

# Zaar GRAMMATICAL SKETCH<sup>1</sup>

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(18-02-2011)

## A. Introduction

The *Za:rs* live in the South of Bauchi State (Nigeria), in the Tafawa Balewa and Bogoro local government areas. In the absence of a population census, a rough estimate would put their population at 150 000.

The names derived from root "Saya" (i.e. *Bàsáyè:* (pl. *Sáyá:wá:*) for the speakers, and *Sáyáncì:* for the language) are the names used by the Hausas. The speakers call themselves *Za:r* (pl. *Zàrsà*) meaning 'human being', and call their language *vìk Za:r* (lit. 'the mouth of men'). As they consider the term "Saya" derogatory, we use the term *Za:r* to refer both to the people and the language.

The *Za:r* "village" is a dispersed habitat where they live in the typical compound of the Nigerian savannah. The compound (*dàn*, pl. *dànsá*) is made of mud huts (*vì:n*, pl. *vì:nsá*) with grass roofs arranged in a circle and linked with walls that preserve the intimacy of the inhabitants. Formerly, the *Za:rs* only had a religious chief, but they have recently adopted the Hausa chieftaincy system.

According to their oral tradition, the *Za:rs* originate from the lake Chad area. They started migrating South-West about four hundred years ago, because of the deterioration of farming conditions, or because of the multiplication of slave hunting that developed in Hausa and Borno kingdoms. After stopping in Duguri, they moved again South-East. Shimizu (78 : 10) states that :

*"The homeland of the speakers of the southern Bauchi group of Chadic was around the three hills Tala, Kir and Buli hills, which are located just to the south of the Bauchi township."*

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They moved again further South to take refuge in the hills on the East side of the plateau area. A large part moved down to their present location in the plain at the foot of those hills when the area was pacified under British colonisation.

[Newman 80] classifies *Za:r* in the West-B3 group of Chadic languages, with some doubts arising from the properties it shares with Angas. Four dialects can be distinguished within *Za:r*, named after the main villages or towns where they are spoken : *Bogoro* (formerly called the *Lusa* dialect), *Gambar Lere*, *Marti* and *Kal*. The *Kal* dialect is very close to what is generally called the *Sigidi* or *Gu:s* language (cf. Caron 2001), to the extent that *Gu:s* can be considered a dialect of *Za:r*.

Most *Za:r* people of the younger generation are bilingual Hausa-*Za:r*. They are schooled through the medium of Hausa in primary school, before learning English. The *Za:rs* are Christians, and use a Hausa translation of the Bible. The older generation are not very confident in Hausa, whereas the younger educated elite, who often hold positions in the administration, police and education, switch between *Za:r*, Hausa and English.

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<sup>1</sup> This grammatical sketch of Zaar has been written as an annex to the annotated Zaar Corpus transcribed for the CorpAfroAs project (ANR-06CORP).

*Abbreviations used in the grammar and in the corpus***General abbreviations**

L	Low tone	VP	Verb Phrase
M	Mid tone	GL	Genitive Link
H	High tone	PRM	Previous Reference Marker
R	Rising tone	AP	Adjectival Phrase
F	Falling tone	VN	Verbal Noun
NP	Noun Phrase	ST	Semi-Tone

**Parts of Speech, Syntax & Indexes (\rx tier)**

Label (rx)	Meaning	Associated \ge labels and/or examples
ADJ	Adjective	
ADV	Adverb	
ADV.DEICT	Deictic Adverb	here, yesterday, etc.
ADV.QUEST	Adverbial Question Word	
ADV.REL	Adverbial Relative	
apho	apophony	
ato	apotony	
AUX	Auxiliary	
BKL	Backchannelling	
CLICK	Click	
CONJ	Conjunction	
CSW.ENG	Codeswitching to English	
CSW.HAU	Codeswitching to Hausa	
der	derivation	
DET	determinant	ANAPH; DET; PL; PL1; PL2
DET.DEICT	Deictic determinant	PROX; DIST
EXCL	Exclamation	
FILL	Filler	
FS	False Start	
HESIT	Hesitation	
hom	homonymy	
IDEOPH	Ideophone	
INTJ	Interjection	
N	Noun	
N.P	Proper Noun	
N.PL	Plural Noun	
NUM	Numeral	
ONOM	Onomatopoeia	
PGN	Person, Gender, Number	1 ; 2 ; 3 ; SG ; PL ; ACC ; GEN ; NOM ; REFL ; IDP
PREP	Preposition	to, from, etc.
PRO	Pronoun	
PRO.ACC	Accusative Pronoun	1SG, 1PL, etc.
PRO.DEICT	Deictic pronoun	DIST; PROX; ANAPH
PRO.GEN	Genitive Pronoun	1SG, 1PL, etc.
PRO.IDP	Independent Pronoun	1SG, 1PL, etc.
PRO.LOC	Locative Pronoun	ANAPH
PRO.QUEST	Interrogative pronoun	Who, what?, etc.
PRO.REF	Reflexive Pronoun	1SG, 1PL, etc.
PRO.REL	Relative Pronoun	which, etc.
PTCL	Particle	
PTCL.ASS	Assertive Particle	ASS; NASS; QUEST; CTF
PTCL.NEG	Negative Particle	NEG1, NEG2, NEG3
PTCL.PRED	Predicative Particle	COP1, COP2, COP3,
PTCL.SYNT	Syntactic Particle	CAUS; REL1; REL2
PTCL.TOP	Topicalising Particle	too, even, etc.
red	reduplication	

TAM	Tense, Aspect, Mood	AOR ; CNT; CONC ; COND ; DTF ; FUT ; IMM ; IPFV ; PFV ; PUNCT ; REC ; REM ; REM ; SBJV
V	Verb	
V*	Irregular Verb	be ; have

### GLOSSING LABELS (ge tier)

Label (\ge)	Meaning	Associated \rx labels
ACC	Accusative	PGN
ANAPH	Anaphoric	DET; PRO.LOC
AOR	Aorist	TAM
ASS	Assertive	PTCL.ASS
CAUS	Causative	PTCL.SYNT
COND	Conditional	TAM
CONT	Continuous	TAM
COP1	Copula 1	SYNT.PTCL
COP2	Copula 2	SYNT.PTCL
COP3	Copula 3	SYNT.PTCL
COP4	Copula 4	SYNT.PTCL
CTF	Counterfactual	CONJ; TAM
CTF	Counterfactual	PTCL.ASS
DAT	Dative	PTCL.SYNT
DEF	Definite	DET
DET	Determined	DET
DIR	Directional	PTCL
DIST	Distal	PRO.DEICT; DET.DEICTIC
EVD	Evidential	PTCL
FUT	Future	TAM
GEN	Genitive	PTCL.SYNT ; PGN
IMM	Immediate Past	TAM
INCH	Inchoative	PTCL
INDEF	Indefinite	DET
IPFV	Iperfective	TAM
NASS	Non Assertive	PTCL.ASS
NEG1	Negation 1	PTCL.NEG
NEG2	Negation 2	PTCL.NEG
NEG3	Negation 3	PTCL.NEG
NOM	Nominative	PGN
ORD	Ordinal	PTCL
PFV	Perfective	TAM
PL	Plural	PGN; PRO.IDP
PL1	Plural 1	DET
PL2	Plural 2	DET
PROX	Proximal	PRO.DEICT; DET.DEICTIC
PUNCT	Punctual	TAM
QUEST	Interrogative	PTCL.ASS
REC	Recent Past	TAM
REL1	Relative Particle 1	PTCL.SYNT
REL2	Relative Particle 2	PTCL.SYNT
REM	Remote Past	TAM
SBJV	Sunjunctive	TAM
SG	Singular	PGN; PRO.IDP
NMLZ	Nominalizer	-der
1	1 <sup>st</sup> person	PGN; PRO.IDP
2	2 <sup>nd</sup> person	PGN; PRO.IDP
3	3 <sup>rd</sup> person	PGN; PRO.IDP

## B. The sounds of *Za:r*<sup>2</sup>

### a. Segment inventory

#### i. Consonants

glottalic	voiceless obstruents			continuants		
<i>ʔ</i> <i>d̥</i>	<i>p</i> <i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>m</i> <i>n</i> ( <i>ɲ</i> )	<i>ŋ</i>	
		<i>ts</i>	( <i>tʃ</i> )		<i>l</i>	
	<i>f</i> <i>s</i>		( <i>ʃ</i> )		<i>r</i>	
	<i>ɬ</i>					
	voiced obstruents			glides		
	<i>b</i> <i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	<i>ɔ̯</i> <i>w</i>	( <i>h</i> )	
			( <i>dʒ</i> )			
	<i>v</i> <i>z</i>	( <i>ʒ</i> )	( <i>ʝ</i> )			
	<i>ʄ</i>					
	prenasalised obstruents					
	<sup>m</sup> <i>b</i> <sup>n</sup> <i>d</i>		<sup>ŋ</sup> <i>g</i>			
	<sup>n</sup> <i>dz</i>	( <sup>n</sup> <i>dʒ</i> )				

Phonemes within brackets are distinctive only in foreign words or in other very limited morpheme classes.

#### ii. Vowels

short			long		
<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>i:</i>		<i>u:</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e:</i>	<i>ə:</i>	<i>o:</i>
	<i>a</i>			<i>a:</i>	

### b. Sound changes

#### i. Devoicing

Morpheme-final obstruents are voiceless.

#### ii. Neutralization of velar obstruents

Although *k* and *g* are distinctive in morpheme-initial position in lexical categories, this distinction is neutralized in other environments: velar obstruents followed by a voiced segment are voiceless after a voiceless segment or pause boundary and voiced after a voiced segment. Voiced velars are also continuant unless preceded by a nasal. This accounts for the variation in the nominalizer derivative–*káɲi*: forming verbal nouns:

<i>káp-káɲi</i>	<i>fíɲm-ɲgáɲi</i>	<i>fú:-yáɲi</i>
‘getting’	‘calling’	‘saying’

#### iii. Palatalization

Velar consonants are palatalized before a front vowel or glide. Except for liquids and implosives, alveolar consonants with abrupt offset are palatalised before a palatal glide. Except for laterals, alveolar consonants without abrupt offset are palatalized before any non-consonantal palatal.

<sup>2</sup>This chapter concerning phonology is based on Schneeberg (74).

#### iv. Glottalisation

Voiced labial and alveolar stops are implosive if preceded by a vowel or liquid, or in initial position in a grammatical formative. When followed by a vowel, morpheme-final labial and alveolar stops are phonetically voiced and implosive. This appears, for example, when the *-ən* plural morpheme is suffixed to verbs.

	SG	PL
'harvest'	<i>kas</i>	<i>kas-ən</i>
'shave'	<i>wul</i>	<i>wul-ən</i>
'take'	<i>kap</i>	<i>kab-ən</i>
'drive away'	<i>kat</i>	<i>kad-ən</i>

#### i. Apophony

Apophony is observed where suffixation entails some changes in final vowels. The ANAPH suffixed determinant *-ês* (PRM) entails the following changes : *u + e > o* ; *a + e > o*. With the 1SG.GEN pronoun, the suffix *-âtn* creates the following changes: *u + a > o* ; *i + a > e*.

	ANAPH <i>-ês</i>	1SG.1SG <i>-âtn</i>
<i>lû:</i> , 'meat'	<i>lô:s</i>	<i>lô:tn</i>
<i>ngulki</i> , 'club'	<i>ngulkês</i>	<i>ngulkêtn</i>
<i>màrwa</i> , 'millet sp.'	<i>màrwôs</i>	<i>màrwâtn</i>

#### c. Tone system

*Za:r* has a three tier tone system : H (marked with an acute accent: *á*), M (unmarked: *a*), L (marked with a grave accent: *à*).

