like that
 ‘Indeed.’
- (7) *dárgè gdzàrà béetàr séi dóolè*
d-á-r gè gdzà-r-a à bà-itàré
 father-GEN-3SG TO child-NOM-PL 3SG say-3PL
séi dóolè
 then necessary (H, F)
tádágdzàrà tàrà dóm á dóm-bá žilé
tá d-á gdzàr-á-tàr á dóm
 3PL go-GO child-PL-GEN-3PL PRED go:IN
á d-óm mb-á žilé
 PRED go-IN house-GEN man
 ‘Parents say that it is necessary for them to marry off their daughters.’
 (lit. ‘take their daughters to a husband’)
- (8) *ámtátómlè bàbákìrà žilṅánnè kìnì*
á-m tàtà úmlè bà bák ir-á žil
 PRED-IN place other FOC NEG.EX head-GEN man
ṅánnà kìnì
 DEF C.FOC
ógdzàràtábà pwómbà
ógdzàr-à tá bà pwà á-m mbà
 child-PL 3PL FOC pour PRED-IN home
 ‘Where there are no men, girls just loaf around the house.’

- (9) *éekà dzàmástàrkám hùdàrà*
éé kà dzàm ástà-r k á-m hùd-á-rà
 eh 2SG think DEM-Q 2SG PRED-IN belly-GEN-3SG
 ‘Well, what do you think about that?’²¹
- (10) *yò, únàwá dàcí mánà dàdà dàdùwá*
yò, únà ná wá dàcí má-nà dàdà dàdù
 well DEF DEF COM then HYP-DEM father dàd
wá
 COM
tyápkà dàdúwá ámbàrkà
tyá-p kà dàdú wá á-m
 become able-APPL NEG:PB father COM PRED-IN
mb-á-r kà
 house-GEN-3SG NEG
 ‘Well, as for that, if that is so, [it means that] the father was not able to be a father at his home.’ [If there are unmarried girls at home, that is the father’s fault.]
- (11) *bàstwá*
 ‘It is so indeed.’
- (12) *dàdènkìni tyàptyè dàdàmbàrwá*
dàdè nè kìnì tyà-v-tyè dàd á-m
 father DEM C.FOC be able-APPL-be able father PRED-IN
mb-á-rà wá
 house-GEN-3SG COM
 ‘As for the father, once he is a father at his home,’
- mándà súwèe[pause] kìnì gdzàrwá áḡipḡyèkáḡàbè*
má á ndà-sú wèe kìnì àgdz-á-r wá
 HYP 3SG say-S what C.FOC child-GEN-3SGCOM
á ḡi-p-ḡyè ká ḡàbè
 3SG accept-APPL-accept NEG again
 ‘whatever he says, his child should accept, shouldn’t she?’
- (13) *éemákìni dàdà ákwàrná màmà*
éé má kìnì dàdà á kwàr-ná màmà

21 Some speakers question the use of the form *kà dzàm ástà-r*. They claim that the proper form should be *kà dzàmà-n ástà-r*, i.e. reflecting the imperfective aspect with the object pronoun *n*. The recorded form is, however, consistent with the use of perfective in content questions.

well, HYP C.FOC father 3SG order-3SG mother
 'If it is like that, the father is ordered by the mother.'

- (14) *dàcìi ée, òánhà rónà kà ʒàbé*
dàcìi ée, òánè òàrà únà kà ʒàbé
 then eh, DEF R.DEM DEM again
 'Then, well, that is why again'

dàdá átàdzgówòkà kwàrhàrkà
dàdá á tà dzgwá-η k kwàr há-r
 father 3SG NEG be able-3SG NEG order home-3SG
kà
 NEG
 'the father cannot give orders in his family, can he?'

- (14a) *dàcìi ée, òánhà rónà kà ʒàbé*
dàcìi ée, òánè òàrà únà kà ʒàbé
 then eh, 3SG R.DEF DEM again
 'Then, well, that is why again'

dàdá átàdzgwáηkà kwàrhàrkà
dàdá á tà dzgwá-η k kwàr
 father 3SG NEG be able-3SG NEG order
há-r kà
 home-3SG NEG
 'the father cannot give orders in his family, can he?'

- (15) *bànáẓènní àwàyànágdzèrná ámà gèbànánkàa*
bà názù nà nìi á wàyà-ná
 FOC what DEM INTNS PRED love-3SG
gdzèr ná
 child DEM

á màgè bà òán kàa
 3SG do FOC DEF NEG
 'Whatever the girl wants, that's what is going to be done, isn't it so?'

á màgà-nà bà òán kàa
 3SG do-3SG FOC DEF NEG

'Whatever the girl wants, that's what is going to be done, isn't it so?'

- (16) *yòò, kínnàná àm jìnà kwàì kyábbà*
yòò, kìn ñánà á-m ñí nà kwàìkyá
 well now DEF PRED-IN sitting DEM many
bbà
 FOC
gdzàrámyà tábà pwámbà
gdzàrà-á-myà tá bà pwà ám mbá
 child- GEN-1INCL 3PL FOC pour PRED-IN home
 ‘Now, while we are sitting here, many of our children loaf around the house.’

- (17) *bàstwá*
 ‘So indeed.’

- (18) *tá pwámbà ñánnà gèbákìrà žilmtú*
tá pwà á-m mbá ñánnà gè bák
 3PL pour PRED-IN home DEF TO NEG.EX
ìr-á žíl mtú
 head-GEN man or
 ‘They [the girls] loaf around the house because of the absence of a man.’

áñkwè žilmtú wàyàrkàbèetàrèè
áñkwè žíl mtú wàyà-r kà bà itàrèè
 exist man or love-3PL NEG FOC 3PL
 ‘or else, there is a man, but they [the girls] don’t like [him].’

ñánnàm tústàrà
ñánnà àmtú stà rà
 DEF or what Q
 ‘Or what?’

- (19) *ógdzàrámi tápúnáwá mánà nàzùní ámmàgnáwá*
ógdzàr-á-mì tá pú ná wá
 child:PL-GEN-1INCL 3PL pour DEM COM
má nà nàzù ní á mmàg ná wá
 HYP DEM what INTNS 3SG do DEM COM
únàní táwáynétèrnà táfàtrà rùksònwirè
únà ní tá wáy-ná itèr nà tá
 DEM INTNS 3PL want-3SG 3PL DEM 3PL
fà-trà-r úksòṅw irè
 put-3PL-ON idiot head
 ‘The thing that makes our girls loaf around is that the men that the girls like cheat on them.’ [úksòṅw ‘idiot, somebody who cannot talk’]
- (20) *bàstwà*
 ‘So it is.’
- (21) *tággákà*
tá ggó kà
 3PL marry NEG
 ‘They [men] do not marry [her].’
- (22) *yò, dónní ásò ánniyà ágàtèrgónà*
yò, dà únà ní á sá-wà
 well man DEM INTNS 3SG come-VENT
án níyà á gà-tèr-gó nà
 ASSC faith 3SG marry-3PL-marry DEM
ítàr wàyàr kà
ítàr wàyà-r kà
 3PL want-3PL NEG
 ‘Well, the person who comes with the intention to marry them, they [the girls] do not like them.’
- (23) *bàstwà ṅánnà*
bà-s-t-wà ṅánnà
 is-DEM-DEM-DEM DEF
 ‘So it is.’
- (24) *ástwà ṅánnà*
s-t-wà ṅánnà
 DEM-DEM-DEM DEF
 ‘So it is.’

- (25) *èkínúwá ámtàtómlè ñándàhà*
è kín wá á-m tāt úmlè ñá ndàhà
 eh, now COM PRED-IN place other 1EXCL say
 ‘And now, it is said,’

márgè gdzàrà càmànkínindzè táfàtrú
m-á-r gè gdzàr-a càmàn kìnì ndzè tá
 mother-GEN-3PL TO child-PL before C.FOC ? 3PL
fà-tr-ú

put-3PL-VENT

‘that usually it is the mothers that teach their daughters, it is they who tell’

béetàrè àlvà-hà gègdzàrà háatàrè
bà itàrè àlvà-a gè gdzàrà-há-tàrè
 FOC 3PL story-PL TO child:PL-GEN-3PL
 ‘the stories to their daughters.’

- (26) *dàdà kàtà gdzàrà dóm mbá žilé*
dàdà á kàtà gdz-á-rà á dóm
 father 3SG want daughter:GEN-3SG 3SG go:IN
mbá žilé
 house man
 ‘A father wants his daughter to marry,’

- (27) *è màmá séy á hàyà bóonà*
è màmá séy á hàyá bà-únà à
 eh mother then 3SG love FOC-DEM 3SG
wwàyná rvòndárnà
wwày-nà rvònd-á-r-nà
 love-3SG heart-GEN-3SG-DEM
 ‘and the mother wants what her [the girl’s] heart wants.’

- (28) *áttùádàksá gdzàr ñánnà dāvàntógžílnáwá*
á-t tū á dā ksá gdz-á-r
 PRED-T before 3SG FUT take child-GEN-3SG
ñánnà
 DEF
dā vā-n-tā g-žíl ná wá
 FUT give-3SG-T TO-man DEM COM
 ‘Before he sends his daughter to the [future] husband,

dólè séy žilhánnà máksàràksè
dólè séy žil hánnà má ksà-rá-ksè
 necessary then man DEF HYP take-ON-take
názù àwwàyná hànè
názù à wway-ná hànè
 what 3SG like-3SG 3SG
 ‘it is necessary that the man [father] accepts what she [his daughter] likes.’

- (29) *é kínúnè hánnà yéttámàándzámámì ká*
é kìn ún hánnà yé ttámà á-m
 now DEM DEF 1SG believe PRED-IN
dzám-á-mì ká
 thought-GEN-1INCL NEG
 ‘And now, I believe it is not in our thoughts.’

ámàrvòndámíwá máskàn má žžàrànn g dzàràmihánnà
ám àrvònd-á-mí wá má-skà-n
 PRED-IN heart-GEN-1PL.INC COM HYP-please-[pause]
 ‘in our heart,’

má žžàrà ánn gdzàr-á-mì hánnà
 HYP look ASSC child:PL-GEN-1INCL DEF
 ‘if one looks at our children’

kintá pùstwáná wá àm tánkè gèmiyá
kìn tà pù st-wá ná wá
 now 3PL pour DEF-DEF.R DEM COM
àmtáη-kè gè miyá
 good-NEG TO 1INCL
 as they loaf like that [in the house], it is not good for us.’

