

Mouton Grammar Library

A Grammar of Ma'di



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# A Grammar of Ma'di

by

Mairi Blackings

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from the publisher.  
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To my late dad, Tadeo Nduru and my mother Malyamu Yakobo Yanga who in between them spoke more languages than I would ever. I would also like to dedicate this work to the family of my late brother in law, Josphe Kebulu MP whose tragedy typified that of many Ma'dis both in the Sudan and in Uganda at the turn of the last century. Joseph Kebulu was dragged out of a public bus while on an election campaign and shot in full view of the rest of the passengers and in broad day light. His widowed wife, my sister, Cecilia Kebulu was blown to pieces when a hound hit her during the numerous shellings of Juba. Their son, John Kebulu, 'disappeared' when he was picked up by the security forces for interrogations in Juba and nothing was heard of him since then.

*Mairi Blackings*



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## Abbreviations used in glosses, and transcription conventions

AFF	affirmative
AFR	aforementioned <i>nā</i>
AUG	augmentative
BEN	benefactive <i>ní</i> and <i>dri</i>
CAUS	causative
COM	completion
COMT	comitative <i>trò</i>
DEF	definite article <i>n̄</i>
DIM	diminutive <i>ángwá</i>
2DIR, 3DIR	second person directive pronoun, third person directive pronoun, etc.
EMPH	emphasis
EXC	exclusive pronoun
FOC	focus
ID	ideophone
INC	inclusive pronoun
IND	indefinite
LOC	'location at' postposition <i>gá</i>
LOW	the low tone specifier (definite specific)
LOW-ʔ̄	the focus strategy involving a final low tone (probably the definite specifier) followed by ʔ̄
N	the non past low tone prefix on an inflected verb
NEG(N)	non-past negation: <i>kū</i>
NEG(P)	past negation <i>kūrù</i>
NPS	non-possibility <i>kpé</i>
OBJ	object clitic <i>ʔā</i>
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PR	pronominal <i>n̄</i>
PRPL	plural pronominal <i>p̄</i>
PRBEN	benefactive pronominal <i>lákā</i>
PS	possibility <i>wà</i>
Q	question
REFL	reflexive pronominal <i>rū</i>
RHE	rhetorical question marker <i>n̄</i>
S	singular
SB	suffix on a subordinate verb
SIM	simultaneity: <i>z̄</i>
SPEC	specific determiner: the low tone determiner and <i>z̄</i>
SR	source postposition <i>s̄</i>

UM	Ugandan Ma'di dialect
VE	ventive prefix $\bar{e}$ -
*	ungrammatical sentence, or non-available interpretation
?	sentence or interpretation of questionable grammaticality
( )	Round brackets indicate an optional element
[ ]	Square brackets in a gloss indicate subordinate clause boundaries
,	Pause (optional if in square brackets; otherwise obligatory)
@	Indicates that the constituent in question can be freely placed in this position.

### Transcription conventions

We give Ma'di words in broad phonetic transcription. We follow the International Phonetic Alphabet, except that we use a nonstandard transcription for vowels for ease of reading, and imitating Lojenga (1994):

	Non-back (& non-round)		Back (& round)	
	-ATR	+ATR	-ATR	+ATR
High	i	i	ɯ	u
Mid	ɛ	e	ɔ	o
Low	a	(ʌ)		

There is a standard orthography for Ma'di, which we do not use; differences between our transcription and the standard orthography are explained on page 6.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

This is a grammar of the Ma'di language, more specifically of the Lokai dialect of Ma'di. Lokai is the native dialect of one of the authors, Blackings. Ma'di is a Central Sudanic language of the Nilo-Saharan phylum, spoken in the south of the Sudan and north of Uganda. This chapter describes the general sociolinguistic situation of the language.

### 1.1. The name of the language and of the people

The speakers refer to themselves and are known to others as the *màdí*. In standard orthography this is Ma'di; the apostrophe indicates that d is implosive. The speakers refer to their language as *màdí tĩ*, literally 'Ma'di mouth'. Among themselves, Ma'dis refer to each other as belonging to this or that *súru* 'clan' or 'tribe', which may further be broken down into *pā* 'the descendants of' which in some cases overlap with *súru*. While a Ma'di can only marry from outside the clan, this is normally within the group of people who speak Ma'di as the common language.

#### 1.1.1. Other peoples and languages sometimes called 'Ma'di'

'Ma'di' has also been used to describe other peoples and other languages in the area. Thus for example a common tendency especially in the Acholi area of northern Uganda is to refer to anyone from West Nile Region as a Ma'di, even the Kakwa; the only group in this region who are never called Ma'di are the Alur. Tucker (1940: 5) describes the Kaliko "who occupy the high plateau in the southern Yei River District under Chief Aluma" (in Sudan on the West side of the Nile, near the Logbara) as having the "real name Ma'di". We are not sure of the basis for Tucker's claim: these people are and still regard themselves as Kaliko rather than as Ma'di. Fr. Crazzolaro (1960: v) also makes a similar claim about the Logbara when he says "all Logbara, however, agree that they are of the Ma'di nation, that they are Ma'di. They are called Ma'di by the Aluur of Okoro, their immediate neighbours, in Bunyoro and Buganda." Again, we are not sure of the truth of this claim, at least at the present time. Another group which is a possible source of confusion is the Ma'di-Indri (*màdí indrí* literally 'goat Ma'di') of Rhino Camp, Arua District, Uganda; they are at times called Ma'di Okolo. Their other neighbours, the Nilotic Alur, refer to them as Ma'di-Dyel (literally 'Goat Ma'di') and the Bantu, Banyoro call them Abatembuzi (literally 'Goat

people’). Despite the name similarity, the group are administratively in Arua District of the Logbara people rather than Moyo or Adjumani Districts of the Ma’di people and speak a language which more closely resembles Logbara than Ma’di. We note that Tucker and Bryan (1966: 36) suggest that *ma-* is a ‘tribal prefix’ used in some languages in the region to name either the ‘tribe’ itself (*mangbetu, meje, mamvu, ma’di*) or another ‘tribe’ (e.g. the Mamvu word *ma-zande* ‘a Zande’).

### 1.1.2. Folk etymologies for the term ‘Ma’di’

One jocular folk etymology among the Ma’di for their name is as follows. When the first white person in the area asked the question ‘who are you?’, the bemused response was *màdí* ‘a person’ (phonetically *màdí*). This was taken to be the name of the people, which came to be corrupted to the present word *màdí* (with -ATR vowels).

Another jocular Ma’di narrative attempts to account for the names of some of the Moru-Ma’di group members, as follows. When the progenitors of the Ma’di were pushed southwards, on reaching a strategic location they declared *ôtrā rū mūrú* ‘let’s form a cluster here’. And so they formed a cluster to defend themselves. This group came to be known as the Moru. A group broke off in search of greener pastures in a more or less famished state, until they found an edible tree called *lùgbá* ‘desert dates’ (*ximenia aegyptiaca*). After helping themselves to this manna, they could not resist the temptation of taking some with them. When the time came to refill their stomachs again, a woman who lost her harvest was heard enquiring about the *lùgbá rì* ‘the desert dates’. This group came to be known as *lùgbārà* but the Ma’di still call them *lùgbārì*. The final group on reaching fertile grounds resolved and declared *mā dī* ‘here I am (finally)’. And these came to be known as the Ma’di.

## 1.2. Ethnology

The main economic activity that the Ma’di have traditionally engaged in is agriculture. The prevalence of tsetse fly depleted the livestock population at the end of the nineteenth century. Almost the whole population live off the land planting and growing mostly seasonal food crops like sesame, groundnuts, cassava, sweet potatoes, maize, millet and sorghum. Most of these are for personal consumption; only the excess is sold for cash. The main cash crops grown are cotton in Uganda and tobacco in the Sudan. Those who live close by the Nile do some fishing for commercial purposes. The main fishing grounds are Laropi (Uganda) and Nimule (South Sudan). Most of the fish caught in Nimule is smoke dried and

transported to be sold in Juba, the capital of South Sudan. An important seasonal activity used to be hunting. This has dwindled in importance partly because of curbing of hunting by governments, and partly because Nimule is designated as a National Park, making it illegal to hunt in or around it. The hunting season used to be the dry season when most of the agricultural activities for the year have been completed and the grass is dry enough to be burned.

Blacksmiths have a particular significance in regard to the Ma'di. The Ma'di were at one time associated with the 'Ma'di hoe', which was once used as currency in marriages by both the Ma'di and the neighbouring tribes like the Acholi, who call it *kweri ma'di* 'Ma'di hoe'. This was made by the blacksmiths (*èrèṁū*). However, the Ma'di have low opinions of the blacksmiths, despite the important economic role they play in the society. They are thought to be a lazy lot who spend the whole day in the shed while the rest are toiling in the hot sun. They are also blamed for the fall of mankind from grace. Legend has it that in the past, a person only needed a seed of grain to pound to provide a meal for a whole family. One day, when the farming population had gone to their farms and the blacksmiths as usual were left all alone at home, greed took hold of them. They wanted more than the single seed the farming community gave them for their services. So on this fateful day, they stole and pounded a mortarful of grain. The gods reacted swiftly and harshly to this disobedience; a single grain seed was never again to be enough. Human beings had to toil harder for an ever decreasing yield per grain seed. When twins are born, the first of the pair is called *ópi* 'chief' (or the related form *ópiá* for a female) and the second of the pair is *éṛémúgó* 'blacksmith' (or *mùjá* for a female second twin). The blacksmith is there to provide for the chief.

### 1.3. Demography

The Ma'di, with an estimated population of about 250,000 are found astride the Uganda - Sudan border; 50,000 of these are in Southern Sudan. The Ma'di, on either side of the border, live along the Nile. The Ugandan Ma'di are found across both sides of the Nile while the Sudanese Ma'di, who are to be found at the point where the Nile enters the Sudan, reside along the eastern bank of the Nile only. Molloy (1957) suggests that the Sudanese Ma'di used to live on both sides of the Nile, until the British relocated those who lived on the western bank to Nimule (east of the Nile).

The Ma'di are surrounded in the North by the Bari and the Lolubo; in the East by the Sudanese Acholi and the Latuka; in the South by the Ugandan Acholi; in the West by the Alur, Lugbara, the Kuku and the Kakwa. There is an interesting linguistic interaction between the Ma'di,

the Acholi and the Kuku (*kūkú*). Most Ma'dis speak Acholi but hardly any Acholi speak Ma'di. This is possibly because during the first civil war in the Sudan, most Sudanese Ma'di were settled among the Acholi in Uganda. Possibly for the same reasons, most Kukus speak fluent Ugandan Ma'di, but hardly any Ma'di speaks Kuku. It is still possible even today to find among the Sudanese Ma'di people who can trace their ancestry to the neighbouring tribes - Bari, Kuku, Pajulu, Acholi etc. Hardly any of them can now speak their 'ancestral' languages; they speak Ma'di only and have become fully absorbed into the Ma'di community.

#### 1.4. Genetic affiliation

Accounts of the classification of Ma'di (eg. Ruhlen 1987, Grimes 1988, Bender 2000) agree that it belongs to a Moru-Madi group. The Speakers of the Moru-Ma'di group stretch across three international borders: Uganda (Ma'di, Lugbara), Sudan (Ma'di, Moru, Lugbara, Kaliko, Avokaya, Lolubo, Logo) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Logo, Lugbara, Kaliko, Avokaya).

Moru-Madi is generally agreed to be part of a 'very large and complex language and dialect cluster', Central Sudanic, and most analysts put this in the Nilo-Saharan phylum. Some accounts provide a more detailed substructure. Thus Ruhlen (1987) has Moru-Madi in 'East-Central' as a subgroup of Central Sudanic, while Bender (2000) places Central Sudanic as part of the satellite group within the satellite-core group in Nilo-Saharan. Ehret (2000) offers a different classification of Central Sudanic, based on a hypothesized historical reconstruction from proto-Nilo-Saharan, diverging into Proto-Sudanic and then into Proto-Central-Sudanic.

Crazzolaro (1960: ix) claims that there are linguistic traces of Ma'di found in Nilotic languages like Dinka (especially Atwot), Nuer and Lwo (Acholi, Alur and Lango) and among the Bantu (Lunyoro and Luganda). He does not provide evidence for this. We have heard that there are Acholi speaking clans in Pakele in Adjumani (*àdzúmání*) district, whose Ma'di accent is said to be completely different from that of the other Ma'di in the area. In Adjumani itself are found the Oyuwi (*ōjúwí*) who are said to speak all three languages - Ma'di, Kakwa and Lugbara.

#### 1.5. The sociolinguistic situation

Most Ma'dis are bilinguals. In Uganda the educated class have English as their second language, and also speak Swahili. In the Sudan, educated Ma'dis speak English and/or Arabic. The Sudanese Ma'di also speak

Juba Arabic, spoken in the Southern Sudan and not understood in the North or even throughout all of the South; there are local variants such as those found in the towns of Wau and Malakal. The form of Juba Arabic spoken by the Ma'di is influenced by Nubi/Kinubi, spoken in Uganda among Moslems who are mainly descendents of Gordon's troops. Loanwords in Ugandan Ma'di are therefore mainly of English and/or Swahili origin and in Sudanese Ma'di of English and/or Juba Arabic origin.

The Ma'di have been going through turbulent times of late. In the 1960s the Sudanese Ma'di were displaced by the civil war in the Sudan to Uganda. Most of them settled in Acholiland; some settled in the Ugandan Ma'di area. The former, after the cessation of the violence, went back to the Sudan speaking Acholi. Ten years later the Ugandan Ma'di were forced to flee into the Sudan after the fall of Amin, a Kakwa from West Nile Region. As the Ma'dis are from the same region, they were perceived to have been supporters of Amin resulting in thousands being killed. Most fled to the Sudan and settled in Ma'di areas only to be forced out of the Sudan together with the Sudanese Ma'di on the second wave of violence in the Sudan which started around 1983. The result is that a few of the Ugandan Ma'di learned Juba Arabic, and now the Sudanese Ma'di are in turn exposed to Swahili. The influence of loanwords is likely now to transcend international frontiers.

## **1.6. Ma'di in print and on the radio**

Printed material in Ma'di is scarce and where there is any it is hard to come by. Possibly the only general published works in Ma'di are missionary publications such as the translation of the New Testament, and prayer and song booklets by the Catholic missionaries. We have heard that the missions of Arua diocese have some publications in Ma'di. The Ma'di Ethnic and Heritage Welfare Association in Britain publishes a quarterly bilingual (English and Ma'di) paper called *Ma'di Lelego*. The texts we include at the end of this grammar were collected on behalf of this association, which we thank. We can best represent the situation of Ma'di on the radio by saying that in Spring 1998, Radio Uganda made the following regular broadcasts in Ma'di (all programmes except 'Listeners' Favorite' last 15 minutes). (Daily) News in Ma'di, Religious Program, Veterans' Assistance Board (Program for laid off soldiers), Talk Show (general topic), Ma'di Guest, Ma'di Traditional Music, Calling Farmers, Women's Program, Family Life Education, Health Program, Listeners' Favorite (Greetings).

### 1.6.1. Orthography

A standard orthography was adopted following the recommendations of the Rejaf Language Conference of 1928. The policy then was to admit representative languages to be taught in schools. From the Eastern Sudanic languages were chosen Zande, Moru, Ma'di, Kreish and Ndogo (Tucker 1940:36). The rest of the languages were left to die. Government textbooks were supposed to be issued in these languages to be used in the schools. Subsequently Sir James Robertson, who succeeded Sir Douglas Newbold as the Civil Secretary, reversed in 1946 the policy of his predecessor which hitherto regarded South Sudan as a different social and political entity from Northern Sudan. This reversal saw the last governmental attempt to develop orthographies for the languages of the South Sudan, as the North has been hostile to them and has preferred the promotion of Arabic. From around 1987 The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) started work on the orthography of the language culminating in the production of a primer in 1992; SIL member Kilpatrick (1985) also has suggestions for an orthography.

The standard orthography for Ma'di omits tones and uses the five vowels (a, e, i, o, u), thus ignoring ATR distinctions in the vowels. The SIL suggestion for ATR differentiation is to place a dot below a vowel (a e i o or u) to mark it as +ATR; without a dot the vowel is -ATR. Kilpatrick suggests as an alternative placing a colon before the word with +ATR vowels. In this grammar, following Lojenga 1994, we use different symbols for +ATR vowels (Λ e i o u) and -ATR (a e i o u) vowels. This is our only deviation from the IPA symbols we otherwise use, and we do this for visual clarity.

For the tones, the SIL practice is as follows: Low vowels are marked with a tilde over the vowel, high vowels with an acute accent, and mid vowels are not marked with a diacritic. Kilpatrick suggests additionally marking mid vowels with a circumflex or umlaut. In this grammar we mark low vowels with a grave accent (à), mid vowels with a macron (ā), and high vowels with an acute accent (á).

Glottal stops are indicated in the standard orthography by an apostrophe, as in 'a for ?ā 'stomach'. Implosive ('preglottalized') consonants are marked in the standard orthography by putting an apostrophe before the consonant, as 'ba, for b̄a 'to put; home'. Hence the language name *màdí* is written Ma'di. The palatal nasal [ɲ] is written ny, hence *ɲā* is written nya. These orthographic practices are adopted also by the SIL. We use IPA symbols for all consonants in this grammar.

Table 1. Orthographies for Ma'di

	Standard	SIL	This grammar
'eat'	nya	nya	ɲā
'build'	si	sɨ̌	sī
'write, tear'	si	sɨ̃	sì
'stomach'	'a	'a	ʔā
'arrow'	e'e	é'é	éʔé
'true'	'gba	'gbá	gbá
'mountain'	'be	'bɛ̌	bé
'war, fight'	o'ja	ó'já	ófá

### 1.7. Dialects and clans

There are two main dialects of Ma'di; the Northern and the Southern dialects, which have subdivisions within them. This is a probable breakdown of dialects:

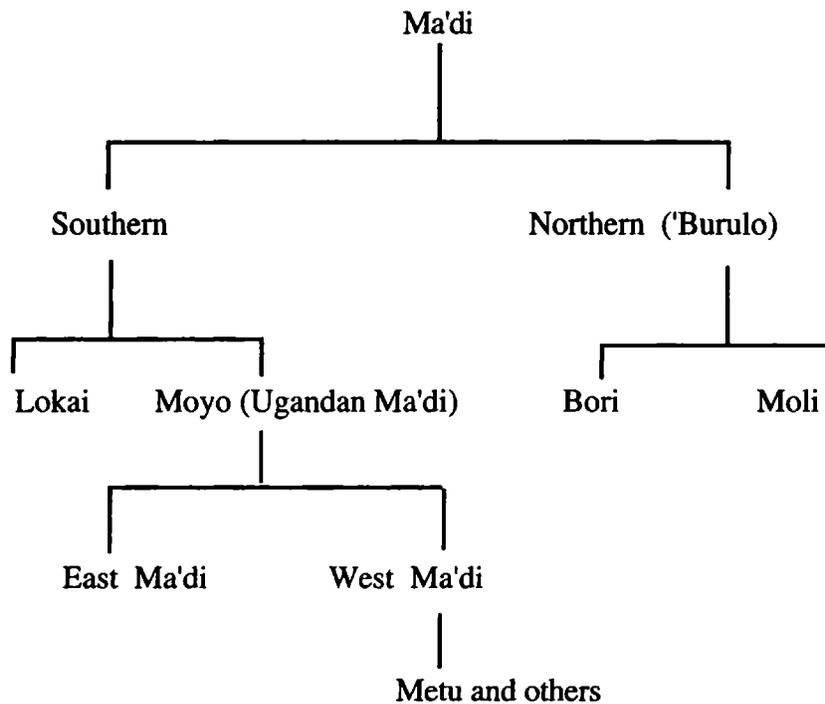


Figure 1. Dialects of Ma'di

The dialects are mutually intelligible (we have witnessed conversations in which a mixed group of 'Burulo, Lokai and Ugandan Ma'di speakers each speak in their own dialect). This is a grammar of Lokai Ma'di; we occasionally comment on differences between Lokai and 'Burulo or Ugandan Ma'di.

### 1.7.1. *The Northern Dialect (also known as 'Burulo)*

The Northern dialect is commonly referred to as 'Burulo (phonetically *burúló*). It is spoken entirely in South Sudan, in the northernmost part of Ma'diland. This is the dialect Tucker (1940) refers to as Pandikeri. It may further be divided into two subdialects, Bori and Moli.

#### 1.7.1.1. *The Bori subdialect and its speakers*

Bori is an administrative unit with its own chief. The speakers of the Bori subdialect of 'Burulo, which stretches from Panyikwara in the Acholi area to Langgauro (the market place at Pageri), are found around Opari and Panyikwara. The Bori subdialects include the following clans: *borì*, *múgí*, *ngàjá*, *gònjápi*, *pàndikéí*, *pātíbí*, *lúpórí* and possibly the *óróló*. The Pandikeri are a bilingual clan who speak both Bori and Acholi (a Nilotic language of the Shilluk-Acholi group) with equal fluency. As a result they are given the dual identity of Acholi-Ma'di by the Ma'di. Tucker (1940) had access to Pandikeri informants, and it is these informants who are responsible for some 'Burulo data in his survey; he does not use the term 'Burulo. In Panyikwara, the following clans are found: *pāitfō*, *pālókí*, *jàjò*. The Panyikwara people are bilinguals, speaking both 'Burulo and Acholi, though they identify more with the Acholi politically.

#### 1.7.1.2. *The Moli subdialect and its speakers*

Moli is an administrative unit with its own chief, and is associated with the Moli subdialect which is spoken in two main areas, Moli and Kerepi. Moli - *mólí* - is also a place name covering the northernmost Ma'di frontier in the borders with the Bari. Clans include: *ùkèì*, *pākólí*, *tédírē*, *pā mùfó*, *pāséló*, *múgí*, *lólúbó*, *lògópì*, *kílólòrò*, *ìdzúpì*, *tjèrà*, *óróló*, and the *lógílí* (*lódzílí*) and *mónónjì* who may be the same people. Kerepi - *kérépì* - also a place name, is wedged between Moli in the North, Bori in the East and Southern Ma'di in the South. Clans include: *dègí*, *ìdzúpì*, *àfódrō*, *pāmùfo* (mostly in Uganda today), *pālúdrà*, *pātíbí*. The *pātíbí* are found in both the 'Burulo speaking areas of Kerepi and Bori, but interestingly the people speak mainly Lokai rather than 'Burulo.

### 1.7.2. The Southern Dialect

The Southern dialect may be divided into two dialects, Lokai spoken in the Sudan, and Ugandan Ma'di or Moyo spoken in Uganda. Unlike the linguistically significant Northern-Southern distinction, this division is primarily a reflection of geopolitical realities, rather than a linguistic division though there are some differences both in the linguistic systems and in the vocabulary.

#### 1.7.2.1. Lokai

Lokai is an administrative unit with its own chief. Lokai, orthographically also Lukai and Lokayi, phonetically *lókáí*, is spoken in Sudan, in an area from Nyonggwa - *ɲɔŋgwà* - in the North around Pageri to far South-East around Paracele - *pàràtʃélé* - in the borders with the Acholi. The clans whose dialects form the main Lokai dialects are found, starting from the far north, in six different areas. In Nyonggwa - *ɲɔŋgwà* - *dzúlù*, *dzéru*, *òpí*. In Pageri - *pāgéri* - *pāgéri*, *pādrɔmbè*. In Arapi - *àrápí* - *pālúŋwá*, *pāākórí*, *pārídí*, *tédírè*. Around Loa - *lóá* - *kámíá*, *pāmèrì*, *pālói*, *pādrɔmbè*, *pāmòtò*, *pāvūrā*, *pālurú*, *úrúgú*, *pūtʃèrì*. In Nimule - *nímúlé* - *tʃérà*, *kóí*, (*rèmū*, *pādzāū*, *pāākórí*, *kámíá*, *lúpórí*, *pāséló*, *àtʃópèlè*, *pāmòtò*. In Mugali - *mùgàlí* - *métú*, *pālói*, *pālúŋwá*, *pātíbí*, *pāmòtò*, *pāvūrā*, *òdrúkpeé*, *pāíkà*, *èdé*, *bàrì*, *àgórípí*. The last two groups speak a dialect closer to Ugandan Ma'di.

In this grammar we take 'Lokai' to describe the non-'Burulo dialects within Sudanese Ma'di, which is the sense in which we use it in this grammar. Note however that the Ugandan Ma'di use Lokai to refer to the Sudanese Ma'di in general.

#### 1.7.2.2. Ugandan Ma'di

In the administrative districts of Adjumani and Moyo of northern Uganda is found what is referred to as Moyo - *mójó* - or Ugandan Ma'di dialect. The dialects spoken here may further be divided into East Ma'di and West Ma'di respectively, an administrative divide along the Nile with some slight sub-dialectal differences. One common difference between the two is that most words beginning with [e] and [ɛ] in East Ma'di start with [i] and [ɪ] in West Ma'di; phonemic distinctions are maintained.. The speakers of East Ma'di are geographically closer and in proximity with the Sudanese Ma'di (Lokai) in the Sudan. Within West Ma'di in Moyo district there may be a case to treat Metu (*métú*) as a sub-dialect in its own right.

In the Obongi - òbòṅì - county of Moyo district are found the *gìmarā*, *rèlì* and *àlibá* clans who are Kakwa speaking peoples, and are believed to have many things in common with the Kuku in the Sudan. There is also a small community of speakers of the Lugbara dialect of Aringa - *àrìṅgà* - found here.

The clans found among the Ugandan Ma'di include: *pāpāṅgà*, *pāákálá*, *pāmèrì*, *pādzáú*, *pāmùtṣé*, *pāmùdì*, *pālòbò*, *órólú*, *ìndrì*, *pāgākì*, *pākúndrò*, *pālémó*, *pāmòdzú*, *pārídí*, *rādùmù*, *ìdzúpì*, *ófúódó*, *bàrì*, *pāgírìjā*, *èdè*, *pāátṣóró*, *bòrì*, *àlú*, *vūrā*, *gúrépì*, *pākā*, *pādròmbè*, *pāājìbá*, *pāmùní*, *ágórípì*.

The New Testament was first translated into East Ma'di (at Pakele), but the missionaries moved to West Ma'di (at Moyo) because of sleeping sickness. A new translation had to be made because the West Ma'di speakers would not accept the East Ma'di dialect. Because the New Testament has been translated into Ugandan Ma'di, this has tended to give this dialect a sense of being an elevated, more formal register within the language as a whole.

### *1.7.3. Ma'dis who are part of Acholi clans*

Some clans found among the Acholi have people who are originally Ma'di. Long settlement among the Acholi means that now only the elders speak Ma'di; the younger generation are almost without question Acholi now. These settlements are around Acopele, Padibe, Palabek, Muruli, Ma'di Opei, Ma'di dyel, Odrupele, Oyapele. These are all in Kitgum district of the Acholi people in Uganda.

## **1.8. Previous research relating to Ma'di**

The earliest published work on Ma'di is probably Molinaro (1925). The major surveys of Tucker (1940) and Tucker and Bryan (1966) include sections on Ma'di. There are dictionaries for Ma'di by Bilbao and Ferrazin (nd), Ferrazin (1996), and Blackings (2000). Linguistic work on Ma'di phonetics and phonology includes Andersen (1986), Demolin and Goyvaerts (1986) and Kilpatrick (1985). Linguistic work on Ma'di syntax includes Andersen and Goyvaerts (1986), Blackings (1988), Watson (1997) and Andersen (1998). Surveys which include material on Ma'di include Greenberg (1966), Demolin (1988), Heine and Nurse (2000). Work on other Central Sudanic languages which we have found useful includes Andersen (1984, 1987), and Vallaeys (1991, and nd). Crazzarola (1960) is titled *A study of the Logbara (Ma'di) language. Grammar and vocabulary* but despite the title is not a grammar of Ma'di; Logbara is a distinct but quite closely related language within the

Moru-Ma'di family. Djuruni (1983) is a useful study of Logbara by a native speaker (and critical of Crazzarola). Lojenga's (1994) grammar of Ngiti is the only detailed previous grammar of a Central Sudanic language; we have found this grammar very useful and make occasional comparisons with Ngiti where they seem relevant.



## Chapter 2

### An overview of Ma'di

#### 2.1. Sound structure

Points of note about Ma'di consonants are that there are many secondarily and doubly articulated consonants and there are implosives. There is little allophonic variation. Vowels show Advanced Tongue Root harmony. There are three tones: high, mid and low. Some morphemes consist just of floating tones. Vowel and tone deletion takes place, and may result in the surface concealment of grammatical morphemes such as pronominals and inflection. Syllables are CV or V. There are few restrictions on combinations of consonants with vowels.

#### 2.2. Morphology and word classes

Ma'di has compounds and some unproductive derivational processes. We differentiate noun, verb, adjective, postposition, and also recognize the existence of words whose category is not obviously any of these and might best be called adverbs. Lexical word classes show different inflectional behaviour, and are differentiated by characteristic tonal patterns. Loanwords also have a distinctive tonal pattern.

#### 2.3. Inflected, uninflected and directive verbs

Root sentences show distinct kinds of structures, depending on the verb, which is inflected (1,2), uninflected (3,4) or directive (5,6). The three types of verb are differentiated by taking different subject pronominals; the inflected verb is prefixed by a low tone which can appear on the preceding word's vowel, and is glossed as N-. The inflected verb is used in nonpast sentences, and the uninflected verb in past sentences. However, if the verb is negated, only the uninflected verb is used and the choice of negation particle codes past or nonpast (7,8). The inflected verb is preceded by its object or takes an object clitic. The uninflected verb (or directive verb) is followed by its object and the object can be omitted.

The inflected verb, with preverbal lexical object (1) or clitic object (2).

- (1)      *ká*              *gbánda*              *ṅā*  
          3S              cassava              N-eat  
(a) 'He is eating cassava.'  
(b) 'He eats cassava.'





determiner which codes definiteness and specificity. These phrases must be pre-adjoined to a pronominal, which in the default case is the pronominal *nĩ*, when they are in object position or subject of a nonverbal predicate. They can also be pre-adjoined to the plural pronominal *pĩ* (meaning 'X and associates') or the focus/predication pronominal *ʔĩ*.

The object can be left-dislocated to before the subject, leaving a clitic copy behind when the verb is inflected.

- (13) *bòṅgú rĩ ópí kó-dzè-ā sàbúnì rĩ sì*  
 clothes DEF Opi 3-(N)-wash-OBJ soap DEF SR  
 'The clothes in question, Opi is washing them with the soap in question.'

## 2.5. Noun phrases

Noun phrases are basically head-initial, optionally followed by a postmodifier and a final determiner.

- (14) *mì sū bòṅgú ĩkā àzō rĩ áū*  
 2SDIR wear dress red long DEF FOC  
 '(You should) put on the long red dress.'

Two kinds of possession phrase can precede the noun, one definite (15) and the other indefinite (16).

- (15) *ópí ʔā dzó ʔĩ*  
 Opi/chief POSS house FOC  
 (a) 'It's Opi's house.'  
 (b)\* 'It's a chief's house.'

- (16) *òtʔé ɔ-tʔĩ ópí nĩ pá*  
 dog 3-bite Opi / chief POSS leg  
 (a) 'A dog bit a chief's leg.'  
 (b)\* 'A dog bit Opi's leg.'

The head noun can generally be omitted.

In the chapter on noun phrases we differentiate phrases by determiner. Noun phrases without determiners include names and bare indefinites, both illustrated in the example below.

- (17) *ópí āzĩ gārĩ údí*  
 Opi (3)-sell bicycle recently  
 (a) 'Opi has sold a bicycle recently.'  
 (b) 'Opi has sold bicycles recently.'

There is a specific indefinite determiner *zì* meaning ‘some’ or ‘another’ which can also stand on its own.

- (18) *áǵó zì ē-mú dzúǵà ǵá sí*  
 man SPEC (3)-VE-go Juba LOC SR  
 (a) ‘A certain man came from Juba.’  
 (b) ‘Another man came from Juba.’

There are three demonstrative determiners: *dǵì* (speaker-proximal ‘this’), *nà* (distal ‘that’), and *ìlédǵì* (hearer-proximal ‘that near you’); all can stand on their own. They are used only for referents in the physical context.

- (19) *ō-mū básì nà sí*  
 3-go bus that SR  
 ‘She went in that bus.’

Referents which are to be found in the discourse context are identified with *ǵì* ‘the .. in question’ (for more distantly mentioned referents) and *nā* ‘the aforementioned’ (for more recently mentioned referents). These two determiners are definite but can become indefinite when they are preceded by a postmodifier.

- (20) *ídré ǵì tǵǵǵ*  
 rat DEF clever  
 ‘The rat (in question) is clever.’

- (21) *ídré nā tǵǵǵ*  
 rat AFR clever  
 ‘The aforementioned rat is clever.’ (i.e. introduced in the preceding utterance)

- (22) *óǵí ō-dū ǵàláǵù ìkā ǵì ǵǵ*  
 opi 3-take pen red DEF FOC  
 (a) ‘It is the red pen that Opi took.’  
 (b) ‘It is a red pen that Opi took.’

There is also a determiner which makes a noun phrase both specific and definite, and thus like a name, and with the same syntactic characteristics in Ma’di as a name. This is a low tone suffix, glossed SPEC in (24). It can be put after a bare noun or after a noun phrase ending in a demonstrative or *ǵì*, making these noun phrases specific as well as definite.

- (23) *ídré rì*                      *bārá àkó*  
 rat      DEF                      child    without  
 'The rat (in question) is without a child.'

- (24) *ídré rì*                      *nī bārá àkó*  
 rat      DEF      SPEC    PR      child    without  
 'The specific rat (in question) is without a child.'

## 2.6. Postposition phrases

Location words in Ma'di are either classifiable as nouns, typically standing on their own or being possessed by the things they locate, or as postpositions, typically preceded by a noun phrase. The postposition phrase is fairly freely placed, but tends to come towards the end of the sentence, e.g. *pá gá* 'on the leg' in (25).

- (25) *òtǝé ǝ-tǝī ópí nī pá gá*  
 dog    3-bite    Opi    PR    leg    LOC  
 'A dog bit Opi on the leg.'

Postposition phrases are also used in expressions of possession, and in conjunction structures, where *trò* is 'with'.

## 2.7. Non-verbal clauses

A clause need not have a verb; most phrase types can be the predicate in a structure consisting of a subject and nonverbal predicate. We think it is likely that there is a null subject pronominal and that the overt subject is adjoined to it.

- (26) *àmā ālī*  
 1PL(EXC)    short(PL)  
 'We (excluding you) are short.'

- (27) *búkù dī ópí nī*  
 book    this    Opi    BEN  
 'This book is for Opi.'

A noun phrase which is a predicate must be adjoined to *ǝī* only if it is definite.

(28) *mā*    *lāpwóní*    *rì*    *ří*  
 1S    teacher    DEF    FOC  
 ‘I am the teacher (in question).’

(29) *mā*    *lāpwóní*  
 1S    teacher  
 ‘I am a teacher.’

## 2.8. Tense and aspect

The distinction between inflected and uninflected verbs, and between the negation particles *kū* and *kūrù*, is a distinction in tense: between nonpast and past respectively. In other descriptions of Central Sudanic languages, this distinction has been characterised as a distinction in aspect, but we do not consider this correct for Ma'di. A non-past clause is sometimes ambiguous between a present and a future interpretation, but in general a present interpretation is taken as the default interpretation unless a future interpretation is forced by the presence of some other element in the clause, not necessarily having any specifically future meaning, such as the affirmative modal *rá*, a future adverbial, etc. Present tense correlates with imperfective aspect, progressive or habitual. Nonpast (past and future) tense correlates with perfective aspect. Habitual and progressive can be expressed in past or future sentences by periphrastic means. Non-verbal clauses are nonpast by default. It is possible to express past states periphrastically by embedding the non-verbal clause under a verb which shifts the clause into the past.

## 2.9. Modality

The core modals are sentence-final words which can alternatively be nominalized by combining them with the determiner *rì* which allows them to be freely placed within the sentence. The core modals are *wà* which expresses possibility, *kpé* which expresses non-possibility, and *rá* which expresses a range of meanings including necessity and affirmation. The negation particles are very similar in their syntax to the modals.

(30) *ō-sī*    *d3ó*    *wà*  
 3-build    house    PS  
 ‘He was able to build a house.’

(31) *má*    *jī*    *tè*    *kpé*  
 1S    2S    (N)-wait    NPS  
 ‘I can't wait for you.’

The modal *rá* affirms the proposition expressed by the sentence. We consider it to be a kind of necessity modal. It appears to be inherently perfective, and is thus not compatible with a present tense interpretation of a sentence which is always imperfective in Ma'di. Hence *rá* can be used to force a future reading on a nonpast sentence as in (35).

(32) *má mū ēbù gá*  
 1S go work LOC  
 'I had gone to work.' (that's why you didn't get me)

(33) *má mū ēbù gá rá*  
 1S go work LOC AFF  
 'I did go to work.' (I was certainly there)

(34) *má `mū ēbù gá ðbú*  
 1S N-go work LOC tomorrow  
 'I will go to work tomorrow.'

(35) *má `mū ēbù gá rá*  
 1S N-go work LOC AFF  
 'I will go to work.' (I will certainly be there)

## 2.10. Negation

The verb is negated by a sentence-final negation word *kū* or *kūrù*; the verb must be uninflected and tense is expressed by the choice of negation word (7,8). The negation words have a syntax similar to the core modals; they are either fixed in final position or can be nominalized by adding the determiner *rì* and are then freely placed within the clause, negating specific constituents of the sentence. Note that this kind of negation is compatible with an inflected verb.

(36) *kū rì má èbī `jā*  
 NEG(N) DEF 1S fish N-eat  
 'The one that I don't eat is fish.'

The nonpast negation word *kū* can negate a nonverbal clause.

(37) *mā lāpwóní kū*  
 1S teacher NEG(N)  
 'I am not a teacher.'

In a different kind of syntactic configuration, the nonpast negation word

*kū* can stand in final position outside the clause, contrastively negating the clause as a whole or some constituent of the clause.

- (38) *má*    *mū*    *ēbù*    *gá*    *kū*  
 1S    N-go    work    LOC    NEG(N)  
 ‘It is not to work that I am going...’ (but instead somewhere else)

## 2.11. Subordinate clauses

Some subordinate clauses have exactly the syntax of root clauses.

- (39) *ńí*    *fō*    *k-ē-mú*    *òbú*  
 2S    say    [3DIR-VE-go tomorrow]  
 (a) ‘You said that she should come tomorrow.’  
 (b) ‘You told her to come tomorrow.’
- (40) *k’-āndré*    (*má ní*)    *ópí*    *ē-mú*    *kū*    (*ání*)  
 3-(N)-look 1S BEN [Opi (3)-VE-go NEG(N)] like  
 ‘It seems to me that Opi will not come.’

Some grammatical verbs take subordinate clause complements which have the syntax of root clauses (eg. root verbal morphology) but lack a subject.

- (41) *ópí*    *ō-drì*    *líná*    *dí*  
 Opi 3-then [food N-cook]  
 (a) ‘Opi then cooked food.’  
 (b) ‘Opi will then cook food.’

The function played by subordinating conjunctions in some languages is played in Ma’di by freely placed adverbials within the subordinate clause; such adverbials can usually also be found in a root clause, suggesting that there is no true class of ‘subordinating conjunctions’.

Other subordinate clauses have a suffixed verb. The suffixed verb always has a low tone prefix which is homophonous with the inflected verb’s prefix and may be the same prefix. We assume that it is the same prefix, and hence gloss it as N-. It is often hidden by phonological processes. There are several verbal suffixes. One suffix *-kā* appears to make the clause into a constituent which has the syntactic distribution of a noun phrase, and thus prefix perhaps nominalizes the verb.

- (42) *má*    *ndrē*    *àríángwá*    *rì*    *?à*    *ē-dé-kā*    *rá*  
 1S see [bird DEF POSS (N)-VE-fall-SB] AFF  
 ‘I saw the bird’s falling / fall.’

- (43) *má* *bì* *mū-kā* *kūrù*  
 1S try [(N)-go-SB] NEG(P)  
 (a) 'I have not tried to go / going.'  
 (b) 'I did not try to go / going.'

The suffix *-rē* and its plural equivalent *-bá* tend to make a clause with a subject argument controlled from outside (eg. in a relative clause) and the suffix *-lé* tends to make a clause which in contrast has its object argument controlled from outside.

- (44) *má* *zē* *ópí* *nī* *d3ó* *̀sī-rē*  
 1S send Opi PR [house N-build-SB]  
 'I sent Opi to build a house.'

- (45) *ū-gbī-bá* *rì* *ōgū*  
 [(N)-ITER-shoot-SB] DEF thief (PL)  
 'The ones who (repeatedly) shot at them are thieves.'

- (46) *ágó* *àŋ-à* *rū* *̀mgbā-rē* *ānī* *trò* *rì*  
 man [2PL-POSS REFL N-hit-SB 3S COMT] DEF  
 'The man (S) with whom you (S) fought'

- (47) *àràbià* *ópí* *ʔà* *d3ī-lé* *rì* *pá* *nā* *āđi* *rá*  
 car [Opi POSS (N)-take-SB] DEF leg AFR deflate AFF  
 'The car which Opi took has a flat tyre.'

The suffix *-d3ó* creates a clause expressing a 'source' of some kind such as an instrument or a reason.

- (48) *ópí* *ēdó* *̀sī-d3ó* *rá*  
 Opi start [N-build-SB] AFF  
 'Opi has started to build (with) it.'

- (49) *bélè* *ágó* *rì* *pī* *̀mgbā-d3ó* *rì* *dī* *ʔī*  
 stick [man DEF PLPR N-beat-SB] DEF this FOC  
 (a) 'The stick with which the man and his associates was beaten is this one.'  
 (b) 'The stick for which the man and his associates was beaten is this one.'

Sentences with suffixed verbs can be complements to root verbs (specific kinds of suffixed verb are selected by specific root verbs).

- (50) *má* *bì* *mū-dzó* *rá*  
 1S try [(N)-go-SB] AFF  
 (a) 'I tried it for going with.'  
 (b) 'I tried going.'

They can also be relative clauses.

- (51) *āgó* *ngwá* *nī* *dī-rē* *kpó* *rì* *ópí* *ṙī*  
 man [son SPEC PR N-kill-SB dead] DEF Opi FOC  
 (a) 'The man(1) who killed his (1,2) son is Opi.'  
 (b) 'The man(1) who is going to kill his (1,2) son is Opi.'

As headless relatives, some sentences with suffixed verbs have specific roles to play. Thus a clause with *-rē* can function as a modifier of time or place.

- (52) *èjì* *ṙà* *dī-rē* *ádẓínī* *rì* *ámá* *ōdú* *kō*  
 [water POSS (N)-rain-SB yesterday]DEF 1PL(EXC) sleep N-catch  
 'When it was raining yesterday we were sleeping.'

## 2.12. Focus strategies

A final object which is a bare noun phrase can be optionally interpreted as in focus as in gloss (b).

- (53) *má* *dzē* *gáṙ*  
 1S buy bicycle  
 (a) 'I bought a bicycle.'  
 (b) 'It was a bicycle I bought.'

A final object of any other kind must be adjoined to *ṙī* and is then obligatorily interpreted as in presentational (a) or contrastive (b) focus.

- (54) *má* *dẓī* *gáṙ* *rì* *ṙī*  
 1S take bicycle DEF FOC  
 (a) 'I took something, which was the bicycle' (or 'I took the one which is a bicycle').  
 (b) 'It's the bicycle (in question) that I took.'

It is worth noting that the above two strategies both treat the focused object as though it is a predicate in a nonverbal clause. An object may also be contrastively focused, whether final or nonfinal, by adding the final focus particle *áū*.

- (55) *gáɾì n̩ má `dʒē-ā áũ*  
 bicycle DEF 1S N-buy-OBJ FOC  
 (a) 'It is the bicycle (in question) that I am buying / will buy.'  
 (a) 'It is the bicycle one that I am buying / will buy.'

A third person subject is contrastively focused by the final focus particle *n̩*.

- (56) *ópí ká dʒòkónì d̩ s̩ n̩*  
 Opi 3 kitchen this (N)-build FOC  
 'It is Opi who is building / will build this kitchen.'

A first or second person subject is focused by copying it into final position and pre-adjoining it to *ʔ̩*, like a definite object.

- (57) *í-kè n̩ ʔ̩*  
 2S-give 2S FOC  
 (a) 'You were the one who gave it.'  
 (b) 'You gave it yourself.'  
 (c) 'It was you who gave it.'

The verb is focused by copying it into final position and adding a final low tone.

- (58) *má fō fò*  
 1S say say-FOC  
 (a) 'I said it.' (rather than communicating it in other ways)  
 (b) 'I just said it.' (for no apparent reason)

A modifier is focused by ending the clause with a low tone and *ʔ̩*. We gloss the low tone as SPEC, and assume that it is the same morpheme as the low tone specific determiner. The focused adverbial can be final (59) or left-dislocated (60).

- (59) *má `mū èbù gá ` ʔ̩*  
 1S N-go work LOC SPEC FOC  
 (a) 'It is to work that I am going.'  
 (b) 'I am on my way to work.'

- (60) *bási s̩ má mū ` ʔ̩*  
 bus SR 1S go SPEC FOC  
 (a) 'It was in a bus that I went.'  
 (b) 'It was because of a bus that went.'

### 2.13. Questions

In wh-questions, a phrase or word is substituted by an equivalent question phrase or word ('wh-phrase' or 'wh-word'). These include *àdū* 'what', *àdī* 'who', both of which substitute for noun phrases, and *íngò* 'which', which substitutes for a determiner; there are many others. These kinds of question can be constructed from all kinds of clause.

- (61) *àdū*      *ṣ-jā*      *nì*  
 what      3-eat      FOC  
 'What ate it?'
- (62) *àdī*      *nī*      *lápwojí*      *nì*  
 who      PR      teacher      FOC  
 'Who is it that is a teacher?'
- (63) *ópí*      *ṣ-lè*      *búkù*      *íngò*      *ǀí*  
 Opi      3-want      book      which      FOC  
 'Which book is it that Opi wants?'
- (64) *jí*      *lè*      *àdī*      *ǀà*      *ē-mú-kā*      *rá*      *nì*  
 2S      want      [who      POSS      (N)-VE-go-SB      AFF      FOC]  
 'Whose coming is it that you like?' (future and past)

The wh-expression appears in the same syntactic positions as the equivalent non-wh-expression, and hence as a noun phrase, determiner, etc. As a noun phrase it can be in-situ or left-dislocated, like all noun phrases. We have been unable to find many clear instances of island effects realized as restrictions on left-dislocation. The wh-expression is obligatorily focused.

Yes-no questions are constructed by adding a final rising tone to a declarative sentence (66).

- (65) *ágó*      *nà*      *úlé*  
 man      that      witch  
 'That man is a witch.'
- (66) *ágó*      *nà*      *úlé*      *´*  
 man      that      witch      Q  
 'Is that man a witch?'

### 2.14. Fixed final sentential elements

Some constituents of the sentence must come at the end of the sentence. These include some of the focus particles, the modals and negation, and

various other constituents including various adverbs such as manner adverbs and completion adverbs.

- (67)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $\bar{o}-s\grave{o}$      $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 Opi    3-sew    quickly  
 'Opi sewed it quickly.'
- (68)  $m\acute{a}-\grave{a}$      $dr\acute{i}$      $\bar{o}-\eta\grave{o}$      $mgb\acute{u}$   
 1S-POSS    hand    3-break    COM  
 'My hand is completely broken.'

## 2.15. Freely placed sentential elements

Other constituents of the sentence can be freely placed within the sentence. These include various adverbs, degree modifiers, quantifiers, hearsay and commenting elements, expressions indicating causation and sequence, subordinators such as words meaning 'if', some of the modifiers of time or place, and nominalized versions of the fixed final sentential elements. These freely placed elements can be of various categories, including noun phrases, postposition phrases, clauses, etc.

- (69)  $\bar{o}-dz\grave{e}$      $p\acute{e}l\acute{e}r\acute{e}$      $r\acute{e}r\acute{e}$   
 3-wash    clean    COM  
 'She washed it really clean.'
- (70)  $\bar{o}-d\bar{i}$      $k\acute{i}$      $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$      $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $n\bar{i}$      $n\grave{i}$   
 3-kill    PL    allegedly    Opi    PR    FOC  
 'Allegedly, they were the ones who killed Opi.'
- (71)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$      $r\acute{a}$      $gb\grave{o}$   
 Opi    (3)-VE-go    AFF    COM  
 'Opi nevertheless came.'

## 2.16. Supra-sentential final elements

Some constituents must be final but in addition seem to stand outside or above the sentence, perhaps as higher predicates taking the sentence as an argument. They can take scope over the sentence as a whole and do not appear to have any special relation with any particular component of the sentence. We call them supra-sentential final elements. Thus for example as discussed in 2.10 the negation particle  $k\bar{u}$  can function both as a fixed final sentential element where it negates the verb and as a supra-sentential final element where it contrastively negates the clause or one of its focused subconstituents in comparison with another clause.

## Chapter 3 Phonetics

In this chapter we look at consonants and vowels, syllable structure, restrictions on consonant-vowel sequences, and tones. We conclude the chapter with notes on utterance-level prosody, phonetic variations in dialectal cognates, and tongue twisters.

### 3.1. Consonants

#### 3.1.1. Inventory of consonants

##### 3.1.1.1. Chart of phonetically attested consonants in the Lokai dialect of Ma'di

Phonetically, the following consonants and glides are attested in the Lokai dialect of Ma'di.

*Table 2. Singly articulated consonants*

	bi- labial	labio- dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	p		t		k	ʔ
voiced stops	b		d		g	
prenasalized stops	mb		nd		ŋg	
implosive stops	ɓ		ɗ	f		
nasals	m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
voiceless fricatives		f	s			h
voiced fricatives		v	z			
prenasalized fricatives		ɱv				
voiceless affricates			tʃ			
voiced affricates			dʒ			
prenasalized affricates			ndʒ			
lateral			l			
trill			r			
glides				j		

The glottal fricative [h] is found mostly in some interjections and loanwords.

*Table 3.* Doubly articulated consonants and secondarily articulated consonants

	bilabial	alveolar	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	kp	t <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup>	ʔ <sup>w</sup>
voiced stops	gb	d <sup>w</sup>	g <sup>w</sup>	
prenasalized stops	mgb	nd <sup>w</sup>	ŋg <sup>w</sup>	
implosive stops	ɠɓ (ɓ <sup>w</sup> )			
nasals	ŋm (m <sup>w</sup> )			
voiceless fricatives				(h <sup>w</sup> )
voiceless affricates		tʃ <sup>w</sup>		
lateral		l <sup>w</sup>		
trill		r <sup>w</sup>		
glides	w			

brackets indicate variant forms for some speakers.

[h<sup>w</sup>] is a variant for [k] and [k<sup>w</sup>] for some speakers.

There are no differences in length between consonants (unlike, for example, some neighbouring Nilotic languages such as Lango). We note that Tucker (1940:109) has Ma'di words with [nz]. At least in contemporary Lokai this consonant does not exist, though there is the possibility of a language change in this respect; his example *nza* 'thick' should now be *ndzǎ*, his example *ɔnzú* 'thin' should now be *ɔ̄ndzú* and his example *n[d]zete* now has the form *ndzēte* 'a swampy place'; similarly his suffix *nzi* should be *ndzĩ* (Tucker 1940:129).

### 3.1.1.2. Doubly and secondarily articulated consonants

We have placed the doubly articulated consonants (labio-velars) and the secondarily articulated consonants (labialized alveolars, velars and glottals) together in table 3. This illustrates that the two kinds of consonant divide up between them the place of articulations (labial, coronal, dorsal and glottal), such that there are no contrasts for example between the attested [kp] and a hypothetical [p<sup>w</sup>].

The secondarily articulated (labialized) consonants are not found before back vowels, thus patterning with the labial obstruents but not the labial sonorants; see 3.4.2. The doubly articulated labio-velar consonants in contrast do not show any clear co-occurrence restrictions. When a nasal co-occurs with a labio-velar, it is the labial part not the velar part which determines the nasal giving [mgb] not \*[ŋgb].

In Lokai, labialized consonants are uncommon (particularly in comparison with 'Burulo, 3.1.2.2).

- [h<sup>w</sup>] appears to be a dialectal or idiolectal variant of [k] or [k<sup>w</sup>], found

in  $h^w\bar{e}$  as a variant for  $k\bar{e}$  or  $k^w\bar{e}$  ‘give’, and  $h^w\bar{e}$  as a variant for  $k^w\bar{e}$  ‘tree’. Andersen (1986: 197) suggests that  $[h^w]$  is phonemically  $[k^w]$ .

- $[\ʔ^w]$  is also found in relatively few words; we have found four:  $\ʔ^w\bar{a}$  a dialectal variant of  $\ʔ\bar{a}$  ‘to yield’,  $\bar{e}\ʔ^w\bar{e}$  a ventive form of  $\ʔ^w\bar{e}$  ‘to bail out water, scoop soup’,  $\bar{a}\ʔ^w\bar{i}$  and related words meaning ‘dry’, and  $l\bar{o}\ʔ^w\bar{e}$  ‘calabash’.
- $[s^w]$  and  $[z^w]$  (not shown in the table) exist but are now rare in Lokai; we know of only one example of each:  $s^w\bar{e}$  ‘to become fat’ which to some speakers is  $s\bar{e}$ , and  $z^w\bar{i}$  a particle which modifies ‘red’.
- We have found three examples of  $[t^w]$ :  $t^w\bar{a}r\bar{a}$  ‘sisal’,  $t^w\bar{i}$  ‘to slide, untie’, and  $t^w\bar{i}$  (also realised as  $t\bar{u}\bar{i}$ ) a particle which modifies ‘black’; and three examples with  $[d^w]$ :  $d^w\bar{a}r\bar{i}$  ‘hunting’,  $d^w\bar{e}$  ‘even, deuce’, and  $d^w\bar{o}l\bar{i}$  ‘kraal’, with the ideophone  $d^w\bar{i}$  ‘sound of your knees hitting the ground’ as a possible fourth (it is also realised as  $d\bar{u}\bar{i}$ ).
- We have found only one example with  $[tʃ^w]$ ,  $tʃ^w\bar{e}r\bar{e}$  ‘broom’ and none with  $[dʒ^w]$ .
- We have found seven examples of the labio-velarized lateral  $[l^w]$  - all followed by the front vowels ( $[a]$ ,  $[i]$ , and  $[e]$ ).
- In its four attested words, the labio-velarized trill  $[r^w]$  is only found followed by the mid front vowels ( $[e]$ , and  $[ɛ]$ ).

Note: henceforth we usually write labialized consonants such as  $\ʔ^w$  as  $\ʔw$ , for ease of reading.

### 3.1.1.3. Variations within the Lokai dialect of Ma’di

- Speakers of Lokai vary in whether they have dental or alveolar pulmonic articulations of the stops  $[t]$   $[d]$  and  $[nd]$ .
- Some Lokai speakers have free variation between velar nasal  $[\ŋ]$  and a palatal nasal  $[ɲ]$  (which is attested in Ugandan Ma’di, in place of  $\eta$ ); this is seen for example in  $\acute{o}\eta\bar{a}$  and  $\acute{o}\eta\bar{a}$  ‘winged termite’; the consonants  $[\eta]$  and  $[\eta]$  are never in phonemic contrast in any dialect.
- Lokai speakers may also use  $[b^w]$  in place of  $[gb]$ , as in  $gb\bar{a}$  or  $b^w\bar{a}$  ‘to pluck or pick fruits or leaves’.
- Similarly,  $[m^w]$  may be used in place of  $[\eta m]$  as in  $\eta m\bar{a}$  or  $m^w\bar{a}$  ‘rot’ (Andersen 1986:197).
- Educated speakers may have the cluster  $[\eta k]$  instead of  $[\eta g]$  in some loanwords, such as  $\acute{i}\eta k\bar{i}$  ‘ink’,  $b\acute{e}\eta k\bar{i}$  ‘bank’.
- A few clans of Lokai also have alveolar-retroflex stops  $[tr]$ ,  $[dr]$ , and  $[ndr]$  (found in Ugandan Ma’di, not shown in the table), in phonemic contrast with equivalent alveolars  $[t]$ ,  $[d]$ , and  $[nd]$ .

### 3.1.2. *Dialectal variations involving consonants in Ugandan Ma'di, and in 'Burulo*

#### 3.1.2.1. Differences between Ugandan Ma'di (Moyo) and Lokai, involving retroflex consonants

The Ugandan Ma'di (Moyo) dialect has retroflex affricates [tr], [dr] and [ndr] in phonemic contrast with equivalent alveolar stops (cf. Clements 2000:147).

*Table 4. Retroflex affricates vs. alveolar stops in Ugandan Ma'di*

dr		d	
<i>drà</i>	'death'	<i>dà</i>	'to deflect, etc'
<i>drī</i>	'on'	<i>dī</i>	'to float'
<i>trò</i>	'with', COMT	<i>tò</i>	'to tell a story'
<i>ndrī</i>	'to divine'	<i>ndī</i>	'up to'

Some Lokai clans found especially around the Nimule and Mogali areas also have these retroflex consonants. However, most Lokai speakers have lost the retroflex affricates and substitute alveolar stops, and these are completely absent from 'Burulo.

*Table 5. Retroflex consonants: dialectal variation*

Ugandan Ma'di	Lokai & 'Burulo	meaning
<i>ndrwè</i>	<i>ndwè</i>	'to milk'
<i>drwōlī</i>	<i>dwōlī</i>	'kraal'
<i>drwārī</i>	<i>dwārī</i>	'hunt'
<i>drà</i>	<i>dà</i>	'death, to die'
<i>trī</i>	<i>tī</i>	'to rub'

#### 3.1.2.2. Differences between 'Burulo and Lokai

Alveolar affricates exist in all dialects. There is some tendency for an alveolar affricate in Lokai to be substituted by a velar stop in 'Burulo

*Table 6. Alveolar affricates in Lokai vs. velar stops in 'Burulo*

Lokai	'Burulo	meaning
<i>dʒè</i>	<i>gè</i>	'to buy'
<i>ndʒì</i>	<i>ŋgì</i>	'to carry'
<i>ndʒē</i>	<i>ŋgē</i>	'to explain'
<i>àndʒī</i>	<i>àngī</i>	'heavy'
<i>tʃī</i>	<i>kī</i>	'to confuse'
<i>òtʃé</i>	<i>òké</i>	'dog'

'Burulo has labialized consonants, and is the only dialect with the voiced labialized affricate [dʒʷ]. In comparison, labialized consonants are rare in Lokai.

Table 7. Labialized consonants in 'Burulo

Lokai	'Burulo	meaning
sì	tʃwì	'to write'
sá	ìtʃwá	'tail'
zā	zwā, dʒwā	'to shout, pain'
ìzā	ìdʒwá	'meat'
zē	zwē	'to send'
dʒè	dʒwè	'to wash'
ndʒà	ndʒwà	'to deceive'
tʃà	tʃwà	'to plait'
ūndʒà	lūndʒwà	'to deceive'

There is also some variation between alveolar affricates and alveolar fricatives, though not systematically differentiating the dialects. Thus Lokai ìzò 'warthog' with a fricative is 'Burulo ìdʒò with an affricate.

### 3.1.2.3. The palatal and velar nasals in the three dialects

The velar and palatal nasals do not contrast in any dialect of Ma'di. In Ugandan Ma'di only the palatal is found. In 'Burulo there is a tendency towards the use of the velar nasal, though the palatal nasal is found. In Lokai both are found, and may be in free variation; the possibility of free variation seems to arise specifically for those words where 'Burulo has the velar nasal.

Table 8. Palatal and velar nasals: dialectal variation.

Ugandan Ma'di	Lokai	'Burulo	meaning
lāɲú	lāɲú or lāɲú	lāɲú	'bees, honey'
lɛɲú	lɛɲú or lɛɲú	lɛɲú	'tree sp.' ( <i>ziziphers spinochristi</i> )
lójū	lójū or lójū	lójū	'bell'
ɲáí	ɲáí or ɲáí	ɲáí	'jokes'
ɲò	ɲò or ɲò	ɲò	'to break'
ɲā	ɲā	ɲā	'to eat'
ɛɲò	ɛɲò	ɛɲò	'shallow'

### 3.1.3. Consonants in phonemic contrast

Table 2 which shows phonetic segments also represents phonemic segments which contrast in Lokai. The only exception is that there is no phonemic contrast between velar [ŋ] and palatal [ɲ]. This means that we can collapse the phonemically contrasting places of articulation to four, based on active articulators: labial (including bilabial and labiovelar), coronal (alveolar), dorsal (palatal and velar), and laryngeal (glottal).

The following table indicates phonemic contrasts, using wherever possible a CV word with [a] as the vowel. This is not possible for the labiodentals, or for the glottals, or some of the doubly articulated segments, which are not attested with following [a] in CV words. However, these segments contrast with other segments before other vowels, attesting to their phonemic status.

*Table 9. Phonemic contrasts between consonants*

bilabial	<i>pà</i>	'to play guitar etc'
	<i>bà</i>	'breast'
	<i>mbā</i>	'to halt'
	<i>bā</i>	'to allow'
	<i>mā</i>	'to try'
labiodental	<i>fù</i>	'to exit'
	<i>vù</i>	'earth, land'
	<i>ɱvū</i>	'to jump'
alveolar	<i>tà</i>	'thing'
	<i>dà</i>	'to parry, deflect'
	<i>ndā</i>	'to scoop and distribute <i>líná</i> 'dumpling'
	<i>dā</i>	'fine, okay'
	<i>nā</i>	'that'
	<i>sā</i>	'to intervene and bring a fight etc to an end'
	<i>zā</i>	'to set alight'
	<i>tʃā</i>	'to shred into pieces'
	<i>dʒā</i>	'to squint'
	<i>ndʒā</i>	'to con'
palatal	<i>lā</i>	'to count, read'
	<i>rā</i>	'to think'
	<i>fā</i>	'to shake'
	<i>ɲā</i>	'to eat'
velar	<i>jā</i>	'to exaggerate'
	<i>kā</i>	'(of grain) to ripen'
	<i>gā</i>	'to eat raw cassava, potatoes etc'
	<i>ŋgā</i>	'to sprout'

glottal	$\bar{a}ʔ̄$	'to get stuck'
	$\bar{a}ʔ̄w̄$	'dry'
doubly articulated	$kpà$	'to ferment'
	$gbá$	'true'
	$mgbā$	'to beat'
	$gfbā$	'to pick or pluck leaves'
	$\eta m\bar{a}$	'to rot'
	$kwā$	'to shave'
	$gwā$	'to pull the stomach inwards'
	$\eta gwá$	'son'
	$ndwè$	'to milk'
	$lwā$	'to gut'
	$rwè$	'to lay in wait'

### 3.2. Vowels

The following table shows the phonetically attested vowels of Ma'di. Note that our vowel symbols differ from IPA recommendations, in order to enable easy visual differentiation of -ATR and +ATR vowels.

Table 10. Phonetically attested vowels.

	Non-back and non-round		Back and round	
	-ATR	+ATR	-ATR	+ATR
High	i	i	ɯ	u
Mid	ɛ	e	ɔ	o
Low	a	ʌ		

The vowels [a] and [ʌ] are contextually conditioned variants. Thus there are nine vowels which contrast phonemically.

Table 11. Vowels in phonemic contrast, illustrated

	Non-back and non-round		No contrast for back and round		Back and round	
	-ATR	+ATR	-ATR	+ATR	-ATR	+ATR
High	$t̄$ 'to distil'	$t̄$ 'to give birth'			$t̄$ 'to dance'	$t̄$ 'to climb'
Mid	$tè$ 'only'	$tè$ 'to wait'			$t̄$ completion particle	$tó$ 'again'
Low			$tā$ 'thing'			

[a] is -ATR, as can be seen by the fact that a stem with [a] takes -ATR prefixes or suffixes. Thus, *ɲā* 'to eat' takes the -ATR ventive prefix to give *ēɲá* 'to eat or have eaten from a distance' rather than \**ēɲá* and takes the -ATR iterative prefix [u] as in *ūɲā* 'to eat repeatedly' rather than \**ūɲā*. +ATR is the dominant feature because vowels can change to +ATR but not to -ATR; we discuss harmony in more detail in chapter 4.

It seems that phonemically [a] is unspecified for backness and roundness. There appear to be no sound-changing phonological rules which are sensitive to backness or roundness, and thus it is difficult to assign [a] to either category. The major difference between the back and nonback vowels can be seen in restrictions in consonant-vowel sequences; front vowels are restricted in occurrence with labial fricatives and back vowels with labial plosives. The vowel [a] does not clearly fall into the distributional patterns of either back or nonback vowels.

The low vowel [ʌ] does not contrast with [a]; it appears phonetically in some +ATR words, apparently as a consequence of vowel harmony with a +ATR vowel; thus *ʌlí* 'short' is the surface realisation of *àlí* 'short'; the two forms are in free variation for a speaker. We note the existence of *ālā* 'obstruct' but the absence of any word \**ʌʌ*.

Tucker and Bryan (1966: 28) suggest that for Moru-Ma'di as a whole the mid vowels do not contrast phonemically for ATR; instead the +ATR vowels [e] and [o] are said to arise only by harmony with high vowels within the same word. This does not appear to be true for Ma'di, where [e] and [o] exist in words where there are no accompanying high vowels from which they might be getting their +ATR feature. Thus compare *èró* 'granary' and *lěfó* 'issue, word'.

Vowel length is not contrastive in Ma'di, though lengthened vowels occur as a phonological result of combining two vowels at a word boundary. Long vowels, possibly in distinct syllables, are also induced by the addition of floating tones at the boundary of a word, see 3.5.1.2. Diphthongs are not contrastive in Ma'di, though diphthong-like combinations with a vowel followed by a possible glide appear in a few cases discussed further in 4.4.2. Vowels are phonetically slightly nasalized in conjunction with the deletion of [n] in some cases, but nasalization is not phonemic. Thus *dʒó nā* 'the aforementioned house' can realize as *dʒóā* with nasalization of the final vowel or both vowels.

### 3.3. Syllable structure

#### 3.3.1. Syllable structure

There are two types of syllable: V and CV. CV syllables appear initially, medially and finally; all three positions can be seen in the word *lā.bō.lō*

'bananas'. V syllables can also be found initially, medially and finally, as in *ĩ.nĩ.ò* 'to twist, wring etc' and *mà.á.tfĩ.ká* 'sorghum sp.'; V syllables are however most commonly found at the beginning of a word. Verbs of one syllable are consonant-initial with a CV structure. Verbs of two syllables are all vowel-initial with a VCV structure in Lokai, though 'Burulo adds initial /- to some of these verbs.

Multiply articulated consonants can fill the single C slot. There are no sequences of consonant and glide. Some educated speakers have consonant clusters in loanwords, as in *stésōnì* 'station' and *prífēkì* 'prefect'. There are no syllable-final consonants, except in a few ideophones such as *gbùm* 'the sound made by the falling of a heavy thing'. It is possible that educated variants such as *ínkì* 'ink' have the VC.CV structure *ín.kì*.

### 3.3.2. Number of syllables in the word

The majority of Ma'di words in the native vocabulary consist of one or two syllables. Longer words can be derived or monomorphemic. Derived words of three or more syllables can be compounds, suffixed or prefixed verbs, or suffixed nouns. Monomorphemic words of three or more syllables are mostly of recognizably foreign origin. We discuss the number of syllables in the verb in 5.1.1.3.

## 3.4. Restrictions on consonant-vowel sequences

There are two kinds of restriction relating to the placement of consonants before vowels and thus within the syllable, as described below. There do not appear to be any restrictions relating to the placement of consonants after vowels and thus across a syllable boundary.

### 3.4.1. Labials

In native words, the labial (bilabial) pulmonic plosives [p], [b] and [mb] are restricted before back vowels (cf. Tucker and Bryan 1966:30). These restrictions do not hold for non-native words.

*Table 12. Bilabial pulmonic plosives before back vowels*

	before -ATR back vowel [ɔ], [u]		before +ATR back vowel [o], [u]	
	consonant is word-initial	consonant is word-medial	consonant is word-initial	consonant is word-medial
p	×	×	<i>pójì</i> 'tree sp.', <i>pùì</i> (adverb)	×
b	×	×	<i>bòrì</i> 'termite sp' <i>bùlé</i> 'cassava sp'	×
mb	×	×	×	×

× = not attested in native vocabulary,

The labial (labiovelar) fricatives [f] and [ɱv] are selectively restricted before front vowels. (Lojenga 1994:46 makes a similar observation about [mv] in Ngiti.) [v] is unrestricted.

*Table 13. Labiovelar fricatives before front vowels*

	before -ATR front vowel [i], [e]		before +ATR front vowel [i], [e]	
	consonant is word-initial	consonant is word-medial	consonant is word-initial	consonant is word-medial
f	<i>fì</i> 'fart discreetly'	×	<i>fè</i> 'run'	<i>ìfè</i> 'cause to burst'
v	<i>vì</i> 'fling', <i>vè</i> 'have dysentery'	<i>āvì</i> 'jealousy'	<i>vì</i> 'pus', <i>ví</i> 'hunger'	<i>ìvì</i> 'pus' (variant of <i>vì</i> )
ɱv	×	×	×	×

The generalizations for [f] hold only for the native vocabulary; there are [fi] and [fi] syllables word-medially and word-initially in loanwords such as *ófísáà* 'officer', and *kàfírì* 'pagan', *kàfírà* 'a float on a fishing hook,' *kòfírà* 'hat', *sàfíà* 'tin of about four gallons in size'.

The labial implosive [ɓ] is not restricted before any vowel. Similarly, the labial nasal [m] is not restricted before any vowel. This pairing of an implosive and a nasal instantiates a more general crosslinguistic patterning of implosives with sonorants (eg. nasals) rather than with obstruents (eg. [p] and [b]); see Clements (2000:132).

### 3.4.2. *Secondarily articulated (labialized) consonants, and doubly articulated (labiovelar) consonants*

The labialized consonants, the coronal and dorsal consonants with secondary labialization, are not found before back vowels (contra Tucker and Bryan 1966:30). In this, labialized consonants resemble labial stops.

Before front vowels, the coronal consonants are not common, while the dorsal consonants are less restricted; in both cases, labialized consonants are more frequent before -ATR front vowels ([i], [ɛ]) than before +ATR front vowels ([i], [e]).

The doubly articulated consonants (dorsal plus labial articulations) are quite restricted in occurrence, but no clear patterns emerge other than that they are unrestricted with [a]. The doubly articulated pulmonic stop consonants thus do not follow the restricted distribution of (singly articulated) labial pulmonic stops.

### 3.4.3. General consonant-vowel restrictions.

The above co-occurrence restrictions distinguish back from front vowels. The clearest examples of this are the labials and the labialized consonants. In general, consonants tend to be less restricted with [a] than with the front or back vowels.

The +/-ATR distinction may possibly have some relevance in the distribution of consonants. Thus those labials which are restricted with back vowels tend to be even more restricted with -ATR back vowels. -ATR might thus perhaps be interpreted as a greater degree of backness.

Tucker (1940: 104) says that [z] does not occur before [u] or [ʊ]. This is not true for contemporary Lokai and in fact his example *zo* 'hide' would now be more correctly transcribed as *zù* 'hide'; there is also a verb *zū* 'scatter'. We note that Ngiti (Lojenga 1994:57) has a restriction against [i] after [s], [z], or [r], which is not found in Ma'di.

## 3.5. Tones

### 3.5.1. Inventory of tones

#### 3.5.1.1. Level tones

Phonemically, there are three level tones: high, mid and low.

- sá* 'tail'
- sā* 'to plant, to scour'
- sà* 'to intervene and bring a fight etc. to an end'

Tones are contextually unrestricted in occurrence: all tones appear on all vowels after all consonants. There is thus no interaction of consonant voicing and tone in *sā* 'to plant, to scour' vs. *zā* 'to defeat, to pain'.



### 3.5.2. Sequences of tones

#### 3.5.2.1. Tones on monosyllables

All three tones are attested in monosyllables:

<i>mgbí</i>	‘all round’	H
<i>ngā̄</i>	‘to sprout’	M
<i>nò</i>	‘to break’	L

Most monosyllables can be analyzed as verbs or grammatical words, though some of these grammatical words might also be analysed as nouns. Monosyllabic verbs have mid or low tone, but not high tone (the same is true for Logbara according to Crazzarola 1960: 10).

#### 3.5.2.2. Tonal sequences in two syllable words

All possible sequences of tones are attested in bisyllabic words.

<i>íní</i>	‘night’	HH
<i>gáɾì</i>	‘bicycle’	HL
<i>náʔā̄</i>	‘there’	HM
<i>ēmbē̄</i>	‘neck’	MM
<i>ēndzò</i>	‘lies’	ML
<i>lōgó</i>	‘liver’	MH
<i>ìní</i>	‘snake’	LL
<i>ítú</i>	‘sun’	LH
<i>lòʔwē̄</i>	‘calabash’	LM

Singular native nouns and adjectives have a strong tendency towards final high, with the first syllable usually being either low or high, with some cases of mid. There are some words with variant tonal patterns: *ófá* and *òfá* ‘war’, *kúdò* and *kudó* ‘pot’.

Bisyllabic loanwords always have a HL tonal pattern.

<i>fúlù</i>	‘groundnuts’	HL	from Arabic <i>ful</i>
<i>lám̀bà</i>	‘lamp’	HL	from Arabic <i>lamba</i>

There are very few bisyllables with a HL tonal pattern which are not loanwords. We know of two: *lítì* ‘all day long’ and *lúrò* ‘rib cage’.

## 3.5.2.3. Tone in monomorphemic verbs of three or more syllables

All verbs of three or more syllables have the tonal pattern M\*L, i.e. a sequence of mid tones ending in one syllable with a low tone.

<i>ĩnĩò</i>	‘to feel like throwing up’
<i>ĩmbēmbērù</i>	‘to form the mouth as if about to cry’

## 3.5.2.4. Tone in monomorphemic nouns and adjectives (mostly loanwords) of three or more syllables

The two most common tonal patterns in trisyllabic monomorphemic nouns and adjectives are HML and LHL, with a few LLL words. Most are loanwords.

<i>sákānì</i>	‘plate’	HML	from Arabic <i>sa’an</i>
<i>pàgánì</i>	‘pagan’	LHL	from English <i>pagan</i>
<i>fàlà̀nì</i>	‘vest’	LLL	from Swahili <i>falani</i>

It is possible that the choice of a tonal pattern derives in some cases from an assignment of high tone to a perceived accented or stressed syllable on the original form of the loanword.

A few words are variable in tone. Examples include *ndzákátá* and *ndzákàtá* ‘mud’; *tʃĩjǎkwí* and *tʃĩjǎkwí* ‘sand particles’, and *kérìdžé* and *kèrìdžé* ‘calabash’; note that these have nonstandard tonal patterns. Almost all trisyllabic monomorphemes are loanwords. Among the few exceptions which we have found are *lòfúnò* ‘a teenager, male’, *kàsíà* ‘last born of a family’ (both LHL), and *àùlà* ‘a dancing ornament’ (LLL). It is worth noting that ‘teenager’ has the ‘loanword’ tonal pattern *lòfúnò* in the singular but in the plural has a ‘native’ tonal pattern *lòfúnó*.

Almost all monomorphemes of four syllables or higher are nouns, and may all be loanwords. For monomorphemic words of four syllables, the typical tonal patterns are LHML, LLHL and HMML, which can be seen as related to one another and also related to the common LHL and HML patterns on trisyllables.

<i>sùkàríà</i>	‘diabetes’	LLHL	from Arabic <i>sukaria</i>
<i>rùzàríò</i>	‘rosary’	LHML	from English <i>rosary</i>
<i>ámblēsì</i>	‘ambulance’	HMML	from English <i>ambulance</i>

For some loanwords there is a correlation between tonal pattern and the

educatedness of the speaker. Thus *tèlèfùnì* with a LLHL pattern is more nativized, and *télēfōnì* with a HMML pattern is more educated.

We have found three five-syllable monomorphemes, all loanwords; all have the pattern LLHML; eg. *ìtìnásārà* ‘twelve’ (from Juba Arabic *itnashra*). The only six syllable monomorpheme we have found is *kōfirīmásiò* ‘confirmation’ with a MMMHML pattern.

In summary, nouns and adjectives of three or more syllables tend to be loanwords. The tonal pattern L\* (=LLL) is found on trisyllables only. The tonal patterns LHL and HML are found on trisyllables, and in variant forms on longer words: as LLHL, LHML, HMML and LLHML and MMHML.

### 3.5.2.5. Tone in compounds

When two words are combined in a compound, the tones on the compound are carried over from the component words.

<i>dri</i>	‘head’	<i>ḡi</i>	‘hair’	<i>driḡi</i>	‘head hair’
<i>ósú</i>	‘peas’	<i>bí</i>	‘leaf’	<i>ósóbí</i>	‘peas leaf (as vegetable)’

### 3.5.2.6. Tone in reduplicated words

These generally involve exact copying of the tones along with the segmental structure (but see also 6.1.1.2).

<i>ājísé</i>	<i>ājísé</i>	‘green’ (grass-like)
grass	grass	
<i>àʔú élé</i>	<i>àʔú élé</i>	‘yellow’ (yellowish)
hen egg	hen egg	

### 3.5.3. Floating tones

Several grammatical morphemes are realised as floating tones. They include:

- (i) A low tone which is prefixed to a nonpast verb (8.8.1).
- (ii) A low tone which follows a noun phrase, which is a determiner expressing specificity; 12.6.
- (iii) A low tone which comes at the end of a clause, possibly related to the specific determiner. This low tone is responsible for the low

final tone on the verbal copy in verb focus (19.12.2), and possibly also for the low tone of the focus marker *n̄* which might be interpreted as pronominal *n̄* plus a low tone (19.5.5).

- (iv) A high tone which is the subject prefix form of the indefinite/inclusive subject pronoun (6.4.5).
- (v) (Possibly) a high tone prefix to the postposition *dr̄* (4.3.3.2), and to other postpositions (15.6.2.1).
- (vi) A high tone in yes/no questions, in final position (20.3.1.1).
- (vii) (Possibly) an ‘intimacy marker’, expressed by a rise-fall contour after a verb (3.6.3).

All floating tones are either high or low. We suspect that the phonological weakness of the mid tone, which is the most easily deleted and may be a default tone of some kind, rules it out as an independent morpheme.

#### 3.5.4. *Absence of downstep and downdrift*

We have not found evidence that Ma’di shows either downstep or downdrift.

#### 3.5.5. *Absence of stress*

We have not found evidence that, for any Ma’di word, a particular syllable predictably carries stronger stress than any other syllable. We therefore do not support Tucker and Bryan’s (1966: 31) claim that stress is basically iambic (eg. final stress on a disyllable).

### 3.6. Notes on utterance-level prosody

#### 3.6.1. *Emphasis by prosodic means (lengthening a vowel)*

The final sentence constituent may be emphasised by phonological means. The vowels are lengthened and raised in fundamental frequency. Almost any part of speech in this position is capable of receiving this stress (indicated here by underlining in the example).

- (6) *ó*pí      *ē*-dʒé      *g*áɾì      *ú*dí  
 Ópi (3)-VE-buy      bicycle      recently  
 ‘Ópi has bought a bicycle recently.’

- (7) *m*á      *`*mū      *s*ùkúɾù      *g*á  
 1S      N-go      school      LOC  
 ‘I am going to school.’

It is also possible to emphasise a first or second person pronoun object by phonological means when non-final (eg in a OV structure).

- (8)  $má$   $nī$   $̀ndrē$   
 1S 2S N-see  
 'I can see you.'

### 3.6.2. Afterthoughts with pause intonation

Phrases can be placed after the expected end of the sentence, separated by a pause. These are interpretable only as afterthoughts. Thus for example a postposition phrase can follow the focus particle  $nī$  which we would normally expect to be final.

- (9)  $ópi$   $ē-dzī$   $máŋgà$   $nì$   $nī$ ,  $ēndrè$   $ní$   
 Opi (3)-VE-bring mangoes DEF FOC mother BEN  
 'It is the mangoes (in question) that Opi brought, for the mother.'

### 3.6.3. 'Intimacy' intonation

Intimacy can be marked by a rise-fall contour after a matrix verb, as illustrated below (see also 18.1.2.1. for  $nī$  and  $nī$ ^).

- (10)  $má$   $fō$   $n-ē-dzé$   $má$   $ní$   $àŋí$   $trò$   
 1S say 2S-VE-buy 1S BEN salt COMT  
 'I said buy for me salt as well.' (unmarked)

- (11)  $má$   $fō$   $ˆ$   $n-ē-dzé$   $má$   $ní$   $àŋí$   $trò$   
 1S say 2S-VE-buy 1S BEN salt COMT  
 'I said buy for me salt as well.' (speaker trying to be intimate)

### 3.6.4. Intonational fall at end ('Burulo)

We note that there is an intonational fall at the end of some sentences, found only in 'Burulo. In sentences of this kind the intonational fall is obligatory.

- (12)  $ópi$   $nī$   $ná$   $ˆ$   
 Opi PR that  
 'That's Opi.' or 'There's Opi.' [ 'Burulo]

### 3.7. Typical phonetic-level dialectal variations in cognates

#### 3.7.1. Consonants: initial [l]

Some verbs beginning in [a] and [u] in Lokai are equivalent to words beginning in [l] (with the vowel also possibly changed) in 'Burulo.

Lokai	'Burulo	meaning
<i>āsī</i>	<i>lēsī</i>	'to fry'
<i>āzī</i>	<i>lēzī</i>	'to sell'
<i>ābū</i>	<i>lūbū</i> or <i>lābū</i>	'to close'
<i>āndzū</i>	<i>lāndzū</i>	'to divide, distribute'
<i>ūṅgwē</i>	<i>lūṅgwē</i>	'to call'

Lokai words which begin in [e] or [i] do not correlate with 'Burulo words beginning in [l].

Lokai	'Burulo	meaning
<i>ēsú</i>	<i>ēsú</i>	'to find'
<i>īzī</i>	<i>ēzī</i>	'to put fire out'

#### 3.7.2. Vowels

Equivalent words sometimes have different vowels in the different dialects. There do not appear to be any consistent patterns. Some Lokai words with [ɔ] are equivalent to 'Burulo words with [o] (ie. an ATR value switch) or other vowels:

Lokai	'Burulo	meaning
<i>zō</i>	<i>zō</i>	'to grow'
<i>dzó</i>	<i>zó</i>	'house'
<i>ágó</i>	<i>ágó</i> or <i>ēgó</i>	'man'
<i>ṅɔ</i>	<i>ṅú</i>	'to break'

Some Lokai words with [e] correspond to 'Burulo words with [i]:

Lokai	'Burulo	meaning
<i>èjí</i>	<i>ìjí</i>	'water'
<i>èbì</i>	<i>ìbì</i>	'fish'
<i>èbì</i>	<i>ìbì</i>	'lion'

Some Lokai words with [a] correspond to 'Burulo words with [e] or [ɛ]:

Lokai	'Burulo	meaning
àrí	èrí	'blood'
ágó	ēgó or ágó	'man'

Note that all dialects retain the ATR distinctions in general, and ATR harmony.

### 3.7.3. Tone

Equivalent lexical words tend to have the same tonal patterns between dialects, even when segmental structures change. In contrast, equivalent grammatical words differ in tone; sometimes a tonal difference is the only distinction between the dialects as in Lokai definite article *rì* and 'Burulo *rí*. Similarly, grammatical morphemes which are floating tones may differ between dialects: 'Burulo and Lokai differ in whether the nonpast verb has a low tone prefix.

## 3.8. Phonetic games (tongue twisters)

The following tongue-twister exploits the opposition between singly articulated [p] and doubly articulated [kp]:

- (13)    *òpé*            *kpó*        *àʔú*    *kpó*  
           guineafowl    dead        hen        dead ... (repeated)

The next tongue twister appears to place implosive against non-implosive consonants.

- (14)    *má*    *dī*    *rá*        *jí*    *dī*    *rá* ...  
           1S    kill    AFF    2S    kill    AFF ... (repeated)  
           'I kill it, you kill it ...' (instruction in hunting for a child,  
           indicating turn-taking in spearing the animal)

The following variant additionally sets [kp] against [ɲ]:

- (15)    *má*    *dī*    *kpó*    *jí*    *dī*    *kpò* ...  
           1S    kill    dead    2S    kill    dead ... (repeated)  
           'I kill it dead, you kill it dead...'



## Chapter 4

### Phonology and morphology

In this chapter we discuss advanced tongue root harmony, vowel assimilation and deletion, tone deletion and tone raising, and phonological processes affecting consonants. We conclude with a brief overview of morphological processes.

#### 4.1. Vowel harmony for the Advanced Tongue Root feature (ATR)

We repeat here Table 11 from the previous chapter showing that nine vowels are phonemically differentiated for the feature +/-ATR. A tenth vowel [ʌ] is the result of harmony processes affecting phonemic [a].

*Table 11. Vowels in phonemic contrast, illustrated*

	Non-back and non-round		No contrast for back and round		Back and round	
	-ATR	+ATR	-ATR	+ATR	-ATR	+ATR
High	tì 'to distil'	tī 'to give birth'			tū 'to dance'	tū 'to climb'
Mid	tè 'only'	té 'to wait'			tō completion particle	tó 'again'

Advanced tongue root (henceforth ATR) harmony can be seen in three domains. It can be seen (i) in the co-occurrence restrictions of vowels within a word, (ii) in the conditioned variants of all prefixes and some suffixes, and (iii) in the change from -ATR to +ATR found in some words in compounds. (iii) demonstrates that -ATR vowels change to +ATR rather than vice versa. +ATR is thus the dominant feature (Clements 2000:135). It is found in roots, but in affixes only by harmonization. Tucker (1940: 93) further suggests that there is some individual speaker variation in whether harmony occurs between neighbouring words, a claim which we endorse.

##### 4.1.1. The vowel [a] with regard to ATR harmony

The vowel [a] is -ATR, as can be seen by the fact that prefixes and suffixes are -ATR when attached to a root with [a]. In native roots, [a] always co-occurs with -ATR vowels. Exceptions, in which [a] co-occurs with a +ATR vowel are mainly loanwords. Our only instance of a native

exception is *ìṅákú* ‘soil particle’ (*ìṅá* ‘soil’ + a suffix *kú*, also realized as *kʷí* from *ékʷí* ‘seeds, coarse’; note that the root word *ìṅá* has -ATR harmony). There is no evidence to suggest that [a] blocks harmony for +ATR within a root; in fact words like *ìṅákú* provide very rare positive evidence in favour of harmony for +ATR across [a], if we interpret it as involving a suffix *-kú* which forces harmony on the initial vowel.

In some words there is harmonization of [a] to become the +ATR [ʌ] within a monomorpheme. We do not have a systematic description of when this happens.

#### 4.1.2. Summary of ATR harmony phenomena discussed in this chapter

This chart previews the discussion of ATR harmony in the sections which follow.

Table 14. Directions for ATR harmony

	harmony, but direction is undeterminable	leftwards harmony	rightwards harmony	disharmony
mono-morpheme	√ (native vocabulary, with some systematic exceptions)	n/a	n/a	√ (some loanwords)
prefix + root	n/a	√ (obligatory)	×	×
root + grammatical suffix	n/a	×	√ (most suffixes)	√ (the suffix <i>-dʒó</i> )
root + derivational suffix	n/a	×	√ (depends on suffix: obligatory or optional)	√ (depends on suffix)
compound	n/a	√ (optional in some cases)	√	√ (optional in some cases)
reflexive pronoun <i>rŭ</i>	n/a	√ (optional)	√ (optional)	√ (optional)

n/a = not applicable for structural reasons.

There are no harmonization processes which suggest that root vowels have a different underlying value for ATR than that seen on the surface (ie. no instances of what Clements 2000:137 calls ambivalence).

### 4.1.3. ATR harmony within a monomorpheme

High and mid vowels always have the same value for ATR within an underived word. Thus *fōrō* ‘faint in appearance’ has only -ATR vowels, and *fōrō* ‘compound, arena’ has only +ATR vowels; similarly *īnīō* ‘to wring, twist’ has only -ATR vowels and *īnīō* ‘to feel like throwing up’ has only +ATR vowels. ATR harmony is the only restriction on vowel sequences within a word; all other features of vowels are freely combinable. The -ATR status of [a] is confirmed by the fact that it never co-occurs with a +ATR vowel within a monomorpheme.

#### 4.1.3.1. Disharmony within a monomorphemic word

There are a few loanwords where the vowels do not harmonize. Thus ‘section’ can either be *sékísōnì* with two -ATR vowels followed by two +ATR vowels, or entirely -ATR as *sékísōnì*. And *sìtétīmēnì* ‘statement’ may begin and end with -ATR vowels and have +ATR vowels internally or be wholly -ATR *sìtétīmēnì*. Some of these loanwords have deviant phonology in other ways as well; thus for example *éŋkò* ‘encore’ both lacks harmony and has a [ŋk] sequence. There do not appear to be specific phonetic characteristics of a loanword which correlate with its showing disharmony.

Disharmony within an underived word also occurs in some cases where a glide appears to have been deleted; here the non-harmonizing vowel appears to have an intermediate status between a -ATR form and a syllable-final glide. Thus for example *bójì* ‘boy’ (loanword) has variant forms as *bóì*, as *bój* with a syllable-final glide and as *bóì* without harmony. See 4.4.2. for further discussion of these.

### 4.1.4. Obligatory ATR harmony within a prefixed verb

A prefix always harmonizes to the ATR value of the root.

Table 15. ATR harmonization of prefixes.

	+ATR		-ATR	
unprefixed verb root	<i>tū</i>	‘climb’	<i>zō</i>	‘grow’
ventive <i>ε</i> -	<i>ētú</i>	‘climb (elsewhere)’	<i>ēzó</i>	‘grow (elsewhere)’
causative <i>í</i> -	<i>ítú</i>	‘cause to climb’	<i>ízó</i>	‘bring up a child’
iterative <i>u</i> -	<i>ūtú</i>	‘climb repeatedly’	<i>ūzó</i>	‘they grew’
subject <i>ɔ</i> -	<i>ótú</i>	‘s/he climbed’	<i>ózó</i>	‘s/he grew’

When the verb root has [a] as its root vowel, the prefix is -ATR, which confirms the -ATR status of [a]: *bà* ‘put’, *ùbà* ‘put repeatedly’; *ḡá* ‘eat’, *ēḡá* ‘eat at a distance’, etc., but not \**ùbà* or \**ēḡá* respectively.

#### 4.1.5. *ATR harmony or disharmony within a suffixed verb*

##### 4.1.5.1. *Optional harmony*

Two of the verbal suffixes, *-lé* and *-rē* are underlyingly -ATR and harmonize optionally to a +ATR root. Thus if the root is -ATR, the suffix is always -ATR; eg. *mvū* ‘to gather’ is suffixed as *mvūlé* ‘to be gathered’ and *mvūrē* ‘the one who gathers’ but never as \**mvūlé* or \**mvūrē*; in this case, the suffix simply retains its underlying -ATR form. If the root is +ATR, the suffix is either -ATR or +ATR; thus *mvū* ‘to drink’ is suffixed as *mvūlé* or *mvūlé* ‘to be drunk’, and as *mvūrē* or *mvūrē* ‘the one who drinks.’

##### 4.1.5.2. *Obligatory disharmony*

The verbal suffix *-dʒó* does not harmonize, though it apparently has a similar morphosyntactic function to *-lé* and *-rē* (binding an argument of the verb). Thus *lí* ‘to cut’ is suffixed as *lídʒó* ‘for cutting with’ but there is no form \**lídʒó*.

#### 4.1.6. *Variations in ATR harmony within a derived word*

As outlined in 4.1.5, ‘suffixes’ in derived nouns (which are possibly in fact compound nouns) vary in whether they harmonize: *ḡó* ‘male’ always harmonizes, *rí* harmonizes optionally, and *rē* does not harmonize. If the words they derive are instead analyzed as compounds, then their unpredictability would be typical of compounds, as noted in the next section.

#### 4.1.7. *Variations in ATR harmony within a compound word*

A word which in isolation is -ATR may become +ATR when combined with another word in a compound. The word which changes may be the lefthand or righthand member of the compound. ATR harmonization is

obligatory in some compounds, optional in others and not found in others; we have been unable to find any pattern. (Lojenga (1994: 64) makes a similar comment about Ngiti.) A +ATR word never changes to -ATR in a compound; this again suggests that ATR harmony is a matter of an underlyingly -ATR vowel assimilating to +ATR.

#### 4.1.7.1. Rightwards harmony in a compound (obligatory)

A righthand word changes to +ATR in the following compounds:

- (1)  $\bar{t}\bar{i}$        $\bar{b}\bar{i}$       →  $\bar{t}\bar{i}\bar{b}\bar{i}$   
 ‘mouth’    ‘hair’      ‘moustache’
- (2)  $dri$        $\bar{b}\bar{i}$       →  $dri\bar{b}\bar{i}$   
 ‘head’      ‘hair’      ‘[head] hair’
- (3)  $\grave{a}l\acute{u}$        $kw\bar{e}$       →  $\grave{a}l\acute{u}kw\bar{e}$   
 ‘bush rat’ ‘stick’      ‘ladle’

#### 4.1.7.2. Leftwards harmony in a compound (obligatory and optional)

A lefthand word changes to +ATR in the following compounds (optionally in some cases, as indicated):

- (4)  $d3\acute{o}$        $\bar{t}\bar{i}$       →  $d3\acute{o}\bar{t}\bar{i}$  or  $d3\acute{o}\bar{t}\bar{i}$  or  $g\acute{o}\bar{t}\bar{i}$  or  $k\acute{o}\bar{t}\bar{i}$   
 ‘house’    ‘mouth’    ‘door’
- (5)  $d3\acute{o}$        $m\bar{i}$       →  $d3\acute{o}m\bar{i}$  or  $d3\acute{o}m\bar{i}$   
 ‘house’    ‘eye’      ‘window’
- (6)  $d3\acute{o}$        $dri$       →  $d3\acute{o}dri$  or  $d3\acute{o}dri$   
 ‘house’    ‘head’     ‘roof’
- (7)  $\acute{o}s\acute{u}$        $b\bar{i}$       →  $\acute{o}s\acute{o}b\bar{i}$   
 ‘peas’     ‘leaf’     ‘pea leaves as vegetable’
- (8)  $\acute{o}d\acute{i}$        $\grave{i}j\bar{o}$       →  $\acute{o}d\acute{i}\bar{o}$   
 ‘harp’     ‘absent’    (female name)

Note that when the lefthand word harmonizes, the leftmost vowel in the lefthand word is always [ó].



- (15)  $\bar{o}$ -d $\bar{z}$ i̇    r $\bar{u}$     r $\acute{a}$   
 3-hang REFL AFF  
 'He has hanged himself.'
- (16)  $\bar{o}$ -l $\bar{i}$     r $\bar{u}$     r $\acute{a}$   
 3-push REFL AFF  
 (a) 'It has been pushed.'  
 (b) 'She has pushed herself.'  
 (c) (of an issue) 'To have come to an end.' (idiomatic)

## 4.2. Vowel assimilation and vowel deletion

A vowel preceding another vowel may delete or assimilate to the later vowel, particularly in fast speech. There are three contexts in which vowel assimilation or deletion occurs, involving (i) the final vowel of a pronoun, (ii) preceding a vowel-initial verb, or (iii) the final vowel of a possessive pronoun preceding a vowel-initial noun. The only apparent case of deletion of the second rather than the first of two vowels is seen in the words *nání* 'like that', *díní* 'like this', and *ìléní* 'like that (near the hearer)', which are variants of *nà ání*, *dí ání* and *ìlédí ání* respectively.

### 4.2.1. The reflexive pronoun *rū* before a vowel-initial verb

In fast speech *rū* can lose its vowel when immediately followed by a vowel-initial verb. This occurs before all the vowels.

- (17)  $\bar{n}$ ó    r     $\bar{o}$ gù    r $\acute{a}$     fast speech  
 $\bar{n}$ í    r $\bar{u}$      $\bar{o}$ gù    r $\acute{a}$     deliberate speech  
 2S REFL steal AFF  
 'You will escape.'
- (18) r     $\bar{e}$ v $\bar{u}$ -k $\bar{a}$     ùnd $\bar{z}$ í    fast speech  
 r $\bar{u}$      $\bar{e}$ v $\bar{u}$ -k $\bar{a}$     ùnd $\bar{z}$ í    deliberate speech  
 REFL (N)-hate-SB bad  
 'Hatred / to hate is bad.'

Note that in (19) the vowel is not deleted, even in fast speech, presumably as a means of differentiating the iterative form with the u- prefix from the non-iterative form (20) without the u- prefix.

- (19) r $\bar{u}$ ùnd $\bar{z}$ i̇-k $\bar{a}$   
 REFL-(N)-ITER-carry-SB  
 'To carry the self several times / carry the selves'

- (20)  $r\bar{u}$   $ndz\grave{i}-k\bar{a}$   
 REFL (N)-carry-SB  
 'To carry the self'

#### 4.2.2. *Subject pronoun before vowel-initial verb*

All the subject pronouns end in a vowel. Where the pronoun is followed by a vowel-initial verb, the subject pronoun's vowel may assimilate completely to the following vowel. If the two vowels are adjacent, assimilation is obligatory, and the result is that of a single slightly lengthened vowel (a lengthening which we do not reflect in the transcription).

- (21)  $m\acute{o}g\grave{u}$   $r\acute{a}$  fast speech, with mid tone deletion.  
 $m\acute{o}g\bar{u}$   $r\acute{a}$  deliberate speech  
 $m\acute{a}$   $\acute{o}g\grave{u}$   $r\acute{a}$  underlying (not the spoken form)  
 1S steal AFF  
 'I did steal / have stolen it.'

- (22)  $n\acute{u}n\bar{a}$   $r\acute{a}$  fast speech, with mid tone deletion.  
 $n\acute{u}n\bar{a}$   $r\acute{a}$  deliberate speech  
 $n\acute{i}$   $\bar{u}-n\bar{a}$   $r\acute{a}$  underlying (not the spoken form)  
 2S ITER-eat AFF  
 'You have eaten it (on several occasions).'

The two vowels may be separated by reflexive  $r\bar{u}$  which will itself lose its vowel, and assimilation between the subject and the verb may still take place though it is now optional.

- (23)  $k\acute{e}r\bar{e}\bar{i}$  fast speech: vowel deletion + assimilation  
 $k\acute{a}r\bar{e}\bar{i}$  fast speech: vowel deletion (no assimilation)  
 $k\acute{a}$   $r\bar{u}$   $\bar{e}\bar{i}$  slower, more deliberate speech  
 3 REFL (N)-hear  
 'It can be heard.', 'It seems.'

- (24)  $n\acute{o}r\bar{o}g\grave{u}$   $ra$  fast speech: vowel deletion + assimilation  
 $n\acute{i}r\bar{o}g\grave{u}$   $r\acute{a}$  fast speech: vowel deletion (no assimilation)  
 $n\acute{i}$   $r\bar{u}$   $\acute{o}g\grave{u}$   $r\acute{a}$  slower, more deliberate speech  
 2s REFL (N)-steal AFF  
 'You will escape.'

Assimilation is morphologically conditioned, as the following examples show; the subject pronoun will assimilate to a vowel following it only if that vowel comes from the verb, and will not assimilate if the vowel comes from the reflexive pronoun.

- (25) *kúrūndzì* fast speech: vowel deletion + assimilation  
*kárūndzì* fast speech: vowel deletion (no assimilation)  
*ká rū ū-ndzì*  
 3 REFL (N)-ITER-carry  
 (a) 'It got carried (repeatedly).' or 'It carries itself (repeatedly).'

(b) 'She is very proud.' (idiomatic)

- (26)\* *kúrūndzì*  
*kárūndzì*  
*ká rū `ndzì*  
 3 REFL N-carry  
 'It got carried'

The final vowel is not deleted in the third person indefinite and inclusive 'we' *ádí*.

- (27) *ádí* *ōndzú* *làzá* *sì*  
 IND become thin sickness SR  
 (a) 'We (you inclusive) are becoming thin because of sickness.'  
 (b) 'People become thin because of sickness.'  
 (c) 'Whatsit is becoming / became thin because of sickness.'

- (28)\* *ád-* *ōndzú* *làzá* *sì*  
 IND become thin sickness SR

The subject pronoun's vowel is not deleted before a vowel-initial predicate noun:

- (29) *mā ògú*  
 1S thief  
 'I am a thief.'

- (30)\* *m̄ ògú*  
 1S thief  
 'I am a thief.'

4.2.3. *Possessive pronoun before vowel-initial noun*

A ‘possessive pronoun’ is a combination of an object pronoun followed by *ʔà*. The glottal is lost, even in deliberate speech. If the noun begins with a vowel carrying a mid or low tone, the final [à] in the possessive pronoun is lost, and the other vowel in the pronoun assimilates to the initial vowel of the noun.

- (31) *móṵṵdò*                      fast speech  
*má-à ṵṵdò*                      deliberate speech  
 ‘my story’

- (32) *máādrùà*                      fast speech  
*má-à ādrùà*                      deliberate speech  
 ‘my uncle’

- (33) *ṛéèjì*                              fast speech  
*ṛá-à èjì*                              deliberate speech  
 ‘your water’

Where the noun begins with a vowel carrying a high tone, the final [à] of the possessive pronoun is retained. The vowels of the pronoun assimilate to the initial vowel of the noun in some cases and not in others.. The following examples show either full assimilation, or assimilation but disharmony, both of which seem to be acceptable.

- (34) *móòóní*                              assimilation  
*máà óní*                              without assimilation  
 ‘My stone’

- (35) *móṵ ṵóní*                              partial assimilation (but disharmony)  
*máà óní*                              without assimilation  
 ‘My stone’

In contrast, in the following word there is no harmonization of the vowels, either partial or full.

- (36)\* *méèéélé*                              showing assimilation (and total harmony)  
 ok *méèéélé*                              showing assimilation (but disharmony)  
*máa élé*                              without assimilation  
 ‘My egg’

#### 4.2.4. Vowel deletion, vowel assimilation, and related processes in compound nouns

In (37, 38) the initial vowel in the second noun deletes.

(37)  $\acute{o}d\acute{i}$        $\grave{i}j\bar{o}$        $\rightarrow$        $\acute{o}d\acute{i}\bar{o}$   
       ‘harp’      ‘absent’      (female name)

(38)  $\grave{a}d\acute{z}\acute{i}$        $\grave{i}z\grave{e}$        $\rightarrow$        $\grave{i}d\acute{z}\bar{i}z\grave{e}$   
       ‘smell’      ‘faeces’      ‘constipation’

In (39, 40, 41) the vowels of the initial word change, apparently unpredictably. Note that final [ɛ] does not harmonize here.

(39)  $\bar{t}\bar{i}$        $\grave{i}z\grave{e}$        $\rightarrow$        $t\bar{u}z\grave{e}$   
       ‘mouth’      ‘faeces’      ‘saliva’

(40)  $\grave{a}d\acute{z}\acute{i}$        $\grave{i}z\grave{e}$        $\rightarrow$        $\grave{i}d\acute{z}\bar{i}z\grave{e}$   
       ‘smell’      ‘faeces’      ‘constipation’

(41)  $\acute{o}s\acute{u}$        $b\acute{i}$        $\rightarrow$        $\acute{o}s\acute{o}b\acute{i}$   
       ‘peas’      ‘leaf’      ‘pea leaves as vegetable’

### 4.3. Tone deletion and tone raising

#### 4.3.1. Mid tone deletion

##### 4.3.1.1. Deletion of the initial mid tone in a verb

If a verb begins with a vowel with an initial mid tone, the mid tone is lost when immediately preceded by a subject pronoun, unless the verb’s other vowel is high.

(42)  $m\acute{a}r\acute{i}\bar{a}$       as pronounced  
        $m\acute{a}$   $\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ - $?a$       underlying  
       1S (N)-support-OBJ  
       ‘I am supporting it.’

(43)  $j\acute{a}b\bar{u}$        $r\acute{a}$       as pronounced  
        $j\acute{i}$   $\bar{a}b\bar{u}$        $r\acute{a}$       underlying  
       2S (N)-close      AFF  
       ‘You did close it.’

- (44)  $m\acute{il}\bar{e}g\grave{i}$                        $r\acute{a}$       as pronounced  
 $m\acute{a}$        $\bar{i}l\bar{e}g\grave{i}$                        $r\acute{a}$       underlying  
 1S      (N)-pray      AFF  
 'I will pray.'

If the following tone within the verb is high, the mid tone is retained. Note that the high tone on the preceding vowel is also retained, though the vowel is deleted.

- (45)  $j\acute{i}$   $\bar{i}k\acute{o}$                        $r\acute{a}$                       as pronounced  
 $j\acute{i}$        $\bar{i}k\acute{o}$                        $r\acute{a}$                       underlying  
 2S      (N)-finish      AFF  
 'You have finished.'

The indefinite subject pronoun is a floating high tone. When this precedes a vowel with an initial mid tone, the mid tone is optionally deleted.

- (46)  $\acute{u}-d\bar{i}$                                $r\acute{a}$                       fast speech  
 $\acute{u}-d\bar{i}$                                $r\acute{a}$                       deliberate speech  
 (IND)-ITER-cook      AFF  
 'It has been cooked (repeatedly).'

#### 4.3.1.2 Deletion of the final mid tone in a focused verb

Ma'di focuses the verb by copying it into final position (19.12). The copy of the verb is followed by a low tone which we assume is the focus particle. This low tone replaces a final mid tone on a copied verb, thus superficially appearing to change the verb's form, eg. from  $mv\bar{u}$  to  $mv\grave{u}$ .

- (47)  $j\acute{i}$        $\acute{e}r\acute{u}\acute{a}$        $\bar{m}v\bar{u}$        $mv\grave{u}$   
 2S      medicine      N-drink      drink-FOC  
 (a) 'You drink medicine.'  
 (b) 'Medicines are drunk.'

#### 4.3.1.3 Deletion of the final mid tone in a pronoun preceding the low tone verbal prefix

A pronoun in object position ending on a mid tone (including the reflexive  $r\bar{u}$ ) will lose its mid tone in fast speech when it immediately precedes an inflected verb. The mid tone is replaced by the low tone

which is the verb's inflectional prefix. If the pronoun is emphasized it retains its mid tone.

(48) *má jì tè kpé* fast speech  
 1S 2S (N)-wait NPS  
 'I can't wait for you.'

(49) *má jī tè kpé* deliberate speech  
 1S 2S (N)-wait NPS  
 'I can't wait for you.'

#### 4.3.2. Low tone deletion

##### 4.3.2.1. Deletion of the initial low tone verbal prefix

There is a verbal prefix consisting just of a floating low tone, found in inflected verbs (8.1.1) and in suffixed verbs (10.1.1). We assume that this is the same morpheme in both cases, though it might not be (10.1.1.1). This low tone prefix is realized as a perceptible tone between other tones when the verb lexically begins with a consonant, and the preceding and following tones are not low. If they are low, they appear to absorb the low prefix.

(50) *má `mū ɔ̀bú*  
 1S N-go tomorrow  
 'I will go / am going tomorrow.'

(51) *ká dzó `sī dí?ā*  
 3 house N-build here  
 'She will build / is building a house here.'

The low tone prefix is also realized as the sole tone on a subject prefix in the third person:

(52) *k'ò-`sī-ā dí?ā*  
 3-N-build-OBJ here  
 'She will build / is building it here.'

The prefix is not audible (ie. is deleted) in three kinds of environment, which we now describe.

(i) The prefix is deleted if the preceding tone is low and/or the following tone is low:

- (53) *ká rū dzè* as pronounced  
*ká rū dzè* underlying  
 3 body N-wash  
 'She is having a wash.'

Note that the low tone prefix might optionally be realised on the preceding pronoun, if there is one, even where it is followed by a low tone within the verb.

- (54) *òtʃé mā `tʃí-bá rì pĩ dĩ*  
 dog 1S N-bite-SB(PL) DEF PRPL this  
 'These are the dogs that bit / will bite me.'

- (55) *òtʃé mà tʃí-bá rì pĩ dĩ*  
 dog 1S (N)-bite-SB(PL) DEF PRPL this  
 'These are the dogs that bit / will bite me.'

- (56) *òtʃé ká mā `tʃí rá*  
 dog 3 1S N-bite AFF  
 'A dog will bite me.'

- (57) *òtʃé ká mà tʃí rá*  
 dog 3 1S (N)-bite AFF  
 'A dog will bite me.'

(ii) The prefix is deleted if the verb begins with a vowel, which in Lokai means all polysyllabic verbs (5.1.1.3). This vowel may be lexically part of the verb or a prefix such as the ventive prefix *e-*.

- (58) *m' -ĩndʒì-ā mā ʔĩ kũ*  
 1S-(N)-spoil-OBJ 1S FOC NEG(N)  
 'It is not me who is spoiling / will spoil it.'

- (59) *m' -ē-mú kwē ū-gā-rē*  
 1S-(N)-VE-go tree (N)-ITER-chop-SB  
 'I am coming / have come to chop wood (into several pieces, or repeatedly).'

In this case, the prefix does not show up on a preceding pronoun.

- (60)\* *m' - ` -ĩndʒì-ā mā ʔĩ kũ*  
 1S-N-spoil-OBJ 1S FOC NEG(N)  
 'It is not me who is spoiling / will spoil it.'

(iii) The prefix is deleted if the verb is clause-initial. We might expect this at the beginning of a root clause, where there is no preceding vowel to pick up the tone.

- (61)  $\begin{array}{cccccc} \text{ɲā-kā} & \text{nā} & \text{má} & \text{lè} & \text{rá} & \\ \text{[s eat-SB AFR]} & & \text{I} & \text{want} & \text{AFF} & \end{array}$   
 ‘Its being eaten is what I want.’

However, it is notable that the tone is also deleted at the beginning of a subordinate clause (at least in some cases) even when there is a preceding vowel on the other side of the clause boundary which might in principle support the low tone. The subordinate clause can be a complement clause, or a relative clause.

- (62)  $\begin{array}{cccccc} \text{má} & \text{èbī} & \text{ɲā-kā} & \text{nā} & \text{lè} & \text{rá} \\ \text{I} & \text{[s fish N-eat-SB AFR]} & & & \text{want} & \text{AFF} \end{array}$   
 ‘I want the fish’s being eaten.’

- (63)  $\begin{array}{cccccc} \text{má} & \text{ɲā-kā} & \text{nā} & \text{lè} & \text{rá} & \\ \text{I} & \text{[s (N)-eat-SB AF]} & & & \text{want} & \text{AFF} \end{array}$   
 ‘I want its being eaten.’

- (64)  $\begin{array}{cccccc} \text{òtʃé} & \text{mū-rē} & \text{mā} & \text{ʔfī-rē} & \text{rì} & \text{kó-drà} & \text{rá} \\ \text{dog} & \text{[s (N)-go-SB 1S]} & & \text{N-bite-SB} & \text{DEF} & \text{3-die} & \text{AFF} \end{array}$   
 ‘The dog that is going to bite me will die.’

#### 4.3.2.2. Deletion of the final low tone in a pronoun

Where a subject pronoun ends in a vowel with a low tone (eg. if directive, or the exclusive second person plural *àmā*), the low tone is deleted before a vowel-initial verb. This makes the low tone unlike the high tone on a pronoun, retained when the vowel is deleted before a vowel-initial verb.

- (65)  $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{àmīlēgì} & & \text{rá} & \text{as pronounced} \\ \text{àmā} & \text{īlēgì} & \text{rá} & \text{underlying} \\ \text{1PL(EXC)} & \text{pray} & \text{AFF} & \\ \text{‘We (excluding you) have prayed.’} & & & \end{array}$

- (66)  $\begin{array}{ccc} \text{ɲēndzì} & & \text{as pronounced} \\ \text{ɲì} & \text{ē-ndzì} & \text{underlying} \\ \text{2SDIR} & \text{VE-carry} & \\ \text{‘You should carry it.’ or ‘Carry it.’} & & \end{array}$

### 4.3.3. *Other phonological and morphophonological rules affecting tones*

#### 4.3.3.1. Raised tone before a postposition

A few grammatical words with mid or low tones have high tones when they are followed by a postposition. These are the singular pronouns *mā* ‘me’, *nī* ‘you’ and *ānī* ‘him/her/it’, becoming *má*, *ní* and *āní*; and the demonstratives *nà* ‘that’ and *dì* ‘this’ becoming *ná* and *dí*, as for example in *dí?ā* ‘here’. The plural pronouns *àmā* ‘us’, *ànī* ‘you’ and *à?ī* ‘them’ do not change. Unlike other postpositions, we note that the postposition *sì* does not raise the tones. We suggest that postpositions might possibly underlyingly have a floating high tone prefix. This is either deleted, or affects the preceding pronominal by raising its tone. There is no clear reason why singular pronouns but not plural pronouns should be affected, unless the latter are somehow able to resist the raising of their final tone by virtue of their having an initial low tone on their first syllable.

#### 4.3.3.2. The tone on *dru*

The grammatical word *dru* (15.13.2) has a mid tone when it follows a word with a high tone (67), and a high tone when it follows a word with a mid or low tone (68, 69)

- (67) *má*     *dzè*     *drí*     *drū*  
 1S     wash     hand     as  
 (a) ‘I washed my hand with it.’  
 (b) ‘I washed it as (if) a hand.’

- (68) *má*     *dzè*     *āndrā*     *drú*  
 1S     wash     face     as  
 (a) ‘I washed my (or someone else’s) face with it.’  
 (b) ‘I washed it as (if) a face.’

- (69) *má*     *dzè*     *gáří*     *drú*  
 1S     wash     bicycle     as  
 (a) ‘I washed a bicycle with it.’  
 (b) ‘I washed it as (if) a bicycle.’

Instead of treating this as a unique dissimilation process, we suggest that it is the consequence of a floating high tone prefix on this word, such that its underlying form is *’drū*. When the preceding word ends in a high tone,

the prefix is deleted under the influence of the preceding high tone, giving *drū*. When the preceding word has a mid or low tone, the high tone prefix is not deleted but instead substitutes for the following mid tone, giving *drú*. We note that the final vowel of the preceding word (*drí*, *āndrā* or *gáñ*) is not lengthened, suggesting that in (67) the preceding vowel does not lengthen to support the hypothesized floating high tone (as is seen elsewhere); instead the tone apparently deletes. These phonological processes are natural for the language. They also receive some peripheral support from the possibility that *drū* is a postposition; as shown in 6.4.4. postpositions raise the tone on certain preceding words (eg. singular pronouns), possibly the result of a floating high tone prefix on the postposition.

#### 4.4. Phonological processes affecting consonants

##### 4.4.1. Deletion of the glottal stop in fast speech

A word-initial glottal stop in slow speech may alternate with a word-initial empty onset in fast speech. This is particularly common in grammatical words, affecting for example the possessive postposition *ʔà*, the final particle *ʔĩ*, and the object clitic *ʔā*.

(70)	<i>má</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>pá</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	fast speech
	<i>má</i>	<i>ʔà</i>	<i>pá</i>	<i>ʔĩ</i>	deliberate speech
	1S	POSS	leg	FOC	
	'(it's) my leg'				

(71)	<i>má</i>	<i>mvū</i>	<i>ā</i>	fast speech
	<i>má</i>	<i>mvū</i>	<i>ʔā</i>	deliberate speech
	1S	N-drink	OBJ	
	'I am drinking it.' / 'I drink it.'			

The internal glottal stops of some deictics may also be lost in fast speech. Thus *náʔā* becomes *náā* 'there, near neither of us', *díʔā* becomes *díā* 'here', and *ìédíʔā* becomes *ìédíā* 'there, near you'; note that this may also be a word-initial deletion if the deictics are considered to be compounds including the postposition *ʔā*. Andersen (1986) interprets the variable presence of the glottal stop to indicate that it is not lexically present but is inserted in a lexically empty onset position in slow speech. Note however that in some cases the glottal is always present, both in slow and fast speech, suggesting that it is lexically present as a phoneme, in the following verbs: *ʔā* 'to breathe', *ʔĩ* 'to tie, wrap on a thing', *ʔĩ* 'to grind', *ʔē* 'to heal', *ʔù* 'to sound', *ʔù* 'to get the consequences of one's

acts'. The pattern of presence in slow speech and absence in fast speech is also characteristic of some other consonants, including the semivowels where there can be little doubt that the consonant is a lexical phoneme.

#### 4.4.2. *Free variation: presence of intervocalic j and w*

Some words exist in free variation between two forms, one having a sequence of two vowels and the other having a vowel-glide-vowel sequence.

With [j]:

vóí	or	vójí	'net'
bóì	or	bójì	'boy' (loanword)
léí	or	léjí	'milk'
léi	or	léjí	'a shepherd; baby sitter'
ríé	or	ríjé	'big'
líó	or	líjó	'a kind of natural rope'
láí	or	lájì	'gill'
lèì	or	lèjí	'shepherds' (plural)

With [w]:

sàú	or	sàwú	'bag'
lòú	or	lòwú	'a far off farm'
sâ	or	sâwà	'watch' (Arabic/Swahili)
súèrè	or	súwèrè	'nun' (Italian)
áū	or	áwū	focus marker
íngwā	or	íngō	'where' (note vowel change)

We know of one example of a glide which is optionally deleted at the beginning of a word: *júkwé* or *úkwé* 'broom'.

Some words with a vowel-glide-vowel sequence never alternate with a vowel-vowel sequence. Examples include *èjí* 'water' (never \**èí*) and *āwō* 'give birth' (never \**āō*). There are also words with a vowel-vowel sequence which never alternate with a vowel-glide-vowel sequence, such as *màátjìká* 'a sorghum species'.

#### 4.4.3. *Consonants do not affect one another*

There is no consonant harmony; consonants do not affect one another within a word. Note incidentally that consonants are never adjacent either within a word or across a word boundary because of the structure of the syllable.

## 4.5. The general morphology of Ma'di words

### 4.5.1. Prefixes

Prefixes are found primarily in verbs. They include:

- (i) The full range of subject pronominal prefixes (which we call the U-paradigm pronouns, 7.2.1.1). These harmonize to the root.
- (ii) Productive derivational prefixes, which express ventive (*ε-*) and iterative (*υ-*) meanings, and some less productive prefixes expressing causative (*i-*). All these prefixes are underlyingly unspecified for ATR and harmonize to the ATR value of the verb root. There is also systematic raising of the final tone of the verb to high when one of the three prefixes is present. Where the tone is not raised in some verbs with *ū-*, this is also systematic (and carries specific meanings; see 5.1.2.3).
- (iii) Several prefixes consist just of floating tones: a high tone expressing an indefinite subject pronominal, and a low tone used in various nonpast contexts, and possibly also a low tone used in directives (9.2.1.1).

There are also possible instances of the prefixes *l-* (attaching to vowel-initial nouns) and *ɔ-* in some deverbal nouns, mainly cognate objects (5.2.1). We suggest in this grammar that the prefixes can combine, with the derivational prefix (ii) closest to the verb, preceded by a third person subject pronominal prefix (i) - which however deletes - and which in turn can be preceded by a prefix such as the high tone indefinite (iii).

### 4.5.2. Suffixes

Suffixes are attached both to verbs and nouns. Suffixes which attach to verbs are fully productive and include:

- (i) Suffixes which appear on verbs in subordinate clauses: *-rē*, *-lē*, *-d3ō* and *-kā*.
- (ii) The object pronouns *?ā* and *rū*, which attach after the verb, and might be considered clitics rather than suffixes; *rū* can also attach to the beginning of the verb, and is possibly also a clitic there.

The object pronouns do not appear after suffixed subordinate verbs, so (i) and (ii) do not combine.

Suffixes which attach to nouns tend not to be productive and include:

- (i) Gender-related suffixes. Nouns ending in *gó* express maleness. Nouns ending in *zí* express femaleness. Nouns ending in *ńí* express the meaning ‘sibling of the same gender’.
- (ii) Agentive suffixes. Nouns ending in *rē* express agentive meanings, and nouns ending in *bá* express plural agentive meanings.
- (iii) Plural suffixes. Some plural loanwords end in *-à*; some native kinship nouns end in *ndzĩ*.

Suffixes do not combine. Thus for example the form *ìdrázi* ‘old woman’ contains the ‘female’ suffix; its plural form replaces *zí* with *ndzĩ*, ie. *ìdràndzĩ* ‘old women’.

#### 4.5.3. *Compounds*

All compounds are nouns, and tend to be a combination of noun + noun, usually with the first noun interpreted as possessor and the second noun as possessed; they are usually exocentric. Postpositions may also be involved in some compounds. We have not found any three-member compounds. Many names are compounds. There is no specific strategy for constructing ‘verbal compounds’ of the type ‘house builder’ (unlike Ngití as described by Lojenga (1994: 184)). The nearest to a verbal compound which Ma’di has is *òfúré* ‘messenger’, made from *òfú* ‘message, information’ and the suffix *-rē*; this is not a productive pattern.

#### 4.5.4. *Reduplication*

There are many situations in Ma’di sentences where a word is immediately followed by its copy. It is not immediately obvious in many cases whether the pair of words should be considered as a single word, derived by a lexical process of reduplication, or as a pair of words, each of which is a syntactically distinct item.

The clearest case where copying involves two distinct syntactic constituents is in verb focus, where a verb is copied and the copy placed in final position followed by a low tone, as a way of focusing the verb. The verb and its copy need not be adjacent, which shows that they do not combine as a single word (19.12.1). Another fairly clearly syntactic kind of reduplication involves reduplication of a final constituent since this can be a phrase (eg. a postposition phrase); this is presumably a syntactic

process; it gives a meaning of regularity, repetition or immediacy (18.2.5).

More clearly lexical kinds of reduplication involve adjectives and nouns. Reduplication of an adjective gives a meaning analogous to English -er or -ish. Thus we find *àlí* 'short', and *àlíàlí* 'shorter' or 'shortish, rather short'. The reduplicated adjective can then be nominalized, for example as *ālíālí* 'a series of shortnesses' with the characteristic tone of abstract nouns. Nouns may also be reduplicated with a meaning similar to that of reduplicated adjectives; these reduplicated nouns might in fact be categorially adjectives (or sentential modifiers). Thus *màdí* 'person' is reduplicated as *màdí màdí* to mean 'like a person; in the manner typical of a person'.

Some adjectives or sentential modifiers change meanings in unpredictable ways when reduplicated. Pairs include *mgbē* 'immediately' and *mgbē mgbē* 'recently'; *ēzē* 'a long time ago' and *ēzē ēzē*, 'quickly, hurriedly'; *ḡḡ* 'intact' and *ḡḡ ḡḡ* (*drú*) 'temporarily'; *tfírì* or *tfírí* 'silent' *tfít'fírì* 'silently'.

Some reduplicated words have no unreduplicated base; this is true for example of *pélópéló* 'house pole', where there is no \**péló*. Similarly some words expressing manner exist in reduplicated forms where the non-reduplicated morpheme does not exist as an isolated word. They include: *rí rí* 'hurriedly' but \**rí*; and *tfé tfé* 'slowly' but \**tfé*; and *ré ré* 'immediately, as soon as' but \**ré*.

#### 4.5.5. Tonal morphology

Word classes are differentiated to some extent by distinctive tonal patterns, and words can be derived by changing the tonal pattern. There are tonal prefixes such as the prefix which derives non-past and embedded verbs, and various 'floating' tones which can attach to the beginning or the end of a word in a syntactic context. Loanwords tend to have a distinctive tonal pattern, both in the singular and in the plural.

#### 4.5.6. The distinctive phonology and morphology of loanwords

##### 4.5.6.1. Sources of loanwords

Loanwords in the Ma'di lexicon come from a variety of languages. Arabic is a significant influence, particularly in Sudan, with Arabic words perhaps filtered through Juba Arabic, the lingua franca of the south. Acholi is a source of loanwords, as is Swahili. English is a major source of loanwords, and loanwords also come from Italian, because of the influence of Italian missionaries in the area. Sometimes Sudanese and

Ugandan Ma'di have similar loanwords which differ in whether they have been borrowed directly from English into Ugandan Ma'di, or indirectly from English via Juba Arabic into Sudanese Ma'di. Thus Ugandan Ma'di *télēfōnì* 'telephone' is a direct borrowing from English, while Sudanese Ma'di *tèlèfùnì* may have been borrowed via Juba Arabic *tèlèfùun*; similarly Ugandan Ma'di *pálimēnì* 'parliament' from English and Sudanese Ma'di *bálimēnì* from Juba Arabic *bàliméèn*.

#### 4.5.6.2. Tone in loanwords

As discussed in 3.5.2, loanwords tend to have distinctive tonal patterns. It may be that the high tone mimics a stress perceived on the source word; we note that the tonal patterns mimic also the stress patterns (and possibly the tonal patterns) found in Juba Arabic. Thus bisyllables have a HL tonal pattern if and only if they are loanwords. Loanword nouns or adjectives of three or more syllables tend also to have a falling tonal pattern (ending in HL or HML), though here there are few native words to compare them with, so this could just be a long word pattern. Plural loanwords also have distinctive tonal patterns, as well as a distinctive plural suffix *-à* (6.1.4). We note that Ngiti appears to show similarities, with loanwords with a LML pattern, taking on a LHH pattern in the plural, as described by Lojenga (1994: 135).

#### 4.5.6.3. Epenthesis in loanwords

Vowels are inserted in loanwords to ensure the right syllable structure such that there are no consonant clusters, and no final consonants. Factoring out harmony, of the five vowels, all except [e] are used as epenthetic vowels in loanwords. There does not appear to be any fully systematic pattern, but there are some tendencies towards a matching for height, with high root vowels [i] and [u] attracting [i] or [u] as epenthetic vowels, and other vowels attracting [o] and [a]. The most common final epenthetic vowel is [i], as in *tùdzáři* 'business' from Juba Arabic *tudzar*, or *ìngìlìsì* 'English' or *pàgánì* from *pagan*; [i] also breaks up a consonant cluster in *súsità* 'zip' from Juba Arabic *susta*. [u] is found as a final epenthetic vowel in *gàlámù* 'pen' and breaks up a consonant cluster in *rúkūsà* 'permit' from Juba Arabic *rukša*, and *úgūnà* 'syringe' from Juba Arabic *ugna*. [o] is a final vowel in *kópōlò* 'corporal' and *fáĩrò* 'file', and breaks up a consonant cluster in *sókōsì*, from English *socks*. [a] is a final vowel in *lám̀bà* from *lamp*, and *màkánìkà* from *mechanic*, and breaks up a consonant cluster in *ìdáfàrà* 'eleven', from Juba Arabic *idashra*.

#### 4.5.6.4. Prefix *i-* (deriving Ma'di verbs from foreign verbs)

There is a prefix *i-* which takes a foreign verb not independently attested as a loanword in Ma'di and makes a Ma'di verb from it with M\*L tone. Examples include *ĩmĩsì* 'miss' from English 'miss', *ĩõdà* 'order' from English 'order', *ĩātākì* 'attack' from English 'attack', and *ĩgādà* 'to have lunch' from Juba Arabic *gādà* 'lunch'. This is quite a productive process.



# Chapter 5

## Verbs

In this chapter we look at the morphology of verb stems, derivational morphology of verbs, inflectional morphology of verbs, and the morphological status of pronominals relative to the verb. We then look at some syntactic classes of verbs, looking at verbs with cognate objects, and at various idiomatic expressions. We conclude the chapter by discussing verbs which take as their subjects patient arguments rather than agent arguments.

### 5.1. Morphology of verbs

#### 5.1.1. Morphology of verb stems

##### 5.1.1.1. Characteristic tonal patterns of verbs

Monosyllabic verbs have mid or low tone. There are no high tone monosyllabic verbs. (We believe that Tucker (1940: 280) is wrong to claim that such verbs exist in Ma'di.)

<i>fī</i>	'to spray'
<i>fì</i>	'to light, torch, set aflame'

Two-syllable verbs have three tonal patterns: ML, MM and MH.

<i>āri</i>	'to support a thing from toppling over'
<i>ēbē</i>	'to leave'
<i>īndzā</i>	'to add, increase'

Three-syllable verbs and longer all have the tonal pattern M\*L. This includes both native words and loanwords.

<i>āmvārā</i>	'to gobble food'
<i>īfēlēwā</i>	'to delay' (from Swahili <i>celewa</i> )

Thus the first syllable of a verb always has a mid tone, except for some monosyllabic verbs which have low tone on their single syllable.

Tucker (1940: 281) comments that while cognate verbs in the Moru-Ma'di group tend to have similar tones, there are unexpectedly some differences specifically between Lokai and 'Burulo. Analogously, the Lokai definite article *rì* is *rí* in 'Burulo.

## 5.1.1.2. Tone and meaning

There is a loose correlation between the final tone of the verb and the meaning of the verb. Thus monosyllabic and bisyllabic verbs ending in a low tone tend to have nonactive subjects such as experiencers or patients. For example  $\bar{a}\bar{?}i$  means ‘accept’ in comparison to  $\bar{a}\bar{?}i$  which means ‘borrow’. Examples of verbs with final low tone where the subject is not highly agentive include:  $?a$  ‘breathe’,  $?u$  ‘get the treatment one deserves’,  $\bar{a}\bar{?}u$  ‘be surprised’,  $\bar{a}\bar{b}i$  ‘be incarcerated’,  $\bar{a}\bar{b}i$  ‘ripen’,  $\bar{a}\bar{k}u$  ‘recede’,  $\bar{a}\bar{n}d\bar{e}$  ‘get tired’. Examples of verbs with final high tone where the subject is more agentive include:  $\bar{a}\bar{d}z\bar{a}$  ‘grip between two things’,  $\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{e}$  ‘come to another’s rescue’. When looking at correlations between tone and meaning, it is worth noting that the single syllable of a monosyllable appears to be equivalent to the final syllable rather than the initial syllable of a bisyllable.

Monosyllabic and bisyllabic verbs ending in a mid tone are often associated with pluractional meanings. Here are some examples:  $?a$  ‘yield (of fruits and nuts)’,  $?i$  ‘grind’,  $\bar{a}\bar{b}i$  ‘frequent a place’,  $\bar{a}\bar{b}\bar{o}$  ‘feed off another’,  $\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{u}$  ‘take apart bit by bit’,  $\bar{a}\bar{g}\bar{a}$  ‘divide into two’,  $\bar{a}\bar{g}\bar{u}$  ‘glitter, lightning flash’,  $\bar{a}\bar{k}\bar{w}\bar{a}$  ‘fold’,  $\bar{a}\bar{ng}\bar{w}\bar{a}$  ‘repeat’. In contrast, a few verbs show a different pattern, with a mid tone version being the non-pluractional one and the high tone version being the pluractional one; these include  $t\bar{u}$  ‘climb’ and  $u\bar{t}\bar{u}$  ‘climb several times’. (We are not certain about this; it is possibly just the effect of optional tone raising.)

We do not think there are any particular meanings typically associated with verbs with final high tones. Verbs ending in high tones may for example also express experiencer meanings, as in  $\bar{a}\bar{k}\bar{w}\bar{i}$  ‘get indigestion’, and pluractional meanings as in  $\bar{a}\bar{j}\bar{i}$  ‘increase or multiply’. High final tone on a verb may also be a consequence of prefixation by ventive *e-* or causative *i-*, both of which cause raising of the tone.

## 5.1.1.3. Number of syllables in a verb

Most verbs are lexically of one or two syllables, to which syntactically relevant affixes and clitics can be added. Verbs of one syllable are all consonant-initial with a CV structure, with the possible exception of  $a$  ‘breathe’ (in free variation with  $?a$ ). Verbs of two syllables are all vowel-initial with a VCV structure in Lokai, though ’Burulo adds initial *l-* to some of these verbs. In many but not all cases we can analyse the initial vowel in a two-syllable verb as a lexical prefix (4.5.1).

We have found twenty-five three-syllable verbs, of which twenty-two begin with *i* or (in two cases) *i*. Most of these can be shown to be loanwords, where the source is typically a bisyllabic word with an initial

consonant, to which *i* is added (note that in Ma'di a bisyllabic verb cannot begin with a consonant). Thus Acholi *ɲajo* 'multiply' is the source for Ma'di *ĩɲēĩ*, Swahili *pima* 'measure' is the basis for Ma'di *ĩpĩmà*. An initial vowel *i*- can in other cases be interpreted as a causative prefix, but this is not generally the case for the three-syllable words. Instead the initial *i* can often be interpreted here as an epenthetic vowel added to normalize syllable structure.

We have found two four-syllable verbs, both ideophones beginning with *i*: *ĩt̄f̄et̄f̄er̄e* 'to make fast foot movements' and *ĩt̄et̄er̄e* 'to cackle'.

### 5.1.2. Derivational morphology of verbs

#### 5.1.2.1. Ventive prefix e-

This prefix expresses a ventive meaning, indicating that the action described took place elsewhere and that one of the participants, usually the agent, is now at or nearer the location of the speaker, usually by having come towards the speaker subsequent to the action. The prefix can be attached in principle to any monosyllabic stem, to create a bisyllabic verb. Since all bisyllables and trisyllables are already vowel-initial, there is no opportunity to test whether the prefix might attach to a bisyllable or trisyllable. The prefix harmonizes for ATR. The tone on the prefix is mid. The tone of the stem vowel is raised from mid to high; a low tone is unchanged. Most ventive verbs have a mid-high pattern.

This prefix expresses a complex meaning relating to spatial location. The subject of the verb is at a distance at the time of the eventuality described, but is either near to or approaching the place of speaking at some later time, which does not overlap or coincide with the time of the eventuality. (If speaker and hearer are in different locations, eg. speaking on the telephone, a third person subject of the e- verb who is distant must be distant from both speaker and hearer for this prefix to be used.) Thus compare two past tense sentences (1) without e- and (2) with e-. Sentence (1) has no particular implications as regards location. Sentence (2) implies that the subject (the eaters) ate in a location distant from the speaker, and are here now or are coming here now.

(1)  $\bar{ɔ}$ -*ɲā*            *kí*     *líɲá*     *rá*  
 3-eat            PL     food     AFF  
 'They did eat food.'

(2)  $\bar{e}$ -*ɲá*            *kí*     *líɲá*     *rá*  
 (3)-VE-eat     PL     food     AFF  
 'They did eat food (away from here).' (Implication: they are here now, but the eating did not take place here)

As another example, compare two present tense sentences (3) without *e-* and (4) with *e-*. (3) implies nothing about where the house is being built. (4) implies that the house is being built elsewhere, and also that the agent ‘she’ is expected to be here at some point in the future.

(3) *ká dʒó `sĩ ēndrè ní*  
 3 house N-build mother-SPEC FOC  
 ‘She is building a house for the mother.’ (her own mother or someone else’s)

(4) *ká dʒó ē-sĩ ēndrè ní*  
 3 house (N)-VE-build mother-SPEC FOC  
 ‘She is building a house (away from here) for the mother.’ (she will come here after finishing)

For some transitive verbs, including *dʒē* ‘buy’, the use of the ventive prefix implies that either the subject or the object is now physically present.

(5) *ópí ō-dʒē gáɾì údí*  
 Opi 3-buy bicycle recently  
 ‘Opi has bought a bicycle recently.’

(6) *ópí ē-dʒé gáɾì údí*  
 Opi (3)-VE-buy bicycle recently  
 ‘Opi has bought a bicycle (away from here) recently.’ (the bicycle or Opi or both are now here, but the buying took place somewhere else)

The ventive prefix can be used with the verb *fó* ‘say’ to indicate a speaker other than ‘us’, distant from the speaker only in the sense of being different from the speaker.

(7) *k-ē-fó àmā ní ékwí nā pélére*  
 3DIR-VE-say 1PL(EXC) BEN seed AFR clean  
 ‘He should now explain to us clearly.’

The implication of ‘coming here’ is a strong one. Thus it is difficult to cancel this meaning in (9) below:

(8) *ká kî líná ē-ná rá*  
 3 PL food (3)-VE-eat AFF  
 ‘They will eat food (away from here).’ (Implication: they will eat somewhere else and then will come here.)

- (9)\* *ká kî líná ē-ná rá kî ē-vù kî dí?ā kū*  
 3 PL food (N)-VE-eat AFF but (3)-VE-go(PL) PL here NEG(N)  
 ‘They will eat food (away from here), but will not come here.’
- (10) *ká kî líná `ná rá kî ē-vù kî dí?ā kū*  
 3 PL food N-eat AFF but (3)-VE-go(PL) PL here NEG(N)  
 ‘They will eat food, but will not come here.’

In a past tense sentence, the use of the *e-* prefix will more strongly convey a sense of the pastness of the action, as it does in the above sentences, perhaps as a correlate of the distant location of the action. Thus consider the differences in temporal interpretation for the following two sentences.

- (11) *òtǎí ǝ-sò má ?à pá trò*  
 thorn 3-prick 1S POSS leg COMT  
 ‘A thorn has just pricked my leg.’ (just now)
- (12) *òtǎí ē-sò má ?à pá trò*  
 thorn (3)-VE-prick 1S POSS leg COMT  
 ‘A thorn did prick my leg (away from here).’ (a long time ago)

All persons and numbers of subject can be found with verbs with ventive *e-*, though there are restrictions on habitual interpretation.

- (13) *ópi ká tà ē-ná*  
 Opi 3 thing (N)-VE-eat  
 (a) ‘Opi is eating (away from here).’ (he will come here after finishing)  
 (b)\* ‘Opi eats.’
- (14) *ópi ká tà ná*  
 Opi 3 thing (N)-eat  
 (a) ‘Opi is eating.’  
 (b) ‘Opi eats.’

While *e-* can be added to many verb stems, the *e-*verb might be best thought of as lexicalized. Thus *émú* is lexical ‘come’ (compare *mū* ‘go’), and *ēdǎí* is lexical ‘bring’ (compare *dǎí* ‘take’).

We note that Ngiti has a cognate prefix *i-* for ventive meaning, though Lojenga’s description of the meaning is not quite the same as ours (Lojenga 1994:290). Lojenga classifies the default form of the verb without the prefix as *itive* (ie. in a direction away from the speaker), which does not appear to be the case for Ma’di where the default form of the verb is unspecified for direction.

5.1.2.2. Causative prefix *i-*

The prefix *i-* derives a verb with a causative meaning.

- (15)  $\bar{i}$ - $t\acute{u}$                      $m\bar{a}$      $d_3\acute{o}$          $dr\bar{i}$      $g\acute{a}$      $n\grave{i}$   
 (3)-CAUS-climb    1S    house    on    LOC    FOC  
 'She was the one who made (or helped) me climb up the house.'
- (16)  $\acute{b}\acute{a}$              $\bar{i}$ - $z\acute{o}$ - $k\bar{a}$                      $\grave{o}kp\acute{o}$   
 people    (3)-CAUS-grow-SB    hard  
 'It is difficult to bring up (young) people.'

There are relatively fewer verbs with this prefix than verbs which can take *e-* or *u-*. Some *i-* initial verbs are possibly denominal, perhaps having a meaning with some causative subcomponent; thus  $\bar{i}l\bar{e}g\grave{i}$  pray is possibly derived from  $\bar{e}l\bar{e}g\grave{i}$  prayer. We note that Ngiti has a cognate 'transitivization' prefix *i-* (Lojenga 1994:297).

The prefix harmonizes for ATR. Like the ventive *e-* prefix, the tone on the stem is normally raised from mid to high and from low to mid; a high tone is unaffected.

$z\bar{o}$	'to grow'	$\bar{i}z\acute{o}$	'to bring up'
$t\bar{u}$	'to climb up'	$\bar{i}t\acute{u}$	'to make climb up; promote'
$r\grave{i}$	'to sit'	$\bar{i}r\grave{i}$	'to cause to sit down'
$s\bar{i}$	'to climb down'	$\bar{i}s\grave{i}$	'cause to climb down / lower'

In some cases, *i-* replaces an initial vowel which is part of the lexical word. In these cases there is no related consonant-initial stem; for example there are no verbs  $*\bar{i}w\acute{i}$  or  $*gw\grave{e}$ .

$\bar{o}\bar{i}w\acute{i}$	'to get dry'	$\bar{i}\bar{i}w\acute{i}$	'to cause to dry'
$\bar{e}gw\grave{e}$	'to get lost, lose'	$\bar{i}gw\grave{e}$	'to cause a thing to get lost'

There are other verbs which begin in  $\bar{i}$ -, with causative meanings, where there is no corresponding unprefixing stem. Thus for example  $\bar{i}t\grave{o}$  means 'feed' (eg. a child), but there is no stem  $*t\grave{o}$  eat (instead, 'eat' is  $n\bar{a}$ ). In this case, it is possible that  $\bar{i}t\grave{o}$  is a causative version derived with some semantic shift from  $t\grave{o}$  'squeeze things into a container, drive cattle into the kraal, etc.'

As an illustration of the difference between *i-* and non *i-* versions of a verb, compare  $\bar{e}gw\grave{e}$  and  $\bar{i}gw\grave{e}$ . The verb  $\bar{e}gw\grave{e}$  can be transitive with an agent subject or intransitive with a patient subject. It takes the completion adverbial  $d\grave{i}$ . When  $d\grave{i}$  is reduplicated, it forces the intransitive interpretation, with a plural subject.

- (17)  $\bar{e}gw\grave{e}$        $d\grave{i}$   
 (3)-lose      COMP  
 (a) 'It is lost'  
 (b) 'She has lost it.'
- (18)  $\bar{e}gw\grave{e}$        $d\grave{i}$        $d\grave{i}$   
 (3)-lose      COMP      COMP  
 (a) 'They are all lost (one after the other).'
- (19)  $galamu$   $r\grave{i}$        $\bar{e}gw\grave{e}$        $d\grave{i}$   
 pen      DEF      (3)-lose      COMP  
 'The pen is lost.'
- (20)  $galamu$   $r\grave{i}$        $\bar{e}gw\grave{e}$        $d\grave{i}$        $d\grave{i}$   
 pen      DEF      (3)-lose      COMP      COMP  
 'The pens in question are all lost (one after the other).'

If the subject is a first or second person pronominal, which can agree for number, it must be plural if it takes the reduplicated completive adverbial.

- (21)\*  $n\text{-}\bar{e}gw\grave{e}$        $d\grave{i}$        $d\grave{i}$   
 2S-lose      COMP      COMP  
 (a)\* 'You are all lost.'  
 (b)\* 'You have lost it all.'
- (22)  $\grave{a}n\text{-}\bar{e}gw\grave{e}$        $d\grave{i}$        $d\grave{i}$   
 2PL-lose      COMP      COMP  
 (a) 'You are all lost.'  
 (b)\* 'You have lost it all.'

The verb  $\bar{i}gw\grave{e}$  is transitive (with an agent subject); there is no intransitive version. In this case, reduplication of  $d\grave{i}$  is permitted with the transitive form and forces plurality of the objects.

- (23)  $\bar{i}gw\grave{e}$        $d\grave{i}$   
 (3)-lose      COMP  
 'She has lost it.'
- (24)  $\bar{i}gw\grave{e}$        $d\grave{i}$        $d\grave{i}$   
 (3)-lose      COMP      COMP  
 'She has lost all of them one after the other.'

- (25) *īgwè*            *galamu*    *rì*        *dì*  
 (3)-lose            pen            DEF    COMP  
 ‘She has lost the pen in question.’

- (26) *īgwè*            *galamu*    *rì*        *dì*        *dì*  
 (3)-lose            pen            DEF    COMP    COMP  
 ‘She has lost all of the pens in question (one after the other).’

### 5.1.2.3. Iterative prefix *u-* (and *a-*)

The iterative prefix *u-* means either that the action is performed frequently or repeatedly, and/or that the action affects numerous objects.

- (27) *m’-ū-fè*  
 1S-ITER-run  
 (a) ‘I run.’ (frequently)  
 (b) ‘I run about.’

- (28) *m’-ū-sò*        *ḃòṅgú*    *rá*  
 1S-ITER-sew clothes AFF  
 ‘I have sewn clothes.’ (several times, or several clothes)

The prefix *a-* appears to be a variant form of *u-*, chosen idiosyncratically by certain verbs instead of *u-*: by *mū* ‘go’, *d3ī* ‘take’, *mvū* ‘jump’, *lī* ‘cut’ Thus *k’āmū* means ‘she is moving about, she comes frequently’. Of these only *mū* ‘go’ does not alternatively take *u-*; the rest do. There is apparently a distinct prefix *a-* which relates to separation into two parts, which we think is probably a manifestation of the basic iterative meaning.

<i>lī</i>	‘to cut’	<i>ālī</i>	‘to cut into two or more parts’
<i>tfī</i>	‘to bite’	<i>ātī</i>	‘to bite into two or more parts’
<i>sī</i>	‘to tear’	<i>āsī</i>	‘to tear into two or more parts’
<i>mvū</i>	‘to jump’	<i>āmvū</i>	‘to jump over’

In the discussion below, we refer to the *u-* prefix, by which we mean both its *u-* and *a-* manifestations.

The prefix *u-* can be attached to a monosyllabic stem. (It also replaces the initial lexical vowel in the word *ōrú* ‘run hands over’, deriving *ūrú* ‘repeatedly run hands over’, though this may relate to the phonetic similarity between the substitute vowels in this exceptional case.) The prefix harmonizes for ATR. The prefix has a mid tone.

There is a further morphological process whereby the tone of the verb is also raised, to give an ‘individualized’ rather than a ‘collective’ meaning.

<i>sì</i>	‘to build’	<i>ūsì</i>	‘to build several (as a collective)’	<i>ūsí</i>	‘to build several (individually)’
<i>zō</i>	‘to grow’	<i>ūzō</i>	‘to grow several (as a collective)’	<i>ūzó</i>	‘to grow several (individually)’

(29) *ām-ūzō*                      *díā*  
 1PL-ITER-grow            here  
 ‘We grew up here.’

(30) *ām-ūzó*                      *díā*  
 1PL-ITER-grow            here  
 ‘Each of us grew up here.’

There appear to be pragmatic constraints on attachment of the *u-* prefix in some cases. Thus for example *mvū* ‘drink’ will not take the prefix when its object is highly predictable such as *èjí* ‘water’, but will take it when its object is not highly predictable such as *irà* ‘beer’. Note also the following judgements, relating to *ḡā* ‘eat’ and the fairly predictable object *èḡí* ‘fish’. Where the object is predictable, if the verb is imperfective, it can be interpreted only as habitual or occasional and not as describing an ongoing action; where the object is unpredictable, an imperfective reading is possible.

(31) *ká*    *kí*                      *èḡí*    *ū-ḡā*  
       3    PL                      fish    ITER-(N)-eat  
 (a)\* ‘They are eating fish.’  
 (b) ‘They eat fish occasionally.’

Furthermore, the prospective with *kō* cannot be constructed for this object, unlike other less predictable objects.

(32)\* *ká*    *kí*    *kō*                      *èḡí*    *ū-ḡā*  
       3    PL    PROS    [ fish    ITER-(N)-eat ]  
 ‘They are about to eat fish.’

(33) *ká*    *kí*    *kō*                      *óní*    *ū-ví*  
       3    PL    PROS    [ stone    ITER-(N)-throw ]  
 ‘They are about to throw stones (repeatedly).’

Note however that a prospective is possible if what is about to happen is ‘starting to eat fish’.

- (34) *ká kî kō èbî ū-nā-kā ēdó*  
 3 PL PROS [ fish ITER-(N)-eat-SB ] start  
 ‘They are about to start eating fish (frequently / regularly).’

Certain verbs take specific completion adverbials. With *u-* or *a-* as a prefix the verb generally prefers a reduplicated completion adverbial which indicates plurality of participants.

- (35)\* *āré dî*  
 (3)-ITER-scatter COMP  
 ‘She scattered it / them completely.’

- (36) *āré dî dî*  
 (3)-ITER-scatter COMP COMP  
 ‘She scattered it / them completely.’

It is interesting to consider a verb which has both a nonplural and a plural form, such as *ō-sò* ‘pierce’ and *ū-sò* ‘(multiply) pierce’. The nonplural form will not take the reduplicated completion adverbial, which suggests that when a verb has a plural and a nonplural form, the nonplural form cannot have a plural interpretation.

- (37) *ō-sò bŭlí*  
 3-pierce COMP  
 ‘He made a hole in it.’

- (38)\* *ō-sò bŭlí bŭlí*  
 3-pierce COMP COMP  
 ‘He made holes in it / them.’

However, for this verb the plural form of the verb can take both the nonreduplicated and the reduplicated completion adverbial.

- (39) *ū-sò bŭlí*  
 (3)-ITER-pierce COMP  
 ‘He made a (single) hole in it.’ (several attempts were made before a single hole was made)

- (40) *ū-sò bŭlí bŭlí*  
 (3)-ITER-pierce COMP COMP  
 ‘He made holes in it / them.’

Finally, we show in 18.2.5.2. that the use of the iterative prefix can affect the tense interpretation of a sentence when the affirmative modal *rá* is reduplicated.

As a footnote to this section we note that Tucker (1940: 216) says that in Ma'di, initial *o-* is associated with plural action. We have no evidence for this; it may be an error based on the acoustic similarity between the back vowels in Ma'di. We note however that Ngiti has a cognate prefix *u-* for plural action (Lojenga 1994: 283).

#### 5.1.2.4. Lexical suppletion relating to plurality and iterativity

The verb *mū* go is used only with a singular subject; the verb *vū* go is used only with a plural subject.

- (41) *ópi ēsú má mū ēbù gá pí*  
 Ópi (3)-find [ 1S go(S) work LOC COM ]  
 'Ópi found that I had already gone to work.'

- (42) *ópi ēsú àmà vù ēbù gá pí*  
 Ópi (3)-find [ 1PL(EXC) go(PL) work LOC COM ]  
 'Ópi found that we (excluding you) had already gone to work.'

This is the only verb whose morphology is dependent on subject number as opposed to some general notion of plurality of action. We note by contrast that Lojenga (1994:282) lists eleven Ngiti verbs of motion which supplete for number.

For a number of verbal meanings, distinct verbs are used for non-iterative and iterative meanings. The plurality of the subject is not relevant.

- (43) *ópi ō-dū ízì údí*  
 Ópi 3-take(S) wife(S) new(S)  
 'Ópi has married a new wife.'

- (44) *ópi ō-wù ùkú ùdí*  
 Ópi 3-take(PL) wives(PL) new(PL)  
 'Ópi has married new wives.'

- (45)\* *ópi ō-wù ízì údí*  
 Ópi 3-take(PL) wife(S) new(S)  
 'Ópi has (several times) taken a new wife.'

The verbs which supplete in this way include

<i>tì</i>	to pick a leaf	<i>gbà</i>	to pick leaves, vegetables
<i>lí</i>	to cut, slaughter (one, once)	<i>rè</i>	to cut or slaughter (several)
<i>dū</i>	to take one thing or once	<i>wū</i>	to take several things or take several times

For all three verbs, instead of the iterative form, the verb can be prefixed with the iterative prefix *u-* with the same meaning as the iterative suppletion. It is also possible to add *u-* to the iterative form of the verb

(46) *ɲì*      *tì*                      *máŋgà*      *ópi*      *ní*      *trò*  
 2SDIR    pluck(S)                      mango      Opi      BEN      COMT  
 'Pluck a mango for Opi too.'

(47) *ɲ-ū-tì*                      *máŋgà*      *ópi*      *ní*      *trò*  
 2SDIR-ITER-pluck(S)                      mango      Opi      BEN      COMT  
 'Pluck a mango for Opi too.' (ie. picking one mango at a time over a long period)

(48) *ɲì*      *gbà*                      *máŋgà*      *ópi*      *ní*      *trò*  
 2SDIR    pluck(PL)                      mango      Opi      BEN      COMT  
 'Pluck mangoes for Opi too.'

(49) *ɲ-ū-gbà*                      *máŋgà*      *ópi*      *ní*      *trò*  
 2SDIR-ITER-pluck(PL)                      mango      Opi      BEN      COMT  
 'Repeatedly pluck mangoes for Opi too.'

Some eventualites, like cutting grass or having a stomach ache, which consist of multiple actions seem to prefer iterative verbs.

(50) *má*      *ājísé*      *rè*  
 1S      grass      (N)-cut(PL)  
 'I am cutting grass.'

(51)? *má*      *ājísé*      *lí*  
 1S      grass      N-cut(S)  
 'I am cutting grass.'

(52) *tà*      *ká*      *má-à*                      *ʔā*      *rè*  
 thing    3      1S-POSS                      stomach      (N)-cut(PL)  
 'I have a stomach ache.'

(53)\* *tà*      *ká*      *má-à*                      *ʔā*      *lí*  
 thing    3      1S-POSS                      stomach      N-cut(S)  
 'I have a stomach ache.'



There are no distinct prefixes meaning ‘a little bit’, ‘a short time’ or ‘just beginning’ such as are found in Ngiti (Lojenga 1994:293).

In the ‘Burulo dialect, words which in Lokai begin lexically with a vowel often begin with [l] before the vowel, as the following examples show. There are also some lexically vowel-initial verbs in ‘Burulo, such as *ōgù* ‘steal’, and *ēbē* ‘leave’.

- |      |                    |           |              |            |          |           |
|------|--------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|----------|-----------|
| (54) | <i>ádī</i>         | <i>mā</i> | <i>ūngwē</i> | <i>ópí</i> | <i>ǻ</i> |           |
|      | IND                | 1S        | call         | Opi        | FOC      |           |
|      | ‘I am called Opi.’ |           |              |            |          | [Lokai]   |
|      |                    |           |              |            |          |           |
| (55) | <i>á-lūngwé</i>    | <i>mā</i> | <i>ópí</i>   | <i>ǻ</i>   |          |           |
|      | IND-call           | 1S        | Opi          | FOC        |          |           |
|      | ‘I am called Opi.’ |           |              |            |          | [‘Burulo] |

#### 5.1.4.1. Tucker’s ‘verb classes’

Tucker (1940) and Tucker and Bryan (1966) put Ma’di verbs into verb classes, based primarily on syllable structure. Class I is CV, class II is VCV, and class III is CVCV. In their terms, Lokai Ma’di would have verbs of class I and class II, though ‘Burulo has class III verbs because of the tendency to begin the verb with [l]. Tucker (1940: 177) suggests that Lokai Ma’di also has class III verbs, but his single example *kōdú* ‘sleep’ is misanalyzed; in fact it is a combination of the verb *kō* ‘catch’ and its nominal object *ōdú* ‘sleep’.

We see no justification for this classification of verbs into classes, and suggest that there is no further difference between vowel-initial verbs (class II) and consonant-initial verbs which would justify the division into classes. In both cases, we can plausibly suggest that vowel-based pronouns are prefixed to the verbs; the prefix is overtly present at the beginning of the consonant-initial verb and is deleted by regular phonological processes in the vowel-initial verb. For similar reasons, we do not adopt Tucker’s notion of a class I characteristic vowel as a description for the *ō-* prefix, which we take simply to be a third person pronominal. Tucker and Bryan (1940: 33) also propose that the verbs be divided into tone classes having high, mid or low tone on the vowels, but we do not adopt this typology because it does not correlate with any other characteristic of the verbs.

## 5.2. Some syntactic classes of verbs

In this section we look at some classes of verbs which have distinctive syntactic characteristics involving kinds of subject and object or complement.

## 5.2.1. Verbs with cognate objects

Some verbal meanings arise as a combination of a specific verb and noun. The noun is often morphologically related to the verb, as a cognate object; thus the verbal meaning ‘whistle’ is produced by a combination of the verb *lwē* and the related noun *lōlwé*:

- (56)    *ō-lwē*            *lōlwé*  
           3-whistle        whistle  
           ‘She whistled.’

There are some possible examples of cognate object structures in which the object is attached to the postposition *sí* (15.3.1.1).

## 5.2.1.1. The characteristics of the cognate object

Cognate objects are syntactically indefinite noun phrases, and may precede or follow the verb, like any object. Like other objects, a final cognate object is interpretable as in focus when sentence-final. The cognate object can be put in subject position, in which case there is also an object clitic. Note that, very unusually, there is no subject pronominal, despite the fact that such a pronominal is normally required in all sentences.

- (57)    *lātú*        *tū-ā*            *díní*  
           dance     N-dance-OBJ    like this  
           ‘This is how dance is danced.’ (how people dance)

## 5.2.1.2. The omission of the cognate object

The cognate object can be omitted. In this case, the special meaning is no longer coded by the syntax, though it can be supplied pragmatically.

- (58)    *ópi*    *ō-tū*        *rá*  
           Opi 3-tread    AFF  
           (a) ‘Opi trod (on it).’  
           (b)\* ‘Opi danced.’ (ok if preceding statement is about dancing)

## 5.2.1.3. The substitution of the cognate object

A cognate object can be replaced by the noun *tà* ‘thing’, with the verb-object combination retaining its special meaning. The use of *tà* is in fact

the preferred option with an inflected verb, as a substitute for the lexical cognate object.

- (59)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $k\acute{a}$   $t\grave{a}$   $t\bar{u}$   
 Opi 3 thing (N)-tread  
 (a) ‘Opi is dancing.’  
 (b)\* ‘Opi is treading on a thing.’

- (60)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $p\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-t\bar{u}$   $t\grave{a}$   $r\grave{a}$   
 Opi PRPL 3-tread thing all night  
 ‘Opi and his associates danced throughout the night.’

Note that to get the meaning of ‘treading on a thing’, the specificity determiner  $z\grave{i}$  must be used.

- (61)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $k\acute{a}$   $t\grave{a}$   $z\grave{i}$   $t\bar{u}$   
 Opi 3 thing specific (N)-tread  
 (a)\* ‘Opi is dancing.’  
 (b) ‘Opi is treading on something.’

If another object is substituted, the special meaning is lost.

- (62)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $k\acute{a}$   $l\bar{a}t\acute{u}$   $\grave{t}\bar{u}$   
 Opi 3 dance N-tread  
 ‘Opi is dancing.’

- (63)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $k\acute{a}$   $m\bar{a}$   $\grave{t}\bar{u}$   
 Opi 3 1S N-tread  
 ‘Opi is treading on me.’

There is another possibility with this verb, where ‘to tread on’ a person is to perform funeral rites for them; however, we take this to be an idiomatic extension from the ordinary verb-object structure.

- (64)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $k\acute{a}$   $\acute{a}t\acute{a}$   $\grave{t}\bar{u}$   
 Opi 3 father SPEC PR N-tread  
 (a) ‘Opi is treading on the father.’  
 (b) ‘Opi is having the last funeral rites for the father.’

#### 5.2.1.4. Completion particles for cognate object sentences

In some cases the verb and cognate object are capable of selecting for a distinctive completion particle (18.2.2.1) such as  $\acute{i}\acute{i}$ .

- (65) *má*    *ōdú*    *kō*  
 1S    sleep    N-catch  
 'I am sleeping.'
- (66) *má*    *kō*    *ōdú*    *í*  
 1S    catch    sleep    COM  
 'I am (completely) asleep.'

### 5.2.2. Subject + verb combinations expressing states of an individual

For many states, the state can be represented by a noun phrase subject of a transitive verb. There are restrictions on which subject goes with which verb, meaning that the verb-subject combination is somewhat idiomatic.

- (67) *īgbè*    *ká*    *mà*    *ṭ*  
 cold    3    1S    (N)-shudder  
 'I am cold.' (literally 'Cold is shuddering me.')
- (68) *àbírí*    *ká*    *mà*    *ṭ*  
 hunger    3    1S    (N)-shudder  
 'I am hungry.' (literally 'Hunger is shuddering me.')
- (69) *ōdú*    *ká*    *mà*    *ō-ḥ*  
 sleep    3    1S    ITER-(N)-push  
 'I am dozing off.' (literally 'Sleep is pushing me about.')

Not all states can be expressed in this manner; for example the noun *ōvù* 'laziness' cannot be a subject in this way. The noun expressing a state can alternatively be a nonverbal predicate (11.3.1.1), such as *īgbè* 'cold' in the following example.

- (70) *má*    *ní*    *īgbè*  
 1S    BEN    cold  
 'I am cold.'

### 5.2.3. Weather expressions

The weather is expressed by making a weather term the subject of the sentence:

- (71) *èjí*    *ō-dí*    *rá*  
 rain    3-rain    AFF  
 'It did rain.'

- (72) *sí*                      *k'ò-dē*  
 hail / snow      3-N-fall  
 'Hail / snow is falling.'

The generic weather word *vù* has a range of meanings including 'earth, world, land, state of weather'; it also carries some implications of a supernatural force, fate, or deity.

- (73) *vù*      *ō-lē*              *bá*      *ní*      *kū*  
 fate      3-want              INC      BEN      NEG(N)  
 'Fate doesn't want it for us.' (eg. the inevitability of someone's death)

When used as a subject of a weather sentence or a sentence describing the environmental situation, the kind of weather is determined by the verb. Verbs include *dù* 'roar' (for thunder), *āgū* 'flash' (for lightning), *ōwí* 'dawn', *ní* 'darken', *āngwé* 'lighten', *ēmú* 'come' (for the gathering of clouds before rain; nonpast only), *ēmí* 'warm up', *ēgbē* 'cool down'.

- (74) *vù*                      *k'-āgū*  
 weather              3-(N)-flash  
 'It (lightning) is flashing.'
- (75) *vù*                      *k'ò-ní*  
 weather              3-N-darken  
 'It is becoming dark.'
- (76) *vù*                      *k'-ē-mú*  
 weather              3-(N)-VE-go  
 'It is coming on to rain.' (the clouds are gathering)

### 5.3. The subject as the patient of a transitive predicate

A transitive verb characteristically assigns its subject the thematic role of agent and its object the thematic role of patient. It is possible for the subject instead to be assigned the patient thematic role. The effect is similar to passive in English, though achieved by different syntactic means.

#### 5.3.1. Detransitivization (and hence subject interpreted as patient)

All transitive verbs characteristically have objects. If the object is not realized explicitly as a noun phrase or pronoun, there are two options

depending on the verb. If the verb is uninflected or directive the object can be covert, while if the transitive verb is inflected the object can only be realized as *?ā* and cannot be omitted.

- (77)  $k\hat{o}-d\bar{i}-?ā$        $rā$   
 3-N-cook-OBJ      AFF  
 (a) 'It will certainly cook it.' (describing a cooking utensil)  
 (b) 'She will certainly cook it.'

If a verb which would normally have an object is inflected and *?ā* is omitted, this means that the verb is not a transitive verb, which means that its subject must be interpreted as the patient rather than the agent.

- (78)  $k\hat{o}-d\bar{i}$        $rā$   
 3-N-cook      AFF  
 'It will certainly get cooked'

- (79)  $k\hat{o}-d\bar{i}$   
 3-N-cook  
 'It is getting cooked'

If the verb is uninflected, it is in principle ambiguous between a transitive form with covert object and an intransitive form with no object and a patient subject, readings (a) and (b) respectively in (80).

- (80)  $\bar{o}-d\bar{i}$        $rā$   
 3-cook      AFF  
 (a) 'She has certainly cooked it.'  
 (b) 'It is certainly cooked.'

- (81)\*  $\bar{o}-d\bar{i}$   
 3-cook  
 'It got cooked.' (ungrammatical because the uninflected verb is not terminated)

Detransitivization is possible for some verbs and not others. Transitive verbs for which detransitivization is possible include *dī* 'cook' and *ēmī* 'boil'. Some verbs appear only in an intransitive form with a patient subject; these include *āká* 'melt'. Transitive verbs for which this is not possible and which therefore always have agent subjects include *ḡā* 'eat', *mvū* 'drink' and *dʒè* 'wash'. Causative verbs with the *i-* prefix cannot be detransitivized:

- (82) *ìrá dī ìkó rá*  
 beer this finish AFF  
 (a) 'This beer has certainly finished it.' (odd reading, but the only one possible)  
 (b)\* 'This beer is certainly finished.'
- (83) *ìrá dī òkó rá*  
 beer this finish AFF  
 (a)\* 'This beer has certainly finished it.'  
 (b) 'This beer is certainly finished.'
- (84) *ópí ʔà èjí ìgbē rá*  
 Opi POSS water cool AFF  
 (a) 'Opi's water has certainly cooled it down.' (odd reading, but the only one possible)  
 (b)\* 'Opi's water has certainly cooled down.'
- (85) *ópí ʔà èjí ēgbē rá*  
 Opi POSS water cool AFF  
 (a)\* 'Opi's water has certainly cooled it down.'  
 (b) 'Opi's water has certainly cooled down.'

