

Chapter 8

FOCUS: Podoko, Kanukuru & Pero

1. *Introduction*

In this chapter, we turn to the description of three Chadic languages. They attract attention because of the way they have affiliated the semantics of their interpretation of FOCUS with other semantics and in the way the resulting semantic complex is manifest in the morphosyntax. They elaborate the ways in which semantic landmarks may bond with FOCUS to affect its expression in the grammar, thereby improving the typology of FOCUS. Consistent with the conjecture of the preceding chapter (section 5), that semantic landmark in each language is the EVENT/Verb.

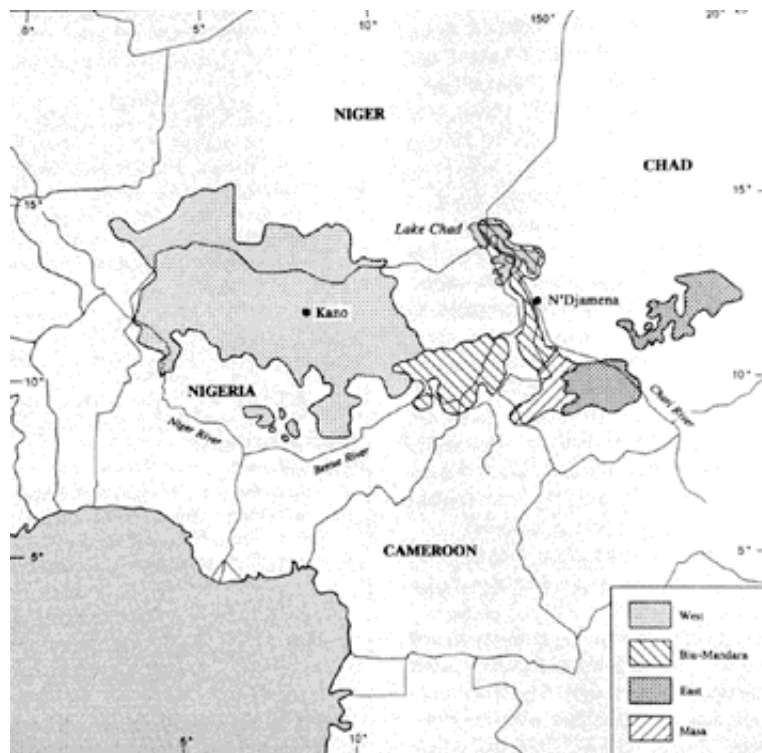
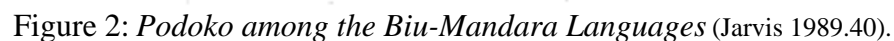


Figure 1: *The Chadic Languages* (*International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, p. 253.)

... includes 140 languages spoken in the sub-Saharan region of Africa to the west, south, and east of Lake Chad, from which the family gets its name. Excluding Hausa ..., the best known and most populous Chadic language, the family occupies an area which is a rough rectangle, extending from 9° to 13° N. and 9° to 19° E ... The other languages, many of which have never been described beyond short word lists, are spoken by as many as a half million to as few as fifty people. Most Chadic languages are still unwritten, apart from occasional scriptural texts prepared by Christian missionaries. (Paul Newman [1992] in *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, p. 253.)

2. Podoko

Podoko (Podokwo, Parakwa) has been classified by Newman (1977) as belonging to the Mandara Group of the A Subbranch of the Biu-Mandara Branch of the Chadic language family. This language is spoken by about 20,000 people who live in the Mora District of the Northern Province of Cameroon.



and (Jarvis 1989.41):

Le podoko est une langue tchadique de la branche centrale (Biu-Mandara); dans l'*Atlas linguistique de Cameroun*, elle figure dans le groupe wandala. Elle est parlée par quelque trente mille locuteurs au nord du Cameroun, dans l'arrondissement de Mora.

The primary data on Podoko are the work of Jeanette Swackhamer and Elizabeth Jarvis (Anderson & Swackhamer 1981, Swackhamer 1991, Swackhamer & Jarvis 1981, Jarvis 1981, 1984 & 1991).

2.1 *First Impressions of Podoko Grammar.*

The first observation on Podoko grammar is that Podoko speech exists in two modes (Jarvis 1981.157):

In Podoko there is a basic distinction between narrative and non-narrative. When a speaker utters a long enough sequence of sentences, he speaks in a narrative style (here called “monologue”), with its characteristic verb form and subject pronoun in the perfective aspect (referred to as “monologue perfective” or M.P.). When he is engaged in conversational exchanges (here called “Dialogue”) he uses a different form for the perfective (referred to as “dialogue perfective” or D.P.). This monologue-dialogue distinction is neutralised, however when the speaker uses the imperfective aspect (Imp.).

The Monologue Perfective and the Dialogue Perfective have at least two distinguishing formal marks. The Dialogue Perfective (and the Imperfective) has a “VP-initial /a/ (though this is often deleted when the VP is not at the beginning of a sentence, e.g. when it is preceded by a conjunction or a subordinate clause) ...” (Jarvis 1981.158). The second formal distinction between the two modes is in the choice of pronominal shapes for Subjects (Jarvis 1989.47):

		Monologue	Dialogue
Sg.	1	mayé	yə
	2	ka	ka
	3	nga	Ø
Pl.	1ex	mananə	nanə
	1inc	manə	ma
	2	kwə	kwə

3 mətə ta

Figure 3: *Subject Pronouns for the Monologue Perfective & the Dialogue Perfective.*

The utterance of (1) is in the Monologue Perfective, and (2) illustrates the Dialogue Perfective (Jarvis 1981.168-169):

- (1) təla malə siəb̥ə
 [cook mother.my meat]
 ‘My mother cooked meat’
- (2) a təla siəb̥ə mala
 [FOC1 cook meat mother.my]
 ‘My mother cooked meat’

The opposition between Monologue and Dialogue is not limited to the Perfective. Sentence (3) is in the Imperfective (Jarvis 1989.78) and (4) is in the Future (Jarvis 1989.88)¹:

- (3) a yvalə makalə yá
 [FOC1 sell.PL-IMP beignet I]
 ‘I was selling beignets’
 (“je vendais des beignets”)
- (4) a da ykəsə vala yá
 [FOC1 FUT catch it I]
 ‘I’ll catch it’
 (“je vais l’attraper”)

Jarvis (1989.88):²

¹ I find four other examples of the Future *da* in the literature (including texts): Jarvis 1989.70, 110, 111 & 115.

² There is a second temporal marker, *sa* (Jarvis.1989.88):

Sa indique souvent le passé par rapport à un autre verbe, mais il peut s’employer aussi pour indiquer un passé absolu ... *sa* remplace la focalisateur 1 *a* du perfective et de l’imperfectif

PROPOSITIONS with *sa* should probably be added to the Dialogic group, but there is not

Da indique un futur absolu ... *da* est placé entre *a* et le thème verbal....

The Dialogue Perfective, the Imperfective, and the Future all are marked with the sentence initial *a*, and as a group, they contrast with the Monologue Perfective. Internal within the Dialogue group, the Imperfective differs from the Perfective in that (Jarvis 1989.79):³

Il [the Imperfective] est marqué par le prosodie de palatalization. (Si le radical est palatalisé en lui-même, il n'y a pas de marque supplémentaire pour le perfectif).

The Verb stem 'sell' has the shape *vəl-* with singular objects and the shape *val-* with plural ones (Jarvis 1989.77). With the palatalization of the Imperfective then, *ʷval* is the shape in (3). The *ə* is present because "Tous les verbe imperfectifs transitifs sans suffixe se terminent en -ə" (Jarvis 1989.80).⁴ The Future appears to follow the Imperfective in the use of palatalization. The Verb *kəs* 'sell' has the palatalization prosody in the Future in (4).

Given (1) - (4), the relevant opposition appears not to be between the Monologue Perfective and the Dialogue Perfective, but more broadly between the Monologue mode (that happens to be Perfective) and the remainder of forms that have initial *a*, "v.m., 'verbal marker'" (Jarvis 1981.156) or "FOC1 focalisateur 1" (Jarvis 1989.43). Because of this altered grouping, I will henceforth term the "Monologue Perfective" the *Monologic*, and the forms with *a*, the *Dialogic*. It remains to be seen how well the Monologic aligns with

enough discussion of the Past to say so with any certainty.

³ However (Jarvis 1989.80):

... le verbe imperfectif intransitif n'est pas marqué par la palatalization. Il a plutôt une forme identique à celle du nom verbale, c'est-à-dire que le thème prend un terminaison *i*:

a pari ta
 "ils se lavaient"

This Intransitive contrasts with the palatalization in the Transitive:

- (i) *a* *ʷparə* *vala* *ta*
 [FOC1 wash-IMP 3pers they]
 'They are washing it'

⁴ While (80):

Un verbe aoriste [Monologue Perfective] ou perfective sans suffixe se termine normalement en -*a* s'il est transitif, en -*ə* s'il es intransitif ...

a narrative monologue and how well the Dialogic aligns with a non-narrative use.

In addition to PROPOSITIONS that are Monologic and Dialogic, there is a third sort. Sentence (5) — number (78) in the text in the Appendix — illustrates it:

- (5) *Ngə* *mudə* *nəsə* ^y*tsa* *ba* *a* ^y*məkwətseməna*.
 [FS old woman come PART with knife her]
 ‘The old woman came with her knife.’

