

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

THE PARTICLE *NO* IN ZARMA: A RELEVANCE THEORY
PERSPECTIVE

By
JETTA ELIZABETH GRIGSON

A Thesis submitted to the Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts in Translation
Studies.

JULY - 2002

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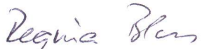
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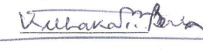
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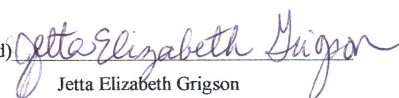
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THE PARTICLE *NO* IN ZARMA: A RELEVANCE THEORY PERSPECTIVE

I declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other College or University for academic credit

The views presented herein are not necessarily those of the Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners

(Signed)


Jetta Elizabeth Grigson

July, 2002

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the role of the particle *no* in Zarma discourse. What is theoretically interesting about this particle is that one might see it as having two differing or contrasting functions. It seems to function both as a "focus marker" and as a "discourse topic marker".

In this thesis, however, I would like to argue for a more economical analysis that takes into consideration both functions of the particle. Using Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory (RT) as the theoretical basis for this thesis, I will argue that this particle serves as a marker of syntactic scope, containing within its scope either a particular constituent of a clause or an entire clause. The information contained within the syntactic scope of the particle should be seen to contribute directly or indirectly to relevance for the hearer. Thus, the particle seems to have a basic *watch this!*¹ function. The speaker is signaling to the hearer that the information within the syntactic scope of the particle is essential for comprehension and relevance. In RT terms, as the indicator of focal scope, the information within the scope of the particle has the potential of creating cognitive effects in the listener, adding to his conceptual knowledge of the world. As an indicator of the scope of the discourse topic, it has potential of establishing a new context for the listener.

Although I will not analyze the particle as a focus and/or topic marker, the syntactic scope that the particle indicates is, however, to be analyzed as either focus or discourse topic. I will, therefore, deal with focus and discourse topic as such. After having introduced the language background, the research methods and orthography, I will review the literature on focus and discourse topic.

This thesis consists of five chapters. Chapter I incorporates the introduction, including language background, purpose of study, and research methods. Chapter II reviews the linguistic literature on the issues of *focus* and *discourse topic*. Chapter III investigates the grammatical distribution of the particle *no*. Chapter IV introduces RT. Chapter V examines how the particle *no* is used in discourse, applying RT.

¹ This term has been coined by Brown and Yule (1993). They state that the use of phonological prominence serves to mark new information that is worthy of the hearer's attention (see page 164).

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ABBREVIATIONS

1P	first person plural pronoun
1S	first person singular pronoun
2P	second person singular pronoun
2S	second person singular pronoun
3P	third person plural pronoun
3S	third person singular aspect marker
ACT	actualizer
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
CD	Communicative dynamism
CMP	completive aspect
CN	connector
DEF	definite article
EMP	emphasis marker
EXT	existential
ideo	ideophone
INC	incompletive aspect marker
INJ	interjection
IMP	imperative
MAN	mood, aspect, negation
N	noun
NEG	negation
NP	noun phrase
NP _O	noun phrase functioning as an object of a sentence
NP _S	noun phrase functioning as a subject of a sentence
P	postposition
PL	plural
PP	postpositional phrase
PRED	predicate
PRG	progressive aspect
Q	question marker
RT	Relevance Theory
S	sentence
SOV	subject object verb word order
SS	marker of syntactic scope

V verb
VP verb phrase

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the role of the particle *no* in Zarma discourse. What is theoretically interesting about this particle is that one might see it as having two differing or contrasting functions. It seems to function both as a "focus marker" and as a "discourse topic marker".

Perhaps it is good at this point to see how the particle functions with the following examples. In the text entitled *Dambu teyay* 'How to make couscous', one sees the following three sentences at the beginning of the discourse.

- (1) *Ijwaari dumi boobo go no kay ga munaadamiize*
food kind many EXT SS that INC human.being

nafa.
benefit

'There are many kinds of food that are good for human beings.

(*Dambu teyay*, 1.1)¹

¹All example sentences taken from my texts have been referenced and all texts are contained within the appendix. For example, if I were to take the second clause in the second sentence in the text, *Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, it would be indicated as (*Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, 1.2b). The title, *Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, indicates from which text the utterance is found. The "1" indicates the first paragraph, and the "2" denotes the second sentence in the paragraph, and the "b" indicates the second clause in the second sentence.

(2) *Day mate no i ga dambu te nda?*
 EMP how SS 3P INC couscous make with

'But with what is couscous made?'

Kopto dumi boobo go no kay i ga dambu te
 leaf kind many EXT SS that 3P INC couscous make

nda: ngey ga ti windi-bundu ula, curo-ce fuubay yuula-yuula
 with 3P INC be windi-bundu ula, curo-ce fuubay yuula-yuula

nda afo yay.
 and one some

'There are many kinds of leaves that one can make couscous with: windi-bundu, ula, curo-ce, fuubay, yuula-yuula, and many others.'

(*Dambu teyay*, 1.3, 2.1)

In example (1), *no* seems to mark the topic of the sentence, introducing what the speaker wants to talk about. We see the particle *no* occurring immediately after the noun phrase *ɣwaari dumi boobo* and the existential marker *go*, 'there are many kinds of food'. As a topic marker the particle *no* occurs at the beginning of texts and does not function again as a topic marker unless the topic changes drastically. Because of this, I consider it a "discourse topic marker" rather than a sentential topic marker. It is this information that tells the reader that the topic of the discourse is specifically about food. If one continues to read the text, one sees that the discourse is specifically about the food couscous.

One also sees that the particle *no* functions as what has been traditionally considered as a "focus marker". For example, in the same text, in the first sentence in (2), we see the particle *no* occurring with the interrogative pronoun, *mate*, 'how'.

Also, in the second sentence in (2), we see that the particle *no* immediately after the existential particle *go* and the noun phrase *kopto dumi boobo* 'there are many kinds of leaves'. It is this information that is new for the reader and would be traditionally considered to be in focus.

Thus, we have seen in the two previous two examples that the particle functions both as a "discourse topic marker" and as a "focus marker." In this thesis, however, I would like to argue for a more economical analysis that takes into consideration both functions of the particle. Using Sperber and Wilson's (1995) Relevance Theory (RT) as the theoretical basis for this thesis, I will argue that this

particle serves as a marker of syntactic scope, containing within its scope either a particular constituent of a clause or an entire clause. The information contained within the syntactic scope of the particle should be seen to contribute directly or indirectly to relevance for the hearer. Thus, the particle seems to have a basic *watch this!*² function. The speaker is signaling to the hearer that the information within the syntactic scope of the particle is essential for comprehension and relevance. In RT terms, as the indicator of focal scope, the information within the scope of the particle has the potential of creating cognitive effects in the listener, adding to his conceptual knowledge of the world. As an indicator of the scope of the discourse topic, it has potential of establishing a new context for the listener.

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1.1 Language background

According to Grimes, Zarma, a language spoken in Niger, has been classified as a Nilo-Saharan language. Intelligibility among the various dialects is quite high, although the speakers may use their own ethnic names for themselves. Ethnic groups include the Kurtey, Wogo, Songai, and Dendi (Grimes 2000, 166).

The Zarma's own term for their language is *Zarma sannu*. They are most likely to use this term when they are speaking Zarma, while if they are speaking French they use simply *Zarma* or *Djerma*. Grimes (2000, 166) gives the following alternate names for the language: *Dyerma*, *Dyabarma*, *Adzerma*, *Djerma*, *Zabarma*, *Zarbarma*, and *Zarmaci*.

² This term has been coined by Brown and Yule (1983). They state that the use of phonological

The language classification of Zarma has a somewhat complicated and uncertain history. Greenberg (1963, 130) first classified Songhai as a Nilo-Saharan language, but grouped separately from other languages in the family. According to Stauffer (1997, 5), this classification is accepted by most of the academic community, but is not accepted by most linguists who have spent several years studying Songhai. Robert Nicolai (1983, 1989, 1991, 1995), as well as Creissels (1981), have dealt at length with this issue. Creissels (1981) argues that Songhai might actually belong to the Mande language group, thus the Niger-Congo language family, rather than the Songhai language family. Nicolai (1983), on the other hand, while seeing a connection between Mande and Songhai, suggests that the Songhai group of languages might actually have double kinship with Mande and Saharan. He sees Songhai as a creole language. He sees its present day form as the result of the evolution of a former vehicular language, probably between nomads and sedentaries, which formed at the junction of caravan routes. His reasons for seeing Songhai as a creole are as follows:

The language is spoken in a very extensive territory, it is relatively little diversified, and there are ethnically heterogeneous groups, which use it, including Caucasian populations. It is an especially urban language, of which the commercial and political character has been emphasized. Furthermore, one can recognize the contact populations, following regions of linguistic contamination important to the language; the overall structure of the language and its morphology are simple and regular, the majority of recognized irregularities being rather easily explained as relatively recent evolutions. (Nicolai 1983, 39)

One may wonder if the reasons he gives are enough justification for seeing this group of languages as a creole. Perhaps he sees every instance of structural interference as creolization, an idea that Thomason and Kaufman (1988, 123) strongly disagree with in their discussion of English as a possible creole. Thomason and Kaufman do not consider English to be a creole of French as some linguists do. In any case, the problem lies in the fact that it is probably very difficult to give any evidence of structural interference with this "former vehicular language".

Nicolai (1983, 13-15) divides the Songhai language family into two major divisions, Northern Songhai and Southern Songhai. Southern Songhai has six major dialects: Western Songhai (spoken in Timbuktu-Jenné), Eastern Songhai (spoken in the Gao area), Central Songhai (spoken in Mali and Burkina Faso), Songhai Kaado (spoken in Niger and some villages in Burkina Faso), Zarma, Songhai

prominence serves to mark new information that is worthy of the hearer's attention (see page 164).

Dendi (spoken in Benin). Some of the dialects in Northern Songhai include Tadaksahak, Tihishit, Tasawaq, and Koranje.

1.2.1 Typology

Zarma is primarily a SVO language, when aspect is not overtly marked. For example, if one notes (3) below, this fact is self-evident.

- (3) *Muusu beeri du carmay fo.*
lion have idea one

'Lion had an idea.'

(Tobay, 4.7)

If aspect is overtly marked then the verb may move to the end of the clause after the subject.

We see this phenomenon in (4).

- (4) *A na tobay ize hinzey kulu wi.*
a na tobay ize hinza -ey kulu wi
3S CMP hare child three PL all kill

'He killed all three of the children of Hare.'

(Tobay nda mari, 3.5)

In (4), we see that the particle *na*, marking incompletive aspect, comes directly after the subject and before the direct object, *tobay-ize hinzey kulu*, 'all three of the hare's children', while the main verb *wi*, 'kill', moves to the end of the clause. This movement occurs with the large majority of verbs in Zarma, although there are a few exceptions.

However, Zarma has postpositions as one would expect with SOV language. It also has a small number of prepositions. Some examples of prepositions include *nda* 'with' and *danga* 'like'.

Negation occurs primarily at the clause level. Negation at the constituent level does occur, but in conjunction with the particle *no*.

1.3 Source of data

Before formally researching the ideas of *topic* and *focus* for the purposes of this paper, I spent approximately one year gathering texts in the language while living in Niamey. Many of the texts were

written or transcribed from tapes by my language informants, Salamatou Mindja, Aissa Garba, and Dohu Alida, while others were published by non-native speakers working among the Zarma people.

Written published sources of texts used in this study include Eberle (1996) and SIL-Niger (1998).

1.4 Previous work in the language and related languages

Much linguistic research on Zarma and other Songhai-related languages exists, some of which has been published. Some of the earliest works include Prost's (1956) *La langue sonay et ses dialectes* and Nicolaï's (1979) *Les dialectes du songhay*. Other comparative grammars on the Songhai dialects include Djibrilla (1989) and Farmo (1989). Besides the comparative grammars of the various dialects of Songhai, grammars of individual Songhai dialects have been written as well. For the Koyraboro Senni dialect, there is Stauffer (1997) and Heath (1999).

Linguists who have written on the Soŋey Kaado dialect include Ducroz and Charles (1979), Hanafiou (1989) A. Mazou (1988, 1993), and I. Mazou (1983). Hutchinson (1971) has written on coreferent pronominalization in the Diré Songhai dialect.

Works (listed alphabetically by author), specifically on the Zarma dialect, the dialect chosen for the purposes of this thesis include: Attouman (1991), Hamani (1979a, 1979b, 1980a, 1980b), Nicolaï (1980a[?], 1980b[?]), and Tersis (1972, 1979, 1980). Tersis (1972) has written what amounts to a comprehensive grammar, as well as a paper on the relative clause (1980). Attouman (1991) and Hamani (1980b) have both written on the verbal system of Zarma. Other works have primarily looked at sociolinguistic issues—on how Zarma has changed due to contact with other languages. Linguists who have examined sociolinguistic issue of language change in Zarma or related dialects include Yanco (1984), Dianoux (1961), and Zima (1992).

Some of the previous works mentioned have dealt directly with the subject of this thesis, *topic* and *focus*. For example, Heath (1999, 215-224) has dealt with the particle *no* in a related dialect, Koyraboro Senni, and A. Mazou (1993, 326-367) has written on the Soŋey Kaado dialect, whose speakers live along the Niger River. I will come back to these works in section 3.2.

1.5 Research methodology

For the purposes of this study, most of the data was taken from written texts and then analyzed within the context of the discourse. An attempt was made to analyze the data in the context in which it occurred, rather than in isolated sentences in order to give a more natural understanding of the Zarma language and how it functions in communication. Several different genres of texts were examined to include a total of 13 tests. The genres examined include the following: narrative texts, procedural texts, expository texts, and hortatory texts.

1.6 Orthography used

For the purposes of this paper, I am using the orthography set by Niger's Minister of Education during a seminar/workshop held in Niamey, from 19 to 23 July 1999. In the present orthography, the following consonants are used: b, c, d, f, g, h, j, k, l, m, ŋ, n, ɲ, p, r, s, t, w, y, z. Short and long vowels are distinguished as well. The short vowels are as follows: a, e, i, o, u; with their corresponding long counterpoints: aa, ee, ii, oo, uu. Zarma also has nasal vowels, which gives us the following: ā, āā, ē, ēē, ĩ, ĩĩ, õ, õõ, ū, ūũ.

Zarma is a tonal language. Unfortunately, I have not been able to mark tone for the purposes of this paper. The government orthography also does not mark tone, nor do any of my language assistants.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce the terms *discourse topic* and *focus* as they have been used in the literature by various researchers. There seem to be almost as many definitions of *topic* and *focus* as there are researchers.

The concept of focus in Indo-European languages has been researched extensively although there is some disagreement on how *focus* should be defined. These languages predominately use stress and clefting to mark the constituent in a clause that is in *focus*. Many other languages of the world have other means of indicating *focus*. For example, many African and Asian languages (e.g., Japanese) tend to mark *focus* by means of focus markers, word order change, and reduplication.

2.2 Historical review of *topic* and *focus*

In the past, the term *topic* has been used differently by various researchers. In this section, I will discuss how certain researchers have used the terms *discourse topic* and *focus* in their investigations.

2.2.1 The approach of the Prague School

In this section, I will review the work of two Czechoslovak scholars, Daneš and Firbas (as cited from Jones, 1977, 57-74). Most of their ideas about *theme* have come from Mathesius, an early linguist of the Prague School. Both linguists have similar ideas about *theme*. Firbas has spent much of this time studying *theme*, while Daneš has not focused on *theme* exclusively, but instead has concentrated on the theoretical ideas behind *theme*. I will use Daneš for the broad theoretical picture and then move beyond this to a more detailed discussion of theme according to Firbas.

In Daneš' theory, three constituents or *levels* of language exist in every utterance: 1) semantic, 2) grammatical, and 3) organization of the utterance (see Daneš 1964). The semantic level contains what some call "case", "role", or "deep structure" (e.g. actor, actions, bearer of a quality or state, goal, time, place, etc.). The grammatical level is concerned with subject, object, predicate, etc. "The level of the utterance is the proper domain of *functional sentence perspective* . . . and other text-organizing principles. The utterance level handles thematic structure (*theme* and *rheme*), as well as information structure (*known* and *unknown*)" (as cited by Jones 1977, 57-58). Other linguists have used the terms, *topic* and *comment*. *Topic* corresponds to Daneš' concept of *theme*, and *comment* corresponds to his concept of *rheme*.

Daneš (1971) further believes that language is organized into three strata: the morpheme stratum, the word stratum, and the sentence stratum, with a possibility of two higher strata: the paragraph stratum and the discourse stratum.

Both form and meaning are indispensable aspects of each stratum. The strata are able to interact with each other, and each stratum is composed of units of the next lower stratum. However, other types of relationships are also possible: the *skipping of levels* (a stratum can consist of units lower than the next immediately lower stratum) and *recursiveness* (self-embedding).

On Daneš' concept of *theme*, Jones writes the following:

Daneš never seems to define theme. In one place, it seems that he identifies theme with the beginning of a sentence (1970a:8), while in another place, he seems to be using Firbas' notion of theme . . . as the element in the sentence with the lowest degree of "communicative dynamism" (1964:228), which in marked cases does not coincide with the beginning of the sentence. (Jones 1977, 59-60)

On the other hand, Daneš is quite clear in his belief that *theme* is quite independent of known information, in spite of the fact that in unmarked cases they coincide. The theme is the point of departure for an utterance, while *known information* is the information of which the speaker assumes the hearer is already aware. Normally, the speaker will select *known information* as the *theme*, or point of departure. He argues that it is easier for the hearer to follow a discussion if known information serves as a point of departure.

Firbas does not concern himself with larger theoretical questions, as does Daneš. His major concern is that of sentences and their *functional sentence perspective*, which he sees as a study of principles that determine the word order in sentences. The four most important word order principles are 1) grammatical, 2) semantic, 3) emotive, and 4) basic distribution of communicative dynamism. The *grammatical word order principle* refers to the preferred word order in sentences in a particular language, in categories such as subject, predicate, object, etc. Firbas' *semantic word order principle* is occupied with the part of the sentence that contains new information. Within that part of the sentence, it affects preferred word order of such semantic categories as agent, goal, benefactive, and action. The *emotive word principle* operates in opposition to the other principles. Departing from the normal word order, it creates special emotive effects. This fact is clear in such clauses as *Long may she wave* and *May your years be many*. The *principle of the basic distribution of communicative dynamism* states that the preferred word order in sentences is theme before rheme. The term *communicative dynamism (CD)* refers to how different sentence elements differ in the way that they contribute to communication. He states

By the degree of CD carried by a sentence element we understand the extent to which the sentence element contributes to the development of the communication, to which it 'pushes the communication forward', as it were. It is obvious that elements conveying new, unknown information show higher degrees of CD than elements conveying known information. But even within a sentence section made up entirely of elements conveying new information, the degrees of CD are not the same (homogeneous). (Firbas 1964, 270)

Firbas (1964, 270) defines *theme* as "the sentence element (or elements) carrying the lowest degree(s) of CD within the sentence." *Rheme*, on the other hand, is seen as the sentence element containing the highest degree of CD within the sentence.

These four word order principles are seen to interact differently with each other in a hierarchical way depending on the language being studied. One can order the principles according to their relative importance in a language. This interplay among the principles of a sentence gives one what is termed the *perspective* of the sentence in communication. Thus, *functional sentence perspective* refers to "the shaping of a sentence to function in a certain perspective" (as cited by Jones 1977, 67).

2.2.2 Halliday's Approach in Systemic Grammar

In this section, I will discuss Halliday's theoretical framework in which he discusses both *topic* and *focus*. Since I was unable to have access to his original work, I will draw heavily upon the summaries of Saeed (1984) and Jones (1977).

Within systemic grammar, language is composed of series of system networks, "each network representing the choices available to a given constituent type" (Halliday (1967a, 1), as cited by Jones (1977, 82)). "There are conditions of entry to each system that must be satisfied. Choices, for example between construction types, will satisfy the conditions for entry into certain systems, but not to others" (Jones 1977, 82).

Language has four main functions, which correspond to the four major semantic systems. The functions are 1) the experiential or ideational function, 2) the logical function, 3) the discursal or textual function, and 4) the speech-functional or interpersonal function. The experiential or ideational function is concerned with cognitive content, actor, action, goal, etc.), while the logical function deals with such conjunctions, as *and* and *or*, and negation and implication. The discursal or textual function deals with theme and information and the speech-functional or interpersonal function with such things as mood and speaker attitude.

Since this paper is primarily concerned with topic (which corresponds to Halliday's concept of theme) and focus (which corresponds to his concept of rheme), his textual function is of particular interest here. The diagram below illustrates the parts of his TEXT SYSTEM.

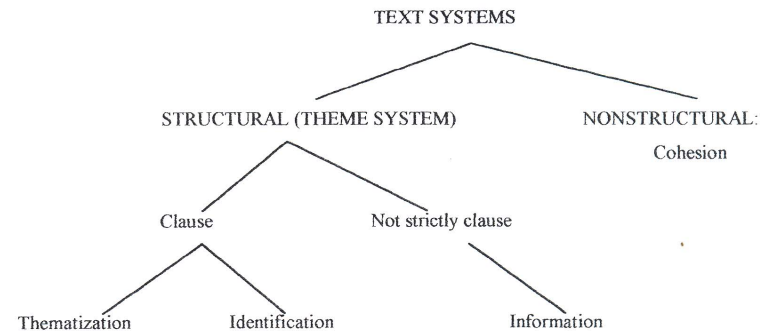


Fig. 1. Halliday's scheme of the text systems of language (Jones 1977, 84)

Halliday (1967b) analyzes utterances in terms of *information units*. These units are not seen as equal to the sentence, since a sentence can consist of more than one information unit. It is at the information level that the concept of *focus* becomes important. The choice of a constituent to be focused "involves the selection, within each information unit, of a certain element or elements as points of prominence within the message" (Halliday 1967b, 203, as cited by Saeed 1984, 16-17). Basic to the idea of focus is the distinction between new and given information. Given information is seen as available to the listener from the discourse or situational context, while the new information is considered to be in focus (as cited by Saeed 1984, 17). New information is considered focal "not in the sense that it cannot have been previously mentioned, although it is often the case that it has not been, but in the sense that the speaker presents it as not being recoverable from the preceding discourse" (Halliday 1967b, 204, as cited by Brown and Yule, 1983, 179). He (as did the Prague School) saw *intonation* in English as having a focal function (as cited by Brown and Yule, 1983, 154).

Thematization (or *topic*) functions at the sentence level and relates to the ordering of the constituents of the sentence. Theme signifies what is being talked about and "theme" as what is being said about the theme (as cited by Saeed 1984, 17).

2.2.3 Dik's approach within Functional Grammar

Within Dik's theoretical framework, the functional aspect of language is emphasized. Language is seen as primarily "an instrument of social interaction between human beings, used with the primary aim of establishing communicative relations between speakers and addressees" (Dik 1981, 1). There are three levels of functional relations. They are 1) Semantic Functions (agent, goal, recipient, etc.), 2) Syntactic Functions (subject and object), and 3) Pragmatic Functions (theme and tail, topic and focus).

At this point, I will deal primarily with Functional Grammar's notion of Pragmatic Functions since this paper deals with the concepts of *topic* and *focus*. These functions mark the informational status of the constituents of the sentence. There is a three-fold division between the predicate (the sentence proper), "the theme" (the element which precedes the predicate), and "the tail" (the element which follows the predicate). The terms, *topic* and *focus*, are seen as internal functions to the predication

proper, while the terms, *theme and tail*, are seen as external functions to the predication proper. Dik defines the external and internal functions as follows:

Theme:	The Theme specifies the universe of discourse with respect to which the subsequent predication is presented as relevant.
Tail:	The Tail presents, as an 'afterthought' to the predication, information meant to clarify or modify it.
Topic:	The Topic presents the entity 'about' which the predication predicates something in the given setting.
Focus:	The Focus presents what is relatively the most important or salient information in the given setting. (Dik 1981, 19)

2.4 Brown and Yule's Approach

Brown and Yule, while agreeing with Halliday on some points, disagree with him on others. In contrast to Halliday's approach, Brown and Yule see more than one function of pitch prominence. Rather than just marking the focus of new information, it can also "mark the beginning of a speaker's turn, the beginning of a new topic, special emphasis, and contrast." They consider pitch prominence as having a general *watch this!* function and as a marker of new information worthy of being noticed by the listener (Brown and Yule 1983, 164).

They see another problem in using pitch prominence in order to determine focus. Pitch prominence is very difficult to identify even by experienced judges. Most scholars have abandoned the idea of a pitch prominence signifying the focus of an information unit (cf., for example, Bolinger, 1972; Crystal, 1975; Chafe, 1979; Pellowe and Jones, 1979; Thompson, 1980), because the tonic is rarely concentrated on one word but may be distributed separately or paired over words introducing new information (Brown and Yule 1983, 164-165).

Brown and Yule agree with Halliday in that it is not discourse structure that determines if information is considered new, but it is the speaker's moment to moment assessment of what he wants to communicate and the listener's informational requirements (Brown and Yule 1983, 168).

Now we will look at Brown and Yule's approach to *topic*. They see that a theoretical notion of topic is "very difficult to pin down . . . and formal attempts to identify it doomed to failure" (Brown and Yule 1983, 68). At best, it seems to be a term that one uses intuitively to describe a stretch of discourse being about 'something' and the following stretch of discourse as being 'about' something else.

While discussing sentential and discourse topic, Brown and Yule have coined the term, *speaker's topic*, which refers to an individual's topic in a conversation, which is not necessarily the topic or one of the topics of conversation. The topic of the conversation (which is different from speaker's topic) develops as the conversation continues. Each speaker is said to contribute to his own personal topic and to the topic of the conversation as a whole (Brown and Yule 1983, 88-89).

They suggest that topics are essential for comprehension, but may not necessarily be determined from the text alone. Given the same text, two discourse analysts may actually disagree on the topic of that particular text. Titles, in and of themselves, can be essential for determining the topic of a discourse. They also state that it is very difficult to pull out a particular phrase of a sentence in a discourse and state that that is the 'topic' of the discourse. This problem is even magnified when one looks at fragments of conversational discourse (Brown and Yule 1983, 72-73). They illustrate how titles can help one find the topic of the discourse by the following text taken from Anderson.

Rocky slowly got up from the mat, planning his escape. He hesitated a moment and thought. Things were not going well. What bothered him most was being held, especially since the charge against him had been weak. He considered his present situation. The lock that held him was strong but the thought he could break it. (Anderson 1977, 372)

Anderson gives two possible titles with this text, *A Prisoner Plans His Escape*, and *A Wrestler in a Tight Corner*. Both titles greatly restrict the interpretation that one gets from the text. One is about a man in a prison cell and the other is about a wrestler in a wrestling ring.

This text shows that context plays a major role in discourse interpretation, and that in different contexts a text may be interpreted differently. From this, we see that contexts have to be chosen. They are not determined by different text structures (Blass 1990, 27-28).

Brown and Yule apparently do propose strategies for determining the right context of a discourse. A reader of a text might look to his previous experience with texts or look at the content of the text itself to see if it provides any clues (Brown and Yule 1983, 75). There is one thing, however, that they do not take into account. The speaker tries to guide the hearer to the right interpretation. The speaker when communicating something to someone is concerned what ideas the hearer will construct and takes those ideas into account. He is concerned that the hearer comes to the right interpretation and will try to lead the speaker into the right direction (Blass 1990, 28).

2.2.5 Lambrecht's Approach

Another important approach to focus in the literature is that of Lambrecht (1994). His idea of focus was based on the observation that "the structure of a sentence reflects in systematic and theoretically interesting ways a speaker's assumption about the hearer's state of knowledge and consciousness at the time of an utterance" (Lambrecht 1994, xiii). In his work, he uses the term, *information structure*, which was first coined by Halliday (1967b). He sees information structure as a "grammatical" (i.e. rule-based) component of sentence grammar: the set of rules and conventions that govern the relationship between speaker assumptions and the formal structure of the sentence. This grammatical component consists of "an analysis of four independent but interrelated sets of categories" (Lambrecht 1994, xiii). *Propositional information* is the first category consisting of two parts: *pragmatic presupposition* and *pragmatic assertion*. These two components relate to the speaker's understanding of the hearer's knowledge and awareness at the time of his utterance. *Identifiability* and *activation* are the second set of categories. The second set of categories deals with "the speaker's assumptions about the nature of the representations of the referents of linguistic expressions in the hearer's mind at the time of an utterance and with the constant changes which these representations undergo in the course of the conversation" (p. viii). *Topic* is the third category, which Lambrecht defines as "the pragmatic relation of aboutness between the discourse referents and propositions in given discourse contexts" (p. xiv). Lambrecht's fourth category is that of *FOCUS*, which he defines as "that element in a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition and which makes the utterance of a sentence informative" (p. xiv). Focal elements convey new information (p. 206). New information is defined from the speaker's point of view. It is seen as information which the speaker feels that the hearer is unaware of and "which is *added* to an already existing stock of knowledge in the hearer's mind" (p. 45).

By his own admission, Lambrecht is much more interested in sentence or clause topic rather than discourse topic (Lambrecht 1994, 117). Because of this fact, I will not evaluate his approach to topic. Focus, however, is another story. I will examine his approach to focus within the domain of his theory.

While in his book there is a lot that is worthy of mention, there is one claim that he makes that

I would like to question. In response to the following set of sentences:

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| a. Who saw Bill? | JOHN saw Bill/him. |
| b. Who did Bill see? | Bill/he saw JOHN. |
| c. What did Bill do? | Bill/he went straight HOME. |
| d. What happened? | BILL went straight HOME. [(Comrie (1989, 62), accent |

marks added by Lambrecht (1994, 297)]

he writes:

Context questions³ do not require specific focus structures for their replies; they merely suggest preferred readings. If the subjects *John* and *Bill* in the two sentences are unaccented [3b and 3c], they necessarily function as topics, even if these sentences are uttered in reply to the question "What happened?" As a result, these sentences cannot have sentence-focus structure, i.e. their subjects cannot be in focus. (Lambrecht 1994, 304)

Lambrecht claims that "context questions do not require a specific focus interpretation for their replies."

By this, he means that a certain context question does not necessarily presuppose that a particular constituent of the clause is in focus or that the entire clause is in focus. Thus, the question, "What happened?" does not of necessity imply that the whole sentence or clause is in focus.

I would like to argue that in all contexts where sentences are expressed in response to the question "What happened?" Their focus necessarily encompasses the entire sentence. In my opinion, whether a constituent or a entire clause is in focus is best determined by context and not by the prosodic characteristics of a clause. In any case, the accent marks (presented by small caps) were added to Comrie's sentences by Lambrecht and were not part of Comrie's initial work.

