NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

THE PARTICLE NO IN ZARMA: A RELEVANCE THEORY PERSECTIVE

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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Student's declaration

I declare that this is my original work and has not been submittedto 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) Alta Elizabeth Lingor

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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! 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.

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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

ACI 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 teyaŋ* 'How to make couscous', one sees the following three sentences at the beginning of the discourse.

(1) *Ŋwaari dumi boobo go no kaŋ 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 teyan, 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 leaf	<i>dumi</i> kind	boobo many	go EXT	no SS	kaŋ that	i 3P	ga INC	dambu couscous	<i>te</i> make
nda: with	ngey 3P	ga INC	ti be		<i>bundu</i> -bundu	<i>ula,</i> ula,		e fuubay yuu e fuubay yuu	-
nda and	afo one	yaŋ.							

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

(Dambu teyan, 1.3, 2.1)

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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 ywaari 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

3

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

of a clause or an entire clause. The information contained within the syntactic scope of the particle

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.

1.1 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 samni. 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 Nicolaï (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. Nicolaï (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".

Nicolaï (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

1.5 Research methodology

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 Nicolai'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 Soney 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 Sorgey Kaado dialect, whose speakers live along the Niger River. I will come back to these works in section 3.2.

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, ŋ, 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: ã, ãã, ẽ, ẽẽ, ĩ, ĩĩ, ỗ, õõ, ũ, uũ.

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.

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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

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 Danes' concept of theme, Jones writes the following:

concept of rheme.

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, Dane's 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

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 discoursal 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 discoursal 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.

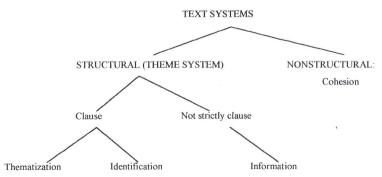


Fig. 1. Halliday's scheme of the text systems of language (Jones 1977, 84)

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).

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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 "rheme" 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

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proper, while the terms, theme and tail, are seen as external functions to the predication proper. Dik lefines 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 ontrast to Halliday's approach, Brown and Yule see more than one function of pitch prominence. ather than just marking the focus of new information, it can also "mark the beginning of a speaker's 100 rn, the beginning of a new topic, special emphasis, and contrast." They consider pitch prominence as a wing a general watch this! function and as a marker of new information worthy of being noticed by 100 telepromated by 100 teleprom

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

Brown and Yule agree with Halliday in that it is not discourse structure that determines if formation is considered new, but it is the speaker's moment to moment assessment of what he wants to mmunicate 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 pic is "very difficult to pin down... and formal attempts to identify it doomed to failure" (Brown and ale 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 presupposion 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. *Indentifiability* 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.
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)

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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.

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?"

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 Nicolaï (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:

PRED + ACT (Predicate plus Actualizer) (Nicholaï 1983, 24)

He provides the following examples as evidence:

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Hansi no "It is a dog."

nga ne "Here it is."

(6)

kanigan do go "There is a place to sleep."

goy si "There is no work." (Nicolaï 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." (Nicolaï 1983, 24, translation my own)

Hamani (1980b, 388) agrees with Nicolaï'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)kulu horo hini α naSi 38 CMP because person all NEG SS eat who INC can faaba. ga nga 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)

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(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 kaŋ 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

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:

'It is I who will judge between you.'

(Kooro nda foono, 6.8c)

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Thus, we see the particle *no* occurring immediately after the subject, *ay* T. 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,

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

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] (COP) [. . . NP $_{1}$. .] 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.

wande da Tobay dawande da day tobay **EMP** SS EMP 38 be with 38 wife hare ize hinzaa. hinza -achild 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:

ndunnyo bon ga du ndunnye ize no nga mana bay bon child SS 3S know CN world DEF not have on

'She had not experienced a child in this world.'

(Zanka laala, 2.2b)

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(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:

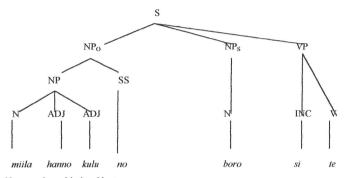


Fig. 2. No occurring with the object

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 ceeci a ma nga ŋwa 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.

Haw veeji hinka ga ne ay hinka no ana haw yeeji ay no ga ne ay bull two SS 3S CMP 18 give CN say 18 ma ka izo no wa ma han ka ga ay ize -0 no α ma han ma waCN 18 child DEF give milk **3S** SBJ SBJ drink go beeri. ga ga beeri 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) Agey no a na ey kar. 1S SS 3S CMP 1S hit

'It was me that he hit.'

Ni no ay dii ni 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)da kwaara almaney Han fo ganji hamey da kwaara alman han fo no ganji ham -ey -ev DEF PL day one SS wild.animal and village animal kosongu kosongu 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, *ham 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) Sohõ i go ga ka fu 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.

sanda maray no (24)nga Annasaara 38 injure SS **3S** look.at 3S do white.person as gorondi. naа **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 bo. no do no ay go ga ka bo gurje DEF SS 18 PRG match to 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 aray 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.

'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 sohõ gurja sohõ a ne nga wo go ga gurje 38 sav 38 this now PRG come match do fa dofa at ideo

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

(Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja, 10.3)

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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 kan 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)	а	ne	i	ma	koy	ga	guna	nga	se	boro
	а	ne	i	ma	koy	ga	guna	nga	se	boro
	3S	say	3P	SBJ	go	CN	see	3S	for	person
	kaŋ kaŋ	no no	go ga go ga PRG	tuuro tuuri tree	-o DFF	beeri. beeri				

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 *kaŋ* 'who'. At other times, however, the particle *no* occurs after the last constituent in the relative clause. Note the following clause listed below:

(29)Izo din wayboro gonda kumo 170 -0 din wayboro fo kan gonda no DEF child this woman same that have SS hump sambu

n' a sambu goy. na a sambu goy CMP 3S take work

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

(Zanka kay si hangan albeeri sanni se, 2.2)

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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.

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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 O in the context **C** if and only if

- (i) the union of \mathbf{P} and \mathbf{C} non-trivially implies Q
- (ii) \mathbf{P} does not non-trivially imply Q, and
- (iii) C does not non-trivially imply O. (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. 33

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:

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

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)

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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).

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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.

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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 Whquestions an utterance could possibly be used to answer. The part of the utterance that answers the Whquestion 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.

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5.2.1.1 Questions

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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 *mo*'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 boobokan dumbu ga te kind leaf 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

уаŋ.

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 teyan, 1.3, 2.1)

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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?'

'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 naŋ 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 ŋwa.
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. 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.

Lambrecht 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

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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) cáli-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

not only unappliess big.FL all

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.

ne dayo kooro kate nin dayo -0 ra**3S** sav hvena to what SS lead 28 well DEF

nango? nangu

nangu -o place DEF

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

wo no laala ga 38 say Oh thirst SS be.dangerous 3S to wodin se no kaŋ nga nga mana ba guna this.thing SS that 38 38 come look kan 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, if o either. However, in (43) the exact opposite occurs. The particle no occurs with the Wh-question word, if o, 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>I</i> 3P	go ga PRbG	0	<i>boŋ</i> head		hala ?	<i>ifo</i> what	<i>tayandi</i> humidity	no SS
	wo-ne,		may who	no SS	ka come	ga CN	haŋ?		

'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)

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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 han?* '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 hẽ ifo se? then hyena CMP ask why

'Then Hyena asked him, "Why?"

	.,									
A a 3S	ne ne say	mate mate how	no no SS	ni ni 2S	hinne hinne alone	no no SS	ga ga INC	naŋ naŋ leave	dayo day well	-o DEF
bon bon	ma ma SBJ	hanna hanna alone	ga ga CN	a a 3S	gardi. gardi					

'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.

'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.

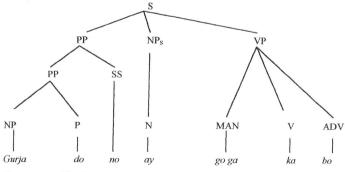


Fig. 3. Postpositional phrase in focus.



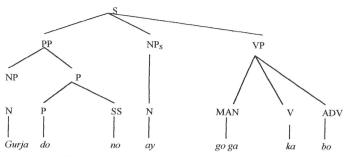


Fig. 4. Postposition in focus.

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

'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.

'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:

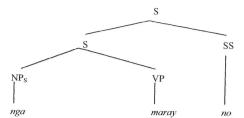


Fig. 5. Clausal focus.

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.

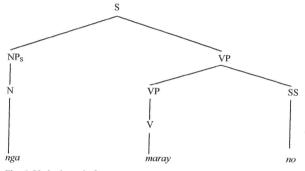


Fig. 6. Verb phrase in focus.

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.

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

(Ganji hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja, 4.1)

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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 yaania, 8.7)

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

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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 a 3S	<i>haŋ</i> haŋ drink	hari hari water	<i>kala</i> <i>kala</i> until	а а 3S	<i>yeesi</i> <i>yeesi</i> quenc	ch.thirst	gunda gunde stomac	-а	
	hiino k hiino k when		gunda gunde stomac	h	-a DEF	to to fill	no no SS	a a 3S	fongu fongu remember	kaŋ kaŋ that
	wiiza wiiza truly	day day well	kuuko kuuku deep	-o DEF	ra ra in	no no SS	nga nga 3S	go. go EXT		

'He drank water until he quenched his thirst. His stomach was fill. 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 kaŋ 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):

'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 *zumubikoneyaŋ* and *taliteriyaŋ*. In this instance, the syntactic scopes of the two *no* particles encompass the noun *zumubikoneyaŋ* and the

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

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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)	<i>Farkay</i>		follon		no	<i>go</i>	<i>a</i>	se	kaŋ	boŋ	<i>a</i>
	donkey		only.one		SS	be	3S	for	that	on	3S
	ga INC	koy go	<i>saaji</i> bush	fimbo thick	ra in	ga CN	tuuri wood	ku.			

'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):

'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

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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		kwaare	kwaara kwaara village		kaŋ kaŋ that	bangu bangu pond		go go EXT	no no SS	no	
	hamiis hamiis fish		-a DEF	go go EXT	no no SS	ŋwaari ŋwaari food		go go EXT	no-din no-din there	ni ni 2S	ka ka come	
	iri ga iri ga IP INC haro hari -o water DEF			darbay darbay fish		iri iri 1P	ma ma SBJ	ŋwa ŋwa eat	nwaari dun nwaari dun food all.k			
			ra ham ra ham in meat		dumi-dumi dumi-dumi all.kinds		go go EXT	no no SS	iri iri 1P	ga ga INC	ŋwa ŋwa eat	
	ni ni 2S	ma ma SBJ	ka ka come	iri iri 1P	ma ma SBJ	koy koy go	no-din no-din there	ay ay 1S	ma ma SBJ	cabe cabe show	i i 3P	
	ga hamiisey ga hamiise INC fish		-ey PL	di di see	d' da with	a. a 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, *milla 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 gos Here SS mercy and grace is

'Here is mercy and grace.'

(Zanka kan 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

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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	<i>ye</i>	<i>a</i>	si	no	boro	kaŋ	no
	3S	say	3P	SBJ	return	3S	NEG	SS	person	who	SS
	ga	zeeri	<i>i</i>	ma	ne	<i>a</i>	ma	<i>ye</i>	ga	toosi	nwa
	INC	terrify	3P	SBJ	say	3S	SBJ	return	INC	stool	eat
	koyne again	wo-din	si NEG	<i>te</i> do	ngey 3P	ma SBJ	koy.				

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 hay thing	-a DEF	ga ga INC	maamaacandi, maamaacandi, surprise kan a kan a that 3S		hay hay thing	kulu kulu all	mana mana CMP	du du have	Aysa Aysa Aysa	
	amma amma but	haya hay thing	-a DEF			di di see	ga ga INC	boro boro person	hamborandi hamborandi frighten		
	zama zama because	dubi dubi log	fo fo one	no no SS	a a 3S	di di see	kaŋ kaŋ that	hari hari water	kulu kulu all	si si NEG	a a 3S
	ra ra in	<i>kala</i> <i>kala</i> than	wura wura gold	nda nad and	nzarfu. nzarfu silver						

[&]quot;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 kaŋ 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 kuyan si na wood collecting NEG S

'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)

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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 'fuvo 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 foyan 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 kary 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

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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 **EMP EMP** INC boy Amadu, kan talkataray sinda wadde a Amadu that INC 3S poverty 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 yeejey 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 hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja, when the narrator adds some explanatory information for the listener. This sentence is listed below in (62):

(62)To. kwaara almanev mate kan mate kan kwaara alman -ev duga to mate well tame.animal PL have well how ganii hamev zaama va ganji ham zaama -ey ga no ya DEF wild animals CN SS EMP vanquish

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

(Ganji hamey 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:

Siida laala siida doori kaŋ ga laala AIDS illness DEF SS this illness new 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 hamey 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 hamey nda kwaara almaney yaanja, 4.1)

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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 duwa 'A Prayer'

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.5		Borey kan			sinda	baani	To people who are not healthy give
		persons.DEF who			not.have	health	health. If there is something that can
		'n	m,	j.	no	baani	stop our prayers from reaching you,
		2S		3P	give.SBJ	health	may you forgive us because we are
	nda	hay fo			ga no		sinners, evildoers
	if	thing one			remain.INC		
		kan			ga ganji	іті пматеуацеу	
		that			stop.INC	1P prayer	
					ma si to	ni do,	
					reach.SBJ/NEG	2S at	
		ni	та	ini	yafa		
		2S		1P	forgive.SBJ		
	zama	iri				ya zunubikoneyan no, taliteriyan no	
	because	IP				EMP sinners SS evildoers SS	
1.6		Iri	ga	ni	ywarey	wone yan kulu da saabuyan	We pray all this with thanks in the
		1P		2S	pray.INC	this all with thanks	name of your son, Jesus Christ.
						ni izo vesu almasihu ma ra.	

APPENDIX B
Dambu teyaŋ 'How to make couscous'

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
Ξ.		IJwaari dumi boobo			go no	A STATE OF THE PROPERTY OF THE	There are many kinds of food
		food kind many			EXT SS		which nominsh human beings
		kan	ga	munaadamiize	nafa		The state of the s
		that		human.being	benefit.INC		
1.2		Dambu			80	iri naamey ywaari bafunantey ra.	Couscous is one of our hest
-		conscons			EXT	1P custom food good.DEF in	foods in our culture
1.3	Day mate no	į	ga	dambu	te	1	But how does one prepare
	But how SS	3P		conscons	do.INC	with	conscous?
2.1		Kopto dumi boobo			go no		There are a number of green
		Leaves kind many			EXT SS		leaves one uses to prepare
		kay i	89	dambu	te	nda:	couscous. There are windi-
		that 3P		conscons	do.INC	with	bundu, ula, curo-ce, fuubay.
		ngey	ga		ti:	windi-bundu, ula, curo-ce, fuubay, vuula-	vuula-vuula and others
		3P			be.INC	yuula, nda afo yaŋ	
	-					and others	
2:5		A			ga hagu		It is advisable to cut leaves in a
		38			advise.INC		clean place.
		į	ma	koptey	kosu	batama	•
		3P		leaves.DEF this	cut.SBJ	place	
		kaŋ			ga hannan	ra.	
	Total Control of the	that			be.clean.INC	ıı	
3.1	Dambo wo,	boro			ga hini		You can make conscous with
	couscous that	berson			can.INC		millet, rice, maize or sorghum.
			80	a	te	nda hayni, mo, kolgoti wala haamo.)
				38	do.INC	with millet ,rice, maize or sorghum	
3.2	Nda	ni	па	a fo	sambu,		If you choose one, you need to
	11	2S		one	take.CMP		bull it, winnow it, and wash it.
		boro	ma	a	sosobu,		
		beoble		38	hull.SBJ		
					ga feetu,		
					winnow		
					ga nyum		
	-		-		wasn		

PRE-SUBJECT S	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.3	Waato ga		та	a	te	hamni.	Then you must make flour out
	then			38	make	flour	of it.
3.4	Day		ma	hamno	hagay		Then you sift the flour to
	but	2S		flour.DEF	sift.SBJ		remove dirty stuff.
			ga	cokatey	ka.		
				stones	remove		
3.5	Hala	wone kulu		te			When all of that is done, you
	when	that all		do.CMP			make fire and prepare the
		boro	та	ni danjo	nsunf		appropriate pot for the
		person		2S fire.DEF	put.SBJ		couscous, wash it and put it on
		kuso kan			ga koy	nda damba	the fire and you put water and
		pot that			go.INC	with conscous.dough	washed leaves in the pot.
					ga nyum		
					wash		
					ga dake,		
					place		
	day		та	hari nda kopta nyumata	day	kuso din ra.	
	and			water and leaves washed	put.SBJ	pot that in	
3.6	Waato		ga	damba	паади		Then you make a paste with the
	then		ma	conscons.dough	paste.SBJ		dough of couscous until it is
	kala	a			ma boori.		done well.
	until	38			be.good.SBJ		
3.7	Hala	dambo			tun,		When the dough of the
	when	conscons			rise.CMP		couscous rises, you beat it and
		boro	та	a	kar		put it back,. Then you continue
		berson		3S	beat.SBJ		beating it and putting it back
					ga yeeti,		until when it is ready.
					put back		
		,			ga sobay		
					continue	£C.	
					ga kar		
					beat		
				,	ga yeeti	kala a ma niini.	
					mut back	when ready	

-	7.7						
	PRE-SUBJECT SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
4.1	Waato ga	boro	та	jį	ceeci		Then you must look for oil hit it
	then	beople		oil	look for.SBJ		together with onion.
					ga zargandi	nda albasan	
					hit	with onion	
4.2		Ni	ma	ni tonko nda ciiri	duru		You ground your salt and chili.
		2S		2S chili with salt	ground.SBJ		
4.3	Hala	ni			tabbatandi	kaŋ kopta niini	When you think that the green
	If	2S			believe.CMP	that leaves cooked	leaves are ready you put down
		mi	ma	dambo	zumandi		the couscous (from fire) press
		2S		conscons	remove.SBJ		water from the leaves and mix
			ma	kopta	sarre		them with the couseous.
				leaves	remove.water.SBJ		
	day	mi	ma		tunandi.		
	and	2S		3S with conscous	stir.SBJ		
4.4	Waato ga		та		daŋ.		At that time, you add salt, chili
	Moment in			salt and chili and	put.SBJ		and oil.
				oil.DEF			

SIL-Niger. (Bayray wo turaaban no: Suura dumi-dumi yaŋ. Niamey: Niger, 1998), 12-13.

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

		FREE TDANSTATION	One day the wild animals and at	animals were seeming and the tame	Fach one seed of the	cach one said that he could fight the	others.			The two groups were disputing this	argument.						Trad	They said that they wanted to find out	which group could beat the other. They	only had to wrestle.							A 4 4 1	At the Wrestling match, two animals	were chosen to fight in the wrestling	Indicii.	Each party chose a person to represent
	nd Lame Animals'	POST-VERB					afa	7114	OIIC.DEF														afo	one	gurio	match	Town				
f the Wild Animals	a communication of	VERB	kosongu	argue.CMP	ga ne	say.INC	ga hin	could.INC	di	have.CMP	ga kosongu	argue	di	have.CMP	ga kosongu	argue	пе	say.CMP	ga ba	love.INC	ma bay	know.SBJ	ga hin	can.INC	ma te	do.SBJ	ka	lift out.CMP	te	do.INC	ka lift out.CMP
vaanja 'The Battle o		OBJECT																											gurja din	match.DEF this	nga bora his person.DEF
Gunft namey nda kwaara almaney yaanja 'The Battle of the Wild Arimals and The	SUBJECT	ganji hamey da kwaara almaney i	als.DE	Afo kulu	One all	nga	38	Sata bink .		party two 3P		'11'	3p				3p	-	3P	ngey	3p	n kan	person that SS		3P	alman hinka no ;			who INC	Sata fo kulu	group one all
		1.1 Hanfo no	day one SS	7:1			V 1	6.1								1.4		hala da						yadın ga	+	1.5 To gurja din mo				1.6	

			OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERR	FREE TRANSLATION
	Ganji hamey	na	foono	ka		THE THEORY
	bush animals.DEF		monkey	lift.out.CMP		told him to fight for those
				да по		tota min to right for them.
				said		
	a			ma kov		
	3S			go.SBJ		
				8a gurge	ngey ma ga	
0 1		-		wrestle	3P name for	
1.8	Kwaara wone mo	na	hansi	donton		The other recess of the
	village this too		dog	sent.CMP		and fold him to go and wrestle for them
				ga ne		The state of the s
ing processor to				said		
	a	-		seed Louis		
	38			100 mil		
				80.5BJ		
				ga yanje		
100	,			fight (argue)		
	a			ma koy		
	38			go.SBJ		
				ga gurje	пдеу та да	¥
+				wrestle	3P name for	
2.1 To	hano			2	TOY ATTEND	E
IN.	day.DEF			OMD come		The day came, the day of the wrestling
	zaaro			11110101110		match.
	dav.DEF			9		(x
	kan gurie			COILLE, C.M.F.		
	than match			an le		
2.2	Theresis and the			nappen.INC		
4:1	Hansi, nga aa Joono, i			ka		The dog and the monkey met together to
	chien 35 and monkey 3.	<u>-</u>		come.CMP		fight.
				ga du	care	
				have	between them.	

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	_	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
	Kay	gurga			sintin		When the wrestling match began, they
	when	match.DEF			begin.CMP		fought and fought.
		į			di		,
		3P			fight.CMP		
		.7			di		
		3P			fight.CMP		
		i 3b			di.		
1		Hansi	na	foono	sambu	hala beene	The dog lifted in the mankey and
		dop		monkey	took.CMP	until high	tanned him lowly
		a	na	•	lapte	ganda	6
		38			tap.CMP	low	
2.5	Kaŋ	a	па		lapte	ganda din	When he tapped him lowly, the monkey
	when	38			tap.CMP	low this	who could not hold it, had a very large
		foono	-				bowel movement.
		monkey			***************************************		
		kay			si gay	da toosi	
		who			last.INC	with stool	
		a	na	toosi mulli bambata fo			
1		38		stool big	one let.loose.CMP		
5.6	Kaŋ	a	na	tooso din	te		When he had made the very large bowel
	when	38		stool.DEF this	made		movement, the lion was sitting down.
		muusu beeri			go ga goro		
- 1		lion			sit.PRG		
2.7		A			ne	hanse se,	He said to the dog, this bowel
		38			said	dog.DEF to	movement, you are not going to leave it
		Tooso wo, ni			sifay	nda ay se ne bo	with me, you must eat it.
		stool this 2S			leave.INC/NEG	with 1S to here	
		ni ni	ga	a	ywa.		
		28		38	eat		
2.8	•	Hansi			ne		The dog said, I who won the battle, still
		dog			said		must eat the bowel movement?
		ay kan			zaama no		
		1S who			te		
			80		nwa koyne		
			INC	stool.DEF	eat still		

		The state of the s						
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		ORIECT	add/1			
2.9	<i>A-a</i> ,	wo-din		ci tol	v EKB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION	-
	No,	this		do INCARD			No, don't think like that	_
2.10		T		do.livC/ivEG				
		38			ие		He said if you don't eat it you are not	-
		tooso			said		going to leave from here.	-
		stool.DEF						
	da	m^{i}	man	7				-
	if	2S	1111111	200	nwa			
		22.	3	00	eat.CMP/NEG			
		36			si dirat	ne		-
2.11	Wala coho da	67			leave.INC/NEG	here		
1	and some ad	ay	ma	ni	103-103			
	V now and	IS		2S	carl car.		Now I am going to crush you!	process.
2.12		Hansi			CIUSII			_
		dog			mana dut	faabako kulu	Since the dog did not have a defender	-
					have.CMP.NEG	saviour all	he are the howel movement	_
		56	па	looso	gwa.		are are contained in the contained in th	_
				stool.DEF	eat.CMP			
		A			90 aa ka	-7		-
		38			So Su nu	kwaara	He comes to the village and meets a	_
		a			COINC.F.KG	village	guinea fowl.	_
		38			ka			
					come.PRG			
					ga kubay	da curo bi.		
3.2					and.met			
		Caro Di			ио	H- C-1		
		guinea black				He Ja:	The guinea fowl said, "Well"	
6.	gurja do no	αy			Said	Well		
	match.DEF place SS	18			go ga ka bo		The guinea fowl said Well! I am going	
					come.PRG		to the unsetling motel.	

Appendix C-Continued.