Initial non-implosive voiced obstruents have a depressing effect on tones in a certain number of grammatical environments<sup>3</sup>. We will take Verbal Nouns (N.V) as an example. The tones associated with the *-kání* nominalizer is L for verbs beginning with a non-implosive voiced obstruents (+D) and (M)HHM for verbs beginning with any other consonant (-D).

'call'	<i>ʃim</i>	<i>ʃimngání</i>	( <i>&lt;ʃim-kání</i> )
'choose'	<i>bwa:</i>	<i>bwà:yàni</i>	( <i>&lt;bwa:-kání</i> )

L tone tends to spread over M clitics (tonal sandhi). This can be seen in direct pronominal objects, e.g. *à: vǎryǎ* (*<vǎr=kǎ*), 'he has (3S.PFV) given you' ; vs *á vǎryǎ* (*<vǎr=kǎ*), 'he (3S.AOR) gave you'.

### C. Verbal and non-verbal predication

*Za:r* uses verbal and non-verbal clauses. In verbal clauses, the syntactic nexus is a verb. The verb, as a lexical category, is defined by its inability to assume any other function than that of nexus of a sentence<sup>4</sup>. The verb is inflected for Aspect, Tense and Mood (TAM). In *Za:r*, this inflection (INFL) is combined with a personal mark of agreement with the subject (PGN). The Inflection is glossed PGN.TAM in the corpus.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hyman (73), Hyman & Schuh (1974) and Caron (2009).

<sup>4</sup> Creissels (95).

Subject	INFL	Verb	Object
<i>nganâ:s</i>	<i>tâ</i>	<i>djã:</i>	<i>va:t</i>
N.P	3PL.AOR	can	forge

The Nganyas can forge.

In a non-verbal clauses, the syntactic nexus is a Predicative Particle (PTCL.PRED). These particles are not marked for Aspect, Tense and Mood.

NP	PTCL.PRED	NP
<i>gín</i>	<i>nə</i>	<i>ni:?</i>
this	COP1	what

What is this?

NP		PTCL.PRED
<i>ma:ndá</i>	<i>gàt</i>	<i>kən</i>
war.GEN	woman	COP2

It is a fight about women.

Nouns can appear both in the predicating position (i.e. in the Continuous), or as the argument of a verb, a predicative particle, a preposition, etc.

#### a. Equative clauses: *nə* (cop1)

The structure is <NP<sub>1</sub> *nə* NP<sub>2</sub>> = <NP<sub>1</sub> *be* NP<sub>2</sub>>. This structure is used to identify two terms of an equation.

	<i>Bitúrús</i>		<i>nə</i>		<i>pásto=wòpm.</i>
Peter		COP1			pastor=1PL.GEN

Peter is our pastor.

When the context is explicit, the NP<sub>1</sub> can be omitted. This is the normal situation when the NP<sub>1</sub> is [-human].

	<i>nə</i>		<i>dzòmì.</i>		
COP1		true			

It is true.

—		<i>nə</i>		<i>nu:?</i>		—	<i>nə</i>		<i>sámbâr.</i>
—	Who is it?	COP1	who			COP1	stranger		

— It's a 'stranger'.

When NP<sub>1</sub> is [+human], it can appear as a pronoun. This pronoun is chosen from the special paradigm of nominative pronouns appearing with predicative particles, or non-verbal predicates.<sup>5</sup>

1s	<i>mi nə mâr</i>	I am a thief
2s	<i>ki nə mâr</i>	You (s) are a thief
3s	<i>fî nə mâr</i>	He is a thief
1p	<i>mì nə mâr:ársə</i>	We are thieves
2p	<i>kì nə mâr:ársə</i>	You (p) are thieves
3p	<i>fî nə mâr:ársə</i>	They are thieves

<sup>5</sup> This set of pronoun can be analysed as <PGN + *ji*, 'be'> : *mi-ji* ; *kə-ji* ; *tə-ji* ; *mà-ji* ; *kà-ji* ; *tà-ji*.

## b. Identifying clauses

### i. =kən, 'it is' (cop2)

Structure : <NP=**kən**>, <it is NP>. This clitic particle is used to name and assert the existence of something.

<i>ma:ndá</i>	<i>gət=kən.</i>
war.GEN	woman=COP2

Well, it was a fight about women (*lit.* 'a fight of women').

It is used in focus constructions:

*ŋanyá:s=kən tó djǎ: va:t.*  
 Nganyas=COP2 3PL.AOR can forge  
 It's the Nganyas who can forge.

It can be combined with the equative *nə*:

*tú jâ:n nə sánywa:rəs=kən já: mās dzàŋ gí: fâ:?*  
 then if COP1 priest=COP2 3SG.COND die day this QUEST  
 Then, what if it is the religious chief who has died on that day?

### ii. =kəni/=kənin/=kəndi

For extra emphasis, =**kən** can be suffixed with the morphemes **-í**, **-ín** (<**-ín**>) and **-dí**. Structure : <NP=**kəni**/**=kəndi**/**=kənin**> = <'here is' NP>. The three forms, very close semantically, are frequently used to identify the focus in focus construction.

- In the form ,=**kəni**, **-í** is an operator that licences the operand in the referential situation. It validates its existence within the referential domain of the speech act.

*já:=kəni! [já:yəni]*  
 3SG.NOM=COP2  
 Here he/she is!

The neutralization of the initial velar obstruent applies : [*àlbása=yəni* ; *kătú=ʝgəni* ; *ʃít=kəni*] 'here are onions ; here are egg plants ; here is hungry rice'.

- =**kən-ín** is the result of the suffixation of the proximal deictic **-ən** to the =**kən** form

*dək ŋəʃɪn dan mjǎ:ji zakti:*  
 reason.GEN thing.DEF.PROX REL 1PL.IPFV.PUNCT show.3SG.ACC.DEF  
*jâ:n jì=kən-ín*  
 3SG.IDP PUNCT=COP2-PROX  
 The reason why we used to celebrate it, here is it.

- =**kən-dí** is the distal counterpart of =**kən-ín**.

*jâ:n dè:-wòs bét=kən-dí tu lâpm za:r=ò:*  
 3SG.IDP reason-3S.GEN all=COP2-DIST COMP moon.GEN Zaar=ASS  
That's the only reason why it is called Lepm Za:r.

## c. Existential clauses : *da*, 'there is' (cop3)

The structure of the clause is : <NP<sub>1</sub> **da**> = <there is NP<sub>1</sub>>

*Kafá: da, zà:m da, gà:ri da, gwàté gedí da.* ‘There is rice, beans, cassava, yam potage.’  
(menu of a restaurant as told by the waitress).

#### D. Verb classes

*Za:r* has two verb classes: Middle (M) and High (H), which can be observed in the Perfective. The M class includes both 1- and 2-syllable verbs (resp. M1 & M2). A variant appears with some PGN.TAMs (sp. the Imperfective with plural PGN) and depends on the [+/-D] nature of the initial consonant of the verb<sup>6</sup>. For short, we call the Perfective form "lexical", and the other one "modified".

	Lexical (PFV)	Modified (PL.IPFV)	
H	<i>sú:</i> (H)	<i>sǔ:</i> (R)	love
M1 [+D]	<i>bwa:</i> (M)	<i>bwà:</i> (L)	choose
M2 [+D]	<i>da:mbár</i> (MH)	<i>dà:mbár</i> (LH)	disturb
M1 [-D]	<i>ta:r</i> (M)	<i>tâ:r</i> (F)	clear
M2 [-D]	<i>tu:râ</i> (MH)	<i>tû:râ</i> (FH)	push

#### E. The defective verbs *ji*, ‘be’ and *jir*, ‘have’

‘Be’ in *Za:r* is expressed by the word *ji*, which can be analysed as a defective verb. This verb is invariable and only conjugated in the Aorist with the meaning ‘be’<sup>7</sup>. The 3s (*tà*) and 3p (*tà*) TAMs and the verb *ji* are assimilated : *tà + ji > fí* ; *tà + ji > fí*.

*múrês fí nàmbóŋ*

There is only one man (*lit* : the man is one)

The PGN is dropped when the subject is [-animate], leaving the bare *ji* verb. When the [-animate] subject is contextual, only the *ji* verb remains with the zero Aorist INFL: (*sàbrês*) *ji nàmbóŋ*. ‘There is only one (knife)’ (*lit* : ‘(the knife) is one’).

This type of equative sentence has various uses :

- Attributive construction of **numerals** : <NP (AOR) *ji* Numeral> (cf. ex. above)

- **Location** : <NP (AOR) *ji* PP>

<i>kadanjês</i>	<i>fí</i>	<i>kár</i>	<i>vì:n.</i>
dogs.DEF	3PL.AOR.BE	behind	hut

The dogs are behind the hut.

Certain intrinsically locative NP<sub>2</sub> are used with a zero preposition.

*Yi/fí vì:n.*

It/he is in the room

*Gèri fí dí:kàŋ.*

The hens are in the compound.

<sup>6</sup> : [+D] = non-implosive voiced obstruent.

<sup>7</sup> For its use in INFL, cf. the Continuous TAM.



The question-word is (*té:*)*dō:*:

1s	<i>mí té:dō:?</i>	<i>mí dō:?</i>	where am I ?
2s	<i>kí té:dō:?</i>	<i>kí dō:?</i>	where are you (s.) ?
3s	<i>fí té:dō:?</i>	<i>fí dō:?</i>	where is he ?
1p	<i>mì té:dō:?</i>	<i>mì dō:?</i>	where are we ?
2p	<i>kì té:dō:?</i>	<i>kì dō:?</i>	where are you (pl.) ?
3p	<i>fì té:dō:?</i>	<i>fì dō:?</i>	where are they ?

- **Possession** : the locative structure with a [+human] NP<sub>i</sub> and the preposition *tá* ‘with’, produces a possessive meaning :

<i>mur-ès</i>	<i>fí</i>	<i>tá</i>	<i>kadanjí=wôs</i>	<i>gùda:</i>	<i>mâ:j.</i>
man.DEF	3SG.AOR.be	with	dogs=3S.GEN	unit	three
The man had three dogs					

The causative derivation<sup>8</sup> applied to *ji* produces the verb *jír*, ‘have’, conjugated in the Aorist:

1s	<i>mə jír səbər</i>	I have a knife
2s	<i>kə jír səbər</i>	You have a knife
3s	<i>á jír səbər</i>	He has a knife
1p	<i>má jír səbər</i>	We have a knife
2p	<i>ká jír səbər</i>	You have a knife
3p	<i>tá jír səbər</i>	They have a knife

With a nominal subject, the Aorist TAM is dropped : *Sónde jír mà:fin*, ‘Sunday has a motorcycle.’

- **Continuous aspect**. The Continuous is a locative construction using the verb *ji*, ‘be’ and the *ká* preposition with a Verbal Noun. The subject pronouns belong to the paradigm of locative subject pronouns : Pro + *ji* + *ká* + Verbal Noun<sup>9</sup>.

- **Qualification** : <NP ((AOR) *ji*) *nə* NP/AP>

<i>fí</i>	<i>nə</i>	<i>mə:rəŋsə</i>
3PL.AOR.be	COP1	thiefs
They are robbers.		

<i>gà:l-ès</i>	<i>(fí)</i>	<i>nə</i>	<i>dʒi:</i>
cow-DEF	3SG.AOR.be	COP1	black
The cow is black.			

<i>vì:n</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>nə</i>	<i>mûr</i>
room	AOR.be	COP1	hot
The room is hot.			

<sup>8</sup> Cf. below XXX on the causative derivation.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. below XXX for the full paradigm of the Continuous aspect.