Most theories believe in an information structure—a level between syntax and pragmatics. RT claims that the syntax bears directly on pragmatic interpretation. The particle *no* marks the part that is rich in interpretation. Concerning this Sperber and Wilson say:

What gives these observations explanatory value is the idea that the syntactic and phonological organisation of an utterance may directly affect the way it is processed and understood. What is puzzling is that having seen the possibility of a natural linkage between linguistic form and pragmatic interpretation, so many authors feel the need to interpose intermediate levels of semantic and pragmatic description to link artificially what, if these insights are correct, is already naturally linked. We would like to pursue the idea of a natural linkage between linguistic form and pragmatic interpretation, and show how it might be worked out within the framework of relevance theory. (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 204)

³ Context questions are part of the question-answer test, used by linguists to determine the constituent that is in focus in an utterance. To put it another way, context questions establish context for an utterance. For example, the sentence, "JOHN went to town." answers the question "Who went to town?"

One can also say that most theories (the theories that I have reviewed) see in focus and discourse functions some pragmatic functions, but they have no theoretical basis for it. RT can explain why the speaker marks a part of the syntax as in focus, to lead the hearer to the intended contextual effects of the speaker or he marks the syntax to indicate a new context relevant for indirectly gaining contextual effects. Sperber and Wilson have a clear theoretical basis of context which is more clearly defined than the notion of discourse topic. I will elaborate on this in chapter V.

2.3 Conclusion

In this section, I have examined the various theories dealing with focus and topic. I have found them inadequate, because they cannot explain the communicator's reasons for marking focus and topic. It is to guide the interpretation process and save the hearer processing effort.

It was also quite clear to me that only Sperber and Wilson's approach takes into account the speaker's interpretation of the hearer's cognitive world, which communicative gain the hearer has—the contextual effects. Their theory is the strongest in the domain of pragmatics, and thus, probably provides an explanatory approach of how we efficiently communicate and how our cognitive world is undergoing change by constant contextual effects. Because of this, I have decided to use their approach as the theoretical basis of my analysis of the particle *no*, and in chapter IV, I will introduce the theory. I have also used real texts and have discussed how the *no* particle functions not only in relation to contiguous sentences, but also in relation to the entire discourse.

Of course, one must also examine how other researchers have analyzed this particle. Have other linguists also seen this particle as a "focus marker" or as a "discourse topic marker"? Since the particle *no* is basically an indicator of syntactic scope, it is important to investigate its syntactic function. Then, one must determine in what constituents of a clause the particle *no* can occur. In the following chapter, I will show how other linguists have analyzed this particle as well as state my hypothesis concerning the constituents in which the particle *no* can occur.

CHAPTER III

GRAMMATICAL ANALYSIS OF *NO*

3.1 Introduction

This chapter has three basic aims. First, I will discuss the grammatical status of the particle *no* as viewed by various researchers working in Zarma and other Songhai dialects. Knowing how other researchers have seen this particle is essential in order to build on what they have discovered. Secondly, I will discuss the syntactic distribution of the particle *no* as it occurs in the constituents of the clause. I will show that the particle *no* can occur in noun phrases serving as the subject and direct object of the sentence. It also occurs in verb phrases, adverbial phrases, relative clauses and adpositional phrases. It is important to understand how the particle *no* functions before studying it at discourse level.

3.2 How *no* has been viewed in the past by various researchers

In this section, I will examine how different linguists have analyzed the particle *no*. Prost (1956, 75), one of the first researchers to study the Zarma language, sees the particle as a non-accented enclitic occurring after nouns or pronouns. Historically, it was a deitic adverbial, 'there' and worked in opposition to the adverbial *ne* 'here'. The adverbial *ne* remains highly stressed, but the particle *no* is unstressed and additionally has lost its demonstrative status. Prost saw it as marking the existence of something, the presence of something or a specific place.

Robert Nicolai (1983, 24) classifies the particle *no* as an *actualizer*, which he sees as attaching to a predicate to form a non-verbal structure. Other actualizers include *ne* 'here' and *go/si* 'existential'.

They are said to occur in the following order:

- (5) PRED + ACT
(Predicate plus Actualizer) (Nicolai 1983, 24)

He provides the following examples as evidence:

- (6) *Hansi no* "It is a dog."
nga ne "Here it is."
kanigaŋ do go "There is a place to sleep."
goy si "There is no work." (Nicolai 1983, 24, translation my own)

These particles are also said to combine with certain specifiers (emphasis, negation, localizers, demonstratives, interrogatives, and dubitatives) as seen in the following example:

- (7) *Karga no day.* "It is indeed a chair." (Nicolai 1983, 24, translation my own)

Hamani (1980b, 388) agrees with Nicolai's analysis. He also sees the particle as an actualizer, which combines with non-verbals to form an independent proposition. He has termed the particle *no* a predicative-actualizer.

Bernard and White-Kaba (1994, introduction, section VI) see the particle *no* as belonging to the category of a verboid. They see the particle *no* as a "presenter" (*présentateur*). Verboids have some but not all of the characteristics of verbs. According to Bernard and White-Kaba, they do not take aspect or mode markers as verbs generally do, but still function in the center position of a verb phrase. The particle *no* is seen as having three functions. First, they see it as marking two constituents in a clause as equivalent. Secondly, it can show the importance of a particular element in a clause (*mettre en vedette*). Thirdly, the particle can mark the importance of an entire clause. The following three clauses are given as examples showing the three functions of the particle *no*:

- (8) *Ay ya cawandiko no.*
 1S EMP teacher SS

'I am a teacher.'

Bari no iri day.
 horse SS 1P buy

'It is a horse that we bought.'

Ni ka no.
 2S come SS

'It is that you came.' (Bernard and White-Kaba 1994, introduction, section VI, translation my own)

In example (8), using their analysis, we see the particle marking the first person singular pronoun, *ay*, as equivalent with the noun *cawandiko* 'teacher'. In the second example, we see the particle *no* marking the importance of the noun, *bari*, 'horse'. In the final example, we see it marking the syntactic scope of the entire clause. The major problem with their analysis is that it is more complicated than necessary. One could simply state that *no* is a marker of syntactic scope. The entire clause is in the scope of *no* in the first and third example, and in the second example, the noun *bari* 'horse' is in the scope of the particle *no*. Then one could assert that the information within its scope is considered important for comprehension. It seems, however, that their analysis *only* hints at what is perhaps the best analysis. What they seem to be lacking is a theory that adequately explains the pragmatic aspects of this particle. I will argue in Chapter 5 that the particle *no* functions a marker of syntactic scope; it can either include in its scope a constituent of a clause or the clause as a whole. The information that it contains in its scope contributes directly or indirectly to relevance. Indirectly when it has the topic of a discourse within its scope, and directly when it has information that is in focus within its scope.

Bernard and White-Kaba also state that this particle is negated with the word *manti*. They give the following two examples:

- (9) *Manti* *ay* *no*.
is.not 1S SS

'It is not I.'

Ay *ya* *manti* *cawandiko* *no*.
1S EMP be.not teacher SS

'I am not a teacher.' (Bernard and White-Kaba 1994, introduction, section VI, translation, my own)

There is another problem with their analysis. In my opinion, the word *manti* is not negating the particle *no*. The word *manti* is a composite of the completive negative aspect marker *mana* and the verb *ti* 'be' and as such *manti* is functioning as the main verb in the sentence. I am not saying, however, that the particle *no* cannot be negated. The particle *no* can be negated using the incompletive negative aspect marker *si*, providing the only case of constituent level negation so far attested in Zarma. The following clause illustrates this fact:

- (10) *a* *na* *ɲwa* *zama* *boro* *kulu* *si* *no* *kaj* *ga* *hini*
3S CMP eat because person all NEG SS who INC can
- ga* *nga* *no* *faaba*.
CN 3S SS save

'He ate it, because there was no one who could save him.'

(*Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, 6.5d-f)

Thus, we see that the noun phrase *boro kulu* 'everyone' is marked with the negative form of *no*, *si no*, giving us *boro kulu si no*, 'no one'.

There is a problem, having such an analysis, would certainly give us sentences without verbs, as the following examples illustrate:

- (11) *Mari*, *nin* *no?*
panther 2S-EMP SS

'Panther, is it you?'

(*Tobay da mari*, 6.4)

- (12) *Kooro da* *foono* *day* *no* *ya*.
hyena and monkey EMP SS EMP

'There was Hyena and Monkey.'

(*Kooro nda foono*, 3.1)

When one considers further data, this is not a problem; Zarma does have clauses without a verb. Eberle attests to the following clauses:

- (13) *Ay* *handu* *yagga*.
1S month nine

'I have been here nine months.'

A *ize* *taaci*.
3S child four

'He has four children.'

(Eberle 1999, 3.5)

What is especially noteworthy is that if we consider the particle as a marker of syntactic scope and not as a verboid, we would not be adding another grammatical category. Bernard and White-Kaba have already added another grammatical category by positing the category of verboid. The use of *no*

these sentences just falls in with the general analysis of *no* as a grammatical indicator of syntactic scope. Of course, according to Ockham's razor, 'categories should not be multiplied without clear motivation.' However, if the particle as a 'verb' or 'verboid' has lost many of its verbal characteristics and if verbless clauses do exist, then adequate justification does exist for a new category especially if it is descriptive from a pragmatic or discourse standpoint. If we examine the second and third function of the particle according to Bernard and White-Kaba (1994, introduction, section VI), they say that the particle is used to mark the importance of an element of a clause or the importance of the entire clause. Their explanation sounds very close to that of mine: it marks syntactic scope of an element of a clause or the clause as a whole and the information within its scope contributes directly or indirectly to relevance. This information within the scope of this particle either promises contextual effects for the hearer or helps him establish new context.

For Gao Songhai (Koyraboro Senni), Heath (1999, 132) has discovered two focus particles, the particle *no* and *ka*. He has divided focus in this language into two types: subject focus and nonsubject focus. The particle *no* can mark either subject focus or nonsubject focus, while the particle *ka* can only mark subject focus. With the focus particle *no*, the focalized constituent is fronted⁴ and is usually, but not always followed by *no*. He agrees with Prost's analysis by stating that the particle no longer has any distal connotations and may even focalize the near demonstrative adverb, *ne*, 'here'. This phenomenon occurs in Zarma as well, seen in the following example:

(14) *ne no suuji da gomni goss*
Here SS mercy and grace be

'Here is mercy and grace.'

(*Zanka kay si hangan albeeri sanni se*, 3.3d)

Heath, for the Gao Songhai (Koyraboro Senni) dialect, argues against seeing this particle as a "special case of the identificational (it is X) quasi-verb *no*, itself historically a functional specialization of the 'there' clitic" (1999, 215-216). He argues that accepting this analysis would mean that focalization containing *no* (which is optional in focalization) would consist of a two-clause structure. The two clause structure would be a cleft construction of the type [it is X] [...X...]. He argues that since *no* is not

⁴ At most, the focalized constituent may be preceded by a clause initial particle.

obligatory, it would be difficult to justify *no* synchronically, even if one could understand part of the historical source for the function of the particle.

Now that I have shown how various researchers have seen the particle *no*, I will move on to the following section where I will show where the particle *no* occurs in the constituents of the clause.

3.3 The grammatical distribution of the particle *no*

In this section, I will state my hypothesis concerning the grammatical distribution of the particle *no* as it occurs in the various constituents of the clause. The particle *no* has been attested in noun phrases, verb phrases, adpositional phrases, adverbial phrases, and relative clauses in constituent final position.

3.3.1 The particle *no* in noun phrases

In this section, I will show how this particle can occur in the constituent final position of a noun clause. It can occur in noun phrases functioning as the subject, in apposition to the noun phrase functioning as the subject, and as an object of a clause. It can also occur in noun phrases, which are functioning temporally in a clause.

First, the *no* particle can occur immediately in the constituent final position of a noun phrase that serves as the subject of a clause. The following clause serves as an example:

(15) *ay no ga ciiti aray se*
1S SS INC judge 2P for

'It is I who will judge between you.'

(*Kooro nda foono*, 6.8c)

Thus, we see the particle *no* occurring immediately after the subject, *ay* 'I'. There is, of course, no change in the word order to the clause.

The following example is an atypical case with the syntactic scope of the subject marked. It is in what I call 'reverse apposition' to the noun phrase functioning as the subject, although perhaps an alternative interpretation is possible. That is, rather than the second noun phrase actually expanding on the first noun phrase, we have the first noun phrase followed by a resumptive pronoun. In this instance,

the particle *no* usually occurs concurrently with two other particles, *day* and *ya*. Perhaps it is important to note at this point that apposition can be difficult to distinguish from left dislocation, clefting, and fronting. Payne provides the following distinctions for these four grammatical constructions:

- a. [NP] [S] apposition
- b. [NP S]_S left dislocation
- c. [NP ...]_S fronting
- d. [NP_i] (COP) [... NP_i ...] clefting (Payne 1997, 274)

Apposition primarily occurs at the beginning of a text when the primary participant is introduced. In (18), we see that *tobay 'hare'* is in apposition to the subject *a*, the third personal pronoun.

(16) *Tobay day no ya a go no da a wande da*
tobay day no ya a go no da a wande da
 hare EMP SS EMP 3S be SS with 3S wife and

ize hinzaa.
ize hinza -a
 child three DEF

'Once upon a time, there was Hare with his wife and his three children.'
 (*Tobay da mari*, 3.1)

In (16), we see that the noun phrase *tobay day no ya* is in 'reverse apposition' to the subject, *a*, 'he'. In this case, the phrase *tobay day no ya* further explains who the subject is, but it is not technically part of the subject of the clause as it would have to be if it was an example of left dislocation. It is also not an example of fronting, because the normal position of the subject in a clause is first in the clause.

The fourth and final alternative is that the noun phrase, *tobay day no ya*, could be functioning as a cleft construction. While this is a viable alternative, it is not the most economical one. As stated before, seeing *no* as some sort of verboid is not a viable option. Seeing the *no* particle as a marker of syntactic scope rather than as a verb or so-called 'verboid' simplifies the analysis considerably.

Thirdly, the particle *no* can occur in noun phrases functioning as direct objects. When the particle *no* occurs with the direct object it causes the object of the clause to be fronted. In other words, the object of the clause moves just before the subject and the *no* particle follows the fronted object. The following two clauses illustrate this phenomenon:

(17) *ize no nga mana bay ga du ndunnyo boŋ*
ize no nga mana bay ga du ndunnye -o boŋ
 child SS 3S not know CN have world DEF on

'She had not experienced a child in this world.'
 (*Zanka laala*, 2.2b)

(18) *Miila hanno kulu no boro si te.*
miila hanno kulu no boro si te
 thought good all SS person INC do.

'It is good thoughts that a person does not have.'
 (*Talkataray*, 3.3)

In both cases, note that the direct object is fronted to the beginning of the clause. The constituent structure of (18) is shown below in figure 2:

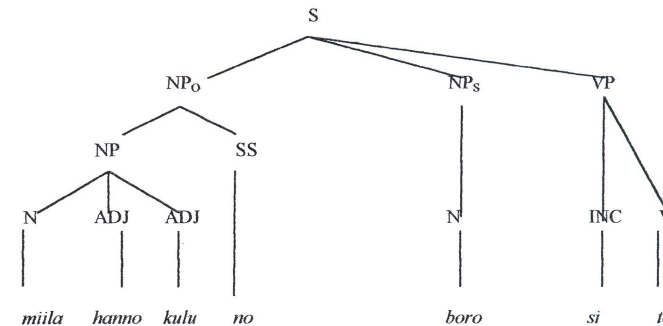


Fig. 2. *No* occurring with the object

While the fronted object still occurs immediately before the subject, it apparently can still have other constituents of the sentence before it. We see this occurring in (19):

(19) *kulu hiino nga no a go ga ceecei a ma nga iywa*
 and now 3S SS 3S PRG look.for 3S SBJ 3S eat

'And now it was him he was trying to eat.'
 (*Kooro nda foono*, 6.6e-f)

In the following example, we have a clause with both a direct object and an indirect object.

(20)	<i>Haw yeeji</i>	<i>hinka</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ay</i>
	<i>haw yeeji</i>	<i>hinka</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ay</i>
	bull	two	SS	3S	CMP	1S	give	CN	say	1S
	<i>ma</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>izo</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>hay</i>
	<i>ma</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>ize</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ma</i>
	SBJ	go	CN	1S	child	DEF	give	milk	3S	SBJ
	<i>ga</i>	<i>beeri.</i>								
	<i>ga</i>	<i>beeri</i>								
	CN	grow								

'It was two bulls that he gave to me and said to go give milk to my son so that he might grow.'
(*Zanka laala*, 8.1b-d)

In (20), we see that again that the direct object that is in focus is fronted. The indirect object, however, *ay*, 'me' (1S) is actually put in the slot where the indirect object usually occurs, immediately after the aspect marker, which in this case is *na*, and immediately before the verb *no* 'give'.

It might be interesting to note that Heath reports that Gao Songhai has a resumptive pronoun in such cases where *no* occurs with the direct object. He provides the following examples as evidence:

(21)	<i>Agey</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ey</i>	<i>kar.</i>
	1S	SS	3S	CMP	1S	hit

'It was me that he hit.'

<i>Ni</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>dii</i>	<i>ni</i>
2S	SS	1S	see	2S

'It was you that I saw.' (Heath 1999, 217)

In the first example in (21), the full form of the first person singular pronoun, *agey*, is repeated later in the clause by the pronoun *ey*, also a first person singular pronoun. In the second example in (21), note that the second person pronoun, *ni*, is picked up later on in the clause.

The particle *no* can also occur in noun phrases which are functioning temporally in a clause.

This is seen in the following example with the noun phrase *han fo no* 'one day'.

(22)	<i>Han</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>ganji hamey</i>		<i>da</i>	<i>kwaara almaney</i>	
	<i>han</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>ganji ham</i>	<i>-ey</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>kwaara alman</i>	<i>-ey</i>
	day	one	SS	wild.animal	PL	and	village animal	DEF
	<i>i</i>	<i>kosongu.</i>						
	<i>i</i>	<i>kosongu</i>						
	3P	argue						

'One day, the wild animals and the tame animals were arguing.'
(*Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, 1.1)

In (22), we see that the particle *no* occurs in the noun phrase, *han fo no* 'one day', which is functioning adverbially. The adverbial phrase occurs first in the clause. This is its normal position in the clause for temporal phrases as seen in (23) where the adverb does not contain the *no* particle.

(23)	<i>Sohō</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>go ga</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>fu</i>
	now	3P	PRG	come	house

'Now they were going home.'

(*Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, 7.1)

3.3.2 The particle *no* in the verb phrase

When this particle occurs with the verb phrase, it always occurs after the main verb. In the following sentence, consisting of four clauses, we see the particle *no* after the third clause.

(24)	<i>Annasaara</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>guna,</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>sanda</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>maray</i>	<i>no</i>
	white.person	CMP	3S	look.at	3S	do	as	3S	injure	SS

<i>i</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>gorondi.</i>
3P	CMP	3S	make.sit

'The white person looked at him; he pretended he was injured, they made him sit down.'
(*Pottol*, 2.15)

We see the particle *no* occurring after the clause *nga maray* 'he was injured'.

3.3.3 The particle *no* in adpositional phrases

This particle can also occur in postpositional phrases. In Zarma when the *no* particle occurs in a postpositional phrase, the postpositional phrase is fronted. This principle is seen in the following example:

- (25) *Gurja do no ay go ga ka bo.*
gurje -a do no ay go ga ka bo
 match DEF to SS 1S PRG come ?

'It is to the wrestling match that I am going.'

(*Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, 3.3)

In (25), we see that the postpositional phrase, *gurja do no*, 'to the wrestling match' occurs before the subject of the sentence. As seen previously in (15), the common position for a postpositional phrase that is not in focus is located at the end of the clause. Clause (15) is listed below for the convenience of the reader.

- (15) *ay no ga ciiti araj se*
 1S SS INC judge 2P for

'It is I who will judge between you.'

(*Kooro nda foono*, 6.8c)

By comparing (15) with (25), it is clear that postpositional clauses usually occur at the end of the clause, but if they occur with the particle *no* they are fronted to the beginning of the clause. We see an exception to this rule in (26) when the particle actually occurs at the end of the clause.

- (26) *kooro, ni wo, ni ga ye dayo ra no,*
kooro ni wo ni ga ye day -o ra no
 hyena 2S EMP 2S INC return well DEF in SS

'Hyena, you, yes, you are going to return to the well.'

(*Kooro nda foono*, 5.9b)

Example sentence (26) is an exception, because the subject itself is clearly emphasized in some way, since the subject is repeated three times. The emphasis on the subject probably hampers the ability of the postpositional phrase, *dayo ra no*, to move to the beginning of the clause.

3.3.4 The particle *no* in adverbial phrases

The particle *no* also occurs finally in adverbial phrases. We see an example of the particle *no* in an adverbial phrase below in (27):

- (27) *A ne nga wo sohō no a go ga ka gurja*
a ne nga wo sohō no a go ga ka gurje -e
 3S say 3S this now SS 3S PRG come match DEF
- do fa*
do fa
 at ideo

'He said that now he was going to the wrestling match.'

(*Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, 10.3)

Example (27) is an example of temporal adverbial phrase. The particle *no* can also occur in locative adverbial phrase as illustrated in (14):

- (14) *ne no suuji da gomni goss*
 Here SS mercy and grace be

'Here is mercy and grace.'

(*Zanka kay si hangan albeeri sanni se*, 3.3d)

3.3.5 The particle *no* in the relative clause

The particle *no* can also occur in a relative clause. Sometimes the particle *no* occurs immediately after the relative pronoun, *kay* 'that' or after the relative clause itself. It appears that the relative clause behaves differently than other constituents, which have the particle *no*. For example, when the noun phrase is in focus we saw that the focus marker *no* occurs as the last element in the noun phrase. However, when the relative clause is in focus, the particle *no* appears either immediately after the relative pronoun or after the entire relative clause. One example is listed below in (28):

- (28) *a ne i ma koy ga guna nga se boro*
a ne i ma koy ga guna nga se boro
 3S say 3P SBJ go CN see 3S for person
- kay no go ga tauro beeri.*
kay no go ga tuuri -o beeri
 who SS PRG tree DEF cut

'He said that they must go and see for him the person who is cutting down the tree.'

(*Zanka laala*, 10.6g-i)

In (28), the particle *no* occurs after the relative pronoun *kay* 'who'. At other times, however, the particle *no* occurs after the last constituent in the relative clause. Note the following clause listed below:

(29)	<i>Ezo</i>		<i>din</i>	<i>wayboro</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>kaj</i>	<i>gonda</i>	<i>kumo</i>	<i>no</i>
	<i>ize</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>wayboro</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>kaj</i>	<i>gonda</i>	<i>kumo</i>	<i>no</i>
	child	DEF	this	woman	same	that	have	hump	SS
	<i>n'</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>sambu</i>		<i>goy.</i>				
	<i>na</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>sambu</i>		<i>goy</i>				
	CMP	3S	take		work				

'This child . . . , the same woman who had a hump took her to work for her.'

(*Zanka kaj si hangan albeeri sannu se*, 2.2)

In this sentence, the particle occurs after the noun *kumo* 'hump', the last constituent in the relative clause. From the previous two examples, we see that the particle can occur immediately after the relative pronoun or immediately after the relative clause as a whole.

3.4 Conclusion

The particle *no* has been viewed differently by various researchers. It is clear that the grammatical category⁵ in which this particle fits is ambiguous. According to Payne (1997, 32), while grammatical categories tend to have indistinct borders, it is still possible to find prototypes of a particular grammatical category. In this chapter, I have shown that this particle does not meet the prototypical characteristics of the verb in Zarma. The prototypical verb in Zarma takes aspect markers, while this particle can only take the negative aspect marker *si* and not the other aspect markers.

However, there is another way to evaluate the grammatical category of this particle. Payne also states "that the category membership of any given form varies according to how that form is used in discourse" (Payne 1997, 32). In the next chapter, I will examine how this particle functions in discourse and how the discourse functions of the particle can give us information on how this particle can be categorized.

⁵ I am using the term 'grammatical category' to refer to what is usually called in traditional grammar parts of speech.

CHAPTER IV

RELEVANCE THEORY

4.1 Introduction

In the chapter, I will introduce RT and its claims. As this thesis uses RT as its theoretical basis, an understanding of RT is essential for understanding the following chapter when I discuss discourse functions of the particle *no*, from the perspective of RT.

4.2 Relevance

Sperber and Wilson do not use the term *relevance* as it is ordinarily understood in everyday language use. Relevance essentially deals with the activation of thought. To make this idea clear, let us imagine that I am backing out of my driveway, and as I back out, I notice my dog chasing butterflies and smile. Unfortunately, in the process of backing out I hit another car, because I am not paying attention to the traffic on the road. Suddenly, my thoughts are no longer on my dog chasing butterflies, but instead are on the accident. Is the driver of the other car injured? Is there a lot of damage to his car? Then my thoughts begin to turn in another direction: "I will have to take my car to a garage. It will probably take a lot of money to repair it, and my rates for insurance are sure to go up. Due to these extra expenses, I may not even be able to buy that new refrigerator that I desperately need." The directions in which my thoughts could go are limitless as they interact with other thoughts. From one implication, I am able to derive many other implications.

Why did I stop paying attention to my dog chasing butterflies? Because of the accident, many thoughts were activated, and these thoughts activated others. Pretheoretically, it could be said that relevance is all about activating thought.

In terms of cognition, we have seen that phenomena will draw my attention to that which will occupy my mind. Phenomena that are not relevant will no longer occupy my mind. This fact brings us to one of Sperber and Wilson's major claims. They believe that *relevance is the key to human cognition*.

In terms of communication, we have seen that humans pay attention to what is relevant to them. This fact has consequences for the communicator. When she demands attention from the audience, she is claiming that the information that she is offering is relevant enough to be worthy of the hearer's attention. Consequently, *relevance is the key to communication as well*.

4.2.1 Cognitive effects

Sperber and Wilson call the thoughts that are activated by the phenomena around a person, *cognitive effects*. Newly processed information is considered relevant if it interacts with the hearer's present assumptions about the world. As a result of these cognitive effects, the person's assumptions of the world are changed. Sperber and Wilson claim that human beings' main reason to communicate is to place these cognitive effects in the mind of the addressee.

There are three types of contextual effects: contextual implications, the strengthening of old assumptions, and the weakening and elimination of old assumptions.

At this point, let us examine how contextual implications are formed. Sperber and Wilson define contextual assumptions with the following formula:

Contextual implication

A set of assumptions **P** *contextually implies* an assumption *Q* in the context **C** if and only if

- (i) the union of **P** and **C** non-trivially implies *Q*
- (ii) **P** does not non-trivially imply *Q*, and
- (iii) **C** does not non-trivially imply *Q*. (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 107-108)

P can be considered new information, consisting of the newly presented information, and **C** as old information, consisting of the stock of existing assumptions. As these initial theses are placed within memory of the deductive device, then the contextualization of **P** and **C** can yield new conclusions not based on **P** and **C** alone. These new conclusions are called *contextual implications*.

Now let us see how cognitive effects are achieved with a real-life example. Suppose that while I am living in Niger, I go to a friend's house. Because of my knowledge of the culture, I have the following assumption:

- (30) If my friend has a traditional woven Zarma blanket hanging on her wall, a holiday is approaching.

In (30), we see some assumptions that I understand about the world, especially the world of Niger. Nevertheless, to continue with my tale, after I greet my friend and she invites me inside, I discover:

- (31) My friend has a traditional woven Zarma blanket hanging on her wall.

Because of the interaction of (30) and (31) above, I now have deduced the following:

- (32) A holiday is fast approaching.

Sperber and Wilson would consider (32) to be a contextualization of (31) in the context of (30). The context of (31) in (30) may yield new conclusions not derived from either (30) or (31) alone. The contextual implication of (32) is considered new information in that it could not be derived from (30), an existing assumption, alone. In other words, (32) is considered to be a synthesis of old and new information or an interaction of old and new information.

Now, of course, as I stated previously, contextual assumptions are not the only type of contextual effects possible. There are two other kinds of contextual effects as well. It is also possible to strengthen an existing assumption. At this point, let me return to my story about the traditional blanket on the wall. Let us suppose that while I am visiting my friend I see over in the corner of the room a large stack of vegetables. Since holidays are seen as times of feasting, the stack of vegetables would strengthen the original assumption that a holiday was approaching. Since the climate is very hot and food spoils quickly, it is impossible to store food for a long time. If one has many vegetables in the house, they must be eaten quickly before they spoil.

Of course, as stated, existing assumptions can also be weakened. Now let us imagine that after leaving my friend, I go to visit another friend in his government office. During the course of our conversation, he tells me the following:

- (33) I would like to visit my parents in the village. I wish there were another holiday soon.

At this point, my assumption that there was a holiday in the next few days has been weakened considerably. Because my friend works in a government office, I have a lot of confidence in what he says, especially in the domain of public holidays. What he says carries a lot of weight.

This brings us to what Sperber and Wilson say about the relative strength of an assumption.

The question that one could ask is: Why am I more likely to take the testimony of my friend who works in a government office rather than my own observation of a traditional blanket hanging on my friend's wall? According to Sperber and Wilson,

The initial strength of an assumption may depend on the way it is acquired. For instance, assumptions based on a clear perceptual experience tend to be very strong; assumptions based on the acceptance of somebody's word have a strength commensurate with one's confidence in the speaker; the strength of assumptions arrived at by deduction depends on the strength of the premises from which they were derived. (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 77)

Thus, I have great *confidence* in my friend's word, because he works in a government office.

Those who work in government offices are more likely to know when the next government holiday occurs. On the other hand, the fact that my other friend has a traditional blanket on her wall and a pile of vegetables in a corner of her house may actually signify nothing. She could be only expecting family or friends to come over and she wants to welcome them. The existence of a blanket and vegetables are not necessarily *clear* perceptual evidence of an upcoming national holiday.

4.2.2 Processing effort

Now let us imagine that my friend in the government office said something different to me when I went to his office.

(34) I would like to visit my parents in the village, and I really like the new displays in the National Museum.

Seeing what he communicated in the first part of his utterance, the second part of his utterance does not really help to achieve any cognitive effects along that line. The second part actually causes a lot of processing effort and distracts from the intended contextual effects. If we were to weigh effort against effect, his statement in (34) requires a lot more effort to process. Example (33) is much more relevant than (34). In (33), we see that the two sentences can be processed in the same context, but this is not true of example (34). The fact that he likes the new displays in the national museum does not have any relevance in the context of visiting his parents and thus does not achieve any cognitive effects in that context.

This brings us to the theoretical notion of relevance as stated below:

Relevance

Extent condition 1: an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that its contextual effects in this context are large.

Extent condition 2: an assumption is relevant in a context to the extent that the effort required to process it in this context is small. (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 125)

This notion of relevance should be considered comparative rather than qualitative.

As we have seen in example (34), an utterance can become less relevant with additional information. This example shows us that if what we say does not connect with a context, then the information is not relevant to us. My brother received the Policeman of the Year Award. At this point, you may be asking why I wrote the previous sentence concerning my brother, and asking 'so what?' The statement about my brother does not fit the immediate context, and therefore is irrelevant to the discussion at hand. If what we communicate does not directly relate to the context, it is considered irrelevant. Hearers or readers will react to information that does not seem relevant to them. They will search for relevance by trying to find out what the speaker had in mind.