- (30) *é ttàrkín ógdzàrà wázwàhà*
é ttàr kìnà ógdzàrà wázù-a
 eh how now small exhortation-PL²²
 ‘And how to give some advice’

kìni mávátàrté gèmárgègdzàràhà
kìni má v-à-tàr-tá gè m-á-r gè gdzàr-àhà
 C.FOC HYP give-3PL-T TO mother-GEN-3SG TO child-PL
 ‘to the mothers of those children,’

22 (Fula: *waazu*, Noye 1989)

mónkà gèdàrgègdzàràhàṅànnà
má ún kà [pause] gè d-á-r gè
 HYP DEF NEG TO father-GEN-3SG TO
gdzàr-a ṅànnà
 child-PL DEF
 ‘or to the father of those children,’

gè gdzàràhà mí ṅànnà
gè gdzàr-a mí ṅànnà
 TO child-PL-1INCL DEF
 to our children?’

máfàtárm skùw ámhùdávwa
má fà-tár-m skù w á-m hùd-á-vwà
 HYP put-3PL-IN like what PRED-IN belly-GEN-body
 ‘What should one put into their bodies?’[i.e., what should one tell them]

- (31) *áyò ágdzaràkinnà wá mákábà*
áyò ágdzar-à kinnà wá má ká
 now child-PL C.FOC COM HYP 2SG
trálvà àbétàrè àsàná zàmàné
bà-trá lvà à bà-ítaré á s-á-nà zàmàné
 talk-3PL speech 3SG say-3PL 3SG come-3SG time (F)
 ‘And now, children, when you talk to them, they say it is modern times that brought it.’

- (32) *yò ágdzè kinnàní zùṅwé bàtánmàlà tàrà màrà árg dàdà*
yò ágdzè kinnà-ní zùṅwé bà t-án
 hence child C.FOC-INTNS first of all FOC 3PL-ASSC
màlà tàr á màrà á r g dàdà
 attach 3PL PRED mother PRED ON TO father
 ‘And therefore, as for the daughter, she is more attached to her mother than to her father.’

- (33) *bàstó ṅànnà*
 ‘Yes, so it is.’

- (34) *ékwà ánkù ḡabá gdzrè vácí*
ékwà áṅkù ḡabá gdzrè vácí
 and thus exist still child day

pàllè ágòvkà bíutù àbí
pàllè á gá-v kà bíutù àbí
 one 3SG acquire-APPL NEG low price at all
 ‘And then, such a girl will not fetch but a low price.’

- (35) *kínnázù ábà dzàtèrbádzànáwá*
kín názù á bàdz-à-tèr-bádzè ná wá
 now what 3SG spoil-GO-3PL-spoil DEM COM
ógdzrè á màlàn màrà
ógdzrè á màlà án màrà
 daughter 3SG attach ASSC mother
 ‘Actually, what spoils them, is that the daughter is attached to her mother.’

bàstúwà
 ‘So it is indeed.’

- (37) *yó màrà ávántàkà sàwàrì fágrà gègdzrè*
yó màrà á v-à-n-tá k sàwàrì
 well mother 3SG give-3SG-TNEG advice (F)
fágrà gè gdzrè
 good TO child
 ‘Yes, the mother does not give good advice to her child.’

- (38) *bímásàsáwà žilè bí àsáwán sòlé*
bí má sà-sá-wà žilè bí á
 when HYP come-come-VENT man when 3SG
sá-w án sòlé
 come-VENT ASSC money [Hausa, from English ‘shilling’]
dàdà átándà sàkàlvà
dàdà tá ndà-s k lvà
 father 3PL say-S NEG word
 ‘And then, if the man arrives, when he comes with the money, the father cannot say a word’

séy bàná zènání àndàsá màràná
séy bà názè ná ní à ndà-sá
 except FOC what DEF INTNS 3SG say-S
màrà ná
 mother DEM
 ‘except what the mother says.’ [i.e., what the mother says goes]

- (39) *yó màrà òlvátàrèpàllé àntàrà gdzàrà*
yó màrà òlvá-tàrè pàllé àntàrà gdz-á-rà
 well mother word:GEN-3PL one ASSC:PL child-GEN-3SG
 ‘And then, the mother and the daughter have the same opinion.’
- (40) *kátàfàrkàndzàdà dǎkídíkì gègdzrè*
ká tà fà-r kè ndzàdà dǎkídíkì gè gdzrè
 2SG NEG put-ON NEG force never TO child
 ‘You can never force the child.’
- (41a) *mákáfár ndzàdàbákà ògdzrè dǎ žàgàdè*
má ká fá-r ndzàdà bá-kà ògdzrè dǎ žàgàdè
 HYP 2SG put-ON force say-2SG child FUT escape
 ‘If you apply force, the child will run away’
- bíyá dǎm màgà ñgúdì rǎhómlè*
bí á dǎm màgà ñgúdìrè-a úmlè
 then 3SG FUT do bad behavior-PL other
 ‘and do bad things.’
- (41b) *dàcí kànáncà žàlàvǎhàrà àdǎmàgàmtánkà*
dàcí kà ná-n kà žàlà-và hár á
 then 2SG see-3SG NEG go-APPL time [Ar.] 3SG
dǎ màgà mtán kà
 FUT do good NEG
 ‘So, you see, don’t you, that the passage of time does not do any good.’
- (42) *yò ámtà túmlè bàgdzàrà mízálàhà nà kìnì wá*
yò ám tàt úmlè bà gdzàrà-á-mì zál-àhà nà
 well IN place other FOC child-GEN-1PL male-PL DEM
kìnì wá
 C.FOC COM
tó fǎtǎrtéerè mátsàràtsé gègdzàrà gyálàhà
tá wfǎ-tǎr-t-á ìrè má tsà-rè-tsé gè
 3PL bother-3PL-T-GO head HYP rise-3PL-rise TO
gdzàrà-á gyálà-hà
 child-GEN female-PL
 ‘Well, sometimes, it is they [the boys], who bother the girls . . .’

- (43) *tá bàtrá àwwàyà nàkwáyà*
tá bà-trá à wwàyà-n-à-k-wáyà
 3PL say-3PL ah, love-1SG-GO-2SG-love
 ‘They tell them, ah, I love you.’
- (44) *wàyà nàkwáyà*
wàyà-n-à-k-wáyà
 love-1SG-GO-2SG-love
 ‘I love you.’
- (45) *táfà-nmámvù gèdàdà táfà-nmámvù gè màmà*
tá fà-n-m á-m vù gè dàdà
 3PL put-3SG-INPRED-IN body TO father
tá fà-n-m á-m vù gè màmà
 3PL put-3SG-IN PRED-IN body TO mother
 ‘They announce [it] to the father, they announce [it] to the mother.’
- (46) *màḡártásàlikà*
màḡàrà tá sà-lí kà
 now 3PL come-RE NEG
 ‘Finally, now, they never come back.’
- (47) *má ún ká tá màgá égdzàrà sàwàri-*
 HYP DEF NEG 3PL make small reunion
yáhà-tàrè cùkcùkwà á tè bàrámà
yáhà-tàrè cùkcùkwà á tè bàrámà
 PL-3PL small PRED T road
 ‘If it is not that, they arrange small meetings at the road.’
- (49) *májàrá mājè ské tɔ̀bàrámà hàtùwánà*
má jà-rá-mmə-jè ské á tɔ̀
 HYP meet-3PL-COL-meet like that PRED T
bàrám-a tùwánà
 road-PL just like that
 ‘When they meet at the roads, just like that.’
- (50) *dàcì tá màgánàzú wàyà kàrvòndámìyà*
dàcì tá màgá nàzú wàyà ká rvònd-á-mìyà
 then 3PL do what like NEG heart-GEN-IINCL
 ‘then, they do what our heart does not want.’

- (51) *ítàrḡánnà máská má bàtráwè gègdzàrà zálàhà ḡánnà*
ítàr ḡánnà má ské á má bà-trá wè
 3PL DEF HYP like that 3SG HYP say-3PL what
gè gdzàrà zál-àhà ḡánnà
 TO small male-PL DEF
 ‘If they are like that, so what does one tell those boys?’
- (52) *tákàtà bà ḡùdí rkwá tákàtà bàtá bà dzá gdzàràhàbí*
tá kàtá bà ḡùdí r kwá tá kàtá
 3PL want FOC promiscuity CONJ 3PL want
bà tá bàdzà ágdzàrà-hà bí
 FOC 3PL spoil child-PL completely
 ‘They want promiscuity and spoil the girls completely.’ [The high tone on *bàdzá* occurs because of the tone shift from the epenthetic vowel on *ágdzàrà* ‘child’.]
- (53) *bàstwà*
 ‘Yes indeed.’
- (54) *àddónóní àskàtàtèrkàtónà wàyàrkà*
àddá únà ní à s kàtá-tà-r-kàtá nà
 man DEM INTNS 3SG come want-3PL-want DEM
wàyà-r kà
 love-3PL NEG
 ‘The one who comes wanting them, they do not love [him].’
- (55a) *yòwḡibám dèḡnàkínì tètùlèḡnàhà*
yòw ḡìb-á mdè nè kínì tá tù wà
 well type-GEN people DEM C.FOC 3PL T mouth
lèè nà
 road DEM
tàtsámḡèbàvà àkyáwnà tándàtèrlvà à kyáwnà itàrkínìḡyálàhà
tá ts á-m ḡèbávè á kyáw nà
 3PL stand PRED-IN edge PRED there DEM
tá ndà-tà-r lvà tàr kínìḡ
 3PL speak-3PL speech 3PL C.FOC
 ‘Those who are at the road side, who lurk there, they speak with the girls.’

- (55b) *gyál-àhà ñánnà tà hàýá bà jìb á-m*
 child-PL DEF 3PL like FOC type PRED-IN
mdè ñánnà
 people DEF
 ‘Those girls like this type of person.’
- (56) *tàndàhà*
 ‘They said.’ [‘It is true.’]
- (57) *kàkántàrà gdzàñà kàsàwà kàžàràbà dùksà*
kà kà ántàrà gdz-á-ñà kà
 2SG 2SG ASSC:PL child-GEN-2SG 2SG
sà-wà kà žàrà bà dùks-á
 come-VENT 2SG look FOC thing-GEN
žilé skiyà
žilé ski yà
 man like 1SG
 ‘You and your child, come, you just look at the problem of a man like me . . .’
- (58) *bàstwà*
 ‘So it is, indeed.’
- (59) *ùrà fáìmbákà*
ùrà fá ìmà bákà
 person put ears NEG.EX
 ‘There is nobody who minds.’
- (60a) *dàdà yì* [unclear recording]
dàdà à yì
 father 3SG beget, give birth
 ‘The father begets . . .’
- (60b) *bànázèñàwàýáná gdzàrù nkùmù*
bà nàzè ná á wàýà-ná gdz-á-rù
 FOC thing DEM 3SG want-3SG child-GEN-1SG
n kù mù
 DEF NEG Q.FOC
 ‘It is that which my child wants, isn’t it?’
 [60a + 60b: ‘The father begets [the girl], but then it is what the girl wants that counts.’]