## F. Verbal derivation

### a. Plural Verbs

Plural verbs, also called « pluractionals », mark agreement with a plural subject in case of intransitive verbs, and repeated or distributed action in case of transitive verbs. Two forms of verb plurals exist in *Za:r* :

- an **internal plural** through lengthening of the radical vowel, or replacement of this vowel by the vowel /a:/, resulting in a H verb : *dʒom* / *dʒwá:m* : ‘pile up, gather’ (with a plural object) ; *kír* / *kí:r*, ‘run’ (with a plural subject) ; *ndʒol* > *ndʒwá:l*, ‘leave, go’ (with a plural subject) ; *ʒop* / *ʒwá:p*, ‘sting’ ; *mal* / *má:l*, ‘get lost’ ; *nat* / *ná:t*, ‘tie up’ ; *dat* / *dá:t*, ‘nail’ ; *ʒim* / *ʒí:m*, ‘call’ ; *kəp* / *ká:p*, ‘weave, plant’ ; *məs* / *má:s*, ‘die’ ; *vjer* / *vjá:r*, ‘insult’

- an **external plural** through suffixation of *-ń* / *-án*. We saw *ná:t* (pl. < *nat*, ‘tie up’), which alternates with the form *nadǎn* (pl. : ‘tie up several times, or several things, or several people tying up sth.’). We have *bat* / *badǎn* : ‘move along’ ; *sə:* / *sə:n* : ‘breathe’ ; *tə* / *tən*, ‘go’ ; *wum* / *wumán* : ‘feel’.

### b. The causative -r

The causative derivation is used in *Za:r* to increase the valency of a verb. When translated into English by *Za:r* speakers, the newly added argument of the verb is introduced by the preposition ‘with’. The distinctive mark of causative verbs is a final /r/, most of the times *-ar*/. All monosyllabic causatives are H verbs. The derivative suffixe takes different forms :

The *-r* suffix is added to monosyllabic CV and CVV verbs :

<i>ʒi:</i>	get down	<i>ʒi:r</i>	get down with
<i>nda</i>	let in	<i>ndár</i>	get in with
<i>ta</i>	go up	<i>tár</i>	go up with
<i>su</i>	turn	<i>súr</i>	return
<i>tə</i>	go	<i>tá:r</i>	drive

The *-ar* suffix is added to CVC and CVVC monosyllabic verbs.

<i>dí:p</i>	buy	<i>dí:bár</i>	sell
<i>mal</i>	get lost	<i>malár</i>	spoil, scatter
<i>ɲgup</i>	kneel	<i>ɲgubár</i>	kneel with
<i>ndʒol</i>	go out	<i>ndʒolár</i>	go out with
<i>pa:s</i>	pour	<i>pa:sár</i>	pour away
<i>bə:l</i>	divide, share	<i>bə:lár</i>	distribute
<i>bat</i>	see sb off ; help up	<i>batár</i>	shift, move
<i>bup</i>	wait	<i>bubár</i>	wait for sb.

The *-ar* suffix is also used with dissyllabic verbs :

<i>la:tsə</i>	pass by	<i>la:tsár</i>	pass with
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The *-lar* suffix is added to CV monosyllabic verbs.

<i>mbwa:</i>	shoot	<i>mbwa:lár</i>	shoot
<i>nda</i>	let in	<i>ndalár</i>	get in with
<i>ta</i>	go up	<i>talár</i>	go up with
<i>tu</i>	arrive	<i>tulár</i>	arrive with

<i>su</i>	turn	<i>sulár</i>	return
<i>fi:</i>	get down	<i>filár</i>	get down with

The *-lar* suffix is also used with CVr and CVVr verbs, giving a CVlár causative.

<i>ɕə:r</i>	stop, stand (intr.)	<i>ɕəlár, ɕəllár</i>	stop (tr.)
<i>kír</i>	run	<i>kilár</i>	run with
<i>ɕar</i>	split, cross	<i>ɕalár</i>	split, help across

Same thing with the suffix *-dár* used with one verb only :

<i>fin</i>	send	<i>findár</i>	send
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As can be see above, some CV monosyllabic verbs are associated with two different derivative suffixes, producing two variants :

<i>nda</i>	let in	<i>ndár, ndalár</i>	get in with
<i>ta</i>	go up	<i>tár, talár</i>	go up with
<i>su</i>	turn	<i>súr, sulár</i>	return
<i>fi:</i>	get down	<i>fi:r, filár</i>	get down with

### c. The inchoative *-ni*

This extension is used to convey an inchoative meaning of ‘start doing something’, or ‘do something instead of something else’ :

*ɕə:r-án!*  
stand.IMP-PL

Keep on standing (pl.)!

*ɕə:r-án-ni!*  
stand.IMP-PL-INCH

Stand up (pl.)!

## G. The TAM system

### a. Aspect

	AOR	PFV	IPFV	PUNCT	CONC	CONT
1s	<i>mə</i>	<i>má:</i>	<i>mjá:</i>	<i>miji:/mji:</i>	<i>mjá:na:</i>	<i>miyá / mjǎ:</i>
2s	<i>kə</i>	<i>ká:</i>	<i>kjá:</i>	<i>kiji:/kji:</i>	<i>kjá:na:</i>	<i>kiyá / kjǎ:</i>
3s	<i>á</i>	<i>à:</i>	<i>ɕǎ:</i>	<i>ji:</i>	<i>ɕǎ:na:</i>	<i>ɕiyá / ɕǎ:</i>
1p	<i>mə</i>	<i>mà:</i>	<i>mjá:</i>	<i>mà:ji</i>	<i>mjá:na:</i>	<i>miyá / mjǎ:</i>
2p	<i>kə</i>	<i>kà:</i>	<i>kjá:</i>	<i>kà:ji</i>	<i>kjá:na:</i>	<i>kiyá / kjǎ:</i>
3p	<i>tə</i>	<i>tà:</i>	<i>ɕǎ:</i>	<i>tà:ji</i>	<i>ɕǎ:na:</i>	<i>ɕiyá / ɕǎ:</i>

**Aorist (AOR).** The inflection follows the pattern « PGN +  $\emptyset$  ». It has a narrative functional value. The verbs appear with a high tone on their first syllable in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons of the singular. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and in the plural, they appear in the modified form.

**Perfective (PFV).** The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *á:* ». The form of the verb is the lexical form.

**Imperfective (IPFV).** The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *já:* ». The verb appears in the lexical form in the singular, and in the modified form in the plural.

**Punctual.** The meaning is both punctual and iterative. The closest equivalent is the periphrastic Hausa ‘*ji ta*’, meaning ‘keep on doing X’. The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *ji:* ». The verb appears in the lexical form.

**Concomitant.** The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *já:* + *na:* ». The verb keeps the lexical form.

**Continuous.** The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *ji* + *ká* + VN ». *ji+ká* is realised [*jiyá*]. In the monosyllabic variant, the opposition singular vs plural is marked by a tone contrast between a rising M-H tone in the singular and a rising L-H in the plural. It is the only place in the language where this contrast is observed. However, it seems to be unstable and tends to be replaced among younger speakers by a contrast between M in the singular and Rising in the plural.

## b. Tense

	IMM	REC	REM	FUT
<i>1s</i>	<i>mí:</i>	<i>məná:</i>	<i>mətá</i>	<i>ma</i>
<i>2s</i>	<i>kí:</i>	<i>kəná:</i>	<i>kətá</i>	<i>ka</i>
<i>3s</i>	<i>ájí</i>	<i>áná:</i>	<i>átá</i>	<i>wò</i>
<i>1p</i>	<i>mì:</i>	<i>mənà:</i>	<i>mətà</i>	<i>má</i>
<i>2p</i>	<i>kì:</i>	<i>kənà:</i>	<i>kətà</i>	<i>ká</i>
<i>3p</i>	<i>ǵí:</i>	<i>tənà:</i>	<i>tətà</i>	<i>tá</i>

**Immediate past.** The Immediate Past refers to events which occurred earlier the same day. The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *ji* ». The first syllable of the verb receives a low tone.

**Recent Past.** The Recent Past refers to events which occurred on the previous day. The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *ná:* ». The verb keeps the lexical form.

**Remote Past.** The Remote Past refers to events which occurred more than two days ago. The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *ta* ». The verb keeps the lexical form.

**Future.** The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *a* ». The verb appears in the lexical form in the singular, and the modified form in the plural.

## c. Mood

	SUBJ	COND	CTF
<i>1s</i>	<i>mə</i>	<i>mjá:</i>	<i>mí/míjí</i>
<i>2s</i>	<i>à:</i>	<i>kjá:</i>	<i>kí/kíjí</i>
<i>3s</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>já:</i>	<i>ǵí/jí/ǵíjí/tíjí</i>
<i>1p</i>	<i>mə + L</i>	<i>mjá:</i>	<i>mì/mìjí</i>
<i>2p</i>	<i>à: + L</i>	<i>kjá:</i>	<i>kì/kìjí</i>
<i>3p</i>	<i>tə + L</i>	<i>jǎ:/ǵǎ:</i>	<i>ǵí/ǵíjí/tíjí</i>

**Subjunctive.** The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + low tone ». In the plural, a low tone is added to the 1<sup>st</sup> syllable of the verb.

**Conditional.** The inflection follows the pattern « pronoun + *já:* ». In the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons singular, the verb takes a high tone on the 1<sup>st</sup> syllable. In the other persons, the verb appears in the modified form. The only difference with IPRF is in 3s.

**Counterfactual.** The inflection follows the pattern « pronoun + *jí* ». The verb appears in the modified form. The Counterfactual is introduced by the conjunction *já:n*, ‘if’ and used in contexts that would be translated in Hausa by a *dà: ... dà:* construction.

## d. Composition

### i. Compound aspects

The three basic aspects (Perfective, Imperfective, Aorist) cannot be combined.

	PFV.PUNCT	IPFV.PUNCT	IPFV.CONT	PFV.CONT
1s	<i>má:ji</i>	<i>mjá:ji</i>	<i>mjá:jiyá</i>	<i>miji:jiyá</i>
2s	<i>ká:ji</i>	<i>kjá:ji</i>	<i>kjá:jiyá</i>	<i>kiji:jiyá</i>
3s	<i>à:ji</i>	<i>ǵá:ji</i>	<i>ǵá:jiyá</i>	<i>ji:jiyá</i>
1p	<i>mà:ji</i>	<i>mǵá:ji</i>	<i>mǵá:jiyá</i>	<i>miji:jiyá</i>
2p	<i>kà:ji</i>	<i>kǵá:ji</i>	<i>kǵá:jiyá</i>	<i>kiji:jiyá</i>
3p	<i>tà:ji</i>	<i>ǵǵá:ji</i>	<i>ǵǵá:jiyá</i>	<i>tiji:jiyá</i>

**Perfective Punctual.** The inflection has the structure: « PGN + *á:* + *ji* ». All verbs following the *ji* punctiliar morpheme have a lexical form. This is true for all combinations.

**Imperfective Punctual.** The inflection has the structure: « PGN + *jǎ:* + *ji* ».

**Imperfective Continuous.** The structure of the inflection is « PGN + *jǎ:* + *ji* + *ká* ». *ji* + *ká* is realised [*jiyá*]. The verb appears in the form of a Verbal Noun.

**Punctual Continuous.** The structure of the inflection is « PGN + *ji:* + *ji* + *ká* ». *ji* + *ká* is realised [*jiyá*]. The verb appears in the form of a Verbal Noun. This combination is not common and Za:r speakers usually prefer to use the Imperfect Continuous instead.