4.3 The Principle of Relevance

Sperber and Wilson claim that when someone communicates, the hearer can have, to an extent, precise expectations of relevance. According to Sperber and Wilson, human beings are guided in communication by what they call a *Principle of Relevance*. This principle is stated below:

Principle of Relevance

Every act of ostensive communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance. (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 158)

This principle implies that the speaker will formulate his utterance in such a way that the hearer can access the intended assumptions and draw the intended conclusions. Even when there is a number of interpretations, the Principle of Relevance guarantees that the first interpretation *consistent with the principle of relevance* should be considered the intended and only interpretation consistent with the principle of relevance.

This claim does not mean that the utterance was relevant to the hearer, but it means that the speaker acted in line with the presumption of relevance. I might tell someone that my friend John is ill, and he might already know it. There was no way that I could know that he knew, but one could still say

that I acted in accordance with the *Principle of Relevance*, because I thought that the information would be relevant for him.

4.4 Communication

Previously, some linguists assumed that communication consisted of the coding and decoding of messages. The coding consisted of the linguistic code and the decoding was the interpretation of the message. While this process does take place, it plays a small role in the process of communication.

However, this is exactly what I did when I understood my friend's utterance "I would like to visit my parents in the village."

It is important to note, however, that many times in the interpretation process one must use inference and not just decoding. Thus, when my friend tells me that he wants to visit his parents in the village and wishes that there were another holiday soon. I infer from his statement that he will not be going to the village soon. The meaning that he wanted to convey, the speaker meaning, could only be derived from inference, not from coding and decoding. Thus, we can see that communication is based on two processes—encoding and decoding, on the one hand, and inference on the other.

4.5 Context

As we have seen, an adequate understanding of context and context selection is essential for a theory of comprehension and discourse. In comprehension, a hearer must recover the intended message of the speaker. The hearer must identify the speaker's intended context and his intended set of contextual effects (Blass 1990, 53).

Before we discuss the identification of the speaker's intended context, we will see how one accesses and selects contexts in general.

People generally try to maximize any new information that they acquire. Thus, if I have inadvertently lost my keys, I will access, through perception and inference, certain beliefs and assumptions that will yield as many contextual effects as possible with the smallest amount of processing effort (Blass 1990, 53).

The individual is limited in the contexts that he can access by the "organization of the individual's encyclopaedic memory, and the mental activity in which he is engaged" (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 138). An enormous amount of information is available, but only a small part of that information will be accessible in any given moment. The most easily accessible information is usually "the information used in the interpretation of the immediately preceding utterance, together with the information derived from it" (Blass 1990, 53).

The immediately given context can be extended by other accessible information, especially information found in the encyclopedic memory. Memory is accessed from memory by concepts which Sperber and Wilson see as consisting of a label or address in which information is stored. There are three types of entries under which information can be stored: logical entries, encyclopedic entries and lexical entries (Blass 1990, 54). The logical entry for a concept contains a "set of deductive rules which apply to the logical forms of which that concept is a constituent" (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 87).

Encyclopedic entries consist of information about the extension and/or the denotation of the concept, which includes the events, objects, or properties which instantiated it. For example, the encyclopedic entry for 'Niger' might include the following:

- (35)
- a. The Republic of Niger is a country in Africa, which borders Mali, Chad, Libya, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Benin and Algeria.
 - b. Niger consists of desert and semi-desert regions.
 - c. The Niger River runs through the country.

The information contained within the encyclopedic memory is not always accessible. The information contained under 'Niger', for example is only accessible when the concept 'Niger' is present in the person's working memory. The encyclopedic entry for Niger will certainly contain other concepts, which will help to make other encyclopedic entries accessible as they are brought in to the person's working memory.

The lexical entry consists of information about its natural language counterpoint: the word or phrase that expresses it. In other words, the syntactic and phonological information of the word normally contained within a linguistic lexicon (Blass 1990, 54).

While it is possible that a person could continue to access further encyclopedic entries indefinitely, an individual is unlikely to do so. Because each new addition means an increase of processing effort, he is unlikely to do so unless it is offset by sufficient contextual effects.

4.6 Stylistic effects

Now that we have covered some of Sperber and Wilson's main claims about communication, we will examine their notions of topic and focus. In terms of focus, Sperber and Wilson suggest that the proposition expressed by an utterance has grammatically specified entailments, entailments which can be obtained by substituting a logical variable or proform for a syntactic constituent" (Blass 1990, 136). To illustrate how this relates to *focus*, let us consider the following sentence: *Mary baked a cake*. The grammatically specified entailments for this utterance are listed below in (36):

- (36) a. Someone baked a cake.
 b. Mary baked something.
 c. Mary did something in connection with a cake.
 d. Mary did something.
 e. Something happened.

The speaker who uttered, "Mary baked a cake" arguably commits himself to the truth of the entailments listed above in (36), but he does not necessarily expect them all to be equally relevant or equally meaningful for the hearer.

Sperber and Wilson see two types of entailments: foreground and background entailments. An understanding of foreground and background entailments is essential for the purposes of this study. Background entailments are seen to help determine the context, while foreground entailments help the hearer establish the main point (otherwise known as the *focus*) of the utterance. If one was to consider (36a) as the background of an utterance, then the hearer is expected to realize that it is relevant to know the identity of the person who baked the cake. However, if the background of the sentence, 'Mary baked a cake.' is considered to be (36b), then the speaker is expected to recognize that it is relevant to discover exactly what Mary baked. Thus, constituents in *focus* in a clause are considered to be in the *foreground*. Foreground entailments are seen to promise *contextual effects* in the hearer as they interact with the speaker's knowledge of the world.

Now let us examine the sentence mentioned previously, *Mary baked a cake*, and show how it can lead to contextual effects in the listener. First, let us imagine a situation where Susan comes and smells something baking. She walks into the house and sniffs ostensively. Then Jane states, "Mary BAKED a cake." Jane's utterance and Susan knowledge of the world might lead Susan to use the following premises to come to the conclusion that they will eat the cake for dessert:

Premise one: If Mary bakes a cake, they will eat it for dessert.

Premise two: Mary baked a cake.

Conclusion: They will eat that cake for dessert.

It is Susan's previous experience (or knowledge of the world) that will lead her to the conclusion that they will eat the cake for dessert. Perhaps it is Mary that always bakes the cakes in the household. *Every time she bakes them, they eat cake for dessert.* Thus, in this instance, we see that the sentence in the first premise interacts with the second premise to produce the conclusion, "They will eat that cake for dessert." In this instance, "Mary did something" is in the background, and "baked a cake" is in the foreground. It is the foreground information that actually leads to contextual effects.

Sperber and Wilson's main claim is that focus is marked in languages to give the hearer easy access to the encyclopedic entries necessary for the interpretation of the utterance. This is explainable in RT in terms of *processing effort*. The speaker wants to save the hearer unnecessary processing effort in deriving the cognitive effects.

Now we will look at Sperber and Wilson's understanding of *discourse topic*. 'Topic' is seen as intuitively functioning to provide contextual information crucial to the interpretation process by giving access to encyclopedic information essential for comprehension. When a particular topic is introduced, the hearer is encouraged to organize the discussion at hand around it.

The problem lies in the fact that one can have well formed discourses in which an intuitive understanding of topic is lacking. *By no means is a speaker required to keep to the topic, and breaches of topic continuity happen all of the time, especially in conversation.* RT is better able to explain topic discontinuity in terms of relevance. An utterance in a text does not have to have the same topic as the previous one in order to be relevant (Blass 1990, 75-76; Sperber and Wilson 1995, 215-116). It only has

to have the presumption of relevance. As an example, let us consider the following exchange between two speakers:

- (37) A: I am having a cup of coffee. Would you like one?
 B: I see John coming.

In the previous example, we see that the utterance of B violates the topic continuity of A's utterance. Speaker A is suggesting to B that they sit down for a cup of coffee, but B changes the topic by stating that John is coming. In terms of RT, such a breach of topic can be easily explained. The fact that John is coming is apparently more relevant for A (and perhaps for B as well), in B's opinion, than A's idea of sitting for a cup of coffee. Thus, B thought it best to bring to the attention of A the fact that John would soon be there. Speaker B presumes that her utterance is relevant. The fact that B did not answer A's question promises a set of contextual assumptions for the hearer that any socially adept person would be able to supply.

It is clear from the above example that topic continuity is not essential for communication. Relevance, rather than topic continuity (or even coherence or cohesion) is what is essential for communication. Because Sperber and Wilson's theory sees communication in terms of relevance and not in terms of a unified topic, they are able to handle both sets of texts: those with a well-defined 'topic' and those in which it is difficult to identify the main topic. The basis for human communication should be seen as relevance, not coherence or topic (Blass 1990, 75-76; Sperber and Wilson 1995, 215-116).

Sperber and Wilson argue that topic is considered to be derivative in RT. When a particular 'topic' of a discourse introduced, it gives access to a particular encyclopedic entry, around which a major part of the discourse can be centered. Thus, as I previously stated, a particular concept's encyclopedic memory is only accessible when the concept is present in a person's working memory. As an encyclopedic entry contains other concepts, this allows the hearer to access other concepts to aid in comprehension and to increase the possibility of contextual effects.

In the next chapter, I will apply RT to the analysis of *no* and the scopes it indicates.

CHAPTER V

RELEVANCE THEORY AND THE PARTICLE *NO*

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the discourse functions of information that is within the scope of the particle *no* in RT terms. I will argue that the particle *no* serves as a marker of syntactic scope. In section 5.2.1, I will point out that the information within the syntactic scope of the particle consists of foreground entailments. In section 5.2.2, I will show that the part of the clause that is within the syntactic scope of the particle consists of background information that serves to introduce a new context. As a marker of syntactic scope, it has a general *watch this!* function for the hearer concerning the constituent or constituents within its scope. The speaker is therefore suggesting that the information within the scope of the particle is of particular relevance to the hearer. In 5.2, I will also explain how the two functions of this particle—either as marking information that can promise contextual effects or as marking information that introduces a new context—can be explained in a unified approach.

5.2 The status of the particle *no*

By providing many examples, I will give an account of this particle using RT, showing how the information within the scope of this particle either directly or indirectly leads to relevance for the hearer. The information within the scope of the particle can consist of background entailments on the level of discourse, introducing a new context in the discourse. The information within the scope of the particle can also consist of foreground information at the sentence level, promising cognitive effects for the listener and directly leading to relevance.

I will also show how the syntactic scope of the particle *no* is ambiguous. It is difficult to determine exactly what constituent in the clause is contained in its syntactic scope. Its scope could include one of the constituents of the clause or the clause as a whole. Then, I will show how an examination of this particle's function in discourse can give us an inkling of the syntactic scope of this particle. It is only by looking at the context of where this particle occurs that one can determine its

scope. I will illustrate how this particle marks both relevant foreground and relevant background information and how this fact increases the potentiality of relevance for the hearer and as well as helping to reduce processing effort. By using this particle, the speaker is suggesting that the information contained in the syntactic scope of this particle promises contextual effects or introduces a new context.

In this section, I will discuss how RT can provide a unified account of this interesting particle. The most unified account of this particle would be to see it as marker of syntactic scope. To say that it is a marker of foreground information (as a focus marker) *and* background information (as a topic marker) is basically meaningless since all information in a clause can be classified as either foreground or background information. Such a description really tells us nothing. It is more economical and simpler to state that it marks the syntactic scope of information that directly or indirectly has relevance for the hearer. As a so-called "focus" marker it contains in its scope information that promises contextual effects for the hearer. As a so called "topic marker", it includes in its scope information that indicates a new context for the hearer and contributes indirectly to relevance.

From now on, we will assume this analysis and the particle *no* as having one single function, to indicate syntactic scope, which can be either foreground information on the sentence level or background information on the discourse level.

5.2.1 The scope of the foreground

Of course, the question one may ask at this point is how foreground information can be distinguished from background information in a sentence. One such way is by examining what Wh-questions an utterance could possibly be used to answer. The part of the utterance that answers the Wh-question is considered foreground information. To illustrate my point, let us look at an English example,

(38) A: Who went to town?

B: JOHN went to town.

In this example, we see that 'John' is in the foreground, because it is specifically the word 'John' that tells us who went to town. It is usually stressed in English. What is in the background is the proposition, X went to town. 'John' is the new information provided by B.

5.2.1.1 Questions

Sperber and Wilson distinguish between yes-no questions and Wh-questions. Yes-no questions have a logical form and a fully propositional form. Wh-questions, on the other hand, have a logical form but not a fully propositional form. They hypothesize that when a hearer is asked a question, she recovers its logical form and integrates into a description of the form, as *The speaker is asking Wh-P*, with *Wh-P* as an indirect question. With yes-no questions, we need to analyze *asking Wh-P*. *Wh-P* is the yes-no question, and *P* is propositional form of the utterance. It communicates that the thought interpreted by *P* would be relevant, if true. Wh-questions, on the other hand, must also be analyzed as *asking Wh-P*, but in this case, *Wh-P* is the Wh-question, and *P* is the less-than-propositional form of the utterance. It communicates "that there is some completion of the thought interpreted by *P* into a fully propositional thought which would be relevant if true" (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 252). In summary, interrogative questions are seen as interpretations of answers that a speaker would regard as relevant, if true.

Questions in general are thus considered to representations of their answers. Yes-no questions are fully propositional while Wh-questions are not. So if we were to return to (38), listed below we see that the question is lacking a fully propositional form.

(38) A: Who went to town?

B: JOHN went to town.

The not fully propositional form is 'Someone went to town.' It is B's answer that expands A's question to be fully propositional. It is also easy to see how A's question is a representation of B's answer.

For the purposes of this discussion on the particle *no*'s role in discourse, one must examine Wh-questions and their answers. As stated previously, Wh-questions are an interpretation of the answer, which is missing a fully propositional form. That is to say, the propositional form of the question is missing a vital part that the answer should provide. In terms of the foreground/background distinction, the Wh-question word represents the part of the propositional form that is 'missing', so to speak. Thus, it is foreground information. In Zarma, both the Wh-question word and the part of the answer that fills out

the incomplete propositional form of the question is almost always marked by the particle *no*.⁶ We see that the following interrogative pronouns contain the particle *no*: *mate no* 'how', *ifo no* 'what', *may no* 'who'. The only exception appears to be *ifo se* 'why'. The following sections on Wh-questions illustrate that both the Wh-question word and the part of the sentence that fills out the propositional form of the question are marked with the particle *no*, and thus should be considered foreground information.

5.2.1.2 Questions with *mate no* 'how'

Now let us look at Wh-questions with the Wh-question word, *mate*. In the first part of the examples (2), (39), and (40), we have the Wh-question word, *mate*, in a question, followed by a sentence answering the question. In each case, the declarative sentence answering the question contains the particle *no* in one of the constituents of the clause. It is also important to note that *no* also occurs concurrently with the question word, *mate* 'how'.

(2) *Day mate no i ga dambu te nda?*
EMP how SS 3P INC couscous make with

'But with what is couscous made?'

Kopto dumi boobo go no kay i ga dambu te
leaf kind many EXT SS that 3p INC couscous make

nda: windi-bundu ula, curo-ce fuubay yuula-yuula; nda afo
with windi-bundu ula, curo-ce fuubay yuula-yuula and one

yay.
some

'There are many kinds of leaves that one can make couscous with: windi-bundu, ula, curo-ce, fuubay, yuula-yuula, and many others.'

(*Dambu teyay*, 1.3, 2.1)

In (2), we see that the particle *no* occurs within the noun phrase, *kopto dumi boobo go no* 'There are many kinds of leaves'. The noun phrase directly answers the question listed above, *Day mate no i ga dambu te nda?* 'But with what is couscous made?'

This phrase, *kopto dumi boobo go no*, is put into the foreground through the presence of *no* in the phrase. In this case, it is the whole phrase that is in focus and not just the existential particle *go*, which is sometimes translated 'is'. What actually promises contextual effects for the listener is that 'there are many kinds of leaves', not the idea that something exists, as it would if *go* was in focus. As we can see, it is the context that helps us determine what is foreground information in a clause.

(39) *Mate no siida dooro ga te ga boro di?*
how SS AIDS illness INC do INC person catch

'How does one get AIDS?'

Hari hinza no ga nay a ma boro di.
thing three SS INC permit 3s SBJ person catch

'There are three things that cause a person to catch it.'

(*Siida dooro*, 6.1, 6.2)

In (39), the noun phrase *hari hinza no* 'three things' occurs with the particle *no*. This noun phrase is brought into the foreground while the rest of the clause *ga nay a ma boro di* 'that permit a person to catch it' is in the background. The noun phrase *hari hinza no* 'three things' directly answers the question, 'How does one catch AIDS?' and fills out the not fully propositional form of the question.

Now let us look at the following example, which is somewhat more complicated.

⁶I argue in this chapter that both the interrogative pronoun in the question and its answer are both marked with the particle *no*, and thus, both structures appear to be in focus or in the foreground. This phenomenon apparently does not always occur with other African languages. At least in one African language, Kpelle, answers to Wh-questions are not "usually" marked for focus (Welmers 1964, as cited by Bearth (1999, 134). Bearth, as well, when examining questioning-answering sequences in Toura, Akan, and Swahili does not necessarily feel that informativity plays a role in the marking of focus (Bearth 1999, 134).

(40) *Mate no te?*
how SS happen

'What happened?'

I deede a se.
3P recount 3s to

'They recounted the story to him.'

I ne hansi no na foono kar a na
3P say dog SS CMP monkey strike 3s CMP

zeeri amma a na toosi gwa.
terrorize but 3S CMP stool eat

'They said it was the dog who has struck the monkey and terrorized him, but he had to eat the bowel movement.'

(*Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, 11.3, 11.4, 11.5)

The particle *no* is most clearly an indicator of foreground information in examples (2) and (39).

In (2) we see that the leaves that one uses to prepare couscous is in the foreground, which answers the question: "From what is couscous made?" In (39), the noun phrase 'three things' is in the foreground, which answers the question: how does one catch AIDS? In both cases, in RT terms, the information that is in the syntactic scope of the particle *no* is in the foreground. As stated before, it is this foreground information that promises contextual effects for the hearer. Example (40), listed above, is somewhat more complicated. In this instance, the question is asked, "What happened?" Normally, this is a question that would put the whole sentence of the answer in the foreground.⁷ On the surface, it would appear that the subject alone is in the scope of the particle *no*. As far as (40) is concerned, the subject, *hansi no* 'Dog' alone may appear to be in the foreground, but if we consider the context it is clear that the whole clause must be in focus. The context is essential for determining the scope of the particle *no* and is more important than the surface structure of the clause.

Lambrech claims that in languages with prosodic focus marking, when the accent falls on the subject, then its scope is unambiguous. If we were dealing with prosodic focus marking, the focus of the clause could only be on the subject of the clause (1994, 302-303). In this instance, however, I would argue that the scope of the particle *no* encompasses the whole clause, because of the question "What

happened?" which implies sentential focus. Perhaps one can argue that indicators of syntactic scope behave differently from prosodic focus marking so that languages with focus markers are still ambiguous even when the subject of the clause is in focus. In any case, Hyman and Watters report a similar use of a focus particle in Somali. Note the following:

(41) *cali-baa móos cunay* 'ALI ate a banana.'
Ali FOC banana ate
cali moos-buu cunay 'Ali ate a BANANA'
cali móos waa-cunay 'Ali ATE a banana' (Hyman and Watters, 1984, 241, as cited by Hutchison 2000, 581)

Hyman and Watters report that all of the above sentences are examples of sentence focus.

There is apparently a three-step process in assigning focus markers in Somali. First, if the subject is included in the focus, then one would add a focus marker to the subject. Secondly, if the subject is not in focus, but if the object is focused, then one would assign a focus marker to the object. Thirdly, if neither the object nor the subject is included in the focus then one would add a focus marker to the verb (Hyman and Watters 1984, 581, as cited by Hutchison 2000, 581). From Hyman's and Watter's claim that all of the above examples are examples of sentential focus, we see that languages with focus markers behave differently from languages that have prosodic focus marking. From Hyman's and Watter's data, we see that that at least in this language, focus marking is ambiguous when object, subject, and verb are marked, all three are considered sentential focus.

5.2.1.3 Questions with *ifo* and *ifo no* 'what'

This section contains questions with the interrogative question markers *ifo* and *ifo no*. The following example was taken from the text, *Talkataray* 'Poverty'. In this example, the question is actually the topic of the discourse. So, the question is actually not answered completely by the following clause. One also sees that the particle *no* does not occur in the interrogative question marker, that is, the interrogative pronoun is *ifo* and not *ifo no*.

⁷ See Sperber and Wilson (1995, 203).

(42) *Ifo ga ti talkataray?*
 what INC be poverty

'What is poverty?'

Talkataray manti kala balaawubeerey me nda me sabiilo
 poverty not only unhappiness big.PL all cause

'Poverty is only the cause of all unhappiness.'

(*Talkataray*, 1.3, 2.1)

It would be interesting to investigate exactly why the particle *no* does not occur concurrently with the interrogative pronoun *ifo* 'what'? Unfortunately, at this point in time, I do not have any other examples of this Wh-question word without the particle *no*.

In the following example, we see that interrogative *ifo no* is used rather than simply *ifo*.

(43) *A ne kooro se ifo no kate nin dayo ra*
a ne kooro se ifo no kate nin dayo -o ra
 3S say hyena to what SS lead 2S well DEF in

nango?

nangu -o
 place DEF

'He said to Hyena, 'What put you in the well here?''

A ne, A! jawo wo no laala nga ga
 3S say Oh thirst this SS be.dangerous 3S to

wodin se no kaj nga ka nga mana ba guna
 this.thing to SS that 3S come 3S not even look

kaj dayo guusu
 that well deep

'He said, "Oh, it was the thirst, which had been very strong. That is why when he came to the well that he did not even look to see that the well was deep."'

(*Kooro nda foono*, 4.4, 4.5a-e)

Interestingly, in (42) the answer does not contain the focus particle, but as well, we see that the *no* particle does not occur with the interrogative pronoun, *ifo* either. However, in (43) the exact opposite occurs. The particle *no* occurs with the Wh-question word, *ifo*, and *no* also occurs in the response to the question. In (43), the particle *no* occurs after the noun phrase *jawo wo*, 'this thirst'. In this case, it is the

noun phrase that is in focus. This noun phrase, *jawo wo no*, 'this thirst' is what promises contextual effects in the listener. It directly answers the question, 'What put you into the well here?' In other words, it fills out the not fully propositional form of the question. One could argue as well that the particle *no* in the phrase *wodin se no* 'this thing' produces contextual effects in the listener. 'This thing' refers directly back to Hyena's thirst and thus fills out the not fully propositional form of the question.

5.2.1.4 Questions with *may no* 'who'

This section contains questions with the interrogative pronoun *may no* 'who' and their answers.

At this point, let us look at the following example.

(44) *I go ga nga boy ha hala ifo tayandi no*
 3P PRbG 3S head ask ? what humidity SS

wo-ne, may no ka ga hay?
 here who SS come CN drink

'They asked themselves, with such humidity here, who has been coming to drink?'

Bine kooro mo ne hambagar tobay no wo.
 then hyena also say maybe hare SS this

'Then Hyena said that perhaps it was Hare.'

(*Tobay*, 4.4, 4.5)

The question in (44) is 'Who has been coming to drink? Such a question naturally entails that 'Someone has been coming to drink.' With such an entailment, one would naturally suspect that the response to the question would naturally have the subject in the foreground. If one looks at the second clause in (44), one sees that that is exactly what we have: the subject, *tobay no wo*, 'this hare', has been foregrounded in this case. It is the noun phrase that fills out the incomplete propositional form of the question, *May no ka ga hay?* 'Who has been coming to drink?'

5.2.1.5 Questions with *ifo se* 'why'

Questions can also occur with the Wh-question phrase, *ifo se* 'why'. The following two sentences occur immediately after Hare tells Hyena that the other animals consider him a fool.

(45) *Kulu kooro na hē ifo se?*
 then hyena CMP ask why

'Then Hyena asked him, "Why?"

A ne mate no ni hinne no ga nay dayo
a ne mate no ni hinne no ga nay day -o
 3S say how SS 2S alone SS INC leave well DEF

boŋ ma hanna ga a gardi.
boŋ ma hanna ga a gardi
 on SBJ alone CN 3S guard

'How is it that it is you alone that they left at the edge of the well.'

(*Tobay*, 6.7, 6.8)

In this clause, we see that while the interrogative pronoun *ifo se* 'why' does not have the particle *no*, the particle *no* still occurs with one of the constituents of the clause. It occurs with the noun phrase *ni hinne no* 'you alone'. This example is somewhat complicated. What one must determine is what exactly what is in the foreground. Is it the noun phrase *ni hinne no* 'you alone' or is the whole clause? Personally, I would like to argue that it is the whole clause that has been foregrounded, because it is only the whole clause, which adequately fills out the incomplete propositional form of the question, 'Why?'

5.3 The ambiguous nature of focus

One sees from the previous discussion on Wh-questions that determining the constituent in focus in a clause is not an easy process. Unfortunately, the situation is not quite so simple. Sperber and Wilson suggest that when European languages use stress to indicate focus, it is "a sort of vocal equivalent of pointing, a natural means of drawing attention to one particular constituent in an utterance" (1995, 203). However, in life, pointing is ambiguous. If I point in a certain direction, it may not always be clear to which object I am pointing. *Focus*, as its parallel, the gesture of pointing, is ambiguous. It is difficult at times to know what constituent is in focus. Only rarely would the focus of a clause be unambiguous. Usually one or more constituents of the clause could be in focus. In *Zarma*, while I will argue that one uses the *no* particle and not stress to indicate focus, the same principles are at work. Let us consider the following example:

(46) John went to SEE his sister.

The problem one faces in (34) is that stress, like pointing, is ambiguous. The stressed verb 'SEE' is part of the verb phrases 'to SEE his sister', and 'went to SEE his sister'. It is also part the entire clause 'John went to SEE his sister.' When one places stress on 'SEE', one may be intending to highlight any one of these syntactic constituents of the clause. One can assume that part of the problem in determining the scope of a particular focus relies heavily in determining what part of clause is foreground information and therefore causes contextual effects in the reader. I will go more into the pragmatics of this issue in the last chapter. In the remainder of this chapter, however, I will show how focal scope is ambiguous.

Let us look at the following example mentioned previously.

(25) *Gurja do no ay go ga ka bo.*
gurje -a do no ay go ga ka bo
 match DEF to SS 1S PRG come ?

'It is to the wrestling match that I am going.'

(*Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, 3.3)

The scope of the particle *no* is ambiguous. In this case, the scope of the particle could include simply the postpositional phrase, *gurja do* 'to the wrestling match' or simply the postposition itself, *do* 'to'. Thus, the focus of the clause could be indicated by the following two figures. In figure 3, the postpositional phrase, *gurja do*, is in focus, and in figure 4, the postposition, *do*, is in focus.

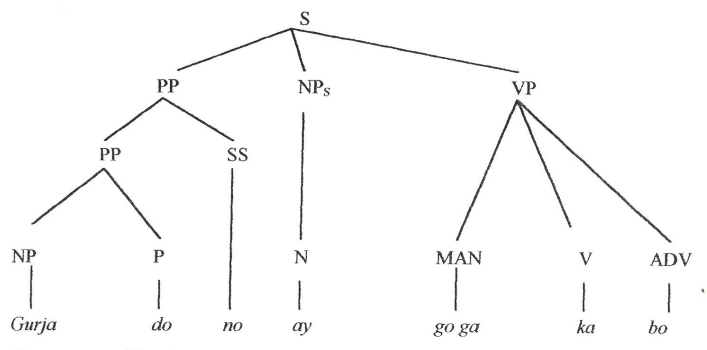


Fig. 3. Postpositional phrase in focus.

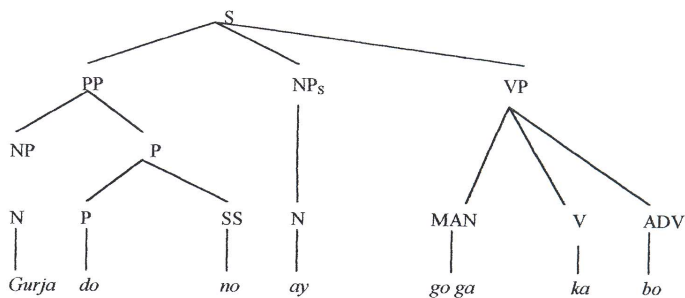


Fig. 4. Postposition in focus.

In the following example, we see that the particle *no* occurs at the end of the clause.

- (26) *kooro, ni wo, ni ga ye dayo ra no,*
kooro ni wo ni ga ye day -o ra no
 hyena 2S EMP 2S INC return well DEF in SS

'Hyena, you, yes, you are going to return to the well.'

(*Kooro nda foono*, 6.9b)

In (26), as well, it is not clear exactly what constituent is in focus. Is it the postposition, the postpositional phrase or the entire clause that is in focus?

Now let us return to the third clause of (24), which is repeated below for the reader's convenience.

- (24) *Annasaara na a guna, a te sanda nga maray no*
 white.person obj.pt 3S look.at 3S do as 3S bless SS
- i na a gorondi.*
 3P CMP 3S make.sit

'The white person looked at him; he pretended he was injured, they made him sit down.'

(*Pottol*, 2.15)

The question that one could ask in this point: what is the syntactic scope of the particle *no*?

Does it extend just to the verb phrase or does it encompass the clause as a whole? Alternatively, since it is part of a larger sentence consisting of a several clauses, does it encompass the entire sentence? If this particle goes beyond the verb phrase and includes the clause as whole, then the structure of this clause can be illustrated as in figure 5:

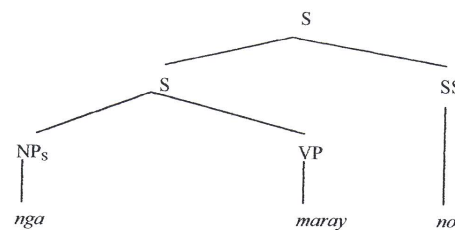


Fig. 5. Clausal focus.

On the other hand, if the syntactic scope of the particle *no* contains only the verb, then it would have the structure in Figure 6.

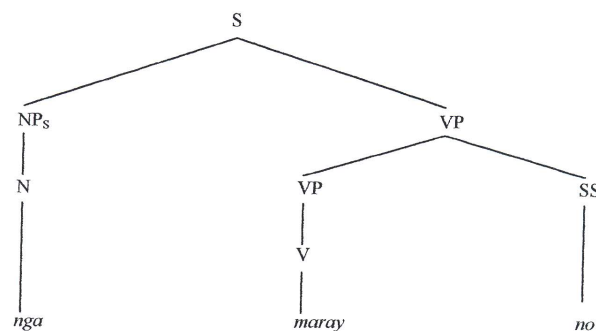


Fig. 6. Verb phrase in focus.