New E-1901-ECT SUBLECT SUBLECT	Time day	The state of the s	And the state of t		And delicated the part of the Control of the Contro	The state of the s	The same of the sa	
A		PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
According to the part of the control of the contr	3.4		A			ne.		He said, "The wrestling match was
According to the power of the			36			CAM.		Garden Thomas booten the months
Part			20			Say.CIVIF		minsped. I have beaten the monkey.
Act Act			gurja					Then they told me to eat the bowel
Harder H			match.DEF					movement. You know that a monkey
Part			kan			han.		cannot last long without relieving
haifut 1S na done creoring CMP repert Propose cut SBJ report re			that			finish CMP		himself
15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15				24	foono	700ri		
hadia 15 monkey retronace API ret			Z .	110	Joins	1 1997		
Maila 1			IS		monkey	terrorize.CMP		
Marie Mari		hala	,1			ne		
kay ma tooso pwa pwa kay 15 stool.DEF ga bay 13 kay 1000 stool.DEF ats.DNC/NEG stool zama 4y none kay pwa did not have a savior. because 18 stool.DEF ats.CMP poor katu that 4y 18 swell/NC poor poor that 18 swell/NC poor poor poor To guinea black swell/NC poor poor poor INJ 18 swell/NC poor poor poor Indings, iri many pe poor poor poor Indings, iri many pe poor poor poor Indings, iri many pe poor poor poor Indings, iri poor poor poor poor Indings, iri poor poor <td></td> <td>until</td> <td>38</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>said.CMP</td> <td></td> <td></td>		until	38			said.CMP		
1 S			av	ma	tooso	ma		
kany coraty packany coors stably coors st			18		stool.DEF	eat.SBJ		
kay foono si gay kao si gay kao swin kao swin had tooso had tooso had tooso had			aran			ga bav		
kay foon nonkey no isast.NC/NEG stool poor stool			2P			know.INC		
that monkey rookey pwar stool stool last.iNC/NEG stool zama 4y stool.DEF more day boro kulu last the bowel movement, because last 1S ay stool.DEF more day boro kulu did not have a savior. last 1S ay ay save.lin boro kulu did not have a savior. last 1S ay ay save.lin boro kulu lin lin last Ay ay ay save.lin boro kulu lin		kan	foono			si gay	toosi	
zama 4y na tooso ywa person all ate the bowel movement, because name du dy 1 ate the bowel movement, because name du dy zama 1S as tool.DEF pac CMP person all add not have a savior. hat Ay save.LNC ful not hat a savior. 1S Sp ay ful not hat a savior. 1S Sp ay ful not hat a savior. 1S Sp asve.LNC ful not hat a savior. 1S Sm save.LNC ful not hat savior. 1S SmP save.LNC ful not hat savior. 1S SmP save.LNC ful not hing! not hing! 1S In may may not hing! not hing! not hing! 1s In same sand savid not hing! not hing! not hing! 1s In sand sand not hing! not hing! not hing! not hing! 1s <td></td> <td>that</td> <td>monkey</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>last.INC/NEG</td> <td>stool</td> <td></td>		that	monkey			last.INC/NEG	stool	
zamea qy stool.DEF ate.CMP boro kulu did not have a savior. because kay ga qy faqfa por kulu did not have a savior. kay kay ga qy save.INC faq mana du fay fay save.INC fa mana du	3.5		Av	na	tooso	mva		Tate the bowel movement, because I
zama ay mana du Jaga poro kath boro kath because 1S ay save,INC fu I am going back home. that 4y save,INC fu I am going back home. Coro bi save,INC Ine I am going back home. To coro bi save,INC Ine Ine INJ IS EMP may be Ine Ine Ine INJ IS EMP may be Ining one mouth Meanwhile let's go back! Yadin ga, ir may be may be Ine forthis reason IP ga ka no conne.PRG SS Meanwhile let's go back! forthis reason I pomet.CMP with came! ga ka no i meet.CMP mit came! A A none to cone.PRG SS Ine story.DEF po see Intercount.CMP por see			15,		stool.DEF	ate.CMP		did not have a savior.
because 1S and CMP/NEG person all pad.CMP/NEG		zama	αv			mana du	boro kulu	
kay ga qy fadfa poson an that fy 1S 1 am going back home. 1S Coro bi return.PRG home The guinea ben said, well, I can (dd To gy,wo said hay fo me In thing one mouth mothing! Yodin ga, iri ma ye return.SBJ hing one mouth Meanwhile let's go back! Yodin ga, iri gy wo return.SBJ hing one mouth Meanwhile let's go back! Yodin ga, iri ga ka no ga ka no ga ka no in they came and met the came! i p samno meet.CMP with came! They came and met the came! i a samno deede po se He told the came! the story.		hocarico	21			had CMP/NEG	nergon all	
Kay Ray Jangalac Jane In mobile back home. Ay 1S 80 ga ye fu I am going back home. Coro bi retun.PRG home In peguinea bhen said, well, I can (do but a gainea black me To ay wo said hin hay fo me In peguinea bhen said, well, I can (do but a gainea black ma ye hing one mouth Meanwhile let's go back! Yadin ga, ir ma ye ma ye ma ye In peguinea bhen said, well, I can (do back!) Yadin ga, ir ma ye thing one mouth Meanwhile let's go back! Yadin ga, ir ga ka no come.PRG SS fan yo i meet.CMP with came! They came and met the came! j meet.CMP with came! He told the came! the story. 3S story.DEF recount.CMP yo se He told the came! the story.		occurs.	2 .			THE CHILLIAN	person an	
15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15			kaŋ	8a	ay	faafa		
Ay Ay Bo ga ye fu			that		1.5	save.INC		
1S	3.6		Ay			go ga ye	nf	I am going back home.
To ay you List EMP Coro bi said stiff of a said and black and blac			18			return.PRG	home	
To guinea black said init hini	3.7		Coro bi			ne		The guinea ben said, well, I can (do)
To ay wo si hini hay fo me Meanwhile let's go back! Yodin ga, iri manufall season IP Meanwhile let's go back! for this reason I p ga ka no come.PRG SS i They came and met the came! i na samno meet.CMP with came! He told the came! the story. 3S na story.DEF recount.CMP po se He told the came! the story.			guinea black			said		nothing!
INJ 1S EMP can.INC/NEG thing one mouth Meanwhile let's go back! Yadin ga, forthis reason 1P ma ye Meanwhile let's go back! forthis reason 1 go ga ka no They came and met the came! go ga ka no come.PRG SS da yo They came and met the came! i meet.CMP with came! They came and met the came! A na samno deede yo se He told the came! the story. 3S story.DEF recount.CMP came! for recount.CMP came! for		To	ay wo			si hini	hay fo me	
Yadin ga, iri Meanwhile let's go back! for this reason IP Reanwhile let's go back! for this reason I Reanwhile let's go back! 3P ga ka no Ihey came and met the came! come.PRG SS kubay meet.CMP j meet.CMP with came! A na story.DEF recount.CMP remel for		INI	1S EMP			can.INC/NEG	thing one mouth	
for this reason 1P return.SBJ return.SBJ They came and met the camel. 3P go ga ka no go ga ka no come.PRG SS kibay da yo meet.CMP Ihe told the camel the story. 3P na sanno deede yo se He told the camel the story. 3S story.DEF recount.CMP camel for He told the camel the story.	3.8	Yadin ga,	iri			та ж		Meanwhile let's go back!
1 1 1 1 2 2 2 2 2 2		for this reason	1P			return.SBJ		
3P come.PRG SS da yo 3P meet.CMP with camel A na sanno deede yo se He told the camel the story. 3S story.DEF recount.CMP camel for real for real for	4.1		I					They came and met the camel.
i ktubay da yo 3P meet.CMP with camel A na story.DEF recount.CMP po se He told the camel the story. 3S story.DEF recount.CMP camel for			3P			come.PRG SS		
3P meet.CMP with camel A Fe told the camel the story. A A story.DEF recount.CMP po se He told the camel the story.			*100			kubay		
A na sanno deede yo se He told the carnel the story. Story.DEF recount.CMP carnel for			3Р			meet.CMP	with camel	
story.DEF recount.CMP camel for	4.2		А	na	sanno	deede	yo se	He told the camel the story.
			38		story.DEF	recount.CMP	camel for	
								8.

Appendix C—Continued.

	DDE CTIDIECT	THE REAL PROPERTY AND ADDRESS OF THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NAMED IN C					
-	I ME-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBTECT			
6.4		Yo		CORPOR	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
		camel			ne	a se:	And the control of th
	A-a	wo-din			say.CMP	3S to	And the camel said, That is not done
	no	this			si te		III Iront of me. Let's go back!
		iri			do.INC/NEG	1S hefore	
		119			ma ye!		
4.		Мау по	1		return.SBJ		
		who SS			ga hini		Who
					could.INC		who could let you eat the bowel
					ga naŋ		movement.
		ni			let		
		28	ma	toosi	gwa?		
4.5			1	stool	eat.SBJ		
					Ye,		7
		Iri			retum.IMP		Keturni Let's go back!
		119			ma koy!		
4.6					go.SBJ		
					Vo		
					return.TMP		Return!
					ga ka!		
5.1		2 1			come		
		ransi da foono	па	care	di	-	
5.2		chien with monkey		between them	fight CMD	коупе.	The dog and the monkey began to
		4 6	па	foono	right. Civil	again	fight again.
5.3		33		monkey	take CMP	hala beene.	He took the monkey and lifted him up
		7.			100	until high	high.
		25			return CMD		He tapped him again from below
			ga	B	Letuin-Civir		
V 0			0	35	labte	ganda.	
4.0		Muusu beeri		200	tap	low	
		lion			ne		
	•	a			say.CMP		The Hon said again to eat the bowel
		38			та уе		moveruent.
				,	return.SBJ		
			20	10030	ywa.		
			_	Stool.DEF	eat		

Appendix C—Continued.
PRE-SUBJECT

1 0	TOTOGO	SUBJECT		OBIECT			
0.0		Hansi		CESECI	VERB	POST-VERR	and and a
		200			bare		FREE I KANSLATION
		200			return CMP		Then the dog goes back to the camel
			ga	200	Cuna		and (to tell him what happened and
				camel	lookat		said, how is it that I must eat the bowel
					да.пе		movement?
	Hala mate no	นอน			and said		
	it.is how SS	38	ma	tooso	MMG		
5.6		200		stool.DEF	eat.SB.I		
		70					
	F	camel			ие		The camel soid!!
	10,	ni			say.CMP		They and to the state you beard it.
	Ž	2S			go ga ma	DX.	they said to eat it.
		· nu			hear.PRG	EMP	
		3p			ив	1	
		ii.			say.CMP		
					ma maid		
oc oc		2.3			ant out		
2		Hansi	na	tooso	cal.5BJ		
		dog		HU 1001	ywa	коуме.	The don see that
5.6		Gunda		Stoot. DEF	ate.CMP	again	the god are the bowel movement again.
		stomach DFF			go ga soobay		***
					continue.PRG		His stomach continued to get full little
					ga koy	beene karma-karma	by little.
5.10					. 080	high little builth	
		30	na	ngey fonda	sambu	and muc.oymule	
		10		3P road.DEF	take		They took the road again to return
		3p			go.ga ye		home.
					return.PRG		
1					ga ka	fu.	
1.9					come	house	
1		3Р			kubay	da haw	H-L
6.2	The state of the s	Нам			meet.CMP	with con:	They met a cow.
	•	1100			ио	WOO THE	
		wos			CAC) ves		The cow said, What is hannening?
		Mate no			Say.CIVIP		: Simpdan
		how SS			go ga te?		
					do.FRG		

ndix C-Continued.

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	FINE-SOBJECT	CTDITION					
6.3		SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	TO THE
		Aywo			an an ba	OVE TOO	FREE TRANSLATION
		1S EMP			come PRG	gurja do	I, myself, am coming to the wrestling
					ga di	Match.Der at	match to see what will happen.
		mate no			see		
		how SS			go ga te.		
6.4		I			do.PRG		
		3P			ие	a se,	They said to how Wall st.
	To,	guria			say.CMP	3S to	alection of the match is
	INI	month DEE			te		alleday over,
		IIIaicii.DEF			do.CMP		
					ga ban.		
6.5		17			finish		
		ransi na Joono			1		
		dog with monkey			terrorias C. C.	ce hinka,	The dog has terrorized the monkey two
		į			INITION TO THE	Tool two	times, and they told him to ast the
		3P			ие		bowel movement He at the Learn
		a			said.CMP		morrament have all the bowel
		38	ша	10000	ywa		who could because there was no one
		3 2		stool.DEF	eat.COM		who could save him.
		2 2	na		man		
		38	-		200		
		kulu si			eat.CMP		
	because						
		who			ga hini		
					can.INC		
			ga	nga no	faaba		
9.9		1.7		38 SS	save.		
		Нам			110		
		cow			5		The cow told them to return
		ngey			say.CMP		11170000
		3P			та уе.		
6.7					return.SBJ		
					an		Post
	•	JC.			return.CMP		They went back.
					ga ka		
					come		
					-		

Appendix C—Continued.
PRE-SUBJECT

FREE TRANSLATION
The dog took that person and lifted him
up high again, and he hit him lowly
again. Dog returned to eat the bowel movement again, until his stomach was adequately full. Continue to eat your thing. And, let's Lion said that he must eat the bowel movement again. Cow said, How am I going to do it? He had a bowel movement again. He looked at Cow. moso sufficently POST-VERB
hala beene koyne,
until high again
ganda koyne
low again koyne, again hala manti r VERB
sambu
take.CMP
fimbi
fimbi
strike.CMP
ye
return.CMP
teave
ne
na
said.CMP
ma ye
return.SBJ
pwa
ear.
guna. do.INC

ywa
eat.INC
eat.INC
go.SBJ
ye
return.CMP
ywa
return.CMP
fill.up.CMP ne said.CMP OBJECT
boro wo
person EMP tooso stool.DEF tooso stool.DEF haw cow tooso stool.DEF ni hari 28 thing ga ga na 80 80 A
Haw
Haw
cow
mate no
how SS
ay
IS
Sobay
Continue.IMP
iri
IP
Hansi gunda stomach.DEF Muusu beeri lion hansi dog SUBJECT
Hansi
dog
a
3S To, INJ 6.12 6.10 6.11 6.14

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	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	EREE TO ANSI ATION
7.1	Sohõ				1	TO T	FREE I KAINSLATION
	Now	30			So Su Na	Ju.	They returned to the house, and
		; ;			come.PRG	ponse	he said, Oh, that no one would
		2 0			ие		tell me to return again for there
		38			said.CMP		is no one who could save me
		Boro kulu			ma si ne		
		person all			said.SBJ/NEG		
		ay			ma ye		
		IS			return.SBJ		7
					ga ka	koyne ga jurje ne koyne	
		,			come	again match here again	200
	zama	boro kulu no si no kan			ga hini		
	because	person all SS NEG SS who			can.INC		
		kaŋ	ga	ay	faaba.		
		who		18	save		
7.2		Ay			7.5		1 5. 4. 6. 1
		18			refuse CMP		i just retuse:
7.3		Av			The section of the se		
		18			go ga koy/		I am leaving!
7.4		Hansi	000	1	The state of the s	The state of the s	
		Tanasi Tanasi	go ga	nga kaayan	te		He was in the process of
	7.01.0	Son			do.PRG		leaving just when he met Cat
	Patta	a			ka		
	until	38			come.CMP		
					ga kubay	da maaje	
					meet	with cat	
7.5		Maaje			ne		11 11 11
		cat			Sav.CMP		Cat said, fley, you! And they
		пда мо					told min the story.
		3S EMP					
					to		
		,			arrive.IMP		
		1	ma	sanno	deede		
		35		story.DEF	tell.SBJ	3S for	

Appendix C—Continued.

-	Control of the Contro	Ministration of the Contract o					
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	adan taga	The second secon
7.6		A			Dir.	rOSI-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
		1,4			ne		He said May God remove this
		38			Sav.CMP		transfer and the second
	To,	Irkoy	ma	naen	P		from you. He did not have the
	Ñ	God		. c.	nd.		strength.
	2 22 22 24	200		3F	remove.SBJ		
	rama	nga wo		0	sinda	gaabi	
- Control Control Control	because	3S this			has not	to the control of the	
8.1		I		-	an and by me	20101	
		3.0			So Sa va no		It was in coming that they met
		10			come.PRG SS		Goat, Goat who was sufficently
		7			kubay	da feeji gaaru	fat
		3.P				avec goat	
		feeji gaaru kan				rec goar	
		doidin ton			76	nata manti moso	
0		goar willon			get.fat.CMP	sufficiently	
7.0		V			go ga ka		11.
		38			Section DBC		He was coming even him to see
					COIDE.FRG		how the match was progressing
		nga mo			ma di		La Caracara
		3S even			see.SBJ		
		mate no			an aa ta	Service Ji. J.	
		how SS			do DD G	gurje ain ao	
8.3		A.			1.	match this to	
		38			had comment		He came, and they recounted
					COMECIMIE		the story to him.
			na	sanno	deede	a se	
		3P		word.DEF	recount.CMP	3S for	
×.		į			ие	101 00	
		3P			said CMP		They said that Dog beaten
		Hansi	па	foono	Tooni	11	Monkey sufficiently.
		dog		monkey	terrify CMD	nata manti moso	

pendix C—Continued.

	TO THE PLANT OF THE PARTY OF TH						
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	EPEE TDANETATION
∞.>	Amma	han kan			4-		FINEE I MAINSLAITOIN
	hit	Office Script			le		The thing that happened was
		oung muo			did.CMP		not good It was I on who was
		kaŋ			mana boori		TO BOOK II WAS LIVIN WHO WAS
		that			OHOU CHILD		seated, he said that the bowel
					prenty.CMP/NEG		movement that that person had
					ga ti		made He said Dog must get it
					be,INC		meet its said Dog mast cal II.
		muusu beeri no			1000		
		SS doil			So Su Soro,		
		11011			sit.PRG		
		B			ne		
		38			CMD		
	tooso kan	poro wo			Say.Civif		
	2 1121	0.00			te le	din.	
	Stool.DEF that	person EMP			do.CMP	this	
		a	-		22		
		36			21/		
		S.C.			said		
		hansi	ma	<i>D</i>	5		
		dog			gwa.		
0		and		38	eat.SBJ		
0.0		Hansi mo			mana du	how last.	
		dog also			ham (1) (1) (1)	ooro kata	Dog did not have anyone to
					HAVE, CIVILY CIVIL	person all	save him. He ate the bowel
		any	8a	a	faaba		Mottement
		wno		3S	save.INC		
		a	па	tooso	nwa		
		38		stool.DEF	ate.CMP		
×.7	Sohō	gunda no			ao ao ban		
	now	stomach DEF SS			So Su ray	d Jine ya	Now it was his stomach that
000		1			stay.PRG	3S before EMP	was showing in front of him
0.0		reen			ne		Cost and at morn of their
		goat			said CMP		Goal said that they must return.
		ngev					Such a thing would not happen
		3D			ma ye		before him.
		21			return.SBJ		
		wo-ain			si te	non iine	
	i i	this			do INC/NEG	35 hafe	

Appendix C—Continued.

	PRE-SUBJECT	STRIECT					
6.8		,		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	EDER TRAINER
		Ţ			no		FREE I KANSLAIION
		3S			CAMD Case		He said to return. There was no
		идел			Say.Civil		one who was going to temperate
		3.0			ma ye		him The Sound to lettolize
		27			return.SBJ		min. Into eating of the bowel
		a St no				,	movement would not happen
		3S NEG SS				boro	again. One only has to go.
		kan no				person	
		00 chin			ga zeeri		
		ec onw			terrify		
		1			та по		
		3P			1 G S 1 C S		
		a			Say.SDJ		
		35			ma ye		
		00			return.SBJ		
			ga	toosi	DAM		
				stool	***	коупе	
		wo-din		10020	cal	again	
		1			si te	i	
		mis			do.INC/NEG		
		ngey			7		
		3P			та коу		
9.1		1			go.SBJ		
		7			ka		
0		3P			CMD CMD		They went.
9.7		Hansi			come. ClvIP		
		dog.			di		
		100 m			77		Dog cried, he said that he could
					ga hệ		not himself return.
					, mo		
		a			CLY.		
		SSE			ие		
					said.CMP		
		nga wo			si ye		
0		3S EMP			return INCARES		
3,7		a		-	TOTAL TARGET		
		38			au au		He said he could not an
	zama	nga			say.CMP		Everyone would met on open
	because	300			si koy		that he must set the 1
		boro bula.			go.INC/NEG		iant be interested the bowel
		nama oron			та не		movement again.
		person all			sav.SBJ		
		a	ma	toosi	THE COLUMN		
		3S		stool	Uniu	коупе	
				1000	cal. Sp.		

A Na	A	-	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
A	Action A	4.0		A	na	nga fondo	sambu		They took the road to say that he was
Da	Signate					3S road.DEF	take.CMP		going home. The sheep said, never!
Page 14	Paris San						ga ne		
Pegis Pegis Peuse Peus	Pegis Pegis Peuse Peus			a			go ga ka	Ŷ,	
Peer	Peepi			38			come.PRG	ponse	
Post	Pa			feeji			ne	g Se	
Da	Pa			goat			said.CMP	38 to	
Day Discrept Dis	Da			Adaba!				2	
1	1			never					
if	If 25 25 25 25 26 26 26 26	5.6	Da	mi			ne		If you can that you are assisted to
New Color New Color New Color New Color New Color 18	Note		if	28			said.CMP		is I and wan who will say this matter
18 28 19 19 29 19 29 29 29 29	1			m			pa kov	<i>iy</i>	hatman you will see this indite.
In da nin no	In da nin no			2S			as PBG	the state of the s	Detween us. 10u must return. Let us
18 and you SS Sec. INC Detween them 19 and you SS Sec. INC Detween them 10	yaddin ga 1S and you SS See.INC between them so nm ye cone cone pa mm ye cone cone pa mm kop cone cone pa mm kop cone cone pa mm kop cone cone pa mm kmmburu cone do pa pa cone cone match place.DEF at pa pa cone cone do cone do pa pa cone cone cone do cone do pa pa cone cone cone cone do cone do pa pa cone cone cone cone do cone do cone do cone do cone cone do cone do cone			da nin			ga di	oanon oanon	100
yaddin ga nti ma ye retum.SBJ retum.SBJ retum.SBJ retum.SBJ retum.SBJ retum.SBJ ga ka, retum.SBJ retum.SBJ </td <td>yaddin ga nti may be return.SBJ return.SBJ</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>and you</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>see.INC</td> <td>between them</td> <td></td>	yaddin ga nti may be return.SBJ			and you			see.INC	between them	
Free Fig. 10 Free Fig. 10 Free Fig. 10 Free Fig. 10 Free Fig. 10 Fr	Fig. 10 Fig.		vadin ga						
17 18 19 19 19 19 19 19 19	Fretum, SM Gark Come C		100	36			ma ye		
Fig. 25 Fig. 26 Fig. 27 Fig. 27 Fig. 27 Fig. 28 Fig.	Fig. 20 Fig.		2	67			return.SBJ		
Parametri ya-din nt no ay	Parameti ya-din ni no ay masha ya mash						ga ka,		
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	17 18 19 19 19 19 19 19 19			2 2			come		
Da manti ya-din ni no dy 1P 20 SBJ 20 SB	Da manti ya-din ni no ay ay ay ay ay ay ay a			iri			ma koy		
Da menti yacdin ni no	Da menti ya-din ni no ay ga di sohonda, If NBG liketibat 2S SS 1S rap.INC rap.INC rap.INC 18			1P			go.SBJ		
if NEG like that 2S SS 1S trap.INC now 2S SS 1S trap.INC now 4S SS 1S trap.INC now 4G SS 1S trap.INC now 4G SS 1S trap.INC now 4G SS 1S trap.INC now 1S 1S trap.INC now <	if NEG like,that 2S SS 1S trap.INC now 2S SS 4y trap.INC now 2S SS Hanst trap.INC now 4g dg fear.CMP hmmburu fear.CMP 3y ye return.CMP ga ka 1 ye return.CMP ga ka 1 ye return.CMP koyne 1 ye return.CMP koyne 1 ga ka surfa sintin 3P gain sintin koyne	9.6	m	ay			ga di	sohonda,	If it is not like that it is you who I am
15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15	Num No ay trap.INC trap		28	IS			trap.INC	now	going to catch, Now it you who I am
18 18 19 19 19 19 19 19	18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18			ay			ga di		going to catch.
Hantsi Hamburu Hamburu Gear.CMP Gear.CMP Jear.CMP Je	Hantsi Hamburu Hamburu Gog Gog Fear CMP Jear CMP J		- 1	18			trap.INC		
dog fear.CMP je return.CMP ga ka match place.DEF at ve return.CMP sq ka match place.DEF at ve return.CMP sq ka sintin koyne return.CMP sq ka return.CMP sintin koyne return.CMP sintin koyne return.CMP re	dog fear.CMP property pro	6.7		Hansi			humburu		The dog was afraid. He returned to
18 18 18 19 19 19 19 19	1S 1Fetum.CMP 1S 1S 1S 1S 1S 1S 1S 1			gop			fear.CMP		wrestle at wrestling ring.
1S return.CMP garka gurje nango do garka match place.DEF at	1S return.CMP gar ka gurye nango do		40.75%	ay			ac		0
ga ka gurje nango do come match place.DEF at return.CMP return.CMP koyne	ga ka guye nango do come match place.DEF at y retum.CMP ye retum.cMP koyne ga guyfa sintin koyne match.DEF begin again			1.5			return.CMP		
sp garfa sintin koyne	1 Come match place.DEF at ye New CMP Squin Match DEF Squin New CMP N						ga ka	nango	
3P ga gurja sintin koyne	3P ye return.CMP koyne match.DEF begin again						come	place.DEF	
ga gurja sintin kome	ga gurja sintin kome natch.DEF begin again	00	•	<i>I</i> 3p			ye CMB		They returned and the match began
gurja sintin	guryd smun match.DEF begin						Telulinolvir	,	agam.
	begin				ga	gurja	sintin	koyne	

Appendix C-Continued.

	PRE-SURIECT	SITRIFCT		Chiron	0 0 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10		
00		Umini		ODUECI	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
:		nansı	па		sambu		The dog took and he hit low
		gop			take.CMP		MOI WILL THE WOOD SON ALL
		a	па		kar	ganda	
0.0		28			hit.CMP	low	
9.10		A	na		kar	ounda	Use take 1 and A set at the set of the
		38			hitCMP	low	the mit tow. And the non said that he
		muusu beeri			200		must return to eat the bowel movement.
		lion			said CMP		
		a			or our		
		38			return.SB.1		
			ga	tooso	nwa		
)	stool.DEF	eat		
9.11		Hansi			ne		
		gop			Sav CMP		Dog said that he was going to eat it?
		nga					
		38			ga mai		
9.12		Feeri			carring		
		doat			ne	a se	Sheep said for him to come and stav
		(BO41			say.CMP	3S for	over there.
		a a			ma kay	no-din	
		38			stay.SBJ	over there	
9.13		A			men or mills		
		38			helieve SBINIEG		He must not believe that he would eat
		nga	53	tooso	The state of the s		this bowel movement.
		38)	stool.DEF this	eat INC		
9.14	Da	a	па	-	mod		700
	ĮĮ.	38		.=	eat CMD	100	If he eats it, it is Dog and he who will
		nga d' a no			Carrollan.	anso	see one another about it.
		3S and 3S SS					
9.15		Muusu beeri			tum		
		lion			get up CMB		Lion got up. He said, Who is it that
		a			no de apropriati		speaks like that?
		38			Sav CMP		
		may no			200 000 000		
		who SS			go ga satan	ya-cine wo?	
			1		Speak.PRG	like that	

Appendix C—Continued.

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A A	Significant Commission						
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERR	EDEE TO ANSI ATION
916		41,			-	TOO I	FINE INMISERIION
					ma salaŋ,		I am speaking. A person who is
		13			speak.SBJ		getting up and saving. Who is
		boro fo			ma tun		speaking
		person one			get up.SBJ		S. C.
					ga ne		
					say		
		nga			ga salaŋ?		
		38			speak.INC		
9.17		Wo-din			si te!		This will not do!
		that			do.INC/NEG		ALIES WILL HOU GO:
9.18		A			ne		
		38			sav.CMP		
		nga			ga ka		
		38			come.INC		
			ga	feeji	say-say,		
				sheep	crush		
		a			ne		
		3S			say.CMP		
		nga	ga	a	kar		
		38		38	strike.INC		
9.19		A			oddif	ce fo	He leaned one time and the sheen
		3S			jump.CMP		escaped
		feeji	na		mulay		
		goat			eacape.CMP		
9.20		Feeji gaaro a			ar	banda nangu mooru.	The goat moved back to a place
		goat.DEF 3S			return.CMP	behind place far	far away.
9.21		A	na	haw	sampn		He took air a little
		3S		cow	take.CMP		
	hala	a			boori.		
-	until	-3S			pretty.CMP		
9.22		A			zuru		He came numing toward Lion
		3S			run.CMP		to carrie terming to the course
					ga ka	muusu beeri ga.	
					come	lion to	

Appendix C-Continued.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERR	EDEE TOANSI ATION
9.23		A	na	ce taaca kulu	haabu		The great of four fact of 1
		38		DE	sweep.CMP		rie swept all tour teet of Lion.
					ga ka	a cira	
					lift off	3S under	
9.24		su beeri			kulu ceeri		All four feet of I ion were broken
		lion foot four			all break CMD		TOWN TO STATE OF THE STATE OF T
9.25			Du	0	ogmps.		111
		4b	71	5 6	samon		They took them and attached all four feet
		45 7		32	take.CMP		and told him to leave.
					koy		
		3Р			go.CMP		
			ga	a ce kulu	haw		
				3S foot all	attach		
		ngey			ou		
		3P			said CMP		
		идел	<i>DW</i>	-	200		
		30	7147	2 6	sajar.		
1		J.C.		38	care for.SBJ		
7.70		reeji da hansi da ngey banda borey kulu i			e de	fu.	Sheen and Dog with all the nersons behind
1		sheep and dog and 3P behind persons all 3P			return.CMP	house	them, they returned home
10.1		I			go ga ka no		It was in coming that they met Goat
		3P			come.PRG SS		The state of the s
		. 7			ka		
		3P			come.CMP		
					ga kubay	da hincin	
1					meet	with goat	
10.2		Hincin			ne		Grat school Williat transfer
		goat			sav.CMP		con assect, what happened
		mate no			to		
		how SS			do CMD		
10.3		A			do.o.mi		
	-	38			ne con Chan		He said, it was he was coming to the match.
	nga wo sohõ no	B			ady.Civii		
	3S this now SS	38			50 Su nu	gurla do la	

sendix C-Continued.