## ii. Tense and aspect

	FUT.PUNCT	FUT.CONT	REM.PFV	REM.IPFV
1s	<i>maji</i>	<i>majiyá</i>	<i>má:tá</i>	<i>mətájá:</i>
2s	<i>kaji</i>	<i>kajiyá</i>	<i>ká:tá</i>	<i>kətájá:</i>
3s	<i>wòji</i>	<i>wòjiyá</i>	<i>à:tá</i>	<i>átájá:</i>
1p	<i>máji</i>	<i>májiyá</i>	<i>mà:tá</i>	<i>mətàjá:</i>
2p	<i>káji</i>	<i>kájiyá</i>	<i>kà:tá</i>	<i>kətàjá:</i>
3p	<i>táji</i>	<i>tájiyá</i>	<i>tà:tá</i>	<i>tətàjá:</i>

	REM.PUNCT	REM.CONT	REC.PFV	REC.IPFV
1s	<i>mətáji</i>	<i>mətájiyá</i>	<i>má:ná:</i>	<i>məná:já:</i>
2s	<i>kətáji</i>	<i>kətájiyá</i>	<i>ká:ná:</i>	<i>kəná:já:</i>
3s	<i>átáji</i>	<i>átájiyá</i>	<i>à:ná:</i>	<i>áná:já:</i>
1p	<i>mətáji</i>	<i>mətájiyá</i>	<i>mà:ná:</i>	<i>mənà:já:</i>
2p	<i>kətáji</i>	<i>kətájiyá</i>	<i>kà:ná:</i>	<i>kənà:já:</i>
3p	<i>tətáji</i>	<i>tətájiyá</i>	<i>tà:ná:</i>	<i>tənà:já:</i>

	REC.PUNCT	REC.CONT	IMM.IPRF	IMM.CONT
1s	<i>məná:ji</i>	<i>məná:jiyá</i>	<i>má:ǵí</i>	<i>mí:ǵiyá</i>
2s	<i>kəná:ji</i>	<i>kəná:jiyá</i>	<i>ká:ǵí</i>	<i>kí:ǵiyá</i>
3s	<i>áná:ji</i>	<i>áná:jiyá</i>	<i>à:ǵí</i>	<i>áǵiyá</i>
1p	<i>mənà:ji</i>	<i>mənà:jiyá</i>	<i>mà:ǵí</i>	<i>mì:ǵiyá</i>
2p	<i>kənà:ji</i>	<i>kənà:jiyá</i>	<i>kà:ǵí</i>	<i>kì:ǵiyá</i>
3p	<i>tənà:ji</i>	<i>tənà:jiyá</i>	<i>tà:ǵí</i>	<i>ǵí:ǵiyá</i>

**Future Punctual.** The inflection has the structure: « PGN + *a* + *ji* ». The verb keeps the lexical form.

**Future Continuous.** The inflection has the structure: « PGN + *a* + *ji* + *ká* ». The verb is in the form of a Verbal Noun.

**Remote Past Perfect.** The inflection has the structure: « PGN + *á:* + *tá* ». The verb is in the modified form.

**Remote Past Imperfect.** The inflection has the structure: « PGN + *ta* + *já:* ». The verb appears in the lexical form in the singular, and in the modified form in the plural. (cf. Imperfect).

**Remote Past Punctual.** The inflection has the structure: « PGN + *ta* + *ji* ». The verb keeps the lexical form. Lusa speakers associate this combination to the Ngòbíjà dialect. They prefer to use the Recent Past Imperfect.

**Remote Past Continuous.** The inflection has the structure: « PGN + *ta* + *ji* + *ká* ». The verb is in the form of a Verbal Noun.

**Recent Past Perfect.** The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *á:* + *ná:* ». The verb appears in the modified form.

**Recent Past Imperfect.** The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *ná:* + *já:* ». The verb appears in the lexical form in the singular, and in the modified form in the plural.

**Recent Past Punctual.** The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *ná:* + *ji* ». The verbs keep the lexical form. This combination is associated to the *bógoró* / *ngòbíjà* dialect by the Lusa speakers. They prefer to use the Recent Past Imperfect.

**Recent Past Continuous.** The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *ná:* + *ji* + *ká* ». The verb is in the form of a Verbal Noun.

**Immediate Past Perfect.** The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *á:* + *ji* ». The first syllable of the verb receives a low tone.

**Immediate Past Imperfect.** The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *ji:* + *já:* ». The verb appears in the lexical form in the singular, and in the modified form in the plural.

**Immediate Past Continuous.** The inflection follows the pattern « PGN + *ji* + *ji* + *ká* ». The verb appears in the form of a Verbal Noun.

### iii. Mood and aspect

	REC.COUNT	REM.COUNT
1s	<i>mína:</i>	<i>míta</i>
2s	<i>kína:</i>	<i>kíta</i>
3s	<i>tína:</i> / <i>ʔína:</i>	<i>títa</i> / <i>ʔíta</i>
1p	<i>mìnà:</i>	<i>mità</i>
2p	<i>kìnà:</i>	<i>kità</i>
3p	<i>tìnà:</i> / <i>ʔìnà:</i>	<i>tità</i> / <i>ʔità</i>

## H. Gender and number

*Za:r* does not possess grammatical gender or nominal classes and few nouns form a plural (less than 60 items in the lexicon). Regular plurals are formed with the suffix *-(t)sá* associated to L, MH and MHM tone patterns.

head	<i>gàm</i>	<i>gàm(t)sà</i>	<i>-sà; -tsà</i>	L <sup>10</sup>
hen	<i>gèri</i>	<i>gersá</i>	<i>-fi</i>	MH
dog	<i>kádi</i>	<i>kadaŋsá</i>	<i>-fi</i>	MH
mouse	<i>mbâp</i>	<i>mbaptsá</i>	<i>-tsà</i>	MH
chief	<i>gùŋ</i>	<i>guŋsá</i>	<i>-sà</i>	MH
vulture	<i>kwádãk</i>	<i>kwadaksá</i>	<i>-sà</i>	MH
viper	<i>ɖìgu:ri</i>	<i>ɖìgu:rinsà</i>	<i>-sà</i>	MHM

A good number of family nouns form their plural with the *-(k)tà* [-ɣtə] suffix and MH tones<sup>11</sup>:

in-law	<i>ɖìt</i>	<i>ɖìdàktá</i>
cousin	<i>kúndà:</i>	<i>kundaktá</i>
mother	<i>na:</i>	<i>naktá</i>
sister	<i>wa:tsá</i>	<i>watsaktá</i>
brother	<i>jês</i>	<i>jestá</i>

The irregularities are proportionally quite numerous:

woman	<i>gàt</i>	<i>gudì</i>
child	<i>ɲá:</i>	<i>mə:ri</i>
arrow	<i>pìs</i>	<i>piská</i>
guest	<i>sám</i>	<i>səmdá</i>
sheep	<i>tám</i>	<i>tìmsá</i>

Other irregularities concern words borrowed with their original plural from Hausa :

animal	<i>dabbà</i>	<i>dabbo:bì</i>
car	<i>mó:ta</i>	<i>mo:to:fi</i>
soldiers		<i>so:ɖɔ:ɖi</i>
book	<i>tágàrda</i>	<i>tàgàrdu</i>

## I. Nominal determination

4 suffixes establish 4 levels of determination :

- *-i* : definite (DEF)
- *-es* : anaphoric (ANAPH)
- *-án* : proximal deictic (PROX)
- *-í:* : distal deictic (DIST)

### a. Definite

The definite form of the *Za:r* noun is suffixed with *-i*. Its meaning is that of a low level of determination, of a form of individuation introducing a referential value. Its tone copies the last tone of the lexical form of the noun.

<sup>10</sup> The L tone is not associated to the presence of an initial voiced consonant as can be seen from *guŋsá*, plural of *gùŋ*, 'chief'.

<sup>11</sup> Rather than a plural suffix, this may be a case of collective or abstract derivation. The most common form of plural formed with the *-sá* suffix is probably borrowed from neighbouring Niger-Congo languages. The original (now exceptional) nominal plurals are restricted to a few terms related to humans (man, woman, children), plurality being expressed through the verbal INFL.

chief	<i>gùŋ</i>	<i>gùndʒì</i>
spear	<i>gwa:r</i>	<i>gwa:ri</i>
night	<i>kávit</i>	<i>kávidí</i>
work	<i>la:</i>	<i>la:j</i>

Final lexical contour tones spread over the last two syllables of the suffixed noun and become MH (<R) or HM (<F).

fig-tree	<i>gwǎ:m</i>	<i>gwa:mí</i>
termite	<i>lí:tn</i>	<i>lí:ti</i>
sheep	<i>tí:m</i>	<i>tí:mi</i>

There are cases of resyllabification:

porcupine	<i>gùsùm</i>	<i>gùsmì</i>
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### b. Indefinite

*wón* is a post-nominal determiner introducing an indeterminate qualitative specification. It is translated by 'a, some, (not) any, (an)other'<sup>12</sup>. They are suffixed either to the noun, producing the light indefinite *wón* (mur *wón*, someone; ngátn *wón* something; lèp *wón*; somewhere) or to the pronominal form of the Genitive Link *kə/gə*, producing the heavy form *gón* (*bátú:re gón*, 'a European'), which can be used as a pronominal form.

### c. Previous Reference Marker

The Previous Reference Marker (PRM, glossed ANAPH in the corpus) is a *-es/-os* suffix with a F tone. The *-es* form is suffixed to final consonants and replaces final syllabic nasals:

spear	<i>gwa:r</i>	<i>gwa:rês</i>
fig-tree	<i>gwǎ:m</i>	<i>gwa:mês</i>
sheep	<i>tâ:m</i>	<i>tâ:mês</i>
termite	<i>lí:tn</i>	<i>lí:tês</i>
night	<i>kávit</i>	<i>kávidês</i>

The *-os* form replaces final vowels in polysyllabic nouns:

millet	<i>mârwa</i>	<i>mârwôs</i>
orange	<i>lè:mu</i>	<i>lè:môs</i>

A preceding L tone prevails over the F tone of the PRM:

chief	<i>gùŋ</i>	<i>gùnès</i>
woman	<i>gàt</i>	<i>gàdès</i>
abandoned house	<i>dàddàn</i>	<i>dàddànès</i>

The *-s* form is suffixed to a monosyllabic vowel-final noun. If this noun bears a M tone, it becomes Rising:

work	<i>la:</i>	<i>lǎ:s</i>
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There are cases of resyllabification :

porcupine	<i>gùsùm</i>	<i>gùsmès</i>
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<sup>12</sup> cf. Hausa *wani/wata/wasu*.



#### d. Deitics

*Za:r* has two degrees of deitics : proximal *-án*, 'this' and distal *-í*: 'that'.