In the analysis shown in figure 6, the verb phrase is in focus and not the entire phrase. Example (47) listed below is another example of this particle with an ambiguous scope with the particle occurring after the last constituent of the verb phrase.

- (47) *I go ga ka no i kubay da yo.*
 3P PRG come SS 3P met with camel

'It was in their coming that they met with the camel.'

(*Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, 4.1)

The previous example is very similar to (26) mentioned previously. In (47), the *no* particle occurs in the first clause in the sentence, immediately after the first verb. This clause can be analyzed in two ways either as the syntactic scope encompassing the entire clause or as only the verb phrase. Now in the following sections of this chapter, I will show that foreground determines contextual effects.

5.4 Foreground and contextual effects

As stated previously, in RT, focus is seen in terms of a foreground/background distinction. In Zarma, I argue that when the constituents of a clause that are within the syntactic scope of the particle *no* can be considered foreground information, they promise contextual effects for the hearer. These contextual effects can be of three types: a contextual implication, strengthening an assumption, and eliminating an assumption. I will discuss each type below in the following three sections.

5.4.1 Contextual implication

As stated previously, contextual implications are drawn when new information given by the speaker interacts with old information that the hearer holds as true. The contextual implication that is drawn could not have come from either the new information provided by the speaker or from the assumptions the speaker holds. It is obtained by the interaction of the two.

Perhaps the clearest example of how a contextual implication is derived is taken from the text entitled *Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, 'The battle of the Wild Animals and the Tame Animals'. In this text, the wild animals and the tame animals set up a wrestling match to see which group was the best. The tame animals chose Dog to fight for them, and the wild animals chose Monkey to be their representative. When the two animals begin wrestling, Dog strikes Monkey, and Monkey has a bowel movement. When the match is over and the Dog is clearly the victor, Lion, however, forces Dog to eat the bowel movement. The scene is repeated a few times as Dog and his entourage meet other animals that want to see the match as well. It is at this point that the following sentence occurs:

(48) *Sohō gunda no go ga koy a jine ya.*
sohō gunde -a no go ga koy a jine ya
 now stomach DEF SS PRG go 3S before EMP

'Now it was his stomach that was showing before him.'

(*Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, 8.7)

In (48), we see that the particle *no* occurs after the noun *gunda* 'the stomach.' In this instance, I consider the syntactic scope of the particle as consisting of the entire clause. One might analyze the contextual implication as follows:

Premise one: If someone's stomach is showing before him, he has eaten a lot.

Premise two: Dog's stomach is showing before him.

Conclusion: Dog has eaten a lot.

Premise one consists of assumptions held by the speaker, while premise two consists of new information provided by the speaker. Premise two interacts with Premise one to produce the conclusion, which is the contextual implication. The contextual implication could not be derived from either Premise one or Premise two, but can only be derived from an interaction between the two premises.

Now let us look at another example. The following example is taken from *Kooro nda foono* 'Hyena and Monkey'. In this text, we see that Hyena is looking for water during a famine. After searching for water for some time, he comes to a well and without thinking jumps in. It is at this point in the story that the following sentence occurs:

(49) *A hay hari kala a yeesi gunda*
a hay hari kala a yeesi gunde -a
 3S drink water until 3S quench.thirst stomach DEF

hiino kay gunda to no a fongu kay
hiino kay gunde -a to no a fongu kay
 when stomach DEF fill SS 3S remember that

wiiza day kuuko ra no nga go.
wiiza day kuuku -o ra no nga go
 truly well deep DEF in SS 3S EXT

'He drank water until he quenched his thirst. His stomach was full. When his stomach was full, he remembered that he was in a deep well.'

(*Kooro nda foono*, 3.8)

There are two occurrences of the particle *no* in this clause that I want to examine. The first one occurs after the verb *to* 'fill' and the second occurs after the postpositional phrase *wiiza day kuuko ra* 'truly in the deep well'. In the first occurrence, we see that the syntactic scope of the particle *no* encompasses either the verb *to* 'fill' or the dependent clause *hiino kay gunda fo* 'when his stomach was full'. This should be considered the foreground entailment, which are given by the speaker. Premise one listed below is the assumption that the speaker holds to be true, while Premise two is the information within the foreground scope of the particle *no*. As in the previous examples, the two premises interact with each other to give us the conclusion.

Premise one: If a person dying of thirst is able to drink water and quench his thirst, he will be able to regain his senses.

Premise two: Hyena, who was dying of thirst, was able to drink water and quench his thirst.

Conclusion: Hyena regained his senses.

Now let us look at the second occurrence of the particle *no* contained in (49). The second occurrence of the particle *no* occurs after the postpositional phrase *wiiza day kuuko ra* 'truly in the deep well'. Now that Hyena has come to his senses, he knows that he is in a deep well. At this point, we can ask ourselves, what are the contextual assumptions that might be derived if one found oneself in a deep well? The phrase 'deep well' would likely call up information that is in one's encyclopedic memory—that being in a deep well is a dangerous place to be especially if one does not have a way to get out. We see the interaction of an assumption that the hearer holds as true, that being in a deep well is a dangerous place to be, with the information contained within the syntactic scope of the particle *no*, that Hyena is in a deep well. This could give us the following *modus ponendo ponens*.

Premise one: If someone is in a deep well without a way to get out, then he is in a dangerous position.

Premise two: Hyena is in a deep well without a way to get out.

Conclusion: Hyena is in a dangerous position.

Thus, we see the two premises interacting with one another to draw the conclusion, a contextual implication.

In the text entitled *Aduwa* 'Prayer', the particle *no* occurs only twice at the end of the discourse.

The clause is listed below in (43):

- (50) *ni ma iri yafa zama iri ya zunubikoneyaj no*
 2S SBJ 1P forgive because 1P EMP sinners SS
- taliteriyaj no.*
 evildoers SS

'May you forgive us, because we are sinners, evil doers.'

(*Aduwa*, 1.5e-f)

In (50), we see that the particle *no* occurs after the nouns *zunubikoneyaj* and *taliteriyaj*. In

this instance, the syntactic scopes of the two *no* particles encompass the noun *zunubikoneyaj* and the

noun *taliteriyaj*, respectively. If one examines the immediate context of this sentence, one sees that it provides the following *modus ponendo ponens*:

Premise one: If someone is an evildoer or a sinner, then she needs forgiveness from God.

Premise two: The person praying the prayer is a sinner or an evildoer.

Conclusion: The person praying the prayer needs forgiveness from God.

Thus, Premise one is an assumption that the hearer holds and Premise two is the new information given by the speaker that interacts with the old information to derive the conclusion, which is contextual implication.

5.4.2 Strengthening an existing assumption

In this section, I will discuss how information within the scope of the particle *no* functions to strengthen an existing assumption that a hearer might have. Of the 102 occurrences of the particle *no* in my text investigated for the purposes of this paper, 23 of them were used to strengthen an existing assumption.

Perhaps the clearest example of this phenomenon occurs in the following sentence:

- (51) *Farkay folloy no go a se kaj boy a*
 donkey only.one SS be 3S for that on 3S
- ga koy saaji fimbo ra ga tuuri ku.*
 INC go bush thick in CN wood collect

'It was only one donkey that he had on which he was going into the thick bush to collect wood.'
 (*Wande bonkaano*, 1.2)

By this point in the story, the fact that Amadu was very poor has already been well established.

In the previous sentence (1.1), we learn that Amadu was very poor, more so than anyone else.

In my view, what one sees in this example is that a contextual implication is drawn—that Amadu is poor, but since that contextual implication is already an assumption, then a contextual implication is drawn that serves to strengthen the existing assumption. Look at the *modus ponendo ponens* below.

Premise one: If one has only one donkey, one is very poor.

Premise two: Amadu has only one donkey.

Conclusion: Amadu is very poor.

Thus, we see in the conclusion that Amadu was very poor, which is an already existing assumption, according to the previous sentence 1.1. Thus, it serves to strengthen the existing assumption that Amadu was very poor. However, it is important to note that this is not the only time that the fact that Amadu was poor was strengthened. Look at the following sentence in (52):

(52) *Jiiri iddu nda care game ra no Amadu koy du*
 year six and between in SS Amadu go du
du wande hinzata hijay nooro.
 have wife third marriage money

'It was after six years that Amadu had the money for the marriage of the third wife.'
 (Wande bonkaano, 3.24)

In (52), we see that the scope of the particle *no* contains the length of time that it took Amadu to get enough money for his third wife—six years. The information within its scope strengthens the existing assumption that Amadu was very poor, because the longer it takes one to earn marriage money the poorer one is. The information within the scope of the particle *no* interacts with the existing assumption that the longer it takes to earn money for a wife, the poorer one is to produce the conclusion that Amadu was poor. Note the *modus ponendo ponens* listed below:

Premise one: If it takes one a long time to earn marriage money, one is very poor.

Premise two: It took Amadu a long time to earn marriage money—six years.

Conclusion: Amadu is very poor.

It is interesting to note that it took Amadu three years to earn money for his first wife (sentence 3.6) and four years for his second wife (sentence 3.16). It is clear that his financial situation has not been improving by the time that he marries his third wife. Amadu remains poor.

In the following clause, we see a few examples of an existing assumption being strengthened by information within the scope of the particle *no*. This sentence occurs when Hare is trying to get revenge on Panther, because Panther has just recently eaten Hare's children. Hare is trying to encourage

him to put his tail in the water so that Panther can catch many fish. What Panther does not know is that there is a crocodile in the water.

(53) *Ay di kwaara fo kay bangu go no*
ay di kwaara fo kay bangu go no
 1S see village one that pond EXT SS

hamiisa go no ijwari go no-din ni ka
hamiise -a go no ijwari go no-din ni ka
 fish DEF EXT SS food EXT there 2S come

iri ga darbay no iri ma ijwa nwaari dumi-dumi
iri ga darbay no iri ma ijwa nwaari dumi-dumi
 1P INC fish SS 1P SBJ eat food all.kinds

haro ra ham dumi-dumi go no iri ga ijwa
hari -o ra ham dumi-dumi go no iri ga ijwa
 water DEF in meat all.kinds EXT SS 1P INC eat

ni ma ka iri ma koy no-din ay ma cabe i
ni ma ka iri ma koy no-din ay ma cabe i
 2S SBJ come 1P SBJ go there 1S SBJ show 3P

ga hamiisey di d' a.
ga hamiise -ey di da a
 INC fish PL see with 3S

'I saw a village that had a pond. There was fish and food. If you come, we will go fishing. We will eat all kinds of food that is in the water. We are going to eat. You must come. We must go over there. I will show you how to catch food there.'

(Tobay da mari, 6.6)

In this clause, we see Hare trying to convince Panther to go with him to the pond. Just in case he is not willing to go with him, Hare gives him a very good reason to go—the food that he would find there. Look at the second occurrence of the particle *no* in the text, which occurs immediately after the clause *hamiisa go* 'There are many fish.' This clause with the following one *nwaari go nodin* 'Food is over there' actually helps the Panther to draw the contextual implication that there is food in the pond. Now look at the fourth occurrence of the particle *no* found in the fourth line of text. The clause *ham dumi-dumi go no* 'there is all kinds of meat' strengthens Panther's existing assumption that there must be a lot of food at the pond. We know that he probably has the assumption that there must be some food at the pond, because Hare has told him so. In this instance, *no* serves to strengthen an existing assumption that there is food in the pond. By reiterating a statement and by using the particle *no* an existing assumption is strengthened.

Another example of the information within the scope of the particle *no* strengthening an existing assumption is found in the following example:

(54) *A ga lakkal tunandi.*
3S INC attention wake.up

'It burns the spirit.'

A ga bine-biibay mo day boro ga.
3S INC hate also place person to

'It puts hate into a person.'

Miila hanno kulu no boro si te.
thought good all SS person NEG.INC have

'It is good thoughts that one does not have.'

(*Talkataray*, 3.3)

In this example, I argue that the information of the clause that is contained within the syntactic scope of the particle, *miila hanno kulu no boro si te* 'It is good thoughts that one does not have.'

Actually, it strengthens information that is in the previous two clauses. When someone hates or when someone's spirit is burning, she is not having good thoughts.

5.4.3 Weakening or eliminating an existing assumption

As previously stated, one of the ways that focus functions in a language is to weaken or eliminate an existing assumption. We see this occurring in the following example mentioned previously.

This clause is listed below:

(14) *ne no suuji da gomni goss*
Here SS mercy and grace is

'Here is mercy and grace.'

(*Zanka kaj si hangan albeeri sanni se*, 3.3d)

In this text, a young girl is sent to get water from the well using a malformed jar. Before she leaves, however, she is warned by her stepmother of birds that will say to her, "Here is mercy and grace, where even flies do not cry, break the jar here." She was told not to even listen to them. Because she is obedient, she breaks the jar in the correct place and receives many riches. Later, when the woman's daughter is sent, she does not obey her mother and takes the good jar and breaks the jar as the birds

instruct her. Instead of getting riches, she finds wild animals, serpents and scorpions. She in fact says to herself (clauses 7.3 and 7.4), "Am I an imbecile? They tell me to break it here, because here is mercy and grace and should I not break it here? I am indeed going to break it here." In my view, the birds are weakening an existing assumption that at least the first girl had, that mercy and grace were not to be found there. They are encouraging the girls to be disobedient and to break the jar there.

Weakening or eliminating an existing assumption also occurs in the following clause:

(55) *A ne ngey ma ye a si no boro kaj no*
3S say 3P SBJ return 3S NEG SS person who SS

ga zeeri i ma ne a ma ye ga toosi ywa
INC terrify 3P SBJ say 3S SBJ return INC stool eat

koyne wo-din si te ngey ma koy.
again this NEG do 3P SBJ go

'He said they must return. There was no one who was going to terrorize him. This eating of the bowel movement would not happen again.'

(*Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, 8.9)

At this point, we shall return to the text entitled *Wande Bonkano*. We have already seen that in Section 5.4.2 how the existing assumption that Amadu was poor was strengthened. Now I shall illustrate how that existing assumption was eliminated later in the text. Look at the clause listed below:

(56) *Haya ga maamaacandi, hay kulu mana du Aysa*
hay -a ga maamaacandi, hay kulu mana du Aysa
thing DEF INC surprise thing all CMP have Aysa

amma haya kaj a di ga boro hamborandi
amma hay -a kaj a di ga boro hamborandi
but thing DEF that 3S see INC person frighten

zama dubi fo no a di kaj hari kulu si a
zama dubi fo no a di kaj hari kulu si a
because log one SS 3S see that water all NEG 3S

ra kala wura nda nzarfu
ra kala wura nad nzarfu
in than gold and silver

"The thing was astonishing. Nothing had happened to Aysa, but the thing that she saw was frightening to a person, because it was a log that she saw that contained nothing else but gold and silver.

(*Wande bonkaano*, 4.9)

Sentence (56) occurs one day when Amadu and his three wives go into the forest to collect wood. After Aysa, his third wife, goes into the forest to collect wood, we see her screaming and then Amadu comes running out of concern for her. When he finds her, he sees that she has found a log full of gold and silver.

In (56), we see that the particle *no* occurs after the noun phrase *dubi fo* 'one log'. In this instance, we see that the scope of the particle *no* encompasses the entire dependent clause *zama dubi fo no a di kaj hari kulu si a ra kala wura nda nzarfu* 'because it was in a log she saw that was completely filled with gold and silver'. Probably an existing assumption that a hearer could have is that if a person has gold or silver, he is not poor. This existing assumption would interact with the information contained within the scope of the particle *no* as seen in the following *modus ponendo ponens*:

Premise one: If someone has a lot of gold and silver, he is not poor.

Premise two: Amadu has a lot of gold and silver.

Conclusion: Amadu is not poor.

The assumption that is further eliminated by the following clause, which Amadu says to Aysa, his third wife.

(57) *Tuuri kuyay si no.*
wood collecting NEG SS

'There is no more wood collecting.'

(*Wande bonkanno*, 4.10e)

In (57), we see that Amadu tells Aysa that there is no more wood collecting. This fact probably suggests in the mind of the reader that Amadu and his wives will no longer need to work to gather wood.

5.5 Establishing a new context in a discourse

In this section, I will illustrate how information within the syntactic scope of the particle *no* is used to introduce a new context for the reader, traditionally understood as discourse topic. In this

instance, information within the syntactic scope of the particle consists entirely of background entailments and not of foreground entailments as discussed in section 4.3.1.⁸

I have mentioned that according to Prost (1956, 75), the particle *no* previously functioned as the demonstrative 'there', but now has lost its demonstrative status. De Vries reports a similar process with demonstratives in several Papuan languages. In the Awyu-family of Papuan languages, demonstratives eventually developed into topic markers (1995, 513). Concerning this process De Vries writes:

Just like lexical elements may develop multiple meanings (polysemy) in different contexts, grammatical forms may add functions in a diachronic process of functional extension and become multifunctional. Sometimes the new function gradually may become more prominent until the old function is lost. (De Vries 1995, 526)

He goes on to suggest that a possible route or channel through which these diachronic changes take place might be "the anaphoric use of demonstratives in stative clauses with a dichotomous topic-comment structure" (De Vries 1995, 526). Whether this actually happened in Zarma before the *no* particle lost its demonstrative status is difficult to say. However, there is another demonstrative particle, *wo*, 'this', that we could examine. Look at the following example as a case in point:

(58) *Fuwo wo ga boori.*
fu -o wo ga boori
house DEF this INC pretty

'This house is pretty'

(Bernard and White-Kaba 1994, 308)

While it might be difficult to extrapolate from this example concerning the particle *no*, we still might be able to guess that it probably functioned previously in the same way. In the previous sentence, we see a stative clause with a topic comment structure. The demonstrative *wo* 'this' is contained with the "topic" part of the sentence as part of the noun phrase *'fuwo wo* 'this house'.

When the particle *no* marks discourse topics in folktales, it usually occurs concurrently with two other particles *day* and *ya*. This construction is used primarily to introduce the main participant or

⁸Since I am claiming that the information within the scope of the particle can consist of background entailments on the level of the discourse, perhaps it is good at this point to distinguish between the two notions. The foreground consists of the main storyline, while the background helps to set the scene.

participants in a folktale discourse. For example, in the text entitled *Tobay* 'Hare', the first sentence (after the formulaic expression for a folktale) is as follows:

(59) *Ganji hamiize foyaj day no ya.*
bush animals some EMP SS EMP

'There were some wild animals.'

(*Tobay*, 3.1)

In this text, the wild animals are the main participants especially at the beginning. They are suffering together under the effects of a famine. It is not until later that Hare makes his appearance and becomes the main participant in the folktale. This phenomenon of marking a topical referent with a focus marker is not unknown among the languages of the world. According to Lambrecht (1994, 129), a referent that is topical on the discourse level is frequently coded as focus referent upon its first appearance in a sentence. Blass (1998, 11) comments on a similar process in a Niger-Congo language, Sissala. She states that focus and topic are marked with the same type of particle, although they apparently have mutually exclusive functions.

Culicover and Rochemont (1983) might call this presentational focus—"the use of focus to introduce an individual into a discourse" (p. 155). Dooley and Levinsohn suggest that "a FORMAL INTRODUCTION is linguistic material which instructs the hearer not only to activate the participant, but also to be prepared to organize a major part of the mental representation around him/her" (1999, 59). Such an introduction makes sense from a RT standpoint. It helps the hearer to establish a new context. Such a formulaic introduction of participants does not necessarily lead directly to contextual effects in the hearer but tells the hearer that this information has to be kept easily accessible. The formulaic introduction of participants attributes indirectly to relevance by helping the listener set the scene in which eventually cognitive effects are drawn.

In fact, the combination of the words *day no ya* or *no ya* is frequent in most if not all of the folktale texts that I have charted when new participants are introduced. It occurs in the texts, *Zanka kaj si hangan albeeri sanni se* (sentence 2.1), *Kooro nda foono* (sentence 2.1), *Tobay da mari* (sentence 2.1), *Zanka laala* (sentence 2.1), and *Tobay* (sentence 3.1). The only exceptions are the texts *Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja* and *Wande bonkaano*. It is interesting to note that these two texts

do not have the formulaic phrase at the beginning of the folktale, *ay jantay, jantay, ay naamay, naamay* 'To my tale, to my customs.'

Sometimes one sees *day ne ya* instead of *day no ya* when primary participants are first introduced. This fact is easily understood if one understands that "focus markers" and demonstratives both serve as "pointers"; the demonstrative is often used in discourse if the participants are not yet properly established. Let us look at the following example where we see *day ne ya* rather than *day no ya*.

(60) *Arwasu fo day ne ya kaj se i ga ne*
boy one EMP here EMP who for 3P INC say
Amadu, kaj talkataray ga a sinda wadde.
Amadu that poverty INC 3S have.NEG equal

'Here was one boy called Amadu who was poor.'

(*Wande bonkaano*, 1.1)

The question that one could ask here is: Is *ne* 'here' functioning as a focus marker? I would argue that it is not, although there is a relationship. A clear connection exists between the function of focus particles and the function of deixis in texts. That is, the focus particle *no* and the demonstrative adverb *ne* 'here' both have similar functions in texts even if they do not occur in the same grammatical slots. Concerning deixis, Ehlich writes:

The deictic procedure is a linguistic instrument for achieving *focusing of the hearer's attention* [emphasis mine] towards a specific item, which is part of the respective deictic space . . . The deictic procedure is performed by means of deictic expressions. (Ehlich 1982, 325)

Both deictic expressions and focus serve to direct the reader's attention to *something*. In both procedures, the reader is informed how to digest and store information presented. From the perspective of RT, both structures serve to introduce a new context for the hearer.

The expression *day no ya* or *no ya* can apparently occur in other parts of a folktale as well. When it occurs in the text, *Zanka laala*, the phrase in which the particle occurs is used to point out an object. The next example (47) is found at the end of a clause when a father is explaining to his son how the king gave him two bulls to milk so that he could give the milk to his son.

- (61) *abinde haw yeejeý no ya.*
 then bulls SS EMP

'Then, there are the bulls.'

(*Zanka laala*, 10.1f)

The phrase *no ya* also occurs at the end of the text, *Ganji hameý nda kwaara almaney yaanja*,

when the narrator adds some explanatory information for the listener. This sentence is listed below in

(62):

- (62) *To, mate kaj kwaara almaney du ga to mate*
kaj kwaara alman -ey du ga to mate
 well how that tame.animal PL have CN well how
- zaama ganji hameý ga no ya*
zaama ganji ham -ey ga no ya
 vanquish wild animals DEF CN SS EMP

'Well, this is how the tame animals vanquished the wild animals.'

(*Ganji hameý nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, 14.1)

What the author is doing in the previous example is giving some explanatory information for the listener. He is telling the hearer that now she knows the purpose behind the folktale, that now she knows how the tame animals vanquished the wild animals. He is giving the scene after the fact, if it was not already clear for the listener.

While the particle *no* frequently introduces the protagonist in a folktale discourse, it can also be used to introduce a new context in other genres as well. For example, in the text entitled *Siida dooro* 'AIDS', we see the following sentence as the first sentence in the discourse:

- (63) *Siida dooro wo doori taaji no kaj ga laala*
siida doori -o wo doori taaji no kaj ga laala
 AIDS illness DEF this illness new SS that INC dangerous

gumo-gumo.
gumo-gumo.
 a.lot

'This illness of AIDS, it is a new illness that is very dangerous.'

(*Siida dooro*, 1.1)

In (63), we see the speaker introducing a new context for the listener; a new illness called AIDS. The discourse is entirely about AIDS.

It is also possible to introduce a new context in the middle of a discourse. For example, in the text entitled *Ganji hameý kwaara yaanja* 'The Battle of the Wild Animals and the Tame Animals' we see the following sentence:

- (47) *I go ga ka no i kubay da yo.*
 3P PRG come SS 3P meet with camel.

'It was in their coming that they met the camel.'

(*Ganji hameý nda kwaara almaney yaanja*, 4.1)

In this text, after each wrestling match, the tame animals all leave to go back to their home and on the way they meet with other animals who also want to see the wrestling match. In this instance, the information within the syntactic scope of the particle *no* functions to set a new scene to encourage the listener to establish a new scene and subsequent new character who will want to see the wrestling match. This phrase (or variations of it) occurs two other times in 10.1 and 11.1.

In this section, we have seen how information within the syntactic scope of the particle *no* serves to introduce a new context for the listener. The listener then encouraged to be prepared to let the discourse develop around the information within the particle *no*.

5.6 Conclusion

This study has had two basic aims. First, I have given a grammatical account of the particle *no* and an account of the information within its syntactic scope, using RT as a guide and constraint. Second, I have also shown how RT can give a better theoretical explanation of how the notions of focus and discourse topic work in one African language, Zarma. Because RT sees communication as based on the search for relevance, it as a theory can give us many insights on communication, in particular and on languages in general. The strength of this theory as I see it is that it takes into account the speaker's assumptions of the hearer's understanding of the world. Because the speaker wants the hearer's attention, he tries to be as relevant as possible as he guides the hearer to the correct interpretation of his utterance with the minimum amount of processing effort possible. communication theory based on relevance is a much better approach than looking to the notions of information structure and the like, especially since the idea of topic is theoretically vague.

Most theories claim that an information structure exists—a level between syntax and pragmatics. RT claims that the syntax bears directly on pragmatic interpretation so that one does not need to posit intermediate levels of semantic and pragmatic levels of description to link what is already linked.

Relevance theory can add to our knowledge of the languages of the world. One can also say that most theories see in focus and discourse function some pragmatic functions, but they have no theoretical basis for it. RT can explain why the speaker marks a part of the syntax as in focus, to lead the hearer to the intended contextual effects of the speaker. or he marks the syntax to indicate a new context relevant for indirectly gaining cognitive effects. Sperber and Wilson also have a clear theoretical understanding of context, which is more clearly defined than the notion of discourse topic.

I have shown how the particle *no* is neither a focus particle, a topic marker, a marker of foreground entailments nor a marker of background entailments. Essentially this particle functions as a marker of syntactic scope. By using this particle, the speaker is communicating to the hearer that the information within the scope of this particle has the potentiality of relevance and therefore, is worth of his attention. The speaker is trying to guide the hearer to the correct interpretation of his utterance in a most economically way.

RT certainly could give us insights in how focus and topic work in other languages as well. Using it as a theoretical basis for other languages could give us further insight into the theory as well as further insight into the ideas of focus and topic.

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APPENDIX A
Adawa 'A Prayer'

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.1		Ya iri baaba kay EMP 1P father who iri 1P nin kay 2S who	n'	ga EXT ga saabu thank.INC cabe show.CMP ga saabu thank.INC kamde bring.CMP ma du can.SBJ caw. read	beena iri heaven.DEF 1P ni se 2S for hunkana susuba today morning.DEF this with health ni se mo 2S for also iri ne wo 1P here this	Our father who is in heaven, we thank you, you who have given us health this morning.
1.2	da and hala for	Iri 1P kay ni that 2S iri 1P	ga ni sammo 2S word	nwarey pray.INC ga help.SBJ go ga caw read.PRG ma furo enter.SBJ goy work ga nwarey mo pray.INC also zumandi bring.down.SBJ	iri boyey ra 1P heads.DEF in da with iri taabo 1P country.DEF for a ra. 3S in	We also thank you, because you brought us here so that we may read your word.
1.3	hala for	Iri 1P ni 2S hoy kalla kay iri thing all that 1P	ga ni 2S ma 1P	ga ni 2S ma 1P		We pray that you might help us so that everything we are going to read may be kept in our heads and that we may use it.
1.4		Iri 2P ni 2S	ma health da labkol kanay and peace			We pray also for our country, bring us health and peace.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.3	<i>Waato ga</i> then	<i>ma</i>	<i>a</i> 3S	<i>te</i> make	<i>hammi</i> flour	Then you must make flour out of it.
3.4	<i>Day</i> but	<i>ni</i> 2S	<i>hammo</i> flour.DEF <i>ga</i> cokatey stones	<i>hagey</i> sift.SBJ <i>ka</i> remove		Then you sift the flour to remove dirty stuff.
3.5	<i>Hala</i> when	<i>wone halu</i> that all <i>boro</i> person <i>kauso kap</i> pot that	<i>te</i> do.CMP <i>ni dangjo</i> 2S fire.DEF	<i>fansu</i> put.SBJ <i>ga koy</i> go.INC <i>ga nyum</i> wash <i>ga dake</i> , place <i>dag</i> put.SBJ	<i>nda damba</i> with couscous.dough	When all of that is done, you make fire and prepare the appropriate pot for the couscous, wash it and put it on the fire and you put water and washed leaves in the pot.
3.6	<i>day</i> and	<i>ma</i>	<i>hari nda kopta nyumata</i> water and leaves washed	<i>naagari</i> paste.SBJ <i>ma boori</i> be.good.SBJ	<i>kauso din ra</i> pot that in	Then you make a paste with the dough of couscous until it is done well.
3.7	<i>Hala</i> when	<i>a</i> 3S <i>dambo</i> couscous <i>boro</i> person	<i>a</i> 3S	<i>tun</i> , rise.CMP <i>kar</i> beat.SBJ <i>ga yeeti</i> , put back <i>ga sobay</i> continue <i>ga kar</i> beat <i>ga yeeti</i> put back	<i>kala a ma nini</i> until when ready	When the dough of the couscous rises, you beat it and put it back. Then you continue beating it and putting it back until when it is ready.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
4.1	<i>Waato ga</i> then	<i>boro</i> people	<i>ji</i> oil	<i>ceeci</i> look for.SBJ <i>ga zargandi</i> hit	<i>nda albasan</i> with onion	Then you must look for oil bit it together with onion.
4.2	<i>Hala</i> if	<i>ni</i> 2S <i>ni</i> 2S <i>ni</i> 2S	<i>ni tonko nda ciiri</i> 2S chili with salt <i>dambo</i> couscous <i>kopta</i> leaves <i>nga nda dambo</i> 3S with couscous	<i>darni</i> ground.SBJ <i>tabbatandi</i> believe.CMP <i>zumandi</i> remove.SBJ <i>sarre</i> remove.water.SBJ <i>tunandi</i> stir.SBJ <i>dag</i> put.SBJ	<i>katp kopta nini</i> that leaves cooked	You ground your salt and chili. When you think that the green leaves are ready you put down the couscous (from fire) press water from the leaves and mix them with the couscous.
4.4	<i>Waato ga</i> Moment in	<i>ma</i>	<i>ciiro nda tonka nda jijo</i> salt and chili and oil.DEF			At that time, you add salt, chili and oil.