- (61) *yó gdzàr kìnì à hàýá bà m dàfáywá*
yó gdzàr kìnì à hàýá bà mdè fá
 well child C.FOC 3SG want FOC people drink
ywá
 water
 ‘Well, the girl likes only drunks.’

- (62) *səláwùràhànà tskwànáǰánnà*
səláwùr-áhà nà tskwà-ná ǰánnà
 pants-PL DEM wear-3SG DEF
 ‘They [girls] wear the pants!’

[incomprehensible]

- (63) *é kìnùwá átùmìdèndàlvámì ǰánwá*
é kìnà wá á tù mì dè
 eh now COM PRED before 1INCL SEQ
ndà lv-á-mì ǰán wá
 say chat-GEN-1INCL DEF COM
 ‘And now, before continuing our chat,’
- (64) *màtàttèy kìnì inà zùnì mǎfàn mǎmvù gèmdèní*
mà tàttèy kìnì nǎzù nì
 1INCL search C.FOC what INTNS
má fǎ-n-má m vù gè mdè ní
 1INCL put-3SG-ININ body TO people INTNS
 ‘can we search for a solution to educate others’

àmánà gè làrúusè ǰánnà àdèddán hèèrànklàpírè
ámá nà gè làrúusè ǰánnà à dǎ ddè
 but DEM TO marriage DEF 3SG FUT go
án hèèr-àn-klàpírè
 ASSC peace-ASSC-good health
 ‘so that marriage results in peace and good health?’

dàcí átùmǎžàrà nǎzù mǎgànàddámýà
dàcí á tù mà žàrà nǎzù mǎgà nà
 then PRED before 1INCL see thing make DEM
ddá-myà
 father-1INCL
 Then we [will] see what the Lord decides.’

(65) *bàstwà*
‘So it is.’

(66) *ɲánwá dùksèɲánnèwá séi mábàni áktyànà baddámýà*
ɲán wá dùksè ɲánnè wá séi má bà
 DEF COM thing DEF COM only HYP FOC
nì á ktyà-nà bà ddá-myà
 INTNS 3SG cool-3SG FOC father-1INCL
 ‘That, that thing, only God knows how to cool it.’ [‘Only God knows
 how to repair the bad things that parents do.’]

(67) *ádàbónkà*
á dábà únà kà
 3SG follow DEF NEG
 ‘It is not because ...’

inǰállà
 ‘If God allows ...’

(69) *kín názè nà dám dám nàlmànè*
kínà názè nà d-á-m-d á-m nàlmànè²³
 now what DEM go-IN-go PRED-IN money
 ‘Now, those who came into money ...’

(69) *bastwà*
 ‘So it is.’

(70) *mákàmàgànəttàrkíni mábàkánbà kàdàdà*
má kà màgà-nə stà-r kíni
 HYP 2SG do-3SG DEF-Q C.FOC
má bà-ká-n-bà kà dádà
 HYP say-2SG-3SG-say 2SG father
 ‘No matter what you do, even if you tell yourself that you are a father
 ...’ [i.e. ‘even if you feel responsible’]

(71) *kà tsà-tsabàkà ófàkàrífè*
kà tsà-tsa bà-kà à úfà-kà-r-úf-è

23 *nàlmànè* ‘money’ comes from Arabic *al-man* ‘goods’. The initial *n* is the regular product of epenthesis when the word borrowed from Arabic begins with a vowel. The final *e* may be the product of epenthesis for lexical items that underlyingly end in a consonant.

2SG stop-stop say-2SG 3SG bother-2SG-ON-bother
 ‘If you take a stand, it is going to be worse for you.’

- (72) *àgdzàràtámàlàn màrà*
àgdzàr-a tá màrà àn màrà
 child-PL 3PL attach ASSC mother
bákà dàbàrì dikidikimà
bákà dàbàrì dikidikimà
 NEG.EX means (Hausa) never ever
 ‘The girls are attached to the mother, there is no possibility, ever.’

- (73) *àgdzàrzálá kìnì úmlùwàyàrwàyà*
àgdzàr zálá kìnì úml wàyà-r-wàyà
 child male C.FOC other want-3PL-want
bákà dàbàryàrà
bákà dàbàrì-á-rà
 NEG.EX means-GEN-3SG
 ‘Boys, there are some who want [to marry], but they have no means.’
 [The use of the third-person singular rather than the third-person plural possessive pronoun was considered an error once it was pointed out to another participant in the conversation. This number ‘disagreement’, as it were, is repeated several times throughout the conversation, indicating that in fact it may not be an error.]

- (74) *mdènkìnì táyàtár gyálà kìnì táfàtràrúksòḡwírè*
mdè n kìnì tá yà-tár gyál-a kìnì
 people DEM C.FOC 3PL beget-3PL girl-PL C.FOC
tá fà-tr-àr úksòḡw irè
 3PL put-3PL-ON idiot head
tábàdàtárbàdà á t̀ksàkà
tá bàdà-tár-bàdà á t̀ ksà ká
 3PL flatter-3PL-flatter PRED T town NEG:TAG
 ‘People, one begets girls, they [boys] cheat them, flatter them, in the village, isn’t it so?’

- (75) *tàtàttàyé t̀rtè g̀gàrkà tàggàkà*
tà tàttàyé-t̀r-t̀ g̀ g̀á-r kà
 3PL search-3PL-T TO marry-3PL NEG
tà ggá kà
 3PL marry NEG
 ‘They do not seek to marry them, they do not marry.’

(76) *bàstwà*
 ‘So it is.’

(77) *àaa*
 ‘Aah.’

(78) *ákinùwá átùmàdàǵdànáǵè nòǵàbàdàlyé wá*
á kìnù wá á tù mà
 PRED now COM PRED before 1INCL
dá ǵà-n-á-ǵè nò ǵàbà dàlyé wá
 FUT finish-3SG-GO-finish PRES again COM
 ‘And now, before we end that again, . . .’

(79) *názù yá kàtà yá v-à-tàr-tá-yà kìnì*
názù yá kàtà yá v-à-tàr-tá-yà kìnì
 what 1SG want 1SG give-GO-3PL-T-1SG C.FOC
 ‘what I would like to give them . . .’

(80) *àská gdzàrámyà zzálá àská gdzàrámyà ɲwáfà*
àská gdzàr-á-myà zzálá
 like child:PL-GEN-1INCL male:PL
àská gdzàr-á-myà ɲwáfà
 like child:PL-GEN-1INCL female:PL
 ‘like our boys and girls . . .’

(81) *bàdàcí máǵàrà názù à hàynáwrà*
bà dàcí máǵàrà názù à hàyn-á ùrà
 FOC then rest what 3SG want-3SG person
à hàyn-á dàdà à hàyn-á màrà mí hìnkàlámyà
à hàyn-á dàdà à hàyn-á màrà mí
 3SG want-3SG father 3SG want-3SG mother 1INCL
hìnkàl-á-myà
 reason-GEN-1INCL
 ‘For the rest, what a person wants, what a father wants, what a mother wants, our reason . . .’

(82) *mà tàttàymú sártú jámmùjì yámyà àntàrùràmyà*
mà tàttày-m-ú sártú já-mm-à-jì
 1INCL search-1INCL-VENT time hit-COL-hit
y-á-myà àntàrà ùr-á-myà
 voice-GEN-1INCL ASSC:PL person-GEN-1INCL
 ‘We ourselves are searching for the time to unite our voice with [other] people.’

- (83) *àská*
‘Like that.’
- (85) *yándà trólǎ gè tàrógdzà gyálà nà*
yá ndà-tró lv gè tàr ágdzà gyálà nà
1SG speak-3PL speech TO 3PL young girl:PL DEM
ántàr gdzàrzálánà dè gíyá
ántàr gdzàr zálá nà dègíyá
ASSC:PL child male DEM behold
‘I am speaking to the girls and boys, as follows.’
- (86) *ágdzèr žilé má ndàvòndà vè mùksè*
ágdzèr žilé má ndàvò-ndàvò mùksè
child boy HYP ask-ask girl
‘A young man, if he asks for a woman,’
- (87) *à fǝmfà mǝrvòndǎrà*
à fǝ-m-fǝ m ǝrvònd-á-rà
3SG put-IN-put IN heart-GEN-3SG
‘he should put into his heart’
- (88) *gè wáyáwáy mùksàrà*
gè wáyá-wáy mùks-á-rà
TO love-love wife-GEN-3SG
‘to love his wife.’
- (89) *mùksè ñánnà má wáyáwáy žilé*
mùksè ñánnà má wáyá-wáy žilé
woman DEF HYP love-love husband
‘The woman, if she loves her husband,’
- ámǝrvòndǎrà màwáyáwáy žílár ñánnà*
á-mǝ rvònd-á-rà má wáyá-wáy
PRED-IN heart-GEN-3SGHYP love-love
žíl-á-r ñánnà
husband-GEN-3SG DEF
‘if in her heart she loves her husband,’
- (90) *bàtwà*
‘Indeed.’

- (91) *ánjàrónjà bàtúnnyánnà*
á njà-ré-njà bà t-ún nyánnà
 PRED stay-3PL-stay FOC T-DEF DEF
 ‘they should remain on that very thing.’
- (92) *ámá áfàrùksònywìrè gèddàdà*
ámá á fà-r ùksònyw irè gè ddàdà
 but 3SG put-ON idiot head TO father
fàr ùksònywìrè gèmmàmà
á fà-r ùksònyw irè gè màrà
 3SG put-ON idiot head TO father
 ‘He makes an idiot of the father, makes an idiot of the mother.’
- (93) *bónà nyánnà kìnà bàrhá gdzàrà nyánnà*
bà únà nyánnà kìnà à bàrhá gdzàrà nyánnà
 FOC DEF DEF now 3SG push child:PL DEF
 ‘That’s what pushes those children’
- (94) *ádómnázù tàhàynárvóndátàrnà*
á dè-m názù tà hà-y-ná rvónd-á-tàr nà
 PRED go-IN what 3PL want-3SG heart-GEN-3PL DEM
 ‘into something that their hearts want.’
- (95) *bónà bónà*
bà únà bà únà
 FOC DEF FOC DEF
 ‘So it is, so it is.’
- (96) *názù Ìàbádàlyé wàyàkàhéhkà lámýà*
názù Ìàbádàlyé wàyà kà héhkàl-á-myà
 thing again like NEG reason-GEN-1INCL
 ‘The thing again, that our reason does not accept . . .’
- (97) *bàtúwà*
 ‘Indeed.’
- (98) *jìbàbàrhá gdzàrà dèmbá žìlnà*
jìbà bàrhá gdzàrà á dè-m mbá žìl nà
 type push child:PL PRED go-IN home man DEM
 ‘The way to push girls toward marriage’

á ndzèdà

án ndzèdà

ASSC force
‘by force,’

únkínnì mtáηkà
ún kínnì mtáη kà
DEF C.FOC good NEG
that is also not good.’