They are suffixed either to the noun, producing the light deictic, or to the pronominal form of the Genitive Link *kə/gə*, producing the heavy deictic determiners (proximal *gán* and distal *gwí*.) used with the definite form of the noun:

spear	<i>gwa:r</i>	<i>gwa:ri gán/gí:</i>	<i>gwa:rán</i>	<i>gwa:rí:</i>
fig-tree	<i>gwǎ:m</i>	<i>gwa:mí gán/gí:</i>	<i>gwa:mán</i>	<i>gwa:mí:</i>
sheep	<i>tâ:m</i>	<i>tâ:mi gán/gí:</i>	<i>tâ:mán</i>	<i>tâ:mí:</i>
termite	<i>fi:tn</i>	<i>fi:ti gán/gí:</i>	<i>fi:tán</i>	<i>fi:tí:</i>
night	<i>kávit</i>	<i>kávidi gán/gí:</i>	<i>kávidán</i>	<i>kávidí:</i>
work	<i>la:</i>	<i>lǎ:j gán/gí:</i>	<i>lǎ:n</i>	<i>la:jí:</i>
chief	<i>gùŋ</i>	<i>gùŋi gán/gí:</i>	<i>gùŋán</i>	<i>gùŋáj</i>
porcupine	<i>gùsùm</i>	<i>gùsmi gán/gí:</i>	<i>gùsmán</i>	<i>gùsmí:</i>
millet	<i>màrwa</i>	<i>màrwaj gán/gí:</i>	<i>màrwán</i>	<i>màrwáj</i>
orange	<i>lè:mu</i>	<i>lè:muj gán/gí:</i>	<i>lè:mún</i>	<i>lè:múj</i>

#### e. Quantification : numerals

##### *The number system*

1	<i>nàmbóŋ</i>	20	<i>táfi-mbàlèŋ</i>
2	<i>mbàlèŋ</i>	21	<i>táfi-mbàlèŋ tá nàmbóŋ</i>
3	<i>mâ:dʒ</i>	22	<i>táfi-mbàlèŋ tá mbàlèŋ</i>
4	<i>wupsə</i>	30	<i>táfi-mà:dʒ</i>
5	<i>nandam</i>	40	<i>táfi-wupsə</i>
6	<i>lim</i>	50	<i>táfi-nàndàm</i>
7	<i>wottsámadʒ</i>	60	<i>táfi-lim</i>
8	<i>tá:nta:n</i>	70	<i>táfi-wottsá-madʒ</i>
9	<i>tókndam</i>	80	<i>táfi-tá:nta:n</i>
10	<i>dzúp</i>	90	<i>táfi-tókndam</i>
11	<i>dzúp-í:ti-nàmbóŋ</i>	100	<i>ku:ri</i>
12	<i>dzúp-í:ti-mbàlèŋ</i>	1000	<i>zàngú</i>

Cardinal numbers follow the noun they modify. The noun can be in the plural or in the singular. Cardinal numbers are predicated with the verbs *ji* (and its variants *fi/fi*), 'be' or *fi*, 'do'. The corresponding question word is *wuri*, 'how many'.

—*tá*      *fi:*      *zàr-sà*      *wuri*      *kó:*      *ji*      *nàmbóŋ*      *káwêj?*  
3PL.AOR    do.DEF    man-PL    how    or    be    one    only

—*tá*      *fi:*      *zàrsà*      ...      *zàrsà*      *wupsə*.  
3PL.AOR    do.DEF    man-PL                    man-PL    four  
—How many people were there, or was there only one?  
—They were four... four people.

They can be used as head of a NP, with the quantified noun understood :

*nàmbóŋ-wá:sàŋ*  
one-3PL.GEN  
one of them

*mbàlèŋ-wà:sàŋ*  
two-3PL.GEN  
two of them

## f. Qualification

The genitive link (GL<sup>13</sup>) is an essential component of the expression of noun qualification in *Za:r*. It is used to modify a noun with an NP, an AP or ordinal numerals. The structure is NP GL NP/AP/Num and the Genitive link (GL) is =*kə*. It has high tone after nouns with final high tone or with all mid tones, low tone elsewhere. The GL can be omitted when immediately preceded by the possessed NP. The tone of the GL is then shifted to the preceding morpheme. If the latter consists of a single level toned monosyllable, the shifted tone is preceded by the original tone. Elsewhere, the shifted tone replaces the last tone of the morpheme. The effect of this floating tone is visible only with nouns possessing uniform M tone : *mə:ri*, 'children' > *mə:ri kadanfēs*, 'the puppies' ; *kot*, 'calabash' > *kōt nō:no*, 'milk calabash'.

### i. Genitive phrases

The GL is used to modify a noun with an NP: *ma:ndə=kə' dən*, 'civil war, *lit.* war of house' ; *səŋwa:ri kə mumtsə*, 'chief of masquerades'.

The GL is also a means of producing compound words: *mur=kə dənès*, 'head of the family, *lit.* man of the house'; *mur=kə zùkn*, 'sorcerer, *lit.* man of medicine'.

The pronominal nature of the GL =*kə* appears in the following example where it stands for the qualified noun, with the meaning 'that of', 'the... one'. In its pronominal form, the GL is accentuated and the initial /k/ remains unchanged.

*kó:dzəŋgjó: já: lə wò lən fə: kə gùŋ lá:rdi, har....*

Every day he would go and pick the king's [groundnuts] and take them home and then...

### ii. Adjectival phrases

The GL is used to modify a noun with an Adjectival Phrase: *lât=kə mu:ri*, 'new leather'.

### iii. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numbers are made with a cardinal number in the definite form following the pronominal Genitive Link : *kə nàmbóŋi*, 'the first one' ; *kə mbáŋmi*, 'the second one', etc. "First" in a temporal meaning, uses the words *kéni*, 'front' (*guydə=kə kə kéni*, 'the first chieftaincy'), or *fú:ri*, 'beginning' borrowed from Hausa (*kə fú:ri=kə tákàn=wà:səŋ*, the first to appear).

### iv. Relative constructions

The relative marker is *dən*. The structure of the relative clause modifier is : <Noun<sup>[+def]</sup> *dən* ...>. The final /n/ assimilates to a following velar (*dən* > *dəŋ*) or bilabial (*dən* > *dəm*), yielding the three variants : *dən /dəŋ/dəm*.

The NP in the relative clause that is coreferential to the relativized NP is deleted. This applies to subject and direct object NPs.

<i>ŋi:-é:s=kən-in<sup>15</sup></i>	<i>dəŋ</i>	<i>fú:ji</i>	<i>kən</i>	<i>zà</i>
girl-ANAPH=COP2-PROX	REL	IPF.PUNCT	carry	water

<sup>13</sup> Glossed as PTCL.SYNT (\rx) and GEN (\ge) in the corpus.

<sup>14</sup> The rule *k > y* applies yielding [*ma:ndəyá dən*].

<sup>15</sup> [*ŋé:skənín*]

Here is the girl who carries the water.

*zà-i=kən-in*<sup>16</sup>      *dən*      *ni:-ê:s*      (á)      *lǎ:r*  
 water-DEF=COP2-PROX    REL    girl-ANAPH    3SG.AOR    take\_to  
*túr=wôs*      *món-dí*  
 husband=3SG.GEN    DAT-DIR  
 Here is the water that the girl took to her husband.

However, if the deleted NP is [+human], it is replaced by a resumptive pronoun.

*mur-í:*      *dám*      *mə*      *jél=tə*      [...]  
 man-PROX    REL    1SG.AOR    see=3SG.ACC  
 This man that I saw...

If the deleted NP is a Locative, it is replaced by the resumptive locative pronoun =*káj*:

*dən-ès=kən-in*      *dən*      *je:s*      *lǎ:r*      *zà=káj*<sup>17</sup>.  
 house-ANAPH=COP2-PROX    REL    girl-ANAPH    take\_to    water=ANAPH  
 Here is the house that the girl brought water to.

## J. Adjectives

**Morphologically**, adjectives are a "nouny" category. They cannot be combined to a negative marker nor to a comparative morpheme. They have a plural and a definite form. When these two affixes are combined, four forms can be obtained. Let's take the adjective 'evil' as an example:

	lexical	definite
singular	<i>kúskə</i>	<i>kú:fi</i>
plural	<i>kusúŋsə</i>	<i>kusúŋfi</i>

Adjectives with a plural form :

	singular	plural
big	<i>dəllək, dəllí</i>	<i>dəlləŋsə, dəlləŋfi</i>
old	<i>gə:ri</i>	<i>gə:rəŋsə, gə:rəŋfi</i>
clipped	<i>ndúri</i>	<i>ndurúŋsə, ndurúŋfi</i>
big	<i>vəri</i>	<i>vərəŋsə, vərəŋfi</i>
female	<i>ʃár</i>	<i>ʃarəŋsə</i>
young, small	<i>ŋa:, ŋa:ni</i>	<i>mə:ri, mə:ri-mə:ri</i>
old	<i>ndótsə, ndwá:tsə</i>	<i>ndwatsəŋsə, ndwatsəŋfi</i>
bad	<i>kúskə</i>	<i>kusúŋsə, kusúŋfi</i>

**Syntactically** : adjectives appear as modifiers in a Noun Phrase and cannot be head of such a Noun Phrase (except superficially when the head noun is understood). They draw their number feature by agreement with the noun they modify, whereas nouns get theirs from their referential function. When they operate as noun modifiers, adjectives can be simply juxtaposed on the left of the noun : <Adj N> or appear on the right and are introduced by genitive link : <N=*kə* Adj>. The GL structure is not used with plural adjectives.

*dəllə firəŋ    ndurúŋsə*<sup>18</sup> *fakndí    lát=kə mu:ri*

<sup>16</sup> [ʒəjyənín]

<sup>17</sup> [ʒàyéj]

a big stick      short(-legged) pots      new leather

The GL can be omitted, but it leaves behind a floating tone that raises the last tone of an all-M toned noun to Rising: *ɲa:*, 'child' ; *ɲa:=kə fʃá:li* = *ɲǎ: fʃá:li*, 'a lucky child' (*lit.* « child of white »).

The modified noun can be omitted leaving the GL as head of the NP: *kə vǎri*, 'a big one'.

When they operate as predicates, adjectives use the PTCL.PRED *nə*, and optionally the verb *ji*, 'be' :

	modifier	predicate
singular	<i>kúskə za:r</i> an evil man	<i>D. nə kú:fi</i> D. is evil
plural	<i>kusúɲsə zǎrsə</i> evil people	<i>zǎrsə fi nə kusúɲfi</i> people are evil

### a. Non-derived adjectives

Non-derived, "pure" adjectives in *Za:r* don't exceed 25 in number. Semantically, "pure" adjectives can be subcategorized into :

**Colour** (4) : These four adjectives have a reduplicated form with a diminutive meaning, which can be translated into English by a « *-ish* » suffix.

	singular	plural	derived form
black	<i>ɖʒi:</i>	<i>ɖʒiɲsə</i>	<i>ɖʒi:-ɖʒi:</i>
white	<i>fʃá:li</i>	<i>fʃaláɲsə</i>	<i>fʃá:li- fʃá:li</i>
red	<i>zèli</i>	<i>zèlǎɲsə</i>	<i>zèli-zèli</i>
variegated	<i>mbófi</i>	<i>mbófi</i>	<i>mbófi-mbófi</i>

**Size, shape** (9): *dàdà:fi* / *dàdà:s*, 'big' ; *dǎlli* / *dǎllək*, 'tall' ; *vǎri*, 'big, important' ; *ndúri*, 'abnormally short, broken, shortened' ; *ngótse* / *ngóɖʒiki*, 'large (animal)' ; *vǎti*, 'void' ; *dǎtʃi*, 'shallow' ; *fóptǎɲ*, 'thin' ; *wókfi*, 'rough' ;

**Moral/human qualities** (3) : *kúskə*, 'evil' ; *mbok*, 'catankerous' ; *múli*, 'naked' ;

**Others** (9): *mbóri*, 'ill-cooked (flour)' ; *gwà:mì*, 'ill-cooked (meat), premature' ; *la:mi*, 'insipid' ; *má:ki*, 'dirty' ; *na:-tsà:dej* (Hau), 'expensive' ; *mbuní*, 'good' ; *mu:ri*, 'new' ; *ndwátsə*, 'old' ; *ndʒú:li*, 'pure'.