APPENDIX C
Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja 'The Battle of the Wild Animals and Tame Animals'

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.1 <i>Han fo no</i> day one SS	<i>ganji hamey da kwaara almaney i</i> wildanimals DEF and tame animals DEF 3P		<i>kosongu</i> argue.CMP		One day, the wild animals and the tame animals were arguing.
1.2	<i>Afo halu</i> One all <i>nga</i> 3S		<i>ga ne</i> say.INC <i>ga hin</i> could.INC	<i>afo</i> one.DEF	Each one said that he could fight the others.
1.3	<i>Sata hinka, i</i> party two 3P		<i>di</i> have.CMP <i>ga kosongu</i> argue		The two groups were disputing this argument.
1.4	<i>i</i> 3P		<i>di</i> have.CMP <i>ga kosongu</i> argue		The two groups were disputing this argument.
<i>hala da</i>	<i>i</i> 3P		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ga ba</i> love.INC		They said that they wanted to find out which group could beat the other. They only had to wrestle.
<i>yadin ga</i> therefore	<i>person kay no</i> person that SS		<i>ma bay</i> know.SBJ <i>ga hin</i> can.INC <i>ma te</i> do.SBJ	<i>afo</i> one	
1.5 <i>To garja din mo</i> wellwrestling.DEF this there	<i>alman hinka no i</i> animal two SS 3P		<i>ka</i> lift out.CMP <i>te</i>		At the wrestling match, two animals were chosen to fight in the wrestling match.
1.6	<i>katj</i> who INC	<i>ga</i> match.DEF this	<i>do INC</i>		
	<i>Sata fo kalu</i> group one all	<i>na</i> his person.DEF	<i>ka</i> lift out.CMP		Each party chose a person to represent them.

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Appendix C—Continued.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.7	<i>Ganji hamey</i> bush animals.DEF	<i>na</i> <i>foono</i> monkey	<i>ka</i> lift out.CMP <i>ga ne</i> said <i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ <i>ga garje</i> wrestle		The wild animals chose a monkey and told him to fight for them.
1.8	<i>Kwaara wone mo</i> village this too	<i>na</i> <i>hansi</i> dog	<i>danton</i> sent.CMP <i>ga ne</i> said <i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ <i>ga yanje</i> fight (argue) <i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ <i>ga garje</i> wrestle	<i>ngey ma ga</i> 3P name for	The other group, as well, sent the dog and told him to go and wrestle for them.
2.1 <i>To</i> INU	<i>hano</i> day.DEF <i>zaaro</i> day.DEF <i>katj garje</i> than match		<i>to</i> come.CMP <i>to</i> come.CMP <i>ga te</i> happen.INC	<i>ngey ma ga</i> 3P name for	The day came, the day of the wrestling match.
2.2	<i>Hansi, nga da foono, i</i> chien 3S and monkey 3P		<i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>ga da</i> have	<i>care</i> between them.	The dog and the monkey met together to fight.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
2.3 <i>Katj</i> when	<i>gurgu</i> match <i>i</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P <i>Hansi</i> dog <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>foono</i> monkey <i>kay</i> who <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>mususu beeri</i> lion <i>A</i> 3S <i>Tooso wo, ni</i> stool this 2S <i>ni</i> <i>ni</i> 2S <i>Hansi</i> dog <i>ay kay</i> 1S who		<i>smān</i> begin.CMP <i>di</i> fight.CMP <i>di</i> fight.CMP <i>di</i> fight.CMP <i>sambu</i> took.CMP <i>lapte</i> tap.CMP <i>lapte</i> tap.CMP <i>si gay</i> last.INC <i>tap.</i> <i>te</i> made <i>go ga goro</i> sit.PRG <i>ne</i> said <i>si fay</i> leave.INC/NEG <i>ḡwa.</i> eat <i>ne</i> said <i>zama no</i> wombattle SS <i>ḡwa koye</i> eat still		When the wrestling match began, they fought and fought. The dog lifted up the monkey, and tapped him lowly. When he tapped him lowly, the monkey who could not hold it, had a very large bowel movement. When he had made the very large bowel movement, the lion was sitting down. He said to the dog, this bowel movement, you are not going to leave it with me, you must eat it. The dog said, I who won the battle, still must eat the bowel movement?
2.4	<i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>ga</i> 3S	<i>foono</i> monkey <i>toosi mulli bambata, fo</i> big one <i>tooso</i> stool.DEF this <i>a</i> 3S	<i>hala beene,</i> until high <i>ganda</i> low <i>ganda</i> low this <i>da toosi</i> with stool <i>hansse se,</i> dog.DEF to <i>nda ay se ne bo</i> with 1S to here		
2.5	<i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>ga</i> 3S	<i>foono</i> monkey <i>toosi mulli bambata, fo</i> big one <i>tooso</i> stool.DEF this <i>a</i> 3S	<i>hala beene,</i> until high <i>ganda</i> low <i>ganda</i> low this <i>da toosi</i> with stool <i>hansse se,</i> dog.DEF to <i>nda ay se ne bo</i> with 1S to here		
2.6	<i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>ga</i> 3S	<i>foono</i> monkey <i>toosi mulli bambata, fo</i> big one <i>tooso</i> stool.DEF this <i>a</i> 3S	<i>hala beene,</i> until high <i>ganda</i> low <i>ganda</i> low this <i>da toosi</i> with stool <i>hansse se,</i> dog.DEF to <i>nda ay se ne bo</i> with 1S to here		
2.7	<i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>ga</i> 3S	<i>foono</i> monkey <i>toosi mulli bambata, fo</i> big one <i>tooso</i> stool.DEF this <i>a</i> 3S	<i>hala beene,</i> until high <i>ganda</i> low <i>ganda</i> low this <i>da toosi</i> with stool <i>hansse se,</i> dog.DEF to <i>nda ay se ne bo</i> with 1S to here		
2.8	<i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>ga</i> 3S	<i>foono</i> monkey <i>toosi mulli bambata, fo</i> big one <i>tooso</i> stool.DEF this <i>a</i> 3S	<i>hala beene,</i> until high <i>ganda</i> low <i>ganda</i> low this <i>da toosi</i> with stool <i>hansse se,</i> dog.DEF to <i>nda ay se ne bo</i> with 1S to here		

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Appendix C—Continued.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
2.9 <i>A-a,</i> No,	<i>wo-din</i> this <i>A</i> 3S <i>tooso</i> stool.DEF <i>ni</i> 2S <i>ni</i> 2S <i>ay</i> 1S <i>Hansi</i> dog <i>a</i> 3S <i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S	<i>si te!</i> do.INC/NEG <i>a</i> 3S <i>ni</i> 2S <i>tooso</i> stool.DEF	<i>ne</i> said <i>ḡwa</i> eat.CMP/NEG <i>si dirat</i> leave.INC/NEG <i>saḡ-ay.</i> crush <i>mama dat</i> have.CMP.NEG <i>ḡwa.</i> eat.CMP <i>go ga ka</i> come.PRG <i>ka</i> <i>ka</i> come.PRG <i>ga kabay</i> and.net <i>ne</i> said <i>go ga ka bo</i> come.PRG		No, don't think like that. He said if you don't eat it, you are not going to leave from here. Now I am going to crush you! Since the dog did not have a defender, he ate the bowel movement. He comes to the village and meets a guinea fowl. The guinea fowl said, "Well!" The guinea fowl said, "Well! I am going to the wrestling match.
2.10	<i>da</i> if <i>Wala soḡo da</i> now and <i>Q</i> 1S <i>Hansi</i> dog <i>a</i> 3S <i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S	<i>si te!</i> do.INC/NEG <i>a</i> 3S <i>ni</i> 2S <i>tooso</i> stool.DEF	<i>ne</i> said <i>ḡwa</i> eat.CMP/NEG <i>si dirat</i> leave.INC/NEG <i>saḡ-ay.</i> crush <i>mama dat</i> have.CMP.NEG <i>ḡwa.</i> eat.CMP <i>go ga ka</i> come.PRG <i>ka</i> <i>ka</i> come.PRG <i>ga kabay</i> and.net <i>ne</i> said <i>go ga ka bo</i> come.PRG		No, don't think like that. He said if you don't eat it, you are not going to leave from here. Now I am going to crush you! Since the dog did not have a defender, he ate the bowel movement. He comes to the village and meets a guinea fowl. The guinea fowl said, "Well!" The guinea fowl said, "Well! I am going to the wrestling match.
2.11	<i>Wala soḡo da</i> now and <i>Q</i> 1S <i>Hansi</i> dog <i>a</i> 3S <i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S	<i>si te!</i> do.INC/NEG <i>a</i> 3S <i>ni</i> 2S <i>tooso</i> stool.DEF	<i>ne</i> said <i>ḡwa</i> eat.CMP/NEG <i>si dirat</i> leave.INC/NEG <i>saḡ-ay.</i> crush <i>mama dat</i> have.CMP.NEG <i>ḡwa.</i> eat.CMP <i>go ga ka</i> come.PRG <i>ka</i> <i>ka</i> come.PRG <i>ga kabay</i> and.net <i>ne</i> said <i>go ga ka bo</i> come.PRG		No, don't think like that. He said if you don't eat it, you are not going to leave from here. Now I am going to crush you! Since the dog did not have a defender, he ate the bowel movement. He comes to the village and meets a guinea fowl. The guinea fowl said, "Well!" The guinea fowl said, "Well! I am going to the wrestling match.
2.12	<i>Wala soḡo da</i> now and <i>Q</i> 1S <i>Hansi</i> dog <i>a</i> 3S <i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S	<i>si te!</i> do.INC/NEG <i>a</i> 3S <i>ni</i> 2S <i>tooso</i> stool.DEF	<i>ne</i> said <i>ḡwa</i> eat.CMP/NEG <i>si dirat</i> leave.INC/NEG <i>saḡ-ay.</i> crush <i>mama dat</i> have.CMP.NEG <i>ḡwa.</i> eat.CMP <i>go ga ka</i> come.PRG <i>ka</i> <i>ka</i> come.PRG <i>ga kabay</i> and.net <i>ne</i> said <i>go ga ka bo</i> come.PRG		No, don't think like that. He said if you don't eat it, you are not going to leave from here. Now I am going to crush you! Since the dog did not have a defender, he ate the bowel movement. He comes to the village and meets a guinea fowl. The guinea fowl said, "Well!" The guinea fowl said, "Well! I am going to the wrestling match.
3.1	<i>Wala soḡo da</i> now and <i>Q</i> 1S <i>Hansi</i> dog <i>a</i> 3S <i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S	<i>si te!</i> do.INC/NEG <i>a</i> 3S <i>ni</i> 2S <i>tooso</i> stool.DEF	<i>ne</i> said <i>ḡwa</i> eat.CMP/NEG <i>si dirat</i> leave.INC/NEG <i>saḡ-ay.</i> crush <i>mama dat</i> have.CMP.NEG <i>ḡwa.</i> eat.CMP <i>go ga ka</i> come.PRG <i>ka</i> <i>ka</i> come.PRG <i>ga kabay</i> and.net <i>ne</i> said <i>go ga ka bo</i> come.PRG		No, don't think like that. He said if you don't eat it, you are not going to leave from here. Now I am going to crush you! Since the dog did not have a defender, he ate the bowel movement. He comes to the village and meets a guinea fowl. The guinea fowl said, "Well!" The guinea fowl said, "Well! I am going to the wrestling match.
3.2	<i>Wala soḡo da</i> now and <i>Q</i> 1S <i>Hansi</i> dog <i>a</i> 3S <i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S	<i>si te!</i> do.INC/NEG <i>a</i> 3S <i>ni</i> 2S <i>tooso</i> stool.DEF	<i>ne</i> said <i>ḡwa</i> eat.CMP/NEG <i>si dirat</i> leave.INC/NEG <i>saḡ-ay.</i> crush <i>mama dat</i> have.CMP.NEG <i>ḡwa.</i> eat.CMP <i>go ga ka</i> come.PRG <i>ka</i> <i>ka</i> come.PRG <i>ga kabay</i> and.net <i>ne</i> said <i>go ga ka bo</i> come.PRG		No, don't think like that. He said if you don't eat it, you are not going to leave from here. Now I am going to crush you! Since the dog did not have a defender, he ate the bowel movement. He comes to the village and meets a guinea fowl. The guinea fowl said, "Well!" The guinea fowl said, "Well! I am going to the wrestling match.
3.3	<i>gurgu</i> match <i>do</i> place <i>SS</i>	<i>si te!</i> do.INC/NEG <i>a</i> 3S <i>ni</i> 2S <i>tooso</i> stool.DEF	<i>ne</i> said <i>ḡwa</i> eat.CMP/NEG <i>si dirat</i> leave.INC/NEG <i>saḡ-ay.</i> crush <i>mama dat</i> have.CMP.NEG <i>ḡwa.</i> eat.CMP <i>go ga ka</i> come.PRG <i>ka</i> <i>ka</i> come.PRG <i>ga kabay</i> and.net <i>ne</i> said <i>go ga ka bo</i> come.PRG		No, don't think like that. He said if you don't eat it, you are not going to leave from here. Now I am going to crush you! Since the dog did not have a defender, he ate the bowel movement. He comes to the village and meets a guinea fowl. The guinea fowl said, "Well!" The guinea fowl said, "Well! I am going to the wrestling match.

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PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.4	A 3S ga/ya match.DEF katj that ay 1S i 3S ay 1S aray 2P foono monkey	na foono monkey	ne, say.CMP bani, finish.CMP zeeri terrorize.CMP ne said.CMP pwa eat.SBJ ga bay know.INC si gay last.INC/NEG		He said, "The wrestling match was finished. I have beaten the monkey. Then they told me to eat the bowel movement. You know that a monkey cannot last long without relieving himself.
3.5	Ay 1S ay 1S katj that	na fooso stool.DEF	pwa ate.CMP mana du had.CMP/NEG /aafa save.INC	toosi stool boro kulu person all	I ate the bowel movement, because I did not have a savior.
3.6	Ay 1S		go ga ye return.PRG	fu home	I am going back home.
3.7	Coro bi guinea black ay wo		ne said si hini can.INC/NEG	hay fo me thing one mouth	The guinea hen said, well, I can (do) nothing!
3.8	Yadin ga, for this reason	ga 1S	na ye return.SBJ		Meanwhile let's go back!
4.1	I 3P i 3P		go ga ka no come.PRG SS kabay meet.CMP deede recount.CMP	da yo with camel yo se camel for	They came and met the camel.
4.2	A 3S	na sanno story.DEF			He told the camel the story.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
4.3	Yo camel wo-din this iri 1P May no who SS		ne say.CMP si te do.INC/NEG ma ye! return.SBJ	a se: 3S to ay jine 1S before	And the camel said, That is not done in front of me. Let's go back!
4.4	ni 2S	ma toosi stool	ga hini could.INC ga natj let pwa? eat.SBJ		Who could let you eat the bowel movement?
4.5	Iri 1P		Ye, return.IMP ma koy! go.SBJ		Return! Let's go back!
4.6			Ye return.IMP ga ka! come		Return!
5.1	Hansi da foono chien with monkey	na care between them	di fight.CMP	koyne, again	The dog and the monkey began to fight again.
5.2	A 3S	na foono monkey	sambu take.CMP	hala beeme, until high	He took the monkey and lifted him up high.
5.3	A 3S	ga a 3S	ye return.CMP labite tap		He tapped him again from below.
5.4	Musu beeri lion a 3S	ga tooso stool.DEF	ne say.CMP ma ye return.SBJ pwa, eat	gonida, low	The lion said again to eat the bowel movement.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
5.5	<i>Hansi</i> dog	<i>ga</i> camel	<i>bare</i> return.CMP <i>gina</i> look.at <i>ga ne</i> and said <i>ɸwa</i> eat.SBJ		Then the dog goes back to the camel and (to tell him what happened and said, how is it that I must eat the bowel movement?
5.6	<i>Hala mate no</i> It.is how SS	<i>ma</i> stool.DEF	<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>go ga ma</i> hear.PRG <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ma ɸwa</i> eat.SBJ	<i>ɸa</i> EMP	The camel said, well, you heard it. They said to eat it.
5.8	<i>Hansi</i> dog	<i>na</i> stool.DEF	<i>ɸwa</i> ate.CMP	<i>koyne</i> again	The dog ate the bowel movement again.
5.9	<i>Gunda</i> stomach.DEF		<i>go ga soobay</i> continue.PRG <i>ga koy</i> go	<i>beene kayna-kayna</i> high little.by.little	His stomach continued to get full little by little.
5.10	<i>I</i> 3P <i>I</i> 3P	<i>na</i> <i>ngey fonda</i> 3P road.DEF	<i>sambu</i> take <i>go ga ɸe</i> return.PRG <i>ga ka</i> come	<i>ɸu</i> house <i>da haw</i> with cow	They took the road again to return home.
6.1	<i>I</i> 3P		<i>katay</i> meet.CMP		They met a cow.
6.2	<i>Haw</i> cow <i>Mate no</i> how SS		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>go ga ɸe?</i> do.PRG		The cow said, What is happening?

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PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
6.3	<i>Aɸ wo</i> 1S EMP		<i>go ga ka</i> come.PRG <i>ga di</i> see <i>go ga ɸe</i> do.PRG	<i>gurja do</i> match.DEF at	I, myself, am coming to the wrestling match to see what will happen.
6.4	<i>I</i> 3P <i>gurja</i> match.DEF		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>te</i> do.CMP <i>ga han</i> finish	<i>a se,</i> 3S to	They said to her, Well, the match is already over.
6.5	<i>Hansi na foowo</i> dog with monkey <i>I</i> 3P <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>loro kalu si no</i> person all NEG SS <i>katj</i> who	<i>ma</i> stool.DEF <i>na</i>	<i>zeeri</i> terrorize.CMP <i>ne</i> said.CMP <i>ɸwa</i> eat.COM <i>ɸwa</i> eat.CMP <i>ga hini</i> can.INC <i>faaba</i> save	<i>ce hanka,</i> foot two	The dog has terrorized the monkey two times, and they told him to eat the bowel movement. He ate the bowel movement because there was no one who could save him.
6.6	<i>Haw</i> cow <i>ngey</i> 3P	<i>nga no</i> 3S SS	<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ma ɸe</i> return.SBJ		The cow told them to return.
6.7	<i>I</i> 3P		<i>ɸe</i> return.CMP <i>ga ka</i> come		They went back.

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Appendix C—Continued.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
6.8	<i>Hansi</i> dog <i>a</i> 3S	<i>na na</i> person EMP	<i>sambu</i> take CMP <i>fimbi</i> strike CMP	<i>hada beeme koyne,</i> until high again <i>ganda koyne</i> low again	The dog took that person and lifted him up high again, and he hit him lowly again.
6.9	<i>A</i> 3S	<i>ga</i>	<i>ye</i> return.CMP <i>tay,</i> leave		He had a bowel movement again.
6.10	<i>Mausi beeri</i> lion <i>hansi</i> dog	<i>tooso</i> stool.DEF	<i>ne</i> said.CMP <i>ma ye</i> return.SBJ <i>ywa</i> eat.		Lion said that he must eat the bowel movement again.
6.11	<i>A</i> 3S	<i>na</i>	<i>guna</i> look.at.CMP		He looked at Cow.
6.12	<i>Haw</i> cow <i>mate no</i> how SS <i>ay</i> 1S		<i>ne</i> said.CMP		Cow said, How am I going to do it?
6.13	<i>Sobay</i> Continue.IMP <i>iri</i> 1P	<i>ga</i> <i>ni hari</i> 2S thing	<i>ga te?</i> do.1NC <i>ywa</i> eat.1NC <i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ		Continue to eat your thing. And, let's go!
6.14	<i>Hansi</i> dog <i>ganda</i> stomach.DEF	<i>ga</i> <i>tooso</i> stool.DEF	<i>ye</i> return.CMP <i>ywa</i> eat <i>to</i> fill.up.CMP	<i>koyne,</i> again <i>hada manti moso</i> until not sufficiently	Dog returned to eat the bowel movement again, until his stomach was adequately full.

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Appendix C—Continued.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
7.1	<i>Sohō</i> Now <i>a</i> 3S <i>Boro katu</i> person all <i>ay</i> 1S		<i>go ga ka</i> come.PRG <i>ne</i> said.CMP <i>ma si ne</i> said.SBJ/NEG <i>ma ye</i> return.SBJ <i>ga ka</i> come <i>ga hini</i> can.1NC <i>faaba.</i> save <i>si</i> refuse.CMP	<i>fu</i> house <i>koyne ga furje ne koyne</i> again match here again	They returned to the house, and he said, Oh, that no one would tell me to return again for there is no one who could save me.
7.2	<i>Ay</i> 1S	<i>ga</i> 1S	<i>si</i> refuse.CMP		I just refuse!
7.3	<i>Ay</i> 1S		<i>go ga koy!</i> leave.PRG		I am leaving!
7.4	<i>Hansi</i> dog <i>a</i> 3S	<i>nga</i> his <i>kaayay</i> coming	<i>te</i> do.PRG <i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>ga habay</i> meet <i>ne</i> say.CMP		He was in the process of leaving just when he met Cat.
7.5	<i>Maage</i> cat <i>nga wo</i> 3S EMP <i>i</i> 3P	<i>ma</i> <i>sanno</i> story.DEF	<i>to</i> arrive.IMP <i>deede</i> tell.SBJ	<i>da maage</i> with cat <i>a</i> se. 3S for	Cat said, Hey, you! And they told him the story.

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	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
7.6	To, INJ zama because	A 3S Irkay God nga wo 3S this	ma ngey 3P	ne say.CMP ka remove.SBJ shida has not go ga ka come.PRG SS kabay meet.CMP je get.fat.CMP	gaabi force da avec hala manti mosõ sufficiently	He said, May God remove this from you. He did not have the strength. It was in coming that they met. Goat, Goat who was sufficiently fat.
8.1		I 3P i 3P feeki gaaru, katj goat which		go ga ka come.PRG ma di see.SBJ go ga te do.PRG		He was coming even him to see how the match was progressing.
8.2		A 3S nga mo 3S even mante no how SS		ka come.CMP deede recount.CMP	garje din do match this to	He came, and they recounted the story to him.
8.3		A 3S i 3P	na sanno word.DEF	ne said.CMP zeeri terrify.CMP	a se 3S for hala manti mosõ sufficiently	They said that Dog beaten Monkey sufficiently.
8.4		i 3P Hansi dog	na foono monkey			

Appendix C—Continued.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
8.5	Amma but	katj katj thing who katj that masu beeri no lion SS a 3S boro wo person EMP a 3S hansi dog		te did.CMP mana boori pretty.CMP/NEG ga it be.INC go ga govo, sit.PRG ne say.CMP te do.CMP ne said ɸwa. eat.SBJ		The thing that happened was not good. It was Lion who was seated, he said that the bowel movement that that person had made. He said Dog must eat it.
8.6	tooso stool.DEF that	Hansi no dog also katj who a 3S ganda stomach.DEF SS	ma ga na tooso stool.DEF	mana du have.CMP/CMP faaba save.INC ɸwa ate.CMP go ga kay stay.PRG ne said.CMP ma ye return.SBJ si te do.INC/NEG	boro kulu person all a jine ya 3S before EMP nga jine 3S before	Dog did not have anyone to save him. He ate the bowel movement. Now it was his stomach that was showing in front of him. Goat said that they must return. Such a thing would not happen before him.
8.7	Soko now					
8.8						

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
8.9	A 3S ngey 3P a si no 3S NEG SS kay no who SS i 3P a 3S wo-din this ngey 3P I 3P Hansi dog a 3S nga 3S nga wo 3S EMP a 3S nga 3S boro kaku person all a 3S	ga toosi stool	ne say.CMP ma ye return.SBJ ga zeri terrify ma ne say.SBJ ma ye return.SBJ pwa eat si re do.INC/NEG ma koy go.SBJ ka come.CMP di ?? ga he cry ne said.CMP si ye return.INC/NEG ne say.CMP si koy go.INC/NEG ma ne say.SBJ pwa eat.SBJ	boro person koyne again	He said to return. There was no one who was going to terrorize him. This eating of the bowel movement would not happen again. One only has to go. They went. Dog cried, he said that he could not himself return. He said he could not go. Everyone would just say again that he must eat the bowel movement again.
9.1					
9.2					
9.3	zama because I 3P	ma toosi stool		koyne again	

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PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
9.4	A a 3S feji goat Adabal never ni 2S ni 2S in da nin no 1S and you SS ni 2S iri 1P ay 1S ay 1S	na nga fonda 3S road.DEF	sambu take.CMP ga ne said go ga ka come.PRG ne said.CMP ne said.CMP ga koy go.PRG ga di see INC ma ye return.SBJ ga ka, come ma koy go.SBJ ga di trap INC ga di trap INC Hamburu fear.CMP ye return.CMP ga ka come ye return.CMP sintin begin	 fu house a se 3S to fu house care, between them sohonda, now gurje nango match place.DEF do at koyne again	They took the road to say that he was going home. The sheep said, never! If you say that you are going home. It is I and you who will see this matter between us. You must return. Let us go! If it is not like that it is you who I am going to catch. Now it you who I am going to catch. The dog was afraid. He returned to wrestle at wrestling ring. They returned and the match began again.
9.5	Da if yadin ga so				
9.6	Da manti wa-din ni no if NEG like that 2S SS nin no 2S SS				
9.7	Hansi dog ay 1S				
9.8	I 3P	ga gurja match.DEF			

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PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
9.9	<i>Hansi</i> dog <i>a</i> 2S	<i>na</i> <i>na</i>	<i>sambu</i> take.CMP <i>kar</i> hit.CMP	<i>ganda</i> low	The dog took and he hit low
9.10	<i>A</i> 3S <i>muusu beeri</i> lion <i>a</i> 3S	<i>na</i> <i>ga</i>	<i>kar</i> hit.CMP <i>ne</i> said.CMP <i>na ye</i> return.SBJ <i>pwa</i> eat	<i>ganda</i> low	He hit low. And the lion said that he must return to eat the bowel movement.
9.11	<i>Hansi</i> dog <i>nga</i> 3S		<i>ne</i> spy.CMP <i>ga pwa?</i> eat.INC		Dog said that he was going to eat it?
9.12	<i>Feeji</i> goat <i>a</i> 3S		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>na kay</i> stay.SBJ	<i>a se</i> 3S for <i>no-din</i> over.there	Sheep said for him to come and stay over there.
9.13	<i>A</i> 3S <i>nga</i> 3S	<i>rooso</i> stool.DEF <i>din</i> this	<i>na si mita</i> believe.SBJ/NEG <i>pwa</i> eat.INC		He must not believe that he would eat this bowel movement.
9.14	<i>Da</i> if <i>a</i> 3S <i>nga d' a no</i> 3S and 3S SS	<i>a</i> it	<i>pwa</i> eat.CMP	<i>mo</i> also	If he eats it, it is Dog and he who will see one another about it.
9.15	<i>Muusu beeri</i> lion <i>a</i> 3S <i>may no</i> who SS		<i>tun</i> get up.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>go ga salaf</i> speak.PRG	<i>ya-che wa?</i> like that	Lion get up. He said, Who is it that speaks like that?

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
9.16	<i>Ay</i> 1S <i>boro fo</i> person one <i>nga</i> 3S		<i>na salaf</i> speak.SBJ <i>na tun</i> get up.SBJ <i>ga ne</i> say <i>ga salaf?</i> speak.INC		I am speaking. A person who is getting up and saying. Who is speaking
9.17	<i>Wo-din</i> that		<i>si te!</i> do.INC/NEG		This will not do!
9.18	<i>A</i> 3S <i>nga</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>nga</i> 3S	<i>ga</i> <i>ga</i>	<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ga ka</i> come.INC <i>sap-say,</i> crash <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>kar</i> strike.INC		
9.19	<i>A</i> 3S <i>Feeji</i> goat	<i>na</i>	<i>Jippo</i> jump.CMP <i>mulay</i> escape.CMP	<i>ce fo</i> foot one	He leaped one time and the sheep escaped
9.20	<i>Feeji gataro a</i> goat.DEF 3S		<i>ye</i> return.CMP	<i>banda nangw mooru</i> behind place far	The goat moved back to a place far away.
9.21	<i>A</i> 3S <i>hala</i> until	<i>na</i>	<i>sambu</i> take.CMP <i>boori</i> pretty.CMP		He took air a little
9.22	<i>A</i> 3S		<i>zuru</i> run.CMP <i>ga ka</i> come		He came running toward Lion.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
9.23	A 3S	<i>na</i>	<i>haabu</i> sweep.CMP <i>ga ka</i> lift off	<i>a</i> <i>chre</i> 3S under	He swept all four feet of Lion.
9.24	<i>Muusu beeri ce taaca</i> lion foot four	<i>na</i>	<i>kulu ceert</i> all break.CMP		All four feet of Lion were broken.
9.25	<i>I</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P <i>ngey</i> 3P <i>ngey</i> 3P	<i>na</i> <i>ga</i> <i>ma</i>	<i>sambu</i> take.CMP <i>koy</i> go.CMP <i>haw</i> attach <i>ne</i> said.CMP <i>safar</i> care for.SBJ <i>ye</i> return.CMP <i>go ga ka no</i> come.PRG SS <i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>ga kabay</i> meet <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>te</i> do.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>go ga ka</i> come.PRG		They took them and attached all four feet and told him to leave.
9.26	<i>Freji da hausi da ngey banda borey kulu i</i> sheep and dog and 3P behind persons all 3P			<i>fu</i> house	Sheep and Dog with all the persons behind them, they returned home.
10.1	<i>I</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P		<i>ga ka</i> come.PRG SS <i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>ga kabay</i> meet	<i>da hincin</i> with goat	It was in coming that they met Goat.
10.2	<i>Hincin</i> goat <i>mate no</i> how SS		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>te</i> do.CMP		Goat asked, "What happened?"
10.3	<i>A</i> 3S <i>nga wo soloh no</i> 3S this now SS		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>go ga ka</i> come.PRG	<i>gurja</i> match.DEF at idco.	He said, it was he was coming to the match.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
10.4	<i>A</i> 3S <i>i</i> 3P <i>garga</i> match.DEF which <i>i</i> 3P <i>ce katj</i> foot which <i>Boro wo</i> person EMP	<i>na</i> <i>foono</i> monkey	<i>ne</i> said.CMP <i>ban</i> finish.CMP <i>zeeri</i> terrify.CMP <i>si ban</i> finished.INC/NEG <i>tun</i> get up.CMP <i>ga ne</i> say <i>fansa</i> deliver.INC <i>kar</i> strike.CMP <i>tatubu</i> crush <i>ban</i> finish.CMP <i>go ga ye</i> return.PRG		They said that the match was over. And, they terrorized Monkey many times.
10.5	<i>hala</i> until <i>hala</i> until	<i>na</i> <i>ga</i> 3S <i>na</i> <i>ga</i> foot all	<i>ne</i> get up.CMP <i>ga ne</i> say <i>fansa</i> deliver.INC <i>kar</i> strike.CMP <i>tatubu</i> crush <i>ban</i> finish.CMP <i>go ga ye</i> return.PRG		This person got up to say that he would deliver him, they struck all his feet and crushed them.
10.6	<i>Soloh</i> <i>garga</i> match.DEF <i>iri ya</i> 1P EMP		<i>ne</i> say.PRG <i>ma ye</i> return.SBJ <i>go ga ka no</i> come.PRG SS <i>kabay</i> meet.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP	<i>fu</i> house	The match is finished and we are going to the house. He said we must return.
10.7	<i>To</i> INJ		<i>ne</i> say.PRG <i>ma ye</i> return.SBJ <i>go ga ka no</i> come.PRG SS <i>kabay</i> meet.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP		It was in their coming that they met with Horse.
11.1	<i>I</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P		<i>ne</i> say.CMP	<i>da bari</i> with horse	Horse said, No!
11.2	<i>Bari</i> horse <i>A-a</i> no		<i>ne</i> say.CMP		Horse said, No!