It is commonly marked by initial *ngə*, glossed by Jarvis as ‘f.s.’ — ‘fronted subject’ — and sometimes as ‘say’ as in (6) — (30) in the text — and sometimes as PROP (Jarvis 1989.49):⁵

- (6) *ngə* *ndi* *tapa* *nga* *laki*,
 [say one taste he part.]
 ‘He tasted it.’
- (7) (*ngə*) *kənə* *dá* *ʔtsa*
 [PROP il à maison]
 ‘Then he went home’
 (“puis il est allé à la maison”)

Part of the formal contrast of this third syntactic pattern with the Monologic and the Dialogic lies in the position of what appears to be the Subject, which occurs initially before the Verb. Compare *mudə nəsə* ‘old woman’ in (5), *ndi* ‘one’ in (6), and *kənə* in (7). Occasionally, *ngə* is absent (Jarvis 1989.49),

Le *ngə* est souvent supprimé au commencement d’une phrase mais le série de pronoms reste la même.

Thus, the pre-verbal Subject becomes the sole distinguishing mark — (14) in the text:

- (8) *Kənə* ^y*kələ* *dəgwasla*.
 [she chop wood]
 ‘She was chopping her wood.’

⁵ Jarvis (1989.48) identifies PROP ‘propositif’ as “... la particule propositive *ngə* (qui introduit une proposition consécutive ...)”.

In order to understand Podoko FOCUS, it is necessary to have a better understanding of the semantic contrast between Monologic and Dialogic as well as utterances with initial *nga*.

2.2 *Propositional Types of Podoko*

As outlined in the preceding section, Podoko appears to have three ways of composing a PROPOSITION. The semantic contrast between the Monologic and the Dialogic is discussed in 2.2.1, and then in 2.2.2, we integrate the third propositional type.

2.2.1 *Monologic vs. Dialogic*

We will begin the investigation of the three Podoko PROPOSITION types by trying to discover the semantic difference between the Monologic and the Dialogic. In this contrast, we find that FOCUS is entirely absent from the Monologic PROPOSITION (Jarvis 1989),

Les formes avec focalisation son précédées par le focalisateur 1 *a*. (79)

l'aoriste [i.e., the Monologic] ... exclut la focalisation ...⁶ (82)

... les verbes perfectifs et imperfectifs⁷ sont toujours accompagnés d'une focalisation⁸ (104)

and there must be an explanation for the restriction of Podoko FOCUS to the Dialogic (Jarvis 1989.79).

It is probably not the case that the crucial difference between the Monologic and the Dialogic is that the first is used when there is "a long enough sequence of sentences". To gain some grasp of Monologue and Dialogue, we will examine their use in a Podoko narrative (cf. Appendix). In that text, as it is provided by Jarvis (1981), there are 83 numbered sentences. In my arrangement of the text, there appear to be 154 independent utterances.

⁶ Tautologically (Jarvis 1989.80):

Le perfectif sans focalisation sera appelé "aoriste", parce qu'il semble correspondre à ce qu'on appelle aoriste en d'autres langues tchadiques.

⁷ I.e., the Dialogic: "Le perfectif et l'imperfectif avec focalisation seront appelés simplement perfectif et imperfectif" (Jarvis 1989.80).

⁸ This assertion extends to include the Future, the third Tense-Aspect component of the Dialogic.

The text is a mixture of words that belong to the narrator him/herself and words that attributed to the characters. Intuitively, we would expect the narrator to confine him/herself to the Monologic, and the speech of the characters to be in the Dialogic. Of the 154 utterances, 104 are attributed to the narrator, and 50 represent the speech of the characters. Forty-seven of the narrator's utterances are *ngə*-like, while 5 of the characters' are.⁹ That leaves 57 utterances of the narrator's that might be either Monologic or Dialogic, and 45 for the actors in the story. All but one of the characters' 45 utterances are in the Dialogic.¹⁰ While the narrator's words are mostly in the form of the Monologic, the narrator appears to move from one style to the other with some ease. Sixteen, or 28+%, of his/her utterances use the Dialogic.¹¹

	Narrator	Character
Monologic	41	1
Dialogic	16	44

Figure 4: *Use of Monologic & Dialogic by Narrator & Character.*

Although the Monologic is predominant — 41 to 16 — in the narrating of *The Old Woman and the Hyena*, given the ability of the Dialogic to be used for the same purpose, the fact of 'narration' itself cannot be the meaning of the Monologic. There has to be some semantics that distinguishes narration as a

⁹ In the text in the Appendix, the Dialogue utterances are in red type face to make them more visible. The *ngə* clauses are in blue type face.

¹⁰ That one is (51), and I have no explanation for it:

- (50) “Ahala. A ^ykəḍə ya a ^ykəḍi la.
[no v.m. kill I with killing not]
“No, I won't kill him.””
- (51) Sayə ba ^ydzərəla **mayə** ^ymanə ^ytakwasə ^yzə
[only part. see I this thing lose
kwəḍambayə mayə,”
aubergine my]
‘before I see this thing that took my aubergines,’”

The Subject Pronoun *mayə* gives (51) away as Monologic. Cf. Figure 3.

¹¹ Of the non *ngə*-utterances, 15+% of the total narrator's output.

style of speech that also renders it completely inappropriate to conversation. We may be able to suggest what that style is like by considering those 16 instances where the narrator of *The Old Woman and the Hyena* drops the Monologic and uses the Dialogic.

We begin by observing that the narrative act defines itself ostensibly by excluding the audience from participation in the narrated content. The audience stands outside to observe what the narrator provides. Like the fourth wall in theater, listeners witness events, but are not admitted to partake of the content within (Davis 2015.86):

The theatrical device of “breaking the fourth wall,” wherein on-stage actors [or the narrator when a text is being created, PWD] acknowledge the presence of the audience, has come to be seen as a characteristic technique of modernist theater. The modern form of this device was developed in the early twentieth century as a rejection of the “suspension of belief” demanded by realist and naturalist theater, which Gerhart Hauptmann explained should be written “as though the stage did not have three but four walls” ... While direct addresses of the audience have been employed in theater since antiquity, and while the inclusion of metaleptic breaks as formal devices can already be seen in Shakespeare, modern usage of the fourth-wall break first appears in the wake of realist and naturalist theater of the late nineteenth century. Only after the standardization of the fourth-wall illusion would its breakage provoke a shock effect upon theatergoers.

The isolation of the content through the creation of a fourth wall is achieved by Podoko Monologic speech in the following ways:

(i) A Monologic event, by the fact of its ‘perfective’, is sealed away and isolated. Casting content as aspectually complete by the Monologue Perfective shields the performance of those events from the potential meddling of an audience. While such events are related, they have the remoteness of a report (Jarvis 1989.80):

L’aoriste s’emploie dans une suite d’événements, soit dans un narration, soit dans un récit technique.¹²

The events are presented to the audience as a series of static tableaux, *une suite d’événements*.

(ii) There is no second person addressee in the Monologic, nor can there

¹² A discussion of the semantics of sentence (1) above in contrast with (2) would be desirable.

be a first person inclusive. There is no such Monologic address in *The Old Woman and the Hyena*. The absence of the 2nd person from the Monologic in the text below is consistent. The disjuncture between the Monologic and the 2nd person is confirmed by a second Podoko text in Swackhamer & Jarvis 1981. It agrees with *The Old Woman and the Hyena* in the absence of the 2nd person from the Monologic. There are many references to the 2nd person in both texts, but they are all cast in the Dialogic. The audience is excluded as a player in the Monologic world.

(iii) Because the world of the Monologic excludes the 2nd person, questions (commands, exhortations, etc.) cannot be directed to a listener. Because questions and answers alike are proscribed from the Monologic, there can be no FOCUS (Jarvis 1989.107):

Les modifications de focalisation, négation et question ne peuvent pas s'employer si le verbe est à l'aoriste [i.e., Monologic].

It is only in the Dialogic, where the 2nd person is found, that the semantics supports FOCUS (Jarvis 1989.80):

Le perfectif et l'imperfectif [i.e., the Dialogue Perfective] s'emploient plutôt dans les questions et réponse de conversation courante ainsi que dans un narration pour marquer des événements non séquentiels et des descriptions.

Most of narrative storytelling is reasonably accomplished with the Monologic, but the isolation of the world created in that way can be detected in those places in the text where there is a rupture in the isolation, i.e., where the narrator turns to Dialogic style. If we can understand the motivations for acknowledging the presence of the audience, perhaps we can understand the isolation itself. The 16 utterances from the narrator that are not Monologic are found in 1, 2, 3, 7, 7, 9, 10, 10, 11, 29, 36, 40, 72, 73, 81, and 83.¹³

Sentences 1, 2 & 3 and sentences 81 & 83 bracket the narrative. In 1, 2 & 3, narration has not begun and the speaker is negotiating its initiation.

- (1) **Tatapəra** **mandza**.
 [story]
 'I'm going to tell you a story'

¹³ They are the portions in red.

- (2) ^ySuta.
[speak]
'Speak!'
- (3) A nda ndə ^yngəḁə mudə nəsa.
[v.m. there is certain old woman]
'There was a certain old woman.'

The grammatical gloss given for (1) is 'story', interpreted to mean 'I'm going to tell you a story'. The syntax of (1) is uncertain. There is no recognizable pronoun 'I' in (1), either Monologic *maye* or Dialogic *yə*. Sentence (1) may be a formula used to ground the following as a story. Even though it lacks the telltale sentence-initial *a* of the Dialogue Perfective, I shall tally its function as Dialogic. Sentence (2) is an Imperative of the Imperfective *suta*. Palatalization marks the Imperfective aspect and the final vowel is *a* (Jarvis 1989:84-85)

:

Remarquons que les formes imperfectives transitive ... peuvent se passer d'objet et même de pronom objet, ce qui se se fait jamais avec le verbe imperfectif à l'indicatif ... Toute voyelle finale dans la proposition devient *-a*.