### 5.3.1.1. Syntactic characteristics of the detransitivized verb

The detransitivized verb combines with all modals, negation and focus.

- (86) *ṣ-dī wà*  
 3-cook PS  
 (a) 'She was able to cook it (to perfection).' subject = agent  
 (b) 'It was able to get cooked (to perfection).' subject = patient
- (87) *ṣ-dī kpé*  
 3-cook NPS  
 (a) 'She was not able to cook it.' subject = agent  
 (b) 'It was not able to get cooked.' subject = patient
- (88) *ṣ-dī kū*  
 3-cook NEG  
 (a) 'She will not cook it.' subject = agent  
 (b) 'It will not get cooked.' subject = patient
- (89) *ṣ-dī kūrù*  
 3-cook NEG(P)  
 (a) 'She did not cook it.' subject = agent  
 (b) 'It did not get cooked.' subject = patient

5.3.2. 'Reflexive patients'

It is also possible to force an interpretation of the subject as patient by using *rū* as the object. This is permitted by verbs such as *sī* 'build', *wē* 'sweep', *kō* 'catch', *ḡā* 'eat', *āzī* 'sell', *ēbē* 'leave', *āndzū* 'separate', *ḡbī* 'kick', and *kē* 'give'.

- (90) *ō-sī* *rū* *ùndzī*  
 3-build REFL bad  
 'It wasn't well built.' (literally: 'It didn't build itself well.')
- (91) *d3ó* *ḡ* *ō-sī* *rū* *ùndzī*  
 house DEF 3-build REFL bad  
 (a) 'The house (in question) wasn't well built.'  
 (b) 'The house one wasn't well built.'
- (92) *d3ó* *dī* *kō-wē* *rū* *rá*  
 house this 3DIR-sweep REFL AFF  
 '(By time T) this house should certainly have been swept.'  
 (literally, 'This house should certainly sweep itself.')
- (93) *ìndrī* *ká* *rū* *ḡkō* *rá*  
 goat 3 REFL N-catch AFF  
 '(Circumstances necessitate that) a goat will have to be slaughtered.'
- (94) *ká* *rū* *ḡḡā* *rá*  
 3 REFL N-eat AFF  
 'It will certainly be in an edible state.' (literally 'It will certainly eat itself.')

This structure and interpretation can be used to express comparison.

- (95) *óní* *dī* *ká* *rū* *ḡḡbī* *mùpírà* *ánī*  
 stone this 3 REFL N-kick ball like  
 'This stone kicks like a ball.'
- (96) *óní* *dī* *ká* *rū* *ḡḡbī* *mùpírà* *mùpírà*  
 stone this 3 REFL N-kick ball ball  
 'This stone kicks like a ball.'

Some verbs do not permit the use of *rū* in this manner. Thus *ēḡā* 'fall' permits it while *dē* 'fall' does not.

(97)  $\bar{e}g\bar{a}$   $r\bar{u}$   $v\bar{u}r\acute{u}$   
 (3)-fall REFL down  
 'It / he / she fell down.'

(98)\*  $\bar{o}-d\bar{e}$   $r\bar{u}$   $v\bar{u}r\acute{u}$   
 3-fall REFL down  
 'It / he / she fell down.'

### 5.3.2.1. The use of $k\acute{i}$

$k\acute{i}$  can be used with the passive meaning or comparative meaning, but only if the subject also has the plural particle  $p\bar{i}$  (14.2).

(99)  $\acute{o}n\acute{i}$   $d\acute{i}$   $p\bar{i}$   $k\acute{a}$   $k\acute{i}$   $r\bar{u}$   $\grave{g}b\bar{i}$   $m\bar{u}p\acute{i}r\grave{a}$   $\acute{a}n\bar{i}$   
 stone this PRPL 3 PL REFL N-kick ball like  
 (a) 'These stones (this stone and its associates) kick like balls.'  
 (b) 'These stones (this stone and its associates) kick each other like balls.'

(100)  $\bar{o}-ndr\bar{e}$   $r\bar{u}$   $k\acute{i}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
 3- see REFL PL yesterday  
 (a) 'They saw each other yesterday'  
 (b) 'They saw themselves yesterday' (e.g. in a mirror)  
 (c)\* 'They were seen yesterday.'

### 5.3.2.2. Focus and the use of $r\bar{u}$

Normally, reflexive  $r\bar{u}$  cannot be focused.

(101)\*  $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-p\bar{a}$   $r\bar{u}$   $r\acute{a}$   $\acute{a}\bar{u}$   
 fish 3-eat REFL AFF FOC  
 'It is fish that has been eaten of all the things.'

(102)\*  $\acute{i}d\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-t\bar{e}$   $r\bar{u}$   
 peanut butter 3-lick REFL  
 'It is the peanut butter that has been licked.'

(103)\*  $\acute{i}d\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-t\bar{e}$   $r\bar{u}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 peanut butter 3-lick REFL FOC  
 'It is the peanut butter that has been licked.'

If focus is used, the meaning of ‘body’ emerges, which might perhaps explain possibly the difference in politeness between the following examples.

- (104) *kòdʒè*      *rū*  
 3DIR-wash      REFL  
 ‘Better wash yourself.’
- (105) *kòdʒè*      *rū*      *áū*  
 3DIR-wash      REFL      FOC  
 ‘Better wash yourself.’ (impolite)

The subject can be focused when reflexive *rū* is the object:

- (106) *èbī*      *ō-jā*      *rū*      *rá*      *nì*  
 fish      3-eat      REFL      AFF      FOC  
 ‘It is fish that has certainly been eaten of all the things.’

### 5.3.2.3. Some further implications with the passive interpretation

When the verb is uninflected and the sentence with *rū* also contains affirmative *rá* and thus the sentence affirms a past event, two more precise interpretations become available, in addition to the basic interpretation.

- (107) *ídī*                      *ō-tē*      *rū*      *rá*  
 peanut butter      3-lick      REFL      AFF  
 ‘The peanut butter has certainly been licked.’  
 Interpreted as (a) an indirect accusation that someone has been licking the peanut butter, or (b) that we have had enough of the peanut butter.
- (108) *ērī*      *rū*                      *rá*  
 hear      REFL                      AFF  
 ‘It has certainly been heard.’  
 Interpreted as (a) there were rumours about it, or (b) we have heard and understood it and there is no need to go on about it.

The interpretations (a) point to a change affecting the subject/patient but with an implication that the change is not total; the butter has been licked at rather than licked away, and the information has been partially heard (rumoured) rather than fully heard. Interpretation (b) emphasizes the state of the implied agent or experiencer, and suggests plenitude: the subject has had enough butter, or has heard enough and doesn’t want to hear any

more; this reading arises even when the overt subject is focused (109).

These meanings require the use of the affirmative/necessity modal *rá*. Without *rá* the basic meaning is available, but not the extra implications.

- (109) *èbī*    *ō-jā*    *rū*    *rá*    *nì*  
 fish    3-eat    REFL    AFF    FOC  
 ‘It is fish that has been eaten of all the things.’  
 Interpreted as (a) it is fish that has been tampered with, or (b) it is fish that we’ve had enough of eating.

- (110) *èbī*    *ō-jā*    *rū*    *nì*  
 fish    3-eat    REFL    FOC  
 ‘It is fish that has been eaten of all the things.’  
 No further interpretation that fish has been tampered with or that we’ve had enough of it.

These extra meanings also do not arise when *rū* is not present or when the subject is indefinite.

- (111) *éř*    *rá*  
 (IND)-hear    AFF  
 ‘It has certainly been heard.’

These meanings do not arise for the directive or inflected verbs.

#### 5.3.2.4. verb + *rū* idioms

Certain verbs take *rū* as an object in order to produce a particular verbal meaning. Thus *ōgù* ‘steal’ combines with *rū* to mean ‘escape’ or ‘elope’.

- (112) *ōgù*    *rū*    *ágó*    *gá*    *pí*  
 (3)-steal    REFL    man    LOC    COM  
 ‘She has eloped (to a man).’
- (113) *ká*    *r-ōgù*    *sígìnì*    *gá*    *sì*    *pí*  
 3    REFL-(N)-steal    prison    LOC    SR    COM  
 ‘She is going to / will escape from prison.’

Similarly *jā* ‘eat’ or *mvū* ‘drink’ combine with *rū* to mean ‘taste’, though this meaning arises only in the nonpast.

- (114) *ká*    *rū*    *jā*    *āḡá*  
 3    REFL    N-eat    bitter  
 ‘It tastes bitter.’

(115) *ká* *rū* *mvū* *āṅá*  
 3 REFL N-drink bitter  
 'It tastes bitter.'

(116) *ká* *rū-mvū* *ìrá* *ání*  
 3 REFL-(N)-drink beer like  
 'It tastes like beer.'

For these verbs, there is no past form with *rū*. Instead, a nonverbal predication is used.

(117) *ìrá* *ṛì* *āṅá*  
 beer DEF bitter  
 (a) 'The beer (in question) was bitter.'  
 (b) 'The one which is beer was bitter.'

(118) *ìrá* *dì* *āṅá*  
 beer this bitter  
 'This beer is bitter.'

### 5.3.3. De-emphasis on the subject by using the indefinite pronominal

It is also possible to give a 'passive effect' by using an indefinite subject. In this case, the subject remains the agent and the object remains the patient.

(119) *ó-kè* *búkù* *ṛì* *ìtó* *ní* *pí*  
 (IND)-give book DEF Ito BEN COM  
 'The book (in question) has (already) been given to Ito.'

(120) *ázi* *rá*  
 (IND)-sell AFF  
 (a) 'It has certainly been sold.'  
 (b) 'We certainly sold it.'

(121) *ádí* *màdí* *ìdrí* *kpé*  
 IND person bring back to life NPS  
 (a) 'A person can not be brought back to life.'  
 (b) 'We (you inclusive) cannot bring a person back to life.'

These constructions with the indefinite subject are called 'passive' by Tucker (1940: 71, 214).



## Chapter 6

### Other word classes

In this chapter we look at the morphology of nouns, adjectives and postpositions. We briefly review the various pronominal paradigms and consider the two kinds of determiner: articles and demonstratives. We examine the adverbials. We conclude with numerals and interjections.

#### 6.1. Nouns

##### 6.1.1. Singular native nouns: characteristic tone

##### 6.1.1.1. The tone of singular concrete nouns

Singular monomorphemic concrete nouns in the native vocabulary, including names, tend to end on a high tone. Loanword nouns tend to have their own distinctive tonal patterns, most of which end on a low tone (4.5.6.2).

##### 6.1.1.2. The tone of singular derived abstract nouns

Abstract nouns are derived productively from adjectives or from nouns (usually nouns representing occupation or status); their meanings are analogous to English -ness and -hood nouns respectively. They have a characteristic M\*L tonal pattern.

*Table 17. Some derived singular abstract nouns with a M\*L tonal pattern*

adjective		noun	
àlí	'short'	ālì	'shortness'
īngwē	'white'	īngwè	'whiteness'
péléré	'clean'	pēlḕrè	'cleanness'
máàmáì	'stupid'	māmā̀ì	'stupidity' (note shorter vowel)
ópí	'chief'	ōpì	'the state of being a chief, actions of a chief'
ògú	'thief'	ògù	'theft'
dzālīgó	'old man'	dzālīgò	'the state of being old; senility'
ìdrázi	'old woman'	ìdrā̀ndzì	'the state of being an old woman; senility' (note other phonological differences)

Examples like *ḱdrāndzḱ* where there are additional changes are uncommon.

Abstract nouns can also be derived from derived adjectives which have themselves been formed by reduplicating an adjective. Thus in addition to the noun *ālī* ‘shortness’, from the adjective *àlí* ‘short’, there is also a noun *ālīālī* which also means ‘shortness’ and is probably derived from *àlíàlí* ‘shortish’. There is also a noun *àlíálī* which means ‘the shorter one(s) from a set of short ones’

- |     |  |            |           |              |
|-----|--|------------|-----------|--------------|
| (1) | <i>àlí</i>   | <i>àlí</i> | <i>rḱ</i> | <i>ùndzḱ</i> |
|     | short (S)  | short(s)   | DEF       | bad (S)      |
|     | ‘The short(er) one is bad.’  |            |           |              |
|     |  |            |           |              |
| (2) | <i>àlí</i>   | <i>ālī</i> | <i>rḱ</i> | <i>ùndzḱ</i> |
|     | short (S)  | short ones | DEF       | bad (S)      |
|     | ‘The shorter ones from a set of short ones are bad.’ (with some uniform badness)               |            |           |              |
|     |  |            |           |              |
| (3) | <i>àlí</i>   | <i>ālī</i> | <i>rḱ</i> | <i>ūndzḱ</i> |
|     | short (S)  | short ones | DEF       | bad (PL)     |
|     | ‘The shorter ones from a set of short ones are bad.’ (with varying kinds or levels of badness) |            |           |              |

Other adjectives and related nouns give rise to similar words. Thus for example *ḱḱgwé ḱḱgwē* is a noun meaning ‘the whiter ones from a set of white ones’; *pèléré pèlērē* a noun meaning ‘the cleaner ones from a set of clean ones’. It is possible that these are nominalizations of the reduplicated adjective forms such as *àlíàlí* with only the second part of the reduplicated form changing its category to give an adjective-noun combination.

### 6.1.2. *Plural native nouns : characteristic tone, or suppletion*

#### 6.1.2.1. The distinctive tonal pattern of some native plural nouns

Most nouns do not have a distinctive plural form. The nouns which do are primarily nouns of gender, age, kinship and occupation; these have morphologically distinct plural forms with a characteristic tonal pattern, and in some cases also a suffix. Other than these, it is rare for nouns to be differentiated morphologically for number. Crazzarola (1960: 17) shows that similarly in Logbara kinship terms are the only nouns which pluralize, often with a plural suffix *ēḱ*, though Logbara has a regular plural suffix for these words which Ma’di does not.

Plural nouns in the native vocabulary tend to have a L\*M tonal pattern. Less commonly, native plural nouns may also have M\*M or M\*H tonal patterns.

Table 18. Some plural nouns in the native vocabulary

singular	plural	meaning
áǵó	àǵō	'man'
róǵí	ròǵĩ	'friend'
dǵàlǵó	dǵàlǵō	'old man'
lúkúndrē	lúkùndrē	'lactating mother'
òǵú	ōǵū	'thief'
ēndrē	ēndré	'mother'

There is possibly a loose correlation between the tone of the singular and the tone of the plural; the MM plurals tend to have L initial vowels in the singular (a pattern seen also in adjectives, 6.2.2), and the MH tend to have M initial vowels in the singular. In contrast most of the L\*M plurals have H initial vowels in the singular.

### 6.1.2.2. Suppletions

There are some suppletions in the plural; ùkú is 'women' corresponding to singular ízǵí 'woman'. In some cases, the suffix -ndǵĩ is used, usually in combination with a suppletion or with other morphological changes (alternative forms of the plural are idiolectal or dialectal). Suppletions are found only for nouns of gender, age, kinship and occupation.

Table 19. Some plural nouns which show suppletion

singular	plural	alternative plural	meaning
ízǵí	ùkúùndǵĩ	ùkú	'woman'
ǵārǵá	ǵòròndǵĩ	ǵòòndǵĩ	'child'
ìdrǵázǵí	ìdrǵàndǵĩ	(no term)	'old woman'
ǵádrǵúpǵí	ǵádrǵúùndǵĩ	ǵádrǵìùndǵĩ	'brother'

### 6.1.2.3. Compounds

Where a compound has a pluralizable word, the compound can be pluralized by pluralizing that word. This may be the first member, the

second member, or both. Examples of pluralization of just the first member include *ízi-rì* singular ‘brother’s wife’s sister’ and *ùkū-rí* plural ‘brother’s wife’s sisters’, and for some speakers also *íli-gó* singular ‘sword’ (from knife+man) and *ìli-gó* plural ‘swords’. Examples of pluralization of just the second member include *àʔú ēndrē* ‘hen’ (‘chicken-mother’) pluralised as *àʔú ēndré*. *dʒúruzi* ‘a foreign woman’ may have the second word pluralized as *dʒúru ùkú* ‘foreign women’ or both words can be pluralized as *dʒuru ùkú* ‘foreign women’.

### 6.1.3. Singular loanword nouns: characteristic tone

Loanwords tend to have a characteristic tonal contour, with the final two syllables HL or ML. This is discussed in 4.5.6.2.

### 6.1.4. Plural loanword nouns: characteristic tone and a suffix

Most loanwords of three or more syllables in the singular are pluralized by adding the suffix *-a* and have a tonal pattern M\*HL which means that the suffix *-a* has a low tone. Most but not all of the pluralizable loanwords are names of status or occupation, thus resembling the pluralizable native words.

Table 20. Some plural loanwords

singular	plural	meaning
<i>pādērè</i>	<i>pādēréà</i>	‘priest’
<i>màkánìkà</i>	<i>mākānìkàà</i> or <i>mākānìkià</i>	‘mechanic’
<i>kùbàjà</i>	<i>kūbàjàà</i>	‘cup’

Two comments might be made about the loanword plural morphology. First Juba Arabic, widely used as a lingua franca in Southern Sudan and a source of many Lokai Ma’di loanwords, pluralizes some words with a L\*HL pattern ending in the low tone suffix *-àt*. Second, native and loanword plural tonal patterns while not identical show some resemblance: the native pattern is L\*H, with a rising contour, while the loanword pattern is M\*H, with a rising contour, followed by the low suffix *à*. Some loanwords in fact have the native plural pattern: thus *àwiri* ‘prostitute’ (from Arabic) pluralizes either as *àwiri* or as *āwirià*. It is worth noting that unlike the longer words, none of the bisyllabic loanwords pluralize: thus for example *lámà* ‘lamp’ does not pluralize, eg. as *\*lámàà* (compare Juba Arabic where *lámà* ‘lamp’ pluralizes as *lámààt*).

### 6.1.5. Derivational prefixes

Deverbal nouns may differ from the verb by the addition of a prefix, either *o-* or *lo-* or *la-* or *li-*; Tucker (1940: 127) speculates on historical reasons for this. This is not systematic or common. All these nouns function as cognate objects (5.2.1), so that for example *nā ɔ́nā* means ‘eat’ as well as ‘to eat food’.

Table 21. Some deverbal nouns with characteristic prefixes

verb		noun	
<i>nā</i>	‘to eat’	<i>ɔ́nā</i>	‘food’
<i>kū</i>	‘to have fame’	<i>òkú</i>	‘fame’
<i>zō</i>	‘to grow’	<i>òzò</i>	‘growth’
<i>vè</i>	‘to have dysentery’	<i>òvè</i>	‘dysentery’
<i>nā</i>	‘to eat’	<i>lōnā</i> or <i>línā</i>	‘food, cooked food’
<i>mgbā</i>	‘to beat’	<i>lāmgbá</i>	‘beating, punishment’
<i>tū</i>	‘to dance’	<i>lātú</i> or <i>látú</i>	‘dance’
<i>lwe</i>	‘to whistle’	<i>lōlwé</i>	‘whistling’

### 6.1.6. Derivational suffixes

#### 6.1.6.1. Gendered nouns : male *-gó* and female *zí*

There are some pairs of nouns where the male version ends in *-gó* (related to *ágó* ‘man’) with optional ATR harmony, and the female ends in *-zí* (the suffix is related to *ízi* ‘woman’) with no ATR harmony. Thus we have *mùndrúgó* ‘a white male’ and *mùndrúzí* ‘a white female’, and *dzúrúgó* ‘a foreign male’ and *dzúrúzí* ‘a foreign female’. The plurals are formed from the plural forms of the nouns *àgō* ‘men’ and *ùkú* ‘women’, or they may be linked with *nī* (see 13.1.1). Thus the plural of *mùndrúgó* ‘white-person man’ is *mùndrúágō* or *mùndrú nī àgō* ‘white-person’s men’. In addition to the suffix *-zí* there also appears to be an ending *-zì*, found in *āfāzì* ‘co-wife’ (from *āfā* ‘jealousy’).

Nouns ending in *-rì* express the meaning ‘sibling of the same gender’. Thus *ízi* ‘wife’ and *ízirì* or *ízírì* ‘wife’s sister’, and *ágó* ‘husband’ and *ágórì* ‘husband’s brother’. The ending *-rì* harmonizes optionally for ATR.

Some male names correspond to female names ending in *-a*; the tone on the stem remains the same but is either high or low on the suffix. Thus *ópí* has a female version *ópíà*, both meaning ‘chief’ and used for the first

born twin. *ófá* has a female version *ófábá*, both meaning ‘war’, perhaps naming someone born during a war. In other cases, functionally equivalent male and female names are not transparently related; thus a second born twin is called *éremúgó* ‘blacksmith’ if a boy and *mùjàà* if a girl, possibly from *mùjé* ‘leftover of melted iron’.

#### 6.1.6.2. Agentive nouns : a suffix *-rē*

Nouns ending in *-rē* express agentive meanings; these are denominal nouns where the first part of the word is independently a noun referring to an action: *ēbù* ‘work’, *ēbūrē* ‘worker’; *òfú* ‘message’, *òfūrē* ‘messenger’. The ending *rē* does not harmonize for ATR. This is not a productive derivational suffix.

Words ending in *-bá* express plural agentive meanings and the suffix is attached to nouns. The word *bá* also means ‘people’ and there is a pronominal *bá*. Thus *ēbùbá* ‘working people’, *lōsíbá* ‘cultivation-people, farmers’. There is never harmonization of [a] to [ʌ] in this suffix. The singular equivalents may use *-rē* or may be expressed as phrases rather than compounds; thus ‘farmer’ is *lōsí nī mādí* ‘cultivation-person, farmer’. We note that Tucker (1940: 134) says that Ma’di has a suffix *-ba* which forms agents (in the singular), but his two Ma’di examples can only (now) be interpreted as plural.

#### 6.1.6.3. Diminutive morpheme *ánḡwá* and augmentative morpheme *gó*

The morpheme *ánḡwá* follows a noun and makes it a diminutive. Though we write it as a separate form it is perhaps best treated as bound to the preceding word; it does not resemble a postmodifying adjective. There are three differences from a postmodifying adjective: (a) it need not be followed by a determiner, unlike an adjective; (b) if it is followed by a determiner, the phrase is interpretable only as definite, unlike a phrase with an adjective modifier, see 13.2.9; and (c) it can not appear without a preceding noun.

(4)     *ìndrì*    *ánḡwá*                    *ēḡwè*            *dì*  
           goat    DIM                            (3)-get lost    COM  
           ‘A small goat got lost.’

(5)     *ìndrì*    *ánḡwá*    *rì*            *ēḡwè*            *dì*  
           goat    DIM            DEF            (3)-get lost    COM  
           (a)     ‘The small goat (in question) got lost.’  
           (b)\*    ‘A small goat got lost.’

- (6)\*            *áṅgwá*    *rì*            *ēgwè*            *dì*  
                   DIM            DEF            (3)-get lost    COM  
 ‘The small one got lost’

*áṅgwá* can follow the adjective *gà* ‘small’

- (7)            *ìndrì*    *gà*            *áṅgwá* ( *drū* )    *rì*            *ēgwè*            *dì*  
                   goat    small    DIM            as            DEF            (3)-get lost    COM  
 ‘The / a small goat is lost.’

The morpheme *gó* appears to be the augmentative equivalent to *áṅgwá* and is found only in combination with *àmgbú*, perhaps as a suffix.

- (8)            *ìndrì*    *àmgbú-gó* ( *drū* )    *rì*            *ēgwè*            *dì*  
                   goat    big-AUG    as            DEF            (3)-get lost    COM  
 ‘The / a big goat is lost.’

We note that Ngiti has several different kinds of augmentative suffix, which express different kinds of bigness (Lojenga 1994:165). This is not the case in Ma’di.

There are two other morphemes *gó* which follow nouns, and which may or may not be related to this augmentative. As the first of these, *gó* is used in epithets (for both genders) in a noun phrase ending with a final low determiner. On its own it tends to have a positive meaning: *ópí gó* ‘mighty Opi’, *ízi gó* ‘the powerful woman’. Reduplicated it tends to have a negative meaning eg. *ópí gó gó* ‘the menacing Opi’. As the second of these, *gó* expresses maleness when attached to a noun, deriving *màdí-gó* ‘male Ma’di’, *ìndri-gó* ‘he-goat’. It has a variant *lógó* found only in *à?ú-lógó* ‘cock’ and *fòró-lógó* ‘male tilapia’.

### 6.1.7. Compound nouns

The only true kind of compound in Ma’di is a compound noun. Compound nouns are most commonly formed by combining two nouns, and are most typically interpreted as possessor + possessed.

- (9)            *dzómī*                            or *dzómī*  
                   *dzó*    +    *mī*  
                   house    eye  
                   ‘window’

They are structurally equivalent to noun phrases of the ‘possessor *nī* possessed’ type (13.1.1); thus the compound *dzó?ā* ‘floor’ resembles the

phrase *d3ó nĩ ʔā* ‘the inner part of a house’. Compounds are differentiated from analogous phrases by idiosyncratic meanings, and in some cases by ATR harmonization (4.1.7).

In some cases, the combination appears to be a noun followed by a postposition, but the postposition might possibly also be analyzed as a noun in this case:

- (10) *mīākò*  
*mī* + *ākò*  
 eye absence / without  
 ‘blindness’

Some compounds appear to contain the possessive postposition *ʔā* (13.1.2) but there are two major differences between compounds with this word and phrases with this word where the postposition takes as its preceding complement a possessor. In a phrase the possessor + *ʔā* combination precedes the possessed thing; in the compound it follows. In a phrase the possessor must be animate; this restriction does not hold in the compound.

- (11) *lúkùdóèjíʔā*  
*lúkùdó* *èjí* *ʔā*  
 pot water POSS  
 ‘water pot’

- (12)\* *èjí ʔā lúkùdó*  
 water POSS pot

## 6.2. Adjectives

### 6.2.1. Singular adjectives: characteristic tone

Singular native adjectives have a strong tendency towards final high tone, with the first syllable usually being either low or high (and some cases of initial mid tone).

### 6.2.2. Plural adjectives: characteristic tone

All adjectives can be pluralized, except the small native class of colour adjectives. We disagree with Tucker and Bryan (1966: 40), who claim that plurality is not shown in adjectives. Adjectives which begin with a H tone in the singular tend to have a L\*M pattern in the plural. Adjectives which begin with a L or M tone in the singular tend to form a M\* plural.

Table 22. Tonal patterns of plural adjectives

singular	plural	meaning
<i>lídṛī</i>	<i>lìdṛī</i>	'alive'
<i>péléré</i>	<i>pèlèrē</i>	'clean'
<i>lókírì</i>	<i>lòkìrī</i>	'multicoloured'
<i>máàmáì</i>	<i>màmàì</i>	'stupid'
<i>àzō</i>	<i>āzō</i>	'tall'
<i>ùká</i>	<i>ūkā</i>	'sour'
<i>lōsó</i>	<i>lōsō</i>	'good'

The two tonal patterns L\*M and M\* are the only patterns found on plural adjectives, except for one or two loanword colour adjectives which follow the loanword tonal patterns in the plural (21.4).

#### 6.2.2.1. Adjectives (of colour) which do not pluralize

The three basic colour adjectives for 'white', 'red' and 'black' do not pluralize.

(13) *īngwē* *rì* *ṛī*  
 white DEF FOC  
 'the / a white one'

(14) *īngwē* *rì* *pī* *ṛī*  
 white DEF PRPL FOC  
 '(the) white ones' (literally: the / a white one and its associate(s))

The colour adjective *lófàrà* 'yellow' does pluralize; compare the rather similar word *lókírì* 'multicoloured' which also pluralizes, as indicated above. Adjectives of colour are discussed further in 21.4.

#### 6.2.3. Adjectives derived by reduplication

An adjective may be derived by reduplicating an adjective, to provide a meaning equivalent to English comparative -er or -ish. Thus: *àlí* 'short', and *àlialí* 'shorter' or 'shortish, rather short'; *īngwē* 'white', and *īngwē īngwē* 'whiter' or 'whiteish, rather white'. It is possible that the reduplicated adjective has a nominalized second half to give the words described in 6.1.1.2.

#### 6.2.4. *There is no morphological difference between attributive and predicative adjectives*

There is no morphological difference between adjectives used in attributive (15,17) and predicative (16,18) positions:

(15)    *ópi*    *nĩ*    *bārá*    *lōsó*    *rì*    *ʔĩ*  
 Opi    PR    child    good    DEF    FOC  
 ‘Opi is a good child.’

(16)    *ópi*    *nĩ*    *lōsó*  
 Opi    PR    good  
 ‘Opi is good / fine.’

(17)    *ālĩ*            *rì*    *pĩ*    *ē-tfá*            *ádžínĩ*  
 short (PL)    DEF    PRPL    (3)-VE-arrive    yesterday  
 ‘The short ones arrived yesterday.’

(18)    *ópi*    *pĩ*    *ālĩ*  
 Opi    PRPL    short (PL)  
 ‘Opi and his associates are short.’

#### 6.2.5. *Morphological and syntactic similarities and differences between adjectives and nouns*

We have classed some words as nouns and others as adjectives. It is worth asking however whether they are all in fact nouns. This is perhaps Tucker’s view (1940: 77); he suggests that there is no distinct class of adjectival roots, and that all adjectives are versions of nominal or verbal roots.

The evidence for thinking that ‘adjectives’ and ‘nouns’ might be of the same word class is as follows. (i) They have similar tonal patterns (in contrast to verbs). Singular nouns and adjectives both tend to end in final high tone. Plural nouns and adjectives both tend to have an L\*M pattern, with M\* another occasional option. (ii) There is no difference in the syntactic structures of sentences which have adjectives as predicates and which have common nouns as predicates.

There are however also some differences between adjectives and nouns. (i) In general, adjectives are inflected for singular or plural (the exception is colour words). In general, nouns are not inflected for singular or plural (the exceptions, pluralizable nouns, include kinship terms, occupation terms and some other loanwords). (ii) While an adjective in its role as modifier of a noun might itself be the only lexical word in a noun phrase, that noun phrase must be accompanied by a

determiner *rì*, *dí* or *nà* (13.2.1). This is not a constraint holding of nouns in general, which can stand on their own without a determiner.

It is our view, based particularly on this last point, that adjectives are a distinct word class in Ma'di, and we assume this in the grammar.

### 6.3. Postpositions

Postpositions tend to be CV, and the vowel is usually [a], [i] or [ɪ]. The major exception to both tendencies is *zèlé* 'under', which is homophonous with the noun meaning 'vagina' though it might in fact be a locational noun rather than a postposition. Postpositions are discussed in chapter 15.

#### 6.3.1. Homophony between (some) postpositions and nouns

Some postpositions are homophonous with nouns naming body parts. it is possible in some cases that these words actually are 'locational nouns', with the preceding constituent in fact being a possessor of the noun or compounded with the noun.

Table 23. Postpositions which are homophonous with nouns.

Postposition	meaning	homophonous noun	meaning
<i>ʔā</i>	location: at, to, in	<i>ʔā</i>	'stomach'
<i>pá</i>	under	<i>pá</i>	'leg'
<i>sí</i>	on the point(s) of	<i>sí</i>	'tooth'
<i>zèlé</i>	under	<i>zèlé</i>	'vagina'

Other postpositions do not resemble nouns; there appears to be no pattern determining which meanings are expressed by noun-homophonous postpositions and those which are not.

Table 24. Postpositions which are not homophonous with nouns.

Postposition	meaning
<i>drī</i>	on the surface of
<i>drí</i>	to
<i>gá</i>	location: at, to, in
<i>ní</i>	for
<i>sì</i>	source, ie. with (an instrument, ingredient, vehicle), because of
<i>trò</i>	with

## 6.4. Pronominals

### 6.4.1. Meanings and functions of pronominals

#### 6.4.1.1. Person

Pronouns differentiate first, second and third persons. The default first person plural pronoun excludes the addressee. In addition there are pronouns which we refer to as ‘indefinite/inclusive’, which are ambiguous between (definite) inclusive first person (‘I and you’) and indefinite third person.

#### 6.4.1.2. Number

Pronouns distinguish two numbers: singular and plural. First and second person pronouns always distinguish singular from plural. Third person pronouns are generally ambiguous between singular and plural, but third person pronouns in one paradigm (the I-paradigm) are morphologically coded for number as  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  singular vs.  $\grave{a}n\bar{i}$  plural. The third person object clitic  $?a$  is interpreted only as singular. Number can also be indicated for a pronominal subject by  $k\hat{i}$ , used to indicate the plurality of a definite subject and in some other contexts (14.1.2), or by  $p\bar{i}$ , used after a lexical subject to indicate the meaning of ‘and associates’ (14.2).

#### 6.4.1.3. Definiteness

The indefinite/inclusive pronouns are ambiguous between indefinite third person and definite inclusive first person plural. The indefinite interpretation is excluded in some contexts where definiteness is forced on the pronoun, such as with plural  $k\hat{i}$  (14.1.2.2). The other third person pronouns are not specified for definiteness and can corefer with either definite or indefinite noun phrases.

#### 6.4.1.4. Tense and modality

Distinct pronominal paradigms correlate with different kinds of tense, aspect and modality, and interact also indirectly with negation. The distinction between past and nonpast sentences, which has implications also for aspect, involves distinct pronominal paradigms, the I-paradigm and the U-paradigm (along with other differences in the verb and its arguments). Directive sentences have their own pronominal paradigm, the D-paradigm.

#### 6.4.1.5. Meanings not coded by pronouns in Ma'di

The following meanings and functions are not coded by distinctions in the pronominal system:

- (a) Gender.
- (b) Tribal, sectional or family relationships.
- (c) Status or relations between participants.
- (d) Discourse prominence. Note however that determiners are sensitive to discourse prominence, with *n̄* being the definite determiner used for coreferents in the distal discourse and *nā* being used for coreferents in the proximal discourse; these two determiners cannot be used on their own as noun phrases.
- (e) Emphasis or degrees of emphasis. It is worth noting that the long vs. short pronoun distinction in pronoun subjects of uninflected verbs does not correlate with a difference in emphasis.
- (f) Proximity to the participants in the speech act. However this is coded by demonstratives, by some postposition modifiers, and also by the ventive verbal prefix *e-*.
- (g) Logophoricity. Ma'di does not have logophoric pronouns (unlike, apparently, Ngiti).

#### 6.4.2. Morphology of Pronominals

Pronominals are syllabically V or CV or VCV. Segmental distinctions tend to differentiate person. Thus *á* is first and *í* second person singular in the U-paradigm. Tonal distinctions and syllable structure tend to distinguish number; thus *má* is singular and *ámá* is plural of the first person in the I-paradigm. Tone tends to distinguish paradigm. Thus *má* is I-paradigm and *mā* is NS-paradigm of the first person singular.

The pronouns instantiate some general Nilo-Saharan patterns, as described by Bender (2000:60). This can be seen in 1st person *a* and 2nd person *i*; and second person *ni* is possibly a descendent of reconstructed *\*ini*. The use of *a-* to differentiate plural may also be a version of a Nilo-Saharan pattern.

#### 6.4.3. Pronominal paradigms

There are fundamentally four pronoun paradigms, with distinct pronominals for subject of uninflected verb (U-paradigm), subject of inflected verb (I-paradigm), subject of directive verb (D-paradigm), and other positions (NS-paradigm for 'non-subject paradigm'). There is some internal variation within the four basic paradigms, giving, superficially, seven distinct paradigms as listed below.

**Table 25.** Preliminary analysis into seven pronominal paradigms

	short U-	long U-	I- next to verb	I- not next to verb	D-	NS-	NS- before post- position
1S	á-	má	má	má	mà	mā	má
1PL	à-	àmà	àmá	àmá	àmà	àmā	àmā
2S	í-	jí	jí	jí	jì	jī	jí
2PL	ì-	àjì	àjí	àjí	àjì	àjī	àjī
3S	õ-		kó-	ká	kò-	ānī	ānī
3PL	õ- (kí`)		ká kík`	ká (kík`)	kò-	à?ī	à?ī
IND/INC			ádī	ádī		bá or ´	bá

We suggest that a long U-pronoun is a combination of an NS-pronoun preceding a short U-pronoun; thus for example *mā* + *á* gives *má* (see 7.2.1.4). Thus the long U-paradigm is not really a distinct paradigm. The distinction between the two I-paradigms is the distinction between third person *kó* and *ká*; we discuss this further in 8.2.1. where we suggest that *kó* is a derived form and there is again just one I-paradigm. The distinction between the two NS-paradigms is in the singular forms of pronouns which have high tones when complements to postpositions; we show in 15.1. that a postposition can raise the tone on a preceding grammatical word, and so we take the two paradigms to be underlyingly the same. This gives us four paradigms underlyingly:

**Table 26.** Final analysis into four pronominal paradigms

	U- subject of uninflected verbs	I- subject of inflected verbs	D- subject of directive verbs	NS- other positions
1S	á-	má	mà	mā
1PL	à-	àmá	àmà	àmā
2S	í-	jí	jì	jī
2PL	ì-	àjí	àjì	àjī
3S	õ-	ká / kó	kò-	ānī
3PL	õ- (...kík`)	ká (kík`)	kò-	à?ī
IND/INC		ádī		bá or ´

Tucker and Bryan (1966: 41-42) present paradigms for Ma'di which fail to separate possessive and nonpossessive forms, and also make errors in representing the tones. We also note that in some analyses *ká* is treated as an auxiliary verb carrying third person agreement and taking a missing pronominal subject, rather than treating it as we do as a pronominal.

#### 6.4.4. NS-pronominals: pronominals which are not subjects

Later in this chapter, most of our discussion of pronominal paradigms is centred on the three paradigms relating to pronouns which are subjects of verbs. In contrast, in this section we first briefly survey the non-subject (NS-) paradigm. The following examples illustrate positions in which the NS-paradigm is found.

An NS-pronoun can be subject of a nonverbal predicate. We suggest in 11.2.1. that this is in fact an adjoined subject position.

- (19) *mā lāpwóní*  
 1S teacher  
 'I am a teacher.'

An NS-pronoun can be the adjoined subject of a verb, preceding the true pronominal subject. In (20) the adjoined subject *ānī* in the subordinate clause precedes the true subject *ō-*.

- (20) *ō-fō ámā ānī ō-dī èbī ádzínī*  
 3-say that 3S 3-cook fish yesterday  
 'He [1] said that he[1] cooked fish yesterday.'

The indices [1] indicate that the two subjects are coreferential.

An NS-pronoun can be an object, either preceding the (inflected) verb or following the (uninflected) verb.

- (21) *jí mā `ipi*  
 2S 1S N-squash  
 'You are squashing me.'

- (22) *má ānī `ūngwē*  
 1S 3S N-call  
 'I am calling him (her, it).'

- (23) *ō-ndrē ānī ádzínī*  
 3-see 3S yesterday  
 (a) 'He [1] saw him [2] yesterday.'  
 (b) 'He [1] saw himself [1] yesterday.'

Objects can be left-dislocated to before the verb, and this includes objects realized by NS-pronouns. In (24) the NS-pronoun *mā* is placed before the verb and the vowel deleted (4.2.2). In contrast (25) is a sentence with the subject pronoun *má*; again the vowel is deleted but the high tone is preserved thus indicating that here we have a subject rather than a left-dislocated object.

(24) *m-ūŋgwē-ā*      *ópi*      *ǎí*  
*mā ūŋgwē-ā*      *ópi*      *ǎí*      underlying  
 1S-(N)-call-OBJ      Opi      FOC  
 'I am called Opi.'

(25) *m-úŋgwē-ā*      *ópi*      *ǎí*  
*má ūŋgwē-ā*      *ópi*      *ǎí*      underlying  
 1S-(N)-call-OBJ      Opi      FOC  
 'I call him Opi.'

An NS-pronoun can be followed by *ǎí*, as a predicate, or in focus position.

(26) *ēndrē*      *ní*      *mā*      *ǎí*  
 mother      SPEC      PR      1S      FOC  
 'Her/his/its mother is me.'

(27) *èbì*      *rì*      *ānì*      *ǎí*  
 wet      DEF      3S      FOC  
 'The wet one is it.'

(28) *má*      *fō*      *mā*      *ǎí*  
 1S      say      1S      FOC  
 'It is me who said it.'

An NS-pronoun can be a complement of a postposition. Note that in the following example the pronoun is realized not as *mā* but as *má*; all singular pronouns and demonstratives have high tones before a postposition.

(29) *ō-kè*      *má*      *ní*  
 3-give      1S      BEN  
 'She gave it for me.'

#### 6.4.4.1. Dialectal variation in the NS-paradigm: 'Burulo

'Burulo and Lokai are mostly similar in the NS-paradigm. 'Burulo however has *àdǎí* instead of Lokai *ānì* as the third person singular.

## 6.4.5. Indefinite / inclusive pronominals

The same pronominal form is used to express two distinct meanings:

- (i) indefinite, third person.
- (ii) inclusive, first person plus second person, definite.

6.4.5.1. NS-paradigm indefinite / inclusive pronominal *ba'*

*ba'* is the form of the indefinite or inclusive in any position other than the true subject. It can however be the 'adjoined subject', as we discuss in 7.2. There is a distinct though related word *ba'* which is a noun meaning 'people'.

*ba'* can be an object. Like a definite object, this pronoun is focused with *ʔi*.

- (30) *ɔ-lɛ*     *ba'*     *ʔi*  
 3-want    INC    FOC  
 (a) 'It is us (including you) he wants.'  
 (b)\* 'It is people he wants.'

*ba'* can be used as subject of a nonverbal predicate. We note that *rū* can substitute for *ba'* with the same meaning, though Lokai prefers *ba'*.

- (31) *ba'*     *ogū*  
 INC    thieves  
 (a) 'We (including you) are thieves.'  
 (b) 'People are thieves.'

*ba'* can be used in final position as the 'final copy' of a focused subject. Since the focus involves *ʔi* only the inclusive meaning is available.

- (32) *ádʔi*     *kí*     *dʒó*     *sí*     *ba'*     *ʔi*  
 IND        PL        house    N-build    INC        FOC  
 (a) 'It is us (you inclusive) who will build the house.'  
 (b)\* 'People will build the house themselves.'

*ba'* can be used as complement to a postposition.

- (33) *ópi*     *ɛ-kɛ*     *ba'*     *ní*  
 Opi    (3)-VE-give    INC        BEN  
 (a) 'Opi has given it for us (you inclusive).'  
 (b) 'It is to people Opi has given it.'

There is also a lexical noun *bá* meaning ‘people’. The pronominal and the lexical noun can be distinguished by the different focus strategies appropriate to a lexical noun subject (the *nì* strategy) vs. a pronominal first person subject (the copy and *ʔí* strategy).

(34) *bá*            *ū-ndzū*                      *gbándà*    *dì*            *nì*  
 people    (3)-ITER-uproot            cassava    this            FOC  
 ‘It is people who have uprooted this cassava.’ (i.e. not animals)

(35) *bá*            *ū-ndzū*                      *gbándà*    *dì*    *bá*            *ʔí*  
 INC            (3)-ITER-uproot            cassava    this    INC            FOC  
 ‘It is us (you inclusive) who have uprooted this cassava.’ (i.e. not other people)

They can also be differentiated by the strategies appropriate to an indefinite lexical noun object (no focuser, or *áū*) vs. definite pronoun (the *ʔí* strategy):

(36) *ō-ndrē*    *bá*  
 3-see        INC  
 (a)\* ‘She saw us (you inclusive).’  
 (b) ‘She saw people.’ (ie. rather than animals)

(37) *sū*        *rì*            (*nì*)        *ō-ndrē*    *bá*  
 four    DEF        PR        3-see        people  
 (a) ‘The four things that he saw were people.’  
 (b)\* ‘The four things that he saw were us (you inclusive).’

(38) *ō-ndrē*    *bá*            *áū*  
 3-see        INC            FOC  
 (a)\* ‘It was us she saw.’  
 (b) ‘It was people she saw.’

(39) *ō-ndrē*    *bá*            *ʔí*  
 3-see        INC            FOC  
 (a) ‘It is us (you inclusive) she saw.’  
 (b)\* ‘She saw a person (as opposed to animals).’

(40) *sū*        *rì*            (*nì*)        *ō-ndrē*    *bá*            *ʔí*  
 four    DEF        PR        3-see        people    FOC  
 (a)\* ‘The four that he saw were people.’  
 (b) ‘The four that he saw were us (you inclusive).’

6.4.5.2. Some notes on *ádī* and related forms

Morphologically, the I-paradigm indefinite/inclusive form *ádī* resembles *àdī* ‘who’, differing in the initial tone. Lokai has *ádī*, ‘Burulo has *ádī*’.

*ádī* is also used as a shorthand means of referring to a person without specifying who they are, translatable perhaps as ‘who’s it’.

- (41) *ádī*    *nī*    *nà*  
 IND    PR    that  
 ‘That’s / there’s who’s it.’

With this interpretation, *ádī* has the syntax of a definite noun phrase (or a name), being followed by *nī* in subject position, and taking *ī* in when it is a focused object.

- (42) *āmvótì*                      *nī*    *ádī*                      *ī*  
 sister (SPEC)    PR    what’s it                      FOC  
 ‘Her sister is what’s it.’

When the pronoun *ádī* is interpreted as ‘we inclusive’ it is pluralized (optionally) with *kí*. When the pronoun *ádī* is interpreted as ‘so and so’ its plural form requires *pī*.

- (43) *āmvótì*                      *pī*                      *ádī*                      *pī*                      *ī*  
 sister (SPEC)    PRPL                      so and so                      PRPL                      FOC  
 ‘The / her sister and the associates are so and so.’

- (44) \* *āmvótì*                      *pī*                      *ádī*                      *ī*  
 sister (SPEC)    PRPL                      so and so                      FOC  
 ‘The / her sister and the associates are so and so.’

The word *ádū* meaning ‘whatsit’ is used similarly to refer to objects. *ádū* clearly relates to *àdū* ‘what’ in parallel to *ádī* with *àdī* ‘who’.

- (45) *ádū*                      *ī*                      *īngō*  
 what’s it                      DEF                      where  
 ‘Where is the what’s it?’

## 6.4.5.3. Other notes on indefinite/inclusive pronouns

The indefinite pronoun can in some cases be used in a discourse context where the identity of the referents is clear. Thus sentence (46) can be followed by sentence (47) in a discourse, where indefinite *ádī* is

interpretable only as referring back to the brothers mentioned in the preceding sentence.

- (46) *ādr̄ndzī*    *pī*    *ká* (*kī̀*)    *rù*    *bì*    *létī*  
 brothers SPEC PRPL 3 PL REFL waylay road  
 ‘The brothers would lay an ambush (by the road).’
- (47) *ádī*    *ānì*    *kō*    *létī*  
 IND 2PL catch road  
 ‘You will be caught on the way.’

The indefinite/inclusive pronominal subject (high tone, or *ḅá* or *ádī*) cannot be used with certain intransitive verbs, such as *āḅì* ‘ripen’ and *kā* ‘become ready for harvest’, perhaps because the indefinite is interpreted as animate.

- (48) *āḅì*    *rá*  
 ripe AFF  
 ‘It has ripened.’
- (49) \* *ádī*    *rá*  
 (IND)-ripe AFF  
 ‘It has been ripened.’

#### 6.4.5.4. First person plural pronoun with inclusive interpretation

It is possible to use the first person plural pronoun with an unexpected inclusive interpretation in the following kind of appositional structure, particularly in Lokai; note that it is ambiguous, also having the expected exclusive interpretation. This is quite general - the pronoun is followed by a noun, which could be *màdí*, *ōgū*, etc.

- (50) *āmā*    *màdí*    *nī*    *ékwí*    *gà*  
 1PL(EXC) Ma’di PR seed small  
 (a) ‘We (you excluded) the Ma’di are few (in number).’  
 (b) ‘We (you inclusive) the Ma’di are few (in number).’

*ḅá* can be added to force an inclusive reading; here we might treat *ḅá* as the subject of the clause, and *āmā màdí* as a sentence-initial topic.

- (51) *āmā*    *màdí*    *ḅá*    *nī*    *ékwí*    *gà*  
 1PL(EXC) Ma’di INC PR seed small  
 (a)\* ‘We (you excluded) the Ma’di are few (in number).’  
 (b) ‘We (you inclusive) the Ma’di are few (in number).’

In (51) the normally exclusive pronominal has an inclusive meaning. The form *rū* could be used instead to express an inclusive meaning.

- (52) *àmā*            *màdí*            *ǝ-lè*            *rū*            *kū*  
 1PL(INC)        Ma'di            3-like        REFL        NEG(N)  
 'We Ma'di don't like ourselves / each other'

#### 6.4.6. The pronominal *rū*

*rū* is a pronominal which appears in the positions where NS-pronouns appear: as object of a verb, or as subject of a nonverbal predicate.

##### 6.4.6.1. *rū* and the verb

*rū* sometimes harmonizes for ATR (4.1.8), suggesting a certain closeness to the verb. *rū* is not able to terminate an uninflected verb, thus differing from an ordinary noun phrase or pronominal object (which is a characteristic it shares with the plural morpheme *kí*).

- (53)\* *ídí*                    *ǝ-tē*            *rū*  
 peanut butter        3-lick        REFL  
 'The peanut butter has been licked.'

##### 6.4.6.2. Order of *rū* and *kí*

With an uninflected verb, *rū* and plural *kí* can come in either order.

- (54) *ǝ-zī*            *kí*            *rū*            *rá*  
 3-greet    PL            REFL        AFF  
 'They have greeted each other.'

- (55) *ǝ-zī*            *rū*            *kí*            *rá*  
 3-greet    REFL        PL            AFF  
 'They have greeted each other'

When the verb is inflected and both morphemes precede the verb, *rū* must be closer to the verb (and *kí* correspondingly closer to the subject).

- (56) *ká*            *kí*            *rù*            *dzè*  
 3            PL            REFL        (N)-wash  
 (a) 'They are washing themselves.'  
 (b) 'They are washing each other.'

- (57)\* *ká*      *rū*    *kí*      *dzè*  
 3            REFL PL      (N)-wash  
 (a) 'They are washing themselves.'  
 (b) 'They are washing each other.'

We note that while the following sentence is acceptable, this is *kí nā* as a plural possessive, not a sequence of independent *kí* and *nā*:

- (58) *ká*      *rū*    *kí*    *nā*      *dzè*  
 3            body PL    AFR      (N)-wash  
 'He is washing them (lit. their bodies).'

#### 6.4.6.3. *rū* as a subject in nonverbal predication

As the subject of a non-verbal predicate, *rū* can replace *bá* to give examples like (59) (dispreferred as an option in Lokai), and *ámā* to give examples like (60). In both cases it has an inclusive interpretation.

- (59) *rū*            *lápwoñí*  
 REFL      teachers  
 'We (you inclusive) are teachers.'
- (60) *rū*            *máđí*    *ní*      *ékwí*    *gà*  
 REFL      Ma'di    PR      seed      small  
 'We (you inclusive) Ma'dis are few in number.'

#### 6.4.6.4. Pronominal *rū* and lexical *rū* 'body'

The pronominal *rū* is perhaps related to the noun *rū* with a non-harmonizing vowel which means 'body' and in combination with *sì* means 'personally'.

- (61) *má*      *má*      *ʔà*      *rū*            *dzè*  
 1S      1S      POSS    body/REFL    (N)-wash  
 'I am washing my body / myself.'
- (62) *má*      *mū*      *má-à*            *rū*      *sì*  
 1S      go      1S-POSS      body    SR  
 'I went there personally.' (literally 'with my body')

6.4.6.5. Verbs which lexically select for  $r\bar{u}$ 

Note the following idiomatic combination of the verb  $l\bar{e}$  'like' with  $r\bar{u}$ , a noun phrase with  $s\bar{i}$  and the adverbial  $d\bar{a}k\bar{u}$  'a lot'.

(63)  $\bar{o}-l\bar{e}$      $r\bar{u}$      $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$      $s\bar{i}$      $d\bar{a}k\bar{u}$   
 3-like    REFL    Opi    SR    a lot  
 'She likes Opi a lot.'

(64)  $\bar{o}-l\bar{e}$                      $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$      $n\bar{i}$      $r\acute{a}$   
 3-like                    Opi    SR    AFF  
 'She likes / liked Opi'

## 6.4.7. Coreference between subject and pronominal within a root clause

In 16.12. we discuss coreference involving a pronominal in a subordinate clause. In the following section we discuss coreference involving a pronominal in a root clause.

6.4.7.1. Coreference between subject and object when the object is  $r\bar{u}$ 

For most transitive verbs, coreference between the subject and the object requires the object to be the pronoun  $r\bar{u}$ .

(65)  $\acute{o}t\bar{f}\bar{e}$      $k\acute{a}$      $r\bar{u}$      $d\bar{z}\bar{e}$   
 dog    3    REFL    (N)-wash  
 'A dog is washing itself.'

(66)  $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$      $\bar{o}-d\bar{z}\bar{e}$      $r\bar{u}$      $r\acute{a}$   
 Opi    3-wash    REFL    AFF  
 'Opi has certainly washed himself.'

(67)  $k\acute{a}$      $k\acute{i}$      $r\bar{u}$      $d\bar{z}\bar{e}$   
 3    PL    REFL    (N)-wash  
 (a) 'They are washing themselves.'  
 (b) 'They are washing each other.'

(68)  $\bar{o}-d\bar{z}\bar{e}$      $r\bar{u}$      $k\acute{i}$      $r\acute{a}$   
 3-wash    REFL    PL    AFF  
 (a) 'They have certainly washed themselves.'  
 (b) 'They have certainly washed each other.'

- (69) *kòdžè*            *rū*  
 3DIR-wash    REFL  
 'Better wash yourself.'

*rū* can also be used to express passive meanings with some verbs:

- (70) *ō-ndrē*            *rū*            *ádžínī*  
 3-see                REFL            yesterday  
 (a) 'It was seen yesterday.' (it became visible)  
 (b)\* 'He saw himself yesterday.'
- (71) *ō-džī*            *rū*            *ádžínī*  
 3-take                REFL            yesterday  
 (a) 'It was taken yesterday.'  
 (b) 'He took himself yesterday.'

Some verbs restrict the use of *rū*. Thus *ndrē* does not permit *rū* with a reflexive meaning if the subject is singular but does permit *rū* with a reflexive/reciprocal meaning if the subject is plural.

- (72) *ō-ndrē*            *rū*            *kí*            *ádžínī*  
 3S- see                REFL    PL            yesterday  
 (a) 'They saw each other yesterday.'  
 (b) 'They saw themselves yesterday.' (e.g. in a mirror)  
 (c)\* 'They were seen yesterday.'
- (73)\* *ō-ndrē*            *rū*            *ádžínī*  
 3-see                REFL    yesterday  
 'He saw himself yesterday.'

#### 6.4.7.2. Coreference between subject and object if the object is *ānī*

The verb *ndrē* allows a reflexive interpretation if the object is the regular third person object singular *ānī* or plural *àñī*. Note that *rū* cannot be used in this case. The sentence is ambiguous between a reflexive and a nonreflexive meaning. We do not know of any other verbs which show this pattern.

- (74) *ká*            *ānī*            *ndrē*            *òbú*  
 3                3S                N-see            tomorrow  
 (a) 'He [1] will see him [2] tomorrow.'  
 (b) 'He [1] will see himself [1] tomorrow.'

- (75)  $\bar{o}$ -ndrē      ānī      ádzínī  
 3-see          3S      yesterday  
 (a) 'He [1] saw him [2] yesterday.'  
 (b) 'He [1] saw himself [1] yesterday.'

- (76)  $\bar{o}$ -ndrē      kî`      à?ī      ádzínī  
 3-see      PL      3PL      yesterday  
 (a) 'They [1] saw them [2] yesterday.'  
 (b) 'They [1] saw themselves [1] yesterday.'

The plural object is not enough on its own to produce a plural meaning for the subject.

- (77)  $\bar{o}$ -ndrē      à?ī      ádzínī  
 3-see          3PL      yesterday  
 (a) 'He [1] saw them [2] yesterday.'  
 (b)\* 'They [1] saw themselves [1] yesterday.'

#### 6.4.7.3. Subject and postpositional object

The object of a postposition can also be interpreted as optionally coreferential with the subject if it is an ordinary NS pronoun. The postposition phrase can be part of the sentence (78, 79), or can be a possessor within a noun phrase (80, 81).

- (78) ópí      ē-dzé      ānī ní      gārì      údí  
 opi      (3)-VE-buy      3S BEN      bicycle      recently  
 (a) 'Opi [1] has bought him [2] a bicycle recently.'  
 (b) 'Opi [1] has bought himself [1] a bicycle recently.'

- (79) m-òrì      má      sî      kū  
 1S-fear      1S      SR      NEG(N)  
 'I am not worried about myself.'

- (80) ópí       $\bar{o}$ -kō      ānā-à      éno      rá  
 Opi      3-catch      3S-POSS      picture      AFF  
 (a) 'Opi [1] has certainly taken his[2] picture.'  
 (b) 'Opi [1] has certainly taken his (own) [1] picture.'

- (81) ānā-à      éno      ópí       $\bar{o}$ -kō      rá  
 3S-POSS      picture      Opi      3-catch      AFF  
 (a) 'His[2] picture, Opi [1] has certainly taken.'  
 (b) 'His (own) [1] picture, Opi [1] has certainly taken.'

## 6.4.7.4. Forced coreference

If  $\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{a}^{\wedge} \eta\acute{g}\acute{a} s\grave{i}$  '(source) his self' is added after the NS pronominal object  $\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{i}$  a coreferential reading is forced between subject and object; this is a kind of emphatic reflexive, placing emphasis on the object.

- (82)  $\bar{o}\text{-}ndr\bar{e}$      $\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{i}$      $\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{a}\text{-}\grave{a}$      $\eta\acute{g}\acute{a}$      $s\grave{i}$      $\acute{a}d\acute{z}\acute{i}\bar{n}\bar{i}$   
 3-see    3S    3S-POSS    self    SR    yesterday  
 (a)\* 'He[1] saw him[2] yesterday.'  
 (b) 'He [1] saw himself [1] yesterday.'

Note that the coreference possibilities are however not affected by adding  $\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{a}^{\wedge} r\bar{u} s\grave{i}$ , perhaps because this places emphasis on the subject rather than the object.

- (83)  $\bar{o}\text{-}ndr\bar{e}$      $\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{i}$      $\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{a}\text{-}\grave{a}$      $r\bar{u}$      $s\grave{i}$      $\acute{a}d\acute{z}\acute{i}\bar{n}\bar{i}$   
 3-see    3S    3S-POSS    body    SR    yesterday  
 (a) 'He[1] saw him [2] (physically) yesterday.'  
 (b) 'He[1] saw him/himself [1] (physically) yesterday.'

A structure consisting of a 'possessive pronoun' (pronoun +  $\bar{?}\bar{a}$ ) followed by a noun such as  $r\bar{u}$  'body' and then  $s\grave{i}$  means 'by himself'. It is coreferential with the subject.

- (84)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $\bar{o}\text{-}m\bar{u}$      $\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{a}\text{-}\grave{a}$      $r\bar{u}$      $s\grave{i}$   
 Opi    3-go    3S-POSS    body    SR  
 'Opi went himself.'

This phrase may follow the verb, as in (84), or may immediately follow a noun phrase in initial position followed by a pause and followed by a full sentence (85, 86).

- (85)  $m\bar{a}$      $m\bar{a}\text{-}\grave{a}$      $r\bar{u}$      $s\grave{i}$  ,  $m\bar{a}$      $m\bar{u}$      $m\bar{a}$      $\bar{?}\bar{i}$   
 1S    1S-POSS    body    SR    1S    go    1S    FOC  
 'It was I (by myself) who went.'

- (86)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $n\bar{i}$      $\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{a}\text{-}\grave{a}$      $r\bar{u}$      $s\grave{i}$  ,  $\bar{o}\text{-}m\bar{u}$      $n\bar{i}$   
 Opi    PR    3S-POSS    body    SR    3-go    FOC  
 'Opi by himself (and no-one else) was the one who went.'

Where the possessed noun is  $\eta\acute{g}\acute{a}$ , or (preferred in Lokai)  $t\grave{a}$  'thing', or  $r\bar{u}$  'body', the postposition phrase means 'by myself', 'by yourself' etc.

- (87)  $\bar{e}$ -mú  $\bar{a}$ ná-à  $\eta$ gá  $n\grave{i}$   
 3-VE-go 3S-POSS self FOC  
 ‘She came by herself / she came on her own.’
- (88)  $n\acute{i}$  kwā  $n\acute{a}$ -à  $dri$ bí  $r\acute{a}$   $d\acute{o}$   
 2S shave 2S-POSS hair AFF so  
 ‘So, you have definitely shaved your hair...’  
 $m\acute{a}$  kwā  $m\acute{a}$  ?à  $t\acute{a}$   $m\acute{a}$  ?í  
 1S shave 1S POSS thing 1S FOC  
 ...I shaved my thing on my own / by myself.’
- (89)  $m\acute{a}$   $f\bar{o}$   $m\acute{a}$ -à  $t\grave{a}$  ( $n\bar{i}$ )  $m\bar{a}$  ?í  
 1S say 1S-POSS thing PR 1S FOC  
 ‘I said it myself (on my behalf).’
- (90)  $\acute{o}$ pí  $\bar{o}$ - $d\bar{z}\bar{i}$   $\bar{a}$ ná-à  $t\grave{a}$  ( $n\bar{i}$ )  $\bar{a}$ ná-à  $r\bar{u}$   $s\grave{i}$   $n\grave{i}$   
 Opi 3-take 3S-POSS thing PR 3S-POSS body SR FOC  
 ‘It was Opi who took his own thing by himself.’
- (91)  $\acute{o}$ pí  $\bar{e}$ - $nd\bar{z}\bar{e}$   $\bar{a}$ ná-à  $s\acute{i}$   $\bar{a}$ ná-à  $t\grave{a}$  ( $n\bar{i}$ )  
 Opi VENT-pluck 3S-POSS tooth 3S-POSS thing PR  
 $\bar{a}$ ná-à  $r\bar{u}$   $s\grave{i}$   $n\grave{i}$   
 3S-POSS body SR FOC  
 ‘It was Opi who plucked out his own tooth by himself.’

## 6.5. Determiners: articles and demonstratives

Table 27. Determiners

Determiner	meaning
$n\grave{a}$	that N (distal in the physical context)
$d\acute{i}$	this N (proximal in the physical context)
$\grave{i}l\acute{e}d\grave{i}$	that N near you (in the physical context)
$r\grave{i}$	the N in question (mentioned in the earlier discourse but not in the preceding utterance)
$n\bar{a}$	the aforementioned N (mentioned in the preceding utterance)
low tone suffix ‡	attached to a noun, and used for a noun phrase referring to an identifiable entity which has not been previously mentioned in the discourse.

‡ It is not clear whether this low tone suffix should be considered categorially a determiner, or whether instead it is an inflection of the noun (we treat it as a determiner).

Determiners tend to be CV, with [a], [i] or [ɪ] as the vowel (a similar morphology to postpositions). Tone is mid or low (in Lokai Ma'di). There is dialectal variation in the determiners between Lokai and 'Burulo. Where Lokai has low tone *rì*, *dì* and *nà*, 'Burulo has high tone *rí*, *dí* and *ná*. Where Lokai has mid tone *nā* 'Burulo has low tone *nà*.)

### 6.5.1. Words based on the demonstratives

The demonstratives *nà* and *dì* are the basis for locative adverbials. We list also the variant forms found in the 'Burulo dialect.

Table 28. Demonstratives

Meaning	Lokai	'Burulo
this	<i>dì</i>	<i>dí</i>
that	<i>nà</i>	<i>ná</i>
that - near you	<i>ìlédì</i>	<i>ìlédí</i>
here	<i>dì?ā</i>	<i>díá</i>
there - near neither	<i>ná?ā</i>	<i>náá</i>
there - near you	<i>ìlédì?ā</i>	<i>ìlédíá</i>

Other combinations are *nānī* *nà* 'that sort of' and *dínī* *dì* 'this sort of', based on demonstrative (*nà* or *dì*) + *ánī* + demonstrative. The fact that the tone on *nà* and *dì* is raised suggests that *ánī* might be a postposition.

- (92) *òvī*      *ná-nī*      *nà*      (*nī*)      *ō-lè*      *rū*      *kū*  
 behaviour    that-like    that    PR    3-like    REFL    NEG(N)  
 'That sort of behaviour is not wanted.'

## 6.6. Adverbials

We distinguish between fixed and free adverbials. Fixed adverbials usually appear at the end of the clause, though there are some which appear at the beginning. Free adverbials are freely placed in the clause. Some of the free adverbials can function as subordinating conjunctions.

### 6.6.1. Morphology of adverbials

From a morphological perspective we can say the following about adverbials:

- (a) Some are homophonous with (singular) adjectives.
- (b) Unlike adjectives, adverbials do not modify for number.
- (c) Some might possibly be nouns (eg. òḍú ‘tomorrow’).
- (d) More than any other kind of word, reduplication (of a whole word, or a sequence of words in a phrase) is characteristic of adverbials.
- (e) Some adverbials are ideophones (often involving reduplication).

### 6.6.2. Adverbials which resemble adjectives

Some adverbials are homophonous with adjectives. Thus for example the adverbial *l̄s̄s̄* ‘well’ is homophonous with the adjective *l̄s̄s̄* ‘good’. In some cases the homophonous pairs are made of reduplicated members, for example *tfé tfé* means both ‘slowly’ and ‘slow’. This fits a general pattern whereby adverbials tend to have a reduplicated structure. Some adjectives exist in singular and plural forms, but the adverbs are homophonous with the singular forms and do not pluralize.

- (93)    *ópi*    *p̄i*    *péléré*  
 Ópi    PRPL    clean(S)  
 ‘Ópi and his companions are clean.’ (The group consisting of Ópi and his companions is clean.)
- (94)    *ópi*    *p̄i*    *pèlèrē*  
 Ópi    PRPL    clean(PL)  
 ‘Ópi and his companions are clean.’ (The individual members of the group are clean.)
- (95)    *ópi*    *p̄i*    *ō-tfō*    *ìtó*    *p̄i*    *péléré*  
 Ópi    PRPL    3-thrash    Ito    PRPL    clean(S)  
 ‘Ópi and his companions thrashed Ito and his companions thoroughly.’
- (96)    \* *ópi*    *p̄i*    *ō-tfō*    *ìtó*    *p̄i*    *pèlèrē*  
 Ópi    PRPL    3-thrash    Ito    PRPL    clean(PL)  
 ‘Ópi and his companions thrashed Ito and his companions thoroughly.’

### 6.6.3. Adverbials which resemble nouns.

There are no clear examples of adverbials which are homophonous with a word which is clearly also a noun. However, some adverbials have

apparently noun-like behaviour. Most strikingly, many final adverbials can combine with *nì*, the definite article, to produce a free adverbial (98).

- (97)                      *ópi*    *ō-mū*    *tfé* *tfé*    *nì*  
                                  Opi    3-go    slowly    FOC  
 ‘Opi is the one who went slowly.’

- (98)    *tfé* *tfé*    *nì*    *ópi*    *ō-mū*                      *nì*  
                  slowly    DEF    Opi    3-go                      FOC  
 ‘The one who went slowly is Opi.’

This does not however prove that the adverbial is a noun; it could be the final part of a very stripped-down relative clause and thus not directly related to the definite article.

Other adverbials such as *òbú* ‘tomorrow’ can be attached to the pronominal *nì* or to determiners, which are both characteristics of nouns. However, in the former case, attachment to *nì* would suggest that *òbú* is being treated as a name (not as a common noun), as names attach to *nì* and common nouns do not; this fits with the sense that *òbú* is being personified.

- (99)    *òbú*                      *nì*    *ō-nì*    *rū*    *kū*  
                  tomorrow                      PR    3-know    REFL    NEG(N)  
 ‘Nobody knows tomorrow.’ (perhaps with some personification of tomorrow)

*òbú* can also take the specificity (floating low tone) determiner (and is then followed, as expected for this determiner, by *nì*). It is less easy here to see what the syntax of the phrase is; the specificity determiner does not normally take preceding modifiers and normally combines only with a preceding common noun, which suggests that there is indeed something noun-like about *òbú*.

- (100)    *òbú*                      *nì*    *íngónì*  
                  tomorrow    SPEC    PR    how  
 ‘What about tomorrow?’ (Are you aware of the consequences of your acts?)

#### 6.6.4. *Adverbials which are derived by reduplication*

Adverbials can be constructed by reduplicating another word, usually an adjective or another adverbial.

(101)  $\bar{e}$ -mú  $\bar{e}z\bar{e}$   
 (3)-VE-go early  
 'He came early / a long time ago.'

(102)  $\bar{e}$ -mú  $\bar{e}z\bar{e}$   $\bar{e}z\bar{e}$   
 (3)-VE-go early early  
 'He came quickly.'

An adverbial can be derived also by reduplicating a noun N, with the meaning of 'like a N' or 'in a manner typical of a N'. Thus *màdí* 'person' is reduplicated as *màdí màdí* to mean 'like a person, in the manner typical of a person'.

(103)  $k'$ -āndré èbì èbì  
 3-look lion lion  
 'It looks like a lion.'

(104)  $ká$   $r$ -ō- $dā$  ògú ògú  
 3 REFL-3-do thief thief  
 'She behaves like a thief.'

#### 6.6.5. Ideophones

(105)  $b\bar{e}l\bar{e}$   $n\bar{a}$   $\bar{o}$ - $d\bar{e}$   $kp\bar{o}l\bar{o}r\bar{o}$   
 stick AFR 3-fall ID  
 'Her walking stick fell *kpoloro*.' (making the sound *kpoloro*)

(106)  $\bar{e}j\bar{i}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\bar{e}m\bar{i}$   $r\bar{a}$ .  $k'$ ō- $\bar{p}\bar{e}$   $t\bar{u}l\bar{a}$   $t\bar{u}l\bar{a}$   
 water SPEC PR boil AFF. 3-do ID  
 'The water has boiled. It is bubbling *tula tula*.' (very hard)

(107)  $\bar{a}t\bar{j}\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}$ - $d\bar{u}$   $m\bar{a}$ - $\bar{a}$   $d\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\bar{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}n\bar{i}$ .  $\bar{o}l\bar{e}$   $n\bar{a}$   
 fire 3-burn 1S-POSS hand yesterday. place AFR  
 $k'$ ō- $\bar{p}\bar{e}$   $r\bar{i}$   $r\bar{i}$   
 3-do ID  
 'Fire burnt my hand yesterday. The place is in pain *ri ri*.'

Ideophones are adverbials which are sentence-final, can take *rì* to become a free adverbial, and can be focused. Ideophones mainly express distinctive sounds (108), visually distinctive actions (109), or kinds of pain (110). They tend to involve reduplication, though this is what we would generally expect from words expressing the kinds of plural event typically expressed by ideophones. These words mean nothing in isolation; they must be part of a sentence to have this meaning. The following list is illustrative rather than exhaustive.

- (108)
- |                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| <i>gbùm gbùm</i> | sound made by the falling of heavy things repeatedly  |
| <i>kp̄l̄r̄</i>   | sound made by the falling of (specifically) a walking stick ( <i>òt̄</i> ), identifiable because the object is dry and hard |
| <i>tù tù</i>     | sound of heart pounding; sound of running footsteps   |
- (109)
- |                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| <i>tájà tájà</i> | break into an uncontrollable laughter with the body shaking uncontrollably |
| <i>tùlà tùlà</i> | bubbling of boiling water; frenzied footworks of a dancer                  |
| <i>kàjà kàjà</i> | disorderly movement; pandemonium (also <i>kàfà kàfà</i> )                  |
- (110)
- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <i>rì rì</i>       | excruciating pain from a boil or a burn        |
| <i>kwírí kwírí</i> | excruciating pain gnawing a person from within |
| <i>wí wí</i>       | throbbing headache as if the head is whirling  |

Note that in some cases the reduplicated word does not have an unreduplicated source. Thus there is a word *ṅòròṅòrò* ‘rough’, but no \**ṅòrò*. Other words of this type include the adjectives *wīlīwīlī* ‘steep’ and *ṅgùrùṅgùrù* ‘crunchy, not softly cooked’; and *ùtùlùtù* ‘whirlwind’ (note also that this last example has the tonal pattern characteristic of long monomorphemes). *gbùm gbùm* is the only consonant-final word we have found. Tucker (1940: 312) suggests that ideophones in use vary depending on social unit within a tribe; we agree that these are variable but suspect that they are variable by individual speaker rather than by group.

## 6.7. Numerals

### 6.7.1. Cardinal numbers

#### 6.7.1.1. Cardinal numbers 1-10: monomorphemes

There does not appear to be any distinctive morphology or tonal pattern for numerals 1-10, which are distinct monomorphemes. Some of the numerals exist in VCV long forms and CV short forms.

Table 29. Numerals

standard form	alternative form	meaning
<i>àlū</i>		one
<i>èrì</i>	<i>rì</i>	two
<i>īnā</i>	<i>nā</i>	three
<i>īsū</i>	<i>sū</i>	four
<i>tòú</i>		five
<i>áziá</i>		six
<i>túùdēri</i>		seven (possibly
<i>àrò</i>		eight
<i>drítfàlū</i>		nine (possibly )
<i>mūdri</i>		ten

There is no Ma'di word for zero. None of the ten numerals are recognizably loanwords. Apart from Ma'di, some of the other Central Sudanic languages have a quinary structure (Tucker 1940:287) in which only 1-5 are monomorphemes, and 6-10 are compounds involving five. This is not really true for Ma'di though there are two possible exceptions. 'Seven' *túùdēri* might have originated as a compound *tòú* + *èrì*, five + two, and *drítfàlū* 'nine' might have originated as *drí* + *tfà* + *àlū*, hand + reach + one, meaning 'one hand short'; both of these might imply some relation to a five-based system. Crazzarola (1960: 38) comments on the fact that Ma'di and Logbara are unusual in having ten distinct numerals.

#### 6.7.1.2. Cardinal numbers: 20, 30, 40 etc.: compounds

Multiples of ten have a structure along the following lines, with *mùdī* substituting for *mūdri* ten, and any number between two and nine as the second number.

- (111) *mùdī*    *rì*  
           ten     two  
           twenty

#### 6.7.1.3. Cardinal numbers: 11-19, 21-29, etc.

The numbers 11-19 are constructed by preference in Lokai in the following pattern:

- (112) *mūdī*      *límbí*      *àlū*  
 ten            remainder      one  
 'eleven'

Numbers 21, 22 etc. are constructed by preference in Lokai as:

- (113) *mūdī*    *rì*      *límbí*      *àlū*  
 ten          two      remainder      one  
 'twenty one'

Short forms of the cardinal numbers are preferred. Alternative constructions, more commonly used in 'Burulo than Lokai, involve the word *dri*, which might possibly also be interpreted as 'head'; this use of a word meaning 'head' is seen also in the neighbouring language Acholi.

- (114) *mūdī*              *dri*              *àlū*  
 ten                    head              one  
 eleven

- (115) *mūdī*              *dri*      *nā*      *àlū*  
 ten                    head      AFR      one  
 eleven

- (116) *mūdī*    *rì*      *dri*              *àlū*  
 ten          two      head              one  
 twenty one

#### 6.7.1.4. High cardinal numbers: 100, 1,000, 1,000,000

The numbers 'hundred', 'thousand' and 'million' are loanwords, with either word taken either from Arabic or Swahili or from English. Arabic or Swahili loans are *míà* 'hundred' (from *mia*) and *élfù* 'thousand' (from *alf*); English loans are *ándè* 'hundred' and *táŷānì* 'thousand'. 'Million' is *mílfōnì* from English or *mìlfōnì* indirectly via Arabic.

#### 6.7.1.5. Numbers used in telling the time

In Sudan the day is counted in two twelve-hour cycles beginning at midnight and midday. Sudanese Ma'di borrow Arabic numerals:

- (117) *sàà*    *kámsà*  
 hour    five  
 'Five o'clock (morning or evening)'

- (118) *sàà wáyì*  
 hour one .  
 ‘One o clock (morning or evening)’

Arabic numerals (eg. *ìtìnásārà* ‘twelve’ (from Juba Arabic *itnashra*) are also sometimes borrowed in Sudanese Ma’di for counting money.

In Ugandan Ma’di the day is counted in two twelve-hour cycles beginning mid-morning (ie. 6 am) and mid-evening (ie. 6 pm).

- (119) *sáà àlū*  
 hour one  
 ‘Seven o clock (morning or evening)’

### 6.7.2. Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are constructed by combining a cardinal number (short form preferred) with a following *d3ó*.

- (120) *ìndrì èrì d3ó rì ēgwè dì*  
 goat two one DEF get lost COM  
 ‘The second goat is lost.’

- (121) *àlū d3ó rì ópí ñ*  
 one one DEF Opi FOC  
 ‘The first one is Opi.’ (e.g. in counting)

The form *d3ó* is found elsewhere, (a) as a noun meaning ‘house’, and (b) as a subordinating suffix on a verb (10.4).

The words *àtì* ‘first’ and *kìlìngbì* ‘last’ are also used with *d3óā* which we gloss as ‘one of’ both independently as sentential modifiers with in the clause, and as modifiers within a noun phrase.

- (122) *àtì d3óā rì ópí ē-tfá ñ*  
 first one-of DEF Opi () VE-reach FOC  
 (a) ‘First, it was Opi who arrived.’  
 (b) ‘The first to arrive was Opi.’

- (123) *ìndrì àtì d3óā rì*  
 goat first one-of DEF  
 ‘The first goat’

**6.8. Interjections and other one-word utterances***Table 30. Interjections*


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<i>á?ā</i>	prohibition - no
<i>ú?ū</i>	prohibition - no
<i>òhō</i>	yes
<i>ījī</i>	pay heed!
<i>wólólò</i>	a cry of surprise and pain on hearing unpleasant news.
<i>wúlūlù</i>	a cry of surprise and pain on hearing unpleasant news.
<i>wò</i>	there you are!
<i>jè</i>	there you are!
<i>āká</i>	why on earth; may God forbid.
<i>íjè´</i>	is that so!; really!

---

Interjections may contain sounds otherwise rare in Ma'di such as [h]

## Chapter 7

### The uninflected verb

In this chapter we look at the uninflected verb, which is found (a) in sentences with nonpast tense, and (b) in sentences in all tenses with negation. It has a distinctive pronominal paradigm for the subject. It is followed by its object which can also be omitted. It cannot be sentence-final. In the morphology and syntax of the uninflected verb, the 'Burulo dialect differs from other Ma'di dialects.

#### 7.1. The uninflected verb in comparison with other types of verb

The uninflected verb is the barest form of the verb. In contrast, the inflected verb has a low tone prefix, while the subordinate suffixed verb has a low tone prefix and a suffix. With the uninflected verb plural *kí* and reflexive *rū* both immediately follow the verb.

#### 7.2. Subject

We take the following two generalizations to be true, though they are not immediately obvious on the surface; we justify them later:

The uninflected verb must have a pronominal subject. In the third person this consists of a vowel, which may be deleted before a vowel-initial verb, thus giving the superficial effect of there being no subject.

The pronominal subject can be preceded by an 'adjoined subject' which is coreferential with it, a lexical noun phrase or another pronominal. We consider it additional to the true pronominal subject.

Thus the subject is either a pronominal on its own as in (1) or the pronominal preceded by an 'adjoined subject' as in (2).

- |     |  |                              |                            |
|-----|--|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) | $\bar{o}$ -<br>3-<br>SUBJECT                               | <i>mū</i><br>go<br>VERB      | <i>ádžínī</i><br>yesterday |
|     | ‘She/he/it went yesterday.’                                |                              |                            |
| (2) | <i>ópi</i><br>Opi<br>‘ADJOINED SUBJECT’                    | $\bar{o}$ -<br>3-<br>SUBJECT | <i>mū</i><br>go<br>VERB    |
|     | ‘Opi went yesterday.’ (literally ‘Opi he went yesterday.’) |                              |                            |

7.2.1. *The pronominal subject*

The subject pronominal can be either ‘short’ or ‘long’, with no clear functional difference between these options. We begin with the short paradigm which we take to be fundamental and then show that the long paradigm is created by combining the short paradigm pronominal with an adjoined subject.

## 7.2.1.1. ‘Short’ subject pronominals

The ‘short’ paradigm is a set of verbal prefixes each consisting just of a vowel carrying a tone. The choice of vowel determines person (*a* = first, *i* = second, *o* = third) The choice of tone determines number (high = singular, low = plural). The third person pronominal is unspecified for number; this might correlate with the fact that it has mid tone.

Table 31. ‘Short’ U-pronouns

1S	<i>á-</i>
1PL	<i>à-</i>
2S	<i>í-</i>
2PL	<i>ì-</i>
3S	<i>õ-</i>
3PL	<i>õ-</i> (and optional <i>kí</i> following the verb)
INDEFINITE / INCLUSIVE	(no special short form; only a long form)

Any of the items in Table 31 can substitute for *á* in the following example; there is no change in the verb (or any other part of the sentence).

- (3)      *á*      *ndrē*      *rá*  
           1S      see      AFF  
           ‘I have seen it.’

If the verb begins with a vowel, either lexically or with the ventive prefix *ē-* or iterative prefix *ō-* the third person pronominal is deleted, and the verb is interpreted as third person; we interpret this as involving first the addition of the third person prefix syntactically, and then its deletion by a phonological rule which deletes a vowel before another vowel.

- (4)                    *āzī*      *rá*                    as pronounced  
           *ō-*      *āzī*      *rá*                    underlying  
           (3)-      sell      AFF  
           ‘She/he/it did sell it.’

- (5)             $\bar{i}l\bar{e}g\bar{i}$      $m\acute{a}$      $n\acute{i}$      $r\acute{a}$     as pronounced  
            $\bar{o}$ -     $\bar{i}l\bar{e}g\bar{i}$      $m\acute{a}$      $n\acute{i}$      $r\acute{a}$     underlying  
 (3)-    pray    1S    BEN    AFF  
 ‘She/he/it has prayed for me.’
- (6)             $\bar{a}b\bar{u}$      $d\bar{z}\acute{o}t\bar{i}$      $d\bar{i}$      $n\bar{i}$     as pronounced  
            $\bar{o}$ -     $\bar{a}b\bar{u}$      $d\bar{z}\acute{o}t\bar{i}$      $d\bar{i}$      $n\bar{i}$     underlying  
 (3)-    close    door    this    FOC  
 ‘She/he/it was the one who closed this door.’

A deleted pronominal is always interpreted as third person. Thus in order to get a first or second person subject with a vowel-initial verb, the ‘long’ paradigm must be used, where information about the person of the subject is recoverable even after vowel deletion.

#### 7.2.1.2. ‘Long’ subject pronominals

Table 32. ‘Long’ U-pronouns

1S	$m\acute{a}$
1PL	$\bar{a}m\bar{a}$
2S	$n\acute{i}$
2PL	$\bar{a}n\bar{i}$
3S	(none)
3PL	(none)
INDEFINITE / INCLUSIVE	$\bar{a}$ (a high tone, attached before $\bar{o}$ -)

Any of the ‘long subject pronouns’ in Table 32 can substitute for the ‘long subject pronoun’  $\bar{a}m\bar{a}$  in the following example:

- (7)             $\bar{a}m\bar{a}$              $n\bar{a}$      $\bar{e}b\bar{i}$      $r\acute{a}$   
           1PL(EXC)    eat    fish    AFF  
 ‘We (excluding you) have eaten fish.’

#### 7.2.1.3. The choice between ‘short’ and ‘long’ pronominals

The two pronominal paradigms are optional alternatives for one another; either can be used in uninflected structures. Most speakers seem to agree that there are no clear functional differences between them; some suggest that the ‘long’ pronominal makes the person of the subject more clear, or emphasizes it, but not all speakers agree. The only systematic exception to the principle of free variation between them is when the verb begins

lexically with a vowel, where first and second person meanings require the long subject, as indicated above. The difference can also be seen as largely a dialectal difference, with Ugandan Ma'di preferring the short subject (cf. Tucker 1940: 141, 142), and the Lokai Ma'di preferring the long subject. The terms 'short pronouns' and 'long pronouns' are used by Tucker and Crazzarola.

#### 7.2.1.4. The derivation of 'long' pronominals

We suggest that 'long' pronominals are derived from the 'short' pronominals by a syntactic process, along the following lines. All third person pronouns which are subjects of verbs can optionally be preceded by lexical subjects, which we refer to as adjoined subjects and which are coreferential with the subject pronominal; thus *ópi* is the adjoined subject in the following sentence, coreferential with the U-paradigm subject pronominal *ō-*.

- (8) *ópi* *ō-sī* *dʒó* *dī* *nì*  
 Opi 3-build house this FOC  
 'Opi was the one who built this house.'

The other subject pronominal paradigms show the same possibility of combination; (9, 10) show this for the I-paradigm subject pronominal *kó/ká* as used with inflected verbs, and (11) shows this for the D-paradigm subject pronominal *kò* as used with directive verbs.

- (9) *ópi* *kó-ŋā-ā* *rá*  
 Opi 3-N-eat-OBJ AFF  
 'Opi will eat it.'
- (10) *ópi* *ká* *èbī* *ŋā* *rá*  
 Opi 3 fish N-eat AFF  
 'Opi will eat fish.'
- (11) *ópi* *kò-ŋā* *èbī* *rì* *rá*  
 Opi 3DIR-eat fish DEF AFF  
 'Opi should eat the fish (in question).'

If the subject pronoun is first or second person, a lexical subject (ie.. third person) can not be coreferential with it. However, we suggest that the pre-subject structural position does exist for first and second person, and that it can be filled instead by a matching pronoun from the NS-paradigm; thus there is a sequence of two pronouns, one in adjoined position and the other in true subject position, as in (12).

(12)	<i>mā</i> 1S NS-paradigm ADJOINED SUBJECT	<i>á-</i> 1S U-paradigm SUBJECT	<i>nā</i> eat	<i>rá</i> AFF	UNDERLYING
------	--	--	------------------	------------------	------------

Now, by the vowel-deletion rule which deletes a vowel before another vowel (13), the result will be (14). The mid tone is also lost, as it generally is when a vowel is deleted before another vowel.

(13)	<i>m</i> 1S NS-paradigm	<i>á-</i> 1S U-paradigm	<i>nā</i> eat	<i>rá</i> AFF	UNDERLYING
------	-------------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------	------------------	------------

(14)	<i>má-</i> 1S 'I ate.'		<i>nā</i> eat	<i>rá</i> AFF	
------	------------------------------	--	------------------	------------------	--

This suggests that there is no lexical long subject paradigm. Instead it is derived by syntactic combination and phonological deletion, as illustrated in the following table.

Table 33. Derivation of Long U-pronouns

	NS-pronoun	+	'Short' U-pronoun	=	'Long' U-pronoun
1S	<i>mā</i>	+	<i>á-</i>	=	<i>má</i>
1PL	<i>ámā</i>	+	<i>á-</i>	=	<i>ámá</i>
2S	<i>nī</i>	+	<i>í-</i>	=	<i>ní</i>
2PL	<i>ànī</i>	+	<i>í-</i>	=	<i>àní</i>

Lojenga (1994: 190) offers a similar analysis of the opposition between 'long' and 'short' subject pronouns in Ngiti; she suggests that Ngiti may be showing a Bantu influence in this.

#### 7.2.1.5. Indefinite / inclusive pronominals

Indefinite subject pronominals preceding the uninflected verb are always 'long' forms. That is, the indefinite subject exists only as a NS-pronoun which is in adjoined position, preceding a third person pronoun and in effect adding an indefinite/inclusive reading to it. There are two possibilities; either a high tone is placed in adjoined subject position, or *á* is placed in adjoined subject position. Lokai favours the former option, while Ugandan Ma'di allows both.

In Lokai, the high tone is audible as a separate tone in slow speech, but in fast speech replaces the mid tone on the first vowel; nevertheless we see it as syntactically separate from and preceding the vowel.

- (15)             $\acute{u}d\bar{i}$                        $r\acute{a}$                       fast speech  
                    $\bar{u}d\bar{i}$                        $r\acute{a}$                       slow speech  
 IND    ITER-cook                      AFF  
 (a)    ‘It has been cooked (repeatedly).’ (dynamic and stative)  
 (b)    ‘We (you inclusive) cooked it.’
- (16)             $\acute{o}\text{-}n\bar{a}$                        $\acute{a}d\acute{z}\bar{i}n\bar{i}$                       fast speech  
                    $\bar{o}\text{-}n\bar{a}$                        $\acute{a}d\acute{z}\bar{i}n\bar{i}$                       slow speech  
 IND    3-eat                      yesterday  
 (a)    ‘It was eaten yesterday.’  
 (b)    ‘We (you inclusive) ate it yesterday.’

In addition to using the high tone, Ugandan Ma'di also permits the use of the NS-pronoun  $\acute{b}\acute{a}$  in adjoined subject position.

- (17)     $\acute{b}\acute{a}$                        $\bar{o}\text{-}v\bar{u}$                        $r\acute{a}$   
 INC    3-go(PL)                      AFF  
 (a)    ‘We (including you) did go.’ [Ugandan only]  
 (b)    ‘People did go.’

Note that the vowel in  $\acute{b}\acute{a}$  is not deleted when it precedes the vowel of the subject pronominal. In this  $\acute{b}\acute{a}$  differs from other pronominals; this perhaps relates to its quasi-lexical status (6.4.5.1).

### 7.2.2. *The adjoined subject*

We use the term ‘adjoined subject’ for a noun phrase or pronominal which precedes the true pronominal subject of the verb; it is not a true argument of the verb (and thus not really a subject), but instead a kind of adjunct to an argument. All verbs, whether inflected, uninflected or directive, have true pronominal subjects which can be preceded by an adjoined subject. (Possibly also true for nonverbal predication, 11.2.1)).

In storytelling the adjoined lexical subject and the true, pronominal subject, can be separated (seen also with the inflected verb (8.2.2)).

- (18)     $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$                        $\acute{e}ndr\bar{u}$                        $\bar{o}\text{-}$                        $d\bar{i}$                        $\acute{e}b\bar{i}$   
 Opi                      today                      3-                      cook                      fish  
 ‘ADJOINED SUBJECT’    MODIFIER    SUBJECT    VERB    OBJECT  
 ‘Opi today cooked fish.’

### 7.3. Object

#### 7.3.1. *The object follows the uninflected verb*

The uninflected verb is followed by its object.

- (19)
- |    |         |      |        |
|----|---------|------|--------|
| ō- |         | dī   | èbī    |
| 3- |         | cook | fish   |
|    | SUBJECT | VERB | OBJECT |
- ‘She cooked fish.’

- (20)
- |              |         |      |        |     |
|--------------|---------|------|--------|-----|
| ópí          | ō-      | sò   | mā     | nì  |
| Opi          | 3-      | stab | 1S     | FOC |
| ADJ. SUBJECT | SUBJECT | VERB | OBJECT |     |
- ‘It was Opi who stabbed me.’

In contrast, the inflected verb is preceded by its object (8.3.1).

#### 7.3.2. *The object can be omitted*

The object can always be omitted and implied when the transitive verb is uninflected. This is true for all verbs.

- (20)
- |         |      |        |
|---------|------|--------|
| ō-      | nā   | èbī    |
| 3S      | eat  | fish   |
| SUBJECT | VERB | OBJECT |
- ‘He ate fish.’

- (21)
- |         |      |                  |
|---------|------|------------------|
| ō-      | nā   | ádžínī           |
| 3S      | eat  | yesterday        |
| SUBJECT | VERB | (IMPLIED OBJECT) |
- (a) ‘He ate it yesterday.’  
(b) ‘He ate yesterday.’

An uninflected verb cannot be the final word in a sentence (7.5), hence eg. *ádžínī* must still follow the verb when the object is omitted in (21).

#### 7.3.3. *Clausal object*

When an uninflected verb takes a clausal complement, the clausal complement follows the verb. However, because the clausal complement ‘doubles’ a clitic with the inflected verb (16.1), we suggest by analogy



uninflected verb. When *kū* negates an uninflected verb, we have a sentence with an uninflected verb and a nonpast interpretation, rather than the usual past interpretation. Normally a progressive interpretation is possible (see 17.4.1.1). but some verbs do not permit this, as here.

- (26) *má*            *ḡā*    *gbándà*            *kū*  
 1S            eat    cassava            NEG(N)  
 (a)\* 'I am not eating cassava.'  
 (b) 'I do not eat cassava.'  
 (c) 'I will not eat cassava.'
- (27) *má*            *ḡā*    *gbándà*            *kūrù*  
 1S            eat    cassava            NEG(P)  
 'I did not eat cassava.'  
 'I have not eaten cassava.'

*kū* and *kūrù* cannot negate an inflected verb.

### 7.4.1.3. Verbs which have nonpast tense interpretations when uninflected

Normally the uninflected form of the verb has a past interpretation but not a present interpretation. In this section we look at some verbs which when uninflected also have a present interpretation. We suggest that this is a pragmatic effect; the verbs express past events which give rise to states which continue into the present.

The uninflected form of the verbs *nì* 'know', *lè* 'want/need', *ndrē* 'see', *ā?ì* 'believe', *gà* 'refuse' can be interpreted as past when they are uninflected, but unusually can also be interpreted as present. We think that this may be because these verbs actually express 'entry into the state' which continues into the present. Thus the past form of these verbs expresses a continuing present state by pragmatic means, and is used in preference to using the inflected form of the verb.

- (28) *má*    *lè*                    *ḡā-lé*    *rá*  
 1S    want                    N-eat-SB    AFF  
 (a) 'I wanted (me, someone) to eat it.'  
 (b) 'I want (me, someone) to eat it.'  
 (c)\* 'I will want (me, someone) to eat it.'
- (29) *má* *lè*    *ìrá*    *rá*  
 1S    want    beer    AFF  
 (a) 'For certain I (had) wanted beer.'  
 (b) 'For certain I want beer.'  
 (c)\* 'For certain I will want beer.'

- (30) *má lè ìrá*  
 1S want beer  
 (a) 'I (had) wanted beer.'  
 (b) 'I want beer.'  
 (c)\* I will want beer.'

These sentences are ambiguous between present and past interpretation. A past interpretation can be forced by using the sentence-internal modifier *ēsú* meaning 'at that time' (18.1.4) which cancels the implicature that the state continues into the present.

- (31) *ēsú má lè údí rì ǀ*  
 find 1S want new(S) DEF FOC  
 'I had wanted a new one at the time.'

- (32) *ēsú má lè ìrá rá, làkíní driádrū má lè kū*  
 find 1S want beer AFF but now 1S want NEG(N)  
 'I had wanted beer, but now I do not want any.'

Where there is a future adverbial, the sentence with an uninflected verb can be interpreted as future, which suggests that the implication of a continuing present state can also imply continuation into the future.

- (33) *òbú (,) má lè ìrá rá*  
 tomorrow 1S want beer AFF  
 'Tomorrow, I will want beer.'

If inflected, these verbs do not have a present tense interpretation.

- (34)\* *kó-nì ǀā*  
 3-know OBJ  
 'She knows it'

These verbs can only be inflected if they are also combined with *rá* (or *rì*) which forces a future interpretation.

- (35) *kó-nì ǀā rá*  
 3-know OBJ AFF  
 (a)\* 'She knew it.'  
 (b)\* 'She knows / is knowing it.'  
 (c) 'She will know it.'

- (36) *kó-nì ǀā rá rì nì*  
 3-know OBJ AFF DEF FOC  
 'She is the one who will know it.'

- (37) *má* *lè-ā* *ḡnā-lé* *rá*  
 1S (N)-want-OBJ N-eat-SB AFF  
 (a)\* 'I wanted (me, someone) to eat it.'  
 (b)\* 'I want (me, someone) to eat it.'  
 (c) 'I will want (me, someone) to eat it.'

It is possible to focus a constituent in the subordinate clause; in (38) *áū* focuses on the implied object. The clause has a future interpretation.

- (38) *má* *lè-ā* *ḡnā-lé* *áū*  
 1S (N)-want-OBJ [ N-eat-SB FOC ]  
 (a) 'It's it that I will want to eat.'  
 (b) 'It's it that I will want eaten (by someone).'

The negation particle *kū* will normally co-occur with an uninflected verb, and will give a non-past (present or future) reading for the sentence; it does not normally allow a past reading. It is of particular interest that with these verbs, *kū* permits a present or past reading but does not permit a future reading.

- (39) *ópi* *ḡ-lè* *ḡóngú* *kū*  
 opi 3-want clothes NEG(N)  
 (a) 'Opi didn't want clothes.'  
 (b) 'Opi doesn't want clothes.'  
 (c)\* 'Opi will not want clothes.'

- (40) *má* *lè* *mū-kā* *kū*  
 1S want [(N)-go-SB] NEG(N)  
 (a) 'I didn't want to go.'  
 (b) 'I don't want to go.'  
 (c)\* 'I will not want to go.'

The negation particle *kūrù* is normally used to negate the verb to give a sentence with a past interpretation. Here it has a more restricted use. With *lè* meaning 'want', *kūrù* can only be interpreted as contrastive sentential negation rather than verbal negation.

- (41) *má* *lè* *mū-kā* *kūrù*  
 1S want [(N)-go-SB] NEG(P)  
 'I did not want to go.' (It never happened that I wanted to go.)

With *nì* meaning 'know', *kūrù* can apparently be used to express the past but with some slightly odd interpretations which might imply that *kūrù* is actually negating something other than the verb.

- (42) *má*    *nì*    *ópi*    *nĩ*    *kūrù*  
 1S    know    Opi    PR    NEG(P)  
 (a)\* 'I did not know Opi.' (had not met him)  
 (b) 'I did not know Opi.' (did not know his true character)

We now consider another set of verbs which show anomalous tense behaviour. The verbs *nĩ* 'sit', *dē* if interpreted as 'lie', and *wō* 'kneel' all have uninflected forms which unexpectedly have present interpretations. As for the verbs discussed in the previous section, we suggest that the verb is coded for past but there is an implicature that the state continues into the present. Thus the past interpretation is of an action, and the present interpretation of a state resulting from the action which has already happened.

- (43) *ópi*    *ō-wō*    *vùrú*  
 Opi    3-kneel    down  
 (a) 'Opi knelt down.'  
 (b) 'Opi is kneeling down.' (stationary, not moving into a kneeling position)

To express these meanings, the verbs characteristically take complements expressing direction or location, or the verbs are focused.

- (44) *ópi*    *ō-nĩ*    *kómí* *drĩ*  
 Opi    3-sit    chair    on  
 (a) 'Opi sat on a chair.'  
 (b) 'Opi is sitting on a chair.'

- (45) *ópi*    *ō-nĩ*    *nĩ*  
 Opi    3-sit    sit-(FOC)  
 'Opi is seated.'

*dē* means either 'fall' in which case it has standard tense behaviour or 'lie' in which case its past form can be interpreted as a present ongoing state.

- (46) *gálámù*    *ō-dē*    *vùrú*  
 pen    3-fall    down  
 (a)\* 'A pen lay down.'  
 (b)\* 'A pen is lying down.'  
 (c) 'A pen fell down.'

- (47)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$              $\bar{\acute{o}}-d\bar{\acute{e}}$      $v\grave{u}r\acute{u}$   
 Opi            3-fall    down  
 (a)    ‘Opi lay down.’  
 (b)    ‘Opi is lying down.’  
 (c)\*    ‘Opi fell down.’

These verbs of posture can be negated with both  $k\bar{u}$  and  $k\bar{u}r\grave{u}$ . This is generally the case for uninflected verbs, but differentiates them from the verbs of cognition.

- (48)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$              $\bar{\acute{o}}-r\grave{i}$          $v\grave{u}r\acute{u}$          $k\bar{u}r\grave{u}$   
 Opi            3-sit        down        NEG(P)  
 ‘Opi did not sit down.’

- (49)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$              $\bar{\acute{o}}-r\grave{i}$          $v\grave{u}r\acute{u}$          $k\bar{u}$   
 Opi            3-sit        down        NEG(N)  
 (a)    ‘Opi will not sit down.’  
 (b)    ‘Opi does not sit down.’  
 (c)    ‘Opi is not sitting down (now).’  
 (d)    ‘It is not that Opi sat down / is sitting down...’

These verbs can also be directive.

- (50)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$          $k\grave{\acute{o}}-r\grave{i}$                              $k\bar{u}$   
 Opi    3DIR-sit                            NEG(N)  
 ‘Opi shouldn’t sit.’

- (51)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$          $k\grave{\acute{o}}-r\grave{i}$          $v\grave{u}r\acute{u}$          $k\bar{u}$   
 Opi    3DIR-sit        down        NEG(N)  
 ‘Opi shouldn’t sit down.’

## 7.4.2. Aspect

### 7.4.2.1. The perfective interpretation of uninflected verbs

An uninflected verb is normally interpreted as perfective.

- (52)  $\bar{\acute{o}}-d\bar{\acute{z}}\bar{i}$      $m\bar{a}$      $s\grave{u}k\acute{u}r\acute{u}$      $g\acute{a}$      $n\grave{i}$   
 3-take    1S    school    LOC    BEN  
 ‘She is the one who took me to school.’

In most published accounts of Central Sudanic languages, equivalents to the Ma’di uninflected forms are treated as coding perfective interpretation,

rather than past tense. We treat the past tense coding as primary, and the perfective interpretation possibly as parasitic on the past tense coding.

#### 7.4.2.2. Uninflected verb interpreted as imperfective

There are some inherently imperfective verbs; these are the only kind of verb which can be interpreted as imperfective when uninflected. Most of these verbs involve the iterative prefix *ā-* (a variant of *ū-*); we know of one, *tfā* ‘cut into several pieces’ which does not.

Table 34. Uninflected verbs which can be interpreted as imperfective.

underived verb		derived verb with imperfective interpretation	
<i>dʒĩ</i>	‘take’	<i>ādʒĩ</i>	‘drive repeatedly’
<i>mū</i>	‘go’	<i>āmú</i>	‘travel several times’
		<i>ātʃĩ</i>	‘travel several times’ Lokai
<i>fi</i>	‘cut’	<i>āfi</i>	‘cut into two’
<i>ŋɔ̀</i>	‘break’	<i>āŋɔ̀</i>	‘break into two’
<i>tfì</i>	‘bite’	<i>ātʃì</i>	‘bite into two’

- (53) *ādʒĩ*            *mā*    *sùkùrù*    *gá*    *nì*  
 (3)-take(PL) 1S    school    LOC    BEN  
 ‘She is the one who has been taking me to school.’

These verbs offer a way of expressing past (or future) progressive.

### 7.5. The ‘termination’ constraint

An uninflected verb cannot be the final word in the clause. Thus an uninflected intransitive cannot be final, an uninflected transitive verb with an unexpressed object cannot be final, and an uninflected verb which has been detransitivized cannot be final.

- (54)\* *má*    *mū*  
 1S    go  
 ‘I went.’

- (55)\* *ópi*    *ō-drà*  
 Opi    3-die  
 ‘Opi has died.’

(56)\*  $\bar{\sigma}$ - $\bar{p}\bar{a}$   
 3-eat  
 'He ate.'

(57) \*  $\bar{\sigma}$ - $\bar{d}\bar{i}$   
 3-cook  
 'It got cooked.'

This is a structural, not an interpretive constraint. It relates to the fact that the verb is uninflected and not that it has a past tense interpretation. This can be seen by considering verbs which are uninflected but (perhaps for pragmatic reasons) can have a non-past interpretation, such as  $l\grave{e}$  'want' or  $n\grave{i}$  'know'; whatever their interpretation, these verbs cannot be final when uninflected:

(58)  $m\acute{a}$   $l\grave{e}$   $r\acute{a}$   
 1S want AFF  
 (a) 'I (had) wanted it.'  
 (b) 'I want it.'  
 (c)\* 'I will want it.'

(59)\*  $m\acute{a}$   $l\grave{e}$   
 1S want  
 (a)\* 'I wanted it.'  
 (b)\* 'I want it.'  
 (c)\* 'I will want it.'

Many post-verbal constituents can 'terminate' the verb; some cannot, and the distinction between these is probably very significant structurally. The constituents which cannot terminate the verb may be those which are either morphologically part of the verb, or external to the clause; the constituents which can terminate the verb may be those which are separate syntactic constituents following the verb within the clause.

### 7.5.1. Post-verbal constituents which can terminate the verb

We say that a post-verbal constituent can 'terminate' the verb if the sequence of uninflected verb + constituent can constitute the end of a clause.

The verb's object can terminate the verb. If the object is an indefinite noun phrase it can be final. Otherwise, the object must be embedded under focus.

- (60)  $\bar{o}$ - $\eta\bar{a}$        $\acute{e}\bar{b}\bar{i}$   
 3-eat      fish  
 'He ate fish.'

A postposition phrase can terminate the verb. Note however that if the postposition phrase is left-dislocated, the verb is no longer terminated.

- (61)  $\bar{o}$ - $m\bar{u}$        $s\bar{u}k\bar{u}r\bar{u}$        $g\acute{a}$   
 3-go      school      LOC  
 'She went to school.'
- (62)\*  $s\bar{u}k\bar{u}r\bar{u}$        $g\acute{a}$       (,)       $\bar{o}$ - $m\bar{u}$   
 school      LOC      3-go  
 'To school she went.'

A quantifier, or quantifier +  $dr\bar{u}$  can terminate the verb.

- (63)  $\bar{o}$ - $\eta\bar{a}$        $g\grave{a}$   
 3-eat      small  
 'He ate a little.'
- (64)  $m\acute{a}$        $\eta\bar{a}$        $kw\acute{i}t\bar{f}\bar{i}$        $dr\bar{u}$   
 1S      eat      all      as  
 'I have eaten all of it.'
- (65)  $\bar{o}$ - $\eta\bar{a}$        $k\acute{i}$        $kw\acute{i}t\bar{f}\bar{i}$   
 3-eat      PL      all  
 'They have eaten all.'

A temporal noun can terminate the verb.

- (66)  $\bar{o}$ - $\eta\bar{a}$        $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{i}$   
 3-eat      yesterday  
 'He ate yesterday.'

The various focus particles (and verbal focus) will all terminate the verb, including the LOW- $\bar{\eta}$  strategy

- (67)  $\acute{a}\bar{\eta}$        $n\bar{i}$        $s\bar{u}$        $m\acute{a}$        $ndr\bar{e}$        $\bar{\eta}$   
 3PL      PR      four      1S      see      SPEC      FOC  
 'It was four of them that I saw.'
- (68)  $\bar{o}$ - $ndr\bar{e}$        $n\grave{i}$   
 3-see      FOC  
 'He was the one who saw it.'

- (69) *má ndrē áū*  
 1S see FOC  
 'He was the one who saw it.'

A word like 'alone' or 'only' can terminate the verb.

- (70) *pá nā ̄-ḡò ādútē*  
 leg POSS 3-break alone  
 'It was only him whose leg broke.'

- (71) *ōgù b̀ḡḡú ìsā*  
 steal clothes only  
 'She stole clothes for no reason.'

A completion adverbial can terminate the verb.

- (72) *ópi ̄-drà kpó*  
 Opi 3-die COM  
 'Opi is dead.' (literally 'Opi has died dead')

A modal can terminate the verb.

- (73) *má mū rá*  
 1S go AFF  
 'I went.'

- (74) *̄-ḡā wà*  
 3-eat POS  
 'He was able to eat it.'

Only the modal *kpé* cannot terminate an uninflected verb.

- (75)\* *ópi ̄-drà kpé*  
 Opi 3-die NPS  
 'Opi could not die.'

- (76) *ópi kó-drà kpé*  
 Opi 3-die NPS  
 'Opi can't die.'

Either negation particle can terminate the verb.

- (77) *ó-ḡā kū*  
 IND-eat NEG(N)  
 'It is not edible.'

- (78)     $\bar{o}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{a}$          $k\bar{u}r\bar{u}$   
           3-eat            NEG(P)  
           ‘He did not eat it.’

### 7.5.2. *Post-verbal constituents which cannot terminate the verb*

Certain kinds of post-verbal constituent cannot terminate the verb, as we now show.

#### 7.5.2.1. *Constituents which may be ‘too close to the verb’ and which cannot terminate the verb*

We hypothesize that some constituents are in some sense ‘too close to the verb’ to terminate it. Perhaps these are morphologically part of the verb.

Plural  $k\hat{i}$  cannot terminate the verb.

- (79)\*     $\acute{o}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{a}$          $k\hat{i}$   
           IND-eat    PL  
           ‘We (including you) ate it.’
- (80)     $\acute{o}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{a}$          $k\hat{i}$          $\acute{a}d\acute{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
           IND-eat    PL        yesterday  
           ‘We (including you) ate it yesterday.’

Compare, for example, a directive verb which does not need to be terminated and can be followed by sentence-final  $k\hat{i}$ .

- (81)     $\acute{o}$ - $\bar{n}\bar{a}$          $k\hat{i}$   
           DIR-eat        PL  
           ‘We should eat it.’
- (82)     $\acute{o}$ - $v\bar{u}$              $k\hat{i}$   
           DIR-go(PL)    PL  
           ‘Let’s go.’

The reflexive pronoun  $r\bar{u}$  functioning as an object will not terminate the verb, even when the subject is indefinite.  $r\bar{u}$  harmonizes, and it is worth noting that as an ‘object’  $r\bar{u}$  also cannot be focused; both suggest that  $r\bar{u}$  might be morphologically part of the verb.

- (83)\*  $\acute{i}d\bar{i}$                        $\bar{o}-t\bar{e}$        $r\bar{u}$   
 peanut butter      3-lick      REFL  
 'The peanut butter has been licked.'

As might be expected, the sequence of  $r\bar{u}$  and  $k\acute{i}$  will not terminate the verb.

- (84)\*  $\bar{o}-d\bar{z}\acute{e}$                $r\bar{u}$        $k\acute{i}$   
 3-wash              REFL PL  
 'Opi is washing himself.'

- (85)  $\bar{o}-d\bar{z}\acute{e}$                $r\bar{u}$        $k\acute{i}$        $r\acute{a}$   
 3-wash              REFL PL      AFF  
 'Opi is washing himself.'

#### 7.5.2.2. Constituents which may be 'too far from the verb' and which cannot terminate the verb

The word  $\acute{a}n\bar{i}$  cannot terminate the verb; we think it may be external to the clause, because it follows affirmative  $r\acute{a}$ . Note that if  $r\acute{a}$  is present it will terminate the verb.

- (86)\*  $\acute{j}\acute{i}$        $m\bar{u}$                        $\acute{a}n\bar{i}$   
 2S      go                      like  
 'How come you went?'

- (87)  $\acute{j}\acute{i}$        $m\bar{u}$        $r\acute{a}$        $\acute{a}n\bar{i}$   
 2S      go      AFF      like  
 'How come you definitely went?'

The negation particle  $k\bar{u}$  can take scope over the whole clause, contrastively negating it. When this occurs,  $k\bar{u}$  cannot terminate the verb. Thus compare the interpretation of  $k\bar{u}$  as a verbal negator in (88a) with its interpretation as a sentential negator in (88c), which is acceptable in (89b) because of the termination constraint.

- (88)  $m\acute{a}$        $m\bar{u}$        $k\bar{u}$   
 1S      go      NEG(N)  
 (a) 'I am not going.'  
 (b) 'I won't go.'  
 (c)\* 'It's not the case that I am going.'

- (89) *má mū ádzíní kū*  
 1S go yesterday NEG(N)  
 (a) 'I did not go yesterday....'  
 (b) 'It's not yesterday that I went...'

A final high tone can be added to a declarative sentence to make it into a question. It is not sufficient to terminate the verb.

- (90)\* *ḡ-drà* '   
 3-die Q  
 'Did he die?'
- (91) *ḡ-drà rá* '   
 3-die AFF Q  
 'Did he die?'

## 7.6. Dialectal variation : 'Burulo

### 7.6.1. *The subject of the uninflected verb*

The 'Burulo dialect has the same 'long subject' paradigm (for first and second person) as the Lokai dialect.

In 'Burulo, there is no overt equivalent of the 'short' U-subject. There is a covert equivalent only to the short third person subject, which is realized as a non-overt pronoun.

- (92) *mvū úwá dí nì* [ 'Burulo]  
 (3)-drink beer this FOC  
 'She was the one who drank this beer.'
- (93) *ḡ-mvū ìrá dí nì* [Lokai]  
 3-drink beer this FOC  
 'She was the one who drank this beer.'
- (94) *sì kî zó* [ 'Burulo]  
 (3)-build PL house  
 'They built a house.'
- (95) *ḡ-sī kî dzó* [Lokai]  
 3-build PL house  
 'They built a house.'

7.6.2. *The object of the uninflected verb (no variation)*

There is no difference between Lokai and 'Burulo as regards the placement or omission of the object of the uninflected verb.

- (96)       $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$        $\bar{o}-j\bar{n}\bar{a}$        $r\acute{a}$   
 Opi      3-eat      AFF      [Lokai]  
 'Opi did eat it.'
- (97)       $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$        $j\bar{n}\bar{a}$        $r\acute{a}$   
 Opi      eat      AFF      ['Burulo]  
 'Opi did eat it.'

7.6.3. *Negation (no variation)*

Negation is similar in both dialects. The final negation word,  $k\bar{u}$  or  $k\bar{u}r\bar{u}$  co-occurs with only the uninflected structure in both dialects. Tense is then determined by the choice of negation word.

- (98)       $\bar{o}-s\bar{i}$        $d\bar{z}\acute{o}$        $k\bar{u}$   
 3-build      house      NEG(N)      [Lokai]  
 (a)      'She will not build a house.'  
 (b)\*      'It is not a house she is building.'
- (99)       $s\acute{i}$        $z\acute{o}$        $k\bar{u}$   
 (3)-build      house      NEG(N)      ['Burulo]  
 (a)      'She will not build a house.'  
 (b)      'It is not a house she is building.'
- (100)       $\bar{o}-d\bar{i}$        $k\acute{i}$        $\grave{e}\bar{b}\bar{i}$        $k\bar{u}r\bar{u}$   
 3-cook      PL      fish      NEG(P)      [Lokai]  
 'They did not cook fish.'
- (101)       $d\bar{i}$        $k\acute{i}$        $\grave{i}\bar{b}\bar{i}$        $k\bar{u}r\bar{u}$   
 (3)-cook      PL      fish      NEG(P)      ['Burulo]  
 'They did not cook fish.'



## Chapter 8

### The inflected verb

In this chapter we look at the inflected verb which we argue expresses nonpast tense in Ma'di. This verb has a low tone prefix, it has a distinct subject pronominal paradigm, it is preceded by its object, and its object may alternatively be realized by a postclitic. We conclude by comparing Lokai and 'Burulo dialects; in the latter the inflected verb is followed rather than preceded by its object.

#### 8.1. The form of the verb

##### 8.1.1. The inflection: a low tone prefix

Tensed verbs which are interpreted as nonpast (ie. present and future) are prefixed by a floating low tone.

We assume that the tone expresses nonpast tense. The distinct audibility of this tone depends on the sounds and particularly the tones surrounding it, and we assume that the morpheme which it realizes is always syntactically present, and is deleted in the phonology in some cases.

The phonological deletion of the tone is rarely a source of tense ambiguity because there are other syntactic correlates of the presence of the tone (morphology of pronominal subject and location of object).

(Note: We gloss the overt low tone as N- for 'nonpast' and the covert low tone as (N)-.)

- (1)      àmá              tà              ìré              ñā  
          IPL(EXC)      thing      near      N-eat  
(a) 'We (excluding you) are about to eat.'  
(b) 'We (excluding you) are almost eating something.'
- (2)      àmá              ìré              tà              ñā  
          IPL(EXC)      near      thing      (N)-eat  
(a) 'We (excluding you) are about to eat.'  
(b) 'We (excluding you) are almost eating something.'

The low tone prefix is found in Lokai and Ugandan Ma'di but it is not found in 'Burulo. The low tone prefix in Lokai appears to be equivalent as an inflectional strategy to the raising of the final tone in 'Burulo nonpast verbs (7.6).

8.1.2. *The inflected word is not a noun*

In some analyses (eg. Anderson 1988), what we are calling the inflected verb is treated as a noun. The fact that the inflected form is preceded by its object while the uninflected form is not, as well as other syntactic differences, are then accounted for by suggesting that the object precedes the noun and follows the verb.

We think this is incorrect for the following reasons. (a) The prefixed inflected form does not resemble a noun morphologically. The only kind of noun which generally has a low-mid tonal pattern is a subclass of native plural nouns (6.1.1.2). The restricted class of nouns derived by prefixation of *o-* or *lo-* from verbs always end on a high tone. (Note however that this does resemble the 'Burulo inflected form where the inflected verb ends on a high tone.) (b) In 'Burulo, the inflected form is followed by its object, which suggests either that it is not a noun in 'Burulo or that in 'Burulo the noun can be followed by an object. (c) There is no independent reason for thinking that a noun is preceded by its complement (or has any of the other syntactic characteristics associated with the inflected nonpast form); in fact we know of no clear reasons for thinking that nouns can have noun phrase complements in Ma'di. (But see our discussion of verbs suffixed with *-kā* in 10.5; these might be deverbal nouns with preceding objects.) Thus we conclude that the inflected form is a verb and not a noun.

8.2. **Subject**

The inflected verb has the same kind of general syntax for subjects as the uninflected verb. Thus the inflected verb must have a pronominal subject, and a noun phrase (lexical or pronominal) can be pre-adjoined to the pronominal subject, and is interpreted as coreferential with it. Thus, just as with the unininflected verb, we have the following realizations of the subject; either the pronominal on its own, or the pronominal preceded by a full 'adjoined' subject.

(3)	<i>kó-</i>	<i>`mū</i>
	3-	N-go
	SUBJECT	INFLECTED VERB
'She is going.'		

(4)	<i>ópí</i>	<i>kó-</i>	<i>`mū</i>
	Opi	3-	N-go
	ADJOINED SUBJECT	SUBJECT	INFLECTED VERB
'Opi is going.'			

## 8.2.1. Subject pronominals

The pronominal subject of an inflected verb is capable of being an independent word, though if adjacent to the verb it takes on certain prefix-like characteristics. There is no long vs. short distinction in the subject pronominals for the inflected verb.

The subject can precede the object, which in turn precedes the inflected verb.

- (5)      *má*      *èbī*      *ḡnā*      *rá*  
           1S      fish      N-eat      AFF  
           ‘I will certainly eat fish.’

Alternatively, the subject can directly precede the inflected verb if the verb has no object or the object is realized as a postclitic *-ḡā*.

- (6)      *má*      *ḡmū*  
           1S      N-go  
           ‘I am going.’

- (7)      *ámá*                      *ḡdī-ḡā*  
           2PL(EXC)              N-cook-OBJ  
           ‘We (excluding you) are cooking it.’

There is a small difference between the third person pronouns; if the pronoun does not immediately precede the verb it is *ká* and if it does immediately precede the verb it is *kó*.

- (8)      *ká*      *èbī*      *ḡnā*  
           1S      fish      N-eat  
           ‘He is eating fish.’

- (9)      *kó*      *ḡnā-ḡā*  
           1S      N-eat-OBJ  
           ‘He is eating it.’

The verb *drì* (16.4.2), expressing sequence, displays exceptional behaviour. This verb has an uninflected form as *ḡdrì* but its inflected form has *ká drì* rather than the expected *kó drì*.

- (10)      *ḡ-drì*              *bìlò*      *lī*  
           3-then              sheep      (N)-cut  
           ‘He then slaughtered a sheep.’ (weak link with preceding events)

- (11) *ká drì búkù là*  
 3 then book (N)-read  
 (a) 'He then read a book.'  
 (b) 'He will then read a book.'

When the verb begins with a vowel, the low tone inflectional prefix on the verb is deleted, and the vowel of the pronoun is also deleted, leaving the initial consonant and the tone of the pronoun.

- (12) *má-`-ē-mú*                      *òbú*                      underlying  
*m´-ē-mú*                              *òbú*                      as pronounced  
 1S-(N)-VE-go                      tomorrow  
 'I am coming (there) tomorrow.'

The vowel in the pronoun is not deleted in any other circumstances. For example, it is not deleted before a vowel-initial object.

Table 35. I-pronouns

	I-pronoun preceding the object	I-pronoun preceding a consonant-initial verb	I-pronoun preceding a vowel-initial verb
1S	<i>má</i>	<i>má</i>	<i>m´</i>
1PL	<i>ámá</i>	<i>ámá</i>	<i>ám´</i>
2S	<i>ɲí</i>	<i>ɲí</i>	<i>ɲ´</i>
2PL	<i>àɲí</i>	<i>àɲí</i>	<i>àɲ´</i>
3S	<i>ká</i>	<i>kó</i>	<i>k´</i>
3PL	<i>ká + kî`</i> immediately following the subject pronoun and preceding the object	<i>kó + kî`</i> immediately following the subject pronoun and preceding the verb	<i>k´ + kî`</i> immediately following the subject pronoun and preceding the verb
indefinite / inclusive	<i>ádî</i>	<i>ádî</i>	<i>ádî</i>

The plural form *kî`* is optional; it is discussed in 14.1.2.

### 8.2.1.1. The indefinite subject pronominal *ádî*

This pronoun is found only in inflected structures where it substitutes for definite and non-inclusive *ká* (or *kó*).

- (13) *ádĩ*            *dʒó*            *ṣĩ*  
 IND            house            N-build  
 (a) 'A house is being built.'  
 (b) 'We (including you) are building a house.'

It can take the definite plural marker *kĩ* in which case it loses its indefinite interpretation.

- (14) *ádĩ*    *kĩ*    *vù*    *òbú*  
 IND    PL    (N)-go    tomorrow  
 'We (you and I, plus possibly others) will go tomorrow.'

### 8.2.1.2. Omission of the subject pronominal

The normally obligatory pronominal subject can be omitted in sentences like the following, with an inflected verb and an object clitic which is coreferential with an implied subject (and with an adjoined lexical subject).

- (15) *ṅā-ā*            *wà*  
 N-eat-OBJ    PS  
 'It can be eaten.'
- (16) *lātú*    *tū-ā*            *dĩĩ*  
 dance    N-dance-OBJ    like this  
 'This is how dance is danced.' (how people dance)

### 8.2.1.3. *ká* is a pronominal and not an auxiliary verb

The morpheme *ká* is classified by Tucker (1940: 187) as an auxiliary verb. We think this is incorrect and treat *ká* as a pronominal. As some crosslinguistic support for this we note that Lojenga (1994: 196) treats the cognate *kā* in Ngiti as a third person pronoun, justified further for Ngiti by the fact that *kā* is also a third person object pronoun (unlike Ma'di), and can be used in a wider range of tenses and aspects.

8.2.2. *The adjoined subject*

The pronominal subject can be preceded by a noun phrase or pronominal which we call the ‘adjoined subject’ and which is coreferential with the pronominal subject; it is found with all forms of the verb.

It is just possible (eg. in storytelling register) to separate the adjoined lexical subject and the (true, pronominal) subject, which raises the possibility that they do not together form a constituent. (This is seen also with the uninflected verb.)

- (17)    *ópi*                      *èndrù*        *ká*                *èbī*        *`dī*  
           Opi                      today            3                fish            N-cook  
           ADJOINED SUBJECT    MODIFIER    SUBJECT        OBJECT        VERB  
           ‘Opi today is cooking fish.’ (storytelling register)

8.3. **Object**8.3.1. *The object precedes the inflected verb*

The inflected verb is preceded by its object (unlike the uninflected verb which is followed by its object).

- (18)    *ká*                *èbī*                *āzī*  
           3                fish                (N)-sell  
           SUBJECT        OBJECT            VERB  
           (a) ‘She is selling fish.’  
           (b) ‘She sells fish.’
- (19)    *ópi*                      *ká*                *búkù*            *là*  
           Opi                      3                book            (N)-read  
           ADJ. SUBJECT    SUBJECT        OBJECT        VERB  
           ‘Opi is reading a book.’

8.3.2. *The object pronoun ?ā*

The pre-verbal full object of the inflected transitive verb can be replaced by a post-verbal clitic.

- (20)    *kó-*                *`nā*                      *-?ā*  
           3S                N-eat                      OBJ  
           SUBJECT        INFLECTED VERB        CLITIC OBJECT  
           (a) ‘He is eating it.’  
           (b) ‘He eats it.’

## 8.3.2.1. Interpretation: number

The (third person) object clitic  $\text{ʔā}$  is interpreted only as singular.

- (21)  $\text{má}$      $\text{`ndrē}$      $\text{ʔā}$   
 1S    N-see    OBJ  
 (a) 'I can see it.' / 'I am looking at it.'  
 (b)\* 'I can see them.' / 'I am looking at them.'

To get a plural pronominal object, the plural third person pronoun  $\text{àʔí}$  must be used in the normal pre-verbal object position.

- (22)  $\text{má}$      $\text{àʔí}$      $\text{`ndrē}$   
 1S    3PL    N-see  
 (a)\* 'I can see it.' / 'I am looking at it.'  
 (b) 'I can see them.' / 'I am looking at them.'

## 8.3.2.2. Distribution

The object pronoun  $\text{ʔā}$  is attached as a postclitic to the inflected verb, and is often combined with the preceding verb as a single word, with the glottal stop lost, thus taking the form  $\text{-ā}$ .

The object pronoun  $\text{ʔā}$  is used only in a tensed sentence, and only when the verb is inflected.

- (23)  $\text{má}$      $\text{`sī-ā}$      $\text{jí}$      $\text{ní}$   
 1S    N-build-OBJ    2S    BEN  
 (a) 'I am building it for you.'  
 (b) 'I will build it for you.'

The object pronoun can be interpreted as non-coreferential with the subject or (dispreferred) as coreferential with the subject (25b).

- (24)  $\text{k'ò-ndrē-ā}$      $\text{òbú}$   
 3-N-see-OBJ    tomorrow  
 'He will see him / her / it tomorrow.'

- (25)  $\text{k'ó-sò-ā}$      $\text{òbú}$   
 3-N-inject-OBJ    tomorrow  
 (a) 'He will inject him / her / it tomorrow.'  
 (b) 'He will inject himself tomorrow.'

8.3.2.3. *ʔā* used instead of *rū*

*ʔā* can be used instead of *rū* in some contexts. Thus compare (26) and (27); in this case the *rū* strategy is in fact dispreferred because it implies volition (literally ‘it calls itself theft’) where the *ʔā* strategy does not.

(26) *ká* *r-ūṅwē* *ōgù*  
 3 REFL-(N)-call theft  
 ‘It is called theft.’

(27) *ūṅwē-ā* *ōgù*  
 (N)-call-OBJ theft  
 ‘It is called theft.’

Note also these possibilities with the final modal of possibility *wà*.

(28) *ērī-ā* *wà*  
 (N)-hear-OBJ PS  
 ‘It can be heard.’ (Either it is loud enough, or I assent to its being heard.)

(29) *èbī* *rì* *ṅā-ā* *wà*  
 fish DEF (N)-eat-OBJ PS  
 (a) ‘The fish (in question) can be eaten.’  
 (b) ‘The one which is fish can be eaten.’

## 8.3.2.4. Dialectal variation

All dialects have the object clitic *ʔā*. However, in ’Burulo the clitic is phonologically closer to the verb than in Lokai. Thus in ’Burulo the glottal is always lost, and the [a] assimilates to [o] when preceded by a back vowel, and the [a] assimilates to [e] when preceded by a front vowel other than [a]:

(30) *má* *gé-ē* *òbú*  
 1S buy-OBJ tomorrow [’Burulo]  
 ‘I am buying it tomorrow.’

(31) *má* *zì-ē* *wà*  
 1S ask-OBJ PS [’Burulo]  
 ‘I can enquire (about it).’



## 8.4. Interpretation

### 8.4.1. Tense

#### 8.4.1.1. Non-past tense

The inflected verb is interpreted as having non-past tense, either present or future. Thus it exhaustively divides up the tense domain along with the uninflected verb which has past tense.

If two sentences in sequence are interpreted as present progressive, they can be taken as occurring almost concurrently or overlapping or simultaneous.

- (37) *ító k'-ē-tfá* (,) *ópi k'ō-ηgā*  
 Ito 3-(N)-VE-reach Opi 3-(N)-leave  
 'Ito arrived as Opi was leaving.' (Ito is arriving as Opi is leaving.)

- (38) *ópi ká d3ó `sī* (,) *àmvótì ká àjísé rē*  
 Opi 3 house N-build sister-SPEC 3 grass (N)-cut(PL)  
 'Opi is building a house while / and his sister is cutting grass.'

#### 8.4.1.2. The default interpretation of non-past: present

The default interpretation of a non-past sentence is present tense. Thus since there are no characteristics which prevent a present reading in the following non-past sentences, they are interpreted as unambiguously present.

- (39) *má b̀̀ngú* *d3è*  
 1S clothes (N)-wash  
 (a) 'I am washing clothes.'  
 (b)\* 'I will wash clothes.'
- (40) *ópi ká ízi* *dū*  
 Opi 3 woman SPEC (N)-take  
 'Opi is getting married.'
- (41) *ópi ká èbī* *āzī*  
 Opi 3 fish (N)-sell  
 (a) 'Opi is selling fish.'  
 (b) 'Opi sells fish.'

- (42) *èjí*      *k'ò-dí*  
 water      3-N-rain  
 (a) 'It is raining.' (progressive; something is happening now)  
 (b) 'It rains.' (a state exists, not necessarily at the present time; a kind of habitual)
- (43) *má*      *àńń*      (*ńń*)      *sū*      *`ndrē*  
 1S      3PL      PR      four      N-see  
 (a) 'I can see four of them.'  
 (b)\* 'I will see four of them.'

As a tense, 'present' in Ma'di seems to extend from the present moment slightly into the future; that is, 'present' verbs are usually ambiguous between something happening now and an imminent interpretation, a prediction that something is just about to happen. The imminent interpretation is brought out more strongly when an ideophone is present.

- (44) *bélē*      *nā*      *k'ò-dē*      *kpòlòrò*  
 stick      AFR      3-N-fall      ID  
 (a) 'Her walking stick is falling *kpoloro*.' (making the sound *kpoloro*)  
 (b) 'Her walking stick is about to fall *kpoloro*.'
- (45) *bélē*      *nā*      *k'ò-dē*  
 stick      AFR      3-N-fall  
 (a) 'Her walking stick is falling.'  
 (b)\* 'Her walking stick will fall / is about to fall.'

(46) shows the imminent interpretation of the present form, compared with (47) the prospective interpretation with the grammatical verb *kò*.

- (46) *má* *`mū*  
 1s      N-go  
 'I'm going.'
- (47) *má* *kò*      *`mū*  
 1s      N-about-to      N-go  
 'I'm about to go.' (set off)

There is also one instance in which present can apparently be extended just into the past (8.9.1.3).

One way in which the future proper, the more distant future, arises is when there is some coding of futurity such as the word 'tomorrow'.

Another characteristic way to force a future reading is to use the particle *rá*; we discuss in the next section how this works.

A present verb in Ma'di has either a progressive interpretation (ongoing action), a habitual interpretation (typically repeated action), or a typical state interpretation.

#### 8.4.1.3. Disambiguating non-past: forcing a future interpretation

It is possible to force a future interpretation in one of two basic ways. The verb can be subordinated under a verb such as *mū* (16.6) or *kō* (16.8). Or *rá* or another grammatical word can be added to the sentence.

The addition of *rá* to a nonpast sentence forces a future reading.

(48) *má*     *gbándà*     *nā*  
 1S     cassava     (N)-eat  
 'I eat cassava.' 'I am eating cassava.'

(49) *má*     *gbándà*     *nā*     *rá*  
 1S     cassava     (N)-eat     AFF  
 'I will certainly eat cassava.'

(50) *kô mū*     *dzúbà*     *gá*  
 3-N-go     Juba     LOC  
 (a) 'He is going to Juba.'  
 (b) 'He is just about to set off for Juba.'

(51) *kô mū*     *dzúbà*     *gá*     *rá*  
 3-N-go     Juba     LOC     AFF  
 'He will certainly go to Juba.'

*rá* is incompatible with a present tense interpretation of a sentence. It is however compatible with both a past and a future interpretation. *rá* apparently adds a range of (related) meanings to a sentence:

- (a) It affirms an eventuality (perhaps with some sense of personal endorsement that it has happened or will happen).
- (b) It perhaps functions as a modal of necessity: it can be used to indicate that something must take place.
- (c) It is a 'generic completive' indicating the completion of an eventuality.

We might see the incompatibility between *rá* and the present as arising from any of these meanings. Perhaps the affirmative force of *rá* is

redundant in the present because the ‘affirmativity’ of the present comes from its happening right now. Similarly the modal force might be redundant if something actually is happening right now. It might also be that the completive meaning of *rá* is incompatible with the imperfectivity of the present in Ma’di. Note that *rá* does not specifically code future; thus it can be used in past sentences as well as non-past sentences.

- (52) *má* *bì* *gbánda* *rá*  
 1S taste cassava AFF  
 ‘I certainly tasted cassava.’

The final particle *trò* expresses ‘additional’ action (18.2.4.4). It can mean that the subject did something incidental or additional to some more primary action, or that the subject is waiting long enough to do or experience something. In a non-past sentence it forces a future interpretation:

- (53) *má* *máŋgà* *dì* *ŋā* *trò*  
 1S mango DEF eat COMT  
 ‘I will eat this mango.’ (as well, or stay long enough to eat it)

Perhaps a verb in a sentence with *trò* is not interpreted as present because it describes an action which is ‘other’ in some way, such as an action distinct from whatever is occurring at the moment. Note that *trò* does not specifically code future, and can be used in a past sentence like *rá*.

- (54) *má* *bì* *máŋgà* *rì* *trò*  
 1S eat mango DEF COMT  
 ‘I tasted the mango.’ (a) as well, or (b) I stayed long enough to taste the mango, or (c) tasting the mango was one of the things that I did there - though not the primary thing.

The freely placed sentential modifier *ìré* ‘nearly’ indicates that an event just happened or is just about to happen. It might be a kind of irrealis modifier. Note that it is combined with a nonpast form of the verb, but is still capable of having a ‘just happened’ (close past) reading. This is the one situation in which the inflected verb appears to have a past interpretation, perhaps analogous to the imminent (‘just future’) interpretation which is generally available.

- (55) *ìré* *ká* *ŋī* *ūŋgwē*  
 near 3 2S (N)-call  
 (a) ‘She is nearly summoning you.’  
 (b) ‘She nearly summoned you.’

Though this is not directly relevant to the present discussion, it is worth noting that a different spatial meaning of *ìré* is available when it is in final position:

- (56) *ká*      *ḡí*      *ūḡwē*      *ìré*  
 3          2S      (N)-call      near  
 (a) 'She is summoning you near (her).'  
 (b) 'She is nearly summoning you.'

A temporal noun expressing future time will ensure a future reading for the nonpast verb.

- (57) *má*      *gbánda*      *ḡā*      *òḡú*  
 1S      cassava      (N)-eat      tomorrow  
 'I will eat cassava tomorrow.'

If a sentence contains a *ḡ*-adverbial such as *rá ḡ*, *kú ḡ*, *wà ḡ* etc., the inflected verb must be followed by another constituent. This is perhaps best interpreted as suggesting that these adverbials require the verb to have a non-present meaning, because if it is final the inflected verb can be interpreted only as present. Note that *rá ḡ* etc. cannot themselves be final in the clause (19.11.2).

- (58)                      *óḡí*      *kó mū*  
                                  Oḡi      3-N-go  
 'Oḡi is going.'

- (59)\* *kū*      *ḡ*      *óḡí*      *kó mū*  
 NEG      DEF      Oḡi      3-N-go  
 'It is not Oḡi who will go.'

- (60)\* *rá*      *ḡ*      *óḡí*      *kó mū*  
 AFF      DEF      Oḡi      3-N-go  
 'Oḡi will go.'

- (61) *rá*      *ḡ*      *óḡí*      *kó mū*      *òḡú*  
 AFF      DEF      Oḡi      3-N-go      tomorrow  
 'The one who will go tomorrow is Oḡi.'

- (62) *kū*      *ḡ*      *óḡí*      *kó mū*      *nì*  
 AFF      DEF      Oḡi      3-N-go      FOC  
 'The one who will not go is Oḡi.'

8.4.1.4. Sentences which are non-past and ambiguous between future and present

A focus particle after the non-past verb can produce a sentence which is ambiguous between present and future.

- (63) *ópi ká dzòkónì dī sī*  
 Opi 3 kitchen this (N)-build  
 (a) 'Opi is building this kitchen.'  
 (b)\* 'Opi will build this kitchen.'

- (64) *ópi ká dzòkónì dī sī nì*  
 Opi 3 kitchen this (N)-build FOC  
 (a) 'It is Opi who is building this kitchen.'  
 (b) 'It is Opi who will build this kitchen.'

- (65) *ni dzòkónì dī sī ni ñi*  
 1s kitchen this (N)-build 1S FOC  
 (a) 'It is you who is building this kitchen.'  
 (b) 'It is you who will build this kitchen.'

- (66) *òtfe nà ká àdū `nā*  
 dog that 3 what N-eat  
 (a) 'What is that dog eating?', 'What does that dog eat?'  
 (b)\* 'What will that dog eat?'

- (67) *òtfe nà ká àdū `nā áū*  
 dog that 3 what N-eat FOC  
 (a) 'What is it that that dog is eating/eats?'  
 (b) 'What is it that that dog will eat?'

(A non-wh-object such as *idre* 'rats' instead of *àdū* will give the same result in the above). The future reading can be forced by adding *rá rì*.

8.4.1.5. Past interpretation with inflected verb

Tense in Ma'di is relative to a reference point, which is usually the moment of speaking. However, the reference point can be shifted into the past by the use of various sentential modifiers, and in this case the nonpast form of the verb can be nonpast relative to a past temporal reference point (ie. has a past meaning relative to the moment of speaking). This is seen for example with *dròná* 'in days gone by' or *téè* 'earlier today;' or *ándrání* 'in the past' or *èzè* 'in the past'.



### 8.4.2.2. Dispreferences for progressive interpretation

In general iterative verbs are not normally interpretable as progressive (but in this case can be interpreted as habitual, or as nonprogressive future).

- (75) *ká lātú ū-tū*  
 3 dance ITER-(N)-tread  
 (a)\* 'She is dancing.'  
 (b) 'She dances.'

However, iterative verbs can be interpreted as progressive in a few cases where a progressive non-iterative reading is impossible.

- (76) *ká òtí ū-ndzē rū ā rú s̄*  
 3 thorn ITER-(N)-take body POSS REFL SR  
 'She is removing thorns from her flesh (body).'

- (77)\* *ká òtí `ndzē rū ā rú s̄*  
 3 thorn N-take body POSS REFL SR  
 'She is removing thorns from her flesh (body).'

### 8.4.2.3. Dispreferences for habitual interpretation

Cognate objects resist habitual interpretation, but can be given habitual interpretation by making the verb iterative.

- (78) *ká lātú `tū*  
 3 dance N-tread  
 (a) 'She is dancing.'  
 (b)\* 'She dances.'

- (79) *ká lātú ū-tū*  
 3 dance ITER-(N)-tread  
 (a)\* 'She is dancing'  
 (b) 'She dances.'

With some combinations of verb and object, there is a dispreference for habitual interpretation. This seems to relate to informativity: the difference between the following examples seems to be that 'water' is a more predictable kind of object than 'beer' for the verb 'drink'.

- (80) *ká èjí `mvū*  
 3 water N-drink  
 (a) 'She is drinking water.'  
 (b)\* 'She drinks water.'

- (81) *ká* *ìrá* *`mvū*  
 3 beer N-drink  
 (a) 'She is drinking beer.'  
 (b) 'She drinks beer.'

The ventive derivational prefix *ē-* derives verbs which if they are interpreted as imperfective are interpretable as progressive but are not interpretable as habitual.

- (82) *ópí* *ká* *èbī* *`nā*  
 Opi 3 fish N-eat  
 (a) 'Opi is eating fish.'  
 (b) 'Opi eats fish.'

- (83) *ópí* *ká* *èbī* *ē-ná*  
 Opi 3 fish (N)-VE-eat  
 (a) 'Opi is eating fish (elsewhere now).'  
 (b)\* 'Opi eats fish (elsewhere).'

Where there is also a habitual verb with the same meaning, the non-habitual form of the verb is not interpreted as habitual when nonpast. In the following example there might be a relation between this being a motion verb and the dispreference for habitual.

- (84) *má* *`mū* *ēbù* *gá*  
 1S N-go work LOC  
 (a) 'I am going to work.' (progressive or inceptive)  
 (b)\* 'I habitually go to work.'

- (85) *má* *āmú* *ēbù* *gá*  
 1S N-go work LOC  
 (a)\* 'I am going to work.' (progressive or inceptive)  
 (b) 'I habitually go to work.'

#### 8.4.2.4. Inflection as a coding of tense rather than aspect

We treat aspect as secondary, correlating with tense interpretation and not having any direct morphological manifestation. In this we disagree with the tradition of analyzing Ma'di (along with other Central Sudanic languages) as primarily grammaticalizing aspect rather than tense. This tradition is most influentially stated in Tucker (1940: 71). Tucker notes that there are two distinct syntaxes for verbs, involving different choices of subject paradigm and different positions for the object (he does not



- (89)\*    *má*            *gbándà*                      *nā*                      *kūrù*  
           1S                cassava                      (N)-eat                NEG(P)

Djuruni (1983: 78) relates this to evidentiality, suggesting that in the similar situation of Logbara the inflected verb implies that the eventuality must be confirmable by one of the interlocutors, and hence is incompatible with negation.

## 8.5. Dialectal variation : 'Burulo

When it comes to the inflected verb, 'Burulo differs radically from Lokai. The morphology of the verb is very different, and most strikingly the word order is verb-object when the verb is inflected (nonpast).

### 8.5.1. *The form of the verb*

The stem tone is raised in 'Burulo. Thus for example uninflected *nā* 'ate' and inflected *ná* 'is eating'. There is no low tone prefix.

The low tone prefix on the inflected verb is missing in 'Burulo not only in these structures but also on subordinate verbs (10.7.1). This might suggest that there is some similarity between the low tone prefix in a matrix verb and in an embedded suffixed verb. Subordinate verbs have no special tonal morphology in the 'Burulo dialect (and have exactly the same subordinating suffixes as in the Lokai dialect).

- (90)    *òk'é má (nā) `sī-rē      rí    ɪnɪ    rí    ʔí*  
           dog 1S PR    N-bite-SB    DEF black DEF FOC ['Burulo]  
           'The dog that bit me is the black one.'

- (91)    *òtʃ'é mā    ʔfī-rē      rì    ɪnɪ    rì    ʔí*  
           dog 1S    N-bite-SB    DEF black DEF FOC [Lokai]  
           'The dog that bit me is the black one.'

### 8.5.2. *The subject of the inflected verb*

In 'Burulo, the object never precedes the inflected verb. This means that the I-paradigm subjects directly precede the verb. The 'Burulo I-paradigm subjects differ in tones from Lokai I-subjects, and the vowel in the third person is different.

Table 36. The I-paradigm in Lokai and 'Burulo, compared

	Lokai	'Burulo
	I-subject (adjacent to verb)	I-subject
1S	<i>má</i>	<i>má</i>
1PL	<i>ámá</i>	<i>ámà, má</i>
2S	<i>ní</i>	<i>ní</i>
2PL	<i>ání</i>	<i>ání, ní</i>
3S	<i>kó</i>	<i>kú</i>
3PL	<i>ká</i> + <i>kí</i> immediately following the subject pronoun for plural	<i>kú</i> + <i>kí</i> immediately following the verb for plural
3 indefinite & inclusive 'we'	<i>ádí</i> + <i>kí</i> immediately following the subject pronoun for plural	<i>á</i> + <i>kí</i> immediately following the verb for plural

Some of these pronouns are illustrated below:

- (92) *kú*    *mvú*    *úwá*  
 3    drink    beer    [*'Burulo*]  
 (a) 'He is drinking beer.'  
 (b) 'He drinks beer.'
- (93) *ká*    *írá*    *mvū*  
 3    beer    N-drink    [*Lokai*]  
 (a) 'He is drinking beer.'  
 (b) 'He drinks beer.'

'Burulo I-subjects can optionally lose their initial vowels in first and second person plural. The 'Burulo option of omitting the initial vowel in the first person plural is found particularly in narratives, in narrating a sequence of events.

- (94) *kù-gbà*    *áū*    *mà-dì*    *vò*    *r-ēsú-rē*  
 3(DIR)-pluck(PL)    FOC    1PL-then go(PL)    REFL-(N)-find-SB  
 'Let her pluck, we'll meet.' [*'Burulo*]
- (95) *mà*    *kō,*    *mà*    *vò*    *ōdú*    *gé*  
 1PL(EXC) then 1PL(EXC) go(PL) sleep LOC  
 'After that, we (excluding you) went to sleep.' [*'Burulo*]



## Chapter 9

### The directive verb

In this chapter we look at the directive verb, which expresses commands, prohibitions and wishes. It has a distinctive pronominal paradigm. It shares some syntactic characteristics with the uninflected verb and other characteristics with the inflected verb.

#### 9.1. The directive verb

The directive is used in commands, prohibitions and wishes.

- (1)  $j\grave{h}$   $m\bar{u}$   
2SDIR go  
(a) 'You should go.'  
(b) 'Go.'
- (2)  $k\grave{o}-j\bar{a}$   $\acute{l}j\acute{n}\acute{a}$   $r\grave{i}$   $\ddot{r}\acute{i}$   
3DIR-eat food DEF FOC  
(a) 'It is the food (in question) that she should eat.'  
(b) 'It is the food (in question) that you should eat.' (a harsh way of commanding)
- (3)  $k\grave{o}-\ddot{d}\acute{i}$   
3DIR-cook  
(a) 'She should cook (it).'

In 9.2.1.3 we explain why a second person reading is possible with this third person pronoun.

The directive verb appears formally to be similar to the uninflected verb, but it is possible that the low tones which appear on the subject pronominals originate as a low tone prefix on the directive verb which would thus be formally like the inflected verb.

##### 9.1.1. *Emphatic low tone*

We have observed the use of an extra low tone which is found only in slow or deliberate speech. It appears to have no semantic effect other than perhaps adding emphasis.

(4) *kò-ṅā*      *rá*  
 3DIR-eat      AFF  
 'Ensure that she eats it.'

(5) *kò`-ṅā*      *rá*  
 3DIR-eat      AFF  
 'Ensure that she eats it.'

## 9.2. Subject

### 9.2.1. Pronominal subject

The pronominal subject is always adjacent to the directive verb. Any of the following pronouns which we call the 'D-paradigm' can substitute for *ṅì* in the following example:

(6) *ṅì*      *dzè*      *dri*      *rá*  
 2SDIR      wash      hand      AFF  
 '(You should) certainly wash your hand.'

Table 37. D-pronouns

1S	<i>má</i>
1PL	<i>ámá</i>
2S	<i>ṅì</i>
2PL	<i>áṅì</i>
3S	<i>kò</i>
3PL	<i>kò</i> + <i>kí`</i> immediately following the verb
INDEFINITE / INCLUSIVE	' (with <i>ɔ</i> )

Where the verb begins with a vowel, both the final vowel in the pronoun and its associated tone are deleted.

#### 9.2.1.1. Is the directive paradigm derived from the I-paradigm?

The D-paradigm subjects of directive verbs are largely the same as the I-paradigm subjects of inflected verbs (though in contrast the syntax of the directive verb resembles that of the uninflected verb). There are two differences:

(i) The D-paradigm subjects all have only low tone (again with the exception of the indefinite / inclusive form which has an initial high tone).

(ii) The indefinite / inclusive form dispenses with the *k*-pronoun in favour of an *ɔ*-prefix.

A possibility worth considering is that the D-paradigm is derived in the syntax from the I-paradigm by deleting all tones, and then re-supplying a low tone to the pronoun syntactically, perhaps from a low tone prefix on the verb. The 'Burulo dialect offers some supportive evidence for this (9.6.2).

### 9.2.1.2. Indefinite subject of directive verb

The high tone prefix can be used in combination with a directive verb. This is unexpected given the general pattern of paradigms: we might have expected the pronoun *ádí* to have been adapted to this function instead, as it is in the I-paradigm which otherwise resembles the D-paradigm.

There are two alternative realizations involving the high tone prefix with the directive verb. The first prefixes the high tone to *ɔ*-.

- (7)
- |     |  |     |
|-----|--|-----|
| ˈ   | ɔ̂-ví                                      | pí  |
| IND | 3-DIR-throw                                | COM |
| (a) | 'It should be thrown away.'                |     |
| (b) | 'We (you inclusive) should throw it away.' |     |

The second combines the high tone, *ɔ* and then a standard directive *kò*. It is as though the *ɔ* is an adjoined subject expressing indefiniteness which precedes the true pronominal subject expressing directive.

- (8)
- |     |   |     |
|-----|---|-----|
| ˈ   | kò-ví                                     | pí  |
| IND | 3DIR-throw                                | COM |
| (a) | 'It should be thrown away.'               |     |
| (b) | 'We (you inclusive) should throw it away' |     |

Compare the non-indefinite directive:

- (9)
- |     |                             |     |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----|
|     | kò-ví                       | pí  |
|     | 3DIR-throw                  | COM |
| (a) | 'She should throw it away.' |     |
| (b) | 'You should throw it away.' |     |

The high tone prefix leads to the interpretation of the utterance as a suggestion rather than a command, and appears to be a use of indefiniteness for reasons of politeness or saving face.

- (10)  $má$   $fō$   $ò-mū$   $kū$   
 1S say 3IND-(DIR)-go NEG(N)  
 (a) 'I said that you should not go.' (more of a suggestion)  
 (b) 'I said "Don't go!".'
- (11)  $má$   $fō$   $ɲì$   $mū$   $kū$   
 1S say 2SDIR go NEG(N)  
 (a) 'I said that you should not go.' (more of a command)  
 (b) 'I said "You should not go!".'

With a directive verb and negation, an indefinite or inclusive subject is interpreted as an instruction to an unnamed person, a prohibition, or a statement that something never happens.

- (12)  $éíó$   $kū$   
 IND-(DIR)-touch NEG(N)  
 (a) 'Don't touch (it).'
- (b) 'It should not be touched.'
- (c) 'We (you inclusive) should not touch it.'
- (d) 'It is never touched.'
- (13)  $ò-ɲā$   $kū$   
 IND-DIR-eat NEG(N)  
 (a) 'Don't eat (it).'
- (b) 'It should not be eaten.'
- (c) 'We (you inclusive) should not eat it.'
- (d)\* 'It is never eaten.'

The ungrammaticality of (d) above may be because it is blocked by an indefinite nondirective form.

- (14)  $ó-ɲā$   $kū$   
 IND-eat NEG(N)  
 'It is not edible.'

In Ugandan Ma'di  $ḃá$  appears also in the adjoined subject position preceding the subject of a directive verb; this is also unexpected given the general pattern of paradigms. Ugandan Ma'di also permits the use of the high tone.

- (15) *ḃá kò-vù*  
 INC 3DIR-go(PL)  
 (a) 'Let's go!' (Ugandan Ma'di, not Lokai)  
 (b) 'People should go.' (non-indefinite/non-inclusive)

### 9.2.1.3. The interpretation of a third person subject

Where the verb is directive, a third person subject can refer to the addressee. This has an effect of coldness; it might for example be used for scolding children.

- (16) *ópí kò-mū*  
 Op 3DIR-go  
 (a) 'Opi should go.' or 'Let Opi go.'  
 (b) 'Opi, go!' (colder, less friendly)
- (17) *kò-dī èbí dī*  
 3DIR-cook fish cook-FOC  
 (a) 'She should cook fish.'  
 (b) 'You should cook fish!' (harsh directive)
- (18) *ḃí ḃā*  
 2SDIR eat  
 'Eat (it).'
- (19) *kò-ḃā*  
 3DIR-eat  
 (a) 'She should eat (it).' or 'Let her eat it.'  
 (b) 'Eat (it) !' or 'Eat!, you!'

Note the ambiguity here in the following sentence.

- (20) *ḃí ḃá kò-dī*  
 2SDIR leave 3DIR-cook  
 (a) 'Let it cook!'  
 (b) 'Let her cook (it)!'

### 9.2.1.4. Interpretation of a first person directive: 'I'd rather'

The meaning of 'I would rather' emerges when the directive is combined with the 'source' postposition *sì*.

- (21) *dʒó*      *ṣí-kā*      *sì*      *m-òlú*      *ḅàrú*  
 house    N-build-SB    SR      1S-(DIR)- stay    home  
 (a) 'Because of the building, I should stay at home.'  
 (b) 'I would rather stay at home than (go to) build a house.'

Compare the inflected verb.

- (22) *dʒó*      *ṣí-kā*      *sì*      *m'-òlú*      *ḅàrú*  
 house    N-build-SB    SR      1S-N-stay      home  
 (a) 'Because of the building I am staying at home.'  
 (b) 'Rather than (go and) build I am staying at home.'

### 9.2.2. *Adjoined subject*

Like all verbs, the true pronominal subject of the directive verb can be preceded by an adjoined subject. The subject need not be an agent. In the following example the subject *èbí rì* is interpreted as the patient subject of an intransitive directive verb.

- (23) *èbí*    *rì*    *k-ò-dí*    *rá*  
 fish    DEF    3DIR-cook    AFF  
 'The fish had better get cooked.' (a directive - ensure that it is properly cooked)

### 9.3. *Object*

The object of the directive verb has the same characteristics as the object of the uninflected verb. Thus it follows the verb, and the clitic *?ā* is not used.

- (24) *kò-dí*      *líná*  
 3DIR-cook    food  
 (a) 'She should cook food.'  
 (b) 'You should cook food.'  
 (c) 'It is food that she / you should cook.'

- (25)\* *kò-dí-?ā*  
 3DIR-cook-OBJ  
 (a) 'She should cook (it).'  
 (b) 'You should cook (it).'

The object may also be omitted. Note that when the object is omitted, the

verb can be sentence-final, unlike the uninflected verb which cannot be sentence final. The directive verb is thus not subject to a termination constraint (7.5).

- (26) *kɔ̌-dī̄*  
 3DIR-cook  
 (a) 'She should cook.'  
 (b) 'You should cook.'
- (27) *kɔ̌-dī̄*      *áū̄*  
 3DIR-cook      FOC  
 (a) 'It is it that she should cook.'  
 (a) 'It is it that you should cook.'

## 9.4. Interpretation

### 9.4.1. Tense

#### 9.4.1.1. Basic interpretation as nonpast

A directive is interpretable only as nonpast.

- (28) *má*      *mū̄*  
 1SDIR      go  
 'I should go.'
- (39) *ɲí̄*      *ɲā̄*  
 2SDIR      eat  
 (a) 'You should eat (it).'  
 (b) 'Eat (it)!'

Because the directive is nonpast it takes only the nonpast negation *kū̄*. It cannot take the past negation *kūrù̄*.

- (30) *kɔ̌-dī̄*      *lí̄ná*      *kū̄*  
 3DIR-cook      food      NEG(N)  
 (a) 'She should not cook.'  
 (b) 'You should not cook.'  
 (c) 'It is not food that she/ you should cook.'
- (31)\* *kɔ̌-dī̄*      *lí̄ná*      *kūrù̄*  
 3DIR-cook      food      NEG(P)  
 'She should not cook (it).'

The directive seems to be similar in tense interpretation to the inflected verb. By default the directive is interpreted as present, and it is possible to bring out a future meaning by adding *rá*. *rá* is used for example to express a wish that something will happen in the future, by adding a meaning of certainty.

(32) *kòrì*  
DIR-sit  
'Sit.'

(33) *kòrì*      *rá*  
3DIR-sit    AFF  
'Ensure that she certainly sits.'

*rá rì* is not compatible with a directive verb unless some marker of futurity is added. This is similar to the combination of *rá rì* with an inflected verb.

(34)\* *rá*      *rì*      *ópi*      *kò-mū*  
AFF      DEF      Opi      3DIR-go  
'Opi should certainly go tomorrow.'

(35) *rá*      *rì*      *ópi*      *kò-mū*      *òbú*  
AFF      DEF      Opi      3DIR-go      tomorrow  
'Opi should certainly go tomorrow.'

#### 9.4.1.2. 'Past directive': *kólèā* and obligation in the past

If deontic obligation is to be expressed in the past, *kólèā* is used, taking a directive complement. *kólèā* is literally 'it wants it', having the structure *kó-* 'it' *lè* 'wants' *-ṣā* 'it'.

(36) *kólèā*      *k-ē-mú*      *rá*  
it's necessary    3DIR-VE-go    AFF  
(a) 'She should certainly have come.' (past)  
(b) 'She should certainly come.' (future)  
(c) 'It is necessary that she comes / should come.'

#### 9.4.1.3. *kēsú*: past hypothetical

See 18.1.4.

9.4.1.4. Agreement between upper and lower clauses

Verbs require agreement in directive morphology between upper and lower clauses. If one verb is directive the other must be too.

- (37) *mì*      *fō*      *ópi*      *ní*  
 2SDIR    say      Opi      BEN  
           *kòmū*    *túbá*      *ē-dze-rē*      *ēndrè*      *ní*  
           [3DIR-go cigarette (N)-VE-buy-SB    mother-SPEC FOC]  
 ‘(You should) tell Opi to go and buy cigarettes for his mother.’

9.4.2. Aspect and modality

The directive can co-occur with stative verbs, of attitude or of posture. Verbs of attitude are difficult to interpret in the present with the directive, but if a future reading is forced by adding *rá*, they can be directive.

- (38)?\* *kòlè*  
 3-DIR-like  
 ‘Like it!’

- (39) *kòlè*      *rá*  
 3-DIR-like    AFF  
 ‘She should like it.’ (a wish)

The modals *wà* and *kpé* cannot combine with the directive verb.

9.4.3. A specialized interpretation of *kòvù*: ‘apart from X’

There is a specialized meaning for the directive with *vù*, interpreted as ‘apart from ...’.

- (40) *kò-vù*                      *dì*      *rá,*      *zì*      *ĩ*  
 3DIR-set aside      this    AFF    another    FOC  
 ‘Apart from this (one), another one.’

- (41) *kò-vù*                      *mā*    *rá,*    *zì*      *àdĩ*    *ē-mú*      *dí?ā*    *nì*  
 3DIR-set aside    1S    AFF    another    who    (3)-VE-go    here    FOC  
 ‘Apart from me, who else (is it that) came here.’

- (42) *kò-vù*                      *mā*    *rá,*    *zì*      *àdĩ*    *ē-mú*      *dí?ā*    *nì*  
 3DIR-set aside    1S    AFF    another    who    (3)-VE-go    here    FOC  
 ‘Apart from me, who else (is it that) certainly came here.’

## 9.5. The directive verb compared with the uninflected and inflected verbs

### 9.5.1. *Ways in which the directive verb resembles the inflected verb*

The directive verb has a subject paradigm which resembles (in segmental if not tonal structure) the inflected verb subject paradigm, thus having *ká* in the I-paradigm and *kà* in the D-paradigm.

The inflected verb is prefixed by a low tone. The directive paradigm consistently has a low tone on the final vowel of the subject (immediately preceding the verb). The low tones might possibly be the same morpheme.

The directive verb has a nonpast interpretation like the inflected verb. Like the inflected verb, the default interpretation of directive is present, and future can be forced by adding final elements such as *rá*.

Like the inflected verb, the directive verb can be sentence-final. Thus it differs from the uninflected verb which must be 'terminated'.

### 9.5.2. *Ways in which the directive verb resembles the uninflected verb*

Like the uninflected verb (and unlike the inflected verb), the directive verb has an optional object which follows the verb, and which can be omitted.

Like the uninflected verb (and unlike the inflected verb), the directive verb can take final verbal negation.

- (43)    *ópi*    *kò-dū*    *ízi*    *kū*  
           Opi    3DIR-take    woman    NEG(N)  
           (a)    'Opi should not get married.'  
           (b)\*    'Opi do not get married.'

## 9.6. Dialectal variation : 'Burulo

### 9.6.1. *The 'Burulo directive*

'Burulo and Lokai share a similar syntax for the directive.

- (44)    *kù-mvū*  
           3DIR-drink                    ['Burulo]  
           'He should drink it.'
- (45)    *kò-mvū*  
           3DIR-drink                    [Lokai]  
           '(He should) drink it.'

Table 38. D-pronouns in Lokai and in 'Burulo

	LOKAI	'BURULO
1S	<i>mà</i>	<i>àmá, mà´</i>
1PL	<i>àmà</i>	<i>àmà</i>
2S	<i>ɲì</i>	<i>àɲí, ɲí´</i>
2PL	<i>àɲì</i>	<i>àɲì</i>
3S	<i>kò</i>	<i>kù</i>
3PL	<i>kò</i> + optional <i>kí`</i> immediately following the verb	<i>kù</i> + optional <i>kí`</i> immediately following the verb
3 indefinite & inclusive 'we'	<i>ò`</i> + optional <i>kí`</i> for plural, immediately following the verb	<i>á`</i> or <i>ákù</i> + optional <i>kí`</i> immediately following the verb

### 9.6.2. Evidence from the 'Burulo D-paradigm for the derivation of the D-paradigm from the I-paradigm

In 9.2.1.1. we discussed the possibility (for Lokai) that D-subjects are derived from I-subjects by addition of a low tone, perhaps in the syntax. 'Burulo offers some support for this hypothesis. If we compare the I-subjects and D-subjects in 'Burulo in the table below, we can see that the D-subjects might be derived from the I-subjects by attaching a low tone to the I-pronoun. In the first and second person singular, the I-subject has a single vowel carrying a high tone; the equivalent D-subject has either a low tone preceding the high tone on the single vowel or adds a new vowel carrying a low tone to the beginning of the pronoun. The plural forms in both cases are compatible with the addition of a low tone to the I-subject, which is absorbed into the low tone of the bisyllabic form. In the third person, the low tone deletes the high tone on the I-pronoun, to give the D-pronoun. In the indefinite, a low tone is added after the indefinite pronoun (but the morphology here is more complex).

Table 39. I-pronouns and D-pronouns in 'Burulo

	I-pronouns	D-pronouns
1S	<i>má</i>	<i>ámá, má´</i>
1PL	<i>ámà, mà</i>	<i>ámà</i>
2S	<i>ɲí</i>	<i>àɲí, ɲí´</i>
2PL	<i>àɲì, ɲì</i>	<i>àɲì</i>
3S	<i>kú</i>	<i>kù</i>
3PL	<i>kú</i> + optional <i>kí`</i> immediately following the verb for plural	<i>kù</i> + optional <i>kí`</i> immediately following the verb
3 indefinite & inclusive 'we'	<i>á</i> + optional <i>kí`</i> immediately following the verb for plural	<i>á`</i> or <i>ákù</i> + optional <i>kí`</i> immediately following the verb

### 9.6.3. *The option of omitting the subject in commands in 'Burulo*

In 'Burulo, the subject is omitted in commands, unlike Lokai where it is obligatory. Since the third person subject is also omitted, this can lead to ambiguities.

- (46) *ɓà*      *ōrū*  
 put      up  
 (a) 'Put it up.'  
 (b) 'She / he / it put it up.'  
 ['Burulo]

In contrast, the subject is omitted in a command to an unspecified person; here one of the indefinite pronouns must be used.

- (47) *á`-ɲā*      *líɲá*      *ìlé*      *kū*  
 INDDIR-eat      food      that      NEG(N)      ['Burulo]
- (48) *ákù-ɲā*      *líɲá*      *ìlé*      *kū*  
 INDDIR-eat      food      that      NEG(N)      ['Burulo]
- (a) 'Don't eat that food.'  
 (b) 'That food should not be eaten.'  
 (c) 'We (you inclusive) shouldn't eat that food.'

Note that in 'Burulo in the complement to *kúléē*, equivalent to Lokai *kóléā* 'it is necessary that', the subject can be included or omitted,

suggesting that the verb can be interpreted optionally as a command (without a subject) or as a non-command directive (with a subject)

(49) *kú-lé-ē*      *mū*      *ḃòrú*  
 necessary      go      home      ['Burulo]  
 'It's necessary that you go home.'

(50) *kú-lé-ē*      *ḃí*      *mū*      *ḃòrú*  
 necessary      2SDIR      go      home      ['Burulo]  
 'It's necessary that you go home.'