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
11.3	<i>Mate no</i> how SS		<i>te</i> do.CMP		What has happened?
11.4	<i>I</i>		<i>deede</i> recount.CMP	<i>a se</i> 3S for	They recounted the story to him.
11.5	<i>I</i> <i>hansi no</i> dog SS <i>a</i> <i>amma</i> but <i>a</i> <i>a</i>	<i>na</i> monkey <i>na</i> <i>na</i> stool	<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>kar</i> strike.CMP <i>zeeri,</i> terrorize.CMP <i>ywa</i> eat.CMP		They said that it was Dog who struck the monkey, but he had to eat the bowel movement.
11.6	<i>A</i> <i>a</i> <i>a</i> <i>foosi ywaaro wo, wo-din</i> stool food.DEF EMP this thing <i>Mate se</i> how for <i>A</i> <i>a</i> <i>a</i>		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>si te</i> not do.INC	<i>ay jine me!</i> 1S before	He said this eating of the bowel movement, would not happen in front of me.
11.8	<i>I</i>		<i>si te</i> do.INC/NEG		How could it?
11.9	<i>I</i> <i>nga</i> <i>a</i> <i>a</i> <i>mate kap no</i> how that SS <i>I</i> <i>3P</i> <i>hansi no</i> dog SS		<i>ma ye,</i> return.SBJ <i>na di</i> see.SBJ <i>te</i> do.CMP <i>ye</i> return.CMP <i>ga, kande</i> bring <i>zeeri, CMP</i> terrorize	<i>nga jine</i> 3S before	That will not be done in front of me. They returned. They were going to see what would happen. They went back and brought Horse. It was Dog that was going to terrorize Morikee again.
11.10		<i>na</i> monkey		<i>bari,</i> horse <i>koyme</i> again	

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Appendix C—Continued.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
11.11	<i>I</i> <i>3P</i> <i>mate kap</i> how that <i>A</i> <i>3S</i> <i>nga</i> <i>3S</i>	<i>ni doona fa</i> you habit	<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>si ywa,</i> eat.INC/NEG		They said, that which you have the habit of doing.
11.12	<i>A</i> <i>3S</i> <i>nga</i> <i>3S</i>		<i>ga,</i> look.at.CMP		He said that he would not eat it.
11.13	<i>A</i> <i>3S</i> <i>Bari</i> horse <i>ni doona</i> 2S habit	<i>bari</i> horse	<i>ga,</i> look.at.CMP		He looked at the horse.
11.14	<i>To, za kap</i> INC since that		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>soboy</i> go.CMP <i>ga ywa</i> eat	<i>a se</i> 3S for <i>ni hani,</i> 2S thing	The horse said to him, "That habit which you have continue to eat your thing."
11.15	<i>Hansi</i> dog		<i>ye</i> return.CMP <i>ywa</i> eat	<i>koyme</i> again	Dog was eating the thing again.
11.16	<i>A</i> <i>3S</i>	<i>ga</i> <i>ga</i> stool.DEF	<i>ye</i> return.CMP <i>ywa</i> eat		He was eating the bowel movement again.
11.17	<i>A</i> <i>3S</i> <i>boro kulu si no</i> person all NEG SS <i>I</i> <i>3P</i>		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>go ga ye</i> return.PRG <i>ga ka</i> come	<i>koyme</i> again	He said, Now there is no one again. They returned.
12.1					

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	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
12.2		<i>I</i> 3P <i>katj</i> that		<i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>ga kabay</i> meet <i>gonda</i> has	<i>da gorongaari fo</i> with cock <i>zollo hinka</i> gourd two <i>a se</i> 3S for	They came and met Cock who had two gourds.
12.3		<i>I</i> 3P	<i>na</i>	<i>deede</i> recount.CMP		They told him the story.
12.4		<i>A</i> 3S <i>nga wo</i> 3S EMP until with 3S		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>di</i> see.CMP	<i>gorga</i> match.DEF	He said that it is necessary that he see this match.
12.5		<i>I</i> 3P		<i>ye</i> return.CMP <i>ga koy.</i> go	<i>wo</i> this	They left
12.6	<i>doy</i> if	<i>I</i> 3P <i>hansi wo</i> dog EMP <i>nga</i> 3S <i>nga</i> 3S <i>mate katu katj</i> how all who <i>feeji</i> sheep <i>boro katu si no</i> person all NEG SS <i>katj</i> who	<i>nga</i> 3S	<i>koy</i> go.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>si ba</i> love.INC/NEG <i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ <i>te</i> do.CMP <i>ba</i> love.CMP <i>faaba</i> save.INC <i>si koy</i> go.INC/NEG	<i>da hanada,</i> behind	They went. Dog said that he did not want to go back because of all the ways Sheep wanted more than him the those behind him. And there was no one to save him.
12.7	<i>Yadin ga</i> for this reason	<i>nga wo</i> 3S EMP	<i>ga</i>			As for him, he was not going.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
12.8		<i>Gorongauro</i> cock <i>a</i> 3S <i>ngey</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P		<i>di,</i> see.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ <i>ye</i> return.CMP <i>ga ka</i> come		Cook saw. He insisted. We will go. They returned.
13.1		<i>Hansi da foono</i> dog with monkey	<i>na</i>	<i>di</i> trap.CMP	<i>koyne.</i> again	Dog and Monkey fought again.
13.2		<i>I</i> 3P <i>Hansi</i>	<i>na</i> <i>care</i> between them	<i>feeni-feeni</i> turn		The were between turns.
13.3		<i>I</i> 3P <i>Hansi</i>	<i>na</i> <i>care</i> between them	<i>ye</i> return.CMP <i>sambu.</i> take		Dog returned to take him.
13.4		<i>A</i> 3S	<i>ga</i> 3S	<i>feeni</i> turn.CMP <i>ga furu</i> throw	<i>beeme</i> high <i>ganda koyne</i> low again	And he turned him high and threw him down again.
13.5		<i>Boro wo</i> person EMP	<i>ga</i>	<i>ye</i> return.CMP <i>te</i> made		This person again had a bowel movement.
13.6		<i>Foono</i> monkey	<i>na</i> <i>toosi</i> stool	<i>katj</i> let loose.CMP		Monkey let the bowel movement loose again.
13.7	<i>To,</i> INC <i>mate katj</i> how that	<i>I</i> 3P <i>ni doona/ia,</i> 2S habit one.DEF	<i>na</i> <i>tooso</i> stool.DEF	<i>ne</i> say.CMP	<i>koyne</i> again <i>hansi/</i> dog	They said, As usual, Dog.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-OBJECT	FREE TRANSLATION
13.8		<i>Hansi</i> dog <i>nga</i> 3S		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ga tɔwa</i> eat.INC		Dog said he was going to eat it.
13.9		<i>Gorongaari</i> cock		<i>ne</i> , <i>Manti</i> be.CMP/NEG	<i>Abada!</i> never <i>ay fine</i> IS before	Cock said, 'Never! Not in front of me!
13.10		<i>Mate se?</i> how for				How?
13.11	<i>To, nap kat</i> INJ there where	<i>mari</i> panther <i>nga</i> 3S		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ga tun</i> lever.INC <i>ga ka</i> conte <i>sap-sap</i> crush <i>sap-sap</i> crush <i>tag</i> let loose.CMP <i>bagu</i> break.CMP <i>bagu</i> break.CMP		Panther said that he was going to get up and crush these guys. And Cock let loose one gourd and it broke.
	<i>no-din</i> over there SS	<i>gorongaaro</i> cock <i>a</i> 3S	<i>ga</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i>	<i>no</i> persons.DEF this <i>gorpo na nga zama</i> cock with 3S people <i>zallo fo</i> gourd one		
13.13	<i>Kat</i> when <i>wiza</i> then	<i>a</i> 3S <i>haw/landi</i> wasp SS	<i>na</i>	<i>din</i> this <i>zallo fa ra</i> gourd one in		There were wasps inside the gourd.

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Appendix C—Continued.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-OBJECT	FREE TRANSLATION
13.14		<i>Haw/landi</i> wasp	<i>ga</i> <i>ga</i> <i>ga</i>	<i>tun</i> get up.CMP <i>ga soobay</i> continue <i>ton</i> sting <i>garay</i> follow <i>ga di</i> trap.INC <i>garay</i> follow		The wasps got up and started to sting the wild animals. He broke the second gourd and in it were bees. They stung all the wild animals, and the followed the rats and the big mice into their holes.
14.1	<i>To,</i> INJ <i>mate kat</i> how that	<i>kwaara almaney</i> courtyard animals.DEF	<i>ganji hamey kulu</i> wild animals.DEF all <i>i</i> 3P <i>cap yep da akasi yep</i> mice and rats	<i>du</i> bave.CMP <i>ga zama</i> vanquish	<i>hala ngey ganney ra</i> until their holes.DEF in	This is how the domestic animals vanquished the wild animals.

Source: Scott Eberle, *Zarma learner's resource notebook*. (Niamey: SIM, 1986), 5.3-5.5.

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APPENDIX D
Kooro nda foono 'Hyena and Monkey'

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.1	<i>Ay iante-iante!</i> my fairy tale					To my story!
2.1	<i>Ay naamay-naamay</i> my customs					To my customs!
3.1		<i>Kooro da foono day no ja</i> hyena with monkey EMP SS EMP		<i>no ja</i> SS EMP		There was Hyena and Monkey.
3.2	<i>Han fo, i laabo</i> day one their country,DEF in	<i>haray beeri fo</i> famine big one		<i>te</i> make CMP		One day in their country there was great famine.
3.3		<i>Kooro</i> <i>haray bumbo da</i> hunger even ?		<i>jav</i> thirsty,CMP <i>go</i> EXT	<i>kala manit moso,</i> until sufficiently <i>a ga</i> 3S to	Hyena was very thirsty, he was even hungry.
3.4	<i>A bine, saajo ra,</i> then bush,DEF in	<i>a</i> 3S		<i>go no</i> is SS <i>ga ceeci</i> look.for <i>ga du ba</i> have,INC even <i>ga hany,</i> drink <i>jav</i> thirsty CMP <i>ga taabi,</i> suffer,INC	<i>nangu kay hare</i> place that side <i>harri</i> water	He looked in the bush there where there was water to drink, because he was thirsty, to the point of suffering.
	<i>zama</i> because <i>kala</i> until	<i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>A</i> 3S		<i>go ga vandi</i> turn,PKG <i>fo may,</i> perceive,CMP		
3.5	<i>kala</i> until	<i>na</i> <i>day fo</i> well one			<i>saajo ra</i> bush,DEF in	He was the process of walking in the bush, when he saw a well.

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Appendix D—Continued.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.6	<i>kala</i> until	<i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>harri</i> water <i>dayo</i> well,DEF		<i>zurru</i> run,CMP <i>di</i> see,CMP <i>go</i> is <i>ga gauusu</i> was,profound,INC	<i>kala dayo</i> <i>ga</i> until at <i>dayo</i> well,DEF in	He ran to the edge of the well, and he saw water in the well, but the well was deep.
3.7	<i>A bine kay</i> then when	<i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S		<i>mana ba lasaabu</i> not even reflect,CMP <i>sar</i> jump,CMP <i>ga jippo</i> bound		Then he did not even stop and think. He jumped into the well.
3.8	<i>kala</i> until	<i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>gunda</i> stomach,DEF <i>gunda</i> stomach,DEF <i>a</i> 3S <i>nga</i> 3S		<i>batj</i> drink,CMP <i>yeesi</i> quench,thirst,CMP <i>to,</i> fill,up,CMP <i>to</i> fill,up,CMP SS <i>jongu</i> remember,CMP <i>go</i> EXT	<i>harri</i> water	He drank water to his thirst. His stomach was full. When his stomach was full, he remembered that that he was in a deep well.
3.9	<i>kap wiza day,kunko</i> that or,que well deep,DEF in SS	<i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S		<i>si bay,INC</i> not know <i>ga te</i> do,INC <i>ga fanta,</i> leave		He did not know what to do to get out.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
6.4	<i>Ifo no</i> what SS		<i>te'</i> do.CMP		What's happening?
6.5	<i>Tobay hare</i>		<i>ci</i> say.CMP	<i>ya-din</i> like that	Hare said it like that."
6.6	<i>Ai!</i> <i>da</i> if <i>kooro</i> hyena <i>hiino katj</i> then that <i>kulu hiino nga no</i> and then 3S SS	<i>na</i> <i>ma</i>	<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>mani</i> it.is.not <i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>ga gar</i> find <i>fauba.CMP</i> save <i>ga ka</i> remove <i>go ga ceeci</i> look.for <i>pya</i> eat <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>mana faham</i> not.understand <i>wa natj</i> leave.IMP <i>sintah</i> begin.again.CMP <i>ga ciiti</i> judge <i>wa natj</i> leave <i>ma sintin</i> begin.again.SBJ <i>te</i> do.CMP	<i>a se</i> 3S for <i>ya-din</i> like that <i>dayo ra,</i> the.well in <i>taray</i> outside	Ah! Monkey told him it is not like that, it was Hyena that he came to find in the well. Then when he saved him, and removed him, it was after that that he tried to eat him.
6.7	<i>Kulu</i> and <i>Ai wo-ne,</i> ah this		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>mana faham</i> not.understand <i>wa natj</i> leave.IMP <i>sintah</i> begin.again.CMP <i>ga ciiti</i> judge <i>wa natj</i> leave <i>ma sintin</i> begin.again.SBJ <i>te</i> do.CMP	<i>da wo-ne</i> with that	Hare said, I do not understand,
6.8	<i>iri</i> 1P <i>ay no</i> IS SS <i>iri</i> 1P <i>a</i> 3S	<i>ma</i> <i>a</i> 3S	<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>mana faham</i> not.understand <i>wa natj</i> leave.IMP <i>sintah</i> begin.again.CMP <i>ga ciiti</i> judge <i>wa natj</i> leave <i>ma sintin</i> begin.again.SBJ <i>te</i> do.CMP	<i>aray se,</i> 2P for <i>d' a</i> with 3S	Let us begin again, It is I who am going to judge you. We are not going to continue on as we were.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION	
6.9	<i>Sapho hay katj</i> now this that <i>mate katj no</i> how that SS	<i>ay</i> I <i>kooro, ni wo, ni</i> byena 2S EMP 2S <i>foono, ni mo ni</i> monkey 2S too 2S <i>aray</i> 2P <i>teerey</i> actions.DEF <i>i</i> 3P <i>may no</i> who SS <i>may no</i> who SS		<i>ga ba,</i> love.IMP <i>ga ye</i> return.IMP <i>ma ye</i> return.SBJ <i>ma te</i> do.SBJ <i>te</i> do.CMP <i>ma du</i> can.SBJ <i>ga bay</i> know <i>sinda</i> has.not <i>gonda</i> have <i>Kulu sar!</i> all jump.IMP <i>sar</i> jump.CMP <i>ga fippo</i> leap <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>sobay</i> continue <i>ga koy</i> leave	<i>ra no,</i> well.DEF in SS <i>tuuro boy,</i> tree.DEF on <i>d' a,</i> with 3S <i>cimi</i> truth <i>cimi</i> truth <i>dayo ra,</i> well.DEF in <i>foono</i> monkey <i>ni koyay,</i> 2S going	Now, what I want, Hyena, you, you are going back into the well, Monkey you are going back to the tree. We are going to do the actions as they came about to see who was wrong and who was right.
6.10	<i>kooro</i> hyena		<i>Kulu sar!</i> all jump.IMP <i>sar</i> jump.CMP <i>ga fippo</i> leap <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>sobay</i> continue <i>ga koy</i> leave		All jump! Hyena jumped and threw himself in the well.	
6.11	<i>Tobay hare</i>		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>sobay</i> continue <i>ga koy</i> leave	<i>dayo ra,</i> well.DEF in <i>foono</i> monkey <i>ni koyay,</i> 2S going	Hare said to Monkey, Go and continue your walk..	

6.12	<i>A</i> 3S <i>nga</i> 3S <i>Ir-koy</i> God	<i>ma</i> <i>na</i>	<i>ni</i> 2S	<i>ceeci</i> look.for.CMP <i>amaana nwa</i> take.advantage.SBJ SS <i>di</i> catch.CMP	<i>ne</i> you <i>se.</i> for	He tried to abuse your confidence, but God caught him for you.
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Source: Scott Eberle, *Zarma learner's resource notebook*. (Niamey: SIM, 1986), 5:12-5:13.

APPENDIX E
Kwara cabey 'Village baptisms'

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.1		<i>Cabey</i> baptisms <i>kay iri</i> that 1P <i>i</i> 3P	<i>si</i> NEG	<i>ga bay</i> know.INC <i>te</i> do.INC	<i>kala hayay</i> that birth <i>banda.</i> after	The baptism that we know is done after a birth.
1.2	<i>Nda</i> if <i>habu fo banda no</i> week one after SS	<i>wayhoro</i> woman <i>i</i> 3P	<i>izo</i> child.DEF baptism	<i>hay.</i> give.birth.CMP <i>te.</i> do.INC		If a woman gives birth, it is after one week that they perform the child's baptism.
1.3	<i>Cabey</i> Baptisms since	<i>i</i> 3P <i>a</i> 3S <i>kariya baaba</i> child father <i>i</i> 3P		<i>ga te,</i> do.INC <i>cudi</i> remain <i>ga day</i> buy.INC <i>ga fay</i> share <i>ma du</i> have.SBJ <i>ga bay</i> know <i>go</i> EXT	<i>jirbi fo,</i> <i>day one</i> <i>chingum</i> chewing gum <i>borey se,</i> persons for	One day before the baptism is done, the child's father is going to buy the chewing gum to give to people, to make them know that there is a baptism tomorrow.
1.4	<i>Arima</i> but <i>nda</i> if	<i>kay cabey</i> that baptisms <i>chingum dayago</i> gum buying.DEF <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S		<i>mani</i> be.NEG <i>ga ba,</i> want <i>ga ci</i> say.INC	<i>a se suba.</i> 3S for tomorrow <i>dalle,</i> force <i>borey se yadin.</i> peoples for like that	But the buying of the chingum is not a must, if he wants he will tell people like that.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.5 <i>Nda</i> <i>subacine no caba</i> , if tomorrow SS baptism <i>za hunkana no</i> SS since today SS	<i>kotiya baaba</i> child father <i>a</i> 3S		<i>hima</i> must.CMP <i>ma day</i> buy.SBJ <i>ga hima nda</i> , prepare.INC.with <i>ga no</i> give.INC <i>ga no</i> give.INC	<i>feeji, gooro, dabino</i> sheep cola date <i>za hano din</i> , since day that <i>caba hane</i> baptism day	If the baptism is for tomorrow, it is today that the father of the child has to buy sheep, cola, and date. The money that the women are going to use, some relatives are going to give if the same day, others also will give if the day of the baptism.
2.1 <i>To, nda</i> INJ if	<i>suaba</i> tomorrow <i>borey</i> persons.DEF		<i>to</i> , come <i>ga biya</i> early <i>ga ka</i> , come		Well, if it is sunrise, people will come at dawn.
2.2 <i>Borey din ra mo</i> , People these in also <i>zama</i> because <i>zama</i> because	<i>alaga yatj</i> Holy man some <i>ngey no</i> SS 3P SS <i>wanzam yatj mo</i> hairdresser some also <i>ngey no</i> SS 3P SS <i>jasarey mo</i> beggars also	<i>ga</i> <i>ga</i> <i>ga</i>	<i>ga ka</i> , come <i>te</i> <i>ga ka</i> , do.INC <i>ga ka</i> , come.INC <i>caba</i> , do.the.hair.INC <i>ga ka</i> , come.INC <i>ɲwarey</i> , beg.	<i>kotiya se</i> , child for	Also among these people, some Muslim holy men are coming because it is them who are going to pray for the child; some hairdressers also will come, because it is they who are going to do the hair for the child, beggars also will come to beg from the people
2.3 <i>Suaba ra, za</i> Morning in when	<i>borey</i> person. <i>i</i> 3P		<i>ka</i> , come <i>ga gooro</i> sit.INC	<i>tangara yatj da korje yatj boj</i> mat some and chair some on	In the morning, when people come they are going to sit on the mats and chairs.

Appendix E—Continued.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
2.4 <i>Yati kay</i> when <i>day ga</i> then	<i>borey kalu</i> persons all <i>i</i> 3P	<i>ma</i>	<i>kobey</i> , meet.CMP <i>datj</i> place.SBJ <i>ga fay</i> CN share	<i>care ra</i> between them <i>borey se</i> persons for	When everyone has come, then they are going to put the cola and dates together to share with everyone.
2.5 <i>Nda</i> if	<i>i</i> 3P	<i>na</i>	<i>te</i> do.CMP <i>ga ban</i> , finish <i>ci</i> say	<i>alagay se</i> holy man to	After everyone has finished this, the father of the child will tell the child's name to the Muslim holy men.
2.6 <i>Kotiya mayo din mo</i> , child name this also <i>Ga no</i> then SS <i>day ga</i> after	<i>a baaba wala anyaa no</i> 3S father or mother SS <i>alagay mo</i> Muslim.holy men also <i>i</i> 3P	<i>ma</i>	<i>ga suban</i> choose.INC <i>ga ci</i> say.CMP <i>te</i> do.SBJ	<i>a se</i> 3S for <i>borey se</i> people to <i>kotiya mayo ga</i> child name in	It the father or the mother who will choose the name of the child. Then the Muslim holy men are going to tell the name to the people, after that they are going to pray in the name of the child.
2.8 <i>Nda</i> if <i>Day ga</i> then	<i>i</i> 3P <i>kotiya baaba</i> child father <i>i</i> 3P	<i>na</i> <i>ga</i> <i>ma</i>	<i>ban</i> , finish.CMP <i>bana</i> , pay.INC <i>wi</i> , kill.SBJ		When prayer is finished the father of the child is going to pay the Muslim holy men, then they kill a sheep.
2.9 <i>Wodin banda</i> that after <i>za caba hane no</i> from baptism day SS	<i>Zanka alboro tze fo yatj</i> child boys one some <i>i</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P	<i>ga</i> <i>ga</i>	<i>datj banga</i> , circumcise <i>ma ye</i> return <i>cabu</i> , do the hair		After that it is the baptism day that some young boys are going to be circumcised, and they do their hair also.
2.10	<i>i</i> 3P	<i>si</i> NEG 3P	<i>datj banga</i> circumcise	<i>hano din kala hane fo</i> day that until day one	Others are not circumcised that day, but later on another day.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
2.11 <i>Nda</i> if	<i>wodin kulu</i> that all <i>boro fo yap</i> people other <i>i</i> 3P	<i>ga</i>	<i>te</i> do.CMP <i>ga ban</i> finish <i>te</i> prepare.INC <i>alicka</i> take breakfast <i>ga ban,</i> finish.INC <i>ga dtra,</i> go.INC <i>ma goro,</i> sit.SBJ	<i>borey se,</i> people for	When everything is done, they prepare breakfast for people.
2.12 <i>day ga</i> then	<i>borey cindey</i> people certain <i>cindey mo</i> others also <i>woy borey</i> women	<i>ga</i>	<i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ <i>day</i> buy <i>ga ka</i> come <i>ga hima,</i> prepare	<i>habu</i> market	After they have taken breakfast some peoples will go others will stay sited.
2.13 <i>Soho</i> now	<i>Borey katj</i> people who <i>i</i> 3P	<i>ga</i>	<i>ga cindi,</i> stay.INC <i>ga foy</i> spend.the day.INC <i>te,</i> play	<i>nodin</i> there	Now women will go to market to buy spices, come and prepare them
2.14		<i>ga</i>			People who are going to stay, they spend the day there playing cards

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
2.15 <i>Nda</i> when <i>waato katj cine</i> moment of	<i>zaaro</i> noon.DEF <i>pwaroo huna</i> food cooking <i>woy borey</i> women <i>ngey boumbo</i> 3P themselves	<i>ga</i> <i>ma</i>	<i>to,</i> arrive.CMP <i>ban,</i> finished.CMP <i>day</i> put.INC <i>ga kanda</i> bring <i>ka</i> take.away.SBJ <i>ga pwa,</i> eat	<i>farami beeri yay ra</i> plate big some in <i>alborey se,</i> men to	When the sun is up, by the time the cooking of the food is finished, women put the food in the plate and take it to men, themselves take their part for eating.
2.16 <i>Waato katj cine</i> moment when	<i>borey</i> persons.DEF <i>woy borey</i> women.DEF <i>katj i</i> that 3P <i>caba me no ya</i> baptism end SS EMP	 <i>ma</i>	<i>pwa</i> eat.CMP <i>ga ban,</i> finish <i>goy nda</i> work with <i>nyant</i> wash		When people have finished eating, women wash things that they have used. It is then the end of the baptism.
2.17 <i>hala alsar,</i> until sunset <i>za zaari no</i> until noon SS	<i>cebey fo yap</i> Baptisms one certain <i>afo yap mo</i> others also <i>i</i> 3P		<i>ga to</i> go.INC <i>ga ban,</i> finish.INC		Some baptism ceremonies go until sunset, others it is sunrise when they finish.

APPENDIX F
Potol 'Slavery'

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.1	Zaamani fo period one katy that		bissa passer.CMP	taarifi history ne ya: here EMP	Here is an event from the past.
2.1	Potolo slavery.DEF how alboro fo person one katy.se who to i 3P nga no 3S SS amasaaray white.person.DEF afo a one.DEF 3S i 3P Gaya borey no Gaya persons SS	na Tara persons	ga ne said.INC ka remove.CMP go no EXT SS goro stay.CMP Gaya laabo ra, walked.around.INC sambu take.INC a 3S ga 3S ga 3S ma 3S ma 3S	Kadindin, Kadindin potol taabi ra, slavery suffering in Nizer, Niger Gaya Gaya laabo ra, country in	The period of slavery, a man who was called Kadindin, he took persons from Tara into the pain of slavery. Because when the whites were in Niger, there was one of them who lived at Gaya, who if he walked around in the area, he had bed on which they took him.
2.2	katy da who if daari no a se bed SS 3S for that on	ga ga ga ma ma	sambu take.INC kande bring sambu take.SBJ ga koy go sambu take.SBJ ga koy go	boty ga head in Tara, Tara nda, tanda with shelter (hangar) nda siya with siya	It was the people of Gaya who him on their head to bring him to Tara. The people of Tara also took him for landa, they also took him with siya(?).

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Appendix F—Continued.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
2.3	I 3P Tara boro fo Tara person one katy se i who for 3P goy wo ne work this here katy amasaara that white.person a 3S a 3S I 3P a 3S A 3S i 3P		go EXT ga ne call.INC ne said go ga te do.PRG to arrive.at.CMP ban. finished.CMP ne say.CMP ga te? will.do ne say.CMP ma hangan day hear.SBJ EMP ga di. see	yadin like.that Kadindin Kadindin his village boro se: person for Tara Tara nga se 3S for Gaya laabo ra Gaya region in Tara kwaara ra Tara village in	It went on like that when one day a man from Tara who was called Kadindin said to its habitants, "The work that the whites do, if they arrive at Tara, the next time it will be finished. They asked how is that going to come to pass? He told them to wait and see.
2.4	mate no how SS		ne say.CMP ga te? will.do ne say.CMP ma hangan day hear.SBJ EMP ga di. see	nga se 3S for	They asked how is that going to come to pass? He told them to wait and see.
2.6	Han fo day one	na a 3S	go ga windi walk.PRG sambu take.CMP ga ka come ga gisi placing	Gaya laabo ra Gaya region in Tara kwaara ra Tara village in	One day, a white person a white person was strolling in the region of Gaya. The persons of Gaya took him to Tara to leave him there. He spoke with the people. He got up; he wanted to leave.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
2.17	<i>Amasaara</i> white.person <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>amasaara</i> white.person <i>Gaya laabo borey</i> Gaya region.person.DEF		<i>ne:</i> say.CMP <i>wasa!</i> is.enough.CMP <i>wasa!</i> is.enough.CMP <i>mana ye</i> not.return.CMP <i>ga te</i> do <i>du</i> have.CMP	<i>sambu yaj</i> take <i>agey boj pottol wone ga.</i> 3P head.slavery.this to	The white person said, "That's enough! That's enough! It was since that day that the whites never again had the desire to be taken. The people of Gaya had peace during the period of slavery."

SIL—Niger. *Bayray wo turabaan no: Saura dumi—dami yaj.* (Niamey: Niger, 1998), 8-9.

APPENDIX G Siida dooro 'AIDS'

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.1 <i>Siida dooro</i> AIDS illness.DEF this	<i>doori taaji no</i> illness new SS <i>kaj</i> that		<i>ga laala gumo-gumo</i> be.dangerous.INC a.lot <i>to</i> arrive <i>furo</i> enter.CMP <i>te</i> make <i>mana du</i> NEG have.CMP <i>go</i> EXT <i>ga te</i> do.INC <i>di?</i> catch	<i>hunkuna jiiri waranka deetandi</i> today year twenty about <i>iri afrika laabey ra.</i> Africa country.DEF in <i>boro-bi laabey nda annasaarey laabey ra.</i> black countries and white countries in <i>doori tajo wa se saqari.</i> illness new.DEF to illness <i>sa'ara</i> treatment.DEF research.DEF <i>ga</i> to	The illness of AIDS, it is an illness that is very dangerous. About twenty years ago, AIDS entered in our countries of Africa. Now, there is a lot of damage in African and European countries. Until now, they have not found a cure for this disease. Scientists are looking for a cure. How can one get AIDS?
2.1	<i>A</i> 3S <i>kaj a</i> that 3S				
3.1 <i>Iri me cihne-wo ga,</i> 1P this moment to <i>hala ga ka soha,</i> until now	<i>a</i> 3S <i>i</i> 3P <i>Bayraykooney</i> scientist.DEF <i>siida dooro</i> AIDS illness.DEF	<i>na</i> destruction a.lot			
4.1 <i>Mate no</i> how SS			<i>ga</i>		
5.1					
6.1	<i>Hari hita no,</i> thing three SS <i>a</i> 3S <i>boro</i> person	<i>boro</i> person	<i>ga</i>		
6.2	<i>afo</i> one	<i>a</i> 3S	<i>ga hini</i> can.INC <i>sambu</i> take	<i>wajboro wala alboro ga</i> woman or man to	There are three things that can cause a person to get AIDS. First, one get it by taking a woman or a man.
6.3	<i>Boro</i> person	<i>a</i> 3S	<i>ga hini</i> can.INC <i>sambu</i> take	<i>lokorey saney wala wanzamey sini zibey ga</i> nurse needles and dirty hairdresser blades dirty to	One can also take it by dirty nurse's needles and dirty hairdresser blades.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
6.4	<i>I hinzanta</i> the third	<i>waykano</i> pregnant woman <i>katj ga dooro</i> that to illness	<i>ga</i> 3S	<i>go ga hini</i> can.PRG <i>day</i> place <i>candi</i> attract.PRG <i>hallas</i> protect.	<i>ize kayna ga za</i> child little to <i>gunda ra</i> through stomach in	Thirdly, the pregnant woman who has this illness can transmit it through the womb. For this reason, they must try to protect themselves.
6.5	<i>Wodin se,</i> this reason for	<i>i</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P <i>Siida dooro</i> AIDS illness.DEF	<i>i laakal</i> 3P attention <i>ngey boy</i> 3P head	<i>mana du</i> NEG have.CMP	<i>safari.</i> remedy	The disease AIDS does not have a cure. Every person that gets it must know that his life will not last long.
7.1	<i>katj</i> that	<i>Boro</i> person <i>a</i> 3S		<i>di</i> attack.CMP <i>kulu ma bay</i> know.SBJ <i>si ku</i> last.INC		
9.1	<i>Ba</i> even.if <i>katj</i> that	<i>nga doomaro</i> 3S long.life.DEF		<i>si hisa</i> NEG last.INC <i>wf.</i>	<i>jiiri way deendamdi</i> year ten about	Even if he doesn't die right away, after about ten years the disease will kill him.
1.10	<i>Yadin ga</i> For this reason	<i>iri</i> 1P	<i>iri boy</i> 1P head	<i>hallas</i> protect.SBJ	<i>fondo hincey</i> way three.DEF <i>din</i> this	For this reason, we must use these three ways to protect ourselves.
1.11	<i>Zarmey sann ra no</i> Zarma's word.DEF in SS <i>kasa isa day</i> kasa river EMP	<i>i</i> 3P <i>boro</i> person	<i>ga ne</i> say,INC <i>ma mooru</i> lengthen.SBJ	<i>isa</i> river		It is in the Zarma proverbs that one says: the river de kasa, one must lengthen the river.