- (99) *àné únà ηánwá*
àné únà ηánwá
yes DEF DEF
[incomprehensible]

àsótárván màmàbí
à sá-w-t árvà án màmà bí
3SG come-VENT-T hand ASSC mother INTNS
‘Yes, so it is, it comes from the mother.’

- (100) *bàstùwà*
‘Yes indeed.’

- (101) *màlèlvátàrkíni pállántàr gdzàrà*
màl èlv-á-tàr kíni pàllè ántàr gdz-á-rà
finally word-GEN-3PLC.FOC one ASSC:PL child-GEN-3SG
‘Finally, their word is the same as that of her child.’ [i.e., they have the same opinion as their children.]

- (102) *àbá dùksómlè kíni yàdà*
à bá dùksà úmlè kíni yà dà
3SG say thing another C.FOC 1SG return
‘Something told [him] [not ‘he tells something’] . . . I return,’

- (103) *séy bàáḡàlá á dǎmbázìlḡánnán ndzódà*
séy bà á ḡàlá á dǎm mbá žìl
then FOC 3SG go PRED go:IN home husband
ḡánn án ndzòdà
DEF ASSC force
‘She has to enter the marriage under duress.’

- (104) *séy bà ndzèḡánnà*
séy bà ndzèḡánnà
then FOC force DEF
‘Only by force ...’

[incomprehensible]

- (105) *kákà dádà kádúkà ɲánnà rúnà*
ká kà dádà ká dú kà
 2SG 2SG father 2SG go:VENT NEG
ɲán nàrà únà
 DEF story DEF
 ‘You, you are a father, you do not leave. That’s the story/chat.’

- (106) *bàtàwà*
 ‘Indeed.’

- (107) *há dáci kínà mínnà tá pwá tákse*
há dáci kínà mín nà tá pwà
 till then now right DEM 3PL loaf
á tǎ ksè
 PRED T town
bà déesəl llákà
bà déesəl kà
 FOC for nothing (K) NEG
 ‘Right now, they loaf around the village, for no reason.’

- (108) *náwà itàrrkìni tájádàbátàrè*
náwà itàr kìnì tá já dáb-á-tàrè
 PRES 3PL C.FOC 3PL hit walk-GEN-3PL
 ‘Here, they, they just take walks.’

[second speaker repeats (107)]

- (109) *tàmùsəl mátsà táməsəláwrè*
tà mùsəlmá tsà t-á-m səláwré
 3PL Moslems yet 3PL-PRED-IN pants
 ‘They are Moslems, and yet they wear pants!’ (lit. ‘they are in pants’)

- (110) *dəŋgré səláwré əgdzàrà mùksəkìnì səláwré,*
də-ŋgré səláwré əgdz-à-rà mùksè kìnì səláwré,
 father-1EXCL pants child-GEN-3SGfemale C.FOC pants
 ‘One’s father—pants, even his daughter—pants.’

- (111) *ká màgà-nə stàrà*
 2SG do-3SG how
 ‘What are you going to do?’

[incomprehensible]

- (112) *táfàtrá rùksòḡwírká*
tá fà-trá rùksòḡw ír ká
 3PL put-3PL idiotic head NEG
 ‘They cheat, don’t they?’

- (113) *wàyàrkà tágàtèrkà díkídíki*
wàyà-r-kà tá gà-tèr-kà díkídíki
 love-3PL-NEG 3PL marry-3PL-NEG never ever
 ‘They do not love them, they will never marry them.’

[incomprehensible]

- (115) *àlèvá wúdrkà nó ágdzè gyálè kìnì tỳáptỳè*
à tè-vá wúdr kà
 3SG mature-APPL situation (K) NEG
nó ágdzè gyálè kìnì tỳá-p-tỳè
 PRES young girl C.FOC reach-APPL-reach
 ‘It has reached a situation, that if the girl has matured (biologically),’
 [As of 2006, in some households it is considered undesirable for the girl to have her first period while still at her parents’ home. Having had it makes her not a good prospect for a future marriage. Ideally, the girl should have her first period at her husband’s home.]

- (116) *án wúdràrà tápyàntàmbà*
án wúdr-à-rà tá pyà-n t-àmbà
 ASSC situation-GEN-3SG 3PL forbid-3SG T-house
 ‘in her situation, they confine her to her home.’

- (117) *má fáptàfè/è cèkwá ḡgùdì*
má fá-p-tà-f cèkwá ḡgùdì
 HYP find-APPL-T-find a little bit
 ‘If she is a little bit free . . .’

[incomprehensible]

- (118) *mónkà jìbám dènkínà*
má ún kà jìb-á mdè n kìnà
 HYP DEF NEG type-GEN people DEM now
 ‘If it is not this, there are people . . .’
ḡánkìnì sé àhàyà bà dònè ḡánnà

ɲán kɪ̀nì sé à hà̀yà bà dó nà
 3SG C.FOC only 3SG like FOC man DEM

ɲánnà

DEF

‘She, she likes only the man that’

bákà pédár̀nàkà
bákà pédà-á-r nà kà
 NEG.EX means,use-GEN-3SG DEM NEG
 ‘does not have any means.’ [or ‘only useless men’]

[incomprehensible]

(119) *mátsátsánà bà̀ʒàlárá*
má tsà-ts á nábà ʒàl-á-rà
 HYP rise-rise3SG then leave-GEN-3SG
 ‘It happens that he can leave on his own.’ [i.e. abandon the project of marriage]

(120) *bà̀twà, bà̀twà*
 ‘Indeed, indeed.’

(121) *bà̀jìbá zálá hà̀ɲánnà yà̀ndàny nà̀bì*
bà jìb-á zálá-àhà ɲánnà yà
 FOC type-GEN male-PL DEF 1SG
ndà-n-á-y nà bí
 speak-3SG-GO-1SG DEM INTNS
 ‘Those are the men that I was talking about.’

(122) *é̀stùwàkwà*
 ‘So that’s how it is.’

(123) *bà̀tùwà*
 ‘That’s it.’

(124) *kínà̀lvámì ɲánnùwá dà̀cí mál̀mà̀ʒárdyè̀nkàa*
kín à̀ʒv-á-mì ɲánnù wá
 now conversation-GEN-1PL DEF COMP
dà̀cí mál̀ mà̀ʒár dyè̀-n kàa
 then now the rest know-1SG NEG
 ‘And now that our conversation is almost finished, I don’t know . . .’

[incomprehensible, about 0.5ms]

- (126) *bàní òlvànjátàrè ógdzàrhámà*
bàní òlvà nj-á-tàrè ógdzàr-h-á-myà
 given problem stay-GEN-3PL child-PL-GEN-1INCL
 ‘Given the problem of the life of our children,’

kínàmínnáwá ájúkà ànúunè òánnà
kínà míná wá á j-ú kà
 now right COM 3SG surpass-VENT NEG
án únà òánnà
 ASSC DEF DEF

‘as far as we are concerned, it cannot surpass what is there.’ [i.e.,
 ‘there is nothing to be added to what we have already said.’]

bàstwà
 ‘Indeed.’

- (127) *dón cìnáncìnè mtákòná à f̃m̃fállám klàrà*
dó nà cìná-n-cìn mtákó nà
 man DEM hear-3SG-hear good DEM
à f̃m̃-m-f àllà á-m kl-á-rà
 3SG put-IN-put God PRED-IN place-GEN-3SG
 ‘The person who understands this well, may God reward him for that.’

- (128) *mám̃táñkèná ázàmìvárzàllà*
má mtáñ kè nà á zà-mì-v-ár-zà
 HYP good NEG DEM 3SG eat-1INCL-APPL-ON-eat
àllà
 God
 ‘If it is not good, may God have pity on us.’

- (129) *àmín àmín*
 amen amen
máfàllà
 ‘Thank God.’

Post-theme exchange:

(1) Seini

èe, à binùwá àkàtà bàká kàmàgànéstàràwáyàa
èe, à b-in-ù wá á kàtà bà-ká
 e 3SG say-3SG-EP COM 3SG want tell-2SG
 ‘He said, he wants you to tell,’

- (2) *kà màgà-nó stàrà á wáyàa*
 2SG make-3SG how PRED yesterday
 ‘What happened yesterday?’ (lit. ‘how did you make it, yesterday?’)
jàmyámmè kànà
jà-myá-mmè kà nà
 meet-1INCL-COL NEG DEM
 ‘We did not meet?’

- (3) *kàdúhùmm tù*
kà dúw hw mtù
 2SG go:VENT outside or
 ‘Did you go anywhere?’

- (4) *áñkwà dùksákàmàgànáka*
áñkwà dùksá kà màgà-ná kà
 exist thing 2SG do-3SG 2SG
 ‘Was there anything you did?’

áttú kàsóhèn ñánnà
á-t tú kà sá-w hùn ñánnà
 PRED-T before 2SG come-VENT here DEF
 ‘before you came here?’

- (5) *áskè kínáwáyà ñà tàttàyàktàttàyà*
áskè kín á wáyà ñà tàttàyà-k-tàttàyà
 like C.FOC PRED yesterday 1EXCL search-2SG-search
 ‘Since we were looking for you yesterday,’

bóonè ñánnè kìnìkándàhà á kàtáksàksà
bà únà ñánnè kìnì ká ndàhà á kàtá
 FOC DEF DEF C.FOC 2SG say 3SG want
á ksà-ksá
 3SG take-take
 ‘that is the thing that you should say, so that he may record it.’

[incomprehensible]

- (6) *áwáyà nává tàdá kràwà*
á wáyà ná wá tà dá kràwà
 PRED yesterday DEM COM 3PL go:GO Krawa
 ‘As for yesterday, they went to Krawa . . .’

- (7) *á wáyà yà màgányà [má] ndzè yè sà-wá*
á wáyà yà màgá nyà [má] ndzè
 PRED yesterday 1SG make preparation HYP PAST
yè sà-wá
 1SG come-VENT
 ‘Yesterday I was making preparations with the intention to come.’

- (8) *yà màgá nyà sàwmá*
yà màgá nyà sàw má
 1SG make preparation come:VENT HYP
àgdzàrwà àptsàr ʒágʒági ànvàdyá
àgdz-á-rwà à ptsà-rà ʒágʒági án vàdfyá
 child-GEN-1SG 3SG return-ON fever ASSC night
 ‘When I was making my preparations to come, the fever returned to my child at night.’