(51) *kó-lè-ā*      *ḃí*      *mū*      *ḃàrú*  
 necessary      2SDIR      go      home      [Lokai]  
 'It's necessary that you go home.'

### 9.7. The form which we call 'directive' is called 'subjunctive' by Tucker

Tucker (1940: 226) calls what we are calling 'directive' the 'subjunctive'. He says that it is used in sentences expressing 'permission, compulsion or doubt'. He comments that it very often follows the auxiliary verbs *ḃa*, *éḃe*, *dé* (meaning 'make, let'), and in Ma'di it can follow *lé* ('want'). Tucker comments on the fact that the word order does not seem to match the pronoun paradigm: the paradigm, including *ka* in the third person is like the paradigm for inflected verbs, but the word order is like the word order for uninflected verbs.

Tucker further suggests that the subjunctive (directive) is used in the dialect he calls Pandikeri (our 'Burulo) in a narrative to express a sequence of actions. As evidence he cites a translation of two verses from the New Testament. We think this is not correct for the dialect he is discussing, and arises in his examples as a stylistic use of the directive to give an effect of high formality in the Biblical translation.



## Chapter 10

### Suffixed subordinate verbs

In this chapter we look at verbs which have a low tone prefix and one of five suffixes: *kā*, *lé*, *rē*, *bá*, and *dʒó*.

These verbs are contained in subordinate clauses which can be complement to a verb, or a modifier of a noun (ie. relative clause) or a modifier of a missing noun (ie. headless relative). In this chapter we focus on the internal structure of the clauses: the kinds of subject and object they have. In chapter 16 we consider the roles played by these clauses as arguments and modifiers.

In the glosses we use square brackets to mark the boundaries of the subordinate clauses; this is an aid to the reader. In a few cases we are in doubt about the placement of a boundary and in these cases we have not indicated boundaries in the glosses. We gloss all suffixes as -SB. We gloss the prefix as N-.

#### 10.1. The morphology of the suffixed verb

##### 10.1.1. The low prefix on subordinate verbs

Embedded suffixed verbs have a low tone as a prefix. The low prefix is lost in various phonological contexts (4.3.2.1). Of particular interest is the fact that the low tone is apparently lost when separated by a constituent boundary from the preceding vowel (which would otherwise function as a host). For example the clause boundary separating a subordinate clause from a preceding constituent forces the deletion of the low tone, and a clause boundary separating a relative clause from the modified noun, will also force deletion of the low tone. Thus in the sentences below, there is no low tone before the clause-initial verb; if the verb was clause-internal and preceded by a high toned vowel, the low tone prefix would be audible.

- (1)     *má*         *nā-kā*         *nā*         *lè*                     *rá*  
 1S         [ (N)-eat-SB    AFR    ] want                     AFF  
 (a) 'I will certainly want it being eaten.'  
 (b) 'I will certainly want the ones who will eat it.'

- (2)     *ópi*         *ē-dʒé*                     *nā-lé*         *rá*                     *n̄*         *ĩ*  
 Opi         (3)-VE-buy    [ (N)-eat-SB    AFF    ]         DEF         FOC  
 'Opi bought the one which was certainly eaten (by someone)'

## 10.1.1.1. The low prefix on subordinate verbs compared with the low prefix on inflected verbs

Is the low prefix on an embedded verb the same morpheme as the low prefix on a nonpast affirmative verb? Reasons for thinking that the two morphemes are the same are (a) they have a similar phonology, being unrealized in the same phonological contexts; and (b) both are present in Lokai and both absent in 'Burulo.

Reasons for thinking that the two morphemes are different are (a) the low prefix on inflected verbs codes nonpast, but the low prefix on subordinate suffixed verbs is compatible with any tense interpretation; and (b) inflected verbs cannot be negated while suffixed verbs can.

We are unable to finally decide whether the two morphemes are the same, but as a matter of procedure we assume that they are and so we gloss the two morphemes in the same way (with N).

10.1.2. *The five suffixes*

Table 40. The five suffixes which attach to subordinate verbs

<i>kā</i>	Nominalizes the verb, clause is a complement.
<i>lé</i>	Clause is a relative clause or a complement. In a relative clause, the modified noun is associated with the object of the clause.
<i>rē</i>	Clause is a relative clause or a complement. In a relative clause, the modified noun is associated with the subject of the clause.
<i>ḅá</i>	Substitutes for <i>rē</i> in a relative clause in a subject, if the subject is plural.
<i>d3ó</i>	Clause is a relative clause or a complement. In a relative clause, the modified noun is associated with a 'source' argument or modifier of the subordinate verb.

We note that Tucker (1940: 239) says that *lé* occasionally alternates with *kā*. This comment reflects the fact that for some suffixes (including *lé* but also *d3ó*) *kā* can be substituted in some sentences without changing the meaning appreciably. However, we consider these to be distinct suffixes; thus for example *kā* complements are almost certainly noun phrases while *lé* and other suffixed verb complements are sentences with a different syntax from the *kā* constituents and different kinds of interpretation (eg. involving the control of the lower subject).

*-rē* and *-lé* harmonize for ATR, *d3ó* does not (and *-kā* and *-ḅá* would not show harmony anyway because of the nature of the vowel). Thus we find *ḅí-d3ó* 'build-SB' and not \**ḅí-d3ó*. The distinction between those which harmonize and those which do not does not appear to correlate with any other distinction between the suffixes.

## 10.2. Verbs suffixed with *rē* (and *ḅá*)

### 10.2.1. In a relative clause

In a relative clause with *rē* it is characteristically the subject of the verb which is associated with the modified noun.

#### 10.2.1.1. The subject is omitted in most kinds of relative clause with *rē*

When the relative clause headed by V-*rē* (or V-*ḅá*) is part of a subject or object, the relative clause has a missing subject. The missing subject is interpreted as coreferential with and coextensive with the modified noun.

(3) *ágó àm-à dzó ` nĩ `sĩ-ḅá rì*  
 man (S) [1PL-POSS house SPEC PR N-build-SB(PL)] DEF  
 ‘One of the men who built / are building our house.’

(4) *èbĩ `dĩ-rē ádzĩnĩ rì ázĩ pĩ*  
 fish [ N-cook-SB yesterday ] DEF (IND)-sell COM  
 (a) ‘The fish that cooked (itself) yesterday has been sold.’  
 (no cooking agent implied)  
 (b) ‘The one that cooked fish yesterday has been sold.’

The modified noun itself can be missing (ie. a headless relative).

(5) *`tĩ-rē rì ɔ̄-drà ádzĩnĩ*  
 [ N-bite-SB ] DEF 3-die yesterday  
 ‘The one who bit it died yesterday.’

(6) *`tĩ-rē rì àzo*  
 [ N-bite-SB ] DEF tall  
 ‘The one who bit it is tall.’

#### 10.2.1.2. The subject is overt and in an *ʔà*-phrase in a headless *-rē* relative expressing location in time or space

A headless relative clause with V-*rē* can be interpreted as a temporal or spatial modifier. The subject must be overt, and is in an *ʔà*-phrase.

(7) *ópi ʔà ɓòŋgú dzè-rē rì ɲĩ íŋgō*  
 [ Opi POSS clothes (N)-wash-SB ] DEF 2S where  
 ‘When Opi was washing clothes, where were you?’

- (8)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{o}$ - $\acute{b}\acute{a}$   $\acute{n}\acute{a}$ - $\acute{a}$   $\acute{d}\bar{e}$ - $\bar{r}\bar{e}$   $\acute{g}\acute{a}$   
 Opi 3-put [ 2S-POSS (N)-fall-SB ] SPEC LOC  
 (a) 'Opi put it where you slept / sleep.'  
 (b) 'Opi put it where you fell / fall.'

The subject cannot normally be omitted in relative clauses with  $\bar{r}\bar{e}$  which are part of a modifier of time or place.

- (9)\*  $m\bar{u}$ - $\bar{r}\bar{e}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $m\bar{a}$   $\acute{b}\acute{a}r\acute{u}$   $\grave{i}\bar{j}\bar{o}$   
 [ (N)-go-SB ] DEF 1S home absent  
 'When he was going I was not at home.'

However, it can be omitted in the following sentence, perhaps because the omitted subject is non-agentive.

- (10)  $s\bar{i}$ - $\bar{r}\bar{e}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $m\bar{a}$   $\acute{b}\acute{a}r\acute{u}$   $\grave{i}\bar{j}\bar{o}$   
 [ (N)-build-SB ] DEF 1S home absent  
 'When it was being built I was not at home.'

$\bar{r}\bar{a}$  is a postposition also found in Lokai in noun phrases where it indicates a possessor (15.5).  $\bar{r}\bar{a}$  is widely used with the subject of all kinds of relative clause, and it places the same restrictions on its complement as placed by possessive  $\bar{r}\bar{a}$ ; thus for example the subject / possessor cannot be indefinite.

### 10.2.1.3. The subject is in an $\bar{r}\bar{a}$ -phrase in a clause expressing coordinate action

A relative clause with  $\bar{r}\bar{e}$  can express coordinate action. The embedded clause (or perhaps the modified noun) must end in a pronoun and  $\bar{t}\bar{r}\bar{o}$  (preferred for Lokai), or in SPEC +  $\bar{z}\bar{i}$  'other' (more common in Ugandan Ma'di).

- (11)  $\acute{a}\acute{g}\acute{o}$   $\acute{a}\acute{n}$ - $\acute{a}$   $\bar{r}\bar{u}$   $\bar{m}\bar{g}\bar{b}\bar{a}$ - $\bar{r}\bar{e}$   $\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{i}$   $\bar{t}\bar{r}\bar{o}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\acute{o}\acute{g}\acute{u}$   
 man [ 2PL-POSS REFL N- hit-SB 3S COMT ] DEF thief  
 'The man (S) with whom you (S) fought is a thief.'

- (12)  $\acute{a}\acute{g}\acute{o}$   $\acute{a}\bar{m}$ - $\acute{a}$   $\acute{d}\bar{z}\bar{o}$   $\bar{n}\bar{i}$   $\bar{s}\bar{i}$ - $\bar{r}\bar{e}$  (  $\bar{z}\bar{i}$  )  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\acute{o}\acute{g}\acute{u}$   
 man 1PL-POSS house-SPEC PR N-build-SB SPEC other DEF thief  
 'The man together with whom I / we built the house is a thief.'  
 ( $\acute{b}\acute{a}$  could be substituted for  $\bar{r}\bar{e}$  here).

In the relative clause, the subject must be in an *ʔà*-phrase. The modified noun is interpreted as conjoined with the subject of the relative clause.

The modified noun can be singular or plural, and the pronoun complement to *trò* can also be singular or plural; however, it does not appear to be possible to conjoin a plural noun and a singular pronoun.

(13) *ágó àṅ-à rū `mgbā-rē āní trò rì*  
 man(S) [ 2PL-POSS REFL N-hit-SB 3S COMT ] DEF  
 ‘The man (S) with whom you (S) fought...’

(14) *àgō àṅ-à rū `mgbā-rē àʔì trò rì*  
 men(PL) [ 2PL-POSS REFL N-hit-SB 3PL COMT ] DEF  
 ‘The men (PL) with whom you (S) fought...’

(15)\* *àgō àṅ-à rū `mgbā-rē āní trò rì*  
 men(PL) [ 2PL-POSS REFL N-hit-SB 3S COMT ] DEF  
 ‘The men (PL) with whom you (S) fought...’

Relative clauses with this structure are sometimes ambiguous between a coordinate (a) and non-coordinate (b) interpretation.

(16) *ágó àm-à dʒó `sī-rē āní trò rì ògú*  
 man [1PL-POSS house N-build-SB(SL) 3S COMT ] DEF thief  
 (a) ‘The man with whom I / we built a house is a thief.’  
 (b) ‘The man [1] who built our house with him [1,2] is a thief.’

#### 10.2.1.4. A possible case of a noun phrase subject in a *rē* clause

There is one situation in which a suffixed clause can have a noun phrase as subject, rather than the general situation in which an overt subject must be in a postposition phrase. This situation is illustrated by the following example. The subject must be a *nā* phrase and is non-agentive, and thus somewhat object-like.

(17) *dì ágó tí nā ēgwè-rē dì rì ʔì*  
 this man [ cow AFR (N)-get lost-SB COM ] DEF FOC  
 (a) ‘This is the man whose cow got lost’  
 (b)\* ‘This is the man who lost his cow.’

If the noun phrase preceding the verb does not have *nā* it is interpreted as an object.

- (18) *dì ágó tí ìgwè-rē dì rì ǀí*  
 this man [cow (N)-get lost-SB COM ] DEF FOC  
 ‘This is the man who lost a cow.’ (ie. caused it to get lost)

If the verb requires an agentive subject (eg. with causative *ìgwè*) the noun phrase preceding the verb can only be interpreted as the object).

- (19) *dì ágó tí nā ìgwè-rē dì rì ǀí*  
 this man [cow AFR (N)-lose-SB COM ] DEF FOC  
 (a)\* ‘This is the man whose cow was made to get lost.’  
 (b) ‘This is the man who caused the aforementioned’s / her  
 cow to get lost.’

#### 10.2.1.5. Plural subject in a relative clause and the use of *ǀá*

In Lokai, *-ǀá* can optionally be used instead of *-rē* in a relative clause which is part of a subject, if the subject is plural.

- (20) *òtǀé mā `tǀí-rē rì ū-drà (kí) ádzíní*  
 dog [1S N-bite-SB ] DEF ITER-die PL yesterday  
 ‘The dogs that bit me died yesterday.’
- (21) *òtǀé mā `tǀí-ǀá rì ū-drà (kí) ádzíní*  
 dog [ 1S N-bite-SB(PL) ] DEF ITER-die PL yesterday  
 ‘The dogs that bit me died yesterday.’

The presence of *ǀá* is not enough by itself to code a plural interpretation. There must be some other coding. For example, the verb can be made plural by using the iterative *ū-* prefix or *kí* must be used (both can be used together), or in a nonverbal predicate the predicate noun can optionally be morphologically plural.

- (22) *òtǀé mā `tǀí-rē rì ǀ-drà ádzíní*  
 dog [1S N-bite-SB ] DEF 3-die yesterday  
 ‘The dog that bit me died yesterday.’
- (23)\* *òtǀé mā `tǀí-ǀá rì ǀ-drà ádzíní*  
 dog [ 1S N-bite-SB ] DEF 3-die yesterday  
 ‘The dog that bit me died yesterday.’
- (24) *ū-gǀí-ǀá rì ǀgū*  
 [ (N)-ITER-shoot-SB ] DEF thief (PL)  
 ‘The ones who repeatedly shot are thieves.’

Unlike a *rē*-clause, a *ḅá*-clause cannot be a complement or a sentential modifier. Thus it is keyed specifically to the plurality of the subject.

(25)\* *kó̂-mū*      *kí̂*      *dʒó*      *ḅá*  
 3-N-go      PL      [ house      N-build-SB ]  
 ‘They are going to build a house.’

(26)\* *ḅá*      *rì*      *ámā*      *ḅárú*      *ìjō*  
 [ (N)-eat-SB ]      DEF      1PL(EXC)      home      absent  
 ‘When it was being eaten we were not at home.’

In Ugandan Ma’di *kā* is used instead of *ḅá*. (It is also possible in Lokai to use *kā* as a ‘plural’ suffix instead of *ḅá*.) We do not know whether this is the same suffix as ‘nominalizing’ *kā*.

(27) *dʒó*      *ḅá*      *rì*      *ópí*      *pī*      *ḅí*  
 [ house (N)-build-SB ]      DEF      Opi      PRPL      FOC  
 ‘The ones who built / are building a house are those of Opi.’

(28) *dʒó*      *ḅá*      *rì*      *ópí*      *pī*      *ḅí*  
 [ house (N)-build-SB ]      DEF      Opi      PRPL      FOC  
 ‘The ones who built / are building a house are those of Opi.’

*kā* cannot substitute for *rē* if the modified noun is not plural.

(29) *dʒó*      *ḅá*      *rì*      *ópí*      *ḅí*  
 [ house      N-build-SB ]      DEF      Opi      FOC  
 ‘The one who built / is building a house is Opi.’

(30)\* *dʒó*      *ḅá*      *rì*      *ópí*      *ḅí*  
 [ house      N-build-SB ]      DEF      Opi      FOC  
 ‘The one who built / is building a house is Opi.’

#### 10.2.1.6. The object

The object of the *rē*-verb resembles the object of the inflected verb in that it precedes the verb

(31) *má*      *ʔà*      *ānī*      *ndrē-rē*      *rì*      *ō-sū*      *sátì*      *īkā*  
 [ 1S      POSS      3S      (N)-see-SB ]      DEF      3-wear      shirt      red  
 ‘When I saw him [1] he [1] was wearing a red shirt.’

- (32) *ópī ɔ̄-bà ná-à anī `ndrē-rē` gá*  
 Opi 3-put [ 2S-POSS 3S N-see-SB ] SPEC LOC  
 ‘Opi [1] put it where you saw him [1,2].’

The object of the *rē*-verb resembles the object of the uninflected verb in that it can be omitted. Like the uninflected verb, the clitic *?ā* is not used if the object is omitted.

- (33) *òtʃé `tʃī-rē` rì ɔ̄-drà ádzínī*  
 dog [ N-bite-SB ] DEF 3-die yesterday  
 (a) ‘The dog that bit her died yesterday.’ (object omitted)  
 (b) ‘The one who bit the dog died yesterday.’ (object overt)

- (34) *má ?à ndrē-rē rì ɔ̄-sū sátì íkā*  
 [1S POSS (N)-see-SB ] DEF 3-wear shirt red  
 ‘When I saw him [1] he [1] was wearing a red shirt.’

A sentential complement can follow a verb suffixed with *-rē*. In this, the *V-rē* resembles an uninflected verb; no clitic *?ā* is used.

- (35) *tà fō-rē nì mū kū rì ná-à rùbàṅà ?ī*  
 thing [tell-SB [ 2S(DIR) go NEG(N) ] ] DEF 2S-POSS god FOC  
 ‘The thing that told you not to go was your God.’

It is worth noting that in Ugandan Ma’di *?ā* is used in addition to the suffix (10.7.2.3).

Like the object of a root verb, if the object is lexical, and specific as well as definite, it must take *nī*.

- (36)\* *íli ágó rì lī-rē rì lótfī*  
 knife [ man DEF (N)-cut-SB ] DEF sharp  
 ‘The knife which cut the man is sharp.’

- (37) *íli ágó rì nī `lī-rē` rì lótfī*  
 knife [ man DEF (SPEC) PR N-cut-SB ] DEF sharp  
 ‘The knife which cut the specific man is sharp.’

- (38) *íli ópī nī `lī-rē` rì lótfī*  
 knife [ Opi PR N-cut-SB ] DEF sharp  
 ‘The knife which cut Opi is sharp.’

In ’Burulo, a pronominal object can also take *nī*.

- (39) *àmà rì jí nī ndù-rē. ámbísì n-é-kī pí*  
 1PL(EXC) be 2S PR look for-SB yet 2S-VE-go COM  
 'We were continuing to look for you yet you had already come.'  
 ['Burulo]

### 10.2.2. A *rē* verb in a complement clause

#### 10.2.2.1. The subject is omitted

The subject is always omitted in a *rē*-clause which is a complement to a verb. The omitted subject is interpreted as coreferential with a noun phrase in the upper clause, which can be a subject (40) or an object (41) of the upper verb.

- (40) *má mū dʒó `sī-rē*  
 1S N-go [ house N-build-SB ]  
 'I am going to build a house.'
- (41) *má zē ópí nī dʒó `sī-rē*  
 1S send Opi PR [ house N-build-SB ]  
 'I sent Opi to build a house.'

#### 10.2.2.2. The object is optional

In a *rē* relative clause the object is optional, as it is in a *lé* clause.

- (42) *dʒó `sī-rē rì ògú*  
 house N-build-SB DEF thief  
 'The one / he who builds a house is a thief.'
- (43) *`sī-rē rì ògú*  
 N-build-SB DEF thief  
 'The one / he who builds it is a thief.'

In a complement clause with *rē* the object is obligatory.

- (44) *má zē dʒó `sī-rē*  
 1S send house N-build-SB  
 'I sent him to build a house.'
- (45)\* *má zē `sī-rē*  
 1S send N-build-SB  
 'I sent him to build it.'

10.2.3. *An ‘insult’ clause with  $r\bar{e}$* 

The suffix  $r\bar{e}$  can be used in insults, as in the following examples. We do not have an explanation of the syntax of these clauses. They might possibly be related to the coordinate structure described above.

- (46)  $n\acute{a}-\grave{a}$        $m\bar{i}$        $\grave{k}\bar{a}-r\bar{e}$   
 2S-POSS    eye      N-redden-SB  
 ‘(You and) your reddened eyes!’
- (47)  $n\acute{a}-\grave{a}$        $dri$        $r\grave{u}$        $s\bar{i}-r\bar{e}$   
 2S-POSS    head      REFL (N)-recede-SB  
 ‘(You and) your balding head!’

10.3. *Verbs suffixed with  $l\acute{e}$* 10.3.1. *In a relative clause*

In a relative clause with  $l\acute{e}$ , it is characteristically the object of the subordinate verb which is associated with the modified noun. Thus it differs from relative clause with  $r\bar{e}$  where it is characteristically the subject of the subordinate verb which is associated with the modified noun. The following example illustrates the difference between  $l\acute{e}$  and  $r\bar{e}$ .

- (48)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $\bar{e}-d\acute{z}\acute{e}$        $s\grave{i}-l\acute{e}$        $r\acute{a}$        $r\grave{i}$        $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 Opi    (3)-VE-buy    [ N-tear-SB    AFF ]    DEF    FOC  
 ‘Opi bought one which was certainly torn (by someone).’
- (49)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $\bar{e}-d\acute{z}\acute{e}$        $s\bar{i}-r\bar{e}$        $r\acute{a}$        $r\grave{i}$        $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 Opi    (3)-VE-buy    [ N-tear-SB    AFF ]    DEF    FOC  
 ‘Opi bought a torn one.’

10.3.1.1. *Options for the object*

If the V- $l\acute{e}$  clause is a relative clause, and the object is omitted, the missing object must be construed as coreferential with the modifiee.

- (50)  $\grave{a}r\grave{a}b\acute{i}\grave{a}$      $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{?}\grave{a}$      $d\acute{z}\bar{i}-l\acute{e}$        $r\grave{i}$      $p\acute{a}$      $n\bar{a}$      $\bar{a}d\bar{i}$      $r\acute{a}$   
 car    [Opi POSS (N)-take-SB]    DEF leg    AFR    deflate    AFF  
 ‘The car which Opi took certainly has a flat tyre.’

The modified noun can be missing (ie. a headless relative).

- (51) *dì-lé*      *rì*      *àlí*      *rì*      *ǎí*  
 [(N)-kill-SB ] DEF      short DEF FOC  
 ‘The one who was killed / to be killed is the short one.’

- (52) *màngà*      *dì*      *āzì-lé*  
 mango this [ (N)-sell-SB ]  
 (a) ‘These mangoes are for sale / to be sold.’  
 (b) ‘Here are mangoes for sale / to be sold.’

If the object is overt, it must take *nā*. It is interpreted as the possession of the modified noun.

- (53) *ágó*      *bārà*      *nà*      *ǎ*      *tí*      *nā*      *ōgù-lé*      *rì*      *ǎí*  
 man [child that POSS cow AFR (N)-steal-SB ] DEF FOC  
 ‘The man whose cow that child stole...’

- (54) *ágó*      *tí*      *nā*      *bārà*      *nà*      *ǎ*      *ōgù-lé*      *rì*      *ǎí*  
 man [cow AFR child that POSS (N)-steal-SB] DEF FOC  
 ‘The man whose cow that child stole...’

The object can also be interpreted recursively as the possession of the possession of the modified noun (55a).

- (55) *ágó*      *bārà*      *nā*      *ǎ*      *tí*      *ōgù-lé*      *rì*  
 man [child AFR POSS cow (N)-steal-SB ] DEF  
 (a) ‘The man whose child’s cow was stolen...’  
 (b) ‘The man whose child was stolen by the cow...’

### 10.3.1.2. The subject is in an *ǎ*-phrase or is omitted

The subject of a *lé*-verb in a relative clause can be in an *ǎ*-phrase, or can be omitted.

- (56) *íí*      *ágó*      *rì*      *ǎ*      *ḡò-lé*      *rì*      *lótǎí*  
 knife [ man DEF POSS (N)-break-SB ] DEF sharp  
 ‘The knife which the man broke is sharp.’

- (57) *íí*      *ḡò-lé*      *rì*      *lótǎí*  
 knife [ (N)-break-SB ] DEF sharp  
 ‘The knife which was broken / is to be broken is sharp.’

10.3.1.3. The *lé*-clause as a purpose clause

A subordinate clause with a verb suffixed with *lé* can function as a purpose clause.

- (58) *ká kî mángà āzī-lé gbà sùkùrù ní*  
 3 PL mango (N)-sell-SB (N)-pluck school BEN  
 ‘They are picking mangoes to sell for a school.’

10.3.2. *In a complement clause*

## 10.3.2.1. The subject is omitted

The subject is omitted if the V-*lé* constituent is a complement to a verb. In this, the clause with *lé* is identical to the clause with *-rē*. The omitted subject can be coreferential with the upper subject (60) or with the complement of *ní* (61) in the upper clause.

- (59) *má lè mū-lé rá*  
 1S want [ (N)-go-SB ] AFF  
 (a) ‘I certainly want (me) to go.’  
 (b)\* ‘I want (someone) to go.’

- (60) *má lè ópí ní `nā-lé rá*  
 1S want Opi BEN [ N-eat-SB ] AFF  
 ‘I certainly (implicitly) give my permission to Opi to eat it.’

The question might arise as to whether ‘Opi’ is the object of ‘want’ or the subject of the lower verb. We know that it is the object of ‘want’ and thus in the matrix clause for two reasons.

(a) It can be freely placed in any of the positions marked @ in the matrix clause.

- (61) @ *má lè @ `nā-lé @ rá @*  
 1S want [ N-eat-SB ] AFF  
 ‘I certainly want it for Opi to eat.’ (I give my permission)

(b) Other upper-clause constituents can be placed between the *ní* phrase and the embedded clause, such as the demonstrative *dí* ‘here’, which can be placed in any of the positions @. (In the following the embedded clause functions as a nonverbal predicate.)

- (62) *búkù @ jí ní @ là-lé @*  
 book 2S BEN [ (N)-read-SB ]  
 'Here is a book for you to read.'

Note that in (63) arbitrary reference is possible.

- (63) *má lè-ā ānī `nā-lé rá*  
 1S (N)-want-OBJ 3S N-eat-SB AFF  
 'I will certainly want (me, someone) to eat it.'

*ānī* can be fronted independently, or omitted, or replaced by an overt object. If the clause is fronted *ānī* is redundant but a more specific NP such as *ópi ní* 'Opi' can be used

#### 10.3.2.2. The object is optional

When the *V-lé* constituent is a complement to a verb, the verb suffixed with *lé* can have a noun phrase object but this can also be omitted.

- (64) *má lè-ā èbí `nā-lé rá*  
 1S (N)-want-OBJ [ fish N-eat-SB ] AFF  
 'I will certainly want (me, someone) to eat fish.'

- (65) *má lè-ā `nā-lé rá*  
 1S (N)-want-OBJ [ N-eat-SB ] AFF  
 'I will certainly want (me, someone) to eat it.'

- (66) *má lè `nā-lé rá*  
 1S want [ N-eat-SB ] AFF  
 'I certainly want (me, someone) to eat it.'

## 10.4. Verbs suffixed with *d3ó*

### 10.4.1. In a relative clause

#### 10.4.1.1. The interpretation of the clause

The noun modified by a relative clause with *d3ó* is interpreted as the source of the eventuality represented by the relative clause. The range of meanings for the modified noun is similar to that for the complement of the 'source' postposition *s̀* (15.3).

- (67) *mgbā-dzó rì dī ǐ*  
 [ (N)-beat-SB ] DEF this FOC  
 (a) ‘The one with which it was beaten is this one.’ [instrument]  
 (b) ‘The one for which she was beaten is this.’ [reason]
- (68) *íí ágó rì nī `lī-dzó rì lótfī rì ǐ*  
 knife [man DEF PR N-cut-SB ] DEF sharp DEF FOC  
 ‘The knife with / for which the man was cut was the sharp one.’
- (69) *àràbià ópí nī `dzī-dzó rì pá nā ādī rá*  
 car [Opi PR N-take-SB ] DEF leg POSS deflate AFF  
 ‘The car with / for which Opi was taken certainly has a flat tyre.’

Where the relative clause is interpreted as modifying a ‘reason’, the modified noun is either *tà* ‘thing’ or *lēfó* ‘reason’ or omitted.

- (70) *àmà nì tà ānā-à ē-mú-dzó rì rá*  
 1PL(EXC) know thing [3S-POSS (N)-VE-go-SB] DEF AFF  
 (a) ‘We (excluding you) certainly know why she came.’  
 (b) ‘We (excluding you certainly) know which thing she came with.’
- (71) *lēfó `sī-dzó rì bá nì-bá rá nā gá*  
 reason [ N-build-SB ] DEF people know-SB(PL) AFF AFR small  
 (a) ‘The reason it was built is only known to a few people.’  
 (b)\* ‘The thing with which it was built is only known to a few people.’
- (72) *mgbā-dzó rì dī ǐ*  
 [(N)-beat-SB ] DEF this FOC  
 (a) ‘Why she was beaten is this.’  
 (b) ‘The one with which it was beaten is this.’

If it modifies *òvī* the clause can be interpreted as ‘how’; this is not a possible interpretation of *sì*. A noun phrase with *sì* will never have a ‘how’ interpretation.

- (73) *òvī ānā-à sī-dzó rì*  
 way [3S-POSS (N)-build-SB] DEF  
*bá nì-bá rá nā gá*  
 people [(N)-know-SB AFF] AFR small  
 (a) ‘How she built it is known only to a few people.’  
 (b)\* ‘The thing with which she built it is known to few people.’

The modified noun can be *sáà*, with the whole phrase acting as a temporal modifier. The phrase can optionally be embedded under *sì* (75) and the head noun can be omitted (76)

- (74) *sáà sī-d3ó rì*  
time [ (N)-build-SB ] DEF  
*bá nì-bá rá nā gá*  
people [(N)-know-SB(PL) AFF ] AFR small  
'Only a few people know about the time it was built.'
- (75) *sáà sī-d3ó rì sì bá nì-bá rá nā gá*  
time [(N)-build-SB] DEF SR people (N)-know-SB AFF AFR small  
'The time it was being built only a few people knew about it.'
- (76) *sī-d3ó rì bá nì-bá rá nā gá*  
[(N)-build-SB ] DEF people (N)-know-SB(PL) AFF AFR small  
(a) 'When it was being built only a few people knew about it.'  
(b) 'Why it was built, only a few people know.'

Note that it is also possible for the modifiee to be interpreted as coreferential with the possessor of the instrument - the instrument must be possessed *nā* or with *àní drí*. Thus (78) literally means 'the man [I with whose spear killed the buffalo]'

- (77) *ágó má-à àd3ú àní drí (sì) òdrú `dī-d3ó rì rī*  
man [ 1S-POSS spear 3S POSS SR buffalo N-kill-SB] DEF FOC  
(a) 'The man with whose spear I killed a buffalo.' [instr.]  
(b) 'The man for whose spear I killed a buffalo.' [reason]
- (78) *ágó má-à àd3ú nā (sì) òdrú `dī-d3ó rì rī*  
man [ 1S-POSS spear AFR SR buffalo N-kill-SB] DEF FOC  
(a) 'The man with whose spear I killed a buffalo.' [instr.]  
(b) 'The man for whose spear I killed a buffalo.' [reason]

The order of subject and instrument is not fixed.

- (79) *ágó àd3ú nā sì má-à òdrú `dī-d3ó rì rī*  
man(s) [ spear AFR SR 1S-POSS buffalo N-kill-SB ] DEF FOC  
(a) 'The man with whose spear I killed a buffalo.' [instr.]  
(b) 'The man with whose spear my buffalo was killed. [instr.]  
(c) 'The man for whose spear I killed a buffalo.' [reason]  
(d) 'The man for whose spear my buffalo was killed.' [reason]

*drū* ‘with it’ can also be present.

- (80) *àdʒú má-à `dī-dʒó ( drū ) rì ʔī ēgwè dī*  
 spear [ 1S-POSS N-kill-SB with it ] DEF FOC lose COM  
 ‘The spear with which I killed it is lost.’

#### 10.4.1.2. The subject

The subject of the V-*dʒó* clause can be in an *ʔà*-phrase or can be omitted.

- (81) *ānā-à ē-dʒí-dʒó rì bá rì ʔà ū-fá-kā rì ʔī*  
 [3S-POSS (N)-go-SB] DEF [people DEF POSS (N)-fight-SB] DEF FOC  
 ‘The reason she brought her (it, him etc.) was the people’s  
 continuous quarrels.’

- (82) *ē-dʒí-dʒó rì bá rì ʔà ū-fá-kā rì ʔī*  
 [(N)-VE-go-SB] DEF people DEF POSS ITER-(N)-fight-SB DEF FOC  
 ‘Why she was brought was their continuous quarrels.’

#### 10.4.1.3. The object

In a relative clause the *dʒó*-verb can take an overt noun phrase object.

- (83) *àʔī `mgbā-dʒó rì dī ʔī*  
 [ 3PL N-beat-SB ] DEF this FOC  
 (a) ‘The one with which they were beaten is this one.’  
 (b) ‘Why (the reason) they were beaten is this.’
- (84) *dʒó `sī-dʒó nā má ké mā ʔī*  
 [ house N-build-SB ] AFR 1S give 1S FOC  
 ‘I am the one who gave the one for building a house.’
- (85) *bélē ágó rì `mgbā-dʒó rì dī ʔī*  
 stick [ man DEF N-beat-SB ] DEF this FOC  
 (a) ‘The stick with which the man was beaten is this one.’  
 (b) ‘The stick for which the man was beaten is this one.’
- (86) *bélè ágó rì pī `mgbā-dʒó rì dī ʔī*  
 stick [ man DEF PLPR N-beat-SB ] DEF this FOC  
 (a) ‘The stick with which the man and his associates was  
 beaten is this one.’  
 (b) ‘The stick for which the man and his associates was beaten  
 is this one.’

The object of the *d3ó*-verb can be omitted.

- (87) *dī-d3ó*      *rì*      *àd3ú*      *àlì*      *àlì*      *rì*      *ǀ*  
 [(N)-kill-SB] DEF spear short short DEF FOC  
 (a) 'The one which has been used for killing it is the shorter spear.'  
 (b) 'The reason for him being killed was the short spear.'

#### 10.4.2. In a complement clause

##### 10.4.2.1. The subject

The subject is omitted when the V-*d3ó* constituent is the complement of a verb such as *édó* 'start' or *ḅà* 'make'. The omitted subject is coreferential with the subject of the root verb.

- (88) *ópí*      *ēdó*      *̀sī-d3ó*      *rá*  
 Opi start N-build-SB AFF  
 'Opi has certainly started to build (with) it.'
- (89) *ḅ-ḅà*      *dī-d3ó*      *rá*  
 3-put (N)-rain-SB AFF  
 'It is certainly set to rain.' (clouds are gathering)
- (90) *ḅ-ḅà*      *fè-d3ó*      *rá*  
 3-put (N)-burst-SB AFF  
 'It is certainly set to burst (open).' (said of a boil)

## 10.5. Verbs suffixed with *-kā*

### 10.5.1. *-kā* nominalizes the verb

It is likely that *-kā* makes the clause into a noun phrase; this is the only type of constituent containing a suffixed verb which has noun phrase like characteristics. The *V-kā* form is the citation form ('infinitive form') of a verb.

#### 10.5.1.1. All the verbs which take *kā* complements also take NP complements

All the verbs which take *V-kā* complements also take noun phrase complements. They are: *ndrē* 'see', *ērī* 'hear', *lè* 'like', *bi* 'try, taste', *mā* 'try, taste', *ēdó* 'start', *nì* 'know', *tè* 'wait'. In some cases the verb has a slightly different interpretation when it takes a *V-kā* complement; thus *bi* and *mā* mean 'try' with a *V-kā* complement and 'taste' with a lexical noun phrase complement.

#### 10.5.1.2. The *kā*-clause can precede the inflected verb

Like other kinds of complement clause, the *kā*-clause can double a clitic *?ā*, and come after the clitic.

- (91) *k-á?i-ā*                      *dzi-kā*                      *rá*  
 3-agree-OBJ            [ N-take-SB ]            AFF  
 (a) 'She will certainly agree to take it.'  
 (b)\* 'She will certainly agree to its being taken.'

However, unlike any other kind of complement clause, the *V-kā* constituent can also precede an inflected verb, which is strong evidence that it can be a true object of the verb.

- (92) *ámá*                      *bási ?à*                      *ngā-kā*                      *nī tè*                      *áū*  
 2PL(EXC) [ bus POSS (N)-depart-SB ] SPEC PR (N)-wait FOC  
 'It is the bus's departure that we (excluding you) are waiting for.'

In general the inflected verb cannot carry the clitic *?ā* when it is preceded by a *V-kā* complement (but see 10.5.15).

- (93)\* *àmá básì ?à ngā-kā nī tè ?ā áū*  
 2PL(EXC) [ bus POSS (N)-depart-SB ] SPEC PR wait OBJ FOC  
 ‘It is the bus’s departure that we (excluding you) are waiting  
 for.’

When the *kā* clause precedes the verb, it can optionally take the LOW specific determiner followed by *nī*. It can only take the specific determiner when it precedes the verb.

- (94) *àmá básì ?à ngā-kā ( nī ) tè áū*  
 2PL(EXC) [ bus POSS (N)-depart-SB ] SPEC PR wait FOC  
 ‘It is the specific event of the bus’s departure that we (excluding  
 you) are waiting for.’

### 10.5.1.3. The *kā*-clause can be a complement to the postposition *sì*

A *kā*-clause is the only type of clause which can directly be the complement of a postposition. The postposition is the ‘source’ postposition *sì* with the specific meaning of ‘because of’.

- (95) *àmà ásí ìgbé ópí ?à ē-mú-kā sì*  
 1PL(EXC) heart cold [ Opi POSS (N)-VE-go-SB ] SR  
 ‘We (excluding you) are happy because of Opi’s coming.’  
 (both future and past)

- (96) *jà-à ē-tfá-kā sì òrì ɔ-kɔ à?í tfí*  
 [ 2S-POSS (N)-VE-reach-SB ] SR fear 3-catch 3PL COM  
 ‘Because of your arrival fear has gripped them.’

- (97) *èjí ?à dī-kā kūrù sì kīpà dī ?à*  
 [ rain POSS (N)-rain-SB NEG(P) ] SR year this POSS  
*àbírí k-ɔ́lú ùndzì*  
 hunger 3-stay bad(S)  
 ‘Because of its not having rained, this year’s hunger will be  
 serious.’

- (98) *k'-ē-mú ɔ́bú*  
 3-(N)-VE-go tomorrow  
*ópí ?à rū ?à ɔ́lú-kā lō?ú sì*  
 [ Opi POSS body POSS (N)-stay-SB painful ] SR  
 ‘She is coming tomorrow because of Opi’s illness.’

A similar reading of ‘because of’ exists for noun phrases (99a), though note that an ‘instead of’ meaning also arises here (99b) which does not arise with V-*kā* projections.

- (99)    *átá*    *sì*    *k-ē-mú*    *nì*  
 father SPEC    SR    3DIR-(N)-VE-go    FOC  
 (a) ‘Because of his father he should be the one to come.’  
 (b) ‘Instead of his father he should be the one to come.’

#### 10.5.1.4. The *kā*-clause can be an (adjoined) subject of a verb

The V-*kā* constituent can be the (adjoined) subject of a verb. Evidence that this is genuinely the adjoined subject comes from the fact that it can control the reflexive *rū*.

- (100)    *ɲá-à*    *ē-tfá-kā*    *ɔ̄-bà*    *ōrì*    *ɔ̄-kɔ̄*    *à?í*    *tfí*  
 [2S-POSS    (N)-VE-reach-SB]    3-leave    fear    3-catch    3PL COM  
 ‘Your arrival has made fear grip them.’ (future and past)
- (101)    *túbà*    *sē-kā*    *ɔ̄-lè*    *rū*    *dí?ā*    *kū*  
 [cigarette    (N)-smoke-(N)-SB]    3-want    REFL    here    NEG(N)  
 ‘Smoking is not permitted here.’

#### 10.5.1.5. *nā* and the *kā*-clause

The *kā*-verb can be followed by *nā*. In some sentences the *kā*-clause is a (headless) relative in a noun phrase ending in the determiner *nā*; this is the structure which gives interpretation (120a).

- (102)    *má*    *ɲā-kā*    *nā*    *lè*    *rá*  
 1S    (N)-eat-SB    AFR    want    AFF  
 (a) ‘I will certainly want the ones who will eat it.’  
 (b) ‘I will certainly want it being eaten.’

Reading (b) is more puzzling. It is seen again as reading (103b):

- (103)    *k-á?í-ā*    *dʒí-kā*    *nā*    *rá*  
 3-agree-OBJ    N-take-SB    AFR    AFF  
 (a) ‘She will certainly agree to take it.’ (something specific and known; eg. a specific goat)  
 (b) ‘She will certainly agree to its being taken.’

- (104) *k-áʔi-ā*                      *dʒi-kā*                      *rá*  
 3-agree-OBJ                      N-take-SB                      AFF  
 (a) 'She will certainly agree to take it.' (definite but not necessarily specific; eg. any one of a set of goats)  
 (b)\* 'She will certainly agree to its being taken.'

There are two possible explanations. One is that the subordinate clause is treated as the noun phrase because *kā*-clauses do show noun phrase like characteristics, and is followed by *nā* as the determiner. Another possibility is that *nā* expresses an argument within the subordinate clause. We have no analysis of this at present.

Some light is possibly cast on this by comparison with Ugandan Ma'di. *nā* in Ugandan Madi differs from *nā* in Lokai Ma'di in two ways: (a) it can lose [n], (b) it must be followed by *nī*. This is the case both for the determiner *nā* (preceded by a noun) and for the *nā* we see here; this strongly suggests that it is the same morpheme in both cases.

The clause plus *nā* can be followed by *nī*.

- (105) *m-éṛī*                      *ópi*                      *ʔā*                      *fō-kā*                      *nā*                      *nī*                      *rá*  
 1S-hear                      chief                      POSS (N)-say-SB                      AFR                      DEF                      AFF  
 'I have certainly heard about the chief's saying it.'
- (106) *m-éṛī*                      *ópi*                      *ʔā*                      *fō-kā*                      *nā*                      *rá*  
 1S-hear                      chief                      POSS (N)-say-SB                      AFR                      AFF  
 'I have certainly heard the chief's saying it.'
- (107) *m-éṛī*                      *ópi*                      *ʔā*                      *fō-kā*                      *rá*  
 1S-hear                      chief                      POSS (N)-say-SB                      AFF  
 'I have certainly heard the chief's saying it.'

The *kā*-clause may double the clitic *ʔā* but only when the clause is followed by *nā*.

- (108) *má*                      *sī-kā*                      *nā*                      *lè-ā*                      *rá*  
 1S (N)-build-SB                      AFR (N)-want-OBJ                      AFF  
 (a) 'I will certainly want its being built.'  
 (b) 'I will certainly want to build it.'
- (109)\* *má*                      *sī-kā*                      *lè-ā*                      *rá*  
 1S (N)-build-SB                      (N)-want-OBJ                      AFF  
 (a) 'I will certainly want its being built.'  
 (b) 'I will want to build it.'

10.5.2. *Subject*10.5.2.1. Subject is in an *ʔà*-phrase

The following verbs take a *kā*-clause complement whose subject is an *ʔà*-phrase: *ndrē* ‘see’, *érī* ‘hear’, *lè* ‘want, like’, *tè* ‘await’.

(110) *má ndrē àríángwá rì ʔà ē-dé-kā rá*  
 1S see [bird DEF POSS (N)-VE-fall-SB ] AFF  
 ‘I certainly saw the bird’s falling.’

(111) *ópi ʔà ē-tfá-kā àmá tè-ā áū*  
 [ Opi POSS (N)-VE-reach-SB ] 1PL(EXC) (N)-wait-OBJ FOC  
 ‘It is Opi’s arrival that we (excluding you) are waiting for.’

In a *kā*-clause the subordinate *ʔà*-subject is optionally coreferential with the root subject.

(112) *ō-nì sáà āná-à ē-mú-dzó rì kū*  
 3-know time [ 3S-POSS (N)-VE-go-SB ] DEF NEG(N)  
 ‘He [1] doesn’t know when he [1,2] came / will come.’

## 10.5.2.2. Subject is omitted

The following verbs take *kā*-clause complements whose subject is omitted: *bì* ‘try’, *mà* ‘try’, *ēdó* ‘start’, *lè* ‘want, like’. When the subject is omitted, it can be interpreted as coreferential with an argument in the upper clause.

(113) *má bì mū-kā kūrù*  
 1S try [(N)-go-SB ] NEG(P)  
 (a) ‘I have not tried to go / going.’  
 (b) ‘I did not try to go / going.’

For *ēdó* ‘start’ the upper and lower subjects must be coreferential (which is also seen when *ēdó* takes a complement with V-*dzó*).

(114) *ópi ēdó `mū-kā rá*  
 Opi start [N-go-SB] AFF  
 ‘Opi has certainly started to go.’

For *lè*, various options are possible; the upper subject can be understood as coreferential with the upper subject (115a) or arbitrary (115b).

- (115) *má lè mū-kā rá*  
 1S want [(N)-go-SB] AFF  
 (a) 'I certainly want to go.'  
 (b) 'I certainly want someone to go'

Note that *lè* allows either an overt subject or an omitted subject in the lower clause.

### 10.5.3. Object

The object in a *kā*-clause can be a noun phrase preceding the verb.

- (116) *ó-lè túbà sē-kā dí?ā kū*  
 IND-want [cigarette (N)-smoke-SB] here NEG(N)  
 'Smoking is not permitted here.'
- (117) *má nì rá tà dī ?à rū `bà-kā ` ?ī*  
 1S know AFF [thing this POSS REFL N-put-SB ] SPEC FOC  
 'I know how this thing came about.'

The object in a *kā*-clause can also be omitted.

- (118) *má lè sī-kā rá*  
 1S want [(N)-build-SB ] AFF  
 'I certainly want to build it.' (by myself, or I assent to its being built)

## 10.6. Other syntactic characteristics of clauses with suffixed verbs

### 10.6.1. Postposition phrases in the subordinate clause

Postposition phrases can be found before the verb.

- (119) *ēbù gá `mū-rē rì ópí ?ī*  
 [work LOC N-go-SB] DEF Opi FOC  
 'The one who went / is going to work is Opi.'

And they can be found after the verb.

- (120) *mū-rē ēbù gá rì ópí ?ī*  
 [(N)-go-SB work LOC] DEF Opi FOC  
 'The one who went / is going to work is Opi.'

- (121) *áǵó ǒfú rì ʔà ǐlí-lé dwārī gá rì ǒpí ʔī*  
 man [news DEF POSS (N)-catchout-SB hunting LOC] DEF Opi FOC  
 ‘The man who missed out on the news (literally: the news caught him out) because he was hunting was Opi.’
- (122) *gārī ānā-à mū-dǵó sùkúrù gá rì ógù pī*  
 bicycle [3S-POSS (N)-go-SB school LOC] DEF (IND)-steal COM  
 (a) ‘The bicycle on which she went to school has been stolen.’ (instrument)  
 (b) ‘The bicycle for which she went to school has been stolen.’ (reason)

### 10.6.2. *Temporal noun in the subordinate clause*

A temporal noun can follow the verb.

- (123) *mǎdí ē-mú-rē áǵínī rì ǒpí ʔī*  
 person [ (N)-VE-go-SB yesterday ] DEF Opi FOC  
 ‘The person who came yesterday was Opi.’
- (124) *gārī ānā-à mū-dǵó áǵínī rì ógù pī*  
 bicycle [3S-POSS (N)-go-SB yesterday] DEF (IND)-steal COM  
 (a) ‘The bicycle on which she went yesterday has been stolen.’ (instrument)  
 (b) ‘The bicycle for which she went yesterday has been stolen.’ (reason)
- (125) *èbī `dī-lé áǵínī rì ázī pī*  
 fish [ N-cook-SB yesterday ] DEF (IND)-sell COM  
 ‘The fish that was cooked yesterday has been sold.’

### 10.6.3. *Modals and negation in the subordinate clause.*

A subordinate suffixed verb can be negated with *kū* or *kūrù*.

- (126) *ǒpí ēdó èbī `nā-kā kū rá*  
 Opi start [fish N-eat-SB NEG(N)] AFF  
 (a) ‘Opi has certainly started not to eat fish.’  
 (b) ‘Opi has certainly started not eating fish.’

The modals *wà*, *kpé* or *rá* can also be used at the end of the subordinate clause.

- (127) ʼē-dʒí kî tà tà dī-dʒó wà rì kūrù  
 (IND)-VE-take PL thing [ thing (N)-cook-SB PS ] DEF NEG(P)  
 ‘We (you inclusive) haven’t brought anything with which  
 something can be cooked.’
- (128) ɔ̄-mà ìbá tí ūmbé-dʒó rì ājū-lé kpé  
 3-try rope cow (N)-tie-SB DEF (N)-untie-SB NPS  
 ‘He couldn’t untie the rope for tying cows.’
- (129) ɔ̄-mà ìbá tí ūmbé-dʒó rì ājū-lé rá  
 3-try rope cow (N)-tie-SB DEF (N)-untie-SB AFF  
 ‘He certainly tried to untie the rope for tying cows.’

#### 10.6.4. Tense in the subordinate clause

Subordinate clauses with suffixed verbs can in principle be interpreted as past or as nonpast (usually present).

- (130) ɔ̀tʃé má `izó-lé rì ká ópí nī `tʃí rá  
 dog [1S N-bring-up-SB] DEF 3 Opi PR N-bite AFF  
 (a) ‘The dog that I bred will certainly bite Opi.’  
 (b) ‘The dog that I am breeding will certainly bite Opi.’

One of the most interesting aspects of the freedom of tense interpretation in the subordinate clause is that the low prefix on the verb does not force nonpast tense on the clause, unlike the low tone prefix on the inflected verb in the root clause.

## 10.7. Dialectal variation

### 10.7.1. ‘Burulo

The low prefix is not found on embedded suffixed verbs in ‘Burulo. Note by comparison that the other low prefix (possibly the same prefix) which is prefixed to nonpast verbs in Lokai is not found in ‘Burulo.

### 10.7.2. Ugandan Ma’di

In Ugandan Ma’di, *kā* is equivalent to Lokai *kā*, *dʒó* is equivalent to Lokai *dʒó*, and *lé* is equivalent to Lokai *lé*. The crucial variation in Ugandan Ma’di involves *rē* and *bá*.

Table 41. Lokai and Ugandan Ma'di suffixes

Clause containing the suffixed verb	Lokai	Ugandan
Complement to a grammatical verb.	<i>rē̄</i>	<i>rē̄</i>
In a deictic headless relative, combined with a postposition.	<i>rē̄</i>	<i>rē̄</i>
In a relative clause modifying an argument where the modified noun is interpreted as one member of a coordinate subject for the action described by the verb.	<i>rē̄, b́á</i>	<i>rē̄, b́á</i>
In a relative clause modifying an argument where the modified noun is interpreted as the subject of the action described by the verb.	<i>rē̄</i> [singular], <i>b́á / ká</i> [plural]	<i>dí</i> [singular], <i>ká</i> [plural]

10.7.2.2. Subject in a *nī̄*-phrase rather than an *ʔà* phrase

Ugandan Ma'di does not express possession with *ʔà* (15.5). Instead the subject can be followed by *nī̄*. The substitution of *nī̄* for *ʔà* applies to all Ugandan Ma'di clauses with *rē̄* and *lè̄*.

(131) *má ʔà mū-rē̄ rì ìtú ɔ̄-dē̄ rá*  
[1S POSS (N)-go-SB] DEF sun 3-fall AFF [Lokai]  
'When I was going the sun had certainly set.'

(132) *mā nī̄ `mū-rē̄ rì ìtú ɔ̄-dē̄ rá*  
[1S PR N-go-SB] DEF sun 3-fall AFF [Ugandan]  
'When I was going the sun had certainly set.'

10.7.2.3. Object is realized by *-ʔā̄* after the verbal suffix

In Ugandan Ma'di the object can be expressed by *ʔā̄* suffixed to the verb.

(133) *òtʃé `tʃí-dí-ā̄ rì ɔ̄-drà ádzíní̄*  
dog N-bite-SB DEF 3-die yesterday [Ugandan]  
(a) 'The dog that bit her (him, it) died yesterday.'  
(b) 'The one who bit the dog died yesterday.'

(134) *íí ágó `lí-dí-ā̄ rì lótfí̄*  
knife man N-cut-SB-AFR DEF sharp [Ugandan]  
'The knife which cut a man was sharp.'

We described earlier how  $n\bar{a}$  can follow the verb. This is a determiner outside the subordinate clause and not a clitic on the verb like  $?\bar{a}$ . Nevertheless the determiner  $n\bar{a}$  has some similarities to the object clitic  $?\bar{a}$ . Both are capable of losing their consonant, reducing them both to  $\bar{a}$ ; they nevertheless remain distinct morphemes.

In Ugandan Ma'di, the initial consonant of  $n\bar{a}$  can be deleted to give  $\bar{a}$ .

- (135)  $\eta mgb\bar{a}-k\bar{a}$      $\bar{a}$      $n\bar{i}$      $\acute{e}p\acute{e}$   
 N-beat-SB    AFR    PR    easy    [Ugandan]  
 'To hit him is easy.'
- (136)  $\eta mb\bar{a}-k\bar{a}$      $n\bar{a}$      $\acute{e}p\acute{e}$   
 N-beat-SB    AFR    easy    [Lokai]  
 'To hit him is easy.'

Note that this is the same pattern as seen when  $\bar{a}$  or  $n\bar{a}$  follows a noun.

- (137)  $\acute{a}g\acute{o}$      $\bar{a}$      $n\bar{i}$      $\acute{o}r\acute{i}$   
 man    AFR    PR    coward    [Ugandan]  
 'The man is a coward.'
- (138)  $\acute{a}g\acute{o}$      $n\bar{a}$      $\acute{o}r\acute{i}$   
 man    AFR    coward    [Lokai]  
 'The man is a coward.'

Tucker fails to appropriately distinguish  $n\bar{a}$  and  $?a$ ; he says that  $n\bar{a}$  is used in *ny-ongwe-a* 'call him', but this is  $?a$  and not  $n\bar{a}$  (Tucker 1940:157). We note that Tucker also sometimes claims that  $n\bar{a}$  is present when it is not; thus his *...n\bar{a} ndr\bar{a}g\acute{a}* (1940: 157) should actually be analyzed as  $n\bar{i} \bar{a}ndr\bar{a}-g\acute{a}$ , with vowel elision.



# Chapter 11

## Sentences with nonverbal predicates

In this chapter we look at sentences without verbs where the predicate is a noun phrase, adjective phrase or postposition phrase. Definite and indefinite noun phrases have different syntactic structures in predication. We argue that nonverbal predication, like verbal predication involves both a pronominal subject and optionally also an adjoined subject. We look at the tense of sentences with nonverbal predication, and conclude with an examination of the grammatical word *drū*.

### 11.1. The predicate

#### 11.1.1. 'Bare' Noun Phrase as predicate

Noun phrases can be predicates if they are 'bare', by which we mean that they consist just of a single word, whether a noun, a demonstrative or a numeral. More complex noun phrases can only be predicates if they are pre-adjoined to *ʔi*.

##### 11.1.1.1. Bare noun (indefinite)

If the noun phrase consists just of a noun and is interpreted as indefinite, it can be a predicate.

- (1) *mā*     *lāpwóní*  
1S     teacher  
'I am a teacher.'

See 11.1.2. for the definite noun phrase as a predicate.

##### 11.1.1.2. Bare demonstrative

A noun phrase consisting just of a demonstrative can function as a predicate, but only if it has a non-specific interpretation, something like 'here' or gestural 'this'.

- (2) *mā*     *dî*  
1S     this  
'I am here.' (In answer to a question 'Where are you in this photograph?' accompanied by pointing)

- (3)       $\grave{\text{indr}}\acute{\text{i}}$        $\bar{\text{in}}\bar{\text{i}}$        $\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{i}}$        $\text{d}\acute{\text{i}}$   
           goat           black      DEF    this  
           ‘This / here is the black goat (in question).’

The 'Burulo deictic determiners, when in predicate position, are obligatorily followed by a low tone. This is not the specific (low tone) determiner, which is not widely used in 'Burulo, but instead is the 'final low fall' which is found sometimes in 'Burulo ( 3.6.4).

- (4)       $\acute{\text{op}}\acute{\text{i}}$        $\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{i}}$        $\bar{\text{n}}\acute{\text{a}}$       `      [*'Burulo*]  
           Opi      PR      that  
           ‘That's Opi.’ or ‘There's Opi.’

#### 11.1.1.3. Bare numeral

A numeral can function as a predicate.

- (5)       $\grave{\text{a}}\bar{\text{?}}\bar{\text{i}}$        $\text{s}\bar{\text{u}}$   
           3PL      four  
           (a) ‘There are four.’  
           (b) ‘They are four.’

#### 11.1.1.4. Nominalized clause with *-kā* as predicate

The following sentence can be analyzed as having as its predicate a clause with the verb suffixed with *-kā*. Subordinate clauses with this structure behave elsewhere like noun phrases (for example, they precede an uninflected verb, like a noun phrase object). Here they seem to be functioning as predicates in a manner similar to bare indefinite noun phrases.

- (6)       $\text{t}\acute{\text{a}}$        $\text{l}\bar{\text{e}}\text{-l}\bar{\text{e}}$        $\bar{\text{r}}\bar{\text{i}}$        $\acute{\text{op}}\acute{\text{i}}$        $\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{i}}$        $\bar{\text{e}}\bar{\text{b}}\bar{\text{e}}\text{-k}\bar{\text{a}}$   
           [thing (N)-want-SB] DEF [Opi PR (N)-leave-SB]  
           ‘The thing needed is the freeing of Opi.’

#### 11.1.2. NP + $\bar{\text{?}}\bar{\text{i}}$ as predicate

A noun phrase can be pre-adjoined to  $\bar{\text{?}}\bar{\text{i}}$  and then is interpreted as a predicate. Most kinds of noun phrase can only be interpreted as predicates if pre-adjoined to  $\bar{\text{?}}\bar{\text{i}}$ . Full  $\bar{\text{?}}\bar{\text{i}}$ -predication has an overt subject in addition to the predicate, and reduced  $\bar{\text{?}}\bar{\text{i}}$ -predication has no overt subject, leaving only the predicate in the sentence.

11.1.2.1. Full  $\text{ʔí}$ -predication

Noun phrases which can be adjoined to  $\text{ʔí}$  and thereby function as predicates include names, pronouns, phrases with  $\text{rì}$  including modified phrases, phrases with demonstratives, and phrases with the kinship interpretation of the specific low tone determiner. All these kinds of noun phrase can only function as predicates if they are adjoined to  $\text{ʔí}$ ; they cannot be bare predicates.

- (7)  $d\grave{\text{í}}$      $\acute{\text{ó}}\text{p}\acute{\text{í}}$      $\text{ʔí}$   
 this    Opi    FOC  
 ‘This is Opi.’
- (8)  $d\grave{\text{í}}$      $\acute{\text{ó}}\text{p}\acute{\text{í}}$      $n\bar{\text{a}}$      $\text{ʔí}$   
 this    chief    AFR    FOC  
 ‘This is the one who is a chief.’
- (9)  $d\grave{\text{í}}$      $m\bar{\text{a}}$      $\text{ʔí}$   
 this    1S    FOC  
 ‘This is me.’
- (10)  $s\acute{\text{a}}\text{t}\grave{\text{i}}$      $\acute{\text{ó}}\text{p}\acute{\text{í}}$      $\text{ʔ}\grave{\text{a}}$      $d\text{z}\bar{\text{e}}\text{-l}\acute{\text{e}}$      $\text{r}\grave{\text{i}}$      $\bar{\text{i}}\text{ngw}\bar{\text{e}}$      $\grave{\text{o}}\grave{\text{o}}$      $\bar{\text{i}}\text{n}\bar{\text{i}}$      $\text{r}\grave{\text{i}}$      $\text{ʔí}$   
 shirt [Opi POSS (N)-buy-SB ] DEF white and black DEF FOC  
 ‘The shirt that Opi bought is the black and white one (spotted).’
- (11)  $m\bar{\text{a}}$      $\acute{\text{ó}}\text{p}\acute{\text{í}}$      $\text{ʔ}\grave{\text{a}}$      $\text{z}\acute{\text{a}}$     `     $\text{ʔí}$   
 1S    Opi    POSS    daughter    SPEC    FOC  
 ‘I am Opi’s daughter.’

Example (12) is drawn from one of the texts at the end of this grammar (page 695, example 182) and shows a complex noun phrase which does not end on a definite determiner but is nonetheless interpreted as definite for the purposes of treating it as a predicate.

- (12)  $\text{ɲ}\bar{\text{i}}$      $\grave{\text{a}}\text{mb}\acute{\text{a}}$      $\grave{\text{a}}\text{m}\grave{\text{a}}$      $\text{l}\acute{\text{o}}\text{f}\acute{\text{o}}$      $\text{g}\acute{\text{a}}$      $d\acute{\text{i}}\text{ʔ}\bar{\text{a}}$      $\text{ʔí}$ .  
 2S    elder    1PL(EXC)    among    LOC    here    FOC  
 ‘You are an elder among us here.’

$\text{ʔí}$  is used after a bare demonstrative with a specific interpretation (ie. actually the demonstrative followed by the low tone determiner). When the demonstrative has a non-specific interpretation it can be a predicate without  $\text{ʔí}$ , as shown in 11.1.1.2.

- (13) ( *mā* ) *dī* ' *ī*  
 1S this SPEC FOC  
 'I am this one.' (In answer to a question 'Which person in this photograph is you?' accompanied by pointing)
- (14) *ìndrì* *rì* *dī* ' *ī*  
 goat DEF this SPEC FOC  
 (a) 'The goat (in question) is this one.'  
 (b) 'The one that is a goat is this one.'

*ī* can also have a possessive postposition phrase (a *dri*-phrase) pre-adjoined to it.

- (15) *d3ó* *dī* *àī* *dri* *ī*  
 house this 3PL POSS FOC  
 'This house is theirs.'

A bare noun phrase cannot be pre-adjoined to *ī*.

- (16)\* *dī* *ìndrì* *ī*  
 this goat FOC  
 'This is a goat.'
- (17) *dī* *ìndrì*  
 this goat  
 'This is a goat.'

In certain cases, the predicate is interpreted as being in contrastive focus. This is relevant because *ī* is also used to focus object noun phrases, as discussed in 19.3.

- (18) *mā* *lápwojì* *lōsó* *rì* *ī*  
 1S teacher good DEF FOC  
 (a) 'I am a good teacher.'  
 (b) 'I am the good teacher (in question).'  
 (c) 'I am the good teacher (not the bad one).'
- (19) *kúwá* *jì* *zā* *kū* *rì* *jī* *ī*  
 [ never 2S pass NEG(N) ] DEF 2S FOC  
 'The one who will never pass is specifically you.'
- (20) *kúwá* *jì* *zā* *kū* *jī* *ī*  
 [ never 2S pass NEG(N) ] 2S FOC  
 'It is you who will never pass.' (less specific than previous)

11.1.2.2. Reduced  $\bar{F}$ -predication

The  $\bar{F}$ -predicate can take a null subject, interpreted as expletive, as in the following examples.

- (21)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$        $\bar{F}$   
 Opi      FOC  
 (a) '(It's) Opi.'  
 (b) 'Opi is the one.'

- (22)  $m\bar{a}$        $\bar{F}$   
 1S      FOC  
 '(It's) me.'

- (23)  $\grave{i}t\acute{u}$       `       $\bar{F}$   
 sun      SPEC      FOC  
 '(It's) the (sun) heat.' (eg. said by a person taking refuge from  
 the heat in a shed)

- (24)  $g\grave{a}l\acute{a}m\grave{u}$        $\bar{i}k\bar{a}$        $\grave{r}\acute{i}$        $\bar{F}$   
 pen      red      DEF      FOC  
 (a) '(It's) the red pen.'  
 (b) '(It's) a red pen.'

- (25)  $\grave{a}\bar{F}$        $d\acute{r}\acute{i}$        $\bar{F}$   
 3PL      POSS      FOC  
 '(It's) theirs.'

Note that the noun phrase cannot be used on its own.

- (26)\*  $m\bar{a}$   
 1S  
 '(It's) me.'

The same range of noun phrases are found in reduced  $\bar{F}$ -predication as in full  $\bar{F}$ -predication. Thus bare noun phrases are not found in reduced  $\bar{F}$ -predication.

- (27)\*  $g\grave{a}l\acute{a}m\grave{u}$        $\bar{F}$   
 pen      FOC  
 'It's a pen.'

Note however the following idiom, in which the adverbial  $\grave{a}ngw\acute{e}$  is combined with  $\bar{F}$ .

(28) àṅgwé                      ɸ̄  
 outside                      FOC  
 ‘That’s life!’

(29) d̄i      àṅgwé      ɸ̄  
 this      outside      FOC  
 ‘This is life!’

Sentences with reduced ɸ̄ predicates have various functions in the syntax. In the following examples, they serve a discourse function, introducing noun phrases which are then associated to argument positions in the clause.

(30) ópí ɸ̄ , ìtó ɸ̄      ɔ̄-vù      kî      n̄  
 Opi FOC      Ito      FOC      3-go(PL)      PL      FOC  
 ‘It is Opi and Ito who went.’

(31) ópí ɸ̄ , ɔ̄ṅgūrū ìtó ɸ̄ , ɔ̄-sī kî d̄zó d̄i n̄  
 Opi FOC      and also Ito      FOC      3-build PL house this      FOC  
 ‘It was Opi and Ito who together built this house.’  
 (presentational)

### 11.1.2.3. Is ɸ̄ a pronominal?

The category of ɸ̄ is not fully clear, but it might be a pronoun, related perhaps to áɸ̄, the third person plural pronoun. This would then make adjunction to ɸ̄ another kind of adjunction to a pronominal, like adjunction to n̄ or p̄i if, as we suggest, these are pronominals (with n̄ perhaps related to the third person singular pronoun ān̄).

### 11.1.3. Adjective phrase as predicate

An adjective phrase can be a predicate. If the adjective can inflect for plural, it must agree with a plural subject. Two adjectives can be conjoined.

(32) ópí      n̄      l̄apwójí  
 Opi      PR      teacher(S)  
 ‘Opi is a teacher.’

(33) ópí      p̄i      l̄apwòṅi  
 Opi      PRPL      teacher (PL)  
 ‘Those of Opi (Opi and his associate(s)) are teachers.’

- (34) *àmā*                      *ālī*  
 1PL(EXC)                  short(PL)  
 'We (excluding you) are short.'
- (35) *àràbíà*    *rì*      *údí*    *òò*    *péleré*  
 car            DEF    new    and    clean  
 'The car in question is new and clean.'

### 11.1.3.1. Adjective predicate + degree modifier

The adjective predicate can take a degree modifier (which might perhaps be thought of as a kind of completion adverbial, 18.2.2.1). Some degree modifiers are fairly restricted in which adjectives they can co-occur with. These more restricted degree modifiers must come after the adjective. Thus both *rére* and *àmbàmbā* are restricted to co-occurrence with colour adjectives, the word *àzō* 'fall', and a few others; *àmbàmbā* will co-occur with *ālī* 'short' but *rére* will not.

- (36) *ópi* *nī*      *àzō*    *ré*    *ré*  
 Opi PR      tall    a lot  
 'Opi is really tall.'
- (37) *lādžé* *nā*      *ōrū*    *àmbàmbā*  
 price AFR    up      a lot  
 'It is too expensive.'
- (38) *lādžé* *nā*      *lōsó*    *àmbàmbā*  
 price AFR    good    a lot  
 'The price is really great.'

Other degree modifiers are not restricted in which adjectives they co-occur with, and can also be freely placed in the clause (ie. as free adverbials).

- (39) *ópi* *nī*    *trò* *trò*      *àzō*  
 Opi PR    slightly    tall  
 'Opi is slightly tall.'
- (40) *ópi* *nī*                      *àzō*    *trò* *trò*  
 Opi PR                      tall      slightly  
 'Opi is slightly tall.'

In one idiom, the degree modifier can stand on its own.

(41) *rū*    *nā*            *trò trò*    *lōsó*  
 body    AFR            slightly    good  
 ‘She is a lot better (now).’

(42) *rū*    *nā*            *trò trò*  
 body    AFR            slightly  
 ‘She is a lot better (now).’

Note that in this idiom, the degree modifier cannot follow the adjective.

(43)\* *rū*    *nā*                            *lōsó*    *trò trò*  
 body    AFR                            good    slightly  
 ‘She is a lot better (now).’

### 11.1.3.2. Adjective predicate + completion adverbial

Many adjectives select for a particular final adverbial which expresses extremity (ie. a kind of completion of the state, analogous to the completion adverbials selected by verbs).

(44) *èjì*    *nā*    *ìgbé*    *títí*  
 water    AFR    cold    COM  
 ‘The aforementioned water is really very cold.’

The adjective-completion adverbs are also found when the adjective is the complement to a verb.

(45) *ásí*    *kí*    *nā*    *ēgbē*    *ìgbé*    *tí tí*  
 heart    PL    AFR    cool    cold(S)    COM  
 ‘They are really very happy.’

In some cases the final adverbial can stand on its own, without its associated adjective (but with the same meaning as the adjective + adverbial combination).

(46) *ópí*    *nī*    *ázō*    *tōndōlo*  
 Opi    PR    tall    COM  
 ‘Opi is really tall.’

(47) *ópí*    *nī*                            *tōndōlo*  
 Opi    PR                            COM  
 ‘Opi is really tall.’

Some of the pairings of adjective and completion particles are indicated in the following table.

Table 42. Adjectives and completion particles

	adjective	modifier (which cannot stand alone)	modifier (which can also stand alone)
tall	àzō	mbēlē, ndōrō, gó, drū	ndōndòrò, tōndōlō, dōdōrō, gōgòrū
short	àlì		tūndūlū, tīndīlī
cold	ìgbé	tí tí	
red	ìkā	ngálí, ñarū, ndō, ndòndò, ndíí	wará
black	īnī	tírí, twì, tfulùlù	
white	īngwē	púlulú	táū

These modifiers are used only when associated with these adjectives.

The combination of *ásí* 'heart' as subject and *ìgbé* 'cold' as predicate can be interpreted as a way of saying a person is kind (ie. 'his heart is cold'). With this interpretation, the completion adverbial cannot be used.

(48) *ásí kí nā ìgbē*  
heart PL AFR cold(PL)  
'They are nice people.'

(49)\* *ásí kí nā ìgbé tíí*  
heart PL AFR cold(S) COM  
'They are really nice people.'

However, the following idiom can take a final completion adverbial, presumably because it is the adjective predicate by itself which is metaphorical (not the combination of subject and predicate).

(50) *ásí nā īnī tíí*  
heart POSS black COM  
'She is really evil hearted.'

### 11.1.3.3. Adjective predicate + postposition phrase

The adjective can be followed by a postposition phrase.



- (58) *má ní oḍú ìjō*  
 1S BEN sleep absent  
 'I am not sleepy.'
- (59) *tfētʃè nā ìjō*  
 slowness AFR absent  
 'There is no slowness about it.'
- (60) *tà ( zì ) èpé dʒó `sī-kā ánī nā ìjō*  
 thing another easy house N-build-SB like AFR absent  
 'There is nothing (else) as easy as building a house.'

The positive counterpart to this appears to be used as a politeness strategy.

- (61) *má ní oḍú āʔà*  
 1S BEN sleep present  
 'I am sleepy.' (ie. more indirect, 'I'm feeling sleepy' rather than just 'I'm sleepy!')

In combination with a location expression (between subject and predicate), the presence or absence can be localized.

- (62) *àbíṛì dīʔā āʔà*  
 hunger here present  
 'There's hunger here.'
- (63) *mā bārú ìjō*  
 1S home absent  
 (a) 'I was not at home.'  
 (b) 'I am not at home.'  
 (c) 'I will not be at home.' (if *òbú* 'tomorrow' is added)
- (64) *má dī ādrúpī dīʔā ìjō*  
 1S POSS brother here absent  
 'I don't have a brother here.'

Note that names (with obligatory *nī*) differ in their syntax depending on the predicate.

- (65) *ópi nī dīʔā ìjō*  
 Opi PR here absent  
 'Opi is not (present) here.'

(66)\*  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $n\bar{i}$   $d\acute{i}?\bar{a}$   $\bar{a}?\bar{a}$   
 Opi PR here present  
 ‘Opi is present here.’

(67)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\bar{a}?\bar{a}$   
 Opi PR present  
 ‘Opi is present (here).’

$\bar{a}?\bar{a}$  can express (temporary or alienable) possession, and  $\grave{i}j\bar{o}$  can also express non-possession (temporary or alienable).

(68)  $\grave{a}m\bar{a}$   $d\acute{r}\acute{i}$   $\grave{o}p\bar{i}$   $\bar{a}?\bar{a}$   
 1PL(EXC) POSS chiefs present  
 ‘We (excluding you) have chiefs.’

(69)  $m\acute{a}$   $d\acute{r}\acute{i}$   $d_3\acute{o}$   $\grave{i}j\bar{o}$   
 1S POSS house absent  
 ‘I don’t have a house.’

(70)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $d\acute{r}\acute{i}$   $d_3\acute{o}$   $\grave{i}j\bar{o}$   
 Opi POSS house absent  
 ‘Opi doesn’t have a house.’

(71)  $\grave{l}\acute{e}\acute{a}$   $n\bar{a}$   $d\acute{r}\acute{i}$   $t\grave{a}$   $\bar{b}\bar{a}r\acute{a}$   $r\grave{i}$   $\grave{i}j\bar{o}$   
 elephant AFR POSS thing child DEF absent  
 ‘The (aforementioned) elephant doesn’t have anything called a child.’ (literally of the elephant the child thing is absent)

$\grave{i}j\bar{o}$  is also used to mean ‘no’ when fronted (20.3.3.3).

(72)  $\grave{i}j\bar{o}$   $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$   $n\bar{i}$   
 absent Opi (3)-VE-go FOC  
 ‘No, it was Opi who came.’

We note that in the closely-related language Logbara the cognate of Ma’di  $\bar{a}?\bar{a}$  is Logbara  $\acute{a}d\bar{a}$ . The apparent cognate of Ma’di  $\grave{i}j\bar{o}$  is  $j\bar{o}$  but this functions somewhat differently in Logbara; according to Djuruni (1983: 82) Logbara  $j\bar{o}$  can be used to negate a nonverbal predicate while Logbara  $k\bar{o}$  is used to negate a verbal predicate (in Ma’di  $k\bar{o}$  is used for both).

Djuruni (1983: 103) objects to the description of the Logbara  $\bar{i}s\acute{i}$  and  $j\bar{o}$  as verbs of presence or absence.

## 11.1.4. Postposition phrase as predicate

A postposition phrase can function as a predicate.

(73) *búkù dī ópí ní*  
 book this Opi BEN  
 ‘This book is for Opi.’

(74) *ópí nī dʒó gá*  
 Opi PR house LOC  
 ‘Opi is in the house.’

(75) *èjì ʔà dī-rē ádʒínī nì àmā oḍú gá*  
 [ water POSS (N)-rain-SB yesterday ] DEF 1PL(EXC) sleep LOC  
 ‘When it was raining yesterday we (excluding you) were sleeping.’

A *dri*-phrase does not have a possessive interpretation when it is a predicate.

(76) *búkù nì ópí dri*  
 book DEF Opi LOC  
 (a) ‘The book in question is with Opi.’  
 (b)\* ‘The book in question is (temporarily) Opi’s.’

Some of the deictic terms can be seen as postposition phrases; they can also function as predicates.

(77) *mā dīʔā*  
 1S here  
 ‘I am here.’

11.1.4.1. Possession with *trò*

The postposition *trò* ‘with’, taking a complement and functioning as a predicate, expresses possession.

(78) *mā mī trò*  
 1S eye with  
 (a) ‘I have eyes.’  
 (b) ‘I am literate.’ (idiomatic).

11.1.4.2. Lack of possession with *àkó*

*àkó* is a postposition meaning ‘without’. The corresponding positive form is *trò* ‘with’.

- (79) *mā*     *àràbíà*     *àkó*  
 1S     car     without  
 ‘I am without a car.’ (I don’t have a car)

*àkó* ‘without’ may be negated with *kū*.

- (80) *mā*     *àràbíà*     *àkó*     *kū*  
 1S     car     without     NEG(N)  
 ‘It is not that I am without a car...’

*kū* can be used with *trò* only to express contrastive negation.

- (81) *mā*     *àràbíà*     *trò*     *kū*  
 1S     car     with     NEG(N)  
 ‘It is not that I have a car...’

11.1.4.3. Comparison, with *ání*

*ání* is used to express comparison in non-verbal predicate structures. It is probably a noun, and hence in the following example *ópí drí ání* is a noun phrase, using the *drí* possession strategy.

- (82) *dʒó*     *má*     *drí*     *ópí*     *drí*     *ání*  
 house     1S     POSS     Opi     POSS     like  
 ‘My house is like Opi’s.’

11.1.5. *lé* -predication11.1.5.1. NP + *í-lé* , and NP + *lé*

An indefinite noun phrase can be followed by *lé*. A definite noun phrase can be followed by *í-lé*, which we take to be a combination of focus/predicational *í* and *lé*. Many definite noun phrases end in *-i* or *-í* (ie. most of the pronouns and determiners do). Hence it is difficult to tell whether the noun phrase is followed by *í-lé* or by *lé* but we assume that it is always the former. Where it is possible to tell, eg. with first person

pronoun  $m\bar{a}$  the pronominal must be followed by  $\bar{i}l\acute{e}$  and not by  $l\acute{e}$ .

The construction can be a complete utterance, meaning ‘what about NP’?

- (83)  $d_3\acute{o}$   $l\acute{e}$   
house what about  
‘What about a house?’
- (84)  $d_3\acute{o}$   $r\grave{i}$   $(\bar{i}) l\acute{e}$   
house DEF what about  
‘What about the house?’
- (85)  $d_3\acute{o}$   $r\grave{i}$   $\`$   $(\bar{i}) l\acute{e}$   
house DEF SPEC what about  
‘What about the specific house (in question)?’

The construction can introduce the adjoined subject of the sentence. The use of  $l\acute{e}$  in this case indicates that there is something wrong (an interpretation not found in the ‘complete utterances’ discussed above): something is happening but should not happen.

- (86)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $(\bar{i}) l\acute{e}$   $k\acute{o}-m\bar{u}$   
Opi as for 3-N-go  
‘As for Opi, he is going. (by implication: he shouldn’t)’
- (87)  $\grave{a}n\bar{i}$   $(\bar{i}) l\acute{e}$   $\grave{a}n\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}g\bar{u}$   
3PL as for 3PL thieves  
‘As for you, you are thieves.’
- (88)  $m\bar{a}$   $\bar{i}l\acute{e}$   $m\acute{a}$   $\`n\bar{a}-\bar{a}$   
1S as for 1S N-eat-OBJ  
‘As for me, I am eating it.’ (but by implication I shouldn’t)

Note that without  $\bar{i}l\acute{e}$  a sentence cannot have a pronominal in this kind of adjoined subject position.

- (89)  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   $\bar{i}l\acute{e}$   $k\acute{o}n\bar{a}-\bar{a}$   
3S as for 3-eat-OBJ  
‘As for him he is eating it.’ (Though this is pragmatically odd because it implies that I don’t know who ‘he’ is)
- (90)\*  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   $k\acute{o}n\bar{a}-\bar{a}$   
3S 3-eat-OBJ  
‘As for him he is eating it.’

NP-( $\bar{i}$ ) $\acute{l}\acute{e}$  can also introduce the subject of a nonverbal predicate.

- (91)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$  ( $\bar{i}$ )  $\acute{l}\acute{e}$   $dr\grave{i}ndz\acute{a}$   $\grave{a}k\acute{o}$   
 Opi as for shame without  
 ‘As for Opi, he has no shame.’
- (92)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$  ( $\bar{i}$ )  $\acute{l}\acute{e}$   $m\acute{a}-\grave{a}$   $\bar{a}dr\acute{u}p\grave{i}$   $\bar{i}\bar{i}$   
 Opi as for IS-POSS brother-SPEC FOC  
 ‘As for Opi, he is my brother.’
- (93)  $m\bar{a}$   $\bar{i}\acute{l}\acute{e}$   $m\bar{a}$   $\bar{a}dr\acute{u}p\bar{i}$   $\grave{a}k\acute{o}$   
 1S as for 1S brother without  
 ‘As for me, I am without a brother.’

The subject must be recapitulated if it is first or second person but not if it is third person, which we take as indirect evidence that there in fact is a recapitulated third person pronominal but that it is non-overt. In this position, the noun phrase with  $\acute{l}\acute{e}$  must be definite (not true for the complete utterances with  $\acute{l}\acute{e}$ ).

- (94)\*  $dz\acute{o}$   $\acute{l}\acute{e}$   $k\acute{o}-r\bar{a}$   
 house AS FOR 3-N-leak  
 ‘(As for) a house it is leaking / leaks.’

Sentence-final  $\bar{i}\bar{i}$  (18.5.2) is used in a manner similar to  $\acute{l}\acute{e}$ , but there are differences with  $\bar{i}\bar{i}$  drawing attention to an urgent current problem.

- (95)  $dz\acute{o}$   $d\bar{i}$  ( $\bar{i}$ )  $\acute{l}\acute{e}$   $k\acute{o}-r\bar{a}$   
 house this AS FOR 3-N-leak  
 ‘(As for) this house it is leaking / leaks.’ (contrary to what you think)
- (96)  $dz\acute{o}$   $d\bar{i}$   $k\acute{o}-r\bar{a}$   $\bar{i}\bar{i}$   
 house this 3-N-leak RHE  
 ‘(Look) this house is leaking / leaks.’ (I have contrary evidence to suggest this, it’s happening now)

#### 11.1.5.2. $k\bar{u}$ $\acute{l}\acute{e}$

$\bar{n}\bar{i}$   $ndr\bar{e}$   $r\acute{a}$   $k\bar{u}$   $\acute{l}\acute{e}$  or just  $k\bar{u}$   $\acute{l}\acute{e}$  is a phrase used to draw attention; it can be translated as ‘look’ or ‘look here’ or ‘you see’. It adds nothing to the

propositional content of the sentence.

- (97)  $jí\ ndrē\ rá\ k̄\ lé̂,$        $jì\ dū\ ík̄\ nà\ ?í$   
 2S see AFF NEG(N) as for 2SDIR take red that FOC  
 ‘You see, I’m telling you, take the red one.’

- (98)  $k̄\ lé̂,$        $jì\ dū\ ík̄\ nà\ ?í$   
 NEG(N) as for 2SDIR take red that FOC  
 ‘I’m telling you, take the red one.’

$jí\ ndrē\ rá$  can be used without  $k̄\ lé̂$ , but loses its attention-drawing function.

- (99)  $jí\ ndrē\ rá\ jì\ dū\ ík̄\ nà\ ?í$   
 2S see AFF 2SDIR take red that FOC  
 ‘You see, take the red one.’

The two parts can be separated.

- (100)  $jí\ ndrē\ rá,$        $k̄\ lé̂,$        $jì\ dū\ ík̄\ nà\ ?í$   
 2S see AFF NEG(N) as for 2SDIR take red that FOC  
 ‘You see, I’m telling you, take the red one.’

- (101)  $jí\ ndrē\ rá,$        $jì\ dū,$        $k̄\ lé̂,$        $ík̄\ nà\ ?í$   
 2S see AFF 2SDIR take NEG(N) as for red that FOC  
 ‘You see, take, I’m telling you, the red one.’

The order of the two parts is however fixed.

- (102)\*  $k̄\ lé̂,$        $jí\ ndrē\ rá,$        $jì\ dū\ ík̄\ nà\ ?í$   
 NEG(N) as for 2S see AFF 2SDIR take red that FOC  
 ‘I’m telling you, you see, take the red one.’

## 11.2. Subject and adjoined subject of the nonverbal predicate

### 11.2.1. The pronominal subject and adjoined subject analysis of nonverbal clauses

We suggest that nonverbal predicates, like verbal predicates, have an obligatory pronominal subject, to which a lexical subject can be pre-adjoined. Unlike verbal predicates, the pronominal subject can be phonologically non-overt, in which case it is interpreted as expletive, or as third person singular or plural. We review some of the evidence for

making this claim, which we believe to be the best option among a number of quite different ways of understanding what the subject is in nonverbal clauses.

The pronominal subject is drawn from the NS-paradigm, though it is possible that there is no third person form (or rather that the third person form is non-overt, a pattern we also see with objects in verbal clauses).

The pre-adjoined subject can be a full lexical noun phrase, or can also be a pronominal from the NS-paradigm (this leads to some ‘double pronominal’ examples which we look at below), just as in verbal clauses.

#### 11.2.1.1. Nonverbal clauses without overt subjects

Nonverbal clauses without overt subjects are found in root and subordinate positions. Here we deal with the root clause; subordinate nonverbal clauses are the subject of section 11.5. If a root nonverbal clause has a null pronominal subject and no noun phrase is pre-adjoined to it, the clause will overtly consist just of the predicate. This is found only when the predicate contains  $\tilde{?}$  or  $l\acute{e}$ .

#### 11.2.1.2. Evidence for the analysis in this section

In this section we have claimed that the nonverbal predicate always has a pronominal subject. If the pronominal subject is third person, it is non-overt, and either a noun phrase is adjoined to it (in which case the adjoined phrase takes on the role of subject), or no noun phrase is adjoined (in which case the null pronominal is interpreted as expletive). We now briefly review some evidence for this approach.

1. This approach offers a uniform account of arguments: now all arguments are always pronominals, overt or null, whether subject of verb, object of verb, or subject of nonverbal predicate.

2. We know that the full noun phrase at the beginning of a nonverbal clause can be separated from the predicate by  $l\acute{e}$  or  $\tilde{l}l\acute{e}$ . When the noun phrase is third person, the structure is as follows:

adjoined subject + ( $\tilde{?}$ )  $l\acute{e}$  + non-overt pronominal subject + predicate

When the noun phrase is first or second person, the structure is as follows:

adjoined subject +  $\tilde{l}l\acute{e}$  + overt pronominal subject + predicate

The fact that the pronominal must be repeated after  $\tilde{l}l\acute{e}$  suggests that this is an obligatory position for a pronominal. Where it is apparently omitted, as in the third person case, we might suggest that there is still a pronominal there, but that it is non-overt.

3. Clauses with bare  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$  and  $l\bar{e}$  consist of a noun phrase followed by one of these two words. In principle, we might take the noun phrase to be the subject, with  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$  or  $l\bar{e}$  as the predicate. But there are two reasons to think that the noun phrase is not the subject in these clauses, and must therefore be part of the predicate, in which case the clause can only have a null third person pronominal subject. The first reason is that if we see the NP as pre-adjoined to  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$  in this type of clause, then we can say that  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$  always has a noun phrase pre-adjoined to it. The second and clinching reason is that if the NP is a name or SPEC-phrase it is not followed by  $n\bar{i}$ ; if it were the subject of a nonverbal predicate,  $n\bar{i}$  would be obligatory after the phrase in this clause. This strongly suggests that the NP is part of the predicate, pre-adjoined to  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$  (or  $l\bar{e}$ ).

### 11.2.2. Types of noun phrase which can be the adjoined subject

Any type of noun phrase can be an adjoined subject in a nonverbal clause.

- (103)  $d\bar{z}\bar{o}$        $r\bar{i}$                        $\bar{i}\bar{n}g\bar{w}\bar{e}$   
 house      DEF                      white  
 (a) 'The house (in question) is white.'  
 (b) 'The one which is a house is white.'

- (104)  $t\bar{a}$        $tr\bar{o}$        $r\bar{i}$                        $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$        $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 thing      with      DEF                      Opi      FOC  
 'The wealthy one is Opi.'

- (105)  $l\bar{a}p\bar{w}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{i}$                $\acute{a}g\bar{o}$   
 teacher                      man  
 'A teacher is a man.'

- (106)  $g\bar{a}l\bar{a}m\bar{u}$                $d\bar{i}$   
 pen                              this  
 'Here is a pen.'

#### 11.2.2.1. The requirement for $n\bar{i}$

If the adjoined subject is a name or LOW-phrase it must be pre-adjoined to  $n\bar{i}$ .

- (107)  $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$                                $n\bar{i}$                $\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{a}$   
 Opi                                      PR              bitter  
 'Opi is unhappy / bitter.'

(108) *mèrī́*      `      *nī́*      *ìrḗ*  
 river      SPEC      PR      near  
 'The (specific) river is near.'

(109) *dʒó*      *rì*      `      *nī́*      *ìṅwḗ*  
 house      DEF      SPEC      PR      white  
 (a) 'The specific house (in question) is white.'  
 (b) 'The specific one which is a house is white.'

This is not a requirement of a name or SPEC-phrase in subject of verb position, and we suggest that the difference relates to whether the phrase is pre-adjoined to a null pronominal or an overt pronominal. In the former, *nī́* is required, and in the latter it is not. The generalization seems to be that a name or SPEC-phrase in argument position must be pre-adjoined to an overt pronominal and if no overt pronominal is available, then *nī́* is used.

#### 11.2.2.2. Number agreement

A plural adjoined subject takes a plural adjective if the adjective inflects.

(110) *kùbájà*      *pèlèrḗ*  
 cup (S)      clean (S)  
 'The knife is clean.'

(111) *kùbájáà*      *péléré́*  
 cup (PL)      clean (PL)  
 'The cups are clean.'

This is true in principle also of verbal predicates, but there is only one verbal predicate 'go' which has alternation for number. We note that Ma'di does not seem to have anything equivalent to English 'they are nuisances / they are a nuisance', nominal predicates which do not agree in number with the subject.

#### 11.2.2.3. *ʔà*-phrase

An *ʔà* phrase without a possessed noun can be the subject of a nonverbal predicate. This is a fixed idiom.

(112) *ḃá*      *rì*      *ḃlú*      *lḃsó*      *kū*  
 people      DEF      stay      good      NEG(N)  
 'They're always fighting.'

- (113) *bá*      *n̄*      *ʔà*      *ōlú*      *lōsó*      *kū*  
 people DEF POSS stay good NEG(N)  
 (Their life is not okay) 'They're always fighting.'

### 11.2.3. Other types of phrase as the adjoined subject of a nonverbal predicate

We list here some sentences in which the adjoined subject does not appear to be a noun phrase. The presence of *n̄* here is puzzling; otherwise only a name or SPEC-phrase can be pre-adjoined to *n̄*. Perhaps this suggests that the adjective or adverbial in these examples has been made into a name of some kind.

- (114) *lōsó*      *n̄*      *lōsó*  
 good PR good  
 '(What is) good is good'

- (115) *òbú*      *n̄*      *íngón̄*  
 tomorrow PR how  
 'How about tomorrow?' (a) will tomorrow suit you? or (b) think of the consequences of what you are doing.

- (116) *òkpó*      *n̄*      *ɲ-íkó*      *òkōd̄zó*      *d̄zè-kā*      *rá*  
 [provided that] 2SDIR-finish utensils (N)-wash-SB AFF  
 [Moria who is washing up wants to go out to play with other children. The mother's response can be:] 'Provided that you definitely finish washing the utensils.' (idiomatic usage)

### 11.2.4. Sentence as subject

#### 11.2.4.1. Suffixed verbal clause as subject

Sentences with suffixed verbs can be adjoined subjects of adjective predicates.

- (117) *d̄zó*      *̀sī-kā*      *èpé*  
 [ house N-build-SB ] easy  
 'Building a house is easy.'

- (118) *d̄zó*      *̀sī-kā*      *èpé*      *n̄*  
 [ house N-build-SB ] easy FOC  
 'It is building a house which is easy / easier.'

- (119) *èpé,* *dʒó* *̀sī-kā*  
 easy [ house N-build-SB ]  
 ‘Easy, building a house.’
- (120) *èpé,* *dʒó* *̀sī-kā* *̀ ɸ̄*  
 easy [ house N-build-SB ] SPEC FOC  
 ‘Easy, building a house.’
- (121) *̀nā-kā* *āđútē* *òkpó*  
 [ N-eat-SB alone ] difficult  
 ‘To eat it alone is difficult.’ (‘you should eat it with other people’ or ‘it should be eaten with other things’)
- (122) *̀nā-lé* *āđútē* *òkpó*  
 [ N-eat-SB alone ] difficult  
 ‘To eat it alone is difficult.’ (‘you should eat it with other people’ or ‘it should be eaten with other things’)
- (123) *̀nā-lé* *nā* *ìjō*  
 [ N-eat-SB ] AFR absent  
 ‘There isn’t any (in the lot) to be eaten.’
- (124) *̀nā-lé* *ìjō*  
 [ N-eat-SB ] absent  
 ‘There isn’t any to be eaten.’ (There isn’t any worth eating.)
- (125) *̀nā-dʒó* *āđútē* *òkpó*  
 [ N-eat-SB alone ] difficult  
 ‘For it to be eaten alone is difficult (for anyone).’
- (126) *̀nā-dʒó* *nā* *ìjō*  
 [ N-eat-SB ] AFR absent  
 ‘There isn’t any with which it could / can be eaten.’
- (127) *̀nā-rē* *nā* *ìjō*  
 [ N-eat-SB ] AFR absent  
 ‘There is no-one eating it.’ (ie. you can take the plate away)

#### 11.2.4.2. Conditional clause as subject

A conditional clause with *dʒò* or initial *ɗè* can also be the subject of predication with *áɲé* ‘fine, right, okay’.

- (128)  $d_3\bar{o}$   $n\bar{i}$   $m\bar{u}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $k\bar{u}$   $\acute{a}n\acute{e}$   
 [ if 2S go 2S FOC NEG(N) ] fine  
 (a) ‘Unless it is not you who went (then it is fine).’ (ie. as you are not wanted there)  
 (b) ‘Unless it is not you who is going/ will go (then it is fine).’ (ie. as you are unpopular there)
- (129)  $d\acute{e}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\acute{m}\bar{u}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}n\acute{e}$   
 [ If 2S N-go 2S FOC ] fine  
 ‘Unless it is you going (then it is fine).’ ( ie. as no one else is going or as no one else can solve it)
- (130)  $d_3\bar{o}$   $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $k\acute{o}-k\acute{e}-\bar{a}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}n\acute{e}$   
 [ if Opi 3-give-OBJ FOC ] then fine  
 ‘Unless it is Opi who is giving / will give it (then it is fine as there’s no one else who will give it or they won’t take it from anyone else)
- (131)  $d\acute{e}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\acute{m}\bar{u}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}n\acute{e}$   
 [ If 2S N-go 2S FOC ] then fine  
 ‘Unless it is you going (then it is fine).’ (as no one else is going or as no one else can solve the issue)

#### 11.2.4.3. Clause + $n\bar{i}$ as subject

Where the predicate is a postposition phrase with  $tr\acute{o}$ , expressing ‘because’, the subject can be a full clause or a nominalized clause (with  $k\bar{a}$ ) followed by  $n\bar{i}$ .

- (132)  $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$   $l\acute{e}$   $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   $d\acute{i}\bar{r}\bar{a}$   $k\bar{u}$   $n\bar{i}$   
 [1PL(EXC) want 3S here NEG(N) ] PR  
 $\bar{a}n\bar{i}n\bar{g}\acute{a}$   $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$   $d\acute{i}\bar{r}\bar{a}$   $\bar{o}g\bar{u}$   $m\acute{a}-\bar{a}$   $b\acute{u}k\bar{u}$   $tr\acute{o}$   
 time past (3)-VE-go here steal 1S-POSS book COMT  
 ‘We do not want him here because when he came here the other time, he stole my book.’
- (133)  $\acute{a}m\bar{a}-\bar{a}$   $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   $l\acute{e}-k\bar{a}$   $d\acute{i}\bar{r}\bar{a}$   $k\bar{u}$   $n\bar{i}$   
 [ 1PL(EXC)-POSS 3S (N)-want-SB here NEG(N) ] PR  
 $\bar{a}n\bar{i}n\bar{g}\acute{a}$   $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$   $d\acute{i}\bar{r}\bar{a}$   $\bar{o}g\bar{u}$   $m\acute{a}-\bar{a}$   $b\acute{u}k\bar{u}$   $tr\acute{o}$   
 time past (3)-VE-go here steal 1S-POSS book COMT  
 ‘Our not wanting him here is because when he was here the other time, he stole my book.’

### 11.3. Sentential modifiers in the nonverbal clause

#### 11.3.1. Postposition phrase as modifier

Postposition phrase modifiers can be in final position, or in initial or (sometimes) mid-sentence location. In non-final position, the postposition phrase is interpreted as more contrastive.

- (134)                    *óṗí nī*                    *làpwójí dzúbà gá*  
                                  Opi PR                    teacher(S) Juba                    LOC  
 ‘Opi is a teacher in Juba.’

- (135) *dzúbà gá óṗí nī*                    *làpwójí*  
 Juba                    LOC                    Opi                    PR                    teacher(S)  
 ‘When in Juba, Opi is a teacher.’

- (136)                    *óṗí nī dzúbà gá*                    *làpwójí*  
                                  Opi                    PR                    Juba                    LOC                    teacher(S)  
 ‘When in Juba, Opi is a teacher.’

Some postposition phrases cannot be sentence-internal; thus the *sì* phrase in the following example is sentence-final, could be sentence-initial, but cannot be sentence-internal.

- (137) *àmà ásí ìgbē àṙí-à ē-vù-kā rá sì*  
 1PL(EXC)-POSS heart cold (PL) 3PL-POSS (N)-VE-go-SB AFF SR  
 ‘We are / have been made happy because of their coming.’  
 (future or past)

#### 11.3.1.1. NP + *ní*

In this section we consider a type of construction consisting of a *ní*-phrase, an indefinite noun expressing a bodily state, and an optional adjective *āṙà* ‘present’ or *ìjō* ‘absent’.

- (138)                    *àbírí má ní*                    *āṙà*  
                                  hunger 1S                    BEN                    present  
 ‘I am hungry.’

- (139) *má ní àbírí*                    *āṙà*  
 1S                    BEN                    hunger                    present  
 ‘I am hungry.’ (can still bear it)

- (140) *má ní àbírí*  
 1S BEN hunger  
 'I am hungry.' (need to eat now)

We take the indefinite noun *àbírí* to be the subject and the adjective *ā?à* to be the predicate, and *má ní* to be a modifier within the clause. If the predicate is omitted, there is an implication of urgency.

- (141) *má ní òdú ā?à*  
 1S BEN sleep present  
 'I am sleepy.' (can possibly still stay for a while)

- (142) *má ní òdú*  
 1S BEN sleep  
 'I am sleepy.' (need to go to bed straight away)

- (143) *má ní ǐgbè ā?à*  
 1S BEN coldness present  
 'I am cold.' (may need to cover soon)

- (144) *má ní ǐgbè*  
 1S BEN coldness  
 'I am cold.' (I feel cold)

In some cases there is competition with an adjectival predicate with a similar meaning.

- (145) *má ní ɔ̀vù (ā?à)*  
 1S BEN laziness present  
 'I am lazy.' (I have a feeling of laziness)

- (146) *mā ɔ̀vú*  
 1S lazy  
 'I am lazy.'

While there are options for expressing laziness, in order to express lack of laziness the adjectival predicate and *kū* is strongly preferred, with the *ǐjō* option dispreferred.

### 11.3.2. *ání*-phrase (comparison) as sentential modifier

An *ání*-phrase consists of *ání* preceded by a possessive phrase, either

with *ʔà* or with *drí*. The fact that it can be preceded by a postposition phrase suggests that *ánĩ* is a noun.

- (147) ( *ānĩ* ) *àlí* *má* *ʔà* *ánĩ*  
 3S short 1S POSS like  
 (a) 'She is as short as me.'  
 (b) 'She is short like me.'

- (148) ( *ānĩ* ) *àlí* *má* *drí* *ánĩ*  
 3S short 1S POSS like  
 (a) 'She is as short as me.'  
 (b) 'She is short like me.'  
 (c) 'She is short like mine.'

The phrase can be interpreted as 'like NP' in all positions, but can be interpreted as comparative 'as AP as NP' only in final position.

- (149) *ānĩ* *àzō* *ópi* *ánĩ*  
 3S tall Opi like  
 (a) 'She is tall like Opi.'  
 (b) 'She is as tall as Opi.'

- (150) *ānĩ* *ópi* *ánĩ* *àzō*  
 3S Opi like tall  
 (a) 'She is like Opi tall.'  
 (b)\* 'She is as tall as Opi.'

- (151) *ópi* *ánĩ* ( *ānĩ* ) *àzō*  
 Opi like 3S tall  
 (a) 'Like Opi she is tall.'  
 (b)\* 'As tall as Opi she is.'

When the *ánĩ* phrase is in initial position, with or without a pause, the subject can be omitted.

- (152) *má* *à* *ánĩ* *ānĩ* *àlí*  
 1S POSS like 3S short  
 'Like me she is short.'

- (153) *má* *à* *ánĩ* ( , ) *àlí*  
 1S POSS like short  
 'Like me, it / she is short.'

### 11.3.3. Fixed adverbials

The temporal modifier *ìdí* ‘again’ can come before the subject, between the subject and predicate in (154) or at the end of the clause; ie. in any of the positions marked @ in the following clause.

- (154) @ *tà* *zì* @ *ìjō* @  
 thing another absent  
 @ = *ìdí* ‘again’  
 ‘There is nothing else (to add, say)’

*ìdí* can only be final with a verbal predicate (155). This seems to fit a more general pattern; ‘fixed adverbials’ such as *ìdí* appear to be fixed only in verbal clauses and not in nonverbal clauses.

- (155) *ópi* *ō-dū* *ízí* *ìdí*  
 Opi 3-take woman again  
 ‘Opi is married again.’

### 11.3.4. Free adverbials

Nominalized modals, negation, etc. and words like *ádẓíní* can be freely placed within the sentence. Thus for example *rá rì* can be placed in any of the positions marked @.

- (156) @ *ámā* *drí* @ *ópi* @ *ā?à* @ *nì*  
 1PL POSS chief present FOC  
 @ = *rá rì* ‘AFF DEF’  
 ‘What we have present is a chief.’ (ie. not a king)

*ádẓíní* can be placed in any of the positions marked @.

- (157) @ *ópi* @ *ō-mū* @ *sùkùrù* *gá* @  
 Opi 3-go school LOC  
 @ = *ádẓíní* ‘yesterday’  
 ‘Opi went to school yesterday.’

## 11.4. Tense

A sentence with a non-verbal predicate is interpreted as non-past and specifically as present. This might perhaps be because there is a relationship between present tense and imperfective or stative aspect.

- (158) *mā*    *lāpwójí*  
 1S    teacher  
 (a) 'I am a teacher.'  
 (b)\* 'I was / will be a teacher.'
- (159) *ópí*    *nī*    *ògú*  
 Opi    PR    thief  
 (a) 'Opi is a thief.'  
 (b)\* 'Opi was / will be a thief.'

Nonverbal predicates can be negated, but only with *kū*, as befits their present tense interpretation.

- (160) *mā*    *lāpwójí*    *kū*  
 1S    teacher    NEG(N)  
 'I am not a teacher.'
- (161)\* *mā*    *lāpwójí*    *kūrù*  
 1S    teacher    NEG(P)  
 'I was not a teacher.'

### 11.5. Sentences with nonverbal predicates as complements to verbs

In this section we look at sentences where there is a matrix verb which takes a nonverbal predicate as its complement. The nonverbal predicate does not have its own overt subject; it always takes as its subject the subject of the matrix verb.

#### 11.5.1. *ōlú* and the expression of tense and aspect in nonverbal clauses

##### 11.5.1.1. *ōlù* can take a nonverbal clause as a complement

Tense and aspect can be expressed in nonverbal clauses by the use of the verb *ōlú*. This verb takes as its complement a sentence with a nonverbal predicate and a missing subject; the subject of *ōlú* is interpreted as the subject of the embedded nonverbal predicate.

- (162) *ópí*    *ōlú*    *lāpwójí*  
 Opi    stay    teacher  
 'Opi is still a teacher.'

If  $\bar{\omega}l\acute{u}$  is uninflected the sentence expresses a continuing present state (one which existed in the past and still holds).

- (163)  $m\acute{a}$   $\bar{\omega}l\acute{u}$   $l\grave{a}pw\acute{o}n\acute{i}$   
 1S stay teacher  
 'I am still a teacher.'
- (164)  $\acute{o}f\acute{a}$   $\bar{\omega}l\acute{u}$   $\bar{a}?\grave{a}$   
 fight stay present  
 'There is fighting still going on.'

Inflected  $k'\bar{\omega}l\acute{u}$  indicates a state which will exist in the future.

- (165)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $k'\bar{\omega}l\acute{u}$   $\bar{a}?\grave{a}$   
 Opi 3-stay present  
 'Opi will be there (present).'
- (166)  $\bar{u}ngw\bar{e}-k\bar{a}$   $n\bar{a}$   $k'\bar{\omega}l\acute{u}$   $\bar{a}?\grave{a}$   
 call-SB AFR 3-stay present  
 'It will be called.' (The / its calling will take place)
- (167)  $m'\bar{\omega}l\acute{u}$   $l\bar{a}k\bar{a}$   $\bar{a}?\grave{a}$   
 1S-stay there present  
 (a) 'I will be present.'  
 (b) 'I will be one of them.' (perhaps extending meaning (a))

Directive  $k\bar{\omega}l\acute{u}$  indicates that a state should be made to exist, and thus enabling the expression of directive meaning with nonverbal predicates.

- (168)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $k\bar{\omega}l\acute{u}$   
 Opi 3DIR-stay  
 (a) 'Let Opi be (stay).'
- (a) 'Opi should stay.'  
 (a) 'Leave Opi alone.' (don't disturb him)
- (169)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $k\bar{\omega}l\acute{u}$   $\bar{a}?\grave{a}$   
 Opi 3DIR-stay present  
 (a) 'Opi should be present.'  
 (b) 'Let Opi be present.'  
 (c) 'Ensure that Opi is present.'
- (170)  $\grave{i}r\acute{a}$   $k\bar{\omega}l\acute{u}$   $\bar{a}?\grave{a}$   
 beer 3DIR-stay present  
 'There should be beer.' (Ensure that there's beer)

- (171) *k-ōlú*                      *lōsó*  
 3DIR-stay                      fine  
 (a) 'It had better be (remain) fine.'  
 (b) 'She should have a good time.'  
 (c) 'She'd better have a good time!'

The clause with *ōlú* can be embedded under other verbs, such as *rì* (16.10) or *lè* (16.2.5).

- (172) *ópi* *ō-lè*              *ōlú-lé*              *lápwóní*  
 Opi 3-want              (N)-stay-SB              teacher  
 'Opi wants to be a teacher.'

It might be proposed that *ōlú* is a modifier (maybe a complete clause) inside a root nonverbal predicate clause. However, there are at least two good reasons for thinking that the root clause has *ōlú* as its verb, taking the nonverbal predicate as its complement; both reasons relate to the subject which is clearly the subject of a verb and not of a nonverbal predicate. The first is that *nī* is not required after a subject which is a name (it would be if the name was directly the subject of the nonverbal predicate). The second is that the tone on the first person subject is high (ie. *má*, subject of an inflected verb) and not mid (ie. *mā*, subject of a nonverbal predicate).

### 11.5.1.2. Negation

Negation is possible with *kūrù*, with the expected past interpretation.

- (173) *ópi*      *ōlú*      *lápwóní*      (*drū*)      *kūrù*  
 opi      (3)-stay      teacher      as      NEG(P)  
 'Opi has not been a teacher.'

*kū* can also be used.

- (174) *èḍí*      *rì*      *ōlú*      *lōsó*      *kū*  
 fish      DEF      (3)-stay      good      NEG(N)  
 'The fish is not adjusting well to the new environment.'

- (175) *ópi*      *ōlú*      *lápwóní*      *kū*  
 Opi      (3)-stay      teacher      NEG(N)  
 (a) 'Opi will not be a teacher.'  
 (b) 'Opi is not a teacher still.' (has ceased to be a teacher)

(176) *ḃá rì ɔ́lú lṵsṵ kṁ*  
 people DEF (3)-stay good NEG(N)  
 ‘They’re always fighting.’ (They don’t live in harmony)

(177) *ḃá rì ʔà ɔ́lú lṵsṵ kṁ*  
 people DEF POSS (3)-stay good NEG(N)  
 ‘They’re always fighting.’ (Their life is not okay)

### 11.5.1.3. *ɔ́lú* with an implicit *āʔà* complement

The predicate *āʔà* can be omitted.

(178) *ūṅwē-kā nā k’-ɔ́lú èndrù āʔà*  
 (N)-call-SB AFR 3-stay today present  
 ‘It will be called today.’ (It’s / her calling will be present today)

(179) *ūṅwē-kā nā k’-ɔ́lú èndrù*  
 (N)-call-SB AFR 3-stay today  
 ‘It will be called today.’ (Its / her calling will take place today)

(180) *lṵṵá ɔ́lú āʔà*  
 food (3)-stay present  
 ‘There is still some more food left.’ (not everything is gone)

(181) *lṵṵá ɔ́lú*  
 food (3)-stay  
 ‘There is still some more food.’ (the food may or may not have been touched)

### 11.5.1.4. The lexical verb *ɔ́lú* ‘stay’

There is also a lexical verb *ɔ́lú* ‘stay’ which can take a locational noun phrase as a complement.

(182) *óṗí ɔ́lú ḃàrú*  
 Opi (3)-stay home  
 (a) ‘Opi is still at home.’  
 (b) ‘Opi stayed at home.’ (he has not been to foreign parts)

- (183)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{o}l\acute{u}$   $\acute{b}\bar{a}r\acute{u}$   $k\bar{u}$   
 Opi (3)-stay home NEG(N)  
 (a) 'Opi is not at home.' (he has already left home )  
 (b) 'Opi does not stay at home.'
- (184)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{o}l\acute{u}$   $\acute{b}\bar{a}r\acute{u}$   $k\bar{u}r\grave{u}$   
 Opi (3)-stay home NEG(P)  
 (a) 'Opi has not stayed at home.' (he spent most of his time  
 in a foreign land )  
 (b)? 'Opi did not stay at home.'

There is a noun  $\bar{o}l\acute{u}$  'lifestyle'.

- (185)  $\acute{b}\acute{a}$   $r\grave{i}$   $\acute{?}\grave{a}$   $\bar{o}l\acute{u}$   $l\bar{o}s\acute{o}$   $k\bar{u}$   
 people DEF POSS (3)-stay good NEG(N)  
 'Their lifestyle is not good.'

### 11.5.2. $\bar{a}?\grave{a}$ clause as complement to $\bar{e}k\bar{e}$

The verb  $\bar{e}k\bar{e}$  'give' or  $\bar{e}b\bar{e}$  'leave', in the directive, can take a complement nonverbal clause (adjective as predicate) with  $\bar{a}?\grave{a}$ . Note the obligatory use of  $m\acute{a} n\acute{i}$  (reminiscent of 11.3.1.1).

- (186)  $n\text{-}\bar{e}\text{-}k\bar{e}$   $m\acute{a}\text{-}n\acute{i}$   $\bar{a}?\grave{a}$   
 2SDIR-VE-give 1S-BEN present  
 '(You should) give me some.'
- (187)  $n\text{-}\bar{e}\text{-}k\bar{e}$   $m\acute{a}\text{-}n\acute{i}$   $\grave{i}z\acute{a}$   $\bar{a}?\grave{a}$   
 2SDIR-VE-give 1S-BEN meat present  
 '(You should) give me some meat.'
- (188)  $n\text{-}\bar{e}\text{-}k\bar{e}$   $m\acute{a}\text{-}n\acute{i}$   $\grave{i}z\acute{a}$   $r\grave{i}$   $\bar{a}?\grave{a}$   
 2SDIR-VE-give 1S-BEN meat DEF present  
 '(You should) give me some of the meat (in question).'

This is possible only for verbs with directive inflection.

- (189)\*  $\bar{e}\text{-}k\bar{e}$   $m\acute{a}\text{-}n\acute{i}$   $\grave{i}z\acute{a}$   $\bar{a}?\grave{a}$   
 (3)-VE-give 1S-BEN meat present  
 'He gave me some meat.'

The order of constituents is strict.

- (190)\* *ìzá*      *ā?à*      *ɲ-ē-kè*      *má-ní*  
 meat      present      2S-VE-give      1S-BEN  
 ‘Give me some meat.’

### 11.5.3. *āndré* ‘resemble’ and its predicate complement

*āndré* (or variant *ēndré*) takes one of two kinds of complement, to express comparison. In both cases the complement can be interpreted as a predicate holding of the verb’s subject.

The complement can be a reduplicated noun.

- (191) *k’-āndré*      *làpwóní*      *làpwóní*  
 3-look      teacher      teacher  
 ‘She looks like a teacher.’

- (192) *ō-rì*      *āndré-rē*      *dʒó*      *dʒó*  
 3-be      (3)-look-SB      house      house  
 ‘It used to look like a house.’

Alternatively the complement can be a noun phrase followed by *ání*, which might perhaps be a postposition.

- (193) *k’-āndré*      *làpwóní*      *ání*  
 3-look      teacher      like  
 ‘She looks like a teacher.’

- (194) *k’-āndré*      *làpwóní*      *ádʒíní*      *rì*      *ání*  
 3-look      teacher      yesterday      DEF      like  
 ‘She looks like the teacher of yesterday.’

A possessive phrase without a possessed noun can also be a complement to *ání*.

- (195) *dʒó*      *má*      *drí*      *k’-āndré*      ( *dʒó* )      *ópi*      *drí*      *ání*  
 house      1S      POSS      3-(N)-look      house      Opi      POSS      like  
 ‘My house looks like Opi’s.’

- (196) *dʒó*      *má*      *drí*      *k’-āndré*      *dʒó*      *ópi*      *drí*      ( ` )      *ání*  
 house      1S      POSS      3-(N)-look      house      Opi      POSS      like  
 ‘My house looks like Opi’s house.’ (The low tone appears to be used for emphasis, and is optional.)

(Note that *ání* with level tones is the third person singular pronoun.)

## 11.5.4. Naming

The verb  $\bar{u}\eta g w \bar{e}$  ‘call, pronounce’ takes an object and a nonverbal predicate.

(197)  $n\grave{a}$  ( $n\bar{i}$ )  $\bar{u}\eta g w \bar{e}$   $\bar{?}\bar{a}$   $\bar{o}g\grave{u}$   
 that PR (N)-call OBJ theft  
 ‘That (one) is called theft.’

(198)  $\bar{u}\eta g w \bar{e}$   $r\acute{u}$   $n\bar{a}$   $\bar{l}\bar{o}s\acute{o}$   
 call name AFR well  
 ‘He called (pronounced) his name well.’

(199)  $r\acute{u}$   $n\bar{a}$   $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $\bar{?}\bar{i}$   
 name AFR Opi FOC  
 ‘His name is Opi.’

(200)  $r\acute{u}$   $n\bar{a}$   $\bar{u}\eta g w \bar{e}$   $\bar{?}\bar{a}$   $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $\bar{?}\bar{i}$   
 name AFR (N)-call OBJ Opi FOC  
 ‘His name is called Opi.’

The verb  $\bar{d}\bar{a}$  takes an object noun phrase  $r\acute{u} n\bar{a}$  ‘his name’, and then as a predicate the name adjoined to  $\bar{?}\bar{i}$ . The object can precede or follow the verb; the predicate comes at the end of the sentence.

(201)  $k\acute{a}$   $k\hat{i}$   $r\acute{u}$   $n\bar{a}$   $\bar{d}\bar{a}$   $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $\bar{?}\bar{i}$   
 3 PL name POSS N-name Opi FOC  
 ‘They are naming / will name him Opi.’

(202)  $\bar{o}-\bar{d}\bar{a}$   $k\hat{i}$   $r\acute{u}$   $n\bar{a}$   $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $\bar{?}\bar{i}$ ,  $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}n\bar{i}$   
 3-name PL name POSS Opi FOC yesterday  
 ‘They named him Opi, yesterday.’

11.6. The use of  $dr\bar{u}$  with a nonverbal predicate11.6.1. The word  $dr\bar{u}$ 

We propose that the predicate-taking  $dr\bar{u}$  should more precisely be represented as  $\acute{d}r\bar{u}$  (ie. with a high floating tone at the beginning), and is realized as either  $dr\bar{u}$  or as  $dr\acute{u}$  depending on the tone of the preceding word (4.3.3.2).

There is a homophone *dr̄* ('bare *dr̄*') which does not take a complement and means 'with it' (15.13.2). This can lead to ambiguities in some cases (the (b) readings in the examples below, where we have bare *dr̄* and an instrumental interpretation).

The *dr̄* phrase is best interpreted as having a predicate pre-adjoined to it, and as always having a covert subject. When the nominal predicate is pre-adjoined to *dr̄* it characterizes a set of entities which are analogous to the entity represented by the noun phrase.

- (203) *ɲ-ɔ́lú*      *lápwońí*      *rá*  
 2S-stay      teacher      AFF  
 (a) 'You will be a teacher (just having that identity).'
- (204) *ɲ-ɔ́lú*      *lápwońí*      *dr̄*      *rá*  
 2S-stay      teacher      as      AFF  
 (a) 'You will be a teacher (with emphasis on the fact that you will have the characteristics of a teacher).'
- (205) *ɲì*      *mvū*      *èjí*      *éruá*      *dr̄*  
 2SDIR      drink      water      medicine      as  
 '(You should) drink water as if it were medicine.' (it needn't be medicine)
- (206) *ópi*      *dr̄*      *àdū*  
 chief      as      what  
 'What (type of thing) is a chief?'

### 11.6.2. Syntactic locations of the *dr̄*-phrase

We suggest that the *dr̄*-phrase should be interpreted as a predicate in a subjectless clause, functioning as a modifier. The *dr̄*-phrase can be a modifier of an object, overt or covert.

- (207) *ɲì*      *mvū*      *èjí*      *éruá*      *dr̄*  
 2SDIR      drink      water      medicine      as  
 (a) '(You should) drink water as if it were medicine.' (it needn't be medicine)  
 (b)\* '(You should) drink water with medicine.'

- (208)  $j\bar{n}$              $mv\bar{u}$                              $\acute{e}r\acute{u}\acute{a}$              $dr\bar{u}$   
 2SDIR    drink                            medicine            as  
 (a) '(You should) drink it as if it were medicine.' (it needn't be medicine)  
 (b) '(You should) drink medicine with it.'

The  $dr\bar{u}$ -phrase can modify the subject of a verb.

- (209)  $kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$      $dr\bar{u}$              $\bar{e}-v\grave{u}$              $r\acute{a}$   
 all            as            (3)-VE-go(PL)    AFF  
 'All of them came.'

The  $dr\bar{u}$ -phrase can be the modifier of the subject of a nonverbal predicate.

- (210)  $\bar{i}l\bar{o}j\bar{n}\bar{i}$              $dr\bar{u}$              $\acute{a}s\acute{i}$      $\bar{i}g\bar{b}\bar{e}$   
 wealth            as            heart    coldness  
 'Happiness is wealth.' (ie. you don't have to have money to be wealthy, happiness itself is a kind of wealth)

Compare the interpretation without  $dr\bar{u}$ .

- (211)  $\bar{i}l\bar{o}j\bar{n}\bar{i}$                              $\acute{a}s\acute{i}$      $\bar{i}g\bar{b}\bar{e}$   
 wealth                            heart    coldness  
 'Wealth is happiness.' (ie. if you are wealthy then you will be happy)

The  $dr\bar{u}$ -phrase can characterize a whole clause. In (212), we might see the  $dr\bar{u}$ -phrase as a modifier of a covert subject with the rest of the clause as the predicate.

- (212)  $l\bar{o}s\acute{o}$      $dr\bar{u}$      $b\acute{a}s\bar{i}$      $g\grave{a}$      $g\grave{a}$      $\bar{n}\bar{i}$      $\bar{e}t\bar{f}\bar{o}$              $r\bar{u}$      $\bar{n}\bar{i}$   
 good    as    bus    small    small    DEF (3)-overturn REFL    FOC  
 'The good thing was that it was the smaller bus that overturned.'

The  $dr\bar{u}$ -phrase can accompany the 'predicate complement' in the following example, where the verb  $\bar{i}t\acute{u}$  takes an object and a predicate which can take  $dr\bar{u}$  (a syntax resembling that for verbs of naming).

- (213)  $\bar{i}-t\acute{u}$                              $m\bar{a}$      $\grave{o}mb\acute{a}s\grave{a}$     (  $dr\acute{u}$  )  $\bar{n}\bar{i}$   
 (3)-CAUS-promote    1S    corporal            as    FOC  
 'She was the one who promoted me (as) a corporal.'

11.6.3. The constituents which can be pre-adjoined to *drū*

11.6.3.1. Bare indefinite pre-adjoined to *drū*

(214) *lèá drū àdū*  
 elephant as what  
 ‘What (type of thing) is an elephant?’

(215) *lèá drū àpùkwá*  
 elephant as animal  
 ‘An / the elephant is an animal.’

11.6.3.2. *nā*-phrase pre-adjoined to *drū*

(216) *lōsò nā drú básì gá gá rì ētfō rū nì*  
 goodness AFR as bus small small DEF (3)-overturn REFL FOC  
 ‘The good thing (literally its goodness) was that it was the  
 smaller bus which overturned.’

(217) *lōsò nā básì gá gá rì ētfō rū nì*  
 goodness AFR bus small small DEF (3)-overturn REFL FOC  
 ‘The good thing (literally its goodness) was that it was the  
 smaller bus which overturned.’

(218) *pá nā ājā*  
 leg AFR metal  
 ‘Its wheels are metal.’

(219) *pá nā drū ājā*  
 leg AFR as metal  
 ‘For wheels it has metal.’ (Instead of an ‘ordinary’ wheel, it has  
 metal functioning as a wheel; this might be actually a metal  
 wheel. This would for example be a valid description of a train’s  
 wheels to someone who knew nothing of trains.)

11.6.3.3. *rì*-phrase pre-adjoined to *drū*

A *rì*-phrase followed by *rì* is a predicate; it can be pre-adjoined to *drū* if *drū* functions as a predicational word. Note that (b) with ‘bare *drū*’ is

ruled out because the  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$ -phrase would have to be interpreted illegitimately as a non-final object.

- (220)  $\bar{n}\bar{i}$        $mv\bar{u}$        $\acute{e}r\acute{u}\acute{a}$        $\bar{r}\bar{i}$        $\bar{r}\bar{i}$        $dr\acute{u}$   
 2SDIR    drink      medicine    DEF      FOC    as  
 (a) '(You should) drink it as if it were the medicine (in question).' (it needn't be the medicine)  
 (b)\* '(You should) drink the medicine with it.'

However, without  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$  the noun phrase cannot be a predicate, and so  $dr\bar{u}$  can only be interpreted as 'with it'.

- (221)  $\bar{n}\bar{i}$        $mv\bar{u}$        $\acute{e}r\acute{u}\acute{a}$        $\bar{r}\bar{i}$        $dr\acute{u}$   
 2SDIR    drink      medicine    DEF    as  
 (a)\* '(You should) drink as if it were the medicine (in question).'  
 (b) '(You should) drink the medicine (in question) with it.'

A noun phrase with the structure NP+ $\bar{r}\bar{a}$ +N requires  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$  if it is to be a predicate.

- (222)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$        $\bar{o}-d\bar{z}\acute{e}$       (  $\bar{a}\bar{n}\acute{a}-\acute{a}$  )       $\bar{a}ndr\bar{a}$        $\bar{r}\bar{i}$        $dr\acute{u}$   
 Opi    3-wash      3S-POSS      face      FOC    as  
 (a) 'Opi washed it as if it was his face.' (ie. thinking that it was his face)  
 (b)\* 'Opi washed his face with it.'

Again, without  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$  the noun phrase cannot be a predicate, and so  $dr\bar{u}$  must be interpreted as 'with it'.

- (223)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$        $\bar{o}-d\bar{z}\acute{e}$       (  $\bar{a}\bar{n}\acute{a}-\acute{a}$  )       $\bar{a}ndr\bar{a}$        $dr\bar{u}$   
 Opi    3-wash      3S-POSS      face      as  
 (a)\* 'Opi washed it as (if it was) a face.'  
 (b) 'Opi washed his face with it.'

#### 11.6.3.4. Quantifier pre-adjoined to $dr\bar{u}$

$kw\acute{i}t\bar{f}\bar{i}$  and  $kp\acute{o}\acute{o}$ , both meaning 'all', can be pre-adjoined to  $dr\bar{u}$  to mean 'all of them'.

- (224)  $kw\acute{i}t\bar{f}\bar{i}$        $\bar{e}-v\bar{u}$        $r\acute{a}$   
 all      (3)-VE-go(PL)    AFF  
 'All certainly came.'

(225) *kwítíí drū ē-vù rá*  
 all as (3)-VE-go(PL) AFF  
 ‘All of them certainly came.’

(226) *ɲì wù kpóò*  
 2SDIR take(PL) all  
 ‘(You should) take all.’

(227) *ɲì wù kpóò drú*  
 2SDIR take(PL) all as  
 ‘(You should) take all of them.’

### 11.6.3.5. Expressions which have obligatory *drū*

Certain temporal nouns can be used only if they are pre-adjoined to *drū*; thus *bōbō* does not appear on its own but only when attached to *drū*.

(228) *ɲì kè ópí ní bōbō drú*  
 2SDIR give Opi BEN permanently as  
 ‘(You should) give (it for) Opi permanently.’

(229) *ɲì kè ópí ní bòbò drú*  
 2SDIR give Opi BEN temporarily as  
 ‘(You should) give it for Opi temporarily.’

(230) *ká ídzákwí ādží āzī-lé ōdú tǐ drú*  
 3 firewood take(PL) (N)-sell-SB day all as  
 ‘She takes firewood to sell every day.’

Bare *gà ángwá drū* is interpreted as a quantifier and means ‘a small amount’. There is no independent form *gà ángwá*.

(231) *má lè gà ángwá drū*  
 1S want small-DIM-as  
 ‘I want a few / a small amount.’

If followed by *ɲì* or by *nā*, *gà ángwá drū* is interpreted as an adjective and means ‘small’.

(232) *ìndrí gà ángwá drū ɲì ēgwè dǐ*  
 goat small-DIM-as DEF (3)-lost COM  
 (a)\* ‘A few goats got lost’  
 (b) ‘The / a small goat is lost.’

The determiner is required if the word functions as a modifier.

- (233)\* *ìndrì gà áṅgwá drū*                      *ēgwè*                      *dì*  
 goat    small-DIM-as                      (3)-get lost                      COM  
 (a) 'A few goats are lost.'  
 (b) 'A small goat is lost.'

In contrast to *gà áṅgwá drū*, there is no bare form of *àmgbú gó drū*; it is used only as a modifier followed by a determiner, and interpreted as an adjective 'big' or 'huge'. There is no independent form *àmgbú gó*.

- (234) *má lè àmgbú gó drū rì áū*  
 IS    want    big-AUG-as                      DEF    FOC  
 'I want the / a big one.'

- (235) *àmgbú gó drū rì ēgwè nì*  
 big-AUG-as                      DEF    (3)-get lost                      FOC  
 'It is the / a big one that got lost.'

- (236) *ìndrì àmgbú gó drū nā ēgwè nì*  
 goat    big-AUG-as                      AFR    (3)-get lost                      FOC  
 'It is a big goat that got lost.'

- (237) *àmgbú gó drū nā ēgwè nì*  
 big-AUG-as                      AFR    (3)-get lost                      FOC  
 'It is a big one that got lost.'

# Chapter 12

## Noun phrases

In this chapter we look at the various kinds of noun phrase as differentiated by the choice of determiner. Determiners can code for specificity or definiteness, and specific and definite determiners can be combined. Specific noun phrases behave in syntactically different ways from non-specific noun phrases. Determiners can be sensitive to proximal or distal discourse, and proximal or distal physical context. We conclude by considering coreference between noun phrases.

### 12.1. Overview: the structure of noun phrases and their interpretation

#### 12.1.1. *The basic template for a noun phrase*

Noun phrases in Ma'di are based on the following template:

pre-modifier (only a possessor)	head noun	post- modifier(s), including possessor	definite determiner	specific determiner
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A noun phrase can consist just of a noun, which is then interpreted either as indefinite and nonspecific, or as a proper name. A noun phrase can consist just of a determiner, either a demonstrative or the specific indefinite determiner *zi*. A postmodifier can occur with or without a head noun, but must always be followed by a determiner. A premodifier (always a possessor) must always be followed by a head noun, but there is then no requirement for a determiner.

There are distinct determiners for definiteness and for specificity; in 12.10.1 we offer evidence that the definiteness and specificity determiners can be combined in sequence. Noun phrases which are both definite and specific must be adjoined to *nī* in most syntactic environments (12.1.3). The definite determiners fall into two basic classes: demonstratives which locate the referred-to entity in the physical context (speaker-proximal with *dī*, hearer-proximal with *ilédī* and distal with *nā*), and discourse determiners which locate the referred-to entity in the preceding discourse (proximal with *nā* or distal with *rī*). The definiteness of some of the determiners is affected by the presence of a postmodifier.

Two of the determiners seem to have 'possessive' interpretations as alternatives. Thus *nā* can be interpreted as a definite determiner (referent

in proximal discourse) or like a possessive pronoun; and the definite and specific determiner which we call 'LOW' (manifested as a floating low tone) has another interpretation when combined with kinship nouns where it functions like a possessive pronoun.

### 12.1.2. *The use of ɾ̃ after a noun phrase*

If a noun phrase contains a determiner (with some exceptions noted below) or is definite, then it cannot be the final constituent of the sentence. If it would otherwise be final (eg. if it is a postverbal object, or a predicate) then it must be followed by ɾ̃. The noun phrase followed by ɾ̃ is interpreted as either in focus or as a predicate.

- (1) *mā*    *ògú*    *rì*    *ɾ̃*  
 1S    thief    DEF    FOC  
 (a) 'I am the one who is a thief.' (contrastive: if I am Opi, then there is another Opi in addition to me who is not a thief)  
 (b) 'I am the thief (in question).' (the one spoken about before)
- (2)\* *mā*    *ògú*    *rì*  
 1S    thief    DEF  
 (a) 'I am the one who is a/the thief.'  
 (b) 'I am the thief (in question).'
- (3) *ópi*    *ē-dʒé*    *ɪŋgwē*    *rì*    *ɾ̃*  
 Opi    (3)-VE-buy    white    DEF    FOC  
 (a) 'It is the white one that Opi bought.'  
 (b) 'It is a white one that Opi bought.'
- (4) *ópi*    *ē-dʒé*    *gáɾì*    *àlí*    *dì*    *ɾ̃*  
 Opi    (3)-VE-buy    bicycle    short    this    FOC  
 'It was this short bicycle that Opi bought.'
- (5) *dì*    *ízi*    `    *ɾ̃*  
 this    wife    SPEC    FOC  
 'This is his / the wife.'

ɾ̃ is never found after an indefinite nonspecific noun phrase.

- (6)\* *ópi*    *ē-dʒé*    *gáɾì*    *ɾ̃*  
 Opi    3-buy    bicycle    FOC  
 'It is a bicycle that Opi bought.'

We propose that  $\bar{n}$  is a pronominal (11.1.2.3) and that the noun phrase is pre-adjoined to it, and so NP +  $\bar{n}$  is a constituent of the sentence.

### 12.1.3. The use of $\bar{n}$ (and $\bar{p}$ ) after a noun phrase

#### 12.1.3.1. $\bar{n}$ in subject of nonverbal predicate and object position

If a noun phrase is definite and specific (ie. is a name or has the LOW determiner), then it is followed by  $\bar{n}$  or by  $\bar{p}$  when it is in either of two syntactic positions: subject of nonverbal predicate, and object of verb. (The noun phrase can be singular or plural with either  $\bar{n}$  or  $\bar{p}$ .) The noun phrases which are followed by  $\bar{n}$  thus include: a name as subject of a non-verbal predicate (7, 8); a name in object position (9, 10); a LOW-phrase as subject of a nonverbal predicate (kinship and non-kinship) (11-15); a LOW-phrase in object position (non-kinship and kinship) (16-19). A name which is an object in left-dislocated position must be followed by  $\bar{n}$  (20). A name which is an adjoined subject of a verb, followed by a pause and separated from the verb by a postposition phrase, is also followed by  $\bar{n}$  (21)

(7)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{n}$   $\bar{b}\bar{a}r\bar{a}$   
 Opi PR child  
 'Opi is a child.'

(8)\*  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{b}\bar{a}r\bar{a}$   
 Opi child  
 'Opi is a child.'

(9)  $\acute{a}g\acute{o}$   $n\grave{a}$   $\bar{o}\bar{-}ndr\bar{e}$   $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{n}$   $\acute{a}\bar{u}$   
 man that 3-see Opi PR FOC  
 'It is Opi who that man saw.'

(10)\*  $\acute{a}g\acute{o}$   $n\grave{a}$   $\bar{o}\bar{-}ndr\bar{e}$   $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\acute{a}\bar{u}$   
 man that 3-see Opi FOC  
 'It is Opi who that man saw.'

(11)  $d\bar{z}\acute{o}$   $\bar{n}$   $\acute{u}d\acute{i}$   
 house SPEC PR new(S)  
 'The specific house is new.'

(12)  $d\bar{z}\acute{o}$   $\bar{n}$   $\acute{u}d\acute{i}$   
 house SPEC PR new(P)  
 'The specific houses are new.'



substitute for  $n\bar{i}$ . Either the noun phrase can be followed by  $p\bar{i}$ , carrying a plural meaning (22) or the noun phrase can be followed by  $\bar{i}$  when it is focused or a predicate (23).

(22)  $m\acute{a}$   $ndr\bar{e}$   $\bar{e}ndr\acute{e}$   $p\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
 1S saw mother-SPEC PRPL yesterday  
 'I saw their mothers (his mother and her associates)

(23)  $d\bar{i}$   $d\bar{z}\acute{o}$   $\bar{i}$   
 this house SPEC FOC  
 'This is the/his house.'

$n\bar{i}$  is never used to 'insert' an indefinite, nonspecific noun phrase into these syntactic positions.

(24)  $m\acute{a}$   $d\bar{z}\bar{e}$   $\bar{l}\bar{a}b\bar{o}l\bar{o}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
 1S buy banana yesterday  
 'I bought a banana yesterday.'

(25)\*  $m\acute{a}$   $d\bar{z}\bar{e}$   $\bar{l}\bar{a}b\bar{o}l\bar{o}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
 1S buy banana PR yesterday  
 'I bought a banana yesterday.'

(26)  $\acute{i}b\acute{o}$   $\bar{i}ngw\bar{e}$   
 boat white  
 (a) 'A boat is white.'  
 (b) 'Boats are white.'

(27)\*  $\acute{i}b\acute{o}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\bar{i}ngw\bar{e}$   
 boat PR white  
 (a) 'A boat is white.'  
 (b) 'Boats are white.'

There is apparent optionality when the noun phrase contains a demonstrative or the determiner  $n\bar{i}$ . In these cases,  $n\bar{i}$  is sometimes used and sometimes not. However, we argue in 12.10.1 that this optionality is only apparent and that in these phrases the presence of  $n\bar{i}$  is a result of the syntactic presence of a phonologically concealed LOW determiner.

We propose that  $n\bar{i}$  and  $p\bar{i}$  are pronominals and the noun phrase is pre-adjoined to them. This is the same as our analysis of  $\bar{i}$ , and resembles the relation between the adjoined subject and the true pronominal subject of a verb. We suggest that  $n\bar{i}$  might possibly be related to the 'default' (NS paradigm) third person singular pronoun  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  (6.4.3). We note that  $\bar{i}$

similarly resembles the (NS paradigm) third person plural pronoun *àrĩ* (11.1.2.3).

12.1.3.2. *nĩ* as a means of attaching a definite specific noun phrase to another noun phrase

Definite and specific noun phrases are followed obligatorily by *nĩ* as a means of attaching them to another noun phrase. The two noun phrases are coreferential. The noun phrase to which the phrase is attached may be subject of verb, object of verb, or subject of a non-verbal predicate. The attached-to noun phrase may be: a phrase consisting of a demonstrative (28), a phrase consisting of a modifier followed by *rĩ* (29-32), or a phrase consisting of a noun followed by *nā* (33).

- (28) *ō-kè*      *ŋgwá*      *nĩ*      *nà*      *drí*  
 3-give      son      SPEC      PR      that      BEN  
 (a) 'He gave it to that son of his.' (the relevant reading)  
 (b) 'He gave his son to that one.' (the irrelevant reading)
- (29) *ādrúpĩ*      *nĩ*      *lōsó*      *rĩ*      *ōdā*      *rū*      *ìlé(dí)-nĩ*      *kū*  
 brother      SPEC      PR      good      DEF (3)-act      REFL      that way      NEG(N)  
 'His good brother won't behave that way.'
- (30) *mĩ*      *nĩ*      *drí*      *àndá*      *gá*      *rĩ*      *k'-āzá*      *nĩ*  
 eye      SPEC      PR      hand      right      LOC      DEF      3-(N)-pain      FOC  
 'The eye which is painful is the right-hand one.' (it is known that an eye is in pain)
- (31) *má*      *kè*      *ópí*      *nĩ*      *àlí*      *rĩ*      *drí*  
 1S      give      Opi      PR      short(S)      DEF      BEN  
 (a) 'I gave it to the short(er) Opi.'  
 (b) 'I gave Opi to the shorter one.' (irrelevant reading)
- (32) *ō-kè*      *ópí*      *nĩ*      *ádžínĩ*      *rĩ*      *drí*  
 3-give      Opi      PR      yesterday      DEF      BEN  
 (a) 'She gave it to the Opi of yesterday.'  
 (b) 'She gave Opi to the one (ie. a person) of yesterday.'
- (33) *džó*      *nĩ*      *ʔā*      *nā*      *k-ōlú*      *èrĩ*  
 house      SPEC      PR      room      AFR      3DIR-stay      two  
 'The house (we are talking about) should have two rooms.'

12.1.3.3. Further notes on *nī*

*nī* is used after a left-dislocated clausal complement; we give further examples of this in 16.2.2.1.

- (34)      *ópī* *ō-sī*      *dʒó*      *nā*      *rá*      *nī*      *ɲí*      *fō*      *ɲí*      *ʔí*  
 [Opi 3-build house AFR AFF] PR 2S say 2S FOC  
 ‘That Opi has built the/his/her house was said by you.’ (not by someone else)

Cognates of *nī* have been discussed in grammars of other Central Sudanic languages, with conclusions which we take to be more or less along the same lines. Thus Crazzarola (1960: 43) says that Logbara *nī* “refers back to a noun in the sentence or to an object in the view or in the mind of the speaker, especially when it is the object of some postposition” And Lojenga (1994) says that Ngiti *nī* (a cognate?) is a ‘resumptive marker’, whose function is “to resume the noun or noun phrase after a brief pause which gives it slightly more emphasis”. There is in contrast no pause in Ma’di between the noun phrase and *nī*.

It is worth noting that there is another Ma’di word *nī* which is used to express indefinite possession; it is preceded by an indefinite and is part of an indefinite noun phrase. We discuss this in 13.1.1.1, where we suggest that this is an unrelated word which is related instead to the benefactive postposition *nī̄*.

## 12.2. Bare indefinite

A bare indefinite noun phrase consists just of a noun. It is interpreted as indefinite and nonspecific; that is, no specific individual is referred to and there is no implication that the identity of the referred-to individual is recoverable from the discourse or physical context. The referent may be singular or plural, and can also be generic.

- (35)      *ópī*      *āzī*      *gáɾì*      *údí*  
 Opi      (3)-sell      bicycle      recently  
 (a) ‘Opi has sold a bicycle recently.’  
 (b) ‘Opi has sold bicycles recently.’

- (36)      *ìndrī*      *ká*      *àɲá*      *̀ɲā*  
 goat      3      grain      N-eat  
 (a) ‘A goat is eating / eats grain.’  
 (b) ‘Goats are eating / eat grain.’

- (37) *má* *vĩ* *òtǎ* *nĩ*  
 1S throw dog BEN  
 (a) 'I threw it for a dog.'  
 (b) 'I threw it for dogs.'
- (38) *lápwońí* *ōgù* *nĩ*  
 teacher(S) (3)-steal FOC  
 'It is a teacher who stole it.'
- (39) *lápwońĩ* *ōgù* *nĩ*  
 teachers(PL) (3)-steal FOC  
 'It is teachers who stole it.'
- (40) *èbì* *àńùkwá* *ājí* *?ā* *gá* *rĩ* *ĩ*  
 lion animal bush in LOC DEF FOC  
 'The lion is an animal of the wild.'
- (41) *bási* *ĩngwē*  
 bus white  
 (a) 'A bus is white.'  
 (b) 'Buses are white.'

There are some unique entities which are referred to by a bare indefinite, such as *ítú* 'the sun' and *imbá* 'the moon'. The speaker's body parts, though definite, can also be named by a bare indefinite.

- (42) *ágó* *nà* *ō-ndrē* *ítú* *áū*  
 man that 3-see sun FOC  
 'It is the sun that that man saw.'
- (43) *má* *dzè* *drĩ* *drū*  
 1S wash hand with it  
 (a) 'I washed my hand with it.'  
 (b) 'I washed a hand with it.'

A bare indefinite cannot be a left-dislocated object, presumably because in this case it is given information:

- (44)?\* *ìzá* , *bārá* *rĩ* *ō-dĩ* *áū*  
 meat child DEF 3-cook FOC  
 'Meat (not something else), it is what the child cooked.'  
 (placing a pause gives some very marginal acceptability).

The (un)acceptability of the indefinite noun phrase is improved by adding a deictic between the far-left-dislocated adjoined object and the left-dislocated adjoined subject.

(45)\*  $d_3\acute{o}$                        $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$        $\bar{o}-s\bar{i}$        $n\grave{i}$   
 house                      what      3-build      FOC  
 ‘What (is it that) built a house?’

(46)  $d_3\acute{o}$        $d\acute{i}?\bar{a}$        $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$        $\bar{o}-s\bar{i}$        $n\grave{i}$   
 house      here      what      3-build      FOC  
 ‘What (is it that) built a house here?’

### 12.2.1. *The distinctive syntactic characteristics of bare indefinites*

The bare indefinite noun phrase is distinctively different from most other types of noun phrase in its syntactic distribution. It can be a predicate on its own, and it need not and in fact cannot be adjoined to the predicating morpheme  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$ . These are characteristics shared only with some of the bare determiners. The bare indefinite noun phrase also has a distributional characteristic following from its being indefinite: it cannot co-occur with plural  $k\hat{i}$  (14.1.2.2). And because it is nonspecific it is not adjoined to grammatical  $n\bar{i}$  (12.1.3).

(47)  $m\acute{a}$        $d_3\bar{e}$        $g\acute{a}r\bar{i}$   
 1S      buy      bicycle  
 (a) ‘I bought a bicycle / bicycles’  
 (b) ‘It was a bicycle / bicycles I bought.’

(48)\*  $\grave{i}ndr\acute{i}$        $k\acute{a}$        $k\hat{i}$        $\grave{a}n\acute{a}$        $\grave{j}n\bar{a}$   
 goat      3      PL      grain      N-eat  
 ‘Goats are eating grain.’

### 12.3. *zì-phrase (with the indefinite determiner zì)*

The word  $z\grave{i}$  can appear in the following kinds of  $z\grave{i}$ -phrase:

- (a) on its own
- (b) followed by  $n\bar{a}$
- (c) preceded by a noun
- (d) preceded by a noun and followed by  $n\bar{a}$

The  $z\grave{i}$  phrase is interpreted either as (a) indefinite and specific, translatable into English as ‘a certain N’, or (b) indefinite but not

necessarily specific, translatable into English as ‘another N’. In both cases, the entity referred to is not intended to be recoverable from the physical or discourse context. The full *zì*-phrase has only singular reference, while the bare *zì*-phrase has singular or plural reference.

- (49) *áǵó zì ē-dǵí nì*  
 man SPEC (3)-VE-take FOC  
 (a) ‘A certain man brought it.’ (an unknown but specific man)  
 (b) ‘Another man brought it.’ (a different man)
- (50) *zì ē-dǵí nì*  
 SPEC (3)-VE-take FOC  
 (a) ‘A certain one brought it.’  
 (b) ‘Another one brought it.’  
 (c) ‘Certain ones brought it.’  
 (d) ‘Other ones brought it.’

Both types of interpretation are available when the *zì*-phrase is the subject of a verb.

In object position, the N + *zì* phrase loses the specific indefinite interpretation.

- (51) *má dū búkù zì rá*  
 1S take book SPEC AFF  
 (a)?\* ‘I have certainly taken a specific book.’  
 (b) ‘I have certainly taken another book.’ (specific or non-specific)
- (52) *ē-dǵí áǵó zì áū*  
 (3)-VE-take book SPEC FOC  
 (a)?\* ‘He brought a certain man.’ (unknown but specific man)  
 (b) ‘He brought another man.’ (a different man)

The bare *zì*-phrase has all interpretations in object position:

- (53) *má dū zì rá*  
 1S take other AFF  
 (a) ‘I have certainly taken a specific one.’  
 (b) ‘I have certainly taken another one.’  
 (c) ‘I have certainly taken some.’  
 (d) ‘I have certainly taken others.’

However, the bare *zì*-phrase loses the specific indefinite interpretation if focused.

- (54) *má dū zì áū*  
 1S take other FOC  
 (a)\* 'I've taken some / others'  
 (b) 'I have taken another one.'

In subject of nonverbal predicate position, the *zì* phrase has only the specific indefinite interpretation; the 'another' interpretation is lost. There is no difference between the phrase with a noun and the bare phrase.

- (55) *ágó zì l̀̀p̀̀wóńí*  
 man SPEC teacher  
 (a) 'A certain man is a teacher.'  
 (b)\* 'Another man is a teacher.'

- (56) *zì l̀̀p̀̀wóńí*  
 SPEC teacher  
 (a)\* 'A certain one is a teacher.'  
 (b) 'Another one is a teacher.'

Note the interpretation with *nā*.

- (57) *ágó zì nā l̀̀p̀̀wóńí*  
 man SPEC AFR teacher  
 'One of the aforementioned men is a teacher.'

- (58) *zì nā l̀̀p̀̀wóńí*  
 SPEC AFR teacher  
 'One of the aforementioned is a teacher.'

- (59) *zì nā l̀̀p̀̀wòńí*  
 SPEC AFR teachers(PL)  
 'Some of the aforementioned are teachers.'

*ḅá`* can also be used.

- (60) *zì ḅá` l̀̀p̀̀wòńí*  
 SPEC AFR teacher(PL)  
 'Others are teachers.'

A *zì* phrase can be a final postverbal object only if it is not preceded by a noun. The *zì* phrase can be final only if the verb is directive and is interpreted as 'another'.

- (61)  $\text{ɲì}$       $\text{dū}$       $\text{zì}$   
 2SDIR take another  
 (a)\* ‘Take some / others.’  
 (b) ‘Take another.’

- (62)  $\text{ɲì}$       $\text{dū}$       $\text{zì}$       $\text{nā}$   
 2SDIR take another AFR  
 ‘Take another one.’

- (63)\*  $\text{ɲí}$       $\text{dū}$       $\text{zì}$   
 2S take SPEC  
 ‘You took another one’

If the verb is uninflected, the bare  $\text{zì}$ -phrase can be adjoined to  $\text{ɲí}$ , again only with the interpretation of ‘another’.

- (64)  $\text{má}$       $\text{dū}$       $\text{zì}$       $\text{ɲí}$   
 1S take other FOC  
 (a)\* ‘I’ve taken some / others.’  
 (b) ‘I have taken another one.’

If  $\text{zì}$  is preceded by a noun it cannot be final or be adjoined to  $\text{ɲí}$ .

- (65)\*  $\text{ē-dzì}$       $\text{ágó}$       $\text{zì}$   
 (3)-VE-take man SPEC  
 ‘He brought a certain / another man.’

- (66)\*  $\text{ē-dzì}$       $\text{ágó}$       $\text{zì}$       $\text{ɲí}$   
 (3)-VE-take man SPEC FOC  
 ‘He brought a certain / another man.’

### 12.3.1. *Some fixed phrases possibly incorporating $\text{zì}$*

There are reasons to think that  $\text{zì}$  is incorporated into fixed phrases or compounds, keeping its meaning of ‘another’, and undergoing two phonological changes: ATR harmony (from  $\text{zi}$  to  $\text{zì}$ ) and raising of the tone. Thus  $\text{rèzì}$  means ‘another person in the same circumstances as me/us’.

- (67)  $\text{ágó}$       $\text{rèzì}$       $\text{ní}$       $\text{ízì}$       $\text{ó-dū}$       $\text{kū}$   
 man(S) same circumstances(S) PR wife 3(IND)-marry NEG(N)  
 ‘Other man’s (of the same circumstances as one) wife is not to be snatched.’

*bá zí* is the plural version (incorporating *bá* ‘people’) and means ‘other people in the same circumstances as me/us’.

- (68) *bá zí*                      *ṵ-vù*              *rá*  
 same circumstances(PL)    3-go(PL)    AFF  
 ‘Others (of the same circumstance with me/us) certainly went.’  
 (but I/we did not go)

*dri bá zí* means ‘agemate’.

- (69) *ópi nĩ má-à dri bá zí ?ĩ*  
 Opi PR 1S-POSS head same circumstances(PL) FOC  
 ‘Opi is my agemate.’

#### 12.4. Personal Names

A personal name is definite and specific, and in Ma’di typically consists of a single noun. Many nouns double as names; thus *ópi* ‘chief’ is also a proper name ‘Opi’ (a name often used for the older of two twins). Other nouns can also double as titles with a specific definite interpretation which makes them name-like; *lápwońi* ‘teacher’ is like this in that it can mean ‘a teacher’ (bare indefinite) or ‘the teacher’ (ie. name-like). This means that in some sentences, a noun phrase consisting just of a noun can be interpreted as an indefinite bare noun or as name.

- (70) *ópi ṵ-lè nĩ*  
 Opi / chief 3-want FOC  
 (a) ‘It is Opi who wants it.’  
 (b) ‘It is a chief who wants it.’

- (71) *ṵ-kè ópi ní*  
 3-give Opi / chief BEN  
 (a) ‘He gave it for Opi.’  
 (b) ‘He gave it for a chief.’

The pronoun *?ĩ* is not used after bare indefinite noun phrases, but is used after names which are predicates (72), or focused. Thus sentences with this structure are not ambiguous.

- (72) *ānĩ ópi ?ĩ*  
 3S Opi FOC  
 (a) ‘He is Opi.’  
 (b)\* ‘He is a chief.’

Note the possibility of using the bare noun *lâpwóní* ‘teacher’ in this manner even though it is not a personal name; here syntactically it behaves like a name. This is not possible for all nouns; it is not possible for example with *pòlísì* ‘policeman’.

(73) *mā lâpwóní nĩ*  
 1s teacher FOC  
 ‘I am the teacher.’ (literally: ‘I am Teacher’)

(74) \* *mā pòlísì nĩ*  
 1s teacher FOC  
 ‘I am the policeman.’

The pronoun *nĩ* is used after names (and other definite specific noun phrases) in subject of nonverbal predicate and object positions, and is not used after bare indefinite nouns.

(75) *ágó nà ò-ndrē ópí nĩ áũ*  
 man that 3-see Opi PR FOC  
 (a) ‘It is Opi who that man saw.’  
 (b)\* ‘It is the chief who that man saw.’

However, there is another *nĩ* which is used after bare indefinite nouns in possession structures, reading (b) below.

(76) *ópí nĩ bārā*  
 Opi PR child  
 (a) ‘Opi is a child.’  
 (b) ‘A chief’s child’

## 12.5. Place names

Place names have a distribution sometimes like a personal name and sometimes like an indefinite noun phrase.

Only a definite noun phrase (including a personal name) can normally be the possessor in an *ʔà* possession structure, and a place name can be a possessor here:

(77) *ìlédì dʒúbà ʔà lōsò nĩ*  
 that Juba POSS goodness FOC  
 ‘That’s Juba’s goodness.’

Place names such as *dʒúbà* generally behave like other names (ie. specific

and definite noun phrases), and thus for example take *nĩ* in subject of nonverbal predicate and object positions.

On the other hand, if the place is conceived of as a location, the noun behaves like an indefinite noun phrase. Thus it can be final in a sentence, it can be a predicate without *ĩ*, and it can also be a possessor with *nĩ*, all of these being syntactic contexts in which only an indefinite nonspecific noun phrase can normally appear.

(78) *má*    *mū*    *dzúbà*  
 1S    go    Juba  
 'I went to Juba.'

(79) *ópí*    *nĩ*    *sùdání*  
 Opi    PR    Sudan  
 'Opi is in Sudan.'

(80) *dzúbà*    *nĩ*    *ba*    *lōsō*  
 Juba    POSS    people    good (PL)  
 '(The) people in Juba are nice.'

## 12.6. LOW-phrase (with the low tone suffix which is a specific definite determiner)

The LOW determiner is a low tone which follows the noun; it is absorbed into a preceding low tone on the noun, if there is one.

(81) *kùbájà*                      *nĩ*    *péleré*                      AS PRONOUNCED  
*kùbájà*                      *nĩ*    *péleré*                      UNDERLYING  
 cup                      SPEC PR    clean(S)  
 'The cup (we are talking about) is clean.'

A noun phrase which consists of a noun followed by the low tone (N+LOW) has a unique referent which must be identifiable independently of the physical or discourse context. N+LOW is thus similar in interpretation to a name. This meaning can be illustrated by the fairly typical case of the noun *mèrí* which like many nouns has a common or proper interpretation: on its own *mèrí* can be interpreted either as a common noun meaning 'river' or as a proper noun meaning 'the Nile', the river around which the Ma'di people live. When combined with LOW, *mèrí* means 'the river (a specific river)'; it cannot ever be used to refer specifically to the Nile.

The use of the low tone at the end of a noun phrase can imply not only the already-known status of the noun, but more generally that a specific

eventuality involving the noun phrase is also already known (independently of the discourse). Thus compare (82) and (83). When the low tone is used the implication is that it is known that Opi's leg was broken; there is no such implication when the low tone is not used.

(82)     $\bar{o}$ - $\eta\bar{o}$      $\acute{o}$  $\pi\acute{i}$      $\eta\grave{a}$      $\acute{p}\acute{a}$         $\grave{a}$      $n\bar{i}$      $\acute{a}d\acute{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
 3-break    Opi    POSS    leg    SPEC    PR    yesterday  
 'She broke Opi's leg yesterday.' (we know that something has happened to the leg)

(83)     $\bar{o}$ - $\eta\bar{o}$      $\acute{o}$  $\pi\acute{i}$      $\eta\grave{a}$      $\acute{p}\acute{a}$         $\acute{a}d\acute{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
 3-break    Opi    POSS    leg          yesterday  
 'She broke Opi's leg yesterday.'

There is also a use of the LOW determiner after a kinship noun to express possession (12.6.2).

(84)     $\bar{a}d\bar{r}\acute{u}\pi\bar{i}$         $k\acute{a}$      $d\acute{z}\acute{o}$         $\grave{s}\bar{i}$   
 brother    SPEC    3    house    N-build  
 'His/her brother is building a house.'

In 'Burulo, only the kinship/possession use of the LOW determiner is found, while in other varieties of Ma'di the LOW determiner is found with a wider range of nouns. The LOW determiner is found with a wider range of noun phrases in Ugandan Ma'di than in Lokai Ma'di.

### 12.6.1. *Restrictions on interpretation associated with syntactic location*

A LOW phrase can only be a subject of a nonverbal predicate or an object of a verb if it is followed by  $n\bar{i}$ . It shares this restriction with names, but there are further restrictions not found with names.

It is likely that a LOW phrase cannot be subject of a verb.

(85)\*     $l\grave{e}\acute{a}$         $n\bar{i}$      $\bar{o}$ - $\eta\bar{a}$      $\grave{e}b\acute{i}$      $\eta\bar{i}$      $r\acute{a}$   
 elephant    SPEC    PR    3-eat    fish    DEF    AFF  
 'The elephant (we are talking about) ate the fish.'

The only potential counterexample we have is (86), but even here there is some possibility that the initial noun phrase is in fact a fronted object.

(86)     $l\grave{e}\acute{a}$         $n\bar{i}$      $\bar{o}$ - $\bar{t}\bar{i}$         $r\acute{a}$   
 elephant    SPEC    PR    3-give birth    AFF  
 'The elephant (we are talking about) has given birth.'

This restriction against being the subject does not hold for a LOW phrase with the possessive interpretation of LOW.

- (87) *zá*                    *ō-pā*                    *ìzá*                    *nī*                    *rá*  
 daughter    SPEC    3-eat                    meat                    SPEC    PR                    AFF  
 ‘The / his daughter has certainly eaten the meat (we are talking about).’

In Lokai, N+LOW cannot be a pre-verbal object (ie. of an inflected, nonpast verb). In Ugandan Ma’di this restriction does not hold.

- (88)\* *ká*    *ópí*    *ʔà*    *pá*                    *nī*    *pō*                    *nì*  
 3    Opi    POSS    leg                    SPEC    PR                    (N)-break                    FOC  
 ‘She is the one who will break / is breaking Opi’s leg.’  
 (unacceptable in Lokai; but ok in Ugandan Ma’di)

This ungrammaticality might arise from a clash between the nonpast tense (of object-verb sentences) in combination with the implication that the eventuality is known to have occurred. This restriction against being a pre-verbal object does not hold for possessive LOW.

- (89) *ká*    *dʒó*                    *nī*    *sī*                    *ēndrè*                    *ní*  
 3    house    SPEC    PR    N-build                    mother-SPEC                    BEN  
 ‘He[1] is building the house (we are talking about) for the mother [1, 2].’

We note that when *dī* and *rì* phrases have a specific interpretation (which we analyze as involving the presence of LOW at the end of the phrase), they are also subject to this distributional restriction.

- (90)\* *lèá*                    *rì*                    *nī*                    *ō-pā*                    *èbí*                    *rì*                    *rá*  
 elephant                    DEF                    (SPEC)    PR                    3-eat                    fish                    DEF                    AFF  
 ‘The specific elephant certainly ate the fish.’

We note another restriction: if common N+LOW is the object of a subordinate verb suffixed with *-rē* it is restricted. A kinship noun or a name is always acceptable here, but a common noun + LOW is less acceptable; acceptability seems to vary with how transitive the verb is (the more transitive the verb, the less acceptable).

- (91) *màdí*    *zá*                    *nī*    *dīrē*                    *rì*                    *úlé*  
 person    [daughter    SPEC    PR    N-kill-SB]    DEF    witch  
 ‘The one who killed his daughter is a witch.’

(92)\* *màdí* *ídre* *nĩ* *dĩrē* *rì* *úlé*  
 person [rat SPEC PR N-kill-SB] DEF witch  
 'The one who killed the rat is a witch.'

(93) *dʒó* *nĩ* *sĩrē* *rì* *mā* *bārá*  
 [house SPEC PR (N)-build-SB] DEF 1S child  
 'When the house was being built, I was a child.'

### 12.6.2. *The possessive interpretation of N+LOW*

Where the noun is a kinship noun, the sequence N+LOW is interpreted possessively as 'his (kin)', a known relative of someone; the combination *ādrúpĩ* + LOW can be interpreted as 'the brother' or as 'his/her brother', in both cases having the same unique reference but with the latter interpretation bringing out the possessed nature of kinship more strongly.

(94) *ādrúpĩ* *ká* *dʒó* *sĩ*  
 brother SPEC 3 house N-build  
 'The / his / her brother is building a house.'

In a phrase of this type, there can be an overt possessor preceding the noun, either with the *?à* postposition or, only in this type of construction, the possessor without the *?à* postposition and directly preceding the noun. There is no difference in meaning.

(95) *má* *ndrē* *ópĩ* *ēndrē* *nĩ* *ádʒínĩ*  
 1S see Opi mother SPEC PR yesterday  
 'I saw Opi's mother yesterday.'

(96) *má* *ndrē* *ópĩ* *?à* *ēndrē* *nĩ* *ádʒínĩ*  
 1S see Opi POSS mother SPEC PR yesterday  
 'I saw Opi's mother yesterday.'

Some common nouns are interpretable only as kinship nouns (*ādrúpĩ* is one such noun). Other common nouns are ambiguous between kinship and non-kinship interpretation. Thus *ízĩ* means either 'wife' or 'woman'. With the low tone, only the kinship meaning is possible.

(97) *ízĩ* *nĩ* *dĩ*  
 woman / wife SPEC PR this  
 (a) 'Here / this is his wife.'  
 (b)\* 'Here / this is the woman.'

A few non-kinship nouns can also be used with this syntax, with more widespread use in Ugandan Ma'di than in Lokai. Note that a kin noun can be replaced by a question word.

- (98) *lápwójí rì àdū` ʔí*  
 teacher DEF what SPEC FOC  
 (a) 'What relation (kin) is he to the teacher?'  
 (b) 'What (relation) of the teacher is he/it?'

### 12.6.3. Other LOW morphemes

There are a number of other post-phrasal morphemes consisting just of a low tone. We propose that these are all the specific low tone determiner.

#### 12.6.3.1. LOW in plural *kí̂*

The plural morpheme *kí̂* (14.1.2) follows a subject noun phrase, though it can be separated from the noun phrase, for example by the verb. It combines only with noun phrases interpreted as definite, and this is one reason for thinking that the low final tone might be the specific low tone determiner following a morpheme *kí* which can then perhaps be classified as a noun. Significant evidence for this breakdown of *kí̂* into *kí* + the low tone determiner comes from the fact that we do also find a combination of *kí* + *nā* when *nā* is used to express possession.

#### 12.6.3.2. LOW after a headless relative

It is common in Ma'di for relative clauses to take a following determiner *rì*, giving rise to a 'headless relative' (ie. with no explicitly modified noun); see chapter 10. There is one situation in which a relative clause appears to be taking the low tone, giving rise to a headless relative which is interpreted specifically as referring to a time or place. We might speculate that it is the 'unique reference' use of the specific low tone determiner which leads to its use in this kind of structure.

- (99) *ópí ɔ̄-bà jí-à dē-rē` gá*  
 Opi 3-put [2S-POSS (N)-fall-SB] SPEC LOC  
 'Opi put it where you slept / you were sleeping / you sleep.'
- (100) *ē-mú ìtú ʔà dē-rē` ngá*  
 (3)-VE-go [sun POSS (N)-fall/set-SB] SPEC period  
 'He came when the sun was setting.'

12.6.3.3. LOW-*ɸ̄*

One of the focus strategies (which we call LOW-*ɸ̄*) involves the focus morpheme *ɸ̄* preceded by a low tone. This strategy is used to focus the eventuality (eg. the sentence as a whole) or a modifier of the eventuality (eg. a PP expressing location). It is likely that this low tone is the specific low tone determiner.

## 12.7. Demonstrative phrases

There are three demonstratives:

<i>d̄ɪ̀</i>	speaker-proximal	‘this’
<i>nà̀</i>	distal	‘that’
<i>ìléd̄ɪ̀</i>	hearer-proximal	‘that near you’

The demonstratives can be combined with a preceding noun (a full demonstrative phrase) or can stand on their own (a bare demonstrative phrase). The demonstrative phrase refers to an entity which is in the immediate physical context. It cannot be used to refer to an entity which exists only in the discourse context (in which case one of the other determiners is used, such as *n̄* or *nà̀*). Thus the the cup in (101) must be physically present though it might also have been talked about: physical presence overrides discourse topicality in requiring a deictic rather than *n̄*.