Sentence (2) is Dialogic by virtue of its Aspect, as (3) is with its distinctive sentence-initial *a*. After the stage is set with the Dialogic, the narrator settles into the Monologic in (4):

- (4) Bakada nga ^yudzə vəhwə mənə.
[do she little field her]
'She made her little field'

At the opposite end of the text, the narrator returns to the Dialogic as s/he withdraws from the story, turning to the audience to address them directly:

- (81) A gwatasarə ^yndaka mudə nəsə akə
[v.m. find thus old woman to
 kwəḁambayə mənə.
 aubergine her]
'That's how the old woman rescued her aubergines¹⁴.'

¹⁴ Eggplants.

- (82) Ha kəna ^ymbadawə nga mazlaməna.
 [until she gather it now]
 ‘Now she can pick them.’
- (83) Ozibazla tətəla.
 [tail]
 ‘The end.’

Like the text-initial *Tatapəra mandza* ‘I’m going to tell you a story’, the syntax of text-final *Ozibazla tətəla* ‘The end’ is opaque. But both are almost certainly Dialogic.

To discuss the remaining Dialogic forms, we need to know something of the plot of *The Old Woman and the Hyena*. The characters are an Old Woman, a Bad Hyena, and a Good Hyena. The Old Woman prepares a plot of ground to grow aubergines. When they are ripe, she goes out to harvest them, but finds that the Bad Hyena has gotten there first and taken the aubergines. The Old Woman is very upset. The next day, she is collecting wood, and the Good Hyena approaches. He asks why she is crying, and the Old Woman explains what the Bad Hyena has done. The Good Hyena proposes a plan to catch the Bad Hyena, one that requires the Old Woman to brew him some beer. She does so. The Good Hyena drinks the beer and lies down among the aubergines. The Bad Hyena approaches and discovers the beer seeping from the innards of the Good Hyena. He cannot resist and tastes the beer. He is suddenly sucked into the bowels of the Good Hyena and trapped. The Old Woman is called to come dispatch the Bad Hyena. Before killing the Bad Hyena, she wants to see what has taken her aubergines. The Bad Hyena warns her, but she insists that she can hold the Bad Hyena. The plan fails. The Old Woman falls to the ground, and the Bad Hyena escapes. The Good Hyena suggests that they try the same ploy once more. They do, and the Bad Hyena is again unable to resist the lure of the beer seeping from the innards of the Good Hyena. He is again sucked inside and trapped. This time, the Bad Hyena is not released before the Old Woman cuts his throat. The story ends as the Old Woman returns to tending her garden of aubergines.

The narrator first turns from the Monologic to the Dialogic in a cluster of six — 7, 9, 9, 10, 10 & 11 — describing the Bad Hyena’s theft and the Old Woman’s reaction to it:

- (7) a mbadəla mbadə indala.
 [v.m. gather gather hyena]

‘the hyena had already picked them.’

- (9) ^yTəta gələ gələ kwəɗambayə, ba dəda də,
[after grow grow aubergine when go go]
‘The aubergines grew’

...
a mbaɗəla mbaɗə indala.
[v.m. gather gather hyena]
‘The hyena has already picked them.’

- (10) Ba¹⁵ təhə təhə kwəɗambayə mənə,
[when ripen ripen aubergine her]
‘When her aubergines had ripened,

...
a mbaɗəla mbaɗə indala.
[v.m. gather gather hyena]
‘But the hyena had already gathered them.’

- (11) A nda gəra dzalə nga akə mudə
[v.m. there-is equal hurt-to-her it to old]

¹⁵ On *ba* (Jarvis 1989.114):

Les conjonctions *ba* et *ba nda* s’emploient pour exprimer des événements qui se font régulièrement

Sentences with initial *ba* do not have the “verb marker” *a*, which would clearly identify these sentences as Dialogic, but the sense here that events “se font régulièrement” as opposed to constituting a “suite d’événements” (Jarvis 1989.80) of the Dialogic, suggests Dialogic. Additionally the Verb of these *ba* utterances is commonly reduplicated as in (72) & (73), *tapa tapə*. Compare also

- (7) a mbaɗəla mbaɗə indala.
[v.m. gather gather hyena]
‘the hyena had already picked them.’

- (10) Ba təhə təhə kwəɗambayə mənə,
[when ripen ripen aubergine her]
‘When her aubergines had ripened,

Sentences (7) & (10) share the fact of reduplication, differing grammatically then in the presence of an overtly Dialogic *a* versus *ba*. Reduplication has been identified as the grammar of FOCUS in combination with the EVENT, and FOCUS is absent from Dialogic utterances (“aoriste”). Hence, sentences with initial *ba* are most likely Dialogic.

nəsə la.
 woman not]
 ‘The old woman was very upset.’

The Dialogic occurs a second time when the Good Hyena comes for the beer the Old Woman has prepared:

- (29) A du də indala laki,
 [v.m. go-up go hyena part.]
 ‘The hyena arrived.’

The Dialogic appears a third time to describe the excellent taste of the beer as the Bad Hyena samples it:

- (40) a nda gəra tsari mənə la.
 [v.m. there-is equal good its not]
 ‘It was very good.’

The last occurrences of the Dialogic are in 72 & 73. It occurs in 72 and then is repeated in 73:

- (72) Ba tapa tapə nda,
 [part. taste taste one]
 ‘He tasted it;’

- (73) Ba tapa tapə nda,
 [part. taste taste one]
 ‘He tasted it;’

The first spate of Dialogic utterances comes at the point where the conflict between the Old Woman and the Bad Hyena is established. The intensity of the moment is underscored by the fact that the EVENT is reduplicated for FOCUS:¹⁶

mbadəla mbaḍə ‘gather’
 gələ gələ ‘grow’
 mbaḍəla mbaḍə ‘gather’

¹⁶ See section 2.3 for discussion of Podoko FOCUS.

təhə təhə 'ripen'
mbadəla mbadə 'gather'

That same semantics of EVENT FOCUS appears in 29, 72 & 73:

du də 'go up'
tapa tapə 'taste'
tapa tapə 'taste'

The two intrusive Dialogic utterances without reduplication are in 11 & 40:

a nda 'there is'

The places at which the Dialogic is used by the narrator seem to be those where the EVENTS have grown to a point that they burst from their enclosure. In using the Dialogic, the speaker breaks the boundary between story and audience. S/he thrusts the EVENTS forward with FOCUS, loosing them from the confines of the Monologic to wash over the listeners.

2.2.2 PROPOSITIONS that Use *ngə*.

Podoko PROPOSITIONS may be semantic ASSERTIONS, or they may lack the full force of ASSERTION. Monologic PROPOSITIONS and Dialogic ones belong to the first class. PROPOSITIONS with lessened assertion are those marked by initial *ngə*.

While *ngə* is a frequent marker of this type of PROPOSITION, it is also accompanied by a second, and more constant, syntax. The S, or AGENT, will precede the EVENT producing an SV(O) order. The pronouns that are used following *ngə* contrast with those used in the Monologic and Dialogic (cf. above):

	Singular	Plural
1	ngaya	nganana
1 Incl		ngama
2	ka	kwa
3	kəna	ngita

Compare these from *The Old Woman and the Hyena*. The S's are in bold italics:

- (40) ^yLəmadə
[id. (lick)]
'Slurp,'

ngə *ndi* tapa nga laki,
[say one taste he part.]
'he tasted it.'

- (41) "A ^yzasə ^yzə ya duwa,
[v.m approach-under approach I go-up]
"I'm going to go up closer"

nga-yə tapa nga ^ywala ^ywala,"
[so-that-I taste it really really]
"in order to really taste it,"

- (78) Ngə *mudə nəsə* ^ytsa ba a ^yməkwətsə mənə.
[f.s. old woman come part. with knife her]
'The old woman came with her knife.'

The element *ngə*, present in (40), (41), and (78)¹⁷ is absent from (46), which is parallel to the second clause of (41):¹⁸

- (46) "^yTsa ^ytsə ba a ^yməkwətsə maka
[come come part. with knife your]
"Bring your knife"

ka ^yndələlə kwara ba a zadara,"
[you cut-to-him neck part. on bottom]
"So you can cut his throat on my bottom."

The constant distinguishing morphosyntax of these expressions is then the SV word order, not *ngə*. However, I will continue to use *ngə* as a label for them.

Unlike the morphosyntax of the Monologic and the Dialogic, *ngə* morphosyntax may appear equally in the speech of a narrator and a character

¹⁷ The grammatical glosses for *ngə* are Jarvis's.

¹⁸ The constant distinguishing morphosyntax of these expressions is then the SV word order, not *ngə*. However, I will continue to use *ngə* as a label for them.

in a narrative. Fifty-two of the 154 utterances in *The Old Woman and the Hyena* have the *ngə* syntax, and they are apportioned as in Figure 5. Nine¹⁹ of

	Narrator	Character
<i>ngə</i> Expressions	47	5

Figure 5: *Use of ngə Morphosyntax by Narrator & Character.*

the 47 uses by the Narrator are connected to his/her frequent use of ideophones. Thirty-one follow the narrator's quotation of character's words and have the gloss 'say'. If those are subtracted, then the remaining 7 uses of *ngə* by Narrator and 4 by the Characters is more balanced, and that balance suggests that the semantics of *ngə* is orthogonal to the contrast between Monologic and Dialogic (that are in turn associated with Narrator and Character, respectively).