-	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
10.4		A,					There said that the
		38					They said that the match was over.
		2					And, they terrorized Monkey many times.
					ne		
		3P			said.CMP		
		gurga kaŋ			ban		
		match.DEF which			finish.CMP		
	hala		па	foono	zeeri		
	until	3P		monkey	terrify,CMP		
	hala	ce kaŋ			si ban		
	until	foot which			finished.INC/NEG		
10.5		Boro wo			tun		This manner west are to
		person EMP			get up.CMP		deliver him their change all his fast and
					ga ne		crished them
					Sav		ביינים היוכודי
		nga	ga	a	fansa		
		38)	38	deliverINC		
		,1	na		kar		
		3P			strike.CMP		
			ga	ce kulu	tutubu		
	-			foot all	crush		
10.6	Sohõ	Banga			ban		The match is finished and us as as as
		match.DEF			finish.CMP		the house.
		iri ya			go ga ye	fu	
		1P EMP			return.PRG	house	
10.7		A			ne		He said use must return
		38			say.PRG		is said we must fold in.
	To	irri			ma ye		
	+	1P			return.SBJ		
Ξ.		I			go ga ka no		It was in their coming that they met with
		3P			come.PRG SS		Horse.
		- 1			kubay	da bari	
-		3P			meet.CMP	with horse	
11.2	61	Bari			пе		Horse said, No!
		horse			say.CMP		
		A-a					
		no					
							96

Provide 100 Provide 100 Provide 100 Provide 100 1	113		N-1		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	The same of the sa
Dow SS	7.7.7		Mate no			te	1031-VENB	FREE TRANSLATION
1	114		how SS			do.CMP		What has happened?
1			3P			deede	a se	They reconnited the atoms to Lin.
Autor Auto	11.5		I			recount.CMP	3S for	and a story to mim.
According to the continue of			3Р			ne Gan Chan		They said that it was Dog who struck
dog SS			'ra	na	Goono	Say.CMP		the monkey, but he had to eat the howe
A					monkey	strike CMD		movement.
A			a	па		Zeem		
Dept. A		Diam's	38			terrorize,CMP		
A		but	38	па	toosi	pwa		
National Proof grade National Proof grade	11.6		200		stool	eat.CMP		
1			38 38					He said this action of the L
Say CMP Say CMP Stool Good DEP EMP this thing Say CMP Stool Good DEP EMP this thing Say te How for			a					movement would not become
Say CMP Say CMP Say CMP Matter Set This thing Say CMP How for Far This thing Say CMP How for A			38			ne		me.
Strong Cood DEPE EMP this thing			wo,			say.CMP		
Mate se Mate se How for Is before How could it? 3 3 1 c 4			F EMP			St te	ay jine me!	
how for for a si te do. Inches do	11.7		se			not do.INC	1S before	
Since The will not be done in front of measures								How could it?
1	8.1.1		A			4		
1 Properties of the properties	110		38			do INC/NEG		That will not be done in front of me.
ngate kan no mate kan no ma di see.SBJ what would happen. I make kan no le te do.CMP laboren. I what would happen. I de CMP laboren. I monkey again. I hey teturned. They were going to see.SBJ what would happen. I hey teturned. They were going to see.CMP laboren. I hey teturned. They were boing to serverize lagain. I hey teturned. They went back and brought Horse. being the transported laboren. I hey teturned. They went back and brought Horse. being the transported laboren. I hey teturned. They were going to serverize lagain.	11.3					ma se		
Mean would happen. Mean would happen.			35			return.SBJ		They returned. They were going to see
how that SS docMP docMP letter. I how that SS docMP docMP letter. I how that SS docMP letter. I how that SS docMP docMP letter. I how that SS docMP letter. I how that Dack and brought Horse. I how the doc MP letter. I how that Dack and brought Horse. I how that Dack and brought Horse. I how the doc MP letter. I how that Dack and brought Horse. I how that Dack and brought Horse. I how the doc MP letter. I how that Dack and brought Horse. I how the doc MP letter. I how that Dack and brought Horse. I how the doc MP letter. I how the doc MP lette			18a			ma di		what would happen.
Dow that SS Dow that SS Dow that SS John that SS John that SS John that SS John than the sering that was going to terrorize Abari, went back and brought Horse.			mote bas no			see.SBJ	,	
1			how that SS			te		
no na Joono zeeri. CMP horse. SS monkey again. Iney went back and brought Horse. was Dog that was going to terrorize bring horse. koyne.	11.10		1			do.CMP		
no horse bring bring horse hor			3P			2		They went back and brought Horse 11
Nonkey again. Nonkey again. SS nonkey again. Inonkey again. Inonkey again.						ga kando	1	was Dog that was going to terrorize
SS monkey terrorize again						bring	borse-	Monkey again.
nonkey terrorize again			dog SS	na	foono	zeeri.CMP	kovne	-
97		-		_	monkey	terrorize	again	-
97							Timon	
97								
97								
7								9
								7

-	-	The same of the sa	-		A THE RESIDENCE AND A SECOND PROPERTY OF THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NAMED IN THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NAMED IN THE PERSON NAME		
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
11.11		I			ne		They said that withigh way have the
		3P			say.CMP		habit of doing
	To	mate kan		ni doona fa			.0
	well	how that		you habit			
11.12		. A			ne		He said that he would not eat it.
		3S			say.CMP		
		nga 30			si ywa.		
1110		20			eat.INC/INEG		
11.13		3.8 3.8	па	bari	guna.		He looked at the horse.
1114			-	20101	IOONIGE CIVII		
11.14		Barı			ne	a se	The horse said to him, "That habit
					say.CMP	3S for	which you have continue to eat your
	To, za kan	ni doona			sobay		thing."
	INC since that				go.CMP)
					ga nwa	ni hari.	
					eat	2S thing	
11.15		Hansi			ar		Dog was eating the thing again.
		gop			return.CMP		000000000000000000000000000000000000000
			ga	haya	ржа	коупе	
				thing.DEF	eat	again	
11.16		¥			ex.		He was eating the bowel movement
		3S			return.CMP		again.
			ga	tooso	ywa		
				stool.DEF	eat		
11.17		A			ne		He said, Now there is no one again.
		3S			say.CMP		
	sohō ya now FMP	boro kulu si no				koyne	
						agam	
1.2.1		<i>I</i> 3Р			go ga ye retum.PRG		They returned.
					ga ka		
		•			come		

	THE RESERVE THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NAMED IN COLUMN	the second secon	The second second second second second	Contract of the last of the la	and the second s	The second secon	
-	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
12.2		I			ka		They came and met Cook who had
		35			ome CMB		they came and met coen who had
		24			COIIIE.C.MIP		two gourds.
					ga kubay	da gorongaari fo	
					meet	with cock one	
		kay			gonda	zollo hinka	
A CONTRACTOR DESCRIPTION OF THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN		that			has	gourd two	
12.3		I	па	sanno	deede	a se	They told him the story
		3P		word.DEF	recount.CMP	3S for	
12.4		A			пе		He said that it is necessary that he see
		38			say.CMP		this match.
		nga wo kala da nga			di		
		38 EMP until with 38			see.CMP	match.DEF this	
12.5		I			ar		They left
		3P			return.CMP		
					ga koy.		
					08		
12.6		I			koy		They went Dog said that he did not
		3P			go.CMP		want to go hack because of all the
		hansi wo			ne		wave Chan monted more than him the
		dog EMP			Sav.CMP		those behind him. And there was no
	dop	nga			si ba		one to same him
	ji	38			love.INC/NEG		one to save min.
		nga			ma koy		
		38			go.SBJ		
	zama	mate kulu kaŋ			te		
	pecanse	how all who			do.CMP		
		feeji			ba	da banda,	
		sheep			love.CMP	behind	
		boro kulu si no					
		person all NEG SS					
		kay	ga	nga	faaba		
		who		38	save,INC		
12.7	Yadin ga	nga wo			si koy		As for him, he was not going.
	for this reason	38 EMP			S INCAIRC		.0

Appendix C-Continued.

PRF	PRE-STRIEGT	STRIBLE						
12.8		Someon		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TDANET ATION	_
0	-	Corongaaro			di		I NEE I INAINSEALION	
		cock			See CMD		Cock saw. He insisted. We will go	
		a			TATO SAC		They returned.	
		38			ne			_
		noon			say.CMP			
		30			ma koy			
					go.SBJ			
		30			ar			
		J.C.			return.CMP			
					ga ka			
121					come			
1.5.1		Hansi da foono	па	care	di	Como		
13.0		dog with monkey		between them	trap.CMP	again.	Dog and Monkey fought again.	
7			па	care	feeni-feeni	ing.	i Li	
000		3P		between them	fum		The were between turns.	
15.3		Hansi			27			
					rethim CMD		Dog returned to take him.	
			5		TACCITIC INT.			
			200	96	sampa.			
13.4		4		33	take			
		20	na		feeni	beene	And Later than the same	
		00			turn.CMP	high	All the furned firm high and threw	
					ga furu	ganda kovne	лин сомп адаш.	
135		D			throw	low again		
		Boro Wo			24	Ó	This remove again 1-3-1	
		person EMF			return.CMP		this person again had a bowel	
			ga	toosi	te		movernerii.	
13.6	The state of the s	E		stool	made			
2.5		roono	na	tooso	tan	louis de la constant		
100		monkey		stool.DEF	let loose CMP	Action and a second	Monkey let the bowel movement	
1.5.1		I			no	agami	loose again.	
		3P			, and a second	hansı!	They said, As usual, Dog.	
	To,				Sdy.CIVIP	gop)	
	INC							
	mate kay	ni doona fa,						
	how that							
				_				

		FREE TRANSLATION	Dog said he was going to eat it				Cook eaid Marrow!	COON SQUE, INCVCI!	Not in front of and	TACK THE THORN OF THIS	How?			Fanther said that he was going to get	up and crush these guys. And Cock let	loose one gourd and it broke													Thorn man was a	mere wasps mistae the gourd.	
		POST-OBJECT					Abada!	never	ay jine	1S before														c					din	this	zollo fa ra
	VEDD	VERB	ne me	Sdy.CIVIL	ga nwa	eat.INC	ne,	say.CMP	Manti	be.CMP/NEG			ne	say.CMP	oa tun	Su tall	Iever.INC	ga ka	come	Sav-sav			crush	tan		let 100se.CMP	bagu.	break.CMP	pagn	break.CMP	
	OBIECT	TOTAL																	9	borey wo	persons.DEF this	gorno nda nga zama	cock with 3S people	of olloz	goilt one	200					
				·														-		ga				па		200	1		na		
	SUBJECT	Hansi	gop	nga	38	Gorongaari	cock			Mate se?	how for	100 ct 101	mari	Patitie	nga	3S								gorongaaro	cock	a	38	a	SS	hawlandi no	wasp SS
Appendix C-Continued.	PRE-SUBJECT											To. nan kan	INI there where	272711 27271									no-din	On ann	over mere 55			Kaŋ	when	wiza	then
Appen		13.8				13.9		13.10		13.11		13.12																13.13			

Appendix C—Continued.

PRE-SUBJECT

13.14

RESUBJECT

		o sting	second	v stung	llowed	heir							0					
	FREE TRANSLATION	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.						This is how the domestic animals	vanquished the wild animals.				
130g	TOST-OBJECT									1001	naid ngey guusey ra	uitil their holes.DEF in				ganii hamey aa	mild and the year.	with animals. DEF SS EMP
VERB	tun	get up.CMP	ga soobay	continue	ton	sting	gaaray follow	ga di	trap.INC	gaaray	follow			qn	have.CMP	ga zaama	vanquish	
OBJECT					gangi namey kulu	wing animals.DEF all	3P				mice and rats							SIM, 1986), 5.3-5.5.
				00	90	Da	b		00	0.0							0.1.0	(INTamey:
Hawlandi	wasp	***************************************											kwaara almaney	courtyard animals.DEF			a learner's resource notabool.	. 25 July 1986), 5.3-5.5.
4											To,	I.Y.	mate kay	now that		Coott FL. 1 7	e. scott Eberle, Zarm	
13.14											4					Course	200	

APPENDIX D Kooro nda foono 'Hyena and Monkey'

acy Koore da foone dayne ya laabo ra, haray beeri fo country.DEF in famine big one haray bumbo da haray bumbo da haray bumbo da haray bumbo da sa haray bumbo da haray bumbo da haray bumbo da haray bumbo da sa haray bumbo da haray		mountain and	The same of the sa		The state of the s	THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER, THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER, THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER, THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER, THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER, THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER, THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER, THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER, THE	THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER, THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER, THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER, THE OWN	
At pinte-jointer		PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OB,	JECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
May the parameter May	1.1	Ay jante-jante!						To my story!
Ap naamay Kooro da foono day no ya No ya No ya Han fo, i laabo ra, haray beeri fo day one their country.DEF in famine big one hear with monkey EMP SS EMP Ite. Ite.<		my fairytale						ic in secie.
Han fo. i laabo	2.1	Ay naamay-naamay						To my distornel
Han fo, i laabo ra, haray beeri fo day no ya haray beeri fo day one their country.DEF in famine big one hore adjoint big one their country.DEF in famine big one hore bush.DEF in 38 A bine, saajo ra, haray bumbo da day fo formay bumbo da bumbo da bumbo da day fo formay bumbo da		my customs						to the contours.
Hone hyena with monkey EMP SS EMP SS EMP SS EMP day one their country DIE in famine big one famine big one	3.1		Kooro da foono day no ya			ио ма		There was Huene and Montess
Han fo, i laabo ra, haray beeri fo te.			hyena with monkey EMP SS EMP			SS EMP		there was tryella and Moliney.
day one their country DEF in famine big one make CMP kala manti mosó, law manti mosó, law mater mosó, law manti mosó	3.2	Han fo, i laabo ra,	-			16		One datt in their constitution
Maray bumbo da Jiaw Kala manti mosō, byeta Maray bumbo da Maray baray Maray		day one their country.DEF in				make.CMP		great famine
hyena hyena hyena hyena hyena hyena hyena hyena hyena humbo da haray bumbo da haray bumbo da haray bumbo da haray bumbo da haray bambo da haray	3.3					jaw	kala manti mosõ.	Hvena was very thirstv: he was
A bine, scape ra, bunger even 7 go go so go so go so so de la ser de			hyena			thirsty.CMP	until sufficiently	even hungry
A bine, saayo ra, a a bunger even ? EXT 3S 60 A bine, saayo ra, a a go no then bush.DEF in 3S is SS then bush.DEF in 3S is SS then bush.DEF in angu kay hare look.for place that side ga du ba hari ga du ba hari have.INC even water ga hay, drink day formay, CMP day formay, and saayo ra thinsy, CMP ga tadhi. day formay, and formay, and thinsy, CMP ga tadhi. day formay, and formay, and thinsy, CMP saayo ra thinsy CMP ra th			haray bumbo da			08	a pa	000
A bime, saagjo ra, a saagjo ra, asagjo						EXT		
then bush.DEF in 3S is SS then bush.DEF in 3S then bush.DEF in bush.DEF in the	3.4	e, saajo	a			до ио	1	He looked in the high there where
Nation N		bush.DEF	3S			is SS		there was water to drink, because
Nega Sa Sa Sa Sa Sa Sa Sa						ga ceeci	nangu kan hare	he was thirsty, to the point of
Nega Nega Nega Near SS Near Near Near Sa Near						look.for	place that side	suffering.
Same Pave, INC even water Pave, INC even water			nga				hari)
Samua			3S				water	
drink drin						ga haŋ,		and the second
Samuar S						drink		
because 3S thirsty.CMP thirsty.CMP thirsty.CMP sale tach: as suffer.INC sagio ra turn.PRG bush.DEF in turn.PRG turn		zama	a			jaw		
kala a suffer.INC suffer.INC suffer.INC so ga wind saajo ra turn.PRG bush.DEF in until 3S until sa sa sa sa sa sa sa s		because	3S			thirstv.CMP		
until 3S suffer.INC		kala	a			ga taabi.		
A So go windi Saajo ra		until	38			suffer.INC		
3S turn.PRG bush.DEF in a day fo formary. 3S turn.PRG bush.DEF in a formary. 3S turn.PRG bush.DEF in a formary.	3.5		A			go ga windi	saaio ra	He was the process of walking in
a day fo formay, well one weeds to ND			3S			tum.PRG	hush DEF in	the bush when he can a well
3S		kala			oj ,	fonnav.		and the same a well.
		until			one 1	CAD Catalogue		

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.6		W W		zuru	kala dawo mewo	He ran to the edge of the well and he com
		38		run.CMP	pa ba	water in the well but the well was deen
	kala	a		di	until well.DEF mouth.DEF	ment in the ment, out the west was used.
	until	3S		see.CMP	at	
		hari		80		
		water		is		
	атта	dayo		ga guusu	davo ra.	
	but	well.DEF		was.profond.INC	well.DEF in	
3.7	A bine kay	a		mana ba lasaabu		Then he did not even dow and think H.
	then when	3S		not even reflect.CMP		introded into the well
		a		sar		Jemper me me men.
		38		jump.CMP		
				ga jippo	dayo ra.	
0				ponna	well.DEF in	
χ. ×		A		han	hari	He drank water to his thirst. His stomach
		38		drink.CMP	water	was fill. When his stomach was full, he
	kala	a		yeesi		remembered that that he was in a deen
	until	38		quench.thirst.CMP		well.
		gunda		10,		
	1	stomach.DEF		fill.up.CMP		
	hiino kay	gunda		to no	الله ور	
	when	stomach.DEF		fill.up.CMP SS		
		8		nBuof		
		38		remember.CMP		
	kan wiza day kuuko ra no	nga		08		
	that or que well deep. DEF in SS	38		EXT		
3.9		A		si bay.INC		He did not know what to do to get out.
		33		not know		í.
	mate kay	a		ga te		
	WO.	20		do.INC		
	•			ga fatta.		
_	_	_	_	leave		

Appendix D—Continued.

	PRE-STIRTECT		STIRTECT		ORTECT	VEDB	DOCT VERB	TOTAL TOTAL OF GRAND
0.0			100000		Charce	LIND	FUSI-VERB	FREE I KANSLAIION
3.10			Bina			sintin		He began to become unhappy, he
			heart.DEF			begin.CMP		began to scream to find help.
						ga sara		4
						spoil		
			a			sintin.CMP		
						begin		
						ga kuuwa		
						scream		
				ga	faaba	ceeci.		
		-			help.DEF	find		
4.1	Kuuwayayo boy	011	foono no					It was in the cry that Monkey who
	cry.DEF on		monkey SS					was high in a tree heard the crv.
			kaŋ			08	tuur-na fo bon beene	which was made in the hish
			who			is	tree one on high	
						go ga ma		
						begin hear.PRG	brush.DEF in	
			kuuwayan			go ga te.		
			crry.			make.PRG		
4.2			A			go ga guna		He looked where the cry was
			38			look.at.PRG		coming until perceived that it was
	nay kay hare no		kuuwayano			fun		the well where the our was assistant
	there where side SS		the.cry			go.out.CMP		from
	kala		a	па	day fo	foonay		
	until		38		well one	preceive.CMP		
		ou	sanney			go ga fatta		
	that overthere side SS	SS	words.DEF			go.out.PRG		
4.3			Nga bine			nınz		He came running to the mouth of
			3S and			run.CMP		the well, and came to find Hyena in
						ga ka		the well.
						come	well.DEF mouth.DEF to	
	kala		a			ka		
	until		38			come.CMP		
				ga	kooro	gar	dayo ra.	
				-	пуспа	Tima	well.DEF in	

Continued.

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	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERR	DOCT VEDD	TOTAL SOLE OF THE COL
44		7				TOOL TOOL	FREE I KANSLAIION
		50				kooro se	He said to Hyena, what put you in
		33			- AM	hyena to	the well here?
		to no			kate	nin dayo ra nango	
		what SS			lead.CMP	EF	
4.5		A			ne,		He said Oh it was thirst which had
		38			said.CMP		heen years effects That is when mitan
	4.	jawo wo no			laala		be some that he did
	ah	thirst.DEF EMP SS			he dangerous	30 50,	De came that he did not even see
	wodin se no kan	nga			ka		that the well was deep. Now that he
	this to SS that	38			Ver Co		has finished drinking water, he did
	3	22			come.CMP		not know what to do to get out. He
		nga			mana ba guna		must save him
		3S			even look.CMP/NEG		
		kaŋ dayo			nsnn8		
		that well.DEF			deep.CMP		
	kan	nga	па	hari	han		
	that	SS		ratori			
				water	urink.C.M.P		
					ga ban		
					finish		
		nga			si bav	sohô	
		38			not know.INC	now	
	mate kan	nga			ad to		
	how that	30			Sa re		
	now that	22			do.INC		
					ga fatta		
					get.out		
		a	ma	nga	faaba,		
		38		3S	save.SBJ		
					ma!		
		nga			SBJ		
		38			ma fatta		
					get out SBI		
4.6	,	Foono			ne	93 0	Monte to the term
		monkey			said CMB	, , ,	Montkey said to nim, There is no
		Wordin			Salu, Civir	01 86	problem. I am going to get you out."
		this			sında	taali,	
		mis			is.not	error	
		ay	ga	m	ka.		
		IS		2S	remove.CMP		

	and or the party		-				
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		ORIECT	VEDD		
4.7		Footo		TOTOTO	VEND	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
		, cons	па	nga dibbaa	day.CMP	dayo ra.	Monbay my his toll in 1
		monkey		3S tail.DEF	place	Well DEF in	MINIMES put fils tall into the well.
		kooro	па	foona dibbaa	di.		nyena grabbed his tail.
1		hyena		monkey 5ail.DEF	catch CMP		
×.	Kan	foona	na	koora	candi		
	when	monkey.DEF		hyena.DEF	mill CMP		When Monkey pulled Hyena, be
		a	na	koora	ba		pulled him out of the well.
		38		hvena DEE	5	taray.	
5.1	Kulu hiino	hoom		Ly cha. D.L.	remove.CMP	outside	
	14	NOO!			sar		11
		hyena			inmn CMD		Hyena jumped and he stretched
		a			Jan Civil		himself out to catch the monkey and
		35			geepe		Said to him "Ah nom I have deman
		20			stretch.out.CMP		AID IN AN I HOW I HAVE UITED
			ga	foono	di		to my thirst, now I am hungry. I am
				monkey	catch		going to eat you."
					ga ne	a se	
	5000				said	3S to	
	ch somo	ay			yeesi		
	all now	18			mench thirst CMD		
	sohõ	haray no			Archenium St. CIVIF		
	пом	hunger SS		-		ay ga,	
	kala da						
	41	18	ga	mi	ywa		
	1	13		2S	eat.INC		

244	TOGICAL OF THE CITY OF THE CIT	ntecr	-	TO THE OTHER					
	LUC-30E	MECI		SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
5.2	A! A!			Foono			dambara		Monkey was astonished even to the
	ab, ab			monkey			astonish.CMP		point of fear. He had seen that he
	kala			a			humburu		had saved Hyena and that he
	until			38			fear.CMP		wanted to eat him Monkey looked
				a			di		to escape He screamed in order to
				38			see.CMP		find help
	kan			nga	na		faaba		
	that			38			save.CMP		
	hiino			a			ga ba		
	then			38			love.CMP		
				a	ma	nga	IIWa.		
				38		38	eat.SUB		
	kulu			foono			go ga ceeci		
	and			monkey			look for.PRG		
				a			ma kooma		
				3S			escape.SBJ		
				<i>a</i>			an an Iranti		
				3S			scream PRG		
					00	faaba	coori		
					0	help	look for		
6.1	Tobay w		bon	Y			TOTAL MA		11
	hare	hare walk.DEF	ouo	3S			bear DBG		Hare on his walk, heard the cries as
				lannanan			and and to		well.
				On Annual			an pa oa	nga mo.	
63		-					do.rkG	3S also	
7.0				A			znın		He ran to come to the place and he
				38			run.CMP		found Monkey and Hyena
							ga ka		struggling.
							come	place.DEF in	
	Kala			a			ka		
	and	•		38			come.CMP		
					ga	foono nga nda kooro	gar		
				3		monkey 3S with hyena	find		
				kaŋ			go ga gurjay.		
-				who			wrestle.PRG		
6.3	E!						te?		He said "What's this?"
				what SS			do.CMP		ito salu, winat s this i
									108

TOPPODECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VFRR	E STATE TOOK	
6.4	Ifo no		10000	VEKB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
77	what SS			do CMP		What's happening?
	Tobay			110000		
66 11	hare			sav CMP	ya-din.	Hare said it like that."
4.	foono			This is	11Ke.that	
,	monkey			au e	a se	Ab! Monkey told him it is not libe
da				say.CMP	3S for	that It was Hyang that I.
if				manti	va-din	Gran, it was tayena that he came to
kooro				it.is.not	like that	find in the well. Then when he
Control	nga			ka	TEN THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPER	saved him, and removed him, it was
ni) ciia	38			G. Carrier		after that that he tried to eat him
		_		Collie.CIII		
				ga gar	dayo ra,	
hiino kan				but	the well in	
	nga	па		faaba.CMP		
	38			61163		
				3avec		
				ga ka	taray,	
kulu hiino naa no				remove	Outeide	
On again and there				90 90 0000	anismo.	
and then 35 SS				So Su cecu		
	a	2000	1	100K.10F		
	38	ma	nga	gwa.		
Kulu	2.5 7-1	1	38	eat		
pue	Lobay			no		
DITO	hare			5		Hare said, I do not understand
A! wo-ne,	av.			say.CMP		, ministration of the second o
ah this	2			mana faham	da wo-ne.	
				not.understand	_	
				Wanan	1	
				leave IMP		Let us begin again, It is I who am
	1.41	ma	a	and a second		going to judge you. We are not
	1P		50	statin,		going to continue on as we
			66	begin.again.CMP		some continue on as we were.
	31 88			ga ciiti		
				judge	2D for	
				wanan		
				931.6		
	iri			2000		
2	11P			ma sinin		
da mate kan no	2			begin.again.SBJ		
as SS	35			te l	d', a	

	POST-VERB		dayo ra no,	tuuro bon,	BI tree.DEF on		d' a, with 3c						truth		truth.	Kulu sar! All jumpl Hyena jumped and threw		dP		well.DEF in	foono se,	THOUSE STATE OF THE STATE OF TH		
OBIECT		Su ou, love.INC	ga ye return.INC	ma ye	return.SB.	do.SBJ	te do.CMP	ma du	can.SB	ga bay	Know	sinaa	nas.not	gonda	have	Kulu sa	Sar	Jump.C.	ga Jippo	leap	ne Sav.CM	sobay	continue	ga kov
SUBJECT	ay	I kooro, ni wo. ni	hyena 28 EMP 28	thonkey 28 too 28	aray	2P	teerey actions.DEF	1 A	31		may no	who SS	may no	SS odw			kooro	hyena		Tohav	hare			
H	6.9 Sophō hay kay	now this that				mate kan no	how that SS								6.10					6.11				

	He tried to abuse your confidence,	out god caught him for you.			
				ne se.	F
ceeci	look.for.CMP	amaana ywa no,	take.advantage.SBJ SS	di	catch,CMP
		ni	2S		
		ma	;	иа	
A	38	nga 3S	Trkov	God	AND THE PERSON NAMED AND POST OF THE PERSON N
0.12			a binde	and then	Courses Cout Pl. 1 7
	ceeci	3S look.for.CMP	3S look for CMP ng ma ni amaana pwa no,	a binde Trikov 28 Take advantage. Bu SS Take	A ceeci 3S look.for.CMP nga ni amaana pwa no, 1Rkoy na di di God di ne se.