(101) *kùbájà̀ d̄ɪ̀ pélééré*  
 cup this clean (S)  
 ‘This cup is clean.’

(102) *ō-mū̀ bás̄ ñà̀ s̄*  
 3-go bus that SR  
 ‘She went in that bus.’

The only case we know of a referent not in the physical context is in an idiomatic expression:

(103) *ɲ-éḃḕ ízì má d̄rì̀ ñà̀ ìḡgón̄*  
 2S-leave woman 1S POSS that how  
 ‘How was your wife when you left.’ (literally: ‘How did you leave that woman of mine?’)

The demonstratives have only singular reference. If a number of individuals is referred to, they are referred to as a single group.

- (104) *dì*      *ē-tfá*              *ádžíní*  
 this      (3)-VE-reach yesterday  
 (a)      ‘This one arrived yesterday.’  
 (b)\*     ‘These ones arrived safely.’
- (105) *má*      *džè*      *gáří*      *dì*      `      *ní*      *ádžíní*  
 1S      wash bicycle this SPEC PR yesterday  
 (a)      ‘I washed this specific bicycle yesterday.’  
 (b)\*     ‘I washed these specific bicycles yesterday.’
- (106) *àří*              *dì*                              *ří*  
 3PL              this                              FOC  
 ‘They are these ones.’ (in one set)

12.7.1. *Demonstrative phrases in final position*

Bare demonstratives can be final in the sentence, and can be predicates.

- (107) *àří*      *dì*  
 3PL      this  
 ‘These are them.’

12.8. *rì*-phrase (distal discourse determiner *rì*)

*rì* is one of the two Ma’di words best translated by definite articles; the other is *nā*. Both refer back to entities which have been previously mentioned in the discourse. The *rì*-phrase refers back to an entity which has been discussed in the more distant previous discourse (ie. it is distal); we tend to gloss it as ‘the .. in question’. If the entity has very recently been mentioned, *nā* ‘the aforementioned’ is used instead.

A *rì* phrase exists only as a ‘full’ phrase, in that it must be combined with other, preceding, material - whether a noun or a modifier; *rì* cannot stand on its own. *rì* phrases are open to different kinds of interpretation, depending on whether the phrase contains a modifier. If there is no modifier, the *rì* phrase is interpreted as definite but non-specific. The referred-to entity or entities must have been previously discussed (ie. definite) but the specific identity of the entity is not important (ie. non-specific). It is possible to combine the *rì* phrase with the LOW determiner to force a specific interpretation on it; because the LOW determiner is absorbed into the low tone of *rì*, other factors such as distributional restrictions must tell us that this is the structure for specific ‘*rì*-phrases’.

We note that Logbara has a determiner *rì*, and agree with Djuruni's (1983: 128-129) analysis of *rì* as relating to discourse topicality. We do not agree with Crazzarola's analysis of *rì* (Crazzarola 1960: 27) which is that it is a 'relative pronoun suffix'. However, we think there might be some justification in Crazzarola's suggestion that it is analogous to Acholi *ma* 'which' (Crazzarola 1960: 56).

It has been suggested to us that a *rì*-phrase might mean 'an aforementioned' with an indefinite determiner *rì* which is obligatorily associated with a null adjective 'aforementioned'.

### 12.8.1. *Temporal effects of rì vs. the LOW determiner*

A *rì* phrase tends to give a certain degree of pastness to an eventuality. This applies to the use of the noun both as the head and as the modifier of the phrase.

(108) *ópi ʔà drí rì ò-k-òdú íngóní*  
 Opi POSS hand DEF 3-catch-sleep how  
 'How is Opi's hand (the hand in question) this morning?'

(109) *òtfé rì ò-drà kpó*  
 dog DEF 3-die dead  
 (a) 'The dog (in question) is dead.' (implying pastness)  
 (b) 'The one which is a dog is dead.' (implying pastness)

In contrast with *rì*, the LOW determiner conveys a meaning of currentness.

(110) *òtfé ` nī ò-drà kpó*  
 dog SPEC PR 3-die dead  
 'The dog (we are talking about) is dead.' (implying that the event has greater immediacy, because the dog is uppermost in our minds)

(111) *ópi ʔà drí ` nī ò-k-òdú íngóní*  
 Opi POSS hand SPEC PR 3-catch-sleep how  
 'How is Opi's hand this morning?' (presupposition: we know something has happened to the hand, such as that it's been hurt)

Where *rì* and the LOW determiner are combined (as evidenced by the presence of *nī* and the specific interpretation, 12.10.1), a 'currentness' reading is favoured.

- (112) *m-ēsú* *ìndrì* *rì* *rá*  
 1S-find goat DEF AFF  
 (a) ‘I found the goat (eg. ten years ago).’  
 (b) ‘I found the goat (eg now).’
- (113) *m-ēsú* *ìndrì* *nī* *rá*  
 1S-find goat SPEC PR AFF  
 (a)\* ‘I certainly found the goat (eg. ten years ago).’  
 (b) ‘I certainly found the goat (eg. now).’
- (114) *m-ēsú* *ìndrì* *rì* *nī* *rá*  
 1S-find goat DEF SPEC PR AFF  
 (a)? ‘I certainly found the goat (eg. ten years ago).’  
 (b) ‘I certainly found the goat (eg. now).’

12.8.2. *Restrictions on interpretation associated with syntactic location*

Where a noun phrase with *rì* is an object in a habitual or under *kū* it does not have the ‘in question’ interpretation, but can only be interpreted with the modifier interpretation (discussed in 13.2.3.1).

- (115) *ídré* *ō-pā* *ìzá* *rì* *kū*  
 rat 3-eat meat DEF NEG(N)  
 (a)\* ‘Rats don’t eat the meat (in question).’  
 (b) ‘Rats don’t eat the one which is meat.’

12.8.3. *Combining rì with a modal, negation or adverbial*

*rì* can combine with adverbials (chapter 18) such as *tfétfé* ‘slowly’ as well as words which are selected by and ‘complete’ specific verbs, such as *kpó* ‘dead’ which completes *drá* ‘die’. *rì* can also combine with nonpast negation *kū* and past negation *kūrù*, affirmation *rá* and *gbù*, and possibility modals *wà* ‘possible’ and *kpé* ‘not possible’. The fact that these words can combine with *rì* might suggest that they are in fact a grammatically specialized subclass of noun.

- (116) *tfé* *tfé* *rì* *ópi* *ō-mū* *nì*  
 slowly DEF Opi 3-go FOC  
 ‘The one who went slowly is Opi.’
- (117) *má* *mū* *kūrù* *rì* *mā* *ṛī*  
 1S go NEG(P) DEF 1S FOC  
 ‘It is me who did not go.’

#### 12.8.4. *Other morphemes homophonous with rì (possibly unrelated)*

There is a sentence-final morpheme *rì* which is used to draw attention to an event that was not expected to happen, but has happened (18.5.3)

(118) *má kè ópí ní rá*  
 1S give Opi BEN AFF  
 'I certainly gave some for Opi.'

(119) *má kè ópí ní rá rì*  
 1S give Opi BEN AFF  
 '(Look) I did give some for Opi.' (I know I wasn't supposed to)

This word cannot be used with directives. Djuruni (1983: 136) thinks the cognate pair of words are the same in Logbara. We are uncommitted on this; a better understanding of the semantics of *rì* might decide the matter.

We note that there is also a verb *rì*, expressing past progressive (16.10), which is almost certainly not related to determiner *rì*.

(120) *má rì dʒó `sī-rē*  
 1S be [house N-build-SB]  
 (a) 'I was building a house.'  
 (b) 'I have been building a house.'

#### 12.9. *nā*-phrase (with proximal discourse determiner *nā*)

A *nā* phrase can exist only as a 'full phrase'; *nā* cannot stand bare, on its own. Like *rì* phrases, *nā* phrases are open to different kinds of interpretation, depending on whether the phrase contains a modifier. If there is no modifier, the *nā* phrase is interpreted as definite, with the referent having been referred to in the immediately preceding discourse. It need not be interpreted as specific. We tend to translate it as 'the aforementioned'. It functions somewhat like a topic marker, indicating something which has been talked about in the utterance context.

It is worth comparing the *nā*-phrase with the *rì*-phrase. Both refer to an entity which has been previously mentioned, but the *nā* phrase must find an immediately preceding referent (sometimes in the same sentence), while the *rì* phrase must find a more distant referent. Thus these determiners function as distal vs. proximal discourse deictics, in parallel with the distal vs. proximal physical context deictics (the demonstratives). The use of *nā* is illustrated by the following four sentences which should be taken as a sequence forming a discourse.

- (121) *ídré*    *ō-rì*    *àmā*    *ĩtfāndì-rē*  
 rat        3-stay    [1PL(EXC) (N)-disturb-SB]  
 ‘Rats were / a rat was disturbing us.’
- (122) *ām-ōsí*                    *màtégo*    *sì*  
 1PL(EXC)-trap    trap        SR  
 ‘We set some traps.’
- (123) *ídré*    *nā*    *tfĩĩ*  
 rat        AFR    clever(S)  
 (a) ‘The aforementioned rat is clever.’ (note: shift to singular is  
 for pragmatic reasons - a trap catches one rat at a time)  
 (b)\* ‘An aforementioned rat is clever.’
- (124) *ō-lè*        *tà*        *nākā*        *kū*  
 3-want    [thing    (N)-eat-SB]    NEG(N)  
 ‘It doesn’t want to eat (the bait).’

### 12.9.1. *The possessive interpretation of N+nā*

*nā* also functions as a possessive pronominal. Thus *ílí nā* might be interpreted as ‘the aforementioned knife’ or as ‘his/her/its knife’. Possession is alienable or inalienable. The noun phrase as a whole is normally interpreted as definite and non-specific (125a), but an indefinite non-specific reading (125b) is also available.

- (125) *ílí*    *nā*    *ō-lí*    *mā*    *ĩ*  
 knife    AFR    3-cut    1S    FOC  
 (a) ‘It was me that the knife of the aforementioned cut.’  
 (b) ‘It was me that a knife of the aforementioned cut.’

#### 12.9.1.1. Plural *kí nā*

There is a plural form which is only found with the possessive version of *nā* which is *kí nā*. This combination is not possible with the non-possessive *nā*. This *kí* is interestingly different from the subject plural marker *kí`* which includes a final low tone (14.1.2.3). In the *kí nā* structure the possessor is made plural. In contrast, the possessed object and hence the noun phrase as a whole is not itself affected by *kí*, though as always a plural reading is possible.

- (126) *íli kí nā ō-lí mā nì*  
 knife PL AFR 3-cut 1S FOC  
 (a) 'It was their knife that cut me.'  
 (b) 'It was their knives that cut me.'

If *kí* is not present, then *nā* has a singular interpretation. Thus *nā* on its own is not compatible for example with a reduplicated completion adverbial, which forces plurality on the participants.

- (127) *?ā nā ōgā dé*  
 stomach AFR 3-fill COM  
 'Her stomach is full.'
- (128)\* *?ā nā ōgā dé dé*  
 stomach AFR 3-fill COM COM  
 'Her stomach is full.'
- (129) *?ā kí nā ōgā dé*  
 stomach PL AFR 3-fill COM  
 'Their stomachs are full.' (with 'they' conceptualized as a unit)
- (130) *?ā kí nā ōgā dé dé*  
 stomach PL AFR 3-fill COM COM  
 'Their stomachs are full.' (as individuals)

However, *nā* without *kí* can express a plural possessor if the noun is plural, and pragmatically plurality is forced on the possessor (131).

- (131) *má ndrē ēndré kí nā ádzíní*  
 1S saw mother (PL) PL AFR yesterday  
 'I saw their mothers yesterday.'

The non-possessive reading of *nā* permits plural interpretation without *kí*.

- (132) *má ndrē ēndré nā ádzíní*  
 1S saw mother (PL) AFR yesterday  
 'I saw the ones which are mothers yesterday.'

### 12.9.1.2. Possession of a kinship noun

A kinship noun can be possessed using *nā* or with *kí nā* but without the LOW determiner.

- (133) *ēndrē nā mārīà ǀ*  
 mother AFR Maria FOC  
 (a) 'The/his mother is Maria.'  
 (b) 'The one who is a mother to him is Maria.' (nonpossessive reading)
- (134)\* *āvú̀ndzǐ́ kǐ́ nā mōrīà pǐ́ ǀ́*  
 sisters-SPEC PL POSS Moria PRPL FOC  
 'Their sisters are Moria and the associates.'
- (135) *āvú̀ndzǐ́ kǐ́ nā mōrīà pǐ́ ǀ́*  
 sisters-IND PL POSS Moria PRPL FOC  
 'Their sisters are Moria and the associates.'

### 12.9.1.3. Locality and possessive *nā*

The strict locality condition on non-possessive *nā* does not carry over to possessive *nā*; the possessor need not have been mentioned in the preceding utterance. Where the *nā* phrase is an object, the coreferent cannot be the subject.

- (136) *ópí ǝ-kǝ éno nā rá*  
 Opi 3-catch picture AFR AFF  
 (a) 'Opi [1] has certainly taken his [2] picture.'  
 (b)\* 'Opi [1] has certainly taken his [1] picture.'

A subject with *nā* can however corefer to a preceding topicalized phrase.

- (137) *dʒó ǀ́ ( nǐ́ ) ǀā nā k-ǝlú èǀ́*  
 house DEF SPEC PR room AFR 3DIR-stay two  
 'The house (in question, we are talking about), it should have two rooms.'

### 12.9.1.4. Possessive *nā* with a clausal complement

Possessive *nā* can take a preceding clause with a *-kā* verb.

- (138) *k-áǀí-ā dʒǐ́-kā nā rá*  
 3-(N)-agree-OBJ [N-take-SB] AFR AFF  
 (a) 'She will certainly agree to take it.'  
 (b) 'She will certainly agree to its being taken.'

- (139) *k-áṛì-ā*                      *dʒí-kā*                      *rá*  
 3-(N)-agree-OBJ              [N-take-SB]                      AFF  
 (a) 'She will certainly agree to take it.'  
 (b)\* 'She will certainly agree to its being taken.'

## 12.9.1.5. Idioms

The possessive reading of *nā* allows idiomatic uses with *tà* 'thing'.

- (140) *tà nā āsì dì*  
 thing AFR remain COM  
 'She has forgotten (it).'
- (141) *tà nā lōʔú*  
 thing AFR painful  
 'She is a miser.'
- (142) *ópi nī mādí lōsó rì ʔī . tà nā ègbé*  
 Opi PR person good DEF FOC . thing AFR painless  
 'Opi is a good person. He is open handed.'

12.9.2. *Restrictions on interpretation associated with syntactic location*

The *nā* phrase has, in principle, three kinds of interpretation. It can be interpreted as:

a proximal discourse determiner;

an indefinite determiner accompanying a modifier, with the noun capable of being interpreted as the modifier of an empty head (13.2.3);

a possessor.

In some contexts, the proximal discourse determiner reading is lost.

## 12.9.2.1. The focused object: loss of the 'aforementioned' meaning

If the noun phrase is an object and is focused, it loses the proximal discourse reading. This does not happen to a subject focused with *nī*.

- (143) *ópi ō-sī dʒó nā ʔī*  
 Opi 3-build house AFR FOC  
 (a)\* 'It was the aforementioned house that Opi built.'  
 (b) 'It was one / the one which was a house that Opi built.'  
 (c) 'It was his / her house that Opi built'

- (144) *ópī*    *ō-sī̄*    *dʒó*    *nā*    *áū*  
 Opi    3-build house    AFR    FOC  
 (a)\* 'It was the aforementioned house that Opi built.'  
 (b) 'It was the one / one which was a house that Opi built.'  
 (c) 'It was his / her house that Opi built.'

This restriction carries over to when the *nā* phrase is a predicate, requiring *ī̄*.

- (145) *dī̄*    *dʒó*    *nā*    *ī̄*  
 this house    AFR    FOC  
 (a)\* 'This is the aforementioned house.'  
 (b) 'This is one which is a house.'  
 (c) 'This is his house.'

Like other noun phrases with a determiner, this type of noun phrase cannot be final without being focused.

- (146)\* *ópī*    *ō-sī̄*    *dʒó*    *nā*  
 Opi    3-build house    AFR  
 'Opi built the aforementioned house.'

### 12.9.2.2. Complement to *sī̄* 'with': loss of the 'aforementioned' meaning

When the phrase is the complement to *sī̄* the 'source' postposition (but only when *sī̄* has the interpretation of 'with') it loses the proximal discourse reading.

- (147) *ō-ī̄*    *íí*    *nā*    *sī̄*  
 3-cut knife    AFR    SR  
 (a)\* 'He cut it with the aforementioned knife.'  
 (b) 'He cut it with one that is a knife.'  
 (c) 'He cut it with his/her/the knife.'

The effect can be counteracted by adding an object.

- (148) *ō-ī̄*    *mā*    *íí*    *nā*    *sī̄*  
 3-cut    1S    knife    AFR    SR  
 'He cut me with / because of the aforementioned knife'

The 'aforementioned' reading is not lost if the source postposition *sī̄* is interpreted as 'because of':

- (149)  $\bar{o}\text{-}\bar{l}\bar{i}$      $\acute{i}\bar{l}\bar{i}$      $n\bar{a}$      $s\grave{i}$   
 3-cut    knife    AFR    SR  
 (a) 'He cut it because of the aforementioned knife'  
 (b) 'He cut it because of one that is a knife'  
 (c) 'He cut it because of his/her knife'

But even the 'because' reading loses the 'aforementioned' reading if there is a temporal expression like  $\acute{a}d\acute{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$  'yesterday' between the verb and the postposition phrase.

- (150)  $\bar{o}\text{-}\bar{l}\bar{i}$      $\acute{i}\bar{l}\bar{i}$      $n\bar{a}$      $s\grave{i}$   
 3-cut    knife    AFR    SR  
 (a)\* 'He cut it because of / with the aforementioned knife'  
 (b) 'He cut it because of /with one / the one that is a knife'  
 (c) 'He cut it because of / with his/her knife'

Other postpositions do not appear to affect the interpretation of  $n\bar{a}$  in these ways.

### 12.9.3. A dialectal variation : Ugandan Ma'di $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ instead of $n\bar{a}$

Ugandan Ma'di uses  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  (the third person nonsubject form of the pronoun) where Lokai uses  $n\bar{a}$ . We believe that the possessive reading is not available with Ugandan Ma'di  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ .

- (151)  $m\acute{a}$      $\bar{l}\bar{o}n\bar{g}\acute{o}$      $n\bar{a}$      $\grave{n}g\bar{o}$      $w\grave{a}$   
 1S    song    AFR    N-sing    PS    [Lokai]  
 (a) 'I can sing the (aforementioned) song.'  
 (b) 'I can sing the one that is a song.'  
 (c) 'I can sing her song.'
- (152)  $m\acute{a}$      $\bar{l}\bar{o}n\bar{g}\acute{o}$      $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$      $\grave{n}g\bar{o}$      $w\grave{a}$   
 1S    song    3S    N-sing    PS    [Ugandan Ma'di]  
 (a) 'I can sing the (aforementioned) song.'  
 (b) 'I can sing the one that is a song.'  
 (c)\* 'I can sing her song.'

## 12.10. The addition of specificity to definite noun phrases

### 12.10.1. Determiner + LOW

Most types of phrase with an overt definite determiner can manifest an apparent ambiguity between a specific and a non-specific interpretation.

Thus for example a noun phrase *dì* can be interpreted as nonspecific ‘this’ or as specific ‘this one’. For example, if I came to fetch a goat from among a group of goats I could refer to it as *ìndrì rì* ‘the goat’ which would mean that it is ‘the goat we discussed earlier’ but could either be any one of a group of goats (eg. we discussed my taking a goat, but didn’t designate an individual), or a specific goat (eg. we discussed my taking a designated goat). Similarly, if there were a group of bottles on a table I could say that I am taking *tfúpà dì* ‘this bottle’ and reach out for a bottle, but ambiguous between ‘this bottle (but any of the others would have done as well)’ and ‘this specific bottle’.

The specific and non-specific interpretations correlate with the presence or absence of *nī* after the noun phrase.

This ambiguity is found only with the determiners which end on a low tone (ie. it is not found with *na*), and we suggest that it reflects the structural absence or presence of the phonologically concealed specific determiner LOW after the definite determiner. If LOW were to follow the definite determiner it would be phonologically deleted (absorbed into the preceding low tone). Thus there are two distinct structures for the non-specific and specific noun phrases with these definite determiners.

(153) *ē-dzì*                      *dì*                      *má*      *ní*  
 (3)-VE-take                  this                      1S      BEN  
 ‘She brought this for me.’

(154) *ē-dzì*                      *dì*      `                      *nī*      *má*      *ní*  
 (3)-VE-take                  this      SPEC      PR      1S      BEN  
 ‘She brought this (specific) one for me.’

(155) *ídré*      *rì*                                      *bārá*      *àkó*  
 rat      DEF                                      child      without  
 (a) ‘The rat (in question) is without a child.’  
 (b) ‘The one which is a rat is without a child.’

(156) *ídré*      *rì*                      `                      *nī*      *bārá*      *àkó*  
 rat      DEF      SPEC      PR      child      without  
 (a) ‘The (specific) rat (in question) is without a child.’  
 (b) ‘The (specific) one which is a rat is without a child.’

(157) *ágó*      *rì*                                      *lápwojí*  
 man      DEF                                      teacher  
 (a) ‘The man (in question) is a teacher.’  
 (b) ‘The male is a teacher.’ (ie. non-specific)  
 (c)\* ‘The male one is a teacher’ (ie. specific)

- (158)  $\acute{a}g\acute{o}$   $r\grave{i}$   $\`$   $n\bar{i}$   $l\grave{a}pw\acute{o}n\acute{i}$   
 man DEF SPEC PR teacher  
 (a) 'The man (in question) is a teacher.'  
 (b)\* 'The male is a teacher.' (ie. non-specific)  
 (c) 'The male one is a teacher.' (ie. specific)
- (159)  $n\grave{a}$   $m\bar{a}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 that 1S FOC  
 'That is me.'
- (160)  $n\grave{a}$   $\`$   $n\bar{i}$   $m\bar{a}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 that SPEC PR 1S FOC  
 'That (specific) one is me.'

There are two kinds of supporting evidence for this analysis. The first comes from the fact that a  $\bar{N}$  + LOW noun phrase (with an audible LOW determiner) cannot be inserted directly into some syntactic locations (subject of nonverbal predicate and object position), but must be adjoined to a pronominal in these locations - usually  $n\bar{i}$  but also  $p\bar{i}$  or  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$ . When definite noun phrases have a specific interpretation, they are subject to the same constraint. This allies them with  $\bar{N}$  + LOW noun phrases, and supports the proposal that they have the LOW determiner. There is further evidence for this analysis from 'Burulo, in comparison with the Lokai data we discuss here. 'Burulo lacks the LOW determiner (except in kinship expressions). It also lacks a specificity reading for the definite noun phrase and  $n\bar{i}$  is never used after definite noun phrases unlike Lokai.

Henceforth we assume that the LOW determiner is structurally present but phonologically lost in the specific definite noun phrases and gloss the presence of the specific determiner. Thus there are the following possibilities:

NOUN +	DEFINITE DETERMINER	+ SPECIFIC DETERMINER
Noun +	demonstrative ( $d\grave{i}$ , $n\grave{a}$ , ...)	
Noun +	demonstrative ( $d\grave{i}$ , $n\grave{a}$ , ...)	+ LOW
Noun +	$r\grave{i}$	
Noun +	$r\grave{i}$	+ LOW
Noun +	$n\bar{a}$	

It does not appear to be possible to combine the specific determiner with the  $n\bar{a}$  determiner.

Indefinite specific  $z\grave{i}$  is not found with this use of  $n\bar{i}$  (though it is found with possessive  $n\bar{i}$ ; see below). We do in fact note an ambiguity with  $z\grave{i}$  interpreted as 'another' vs. 'a certain', but we do not find any syntactic evidence that this ambiguity correlates with the presence or absence of a specific LOW determiner.

12.10.2. Demonstrative + *bá*̀, and *zì* + *bá*̀

In this section we present a construction in which the noun phrase is followed by *bá*̀ followed by the low specific determiner, to give *bá*̀.

(161) *dī*      *bá*̀      *ō-vù*      *nī*  
 this      PL-SPEC      3-go (PL)      FOC  
 ‘It is these ones (this one and the associates) that went.’

(162) *nà*      *bá*̀      *lápwojī*  
 that      PL-SPEC      teachers (PL)  
 ‘Those ones (that one and the associates) are teachers.’

(163) *zì*      *bá*̀      *ōgū*  
 other      PL-SPEC      thieves  
 ‘Some / others are thieves.’

The construction is found with demonstratives and *zì*, and in both cases it is possible for the determiner to be preceded by a noun as well.

(164) *bá*      *nà*      *bá*̀      *ōgū*  
 people      that      PL-SPEC      thieves  
 ‘Those people are thieves.’

Without *bá*̀ this is a statement about people in general; with *bá*̀ there is reference to a specific group.

(165) *bá*      *zì*      *bá*̀      *ōgū*  
 people      other      PL-SPEC      thieves  
 ‘Some people are thieves.’

In the above sentence, *bá*̀ defines a subgroup from which the ‘some’ are selected.

The phrase is interpreted always as plural but a ‘group’ reading is possible, if for example an adjectival predicate is in the singular.

(166) *nà*      *bá*̀      *ūdī*  
 that      PL-SPEC      new(PL)  
 ‘Those ones are new.’ (in several groups)

(167) *nà*      *bá*̀      *údī*  
 that      PL-SPEC      new(S)  
 ‘Those ones are new.’ (as a group)

If the predicate is a noun phrase, the predicate must be inflected as plural.

- (168)\* *nà*            *bá*            *lápwojì*  
 that            PL-SPEC    teacher (S)  
 ‘Those ones are teacher.’

It is still possible however to get a ‘group’ reading for the subject by using *nĩ*.

- (169) *nà*            *bá*            *nĩ*            *lápwojĩ*  
 that            PL-SPEC    PR            teachers (PL)  
 ‘Those ones (those and their associates in a group) are teachers.’

Note that *pĩ* can also be used.

- (170) *nà*            *bá*            *pĩ*            *lápwojĩ*  
 that            PL-SPEC    PRPL        teachers (PL)  
 ‘Those ones (those and their associates in several groups) are teachers.’

- (171) *zì*            *bá*            *pĩ*            *ṣ-vù*        *rá*  
 other        PL-SPEC    PRPL        3-go(PL)    AFF  
 ‘Others (in several groups) certainly went.’

## Chapter 13

### Modification of the noun (including possession)

In this chapter we look at modifiers, including possessors, within the noun phrase. A non-possessive modifier is always a postmodifier: if the noun is present it always precedes the postmodifier, and the postmodifier always precedes a determiner; the noun may also be omitted. A premodifier is always possessive: there are two types, definite possessors with *ʔà* and indefinite possessors with *nī*. There is a third possible type of modification, with a possessor in a *drí*-phrase, which is typically in postmodifier position but which appears to be able to ‘float’ out of this position. In addition to the possession structures discussed in this chapter, it is also possible to use the LOW determiner to express possession (12.6.2).

#### 13.1. Premodifiers

There are two kinds of pre-modifier in the noun phrase, both expressing a possessor. The choice of phrase depends on whether the possessor is indefinite (takes *nī*) or definite (takes *ʔà*).

##### 13.1.1. Pre-modification (possession) with *nī*

An indefinite noun phrase can be a possessor in the following kind of structure:

indefinite (possessor) + *nī* + noun (possessed)

The indefinite can be a bare indefinite (most examples below) or a *zì*-phrase (last two examples). The possessed noun must be the final word in the phrase; it cannot be followed by any other determiner. The phrase overall is interpreted as indefinite (and it can also be sentence-final, like an indefinite).

(1)     *àràbíà nī vú dī*  
car    POSS prints    this  
‘Here is / This is a car’s (tyre-)prints.’

(2)     *òtʔé nī bí èrì*  
dog    POSS ear    two  
(a) ‘A dog has two ears.’  
(b) ‘Dogs have two ears.’

- (3) *dī*    *àràbíà*    *nī*    *vú*  
 this    car    POSS    prints  
 ‘This is / here is a car’s (tyre-)prints.’
- (4) *nà*    *màdí*    *nī*    *mī*  
 that    person    POSS    eye  
 ‘That’s a person’s eye.’
- (5) *òtǝé*    *ò-tǝí*    *ìndrí*    *nī*    *pá*  
 dog    3-bite    goat    POSS    leg  
 (a) ‘Dogs have / a dog has bitten a goat’s leg.’  
 (b)\* ‘Dogs have / a dog has bitten the goat’s leg.’
- (6) *àràbíà*    *nī*    *pá*    *ò-ndzē*    *rū*    *nì*  
 car    POSS    wheel    3-extract    REFL    FOC  
 (a) ‘It is a wheel of a car that came off.’  
 (b) ‘It is the wheel of a car that came off.’
- (7) *ìjǝ*    *nī*    *bòndzī*    *ò-drà*    *nì*  
 crocodile    POSS    child(PL)    3-die    FOC  
 (a) ‘It is children of a crocodile that have died.’  
 (b) ‘It is the children of a crocodile that have died.’  
 (c) ‘It is the children of crocodiles that have died.’
- (8) *dī*    *màdí*    *zì*    *nī*    *ízí*  
 this    person    some    PR    wife  
 ‘This is someone else’s wife.’
- (9) *bá*    *zì*    *nī*    *ùkú*  
 people    other    PR    wife (PL)  
 ‘other people’s wives’

A subordinate clause with *-kā* can also take possessive *nī*, which again suggests that this kind of subordinate clause is actually a noun phrase.

- (10)    *̀jā-kā*    *āđútē*    *nī*    *òkpó*  
 [ N-eat-SB    alone ]    PR    difficulty  
 ‘The difficulty of eating it alone’

Inclusive ‘our’ can be a possessor even though it is definite.

- (11) *bá*    *nī*    *dzó*    *ò-gwē*    *rá*  
 INC    POSS    house    3-burn    AFF  
 (a) ‘Our (you inclusive) house has certainly burnt down.’  
 (b) ‘People’s houses have certainly burnt down.’

Other kinds of noun phrase are excluded from being the possessor in these cases (but acceptable in 'Burulo, 13.1.1.2).

(12)\*  $\acute{o}t\acute{f}\acute{e}$   $\bar{o}-t\acute{f}\acute{i}$   $\grave{i}ndr\acute{i}$   $n\grave{a}$   $n\bar{i}$   $p\acute{a}$  ( $\bar{?}\acute{i}$ )  
 dog 3-bite goat that POSS leg (FOC)  
 'A dog bit that goat's leg.'

(13)\*  $\acute{o}t\acute{f}\acute{e}$   $\bar{o}-t\acute{f}\acute{i}$   $\grave{i}ndr\acute{i}$   $r\grave{i}$   $n\bar{i}$   $p\acute{a}$  ( $\bar{?}\acute{i}$ )  
 dog 3-bite goat DEF POSS leg (FOC)  
 'A dog bit the goat (in question's) leg.'

### 13.1.1.1. Possessive $n\bar{i}$ vs. grammatical $n\bar{i}$

The pronominal  $n\bar{i}$  is used after noun phrases with the definite and specific determiner LOW, and is obligatory when such noun phrases are in object and nonverbal subject positions. This  $n\bar{i}$ , which we call 'grammatical  $n\bar{i}$ ' is unable to follow an indefinite noun phrase. In contrast, possessive  $n\bar{i}$  can only follow an indefinite. We suggest that the two kinds of  $n\bar{i}$  are different words, accidental homophones.

(14)  $\grave{i}t\acute{u}$   $\grave{a}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$   
 sun hot  
 'The sun is hot.'

(15)\*  $\grave{i}t\acute{u}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\grave{a}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$  (grammatical  $n\bar{i}$ )  
 sun PR hot  
 'The sun is hot.'

(16)  $\grave{i}t\acute{u}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\grave{a}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$   
 sun PR hotness (possessive  $n\bar{i}$ )  
 'The sun's hotness'

There are three reasons to think that possessive  $n\bar{i}$  might in fact be a variant of the postposition  $n\acute{i}$  (in contrast we suggested in 12.1.3.1 that grammatical  $n\bar{i}$  is a variant of the pronoun  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ ). First, it would mean that, like the  $d\acute{r}\acute{i}$  strategy and probably the  $\bar{?}\acute{a}$  strategy, this is another example of a postpositional strategy for possession. Second, the tonal difference between the possessional  $n\bar{i}$  and the postposition  $n\acute{i}$  is parallel to the tonal difference between the possessional  $\bar{?}\acute{a}$  and the postposition  $\bar{?}\acute{a}$ ; in both cases, a tone is lowered one step to get possession. Third, the Logbara cognate is actually a high tone  $n\acute{i}$  (homophonous in Logbara with the postposition  $n\acute{i}$ ); Crazzarola does not treat them as the same (1960: 141).

However, if *nĩ* is a variant of postposition *nĩ́*, it is not only a phonological variant but also has different selectional properties. While postposition *nĩ́* takes a wide range of NP structures but requires the complement to be animate, possessive *nĩ* takes a restricted range of NP structures (bare noun and noun + LOW only) and has no animacy restriction.

These selectional properties also distinguish possessive *nĩ* from its homophone, the *nĩ* used after specific noun phrases. It is thus likely that while possessive *nĩ* is a postposition which is homophonous with pronominal *nĩ*, they are not related words.

### 13.1.1.2. Dialectal variation ('Burulo)

In Lokai the possessor in a *nĩ* possession must be indefinite. The possessor can be definite in 'Burulo.

- (17)\* *òtʃé*    *ɔ̄-tʃĩ*    *ìndrĩ*    *rì*    *nĩ*    *pá*    *nì*  
 dog    3-bite    goat    DEF    PR    leg    FOC    [Lokai]  
 'It was a dog that bit the goat (in question's) leg.'

- (18) *òké*    *sĩ*    *ìndĩ*    *rĩ*    *nĩ*    *pá*    *nì*  
 dog    bite    goat    DEF    PR    leg    FOC    ['Burulo]  
 'It was a dog that bit the goat (in question's) leg.'

Thus the following difference arises, where 'Burulo can use *nĩ* where the possessor is definite (a possessive phrase). 'Burulo also makes different use of grammatical *nĩ* (10.2.1.6).

- (19) *kĩ*    *ɔ̄-mbā*    *ānā-à*    *lĩmĩ*    *?à*    *tà*    *nĩ*    *kū*  
 but    3-take care    3S-POSS    wealth    POSS    thing    PR    NEG(N)  
 'But she was not taking care of her wealth.' [Ugandan Ma'di]

- (20) *kĩ*    *mbā*    *àdā-à*    *lĩmĩ*    *nĩ*    *ŋgá*    *kū*  
 but    take care    3S-POSS    wealth    PR    thing    NEG(N)  
 'But she was not taking care of her wealth.' ['Burulo]

### 13.1.2. Pre-modification (possession) with *?à*

*?à* is a postposition which expresses alienable or inalienable possession; it is found in Lokai but not in Ugandan Ma'di. The definite noun phrase which precedes it as its complement is interpreted as the possessor. The *?à*-phrase precedes the possessed noun.

definite noun phrase (interpreted as possessor) + *ʔà* + noun (+ optional postmodifier, definite determiner, specific determiner)

Examples follow:

- (21) *má ndrē ópí ʔà ēndrē nī ádzíní*  
 1S see Opi POSS mother SPEC PR yesterday  
 'I saw Opi's mother yesterday.'
- (22) *ṣ-ṣò àdzú rì ʔà sí ( nī ) áū*  
 3-break spear DEF POSS tooth SPEC PR FOC  
 'It was the blade of the spear (in question) that she broke.'
- (23) *má jā ópí ʔà lābōlō mā ʔī kū*  
 1S eat Opi POSS bananas 1S FOC NEG(N)  
 (a) 'It wasn't me who ate Opi's bananas.'  
 (b) 'It won't be me to eat Opi's bananas.'
- (24) *ópí ʔà ìndrì ē-mú nì*  
 opi POSS goat VE-go FOC  
 'It is Opi's goat that came.'
- (25) *ópí ʔà lābōlō lōsó*  
 Opi POSS banana good  
 (a) 'Opi's bananas are good.'  
 (b) 'Opi's banana is good.'
- (26) *ópí ʔà lābōlō éno*  
 Opi POSS banana picture  
 'Opi's banana is a picture.'

A noun phrase can be a sequence of *ʔà* phrase followed by a noun, followed by the determiner *nā*. In some cases the interpretation of such a phrase suggests that the *ʔà* phrase and head noun together constitute a noun phrase functioning as a modifier of an empty head; thus being 'Opi's child' is a characteristic rather than an identity in (27).

- (27) *ópí ʔà bārā nā má nì kū*  
 Opi POSS child AFR 1S know NEG(N)  
 'I don't know any who is / the one who is Opi's child.'
- (28) *ópí ʔà àdzú nā má ndrē gbù kūrù*  
 Opi POSS spear AFR 1S see before NEG(P)  
 'I have never seen any which is Opi's spear.'

In other cases, the interpretation suggests that the noun is really the head of the phrase with *nā* as the determiner.

- (29) *má ndrē ópí à àdʒú nā gbù kūrù*  
 1S see Opi POSS spear AFR before NEG(P)  
 'I haven't seen the one which is Opi's spear before.'

### 13.1.2.1. The phrase as a whole

The phrase as a whole cannot end a sentence (unlike a bare indefinite), but can be pre-adjoined to *ʔí* (like a definite noun phrase). These facts are true irrespective of whether the phrase ends on the possessed noun, or has a determiner following the possessed noun.

- (30) *má nā ópí ʔà lābōlō ʔí*  
 1S eat Opi POSS banana FOC  
 'It's Opi's bananas that I ate.'

- (31)\* *má nā ópí ʔà lābōlō*  
 1S eat Opi POSS banana  
 'It's Opi's bananas that I ate.'

- (32) *ēsú ópí ɔ̄-lè gálámù*  
 find Opi 3-want pen  
*má kō má kè nā-à gálámù rì ʔí*  
 1S then 1S give 2S-POSS pen DEF FOC  
 'Opi had wanted a pen, I (then) gave your pen (in question).'

### 13.1.2.2. The possessor

The possessor which is followed by possessive *ʔà* is a definite noun phrase, such as a name (33), a phrase with kinship LOW (34), a *rì*-phrase (35), a *nā*-phrase (36) or a phrase with a demonstrative (37).

- (33) *ópí ʔà dʒó ʔí*  
 Opi/chief POSS house FOC  
 (a) '(It's) Opi's house.'  
 (b)\* '(It's) a chief's house.'

- (34) *(ānā-à) ādrúpí ʔà dʒó ɔ̄-gwē rá*  
 3S-POSS brother SPEC POSS house 3-burn AFF  
 'Her brother's house has certainly burnt down.'

- (35) *màdí àzō rì ʔà pá kó-ηò nì*  
 person tall DEF POSS leg 3-break FOC  
 'It is the / a tall person's leg which will break.'
- (36) *kómí nā ʔà pá ɔ̄-ηò rá*  
 chair AFR POSS leg 3-break AFF  
 (a) 'The aforementioned chair's leg is certainly broken.'  
 (b)?? 'One / the one that is a chair's leg is certainly broken.'  
 (c) 'The (his / her) chair's leg is certainly broken.'
- (37) *ágó nà ʔà ādrúpi ʔí*  
 man that POSS brother FOC  
 '(It's) that man's brother.'

An indefinite nonspecific *zì*-phrase can also take *ʔà*

- (38) *ágó zì ʔà ādrúpi ʔí*  
 man other POSS brother FOC  
 '(It's) a certain man's brother.'

The only type of definite noun phrase which cannot be the possessor is a noun phrase with definite specific LOW (this type of noun phrase is never capable of being a possessor: it is also not found as a possessor with *drí*).

- (39)\* *ìndrí ʔà pá*  
 goat SPEC POSS leg  
 'The goat's leg.'

An indefinite noun phrase cannot be a possessor with *ʔà*.

- (40)\* *kómí ʔà pá ɔ̄-ηò rá*  
 chair POSS leg 3-break AFF  
 'A chair's leg is certainly broken.'

### 13.1.2.3. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are NS-pronouns which are complements to the postposition *ʔà*. The postposition raises the tone on the singular pronoun (all postpositions do this to singular pronouns and demonstratives). Both the glottal [ʔ] and the final vowel of the pronoun are deleted, with low tones also lost; these are all typical phonological processes of the language.

Table 43. Possessive pronouns

	underlying form = NS pronoun + postposition	after raising of the tone on singular pronominal	deletion of glottal in postposition	deletion of vowel in pronominal	surface form
my	<i>mā ʔà</i>	<i>má ʔà</i>	<i>má à</i>	<i>m´ à</i>	<i>má`</i>
our	<i>àmā ʔà</i>	<i>àmā ʔà</i>	<i>àmā à</i>	<i>àm à</i>	<i>àmà</i>
your (S)	<i>ɲí ʔà</i>	<i>ɲí ʔà</i>	<i>ɲí à</i>	<i>ɲ´ à</i>	<i>ɲá`</i>
your (PL)	<i>àɲí ʔà</i>	<i>àɲí ʔà</i>	<i>àɲí à</i>	<i>àɲ à</i>	<i>àɲà</i>
his, her, its	<i>āní ʔà</i>	<i>āní ʔà</i>	<i>āní à</i>	<i>ān´ à</i>	<i>āná`</i>
their	<i>àʔí ʔà</i>	<i>àʔí ʔà</i>	<i>àʔí à</i>	<i>àʔí à</i>	<i>àʔíà</i>

13.1.2.4. Possessive *ʔà* as a postposition in relation to locational *ʔā*

*ʔà* has the syntax of a postposition, in that it can take a full noun phrase complement. Furthermore *ʔà* has the effect of raising the tone on a preceding pronoun or deictic. This is an effect seen with postpositions, which further justifies the identification of *ʔà* as a postposition. As is often the case with sequences of grammatical words, there is also the potential for deletion of segments. This is seen when a pronoun is followed by *ʔà*. The glottal stop is deleted, and the final vowel of the pronoun is deleted; tones remain. Thus for example ‘your (singular)’ is not *ɲí ʔà* but *ɲá`*. The vowel of the combined pronoun + postposition can itself be deleted along with the low tone: thus *má ʔà éndrè* is realized as *méndrè* ‘my mother’.

The possessive postposition *ʔà* might in principle be related to the locative postposition *ʔā* ‘in’ (parallel to the relation between possessive *drí* and locational *drí*). The phonological difference between *ʔā* and *ʔà* might possibly be a manifestation of the floating low determiner which perhaps always following the postposition phrase when it expresses possession, which by a regular phonological process would lower the mid tone: *ʔā + ` → ʔà*. The possibility that the specific LOW determiner follows the word might explain why no other determiner can follow it. It also recalls the possibility of having the low determiner suffixed to a postposition phrase with *drí* (whose tone would not be affected). However, there are three clear differences between *ʔā* and *ʔà* apart from the tone, which somewhat militates against the possibility that one is derived from the other. First, *ʔā* is more widely used as a locational postposition in Ugandan Ma’di than in Lokai, but *ʔà* is not used as a

possessional postposition at all. Second, locational  $\text{ʔā}$  takes only an inanimate complement; this is not true for possessional  $\text{ʔà}$ . Third, locational  $\text{ʔā}$  takes an indefinite complement, while possessive  $\text{ʔà}$  takes a definite complement. Finally we note that 'Burulo has  $\text{ʔà}$  but does not have the LOW specific determiner, which also somewhat militates against our hypothetical derivation.

### 13.1.2.5. A special use of $\text{ʔà}$ -possession to indicate location

The syntax of  $\text{ʔà}$ -possession makes possible some interesting sentences.

(41)  $\text{ó-tī}$        $\text{mā}$        $\text{ópí}$        $\text{ʔà}$        $\text{vú}$        $\text{gá}$   
 IND-born    1S      Opi      POSS    after    LOC  
 'I was born after Opi.'

(42)  $\text{ɲì}$        $\text{bà}$        $\text{ópí}$        $\text{pĩ}$        $\text{ʔà}$        $\text{lélé}$        $\text{gá}$        $\text{ìtó}$        $\text{trò}$   
 2SDIR    put    Opi    PRPL    POSS    between    LOC    Ito    COMT  
 '(You should) put it in between Opi and Ito.'

In these sentences the possessed noun is a location, which is then the complement to the postposition  $\text{gá}$ . In the second example the postposition phrase 'with Ito' is further added to the sentence.

### 13.1.2.6. Dialectal variant ('Burulo)

In 'Burulo, the  $\text{ʔà}$  phrase can optionally be followed by the definite article  $\text{rí}$ .

(43)  $\text{zó}$        $\text{dí}$        $\text{má-à}$       ( $\text{rí}$ )       $\text{ĩĩ}$   
 house    this    1S-POSS    DEF      FOC      ['Burulo]  
 'This house is mine.'

The Lokai equivalent involves  $\text{drĩ}$  instead.

(44)  $\text{d3ó}$        $\text{dí}$        $\text{má}$        $\text{drĩ}$        $\text{rĩ}$        $\text{ĩĩ}$   
 house    this    1S-POSS    DEF      FOC      [Lokai]  
 'This house is mine.'

**13.2. Postmodifiers***13.2.1. The structure of postmodification*

A postmodifier must be followed by a determiner.

- (45)\* *bási*      *ĩngwē*      *ē-tfá*      *rá*  
 bus      white      (3)-VE-arrive      AFF  
 ‘The / a white bus has certainly arrived.’

Apparent exceptions to this can be analyzed as compounds. Thus the noun-adjective sequence *bá* *ĩngwē* ‘white people’ is not followed by a determiner, but it is also a fixed sequence best treated as a compound.

- (46) *bá*      *ĩngwē*      *gà*      *ē-vù*      *nĩ*  
 people      white      few      (3)-VE-go(PL)      FOC  
 ‘A few white people came.’

The determiner which follows a postmodifier can be *rĩ*, *nā*, *zì* or a demonstrative. While *nĩ* is otherwise a definite determiner, if there is a postmodifier before *nĩ* the phrase is ambiguous between definite and indefinite (13.2.9.1).

- (47) *ópi*      *ká* *gá**rĩ*      *àlí*      *rĩ*      *ē-dzé*      *rá*  
 Opi      3      bicycle      short(S)      AFR      (3)-VE-buy      AFF  
 (a)      ‘Opi will certainly buy a short bicycle.’  
 (b)      ‘Opi will certainly buy the short bicycle.’

While *nā* is otherwise a definite determiner, with a postmodifier the phrase is indefinite only (13.2.9.2).

- (48) *ópi*      *ē-dzé*      *gá**rĩ*      *àlí*      *nā*      *áū*  
 Opi      (3)-VE-buy      bicycle      short      AFR      FOC  
 (a)      ‘It’s a short bicycle that Opi bought.’  
 (b)\*      ‘It’s the short bicycle that Opi bought.’

With the demonstratives, the phrases are definite only (as elsewhere with demonstratives).

- (49) *ópi*      *ē-dzé*      *gá**rĩ*      *àlí*      *dĩ*      *ádzĩnĩ*  
 Opi      (3)-VE-buy      bicycle      short      this      yesterday  
 (a)      ‘Opi bought this short bicycle yesterday.’  
 (b)\*      ‘Opi bought a short bicycle yesterday.’

- (50)    *ópi*    *ē-dzé*                    *àlì*    *nà*                    *nī*    *ádžínī*  
 Opi    (3)-VE-buy                    short    that    SPEC PR    yesterday  
 (a)    ‘Opi bought that specific short one yesterday.’  
 (b)\*    ‘Opi bought a specific short one yesterday.’

The interpretation of *zì* is also unaffected by the presence of the postmodifier.

- (51)    *àgō*            *ālī*            *zì*            *ē-vù*                    *dí?ā*    *rā*  
 men            short (PL)    other            (3)-VE-go(PL)    here    AFF  
 ‘Some short men certainly came here.’

Of all the determiners, only the LOW determiner is incompatible with a postmodifier.

- (52)\*    *džó*            *īngwē*                    *nī*    *dī*  
 house    white                    SPEC PR    this  
 ‘Here is the white house.’

The head noun (the modified noun) may be omitted in all cases where there is postmodification. The presence or absence of the head noun does not affect the interpretation or the syntactic distribution of the noun phrase.

### 13.2.2. Adjective phrase as postmodifier

A bare adjective can function as a postmodifier:

- (53)    *ópi*            *ō-dū*            *gàlámù*            *īkā*    *rì*            *ī*  
 opi            3-take            pen                    red    DEF    FOC  
 (a)    ‘It is the red pen that Opi took.’  
 (b)    ‘It is a red pen that Opi took.’

### 13.2.3. Noun phrase as postmodifier

#### 13.2.3.1. Bare indefinite as postmodifier

A bare indefinite can function as a postmodifier. This can lead to ambiguity, since in a noun + determiner sequence the noun might be the head (interpretation (a) below) or the modifier (interpretation (b) or (c) below). Where it is a modifier, the indefinite reading becomes available with the determiner *rì*.

- (54) *áǵó rǐ*  
 man DEF  
 (a) 'the man (we were discussing earlier)'  
 (b) 'a male one'  
 (c) 'the male one'
- (55) *áǵó nā ó-pā kū*  
 man AFR IND-eat NEG  
 (a) 'The aforementioned man is not eaten.' (odd meaning)  
 (b) 'The male one is not eaten.'  
 (c) 'A male one is not eaten.'

The head noun can co-occur with the noun interpreted as a modifier.

- (56) *màdí ādrúpī rǐ ǝdā rū ìlé-nī kū*  
 person brother(IND) DEF act REFL that-like NEG(N)  
 'A person who is a brother won't behave that way.'
- (57) *ādrúpī rǐ ǝdā rū ìlé-nī kū*  
 brother(IND) DEF act REFL that-like NEG(N)  
 (a) 'One with the qualities of a brother won't behave that way.'  
 (b)\* 'A brother won't behave that way.'

The noun can be a postmodifier only with the determiners *rǐ* and *nā*. It cannot be a postmodifier with a demonstrative determiner or with *zì*.

- (58)\* *màdí ādrúpī zì ǝdā rū ìlé-nī kū*  
 person brother(IND) DEF act REFL that-like NEG(N)  
 'A person who is a brother won't behave that way.'
- (59) *ādrúpī zì ǝdā rū ìlé-nī kū*  
 brother(IND) DEF act REFL that-like NEG(N)  
 (a) 'No other brother will behave that way.'  
 (b)\* 'No other one who is a brother will behave that way.'

We noted in 12.8.2 that in a N + *rǐ* structure, the noun is interpretable only as a modifier if the verb is habitual or negated with *kū*.

### 13.2.3.2. Bare *zì*-phrase as postmodifier

A bare *zì*-phrase (ie. with the indefinite nonspecific determiner *zì*) can be a postmodifier.

- (60) *áǵó zì rì b̀̀ngú àkó*  
 man other DEF clothes without  
 (a) 'The other man (in question) was without clothes.'  
 (b) 'One of the men (in question) was without clothes.'  
 (c)\* 'Another man (in question) was without clothes.'
- (61) *zì rì ò-fè pí*  
 other DEF 3-run COM  
 (a) 'The other one fled off.'  
 (b) 'One of the others fled off.'  
 (c)\* 'Others have fled off.'
- (62) *zì nā ò-fè pí*  
 other AFR 3-run COM  
 (a) 'Another one fled off.'  
 (b)\* 'The other one fled off.'  
 (c)\* 'Others have fled off.'

Like postmodification by a bare indefinite noun, this use of *zì* is possible only when the determiner is *rì* or *nā*, and not when it is a demonstrative. It might be asked whether this is in fact a case of double determination, with the specific determiner *zì* followed by the definite determiner *rì* or *nā*. However, evidence that this is indeed a postmodification structure with *zì* as a postmodifier comes from the fact that the *rì*-phrases are ambiguously definite or indefinite, and the *nā*-phrase is only indefinite. This is a pattern we see when there is a modifier in the phrase.

A bare demonstrative cannot be a postmodifier, eg. \* *dì rì* 'the this one', but this might be because there is an incompatibility between the physical context interpretation of the demonstrative and the discourse context interpretation of *rì*.

### 13.2.3.3. Pronoun as postmodifier

A third person pronoun can be a postmodifier, but only if followed by the determiner *rì*.

- (63) *ānī (rī) rì (nī) dī*  
 3S FOC DEF PR this  
 'This / here is the one which is it.'
- (64) *ā?ī (rī) rì (nī) dī*  
 3PL FOC DEF PRPL this  
 'These / here are the ones which are them.'

## 13.2.3.4. Possessed noun as postmodifier

A noun phrase may consist of a noun combined with a possessive phrase. Noun phrases of this kind can function themselves as postmodifiers.

A noun phrase consisting of [indefinite possessor + *nī* + possessed] functions as a postmodifier.

- (65) *íjń*      *nī*      *bārá* *rì*      *ō-drà*      *nì*  
 crocodile    POSS    child    DEF    3-die    FOC  
 'It is the / a thing which is child of a crocodile which has died.'

A full *nā*-phrase, consisting of a noun followed by the determiner *nā*, can function as a postmodifier. *nā* always has a possessive interpretation in these structures. It is worth noting that the noun preceding *nā* cannot be omitted. This shows that the N + *nā* phrase is the modifier of a preceding, omitted, head.

- (66) *ópí* *ō-sī*      *dzó*      *nā*      *nà*      (*nī*)      *nì*  
 Opi 3-build    house    AFR    that    PR    FOC  
 'It is Opi [1] who built that house of his [2].' (built that thing which was a house of his)

The following example shows the *nā* phrase with another modifier.

- (67) *ādrúpī*      *nā*      *lōsó* *rì*      *ōdā*      *rū*      *ìlé(dí)-nī*      *kū*  
 brother-IND AFR good    DEF (3)-act REFL    that-way-like NEG(N)  
 'Someone who is a good brother of his won't behave that way.'  
 (indefinite)

A noun phrase containing an *?à* possessor can be a postmodifier.

- (68) *má* *ndrē*      *ópí*      *à*      *àdzú* *nā*      *gbù*      *kūrù*  
 1S see    Opi    POSS    spear    AFR    before    NEG(P)  
 'I haven't seen the one which is Opi's spear before.'

13.2.4. *Postposition phrase as postmodifier*

A postposition phrase can function as a postmodifier.

- (69) *rúkūnù*      *gá*      *nà*      *ògú*  
 corner      LOC      that      thief  
 'That one at the corner is a thief.'

- (70) òvī      nà ání      rì      (nī)      ɔ̄-lè      rū      kū  
 behaviour that like DEF PR 3-like REFL NEG(N)  
 ‘That sort of behaviour is not wanted.’

### 13.2.5. Temporal noun as postmodifier

A temporal noun can function as a postmodifier.

- (71) dī      básì      tébè      rì      ɔ̄  
 this bus earlier-today DEF FOC  
 ‘This is the bus of earlier in the day.’

It is worth noting that while some place names such as *dzúbà* can function without a postposition as a location expression (72), they cannot function as modifiers of a noun (73).

- (72)\* má `mū dzúbà  
 1S N-go Juba  
 ‘I am going to Juba.’

- (73)\* dzó dzúbà rì  
 house Juba DEF  
 ‘The house in Juba.’

### 13.2.6. Relative clause as postmodifier

A relative clause (ch.10) usually containing a suffixed verb, can be a postmodifier, with an overt or missing head noun.

- (74) ágó tí nā ēgwè-rē dī rì dī ɔ̄  
 man [cow AFR (N)-get lost-SB COM] DEF this FOC  
 ‘The man whose cow got lost is this one.’

- (75) āgó ηgwá ` nī `dī-rē kpó rì ópí ɔ̄  
 man [son SPEC PR N-kill-SB dead] DEF Opi FOC  
 (a) ‘The man [1] who killed his [1,2] son is Opi.’  
 (b) ‘The man [1] who is going to kill his [1,2] son is Opi.’

- (76) dī-dzó rì àdzú àlì àlì rì ɔ̄  
 [(N)-kill-SB] DEF spear short short DEF FOC  
 (a) ‘The one that was used for killing it is the shorter spear.’  
 (b) ‘The reason it (he) was killed is the short spear.’

- (77) *ágó tí nā ópí à ìgwè-lé dì rì dī ǀ*  
 man [cow AFR Opi POSS (N)-lose-SB COM] DEF this FOC  
 ‘The man whose cow Opi lost is this one.’

A sentence with an unsuffixed verb can be a relative clause in the following kind of construction.

- (78) *ágó tí nā ēgwè dì rì dī ǀ*  
 man [cow AFR (3)-get lost COM] DEF this FOC  
 ‘The man whose cow got lost is this one.’

- (79) *ágó tí nā ópí ìgwè dì rì dī ǀ*  
 man [cow AFR (Opi) (3)-lose COM] DEF this FOC  
 ‘The man whose cow Opi lost is this one.’

The relative clause has an explicit subject and object; the modified noun is the possessor of the object. It is referred back to by *nā*, which always takes a close antecedent, here within the upper clause.

### 13.2.7. *Other types of postmodifier*

#### 13.2.7.1. ‘the same issue’ *àlū àlū ( á )*

Note that *á* (a morpheme which we have not seen elsewhere) seems to reinforce the sense of repetition over and over.

- (80) *ká lēfó àlū àlū rì ū-rí áū kìnà kìnà*  
 3 issue one one DEF (3)-ITER-insist FOC year year  
 ‘She keeps on repeating the same issue year after year.’

- (81) *ká lēfó àlū àlū á rì ū-rí áū kìnà kìnà*  
 3 issue one one DEF (3)-ITER-insist FOC year year  
 ‘She keeps on repeating the same issue over and over year after year.’

#### 13.2.7.2. *ánī*-phrase

A phrase with *ánī* ‘like’ can be a postmodifier.

- (82) *gálámù ópí drí ánī rì ēsú-kā nā òkpó*  
 pen Opi POSS like DEF (N)-find-SB AFR hard  
 ‘It is difficult to find a pen like Opi’s.’

## 13.2.8. Multiple postmodification

## 13.2.8.1. Two postmodifiers in sequence

Two bare adjectives can be put in sequence, with the first of the two interpreted as more emphasized.

- (83) *ɲì sū bɔ̀ŋgú ɪ̀kā àzō rì áū*  
 2SDIR wear dress red long DEF FOC  
 ‘(You should) put on the red long dress.’

- (84) *ɲì sū bɔ̀ŋgú àzō ɪ̀kā rì áū*  
 2SDIR wear dress long red DEF FOC  
 ‘(You should) put on the long red dress.’

An adjective can be followed by a postposition phrase.

- (85) *m'ē-dzē sátī ɪ̀ŋgwē ɪ̀nī trò rì ɪ̄*  
 1S-VE-buy shirt white black with DEF FOC  
 ‘I bought the / a black with and white shirt.’ (spotted, ie. black background with white spots or vice versa)

- (86) *ágó lōsó àmbàmbā mùpírà gá rì ē-mú ádzínī*  
 man good a lot football LOC DEF (3)-VE-go yesterday  
 ‘The / a man who is really good at football’

A postposition phrase can be followed by an adjective.

- (87) *ágó mùpírà gá lōsó àmbàmbā rì ē-mú ádzínī*  
 man football LOC good a lot DEF VE-go yesterday  
 ‘The / a man who is really good at football came yesterday.’  
 (unclear what the emphasis is)

A temporal noun can be followed by a postposition phrase

- (88) *ágó ádzínī dzó drī gá rì ópí ɪ̄*  
 man yesterday house on LOC DEF Opi FOC  
 ‘The man who yesterday was on top of the house was Opi.’

A postposition phrase can be followed by a temporal noun

- (89) *ágó dzó drī gá ádzínī rì ópí ɪ̄*  
 man house on LOC yesterday DEF Opi FOC  
 ‘The man who was on top of the house yesterday was Opi.’

In the following example, there is a preference for keeping the adjective *l̄só* and the degree modifier *àmbàmbā* together, though it is possible to move the degree modifier to after the postposition phrase within the noun phrase.

- (90) *ágó l̄só àmbàmbā mùpírà gá r̄ ē-mú ádzíní*  
 man good a lot football LOC DEF (3)-VE-go yesterday  
 ‘The / a man who is really good at football came yesterday.’  
 (emphasizing good)
- (91) *ágó l̄só mùpírà gá àmbàmbā r̄ ē-mú ádzíní*  
 man good football LOC a lot DEF (3)-VE-go yesterday  
 ‘The / a man who is really good at football came yesterday.’ (the  
 whole notion of ‘good at football’ is being emphasized)

### 13.2.8.2. Conjoined postmodifiers

Two postmodifiers can also be conjoined with *òò* ‘and also’.

- (92) *àràbià údí òò péleré āgá-ré dípā s̄*  
 car new and also clean (N)-pass-SB here SR  
*ádzíní r̄ ētfō r̄ n̄*  
 yesterday DEF (3)-overturn REFL FOC  
 ‘It is the new and also clean car which passed through here  
 yesterday that overturned.’

### 13.2.9. Postmodifiers and definiteness

Postmodifiers have an effect on the definiteness of noun phrases with the determiner *r̄* or *nā*. They do not affect the definiteness of other types of noun phrase (eg. with demonstratives).

#### 13.2.9.1. Modification in a *r̄*-phrase

A *r̄*-phrase without a postmodifier is definite; the referent must be discovered from the preceding discourse. When a modifier is added before *r̄*, the phrase loses its discourse definiteness. Instead, the phrase is now ambiguous between indefinite and definite, and if definite the referent may be found in the preceding discourse, in the physical context, or in general knowledge. The head can be omitted without affecting the ambiguity.

- (93) *ópi ká gáṛì àlì rì ē-dzé rá*  
 Opi 3 bicycle short(S) AFR (N)-VE-buy AFF  
 (a) 'Opi will certainly buy a short bicycle.'  
 (b) 'Opi will certainly buy the short bicycle.'
- (94) *ngwá nī `dī-rē kpó rì ògú*  
 [ son SPEC PR N-kill-SB dead] DEF thief  
 (a) 'The one [1] who killed his [1, 2] son is a thief.'  
 (b) 'He [1] who kills his [1,2] son is a thief.'
- (95) *ópi ō-dū ìkā rì ǝ*  
 opi 3-take red DEF FOC  
 (a) 'It is the red one that Opi took.'  
 (b) 'It is a red one that Opi took.'

With modification and *rì*, the indefinite reading allows a singular or plural interpretation. The definite reading is interpreted as singular, unless there is morphological marking for plural.

- (96) *má ndrē ìndrì ìngwē rì áū*  
 1S see goat white DEF FOC  
 (a) 'It is the white goat that I saw.'  
 (b) 'It is a white goat that I saw.'  
 (b)\* 'It is the white goats that I saw.'  
 (c) 'It is white goats that I saw.'
- (97) *má ndrē ìndrì ālì rì áū*  
 1S see goat short(PL) DEF FOC  
 (a) 'It is the short goats that I saw.'  
 (b) 'It is short goats that I saw.'

If *ǝ* is used to focus the modified noun phrase, it is the modifier which is focused. Thus in the sentence below the implication is that there is a set of bicycles presupposed and that Opi has bought specifically a (or the) white bicycle from that set.

- (98) *ópi ē-dzé gáṛì ìngwē rì ǝ*  
 Opi (3)-VE-buy bicycle white DEF FOC  
 (a) 'It was the white bicycle that Opi bought.'  
 (b) 'It was a white bicycle that Opi bought.'

If the focus marker is *áū*, the focus is on the referent as a whole, or possibly just on the modified noun. Thus in (99) it is a white bicycle rather than something else. This would be compatible with the focus actually being on the common noun *gáɾì* ‘bicycle’.

- (99) *óṗí* *ē-dzé* *gáɾì* *īngwē* *ɾì* *áū*  
 Opi (3)-VE-buy bicycle white DEF FOC  
 (a) ‘It was the white bicycle that Opi bought.’  
 (b) ‘It was a white bicycle that Opi bought.’

The indefinite interpretation, introduced by the presence of the postmodifier, is lost in three circumstances. First, the possibility of an indefinite interpretation is reduced or removed if there is more than one modifier.

- (100) *bási* *īngwē* *ádžínī* *ɾì* *ē-tfá* *rá*  
 bus white yesterday DEF (3)-VE-arrive AFF  
 (a) ‘The white bus of yesterday has certainly arrived.’  
 (b)\* ‘A white bus of yesterday has certainly arrived.’

Second, where the *ɾì* phrase also includes the LOW determiner, the indefinite interpretation is not available.

- (101) *má* *ndrē* *gáɾì* *īngwē* *ɾì* *ádžínī*  
 1s see bicycle white DEF yesterday  
 (a) ‘I saw the white bicycle yesterday.’  
 (b) ‘I saw a white bicycle yesterday.’

- (102) *má* *ndrē* *gáɾì* *īngwē* *ɾì* *nī* *ádžínī*  
 1s see bicycle white DEF SPEC PR yesterday  
 (a) ‘I saw the (specific) white bicycle yesterday.’  
 (b)\* ‘I saw a white bicycle yesterday.’

Third, plural *pī* is compatible only when the noun phrase has the definite interpretation.

- (103) *má* *ndrē* *àgō* *ɾì* *pī* *ádžínī*  
 1s see men DEF PRPL yesterday  
 (a) ‘I saw the men (in question) and their associates yesterday.’  
 (b)\* ‘I saw men and their associates yesterday.’  
 (c) ‘I saw the male ones yesterday.’  
 (d)\* ‘I saw male ones yesterday.’

13.2.9.2. Modification in a *nā*-phrase

A *nā*-phrase without postmodification is interpreted either (a) as definite, with the referent discovered in the immediate discourse context, or (b) as possessed, with *nā* referring to the possessor. When there is a postmodifier, the meaning is indefinite and non-specific. There is no possessive meaning in any of the following examples.

- (104) *ópi ē-dʒé gári àlí nā áū*  
 Opi (3)-VE-buy bicycle short AFR FOC  
 (a) 'It's a short bicycle that Opi bought.'  
 (b)\* 'It's the short bicycle that Opi bought.'
- (105) *ágó nā ɔ̄-kɔ̄ tà nì*  
 man AFR 3-catch thing FOC  
 (a) 'It is a male one that got caught.'  
 (b)\* 'It is the male one that got caught.'  
 (c)\* 'It is the aforementioned male one that got caught.'
- (106) *má lè èbī `nā-lé nā rá*  
 1S want fish [N-eat-SB] AFR AFF  
 (a) 'I certainly want fish (for me, someone) to eat.'  
 (b)\* 'I certainly want the fish (for me, someone) to eat.'
- (107) *ópi ní nā ìjō*  
 Opi BEN AFR absent  
 'There isn't any (set aside) for Opi.'
- (108) *ópi ʔà lè-lé nā díʔā ìjō*  
 [Opi POSS (N)-want-SB] AFR here absent  
 'There's none here that Opi likes.'

13.2.10. Postmodifiers as relative clauses

Various kinds of phrase can function as postmodifiers, including adjective phrases, postposition phrases, various kinds of noun phrase, and sentences (with relative clause structure, involving suffixation of the verb). It is however possible that all these types of postmodifier are actually relative clauses, such that the postmodifier is a predicate in a subjectless nonverbal clause (a type of clause structure which can be shown to exist elsewhere, for example as complement to a verb). Consider for example the postmodifier *ìjō* in the following example:



- (116)  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $r\grave{i}$  ( $n\bar{i}$ )  $d\grave{i}$   
 3S FOC DEF PR this  
 'This / here is the one which is it.'

The evidence against analyzing postmodifiers as relative clauses is that in some cases the postmodifier cannot by itself function as a predicate. An example is a phrase with  $n\bar{a}$  which by itself (without  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$ ) cannot be a predicate but can be a postmodifier.

- (117)\*  $d\grave{i}$   $d_3\acute{o}$   $n\bar{a}$   
 this house AFR  
 (a) 'This is his house.'  
 (b) 'This is the aforementioned house.'

- (118)  $d\grave{i}$   $d_3\acute{o}$   $n\bar{a}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 this house AFR FOC  
 (a) 'This is his house.'  
 (b) 'This is the aforementioned one which is a house.'

Another example is a temporal modifier like  $t\acute{e}b\grave{e}$  which can be a modifier but which cannot be a predicate.

- (119)\*  $\bar{a}g\acute{o}$   $r\grave{i}$   $t\acute{e}b\grave{e}$   
 man DEF earlier today  
 'The man was of earlier today.'
- (120)  $\bar{a}g\acute{o}$   $t\acute{e}b\grave{e}$   $r\grave{i}$   $d_3\acute{o}$   $dr\bar{i}$   $g\acute{a}$   
 man earlier DEF house on LOC  
 'The man of earlier today is on the roof.'

### 13.3. A 'separable' modifier: the *drí*-phrase

A *drí*-phrase is a postposition phrase which expresses alienable possession or temporary location. It characteristically appears as a postmodifier, but is able to appear also in other positions; it is the only postmodifier which might be said to 'float'.

#### 13.3.1. The *drí*-phrase in postmodifier position

The *drí* phrase seems to be similar to an ordinary postmodifier in some cases, coming before a demonstrative or before  $r\bar{i}$ . It cannot come before  $n\bar{a}$  or  $z\bar{i}$ .

(121) *áǵó má drí dī ō-fō ānī k'-ē-mú òbú*  
 man 1S POSS this 3-say 3S 3-VE-go tomorrow  
 'This man of mine [1] says that he [1] will come tomorrow.'

(122) *ńí drí rì nī ēgwè ádzíní*  
 2S POSS DEF SPEC PR get lost yesterday  
 (a) 'The one which is yours got lost yesterday.'  
 (b) 'The one which is with you got lost yesterday.'

### 13.3.2. *The drí-phrase on its own (without an explicit possessed)*

The *drí*-phrase can stand on its own without a determiner or an explicit possessed phrase. It is the only noun phrase modifier which has this possibility.

#### 13.3.2.1. *The drí-phrase in subject position*

The *drí* phrase, without a determiner, can be in 'subject' position. Note that only the possessive meaning is available here, not the temporary location meaning.

(123) *ópi drí ō-fè pí*  
 Opi POSS 3-run COM  
 (a) 'Opi's (has) fled off.'  
 (b)\* 'The one with Opi (has) fled off.'

The location meaning is available only when there is also a determiner.

(124) *ópi drí rì ō-fè pí*  
 Opi POSS DEF 3-run COM  
 (a) 'Opi's has fled off.'  
 (b) 'The one with Opi (has) fled off.'

#### 13.3.2.2. *The drí-phrase as a complement to zā 'exceed'*

The phrase can be a complement to *zā* 'exceed'.

(125) *má ?à àdzú àzō ǵ-zā ńí drí rá*  
 1S POSS spear long 3-exceed 2S POSS AFF  
 'My spear is certainly longer than yours.' (literally 'My spear is long it exceeds yours.')

Note that the first and second halves of this sentence have different kinds of possession structure. An *?à*-phrase is used with the noun in the first half, a *drí*-phrase is used without the noun in the second half.

In contrast, note that the first possession expression in the following example involves a *drí*-phrase following a bare indefinite, with no determiner (ie. paralleling the second *drí*-phrase).

- (126) *àdʒú má drí àzō ɔ̄-zā jí drí rá*  
 spear 1S POSS long 3-exceed 2S POSS AFF  
 'My spear is certainly longer than yours.' (literally 'My spear is long it exceeds yours.')

It seems to be precisely the parallel between the phrases which permits the first noun phrase to have this structure. A *drí*-phrase (unlike an *?à*-phrase) cannot normally do this.

- (127)\* *àdʒú má drí àzō*  
 spear 1S POSS long  
 'My spear is long.'

- (128) *má ?à àdʒú àzō*  
 1S POSS spear long  
 'My spear is long'

The following shows plural structure.

- (129) *àdʒú má drí āzō ɔ̄-zā kî jí drí rá*  
 spear 1S POSS long (PL) 3-exceed PL 2S POSS AFF  
 'My spears are certainly longer than yours.' (literally 'My spears are long they exceed yours.')

### 13.3.2.3. The *drí*-phrase with kinship LOW

The *drí*-phrase can also come before the LOW specifier, with a kinship interpretation. This is quite unexpected; normally kinship LOW will follow only a noun. There cannot be an overt noun in this case.

- (130) *má b̄à à?ĩ drí ʼ ní drī*  
 1S put 3PL POSS SPEC BEN on  
 'I put it on (top of) theirs.'

This use of a LOW determiner is the basis of an idiomatic use of the *drí*-phrase, illustrated here.

(131) *ḅá àmā-drí*  
 people 2PL-POSS SPEC  
 ‘My people!’ (literally ‘our people’)

(132) *màdí má-drí*  
 person 1S-POSS SPEC  
 ‘My man!’ (literally ‘my man’)

*àh má drí* is used to express a strong disgust - to the effect ‘don’t disturb me, oh no not again’. It may be used by itself in response to a statement or can be used with an additional utterance:

(133) *àh má drí*  
 ah 1S POSS SPEC  
 ‘Oh no - don’t bother me’ or ‘Oh no -not again!’

(134) *àh má drí má lè tà ìlé-ní ìlédí kū*  
 ah 1S POSS SPEC 1S want thing that-like that NEG(N)  
 ‘Oh no (as for me) - don’t bother me. I don’t want that type of behaviour (thing).’

*má drí* ‘as for me’ is perhaps a toned down version of this.

(135) *má drí má lè kū*  
 1S POSS 1S want NEG(N)  
 ‘(As for me) I don’t want it.’

(136) *má drí ké-r-ērì má ní ùndzì*  
 1S POSS 3-REFL-(N)-hear 1S BEN bad(S)  
 ‘(As for me) it sounds horrible for me.’

(137) *má drí má jì dḅì èndrù trò*  
 1S POSS 1S 2S take today COMT  
 ‘(As for me) I will take you with me today.’

(138) *jì drí má jì dḅì èndrù trò*  
 2S POSS 1S 2S take today COMT  
 ‘(As for you) I will take you with me today.’

### 13.3.3. *The drí-phrase separated from the possessed phrase*

The *drí*-phrase, expressing the possessor, can be separated from the noun phrase which expresses the possessed thing. This seems to occur only in certain kinds of sentence, which we list here.

13.3.3.1. Sentences based on the nonverbal predicate *ā?à* 'present' or *ìjō* 'absent'

The possessed thing can be the subject of the nonverbal predicate *ā?à* 'present' or *ìjō* 'absent', or some more complex expression based on these predicates. Note that the possessed thing can be a bare indefinite, a *zì*-phrase, or a *rì*-phrase.

The *drí*-phrase can come before the subject.

- (139) *lèá nā drí bārā ā?à*  
elephant AFR POSS child present  
'The (aforementioned) elephant has a child.'

- (140) *lèá nā drí tà bārā rì ìjō*  
elephant AFR POSS thing child DEF absent  
'The aforementioned elephant has nothing called a child.'  
(literally: 'Of the aforementioned elephant, the thing which is a child, it is absent.')

- (141) *má drí dzó kó-mū k'-ōlú ā?à*  
1S POSS house 3-N-go 3-stay present  
'I will have a house (in future).'

In the following example, the *drí*-phrase is separated from the subject *ópi* by the modal modifier *rā rì*.

- (142) *àmā drí rā rì ópi ā?à nì*  
1PL POSS AFF DEF chief present FOC  
'What we have (present) is a chief.' (ie. not a king)

The *drí*-phrase can also come after the subject.

- (143) *bārā lèá nā drí ā?à*  
child elephant AFR POSS exist  
'The (aforementioned) elephant has a child.'

- (144) *tà bārā rì lèá nā drí ìjō*  
thing child DEF elephant AFR POSS absent  
'The elephant has nothing called a child.' (literally: 'The thing which is a child, of the aforementioned elephant, it is absent.')

Other kinds of adjectival predicate do not allow a *drí*-phrase to behave in this manner.

- (145)\* *bārá lèá nā drí l̄só*  
 child elephant AFR POSS good  
 ‘The child of the aforementioned elephant is good.’

### 13.3.3.2. Sentences based on comparison with *ánī* ‘like’

A *drí*-phrase can be separated off from the possessed noun phrase in a comparison sentence with *ánī*.

- (146) *má drí gálámù ópí drí ánī*  
 1S POSS pen Opi POSS like  
 (a) ‘Mine is a pen like Opi’s.’  
 (b)\* ‘My pen is like Opi’s.’
- (147) *má drí d̄zó ópí drí ánī jàjàdrú*  
 1S POSS house Opi POSS like many  
 POSSESSOR 1 POSSESSED 1 POSSESSOR 2  
 (a) ‘I have many houses like Opi.’  
*or*  
 POSSESSOR 1 POSSESSED 2 POSSESSOR 2  
 (b) ‘Mine are like Opi’s many houses.’

It is worth noting that the combination of *drí*-phrase and *ánī* can also be placed inside the noun phrase as a postmodifier; the NP-*drí ánī* sequence might be analyzed as a reduced relative clause.

- (148) *d̄zó ópí drí ánī rì jàjàdrú*  
 house Opi POSS like DEF many  
 ‘There are lots of houses like Opi’s.’
- (149) *ópí drí ánī rì jàjàdrú*  
 Opi POSS like DEF many  
 ‘There are many like Opi’s.’

### 13.3.3.3. Separation of the *drí*-phrase is otherwise not possible

The *drí*-phrase is not normally separable from a possessed noun phrase.

- (150) *ópí ēbē má drí d̄zó*  
 Opi (3)-leave 1S POSS house  
 (a) ‘Opi left (with) me a house.’ (not necessarily for me)  
 (b)\* ‘Opi left my house.’

- (151)\* *má* *drí* *d3ó* *ópí* *ēbē*  
 1S POSS house Opi (3)-leave  
 'My house Opi left.'

### 13.3.4. The structure of the *drí*-phrase

#### 13.3.4.1. The temporariness of possession or location with *drí*

A postposition phrase based on *drí* can express alienable possession or temporary location.

- (152) *ō-lé* *òtǎé* *ízi* *rì* *drí* *rì* *rì*  
 3-want dog woman DEF POSS DEF FOC  
 (a) 'It is the woman's dog that he wants.'  
 (b) 'It is the dog that is with the woman that he wants.'

- (153) *pá* *má* *drí* *rì* *ō-ŋò* *nì*  
 leg 1S POSS DEF 3-break FOC  
 (a)\* 'It is my leg that got broken.'  
 (b)\* 'It is my leg that he broke himself.'  
 (c) 'It is the leg which is with me that is broken.'  
 (d) 'It is the leg which is with me that he broke himself.'

- (154) *gá-rì* *má* *drí* *rì* *ō-ŋò* *nì*  
 bicycle 1S POSS DEF 3-break FOC  
 (a) 'It is my bicycle that got broken.'  
 (b) 'It is my bicycle that he broke it himself.'  
 (c) 'It is the bicycle which is with me that is broken.'  
 (d) 'It is the bicycle which is with me that he broke himself.'

#### 13.3.4.2. The possessor (the complement to *drí*)

The noun phrase which is the preceding complement of *drí* is interpreted as the possessor. This must be a definite noun phrase: a name, a *rì*-phrase, a kinship LOW-phrase, etc.

- (155) *ópí* *drí* *d3ó* *ìjō*  
 Opi / chief POSS house absent  
 (a) 'Opi doesn't have a house.'  
 (b)\* 'A chief doesn't have a house.'

- (156) *kómí*      *àràbíà*      *rì*      *drí*      *rì*      *dì*  
 chair      car      DEF      POSS      DEF      this  
 'This / here is the chair of the car (in question).'
- (157) *dʒó*      *ānā`*      *ādrúpī*      `      *drí*      *ōgwē*      *rá*  
 house      3S-POSS      brother      SPEC      POSS      (3)-burn      AFF  
 'His brother's house has certainly burned down.'

A *nā*-phrase can only be a complement (the possessor) to *drí* if the phrase is definite (as indicated by taking a deictic as predicate in (159)).

- (158) *kómí*      *lèá*      *nā*      *drí*      *rì*      *dì*  
 chair      elephant      AFR      POSS      DEF      this  
 'Here / this is the (aforementioned) elephant's chair.'
- (159)\* *pá*      *kómí*      *nā*      *drí*      *rì*      *ō-ŋò*      *nì*  
 leg      chair      AFR      POSS      DEF      3-break      FOC  
 'It was the leg of the aforementioned chair which broke.'

The only type of definite noun phrase which is clearly impossible as a possessor complement to *drí* is a phrase with non-kinship LOW (such a phrase can never be a possessor).

- (160)\* *kómí*      *lèá*      `      *drí*      *rì*      *dì*  
 chair      elephant      SPEC      POSS      DEF      this  
 'Here is the elephant's chair.'
- (161)\* *òtʃé*      *ō-tʃí*      *ìndrì*      `      *nī*      *pá*  
 dog      3-bite      goat      SPEC      PR      leg  
 'A dog bit the goat's leg.'

*drí* cannot take a bare indefinite noun as the possessor.

- (162)\* *kómí*      *àràbíà*      *drí*      *rì*      *dì*  
 chair      car      POSS      DEF      this  
 'This / here is the chair of the car.'

A *zì*-phrase cannot directly be the complement to *drí* but can be a modifier within a *nā*-phrase, which is a complement to *drí*.

- (163) *ágó*      *zì*      *nā*      *drí*      *dʒó*      *ìjó*  
 man      another      AFR      POSS      house      absent  
 'One of the men doesn't have a house.' (speaking of a member of a known group)

## Chapter 14

### Nonsingular noun phrases

In this chapter we gather together topics relating to nonsingular noun phrases, including the coding of number, methods of conjunction, and the use of quantifiers and numerals.

#### 14.1. The number of the subject

##### 14.1.1. *The number of the subject*

First and second person pronouns code the number of the subject (singular or plural). Third person subject pronouns do not code the number of the subject, but are interpreted as singular in the absence of any other overt marking of plural. This is true of the U-paradigm third person pronoun  $\text{ɔ-}$ , including when phonologically deleted before a vowel-initial verb, and also the I-paradigm pronoun *ká*.

- (1)       $\bar{o}$ -*fè*                      *ná?ā*      *lélé*  
            3-run                      there      towards  
            (a) 'She ran that way.'  
            (b)\* 'They ran that way.'
- (2)      *kó*    *fè*                      *ná?ā*      *lélé*  
            3    (N)-run                      there      towards  
            (a) 'She is running that way.'  
            (b)\* 'They are running that way.'

The third person subject pronoun will be interpreted as plural if and only if one of the following is true:

- (i)       $kí$  is present (14.1.2).
- (ii)     There is a morphologically plural lexical subject (6.1).
- (iii)    The lexical subject is pre-adjoined to  $pí$  (14.2).
- (iv)    The verb is  $vū$ , plural 'go' (14.1.3).

Any of these is sufficient to determine the plurality of the subject; they can also be combined. Thus if the verb is  $vū$  or if the subject has  $pí$ ,  $kí$  is optional and its presence or absence does not affect the meaning at all.

The presence of a quantifying modifier, such as *kwítíí* 'all (of them)' is not sufficient to force a plural reading onto a subject where there is no other coding of plurality.

- (3)  $ká$              $èbī$              $ḡnā$              $kwítfí$              $rá$   
 3            fish            N-eat            all            AFF  
 (a)\* 'All of them will certainly eat fish.' (subject modified)  
 (b) 'He will certainly eat all of the fish.' (object modified)

In the absence of overt expression of plurality, the inherent ambiguity of indefinite/inclusive pronouns means that there can be a singular or plural interpretation; these pronouns can be interpreted either as first/second person plural or as third person singular.

- (4)  $ó-nā$              $ádẓínī$   
 IND-eat            yesterday  
 (a) 'We (including you) ate it yesterday.'  
 (b) 'It was eaten yesterday.'

#### 14.1.2. *The subject plural morpheme $kí$*

$kí$  forces a plural interpretation on a third person subject.

- (5)  $ō-fè$      $kí$                              $ná?ā$      $lélé$   
 3-run    PL                            there    towards  
 (a)\* 'She ran that way.'  
 (b) 'They ran that way.'
- (6)  $ká$      $kí$      $fè$              $ná?ā$      $lélé$   
 3    PL    (N)-run    there    towards  
 (a)\* 'She is running that way.'  
 (b) 'They are running that way.'

##### 14.1.2.1. *The location of $kí$*

$kí$  follows the subject if the verb is inflected, and follows the verb if the verb is uninflected or directive.

- (7)  $ká$      $kí$      $èbī$              $ḡnā$      $rá$   
 3    PL    fish            N-eat    AFF  
 'They will certainly eat fish.'
- (8)  $ō-sì$      $kí$      $má$      $ní$      $òfú$      $dì$      $nì$   
 3-write    PL    1S    BEN    message    this    FOC  
 'They are the ones who wrote for me this letter.'

- (9) *kò-ḡā* *kí`* *èḡí* *rá*  
 3DIR-eat PL fish AFF  
 '(Ensure that) they should definitely eat fish.'

There is some optionality in the placement of *kí`* when the verb is inflected; it is just possible to place *kí`* after the verb.

- (10) *ká* *kí`* *ḡā-ā* *rá*  
 3 PL eat-OBJ AFF  
 'They will certainly eat it.'

- (11)? *kó-* *ḡā-ā* *kí`* *rá*  
 3- (N)-eat-OBJ PL AFF  
 'They will certainly eat it.'

*kí`* may be separated from the uninflected verb or from the directive verb by the reflexive pronoun *rū*, or *rū* may come after *kí`*.

- (12) *ō-zī* *rū* *kí`* *rá*  
 3-greet REFL PL AFF  
 'They have certainly greeted each other.'

- (13) *ō-zī* *kí`* *rū* *rá*  
 3-greet PL REFL AFF  
 'They have certainly greeted each other.'

- (14) *kò-dzè* *rū* *kí`*  
 3DIR-wash REFL PL  
 'They should wash themselves.'

- (15) *kò-dzè* *kí`* *rū*  
 3DIR-wash PL REFL  
 'They should wash themselves.'

When the verb is inflected, *kí`* must precede *rū* which then immediately precedes the inflected verb.

- (16) *ká* *kí`* *rù* *dzè*  
 3 PL REFL (N)-wash  
 (a) 'They are washing themselves.'  
 (b) 'They are washing each other.'

- (17)\* *ká* *rū* *kî* *dʒè*  
 3 REFL PL (N)-wash  
 (a) 'They are washing themselves.'  
 (b) 'They are washing each other.'

#### 14.1.2.2. Restrictions on the use of *kî*

*kî* co-occurs only with a definite third person subject. Thus when *kî* is combined with an indefinite/inclusive subject pronoun, only the (definite) inclusive reading is available.

- (18) *ádī* *kî* *dʒó* *ṣī*  
 IND PL house N-build  
 (a) 'We (I and you / we and you) are building a house.'  
 (b)\* 'A house is being built.'

- (19) *ḅá* *kò-vù* *kî*  
 INC 3DIR-go PL  
 (a) 'Let's go!' (I and you / we and you should go)  
 (b)\* 'People should go.' (no specification as to who)

- (20) *ó-vù* *kî*  
 IND-go PL  
 (a) 'Let's go!' (I and you / we and you should go)  
 (b)\* 'People should go.'

Note that while *kî* is clearly incompatible with an indefinite lexical subject, this can alternatively be explained by its general incompatibility with a lexical subject.

- (21)\* *ídré* *ṣ-ṣā* *kî* *ádʒínī*  
 rat 3-eat PL yesterday  
 'Rats ate yesterday.'

*kî* cannot be used with a headless noun phrase consisting just of an adjective followed by an article, unless *pī* is additionally used. It makes no difference whether the article is unmarked for number or morphologically plural. This might be the result of the optional indefiniteness of these noun phrases; if so this is interesting as it suggests they are basically indefinite. It also suggests that *pī* adds definiteness or is found only with a definite interpretation.

- (22)\*  $\bar{i}ngw\bar{e}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-\bar{n}\bar{a}$   $k\hat{i}$   $\acute{e}\bar{b}\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{i}$   
 white DEF 3-eat PL fish DEF yesterday  
 ‘The/a white ones ate the fish yesterday.’
- (23)  $\bar{i}ngw\bar{e}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $p\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-\bar{n}\bar{a}$  ( $k\hat{i}$ )  $\acute{e}\bar{b}\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{i}$   
 white DEF PRPL 3-eat PL fish DEF yesterday  
 ‘The/a white ones ate the fish yesterday.’
- (24)\*  $\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-\bar{n}\bar{a}$   $k\hat{i}$   $\acute{e}\bar{b}\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{i}$   
 short (PL) DEF 3-eat PL dish DEF yesterday  
 ‘(The) short ones ate the fish yesterday.’
- (25)  $\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $p\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-\bar{n}\bar{a}$   $k\hat{i}$   $\acute{e}\bar{b}\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{i}$   
 short (PL) DEF PRPL 3-eat PL dish DEF yesterday  
 ‘(The) short ones ate the fish yesterday.’

$k\hat{i}$  co-occurs with a lexical adjoined subject only if the subject is pre-adjoined to  $p\bar{i}$  or if the subject is morphologically plural.

- (26)  $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $p\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-d\bar{z}\bar{e}$  ( $k\hat{i}$ )  $n\bar{i}$   
 Opi PRPL 3-buy PL FOC  
 (a) ‘It is those of Opi (Opi and associates) who bought it.’  
 (b) ‘They are the ones who bought those of Opi.’ (needs  $k\hat{i}$ )
- (27)  $z\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $p\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-f\bar{e}$  ( $k\hat{i}$ )  $p\bar{i}$   
 other DEF PRPL 3-run PL COM  
 ‘The others have fled away.’
- (28)  $\bar{o}g\bar{u}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$  ( $p\bar{i}$ )  $\bar{o}g\bar{u}$  ( $k\hat{i}$ )  $m\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $g\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $tr\bar{o}$   
 thieves (PL) DEF PRPL(3)-steal PL 1S-POSS bicycle COMT  
 ‘The thieves stole my bicycle too.’

If the subject is not morphologically plural,  $k\hat{i}$  is ruled out. The presence of  $k\hat{i}$  will thus force any initial noun phrase which is not overtly plural to be interpreted as the object, as in the following examples.

- (29)  $\acute{i}d\bar{r}\acute{e}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $p\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-\bar{n}\bar{a}$   $k\hat{i}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{i}$   
 rat DEF PRPL 3-eat PL yesterday  
 (a)\* ‘The rats (in question) ate it yesterday.’  
 (b) ‘They ate the rats (in question) yesterday.’  
 (c) ‘They ate the rat ones yesterday.’

- (30) *ídré* *n̄* *ō-nā* *kí̂* *ádžínī̄*  
 rat DEF 3-eat PL yesterday  
 (a)\* 'The rats ate it yesterday.'  
 (b) 'They ate the rat (in question) yesterday.'  
 (c) 'They ate the rat one yesterday.'

- (31) *ídré* *n̄* *pī̄* *ō-nā* *ádžínī̄*  
 rat DEF PRPL 3-eat yesterday  
 (a) 'The rats in question ate it yesterday.'  
 (b)\* 'They ate the rats in question yesterday.'  
 (c) 'The rat ones ate it yesterday.'

*kí̂* is dispreferred (but can be used) if there is some other coding of plural. Thus a lexical noun phrase which precedes the subject pronoun can often be interpreted either as referring to the subject which takes *pī̄* and thus in principle is compatible with *kí̂* or (topicalized) as referring to the object, with a preference for reference to the subject, (32a).

- (32) *ópi* *pī̄* *ō-džē* *n̄*  
 Opi PRPL 3-buy FOC  
 (a) 'Opi and associates are the ones who bought it.'  
 (b) 'He was the one who bought those of Opi.'

However, in (33) where *kí̂* is used the preferred reading is (33b): the initial noun phrase is interpreted as the object. Presumably in (33), *kí̂* is redundant if the subject is already plural (a), but not redundant if it is the only marker of plurality for the subject in the preferred interpretation (b).

- (33) *ópi* *pī̄* *ō-džē* *kí̂* *n̄*  
 Opi PRPL 3-buy PL FOC  
 (a) 'Those of Opi (Opi and associates) are the ones who bought it.'  
 (b) 'They were the ones who bought those of Opi.'

The same effect is seen where the initial noun phrase is morphologically plural. If *kí̂* is also used, the preferred reading is that the initial noun phrase is a fronted object.

- (34) *ālī* *n̄* (*pī̄*) *ō-nā* *ádžínī̄*  
 short (PL) DEF PRPL 3-eat yesterday  
 (a) 'The short ones ate it yesterday.'  
 (b) 'He ate the short ones yesterday.'



*kí`* is not able to ‘terminate’ an uninflected verb (7.5) in which it resembles reflexive *rū*.

We note that Tucker (1940:144) says that in Central Sudanic languages the plural particle (eg. *kí`*) is ‘not so much used in the indefinite tenses’ (ie. with inflected verbs). This is not true of Ma’di.

*14.1.3. The subject is interpreted as plural if the verb is morphologically plural*

The only verb in Ma’di which has a plural form is the verb meaning ‘go’: *mū* if the subject is singular and *vū* if the subject is plural. The subject of *mū* can only be interpreted as singular (hence *kí`* is excluded), and the subject of *vū* can only be interpreted as plural (*kí`* is optional).

- (43)  $\bar{o}$ -*mū*            (\* *kí`* )    *ádžíní*  
 3-go(S)            PL    yesterday  
 (a)\* ‘They went yesterday.’ (ok for some Ugandan speakers)  
 (b) ‘She went yesterday.’

- (44)  $\bar{o}$ -*vū*            ( *kí`* )    *ádžíní*  
 3-go(PL)            PL    yesterday  
 (a) ‘They went yesterday.’  
 (b)\* ‘She went yesterday.’

- (45)  $\acute{o}$ -*vū*            ( *kí`* )    *ádžíní*  
 IND-go(PL)            PL    yesterday  
 (a) ‘We (including you) went yesterday.’  
 (b) ‘People went yesterday.’ (only if *kí`* is absent)  
 (c)\* ‘They went yesterday.’

No other verbs force plurality on the subject in this manner. Thus while the iterative prefix *ū-* makes the verb ‘plural’ (in the sense of indicating multiple action), the subject is not necessarily interpreted as plural.

- (46)  $\acute{o}$ *tfé*             $\bar{u}$ -*tfí*            *mā*    *gbù*  
 dog            (3)-ITER-bite 1S    before  
 (a) ‘A dog has bitten me before.’ (the same dog several times; single bites)  
 (b) ‘Dogs have bitten me before.’ (different dogs several times; single bites)

- (47) *òtʃé*      *ú-tʃí*      *mā*      *gbù*  
 dog      ITER-bite      1S      before  
 (a) 'A dog has bitten me before.' (the same dog several times;  
 multiple bites)  
 (b) 'Dogs have bitten me before.' (different dogs several  
 times; multiple bites)

## 14.2. Adjunction to *pī*

A noun phrase can be pre-adjoined to *pī* (or its variant *tī*) giving the interpretation 'N and associates'. It can be subject or object.

- (48) *ópí*      *pī*      *ō-dzē*      *kí*      *nì*  
 Opi      PRPL      3-buy      PL      FOC  
 (a) 'They are the ones who bought those of Opi.'  
 (b) 'It was those of Opi who brought it.'
- (49) *ópí*      *pī*      *ō-dzē*      *nì*  
 Opi      PRPL      3-buy      FOC  
 'It is those of Opi (Opi and his associate(s)) who bought it.'
- (50) *ālī*      *rì*      *pī*      *ēbē*      *èndrù*  
 short (PL)      DEF      PRPL      (3)-leave      today  
 (a) 'The short ones left it today.'  
 (b) 'He left the short ones today.'
- (51) *má*      *ndrē*      *ìndrì*      *rì*      *pī*      *áū*  
 1S      see      goat      DEF      PRPL      FOC  
 (a)\* 'It's the goat that I saw.'  
 (b) 'It's the goats (the goat and its associates) that I saw.'  
 (c) 'It's the goat ones that I saw.'
- (52) *ópí*      *pī*      *ūndzī*  
 Opi      PRPL      bad (PL)  
 'Those of Opi are bad people.'

The noun phrase pre-adjoined to *pī* can also be part of a predicate if further adjoined to *ʔī* (note this is also a possible focus strategy, 19.3).

- (53) *àʔī-à*      *āvú̀ndzī*      *mòríà*      *pī*      *ʔī*  
 3PL-POSS      sister-IND      Moria      PRPL      FOC  
 'Their sisters are Moria and (her, their) associates.'

We note an idiomatic use of *pī* as part of the object when the verb is *dzī* as in the following sentence; any male or female name followed by *pī* can mean ‘a male child’ or ‘a female child’ respectively in this context.

- (54) *mòrià ē-dzī ìtó pī pī*  
 Moria (3)-VE-bring Ito PRPL FOC  
 ‘Moria brought those of Ito.’ (idiomatically meaning ‘Moria fathered a male child’)

#### 14.2.1. *Types of noun phrase which can be pre-adjoined to pī*

Most kinds of noun phrase can be adjoined to *pī*. This includes names (55); kinship terms with the LOW tone (56), noun phrases with the definite article *rì* (57,58), noun phrase with a demonstrative (59), noun phrases with *nā* (60-62).

- (55) *ópí pī ǝ-vù ēbù gá*  
 Opi PRPL 3-go(PL) work LOC  
 ‘Those of Opi (Opi and his associates) have gone to work.’
- (56) *ízi pī dī*  
 wife SPEC PRPL this  
 (a) ‘This is his wife and their associates.’  
 (b) ‘Here is his wife and their associates.’
- (57) *má ndrē ìndrī ālī rì (pī) áū*  
 1S see goat short(PL) DEF PRPL FOC  
 (a) ‘It’s short goats that I saw.’  
 (b) ‘It’s the short goats and their associates that I saw.’
- (58) *ìndrī rì àʔú rì pī trò āzī-lé kū*  
 goat DEF chicken DEF PRPL COM [(N)-sell-SB NEG(N)]  
 ‘The goat, the chicken, and their associates are not for sale.’
- (59) *m’-āzī àʔú dī pī pī*  
 1S-sell chicken this PRPL COM  
 (a) ‘I have already sold these hens and their associates.’  
 (b) ‘I have already sold this hen and its associate(s).’
- (60) *pá nā pī ǝ-ŋò nī*  
 leg AFR PRPL 3-break FOC  
 (a) ‘It is the (his, her, its) legs and other parts that broke.’  
 (b) ‘It is the (his, her, its) legs and other parts that broke it.’

- (61) *pá* *kí* *nā* *ō-ŋò* *nì*  
 leg PL AFR 3-break FOC  
 (a) 'It is their legs that broke.'  
 (b) 'It is their legs that broke it.'
- (62) *pá* *kí* *nā* *pī* *ō-ŋò* *nì*  
 leg PL AFR PRPL 3-break FOC  
 (a) 'It is their legs and other parts that broke.'  
 (b) 'It is their legs and other parts that broke it.'

*pī* is also found after an indefinite with *zì* or a bare indefinite, interpreted as generic. When *pī* follows a noun phrase consisting just of a noun it gives it a representative status 'the type of thing'. This can be seen when *pī* is added after a name, giving it a meaning of 'someone like'.

- (63) *dʒó* *zì* *pī* *ādī* *kūrù*  
 house other PRPL (3)-collapse NEG(P)  
 'Some of the houses have not collapsed.'
- (64) *ìndrì* *pī* *ōgù-lé* *ń* *ř* *kū*  
 goat PRPL [(N)-steal-SB] DEF FOC NEG(N)  
 'The likes of goats are not worth stealing.'
- (65) *ìndrì* *pī* *ká* *dʒó* *̀sī* *wà* *ř*  
 goat PRPL 3 house N-build POSS RHE  
 'Can the likes of goats really build houses?'
- (66) *ópí* *pī* *ká* *dʒó* *̀sī* *wà* *ř*  
 Opi PRPL 3 house N-build PS RHE  
 'Can someone like Opi really build a house?'

The one kind of noun phrase which cannot be adjoined to *pī* is a non-kinship LOW phrase (note that in this, *pī* differs radically from *nī*, which is obligatory after such a phrase in certain positions).

- (67)\* *dʒó* *̀* *pī* *dī*  
 house SPEC PRPL this  
 'This/here is her and her associates' house.' (ok in Ugandan)

#### 14.2.1.1. *pī* and the definiteness of the pre-adjoined NP

*pī* forces a definite interpretation on a noun phrase which without *pī* is ambiguous between definite and indefinite.

- (68) *má* *ndrē* *̀indrí* *ā́lī* *ṛí* *áū*  
 1S see goat short(PL) DEF FOC  
 (a) ‘It is the short goats that I saw.’  
 (b) ‘It is short goats that I saw.’

- (69) *má* *ndrē* *̀indrí* *ā́lī* *ṛí* *pī́* *áū*  
 1S see goat short(PL) DEF PRPL FOC  
 (a) ‘It’s the short goats and their associates that I saw.’  
 (b)\* ‘It is short goats that I saw.’

This is not something that happens with *nī́*.

#### 14.2.2. *A singular interpretation of noun phrase + pī́*

*pī́* ‘the named and others’ may be used even when reference is actually being made to one person. This is possible only in two situations, as described here.

A person asked to try a new feat would reply:

- (70) *àmā́* *pī́* *lḗ* ( *ṛí* )  
 1PL(EXC) PRPL what about FOC  
 ‘The likes of me...’ (‘... can’t be expected to do that.’)

Note the plurality of the pronoun in the above example, with singular interpretation.

- (71) *ópí* *pī́* *lḗ* *ṛí*  
 Opi PRPL what about FOC  
 ‘The likes of Opi...’ (‘... can’t be expected to do that.’)

In both examples above reference is made to one individual only; the speaker in (70) and Opi in (71).

*pī́* is also used to refer to one individual only in ‘what is it?’ questions.

- (72) *ópí* ( *pī́* ) *drí* *àdū* *ṛí*  
 Opi PRPL POSS what RHE  
 ‘What is the matter with you Opi?’ (no pause before Opi)

- (73) *ópí* ( *pī́* ) *drí* *bá* *̀zī-d3ó* *kū* *ṛí* *àdū* *ṛí*  
 Opi PRPL POSS people N-greet-SB NEG(N) DEF what RHE  
 ‘What is it with you Opi that you don’t (want to) greet people.’

### 14.2.3. *pĩ* and 'grammatical' *nĩ*

'Grammatical' *nĩ* is used as a way of allowing definite and specific noun phrases to be object or subject of nonverbal predicate position. These noun phrases, names, LOW phrases and compounded LOW phrases (eg. *nĩ* + LOW), can generally only appear in these positions if they are pre-adjoined to *nĩ*. However, pre-adjunction to *pĩ* is an alternative, and permits the phrase to appear in the appropriate position.

Though *pĩ* performs a similar function to *nĩ*, it is more generally used than *nĩ* in three respects, presumably because unlike *nĩ*, *pĩ* has semantic content as well as performing a grammatical function. The three respects in which *pĩ* has a wider distribution than *nĩ* are in the types of noun phrase which can be pre-adjoined to it (eg. nonspecifics and indefinites), in the positions in which it can be found (eg. verbal subject position), and in the fact that it can be part of a predicate with *ĩ*.

In one respect, *pĩ* is more restricted than *nĩ*, in that a non-kinship LOW-phrase cannot be adjoined to *pĩ* whereas this type of phrase must obligatorily be adjoined to *nĩ* in certain circumstances.

(74)\* *má drō ògú` pĩ ádzínĩ*  
 1S chase thief SPEC PRPL yesterday  
 'I chased the thief and his associates yesterday.'

(75) *má drō ògú` nĩ ádzínĩ*  
 1S chase thief SPEC PR yesterday  
 'I chased the thief yesterday.'

## 14.3. Conjunction of noun phrases (and other constituents)

In Ma'di conjunction of two noun phrases is always asymmetrical between the two phrases. The first conjunct is the true argument (subject or object), while the second conjunct is best treated as a non-argument within the clause; the second conjunct need not be in an argument position, is focused like a modifier, and so on.

### 14.3.1. Conjunction with *trō*

*trō* is a postposition, meaning 'with'. It is used in noun phrase conjunction. The first conjunct is a standard noun phrase and is the argument (subject or object); the second conjunct is in the *trō* phrase and has the syntax of postposition phrases in general, ie. that of a more freely placed sentential modifier. The following examples illustrate conjunction

where the first conjunct is a subject (76), or an object (77).

- (76) *ìdráží rì pĩ dzālígó rì trò ātjí (kí̂)*  
 old woman DEF PRPL old man DEF COMT go(PL) PRPL  
*ēbù gá kũ*  
 work LOC NEG(N)  
 ‘The old woman and the old man do not go to work.’

- (77) *ópí ò-dzē àrábíà gárì trò*  
 Opi 3-buy car bicycle COMT  
 ‘Opi bought a car and a bicycle.’ (one or more of each)

Pronouns cannot be conjoined in this kind of structure (eg. ‘you and they’ would be expressed just by the second person plural).

The function of *pĩ* here seems to be to indicate that there is another conjunct to come - it does not make the noun phrase attached to it itself plural; thus in (76) there is only one old woman. If the second conjunct is separated, *pĩ* becomes obligatory, presumably for functional reasons to indicate that there is a second conjunct to come. The second conjunct does not require *pĩ* in any circumstances, and if *pĩ* is added, it forces a meaning of ‘and associates’:

- (78) *ópí pĩ ò-fè (kí̂) ìtó pĩ trò*  
 Opi PRPL 3-run PL Ito PRPL COMT  
 ‘Opi and his associates (on the one hand) ran with Ito and his associates (on the other hand).’

These are some more complex examples of the same phenomenon:

- (79) *údí rì pĩ pélére rì pĩ trò*  
 new(S) DEF PRPL clean(S) DEF PRPL COMT  
 ‘The new one mixed with the clean ones’
- (80) *ùdí rì pĩ pèlèrē rì pĩ trò*  
 new(PL) DEF PRPL clean(PL) DEF PRPL COMT  
 ‘The new ones in addition to the clean ones’

#### 14.3.1.1. Adjacency between the two conjuncts

The two conjuncts can optionally be adjacent (they can also be separated). Where the two subject lexical noun phrases are adjacent, the first noun phrase need not be explicitly coded as plural. *pĩ* is optional without affecting the meaning.

- (81) *ìdràndzĩ rì (pĩ) dzàlìgō trò ātfí ēbù gá kũ*  
 old women DEF PRPL old men COMT (3)-go(PL) work LOC NEG(N)  
 ‘The old men and old women do not go to work.’

The conjunct taking *pĩ* cannot be indefinite. While an indefinite noun phrase can be pre-adjoined to *pĩ* it is interpreted only as ‘the likes of’ and is not available for a conjunction construction.

- (82)\* *ìdràndzĩ pĩ dzàlìgō trò ātfí ēbù gá kũ*  
 old women PRPL old men COMT (N)-go(PL) work LOC NEG(N)  
 ‘Old men and old women do not go to work.’

#### 14.3.1.2. Postposing of the second conjunct

The two conjuncts can optionally be separated. The first conjunct is in argument position, but the second conjunct can be postposed to later in the sentence. The following examples show the first conjunct in subject position and the second conjunct postposed to the end of the sentence.

- (83) *āgó rì pĩ ɔ-fā (kĩ) ízĩ trò*  
 man DEF PRPL 3-fight PL wife(SPEC) COMT  
 ‘The man and his wife fought (each other).’

- (84) *āgó rì pĩ ɔ-mgbā (kĩ) ízĩ trò*  
 man DEF PRPL 3-beat PL wife(SPEC) COMT  
 ‘The man and his wife beat it.’

- (85) *āgó rì pĩ ká kĩ mgbā-ā ízĩ trò*  
 man DEF PRPL 3 PL (N)-beat-OBJ wife(SPEC) COMT  
 ‘The man and his wife will beat it.’

(86) shows the first conjunct in preverbal object position and the second conjunct optionally postposed; it can also precede the verb.

- (86) *ká āgó rì pĩ `mgbā ízĩ trò*  
 3S man DEF PRPL (N)-beat wife-SPEC COMT  
 ‘He beat the man and his wife.’

- (87) *ká āgó rì pĩ ízĩ trò `mgbā*  
 3S man DEF PRPL wife-SPEC COMT N-beat  
 ‘He beat the man and his wife.’

When the second conjunct is postposed, the first conjunct must be obligatorily coded as plural, either by adjoining it to *pī* or by using a plural pronoun. Note that the plurality holds of the pair of conjuncts not of the first conjunct alone; thus the plural first person pronouns *àmà* is interpreted as ‘I’ not as ‘we’ in this case.

- (88) *ópi pī ō-fè ( kī̂ ) ìtó trò*  
 Opi PRPL 3-run PL Ito COMT  
 (a) ‘Opi and Ito ran.’ (just the two of them)  
 (b) ‘Opi and his associates (on one hand) ran with Ito (alone on the other hand).’

- (89)\* *ópi ō-fè ( kī̂ ) ìtó trò*  
 Opi 3-run PL Ito COMT  
 (a) ‘Opi and Ito ran.’ (just the two of them)  
 (b) ‘Opi and his associates (on one hand) ran with Ito (alone on the other hand).’

- (90) *àmà nā ópi trò*  
 1PL(EXCL) eat Opi COMT  
 ‘Opi and I ate it.’

- (91)\* *má nā ópi trò*  
 1S eat Opi COMT  
 ‘Opi and I ate it.’

It appears that there is no way of saying ‘Opi and we’.

If the subject is indefinite/inclusive and the second conjunct is separated, only the inclusive reading is possible for the subject.

- (92) *ó-nā nī trò*  
 IND-eat 2S COMT  
 (a) ‘You and I ate it.’  
 (b)\* ‘It was eaten with you.’

The second conjunct (the *trò*-phrase) can separately be focused by the LOW-*ḥ* strategy generally used for postposition phrases. The *trò* phrase must be initial or final (ie. in both cases, separated from the subject).

- (93) *ópi trò àmà nā ḥ ḥ*  
 Opi COMT 1PL(EXC) eat SPEC FOC  
 ‘It is with Opi that I ate it.’

- (94) *àmà* *ɲā* *ópi* *trò* *ɹ̩*  
 1PL(EXC) eat Opi COMT SPEC FOC  
 'It is with Opi that I ate it.'

#### 14.3.1.3. 'Interpretive spreading' from second to first conjunct

In this section we look at two cases in which a characteristic of the second conjunct (the *trò* phrase) has an effect on the interpretation of the first conjunct, removing an ambiguity which would otherwise exist.

Some adjectives alternate morphologically for number (eg. *àlí* 'short' singular, *ālí* plural); others do not (eg. *íngwē* 'white' singular and plural). A noun phrase with a non-alternating adjective is in general open to either singular or plural interpretation; this is true for *íngwē r̩* 'the white one/ones' in the examples in this section in both object and subject positions.

- (95) *má* *lè* *ālí* *r̩* *íngwē* *r̩* *trò*  
 1S want short (PL) DEF white DEF COMT  
 (a) 'I want the short ones and the white ones.'  
 (b) 'I want the short ones and the white one.'

However, in object conjunction, if a non-alternating adjective is in the first conjunct and the second conjunct contains an adjective which is coded for plural, the first conjunct must be interpreted as plural, an unexpected effect.

- (96) *má* *lè* *íngwē* *r̩* *ālí* *r̩* *trò*  
 1S want white DEF short(PL) DEF COMT  
 (a) 'I want the white ones and the short ones.'  
 (b) 'I want white ones and short ones.'

This does not occur in subject position, where the number of the second conjunct does not affect the number of the first (note that here the two conjuncts are not adjacent).

- (97) *íngwē* *r̩* *p̩* *ē-dʒí* *àlí* *r̩* *trò*  
 white DEF PRPL (3)-VE-take short(SG) DEF COMT  
 (a) 'The white one and the short one brought it.'  
 (b) 'The white ones and the short one brought it.'

- (98) *íngwē* *r̩* *p̩* *ē-dʒí* *ālí* *r̩* *trò*  
 white DEF PRPL (3)-VE-take short(PL) DEF COMT  
 (a) 'The white ones and the short one brought it.'  
 (b) 'The white one and the short one brought it.'

A *rì*-phrase containing an adjective is in general ambiguous between definite and indefinite.

- (99)  $\dot{u}d\bar{i}$        $r\bar{i}$                        $p\bar{e}l\bar{e}r\bar{e}$        $r\bar{i}$                        $tr\grave{o}$   
 new(PL)    DEF                      clean(PL)    DEF                      COMT  
 (a) 'New ones and clean ones'  
 (b) 'The new ones and clean ones'  
 (c) 'New ones and the clean ones'  
 (d) 'The new ones and the clean ones'

Where  $p\bar{i}$  follows just the second of two noun phrases with plural adjectives, both must be interpreted as definite. Thus again we see a 'spread', here of definiteness, from second to first adjective in a conjunction structure.

- (100)  $\dot{u}d\bar{i}$        $r\bar{i}$        $p\bar{e}l\bar{e}r\bar{e}$        $r\bar{i}$        $p\bar{i}$        $tr\grave{o}$   
 new(PL)    DEF      clean(PL)    DEF    PRPL    COMT  
 (a) 'The new ones and the clean ones and their associates'  
 (b)\* 'New ones and the clean ones and their associates'

This does not happen if  $p\bar{i}$  follows only the first noun-adjective constituent; in this case, the second constituent is free to be interpreted as definite or indefinite.

- (101)  $\dot{u}d\bar{i}$        $r\bar{i}$        $p\bar{i}$        $p\bar{e}l\bar{e}r\bar{e}$        $r\bar{i}$        $tr\grave{o}$        $d\bar{i}?\grave{a}$   
 new(PL)    DEF      PRPL    clean(PL)    DEF    COMT    here  
 (a) 'The new one and its associates and the clean ones are here.'  
 (b) 'The new one and its associates and clean ones are here.'

### 14.3.2. *Conjunction with òò*

$\grave{o}\grave{o}$  can be translated as 'and also', giving an 'afterthought' effect not seen in conjunction with  $tr\grave{o}$ .  $\grave{o}\grave{o}$  is possibly borrowed from Arabic *wa* 'and', though it does not have the same breadth of function in Ma'di as *wa* has in Arabic.  $\grave{o}\grave{o}$  is used between two conjuncts, or between the last two conjuncts in a list. It can imply sequence ('and then') between two events.

- (102)  $k\bar{a}$        $g\bar{a}l\bar{a}m\bar{u}$        $r\bar{i}$        $\grave{o}\grave{o}$        $b\bar{u}k\bar{u}$        $r\bar{i}$        $\bar{e}-d\bar{z}\bar{i}$   
 3      pen      DEF      and      book      DEF      (N)-VE-take  
 'She is bringing the pen and the book.' (no focus on the objects)

- (103) *ē-dzé* *gáǎ̀*, *àtǎ̀* *òò* *àràbíà*  
 (3)-VE-buy bicycle hoe and vehicle  
 ‘She bought a bicycle, a hoe and also a car.’

The two conjuncts do not need to agree in definiteness.

- (104) *ká* *gàlámù* *òò* *búkù* *rì* *ē-dzǐ*  
 3 pen and book DEF (N)-VE-take  
 ‘She is bringing a pen and the book.’

#### 14.3.2.1. Postposing of the second conjunct

If the verb is inflected, the first conjunct must precede the verb. The second conjunct can precede or follow the verb, implying perhaps that it is not interpreted as part of the object but as a more freely placed adjunct of some kind. Note that this also suggests that *òò* + NP is a constituent.

- (105) *ká* *gàlámù* *rì* *òò* *búkù* *rì* *ē-dzǐ*  
 3 pen DEF and book DEF (N)-VE-take  
 ‘She is bringing the pen and the book.’ (no focus on objects)

- (106) *ká* *gàlámù* *rì* *ē-dzǐ* *òò* *búkù* *rì* *ǎ̀*  
 3 pen DEF (N)-VE-take and book DEF FOC  
 ‘It’s the pen that she is bringing and the book.’ (focus on both objects)

- (107) *ká* *gàlámù* *òò* *búkù* *ē-dzǐ*  
 3 pen and book (N)-VE-take  
 ‘She is bringing a pen and a book.’

- (108) *ká* *gàlámù* *ē-dzǐ* *òò* *búkù*  
 3 pen (N)-VE-take and book  
 ‘She is bringing a pen and a book.’ (No focus)

The focus facts here are interesting; we discuss them further in 19.3.1.1.

#### 14.3.2.2. Conjunction of two sentences with *òò*

*òò* can also be used to conjoin two sentences.

- (109) *ká* *gàlámù* *ē-dzǐ* *òò* *ká* *búkù* *kē*  
 3 pen (N)-VE-take and 3S book (N)-give  
 ‘She is bringing a pen and giving a book.’

Elsewhere we suggest that the sequence of object and verb might be a constituent because it is contrastively negated as a constituent (19.10.2). However this sequence cannot be conjoined as a constituent.

- (110)\* *ká* *gàlámù* *ē-dzǐ* *òò* *búkù* *kē*  
 3 pen (N)-VE-take and book (N)-give  
 ‘She is bringing a pen and giving a book.’

### 14.3.3. Conjunction with *ōngūrū*

*ōngūrū* is interpreted as ‘and also’ or as ‘and then’. It is used between two conjuncts or between the last two conjuncts in a sequence. Note that there can be an effect of temporal sequence between two eventualities (seen also with *òò*).

- (111) *ē-dzé* *gārì* *ōngūrū* *àràbíà*  
 (3)-VE-buy bicycle and also vehicle  
 ‘She bought a bicycle and also / and then a car.’

- (112) *sátì* *nā* *íkā* *īngwē* *ōngūrū* *īnī*  
 shirt AFR red white and also black  
 ‘The shirt is red, white and also black.’

#### 14.3.3.1. Conjunction of adjectival predicates

*ōngūrū* can be used to conjoin adjective phrases.

- (113) *dzó* *ópí* *ʔà* *lè-lé* *kū* *rì* *òkū* *ōngūrū* *àndí*  
 house [Opi POSS (N)-want-SB NEG(N)] DEF old and-also dirty  
 ‘The house that Opi does not want is old and also dirty.’

- (114) *sátì* *ópí* *ʔà* *dzé-lé* *rì* *īngwē* *ōngūrū* *īnī* (*trò*)  
 shirt [Opi POSS (N)-buy-SB] DEF white and also black with  
 ‘The shirt that Opi bought is black and also with white.’

## 14.4. Quantifiers

### 14.4.1. *kwítǐ* ‘all’

*kwítǐ* is interpreted as ‘all’.

- (115) *kwítíí*      *ē-vù*      *rá*  
 all            (3)-VE-go(PL)      AFF  
 ‘All certainly came.’
- (116) *àgō*    *rì*      *kwítíí*      *ē-vù*      *rá*  
 men    DEF    all            (3)-VE-go(PL)      AFF  
 ‘All the men certainly came.’

#### 14.4.1.1. Location of *kwítíí*

The quantifier *kwítíí* is freely placed within the sentence, and thus resembles the ‘free adverbials’ discussed in 18.1. If it precedes the lexical subject or follows a final adverbial, it must be separated from the sentence by a pause. Otherwise it can precede the pronominal subject, come before or after a preverbal object, follow the verb, and follow the object. (In contrast, the other quantifiers are more restricted in where they can move.)

If *kwítíí* precedes the pronominal subject, it can be interpreted as quantifying over either the subject or the object.

- (117) *kwítíí*    *ká*      *kí*      *ᵐā-ā*      *rá*  
 all            3          PL      (N)-eat-OBJ      AFF  
 (a) ‘They will certainly all eat it.’            (subject modified)  
 (b) ‘They will certainly eat all of it/them.’ (object modified)
- (118) *kwítíí*    *ō-ᵐā*      *rá*  
 all            3-eat      AFF  
 (a) ‘All certainly ate (it).’            (subject modified)  
 (b) ‘He certainly ate all.’            (object modified)
- (119) *àgō*    *rì*      *kwítíí*      *ká*      *kí*      *ᵐā-ā*      *rá*  
 men    DEF    all            3          PL      (N)-eat-OBJ      AFF  
 (a) ‘The men will certainly all eat it.’            (subject modified)  
 (b) ‘The men will certainly eat all of it/them.’ (object modified)  
 (c) ‘They will certainly eat all of the men.’ (object modified)

If the subject is not coded as plural, any object will be construed with the quantifier.

- (120) *kwítíí*      *kó-*      *ᵐā-ā*      *rá*  
 all            3-          N-eat-OBJ      AFF  
 (a)\* ‘All of them will certainly eat it.’ (subject modified)  
 (b) ‘He will certainly eat all of it.’ (object modified)

*kwítíí* can be used with the plural marker *kí̂*. If *kwítíí* precedes the subject, only the subject is quantified over. (Without *kí̂* the object could also be quantified over in this structure.)

- (121) *kwítíí*    *ṵ-nā*    *kí̂*    *rá*  
 all            3-eat    PL    AFF  
 (a) ‘All of them certainly ate it.’ (subject modified)  
 (b)\* ‘They certainly ate all of it.’ (object modified)

- (122) *kwítíí*    *ká*    *kí̂*    *èḃí*    *ṵnā*    *rá*  
 all            3    PL    fish    N-eat    AFF  
 (a) ‘All of them will certainly eat fish.’ (subject modified)  
 (b)\* ‘They will certainly eat all of the fish.’ (object modified)

However, if the object is realized by the clitic *ṵā*, it can also be quantified over.

- (123) *kwítíí*    *ká*    *kí̂*            *ṵnā-ṵā*            *rá*  
 all            3    PL                    N-eat-OBJ            AFF  
 (a) ‘All of them will certainly eat fish.’ (subject modified)  
 (b) ‘They will certainly eat all of the fish.’ (object modified)

If *kí̂* exceptionally follows the clitic in this structure, only the object is quantified over.

- (124) *kwítíí*    *kó-*            *ṵnā-ā*            *kí̂*    *rá*  
 all            3-                    N-eat-OBJ    PL    AFF  
 (a)\* ‘They will certainly all eat it/them.’ (subject modified)  
 (b) ‘They will certainly eat all.’ (object modified)

If the quantifier follows the subject of an inflected verb and is followed by an overt object (and then the verb), only the subject is quantified over.

- (125) *ká*    *kí̂*    *kwítíí*    *èḃí*            *ṵnā*    *rá*  
 3    PL    all            fish            N-eat    AFF  
 (a) ‘They will certainly all eat fish.’ (subject modified)  
 (b)\* ‘They will certainly eat all the fish.’ (object modified)

- (126) *ká*    *kí̂*                    *èḃí*    *kwítíí*    *ṵnā-*    *rá*  
 3    PL                    fish    all            N-eat    AFF  
 (a)\* ‘They will certainly all eat fish.’ (subject modified)  
 (b) ‘They will certainly eat all of the fish.’ (object modified)

If the quantifier follows the subject of an inflected verb and the object is realized by a clitic, either subject or object can be quantified over.

- (127) *ká* *kî* *kwítí* *ᵐnā-ā* *rá*  
 3 PL all N-eat-OBJ AFF  
 (a) 'They will certainly all eat it.' (subject modified)  
 (b) 'They will certainly eat all of it' (object modified)

If there is no object (ie. the verb is intransitive) the quantifier can follow the subject and quantify over it.

If the quantifier follows an uninflected verb (with a postverbal or null object), the quantifier is interpreted as modifying the object, and not the subject.

- (128) *ᵐnā* *kwítí*  
 3-eat all  
 (a) 'He has eaten all.'  
 (b)\* 'They have all eaten it.'

- (129) *ᵐnā* *kwítí* *èbî*  
 3-eat all fish  
 (a) 'He ate only fish.' (he ate many dishes, all were fish)  
 (b)\* 'They all ate fish.'

- (130) *ᵐnā* *líjā* *rî* *kwítí*  
 3(IND)-eat food DEF all  
 (a) 'All of the food (in question) has been eaten.'  
 (b) 'All that is food has been eaten.' ('food' as a modifier)

This restriction holds also when the quantifier is an afterthought, separated by pause intonation.

- (131) *ᵐnā* *rá* , *kwítí*  
 3-eat AFF all  
 (a) 'He has certainly eaten them all.'  
 (b)\* 'They have certainly all eaten them.'

In contrast, if the quantifier follows an inflected verb (with a preverbal or clitic object) it can quantify over either subject or the object.

- (132) *ká* *kî* *èbî* *ᵐnā* *kwítí* *rá*  
 3 PL fish N-eat all AFF  
 (a) 'All of them will certainly eat fish.' (subject modified)  
 (b) 'They will certainly eat all of the fish.' (object modified)

- (133) *ká* *kî* *nā-ā* *kwítí* *rá*  
 3 PL (N)-eat-OBJ all AFF  
 (a) 'They will certainly all eat it.' (subject modified)  
 (b) 'They will certainly eat all of it' (object modified)

The same effect holds if *kî* exceptionally follows the verb.

- (134) *kó-* *nā-ā* *kî* *kwítí* *rá*  
 3- N-eat-OBJ PL all AFF  
 (a) 'They will all eat it.' (subject modified)  
 (b) 'They will eat all.' (object modified)

A bare pronominal subject must be accompanied by *kî* if it is to be interpreted as modified by the quantifier. The quantifier by itself is insufficient to force a plural reading onto the third person subject.

- (135) *kó* *nā-ā* *kwítí* *rá*  
 3 N-eat-OBJ all AFF  
 (a)\* 'They/he will certainly all eat it.' (subject modified)  
 (b) 'He will certainly eat all of it' (object modified)

#### 14.4.1.2. Combinations of *kwítí* with types of noun phrase

It is worth noting that *kwítí* is the only quantifier which can be associated with a noun phrase with the definite determiner *rì*. Thus, unlike the other quantifiers, *kwítí* can be adjacent to a definite or indefinite noun phrase.

- (136) *àgō* *rì* *kwítí* *ē-vù* (*kî*) *rá*  
 men(PL) DEF all (3)-VE-go(PL) PL AFF  
 (a) 'All the men (in question) certainly came.'  
 (b) 'All the male ones certainly came.'
- (137) *àgō* *rì* *ē-vù* (*kî*) *kwítí* *rá*  
 men(PL) DEF (3)-VE-go(PL) PL all AFF  
 (a) 'All the men (in question) came.'  
 (b) 'All the male ones came.'
- (138) *àgō* *kwítí* *ē-vù* *rá*  
 men(PL) all (3)-VE-go(PL) AFF  
 'All (the) men certainly came.' (not specific men)

- (139)  $\grave{a}g\bar{o}$   $\bar{e}-v\bar{u}$   $kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$   
 men(PL) (3)-VE-go(PL) all  
 ‘All (the) men came.’ (not specific men)

$k\acute{i}$  is, as expected, excluded in (140) where the subject noun phrase with  $kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$  is indefinite, showing that  $kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$  does not make the subject definite.

- (140)\*  $\grave{a}g\bar{o}$   $kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$   $\bar{e}-v\bar{u}$   $k\acute{i}$   $r\acute{a}$   
 men(PL) all (3)-VE-go(PL) PL AFF  
 ‘All (the) men certainly came.’ (not specific men)

$kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$  cannot quantify over an indefinite third person pronominal.

- (141)  $\acute{o}-n\bar{a}$   $kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$   $r\acute{a}$   
 IND-eat all AFF  
 (a)\* ‘They will certainly all eat it.’ (subject modified)  
 (b) ‘All of it has certainly been eaten.’ (object modified)

- (142)  $kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$   $\acute{o}-n\bar{a}$   $r\acute{a}$   
 all IND-eat AFF  
 (a)\* ‘They will all eat it.’ (subject modified)  
 (b) ‘All of it has been eaten.’ (object modified)

#### 14.4.1.3. Constructions involving $kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$

$kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\acute{i} r\grave{i}$  means ‘the whole thing’ or ‘the whole one’. It can only be a left-dislocated object.

- (143)  $kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$   $r\grave{i}$   $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{o}-n\bar{a}$   $n\grave{i}$   
 all DEF Opi 3-eat FOC  
 ‘It is Opi who has eaten everything.’

$kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\acute{i} r\grave{i}$  cannot be interpreted as the subject.

- (144)\*  $kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$   $r\grave{i}$   $\bar{e}g\bar{w}\bar{e}$   $d\grave{i}$   
 all DEF (3)-get lost COM  
 ‘All of them are lost.’

$kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$  cannot combine with  $n\bar{a}$  (unlike the other quantifiers).

- (145)\*  $kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$   $n\bar{a}$   $\bar{i}k\bar{a}$   
 all AFR red  
 ‘All of them are red.’

- (146) *kwítíí*            *íkā*  
 all                    red  
 'All of them are red.'

*kwítíí* can be followed by *drū* (probably a postposition), with the interpretation 'all of them'; other quantifiers cannot. Normally, nouns are followed by *drū* and we take this as supporting evidence that *kwítíí* is a noun.

- (147) *kwítíí*    *drū*        *ē-vù*            *rá*  
 all            as            (3)-VE-go(PL)    AFF  
 'All of them certainly came.'

- (148) *àgō*    *ṛì*        *kwítíí*        *drū*        *ē-vù*            *rá*  
 men    DEF    all            as            (3)-VE-go(PL)    AFF  
 (a) 'All the men (in question) certainly came.'  
 (b) 'All the male ones certainly came.'

- (149) *àgō*            *kwítíí*        *drū*        *ē-vù*            *rá*  
 men                all            as            (3)-VE-go(PL)    AFF  
 'All the men certainly came.'

- (150) *má*        *ṛā*            *kwítíí*        *drū*  
 1S        eat            all            as  
 'I have eaten all of it.'

- (151) *má*        *ṛā-ṛā*        *kwítíí*        *drū*  
 1S        N-eat-OBJ    all            as  
 'I will eat / am eating all of it.'

'Everyone' is formed by adjacency between the indefinite noun *ḃá* 'people' and *kwítíí*.

- (152) *ḃá*        *kwítíí*        *ē-vù*            *rá*  
 people    all            (3)-VE-go(PL)    AFF  
 'Everyone certainly came.'

If *kwítíí* is separated from *ḃá*, the specific meaning of 'everyone' is lost.

- (153) *ḃá*            *ē-vù*            *kwítíí*        *rá*  
 people            (3)-VE-go(PL)    all            AFF  
 'The people certainly came, all of them.'

Note the differences in interpretation between 'everyone' and 'the men

all', as revealed by the possibility of specifically contrastive focus.

- (154)\* *bá*      *kwítíí*      *ē-vù*      *nì*  
 people    all      (3)-VE-go(PL)    FOC  
 'It was everyone who came.'

If *kwítíí* is placed elsewhere in the sentence, modifying *bá* with the meaning 'all of them', *nì* can be used to focus *bá*, showing that the meaning of 'everyone' is lost.

- (155) *bá*      *ē-vù*      *kwítíí*      *nì*  
 people    (3)-VE-go(PL)    all      FOC  
 'It was all people who came.'

- (156) *kwítíí*    *bá*      *ē-vù*      *nì*  
 all      people    (3)-VE-go(PL)    FOC  
 'It was all people who came.'

- (157) *bá*      *ē-vù*      *nì*      *kwítíí*  
 people    (3)-VE-go(PL)    FOC      all  
 'It was all people who came.'

#### 14.4.2. *àmgbú* 'most' or 'many'

*àmgbú* can be interpreted as 'most' when bare or when combined with a noun. It can also be interpreted as 'many' when bare, but not when combined with a noun; to express 'many' with a noun, *jàjàdrú* is used.

- (158) *ǝ-nā*      *àmgbú*  
 3-eat      many  
 (a) 'He has eaten most.'  
 (b) 'He has eaten many.'

- (159) *àmgbú*      *ē-vù*      *rá*  
 many      (3)-VE-go(PL)    COM  
 (a) 'Most came.'  
 (b) 'Many came.'

- (160) *àgǝ*    *rì*      *àmgbú*      *ē-vù*      *rá*  
 men    DEF    many      (3)-VE-go(PL)    AFF  
 (a) 'Most of the men came.'  
 (b)\* 'Many the men came.'

14.4.2.1. Location of *àmgbú*

*àmgbú* takes scope over any object, regardless of its position.

- (161) *ká kî àmgbú ñā rá*  
 3 PL many N-eat AFF  
 'They will certainly eat most.'
- (162) *àmgbú ká kî ñā rá*  
 many 3 PL (N)-eat AFF  
 'They will certainly eat most.'
- (163) *àmgbú ò-ñā kū*  
 many 3-eat NEG  
 'Most are not edible.'
- (164) *ò-ñā àmgbú kū*  
 3-eat many NEG  
 'Most are not edible.'

## 14.4.2.2. Combinations with types of noun phrase

When *àmgbú* immediately follows the phrase it quantifies over, the phrase must be a bare indefinite (in which it resembles *gà* 'few').

- (165) *bá-ìṅwē àmgbú ē-vù ñì*  
 people-white most (3)-VE-go(PL) FOC  
 'It was mostly white people who came.'
- (166)\* *bá-ìṅwē ñì àmgbú ē-vù ñì*  
 people-white DEF most (3)-VE-go(PL) FOC  
 'It was mostly white people who came.'

However this restriction is relaxed when the quantifier is not adjacent to the noun phrase it quantifies over.

- (167) *bá-ìṅwē ē-vù àmgbú ñì*  
 people-white (3)-VE-go(PL) many FOC  
 'It was mostly white people who came.'
- (168) *bá-ìṅwē ñì ē-vù àmgbú ñì*  
 people-white DEF (3)-VE-go(PL) many FOC  
 'It was mostly white people who came.'

14.4.2.3. Constructions involving *àmgbú*

*àmgbú* can be followed by the definite determiner *rì* in which case it has the interpretation ‘most of them’. Note that the ‘many’ interpretation is lost in this case. *àmgbú* is the only quantifier which combines with *rì*

- (169) *àmgbú rì ēgwè dī*  
 many DEF get lost COM  
 (a) ‘Most of them are lost.’  
 (b)\* ‘Many of them are lost.’

*àmgbú* can combine with *nā*.

- (170) *àmgbú nā lōsó*  
 many AFR good  
 ‘Most of them are fine.’

Unlike *kwítíí*, *àmgbú* cannot be combined with *drū*, though it can be followed by the version of *drū* meaning ‘because of it’ or ‘with it’, interpretations (b) and (c) below.

- (171) *má jā àmgbú drū*  
 1S eat many as  
 (a)\* ‘I have eaten a lot of it.’  
 (a) ‘I have eaten a lot because of it.’  
 (b) ‘I have eaten a lot with it.’

14.4.3. *jàjàdrú* ‘many’

*jàjàdrú* is interpreted as ‘many’ on its own or combined with a noun.

- (172) *ēdzí jàjàdrú*  
 (3)-bring many  
 ‘She brought many.’

- (173) *bá jàjàdrú ēvù nì*  
 people many (3)-VE-go-PL FOC  
 ‘Many people came.’

- (174) *bá ēvù jàjàdrú*  
 people (3)-VE-go-PL many  
 ‘Many people came.’

In Ugandan Ma’di, *èkpādrú* ‘many’ is a dialectal equivalent to *jàjàdrú*.

14.4.4. *gà* ‘a few’

*gà* is interpreted as ‘a few’ when on its own or combined with a noun.

- (175)  $\bar{3}$ -*nā*    *gà*  
3-eat    few  
‘He has eaten a little.’
- (176) *gà*     $\bar{e}$ -*vù*            *nì*  
few    (3)-VE-go(PL)    FOC  
‘It was only a few who came.’
- (177)  $\grave{a}$ *gō*    *gà*             $\bar{e}$ -*vù*            *rá*  
men    few    (3)-VE-go(PL)    AFF  
‘A few men certainly came.’
- (178) *ká*     $\hat{kí}$     *nā-?ā*            *gà*  
3    PL    (N)-eat-OBJ    few  
‘They will eat a few / a bit.’

14.4.4.1. Combinations of *gà* with types of noun phrase

Like *àmgbú* ‘many’, when *gà* immediately follows the phrase that it quantifies over, the phrase must be a bare indefinite.  $\hat{kí}$  cannot be used in the sentences below.

- (179)  $\acute{b}á$ - $\bar{i}$ *ngwē*            *gà*             $\bar{e}$ -*vù*            *nì*  
people-white    few    (3)-VE-go(PL)    FOC  
‘A few white people came.’
- (180)\*  $\acute{b}á$ - $\bar{i}$ *ngwē*    *nì*    *gà*             $\bar{e}$ -*vù*            *nì*  
people-white    DEF    few    (3)-VE-go(PL)    FOC  
‘A few white people came.’
- (181)  $\acute{b}á$ - $\bar{i}$ *ngwē*                             $\bar{e}$ -*vù*            *gà*            *nì*  
people-white                            (3)-VE-go(PL)    few    FOC  
‘Of the white people a few came.’
- (182)  $\acute{b}á$ - $\bar{i}$ *ngwē*    *nì*                             $\bar{e}$ -*vù*            *gà*            *nì*  
people-white    DEF                            (3)-VE-go(PL)    few    FOC  
‘Of the white people a few came.’

*gà* is also an adjective meaning ‘small’, though as an adjective it cannot stand bare in the sentence.

14.4.4.2. Combinations with *gà*

*gà* can combine with *rì* if it is reduplicated or takes the diminutive *àngwá*; in this construction it functions as a modifier of a noun.

(183) *ó pí nī g à g à r ì ē - m ú n ì*  
 Opi PR small small DEF (3)-VE-go FOC  
 'It is the smaller/younger Opi who came.'

(184) *ó pí nī g à à ng w á r ì ē - m ú n ì*  
 Opi PR small DIM DEF (3)-VE-go FOC  
 'It is the smaller / younger Opi who came.'

(185)\* *ó pí nī g à r ì ē - m ú n ì*  
 Opi PR small DEF (3)-VE-go FOC  
 'It is the smaller / younger Opi who came.'

Where there is no overt noun, *gà* can combine with *rì*.

(186) *g à ( à ng w á ) r ì ó pí ē - d z í n ì*  
 small DIM DEF Opi (3)-VE-take FOC  
 'The smaller one was brought by Opi.'

*gà* can combine with *nā*.

(187) *g à n ā l ō s ó*  
 small AFR good  
 'A small one is fine.'

*gà* combines with *drū* only with its meaning of 'because of it', 'with it'.

(188) *m á j ā g à d r ū*  
 1S eat small as  
 (a)\* 'I have eaten a little of it.'  
 (b) 'I have eaten a little because of it.'  
 (c) 'I have eaten a little with it.'

There is also a combination *gà àngwá drū* 'a small amount', but this may be the adjective *gà* 'small' rather than the quantifier.

(189) *m á d z ē l ā b ō l ō g à à ng w á d r ū*  
 1S buy banana small DIM as  
 (a) 'I bought bananas, a small amount.'  
 (b) 'I bought a small amount of bananas.'

14.4.5. *zì* 'some'

*zì* can be a determiner, taking a preceding noun phrase, with the meaning 'a certain' or 'some' or 'another' or 'other'.

- (190) *àgō ālī zì ē-vù dí?ā rá*  
 men short (PL) other (3)-VE-go(PL) here AFF  
 'Some short men certainly came here.'

It also functions as a bare phrase on its own in which case it is a quantifier meaning 'some' or 'others'.

- (191) *zì ē-vù dí?ā rá*  
 other (3)-VE-go(PL) here AFF  
 'Others have certainly come here.'

14.4.5.1. Location of *zì*

In the following examples, a lexical subject is quantified over by a following quantifier *zì*.

- (192) *àgō ālī sū rì zì ǝ-ŋā èbí rá*  
 men short (PL) four DEF other 3-eat fish AFF  
 (a) 'Of the four short men, some certainly ate fish.' (could be one or two or three of the men, but not four of the men)  
 (b) 'There's a set of four short men, and another set of four short men certainly ate fish.'

- (193) *àgō ālī sū zì ǝ-ŋā èbí rá*  
 men short (PL) four other 3-eat fish AFF  
 (a)\* 'Of the four short men, some certainly ate fish.' (could be one or two or three of the men, but not four of the men)  
 (b) 'There's a set of four short men, and another set of four short men certainly ate fish.'

- (194) *àgō ɪnā ālī rì zì ē-vù dí?ā rá*  
 men three short (PL) DEF other (3)-VE-go(PL) here AFF  
 'Of the three short men, some of them certainly came here.'  
 (preferred interpretation is that two men came)

Where there is not an overt object, *zì* is interpreted as the object.

- (195)  $zì$   $ká$   $kí$   $\grave{n}ā-ā$   $rá$   
 some 3 PL N-eat-OBJ AFF  
 (a)\* ‘Some of them will certainly all eat it.’ (subject modified)  
 (b) ‘They will certainly eat some of it/them.’ (object modified)
- (196)  $ká$   $kí$   $zì$   $\grave{n}ā$   $rá$   
 3 PL some N-eat AFF  
 (a)\* ‘Some of them will certainly all eat it.’ (subject modified)  
 (b) ‘They will certainly eat some of it/them.’ (object modified)

The following example has a rather puzzling shape, for several reasons, not least because an adjectival modifier appears to lack a following determiner. We suggest that the best way to understand this sentence is that  $zì \bar{ā}fī$  is a nonverbal subordinate clause meaning ‘others are short’ which is inserted into the sentence after the subject of the verb.

- (197)  $āgō$   $zì$   $\bar{ā}fī$   $\bar{e}-vù$   $dí?ā$   $rá$   
 men other short (PL) (3)-VE-go(PL) here AFF  
 ‘Some short men certainly came here.’ (some men, others short, came here.)

#### 14.4.5.2. Combinations with $zì$

$zì$  combines with a numeral (14.5.1.4). It can also be followed by  $nā$ .

- (198)  $ká$   $kí$   $zì$   $nā$   $\bar{ā}zī-ā$   $\bar{ā}zì$   
 3S PL some AFR (N)-sell-OBJ sell-FOC  
 ‘They will sell some.’
- (199)  $zì$   $nā$   $ká$   $kí$   $\bar{ā}zī-ā$   $\bar{ā}zì$   
 some AFR 3S PL (N)-sell-OBJ sell-FOC  
 ‘Some they will sell.’
- (200)  $zì$   $nā$   $īkā$   
 some AFR red  
 (a) ‘Others are red.’  
 (b) ‘One of them is red.’

There is no negative quantifier (ie. equivalent to English ‘no’ in ‘no person’). The meaning of ‘no-one’ is expressed periphrastically, using  $zì$ , the nonspecific indefinite determiner.

- (201) *màdí zì ē-mú kūrù*  
 person another (3)-VE-go NEG(P)  
 ‘Nobody came.’
- (202) *màdí zì dí?ā ìjō*  
 person another here absent  
 ‘There’s no other person here.’ (no-one else)
- (203) *à?ĩ ní ?ā gá màdí zì dí?ā ìjō*  
 3PL BEN in LOC person another here absent  
 ‘One of them did not come.’ (among them a person is absent)

#### 14.4.6. *Two other quantifying expressions*

Two other expressions can be used to indicate that there are too many of an entity to be counted. One is *kàré àkó*, a postposition phrase made up of *kàré* ‘place’ + *àkó* ‘without’, and is generally sentence-final.

- (204) *bá ē-vù kàré àkó*  
 people (3)-VE-go(PL) countless  
 ‘Many people came.’

The second involves a subordinate clause consisting of a verb suffixed with *-lé* and negated with *kū*.

- (205) *bá ē-vù fō-lé kū*  
 people (3)-VE-go(PL) (N)-see-SB NEG  
 ‘Too many (to be mentioned) people came.’

### 14.5. Numerals

The numerals are listed in 6.7. They have a syntactic behaviour similar to quantifiers. Thus for example they can be separated from the nouns which they count.

#### 14.5.1. *Structures in which numerals are found*

##### 14.5.1.1. Bare numerals

Numerals can be ‘bare’ in the sense that they are not combined with a noun or a determiner.

- (206) *mā*            *ndrē*            *sū*  
 1S                see                four  
 'I saw four.'

#### 14.5.1.2. Numeral + *rì*

Numerals can also be followed by the definite determiner *rì*. This may be an instance of the numeral functioning as a modifier of an omitted head noun (probably the source of reading (b), and possibly of reading (a)).

- (207) *nà*    *rì*    *ō-ηmā*    *rá*  
 three    DEF    3-rot        AFF  
 (a) 'Three of them are certainly rotten.'  
 (b) 'The ones that are three are certainly rotten.'
- (208) *ópí* *ō-rè*                    *à?ú*            *íkā*            *èrí*    *rì*    *ǽ*  
 Opi 3-slaughter(PL)    chicken    red            two    DEF    FOC  
 'Opi slaughtered the two red hens.'

Note that the *rì*-phrase can have LOW added to it to make it specific, which then forces the presence of *nī*.

- (209) *sū*    *rì*                                    *ō-ndrē*    *ḅá*  
 four    DEF                                    3-see        people  
 'The four that he saw were people.'
- (210) *sū*    *rì*            `            *nī*    *ō-ndrē*    *ḅá*  
 four    DEF    SPEC    PR    3-see        people  
 'The four that he saw were people.'

#### 14.5.1.3. Numeral as part of a sequence of modifiers in a *rì*-phrase

Where there is an overt noun and an adjective in addition to the numeral (and the determiner), the numeral must be adjacent to the determiner.

- (211) *ópí* *ō-rè*                    *à?ú*            *íkā*            *èrí*    *rì*    *áū*  
 Opi 3-slaughter(PL)    chicken    red            two    DEF    FOC  
 'Opi slaughtered the red hens, two of them.'
- (212)\* *ópí* *ō-rè*                    *à?ú*            *èrí*    *íkā*            *rì*    *áū*  
 Opi 3-slaughter(PL)    chicken    two    red            DEF    FOC  
 'Opi slaughtered the two hens, which are red.'

Where there is no overt noun, the numeral need not be adjacent to the determiner.

- (213) *dî èrì ālī ēdʒí-lé ádʒíní rì (pí) rí*  
 this [two short (PL) (3)-VE-take-SB yesterday] DEF PRPL FOC  
 ‘These are the two short ones bought yesterday.’

#### 14.5.1.4. Numeral as part of a sequence of modifiers in a *zì*-phrase

A numeral can be combined with *zì* in a sentence.

- (214) *ṣ-lè tí túùdèrì zì ìdí*  
 3-want cow seven other again  
 ‘He wants seven more cows.’

- (215) *ṣ-lè ìdí tí túùdèrì zì*  
 3-want again cow seven other  
 ‘He wants seven more cows.’

Note that *zì* need not be adjacent to the numeral; as the following example shows it can be freely placed in the sentence in any of the positions @. In contrast, *túùdèrì* cannot be moved around in the sentence.

- (216) @ *ṣ-lè* @ *tí* @ *túùdèrì* @ *ìdí*  
 3-want cow seven again  
 @ = *zì*  
 ‘He wants seven more cows.’

A numeral can be part of a sequence of modifiers in a *zì*-phrase. Note that the numeral is closer to the head noun than the adjective (compare the *rì* phrase above).

- (217) *àgṵ ìnā ālī zì ē-vù dí?ā rá*  
 men three short (PL) other (3)-VE-go(PL) here AFF  
 ‘Three other short men certainly came here.’ (an additional three men to three previously known or completely new men.)

#### 14.5.2. *The relation between numeral and noun phrase*

##### 14.5.2.1. Numerals and implicit object

The numeral can apply to an implicit object.



This is possible only for this pronoun and not for any others. This is the only sentence in which a pronoun can be followed by *nī* (with the exception of the elliptical structure in (226)).

- (226) *mā nī ōgù ūndzī*  
 1S PR theft bad  
 'I then told her "theft is not good".'

The noun *ḅá* with its meaning of 'people' can optionally be separated from the numeral by the focus particle *áū*, in which case the numeral appears to function as an afterthought. *ḅá* cannot be interpreted as inclusive 'us' in this sentence.

- (227) *ḵ-ndrē ḅá áū sū*  
 3-see people FOC four  
 'It's four people that he saw.' (four people not four of something else)

- (228) *ḵ-ndrē ḅá sū áū*  
 3-see people four FOC  
 'It's four people that he saw.'

If the numeral is followed by the free adverbial *túá* it can be separated from the object (or left with the object). *túá* need not follow the numeral.

- (229) *má àḥī `ndrē sū túá*  
 1S 3PL N-see four all  
 'I can / will see all four of them.'

- (230) *má àḥī sū `ndrē túá*  
 1S 3PL four N-see all  
 'I can / will see all four of them.'

#### 14.5.2.3. Numeral and subject

The numeral cannot be separated from the subject.

- (231) *ḅá sū ḵmgbā mā nī*  
 people four 3-beat 1S FOC  
 'It was four people that beat me.'

## 14.5.3. Focus on a numeral

A numeral is focused in a manner typical of sentential modifiers such as postposition phrases and adverbials that is, it is focused by putting a low tone (probably the specific determiner) at the end of the sentence, and adding *ɲ̃*.

(232) *sū*            *má*    *ndrē*    *àɲ̃*    *ñ*    `    *ɲ̃*  
 four            1S    see    them    PR    SPEC    FOC  
 'It was four of them that I saw.'

(233) *sū*            *má*    *ndrē*    *àgō*            `    *ɲ̃*  
 four            1S    see    men            SPEC    FOC  
 'It's four men that I saw.'

The combination of noun and numeral can be focused together, with the remnant taking LOW+*ɲ̃*

(234) *àɲ̃*    (*ñ*)    *sū*            *má*    *ndrē*    `    *ɲ̃*  
 3PL    PR    four            1S    see    SPEC    FOC  
 'It was four of them that I saw.'

(235) *àgō*    *sū*    *má*            *ndrē*    `    *ɲ̃*  
 men    four    1S            see    SPEC    FOC  
 'It was four men that I saw.'

Note that the adverbial can come between the noun and the numeral; this works for other nouns as well.

(236) @    *ɓá*            @    *mùdri*            @    *ē-vù*            @    *ñ*            @  
           people            ten                            (3)-VE-go(PL)    FOC  
 @ = *iré* 'almost'  
 'Nearly ten people came.'



# Chapter 15

## Postposition phrases and other location expressions

This chapter is primarily devoted to postposition phrases (PP), in which postpositions follow a noun phrase complement. We also examine superficially similar location phrases in which a noun expressing location stands on its own or is preceded by a noun phrase possessor.

### 15.1. Postpositions and their complements

Certain postpositions place restrictions on their preceding noun phrase complements. Thus for example *drí* 'temporary location at' takes only a definite complement while *drū* takes only an indefinite complement. Some postpositions will not take animate complements; these include *drī* 'on the surface of', and *gá* 'location: at, to, in'.

Some postpositions can take a postposition phrase as a preceding complement. The outstanding example of this is *gá*, which seems to function as a generic location postposition and can be preceded by more specific postpositions (and locational nouns). Another postposition which takes a wide range of complement types including postposition phrases and sentences is *sì*, which has a range of 'source' meanings, and is unusual in a number of respects.

Most postpositions raise the tone on preceding singular pronouns and demonstratives; *sì* is the main exception to this. Thus the first person singular pronoun *mā* becomes *má* when complement to a postposition:

- (1)     *ṣ-kè*     *má*     *ní*  
         3-give   1S     BEN  
         'She gave it for me.'

When the pronominal is the complement of a postposition, there is a dialectal variation in the third person singular: Lokai has a raised tone on the final vowel to give *āní*, whereas 'Burulo has *àdí* which is the ordinary NS-pronominal without raising of the final tone.

### 15.2. Syntactic locations of postposition phrases

Postposition phrases tend to come towards the end of the sentence, after the verb, but can be moved to other locations. A postposition phrase can be the complement of a verb or the modifier of a verb, but this does not in

general seem to correlate with syntactic location. Only the postposition *sì* varies in interpretation depending on its location in the sentence (15.3).

### 15.2.1. *Post-verbal PP (the default location)*

By default, a PP follows the verb, whether the verb is uninflected (2,3), inflected (4,5,6,7,8) or directive (9).

- (2) *ō-mū sùkùrù gá*  
3-go school LOC  
'She has gone to school.'
- (3) *òtʃé ɔ̄-tʃí ɔ́pí nī pá gá*  
dog 3-bite Opi PR leg LOC  
'A dog bit Opi on the leg.'
- (4) *ɔ́pí k-órì òtʃé sì*  
opi 3-(N)-fear dog SR  
'Opi is fearful of dogs.'
- (5) *k'-ā?ì-ā jí ní rá*  
3-(N)-agree-OBJ 2S BEN AFF  
'She will certainly give you permission.' (literally: 'She will agree it for you.')
- (6) *ɔ́pí ká búkù kè ìtó ní*  
opi 3 book (N)-give Ito BEN  
'Opi is giving a book for Ito.'
- (7) *ɔ́pí ká b̀òṅú dʒè sàbùnì sì*  
Opi 3 clothes (N)-wash soap SR  
'Opi is washing clothes with soap.'
- (8) *ɔ́pí ká dʒó `sī ēndrè ní*  
Opi 3 house N-build mother BEN  
'Opi [1] is building a house for the mother [1,2].'
- (9) *ɔ́pí kò-sī dʒó ēndrè ní*  
Opi 3DIR-build house mother BEN  
'Opi should build a house for the mother.'

If there is an object after the verb, the PP can follow the object.

- (10) *ópi ēdé ēbù dzúbà gá rá*  
 Opi 3-do work Juba LOC AFF  
 ‘Opi has certainly worked in Juba.’
- (11) *ópi ɔ̄-kè búkù ìtó ní*  
 Opi 3-give book Ito BEN  
 ‘Opi gave a book for Ito.’
- (12) *ópi ɔ̄-dzè bɔ́ngú rì sàbùni s̄ì*  
 Opi 3-wash clothes DEF soap SR  
 ‘Opi washed the clothes (in question) with soap.’

However, the PP can also precede the postverbal object (but still follow the verb) without any clear difference in interpretation.

- (13) *ópi ēdé dzúbà gá ēbù rá*  
 Opi 3-do Juba LOC work AFF  
 ‘Opi has certainly worked in Juba.’
- (14) *ópi ɔ̄-kè ìtó ní búkù*  
 opi 3-give Ito BEN book  
 ‘Opi gave for Ito a book.’

A final PP can be focused by the LOW-*ɔ̄* strategy, in which case it may follow a modal particle such as *rá*.

- (15) *ópi ēdé ēbù rá dzúbà gá ʼ ɔ̄*  
 Opi 3-do work AFF Juba LOC SPEC FOC  
 ‘It is in Juba that Opi has certainly worked.’

### 15.2.2. Pre-verbal PP (restricted option)

There appears to be a restricted option of placing the PP between the subject pronoun and a pre-verbal object.

- (16) *ópi ká ìtó ní dzó s̄ì*  
 opi 3 Ito BEN house N-build  
 ‘Opi is building a house for Ito.’

This acceptable example may differ from the next one in that the action of the acceptable example involves a longer time-span.

- (17)\* *ópi ká ìtó ní búkù kè*  
 opi 3 Ito BEN book (N)-give  
 ‘Opi is giving a book for Ito.’

The following acceptable example is a response to ‘where’s the soap?’.

- (18) *ópi ká sàbùni rì sì bònḡú dzè*  
 Opi 3 soap DEF SR clothes (N)-wash  
 (a) ‘Opi is, with the soap (in question), washing clothes.’  
 (b) ‘Opi is with the soapy one washing clothes.’

### 15.2.3. *Left-dislocated PP*

The PP can be left-dislocated with an optional pause.

- (19) *dzúbà gá (,) ópi ēdé ēbù rá*  
 Juba in Opi 3-do work AFF  
 ‘In Juba, Opi has certainly worked.’
- (20) *ēbù gá (,) ō-mū nì*  
 work LOC 3-go FOC  
 ‘She is the one who went to work.’
- (21) *ìtó ní (,) ópi ̄-kè búkù rì áū*  
 ito BEN Opi 3-give book DEF FOC  
 (a) ‘To Ito, Opi gave the book (in question).’ (not something else)  
 (b) ‘To Ito, Opi gave the one which is a book.’
- (22) *sàbùni rì sì (,) ópi ká bònḡú dzè*  
 soap DEF SR Opi 3 clothes (N)-wash  
 (a) ‘With the soap (in question) Opi is washing clothes.’  
 (b) ‘With the one which is soap Opi is washing clothes.’
- (23) *sùkùrù gá (,) k’ò-mū òbú*  
 school LOC 3-N-go tomorrow  
 ‘To school, she is going / will go tomorrow.’

This strategy can be combined with the LOW-*ɲ̄* focus strategy (19.8), to focus the postposition phrase. The postposition phrase can also be focused in final position.

- (24) *ópi ní (,) ɔ̄-dí ʔí*  
 Opi BEN 3-cook SPEC FOC  
 (a) 'It's for Opi that he cooked it.'  
 (b) 'It is for Opi that it got cooked.'
- (25) *sùkùrù gá (,) ɔ̄-mū ʔí*  
 school LOC 3-go SPEC FOC  
 'It is to school that she went.'

It is possible to front both a postposition phrase and an object.

- (26) *ító ní búkù ñ ópi ɔ̄-kè áū*  
 ito BEN book DEF Opi 3-give FOC  
 (a) 'For Ito, it is the book (in question) that Opi gave.'  
 (b) 'Opi is giving Ito the one which is a book.'
- (27) *ító ní búkù ñ kè-ā áū*  
 ito BEN book DEF (N)-give-OBJ FOC  
 (a) 'For Ito, it is the book (in question) which is being /will be given.'  
 (b) 'It is the one which is a book which is being / will be given.'

#### 15.2.4. Multiple PPs

There can be more than one PP, both following the verb.

- (28) *ópi ká wárāgà s̄ ító ní gálámù s̄*  
 Opi 3 letter (N)-write Ito BEN pen SR  
 'Opi is writing a letter for Ito with a pen.'
- (29) *má lè d̄ɔ́ s̄í-lé m-éndré ní bàtì s̄*  
 1S want house N-build 1S-mother BEN iron SR  
 'I want to build a house for my mother (with a roof) of corrugated iron.'

Two PPs can both be left-dislocated but if this occurs, focus on one of the PPs is obligatory, using the LOW-ʔí strategy.

- (30) *ító ní gálámù s̄ ópi ká wárāgà s̄ ʔí*  
 Ito BEN pen SR Opi 3 letter (N)-write (SPEC) FOC  
 'It is with a pen that Opi is writing a letter for Ito.'

- (31) *gàlámù s̀̀ ìtó ní ópí ká wárāgà s̀̀ ǀ*  
 pen SR Ito BEN Ópí 3 letter (N)-write (SPEC) FOC  
 'It is with a pen that Opi is writing a letter for Ito.'

Without focus these are unacceptable.

- (32)\* *ìtó ní gálámù s̀̀ ópí ká wárāgà s̀̀*  
 Ito BEN pen SR Ópí 3 letter (N)-write  
 'For Ito with a pen Opi is writing a letter.'

- (33)\* *gálámù s̀̀ ìtó ní ópí ká wárāgà s̀̀*  
 pen SR Ito BEN Ópí 3 letter (N)-write  
 'With a pen for Ito Opi is writing a letter.'

### 15.2.5. *PP in nonverbal clause*

In a nonverbal clause, the PP may precede the predicate or precede the subject.

- (34) *s̀̀kùrù dzúbà gá ìjò*  
 school Juba LOC absent  
 'There are no schools in Juba.'

- (35) *dzúbà gá s̀̀kùrù ìjò*  
 Juba LOC school absent  
 'There are no schools in Juba.'

- (36) *v̀̀ dzúbà gá àtǀ*  
 weather Juba LOC hot  
 'It's hot in Juba.'

- (37) *dzúbà gá v̀̀ àtǀ*  
 Juba LOC weather hot  
 (a) 'It's hot in Juba.'  
 (b) 'Things are pretty hot in Juba.' (idiomatic)

The PP can be in final position only if it is focused with LOW-ǀ. It is not possible to focus the PP in this type of clause by fronting it and using LOW-ǀ.

- (38) *s̀̀kùrù ìjò dzúbà gá ǀ*  
 school absent Juba LOC SPEC FOC  
 'It is in Juba that there are no schools'

### 15.3. s̀̀ : source

The postposition *s̀̀* expresses meanings associated with ‘source’: the *s̀̀* phrase can be used to express a tool, vehicle, ingredient, place from which something came, reason, and so on. It can take the widest range of complement types of any postposition; it is the only kind of postposition which can take a clausal complement (expressing a reason). *s̀̀* is unusual in a number of other respects: it does not raise the tone on a preceding singular pronoun or demonstrative, and its interpretation is to some extent dependent on its location in the sentence.

#### 15.3.1. Noun phrase + *s̀̀*

*s̀̀* can take as its complement a noun phrase. The noun phrase can be a bare noun, a *r̀̀*-phrase, a *nā* phrase, a LOW phrase, or a demonstrative phrase.

- (39) *má dī̀ ̀̀zá s̀̀*  
1S cook meat SR  
‘I cooked it with meat.’
- (40) *ō-mū́ gá̀r̀̀ s̀̀*  
3-go bicycle SR  
‘She went on a bicycle.’
- (41) *ópi ̀̀-rḗ d3ó r̀̀ àr̀̀bíà r̀̀ s̀̀*  
Opi 3-hit house DEF car DEF SR  
‘Opi hit the house (in question) with / because of the car (in question).’
- (42) *ō-lí́ íl̀í nā́ s̀̀*  
3-cut knife AFR SR  
‘He cut it with / because of his/her knife’
- (43) *jí́ s̀̀ ̀̀-fṓ ̀̀ r̀̀*  
2S SR 3-say SPEC FOC  
‘It’s because of you that she said it.’
- (44) *òv̀́ d̀̀ s̀̀ ád̀̀í ēsú-ā́ ópí ̀̀kó́ ēb̀̀ k̀̀p̀̀*  
way this SR IND (N)-find-OBJ Opi finish work all  
‘In this way, we (you inclusive) will find that Opi has finished all the work.’

(45)  $\bar{o}\text{-z}\bar{a}$        $m\bar{a}$        $\bar{a}l\grave{i}$        $s\grave{i}$        $n\grave{i}$   
 3-exceed    1S      shortness    SR      FOC  
 ‘She is the one who is shorter than me.’

(46)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$        $k\text{-}\acute{o}r\grave{i}$        $j\acute{i}$        $s\grave{i}$   
 Opi      3-(N)-fear    2S    SR  
 ‘Opi is afraid / fearful of you.’

(47)  $\bar{o}\text{-}m\bar{u}$        $k\bar{u}r\grave{u}$        $\bar{o}r\grave{i}$        $s\grave{i}$   
 3-go      NEG(P)      fear      SR  
 ‘She did not go, because of fear.’ (Note that the  $s\grave{i}$ -phrase here follows but can also precede the negation.)

(48)  $\bar{e}p\bar{e}$        $m\bar{a}$        $\bar{a}z\grave{o}$        $s\grave{i}$        $t\acute{f}\acute{a}$   
 exceeds    1S      tallness    SR      COM  
 ‘She is taller than me.’

(49)  $\bar{o}\text{-}z\bar{a}$        $m\bar{a}$        $\bar{a}z\grave{o}$        $s\grave{i}$        $n\grave{i}$   
 3-exceed    1S      tallness    SR      FOC  
 ‘She is the one who is taller than me.’

(50)  $\bar{a}s\bar{a}$        $\bar{a}z\grave{o}$        $s\grave{i}$        $n\grave{i}$   
 excel      tallness    SR      FOC  
 ‘She is the tallest.’

### 15.3.1.1. ‘Cognate object’ $s\grave{i}$ -phrases

Some intransitive verbs expressing motion such as  $f\grave{e}$  ‘run’ and  $\bar{a}g\grave{a}$  ‘crawl’ can take  $s\grave{i}$  phrases with specialized meanings analogous to the use of cognate objects.

(51)  $m\acute{a}$        $f\grave{e}$   
 1S      (N)-run  
 ‘I am running.’

(52)  $m\acute{a}$        $f\grave{e}$        $g\acute{a}r\grave{i}$        $s\grave{i}$   
 1S      (N)-run    bicycle    SR  
 (a) ‘I am riding a bicycle.’ (I am running with a bicycle)  
 (b) ‘I am running because of a bicycle.’ (in fear of)

(53)  $m\acute{a}$        $f\grave{e}$        $\bar{a}n\acute{g}\acute{u}$        $s\grave{i}$   
 1S      (N)-run    race      SR  
 ‘I am running.’