Seini:

- (9) *sùbánà* (Ar.)
 [an expression to chase away demons]

Hamido:

- (10) *à hárábàdzàr vòndē bàkíin kìnì*
à hárà è á bàdzà rvòndē bà
 3SG spend the night PRED spoil heart FOC
kínkìnì
 now
 ‘He spent all night vomiting, even now [he is vomiting].’

- (11) *lòktúyàsów kìnì yè ʒúwá vántá pàràsètámól*
lòktú yà sá-w kìnì
 time 1SG come:VENT C.FOC
yè ʒú-wá và-n-tá pàràsètámól
 1SG finish-VENT give-3SG-T paracetamol
 ‘Before I came here, I gave him paracetamol.’

- (12) *pàràsètámól àntàrà nìvákín kìnà lòktú yà sònè kìnì*
pàràsètámól àntàrà nìvákín kìnà lòktú yà
 paracetamol ASSC:PL nivaquine now time 1SG
só nà kìnì
 come:VENT DEM C.FOC
 ‘Paracetamol and nivaquine, before I came.’

- (13) *áklànáklálà*
á ktyà-n-á-ktyà álla
 3SG cool-3SG-GO-cool God
 'May God cure him!' [good wishes for all kinds of troubles]
- (14) *dàcí fùlárà fànáncèpútá só ñánnà*
dàcí fùl-á-rà fà-n-á-n
 then travel-GEN-3SG find-1SG-GO-3SG
kè pútà-á só ñánnà
 NEG means-GEN come:VENT DEF
 'And then [with] his travel, I didn't find a possibility to come.'
- (15) *ákyànàktyállà*
á ktyà-n-á-ktyà álla
 3SG cool-3SG-GO-cool God
 'May God cure him!'
- (16) *fágrà*
 'Well ...'
- (17) *máfàllà*
 'Thank God.'

6. A life's story

(Recorded in the Sumer of 2009, Speaker: Abba Ramadan)

- (1) *yàwwá nóyèfèkrúlpállé*
yàwwá nàwà yá fà-krú ɛv pállé
 well now 1SG tell-2PL matter one
 'I will tell you one thing.'
- (2) *ám já dúnínà ñónànnàwá bákà árgfàrvóhè*
á-m nj-á dúní-nà ñó ñánnà wá bákà
 PRED-IN life-GEN world-DEMPRES DEF COM NEG.EX

á-r *g* *fâ-rvóhè*²⁴
 PRED-ON TO put-heart

‘In this life here, there is nothing that surpasses patience.’

- (3) *ádàbà má kyáw kàn wá sé bà fârvóhè*
ádàbà má kyáw kàn wá sé bà fârvóhè
 becauseHYP anywhere C.FOC COM only NEG patience
 ‘Because, no matter where, nothing but patience ...’

- (4) *áñkwá gdzà dóolè [pause] à dèkàtàgyáalè*
áñkwá gdzà dáwalè à dè kàtà gyáalè
 exist young boy 3SG SEQ want girl
 ‘A certain boy wanted to marry a girl.’

- (5) *à dándàvà ázà dè ñàrwà gyálè ná*
à dè ndàvà á zà dè ñàr wá
 3SG go ask PRED HL father 3SG COM
gyálè-ná
 girl-DEM
hàyèn hàyá àmá dè ñàrwà à kàtà yénvyè
hàyé-n-hàyá àmá dè ñàr wá à kàtà
 love-3SG-love but father 3SG COM 3SG want
á yé-n-v-yè
 3SG refuse-3SG-APPL-refuse
 ‘He went to ask her father, saying that the girl loves him. But her father wants to refuse him.’

- (6) *yó égdzà dàwàlná à dè žàràn ùràrà*
yó égdzà dàwàl-ná à dè žàrà-n ù-á-rà
 well young man-DEM 3SG go see-[pause] friend-GEN-3SG
 ‘Well [the] boy went to see his friend.’

- (7) *ùrà dè ñàrà*
ùr-á dè ñàrà
 man-GEN father 3SG
 ‘a friend of his father.’

24 The narrator translates *fâ-rvóhè* by the French term ‘patience’. The text of the narrative indicates that what is involved is a mental attitude that encompasses tolerance, forbearance, magnanimity, with a dose of optimism. The term ‘patience’ is retained in translation.

- (8) *tàbúkùrdá tər wá àpwàtr dǎzà ddánàrà gə̀gyálè*
tà bú kùrd-á tər wá à pwà-trè dè
 3PL two all-GEN 3PL COM 3SG send:PL-3PL go
zà ddá ñàrà gə̀ gyálè
 HL father 3SG TO girl
 'Both of them, he sent to the father of the girl.'
- (9) *dàrə̀mdà à dǎzà ddá ñàr gə̀gyálè*
dà-rə̀-m-dà á dǎ zà ddá ñàr
 arrive-3PL-IN-arrive PRED go HL father 3SG
gə̀ gyálè
 TO girl
 'They came to the father of the girl.'
- (10) *ástarà nówáñá kàtágdzàñnà ñákàtàn vágmanýà*
ástarà ná wá ñá kàtá gdz-á-ñ nà
 so here DEM COM 1EXCL want child-GEN-2SG DEM
ñá kàtá-n-vá g manýà
 1EXCL want-3SG-APPL TO such and such
 'Well, we want your child, we want her for so and so.'
- (10) *yò àyá fágrà*
 well EXCL good
 'Well, it is good.'
- (11) *ámá wá yàcìnàncìnól vè ñánnà*
ámá wá yà cìn-àn-cìnól vè ñánnà
 however COM 1SG hear-3SG-hear matter DEF
 'However, it seems I have already heard about this thing.'
- (12) *yéžžèrə̀mtsádè yámàgàsáwàrì*
yé žžèrə̀ mtsádè yá màgà sáwàrì
 1SG see:IMP first 1SG make thinking
 'I have to see first, I will think.'
- (13) *yé ndàndá gə̀mə̀ñàr gə̀ gdzré dàfĩñá hùsàrhwè*
yé ndà-ndá gə̀ mə̀ ñàr gə̀ gdzré
 1SG talk-talk TO mother 3SG TO child
dàfĩñá hùsàrhwè
dàfĩ ñá hù-s-ár-hwè
 then 1EXCL agree-S-ON-agree
 'and tell the mother of the child, and then we [the mother and I] will agree.'

- (14) *dàcìwá hárbùkèǵy kwácìn làbàrpállé*
dàcì wá hár bù kíǵyé kwá cìn làbàr pállé
 then COM day two three 2PL hear news one
 ‘Two or three days from now, you will hear the news.’
- (15) *yò fáǵrà tàná bàǵálà*
yò fáǵrà tà nábà ǵálà
 well good 3PL then left
 ‘Well, then they left.’
- (16) *tyàptyàwá dátàrè dè sárəmsà*
tyà-p-tyà wád-á-tàrè dè
 reach-APPL-reach:PB appointment-GEN-3PL SEQ
sá-rə-m-sà
 come-3PL-IN-come
 ‘Their appointed day arrived, and they came.’
- (17) *əstàrá ábínà*
əstàrá á b-ínà
 so how is 3SG say-3SG
 ‘“So, how is it?” he [the father of the bride] said.’
- (18) *àhà, àbáǵànwá*
àhà, à bá ǵànwá wá
 well 3SG say 3SG COM
 ‘“Well,” he says that ...’
- (19) *yé vəkùrtəvə kníyéndákà yé vəkùrtəkà kníyéndákà bìnà*
yé və-kùr-tə-və kní yé ndá kà
 1SG give-2PL-T-give C.FOC 1SG tell NEG
yé və-kùr-tə kà kní yé ndá kà
 1SG give-2PL-T NEG C.FOC 1SG tell NEG
á b-ínà
 3SG say-3SG
 ‘“Whether I will give her to you, that I cannot tell you. Whether I will not give her to you, that I cannot tell you,” he said.’
- (20) *àmáwá gǵzárùǵàbé cíkwá ándá lè yà*
àmá wá gǵz-á-rù ǵàbé cíkwá á ndáhà lèyà
 but COM child-GEN-1SGstill small 3 read lecture
 ‘But my child is still small, she is still in school.’ [*lèyà*: ‘reading’ in a Koranic school]

- (21) *yò è à bá mdà n wá*
yò è à bá mdà n wá
 well 3SG say people DEF COM
bàwáyàṅkà bàṅgráṅá váktàkà kwá
bà wáyà-ṅ-kà bà-ṅgrá ṅá vá-k-tà-kà kwá
 FOC want-2SG-NEG tell-1EXCL 1EXCL give-2SG-T-NEG Q
 ‘These people say, “You just don’t want to tell us that we are not giving [her] to you.”’
 [Note the change in the number of the addressee in the above sentence. The addressee is coded by the second-person singular object, then, in the quoted speech, by the first-person plural exclusive. In the quoted speech, the addressee (the object pronoun) is not the second-person plural, but rather the second-person singular.]
- (22) *àgdzàṅà dálèyà mátyàf kèní*
àgdzà-ṅ á ndá lèyà má tyàf kè ní
 child-2SG 3SG read lecture HYP mature NEG INTNS
ṅà sóká sándáv ẓàbè
ṅà só kà á sò ndáv ẓàbè
 1EXCL come NEG PRED come ask again
 ‘[You tell us that] your child is in school. If she were not mature, we would not have come to ask for her.’
- (23) *ṅà sókà sándávà bí*
ṅà só kà á sò ndávà á bí
 1EXCL come NEG PRED come ask PRED INTNS
 ‘We wouldn’t have come to ask for her, for sure.’
- (24) *ṅànába dà bà tyàflyé*
ṅà ná bà á dābà tyàflyè
 1EXCL see FOC PRED because ripe
 ‘Because we saw her ripe ... ‘(not ‘ripen’)’
- (25) *màẓàrà tàdwa wátarè mdèná*
màẓàrà tà dū-á w-á-tàré
 then 3PL become silent-VENT mouth-GEN-3PL
mdè ná
 people DEM
 ‘Then, those people became silent.’