Utterances introduced by *ngə* have a variety of distinct uses, all of which are consistent with the lack of semantic ASSERTION:

- (i) When used in isolation, absence of ASSERTION is felt as subjunctive.
- (ii) When following another PROPOSITION, the absence of ASSERTION may emerge as 'consequence'.
- (iii) When following an ideophone, the absence of ASSERTION simply names the EVENT that the ideophone embodies. The gloss 'say'.
- (iv) When following a PARTICIPANT, the absence appears as 'qualification'.

The release from ASSERTION that *ngə* PROPOSITIONS signal is achieved by setting the content marked by *ngə* beside some other core. If *ngə* is ancillary to, but not at the center of events, then its complementary status is recognized in its diminished ASSERTION. The accomplishment of *ngə* is that its content explains (*explicanda*) the content it complements (*explicandum*).

2.2.2.1 *Independent usage of ngə.*

While one might expect the semantic complementation of Podoko PROPOSITIONS to be reflected necessarily in a kind of grammatical dependency or subordination, such is not the case. *Ngə* PROPOSITIONS occur

¹⁹ The nine are 36, 40, 42, 43, 57, 57, 58, 75, and 75. The remaining seven are in 13, 14, 33, 34, 69, 78, and 82. The characters' *ngə*'s are in 19, 41, 46, 62, and 63.

with syntactic independence. Jarvis (1989.106) provides this example of *ngə*:

- (9) (ngə) ka yngwálməlu ngá dǎ zlaḁa məná
 [PROP you cure-ENT-PERF SVN in pain his]
 ‘May you relieve him his pain’
 [‘que tu le guérisses dans sa souffrance’]

Jarvis adds the comment that (9) is “un souhait” and concludes “Dans ce dernier exemple, il est possible que la proposition principale ‘je prie’ est ‘sous-entendue’.” A usage very similar to (9) appears as utterance (62) in *The Old Woman and the Hyena*:

- (62) “Sayə zia ka ^ybərdəsə ti ^yngəḁə dula.
 [only again you repeat brew other beer]
 “Just brew another lot of beer.”

The Old Woman has just fallen to the ground and let the Bad Hyena escape. The Good Hyena, undeterred, instructs the Old Woman to try again, proposing that if she were to brew a second lot of beer, then he, the Good Hyena, can once more catch the Bad Hyena:

- (63) Ləkwətu nga-yə da mba ^ykəsəkə nga na,”
 [then so-that-I fut. can catch-for-you it part.]
 “So that I can catch him for you,”

(Also a *ngə* expression. Cf. below.)

If *ngə* characterizes propositional content as standing not at the center of ASSERTION — not the *proposition principale* — but standing as an adjacent accompaniment, then such a diminished ASSERTION can remove the assertive claim to factual occurrence, leaving a sense of possible occurrence; and with the second person *ka*, as in (9) and (62), there is a sense of suggestion.²⁰ The

²⁰ A subjunctive. Cf. the French subjunctive gloss *guérisses*. This from the narrative:

- (46) “^yTsa ^ytsə ba a ^yməkwətsə maka
 [come come part. with knife your]
 “Bring your knife”
 ka ^yndələlə kwara ba a zadara,”
 [you cut-to-him neck part. on bottom]
 “So you can cut his throat on my bottom.”

perception of *ngə* characterizing propositional content with the diminished ASSERTION of adjacency extends to these examples with the 3rd and 1st persons (Jarvis 1989.49, 97):

- (10) *(ngə) kənə dá ytsa*
 [PROP he to home]
 ‘Then he went home’
 [‘puis il est allé à la maison’]
- (11) *nga-yə fətsa nga dá gaga*
 [-I flee SVN to anthill]
 ‘Then I ran towards the anthill’
 [‘puis je fuis vers la termitière’]

In (10) and (11), the adjacency of *kənə dá ytsa* ‘He [went] home’ and *-yə fətsa nga dá gaga* ‘I ran towards the anthill’ is satisfied/expressed by *puis* ‘then’, that indexes the unmentioned — but present — center. In (12), that semantic center is explicit in *saha mayá* ‘I came down’ (Jarvis 1989.97):

- (12) *saha mayá, nga-yə para*
 [come-DESC I -I wash]
 ‘I came down, then I washed’
 [‘je descendis, puis je me lavai’]

Sentences (13) and (14) are from Swackhamer & Jarvis (1981.59 & 76, 65 & 73):

- (13) *ngə ndi ywəya də da hawə vangawə kayə ta ybawə*
 [FSM one goes around south of house for call
 nda mənda
 plural person]
 ‘So off went the son from house to house to summon the people’
- (14) *ŋita da*
 [they go]
 ‘Off they went’

One might see *^ytsa ^ytsə ba a ^yməkwətsə maka* ‘Bring your knife’ as the functional equivalent of *Je prie*. One is an imperative (explicit), the other a request (*sous-entendue*), but both convey *un souhait*.

The peripheral adjacency is glossed by sentence-initial (*So*) *off* ... that evokes a sense of follow up to some preceding content. Swackhamer & Jarvis (1981.65) explain:

To indicate the wrap up of a section the *subject* is often *fronted*. When it is a noun this is preceded by the fronted subject marker *ŋa*. When it is a pronoun, a special pronoun set ... is used which also contains the subject marker *ŋa*, but often fused to the following pronoun.

The sense of ‘wrap up’ is repeated at the end of *The Old Woman and the Hyena*:

- (81) A gwatasarə^y ndaka mude nəse əke
 [v.m. find thus old woman to
 kwəɗambayə mənə.
 aubergine her]
 ‘That’s how the old woman rescued her aubergines.’

- (82) Ha kəna^y mbadawə nga mazlaməna.
 [until she gather it now]
 ‘Now she can pick them.’

2.2.2.2 Consequence/goal usage of *ngə*.

In the appropriate context, the *ngə* clause is “une conséquence” (Jarvis 1989.105):²¹

- (15) ygasələdə ndi kwara, (ngə) kənə hwəla
 [take-3SG-AOR one neck PROP he yell]
 ‘He was grabbed by the neck, and he yelled’
 [‘on le prit par le cou, il cria’]

In the appropriate context, the non-ASSERTION of adjacency can be

²¹ Sentence (15) is taken from the text discussed in Swackhamer & Jarvis 1981. In 1981, Swackhamer & Jarvis (1981.67-68) cite a piece of (15) in isolation:

- (i) Kəna hwəla
 [he yelled]
 ‘He screamed’

and a sense of “heightened vividness” is attributed to it. In the larger context, this interpretation has apparently changed.

alternatively perceived as a purpose, “un but” (Jarvis 1989.49, 106, 97):

- (16) a bawatadá bawə yá *ngə* *ngitsa* *ybaka*
 [FOC1 call-3PL-PERF call I PROP they make
miəra
 cultivate]
 ‘I called on them to farm’
 [‘je les ai appelés pour qu’ils cultivent’]
- (17) a saha sə sá dəkwətara *ngə* *ndi*
 [FOC1 come-DESC-PERF come to clinic PROP one
ɔdzərəla *navə* *səná*
 examine-ENT-PERF body his]
 ‘He came to the clinic to be examined’
 [il est venu au dispensaire pour qu’on l’examine’]
- (18) kəzlalu ndí *ngə* *nabəga* *aká* *dəkwa* *nga*
 [close one PROP rain NEG come-in SVN]
 ‘They closed it so the rain wouldn’t come in’
 [on le ferme pour que la pluie d’entre pas’]

The difference between *conséquence* and *but* appears to hinge on aspect. The Imperfects *ybaka* ‘make’ and *ɔdzərəla* ‘examine’ present the EVENTS as occurrences whose realization is yet to be realized, hence purposes or *buts*. The Perfectivity of *fətsa* ‘flee’ (11), *para* ‘wash’ (12), and *hwəla* ‘yell’ (15) all promote the sense of a purpose/*but* realized, i.e., a consequence. Textual sentence (63), cited above as accompanying the proposal of a second brewing of beer, has the Imperfect ^y*kəsəkə* ‘catch-for-you’:

- (63) *Ləkwətu* *nga-yə* *da* *mba* ^y*kəsəkə* *nga* *na,”*
 [then so-that-I fut. can catch-for-you it part.]
 ““So that I can catch him for you,””

acts as a purpose enabled by (62).

2.2.2.3 Ideophones with *ngə*.

Podoko ideophones appear to provide a common place to exploit the semantics of *ngə*. Since the text *The Old Woman and the Hyena* has a surfeit of ideophones, we will begin there:

- (40) ^yLəmadə
[id. (lick)]
'Slurp,'

ngə ndi tapa nga laki,
[say one taste he part.]
'he tasted it.'

- (42) Asədukə
[id.]
'Thup!'

ngə ndi dəkwa nga da zadara.
[say one go-into he into bottom]
'He went into his bottom.'

- (43) Ndərzə
[id. (squeeze)]
'Snap!'

ngə ndi ngwadalu nga a zadara.
[say one bind-him he on bottom]
'He got trapped in his bottom.'

Other textual examples in (57) and (75) are analogous to these in (40), (42), and (43). The *ngə* expressions here are all formally SV(O) and semantically, they all describe the performance that is embodied in the actuation that is the ideophone. ^yLəmadə is the actual experience of licking, and the following *ngə* PROPOSITION explains what happened to produce the experience. In this example from Swackhamer & Jarvis (1981:67), the pattern is the same as the ones with ideophones, but in place of an ideophone, the asserted EVENT is the Verb *vəhw* 'fall':

- (19) Vəhw ŋə ndi tədəla ŋa
[fall one pulled it]
'He really pulled it, causing (the thief) to fall'

The EVENT 'fall' first establishes what happened, and then the following *ngə* clause — in a manner parallel to the ideophones — identifies what it was that

produced that occurrence.