### b. Compound adjectives of colour

These adjectives are compounds formed with the word 'water' followed by a term characteristic of a certain colour.

	singular	literal meaning
blue	<i>zək-gàlú:ra</i>	water-of-blue dye sp. <sup>19</sup>
dark brown	<i>zək-nǎlle</i>	water-of-hennae
yellow	<i>zək-ra:s</i>	water-of-locust-bean tree
green	<i>zək-pá:tsə</i>	water-of-leaf

<sup>18</sup> *ndúri* (pl. *ndurúɲsə*), 'shortened, abnormally short'.

<sup>19</sup> *gàlú:ra* : name of a chemical blue dye common in Northern Nigeria markets.

### c. Verbal Adjectives

Adjectives can be derived from quality verbs through a *-ni / -fi* suffix. They only function as noun modifiers, in a genitive construction: *jalák*, 'be smooth' > *jalákni* > *pǔ:s jalákni*, 'a smooth stone'. Some Verbal Adjectives have a plural form: *ngomdá*, 'be crooked' > *ngómdi* (pl. *ngomdáŋfi*), 'crooked'.

### d. Verbal Nouns

A Verbal Noun can be used as a noun determiner, filling the same function as an adjective. It uses the genitive construction: *sakát*, 'be clever' > *sakátkân*, 'cleverness' : *zá:r sakátkân*, 'a clever man' (lit. 'a man of cleverness').

### e. Comparison

Comparison is not marked on the adjective, but is expressed through a syntactic construction using the verb *mop*, 'exceed', with the term of comparison (the quality) appearing as a (Verbal) Noun : <X *mop* Y *Z<sub>[quality]</sub>*> = <X exceeds Y in *Z<sub>[quality]</sub>*>.

*dí:la m̀òp zá:ki sakát-k̀áni=ò:*  
 Jakal AOR.exceed Lion be\_clever-NMLZ=ASS  
 Jackal is wiser than Lion (lit. Jackal exceeds Lion in wisdom).

## K. Pronouns

### a. Independant pronouns (IDP)

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>mjá:ni</i>	<i>mjà:ní</i>
2	<i>kjá:ni</i>	<i>kjà:ní</i>
3	<i>já:ni</i>	<i>jà:fi</i>

### b. Object pronouns (ACC)

#### i. Segmental form

	Singular	Plural
1	= <i>əm</i>	= <i>mi</i>
2	= <i>kə</i>	= <i>ki</i>
3	= <i>tə</i>	= <i>fi</i>

#### ii. Tones

DO pronouns have mid tone in the singular and high tone in the plural.

<i>jel</i> , 'see'	Singular		Plural	
1	à: <i>jel=əm</i>	[ <i>jeləm</i> ]	à: <i>jel=mí</i>	[ <i>jelmi</i> ]
2	à: <i>jel=kə</i>	[ <i>jelɣə</i> ]	à: <i>jel=kí</i>	[ <i>jelkí</i> ]
3	à: <i>jel=tə</i>	[ <i>jeltə</i> ]	à: <i>jel=fí</i>	[ <i>jelfí</i> ]

A final L tone spreads from the verb to the M tone of the DO.

<i>vər</i> , 'give'	Singular		Plural	
1	á <i>vər=əm</i>	[ <i>vərəm</i> ]	á <i>vər=mí</i>	[ <i>vərmí</i> ]
2	á <i>vər=kə</i>	[ <i>vərɣə</i> ]	á <i>vər=kí</i>	[ <i>vərkí</i> ]
3	á <i>vər=tə</i>	[ <i>vərtə</i> ]	á <i>vər=fí</i>	[ <i>vərfí</i> ]

If this L tone is part of a Falling tone, it shifts to the M tone of the DO. See the following example where the verb conjugated in the Aorist, bears a H or M depending on the person and number index of the TAM:

<i>tu</i> , 'meet'		
<i>mə tú háŋ</i>	<i>mə tútə</i>	(<tú=tə)
I did not find (it)	I found him	
<i>tá tú háŋ</i>	<i>tá tútə</i>	(<tú=tə)
He did not find (it)	He found him	

### c. Genitive Pronouns

Genitive pronouns have two forms: one suffixed to the genitive link *kə/gə*, and one suffixed to the possessed noun.

#### i. Forms with *kə/gə*-

This heavy form is a full word, has a uniform L tone, and can be used as head of NP.

	singular	plural
1	<i>gətn</i>	<i>gwəpm</i>
2	<i>gwà:</i>	<i>gwà:n</i>
3	<i>gwòs</i>	<i>gwà:səŋ</i>

#### ii. Forms without *kə/gə*

This light form cliticizes to the qualified noun. The suppression of the *gə* leaves behind a floating H tone.

	singular	plural
1	<i>=(a)tn</i>	<i>=wapm</i>
2	<i>=wà:</i>	<i>=wà:n</i>
3	<i>=was</i>	<i>=wà:səŋ</i>

For the 1s pronoun, the tone of the genitive PNG is L after a L tone :

<i>bəndə</i> , 'pot'	<i>nábəm</i> , 'butter'
<i>bəndətn</i>	<i>nábəmàtn</i>

F elsewhere :

<i>túr</i> , 'husband'	<i>gəri</i> , 'fowl'
<i>túràtn</i>	<i>gèràtn</i>

Some exceptions come from resyllabification :

<i>ngətn</i> , 'thing'	<i>səbər</i> , 'knife'	<i>ra:</i> , 'heart'
<i>ngətàtn</i>	<i>səbràtn</i>	<i>ra:tn</i>

Only the first tone of contour tones is kept :

<i>kə:m</i> , 'ear'	<i>dwǎ:m</i> , 'metal'
<i>kə:mâdn</i>	<i>dwa:mâdn</i>

For the other persons, the tone of the suffix is L after a L tone:

	<i>bəndə</i> , 'pot'	<i>dən</i> , 'compound'
2s	<i>bəndəwà:</i>	<i>dənwà:</i>
3p	<i>bəndəwà:səŋ</i>	<i>dənwà:səŋ</i>

and after falling melodies (H-L, H-M and Falling):

	<i>nábàm</i> , ‘butter’	<i>kádi</i> , ‘dog’	<i>lút</i> = ‘rope’
2s	<i>nábàmwà:</i>	<i>kádiwà:</i>	<i>lútwà:</i>
3p	<i>nábàmwà:səŋ</i>	<i>kádiwà:səŋ</i>	<i>lútwà:səŋ</i>

It is Falling after a H tone

	<i>túr</i> , ‘husband’
2s	<i>túrwà:</i>
3p	<i>túrwà:səŋ</i>

and after rising melodies (L-M, M-H and Rising)

	<i>bùtí</i> , ‘okra’	<i>kari</i> , ‘monkey sp.’	<i>dwǎ:m</i> , ‘money’
2s	<i>bùtíwà:</i>	<i>kariwà:</i>	<i>dwǎ:mwà:</i>
3p	<i>bùtíwà:səŋ</i>	<i>kariwà:səŋ</i>	<i>dwǎ:mwà:səŋ</i>

As final M tones are raised by the floating H tone, the rule applies to the resulting rising melody:

	<i>ga:m</i> , ‘head’	<i>ra:</i> , ‘heart’
2s	<i>gǎ:mwà:</i>	<i>rǎ:wà:</i>
3p	<i>gǎ:mwà:səŋ</i>	<i>rǎ:wà:səŋ</i>

### iii. Exceptions

Some possessives (inherent possessions) have a special form :

<i>dà:</i> , ‘father’	<i>na:</i> , ‘mother’	<i>jés</i> , ‘brother’	<i>wa:tsə</i> , ‘sister’
<i>dà:gətn</i>	<i>ná:gətn</i>	<i>jésətn</i>	<i>wa:tsətn</i>
<i>dà:gwà:</i>	<i>ná:gwà:</i>	<i>jéswà:</i>	<i>wa:tsawà:</i>
<i>dà:gwòs</i>	<i>ná:gwòs</i>	<i>jéswòs</i>	<i>wa:tsawòs</i> , <i>wa:tsafí</i>
<i>dà:gwòpm</i>	<i>ná:gwòpm</i>	<i>jéswòpm</i>	<i>wa:tsawòpm</i>
<i>dà:wà:n</i>	<i>nawa:n</i>	<i>jéswà:n</i>	<i>wa:tsawà:n</i>
<i>dà:wà:səŋ</i>	<i>nawa:səŋ</i>	<i>jéswà:səŋ</i>	<i>wa:tsawà:səŋ</i>

<i>kâ:m</i> , ‘friend’	<i>kǎn</i> , ‘uncle’	<i>dən</i> , ‘house’ / <i>vì:</i> , ‘mouth’
<i>kamsətn</i>	<i>kanətn</i>	<i>dá:m dən/vì:</i>
<i>kamsa:</i>	<i>kaná:</i>	<i>dá:γə dən/vì:</i>
<i>kamsafí</i>	<i>kánwòs</i> , <i>kanáfí</i>	<i>dá:tə dən/vì:</i>
<i>kamsawòpm</i>	<i>kánwòpm</i>	<i>dá:mí dən/vì:</i>
<i>kamsawà:n</i>	<i>kánwà:n</i>	<i>dá:kí dən/vì:</i>
<i>kamsawà:səŋ</i>	<i>kánwà:səŋ</i>	<i>dá:fí dən/vì:</i>

### d. Reflexive pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	<i>gamətn</i>	<i>gamawòpm</i>
2	<i>gama:</i>	<i>gamawà:n</i>
3	<i>gamas</i> , <i>gamafí</i>	<i>gamawà:səŋ</i>

### e. Reciprocal

The English “each other” is expressed by *ǰəŋsə̀= wà:səŋ* (lit. ‘their bodies’) in *Za:r*:

<i>mən</i>	<i>dʒà:-kən</i>	<i>mó:ta</i>	<i>dən</i>
people.gen	drive-NMLZ	car	REL
<i>tà:</i>	<i>sa:bá-i</i>	<i>tə</i>	<i>ǰəŋsə̀wà:səŋ</i>
3PL.PFV	be_used-DEF	with	each_other

Drivers who were used to each other [...]

#### f. The locative resumptive pronoun *káj*

*káj* appears as a resumptive substitute for locative PP. Its allophones are *káɗɗ/ngáɗɗ/yáɗɗ*. It will appear in a clause where the place from which circumstantial has been relativized :

<i>lâp</i>	<i>wón</i>	<i>dán</i>	<i>tá</i>	<i>tâ=káj</i>
place	INDEF	REL	3PL.AOR	go=LOC
<i>mjá:</i>	<i>sú:</i>	<i>mà</i>	<i>lá:p=fí</i>	<i>hâŋ-o:</i>
1SG.IPFV	want	1SG.SBJV	follow=3PL.ACC	NEG2-ASS
The place they went to, I didn't want to follow them.				

or focussed :

<i>nə</i>	<i>ŋantsá</i>	<i>wón</i>	<i>dán</i>	<i>ŋǎ:</i>	<i>dzǎk</i>	<i>tu-êɓ=ká<sup>20</sup>j</i>
COPI	tree	INDEF	REL	3PL.IPFV	slaughter	animal.ANAPH=LOC
It's a tree which they sacrificed animals on.						

## L. Prepositions

Prepositions can be divided into simple and compound prepositions. Some simple *Za:r* prepositions are borrowed from Hausa (= HAU in the tables).

<i>á, ká, bas</i>	at
<i>dàgà</i>	from (HAU)
<i>da</i>	at
<i>dán</i>	like
<i>gámé</i>	with (HAU)
<i>kámár</i>	like (HAU)
<i>mel</i>	near
<i>ná</i>	for, towards
<i>tsàkà:ní</i>	between (HAU)
<i>zúwa</i>	towards (HAU)

*ká* has three allophones: *ká/yá/ŋá*. *bas* is the pre-pronominal form it takes when forming the continuous TAM marker.<sup>21</sup>

<i>ŋê:s</i>	<i>má:</i>	<i>ŋi-bas=tə</i>	<i>sú:-kân</i>
girl.ANAPH	TOO	3SG.CONT-3SG.ACC	love-NMLZ
The girl too she loved him.			