Source: Scott Eberle, Zarma learner's resource notebook. (Niamey: SIM, 1986), 5.12-5.13.

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APPENDIX E

Kwaara cabey 'Village baptisms'

PRE-SUBLECT SUBBECT SUBBECT OBJECT VERB POST-VERB PREE TRANSLATION					Arramia	Arrenta cabey vinage Dapusins	SIIIS	
Cabey wo that IP Si		PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
May pri Si	1:1							The baptism that we know is done after a birth.
that 1P si								
that 1P si a know.INC Mat			kaŋ iri			ga bay		
Nida Si			that 1P			know.INC		
Nda NPG 3S do.INC that birth after if wayboro if hoy, that birth after week one after SS 3P child.DEF baptism do.INC Cabey wo hafa i e. Cabey wo hafa i e. Since 3S child.DEF baptism do.INC jirbi fo, since 3S child.DEF baptism do.INC phay.jirbi fo, since since sea day chingum haying.DEF phay.INC chorey se, have.SBJ ga bay know se, suba. hat chingum dayapo do.INC phay.inc hat ga bay know do.Inc hat <td< td=""><td></td><td></td><td>,1</td><td>žŠ</td><td>a</td><td>te</td><td>kala hayan banda.</td><td></td></td<>			,1	žŠ	a	te	kala hayan banda.	
Made			3P	NEG	38	do.INC		
If woman woman woman woman woman life woman woek one after SS 3P child.DBF beptism do.INC Baptisms this if 3P a child.DBF beptism gar te Baptisms this if 3P child.DBF beptism gar te Since As since child.BBF beptism child father child father If SS SS child.BBF beptism child.BBF be	1.2	Nda	wayboro			hay,		If a woman gives hirth it is after one week that they
Nathu fo banda no i ga izo caba te. Cabey wo hala i child.DEF baptism do.INC Za 3S child.DEF baptism iirbi fo. since 3S remain day one kotiya baaba child father ga day chingum kotijd father ga day chingum i ma day chingum ga fay chingum have.SBJ ga fay kay ga bay kay chingum hat ga bay kay chingum hat ga bay kay chingum hat g		if	woman			give.birth.CMP		perform the childes hamism
week one after SS 3P child.DEF baptism do.INC Cabey wo hala i do.INC pirbi fo. za 3S child.DEF baptism do.INC do.NC pirbi fo. since 3S child father puy.INC chingum chingum child father ga day chingum chingum chingum r ma day chingum chingum chingum ga day chingum chingum chingum ga day chingum chingum chingum ga day chingum chingum chingum ma day ma day porey se, suba ma chingum dayayo know a se suba hat ga bay know ga bay chingum hat ga bay know chingum chingum hat ga bay chingum chingum chingum hat ga bay chingum chingum		habu fo banda no	. 1.0	ga		te.		
Cabey wo hala i 3p 40 INC 2a 40 INC 2a 3S 40 INC 2a 40 INC 4a 4a 4a 4a 4a 4a 4a 4		week one after SS	3P		child.DEF baptism	do.INC		
Baptisms this if 3P do.INC 2a a cindi jirbi fo. since 3S remain ddy one kotiya baaba ga day chringum child father ga day chringum by.INC chewing gum by.INC chewing gum ga day borey se, sap fay borey se, kay cabe krow krow kay chingum dayaqo go a se suba. hat borey se suba. hat ga bay force hat ga bay force hat ga bay force ga bay krow ga bay krow ga bay force ga bay force ga bay for ga bay force ga bay for force ga bay for for ga bay for for <tr< td=""><td>1.3</td><td>WO</td><td>,1</td><td></td><td></td><td>ga te,</td><td></td><td>One day hefore the bantism is done the childse</td></tr<>	1.3	WO	,1			ga te,		One day hefore the bantism is done the childse
Since 3 Second Second Since Second		this	3P			do.INC		father is soing to him the chewing min to nive to
Since 3.5 Cemain day one		za	a			cindi	jirbi fo,	people, to make them know that there is a bantism
Annua		since	38			remain	day one	tomorrow.
Child father Child father Chewing gum			kotiya baaba			ga day	chingum	
i i i i i i i i i i			child father			buy.INC	chewing.gum	
t ma du persons for ma du ma du persons for ma du ma du persons for ma d						ga fay	borey se,	
1 ma du 1 ma du 1 ma du 1 ma chi gu bay 2 man						share		
Annua Annu			,7			ma du		
kap cabey ga bay know go a se suba. Anma chingun dayapo per. NEG force but gum buying.DEF pe.NEG force nda a ga ba, force if a ga ci borey se padin. san NG san NG san NG			3P			have.SBJ		
kay cabey know know that baptisms go a se suba. Anma chingun dayapo menti dolle, but gum buying.DEF pe.NEG force nda a ga buying.DEF ga ba, horey se yadin. if a ga cr borey se yadin. san NG san NG san NG						ga bay		
kap cabey go a se suba. Anma that baptisms EXT 38 for tomorrow but . gum buying.DEF he.NEG force nda a ga ba, ga ba, if . 38 yan a ga ci horey se padin. a sac ci horey se padin.						know		
Anmus chingun dayapo EXT 38 for tomorrow hut gum buying.DEF ga ba. force nda a ga ba. ga ba. if * 3S yan ba. if * 3S ga ci sq ci sq ci sq bar.			kaŋ cabey			80	a se suba.	
Ahmna chingum dayapo manti dolle, but gum buying.DEF be.NEG force nda a ga ba, force if ** 38 want if ** ** ga ci sa ga ci borey se yadin. sa ** **			that baptisms			EXT	3S for tomorrow	
gum buying.DEF be.NEG force a ga ba, want horey se yadin. 3S ga ci borey se yadin. 3S san NG san yadin.	1.4	Amma	chingum dayaŋo			manti	dolle,	But the buying of the chingum is not a mist if he
ga ba, want a ga ci b ovey se padin. son NK		pnt				be.NEG	force	wants he will tell people like that
. 3.5 want a a gaa ci a soor NA 3.5		nda	a			ga ba,		
ga ci		ıt.	38			want		
			38			ga ci	borey se yadin.	

- 1	
E—Continued.	
Appendix	

~ ddx ;	sponding of Communication		-		The state of the s	And the state of t	
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.5	Nda subacine no caba,						If the baptism is for tomorrow, it is today that
	If tomorrow SS baptism						the father of the child has to buy sheep, cola,
	za hunkuna no	kotiya baaba			hima		and date.
	since today SS	child father			must.CMP		
		a			ma day	gooro,	
		38			buy.SBJ	sheep cola date	
1.6		Nooro kay wayborey			ga hina nda,		The money that the women are going to use,
		Money that women			prepare.INC.with		some relatives are going to give it the same
		boro fo yaŋ			ga no	za hano din,	day, others also will give it the day of the
		person one			give.INC	since day that	baptism.
		afo yan mo			ga no	caba hane.	
		others also			give.INC	baptism day	
2.1		susuba			to,		Well, if it is sunrise, people will come at
	INJ if	tomorrow			come		dawn.
		borey			ga biya		
		persons.DEF			early		
					ga ka.		
					come		
2.2	Borey din ra mo,	alfaga yan			ga ka.		Also among these people, some Muslim holy
	People these in also	Holy.man some			come		men are coming because it is them who are
	zama	ngey no	ga	fatiya	te	kotiya se,	going to pray for the child; some hairdressers
	because	3P SS		prayer	do.INC	child for	also will come, because it is they who are
		мап <i>zат</i> уаң то			ga ka.		going to do the hair for the child, beggers also
		hairdresser some also			come.INC		will come to beg from the people
	zama	ngey no	ga	kotiya boŋ	cabu,		
	because	3P SS		child head	do.the.hair.INC		
		jasarey mo			ga ka.		
		beggars also			come.INC		
			ga	borey	gwarey.		
				beople	peg		
2.3	Susuba ra, za	borey			ka,		In the morning, when people come they are
	Morning in when	person.			come		going to sit on the mats and chairs.
		į			ga goro	tangara yaŋ da korje yaŋ boŋ	
	makin total	3P			sit.INC	mat some and chair some on	

T.

	PRE-SUBECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
2.4	Yati kan	borev kulu			Lohai		TY:
	C. C. C.				vouey,		When everyone has come, then they are going to put
	When	persons all			meet.CMP		the cola and dates together to share with everyone.
	day ga	j,	ma	goora da dabina	dan	care ra	
	then	3Р		cola and date	place.SBJ	between them	
					ga fay	borey se	
	+		-		CN share	persons for	
2.5	Nda	į	па	wodin	te		After everyone has finished this the father of the
	II.	3Р		cela	do.CMP		child will tell the child's name to the Muslim holy
					ga ban,		men.
		,		8	finish		
		kotiya baaba	ma	kotiya mayo	ci	alfagay se.	
26	t	Toma range		cuita name.DEF	Sdy	noly.man to	
2.0		a baaba wata anyaa no			ga suban	a se	It the father or the mother who will choose the name
	child name this also	38 father or mother SS			choose.INC	3S for	of the child.
2.7	Ga no	alfagay mo			ga ci	borey se	Then the Muslim holy men are song to tell the name
	then SS	Muslim.holy.men also			say.CMP	people to	to the people, after that hey are poing to may in the
	day ga	.7	ma	nwarey	te	katiya mayo ga	name of the child
	after	3P		pravers	do.SBJ	child name in	indiac of the child.
2.8	Nda	i	DH	forting	han		
	j.		nu.	Journa	oan,		When prayer is finished the father of the child is
	11	35		prayer	finish.CMP		going to pay the Muslim holy men, then they kill a
		katiya baaba	Ba	alfagay	bana,		sheep.
		child father		Muslim.holy.men	pay.INC		4
	Day ga	.7	ma	feejo	WI.		
	then	3P		sheep	kill.SBJ		
2.9	Wodin banda	Zanka alboro ize fo yan		The second secon			After that it is the bourtiers don that
-	that after	child boys one some					ore point to be discussioned and the district of the
	za caba hane no		ga	i	dan bangu.		also
	from baptism day SS			3P	circumcise		
		. 12			та ж		
		3P			return		
		.1	ga	t	cabu.		
-		3P		3Р	do the hair		
7.10		,		Afo yaŋ mo others also			Others are not circumcised that day, but later on
		. 1	Si	,7	day bangu	hano din kala hane fo.	Company of the Compan
		3p	NEG	3P	circumcise	day that until day one	

akfast some peoples will go	tarket to buy spices, come	stay, they spend the day

Appendix E-Continued.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
2.15	Nda	zaaro			to,		When the sun is up, by the time the cooking of the
	when	noon.DEF			arrive.CMP		food is finished, women put the food in the plate and
	waato kaŋ cine	ywaaro hinna			ban,		take it to men, themselves take their part for eating.
	moment of	food cooking			finished.CMP		
		woyborey	ga	hawro		faranti beeri yay ra	
		women		food.DEF		plate big some in	
		2				alborey se,	
		į				men to	
		ngey boumbo	ma	ngey wona	ka		
		3P themselves		them for	take.away.SBJ		
					ga ywa.		
2.16	Waato kan cine	borev			mwa		When records have finished eating women wash
		persons.DEF			eat.CMP		things that they have used. It is then the end of the
					ga ban,		baptism.
					finish		
		woyborey	та	jiney			
		women.DEF		things			
		kay i			goy nda		
		that 3P			work with		
					nyum		
	,				wash		
	day ga	011					
	and	baptism end SS EMP					
2.17		cabey fo yan			ga to		Some baptism ceremonies go until sunset, others it is
		Baptisms one certain			go.INC		sunrise when they finish
	hala alsar,	афо уаң то					
	until sunset	others also					
	za zaari no	į			ga ban.		
	until noon SS	3P			finish.INC		

APPENDIX F Pottol 'Slavery'

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERR	POST_VERB	PDEE TDANETATION
-		7				TODI-TEM	Thee Individualion
1.1		11					Here is an event from the past.
		period one					4
		kay			bissa		
		that			passer.CMP	history here EMP	
2.1		Pottolo waate,					The period of slavery, a man who
		slavery.DEF how					was called Kadindin, he took
		alboro fo					nersons from Tara into the nain of
		person one					slavery Because when the whites
		kay se					were in Niger there was one of
		who to					them who lived at Gava who if he
		*me			да ие	Kadindin	walked around in the area he had
		3P			said.INC	Kadindin	hed on which they took him
		nga no	na	tara borey	ka	pottol taabi ra	THE WOOD CONTROLLED
		3S SS		Tara persons	remove.CMP	suffering	
	zama waato kan	annasaarey			go no		
	because when	white.person.DEF			EXT SS	Niger	
		afo			goro	Gava	
		one.DEF			stav CMP	Gana	
	kay da	a			ga windi		
	who if	38			walked around INC	country in	
	daari no a se kan hon	-	55	-	O THE CHARLES OF THE		
	3S for	30	20	36	samba		
23	TOY OF	1		99	lake.iiv.		
7.7		Gaya borey no	ga	a	sambu	boy ga	It was the people of Gaya who him
		Gaya persons SS		38	take.INC		on their head to bring him to Tara.
			ga		kande	Tara,	The people of Tara also took him
		,			bring	Tara	for tanda, they also took him with
			ma	a	sambu		siva(?).
		Tara person.DEF also		38	take.SBJ		
	,				ga koy	nda tanda	
					og	with shelter (hangar)	
		ngey mo	ma	g	sambu	,	
		3P also		38	take.SBJ		
					ga koy	nda siya	
					Offi	with siva	

	PRE-SUBJECT	15	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST_VEDR	South die dadd
2.3			1				TOTAL END	FREE I KANSLATION
			, 3D			08	yadin	It went on like that when one day a
	bala ban	ç	1			EXI	like.that	man from Tara who was called
	dan	of	Tara boro jo					Kadindin said to its habitants "The
	udy	olic						work that the whitee do if they
			kay se i			ga ne	Kadindin	comittee of Tare 41
			who for 3P			call.INC	Kadindin	Les ferials, the next time it will
						20		De IIIIshed.
							nga kwaara boro se:	
				-		said	his village person for	
			goy wo ne					
			work this here					
			kan annasaara	-		an an ta		
			that white person			2000		
	hala day		Trong diameter			do.FRG		
	ann nan		a			to	Tara	
	11		38			arrive.at.CMP	7373	
	hiino	kulu	a			1	T T T	
	this.time	then	38			oun.		
1			1	+		Innished.CMP		
			I			ne		They solved how is that against to
			3P			say.CMP		come to many
	mate no		a			an to?		come to pass;
	bow SS		38			urill do		
			A			W.III.		
			36			ne		He told them to wait and see.
			00			say.CMP		
			7			ma hangan day		
			3P			hear.SBJ EMP	38 for	
						See		
			annasaada			go ga windi	- 1	
	day one		white.person			walk PRG	Getta radion in	One day, a white person a white
			Gaya borey	na	a	nqmbs		person was strolling in the region of
			Gaya persons.DEF		38	taka CMD		Gaya. The persons of Gaya took
					2	idac.CIMIF		him to Tara to leave him there. He
-						ga ka		spoke with the people. He got up;
						come	Tara village in	he wanted to leave.
						ga gisi		
			_			placing		

CMP CMP CMP NC a.	OBJECT VERB POD	,					TOOR STEED	FREE TRANSLATION
Tanker T	faakaaray bor		100		BLECT	VERB	POSI-VERB	He enote with the people, and he
Talk CMP Persons for Figure Fig	Table CMP Per	-	SUBJECT	1			borey se	ne spore with the profess.
Finish F	ga ban tun, get up.CMP ga ba want.INC ga dira. 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18	_	T.				persons for	got up, ne wanted to read
finish	finish finish finish finish finish fun, get up.CMP ga ba want.INC ga dira. leave	<u>ш</u>	S			ga ban		
Bet up, CMP Bat b	Titut, get up CMP ga ba want.INC ga dira. leave					finish		
Beta base Beta	adindin Page day, CMP Bay want, INC Bay datra. Resve Say, CMP Say, CMP					tun,		
Beave Beav	want.INC ga dira. ieave ieave ieave ieave say.CMP say.CMP ieave ieave say.CMP ieave		38			get.up.c.m.		
ga dira: ga dira: leave say.CMP say.CMP nda tanda, sambu adindin as sambu ne dindin say.CMP ga koy with Tanda ne sawe with Tanda ne say.CMP say.CMP perave with Tanda ne say.CMP say.CMP perave say.proper say.proper say.proper sian say.proper sian say.proper sian say.proper	Beave Beav	_	1			want.INC		
Icave Icav	cleave c	-	SS			ga dira.		
Net	ne, sayCMP ma sambu sam					leave		He said to take him in order to bring
Table SBJ Index tander, Samble Index CMP Index CMP	dindin and a sambu aske.SBJ rate.eSBJ ra	+				ne, say.CMP		him to Tanda. Kadindin said he was
1	18		3P	та	a	sambu		on their heads and went until they
ga koy must famely must	ga koy ma ga koy ma ga koy ma ga koy ma ga futa		3.0		38	take.SBJ	abant ab.	were far away. They arrived at a
Ne	na a say.CMP say.CMP ga func.INC go forme.INC c go forme.INC c go form.CMP inke.CMP go ga koy, leave.PRG be-mooru, far.CMP in heat.for.CMP katti h		10			ga koy leave	with Tanda	road near a large valley. It was there that Kadindin fell of his own accord
ga fura zankey ra, go home.INC children.DEF in na a sambu head in head in head in go ga koy, leave.PRG head in head in head in go ga koy, leave.PRG heamooru, far.CMP fonda boy gooru beeri fo do arrive.CMP n to to arrive.CMP hearlin.CMP hea	ga fura ga fura go.home.INC go.home.INC go.home.INC go.home.INC go.home.INC go.home.INC go.home.INC go.home.INC go.home.INC go.go.home.INC go.home.INC		Kadindin			ne say.CMP		
a a a c c c c c c c	a go.home.INC go.home.INC a go.home.INC a go.home.INC a sambu bar take.CMP go go.home.INC		Kadindin			ga fura		
1	dindin a sambu be ga koy, ga ga koy, leave.PRG be mooru, far.CMP to arrive.CMP kati beat for.CMP kati anterperson sitip		nga			go.home.INC	EF	
1	38 take CMP go ga koy, leave, PRG be mooru, far. CMP 10 arrive CMP kati findin kati fall CMP kati fa		3P	па	a	sambu	boy ra,	
leave.PRG be.moort, far.CMP fonda boy gooru beeri fo do arrive.CMP kati hindin beat.for.CMP findin beat.for.CMP kati fall.CMP fonda boy gooru beeri fo do arrive.CMP kati fall.CMP fall.CMP fall.CMP gar.gunguray.	indin kan fall CMP		dt 3		38	take.CMP	neau III	
peave_RCJ peav	peave.Pro peav		, i			go ga koy,		
far.CMP fonda bon gooru beeri fo do to arrive.CMP fonda bon gooru beeri fo do arrive.CMP road.DEF on valley big one at kati heat.for.CMP nga baan ra. fall.CMP f	lindin far.CMP to arrive.CMP kati lindin kati to lindin kati tall.CMP kati fall.CMP stall.CMP stall.CMP stall.CMP		dr.			leave.PKU		
Indin Conda Cond	lindin to arrive.CMP kati Indin kati Indi kati Indin kati Indin kati Indin kati Indin kati Indi					for CMD		
1	findin kati kati kati kati kati kati kati kati		3P			IST.CIVIL	fonda bon gooru beeri fo	0
Indin kati beat for CMP nga baayi ra. kati in kati fall CMP 3.8 will in kati fall CMP fall CMP ga gunguray. fall CMP ga gunguray. fall CMP fal	indin kati kati beat.for.CMP kap tali.CMP ka		-			to amine CMP	road.DEF on valley big one	at
beatfor.CMP nga baayi ra.	Pearfor.CMP nga baayi Ray Ray 3S will		3P			kati		
hdin kay nga baayi ra. fall.CMP 3S will in kay fall.CMP ga gunguray. ga gunguray.	ndin kay nga baayi 1511.CMP 3S will 152.cm kay 153.cm kay 153.cm kay 153.cm kay 153.cm kay 154.cm kay 155.cm kay 155.cm kay 156.cm kay 157.cm kay 158.cm kay 158.cm kay 159.cm kay 150.cm kay 150.cm </td <td></td> <td>Kadindin</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>beat.for.CMP</td> <td></td> <td></td>		Kadindin			beat.for.CMP		
fall.CMP 3S will in kay kay fall.CMP ga gunguray.	fall.CMP 3S will		Kadindin			kan	baayi	
isaara e.person	e.person		nga			fall.CMP	will	The white fell, rolling out.
u	u		Annasaara			kan		
0 0	ďįs		white.person			ga gunguray.		
dire				-		slip		_

_	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
2.10		A gahamo kulu			mortu		He was injured over all of his body.
		3S body all			injured.CMP		
2.11		A cale jarekey kulu			humburu gumo.		All of his porter friends were very
		3S friends porters all			CME		much afraid.
2.12		Annasaara			tun,		The white person got up. Kadindin
		white person			get.up.CMP		continued to roll in the valley.
		kadindin izefutotaray se			soobay		
		Kadindiin child.delingent for			continue.CMP		
					ga bimbilliko	gooro ra.	
-					roll	valley in	
2.13		Annasaara			ие		The white person said that they
		white person			say.CMP		must get up again.
		Ţ	ma	a	tunandi.		
		3P		38	get.up.again.SBJ		
2.14		I	na	a	tunandi		They got up again.
		3Р		38	get.up.again.CMP		
2.15		Annasaara	na	a	guna,		The white person looked at him; he
		white.person		38	look.at.CMP		made like he was injured, they made
		a			te		him sit down.
		3S			do.CMP		
	sanda	nga			maray no,		
	as	3S			injure.CMP SS		
		1	па	a	gorondi.		
		3P		38	make.seated.CMP		
2.16		I			ne:		They said, "Well, we must take the
		3P			said		white person again.
	To!	į	ma	annasaara	sambu koyne		
	INI	ЗЪ		white person	take,CMP again.		