The explaining content that follows *ngə* appears not to require an EVENT (since no ASSERTION is present):

- (36) ^yNdakə
[id.(turn and see)]
'Aha,'

ngə ndi laki,
[say one part.]
'he and saw ...'

'He look round and saw'

- (57) kwapə
[id.(fall)]
'Thud,'

ngə mudə nə sə da hala.
[say old woman to ground]
'the old woman was on the ground.'
'He let him out, but she fell down and rolled on the ground.'

The attribution of the ideophone to a single PARTICIPANT source is enough. In (36), *ndi laki* is sufficient to explain the ideophone ^y*ndakə*, as *ngə mudə nə sə da hala* suffices for *kwapə*. And this one from Jarvis (1989.122):

- (20) *yədədədədədə́ ngə́ hwadə́*
[whistle.loudly say wind]
'The wind is whistling loudly'
['le vent souffle fort']

Lastly, if the function completed by the ideophone is replaced with quoted speech, and if the content following *ngə* is abridged as it is in (36) above, then utterances such as (7) are produced:

- (7) "Da ^y*mbadə́* *vala yə na,*"
[go gather it I part.]
"I'll go pick them,"

ngə kənə laki,
 [say she part.]
 ‘she said’

The noise of spoken words, like the sound pictures of ideophones, is explained by its source ... *kənə laki* in (7) and *ngə mudə nəsə da hala* in (57). Sequences such as (7) are frequent,²² as are those with ideophones; and in (7), it *appears* that ‘say’ is the correct gloss for *ngə*. But that is not at all certain. Given the remainder of the uses of *ngə*, it is more likely that uses like (7) are just a piece of a larger pattern, and that they have *no* preeminence in the grammar. Jarvis (1989.100) recognizes this problematic in *ngə*:

Le mot *ngə* ‘dire’ est un ‘verboïde’ plutôt qu’un véritable verbe. Il identifie le locuteur dans le discours direct ...

The gloss ‘say’ is a Eurocentric reaction to a native Podoko pattern, a gloss chosen when quoted words precede *ngə*, rather than an ideophone, or nothing as in (9).²³

2.2.2.4 *Qualification with ngə.*

The semantics of *ngə* is also suited to the expression of modification (Jarvis 1989.206 and Swackhamer & Jarvis 1981.65, 76):

(21) wananə məndə (ngə) kənə ybakə sləri lakí ...²⁴

²² There are 31 in the narrative.

²³ This creates a chicken-or-the-egg problem. There is the possibility of suggesting that *ngə* in the ‘say’ contexts is primary and that it has been extended to other uses, becoming ‘grammaticalized’ along the way to produce a ‘complementizer’. The Podoko found in the extant literature, however, offers no support for such a conclusion.

²⁴ Sentence (i) (Jarvis 1989.42):

(i) wananə ybakə sləri
 [we do work]
 ‘we who are working’
 [‘nous qui travaillons’]

parallels this portion of (21):

(ii) kənə ybakə sləri lakí
 [he do work TOP]

Both are apparently *ngə* expressions, (i) without *ngə*, but with SVO order and (ii) with

[this DET-man PROP he do work TOP ...]
 ‘the man who is working’
 [‘l’homme qui travaille ...’]

- (22) Mbatu bata kayə *ymanə* *ywalələ* *vala*
 [contrary owner house who spoke-him it]
 ‘... but it was the master of the house who told him it’

Souhait (9) & (62), follow up (10), wrap up (13) & (82), *conséquence* (15), *but* (16) - (18) & (63), ideophones (43) & (36), quoted words (7), qualification (21). It’s all the same. The *ngə* clause is posed next to some center — expressed or not — and then, without ASSERTION provides content that explains it.

2.2.3 The Three-way Opposition of Podoko PROPOSITIONS.

Podoko morphosyntax employs a contrast among three kinds of PROPOSITIONS, that are semantically opposed to each other in the following way in the manner of Figure 6. We have seen above that *ngə* expressions are S-initial. If we examine the corpus of *The Old Woman and the Hyena*, attending to the word orders of Monologic, Dialogic, and *ngə* clauses, we find the distributions of Figure 7.²⁵

optional *ngə* and SVO order. The interesting thing is the gloss given to (i). Consistent with SVO (and *ngə*), ASSERTION is absent and the result is a description. The Podoko parallels the Somali contrast (Cf. Chapter 10, section 6):

- (iii) Baabuur-kii *baa* i dhaafay
 [truck-the INDPART me passed]
 ‘The truck passed me’
- (iv) Baabuur-kii i dhaafay
 [truck-the me passed]
 ‘The truck that passed me’

Sentence (iii) has the Somali mark *baa* of ASSERTION, and (iv) lacks it. There is this Podoko-Somali proportion:

Podoko	Somali	Podoko & Somali
VOS	<i>baa</i>	Assertion
SVO	Ø	No Assertion (Relative clause)

²⁵ In Figure 7, *ngə* expressions are grouped without regard to whether they are in the speech of the Narrator or of a Character. For the Dialogic and the Monologic, the numbers here record only those instances where there are two explicitly expressed PARTICIPANTS that are

	ASSERTION	FOCUS
Dialogic	+	+
Monologic	+	-
<i>ngə</i> Expressions	-	-

Figure 6: *Three-way Contrast of Podoko PROPOSITIONS.*

	VOS	VSO	SVO
Dialogic	7 ²⁶	1 ²⁷	Ø
Monologic	Ø	10 ²⁸	Ø
<i>ngə</i> Expressions	Ø	Ø	16 ²⁹

Figure 7: *Word Order in Podoko PROPOSITIONS.*

In addition to morphology, i.e., the marker *a* for the Dialogic and *ngə* for *ngə* expressions, Podoko employs word order to maintain the distinction among the three types of PROPOSITIONS. As noted above, word order is occasionally the sole distinction, and hence, the most consistent. VOS exclusively manifests the Dialogic, SVO, the *ngə* expressions, and VSO, the Monologic.

Given the consistent apportionment of a specific order to each of the three propositional types in Podoko, it would be arbitrary to insist that the language,

interpretable as S or O. Since the Dialogic and the Monologic are both V-initial, a VS or a VO sequence will be indeterminant with respect to VOS or VSO. For the *ngə* expressions, I have included those that have a visible S, with and without a recognizable O.

²⁶ They are 7, 9, 10, 16, 17, 19, 19, and 21.

²⁷ Sentence 21. We will return to this example below in section 2.4.

²⁸ They are 4, 5, 13, 27, 51, 65, 69, 79, 80, and 80.

²⁹ The SVO examples are 14, 40, 41, 43, 46, 57, 62, 63, 75, 75, and 82. The SV examples are 13, 33, 42, 57, and 58.

nevertheless, has but one *basic* word order. It has three.³⁰ Podoko illustrates that the order of apparent *S*'s, *V*'s, and *O*'s is just another resource to convey and distinguish meanings.

2.3 Podoko FOCUS

The order of *S*'s and *O*'s is invariant for the Monologic and the *ngə* PROPOSITIONS, VSO & SVO, respectively, but the Dialogic exploits contrasting orders for the expression of FOCUS. Jarvis (1989:107) provides these examples:

- (23) a təlá *mamá* *dafá*
 [FOC1 fix-ENT-PERF mother bread]
 ‘The móther baked the bread’
 [‘c’est la mère qui a préparé la boule’]
- (24) a təlá *dafá* ndi
 [FOC1 fix-PERF bread they]
 ‘They baked the bréad’
 [‘c’est la boule qu’on préparé’]
- (25) a yṭə *dá ykwədəgə* ndi *dafá*
 [FOC1 fix-IMP in kitchen they bread]
 ‘They were fixing the bread in the kíitchen’
 [‘c’est dans la cuisine qu’on préparait la boule’]

And from the narrative:

- (81) *A* gwatasarə *^yndaka* mudə nəṣə akə
 [v.m. find thus old woman to
 kwədambayə mənə.
 aubergine her]
 ‘Thát’s how the old woman rescued her aubergines.’

The English gloss with sentence accent of *Thát*'s followed by the remainder with more or less level intonation and no prominent accent renders the Podoko FOCUS of *^yndaka*, which points to and contains everything that has preceded ... the entire story.

³⁰ Or equivalently, none. Cf. further the discussion in 2.4 below.

The postverbal position is also the position of question *wh*- words (Jarvis 1989.110):

Une question posé sur un constituant de la phrase (par exemple “qui?”, “quand?”) se présente avec un mot interrogatif spécifique (ou un mot contenant un mot interrogatif spécifique) dans la position de focalization, c’est-à-dire directement après le verbe.

Jarvis (1989.110) provides these examples:

- (26) a *yuzə* *tawə* ka na?
 [FOC1 eat-IMP what you QUEST]
 ‘What are you eating?’
 [qu’est-ce que tu manges]
- (27) “A *^ybakə* *tawə* ka waka *^yhanə* na?”
 [v.m. do what you you here part.]
 “‘What are you doing here?’”
- (28) a *ngwá* *mawə* *ɣtakwasə* udzərə na?
 [FOC1 want which thing child QUEST]
 ‘What does the child want?’
 [‘que veut l’enfant?’]
- (29) a *matsá* *á* na?
 [FOC1 die-PERF who QUEST]
 ‘Who died?’
 [‘qui est mort?’]
- (29) a *saha* *də* *hawə* ka na?
 [FOC1 come-DESC-PERF in where you QUEST]
 ‘Where did you come from?’
 [‘tu est descendu d’où?]