Compound prepositions are derived from nouns, with the structure (*á*)+N+(*ká*) and have an adverbial counterpart.

<i>gà:m</i>	head	( <i>á</i> ) <i>gam</i>	on top of
<i>dù:l</i>	heritage	( <i>á</i> ) <i>dùl</i>	on top of
<i>gàs</i>	bottom	( <i>á</i> ) <i>gàs</i>	under
<i>dùr</i>	occasion	( <i>á</i> ) <i>dùr yá</i>	because of
		( <i>á</i> ) <i>gip</i>	inside

<sup>20</sup> [*tô:skáj*]

<sup>21</sup> Cf. 16.5.



<i>kên</i>	face	( <i>á</i> ) <i>kên</i>	in front of
<i>kâ:r</i>	back	( <i>á</i> ) <i>kâ:r</i>	behind
<i>ƒokn</i>	sky	( <i>á</i> ) <i>ƒókɲ</i>	on top of
<i>te:</i>	place	( <i>á</i> ) <i>te:</i>	by, near
<i>làɲsá</i>	side	( <i>á</i> ) <i>láɲ</i>	near (road, river)
<i>ƒì:</i>	body	( <i>á</i> ) <i>ƒèj</i>	in the middle of
		( <i>á</i> ) <i>ƒòk</i>	deep in the middle of
<i>vì:</i>	mouth	( <i>á</i> ) <i>vì:</i>	near (road, river)

## M. Adverbs

### a. Time

#### *Deictic*

<i>dangəni</i>	now
<i>dálàɲsán, dālâ:səɲə́nə́n</i>	right now
<i>tàj dzàngí:, tàj vɪndí:</i>	the day before yesterday
<i>nà:já:wón</i>	yesterday
<i>jà:wón</i>	today
<i>ɖǎ:n</i>	tomorrow
<i>dí:ní</i>	the day after tomorrow
<i>ɖìndí, tǎj ɖìni</i>	last year
<i>ɖìnə́ɲə́n</i>	this year
<i>dí:n, dí:n ɖìni</i>	next year

#### *Others*

<i>dada, sádádada</i>	again
<i>ba:ndə́ɲ</i>	formerly
<i>gàlàs</i>	later
<i>nga:láj</i>	later on
<i>túntún</i>	long ago (HAU)

### b. Place

#### *Deictic*

<i>dū:n, dú:ní</i>	here
<i>dáni, dān, dadān, dadáni</i>	there
<i>dí:</i>	over there, far

#### *Others*

<i>báɖə́ɲ</i>	outside
<i>dù:lì</i>	on top
<i>dó:ngáj</i>	far away
<i>gà:mì</i>	above, uphill, up west
<i>gə́ɖí</i>	under, downhill
<i>ká:ri</i>	back, last
<i>kéni</i>	in front, first
<i>laɲsá</i>	near
<i>laɲfí</i>	aside
<i>mel</i>	near
<i>napti</i>	left

<i>vòj</i>	below
<i>jâ:l</i>	on the ground
<i>ɓari</i>	across

### c. Manner

<i>mari</i>	different
<i>mólâk</i>	quickly
<i>na: tá:dí</i>	jokingly
<i>na: za:ri</i>	properly
<i>nda:râ</i>	well
<i>ɓantay</i>	truly
<i>tsananin</i>	extreme
<i>tsân, tsaní</i>	like this
<i>wobât</i>	suddenly, unexpectedly
<i>tâ:rê</i>	together

### d. Evidential/ epistemic

<i>sòséj</i>	completely, well (HAU)
<i>ɗòndzòm(i)</i>	truly
<i>ɓip</i>	necessarily
<i>anihí</i>	really
<i>de:dé:</i>	exactly (HAU)
<i>ɗay</i>	too
<i>ɓik, ɓikáj</i>	thus
<i>ɗân jâ:lí</i>	thus

### e. Quantitative/qualitative modulation

<i>ájnun</i>	very much, truly (HAU)
<i>bét</i>	all, completely
<i>ɓurúk</i>	all
<i>dâmâɗ</i>	plenty (HAU)
<i>debât</i>	all
<i>gì:ri</i>	properly
<i>kaɗé</i>	only
<i>kam</i>	first
<i>káp, kakáp</i>	every, all
<i>kúrûm</i>	merely
<i>káfe-káfe</i>	of all sorts (HAU)
<i>káwâɗ</i>	only
<i>mondá</i>	much, many
<i>náy</i>	very
<i>ndzwa:tn, ndzwátn ndzwátn,</i> <i>(ɲa:) ndzú:, ndzwá:to</i>	a little
<i>zalla</i>	only, alone

## N. Ideophones

A large part of the adverbial function is fulfilled by ideophones, a large class (355 items in the lexicon) that is set apart by its phonological and syntactic properties. Most of the ideophones are associated with one word (verb or adjective) : *à: ɓoptí: pés*, ‘He washed it clean.’ *á dǐ:mí: pèllân*, ‘He jumped up and down like a monkey.’ They are frequently reduplicated : *nə zèli ndzu:-ndzú:*, ‘It’s a vivid red.’ *à: wul ga:mí: gwalan-gwalán*, ‘He shaved his head clean.’

## O. External Derivation

### a. Nominal derivation

A few abstract nouns are derived from other nouns or verbs through a *-dǎ* suffix and LH tones :

Verb		Abstract noun	
<i>kuy</i>	get dry	<i>kuɲdǎ</i>	dryness
<i>ʔ<sup>22</sup></i>		<i>dʒa:kndǎ</i>	dampness
<i>gùŋ</i>	chief	<i>guɲdǎ</i>	chiefdom

Other derivations are less regular :

Verb		Abstract noun	
<i>fol</i>	to slough	<i>fóli</i>	snake's slough
<i>kəptǎ</i>	to itch	<i>káptǎ</i>	chaff
<i>kír</i>	to run	<i>kítâr</i>	running
<i>lut</i>	to tear off bark of tree	<i>lút</i>	bark rope
<i>wuɫ</i>	to shave	<i>wútká</i>	rasor

### b. Adjectival derivation

Adjectives can be derived from quality verbs through a *-ni / -fi* suffix.

Verb		Adj	
<i>ras</i>	rot	<i>rǎfi</i>	rotten
<i>kuy</i>	dry	<i>kuɲni</i> (pl. <i>kúɲfi</i> )	dry
<i>fupm</i>	be tall	<i>fúpmi</i> (pl. <i>fúpmǎ, fúpmfi</i> )	long, tall

### c. Adverbial derivation

Some adverbs are derived from nouns through a *-i* suffix, or through apotony.

<i>ʃokn</i>	sky	<i>ʃókni</i>	above
<i>dù:l</i>	heritage	<i>dù:li</i>	on top
<i>gà:m</i>	head	<i>gà:mi</i>	on top, uphill
<i>gǎs</i>	bottom	<i>gǎfi</i>	under, downhill
<i>kâ:r</i>	back	<i>ká:ri</i>	at the back, behind
<i>kên</i>	face	<i>kéni, kên</i>	in front, forward
<i>lǎɲsǎ</i>	side	<i>lǎɲfi</i>	aside

Others are derived from verbs through reduplication :

<i>fúpm</i>	be tall, long, far	<i>fupm-fúpm</i>	very far
<i>ʎa:</i>	be strong, hard	<i>ʎa:-ʎâ:</i>	absolutely still

## P. Word order Summary

### a. Non-verbal Simple Clauses

The order is either <S COP O> or <NP COP>

<sup>22</sup> The original verb is unknown, but cf. the derived Verbal Adjective *dyá:ki*, 'damp'.

### b. Simple verbal clause structure

The general order is <S INFL V O>.

### c. NP

The general NP order is Head-Modifier, except for adjectives where the alternative order Modifier-Head can be used.

### d. VP

The general VP order is VO.

### e. Word order variation

In the Continuous, with a nominal DO, the usual <S INFL V O> can be changed to <S INFL O V>:

*fǎ:*             *rí:ɖʒija*    *ɓál-kǎnì*    =    *fǎ:*             *ɓál-kǎn*     *rí:ɖʒija*  
3PL.CONT   well           dig-NMLZ           3PL.CONT   dig-NMLZ     well  
They are digging a well.

*mə*             *tú=fí*                    *á*     *mbùkn*        *fí-kǎn*  
1PL.AOR   meet=3PL.ACC        at    coco\_yam     eat-NMLZ  
I met them quarrelling (*lit.* 'coco-yam eating').

This alternative order is found in certain trade names : *murká gjà:s nɖzómkǎnì*, 'fisherman (*lit.* man-of fish catching)'. Cf. the alternative word order used for others : *murká mbwá:kǎn zǎrí*, 'a spinner' (*lit.* 'man-of spinning thread').

With a pronominal DO, the order <S Aux Pro V> is compulsory. In this case, the locative component *-ká*, 'at' of the Aux takes the pre-pronominal form *-bas* :

*ɲê:s*             *má:*     *fí-bas=tə*                    *sú:-kǎn*  
girl.ANAPH   TOO   3SG.CONT-                    love-NMLZ  
   3SG.ACC  
The girl too she loved him.

### f. The verb 'forget'

The verb 'forget' has the word *la:*, 'work' as a subject and the experiencer as a direct object.

*la:*             *wò*             *mal*             *Dənda.*  
work   3SG.FUT   forget   Dənda  
Dənda will forget.

Reference to the present state of affairs is made through the Aorist: *lǎ:* (<*la:* *á*) *máləm* (<*mâl*=*əm*), 'I forgot'.

1s	<i>lǎ: mál=əm</i>	I have forgotten
2s	<i>lǎ: mál=yə</i>	you have forgotten
3s	<i>lǎ: mál=tə</i>	etc.
1p	<i>lǎ: mál=mí</i>	
2p	<i>lǎ: mál=kí</i>	
3p	<i>lǎ: mál=fí</i>	

Any extra argument (e.g. the thing that has been forgotten) is a comitative (*tá X*, 'with X'): *la: à: máləm tá gí:*, 'I have forgotten that'.

## Q. Information structure

### a. Assertion

If we consider assertion as a general category divided between assertion on the one hand (both affirmative and negative) and non-assertion on the other hand (question), they all follow the same syntactic pattern, without any specific auxiliary or word-order dedicated to any type of assertion. The difference appears at the end of the utterance, either through intonation (rising contour for Y/N questions and exclamation; falling contour for assertion and wh-questions) or through negative and assertive particles added to the end of the utterance.

#### i. Negation

The original Zaar negation is expressed through the particle *háy* (NEG2) added to the end of the utterance.

SAY\_BC\_narr\_01\_SP1\_649

[tô: mə jísáŋ gətǎŋ dāŋ //]

<i>tô:</i>	<i>mə</i>	<i>jísáŋ</i>	<i>gətǎŋ</i>	<i>hán</i>	<i>dāŋ</i>
well	1SG.AOR	know	1SG.GEN	NEG2	again
PTCL.ASS	PNG.TAM	V	PRO.GEN	PTCL.NEG	ADV

Well, I don't know.

Hausa negative particles have found their way into the Zaar language : *bà:* (NEG1) for all utterances, and *kát* (NEG3 < Hau *káddú*) for the negative injunction.

SAY\_BC\_Narr\_02\_Sp1\_471

*kát mə nà: mǎn dāmtsǎŋ //*

Let's not become selfish.