	PRE-SUBJECT	CT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
2.17			Annasaara		ne:		The white person said, "That's
			white.person		say.CMP		enough! That's enough! It was since
			a		wasa!		that day that the whites never again
			38		is.enough.CMP		had the desire to be taken. The
			a		wasa!		people of Gaya had peace during the
			38		is.enough.CMP		period of slavery.
	Za hano din	din no	annasaara		mana ye		
	since day	this SS	white.person		not.returnCMP		
					ga te	sambu yan laami	
					op	take some need	
			Gaya laabo borey		du	ngey bon pottol wone ga.	
			Gava region person DEF		have CMP	3P head slavery this to	

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APPENDIX G Siida dooro 'AIDS'

-					Sun alone		
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	DOST VEDE	
Π	Siida dooro wo	doori taaji no				LOSITEMB	FREE TRANSLATION
	AIDS illness.DEF this	illness new					The illness of AIDS, it is an illness
					ga laala gumo-cumo		that is very dangerous.
		that			be.dangerous INC a lot		
2.1		A			100	1 1 1 1 1	
		38			arrive	numuna juri waranka aeedandi	About twenty years ago, AIDS
		kan a			cany	today year twenty about	entered in our countries of Africa.
		that 38			enter.CMP	I'ri afirka laabey ra.	
3.1	Iri me ciine-wo ga,	a	na	alandaaba boobo	te	han Lil-1	
	1P this moment to	38		destruction a.lot	make	block countries and annasaarey laabey ra.	Now, there is a lot of damage in
4.1	hala ga ka sohõ,	.1			mana du	orack countries and write countries in	African and European countries.
	until now	3P			NEG have CMP	doort tajo wa se safari.	Until now, they have not found a
5.1		Bavravkoonev			000		cure for this disease.
		scientist.DEF			FXT	safara ceeciyaho ga.	Scientists are looking for a cure.
6.1	Mate no	siida dooro			an to	treatment.DEF research.DEF to	
	how SS	AIDS illness DEE			3° 18		How can one get AIDS?
		THE HILLSS. DEL		,	do.INC		,
			ga	boro	di?		
1				person	catch		
6.2					ga naŋ		
		thing three SS			permit.INC		There are three things that can
		a	ma	boro	di:		cause a person to get AIDS. First,
	,	3S		person	catch.SBJ		one get it by taking a woman or a
	afo	boro			ga hini		man.
	one	person			can.INC		
			ga	a	sambu	waylor wala albow as	
				38	take	Woman or man to	
6.3		Boro			ga himi	ON TIME	
		person			can.INC		Otto Call also take it by diffy
			ga	a	sambu	lokorey saney wala warzaman citus misk an	nuise s needles and dirty
	•			38	take	nurse needles or hairdresser blades dirty to	nauraresser blades.
						Of fitth commo recognition to commo	

The third Frequency words Frequency Frequency		PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	EREE TRANSLATION
The third Pregnant woman Fig. 2 Can be dead Fig. 3 Can be dead Fig. 4 Can be dead Fig. 4 Can be dead Fig. 4 Fig. 4	4	I hinzanta	waykuno					Third: the
		the third	pregnant.woman					this illness con transmit it thereof the
Wodin se, 1			kay ga dooro			go ga hini		womb.
Wodin se, i Sq ds ds ds ds ds ds ds ds			CONTINUE ON ASSESSED			Call.FAG		
Wodin se, it it go ga i laakal it laakal condit c				ga	3S	aay	Za through	
this reason for the transmission for the transmissio	2	Wodin se,	į	go ga	i laakal	candi	cance mixed on though stollagell III	For this reason than somet terr to
Alice 1		this.reason for	3P		3P attention	attract.PRG		rectect themselves
Activity Activity			į	та	ngey bon	hallasi		proceed inclinatives.
AIDS illness,DEF NEG bave,CMP remedy rem			3Р		3P head	protect.		
kay Person discretedy kay a second discretedy that ass attack CMP kantu ma bay kay ass aloomaro katu ma bay kantu ma bay kay ass liku last.INC last.INC Ba as bissa si ku last.INC ba as bissa si ku last.INC ba as bissa lii'ri way decdandi kay fonta ga av. kay fonta last.INC year ten about kay fonta protect.Ba ga fonta ir ma iri boay halless fonta ir protect.Ba ga ar fammey sonn ra ir protect.Ba ma mooru isa faxmey sond.DEF in sea boro ma mooru isa kassa river BAP person lengthen.SBJ river	_		Stida dooro			mana du	safari.	The disease AIDS does not have a
kay dit that gerson di that 3S lead month district kay nga aloomaro kalu ma bay kalu ma bay kay soong life.DEF kalu ma bay kanu ma bay kay soong life.DEF kanu ma bay kanu ma bay kay loong life.DEF soong life.DEF kanu matalian kay loong life.DEF soong life.DEF kanu matalian kay loong life.DEF soong life.DEF kall life.def kay loong life.DEF loong life.DEF kall life.def <td>1.</td> <td></td> <td>ALDS HIRESS, DEF</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>NEG have.CMP</td> <td>remedy</td> <td>cure.</td>	1.		ALDS HIRESS, DEF			NEG have.CMP	remedy	cure.
kay person di that a attack CMP kay kalu ma boy kanow SBJ kay si ku last.NC Ba a si kisu kay a si bissa even.if 3S long.life.DEF kay a si bissa kay biss.INC year ten about kat long will kat kill fondo hinzey long iri hadlasi fondo hinzey long iri hadlasi fondo hinzey long say hace say hace say long say hace say hace say long hace hace say hace hace			Boro					Every person that gets it must know
that a a attack CMP attack CMP that may box that may box that may box that may box that as I box tha		,	person					that his life will not last long
that 3S attack CMP kult mat buy si ku last.INC		kaŋ	a			đị.		THE THE THE THE TOTAL POLICE.
katy lagt alroamero katu ma bay katu ma bay that 3S long life.DEF 1set.INC jiri way deedandi even.if 3S long life.DEF st bissa jiri way deedandi keven.if 3S kill year ten about kati maladie.DEF ga a kati liP nri boy hallast fondo hinzey din Acamey sann ra no ir nr ir protect.SBJ way this Sannas word.DEF in 3P sq.ne sq.ne sq.ne sq.ne kassa river EMP person lengthen.SBJ river river		that	3S			attack.CMP		
kath nga aloomaro know.SBJ know.SBJ Ba a last.Nc jiri way deedandi even.if 3S long.life.DEF jiri way deedandi kath jona a wif. hath jona a wif. that iri way wif. malade.DEF Forthist-cason iri boy hallasi fondo hinzey din Zarmey sann ra no iri boy hallasi fondo hinzey din Zarmas word.DEF in j ga ne say.Inc sas lono ma moora isa kasa iver lengthen.SBJ river						kulu ma bay		
kap nga dloomaro si ku last.INC last.INC that 3S long.life.DEF si bissa jiiri way deedandi even.if 3S NEC last.INC year ten about hat maladie.DEF 3S kill year ten about rottis:cason iri mallassi kill jondo hinzey din rottis:cason ir pea ga ne protect.BBI way three.DEF this Zarmas word.DEF in star 3P say.INC say.INC say.INC say.INC Assa river EMP person lengthen.SBJ river river river						know.SBJ		
Hart 3S long life DEF Iast.INC Iast.INC Ba		kan	nga aloomaro			si ku		
Ba		that	3S long.life.DEF			last.INC		
even.if 3S NEG last.INC year ten about half found ga a wi. Radin ga iri mal hallasi fondo hinzey din Forthis.reason 1P ma iri boy hallasi fondo hinzey din Zarmey sann ra no i i ga ne say.INC say.INC say.INC SS boro ma mooru isa rerson rerson rerson kassa river BMP person tengthen.SBJ river		Ba	a			si bissa	jiiri way deedandi	From if he dosen't dis wight surran
kay fonta ga a vi. that maladie.DEF 3S kill fondo hinzey din Yadin ga fri ma fri boy hallasi fondo hinzey din Forthis.reason IP pead protest.SBJ way three.DEF this Zarmes word.DEF in 3P ga ne say.INC say.INC say.INC say.INC SS boro ma mooru isa river river river kasa river BMP river river river		even.if	3S			NEG last.INC	year ten about	shout ten weare the disease will bill
that maladic DEF 3S kill fondo hinzey din Fadins iri ma iri boy hedlasi fondo hinzey din Zarmey sam ra no i 1P protect SBJ way three.DEF this Sames word.DEF in 3P ga ne say.INC say.INC say.INC SS horo ma mooru isa river kasa river BMP river river		kay	jonta	ga	a	wi.		bim
Yadin ga Yadin ga	1	that	maladie.DEF		38	kill		TITITY.
Forthis reason 1P 1P head protect.SBJ way three.DEF this Zarmey sam ra no i ga ne say.INC say.INC say.INC SS hara mooru isa ma mooru isa kasa iver BMP person lengthen.SBJ river	10	Yadin ga	iri	ma	iri boŋ	hallasi		Not this reason we was the
Zarmey sann ra no i ga ne Zarmas word.DEF in 3P say.INC SS ma mooru isa kass isa day , person person lengthen.SBJ river		For this reason	1.P		1P head	protect.SBJ	three.DEF	three ways to protect consoling
as word.DEF in 3P say.INC horv ma mooru isa river lengthen.SBJ river	Ξ	Zarmey sann ra no	.7			ga ne		It is in the Journa personals that
isa day , person mamooru isa lengthen.SBJ river		Zarmas word.DEF in	3P			sav.INC		it is in the zarina proverbs that one
isa day , person lengthen.SBJ river river EMP		SS	boro			ma mooru	180	says, the river de kasa, one must
river EMP		isa	person			lenothen SBI	riviar	lengmen me mver.
			4			and the state of t	11,61	

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APPENDIX H
Talkataray 'Poverty'

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
1.1		Doorey					The sicknesses that humans know in
		illnesses					their lives are many.
		kay damiizey			ga bay	ngey baafuna ra	
		that human.DEF			know.INC	their lives in	
					ga ba.		
					are.numerous		
1.2		Talkataray			laala	nda i kulu	Poverty is the most dangerous of
		poverty			bad.CMP	with 3P all	them all.
1.3		Ifo			ga ti	talkataray?	What is poverty?
		what			is.INC	poverty	
2.1		Talkataray			manti kala	balaawu beerey me.nda.me sabiilo.	Poverty is only the greatest cause of
		poverty			be.NEG only	unhappiness big all cause	all unhappiness.
3.1		A	ga	lakkal	tunandi.		It burns the spirit.
		3S		attention	wake.up.CMP		4
3.2		A	ga	bine-biibay	mo dan	boro ga.	It buts hate into a nerson.
		3S		hate	also place.CMP	person to	1
3.3	n	boro			si te		It is good thoughts that one does not
	thought good all SS	person			not.do.INC		have.
3.4		Masiiba beero					The greatest unhappiness that it
		unhappiness big.DEF					causes is to put famine in the country,
		kay a			ga te day		because no one works.
		that 3S			do.INC EMP		
					ga ti		
	,				be.INC		
	kaŋ	a	ga	haray	dan	laabu ra	
	that	38		famine	place	country in	
	zama	bora			si goy		
	but	person.DEF			not.work.INC		
3.5	•	Irri			ma bay day		We must know how to get rid of
		3P			know.SBJ EMP		poverty in our country.
	kan	talkataray	ga	laabu	say		
	that	poverty		country	disperse.INC		

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.6		A	ka	kurnye nda wande	ka care ga.		It separates husbands and wives.
		it		husband and wife	separate		4
3.7		A	ga	ize nda baaba	fay.		It separates sons and their father
		it		child and father	separate.CMP		
3.8		A	ga	corotaray	ka.		It destroys friendships.
		it		friendship	remove.CMP		
3.9	Yadin ga	borey			ma si muray		For this reason, one must not neglect
	For this reason	persons.DEF			not neglect.SBJ		it.
3.10		I	ma	himma	daŋ		One only has to make an effort to
		3P		effort	place.SBJ		suspend poverty. The biggest remedy
			ga	talkataray	boy-za		is work. If people work they are
				poverty	avoid		going to avoid poverty.
		a safari beero			ga.ti	goy.	
		3S remedy big.DEF			si	work	
	Da	borey goy kulu, i			ga wa	talkatara	
	if	persons work all 3P			avoid	poverty.	
3.11		٧			sinda	wayboro wala alboro,	Whether one is man or a woman, one
		he			is.not	woman or man	must work.
		bora kulu			ma tunu		
		person.DEF all			must.get.up.SBJ		
					ga goy		

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APPENDIX I Tobay 'Hare'

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT VER	tare' 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 hamiize foyaŋ bush animals one			day no ya. EMP SS EMP			Here are some wild animals.	-
3.2	Han fo no day one SS	haray laalo fo fo famine terrible. DEF one			te do CMP	no-din.		One day there was a severe famine.	-
3.3	hara laala kala	****			si hav	hay		Userson was as hed that the street	,
	famine/DEF terrible until	3P			know.INC/NEG	thing		know even where they were	
	kay ra that in	ngey 3p			go	•			
3.4	Kala han fo	muusu beeri			du				-
	until day one	lion			have.CMP	idea one		One day, non nad an idea.	
3.5		А	па	ganji hamiize kulu	такы.			He continued all of the animals	-
		38		wild animal all	unite.CMP			together, and told them all to take off	
		a			ne	i se		an ear, and then go and sell them in	
					say.CMP	3P for		order to buy machetes and hoes to	
		boro kulu	ma	nga hangaa	ka,			dig a hole.	
		person all		38 ear.DEF	remove.CMP)	
		ngey			ma koy				
	a	3P			go.SBJ				
		ngey	ma	,1	neere				
		3P		3P	sell.SBJ	×			
		ngey			ma du				
	[8]	3P			have.SBJ				
					ga day	adda yan, h	kalma yan		
	•				huy		dabba some		-
		kay	ga	day	fansi.				
		that		well	dig.INC				

Appendix I—Continued.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	L	OBIECT	a court		
3.6	A bine	admii hamiina lada.		OBSECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
	then	ganji namitze kutu			yadda,		And them all the
	amma	wild animal all			agree		hart the hare meeting agreed,
	but	hare this			mana yadda.		car are mare reliased.
3.7		Tohan			agree.CMP/NEG		
		Today			mana yadda		The Land
		nare			agree.CMP/NEG		The nare and not agree to let someone
		-	ma	nga hangaa	ka		take our his ear, for if they removed it
		3P		3S ear.DEF	remove SRI		he would become mean.
	zama	a			na na		
	because	38			ne		
	da	****	200	7	Said.CMF		
	II	3Р	74	ngu nangaa	ka		
		204		33 car.Der	remove.CMP		
		38			ga meeri		
4 1	Rinno				be.mean.CMP		
ř	Dinne,	1	na	dayo	fonsi		
	then	3P		well DFF	dia Chin		Then they dug the well. They drank
				777	uig.Civir		water from time to time.
		3P			ga cin		
		1			go.CMP		
			ga	hari	hay.		
CP	Wine			water	drink		
7:5	DZ1 44	tobay mo,					
	then	hare also					The hare as well, in the night he
	ciino ra	a					came to steal in order to drink
	night.DEF in	38			ga zay		
					steal.INC		
					ga ka		
					come		
			ga	haro	han.		
4.3		Naev mo		water.DEF	drink		
							And when they go up in the
	,						they can mater decide in the morning,
	il.	3.0			tun	pqnsns	they saw water droplets on the edge
		35			get.up.CMP	morning	of the well.
		40			di	andi dan	
		3.12			See CMD	La yanat da ya me.	

endix I—Continued.

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	DDE CTIDITECT	OTTO THE COL		-	The state of the s	The state of the s	
	INE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
4.4		I	oS	пда роп	hã		They acked themselves with mich
		3P	Ба	3P head	ask PRG		they asked themselves, with such
	hala ifo	tavandi no	, o		ONI TIMEN	***************************************	numbers, who has been coming
	Coldin	In it is it is			2	wo-ne,	to drink?
	wilcii				Şe.	this here	
	hala	may no			ka		
	if	who SS			come		
					ga han?		
					drink		
4.5	Bine	kooro mo			no		
	then				sav CMP		Then the hyena said that it was
	hambagar	tabay no wo			Ody.Civil		perhaps the hare.
	maybe	hare SS this					
4.6		I			пе		11
		3P			Sav.CMP		they said what will be done now.
	mate no	ngey		-	ga te	nopos	
	how SS	3P			do INC	201101	
4.7		Muusu beeri			du	WOM.	-
		lion			herra CMD	curmay fo.	The Iton had an idea.
000					Have Civir	luca one	
		38			ceeci	kolta.	He looked for some colta.
-		00			look.tor.CMP	colta	
٧.4		A	па		te	boro alhaali fo.	He made into the form of a person
		3S			make.CMP	ance	The state of the s
4.10		I	па		aisi	days,	11.
		3P			DOSE CIMP	well DEF side	rie put it at the edge of the well.
4.11		I			пе		Thomas and the state of the
		3P			Sav.CMP		they said that they will know it a
		ngey			ga bav		person comes because he would stick
		3P			know.INC		.O. II.
	kay si	bora			ka		
	that if	person.DEF			come.CMP		
		a			папапа па		
		38			stick.INC	38 to	
5.1	Kala ciino ra,	tobay			coki-coki		And in the minist the Land
	until night.DEF in	hbare			creep.CMP		toward the well
					ga ka	no-din ra hare.	
					come	over there in toward	

Appendix I—Continued.

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		ORIECT	VEDR	noor unna	77.77
5.2	Kaŋ	a			les les	FUSI-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
	when	3S			come.CMP		When he came, he saw it.
		a			di-y	a.	
		38			see.CMP	38	
5.3		3S			go ga miila	boro no	In the night, he thinks that it is a
		a			CO GO GO SOOS	person 55	person, and he tries to scare it. He
		3S			look for PRG		speaks to it, What is he doing
	kulu	nga			hamburandi		overthere. It is him that is going to
	and	3S			make.afraid.SBJ		Scare 11.
		a	ma	62	go ne		
		3S		38	say		
		ni			go ga te		
	9 9 9	2S			do.PRG		
	hala ifo no	ni			ba	8	
	what SS	2S			want,CMP	38 to	
	wala ay no	ni			ma hamburandi	no-din	
	or 18 8S	2S			make afraid SB1	orion those	
5.4	Kulu	tobay			ka	aram rayo	
	and	hare			come.CMP		The hare came and said that he was
		a			no		going to strangle 1t, his hand stuck to
		3S			sav.CMP		lt.
		nga	ma	a	koote		
		3S		38	strangle.SBJ		
		kamba band.DEF			naagu. stick CMP		
5.5		A	па	nga kambe afa	dan	Louise	11. 11
		38		3S hand other.DEF	place.CMP	again	The placed the other hand in order to remove it and that one strick also
					да пе		The state of the s
					say		
	,	nga	та	afa	candi		
		25		other.DEF	pull.SBJ		
					ga ka		
					remove		
		wo-dm			mo naagu		
		this.here			also stick		

Apper	Appendix I—Continued.			Control of the second s		to the same of the	TOTAL YOU THE THE
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POSI-VERB	FREE I KANSLAI ION
26		A	na		zi,		Then he gave it a good kick and that
9		38	2		kick		stuck also.
		wo-din			mo naagu.		
		this.one			also stick.CMP		
6.1	Kala	susubay			to		In the morning they came to find the
	until	morning			arrive.CMP		nare over there. The nyella attacked
		i			ka		him and he took him to the non s
		3P			come.CMP	9	place.
		***	na	tobay	gar.	yadin	
		3P		hare	find.INC	like.that	
		kooro	па		haw,		
		hyena			attach		
		a			kond'	su beeri	
		38				3S lion place	
63		I			ие		Now they said what are we going to
!		3P			say.CMP		do to this person.
	Sohon mate	ирел			ga te	boro wo se?	
	now how	3P			do.INC	person EMP to	
63	1	I	go ga	ngey boy	hã		They were asking themselves what
		3P		3P head	ask.PRG		they were going to do to him.
	mate no	ngev			ga te	a se?	
	Now SS	3P			do.INC	3S to	
4.4		1			ne		They said, Well, we can leave him
<u> </u>		3.5			say.CMP		over there until morning, one finishes
	Ta	ngev			ma fand'	a no-din,	thinking they will have a solution
	Î Z	3P			leave.SBJ	3S over.there	about what they will do to him.
	hala susbay da	ngev			lasaabu	-	
	until morning if	3P			reflect.CMP		
	,				ga ban		
					rinisn		
		ngey			ga du	dabarı	
	•	3P			have.INC	solution	
					ga te	a se.	
		that 3P			do.IhNC	3S to	_
	-						

	DDE CITO IECT	OTT TT CAT			Sandy and the Control of the Control	The state of the s	
1	TOTAL COLOR	SUBJECT	-	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
0.0		I	па		dan	kooro kambe ra	They mut him in the bands of it.
		3P			put.CMP	hvena hand in	hyang offschod bins and a line
		. 2	na		haw	-	the straction min, and gave min to
		3P			attach CMP		the hyena.
		i,	na		по	so cacop	
		3P			give CMP		
9.9	A binne	ciino			to Comment		
	then	night.DEF			arrive CMD		And then in the night, the hare said to
		tobay			00 00 110	books as	the hyena, honored tather, you know
		hare			Sold DDC	AUDIO SE,	that they take you as a fool in a
		Filaana baaba, ni			ga hay	nyena tor	crowd.
		such father 2S			know INC		
	kan	· No	00 00				
	that	3.0	80.84	111	samon	77	
67	Vl	21		\$7	take.PRG	imbecile crowd all in	
0.0	Autu	kooro	na		hē,		And the because aging this miles
	and	hyena			asked.CMP		Auto the file asked film, why?
		Ifo se?					
		why					
8.9		A			no		
	-	38			Sav CMP		He said, it is because they left you at
		-			2000		the edge of the well to pass the night
OI.	how SS 2S alone SS	3Р		97	leave.INC	well.DEF on	guarding the well.
					ma hanna		
					pass.the night.SBJ		
			ga	a	gardi.		
0				38	guard		
6.9		Ni Se			ma bay	wo-ne,	You must know this, they take you as
		27 -			know.SBJ	this	a fool.
			80 ga	m	sambu		
				2S	take.PRG		
		saamo no					

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
	Kooro			ne,		The hyena said, honored father, you
	hyena			say.CMP		are right.
	ni			ga cim,		
	28			be.right.INC		
	fa!					
	ideo.					
A bine mo,	tobay			ne		Then the hyena also told him,
3S also	hare			say.CMP		honored father, I must relieve myself.
				ma koy	a se,	I am going to urinate.
				leave.SBJ	3S to	
	filaana baaba,			-	age anno se an	
	such father					
- Military	har-mun no					
	urine SS				18 to	
	ay			ga ba		
	15			want.INC		
	ay			ma koy	har-mun.	
	18			go.SBJ	urination?	
	Kooro binde mo	па		feeri,		Then the hyena untied him, and told
	hyena then also			let.loose.CMP		him to go urinate and he would wait
	a			ne		for him.
	38			say.CMP		
				ma koy	har-mun	
				go.SBJ	urination	
	nga	go ga		batu		
	38		38	wait.for.PRG		
	Tobay			zuru.		The hare ran off.
	hare			flee.CMP		
	Kooro	па		gana,		The hyena chased him, but he did not
	hyena			follow.CMP		wait for him.
	Kooro			mana to-r	a	

	The same of the same of
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ndiy	
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	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
7.5	Kala	susuba			to		In the morning, they came and said
		morning.DEF			arrive.CMP		they would kill the hare, but they did
		· 10			ka		not find him.
	2	3P			come.CMP		
		. 1			ие		
		3P			say.CMP		
		ngey	ma	tobay	wi,		
		3P		hare	kill.SBJ		
	kala	. 1			ka		
	until	3P			come.CMP		
		, 2	mana	a	gar.		
		3P		3S	find.CMP/NEG		
7.6		I	na	kooro	hã,		They asked the hyena, Where did the
		3P		hyena	ask.CMP		hyena go?
	тан да по	tobay			koy?		
	where at SS	hare			go.CMP		
7.8		Kooro			пе		The hyena said, that he escaped him.
		hyena			say.CMP		
		a			kooma	nga se no	
		3S			flee.CMP	3S to SS	
7.9		I	na		hẽ		They asked how it happened, and he
		3P			ask.CMP		did not have something to tell them.
	mafaaro	kooro			mana du	hay	
	for.what.reason	hyena			have.CMP/NEG	something	
	kaŋ	nga			ga ci	i se.	
	that	3S			say.INC	3P to	
7.10	A binde,	1.	na	kooro	wi.		Then they killed the hyena.
	then	3Р		hyena	kill.CMP		
7.11		Ay cambu			ma kaŋ	danji ra.	The head of my mouse must fall in
		1S mouse			fall.SBJ	fire in	the fire.

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

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APPENDIX J
Tobay da mari 'Hare and Panther'

tirytale ay tom tom		PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-OBJECT	FREE TRANSLATION
1.5 lanytate lanytate Ay naamay-naamay 1.5 custom custom han fo bine, day one then may kulu kay there where		nte					To my fairytale!
Ay naamay-naamay 1S custom custom han fo bine, day one then nay kulu kay there where)	15 tairytale tairytale					T. Company
lS custom custom han fo bine, day one then nay kulu kay there where	2.1	Ay naamay-naamay					10 my customs:
han fo bine, day one then may kulu kay there where		1S custom custom					
han fo bine, day one then nay kulu kay there where	3.1				go no	da a wande da ize hinzaa.	Here is a hare. He is with this wife
han fo bine, day one then nay kulu kan there where			hare EMP SS EMP 3S		EXT SS	with 3S wife with child three.DEF	and three children.
day one then famine Tobay Hare Wando Wife.DEF Izey Children.DEF ganji dimaney bush animalsDEF i kalu 3 P all neay kutu kay there where 3 P	3.2	fo	haray		te	i laabo ra.	One day, a famine came in their
Tobay hare wando wando wife.DEF izey children.DEF ganji almaney bush animaisDEF i kulu 3P all nay kulu kay ngey		one	famine		make.CMP	3P countryDEF in	country.
hare wando wife.DEF izey children.DEF ganji almaney bush animalsDEF i kulu 3P all nay kulu kay ngey there where 3P	3.3		Tobay		haray,		The hare was hungry, his wife was
wando wife.DEF izey children.DEF ganji almaney bush animalsDEF i kulu 3P all ngey 3P			hare		hungry.CMP		hungry, his children were hungry, as
wife.DEF izey childen.DEF ganji dimaney bush animalsDEF i kulu 3P all ngey 3P			wando		haray		well as all the wild animals. They did
izey children.DEF ganji dhanney bush animalsDEF i kulu 3P all ngey 3P			wife.DEF		hungry.CMP		not know where to go to find food.
children.DEF ganji almaney bush animalsDEF i kulu 3P all ngey 3P			izey		haray		
ganji almaney bush animalsDEF i kulu 3P all ngey 3P			children.DEF		hungry.CMP		
bush animalsDEF i katu 3P all ngey 3P				***********	haray		
					hungry.CMP		
			i kulu		si bay		
			3P all		know.CMP/NEG		
		nay kulu kay	ngey		ga gana		
		there where	3P		leave.INC		
					ga du	ŋwaari.	
					for have	food	

Apper.	Appendix J—Continuea.						TOTAL TOTAL OR THOSE
	PRESTIBLECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE I KANSLATION
		Mari hine					Then a panther who was hungry
4.0							was walking in the bush until he
					Jane Comment		saw the children of the hare.
		kay a			naray		who were also hundry They
		that 3S					WIO WILC GISC HAIRERY. THEY
		a					were looking for lood, then
		38			stroll.PRG 1	bush.DEF in	jump! He (panther) ran to throw
		3 -				tobay izey mo	himself on them.
	Kala	7			9	fren. DEF	
	until	33					
	kan	haray			go	pg 1	
	who	hunger					
		****	go	ywaari	ceeci,		
		3p	20	pood	look for.PRG		
		testes	0		sar,		
		211			iump.CMP		
		an			The state of the s		
		a			zuru		
		38			run.CMP		
						i bon.	
					duni	3P on	
		-	Du	tobavize hinzev kulu	wi.		He killed all the children of the
3.3		38	!	hare child three DEF all	Kill.CMP		hare.
-		33		THE CHIEF CHIEF I			When he killed all the children of
3.6	Kan	a	па	tobay ize hinzey kulu	wı,		When he arrived an the contract of
	when	38		hare child threeDEF all	kill.CMP		the nare, she was satisfied, now
		2			kungu		he ran to find there where one
		S			satisfied.CMP		could find water to drink.
	7	a			go ga zuru		
	nino,				run.PRG		
	IIOW	2			oa windi		
					stroll		
					ga ceeci		
					look.for		
	nan kan	haro			So		
	there where	water DEF			EXT		
		8			ma du		
		38			can.SBJ		
					ga han	hari.	
					, -1:-1:-1	***************************************	