- (26) *tà nábàǰálà*
tà nábà ǰálà
 3PL then left
 ‘Then they left.’
- (27) *é dā cinà cinánn mùksúmlè á̀lálátà̀rè*
é dā ciná-n-ciná-nn mùks úmlè
 eh SEQ hear-3SG-hear-pause woman another
á̀ lál-á̀-à̀rè
 PRED borough-GEN-3PL
 ‘A woman in their borough heard.’
- (28) *àsòhàsázàdóonà*
à sò-hè à sá zà dóo-nà
 3SG come:VENT-PNCT 3SG come HL man-DEM
 ‘She came to the man.’
- (29) *ńánwá àstàr gèkà àgdzàńà*
ńánè wá àstàr gè kà àgdz-á-ńà
 3SG COM DEF TO 2SG child-GEN-2SG
 ‘‘‘So here, how is it for you, with your child?’’’
- (30) *tàskàtànám ndèní v̀kàt̀à̀rt̀ák̀ánà*
tà s-kàt̀à-ná mndè ní
 3PL come-want-3SG people INTNS
v̀à-k̀à-t̀à̀r-t̀à-k̀á nà
 give-2SG-3PL-T-NEG DEF
 ‘‘‘People came to ask about her, and you didn’t give [her].’’’
- (31) *ám dən tàskàtànànnínà káyètàrvyé*
á-m mndè-n tà s-kàt̀à-ná
 PRED-IN people-DEF 3PL come-want-3SG
án níyà nà
 ASSC desire DEF
ká yè-t̀à̀r-v-yé
 2SG refuse-3PL-APPL-refuse
 ‘‘‘[To] the people who came wanting her, apparently you refused them.’’’ [The speaker was not present at the event.]
- (32) *wàtskàpàkàwàrà kánńàné*
wàts kà pàkà wàrà kà án ńánè
 FUT 2SG wait:GO who 2SG ASSC 3SG
 ‘‘‘Who are you going to wait for, with her?’’’

- (33) *àá wúnkáà ádàbà á gdzè ñánnà yècináncìnà*
àá wún-káà ádàbà á gdzè ñánnà yè
 no DEF-NEG because PRED child DEF 1SG
cìná-n-cìnà
 hear-3SG-hear
tàndálvà átkwà kyà
tà ndá lvà á-t kwàkyà
 3PL speak matter PRED-T too much
 “No, that’s not it. Because that child there, I heard, them talking too much about him.” [the father’s reply]
- (34) *àkà péedá-rà*
àkà péedá-rà
 NEG.EX use-3SG
 “He is a useless fellow.”
- (35) *álvá mdè mákállàm mìrwá àmàṅkpéedà*
álv-á mdè mákállàm-ìr wá
 word-GEN people denigration-NOM COM
á màṅ-k péedà
 PRED make-NEG force
 “The words of those who denigrate are of no use.” [the woman talking]
- (36) *àtígà gdzrè kàknìdìgdiyà*
á-t-ìgà gdzrè kà knì dyì-g-diyà
 PRED-T-back child 2SG C.FOC know-2SG-know
 “After all, you yourself, you know the child,”
- (37) *àwàlá bàkàtàfkanà*
à wàlá á bà kà tà f-k-á-ṅà
 3SG grow up PRED FOC PREP T front-GEN-2SG
 “he grew up in front of you.”
- (38) *má fágrà hàlárà má fágrè kà hàlárà*
má fágrà hàl-á-rà má fágrè kà
 HYP good character-GEN-3SG HYP good NEG
hàl-á-rà
 character-GEN-3SG
kàknì dìkdiyà

ádàbà yiyékní yètápántàp káràrà cikwángùdì
 ádàbà iyá kní yè tàpá-n-tàp kár-á-rà
 because 1SG C.FOC 1SG taste-3SG-taste fire-GEN-3SG
 cikwángùdì
 a little bit

“‘What I am telling you, is because I myself tasted its fire a little bit.’”

- (44) áṅkwà gdzrè yèdákàtá tàyyèvá bàstùwá
 áṅkwà gdzrè yè dákàtá tà yyè-vá bàstùwá
 there exist child 1SG go want 3PLrefuse-APPL like that
 “‘A child [girl] whom I went to ask for, I was refused like that.’”

- (45) é, ágdzrè à hàyáyà àddàṅàrà wàyàkítvà
 é, ágdzrè à hàyá-yà àddá ṅàrà wàyà-k
 eh child 3SG love-1SG father 3SG want-NEG
 v-í-t-và
 give-1SG-T-give

‘The child loved me. Her father did not want to give her to me.’

- (46) hàttá ágdzàr jàjàr vóṅlè
 hàttá ágdzàr jà-jà rvóṅlè
 till child hit-hit heart
 ‘Till the child became angry [with her father] ... ‘

- (47) ànábàfìgàfè àmbátèrè
 à nábà fìgàfè á mb-á-tàrè
 3SG then leave PRED home-GEN-3PL
 ‘She left her home.’

ànábà dámduṅyàrà
 à nábà dām dùny-á-rà
 3 then go world-GEN-3SG
 ‘She became a vagabond.’

- (48) tátàttàyà tátàttàyà tátàttàyà ágdzànà
 tá tàttàyà tá tàttàyà tá tàttàyà ágdzè nà
 3PL search 3PL search 3PL search child DEF
 ‘They are looking, they are looking, they are looking for the child.’

- (49) fà-r-án-fà
 find-3PL-3SG-find
 ‘They found her.’

- (50) *sá-sà*
 come:GO-come:GO
 ‘She returned.’
- (51) *ḡánwá àžàgàdà káwgàkà*
ḡán wá à žàgàdà-ká w gè kà
 DEF COM 3SG run-2SG what TO 2SG
 “‘What made you run away?’” [the girl’s father speaking]
- (52) *àhá’á ddà há dónà nàní iyèkàní wènwéyà*
àhá’á ddà há dó-nè nà ní
 ah father ah man-DEM DEM INTNS
iyè kàní wàyà-n-wàyà
 1SG C.FOC like-1SG-like
 “‘Ah, daddy, the man whom I like’”
- àsàwánniyàrà àsògìgàná*
à sàw án nìy-á-rà
 3SG come ASSC intention-GEN-3SG
à sá g-ì-gá nà ní
 3SG come marry-1SG-marry DEF INTNS
 “‘came with the intention of marrying me.’”
- wáyèn kè nà wá*
wáyè-n kè nà wá
 like-2SG NEG DEF COM
 “‘You don’t like him.’”
- àstàrà nóyyà hàynénhàyan ágdzè ḡánnà*
àstàrà nó yyà hà-y-n-én-hàyá-n
 how is it PRES 1SG like-1SG-3SG-like-[pause]
ágdzè ḡánnà
 boy DEF
 “‘How is it? Here, I like this boy’”
- (53) *àkká hàyàkánkà*
àkká hàyà-ká-n-kà
 2SG like-2SG-3SG-NEG
 “‘and you don’t like him.’”

- (54) *mábàhàyàkánkàwà tìgákàdrúuwà*
má bà hàyà-ká-n-k wá tìgá
 HYP FOC like-2SG-3SG-NEGCOM nevertheless
kà d-rúuwà
 2SG father-1SG
 ‘‘Although you do not like him, nevertheless you are my father.’’
- ǎkálkwákýà*
ǎkà ǎlv kwákýà
 NEG.EX matter much
 ‘‘There is not much to say.’’ [the girl speaking]
- (55) *syénskwà dón nání kàwàynákàrà*
s-y-én-s kwà dó-n nání
 come-1SG-3SG-come Q man-DEM DEM:INTNS
kà wáyà-ná-kà nà
 2SG like-3SG-2SG DEM
 ‘‘Bring me then the one you like.’’
- (56) *máhùsárhwè*
má hù-s-ár-hwè
 1INCL agree-S-ON-agree
 ‘‘We will agree.’’
- (57) *yòw fàgrà t ànábànjà*
yòw fàgrà tà nábà njà
 well good 3PL then remain
 ‘Well, it is good, they remained like that.’
- (58) *lákù dəsámsà dənùbàrà tàgstan ǎgdznà tàvánté*
lákù dè sá-m-sà dà nùbàrà
 time SEQ come-IN-come man lucky person
tà g-s-t-á-n
 3PL take-S-T-GO-[pause]
ǎgdz nà tà v à-n-té
 child DEM 3PL give-3SG-T
 ‘When the lucky person came, they took the child, and gave her to him.’

- (59) *tàsòndàvìwólà kàḷànáa rúgyà wá*
tà sá ndàv-ì-w ólva kàḷànáa-rú
 3PL come ask-1SG-VENT matter goods-GEN-1SG
g-yà wá
 TO-1SG COM
 ‘They came to ask me about the matter of the goods [sent while court-
 ing the girl].’
- (60) *bákà ólva kàḷàná*
 NEG.EX matter goods
 ‘There is no matter of goods.’
- (61) *ágdzrè cáman ndzwàiwáyà*
ágdzrè cáaman ndz wáy-ì-wáyà
 child before PAST love-1SG-love
wáyátkàbállà kwá
wáyá-t-kà b-állà kwá
 want-T-NEG FOC-God Q
cáman kèní ágdzèr wáyiwáyà
cáman kèní ágdzèr wáy-ì-wáyà
 before C.FOC child love-1SG-love
 ‘Before [you chose another one for her] the child loved me, it was
 God that did not want. Before, the child loved me.’
- (62) *dàcí mákìyù bárùkwá*
dàcí mákì yùbá-rù k-wá
 since HYP chance-1SG NEG-COM
bákà gya-nà-n-n-á-r-gyè
 NEG.EX leave-1SG-3SG-3SG-GO-ON-leave
 ‘Since it was not my chance, there is no problem, I left it for her.’
- (63) *bákà ólvhánà*
bákà ólv hánà
 NEG.EX matter DEF
 ‘This problem does not exist.’
- (64) *yò lámàrádùninàwá séy fàrvóhìlè*
yò lámàr-á dùní-nà wá séy fàrvóhìlè
 well way of living-GEN world-DEMCOM only patience
 ‘Well, in this world, only patience ...’

- (65) *yàndànéenàwá ádàbà kwàkyétrà tám hùdàrà*
yà ndà-né-yà nà wá ádàbà
 1SG say-3SG-1SG DEM COM because
kwàkyé trà t-á-m hùd-á-rà
 much work 3PL-PRED-IN belly-GEN-3SG
 'Like what I said earlier, there is too much work in it.'
- (66) *hàtá nóisèxsàtá mágà sàniyà*
hàtá nó yè sè ksà-tá mágà sàniyà
 till PRES 1SG come take-T make profession
 'That is why I took [up] a profession.'
- (67) *yá mágà sàniyàrù máǵàrà yágdzá žilè*
yá mágà sàniy-á-rwà máǵàrà
 1SG make profession-GEN-1SG now
yá gdz-á žilè
 1SG child-GEN man
 'I work in my profession, I am a free man.'
- (68) *yá zádfàánèngyàrwà ánicìvácíyà*
yá zá dfà án èngy-á-rwà án yàcìvácíyà
 1SG eat food ASSC morning-GEN-1SG ASSC evening
 'I eat my food morning and evening'
- (69) *ánbákirá kwàrà*
án bák ir-á kwàrà
 ASSC NEG.EX head-GEN order
 'without any orders.'
- (70) *ùràkwàré kìn bákà*
ùrà kwàré kìn bákà
 person order:1SG C.FOC NEG.EX
 'No one gives me orders.'
- ùrà yà kwàrànéyà kìní bákà*
ùrà yà kwàrà-né-yà kìní bákà
 person 1SG order-3SG-1SG C.FOC NEG.EX
 'There is no person whom I order.'
- (71) *mádàddàm nánjányrè ányàlàhàrwà*
má daddàm nà njá-nyrè án
 HYP meantime EXCL remain-1EXCL ASSC

yàl-àh-á-rwà
 family-PL-GEN-1SG
 ‘In the meantime, I remain with my family.’