SIL-Niger. Bayray wo turacaban no. Suura dumi—dumi yaj. (Niamey: Niger, 1998), 21-22.

APPENDIX H
Talkataray 'Poverty'

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.1		<i>Doorey</i> illnesses <i>katj damizey</i> that human.DEF		<i>ga bay</i> know,INC <i>ga ba.</i> are numerous	<i>ngey baafuna ra</i> their lives in	The sicknesses that humans know in their lives are many.
1.2		<i>Talkataray</i> poverty		<i>laala</i> bad.CMP <i>ga ti</i> is,INC	<i>nda i kulu</i> with 3P all <i>talkataray?</i> poverty	Poverty is the most dangerous of them all. What is poverty?
1.3		<i>Talkataray</i> poverty		<i>manti kala</i> be,NEG only <i>tanandi.</i> wake.up.CMP	<i>balawu beerey me.nda.me</i> unhappiness big all cause	Poverty is only the greatest cause of all unhappiness.
2.1		<i>A</i> 3S	<i>ga</i> attention	<i>mo day</i> also place.CMP <i>si te</i> not.do,INC	<i>boro ga.</i> person to	It puts hate into a person.
3.1		<i>boro</i> person <i>Mastiba beero</i> unhappiness big.DEF <i>katj a</i> that 3S		<i>ga te day</i> do,INC EMP <i>ga ti</i> be,INC <i>day</i> place <i>si goy</i> not.work,INC		It is good thoughts that one does not have. The greatest unhappiness that it causes is to put famine in the country, because no one works.
3.2	<i>Milla hanno kulu no</i> thought good all SS		<i>ga</i> hate			
3.3		<i>a</i> 3S <i>boro</i> person.DEF	<i>ga</i> famine		<i>laabu ra</i> country in	
3.4	<i>katj</i> that <i>zama</i> but	<i>iri</i> 3P <i>talkataray</i> poverty	<i>ga</i> country			We must know how to get rid of poverty in our country.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.6		A it	ka husband and wife	ka care ga. separate		It separates husbands and wives.
3.7		A it	ize nda baaba child and father	foy. separate.CMP		It separates sons and their father.
3.8		A it	corotaray friendship	ka. remove CMP		It destroys friendships.
3.9	Yadin ga For this reason	borey persons.DEF		ma si muray not neglect.SBJ		For this reason, one must not neglect it.
3.10		I 3P	himma effort	daj place.SBJ		One only has to make an effort to suspend poverty. The biggest remedy is work. If people work they are going to avoid poverty.
	Da if	a safari beero 3S remedy big.DEF borey goy kulu, i persons work all 3P	talkataray poverty	boy-za avoid ga.ti is ga wa avoid	goy. work talkataray poverty.	
3.11		A he bora person.DEF all		shida is.not ma tunu must.get.up.SBJ ga goy work	wayboro wala albora, woman or man	Whether one is man or a woman, one must work.

STL-Niger. Bayray wo turaaban no: Saura dumi—dumi yay. (Niamey, Niger, 1998), 23.

APPENDIX I
Tobay 'Hare'

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.1	Ay jante-jante 1S story					To my tales!
2.1	Ay naamay-naamay 1S custom customs					To my customs!
3.1		Ganji hamize foyay bush animals one		daj no ya. EMP SS EMP		Here are some wild animals.
3.2	Han fo no day one SS	haray laalo famine terrible.DEF one		te do.CMP	no-din over-there	One day there was a severe famine.
3.3	hara famine/DEF terrible until katj ra that in	i agey 3P		si bay know.INC/NEG go EXT	hay thing	Hunger was so bad that they did not know even where they were.
3.4	Kala han fo until day one	musu beeri lion		du have CMP	carmay fo. idea one	One day, lion had an idea.
3.5		A 3S a 3S bora kulu person all agey 3P agey 3P agey 3P	na wild animal all nga hangaa 3S ear.DEF i 3P	marga, unite CMP ne sey.CMP ka, remove CMP ma koy go.SBJ neere sell.SBJ ma da have.SBJ ga day buy fansa. dig.INC	i se 3P for ad-da yay. machettes some kalma yay dabba some	He gathered all of the animals together, and told them all to take off an ear, and then go and sell them in order to buy machetes and hoes to dig a hole.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.6	<i>A bine</i> then <i>amma</i> but	<i>ganji hamizee kulu</i> wild animal <i>tobay wo</i> hare <i>Tobay</i> hare <i>i</i> 3P <i>a</i> 3S <i>i</i> 3P <i>nga</i> 3S		<i>yadda</i> , agree <i>mana yadda</i> agree.CMP/NEG <i>mana yadda</i> agree.CMP/NEG <i>ka</i> remove.SBJ <i>ne</i> said.CMP <i>ka</i> remove.CMP <i>ga meeri</i> be.mean.CMP		And then, all of the animals agreed, but the hare refused.
3.7	<i>zama</i> because <i>da</i> if	<i>ma</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>ga</i>	<i>nga hangaa</i> 3S ear.DEF <i>nga hangaa</i> 3S ear.DEF	<i>/ansi</i> , dig.CMP <i>ga cin</i> go.CMP <i>haŋi</i> drink		The hare did not agree to let someone take off his ear, for if they removed it he would become mean.
4.1	<i>Binne</i> , then	<i>i</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P	<i>dayo</i> well.DEF	<i>ga zay</i> steal.INC <i>ga ka</i> come <i>haŋi</i> drink		Then they dug the well. They drank water from time to time.
4.2	<i>Wiza</i> then <i>ciŋo ra</i> night.DEF in	<i>tobay mo</i> , hare also <i>a</i> 3S	<i>haro</i> water.DEF	<i>ga zay</i> steal.INC <i>ga ka</i> come <i>haŋi</i> drink		The hare as well, in the night he came to steal in order to drink.
4.3	<i>da</i> if	<i>Nggey mo</i> 3P also <i>i</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P		<i>tun</i> get.up.CMP <i>di</i> see.CMP	<i>susuba</i> morning <i>tayandi-tayandi dayo me</i> humidity well.DEF/mouth	And when they go up in the morning, they saw water droplets on the edge of the well.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
4.4	<i>hala fo</i> which <i>hala</i> if	<i>I</i> 3P <i>tayandi no</i> humidity SS <i>may no</i> who SS	<i>go</i> <i>ga</i> 3P head	<i>ha</i> ask.PRG <i>be</i> <i>ka</i> come <i>ga haŋi?</i> drink	<i>wo-ne</i> , this here	They asked themselves, with such humidity there, who has been coming to drink?
4.5	<i>Bine</i> then <i>hambagar</i> maybe	<i>kooro mo</i> hyena also <i>tobay no</i> hare SS this		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ga te</i> do.INC <i>du</i> have.CMP <i>ceeci</i> look.for.CMP <i>te</i> make.CMP <i>gisi</i> poss.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ga bay</i> know.INC <i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>ga naaga</i> stick.INC <i>coŋi-coŋi</i> creep.CMP <i>ga ka</i> come		Then the hyena said that it was perhaps the hare.
4.6	<i>mate no</i> how SS	<i>I</i> 3P <i>nggey</i> 3P <i>Mausa beeri</i> Iron		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ga te</i> do.INC <i>du</i> have.CMP <i>ceeci</i> look.for.CMP <i>te</i> make.CMP <i>gisi</i> poss.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ga bay</i> know.INC <i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>ga naaga</i> stick.INC <i>coŋi-coŋi</i> creep.CMP <i>ga ka</i> come	<i>sohon</i> now <i>carmay fo</i> idea one <i>kolita</i> colla <i>boro alhaali fo</i> person resemblance one <i>dayo jarga</i> well.DEF side	They said what will be done now.
4.7						The Iron had an idea.
4.8						He looked for some colla.
4.9						He made into the form of a person.
4.10						He put it at the edge of the well.
4.11						They said that they will know if a person comes because he would stick to it.
5.1	<i>Kala cimo ra</i> , until night.DEF in	<i>tobay</i> hare		<i>no-din ra hare</i> over there in toward		And in the night, the hare crept toward the well.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
6.5	<i>I</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P <i>ciimo</i> night.DEF <i>tobay</i> hare <i>Filaana baaba, ni</i> such father 2S <i>i</i> 3P <i>kooro</i> hyena <i>Ifo se?</i> why <i>A</i> 3S <i>i</i> 3P <i>sazamo no</i> imbecile SS	<i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>go ga</i> 2S <i>na</i> <i>ga</i> 3S <i>go ga</i> 2S	<i>daj</i> put.CMP <i>hav,</i> attach.CMP <i>no</i> give.CMP <i>to</i> arrive.CMP <i>go ga ne</i> said.PRG <i>ga bay</i> know.INC <i>sambu</i> take.PRG <i>he,</i> asked.CMP <i>ne,</i> say.CMP <i>ga naj</i> leave.INC <i>ma haama</i> pass.the night.SBJ <i>gardi.</i> guard <i>ma bary</i> know.SBJ <i>sambu</i> take.PRG	<i>kooro kambé ra,</i> hyena hand in <i>kooro se,</i> hyena to <i>kooro se,</i> hyena for <i>sazamo jama kulu ra.</i> imbecile crowd all in	They put him in the hands of the hyena, attached him, and gave him to the hyena. And then in the night, the hare said to the hyena, honored father, you know that they take you as a fool in a crowd. And the hyena asked him, why? He said, it is because they left you at the edge of the well to pass the night guarding the well. You must know this, they take you as a fool.
6.6	<i>A binne</i> then				
6.7	<i>Kulu</i> and				
6.8	<i>Mate no, ni hanne no</i> how SS 2S alone SS				
6.9					

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
6.10	<i>Kooro</i> hyena <i>ni</i> 2S <i>fa/</i> <i>ideo.</i> <i>tobay</i> hare		<i>ne,</i> say.CMP <i>ga cim,</i> be right.INC		The hyena said, honored father, you are right.
7.1	<i>A bine mo,</i> 3S also <i>filaana baaba,</i> such father <i>har-mun no</i> urine SS <i>ay</i> 1S <i>ay</i> 1S <i>kooro</i> hyena <i>a</i> 3S <i>nga</i> 3S <i>Tobay</i> hare		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ma koy</i> leave.SBJ <i>ga ba</i> want.INC <i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ <i>feeri,</i> let.loose.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ <i>batu</i> wait.for.PRG <i>zumu.</i> flee.CMP <i>gana,</i> follow.CMP <i>mazana to-r</i> not wait.for.CMP	<i>a se,</i> 3S to <i>ay ga,</i> 1S to <i>har-mun.</i> urination?	Then the hyena also told him, honored father, I must relieve myself. I am going to urinate. Then the hyena urinated him, and told him to go urinate and he would wait for him. The hare ran off. The hyena chased him, but he did not wait for him.
7.2	<i>Kooro</i> hyena <i>a</i> 3S <i>nga</i> 3S <i>Tobay</i> hare	<i>na</i> <i>go ga</i> 3S			
7.3					
7.4	<i>Kooro</i> hyena <i>Kooro</i> hyena	<i>na</i>			

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
7.5	<i>Kala</i>	<i>susiba</i> morning.DEF <i>i</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P <i>ngɛy</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P	<i>na</i>	<i>to</i> arrive CMP <i>ka</i> come CMP <i>ne</i> say CMP <i>wi</i> , kill.SBJ <i>ka</i> come CMP <i>gar.</i> find.CMP/NEG		In the morning, they came and said they would kill the hare, but they did not find him.
7.6	<i>man ga no</i> where at SS	<i>I</i> 3P <i>tobay</i> hare <i>na</i> 3S	<i>na</i>	<i>hã</i> , ask.CMP <i>kooy?</i> go.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>kooma</i> flee.CMP <i>hẽ</i> ask.CMP <i>mana du</i> have CMP/NEG <i>ga ci</i> say.INC <i>wi</i> . kill.CMP <i>ma katj</i> fall.SBJ		They asked the hyena, Where did the hyena go? The hyena said, that he escaped him.
7.8		<i>Kooro</i> hyena <i>a</i> 3S		<i>nga se no</i> 3S to SS		
7.9	<i>mafaaro</i> for:what:reason <i>katj</i> that	<i>I</i> 3P <i>kooro</i> hyena <i>nga</i> 3S	<i>na</i>	<i>hã</i> ask.CMP <i>mana du</i> have CMP/NEG <i>ga ci</i> say.INC	<i>hoy</i> something <i>i se.</i> 3P to	They asked how it happened, and he did not have something to tell them.
7.10	<i>A bindɛ,</i> then	<i>i</i> 3P <i>Ay cambu</i> IS mouse	<i>na</i>	<i>wi</i> . kill.CMP <i>ma katj</i> fall.SBJ	<i>danji ra.</i> fire in	Then they killed the hyena.
7.11						The head of my mouse must fall in the fire.

Source: Scott Eberlé, *Zarma learner's resource notebook*. (Niamey, SIM, 1986), 5.13-5.14.

APPENDIX J
Tobay da mari 'Hare and Panther'

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-OBJECT	FREE TRANSLATION
1.1	<i>Ay/jante- jante</i> IS fairy tale fairy tale					To my fairy tale!
2.1	<i>Ay naamoy-naamay</i> IS custom custom					To my customs!
3.1		<i>Tobay day no ya a</i> hare EMP SS EMP 3S		<i>go no</i> EXT SS	<i>da a wande da</i> with 3S wife	Here is a hare. He is with this wife and three children.
3.2	<i>han fo bɛne,</i> day one then	<i>haray</i> famine		<i>te</i> make.CMP	<i>i laabo</i> 3P country/DEF in	One day, a famine came in their country.
3.3		<i>Tobay</i> hare <i>wando</i> wife.DEF <i>izey</i> children.DEF <i>ganji animaney</i> bush animals/DEF <i>i kulu</i> 3P all <i>ngɛy</i> 3P		<i>haray,</i> hungry.CMP <i>haray</i> hungry.CMP <i>haray</i> hungry.CMP <i>haray</i> hungry.CMP <i>si bay</i> know.CMP/NEG <i>ga gana</i> leave.INC <i>ga du</i> for have		The hare was hungry, his wife was hungry, his children were hungry, as well as all the wild animals. They did not know where to go to find food.
	<i>najj kulu katj</i> there where				<i>ɲwaari.</i> food	

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
5.1	<i>kalu</i> then	<i>Tobay</i> hare	<i>go no</i> EXT SS <i>ga goro</i> sit <i>ka</i> a se. come.CMP	<i>yadin</i> like that <i>da nga wande,</i> with 3S wife <i>a se.</i> 3S to	The hare was sitting with his wife when an idea came to him.
5.2	<i>kala</i> until	<i>dabari fo</i> means one <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>katy banga fo</i> that pond one	<i>ka,</i> come.CMP <i>go ga dira</i> walk.PRG <i>koy</i> leave.CMP <i>fatta</i> go out <i>go no,</i> is SS <i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>haw,</i> attach.CMP <i>ga ga darbay</i> begin.fish.INC	<i>ra</i> bush.DEF in <i>fo ra</i> village one in <i>no-din,</i> then over there <i>da bundu fo</i> with stick one <i>mejo</i> water.DEF edge.DEF <i>ga</i> at	he came, he was walking in the bush until he came out to a village where there was a pond.
5.3	<i>Katy</i> when <i>banga janga</i> pond edge <i>katy ga</i> that to	<i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>na</i>	<i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>haw,</i> attach.CMP <i>ga ga darbay</i> begin.fish.INC	<i>mejo</i> water.DEF edge.DEF <i>ga</i> at	When he came over there, at the pond edge, he came with a stick with which he attached a string, he fished at the edge of a pond.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
5.4	<i>Bango ra</i> pond.DEF in	<i>ga ga</i> <i>hamisa</i> fish.DEF	<i>go ga darbay</i> begin.fish.PRG <i>di</i> catch.PRG <i>datj</i> place.CMP <i>di</i> catch.PRG <i>candi.</i> pull.CMP <i>ga ka</i> come <i>di</i> see.CMP <i>go ga du</i> have.PRG	<i>ra</i> water.DEF in <i>ra,</i> outside <i>hamisa</i> fish.DEF <i>boobo,</i> a.lot	In the pond, he was fishing. He caught some fish, the string which he placed in the water, caught lots of fish.
5.5	<i>katy da</i> that if <i>da</i> if <i>katy</i> that <i>Himo</i> then	<i>ga ga</i> <i>hamisa</i> fish.DEF <i>na</i>	<i>me</i> return.CMP <i>datj</i> place <i>candi</i> pull.CMP <i>candi</i> pull.CMP <i>di</i> saw.CMP <i>ga sandi</i> was.diffic.it.INC	<i>ra</i> water.DEF in <i>ra,</i> outside <i>hamisa</i> fish.DEF <i>boobo,</i> a.lot <i>ra</i> water.DEF in <i>na,</i> there	He returned and placed the stick in the water. If he pulled them out of the water, He saw that pulling them out was difficult
5.6	<i>Katy</i> when <i>katy</i> where <i>katy</i> that	<i>ga</i> <i>na</i> <i>bundo</i> stick.DEF <i>na</i> <i>bundo</i> stick.DEF <i>na</i> <i>candiyat wo-ne</i> pulling.out this	<i>me</i> return.CMP <i>datj</i> place <i>candi</i> pull.CMP <i>candi</i> pull.CMP <i>di</i> saw.CMP <i>ga sandi</i> was.diffic.it.INC	<i>ra</i> water.DEF in <i>ra,</i> outside <i>hamisa</i> fish.DEF <i>boobo,</i> a.lot <i>ra</i> water.DEF in <i>na,</i> there	He returned and placed the stick in the water. If he pulled them out of the water, He saw that pulling them out was difficult

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
5.7 <i>kala</i> until	<i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>i</i> 3P	<i>go ga</i>	<i>candi</i> pull.CMP <i>farga</i> tired.CMP <i>mongu</i> could.not.CMP <i>di</i> see.CMP <i>candi</i> pull.PRG <i>ga day</i> place <i>go ga guna</i> look.at.PRG <i>di</i> see.CMP <i>ka</i> lift.off.CMP <i>di</i> see.CMP <i>tay</i> grab.INC <i>fongu</i> recall.CMP <i>du</i> have.CMP <i>ga ba</i> want.INC <i>ma te</i> do.SBJ <i>ga du</i> have	<i>kalu</i> all <i>haro ra,</i> water.DEF in <i>haro ra</i> water.DEF in <i>kaaray fo</i> crocodile one <i>a se taray</i> 3P for outside	He pulled (them out) until he was tired, and he couldn't any more. He saw that he pulled a lot, to pale it in the water. Then he saw a crocodile who lifted his head outside of the water
5.8 <i>Katj</i> when <i>katj</i> that	<i>a</i> 3S <i>kaaray no a moso-moso</i> crocodile SS 3S gently <i>a</i> 3S	<i>nga</i> 3S <i>nga</i> 3S head.DEF	<i>nga</i> 3S head.DEF		When he saw the crocodile, the crocodile grabbed the stick,
5.9 <i>Kalu sahadina</i> and suddenly	<i>a</i> 3S <i>katj a</i> that 3S <i>nga</i> 3S	<i>bundo</i> stick.DEF	<i>fongu</i> recall.CMP <i>du</i> have.CMP <i>ga ba</i> want.INC <i>ma te</i> do.SBJ <i>ga du</i> have		Suddenly, he remembered.
5.10 <i>Waasi-waasi boy</i> Rapidly	<i>A</i> 3S	<i>ga</i>	<i>zuru</i> run.CMP <i>ga ye</i> return	<i>dabari fo</i> means one <i>mari</i> panther <i>kwaara.</i> village	He had found a means to get even with the panther. He ran fast to return to the village.

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PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
6.2 <i>kala</i> until	<i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S		<i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>go</i> EXT <i>di</i> see.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP	<i>kwaara,</i> village <i>windiyajo</i> walk.DEF <i>mari</i> panther <i>A!</i> ah <i>me!</i> end	He came to the village, in walking around he saw the panther. He said 'Ah! Panther, is it you? You must come!
6.3 <i>kala</i> until	<i>A</i> 3S <i>Mari Nin no!</i> panther! 2S SS <i>Ni</i> 2S		<i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>ma ka</i> come.SBJ		

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PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
6.6 <i>da</i> if	<i>Ay</i> 1S <i>katj</i> that pond <i>hamisa</i> fish.DEF <i>mwari</i> food <i>ni</i> 2S <i>iri</i> 1P <i>iri</i> 1P <i>ham dumi-dumi</i> meat all kinds <i>iri</i> 1P <i>ni</i> 2S <i>iri</i> 1P <i>ay</i> 1S <i>i</i> 3S		<i>di</i> see.CMP <i>go no</i> EXT.SS <i>go no</i> EXT.SS <i>go</i> is <i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>ga darbay no</i> fish.CMP.SS <i>ma nwa</i> eat.SBJ <i>go no</i> EXT.SS <i>ga nwa,</i> eat.INC <i>ma ka,</i> come.SBJ <i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ <i>ma cabé</i> show.SBJ <i>di</i> catch.INC	<i>Kwara jo</i> village one <i>nodin</i> over:there <i>tpwari dumi-dumi haro ra</i> food allkinds water.DEF in <i>no-din,</i> over:there <i>d' a,</i> with 3S	He saw a village that had a pond, there were fish, there was food over there. If you come, we are going to fish, we are going to eat all sort of food, there are all sorts of fish, we are going to eat, it is necessary that you come. we are going to go over there. I want to show you how we are going to catch fish.
6.7 <i>mate katj</i> how:that	<i>Mari bine</i> panther:then	<i>hamisey</i> fish.DEF <i>a</i> 3S	<i>tun</i> got.up.CMP <i>gana,</i> follow	<i>d' a,</i> with 3S	Then the panther got up to follow him.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
7.1 <i>kala</i> until	<i>I</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P <i>I</i> 3P		<i>dtra,</i> walk.CMP <i>dtra</i> walk.CMP <i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>fara</i> go.out <i>di</i> see.CMP <i>dag</i> put.PRG <i>hav,</i> attach.CMP <i>ka</i> lift.out.PRG <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ga bay</i> know <i>ga te,</i> do.INC <i>ga dan</i> place.INC <i>ga di</i> catch.INC <i>ga du</i> like:that have.CMP <i>ga bisa</i> over:take.INC	<i>bangey</i> ponds <i>bangu meyo ga,</i> pond mouth.DEF to? <i>haro ra</i> water.DEF in <i>taray kulu</i> outside all	He walked just until he appeared, they exited at the edge of the pond, and the panther saw how he put the wood into the pond to which he attached a string. When he took our fish outside, the panther said, Ah, that one he knows what he is going to do he is going to put his tail in the because it is his tail that the fish are going to catch. It is like that that he is going to have the big fish that are bigger than those of the hare.
<i>kulu</i> and <i>mate katj</i> how:that <i>katj ga</i> <i>katj</i>	<i>mari</i> panther <i>tobay</i> hare <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S	<i>bundu jo</i> stick one <i>korfo</i> string <i>hamisey</i> fish	<i>go ga</i> <i>na</i> <i>go ga</i>		
<i>Ai wo-ne wo</i> ah this here this <i>mate katj</i> how:that	<i>mari, a</i> panther 3S <i>nga no</i> 3S.SS <i>nga</i> 3S <i>nga sunfaa no</i> 3S tail.DEF.SS <i>hamisa beeyey no</i> fish.DEF big.DEF.SS <i>nga</i> 3S <i>katj</i> that				
<i>zama nga sunfaa no</i> because 3S tail.DEF.SS <i>gasato ga no</i> like this.SS					

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
7.2	<i>Kulu</i> and	<i>maro</i> panther.DEF <i>a</i> 3S	<i>na</i>	<i>nga sunfaa</i> his tail.DEF	<i>dati</i> put.CMP <i>go ga soobay</i> go.CMP <i>ka</i> take.out <i>ga bisa</i> over.take.INC	<i>haro ra</i> water.DEF in	The panther put all of his tail in the water. He took fish outside of the water that were more than those of the hare.
7.3	<i>Himo katj</i> then	<i>a</i> 3S	<i>ga</i>	<i>sunfaa</i> tail.DEF	<i>ye</i> return.CMP <i>dati</i> place		He returned and placed his tail in the water. and GIP
7.4		<i>batuyajo boŋ kata gtp!</i> attempt.DEF on and hop	<i>na</i>	<i>sunfaa</i> tail.DEF	<i>di</i> catch.INC		The large crocodile caught his tail.
7.5		<i>A</i> 3S	<i>na</i>		<i>candi</i> pull.CMP <i>ga dati</i> place <i>go ga kaati</i> cry.PRG <i>ga kuwawa</i> scream <i>ga ne</i> say <i>faaba!</i> save!SBJ	<i>haro ra,</i> water.DEF in	He pulled him in order to pull him in the water. The panther cried and screamed, to say to the hare to save him. Hare, save me!
		<i>a</i> 3S	<i>ma</i>	<i>nga</i> 3S		<i>tobay se</i> hare to	

⁹ I am assuming that this is a spelling error and this should be spelled 'kaaray'.

Appendix J—Continued.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
7.6		<i>Kaara</i> crocodile	<i>go ga</i>	<i>a</i> 3S	<i>candi</i> pull.PRG <i>ga konda</i> bring <i>kuula</i> cry.PRG <i>faaba!</i> save.IMP <i>faaba!</i> save.IMP	<i>a haro bindo ra,</i> 3S water.DEF middle in	
7.7	<i>Kulu</i> and	<i>tobay</i> all hare.DEF			<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>Fongga,</i> remember.IMP <i>fongu,</i> remember.IMP <i>te</i> happen.CMP <i>du</i> have.CMP <i>ga ipwa.</i> eat	<i>a se</i> 3S for me?	
7.8	<i>Hano katj</i> day that	<i>haray</i> famine <i>ni</i> 2S				<i>iri taabu</i> 1P country <i>ay ize</i> 1S children three.DEF	
7.9		<i>Ni mo sehon</i> 2S also now <i>Ay</i> 1S	<i>na</i>	<i>ni</i> 2S	<i>naŋ</i> leave.CMP	<i>da kaara.</i> with crocodile.DEF	Now I am going to leave you with the crocodile.

Source: Scott Eberle, *Zarma learner's resource notebook*. (Niamey: SIM, 1986), 511-5.12.

Wande Bonkaano 'The Good Wife'

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.1		<i>Arvasa fo day ne ya kat se</i> boy one EMP here EMP that to <i>kat tafkataray</i> that poverty	<i>i</i> 3P <i>a</i> 3S	<i>ga ne</i> call.INC <i>sinda</i> not have	<i>Amadu,</i> <i>Amadu</i> <i>wadde</i> equal	There was one boy called Amadu who was poor.
1.2	<i>kat botj</i> that head	<i>Farkay folloj no</i> donkey only one SS <i>a</i> 3S	<i>ga</i>	<i>go</i> EXT <i>ga koy</i> go.INC <i>ka</i> collect.INC	<i>a se</i> 3S to <i>saaji fimbo ra</i> bush thick in	It is only one donkey that he had on which he was going to the thick bush to collect wood.
1.3	<i>Tuuro mo dala iddu no</i> Wood also five six SS	<i>a</i> 3S	<i>ga</i>	<i>neera.</i> sell.INC		That wood he will sell it 30 F
1.4		<i>Hangasiney</i> companions.DEF <i>kulu</i> all	<i>ga</i> 3S	<i>hiiji</i> marry.CMP <i>naɔ</i> leave		All his friends got married and left him.
1.5	<i>mate kulu kat</i> how all that	<i>Amadu</i> <i>a</i> 3S		<i>si bay</i> know.INC/NEG <i>ga te</i> do.INC <i>ga du</i> have <i>koy</i> go.CMP <i>foy</i> stay.CMP <i>kani</i> sleep.CMP	<i>arzaka,</i> wealth <i>saajo ra</i> bush/DEF in	Amadu does not know how to become rich, and one day he went to the bush and slept in the bush.
	<i>kala hatj fo</i> when day one	<i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S			<i>saajo ra.</i> bush in	

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Appendix K—Continued.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
2.1	<i>Cinni bito ra</i> night heart in	<i>nya zeeno fo</i> mother old one <i>nya zeeno</i> mother old <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S		<i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>foy</i> stay.CMP <i>kani</i> sleep.CMP	<i>a do,</i> 3S to <i>a se</i> 3S to <i>ganji,</i> devil	In the middle of the night, one old woman came to him and asked him why he stayed and slept in the bush.
2.2	<i>hala day</i> that if <i>kulu</i> all	<i>A</i> 3S <i>nya zeena</i> mother old <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S		<i>deede</i> tell.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ga ba</i> want.INC <i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ <i>hiiji</i> marry	<i>a se mafaaro</i> 3S for reason <i>a se</i> 3S to <i>arzaka,</i> wealth	He told her the story, the old woman said that if he wanted wealth, he had to go and get married.
3.1	<i>mate katj</i> how that	<i>Amadu</i> <i>Amadu</i> <i>nga</i> 3S <i>katj</i> that	<i>a</i> 3S	<i>ha</i> ask.CMP <i>ga te</i> do.INC <i>ga du</i> have <i>ga hiiji.</i> marry.INC	<i>nooru</i> money	Amadu asked her how to get money for marriage.
3.2	<i>hala day</i> that if	<i>Nya zeena</i> mother old.DEF <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S	<i>ma</i> wood.DEF <i>ma</i> dala hinza fifteen	<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>neera</i> sell.SBJ <i>ma wi</i> kill.SBJ <i>gsi.</i> keep.SBJ	<i>a se</i> 3S to <i>dala iddu,</i> thirty <i>dala hinza,</i> fifteen	The old woman told him that when he sells wood at 30F, to spend fifteen and keep fifteen.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.3	Nya zeena mother old.DEF nga 3S		ne say.CMP ga hin can.INC ga ci say	wodin hime no that only SS a se 3S	The old woman said that it was the only thing he wanted to tell him.
3.4	Amadu Amadu a 3S		mana ne say.CMP/NEG yadda accept.CMP	kay kala, thing all nya zeena sanma ga. mother old word to	Well, Amadu did not say anything because he accepted the advice of the old woman.
3.5	Amadu Amadu a 3S a 3S a 3S	ma ma	koy go.CMP neera sell.SBJ ma wi kill.SBJ gisi. keep.SBJ	tauri koyay wood collecting dala iddu, thirty dala hinza fifteen	Always Amadu was going to the bush to collect wood, selling it at thirty frames, spending fifteen and putting aside fifteen.
3.6	Hala before kulu all		ga te do.INC du have.CMP	jiri hinza year three hijay nooru. marriage money	Before three years of time, he had enough money for marriage.
3.7			koy go.CMP ceeci look.for ga hijji marry	wandiyo hanna fo girl beautiful one	He went to look for one beautiful girl and married her.
3.8	Sohoj kay Now kay that	Amadu Amadu a 3S	go ga milla believe.PRG te make.CMP	arada. richness	Now Amadu thinks he has become rich.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.9	I 3P nga nda wando 3S and wife.DEF i 3P i 3P		te do.CMP go ga taabi, suffer.PRG ga foy stay.INC ga kani sleep.INC	handa fo month one haray hunger harway, cows	For one month him and the wife were suffering, sometimes they stay hungry and sleep without eating.
3.10	Kwaara borey Village people.DEF a 3S	ga 3S	shiran start.CMP wow, insult.INC si ga ma feel.INC	kaanti kwaara ra. good village in	The villagers start to insult him and he was feeling bad.
3.11	Hanjo, day one kay that amma hala but until kala day until	a 3S nga 3S nga taabo 3S suffering.DEF hajj kay thing that	ye return.CMP ga koy go di sec ga ne say hijji, marry.CMP ga ka come mana bah, finish.CMP/NEG tonon. increase.CMP	nya zeena mother old a se 3S to sohoj now	One day, he went back to see the old woman and told her that he got married but that the suffering did not finish, that rather it increased.