These are from *The Old Woman and the Hyena*:

- (23) “*Ayə* *da* *su* *dasə* ka *ha* *kiya* na?”
 [v.m. go come-up when you part. part. int.]
 “‘When will you come up?’”

- (61) “*Ayə* *bakavadə* *kənə* *ya* *maziaməna* *na* *kiya* *na?*”
 [v.m. do how I now part. part. int.]
 “‘What am I to do now?’”

In the Podoko literature, there are no answers paired with a corresponding *wh*-question,³¹ but it seems fairly certain that the V_ position is the syntax used for both.

Further, on the character of Podoko FOCUS, Jarvis (1989.82) notes:

Si la proposition est affirmative, la position de focalisation qui accompagne le verbe perfectif ou imperfectif, est toujours occupée par quelque chose. Cependant, la valeur de la focalisation n'est pas toujours évidente: parfois elle semble neutre.

On the apparent gradation of FOCUS, Jarvis (1989.104) comments further:

Avec un verbe imperfectif, l'objet est nécessairement focalisé si aucun autre élément n'est focalisé. Mais il n'a pas forcément une valeur emphatique. La phrase ... [in (30)] a donc deux sens.

- (30) a *ytə* *slabə* *yá*
 [FOC1 fix-IMP meat I]
 ‘It’s the meat that I was fixing’
 ‘I was fixing the meat’
 [‘c’est de la viande que je préparais’]
 [‘je préparais de la viande’]

If the EVENT/Verb is Intransitive, then the imprecision is passed to the S

³¹ Sentence/Question (23)

- (23) “*Ayə* *da* *su* *dasə* *ka* *ha* *kiya* *na?*”
 [v.m. go come-up when you part. part. int.]
 “‘When will you come up?’”

is, however, paired with this response:

- (24) “*A* *da* *du* *ya* *^yusada.*”
 [v.m. go go-up I tomorrow]
 “‘I’ll come tomorrow.’”

and we would expect *^yusada* ‘tomorrow’ to follow the Verb as answer to *dasə* ‘when?’. The sequence *da du* ‘go go-up’ suggests a reduplication, which could itself be a FOCUS, but then *da su* ‘go come-up’ in (23) would also be a FOCUS, leaving us to wonder why the Adverb *dasə* ‘when’ follows the Verb in (23) while the Adverb *^yusada* ‘tomorrow’ in (24) does not. The answer is not clear.

function (Jarvis 1989.105):

- (31) a pari bába
 [FOC1 bathe-IMP father]
 ‘The fáther bathed’
 ‘The father báthed’
 [‘c’est le père qui se lavait’]
 [‘le père se lavait’]

If the S is a Pronoun, then a disambiguation is possible using a choice of Pronoun (Jarvis 1989.105)

- (32) (a) a pari ita
 [FOC1 bathe they]
 ‘Théy bathed’
 [‘ce sont eux eui se lavaient’]
- (b) a pari ta
 [FOC1 bathe they]
 ‘They bathed’
 [‘ils se lavaient’]

The contrast in (32) exploits two pronominal paradigms: emphatic pronouns (“pronomes emphatiques”) and simple pronouns (“pronomes simples”) available to Dialogic utterances (Jarvis 1989.47):³²

	Simple Pronouns	Emphatic Pronouns
1Sg	yé	wayé
2Sg	ka	waká
3Sg	Ø	ina
1Excl	nanə	wanánə
1Incl	mə	wamé
2Pl	kwə	wakwé
3Pl	ta	ita

Figure 8: *Simple and Emphatic Pronouns.*

³² The absence of this pronominal contrast from the Monologic and from the *ngə* expressions is another indication of the absence of FOCUS from those two PROPOSITION types.

The Simple Pronouns only function as S's,³³ while the Emphatic Pronouns can act as S's (as in [32a]), but also as O's. Since only the Emphatic Pronouns act as O's, there is only one pronominal choice for O's, and the vagueness of (31) reappears. For the 1st & 2nd Persons, "Les pronoms emphatiques s'emploient comme objet direct du verbe imperfective, sans valeur particulière d'emphase" (Jarvis 1989.49):³⁴

- (33) a y**h**awə wakwé yá
 [FOC1 call-IMP you I]
 'I called you'
 ['je vous appelais']

The third persons display a pronominal contrast (Jarvis 1989.49):

- (34) a y**h**awə vala bába
 [FOC1 call-IMP 3pers father]
 'The father called him/her'
 'The father called them'

- (35) a y**h**awə ina bába
 [FOC1 call-IMP 3sg father]
 'It's he/she that the father called'
 ['c'est lui que le père appelait]

- (36) a y**h**awə ita bába
 [FOC1 call-IMP 3pl father]
 'It's they that the father called'
 ['ce sont eux que le père appelait]

The two observations — (i) that what appears to be the positional home of FOCUS is never vacant and (ii) that the degree of FOCUS seems to vary — are mutually dependent, and they have the same explanation. A perspective from which to understand the vagueness of (30) - (32), FOCUS or not, and Podoko FOCUS may lie more broadly in the way EVENTS themselves are FOCUSED (Jarvis 1989.108):

³³ "Les pronoms simple fonctionnent comme sujet si le verbe est perfectif ou imperfectif, et aussi dans la proposition non-verbale" (Jarvis 1989.48).

³⁴ But one must suspect that (33) is the only way to answer 'Whom did you call?'

Si c'est le verbe ou la véracité de la proposition qui est focalisé, la position de focalisation est occupée par une forme verbale.

A FOCUSED EVENT then appears reduplicated (Jarvis 1989.108):

- (37) a *ʏtsə* *ʏtsə* *yá* *dafá*
 [FOC1 prepare-IMP prepare-IMP I bread]
 'Yes, I was actually cooking the bread'
 ['si, je vais bien préparer la boule']

These are from *The Old Woman and the Hyena*:

- (7) *^yTəta* *gələ* *gələ* *kwəɗambayə*, *ba* *dəda* *də*,
 [after grow grow aubergine when go go]
 'After aubergines grew, she went ...'
- (10) a *mbaɗəla* *mbaɗə* *indala*.
 [v.m. gather gather hyena]
 'But the hyena had already gathered them.'

This in turn implies that there can be no Dialogic utterance consisting of a verb alone. Compare *^ytsa ^ytsə na* from the text:³⁵

- (44) ... "*Mudə* *nəsa*, *^ytsa* *^ytsə* *na*.

³⁵ Given the Imperative force, it seems reasonable that an Imperative EVENT would be FOCUSED. Although I can find no explicit discussion of Podoko Imperatives, each example in the literature shows reduplication. Besides those in the narrative, there are these, all reduplicated:

- (i) *va* *və* *səlí* *akə* *batəka* (Jarvis 1989.71)
 [give-PERF-IMPER give money to your.father]
 'Give the money to your father!'
- (ii) *yví* *vá* *ngó* *kəsa* (Jarvis 1989.100)
 [give-1SG-PERF-IMPER give say he]
 'Give it to me,' he said.'
- (iii) *saha* *sə* *bá* *watsə.watsa* (Jarvis 1989.101)
 [come-DESC-PERF-IMPER come FOC2 quick]
 'Come quick!'
- (iv) ... *dá* *padá* *pə* *hwərngwə* *hwərngwa* *məná* *sərə* (Jarvis 1989.115)
 [FUT take-out take fetish his two]
 '... take out the two fetishes.'

[old woman come come part.]
 “‘Old woman, come!’”

and also *ba dəda də* from (7) just above. When there is no overt PARTICIPANT in a Dialogic PROPOSITION, the required presence of FOCUS is satisfied by reduplicating the EVENT/Verb to be FOCUS.³⁶ Supported by the contrasting semantics — ASSERTION, but no FOCUS — Monologic PROPOSITIONS EVENTS/Verbs may occur alone without an accompanying PARTICIPANT.³⁷ Compare (26) and (72) from the text:

(26) ...da ^ytsa.
 [go home]
 ‘and went home.’

(72) tsara.
 [good]
 ‘it was good.’

2.4 Conclusion.

Given that Podoko syntax resorts to placing a version of the EVENT/Verb

³⁶ If it is accurate that, as Jarvis (1989.82) asserts:

... la position de focalisation qui accompagne le verbe perfectif ou imperfectif, est toujours occupés par quelque chose.

and if the Simple Pronoun is Ø as in Figure 8, then utterances such as (Jarvis 1989.42)

(i) a fətsa
 [FOC1 escape]
 ‘S/he escaped’
 [‘elle s’échappait’]

should not exist. Since the PROPOSITION is in the Dialogic mode, FOCUS should be present and there should be overt content following *fətsa*. Jarvis cites the example without comment.

³⁷ In the absence of FOCUS, an S and an O are ordered as they are in Monologic utterances which contain an S and an O, and where FOCUS is similarly absent. This accounts for the one VSO-looking utterance in the narrative (Cf. Figure 7 above).

(21) Ba nda laki tida tə ka duli wayə laki
 [if part. brew-for-me brew you beer me part.]
 “‘If you brew some beer for me,’”

FOCUS in (21) is present in the reduplicated *tida tə*, and without FOCUS, the S and O have the sequence they do in Monologic utterances, where FOCUS is also absent.