Appen	Appendix 3—Commuca.			-	addit moon	FDEE TOANSI ATION
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FINE INSUSPENIOUS
-		Tobati		go	windiyay //nwaari ceeciyayo boy	The hare was out walking to find
1.1		1000		EXT	walk/stroll search.DEF for food on	food, and he came upon what
		liare		ka		remained of his children.
	kala	30		come.CMP		
	untu	56		saba	nda a izey ŋwa-ga-cindey.	
				find.CMP		
0		Rina		sara		He was unhappy, when he came
7.4		heart.DEF		unhappy.CMP		to the house he said to his wife.
	kan	a		ka	fu	
	when	38		come.CMP	house	
	WILCII) (ci.	wando se	
				say.CMP	wife.DEF to	
6 6		Wando		za		The wife cried a lot, she was
4. ن		" unido DEE		2.CMP		unhappy, they were both
		NIC. CHA		ga hề		unhappy, they did not know even
				begin.crying		where they were.
		hina		sara		
		heart DEF		unhappy.CMP		
		i Inlu binen		sara,		
		3P all hearts.DEF		unhappy.CMP		
				si bav	hay kulu	
		3p		not know.CMP		
		kan ra i		08		
		that in 3P		EXT		
4.4		Tobay bine, a		ие		Then the hare said, if it would
		hare then 3S		said		please God, It is necessary that
	da	Irkov		ba		he pays what the panther did to
	If I	God		want.CMP		him.
	kala dav da	DBU		bana		
	it is necessary that) W		pay.CMP		
	Lan han mo-no	mari		te	nga se.	
	this that that thing	nanther		do.CMP	3S to	
	uns una mariming	Lateral				

Apr	Appendix J-Continued.							
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBIECT	trenn			
5.1		Tobay		Control	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION	
		hare			go no	yadin	The hare was citting with his	
		200			EXT SS	like.that	Wife when an idea come to him	
					ga goro	da nga wande.	The state of the country of the state of the	
	kulu	424			sit	with 38 wife		
	-	auvari Jo			ka	88 0		
	men	means one			come CMB	38 25		
7.6		A			len.	03 00		
		38			Ka,		he came, he was walking in the	
		8			come.CMP		bush until he came out to a	
		35			go ga dira	saajo ra	Village where there are	
	kala	00			walk.PRG	bush.DEF in	vinde where mere was a pond.	
	170000	a -			kov			
	TITLE OF THE PERSON OF THE PER	38			leave CMP			
						2		
					fatta	kwaara fo ra		
		born houses for			go out	village one in		
		or sand cange jo			go no.			
2 2		that pond one			is SS			
j.	van	a			1			
	when	3S			va	bine no-din,	When he came over there, at the	
	bangu jarga	a			come.CMP	then over there	bond edge, he came with a stick	
	pond edge	36			ka	da bundu fo	with which he ottoched a string	
	kan aa	20			come.CMP	with stick one	ho folest and it is	
	that to	a	na	silli	haw.		ne tished at the edge of a pond.	
	Hat to	38		string	attach.CMP			
		a			7 7 7 7 7 7			
		38			ga ga aarbay	наго теуо ga		
		_	_		begin finsh.INC	water.DEF edge.DEF at		

Bango ra a Seo ga hamisa ge ga darbay kay da ss go ga hamisa ge ga darbay kay da string DEF catch.PRG kay da a day that if 3S hamisa bega darbay da a day da a day da a day da a day hat ge ga hamisa day da a day hat a day hat a day hat a bandiCMP kay a bandic a a bandic a a bandic a bandic candi bandic		PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		ORIECT	1111111		
Pond DEF in 3.8 So ga hamisa hegin fish, PRG	5.4	Bango ra	a		Charci	VEKB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
Act		pond.DEF in	38			go ga darbay		In the pond, he was fishing.
Act			a	80 80	hamiisa	Degin IISD.PRG		He caught some fish, the
kay da kay fa kay fa far far <t< td=""><td></td><td></td><td>38</td><td>0</td><td>fish. DEF</td><td>at Duck</td><td></td><td>string which he placed in</td></t<>			38	0	fish. DEF	at Duck		string which he placed in
kay da string DEF day haro ra that 3S hamisa boobo di ra da a na fish.DEF a lot carch.PRG ra da a na fish.DEF a lot carch.PRG ra if a s s carch.PRG ra ra kay a s s carch.PRG ra carch.PRG ra kay a s s s cone outside a lot kay da s s s s cone outside a lot kay da s s s s cone cone outside a lot kay da s s s c p c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c <t< td=""><td></td><td></td><td>korfa</td><td></td><td></td><td>Calcii.PRG</td><td></td><td>the water, caught lots of</td></t<>			korfa			Calcii.PRG		the water, caught lots of
kay da a a have ra da that go ga hamisa boobo di da a ra ffsh.DEF a lot candi. RG if a ra ra ra if a ra ra ra if a ra ra ra kay a a ra ra kay a bundo corndi ra kay ra bundo corndi ra kay corndi ra ra bat<			string.DEF					fish.
that if 3 S hamiisa boobo di haro ra haro haro haro haro haro haro h		kay da	a					
da dint go ga hamisa boobo place CMP water.DEF in if a na fish.DEF a lot card; PRG rath.PRG		that if	38			day		
da that 80 ga namissa boobo dt if 3S na fish.DEF a tot cardt.PRG kay a sec.CMP taray, kay a sec.CMP taray, that a sec.CMP taray, that a sec.CMP taray, that a sec.CMP taray, thino a sec.CMP taray, then a sec.CMP taray, then a sec.CMP taray, then b sec.CMP taray, then b sec.CMP taray, then b b taray, then b taray, taray then b taray, taray, then b taray, taray, then b taray, taray, then taray, taray, taray,			din			place.CMP		
da da fish.DEF a lot catch.PRG if 3S na fish.DEF a lot kay a a accomed outside kay a a accomed outside hat a a accomed outside that a accomed outside accomed Hinno a accomed accomed accomed accomed Hinno a bando baccomed fish.DEF alot kay bundo acmdi haro ra kay bundo candi may kay acmdiyay wo-ne stick.DEF pull.CMP there kay candiyay wo-ne gasw.CMP acmdi acmdi that pulling.out this gasw.CMP gasw.CMP			the things	go ga		di		
Fig. 28		da	chat			catch.PRG		
The color of the		it	a	па		candi.		
kay a		7	38			mill CMP		
kay a three three <t< td=""><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>ga la</td><td>,</td><td></td></t<>						ga la	,	
kay a come octone octone outside that 3S see-CMP have.PRG fish.DEF a.lot Hino a see-CMP have.PRG fish.DEF a.lot then 3S bundo daŋ haro ra. kay i na stick.DEF place water.DEF in kay nga mo stick.DEF pull.CMP there a.g kay a stick.DEF pull.CMP there kay candiyap wo-ne gaw.CMP gaw.CMP pulling.out this gas.ACMP gas.ACMP						Sa va	taray,	
kay 3S a difference dif			a			come	outside	
kay a see CMP hamiza boob. that 3S a ko ga du hamiza boob. Hino a see CMP fish DEF a.lot then 3S bundo day have.PRG fish DEF a.lot kay sitek.DEF place water.DEF in nay have. kay nga mo sitek.DEF pull.CMP there candi nay kay a sax.CMP di sax.CMP gas.ACMP gas.ACMP hat pulling tout this gas.acutifice.LINC gas.acutifice.LINC gas.acutifice.LINC gas.acutifice.LINC			38			di		
that 3S ga du hawing a boobo. Hino a fsh DEF alot then 3S ga bundo daŋ haro ra. Kay i na stick DEF place water DEF in kay nga mo stick DEF pull.CMP there ra. kay a stick DEF pull.CMP there a 3S also di kay candiyap wo-ne ga sw.CMP gasw.CMP pulling cout this ga sandifficult NC ga sandifficult NC		kan	0 0			see.CMP		
Higho a Bave PRG fish DEF a.lot then 3S bundo fish DEF a.lot kay i stick DEF place water, DEF in kay i bundo candi nag kay i bundo candi nag where 3S also pull, CMP there a a a di kay candiyay wo-ne ga saw. CMP ga saw. CMP pulling out this was difficult NC ga saw. CMP		that	3.5			go ga du		
then 3S ga bundo return.CMP harv ra. Kay i stick.DEF place water.DEF in harv ra. Kay i bundo candi may bull.CMP there candi as also pull.CMP di saw.CMP di saw.CMP di saw.CMP pulling.out this was difficult.NC di saw.CMP	5.5	Hiino	200			have.PRG	-	
Mary			a			S		
Kay i hard ra when 3P stick DEF place water.DEF when 3P na stick.DEF pull.CMP there kay nga mo stick.DEF pull.CMP there a 3S also pull.CMP di kay candiyay wo-ne ga swv.CMP swv.CMP pulling out this was difficult.NC was askifficult.NC		lben	38			return CMP		He returned and placed the
Kay i na stick.DEF ina natro ra. whert 3P na bundo candi nay kay nga mo stick.DEF pull.CMP there where 3S also pull.CMP di sa 3S also pull.CMP di kay candiyay wo-ne ga saw.CMP saw.CMP pulling.out this was difficult NC ga saw.clm				ga	bundo	dan		stick in the water.
Kay i bundo poace water.DEF in when 3P na bundo nay kay nga mo stick.DEF pull.CMP there a a di di say saw.CMP saw.CMP that pull.cmp was.diffeo.l.INC	1				stick.DEF	place		
3P	0.0	Kan	i.	Du	hundo	piace	- 1	
1		when	3P		canao	candi	naŋ	If he milled them out of the
re 38 also candi a A di 38 candiyar wo-ne candiya		kaŋ	om bon		SUCK.DEF	pull.CMP	there	water Ha court that mallin-
a a also and a different and a saw.CMP as saw.CMP as saw.CMP and bulling out this was difficult INC		where	36 200			candi		there are the pulling
з candiyap мо-пе pulling.out this			33 AISO			pull.CMP		them out was difficult
3S candiyay wo-ne pulling.out this			a			di		
candiyay vo-ne pulling.out this		Lan	38			saw CMD		
pulling out this		that	candiyan wo-ne			ga sandi		
			pulling.out this			was.difficu.lt INC		

kala	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
kala	A			candi		He pulled (them out) until he was
kala	38			mill CMP		tired and he couldn't any more
Kala	1			7		ince, and in committees.
	a 			Jarga		ne saw man ne puned a lot, to
until	38			tired.CMP	1	pale it in the water. Then he saw
	a			тондп	kulu	a crocodile who lifted his head
	38			could.notCMP	all	outside of the water
	a			di		
	38			see.CMP		
kan	Tree	00 00	non	candi boobo		
that	3P	6	38	Ö		
					haro	
				nlace	water DEF in	
11				prace	וחח	
Kulu	a			go ga guna	haro ra	
and	38			look.at.PRG	water.DEF in	
kala	a			di	kaaray fo	
until	38			See.CMP	40	
		Ş		120	111111111111111111111111111111111111111	
		na	aga bondo	Life off C'MD	a se taray	
7	NOTE AND PROPERTY OF THE PROPE		1	1:	of tot outside	, iii
Kan	a			di		When he saw the crocodile, the
when	38			see.CMP		crocodile grabbed the stick,
kaŋ	kaaray no a moso-moso	ga	pundo	taŋ		
that	crocodile SS 3S gently		stick.DEF	grab.INC		
Kulu sahandina	a			fonga		Suddenly, he remembered.
and suddenly	38			recall.CMP		
5.10	A			du	dabari fo	He had found a means to get
	38			have.CMP	means one	even with the panther.
				ga ba		•
	that 3S			want.INC		
				ma te		
	38			do.SBJ		
				ga du	mari	
	•			have	panther	
6.1 Waasi-waasi bon	A			nınz		He ran fast to return to the
Rapidly	38			run.CMP		village.
				ga ye	kwaara.	
				return	village	

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB		FREE TRANSLATION
6.2		A		ka		He came to the village in
		3S		come.CMP		walking around he saw the
		a		08	hon	nanther
		3S		EXT	walk.DEF on	- Torrand
	kala	a		di	mari.	
	until	3S		see.CMP	panther	
6.3		A		ие	4.	He said Ah!
		3S		say,CMP	ah	
6.4		Mari Nin no!				Panther is it vou?
		panther! 28 SS				included to the second
6.5		Ni		ma ka	me!	You must come!
		2S		come.SBJ	end	

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	-
tinued.	- Lauren
: J-Con	TO GREET GREET
Appendix	-

			-	STREET, STREET			
	PRE-SUBECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST_VERR	TOTAL TOTAL TOTAL
9.9		43,			1	TOO!	FREE I KANSLAI ION
		fu -			di.	kwaara fo	He saw a village that had a mond
		IS			see.CMP	village one	there were fish there was food
		kaŋ bangu			00 00)	there If
		that pond			DVT GG		over there. It you come, we are
		To comment			EA1 53		going to fish, we are going to eat
		namusa			So no		all sort of food, there are all sorts
		tish.DEF			EXT SS		of figh we are going to get It is
		nwaari			QU)	nodin	or men, we are going to cat, it is
		food			· · ·	noam	necessary that you come, we are
	da	1			IS	over there	going to go over there. I want to
	pp.	m			ka		show you how we are soins to
	11	2S			come.CMP		catch fish
		iri			ga darbav no		Cuch Holl.
		1P			fish.CMP SS		
		iri			440 0 440 0		
					ma nwa	gwaari dumi-dumi haro ra	
					eat.SBJ	food allkinds water.DEF in	
					80 00		
		meat all kinds			EXT SS		
		iri			oa maa		
		1P			Su Una,		
					catting		
		MI.			ma ka,		
		52			come.SBJ		
		ru .			ma koy	no-din,	
		IP			go.SBJ	over.there	
		ay			ma cabe		
		18			show.SBJ		
	mate kaŋ	. 1	ga	hamiisey	di	d' a.	
-	how that	38		fish.DEF	catch.INC	with 3S	
6.7		Mari bine			tun		Thom the south
		panther then			got.up.CMP		him the pantilet got up to follow
			ga	a	gana.		TITITI.
					0		

d.
tinue
Com
1
ndix J-

		T	_						and the second											-															
The second secon	FREE TRANSLATION	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	bond to which he attached a	string. When he took out fish	outside, the panther said. Ah that	one he knows what he is aging to	do he is going to mit 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	his fish that and his	olg itsi that are bigger than those	of the hare.																			
THE RESERVE THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NAMED IN COLUMN	POST-VERB					bangey	spuod			иехо	pond mouth.DEF to?			haro va	motor DEE				taray kulu	outside all								haro ra	water.DFF in			hamirea hambata	fish DFF big	tohan man	hare those of DEE
4444	VEKB	dira,	walk.CMP	dira	walk.CMP	ka	come.CMP	ka	come.CMP	fatta	go.out	di	see.CMP	dan	mit PBG	han	of the state of th	attach.CMP	ka	lift.out.PRG	ne	Sav CMP	TAID: he	ga bay	KIOW	ga re,	do.INC	ga daŋ	place.INC	ga di	catch.INC	ga du	like that have CMP	ad hisa	over take INC
Chiron	OBJECT													bundu fo	stick one	korfo	string	Stung	hamiisey	fish															
														go ga		па			go ga																
STRIEGT.	1	370	· · ·	33	JC .		35	7	3P		,	marı	pantner	tobay	hare	a	38		a a	38	mari, a	panther 3S	ou bou	38 88	рди	38		nga sunjaa no	3S tail.DEF SS	hamiisa beerey no	fish.DEF big.DEF SS	nga	3S	kay	that
PRE-SUBJECT					bala	intil	The state of the s				bulu	7000	מוזת	mate kan	how that	kay ga		kan	n and a second				A! wo-ne wo	ah this here this	mate kan	bow that				zama nga sunfaa no	il.DEF	gaato ga no	like this SS		
	7.1															-	_									_									

ı	A	2	
L	4	0	

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
7.2	Kulu	maro	па	nga sunfaa	day	haro ra	The panther put all of his tail in
	and	panther.DEF		tail.DEF	put.CMP	water.DEF in	the water. He took fish outside of
		a			go ga soobay		the water that were more than
		3S			go.CMP		those of the hare.
			ga	hamiisa	ka	taray	
				fish.DEF	take.out	outside	
		kaŋ			ga bisa	a wana.	
		that			over.take.INC	3S of.him	
7.3	Hiino kay	a			ar.		He returned and placed his tail in
	then	38			return.CMP		the water. and GIP
			ga		dan,		
				tail.DEF	place		
		batuyano bon kala gip!					
		attempt.DEF on and hop					
7.4		Kaare ⁹ bambata fo	na	sunfaa	di.		The large crocodile caught his
		crocodile big one		tail.DEF	catch.INC		tail.
7.5		A	na		candi		He pulled him in order to pull
		38			pull.CMP		him in the water. The panther
					ga daŋ	haro ra,	cried and screamed, to say to the
					place	water.DEF in	hare to save him. Hare, save me!
		maro			go ga kaati		
		panther.DEF			cryPRG		
					ga kuuwa		
					scream		
					ga ne	tobay se	
					say	hare to	
		a	ma	nga	faaba!		
		38		3S	savel.SBJ		

 $^{9}\,\mathrm{I}$ am assuming that this is a spelling error and this should be spelled 'kaaray'

Tadds ,		and the same of th		The state of the s	The second secon		
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
7.6		Kaara	go ga	a	candi		
		crocodile		38	pull.PRG		
					ga konda	a haro bindo ra,	
					bring	3S water.DEF middle in	
		a	go ga		kuula		
		3S			cry.PRG		
		Tobay,			faaba!		
		hare			save.IMP		
		Tobay,			faaba!		
		hare			save.IMP		
7.7	Kulu	tobay			ие	a se	
***************************************	and	all hare.DEF			say.CMP	3S for	
			-		Fongu,		
					remember.IMP		
					fongu,	me?	
					remember.IMP		
7.8	Hano kaŋ	haray			te	iri laabu	
	day that	famine			happen.CMP	1P country	
		mi			du	ay ize hinzey	
		2S			have.CMP	1S children three.DEF	
					ga nwa.		
-					eat		
7.9		Ni mo sohon 2S also now					Now I am going to leave you with the crocodile.
		Ay	па	in	nan	da kaara.	
		27		27	ICAVE: CIVIL	With crocodile. Der	

APPENDIX K

Wande Bonkaano 'The Good Wife'

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
Ξ		Arwasu fo day ne ya kan se		į	ga ne	Amadu	There was one boy called Amadu who
		boy one EMP here EMP that to		3P	call.INC	Amadu	was moor
		kan talkatarav	Do	<i>b</i>	sinda	oppon	
		that poverty	6	S	not have	Pouna!	
1.2		Farkay follon no			0.0	as p	It is only one donkey that he had on
		ne			EXT	3S to	which he was noing to the thick huch
	kan bon	, , ,			ad box	constitutions	to collect mond
	that head	38 38			ga vol	bush thick in	to collect wood.
			ga	tuuri	la.	THE WATER TOWN	
)	wood	collect.INC		
1.3	Tuuro mo dala iddu no	a	ga	a	neera.		That wood he will sell it 30 F
	Wood also five six SS	38		38	sell.INC		
1.4					hiiji		All his friends got married and left
		companions.DEF all			marry.CMP		him.
			ga	a	nay.		
				3S	leave		
1.5		Amadu			si bay		Amadu does not know how to become
		Amadu			know.INC/NEG		rich, and one day he went to the bush
	kulu	a			ga te		and slept in the bush.
	how all that	38			do.INC		4
					ga du	arzaka,	
					have	wealth	
	kala hay fo	a			koy	saajo ra	
	when day one	3S			go.CMP	bush.DEF in	
		a			foy		
		3S			stay.CMP		
	9	a			kani	saajo ra.	
		3S			sleep.CMP	bush in	

The old woman told him that when he sells wood at 30F, to spend fifteen and keep lifteen. FREE TRANSLATION
In the middle of the riight, one old
woman came to him and asked him
why he stayed and slept in the bush. He told her the story, the old woman said that if he wanted wealth, he had to go and get married. Amadu asked her how to get money for marriage. a se majaaro 38 for reason a se 38 to arzaka, a do,
3S to
a se
3S to
ganji,
devil a se
3S to
dala iddu,
thirty
dala hinza,
fifteen nooru money na ne ne say.CMP foy stay.CMP kani. ne neal CMP
ne ga ba
want.INC
ma koy
go ba
want.INC
ma koy
go SBI
hiji.
hiji.
ga te
do.INC
ga te
do.INC
ga du
ga te
ga hiji. ne say.CMP neera sell.SBJ ma wi kill.SBJ gisi. tuuro wood.DEF dala hinza fifteen OBJECT 38 na ma ma one one nya zeeno f mother old o nya zeeno mother old A
3S
nya zeeena
mother old
a
3S
a
3S SUBJECT Amadu Amadu nga 3S a a 38 Appendix K—Continued.

PRE-SUBJECT

2.1 Cini bino ra
night heart in ifo se no why SS hala day that if kulu all mate kan how that hala day that if hala that 3.2

144,	Appendix ix Communica.						
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.3		Nya zeena			ne	wodin hinne no	The old woman said that it was the
		mother old.DEF			say.CMP	that only SS	only thing he wanted to tell him.
		nga			ga hin		
		3S			can.INC		
					ga ci	a se	
					say	38	
3.4	To	Amadu			тапа пе	hay kulu,	Well, Amadu did not say anything
	INI	Amadu			say.CMP/NEG	thing all	because he accepted the advice of the
	zama	a			yadda	nya zeena sanna ga.	old woman.
	because	38			accept.CMP	mother old word to	
3.5	2	Amadu			koy	tuuri kuyay	Always Amadu was going to the bush
	Always only if	Amadu			go.CMP	wood collecting	to collect wood, selling it at thirty
		a	та	63	neera		francs, spending fifteen and putting
		3S		38	sell.SBJ		aside fifteen.
		a			ma wi		
		38			kill.SBJ		
		a	ma	dala hinza	gisi.		
		3S		fifteen	keep.SBJ	dala iddu,	
						thirty	
						dala hinza	
						fifteen	
3.6	Hala	a			ga te	jiiri hinza	Before three years of time, he had
	before	38			do.INC	year three	enough money for marriage.
	kulu	a			du	hiijay nooru.	
	all	38			have.CMP	marriage money	
3.7					koy		He went to look for one beautiful girl
		38			go.CMP		and married her.
					ceeci	wondiyo hanno fo	
					look.for	=	
					ga hiiji		
					marry		
3.8		Amadu			go ga miila		Now Amadu thinks he has become
	Now	Amadu			believe.PRG		rich.
	kay	a			te	arzaka.	
	that	3S			make.CMP	richess	

244	- Laboratoria de Compositoria	The state of the s	-				
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSIATION
3.9		1			10	7 1	MOTOGOTO TOTAL
					a)	handu fo	For one month him and the wife were
		3.4			do.CMP	month one	Suffering sometimes they stay himany
		nga nda wando			an an tanhi		and alone with the state mangery
		35 and wife DEF			000		and steep without eating.
	2	S and wite.D.			Suller.PRG		
	hay foyay				ga foy	haray	
	sometimes	3Р			stav.INC	hinger	
					an leavi	I.	
		3D			gu nami	naway.	
0		0.1	1		sleep.INC	cows	
5.10		Kwaara borey			sintin		The villagers start to insult him and he
		Village people.DEF			start.CMP		was feeling had
			ga	a	wow,		
			_	38	insult INC		
		c					
		5 5			sı ga ma	kaani kwaara ra.	
		38			feel.INC	good village in	
3.11	Hay fo,	a			ac		One day he went back to see the old
	day one	38			return CMD		מונה בייול, ווכ וו ביוון מתכע ומ פרב נווני מומ
					icidiii.Civir		woman and told her that he got
					ga koy		married but that the suffering did not
					08		finish, that rather it increased
					di	пъд геепа	
					see	mother old	
					ga ne	a se	
					say	3S to	
	kaŋ	nga			hiiii.		
	that	3S			marry CMD		
	amma hala		-		maily.Civir		
	amma nata				ga ka	sohon	
	but until				come	now	
		nga taabo			тапа рап,		
		3S suffering.DEF			finish.CMP/NEG		
	kala day	hay kay			tonton.		
	until	thng that			increase CMD		
		-	-	_	HIGH COSC. CIVIL		

App	Appendix K—Continued.						
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.12		Nya zeena			ne	a se	The old woman said that she did not
		mother old			say.CMP	3S to	have any solution to that but that if
		nga			sinda	safari kulu,	he wanted to go and marry again
	-	3S.			not.have	solution all	The state of the s
	amma da	a			ga pa		
	but if	38			want.INC		
		a			ma koy		
		38			go.SBJ		
					hiiji	koine	
-					marry	again	
3.13		Amadu			пе		Amadu asked how he was going to
	***************************************	Amadu			say.CMP		do it.
	mate no	nga			ga te.		
	how SS	38			do.INC		
3.14		Nya zeena			не	a se	The old momen said to him that if the
		mother old			sav CMP	35 45	-11-
	hala	D	2		Tara- Can	23 25	sells woods at 30F, to save 10F and
	9:	3 6	nu	luuro	neera	dala iddu,	that him and his wife would spend
	11	38		wood.DEF	sell.CMP	thirty	2of.
		a	ma	dala hinka	gisi,		
		38		ten	save.SBJ		
		nga nda wando			ma wi	dala taaca	
		3S and wife.DEF			spend.SBJ	twenty	
3.15		Amadu			ar.	nf	Amadu went back home and
					return.CMP	home	followed the word of the old woman.
					ga koy		
					08		
			ga	nya zeena sanno	gana.		
1	+			mother old word.DEF	tollow		
3.16	Hala	A			ga to	jiiri taaci	Before four years he had enough
	pelore f-:/	35			arrive.INC	years four	money for the second marriage.
	Kulu	a			qn	wande hinkanta hiijay nooro	
_	all	38			have.CMP	wife second marriage money.DEF	

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-OBJECT	FREE TRANSLATION
217		,			,		
1.		A			koy		He went to look for another beautiful
		38			go.CMP		girl to marry.
					du	wandiyo hanna fo koine	,
					have	wife beautiful one again	
					ga hiiji.	,	
					marry		
3.18		A			te	wande hinka no ya	It was already two wifes.
		38			do.CMP	wife two SS EMP	
3.19		I			te	handu hinka	It was two moths that nothing had
		38			do.CMP	month two	happened even food or Amadu and
		hay kulu			mana te,		his wives was difficult to find.
		nothing			do.CMP		
		me-ŋwaari bumbo			ga sandi	Amadu nda wandev se	
		food even			difficult.INC	amadu and wives DEF for	
3.20		W.			a.		He went back to the old woman to
		38			return.CMP		inform her.
					ga koy	nya zeena do	
					90	mother old to	
			ga	a	ka baaru.		
				3S	inform		
3.21		Nya zeena			ne	a se	The old woman told him to go and
		mother old			say.CMP	3S to	marry again a third wife.
		a	ma		ax)
		38			return.SBJ		
					ga koy		
					. 08		
					hiiji	wande fo koyne	
					marry	wife one again	
					ga te	i hinza	
					op	3P three	

Apple	Appendix N—Communed.						
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
3.22		W W			ие	a se	She told him that if he sells the
		38			say.CMP	3S to	wood at 30f, he has to spend
	hala	a	па	tuuro		dala iddu	only 25f and save 5f.
	ĮĮ.	38		wood	sell.CMP	thirty	
		nga nda wandey			ma wi	dala guwa,	
		3S and wives.DEF			spend.SBJ	twenty-five	
		a	ma	dala fa	gisi.		
		38		five	save.SBJ		
3.23		Amadu			ar	nf	Amadu went back home to
		Amadu			return.CMP	home	follow the word of the old
			ga	nya zeena sanno	gana	koyne	woman again.
100	Fr. : 14 1.			old wollian wold.DEL	TOTION	agamı	
9.74	Juri tadu had care game ra no	Amadu	_		koy		It was after five years that
	Years six and between in SS	Amandu	_		go.CMP		Amadu had money for the
					du	wande hinzata hiijay nooro.	marriage of the third wife.
					have	wife third marriage money.DEF	
3.25	Kwaara me nda a me,	a			mongo ga du	wande	In the whole village he was
	village all	38			not can have	wife	not able to find a wife because
	zama	I			ne		people say that he does not
	because	38			say.CMP		cloth and feed his wifes.
		a	si	wande	bankaara		
		38		wife	clothe.INC		
		a	žš	a	kungandi.		
		38		38	satisfy.INC		
3.26		Amadu			koy	Sujey laabu	Amadu went to the country of
		Amandu			go.CMP	Sujey country	Sujey and had a woman to
					ga du	wandiyo fo	marry called Aysa
					have	wife one	
	kay se	-			ga ne	Aysa	
	who for	3P			say.INC	Ayss	
					ga hiiji.		