- (54) *má fè pá sì*  
 1S (N)-run leg SR  
 'I am running on foot.'
- (55) *tàrà kó-fè ōrū sì*  
 plane 3-N-run up SR  
 'Planes fly.' (literally 'run from up')
- (56) *má āgà*  
 1S (N)-crawl  
 'I am crawling.'
- (57) *m' -āgà àfā sì*  
 1S-N-crawl knee SR  
 'I am crawling on my knees.'

15.3.1.2. A *sì*-phrase as the subject of nonverbal predication

A phrase with *sì* and a bare noun or pronominal complement can be interpreted as 'instead of NP'.

- (58) *má sì ópí ʔí*  
 1s SR Opi FOC  
 'Opi would be better than me.' (in answer to the question  
 'would you prefer me or Opi')
- (59) *àràbíà sì gáà*  
 car SR bicycle  
 'A bicycle is preferable.' (eg. preferable to a car)

A slightly longer utterance with the same meaning would also include *drùbà (sì)* or *drùbà sí*. Brackets indicate optionality.

- (60) *àràbíà sì drùbà ( sì ) gáà*  
 car SR instead SR bicycle  
 'A bicycle is preferable.' (eg. preferable to a car)
- (61) *àràbíà sì drùbà ( sí ) gáà*  
 car SR instead SR bicycle  
 'A bicycle is preferable.' (eg. preferable to a car)

15.3.2. *Temporal noun + s̀̀*

*s̀̀* can take as its complement a temporal noun. As a bare noun *ēzè* ‘past’ must be accompanied by *s̀̀*.

(62) *ēzè s̀̀ tà má-à drí gá ìjō*  
 past SR thing 1S-POSS hand LOC absent  
 ‘In the past I didn’t have anything in my hand.’ (ie. I didn’t have any money)

(63) *ānīngá ēzè (s̀̀) (ēsú) vù drí gá lāzā lāzā ìjō*  
 in the past past SR find earth on LOC illness illness absent  
 ‘In the past there were no ailments on earth.’

(64) *òbú (s̀̀) ká r-ētfó lēfó*  
 tomorrow SR 3 REFL-(N)-turn problem  
 ‘It will turn into a bigger issue tomorrow.’

15.3.2.1. *Temporal noun + demonstrative as complement to s̀̀*

A combination of temporal noun followed by a demonstrative cannot by itself be a sentential modifier, but it can be if combined with *s̀̀*. Examples of this include *lélé d̀̀ s̀̀* ‘at this time’ and *lélé nà s̀̀* ‘at that time’, *sá `̀̀ d̀̀ s̀̀* ‘at this time’ and *sá `̀̀ nà s̀̀* ‘at that time’, *òdú d̀̀ s̀̀* ‘on this day’ (present, compatible with habitual), and *òdú nà s̀̀* ‘on that day’ (future or past; incompatible with habitual).

(65) *lélé d̀̀ s̀̀ tà má-à drí gá ìjō*  
 time this SR thing 1S-POSS hand LOC absent  
 ‘Nowadays (these days) I don’t have anything in my hand.’ (ie. I don’t have any money)

(66) *lélé nà s̀̀ tà má-à drí gá ìjō*  
 time that SR thing 1S-POSS hand LOC absent  
 ‘At that time, there was nothing in my hand.’ (ie. I didn’t have any money; the situation no longer holds.)

(67) *òdú d̀̀ s̀̀ tà má-à drí gá ìjō*  
 day this SR thing 1S-POSS hand LOC absent  
 ‘These days I don’t have anything in my hand.’ (ie. I don’t have any money)

- (68) *ōdù nà sì ēmú kūrù*  
 day that SR (3)-VE-go NEG(P)  
 ‘She didn’t come on that day.’
- (69) *sá` dī sì tà má-à drí gá ìjō*  
 time this SR thing 1S-POSS hand LOC absent  
 ‘At this time, there is nothing in my hand.’ (ie. I don’t have any money)
- (70) *sá` nà sì tà má-à drí gá ìjō*  
 time that SR thing 1S-POSS hand LOC absent  
 ‘At that time there was nothing in my hand.’

### 15.3.2.2. Temporal noun + *rì* as complement of *sì*

*èndrù rì* ‘on this particular day’ can be used as a temporal modifier only if combined with *sì*. It is used to contrast the eventuality with the normal practice. *rì* is used to get the meaning of ‘on this particular day’ (ie. a discourse deixis).

- (71) *èndrù rì sì èbì ò-mū dwārī gá kūrù*  
 today DEF SR lion 3-go hunting LOC NEG(P)  
 ‘On this particular day, Lion did not go hunting.’ (Lion used to go hunting but did not go on this day)
- (72) *èndrù rì sì èjí ò-dī rā*  
 today DEF SR rain 3-fall all night.  
 ‘On this particular day, it rained throughout the night.’ (It used not to rain throughout the night, but it did on this day)

### 15.3.3. Sentence + *sì*

*sì* is unique among the postpositions in taking a clausal complement, with the suffix *-kā*. This suffix makes the clause as a whole behave like a noun phrase, which fits with its taking a postposition. *sì* is interpreted as ‘because’ in this case.

- (73) *āndrā nā lōsó ópí ?à dʒó `sī-kā trò sì*  
 face AFR good [ Opi POSS house N-build-SB COMT ] SR  
 ‘She is lucky because of Opi having built a house as well (when he was here).’

- (74) *àmà ásí ǐǐbē àǐǐ-à ē-vù-kā rá sǐ*  
 1PL(EXC) heart cold (PL) [3PL-POSS VE-(N)-go(PL)-SB AFF] SR  
 ‘We have been made happy because of their certain coming.’  
 (future and past)

#### 15.3.4. *Focus particle áū + sǐ*

The focus particle *áū* can be a complement of *sǐ*; the combination is then interpreted as ‘because of it’ or ‘with it’. The instrumental interpretation (‘with it’) of the *sǐ*-phrase requires it to be in postverbal position.

- (75) *ō-mū áū sǐ kūrù*  
 3-go FOC SR NEG(P)  
 (a) ‘She did not go as a result of it.’  
 (b) ‘She did not go with it.’

The *sǐ*-phrase can be left-dislocated or right-dislocated, but is then restricted to the reason interpretation (‘because of it’).

- (76) *áū sǐ ō-mū kūrù*  
 FOC SR 3-go NEG(P)  
 (a) ‘Because of it she did not go.’  
 (b)\* ‘With it she did not go.’
- (77) *ō-mū kūrù áū sǐ*  
 3-go NEG(P) FOC SR  
 (a) ‘She did not go because of it.’  
 (b)\* ‘She didn’t go with it.’

#### 15.3.5. *Postposition phrase + sǐ*

*sǐ* can take certain postposition phrases as complements.

##### 15.3.5.1. NP + *gá* + *sǐ*

*gá* is a general locational postposition. The addition of *sǐ* makes the location more clearly a source.

- (78) *làzá ǒ-bē ēbù gá sǐ*  
 sickness 3-throw work LOC SR  
 (a) ‘He was overcome by sickness from the workplace.’  
 (b) ‘He was overcome by sickness while in the workplace.’

- (79) *m-éřĩ dzúbà gá sì*  
 1S-hear Juba LOC SR  
 (a) 'I heard it from Juba.'  
 (b) 'I heard it while in Juba.'
- (80) *ō-dū má ʔà bārā gá sì*  
 3-take 1S POSS side LOC SR  
 (a) 'She took it from beside me.'  
 (b) 'She took it while near me.'

### 15.3.5.2. NP + *drĩ* + *sì*

The postposition *drĩ* expresses temporary possession, and can also express 'to' (direction towards). The addition of *sì* forces the directional meaning and reverses its direction, thus again making the complement into a source.

- (81) *ópi ĩnì gārì mòrià drĩ sì nì*  
 Opi (3)-teach/learn bicycle Moria BEN SR FOC  
 'It was Opi who learned how to ride a bicycle from Moria.'
- (82) *ópi ēřĩ má drĩ sì*  
 Opi (3)-hear 1S BEN SR  
 'Opi heard it from me.'

There is also a possibly idiomatic interpretation, 'according to'. *nĩ* cannot be used instead of *drĩ* in this construction.

- (83) *má drĩ sì ɲ-ēbē k-ōlú*  
 1S BEN SR 2SDIR-VE-leave 3-stay  
 'In my view, forget about it.'
- (84) *ópi drĩ sì ìtó ōgù nì*  
 Opi BEN SR Ito (3)-steal FOC  
 'According to Opi, it is Ito who stole it.'

### 15.3.5.3. NP + *nĩ* + *sì* as a modifier in a *nā*-phrase

The postposition *nĩ* expresses 'benefactive' so that eg. *āmā nĩ* means 'on behalf of us, for us'. The addition of *sì* again reverses the direction so that the noun phrase is now the source. The combination NP + *nĩ sì* can only

be used as a modifier in a headless noun phrase ending in the demonstrative *nà*. The phrase as a whole, eg. *àmā nī sī nà* is then interpreted as ‘we thought’: it literally means something like ‘that which is from us’. *drí* cannot be used in this construction.

- (85) *àmā nī sī nà ópí k'ò-mū nì*  
 1PL(EXC) BEN SR that Opi 3-N-go FOC  
 ‘We thought that Opi would be the one going.’
- (86) *ópí k'ò-mū nì àmā nī sī nà ń*  
 Opi 3-N-go FOC 1PL(EXC) BEN SR that FOC  
 ‘We thought that Opi would be the one going.’ (with final emphasis)
- (87) *àràbíà rì nī sī nà má `kū lèdzí*  
 car DEF BEN SR that 1S N-turn left  
 ‘The car thought that I was turning left.’

#### 15.4. *drí* : temporary location (at, to)

The postposition *drí* expresses the movement of something temporarily to another location; it can be used to express temporary transfer or temporary possession. It is also used as a possessive postposition (13.3), for alienable possession only. Unlike *nī* it lacks a ‘benefactive’ meaning.

- (88) *má kè búkù rì ópí drí*  
 1S give book DEF Opi BEN  
 ‘I gave the book (in question) to Opi.’

##### 15.4.1. *The complement of drí*

*drí* can take as its complement a name, pronoun, or phrase with a determiner.

- (89) *ēbē má drí*  
 leave 1S BEN  
 ‘She left it with me.’ (to keep temporarily)
- (90) *ēbē ópí drí*  
 leave Opi BEN  
 ‘She left it with Opi.’

- (91) *ēbē mādí zì drí*  
 leave person another BEN  
 ‘She left it with another person.’

*drí* will not take a N+LOW as a complement, unless it has a kinship interpretation.

- (92)\* *ópi ēbē lèá \ drí*  
 Opi leave elephant SPEC BEN  
 ‘Opi left it with the elephant.’

- (93) *ópi ēbē zá \ drí*  
 Opi leave daughter SPEC BEN  
 ‘Opi [1] left it with the / his [1,2] daughter.’

*drí* cannot in general take an indefinite noun as a complement (interpretation (b) below).

- (94) *ē-mú ópi drí rá*  
 (3)-VE-go Opi / chief BEN AFF  
 (a) ‘He certainly came to Opi.’  
 (b)\* ‘He certainly came to the chief.’

However *drí* will take an unrestricted complement only in the following idiom (where it can also take a restricted complement, including with a determiner).

- (95) *àràbià drí pàrà kū*  
 car BEN long-time NEG(N)  
 ‘It won’t take long for a car.’ (implying either that a car is a fast thing, or that carelessness with a car can soon lead to disaster)

- (96) *ópi drí pàrà kū*  
 Opi BEN long-time NEG(N)  
 ‘It won’t take long for Opi.’ (implying that Opi is fast with things, or that Opi will soon strike back if you continue to play with him)

### 15.5. ʔà : possession

The postposition *ʔà* takes a noun phrase complement and the phrase expresses a possessor within a noun phrase (13.1.2). It is also used for the subject in subordinate clauses with suffixed verbs (chapter 10).

**15.6. *gá* : location at or to**

*gá* expresses location at or to. It takes noun phrase complements; indefinites are directly complements to *gá*, while definite noun phrases are mediated by (n)í. It does not take an animate complement (because it takes locations). There is a 'Burulo variant *gé*.

*15.6.1. Noun Phrase + gá*

*gá* can take a bare noun phrase complement.

- (97) *mā* *dʒó* *gá*  
 1S house LOC  
 'I am in (the house).'
- (98) *má* *`mū* *sùkùrù* *gá*  
 1S N-go school LOC  
 'I am going to school.'
- (99) *ópi* *ēbē* *mā* *ēbù* *gá*  
 Opi leave 1S work LOC  
 (a) 'Opi left me at work.'  
 (b) 'Opi left me working / busy.'

Bare noun complements sometimes take on slightly idiomatic interpretations.

- (100) *ānī* *drà* *gá*  
 3S death LOC  
 'She is at a funeral.'
- (101) *ānī* *ōdú* *gá*  
 3S sleep LOC  
 'She is sleeping.'
- (102) *ānī* *ōnà* *gá*  
 3S food LOC  
 'She is eating.'
- (103) *ópi* *nī* *ēbù* *gá*  
 Opi PR work LOC  
 (a) 'Opi is at work (place).'  
 (b) 'Opi is working now.'

- (104) *áǵó òfú rì ʔà ǐlílé dwārī gá rì ópí ʔī*  
 man news DEF POSS (N)-catchout-SB hunting LOC DEF Opi FOC  
 ‘The man who the news found hunting was Opi.’ (ie. he missed the news because he was hunting)

The complement can be a bare noun pre-possessed by an *ʔà*-phrase (and interpreted as indefinite).

- (105) *m-éḃē ópí ʔà bārā gá*  
 1S-leave Opi POSS side LOC  
 ‘I left it near Opi.’ (by Opi’s side)

The complement can be a *zì*-phrase. Note that this involves *gá* selecting for an indefinite but not for a bare indefinite noun.

- (106) *m-éḃē ópí nī ólè zì gá*  
 1S-leave Opi PR place another LOC  
 ‘I left Opi at another place.’

The complement can be a place name, but it cannot be a personal name because *gá* cannot take an animate complement.

- (107) *ópí nī dzúbà gá*  
 Opi PR Juba LOC  
 ‘Opi is in Juba.’

- (108) *má `mū dzúbà ( gá ) òḃú*  
 1S N-go Juba LOC tomorrow  
 ‘I am going to Juba tomorrow.’

- (109)\* *má kè ópí ( nī ) gá*  
 1S give Opi PR LOC  
 ‘I gave it to Opi.’

The immediate complement cannot be a definite phrase.

- (110)\* *m´-ēsú dükánì rì gá*  
 1S-find shop DEF LOC  
 ‘I found it at the shop (in question).’

- (111)\* *ópí ē-dzì dzó ` gá sī*  
 Opi (3)-VE-bring house SPEC LOC SR  
 ‘Opi brought it from the house.’

15.6.2. *Noun phrase + (n)í + gá*

*gá* can take as its complement a restricted noun phrase only if the restricted noun phrase is followed by *ní* or *í* (ie. the [n] is optional).

(112) *m' -ēsú dùkánì rì ní gá*  
 1S-find shop DEF BEN LOC  
 'I found it at the shop (in question).'

(113) *m-íngwī gálámū rì ólè nā (n)í gá*  
 1S-return pen DEF place AFR PR LOC  
 'I returned the pen (in question) to its place / its aforementioned place.'

(114) *m' -ēsú ópí nī dùkánì rì (n)í gá*  
 1S-find Opi PR shop DEF PR LOC  
 'I found Opi at the shop (in question).'

(115) *sùkùrù dī (n)í gá ògù ìjō*  
 school this PR LOC theft absent  
 'There is no theft in this school.'

(116) *ēgwè lélé nà (n)í gá*  
 lost period that PR LOC  
 'It got lost during that time.'

(117) *ēgwè lélé rì (n)í gá*  
 lost period DEF PR LOC  
 'It got lost during the time.'

A LOW-phrase must take *nī* before it can take *(n)í*.

(118) *d3ó \ nī (n)í gá*  
 house SPEC PR PR LOC  
 'in the house'

A bare indefinite noun cannot be followed by *(n)í* and then *gá*.

15.6.2.1. What is *(n)í*?

*(n)í* superficially resembles the pronominal *nī* in that it mediates between certain types of noun phrase and a particular position. But *(n)í* is probably not a version of *nī*. The main reason for thinking this is that it is

required after non-specific *n̄*-phrases, a place where *n̄* is not required.

However, *(n)í* is not obviously a postposition either. If *(n)í* was a postposition then *gá* would be taking a PP complement when it takes a *(n)í*-complement; but *gá* can take no other postposition phrase as a complement. *(n)í* also differs from the postposition *ní* (whose nasal cannot be lost) in that *ní* does not have a definiteness constraint on its complement.

- (119) *àm-ē-dzí dzó ní*  
 1PL-VE-take house SPEC BEN  
 ‘We have brought it for the/her house’

Thus the category of *(n)í* remains something of a puzzle as to its category. It is worth noting that there is some evidence that all postpositions are preceded by a floating high tone, perhaps depending on context, and that this high tone causes tone raising on some preceding grammatical words. This can be seen also for *drū* (4.3.3.2) in all contexts. It is also worth speculating whether *ní* and *í* are versions (allomorphs) of the high tone which may be present before other postpositions when they take certain complements.

### 15.7. *ní* : benefactive

*ní* involves permanent transfer of something for an animate or inanimate beneficiary who can but need not be the actual recipient of the transfer.

- (120) *ēbē má ní*  
 leave 1S BEN  
 ‘She left it for me.’ (to keep permanently)

- (121) *ēbē sùkùrù ní*  
 (3)-leave school BEN  
 ‘She left it for the school.’

- (122) *má kè búkù rì ópí ní*  
 1S give book DEF Opi BEN  
 ‘I gave the book (in question) for Opi’s use.’ (either directly to him for his use or to someone else for Opi’s use)

Both *drí* and *ní* mean ‘to’ but with different kinds of meaning. *drí* basically means ‘temporary location at or movement towards’, and *ní* basically means ‘for the benefit of’. (Each word also has a range of other

meanings.) Thus we endorse Crazzarola's (1960: 52) comments on the distinction between *drí* and *ní* in Logbara: "Again and again the following idea was expressed to the author, while others seem to deny it: *ní* would imply some idea of ownership or the intention of giving something as such. *drí* does not imply anything of the kind." *ní* can be used with the object of a verb of telling, teaching, etc., but *drí* cannot be used in this case because the movement or possession is not temporary.

(123) *má fō ópí ní ādútē*  
1S tell Opi BEN alone  
'I told Opi alone.'

(124) *ópí ìnì gáṛì mòríà ní nì*  
Opi teach bicycle Moria BEN FOC  
'It was Opi who taught Moria (how to ride) a bicycle.'

### 15.7.1. NP + *ní*

*ní* can take any kind of noun phrase complement, definite or indefinite.

(125) *ópí ē-dzé āní ní gáṛì údí*  
opi (3)-VE-buy 3S BEN bicycle new  
'Opi has bought himself a new bicycle.'

(126) *ká ādrúpí ` ní d3ó `sĩ*  
3 brother SPEC BEN house N-build  
'She [1] is building a house for the brother [1, 2].'

(127) *nì-kè àgō nà (pĩ) ní ā?à*  
2SDIR-give men that PRPL BEN present  
'(You should) give some for those men.'

(128) *má bā à?ĩ drí nà ní drĩ*  
1S put 3PL POSS that BEN on  
(a) 'I put it on theirs (which is over there).'  
(b) 'I put theirs on that one.'

(129) *ādū 5-lè rū àràbíà ní rá*  
oil 3-want REFL car BEN AFF  
'There's certainly need for fuel for the car.'

(130) *àràbíà ní fè-kā ādútē òkpó*  
car BEN (N)-run-SB alone difficult  
'For a car to self-drive itself is difficult.'

15.7.2. Syntactic distribution of *ní*-phrases

15.7.2.1. *ní*-phrase as the subject of a nominal predicate

A *ní*-phrase can be the subject of a nominal predicate expressing a state.

(131) *ópi ní òdú*  
 Opi BEN sleep  
 'Opi is sleepy.'

(132) *ópi ní àbírí*  
 Opi BEN hunger  
 'Opi is hungry.'

We note that it is also possible to have a subject with *ní* in these types of example, though we think this may be reflecting the influence of Arabic since it reflects the Arabic pattern of having two noun phrases unmediated by a postposition.

(133) *ópi ní àbírí*  
 Opi PR hunger  
 'Opi is hungry.'

15.7.2.2. *ní*-phrase and subordinate clauses

The *ní*-phrases in the following are best analysed as external to the subordinate clause and thus modifiers within the root sentence, rather than as subjects within the subordinate clause.

(134) *má ní ē-mú-dzó ópi k-ē-sì òfú*  
 1S BEN VE-(N)-go-SB Opi 3DIR-VE-write message  
 '(In order) for me to come, Opi should send a message.'

(135) *àràbíà ní fè-kā ādútē òkpó*  
 car BEN (N)-run-SB alone difficult  
 'For a car to drive itself is difficult.'

15.7.2.3. Idiomatic uses of *ní*-phrases

A directive verb can take a final pronoun + *ní*. This combination is not an argument of the verb and perhaps best thought of as a fixed adverb; the sentence has the interpretation 'just (do something)'.

- (136)  $\text{ɲì}$        $\text{dũ}$        $\text{ɲí}$        $\text{ní}$   
 2SDIR    take    2S    BEN  
 (a) '(You should) take it for yourself.'  
 (b) '(You should) just take it.' (as though there's some  
 reluctance on the part of the person to take it)

- (137)  $\text{ɲì}$        $\text{mũ}$        $\text{ɲí}$        $\text{ní}$   
 2SDIR    go      2S    BEN  
 '(You should) just go' (eg. said to a child who is afraid of a dog,  
 implying that it's safe to go)

A pronoun +  $\text{ní}$  can combine with preceding or following  $\text{àtĩ}$  'first' to give an interpretation of 'earlier than'.

- (138)  $\text{ópi}$      $\text{ē-tfá}$                        $\text{àtĩ}$      $\text{má}$      $\text{ní}$   
 Opi    (3)-VE-reach    first    1S    BEN  
 'Opi arrived earlier than me.'

- (139)  $\text{ópi}$      $\text{ē-tfá}$                        $\text{má}$      $\text{ní}$      $\text{àtĩ}$   
 Opi    (3)-VE-reach    1S    BEN    first  
 'Opi arrived earlier than me.'

This effect does not arise with any other numbers.

- (140)\*  $\text{ópi}$      $\text{ē-tfá}$                        $\text{vulé}$      $\text{má}$      $\text{ní}$   
 Opi    (3)-VE-reach    last    1S    BEN  
 'Opi arrived later than me.'

It also does not arise with  $\text{drí}$ .

- (141)  $\text{ópi}$      $\text{ē-tfá}$                        $\text{àtĩ}$      $\text{má}$      $\text{drí}$   
 Opi    (3)-VE-reach    first    1S    BEN  
 'Opi arrived to me (ie. where I am) first.'

It is possible to add to the sentence a postposition phrase which consists of a pronoun (coreferential with the subject) followed by  $\text{ní}$ . Note that it is generally possible for a NS-pronominal to be coreferential with a subject within the same clause (6.4.7.2). The effect is to indicate a more conscious undertaking of the action.

- (142)  $\text{ɲì}$        $\text{gá}$      $\text{ìmgbé}$   
 2S(DIR)    refuse    COM(NEG)  
 '(You should) reject it.' (unmarked)

- (143) *ɲì*      *gà*      *ɲí*      *ní*      *ìngbé*  
 2S      refuse      2S      BEN      COM(NEG)  
 ‘(You should) reject it.’ (a more conscious act of refusal)
- (144) *ɔ̄-kē*      *ópi*      *ní*  
 3-give      Opi      BEN  
 ‘He gave it for Opi.’
- (145) *ɔ̄-kē*      *àní*      *ní*      *ópi*      *ní*  
 3-give      3S      BEN      Opi      BEN  
 ‘He gave it for Opi.’

There can also be a true benefactive object with *ní*. The ‘additional’ postposition phrase is closer to the verb.

- (146) *má*      *kè*      *ópi*      *ní*  
 1S      give      Opi      BEN  
 ‘I gave it for Opi.’ (unmarked)
- (147) *má*      *kè*      *má*      *ní*      *ópi*      *ní*  
 1S      give      1S      BEN      Opi      BEN  
 ‘I gave it for Opi.’ (a more conscious act of giving implying that the giving is unexpected)

When the verb is directive *fō* ‘say’ a meaning of causation is added.

- (148) *ɲì*      *fō*      *ɲí*      *nì*      *mā*      *kū*  
 2SDIR      say      2S      know      1S      NEG(N)  
 ‘(You should) say that you do not know me.’ (unmarked)
- (149) *ɲì*      *fō*      *ɲí*      *ní*      *ɲí*      *nì*      *mā*      *kū*  
 2SDIR      say      2S      BEN      2S      know      1S      NEG(N)  
 (a) ‘(You should) say that you do not know me.’ (If you must say something then say you do not know me.)  
 (b) ‘It’s because you do not know me.’ (Whatever has happened is because you do not know me.)

Compare the effect instead of using a *drí*-phrase.

- (150) *ɲì*      *fō*      *ɲí*      *drí*      *ɲí*      *nì*      *mā*      *kū*  
 2SDIR      say      2S      BEN      2S      know      1S      NEG(N)  
 (a) ‘Say that you do not know me.’ (If you must say something then deny knowing me. Denial is stronger here.)  
 (b)\* ‘It’s because you do not know me.’ (Whatever has happened is because you do not know me.)

**15.8. *trò* : with**

The postposition *trò* means ‘with’. It is used in conjunction structures (14.3.1).

- (151) *ɲì dʒí ópí nī trò*  
 2SDIR take Opi PR COMT  
 ‘Take Opi with you.’

It is also used as a predicate expression to express possession.

- (152) *mā mī trò*  
 1S eye with  
 (a) ‘I have eyes.’  
 (b) ‘I am literate.’ (idiomatic)

Note that in contrast the meaning of ‘without’ is expressed not by a postposition but by adjectival predication with *àkó* ‘absent’.

**15.9. *à*-phrases as locational expressions**

There is a word *à* which we take to be a postposition expressing both location and possession. It is not interchangeable with the possessive postposition *?à*, thus suggesting that it is not a phonological variant of it. *à* takes as its preceding complement a plural kinship noun or a plural third person pronoun *àʔí*. The *à*-phrase must be in final position of a verbal clause or the predicate in a nonverbal clause. The interpretation is that the subject of the sentence is a kin relation to the possessor complement of *à*, and that the possessor defines the location.

- (153) *ō-ŋgwī àʔí -à*  
 3-return 3PL POSS  
 ‘She returned to theirs.’ (ie. to her own people’s home)

- (154) *ānī àʔí -à*  
 3S 3PL POSS  
 ‘She is at theirs.’ (‘they’ includes ‘she’)

- (155) *ō-mū bɔ̀ndzì -à*  
 3-go child(PL) POSS  
 ‘He went to his children’s.’

The possessor must be marked as plural, even if it has a singular interpretation as in the following example (a man can only have one mother). Note that the subject must be kin to all the possessors, which rules out (b).

- (156)  $\bar{o}$ - $m\bar{u}$      $\bar{e}ndr\acute{e}$     - $\grave{a}$   
 3-go    mother(PL)    POSS  
 (a) 'He went to his mother's.' (ie. to the home of his mother and her kin)  
 (b)\* 'He went to their mothers.'

This interpretation of singularity for a plural possessor will work only in this structure. If there is an overtly possessed noun, it is not possible.

- (157)  $\bar{o}$ - $m\bar{u}$      $\bar{e}ndr\acute{e}$     - $\grave{a}$      $\bar{b}\bar{a}r\acute{u}$   
 3-go    mother(PL)    POSS    home  
 (a)\* 'She went to her mother's home.'  
 (b) 'She went to their mothers' homes.'

If the à-phrase is further followed by  $dr\acute{i}$ , it has both the singular and plural interpretations.

- (158)  $\bar{o}$ - $m\bar{u}$      $\bar{e}ndr\acute{e}$     - $\grave{a}$      $dr\acute{i}$   
 3-go    mother(PL)    POSS    BEN  
 (a) 'She went to her mother's.' (ie. to the home of her mother and her kin)  
 (b) 'She went to their mother's.' (ie. to the home of her and other people's mothers)

Compare (159) with no possession; coreference is possible but is not forced.

- (159)  $\bar{o}$ - $m\bar{u}$      $\bar{e}ndr\grave{e}$      $dr\acute{i}$   
 3-go    mother(SG)    BEN  
 'She went to her mother.' (hers or someone else's)

While an overt noun can be added for a kinship term, this is not possible for a pronominal possessor.

- (160)  $\bar{o}$ - $\eta gw\bar{i}$      $\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{i}$     - $\grave{a}$   
 3-return    3PL    POSS  
 (a) 'She returned to her home.'  
 (b) 'She returned to their home.'

- (161)\*  $\bar{\sigma}$ -ngwĩ àʔĩ -à b̄arú  
 3-return 3PL POSS home  
 (a) 'She returned to her home.'  
 (b) 'She returned to their home.'

The possessor can be made overt.

- (162)  $\bar{\sigma}$ -vù kĩ àʔĩ -à ēndré -à  
 3-go(PL) PL 3PL POSS mother(PL) POSS  
 'They went to their mothers' (home).'
- (163)  $\bar{\sigma}$ -mū àʔĩ -à ēndré -à  
 3-go 3PL POSS mother(PL) POSS  
 'He went to his mother's.' (ie. his and others' mothers)

### 15.10. ʔā 'in the centre of' (Ugandan Ma'di)

ʔā has a grammatical meaning of 'centre' and a lexical meaning of 'stomach'. With its grammatical meaning it is basically a Ugandan Ma'di word (rarely used in Lokai) and can also express location inside a temporal interval.

- (164) m̄ēsú ḡalámù d̄ĩ léĩ ʔā  
 1s-find pen this road in  
 'I found this pen on the road.'
- (165) ʃĩ b̄à léĩ ʔā (ḡá)  
 2SDIR put road in LOC  
 '(You should) put it on the road.'
- (166) s̄á n̄à ní ʔā (ḡá) 'ēsú b̄á n̄ĩ rū èrì  
 time that PR inside LOC 3(IND)-find people POSS body two  
 'Within that time two bodies were found.'
- (167) s̄á n̄à ní ʔā ḡá  
 time that BEN in LOC  
 'within that time' (incompatible with habitual)

It is worth comparing ʔā with another location word ḡá; the latter expresses general location, and is not used with the 'lying on the surface of' interpretation.

- (168) *m'ēsú ópí nī létī gá*  
 1s-find Opi PR road LOC  
 (a) 'I met Opi on the road.'  
 (b)\* 'I found Opi lying on the road.' (ie. drunk or dead)
- (169) *m'ēsú ópí nī létī ʔā*  
 1s-find Opi PR road in  
 (a)\* 'I met Opi on the road.'  
 (b) 'I found Opi (lying) on the road.' (ie. drunk or dead)

### 15.11. Lexical nouns which express location

#### 15.11.1. Place names (with optional *gá*)

A place name can stand on its own as a location expression, or can be pre-attached to *gá*.

- (170) *má mū dzúbà (gá)*  
 1S go Juba LOC  
 'I went to Juba.'
- (171) *ópí nī dzúbà (gá)*  
 Opi PR Juba LOC  
 'Opi is in Juba.'
- (172) *má `mū dzúbà (gá) òbú*  
 1S N-go Juba LOC tomorrow  
 'I will go to Juba tomorrow.'

*gá* is optional if the place name is in sentence-final position, but *gá* is required in sentence-initial or sentence-medial position.

- (173) *dzúbà gá sùkùrù ìjō*  
 Juba LOC school absent  
 'There are no schools in Juba.'
- (174)\* *dzúbà sùkùrù ìjō*  
 Juba school absent  
 'There are no schools in Juba.'
- (175) *sùkùrù dzúbà gá ìjō*  
 school Juba LOC absent  
 'There are no schools in Juba.'

- (176)\* *sùkùrù*    *dzúbà*                      *ìjò*  
 school    Juba                                  absent  
 'There are no schools in Juba.'

### 15.11.2. *Nouns representing extended locations*

Bare nouns which represent extended places without insides (eg. river, riverbank, road) can stand on their own as location expressions.

- (177) *ɲì*            *dzĩ*    *mèrĩ*  
 2SDIR    take    river  
 '(You should) take it to the river.'
- (178) *ɲì*            *dzĩ*    *ábútí*  
 2SDIR    take    riverbank  
 '(You should) take it to the riverbank.'

The noun can be pre-attached to *?ā gá* or to *gá*.

- (179) *ɲí*            *bà*    *létí*    (*gá*)  
 2S            put    road    LOC  
 'You put it on the road.'
- (180) *ɲì*            *bà*    *létí*    (*?ā gá*)  
 2SDIR    put    road    in    LOC  
 '(You should) put it in the road (in the inner part of the road).'

### 15.11.3. *Location nouns which represent expanded locations*

Nouns which describe expanded places which have insides (house, field) cannot stand on their own as location expressions. In this they differ from nouns describing extended locations. Nouns describing expanded places generally take *gá* but vary in how acceptable *?ā* or *?ā gá* is, and where *?ā* is used it forces an 'inside area' reading on the noun.

- (181) *sùkùrù*    *ábútí*    *gá*    *ìjò*  
 school    riverbank    LOC    absent  
 'There are no schools near water sources.'
- (182)\* *sùkùrù*    *ábútí*                      *ìjò*  
 school    riverbank                      absent  
 'There are no schools near water sources.'

- (183)\*  $\text{ɲí}$        $\text{dʒí}$        $\text{ámvú}$   
 2SDIR    take    field  
 '(You should) take it to the field.'

### 15.12. 'Grammatical' location nouns

Where a location word can take a preceding complement (the located thing), we suggest two alternative possibilities as to structure. Some location words are, we argue, true postpositions; others are nouns which are pre-possessed by the locations. The postpositions take the preceding noun phrases as complements, and in general must have a preceding complement. The location nouns are in general possessed by the preceding noun (often with full possession syntax), and in general can stand without a preceding 'located' noun phrase; many of the location nouns must be embedded under the postposition *gá*.

These are the words we consider to be location nouns rather than postpositions:

Table 44. Nouns of location.

Location noun	location meaning	$\text{ʔá-}$ possess-ion	$\text{ní-}$ possess-ion	$\text{nā-}$ possess-ion	noun phrase can directly precede	stands on its own
<i>ágá</i>	in the centre	no	yes	yes	no	yes
<i>āndā</i>	in front	yes	yes	no	no	yes
<i>vúlé</i>	behind, at the back	no	no	no	no	yes
<i>ògū</i>	behind, at the back	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
<i>lélé</i>	place between	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
<i>pá</i>	underneath	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
<i>bārā</i> or <i>lāgā</i>	place beside	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>tī</i>	at the edge	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
<i>dri</i>	on, about	yes	yes	no	yes	no
<i>sí</i>	on pointed thing	no	yes	no	yes	no

15.12.1. *ágá gá* 'in the centre'

*ágá* as a location noun obligatorily takes *gá*. *ágá gá* can function as a complete phrase without having to be combined with the located entity.

- (184) *jì*      *bà*      *ágá*      *gá*  
 2SDIR    put    centre    LOC  
 '(You should) put it in the centre / middle.'
- (185) *dʒó*    *nā*      *ágá*      *gá*  
 house    AFR    centre    LOC  
 'Her / the house is in the centre.'
- (186) *ɔ̄-tfē*              *kî*    *mā*      *ágá*      *gá*  
 3-surround    PL    1S      centre    LOC  
 'They have surrounded me (in the middle).'
- (187) *dʒó*    *ágá*      *gá*      *nì*      *ādī*              *nì*  
 house    centre    LOC    DEF    (3)-collapse    FOC  
 'It is the house in the middle that collapsed.'

*ágá* can be preceded by a possessive *nī*-phrase, as is generally the case for a bare noun. With the 'centre' meaning this is the only possible possession strategy. It cannot be possessed by the *ʔā* strategy unless it has the body part lexical meaning. *ágá* cannot be possessed by *nā*.

- (188) *mēsú*    *dʒó*    *nī*      *ágá*    *ʔā*    (*gá*)  
 1S-find    house    POSS    centre    in    LOC  
 'I found it in the centre of the house.'

*ágá* also has a lexical meaning 'chest (of body)'.

- (189) *má*    *ʔā*      *ágá*    *líí*  
 1S    POSS    chest    hole  
 'My chest is weak.'
- (190) *ānī*    *má*    *ní*      *ágá*      *gá*  
 3S    1S    BEN    chest    LOC  
 'She reaches up to my chest.'

15.12.2. *āndā* 'front'

*āndā* as a location noun obligatorily takes *gá*. It can be used without a complement.

- (191) *ōlú* *āndā* *gá*  
 stay front LOC  
 (a) 'It is still to come (or happen).' (temporally)  
 (b) 'We are still to reach it.' (spatially)

- (192) *ānī* *má* *ní* *āndā* *gá*  
 3s 1s BEN front LOC  
 'She is ahead of me.'

There are some idiomatic uses.

- (193) *mī* *nā* *āndā* *gá*  
 eye AFR front LOC  
 'Her eyes are set ahead.' (to things to come)

*āndā* can be possessed by an *ʔà* phrase and by a *nī*-phrase. It cannot be possessed by *nā*.

- (194) *ɲì* *bà* *má-à* *āndā* *gá*  
 2SDIR put 1S-POSS front LOC  
 '(You should) put it in front of me.'

- (195) *bá* *nī* *āndā* *gá*  
 INC PR front LOC  
 'ahead of us'

- (196) *dʒó* *nī* *āndā*  
 house PR front  
 'front part of a house'

*āndā* has a grammatical meaning 'front' and a lexical (body part) meaning of 'face'.

### 15.12.3. *vúlé* 'behind', 'at the back'

*vúlé* optionally takes *gá*. It can be used without a complement.

- (197) *àràbíà* *nā* *vúlé*  
 car AFR behind  
 'The aforementioned car is behind.' (yet to be brought)

- (198) *m-éḃē* *ópi* *nī* *vúlé* (*gá*)  
 1S-leave Opi PR behind LOC  
 'I left Opi behind.'

(199)  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   $m\acute{a}$   $n\acute{i}$   $v\acute{u}l\bar{e}$   
 3S 1S BEN behind  
 ‘She is behind me / after me.’ (literally ‘for me behind’)

(200)  $n\bar{i}$   $b\grave{a}$   $v\acute{u}l\acute{e}$  ( $g\acute{a}$ )  
 2SDIR put back LOC  
 ‘(You should) put it at the back.’

$v\acute{u}l\acute{e}$  cannot be possessed.  $v\acute{u}l\acute{e}$  does not have a body part meaning.

#### 15.12.4. $\grave{o}g\bar{u}$ ‘back’ (takes no complement)

$\grave{o}g\bar{u}$  obligatorily takes  $g\acute{a}$ . It can be used as a bare location noun.

(201)  $\bar{o}-r\bar{i}$   $\grave{o}g\bar{u}$   $g\acute{a}$   
 3-sit back LOC  
 (a) ‘She sat at the back / behind.’  
 (b) ‘She is sitting at the back / behind.’ (state)

$\grave{o}g\bar{u}$  can be possessed by  $?\grave{a}$ -phrase, by  $n\bar{i}$ -phrase, or by  $n\bar{a}$ .

(202)  $\bar{o}-r\bar{i}$   $d3\acute{o}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\grave{o}g\bar{u}$   $g\acute{a}$   
 3-sit house PR back LOC  
 ‘She sat behind the house.’

(203)  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $? \grave{a}$   $\grave{o}g\bar{u}$   $g\acute{a}$   
 3S Opi POSS back LOC  
 ‘She is behind Opi.’ (in a queue or by order of birth)

(204)  $\grave{o}g\bar{u}$   $n\bar{a}$   $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $r\bar{i}$   
 back AFR Opi FOC  
 ‘The one who followed him is Opi.’ (in order of birth)

(205)  $m\acute{a}$   $n\acute{i}$   $\grave{o}g\bar{u}$   $n\bar{a}$   $k\bar{o}-k\bar{a}$   $\acute{e}p\acute{e}$   
 1S BEN [back AFR N-catch-SB] easy  
 ‘It is easy for me to have another child (after this one).’

$\grave{o}g\bar{u}$  has a lexical meaning ‘back of body’.

#### 15.12.5. $l\acute{e}l\acute{e}$ ‘place between’

$\grave{o}g\bar{u}$  obligatorily takes  $g\acute{a}$ .  $l\acute{e}l\acute{e}$  cannot stand on its own except in its temporal meaning of ‘period’. The noun  $l\acute{e}l\acute{e}$  ‘place between’ is pre-

possessed by a single (plural) possessor, or is part of a coordinate structure (possessed by the first conjunct). It can be possessed by the *ʔà* strategy or the *nĩ* strategy (depending on the definiteness of the possessor).

(206) *tà zì àʔĩ-à lélé gá ijō*  
 thing another 3PL-POSS between LOC absent  
 'There is nothing between them.'

(207) *ópí pĩ ʔà lélé gá mòrià trò*  
 Opi PRPL POSS between LOC Moria with  
 '(It is) between Opi and Moria.'

(208) *m-ēsú kómí rì pĩ ʔà lélé gá*  
 1S-find chair DEF PRPL POSS between LOC  
 'I found it in between the chairs.'

(209) *m-ēsú kómí nĩ lélé gá*  
 1S-find chair PR between LOC  
 'I found it in between chairs.'

*lélé* does not have a body part meaning. However it does have another meaning of 'period of time'.

(210) *lélé nà sì má-à rū lòʔú*  
 period that SR 1S-POSS body painful  
 'I was unwell at that time.'

#### 15.12.6. *pá* 'underneath'

*pá* optionally takes *gá*. *pá* cannot stand on its own. *pá* can be possessed by the *ʔà* strategy. It cannot be possessed by *nā*.

(211) *ʔĩ bā kwē rì ʔà pá gá*  
 2SDIR put tree DEF POSS under LOC  
 '(You should) put it under the tree.'

If preceded by a bare noun the noun phrase immediately precedes *pá*.

(212) *ʔĩ bā kwē pá (gá)*  
 2SDIR put tree under LOC  
 '(You should) put it under the tree.'

- (213) *jì*      *bà*      *kómí*      *pá*  
 2SDIR    put      chair      under  
 ‘(You should) put it under the chair.’

Other types of noun phrase require (n)í.

- (214) *jì*      *bà*      *kwē*      *rì*      (n)í      *pá*      (*gá*)  
 2SDIR    put      tree      DEF    BEN    under    LOC  
 ‘(You should) put it under the tree.’

*pá* has a lexical meaning ‘leg’. (It is also used to mean ‘wheel’.) There is an unrelated homophone *pá* ‘first, before’. A dialectal alternative in Ugandan which means ‘underneath’ is *zèlé* ‘vagina’.

### 15.12.7. *bārā* or *làgā* ‘place beside’

*bārā* and *làgā* are fully interchangeable. They both require *gá*. They can be used as bare location nouns.

- (215) *ōbà*      *bārā*      *gá*  
 3-put    side    LOC  
 ‘She put it aside.’

*bārā* and *làgā* can be possessed by either possession strategy. They can also be possessed by *nā*.

- (216) *ēbē*      *ānā-à*      *ḃòṅgú*      *kwē*      *rì*      *ʔà*      *làgā*      *gá*  
 leave    3S-POSS    cloth      tree      DEF    POSS    beside    LOC  
 ‘He left his clothes near (by) the tree.’

- (217) *ēbē*      *ānā-à*      *ḃòṅgú*      *kwē*      *rì*      *nī*      *làgā*      *gá*  
 leave    3S-POSS    cloth      tree      DEF    POSS    beside    LOC  
 ‘He left his clothes near (by) the tree.’

- (218) *ēbē*      *ānā-à*      *ḃòṅgú*      *bārā*      *nā*      (n)í      *gá*  
 leave    3S-POSS    cloth      beside    AFR    PR      LOC  
 ‘He left his clothes beside it.’

A bare indefinite noun phrase immediately precedes *bārā*.

- (219) *dʒó*      *bārā*  
 house    beside  
 ‘near a house’

If preceded by a noun phrase with a determiner, the noun phrase requires (n)í.

- (220) *nì sī dʒó ópí drí rì (n)í bārā (gá)*  
 2SDIR build house Opi POSS DEF PR side LOC  
 '(You should) build a house near Opi's.'

*làgā* and *bārā* also mean 'side of body'.

### 15.12.8. *tī* 'edge, mouth'

*tī* represents liminal zones: the lintel of the door, the edge of a river. *tī* cannot stand on its own. It can be possessed by an *ʔà* phrase or a *drí* phrase. It cannot be possessed by *nā*.

- (221) *m-ēsú ānī ábú rì ʔà tī gá*  
 1S-find 3S river DEF POSS mouth LOC  
 'I found her near the water source.'

- (222) *m-ēsú ānī ábú nī tī gá*  
 1S-find 3S river POSS mouth LOC  
 'I found her near a water source.'

It can be immediately preceded by a noun phrase.

- (223) *nì bā dʒó tī (gá)*  
 2SDIR put house mouth LOC  
 '(You should) put it near / at the door (post).'

- (224) *ó-mgbā rù ábú tī (gá) kū*  
 IND-beat REFL river mouth LOC NEG(N)  
 'No fighting near water sources.' (a saying: ie. because this is somewhere where people collect water from)

*tī* has a lexical meaning of 'mouth'.

### 15.12.9. *drí* 'on' (eg. house), 'about'

*drí* has a grammatical meaning of 'on'; it can be used both for physical location on and also 'on' a topic. When *drí* is followed by *gá*, some speakers pronounce it as *drí* which is then homophonous with 'head';

this may be an example of raising of tone on a grammatical word before a postposition. *drī* cannot be used as a bare location noun. It can be possessed by *ʔà*-possession (in Lokai), by *nī*-possession but not by *nā*.

(225) *ō-fō àdū dʒúbà ʔà drī (gá) ` ʔī*  
 3-say what Juba POSS on LOC SPEC FOC  
 ‘What did he say about Juba?’ (ie. issues pertaining to Juba)

(226) *ō-fō àdū dʒúbà nī drī (gá) ` ʔī*  
 3-say what Juba POSS on LOC SPEC FOC  
 ‘What did he say about Juba?’ (ie. issues pertaining to Juba)

A bare noun can directly precede *drī*.

(227) *ɲì bà dʒó drī (gá)*  
 2SDIR put house on LOC  
 ‘(You should) put it on the roof.’

(228) *ɲì bà dʒó drī*  
 2SDIR put house on  
 ‘(You should) put it on the roof.’

(229) *ēbē tērémézá drī*  
 (3)-leave table on  
 ‘He left it on the table.’

(230) *ō-fō àdū ìndrī drī ` ʔī*  
 3-say what goat on SPEC FOC  
 ‘What did he say about the goat?’

(231)\* *ō-fō àdū dʒúbà drī (gá) ` ʔī*  
 3-say what Juba on LOC SPEC FOC  
 ‘What had he to say about Juba?’

When the preceding noun phrase is a definite noun phrase it requires (*n*)*í*.

(232) *ɲì bà dʒó rì (n)í drī (gá)*  
 2SDIR put house DEF BEN on LOC  
 ‘(You should) put it on the roof.’

(233) *ō-fō tà bārá rì (n)í drī (gá) kūrù*  
 3-say thing child DEF BEN on LOC NEG(N)  
 ‘She didn’t say anything about the child.’

(234)  $\bar{o}\text{-f}\bar{o}$   $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$   $d\bar{z}\bar{u}b\grave{a}$   $(n)\acute{i}$   $d\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $(g\acute{a})$   $\bar{?}$   
 3-say what Juba BEN on LOC SPEC FOC  
 'What did he say about Juba?' (Ugandan Ma'di and 'Burulo)

(235)  $\bar{o}\text{-f}\bar{o}$   $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$   $d\bar{z}\acute{o}$   $\bar{?}$   $(n)\acute{i}$   $d\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $(g\acute{a})$   
 3-say what house SPEC BEN on LOC  
 'What had he to say about the house?'

$d\bar{r}\bar{i}$  may possibly be related to (the tonally different)  $d\bar{r}\bar{i}$  'head'.

15.12.10.  $s\acute{i}$  'place on'

In keeping with its lexical meaning (tooth),  $s\acute{i}$  as a locational noun takes a pointed inanimate object as a complement (in fact it mostly takes  $kw\bar{e}$  'tree' as a complement; note that  $d\bar{r}\bar{i}$  'on' can also be used with  $kw\bar{e}$ ). Thus note that  $s\acute{i}$  cannot express 'on' for a flat object like a roof.

(236)\*  $n\grave{i}$   $b\grave{a}$   $d\bar{z}\acute{o}$   $s\acute{i}$   $(g\acute{a})$   
 2SDIR put house on LOC  
 '(You should) put it on the roof.'

Note also the idomatic:

(237)  $\bar{o}l\acute{u}$   $s\acute{i}$   $\bar{a}r\acute{u}$   
 3-stay on in it  
 (a) 'It's still stuck there (literally in its tooth).'  
 (b) 'She is still at it.'

$s\acute{i}$  cannot stand on its own.  $s\acute{i}$  can be possessed by the  $n\bar{i}$ -strategy but not by the  $\bar{?}\acute{a}$ -strategy. It cannot be possessed by  $n\bar{a}$ .

(238)  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   $kw\bar{e}$   $\bar{?}$   $n\bar{i}$   $s\acute{i}$   $(g\acute{a})$   
 3S tree SPEC PR on LOC  
 'She is on a (specific) tree.'

$s\acute{i}$  can be preceded directly by a noun phrase, mediated by  $(n)\acute{i}$  if the noun phrase is definite.

(239)  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   $kw\bar{e}$   $s\acute{i}$   $(g\acute{a})$   
 3S tree on LOC  
 'She is on a tree.'

- (240)  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   $kw\bar{e}$   $d\bar{i}$   $(n)\bar{i}$   $s\bar{i}$   $(g\bar{a})$   
 3S tree this BEN on LOC  
 ‘She is on this specific tree.’

$s\bar{i}$  has a lexical meaning ‘tooth’.

### 15.13. Location pronominals

#### 15.13.1. The ‘indirect’ pronoun $l\bar{a}k\bar{a}$ ‘there’ or ‘to him/her’

There is an invariant ‘indirect’ pronoun  $l\bar{a}k\bar{a}$  which is interpreted as ‘there’ or as ‘(to) him/her’ and thus equivalent to  $\bar{a}n\bar{i} n\bar{i}$ . We gloss  $l\bar{a}k\bar{a}$  as PRBEN.

- (241)  $m\bar{a}$   $\bar{m}\bar{u}$   $\delta\bar{b}\bar{u}$   $d\bar{z}\bar{u}b\bar{a}$ .  $l\bar{a}k\bar{a}$   $\bar{i}r\bar{a}$   $\bar{i}j\bar{o}$   
 1S N-go tomorrow Juba PRBEN beer absent  
 ‘I am going tomorrow to Juba. There is no beer there.’

- (242)  $j\bar{u}$   $f\bar{o}$   $l\bar{a}k\bar{a}$   $m'\bar{e}-m\bar{u}$   $\delta\bar{b}\bar{u}$   
 2SDIR tell PRBEN 1S-VE-go tomorrow  
 ‘(You should) tell him I will come tomorrow.’

- (243)  $d\bar{z}\bar{o}$   $n\bar{a}$   $\delta\bar{p}\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-k\bar{e}$   $l\bar{a}k\bar{a}$   $n\bar{i}$   
 house POSS Opi 3-give PRBEN FOC  
 (a) ‘His/the (aforementioned) house was given to him by Opi.’  
 (b) ‘The house one was given to him by Opi.’

$l\bar{a}k\bar{a}$  can only be interpreted as singular. It is always used in a discourse context where the referent has previously been mentioned. Thus it is aligned with  $n\bar{i}$ -phrases and  $n\bar{a}$ -phrases, rather than with demonstrative phrases which find their referent in the physical context.

#### 15.13.2. Bare $dr\bar{u}$ ‘with it’

The word  $dr\bar{u}$  has a variant  $dr\bar{u}$ , ie. underlyingly  $\acute{d}r\bar{u}$  (4.3.3.2). When it lacks a complement it is interpreted as ‘with it’.

- (244)  $\delta\bar{p}\bar{i}$   $k\bar{o}-m\bar{u}$   $dr\bar{u}$   $n\bar{i}$   
 opi 3DIR-go as FOC  
 ‘Opi should be the one to go with it.’

There is also a word *drū* (with the same morphology, presumably related), which has a nonverbal predicate pre-adjoined to it. This can lead to ambiguities.

- (245) *ɲì dzè bɔ̀ŋgú drū*  
 2SDIR wash clothing as  
 (a) '(You should) use it for washing clothes with.' (bare *drū*)  
 (b) '(You should) wash it as (if) clothes.' (predicate-taking *drū*)

### 15.13.3. *ārú*

There is a word *ārú* which we speculate might be a compound of the postposition *?ā* (in' in Ugandan Madi) and the pronoun *rū* ('self'). The tone would have to be raised on *rū* but this might be an effect of its being the complement of a postposition, in this case following the postposition.

Like *dí?ā* etc. *ārú* has the placement of a postposition phrase but in final position does not require LOW-*?í*

- (246) *ágó nà ārú ìjō*  
 man that in-it absent  
 'That man was not one of them.'
- (247) *ārú ágó nà ìjō*  
 in-it man that absent  
 'That man was not one of them.'
- (248) *ārú ìjō ágó nà*  
 in-it absent man that  
 'That man was not one of them.'

In all these examples *ārú* can be replaced by *?ā nā (n)í gá*. In a nonverbal clause it is freely placed in the sentence, in any of the positions @.

- (249) @ *à?í* @ *èrì* @  
 3pl two  
 @ = *ārú* or *?ā nā (n)í gá*  
 'There are two of them in it.'

It is not freely placed in a verbal clause.

It can combine with *làgā* 'beside', 'side'.

- (250)  $\bar{e}$ - $\bar{b}\bar{e}$        $\bar{a}n\acute{a}$ - $\grave{a}$        $b\grave{o}ng\acute{u}$        $l\grave{a}g\bar{a}$        $\bar{a}r\acute{u}$   
 (3)-VE-leave    3S-POSS      cloth      beside      in-it  
 'He left his clothes by her side.'

Ugandan Ma'di combines  $\bar{a}r\acute{u}$  with  $dr\acute{i}$  to give  $dr\acute{i}$ - $\bar{a}r\acute{u}$  for third person; this is dispreferred in Lokai. For the rest of the persons, both use the Lokai strategy (253).

- (251)  $\bar{e}$ - $m\acute{u}$        $dr\acute{i}$ - $\bar{a}r\acute{u}$   
 (3)-VE-go      POSS -in it  
 'He came to him.'      (Ugandan Ma'di)
- (252)  $\bar{e}$ - $m\acute{u}$        $\bar{a}n\acute{i}$        $dr\acute{i}$   
 (3)-VE-go      3S      POSS  
 'He came to her.'      (Lokai)
- (253)  $\bar{e}$ - $m\acute{u}$        $m\acute{a}$        $dr\acute{i}$   
 (3)-VE-go      1S      POSS  
 'He came to me.'      (Lokai and Ugandan Ma'di)

#### 15.13.4. Demonstrative locatives: $d\acute{i}?\bar{a}$ 'here' etc.

The postposition  $?\bar{a}$  combines with deictic words, raising the preceding tone. Thus for example, the deictic term  $d\acute{i}?\bar{a}$  'here, near speaker' is based on the deictic determiner  $d\acute{i}$  'this' embedded under  $?\bar{a}$ . The tone on the deictic is raised because it precedes a postposition: thus  $d\acute{i}?\bar{a}$  rather than \* $d\acute{i}?\bar{a}$ . Similarly  $\grave{i}l\acute{e}d\acute{i}?\bar{a}$  'there, near hearer' is based on  $\grave{i}l\acute{e}$  'there'  $d\acute{i}$  'this' and  $?\bar{a}$  while  $n\acute{a}?\bar{a}$  'there, near neither' is based on  $n\acute{a}$  'that'. There are no other postpositions which compound with grammatical words in this way. These phrases have roughly the distribution of other postposition phrases (rather than eg. locational nouns like  $d\acute{z}\acute{u}b\grave{a}$ ).

- (254)       $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$        $d\acute{i}?\bar{a}$        $\grave{i}j\bar{o}$   
             3S      here      absent  
 'He is not here.'
- (255)  $d\acute{i}?\bar{a}$        $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$        $\grave{i}j\bar{o}$   
 here      3S      absent  
 'He is not here.'

However, unlike other postposition phrases, they can also be in final position without requiring LOW- $?\bar{i}$ :

- (256)             $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$                        $\dot{i}j\bar{o}$                        $d\acute{i}?\bar{a}$   
                     3S                                  absent                      here  
 ‘He is not here.’

## 15.14. Modifiers of location expressions

### 15.14.1. *fúru*

*fúru* precedes an expression of time or place. It expresses the distantness of the time or place from ‘here’.

- (257)  $\bar{o}-m\bar{u}$              $f\acute{u}r\acute{u}$                        $d\acute{z}\acute{u}b\grave{a}$   
                     3-go                      at                                  Juba  
 ‘She went as far away as Juba.’
- (258)  $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$              $f\acute{u}r\acute{u}$                        $d\acute{z}\acute{u}b\grave{a}$      $g\acute{a}$                        $s\grave{i}$   
                     (3)-VE-go            since                      Juba                      LOC                      SR  
 ‘She came from as far (away) as Juba.’ (ie. She came from Juba, which is a long way away.)
- (259)  $\bar{o}-m\bar{u}$              $f\acute{u}r\acute{u}$                        $\acute{a}d\acute{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
                     3-go                      since                      yesterday  
 ‘She went since yesterday.’ (implication: It’s such a long time since then that she should have reached it by now, or should have come back by now.)
- (260)  $\bar{o}-m\bar{u}$              $f\acute{u}r\acute{u}$                        $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$      $\eta g\acute{a}n\acute{i}$   
                     3-go                      since                      when  
 ‘Since when did she go?’
- (261)  $k' \bar{e}d\acute{z}\acute{i}\bar{a}$                        $f\acute{u}r\acute{u}$                        $\grave{o}b\acute{u}$   
                     3-VE-(N)-bring-OBJ            as far as                      tomorrow  
 ‘She will bring it (as far away timewise as) tomorrow.’
- (262)  $k' \grave{o}-d\acute{i}-\bar{a}$                        $f\acute{u}r\acute{u}$                        $\grave{o}b\acute{u}$   
                     3-N-cook                      as far as                      tomorrow  
 ‘She will cook it (as far away timewise as) tomorrow.’

Unlike *b\grave{i}* (discussed below), *fúru* does not express a stretch of time.

- (263)\*  $m\grave{a}$              $t\grave{e}$                        $j\bar{i}$                        $f\acute{u}r\acute{u}$                        $\acute{a}d\bar{u}$      $\eta g\acute{a}$                        $n\acute{i}$   
                     1s                      (N)-wait                      2s                      as far as                      what-time-for  
 ‘Up to when should I wait for you?’

15.14.1.1. The syntax of *fúú*

*fúú* is not a postposition. It cannot follow the noun phrase.

- (264)\* *ō-mū dzúbà (gá) fúú*  
 3-go Juba LOC as far as  
 ‘She has been up to Juba.’

*fúú* can be left-dislocated along with the expression which follows it.

- (265) *fúú ádzínī ē-mú ` ǝ*  
 since yesterday (3)-VE-go SPEC FOC  
 ‘Since yesterday, she came.’

*fúú* can be followed by a *sì*-phrase expressing time. Here *dzúbà gá sì* expresses a time rather than a place, and follows *fúú* with a time interpretation.

- (266) *ō-mū fúú dzúbà gá sì*  
 3-go as far as Juba LOC SR  
 ‘She went as long ago as when she was in Juba.’

Without *sì* this sentence is ungrammatical.

- (267)\* *ō-mū fúú dzúbà gá*  
 3-go as far as Juba LOC  
 ‘She went as far as Juba.’

However, we note that the following sentence is grammatical, where *fúú* is in an embedded clause.

- (268) *ō-mū ēdzíā fúú dzúbà gá*  
 3-go [ (3)-VE-take-OBJ as far as Juba LOC ]  
 ‘She has gone to bring it as far as Juba.’

15.14.2. *bì*

*bì* is followed by an expression of time or place. It expresses a length of time or place, terminating at the point indicated by the time/place expression which follows it. In this it differs from *fúú* which expresses simply the relative distance of the time or place from now.

- (269)  $\bar{o}-m\bar{u}$        $b\grave{i}$        $d\acute{z}\acute{u}b\grave{a}$   
 3-go      until      Juba  
 ‘She went as far as Juba.’ (ie. wandered)

$b\grave{i}$  is used by preference with ‘imperfective’ or continuous activities. If  $b\grave{i}$  is used to express a period ending in a past moment, there is a need to make the sentence imperfective by using  $\bar{o}r\grave{i}$ .

- (270)  $\bar{o}r\grave{i}$        $atf\acute{i}-r\grave{e}$        $b\grave{i}$        $\acute{a}d\acute{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
 3-stay      (N)-walk-SB      until      yesterday  
 ‘She has been walking here up until yesterday.’

- (271)\*  $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$        $b\grave{i}$        $\acute{a}d\acute{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
 3-VE-go      until      yesterday  
 ‘She came up until yesterday’

If  $b\grave{i}$  is used to express a period ending in a future moment, such as when it modifies  $\grave{o}b\acute{u}$  ‘tomorrow’, the verb is able to express a continuous action.

- (272)  $\acute{a}m\acute{a}$        $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$        $t\grave{e}$        $b\grave{i}$        $\grave{o}b\acute{u}$       ( $\grave{i}s\bar{a}$ )  
 1PL(EXC)      3S      (N)-wait      until      tomorrow      only  
 ‘We (excluding you) will wait for him until tomorrow (only).’

- (273)  $m\grave{a}$        $t\grave{e}$        $n\bar{i}$        $b\grave{i}$        $\acute{a}d\bar{u}$        $n\acute{g}\acute{a}$        $n\acute{i}$   
 1S      (N)-wait      2s      until      when      period      BEN  
 ‘Up to when should I wait for you?’

- (274)  $k'\acute{o}-d\bar{i}-\bar{a}$        $b\grave{i}$        $\grave{o}b\acute{u}$   
 3-N-cook      until      tomorrow  
 ‘She will cook it until (it will take her as long as) tomorrow.’

When the action is non-continuous,  $b\grave{i}$  is not used.

- (275)?  $k'\bar{e}-d\acute{z}\acute{i}-\bar{a}$        $b\grave{i}$        $\grave{o}b\acute{u}$   
 3-VE-N-bring-OBJ      until      tomorrow  
 ‘She will bring it by tomorrow.’

Interestingly, however,  $b\grave{i}$  can be used in the following sentence, where the addition of  $r\acute{a}$  appears to alter the aspect of the sentence from expressing an action to expressing a state (in a manner similar to English perfect), thus permitting  $b\grave{i}$  to be used because the state holds continuously.

- (276) *k'-ē-dzì-ā*                      *bì*                      *òbú*                      *rá*  
 3-VE-N-bring-OBJ                      until                      tomorrow                      AFF  
 'She will certainly have brought it by tomorrow.' (Be patient, it will happen tomorrow.)

#### 15.14.2.1. The syntax of *bì*

*bì* appears to be structurally similar to *fúru*. It is not a postposition. It cannot follow the noun phrase.

- (277)\* *ō-mū*      *dzúbà*      (*gá*)      *bì*  
 3-go      Juba      LOC      as far as  
 'She has been up to Juba.'

*bì* can be followed by a *gá* postposition phrase.

- (278) *ō-ndù*      *bì*                      *dzúbà*                      *gá*  
 3-search      as far as      Juba                      LOC  
 'She searched for it as far afield as in Juba.'

*bì* can be left-dislocated along with the expression which follows it.

- (279) *bì*                      *dzúbà*      *gá*      *ō-mū*      `      *ř*  
 as far as      Juba      LOC      3-go      SPEC      FOC  
 'As far as Juba it is that she went.'

#### 15.14.3. *lélé* 'towards'

*lélé* means 'in the (general) direction of'; ie. the movement need not end up located exactly at a particular point as a consequence. It follows a locational expression and we interpret it as a modifier of a locational expression rather than itself being a postposition.

##### 15.14.3.1. Noun Phrase + *lélé*

*lélé* can optionally follow a location expression.

- (280) *ɲì*      *bà*      *àngwé*      *lélé*  
 2SDIR      put      outside      towards  
 'Put it towards outside.'

- (281) *ō-mbā bārú lélé*  
 3-stand home towards  
 ‘She is standing towards home (side facing home).’

With a locational noun like *d3úbà*, *gá* is obligatory before *lélé*.

15.14.3.2. PP + *lélé*

*lélé* can be preceded by a postposition phrase with *gá* or *dri*.

- (282) *ō-mū sùkùrù gá*  
 3-go school LOC  
 ‘She has gone to school.’
- (283) *ō-mū sùkùrù gá lélé*  
 3-go school LOC towards  
 ‘She went towards the school.’
- (284) *ké-r-ē-zé ópí dri*  
 3-REFL-(N)-VE-move Opi BEN  
 ‘She is moving to Opi.’
- (285) *ké-r-ē-zé ópí dri lélé*  
 3-REFL-(N)-VE-move Opi BEN towards  
 ‘She is moving towards Opi.’
- (286) *ɲì bā ná?ā*  
 2SDIR put there  
 ‘(You should) put it there.’
- (287) *ɲì bā ná?ā lélé*  
 2SDIR put there towards  
 ‘(You should) put it towards there.’
- (288) *d3ó nā dí?ā lélé*  
 house AFR here towards  
 ‘Her house is towards here (this side of us).’



## Chapter 16

### Verbs and clausal complements

In chapter 10 we looked at the internal structure of subordinate clauses. In this chapter we look at the distribution of subordinate clauses as arguments and adverbials. The chapter is organized by type of verb, beginning with lexical verbs which take full clausal complements, then lexical verbs which take suffixed clausal complements; then we consider a group of grammatical verbs which take clausal complements and express sequence; then each section which follows is devoted to a specific grammatical verb.

#### 16.1. The syntactic location of clausal complements

All clausal complements can follow the verb or can be left-dislocated. The following examples show an uninflected verb in root position, taking a clausal complement.

- (1)  $\text{ɲí}$        $f\bar{o}$        $k\text{-}\bar{e}\text{-}m\acute{u}$        $\text{ɔ}\bar{b}\acute{u}$   
 2S      say [ 3DIR-VE-go tomorrow ]  
 (a) 'You said that she should come tomorrow.'  
 (b) 'You told her to come tomorrow.'

- (2)  $k\text{-}\bar{e}\text{-}m\acute{u}$        $\text{ɔ}\bar{b}\acute{u}$        $\text{ɲí}$        $f\bar{o}$   
 [3DIR-VE-go tomorrow ] 2S      say  
 'She should come tomorrow, you said.'

The following examples show a directive verb in root position, taking a clausal complement.

- (3)  $\text{ɲì}$        $f\bar{o}$        $k\text{-}\bar{e}\text{-}m\acute{u}$        $\text{ɔ}\bar{b}\acute{u}$   
 2SDIR say [ 3DIR-VE-go tomorrow ]  
 (a) '(You should) tell her to come tomorrow.'  
 (b) '(You should) tell her that she should come tomorrow.'

- (4)  $k\text{-}\bar{e}\text{-}m\acute{u}$        $\text{ɔ}\bar{b}\acute{u}$        $\text{ɲì}$        $f\bar{o}$   
 [ 3DIR-VE-go tomorrow ] 2SDIR      say  
 (a) '(You should) tell her to come tomorrow.'  
 (b) '(You should) tell her that she should come tomorrow.'

If the verb is inflected, the clause (following the verb, or fronted) doubles the clitic  $\text{ʔ}\bar{a}$ .

- (5)  $jí$      $fō$      $ʔā$      $k-ē-mú$      $òbú$   
 2S    N-say OBJ    [ 3DIR-VE-go tomorrow ]  
 (a) 'You will (on reaching there or on meeting her) tell her to come tomorrow.'  
 (b) 'You will (on reaching there or on meeting her) tell her she should come tomorrow.'
- (6)     $k-ē-mú$      $òbú$      $jí$      $fō$      $ʔā$   
 [ 3DIR-VE-go tomorrow ] 2S    N-say    OBJ  
 (a) 'You will (on reaching there or on meeting her) tell her to come tomorrow.'  
 (b) 'You will (on reaching there or on meeting her) tell her she should come tomorrow.'

$kā$ -clauses (which show noun-phrase-like behaviour) can follow the inflected verb, doubling the clitic like the other types of subordinate clause. The  $kā$ -clause can also be left-dislocated in this kind of structure.

- (7)  $k-áʔì-ā$      $dʒí-kā$      $rá$   
 3-agree-OBJ    [ N-take-SB ]    AFF  
 (a) 'She will certainly agree to take it.'  
 (b)\* 'She will certainly agree to its being taken.'
- (8)     $dʒí-kā$      $k-áʔì-ā$      $rá$   
 [ N-take-SB ]    3-agree-OBJ    AFF  
 (a) 'She will certainly agree to take it.'  
 (b) 'She will certainly agree to its being taken.' (preferred reading)

However, the  $kā$ -clause can also precede the inflected verb, unlike any other type of clausal complement; in this case it does not double the clitic, which is omitted.

- (9)  $ámá$      $bási ʔà$      $ngā-kā$      $nĩ$      $tè$      $áũ$   
 2PL(EXC) [bus POSS (N)-depart-SB] SPEC PR (N)-wait FOC  
 'It is the bus's departure that we (excluding you) await.'

## 16.2. Lexical verbs which take full clausal complements

In this section we look at lexical verbs which take as their complements full clauses. These are subordinate clauses which resemble root clauses.

16.2.1. Lexical *fō* 'say'

Lexical *fō* 'say' takes as its complement a full clause, which has an unsuffixed verb and a bare overt subject.

- (10) *ō-fō má mū kūrù*  
 3-say [ 1S go NEG(P) ]  
 (a) 'She said I did not go.'  
 (b) 'She said "I did not go".' (I = she)
- (11) *má fō ópí ē-mú kū*  
 1S say [ Opi (3)-VE-go NEG(N) ]  
 'I said that Opi will not come / is not coming.'
- (12) *má `fō ʔā ópí ē-mú kū*  
 2S N-say OBJ [ Opi (3)-VE-go NEG(N) ]  
 'I will have to say (on meeting her or reaching there) that Opi will not come.'
- (13) *nì fō k'-ē-mú òbú*  
 2SDIR say [ 3-VE-go tomorrow ]  
 (a) '(You should) say "she will come / is coming tomorrow".'  
 (b) '(You should) tell her that she will come tomorrow.'
- (14) *nì fō k-ē-mú òbú*  
 2SDIR say [ 3DIR-VE-go tomorrow ]  
 '(You should) tell her that she should come tomorrow.'

As (13) shows, the subordinate clause can express indirect speech or direct speech. If the verb is directive, the subordinate clause can express an indirect command. Of the various verbs of speaking, only *fō* 'say' and *zā* 'shout' may take full clausal complements. Other verbs such as *ūngwē* 'call', *ndzē* 'explain' may not take full clausal complements. In addition to lexical *fō*, there is also a grammatical verb *fō* (16.4.1).

16.2.2. Lexical *nì* 'know'

Lexical *nì* 'know', 'think' takes as its complement a full clause (ie. with an unsuffixed verb and a bare overt subject).

- (15) *má nì ʔā ópí ē-mú kū*  
 1S know OBJ [ Opi (3)-VE-go NEG(N) ]  
 'I think Opi is not coming / will not come.'

- (16)  $\acute{o}$ - $n\grave{i}$        $r\acute{a}$        $\acute{o}$  $p\acute{i}$        $n\bar{i}$        $\grave{o}$  $g\acute{u}$        $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 IND-know      AFF      [ Opi      PR      thief ] FOC  
 ‘That Opi is a thief is certainly known (by someone / us).’

There is also a grammatical verb  $n\grave{i}$  (16.5).

### 16.2.2.1. Subject + $n\grave{i}$ + $r\bar{u}$

$\bar{o}$ - $n\grave{i}$   $r\bar{u}$ , consisting of a third person pronoun, the uninflected  $n\grave{i}$ , and the reflexive  $r\bar{u}$ , expresses common knowledge and can be glossed as ‘it is known that’. There are two positions in which its complement, the subordinate clause, can appear. If it follows  $\bar{o}$ - $n\grave{i}$   $r\bar{u}$  the subordinate clause is optionally adjoined to  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$ ; the use of  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$  focuses the complement (ie. ‘That Opi is a thief is known.’).

- (17)  $\bar{o}$ - $n\grave{i}$        $r\bar{u}$        $r\acute{a}$        $\bar{o}$ - $d\bar{u}$        $n\grave{i}$       (  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$  )  
 3-know REFL AFF      [ 3-take FOC ] FOC  
 ‘It is certainly known that she was the one who took it.’
- (18)  $\bar{o}$ - $n\grave{i}$        $r\bar{u}$        $r\acute{a}$        $\acute{o}$  $p\acute{i}$        $n\bar{i}$        $\grave{o}$  $g\acute{u}$       (  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$  )  
 3-know REFL AFF      [ Opi PR thief ] FOC  
 ‘It is certainly known that Opi is a thief.’

Alternatively the subordinate clause precedes  $\bar{o}$ - $n\grave{i}$   $r\bar{u}$  and is adjoined to  $n\bar{i}$ .

- (19)  $\bar{o}$ - $d\bar{u}$        $n\grave{i}$        $n\bar{i}$        $\bar{o}$ - $n\grave{i}$        $r\bar{u}$        $r\acute{a}$   
 [ 3-take FOC ] PR      3-know REFL AFF  
 ‘That she was the one who took it, it is certainly known.’
- (20)  $\acute{o}$  $p\acute{i}$        $n\bar{i}$        $\grave{o}$  $g\acute{u}$        $n\bar{i}$        $\bar{o}$ - $n\grave{i}$        $r\bar{u}$        $r\acute{a}$   
 [ Opi PR thief ] PR      3-know REFL AFF  
 ‘That Opi is a thief, it is certainly known.’

The directive form of  $\bar{o}$  $n\grave{i}$   $r\bar{u}$  is  $k\bar{o}$  $n\grave{i}$   $r\bar{u}$  and can be glossed as ‘that means that’. It does not imply consequence and is thus not related to the grammatical  $n\grave{i}$  which will be discussed in 16.5. In this directive form, the subordinate clause does not take  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$  and is not fronted with  $n\bar{i}$ .

- (21)  $k\bar{o}$ - $n\grave{i}$        $r\bar{u}$        $\acute{o}$  $p\acute{i}$        $k\acute{a}$        $g\bar{b}\acute{a}n\grave{d}\grave{a}$        $\bar{e}$ - $d\bar{z}\acute{i}$        $n\grave{i}$   
 3DIR-know REFL      [ Opi 3 cassava (N)-VE-take FOC]  
 ‘That means that it is Opi who will bring cassava.’

There is no inflected version of  $\bar{o}$ - $n\bar{i}$   $r\bar{u}$ , thus no  $k\acute{a}$   $r\bar{u}$   $n\bar{i}$  or  $k\acute{o}n\bar{i}$   $r\bar{u}$ .

- (22)\*  $k\acute{a}$   $r\bar{u}$   $n\bar{i}$   $r\acute{a}$   $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\grave{o}g\bar{u}$   $\bar{i}\bar{i}$   
 3 REFL (N)-know AFF Opi PR thief FOC  
 ‘It will certainly be known that Opi is a thief.’

The future meaning can be expressed by using the lexical verb ‘hear’.

- (23)  $k\acute{a}$   $r\text{-}\bar{e}\bar{i}\bar{i}$   $r\acute{a}$   $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\grave{o}g\bar{u}$   $\bar{i}\bar{i}$   
 3 REFL-(N)-hear AFF Opi PR thief FOC  
 ‘It will certainly become known that Opi is a thief.’

### 16.2.3. $r\grave{a}$ ‘think’

$r\grave{a}$  ‘think’ takes as its complement a full clause (ie. with an unsuffixed verb and a bare overt subject).

- (24)  $m\acute{a}$   $r\grave{a}$   $\bar{?}\bar{a}$   $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $\bar{e}\text{-}m\bar{u}$   $k\bar{u}$   
 1S think OBJ [ Opi (3)-VE-go NEG(N) ]  
 ‘I think Opi is not / will not be coming.’

The addition of a reflexive pronoun and a  $n\bar{i}$ -phrase  $m\acute{a}$   $n\bar{i}$  ‘to me’ allows the interpretation ‘it seems to me that’ (along with the interpretation of ‘I think that’).

- (25)  $k\acute{a}$   $r\bar{u}$   $r\grave{a}$   $m\acute{a}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $\bar{e}\text{-}m\bar{u}$   $r\acute{a}$   
 3 REFL think 1S BEN [ Opi (3)-VE-go AFF ]  
 ‘It seems to me / I think that Opi has certainly come.’

- (26)  $k\acute{a}$   $r\bar{u}$   $r\grave{a}$   $m\acute{a}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $\bar{e}\text{-}m\bar{u}$   $k\bar{u}$   
 3 REFL think 1S BEN [ Opi (3)-VE-go NEG(N) ]  
 ‘I think Opi isn’t coming / won’t come.’

- (27)  $k\acute{a}$   $r\bar{u}$   $r\grave{a}$   $m\acute{a}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $\bar{e}\text{-}m\bar{u}$   $k\bar{u}r\bar{u}$   
 3 REFL think 1S BEN [ Opi (3)-VE-go NEG(P) ]  
 ‘I think Opi didn’t come.’

- (28)  $k\acute{a}$   $r\bar{u}$   $r\grave{a}$   $m\acute{a}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $k\text{-}\bar{e}\text{-}m\bar{u}$   $k\bar{u}$   
 3 REFL think 1S BEN [ Opi 3DIR-VE-go NEG(N) ]  
 ‘I think Opi shouldn’t come.’

16.2.4. *ōrì* 'fear'

*ōrì* 'fear' takes as its complement a full clause, with an unsuffixed verb and a bare overt subject. This verb can only be inflected (nonpast); there is no uninflected (past) form. The subordinate clause can be fronted. Note that the root verb can be final, as we would expect for an inflected verb.

- (29)      *óṗí*      *ē-mú*      *kū*      *má*      *ōrì*  
 [ Opi      (3)-VE-go NEG(N) ] 1S      (N)-fear  
 'I fear Opi is not / will not be coming.'

To get a past interpretation, the past habitual verb *rì* must be used (16.10).

- (30)      *má*      *ōrì*      *óṗí*      *ē-mú*      *kū*  
 1S      (N)-ear [ Opi      (3)-VE-go NEG(N) ]  
 'I fear Opi is not / will not be coming.'

16.2.5. *lè* 'want'

## 16.2.5.1. With an animate subject

*lè* 'want' takes different kinds of clausal complement, including a full clausal complement and a suffixed-verb clausal complement (see chapter 10). Here we focus on the situation in which *lè* 'want' takes as its complement a full clause, with an unsuffixed verb and a bare overt subject.

- (31)      *ō-lè*      *óṗí*      *k-ē-mú*  
 3-want [ Opi      3DIR-VE-go ]  
 'He wants Opi to come.'

- (32)      *má*      *lè*      *óṗí*      *k-ē-mú*      *rá*  
 1S      want [ Opi      3DIR-VE-go      AFF ]  
 (a) 'I want Opi certainly to come.'  
 (b) 'I wanted Opi certainly to come.'

- (33)      *àdī*      *ō-lè*      *ìndrì*      *rì*      *ē-dzì-kā*      *kūrù*      *nì*  
 who      3-want [goat DEF (N)-VE-take-SB NEG(P) ] FOC  
 'Who is it among you that wanted the non-bringing of the goat  
 (in question)?' (describing a situation that held in the past but  
 no longer holds today)

- (34) *má lè ópí k-ē-mú kū nĩ rá*  
 1S want [ Opi 3DIR-VE-come NEG(N) ] PR AFF  
 ‘That Opi should not come is what I certainly want.’
- (35) *ópí k-ē-mú kū nĩ má lè rá*  
 [Opi 3DIR-VE-come NEG(N) ] PR 1S want AFF  
 ‘That Opi should not come is what I certainly want.’

In all the above examples, the upper and lower verb have noncoreferential subjects. In order to express the meaning of ‘Opi wants to come’, a subordinate clause with a suffixed verb must be used.

- (36) *ópí ̄-lè ē-mú-lé*  
 Opi 3-want [(N)-VE-go-SB]  
 ‘Opi wants to come.’

The clausal complement can be followed by *nĩ*, or by LOW-*ĩ*.

- (37) *má lè ópí k-ē-mú nĩ rá*  
 1S want [ Opi 3DIR-VE-go ] PR AFF  
 ‘That Opi should come is what I certainly want.’
- (38) *má lè ópí k-ē-mú ̄ ĩ*  
 1S want [ Opi 3DIR-VE-go ] SPEC FOC  
 ‘It is Opi’s coming that I had wanted.’

*lè* can take a *nĩ*-phrase as an additional complement (expressing the person for which something is wanted). The *nĩ*-phrase can precede or follow the clausal complement.

- (39) *má lè ópí nĩ ē-mú-kā rá*  
 1S want Opi BEN [ (N)-VE-go-SB ] AFF  
 ‘I certainly want Opi to come.’ (the coming has my blessing)
- (40) *má lè ē-mú-kā ópí nĩ rá*  
 1S want [ (N)-VE-go-SB ] Opi BEN AFF  
 ‘I certainly want Opi to come.’ (the coming has my blessing)

Compare the different structures of the following examples.

- (41) *má lè ópí nĩ ē-mú-kā kū*  
 1S want Opi BEN [(N)-VE-go-SB] NEG(N)  
 (a) ‘I don’t want Opi to come.’ (permission withheld)  
 (b) ‘It’s not my desire that Opi comes.’

- (42) *má lè ópí k-ē-mú nī kū*  
 1S want [Opi 3DIR-VE-go] PR NEG(N)  
 (a) 'It's not my desire that Opi comes.' (focus on event)  
 (b) 'I want that Opi should not come.' (focus on event)

Instead of a clausal complement, *lè* can also take a noun phrase complement, including a headless relative:

- (43) *má lè ópí ní búkù rì rá*  
 1S want Opi BEN book DEF AFF  
 'I certainly want the book for Opi.'

- (44) *má lè jā-lé nā rá*  
 1S want [(N)-eat-SB] AFR AFF  
 'I certainly want the one which can be eaten (by me, someone).'

In 7.4.1.3 we comment on the fact that *lè* does not have an inflected form, and has an unusual tense behaviour.

#### 16.2.5.2. With an impersonal subject: it is necessary that / I think

Lexical verb *lè* means 'want' or 'allow', and can take impersonal subject.

- (45) *ó-lè ēbù bá dí?ā rá*  
 IND-want work people here AFF  
 'Workers are certainly needed here.'
- (46) *ēbù bá 3-lè rū dí?ā rá*  
 work people 3-want REFL here AFF  
 'There is certainly need for workers here.'
- (47) *ó-lè k-ē-mú*  
 IND-want 3DIR-VE-go  
 'It is wanted that she should come.'

As a grammatical verb *lè* is used in constructions which mean 'it is necessary that' or 'I think that'. As a grammatical verb it is always inflected and takes a third person subject and a clitic object.

*kólēā* + full clausal complement pronounced  
*kó lè ?ā* + full clausal complement underlying  
 3- (N)-want -OBJ  
 'it is necessary that..' or 'there is a need for..' or 'I think that..'

- (48) *kólèā*                      *ɲì*                      *mū*  
 3-(N)-want-OBJ              2SDIR              go  
 (a) 'It is necessary that you go.'  
 (b) 'I think that you should go.'  
 (c) 'She will want you to go.' (literal meaning)

The lexical reading ((b) above) of the verb is generally also available.

In the lower clause, the subject can be in any person (with a slight dispreference for first person), and can also be impersonal.

- (49) *kólèā*                      *mà*                      *ɲā*                      *èbī*                      *rá*  
 3-(N)-want-OBJ              1SDIR                      eat                      fish                      AFF  
 (a) '(It is necessary that) I should certainly eat fish.'  
 (b) 'I think I should certainly eat fish.'  
 (c) 'She will certainly want me to eat fish.'

- (50) *kólèā*                      *ô mvū*                      *ìrá*                      *kù*  
 3-(N)-want-OBJ              IND-(DIR)-drink              beer                      NEG(N)  
 (a) 'It is necessary that you don't / should not drink beer.'  
 (b) 'I think you should not drink beer.'  
 (c) 'She will want you not to drink beer.' (literal meaning)

The object in the embedded clause can optionally be put at the beginning of the embedded clause or at the beginning of the root clause before *kólèā* (grammatical and lexical readings are both possible). Thus *ìrá dī* 'this beer' can be in any position @, including extreme left-dislocation:

- (51) @ *kólèā*                      @                      *ô mvū*                      @                      *kū*  
 3-(N)-want-OBJ                      IND-(DIR)-drink                      NEG(N)  
 @ = *ìrá dī* 'this beer'  
 (a) 'It is necessary that you don't / shouldn't drink this beer.'  
 (b) 'It is necessary that this beer should not be drunk.'  
 (c) 'She will want this beer not to be drunk.'  
 (d) 'I think this beer should not be drunk.'

The tense of the embedded clause appears to be relatively freely interpretable. With *òbú* 'tomorrow' the embedded clause is interpreted as future. With *ádžíní* 'yesterday', the clause is interpreted as past; note that this is not an option for lexical *lè*.

- (52) *kólèā*                      *k-ē-mú*                      *òbú*                      *rá*  
 3-(N)-want-OBJ                      3DIR-VE-go                      tomorrow                      AFF  
 (a) 'She should certainly come tomorrow.'  
 (b) 'I think she should certainly come tomorrow.'  
 (c) 'She will want her to certainly come tomorrow.'

- (53) *kólèā*                      *k-ē-mú*                      *ádžínĩ*                      *rá*  
 3-(N)-want-OBJ              3DIR-VE-go              yesterday              AFF  
 (a) 'She should certainly have come yesterday.'  
 (b) 'I think she should certainly have come yesterday.'  
 (c)\* 'She will want her certainly to have come yesterday.'

The meanings 'it is necessary that' and 'I think' can be separated; if the sentence does not include *rá*, the 'I think' reading is unavailable.

- (54) *kólèā*                      *k-ē-mú*                      *rá*  
 3-(N)-want-OBJ              3DIR-VE-go              AFF  
 (a) 'It is necessary that she comes / should come.'  
 (b) 'I think she has come.'

- (55) *kólèā*                      *k-ē-mú*  
 3-(N)-want-OBJ              3DIR-VE-go  
 (a) 'It is necessary that she comes / should come.'  
 (b)\* 'I think she has come.'

In the 'Burulo dialect, *kúléeē* is the variant equivalent to Lokai *kólèā*. Unexpectedly, there is a variation also involving the subject of the lower clause in the 'Burulo dialect. A first or second person singular pronoun should be *má* or *jí* respectively. However, in this construction the first and second person singular pronouns are realized as first person plural *ámá* and second person plural *ájí*.

- (56) *kúléeē*                      *ájí*                      *mū*                      *bòrú*  
 3-(N)-want-OBJ              2S                      go(S)                      home                      ['Burulo]  
 (a) 'It's necessary that you(S) go home.'  
 (b) 'She will want you(S) to go home.'

- (57) *kólèā*                      *jí*                      *mū*                      *bàrú*  
 3-(N)-want-OBJ              2S                      go                      home                      [Lokai]  
 'It is necessary that you go home.'

These forms are otherwise unattested; they resemble the singular forms in their final tones, but resemble the equivalent plural forms in their initial vowel; the regular plural forms are first person plural *ámà* and second person plural *ájí*, as illustrated in (58).

- (58) *kúléeē*                      *ájí*                      *vò*                      *bòrú*  
 3-(N)-want-OBJ              2PL                      go(PL)                      home                      ['Burulo]  
 (a) 'It's necessary that you (PL) go home.'  
 (b) 'She will want you (PL) to go home.'

However, the embedded verb can also take a low prefix which expresses directive; in this case the second person pronoun is *jí*, the normal form of the second person singular.

- (59) *kúléē*            *jí*        *`mū*        *ḃòrú*  
 3-(N)-want-OBJ 2S     DIR-go     home  
 (a) 'It's necessary that you(S) go home.'            ['Burulo]  
 (b) 'She will want you(S) to go home.'

This is as if the low tone prefix on the verb is equivalent to the low tone and vowel before the pronoun.

#### 16.2.6. *ḃà* or *ēḃē* 'make' (causatives)

Both causative verbs, *ḃà* 'make' and *ēḃē* 'let', have identical syntax. Each takes as its complement a full clause (ie. with an unsuffixed verb and a bare overt subject).

- (60) *ópí*    *ḃ-ḃà*            *má*    *dì*    *èḃí*    *áū*  
 opi    3-make    [ 1S    cook    fish    ] FOC  
 'Opi made me to cook fish.'
- (61) *ḃ-ḃà*    *kí*            *àmà*            *k-òḃú*            *àḃírí*  
 3-made PL    [ 1PL(EXC)    catch-sleep    hunger ]  
 'They made us (excluding you) go to bed without eating.'
- (62) *kó-ḃà-ā*            *ḃá*    *ĩzókā*            *k'ò-?ē*    *òkpó*  
 3-(N)-make-OBJ [[people (N)-(CAUS)-raise-SB] 3-N-become hard]  
 'She will make / is making it difficult to bring up children.'

#### 16.2.7. *āndré* 'seem'

*āndré* 'seem' takes as its complement a full clause (ie. with an unsuffixed verb and a bare overt subject). *āndré* also takes a *má ní* phrase, which is optional. The subordinate clause optionally ends on *ání*.

- (63) *k'-āndré* ( *má ní* ) *ópí* *ē-mú* *kū* ( *ání* )  
 3-(N)-look 1S BEN [Opi (3)-VE-go NEG(N)] like  
 'It seems to me that Opi will not come.'
- (64) *k'-āndré* ( *má ní* ) *ópí* *ē-mú* *kūrù* ( *ání* )  
 3-(N)-look 1S BEN [Opi (3)-VE-go NEG(P)] like  
 'It seems to me that Opi has not come.'

Note by contrast that *ánĩ* is obligatory if the subordinate is a nonverbal predicate (without its own subject).

- (65) *k'-āndré*      *má ní*      *lápwojí*      *ánĩ*  
 3-N)-look      1S BEN      teacher      like  
 'It seems to me to be a teacher.'

### 16.3. Lexical verbs which take suffixed clausal complements

A few lexical verbs also take complements which have suffixed verbs, usually with *-lè* as the suffix.

*lè* can take a full clausal complement, but can also take a subordinate clause with a verb suffixed with *-lé* or *-ká* and an omitted subject.

- (66) *má*      *lè*      *ānĩ*      *ᵛnā-lé*      *rá*  
 1S      want [ 3S      N-eat-SB ]      AFF  
 (a) 'I certainly want to eat it.'  
 (b) 'I certainly want it to be eaten.' (I give my consent)

- (67) *ānĩ*      *ᵛnā-lé*      *má*      *lè*      *rá*  
 [ 3S      N-eat-SB ] 1S      want      AFF  
 (a) 'Eat it, is what I certainly want to do.'  
 (b) 'I certainly want it to be eaten.' (I give my consent)

When *lè* takes a complement which is a verb suffixed by *-kā*, negation of *lè* with *kū* or *kūrù* is possible.

- (68) *má*      *lè*      *mū-kā*      *kūrù*  
 1S      want [ (N)-go-SB ]      NEG(P)  
 (a) 'I didn't want to go.'  
 (b)\* 'I don't want to go.'
- (69) *ídré*      *ᵛlè*      *ízá*      *ᵛnā-kā*      *kū*  
 rat      3-want [ meat      N-eat ]      NEG(N)  
 (a) 'Rats don't want to eat meat.'  
 (b) 'Rats don't want meat to be eaten.'

*ḃì* and *má*, two verbs which mean 'try', can take two kinds of suffixed clausal complement. They can take a subordinate clause with a verb suffixed with *lé* and an omitted subject.

- (70) *má* *ḃì*      *mū-lé*      *rá*  
 1S try      [ (N)-go-SB ]      AFF  
 'I (have) certainly tried to go.'

- (71) *ɲí mǎ-ā mū-lé rá*  
 2s (N)-try-OBJ [ (N)-go-SB ] AFF  
 'You will certainly try to go.'

They can take a subordinate clause with a verb suffixed with *dʒó* and an omitted subject.

- (72) *má bì mū-dʒó rá*  
 1S try [ (N)-go-SB ] AFF  
 (a) 'I certainly tried it for going with.'  
 (b) 'I certainly tried going.'

*ēdó* 'start' can take two kinds of suffixed clausal complement. It can take a subordinate clause with a verb suffixed with *lé* and an omitted subject.

- (73) *ópi ēdó ɲā-lé rá*  
 Opi (3)-start [ N-eat-SB ] AFF  
 (a) 'Opi has certainly started to eat it.'  
 (b) 'Opi has certainly started it for eating.'

It can take a subordinate clause with a verb suffixed with *dʒó* and an omitted subject.

- (74) *ópi ēdó ɲā-dʒó rá*  
 Opi (3)-start [ N-eat-SB ] AFF  
 'Opi has certainly started to eat with it.'

*ēsì* 'fit, suit' can take a subordinate clause with a verb suffixed with *lé* and an omitted subject.

- (75) *ēsì dū-lé rá*  
 (3)-fit [(N)-take-SB] AFF  
 'She is certainly suited to be married.'

#### 16.4. Grammatical verbs (with full clausal complements) which express sequence

There is a set of grammatical verbs, some homophonous with other verbs with lexical or grammatical meanings, which express sequence. All take full clausal complements with unsuffixed verbs and containing overt subjects which are coreferential with the subject of the grammatical verb.

16.4.1. Grammatical *fō* : sequence

The grammatical verb *fō* takes as its complement a full clause which contains a directive verb. The subject of *fō* and the subject of the subordinate clause must be coreferential. The interpretation is that the eventuality described in the complement clause precedes some other eventuality which is not described. The upper clause with *fō* is itself a subordinate clause within a larger clause.

- (76) *má fō m-ēbē ópí nĩ* ,  
 [ 1S say [ 1SDIR-leave Opi PR ] ]  
*má-à lĩdrĩ ētfō rũ mgbĩ réré*  
 1S-POSS life (3)-turn REFL different completely  
 ‘Following / since my leaving Opi, my life has turned completely round.’

- (77) *èjí ò-fō ānĩ kò-dĩ* , *bá rĩ ò-vù tʃírí*  
 [rain 3-say [3S 3DIR-rain] ] people DEF 3-silence quiet  
 ‘Following / since the rain, they all went quiet.’

- (78) *má-à pá ò-fō ānĩ kò-ŋò* ,  
 [1S-POSS leg 3-say [ 3S 3DIR-break ] ]  
*má nĩ òlú nĩ lōsò ò-ʔē ìjō*  
 1S BEN living PR goodness 3-become absent  
 ‘Following / since the breaking of my leg, life has become difficult for me.’

- (79) *ò-fō kĩ àʔĩ k-ē-vù* ( *kĩ* ) ,  
 [ 3-say PL [ 3PL 3DIR-VE-go(PL) PL ] ]  
*bá rĩ ò-vù tʃírí*  
 people DEF 3-keep quiet  
 ‘Following / since their [1] arrival, they [2] all went quiet.’

The verb *fō* can be directive or uninflected without apparently affecting the meaning.

- (80) *ópí kò-fo ānĩ k-ē-mú* , *bá rĩ ò-vù tʃírí*  
 [Opi 3DIR-say [3S 3-DIR-VE-go]] people DEF 3-keep quiet  
 ‘Following / since Opi’s arrival, they all went quiet.’

- (81) *ópí ò-fo ānĩ k-ē-mú* , *bá rĩ ò-vù tʃírí*  
 [ Opi 3-say [ 3S 3-DIR-VE-go ] ] people DEF 3-keep quiet  
 ‘Following / since Opi’s arrival, they all went quiet.’

There is a floating high tone immediately after the  $\bar{o}f\bar{o}$  clause in a slow deliberate speech. This floating high tone is not found when the meaning is 'say'. We do not have an explanation of its presence.

#### 16.4.1.1. Dialectal variation ('Burulo)

'Burulo uses the verb  $f\bar{o}$  or  $d\bar{o}$ , either of which must be directive.

- (82)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $k\bar{u}-d\bar{o}$   $\grave{a}d\bar{i}$   $k-\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$  ,  
 [ Opi 3-say [ 3S 3DIR-VE-go ] ]  
 $\bar{o}r\bar{i}$   $k\bar{o}$   $\acute{b}\acute{a}$   $r\acute{i}$   $p\bar{i}$   $t\bar{f}w\acute{i}$   
 fear catch people DEF PRPL COM ['Burulo]  
 'Following Opi's arrival, fear has gripped them.'

#### 16.4.1.2. $k\bar{o}f\bar{o} r\bar{u}$ as a sentential modifier

$f\bar{o}$  is the basis of a clause which functions as a free modifier within a sentence. The clause is  $k\bar{o}f\bar{o} r\bar{u}$ , consisting of the directive third person pronominal followed by the verb followed by the reflexive pronoun. It expresses consequence. It is possibly related to the use of  $f\bar{o}$  described above since it expresses consequence, with  $r\bar{u}$  substituting for the subordinate clause.

- (83)  $k\bar{o}-f\bar{o}$   $r\bar{u}$   $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $k\acute{a}$   $\acute{b}\acute{a}$   $\text{?}\grave{a}$   $g\acute{b}\acute{a}n\acute{d}\acute{a}$   $\bar{e}-d\bar{z}\acute{i}$   $n\bar{i}$   
 [3DIR-say REFL] Opi 3 INC POSS cassava (N)-VE-take FOC  
 'That means it is Opi who will bring / is bringing our (you inclusive) cassava.'

- (84)  $k\bar{o}-f\bar{o}$   $r\bar{u}$   $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{e}-d\bar{z}\acute{i}$   $\acute{b}\acute{a}$   $\text{?}\grave{a}$   $g\acute{b}\acute{a}n\acute{d}\acute{a}$   $n\bar{i}$   
 [ 3DIR-say REFL ] Opi (3)-VE-take INC POSS cassava FOC  
 'That means it is Opi who brought our (you inclusive) cassava.'

$k\bar{o}f\bar{o} r\bar{u}$  can be freely placed within the clause, in any of the positions marked @.

- (85)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$  @  $k\acute{a}$  @  $\acute{b}\acute{a}$   $\text{?}\grave{a}$   $g\acute{b}\acute{a}n\acute{d}\acute{a}$  @  $\bar{e}-d\bar{z}\acute{i}$  @  $n\bar{i}$  @  
 Opi 3 INC POSS cassava (N)-VE-take FOC  
 @ =  $k\bar{o}f\bar{o} r\bar{u}$   
 'That means it is Opi who will bring / is bringing our (you inclusive) cassava.'

16.4.1.3. Lexical *fō* 'say'

*fō* is also a lexical verb meaning 'say' (16.2.1). As a lexical verb it has the same complement clause structure as when it is a grammatical verb: a full clause with an unsuffixed verb.

16.4.2. (Grammatical) *drì*: sequence

The grammatical verb *drì* takes as its complement a full clause with an inflected verb and controlled bare noun phrase as an overt subject. *drì* or its variant *dì* adds a meaning of 'then' in the past or future, indicating that the sentence is to be interpreted as subsequent to some other eventuality such as an eventuality mentioned in a preceding sentence.

- (86) *ópi* *ō-drì* *líná* *dì*  
 Opi 3-then [ food N-cook ]  
 (a) 'Opi then cooked food.'  
 (b) 'Opi will then cook food.'
- (87) *ó-drì* *bìlò* *fi*  
 IND-then [ sheep (N)-cut ]  
 (a) 'We (you inclusive) will then slaughter a sheep.'  
 (b) 'A sheep will then be / was then slaughtered.'  
 (c) 'We (you inclusive) then slaughtered a sheep.'
- (88) *ká-drì* *búkù* *là*  
 3-(N)-then [ book (N)-read ]  
 (a) 'He then read a book.'  
 (b) 'He will then read a book.'  
 (c) 'Then he may read a book.' (permission)
- (89) *ádrì* *sī-ā*  
 IND-(N)-then [ (N)-build-OBJ ]  
 (a) 'We (you and I) then built it.'  
 (b) 'We (you and I) will then build it.'  
 (c) 'It was then / will then be built.'

As (88) and (89) show, *drì* has two peculiarities when it is itself inflected. First, the inflected form of the verb can be interpreted as past; this is in fact the typical way of expressing past sequence in a narrative. Second, the inflected forms of the verb, third person and indefinite, have non-standard pronominals, with *kádrì* rather than the expected *kódrì* in the third person and *ádrì* rather than the expected *ádrì drì* in the

indefinite. We suggest that the morphological peculiarities of the pronouns can be resolved by suggesting that the inflected form of *drì* is actually *ádri*, thus a suppletion rather than a prefixing of the low tone. Thus the third person would have *kó-ádri* which would resolve to *kádri*, and the indefinite might result from adding a high tone prefix to *ádri*.

When sentences with inflected *drì* end in *rá* or *kū* or *kūrù* and a high tone, a kind of conditional warning meaning emerges. The negation particles are contrastive (19.10.2, 19.10.3.1). The high tone is probably the yes-no question morpheme (20.3.1.1).

- (90) *ká* *drì* *bìlò* *āzī* *rá* *´*  
 3 then sheep (N)-sell AFF Q  
 ‘Should he definitely sell the sheep...’ (this is a warning implying that there is a price to pay for selling it)
- (91) *ńí* *drì* *drí* *dzè* *rá* *kū* *´*  
 2S then hand (N)-wash AFF NEG(N) Q  
 ‘Had you not definitely washed your hand...’ (you’d have been in real trouble)
- (92) *ńí* *drì* *drí* *dzè* *kū* *´*  
 2S then hand (N)-wash NEG(N) Q  
 ‘Had you not washed your hand...’ (you’d have been in real trouble) (The event of washing taking place a few moments ago)
- (93) *ńí* *drì* *drí* *dzè* *kūrù* *´*  
 2S then hand (N)-wash NEG(P) Q  
 ‘Had you not washed your hand...’ (you’d have been in real trouble) (The event of washing taking place possibly in the past.)

### 16.4.3. (Grammatical) *ngō* : sequence

The grammatical verb *ngō* takes as its complement a full clause with a verb and controlled bare noun phrase as an overt subject. The root verb *ngō* and the subordinate verb have the same form, both uninflected or both inflected or both directive. The interpretation is that an action follows another action.

- (94) *ópi* *ō-ngō* *ō-là* *búkù*  
 opi 3-then [ 3-read book ]  
 ‘Opi then read a book.’

- (95) *má* *̀ngō* *má* *búkù* *là*  
 1S N-then [ 1S book (N)-read ]  
 'I will then read a book.'
- (96) *ɲì* *ngō* *ɲì* *dʒè* *ókódʒó* *dí* *rá*  
 2SDIR then [ 2SDIR wash utensil this AFF ]  
 'You should then wash these utensils.' (at some later time)

Where the subject is plural, plurality must be marked in the embedded sentence with *kí* but is optional in the root sentence.

- (97) *ká* *kí* *ngō* *ká* *kí* *búkù* *là*  
 3 PL (N)-then [ 3 PL book (N)-read ]  
 'They will then read a book.'
- (98)\* *ká* *kí* *ngō* *ká* *búkù* *là*  
 3 PL (N)-then [ 3 book (N)-read ]  
 'They will then read a book.'
- (99) *kó* *̀ngō* *ká* *kí* *búkù* *là*  
 3 N-then [ 3 PL book (N)-read ]  
 'They will then read a book.'

#### 16.4.4. (Grammatical) *ngā* : sequence

The grammatical verb *ngā* takes as its complement a full clause with a verb and controlled bare noun phrase as an overt subject. The interpretation is that the action follows some other action. It is homophonous with a verb having a lexical meaning of 'rise', leading to ambiguity as seen in gloss (100b).

- (100) *ɲì* *ngā* *ɲì* *mū* *ēbù* *gá*  
 2SDIR get up 2SDIR go work LOC  
 (a) '(You should) then go to work.'  
 (b) '(You should get up and) go to work.'

If the subject is plural, plurality must be encoded in both embedded and root sentences (unlike *ngō*). Hence if there is a mismatching plurality, the verb can only be interpreted as the lexical verb 'rise' (reading (b)).

- (101) *kó-̀ngā* *ká* *kí* *vù* *ēbù* *gá*  
 3-N-rise 3 PL go(PL) work LOC  
 (a)\* 'They will then go to work.' (grammatical verb)  
 (b) 'As he was leaving they were going to work.' (lexical verb)

The lexical verb *ngā* 'rise' is further illustrated here; it is followed by a full clause but it is not clear that there is a relation of subordination between them. Instead these may be a pair of clauses in sequence.

(102) *ópī* *ō-ngā* *ō-là* *búkù*  
 Opi 3-rise 3-read book  
 'Opi rose and read a book.'

(103) *ká* *kí̄* *ngā* *ká* *kí̄* *vù* *ēbù* *gá*  
 3 PL (N)-rise 3 PL go(PL) work LOC  
 'They will leave and go to work.'

#### 16.4.5. (Grammatical) *kō* : sequence

The grammatical verb *kō* takes as its complement a full clause with a verb and controlled bare noun phrase as an overt subject. It expresses a meaning of sequence. It can be inflected or uninflected or directive; the root verb *kō* and the subordinate verb seem in general to agree in this regard.

(104) *má* *kō* *má* *mū* *ōdú* *gá*  
 1S N-then [ 1S N-go sleep LOC ]  
 'I will then go to sleep.'

(105) *má* *kō* *má* *ìndrì* *kō*  
 1S N-then [ 1S goat N-catch ]  
 'I will then catch a goat.' (to be slaughtered)

(106) *má* *kō* *má* *lì* *ìndrì*  
 1S then [ 1S cut goat ]  
 'I then (got hold of and) slaughtered a goat.'

(107) *má* *kō* *má* *mū* *ōdú* *gá*  
 1S then [ 1S go sleep LOC ]  
 'I then went to sleep.'

(108) *ópī* *ō-kō* *ō-mū* *lōsí* *gá*  
 Opi 3-then [ 3-go cultivation LOC ]  
 'Opi then went to dig.'

(109) *nī* *kō* *nī* *dzè* *ókódzò* *dì* *rá*  
 2SDIR then [ 2SDIR wash utensil this AFF ]  
 'You should then wash these utensils.' (after finishing what you are doing)

Note however that it seems just possible to have a mismatch in tense between the two verbs; *kō* can be inflected and the other verb uninflected.

- (110)? *ópí* *ō-kō* *ká* *dʒó* *̀sī* *ēndrè* *ní*  
 opi 3-then [ 3 house N-build mother-SPEC BEN ]  
 ‘Opi then will build a house for the mother.’

However, when inflected, *kō* cannot take a uninflected complement .

- (111)\* *ópí* *kō̂-kō* *ō-sī* *dʒó* *ēndrè* *ní*  
 Opi 3-N-then [ 3-build house mother-SPEC BEN ]  
 ‘Opi will then build a house for the mother.’

If the subject is plural, both verbs must carry the plural morpheme.

- (112) *ká* *kí̂* *kō* *ká* *kí̂* *tà* *là*  
 3 PL (N)-then [ 3 PL thing (N)-read ]  
 ‘They will then read.’

- (113)\* *ká* *kí̂* *kō* *ká* *tà* *là*  
 3 PL (N)-then [ 3 thing (N)-read ]  
 ‘They will then read.’

- (114)\* *kó* *̀kō* *ká* *kí̂* *tà* *là*  
 3- N-then [ 3 PL thing (N)-read ]  
 ‘They will then read.’

- (115) *ká* *kí̂* *kō* *tà* *là*  
 3 PL (N)-then [ thing (N)-read ]  
 (a)\* ‘They will then read.’  
 (b) ‘They are about to read.’ (prospective, 16.8)

#### 16.4.5.1. Other *kō* verbs

There are two other words with the form *kō*: a lexical verb ‘catch’ and a grammatical verb expressing the prospective (16.8).

- (116) *má* *̀indrí* *̀kō*  
 1S goat N-catch  
 ‘I am catching a goat.’

- (117) *má* *̀kō* *̀mū* *ōdú* *gá*  
 1S N-PROS [ N-go sleep LOC ]  
 ‘I am about to (go to) sleep.’

### 16.5. Grammatical *nì* : consequence

The grammatical verb *nì* takes as its complement a full clause with a verb and omitted subject. The subject of *nì* is interpreted as the subject of the complement verb. The interpretation is that of forced consequence, an action taken out of necessity rather than desire. The grammatical verb *nì* is used in the third of the sentences below, which should be taken as a connected discourse.

- (118) *ó pí pĩ ē-vù dí?ā ádžínĩ*  
 Opi PLPR (3)-VE-go (PL) here yesterday  
 ‘Those of Opi (Opi and his associates) were here yesterday.’
- (119) *ēsú tà má-à drĩ gá ìjō*  
 find thing 1S-POSS hand LOC absent  
 ‘I had nothing (at hand) to offer them.’
- (120) *má nì ná-à à?ú `kō à?ĩ ní*  
 1S THEN [ 1S-POSS hen N-catch 3PL BEN ]  
 ‘(Forced by the circumstance) I had to kill your hen for them.’

*nì* can be uninflected, inflected, or directive, as illustrated by the three possible continuations of the first sentence below.

- (121) *vù ō-fō ānì k-ē-dé àbírí dĩ ...*  
 earth 3-say 3S 3-(N)-VE-fall famine this ...  
 ‘Following the succumbing of earth to hunger...’
- (122) *ìtó ō- nì ānā-à gārì āzĩ pí*  
 Ito 3- then [3S-POSS bicycle (N)-sell COM]  
 ‘Ito had to sell his bicycle.’ (sold at the outset of famine)
- (123) *ìtó kó- nì ānā-à gārì āzĩ pí*  
 Ito 3- then [ 3S-POSS bicycle (N)-sell COM]  
 ‘Ito had to sell his bicycle.’ (sold later during the famine)
- (124) *ìtó kò- nì ānā-à gārì āzĩ pí*  
 Ito 3DIR-then [ 3S-POSS bicycle (N)-sell COM]  
 ‘Ito had to sell his bicycle.’ (implying some reluctance either on the part of Opi in selling, or the speaker thinks he should not have sold it and blames him for it)

When *nì* is inflected it does not take an object clitic, unlike other inflected verbs which take sentential complements. This might suggest that the

complement to *nì* is not a sentential complement to a verb.

Negation with *kūrù* is possible; *kū* cannot be used. All three continuations of the first sentence below have the same meaning.

(125) *vù* *ō-fō* *ānì* *k-ē-dé* *àbírí* *dì* ...  
 earth 3-say 3S 3-VE-fall famine this  
 ‘Following the succumbing of earth to hunger...’

(126) *ító* *ō-nì* *ānà-à* *gáří* *āzī* *kūrù*  
 Ito 3-then 3S-POSS bicycle (N)-sell NEG(P)

(127) *ító* *kò-nì* *ānà-à* *gáří* *āzī* *kūrù*  
 Ito 3DIR-then 3S-POSS bicycle (N)-sell NEG(P)

(128) *ító* *kó-nì* *ānà-à* *gáří* *āzī* *kūrù*  
 Ito 3-then 3S-POSS bicycle (N)-sell NEG(P)  
 ‘Ito decided not to sell his bicycle.’ (the bicycle was already marked for sale, but the selling did not take place as a consequence of the famine)

Note that the presence of *kūrù* is puzzling in the last of the above examples, because *kūrù* does not normally co-occur with inflected verbs.

## 16.6. Grammatical *mū* and *tfā* : something is going to happen

The verbs *mū* / *vù* ‘go’ and *tfā* ‘reach’ can take one of two kinds of complement clause. The clause can be a full complement clause with the verb *ōlú* ‘stay’ and its own subject or it can be a clause with a verb suffixed with *-rē*.

### 16.6.1. *mū* etc. with a full clausal complement containing *ōlú*

When the complement clause taken by *mū* or *tfā* has as its verb *ōlú*, the complement of *ōlú* is a nonverbal predicate. The embedded constituent has its own subject.

(129) *má* *mū* *má* *ōlú* *lápwójí*  
 1S go [ 1S stay teacher ]  
 (a) ‘I (went and) became a teacher.’  
 (b)\* ‘I will become a teacher.’

- (130) *má*    *`mū*    *má*    *ōlú*    *lápwojní*  
 1S    N-go [ 1S    stay    teacher ]  
 (a) 'I am going to become / be a teacher.'  
 (b) 'I will become / be a teacher.'

- (131) *má*    *`mū*    *má*    *ōlú*    *lápwojní*    *rá*  
 1S    N-go [ 1S    stay    teacher ]    AFF  
 'I am going to become a teacher.' (for sure)

Negation by *kūrù* has the expected past interpretation.

- (132) *má*    *mū*    *má*    *ōlú*    *lápwojní*    *kūrù*  
 1S    go [ 1S    stay    teacher ]    NEG(P)  
 'I did not go and) become a teacher.'

Negation by *kū* allows both a nonpast interpretation. We assume this is because *kū* can be taken as negating either the verb *mū*, giving a nonpast interpretation to the clause as a whole, or the nonverbal predication, leaving a past tense verb in the main clause.

- (133) *má*    *mū*    *má*    *ōlú*    *lápwojní*    *kū*  
 1S    go [ 1S    stay    teacher ]    NEG(N)  
 (a) 'I will not become / be a teacher.'  
 1S    go [ 1S    stay    teacher    NEG(N) ]  
 (b) 'I did not (go and) become a teacher.'

### 16.6.2. *mū* and *tfā* with *rē* complement

*mū* and *tfā* can take a complement with a suffixed verb with *rē* and a missing subject.

#### 16.6.2.1. *mū*-clauses as post-modifiers

*mū* or *tfā* can take a *rē* clause as a complement, and then can itself be the basis of a relative clause.

- (134) *òtfé*    *kó`-mū*    *mā*    *`tfī-rē*    *rì*    *kó-drà*    *rá*  
 dog [3-N-go [1S    N-bite-SB ]]    DEF    3-(N)-die    AFF  
 'The dog that is going to bite me will certainly die.'

We make two observations on this structure. First, *mū* is an inflected

unsuffixed verb which is unusual in a postmodifier. Second, the complement to *mū* contains the suffix *rē*, unlike when *mū* is the root verb, as discussed above, when *mū* takes an unsuffixed clausal complement.

Note that it is also possible to relativize *mū* without changing the meaning.

- (135) *òtʃé mū-rē mā `tʃī-rē rì kó-drà rá*  
 dog [(N)-go-SB [1S N-bite-SB]] DEF 3-(N)-die AFF  
 'The dog that is going to bite me will certainly die.'

#### 16.6.2.2. *mū*-clauses as bare modifiers

A clause with *mū* or *tʃā* can function as a freely placed modifier within a higher clause.

A modifier clause with *tʃā* represents an eventuality which has not yet begun at the time of the eventuality represented by the higher clause.

- (136) *má `tʃā drí dzè-rē líná òkó rá*  
 [1S N-reach [hand (N)-wash-SB]] food 3-finish AFF  
 'Before I washed my hands the food was certainly finished.'

In the third person, the motion meaning of *tʃā* seems to be stronger. It has the effect of 'by the time he reached...' rather than 'before he could...'

A modifier clause with *mū* represents an eventuality which is not finished at the time of the eventuality represented by the higher clause.

- (137) *má `mū drí dzè-rē líná òkó rá*  
 [1S N-go [hand (N)-wash-SB]] food 3-finish AFF  
 'Before I finished washing my hands the food was certainly finished.'

While it is normal for *mū* to be associated with 'beginning' rather than ending, the verb *íkó* 'finish' can be a complement to *mū*.

- (138) *má `mū drí dzè-kā `íkó-rē líná òkó rá*  
 [1S N-go [[hand (N)-wash-SB] (N)-finish-SB]] food (3)-finish AFF  
 'Before I could finish washing my hands the food was certainly finished.'

Recursive embedding of grammatical *mū* is possible: the headless relative is headed by *mū*, which takes a complement with grammatical *mū*

suffixed with *-rē*, and which in turn takes another complement with a verb suffixed with *-rē*. It denotes the time before the action could be started, and can be moved around within the clause.

- (139) *ízi` ò-dū rū pí*  
 wife-DEF 3-take REFL COM  
*kó`-mū mū-rē dʒó` sī-rē*  
 [3-N-go [ (N)-go-SB [ house N-build-SB ]]]  
 ‘His wife had already eloped (with another man) before he could build a house.’

- (140) *kó`-mū` mū-rē dʒó` sī-rē*  
 [3-N-go [ N-go-SB [ house N-build-SB ]]]  
*ízi` ò-dū rū pí*  
 wife-SPEC 3-take REFL COM  
 ‘Before he could build a house his wife had already eloped (with another man).’

In bare modifier constructions of this type, *tfā* can be negated with *kūrù*. When it takes a subordinate clause, as in this kind of construction, *tfā* cannot be negated with *kū*.

- (141) *má tfā drí dʒè-rē kūrù líná òkó rá*  
 [1S reach [hand wash-SB] NEG(P) ] food finish AFF  
 ‘Before I could wash my hands the food was certainly finished.’ (eg. Food is being served. You need to wash your hands While still washing your hands or even before starting to wash, all the food has gone.)

- (142)\* *má tfā drí dʒè-rē kū líná òkó rá*  
 [1S reach [hand (N)-wash-SB] NEG(N)] food (N)-finish AFF  
 ‘Before I wash my hands, food will be finished.’

*tfā* can be put into the directive, as a way of issuing a threat. *tfā* is negated in this type of construction, while *mū* is not negated.

- (143) *mà tfā drí dʒè-rē kūrù líná k-òkó rá*  
 [1SDIR reach [hand (N)-wash-SB] NEG(P)] food 3DIR-finish AFF  
 ‘Before I could wash my hands the food should certainly get finished.’ (eg. You are issuing a threat, namely you are going to wash your hands - and that would have serious consequences - unless the kids finish the food before you wash your hands.)

16.6.3. *Dialectal variation*

In Ugandan Ma'di these verbs take a different kind of clausal complement, a complement with the *rē* suffix.

- (144) *ámá*                      *vù*                      *sù-rē-ā*  
 1PL(EXC)                      go(PL)                      [(N)-pour-SB-OBJ] [Ugandan]  
 'We are going to pour it.'

16.6.4. *An error in Tucker's analysis of tense*

*mū* plays a part in an error in Tucker's analysis of tense in Ma'di. Tucker (1940: 207) implies that reduplication has a role in defining tense; however his example with future *mū* 'go' involves not reduplication but the grammatical verb *mū* with a future meaning followed by the lexical verb *mū*. If the lexical verb in his example is changed there is no semblance of reduplication.

16.7. (Grammatical) *fù*: consequential non-occurrence

*fù* is a grammatical verb which takes as its complement a full clause with an inflected verb and omitted subject. The subject of *fù* is interpreted as the subject of the subordinate verb. The clause with *fù* precedes or follows another clause; this may be a paratactic relationship rather than a relationship of subordination. The interpretation of the pair of clauses is that the *fù* clause describes an eventuality which has as its consequence the non-occurrence (or putting in doubt) of another eventuality, the one described in the non-*fù* clause. We gloss *fù* as IRR to indicate that there is an irrealis element to this construction.

- (145) *ɲí fù āgá*                      *òtʃé dī*                      *ō-tʃī*                      *ɲī*                      *kū*  
 [2S IRR [(N)-pass]]                      dog                      this                      3-bite                      2S                      NEG(N)  
 'Even if you pass, this dog will not bite you.' (said to a person fearful of a dog)

- (146) *má fù ɲī*                      *ṁgbā*  
 [1S IRR [ 2S N-beat ] ]  
*ɲá-à*                      *ādrúpi*                      *ō-fō tà*                      *àlū sáà*                      *kū*  
 2S-POSS                      brother                      3-say thing                      one even                      NEG(N)  
 'I can beat you without your brother saying even a single word.'  
 (said to a person whose big brother forbids him being attacked)

The non-*fù* clause can be omitted; this implies that nothing will happen as a result or in the process of the eventuality represented by the *fù*-clause.

(147) *ńí fù āgá*  
 2S IRR (N)-pass  
 ‘You can pass safely.’ (nothing will happen as a result or in the process)

(148) *má fù ńí `mgbā*  
 1S IRR 2S N-beat  
 ‘I can beat you.’ (nothing will happen as a result or in the process)

Example (149) below can be followed either by (150) or by (151), which illustrate the use of this verb in context. In (151) the non-*fù* clause is omitted.

(149) *óńí ʔà ōdú ùndzĩ*  
 Opi POSS sleep bad  
 ‘Opi is a bad (restless) sleeper.’

(150) *ó-fù tà ōgù ō-ńì kũ*  
 [IND-IRR [thing (N)-steal ]] 3-know NEG(N)  
 (a) ‘Things were stolen without him knowing.’  
 (b) ‘We (you inclusive) stole things without him knowing.’

(151) *ádĩ fù tà ōgù*  
 [IND IRR [ thing (N)-steal ] ]  
 (a) ‘Things can be stolen (without him knowing).’  
 (b) ‘We (you inclusive) can steal things (without him knowing).’

### 16.7.1. Tense agreement

The tense of the *fù*-clause depends on the tense of the non-*fù* clause. Thus if the non-*fù* clause is past, so is the *fù*-clause. *kũrù*, nonpast negation, codes tense in the following examples.

(152) *má fù mũ óńí ō-dzè bārá kũrù*  
 [ 1S IRR [(N)-go] ] Opi 3-wash child NEG(P)  
 (a) ‘Since I left Opi has not washed the baby.’  
 (b) ‘Until I left Opi had not washed the baby.’

- (153) *má fù líná `dī ópí ò-dzè b̄ará kūrù*  
 [1S IRR [ food N-cook ] Opi 3-wash child NEG(P)]  
 'I finished cooking without Opi having washed the baby.'
- (154) *ópí ò-fù èbī nā `dzī , ūkwè rùbià nā kūrù*  
 [Opi 3-IRR [fish AFR N-take]] (3)-pay money AFR NEG(P)]  
 (a) 'Since Opi took her fish, he has not paid her the money.'  
 (b) 'Since Opi took her the fish, she has not paid him the money.'

If the non-*fù* clause is non-past, so is the *fù*-clause. *kūrù*, past negation, codes tense in the following examples.

- (155) *má fù mū ópí ò-dzè b̄ará kūrù*  
 [1S IRR [(N)-go] ] Opi 3-wash child NEG(N)]  
 (a) 'Even if I leave, Opi will not wash the baby.'  
 (b) 'Until I leave Opi will not wash the baby.'
- (156) *má fù líná `dī ópí ò-dzè b̄ará kūrù*  
 [1S IRR [food N-cook]] Opi 3-wash child NEG(N)]  
 'I will even finish cooking without Opi washing the baby.' (I'll cook in vain)
- (157) *kó-fù mū , n' -òlú dī?ā*  
 [3S-IRR [(N)-go]] 2S-stay here  
 (a) 'Until he leaves, you will stay here.' (He will go and come back you will have to be put here, you may go after that)  
 (b) 'Since he left, you have been here.' (He went and came back-you are still here)  
 (c) 'Even if he goes, you will stay here.' (where your leaving is dependent upon my going and returning)

*fù* is directive if the non-*fù*-clause is directive.

- (158) *kò-fù mū , ò-mū ēbù gá kūrù*  
 [3DIR-IRR [(N)-go]] INDDIR-go work LOC NEG(N)]  
 (a) 'Until he leaves, don't go to work.'  
 (b) 'Even if he leaves, don't go to work.' (where your going is dependent upon his going to work)
- (159) *mà fù ē-ŋgwí ópí k-ē-tfá dī?ā kūrù*  
 [1SDIR IRR [(N)-VE-reach]] Opi 3DIR-VE-reach here NEG(N)]  
 'Until I return, Opi should not come here.'

16.7.2. *Characteristics of the non-fù-clause*

The non-*fù* clause most typically has verbal negation with *kū* or *kūrù*.

The non-*fù* clause can also be a question.

- (160) *má fù mū ópí ē-tfá dí?ā rá* '   
 [1S IRR [(N)-go]] Opi (3)-VE-reach here AFF Q   
 (a) 'Since I left, has Opi definitely been here?'   
 (b) 'Until I left, has Opi definitely been here?'

The non-*fù* clause in the following examples indicates an on-going state which is not completed.

- (161) *ópí kó-fù lípá `dí* ,   
 [opi 3-IRR [food N-cook]]   
*ḡ-ōlú búkú àlū rì là-rē* ` *gá*   
 2S-stay book one DEF (N)-read-SB SPEC LOC   
 'Opi will finish cooking while you are still reading the same book.'

- (162) *mà fù mū* , *ḡ-ōlú dí?ā*   
 [1S(DIR) IRR [(N)-go]] 2S-DIR-stay here   
 'Until I leave, stay here.' (until I return, be here; don't move anywhere)

The non-*fù* clause cannot express a completed action.

- (163)\* *má fù mū ópí ē-tfá dí?ā rá*   
 [1S IRR [ go ]] Opi (3)-VE-reach here AFF   
 'Since / until I left, Opi has definitely been here.'

16.7.3. *fù with modal force*

It is also possible to use *fù* with modal force. In this construction *fù* takes as its complement a clause ending in *sì*, the source postposition which here means 'because'. Thus we can see *fù* in this case as taking as its complement a postposition phrase containing a clause. *fù* must be negated with *kūrù*. The inflected form of *fù*, which is *kó-fù*, cannot be used here.

- (164) *má-fù tà ḡā sì kūrù*   
 1S-IRR [ thing (N)-eat ] SR NEG(P)   
 'I have not been able to eat.' (ie. didn't get the time)

- (165) *vù* *ò-fò* *ànì k-ē-dé* *àbírí* *dí*  
 [ earth 3-say [ 3S 3-(N)-VE-fall famine ] ] this  
*ító* *ò-fù* *áná-à* *gárí* *ázi* *sì* *kūrù*  
 [Ito 3-IRR [ 3S-POSS bike (N)-sell ] SR NEG(P)]  
 ‘Following the succumbing of earth to hunger, Ito as a  
 consequence did not sell his bicycle.’

The following example has both the non-modal *fù* and the modal *fù*.

- (166) *ò-fù* *mū* *ópí* *ò-fù* *dzó* *sí* *sì* *kūrù*  
 3-IRR go Opi 3-ACC house N-build SR NEG(P)  
 ‘Since she left, Opi has not been able to build a house.’

*fù* can be directive in this construction, without apparently changing the meaning, but the presence of *kūrù* as a negator of *fù* means that *fù* cannot be inflected in this construction. *kū* cannot be used.

- (167)\* *má-fù* *tà* *ḡā* *sì* *kū*  
 1S-IRR thing (N)-eat SR NEG(N)  
 ‘I have not been able to eat anything.’

#### 16.7.4. *Lexical fù* ‘go out’

There is a lexical verb *fù* which means ‘go (out)’.

- (168) *ò-fù* *driádrū*  
 3-go now  
 ‘He has just gone out.’
- (169) *kò-fù* *àngwé* *kū*  
 3DIR-go out NEG(N)  
 ‘She shouldn’t get out.’

### 16.8. (Grammatical) *kō* : prospective

Prospective *kō* is always inflected. It takes as its complement a clause with an inflected verb and an omitted subject. It expresses prospective meaning, ‘something is about to happen’.

- (170) *má* *kō* *àḡí* *ūḡwē*  
 1S N-PROS [ 2PL (N)-call ]  
 ‘I am about to call you.’

- (171)  $k\acute{a}$   $k\hat{i}$   $k\bar{o}$   $\bar{u}$ - $n\bar{a}$ - $\bar{a}$   
 3 PL (N)-PROS [ (N)-ITER-eat-OBJ ]  
 'They are about to eat them.'

Verbal negation is not possible in these clauses, presumably because the verb  $k\bar{o}$  is always inflected (incompatible with verbal negation). The negation particle  $k\bar{u}$  can only be used with the prospective in contrastive negation: ie. if the clause as a whole is opposed to something else.

- (172)  $m\acute{a}$   $\bar{k}\bar{o}$   $\bar{m}\bar{u}$   $k\bar{u}$  ;  $m\acute{a}$   $l\bar{e}$   $d\bar{e}$ - $l\bar{e}$   $v\bar{u}$  $r\bar{u}$   
 1S N-PROS [ N-go ] NEG(N) 1S want (N)-lie-SB down  
 'I am not about to go; I want to lie down.'

The whole clause can function as a relative clause, though  $k\bar{o}$  (heading the relative) is unsuffixed in this case, and takes a subject, parallel to the relativization of a clause with  $m\bar{u}$ . Note the use of  $n\bar{i}$  as the pronoun in the two examples.

- (173)  $\acute{a}g\acute{o}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\bar{k}\bar{o}$   $\acute{i}z\hat{i}$   $n\bar{i}$   $ndr\bar{e}$   $r\bar{i}$   $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 man [2S N-PROS [wife-DEF PR (N)-see]] DEF Op FOC  
 'The man (you are about to see his wife) is Opi.'

The object of the complement verb can be raised into the  $k\bar{o}$ -clause:

- (174)  $\acute{a}g\acute{o}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\acute{i}z\hat{i}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\bar{k}\bar{o}$   $ndr\bar{e}$   $r\bar{i}$   $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 man [2S wife-DEF PR N-PROS see] DEF Opi FOC  
 'The man whose wife you are about to see is Opi.'

There is another verb  $k\bar{o}$  which expresses sequence, and takes a full clausal complement (16.4.5).

## 16.9. (Grammatical) $z\bar{i}$ : simultaneous action

$z\bar{i}$  takes as its complement a clause which is embedded under the source postposition  $s\bar{i}$ . The clause has an uninflected unsuffixed verb with an omitted subject. The meaning is simultaneity between this eventuality and some other eventuality. The other eventuality can be implied (175), or overt (176).

- (175)  $m\acute{a}$   $\bar{z}\bar{i}$   $l\bar{i}n\acute{a}$   $\bar{d}\bar{i}$   $s\bar{i}$   
 1S N-SIM [ food N-cook ] SR  
 'I will simultaneously be cooking' (eg. while doing your hair)

- (176) *ká síta nā míndrā nā kó-zī rā sí*  
 3 pepper (N)-eat [tears AFR 3-N-SIM leak] SR  
 ‘She was eating pepper as her eyes were (continuing) running’.

Two *zī*-clauses can be put in sequence.

- (177) *kó-zī síta nā sí míndrā nā kó-zī rā sí*  
 [3-N-SIM [pepper eat]] SR [tears AFR 3-N-SIM [leak]] SR  
 ‘She was (continuing) eating pepper as her eyes were (continuing) running’.

Some verbs seem not to be able to be complements to *zī*.

- (178)\* *ògú rì kó-kwī dʒó gá ká kī zī òdú `kō sí*  
 thief DEF 3-N-enter house LOC [3 PL SIM [sleep N-catch] SR]  
 ‘The thief was breaking into the house as they were (continuing) sleeping’
- (179) *ògú rì kó-kwī dʒó gá ká kī zī ndrē-ā sí*  
 thief DEF 3-N-enter house LOC [3 PL SIM [(N)-see-OBJ] SR]  
 ‘The thief was breaking into the house as they were (continuing) watching him.’

### 16.9.1. *The verb zī vs. the fixed adverbial lérù*

There is a temporal modifier *lérù* with a rather similar meaning of co-occurrence; however, while *zī* implies simultaneity, *lérù* can have this meaning but can also imply that one action is put on hold in favour of another action by the speaker. *lérù* is used primarily with directive verbs, and is never used with a past tense verb.

- (180) *ɲì zī `mū sí*  
 2SDIR SIM [N-go] SR  
 (a) ‘(You should) keep on going.’ (I’ll catch up with you; journey is interrupted)  
 (b)\* ‘(You should) go ahead.’ (I will join you later; journey has not started).
- (181) *ɲì mū lérù*  
 2SDIR go meantime  
 (a) ‘(You should) in the meantime keep on going.’ (I’ll catch up with you; journey is interrupted)  
 (b) ‘(You should) go ahead.’ (I will join you later; journey has not started)

- (182) *má*    *zì*            *líná*    *dí*            *sì*  
 1S        N-SIM    [ food        N-cook ] SR  
 ‘(I will do it at the same time as) I continue with cooking food.’  
 (the two events will run simultaneously)

- (183) *má*                            *líná*    *dí*                            *lérù*  
 1S                            [ food        N-cook ]                            meantime  
 ‘I will be cooking in the meantime.’ (I will attend to you later;  
 one event follows the other)

*zì* and *lérù* may be combined together.

- (184) *má*    *zì*            *líná*    *dí*            *sì*    *lérù*  
 1S        N-SIM    [ food        N-cook ] SR        meantime  
 ‘I will continue with cooking in the meantime.’ (when you come  
 I’ll then attend to you)

### 16.10. (Grammatical) *rì* : past habitual

*rì* is uninflected (ie. it has a past interpretation) and takes as its complement a clause with a verb suffixed with *rē* and an omitted subject. The sentence as a whole is interpreted as describing a progressive or habitual action or state which began in the past and continues up to the moment of utterance. *rì* also is a lexical verb ‘sit’.

- (185) *má*    *rì*        *dʒó*    *sì-rē*  
 1S        be [ house    N-build-SB ]  
 (a) ‘I was building a house.’  
 (b) ‘I have been building a house.’
- (186) *má*    *rì*        *dʒó*    *ū-sì-rē*                            *wà*  
 1S        be [ house    (N)-ITER-build-SB        PS ]  
 ‘I used to be able to build houses.’ (habitually able)

The unmarked interpretation with *rì* is progressive; habitual interpretation requires the embedded verb to be prefixed with *ū-* (note that the example then becomes ambiguous between types of present interpretation).

- (187) *ópí*    *ō-rì*            *ḃòṅgú*    *ū-dʒè-rē*  
 Opi 3-be [ clothes (N)-ITER-wash-SB ]  
 (a) ‘Opi was washing clothes.’  
 (b) ‘Opi has been washing clothes.’  
 (c) ‘Opi used to wash clothes.’

The subordinate verb can be  $\bar{\omega}\acute{\iota}$ , which in turn takes a complement with a nonverbal predicate. This allows the expression of a state which began in the past and continues up to the present.

- (188)  $\acute{\omega}\acute{f}\acute{a}$   $\bar{\omega}\text{-}\acute{r}\acute{i}$   $\bar{\omega}\acute{\iota}\text{-}r\bar{e}$   $\bar{a}\acute{?}\acute{a}$   
 war 3-be [ (N)-stay-SB present ]  
 ‘There was (used to be) war.’
- (189)  $m\acute{a}$   $\acute{r}\acute{i}$   $\bar{\omega}\acute{\iota}\text{-}r\bar{e}$   $\acute{l}\acute{a}p\acute{w}\acute{o}\acute{n}\acute{i}$   $k\bar{u}$   
 1S be [ (N)-stay-SB teacher NEG(N) ]  
 ‘I used not to be a teacher.’

There is an implicature that the continuous situation from the past to the present no longer holds; however, this implicature can be cancelled.

- (190)  $\acute{\omega}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{\omega}\text{-}\acute{r}\acute{i}$   $j\bar{i}$   $\acute{t}\bar{e}\text{-}r\bar{e}$   
 Opi 3-be [ 2S N-wait-SB ]  
 ‘Opi was waiting for you.’ (implication: no longer waiting)
- (191)  $\bar{e}s\acute{u}$   $\acute{\omega}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{\omega}\text{-}\acute{r}\acute{i}$   $j\bar{i}$   $\acute{t}\bar{e}\text{-}r\bar{e}$   
 find Opi 3-be [ 2S N-wait-SB ]  
 (a) ‘Opi was waiting for you (at that time).’ (implication: no longer waiting)  
 (b)? ‘Opi has been waiting for you.’
- (192)  $\acute{\omega}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{\omega}\text{-}\acute{r}\acute{i}$   $j\bar{i}$   $\acute{t}\bar{e}\text{-}r\bar{e}$   $\acute{a}d\acute{i}$   $k\acute{a}$   $j\bar{i}$   $\acute{t}\bar{e}$   
 Opi 3-be [ 2S N-wait-SB still ] 3 2S N-wait  
 ‘Opi was waiting for you and is still waiting for you.’

However the implicature cannot be cancelled where the embedded verb is  $\bar{\omega}\acute{\iota}$  with a nonverbal predicate complement

- (193)\*  $\acute{\omega}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{\omega}\text{-}\acute{r}\acute{i}$   $\bar{\omega}\acute{\iota}\text{-}r\bar{e}$   $p\acute{a}d\bar{e}r\bar{e}$   $\acute{a}d\acute{i}$   $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   $p\acute{a}d\bar{e}r\bar{e}$   
 opi 3-be [(N)-stay-SB priest ] still 3S priest  
 ‘Opi used to be a priest and he still is.’

### 16.11. (Grammatical) $\bar{a}p\acute{a}$ : something almost happened

$\bar{a}p\acute{a}$  is always inflected and takes as its complement a clause with a suffixed verb (with  $\acute{l}\acute{e}$  or  $d\acute{z}\acute{o}$  or  $r\bar{e}$ ) or an unsuffixed inflected verb; in all cases the clause lacks an overt subject. There are two possible interpretations.

- (a) The eventuality almost happened (or almost never happened).
- (b) The eventuality happened by chance (in a more restricted range of syntactic structures).

We gloss the verb *āpá* as ‘almost’ (there does not seem to be an equivalent English verb).

- (194) *èbī rì āpá `dī-lé rá*  
fish DEF (3)-almost [ N-cook-SB ] AFF  
(a) ‘The fish certainly chanced to be cooked.’ (unintentionally cooked)  
(b) ‘The fish was definitely almost cooked.’ (was not put on fire or was put but is still uncooked)  
(c) ‘The fish definitely almost cooked it.’
- (195) *ópi āpá mángà nā*  
Opi (3)-almost [ mango (N)-eat ]  
(a) ‘Opi almost ate mango.’  
(b)\* ‘Opi chanced to eat mango.’

*āpá* is found only in the past: uninflected and negated only by *kūrù*.

- (196) *ópi āpá `d3ī-lé rá*  
Opi (3)-almost [ N-take-SB ] AFF  
(a) ‘Opi certainly almost took it.’  
(b) ‘Opi was certainly taken accidentally.’ (Opi accidentally happened to be taken)
- (197) *ópi āpá `d3ī-lé kūrù*  
Opi (3)-almost [ N-go-SB ] NEG(P)  
(a) ‘Opi almost never took it.’  
(b) ‘Opi never chanced to be taken.’
- (198) *ópi āpá `mu-lé kūrù*  
Opi (3)-almost [ N-go-SB ] NEG(P)  
‘Opi almost never went.’
- (199)\* *ópi āpá `mu-lé kū*  
Opi almost [N-go-SB] NEG(N)  
‘Opi is almost not going.’

*āpá* can itself be embedded; in (200-202) it is in a headless relative.

- (200)     *āpá-rē*             *dī-rē*             *rì*     *èbī*     *rì*     *rī*  
 [(N)-chance-SB [ N-cook-SB ] ] DEF fish DEF FOC  
 (a) The one which chanced to be cooked is the fish in question.  
 (b) The one which almost cooked it is the fish in question.
- (201)     *āpá-rē*             *dī-dzó*             *rì*     *èbī*     *rì*     *rī*  
 [(N)-chance-SB [ N-cook-SB ] ] DEF fish DEF FOC  
 (a) 'The one with which it chanced to be cooked is the fish in question.'  
 (b) 'The one with which it was almost cooked is the fish in question.'
- (202)     *āpá-rē*             *dī-lé*             *rì*     *èbī*     *rì*     *rī*  
 [(N)-chance-SB [ N-cook-SB ] ] DEF fish DEF FOC  
 (a) 'The one which chanced to be cooked is the fish in question.'  
 (b) 'The one which was almost cooked is the fish in question.'

The 'almost never happened' interpretation is always available, but the 'chanced to happen' interpretation is more restricted. It does not arise when the embedded verb is inflected and not suffixed (203), when non-possibility *kpé* is used (204), when the subject is indefinite (205), when the embedded verb is intransitive and *rá* is not present (206).

- (203)     *ópi*     *āpá*             *máŋgà*     *nā*  
 Opi (3)-almost [ mango (N)-eat ]  
 (a) 'Opi almost ate mango.'  
 (b)\* 'Opi chanced to eat mango.'
- (204)     *āpá*             *ízi*             *dū-lé*     *kpé*  
 (3)-almost [ wife N-take-SB NPS ]  
 (a) 'He almost never found a wife.'  
 (b)\* 'He chanced never to find a wife.'
- (205)     *āpá*             *ópi*     *nī*     *sū-lé*     *sídzīnì*     *gá*  
 IND-almost [ Opi PR N-put-SB prison LOC ]  
 (a) 'Opi was almost put in prison.'  
 (b)\* 'Opi chanced to be put in prison.'
- (206)     *āpá*             *mū-lé*  
 (3)-almost [N-go-SB]  
 (a) 'She almost went.'  
 (b)\* 'She chanced to go'

- (207)  $\bar{a}p\acute{a}$              $\bar{m}\bar{u}-l\acute{e}$          $r\acute{a}$   
 (3)-almost [N-go-SB]    AFF  
 (a) ‘She certainly almost went.’  
 (b) ‘She certainly chanced to go.’ (she went accidentally)
- (208)  $\bar{a}p\acute{a}$              $\bar{d}\bar{i}-l\acute{e}$   
 (3)-almost [N-cook-SB]  
 (a) ‘She almost cooked (it).’  
 (b) ‘She (or it) chanced to be cooked.’
- (209)  $\bar{a}p\acute{a}$              $\bar{d}\bar{i}-l\acute{e}$          $r\acute{a}$   
 (3)-almost [N-cook-SB]    AFF  
 (a) ‘She certainly almost cooked (it).’  
 (b) ‘She (or it) certainly chanced to be cooked.’

$\bar{a}p\acute{a}$  is found in some idioms, with a subject and no clausal complement, and negated by  $k\bar{u}$ .

- (210)  $\bar{i}$              $n\bar{a}$              $\bar{a}p\acute{a}$              $r\acute{a}$   
 mouth    POSS    (3)-almost    AFF  
 ‘She certainly had a slip of the tongue.’
- (211)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $\bar{?}a$              $d\bar{r}\acute{i}$              $\bar{a}p\acute{a}$              $r\acute{a}$   
 Opi    POSS    hand    (3)-almost    AFF  
 ‘Opi’s hand certainly strayed.’ (eg. he accidentally killed her, he unintentionally took it)
- (212)  $d\bar{r}\acute{i}$              $n\bar{a}$              $k-\bar{a}p\acute{a}$              $k\bar{u}$   
 hand    AFR    3DIR-almost    NEG(N)  
 ‘May her hands not stray.’ (I pray, wish)

## 16.12. Coreference involving arguments in different clauses

### 16.12.1. The use of $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ to force coreference in an unaffixed subordinate clause

In the following sentence in which there is a root verb and an unaffixed subordinate verb, the subject of the root sentence is not coreferential with the subject of the subordinate sentence.

- (213)  $\bar{o}-f\bar{o}$              $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$              $\bar{o}-d\bar{i}$          $\bar{e}\bar{b}\bar{i}$          $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}n\bar{i}$   
 3-say            [ that            3-cook    fish    yesterday ]  
 (a) ‘He [1] said that he [2] cooked fish yesterday.’  
 (b)\* ‘He [1] said that he [1] cooked fish yesterday.’

However, if an NS-pronoun *ānī* or plural *àʔī* is added in pre-subject position (ie. as an adjoined pronominal subject), coreference is now obligatory.

- (214) *ō-fō*            *ámā*    *ānī*            *ō-dī*            *èbī*    *ádʒínī*  
 3-say            [ that    3S            3-cook    fish    yesterday ]  
 (a) 'He [1] said that he [1] cooked fish yesterday.'  
 (b)\* 'He [1] said that he [2] cooked fish yesterday.'

It is noteworthy that *ānī* and *áʔī* cannot appear in this 'adjoined subject' position in a root sentence.

- (215)\* *ānī*    *ō-dī*            *èbī*  
 3S    3-cook    fish  
 'She cooked fish.'

Note also that when *ānī* is used in the adjoined subject position, its final vowel is not deleted (compare first and second person, where it is deleted under identity with the following vowel).

*ānī* is found in subject position both in subordinate and in coordinate clauses.

- (216) *k'ò-fō-ā*                      *k'ò-mū*            *rá*  
 3-N-say-OBJ    [    3-N-go            AFF    ]  
 (a) 'He [1] will say that he [2] will certainly leave.'  
 (b) 'He [1] will say (it) and he [1, 2] will certainly leave.'

- (217) *k'ò-fō-ā*            *ānī*    *k'ò-mū*            *rá*  
 3-N-say-OBJ    [    3S    3-N-go            AFF    ]  
 (a) 'He [1] will say that he [1] will certainly leave.'  
 (b) 'He [1] will say (it) and he [1, 2] will certainly leave.'

When the lower subject is plural, the coreference is overlapping rather than fully coextensive. Thus note the following inclusive reading with a singular upper and plural lower subject.

- (218) *ō-fō*            *ámā*    *àʔī*            *ō-dī*            *èbī*    *ádʒínī*  
 3-say            that    3PL            3-cook    fish    yesterday  
 'He said that they (including he) cooked fish yesterday.'

- (219) *ō-fō*    *kí*    *ámā*    *àʔī*            *ō-dī*            *èbī*    *ádʒínī*  
 3-say    PL    that    3PL            3-cook    fish    yesterday  
 'They said that they (including them or coextensive with them) cooked fish yesterday.'

(220)  $\bar{o}\text{-}\bar{f}\bar{o}$        $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$                        $\bar{o}\text{-}d\bar{i}$        $k\acute{i}$        $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$        $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
 3-say              that                              3-cook      PL      fish      yesterday  
 ‘He said that they (excluding him) cooked fish yesterday.’

(221)  $\bar{o}\text{-}\bar{f}\bar{o}$        $k\acute{i}$        $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$        $\bar{o}\text{-}d\bar{i}$        $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$        $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
 3-say      PL      that      3-cook      fish      yesterday  
 ‘They said that he cooked fish yesterday.’

When  $\grave{a}?\bar{i}$  is used in the upper clause,  $k\acute{i}$  cannot also be used in the lower clause.

(222)  $\bar{o}\text{-}\bar{f}\bar{o}$        $k\acute{i}$        $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$        $\grave{a}?\bar{i}$        $\bar{o}\text{-}d\bar{i}$        $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$        $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
 3-say      PL      that      3PL      3-cook      fish      yesterday  
 ‘They [1] said that they [1] cooked fish yesterday.’

(223)\*  $\grave{a}g\bar{o}$        $r\grave{i}$        $kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\bar{i}$        $dr\bar{u}$        $\bar{o}\text{-}\bar{f}\bar{o}$        $k\acute{i}$        $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$        $\grave{a}?\bar{i}$        $\bar{o}\text{-}d\bar{i}$   
 men      DEF      all      as      3-say      PL      that      3PL      3-cook  
     $k\acute{i}$        $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$        $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
    PL      fish      yesterday  
 ‘All the men [1] (in question) said that they [1] cooked fish yesterday.’

However,  $k\acute{i}$  can be used in the lower clause when there is no adjoined pronoun.

(224)  $\grave{a}g\bar{o}$        $r\grave{i}$        $kw\acute{i}t\acute{f}\bar{i}$        $dr\bar{u}$        $\bar{o}\text{-}\bar{f}\bar{o}$       ( $k\acute{i}$ )       $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$        $\bar{o}\text{-}d\bar{i}$        $k\acute{i}$        $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$        $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
 men      DEF      all      as      3-say      PL      that      3-cook      PL      fish      yesterday  
 ‘All the men [1] (in question) said that they [2] cooked fish yesterday.’

(225)  $\bar{o}\text{-}\bar{f}\bar{o}$        $k\acute{i}$        $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$        $\bar{o}\text{-}d\bar{i}$                        $k\acute{i}$        $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$        $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
 3-say      PL      that      3-cook                      PL      fish      yesterday  
 (a) ‘They [1] said that they [2] (excluding him) cooked fish yesterday.’  
 (b)\* ‘They [1] said that they [1] cooked fish yesterday.’

### 16.12.2. Coreference with the subject in a subordinate suffixed clause with *-lé*

Where the subordinate verb has a suffix *-lé*, the subordinate subject is null. In these clauses, there is normally no coreference between the root and subordinate subject.

- (226) *má* *lè-ā* *ḡnā-lé* *rá*  
 1S (N)-want-OBJ N-eat-SB AFF  
 (a)?\* 'I will certainly want to eat it.' (subject control)  
 (b) 'I will certainly want it to be eaten.'

However, if *ānī* is added, coreference becomes an option.

- (227) *má* *lè-ā* *ānī* *ḡnā-lé* *rá*  
 1S (N)-want-OBJ 3S N-eat-SB AFF  
 (a) 'I will certainly want to eat it.' (subject control)  
 (b) 'I will certainly want it to be eaten.'

### 16.12.3. Coreference with the subordinate subject when the subordinate clause is a nonverbal predicate

Where *ānī* is the subject of a subordinate nonverbal clause, it can optionally be interpreted as coreferential with the root subject.

- (228) *ō-fō* *ámā* *ānī* *làpwóní*  
 3-say [ that 3S teacher ]  
 'He [1] said he [1, 2] is a teacher.'
- (229) *k'ò-fō-ā* *ámā* *ānī* *làpwóní*  
 3-N-say-OBJ [ that 3S teacher ]  
 (a) 'He [1] says that he [1, 2] is a teacher.'  
 (b) 'He [1] will have to say that he [1, 2] is a teacher.'
- (230) *ō-fō* *ámā* *ānī* *ēsú* *làpwóní*  
 3-say [ that 3S find teacher ]  
 'He [1] said he [1, 2] was (at that time) a teacher.'

Note that there is no possibility of having an additional NS-paradigm pronoun (as in 16.12.1).

- (231)\* *ō-fō* *ámā* *ānī* *ānī* *làpwóní*  
 3-say that 3S 3S teacher  
 'He [1] said he [1,2] is a teacher.'

The reflexive pronoun *rū* can be used instead.

- (232) *ōfō* *ámā* *rū* *làpwòṅí*  
 3-say that REFL teacher(P)  
 'He said we (including you) are teachers.'

## 16.12.4. Coreference between two subordinate clauses: no restrictions

There are no coreference restrictions between a clausal subject and a clausal predicate.

- (233)  $\bar{a}n\acute{a}-\grave{a}$   $\bar{e}-d\acute{z}\acute{i}-d\acute{z}\acute{o}$   $r\grave{i}$   $\bar{a}n\acute{a}-\grave{a}$   $l\grave{a}z\acute{a}$   $r\grave{i}$   $\bar{r}\acute{i}$   
 [3S-POSS (N)-VE-bring-SB DEF] [3S-POSS illness DEF] FOC  
 (a) ‘When she [1] brought her [2] it was because of her [1, 2] illness.’  
 (b) ‘Why she [1] brought her [2] was because of her [1, 2] illness.’

- (234)  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   $\bar{e}-d\acute{z}\acute{i}-d\acute{z}\acute{o}$   $r\grave{i}$   $\bar{a}n\acute{a}-\grave{a}$   $l\grave{a}z\acute{a}$   $r\grave{i}$   $\bar{r}\acute{i}$   
 [3S (N)-VE-bring-SB DEF] [3S-POSS illness DEF] FOC  
 (a) ‘When she [1] was brought was because of her [1, 2] illness.’  
 (b) ‘Why she [1] was brought was her [1, 2] illness.’

- (235)  $\bar{a}n\acute{a}-\grave{a}$   $\bar{e}-d\acute{z}\acute{i}-d\acute{z}\acute{o}$   $r\grave{i}$   
 [3S-POSS (N)-VE-bring-SB DEF]  
 $\bar{a}n\acute{a}-\grave{a}$   $\bar{o}l\acute{u}-k\bar{a}$   $v\grave{u}r\acute{u}$   $v\grave{u}r\acute{u}$   $n\bar{i}$   $s\bar{i}$   
 [3S-POSS (N)-stay-SB down down ] PR SR  
 (a) ‘When she[1] brought her [2] it was because of her[1, 2] continuous staying in bed.’  
 (b) ‘Why she[1] brought her [2] was because of her [1, 2] continuous staying in bed.’

## 16.12.5. Coreference and first and second person

The root and subordinate subjects can be coreferential if they are both first person or both second person. Both ‘long’ and ‘short’ forms of the first and second person pronouns can be used in the lower clause.

- (236)  $m\acute{a}$   $f\bar{o}$   $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$   $m\acute{a}$   $d\bar{i}$   $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}d\acute{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
 1S say [ that 1S cook fish yesterday ]  
 ‘I said that I cooked fish yesterday.’

- (237)  $m\acute{a}$   $f\bar{o}$   $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$   $\acute{a}$   $d\bar{i}$   $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}d\acute{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$   
 1S say [ that 1S cook fish yesterday ]  
 ‘I said that I cooked fish yesterday.’

16.12.6. *Coreference with the subordinate object in a subordinate clause with -rē*

In the following examples the modified noun can be optionally coreferential with the object *ānī*. This is similar to the relation between subject and object *ānī* in the same clause.

(238) *áǵó nǎà ílí kè-rē ānī ní rì ǵí*  
 man(S) [2S-POSS knife (N)-give-SB 3S BEN] DEF FOC  
 ‘the man [1] who gave your knife for her [2] / himself [1]’

(239) *àǵō nǎ-à ílí kè-ǵá àǵí ní rì ǵí*  
 men(PL) [2S-POSS knife (N)-give-SB(PL) 3PL BEN] DEF FOC  
 ‘the men [1] who gave your knife to them [2] / themselves [1]’

With *lákā* coreference between root subject and embedded object is no longer possible.

(240) *áǵó nǎ-à ílí kè-rē lákā rì ǵí*  
 man [2S-POSS knife (N)-give-SB PRBEN] DEF FOC  
 (a) ‘the man [1] who gave your knife to her [2]’  
 (b)\* ‘the man [1] who gave your knife to himself [1]’  
 (c) ‘the man [1] who you gave a knife {to / for} him [1]’

(241) *áǵó ílí kè-rē lákā rì ǵí*  
 man [knife (N)-give-SB PRBEN] DEF FOC  
 (a) ‘the man [1] who gave a knife to her [2]’  
 (b)\* ‘the man [1] who gave a knife to himself [1]’  
 (c)\* ‘the man [1] who you gave a knife {to / for} him [1]’

Coreference is not possible between the subject of a root clause and the object of a clause interpreted as a temporal modifier.

(242) *mǎ-à ānī ndrē-rē rì ǵ-sū sǎtì ǵkā*  
 [1S-POSS 3S (N)-see-SB DEF] 3-wear shirt red  
 ‘When I saw him [1] he [2] was wearing a red shirt.’

Note however that coreference is possible if the lower object is implicit.

(243) *mǎ-à ndrē-rē rì ǵ-sū sǎtì ǵkā*  
 [1S-POSS (N)-see-SB DEF] 3-wear shirt red  
 ‘When I saw him [1] he [1, 2] was wearing a red shirt.’

## Chapter 17

### Modals and negation

This chapter discusses a group of words which have similar syntax, and express modality and affirmation/negation:

<i>rá</i>	expressing affirmation, completion (and perhaps also necessity)
<i>wà</i>	possibility
<i>kpé</i>	non possibility
<i>kū</i>	non-past negation
<i>kūrù</i>	past negation

These words are found 'bare' and also in combination with the definite article *rì*. The structure with *rì* is discussed in detail in the Focus chapter (19.11).

#### 17.1. *rá* : affirmation, certainty

The word *rá* comes at the end of the sentence. The sentence can be interpreted as past or future (depending on the verb, uninflected or inflected respectively). The sentence cannot have a present interpretation, even if the verb is inflected (nonpast). This has the consequence that if *rá* is combined with an inflected (nonpast) verb, the sentence can only have a future interpretation.

*rá* has three meanings:

- (a) *rá* affirms an eventuality, perhaps with some sense of personal endorsement that it has happened or will happen, thus with some kind of evidential force.
- (b) *rá* functions as a modal of necessity: it can be used to indicate that something must take place.
- (c) *rá* is a 'generic completive' indicating the completion of an eventuality.

Meanings (a) and (b) are clearly related, and are the 'modal' meanings of *rá*. These meanings differentiate it as an affirmative form from negative *kū* or *kūrù*, and as a necessity form from possibility *wà*. Meaning (c) is more like an aspectual meaning, forcing a perfective interpretation on a clause. This might explain why *rá* is not found in a sentence with a present tense interpretation because the present is always imperfective in

Ma'di. In its completive meaning it can act as a generic substitute for other completive particles which are specifically selected by verbs (18.2.2.1). We gloss *rá* as AFF for 'affirmative' and we translate it into English as 'certainly' or 'definitely' or 'really' or sometimes by stressing part of the sentence.

Crazzarola (1960: 97) describes the Logbara cognate *rá* as expressing definiteness or determination, the idea that an action has actually taken place, or that a state really exists or will have to take place.' Djuruni (1983: 87) translates Logbara *rá* into French as 'effectivement'.

### 17.1.1. *rá* as an 'affirmative'

The affirmative effect of *rá* can be seen in the following sentence where it is put in contrast to *kūrù* (past negation).

- (1) *ēsú í-dzē rá òlè í-dzē kūrù*  
 find 2S-buy AFF or 2S-buy NEG(P)  
 'whether you have paid or you have not paid for it'

Given the affirmative force of *rá*, it is worth noting that *rá* can come at the end of a sentence which begins with conditional *d3ò*.

- (2) *d3ò ópí ē-mú rá kò-vū àtǝí*  
 if Opi (3)-VE-go AFF 3DIR-blow fire  
 'If Opi definitely comes let him light a fire.'
- (3) *d3ò ópí k-ē-mú rá kò-vū àtǝí*  
 if Opi 3DIR-VE-go AFF 3DIR-blow fire  
 (a) 'Should Opi definitely come, let him light a fire.'  
 (b) 'Should Opi come, he should light a fire.'
- (4) *d3ò ópí kò-sí d3ó rá jì fō má ní*  
 if Opi 3DIR-build house AFF 2SDIR say 1S BEN  
 (a)\* 'If Opi definitely built a house (you should) tell me.'  
 (b) 'Should Opi definitely build a house (you should) tell me.'

Like all sentences, a sentence ending in *rá* can take a final high tone, turning it into a yes-no question (20.3.1).

- (5) *jí sí wárāgà rá* ´  
 2S write letter AFF Q  
 'Have you definitely written a letter?'

17.1.2. *rá* as a ‘certainty modal’

*rá* expresses the meaning that something definitely happened, or definitely will happen. In this sense it has epistemic modal force.

*rá* is found in the past.

- (6) *má mū ēbù gá*  
 1S go work LOC  
 ‘I had gone to work.’ (that’s why you didn’t get me)

- (7) *má mū ēbù gá rá*  
 1S go work LOC AFF  
 ‘I did go to work.’ (I was certainly there)

*rá* is also found in the future.

- (8) *má `mū ēbù gá òbù*  
 1S N-go work LOC tomorrow  
 ‘I will go to work tomorrow.’

- (9) *má `mū ēbù gá rá*  
 1S N-go work LOC AFF  
 ‘I will go to work.’ (I will certainly be there)

In directive sentences *rá* expresses a strengthening of the obligation carried by the directive.

- (10) *kò-mū*  
 3DIR-go  
 ‘She should go.’

- (11) *kò-mū rá*  
 3DIR-go AFF  
 ‘She should definitely go.’ (ensure that she goes)

- (12) *ḡì bà ópí kò-mū sùkùrù gá*  
 2SDIR allow Opi 3DIR-go school LOC  
 ‘(You should) let Opi go to school.’

- (13) *ḡì bà ópí kò-mū sùkùrù gá rá*  
 2SDIR allow Opi 3DIR-go school LOC AFF  
 ‘(You should) ensure that Opi goes to school.’

17.1.3. *rá* expresses a meaning of 'this eventuality is completed'

The following sentences bring out the meaning of 'completeness' with *rá*.

- (14) *ópi ē-dzé `ηmā-rē rì rī*  
 Opi (3)-VE-buy [ N-rot-SB ] DEF FOC  
 'Opi bought the one which is rotting / getting rotten.'
- (15) *ópi ē-dzé `ηmā-rē rá rì rī*  
 Opi (3)-VE-buy [ N-rot-SB AFF ] DEF FOC  
 'Opi bought a rotten one.'
- (16) *ópi ē-dzé `dī-lé rì rī*  
 Opi (3)-VE-buy [ N-cook-SB ] DEF FOC  
 'Opi bought the one which is for cooking / to be cooked.'
- (17) *ópi ē-dzé `dī-lé rá rì rī*  
 Opi (3)-VE-buy [ N-cook-SB AFF ] DEF FOC  
 'Opi bought an already cooked one.'
- (18) *ìlédī bārā `tī-lé rá rì drī rī*  
 that child [ N-born-SB AFF ] DEF POSS FOC  
 'That's for a child already born.'
- (19) *dè ū-ndzī b̀̀ngú ō-kó rá ànì vù b̀̀rú*  
 if (3)-ITER-take off clothes 3-finish AFF 3PL go(PL) home  
 'After stripping off your clothes, you go home.'

While *rá* expresses a general meaning of 'completeness' it does not express telicity. Thus *rá* cannot be used to distinguish between an action which has reached its endpoint and one which has not. For example, one can 'climb a mountain' where one either does or does not reach the top; using *rá* does not make a difference; it is compatible with either interpretation, and just expresses certainty here.

- (20) *má tū b́́e drī gá rá*  
 1S climb mountain on LOC AFF  
 'I certainly climbed a mountain.' (either to the top or just partway)

17.1.3.1. *rá* compared with ‘extremity adverbials’

There is a set of final particles which express the fact that something has happened to a certain degree or extent. We call these ‘extremity adverbials’. They express meanings such as completeness of closure, extent of dispersal, length of time, depth, etc., in all cases expressing a far extremity. They have something in common with *rá*, which also expresses the completeness of an action.

When compared with these, we can see that *rá* fundamentally functions to affirm that the action has taken place or will take place and does not compete with these adverbials in expressing the ‘extremity’ of the action.

(21) *má*      *sò-ā*                      *ndī*  
 1S      (N)-spear-OBJ      COM  
 ‘I will spear it firmly.’ (ie. with the spear protruding from it)

(22) *má*      *sò-ā*                                      *rá*  
 1S      (N)-spear-OBJ                      AFF  
 ‘I will definitely spear it.’

(23) *má*      *sò-ā*                      *ndī*      *rá*  
 1S      (N)-spear-OBJ      COM      AFF  
 ‘I will definitely spear it firmly.’

(24) *ópi*      *ō-mvū*      *rū*                      *dé*  
 Opi      3-drink      REFL                      COM  
 ‘Opi is completely drunk.’

(25) *ópi*      *ō-mvū*      *rū*                      *kúfúkúfú*  
 Opi      3-drink      REFL                      COM  
 ‘Opi is completely drunk.’

(26) *ópi*      *ō-mvū*      *rū*                      *rá*  
 Opi      3-drink      REFL                      AFF  
 ‘Opi certainly did drink.’

The extremity adverbial indicates that the result of the eventuality still holds. Unlike *rá* it does not strongly affirm that the eventuality certainly took place.

(27) *bìlò*      *ēgwè*      *rá*  
 sheep      lost      AFF  
 ‘A sheep definitely got lost.’ (strongly affirmed)

- (28) *bìlò* *ēgwè* *dì*  
 sheep lost COM  
 'A sheep is lost.' (less strongly affirmed)

#### 17.1.4. *rá* and tense

*rá* is generally not compatible with a present-tense interpretation. In fact, it is one of the means used to differentiate a present from a future reading, as in the following subordinate clause.

- (29) *dʒò ópí ká dʒó `sī rá jì fō má ní*  
 [if Opi 3 house N-build AFF] 2SDIR say 1S BEN  
 'If Opi will build a house, you should tell me.'
- (30) *dʒò ópí ká dʒó `sī jì fō má ní*  
 [if Opi 3 house N-build ] 2SDIR say 1S BEN  
 'If Opi is building a house, you should tell me.'