The FOCUS initial character of Podoko syntax is also visible when the ASSERTED predicate is non-verbal. It appears initially and carries the semantics of FOCUS:

- (73) *damaki* ma (Jarvis 1989.48)
[brothers we]
'We are brothers'
['nous sommes des frères']
- (74) *ngalə* ymaná (Jarvis 1989.50)
[mine this]
'This is mine'
['celui-ci est à moi']
- (75) *səra* damaki dále (Jarvis 1989.51)
[two brothers my]
'I have two brothers'
['litt. 'mes frères son deux']']
- (76) *də* *ɣkwədəgə* dála (Jarvis 1989.107)
[in kitchen mother]
'The mother is in the kitchen'
['la maman est dans la cuisine']
- (77) *wayə* ymané ytə dafá (Jarvis 1989.108)
[I this prepare bread]
'It's I who is cooking the bread'
['c'est moi qui prépare la boule']
['litt. 'celuis qui prépare la boule est moi']']

Les pronoms simples fonctionnent comme sujet si le verbe est perfectif ou imperfectif, et aussi dans la proposition non-verbale.

(78) *wa* ymaká na? (Jarvis 1989.110)
 [who this QUEST]
 'Who is it?'
 ['qui est-ce?']

3. *FOCUS Crossover Languages*

3.1 *Kanakuru*

³⁹ Cf. the recognition/discussion/application of Behagel's First Law in various places below: Chapter 9, section 4.1, Chapter 26, section 3, Chapter 27, section 2.3.2.1, Chapter 29, section 2.4, and Chapter 32, section 2.3.

Newman 1974:⁴⁰

The Kanakuru language is spoken in north-eastern Nigeria along the Rivers Hawal and Gongola ... The peoples own name for themselves is 'Dera', but the term 'Kanakuru' has established itself as the standard designation for the group both informally throughout Nigeria and in the scientific literature abroad Kanakuru belongs to the Bole-Tangale cluster of the Plateau-Sahel branch of the Chadic language family. (Newman 1974.ix)

Green (2007.203) suggests that Kanakuru has "a focus position after the direct object" This appears to be so, but Kanakuru also has a FOCUS position before the Agent. Kanakuru is a SVO language (Newman 1974.16, 22, 23):⁴¹

- (1) Ngoje a ko-no kom
[Ngoje TP⁴² catch-me rat]
'Ngoje caught me a rat'
- (2) Guwari a tade kilei
[stone TP break pot]
'The stone broke the pot'
- (3) Nà jobe jokoi gən Ngoje
[I wash cap PREP Ngoje]
'I washed the cap for Ngoje'
- (4) Amboi à lewo-wu
[boys TP tire-ICP⁴³]
'The boys have tired'

⁴⁰ There are other works on Kanakuru, but they draw on Newman 1974 as does this chapter: Samek-Lodivici 1998 & Tuller 1992.

⁴¹ Underlining indicates an implosive.

⁴² "Tenses in Kanakuru are partially marked by ... pronouns that incorporate the underlying tense constituent as a feature. Most tenses have no overt marker apart from these 'tense-pronouns' (tp's); a few do use a tense marker in addition to the tp ... The tp's agree in person, number, and gender with the underlying subject. If the underlying subject is a pronoun [+pn], it is obligatorily deleted when the tp is added" (Newman 1974.16-17).

⁴³ "In Kanakuru, intransitive sentences ... are formally marked by a pronominal suffix attached to the verb. This pronoun, which I am calling 'intransitive-copy-pronoun' (icp) copies the person, number and gender of the subject onto the verb" (Newman 1974.23).

Wh-questions of the Agent place the question after the EVENT/Verb, and after the Patient, if the verb is transitive (Newman 1974.64, 65):

- (5) (a) Share karami *mandai*?
 [take.away crocodile who]
 ‘Who took away the crocodile?’
- (b) Share karami *mandai* mɛ wún koa?
 [take.away crocodile who REL they catch]
 ‘Who took away the crocodile that they caught?’
- (6) Kur *mandai*?
 [refuse who]
 ‘Who refused?’

There are no utterances cited as answers to *wh*-questions, but it appears certain that the utterances which express “emphasis”⁴⁴ are the way to do it, and in those, the Agent again appears in the position following the Patient (Newman 1974.63):

- (7) (a) Nai meni *shi*
 [drink beer he]
 ‘He drank the beer’
- (b) Nai meni *shi* ane
 [drink beer he up]
 ‘He drank the beer up’
- (8) Job-ro *nani* gən Basha
 [wash-it I PREP Basha]
 ‘I washed it for Basha’

Sentences such as (5b) in which the clause which modifies the Patient follows the Agent, thus allowing the Agent direct access to position immediately after the Patient, provide evidence that it is specifically the O __ position that marks FOCUS for the Agent. Compare also the TOTALITY MARKER *ane*, that follows the Agent in (7b), and the Beneficiary in (8) that similarly follows the

⁴⁴ “Question words are inherently [+e] ...” (Newman 1974.66).

Agent. Sentence (9) combines some of the above (Newman 1974.64):

- (9) *Ade* shiruwoi *ngadlai* ɪɪə shé wura ane
 [eat fish cat REL she fry up]
 ‘*The cat* ate up the fish that she fried’

When constituents other than the Agent are questioned, the *wh*-word precedes the Agent (Newman 1974.66):⁴⁵

- (10) *Məndai* wún kapa?
 [what they plant]
 ‘What did they plant?’

as do non-Agent constituents that bear “emphasis” (Newman 1974.66, 67):

- (11) *Ngoje* wún bela
 [Ngoje they choose]
 ‘They chose *Ngoje*’
- (12) *Lowoi*₁ náa kotə-na shi₁
 [boy₁ I catch-him him₁]

⁴⁵ Tuller (1992.306-307) says this about Chadic and Kanakuru:

In Tangale, ... the focus appears immediately to the right of the direct object ... or the locative goal of a verb of motion ... This pattern is observed no matter what position is focused: subject focus ..., direct object focus ..., indirect object focus ..., or adjunct focus ... (answers to these Wh-questions have the exact same structure.)

The description of focus constructions in Newman (1974) points to the same linear position of postverbal focus in Kanakuru.

Tuller cites this example — taken from Newman 1974 — in support of his assertion that Kanakuru has organized FOCUS as Tangale has:

- (i) a wupə-(ro) landai gən shíre
 [he sold-Cl cloth-the with her]
 ‘He sold the cloth TO HER’

Newman (1974.67) warns, however, about (i):

Both of these sentences [versions with and without the Pronoun *-ro*, PWD] were considered much inferior to the one with the i.o. fronted ...

shire shii wupə-ra landai her he sold to her the cloth

'I caught him *for the boy*'⁴⁶

"The original i.o. slot must be filled by a pronoun remnant" (Newman 1974.67), and the pronoun in (12) identifies *lowoi* 'the boy'. Instruments behave similarly:

- (13) **Guwat**₁ náa mukwa kwara yiki₁
 [stone₁ they throw.at goat with.it₁]
 'They threw *a stone* at the goat'

Newman (1974.66) combines the two expressions of FOCUS in this way:

The converse of the rule ... that moves emphasized subjects into the predicate is ... [the] rule ... that shifts emphasized nouns from the predicate to the front of the sentence. The result in both cases is deviation from neutral word order.

Matters of FOCUS in Kanakuru are not, however, so simple as the above description makes them appear. There are elements of Kanakuru FOCUS that are reminiscent of Hausa, which we take up in Chapter 10, section 3.2.

3.2 *Pero*

Like Kanakuru, Pero is a Nigerian Chadic language:

Pero, or *pók pìpérò* (lit. Language of Pero) is a Chadic language spoken in Northeastern Nigeria, within an area of about 140 square miles bounded by 9.4 degrees latitude north and 11.3 degrees longitude east ... The current number of speakers of Pero is not known, but it probably exceeds twenty thousand. (Frajzyngier 1989.1)

Pero is a SVO language⁴⁷ (Frajzyngier 1989.160, 161, 162, 165):

⁴⁶ The same utterance has a second interpretation (Newman 1974.67):

- (i) **Lowoi**₁ náa kotə-na shi₂
 [boy₁ I catch-him him₂]
 'I caught *the boy* for him'

⁴⁷ "In a sentence with two arguments and no focused elements, the semantic roles of the arguments are indicated by the position relative to the verb. The agent is indicated by the position preceding the verb, and the patient is indicated by the position following the verb. If the agent is a 3p. specific pronoun, i.e. it is introduced by the particle *nin-*, the order of elements is Verb-Patient-Agent ..." (Frajzyngier 1989.161).

- (14) Wúji dáklò-kò mínà-i
 [fire destroy-COMPLETIVE house-DEFINITE]
 'Fire destroyed the house'
- (15) Tà-pálù píjì nín cínú
 [FUTURE-pack drum 3pl]
 'They will pack drums'
- (16) Nì-mójó-kò cìgò-tò
 [1SG-embrace-COMPLETIVE body-3F]
 'I embraced her'
- (17) Míjìbà wáat-nà
 [stranger come-COMPLETIVE]
 'A stranger came'

Compare these (Frajzyngier 1989.227):

- (18) (a) Dìllà cébí-nà cándè
 [Dilla plant-COMPLETIVE yam]
 'Dilla planted the yam'
- (b) Cébí-nà cándè Dìllà
 [plant-COMPLETIVE yam Dilla]
 '*Dilla* planted the yam'

Frajzyngier (1989.226) notes:

The main device for putting an element of a sentence in focus is to place it in a position different from the one it occupies in the unmarked sentence. For elements that occupy the non-initial position in the sentence, the initial position becomes the position of focus. For the elements that occupy the initial position, the clause final position becomes the position of focus.

All the examples of Agent FOCUS have only a patient and an Agent, so we cannot determine whether the relevant position is sentence-final or following the Patient as in Kanakuru. And there are no clear examples of a FOCUSED Patient. For example, (Frajzyngier 1989.229):

- (19) Mìnà-ì díg-kò táttà

[house-DEFINITE build-COMPLETIVE father]
 ‘As for the house (his) father built it’

There is a possibility of a pause following *mínà-ì*, which is supported by its TOPIC-looking, and not FOCUS-looking gloss. The postverbal Agent *táttà* suggests, rather, that it, and not *mínà-ì* is the FOCUS.