<i>káddú</i>	<i>mə</i>	<i>nà:</i>	<i>mǎn</i>	<i>dāmtsǎ</i>	<i>háy</i>	//
NEG3	1PL.SBJV	become	people	selfishness	NEG2	//
PTCL.NEG	PNG.TAM	V	N.PL	N	PTCL.NEG	//

#### ii. Assertion

The three *-o:* / *-a:* / and *-e:* assertive particles are optionally cliticized at the end of the utterance to emphasize certain types of assertion.:

*-o:* (assertive) is added at the end of positive or negative assertions

SAY\_BC\_narr\_01\_SP1\_663

[á wú tu mjá:ni / bà:má: jel gətŋ ngárwón háŋo: //]

She said, as for me, I didn't see my own.

<i>á</i>	<i>wul</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>mjá:ni</i>	/
3SG.AOR	say	COMP	1SG	/
PNG.TAM	V	PTCL.SYNT	PRO.IDP	/

<i>bà:</i>	<i>má:</i>	<i>jel</i>	<i>gətŋ</i>	<i>ngátŋ</i>	<i>wón</i>	<i>hán=o:</i>	//
NEG1	1SG.PFV	see	3SG.GEN	thing	some	NEG2=ASS	//
PTCL	PNG.TAM	V	PNG	N	PRO.DET	PTCL.NEG=PTCL.ASS	//

*-a:* (non-assertive) is added to Y/N questions and the apodoses of conditionals:

SAY\_BC\_Conv\_02\_SP1\_151

*[á bâní:ja: //]*  
**á**            **bân-í:**        =a:            //  
 3SG.AOR    finish-DEF    =NASS        //  
 PNG.TAM    V-DET        PTCL.ASS    QUEST  
 Is it finished?

-e: is added to WH-Questions.

BC\_SAY\_Conv03(Boys)\_SP2\_209

*[tá ní: tûyà á dàtâpe: //]*  
**tá**            **ní:**            **tu=kə**        **á**            **dâtâpm=e:**    //  
 then        what            meet=2SG.ACC    at            way=QUEST    //  
 ADV        PRO.QUEST    V=PNG            PREP        N=PTCL.ASS    QUEST  
 Well, what happened to you on the road?

### b. Topicalization

As can be expected from oral corpora, topicalization is very common in our Zaar corpus.

The probably universal order “Topic – Comment” prevails, with topics finishing in topicalizing particles borrowed from Hausa : *má:*, ‘too’; *kúmá*, ‘as well’; *fá:*, ‘indeed’, etc.

SAY\_BC\_Narr\_02\_Sp1\_341

*[nàmbóhôm kúmá: mǎfi: dadû:n //]*  
**nàmbóh=ôpm**    **kúmá**        **à:**            **mǎfi:**        **da**            **dû:ni**        /  
 one=1PL.GEN    too            3SG.PFV        die-DEF        at            here            /  
 NUM=PNG        PTCL.TOP    PNG.TAM        V-DET        PREP.hom    ADV.DEICT    /

One of us has died here,

The same information structure is found in clause subordination (with adverbial clauses in place of topic) or coordination (with *kúmá* TOP particle) :

BC\_SAY\_Conv03(Boys)\_SP2\_139

*[kə jisón la:yá sǎjá:sa kúmá / kó:dzàngjó: fíyá dàtâpm //]*  
**kə**            **jisón**        **la:=kə**        **sǎjá:sa**        **kúmá**        /  
 2PL.NOM.AOR    know        Work=GEN        politics        too            /  
 PNG.TAM        V            N= PTCL.SYNT    N            PTCL.TOP    /

**kó:dzàngjó:**    **fíká**            **dâtâpm**        //  
 everyday        3PL.NOM.CONT    way            //  
 ADV            PNG.TAM        N            //

You know the work of politics too, everyday they are on the road.

### c. Focus

Contrary to Hausa, there is no partition of the TAM system into +/- focus-compatible paradigms. The focussed element is identified by *nə* (COP1) or *kən* (COP2), and is extraposed sentence-initially.

SAY\_BC\_Conv\_02\_SP2\_229

[ nə mjà:ní dáy à: kon sâmwòpí:jo: //]

nə	mjà:ní	dán	à:	kon	sâmwòpm-í:=o:
COP1	1PL	REL2	3SG.PFV	say	name=1PL.GEN-DEF=ASS
PTCL.SYNT	PRO.IDP	PTCL.SYNT	PNG.TAM	V	N

We are the ones whose name he called.

## R. Intonation

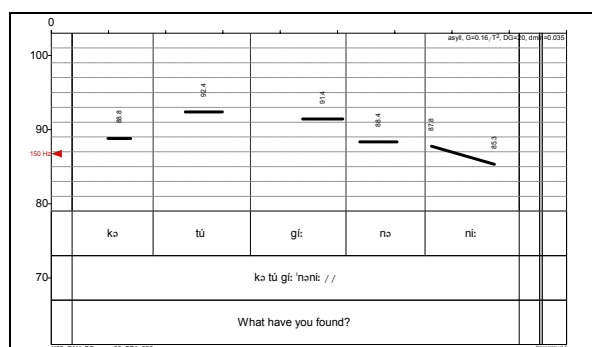
The role of pitch in Zaar intonation can be observed in the variation between lexical and grammatical tones as they can be perceived and transcribed by the native speaker and their acoustic realisation. These variations, i.e. the way intonation influences the realisation of post-lexical tones, fall under the following categories :

- (a) Declination;
- (b) Intonemes, which are divided into:
  - Initial intonemes: Downstep (!) and Upstep (j).
  - Final intonemes : Falling (↓), Rising (↑), Continuing (→) and High-Falling (↑↓);

### a. Declination

In Zaar, a language where declination has not been phonologised into tone downstep, it can still be observed within each intonation unit, from the minor unit up to the period, and can be observed as :a gradual lowering of the pitch over the intonation unit. This is noticeable sp. in High tones. The relative height of tones within an IU is linked to stress. Intensity stress in Zaar is used to underline the rhematic status of lexemes. Stress overrides declination and gives a tone its full lexical value. The highest tone in an IU is the first High tone of the first rhematic lexeme. If this rhematic lexeme does not bear a high tone, or if the IU has no rhematic lexeme, the highest tone is the first High tone of the unit. Within that framework, each High tone following the nuclear stress of an intonation unit is pronounced lower than the following one. This makes for the canonical declarative intonation of Zaar. The same intonation pattern is found in WH-Questions, as in the following example.

Say\_bc\_narr\_03\_SP1\_202



### b. Intonemes

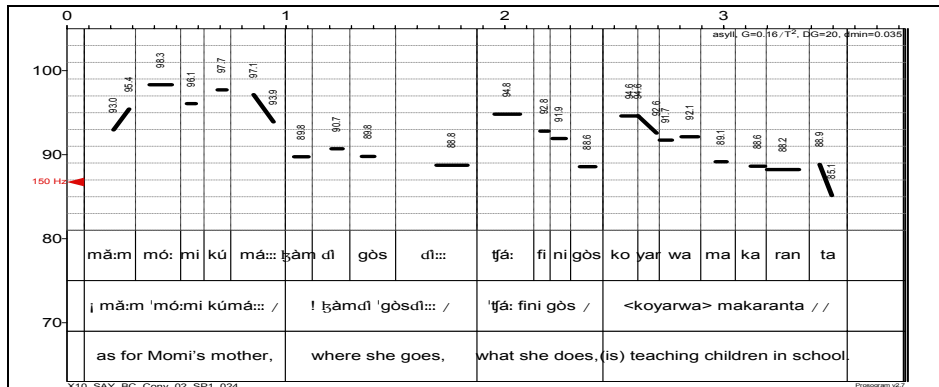
#### i. Initial : downstep and upstep

These consist in a noticeable change in the register of an intonation unit compared to the preceding one. This initial lowering (Downstep, noted !) or raising (Upstep, noted j), creates a break in the gradual lowering of the pitch induced by declination. In Zaar, both upstep and downstep are associated with specific functions: upstep is associated with topicalisation, Y/N questions, emphasis of adverbials

and emotional statements. Downstep is associated with parenthesis, comments following an (upstepped) topic, and contrastive focus.

In the following example, after an initial upstep corresponding to the introduction of a new Topic (a new example to prove the speaker's case), a downstep accompanies some backgrounded elements where the speaker reminds her audience of the theme of the conversation (women keep running about, overworking themselves, whereas men stay idle in the compound, chatting with their friends). This long paratone is characterized by ample declination and clear initial pitch reset at the beginning of IUs.

SAY\_BC\_Conv\_02\_SP1\_024

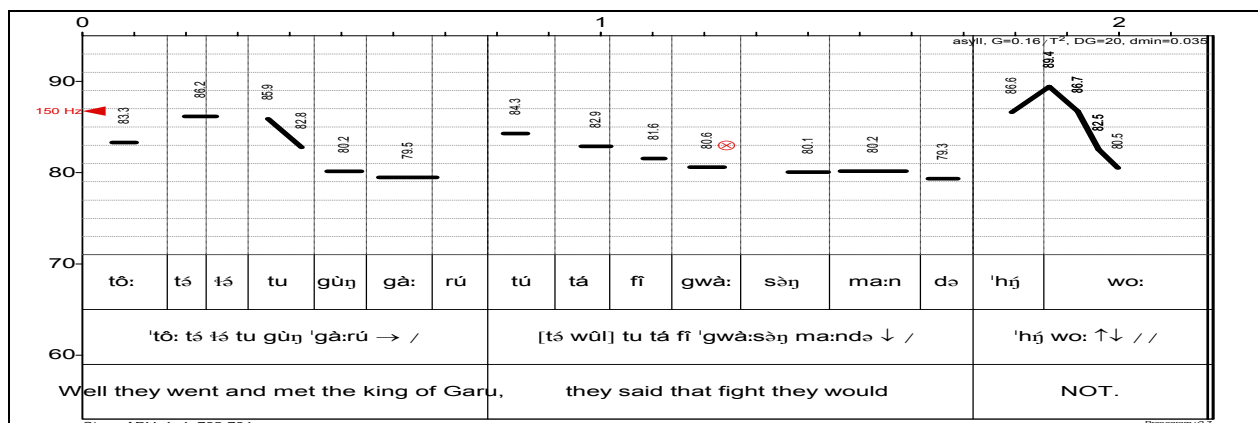


## ii. Final intonemes

These final (peripheral) intonemes are the Falling, the Rising, the Continuing, and the High-Falling. The Falling Intoneme (noted ↓) consists in a distinctive lowering of the pitch at the end of the IU. This intonation contour corresponds to the canonical assertion and WH-questions. The Rising intoneme (noted ↑) is mostly associated with Y/N questions and exclamations. The Continuing intoneme (noted →) cancels declination. It is often associated with lengthening and induces the only (rare) cases of plateau realization of flat tones. Seen only at the end of minor units, it is often associated with topicalizing morphemes. In Prosogramme, it appears as a horizontal bar. Such an intoneme can be seen in the previous example at the end of the second IU. The Rising-Falling intoneme (noted ↑↓) appears as a sharp fall downward preceded by a smaller rise. It is systematically associated with emphasis on negation, ideophones and assertion particles. In the following example, it falls on the final negation followed by the assertive particle –o:



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Generally speaking, the role of pitch variation in Zaar, despite the constraints of tone-assignment, follows the same rules as in languages like English: “the fall of voice suggests matter-of-factness, or, as Halliday (1970:23) suggests “certainty with regard to yes or no”. If the voice starts exceptionally high, this is interpretable as emphasis of the self-assertive attitude. By contrast, the rising pitch essentially suggests some kind of appeal by the interlocutor.” (Markus 2006:117)

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