(72) *káلكálè ñázàdâfâñgrè*
káلكálè ñá zà dâf-á-ñgrè
 properly (F) 1EXCL eat food-GEN-1EXCL
 ‘We eat our own food’

(73) *án àngy-á án yàcivàciyà*
 ASSC morning ASSC evening
 ‘in the morning and in the evening.’

(74) *dàcí ágdzàràrà màrwà*
dàcí ágdzàrà-àhà màm-á-rwà
 then child-PL mother-GEN-1SG
nó kwàcìnáncìnà àlvárwà
nó kwà cìná-n-cìnà àlv-á-rwà
 now 2PL hear-3SG-hear story-GEN-1SG
 ‘And here, my brothers, you have heard my story.’

(75) *dàcí áksá-wà-n-tá-ksà kúr-káni fàrvónlè*
dàcí áksá-wà-n-tá-ksà kúr-káni fàrvónlè
 then take-PL-3SG-T-take 2PL-C.FOC patience
 ‘Therefore, you also should accept patience.’

References

n.a. indicates reference that was not available at time of writing this grammar

- Barreteau, Daniel, and Yves Le Bléis.
1990 *Lexique mafa: Langue de la famille tchadique parlée au Cameroun*. Paris: Geuthner-ORSTOM.
- Barkindo, Bawuro M.
1989 *The Sultanate of Mandara to 1902*. Stuttgart.
- Blevins, Juliette.
2004. *Evolutionary phonology: The emergence of sound patterns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Boorman, John.
1981 *West African Insects*. Burnt Mill, Harlow (UK): Longman.
- de Pommerol, Patrice Julien.
1999 *Dictionnaire arabe tchadien-français*. Paris: Karthala.
- Dryer, Matthew S.
2009 Verb-Object-Negative Order in Central Africa. In *Negation Patterns in West Africa*, Norbert Cyffer, Erwin Ebermann, and Georg Ziegelmeyer (eds.). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 307-362.
- Eguchi, Paul Kazuhisa.
1969 Notes on the Mandara language of Mora. *Kyoto University African Studies* 3: 133-41.
- Fluckiger, Cheryl.
1980a Key to the culture, an introduction to the Mandara way of life. Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL, Dallas), Yaoundé (10pp). n.a.
1980b Color terms in Mandara. Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL, Dallas), Yaounde (4pp). n.a.
- Fluckiger, Cheryl, and Annie Whaley.
1981a A proposed writing system for the Mandara language. Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL, Dallas). n.a.
1981b The uses of three prepositions in Mandara. *Africana Marburgensia*, special issue 5: 4-16.
1983 Four discourse particles in Mandara. In *Studies in Chadic and Afroasiatic Linguistics*, Ekkehard Wolff and Hilke Meyer-Bahlburg (eds). Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 277-286.
- Forkl, Herrmann.
1983 Die Beziehungen der zentralsudanischen Reiche Bornu, Mandara und Bagirmi sowie der Kotoko-Staaten zu ihren südlichen Nachbarn unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Sao-Problems. München: Münchner Ethnologische Abhandlungen 3.
1984 Rapport final sur les 'recherches ethno-historiques chez les peuple de la langue Mandara' (17 fevrier-10 novembre 1984). Yaounde: Ministère de l'Enseignement Superieur. n.a.

- 1985 Der Einfluss Bornus, Mandaras, Bagirmis, der Kotoko-Staaten und der Jukun-Konföderation von der Kulturentwicklung ihrer Nachbarn südlich des Tschadsees. München: Münchener Ethnologische Abhandlungen 5.
- 1986a Sozial- und Religionsgeschichte der Wandala in Nordkamerun. In *The World Archaeological Congress, 1-7 September 1986, Southampton and London: Comparative Studies in the Development of Complex Societies*. Vol II, Totton, Hants (UK), 1-13.
- 1986 Some suggestions for improving Fluckiger/Whaley's writing system for the Wandala language?. *Africana Marburgensia* 19 (2): 67-78.
- 1986b Innerafrikanische Akkulturation bei den Wadela, einem Stamm der Kerdi-Mura (Nordkamerun). *Münchener zur Volkerkunde* 1: 63-77.
- 1989 The development of urban structures with reference to political evolution in the Wandala Kingdom (17th to 19th Century, Northern Cameroon). In *Households and Communities, Proceedings of the 21st Chacmool Conference*, Scott MacEachern, David, J.W. Archer and Richard D. Garvin (eds). Calgary, Alberta: The Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary, 542-550.
- 1990 Review of Barkindo 1989. *Tribus* 39: 187-189.
- 1993 La chronologie et le problème de la succession légitime des rois wandala dans les manuscrits arabes. In *Datation et chronologie dans le bassin du lac Tchad, Actes de Colloque Mega-Tchad, Colloques et Séminaires*, Daniel Barreteau and Charlotte von Graffenried (eds.), 209-227.
- 1995 *Politik zwischen den Zeilen, arabische Handschriften der Wandala in Nordkamerun, deutsch-arabische Texte, übersetzt und herausgegeben, Kommentar und Chronologie*, von Hermann Forkl unter Mitarbeit von Reinhard Weipert. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 194. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt.
- 1977a On the Intransitive Copy Pronouns in Chadic. *Studies in African Linguistics*, supplement 7: 73-84.
- 1982 On the form and function of pre-pronominal markers in Chadic. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 45 (2): 323-342.
- 1984 Ergative and nominative accusative features in Mandara. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 6: 35-45.
- 1987 Ventive and centrifugal in Chadic. *Afrika und Übersee* 70 (1): 31-47.
- 1991 The de dicto domain in language. In *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, Elizabeth C. Traugott and Bernd Heine (eds.). Vol. 1. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1219-1251.
- 1993 *A Grammar of Mupun*. Berlin: Reimer.
- 1996 *Grammaticalization of the Complex Sentence: A Case Study in Chadic*. Complementary Series to Studies in Language. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- 1997 Grammaticalization of number: From demonstratives to nominal and verbal plural. *Linguistic Typology* 1: 193-242.

- 2000 Domains of point of view and coreferentiality: Systems interaction approach to the study of reflexives. In *Reflexives: Forms and Functions*, Zygmunt Frajzyngier and Traci Curl (eds). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, 125-152.
- 2002 *Studies in Chadic Morphology and Syntax*. Paris/Brussels: Peeters.
- 2004 On segment counting, OCP, and heavy segments. *Folia Orientalia* 40: 93-134.
- 2005 Grammaticalization of phrasal and clausal relators. *Afrika und Übersee: Special memorial volume for Johannes Lukas*. page numbers?
- 2008 *A Grammar of Gidar*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt (ed.)
1989 *Current Progress in Chadic Linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, and Robert Jasperson.
1991 'That' clauses and other complements. *Lingua* 83: 133-153.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, and Eric Johnston, with Adrian Edwards.
2005 *A Grammar of Mina*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, and Mohammed Munkaila.
2004 *Grammatical and Semantic Relations in Hausa: 'point of view' 'goal' and 'affected object'*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, with Erin Shay.
2002 *A Grammar of Hdi*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, and Erin Shay.
2003 *Explaining Language Structure Through Systems Interaction*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Greenberg, Joseph.
1951 Internal *a*-plurals in Afroasiatic (Hamito-Semitic). In *Afrikanistische Studien*, Johannes Lukas (ed.). Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 198-204.
- Halternorth, Theodore, and Helmuth Diller.
1985 *Mammifères d'Afrique et de Madagascar*. Neuchatel-Paris: Delachaux and Niestlé.
- Heine, Bernd, and Friederike Hünemeyer.
1988 On the fate of Ewe *vi* 'child' - the development of a diminutive marker. *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 16: 97-121.
- Hetzron, Robert.
1971 Presentative function and presentative movement. *Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement 2*: 79-105.
- Hutchison, John.
1981 *The Kanuri language. A reference grammar*. Madison: Asian Studies program, University of Wisconsin.
- Jarrett, Kevin.
2007 *A dictionary of Manga, a Kanuri language of Eastern Niger and NE Nigeria*. Edited by Roger Blench. Available on Blench's website: <http://www.rogerblench.info/Language%20data/Nilo-Saharan/Saharan/Manga%20dictionary%20Unicode.pdf>

- Lange, Dierk.
1977 *Chronologie et historire d'un royaume africain: Le diwàn des sultans du [Kànem-]Bornù*. Wiesbaden. Steiner.
- Löhr, Doris.
2002 *Die Sprache der Malgwa*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Lukas, Johannes.
1970 *Studien zur Sprache der Gisiga*. Glückstadt: Augustin.
- Matthews, Peter H.
1997 *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mirt, Heide.
1969 Einige Bemerkungen zum Vokalsystem des Mandara. *Zeitschrift der Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (ZDMG) Supplement 1*, Vorträge Teil 3: 1096-1103.
1969/1970 Zur Morphologie des Verbalcomplexes im Mandara. *Afrika und Übersee* 54.1-76.
- Namána á dadaamiya aɲwaslire. Le Nouveau Testament en mandara.*
1988 International Bible Society.
- Newman, Paul.
1971 Transitive and intransitive in Chadic languages. In *Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen: Ein Querschnitt*, Veronica Six et. al. (eds.). Hamburg: Deutsches Institut für Afrikanische Forschung, 188-200
1977 Chadic classification and reconstructions. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 5: 1-42.
2000 *The Hausa Language. An Encyclopedic Reference Grammar*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Newman, Paul, and Roxanna Ma Newman (ed.).
1977 *Papers in Chadic Linguistics*. Leiden: Afrika-Studiecentrum.
- Nichols, Johanna and Balthasar Bickel.
2005 *Locus of marking in the clause. Locus of marking: Whole-language typology*. In Haspelmath Martin, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil, and Bernard Comrie, (eds.). *World Atlas of Language Structures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 98-101, 106-109.
- Noye, Dominique.
1989 *Dictionnaire foulfouldé-français*. Maroua: Mission Catholique, and Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- Parietti, Giuseppe.
n.d. *Dictionnaire français-fulfuldé*. Guidiguiss (Cameroun): Mission Catholique.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik.
1972 *A Grammar of Contemporary English*. London: Longman.
- Seignobos, Christian.
1982 *Montagnes et hautes terres du Nord Cameroun*. Marseille: Parenthèses.
- Serle, William, and Gérard J. Morel.
1993 *Les oiseaux de l'Ouest africain*. Lausanne/Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé.