DEF te, do, CMP kubey Rubey meet CMP ga kande a se, bring a se, finish, CMP mana te do, CMPNBG month one go are bon, EXT between on go gat te do, PRG windo ra, get up. tur, tur, tur, tur, tur, tur, tur, tur,		PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERR	POST VEDD	South the state of
1	227		7		1		LOSI-YEAD	FREE TRANSLATION
1	!		7	па	hiifa	te,		They have done the marriage and they
1			3P		marriage.DEF	do.CMP		because the control mannage and may
kala I na jirbi tyya te kala I na jirbi tyya te kala a day seventh dac.CMP kala ap finish.CMP thanks all day seventh bay, thanks all day seventh bay, kala lany fo Aysa a kala a a how a a how a a how a a how a bay a de how bay a de bay a de how bay a de bay a de how bay a de bay a de hand dany dany			,1			kuhen		orought net (the bride)
I			3P			meet CMP		
kala I na jirbi iyya te wutil 3P day seventh do.CMP until 3P day seventh do.CMP thanks all finibion do.CMP/NEG thanks all do.CMP/NEG handu fo thanks all do.CMP/NEG handu fo saabi kulu do.CMP/NEG handu fo thanks all do.CMP/NEG handu fo thanks all do.CMP/NEG handu fo kala hay fo Aysa care boy. kala hay fo Aysa see. PRG mate kay see. PRG how handu go ga di how kap go ga di how Amadu for ka hal do.PRG house in Amadu for ka day fine that do.PRG house mouth dos cell.CMP windo ne to windo ne cell.CMP						THE COURT		
kala I na jirbi iyyu teng 35 to until 3P day seventh do.CMP do.CMP until 3P finabis.CMP finabis.CMP thanks all f do.CMP/NEG finabis.CMP saabi kulu f te finabis.CMP finabis.CMP saabi kulu g te finabis.CMP finabis.CMP finabis.CMP kala hanj fo Absa go.CMP/NEG finabis.CMP finabis.CMP finabis.CMP finabis.CMP kala hanj fo Absa go.ga di finabis.CMP finabis.CMP finabis.CMP finabis.CMP finabis.CMP how handu fank go.ga di finabis.CMP finabis.CMP </td <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>ga kanae</td> <td>a se.</td> <td></td>						ga kanae	a se.	
kala 3P General day seventh dec CMP until 3P finish.CMP thanks all finish.CMP finish.CMP thanks all do.CMP/NEG finanda for kala hay fo Aysa go ga di when day one Aysa go ga di when day one Aysa go ga di how that go ga di how that do.PRG how that do.PRG how that go ga di how that do.PRG how madu tum. Moming one Amadu farka a donkey.DEF pouse in to windo me a donkey.DEF pouse mouth Aysa na do.PRG Aysa na cell.CMP	3.28		I	na	tirhi inna	t and	33.00	
kala act day seventia doc,CMP until 3P finish.CMP saabi kulu doc,CMP/NEG finish.CMP I hanks all to CMP/NEG doc,CMP/NEG i 3P to doc,CMP i doc,CMP month one i doc,CMP month one i go care boy. kala hay fo Aysa go kala hay fo Aysa go kala hay fo Aysa go kala hay fo Aysa for kala kala hay fo Aysa for kala kala hay fo for pg for pg go ga di windo ra go ga di windo ra hound get up. get up. donkey DEF put CMP sa inifont had onkey DEF put CMP windo me donkey DEF put case mouth donkey DEF put case mouth donkey mand donkey mouth donkey mand <t< td=""><td></td><td></td><td>3D</td><td></td><td>4</td><td>2</td><td></td><td>Until the seventh day, no improvement</td></t<>			3D		4	2		Until the seventh day, no improvement
A		bala	7		day seventh	do.CMP		was noticed. (not sure see the original)
Saabi kult		Kalid	a			bay,		(minging and
thanks all tha		until	3P			finish.CMP		
thanks all tha			saabi kulu			mana to		
1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1			thanks all			do.CMP/NEG		
1	3.29		I			te	handu fo	F
1			3D				of minute	I ney have stayed together for a moth
kala hay fo 3P Bot when day one day						do.CMP	month one	and Aysa was able to realize what was
kala hay fo Aysa EXT between on when day one Aysa go ga di between on mate kay go ga te windo ra. how that do.PRG house in Susbay fo, Amadu tmr, house in Morning one Amadu get.up. get.up. a na fanka put.CMP 3S in.front hala a house mouth windo me until Aysa a call.CMP Aysa as call.CMP call.CMP			2			80	care bon,	hannening in the house
keld hay fo Alysa go ga di Commercial when day one Aysa see PRG see PRG how that go ga te windo ra. how that do.PRG house in Susboy fo, Amadu tun, get up. get up. Morning one Amadu farka day nga jine hala a donkey DEF put CMP 3S in front hala a to windo me until Aysa na a call CMP			3P			EXT	hetween on	rappening in the nonse.
when day one Aysa See, PRG house in see, PRG house in that see, PRG house in see, PRG house in do. PRG house in that Susboy fo, Amadu Amadu tun, do. PRG house in tu		kala hay fo	Aysa			go oa di		
mate kap go ga te windo ra. bow Just do PRG house in Susbay fo, Amadu tun, house in Morning one Amadu tun, age tup, get up, Morning one a donkey.DEF put.CMP 3S in.front hala a donkey.DEF put.CMP 3S in.front until 3S reach.CMP house mouth Aysa a call.CMP call.CMP		when day one	Aysa			see.PRG		
bow that \$c ga ve nature ora. Susboy/o, Amadu tun, house in Morning one Amadu tun, get.up. get.up. hala 3S donkey.DEF put.CMP 3S in.fcont until 3S na control windo me Aysa na a call.CMP call.CMP		mate	kan			do da to		
Susbey fo, Amadu Amadu turn, and turn,		how	that			do PRG	windo ra.	
Amadu a farka get.up. 3	3.30	Susbay fo,	Amadu			tun.	III Depor	
a na farka day nga jine 3S donkey.DEF put.CMP 3S in.front a vindo me 3S in.front Aysa na a ceath.CMP house mouth Aysa 3S ceal.CMP ceal.CMP		Morning one	Amadu			get.up.		One morning Amadu got up, with his
3S			a		farka	dan	Cont. Cont.	donkey and when he reached the get
a			38		donkey DEF	saut CMD	nga June	Aysa called him.
35 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10		hala			course) . True	put.CIVIF	os incrent	
3S reach.CMP Aysa na a cal.CMP Aysa 3S call.CMP		17	3 (to	windo me	
na a 38		untu	38			reach.CMP	house mouth	
38			Aysa	па	a	ce.		
			Aysa		38	call.CMP		

	FREE TRANSLATION She told him, my husband, you suffer a lot, since I came I have realized that you suffering is too much and I feel bod in my heart, because for me I do not love any other man in the world apart from you.	
	POST-VERB a se 38 to gumo, a.lot nin, 28	ba gumo even much ay bina 1S heart.DEF to a.lot 2S alboro kulu andumyo ra. man all world in
	VERB ne say.CMP say.CMP so ga taabi sulfer.PRG ka come.CMP SS manti not be di see.CMP	dooru be.bad.CMP hala manti ? be.NEG si ba love.INC/NEG
	OBJECT	
SUBJECT	A 38 ni 28 ay ay 18 ay 18 ni taabo	28 suffering.DEF 38 49 49 49 50 18
PRE-SUBJECT	mayida husband za since hala if kay	a binde and zama because

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 able to stay in peace. 4.8e ds Aysa went to call her co-spouses but they did not look at her, they were only insulting her. Aysa said then then that if they did not want to go, her she was going to go.	
'ERB sse ls ls lect ma, lth	
POST-VERB ay caley se 18 friends tuuri ku yay, wood collect iri se daama, 1P to health The health caley se friend to	
kay kay kay kay kay wait koy go.SBJ ci say ma koy go.SBJ ga help ga te go.SBJ ga help ga te ga ben ma du have ga boori. be well ci ci ci ci ci ci ci ci mi du have saobay not even hear.CMP wow. insult not say say say ma koy ga boori.	go.INC/NEG
OBJECT OBJECT ay 11S 22S 28 38	No.
sga ma sga	
SUBJECT ay 1S in' kulu 1P all a 38 in'i 1P Aysa Aysa Aysa Aysa Aysa Aysa Aysa Aysa Aysa	nga wo 3S even
3.32 Arma solop, But now Superior of the solution of the solu	1
3.33	

1	55

sea and husband, DEF nush road DEF take, CMP homory no be, far, CMP SS said nush road DEF take, CMP homory no be, far, CMP SS said ray, said nush road DEF follow, CMP said ray, carb, DEF in carb, DEF		PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERR	POST VERB	
The base of the	7	Sohon kay	Avsa nda kurnvo	na	saato fouda	The state of the s	FUSI-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
kala waato kay i coast toact. Mp dakeCAMP until when 3P featureCAMP SS saajo ra, hemney. Kay 3P featureCAMP Saajo ra, hemney. saajo ra, hemney. Kay 3P resch.CAMP Saajo ra, heb. Der in in to resch.CAMP Per in hem. Der in the horo kalta vs. poro kalta vs. ra, heb. Der in in the ray. ra, heb. Der in the ray. ra, heb. Der in in the ray. ra, heb. Der in the ray. ra, heb		now	Avsa and husband DEE		budy Jonad	samou,		Now when aysa and the husband had
until when 3P he finer moor in the moor in the cospouses. DEF na i he finer may reach CMP stajo rat, may keer rat, moor kelu as reach CMP stajo rat, may keer rat, moor kelu as reach CMP bush DEF in the bush DEF in the cospouses. DEF in the cospouses. DEF rat, moor kelu as reach CMP bush DEF in the bush DEF in the cospouses. DEF in the cospouse		kala waato kan	,		DUSH TOME, DEF	take.CMP		gone far to the bush, the co-sponses
Kay i		until when	3P			on naoom		followed them.
Kay i falamiay when i i i when i i i when i i i where 3S i i where 3S i i where 3S i i where i i i i i i			waveev	204	**	Deliar.CMP SS		
Kap i Controvening Seago rate when Aurrypo reach.CMP bush.DEF in where 3S leave.LMC person all to wife two leave.LMC person all to half two ka leave.LMC half leave.LMC leave.LMC Alysa annual man and an annual man annual m			cospouses.DEF		3Р	follow CMD		
when 3P reach CMP sush DEF in his band DE	_	Kay	, i			TOTTOM CIVIL		
Harry Ray Harry Ray Harry Ray Carl Ray Car		when	3р			07	saajo ra,	Whe nthey have arrived in the hush
nay kang a boro kalu se way. CMP person all to gar gana. where 3 magey si tuuri ku, and ku, and ku, and ku, and			kurnvo			reach.CMP	bush.DEF in	the husband assigned to each one of
may kay a gas gana. person all to where 3S tauri ku, ku, amma da i wood collect.INC ku, but if 3P wood collect.INC ku, hut if 3P wood ku, ku, hut if ngey a a collect.INC ku, hut if ngey ga a collect.INC ku hut if ngey a collect.INC ku ku hut Aysa a carry.INC ku kut Aysa a a carry.INC thing all huv kut hut Aysa sago ra. furo cuter.CMP bush in hut bors kut sago ra. cuter.CMP kut hut i ma sago ra. ma ma i ma ma ma ma i			hushand DEF			27	boro kulu se	them which way to go.
Whete 35		nan kan	7			say.CMP	person all to	,
Wande hinka Wende hinka Reveal		where	38			ga gana.		
wife two si tunni may cMP amma da i wood collect.INC but if 3P wood collect.INC kalu ngey ga a fare. therefore 3P 3S carry.INC hay kalu. d Aysa man are hay kalu. a 3S carry.INC sago ra. hfree fore Aysa sago ra. carry.INC hay kalu. a Aysa sago ra. carry.INC bush in man are filting all hay kalu. person all si boole kalu. si bay kala i ma a Aysa until 3S ma a c. a go ga kumyo ce.			Wande hinka			reave.INC		
A			wife two			ne		The two co-spouses said that they
Manuel da 3			Oliv Copy	-		say.CMP		Were not going to collect wood that if
annua da i wood collect.INC but if 3P a collect.CMP kalu ngey ga a jare. therefore 3P 3S carry.INC Aysa mana ne hay kalu. Aysa say.CMPNEG thing all fur say.CMPNEG thing all may fur si bay thing all ma go fur ma a do fur ma Aysa ma c c ma c c			an age, wo	18	tuuri	ku,		they do then they days and days and
A A A A		,	3F		poom	collect.INC		med do then they Aysa and Amadu)
Appen Appe		amma da	1			ku		were going to carry.
Harefore 19		ii iii	3Р			collect.CMP		
Therefore 3P 3S Carry.INC		kulu	ngey	ga	a	jare.		
Aysa Aysa Aysa Aysa Ce.		therefore	3P		38	carry INC		
Aysa sale and a say kutu, 3 3			Aysa			our range		
A A A A A A A A A A			Aysa			Sav CMP/NFG	hay kulu,	Aysa did not say anything, she enterec
1875 1876			a			furo	uning an	the bush.
Hay kulu						enter.CMP	sadjo ra.	
thing all move.INC/NEG st bay person all know.INC/NEG do furo f			Hay kulu			si vooie	III remo	N. d.
bovo kulu person all afo afo one i 3S Runnyo ce,			thing all			move.INC/NEG		Nothing 18 moving, nobody knows
person all know.INC/NEG			boro kulu			si bav		where everyone went until they heard
afo one furo one i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i			person all			know INC/NEG		Aysa shouting calling the husband.
one i i ma 3S hear.CMP kaari cry a go ga kunyo ce		nay kay	afo			furo		
3S ma hear.CMP kaati cry a go ga kumyo ce		where	one			enter.CMP		
3S hear.CMP kaati cry cry cry cry		Kala	,1			ma	7	
kaati cry cry		until	3S			hear.CMP	Avsa	
go ga kurnyo						kaati		
go ga kurnyo						cry		
			a 2	80 ga	kurnyo	ce.		

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	TAR-SOBJECT SUBJECT	SUBJECT		ORIECT	VEDD	DOOR THEN	The second secon
4.7		Warren		CORPOR	v END	POSI-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
		nayee			ma	kaani,	The co-sponsee are home: the
		co-sbonses			hear.CMP	kindness	the co-sponses are nappy, mey
		1.			miilo	000	unink it is the snake that has bitten
		3.5			think CMD		her.
	hala	oondi no	2011		t times Civil		
	Ji.	SS eyeus	1111	30	kar.		
0 1	11/2-21	Straw 33		55	beat.CMP		
¢.	rradio kan	kurnyo			ma	Avsa iinda	W. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
	when that	husband.DEF			hear CMD	A since and	when he heard the voice of Aysa
		a lakkalen kulu			TIATI TOTALI	Aysa voice	his mind was troubled and run to
		minut amount of			tun,		see what has hannened to Asses
		35 spirit all			wake.up.CMP		The first of the sar
		g			nınz		
		38			run.CMP		
					1		
					ga ka		
					come.INC		
					ga di		
					see		
		han kan			4.		
		what			borro	Aysa.	
4.9		Llana			HAVE, CIVIF	Aysa	
:		Haya H. H.			ga maamaacandi,		It was astonishing that nothing bad
		uning.DEF			surprise.CMP		bossess of the transmission of the transmissio
		hay kulu			mana du	4100	nappened to Aysa, but the thing that
		thing all			have CMP/NEC	A 1100	she has seen was frightening,
	amma	haya kan a			di.	Psch	because it was a big peace of wood
	but	thing that 38			m 5 - 22		containing nothing else than gold
	kan	0			see.CMP		and silver
	that		ga	boro	hamborandi,		
	2			beople	frighten		
	zama dubi fo no	a			di		
	because log one SS	38			see.CMP		
		kay hari kulu			.83	June Pola suma plant of p	
		that water all			NEG	2S in the cold and nearly.	

A	1	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
Husbeard DEF na	10		Kurnyo			mana ne	hav kulu	The burbond did not
Maranic Again Ag			husband.DEF			Sav CMP/NEG	nothing	The masoand and not say
Meano kay Second Difference Second Diffe			D	Du	dubo	compi	gring.	anything he took the wood
Name			38		hig wood DEF	taka CMD		and told Aysa, Now let go,
National Reservices 35 35 35 35 35 35 35 3			7		organization and the	Idaccivii		no collecting of wood
Name			200			пе	Aysa se	anymore.
Wato kay New ood collecting NEG SS New ood collecting NEG SS Wato kay New ood collecting NEG SS New ood collecting NEG SS			38			say.CMP	Aysa to	
Mado kay Si No			ngey			ma koy	sohon.	
Weato kay wood collecting NEG SS 4 in Manue Aysa and kurnyo when co-spouses di Aysa and husband.DEF when co-spouses go ga haaru Aysa and husband.DEF shame go ga haaru langh.PRG go ga haaru shame go ga haaru langh.PRG go ga haaru shame go ga haaru langh.PRG langh.PRG shame go ga haaru langh.PRG langh.PRG ga ku, come langh.PRG langh.PRG heeause 3P even heit.CMP hay kuit, handu manue hay kuit, heit.CMP handu andu hay kuit, home say wives.DEF to how luow luow luow kan luow luow luow kan luo luo luo kan luo luo luo kan luo luo luo kan luo			3P			go.SBJ	Mou	
Weato kap waycey di Aysa and kurnyo when co-spouses go ga haaru Aysa and husband.DEF go ga haaru laugh.PRG ga kar, come daawi na i di, shame ngey wo mila believe.CMP because 3P even kar, hean gondi no na a hat snake SS ss beat.CMP a kar, hat snake SS ss kar, a mana ne hay kulu, now solony kay ngey not say wandey se now ngey not say wines.DEF to kan i no go.SBJ home kan i no i no when i i i i			tuuri ku yaŋ si no wood collecting NFG SS)		
when co-spouses seeCMP Aysa and husband DEF gag haaru laugh.RG ga kat, gam ga kat, come shame na i because 3P even hay gondi no na a hat gondi no na kar hat stake SS 3S beat.CMP a hat stake SS sec.CMP because hat stake SS sec.CMP hat stake SS 3S beat.CMP a hat stake SS sex b a hat stake SS a hat stake SS sex b hat stake SS sex a hat stake SS sex b hat stake SS sex b hat stake SS sex b hat stake SS sex b <td>_</td> <td>Waato kay</td> <td>waycey</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>di</td> <td>disconda friences</td> <td>1177</td>	_	Waato kay	waycey			di	disconda friences	1177
Hadawi		when	co-sponses			Spo CMD	Arms and bushess a DER	when the co-spouses saw
Adamit Adamit Bugh PRG Bugh Presurse Amadu Bugh Presurse Bugh Presurse Amadu Bugh Presurse Bugh Presurse			4			Sec. CIVII	Aysa anu nusbanu.Der	that Aysa and the husband
Inaght, PRG Inaght, Inagh Inaght, Inagh Inaght, Inagh Inagh						go ga naaru		came back laughing they
Hatawi						laugh.PRG		were ashamed because they
haawi						ga ka,		believed that the snake had
Adamyi A						come		bitten her.
Shame Sham			haawi	па	****	di,		
zama ngey wo mill a helieve, CMP mill a helieve, CMP because 3P even a har kar. har kar. that stanke SS 3S beat, CMP har kulu, a sology kay 3S see see sology kay ngey fu. home now 3P ma key fu. home fu. fu. when i fu. i na dubo far.			shame		3P	catch.CMP		
Pecause 3P even Ray gondi no na a believe, CMP Hat strake SS		zama	ngey wo			miila		
Hay gondi no na a kar. hay kulu, hay kulu,		because	3P even			believe.CMP		
The strake SS 3.5 Deat.CMP			kaŋ gondi no	па	a	kar.		
Amadu mana ne hay kulu, not say thing all a	1	The state of the s	that snake SS		38	beat.CMP		
Soliony kay Regy	<u></u>		Amadu			mana ne	hay kulu,	Amadu did not sav anything
Say New Archook Ray Say New Complex						not say	thing all	and told his wives to go
Soliogy kay ngey ngey ma kay fiu.			a			ие		home
solvoy kay ngey ma koy fu. now 3P home po.SBJ home Young collecting NEG SS kay to fu, when 3P arrive.CMP home i na dubo fara.		,	38			say		
now 3P pome Tunir knyany si no. go.SBJ home kay i to fa, when 3P arrive.CMP home i na dubo fara.		sohoy kay	пдеу			ma koy		
Trun' kayay st no. N	1	now	3Р			go.SBJ	home	
Kay i to fu, when 3P arrive.CMP bome i na dubo fara.	·		Tuuri kuyaŋ si no.					There is no collection of
$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		The state of the s	wood.collecting NEG SS					wood anymore
st arrive, CMP home i dubo fara.		Kan	1			to	fu,	When they arrived at home
dubo fara.		when	3.5			arrive.CMP	home	they cut the wood
			, 1	па	dubo	fara.		

SUBJECT OBJECT VERB POST-VERB Amadu fee noorukooni bambata Amadu cine st noorukooni bambata A ma mooto yang do.CMP rich big A ma fit yang country.DEF all A house country.DEF all house 3S ga even boory.CMP poor all Amadu sami se. Borey kulu not listen.INC all Amadu word to not listen.INC poor say.CMP person Boeyle all na ranghas say.CMP person person Irboy poor say.CMP person person Irboy poor say.CMP person I	Appe	Appendix K—Continued.	a.					
Amadu		PRE-SUBJECT			OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
Armadu	5.5		Amadu			te	noorukooni bambata	Amadu became a big rich
Hath			Amadu			do.CMP	rich big	person without comparison
Hat			kaŋ		cine	si		ı
No color jay			that		ednal	be.NEG		
A	5.6		A	па	mooto yan	day,		He bought cars built houses,
A S			38			buy.CMP		and helped the poor.
A bouse Borey kalla Bore			a	na	fu yan	cina,		
Borey kalta			38		house	build.CMP		
Modin se no i Arabida sor help.PRG si hangan si hangan si hangan si hangan help.PRG help.PRG help.PRG help.PRG help.PRG handau sami se.			a	80	mo talkey	gaakasinay.		
Wodin se no i People all			38	ga	even poor.DEF	help.PRG		
Wodin se no i People all mot listen.INC all Amadu word to me ma talka haaru, haaru	5.7		Borey kulu			si hangan	kala Amadu sanni se.	People will listen to his
Wodin se no i ne boro			People all			not listen.INC	all Amadu word to	words carefully.
this for SS 3P ma talka haaru, and talka person zama hkoy te goyey st poor ga macmacandi because works of God surprise.INC horo kulu food ma nug person all food ma sekka mo for sory.DEF ma deedo fuhan person all te deedo fuhan lis ma boro kulu person all fuhan lis ma deedo ma cec fuhan person all person all fuhan person all person all food ma boro kulu no fuhan no no <tr< td=""><td>5.8</td><td></td><td>į</td><td></td><td></td><td>ne</td><td>boro</td><td>That why you must not</td></tr<>	5.8		į			ne	boro	That why you must not
zama Irkoy te goyey si poor laugh, SBI/NEG because works.of.God surprise.INC boro kulu God ma nay boro kulu Ay ma kubay with people like Aysa and Amadu wan dumo Isa ma kubay with people like Aysa and Amadu wan dumo Ay ga sikka mo mo kay boro kulu lata person all ma kay boro kulu lata person all lata same kay ay lata person all lata same kay ay lata lis lata same base sikka mo lata same lata lis lata lis lata lis lata lis ma boro kulu lata ne lata lis lata lis lata lis lata lis like lata lis lata lis lata lis		this for SS	3P			say,CMP	person	laugh at a poor person
zama Inkoy te goyey sr poor laugh.SB/NEG because works of. God ga maamaacandi boro kulu Free Hykoy leave.SBJ person all God ma nap leave.SBJ person all Ay meet with people like Aysa and Amadu wan atumo I S ga sikka mo kap boro kallu fahom ma that person all lee that 1S ma boro kallu I Co, likey people all III grow kall ma I Co, like poor I Co, like poor				ma		haaru,		because Godês works are
zama Irkoy te gopey ga maamaacandi because works.of.God surprise.INC hecause Irkoy ma nay boro kulu God meet with people like Aysa and Amadu wana dumo Ay doubt.INC even ga sikka mo mo Is kay boro kulu lithom ma that person all understand.CMP of story.DEF kay do.CMP pp that is do.CMP pp that is do.CMP pp In prople all prople all ga maamaacandi mran se				Si		laugh.SBJ/NEG		surprising.
Production Pro		zama	Irkoy te goyey			ga maamaacandi		1
Price Pric		200	, i	1	-	Series Transcario		
God Reave, SBJ Person all Reave, SBJ Person all Reave, SBJ Person all Reave, sende Aysa and Amadu wan dumo Reave, sende Aysa and Amadu that same Reave, sende Aysa and Amadu that same Reave, sende Aysa and Amadu that same Reave, sende Amadu wan dumo Reave, sende Amadu wan dumo Reave, sende Amadu that same Reave, sende Amadu wan dumo Reave, sende Amadu that same Reave, sende Amadu wan decedo Reave, sende Amad	5.9		Irkoy			ma nay	boro kulu	May God give to everyone
Market M			God			leave.SBJ	person all	the opportunity to meet the
Ay			and the second s			ma kubay	din bora, sanda Aysa nda Amadu wana dumo	right person to him just like
Ay Ay Ba sikka mo mo mo IS Adubti.INC even Ida deedo Is Adubt						meet	with people like Aysa and Amadu that same	Aysa and Amadu
1S doubt.INC even had beed to falam nda deed to falam fala	5.10		Ay				то	I hope that everyone has
Ray boro kalu Jahan Jahan nda deedo Inda person all Inda deedo Inda person all Inda deedo Inda person all Ite Inda poro halu Inda people all Inda pe			18			doubt.INC even		understood the story that I
that person all the pe			kan boro kulu			faham	nda deedo	have just told.
Ray ay Re Arch Se			that person all			understand.CMP	of story.DEF	•
that 1S do.CMP 2P to To, Irkoy ma boro kulu no wayboro hanno INJ Gód people all give.SBJ wife good			kay ay			te	aran se	
To, Irkoy ma boro kulu no wayboro hamo INJ Gód people all give.SBJ wife good	-		that 1S			do.CMP	2P to	
God people all give.SBJ wife good	5.11	-	Irkoy	ma	-	по	wayboro hanno	Well, may God give
		INI	God	_	people all	give.SBJ	wife good	everyone a good wife.