Appendix K—Continued.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.12 <i>amma da</i> but if	<i>Nya zeena</i> mother old <i>nga</i> 3S. <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>sinda</i> not.have <i>ga ba</i> want.INC <i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ <i>hiji</i> marry <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ga te</i> do.INC	<i>a se</i> 3S to <i>safari kulu</i> , solution all <i>koiné</i> again	The old woman said that she did not have any solution to that but that if he wanted to go and marry again. Amadu asked how he was going to do it.
3.13 <i>mate no</i> how SS	<i>Amadu</i> Amadu <i>nga</i> 3S		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>neera</i> sell.CMP <i>gisi</i> , save.SBJ <i>ma wi</i> spend.SBJ <i>ye</i> return.CMP <i>ga koy</i> go <i>gana</i> , follow	<i>a se</i> 3S to <i>dala iddu</i> , thirty <i>dala taaca</i> , twenty <i>fu</i> home	The old woman said to him that if he sells woods at 30F, to save 10F and that him and his wife would spend 20f. Amadu went back home and followed the word of the old woman.
3.14 <i>hala</i> if	<i>Nya zeena</i> mother old <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>nga nda wanda</i> 3S and wife.DEF Amadu	<i>na</i> <i>ma</i>	<i>tuuro</i> wood.DEF <i>dala hinka</i> ten <i>nya zeena samo</i> mother old word.DEF <i>ga</i>	<i>a se</i> 3S to <i>dala iddu</i> , thirty <i>dala taaca</i> , twenty <i>fu</i> home	The old woman said to him that if he sells woods at 30F, to save 10F and that him and his wife would spend 20f. Amadu went back home and followed the word of the old woman.
3.16 <i>Hala</i> before <i>kulu</i> all	<i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S		<i>ga to</i> arrive.INC <i>du</i> have.CMP	<i>jiri taaci</i> years four <i>wande hinkanta hijay</i> wife second marriage money.DEF <i>nooro</i>	Before four years he had enough money for the second marriage.

Appendix K—Continued.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-OBJECT	FREE TRANSLATION
3.17	<i>A</i> 3S		<i>koy</i> go.CMP <i>du</i> have <i>ga hiji</i> , marry <i>te</i> do.CMP	<i>wandiyo hanna fo koiné</i> wife beautiful one again <i>wande hinka no ya</i> wife two SS EMP	He went to look for another beautiful girl to marry. It was already two wives.
3.18	<i>A</i> 3S		<i>te</i> do.CMP <i>mana te</i> , do.CMP <i>ga sandi</i> difficult.INC	<i>handa hinka</i> month two <i>Amadu nda wande se</i> amadu and wives.DEF for	It was two months that nothing had happened even food or Amadu and his wives was difficult to find.
3.19	<i>I</i> 3S <i>hay kulu</i> nothing <i>me-yaari bumbo</i> food even		<i>ye</i> return.CMP <i>ga koy</i> go <i>ka baaru</i> , inform	<i>nya zeena do</i> mother old to <i>a se</i> 3S to	He went back to the old woman to inform her.
3.20	<i>A</i> 3S	<i>ga</i> 3S	<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ye</i> return.SBJ <i>ga koy</i> go <i>hiji</i> marry <i>ga te</i> do	<i>wande fo koiné</i> wife one again <i>i hizza</i> 3P three	The old woman told him to go and marry again a third wife.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.22 <i>hala</i> if	<i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>nga nda wande</i> 3S and wives.DEF <i>a</i> 3S	<i>na</i> <i>ma</i>	<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>neera</i> sell.CMP <i>ma wi</i> spend.SBJ <i>gsi.</i> save.SBJ <i>je</i> return.CMP <i>gana</i> follow <i>koy</i> go.CMP <i>du</i> have <i>mongo ga du</i> not can have <i>ne</i> <i>say</i> .CMP <i>bankara</i> clothe.INC <i>kangandi.</i> satisfy.INC <i>koy</i> go.CMP <i>ga du</i> have <i>ga ne</i> <i>say</i> .INC <i>ga hiji.</i> marry	<i>a se</i> 3S to <i>dala iddu</i> thirty <i>dala gawa,</i> twenty-five <i>fu</i> home <i>koyne</i> again <i>wande hirzata hijjay nooro.</i> wife third marriage money.DEF <i>wande</i> wife	She told him that if he sells the wood at 30f, he has to spend only 25f and save 5f. Amadu went back home to follow the word of the old woman again. It was after five years that Amadu had money for the marriage of the third wife. In the whole village he was not able to find a wife because people say that he does not cloth and feed his wives.
3.23	<i>Amadu</i> Amadu	<i>ga</i>	<i>nya zeena sanno</i> old woman word.DEF		
3.24	<i>Amadu</i> Amadu				
3.25	<i>a</i> 3S <i>I</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>Amadu</i> Amadu	<i>wande</i> wife <i>a</i> 3S	<i>wande</i> wife <i>a</i> 3S		
3.26	<i>i</i> 3P			<i>Stujej laabu</i> Stujej country <i>wandijo fo</i> wife one <i>Ayssa</i> Ayssa	Amadu went to the country of Stujej and had a woman to marry called Ayssa

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.27	<i>I</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P	<i>hiija</i> marriage.DEF	<i>te</i> do.CMP <i>kubey</i> meet.CMP <i>ga kande</i> bring		They have done the marriage and they brought her (the bride)
3.28	<i>I</i> 3P <i>a</i> 3P <i>saabi kalu</i> thanks all	<i>jirbi tjya</i> day seventh	<i>te</i> do.CMP <i>bay,</i> finish.CMP <i>mana te</i> do.CMP/NEG	<i>a se.</i> 3S to	Until the seventh day, no improvement was noticed. (not sure see the original)
3.29	<i>I</i> 3P <i>i</i> 3P <i>Ayssa</i> Ayssa <i>kay</i> that		<i>te</i> do.CMP <i>go</i> EXT <i>go ga di</i> see.PRG <i>go ga te</i> do.PRG <i>turi,</i> get up. <i>day</i> put.CMP <i>to</i> reach.CMP <i>ce.</i> call.CMP	<i>handu fo</i> month one <i>care boy,</i> between on <i>windo ra.</i> house in	They have stayed together for a month and Ayssa was able to realize what was happening in the house.
3.30	<i>Amadu</i> Amadu <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>Ayssa</i> Ayssa	<i>farka</i> donkey.DEF <i>a</i> 3S	<i>get up.</i> <i>day</i> put.CMP <i>to</i> reach.CMP <i>ce.</i> call.CMP	<i>nga jine</i> 3S in front <i>windo me</i> house mouth	One morning Amadu got up, with his donkey and when he reached the get Ayssa called him.

Appendix K—Continued.

3.31	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
	<i>mayiida</i> husband	A 3S		<i>ne</i> say.CMP	<i>a se</i> 3S to	She told him, my husband, you suffer a lot, since I came I have realized that your suffering is too much and I feel bad in my heart, because for me I do not love any other man in the world apart from you.
	<i>za</i> since	<i>ni</i> 2S		<i>go ga taabi</i> suffer.PRG	<i>gumo,</i> a.lot	
	<i>hada</i> if	<i>ay</i> 1S		<i>ka</i> come.CMP SS		
	<i>katj</i> that	<i>ay</i> 1S		<i>manti</i> not be	<i>nin,</i> 2S	
	<i>a binda</i> and	<i>ni taabo</i> 2S suffering.DEF		<i>di</i> see.CMP		
	<i>zama</i> because	<i>a</i> 3S		<i>dooru</i> be.bad.CMP	<i>ba gumo</i> even much	
		<i>ay wo</i> 1S		<i>hata manti</i> ? be.NEG	<i>ay bina</i> 1S heart.DEF	
		<i>ay</i> 1S		<i>si ba</i> love.INC/NEG	<i>nin</i> 2S	
					<i>alboro</i> man	
					<i>katu</i> all	
					<i>andampyo</i> world	
					<i>ra</i> in	

Appendix K—Continued.

3.32	<i>Amma sohoib,</i> But now					
		<i>ay</i> 1S	<i>ga</i>	<i>katj</i> stay.IMP		And now wait for me I am going to tell my co-spouses so that we come to help you to collect wood for that will be good for all of us and we will be able to stay in peace.
		<i>iri katu</i> 1P all	<i>ma</i>	<i>batu,</i> wait		
		<i>a</i> 3S		<i>koy</i> go.SBJ		
		<i>tri</i> 1P	<i>ka</i>	<i>ci</i> say	<i>ay calay se</i> 1S friends	
				<i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ		
				<i>ga</i> help	<i>tuuri ku yay,</i> wood collect	
				<i>ga te</i> do.INC	<i>iri se daama,</i> 1P to health	
				<i>gora</i> sit.CMP		
				<i>ma du</i> have		
				<i>ga boori.</i> be well		
3.33		<i>Ajsa</i> Ajsa		<i>ci</i> tell.CMP	<i>calay se</i> friend to	Ajsa went to call her co-spouses but they did not look at her, they were only insulting her.
		<i>i</i> 3P		<i>mana ba saala,</i> not even hear.CMP		
		<i>i</i> 3P	<i>ga</i>	<i>soobay</i> leave.CMP		Ajsa said then then that if they did not want to go, her she was going to go.
4.1	<i>to, da</i> INJ if	<i>Ajsa</i> Ajsa		<i>wow.</i> insult		
		<i>i</i> 3P		<i>ne</i> say.CMP		
		<i>nga wo</i> 3S even	<i>a</i> 3S	<i>si koy.</i> go.INC/NEG		
				<i>ga koy.</i> go.INC		

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
4.10	<i>Karmpo</i> husband.DEF <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>ngey</i> 3P <i>tuuri ka yay si no</i> wood collecting NEG SS <i>wayvey</i> co-spouses	<i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>na</i> 3S	<i>mana ne</i> say.CMP/NEG <i>sambu,</i> take.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ	<i>hay kulu,</i> nothing <i>Ayssa se</i> Ayssa to <i>sohoj,</i> now	The husband did not say anything he took the wood and told Ayssa, Now let go, no collecting of wood anymore.
5.1	<i>Waato kaj</i> when		<i>di</i> see.CMP <i>go ga haaru</i> laugh.PRG <i>ga ka,</i> come <i>di,</i> catch.CMP <i>mifa</i> believe.CMP <i>kar.</i> beat.CMP	<i>Ayssa nda karmpo</i> Ayssa and husband.DEF	When the co-spouses saw that Ayssa and the husband came back laughing they were ashamed because they believed that the snake had bitten her.
5.2	<i>Amadu</i> <i>a</i> 3S <i>ngey</i> 3P		<i>mana ne</i> not say <i>ne</i> say <i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ	<i>hay kulu,</i> thing all <i>wandey se</i> wives.DEF to <i>fu,</i> home	Amadu did not say anything and told his wives to go home
5.3	<i>Tuuri kayay si no</i> wood collecting NEG SS				
5.4	<i>Kaj</i> when	<i>na</i> wood.DEF	<i>to</i> arrive.CMP <i>fara,</i> cut.CMP	<i>fu</i> home	There is no collecting of wood anymore. When they arrived at home they cut the wood.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
5.5	<i>Amadu</i> Amadu <i>kaj</i> that	<i>cine</i> equal	<i>te</i> do.CMP <i>si</i> be.NEG	<i>noorukooni bambata</i> rich <i>laabo me nda me</i> country.DEF all	Amadu became a big rich person without comparison
5.6	<i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S	<i>na</i> <i>na</i> <i>go</i> <i>ga</i> even poor.DEF	<i>daj,</i> buy.CMP <i>cina,</i> build.CMP <i>gaakasinaj,</i> help.PRG <i>si hangan</i> not listen.INC <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>haaru,</i> laugh.SB/NEG <i>ga maamaacandi</i> surprise.INC	<i>kala Amadu samni se,</i> all Amadu word to <i>boro</i> person	He bought cars built houses, and helped the poor. People will listen to his words carefully. That why you must not laugh at a poor person because God's works are surprising.
5.7	<i>Borey kulu</i> People all <i>i</i> 3P		<i>ma naj</i> leave.SBJ <i>ma kabay</i> meet <i>ga sikka mo</i> doubt.INC even <i>faham</i> understand.CMP <i>te</i> do.CMP	<i>boro kulu</i> person all <i>din bora, sanda Ayssa nda Amadu wana damo</i> with people like Ayssa and Amadu that same <i>mo</i> <i>nda deedo</i> of story.DEF <i>aran se</i> 2P to	May God give to everyone the opportunity to meet the right person to him just like Ayssa and Amadu I hope that everyone has understood the story that I have just told.
5.8	<i>Wodin se no</i> this for SS <i>zama</i> because	<i>na</i> <i>si</i> poor	<i>ma naj</i> leave.SBJ <i>ma kabay</i> meet <i>ga sikka mo</i> doubt.INC even <i>faham</i> understand.CMP <i>te</i> do.CMP	<i>boro kulu</i> person all <i>din bora, sanda Ayssa nda Amadu wana damo</i> with people like Ayssa and Amadu that same <i>mo</i> <i>nda deedo</i> of story.DEF <i>aran se</i> 2P to	May God give to everyone the opportunity to meet the right person to him just like Ayssa and Amadu I hope that everyone has understood the story that I have just told.
5.9	<i>Irkey</i> God		<i>ma naj</i> leave.SBJ <i>ma kabay</i> meet <i>ga sikka mo</i> doubt.INC even <i>faham</i> understand.CMP <i>te</i> do.CMP	<i>boro kulu</i> person all <i>din bora, sanda Ayssa nda Amadu wana damo</i> with people like Ayssa and Amadu that same <i>mo</i> <i>nda deedo</i> of story.DEF <i>aran se</i> 2P to	May God give to everyone the opportunity to meet the right person to him just like Ayssa and Amadu I hope that everyone has understood the story that I have just told.
5.10	<i>Ay</i> 1S <i>kaj boro kulu</i> that person all <i>kaj ay</i> that 1S		<i>ma naj</i> leave.SBJ <i>ma kabay</i> meet <i>ga sikka mo</i> doubt.INC even <i>faham</i> understand.CMP <i>te</i> do.CMP	<i>boro kulu</i> person all <i>din bora, sanda Ayssa nda Amadu wana damo</i> with people like Ayssa and Amadu that same <i>mo</i> <i>nda deedo</i> of story.DEF <i>aran se</i> 2P to	May God give to everyone the opportunity to meet the right person to him just like Ayssa and Amadu I hope that everyone has understood the story that I have just told.
5.11	<i>To,</i> 1NJ	<i>ma</i> people all	<i>no</i> give.SBJ	<i>wajboro hanna</i> wife good	Well, may God give everyone a good wife.

Source: Scott Eberle, *Zarma learner's resource notebook* (Niamey, SIM, 1986), 5.1-5.2.

Zanka kay si hangan albeeri sannu se 'The child who doesn't listen to advice'

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.1 <i>Janti go, janti go.</i> story EXT story EXT <i>fa namamay naamamay</i> IS story story					To my story.
2.1	<i>Wayee da wayee hinka fo</i> co-wife and co-wife two one <i>katj wayee fa</i> that co-wife other.DEF	<i>ga</i>	<i>doy no ja</i> EMP SS EMP <i>bu</i> die.CMP <i>dira</i> leave nap. leave		To my customs. There were two co-wives, one of whom died and left a child.
2.2	<i>Izo</i> child.DEF this woman one that	<i>nga izo</i> 3S child.DEF	<i>gonda</i> have <i>sambu</i> take	<i>komo no</i> hump SS <i>goy.</i> work	This child . . . A woman who had a hump, took her so that she could work for her.
2.3	<i>Susabay kala</i> morning each until	<i>a</i> 3S <i>koma</i> hump.DEF <i>Gulla hamo fo da i sira fo no,</i> jar good one and 3P swollen one SS <i>Waybora</i> woman.DEF <i>a</i> 3S	<i>ga koy</i> leave.INC <i>ziri</i> rub <i>bagu</i> break.CMP <i>go no.</i> be SS <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ma sambu</i> take.SBJ <i>koy</i> go <i>guru</i> pump	<i>a se,</i> 3S for	Every morning she left to rub the hump of the woman for her until it was broken. There was a good jar and a bad jar. The woman told her to take the bad jar to go get water from the well.
2.4		<i>ga</i>		<i>i sira</i> 3P swollen	
2.5		<i>ga</i>		<i>nga se hari dayo</i> 3S for water well.DEF on	

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Appendix L—Continued.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
2.6	<i>Carey-ize fo yay</i> birds some <i>katj</i> who <i>ni ja</i> 2S mother <i>ni baaba</i> 2S father <i>a</i> 3S		<i>go no</i> EXT SS <i>ga ne</i> say.INC <i>sooru,</i> have.diarhea.CMP <i>sooru</i> have.diarhea.CMP <i>ma si ba salley.</i> hear.SBJ <i>go ga koy,</i> go.PRG <i>ga koy,</i> leave.INC <i>go ga ne</i> say.PRG <i>sooru</i> have.diarhea.CMP <i>sooru</i> have.diarhea.CMP <i>si ga ba salley</i> even listen.INC/NEG	<i>a se</i> 3S to	There will be birds which will say to her, "your mother has diarhea, your father has diarhea", but she must not listen.
3.1	<i>A</i> 3S <i>A</i> 3S <i>carey-izey</i> birds.DEF <i>ni ja</i> 2S mother <i>ni baaba</i> 2S father <i>a</i> 3S		<i>go ga koy,</i> go.PRG <i>ga koy,</i> leave.INC <i>go ga ne</i> say.PRG <i>sooru</i> have.diarhea.CMP <i>sooru</i> have.diarhea.CMP <i>si ga ba salley</i> even listen.INC/NEG <i>ka</i> come.CMP	<i>a se</i> 3S to	She was going, she left just until the birds began to say, "your mother has diarhea, your father has diarhea. She did not even listen (to them)."
3.2	<i>Kala</i> until			<i>fu</i> house	Until she came to the house.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
6.2	<i>Katj</i> when <i>binde</i> then	<i>a</i> 3S <i>waybora</i> woman.DEF <i>a</i> 3S	<i>ma</i> 3S hump	<i>koy</i> leave.CMP <i>ga ne</i> say.INC <i>ziri</i> rub	<i>nga se</i> 3S for	When she left, the woman told her that she must must rub her back for her.
6.3	<i>kala</i> until <i>han fo</i> day one	<i>koma</i> hump <i>a</i> 3S <i>waybora</i> woman.DEF <i>a</i> 3S		<i>bagu</i> break.CMP <i>bagu</i> break.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ma sambu</i> take.SBJ		Until one day, her hump broke.
6.4	<i>Katj</i> when	<i>a</i> 3S <i>waybora</i> woman.DEF <i>a</i> 3S		<i>bagu</i> break.CMP <i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ma sambu</i> take.SBJ		When it broke the woman said that she must take the malformed jar.
6.5	<i>ha!</i> well	<i>A</i> 3S <i>ay no</i> 1S SS <i>katj</i> who	<i>ga</i> jar swollen.DEF	<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ga ti</i> be.INC <i>sambu?</i> take.INC	<i>gulla sira</i> jar swollen <i>saama</i> imbecile	She said, "Ah, am I an imbecile who is going to take the malformed jar?"
6.6	<i>Guffa</i> jar <i>haama da no</i> good.DEF EMP SS	<i>ay</i> 1S		<i>ga ba</i> love.INC		"It is the good jar that I want."

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
6.7	<i>amma</i> but	<i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>carey-ize fojap</i> birds.DEF some <i>katj</i> that that <i>Ni ja</i> 2S mother <i>Ni baaba</i> 2S father <i>a</i> 3S		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ma koy</i> go.SBJ <i>guru</i> pump <i>go no</i> EXT SS <i>ga ne</i> say.INC <i>sooru</i> have diarrhea <i>sooru</i> have diarrhea <i>ma si satley</i> listen.SBJ/NEG	<i>nga se hari dayo boy</i> 3S. to water well.DEF on <i>a se:</i> 3S for	She (mother) said that she (daughter) must go and pump water for her at the well, but there are birds that are going to tell her, "Your mother has diarrhea, Your father has diarrhea," but she should not listen to them.
6.8		<i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S <i>carey-izey</i> birds.DEF <i>Ni ja</i> 2S mother <i>Ni haaba</i> 2S father <i>A</i> 3S <i>a</i> 3S		<i>koy</i> leave.CMP <i>go ga guru</i> pump.PRG <i>go ga ne</i> say.PRG <i>sooru</i> have diarrhea <i>sooru</i> have diarrhea	<i>hari</i> water <i>a se:</i> 3S to	She left to pump water, birds were saying to her, "Your father has diarrhea, your mother has diarrhea."
7.0	<i>ni mo</i> 2S also	<i>A</i> 3S <i>ni ja</i> 2S mother <i>ni baaba</i> 2S father <i>a</i> 3S		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>sooru</i> have diarrhea.CMP <i>sooru</i> have diarrhea.CMP <i>koy</i> come.CMP		She said, It is your father who has diarrhea: it is your mother who has diarrhea.
7.1	<i>kala</i> until	<i>a</i> 3S			<i>fu</i> house	Until she arrived at the house.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
7.2 saqro bush.DEF ra, in da if	Wajjhora woman.DEF a 3S carey-ize fojayt birds ga		ne say.CMP go go koy leave.PRG ga ne say,INC bagu break bagu break du have go EXT ma si, salley listen,INC/NEG	a se 3S to /u house a se 3S to ne here ne here ni boyt 2S head	The woman said to her in the bush if she leaves the house, bird are going to say to her, break (it) here, break (it) here to have rest. It is here that mercy and grace exists. She did not listen.
7.3 ha! well kay that ne no here SS	suaji da gomni mercy and grace a 3S A 3S ay no 1S SS i 3P ay 1S suaji da gomni mercy and grace ay 1S a 3S		ne say.CMP ga ti be,INC ga ne say.CMP ma bagu break,SEJ go day EXT si bagu? break,INC/NEG ga bagu break,INC	saamo imbecile.DEF walla in,truth	She said, am I an imbecile? that they would tell me to break it here, because here is mercy and grace. And I won't break it?
7.4 ne no here, SS	suaji da gomni mercy and grace a 3S		ga bagu break,INC	walla in,truth	I am indeed going to break it here.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
7.5 kala until ne no here SS kallu and	a 3S a 3S carey-ize birds.DEF suaji da gomni mercy and grace a 3S i 3P		koy leaveCMP go go koy leave.PRG go ga ne say,PRG bagu break bagu break du have go, EXT bagu break soohay continue.CMP ton sting go ga haggy sift,PRG go EXT sambu take tatj throw ne say.CMP bu die.CMP	a se 3S to ne here ne here ni boyt 2S head hala almanize laloyaj, gonidaj, danyaj until animaux savage serpents scorpions kala bu, until death gasa ra, gourd in kocrya child.DEF kamba hand.DEF juayo mother.DEF se //gaso to //calabash in	She left, she was going, until the birds were saying to her, break it here, break it here to rest yourself. It is hear that mercy and grace exist. Then she broke the jar. And wild animals, serpents, and scorpions.
7.6 ne no here SS kalla and	suaji da gomni mercy and grace a 3S i 3P	ga na ga 3S	soohay continue.CMP ton sting go ga haggy sift,PRG go EXT sambu take tatj throw ne say.CMP bu die.CMP	walla in,truth	I am indeed going to break it here.
7.7 kala that	Jyayo mother.DEF jaramaja rat kay that	na ga ga 3S	go ga haggy sift,PRG go EXT sambu take tatj throw ne say.CMP bu die.CMP	walla in,truth	I am indeed going to break it here.
8.1 Yaya, INJ	Nga mo 3S also ay iso 1S child.DEF		ne say.CMP bu die.CMP	walla in,truth	I am indeed going to break it here.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
8.2	<i>Ay jamaɣ, jamaɣ.</i> 1S tale tale	A 3S a 3S i 3P		<i>go ga haray</i> cry.PRG <i>go ga haray</i> cry.PRG <i>ka</i> come.CMP <i>di</i> go.get <i>katj</i> fall.CMP	<i>kwara ra</i> village in	She cried and cried in the village until they came to get her.
9.1	<i>kala</i> until	<i>Ay catj botj</i> 1S mouse head	<i>ga</i> 3S	<i>danji ra.</i> fire in		The head of my mouse has fallen into the fire.

APPENDIX M
Zanka laala 'Terrible child'

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.1	<i>Ay jamaɣ, jamaɣ.</i> 1S tale tale					To my tale
2.1	<i>Ay naamay, naamay</i> 1S custom custom					To my customs.
1.2	<i>katj i teɣatj</i> that 3P existence	<i>Alboro fo da woyboro fo</i> man one with woman one i 3P		<i>day no ja</i> EMP SS EMP <i>mana da</i> have.CMP/NEG	<i>haryay.</i> children.	Here are a man and a woman who never had children.
1.3	<i>Han fo,</i> day one	<i>woyboro</i> woman.DEF		<i>tun</i> get up.CMP <i>ga koy</i> go	<i>saɣo ra.</i> bush.DEF in	One day the woman got up to go to the bush.
	<i>kala</i> until	A 3S a 3S		<i>go ga windi,</i> walk.PRG <i>windi</i> walk <i>kubay</i> meet.CMP		She walked, she walked until she met a genius.
1.5	<i>nga wo</i> 3S this	A 3S <i>hayo no</i> thing.DEF SS		<i>ne</i> say.CMP go EXT.CMP	<i>da ganji fo.</i> with genie one a se 3S to <i>nga se, sanday</i> 3S to problem	She told him that she had something, a problem.
2.1	<i>katj</i> that	<i>Ganjo</i> genie.DEF <i>katj</i> that		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>ga ti</i> be.INC	a se 3S to i/fo what	The genie, like what?
2.2	<i>aze</i> child SS	A 3S <i>nga</i> 3S		<i>ne</i> say.CMP <i>mana bay</i> not know.CMP <i>ga du</i> have	a se 3S to <i>ndanjo</i> world.DEF	She said that it was a child that she never had on this earth.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
12.1 tuuri no wood SS katj for	A 3S ay IS ga ay/baaba katj IS father that	hari dungo water.hot.DEF	ne: say,INC go ga ka take.PRG te do hay give.birth.CMP	se. to a se 3S to	He said, it is the fire wood I am taking to warm water for my father who gave birth.
12.2 hala mate cine no if how SS	I 1S alboro man		ne: say.CMP ga te do,INC ga hay? give birth		They asked him if a man could give birth.
12.3 oho yes	A 3S a 3S		ne: say.CMP hay give.birth.CMP EMP		He said yes, he has given birth.
13.1 kala until	I 3P nga mo 3S also	ga a 3S na a 3S	koy go.CMP ci tell ka come.CMP gar find ha ask.CMP go ga te do.PRG	bontoro King/DEF se, to beene up tuuri-nyapo tree.DEF	They went to tell the king until himself came and find him up and asked him what he was doing on the tree.
13.2 ah! tuuri no ah wood SS katj for	A 3S ay 1S katj for	ga hari dungo water.hot.DEF	ne say.CMP go ga ka take.PRG te do.CMP	a se. 3S to ay/baaba katj hay se IS father that givebirth to	He said, 'Ah! It is the firewood that I am taking to make hot water for my father who has given birth!

Appendix M—Continued.

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
13.3 hala mate no if how SS	Bontoro king.DEF alboro man		ne say.CMP ga te do,INC ga hay. give birth	a se. 3S	The king asked him how a man can give birth.
13.4 mate no how SS da if tfo se but why SS	A 1S alboro man a 1S ni 2S a 3S ay 1S	ga ay/baaba IS father ga IS	ne say.CMP si te do,INC ga hay, give birth ga hay give.birth,INC EMP manti not be no give,INC ga ne say ma wayi milk.SBJ no give ma hay drink.SBJ ga beeri. grow	ya day EMP jadin like that yejijay bulls	He said why not a man will give birth, yes he gives birth, if not why did you give bull to my father telling him to milk it and give me to drink so that I may grow.
13.5 aha then	Bontoro king ni 2S SS		ne say.CMP no give	alhora izo? man.DEF child.DEF	The king said, 'Then it is you the son?'
13.6 Ay-cay boy	A 3S IS rat head		ne say.CMP katj fall.CMP	oho. Yes danji ra fire in	He said yes. The head of my mouse fell into fire.

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