A present tense sentence can express the incipience of an event (hence a kind of implied future), but in contrast the sentence with *rá* expresses the futurity of an event in terms of its being certain to happen.

- (31) *jì mū*  
 2S N-go Q  
 'Are you going?' (Are you willing to go?)
- (32) *jì mū rá*  
 2S N-go AFF Q  
 'Will you definitely go?' (Is it certain?)

When we compare an extremity adverb with *rá*, we see that the extremity adverb is compatible with a present tense interpretation (perhaps with an 'incipience' interpretation), and thus differs from *rá*.

- (33) *má gálámù dī vī*  
 1S pen this (N)-throw  
 'I am throwing this pen.'
- (34) *má gálámù dī vī pí*  
 1S pen this (N)-throw COM  
 'I am throwing away this pen.' (immediate future)
- (35) *má gálámù dī vī rá*  
 1S pen this (N)-throw AFF  
 'I will certainly throw away this pen.' (more distant future)

Similarly, the extremity adverbial can be used in running commentary, which is a kind of narrative present, while *rá* cannot.

- (36) *líá* *ʔà* *àrí* *kó-tì* *èbì* *k'ò-mbē-ā* *pí*  
 Lia POSS blood 3-(N)-drip Lion 3-N-lick-OBJ COM  
 (a) '(As) Lia's blood drips, Lion licks it up.'  
 (b) 'Lia's blood is dripping, Lion is licking it up.'

- (37) *líá* *ʔà* *àrí* *kó-tì,* *èbì* *k'ò-mbē-ā* *rá*  
 Lia POSS blood 3-(N)-drip Lion 3-N-lick-OBJ AFF  
 (a)\* '(As) Lia's blood drips, Lion will lick it up.'  
 (b)\* 'Lia's blood is dripping, Lion is licking it up.'  
 (Both the above are acceptable when interpreted as two different sentences. Lia's blood is dripping. Lion will lick it.)

Note that *rá* can be used with the small set of stative verbs which when uninflected have past or present tense interpretations. Thus (b) is apparently a 'present' with *rá*. This suggests that the 'present' interpretation here arises pragmatically rather than as part of the syntax of tense; hence in the (b) reading *rá* is still combined with a past (uninflected) verb even though there is an implicature of present.

- (38) *má* *lè* *ìrá* *rá*  
 1S want beer AFF  
 (a) 'I (had) certainly wanted beer.'  
 (b) 'I certainly want beer.'  
 (c)\* 'I certainly will want beer.'

- (39) *má* *lè* *ìrá*  
 1S want beer  
 (a) 'I (had) wanted beer.'  
 (b) 'I want beer.'  
 (c)\* 'I will want beer.'

#### 17.1.4.1. *rá rì* is incompatible with present tense

Like *rá*, the combination *rá rì* is found in past and future sentences, but is not found in present tense sentences.

- (40) *rá* *rì* *má* *`mū* *ēbù* *gá* *mā* *ʔí*  
 AFF DEF 1S N-go work LOC 1S FOC  
 'The one who will definitely go to work will be me.'

(41)  $\eta' - \bar{e}l\acute{o}$      $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$      $r\acute{a}$      $\grave{r}\grave{i}$      $\acute{a}\bar{u}$   
 2S-touch    what    AFF    DEF    FOC  
 'What is it that you have definitely touched?'

(42)  $r\acute{a}$      $\grave{r}\grave{i}$      $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $k' \acute{o} - \eta\bar{a} - \bar{a}$      $\grave{n}\grave{i}$   
 AFF    DEF    Opi    3-N-eat-OBJ    FOC  
 (a) 'The one who is going to eat it is Opi.'  
 (b)\* 'Opi is the one who is eating it.'

However, note reading (44c) below, where the 'incipient' reading is apparently compatible with  $r\acute{a} \grave{r}\grave{i}$  (a reading not compatible with  $r\acute{a}$  on its own).

(43)                                     $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $k' \acute{o} - \eta\bar{a} - \bar{a}$      $r\acute{a}$   
     Opi    3-N-eat-OBJ    FOC  
 (a) 'Opi will eat it.'  
 (b)\* 'Opi is eating it.'  
 (c)\* 'Opi is about to eat it.'

(44)  $r\acute{a}$      $\grave{r}\grave{i}$      $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $k' \acute{o} - \eta\bar{a} - \bar{a}$      $\grave{n}\grave{i}$   
 AFF    DEF    Opi    3-N-eat-OBJ    FOC  
 (a) 'The one who will definitely eat it is Opi.'  
 (b)\* 'The one who is definitely eating it is Opi.'  
 (c) 'The one who is definitely about to eat it is Opi.'

### 17.1.5. $r\acute{a}$ in a subordinate clause

$r\acute{a}$  can come at the end of a relative clause.

(45)  $\acute{a}\eta\bar{i} - \acute{a}$      $f\bar{o} - l\acute{e}$      $r\acute{a}$      $\grave{r}\grave{i}$   
 [ 3PL-POSS    (N)-say-SB    AFF ]    DEF  
            $g\acute{a}r\grave{i}$      $\grave{r}\grave{i}$      $\eta\grave{a}$      $\eta\grave{o} - k\bar{a}$                         $\eta\bar{i}$   
           bicycle    DEF    POSS    (N)-break-SB    SPEC    FOC  
 'What they did mention for certain was the bicycle (in question) breaking.'

(46)  $\acute{a}\eta\bar{i} - \acute{a}$      $f\bar{o} - l\acute{e}$                                      $\grave{r}\grave{i}$   
 [ 3PL-POSS    (N)-say-SB                                    ]    DEF  
            $g\acute{a}r\grave{i}$      $\grave{r}\grave{i}$      $\eta\grave{a}$      $\eta\grave{o} - k\bar{a}$                         $\eta\bar{i}$   
           bicycle    DEF    POSS    (N)-break-SB    SPEC    FOC  
 (a) 'What they mentioned was the bicycle (in question) breaking.'  
 (b) 'What they mention is the bicycle (in question) breaking.'

*rá* can also come at the end of a complement clause.

(47) *má lè mū-lé rá*  
 1S want [ (N)-go-SB AFF ]  
 'I want definitely to go.' (The going is certain but is likely not to be immediately.)

(48) *má lè mū-lé*  
 1S want [ (N)-go-SB ]  
 'I want to go.' (The going is likely to be immediate.)

### 17.1.6. Initial *rá*

*rá* can appear on its own in initial position, followed by a pause. This option is only barely acceptable, but may perhaps be understood as involving an ellipped article *rì*. It functions to assert that something has taken place, followed by a description of what has taken place.

(49) ?\* *rá , ópí ē-mú nì*  
 AFF Opi (3)-VE-go FOC  
 'It has taken place, Opi has come.'

In contrast, *kū* in sentence initial position is interpreted as 'no'. Unlike *rá*, the words *wà*, *kpé* and *kūrù* can all be sentence-initial with the LOW-*ṛí* focus construction.

### 17.1.7. *rá rá*

*rá* can be reduplicated like other words and phrases, to form an adverbial. It has slightly different tense properties when reduplicated (18.2.5.2).

## 17.2. *wà*: possibility

*wà* appears in sentence-final position and is compatible with all tenses. *wà* appears to offer four possible interpretations, depending on other aspects of the structure. The four interpretations are:

- (a) possibility
- (b) permission, with some indication also of obligation (inflected/nonpast only)
- (c) ability (the ability of the subject)
- (d) something is done to perfection, with the effect that it causes awe or admiration (uninflected/past only)

The following sentence illustrates the first three types of interpretation.

- (50) *má gáɾì tū wà*  
 1S bicycle (N)-tread PS  
 (a) 'It is possible for me to ride a bicycle.'  
 (b) 'I am allowed to ride a bicycle.'  
 (c) 'I can ride a bicycle.'  
 (d)\* 'I rode a bicycle to perfection.'

The 'to perfection' interpretation is illustrated below.

- (51) *líǵá ɔ-ɲā rū wà*  
 food 3-eat REFL PS  
 'The food has really been eaten.' (either by us or by others, as a result we/they are completely full or a significant amount has been eaten)

With the 'to perfection' interpretation, compare *wà* with 'completion' *rá*.

- (52) *líǵá ɔ-ɲā rū rá*  
 food 3-eat REFL AFF  
 'The food has really been eaten.' (either by us or by others; as a result we (they) are completely full or a significant amount of the food has been eaten)

### 17.2.1. *wà and tense*

#### 17.2.1.1. Interpretation of *wà* with an uninflected (past) verb

If the verb is uninflected, the 'to perfection' reading is generally available. The 'permission' reading tends not to be available. The 'possibility' and 'ability' interpretations are available in some sentences and not in others, apparently depending on the object.

The following sentence has *wà* and an uninflected verb with an implied object.

- (53) *ō-sī wà*  
 3-build PS  
 (a)\* 'It was possible for him to build it.'  
 (b)\* 'He is allowed to build it.'  
 (c)? 'He was able to build (it).'  
 (d) 'He really built it.' (implying the artistry was admirable, or that he spent a long time on it, or built multiple things)

The following sentence has wà and an uninflected verb whose object is headed by a noun.

- (54) *ídré* *ṣ-jā* *ìzá* *rì* *wà*  
 rat 3-eat meat DEF PS  
 (a)\* 'It was possible for rats to eat the meat (in question)  
 (b)\* 'Rats were allowed to eat the meat in question.'  
 (c)\* 'Rats were able to eat the meat (in question).'  
 (d) 'Rats really ate the meat (in question).' (till they were completely full or a significant amount was eaten)

The following is the same sentence, but here the object is headless and the noun is a modifier within the headless phrase.

- (55) *ídré* *ṣ-jā* *ìzá* *rì* *wà*  
 rat 3-eat meat DEF PS  
 (a) 'It was possible for rats to eat the meaty one.'  
 (b)\* 'Rats were allowed to eat the meaty one.'  
 (c) 'Rats were able to eat the meaty one.'  
 (d) 'Rats really ate the meaty one.'

The following sentence has wà and an uninflected verb with a definite object, but with èndrù 'today' coming between the object and wà.

- (56) *ídré* *ṣ-jā* *ìzá* *rì* *èndrù* *wà*  
 rat 3-eat meat DEF today NPS  
 (a) 'It was possible for rats to eat the meat (in question) today.'  
 (b)\* 'Rats were allowed to eat the meat (in question) today.'  
 (c) 'Rats were able to eat the meat (in question) today.'  
 (d) 'Rats really ate the meat (in question) today.' (ie. till they were completely full or ate a significant proportion of it)

The following sentence has wà and an uninflected verb with a definite but predictable object.

- ṣ-sí* *d3ó* *rì* *wà*  
 3-build house DEF PS  
 (a) 'It was possible for him to build the house (in question).'  
 (b)\* 'He was allowed to build the house (in question).'  
 (c) 'She was able to build the house (in question).'  
 (d) 'She built the house to perfection.'

The next sentence is the same, except that the determiner is *dí*.

- (57)  $\bar{o}-s\bar{i}$      $d_3\acute{o}$      $d\grave{i}$      $w\grave{a}$   
 3-build    house    this    PS  
 (a) 'It was possible for him to build this house.'  
 (b)\* 'He was allowed to build this house.'  
 (c)\* 'She was able to build this house.'  
 (d) 'She built this house to perfection.' (or several houses)

The following sentence has  $w\grave{a}$  and an uninflected verb with an indefinite and predictable object.

- (58)  $\bar{o}-s\bar{i}$      $d_3\acute{o}$      $w\grave{a}$   
 3-build    house    PS  
 (a) 'It was possible for him to build a house.'  
 (b)\* 'He was allowed to build a house.'  
 (c) 'She was able to build a house.' (contrary to expectations)  
 (d) 'She built the house to perfection.'

Finally we see the following contrast involving intransitive and transitive verbs in a subordinate clause; we assume that  $w\grave{a}$  is in the root clause.

- (59)  $n-\acute{e}b\bar{e}-\bar{a}$      $k\acute{o}-m\bar{u}$      $w\grave{a}$   
 2S-(N)-allow-OBJ    [3-N-go]    ] PS  
 'You can (or may) let her go.'
- (60)\*  $n-\acute{e}b\bar{e}-\bar{a}$      $k\acute{a}$      $d_3\acute{o}$      $\bar{s}\bar{i}$      $w\grave{a}$   
 2S-(N)-allow-OBJ    [3    house    N-build] PS  
 'You can (or may) let her build a house.'

#### 17.2.1.2. Interpretation of $w\grave{a}$ with an inflected (nonpast) verb

If the verb is inflected (ie. nonpast), the 'possibility', 'permission' and 'ability' interpretations tend to be possible, but the 'perfection' interpretation is not, presumably because this requires the event to have been completed in the past.

- (61)  $k\acute{a}$      $d_3\acute{o}$      $\bar{i}$      $\bar{s}\bar{i}$      $w\grave{a}$   
 3    house DEF    (N)-build    PS  
 (a) 'It will be possible for him to build the house (in question)'  
 (b) 'He will be allowed to build the house (in question).'  
 (c) 'He can build the house (in question).'  
 (d)\* 'He can really build a house (in question).'

A past interpretation is available with an inflected verb by the use of *ēsú*; now the ‘to perfection’ reading is also possible.

- (62) *ēsú*      *ɲí*      *`mū*      *wà*  
 find      2S      N-go      PS  
 (a) ‘It should have been possible for you to go.’  
 (b) ‘You should have been allowed to go.’  
 (c) ‘You should have been able to go.’  
 (d) ‘You can really go.’

### 17.2.2. *wà* at the end of a subordinate clause

*wà* can be the final element in a subordinate clause, ambiguous between past and present in this example.

- (63)      *ɲá-à*      *ēlɔ́-lé*      *wà*      *ɾì*      *àdī*      *ɸ̃*  
 [ 2S-POSS (N)-touch-SB PS ] DEF who FOC  
 (a) ‘Who is the one that you can touch?’  
 (b) ‘Who is the one that you were able to touch?’

### 17.2.3. Initial *wà*

The particle *wà*, like *kpé* and *kūrù*, can appear in sentence-initial position followed by a pause and with the sentence which follows ending in LOW-*ɸ̃*.

- (64) *wà* ,      *ɲí*      *`mū*      *ɸ̃*  
 PS      2S      N-go      SPEC FOC  
 (a) ‘It is possible for you to go.’  
 (b) ‘You can go.’

### 17.2.4. Tucker on *wà*

Tucker says that *wà* is attached to the verb in Lokai and separated in Panderiki (ie. the ‘Burulo dialect). We have found no evidence for attachment to the verb in any dialect. It may be that Tucker is reinterpreting the fact that Lokai differs from ‘Burulo in that it can have object-verb order, where the verb is capable of being followed immediately by *wà*.

**17.3. *kpé*: non-possibility**

*kpé* appears at the end of the sentence and is found with all tenses. *kpé* is the negative counterpart of *wà* and expresses non-possibility. The relation between *kpé* and *wà* is illustrated below.

- (65) *ɲ-é-kè-ā*                      *má*    *ní*    *wà*    *òlè*    *kpé*  
 2S-(N)-VE-give-OBJ    1S    BEN    PS    or    NPS  
 (a) 'Can you give me some or not?'  
 (b) 'Are you able to give me some or not?'

Like *wà*, a sentence with *kpé* has a number of possible interpretations:

- (a) non-possibility
- (b) non-permission
- (c) non-ability
- (d) something is done in vain (an interpretation allowed for some verbs but not others)

The four interpretations are shown below. Interpretation (d) is clearer when the subject is not first person.

- (66) *má*    *ɲí*    *tè*                      *kpé*  
 1S    2S    (N)-wait    NPS  
 (a) 'It is not possible for me to wait for you.'  
 (b) 'I can't wait for you.' (because I am not permitted to)  
 (c) 'I am not able to wait for you.'  
 (d) 'I will wait for you in vain.' (I will spend time waiting, but it will be in vain.)

Some verbs do not allow the 'in vain' interpretation.

- (67) *ká*    *bārá*    *dì*    *ndzì*                      *kpé*  
 3    child    this    (N)-carry    NPS  
 (a) 'It is not possible that she carries the child.'  
 (b) 'She can't carry this child.' (permission reading)  
 (c) 'She is not able to carry this child.'  
 (d)\* 'She will carry this child in vain.'

The 'in vain' meaning can alternatively be communicated by the use of *ìsā*; here there is no meaning of ability.

- (68) *má*                      *mū*                      *ìsā*  
 1S                      N-go                      only  
 (a)\* 'I can't go.' (ability)  
 (b) 'I will go / am going in vain.'  
 (c) 'I will go / am going for no apparent reason.'

17.3.1. *kpé and tense*

All four interpretations are available when the verb is inflected. When the verb is uninflected, only the ‘in vain’ interpretation is available.

- (69) *má* *tè* *jĩ* *kpé*  
 1S wait 2S NPS  
 (a)\* ‘It was not possible for me to wait for you.’  
 (b)\* ‘I was unable to wait for you.’  
 (c) ‘I waited for you in vain.’

It is possible to express the meaning ‘was unable to’ in the following way.

- (70) *má* *mà* *jì* *tè-lé* *kpé* *ádẓíní* *ĩ*  
 1S try 2S (N)-wait-SB NPS yesterday SPEC FOC  
 (a) ‘I was not able to wait for you yesterday.’  
 (b) ‘I tried in vain to wait for you yesterday.’

Unexpectedly, *kpé* cannot terminate the uninflected verb. In this it differs from the other modals/negation/affirmation particles.

- (71)\* *ópi* *ō-drà* *kpé*  
 Opi 3-die NPS  
 ‘Opi could not die.’  
 (72) *ópi* *kó-drà* *kpé*  
 Opi 3-(N)-die NPS  
 ‘Opi can’t die.’

17.3.2. *kpé at the end of a subordinate clause*

*kpé* can come at the end of a subordinate clause, such as the following headless relative clauses.

- (73) *jĩ* *ḡnā-ā* *kpé* *rì* *àdūḡgání*  
 [2S N-eat-OBJ NPS ] DEF when  
 ‘When is it that you won’t be able to eat it?’  
 (74) *ídré* *ḡà* *mà-lé* *ḡnā-lé* *kpé* *rì* *ìzá* *rì* *ĩ*  
 [rat POSS (N)-try-SB N-eat-SB NPS] DEF meat DEF FOC  
 ‘What rats were not able to eat was the meat (in question).’

### 17.3.3. *Initial kpé*

The particle *kpé* (like *wà* and *kūrù*) can appear in sentence-initial position followed by a pause and with the sentence which follows ending in LOW-*ʔi*.

- (75) *kpé* , *má* *tè* *jī* *ádžínī* ` *ʔi*  
 NPS 1S wait 2S yesterday SPEC FOC  
 ‘In vain, I waited for you yesterday.’

## 17.4. Negation: *kū* (nonpast) and *kūrù* (past)

‘Descriptive negation’ with *kū* or *kūrù* is the basic kind of negation, where the sentence states that something did not happen, is not happening, or will not happen. Descriptive negation is achieved by placing *kū* or *kūrù* at the end of the sentence. The negation particles also have focus-related behaviour, discussed in the focus chapter: *kū* can be used to contrastively negate a constituent of the sentence (19.10.2); both *kū* and *kūrù* combine with *ri* to form freely placed adverbials (19.11). Phonologically *kū* fits a general pattern in Nilo-Saharan where a negative word often has the phonological structure [k]+vowel (Bender 2000: 65).

### 17.4.1. *Negation and tense*

In descriptive negation, the verb is always uninflected, never inflected. The uninflected vs. inflected distinction normally expresses tense on the verb; in descriptive negation, the tense is expressed instead by the negation particle. Djuruni (1983: 91) proposes a functional explanation of why descriptive negation in Logbara takes the ‘past tense’ syntax, which is that the past is like negation in that they both involve ‘non-presence’. Some descriptions of Central Sudanic languages propose, in our view incorrectly, that the distinction between *kū* and *kūrù* or cognates is one of aspect rather than tense, parallel to a claim made in these descriptions that object-verb order distinguishes aspect rather than tense (8.4.2.4).

#### 17.4.1.1. *kū* : nonpast

*kū* combines with an uninflected verb, and expresses nonpast (present or future) tense. The combination of the uninflected verb with *kū* appears to be equivalent to the inflected verb in that it expresses nonpast, either

habitual, progressive or future.

- (76) *m' -āwí dʒótí kū*  
 1S-open door NEG(N)  
 (a) 'I won't open the door.'  
 (b) 'I don't open doors.'  
 (c) 'I am not opening the door.'

- (77) *má mū kū*  
 1S go NEG(N)  
 (a) 'I will not go.'  
 (b) 'I am not going.'

*kū* can co-occur with the directive verb:

- (78) *kò-dí líjá kū*  
 3DIR-cook food NEG(N)  
 (a) 'She should not cook.'  
 (b) 'You should not cook.'  
 (c) 'It is not food that she / you should cook.'

*kū* cannot co-occur with an inflected verb, the kind of verb which normally expresses nonpast.

- (79)\* *ṣ-dí líjá kū*  
 3-cook food NEG(N)  
 'She did not cook food.'

Unlike the bare final *kū* discussed here, the 'adverbial' combination *kū rì* combines with an inflected verb and not with an uninflected verb (19.11.1.1). Thus there is no general prohibition on the co-occurrence of *kū* with an inflected verb in the same sentence.

- (80) *kū rì má èbì jā*  
 NEG(N) DEF 1S fish N-eat  
 'The one that I don't eat is fish.'

- (81)\* *kū rì má jā èbì*  
 NEG(N) DEF 1S eat fish  
 (a) 'The one that I don't eat is fish.'  
 (b) 'The one that I didn't eat is fish.'

Similarly, in contrastive negation, the negation particle *kū* can co-occur with an inflected verb (19.10.2).

- (82) *má*    *mū*    *ēbù*    *gá*    *kū*  
 1S    N-go    work    LOC    NEG(N)  
 ‘It is not to work that I am going...’

Specifically future negation is achieved by negating the periphrastic future verbs *ōlú* or *mū / vù* with *kū*.

- (83) *ídré*    *ō-vù*    *ō-nā*    *ìzá*    *kū*  
 rat    3-go(PL)    3-eat    meat    NEG(N)  
 ‘Rats will not eat meat (in future / as a result).’

- (84) *má*    *ōlú*    *lápwojí*    *kū*  
 1S    stay    teacher    NEG(N)  
 (a) ‘I will not be a teacher.’  
 (b) ‘I am not still a teacher.’ (ie. I ceased being a teacher.)

- (85) *má*    *ōlú*    *lápwojí*    *drū*    *kū*  
 1S    stay    teacher    as    NEG(N)  
 (a) ‘I will not be (as) a teacher.’  
 (b) ‘I will not be (stay) as a teacher.’

The negation particle *kū* gives a nonpast interpretation, but is chosen with a past interpretation as the final part of the following three-sentence discourse; *kūrù* cannot be used instead. Without this context, the third sentence would be interpreted as ‘But I don’t want it’.

- (86) *ádžíní*    *m’-ē-ŋgá*    *ópi*    *pī*    *drí*  
 yesterday    1S-VE-come    Opi    PRPL    BEN  
 ‘Yesterday I came from those of Opi.’

- (87) *ē-kè*    *kí*    *má*    *ní*    *ìrá*  
 (3)-VE-give    PL    1S    BEN    beer  
 ‘They gave me beer.’

- (88) *lákíní*    *má*    *lè*    *kū*  
 but    1S    want    NEG(N)  
 ‘But I didn’t want it.’

17.4.1.2. *kūrù* : past

The past negation particle *kūrù* must co-occur with an uninflected verb. The uninflected verb normally expresses past tense.

(89) *m' -āwí dzótí kūrù*  
 1S-open door NEG(P)  
 'I did not open the door.'

(90) *má mū kūrù*  
 1S go NEG(P)  
 'I did not go.'

(91) *má ɔ́lú l̩apwóní drū kūrù*  
 1S stay teacher as NEG(P)  
 'I have not been as a teacher.'

*kūrù* cannot co-occur with the directive verb, presumably because directive is inherently nonpast.

(92)\* *kò-dí líjǎ kūrù*  
 3DIR-cook food NEG(P)  
 'She should not cook (it).'

The past negation particle *kūrù* cannot co-occur with an inflected verb, the kind of verb which usually expresses nonpast tense.

(93)\* *má dzótí āwí kūrù*  
 1S door N-open NEG(N)  
 'I did not open the door.'

The combination *kūrù r̩* combines only with an uninflected verb which has past interpretation (19.11.11.1).

(94) *kūrù r̩ má jǎ èb̩í*  
 NEG(P) DEF 1S eat fish  
 'The one that I didn't eat was fish.'

(95)\* *kūrù r̩ má èb̩í jǎ*  
 NEG(P) DEF 1S fish N-eat  
 'The one that I didn't is eat fish.'

17.4.2. *Negation, definiteness and habituality*

There are some restrictions on the descriptive negation of habituals.

Where the sentence expresses a habitual state of affairs with both arguments indefinite, negation is possible with *kū*.

- (96) *ídré*      *ō-pā*      *ìzá*      *kū*  
 rat          3-eat      meat      NEG(N)  
 'Rats don't eat meat.'

- (97) *ídré*      *ō-pā*      *ìzá*      *kū*      *nì*  
 rat          3-eat      meat      NEG(N)      FOC  
 'It is rats that don't eat meat.'

With *kūrù* where both arguments are indefinite, the past habitual interpretation (98a) is not possible, though there is an interpretation (98b), perhaps a form of constituent negation with *kūrù* negating 'meat'.

- (98) *ídré*      *ō-pā*      *ìzá*      *kūrù*  
 rat          3-eat      meat      NEG(P)  
 (a)\* 'Rats didn't use to eat meat.'  
 (b) 'No rat ate it.' (The meat was not eaten by any rat.)

The object can be implicit.

- (99) *ídré*      *ō-pā*      *kūrù*  
 rat          3-eat      NEG(P)  
 'Rats didn't eat it.'

Where one argument is definite, a habitual interpretation is possible under negation only if the verb itself is made lexically habitual by the addition of iterative *u-*.

- (100) *òtʃé*      *rì*      *ō-tʃí*      *ìndrì*      *nì*      *kū*  
 dog      DEF      3-bite      goat      FOC      NEG(N)  
 (a)\* 'It isn't the dog (in question) that bites goats.'  
 (a) 'It isn't the dog (in question) that bit the goat.'  
 (b) 'It is not the dog one that bit a goat.'

- (101) òtʃé rì ū-tʃí ìndrì nì kū  
 dog DEF (3)-ITER-bite goat FOC NEG(N)  
 (a) 'It isn't the dog (in question) that habitually bites goats.'  
 (a) 'It isn't the dog (in question) that bit the goat.'  
 (b) 'It is not the dog one that bit the goat.'

Where the subject is indefinite, a habitual interpretation (102a) is unavailable if the object is definite 'the meat in question', but possible if the object is interpretable as indefinite even though it has *rì* as in (102b). A non-habitual interpretation is possible; (102c) shows future and (103) shows past.

- (102) ídré ɔ̄-ɲā ìzá rì kū  
 rat 3-eat meat DEF NEG(N)  
 (a)\* 'Rats don't eat the meat (in question).'  
 (b) 'Rats don't eat the meaty one.'  
 (c) 'Rats won't eat the meat (in question).'
- (103) ídré ɔ̄-ɲā ìzá rì kūrù  
 rat 3-eat meat DEF NEG(P)  
 (a) 'Rats didn't eat the meat (in question).'  
 (b) 'Rats didn't eat the meaty one.'

### 17.4.3. *kū* in a nonverbal clause

*kū* is the only particle which can be used in a nonverbal clause, negating a nonverbal predicate.

- (104) mā lāpwóní kū  
 1S teacher NEG(N)  
 'I am not a teacher.'
- (105) ānī lōsó kū  
 3S good NEG(N)  
 'She isn't fine / good.'

It is worth noting that the same negative particle *kū* is found with both verbal and non-verbal predicates in Ma'di. Djuruni (1983: 104) says that this is not the case in Logbara, where *jō* is found with nonverbal predicates and *kō* with verbal predicates.

*kūrù* cannot negate a non-verbal predicate; this is as we would expect as non-verbal predicates are interpreted as nonpast.

(106)\* *mā lāpwójí kūrù*  
 1S teacher NEG(P)  
 'I was not a teacher.'

(107)\* *ānī lōsó kūrù*  
 3S good NEG(P)  
 'She isn't fine / good.'

In the following sentence, we see a subordinate nonverbal clause negated with *kū* and embedded under the 'past verb' *rì*. Note that *kū* is now in a clause with a past interpretation. *kūrù* cannot be used because it cannot be used with a nonverbal clause.

(108) *má rì òlú-rē lāpwójí kū*  
 1S be (N)-stay-SB teacher NEG(N)  
 'I used to be not a teacher.'

(109)\* *má rì òlú-rē lāpwójí kūrù*  
 1S be (N)-stay-SB teacher NEG(P)  
 'I used to be not a teacher.'

Something similar is seen again here with the nonverbal clause negated by *kū* and *ēsú* used to put it into the past.

(110) *ēsú mā lāpwójí kū*  
 find 1S teacher NEG(N)  
 'I was not a teacher (at that time).'

(111)\* *ēsú mā lāpwójí kūrù*  
 find 1S teacher NEG(P)  
 'I was not a teacher (at that time).'

#### 17.4.4. *kū* and *kūrù* at the beginning of a clause

The particle *kūrù*, like *wà* and *kpé* and certain other fixed adverbials, can appear in sentence-initial position followed by a pause and with the sentence which follows ending in LOW-*ř*.

(112) *kūrù* , *ō-mū* ` *ř*  
 NEG(P) 3-go SPEC FOC  
 'It did not take place, his going.'

*kū* can be used in sentence-initial position, and means ‘no’. The sentence which follows must be negated with (another) *kū*. We note that in some dialects, *kū* is not used in this way; instead one of the other ‘no’ words is used such as *á?ā* or *ú?ū*.

(113) *kū* ,            *ò-mū*            *kū*  
 NEG(N)            IND-DIR-go    NEG(N)  
 ‘No, don’t go.’

(114) *kū* ,            *ɲì-mū*            *kū*  
 NEG(N)            2SDIR-go    NEG(N)  
 ‘No, don’t go.’

(115) *kū* ,            *ō-mū*            *kū*  
 NEG(N)            3-go            NEG(N)  
 ‘No, she won’t go.’

Note the similar use of *kā* to answer yes/no questions in the negative.

(116) *kā* ,            *ō-mū*            *kū*  
 no                    3-go            NEG(N)  
 ‘No, she will not go / is not going.’

(117) *kā* ,            *ō-mū*            *kūrù*  
 no                    3-go            NEG(P)  
 ‘No, she did not go.’

#### 17.4.5. *kū* and *kūrù* at the end of a subordinate clause

*kū* and *kūrù* can both negate a suffixed subordinate verb.

(118) *ágó*    *lè-lé*            *kū*            *rì*            *íngò*    *ɲì*  
 man [ (N)-like-SB    NEG(N) ] DEF    which    FOC  
 ‘Which is the man that is not liked?’

(119)    *ìndrì*    *ē-dzì-rē*            *kūrù*            *rì*            *àdī*    *ɲì*  
 [ goat    (N)-VE-take-SB    NEG(P) ] DEF    who    FOC  
 ‘Who is it that did not bring a goat?’

Note the following difference in focus between negation of a *-kā* clause and negation of a *lé*-clause.

- (120) *má bì ìzá `dī-kā kūrù*  
 1S try meat N-cook-SB NEG(N)  
 'I haven't tried cooking fish.'
- (121) *má bì ìzá `dī-lé kūrù*  
 1S try meat N-cook-SB NEG(N)  
 I haven't tried cooking meat.' (ie. tried other things like fish)

#### 17.4.6. Two constructions based on *kū*

A directive clause ending in *nā kū* describes a line of action that should have been taken but was not taken.

- (122) *kò-vī pí nā kū , ɔ̄-dzī bārú*  
 3DIR-throw COM AFR NEG(N) 3-take home  
 'Instead of throwing it away, she took it home.' (should have thrown it away)
- (123) *k-āzī òkū rì pá nā kū,*  
 3DIR-sell old DEF first AFR NEG(N)  
*ē-dzē údí nā ré ré*  
 3-buy new AFR immediately  
 'Instead of selling the old one first, he immediately bought a new one.'

Both *ādútē* and *isā* means 'alone' or 'only' and can be used to focus on an argument in the sentence. In final position and negated with *kū* it expresses 'not only'.

- (124) *pá nā ɔ̄-ŋò nì ādútē kū, drí nā āgū trò*  
 leg POSS 3-break FOC alone NEG(N) hand POSS sprain COMT  
 'It is not only her leg that broke, her hand sprained as well.'
- (125) *ōgù bònggú áū isā kū,*  
 steal clothes FOC only NEG(N)  
*āzī ādrúpì ?à gárì trò*  
 sell brother-SPEC POSS bicycle COMT  
 'Not only did she steal clothes, she sold her brother's bicycle as well.'

## Chapter 18 Adverbials

We use the term ‘adverbial’ to group words (and lexicalized phrases and clauses) by function. In this chapter we separate kinds of adverbials, into sections depending on their syntactic behaviour; we have not found clear correlations between syntactic and semantic characteristics of the different kinds of adverbial. Adverbials can be freely placed in the clause, fixed in final position or fixed in initial position. We separately consider temporal nouns, subordinate clauses functioning as adverbials, and adverbials which have a discourse function rather than a syntactic role.

### 18.1 Freely placed adverbials

Freely placed adverbials express a range of meanings including location in time and fixing the temporal reference point, modality and negation, hearsay, contrast, etc. The adverbials and their meanings are listed in Table 45. Freely placed adverbials can appear at the beginning of the sentence or at the end of the sentence or between almost any pair of sentence-level constituents. This is illustrated in the following examples, where @ indicates positions where the adverbials in question can appear.

- (1) @ *ɲ-ógù* @ *ópi* *ʔà* *gáɹì* @ *ɲí* *ʔí* @  
 2S-steal Opi POSS bicycle 2S FOC  
 @ = *ófō* ‘it is said’  
 ‘It is said that you were the one who stole Opi’s bicycle.’
- (2) @ *ō-dī* *kí* @ *ópi* *nī* @ *nì* @  
 3-kill PL Opi PR FOC  
 @ = *ámā* ‘allegedly’  
 ‘Allegedly, they were the ones who killed Opi.’
- (3) @ *ópi* *nī* @ *ògú* @  
 Opi PR thief  
 @ = *tfáɹì* ‘by the way’ or ‘you know’  
 ‘Opi is, by the way, a thief.’ or ‘Opi is, you know, a thief.’
- (4) @ *ópi* @ *ē-mú* @ *rá* @  
 Opi (3)-VE-go AFF  
 @ = *rú* ‘still’  
 ‘Opi definitely came (in spite of everything).’

The placement of freely placed adverbials at the end of the sentence is worth commenting on. As the above sentences show, the adverbial can either precede or follow a focus particle or focused constituent. The adverbials can usually follow negation only if they are focused by the LOW-*ɲí* strategy. Freely placed adverbials differ in whether they can terminate an uninflected verb (7.5). Thus *ìré* ‘almost’ cannot, while *ínírì* ‘recently’ can.

(5)\*    *ópī*    *ɔ̄-ɲā*    *ìré*  
           Opi    3-eat    almost  
           ‘Opi almost ate it.’

(6)     *ópī*     *ō-mū*    *ínírì*  
           Opi    3-go    recently  
           ‘Opi went recently.’

Freely placed adverbials cannot appear between a verb and the plural particle *kí̂*.

(7)\*    *ō-dī̄*    *ámā*     *kí̂*     *ópī*    *nī̄*     *nì*  
           3-kill allegedly PL    Opi    PR    FOC  
           ‘Allegedly, they were the ones who killed Opi.’

Freely placed adverbials cannot appear between possessor and possessed.

(8)\*    *ɲ-ógù*    *ópī*    *ɲà*    *ófō*    *gáɲì*    *ɲī̄*    *ɲí̄*  
           2S-steal [ Opi    POSS it is said    bicycle ] 2S    FOC  
           ‘(It is said) that you were the one who stole Opi’s bicycle.’

Freely placed adverbials cannot appear between a noun phrase and a postposition.

(9)\*    *ō-sī̄*    *dʒó*     *ópī*    *ámā*    *ní̄*     *nì*  
           3-build house [Opi allegedly BEN ] FOC  
           ‘Allegedly, she was the one who built a house for Opi.’

Table 45. Freely placed adverbials

adverbial	meaning	comments
<i>àmàlà</i>	because	
<i>drū sī̄</i>	instead	possibly a PP
<i>àɲì</i> (?or <i>kàɲì</i> )	contrarily	takes final <i>ɔ́</i>

<i>drìádrū</i>	now	
<i>ínìrì</i>	recently, nowadays, soon	
<i>ōṅgūrū</i>	also, next (marks the event as taking place in addition to another unnamed event or action, either subsequent to it or just in addition to it)	possibly clause: subject prefix <i>ō-</i> verb <i>ṅgō</i> and reflexive object <i>rū</i>
<i>ōṅgō</i>	also, next (same as <i>ōṅgūrū</i> )	alternative form of <i>ōṅgūrū</i>
<i>mgbē</i>	immediately	there is also a fixed adverbial <i>mbgē mgbē</i> 'recently' and a free adverbial <i>mgbē sáà</i>
<i>vúārú</i>	after it, after him, in its place	possibly NP: <i>vú</i> 'traces' + possessive <i>?à</i> + noun <i>rú</i> 'body'
<i>tīārú</i>	after it, after him, in its place (same as <i>vúārú</i> )	possibly NP: <i>tī</i> 'mouth' + possessive <i>?à</i> + noun <i>rú</i> 'body'
<i>gbù sáà ...</i> <i>kūrù</i>	'never before'	negation with <i>kūrù</i> is obligatory. There is also a fixed adverbial <i>gbù</i> . The noun <i>sáà</i> means 'time'
<i>òzò dí-tí</i>	by now	
<i>wō</i>	from now on	section 18.1.2.6
<i>mgbē sáà</i>	immediately then	<i>sáà</i> means 'time'
<i>tébè dí</i> etc.	should have...at that time	section 18.1.2.11
<i>dròná</i> etc.	habitually...at that time	section 18.1.2.8
<i>vú + àlū</i> 'once' etc	once	section 18.1.2.5
<i>kúwá</i>	never, at all	section 18.1.2.3
<i>rá rì, kūrì</i> etc.	(nominalized modals, negation, etc.)	usually found only in clauses with focus and discussed in 19.11
<i>ādútē</i> or <i>àdíte</i>	only, alone, on my/his own	section 18.1.2.4
<i>tfàrì</i>	by the way, you know	
<i>ìré</i>	almost, about to	section 18.1.2.7

<i>ādī</i>	no wonder	<i>ādī nà</i> is an independent utterance meaning 'no wonder!'
<i>ámā</i>	allegedly, it is said	section 18.1.2.1
<i>īnī</i>	allegedly, it is said	section 18.1.2.1
<i>kū sáà</i>	allegedly (with modal force)	section 18.1.2.2
<i>kū nà</i>	allegedly (with modal force)	section 18.1.2.2
<i>dùbà ( sí )</i>	at least	
<i>drūnà</i>	instead	
<i>rù</i>	in spite of everything	

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### 18.1.1 *Miscellaneous freely placed adverbials exemplified*

In this section we provide sentences illustrating all the adverbials not otherwise discussed in sections of their own. In all cases @ marks a position where the adverbial in question can be placed.

- (10) *àmà lè ānī dī?ā kū @ ānī @ ògú @*  
 1PL(EXC) want 3S here NEG(N) [ 3S thief ]  
 @ = *àmàlā* 'because'  
 'We do not want him here because he is a thief.'
- (11) @ *ō-dzē @ ēndré nī @*  
 3-buy mother BEN  
 @ = *drū sī* 'instead'  
 'He bought it for the mother instead.'
- (12) @ *ō-fō @ ānī @ k'-ē-mú @ òbú @ d'ó @*  
 3-say 3S 3-(N)-VE-go tomorrow  
 @ = *àrì* 'yet'  
 'Yet he said that he will be coming tomorrow.' (why does he want you to go now to his house again?)
- (13) @ *ká @ rū `nā @ l'ósó @*  
 3 REFL N-eat good  
 @ = *gbò* 'regardless of everything'  
 'It still tastes nice.' (regardless of what happened to it)

- (14)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$  @  $\bar{a}t\acute{f}\acute{i}$  @  $d\acute{i}?\bar{a}$  @  $k\bar{u}$   
 Opi go here NEG(N)  
 @ =  $\acute{i}n\acute{i}r\acute{i}$  ‘recently, nowadays, soon’ (note not at beginning)  
 ‘Opi does not come here nowadays.’
- (15) @  $m\acute{a}$  @  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $n\bar{i}$  @  $\grave{z}\bar{i}$  @  $\acute{a}\bar{u}$  @  
 1S Opi PR N-ask FOC  
 @ =  $dri\grave{a}dr\bar{u}$  ‘now’  
 ‘Now I am asking / will ask Opi.’
- (16) @  $m\acute{a}$   $l\grave{e}$  @  $m\bar{u}-l\acute{e}$  @  $\bar{e}b\grave{u}$   $g\acute{a}$  @  
 1S want (N)-go-SB work LOC  
 @ =  $\bar{o}\eta g\bar{u}r\bar{u}$  ‘in addition’  
 (a) ‘Next I want to go to work.’ (after going elsewhere)  
 (b) ‘Also I want to go to work.’ (as well as going elsewhere)
- (17) @  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $k\acute{o}-m\bar{u}$  @  $n\grave{i}$  @  
 Opi 3-N-go FOC  
 @ =  $v\acute{u}ar\acute{u}$  or  $t\bar{i}ar\bar{u}$  ‘after it, after him, in its place’  
 (a) ‘It is Opi who is going after him.’  
 (b) ‘It is Opi who is going in her place.’
- (18) @  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{e}-t\acute{f}\acute{a}$  @  $\grave{i}t\acute{o}$  @  $\bar{o}-\eta g\bar{a}$  @  
 Opi VE-reach Ito 3-leave  
 @ =  $mgb\bar{e}$  ‘immediately’  
 ‘As soon as Opi arrived Ito left.’
- (19) @  $m\acute{-}\bar{e}-\eta gw\acute{i}$  @  $r\acute{a}$  @  
 1S-VE-return AFF  
 @ =  $\grave{o}z\acute{o}$   $d\acute{i}-t\acute{i}$  ‘by now’  
 ‘I could definitely have come back by now.’
- (20) @  $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$  @  $d\acute{i}?\bar{a}$  @  
 (3)-VE-go here  
 @ =  $mgb\bar{e}$   $s\acute{a}a$  ‘immediately then’  
 ‘He came immediately at that time here.’
- (21) @  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $n\bar{i}$  @  $\grave{o}g\acute{u}$  @  
 Opi PR thief  
 @ =  $t\acute{f}\acute{a}r\acute{i}$  ‘by the way’ or ‘you know’  
 ‘Opi is, by the way, a thief.’



It can also be combined with the nonpast clausal construction  $k\hat{o}-f\bar{o}-\bar{a}$  to give a freely placed combination  $k\hat{o}-f\bar{o}-\bar{a} \acute{a}m\bar{a}$ .

- (28) @  $m\acute{a}$   $m\bar{u}$  @  $k\bar{u}r\bar{u}$  @  
 1S go NEG(P)  
 @ =  $k\hat{o}-f\bar{o}-\bar{a} \acute{a}m\bar{a}$  'he/she said'  
 (a) 'She is saying / will that I did not go.'  
 (b) 'She has to say that I did not go.'

$\bar{i}n\bar{i}$  also indicates that the sentence is reported speech, but unlike  $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{i}n\bar{i}$  is not used in an embedded clause which is a complement to a verb of speaking. If clause-initial,  $\bar{i}n\bar{i}$  must be followed by a pause, which is not a requirement with  $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$ .

- (29) @ ,  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$  @  $\bar{o}-d\bar{z}\bar{i}$  @  $n\bar{i}$  @  
 Opi 3-take FOC  
 @ =  $\bar{i}n\bar{i}$  'it is said'  
 (a) '(It is said) that it was Opi who took it.'  
 (b) 'The thing is, it was Opi who took it.'

There is an emphatic form of  $\bar{i}n\bar{i}$ , as  $\bar{i}n\bar{i}$  followed by a pause, which seems to carry an additional meaning of 'I say', 'the thing is'.

- (30)  $\bar{i}n\bar{i}$  ,  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\bar{o}-d\bar{z}\bar{i}$   $n\bar{i}$   
 that Opi 3-take FOC  
 'The thing is / I say, it was Opi who took it.'

### 18.1.2.2 $k\bar{u} \acute{s}\bar{a}\bar{a}$ , $k\bar{u} n\bar{a}$ and ( $\acute{a}h\bar{a}$ ) $k\bar{u} n\bar{a}$ as markers of reported speech

These freely placed sentential modifiers indicate that the containing sentence is reported speech, but add an expression of uncertainty.  $k\bar{u} \acute{s}\bar{a}\bar{a}$  indicates uncertainty about the proposition expressed.

- (31)  $n\bar{i}$   $d\bar{u}$   $\bar{i}k\bar{a}$   $r\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $k\bar{u}$   $\acute{s}\bar{a}\bar{a}$   $\bar{i}n\bar{i}$   $r\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 2S take red DEF FOC NEG(N) even black DEF FOC  
 'Take the red one or the white one.' (This is not just a matter of 'or' but communicates the uncertainty of the speaker about the right action).

$k\bar{u} n\bar{a}$  (or  $k\bar{u} r\bar{i}$  in Ugandan Ma'di) expresses hostility towards the proposition expressed;  $\acute{a}h\bar{a} k\bar{u} n\bar{a}$  expresses stronger hostility.

(Next example: Context: a court situation where a lawyer is quoting a witness. (32) is a neutral quoting, while (33) and even more (34) makes the witness seem unreliable.

(32) *ō-fō ámā ópí ōgù nì dʒò kū sáà ìtó ʔí*  
 3-say that Opi (3)-steal FOC if NEG(N) even Ito FOC  
 ‘She said “ it was Opi who stole it” and “if not it was Ito”.’

(33) *ō-fō ámā ópí ōgù nì, kū nà ìtó ʔí*  
 3-say that Opi (3)-steal FOC NEG(N) that Ito FOC  
 (First) she said “It was Opi who stole it” and then she said “if not it was Ito who stole it”.’

(34) *ō-fō ámā ópí ōgù nì, áhà kū nà ìtó ʔí*  
 3-say that Opi (3)-steal FOC oh no! NEG(N) that Ito FOC  
 (an exaggerated form of (B))

The sentence containing the adverbial can be an embedded sentence, as above, or a root sentence as below, implying some preceding sentence.

(35) @ ìtó @ ōgù @ nì @  
 Ito (3)-steal FOC  
 @ = (*áhà*) *kū na*  
 ‘Or that it was Ito who stole it.’

(36) *kū sáà ópí ōgù nì*  
 NEG(N) even Opi (3)-steal FOC  
 ‘Or else it was Opi who stole it.’

Pause intonation is required when the adverbial is at the beginning of the clause, whether root or subordinate.

(37) *ō-fō ámā , kū sáà , ópí ōgù nì*  
 3-say that NEG(N) even Opi (3)-steal FOC  
 ‘He said that, or else, it was Opi who stole it.’

(38) *kū sáà , ō-fō ámā ópí ōgù nì*  
 NEG(N) even 3-say that Opi (3)-steal FOC  
 ‘Or else, he said, that it was Opi who stole it.’

Note the difference in modality between the following clauses. (39) has focus on the subject and expresses probability; (40) has focus both on the subject and on *kū sáa* and expresses possibility.

- (39) *ō-fō ámā ópí ògù kū sáà nì*  
 3-say that Opi (3)-steal NEG(N) even FOC  
 'He said that it was Opi who probably stole it.'
- (40) *ō-fō ámā ópí ògù nì kū sáà ǐ*  
 3-say that Opi (3)-steal FOC NEG(N) even FOC  
 'He said that it was Opi who stole it, possibly.'

### 18.1.2.3 *kúwá* 'never'

*kúwá* can be translated as 'never', or 'at all'. *kúwá* can appear on its own, as an answer to a question and meaning 'never'. Or it can be freely placed in the clause including at the end of the clause, as in the following examples.

- (41) @ *m'-āwí* @ *tí* @ *kūrù* @  
 1S-open mouth NEG(P)  
 @ = *kúwá* 'never'  
 'I never opened my mouth.'
- (42) @ *ópí* @ *ō-jā* @ *ìzá* @ *kū* @ *nì*  
 Opi 3-eat meat NEG(N) FOC  
 @ = *kúwá* 'never'  
 'It is Opi who does not eat meat.'

*kúwá* is a negative polarity item, which means that it co-occurs with a word (including a negative particle *kū* or *kūrù*) which expresses negation. As the examples above show, *kúwá* and the negative word do not seem to be in any particular relative order.

- (43) *ǐ zā kū kúwá*  
 2S pass NEG(N) never  
 'You will never pass.'
- (44) *ǐ mū kū kúwá ǐ ìngō*  
 [ 2S go NEG(N) never ] DEF where  
 'Where is it that you will never go?'
- (45) *kúwá ǐ zā kū ǐ ǐ*  
 [ never 2S pass NEG(N) ] DEF 2S FOC  
 'The one who will never pass is you.'

(46) *m' -āwí tī kūrù kúwá*  
 1S-open mouth NEG(P) never  
 'I never opened my mouth.'

(47) *ḡā-rē kúwá kūrù rì ḡī ḡī*  
 [ (N)-eat-SB never NEG(P) ] DEF 2S FOC  
 'The one who has not eaten any at all is you.'

The adverbial *kúwá* can also co-occur with the negative modal *kpé* (48), and the verb *ìjō* 'not exist' (49).

(48) *ḡí `zā kpé kúwá*  
 2S N-pass NPS never  
 'You will never be able to pass.'

(49) *má drí rùbìjà zī ìjō kúwá*  
 1S POSS money other absent never  
 'I don't have any more money at all.'

*kúwá* cannot be used if there is no negative word (except when it is a one-word utterance meaning 'never!').

(50)\* *ḡí zā kúwá*  
 2S pass never  
 'You never passed.'

It is notable that *kúwá* does not co-occur with either of the 'nominalized' negation particles *kūrù rì* or *kū rì*, suggesting that these are unable to license a negative polarity item.

#### 18.1.2.4 *ādútē* or *àdíte* 'alone'

*ādútē* can modify either the object or the subject of the sentence when it is in sentence-final position.

(51) *má ndrē màdí àlū ādútē*  
 1S see person one alone  
 (a) 'I saw one person on his/her own.'  
 (b) 'I on my own saw one person.'

In addition to modifying the noun phrase argument of the verb, it is also possible for *ādútē* to modify a possessed noun within that noun phrase. This is dependent on the noun phrase argument being in focus.

- (52) @ pá nā @ ɔ̄-ŋɔ̄ @ nĩ @  
 leg POSS/AFR 3-break FOC  
 @ = āđútē ‘only’  
 (a) ‘It was only him whose leg broke.’  
 (b) ‘It was only his leg that broke.’

- (53) pá nā ɔ̄-ŋɔ̄ @  
 leg POSS 3-break  
 @ = āđútē ‘only’ (only sentence-final)  
 ‘It was only him whose leg broke.’

āđútē can be found in a subordinate clause with -kā or -lé. In final position it can be interpreted as having scope over subject or object. It is fixed in position in the following sentences.

- (54) ̀nā-kā āđútē ̀ɔ̄kpó  
 [ N-eat-SB alone ] difficult  
 ‘To eat it alone is difficult.’ (with other people or eaten along with other things)

- (55) ̀nā-lé āđútē ̀ɔ̄kpó  
 [ N-eat-SB alone ] difficult  
 ‘To eat it alone is difficult.’ (It should be eaten with other things.)

- (56) ̀nā-lé āđútē rĩ l̄só  
 [ N-eat-SB alone ] DEF easy  
 ‘The one that is eaten alone (without other things or other people) is good.’

#### 18.1.2.5 vú + ̀al̄ ‘once’, vú + jàjadrú ‘many times’

When number of times is being counted, the noun vú ‘times’ is combined with a numeral or other modifier.

- (57) ē-mú @ ̀dí?ā @  
 (3)-VE-go here  
 @ = vú ̀al̄ ‘once’ (at beginning only if focused with LOW-?)  
 ‘She came here once.’

- (58) ē-mú ̀dí?ā vú jàjadrú  
 (3)-VE-go here time many  
 ‘She came here many times.’

The phrase is focused by the standard LOW+ʔī strategy.

- (59) *vú àlū, ē-mú díʔā ʔī*  
 time one (3)-VE-go here SPEC FOC  
 ‘Once, it is that she has been here.’

The meaning of ‘not even once’ is expressed as follows.

- (60) *ē-mú díʔā vú àlū sáà kūrù*  
 (3)-VE-go here time one even NEG(P)  
 ‘She has not been here even once.’

#### 18.1.2.6 *wō* ‘from now on’

*wō* marks a turning point and charts a new direction. Thus it can be used to express permission now being given where it was previously denied, though a permission interpretation is not obligatory. *wō* co-occurs with inflected, uninflected and directive verbs. It is dispreferred at the beginning of the sentence.

- (61) *?@ ʔí @ èbī @ ʔā @ wā @*  
 2S fish N-eat PS  
 @ = *wō* ‘from now on’  
 ‘You can from now eat fish.’ (You were previously prohibited from it.)

- (62) *èbì 3-lè iza ʔā-kā kūr*  
 Lion 3-want meat N-eat-SB NEG(N)  
 ‘Lion does not want to eat meat.’

- (63) *èbì wō 3-lè iza ʔā-kā kūr*  
 Lion from now 3-want meat N-eat-SB NEG(N)  
 ‘At this point Lion refused to eat meat.’

*wō* can also be used to reinforce another temporal expression, which it immediately follows.

- (64) *èndrù rì sī wō èbì 3-mū dwārī gá kūrù*  
 today DEF SR from now lion 3-go hunting LOC NEG(P)  
 ‘On this particular day, Lion did not go hunting.’

- (65) *èndrù rì sī èbì 3-mū dwārī gá kūrù*  
 today DEF SR lion 3-go hunting LOC NEG(P)  
 ‘On this day, Lion did not go hunting.’

18.1.2.7 *ìré* ‘almost’ ‘about to’

*ìré* ‘almost’ can modify the verb; note that it can mean ‘about to’ with an inflected verb. (There is another word *ìré* ‘nearby’ which is a final adverbial.)

- (66) @ *ópí* @ *ḡ-nā* @ *rá* @  
           Opi           3-eat           AFF  
 @ = *ìré* ‘almost’  
 ‘Opi certainly almost ate it.’ (he didn’t actually eat it)

- (67) @ *ká* @ *nī* @ *ūngwē* @  
           3           2S           (N)-call  
 @ = *ìré* ‘almost’  
 ‘She is about to call you.’

It can also modify a numeral, and can come between noun and numeral.

- (68) @ *bá* @ *mùdri* @ *ē-vù* @ *nì* @  
           people           ten           (3)-VE-go(PL)           FOC  
 @ = *ìré* ‘almost’  
 ‘Nearly ten people came.’

*ìré* has an odd effect on tense interpretation, allowing an inflected verb which is normally nonpast apparently to have a past tense interpretation (69b). Note that this interpretation arises only when *ìré* is a free adverbial meaning ‘nearly’ (meanings 69a and 69b) and not a fixed adverbial meaning ‘nearby’ (meanings 69c and 69d).

- (69) *má*       *mū*       *ìré*  
       1S       N-go       near  
 (a)   ‘I am nearly going.’  
 (b)   ‘I nearly went.’  
 (c)   ‘I am going nearby.’  
 (d)\*   ‘I went nearby.’

18.1.2.8 *dròná* and *dròná sì* and *drò sì* ‘habitually in the past’

*dròná* and variants *dròná sì* and *drò sì* are freely placed adverbials which express the meaning ‘habitually in the past’. *dròná* is an adjective which means ‘usual’. If *dròná* is in sentence-final position it must be focused by the LOW-? strategy.

- (70) @ ópí @ k'-átǵí @ dí?ā @ ítú ázíá tǵidrú @  
 Opi 3-travel here day six all

@ = *dròná*; LOW-*ǵí* required if final.

'(In the days gone) Opi used to come here every Saturday.'

(context: Opi is known to you as a person who does not drink beer. On learning of his drunken exploits in disbelief you may say this.)

*dròná* can shift the temporal reference point into the past, and so can co-occur with an inflected verb or with *kū* (both normally present imperfective) in a sentence which has a past imperfective interpretation.

- (71) *dròná* k'-átǵí dí?ā trò trò  
 days gone 3-travel here occasionally

'She used to come here (occasionally).'

- (72) *dròná* ópí ō-mvū ìrá kū d'ó  
 days gone Opi 3-drink beer NEG(N)

'(In the days gone) Opi used not to drink beer.' (how come he behaved thus)

*dròná* will co-occur with an uninflected verb only if the verb is marked as iterative. It will not co-occur with *kūrù* even if the verb is iterative.

- (73) *dròná* ū-ndré b'á trò trò  
 days gone (IND)-ITER-see people occasionally

'Occasionally what you should do is to visit people.'

- (74) *dròná* ópí ū-mvū ìrá kū  
 days gone Opi (3)-ITER-drink beer NEG(N)

'Opi used not to drink beer.'

- (75)\* *dròná* ópí ū-mvū ìrá kūrù  
 days gone Opi (3)-ITER-drink beer NEG(P)

'Opi used not to drink beer.'

- (76)\* *dròná* ópí ō-mvū ìrá kūrù  
 days gone Opi 3-drink beer NEG(P)

'(In the days gone) Opi used not to drink beer.'

*dròná* can be nominalized with *ǵí* (gloss (77a)), in the focus construction. Note that the verb is here an inflected verb and yet the sentence is still interpreted as past because of the presence of *dròná*. This shows that the

nominalized form can still shift the temporal reference point of the whole clause into the past even though it is embedded under *rì*

- (77) *dròná rì ópí k-á dzí-ā nì*  
 usual DEF Opi 3-(N)-take(PL)-OBJ FOC  
 (a) 'Usually he was taken about by Opi.'  
 (b) 'The usual one was taken about by Opi.'

*dròná* can be used in the same sentence as a reduplicated final element like *rá rá* or *bàrú bàrú*. This is also acceptable if the sentence is in the past.

### 18.1.2.9 *drūná* 'instead'

*drūná* is a freely positioned sentential modifier which means 'instead'.

- (78) *kò-dzè drí pá nā kū*  
 3DIR-wash hand first AFR NEG(N)  
 @ *ṣ-sū* @ *drí* @ *mgbē* @ *ítá ?ā* @  
 3-dip hand straight-away dish in  
 @ = *drūná* 'instead'.  
 'Instead of washing her hand first, she dipped it in the dish straight away.'

In the following example, *drūná* can be interpreted as modifying the root or subordinate verb.

- (79) *ō-rī rū drūná ō-mū trò*  
 3-insist REFL instead 3-go COMT  
 (a) 'She insisted instead and went along.'  
 (b) 'She insisted and instead went along.'

The additional use of *sí* seems to add emphasis.

- (80) *drùnà sí jù bā ópí kò-mū nì*  
 at least 2SDIR allow Opi 3DIR-go FOC  
 'Instead let Opi be the one to go.' (ie. not like that, on the contrary)

*drūná* is possibly a combination of *drū* + *nā* 'that' (but without the raising of the mid tone of *drūná* after a mid or low tone, as is seen with



18.1.2.11 *tébè* ( or *téè* ) + *dì* (or *nà* ) ‘should/could...at that time’

*téè* or *tébè* ‘earlier today’ is a freely placed noun of temporal location .

- (88) *ē-mú*                      *tébè*  
 (3)-VE-go                      earlier in the day  
 ‘She came earlier in the day.’

When followed by a demonstrative *dì* ‘this’ or *nà* ‘that’ the constituent becomes a free adverbial. It shifts the temporal reference point back into the past. *dì* ‘this’ is used for more recent and *nà* ‘that’ for less recent. It also adds modal force. With an uninflected verb (normally past tense), it produces a past-in-the-past reading (89,90). When used with an inflected verb or a directive verb it produces a directive-in-the-past reading (91,92).

- (89) *késú* *ñì* *fō* *lákā* *rá* @ *ēmú* @ *díā* @ *rá* @  
 3-find 2S say PRBEN AFF (3)-VE-go here AFF  
 @ = *tébè* *dì* ‘earlier in this day’  
 ‘If you had definitely told him, he would have come by now.’

- (90) *téè*                      *dì*                      *m’-ē-ṅwí*                      *rá*  
 earlier-today                      this                      1S-VE-return                      AFF  
 ‘I could certainly have come back by now.’

- (91) *téè*                      *dì*                      *jí*                      *mū*                      *ná-nī*  
 earlier-today                      this                      2S                      N-go                      that-like  
 ‘You should have gone like that.’

- (92) *téè*                      *dì*                      *kò-mū*                      *ná-nī*  
 earlier-today                      this                      3DIR-go                      that-like  
 ‘He should have gone like that.’

### 18.1.3 Freely placed ‘hearsay’ adverbials based on *fō* ‘say’

The verb *fō* ‘say’ is the basis for clause-like constituents which function as freely-placed sentential modifiers and indicate hearsay or edicts of societal values.

#### 18.1.3.1 *ófō*

The past form of *fō* is *ófō* which is a complete sentence consisting of the indefinite subject and the verb, with a past tense syntax. It means ‘it is said’ (past and present).

- (93) *ó-fō lárú l̄s̄ó*  
 IND-say respect good  
 ‘(It is said) that respect is good.’ (society demands it)
- (94) *n-ógù ó-fō ópí ?à gárì n̄ ?í*  
 2S-steal IND-say Opi POSS bicycle 2S FOC  
 (a) ‘(It is said) that you were the one who stole Opi’s bicycle.’  
 (b) ‘Allegedly, you were the one who stole Opi’s bicycle.’

Hearsay *ófō* is freely distributed within the clause in the positions @, though it is preferred in first position.

- (95) @ *n-ógù* @ *ópí ?à gárì* @ *n̄ ?í* @  
 2S-steal Opi POSS bicycle 2S FOC  
 @ = *ó-fō* ‘it is said’  
 ‘(It is said) that you were the one who stole Opi’s bicycle.’

When *ófō* is sentence-initial, there is some ambiguity between a hearsay interpretation and an interpretation of the sentence as ‘someone said that..’ with the verb *fō* taking a clausal complement. This form of the verb can be negated; however, it cannot be moved within the clause when negated since here it is a root verb taking a clausal complement.

- (96) *ó-fō kūrù m̄ ó mū ?í*  
 IND-say NEG(P) 1S(DIR) go FOC  
 ‘That I should go has not been said.’

### 18.1.3.2 *fōā*

The non-past form is *fōā*, which is a combination of the verb with the object clitic *?ā* and hence a non-past syntax. Unusually, it lacks a subject pronoun. It means ‘it will be said’.

- (97) *fō-ā m̄ kō àn̄ t̄í*  
 (N)-say-OBJ 1S catch 2PL COM  
 ‘(It will be said that) “I have caught you”.’

Compare the non-hearsay clause with a full future form of *fō*.

- (98) *ká kî fō-ā m̄ kō àn̄ t̄í*  
 3 PL (N)-say-OBJ 1S catch 2PL COM  
 ‘They will say, “I have caught you”.’

Hearsay *fōā* is freely distributed within the clause in the positions @.

- (99) @ *má* *kō* @ *ání* @ *tí* @  
 1S catch 2PL COM  
 @ = *fōā* 'it will be said'  
 '(It will be said that) I have caught you.'

### 18.1.3.3 *ní fō ?ā*

This is another type of adverbial clause based on *fō*. Though the subject is second person singular, this sentence does not necessarily address anyone; instead the subject *ní* seems to refer to the speaker him or herself. It expresses the speaker's opinion, in the context of doubts about the truth of what the speaker is saying.

- (100) *k'ò-sī-ā* *òbú*  
 3-N-build-OBJ tomorrow  
 'She will build it tomorrow.'

- (101) *ní fō ?ā k'ò-sī-ā òbú*  
 2S N-say OBJ 3-N-build-OBJ tomorrow  
 'I think she will build it tomorrow.' (implies that doubts have been raised about when it will be built)

When the modal *wà* is added to the end of the sentence which also contains *ní fō ?ā*, it has a negating effect, implying that though one might say this, it is not true.

- (102) *ní fō ?ā k'ò-sī-ā òbú wà*  
 2S N-say OBJ 3-N-build-OBJ tomorrow PS  
 'One might think she will build it tomorrow but in fact she can't.'

This effect requires the presence of *ní fō ?ā*.

- (103) *k'ò-sī-ā òbú wà*  
 3-N-build-OBJ tomorrow PS  
 'She will be able to build it tomorrow.'

If instead we add *ání* (meaning 'as if' or 'how come?') to the sentence, it functions as a kind of quotative. The preceding sentence is now seen to express an opinion to which the speaker is not committed.

- (104) *ɲí ʼfō ʔā k'ò-sī-ā ɔ́bú ání*  
 2S N-say OBJ 3-N-build-OBJ tomorrow as if  
 'I'm saying "I think she will build it tomorrow".' (But that's not really my opinion; I have doubts about whether it will happen, but I am being polite and don't want to say this directly.)

It is possible for the opinion itself to contain *wà*; thus *ání* in effect reverses the workings of *wà*.

- (105) *ɲí ʼfō ʔā k'ò-sī-ā ɔ́bú wà ání*  
 2S N-say OBJ 3-N-build-OBJ tomorrow PS as if  
 'I'm saying "One might think she will build it tomorrow but in fact she can't".' (But that's not really my opinion even though I don't directly want to say so; instead I'm quoting someone else's opinion without wanting to directly go against it.)

This way of using *ání* requires the presence of *ɲí ʼfō ʔā*; without this, sentence-final *ání* functions to make a sentence into a question (20.3.1.3).

- (106) *k'ò-sī-ā ɔ́bú ání*  
 3-N-build-OBJ tomorrow why  
 'Why is she bulding it tomorrow?'
- (107) *k'ò-sī-ā ɔ́bú wà ání*  
 3-N-build-OBJ tomorrow PS why  
 'Why will she be able to build it tomorrow?'

*ɲí ʼfō ʔā* can be freely placed. If it is clause internal, the effects described in the previous section do not arise, perhaps suggesting that the constituent no longer has scope over the sentence as a whole.

- (108) *k'ò-sī-ā ɲí ʼfō ʔā ɔ́bú*  
 3-N-build-OBJ 2S N-say OBJ tomorrow  
 'I think she will build it tomorrow.'
- (109) *k'ò-sī-ā ɲí ʼfō ʔā ɔ́bú wà*  
 3-N-build-OBJ 2S N-say OBJ tomorrow PS  
 'I think she can build it tomorrow.'
- (110) *k'ò-sī-ā ɲí ʼfō ʔā ɔ́bú ání*  
 3-N-build-OBJ 2S N-say OBJ tomorrow as if  
 'It seems as if she will build it tomorrow.'

- (111) *k'ò-sī-ā*      *ǰí*      *̀fō*      *ʔā*      *òbú*      *wà*      *ání*  
 3-N-build-OBJ    2S      N-say OBJ      tomorrow    PS      as if  
 'It seems as if she will be able to build it tomorrow.'

18.1.4 *Freely placed tense-shifting adverbials based on ēsú 'find'*

The freely placed adverbial *ēsú* shifts the temporal reference point into the past. There is an implicature that the past situation no longer holds at the moment of utterance, but this is cancellable as in (113).

- (112) *ēsú*      *óǰí*      *ē-mú*      *kūrù*  
 (3)-find    Opi      (3)-VE-go    NEG(P)  
 'Opi had not arrived (at that time).'
- (113) *ēsú*      *óǰí*      *ní*      *pádērè*      *àdì*      *ānī*      *pádērè*  
 (3)-find    Opi      PR      priest      still    3S      priest  
 'Opi was (at the time) a priest and he still is.'

The morphologically related word *kēsú* shifts the point of temporal reference in to the past (or sometimes just makes it hypothetical without a specifically past meaning) and also gives the interpretation 'if X had happened...'.  
 .

- (114)      *kēsú*      *óǰí*      *k-ē-mú*      *nì*      *ájé*  
 [ 3-(N)-find    Opi      3-VE-DIR-go    FOC ] fine  
 'If it were Opi who had come, (it would have been) fine.'
- (115) *kēsú*      *óǰí*      *ká*      *dʒó*      *̀sī*      *ēndrè*      *ní*      *nì*  
 [3-(N)-find    Opi      3      house    N-build    mother    BEN    FOC]  
           *k'íkó-ā*                      *rá*  
           3-(N)-finish-OBJ      AFF  
 'If it were Opi building a house for the mother, he would certainly finish it.' (but there is no hope that this will happen)
- (116) *kēsú*      *óǰí*      *ká*      *dʒó*      *̀sī*      *ēndrè*      *ní*      *nì*  
 [3-(N)-find    Opi      3      house    N-build    mother    BEN FOC]  
           *íkó*      *rá*  
           3-finish    AFF  
 'If it were Opi building a house for the mother, he would certainly have finished it by now.'

There are no sentence-internal modifiers which shift the temporal reference point into the future.

*ēsú* is homophonous with the lexical verb *ēsú* meaning find.

- (117) *ēsú*      *ópí*      *ē-mú*      *kūrù*  
 (3)-find Opi (3)-VE-go NEG(P)  
 ‘S/he found Opi had not arrived.’

The adverbial *ēsú* is best interpreted as a one-word sentence, consisting of a subject and an uninflected (past) verb; the subject pronominal is deleted before the initial vowel. The related form *kēsú* can be interpreted as the directive form of *ēsú*, as *kà* + *ēsú*.

*ēsú* can combine with an uninflected (past) verb, to give past in the past.

- (118) *ēsú*      *èjí*      *ō-dī*      *rá*  
 at that time rain 3-rain AFF  
 ‘At that time it had certainly rained.’

- (119) *ēsú*      *èjí*      *ō-dī*      *kūrù*  
 (3)-find rain 3-rain NEG(P)  
 ‘It had not rained at that time.’

*ēsú* can combine with an inflected (nonpast) verb to give past progressive or past habitual.

- (120) *ēsú*      *má*      *jì*      *tè*  
 (3)-find 1S 2S (N)-wait  
 ‘I was waiting for you at the time.’
- (121) *ēsú*      *ká*      *màdí*      *tī*      *fō*      *wà*  
 (3)-find 3 Ma’di language N-speak PS  
 ‘She was able to speak Ma’di at that time.’

If the sentence with the uninflected verb also contains *rá* (ie. usually forcing a future interpretation), the meaning is of an event which was future relative to some past temporal reference point.

- (122) *ēsú*      *má*      *jì*      *tè*      *rá*  
 (3)-find 1S 2S (N)-wait AFF  
 ‘I was certainly going to wait for you (at the time).’ (implication: but something happened which made it not possible for me to do so)

The sentence can contain an uninflected verb and the nonpast negation *kū*.

- (123) *ēsú*      *èjí*      *ō-dī*      *kū*  
 (3)-find rain 3-rain NEG(N)  
 (a) 'It didn't used to rain (at that time).'  
 (b) 'It wasn't raining (at that time).'  
 (c) 'It wasn't going to rain (at that time).' (then something happened and it rained)

*ēsú* may be used with negation to indicate a practice or convention that held in the past as in the following example.

- (124) *dʒò jí dū mādí zì ʔà ízì ʔí*  
 if 2S take person other POSS wife-SPEC FOC,  
*kàsùrùbé` nā ófá*  
 fine AFR war  
*àdrúpì rẹ̀zí nī ízì ēsú ó-dū kū*  
 brother fellow POSS wife at that time 3-take NEG(N)  
 'Should you snatch someone else's wife, it is like declaring war; the amicable settlement of the fine is not easy. A fellow brother's wife used not to be snatched.'

The inflected form with *ēsú* can also take on a directive interpretation but without directive morphology (the same effect is seen with *té` dī* 18.1.2.11).

- (125) *ēsú jí `mū ná-nī*  
 (3)-find 2S N-go that-like  
 (a) 'You should have gone like that.'  
 (b) 'You were going to go like that.'

*ēsú* can be found in a nonverbal clause, and again shifts the temporal reference point into the past, giving a past state.

- (126) *ēsú ópí nī pādērè*  
 (3)-find Opi PR priest  
 'Opi was a priest (at that time).'

- (127) *ēsú ófá āʔà*  
 (3)-find war present  
 'There was war (at that time).'

- (128) *ēsú mā làpwóní kū*  
 (3)-find 1S teacher NEG(N)  
 'I was not a teacher (at that time).'

- (129) *kēsú*      *ópí*    *nĩ*    *pádērè*    *ō-dū*    *ízi*      *kū*  
 [ 3-(N)-find    Opi    PR    priest    ] 3-take    woman    NEG(N)  
 ‘Had Opi been a priest, he would not marry.’ (he’s  
 contemplating marriage)

Note that (130a) is ruled out, suggesting that *ēsú mā lāpwójí* is not interpreted as a past tense sentence for the purpose of negation, because it is still (relative) present. (130b) shows the lexical interpretation of *ēsú* as ‘he found’, which is perfectly acceptable with *kūrù* as we would expect.

- (130) *ēsú*      *mā*    *lāpwójí*      *kūrù*  
 (3)-find    1S    teacher      NEG(P)  
 (a)\* ‘I was not a teacher (at that time).’  
 (b) ‘He didn’t find me as a teacher.’

In general, adding *ēsú* to a nonverbal clause does not enable the clause to include any modals or negation, with the exception of *kū* which is always possible in a nonverbal clause.

Both *ēsú* and *kēsú* are freely placed in the sentence, including at the end of the sentence (without requiring focus).

- (131) @    *vù*      @    *ēdé*      @    *àbírí*      @  
           earth            (3)-VE-fall            hunger  
*esú* = @  
 ‘The world had fallen into famine (at that time).’

- (132) @    *ópí*    *nĩ*      @    *pádērè*    @  
           Opi    PR                    priest  
*esú* = @  
 ‘Opi was a priest (at that time).’

- (133) @    *ópí*    *nĩ*    @    *pádērè*    @ (,) *ō-dū*    *ízi*    *kūrù*  
           Opi    PR                    priest                    3-take    wife    NEG(P)  
*kēsú* = @  
 ‘Opi, were he a priest, he would not have married.’

## 18.2 Fixed final adverbials

### 18.2.1 The syntax of fixed final adverbials

Fixed final adverbials have a syntax similar to the modal and negation particles. They tend to be sentence-final, can be ‘nominalized’ with *rì*, can be left-dislocated, and sometimes show restrictions in combination with past or nonpast verbs. Some of the fixed final adverbials are selected by specific verbs, while others can be combined with any verb. Adverbials which are selected by specific verbs often express the completion or exhaustion of the action. Some of the adverbials are homophonous with singular adjectives (6.6.2), such as *péléré*, but this is not true of all the completion adverbials. Thus *pí* for example is only an adverbial.

Fixed final adverbials are among the words characteristically found at the end of the sentence.

- (134)                    *ō-sī*        *dʒó*        *rì*        *lōsó*  
                               3-build    house    DEF    good  
 ‘He built the house (in question) well.’

In a subordinate clause, the fixed final adverbial follows the suffixed verb.

- (135) *ō-ndrē*    *òtʃé*        *drà-ré*        *kpó*        *rì*        *ʔí*  
                      3-see    dog    [ (N)-die-SB    dead    ]    DEF    FOC  
 ‘He saw a dog that had (already) died.’

A fixed final adverbial can precede a final focus constituent and can also follow a final focus constituent, in which case the adverbial is also focused.

- (136) *má*    *mū*        *pí*        *mā*        *ʔí*  
                  1S    go        COM    1S        FOC  
 ‘The one that went away was me.’ (the others didn’t go)

- (137) *má*    *mū*                    *mā*        *ʔí*        *pí*  
                  1S    go                    1S        FOC    COM  
 ‘Its me that went away.’

- (138) *ópi*        *ō-mū*        *pí*        *nì*  
                  Opi    3-go        COM    FOC  
 ‘Opi is the one who has gone.’

- (139) *ópi*        *ō-mū*                    *nì*        *pí*  
                  Opi    3-go                    FOC    COM  
 ‘Opi is the one who has gone away.’

A fixed adverbial can precede or follow the second part of a reduplicated (focused) verb, with different interpretations (19.2.1.5).

- (140) *má* *mgbā* *mgbà* *kpó*  
 1S beat beat-FOC dead  
 ‘I beat it to death.’ (Here, the hearer already knows that the animal is dead, but it is the manner of death which is focused.)

- (141) *má* *mgbā* *kpó* *mgbà*  
 1S beat dead beat-FOC  
 ‘I beat it to death.’ (It was by beating not by some other action. In this case also the hearer already knows that the animal is dead.)

Fixed final adverbials can be left-dislocated: put at the beginning of a sentence and followed by a pause, with the sentence ending with the LOW-*ɔ̄* focus strategy. In this, the fixed adverbials resemble the modal and negation particles (chapter 17).

- (142) *péléré*, *ɔ̄-ndzē* *ɔ̄* *ɔ̄*  
 properly 3-explain SPEC FOC  
 ‘Properly, he explained it.’

Many fixed final adverbials are capable of combining with *rì* to form a phrase which can be freely distributed in the sentence except in final position.

- (143) *ópi* *ō-mū* *pí* *nì*  
 Opi 3-go COM FOC  
 ‘Opi is the one who has gone.’

- (144) *pí* *rì* *ópi* *ō-mū* *nì*  
 away DEF Opi 3-go FOC  
 ‘The one who has gone away is Opi.’

- (145) *ópi* *ō-mū* *tfé* *tfé* *nì*  
 Opi 3-go slowly FOC  
 ‘Opi is the one who went slowly.’

- (146) *tfé* *tfé* *rì* *ópi* *ō-mū* *nì*  
 slowly DEF Opi 3-go FOC  
 ‘The one who went slowly is Opi.’

Many of the fixed final adverbials will not co-occur with a final modal or negation. If they do co-occur, the adverbial precedes the modal or negation. Thus for example compare the following examples where *rá* can combine with the completion adverbial *kpó* but only if there is an object:

(147) *má dī mādī kpó rá*  
 1S kill person dead AFF  
 ‘I have certainly killed a person (before).’

(148)\* *má dī kpó rá*  
 1S kill dead AFF  
 I have certainly killed (before)

A fixed final adverbial can occur after a modal or negation particle only if it is an afterthought (ie. with pause intonation).

(149) *kó-`mū rá , tfé tfé*  
 3-N-go AFF slowly  
 (a) ‘She will go slowly.’  
 (b) ‘She will go gradually.’ (in time)  
 (c) ‘She will go, slowly.’ (Handle her, the situation carefully; don’t hurry her/ it.)

Fixed final adverbials cannot be predicates in nonverbal clauses.

### 18.2.1.1 Restrictions relating to inflection of the verb

Some of the fixed adverbials show restrictions relating to the inflection (tense) of the verb. Thus *lévù* ‘meanwhile’ is used by preference with a directive verb, and cannot be used with a past tense verb. (In the future, the meaning of ‘meanwhile’ involves the verb *zĩ*, 16.9.)

(150) *ópi k-ē-mú lévù*  
 Opi 3DIR-VE-go meanwhile  
 ‘Meanwhile Opi can come.’

(151)\* *ópi ō-sĩ d3ò lévù*  
 Opi 3-build house meantime  
 ‘Meanwhile Opi came.’

*tfétfé* means ‘slowly’ only if used with a nonpast verb, and means ‘gently’ only if used with a past verb. There is no equivalent constraint involving *rĩ rĩ* ‘quickly’.

- (152) *ópi kó-sò-ā tfétfé*  
 Opi 3-(N)-sew-OBJ slowly  
 ‘Opi sews / will sew it slowly.’
- (153) *ópi ̄-sò sàtì rì tfétfé*  
 Opi 3-sew shirt DEF gently  
 ‘Opi sewed the shirt gently.’

*gbù* is found only in past tense sentences (18.2.4.2).

- (154) *ópi odū ízí gbù*  
 Opi 3-take woman before  
 ‘Opi was married before.’
- (155)\* *ópi ká ízí `dū gbù*  
 Opi 3 woman N-take before  
 ‘Opi was married before.’

### 18.2.2 *Fixed final adverbials listed*

Table 46. Fixed final adverbials not selected by specific verbs

adverbial	meaning	comments
<i>pélére</i>	clean, properly	homophonous with adjective meaning ‘clean’ (when it alternates for number)
<i>bò</i>	intact	
<i>tfírí</i> or <i>tfítfírì</i>	silently	
<i>lòsò</i>	well	homophonous with adjective meaning ‘good’
<i>rì rì</i>	quickly	homophonous with adjective meaning ‘quick’
<i>ēzè ēzè</i>	quickly (nonpast)	perhaps related to <i>ēzè</i> ‘a long time ago’. Not compatible with a past verb.
<i>tfé tfé</i>	slowly (nonpast), gently (past)	homophonous with adjective meaning ‘slow’
<i>ìdí</i>	again	
<i>trò trò</i>	slightly, occasionally	

<i>údí</i>	recently	homophonous with adjective meaning 'new'
<i>mgbē mgbē</i>	recently	perhaps related to the free adverbial <i>mgbē</i> 'immediately'
<i>bō bō drú</i>	forever, permanently	
<i>bò bò drú</i>	temporarily	
<i>lérù</i>	meanwhile	
<i>ìmbī</i>	mostly unsuccessfully	
<i>kpùrù</i>	largely missed	
<i>fùrù fùrù</i>	narrowly escaped	
<i>tí</i>	successfully	
<i>trò</i>	successfully	
<i>gbù</i>	once before	
<i>ìsā</i>	only, without	
<i>trò</i>	as well	
<i>pá</i>	first	
<i>díní</i>	as soon as	
<i>pí</i>	away	combines with verbs of motion, selling, saying
<i>vùrú</i>	down	combines with verbs of motion
<i>dàkū</i>	a lot	<i>dà</i> 'a lot' + <i>kū</i> negation; found in nonpast and past tense sentences.
<i>gbò</i>	regardless	
<i>rù</i>	regardless	

Ugandan Madi also has *òté* as a final completive particle, which goes with verbs of knowledge and perception.

## 18.2.2.1 Fixed final adverbials expressing ‘completion’

There is a subgroup of fixed final adverbials which have two distinctive characteristics: (a) the adverbials are selected by specific verbs or verb-object combinations, and (b) the adverbials express completion or finality or extremity, depending on the meaning of the verb.

Thus for example the combination *dʒì mī* means ‘close eye’, while *dʒì mī lí* or *dʒì mī tʃí* or *dʒì mī ndí* means ‘close eye firmly’, using the final adverbial *lí* or *tʃí* or *ndí*. While these adverbials are interchangeable with *dʒì mī*, they are not interchangeable in all combinations. Thus *kō ōdú lí* means ‘asleep’, *sò ndí* means ‘spear firmly’, and *dʒì tī tʃí* means ‘close mouth firmly’, and in each case the adverbial cannot be substituted by one of the others. The combination *dʒì tī* means ‘close mouth’ and the combination *dʒì tī gbírí* or *dʒì tī tʃí* or *dʒì tī ndí* means ‘close mouth completely’; note that *tʃí* can be used also with ‘close eye’ but *gbírí* or *ndí* cannot be used with ‘close eye’.

Table 47. Adverbials expressing completion, selected by specific verbs

adverbial	meanings of verbs with which it combines	comments
<i>lí</i>	close eye ( <i>dʒì mī</i> ); fall asleep ( <i>kō ōdú</i> )	
<i>gbírí</i>	close mouth ( <i>dʒì tī</i> )	
<i>ndí</i>	close mouth ( <i>dʒì tī</i> )	
<i>ndí</i>	spear, stab etc ( <i>sò</i> etc.); close eye ( <i>dʒì mī</i> )	
<i>tʃí</i>	close eye ( <i>dʒì mī</i> ), close mouth ( <i>dʒì tī</i> )	
<i>tī</i>	fill up ( <i>gā</i> )	
<i>dé</i>	fill up, be/get drunk ( <i>gā</i> ); be angry ( <i>ānà</i> )	can be a predicate meaning ‘be full’
<i>dì dì</i>	scatter, disperse ( <i>āré rū</i> )	
<i>kátá kátá</i>	break ( <i>ṅò</i> ); scatter, disperse ( <i>āré rū</i> , <i>íré rū</i> , <i>ātsá rū</i> ); be/get drunk ( <i>mvū rū</i> , <i>īmērì</i> )	
<i>kúfú kúfú</i>	as for <i>kátá kátá</i>	can be a predicate meaning ‘drunk’ or ‘in pieces’
<i>káfá káfá</i>	scatter, disperse ( <i>āré rū</i> , <i>íré rū</i> , <i>ātsá rū</i> ), break, get drunk	
<i>mgbú</i>	break ( <i>ṅò</i> )	

<i>bò</i>	leave ( <i>ēbē</i> ), stay ( <i>ōlú</i> )	'leave intact', 'stay intact'
<i>bō</i>	stay ( <i>dé</i> )	'stay forever'
<i>múó</i>	stay ( <i>dé</i> ), go ( <i>mū</i> )	'stay/go forever'
<i>bōbō drú</i>	go ( <i>mū</i> )	'have gone forever and be long overdue'
<i>gúrú</i>	impress, indent ( <i>mà, ēpì, gā</i> )	'make a deep impression'; can be a predicate meaning 'deep'
<i>dōdòrō</i>	grow ( <i>zō, wí</i> )	'grow really tall';
<i>tfa</i>	explain ( <i>ndzē</i> ), exceed in height ( <i>ēpè, ēgò</i> ), jump ( <i>āmvū</i> )	with 'jump' meaning is 'jump across'
<i>īngwē</i>	thrash ( <i>tfō, ūtú</i> )	also means 'white'
<i>tō</i>	become dry, tired ( <i>ō?wí</i> )	
<i>ndrò</i>	like ( <i>lè</i> ) and other verbs of desire	
<i>dì</i>	get lost, be forgotten ( <i>ēgwè</i> )	
<i>ìní</i>	put out fire, light, eyesight ( <i>ōzì,</i> <i>īzì, vù</i> )	
<i>ìmgbé</i>	refuse ( <i>gà</i> )	
<i>kpérì</i>	burst ( <i>fè</i> )	
<i>kpó</i>	die ( <i>drà</i> ), kill ( <i>dí</i> ), beat ( <i>mgbā</i> )	in all cases meaning '..to death'
<i>nùrù</i>	catch ( <i>kō</i> ), indent, deflate ( <i>sí</i> )	

### 18.2.2.2 Fixed final adverbials expressing manner

There are a few fixed final adverbials, possibly all ideophones, which express the manner of the action and are selected by specific verbs.

(156) *ō-rì fà*  
3-sit comfortably  
'She sat comfortably.' (in a relaxed manner)

(157) *àrabià rì āgá dí?ā sì wìū*  
car DEF pass here SR fast  
'The car passed in a flash.' (at a lightning speed)

Some combinations are idiosyncratic or idiomatic, with the verb supplying relatively little of the final meaning.

- (158) *kó-ʔà*      *fí*    *fí̄*    ( or *fíē* *fíē̄* )  
 3-sit            ID  
 ‘She is breathing labouredly.’ (like an asthmatic person in gasps)
- (159) *ópi*    *ō-bē*      *tfákálū*  
 Opi    3-throw    unsatisfyingly  
 ‘Opi devoured it in one unsatisfying go.’ (he remained hungry)

### 18.2.3 *Miscellaneous fixed final adverbials exemplified*

The following examples illustrate a selection of fixed final adverbials from Table 46.

- (160) *ópi*    *ō-dzè*      *pélééré*  
 Opi    3-wash      clean  
 ‘Opi washed it clean.’
- (161) *ópi*    *ō-dzĩ*      *bò*  
 Opi    3-take      intact  
 ‘Opi took it intact.’ (ie. didn’t pinch any of it)
- (162) *ópi*    *ō-rì*      *tfírí*  
 Opi    3-sit      silently  
 ‘Opi sat silently.’
- (163) *ópi*    *ō-sò*      *lōsó*  
 Opi    3-sew      good  
 ‘Opi sewed it well.’
- (164) *ópi*    *ō-sò*      *rĩ rĩ*  
 Opi    3-sew      quickly  
 ‘Opi sewed it quickly.’
- (165) *ópi*    *ē-dzé*      *gáñ*      *údí*  
 Opi    (3)-VE-buy    bicycle    recently  
 (a) ‘Opi bought a bicycle recently.’  
 (b) ‘Opi bought a new bicycle.’
- (166) *ēsú*    *ópi*    *ē-tfá*      *mgbē* *mgbē*  
 find    Opi    (3)-VE-reach    recently  
 (a) ‘She found that Opi had just arrived.’  
 (b) ‘Opi had just arrived.’ (when the thing happened)

- (167) *ópi*      *ō-dū*      *ízi*      *ìdí*  
 Opi      3-take      woman      again  
 ‘Opi is married again.’
- (168) *ká*      *ātí*      *dí?ā*      *trò* *trò*  
 3      go      here      occasionally  
 ‘She comes here occasionally.’
- (169) *ká*      *ātí*      *trò* *trò*      *wà*  
 3      go      slightly      PS  
 ‘She can move a bit.’
- (170) *ká*      *ātí*      *dí?ā*      *trò* *trò*  
 3      go      here      occasionally  
 ‘She comes here occasionally.’
- (171) *ká*      *ātí*      *trò* *trò*      *wà*  
 3      go      slightly      PS  
 ‘She can move a bit.’
- (172) *ópi*      *ē-kè*      *má*      *ní*      *ḃō ḃō drú*  
 Opi      (3)-VE-give      1S      BEN      for ever  
 ‘Opi gave it for me forever.’
- (173) *ópi*      *ō-dzī*      *ḃò ḃò drú*  
 Opi      3-take      temporarily  
 ‘Opi took it temporarily.’

The following examples illustrate some fixed final adverbials expressing completion and selected by specific verbs, from table 47.

- (174) *ópi*      *?à*      *pá*      *ō-ḡò*      *kúfúkúfú*      *kūrù*  
 Opi      POSS      leg      3-break      ID      NEG(P)  
 ‘Opi’s leg did not break completely into pieces.’
- (175) *ópi*      *?à*      *pá*      *ō-ḡò*      *mgbú*  
 Opi      POSS      leg      3-break      COM  
 ‘Opi’s leg is completely broken.’
- (176) *m-égò*      *ópi*      *nī*      *tfá*  
 1S-exceed      Opi      PR      COM  
 ‘I am taller than Opi.’ (literally ‘I exceed Opi in height.’)

- (177) *ópi*      *ʔà*      *dri*      *ṡ-sī*      *rū*      *īngwē*  
 Opi      POSS      head      3-thin out      REFL      white  
 ‘Opi’s head has gone completely bald.’
- (178) *ṡ-gà*      *mū-kā*      *ìngbé*  
 3-refuse [ (N)-go-SB ]      COM  
 ‘She has completely rejected going.’
- (179) *ópi*      *ʔā*      *ḃòndzī*      *ṡlú*      *ḃò*      (*drú*)  
 Opi      POSS      children      stay      intact      as  
 ‘Opi’s children are intact.’ (none of them has died)
- (180) *ēbē*      *ópi*      *nī*      *ḃò*  
 leave      Opi      BEN      intact  
 ‘He left it intact for Opi.’ (*ópi nī* can be moved to the end of the sentence)

#### 18.2.4 *Comments on specific fixed final adverbials*

- 18.2.4.1 ‘Negative completion’: *ìmbî* ‘mostly unsuccessfully’, *kpùrù* ‘largely missed’, *tʃí* ‘successfully’, *rá* the affirmation modal.

*ìmbî* and *kpùrù* combine with the verbs *gbī* ‘kick, shoot’, *kō* ‘catch, hold’, *rē* ‘hit’, *vī* ‘hit with a stone’, *trū* ‘tread, kick’, *dī* ‘slap, hit with hand’, *mgbī* ‘kick a ball etc., shoot (gun, arrow)’. *kpùrù* indicates that the action mostly missed the target with some contact made, with the final particle *ìmbî* meaning ‘largely missed’.

- (181) *má*      *kō*      *ìmbî*  
 1S      catch      COM  
 ‘I have failed to catch it.’
- (182) *má*      *kō*      *kpùrù*  
 1S      catch      COM  
 ‘I have narrowly failed to catch it.’ (it was in the hand but slipped away)

There are corresponding ‘positive completions’ for these verbs.

- (183) *má*      *kō*      *tʃí*  
 1S      catch      COM  
 ‘I have caught it.’ (it is in my hands)

(184) *má* *kō* *trò*  
 1S catch COM  
 'I have caught it.' (I did make catching contact with it)

(185) *má* *kō* *rá*  
 1S catch AFF  
 'I certainly did catch it.' (this happened)

#### 18.2.4.2 *gbù* 'once before'

*gbù* affirms that a currently occurring eventuality has happened before. *gbù* is found only in past tense sentences.

(186) *má* *mū* *dzúbà* *gá* *gbù*  
 1S go Juba LOC once before  
 'I have been to Juba before.' (this will not be my first journey)

(187) *ópi* *ō-dū* *ízi* *gbù*  
 Opi 3-take woman once before  
 'Opi has married before.'

The unmarked interpretation is that the event has happened once before; multiple previous occurrences can be indicated by using the iterative *ō-* prefix on the verb. Temporal modifiers can be used in combination with *gbù* only if they are generic rather than referring to a specific time.

(188) *ē-tfá* *dí?ā* *gbù* *íníni* *ēzè* *ʔí*  
 (3)-VE-reach here once before morning early SPEC FOC  
 'She has been here before early in the morning.'

(189)\* *ē-tfá* *dí?ā* *gbù* *tébé* *ʔí*  
 (3)-VE-reach here once before earlier-today SPEC FOC  
 'She has been here (before) earlier in the day of the speech event.'

#### 18.2.4.3 *ìsā* 'only', 'without'

*ìsā* expresses a meaning that something is absent without specifying what it is; the addressee must fill in the missing portion. *ìsā* is not associated with any particular verb, unlike the 'negative completion' particles discussed in 18.2.4.1. It is always sentence-final.

- (190) *má nā kǎtá dǐ ìsā*  
 1S eat potatoes this without  
 Literally: 'I ate these potatoes without'  
 Interpretable as for example:  
 (a) 'I ate these potatoes without sauce.'  
 (b) 'I ate these potatoes without incurring any expenses.'  
 (c) 'I ate these potatoes for no apparent reason.' (ie. I was not hungry)
- (191) *m' -ēsú ópí nǐ ìsā*  
 1S-find Opi PR without  
 Literally: 'I found Opi without'  
 Interpretable as for example:  
 (a) 'I found Opi without clothes on.'  
 (b) 'I found Opi without incurring any expenses.'  
 (c) 'I found Opi without any thing.' (ie. in utter poverty)
- (192) *ōgù bòṅgú áū ìsā*  
 steal clothes FOC only  
 'She only stole clothes.'
- (193) *má `mū ìsā*  
 1S N-go only  
 (a) 'I will go / am going in vain.'  
 (b) 'I will go / am going for no apparent reason.'
- (194) *má ndrē mǎdí àlū ìsā*  
 1S see person one only  
 'I saw only one person.'

#### 18.2.4.4 *trò* 'in addition'

The fixed adverbial *trò* adds the meaning of 'in addition' to the sentence. The eventuality represented by the sentence is interpreted as the result of the subject's staying around to do it, or as its being something additional or incidental to some other eventuality. Thus in the following example, I stayed around long enough to taste the mango, or tasting the mango was one of the things that I did there though not the primary thing.

- (195) *má bǐ mǎngà rǐ trò*  
 1S taste mango DEF as well  
 'I tasted the mango (before leaving).'

The following example expresses an incidental action. The implication is that building a house was not his main intention; he may perhaps have gone to the village for a holiday (principal aim) but built a house as well (incidental action); or he stayed long enough to build the house.

- (196) *ō-sī dʒó rì trò*  
 3-build house DEF as well  
 ‘She built the house (in question) as well.’

The subject need not be animate.

- (197) *érevi ǝ-ndʒū dʒó nī dri trò*  
 wind 3-blow house POSS roof as well  
 ‘The wind blew off the roof of the house as well.’

- (198) *èjí ǝ-dī trò*  
 rain 3-rain as well  
 ‘It rained as well.’

The notion of additional action can be focused specifically on the object, as in the following example, where there are other things initially to be bought, and the bananas were bought in addition to them.

- (199) *ɲ-ē-dʒé lābōlō trò*  
 2SDIR-VE-buy banana as well  
 ‘(You should) buy bananas as well.’

The main action might be stated in one clause with the additional action in a subordinate clause (200, 201).

- (200) *má mbā mángà rì ʔà tà ābì trò*  
 1S take care mango DEF POSS thing ripe as well  
 ‘I kept the mango until it had ripened.’

- (201) *má ɲá-à tà mbā ɲí `zō trò*  
 1S 2S-POSS thing (N)-take care 2S N-grow as well  
 ‘I will take care of you until you are grown up.’

There is also a meaning of ‘until’.

- (202) *má ɲī `mgbā ɲ-ōwó trò*  
 1S 2S N-beat 2S-cry as well  
 ‘I will beat you until you cry.’

- (203) *ópi ká nĩ tè trò*  
 Opi 3 2S (N)-wait as well  
 ‘Opi will wait for you (until you finish).’

In another meaning, it implies that the eventuality has just now occurred; thus it affirms but also carries meanings of tense. Note that non-immediacy is indicated by use of the ventive verb.

- (204) *òtí ò-sò má ?à pá trò*  
 thorn 3-prick 1S POSS leg as well  
 ‘A thorn has (just now) pricked my leg.’

- (205) *òtí ē-sò má ?à pá trò*  
 thorn (3)-VE-prick 1S POSS leg as well  
 ‘A thorn had pricked my leg.’ (elsewhere; I am here now)

*trò* is also a postposition meaning ‘with’ and found in conjunctions (15.8). It is possible that this meaning is relevant in the following examples, where *trò* might be interpreted as ‘with you’ or ‘with him’, thus deriving a sense of the additional.

- (206) *n-ē-dzĩ gálámù trò*  
 2SDIR-VE-take pen as well  
 ‘(You should) bring a pen with you.’

And compare the examples below with and without *trò*.

- (207) *ópi ò-dzĩ mòrià nĩ ēbù gá*  
 Opi 3-take Moria PR work LOC  
 ‘Opi took Moria to work.’

- (208) *ópi ò-dzĩ mòrià nĩ ēbù gá trò*  
 Opi 3-take Moria PR work LOC COMT  
 (a) ‘Opi took Moria with him to work.’ (Moria is accompanying Opi not necessarily going to work.)  
 (b) ‘Opi took Moria to work as well.’ (Opi is going to work or elsewhere and took along Moria who is going to work.)

#### 18.2.4.5 *pá* ‘first’

*pá* ‘first’ appears at the end of the first of two clauses, with the second clause having a word expressing temporal sequence clause. It must be clause-final, and it can terminate an uninflected verb.

- (209)  $\bar{o}$ - $d\bar{i}$   $l\bar{i}n\bar{a}$   $p\bar{a}$  .  $\bar{o}$ - $d\bar{r}\bar{i}$  (  $v\bar{u}\bar{a}r\bar{u}$  )  $b\bar{u}k\bar{u}$   $l\bar{a}$   
 3-cook food first 3-then after-it book (N)-read  
 (a) 'He cooked first, then he read a book.'  
 (b) 'He cooked first before reading a book.'
- (210)  $n\bar{i}$   $m\bar{u}$   $p\bar{a}$  .  $m\bar{a}$   $d\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\bar{e}$ - $m\bar{u}$   
 2SDIR go first 1S then VE-go  
 '(You should) go first, then I will come (there).'

#### 18.2.4.6 $d\bar{i}n\bar{i}$ 'as soon as'

$d\bar{i}n\bar{i}$  is a combination of  $d\bar{i}$  'this' and  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  'like'. Its basic meaning seems to be 'like this'; there is also a combination  $n\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  which means 'like that'.

- (211)  $d\bar{z}\bar{o}$   $\bar{s}\bar{i}$ - $\bar{a}$   $n\bar{a}$ - $n\bar{i}$   
 house N-build-OBJ that-like  
 'Houses are built like that.'
- (212)  $n\bar{i}$   $k\bar{e}$   $\bar{o}p\bar{i}$   $n\bar{i}$   $d\bar{i}$ - $n\bar{i}$   
 2SDIR give Opi BEN this-like  
 (a) 'Give it to Opi as it is.'  
 (b) 'This is how you should give it to Opi.'
- (213)  $n\bar{i}$   $f\bar{o}$   $\bar{o}p\bar{i}$   $n\bar{i}$   $d\bar{i}$ - $n\bar{i}$   
 2SDIR say Opi BEN this-like  
 'This (what I just told you) is what / how you should tell Opi.'

However,  $d\bar{i}n\bar{i}$  also can come at the end of a clause and means 'as soon as (clause)'. It might be interpreted as conjoining two root clauses, or as subordinating the first to the second. The first clause, ending in  $d\bar{i}n\bar{i}$  usually contains a punctual verb; it expresses an event which closely precedes or is simultaneous with that expressed by the second clause.

- (214)  $\bar{o}p\bar{i}$   $\bar{e}$ - $t\bar{f}\bar{a}$   $d\bar{i}$ - $n\bar{i}$   $\bar{i}t\bar{o}$   $\bar{o}$ - $\eta\bar{g}\bar{a}$   
 Opi (3)-VE-reach this-like Ito 3-leave  
 'As soon as Opi arrived, Ito left.'
- (215)\*  $\bar{o}p\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}$ - $n\bar{a}$   $d\bar{i}$ - $n\bar{i}$   $r\bar{u}$   $n\bar{a}$   $\bar{e}$ - $d\bar{o}$   $\bar{d}\bar{i}$ - $k\bar{a}$   
 Opi 3-eat this-like body AFF (3)-VE-start N-shake-SB  
 'As soon as Opi ate it, he started to shiver.'
- (216)  $\bar{o}p\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}$ - $t\bar{e}$   $d\bar{i}$ - $n\bar{i}$   $r\bar{u}$   $n\bar{a}$   $\bar{e}$ - $d\bar{o}$   $\bar{d}\bar{i}$ - $k\bar{a}$   
 Opi 3-swallow this-like body AFF (3)-VE-start N-shake-SB  
 'As soon as Opi swallowed it, he started to shiver.'

*mgbē* or *mgbē sá`* may come at the beginning of a new clause, after clause-final *dínĩ*, particularly if both clauses have coreferential subjects.

(217) *mùndùkú ò-vù dǐ-nĩ mgbē bá ēdó ātfá-kā*  
 gun 3-silent this-like immediately people start (N)-disperse-SB  
 ‘As soon as the guns went silent, people started immediately to scatter.’

(218) *ópí ìkó sùkùrù dínĩ mgbē sá` ò-kwĩ bòlísì (gá)*  
 Opi finish school this-like immediately time 3-enter police LOC  
 ‘As soon as Opi completed his studies, he immediately at that time joined the police.’

Negation of either clause is impossible with a clause with *dínĩ*, suggesting that *dínĩ* adds a sense that the events have certainly taken place, analogous to the use of *rá*.

#### 18.2.4.7 *vùrú* ‘down’

*vùrú* ‘down’ is selected by: *rì* ‘sit’ *ìlū* ‘lower’, *gà* ‘chop, slay’, *tū* ‘empty out, unload solids’, *lā* ‘to lay down to sleep’, *dē* ‘fall’.

(219) *ò-rì vùrú*  
 3-sit down  
 (a) ‘She sat down.’  
 (b) ‘She is sitting down.’ (state; nb. ‘progressive’ interp.)

(220) *ìlū drì vùrú*  
 (3)-lower head down  
 ‘She lowered her head down.’

(221) *ɲì tū vùrú*  
 2SDIR empty down  
 ‘(You should) empty it down.’

(222) *ɲì lā bārā vùrú*  
 2SDIR lay child down  
 ‘(You should) lay the child down.’

(223) *ēgā rū vùrú*  
 (3)-fall REFL down  
 (a) ‘She fell down.’  
 (b)\* ‘It fell down.’

- (224)  $\bar{v}$ - $\bar{d}\bar{e}$        $\bar{v}\bar{u}\bar{r}\bar{u}$   
 3-fall      down  
 (a)\* ‘She fell down.’  
 (b) ‘It fell down.’  
 (c) ‘She lay / is lying down.’

$\bar{v}\bar{u}\bar{r}\bar{u}\bar{l}\bar{e}$  means ‘downwards’. The unrelated  $\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{i}$  means ‘upside down’.

#### 18.2.4.8 $\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{u}$ ‘up’

$\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{u}$  is selected by  $\eta\bar{g}\bar{a}$  ‘wake up, get up, stand up’,  $\bar{e}\eta\bar{g}\bar{a}$  ‘come from above’ (the ventive form of  $\eta\bar{g}\bar{a}$ ),  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$  ‘sit’,  $\bar{b}\bar{a}$  ‘put up’.

- (225)  $\eta\bar{i}$ - $\eta\bar{g}\bar{a}$        $\bar{o}\bar{p}\bar{i}$        $\bar{n}\bar{i}$        $\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{u}$   
 2SDIR-CAUS-wake      Opi      PR      up  
 ‘(You should) wake up Opi.’

- (226)  $\bar{v}$ - $\bar{r}\bar{i}$        $\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{u}$   
 3-sit      up  
 (a) ‘She sat up (high).’  
 (b) ‘She is sitting up.’

- (227)  $\bar{e}\bar{d}\bar{e}$        $\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{u}$        $\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{u}\bar{t}\bar{e}$   
 (3)-stand      up      alone  
 ‘She stood up on her own.’

- (228)  $\eta\bar{i}$        $\bar{b}\bar{a}$        $\bar{k}\bar{u}\bar{b}\bar{a}\bar{j}\bar{a}$        $\bar{i}\bar{l}\bar{e}\bar{d}\bar{i}$        $\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{u}$   
 2SDIR      put      cup      that      up  
 ‘(You should) put that cup (near you) up.’

- (229)  $\bar{v}$ - $\eta\bar{g}\bar{a}$        $\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{u}$   
 3-rise      high  
 ‘She got up.’

- (230)  $\bar{e}$ - $\eta\bar{g}\bar{a}$        $\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{u}$   
 (3)-VE-rise      high  
 ‘It came from above / up.’

$\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{u}\bar{l}\bar{e}$  means ‘upwards, northwards, north’. The word for ‘south’ is  $\bar{l}\bar{i}\bar{l}\bar{e}$  which also means ‘downwards’; there is no obvious synchronic root resembling  $\bar{l}\bar{i}$ , so this word must be considered monomorphemic. These are generally found in sentence final positions.

18.2.4.9 *gbò* and *rù*

*gbò* has a subject-oriented modal force, relating to permission or will, and is used when the obstacles relate to the subject, while the free adverbial *rù* lacks this modal force is used for obstacles unconnected to the subject.

- (231) *ópi ē-mú rá gbò*  
 Opi (3)-VE-go AFF still  
 ‘Opi definitely still came.’ (Regardless of circumstance; he wasn’t allowed to go or had said he wouldn’t go, but he went.)
- (232) *ópi ē-mú rá rù*  
 Opi (3)-VE-go AFF still  
 ‘Opi definitely still came.’ (In spite of the difficulties he faced, eg. broken bridge, insecurity etc. he still came.)
- (233) *̄kwī sùkùrù gá rá gbò*  
 3-enter school FOC AFF still  
 ‘She has definitely been to school.’ (In spite of the fact that she cannot write or was not allowed to go, she has been to school.)
- (234) *̄kwī sùkùrù gá rá rù*  
 3-enter school FOC AFF still  
 ‘She has definitely been to school.’ (in spite of her handicap, absence of fees)

18.2.4.10 *dàkū* ‘a lot’

*dàkū* ‘a lot’ emphasizes the eventuality in a verbal clause. It is made up of *dà* ‘fine, ok’ and the negation *kū*, and is found in nonpast as well as past tense sentences.

- (235) *ká bá ìtfāndì dàkū*  
 3 people (N)-disturb a lot  
 ‘It disturbs people a lot.’
- (236) *bá ē-vù dàkū*  
 people (3)-VE-go(PL) a lot  
 ‘A lot of people came.’
- (237) *̄lè rū ópi sī dàkū*  
 3-like REFL Opi SR a lot  
 ‘She likes Opi a lot.’

## 18.2.5 Reduplicated constituents as fixed final adverbials

In this section we look at reduplicated constituents, either single words or postposition phrases, which are used as fixed final adverbials. Thus in the following example the noun *bàrú* ‘home’ is reduplicated to give a meaning of ‘home regularly, as soon as the opportunity arises’. The objects being taken home are either the same objects or different objects being taken each time.

- (238) *ádǝĩ*                      *bàrú*    *bàrú*  
 (3)-ITER-take home    home    home  
 ‘She took them / it home (regularly)’.

In the following example (gloss a) the postposition phrase *ópi drí* ‘to opi’ is reduplicated to mean ‘to Opi regularly’. (Gloss b translates a different syntactic structure and is not relevant here.)

- (239) *ɲì*      *kè*      *ópi*    *drí*    *ópi*    *drí*  
 2SDIR give    Opi    BEN    Opi    BEN  
 (a) ‘(You should) give it / them to Opi (regularly).’ (eg. you are regularly paid money by someone and this person must regularly give it to Opi)  
 (b) ‘(You should) give Opi’s to Opi.’ (In this reading, the first *drí* is possessive, and this is not a reduplicated form)

There is a core meaning in all cases which is that the eventuality immediately follows on from another eventuality. The two eventualities might be different in kind or might be of the same kind repeated. By preference the verb is nonpast and with a habitual interpretation. Iterative forms of verbs are also preferred.

Though noun + postposition combinations can be reduplicated, reduplication here looks like a lexical rather than a syntactic process. First, the base need not itself be capable of functioning as a fixed adverbial. Thus *kìɲà* ‘year’ is not a temporal modifier but *kìɲà kìɲà* ‘year after year’ is. The same is true of *vú gá* and its reduplication.

- (240)\* *bá*            *ɲì*            *ē-vù*                      *vú*    *gá*  
 people    DEF    (3)-VE-go(PL)    after    LOC  
 ‘They came one after the other.’

- (241) *bá*            *ɲì*            *ē-vù*                      *vú*    *gá*    *vú*    *gá*  
 people    DEF    (3)-VE-go(PL)    after    LOC    after    LOC  
 ‘They came one after the other.’ (in a steady flow)

Second, there is generally complete copying of the constituent and no pause between the parts. In some cases such as *tʃítʃírì* ‘silently’ (possibly related to *tʃírì* ‘silent’) it is not clear whether the form is reduplicated or not. Third, tonal patterns in these reduplicated forms resemble the tonal patterns of lexical items (see 3.5.2.6).

The reduplicated form can itself be reduplicated again. In the doubly reduplicated form the tonal change marks the plurality, with (the pragmatically odd) several things killed several times.

(242) *má mgbā àǎ́ kpó kpó*  
 1S beat 3PL COM COM  
 ‘I beat them all dead.’ (killing a number of things one at a time)

(243) *má mgbā àǎ́ kpò kpó kpó kpò*  
 1S beat 3PL COM COM COM COM  
 ‘I (individually) beat them to death.’ (a series of killings involving a series of dead individuals)

Some reduplicated final adverbials must be followed by *nǎ́*. We think this is most likely to be a shortened form of *ánǎ́* ‘like’ (ie. we do not consider it to be related to the *nǎ́* required after arguments, 12.1.3).

(244) *ká kǎ́ ǒlú dǔó dǔó nǎ́*  
 3 PL (N)-stay house house as/like  
 ‘They are always in the house.’ (rarely do they go out)

(245) *ká ātǎ́ tʃítʃírì nǎ́*  
 3 (N)-move(PL) silently as/like  
 ‘He moves silently.’

The reduplicated adverbial can follow a focus particle *áū* as (247) shows, and can terminate an uninflected verb as (238) shows.

#### 18.2.5.1 Kinds of reduplicated adverbial

The location noun *ǎ́rú* ‘home’ can be reduplicated, as we have seen.

(246) *k-áǎ́ǎ́-ǎ́ ǎ́rú ǎ́rú*  
 3-(N)-ITER-take-OBJ home home  
 (a) ‘She takes them / it home (regularly).’  
 (b) ‘She will take them / it home (regularly).’  
 (In both cases, either the same thing or different ones are being taken each time - as soon as the opportunity arises.)

If the verb is not iterative, *ɓàrú ɓàrú* can only mean something like ‘homelike’.

A temporal noun *kìṅà* ‘year’ can be reduplicated.

- (247) *ká lēfó àlū àlū rì ū-rí áū kìṅà kìṅà*  
 3 issue one one DEF (N)-ITER-insist FOC year year  
 (a) ‘She keeps on repeating the same issue year after year.’  
 (b) ‘She will keep on repeating the same issue year after year.’

A postposition phrase can be reduplicated.

- (248) *ṅì ɓà dʒó gá dʒó gá*  
 2SDIR put house LOC house LOC  
 ‘(You should) put it / them in the house.’ (the same thing several times or different things as soon as you get them)

Most of the completion particles can be reduplicated to give a meaning of immediate sequence, with the participants taking part in a sequential repetition of the action.

- (249) *má-à drí ɔ̄-ṅò mgbú*  
 1S-POSS hand 3-break COM  
 ‘My hand is completely broken.’

- (250) *má-à drí ɔ̄-ṅò mgbú mgbú*  
 1S-POSS hand 3-break COM COM  
 ‘My hand is completely broken.’ (either one hand into several pieces or both hands each with a fracture)

Copying (complete reduplication) of a cardinal number gives a meaning of ‘at a time’ or ‘each’; the same applies to question words which question a number.

- àlū àlū* ‘one at a time, one each’  
*èrì èrì* ‘two at a time, two each’  
*nā nā* ‘three at a time, three each’  
*sí sí* ‘how many a time? how many each?’  
*íṅgó pí íṅgó pí* ‘how much at a time? how much each?’

Note the following difference in interpretation with singular and plural subjects, with ‘each’ applying either to the plural subject if there is one, or to the object otherwise.

- (251) *jì*      *dū*    *èrì*    *èrì*  
 2SDIR    take    two    two  
 (a) 'You should take two of each type.'  
 (b) 'You should take two at a time.'
- (252) *àjì*      *dū*    *èrì*    *èrì*  
 2PLDIR    take    two    two  
 (a) 'You should take two each.'  
 (b) 'You should take two at a time.'  
 (c) 'Two of you should (join together to) take (it).'

### 18.2.5.2 Reduplicated *rá* or *pí*: the adverbials *rá rá* and *pí pí*

It is particularly interesting that the affirmative modal *rá* can be reduplicated. The following shows (253) a two-sentence combination with the second sentence ending in *rá*, and then (254) a two-clause combination with the second sentence ending in *rá rá*.

- (253) *líá*    *?à*    *àrì*    *kó-tì.*    *èbì*    *k'ò-mbē-ā*    *rá*  
 Lia    POSS    blood    3-N-drip    Lion    3-N-lick-OBJ    AFF  
 'Lia's blood is dripping. Lion will lick it up.'
- (254) *líá*    *?à*    *àrì*    *kó-tì,*    *èbì*    *k'ò-mbē-ā*    *rá*    *rá*  
 Lia    POSS    blood    3-N-drip    Lion    3-N-lick-OBJ    AF    AFF  
 '(As) Lia's blood drips, Lion licks it up.'

When *rá rá* is combined with a non-iterative inflected (nonpast) verb, as above, the sentence has only a present interpretation, or possibly a sense that the action is repeated from present into future. This is unexpected because *rá* on its own forces a future interpretation with a nonpast verb.

In contrast, if *rá rá* is combined with an iterative verb, both a present and a future reading are available. The future reading (gloss b) represents a sequence: {drip-{'lick, lick, lick'}, drip-{'lick, lick, lick'}, drip-{'lick, lick, lick'}}. It cannot be interpreted as one drip followed by a sequence of groups of lickings.

- (255) *líá*    *?à*    *àrì*    *kó-tì,*    *èbì*    *k'ù-mbē-ā*    *rá*    *rá*  
 Lia    POSS    blood    3-N-drip    Lion    3-N-ITER-lick-OBJ    AFF    AFF  
 (a) '(As) Lia's blood drips, Lion licks it up.' (for every drip, several lickings up sequentially repeated)  
 (b) '(As) Lia's blood drips, Lion will lick it up.' (for every drip, several lickings up sequentially repeated)

If the first verb is non-iterative, futurity does not carry over to the subordinate clause: it cannot mean ‘As Lia’s blood will drip, Lion will lick it up.’ If both verbs are iterative, it is also possible to interpret the first clause as future or present.

- (256) *líá ʔà àrí kú-tì, èbì k’ù-mbē-ā rá rá*  
 Lia POSS blood 3-N-ITER-drip Lion 3-N-ITER-lick-OBJ AFF  
 (a) ‘(As) Lia’s blood drips, Lion licks it up.’  
 (b) ‘(As) Lia’s blood drips, Lion will lick it up.’  
 (c) ‘(As) Lia’s blood will drip, Lion will lick it up.’  
 (Repeated drips followed by repeated lickings up.)

We offer another example, this time with a directive verb. Given that *rá* can express meanings of certainty, is worth noting that there is no obvious sense of certainty being added here.

- (257) *n-ū-mbē drí*  
 2SDIR-ITER-lick hand  
 ‘You should lick your hands.’ (ie. do it now)

- (258) *n-ū-mbē drí rá rá*  
 2SDIR-ITER-lick hand AFF AFF  
 ‘(You should) lick your hands.’ (Regularly as you eat. This is a habit you should develop, which could start now and extend into the future.)

*rá rá* can be found in a past sentence but only in a separate root clause. Both verbs must be iterative.

- (259) *líá ʔà àrí ū-tì vuru. èbì ū-mbē rá rá*  
 Lia POSS blood 3-ITER-drip down. Lion 3-ITER-lick AFF AFF  
 ‘Lia’s blood dripped. He licked it up.’

The ‘extent’ adverbial *pí* behaves in a manner similar to *rá*.

- (260) *líá ʔà àrí k’ó-tì, èbì k’ò-mbē-ā pí pí*  
 Lia POSS blood 3-N-drip Lion 3-N-lick-OBJ COM COM  
 ‘As soon as Lia’s blood drips, Lion licks it up.’



- (268) *ópi ká èbī èndrù dī*  
 Opi 3 fish today (N)-cook  
 ‘Opi is fish today cooking.’ (storytelling register)

### 18.3.1.1 Temporal noun + *ngá*

*ngá* can be the final part of various temporal modifiers. It can be possessed, using the *ʔá* possession strategy as in *ándránī ʔá ngá* ‘two days ago’, or can be compounded with a preceding noun as in *vúlé ngá* ‘in time to come’. It is combined with a usually plural preceding noun phrase and *nī* in a phrase meaning ‘during X’s time’ as in *ópi pī nī ngá* ‘during the days of Opi and his associates’, or *ámā nī ngá* ‘in our days’. When reference is made to a reign rather than an individual then the plural marker *pī* is not needed. Thus in the example below it is the reign of Opi which is the focus.

- (269) *ópi nī ngá ifōmā fō-ā bārú èró pá*  
 Opi BEN period courting (N)-say-OBJ home granary under  
 ‘In the days (ie. reign) of Opi, courting was done at home under the granary.’

It is ambiguous: it may refer to the past or the future depending on whether the person being referred to is older than the speaker (270a) or younger than the speaker (270b).

- (270) *àʔī nī ngá ifōmā fō-ā bārú èró pá*  
 3PL BEN period courting (N)-say-OBJ home granary under  
 (a) ‘During their time, courting was done at home under the granary.’  
 (b) ‘During their time, courting will be done at home under the granary.’

*ānīngá* is possibly a combination of the third person pronoun *ānī* ‘he, she’ and *ngá* ‘period’, omitting the connecting *nī*. The whole phrase may be used together or split in two with no significant change of meaning.

- (271) *ānīngá ēzè àbírí ē-dé vù drī*  
 in the past early hunger (3)-VE-fall earth on  
 ‘A long time ago famine had fallen over the earth.’

18.3.2 *List of temporal nouns*

Table 48. Temporal nouns

Noun	meaning	comments
<i>ēzē</i>	a long time ago, early in the past early in the future	combines also with postposition <i>sī</i>
<i>ēndrù</i>	today	
<i>tébé</i>	earlier today (ie. preceding the speech event, on the same day)	cannot be used with <i>gbù</i> in the same clause
<i>ádẓíní</i>	yesterday	
<i>ándrání</i> ( <i>ʔà ngá</i> )	the day before yesterday	
<i>ándrání ēzē</i>	the day before yesterday, a long time ago	
<i>òbú</i>	tomorrow	
<i>òbútí</i>	in the morning, tomorrow	(Ugandan Ma'di)
<i>drúzí</i>	the day after tomorrow	
<i>íníní</i>	in the morning	
<i>lòvòrú</i>	in the morning	
<i>íníní ēzē</i>	early in the morning	a compound of 'in the morning' + 'early'
<i>ùndrwé</i>	in the evening	
<i>ùndrwé làgā</i>	in the evening hours	compound 'evening' + 'side'
<i>ítú</i>	during the day	
<i>ítú àtḥí</i>	during the day	
<i>íní</i>	at night	
<i>bùzèlé</i>	at dawn	combines with <i>sī</i>
<i>àḥí</i>	early morning sun (early part of the morning before the sun becomes too hot, possibly around 8-10 am)	
<i>lúbálanḡà</i> or <i>lùbàlanḡà</i>	at a time when the sun is not strong (ie. between afternoon and evening)	

## 18.3.3 Temporal nouns exemplified

18.3.3.1 *ēzè* 'early', 'a long time ago'

*ēzè* is freely placed but is usually sentence-final. In the past it can mean 'a long time ago'.

- (272) *ē-mú*                      *ēzè*  
 (3)-VE-go                      early  
 (a) 'She came early.'  
 (b) 'She came a long time ago.'

- (273) *k'-ē-mú*                      *ēzè*  
 3-VE-(N)-go                      early  
 'She will come early.'

- (274) @ *ō-mū* @ *sùkùrù* *gá* @  
 3-go                      school      LOC  
 @ = *ēzè*. If initial it must be focused by the LOW *ǎ* strategy.  
 'He joined / started school early.'

It can follow a modal *rá* with both meanings (in the past).

- (275) *ē-mú*                                      *rá*                      *ēzè*  
 (3)-VE-go                                      AFF                      early  
 (a) 'She certainly came early (at one point).'

(b) 'She certainly came a long time ago.'

- (276) *k'-ē-mú*                                      *rá*                      *ēzè*  
 3-VE-(N)-go                                      AFF                      early  
 'She will certainly come early.'

If it precedes the modal *rá* it cannot mean 'a long time ago'

- (277) *ē-mú*                                      *ēzè*                      *rá*  
 (3)-VE-go                                      early                      AFF  
 (a) 'She certainly came early (at one point).'

(b)\* 'She certainly came a long time ago.'

- (278) *k'-ē-mú*                                      *ēzè*                      *rá*  
 3-VE-(N)-go                                      early                      AFF  
 'She will certainly come early.' (the event will take place)

It can be left-dislocated but in this case the sentence must either end in *rá* in in the LOW-*ǝ̃* focus strategy.

(279)\* *ēzè ē-mú díǝ̃ā*  
 long (3)-VE-go here  
 ‘She came here early / a long time ago.’

(280) *ēzè ē-mú díǝ̃ā rá*  
 long (3)-VE-go here AFF  
 ‘In the past she certainly came here.’

### 18.3.3.2 *ǝ̃bú* ‘tomorrow’

*ǝ̃bú* is characteristically sentence-final.

(281) *má bǝ̃ngú dʒè ǝ̃bú*  
 1S clothes (N)-wash tomorrow  
 ‘It’s tomorrow that I’m washing clothes.’

It can precede a modal but it cannot come after the modal except as an afterthought.

(282)\* *ǝ̃pí kó-`mū rá ǝ̃bú*  
 Opi 3-N-go AFF tomorrow  
 ‘Opi will certainly go tomorrow.’

(283) *ǝ̃pí kó-`mū rá , ǝ̃bú*  
 Opi 3-N-go AFF tomorrow  
 ‘Opi will certainly go, tomorrow.’

It can be left-dislocated. The sentence must end in LOW-*ǝ̃* focus strategy or in *rá*.

(284)\* *ǝ̃bú kó-`mū*  
 tomorrow 3-N-go  
 ‘Tomorrow he will go.’

(285) *ǝ̃bú kó-`mū ` ǝ̃*  
 tomorrow 3-N-go SPEC FOC  
 ‘It is tomorrow that he will go.’

(286) *ǝ̃bú kó-`mū rá*  
 tomorrow 3-N-go AFF  
 ‘He will definitely go tomorrow.’

It can force a future reading.

- (287) *kó-`mū*  
3-N-go  
'He is going.'
- (288) *kó-`mū òbú*  
3-N-go tomorrow  
'He is going / will go tomorrow.'
- (289) *kó-`mū òbú rá*  
3-N-go tomorrow AFF  
'He will definitely go tomorrow.'

### 18.3.3.3 *ádžínĩ* 'yesterday'

*ádžínĩ* can terminate an uninflected verb

- (290) *ē-mú ádžínĩ*  
(3)-VE-go yesterday  
'He came yesterday.'

It can be left-dislocated; the sentence can but need not end in *rá*. However, in this case a past tense verb cannot be sentence-final so something must terminate the verb.

- (291)\* *ádžínĩ ō-mū*  
yesterday 3-go  
'Yesterday he went.'
- (292) *ádžínĩ ō-mū rá*  
yesterday 3-go AFF  
'Yesterday he did go.'
- (293) *ádžínĩ ō-mū ` Ǟ*  
yesterday 3-go SPEC FOC  
'It is yesterday that he went.'

## 18.4 Sentence-initial adverbials

In this section we consider adverbials which appear at the beginning of the sentence, whether a root or subordinate clause. They are not interpreted as left-dislocated and need not be focused when in sentence-initial position, and in this they differ from the sentence-final adverbials. Some of these adverbials, such as *kí* or *làkíní* ‘but’ can appear also at the end of the sentence.

Table 49. Fixed initial adverbials

adverbial	meaning	notes
<i>kí</i>	but	can be sentence final
<i>làkíní</i>	but	can be sentence final; of Arabic origin
<i>tí</i>	but	used in (root) questions only
<i>dríá</i> ( <i>drū</i> )	next	
<i>kàrà</i> or <i>kàrà sùke</i>	contrary to expectations	
<i>ámbsì</i>	contrary to expectations	(preferred in UM and 'Burulo)
<i>òzì</i>	yet	may be related to the verb <i>zì</i> (used for two overlapping events)
<i>drú</i> <i>drū</i>	at a time when	
<i>áū sì</i> ( <i>drú</i> )	as a result, because of it	
<i>àdū sì kū</i>	the reason being; why not	

(294) *kí* *ní* *mū* *ní* *ʔí*  
 but 2S N-go 2S FOC  
 ‘But it is you who is going / will go.’

(295) *tí* *ō-nì* *rá* *ʔ*  
 but 3-know AFF Q  
 ‘But does she really know?’

(296) *àmà* *rì* *ní* *̀ndrù-rē* . *kàrà sùkè* *n-ē-mú* *pí*  
 1PL(EXC) be [ 2S N-look-SB ] yet 2S-VE-go COM  
 ‘We were looking for you when you had already come (home).’

- (297) *dríá* ( *drū* ) *ópi* *k-ē-mú*  
 now Opi 3DIR-VE-go  
 ‘Next Opi should / can come.’
- (298) *àmà* *rì* *jí nī ndù-rē* . *ámbsì* *n-é-kī* *pí*  
 1PL(EXC) be [2S PR (N)-go look for-SB] yet 2S-VE-go COM  
 ‘We were looking for you yet you had already come (home).’
- (299) *ópi* *ō-rì* *ìrá* *`mvū-rē* , *òzī* *ámā* *kò-mvū* *kū*  
 Opi 3-be [beer N-drink-SB] yet that 3DIR-drink NEG(N)  
 ‘Opi has been drinking beer, yet he has been told not to drink.’
- (300) *vù* *àtí.* *òzī* *èjí* *k`ò-dí*  
 earth hot yet rain 3-N-rain  
 ‘It is hot. Yet it is raining.’
- (301) *òzī* *jí* *`mū* *rá* *´*  
 yet 2S N-go AFF Q  
 ‘Yet you are going?’ (despite everything)
- (302) *àmà* *lè* *ānī* *dí?ā* *kū* *ádū* *sì* *kū*  
 1PL(EXC) want 3S here NEG(N) [ what SR NEG(N)  
*ānīngá* *ē-mú* *dí?ā* *ōgù* *má-à* *búkù* *trò*  
 period past (3)-VE-go here steal 1S-POSS book COMT ]  
 ‘We do not want him here because when he came here the other  
 time, he stole my book.’
- (303) *ópi* *k-ē-ŋgwí* *rá*  
 Opi 3-VE-(N)-return AFF  
*ádū* *sì* *kū* *ēbē* *ānā-à* *gá* *rì* *dí?ā*  
 [ what SR NEG(N) (3)-leave 3S-POSS bicycle here ]  
 ‘Opi will come back because he has left his bicycle here.’

#### 18.4.1. *drú drū*

*drú drū* can be interpreted as ‘at a time when’.

- (304) *ē-mú* ( *drú drū* ) *ópi nī* *ōpi* *gá* *rì* *í*  
 (3)-VE-go Opi PR chiefdom LOC DEF FOC  
 ‘She came when Opi was reigning.’
- (305) *ē-mú* *lélé* ( *drú drū* ) *ópi nī* *ōpi* *gá* *rì* *í*  
 (3)-VE-go period Opi PR chiefdom LOC DEF FOC  
 ‘She came at a time when Opi was reigning.’



- (312) *vù ē-dé àbíí*  
 earth (3)-VE-fall hunger  
*dì sí drú tà nā-lé dí-ní sá` ìjō*  
 this SR as thing (N)-eat-SB this-like even absent  
 ‘The earth had fallen to hunger. As a result of this, there was not even a thing to be eaten.’

#### 18.4.4. *kání* ‘supposedly’

*kání* is a loanword from Arabic *kaan* ‘supposedly’. If the sentence has an inflected verb (nonpast tense), the meaning is that the eventuality described by the sentence was desired but did not, is not or will not occur in all its details (eg. the event does occur but with different participants).

- (313) *kání ópí k'-ē-dzǐ-ā nì*  
 suppose Opi 3-VE-(N)-bring-OBJ FOC  
 ‘Opi is supposed to bring it.’ (future and past)
- (314) *kání ópí k-ē-dzé údí ñ ǎí*  
 suppose Opi (DIR)-VE-buy new(S) DEF FOC  
 (a) ‘Opi should have bought a new one.’ (He bought old one.)  
 (b) ‘Opi should buy a new one.’

If the sentence has an uninflected verb (ie. past tense), the eventuality did occur but there is some problem relating to it.

- (315) *kání ópí ē-dzǐ nì*  
 suppose Opi (3)-VE-bring FOC  
 ‘It was brought by Opi.’ (But either the thing brought is no longer there or is malfunctioning and hence can’t be used, or someone does not want it used.)
- (316) *kání má sí dzó dí mā ǎí*  
 suppose 1S build house this 1S FOC  
 ‘I was the one who had built this house.’ (Either the house is no longer being used or I am denied access.)

If the sentence has a nonverbal predicate there is a meaning of ‘supposed to be’. *ēsú* reinforces this meaning.

- (317) *kání ópí nǐ má-à ādrúpi ǎí*  
 suppose Opi PR 1S-POSS brother FOC  
 ‘Opi was supposed to be my brother.’ (His behaviour was unbrotherly.)

- (318) *ēsú kání ópí nĩ má-à ādrúpi ʔĩ*  
 find suppose Opi PR 1S-POSS brother FOC  
 ‘Opi was supposed to be my brother.’ (But his behaviour  
 doesn’t show brotherliness.)

## 18.5 Adverbials with a discourse function

The words discussed in this section come at the end of the root sentence. They have a discourse function; they do not terminate an uninflected verb and appear not to have any clear syntactic relation to the rest of the sentence.

### 18.5.1 *ḃá*: reaffirmation

*ḃá* is used by a speaker to re-affirm the truth of one’s statement in the face of doubts. In reasserting one’s stand it also dismisses the false claims of the allegations made by implying: ‘believe me, it is the truth’. It is found at the end of the sentence, following any modals. It places focus on the final element of the sentence, preceding *ḃá*.

- (319) *má kè ópí ní rùḃià rĩ rá ḃá*  
 1S give Opi BEN money DEF AFF AFF  
 ‘I did give Opi the money (in question).’ (Context : You are  
 supposed to give some money to Opi. You did give the money.  
 But you hear rumours to the contrary. In defense you will say  
 this.)

- (320) *má kè ópí ní rùḃià ḃá*  
 1S give Opi BEN money AFF  
 ‘It is money that I did give Opi.’ (It’s not true that I didn’t.)

- (321) *má kè ópí ní rá ḃá*  
 1S give Opi BEN AFF AFF  
 ‘I did give Opi some.’ (It’s not true that I didn’t.)

- (322) *má kè ópí ní ḃá*  
 1S give Opi BEN AFF  
 ‘It is for Opi that I gave it.’ (not for someone else)

In directives, *ḃá* can be used to make the directive more polite, in some cases implying a question.

- (323)  $j\grave{h}$        $d\acute{f}$        $\acute{e}b\bar{i}$        $d\acute{f}$        $r\acute{a}$        $b\acute{a}$   
 2SDIR    cook    fish    this    AFF    AFF  
 (a) 'Do cook this fish please.'  
 (b) 'Do cook this fish, is it clear?'

### 18.5.2 $d\acute{o}$ : reaffirmation

$d\acute{o}$  is used with various functions. It is more 'appealing' than  $b\acute{a}$ , used when you want your point to be believed. It is used for example to reaffirm one's own statement and refute another's in the same breath.

- (324)  $m\acute{a}$        $f\bar{o}$        $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$        $n\acute{i}$        $r\acute{a}$        $d\acute{o}$   
 1S      say      opi      BEN      AFF      AFF  
 'But I have told Opi.' (How come he says that he didn't know about it?)

- (325)  $\bar{o}-mv\bar{u}$        $\acute{i}r\acute{a}$        $k\bar{u}$        $d\acute{o}$   
 3-drink    beer    NEG(N)    AFF  
 'But he does not drink.' (How come he behaved like that?)

It is used to exclaim.

- (326)  $j\acute{h}$        $\grave{m}\bar{u}$        $d\acute{o}$   
 2S    N-go    AFF  
 'So you are going!'

- (327)  $j\acute{h}'\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$        $r\acute{a}$        $d\acute{o}$   
 2S-VE-go    AFF      AFF  
 'So you have come!'

It is used to make an observation.

- (328)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$        $\bar{o}-r\bar{i}$        $t\acute{f}\acute{i}r\acute{i}$        $d\acute{o}$   
 Opi    3-sit    silent    AFF  
 'I notice Opi is sitting quietly.'

- (329)  $m-\acute{e}r\bar{i}$        $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$        $j\acute{h}$        $\grave{m}\bar{u}$        $r\acute{a}$        $d\acute{o}$   
 1S-N-hear    that    2S    N-go    AFF    AFF  
 'I hear that you are going.'

It is used to entreat, beg, ask or plead for mercy. There is no other word for 'please' in Ma'di.

(330)  $n\grave{i}$              $m\bar{u}$      $d\acute{o}$   
 2SDIR    go    AFF  
 'Please do go.'

(331)  $n-\bar{e}b\bar{e}$              $k-\bar{o}l\acute{u}$              $d\acute{o}$   
 2SDIR-let    3DIR-stay            AFF  
 'Please do spare him.' (You have given him enough thrashing.)

The use of  $d\acute{o}$  appears to be ruled out in the following example because it is a nonverbal clause (though  $b\acute{a}$  can be used in this kind of clause).

(332)\*  $\bar{a}g\acute{o}$      $n\grave{a}$      $\acute{u}l\acute{e}$      $d\acute{o}$   
 man    that    witch    AFF  
 'I notice that man is a witch.'

### 18.5.3 $n\grave{i}$ : precautionary warning

$n\grave{i}$  is placed at the end of the sentence to draw attention to an event as a way of making a precautionary warning. Compare the pairs below with and without  $n\grave{i}$ .

(333)  $d_3\acute{o}$      $d\grave{i}$      $k\acute{o}-r\bar{a}$      $n\grave{i}$   
 house    this    3-N-leak    FOC  
 'It is this house which is leaking / leaks.'

(334)  $d_3\acute{o}$      $d\grave{i}$      $k\acute{o}-r\bar{a}$      $n\grave{i}$      $n\grave{i}$   
 house    this    3-N-leak    FOC    (warning)  
 '(Look) it is this house which is leaking / leaks.' (I can't be expected to sleep in it, put things in it, buy it etc.)

(335)  $\acute{e}j\acute{i}$              $k\acute{o}-d\bar{i}$   
 water            3-N-rain  
 'It is raining.'

(336)  $\acute{e}j\acute{i}$              $k\acute{o}-d\bar{i}$      $n\grave{i}$   
 water            3-N-rain    (warning)  
 '(Look) It is raining.' (Implicature - I can't go in the rain; you can't go out now. Context: a child sent to a shop can say this to draw attention to her plight or unwillingness to go.)

$n\grave{i}$  is generally found only with an inflected verb. It is not found in sentences with an uninflected or directive verb unless  $r\acute{a}$  is also used.

- (337)\* èjí            ò-dī            ñ  
 water            3-N-rain        (warning)  
 'It rained.'
- (338) èjí            ò-dī            rá            ñ  
 water            3-N-rain        AFF        (warning)  
 'It has certainly rained, I assure you.'

18.5.4 *kīà* : tentative affirmation

The word *kīà* is used at the end of a sentence, following any modals or negation, to make the affirmation more tentative. It is like a hedged form of *rá*.

- (339) ópí            kó-mū            sùkúru            gá            kīà  
 Opi            3-N-go            school            LOC            (hedge)  
 'Opi is going to school, isn't he?' (context: You want Opi to run an errand for you. But Opi has to be in school. You may be reminded with these words)
- (340) ópí            ò-ḡā            èbī            kū            kīà  
 Opi            3-eat            fish            NEG(N)        (hedge)  
 'Opi doesn't eat fish, does he?' (context: Opi is paying you a visit. You want fish to be prepared for him. But he does not eat fish. You may be reminded with these words.)

A typical idiom is for *kīà* to follow *ḡí ndrē rá* interpreted as 'have you seen', 'see?' and 'look!'.

- (341) ḡí            ndrē            rá,            ò-lè            kī            àmā-ní            ālī-kā            kū            kīà  
 2S            see            AFF 3-want    PL            1PL-BEN (N)-pass-SB    NEG(N)  
 'You see, they don't want us to go past, isn't that so?'

The segmentally similar but tonally different word *kīà* is used to disparage or question the worth of a person or thing, mostly in non-tensed constructions. This is used disparagingly to suggest that a thing is not worth bothering about.

- (342) ópí            k'-ē-mú            ñí            '            kīà  
 Opi            3-(N)-VE-go    FOC            Q            (hedge)  
 'Is it Opi who is coming? Forget about it.' (Nothing good will come out of it.)

- (343) *ópi nī pádēré ' . kĩa*  
 Opi PR priest Q (hedge)  
 'Is Opi a priest?' (Only heaven knows how low the church has stooped.)

## 18.6 Subordinate clauses which function as adverbials

### 18.6.1 Headless relatives expressing location in time

A headless relative is a noun phrase with an omitted noun, a full clause (with all arguments present), and a determiner. The determiner can be *rì* or a demonstrative. The headless relative can be used as a free adverbial with a 'when' or 'while' meaning. In final position it must be followed by the LOW-*rì* focus strategy.

- (344) *má ηò-ā rì ópi nī ìjō*  
 [ 1S (N)-break-OBJ ] DEF Opi PR absent  
 'When I broke it / was breaking it Opi wasn't around.'
- (345) *èjí k'ò-dī ádzínī rì àmá òdú `kō*  
 [water 3-N-rain yesterday] DEF 1PL(EXC) sleep N-catch  
 'When it was raining yesterday we were sleeping.'
- (346) *ópi ká àmà ē-tfá-rē rì èbī `jā*  
 Opi 3 [1PL(EXC) (N)-VE-arrive-SB ] DEF fish N-eat  
 (a) 'When we arrived Opi was eating fish.'  
 (b) '(Up to the point) when we arrived Opi used to eat fish.'

With *dī* 'this' as the determiner instead of *rì*, the relative clause is interpreted as describing an event immediately preceding the event of the main clause. *nà* 'that' as the determiner instead of *rì* gives a greater sense of temporal remoteness from us.

- (347) *bìlò ēgwè dī àmà kō àmà kè òfú ópi ní*  
 [sheep lost ] this 1PL then 1PL give news Opi BEN  
 'Following the loss of the sheep we (immediately) informed Opi.'
- (348) *ō-mū dī, àdū ìdē rù nì*  
 [3-go] this what do REFL FOC  
 'Having gone, what happened?'

The headless relative can also be based on a clause with the verb suffixed with *rē*. The interpretation is similar.

- (349) ògú ɔ̄-kwī àǎ́-à ȳdú `kō-rē rì ǎ́  
 thief 3-enter [3PL-POSS sleep N-catch-SB] DEF FOC  
 ‘A/the thief entered when they were sleeping.’
- (350) èjí ʔà dī-rē ádzínī rì àmá ȳdú `kō  
 [water POSS (N)-rain-SB yesterday] DEF1PL(EXC) sleep N-catch  
 ‘When it was raining yesterday we were sleeping.’

The relative clause with the *rē*-suffixed verb can take the low determiner and postposition *gá* or the noun *ngá* to express location in time.

- (351) m-éḃē ānī m-éndrè ʔà ȳlú-rē ` gá  
 1S-leave 3S [1s-mother POSS (N)-stay-SB] SPEC LOC  
 ‘I left him where my mother stays / stayed.’
- (352) má ānī `ndrē ítú ʔà dē-rē ` ṅgá  
 1S 3S N-see [ sun POSS (N)-set-SB] SPEC period  
 ‘I will see him when the sun is setting.’

### 18.6.2 ‘Because’ clauses

A ‘because’ clause is a full clause with an unsuffixed verb which ends in *àǎ́* or the ‘source’ postposition *sì* with which it is freely exchangeable. This clause can be at the beginning or end of the root clause.

- (353) ǎ́ bārá éḃē wà má mū kū àǎ́  
 2S child leave PS [1S (N)-go NEG(N)] because  
 ‘You can leave the child, since I am not going.’
- (354) ópí kó-ndzì-ā kpé àǎ́ ǎ́ `ndzì-ā ǎ́ ǎ́  
 [Opí 3-(N)-carry-OBJ NPS] because 2S N-carry-OBJ 2S FOC  
 ‘Because Opí can’t carry it, you will have to carry it yourself.’

### 18.6.3 Conditional subordinate clauses

A conditional clause is a subordinate clause with its full argument structure and an unsuffixed verb (ie. the same syntax as a root clause), and an appropriate internal structure, as described shortly. The conditional clause then itself acts as a modifier. Subordinate conditional clauses are

not completely freely placed: they can come at the beginning or the end of the clause, but cannot be focused. Conditional clauses can also be subjects of predication with *ájé* ‘fine, right, okay’ (11.2.4.2).

A conditional clause can contain a freely placed conditional adverbial *d3ó*.

- (355) @ *ópí* @ *ē-d3í* @ *irà rì* @ *rá* *kò-bà* *ōrū*  
 [ Opi (3)-VE-take beer DEF AFF ] 3DIR-put up  
 @ = *d3ó*  
 ‘Should Opi bring the beer, he should put it up (on the shelf).’

Alternatively the conditional can have directive modality (*d3ó* can also be added to the clause).

- (356) *mà sì lákā wārāgà èndrù k’-ēsú-ā òbú*  
 [1S(DIR) write PRBEN letter today ] 3-(N)-find-OBJ tomorrow  
 ‘Should I write to her a letter today, she will receive it tomorrow.’

- (357) *nì vù tjírí kū , n’-ōwó rá*  
 2SDIR keep quiet NEG(N) 2S-cry AFF  
 ‘Unless you keep quiet, you will cry.’

Alternatively the conditional contains *sáà* ‘even’ (*d3ó* can also be added to the clause).

- (358) *ó-vù nì sáà , ’ēsú (kí` ) ópí nī kū*  
 [3(IND)-go(PL) FOC even] (IND)-find PL Opi PR NEG(N)  
 ‘Even if we (you inclusive) go, we will not find Opi.’

Alternatively the conditional contains *kēsú*. The clause with *kēsú* tends to come first, but it can be final, if focused by the LOW-*ǽ* strategy.

- (359) *téè dī m’-ē-d3é údí rì rá*  
 earlier today this 1S-VE-buy new(S) DEF AFF  
*kēsú nì fō má ní rá ǽ*  
 [ if 2SDIR say 1S BEN AFF ] SPEC FOC  
 ‘By now I could certainly have bought a new one, had you told me.’

*kēsú* can also be found in a clause consisting of just a focused noun phrase and negation, giving the effect of greater emphasis. In this sentence, *kēsú* cannot be omitted or replaced with *ēsú*.





# Chapter 19

## Focus and Information structure

### 19.1 Order and realization of arguments, and information structure

#### 19.1.1. *Realization of subject and object*

##### 19.1.1.1. Options for realization of the subject

In our view, every root clause whether verbal or nonverbal always has a pronominal subject. The pronominal subject can optionally be preceded by a 'subject' noun phrase, which we call the 'adjoined subject' because it is in a sense 'adjoined' to the true pronominal subject. In the pronominal paradigm for the uninflected verb (the U-paradigm), the first or second person pronominal subject can either be 'short', consisting of a vowel prefix only, or 'long', consisting of the vowel prefix to which a full independent pronoun is adjoined. There does not appear to be any significant difference in information structure between the short and long pronominals. The difference, if anything, is associated with dialectal tendencies, with some speakers preferring one and some the other form, though we note that some speakers who use both long and short forms think the long pronoun is (in their words) more 'emphasized'.

##### 19.1.1.2. Options for realization of the object

The uninflected verb can either have a noun phrase object following the verb or can omit its object completely; this is true for all verbs. We assume that the omitted object is nevertheless structurally present (it appears that it can still for example be focused). The inflected verb can either have a noun phrase object preceding the verb or can take a postclitic  $-?ā$ , which is equivalent to the omitted object of the uninflected verb.

#### 19.1.2. *Left-dislocation*

Various constituents can be left-dislocated, put at the beginning of the sentence. This includes postposition phrases as well as the object. In some cases a pause is required after the left-dislocated constituent.

The object can be placed before the subject, at the beginning of the sentence, ie. 'left dislocated'. Left-dislocation makes the object a topic, with the rest of the sentence the comment. That is, the object is identified

as something which is already under discussion or a member of a set of things which have previously been discussed. All verbs permit this. The left-dislocated object can also be a *wh*-object (which always has the same syntactic distribution as the non-*wh*-object).

This left-dislocated object is best treated as a copy of the object rather than the true object, because if the verb is inflected the left-dislocated object must leave a clitic after the verb, and we take this clitic to be the true object.

- (1) *bòṅgú r̀ òpí kó-dzè-ā sàbúnì r̀ s̀*  
 clothes DEF Opi 3-(N)-wash-OBJ soap DEF SR  
 (a) ‘Opi is washing the clothes (in question) with the soap (in question).’ (The clothes, Opi is washing with the soap).’  
 (b) ‘Opi is washing the ones which are clothes with the soapy one.’

If the verb is uninflected, the left-dislocated object does not leave a clitic but in this case the true object may perhaps be implicit.

The left-dislocated object can be focused (by the *áū* focus strategy). This can only be interpreted as contrastive focus: the object is interpreted as ‘this specific member of the set under discussion’.

- (2) *àdū jí jā áū*  
 what 2S eat FOC  
 ‘What (among the things we have been discussing) did you eat?’
- (3) *éḃì r̀ má jā áū*  
 fish DEF 1S eat FOC  
 ‘It was the fish (among the things we have been discussing) that I ate?’
- (4) *dzó má `sì-ʔā áū*  
 house 1S N-build-OBJ FOC  
 ‘It's a house (among the things we have been discussing) that I am building.’

### 19.1.3. *Right-dislocation*

Some constituents can be put at the end of the sentence, after a pause. These are interpreted as afterthoughts.

### 19.1.4. Focus

#### 19.1.4.1. Focus on subject or object

Subject or object can be focused, using one of four strategies:

- the  $\acute{a}\bar{u}$  strategy
- the null strategy
- the  $\bar{?}$  strategy
- the  $n\grave{i}$  strategy

The strategies differentiate among arguments by:

- (a) Grammatical function:  $\acute{a}\bar{u}$  and the null strategy are found only with objects.
- (b) Person:  $n\grave{i}$  focuses third person subjects while  $\bar{?}$  focuses first and second person subjects.
- (c) Definiteness: the null strategy is used for final bare indefinites and the  $\bar{?}$ -strategy for other kinds of final noun phrase.
- (d) Wh- vs. non-wh-:  $n\grave{i}$  will normally not focus an object, but will focus a wh-object in certain circumstances.
- (e) Type of verb: the null strategy can be used to focus a final bare indefinite object of an uninflected verb but not the final bare indefinite object of a directive verb.

A pronominal argument can be focused. A null object can be focused. A left-dislocated object (which leaves a pronominal copy behind) can be focused. A subject or object which is a wh-phrase must be focused, and can in addition optionally be left-dislocated.

#### 19.1.4.2. Focus on other constituents

It is also possible to focus the verb, by copying it into final position and adding a low tone at the end. Another focus strategy puts a low tone (probably the specificity determiner) at the end of the sentence, followed by  $\bar{?}$ ; this is used to focus non-arguments within the sentence, or can also be used to focus the sentence as a whole.

#### 19.1.4.3. Contrastive and noncontrastive focus

Where more than one focus strategy is available, there is a partitioning of contrastive vs. noncontrastive focus between the two strategies. This seems to arise when a final object can in principle be focused either by

null or  $\text{?i}$  in which case it is noncontrastively focused, or by  $\acute{a}\bar{u}$  in which case it is contrastively focused.

Where only one focus strategy is available, both contrastive and noncontrastive focus are delivered by the same strategy. (Null and  $\text{?i}$  strategies count as the same here because they apply to complementary types of phrase.) This seems to arise when the subject is focused by  $n\grave{i}$  or by  $\text{copy}+\text{?i}$  or when the preverbal object is focused by  $\acute{a}\bar{u}$ , or when a modifier is focused (only null and  $\text{?i}$  strategies seem to be able to do this).

In certain circumstances (eg. when the focused item is also a topic), only contrastive focus is possible. Hence a left-dislocated object, focused by  $\acute{a}\bar{u}$ , is only contrastively focused.

## 19.2 Null focus

‘Null focus’ is a focus strategy which does not require any special focus particle. Instead, an object is interpreted as ‘in focus’. Where this kind of focus interpretation is available, it is always optional.

### 19.2.1. Noun phrases which can take bare focus

The only type of noun phrase which can be focused by the null focus strategy is a bare indefinite. This can be a noun phrase consisting just of a noun and interpreted as indefinite, or the indefinite wh-phrase  $\acute{a}d\bar{u}$ .

- (5)  $m\acute{a}$   $n\bar{a}$   $\acute{e}b\bar{i}$   
 1S eat fish  
 (a) ‘It was a fish I ate.’ (focus reading)  
 (b) ‘I ate a fish.’ (no focus)

- (6)  $n\acute{i}$   $d\bar{z}\bar{e}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{u}$   
 2S buy what  
 ‘What did you buy?’

A final quantifying modifier can apparently also be focused by this strategy. There is contrastive focus here.

- (7)  $m\acute{a}$   $d\bar{z}\bar{e}$   $\bar{l}\bar{a}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{o}$   $g\grave{a}$   $\acute{a}n\bar{g}\bar{w}\acute{a}$   $d\bar{r}\bar{u}$   
 1S buy banana small DIM as  
 I bought bananas, a small amount.’ (not a large amount)

A noun phrase which is definite or in any other way complex cannot be focused by the null strategy. Thus for example a possessed noun phrase

cannot be focused by this strategy.

- (8)\*     $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$     $\bar{o}-\eta\acute{o}$      $m\acute{a}-\grave{a}$      $g\acute{a}r\grave{i}$      $n\bar{i}$      $p\acute{a}$   
 Opi 3-break    1S-POSS    bicycle    POSS    leg  
 ‘It is the wheel of my bicycle that Opi broke.’

- (9)\*     $d\grave{i}$      $\acute{i}z\acute{i}$      $r\grave{i}$      $ʔ\grave{a}$      $d\acute{z}\acute{o}$   
 this    woman    DEF    POSS    house  
 ‘This is the woman’s house.’

### 19.2.2. Syntactic structures which permit bare focus

Bare focus most characteristically involves an object following an uninflected verb. The verb need not have a past tense interpretation, so long as it is uninflected.

- (10)     $m\acute{a}$      $l\grave{e}$      $g\acute{a}r\grave{i}$   
 1S    want    bicycle  
 (a) ‘It’s a bicycle I want.’ (focus reading)  
 (b) ‘I want a bicycle.’ (non-focus reading)

A final object inside a subordinate clause can be interpreted as in focus.

- (11)     $d\acute{z}\acute{o}$     $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $\bar{o}-s\bar{i}$      $d\acute{z}\acute{o}$      $j\grave{i}$      $f\bar{o}$      $m\acute{a}$      $n\acute{i}$   
 [ if    Opi    3-build    house ]    2SDIR    say    1S    BEN  
 (a) ‘If Opi has built a house (and not something else) you should tell me.’  
 (b) ‘Should Opi build a house (and not something else) you should tell me.’

(If the object  $d\acute{z}\acute{o}$  is followed by  $\acute{a}\bar{u}$  in the subordinate clause the interpretation would be non-contrastive focus.)

There is some limited evidence that the object which precedes an inflected verb can also be interpreted as in focus. In general a bare indefinite in this kind of position is not interpreted as in focus (12).

- (12)     $m\acute{a}$      $g\acute{a}r\grave{i}$      $d\acute{z}\bar{e}$   
 1S    bicycle    (N)-buy  
 ‘I am buying a bicycle.’ (no focus on bicycle)

But evidence that this is a position which in certain circumstances is open to bare focus comes from the fact that a wh-phrase,  $\acute{a}d\bar{u}$ , can appear here (13). Because in all clear cases a wh-phrase must be focused, and because

we know that this type of phrase can be focused by null focus, we suggest that the preverbal object can have null focus.

- (13) *̀indrí d̀i ká àdũ ̀tʃí*  
 goat this 3 what N-bite  
 ‘What is this goat biting?’, ‘What does this goat bite?’

Wh-phrases which are not capable of null focus cannot appear in this position (without an explicit focus particle), providing further evidence that this is an instance of null focus.

- (14)\* *òtʃé nà ká àdĩ nĩ ̀tʃí*  
 dog that 3 who PR N-bite  
 ‘Who is that dog biting?’

Further evidence that a preverbal bare indefinite can be focused comes from sentences with nominalized modals such as *rá r̀*. Normally these modals require focus on the subject or object. But it is possible for a bare indefinite to lack an overt focus particle.

- (15) *rá r̀ ká èbĩ ̀dĩ*  
 AFF DEF 3 fish N-cook  
 ‘The one that she will definitely cook is fish.’

The focus particle *áũ* can also be used (and is preferred).

- (16) *rá r̀ ká èbĩ ̀dĩ áũ*  
 AFF DEF 3 fish N-cook FOC  
 ‘The one that she will definitely cook is fish.’

### 19.2.3. *Syntactic structures which do not permit null focus*

If a temporal noun follows, the object is no longer in focus.

- (17) *ē-dʒé kĩ èbĩ ádʒĩnĩ*  
 (3)-VE-buy PL fish yesterday  
 ‘They bought fish yesterday.’ (no focus on fish)

If the verb is followed first by a postposition phrase and then by the object (an unusual order, but possible), the object is not in focus.

- (18) *ópi ̀ō-lĩ ēndrè nĩ tí*  
 Opi 3-cut mother BEN cow  
 ‘Opi slaughtered a cow for his mother.’ (no focus on cow)

If the sentence ends on a modal or negation, null focus is impossible.

- (19) *dʒò ópí ò-sí dʒó rá ɲì fō má ní*  
 [if Opi 3-build house AFF] 2SDIR say 1S BEN  
 (a) 'If Opi's building a house takes place, you should tell me.'  
 (b) 'If Opi completes building a house you should tell me.'

- (20) *ídré ò-ɲá ìzá kũ*  
 rat 3-eat meat NEG(N)  
 'Rats don't eat meat.' (no focus on meat)

Neither constituent of a conjoined noun phrase is interpretable as in focus by this strategy (in contrast, focus by  $\mathcal{F}$  is possible).

- (21) *ɲí dʒē búkù òlè gálámù*  
 2S buy book or pen  
 'Did you buy a book or a pen?' (no focus on either constituent)

- (22) *ē-dʒí gálámù òò búkù*  
 (3)-VE-take pen and book  
 'She brought a pen and a book.' (no focus on either constituent)

- (23) *ká gálámù ē-dʒí òò búkù*  
 3 pen (N)-VE-take and book  
 'She is bringing a pen and a book.' (no focus)

Perception verbs do not participate in a structure where the sentence ends on a bare indefinite. This rules out the possibility of having null focus in these sentences (but  $\acute{a}\bar{u}$  or  $\mathcal{F}$ -focus are both possible).

- (24)\* *má ndrē òtʃé*  
 1S see dog  
 (a) 'I saw a dog.'  
 (b) 'It is a dog that I saw.'

Though it is clause-final, the object of a directive verb cannot be interpreted as in focus by the null strategy (focus by  $\acute{a}\bar{u}$  or  $\mathcal{F}$  is possible.)

- (25) *ɲì ɲá ìzá*  
 2SDIR eat meat  
 (a)\* 'It is meat that you should eat'  
 (b) 'You should eat meat.' (no focus)

### 19.3 Focus particle *ʔĩ*

*ʔĩ* is used to focus a clause-final definite object noun phrase (more specifically anything other than a bare indefinite), and a first or second person subject.

#### 19.3.1. Object focus with *ʔĩ*

*ʔĩ* is used to focus a clause-final (ie. postverbal) definite object noun phrase. This includes a definite noun phrase with *rĩ* (26), a definite wh-phrase (27,28), a pronominal object (29), including an inclusive (30), and a noun phrase object which is both definite and specific either with the specificity determiner LOW (31) or a name (32).

(26) *má dʒĩ gáĩ rĩ ʔĩ*  
 1S take bicycle DEF FOC  
 'I took the bicycle.'

(27) *ɲ' -ēlɔ àdĩ ʔĩ*  
 2S-touch who FOC  
 'Who is it that you touched?'

(28) *ɲí zē ēbù gá íngò ʔĩ*  
 2S send work LOC which FOC  
 'Which one did you sent to work?'

(29) *ópi ɔ-lè mǎ ʔĩ*  
 Opi 3-want 1S FOC  
 'It is me who Opi wants / wanted.'

(30) *ɔ-lè kǐ bǎ ʔĩ*  
 3-want PL INC FOC  
 (a) 'It is us (you inclusive) they want.'  
 (b)\* 'It's people they want'

(31) *má dʒē zǎ ʔĩ*  
 1S buy daughter-SPEC FOC  
 'I married the (her, his) daughter.'

(32) *ópi ɔ-dʒĩ ìtó ʔĩ*  
 Opi 3-take Ito / rabbit FOC  
 (a) 'Opi took Ito.' (ie. the name reading of *ìtó*)  
 (b)\* 'Opi took a rabbit.' (ie. the bare indefinite reading of *ìtó*)

An unfocused specific noun phrase is followed by  $n\bar{i}$  or  $p\bar{i}$  (12.1.3) when in object position. When the specific noun phrase is focused with  $\text{ʔi}$  (31,32),  $n\bar{i}$  is omitted.

### 19.3.1.1. Focus on conjoined objects, including right-dislocation of a conjunct

Conjoined noun phrases are focused by adjoining each one to  $\text{ʔi}$ .

- (33)  $\bar{e}-d\bar{z}\bar{i}$        $g\bar{a}l\bar{a}m\bar{u}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\text{ʔi}$      $\bar{o}\bar{o}$      $b\bar{u}k\bar{u}$      $\bar{r}\bar{i}$      $\text{ʔi}$   
 (3)-VE-take    pen      DEF FOC    and    book    DEF    FOC  
 ‘It’s the pen (in question) and the book (in question) that she brought.’

Both conjuncts must be focused if postverbal (with an uninflected verb).

- (34)\*  $\bar{e}-d\bar{z}\bar{i}$        $g\bar{a}l\bar{a}m\bar{u}$      $\bar{r}\bar{i}$      $\bar{o}\bar{o}$      $b\bar{u}k\bar{u}$      $\bar{r}\bar{i}$      $\text{ʔi}$   
 (3)-VE-take    pen            DEF    and    book    DEF    FOC  
 ‘It’s the pen (in question) and the book (in question) that she brought.’

Note however that it is possible to focus a right-extracted conjunct when the verb is inflected and takes a preverbal object.

- (35)  $k\bar{a}$      $g\bar{a}l\bar{a}m\bar{u}$      $\bar{r}\bar{i}$      $\bar{e}-d\bar{z}\bar{i}$        $\bar{o}\bar{o}$      $b\bar{u}k\bar{u}$      $\bar{r}\bar{i}$      $\text{ʔi}$   
 3    pen      DEF    (N)-VE-take    and book    DEF    FOC  
 ‘It’s the book that she is bringing, along with the pen.’

But in this case it is impossible to focus both noun phrases.

- (36)\*  $k\bar{a}$      $g\bar{a}l\bar{a}m\bar{u}$      $\bar{r}\bar{i}$      $\text{ʔi}$      $\bar{e}-d\bar{z}\bar{i}$        $\bar{o}\bar{o}$      $b\bar{u}k\bar{u}$      $\bar{r}\bar{i}$      $\text{ʔi}$   
 3    pen      DEF FOC (N)-VE-take    and book    DEF    FOC  
 ‘It’s the pen (in question) that she is bringing and the book (in question).’ (focus on both objects)

It is impossible to move a conjunct to the end of the sentence without focusing it with  $\text{ʔi}$ . Thus the general constraint against ending a sentence with a definite noun phrase holds also for conjunct extraction.

- (37)\*  $k\bar{a}$      $g\bar{a}l\bar{a}m\bar{u}$      $\bar{r}\bar{i}$      $\bar{e}-d\bar{z}\bar{i}$        $\bar{o}\bar{o}$      $b\bar{u}k\bar{u}$      $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 3    pen      DEF    (N)-VE-take    and    book    DEF  
 ‘She is bringing the pen (in question) and the book (in question).’

## 19.3.1.2. Focus on a modified object

When a noun phrase takes a postmodifier, it also takes a definite determiner such as *rì* but can have either an indefinite or a definite interpretation. Noun phrases of this kind are focused with *ʔí*. Focus is either contrastive or noncontrastive.

- (38) *má lè kùbájà pélére rì ʔí*  
 1S want cup clean DEF FOC  
 (a) 'I want a clean cup.'  
 (b) 'I want a cup, the one which is clean.'
- (39) *má tʃí fúlù ājá rì ʔí*  
 1S bite groundnut bitter DEF FOC  
 (a) 'I bit the bitter groundnut and not something else.'  
 (b) 'I bit a groundnut, it was bitter.'
- (40) *má dʒē lābōlō gā ángwá drū rì ʔí*  
 1S buy banana small DIM of DEF FOC  
 'I bought the small bunch of bananas. (and not the large bunch of bananas)
- (41) *má dʒē gā ángwá drū rì ʔí*  
 1S buy small DIM as DEF FOC  
 'I bought a / the small one.'

Note that in the following example it is the modifier which is being focused, and not the noun.