Tourneux, Henry, and Yaya Daïrou.

1998 *Dictionnaire peul de l'agriculture et de la nature. Cameroun*. Paris-Wageningen-Montpellier: Karthala, CTA and CIRAD.

Wolff, Ekkehard

1983 *A Grammar of the Lamang Language*. Glückstadt: Augustin.

Wolff, Ekkehard H., and Christfried Naumann.

2004 Frühe lexikalische Quellen zum Wandala (Mandara) und das Rätsel des Stammaslauts. In *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic): Studies in Memoriam W. Vycichl*, Gábor Takács (ed.). Leiden-Boston: Brill, 372-413.

Index

The index includes proper names (other than self citations), names of languages, and grammatical terms.

- Abba, Ramadan..... 22
addressee 14, 17, 27, 132,
177, 220, 222, 229,
231, 232, 254, 330,
331, 372, 396, 412,
413, 419, 436, 516,
517, 538, 542, 565,
568, 700
Alhadji, Seini Adji ..22
altrilocality . 12, 15, 21,
297, 313-315, 546,
548, 577-580, 596, 598
applicative 12, 14, 26, 87,
144, 205, 210, 234-
247, 268, 270, 271,
273, 276, 293, 295,
296, 378, 574
Arabic 4, 23, 26, 33, 37,
45, 49, 54, 64, 99, 103,
276, 454, 526, 547,
586, 600, 630, 653, 684
argument fronting..229
associative 14, 16, 17, 32,
49, 117, 127, 143, 146,
148, 152, 198, 228,
324, 327-337, 344,
349, 350, 386, 388,
520, 610
backgrounding 9, 16, 17,
18, 21, 116, 149, 202,
206, 255, 265, 330,
365-371, 374, 376,
377, 388, 409, 410,
411, 553, 588, 593,
617, 618
Barreteau, Daniel 78
Bickel, Balthasar 78
Blevins, Juliette..... 58
classification 1
co-existence... 323, 327
collective 257-259, 277,
412, 413, 436
comment 8, 17, 19, 20,
88, 119, 365, 367, 374,
388, 460-481, 484,
487491, 494, 500, 505,
558-562, 564, 568,
577, 580-583, 593,
609, 622
comparative
constructions 117, 330,
347
complementizers 19, 20,
98, 119, 460, 463, 467,
477, 558, 560, 566,
574, 580, 605
Comrie, Bernard vi, 99,
586, 713
conclusion clause ..598
conditional apodosis 460,
461, 463, 473, 475,
583, 585

- conditional protasis 21,
 368, 581, 583, 593
 conjunction. 18, 20, 88,
 107, 108, 137, 144-
 148, 166-168, 458,
 516, 545, 549-551,
 557, 624
 content question 18, 444,
 445, 452, 459
 coordinated 20, 144, 146,
 545, 550, 557
 Cyffer, Norbert..... 23
 Daïrou, Yaya 22
 de Pommerol, Patrice
 Julien 23
 definiteness of the object
 216
 deixis 20, 125, 190, 505,
 506, 508, 512, 513,
 515, 544, 630
 destinate .. 16, 17, 21,
 330, 349, 350, 376,
 382, 456, 509, 594, 598
 Dialect variations 5
 Diller, Helmuth 23
 directionality of
 movement.. 304, 313
 discourse 7, 8, 9, 17, 19,
 20, 21, 41, 50, 53, 77,
 104, 105, 107, 109,
 116, 119, 121, 127,
 131, 180, 182, 191,
 214, 251, 320-322,
 326, 330, 334, 337,
 344, 347, 353, 354,
 364, 369, 384, 385,
 388-400, 415, 462,
 478, 481-485, 488,
 492-495, 505, 510-
 517, 525-531, 533,
 538, 539, 543, 547,
 549-553, 556, 557,
 565, 600, 606, 617,
 618, 620-629, 710
 Dryer, Matthew 9
 Edwards, Adrian 78
 Eguchi, Paul 6
 exclusive 20, 48, 50, 107,
 147, 184, 516, 517,
 520, 700
 existential predication 16,
 146, 316, 323, 329, 434
 focus 13, 19, 20, 42, 44,
 50, 86, 145, 180, 188,
 208, 321, 337, 347,
 371, 441, 443, 451,
 456, 457, 460, 465,
 483, 489-505, 517,
 544, 576, 581, 583,
 605, 610, 627
 future tense 392
 Gidar 78, 216, 712
 goal extension 226, 260,
 261, 265, 267, 271,
 272, 273, 277, 296, 299
 goal marker .. 8, 64, 72,
 179, 186, 193-207,
 215-222, 237, 240,
 243, 244, 250, 255,
 258-273, 281-284, 289,
 293, 295, 299, 304,
 306, 353, 379, 412,
 414, 446, 448, 486, 589
 Greenberg, Joseph 11, 14,
 159, 712
 Halternoth, Theodore 23
 Hausa 2, 4, 13, 22, 33, 40,
 49, 78, 100, 102, 113,

- 150, 158, 250, 256,
337, 346, 367, 416,
430, 432, 435, 457,
471, 541, 547, 549,
569, 586, 630, 678,
685, 712, 713
- Hdi 8, 47, 78, 100, 150,
158, 169, 260, 333,
443, 531, 567, 631, 712
- heavy segment 30, 159,
174
- Heine, Bernd 103
- human locative 85, 306,
307, 311
- Hünemeyer, Friederike
103
- hypothetical 17, 21, 87,
90, 139, 187, 333, 338,
364, 365, 366, 368,
391, 393, 401-404,
418, 430, 443, 520,
522, 525, 528, 567,
575, 581, 584-587,
592, 593, 611
- Ibrizimow, Dymitr ... 4
- imperative 12, 14, 17, 25,
27, 28, 29, 30, 40, 67,
70, 71, 73, 151, 176,
177, 180, 181, 187,
198, 227, 369, 401,
405-420, 435, 468,
566, 568, 594
- inclusive 5, 43, 107, 108,
147, 177, 182, 184,
188, 516, 517, 526
- indefinite 78, 115, 141,
339, 389, 442, 520,
521-524, 535, 536,
554, 604, 607
- inherently locative.. 15,
115, 116, 280, 297-
308, 311, 315, 458
- Intransitive Copy
Pronouns 208
- Jarett, Kevin 23
- Johnston, Eric 78
- Jungrauthmayr, Herrmann
4
- Kanuri 2, 4, 22, 23, 49,
99, 102, 103, 113, 196,
240, 596, 630, 631, 712
- Lamang 150
- Le Bléis, Yves 78
- lexical borrowings..... 4
- locative predicator. 300
- Löhr, Doris 6, 7, 9, 150,
158, 182, 241, 375,
606, 713
- Lukas, Johannes 5
- Malgwa 6, 9, 150, 158,
182, 241, 375, 606, 713
- Manga Kanuri 47
- Matthews, Peter 460, 545,
713
- Mina 78, 260, 333, 631,
712
- Mirt, Heide 2, 5, 6, 38,
41, 42, 45, 52, 158,
375, 713
- Morel, Gérard J. 23
- Morris, Wendy 6
- nasal vowel..... 41
- Newman, Paul 2, 4, 13,
78, 150, 158, 208, 211,
713
- Nichols, Johanna 78
- Noye, Dominique .. 23,
103, 104, 402, 676, 713

- object..... 180
 obligative.. 17, 28, 392,
 401, 413-416, 419, 495
 Parietti, Giuseppe . 104,
 155, 713
 past tense 397
 perfective 9, 12, 14, 16,
 90, 163, 172, 173, 179,
 183, 191, 197-203,
 205, 212, 239, 255,
 260, 265, 280, 285,
 351-360, 374, 375,
 378, 388, 394, 408,
 422, 423, 426, 447,
 449, 450, 484, 506,
 551, 555, 596, 608,
 613, 614, 615, 671
 point of view 9, 11, 15,
 40, 196, 198, 210, 212,
 213, 216, 232, 236-
 251, 270, 273, 276,
 313-315, 377-381, 426,
 445, 446, 574, 578, 712
 polar question. 18, 438-
 445, 459, 567
 possibility 405
 post-relative marker 141,
 599, 601, 609
 present 389
 presentative 66, 617, 620,
 621, 712
 prohibitive 420, 435, 436
 punctual 16, 17, 30, 51,
 83, 117, 162, 185, 239,
 331, 375-382, 388,
 389, 617-620
 purpose . 1, 21, 77, 169,
 270, 315, 330, 332,
 374, 460, 594, 595,
 596, 598, 630
 Quirk, Randolph 460, 713
 reason 2, 18, 69, 79, 100,
 214, 226, 332, 343,
 347, 456-458, 462,
 465, 466, 472, 476,
 507, 594, 597, 686,
 688, 690
 relative clause 5, 21, 87,
 143, 319, 472, 478,
 492, 509, 523, 558,
 599-615
 reverse ... 121, 256, 257
 role-changing extension
 273, 276
 root 77
 root + *a* 8, 13, 16, 18, 19,
 77, 79, 80-97, 108,
 134, 136, 142, 146,
 147, 148, 171, 177,
 184, 194, 198, 199,
 205, 207, 215, 234,
 235, 248, 256, 271,
 279, 283, 294, 329,
 353, 375, 422, 424,
 431, 440, 446, 451,
 459, 579, 613, 614
 Seignobos, Christian . 4
 semantic relations.. 234
 sequential .. 12, 52, 90,
 191, 339, 367, 545,
 551-556, 582, 586,
 591, 625
 Serle, William 23
 Shay, Erin v, vi, 78, 98,
 150, 158, 169, 260,
 333, 342, 567, 712
 Shua Arabic 47

- source extension 14, 15,
 71, 85, 86, 91, 240,
 268, 276, 287, 291-
 299, 378
 spatial specifiers 15, 90,
 309
 stative 385
 stative locatives 307
 subject 180
 target extension 14, 15,
 27, 35, 71-73, 197,
 200, 204, 208, 226,
 240, 248, 268, 281-
 290, 296, 378, 615
 temporal apodosis .. 20,
 557, 590-592
 temporal protasis 20, 21,
 356, 402, 443, 553,
 557, 581, 586, 588,
 590, 593
 topicalization 13, 19, 77,
 108, 180, 361, 460,
 478-488, 494, 524
 Umar, Hamidou Zake 22
 ventive 12, 14, 15, 34, 35,
 43, 50, 59, 62, 86, 87,
 88, 154, 195, 226, 229,
 237, 248-261, 273,
 276, 290, 296-299,
 304, 408, 411, 424,
 440, 449, 609
 verbless locative
 predication..... 316
 verbs of perception 119,
 198, 228, 243, 426,
 571, 608
 Wandala clans 4
 Whaley, Annie 6
 Wolff, Ekkehard.... 150