Scott Eberle, Zarma learner's resource notebook. (Niamey: SIM, 1986),

APPENDIX L

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

-	rac-subject	SUBJECT	-				
1.1	Janti go, ignti 90		1	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VEPR	
	story EXT story EXT					OVER TOO	FREE TRANSLATION
	Ay naamay naamay		-				10 my story.
10	1S story story						To my customs
		Wayce da wayce hinka fo	-				
		wife two			day no ya		There were two co-wives one of
		kay wayce fa			EMP SS EMP		whom diad and 1-6 - 1 :1 :
		that co-wife other DFF			nq		whom they and left a child.
-					die.CMP		
			ga		dira		
-					leave		
			ga	nga izo	nan.		
				3S child.DEF	leave		
_		child DEE this			gonda	komo no	
-		cuit. Des uns woman one that			have	hims SS	This child A woman who had
-			'n	a	sampa	namp 33	a hump, took her so that she
1	Susubay kulu	7		38	take	goy.	could work for her.
-	morning each	22 77			ga kov	CIA	
	0	20			leave.INC		Every morning she left to rub the
-			ga	wayboro koma	ziiri	00 00	hump of the woman for her until
-	kala	koma		woman hump.DEF	rub		it was broken.
-	until	humn DEF			bagu.		
-		Gulla hanno fo da :			break.CMP		
-		ist good and 1 surd for no,			go no.		
-		Workson one and 3P swollen one SS			be SS		There was a good jar and a bad
		"ayoota			ne		jar.
		WOLLIAM: DEF			sav.CMP		The woman told her to take the
	,	3,5				1 cited	bad jar to go get water from the
						3p swollen	well.
			ga				
					go		
-			ga		n.m8	dans	
						35 for motor and book.	

		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
	Curey-ize foyan		go no		There will he hirds which will
	birds some		EXT SS		sav to her. "Your mother has
	kay		ga ne	a se	diarrhea voir father has
	who		say.INC	3S to	diarrhea" but she must not listen
	ni na		sooru,		
	2S mother		have.diarhea.CMP		
	ni baaba		sooru		
	2S father		have.diarhea.CMP		340
	a		ma si ba salley.		
	38		hear.SBJ		
	Y		go ga koy,		She was going she left just and
888 Thi The State Inc.	38	10 To 3 AMOUNT	go.PRG		the birds began to say. "Your
	W.		ga koy,		mother has diarrhea, vour father
	3S		leave.INC		has diarrhea She did not even
kala	curey-izey		до да не	a se	listen (to them)
until	birds.DEF	A Parkerina	say.PRG		
	ni na		sooru		
	2S mother		have.diarhea.CMP		
	ni baaba		sooru		
	2S father		have.diarhea.CMP		
	a		si ga ba salley		
	38		even		
			listen.INC/NEG		
Kala	a		ka	fu	Until she came to the bonce
until	38		come.CMP	house	CHAIR SHE CHAIR IS THE HOUSE.

FREE TRANSLATION

The woman told her to leave from the house, into the bush. There are some birds who are going to say, "Break here, break here, here is mercy and grace", but she did not listen. Until she arrived there where the flies don't cry. nay there ma si salley listen. SBI/NEG ma to arrive. SBJ si he, cry/INC/NEG bagu break. CMP go ga koy, leave. PRG go ga koy arrive.CMP ne
say.CMP
go ga koy
leave.PRG
ga ne
say.INC
bagu
break OBJECT gulla jar.DEF ma Ba suuji da gomni mercy and grace a 38 ba hamni-ize fo even fly one 38 4 38 4 38 SUBJECT
Waybora
woman.DEF
a
a
SCURP-ize for Appendix L—Continued. ne no here SS kala until kay where da if

Appendix L-

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	PRE-SURIECT	STIRTECT	ľ	OBIECT	VEDD	DOCT WEED	TOTAL TOTAL THE STREET
1		10000	1	Chart	LIND	rost-vend	FREE I KANSLATION
4.1	Saajo ra	curey-izey			go ga ne	a se	In the bush the birds were telling
	bush.DEF in	birds.DEF			say.PRG	3S to	her, "Break here, break here to
					bagu	ne	rest yourself. It is there where
					break.IMP	here	there is mercy and grace.
					bagu	ne	,
					break.IMP	here	
			ga		qn	ni boy	
					have	2S head	
	ne no	suuji da gomni			go.		
	here SS	mercy and grace					
4.2		A A			si ga ba salley		She did not even listen to them
		3S			even listen.INC/NEG		until she arrived where there
	kala	a			to	nan	were no flies who cay She broke
	until	38			arrive.CMP	there	the jar there
	kan	ba hamni-ize			si ga he,		
	where	even fly			cry.INC/NEG		
		3	на	gulla	bagu	nodin.	
		38		jar.DEF	break.CMP	over.there	No.
4.3		A			qn	arzaka, wurayan da alman-ize hanno yan,	She received riches, gold, and
		38			have.CMP	riches gold with animals good some	animals. She brought it to the
		a			konda	i kulu fu.	house.
		38			bring.CMP	3P all house	
5.1	Kay	a			koy	fu da nga jiney	When she arrived at the house
	when	38			leave	house with 3S riches	with the riches, her master indeed
	kala	ра мажо то			ие		said, her daughter as well is
	until	mother also			CMP		going to leave
	hinno	izo			ga koy.		0
	this.time	3S child.DEF SS			leave,INC		
6.1	Sohon kay	kociya			tun		Now the girl got up and left.
	now ?	child.DEF			get.up.CMP		,
			ga		koy.		
	•				leave		

	1	2
- 1	0	. 1

App	endix L-	Appendix L—Continued.							
	PRE-S	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	CT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
6.2	Kaŋ		a				koy		When she left, the woman
	when		38				leave.CMP		told her that she must must
	binde		waybora				ga ne		rub her back. for her.
	then		woman.DEF				say.INC		
			a	ma	nga	koma	ziiri	nga se.	
			3S		38	dunq	np	3S for	
6.3	kala	han fo	koma				bagu		Until one day, her hump
	nutil	day one	hump				break.CMP		broke.
6.4	Kaŋ		a				bagu		When it broke the woman
	when		38				break.CMP		said that she must take the
			waybora				ne		malformed jar.
			woman.DEF				say.CMP		,
			a				ma sambu	gulla stira.	
			38				take.SBJ	jare swollen	
6.5			A				не		She said, "Ah, am I an
			38				say.CMP		imbecile who is going to take
	ha!		ay no				ga ti		the malformed jar?"
	well		1S SS				be.INC	imbecile	,
			kan	ga	gulla	gulla siira	sambu?		
			who		jar sw	jar swollenDEF	take.INC		
9.9		Guffa hanna da no ay	o ay				ga ba		"It is the good iar that I
	iar	good.DEF EMP SS	18				love INC		1 100:00

6.7	rne-subject	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
		N N		ne		She (mother) said that she
		23		say.CMP		(daughter) must go and mim
		a		ma koy		water for her at the well but
		38		go.SBJ		there are hirds that are going
				nın8	nga se hari dayo bon	to tell her. "Your mother has
	2000			dund	3S. to water well.DEF on	diarrhea. Your father has
3 .2	amma, but	curey-ize Joyan		go no		diarrhea." but she should not
	741	birds.DEF some		EXT SS		listen to them
		кай		ga ne	a se:	
		that		say.INC	3S for	
		Ni ha		noos		
		2S mother		have.diarrhea		
_		Ni baaba		nioos		
-		2S father		have diarrhea		
		a		ma si sallev		
1		38		listen SBI/NEG		
8.9		W.		kon		
-		38		leave CMP		She left to pump water, birds
_		a			-	were saying to her, "Your
		Se		go ga guru	hart,	father has diarrhea, your
				pump.PKG	water	mother has diarrhea"
		curey-izey		go ga ne	a se:	
-		birds.DEF		say.PRG	3S to	
		N1 ha		noos		
		2S mother		have.diarrhea		
		Ni baaba		sooru.		
-		2S father		have.diarrhea		
7.0		Y		ne		
		38		Sav CMP		She said, It is your father
17.	ni mo	ni pa		woos.		who has diarrhea; it is your
2	S also	2S mother		have diambes CMD		mother who has diarrhea.
-		ni baaba		THE COS		
-		2S father		have diambas CMD		
7.1 ka	kala	a		kov	7	
5	limitil	0.00			n/	

PRE-SUBJECT	ECT		SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST_VEDB	79 15 64 15
			Waybora			200	TOTAL TOTAL	FREE I KANSLATION
			Woman DEF			, e	a se	The woman said to her in the
eaaio		70				say.CMP	3S to	bush if she leaves the house
buch DEF	14, 6	nn	90			go ga koy	fu	hird are going to east to have
DUSD.DEF		11				leave, PRG	house	one me going to say to liet,
			curev-ize fovan			1 2 2	2 CP CP	preak (1t) here, break (it) here
			birde como			ga ne	a se	to have rest. It is here that
						say.INC	3S to	mercy and grace exists She
		-				bagu	пе	did not listen
						break	here	are not natell.
						bagu	no	
						hreak	have	
				Ба		der		
)			un ood	
04						have	2S head	
on an			suuji da gomni			08		
here. SS			mercy and grace			EXT		
			a			man of the second		
			38			ma si salley.		
						IISIEHINC/NEG		
			A			ие		Sho onid out I am I am
			38			sav.CMP		Suc said, am I am impecified
ha!			ау по					that they would tell me to
well						Su u	sadmo	break it here, because here is
kan			,1			DE.LINC	imbecile.DEF	mercy and grace, And I won't
that			35			ga ne		break it?
			4			say.CMP		
		-	ay			ma bagu		
			IS			break.SBJ		
ne no			suuji da gomni			on day		
here SS			mercy and grace			FXT		
		-	av			2 4 12		
			, <u>a</u>			st pagar		
		1	CY C			break.INC/NEG		
			200			ga bagu	walla	I am inches of action to beautiful
			30	-				The second secon

PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	יייייייייייייייייייייייייייייייייייייי
7.5	a			kov	Day to	FREE I KANSLATION
-	38			leaveCMP		She left, she was going, until
	a			go ga koy	-	break it hare transit it it
Lal.	35			leave.PRG		god toward to the total
Kala	curey-izey			go ga ne	a se	rest yoursell. It is hear that
TITIN .	birds.DEF			say.PRG	3S to	she broke the iar And mild
				bagu	ne	animals are in Jan. And will
				break	here	scornions, serpents, and
				bagu	ne	scorpions.
				break	here	
		ga		du	ni bon	
				have	2S head	
ne no	suuji da gomni			00		
here SS	mercy and grace			FXT		
kulu	a	DM	aulla	ham		
and	38		-	break	nala almanize laloyay, goniday, danyay	
				Uran	until animaux savage serpents scorpions	
	35			soobay		They continued to sting her
	*			continue.CMP		until she died
		8a	a	ton	kala bu.	
			38	sting	until death	
	nyano			go ga hagay		How mother me in d.
bala	mother.DEF			sift.PRG	gourd in	process of eithing in a
that	Jaamaja	па	korbey-izo			process of stitling III a
mai	rat		ring.DEF			catabash, when a rat picked
	kay			08	kociw	the ring on the girls inger
	that			EXT	child DEF hand DEF	and came to throw the ring in
		ga		sambu		the mother's calabash.
				take		
		ga		tan	nano (mana)	
	1		38	throw	r.DEF	
	Nga mo			ие		The mother of O
V	3S also			say.CMP		the mother said, Oh, my girl
ruyi,	ay iso			pn		1S dead.
_	The state of the s					

addy	ppendix L—Commuea.						
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
7		A			go ga baray		She cried and cried in the
		38			cry.PRG		village until they came to
		a			go ga baray	ra	get her.
		38			cry.PRG	village in	
	kala	į			ka		
	until	3P			come.CMP		
			ga	a	di.		
				3S	go.get		
		Ay cay boy			kaŋ	danji ra.	The head of my mouse has
		1S mouse head			fall.CMP	fire in	fallen into the fire.

APPENDIX M Zanka laala 'Terrible child'

	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE I KANSLAIION
1.1	Ay jantay, jantay.					To my tale
	1S tale tale					
2.1	Ау паатау, паатау					To my customs.
	1S custom custom					
1.2		Alboro fo da woyboro fo		day no ya		Here are a man and a woman who
		man one with woman one		EMP SS EMP	1	never had children.
	kan i teevan	1		mana du	hayyan.	
	that 3P existence	3P		have.CMP/NEG	children.	
c	Han fo	wovbora		tun		One day the woman got up to go
	day one	woman.DEF		get up.CMP		to the bush.
				ga koy	saajo ra.	
				080	bush.DEF in	
		*		go ga windi,		She walked, she walked until she
		38		walk.PRG		met a genius.
				windi		
				walk		
	kala	D .		kubay	da ganji fo.	
	until	38		meet.CMP	with genie one	
5		V		ne	a se	She told him that she had
:		38		say.CMP	3S to	something, a problem.
	ow pan	0		08	nga se, sanday	
	3S this	tthing.DEF SS		EXT.CMP	3S to problem	
2.1	1	Ganjo		ne	a se	The genie, like what?
		genie.DEF		say.CMP	3S to	
		kay	-	ga ti	ifo	
		that		be.INC	what	
2.2	•	V		ne	a se	She said that it was a child that
		38		say.CMP	3S to	she never had on this earth.
	ize no	nga		mana bay		
	child SS	38		not know.CMP		
				ga du	ndunnyo bon.	
				0,100	world DEF	

PRE-SUBJECT	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
2.3		Ganjo		ne	a se ize hinne?	The genie said, only a child?
		genius.DEF.		say.CMP	3S to child.DEF only	
2.4		A		ne	oho	She said. ves.
		38		say	yes	ico (franco
2.5		A		ne		The genius told her to go and that
		38		say.CMP		the same day evening she was
	To	a		ma koy		going to have a halvy how
	INJ	38		go.SBJ		Some to mare a carry cory.
	hunkuna alula	a		ga hay		
	today afternoon	38		give.birth.INC		
		a		ga du	ize alboro.	
		3S		have.INC	child male	
3.1		Waybora		ka	nf	The woman came home to tell her
		woman.DEF		come.CMP	home	husband.
		a		<u>0.</u>	la currun	
		38		tell.CMP	DEF	
3.2		Kornyo		ka		The husband came and the waited
		Husband.DEF		come.CMP		until evening comes, and the
		1		goro,		woman had a bahv hov
		3P		stay.CMP		. Contain man and od:
	kala	alula		to,		
	until	evening		arrive.CMP		
		woybora	~~~~	hay		
		woman.DEF		give.birth.CMP		
		a		du	ize alboro	
		38		have.CMP		
3.3		Albora		tun,		The man got up and to the kinges
		man.DEF		get.up.CMP		place to tell the king.
		a		koy	bonkono kwaara	,
		38		go.CMP		
				ga ci	a se	
				tell	3S to	

2445	Appendix in Commuted.						
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
4.1		*			110		11
		35			ue		He said, You know that I never
		22			say.CMP		had a child in my lifee, isnet it?
		araŋ			ga bay		
		2P			know.INC		
	kaŋ ay teeyaŋ	ay			mana bay		
	that 1S existence	18			not know.CMP		
					ga du	ize wala?	
					have	child.DEF 0	
4.2		Borey			ne		The records said west
	Section of the sectio	people.DEF			say.CMP	yes	the people said year
5.1	I	A			ne:		He said Then today God has
		38			say.CMP		opened a way. I have a haby box
	To, hunkuna	Irkoy	na	fondo	feeri	av se	hit I do not have food to feed
	INJ today	God		way.DEF	open.CMP	1S to	him
		ay			du	ize alboro	
		18			have.CMP	child male	
	amma,	hay kay	ga	a	nwayandi no		
	but	what that		38	feed.INC SS		
					si ay se		
					not 1S to		
6.1		Bonkono			пе	a se,	The king said to him that they are
		king.DEF			say.CMP		giving him two hulls to milk and
	to	. 1			ma sambu	haw vaeii hinka	give the milk to the child so that
	[N]	3P			take.SBJ	bull two	he may drink
			8a	a	no		
				38	give.INC		
		a			ma koy		
		38			go.SBJ		
					ga wayi		
	•				milk		
			8a	kociya	no	wa	
				child	give	milk	
		9			ma han		
	_	25			SBJ		

. 77.	The second secon						
	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSI ATION
6.2	Albora binde,	1	na	haw weiev	no	03 0	To the mon than the base since
		3P		hull DEF	oive CMD	38 45	balls he man then, they have given
				THE PARTY OF THE P	Sivercivii	33 10	ours, he was not happy but went
					mana kan	a se	home to tell to his wife.
	3S this	38			please.CMP/NEG	3S to	
	amma	a			kov	fu	
	but	38			go.CMP	home	
		a			ci,	es apue man	
		38			tell.CMP	38 wife to	
7.1		A.			ne	.03 0	He said to her "Do may see what
		38			Sav.CMP	38 to	the bing has done for man!
	***************************************	ni			di		The wind the control of the control
		28			see CMP		
	hay kay	bonkoro			to	an se mala?	
	what that	king.DEF			do.CMP	uy se maia:	
7.2		Wando			ио	in Sept.	The mit. 11 11 10
		mift DEE				90:	The wife said, what?
		Wile.DEF			say.CMP	what	
×.		A			ne	a se:	He said, "It is the bulls that he has
		38			say.CMP	3S to	given me and said to come and
	yeeji hinka	a	na	ay	no		give milk to my son so that he
	bull two SS	38		18	give.CMP		may grow."
	10-20-00-0				ga ne)
					say		
		ay			ma ka		
		18			come.SBJ		
			ga	ay izo	no	wa	
				1S son.DEF	give	milk	
		a			ma han		
		3S			drink.SBJ		
	•				ga beeri		

2	The state of the s	orra mean		Christon	tunna	manua moon	
1	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
8.2		Woybora			ne		The wife said that nothing bad,
		Woman.DEF			say.CMP		but to attach the bulls and let
		D			of to	hav kulu	them rest
		38			not do INC	thing all	
			D144	hornion	how		
		38		bull.DEF	attach.SBJ		
					ga pisi		
					put down		
		a			ma fandey.		
		38			leave.SBJ		
8.3		I	na	hawey	haw,		He has attached the bulls and tried
		3P		bull.DEF	attach.CMP		here and there until the child
		, 2			sobay		became big.
-		3P			continue.CMP		
					ga ceeci,	yadin, yadin	
					look for	like this like this	
×	kala	kociya			ka		
2	until	child.DEF			come.CMP		
					ga beeri.		
					grow		
9.1		Albora			tun		The man called the son and told
		man.DEF			get up.CMP		him, you see, the king has put me
		a	na	izo	3		in problem.
		38		son.DEF	call.CMP		1
		a			ne	a se	
		38			say.CMP	3S to	
1	filaana	mi			di	bonkono	
_	one.such	2S			see.CMP	king.DEF	
		nga no	па	ay	day	sanday ra.	
		3S SS		18	put.CMP	difficulty in	
9.2		A			ne		He asked his father, what?
		38			say.CMP	father.DEF to	
		ifo?					
		what					

	PRE-SUBJECT		SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
10.1			A			ne:		He said that when you were born
			38			say.CMP		it is the two hills that the king has
	kaŋ		ni			hav		given me telling to milk them and
	when		2S			born.CMP		give you milk for you to drink so
	нам увеуап	ио	a	na	ay	ou		that you may orow and there are
	bull.	SS	38		18	give.CMP		here.
						ga ne		
						say		
			ay			ma ka		
			18			come.SBJ		
						ga wayi		
						milk		
				ga	mi	no	Wa	
					2S	give	milk	
			ni			ma han		
			2S			drink.SBJ		
						ga beeri,		
						grow		
	abinde		haw yeejey no ya.					
	then							
h10.			Kociya			ne:		The child said I also have an idea
7			child.DEF			say.CMP		of what I can do if you accept
	Baaba,		ay mo			gonda	dabari	or with the angle of the security
	father		1S also			have.CMP	way	
	da		aray			ga yadda	•	
	īĻ		2P			accept.INC		
			ay	ma	a	i i		
			18		38	do.SBJ		
10.3			Baabo			ne	ds D	The fother and it is might
			father.DEF			sav.CMP	3.8 to	The father Salu, it is what?
			ifo no					
			what SS					
10.4			A			ne		He said to give him an axe.
			38			say.CMP)
			,1	ma	nga	no	deesi.	
			38		38	give.SBJ	PAC	

-	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		ORJECT	VERB	DOCT VEDB	THE THE PART AND A PART AND A
30	THE RESERVE THE PROPERTY OF TH	7		10000		1031-vENB	FREE I KANSLAI ION
<u>.</u>		I	па	deeso	sambu		They have taken an axe and given
		38		axe.DEF	take.CMP		it to him.
					ga no	a se.	
9.0		A			brit.		117.
		38			an CMP	bing DEE to	He went to the king place, climb
		Cutzer a result			60.CM		on a tree in the king compound,
		tani nyago			080	windo bindo ra,	he cut it, cut it until the king
-		rad)			EXI	court.yard.DEF place in	heard the noise and said to people
		tree.DEF			karu	a boy	to go and see who was cutting the
		that			climb.CMP	3S on	tree.
		a			go ga beeri,		
		38			cut.CMP		
		a			go ga beeri,		
		38			cut.CMP		
	kala	a			go ga ma	beerivano.	
	until	38			hear.PRG	noise.DEF	
		bonkono			пе		
		king.DEF			say.CMP		
		a			ma kov		
		38			go.SBJ		
		1.			ou onno		
		38			See Suna	aga se to	
			go ga	tuuro	beeri.		
				tree.DEF	cut.PRG		
		boro kay no					
1		that					
		Borey			ka		People came find him and asked
		People.DEF			come.CMP		what he was doing on the tree.
			ga	a	gar.	tuuro boy	•
				3S	find	tree on	
		120			не	a se	
		38			say.CMP	3S to	
	yo no	a			go ga te	tuuriyano bon.	
-	ec man	99			do.PRG	tree.DEF on	

	_	_
1	7	5
	1	J

Ap	Appendix M—Continued.	mount and						1
	+	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	The same of the sa	_
12.1	1	A			ne:	Will Live	FREE TRANSLATION	Times.
		38			sav.INC		He said, It is the fire wood I am	
	out that	ay			on ou ka		taking to warm water for my	
	wood SS	18	-		take, PRG		father who gave birth.	
	Gary		ga	hari dungo	to to			
	Ior			water.hot.DEF	- P			
		ay baaba kan			have			
		1S father that			may ming blade Com	se.		
12.2	2	I			give.ourm.CMP	to		
		S			ne	a se	They asked him if a man and	
	hala mate cine no	alboro			say.CMP	3S to	give birth.	
	if how SS	man			ga te			
		7			do.INC			
					ga hay?			
					give birth			
12.3	3	A			ne			
		38			Chan Chan		He said yes, he has given birth	
	oho	a			say.c.m.			
	yes	38			hay ya			
13.1		7			give.birth.CMP EMP			
-	-	330			koy		F	
		JF.			go.CMP		They went to tell the king until	
					75.		numself came and find him up and	
					llet 1	CONKORO Se,	asked him what he was doing on	
	kala	nga mo	-		ka	King/DEF to	the tree.	
	תונות	3S also			come.CMP			
			ga	a	ADA.	7		
				38	Gard Gard	peene		
		a	па	a	ha	dn		
		3S		36	יומ			
	hay kay	a		3	ask.CMP			
	what that	38			go ga te	tuuri-nyano		
13.2		4			do.PRG	tree.DEF		
1		38			не	a se:	He said Abt It is the E	
	Ah! tuuri no	av av			say.CMP	3S to	that I am taking to make 1	
	ah wood SS	118			go ga ka		for my father who has given biggs	
		kan	50	7	take.PRG		THE BUYER OF THE	
		for	Sa		te	ay baaba kay hay se		
				waterhot.DEF	do.CMP	1S father that givehirth to		

+	PRE-SUBJECT	SUBJECT		OBJECT	VERB	POST-VERB	FREE TRANSLATION
13.3		Bonkono			ne	.03.10	The bing acked him how a man
		king.DEF			Sav.CMP	38	can give high
hala	hala mate no	alboro			ga te		car give out.
if	how SS	man			do.INC		
					ga hay.		
					give birth		
13.4		W.			ne		He said why not a man will give
		18			say.CMP		hirth ves he gives hirth if not
mate no	no	alboro			si te		why did you give bull to my
how	SS	man			do.INC		father telling him to milk it and
					ga hay,		give me to drink so that I may
					give.birth		grow.
		a			ga hay ya		b
		18			give.birth.INC EMP		
da					manti		
Ħ,					not be	like that EMP	
ifo se	ou :	ni	ga	ay baaba	no	yeejiyan	
but w		28		1S father	give.INC	bulls	
					ga ne		
					say		
		a			ma wayi		
		38			milk.SBJ		
			ga	ay	no		
				18	give		
		ay			ma han		
		2			drinkSBJ		
					ga beeri.		
					grow		
13.5		Bonkoro			ne		The king said. Then it is you th
		king			say.CMP		son
aha		ni no			no	albora 120?	
then		2S SS			give	man.DEF child.DEF	
13.6		A **			ие	oho.	He said yes.
ŧ		33			say.CMP	Yes	
13.7		Ay can bon			kaŋ	danji ra	The head of my mouse fell into
		TOTAL PORT					

Jetta Elizabeth Grigson

Experience

1994-2002

SIL, Inc.

Burkina Faso/Niger

Linguist/Translator

Worked as an office clerk

Set up a library

Did linguistic research

1984-1990

public school systems

Southwest Missouri

Speech Therapist

Worked with school children

Education

1978-1981; 1983-1884 University of Arkansas

Fayetteville, AR

B.A., French

1981-1983

Ouachita Baptist University

Arkadelphia, AR

B.S.E., Speech Pathology

Interests

Music, reading, hiking