- (42) *má dʒē gā ángwá drū rì ʔí*  
 1S buy small DIM as DEF FOC  
 'I bought a / the small one.'
- (43) *má dʒē lābōlō gā ángwá drū rì ʔí*  
 1S buy banana small DIM as DEF FOC  
 (a) 'I bought the bananas, a small bunch.'  
 (b) 'I bought the small bunch of bananas.' (and not the large bunch of bananas)

19.3.2. Subject focus with *ʔí*

A first or second person subject, or an inclusive subject, is focused by leaving it in place and putting a copy + *ʔí* in final position. The subject

can be the long (44) or short (45) version of the pronoun, singular or plural (46,47), and the copy is the NS-paradigm version of the pronoun. The *ʔĩ* strategy is not used to focus a third person subject, or an indefinite subject (which is a type of third person subject).

- (44)  $\begin{array}{cccc} \text{ɲĩ} & \text{kɛ̀} & \text{ɲĩ} & \text{ʔĩ} \\ \text{2S} & \text{give} & \text{2S} & \text{FOC} \end{array}$   
 (a) ‘You were the one who gave it.’  
 (b) ‘You gave it yourself.’  
 (c) ‘It was you who gave it.’
- (45)  $\begin{array}{cccc} \text{ĩ-} & \text{kɛ̀} & \text{ɲĩ} & \text{ʔĩ} \\ \text{2S} & \text{give} & \text{2S} & \text{FOC} \end{array}$   
 (a) ‘You were the one who gave it.’  
 (b) ‘You gave it yourself.’  
 (c) ‘It was you who gave it.’
- (46)  $\begin{array}{cccc} \text{àɲĩ} & \text{ɲɔ̀-ā} & \text{àɲĩ} & \text{ʔĩ} \\ \text{2PL} & \text{break-OBJ} & \text{2PL} & \text{FOC} \end{array}$   
 (a) ‘You will be the ones to break it.’  
 (b) ‘You are the ones (who are) breaking it.’
- (47)  $\begin{array}{cccc} \text{àmà} & \text{dzɛ̀} & \text{àmā} & \text{ʔĩ} \\ \text{1PL(EXC)} & \text{wash} & \text{1PL(EXC)} & \text{FOC} \end{array}$   
 (a) ‘We (not other people) were the ones who washed it.’  
 (b) ‘We (not other people) washed it ourselves.’  
 (c) ‘It was we (not others) who washed it.’

If the subject is conjoined, both parts of the conjunction are focused.

- (48)  $\begin{array}{cccccc} \text{àmà} & \text{ɲā} & \text{ɔ̀pĩ} & \text{trɔ̀} & \text{àmà} & \text{ʔĩ} \\ \text{1PL(EXC)} & \text{eat} & \text{Opi} & \text{COMT} & \text{1PL(EXC)} & \text{FOC} \end{array}$   
 ‘It was Opi and I that ate it.’

If the subject is the inclusive pronoun, the indefinite interpretation is unavailable either because it is indefinite or because this would be third person and neither type of pronoun is focused with *ʔĩ*. The ‘copy’ of the inclusive (49) is the word *ɓá*, as we would expect since this is the NS-paradigm form of the inclusive, as found in object position.

- (49)  $\begin{array}{cccc} \text{ó-sĩ} & \text{dzòkónì} & \text{ɓá} & \text{ʔĩ} \\ \text{IND-build} & \text{kitchen} & \text{INC} & \text{FOC} \end{array}$   
 ‘We (you inclusive) were the ones who built a kitchen.’

## 19.3.2.1. Focus on dissimilar subjects

The combination of noun phrase (eg. repeated subject) and  $\text{ʔi}$  can be conjoined with another NP +  $\text{ʔi}$  combination or even with the subject focus particle  $n\grave{i}$  on its own. This suggests that NP +  $\text{ʔi}$  is a single constituent.

(50)  $j\acute{n}\acute{i}$      $\grave{m}\bar{u}$      $j\bar{n}\bar{i}$      $\text{ʔi}$      $\grave{o}\grave{l}\grave{e}$      $\acute{o}\acute{p}\acute{i}$      $\text{ʔi}$   
 2S    N-go    2S    FOC    or    Opi    FOC  
 ‘Is it you going or is it Opi?’

(51)  $\acute{a}d\bar{i}$      $k\acute{o}\grave{-}m\bar{u}$      $n\grave{i}$  ,  $j\bar{n}\bar{i}$      $\text{ʔi}$      $\grave{o}\grave{l}\grave{e}$      $\acute{o}\acute{p}\acute{i}$      $\text{ʔi}$   
 who    3-N-go    FOC    2S    FOC    or    Opi    FOC  
 ‘Who is going? you or Opi?’

(52)  $\acute{o}\acute{p}\acute{i}$      $\bar{o}\bar{-}m\bar{u}$      $n\grave{i}$      $\grave{o}\grave{l}\grave{e}$      $\grave{i}\acute{t}\acute{o}$      $\text{ʔi}$   
 Opi    3-go    FOC    or    ito    FOC  
 ‘Was it Opi who went or was it Ito?’

19.3.2.2. The possibility of pausing before the  $\text{ʔi}$ -focused subject

The combination of subject copy and  $\text{ʔi}$  can be separated from the preceding sentence by a pause (ie. right dislocated). This is the only circumstance in which modals can co-occur with  $\text{ʔi}$ -focus.

(53)  $m\acute{a}$      $j\bar{n}\bar{a}$      $\bar{l}\bar{a}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{o}$      $r\acute{a}$  ,     $m\bar{a}$      $\text{ʔi}$   
 1S    eat    bananas    AFF    1S    FOC  
 ‘It is me who has definitely eaten bananas.’

(54)  $m\acute{a}$      $j\bar{n}\bar{a}$      $\bar{l}\bar{a}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{o}$      $k\bar{u}$     ( , )     $m\bar{a}$      $\text{ʔi}$   
 1S    eat    bananas    NEG(N)    1S    FOC  
 ‘It is me who does not eat bananas.’

Note that the object cannot be definite, perhaps because the sentence represents a general state of affairs rather than a specific situation involving specific bananas.

(55)\*  $m\acute{a}$      $j\bar{n}\bar{a}$      $\bar{l}\bar{a}\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{o}$      $n\grave{i}$      $k\bar{u}$     ,     $m\bar{a}$      $\text{ʔi}$   
 1S    eat    bananas    DEF    NEG(N)    1S    FOC  
 ‘It is me who will not / does not eat the bananas (in question).’

While a focused subject can be right dislocated in this manner, a focused object cannot.

- (56)\* *má jā rá , lābōlō rì ǝ*  
 1s eat AFF banana DEF FOC  
 'It was the banana that I definitely ate.'

### 19.3.2.3. A structure involving subject focus and a demonstrative

Note the following structure, which involves subject focus, and a demonstrative (either *ìédì* or *ǝ* could be substituted for *nà*). The context for these examples is as follows: Supposing there are signs of trouble in the neighbourhood. To advise against getting involved in it, a speaker may say (57) in general terms but (58) when the person going to investigate is a known troublemaker herself.

- (57) *ǝ mū ófá ēlórē*  
 2S N-go fight touch-SB  
 'You are going to look for a fight.' (You will probably get into problems.)

- (58) *ǝ mū ǝ ǝ ná ófá ēlórē*  
 2S N-go 2S FOC that fight touch-SB  
 'You are going, if it is you, to look for a fight.' (you will definitely get into problems)

## 19.4 Object focus particle *áū*

*áū* places focus on any kind of object, of an inflected, uninflected or directive verb. Thus it is much wider in the range of objects it can focus than is *ǝ*. In general, it seems to be used primarily for contrastive focus (less narrow contrast than with *ǝ*), though it seems also to be used for general broad presentational focus.

*áū* must follow the verb and is normally sentence-final but can be followed for example by a postposition phrase.

- (59) *ópí ká mángà ē-dzì áū ēndrè ní*  
 Opi 3 mangoes (N)-VE-bring FOC mother-SPEC BEN  
 'It is mangoes that Opi is bringing/will bring for the mother.'

- (60)\* *ópí ká mángà áū ē-dzì ēndrè ní*  
 Opi 3 mangoes FOC (N)-VE-bring mother-SPEC BEN  
 'It is mangoes that Opi is bringing/will bring for the mother.'

19.4.1. *Focus on postverbal object of uninflected verb*

Here *áū* focuses a constituent in a similar position to the constituent focused by *ǎ̃*. The object can be a bare indefinite (61), including the bare indefinite wh-word *àdū* (62); it can be definite (63), including the definite wh-word *àdī* (64); and can be possessed, indefinite (65) or definite (66).

- (61) *má dʒē gārì áū*  
1S buy bicycle FOC  
'It is a bicycle that I bought.'
- (62) *ɲ' -ēlɔ àdū áū*  
2S-touch who FOC  
'Who is it that you have touched?'
- (63) *má dʒē gārì rì áū*  
1S buy bicycle DEF FOC  
(a) 'It is the bicycle (in question) that I bought.'  
(b) 'It is the bicycle one that I bought.'
- (64) *ɲ' -ēlɔ àdī nī áū*  
2S-touch who PR FOC  
'Who is it that you have touched?'
- (65) *má ndrē ópí ʔà dʒó áū*  
1S see Opi POSS house FOC  
'It is Opi's house that I saw.'
- (66) *má ndrē ópí ʔà dʒó rì áū*  
1S see Opi POSS house DEF FOC  
'It is Opi's house (the one in question) that I saw.'

The object can be implicit, either on its own (67), or as an implicit copy of a left-dislocated object (68).

- (67) *má ē-dʒé áū*  
1S VE-buy FOC  
'It is it that I bought.'
- (68) *ìzá rì bārá rì ɔ-dī áū*  
meat DEF child DEF 3-cook FOC  
(a) 'It is the meat (in question) which the child (in q.) cooked.'  
(b) 'It is the meaty one (not the bony one) which the child one cooked.'

The object need not be final in the clause, and can be separated from the particle *áū* (in this it differs again from the *?í* strategy).

- (69) *ńí zē íngò nī ēbù gá áū*  
 2S send which PR work LOC FOC  
 ‘Which one did you send to work?’

The following example possibly shows focus on a conjunct; it is alternatively possible that the ‘*or*-phrase’ is treated as a kind of afterthought.

- (70) *ńí dzē búkù áū òlè gálámù*  
 2S buy book FOC or pen  
 ‘Was it a book that you bought or a pen?’

#### 19.4.2. Preverbal object of an inflected verb

The *áū* strategy is the primary strategy available for focus on the object of an inflected verb, which precedes the verb; this is because *áū* need not be adjacent to the focused object. Again, it can focus a bare indefinite object or wh-phrase (71,72), or a definite object or wh-phrase (73,74).

- (71) *má gáńì dzē áū*  
 1S bicycle (N)-buy FOC  
 ‘It is a bicycle that I am buying / will buy.’

- (72) *ìndrì dī ká àdū ñā áū*  
 goat this 3 what N-eat FOC  
 (a) ‘What is it that this goat will eat?’  
 (b) ‘What is it that this goat is eating?’  
 (c) ‘What is it that this goat eats?’

- (73) *ópí ká ìtó pī ē-dzī áū*  
 Opi 3 Ito PRPL (N)-VE-bring FOC  
 ‘It is Ito and his associates who Opi will bring / is bringing.’

- (74) *ńí àdī nī ēló áū*  
 2S who PR (N)-touch FOC  
 ‘Who is it that you are touching / will touch?’

Just as *áū* will focus a null object of an uninflected verb so it will focus the equivalent clitic object *?ā* of an inflected verb, either on its own (75) or associated with a left-dislocated object (76) and wh-object (77).

- (75) *má*    *`dʒē-ʔā*    *áū*  
 1S    N-buy-OBJ    FOC  
 ‘It is it that I am buying.’
- (76) *gáɾì*    *rì*    *má*    *`dʒē-ā*    *áū*  
 bicycle DEF 1S    N-buy-OBJ    FOC  
 (a) ‘It is the bicycle in question that I am buying / will buy.’  
 (a) ‘It is the bicycle one that I am buying / will buy.’
- (77) *àdī*    *pī*    *àŋ-āzī-ā*    *áū*  
 who PRPL 2PL-(N)-sell-OBJ FOC  
 ‘Who and their associates is it that you are selling?’

#### 19.4.3. *Object of a directive verb*

*áū* can be used to focus the postverbal object of a directive verb. The *ʔī* strategy cannot be used in this case. The directive sentence takes on a meaning of ‘let her for the moment,’ or ‘let her concentrate on’, ‘s/he is better off doing’, etc. The object can be explicit (78,79) or implicit (80). When it takes an overt object, *áū* is used to suggest to a person that she had better limit herself to the named activity rather than attempt whatever else (which is unnamed) she intends to do.

- (78) *kò-mvū*    *ìrá*    *áū*  
 3DIR-drink    beer    FOC  
 ‘Let her concentrate on her drinking.’ (That’s the only thing she is good at.)
- (79) *kò-zī*    *mā*    *áū*  
 3S(DIR)    1S    FOC  
 ‘She should ask me.’
- (80) *ká*    *ópí*    *nī*    *ndrē*    *rá.*    *kò-ŋā*    *áū*  
 3    Opi    PR (N)-see    AFF.    3DIR-eat    FOC  
 ‘She will certainly have the wrath of Opi. Let her for the moment eat it.’

#### 19.4.4. *Noun phrases which cannot be focused by áū*

*áū* will not focus an inclusive pronoun, so that *ḅá* in (81) can only be interpreted as a noun ‘people’ and not as the inclusive pronoun.

- (81)  $\bar{o}$ -*lè*    *kí*    *bá*    *áū*  
 3-want    PL    INC    FOC  
 (a)\* 'It is us they want.'  
 (b) 'It's people they want.'

*áū* will not focus a wh-object in a sentence which ends with a modal or negation particle. In this case, the subject focuser *nĩ* must be used to focus the object (19.5.3). This is an unexpected fact.

- (82)\*  $\eta'$ -*éló*    *àdĩ*    *nĩ*    *rá*    *áū*  
 2S-touch    who    PR    AFF    FOC  
 'Who is it that you have certainly touched?'

- (83)\*  $\eta'$ -*éló*    *àdū*    *rá*    *áū*  
 2S-touch    who    AFF    FOC  
 'Who is it that you have certainly touched?'

- (84)\*  $\eta'$ -*éló*    *àdĩ*    *nĩ*    *áū*    *rá*  
 2S-touch    who    PR    FOC    AFF  
 'Who is it that you have certainly touched?'

*áū* is not used to focus the following kinds of wh-phrase: *íngò sì* 'with which one', *íngò* 'where', *íngò sì* 'where', *íngò lé* 'in which place', *àdū ngá (nĩ)* 'when', *íngó nĩ* 'how', *íngó pí* 'how big', *sí* 'how much / many', *vú sí* 'how many times', *àdū sì* 'how' and 'why'. A final modified phrase cannot be focused with *áū* along the lines seen earlier for null and *ĩ*-focus.

#### 19.4.5. The requirement for *nĩ* is preserved under *áū*

A specific noun phrase normally must be followed by *nĩ*. This remains true when it is focused by *áū*.

- (85)  $\eta'$ -*éló*    *àdĩ*    *nĩ*    *áū*  
 2S-touch    who    PR    FOC  
 'Who is it that you touched?' (There is a presupposition that you touched someone, and the question asks who that person is.)

- (86)\*  $\eta'$ -*éló*    *àdĩ*    *áū*  
 2S-touch    who    FOC  
 'Who did you touch?'

In contrast, *nī* is not used if the specific noun phrase is focused with *ī*.

(87)\* *ɲ' -ēlɔ́      àdī    nī    ī*  
 2S-touch      who    PR    FOC  
 'Who is it that you touched?'

(88) *ɲ' -ēlɔ́      àdī      ī*  
 2S-touch      who      FOC  
 'Who is it that you touched?' (There is no presupposition that you touched someone.)

#### 19.4.6. *Other uses of áū*

Note the following use of *áū* at the end of a sentence after a pause. It is not possible to use *ī* in this manner.

(89) *má      ndrē      àī      sū ,      áū*  
 1S      see      3PL      four      FOC  
 'I saw four, it's them that I saw.'

The postposition *sì* can take *áū* as its complement. This is the only circumstance in which a focus morpheme can be the complement to a postposition, and perhaps correlates with the fact that *sì* can take a sentence as its complement, suggesting that *áū* might possibly stand for the sentence. The interpretation is either 'because of it' or 'with it'; the latter interpretation requires the phrase to be final within the clause.

(90) *ō-mū      áū      sì      kūrù*  
 3-go      FOC      SR      NEG(P)  
 (a) 'She did not go because of it.'  
 (b) 'She didn't go with it.'

(91) *áū      sì      ō-mū      kūrù*  
 FOC      SR      3-go      NEG(P)  
 (a) 'Because of it she didn't go.'  
 (b)\* 'With it she didn't go.'

(92) *ō-mū      kūrù      áū      sì*  
 3-go      NEG(P)      FOC      SR  
 (a) 'She did not go because of it.'  
 (b)\* 'She didn't go with it.'

*áū sì drū* means 'as a result of it'.

Note also the following structure, where left-dislocated *àdū* is focused, but with a pause.

- (93) *àdū*, *ɲí* . *lè* *áū*  
 what 2S want FOC  
 ‘What is it that you want?’

## 19.5 Focus particle *nì*

### 19.5.1. Focus on the third person subject

*nì* focuses a third person subject, and is the only focus strategy available for a third person subject. It appears to allow both contrastive and presentational focus. All kinds of third person subject including wh-forms and conjoined subjects, of all kinds of verb, can be focused by *nì*.

- (94) *ágó* *ɾì* *ō-sí* *dʒòkónì* *dí* *nì*  
 man DEF 3-build kitchen this FOC  
 (a) ‘It is the man (in question) who built this kitchen.’  
 (b) ‘It is the male one who built the kitchen.’ (contrastive)
- (95) *àdí* *ēlɔ́* *ɲí* *nì*  
 who (3)-touch 2S FOC  
 ‘Who is it that touched you?’
- (96) *íngò* *ō-lè* *ɲí* *ṁgbā-lé* *nì*  
 which 3-want 2S N-beat-SB FOC  
 (a) ‘Which one (among them) wants to beat you?’  
 (a) ‘Which one (among them) wanted to beat you?’
- (97) *àdí* *ʔà* *ìndrí* *ō-ɲā* *àɲá* *dí* *nì*  
 who POSS goat 3-eat grain this FOC  
 ‘Whose goat is it that ate this grain?’
- (98) *ìndrí* *àdí* *dí* *ōɲā* *àɲá* *dí* *nì*  
 goat who POSS 3-eat grain this FOC  
 ‘Whose goat is it that ate this grain?’
- (99) *ōtʃé* *ō-tʃí* *ìndrí* *nì*  
 dog 3-bite goat FOC  
 ‘It was a dog that bit a goat.’

- (100)  $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$   $\bar{o}-d\bar{z}\bar{i}$   $j\bar{n}\bar{i}$   $n\acute{a}?\bar{a}$   $n\grave{i}$   
 what 3-take 2S there FOC  
 (a) 'What is it that took you there?' (for what reason?)  
 (b) 'What took you there?' (by what means?)
- (101)  $\bar{o}-m\bar{u}$   $\bar{e}\bar{b}\bar{u}$   $g\acute{a}$   $n\grave{i}$   
 3-go work LOC FOC  
 'She was the one who went to work.'
- (102)  $\grave{a}d\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-d\bar{i}$   $t\grave{a}$   $k\bar{u}r\bar{u}$   $n\grave{i}$   
 who 3-cook thing NEG(P) FOC  
 'Who is it that has not cooked?'
- (103)  $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $k\acute{a}$   $d\bar{z}\bar{o}k\bar{o}n\bar{i}$   $d\bar{i}$   $s\bar{i}$   $n\grave{i}$   
 Opi 3 kitchen this (N)-built FOC  
 'It is Opi who is building / will build this kitchen.'
- (104)  $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $p\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-t\bar{f}\bar{i}$  ( $k\acute{i}$ )  $\grave{i}ndr\bar{i}$   $n\grave{i}$   
 Opi PRPL 3-bite PL goat FOC  
 'It is Opi and his associates who bit a goat.'
- (105)  $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $p\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-f\bar{e}$   $\grave{i}t\acute{o}$   $tr\grave{o}$   $n\grave{i}$   
 Opi PRPL 3-run Ito COMT FOC  
 'It was Opi and Ito who ran.'
- (106)  $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $?\bar{a}$   $\grave{o}t\bar{f}\bar{e}$   $\bar{o}-j\bar{a}$   $\grave{i}z\acute{a}$   $r\bar{i}$   $n\grave{i}$   
 Opi POSS dog 3-eat meat DEF FOC  
 (a) 'It is Opi's dog that ate the meat (in question).'  
 (b) 'It is Opi's dog which ate that which is meat.'

The focused subject can be preceded by a left-dislocated object.

- (107)  $g\acute{a}l\acute{a}m\bar{u}$   $r\bar{i}$   $\grave{a}d\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}-d\bar{u}$   $n\grave{i}$   
 pen DEF who 3-take FOC  
 'Who is it that took the pen (in question)?'
- (108)  $\grave{i}ndr\bar{i}$   $d\bar{i}$   $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$   $\bar{o}-t\bar{f}\bar{i}$   $n\grave{i}$   
 goat this what 3-bite FOC  
 'What is it that bit this goat?'

This strategy can also be used to focus the subject of a nonverbal predicate.

- (109) *àdī nī lāpwojí nì*  
 who PR teacher FOC  
 ‘Who is it that is a teacher?’

### 19.5.2. Types of subject which cannot be focused by *nì*

*nì* cannot be used to focus an indefinite/inclusive pronoun. We assume that the indefinite is unsuited to focus because it is not new information. The inclusive would not be third person and so is focused by a different strategy.

- (110)\* *ó-dzī ēbù gá nì*  
 IND-take work LOC FOC  
 (a) ‘Someone took her to work.’  
 (b) ‘We (including you) were the ones who took her to work.’

*nì* cannot be used to focus the combination *ḅá kwítíí* ‘everyone’. It can however be used to focus *ḅá* in association with *kwítíí* with the interpretation ‘all people’.

- (111)\* *ḅá kwítíí ē-vù nì*  
 people all (3)-VE-go(PL) FOC  
 ‘It was everyone who came.’

- (112) *ḅá ē-vù kwítíí nì*  
 people (3)-VE-go(PL) all FOC  
 ‘It was all people who came.’

*nì* is not used to focus the following kinds of wh-phrase: *íngò sī* ‘with which one’, *íngò* ‘where’, *íngò sī* ‘where’, *íngò lé* ‘in which place’, *àdū ngá (nī)* ‘when’, *íngó nī* ‘how’, *íngó pí* ‘how big’, *sí* ‘how much / many’, *vú sí* ‘how many times’, *àdū sī* ‘how’ and ‘why’, *àdū nī* ‘why’.

### 19.5.3. Focus on a wh-object in a sentence ending in a modal

While *nì* normally focuses only a third person subject, there is one case in which it can focus a third person object. The object in question is a wh-object. In this kind of structure, the sentence must end on a modal or negation; this is the only situation in which a final modal or negation co-occurs with a focus particle.

Any kind of wh-object can be focused in this manner, including an indefinite (113), definite with *nī* (114), and possessive (115,116).

- (113) *ɲ' -ēlɔ́ àdũ rá nì*  
2S-touch who AFF FOC  
'Who is it that you have certainly touched?'
- (114) *ɲ' -ēlɔ́ àdĩ nĩ rá nì*  
2S-touch who PR AFF FOC  
'Who is it that you have certainly touched?'
- (115) *àdĩ ʔà bɔ̀ŋgú ɲí sò kūrù nì*  
who POSS clothes 2S sew NEG(P) FOC  
'Whose clothes is it that you have not sewn?'
- (116) *àdũ nĩ ìzá kó -dì kpé nì*  
what PR meat 3-N-cook NPS FOC  
'What sort of meat is it that can't get cooked?'

The *wh*-object can be left-dislocated (leaving a clitic behind with the inflected verb).

- (117) *íŋgò nĩ àɲ-āzĩ wà nì*  
which PR 2PL-sell PS FOC  
'Which one is it that you were able to sell?'
- (118) *íŋgò nĩ àɲ-āzĩ-ʔā wà nì*  
which PR 2PL-(N)-sell-OBJ PS FOC  
'Which one is it that you can sell?'

The final modal or negation can be *kū* (119), *kūrù* (115), *rá* (120), *wà* (121), *kpé* (122). Nominalized modals/negation will not do this (19.11.3).

- (119) *ɲí nì àdĩ nĩ kū nì*  
2S know who PR NEG(N) FOC  
'Who is it that you do not know?'
- (120) *ɲí sò àdĩ ʔà bɔ̀ŋgú rá nì*  
2S sew who POSS clothes AFF FOC  
'Whose clothes is it that you have certainly sewn?'
- (121) *àɲí íŋgò nĩ āzĩ wà nì*  
2PL which PR (N)-sell PS FOC  
'Which one is it that you can sell?'
- (122) *ká íŋgò nĩ dʒè kpé nì*  
3 which SPEC PR (N)-wash NPS FOC  
'Which one is it that she cannot wash?'

The final adverbial, modal etc. is obligatory.

(123)\*  $n' - \bar{e}l\acute{o}$      $\acute{a}d\bar{i}$      $n\bar{i}$      $n\grave{i}$   
 2S-touch    who    PR    FOC  
 'Who is it that you have touched?'

(124)\*  $n' - \bar{e}l\acute{o}$      $\acute{a}d\bar{u}$      $n\grave{i}$   
 2S-touch    who    FOC  
 'Who is it that you have touched?'

A non-wh-object cannot be focused with *nì*.

(125)\*  $n' - \bar{e}l\acute{o}$      $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $n\bar{i}$      $r\acute{a}$      $n\grave{i}$   
 2S-touch    Opi    PR    AFF    FOC  
 'It was Opi that you certainly touched.'

(126)\*  $n' - \bar{e}l\acute{o}$      $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $n\bar{i}$      $r\acute{a}$      $n\grave{i}$      $\acute{Q}$   
 2S-touch    Opi    PR    AFF    FOC    Q  
 'Was it Opi that you touched?'

Note that the subject is not interpreted as in focus (as it normally would be if *nì* is present).

(127)  $\bar{e}l\acute{o}$      $\acute{a}d\bar{i}$      $n\bar{i}$      $r\acute{a}$      $n\grave{i}$   
 3S-touch    who    PR    AFF    FOC  
 (a) 'Who is it that she has definitely touched?'  
 (b)\* 'It is her that definitely touched who?'

#### 19.5.4. The position of *nì*

*nì* is normally in final position but other constituents can follow, with an optional pause.

(128)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $\bar{e} - d\bar{z}\acute{i}$      $m\acute{a}ng\grave{a}$      $n\grave{i}$  ( , )     $\bar{e}ndr\grave{e}$      $n\acute{i}$   
 Opi (3)-VE-take    mangoes    FOC    mother    BEN  
 'It was Opi who brought mangoes for the mother.'

#### 19.5.5. The morphology of *nì*

Is *nì* a combination of *nī* and a low tone? Phonological processes seen elsewhere in the language would allow *nì* to be derived by suffixing a

floating low tone to  $n\bar{i}$ . In principle this might be the same low tone as seen in verbal focus, which might also be the same low tone determiner as seen in specific noun phrases.

## 19.6 The object focus strategies compared

### 19.6.1. $\bar{r}\bar{i}$ focus vs. null focus

The basic difference between  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$ -focus and null focus is in the type of noun phrase they apply to: the latter focuses only a bare indefinite noun phrase and the former focuses any other kind of noun phrase. (This division of labour between the two types of focus strategy recalls the two types of predication strategy, discussed in 11.1.1 and 11.1.2, and this suggests a connection between focus and predication, 19.7) However, there are also three differences between  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$ -focus and null focus, as follows. First, the  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$ -strategy can be used with the sentence-final object of a directive verb; the null strategy cannot.

- (129)  $n\bar{i}$        $n\bar{a}$        $\bar{i}z\acute{a}$        $r\bar{i}$        $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 2SDIR    eat      meat    DEF    FOC  
 (a) 'It is the meat (in question) that you should eat.'  
 (b) '(You should) eat the meaty one.'

Second, the  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$ -strategy is not affected by a postposition phrase between verb and object.

- (130)  $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$        $\bar{o}-\bar{l}\bar{i}$        $\bar{e}n\bar{d}r\bar{e}$        $n\bar{i}$        $\acute{t}\bar{i}$        $r\bar{i}$        $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 Opi    3-cut    mother    BEN    cow    DEF    FOC  
 (a) 'Opi slaughtered for the mother the cow (in question).'  
 (b) 'Opi slaughtered for the mother the one which is a cow.'

Third, the  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$ -strategy can be used to focus the object of  $n\bar{d}r\bar{e}$  'see', unlike the null strategy.

- (131)  $m\acute{a}$        $n\bar{d}r\bar{e}$        $\acute{o}t\bar{f}\acute{e}$        $r\bar{i}$        $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 1S    see    dog    DEF    FOC  
 'It is the dog (in question) that I saw.'

### 19.6.2. $\bar{r}\bar{i}$ -focus vs. $\acute{a}\bar{u}$ -focus

A final definite noun phrase can be focused both by  $\bar{r}\bar{i}$ -focus and by  $\acute{a}\bar{u}$ -focus.

19.6.2.1. Noncontrastive vs. contrastive focus

Where exactly the same kind of phrase can take both strategies, it appears that the  $\text{ʔí}$ -strategy is noncontrastive and the  $\text{áū}$  strategy is contrastive.

(132)  $\text{ópi} \quad \text{ē-dʒí} \quad \text{gáɾì} \quad \text{ɾì} \quad \text{ʔí}$   
 Opi (3)-VE-take bicycle DEF FOC  
 ‘It is the bicycle (in question) that Opi brought.’ (specifically, the bike)

(133)  $\text{ópi} \quad \text{ē-dʒí} \quad \text{gáɾì} \quad \text{ɾì} \quad \text{áū}$   
 Opi (3)-VE-take bicycle DEF FOC  
 ‘It is the bicycle (in question) that Opi brought.’ (not a book)

(134)  $\text{ɲì} \quad \text{dū} \quad \text{íkā} \quad \text{ɾì} \quad \text{ʔí}$   
 2SDIR take red DEF FOC  
 ‘You should take the red one.’ (no choice, can only take red)

(135)  $\text{ɲì} \quad \text{dū} \quad \text{íkā} \quad \text{ɾì} \quad \text{áū}$   
 2SDIR take red DEF FOC  
 ‘You should take the red one.’ (not the blue or green one)

19.6.2.2. Noun phrase types which can only be focused by one or the other strategy

It is possible that modifier phrases attached to nouns and pronouns can only be focused by the  $\text{ʔí}$ -strategy and hence this strategy allows both contrastive and noncontrastive focus.

Certain types of possessed noun phrase are focusable only by  $\text{áū}$  and not by  $\text{ʔí}$ .

[ [ NP +  $\text{ʔá}$  + N ] +  $\text{ní}$  + N ] FOC

(136)  $\text{ópi} \quad \text{ō-ŋò} \quad \text{má-à} \quad \text{gáɾì} \quad \text{ní} \quad \text{pá} \quad \text{áū}$   
 Opi 3-break 1S-POSS bicycle POSS leg FOC  
 ‘It is the wheel of my bicycle that Opi broke.’

(137)\*  $\text{ópi} \quad \text{ō-ŋò} \quad \text{má-à} \quad \text{gáɾì} \quad \text{ní} \quad \text{pá} \quad \text{ʔí}$   
 Opi 3-break 1S-POSS bicycle POSS leg FOC  
 ‘It is the wheel of my bicycle that Opi broke.’ (ok in Ugandan)

- |        |  | [ NAME     | + ?à       | + N ]           | FOC       |
|--------|--|------------|------------|-----------------|-----------|
| (138)  | ō-dū<br>3-take<br>'He took Opi's <u>bicycle</u> .' | ópi<br>Opi | ?à<br>POSS | gáři<br>bicycle | áū<br>FOC |
| (139)* | ō-dū<br>3-take<br>'He took Opi's <u>bicycle</u> .' | ópi<br>Opi | ?à<br>POSS | gáři<br>bicycle | řī<br>FOC |

However, note the grammaticality of focus with both *áū* and *řī* in the following type of structure.

- |       | [ [ NP + ?à + N ] + řī + ?à + N ] |                 |                 |                 |                   | FOC                |
|-------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| (140) | ópi<br>Opi                        | ō-ηò<br>3-break | má-à<br>1S-POSS | gáři<br>bicycle | řī ?à<br>DEF POSS | pá   áū<br>leg FOC |
| (141) | ópi<br>Opi                        | ō-ηò<br>3-break | má-à<br>1S-POSS | gáři<br>bicycle | řī ?à<br>DEF POSS | pá řī<br>leg FOC   |
- 'It is the wheel of my bicycle (in question) that Opi broke.'

### 19.6.3. *Null focus vs. áū focus*

A bare indefinite noun phrase can in principle be focused either by null focus or by *áū*. The null predication focus reading is reported by native speakers to give the effect as if the focus particle *áū* were missing from the end of the sentence. However, as in the contrast between *áū* and *řī*, when there is a choice between *áū* and null focus, *áū* gives a contrast focus interpretation.

- |   |            |                     |                 |           |  |
|---|------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------|--|
| (142)   | ópi<br>Opi | ē-džé<br>(3)-VE-buy | gáři<br>bicycle |           |  |
| 'It is a bicycle that Opi bought.'                                  |            |                     |                 |           |  |
| (143)   | ópi<br>Opi | ē-džé<br>(3)-VE-buy | gáři<br>bicycle | áū<br>FOC |  |
| 'It is a bicycle (not some other kind of vehicle) that Opi bought.' |            |                     |                 |           |  |

This distinction is seen also when a *wh*-phrase in preverbal position is focused by either null focus or by *áū* focus.

- (144)  $j\acute{i}$      $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$      $\grave{n}\bar{a}$   
 2S    what    N-eat  
 (a) 'What are you eating?'  
 (b) 'What do you eat?'  
 (c) 'What will you eat?'
- (145)  $j\acute{i}$      $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$      $\grave{n}\bar{a}$      $\acute{a}\bar{u}$   
 2S    what    N-eat    FOC  
 (a) 'What (specific thing) is it that you are eating?'  
 (b) 'What (specific thing) is it that you eat?'  
 (c) 'What (specific thing) is it that you will eat?'

### 19.7 Similarities between focus on an object and nonverbal predication

Two of the focus strategies resemble a pair of strategies for nonverbal predication. Thus a bare indefinite in final position or a noun phrase +  $\grave{a}$  in final position is either focused in a verbal clause, or is a predicate in a nonverbal clause. A connection between focus and predication is thus likely.

Could the final NP or NP+ $\grave{a}$  in a verbal clause be a predicate? It is relevant to consider the possibility that these NPs are not actually the object of the verb but instead are copies of the object. This is because the NPs in both cases follow uninflected verbs, which can always omit their object and have a null object instead; thus it is possible that the focused NP is actually a copy of the true (null) pronominal object, and thus not itself an argument. Evidence that the NP in the NP- $\grave{a}$  structure is a copy comes also from the fact that it is clearly a copy in subject focus, where the first or second person subject remains in place and is copied into final position. This would all make it more plausible to claim that the focused NP might be a predicate.

subject	verb	( implicit object $i$ )	predicate-NP $i$
subject	verb	( implicit object $i$ )	predicate-NP $i$ $\grave{a}$
subject $i$	verb		predicate-NP $i$ $\grave{a}$

The predicate NP can be seen as the predicate in a presentational sentence; its subject can be interpreted as coreferential with the implicit object of the preceding verb or with the verb's overt subject.

Two further considerations further suggest a link between focus and predication. First, it may be possible to combine focus with bare predication as in the following clause.

- (146)  $\bar{o}f\bar{o}$   $m\acute{a}$   $d\bar{u}$   $m\bar{a}$   $\text{?}\bar{i}$   $k\bar{u}$   $r\grave{e}$   $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\text{?}\bar{i}$   
 3-say 1S take 1S FOC NEG(N) DEF Opi FOC  
 'He said that it was me who took it or else that it was Opi.'

Second, nonverbal clauses do not permit focus on a subject. This might be considered evidence that the predicate effectively constitutes the focus strategy; it would mean that the predicate would have to be considered as in focus in a nonverbal clause.

However, there is also a clear difference, which is that certain types of possessed phrase cannot (except in special contexts) be focused by the  $\text{?}\bar{i}$ -strategy.

- (147)  $\bar{o}-\bar{l}\bar{i}$   $\acute{i}z\acute{i}$   $r\grave{e}$   $\text{?}\grave{a}$   $\grave{i}ndr\acute{i}$   $\acute{a}\bar{u}$   
 3-cut woman DEF POSS goat FOC  
 'It's the woman's goat she slaughtered.'

- (148)\*  $\bar{o}-\bar{l}\bar{i}$   $\acute{i}z\acute{i}$   $r\grave{e}$   $\text{?}\grave{a}$   $\grave{i}ndr\acute{i}$   $\text{?}\bar{i}$   
 3-cut woman DEF POSS goat FOC  
 'It's the woman's goat she slaughtered.'

Nevertheless, these types of possessed phrase can be predicated by the  $\text{?}\bar{i}$ -strategy.

- (149)  $d\grave{i}$   $\acute{i}z\acute{i}$   $r\grave{e}$   $\text{?}\grave{a}$   $d_3\acute{o}$   $\text{?}\bar{i}$   
 this woman DEF POSS house FOC  
 'This is the woman's house.'

## 19.8 The LOW- $\text{?}\bar{i}$ focus strategy

In this section we consider a focus strategy where the clause ends in a low tone followed by  $\text{?}\bar{i}$ . This appears to be used both to focus a non-argument (eg. an adverbial or postposition phrase) within the clause and to give presentational focus on the whole clause.

### 19.8.1. Focus on a non-argument within the clause

The non-argument can be in final position, and can be a postposition phrase (150), a temporal noun (151), a degree modifier (152),  $gb\grave{o}$  (153), etc.

- (150) *má`mū èbù gá` ?i*  
 1S N-go work to SPEC FOC  
 'It is to work that I am going.'
- (151) *má fō má ēló ìtú` ?i*  
 1S say 1S touch sun SPEC FOC  
 'What I am saying is that it is during the day that I touched it.'
- (152) *ō-dzè pélére réré` ?i*  
 3-wash clean really SPEC FOC  
 'It was really clean that she washed it.'
- (153) *ópí ē-mú rá gbò` ?i*  
 Opi (3)-VE-go AFF still SPEC FOC  
 'It was regardless of the circumstances that he certainly came.'

The non-argument can be right-dislocated, following a pause; note that the object is also focused in this clause.

- (154) *ópí ē-dzì mángà rì ?i, ēndrè ní` ?i*  
 Opi (3)-VE-bring mangoes DEF FOC mother BEN SPEC FOC  
 'It is the mangoes (in question) that Opi bought, for the mother.'

The non-argument can also be left-dislocated (155,156), to indicate that the left-dislocated phrase is new information.

- (155) *bási sì má mū` ?i*  
 bus SR 1S go SPEC FOC  
 (a) 'It was in a bus that I went.'  
 (b) 'It was because of a bus that went.'  
 (c) '(I am saying that) I went in a bus.'
- (156) *lōsó ō-sī` ?i*  
 good 3-build SPEC FOC  
 'He built it well.'

The left-dislocated non-argument (under contrastive focus) can be followed by a pause.

- (157) *pélére, ō-ndzē` ?i*  
 clean 3-explain SPEC FOC  
 'Properly, he explained it.'

- (158) *tfá* , *ṣ-ndzē* ` *ṙ*  
 clean 3-explain SPEC FOC  
 ‘Properly, he explained it.’

Note that in this structure, both *gbù* and *wà* can also be focused.

- (159) *gbù* , *m'-ogù* *ìzá* ` *ṙ*  
 once before 1S-steal meat SPEC FOC  
 ‘Before this, I had stolen something.’

- (160) *wà* , *ṙí* ` *mū* ` *ṙ*  
 PS 2S N-go SPEC FOC  
 (a) ‘It is possible for you to go.’  
 (b) ‘You can go.’

#### 19.8.1.1. Where there are multiple non-arguments

In this section we consider clauses with focus where there are two non-arguments, *ádẓíní* ‘yesterday’ and *dí?ā* ‘here’. In the first example, one non-argument is left-dislocated and the other non-argument is in final position. This is ambiguous: either non-argument or both can be interpreted as in focus.

- (161) *ádẓíní* *ḃòròndẓí* *rì* *ē-vù* *dí?ā* ` *ṙ*  
 yesterday children DEF (3)-VE-go(PL) here SPEC FOC  
 (a) ‘It was yesterday that the children (in question) came here.’  
 (b) ‘It was here that the children came yesterday.’  
 (c) ‘It was here and it was yesterday that the children came.’  
 (ie. in response to where and when did the children come)

In the second example, both non-arguments are left-dislocated, with the same ambiguities.

- (162) *dí?ā* *ádẓíní* *ḃòròndẓí* *rì* *ē-vù* ` *ṙ*  
 here yesterday children DEF (3)-VE-go(PL) SPEC FOC  
 (a) ‘It was here that the children came yesterday.’  
 (b) ‘It was yesterday that the children came here.’  
 (c) ‘It was here and it was yesterday that the children came.’

In the third example, both non-arguments are placed at the end of the clause. The meanings are the same; it is still ambiguous.

- (163)  $\bar{b}\bar{o}\bar{r}\bar{o}\bar{n}\bar{d}\bar{z}\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\bar{e}\bar{-}\bar{v}\bar{u}$   $\bar{d}\bar{i}\bar{?}\bar{a}$   $\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{z}\bar{i}\bar{n}\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 children DEF (3)-VE-go(PL) here yesterday SPEC FOC  
 (a) 'It was here that the children came yesterday.'  
 (b) 'It was yesterday that the children came here'  
 (c) 'It was here and it was yesterday that the children came'

### 19.8.2. Focus on the whole clause

The LOW- $\bar{r}\bar{i}$  strategy can be used to focus a whole clause which is represented as something said. This is a kind of presentational focus. What is said can be a subordinate clause which is the complement of a verb of speaking.

- (164)  $\bar{o}\bar{-}\bar{f}\bar{o}$   $\bar{j}\bar{i}$   $\bar{m}\bar{u}$   $\bar{j}\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 3-say [2S-DIR go 2s FOC SPEC FOC]  
 'It is you who should go, that's what she said.'

Alternatively, what is said can be the root clause containing a headless relative, or an adverbial such as  $\bar{a}\bar{m}\bar{a}$  'allegedly', in both cases indicating that it is spoken.

- (165)  $\bar{m}\bar{a}$   $\bar{a}$   $\bar{f}\bar{o}\bar{-}\bar{l}\bar{e}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\bar{i}\bar{t}\bar{u}$   $\bar{n}\bar{i}$   $\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{f}\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 [1S POSS say-SB] DEF sun SPEC PR hot SPEC FOC  
 'What I said was that, that it is hot.'

- (166)  $\bar{o}\bar{-}\bar{d}\bar{i}$   $\bar{k}\bar{i}$   $\bar{a}\bar{m}\bar{a}$   $\bar{o}\bar{p}\bar{i}$   $\bar{n}\bar{i}$   $\bar{n}\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 3-kill PL allegedly Opi PR FOC SPEC FOC  
 'It was alleged (specifically) that they were the ones who killed Opi.' (ie. The subordinate clause is in focus.)

The verb of speaking can be omitted, in which case the implied speaker can be someone else or oneself.

- (167)  $\bar{j}\bar{i}$   $\bar{m}\bar{u}$   $\bar{j}\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 2SDIR go 2S FOC SPEC FOC  
 (a) 'It is you who should go...' (It is the case.)  
 (b) 'It is you who should go...' (That's what he said.)

- (168)  $\bar{m}\bar{a}$   $\bar{m}\bar{u}$   $\bar{r}\bar{i}$   
 1S N-go SPEC FOC  
 'Im going...' (eg. said when taking leave)

If the verb is directive the interpretation 'it is now time for...' can arise.

- (169)  $j\grave{u}$        $z\bar{i}$        $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$        $n\bar{i}$       `       $\tilde{r}\acute{i}$   
 2SDIR    ask    Opi    PR    SPEC    FOC  
 ‘It is now time for you to ask Opi...’

If the verb is nonpast, either present or future interpretations are possible.

- $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $k\acute{a}$      $dz\acute{o}kon\grave{i}$      $d\grave{i}$      $s\bar{i}$       `       $\tilde{r}\acute{i}$   
 Opi 3    kitchen    this    (N)-build    SPEC    FOC  
 (a) ‘It is that Opi is building the kitchen.’  
 (b) ‘It is that Opi will build the kitchen.’

### 19.8.3. *The low tone can be omitted*

In some cases the low tone can be omitted. There is no difference in the proposition expressed, but the examples with the low tone seem in some sense to be more intimate.

- (170)  $\bar{o}-f\bar{o}$        $\bar{o}-m\bar{u}$        $r\acute{a}$       `       $\tilde{r}\acute{i}$   
 3-say    3-go    AFF    SPEC    FOC  
 (a) ‘What he said was that she definitely went.’ (ie. He did not say anything else on the topic.)  
 (b)\* ‘What he definitely said was that she went.’

- (171)  $\bar{o}-f\bar{o}$        $\bar{o}-m\bar{u}$        $r\acute{a}$        $\tilde{r}\acute{i}$   
 3-say    3-go    AFF      FOC  
 ‘What he said was that she definitely went.’ (ie. He did not say anything else on the topic.)

- (172)  $t\grave{a}$        $l\grave{e}-l\acute{e}$        $r\grave{i}$      $j\grave{u}$        $m\bar{u}$      $k\bar{u}$       `       $\tilde{r}\acute{i}$   
 [thing (N)-want-SB ] DEF 2SDIR go NEG(N) SPEC FOC  
 ‘What is needed is that you should not go.’

- (173)  $t\grave{a}$        $l\grave{e}-l\acute{e}$        $r\grave{i}$      $j\acute{i}$        $m\bar{u}$      $k\bar{u}$        $\tilde{r}\acute{i}$   
 [thing (N)-want-SB] DEF 2S go NEG(N) FOC  
 ‘What is needed is that you should not go.’

- (174)  $\bar{o}-l\grave{e}$        $m-\bar{o}l\acute{u}$        $kp\acute{o}$       `       $\tilde{r}\acute{i}$   
 3-want    1S-stay    dead    SPEC    FOC  
 ‘It is death that she really wants.’

- (175)  $\bar{o}-l\grave{e}$        $m-\bar{o}l\acute{u}$        $kp\acute{o}$        $\tilde{r}\acute{i}$   
 3-want    1s-stay    dead      FOC  
 ‘It’s that she wants me dead.’

19.8.4. *Ambiguity between whole-clause focus and non-argument focus*

The same strategy is used for whole-clause focus as for non-argument focus and this can lead to ambiguity, where either type of focus can be interpreted.

- (176) *má*    *mū*    *èbù*    *gá*    *ʔí*  
 1S    N-go    work    to    SPEC    FOC  
 (a) 'It is to work that I am going...'  
 (b) '(I am saying that) I am going to work...'

19.8.5. *The structure of LOW-ʔí focus*

What is the LOW tone in this structure? There are several other types of low tone which might be the same as this.

- (a) It might be the low tone determiner, which makes a noun phrase specific; in this case it perhaps makes the preceding clause specific (in some sense). We think this is the best analysis.
- (b) It might be the same low tone as is attached as a suffix to the focused verb (and is possibly seen also in *ní*).
- (c) It might be the low tone prefix seen on nonpast (and subordinate suffixed) verbs, presumably attaching as a prefix in this case to *ʔí* which would thus be in some sense verb-like.

Or it might be a different morpheme from any of these. In glossing the examples we have assumed that it is (a) the specific determiner.

19.9 The use of *sáà* 'even' in focus constructions

19.9.1. *Focused item + sáà*

*sáà* is preceded by the item it focuses. This item appears to be a phrase focused by the null or *ʔí* strategy. If it is indefinite or a non-argument it immediately precedes *sáà*.

- (177) *òbú*    *sáà*    *ē-mú*    *kū*  
 tomorrow    even    (3)-VE-go    NEG(N)  
 'Even tomorrow she won't come.'

If it is definite, the sequence is NP + *ʔí* + *sáà*, which can be collapsed to NP + *ʔísáà*.

- (178)  $\dot{o}b\acute{u}$        $\dot{n}\grave{i}$        $\dot{i}s\acute{a}\grave{a}$      $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$      $k\bar{u}$  AS PRONOUNCED  
 $\dot{o}b\acute{u}$        $\dot{n}\grave{i}$      $\dot{?i}$        $s\acute{a}\grave{a}$      $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$      $k\bar{u}$  UNDERLYING  
 tomorrow DEF FOC even (3)-VE-go NEG(N)  
 'Even the one of tomorrow won't come.'

If the phrase is a third person subject, the subject is followed by  $\dot{?i}$  and then  $s\acute{a}\grave{a}$ . Note that  $\dot{n}\grave{i}$  is not used, even though it normally would be with a focused third person subject.

- (179)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$        $\dot{i}-s\acute{a}\grave{a}$        $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$        $k\bar{u}$   
 Opi PR-even (3)-VE-go NEG(N)  
 'Opi too will not come.'

If the phrase is a first or second person subject, it is the copy which takes  $s\acute{a}\grave{a}$ ; thus  $s\acute{a}\grave{a}$  appears to be exploiting a pre-existing NP- $\dot{?i}$  structure.

- (180)  $m\acute{a}$        $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$        $k\bar{u}$        $m\bar{a}$      $\dot{i}-s\acute{a}\grave{a}$   
 1S      (3)-VE-go NEG(N)    1S      FOC-even  
 'I too will not come.'

The focused structure  $m\bar{a} \dot{i}-s\acute{a}\grave{a}$  can be freely placed within the clause; thus in the following example  $k\bar{u}r\grave{u}$  comes at the end of the clause and the focused structure can be moved.

- (181)  $m\bar{a}$        $\dot{i}s\acute{a}\grave{a}$        $m\acute{a}$        $s\bar{i}$        $d\acute{z}\acute{o}$      $gb\grave{u}$       ( $s\acute{a}\grave{a}$ )     $k\bar{u}r\grave{u}$   
 1S      PR-even 1S      build house before even NEG(P)  
 'Neither have I built a house before.'

$m\bar{a} \dot{i}s\acute{a}\grave{a}$  may occupy any of the following positions @.

- (182)  $m\acute{a}$        $s\bar{i}$       @       $d\acute{z}\acute{o}$     @       $gb\grave{u}$       ( $s\acute{a}\grave{a}$ )     $k\bar{u}r\grave{u}$   
 1S      build house before even NEG  
 @ =  $m\bar{a} \dot{i}s\acute{a}\grave{a}$   
 'I have not even built a house before.'

Note a third possibility, exceptionally found here. This is to use the subject- $\dot{?i}$  strategy for a third person subject, by copying the subject into final position as a third person pronominal  $\bar{a}n\dot{i}$ .

- (183)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$        $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$        $k\bar{u}$        $\bar{a}n-\dot{i}-s\acute{a}\grave{a}$   
 Opi (3)-VE-go NEG(N)    3S-FOC-even  
 'Opi too will not come.'

19.9.2. The combination àlū sáà 'not only one'

sáà can immediately follow àlū 'one' to give a meaning of 'not only one', which in turn can optionally be preceded by a noun phrase. The whole constituent can be in place or left-dislocated

(184) mādí àlū sáà ē-mú-rē rá nā ìjō  
 person one even (N)-VE-go-SB AFF AFR absent  
 'There is not even one person definitely who came.'

(185) tà àlū sáà ō-fō kūrù  
 thing one even 3-say NEG(P)  
 'Not even one word did she say.'

(186) àlū sáà ō-fō tà kūrù  
 one even 3-say thing NEG(P)  
 'Even one word, he did not say.'

An àlū phrase can be used on its own, but note that it involves a LOW- $\bar{F}$  strategy, even though it is the object which is being focused. Normally this strategy is used for adjuncts or whole-clause focus.

(187) tà àlū ō-fō ` ñ̄  
 thing one 3-say SPEC FOC  
 'She said only one thing.'

The following combinations are also possible.

àlū		òlè	èrì	'one or two'
àlū		kū sáà	èrì	'one or even two'
àlū	dʒò	kū sáà	èrì	'one if not two'

(188) n-ē-kè má ní ātē-rē tfúpà  
 2SDIR-VE-give 1S BEN (N)-reach-SB bottle  
 àlū òlè èrì ní rì ñ̄  
 one or two BEN DEF FOC  
 'Give me what is enough for a bottle or two.'

(189) n-ē-kè má ní ātē-rē tfúpà  
 2SDIR-VE-give 1S BEN (N)-reach-SB bottle  
 àlū kū sáà èrì ní rì ñ̄  
 one NEG(N) even two BEN DEF FOC  
 'Give me what is enough for a bottle or even two.'

- (190) *ɲ-ē-kē*                      *má*    *ní*    *ā-tē-rē*                      *tfúpà*  
 2SDIR-VE-give                      1S                      BEN                      (N)-reach-SB                      bottle  
    *àlū*    *dʒó*    *kū*                      *sáà*    *èrì*    *ní*    *rì*                      *ʔí*  
    one    if                      NEG(N)                      even    two                      BEN                      DEF                      FOC  
 ‘Give me what is enough for a bottle, if not two.’

In these sentences, the noun *tfúpà* ‘bottle’ is the object of *ā-tē* not of *kē*. The numerals are conjoined. The postposition *ní* relates to the numeral (ie. ‘for a bottle or two’).

### 19.10 Focus and the bare modal/negation particle

In this section we look at the combination of focus and a final (bare) negation or modal particle. In 19.11 we look at negation or modal particles combined with the determiner *rì*, whose syntax is associated with the syntax of focus.

#### 19.10.1. Modal or negation followed by focus

All the modal/negation particles except *rá* can be followed by the subject focus particle *nì*.

- (191) *ópi*    *ká*    *dʒó*                      *sí*                      *wá*    *nì*  
 Opi    3    house    N-build                      PS                      FOC  
 ‘It is Opi who can build a house.’ (the others can’t)
- (192) *ópi*    *ká*    *dʒó*                      *sí*                      *kpé*    *nì*  
 Opi    3    house    N-build                      NPS                      FOC  
 ‘It is Opi who can’t build a house.’ (ability)
- (193) *àdī*    *ɔ-ɲā*    *èbī*                      *kū*                      *nì*  
 who    3-eat    fish                      NEG(N)                      FOC  
 ‘Who is it that does not eat fish?’
- (194) *ópi*    *ɔ-kwā*    *dribí*    *kūrù*                      *nì*  
 Opi    3-shave    hair                      NEG(P)                      FOC  
 ‘It is Opi who has not shaved (his head).’

All the modal/negation particles except *rá* can be followed by a copied subject + *ʔí*.

- (195) *má* *lābōlō* *ḡnā* *kpé* *mā* *ḡí*  
 1S bananas N-eat NPS 1S FOC  
 ‘It is me who can’t eat bananas.’

*rá* cannot be followed by a subject focuser, except in the anomalous situation in which the subject focuser *nì* focuses a wh-object (19.5.3).

- (196)\* *ópi* *ō-dzè* *bòḡgú* *rá* *nì*  
 Opi 3-wash clothes AFF FOC  
 ‘It is Opi who has (definitely) washed (his) clothes.’

- (197) *n’-ēló* *ádū* *rá* *nì*  
 2S-touch what AFF FOC  
 ‘What is it that you have (certainly) touched?’

The object focus strategies cannot combine with modals or negation if they come outside the modal or negation. Thus the modal/negation cannot be followed by *ḡí*-object focus though it can be followed by *ḡí*-subject focus, and it can be followed by *nì* object focus. The following examples show that *ádū* cannot follow a modal or negation.

- (198)\* *ópi* *ō-dzè* *bòḡgú* *rá* *ádū*  
 Opi 3-wash clothes AFF FOC  
 ‘It is Opi who has certainly washed (his) clothes.’

- (199)\* *ádī* *ō-nā* *èbī* *kū* *ádū*  
 who 3-eat fish NEG(N) FOC  
 ‘Who is it that doesn’t eat fish?’

### 19.10.2. Contrastive negation

If a focused constituent is followed by negation, the negation particle has scope specifically over the focused constituent; thus we get contrastive negation.

- (200) *ō-nā* *èbī* *ádū* *kū*  
 3s-eat fish FOC NEG(N)  
 ‘It is not fish that she ate.’ (ie. she ate other things.)

- (201) *ídré* *ō-nā* *ìzá* *rì* *nì* *kū*  
 rat 3-eat meat DEF FOC NEG(N)  
 ‘It is not rats that ate the meat (in question).’

- (202) *ídré ǝ-jā ìzá rì ǝ̃ kū*  
 rat 3-eat meat DEF FOC NEG(N)  
 (a) 'It is not the meat (in question) that rats ate...'  
 (b) 'It is not the meat one that rats ate.'

In the following example, we get contrastive negation if we assume a null focus strategy (203 a) and not if we assume no focus (203 b).

- (203) *má dzē gáǝ̃ kū*  
 1S buy bicycle NEG(N)  
 (a) 'It is not a bicycle that I bought ...'  
 (b) 'I will not buy a bicycle.'

Similarly, if there is a postposition phrase in final position, there is a contrastive negation reading.

- (204) *má mū ēbù gá kū , má mū sùkúru gá*  
 1S go work LOC NEG(N) 1S go school LOC  
 'It is not to work that I went, I went to school.'

The negation particle *kū* can follow a sentence ending on a negation particle or a modal. It is possibly the modal or negation itself which is being contrastively negated here.

- (205) *ǝpí ǝ-dū ìzi rá kū*  
 Opi 3-take woman AFF NEG(N)  
 (a) 'It is certainly not that Opi is married...'  
 (b)\* 'It is not that Opi is certainly married...'  
 (c)\* 'Opi is certainly not married.'
- (206) *má ìrá rì āzi kpé kū*  
 1S beer DEF sell NPS NEG(N)  
 (a) 'It is not that I can't sell the beer (in question)...'  
 (b) 'It is not that I can't sell the one which is beer.'
- (207) *má mū kū kū*  
 1S go NEG(N) NEG(N)  
 'It is not that I am not going...'
- (208) *má mū kūrù kū*  
 1S go NEG(P) NEG(N)  
 'It is not that I did not go...'

There is no contrastive negation on a focused wh-phrase.

- (209)\*  $\grave{a}d\bar{i}$      $\bar{o}-n\bar{a}$      $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$      $n\grave{i}$      $k\bar{u}$   
 who 3-eat fish FOC NEG(N)  
 'Who is it that does not eat fish?'

If the subject is not a wh-phrase, the sentence is grammatical.

- (210)  $\acute{i}d\bar{r}\acute{e}$      $\bar{o}-n\bar{a}$      $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$      $n\grave{i}$      $k\bar{u}$   
 rat 3-eat fish FOC NEG(N)  
 'It is not rats that ate fish.'

Note the grammaticality of the following sentence, where the object is contrastively focused, followed by the subject focus particle, focusing a wh-phrase.

- (211)  $\grave{a}d\bar{i}$      $\bar{o}-n\bar{a}$      $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$      $\acute{a}\bar{u}$      $k\bar{u}$      $n\grave{i}$   
 who 3-eat fish FOC NEG(N) FOC  
 'Who is it that does not eat fish?'

When  $k\bar{u}$  follows an object-verb sequence, contrastive negation includes both object and verb, as though these constitute a (verb phrase) constituent which together can be negated (but see 14.3.2.2 for evidence otherwise).

- (212)  $k\acute{a}$      $g\acute{a}l\acute{a}m\grave{u}$      $\bar{e}-d\acute{z}\acute{i}$      $k\bar{u}$     ,     $k\acute{a}$      $d\acute{z}\acute{o}$      $\grave{s}\bar{i}$      $\acute{a}\bar{u}$   
 3 pen (N)-take NEG(N) 3S house N-build FOC  
 'It is not bringing a pen that she is doing, it's building a house'

- (213)  $m\acute{a}$      $\bar{o}d\acute{u}$      $\grave{k}\bar{o}$      $k\bar{u}$      $m\acute{a}$      $b\acute{u}k\grave{u}$      $l\grave{a}$   
 1S sleep N-catch NEG(N) 1S book N-read  
 'I'm not sleeping, I'm reading a book.'

This is of particular interest when we consider that if the object follows the verb, the verb + object combination is no longer contrastively negated. This suggests that the verb + object combination do not together constitute a phrase (a verb phrase), though it leaves open the possibility that the object + verb combination is a verb phrase.

- (214)  $\bar{e}-d\acute{z}\acute{i}$      $g\acute{a}l\acute{a}m\grave{u}$      $k\bar{u}$   
 (3)-VE-take pen NEG(N)  
 (a)\* 'It is not bringing a pen that she is doing.'  
 (b) 'She is not bringing a pen...'  
 (c) 'She won't bring a pen...'

- (215)  $\bar{e}$ -d $\acute{z}\acute{i}$                       g $\grave{a}$ l $\acute{a}$ m $\grave{u}$     r $\grave{i}$     k $\bar{u}$   
 (3)-VE-take                      pen                      DEF    NEG(N)  
 (a)\* 'It is not bringing the pen that she is doing.'  
 (b)\* 'She is not bringing the pen...'  
 (c) 'She won't bring the pen...'

Contrastive negation of a focused constituent requires that the focus particle precede negation; if the focus particle follows negation there is no contrastive focus.

- (216)  $\acute{o}$ p $\acute{i}$      $\bar{o}$ - $\eta\bar{a}$      $\grave{i}$ z $\acute{a}$     r $\grave{i}$                       k $\bar{u}$     n $\grave{i}$   
 Opi    3-eat    meat    DEF                      NEG(N)    FOC  
 (a) 'It is Opi who will not eat the meat (in question).' (He will eat other meats.)  
 (b) 'It is Opi who will not eat the meat one.'

- (217)  $\acute{o}$ p $\acute{i}$      $\bar{o}$ - $\eta\bar{a}$      $\grave{i}$ z $\acute{a}$     r $\grave{i}$     n $\grave{i}$     k $\bar{u}$   
 Opi    3-eat    meat    DEF    FOC    NEG(N)  
 (a) 'It was not Opi who ate the meat (in question).' (Someone else did.)  
 (b) 'It was not Opi who ate the meat one.'

#### 19.10.2.1. Dialectal variation: Contrastive negation in 'Burulo.

In Lokai, as we saw above, the object+inflected verb sequence can be contrastively negated as a constituent but not the uninflected verb+object sequence. In 'Burulo, the object follows the inflected verb; in this case, negation following the object can be interpreted either as contrastive negation on just the object or on the verb+object sequence, suggesting that again it can be taken as a constituent (ie. a verb phrase).

- (218) k-                                       $\acute{e}$ -z $\acute{i}$                       g $\grave{a}$ l $\acute{a}$ m $\grave{u}$     k $\bar{u}$   
 3    -VE-take    pen                      NEG(N)                      ('Burulo)  
 (a) 'It is not a pen she is bringing.'  
 (b) 'It is not that she is bringing a pen.'

#### 19.10.3. Focus followed by other modal or negation particles

##### 19.10.3.1. contrastive $k\bar{u}\grave{r}\grave{u}$

In general,  $k\bar{u}\grave{r}\grave{u}$  is not used as a contrastive negation particle.

- (219)\* *má* *ḡā* *lābōlō* *rì* *mā* *ḡí* *kūrù*  
 1S eat bananas DEF 1S FOC NEG(P)  
 'It was not me who ate the bananas.'

However, it can have this function at the end of a subordinate clause, in which it resembles *kū*.

- (220) *má* *lè* *mū-lé* *kūrù*  
 1S want (N)-go-SB NEG(P)  
 (a) 'It's not that I wanted to go...'  
 (b)\* 'I didn't want to go.'

- (221) *má* *lè* *mū-lé* *kū*  
 1S want (N)-go-SB NEG(N)  
 (a) 'It's not that I want to go...'  
 (b)\* 'I don't want to go.'

### 19.10.3.2. A possible case of contrastive *wà*

*kpé* can be directly followed by *wá*.

- (222) *mà-rē* *kpé* *rì* *ópi* *ḡí*  
 [ (N)-try-SB NPS ] DEF Opi FOC  
 'The one who tried in vain is Opi.'

- (223) *mà-rē* *kpé* *wà* *rì* *ópi* *ḡí*  
 [ (N)-try-SB NPS PS ] DEF Opi FOC  
 'The one who made vain attempts was Opi.'

*wà* can come after the focus particle *nì*. It is possible that in this case the modal specifically applies to *nì*, along the same lines as negation.

- (224) *ópi* *ká* *d3ó* *sí* *nì* *wà*  
 Opi 3 house N-build FOC PS  
 (a) 'Opi can be the one to build a house.' (It is right that he should.) (epistemic reading of the modal)  
 (b)\* 'Opi is the one who can build a house.'

*wà* can co-occur with the focus particle *áū*, affecting the modality. What appears to be happening here is that the modality shifts away from the subject (eg. towards the object) by using *áū*.

(225) *ópi ká dʒó `sī áū wà*  
 Opi 3 house N-build foc PS  
 ‘It should be possible that a house will be built by Opi.’ (ie. epistemic modality)

(226) *ópi ká dʒó `sī wà*  
 Opi 3 house N-build PS  
 ‘Opi should be able to build a house.’ (ie. subject oriented)

### 19.10.3.3. Contrastive *kpé*

*kpé* can follow the *ʔi*-subject-focus, and the *nì* subject focus.

(227) *má lābōlō `nā mā ʔi kpé*  
 1S bananas N-eat 1S FOC NPS  
 ‘I can’t be the one to eat bananas.’ (others should)

(228) *ópi ká dʒó `sī nì kpé*  
 Opi 3 house N-build FOC NPS  
 ‘Opi can’t be the one to build a house.’ (It isn’t right that he should.)

### 19.10.3.4. Contrastive *rá*

There does not seem to be a general option of using *rá* for contrastive focus.

(229)\* *ópi ō-dʒè bɔ̀ŋgú nì rá*  
 Opi 3-wash clothes FOC AFF  
 ‘It is definitely Opi (among them) who has washed clothes.’

However, the following may be an example of contrastive focus with *rá*. Note the unexpected interpretation: it is used to make predictions about things that will not happen. This unexpected interpretation requires contextualization, along the lines of ‘Time is running out for Opi; he is maybe in his forties or he speaks against marriage’.

(230) *ópi ō-dū ízi kū rá*  
 Opi 3-take woman NEG(N) AFF  
 ‘(It is possible that ) Opi will not get married.’ (a prediction or deduction based on evidence available)

Final *rá* cannot be combined with *kūrù*.

- (231)\* *ópī* *ō-dū* *ízi* *kūrù* *rá*  
 Opi 3-take woman NEG(P) AFF  
 ‘Opi definitely never took a wife.’

### 19.11 Focus and Modals/negation/adverbial + *rì*

Modals, negation particles and fixed adverbials normally appear ‘bare’ at the end of the clause. However, they can also be combined with *rì* to give for example *rá rì* and then are treated like freely placed adverbials. They are found only in sentences with focus on an argument. Verbal focus, discussed in 19.12, will not license these forms. The particle + *rì* construction functions like some of the other free adverbials such as *ēsú* in that it takes a clause which is complete, and fully interpreted, and then ‘relocates’ it. Thus there are free adverbials (and *dròná rì*) which take a clause and shift its temporal reference point. What the nominalized modals and negation seem to do is something similar. Thus for example *kū rì* takes a full affirmative clause with a focused argument, and then says that for the focused argument the clause is not the case, or *rá rì* says of the focused argument that the clause is certainly true.

- (232) *ópī* *k-ē-mú* *nì*  
 Opi 3DIR-VE-go FOC  
 ‘It is Opi who will come.’

- (233) *rá* *rì* *ópī* *k-ē-mú* *nì*  
 AFF DEF Opi 3DIR-VE-go FOC  
 ‘The one who should certainly come is Opi.’

One way of thinking about these is that they are just ways of combining a modal with focus, where the focus takes scope over the modal. Thus compare nominalized negation (234) with contrastive negation (235).

- (234) *kū* *rì* *má* *̀mū* *ēbù* *gá*  
 NEG DEF 1S N-go work LOC  
 ‘Where I am not going is to work.’  
 (in answer to: which place is it that you are not going to?)

- (235) *má* *̀mū* *ēbù* *gá* *kū*  
 1S N-go work LOC NEG(N)  
 ‘It is not to work that I am going.’ (but instead to the park, etc)  
 (In answer to: ‘Is it to work that you are going?’)

Next compare a nominalized modal (236) with the modal having scope over the verb (237).

(236) *kpé rì má lābōlō `nā mā ǀ*  
 NPS DEF 1S bananas N-eat 1S FOC  
 'The one who can't eat bananas is me.'

(237) *má lābōlō `nā kpé mā ǀ*  
 1S bananas N-eat NPS 1S FOC  
 'It is me who can't eat bananas.'

All the modals and negation particles can be nominalized in this manner: *rá* (affirmation), *wà* (possibility), *kpé* (non-possibility), *kū* (nonpast negation), and *kūrù* (past negation). In addition to combining with *rì*, the nonpast negation form *kū* can also combine with demonstrative *nà*. Fixed final adverbials can also be nominalized:

(238) *tfé tfé rì ópí o-mū nì*  
 slowly DEF Opi 3-go FOC  
 'The one who went slowly is Opi.'

(239) *tfé tfé rì o-mū nì*  
 slowly DEF 3-go FOC  
 (a) 'It's the slow one who went.'  
 (b) 'He was the one who went slowly.'

(240) *ópí o-mū pí rì nì*  
 Opi 3-go COM DEF FOC  
 'The one who has gone away is Opi.'

(241) *pí rì ópí o-mū nì*  
 COM DEF Opi 3-go FOC  
 'The one who has already gone is Opi.'

For some of the *rì*-adverbials, there is an ambiguity between treating the word as an adverbial or treating it as an adjective. In the following example, gloss (242a) treats the word as an adjective and thus permits the *rì*-phrase to be the adjoined subject. Gloss (242b) in contrast treats the word as an adverbial and thus the phrase is a true *rì*-adverbial.

(242) *rī rī rì ē-mú nì*  
 fast DEF (3)-VE-go FOC  
 (a) 'It's the fast one who came.'  
 (b) 'It was he who came fast.'

19.11.1. The syntax of particle + *rì*

Some native speakers seem to think of *rá rì* (and the others) as a single word. However, the fact that the first part can be replaced by the other particles, and the second part can be replaced in some cases by the determiner *nà* suggests that this is a sequence of the particle followed by the definite article.

There is some reason to think that *rá rì* and other particle + *rì* combinations might be the rightmost remnants at the end of an ellipted clause (with only *rá* remaining at the end of it); evidence comes from data like the following, where the particle + *rì* seems to be a fragment of a relative clause in subject position of a nonverbal clause.

(243) *drí dzè-rē rá rì àdī rī*  
 [hand (N)-wash-SB AFF ] DEF who FOC  
 Question: ‘Who is it that has definitely washed his hands?’

(244) *rá rì ópí rī*  
 AFF DEF Opi FOC  
 Answer: ‘The one who definitely has is Opi.’

(245) *kūrù rì ópí rī*  
 NEG(P) DEF Opi FOC  
 ‘The one who did not is Opi.’

## 19.11.1.1. Scope over the containing clause

When they are in final position, the negative particles *kū* and *kūrù* co-occur only with an uninflected verb. When they are combined with *rì* this is no longer the case. The negative particles retain their tenses but now they agree with the tense of the verb, so that *kū rì* co-occurs with the inflected verb (both nonpast) and *kūrù rì* co-occurs with the uninflected verb (both past).

*kū rì* can license a negative polarity item in the main clause.

(246) *kúwá jí zā kū rì jí rī*  
 never 2S pass NEG(N) DEF 2S FOC  
 ‘The one who will never pass is you.’ (more specific)

(247) *kúwá jí zā kū jí rī*  
 never 2S pass NEG(N) 2S FOC  
 ‘It is you who will never pass.’ (less specific)

*dròná* is a free adverbial which expresses a past habitual. It can shift the temporal reference point of a sentence into the past whether it is a free adverbial or it is embedded under *rì*. Thus the following sentence is inflected but interpreted as past.

(248) *dròná* *rì* *ópi* *k-ád3ĩ-ā* *nì*  
 usual DEF Opi 3-(N)-take(PL)-FOC FOC  
 'Usually he was taken about by Opi.'

(249) *ópi* *k'ò-nā-ā* *rá*  
 Opi 3-N-eat-OBJ FOC  
 (a) 'Opi will definitely eat it.'  
 (b)\* 'Opi is definitely eating it.'  
 (c)\* 'Opi is definitely about to eat it.'

(250) *rá* *rì* *ópi* *k'ò-nā-ā* *nì*  
 AFF DEF Opi 3-N-eat-OBJ FOC  
 (a) 'The one who will eat it is Opi.'  
 (b)\* 'The one who is eating it is Opi.'  
 (c) 'The one who is about to eat it is Opi.'

### 19.11.2. *The position of particle + rì*

The particle+*rì* combination has the syntax of a free adverbial. In final position it must be followed by *ʔĩ* or possibly by LOW-*ʔĩ* with a phonologically deleted low tone (19.8). The initial position may be a default position. When the focused item is the subject, the nominalized modal/negation always precedes the subject. When the focused item is the object, and the *ʔĩ* or null strategy is used (including in the latter, sentence-internal null-focused objects) the nominalized modal/negation always precedes the object. Thus in the following sentence, *kū rì* can come at the beginning of the sentence, or after the subject.

(251) *kū* *rì* *má* *èbĩ* *ṅā*  
 NEG(N) DEF 1S fish N-eat  
 'The one that I don't eat is fish.'

(252) *má* *kū* *rì* *èbĩ* *ṅā*  
 1S NEG(N) DEF fish N-eat  
 'The one that I don't eat is fish.'

It cannot follow the object.

- (253)\* *má* *èbì* *kū* *rì* *ḡnā*  
 1S fish NEG(N) DEF N-eat  
 ‘The one that I don’t eat is fish.’

In the following sentence where the nominalized negation with *kūrù* follows the object, focus is only on the adjunct.

- (254) *má* *ḡnā* *èbì* *kūrù* *rì* *ēbù* *gá* *sì*  
 1S eat fish NEG(P) DEF work LOC SR  
 (a)\* ‘What I didn’t eat at work was fish’  
 (b) ‘Where I didn’t eat fish was at work.’

However, if the object is focused by *áū*, the nominalized modal/negation can follow the focused object (but precedes *áū*). Note the subtle difference in meaning between the various possibilities with *áū*. The first (255) is the default case.

- (255) *rá* *rì* *ká* *èbì* *ḡḡ* *áū*  
 AFF DEF 3 fish N-eat FOC  
 ‘What she will definitely cook is fish.’

- (256) *ká* *rá* *rì* *èbì* *ḡḡ* *áū*  
 3 AFF DEF fish N-eat FOC  
 ‘What she will definitely do is cook fish.’ (ie. drawing more attention to the subject, perhaps sarcastic)

- (257) *ká* *èbì* *ḡḡ* *rá* *rì* *áū*  
 3 fish N-eat AFF DEF FOC  
 ‘It is fish that she will definitely cook tomorrow.’

### 19.11.3. The nominalized particle can combine with focus on various kinds of constituent.

The nominalized particle can combine with a subject focused with *nì*.

- (258) *rá* *rì* *óḡí* *k-ē-mú* *nì*  
 AFF DEF Opi 3DIR-VE-go FOC  
 ‘The one who should (for certain) come is Opi.’

- (259) *kū* *rì* *óḡí* *k-ē-mú* *nì*  
 NEG(N) DEF Opi 3DIR-VE-go FOC  
 ‘The one who should not come is Opi.’

(260) *kūrù rì ópí ò-sì d3ó nì*  
 NEG(P) DEF Opi 3-build house FOC  
 ‘The one that didn’t build a house is Opi.’

(261) *gbù rì ópí ē-mú nì*  
 before DEF Opi (3)-VE-go FOC  
 ‘The one who has been here before is Opi.’

The nominalized particle can combine with a subject focused with *ǀí*.

(262) *rá rì má `mū ēbù gá mā ǀí*  
 AFF DEF 1S N-go work LOC 1S FOC  
 ‘The one who will certainly go to work will be me.’

(263) *má mū kūrù rì mā ǀí*  
 1S go NEG(P) DEF 1S FOC  
 ‘It is me who did not go.’

(264) *wá rì jí `mū jí ǀí*  
 PS DEF 2S N-go 2S FOC  
 (a) ‘The one who is able to go is you.’  
 (b) ‘The one for whom it is possible to go is you.’

(265) *kūrù rì má mū mā ǀí*  
 NEG(P) DEF 1S go 1S FOC  
 ‘The one who did not go is me.’ (This seems to mean something like ‘the event that didn’t take place, it was my going.’ as though there is a predication structure.)

The nominalized particle can combine with an object focused with *áū*.

(266) *rá rì jí-ēló àdū áū*  
 AFF DEF 2S-touch what FOC  
 ‘The one you have touched, what is it?’

(267) *kū rì ká èbì `já áū*  
 NEG(N) DEF 3 fish N-eat FOC  
 ‘What she doesn’t eat is fish.’

(268) *ópí āzī fúlù kpé rì áū*  
 Opi sell groundnuts NPS DEF FOC  
 ‘It was groundnuts that Opi was not able to sell.’

- (269) *ɲí wà rì àdī nī ēló áū*  
 2S PS DEF who PR touch FOC  
 'Who is it that you can touch?'

The nominalized particle can combine with an object or some other final constituent focused with the null strategy.

- (270) *rá rì kò-dī èbī*  
 AFF DEF 3DIR-cook fish  
 'What she should definitely cook is fish.'

- (271) *ɲí ɲā kū rì àdū*  
 2S eat NEG(N) DEF what  
 'What is it that you don't / won't eat?'

- (272) *ópi kò mū rá rì òbú*  
 Opi 3-N-go AFF DEF tomorrow  
 'It is tomorrow that Opi will definitely go.'

The nominalized particle can combine with an object focused with the *ʔī* strategy.

- (273) *drí dzè-rē rá rì àdī ʔī*  
 [hand (N)-wash-SB AFF] DEF who FOC  
 'Who is it that has definitely washed his hands?'

- (274) *wà rì ɲí `mū ɲī ʔī*  
 PS DEF 2S N-go 2S FOC  
 (a) 'The one who is able to go is you.'  
 (b) 'The one for whom it is possible to go is you.'

Note that when the object is a wh-object it is focused by the usual *áū* strategy, and not with *nī* (19.5.3), though there is a modal in the clause.

- (275) *ɲ' -ēló àdū rá rì áū*  
 2S-touch what AFF DEF FOC  
 'What is it that you have definitely touched?'

- (276) *ɲí wà rì àdī nī ēló áū*  
 2S PS DEF who PR touch FOC  
 'Who is it that you can touch?'

It seems that a combination of verb and object can be taken as in focus.

- (277) *kūrù*      *rì*      *ópí*      *ō-sī*      *d3ó*  
 NEG      DEF      Opi      3-build      house  
 ‘What Opi didn’t do is build a house.’

### 19.11.3.1. Some puzzles involving ‘focus on an object’

In some cases, an object appears not to be focused and yet the nominalized modal can be used. In the following sentence the definite object is sentence-internal but is not focused by *áū* as we might expect.

- (278) *kpé*      *rì*      *má*      *ópí*      *nī*      *tè*  
 NPS      DEF      1S      Opi      PR      wait  
 (a)\* ‘I will not be able to wait for Opi.’  
 (b) ‘The one I will wait for in vain is Opi.’

However, indefinite and definite objects appear to differ, as in the following examples; the definite object requires final *áū*.

- (279) *kū*      *rì*      *má*      *èbī*      *ḡā*  
 NEG(N)      DEF      1S      fish      N-eat  
 ‘What I don’t eat is fish.’
- (280)\* *kū*      *rì*      *má*      *èbī*      *rì*      *ḡā*  
 NEG(N)      DEF      1S      fish      DEF      N-eat  
 ‘What I don’t eat is the fish.’
- (281) *kū*      *rì*      *má*      *èbī*      *rì*      *ḡā*      *áū*  
 NEG(N)      DEF      1S      fish      DEF      N-eat      FOC  
 ‘What I don’t eat is the fish.’

In the (282), a final possessed object is not followed by a focus marker though we would expect it to be (i) because it is possessed, and (ii) because the verb is directive and so the null strategy should not be allowed.

- (282) *kū*      *rì*      *ópí*      *kò-d3ī*      *má-à*      *gáṛì*  
 NEG(N)      DEF      opi      3DIR-take      1S-POSS      bicycle  
 ‘The one which Opi should not take is my bicycle.’
- (283) *kū*      *rì*      *ópí*      *kò-d3ī*      *má-à*      *gáṛì*      *ī*  
 NEG(N)      DEF      opi      3DIR-take      1S-POSS      bicycle      FOC  
 ‘The specific one which Opi should not take is my bicycle.’

The *rì*-adverbial cannot directly follow an argument ending in *rì*.

(284)\*            *má*                    *dʒĩ*    *gáɾì*    *rì*    *rá*    *rì*    *áũ*  
                          1S                    take    bicycle    DEF    AFF    DEF    FOC  
 ‘It is a bicycle that I have definitely taken.’

(285)            *má*    *gáɾì*    *rì*    *dʒĩ*                    *rá*    *rì*    *áũ*  
                          1S    bicycle    DEF    take                    AFF    DEF    FOC  
 ‘What I will take for certain is the bicycle.’

(286)    *rá*    *rí*    *má*            *dʒĩ*    *gáɾì*    *rì*                    *áũ*  
                  AFF    DEF    1S            take    bicycle    DEF                    FOC  
 ‘It is the bicycle (in question) that I have definitely taken.’

(287)\*    *ópi*                            *ɔ̄-dʒĩ*    *gáɾì*    *rì*    *rá*    *rì*    *nì*  
                  Opi                            3-take    bicycle    DEF    AFF    DEF    FOC  
 ‘It is Opi who has definitely taken the bicycle.’

### 19.11.3.2. With focus on a final non-argument

In the following examples, the focus appears to fall on a final non-argument. The expected LOW-*rì* strategy is not found here.

(288)    *rá*    *rì*    *má*    *m̄*    *ēbù*    *gá*  
                  AFF    DEF    1S    N-go    work    LOC  
 ‘Where I will definitely go to is work (place).’

(289)    *rá*    *rì*    *ká*    *kí*    *vù*                    *ópi*    *trò*  
                  AFF    DEF    3    PL    (N)-go-PL    Opi    COMT  
 ‘The one who they will definitely go with is Opi.’

(290)    *kũ*    *rì*    *má*    *m̄*    *ēbù*    *gá*  
                  NEG    DEF    1S    N-go    work    LOC  
 ‘Where I am not going to is work.’

(291)    *kũrù*    *rì*    *má*    *m̄*    *ēbù*    *gá*  
                  NEG(P)    DEF    1S    go    work    LOC  
 ‘Where I did not go is to work.’

(292)    *kũ*    *rì*    *jí*    *sĩ*    *ʔā*    *íngō (lé)*  
                  NEG(N)    DEF    2S    N-build    OBJ    which-place  
 ‘Where is it that you are not building / will not build it?’

- (293)  $\overset{2S}{j\acute{i}}$   $m\bar{u}$   $k\bar{u}$   $\overset{DEF}{r\grave{i}}$   $\overset{SR}{\grave{a}d\bar{u}}$   $s\grave{i}$   
 go NEG(N) DEF what SR  
 (a) 'What is it that will make you not go?'  
 (b) 'What means is it that you will not use?'

### 19.11.3.3. Sentences where focus is ambiguous between object and adjunct

Given that an adjunct in final position can be interpreted as 'in focus' in these types of sentence, and given that a nonfinal object can also be interpreted as 'in focus', where the verb is followed by an object and an adjunct, the interpretation can be ambiguous. The following sentence has both an object and an adjunct.

- (294)  $m\acute{a}$   $j\bar{a}$   $\overset{fish}{\grave{e}b\bar{i}}$   $\overset{work}{\bar{e}b\grave{u}}$   $\overset{LOC}{g\acute{a}}$   $\overset{SR}{s\grave{i}}$   
 1S eat fish work LOC SR  
 'I ate fish while at work.'

Either  $k\bar{u} r\grave{i}$  or  $k\bar{u}r\grave{u} r\grave{i}$  can be used in a sentence of this kind. In (295) it is ambiguous between picking out the object or the adjunct for contrastive focus.

- (295)  $m\acute{a}$   $j\bar{a}$   $k\bar{u}r\grave{u}$   $\overset{DEF}{r\grave{i}}$   $\overset{fish}{\grave{e}b\bar{i}}$   $\overset{work}{\bar{e}b\grave{u}}$   $\overset{LOC}{g\acute{a}}$   $\overset{SR}{s\grave{i}}$   
 1S eat NEG(P) DEF fish work LOC SR  
 (a) 'What I didn't eat while at work was fish.'  
 (b) 'Where I didn't eat fish was at work.'

If  $k\bar{u}r\grave{u} r\grave{i}$  comes at the beginning of the sentence, the preferred reading is that it picks out the object for contrastive focus.

- (296)  $k\bar{u}r\grave{u}$   $\overset{DEF}{r\grave{i}}$   $m\acute{a}$   $j\bar{a}$   $\overset{fish}{\grave{e}b\bar{i}}$   $\overset{work}{\bar{e}b\grave{u}}$   $\overset{LOC}{g\acute{a}}$   $\overset{SR}{s\grave{i}}$   
 NEG(P) DEF 1S eat fish work LOC SR  
 (a) 'What I didn't eat at work was fish.'  
 (b)?\* 'Where I didn't eat fish was at work.'

### 19.11.4. Contrastive negation on the focused item

#### 19.11.4.1. $r\acute{a} r\grave{i}$ and contrastive negation on the focus

The negation particle  $k\bar{u}$  can follow a focus particle to give contrastive negation.

- (297) *ópí* *ō-sī* *dʒó* *nì* *kū*  
 Opi 3-build house FOC NEG(N)  
 (a) 'It is not Opi who has built a house.'  
 (b) 'It is not Opi who will build / has built a house...'

*rá rì* can combine with contrastive negation on the focus; note that it adds a meaning of 'the action was certainly completed'.

- (298) *rá* *rì* *ópí* *ō-sī* *dʒó* *nì* *kū*  
 AFF DEF Opi 3-build house FOC NEG(N)  
 (a) 'The one that has completed building a house is not Opi.'  
 (b) 'The one that will complete building a house is not Opi.'

### 19.11.5. 'Focus' on the nominalized modal/negation

#### 19.11.5.1. Initial position, preceding a pause

All the nominalized modal/negation particles can be focused in sentence initial position, to give some kind of double focusing. This is possible also when the subject or object is focused.

- (299) *kū* *rì* *ǰí* *mū* *íngō (lé)*  
 NEG(N) DEF 2S N-go which-place  
 'Where is it that you are not going?' (It is known that there is a certain place you are not going to, which place is it?)

- (300) *kū* *rì* *ǰí* *mū* *íngō (lé)*  
 NEG(N) DEF FOC 2S N-go which-place  
 'Where is it that you are not going?' (It is known that there is a certain place you are not going to, which place is it?)

- (301) *kūrù* *rì* *ǰí* *mū* *íngō (lé)*  
 NEG(P) DEF 2S go which-place  
 'Where is it that you are not going?' (It is known that there is a certain place you are not going to, which place is it?)

- (302) *kūrù* *rì* *ǰí* *mū* *íngō (lé)*  
 NEG(P) DEF FOC 2S go which-place  
 'Where is it that you did not go?' (It is known that there is a certain place you did not go, which place is it?)

## 19.11.5.2. Final position

In final position, the particle + *rì* must be followed by *ʔí* (or possibly LOW-*ʔí*; because *rì* ends on a low tone this is impossible to tell directly if the low tone is present). Again, this is an example of the particle + *rì* being focused.

- (303) *ɲí*    *mū*    *ɲí*    *ʔí*    *wá*    *rì*               *ʔí*  
 2S    N-go    2S    FOC    PS    DEF    (? SPEC)    FOC  
 ‘It is you who can go.’

The form can be separated from the preceding clause by a pause.

- (304) *ópi*    *ní*    *ɲí*    *zì-á*    *ɲí*    *ʔí*    ,    *rá*    *rì*               *ʔí*  
 Opi PR 2S N-ask-OBJ 2S FOC AFF DEF (? SPEC) FOC  
 ‘You are the one who can ask Opi yourself (for certain).’

The following example is of particular interest. Either we have the LOW determiner replacing *rì* or we have deletion of *rì* before the LOW-*ʔí* strategy.

- (305)? *ópi*    *ní*    *ɲí*    *zì-á*    *ɲí*    *ʔí*    ,    *rá*               *ʔí*  
 Opi PR 2S N-ask-OBJ 2S FOC AFF SPEC FOC  
 ‘You are the one who can ask Opi yourself (for certain).’

The *rì*-adverbial cannot be sentence-final. In this regard, it resembles an object *rì*-phrase, which also cannot be sentence final.

- (306)\* *ópi*    *kó mū*    *rá*    *rì*  
 Opi    3-N-go    AFF    DEF  
 ‘It is Opi who definitely will go.’

- (307)\* *ópi*    *ó-mū*    *rá*    *rì*  
 Opi    3-N-go    AFF    DEF  
 ‘It is Opi who definitely went.’

19.11.6. *Specialized meanings of the modal + particle or negation + particle construction*

In the following example, *rá rì* is found in a clause without focus on an argument and appears to have a discourse function.

- (308) *rá rì ópí ká āsī-ā āsì*  
 AFF DEF Opi 3 (N)-fry-OBJ fry-FOC  
 ‘Except that Opi will definitely have to fry it.’ (In response to a question about what kind of job a person wants.)

In the following example *rá rì* is in a nonverbal clause without focus and seems to mean ‘possibly’.

- (309) *rá rì lāpwōnì*  
 AFF DEF teaching  
 ‘Possibly teaching.’ (I can consider teaching.)

In the following example, *kū rì* means ‘or else that’.

- (310) *ōfō má dū mā rī kū rì ópí ōdū nì*  
 3-say 1S take 1S FOC NEG(N) DEF Opi 3-take FOC  
 ‘He said that it was me who took it or else that it was Opi who took it.’

Note the following where the clause with *kū rì* introduces an alternative consisting just of an *rī*-phrase. *kū rì* is not freely placed here.

- (311) *ōfō má dū mā rī kū rì ópí rī*  
 3-say 1S take 1S FOC NEG(N) DEF Opi FOC  
 ‘He said that it was me who took it or else that it was Opi.’

Some sentences are ambiguous between the currently relevant interpretation (312a) and the focus meaning (312b).

- (312) *kū rì ópí k-ē-mú nì*  
 NEG(N) DEF Opi 3DIR-VE-go FOC  
 (a) ‘Or that Opi should be the one to come.’  
 (b) ‘The one who should not come is Opi.’

## 19.12 Focus on the verb

### 19.12.1. The syntax of verbal focus

Ma’di focuses the verb by copying it into final position. The copy of the verb is followed by a low tone. The low tone replaces a final mid tone on a copied verb, thus superficially appearing to change the verb’s form, eg. from *mvù* to *mvù*. This is fully characteristic of Ma’di tonal phonology (4.3).

All verbs, in all inflectional forms, and all syntactic structures, can be focused in this manner. Tucker (1940: 306) claims otherwise but we believe that he is wrong. Thus the focused verb can be uninflected (313), inflected (314), directive (315).

(313) *ópī ēsú galámù dī̄ ēsú ʼ*  
 Opi find pen this find FOC  
 ‘Opi found this pen.’ (ie. He didn’t buy or steal it.)

(314) *jī éruá `mvū mvù*  
 2S medicine N-drink drink-FOC  
 (a) ‘You drink medicine.’  
 (b) ‘Medicines are drunk.’

(315) *jī mvū éruá dī̄ mvù*  
 2SDIR drink medicine this drink-FOC  
 ‘You should drink this medicine.’

The verb can have an agent or patient (316) subject.

(316) *éruá `mvū-ā mvù*  
 medicine N-drink-OBJ drink-FOC  
 ‘Medicines are to be drunk.’

The focused verb can be subordinated in a headless relative clause, the verb either suffixed (317) or unsuffixed (318). The copy is always unsuffixed.

(317) *má `mgbā-lé mgbà rì àdī ʼí*  
 [1S N-beat-SB beat-FOC] DEF who FOC  
 ‘Who is it that I beat?’

(318) *má `mū mù rì òbú*  
 [1S N-go go-FOC ] DEF tomorrow  
 (a) ‘It is tomorrow that I will walk.’ (rather than run)  
 (b) ‘It is tomorrow that I will simply go.’ (for no compelling reason)

#### 19.12.1.1. Verbal focus followed by modals

The copy of the verb can be followed by a modal (including the affirmation particle *rá*) or negation.

- (319) *má mvū éruá mvù rá*  
 1S drink medicine drink-FOC AFF  
 'I did drink (rather than inject) medicine.' (once in the past )
- (320) *ópi k-ási-ā āsì wà*  
 Opi 3-N-fry-OBJ fry-FOC PS  
 (a) 'Opi can fry it.'  
 (b) 'It is possible for Opi to fry it.'
- (321) *èbī āsī-ā āsì kpé*  
 fish (N)-fry-OBJ fry-FOC NPS  
 'Fish can't be fried.'

There is an interesting difference between (323) and (324). (323) is possibly ruled out for pragmatic reasons, eg. in this sentence to do with the fact that it is too obvious to suggest that 'frying fish is a possibility'.

- (322) *èbī āsī-ā āsì wà*  
 fish (N)-fry-OBJ fry-FOC PS  
 (a) 'Fish can be fried.'  
 (b) 'It is possible to fry fish.'
- (323)\* *ópi ká èbī āsī āsì wà*  
 Opi 3 fish (N)-fry fry-FOC PS  
 'It is possible for Opi to fry fish.' (rather than boil)
- (324) *ópi ká ìndrì ògù ògù wà*  
 Opi 3 goat (N)-steal steal-FOC PS  
 'It is possible for Opi to steal goats.' (rather than buy)

#### 19.12.1.2. Contrastive negation on a focused verb

The focused verb can be negated, whether in base position it is uninflected or inflected.

- (326) *m' āvū k'átà rì āvù kū*  
 1S- boil potato DEF boil-FOC NEG(N)  
 (a) 'I didn't boil the potatoes (in question).'  
 (b) 'I didn't boil / don't boil the one which is potatoes.'  
 (c) 'I won't boil the potatoes (in question).'  
 (d)\* 'I don't boil the potatoes (in question).'

- (326) *m'*     *āvū*     *kíátà*                     *āvù*             *kū*  
 1S-     boil     potato                     boil-FOC     NEG(N)  
 'I don't boil potatoes.'

With verbal focus, the tense interpretation appears to relate to the definiteness of the object.

- (327) *má*   *kíátà*     *rì*     *āvū*                                     *kū*  
 1S   potatoes   DEF   (N)-boil                                     NEG(N)  
 (a) 'I am not boiling the potatoes (in question).'  
 (b)\* 'I will not boil the potatoes (in question).'  
 (c) 'I am not boiling the one which is potatoes.'
- (328) *má*   *kíátà*     *rì*     *āvū*                     *āvù*                     *kū*  
 1S   potatoes   DEF   (N)-boil                     boil-FOC     NEG(N)  
 (a) 'I am not boiling / will not boil the potatoes (in question)...' (I'll possibly fry it)  
 (b) 'I am not boiling / will not boil the one which is potatoes (in question).'

If the object is indefinite, the interpretation is as we would expect nonpast, specifically habitual (329).

- (329) *ídré*     *rì*     *ō-pā*     *ìzá*                                     *pà*             *kū*  
 rat     DEF   3-eat     meat                                     eat-FOC     NEG(N)  
 (a) 'The rat (in question) doesn't eat meat.' (does other things with it)  
 (b) 'The one which is a rat doesn't eat meat.' (does other things with it)

If the object is definite, however, the interpretation is unexpectedly past (320). The definiteness of the subject makes no difference.

- (330) *ídré*     *rì*     *ō-pā*     *ìzá*             *rì*     *pà*                     *kū*  
 rat     DEF   3-eat     meat     DEF   eat-FOC     NEG(N)  
 (a) 'The rat (in question) didn't eat the meat (in question).' (did other things with it)  
 (b) 'The rat one didn't eat the meaty one.' (did other things with it)

### 19.12.2. *The morphology of verbal focus*

The low tone is retained when the verb has a high tone (331). It replaces a mid tone on a verb (332). It is not audible when the verb has a low tone

(333), though the final vowel of the verb is lengthened in this case. These are all predictable and context-free regular phonological processes.

(331) *ó pí ē sú m̀ndùkú d̀ì ē sú`*  
 Opi find gun this find FOC  
 ‘Opi found this gun.’

(332) *ǹì mv̄ é rúá d̀ì mv̀*  
 2SDIR drink medicine this drink-FOC  
 ‘(You should) drink this medicine.’

(333) *ó pí ō gù ì ndrì r̀ì ō gù*  
 Opi steal goat DEF steal-FOC  
 ‘Opi stole the goat (in question).’ (He came to possess the goat through theft.)

The copied verb has no suffixes, such as the object suffix ?ā (334) or any relativizing suffix (335).

(334) *é rúá mv̄-ā mv̀*  
 medicine (N)-drink-OBJ drink-FOC  
 ‘Medicines are (to be) drunk.’

(335) *ō gù-lé ō gù r̀ì ì ngò ?ì*  
 (N)-steal-SB steal-FOC DEF which FOC  
 (a) ‘Which is the one that is the stolen one?’  
 (b) ‘Which one is it that is to be stolen?’

The copied verb has all lexical prefixes (eg. iterative *ū-* and ventive *ē-* but does not have a subject prefix.

(336) *ó pí ū-s̀ é rúá r̀ì ū-s̀*  
 Opi (3)-ITER-inject medicine DEF ITER-inject-FOC  
 ‘Opi injected the medicine (several times).’

(337) *ó pí ē-s̀ é rúá r̀ì ē-s̀*  
 Opi (3)-VE-inject medicine DEF VE-inject-FOC  
 ‘Opi injected the medicine (from elsewhere).’

(338) *ó pí ō-fè ē b̀ gá fè*  
 Opi 3-run work LOC run-FOC  
 ‘Opi ran to work.’

It is impossible to tell whether the copied verb has a low prefix. No low prefix is ever phonologically realized here, but in principle this might be because it has been generated and then deleted by phonological rules. If the verb is a monosyllable then in focus form it will always have low tone, which would lead to the deletion of any low prefix. If the verb is a polysyllable then the low tone would always be deleted anyway because in Lokai all polysyllabic verbs begin with a vowel and a low tone is deleted before a vowel (4.3.2.1).

### 19.12.3. Interpretation of verbal focus

#### 19.12.3.1. Contrastive focus on the manner of action

A sentence with a focused verb can be interpreted as having contrastive focus on the manner of action.

- (339) *má mgbā mgbà*  
 1S beat beat-FOC  
 ‘I beat it.’ (What I did to it was beating.)

Crazzarola (1960: 93) comments on the possibility in Logbara of reduplicating the verb, and says that it is ‘used for the purpose of emphasizing the inherent nature or meaning of the verb... It gives a plastic descriptive effect to the sentence.’ It can be used to bring out the precise lexical meaning of the verb. Crazzarola thinks that the copied verb in the uninflected context (ie. where the verb and its copy are separated by the object) involves the verbal copy being ‘a kind of cognate object’.

#### 19.12.3.2. The ‘just did it (for no particular reason)’ interpretation of verbal focus

Another interpretation of verbal focus is that an action has been performed for no particular reason (similar to the use of ‘just’ as a verbal focuser in English), in which case there is no focus on the verb (340b).

- (340) *má fō fò*  
 1S say say-FOC  
 (a) ‘I said it.’ (rather than communicating it in other ways)  
 (b) ‘I just said it.’ (for no apparent reason)

It is also possible to add *drú nì* ‘for no particular reason’ after the verbal focus, and (341b) might perhaps be seen as a clipped version of the longer sentence.

- (341) *má fō fò drú nì*  
 1S say say-FOC as FOC  
 (a)\* 'I just said it.' (for no apparent reason; rather than communicating it in other ways)  
 (b) 'I just said it.' (for no apparent reason)

If the verb has a complement, *drú nì* must be present in order to obtain this interpretation.

- (342) *má fō ópí nì fò*  
 1S say Opi BEN say-FOC  
 (a)\* 'I just told Opi.' (for no apparent reason)  
 (b) 'I told Opi.' (ie. informed him verbally rather than communicate it in other ways)
- (343) *má fō ópí nì fò drú nì*  
 1S say Opi BEN say-FOC as FOC  
 (a) 'I just told Opi.' (for no apparent reason)  
 (b)\* 'I told Opi.' (ie. informed him verbally rather than in some other way)

Some verbs have this kind of interpretation only if *drú nì* is present.

- (344) *má mvū mvù*  
 1S drink drink-FOC  
 (a)\* 'I just drank it.'  
 (b) 'I drank it.' (ie. didn't inject it)
- (345) *má mvū mvù drú nì*  
 1S drink drink-FOC as FOC  
 (a) 'I just drank it.'  
 (b)\* 'I drank it.' (ie. didn't inject it)
- (346) *má mvū éruá ñ mvù*  
 1S drink medicine DEF drink-FOC  
 (a)\* 'I just drank the medicine (in question).' (for no apparent reason)  
 (b) 'I drank the medicine (in question).' (rather than injected it)
- (347) *má mvū éruá ñ mvù drú nì*  
 1S drink medicine DEF drink-FOC as FOC  
 (a) 'I just drank the medicine (in question).' (for no apparent reason)  
 (b)\* 'I drank the medicine (in question).' (not injecting)

19.12.4. *Effect on the object: indefinite interpretation ruled out*

If the object of the verb is a noun-headed noun phrase, it cannot be interpreted as indefinite; it can only be interpreted as generic.

- (348)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $\bar{o}g\bar{u}$      $\grave{i}ndr\acute{i}$      $\bar{o}g\bar{u}$      $k\bar{u}$   
 Opi    steal    goat    steal-FOC    NEG(N)  
 (a)\* ‘Opi won’t steal a goat.’  
 (b) ‘Opi doesn’t (habitually) steal goats.’ (He buys them.)

- (349)  $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$      $\bar{o}-d\bar{i}$      $\grave{i}ndr\acute{i}$      $d\bar{i}$      $k\bar{u}$   
 Opi    3-cook    goat    cook-FOC    NEG(N)  
 ‘Opi doesn’t cook goat.’

- (350)  $j\grave{u}$      $mv\bar{u}$      $\acute{e}r\acute{u}\acute{a}$      $mv\grave{u}$   
 2SDIR    drink    medicine    drink-FOC  
 ‘(You should) drink medicine.’

19.12.5. *The position of the copied verb*

The copied verb is basically clause-final, but can be followed by other characteristically clause-final constituents such as *gbù*.

- (351)  $m'\bar{a}s\bar{i}$      $\acute{e}\bar{f}\bar{i}$      $\bar{a}s\bar{i}$      $gb\grave{u}$   
 1S-fry    fish    fry-FOC    before  
 ‘I have fried fish before.’ (contrastive, eg. not boiling fish)

Verbal focus can co-occur with various kinds of final completive particles, such as *kpó* in (352, 353). The completive particle can come after the base verb or the copy, with different interpretations.

- (352)  $m\acute{a}$      $mgb\bar{a}$      $mgb\grave{a}$      $kp\acute{o}$   
 1S    beat    beat-FOC    dead  
 ‘I beat it to death.’ (Here, the hearer already knows that the animal is dead, but it is the manner of death which is focused.)

- (353)  $m\acute{a}$      $mgb\bar{a}$      $kp\acute{o}$      $mgb\grave{a}$   
 1S    beat    dead    beat-FOC  
 ‘I beat it to death.’ (It was by beating not by some other action. In this case also the hearer already knows that the animal is dead.)

## 19.12.6. An example which needs further consideration

$v\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{e}d\bar{e}$  are verbs expressing equivalence, with no difference in interpretation;  $v\bar{i}$  requires its object to be  $r\bar{u}$ . They can be focused.

- (354)  $\bar{a}l\bar{i}$        $k\bar{i}$        $n\bar{a}$        $\bar{o}v\bar{i}$        $r\bar{u}$        $v\bar{i}$   
 shortness PL      AFR      3-equal      REFL      equal  
 ‘They are of the same shortness (height).’
- (355)  $\bar{a}l\bar{i}$        $k\bar{i}$        $n\bar{a}$        $\bar{o}v\bar{i}$        $r\bar{u}$        $r\bar{a}$   
 shortness PL      AFR      3-equal      REFL      AFR  
 ‘They are certainly of the same shortness (height).’ (literally  
 ‘their shortness is equal’)
- (356)  $\bar{a}z\bar{o}$        $k\bar{i}$        $n\bar{a}$        $\bar{e}d\bar{e}$        $\bar{e}d\bar{e}$   
 tallness PL      AFR      equal      equal  
 ‘They are of the same tallness (height).’
- (357)  $\bar{a}z\bar{o}$        $k\bar{i}$        $n\bar{a}$        $\bar{e}d\bar{e}$        $r\bar{a}$   
 tallness PL      AFR      (3)-equal      AFR  
 ‘They are certainly of the same tallness (height).’

## 19.13 Sentences with multiple focus

Where there is multiple focus, one of the focus strategies is always contrastive (there is no evidence for two noncontrastive focus structures in the same sentence). Thus verbal focus is contrastive and can co-occur with the various argument focus strategies.

## 19.13.1. Verb focus and argument focus

19.13.1.1. Verb focus +  $n\bar{i}$ -focus

$n\bar{i}$  can follow the copied verb.

- (358)  $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$        $k\bar{a}$        $\acute{e}r\bar{u}\bar{a}$        $\bar{o}g\bar{u}$        $\bar{o}g\bar{u}$        $n\bar{i}$   
 Opi 3      medicine      (N)-steal      steal-FOC      FOC  
 ‘It is Opi who steals medicine.’
- (359)  $\grave{a}d\bar{i}$        $\bar{a}z\bar{i}$        $\bar{a}z\bar{i}$        $n\bar{i}$   
 who      sell      sell-FOC      FOC  
 ‘Who is it that sold hers?’

- (360) *ká kî íngò nî āzī āzì nì*  
 3 PL which PR (N)-sell sell-FOC FOC  
 ‘Which one is it that they are selling?’

19.13.1.2. Verb focus + *áū*-focus

*áū* can follow the copied verb.

- (361) *ká kî dʒó nà āzī āzì áū*  
 3 PL house that sell sell-FOC FOC  
 ‘It is that house that they are selling.’

19.13.1.3. Verb focus + *ɔ̃*-focus

Verbal focus can combine with *ɔ̃* focus only by putting the verbal focus as an afterthought. Note that this differs significantly from the combination with the other argument-focusers.

- (362) *má mgbā ópí ɔ̃ , mgbà*  
 1S beat Opi FOC beat-FOC  
 ‘It is Opi that I beat.’

## 19.13.1.4. Verb focus + null focus (not possible)

Verbal focus cannot combine with null focus; this is an expected result since the ‘focused’ noun phrase is no longer final.

- (363)\* *má ɲā èbī ( , ) ɲà*  
 1S eat fish eat-FOC  
 ‘I ate fish.’

19.13.2. *Argument focus + argument focus*19.13.2.1. *áū* object focus (+ negation) + *nì* subject focus

The *áū* focus strategy can combine with the *nì* focus strategy. *áū* can also be negated in this structure.

- (364) *àdī ɔ̃-ɲā èbī áū nì*  
 who 3-eat fish FOC FOC  
 ‘Who is it that ate fish?’ (both in contrastive focus)

- (365) àdī̄ ɔ̄-ɲā̄ èbī̄ áū̄ kū̄ nì̄  
 who 3-eat fish FOC NEG(N) FOC  
 ‘Who is it that does not eat fish?’

No other orders are possible.

- (366)\* àdī̄ ɔ̄-ɲā̄ èbī̄ nì̄ áū̄  
 who 3-eat fish FOC FOC  
 ‘Who is it that ate fish?’

- (367)\* àdī̄ ɔ̄-ɲā̄ èbī̄ áū̄ nì̄ kū̄  
 who 3-eat fish FOC FOC NEG(N)  
 ‘Who is it that did not eat fish?’

- (368)\* àdī̄ ɔ̄-ɲā̄ èbī̄ kū̄ áū̄ nì̄  
 who 3-eat fish NEG(N) FOC FOC  
 ‘Who is it that does not eat fish?’

Because the wh-subject must be focused, *nì̄* is obligatory.

- (369)\* àdī̄ ɔ̄-ɲā̄ èbī̄ áū̄ kū̄  
 who 3-eat fish FOC NEG(N)  
 ‘Who is it that doesn’t eat fish?’

### 19.13.3. LOW-ʔī̄ focus and other kinds of focus

LOW-ʔī̄ focus can follow argument focus with *nì̄*, ʔī̄ or áū̄, and can also follow verbal focus (373).

- (370) ɔ̄-dī̄ kī̄́ ámā̄ ɔ̄pī̄ nī̄ nì̄ ʔī̄  
 3-kill PL allegedly Opi PR FOC SPEC FOC  
 ‘It was alleged that they were the ones who killed Opi...’

- (371) ɲí̄ wà̄ rì̄ mū̄ ɲī̄ ʔī̄ ʔī̄  
 2S PS DEF (N)-go 2S FOC SPEC FOC  
 ‘It is you who is the one who can (for certain) go...’

- (372) ɲí̄ rá̄ rì̄ ɔ̄pī̄ drì̄ rì̄ dzī̄ áū̄ ʔī̄  
 2S AFF DEF Opi POSS DEF (N)-take FOC SPEC FOC  
 ‘The one you can (for certain) take is the one of Opi...’

- (373) má̄ ̀mū̄ mù̄ ʔī̄  
 1S N-go go (SPEC) FOC  
 ‘I will just go.’ (despite her opposition or the circumstance)



## Chapter 20

### Questions

In this chapter we look at wh-questions and yes-no questions. Wh-questions have the syntax of declarative sentences, with the wh-phrase in place or left-dislocated just like a non-wh-phrase. Yes-no questions have the syntax of declarative sentences with a final rising tone. We look at various specialised words used in questions, carrying various (conventional) implicatures.

#### 20.1. Information ('wh-') questions

In an information question, the questioned phrase is substituted by a 'wh-phrase' such as *àdĩ* 'who', *íngɔ̀ sɪ̀* 'where from', and so on. The wh-phrase can remain in place, or can be left-dislocated either to the beginning of its clause, or in some cases to the beginning of a higher clause. In general, wh-questions appear to have the syntax of equivalent declarative sentences. Intonation is not distinctive for wh-questions (unlike yes-no questions which end on a final high tone).

##### 20.1.1. Wh-words and phrases

###### 20.1.1.1. The wh-words and phrases listed

The wh-words show three basic morphological types: (a) *àdũ* / *àdĩ*, (b) *íngɔ̀* and tonal variations, (c) *sí*. Wh-phrases are noun phrases, or postposition phrases with *ní* or *sɪ̀*.

*Table 50. Wh-words and their combinations*

Basic wh-word	combined form	meaning	notes
<i>àdĩ</i>	<i>àdĩ</i>	who	
<i>àdũ</i>	<i>àdũ</i>	what	22.1.1.2
	<i>àdũ ní</i>	why (what for)	22.1.1.3
	<i>àdũ sɪ̀</i>	how or why (what with)	22.1.1.4
	<i>àdũ ɲgá ( ní )</i>	when (what period)	22.1.1.5
<i>íngɔ̀</i>	<i>íngɔ̀</i>	which	
	<i>íngɔ̀ sɪ̀</i>	which with	

<i>íηgō̄</i>	<i>íηgō̄</i>	where	
	<i>íηgō̄ s̄i</i>	where from	
	<i>íηgō̄ lélé</i>	towards where, from where, in which direction	
	<i>íηgō̄ ès̄i</i>	same meanings as <i>íηgō̄ lélé</i> and possibly dialectal variant	
<i>íηgò̄</i>	<i>íηgò̄ p̄i</i>	how big, how much	22.1.1.6
	<i>íηgò̄ lé</i>	where (in, to which place)	22.1.1.7
	<i>íηgò̄ n̄i</i>	how	22.1.1.8
<i>s̄i</i>	<i>s̄i</i>	how much or how many	22.1.1.9
	<i>s̄i n̄i</i>	how (variant of <i>íηgò̄ n̄i</i> )	22.1.1.10

Bender (2000: 65) identifies *η* as a characteristic interrogative formative in innovative Nilo-Saharan languages, citing for example the Lugbara ‘general interrogative marker’ *ηgo*.

#### 20.1.1.2. Idomatic use of *ádū̄* ‘what’, and *ádū̄*

*ádū̄* is used in a greetings idiom, as in the following exchange.

- (1) *lēfó*                      *ádū̄*  
word                      what  
‘How are you?’ (What’s the matter?)
- (2) *lēfó*                      *ijō̄*  
word                      absent  
‘I’m fine.’ (Nothing is the matter.)

We note that *ádū̄* with high initial tone (as opposed to the low tone in *ádū̄* ‘what’) can be used as a ‘fumble word’ translatable as ‘whatsit’.

- (3) *ádū̄*                      *n̄i*                      *íηgō̄*  
whatsit                      DEF                      where  
‘Where is the whatsit.’

This ‘fumble word’ can be used, followed by a pause, to draw the hearer’s attention.

- (4) *ádū̄*                      ,                      *óp̄i*                      *n̄i*                      *íηgō̄*  
whatsit                                           Opi                      PR                      where  
‘Whatsit , where is Opi?’

20.1.1.3. Some implications of *àdū ní* 'why'

*àdū ní* 'why' is used to question why something was done, with the implication that it should not have been done.

- (5) *ńí mgbā mā àdū ní*  
 2S beat 1S what BEN  
 'Why (what for) did you hit me?'

This phrase is used also in combination with *ēsú* in a sentence type which has the syntax of a question but is interpreted as expressing a justification.

Thus consider a situation in which child A takes child B's book. Asked why she has taken the book, child A answers back:

- (6) *ēsú ̄-ŋò má-à gálámù àdū ní*  
 find 3-break 1S-POSS pen what BEN  
 'Why had she broken my pen?' (implying eg. this is the reason I took her book)

Compare (7) without *ēsú*.

- (7) *̄-ŋò má-à gálámù àdū ní*  
 3-break 1S-POSS pen what BEN  
 'Why did she break my pen?'

20.1.1.4. The ambiguity of *àdū sị*: 'how' vs. 'why'

*àdū sị* is ambiguous between 'how' and 'why', an ambiguity which we might expect from the postposition *sị* which gives rise to a variety of 'source' meanings including instrument (the 'how' reading) and reason (the 'why' reading).

- (8) *ō-mū àdū sị*  
 3-go what SR  
 (a) 'How did she go?' (by what means?)  
 (b) 'Why did she go?' (for what reason?)

- (9) *ō-mū rị , àdū sị*  
 3-go DEF what SR  
 'Why is it that she went?' (for what reason did she go?)

20.1.1.5. The postposition *ní* in *àdū ṅá ní*

*àdū ṅá* or *àdū ṅá ní* means ‘when’.

- (10) *ní mgbā mā àdū ṅá (ní)*  
 2S beat 1S what period BEN  
 ‘When did you hit me?’

The benefactive postposition *ní* is unexpected here; compare the non-question version of ‘at that time’ which involves the source postposition *sí*.

- (11) *k’-ē-mú sáà nà sí nì*  
 3-(N)-VE-go time that SR FOC  
 ‘It is she who is coming at that time.’

20.1.1.6. The derivation of *íṅó* from *íṅò*

*íṅó pí* ‘how big, how much’ is probably based on *íṅò* with a raised final tone. Compare *dí pí* where the tone of *dí* ‘this’ is raised.

- (12) *ópí nī íṅó pí*  
 Opi PR how much  
 ‘How big is Opi?’

- (13) *ópí nī dí pí*  
 Opi PR this much  
 ‘Opi is this big.’

20.1.1.7. The morphology of *íṅòlé*

*íṅòlé* ‘where, which place’ has *íṅò* as the first part of a compound.

- (14) *ní bā íṅòlé*  
 2S put which-place  
 ‘Which place did you put it in?’

*íṅòlé* is possibly related to *ólè íṅò* ‘which place’, or *íṅò lélé* ‘which towards’, or possibly a suffixed form with a restrictively distributed suffix *lé* (compare *vúlé*).

- (15) *ní b̀à ólè ìṅgò (n)í gá*  
 2S put place which PR LOC  
 'Which place did you put it in?'

Compare without *ólè*.

- (16) *ní b̀à ìṅgò (n)í gá*  
 2S put which PR LOC  
 'Which one did you put it in?'

#### 20.1.1.8. The morphology of *ìṅgóní*

*ìṅgóní* 'how' 'by what means' 'for what reasons' is probably based on *ìṅgò* + *ání* 'which like'. Note the following exchange in greetings.

- (17) *ìṅgóní*  
 how  
 'How are you?'

- (18) *ìṅgóní k̄*  
 how NEG(N)  
 'I am fine.'

#### 20.1.1.9. Some combinations with *sí*

*sí* can combine with *vú* 'times' (possibly in a compound).

- (19) *ní lè mà f̄ò ní ní vú sí ní dr̄ ãr̄-ã*  
 2S want 1S say 2S BEN times how-many 2S then (N)-hear-OBJ  
 'How many times do you want me to tell you before you get it?'

*sí* can combine with postposition *s̄*, meaning 'for/with how much'.

- (20) *k-ázi-ã sí s̄*  
 3-(N)-sell-OBJ how-much SR  
 '(For) how much is she selling each?'

#### 20.1.1.10. *sí ní*

*sí* combines with *ání*, giving *síní* (without ATR harmony) or *síní* (with harmony).

- (21) ?ē-ā            sí    (ā)nī  
 (N)-do-OBJ    how    like  
 (a) 'How is it done?'  
 (b) 'How will we do it?'

### 20.1.2. Definiteness and wh-phrase types

In this section we consider four of the types of wh-phrase, and compare them to kinds of noun phrase, each with slightly different distributional characteristics. Noun phrases based on the noun àdī 'who' or the determiner íngò 'which' generally have the characteristics of definite noun phrases, while noun phrases based on the noun àdū 'what' or the determiner sí 'how many' generally have the characteristics of indefinite noun phrases. The two distinctive characteristics of definite noun phrases are (a) that they take ?ī when focused, when in final position, and when a non-verbal predicate, and (b) they take nī either obligatorily or optionally in certain positions such as subject of nonverbal predicate and object.

#### 20.1.2.1. àdī 'who' (definite)

àdī takes ?ī suggesting that it is a definite noun phrase.

- (22) òtʃé    dī    ɔ-tʃī            àdī    ?ī  
 dog    this    3-bite            who    FOC  
 'Who did this dog bite?'
- (23) ná-à            ādrúpì    nī            àdī    ?ī  
 2S-POSS    brother    PR            who    FOC  
 'Who is your brother?'

àdī also takes nī or pī suggesting that it is a specific definite noun phrase.

- (24) ìndrì    dī    ká    àdī    nī    `tʃī    áū  
 goat    this    3    who    PR    N-bite    FOC  
 'Who is it that this goat will bite?'
- (25) àdī    nī    ná-à            ādrúpì    ?ī    nī  
 who    PR    2S-POSS    brother    FOC    FOC  
 'Who is it that is your brother?'
- (26) dʒó    dī    àdī    pī            drì            ?ī  
 house    this    who    PRPL    POSS    FOC  
 'Whose (PL) house is this?'

20.1.2.2. *àdū* 'what' (indefinite)

*àdū* does not take *ɪ̄* suggesting that it is an indefinite noun phrase.

(27) *òtʃé d̄ɪ̄ ɔ̄-tʃɪ̄ àdū*  
 dog this 3-bite what  
 'What did this dog bite?'

(28) *ndrē-ɪ̄á kɛ́ r̄ɪ̄ àdū*  
 [(N)-see-OBJ NP ] DEF what  
 'What is it that can't be seen?'

*àdū* is generally not followed by *n̄ɪ̄*, again suggesting that it is an indefinite noun phrase.

(29) *ìndr̄í d̄ɪ̄ ká àdū ʔtʃɪ̄ áū*  
 goat this 3 what N-bite FOC  
 (a) 'What is it that this goat will bite?'  
 (b) 'What is it that this goat is biting?'

(30) *àdū ópí k'ò-ndrē-á kɛ́ r̄ɪ̄ áū*  
 what [ Opi 3-N-see-OBJ NP ] DEF FOC  
 'What is it that Opi can't see?'

There is an apparent exception (31), but this might possibly be analyzed by seeing it as a noun phrase containing *àdū* as the possessor, followed by possessive *n̄ɪ̄* and then the possessed noun (thus this example might be literally 'what's seed').

(31) *àdū n̄ɪ̄ ékwí*  
 what PR seed  
 'What sort of seed is it?' (seed of what plant)

*àdū* cannot be accompanied by the plural pronominal *p̄ɪ̄*.

Note that when *àdū* is possessed (32, 33) the noun phrase as a whole is treated as definite (as always where the noun phrase is possessed).

(32) *lápwoj̄í r̄ɪ̄ ānā-à àdū ɪ̄*  
 teacher DEF 3S-POSS what FOC  
 (a) 'What (relation) of his is the teacher?'  
 (b)\* 'What of the teacher is it?'

(33) *ɲí dū ópí ɪ̄à àdū ɪ̄*  
 2S take Opi POSS what FOC  
 'What of Opi did you take?'

The low (specific) determiner, carrying a possessive interpretation, similarly is able to turn *àdū* into a definite noun phrase.

- (34) *lāpwóní rì àdū ` ǀ*  
 teacher DEF what SPEC FOC  
 (a) 'What (relation) of his is the teacher?'  
 (b) 'What of the teacher is it?'

### 20.1.2.3. *íngò* 'which' (definite)

In final object position, *íngò* must take *ǀ*, like a definite.

- (35) *ópi ǎ-lè búkù íngò ǀ*  
 Opi 3-want book which FOC  
 'Which book is it that Opi wants?'

- (36) *ǀí lè íngò ǀ*  
 2S want which FOC  
 'Which one is it that you want?'

When it is a non-verbal predicate, *íngò* must also take *ǀ*.

- (37) *dī-rē ádzíní rì íngò ǀ*  
 [(N)-cook-SB yesterday] DEF which FOC  
 (a) 'Who is the one who cooked yesterday?'  
 (b) 'Which one is it that was cooked yesterday?'

It does take *ní* and *pí* with *áū*.

- (38) *ē-dzǐ íngò ní áū*  
 (3)-VE-take which PR FOC  
 'Which one is it that she brought?'

- (39) *ē-dzǐ íngò pí ǀ*  
 (3)-VE-take which PRPL FOC  
 'Which ones (which one and its associates) did she bring?'

A noun phrase with *íngò* can be interpreted as referring to a person or to a thing (ie. like *àdí* or *àdū* respectively).

20.1.2.4. *sí* 'how many' (indefinite)

*sí* 'how much, how many' can stand for an object and, like an indefinite noun phrase, can be final in the clause.

- (40) *ɲí dū sí*  
 2S take how-many  
 'How many did you take?'

Like an indefinite, if unaccompanied it can be a nonverbal predicate (41).

- (41) *àʔí sí*  
 3PL how many  
 'How many are they?'

20.1.3. *Wh-phrases left-dislocated*

The wh-phrase object can be left-dislocated without a pause, or with a pause. The syntax of sentences with a left-dislocated wh-phrase is identical to the syntax of sentences with other kinds of left-dislocated object. A copy of the object is left behind (realized by a null object with the uninflected verb and an obligatory clitic object with the inflected verb).

## 20.1.3.1. A LOW-ʔí based strategy

A wh-phrase can be put in sentence-initial position, followed by a pause, with the rest of the sentence ending with the LOW-ʔí focus strategy. The wh-phrase can be an object or a non-argument.

- (42) *àdí ɲí ʔí , ē-dʒí ʔí*  
 who PRPL FOC 3-VE-bring SPEC FOC  
 'Those of who did she bring?' (Is it you or us, ie. male or female, that she gave birth to?)

- (43) *àdū , ɲí dʒē ʔí*  
 what 2S buy SPEC FOC  
 'What is it that you bought?'

- (44) *àdū , ɲí `dʒē-ʔā ʔí*  
 what 2S N-buy-OBJ SPEC FOC  
 'What is it that you are buying?'

- (45) *íngō, jī sī ` Ǟ*  
 where 2S build SPEC FOC  
 ‘Where is it that you built it?’
- (46) *àdū ní , jī zē ópí nī áū ` Ǟ*  
 what BEN 2S send Opi PR FOC SPEC FOC  
 ‘Why (what for) is it that it is Opi you sent?’
- (47) *íngōlé , sī-Ǟ ` Ǟ*  
 where-towards (N)-write-OBJ SPEC FOC  
 ‘Towards which place is it that it is being written?’
- (48) *íngō sī , ē-mú ` Ǟ*  
 where SR (3)-VE-go SPEC FOC  
 ‘From where is it that she came?’
- (49) *àdūngání , j-ē-mú ` Ǟ*  
 when 2S-VE-come SPEC FOC  
 (a) ‘When is it that you are coming?’  
 (b) ‘When is it that you came?’ (past meaning comes from  
 ventive, 5.1.2.1)
- (50) *íngó pí , ē-dǝí ` Ǟ*  
 how much (3)-VE-bring SPEC FOC  
 ‘Of what size was it that she brought?’
- (51) *sí , j-ē-dǝí ` Ǟ*  
 how many 2S-VE-bring SPEC FOC  
 ‘How many did you bring?’
- (52) *vú sí , j-ē-dǝí ` Ǟ*  
 how many times 2S-VE-take SPEC FOC  
 ‘How many times was it that you brought it?’

We note that the pause appears to be optional with the following adjunct wh-phrases.

- (53) *íngónī (,) dī-ā ` Ǟ*  
 how (N)-cook-OBJ SPEC FOC  
 ‘How is it that it is cooked?’
- (54) *àdū sī (,) jī zē ópí nī áū ` Ǟ*  
 what SR 2S send Opi PR FOC SPEC FOC  
 ‘Why (what for) is it that it is Opi you sent?’

This strategy (ie. including fronting) is not available with *íngò sǐ* 'with which one' *íngò* 'where' *íngò sǐ* 'where from' *íngò lé* 'in which place' *àdū ngá (ní)* 'when' *íngó ní* 'how' *íngó pí* 'how big' *sǐ* 'how much / many' *vú sǐ* 'how many times'.

Note that the adjunct can be left in place before LOW *ǐ*; in this case there is no special focus on the adjunct and the clause as a whole has an 'old information' interpretation.

(55) *ǒ-bà íngò ǐ*  
3-put where SPEC FOC  
'Where is it that she put it?' (that is what I am asking)

(56) *ǒ-bà íngò*  
3-put where  
'Where did she put it?'

### 20.1.3.2. Left-dislocated wh-phrases and nonverbal clauses

In these clauses, the left-dislocated wh-constituent can be interpreted as a nonverbal predicate, with the remnant, a noun phrase containing a headless relative, as the subject of the predicate. Thus (57) and (58) have very similar interpretations, but (57) focuses the predicate.

(57) *àdǐ ǐ , nǎ-à ní-lé kū ǐ ǐ*  
who FOC [2S-POSS (N)-know-SB NEG(N)] DEF SPEC FOC  
'Who is it that you do not know?'

(58) *nǎ-à ní-lé kū ǐ àdǐ ǐ*  
[2S-POSS (N)-know-SB NEG(N)] DEF who SPEC FOC  
'Who is it that you do not know?' (The person you do not know is who?)

The pause is obligatory.

(59) *àdǐ ǎ ǐ , nǎà dū-lé ǐ ǐ*  
who POSS FOC [2S-POSS (N)-take-SB] DEF SPEC FOC  
'Whose is it (the one) that you took?'

(60) *íngò ǐ , lé-rē*  
which FOC [(N)-want-SB  
*nǐ ní drǐ dzè-kā kū ǐ ǐ*  
[ 2S BEN hand (N)-wash-SB ] NEG(N)] DEF SPEC FOC  
'which one is it that did not want you to wash (your) hands?'

- (61) *íngō* , *ɲá-à* *lè-lé* *rì* *ʔ*  
 where [ 2S-POSS (N)-want-SB ] DEF SPEC FOC  
 ‘Where is the one that you want?’
- (62) *íngòlé* , *ɲá-à* *lè-lé* *rì* *ʔ*  
 which place [ 2S-POSS (N)-want-SB ] DEF SPEC FOC  
 ‘In which place is the one that you want?’
- (63) *sí* , *ɲá-à* *lè-lé* *rì* *ʔ*  
 how many [ 2S-POSS (N)-want-SB ] DEF SPEC FOC  
 ‘How many (of them) do you want?’
- (64) *àdū* *ní* , *dzì-lé* *rì* *ʔ*  
 what BEN [ (N)-take-SB ] DEF SPEC FOC  
 ‘What was the one taken for?’

#### 20.1.4. *Multiple wh-questions*

If both subject and object are questioned, the null focus strategy is used.

- (65) *àdī* *ká* *àdū* *ɲā*  
 who 3 what N-eat  
 ‘Who is eating what?’
- (66) *àdī* *ɔ-ɲā* *àdū*  
 who 3-eat what  
 ‘Who ate what?’
- (67) *bòròndzì* *àgō* *rì* *ɔ-ɲā* *èbī*,  
 children male DEF 3-eat fish  
*ìndzòndzì* *rì* *ɔ-ɲā* *ósú*  
 girls DEF 3-eat beans  
 ‘The boys ate fish, the girls ate beans.’
- (68) *bòròndzì* *àgō* *rì* *ɔ-ɲā* *èbī*, *ìndzòndzì* *rì* *ɔ-ɲā* *ósú*  
 children male DEF 3-eat fish girls DEF 3-eat beans  
 ‘The boys ate fish, the girls ate beans.’

## 20.1.5. Some syntactic environments in which wh-phrases are found

## 20.1.5.1. Wh-phrase in subject of nonverbal predicate position

A wh-phrase can be subject of a nonverbal predicate. It must be focused, using *nì*.

(69) *àdǎ́ nǐ̀ l̀apwojí nì̀*  
 who PR teacher FOC  
 'Who is it that is a teacher?'

(70)\* *àdǎ́ nǐ̀ l̀apwojí*  
 who PR teacher  
 'Who is a teacher?'

Note however an alternative strategy.

(71) *àdǎ́ nǐ̀ , jí zǐ̀ kũ̀ rì̀ ǐ̀*  
 who PR 2S greet NEG(N) DEF FOC  
 'Who is it that you don't greet?'

## 20.1.5.2. Wh-phrase in a postposition phrase or other adjunct

The wh-phrase can be the complement of a postposition. The postposition phrase can be 'argument'-like (eg. benefactive) or 'adjunct'-like (eg. temporal location). There is no overt focus particle in this case.

(72) *àṅ-ázi-ā àdǎ́ nǐ̀*  
 2PL-(N)-sell-OBJ who BEN  
 'For whom are you selling it?'

(73) *ópi 3-kè búkù rá rì̀ àdǎ́ nǐ̀*  
 Opi 3-give book AFF DEF who BEN  
 'Who is it that Opi has definitely given a book for?' (It is known that has given a book, but to who.)

(74) *ō-mū àdũ̀ nǐ̀*  
 3-go what BEN  
 'Why did she go?' (She should not have gone.)

(75) *k'-ē-mú àdũ̀ngání*  
 3-(N)-VE-go when  
 'When is she coming?'

- (76)  $\bar{o}-m\bar{u}$                        $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$   $s\grave{i}$   
 3-go                              what SR  
 (a) 'Why did she go?'  
 (b) 'How did she go?'
- (77)  $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$                        $\acute{i}ng\grave{o}$   $s\grave{i}$   
 (3)-VE-go                      which SR  
 (a) 'With which one did she come?'  
 (b) 'For which one did she come?'
- (78)  $s\grave{i}-\bar{a}$                        $\acute{i}ng\grave{o}l\acute{e}$   
 (N)-write-OBJ                      which-place  
 'Where is it being written?' (towards which place)
- (79)  $n\acute{i}$   $b\grave{a}$                        $\acute{i}ng\bar{o}$   
 2S put                              where  
 'Where did you put it?'
- (80)  $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$                        $\acute{i}ng\bar{o}$   $s\grave{i}$   
 (3)-VE-go                      where SR  
 'Where did she come from?'
- (81)  $d\bar{i}-\bar{a}$                        $\acute{i}ng\acute{o}n\bar{i}$   
 (N)-cook-OBJ                      how  
 'How is it cooked?'
- (82)  $\bar{e}-d\acute{z}\acute{i}$                        $\acute{i}ng\acute{o}$   $p\acute{i}$   
 (3)-VE-bring                      (how much)  
 'How much did she bring?' (of what size)
- (83)  $n' -\bar{u}kw\grave{e}$                        $s\acute{i}$   
 2S-pay                              how much  
 (a) 'How much did you pay?'  
 (b) 'How many did you pay?'
- (84)  $n' -\bar{e}-d\acute{z}\acute{i}$                        $v\acute{u}$   $s\acute{i}$   
 2S-VE-take times                      how many  
 'How many times did you bring it / them?'

Another constituent can be focused when there is a wh-adjunct.

- (85)  $\bar{o}-d\bar{u}$   $\acute{i}z\acute{i}$   $n\grave{a}$   $\acute{a}\bar{u}$   $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$   $s\grave{i}$   
 3-take woman that FOC why SR  
 'Why is it that she married that woman?'

- (86)  $\acute{i}ng\acute{o}$      $s\grave{i}$      $ji\acute{i}$      $m\bar{u}$      $ji\bar{i}$      $\acute{?i}$      $n\grave{i}$   
 which    SR    2S    go    2S    FOC    FOC  
 (a) 'Which one is it that you were the one who went with?'  
 (b) 'Because of which one you were the one who went?'

### 20.1.5.3. Wh-phrase as nonverbal predicate

Where the wh-phrase is itself a nonverbal predicate, it takes the focus marker  $\acute{?i}$  if it is  $\grave{a}d\acute{i}$  (87). It does not take a focus marker (as elsewhere) if it is  $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$  (88). It does not take a focus marker if it is another kind of wh-phrase such as  $\acute{i}ng\bar{o}$  'where' (89, 90).

- (87)  $g\acute{a}l\acute{a}m\bar{u}$      $l\acute{e}-r\bar{e}$      $r\grave{i}$      $\grave{a}d\acute{i}$      $\acute{?i}$   
 pen    (N)-want-SB    DEF    who    FOC  
 'Who is it that wants a pen?'
- (88)  $d\acute{z}\acute{o}$      $\acute{s}\bar{i}-r\bar{e}$      $d\acute{i}\acute{?}\bar{a}$      $r\grave{i}$      $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$   
 house    N-build-SB    here    DEF    what  
 (a) 'What is it that built a house here?'  
 (b) 'What is it that is building / will build a house here?'
- (89)  $\acute{l}\acute{i}n\acute{a}$      $\acute{d}\bar{i}-r\bar{e}$      $\acute{a}d\acute{z}\acute{i}n\bar{i}$      $r\grave{i}$      $\acute{i}ng\bar{o}$   
 food    N-cook-SB    yesterday    DEF    where  
 (a) 'Where is the one who cooked yesterday?'  
 (b) 'Where is the food that was cooked yesterday?'
- (90)  $n\acute{a}-\acute{a}$      $r\bar{e}-l\acute{e}$      $r\grave{i}$      $\acute{i}ng\acute{o}n\bar{i}$   
 2S-POSS    (N)-knock-SB    DEF    how  
 'How is the one you knocked down?'

### 20.1.6. Wh-phrases as complete utterances

A wh-phrase can be combined with  $\acute{?i}$  to form a complete utterance. The wh-phrase must be definite inherently (ie. consisting of  $\acute{a}d\acute{i}$  etc.) or must be made definite by embedding it under the LOW determiner or under  $r\grave{i}$ . Where the wh-phrase is inherently definite it can be immediately followed by  $\acute{?i}$ . The glottal is lost in fast speech (4.4.1).

- (91)  $\acute{a}d\acute{i}$      $\acute{?i}$     or in fast speech     $\acute{a}d\acute{i}$   $\acute{?i}$   
 who    FOC  
 'Who (is it)?'

- (92)  $\grave{a}d\bar{i}$   $\eta\grave{a}$   $\eta\bar{i}$  or in fast speech  $ad\bar{i}\grave{a}\bar{i}$   
 who POSS FOC  
 'Whose (is it)?'
- (93)  $\grave{a}d\bar{i}$   $\eta\grave{a}$   $d\zeta\acute{o}$   $\eta\bar{i}$  or in fast speech  $\grave{a}d\bar{i}\grave{a}d\zeta\acute{o}\bar{i}$   
 who POSS house FOC  
 'Whose house (is it)?'
- (94)  $\acute{i}\eta g\grave{o}$   $\eta\bar{i}$  or in fast speech  $\acute{i}\eta g\grave{o}\bar{i}$   
 which FOC  
 'Which one (is it)?'

Where the wh-phrase is not inherently definite it is followed by the low determiner and then  $\eta\bar{i}$ .

- (95)  $\acute{i}\eta g\bar{o}$   $\grave{a}$   $\eta\bar{i}$   
 where SPEC FOC  
 'Where's it?'
- (96)  $\acute{i}\eta g\bar{o}$   $l\acute{e}$   $\grave{a}$   $\eta\bar{i}$   
 where place SPEC FOC  
 'Where's it?' (in which place is it?)
- (97)  $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$   $-\eta g\acute{a}$   $-\eta\bar{i}$   $\eta\bar{i}$   
 what - period-for SPEC FOC  
 'When is it?'
- (98)  $s\acute{i}$   $\eta\bar{i}$   
 how-many SPEC FOC  
 'How much / many is it?'
- (99)  $v\acute{u}$   $s\acute{i}$   $\eta\bar{i}$   
 times how many SPEC FOC  
 'How many times is it?'
- (100)  $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$   $-\eta\bar{i}$   $\eta\bar{i}$   
 what-for SPEC FOC  
 'What is it for?' (why?)

If this strategy is used for  $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$  the specific determiner must be interpreted as possessive.

- (101)  $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$   $\eta\bar{i}$   
 what SPEC FOC  
 'What is it (of his)?'

The wh-phrase can also be embedded under the determiner *rì*; this is the only strategy for *àdū* meaning (non-possessive) 'what'.

- (102) *àdū rì ɸì*  
 what DEF FOC  
 'What one is it?' (the one which is which?)
- (103) *íngō rì ɸì*  
 where DEF FOC  
 'Which one is it?' (the one which is where?)
- (104) *íngōlé rì ɸì*  
 where DEF FOC  
 'Where's it?' (the one which is in which place?)
- (105) *àdūngání rì ɸì*  
 when DEF FOC  
 'When is it?' (the one of when)
- (106) *sí rì ɸì*  
 how-many DEF FOC  
 'How much / many is it?' (the how much/ many one?)
- (107) *vú sí rì ɸì*  
 times how many DEF FOC  
 'How many times is it?' (the how many times one?)
- (108) *àdū ní rì ɸì*  
 what BEN DEF FOC  
 'What is it for?' (the one which is for what?)
- (109) *àdū-ngá -ní rì ɸì*  
 what-period-for DEF FOC  
 'When is it?' (the one which is when?)
- (110) *íngó pí rì ɸì*  
 how-much DEF FOC  
 'Which one is it?' (the one which is how big?)
- (111) *àdū rì ɸì*  
 what DEF FOC  
 'What one is it?' (the one which is what?)

## 20.2. Information ('wh-') questions in subordinate clauses

### 20.2.1. Wh-phrase in a tensed clause, complement to *fō*

The verb *fō* takes a subordinate clause which has a structure resembling a root clause (ie. a fully realized argument structure, and no special morphology on the verb).

The object in the subordinate clause can be replaced in situ by a wh-phrase; *ámā* can be used (116).

- (112) *ɲí fō [ Ópí ɔ̄-ndrē àdū ]*  
 2S say [ Opi 3-see what ]  
 'What did you say Opi saw?'
- (113) *ɲí fō [ Ópí ɔ̄-ndrē àdī ʔī ]*  
 2S say [ Opi 3-see who FOC ]  
 'Who did you say Opi saw?'
- (114) *ɲí `fō ʔā [ Ópí ká àdū `ndrē ]*  
 2S N-say OBJ [ Opi 3 what N-see ]  
 'What will you say (on meeting her) Opi is seeing?'
- (115) *ɲí `fō ʔā [ Ópí ká àdī nī `ndrē ]*  
 2S N-say OBJ [ Opi 3 what PR N-see ]  
 'Who will you say (on meeting her) Opi is seeing?'
- (116) *ɲí fō ámā [ Ópí ɔ̄-ndrē àdū ]*  
 2S say [ that Opi 3-see what ]  
 'What did you say that Opi saw?'

The object can be left-dislocated to the beginning of the subordinate clause. The object is doubled by a clitic with the inflected verb (117). The clause must then end in LOW-ʔī, without which it is ungrammatical (119).

- (117) *ɲí fō àdū [ Ópí kɔ̄-ndrē-ʔā ` ʔī ]*  
 2S say [ what Opi 3-N-see-OBJ SPEC FOC ]  
 'What is it that you said Opi will see / is seeing?'
- (118) *ɲí fō àdū [ Ópí ɔ̄-ndrē ` ʔī ]*  
 2S say [ what Opi 3-see SPEC FOC ]  
 'What is it that you said Opi saw?'
- (119)\* *ɲí fō àdū [ Ópí ɔ̄-ndrē ]*  
 2S say [ what Opi 3-see ]  
 'What did you say Opi saw?'

*ámā* cannot be used when the object is fronted to the beginning of the subordinate clause (interpretations (a) below). When it is used in a sentence of this kind, the word *ámā* can only be interpreted as a freely-placed modifier within the clause, meaning ‘it is said that’ (interpretations (b) below).

- (120) *ní fō àdū ámā ópí kó-ndrē-ʔā ʔí*  
 2S say [what that Opi 3-N-see-OBJ SPEC FOC]  
 (a)\* ‘What is it that you said Opi will see / is seeing?’  
 (b) ‘You said what it is said that Opi saw.’
- (121) *ní fō ámā àdū ópí kó-ndrē-ʔā ʔí*  
 2S say [that what Opi 3-N-see-OBJ SPEC FOC]  
 (a)\* ‘What is it that you said Opi will see / is seeing?’  
 (b) ‘You said it is said that what is it that Opi saw.’

The wh-object can be left-dislocated out of a tensed subordinate clause to the beginning of the root clause. *ámā* is optional at the beginning of the subordinate clause.

- (122) *àdū ní fō ópí kó-ndrē-ā ʔí*  
 what 2S say [ Opi 3-N-see-OBJ SPEC FOC]  
 ‘What is it that you said Opi will see / is seeing?’
- (123) *àdū ní fō ópí ɔ-ndrē ʔí*  
 what 2S say [ Opi 3-see SPEC FOC]  
 ‘What is it that you said Opi saw?’
- (124) *àdū ní fō ámā ópí ɔ-ndrē ʔí*  
 what 2S say [ that Opi 3-see SPEC FOC]  
 ‘What is it that you said that Opi saw?’
- (125) *ō-fō àdū ìndrì drī*  
 3-say what goat on  
 ‘What did he say about the goat?’
- (126) *ō-fō àdū lēfó `ndzē-lé ádzínì rì (n)í drī*  
 3-say what issue N-explain-SB yesterday DEF BEN on  
 ‘What did she say about what was discussed yesterday?’

### 20.2.1.1. wh-subject

The (adjoined) subject in the subordinate clause can be questioned in situ. *ámā* is optional.

- (127)  $\bar{o}\text{-f}\bar{o}$  ( $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$ )  $\grave{a}d\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}\text{-}d\bar{i}$   $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}n\bar{i}$   $n\bar{i}$   
 3-say that who 3-cook fish yesterday FOC  
 'Who [1] did he [2] say cooked fish yesterday?'

Non-coreference between the root and subordinate subject follows the same pattern as when the subordinate subject is an ordinary pronoun.

- (128)  $\bar{o}\text{-f}\bar{o}$  ( $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$ )  $\bar{o}\text{-}d\bar{i}$   $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}n\bar{i}$   
 3-say that 3-cook fish yesterday  
 'He [1] said that he[2] cooked fish yesterday.'

The strategy of adding  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  to force coreference between the two subjects (16.12.1) is not available when the lower subject is questioned.

- (129)  $\bar{o}\text{-f}\bar{o}$  ( $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$ )  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}\text{-}d\bar{i}$   $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}n\bar{i}$   
 3-say that 3S 3-cook fish yesterday  
 'He [1] said that he[1] cooked fish yesterday.'

- (130)\*  $\bar{o}\text{-f}\bar{o}$  ( $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$ )  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   $\grave{a}d\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}\text{-}d\bar{i}$   $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}n\bar{i}$   
 3-say that 3S who 3-cook fish yesterday  
 'He [1] said that he[1] cooked fish yesterday.'

The subject cannot be left-dislocated out of a tensed clause (unlike an object). It makes no difference whether  $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$  is present.

- (131)\*  $\grave{a}d\bar{i}$   $n\bar{i}$   $\bar{o}\text{-f}\bar{o}$  ( $\acute{a}m\bar{a}$ )  $\bar{o}\text{-}d\bar{i}$   $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}n\bar{i}$   $n\bar{i}$   
 who PR 3-say that 3-cook fish yesterday FOC  
 'Who did he say cooked fish yesterday?'

### 20.2.1.2. wh-adjunct

A wh-adjunct is a questioned phrase relating to time, place, etc. Like a subject, it can be questioned in situ when it is in a tensed subordinate clause but cannot be left-dislocated out of the tensed subordinate clause.

- (132)  $\bar{o}\text{-f}\bar{o}$   $\bar{o}\text{-}d\bar{i}$   $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}n\bar{i}$   $\acute{i}n\bar{g}\bar{o}$   
 3-say [ 3-cook fish yesterday where ]  
 'Where did he[1] say he[2] cooked the fish yesterday?'

- (133)\*  $\acute{i}n\bar{g}\bar{o}$   $\bar{o}\text{-f}\bar{o}$   $\bar{o}\text{-}d\bar{i}$   $\grave{e}b\bar{i}$   $\acute{a}d\bar{z}\bar{i}n\bar{i}$  ]  
 where 3-say [ 3-cook fish yesterday ]  
 'Where did he say he cooked the fish yesterday?'

20.2.1.3. Multiple wh-phrases

There can be more than one in situ wh-phrase in the subordinate clause.

(134) *ní fō ópí ɔ̄-ndrē àdū íngō*  
 2s say [ Opi 3-see what where ]  
 ‘What did you say Opi saw and where?’

(135) *ní fō àdī ɔ̄-ndrē àdū*  
 2s say [ who 3-see what ]  
 ‘You said who saw what?’ (severally - ie. A saw X, B saw Y, C saw Z etc.)

20.2.2. Wh-phrase in a tensed clause, complement to *lè*

Where *lè* ‘want’ is the root verb, the wh-subject or the wh-adjunct can be in situ or can be extracted from a tensed subordinate clause.

(136) *ní lè àdī k-è-mú nì*  
 2S want [ who DIR-VE-go FOC ]  
 ‘Who do you want to come?’

(137) *àdī nī ní lè k-è-mú nì*  
 who PR 2S want [ DIR-VE-go FOC ]  
 ‘Who is it that you want to come?’

When the adjunct is left-dislocated out of its subordinate clause the LOW *ɔ̄* strategy is used.

(138) *ní lè k-è-mú íngō*  
 2S want [ DIR-VE-go where ]  
 ‘Where do you want him to come?’

(139) *íngō ní lè k-è-mu ɔ̄*  
 where 2S want [ DIR-VE-go SPEC FOC ]  
 ‘Where do you want him to come?’

The adjunct cannot come at the beginning of the subordinate clause.

(140)\* *ní lè íngō k-è-mú ɔ̄*  
 2S want [ where DIR-VE-go SPEC FOC ]  
 ‘Where do you want him to come?’

20.2.3. Subordinate clauses with the *wh*-word *íngónĩ*

A subordinate question with *íngónĩ* ‘how, ‘why’ ends with *íngónĩ*. The subordinate clauses can be focused by *jà ʔĩ* or by LOW-*ʔĩ*.

- (141) *ɲĩ zĩ ȳ-mũ íngónĩ*  
 2SDIR ask [ 3-go how ]  
 (a) ‘You should ask how she went.’  
 (b) ‘You should ask how it (the event) went.’
- (142) *ɲĩ zĩ ȳ-mũ íngónĩ jà ʔĩ*  
 2SDIR ask 3-go how Q FOC  
 ‘The thing you should ask is how she / it went.’
- (143) *má nĩ rá tà dĩ ȳ-bà rũ íngónĩ jà ʔĩ*  
 1S know AFF thing this 3-put REFL how Q FOC  
 ‘I certainly know how this thing came to be (so).’
- (144) *má nĩ rá tà dĩ ȳ-bà rũ íngónĩ ʔĩ*  
 1S know AFF thing this 3-put REFL how SPEC FOC  
 ‘I certainly know how this thing came to be (so).’

If the clause is fronted, the *ʔĩ* is lost and *jà* is optional. In this case, we assume that the fronting of the clause is sufficient to focus it.

- (145) *tà dĩ ȳ-bà rũ íngónĩ (jà) nĩ má nĩ kũ*  
 thing this 3-put REFL how Q PR 1S know NEG(N)  
 ‘How this thing came to be so, I do not know.’

Note that focus is not required for *íngónĩ* itself, for example in a non-subordinate clause.

- (146) *ȳ-mũ íngónĩ*  
 3-go how  
 (a) ‘How did he go?’ (means)  
 (b) ‘Why did he go?’ (reason)  
 (c) ‘How did it go?’ (event)

20.2.4. *Wh*-phrase in a subordinate clause with *-kā*

Where the subordinate clause contains a verb suffixed with *-kā*, the ‘possessive’ subject can be questioned. We suggest elsewhere that these clauses might be noun phrases (10.5.1).

(147) *jí lè ópí ʔà ē-mú-kā rá*  
 2S want [ Opi POSS (N)-VE-go-SB AFF ]  
 ‘You like Opi’s certain coming.’ (in the future or past)

(148) *jí lè àdī ʔà ē-mú-kā rá nì*  
 2S want [ who POSS (N)-VE-go-SB AFF FOC ]  
 ‘Whose certain coming is it that you like?’ (future or past)

20.2.5. *Demonstrative at the end of a pre-question clause*

A clause which states a circumstance in preparation for a question ends in a demonstrative, presumably inside the subordinate clause and at its end.

(149) *ópí āzī èbī dī*  
 [opi sell fish this]  
*ō-bà rùbià nā íngō*  
 3-put money AFR where  
 ‘Having sold fish (on this occasion), where did Opi put the money?’

(150) *ópí ō-mū nà ēbē ēndrē nī àdī drí*  
 [Opi 3-go that] leave mother-SPEC PR who BEN  
 ‘As Opi went, who did he leave his mother with?’

(151) *jí má-à drí kwā nà*  
 [2S 1S-POSS head (N)-shave tha]  
*jí nì kū ó-kwā àmà drí kū ʔí*  
 2S know NEG(N) IND-shave 1PL(EXC) head NEG(N) FOC Q  
 ‘As you shave my hair, don’t you know that our (ie. my) hair is not to be shaved?’

(152) *àṅì rì dī*  
 [2PLDIR sit this]  
*sùkùrù drí gá àṅì fō àdū*  
 school on LOC 2PL say what  
 ‘Having met (on this occasion), what did you discuss about education?’

(153) *àṅì rì nà*  
 [2PLDIR sit that]  
*sùkùrù drí gá àṅì fō àdū*  
 school on LOC 2PL say what  
 ‘Having met (on that occasion), what did you discuss about education?’

Two demonstratives may be used, with the demonstrative *ìlédí* ‘that near you’ followed by *nà* ‘that’. *ìlédí* adds a sense that the going is immediate (without *ìlédí* the going is only imminent). This is the only circumstance in which a noun phrase can end with two demonstratives in sequence.

- (154) *ní`mū ìlédí nà*  
 [2S N-go that (near you) that]  
*ní bārá ēbē àdí drí*  
 2S child leave who BEN  
 ‘Now that you are going who are you leaving the child with?’

- (155) *ní`mū nà*  
 [2S N-go that]  
*ní bārá ēbē àdí drí*  
 2S child leave who BEN  
 ‘As you are going who are you leaving the child with?’

There is a clash between a *rì* object and *dì* as the demonstrative. This seems to be a consequence of the implication of *rì* as a determiner that the eventuality took place some time in the past, combined with the proximal implications of *dì*. The clash does not arise if the demonstrative is distal *nà*.

- (156)\* *ópí āzī èbī rì dì*  
 [Opi sell fish DEF this]  
*ō-bà rùbíà nā íngō*  
 3-put money AFR where  
 ‘Having sold the fish in question (on this occasion), where did Opi put the money?’

- (157) *ópí āzī èbī rì nà*  
 [Opi sell fish DEF that]  
*ō-bà rùbíà nā íngō*  
 3-put money AFR where  
 ‘Having sold the fish in question (on that occasion), where did Opi put the money?’

Note that in the previous sentence the *rì* phrase is not followed by the focus/predication particle *?í*, which would be required if the phrase was final within its clause. This is our justification for thinking that the demonstrative is within the subordinate clause and final within that clause, rather than outside the subordinate clause and thus after it.

20.2.5.1. Sentence final *dî* + high question tone.

The demonstrative *dî* ‘this’ may be used for sentential emphasis when it is sentence final. When used this way it takes a high floating tone at the end, the type used in questions. It is used to insist on a point of view, or to stress the urgency of the particular moment; the implicatures (in brackets in the gloss) are there only when *dî* is present.

- (158) *má fō jí mū kū dî* ‘  
 1S say 2S go NEG(N) this Q  
 ‘I have already told you that you are not going.’ (why the insistence?)

- (159) *ô-kwā drîbí nā kū dî* ‘  
 IND-DIR-shave hair AFR NEG(N) this Q  
 ‘Do not shave his hair.’ (I have already told you that, so why are you still insisting on the shaving?)

20.2.6. *àdū sî* in final position

The final negative particle can be followed by the question phrase *àdū sî* (160), and also by *áū sî* both meaning ‘because of it’.

- (160) *jí mū kū àdū sî*  
 2S go NEG(N) what SR  
 (a) ‘Why won’t you go?’  
 (b) ‘Why are you not going?’  
 (c) ‘What means won’t you use?’

## 20.3. Yes-no questions

## 20.3.1. Structure of yes-no questions

## 20.3.1.1. The final rising tone

It is possible to add a final rising tone to a declarative sentence, to turn it into a yes-no question.

- (161) *āgó nà úlé*  
 man that witch  
 ‘That man is a witch.’

(162)  $\bar{a}g\acute{o}$   $n\grave{a}$   $\acute{u}l\acute{e}$   $\acute{\prime}$   
 man that witch Q  
 'Is that man a witch?'

(163)  $\bar{n}\acute{i}$   $\grave{m}\bar{u}$   $r\acute{a}$   
 2S N-go AFF  
 'You will definitely go.'

(164)  $\bar{n}\acute{i}$   $\grave{m}\bar{u}$   $r\acute{a}$   $\acute{\prime}$   
 2S N-go AFF Q  
 'Are you definitely going?' or 'Will you definitely go?'

It is possible to have a high tone on yes-no questions especially when repeating what has been said or for emphasis.

(165)  $\bar{n}\acute{i}$   $f\bar{o}$   $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$   
 2S say what  
 'What did you say?'

(166)  $\bar{n}\acute{i}$   $f\bar{o}$   $\grave{a}d\bar{u}$   $\acute{\prime}$   
 2S say what Q  
 'What is it that you said?' (used when you missed what a person has just said and want it repeated, ie. it is known that you have said something, what is it?)

There is a general constraint that an uninflected verb must always be followed by something in the sentence; we call this the 'termination constraint' (7.5). The final high tone is not able to terminate the uninflected verb.

(167)\*  $\bar{n}\acute{i}$   $m\bar{u}$   $\acute{\prime}$   
 2S go Q  
 'Did you go?'

(168)  $\bar{n}\acute{i}$   $\grave{m}\bar{u}$   $\acute{\prime}$   
 2S N-go Q  
 'Are you going?'

Thus some other element must be present in these sentences to terminate the verb, such as  $r\acute{a}$  in the following sentence.

(169)  $\bar{n}\acute{i}$   $m\bar{u}$   $r\acute{a}$   $\acute{\prime}$   
 2S go AFF Q  
 'Did you definitely go?'

20.3.1.2. Ugandan Ma'di variant, final  $\bar{a}$ 

Ugandan Ma'di has final  $\bar{a}$  as a question particle instead of the high tone which is found in Lokai Ma'di. Like the high tone question particle discussed in the previous section, the question particle cannot terminate an uninflected verb.

(170)  $\bar{i}$ - $n\bar{i}$                        $m\bar{a}d\bar{i}$                        $d\bar{i}$                        $\bar{o}t\bar{e}$                        $\bar{a}$   
 2PL-know                      person                      this                      COM                      Q  
 'Do you know this person?' (Ugandan Ma'di)

(171)  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$                        $n\bar{i}$                        $m\bar{a}d\bar{i}$                        $d\bar{i}$                        $r\bar{a}$                        $\bar{a}$   
 2PL know                      person                      this                      AFF                      Q  
 'Do you definitely know this person?' (Lokai)

20.3.1.3. Final  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$ 

The word  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  can be added to the end of a sentence finally to turn it into a question, asking why the action was not undertaken, or to make a suggestion. This is a polite strategy. There is no rising intonation, and  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  must be sentence-final. Note that it does not terminate the verb, suggesting that it is possibly external to the sentence (7.5).

(172)  $n\bar{i}$                        $d\bar{u}$                        $\bar{i}z\bar{a}$                        $z\bar{i}$                        $k\bar{u}$                        $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   
 2S take                      meat                      another                      NEG(N)                      why  
 'How come you are not taking another piece of meat?' (you should take more)

(173)  $\bar{o}p\bar{i}$                        $\bar{o}$ - $r\bar{i}$                        $t\bar{f}\bar{i}r\bar{i}$                        $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   
 Opi                      3-sit                      silent                      why  
 'How come Opi is sitting silently?' (he should be talking)

(174)  $n\bar{i}$                        $k\bar{e}$                        $\bar{o}p\bar{i}$   $n\bar{i}$                        $\bar{g}w\bar{e}$ - $r\bar{e}$                        $r\bar{a}$                        $r\bar{i}$                        $\bar{a}\bar{u}$                        $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$   
 2S                      give                      Opi BEN [N-burn-SB                      AFF]                      DEF                      FOC                      why  
 'How come you gave Opi the burnt one?' (you should have given him a good one)

$\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  may be derived from  $\bar{a}d\bar{u}$  'what' +  $n\bar{i}$  the benefactive postposition, and thus meaning 'for what?' Thus it is probably not related to its homophone  $\bar{a}n\bar{i}$  which is a third person pronoun with various uses (cf. its meaning in 'looks like a...', 11.5.3).

20.3.1.4. Final *jà*

Final *jà* is found only in subordinate clauses. It is found in both yes-no and wh-questions; *jà* is also used in conditionals to express doubt or a weakened probability. *jà* possibly functions to affirm, similarly to *rá*, with a meaning of ‘is it the case that..?’. It is like a gambit, used in shouting especially where there is a distance between the speakers. Note that there is no high tone at the end, although it is a yes-no question. *jà* cannot terminate an uninflected verb.

(175) *má fō jí `mū rá já*  
 1S say [2S N-go AFF Q]  
 ‘I said, will you definitely go?’

(176)\* *jí `mū rá já*  
 2S N-go AFF Q  
 ‘Will you definitely be going?’

*jà* is used also, in alternation with a floating low tone, after a sentence ending in *íngóní* which is a complement to ‘know’. In questions it cannot be replaced by a floating high tone.

(177) *āwí-ā íngóní já nī má nì kū*  
 (N)-open-OBJ how Q PR 1S know NEG(N)  
 ‘I don’t know how it is opened.’

20.3.1.5. Questions with *òlè* ‘or’

Two constituents can be conjoined with *òlè*, to make an ‘or’ question.

(178) *jí `mū jí ĩ ĩ òlè ópí k’ō-mū nì*  
 2S N-go 2S FOC or Opi 3-(N)-go FOC  
 ‘Is it you going or is it Opi going?’

(179) *jí `mū jí ĩ ĩ òlè ópí ĩ*  
 2S N-go 2S FOC or Opi FOC  
 ‘Is it you going or Opi?’

(180) *jí lè ìndrì òlè bìlò*  
 2S want goat or sheep  
 ‘Do you want a goat or a sheep?’

There is no rising tone in these sentences, suggesting that *òlè* by itself is able to code the utterance as a question.

## 20.3.1.6. Yes-no questions as subordinate clauses

Subordinate yes-no questions can be coded just by rising intonation, in which case they are interpreted as ‘direct’ questions.

- (181) *má jĩ zĩ jĩ dũ ópí ʔà rùbià rá*  
 1S 2S N-ask [ 2S take Opi POSS money AFF Q ]  
 ‘I am asking you, “Did you definitely take Opi’s money?”’

Indirect yes-no questions have two distinct characteristics, both relating to focus. The subordinate clause is focused, usually either by the standard event-focusing strategy *LOW-ʔĩ* or by *jà + ʔĩ* (possibly *jà + LOW-ʔĩ*; if syntactically present the low determiner would be phonologically deleted).

- (182) *ō-nì rũ kũ k'-ē-mú rá jà ʔĩ*  
 3-know REFL NEG(N) 3-(N)-VE-go AFF Q (?SPEC) FOC  
 ‘It is not known if she will definitely come.’

In addition, the subordinate clause can optionally contain a freely placed word *dĩ* ‘if’ which places focus on the constituent which follows it, questioning that particular part of the clause. *dĩ* can be in any position marked @ in the following examples

- (183) *jĩ zĩ ānĩ ...*  
 2S(DIR) ask 3S  
 ‘Ask him...’  
 @ *ō-nì* @ *kũ* @ *ō-rí* *ɓá* @ *ō-jā* @ *lèá* @ *kũ* ` *ʔĩ*  
 [3-know NEG(N) spirit people 3-eat elephant NEG(N) FOC ]  
 @ = *dĩ* ‘if’  
 ‘...if he doesn’t know whether people possessed by spirits do not eat elephant meat?’

- (184) *má jĩ zĩ ...*  
 1S 2S N-ask  
 ‘I am asking you...’  
 @ *jĩ* *dũ* @ *ópí ʔà* *rùbià* @ *rá* @ *jà ʔĩ* @  
 [ 2S take Opi POSS money AFF Q FOC ]  
 @ = *dĩ* ‘if’  
 ‘...if you have definitely taken Opi’s money?’ (I am not asking you about other things.)

Instead of *dĩ*, it is also possible to use the freely placed *dʒò* (used also in conditionals).

- (185) *má jì zī dʒò jí dū ópí ʔà rùbià rá jà ʔí*  
 1S 2S (N)-ask [if 2S take Opi POSS money AFF Q FOC]  
 ‘I am asking you if you have definitely taken Opi’s money.’

Finally, note the following construction, where a ‘subordinate’ clause is unembedded, with the rising intonation typical of yes-no questions.

- (186) *dí ò-nì kū*  
 if 3-know NEG(N)  
*òrì bá ò-ja lèá kū jà ʔí*  
 [spirit people 3-eat elephant NEG(N) ] Q FOC Q  
 ‘Does he not know that the possessed do not eat elephant meat?’

We note that in the above clause, if *dí* is omitted then *jà* can also be omitted.

### 20.3.2. Words for ‘Yes’

#### 20.3.2.1. *òhō*

A yes-no question might be answered with a nod accompanied by *òhō* ‘yes’. *òhō* can be used to introduce a declarative sentence.

- (187) *òhō jì ópí ʔí*  
 yes 2S Opi FOC  
 ‘Yes, you are Opi.’
- (188) *òhō ē-mú rá*  
 yes (3)-VE-go AFF  
 ‘Yes, she has certainly come.’
- (189) *òhō k-ē-mú*  
 yes 3DIR-VE-go  
 ‘Yes, she should come.’

*òhō* cannot be used to introduce a directive sentence which ends with *rá* (unlike *íjè*, below).

- (190)\* *òhō k-ē-mú rá*  
 yes 3DIR-VE-go AFF  
 ‘Yes, she should certainly come.’

$\delta h\bar{o}$  cannot be used to introduce a question.

- (191)\*  $\delta h\bar{o}$   $j\bar{n}$   $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $\bar{n}$   $\acute{}$   
 yes 2S Opi FOC Q  
 ‘Yes, so you are Opi?’

### 20.3.2.2. $\acute{i}j\bar{e}$

$\acute{i}j\bar{e}$  is used to answer a yes-no question where consent is involved, and thus can introduce directives or clauses otherwise interpretable as expressing permission (193). It is also used in exclamations.

- (192)  $\acute{i}j\bar{e}$   $k\text{-}\bar{e}\text{-}m\acute{u}$   $r\acute{a}$   
 yes 3DIR-VE-go AFF  
 ‘Yes, she should definitely come.’

- (193)  $\acute{i}j\bar{e}$   $k\text{-}\bar{e}\text{-}m\acute{u}$   $r\acute{a}$   
 yes 3-N-VE-go AFF  
 ‘Yes, she will definitely come.’ (I will give her permission.)

- (194)  $\acute{i}j\bar{e}$   $j\bar{n}$   $\acute{o}p\bar{i}$   $\bar{n}$   $\acute{}$   
 yes 2S Opi FOC Q  
 ‘(Oh) so, you are Opi?’

$\acute{i}j\bar{e}$  is not used to introduce a declarative sentence (unlike  $\delta h\bar{o}$ ).

- (195)\*  $\acute{i}j\bar{e}$   $\bar{e}\text{-}m\acute{u}$   $r\acute{a}$   
 yes (3)-VE-go AFF  
 ‘Yes, she has definitely come.’

### 20.3.2.3. $\bar{a}n\acute{i}$ $\acute{a}n\bar{i}$

$\bar{a}n\acute{i}$   $\acute{a}n\bar{i}$  literally means ‘like it’. At the beginning of a sentence in any tense it can be interpreted as ‘yes’.

- (196)  $\bar{a}n\acute{i}$   $\acute{a}n\bar{i}$   $k\text{-}\bar{e}\text{-}m\acute{u}$   $r\acute{a}$   
 3S like 3-(N)-VE-go AFF  
 ‘Yes, she will definitely come.’ (It is like that; she will come.)

If the first  $\bar{a}n\acute{i}$  is replaced by a demonstrative, the ‘like it’ meaning remains, but the ‘yes’ meaning is lost.

(197) *dĩ*    *ánĩ*    *k'-ē-mú*    *rá*  
 this    like    3-(N)-VE-go    AFF  
 'The way it is, she will definitely come.'

(198) *nà*    *ánĩ*    *k'-ē-mú*    *rá*  
 that    like    3-(N)-VE-go    AFF  
 'The way it is, she will definitely come.' (discussed a long way  
 back)

It can be negated with the nonpast negation particle *kū*, in which case it can be used only in a nonpast sentence.

### 20.3.3. *Words for 'No'*

#### 20.3.3.1. *ú?ū*

The response to a yes-no question may be *ú?ū* (possibly nasalized) which may be accompanied by a head-shake. The same word is used for declaratives and directives (unlike the words for 'yes').

(199) *ú?ū*  
 'No.'

(200) *ú?ū*    *ópí*    *ē-mú*    *kū*  
 no    Opi    (3)-VE-go    NEG(N)  
 'No, Opi won't come / isn't coming.'

(201) *ú?ū*    *ópí*    *k-ē-mú*    *kū*  
 no    Opi    3DIR-VE-go    NEG(N)  
 'No, Opi shouldn't come.'

#### 20.3.3.2. *káà*

*káà* 'no' usually comes sentence initially with pause intonation.

(202) *káa* , *ē-mú*    *rá*  
 No    (3)-VE-go    AFF  
 'No, she certainly came.'

(203) *káà* , *ē-mú*    *kūrù*  
 No    (3)-VE-go    NEG(P)  
 'No, she didn't come.'

- (204) *káà* , *ē-mú* *kū*  
 No (3)-VE-go NEG(N)  
 'No, she won't come.'
- (205) *káà* , *ópí* *ĩ* *kū*  
 No Opi FOC NEG(N)  
 'No, not Opi.' (someone else)

20.3.3.3. *ìjō*

It is also possible to use *ìjō*, normally found as a predicate meaning 'not present', in fronted position and interpreted as 'no' (ie. similar to *káà*).

- (206) *ìjō* *ópí* *ē-mú* *nì*  
 absent Opi (3)-VE-go FOC  
 'No, it was Opi who came.'
- (207) *ìjō* *ópí* *ē-mú* *nì* *kū*  
 absent Opi (3)-VE-go FOC NEG(N)  
 'No, it wasn't Opi who came.'

20.3.3.4. *kìà*

*kìà* is a more disparaging way of saying 'no' used to devalue the worth of a person or a proposal. Unlike the others, this word is only found in negative statements (with negation) or yes-no questions, and mostly in nonverbal predications.

- (208) *kìà* , *ópí* *ĩ* *kū*  
 No Opi FOC NEG(N)  
 'No, not Opi.' (It'll need a worthier person.)
- (209) *kìà* , *ópí* *ō-dzĩ* *nì* *´*  
 No Opi 3-take FOC Q  
 'No, is it Opi who took it?' (A worthier person should have taken it.)

20.3.3.5. *ānī ānī kū*

*ānī ānī kū* literally means 'not like it'. At the beginning of a sentence it can be interpreted as 'no'. It can be used only in a nonpast sentence (as we would expect from the use of nonpast negation *kū*).

(210)  $\bar{a}n\acute{i}$   $\acute{a}n\bar{i}$   $k\bar{u}$  ,  $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$   $k\bar{u}$   
 3S like NEG(N) (3)-VE-go NEG(N)  
 ‘No, (it’s) not like that, she will not come.’

(211)  $\bar{a}n\acute{i}$   $\acute{a}n\bar{i}$   $k\bar{u}$  ,  $\bar{e}-m\acute{u}$   $k\bar{u}r\grave{o}$   
 3S like NEG(N) (3)-VE-go NEG(P)  
 ‘No, not like that, she did not come.’

Any of the three demonstratives can replace the pronoun  $\bar{a}n\acute{i}$  in the examples above, to give eg.  $d\grave{i}$   $\acute{a}n\bar{i}$   $k\bar{u}$ , ‘no not like this’, etc.

## 20.4. Implicatures of certain questioning strategies

### 20.4.1. A satirical question with final $r\acute{i}$

The particle  $r\acute{i}$  is used to give an implication of mockery on the part of the speaker, and has negative meanings, typically belittling a person’s ability.

(212)  $n\acute{i}$   $\grave{d}z\bar{e}-\bar{a}$   $w\grave{a}$   $r\acute{i}$   
 2S N-buy-OBJ PS RHE  
 ‘Can you (really afford to) buy it?’

(213)  $n\acute{i}$   $m\bar{u}$   $r\acute{a}$   $r\acute{i}$   
 2S go AFF RHE  
 ‘Did you really go?’ (a taunt)

(214)  $m\bar{i}$   $tr\grave{o}$   $r\acute{i}$   
 eye with RHE  
 (a) ‘Has he any eyes?’ (taunt, implying blindness)  
 (b) ‘Can he read?’ (taunt, implying illiteracy)

The more usual plain question forms are the following respectively.

(215)  $n\acute{i}$   $\grave{d}z\bar{e}-\bar{a}$   $w\grave{a}$   $\acute{}$   
 2S N-buy-OBJ PS Q  
 ‘Can you (afford to) buy it?’

(216)  $n\acute{i}$   $m\bar{u}$   $r\acute{a}$   $\acute{}$   
 2S go AFF Q  
 ‘Did you definitely go?’

When used with question words  $r\acute{i}$  sounds very abrupt and rude.

- (217) ágó            `            nĩ            íngò            ʔĩ  
 husband    SPEC    PR            which    FOC  
 ‘Which one is the husband?’
- (218) ágó            `            nĩ            íngò            ʔĩ            rí  
 husband    SPEC    PR            which    FOC            RHE  
 ‘Which of them is her husband?’ (She has been boasting of him; let me see and judge for myself.)

20.4.2. A specialized use of ēsú

A question can be embedded under ēsú. The result is to justify an act, often unpleasant one. It has a rhetorical resonance and takes ēsú ‘it finds’ + àdū-ní ‘what for?’ or ēsú + kūr(v) + ánĩ.

- (219) ēsú            ō-dū            má            ʔà            ìzá            àdū-ní  
 find            3-take            1S            POSS    meat            what-for  
 ‘Why did he take my piece of meat?’ (eg. in answer to the question ‘why did you hit him?’ and implying that what I have done is the consequence of him taking my piece of meat)
- (220) ēsú            ǝ-dā            kĩ            mā            àdū-ní  
 find            3-insult            PL            1S            what-for  
 ‘Why did they insult me?’ (what I did to them is the consequence of their insulting me)
- (221) ēsú            ō-mū            rirì            kū            ánĩ  
 find            3-go            quickly            NEG(N)            why  
 ‘Why wasn’t he moving quickly?’ (what I did to him is the consequence of his moving slowly)

The above, number excepted, may be in response to the question below.

- (222) jĩ            sò            ópí            pĩ            ʔà            gárì            nĩ            pá            àdūnĩ  
 2S            pierce            Opi            PRPL            POSS            bicycle            POSS            leg            what-for  
 ‘Why did you puncture those of Opi’s bicycle?’

The more usual plain question forms are without the ēsú as in:

- (223) ǝ-dā            kĩ            mā            àdū-ní  
 3-insult            PL            1S            what-for  
 ‘Why did they insult me?’

20.4.3. *The use of ní fō to express covert disagreement*

*ní fō* ‘you say’ is used when a person wants to sound polite about a statement that she believes is wrong, but does not want to disagree with the speaker, perhaps a superior or an elder or simply out of politeness; instead she poses the same issue as a question. The result is to give a meaning of ‘do you think...’ or ‘does it seem to you...’. The structure is that of a ‘yes-no’ question.

- (224) *ní fō ópí ò-dū nì* ‘  
 2S say Opi 3-take FOC Q  
 ‘Do you think that it was taken by Opi?’ (Something has been stolen. Opi is widely believed to have taken it, but speaker thinks otherwise. Rather than say so she poses it as a question.)

She could have made a plain denial (225) or a plain ‘Do you think... / Does it seem...’ (226) which are less polite, if not more confrontational.

- (225) *ópí ò-dū nì k̄*  
 Opi 3-take FOC NEG(N)  
 ‘It wasn’t Opi who took it.’

- (226) *ká rù rà ní ní ópí ò-dū nì* ‘  
 3 REFL (N)-think 2S BEN Opi 3-take FOC Q  
 ‘Do you think that it was taken by Opi?’

20.4.4. *tí* ‘but’

This is like *kí* ‘but’ (18.4), except that it is only used in questions, unlike *kí* which cannot be used in questions.

- (227) *tí ò-dū ópí nì àdū ní*  
 but 3-take Opi PR what BEN  
 ‘But why did she marry Opi?’ (she shouldn’t, given Opi’s record)

- (228) *tí ē-mú àdū ní*  
 but (3)-VE-go what BEN  
 ‘But why did he come?’ (he shouldn’t have come)

- (229)\* *kí ē-mú àdū ní*  
 but (3)-VE-go what BEN  
 ‘But why did he come?’

*tí* is placed freely in the clause, in any position marked @.

- (230) @    *ō-mū*    @    *kūrù*    *ánĩ*    @  
          3-go                    NEG(P)    what-for  
          ‘But why did she not go?’ (she should have gone)



## Chapter 21 Lexicon

In this chapter we provide a sample word list, and list words from selected semantic fields.

### 21.1. Word list

This English-Ma'di vocabulary list is an enlarged version of the list proposed for word lists in Comrie and Smith (1977). Blackings (2000) is a complete English-Ma'di and Ma'di-English dictionary

We differentiate singular [S] and plural [P] where they exist. Words in round parentheses indicate optional expansions with a similar meaning. Some words are discussed elsewhere in the grammar as we indicate under the 'Section' heading.

English word	Madi equivalent	Section
all	<i>túá, kpó̂ ( drú ), tʃìdrú, kwítʃí</i>	14.5.2.3, 14.4.1
and	<i>ōṅgūrū, ò̀̀</i>	14.3
animal (in general)	<i>àṅùkwá, ṅùkwá</i>	
animal (wild)	<i>ṅàràgā</i>	
ashes	<i>úfúdró</i>	
at	<i>gá</i>	15.6
back [adverb]	<i>vúlé</i>	
back [noun]	<i>ōgū</i>	
bad [S]	<i>ùndzì</i>	
banana	<i>lābōlō</i>	
banana [Ugandan Ma'di]	<i>búgù</i>	
bark [noun]	<i>óḃó, ḃóró</i>	
bark [verb]	<i>ìgbò</i>	
because	<i>àdū s̄ì ( kū ), áū s̄ì ( drū )</i>	
belly (potbelly)	<i>ìdí</i>	
belly (stomach)	<i>ʔā</i>	
big	<i>àmgbúgódṛū, ndzá, rètú, ógbóró</i>	11.6.3.5
bird	<i>àríàngwá, àríá, àríngwá</i>	

bite	<i>tʃí</i>	
black	<i>ĩnĩ</i>	20.1.4
blood	<i>àrí</i>	
blow (fire, whistle)	<i>vū</i>	
blow (wind)	<i>lwē</i>	
bone	<i>kwà</i>	
breast	<i>bà</i>	
breathe	<i>?à</i>	
burn , set alight	<i>dù, gwē, ĩgwé, zà</i>	
child [S]	<i>bārá, bārāṅwá</i>	
children [P]	<i>bòndzĩ, bóróndzĩ, bátʃírí</i>	
claw	<i>tʃúkwá</i>	
cloud	<i>rúbū, lòfú</i>	
cold	<i>ìgbé</i>	
come	<i>ēmú</i>	5.1.2.1
count, read	<i>là</i>	
cut	<i>lĩ</i>	
day	<i>ōdú</i>	
daytime	<i>ìtú ( àtʃí )</i>	
die	<i>drà</i>	
dig	<i>sò</i>	
dirty	<i>àndí</i>	
dog	<i>òtʃé</i>	
drink (alcoholic)	<i>ìrá</i>	
drink [verb]	<i>mvū</i>	
dry	<i>à?wí</i>	
dull (appearance)	<i>òvĩ àkó</i>	
dust	<i>úrúfúdù, fútù</i>	
ear	<i>bí</i>	
earth (land)	<i>vù</i>	
eat	<i>ṅā</i>	
egg	<i>( à?ú ) élé</i>	
elbow	<i>lògùlè</i>	
elephant	<i>lēá</i>	
eye	<i>mĩ</i>	
fall (down)	<i>dē, ēgā ( rū )</i>	

far	<i>lólú</i>	
fat (grease)	<i>ósà</i>	
fat (in size)	<i>lūswē</i>	
father	<i>átá</i>	
fear	<i>ōrì</i>	
feather	<i>( àrí ) b́í</i>	
few	<i>gà</i>	14.4.4
fight	<i>fā</i>	
fire, hot	<i>àtǫ́</i>	
fish	<i>èb́í</i>	
five	<i>tòú</i>	
float	<i>d́í, āwè</i>	
flow	<i>d́í</i>	
flower	<i>òfū</i>	
fly	<i>ōṅú, oṅú</i>	
fog	<i>lòfú</i>	
foot	<i>pá</i>	
four	<i>sū, ́sū</i>	6.7
freeze / curdle	<i>kù</i>	
frog	<i>údrú</i>	
fruit	<i>ò?ā</i>	
full	<i>dé</i>	
give	<i>kè</i>	
go	<i>mū</i>	
good	<i>lōsó, tǫ́wí</i>	
grass	<i>ājísé</i>	
green	<i>ājísé ājísé</i>	20.1.4
guts, tripe, intestine	<i>ìkwí</i>	
hair (of head)	<i>drib́í</i>	
hand	<i>drí</i>	
he, she, it	<i>āń</i>	6.4
head	<i>dri</i>	
hear	<i>ēŕ</i>	
heart	<i>ásí ( tí )</i>	
heavy	<i>àndźí</i>	
here	<i>d́í?ā</i>	

hit	<i>drī, mgbā</i>	
hold	<i>kō</i>	
horn (car)	<i>búrè</i>	
horn (animal)	<i>úfó, ófú</i>	
how	<i>íngóní</i>	
hunting	<i>dwārí</i>	
husband, the	<i>ágó`</i>	
I	<i>mā</i>	6.4
ice (hailstone), snow	<i>shí</i>	
if	<i>dzò, dè</i>	
in it	<i>?ā rú</i>	15.13.3
kill	<i>dí</i>	
knee	<i>àfā</i>	
know	<i>nì</i>	
lake	<i>mèrì</i>	
laugh	<i>gū</i>	
leaf	<i>bí, ìbìbí</i>	
left side	<i>drī lèdzí</i>	
leg	<i>pá</i>	
lie (untruth), [noun / verb]	<i>ēndzò</i>	
lie (down)	<i>dē ( vùrú ), lā rū ( vùrú )</i>	
live [S]	<i>lídrī</i>	
liver	<i>lōgó</i>	
long	<i>àzō</i>	
louse (of the body)	<i>gúmūrù</i>	
louse (of the head)	<i>òrì</i>	
man , male	<i>ágó</i>	
many	<i>jàjàdrú, èkpādrú, kàréàkó</i>	14.4.3
meat, flesh	<i>ìzá</i>	
moon	<i>ìmbá</i>	
mother	<i>ēndrē</i>	
mountain	<i>bé</i>	
mouth, language	<i>tí</i>	
name	<i>rú</i>	
narrow	<i>bírí, ūlúrū</i>	
near	<i>ìré</i>	

neck	<i>ēmbē</i>	
new	<i>údí</i>	
night	<i>íní</i>	
nose	<i>òmvō</i>	
not [nonpast]	<i>kū</i>	17.4
not [past]	<i>kūrò</i>	17.4
old	<i>òkū</i>	
one	<i>àlū</i>	6.7
other	<i>zì</i>	12.3
people	<i>ḅá</i>	
person	<i>màdí</i>	
play	<i>ōvā, āvā</i>	
pull	<i>kù, sē</i>	
push	<i>ḡmì, lî</i>	
rain	<i>èjí</i>	
red	<i>ĩkā</i>	20.1.4
rib	<i>lúrò, lúrò kwà, màrà kwà</i>	
right, correct	<i>ándá</i>	
right side	<i>drí àndá</i>	
ring [noun]	<i>ríngì, kátimù</i>	
river	<i>mèrĩ</i>	
road	<i>létĩ, gùdù</i>	
root	<i>zú</i>	
rope	<i>ìbá</i>	
rotten	<i>ḡmā</i>	
round	<i>mgbúru</i>	
rub	<i>trĩ, ñĩ</i>	
salt	<i>àʔí</i>	
sand	<i>tfìjá, tfìjákwí, tfìjákwí</i>	
say	<i>fō, tfè</i>	
scratch	<i>gwì</i>	
sea	<i>mèrĩ</i>	
see	<i>ndrē</i>	
seed	<i>ékwí</i>	
sew	<i>sò</i>	
sharp	<i>lótĩ</i>	

short	àlí	
sing	ηgō	
sit	rì	
skin	éní	
sky	bù, rúbū	
sleep	ōdú	
small	gà ( áηgwá drū ), tóró	
smell [verb, transitive]	ηgù	
smell [noun]	àdзі	
smoke	àtříkà	
smooth	rwè, rwè rwè	
snake	ìní	
snow, ice	síí	
some, other	zì	12.3
spit	wì	
split	āndzū, āpì	
squeeze (press)	mà, zř	
squeeze (squash)	řpì, zř, řř	
squeeze (wring)	zř	
stab, pierce	sò	
stand	mbā, ēdē	
star	lèlègó	
stick (walking)	òtó, bélé	
stone	óní	
straight	ándá	
suck	ndrū, ndzū	
sun	ìtú	
swell	př	
swim	dē	
tail	sá	
ten	mūdří	
that	nà	
there	ná?ā	6.5.1
they	àřř	6.4
thick (wide, broad)	èkpā	
thin (elongated)	džúrúálà	

thin (narrow)	<i>ḃírí</i>	
thin (narrow esp. hole)	<i>úlúró</i>	
thin (slim)	<i>òrwé</i>	
think	<i>rà</i>	
this	<i>dí</i>	6.5
three	<i>nā, ɪnā</i>	6.7
throw down, drop	<i>bē</i>	
throw, fling	<i>vī</i>	
tie	<i>ūmbé, ūtì, ʔì</i>	
tongue	<i>lèdrā</i>	
tooth	<i>sí</i>	
tree	<i>kwē</i>	
turn (over)	<i>ētfō</i>	
turtle	<i>à'buì'buì</i>	
two	<i>èrì, rì</i>	6.7
vomit	<i>gbē</i>	
walk (on foot)	<i>mū pá sà</i>	
warm	<i>jòjò</i>	
wash	<i>dʒè</i>	
water	<i>èjí</i>	
we [exclusive]	<i>àmā</i>	6.4
we [inclusive]	<i>ádī, bá</i>	6.4
wet	<i>èbī</i>	
what	<i>àdū</i>	
when	<i>àdū ngá nī</i>	
where	<i>íngō</i>	
white	<i>íngwē</i>	20.1.4
who	<i>ádī ʔì</i>	
wide	<i>èkpā</i>	
wife, the	<i>ízi</i>	
wind	<i>éreví, érí</i>	
wing	<i>ópírítfétfé</i>	
wipe	<i>lē, ēfū, lí</i>	
with	<i>sì, trò</i>	
woman	<i>ízi</i>	
wood (firewood)	<i>ídʒákwi</i>	

wood (log)	<i>kwē</i>	
worm	<i>òbū</i>	
year	<i>kìṅà</i>	
yellow	<i>lófàrà, lófùè, àṅú élé àṅú</i>	20.1.4
	<i>élé</i>	
you [S]	<i>ṅī</i>	6.4
you [P]	<i>àṅī</i>	6.4

## 21.2. Some lexical classes of verbs

In this section we present some classes of verbs and verb-based idioms which are defined by semantic field rather than any particular syntactic characteristics.

### 21.2.1. *Cooking verbs*

<i>dī</i>	to cook
<i>āvū</i>	to boil esp. cassava, potatoes and maize in water
<i>ābì</i>	to roast esp. cassava, potatoes, maize and meat in open fire; barbecue
<i>āzá</i>	to singe fowl; roast unshelled groundnuts
<i>āsī</i>	to fry in oil; to roast beer dough; to roast sesame, shelled peanuts
<i>ūtḡé</i>	to knead <i>lìṅá</i> ‘dumpling, polenta’
<i>tḡē</i>	(of <i>lìṅá</i> ‘dumpling’ being made) to be left on fire to cook for a while before kneading
<i>bī</i>	to cook porridge; to whisk seasoning
<i>ēní</i>	to cook porridge
<i>ēmī, ìmī</i>	to reheat food; to boil tea
<i>ēbù</i>	to cook broth in a hurry; to brew tea hurriedly; (ie. taking a short cut to deal with a situation where someone is about to leave etc.)
<i>ōbíkā</i>	(of cassava, potatoes, maize and alcohol being distilled) not to be well cooked or brewed, undercooked or brewed
<i>àmū</i>	(of food) not well cooked, undercooked
<i>drù</i>	to burn food
<i>ìwūsù</i>	(from Arabic) to make <i>kísīrà</i> a chapati like bread.

21.2.2. *Eating verbs*

<i>nā</i>	to eat; chew food already in the mouth
<i>vū</i>	to swallow usually in whole or large chunks
<i>tē</i>	to swallow; (of fowl) to peck; to lick peanut butter, etc.
<i>āmū</i>	to keep (food) in the mouth
<i>tfī</i>	to bite; to eat <i>līnā</i> ‘dumpling’, cooked cassava, potatoes without broth
<i>mbē</i>	to lap especially porridge; (usually of a dog) to lap water
<i>ātíí</i>	to be sick as a result of overeating; have constipation
<i>gā</i>	to eat raw cassava, potatoes
<i>mvū</i>	to drink (beer, water, porridge)
<i>ēbù</i>	to have a sip
<i>ìkīlì</i>	to eat a relished thing slowly so as to make it last long
<i>mvò</i>	to take a mouthful of usually powdery food stuff; (derogatory) to eat hurriedly, to gobble
<i>írù</i>	to be sick of a particular type of food because of overeating or some form of aversion
<i>ndrù</i>	to suck (breast or bottle milk, sweets)
<i>ítò</i>	to be fed, to feed
<i>āsì</i>	to hang around and wait for other people’s food
<i>ndzū</i>	(of a person lacking appetite) to keep food in the mouth for a long time ; to eat sugarcane; (in some dialects - to suck fruits like mango, pawpaw)
<i>ōjí</i>	to eat and leave a clean plate
<i>bì, mà</i>	to taste
<i>dō</i>	to eat snacks (roasted simsim, peas etc.)
<i>tì</i>	to pinch a handful of <i>līnā</i> ‘dumpling’ to eat.
<i>dù</i>	to dip <i>līnā</i> ‘dumpling’ into broth.

21.2.3. *Verb-based idioms which express bodily functions*

Some bodily functions are expressed by intransitive verbs. These include *gbē* ‘vomit’ and *ōwó* ‘cry’.

- (1) *má*      *ōwó*  
 1S      cry  
 ‘I am crying.’

‘Bleeding’ and ‘sweating’ are expressed intransitively with the experiencer as possessor.

(2) *má-à*      *àrì*      *k’ò-rà*  
 1S-POSS    blood    3-N-leak  
 ‘I am bleeding.’

(3) *má-à*      *órì*      *k’ò-rà*  
 1S-POSS    sweat    3-N-leak  
 ‘I am sweating.’

‘Bleeding’ can also be expressed without making ‘blood’ overt.

(4) *má-à*      *rā*  
 1S-POSS    leak  
 (a)    ‘I am bleeding.’  
 (b)\*   ‘I am sweating.’

Other bodily functions are expressed by an idiomatic combination of verb and object. These include *ḃē + òkólò* ‘throw cough’ (cough), *tfō òmvō* ‘beat nose’ (sneeze), *sù ūdrwé* ‘pour urine’ (urinate), *zè ìzè* ‘excrete excreta’ (defecate).

(5) *má*      *òmvō*      *tfō*  
 1S      nose      N-beat  
 ‘I am sneezing.’

A few bodily functions are expressed by a subject + transitive verb combination, leaving the object (the experiencer) free.

(6) *òlòrì*      *ká*      *mà*      *sì*  
 hiccup    3    1S      hit  
 ‘I am having hiccups.’ (literally: hiccups are hitting me)

(7) *àbírì*      *ká*      *mà*      *tì*  
 hunger    3    1S      shudder  
 ‘I am hungry.’ (literally: hunger is shuddering me)

#### 21.2.4. *Idiomatic verb + body part combinations with non-body part meanings*

Specific combinations of verbs and body part nouns take on meanings which do not relate directly to body parts. Thus for example *lí* ‘cut’ can

take *dri* 'head' as an object and in addition to the literal body part meaning of 'cut off head' can also have an idiomatic meaning of 'meet someone'.

- (8) *má dri nā `li léti*  
 1S head POSS N-cut road  
 (a) 'I will meet her on the way.'  
 (b) 'I will chop off the head on the way.' (literal)

In the following table the citation form of the verb verb carries a *-kā* suffix and a low tone prefix in all examples in this section.

Table 51. idiomatic verb + body part combinations

<i>ēsī</i>	'meet on the way'	<i>dri</i>	'head'	<i>dri ēsikā</i>	'to go and meet a person long overdue on the way to find out why'
<i>li</i>	'cut'	<i>dri</i>	'head'	<i>dri likā</i>	'to intercept a person'
<i>ikālā</i>	'delay'	<i>dri</i>	'head'	<i>dri ikālākā</i>	'to keep a person occupied'
<i>tfi</i>	'confuse'	<i>dri</i>	'head'	<i>dri tfikā</i>	'to confuse or be confused; to struggle to make ends meet'
<i>trā</i>	'collect, gather'	<i>ási</i>	'heart'	<i>ási trākā</i>	'to concentrate'
<i>d3i</i>	'strangle'	<i>ási</i>	'heart'	<i>ási d3ikā</i>	'to persevere'
<i>ind3ú</i>	'make thin'	<i>ási</i>	'heart'	<i>ási ind3úkā</i>	'to give a person a hard time usually through interrogation'
<i>nd3ē</i>	'take out, off'	<i>ási</i>	'heart'	<i>ási nd3ēkā</i>	'to give up on'
<i>mgbā, bū</i>	'beat'	<i>mī</i>	'eye'	<i>mī mgbākā</i>	'to flirt; adventure'
<i>gā</i>	'cut'	<i>pá</i>	'leg'	<i>pá gākā</i>	'to stop frequenting a place'
<i>sò</i>	'dig'	<i>bí</i>	'ear'	<i>bí sòkā</i>	'to pay attention; to instigate'
<i>kù, sē</i>	'drag, pull'	<i>bí</i>	'ear'	<i>bí sēkā</i>	'to learn from one's mistakes'
<i>ifè</i>	'burst'	<i>bí</i>	'ear'	<i>bí ifekā</i>	'to come to one's senses'

<i>ndzē</i>	'take out'	<i>dri</i>	'hand'	<i>dri`ndzēkā</i>	'to abrogate one's responsibility'
<i>lō</i>	'stir'	<i>tī</i>	'mouth'	<i>tī`lōkā</i>	'to talk a lot'
<i>sū</i>	'put in, on'	<i>tī</i>	'mouth'	<i>tī`sūkā</i>	'to interfere'
<i>mgbā</i>	'beat'	<i>tī</i>	'mouth'	<i>tī`mgbākā</i>	'to talk a lot'
<i>lī</i>	'cut'	<i>lēdrá</i>	'tongue'	<i>lēdrá`līkā</i>	'to make a disparaging or abusive remark'

### 21.3. Some lexical classes of nouns

#### 21.3.1. Names

Names are usually given by women, though men may also name, and they can be given at any time. Thus some of the names listed below are given to indicate current marital status. Many names may be given to an individual; only the ones people find 'light' (ie. easy) become the established names.

A name is always specific as to gender. There are no systematic means of distinguishing male from female names, with the exception of the use of *-a* in some cases.

Table 52. Male and female names

male	female	characteristic of the child
<i>ópi</i>	<i>ópià</i>	first of a set of twins
<i>āngú</i>	<i>āngúá</i>	born when one or both parents are in flight from war or domestic violence
<i>ófá</i>	<i>ófábá</i>	born to warring parents or during war
<i>mòrí</i>	<i>mòríá</i>	born before the bride price could be settled

However, female names do not have to end in *-a* and male names can end in *-a*. It is generally only male names which are based on nouns for animals; they include *àsé* 'a mud fish species', *ōdrū* (from *òdrú* 'buffalo'), *òkù* 'tortoise'. The only exception we know is *ìtó* 'hare' which can be a male or female name.

Names can be derived from syntactic expressions.

*tàràkpé* (female): said of one parent, 'unable to think; can't think':

- (9) *tà*      *rà*      *kpé*  
 thing    think      NPS (= cannot)

*ásíjō* (female): ‘heartless, unable to think and/or act promptly’:

- (10)     *ási*        *ijō*  
          heart     absent

*ásiéndzó* (female): usually of a woman who thinks she has been misled by her heart into choosing the wrong man, ‘the heart is a liar; the heart can deceive, mislead’:

- (11)     *ási*        *éndzó*  
          heart     liar

*ìndrēráá* (male): ‘have you seen (how this man/woman is?)’:

- (12)     *ì*         *ndrē*    *rá*        *´*  
          2PL    see     AFF     Q

A subgroup of Ma’di names are related to death. These names are given to children born following the immediately preceding death of one before them, or often the deaths of two or more people. Thus *gúlí* ‘pickaxe’ (used for digging a grave) is a man’s name as are *dràbàrú* ‘death at home’ and *dràgū* literally ‘death laugh’, perhaps implying ‘mocked, laughed at by death’. *dràndrū* ‘death is fine; full of death’ is a woman’s name. Other death names are based on postposition phrases or other syntactic structures; these include the man’s names *dràní* ‘for death’, *vùní* ‘for earth, for grave’, *ìpání* ‘for the soil, for the grave’, *dràvú* ‘born after the dead’, and *dràbúgá* ‘death at the grave’. Compare also the woman’s name *búā* ‘in a hole, in grave’ (with the locative postposition *?ā*) with the man’s name *búgá* ‘in a hole; in a grave’ (with the locative postposition *gá*).

### 21.3.2. Kinship nouns

Ma’di kinship terminology classifies kinship by blood and by marriage. There are no special terms for adoptive relationships, fostering relationships or affiliation relationships. Some kinship terms are common nouns which require a low determiner for the kinship meaning to arise, and then are interpreted either as ‘the...’ or as ‘his/her/its ...’ (12.6.2).

## 21.3.2.1. Kinship by blood

Table 53. Words for parents, grandparents and lineage

	Singular	Plural	Abstract noun
mother	<i>ēndrē</i>	<i>ēndré</i>	<i>ēndrē ēndrè</i>
father	<i>átá</i>	<i>àtā</i>	<i>ātā atà</i>
grandmother	<i>àdrá</i>	<i>ādrā</i>	<i>ādrā ādrà</i>
grandfather / ancestors in general	<i>ábí</i>	<i>àbí</i>	<i>ābí ābí</i>

Abstract Nouns can be formed from the plural, as in *ēndré ēndrè* ‘motherhoods’. The same term is used for paternal grandmother or grandfather and maternal grandmother or grandfather. The term *àbí* ‘grandfathers’ also refers to one’s ancestors in the lineage:

- (13) *ēdó rū fúru àmà àbí ní ngá*  
 start REFL since 1PL(EXC) grandfathers SPEC BEN period  
 ‘It started right from the time of our ancestors.’

Table 54. Words for children

	Singular	Plural	Abstract noun
child (of either gender, ambiguous between kin/relationship and (non- kin) age meaning)	<i>bārá</i>	<i>bòròndzì</i> or <i>bòndzì</i>	<i>bòròndzì</i> or <i>bòndzì</i>
girl (not a kin term)	<i>záá</i> or <i>zángwá</i>	(no term)	(no term)
(the/his/her /its) daughter	<i>zá</i>	<i>ìndzòndzì</i>	<i>ìndzòndzì</i>
female descendent of	<i>ḡā</i>	<i>pā</i> or <i>ótí</i>	(no term)
boy (not a kin term)	<i>bārá-gó</i>	<i>bòròndzì àgò</i>	(no term)
(the/his/her/its) son	<i>ngwá</i>	(no term)	(no term)
male descendent of	<i>ótí</i>	<i>pā</i> or <i>ótí</i>	(no term)

The terms for ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ exist only in combination with the low definite article. Thus there is no independently attested word *zá* or *ngwá*. The terms *ḡā* ‘female descendent’, plural *pā* ‘descendents’ must immediately be followed by the name of the person associated with them (ie. in a compound-like structure). The singular appears to be definite and the plural appears to be indefinite (we know this because *ʔí* is required after a final definite noun phrase, not after an indefinite, 12.1.2).

- (14) *mā ḡā ópí ʔí*  
 1S daughter Opi FOC  
 ‘I am Opi’s daughter / female descendant’

- (15)  $\grave{a}m\bar{a}$   $p\bar{a}$   $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   
 1PL(EXC) descendants Opi  
 ‘We are descendants of Opi.’ (nb. not ‘the descendants’)

They cannot be possessed.

- (16)\*  $n\grave{a}$   $m\acute{a}$   $n\bar{a}$   $\text{ʔ}\acute{i}$   
 that 1S-POSS daughter FOC  
 ‘That is my daughter / female descendant.’

In contrast,  $z\acute{a}$  ‘his/her daughter’ has the syntax we would expect of a noun (with the specific/kinship low tone determiner). It can be possessed.

- (17)  $m\bar{a}$   $\acute{o}p\acute{i}$   $\text{ʔ}\grave{a}$   $z\acute{a}$   $\text{ʔ}\acute{i}$   
 1S Opi POSS daughter-SPEC FOC  
 ‘I am Opi’s daughter.’

- (18)  $n\grave{a}$   $m\acute{a}$   $z\acute{a}$   $\text{ʔ}\acute{i}$   
 that 1S-POSS daughter-SPEC FOC  
 ‘That is my daughter.’

Distinct terms are used for a child born where a parent, usually assumed to be the mother, is thought to be barren (for example where the child is the first born after a long period of marriage). A girl child is  $\acute{o}nd\acute{o}a$ , a boy child is  $\acute{o}nd\acute{o}g\acute{o}$ . The term  $\acute{o}nd\acute{o}$  means ‘barren’ or ‘infertile’,  $\acute{o}nd\acute{o}$  is ‘barrenness’ and  $\acute{o}nd\acute{o}$  ‘barren people’. Specific terms are used for children of a foreign parent, or born in a foreign land. A girl is  $d\acute{z}\acute{u}r\acute{u}a$ , a boy is  $d\acute{z}\acute{u}r\acute{u}g\acute{o}$ ;  $d\acute{z}\acute{u}r\acute{u}$  means ‘foreigners’;  $d\acute{z}\acute{u}r\acute{u}g\acute{o}$  also means ‘male foreigner’ (also  $d\acute{z}\acute{u}r\acute{u}$ ),  $d\acute{z}\acute{u}r\acute{u}z\acute{i}$  is ‘female foreigner’;  $d\acute{z}\acute{u}r\acute{u}$  is ‘foreignness’.

Table 55. words for siblings and twins

	Singular	Plural	Abstract noun
sister	$\bar{a}mv\acute{o}t\acute{i}$	$\bar{a}v\acute{u}nd\acute{z}\acute{i}$	$\bar{a}v\acute{u}nd\acute{z}\acute{i}$
brother	$\bar{a}dr\acute{u}p\acute{i}$	$\bar{a}dr\acute{u}nd\acute{z}\acute{i}$ or $\bar{a}dr\acute{i}nd\acute{z}\acute{i}$	$\bar{a}dr\acute{u}nd\acute{z}\acute{i}$
twin	(no term)	$l\acute{e}d\acute{z}\acute{u}$	$l\acute{e}d\acute{z}\acute{u}$
first born male twin	$\acute{o}p\acute{i}$	$\acute{o}p\acute{i}$	$\acute{o}p\acute{i}$
first born female twin	$\acute{o}p\acute{i}\grave{a}$	$\acute{o}p\acute{i}$	$\acute{o}p\acute{i}$
second born male twin	$\acute{e}r\acute{e}m\acute{u}g\acute{o}$	$\acute{e}r\acute{e}m\bar{u}$	$\acute{e}r\acute{e}m\bar{u}$
second born female twin	$m\grave{u}j\acute{a}\grave{a}$	(no term)	(no term)

The words for sister and brother can be extended to mean ‘step-sister’ and ‘step-brother’. They are shortened versions of long descriptive terms such as *má lúkú ʔà ngwá ʔí* ‘my father’s co-wife’s son’ and they are used to make the distant relations seem closer and more familial. The word for first born male twin *ópí* is also the word for ‘chief’ (male or female). The derived female form *ópíà* means first born female twin. The word for second born twin *éremúgó* is similar (with the exception of the final vowel) to *éremúgó* the word for ‘blacksmith’ or ‘artisan’. Negative associations hold for *éremúgó*; blacksmiths are traditionally regarded as a lazy bunch who spend their time in sheds while the rest are busy toiling the fields or setting animal traps. The female form *mùjáà* is possibly related to the male form via *mùjé* ‘leftover of melted iron’. There are no words for triplets or larger sets of siblings.

### 21.3.2.2. Kinship by marriage

The terms for ‘wife’ and ‘husband’ are based on the terms *ízi* ‘woman’ and *ágó* ‘man’ but must be followed by the low tone definite article in order to be interpreted as kinship terms. Thus *ízi`* is ‘his/the wife’ and *ágó`* is ‘her/the husband’. Note that the low tone forces a kinship reading; thus *ízi`* must mean ‘his/the wife’ and not ‘the woman’ which can only be expressed by *ízi rì* ‘the woman (in question)’. The plural forms are correspondingly based on the plural forms of ‘women’ and ‘men’ and are *ùkú`* and *ágó̄*. The abstract nouns mean both ‘wifeness’ and ‘womanhood’ (*ùkù*) and ‘husbandness’ and ‘manhood’ (*ágò*).

Table 56. Kinship by marriage

	Singular	Plural	Abstract noun
his/the wife	<i>ízi`</i>	<i>ùkú`</i>	<i>ùkù</i>
her/the husband	<i>ágó`</i>	<i>ágó̄</i>	<i>ágò</i>
the/his mother's sister	<i>ēndrèrì`</i>	<i>ēndrērì</i>	( <i>ēndrērì</i> ) <i>ēndrērì</i>
the/his father's brother	<i>átarì`</i>	<i>àtārì</i>	( <i>ātārì</i> ) <i>ātārì</i>
wife's sister/brother's wife	<i>ízirì</i> or <i>ízirì</i>	<i>ùkūrì</i>	<i>ùkūrì</i>
husband's brother or woman's sister's husband	<i>ágórì</i>	<i>ágōrì</i>	<i>ágōrì</i>
mother's brother	<i>ādrūā</i>	<i>ādrúá</i>	<i>ādrūā ādrūà</i>
father's sister	<i>āʔù</i>	<i>āʔú</i>	<i>āʔū āʔù</i>
wife's brother / sister's husband	<i>lòtú</i>	<i>lòtú</i>	<i>lòtù</i>
husband's sister	<i>lājì</i>	<i>lājì</i>	<i>lājì</i>

people who marry from the same family	úḃàzì	ūḃāzì	ūḃāzì ūḃàzì
spouse's father	āndrì	āndrì`	āndrì āndrì
spouse's mother	āndrìzìá	āndrì ùkú	āndrì ūkù

The terms for the same-sex siblings 'mother's sister', 'father's brother', 'wife's sister', and 'husband's brother' are derived from the kin term for 'mother', 'father', 'wife' and 'husband' respectively, by the addition of *rì*. The term for 'mother's brother' is morphologically related to the term for 'brother', as they share the same root *adru-* (factoring out harmony and tone). There is no morphological relationship between 'father's sister' and 'sister'. In Ma'di society, the mother's brother has a special familial role (ie. the avunculate); the same does not apply to the father's sister. The term for 'mother in law' is derived from the term for 'father in law' by adding *zìá* in the singular and *ùkù* in the plural.

Table 57. Relationships involving the co-wife

	Singular	Plural	Abstract noun
co-wife (the father's other wife)	àfàzì / ízìrèzì	āfāzì	āfāzì
a woman with whom one's mother shares a husband; or step-mother	lúkú	lùkù	lùkù
child from a previous marriage a woman brings into a new marriage	óní áṅgwá	(no term)	ōnì āṅgwà

The term *āfà* is 'jealousy' and *āfāzì* is jealousy resulting from sharing a husband; it is possible that the term for 'co-wife' is actually derived from the term for jealousy. The term for mother's co-wife *lúkú* (singular), *lùkù* (plural) is related to the term *ùkú* meaning 'women'. The initial [l] may be a derivational prefix (seen elsewhere in the lexicon though not now productive). The noun *lùkù* refers to the mistreatment a child receives from a *lúkú*. The term *óní áṅgwá* is a compound with the literal meaning 'the daughter of the grinding stone', from *óní* 'grinding stone' and *áṅgwá* 'small, tiny, worthless'. A grinding stone usually consists of two parts; the main one on which grain is ground called *óní ēndrē* 'mother stone' and the small one with which it is ground called *óní áṅgwá* 'the small stone.' The term when used to refer to a child brought from a previous marriage is used for both boys and girls.

Table 58. Those without a partner

	singular	plural	abstract
widow	àwìzì	àwìzì	āwìzì
divorced man	múd3úlá	mùd3ùlā	mūd3ulā
man who has never married	lòfúnò	(no term)	(no term)

Some Ma'di speakers use the word for 'widow' also for 'widower' (ie. a man whose wife has died), even though it is strictly a female term because it includes *zí* 'woman'. There is no special word for widower. A man who is never married is called by the same name as an adolescent boy, *lòfúnò* (and has the funeral rites of such a boy). There is no word for a woman who has never married, which would be considered culturally unimaginable.

Table 59. Other terms relating to marriage

	Singular	Plural	abstract
courtship	<i>ĩfōmā</i>	(no term)	<i>ĩfōmā</i>
the bride price (paid by the man's parents to the woman's parents)	<i>ĩmĩ</i>	(no term)	<i>ĩmĩ</i>
the negotiation and paying of a bride price	<i>làdžé</i>	<i>lādžē</i>	<i>làdžé</i>
marriage negotiations	<i>ālì</i>	(no term)	<i>ālì ālì</i>
taking a wife/ husband	<i>làdú</i>	<i>lādū</i>	<i>lādū lādū</i>
a go-between (for the girl or the boy)	<i>mádžú</i>	<i>mādžū</i>	<i>mādžù</i>
fine imposed for sleeping with a girl in her maiden home	<i>kúmbéré dri</i>	(no term)	(no term)
a goat given to the bride's mother	<i>àdrá ìndrì</i>	(no term)	(no term)
a hoe given to the bride's mother after the bride has given birth (at one time, this would have been the famous 'Madi hoe')	<i>àdrá àtřó</i>	(no term)	(no term)
naming ceremony after three days for a boy or four days for a girl	<i>làtí [pēkā]</i>	(no term)	(no term)

The boy and his fellows may take the girl, in an elopement, called *rōgùkā* (*ágó gá*). The parents of the boy pay a fee to the emissary of the girl's parents who enters into subsequent marriage negotiations with the parents of the boy; there is no special terms for the emissary sent. The payment to the emissary is *āndrálí třō*, literally 'dew drenched', the discomfort of the emissary who has supposedly been forced to leave his house to look for the girl. The somewhat larger payment to the emissary when the emissary has to travel far, not only in elopement cases, is *mvùkā sū*, literally 'putting on the shoes'. The second of our complete texts in chapter 22 is a length discussion of fines for elopement and related matters.

## 21.3.3. Body-part nouns

## 21.3.3.1. List of body-part nouns

In this section we list the body-part nouns, to illustrate another subgroup of nouns.

Table 60. Body part nouns

stomach	ʔā	'belly' is ʔā àdrā
chest	áǵá	
shin bone	áǵákwà	
palate	áraráá	
heart	ásítī	see note 1
face	āndrātī	see note 1
knee	àfā	
ear	bí	
hair	ǵí	(second part of several compounds)
head	drì	and compounds: see note 2
hand	drí	and compounds: see note 3
cerebrum	dzúrukúde	
cheek	élémvú	
tendon	ékpé or lékpé	
kidney	ékwí ékwí	ékwí means 'seed' and 'coarse'; ékwí ékwí also means 'loose coins in the pocket' and 'coarsely ground'
neck	ēmbē	ēmbē as a verb means 'to take an oath' or 'to ritually cleanse self after spilling human blood'
penis	èdī	èdīkwē refers to the stinging organ of a bee, wasp etc., aculeate.
part of back above buttocks	èmbī	
throat	gbóró	

pot belly	<i>ìdí</i>	
intestine	<i>ìkwí</i>	
bones	<i>kwà</i>	
tongue	<i>lèdrā</i>	
liver	<i>lōgó</i>	
clitoris	<i>lòbìrì</i>	
elbow joint	<i>kòṅgú</i>	
elbow	<i>lògùlè</i>	
thigh	<i>mèlí</i>	
eye	<i>mī</i>	and compounds: see note 4
nose	<i>òmṽō</i>	see note 5
heel	<i>òmṽòlòkòtū</i>	
armpit	<i>òmṽòròkítì</i>	
waist	<i>ópí</i>	
chin	<i>ótṣókpô</i>	
belly button	<i>òtū</i>	
umbilical cord	<i>òtūá</i>	
shoulder	<i>òwólókódri</i>	
shoulder, arm	<i>òwú</i>	(the extension of meaning to 'arm' is more common for animals)
leg, foot, paw, wheel	<i>pá</i>	and compounds: see note 6
tooth	<i>sí</i>	also a postposition
shin	<i>télé</i>	
mouth	<i>tī</i>	also language
nail (fingernail or toenail)	<i>tṣúkwá</i>	
brain	<i>údžé</i>	
vagina	<i>zélé</i>	and compounds: see note 7

Note 1. *āndrā* is literally 'fate' and strictly speaking 'face' is *āndrā tī*, 'face-mouth', but *āndrā* can also be used to mean 'face'. *āndrā sí*, 'face-tooth' is forehead. Similarly *ásí* means 'feelings, thoughts, reactions' and strictly speaking 'heart' is *ásí tī* (ie. 'heart-mouth') but *ásí* can also be used to mean 'heart'.

Note 2. *drì* ‘head’ is the basis of compounds expressing non-physical characteristics.

Table 61. Compounds based on *drì* ‘head’

head	<i>drì</i>	
hair	<i>drìbí</i>	head + hair
shame	<i>drìndzá</i>	head + big
independence	<i>drìmgbō</i>	head + open

Note 3. Parts of the hand and hand-related words are similarly expressed by compounds with *drí* ‘hand’ as the first member.

Table 62. Compounds based on *drí* ‘hand’

hand	<i>drí</i>	
right hand	<i>drí àndrá</i>	hand + right
left hand	<i>drí lèdzí</i>	hand + left (handed)
thumb	<i>drí ēndrē</i>	hand + mother
finger next to the thumb	<i>drí ágó</i>	hand + man
finger (other than thumb)	<i>drí ángwá</i>	hand + small
the little finger	( <i>drí</i> ) <i>pìdí`</i>	hand + finger /small finger
back of the hand	<i>drí ògū</i>	hand + back
clasped hand, fist	<i>drí mgbúru</i>	hand + clasped
unclasped hand	<i>drí èkpéle</i>	hand + flat

Note 4. The eye and related words use *mī* ‘eye’. *mī* also refers to spirits which all animals and humans have and can return to haunt if a person or an animal is wrongfully killed. *mī bí* ‘eye’ + ‘hair’ means ‘eyelash’ and *mī ógóróbí* ‘eye’ + ‘cave’ + ‘hair’ means ‘eye sockets’

Note 5. *òmvō* ‘nose’ compounds with *bē* ‘throw’ to give *òmvōbē* ‘mucus’. *òmvō* looks similar to the words *òmvòlòkòtū* ‘heel’ and *òmvòròkítì* ‘armpit’, though the second parts *lòkòtū* and *ròkítì* (or forms resembling them) are not independently attested.

Note 6. Parts of the foot and foot-related words are expressed by compounds with *pá* as the first member.

Table 63. Compounds based on *pá*

leg, foot, paw, wheel	<i>pá</i>	
big toe	<i>pá ēndrē</i>	foot + mother
the toe next to the big one.	<i>pá ágó</i>	foot + man
the third and fourth toes	<i>pá ángwá</i>	foot + small
the foot arch	<i>pá ʔàdā</i>	foot + inner part
sole	<i>pá ( nī ) ʔā</i>	foot + (PR) + inside
heel, back of the foot [calcis bone].	<i>pá lògū</i>	foot + back
heel	<i>pá vūdū</i>	foot + ?
footprint	<i>pá mvú</i>	foot + traces
a disability in which only the tip of the toe has contact with the ground.	<i>pá sí</i>	foot + tip

Note that while *pá ángwa* means specifically third or fourth toe, *dri ángwá* means any finger other than the thumb. Other words relating to feet but not derivationally related include: *námgbólō* ‘a wound on the big toe’ (also idiomatically ‘a troublesome person’, and ‘apple of one’s eye’); and the ideophone *tfúwē tfúwē* ‘the foot steps of a person walking stealthily or of a person worn out by illness’.

Note 7. The vagina, buttocks and anus are expressed by words involving *zèlé*. ‘Buttocks’ is *zèlédri*, literally ‘vagina’ + ‘head’, while ‘anus’ is *zèlémi* literally ‘vagina’ + ‘eye’.

### 21.3.3.2. Body part based idioms expressing personal qualities

Many body part nouns combine idiomatically with adjectives or de-adjectival nouns to express particular qualities of the individual. The default combination is that the body part is the first member of a compound noun with the de-adjectival noun as the second member; the compound expresses a quality (19). The body part can also be the subject of a nonverbal predication expressing a proposition (20).

(19) *ási ʔgbè*  
heart coldness  
‘being warm-hearted’ (sic), ‘happiness’

(20) *ási nā ʔgbé*  
heart POSS cold  
(a) ‘She is happy.’  
(b) ‘She is a good person.’

Table 64. Body part based idioms expressing personal qualities

heart + coldness	<i>ásí ǐgbè</i>	being warm hearted, happiness, goodness
blood + coldness	<i>àrí ǐgbè</i>	being slow to react to events
body + coldness	<i>rū ǐgbè</i>	being in good health
nose + hotness	<i>òmvò ātǐ</i>	being easily driven to anger or violence
blood + hotness	<i>àrí ātǐ</i>	being prone to misfortunes
body + hotness	<i>rū ātǐ</i>	being prone to misfortunes
leg + hotness	<i>pá ātǐ</i>	being prone to misfortunes (possible Arabic borrowing in this compound)
eye + cleanliness	<i>mī pēlḕrè</i>	soberness, not being drunk
heart + cleanliness	<i>ásí pēlḕrè</i>	being clean hearted, good naturedness, honesty
stomach + bitterness	<i>ʔā āṅà</i>	bitterness
heart + bitterness	<i>ásí āṅà</i>	bitterness
heart + whiteness	<i>ásí ǐṅwè</i>	being good natured
eye + whiteness	<i>mī ǐṅwè</i>	lewdness
eye + hardness	<i>mī òkpò</i>	being not easily conned
head + hardness	<i>dri òkpò</i>	being stubborn
hand + hardness	<i>dri òkpò</i>	being miserly
heart + hardness	<i>ásí òkpò</i>	being brave
ear + hardness	<i>bí òkpò</i>	being quick to comprehend or pick out things
mouth + hard	<i>tī òkpò</i>	being able to argue one's corner
hand + longness / tallness	<i>dri āzò</i>	being a thief
face + goodness	<i>āndrā lōsò</i>	being lucky
body + goodness	<i>rū lōsò</i>	being healthy
face + badness	<i>āndrā ūndzì</i>	being unlucky
body + badness	<i>rū ūndzì</i>	being unwell
mouth + heaviness	<i>tī āndzì</i>	not being articulate; being slow in learning languages
body + heaviness	<i>rū āndzì</i>	being pregnant; being lazy
stomach + openness	<i>ʔā mgbò</i>	being gluttonous
eye + sharpness	<i>mī lōtǐ</i>	being sharp eyed
nail + sharpness	<i>tfúkwá lōtǐ</i>	being a thief

hand+ sharpness	<i>drí lōtḡ</i>	being a sharp shooter (with a gun)
tongue+ sharpness	<i>lèdrā lōtḡ</i>	having a sharp tongue
ear + sharpness	<i>bí lōtḡ</i>	being a good listener -quick to pick out details
mouth + sharpness	<i>tī lōtḡ</i>	having a sharp tongue

In addition, body part nouns can combine with *àkò* 'withoutness' and *trò* 'with'.

Table 65. Idioms based on body part + with / body part + without

eye + without	<i>mī àkò</i>	being illiterate; blindness
eye + with	<i>mī trò</i>	literate, can read; still alive; has a vengeful spirit
body + without	<i>rū àkò</i>	thin
body + with	<i>rū trò</i>	fat
ear + without	<i>bí àkò</i>	being obstinate; deafness
mouth + without	<i>tī àkò</i>	not being able to speak a foreign language; dumbness
heart + without	<i>ásí àkò</i>	carefreeness
tongue + with	<i>lèdrā trò</i>	having a sharp-tongue
stomach + with	<i>?ā trò</i>	pregnant
blood + without	<i>àrí trò</i>	has leprosy

The meaning of 'leprosy' arises from from the folk medicine view that you have leprosy because you have blood on your hands from an action you or someone else in your line has undertaken, especially killing someone in cold blood.

## 21.4. Colour adjectives

There are three basic colour terms, meaning 'white', 'black' and 'red'. The adjectives 'black' and 'white' refer specifically to colours, and not to dark or light shading or illumination in general. The three basic colour terms (and only these) can also be the basis of verbs.

Table 66. Basic colour terms

adjective		noun		verb	
<i>īngwē</i>	white	<i>īngwè</i>	whiteness	<i>īngwé</i>	to whiten; thrash thoroughly; make dusty
<i>īnī</i>	black	<i>īnì</i>	blackness	<i>īnì</i>	to blacken; to darken; make dirty
<i>īkā</i>	red	<i>īkà</i>	redness	<i>īká</i>	to redden

Other colour terms are foreign borrowings or derivations.

Table 67. Other colour terms

adjective		noun	
<i>lófàrà</i>	yellow	<i>lōfàrà</i>	yellowness
<i>lófùè</i>	yellow	<i>lōfùè</i>	yellowness
<i>lófótá</i>	greyish yellow	(no term)	
<i>à?ū élé à?ū élé</i>	yellow (from <i>à?ū élé</i> 'hen egg')	(no term)	
<i>gìrìní</i>	green (from English)	(no term)	
<i>lojúwè</i>	green (from <i>júwè</i> 'young fresh grass that grows after cutting or burning')	(no term)	
<i>júwè júwè</i>	green (from <i>júwè</i> young fresh grass that grows after cutting)	(no term)	
<i>ājísé ājísé</i>	green (from <i>ājísé</i> 'grass')	<i>ājīsē ājīsè</i>	greenness, grasslikeness
<i>bùlû</i>	blue (from English)	(no term)	
<i>zākārì</i>	blue (from Arabic)	<i>zākārì</i>	blueishness
<i>lóbúè</i>	deep blue	(no term)	
<i>wáká</i>	dark brown	(no term)	
<i>wàrà</i>	light brown	(no term)	



## Chapter 22 Texts

This chapter consists of two spoken texts, recorded at Alere Refugee Camp in Northern Uganda in 1994 by Mr. Joseph Lamini. These texts were recorded for the use in educational purposes by the U.K. Ma'di Association to be distributed as widely as possible (including Ma'di Lelego, the newspaper published quarterly by the Association).

### 22.1 Hare, Caragule, and the water dance

In this story, the trickster Ito (hare) imitates a rain-making song, but does so incorrectly because of his speech defect ( *ìtó tĩ* 'Hare's language' in which [l] and [r] are replaced by the glide [j]). As a result he is cursed using a curse in which the words mean the opposite of their literal meaning. The narrator ends by stating a moral (as in all the narratives recorded on the Alere tape).

First speaker (introducing the narrator):

- (1) *dríá dì mìsità k̀r̀s̀s̀t̀ófà ànā́má nĩ l̀p̀ẁóní*  
 now this Mister Christopher Anyama PR teacher  
*àléré primary school gá r̀ k̀ót̀ā̀ n̄.*  
 Alere Primary School LOC DEF 3-(N)-tell-it FOC  
 'Now this one, Mr Christopher Anyama, who is a teacher at Alere Primary School, he is the one narrating it.'

Mr. Christopher Anyama:

- (2) *má āndź ̀kp̀ s̀ àmbá.*  
 1S thank strength SR big person  
 'I thank you a lot, elder.'
- (3) *̀d̀á d̀ b́ èr̀ ǵ.*  
 story this people two LOC  
 'This story is about two people.'
- (4) *máà ̀d̀á b́.*  
 1S-POSS story leaf / ear  
 'This version of my story.'

- (5) *ìtó pī ādrúpì ` nī tfáragùlé trò.*  
Ito PRPL brother-SPEC PR Caragule COMT  
'Ito (Hare or Rabbit) and his brother Caragule.'
- (6) *ōdà dī ǀī kó-mū dínī.*  
story this FOC 3-N-go like this  
'This story, it goes like this.'
- (7) *ōdú zì sì àlū ēsú vū mēlí.*  
day another SR once 3-find earth dry-season  
'On one day, it was the dry season.'
- (8) *driá ìtó ādrúpì nī tfáragùlé nī ūngwē*  
now Ito brother PR Caragule PR call  
*ḃá miá àziá āní ní ámvú sò-rē.*  
people hundred six 3s BEN plot (N)-cultivate-SB  
'Now, Hare's brother, Caragule - he called six hundred people  
to cultivate for him a field.'
- (9) *driá ḃá dī úngwē dī*  
now people this (time) IND-call this EMPH  
*ìtó nī ānī ǀ-sá ā rú ā?à.*  
Ito PR 3s FOC-also inside it present  
'Now these people, having been called (at this time), Hare too, he  
was present among them.'
- (10) *driá ḃá òtfè àǀī kòsò ámvú òtfā núsù gá*  
now people 3-say 3PL 3-DIR-dig plot 3-reach half LOC  
*mgbē èjí-ví ò-zā ḃá kpó.*  
immediately water-thirst 3-overpower people COMP  
'Now, these people, having dug and with the field half dug,  
immediately, they were completely overcome by thirst.'
- (11) *ḃá tà sò-kā dī ò-lè èjí.*  
people thing (N)-dig-SB this 3-want water  
'These people, who were digging wanted water.'
- (12) *tfáragùlé ò-ndrē lókū drú*  
Caragule 3-see true for  
*èjí ēsú-kā òkpó vū mēlí sì.*  
water (N)-find-SB hard earth dry-season SR  
'Caragule saw, in reality, finding water was difficult, as it was the  
dry season.'

- (13) *ēdé*                    *ānā`*            *mìá*            *ná?ā.*  
 (3)-VE-make    3s-POSS    trick            there  
 'He performed his tricks there.'
- (14) *ō-ŋgō*    *ídó*            *èjí*            *`tū-kā.*  
 3-then    started    water            N-dance-SB  
 'He then started dancing for water.'
- (15) *vù*            *òkpó*            *sì*            *k'-ū-mvú.*  
 earth    hard            SR            3-(N)-ITER-jump  
 'In spite of the hard ground, he was jumping up and down.'

(Start of song)

- (16) *mā*    *tfarágulé*    *ǻ.*            *mā*    *ǻ.*            *tëndèrè.*  
 1S    Caragule    FOC    1S    FOC    upright, huge and strong  
 'I am Caragule. It is me. Upright, huge and strong.'
- (17) *mā*    *tfarágulé*    *ǻ.*            *mā*    *ǻ.*            *tëndèrè.*  
 1S    Caragule    FOC    1S    FOC    upright, huge and strong  
 'I am Caragule. It is me. Upright, huge and strong.'
- (18) *mēlí*            *k-ē-dé*            *āmā*    *ní*            *tū-lé.*  
 dry-season 3-DIR-VE-fall 2PL    BEN    (N)-dancing-SB  
 'Let the dry season come for us to dance.'
- (19) *mā ǻ.*            *tëndèrè*  
 1S    FOC    upright  
 'It is me. Upright, huge and strong.'

(end of song)

- (20) *ō-tū*            *èjí*            *bì*            *àgá*    *sí.*  
 3-dance    water    until    chest    SR  
 'He danced (for water) until (the water rose) chest deep.'
- (21) *èjí*            *ētì*            *bá*            *ō-mvū*            *èjí*            *tí*            *tí.*  
 water    ooze    people    3-drink    water    COM    COM  
 'Water trickled, people drank water until they were all full.'
- (22) *ōŋgō*            *bá*            *ū-dzè-rū*                    *kwítí*            *péléré.*  
 and-then    people    (3)-ITER-wash-REFL    all            clean (SG)  
 'And also people bathed, all clean.'

- (23) *ōdrì kî vù b̄arú.*  
3-then 3PL go(PL) home  
'Then they went home.'
- (24) *ānī īsá ōgò sá àlūá rì ānī*  
it FOC-also similar even one-in DEF like  
'This one as well similar in the same way like the previous one.'
- (25) *ìtó ká r-ōbì tà sì ōbì.*  
Ito 3 REFL-imitate thing SR imitate-(FOC)  
'Hare likes imitating things.'
- (26) *ōdú zì sì àlū ìtó īsá o-fō*  
day certain SR once Ito FOC-also 3-say  
'One day, Hare too said'
- (27) *ādrúpì nī t̄fárágulé k-ēbù ānī nī*  
brother PR Caragule 3-DIR-call 3s BEN  
*bá miá áziá.*  
people hundred six  
'His brother Caragule should get the service of six hundred people for him.'
- (28) *ānī īsá́ ó-vù ānā́ d̄úkwí sò-rē.*  
3S FOC-also IND-go 3S-POss millet (N)-dig-SB  
'He too, people should go to sow his millet.'
- (29) *ìtó ʔà ādrúpì ūṅwē bá rì ʔí.*  
Ito his brother-SPEC call people DEF FOC  
'Hare's brother called them, the people.'
- (30) *ō-vù kî tà d̄ì sò-rē.*  
3-go 3PL thing this (N)-dig-SB  
'They went to sow this thing.'
- (31) *ō-sò kî́ tó ō-tfā ìré éĩkà nī núsù gá*  
3-dig 3PL again 3-reach near acre PR half LOC  
*èjí ví ō-zā bá kpó.*  
'They dug, water-thirst 3-overpower people dead  
'And when it too was about to reach half an acre, thirst overcame people completely.'

(32) *ōngū b́á d̀i ̄ō-f̄ō àǎ́ n̄í èǎ́ v̄í.*  
and-then people this 3-say they BEN water thirst  
'And the people too said they were thirsty.'

(33) *d̀i s̀i ìtó n̄í ān̄í ǎsá k-ōb̄ì r̄ū*  
this SR Ito PR 3s FOC-also 3-(N)-imitate REFL  
'Because of this, Hare himself also started to imitate.'

(34) *ǎd́ r̄ū-mv́ú-kā náǎ́.*  
3-start REFL-(N)-ITER-jump-SB there  
'He started jumping about there.'

(start of song)

(35) *mā ìtó ǵó mià ǎ́. mā ǎ́. t̄end̄èj̄è.*  
1S Hare mighty trick FOC 1S FOC huge and upright  
'I am Hare, the mighty trickster. It is me. Huge and upright.'

(36) *mā ìtó ǵó mià ǎ́. mā ǎ́. t̄end̄èj̄è.*  
1S Hare mighty trick FOC 1S FOC huge and upright  
'I am Hare, the mighty trickster. It is me. Huge and upright.'

(37) *m̄éǎ́ k-ēd̄é àmá n̄í t̄új̄é. mā ǎ́. t̄end̄èj̄è.*  
dry-season 3DIR-fall 1PL BEN (N)-dance-SB 1S FOC huge  
'The dry season should come for us to have a dance. It is me.  
Huge and upright.'

(end of song)

(38) *sá èǎ́ ēgá k̄ū kúwá.*  
all the same water 3-VE-ooze NEG(N) never  
'All the same water was not filling up (in the well).'

(39) *dr̄iá dr̄indzá s̀i ādrúp̄ì n̄í tf̄arágùlé*  
now shame SR brother-SPEC PR Caragule  
*ō-ndr̄ē d̄ín̄í, tf̄arágùlé n̄í dr̄indzá ̄ō-k̄ō t̄f̄í.*  
3-see like this Caragule PR shame 3-catch COM  
'Now, because of shame, his brother, Caragule, having seen  
(how things were developing) this way, he, Caragule, was  
overcome completely by shame.'

(40) *ō-n̄ì e-mú ān̄í ǎsá ēd́ èǎ́ t̄ū-kā.*  
3-then VE-come 3s FOC-also 3-start water N-dance-SB  
'He too came, and he also started dancing for water.'

*(start of song)*

- (41) *mā tśárágùlé ʔí. mā ʔí. tëndèrè.*  
 1S caragule FOC 1S FOC upright and huge  
 ‘I am Caragule. It is me. Upright and huge.’
- (42) *mā tśárágùlé ʔí. mā ʔí. tëndèrè.*  
 1S caragule FOC 1S FOC upright and huge  
 ‘I am Caragule. It is me. Upright and huge.’
- (43) *mēlí k-édé àmā ní `tùlé. mā ʔí. tëndèrè.*  
 dry-season 3DIR-fall 1PL BEN N-dance-SB 1S FOC huge  
 ‘Dry season should come for us to have a dance. It is me.  
 Upright and huge.’

*(end of song)*

- (44) *ē-mvú pí.*  
 (3)-VE-jump COM  
 ‘He jumped out.’
- (45) *ādū sì ò-nì òtē tfūwí drū*  
 what SR 3-know COM (perfectly) well for-it  
*bá nà ānī ūngwē nì kū*  
 people that 3S (3)-called FOC NEG(N)  
 ‘Because he knew perfectly well that these people, he didn’t call them.’
- (46) *ìtó nī ādrúpì ūngwē nì.*  
 Ito PR brother-SPEC (3)-called FOC  
 ‘Hare, his brother he called them.’
- (47) *ō-tū àfā gá. ē-mvú pí.*  
 3-dance knee LOC (3)-VE-jump COM  
 ‘He danced (until) knee deep. He jumped out.’
- (48) *bá ò-mvū èjí. ví. èjí ò-tfā kū.*  
 people 3-drink water thirst. water 3-reach NEG(N)  
 ‘People drank water. Thirst. The water was not enough.’
- (49) *líjǎ sá `ō-dí gá ángwá drū.*  
 food even 3-cook small DIM for  
 ‘Even food, only a small amount was cooked.’

- (50) *driá bá ɔ̄-vù ū-zá s̄.*  
 now people 3-go (3)-ITER-shout SR  
 ‘As a result people went away, grumbling.’
- (51) *ó-fō ító n̄í lé ná` dúkwi kò-ʔā*  
 IND-say ‘Ito 2s-as-for 2S-POSS millet 3-DIR-yeild’  
 ‘They said “Hare as for you, your millet should yield!”’
- (52) *ékwi nā ná` dúkwi kò-ʔā nà`*  
 meaning AFR 2S-POSS millet 3-DIR-yeild that(time) EMPH  
*bá òkū n̄í t̄i s̄*  
 people past PR language SR  
*ná` dúkwi kòʔā kū réré. kúwá.*  
 2S-POSS millet 3-DIR-yeild NEG(N) completely never  
 ‘The meaning of the language of the elders was that your millet should not yield at all. Never.’
- (53) *àmàlà àdū s̄ t̄fárágùlè drí ó-fō t̄fárágùlé ná`*  
 because what SR Caragule to IND-say Caragule 2S-POSS  
*ádū kòʔā kū réré kúwá. dúkwi.*  
 whatsit 3DIR-yeild NEG(N) completely never millet  
 ‘Because the one of Caragule, it was said, “Caragule, your whatsit, it should not yield completely, never, the millet.”’
- (54) *ékwi nā t̄fárágùlé ʔà dúkwi kò-ʔā.*  
 meaning AFR Caragule POSS millet 3-DIR-yeild  
 ‘The meaning - Caragule’s millet should yield.’
- (55) *t̄fárágùlé ʔà dúkwi ɔ̄-ʔā tàmámù*  
 Caragule POSS millet 3-yeild properly  
 ‘Caragule’s millet yielded well.’
- (56) *ɔ̄-ʔā ándrá ándrá.*  
 3-yeild straight straight  
 ‘It yielded with the ears all straight up.’
- (57) *ító drí tà ɔ̄ʔē ìjō.*  
 Ito BEN thing 3-become absent  
 ‘Hare came to have nothing.’
- (58) *dri nā t̄f̄r̄í ángwá drū.*  
 head AFR tiny DIM for  
 ‘The ears were all tiny.’

(The next part is a conventionalized ending to the story, difficult to translate word for word)

- (59) *dī* *sì* *mā* *ōdā* *kélé* *kélé* *dī* *ʔā*  
 this SR my story ?  
*ìbá* *tfélé* *údrú* *ākà* *túwá.* *kòtʃē* *kū.*  
 string .frog ? answer all 3-DIR-snap NEG(N)  
*twára* *ō pī* *nì* *sá*  
 twara IND-be interlaced FOC also  
 ‘With this my story (.....). Even when twara is interlaced’ (*twara* is a plant used in making ropes), it should not snap.’
- (60) *líó* *ō pī* *nì* *sá* *kò-tʃē* *kū.*  
 plant sp. IND-be interlaced FOC also 3-DIR-snap NEG(N)  
 ‘Even when lio rope is interlaced it should not snap.’
- (61) *ōdā* *dī* *ìní* *ámā* *dʒò* *nī* *tà* *àkó*  
 story this teach 1PL if 2S thing without  
*òbì-rū* *mādí* *tà* *trò* *rì* *sì* *kū*  
 IND-imitate-REFL person thing with DEF SR NEG(N).  
 ‘This story has taught us that if you do not have anything, do not behave like a person who has things.’
- (62) *ōvī-rū* *vì* *tòbòlià* *bá* *ìlédì* *ìsá*  
 3-like-REFL like-FOC kiosk people those FOC-also  
 ‘It is like the kiosk owners.’
- (63) *dʒò* *nī* *ìsá* *ní* *r-òbì* *áū* *sì*  
 if 2S FOC-also 2S REFL-imitate FOC SR  
*ní* *fō-à* *nī* *ìsá* *ní* *ná* *tà* *ángwá*  
 2s N-say-OBJ 2S FOC-also 2s 2s-POSS thing small  
*ēsú* *nī mū* *lākā* *né dé* *rá.*  
 find 2S-N-go there 2S-N-VE-fail AFF  
 ‘If you too model yourself on them (the kiosk owners), saying that you too will find a small thing (business), you will certainly fail.’
- (64) *dī* *ʔi.* *má* *mbā* *díʔā.*  
 this it 1S stop here  
 ‘This is it. I stopped here.’

## 22.2 Fines and violations

This is an interview with elders about traditional practices involving marriage and related matters, with insights into the changes brought about by the displacement to the refugee camp.

Lemini:

- (65) *má-à*      *ādrúundzī*      `        
 1S-POSS      brother      SPEC        
 ‘My brothers.’
- (66) *driá*      *ámhá*      *màrì*      *kó-rō-fō*        
 now      elder      Mari      3-REFL-say        
*òvī* *driádrū* *r-ídé-rē*      *ámá*      *lòfó* *gá*        
 way      now      (N)-REFL-happen-SB 1PL(EXC)      among      LOC        
*kémbì* *?ā* *dí?ā*      *rì*      *[n]í* *drìlé*      *gá.*        
 camp      in      here      DEF      BEN      about      LOC        
 ‘Now, our elder Mari is talking to us [literally ‘himself’] about what is happening among us now in the camps here
- (67) *ká*      *òndrō*      *tà*      *páulínò*      *mónoró*      *?à*        
 3      exactly      thing      Paulino      Monyoro      POSS        
*rō-fō-rē*      *gá*      *drì* *ā-rú*      *dì* *fō* *áū.*        
 REFL-(N)-say-SB      SPEC      LOC      head it-REFL      this      say      FOC        
 ‘He will talk about the same matters that Paulino Monyoro talked about before.’
- (68) *má*      *ānī*      *zī*      *k-ē-fó*      *ámá*      *ní*        
 1S      3S      N-ask      3DIR-VE-say      1PL(EXC)      BEN        
*ékwí* *nā* *péléré* *driádrū* *r-ídé-rē*        
 seed      AFR      clean      now      (N)-REFL-happen-SB        
*kémbì* *?ā* *gá* *dí?ā* *rì*      *?í.*        
 camp      in      LOC      here      DEF      FOC        
 ‘I am asking him that he should now explain to us clearly what is now happening in our camps here.’
- (69) *mìsità*      *páulò*      *màrì*,      *ji-ndzē*      *tà*        
 mister      Paulo      Mari      2S-DIR-explain      thing        
*lādzē*      *driádrū*      *ámá-dzī-ā*        
 marriage      now      1PL(EXC)-(N)-take-OBJ        
*kémbì* *?ā* *gá* *dí?ā*      *rì*      *íngóní.*        
 camp      in      LOC      here      DEF      how        
 ‘Mr Paulo Mari explain to us how marriage is being handled today in the camps here.’

Paulo Mari:

- (70) *má ɔ́lú àndzɔ́ lèminì.*  
1S stay thanks Lemini  
'I am grateful Lemini.'
- (71) *má ɔ́lú àndzɔ́ tà*  
1S stay thanks thing  
*pàulínò mójóró ?à tà ndzē-lé rì sì.*  
Paulino Monyoro POSS thing (N)-explain-SB DEF SR  
'I am happy with what Paulino Monyoro has explained.'
- (72) *gbádrū àṅī trò é-vù dí?ā*  
true 2PL COMT VE-go(PL) here  
*kìṅà mùdī àrò ?à límbí drítfalū sì.*  
year tens eight POSS remainder nine SR  
'It's true that you and I came here in eighty nine.'
- (73) *sùdánì gá sì é-vù ?ī.*  
Sudan LOC SR (3)-VE-go(PL) SPEC FOC  
'It is from the Sudan that we came.'
- (74) *kí sáà bá-à ē-vù-rē rì*  
but time INC-POSS (N)-VE-go(PL)-SB DEF  
*kàsùrùbéeè bá drí ìndzòndzì drí ?ī*  
fine INC POSS girls POSS FOC  
*sìlìngì élifù nā.*  
shillings thousand three  
'But at the time of our coming here the fine imposed for violating a girl was three thousand shillings.'
- (75) *é-dzì dí?ā élifù nā.*  
IND-VE- take here thousand three  
'We brought it here at three thousand.'
- (76) *kí ɔ́-vù ́ētfá dí?ā dī mgbē*  
but IND-go(PL) IND-VE-reach here this immediately  
*kìṅà àlū ɔ́-tfā élifù áziá.*  
year one 3-reach thousand six  
'But on our arriving here, just within one year it reached six thousand.'

- (77) *kìṅà èrì gá mgbē ɔ̄-ʔē*  
 year two LOC immediately 3-do  
*éḷífù mūdì límí rì.*  
 thousand ten remainder two  
 ‘Within only two years it soon became twelve thousand.’
- (78) *dríá kìṅà zì sì ɔ̄-ʔē éḷífù mùdì rì...*  
 now year another SR 3-do thousand ten two  
 ‘The following years it rose to twenty thousand...’

Unknown speaker:

- (79) *límí sū*  
 remainder four  
 ‘(twenty) four’

Paulo Mari:

- (80) *mùdì rì límí sū*  
 ten two remainder four  
 ‘twenty four.’
- (81) *dríá tà dì kó̂-mū āndrá gá.*  
 now thing this 3-N-go ahead LOC  
 ‘It is still going up.’
- (82) *kí dì sì gbá gbá drū àmā dí?ā núsù ā?à*  
 but this SR true true for 1PL-EXC here half present  
*bá dí?ā núsù ā?à*  
 people here half present  
*núsù k̂-ēndré tà érà-kā*  
 half 3-(N)-seem thing (N)-remember-SB  
*tà dì kó̂-tū dí-nī àdū sì jà zī.*  
 thing this 3-N-climb this-like what SR Q ask  
 ‘As a result of this (rise), in truth, a few of of us here, there are a few people here, a few who can look back with concern asked why this amount is rising like this.’
- (83) *àm-ē-vù àmā rì drú vùrú.*  
 1PL-EXC-go(PL) 1PL-EXC sit for down  
 ‘We (excluding you) came and sat down about it.’

Lemini:

- (84) *tfūwí driá ànì rì nà kàsùrùbéè drī gá*  
 good now 2PL sit that fine on LOC  
*gbá rì ànì fō àdū tà.*  
 true DEF 2PL say what thing  
 ‘Good, having sat (to discuss the) fine imposed for violating a girl, exactly what did you discuss?’

Mari:

- (85) *kàsùrùbéè drī gá à-fō tà kàsùrùbéè ìlédì*  
 fine on LOC 1PL(EXC)-say thing fine that  
*kólèā kò-kè rū sīlīngì élifù mūdī límbí rì*  
 need 3DIR-give REFL shillings thousand ten remainder two  
*ìndzòndzī drī ǀ.*  
 girl POSS FOC

‘On violation fines, we (excluding you) said that this thing, violation fine, should be set at twelve thousand shillings for girls.’

- (86) *ḅòndzī drī kólèā k-ōlú sīlīngì élifù áziá.*  
 children POSS need 3DIR-stay shillings thousand six  
 ‘That involving children should be six thousand shillings.’

- (87) *kàsùrùbéè ḅòndzī tfírí drī ǀ.*  
 fine children small POSS FOC  
 ‘That’s the violation fine where a child is involved.’ (ie. results in pregnancy)

Lemini:

- (88) *ìlédī bārā ̀tī-lé rá rì drī ǀ.*  
 that child N-born-SB AFF DEF POSS FOC  
 ‘That’s for a child already born.’

Mari:

- (89) *bārā ̀tī-lé rá rì drī ǀ. ḅhō.*  
 child N-born-SB AFF DEF POSS FOC yes  
 ‘That’s for a child already born. Yes.’

- (90) *nàmbà nā.*  
number three  
'Third.'
- (91) *dʒó ɲí-índzì rèzì ʔà zàngwá nǐ drì ɪndzì*  
if 2S-spoil fellow SPEC POSS girl PR head spoil-FOC  
*ɲí-bà bārá trò ʔā gá*  
2S-put child comt stomach LOC  
*ɔ-ɲgū ɲí-jā ɲí lè kū*  
3-then 2S-go 2S want NEG(N)  
*á-drì bārá ɪlédì tǐ*  
IND-then child that born  
'Should you just ruin someone else's daughter by getting her pregnant, and then disown her, and then that child is born,'
- (92) *kólèā ānā-à kàsùrùbée nǐ zàngwá dǐ drí*  
need 3S-POSS fine PR girl this POSS  
*ɲí-kè-ā sǐlǐngì élifū mūdì límbì tóú.*  
2S-(N)-give-OBJ shillings thousand ten remainder five  
*àmàlà ɲí-lè bātè ē-dzì-lé*  
because 2S-want prostitution (N)-VE-take-SB  
*ɪndzòndzì àmā drí nǐ drì k-índzì-rū.*  
girls 1PL(EXC) POSS POSS head 3-(N)-spoil-REFL  
'The fine for violation of this girl, you'll have to pay fifteen thousand shillings because you want to encourage prostitution among our girls and lead them astray.'
- (93) *kó ʔē drú élifù mùdì nā.*  
3-N-do for thousand ten three  
'As a result you will pay thirty thousand in all.'

Lemini:

- (94) *tfūwí dríá ɲ-ē-fó má nǐ*  
good now 2S-VE-say 1S BEN  
*dè dríá ɲí dū mādí zì nǐ ízì nà*  
if now 2S take person another PR wife that  
*kàsùrùbée nā sí ànà bà-rē gá ʔí.*  
fine POSS howmuch 2PL(N)-put-SB SPEC LOC SPEC FOC  
'Good, now tell me; if you marry someone else's wife, after that, how much have you fixed its fine?'

Mari:

- (95) *dʒò ní dū mādí zì ʔà ízì ʔí*  
 if 2S take person another POSS wife SPEC FOC  
*kàsùrùbée nā ófá.*  
 fine AFR war  
 ‘Should you take someone else’s wife, the fine is (like declaring) war.’

- (96) *ādrúpī rēzī nī ízī ēsú ódū kū.*  
 brother fellow PR wife find 3-take NEG(N)  
 ‘A fellow brother’s wife used not to be snatched.’

- (97) *ní ndrù rá*  
 2S search AFF  
*kólēā nì-kè s̀l̀ng̀ì mūdì límbí ...*  
 need 2SDIR-give shillings ten remainder  
*ádū mùdì rì límbí sū.*  
 whatsit ten two remainder four  
 ‘Having certainly looked for (the trouble), you should pay ...whatsit ... twenty four shillings.’

- (98) *dríá d̀ì àmà lè k-ìdè-rū d̀íní.*  
 now this 1PL(EXC) want 3-do-REFL this-like  
 ‘Now, this is how we want it to be done.’

Lemini:

- (99) *t̄f̄w̄í dr̄is̄óò m-̄ólú ní tr̄ò làzì gá m̄is̄it̄à p̄áulò*  
 good still 1S-stay 2S COMT greetings LOC mister Paulo  
 ‘Fine, I have still questions for you Mr. Paulo.’

- (100) *ízì mādí zì drí*  
 woman person another POSS  
*dʒò í-dū ēsú ēsú bá ágó àtī rì ní kpá,*  
 if 2S-take find find people man first DEF BEN first  
*fō-ā làtí ānī drí nì-pè.*  
 say-OBJ traditions 2S POSS 2SDIR-perform  
 ‘As for someone else’s wife, if you marry her when she has had a child with the first husband first, you will be asked to initiate her into your clan.’

(101) *n-ĩdɛ̀ tà zì ká r-ũṅwē gúmbéré drì.*  
 2S-do thing another 3 REFL-(N)-call skin head  
 ‘You will be asked to perform a ritual called bed-cleansing.’

(102) *gúmbéré drì d̄ĩ ɽĩ, àdũ.*  
 skin head this FOC what  
 ‘This bed cleansing, what is it?’

Mari:

(103) *òlái gúmbéré drì ìléd̄ĩ ɽĩ, lèminì.*  
 oh, skin head that FOC Lemini  
 ‘Oh, that bed cleansing Lemini.’

(104) *mā ɽ-sáà á-dũ tfàràrà rá.*  
 1S FOC-even 1S-take non-maiden AFF  
 ‘I too have certainly married a woman who has been married before.’

(105) *kí má dũ tfàràrà ātè èrì sáà*  
 but 1S take non-maiden reach two also  
*tà d̄ĩ nĩ má drí ó-zĩ má ní kūrù.*  
 thing this PR 1S POSS IND-ask 1S BEN NEG(P)  
 ‘Although I have married at least two women who have been married before, this particular thing, as for me, I have not been asked for.’

(106) *kí m-ēsú d̄í?ā dríá ó-bà ēbù drú.*  
 but 1S-find here bow ind-put work for  
 ‘I have found that people mean serious business with it here.’

(107) *òzĩ nà s̄ì bá ɽ-drà kũ.*  
 yet that SR people 3-die NEG(N)  
 ‘Yet no-one dies of it.’

(108) *ád̄ĩ ɽō-ā n̄i-kè gúmbéré drì.*  
 IND N-say-OBJ 2S-give skin head  
 ‘Yet you will be asked to pay for bed cleansing.’

(109) *gúmbéré drì drú n̄i àdũ ɽdɛ̀ áũ.*  
 skin head for 2S what do FOC  
 ‘In bed cleansing, what is it that you do?’

- (110) *ádí lè-ā ní-drí ìndrí.*  
 IND (N)-want-OBJ 2S-POSS goat  
 'A goat will be demanded of you.'
- (111) *ḡ-ēsú ìndrígó òkpó.*  
 2S-find he-goat strong  
 'You should supply a virile he-goat.'
- (112) *túbà nā d3ó tóú.*  
 cigarettes POSS house five  
 'For the aforementioned's (= the ritual's) cigarettes, you'll need five packets.'
- (113) *ḡ-ìḡḡḡ ní ádū ` dū....*  
 2S-then 2S whatsit N-take..  
 'You will then supply, whatsit...'

## Unknown speaker

- (114) *...ìndrí àrónì.....*  
 goat female  
 'A she-goat.'

## Mari:

- (115) *ìndrí àrónì.*  
 goat she  
 'a she-goat.'
- (116) *ḡ `dū-ā. ḡ kè-ā.*  
 2S N-take-OBJ 2S (N)-give-OBJ  
 'You'll get it. You'll give it'
- (117) *ḡ `kḡ ḡ kìtambólà ḡ rá, ḡ `dí-ā.*  
 2S N-then 2S ...(?) tie AFF 2S N-cook-OBJ  
 'You will then certainly get the goat and cook it.'
- (118) *kólèā kimbò tī ḡ `d3ē-ā sùfià ērì.*  
 need cup PRPL 2S N-buy-OBJ tins two  
 'As regards drinks, two tins will be required.'
- (119) *ḡá kó-drì mvū-ā.*  
 people 3-then drink-OBJ  
 'People will then drink it.'

- (120) *dī ūṅwē-ā gúmbéré dri.*  
 this call-OBJ skin head  
 ‘These constitute bed cleansing.’
- (121) *dí tà dī ɔ̄-bà rū àdū sī jà nī*  
 but thing this 3-put REFL what SR Q PR  
*má ɪ-sáà mā páulò sī má-drí á-nì kū.*  
 1S FOC-even 1S Paulo SR 1S-POSS 1S-know NEG(N)  
 ‘But how this thing came to be so, even I, Paulo, do not know.’
- (122) *rá rì nāsì bá āmbā ká àmā ní*  
 AFF DEF probably people elder 3 1PL-exc BEN  
*tà ē-ndzé tà dī í-drī gà áṅgwádrū.*  
 thing (3)-VE-explain thing this BEN-on small DIM  
 ‘Possibly, our elders will be able to fill us in a bit on this issue.’

Lemini:

- (123) *driá má ɲ-ē-zí.*  
 now 1S 2S-VE-ask  
 ‘Now, I am asking you.’
- (124) *jábà fūráníkò k’-ē-mú kɔ̄-ndzē-ā rá.*  
 elder Franko 3-VE-go 3-N-explain-OBJ AFF  
 ‘Our elder, Franko will certainly explain it to us.’
- (125) *má ɲ-ē-zí ìlédì, làdú gà zì driá*  
 1S 2S-VE-ask that marriage LOC another now  
*r-ídé-rē àmà lòfó dí?ā rì sī.*  
 (N)-REFL-do-SB 1PL(EXC) among here DEF SR  
 ‘There, I am now going to ask you about one other marriage issue that is happening among us here.’
- (126) *tà āzárē àmà lè kò-?ē ijō rì*  
 thing (N)-pain-SB 1PL(EXC) want 3-do absent DEF  
*ɲí tà ē-ndzé dri ā-rú rì ?í.*  
 2S thing N-VE-explain on on-it DEF FOC  
 ‘Something that is causing us pain and that we want to see an end to is what you are going to talk to us about.’
- (127) *tà zì ká r-ūṅwē tī āwí.*  
 thing another 3 REFL-(N)-call mouth open  
 ‘There is another thing called mouth-opening.’

- (128) *dʒó í-mgbā ná-à ízì ǝ-jā b̄arú*  
 if 2S-beat 2S-POSS wife-SPEC 3-go home  
*ēsú í-dʒē rá òlè í-dʒē kūrù*  
 find 2S-buy AFF or 2S-buy NEG(P)  
*dʒò í-lè ná-à āndrì trò ànì fō lēfó nā*  
 if 2S-want 2S-POSS inlaws COMT 2PL say issue AFR  
*ádī fō-ā n-āwí àǝ-à tī.*  
 IND N-say-OBJ 2S-open 3PL-POSS mouth

‘If you beat your wife and she goes to her parent’s home, whether you have paid the bride-price or you have not paid, if you wish to discuss the issue with your in-laws, you will be asked to open their mouths.’

- (129) *tà dī ándráà ēzè s̄ì ìjō.*  
 thing this past long SR absent  
 ‘This thing was not there in the past.’

- (130) *tà dī àdū tà.*  
 thing this what thing  
 ‘This mouth-opening, what sort of thing is it?’ [literally: this thing, what is the thing?]

- (131) *n-ē-ndʒé àmā ní tà drìlé ā-rú.*  
 2S-VE-explain 1PL-EXC BEN thing about on-it  
 ‘Explain to us something about it.’

Mari:

- (132) *tà ũṅgwē-lé tī àwí ìlédì ǝ,*  
 thing (N)-call-SB mouth open that FOC  
*kpòò ǝṅṅ-lé jábà ǝà fō-dʒó ǝṅṅ-lé*  
 all (N)-multiply-SB elder POSS (N)-say-SB (N)-multiply-SB  
*k'-ēndré tà nā mágéndò drú rì ánì.*  
 3-appear thing AFR blackmarket for DEF like  
 ‘This thing called mouth-opening, with everything increasing as our elder has just said, has been inflated like something on the blackmarket.’

- (133) *tī āwí ìjō ándráā ēzè s̄ì ǝ.*  
 mouth open absent past long SR FOC  
 ‘There was no mouth-opening in the past.’

- (134) *ānī-dri ándráā ēzē sī nā-à ízī ō-mū rá*  
 3S-POSS past long SR 2S-POSS wife 3-go AFF  
*ànì fā ānī trò rá*  
 2S fight 3S COMT AFF  
 ‘In the past if your wife has certainly gone’  
 ‘you have certainly fought with her’
- (135) *nī vú nā `kō.*  
 2S back AFR N-catch  
 ‘you follow her.’ [literally: you are catching her back]
- (136) *átá ` ká ānāà zāngwá ūngwē.*  
 father- SPEC 3 3S-POSS girl call  
 ‘The father would call his daughter.’
- (137) *kō-kō kō-zī-ā*  
 3-N-then 3-N-ask-OBJ  
*n-é-mú àdū sī jà.*  
 2S-VE-go what SR Q  
 ‘He will then ask her, “What is it that brings you (here)?”’
- (138) *záá nā kō-kō ká tà... lēfō `ndzē.*  
 girl AFR 3-N-then 3 thing issue N-explain  
 ‘The daughter then will explain the thing ....the reason.’
- (139) *ō-ndzē rá, ádí nī ágó `zī.*  
 3-explain AFF IND 2S man N-ask  
 ‘Having certainly explained, you the husband will then be asked.’
- (140) *ó-zī nī rá,*  
 IND-ask 2S AFF  
*vú ā-rú kólēā ... ófō àjìwà.*  
 back on-it need ... IND-say okay  
 ‘Having certainly completed asking you, after it, then it can be said, okay.’
- (141) *dzò `ésú nī ègō kū...*  
 if IND-find 2S wrong NEG(N)  
*nā-à āndrī ní nī ègō kū*  
 2S-POSS in-laws BEN 2S wrong NEG(N) EMPH  
 ‘Should you not be found guilty, in the eyes of your in-laws you are not guilty.’

- (142) àdǎ́      ʼfō-ā      záá      dǐ      nǐ      ʔǐ,  
 IND    N-say-OBJ    girl    this    2S    FOC  
 nǐ    drǐ    nǐ-ŋgwǐ      nǎ-à      ágó      trò.  
 2S    POSS    2SDIR-return    2S-POSS    man-SPEC    COMT  
 ‘It will then be said that as for you, girl, you should go back with your husband.’

- (143) kǐ    drǎá    nǐ    àmà    āndrǐ,  
 but    now    2S    1PL(EXC)    in-law  
 n-ē-mú    àmā    dǐʔā    nǐ    ʔǐ.  
 2S-VE-gather    1PL    here    2S    FOC  
 ‘But now, you our in-law, you are the one who assembled us here.’

- (144) n-ǐfá    àmā.  
 2S-disperse    1PL(EXC)  
 ‘Disperse us.’

Unknown speaker:

- (145) lédǐ    ándráā    ēzè    ādzǐ-ā    ìlénǐ.  
 that    past    long    (N)-Take-OBJ    that-way  
 ‘That’s how it was done in the past.’

Mari:

- (146) nǐ    ʼŋgō    nǐ    bá    dǐ    ǐfá.  
 2S    then    2S    people    this    (N)-disperse  
 ‘You will then disperse these people.’
- (147) ́ēsú    zǎŋgwá    ègō    sáà  
 IND-find    girl    wrong    even  
 nǎ-à    ǐ    āwǐ    ìlédǐ    ǔ-dē    rá.  
 2S-POSS    mouth    open    that    3-fall    AFF  
 ‘Even if the girl is found to be in the wrong, you will certainly still lose on your mouth-opening.’

Lemini:

- (148) ǐ    āwǐ    drū    nǐ    àdū    kè    áū.  
 mouth    open    for    2S    what    (N)-give    FOC  
 ‘What is it that you give as mouth-opening?’

Mari:

- (149) *ɲí pɛsà kɛ áū.*  
2S money (N)-give FOC  
'It is money that you give.'
- (150) *sìlɪŋgì élifù àlū..... élifù mūdri.*  
shillings thousand one thousand ten  
One... ten thousand shillings.'
- (151) *ɓá zì kó-ŋɔ̄-ā élifù mūdri límbí tòú.*  
people other 3-(N)-break-OBJ thousand ten remainder five  
'Some would charge you fifteen thousand.'
- (152) *ádí lè-ā ɲì-kɛ.*  
IND (N)-want-OBJ 2SDIR-give  
'You will be required to pay.'

Lemini:

- (153) *tfūwí mìsità páulò.*  
good Mister Paulo  
'Good Mr. Paulo.'
- (154) *zì í-gá m'-ɔ̄lú àdrì làzì gá*  
another BEN-LOC 1S-stay still question LOC  
*làdú nī rū gá, ɔ̄vī driádrū r-ídé-rē*  
marriagePR REFL LOC way now REFL-(N)-do-SB  
*kémbì gá dí?ā rì ?à rū gá.*  
camp LOC here DEF POSS REFL LOC  
'Again, I still have questions for you about marriage, on what is now happening here in the camps.'
- (155) *m'-ēri-ā dɔ̄ ɓaráŋwá ɔ̄-lè zāŋwá ōgù-lé*  
1S-(N)-hear-OBJ if child 3-want girl (N)-steal-SB  
*kó-jā zāŋwá nī ā?ū gá.*  
3-N-go girl PR aunt LOC  
*áú láí gá.*  
or sister-in-law LOC  
*kū sáà lúkú gá.*  
NEG(N) even step-mother LOC  
'I hear that if a boy wants to elope with a girl, he goes to her aunt, or to the girl's sister-in-law, or even to the step-mother.'

- (156) *ká rùbíà zì kè màdí dī ní.*  
 3 money another give person this BEN  
 ‘He gives some money to this person.’
- (157) *rùbíà dī ká-r-ūngwē lísírà fī.*  
 money this 3-REFL-(N)-call papyrus mat fold  
 ‘This money has come to be known as bed folding.’
- (158) *tà dī ékwí-ā nī àdū.*  
 thing this seed-AFR PR what  
 ‘What is the meaning of this thing?’ (The use of *nī* here is characteristic of Ugandan rather than Lokai Ma’di)
- (159) *n-ífè àmā ní kpéri.*  
 2SDIR-burst 1PL(EXC) BEN COM  
 ‘Explain it to us clearly.’
- Mari:
- (160) *tà dī kpóò ñēē rū driá dí?ā kémbì ?ā gá sī.*  
 thing this all multiply REFL now here camp in LOC SR  
 ‘These things have all increased here within the camps.’
- (161) *tà ūngwē-lé lísírà lī rī ándráā ēzè sī ñjō.*  
 thing (N)-call-SB papyrus mat fold DEF past long SR absent  
 ‘What is known as bed folding used not to be there in the past.’
- (162) *ándráā ēzè sī*  
 past long SR  
*zángwá dzò ɔ-lè r-ōgù-lé*  
 girl if 3-want REFL-(N)-steal-SB  
*ká tà dī fō ādrúundzī` ní.*  
 3 thing this say brothers-SPEC BEN  
 ‘In the past, if a girl wants to elope, she will give this information to her brothers.’
- (163) *ādrúundzī` ká rù-bì léfī.*  
 brothers-SPEC 3 REFL-(N)-lay road  
 ‘The brothers would ambush you.’
- (164) *ádī àñì kō léfí gá sī.*  
 IND 2S catch road LOC SR  
 ‘You will be intercepted on the way.’

- (165) *ó-fō àmà kō àṅí tḡí.*  
 IND-say 1PL(EXC) catch 2S COMP  
 ‘It will be said “we have caught you”.’
- (166) *jàlà.*  
 okay  
 ““Okay.””
- (167) *dʒò má kō àṅí tḡí dḡí jàlà àṅ-òndzḡí sàtì.*  
 if 1S catch 2PL COM this okay 2PLDIR-take off shirts  
 ‘(Having said) “Now I have caught you” (next you say)  
 “remove your shirts”.’
- (168) *àṅí sàtì òndzḡí.*  
 2PL shirt (N)-remove  
 ‘You remove your shirts.’

Unknown speaker:

- (169) *àṅ-òndzḡí-à*  
 2s-(N)-remove-OBJ  
 ‘You remove them.’

Mari:

- (170) *dʒò ēsú rū*  
 if find REFL  
*sítì àṅà rū gá gá àṅgwádrū à?à,*  
 money 2PL-POSS body LOC small dim present  
*násì tḡúpà àlū, èrì rì ?í, jí-kè-à à?í ní.*  
 probably bottle one two DEF FOC 2S-(N)-give-OBJ 3PL BEN  
 ‘Should it chance that you have a small amount of money on  
 you, you give it to them (to buy) a bottle or two.’
- (171) *ká kḡ zàngwá dḡí ēbē jí -dzḡí-à.*  
 3 PL girl this leave 2S-N-take-OBJ  
 ‘They (the brothers) will leave the girl to go with you.’
- (172) *kí dḡí driá drūnà ùkú gbá rì ...*  
 but this now instead women true DEF  
*ùkú kó -ṅā-ā nì.*  
 women 3-N-eat-OBJ FOC  
 ‘Instead now it is women, in truth, it is women who consume it.’

- (173) *sìlìngì élfù mūdri ní-kè-ā ízì ní ìédíā nà.*  
 shillings thousand ten 2S-(N)-give-OBJ woman BEN there in vain  
 ‘You will give ten thousand shillings for women for no  
 purpose.’

(Laughter)

Unknown speaker (*addressing a woman in the audience*):

- (174) *kó-ñā-ā ñ*  
 3-N-eat-OBJ RHE  
 ‘I assure you women will consume it.’

Lemini:

- (175) *tfūwí dī kē-r-ērī tfūwí.*  
 good this 3-REFL-(N)-hear good  
 ‘Good, this sounds good.’

- (176) *driá zì nā í-gá má ñ zì*  
 now another AFR BEN-LOC 1S 2S N-ask  
*làzì drà drí ā-rū gá.*  
 question death POSS EMPH on-it LOC  
 ‘Now on another issue, I will ask you a question about death.’

- (177) *òwō ñ-ē-ndzé má ní tà*  
 yes 2SDIR-VE-explain 1S BEN thing  
*dri ñā-rú tfūwí āñí sáà ñ.*  
 head on-it good 3S even FOC  
 ‘Yes, explain to me something about it clearly as well.’

- (178) *tà zì driá díñā bá ñ ñā ñndzì-rē ñ*  
 thing another now here people PR stomach (N)-spoil-SB DEF  
*ká r-ūngwē āvù āñí.*  
 3 REFL-(N)-call dead accept  
 ‘The other thing that is making people unhappy here is called  
 receiving-the-dead.’

- (179) *dzò màdí ñ-drà ñ āvù āñí*  
 if person 3-die FOC dead accept  
*ká bá ñ ásí ē-dú dākū.*  
 3 people PR heart (N)-VE-take a lot  
 ‘Whenever a person dies, receiving-the-dead gives people a lot  
 of heart-ache.’

- (180) *āvù āʔí drū àdū.*  
 dead accept for what  
 ‘What is receiving-the-dead?’
- (181) *ɲì-ndzē tà àmā ní drì ā-rú pélééré.*  
 2SDIR-explain thing 1PL(EXC) BEN on it-on clean  
 ‘Explain to us about it clearly.’
- (182) *ɲī àmbá àmà lòfó gá díʔā ʔī.*  
 2S elder 1PL(EXC) among LOC here FOC  
 ‘You are an elder among us here.’

Mari:

- (183) *āvù āʔí ìlédì téè*  
 dead accept that earlier-today  
*mìsità mójóró ʔà fō-dzó rì ání*  
 mister Monyoro POSS (N)-say-SB DEF like  
 ‘That thing, the receiving-of-the-dead, is as explained by Mr.  
 Monyoro earlier.’
- (184) *ēsú tfará sì ándránī ēzè mādí ɔ-drà rá*  
 find tradition SR past long person 3-die AFF EMPH  
*ɲí drí ɲī ādrūā ɲí -ē-mú rá*  
 2S POSS 2S uncle 2S-VE-go AFF EMPH  
*ɲí drí ɲí rì vùrú.*  
 2S POSS 2S sit down  
 ‘In the past, if a person certainly died, and you as an uncle, you  
 have come, as for you, you sit down.’
- (185) *ɲí ʔō-ā àjíwà.*  
 2S N-say-OBJ okay  
 ‘You will say “OK”.’
- (186) *àɲ-ē-kè ānāà āvù āʔí nī.*  
 2PL-VE-give 2PL-POSS dead accept SPEC FOC  
 ‘Give me her receiving-of-the-dead’.
- (187) *ádī éʔé kè áū,*  
 IND arrows give FOC  
*kū sáà sìlínjí nā.*  
 NEG(N) even shillings three  
 ‘It is arrows that are given, or else three shillings.’

Unknown speaker:

- (188) *ádī mādī ìlédì*  
 IND person that  
*ádī tà ìlédì kè áū.*  
 IND thing that give FOC  
 ‘It is that person, it is that thing that is given.’

Mari:

- (189) *ní-ngō ní `fō-ā*  
 2S-then 2S N-say-OBJ’  
*má-à āmvótī ?à bārā ’ò-sē vùrú.*  
 2S-POSS sister POSS child IND-N-bury down’  
 ‘You’ll then say, “My sister’s child should be laid to rest.”’
- (190) *lēfó ’ò-sē kū.*  
 word IND-bury NEG(N)  
 ‘Issues are not buried (together with the dead).’
- (191) *áū sì drá lēfó ā?à ñ*  
 FOC SR death issue present DEF  
*ádī vù ádí `fō-ā rá.*  
 ind go(PL) IND N-say-OBJ AFF  
 ‘As a result, whatever outstanding death problems are, they can be discussed and certainly resolved (after the burial).’
- (192) *kí drá dī òzī ānā-à āmvótī ?à bārā ` nī*  
 but now this yet 2S-POSS sister POSS child SPEC FOC  
*drá k’-ò-kō-ā ē-mú sáà ndrē-ā rú kū.*  
 death 3-N-catch (3)-VE-go even see-OBJ REFL NEG(N)  
 ‘Yet today when his sister’s child was being overwhelmed by death, he isn’t there to even pay her a visit.’
- (193) *ēdzí sáà érúá kū.*  
 (3)-VE-take even medicine NEG(N)  
 ‘Neither does he bring medicine.’

Unknown speaker:

- (194) *òò ǝ-vū sáà kū*  
 and 3-clean even NEG(N)  
 ‘And he doesn’t even cleanse her.’

Mari:

- (195) *kó-tè-ā kó-drà kpó kpá.*  
3-(N)-wait-OBJ 3-(N)-die dead first  
'He will wait until she is dead.'
- (196) *dʒò ɔ̄-drà rá ká drì ē-mú.*  
if 3-die AFF 3 then (3)-VE-go  
'Once she is dead, he then comes.'
- (197) *ānī ādrūá ānī dī. āvù bá nī átá.*  
3S uncle 3S this dead people PR father  
'He is uncle; here he is. The owner of the deceased.'
- (198) *ɲ-ē-dú élifù mūdri.*  
2S-VE-take thousand ten  
'Give ten thousand.'
- (199) *ɲ-ē-dú élifù mùdī nā.*  
2S-VE-take thousand ten three  
'Give three thousand.'
- (200) *ɲ-ē-dú élifù mūdri.*  
2S-VE-take thousand ten  
'Give ten thousand.'
- (201) *dʒò ānī ānī kū mādī ìlédì ɔ̄-sē kū.*  
if 3S like NEG(N) person that IND-bury NEG(N)  
'If not, then that person is not buried.'
- (202) *áɲí lēfó ʼfō zì sì ɔ̄dú rì.*  
2PL word N-say another SR day two  
'At times you may discuss the issue for two days.'
- (203) *mādī ìlédì k'-ɔ̄-ɲmā dʒó gá.*  
person that 3-N-rot house LOC  
'That person would be rotting in the house.'
- (204) *ānī ìlédì driádrū sáà dī sì àmà fō*  
3S that now time this SR 1PL(EXC) say  
*tà ìlénī lédì k-ɔ̄lú ijō.*  
thing that that 3-stay absent  
'On that, we have now decided that sort of thing should cease.'

- (205) *ɲí mǎdí ɲmá. àdū ní.*  
 2S person CAUS-rot what for  
 ‘You are making a person rot. What for?’
- (206) *dí sì kó-lèā bārāngwá,*  
 this SR 3-(N)-need child  
*dzò mǎdí àmbá*  
 if person big  
*kó-lèā ʔ-sē élifù àlū sì.*  
 3-need IND-N-bury thousand one SR  
 ‘As a result be it a child or a big person, he / she should be buried for one thousand shillings.’

Lemini:

- (207) *ìlédì í-gá má làzì ìndzá dínì.*  
 that BEN-LOC 1S question (N)-add this-like  
 ‘On that, I want to add the following question.’
- (208) *tà ìlé-nì zì rì dríá ká r-ūngwē*  
 thing that-like another DEF now 3-REFL-(N)-call  
*kémbí ʔā gá díʔā àdzú ndzē.*  
 camp in LOC here spear retrieve  
 ‘The other thing now, in the camp here is called spear-retrieval.’
- (209) *àdzú ndzē drú àdū.*  
 spear retrieve for what  
 ‘What is spear-retrieval?’

Mari:

- (210) *àdzú ndzē ládì ándránì àmà àtā ʔ-ō-fō,*  
 spear retrieve that past 1PL(EXC) fathers-SPEC 3-say  
*àdzú ndzē lédì kí-r-ídé wà k-ēsú-ā*  
 spear retrieve that 3-REFL-(N)-do PS 3-(N)-find-OBJ  
*ɲá-à drí āpá mǎdí rū.*  
 2S-POSS hand chance person body  
 ‘That thing, spear-retrieval, in the past our fathers had said that that spear-retrieval can take place when you accidentally killed a person.’ [idiomatic, literally ‘hand chance’ meaning ‘kill’]

- (211) *jí mgbā mādí nā mgbà.*  
2S beat person AFR beat-FOC  
'(Either) you beat the person to death.'
- (212) *áú jí mgbā òdó sì.*  
or 2S beat stick SR  
'Or you killed him with a stick.'
- (213) *áú jí dṛí dṛí sì.*  
or 2S hit hand SR  
'Or you killed him with your hand.'
- (214) *áú jí dī àdṣú sì.*  
or 2S kill spear SR  
'Or you killed him with a spear.'
- (215) *áú jí gā tólú sì.*  
or 2S cut axe SR  
'Or you killed him with an axe.'
- (216) *áú jí gā páṅgà sì.*  
or 2S cut machete SR  
'Or you killed him with a machete.'
- (217) *ānī lédì ká r-ūṅwē àdṣú ndzē.*  
3S that 3 REFL-(N)-call spear retrieve  
'That is called spear-retrieval.'
- (218) *jí ìndrì àrónì kè drú wà.*  
2S goat female (N)-give for PS  
'You can, for the above, (be asked) to give a she-goat.'
- (219) *lákíní dṣò dṛiá mādí làzá ē-kó nì*  
but if now person sickness (3)-VE-catch FOC  
*màlérià ǝ-kǝ nì*  
malaria 3-catch FOC  
*kū sáà òtḻá ǝ-kǝ nì*  
NEG(N) even dysentery 3-catch FOC  
*dṛiá ádí fō-ā mà kè àdṣú ndzē.*  
now IND N-say-OBJ 1S(DIR) give spear retrieve  
'But now should a person be taken ill by an ailment, should she contract malaria. or even should she be suffering from dysentery, now, I will be asked to give spear-retrieval.'

- (220) àdʒú ndʒē ìlédì má kè-ā nà,  
 spear retrieve that 1S (N)-give-OBJ that  
 tà ūngwē-lé àdʒú ndʒē rì àdū.  
 thing (N)-call-SB spear retrieve DEF what  
 ‘Now that I am being asked to give that spear retrieval, what exactly is spear-retrieval?’

- (221) bá ò-nì ékwí nā kū.  
 people 3-know seed AFR NEG(N)  
 ‘People do not understand what it means.’

- (222) gá ángwádrū .....  
 small DIM  
 ‘A small ...’

Unknown speaker (*who starts in 'Burulo but shifts into Lokai*)

- (223) ēsú rū jì ndrē ngá lákā kū.  
 find REFL 2S see thing PRBEN NEG(N)  
 ‘It is because it transpired that you didn’t pay attention to his/her welfare.’

- (224) jì-ìmvè kūrù.  
 2S-nurse NEG(P)  
 ‘You didn’t nurse her.’

- (225) jì bà bí kū.  
 2S put ear NEG(N)  
 ‘You haven’t paid any attention.’

- (226) ládì fō-ā jì kè àdʒú ndʒē.  
 that (N)-say-OBJ 2SDIR give spear retrieve  
 ‘For the above you will be asked to pay spear-retrieval.’

Mari:

- (227) áū sì àdʒú ndʒē ìlédì nĩ ēsú  
 FOC SR spear retrieve that PR find  
 éruá sì sáà àdʒú ndʒē kū.  
 medicine SR even spear retrieve NEG(N)  
 ‘Even then it used to be that spear-retrieval, even with poison it used not to be spear-retrieval.’

- (228) *fō-ā* *fāĩnì.* *fō-ā* *àdzú* *ndzē* *kū.*  
 (N)-say-OBJ fine (N)-say-OBJ spear retrieve NEG(N)  
 'It was called fine. It is not called spear-retrieval.'

unknown speaker (*the same person as above*)

- (229) *ō-drà* *ńí* *sì* *đó...*  
 3-die 2S SR EMPH  
 'But you were the cause of her death...'

- (230) *í-bà* *bí* *kū*  
 2S-put ear NEG(N)  
 'You didn't care about her!'

Mari:

- (231) *ō-drà* *má* *sì* *kū.*  
 3-die 1S SR NEG(N)  
 'She didn't die because of me.'

- (232) *kó-drà* *má* *sì* *íngónì.*  
 3-die 1S SR how  
 'How did she die because of me?' (Mari is speaking not as an individual but as a representative of whoever is responsible for the deceased.)

Lemini:

- (233) *úđúkú* *zì.*  
 voice another  
 'Another thing.'

- (234) *máà* *ē-zí-lé* *ńí* *ńí* *kūrù* *rì* *lādzē* *ārú* *gá.*  
 1S-POSS (N)-VE-ask-SB 2S BEN NEG(N) DEF marriage it-on LOC  
 the thing that I haven't asked you yet is about marriage.'

- (235) *driá* *m'-ērá* *rá.*  
 now 1S-remind AFF  
 'I have certainly remembered it now.'

- (236) *mà* *zì* *ńí* *ńí* *trò.*  
 1SDIR ask 2S BEN COMT  
 'I should ask you about it too.'

- (237) òhō ándránī ēzè  
yes past long  
zàngwá ní `dū-ā àlū  
girl 2S N-take-OBJ one  
ká zàngwá gà ángwádrū nā  
3 girl small DIM AFR  
ē-dzī àlū mádzú drū.  
(N)-VE-take one go-between for  
'Yes, in the past you take one girl (elope with a girl) and that small girl brings one girl as a go-between.'
- (238) zàngwá dī k'-ōlú ìmbá àlū, èrì.  
girl this 3-(N)-stay month one two  
'This girl will stay for one or two months.'
- (239) dzò kó-`-ngwī ádí ìndrī àrónì kō àlū  
if 3-N-return IND goat female catch one  
kó-`-ngwī áū trò.  
3-N-return FOC COMT  
'When the time comes for her to return, a female goat will be given to her to return home with.'
- (240) kī dríádrū zàngwá ká r-ē-dú àlū  
but now girl 3 REFL-(N)-VE-take one  
k á ìndzòndzī à?ī drī é?í gá rì ē-trá túá.  
3 girls 3PL POSS home LOC DEF (N)-VE-collect all  
mūdri. mùdī rì...  
ten ten two  
'But today one girl is taken (in marriage), she collects all the girls in her village, ten, twenty of them....'
- (laughter)
- (241) kémbì dī dríá bá k'-ūngwē-ā kónvōi.  
camp this here people 3-(N)-call-OBJ convoy  
'In the camp here people call it "convoy".'
- (242) dī nī òzī m̀ndrú tī.  
this PR yet white-person speech  
kī bá k'-ūngwē-ā kónvōi.  
but people 3-(N)-call-OBJ convoy  
'Even though this is in the white person's language, still people call it convoy.'

(243) *ɲ-ē-ndzɛ*      *àmā ní tà tà ìlédì ?à drìbá gá.*  
 2S-(N)-VE-explain 1PL BEN thing thing that POSS about LOC  
 'Explain to us something - about that thing.'

(244) *àɲí ēbù ìdɛ ïngóní rū ā-rú` ʔí.*  
 2PL work do how REFL it-on SPEC FOC  
 'What progress have you made on it?'

Mari:

(245) *ānī ɪ-sáà fō-lé tébè rì ání.*  
 3S FOC-even (N)-say-SB earlier DEF like  
 'This too is like what has been discussed earlier in the day'

(246) *tà ìlédì ìɲɛ̀ kpóò drú kémbì ?ā gá dí?ā.*  
 thing that multiply all for camp in LOC here  
 'All these things increased in the camps here.'

(247) *kū sáà kūkú nī sísitímù ó-kō áū.*  
 NEG(N) even Kuku PR system IND-catch FOC  
 'Or else we borrowed the system from the Kuku.'

(248) *tà ìlédì ándráā àmā drí mādí gá dí?ā ìjō.*  
 thing that past 1PL POSS Ma'di LOC here absent  
 'This sort of thing was not there among the Ma'di.'

(249) *zàngwá, dzò í-lè ɲá-à ízì rá*  
 girl if 2S-want 2S-POSS wife AFF  
*ká mádzú` dzí àlū. kū sáà kó-dzì-ā èrì.*  
 3 go-between N-take one NEG(N) even 3-N-take-OBJ two  
*ìndzòndzì ɔ̀gò sáizì tʃíí rì ʔí.*  
 girls similar to mentioned size small DEF FOC  
*kìɲà túùdèrì, àrò, mūdri ní.*  
 year seven eight ten BEN  
 'A girl....Should you definitely need your wife, she would bring one as a go-between, or she may take two; again, (she'll take) young girls (similar to the above), go approaching seven or eight or ten (years).'

(250) *kìɲà mūdí límbí tóú nī í-dzì kū.*  
 year ten remainder five PR 2S-take NEG(N)  
 'You do not take any who is fifteen years.'

- (251) *àmàlà ānī sàà ātè ágó ní rá.*  
 because 3S even fit husband BEN AFF  
 ‘Because she too is fit for marriage.’
- (252) *ní `d3ĩ-ā àdũ ní.*  
 2S N-take-OBJ what BEN  
 ‘Why would you want to take her?’
- (253) *áũ sí ní àĩĩ nà d3ĩ kó-vù*  
 FOC SR 2S 3PL that take 3-(N)-go(PL)  
*ká kĩ` èjí ū-bì ná?ā.*  
 3 PL water ITER-(N)-fetch there’  
 ‘You take them to go and help with fetching water there.’
- (254) *vú ā-rú dè bá ǝ-vù ra ká kĩ` vù*  
 back on-it if people 3-go AFF 3 PL (N)-go  
*ká kĩ` vù ká kĩ` zàngwá àlũ nā ē-dú.*  
 3 PL (N)-go 3 PL girl one AFR (N)-VE-take  
 ‘After that should people follow the eloped girl, they (the people) will go, they will go and bring back one of the girls.’
- (255) *ē-d3ĩ-ā pí. zì nā rì k’-āsì.*  
 IND-(N)-VE-take-OBJ COM another AFR DEF 3-(N)-remain  
 ‘She will be brought home. The other one remains behind.’
- (256) *ní `jā ní zàngwá dī ní ìndrì àrónì kè áũ.*  
 2S N-go 2S girl this BEN goat female (N)-give FOC  
 ‘You (the suitor) will then give this girl (returning home) a female goat.’
- (257) *kí drìádrũ ođú dī sī rì ádĩ `trā-ā mùdĩrì.*  
 but now day this SR DEF IND N-collect-OBJ twenty  
 ‘But these days twenty (girls) are collected.’
- (258) *tfàràrà d3ó gá rì ká ágó ēbē rá*  
 married-woman house LOC DEF 3 man (N)-leave AFF  
*àdrì kó-vù zàngwá `d3ĩ-rē.*  
 still 3-(N)-go(PL) girl N-take-SB  
 ‘Even a married woman in the house would certainly leave the husband and go to escort a girl in marriage.’

(laughter)

- (259) *ēbē ágó ` nī dzó gá dí?ā àbíí trò nī*  
 leave husband-SPEC PR house LOC here hunger COM PR  
*ō-nì kŭ....*  
 3-know NEG(N)  
 'That she has left her husband dying of hunger she does not know.'

Unknown speaker:

- (260) *kó`mū ìní-ā.*  
 3-N-go (N)-teach-OBJ  
 'She is going to teach her.'

Mari:

- (261) *áū sì ìédì tà nā ìédì ègō.*  
 FOC SR that thing AFR that wrong  
 'As a result that thing is wrong.'
- (262) *áū sì àmà fō tà ìédì ègō.*  
 FOC SR 1PL(EXC) say thing that wrong  
 'As a result we said that thing is wrong.'
- (263) *drùbà sì mādí k -ēbē rá.*  
 at least SR Ma'di 3-leave AFF  
 'The Ma'di should at least definitely leave it.'
- (264) *tà ìédì ìjō.*  
 thing that absent  
 'That type of thing does not exist.'

Lemini:

- (265) *tǫwí má āndzó rá má-à ādrúùndzĩ` má-à āvúùndzĩ`.*  
 good 1S thank AFF1S-POSS brothers-SPEC 1S-POSS sisters-SPEC  
 'Good, I certainly thank you my brothers and sisters.'
- (266) *dĩ má-à ādrúùndzĩ` má-à āvúùndzĩ trò.*  
 this 1S-POSS brothers-SPEC 1S-POSS sisters COM  
 'This my brothers and sisters.'

- (267) *dì òfú l̄s̄ó àmà fō k̄i-r-ìd̄é*  
 this message good 1PL(EXC) say 3-REFL-REFL  
*àmà lòfó gá k̄embì ʔā díʔā r̄ì r̄ì.*  
 1PL(EXC) between LOC camp in here DEF FOC  
 ‘This is one good thing that we want to happen among us herein  
 the camp’

- (268) *ḅá SMCA*  
 people SMCA  
*ká tà d̄ì ìd̄é ɔ̄kpò s̄ì. ɔ̄-lè k̄ì k-ìd̄ū-r̄ū.*  
 3 thing this (N)-do hard SR 3-want PL 3-(N)-adjust-REFL  
 ‘The people in SMCA (Sudanese Ma’di Cultural Association),  
 they are working hard on these matters. They want it to be put  
 right.’

Lemini:

- (269) *àmbá fr̄an̄ikò òl̄al̄ì n̄ì p̄aḡer̄í gá r̄ì ká tà ē-ndz̄é*  
 elder Franiko Olali PR Pageri LOC DEF 3 thing (N)-VE-explain  
*d̄r̄iá k̄w̄iáká tà ũṅw̄é-lé ḡumb̄éré d̄r̄ì r̄ì ʔà r̄ū gá.*  
 now clearly thing (N)-call-SB skin head DEF POSS REFL LOC  
 ‘Elder Franiko Olali, the one from Pageri, he is going to explain  
 something clearly now about what is called bed-cleansing.’

- (270) *àṅ-ēr̄ì.*  
 2PL-hear  
 ‘Listen.’

Olali:

- (271) *tà ḡumb̄éré d̄r̄ì r̄ì àt̄ì r̄ì í-gá*  
 thing skin head DEF first DEF BEN-LOC  
*d̄è z̄āṅwá ɔ̄-tā ágò b̄arú ád̄ì vù ád̄ì bìlò k̄ō.*  
 if girl 3-bring man home IND go(PL) IND sheep (N)-catch  
 ‘This thing called bed-cleansing, in the first place, if a girl  
 sleeps with a man in her maiden home, a sheep will be  
 demanded.’

- (272) *d̄ì t̄ì ád̄ì `d̄z̄ì-ā k̄ót̄ì. ád̄ì `l̄i-ā kp̄ó.*  
 this PRPL IND N-take-OBJ door IND N-cut-OBJ COM  
 ‘This and other things will be taken by the doorpost. They will  
 be slaughtered.’

- (273) *lédì ká r-ūngwē lúkí.*  
 that 3 REFL-(N)-call fine  
 ‘That is called a violation fine.’
- (274) *driádrū ízí ō-mū ēbē ágò nī rá.*  
 now woman 3-go leave husband-SPEC PR AFF  
 ‘Now a woman, she goes to leave her husband.’
- (275) *ō-dū ágò zì áū. ádí ē-vù gumbéré dri ìdē-rē.*  
 3-take man another FOC IND VE-go(PL) skin head (N)-do-SB  
 ‘She marries another man. People come to cleanse the bedding.’
- (276) *dì...*  
 this  
 ‘this...’

Unknown speaker:

- (277) *wájá nā.....*  
 cleansing POSS  
 ‘her ritual cleansing....’

Olali:

- (278) *ē-kó òvī àlū ìlédì ǀ. òvī ìlédì ǀ.*  
 (3)-VE-follow way one that FOC way that FOC  
 ‘It is based on the same principles. The same practice.’
- (279) *jànè ká r-ūngwē lúkí.*  
 so 3 REFL-(N)-call fine  
 ‘It is called a violation fine.’
- (280) *ádí ìndrí ìlédì lí áū sì.*  
 IND goat that cut FOC SR  
 ‘That goat is killed because of it.’
- (281) *driádrū kàré bā-lé àǀí ákà nà ní nà nī*  
 now place (N)-put-SB 3PL others that BEN that PR  
*tà ègō rì ǀ.*  
 thing wrong DEF FOC  
 ‘Now the demands being made of those others, those ones are  
 the wrong things.’ [*ákà* is a ‘Burulo word.’]

(282) *ándránī ádí `nā-ā*  
 past IND N-eat  
*ámā dí pí rì úngwē lākā kū.*  
 1PL(EXC) this much DEF call PRBEN NEG(N)  
 ‘When it was being eaten in the past when we were this size we were not allowed to eat it.’

(283) *bá āmbā kō`-nā-ā nì.*  
 people big(PL) 3-N-eat-OBJ FOC  
 ‘Only elders eat it.’

(284) *ó-fō nī ī-sáà ná-à mī k’-ò-mú k’-ōlú lótfī.*  
 IND-say 2S FOC-even 2S-POSS eye 3-N-go 3-(N)-stay sharp  
 ‘Supposedly lest you develop an appetite for it.’

(285) *ō-bà áū sī, ní dí ìndrī dí nī ē-mú `lī-rē kū.*  
 3-put FOC SR 2S then goat this PR (3)-VE-go N-cut-SB NEG(N)  
 ‘So that you don’t go and slaughter a goat.’

(286) *dī ĩ tā àtī rì ĩ.*  
 this FOC thing first DEF FOC  
 ‘This is the first thing.’

Unknown:

(287) *àhá*  
 ‘aha’

Olali:

(288) *eh, lēfó nā ō-mbā dí?ā. gúmbéré drì rì ĩ.*  
 eh word AFR 3-stand here skin head DEF FOC  
 ‘Yes, that’s all about bed-cleansing.’

(289) *driádrū bá rì ē-bà ìlédí ègō.*  
 now people DEF (3)-VE-put that wrong  
 ‘What is being demanded now is wrong.’

(290) *bàdénì driádrū àĩ drí ĩfōmā drí dí ĩ...*  
 later now 3PL POSS courtship POSS this FOC  
 ‘Next, this thing about courtship.’

- (291) *n-ē-kè má ní àtʃí áū.*  
 2S-VE-give 1S BEN fire FOC  
 'Just pass me fire.' (to light tobacco with)

Marko:

- (292) *dī ání jábà. má ní ní ē-zí-ā.*  
 this like elder 1S 2S BEN (N)-VE-ask-OBJ  
 'Like this elder, I am asking you something.'
- (293) *mā mārìkò èsìpítʃò ʔí.*  
 1S Marko Espico FOC  
 'I am Marko Espico.'
- (294) *ándrání ēzè ífōmā bá kó-fō-ā íngóní.*  
 past long courtship people 3-N-say-OBJ how  
 'How was courtship done in the past?'

Olali:

- (295) *ífōmā àní vù bārú.*  
 courtship 2PL go(PL) home  
 'You went home to court.'
- (296) *ádí àní ní kómí bā àní rì vùrú èró píró.*  
 IND 2PL BEN chair put 2PL sit down granary shade  
 'A chair is put for you and you sat down under the granary.'
- (297) *dè driá àní fō ífōmā ò-kó rá,*  
 if now 2PL say courtship 3-finish AFF  
*ádí, àní é?é ē-dzì tóú.*  
 IND 2PL arrow (N)-VE-take five  
 'If you now definitely finish the courtship, someone, you, bring five arrows.'
- (298) *é?é tóú ìlédì àdí àní dzì drú dzó gá.*  
 arrows five that IND 2DIR take because of it house LOC  
 'Those five arrows will enable you to enter the house.'
- (299) *driádrū wíō dzó àn-ē-vù rá sáá*  
 now from now if 2PL-VE-go(PL) AFF even  
*àní ífōmá fō dzó gá sí.*  
 2PL courtship N-say house LOC SR  
 'From then whenever you came for courting you are allowed to enter the house.'

- (300) àní ǐfōmā `fō.  
2PL courtship N-say  
'You do your courtship.'
- (301) dzò ǒzǐ driádrū àní fō ǐfōmā ìlédì òkó rá  
if yet now 2PL say courtship that finish AFF  
'Now if you are certainly finished with that courtship'
- (302) èndrù dè àn-é-vù ízì ānǐ dǐ dzǐ-rē  
today if 2PL-VE-go(PL) woman 3S this (N)-take-SB EMPH  
'If today you are coming to take this woman'
- (303) àní `dzǐ-ā ǒwíṵ b̄arú.  
2PL N-take-OBJ now home  
'You now take her home.'
- (304) dzò àní dzǐ b̄arú mgbē kómí-tò ìlédì  
if 2PLDIR take home immediately chair-taking that  
ádǐ àtfó kè áū.  
IND hoe (N)-give FOC  
'Should you take her home, as chair-taking-in, you will give a hoe.'
- (305) ká r-ūngwē kómí tò dzó gá ìlédì ǐ.  
3 REFL-(N)-call chair take house LOC that FOC  
'That's known as chair-taking-in.'
- (306) àǐ nà í-gá ádǐ àtfó kè áū.  
3PL that BEN-LOC IND chair (N)-give FOC  
'For those it is hoes that are given.'
- (307) bàdénì vú ā-rú ìndrǐ kàré `.  
again after on-it goat male EMPH  
'After that a male goat.'
- (308) ìlédì áníngá ádǐ drǐ ǐ... ǐfōmā ìndrǐ.  
that past whatsit POSS FOC courtship goat  
'That was in the past ..of whatsit...courtship goat.'
- (309) tà nā dǐnǐ.  
thing AFR this-like  
'This is how it was.'

- (310) *tà ālì gá àtī ádí dībá ` nī ūngwē áū.*  
 thing marriage LOC first IND this-PL SPEC PR call FOC  
 'In marriage negotiations these are the first things to be requested.'

Marko:

- (311) *k'-ēndré má ní dī ání jábà ná-mvū tà rá.*  
 3-(N)-seem 1S BEN this like elder 2S-jump thing AFF  
 'It seems to me, elder, you have certainly skipped a few things.'

- (312) *ēsú má lè ñì ndzē kwiáká, bí sì bí sì.*  
 find 1S want 2SDIR explain clear hair SR hair SR  
 'I had wanted you to explain to me clearly, step by step.'  
 [literally 'hair by hair']

- (313) *ándránī àm-éřī-ā.*  
 past 1PL-(N)-hear-OBJ  
 'In the past we used to hear it.'

- (314) *āmā ř-sáà àmà ndrē-lé trò řì ří.*  
 PL(EXC) FOC-even 1PL(EXC) (N)-see-SB COMT DEF FOC  
 'Some of it we too have seen.'

- (315) *dzò àtī bā kó-vù řfōmā gá,*  
 if first people 3-(N)-go(PL) courtship LOC  
*jājī ká r-ē-dī ká kī gùdù nī dñì ālī tuù.*  
 suitors 3 REFL-(N)-VE-line 3 PL road PR head cut COM  
*lòkòmbé sì ágá gá.*  
 piano SR centre LOC  
 'If first people are going to court, suitors assemble and line up from one end of the road to the other, with a thumb piano in the centre of the group of people.'

- (316) *dzò 3-vù kī rá*  
 if 3-go(PL) PL AFF  
*ká kī rù trà èró pá.*  
 3 PL REFL (N)-gather granary under  
 'Having reached (the girl's house) they gather under a granary.'

- (317) *ó-bà ó-fō kómí áū kū.*  
 3-put IND-say chair FOC NEG(N)  
 'Chairs were not put out for them.'

- (318) *dʒò ɔ̄-trā kî̂..*  
 if 3-gather PL  
 ‘Having gathered...’

Olali:

- (319) *kómí trò rì àtī rì rī̄...*  
 chair COMT DEF first DEF FOC  
 ‘The ones that involved chairs are the earlier ones...’

Marko:

- (320) *dʒò ɔ̄-trā rū kî̂ èró pá*  
 if 3-gather REFL PL granary under  
*zángwá àdrì ká r-ū-ná lénī̄*  
 girl still 3 REFL-(N)-ITER-dodge that-like  
 ‘Once they are gathered under the granary, the girl would still take her time’

- (321) *ká drì mū ē-mú-rē.*  
 3 then go (N)-VE-go-SB  
 ‘After a while then she would come.’

- (322) *dʒò dríá ē-mú rá ádí̄ fō-ā*  
 if now (3)-VE-go AFF IND N-say  
*àm-ē-vù àmā drí jī̄ drí.*  
 1PL(EXC)-VE-go 1PL(EXC) POSS BEN POSS  
*àmà lè jī̄ dū àmā.*  
 1PL(EXC) want 2SDIR take 1PL  
 ‘Once she has certainly come, it will be said, as for us, we have come to you; we want you choose one of us.’

- (323) *záá kó̂ ngō ká mādí ɔ̄-vī bá ìlédì̄... mādí...*  
 girl 3-N-then 3 person 3-select people that person  
*jājī ìlédì̄ ní rā gá àlū.*  
 suitors that BEN in LOC one  
 ‘The girl then chooses from those people, from those suitors one person.’

- (324) *nà tà ìlénī̄ ìlédì̄ ēsú ārā ˙*  
 that thing that that find present Q  
 ‘Now has that type of thing ever existed?’

Olali:

- (325) *má-à fō-lé dī àtī rì rī.*  
 1S-POSS (N)-say-SB this first DEF FOC  
 ‘The one I mentioned was before yours.’
- (326) *àtī àmà ēndré` nī d3ē-d3ó*  
 first 1PL(EXC) mothers-SPEC PR (N)-marry-SB  
*pī àmà āvúùndzī` nī,*  
 PRPL 1PL(EXC) sisters-SPEC PR  
*ùkú àmà ǐfó-lé rì ʔà d3ē-d3ó rì rī.*  
 women 1PL(EXC) court-SB DEF POSS (N)-buy-SB DEF FOC  
 ‘(What I said was) Earlier ones, at the time of the marriage of our mothers, and the ones during our sisters’ marriage, and how the women we courted were married.’
- (327) *kò-vù àdrì àpī drí dī rá.*  
 3DIR-aside still 2PL POSS this AFF  
*àpī drí dī gbá drū lòkòmbé sī*  
 2PL POSS this true as piano SR  
*àdī r-ēdī létī ʔā gá rù rù rù rù rù*  
 IND REFL-line road in LOC ID  
 ‘This is certainly different from yours, the one of yours, truly, with thumb pianos where people line up the road marching ....’

Unknown speaker:

- (328) *pī dū àmā nī lákā*  
 2S take 2PL(exc) PR PRBEN  
 ‘‘Choose one of us.’’

Olali:

- (329) *dè drìádrū ó-dū rá, àp-é-vù òjìó bārú.*  
 if now IND-take AFF 2PL-VE-go(PL) now home  
*àpí àpí ǐfōmā` fō kpóòdrú.*  
 2PL 2PL courtship N-say all  
 ‘Once a boy has certainly been chosen, from then you can frequent the girl’s home, and you...you finish courtship.’
- (330) *ō-kó rá àp-é-vù zàngwá ògù-rē.*  
 3-finish AFF 2PL-VE-go(PL) girl (N)-steal-SB  
 ‘Once certainly finished you come to elope with the girl.’

- (331) àṅ-é-vù, àṅ-é-vù àṅí zàngwá ògù.  
2PL-VE-go(PL) 2PL-VE-go(PL) 2PL girl (N)-steal  
'You come, you come and elope with the girl.'
- (332) zàngwá ká òfú kè ādrúundzĩ ` ní.  
girl 3 message (N)-give brothers-SPEC BEN  
'The girl passes the information to her brothers.'
- (333) driádrū ákĩrì gá āní drí ` ñ.  
now end LOC 3S POSS SPEC FOC  
'Now that has to be at the latter stages.'
- (334) zàngwá ká òfú kè ādrúundzĩ ` ní.  
girl 3 message (N)-give brothers-SPEC BEN  
'That's when the girl passes the information to her brothers.'
- (335) ādrúundzĩ ` ká àṅí tè léĩ.  
brothers-SPEC 3 2PL (N)-wait road  
'The brothers lie in wait for you by the road.'
- (336) kó -rĩ-ā àṅà bòṅgú ū-ndzĩ-lé.  
3-N-start-OBJ 2PL-POSS clothes (N)-ITER-take off-SB  
'He starts to take off your clothes.'
- (337) ká àṅ-à bòṅgú ū-ndzĩ.  
3 2PL-POSS clothes (N)-ITER-take off  
'He takes off your clothes.'
- (338) dè ū-ndzĩ bòṅgú ò-kó rá àṅí vù bārú.  
if (3)-ITER-take off clothes 3-finish AFF 3PL go(PL) home  
'After having definitely finished stripping you of your clothes,  
you go home.'

Marko:

- (339) kí dzò dí-nĩ àmā drí àmā í-ṅgá àmā  
but if this-like 1PL(EXC) POSS 1PL(EXC) BEN-period 1PL(EXC)  
ndrē-lé bòndzĩ nĩ mĩ sè trò dè nĩ kwíáká nĩ.  
(N)-see-SB childhood PR eye SR COMT this PR clear FOC  
'If it's like that then the one in our time which we have also seen  
with our childhood eyes is more straightforward.'

(340) àdū sì kū ádí `fō-ā jì dū àmā.  
 what SR NEG(N) IND N-say-OBJ 2PL take 1PL(EXC)  
 ‘Because it includes “choose one of us”.’

(341) zàngwá ká ágó `dū ìlédíā àlū...  
 girl 3 man N-take there one  
 ‘The girl chooses one lover there.’

Olali:

(342) kí má fō rá nà d́ó  
 but 1S say AFF that EMPH  
 ‘Well, I have certainly said that haven’t I?’

Marko:

(343) ìlédí ándá´  
 that right  
 ‘That’s right.’

Olali:

(344) má fō rá nà d́ó.  
 1S say AFF that EMPH  
 ‘I have certainly said that, haven’t I?’

Marko:

(345) dzò driá ìlédí í-gá ɔ-tjè ānī kò-dū ágó àlū´  
 if now that BEN-LOC 3-say 3S 3DIR-take man one EMPH  
 dzò ēsú ásítī nā ɔ-lè tà kū  
 if find heart AFR 3-want thing NEG(N)  
 ká bāràngwá gà ángwádrū āmfà-rē kū rì....  
 3 child small dim (N)-fit -SB NEG(N) DEF  
 ‘Following that if she chooses one of the boys, if she doesn’t  
 want any of you, she would choose an unworthy child under  
 age.’

Unknown speaker

(346) kó dū-ā áū  
 3-N-take-OBJ FOC  
 ‘She will choose him.’

Marko:

(347) *kó dū-ā áū.*  
 3-N-take-OBJ FOC  
 ‘She will choose him.’

(348) *ìlédì nī ānī ǐ-sáà àní ǐtǐrì-ā ásí gá*  
 that PR 3S FOC-even 2PL (N)-know-OBJ heart LOC  
*ō-lè àní kū.*  
 3-want 2PL NEG(N)  
 ‘With that you will know in your hearts that she does not want  
 (any of) you.’

(349) *dʒò kū sáà ká ànī ní ìtú tóú t̄*  
 if NEG(N) even 3 3S BEN sun five PRPL  
*ìtú èrì trò ñò áū.*  
 sun two comt (N)-break FOC  
 ‘Or else she would ask you to come on friday (‘fifth day’) or  
 tuesday (‘second day’).’

(350) *ìlédì tǐléléwà.*  
 that delay  
 ‘That delay’ (That’s the day the steamer used to dock at Nimule  
 from Uganda and everyone was there; there won’t be any girl  
 waiting for you at home.)

(351) *zángwá ìlédì ō-lè àní kū.*  
 girl that 3-want 2S NEG(N)  
 ‘That girl does not want you.’

(352) *dì ǐ-sáà má-à ndrē-lé*  
 this FOC-also 1S-POSS (N)-see-SB  
*òndzì nī mī s̄í rá r̄ì ʔ̄.*  
 childhood PR eye SR AFF DEF FOC  
 ‘This too is what I have seen with the eyes of childhood,  
 certainly.’

Marko:

(353) *má-à ādrúp̄ì dʒósēfù t̄oré,*  
 1S-POSS brother Joseph Tore  
 ‘My brother Joseph Tore’

- (354) *ní nì bá tǫíří àmā drí driádrū rì ří*  
 2S know people small 1PL(EXC) POSS now DEF FOC  
*ká ĩfōmá fō ĩngóní já nī òtē.*  
 3 courtship N-say how Q PR COM  
 ‘You know how our kids court today.’
- (355) *ɲ-ē-ndzé àdrí àmā ní.*  
 2S-VE-explain still 1PL(EXC) BEN  
 ‘Brief us about it.’
- Tore:
- (356) *mā dzósēfù tòré ří. mā àléré wánì.*  
 1S Joseph Tore FOC 1S Alere one  
 ‘I am Joseph Tore. I am in Alere One.’
- (357) *kí ĩfōmā driá rì má ndrē ĩfōmā*  
 but courtship now DEF 1S see courtship  
*àmā drí rì ánī kū.*  
 1PL(EXC) POSS DEF POSS NEG(N)  
 ‘But today’s courtship, I see is not as the courtship we used to have (in my time).’
- (358) *dè ádí díříkò k’-ōwó, ìndzòndzĩ*  
 if IND ... disco 3-cry girls  
*ká ĩfōmā ĩfó ádū díříkò gá.*  
 3 courtship court whatsit disco LOC  
 ‘If people...disco is playing, girls court, whatsit... during discos.’
- (359) *èrì dzóā rì, zángwá k’-ē-mú èjí gá ténkì gá*  
 two number DEF girl 3-(N)-VE-go water LOC tank LOC  
*kó-vù ká kí r-ē-tǫí lèti.*  
 3-(N)-go(PL) 3 PL REFL-(N)-meet road  
 ‘Secondly when a girl goes to fetch water at a water pump they go and meet on the way.’
- (360) *wò nā dzóā rì ká r-ētǫí èlēgì gá.*  
 now three number DEF 3 REFL-(N)-meet prayer LOC  
*èkèlézià gá. ká kī ē-vù ká kī r-ēsú lākā.*  
 church LOC 3 PL (N)-VE-go(PL) 3 PL REFL-(N)-find PRBEN  
 ‘Now thirdly, they meet during prayers in the church.. They go and meet there.’

(361) *kí* *k'-ēndré* *má* *ní*  
 but 3-(N)-see 1S BEN

*ìndzòndzì* *àmā* *drí* *driádrū* *sáà* *dí* *sì*  
 girls 1PL(EXC) POSS now time this SR  
*ká* *kí* *r-ífo* *jànì ó-fō* *bàrú* *ní* *ìjō*.  
 3 PL REFL-(N)-court that IND-say home PR absent  
 'But it seems to me that our girls at this particular time can't be  
 said to court themselves at home.'

(362) *dè* *k'-ē-mú* *bàrú* *ákírì* *gá*  
 if 3-(N)-VE-go home final LOC  
*k-ēsú-ā* *ìkó* *kí* *àrì-à* *ìfōmā* *ní* *túá*.  
 3-(N)-find-OBJ finish PL 3PL-POSS courtship-SPEC PR all  
 'When he (the boy) finally comes at home, they would have  
 finished all their courtship.'

(363) *k'-ē-mú* *ká* *é?í* *`ndrē*.  
 3-VE-go 3 home N-see  
 'He comes to see the home.'

(364) *èndrū* *ānī* *k'-ē-mú* *é?í* *`ndrē-rē*.  
 today 3S 3-(N)-VE-go home N-see-SB  
 'That today he has come to see the home.'

(365) *lèdī* *ēbē* *kí* *áū* *sì*  
 that (3)-leave PL FOC SR  
*lēfó* *àmā* *drí* *àmā* *àtā* *ìdē-lé* *rì* *rá*.  
 word 1PL(EXC) POSS 1PL(EXC) fathers-SPEC(N)-do-SB DEFAFF  
 'With that they have left behind our way of doings things that  
 our fathers certainly used to do.'

(366) *òvī* *ìlédì* *sì* *m'-ēsú-ā* *līdrì* *nā* *ándá* *kū*.  
 behaviour that SR 1S-(N)-find-OBJ life AFR right NEG(N)  
 'As a result I find that sort of behaviour not acceptable.'

Marko:

(367) *má* *jī* *`zī* *àlì* *má-à* *ādrúpī*.  
 1S 2S N-ask short 1S-POSS brother  
 'I am going to ask you a short question my brother'

- (368) *dʒò bá driádrū rì ò-dū rū rá*  
 if people now DEF 3-take REFL AFF  
*àṅì rì ālì nā í-gá*  
 2S sit marriage AFR BEN-LOC  
*àṅì zī-ā àṅì ní àṅì fō-ā íngónì.*  
 2PL N-ask-OBJ 3PL BEN 2S N-say-OBJ how  
 ‘If people of nowadays definitely get married, and you sit in the marriage negotiations, what do you ask them?’

- (369) *dʒò drūnà àṅì zī àṅì ní*  
 if normally 2S ask 3PL BEN  
*drūnà ká ká fō-ā àṅì ífó-rū íngónì.*  
 normally 3 PL (N)-say-OBJ 3PL (N)-court-REFL how  
 ‘Should you ask them normally how they say they courted?’

- (370) *ṅù ndzē àmā ní pélére tà ū-zù-kā àkó.*  
 2SDIR explain 1PL(EXC) BEN clean thing (N)-ITER-hide-SB without  
 ‘Explain it to us clearly without hiding anything.’

- (371) *àmàlà àmà lè tà tà dī ?à dri gá*  
 because 1PL(EXC) want thing thing this POSS head LOC  
*ídélé tfūwí drū.*  
 (N)-do-SB good for  
 ‘Because we want to examine this practice properly.’

Tore:

- (372) *driá ìlédí í-gá ìndzòndzì zìbáà ?í*  
 now that BEN-LOC girls another-PL FOC  
*násì ṅì lè ānì kū rì-í*  
 maybe 2S want 3S NEG(N) DEF-FOC  
*násì ṅì ṅáà sùrú ìtēdè rá zāṅwá ìlédì nì*  
 Maybe 2S 2S-POSS tribe (N)-show AFF girl that FOC  
*ṅì gbá lè-rè rì ?í*  
 2S true (N)-want-SB DEF FOC  
 ‘Now, regarding this, some girls, maybe the one that you do not want, maybe you will certainly tell this girl your clan and this particular girl is the one who really wants you.’

- (373) *násì ìtēdè ānāà sùrú nì ándá kū.*  
 maybe (3)-show 3S-POSS tribe SPEC PR right NEG(N)  
 ‘She may not show you her clan properly.’

- (374) *ká ānā-à sùrú nī zù dī.*  
 3 3S-POSS tribe SPEC PR (N)-hide COMP  
 ‘She may hide her clan (from you).’
- (375) *òlè ānā-à átá ādrúá nī dī nī*  
 or 3PL-POSS father-SPEC uncles-SPEC PR this PR  
*má-à ábí nī dī nī*  
 1S-POSS grandfather-SPEC PR this PR  
 ‘Or that this is her father’s uncles, that this is my paternal lineage.’
- (376) *zàngwá kó-zū-ā ānī ní dī.*  
 girl 3-(N)-hide-OBJ 3PL BEN COMP  
*ānī ō-nì tà ìédì kū.*  
 3S 3-know thing that NEG(N)  
*áū sī drú drū jì nì ānā-à éí nī,*  
 FOC SR for for 2SDIRknow 3S-POSS home-SPEC FOC  
*káká nī kū.*  
 kin-SPEC FOC NEG(N)  
 ‘The girl hides it (from you) that she does not know those things, so that you should not know her home, her kin.’

Marko:

- (377) *ándránī ēzè bàngíì kè-ā*  
 past long bangles (N)-give-OBJ  
*áú làbólī kè-ā*  
 or bracelets (N)-give-OBJ  
 ‘In the past bangles are given or bracelets are given’
- (378) *ō-mū ē-tfá lèlè sáà ìédíā*  
 3-go (3)-VE-reach period time there  
*ádī tfúkà kè.*  
 IND bedsheet (N)-give  
*fútà kè-ā.*  
 table-cloth (N)-give-OBJ  
 ‘When it reached a certain period in time, bedsheets are given, table-cloths are given.’
- (379) *ándránī ēzè ìndzòndzī ká jàjī ní àdū kè.*  
 past long girls 3 girls BEN what (N)-give  
 ‘In the past what did girls give to boys?’

Tore:

- (380) *driá sá-à dī sī jāfī ní ó-kè tà kū.*  
 now time this SR suitors BEN IND-give thing NEG(N)  
 ‘Nowadays, suitors are not given anything by girls.’
- (381) *àdū sī kū ká kī r-ētī gbò gbò àfī.*  
 what SR NEG(N) 3 PL REFL-(N)-meet open open because  
 ‘It is because they meet face to face nowadays.’
- (382) *driá mēndīlì tì ádī sò-ā áū.*  
 now handkerchief PRPL IND (N)-sew-OBJ FOC  
 ‘It is things like handkerchiefs that are sewn (for the suitors).’
- (383) *ádī wárāgà kè áū. bésì. ò-kó rá.*  
 IND letter (N)-give FOC only 3-finish AFF  
 ‘It is letters that are given. Only. That’s certainly all.’
- (384) *tà ìédì í-gá ētī rū kī kū.*  
 thing that BEN-LOC (3)-meet REFL PL NEG(N)  
 ‘On these things they don’t meet.’
- (385) *driá èrì d3óā rì*  
 now two number DEF  
 ‘Now, the second one’
- (386) *d3ò driá ní mū ní zāngwá*  
 if now 2S go 2S girl  
*ní lè ní ní zāngwá dī,*  
 2S want 2S BEN girl this  
 ‘if you go, you....girl., you want this girl (for yourself)’
- (387) *d3ò nāsì m’-ēndré` ādrúā` nī dīnī.*  
 if probably 1S-mother-SPEC uncles-SPEC PR this-like  
*òlè má-à ātá` ādrúā` nī dīnī,*  
 or 1PL-POSS father-SPEC uncles-SPEC PR this-like  
*má-à ābì` nī dīnī*  
 1S-POSS progenitors-SPEC PR this-like  
 ‘(you might have told her) “My mother’s uncles are from such and such a place”, or “My father’s uncles are from such and such a place”, “My progenitors are from such and such a place”.’

- (388) *zàngwá kô-fô-ā*  
 girl 3-N-say-OBJ  
*ānī drī ānī ō-nì tà ìédì kū.*  
 3S POSS 3S 3-know thing that NEG(N)  
 ‘The girl would say, as for her, she does not know any of your relations.’

Marko:

- (389) *tfūwí mā āndzó rá, dzósēfù.*  
 good 1S thank AFF Joseph  
 ‘Good, I certainly thank you Joseph.’
- (390) *tfíkí zì àlū dí?ā*  
 rule another one here  
*ká drī lō?ú drisó `kè àmā ní rī-ī.*  
 3 head painful still N-give PL(EXC) BEN DEF-FOC  
 ‘There is one other tradition here which is still giving us headaches’
- (391) *àmbá páulò mōnòrì ɔ-lè ānī k-īkó.*  
 elder Paul Monyori 3-want 3S 3-(N)-finish  
 ‘Our elder Paulo Monyori wants to finish (with it).’
- (392) *àp-ērì má-à ādrúundzī `.*  
 2PL-hear 1S-POSS brother SPEC  
 ‘Listen, my brothers.’

Paulo:

- (393) *dí-nī má tà ìndzà rì tà ūngwē-lé tūrānsípōtì.*  
 this-like 1S thing add DEF thing(N)-call-SB transport  
 ‘What I am going to add is about what is called transport.’
- (394) *tūrānsípōtì. tūrānsípōtì jí `fô-ā mgbī.*  
 transport. transport 2S N-say-OBJ different  
 ‘Transport. You demand transport separately.’
- (395) *jí mvùkā sū `fô mgbī.*  
 2S shoe (N)-put on N-say different  
 ‘You demand shoe-put-on separately.’

- (396) *kí tà t̀rànsíp̀òt̀ì r̀ì ándránì ēzè s̀ì ìj̀ò.*  
 but thing transport DEF past long SR absent  
 ‘But what is called transport was not there in the past.’
- (397) *tà ándránì àmà ǹì-lé òtē r̀ì mvūkā s̀ū.*  
 thing past 1PL(EXC) (N)-know-SB COM DEF shoe put on  
 ‘What we used to have is shoe-put-on.’
- (398) *jà-à zàngwá ò-dū r̀ū rá j̀í mvūkā `s̀ū.*  
 2S-POSS girl 3-take REFL AFF 2S shoe N-put on  
*j̀í v́ú nā `k̀.*  
 2S back AFR N-catch  
 ‘Your daughter has eloped, you put on shoes, you go after her.’
- (399) *áū s̀ì drú j̀í `t̄fā zàngwá d̀ì ?à v́ú gá*  
 FOC SR for 2S N-reach girl this POSS back LOC  
*j̀í kàsùr̀ùbée z̀ì.*  
 2S fine (N)-ask  
 ‘As a result, on reaching where she is, you ask for a violation fine.’
- (400) *ád̀í tá d̀ì ìkó kwít̄f̀í pá*  
 IND thing this finish all first  
 ‘All these other things have to be completed first’
- (401) *j̀í d̀ì f̀ò-ā àj̀íwà*  
 2S then (N)-say-OBJ okay  
*j̀-ē-kè má-à mvūkā s̀ū.*  
 2S-VE-give 1S-POSS shoe put on  
 ‘you will then say “okay now, give me my shoe-put-on.”’
- (402) *kí dr̀iá ó-vú `ē-t̄fá k̀j̀nà*  
 but now IND-go(PL) IND-VE-reach year  
*mūd̀ì t̀úud̀èr̀ì límb̀ì èr̀ì s̀ì*  
 ten seven remainder two SR  
*gbádr̀ū ófá ē-dró bá é-vù díā k̀emb̀ì d̀ì*  
 true war (3)-VE-chase INC VE-go(PL) here camp this  
 ‘But now, having arrived here in seventy-two, in truth, having been displaced by war to these camps here.’

- (403) *driá b̀òndzĩ àmādrì ē-ŋgá-kā dzúbà gá rì*  
 now children 1PL-POSS (N)-VE-rise-SB Juba LOC DEF  
*k'-ē-vù ká zāngwá `dū b̄arú kó dzĩ-ā.*  
 3-VE-go(PL) 3 girl N-take home 3-N-take-OBJ  
 'Our boys, coming from Juba, they come and take a girl from home (Ma'diland) and take her (to Juba).'
- (404) *zāngwá d̄i ó-dzĩ rá*  
 girl this IND-take AFF  
*ŋĩ áta rì ŋĩ `fō-ā àjĩwà*  
 2S father DEF 2S N-say-OBJ okay  
*ŋá-à āmvótì nĩ ó-dzĩ dzúbà*  
 2S-POSS sister PR IND-take Juba  
*àŋĩ-vù lákā.*  
 2PL-DIR-go(PL) PRBEN  
 'This girl, having certainly been taken, you the father, would say "okay now, your sister is taken to Juba; follow her.'"
- (405) *driá d̄i s̄i ŋĩ gbádrū pēsà ndrū*  
 now this SR 2S true money (N)-search  
*bá d̄i nĩ `tū-dzó.*  
 people this BEN N-board-SB  
 'As a result, you will in truth look for money for these people (emissaries) to pay the fares with.'
- (406) *àŋĩ zāngwá d̄i ?à vù `kō dzúbà.*  
 2PL girl this POSS back N-catch Juba  
 'You follow this girl to Juba.'
- (407) *dzò àŋĩ tfā rá àŋĩ kàsùrùbée kō.*  
 if 2PL reach AFF 2PL fine N-catch  
 'Having completed your arrival, you demand and get hold of the violation fine.'
- (408) *àŋĩ lĩmĩ `zĩ.*  
 2PL bride price N-ask  
 'You ask for bride price.'
- (409) *àŋĩ tà ā?à rì zĩ.*  
 2PL thing present DEF (N)-ask  
 'You ask for whatever is due.'

- (410) *dʒò àṅì zī rá*  
if 2PL ask AFF  
'Having asked (for all the above)'
- (411) *áṅí fō-ā àjìwà ṅ-ē-dʒí àmā díṗā ṅí ñ.*  
2PL N-say-OBJ okay 2S-VE-take 1PL(EXC) here 2S FOC  
'You will then say, okay now, you are the one who brought us here.'
- (412) *àm-ōkwè básì ōkwè.*  
1PL(EXC)-pay bus pay-FOC  
'We paid for the bus fare.'
- (413) *rèsitì nā dī.*  
receipt AFR this  
'Here's the receipt.'
- (414) *driá ṅ-ē-dú àmā ní àmā tùrànsípòtì.*  
now 2S-VE-take 1PL(EXC) BEN1PL(EXC) transport  
'Now get us our transport.'
- (415) *ē-ṅgá-dʒó nálé rì.*  
(N)-VE-rise-SB there DEF  
'The one for setting off from there.'
- (416) *ē-vù-dʒó rì*  
(N)-VE-go(PL)-SB DEF  
'The one for coming.'
- (417) *ṅgwí-dʒó rì trò.*  
(N)-return-SB DEF COMT  
'And the return one as well.'
- (418) *ṅ-ṅgwí àmā.*  
2S-return 1PL(EXC)  
'Take us back.'
- (419) *kó-ā ká tà dī nī ē-dú.*  
3-go 3 thing this PR (N)-VE-take  
'He will then go and get this (specific) thing.'
- (420) *kó-kè-ā àṅí ní.*  
3-(N)-give-OBJ 2PL BEN  
'He will give it for you.'

- (421) *kí* *driá* *é-tfá* *dí?ā*  
 but now IND-VE-reach here  
*ēndrū* *ófá* *ē-dró* *bá*  
 today war (3)-VE-chase INC  
*kìpà* *mùdrī* *àrò* *límí* *drítfalū* *sì*  
 year ten eight remainder nine SR  
 ‘But now having arrived here after being displaced by war in eighty-nine’
- (422) *bá* *ō-vù* *ō-bà* *tà* *dī* *í* *lélé* *àndzī*.  
 INC 3-go(PL) 3-put thing thing BEN period heavy  
 ‘we have given this issue undue prominence.’
- (423) *mvùkā* *sū* *ádí* *zī-ā* *mgbī*.  
 shoe put on IND N-ask-OBJ different  
 ‘Shoe-put-on is asked separately.’
- (424) *kí* *tùransípòtì* *dī* *àn-ē-tú* *bási* *íngō*.  
 but transport this 2PL-VE-board bus where  
 ‘Now this transport (issue), where did you get the bus from?’
- (425) *mādí* *dū-ā* *gùdù* *ádó* *gá* *dí?ā*  
 person N-take-OBJ road across LOC here  
*sáà* *ádí* *fō-ā* *nì-kè* *āná-à* *tùransípòtì*.  
 even IND N-say-OBJ 2S-give 2S-POSS transport  
 ‘A person may be married across the road from here, even for this you will be asked to pay the transport.’
- (426) *fō-ā* *nì-kè* *āná-à* *mvùkā* *sū*.  
 (N)-say-OBJ 2SDIR-give 2S-POSS shoe put on  
 ‘You will be asked to pay the shoe-put-on.’
- (427) *tà* *tùransípòtì* *rì* *ìjō*.  
 thing transport DEF absent  
 ‘The thing called transport does not exist (in this case).’
- (428) *drùbà* *ò-dū* *ānī* *kàmpálà*.  
 at least IND-take 2S kampala  
*ò-dzī* *bì* *nàiròbì* *ní* *drì* *tùransípòtì* *zī*.  
 IND-take upto Nairobi 2S then transport ask  
 ‘At least if she were married (and taken to) Kampala, let her be taken to Nairobi, then you may be justified in asking for transport.’

- (429) *kí gùdù ádó dí?ā sáà*  
 but road across here even  
*ńí-lè sìlìngì élifù mūdì límí tòú.*  
 2S-want shillings thousand ten remainder five  
 ‘But even just across the road from here, you will demand fifteen thousand shillings.’
- (430) *tùrànsípòtì nā ń’-ē-tú básì íngòlé.*  
 transport AFR 2S-VE-board bus which-place  
 ‘For this transport, where did you board the bus from?’
- (431) *ńí tū àràbíà nā íngò.*  
 2S board vehicle AFR where  
 ‘Where did you get the vehicle (on which you came) from?’
- (432) *tá ìlédì àmā-drí àmà ndrē ēndzì...*  
 thing that 1PL(EXC)-POSS 1PL(EXC) see sin  
 ‘That for us is a sin.’

Unknown speaker:

- (433) *zàngwá nī átá ní ó-kè kū.*  
 girl PR father BEN IND-give NEG(N)  
 ‘The father of the girl is not given anything (from this money).’

Unknown speaker:

- (434) *bá nā kò ńā-ā rá.*  
 people AFR 3-N-eat-OBJ AFF  
 ‘They (who have followed the girl) certainly consume it.’

Paulo:

- (435) *bá nā kò ńā-ā rá.*  
 people AFR 3-N-eat-OBJ AFF  
 ‘They will consume it.’
- (436) *zì báà pī ádí kàsùrùbéè ē-kè rá*  
 other PRPL PRPL IND fine (N)-VE-give AFF  
 ‘At times a violation fine will certainly be paid.’
- (437) *gìnée élifū mùdìrì límí sū*  
 pound thousand twenty remainder four  
 ‘twenty-four thousand pounds.’

- (438) àʔí-à      ūngwē-lé    driádrū    màgéndó    drú    dī    ʔí.  
3PL-POSS (N)-call-SB now    blackmarket    for    this FOC  
'The blackmarket price that they frequently demand.'
- (439) mgbē      ká kí` dū-ā      àʔí-ā      t̀r̀ánsíp̀t̀ì drú.  
immediately 3 PL (N)-take-OBJ 3PL-POSS transport for  
'Immediately they take it aside and count it as their transport cost.'
- (440) ádí    ʔō-ā      àdri    í-kè      kàsùrùbée    kūr̀.  
IND    N-say-OBJ    still    2S-give    fine            NEG(P)  
'It will be regarded that you haven't still paid the violation fine.'
- (441) ēzè      s̀ì      ádí    kàsùrùbée    kè      àtí    nà.  
long      SR      IND    fine            (N)-give first    that  
'In the past violation fine was paid first as a rule.'
- (442) t̀r̀ánsíp̀t̀ì ....    mv̀ukā    sū      kè-ā      àtí      ́.  
transport      shoe      put on    (N)-give-OBJ    first      Q  
'Whoever said transport ..shoe-put-on should be given first?'
- (443) dī    ʔí      tà      àmà      ásí      āzá-d́ó    r̀ì    ʔí.  
this FOC    thing    1PL(EXC)    heart    (N)-pain-SB DEF    FOC  
'This is it, the thing that is causing us heartache.'

Marko:

- (444) ànd́ó    ̀kp̀    s̀ì.  
thank    strong    SR  
'Thank you very much.'

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