Although the data are not entirely clear, it appears that Pero exemplifies the same pattern of FOCUS grammar that Kanakuru does.

5. *Conclusion*

Appendix I

The narrative reproduced below is taken from Jarvis 1981. In her presentation of the text, the Podoko, accompanied by grammatical glosses, is given first in its entirety and then followed by the free translation. I have combined them. The numeration from (1) to (83) is hers. The only alteration I have made in the grouping is to separate what appear to be distinct utterances, e.g., the Podoko in (7)

- (7) ^yTəta gələ gələ kwəḁambayə, ba dəda də.
 [after grow grow aubergine when go go]
 ‘After the aubergines grew, she went.’

“Da ^ymbaḁə vala yə na,”
 [go gather it I part.
 “‘I’ll go pick them,”

ngə kənə laki,
 say she part
 ‘she said’

a mbaḁəla mbaḁə indala.
 v.m. gather gather hyena]
 ‘the hyena had already picked them.’

‘When the aubergine had grown, she said, “I’m going to pick them,” but the hyena had already picked them.’

that I have given as four utterances, unnumbered but displayed as distinct, is written by Jarvis as ^yTəta gələ gələ kwəḁambayə, ba dəda də, “Da ^ymbaḁə vala yə na,” ngə kənə laki, a mbaḁəla mbaḁə indala. Occasionally, I have offered an alternative gloss of the Podoko, as here. In those cases, Jarvis’s translation is placed at the end of the sequence. Podoko has implosive /b/ and /d/, that I have written b and d, respectively.

My rearrangement of the text has increased the number of utterances from

83 to 148. The criterion has been whether the Podoko seems to be an independent piece, not requiring the grammatical presence of another. Thus, *aya* ‘alright’ in (25)

- (25) “*Aya*,”
[alright
“Alright,”]

is isolated from the remainder in (25). Some grammatical clauses are introduced by the form *ngə* ‘say’:

- (40) ^y*Ləmadə*
[id. (lick)]
‘Slurp,’

ngə *ndi* *tapa* *nga* *laki*,
[say one taste he part.]
‘he tasted it.’

- (78) *Ngə* *mudə* *nəsə* ^y*tsa* *ba* *a* ^y*məkwətse* *məna*.
[f.s. old woman come part. with knife her]
‘The old woman came with her knife.’

The form *ngə* commonly begins a clause that follows an ideophone as in (40), but it can also occur independently as in (78).⁴⁸ Because of (78), I have treated the *ngə* clause of (40) as independent, and the ideophone ^y*Ləmadə* ‘Slurp’⁴⁹ is an independent utterance as is *Aya* ‘Alright’. For the purpose of classification, I have treated ^y*Ləmadə* and *Aya* as Intransitive Verbs. They appear as V_I in the figures above. The assignment is one of convenience, and it has no material affect on the description.

The text presented here is color coded. What appears to be formally Dialogue speech is written in red, and what appears to be Monologue is in black. The *ngə* clauses are written in blue.

⁴⁸ When *ngə* occurs as in (78), Jarvis chooses to gloss it ‘f.s’, ‘fronted subject’.

⁴⁹ Ideophones go unglossed, and I just made up ‘slurp’.

The Old Woman & The Hyena

- (1) **Tatapəra mandza.**
[story]
'I'm going to tell you a story'
- (2) **^ySuta.**
[speak]
'Speak!'
- (3) **A nda ndə ^yngəḁə mudə nəsa.**
[v.m. there is certain old woman]
'There was a certain old woman.'
- (4) Bakada nga ^yudzə vəhwə mənə.
[do she little field her]
'She made her little field'
- (5) Zləgwakwa nga nda kwəḁambayə da ḁəta.
[sow-into she pl. aubergine into it]
'and sowed aubergines in it.'
- (6) ^yManə laki, gələ kwəḁambaya.
[this part. grow aubergine]
'The aubergines grew.'
- (7) **^yTəta gələ gələ kwəḁambayə, ba dəda də,**
[after grow grow aubergine when go go]
'After the aubergines grew, she went,'
- “Da ^ymbəḁə vala yə na,”**
[go gather it I part.]
“I'll go pick them,”
- ngə kənə laki,**
[say she part.]
'she said'

a mbadəla mbadə indala.
 [v.m. gather gather hyena]
 ‘the hyena had already picked them.’

‘When the aubergines had grown, she said, “I’m going to pick them,”
 but the hyena had already picked them.’

- (8) ^yusəd dīkə mənna zlabə ^ytsa nga zlabə.
 [tomorrow its again come he again]
 ‘The next day he came again.’

- (9) “A da ^ymbadə vala yə na,”
 [v.m. go gather it I part.]
 “‘I’m going to pick them,’”

ngə kəna laki,
 [say she part.]
 ‘she said.’

a mbadəla mbadə indala.
 [v.m. gather gather hyena]
 ‘The hyena has already picked them.’

“‘I’m going to pick them,” she said, but the hyena had already picked
 them.’

- (10) Ba⁵⁰ təhə təhə kwədambayə mənna,
 [when ripen ripen aubergine her]
 ‘When her aubergines had ripened,

“Da ^ymbadə vala yə na,”
 [go gather it I part.]
 “‘I’ll go pick them,’”

⁵⁰ On *ba* (Jarvis 1989.114):

Les conjonctions *ba* et *ba nda* s’emploient pour exprimer des événements qui se
 font régulièrement

ngə kəna laki,
[say she part.]
'she said,'

a mbadəla mbadə indala.
[v.m. gather gather hyena]
'But the hyena had already gathered them.'

'When the aubergines had ripened she said that she was going to pick them, but the hyena had already picked them.'

- (11) A nda gəra dzalə nga akə mudə
[v.m. there-is equal hurt-to-her it to old
nəsə la.
woman not]
'The old woman was very upset.'

- (12) "A dada yə ninga,"
[v.m. bush I today]
"'I'm going to the bush today,"

ngə kəna.
[say she]
'she said.'

"I'm going to the bush today," she said.'

- (13) kəsa nga ^yudzə ^yvərdəngə mənə,
[take she little axe her]
'She took her little axe'

kəna dadə.
[she bush]
'she went to the bush'

'She took her little axe and went to the bush.'

- (14) Kənə ^ykələ dægwasla.
[she chop wood]

‘to chop wood.’
 ‘She was chopping her wood.’

- (15) ^yTawə ^ytawə ^ytawə ^ykələ dægwaslə manə,
 [(chopping) chop(she) wood her]
 ‘As she was chopping her wood,’

^ytsa ^yngədə indala
 [come certain hyena]
 ‘a certain hyena came by.’

‘A certain hyena came by and said to her.’

- (16) “A ^ybakə tawə ka waka ^yhanə na?”
 [v.m. do what you you here part.]
 “‘What are you doing here?’”

ngə kəna takina
 [say he to-her]
 ‘he said to her.’
 “‘What are you doing here?’”

- (17) “A ^ykələ dægwaslə mayə ya,”
 [v.m. chop wood my I]
 “‘I’m chopping my wood,’”

ngə mudə nəsə.
 [say old woman]
 ‘said the old woman.’

“‘I’m chopping my wood,’ said the old woman.’

- (18) “Ayə ^ytətanə ^ytawə ka ^ytawī na na?”
 [v.m. what cry you cry part. int.]
 ‘Why are you crying?’”

- (19) “A zləgasa kwədambayə mayə ya laki,
 [v.m. sow aubergine my I part.]
 “‘I sowed some aubergines,’”

ba kəla 'Da ^ymbadə vala ya na,'
 [when every go gather it I part.]
 “‘Whenever “I go to pick them,”

ngə ngayə laki,
 [say I part.]
 “‘I say,”

a mbadəla mbadə indala.”
 [v.m. gather gather hyena]
 “‘the hyena has gathered them.””

“‘Whenever I say ‘I’ll go pick them,’ the hyena has gathered them.””

“‘I sowed some aubergines, and every time I go to pick them the hyena has already picked them.””

- (20) “A ^ybələ ^ymaka la.
 [v.m. difficult that not]
 “‘That’s no problem.””

- (21) Ba nda laki tida tə ka duli wayə
 [if part. brew-for-me brew you beer me
 laki
 part.]
 “‘If you brew some beer for me,”

a ^ykəsəkə ^ykasə ya,”
 [v.m. catch-for-you catch I]
 “‘I’ll catch him for you,”

ngə indala takina.
 [say hyena to-her]
 ‘the hyena said to her.’

“‘If you brew me some beer I’ll catch him for you,” said the hyena to her.’

- (22) “A zla yə ba ^ykwata
[v.m. rejoice I part. much]
“I’ll be happy”

ba nda ^ykəsi ka,”
[if catch-for-me you]
“if you do catch him for me,”

ngə mude nəsa takina.
[say old woman to-him]
‘said the old woman to him.’

“I’ll be happy if you do catch him for me,” she replied.’

- (23) “Ayə da su dasə ka ha kiya na?”
[v.m. go come-up when you part. part. int.]
“When will you come up?,”

ngə mude nəsa.
[say old woman]
‘said the old woman.’

“When will you come up?”

- (24) “A da du ya ^yusada.”
[v.m. go go-up I tomorrow]
“I’ll come tomorrow.”

- (25) “Aya,”
[alright]
“Alright,”

ngə mude nəsa.
[say old woman]
‘said the old woman.’

“Alright,” said the old woman and went home,’

- (26) Ngə mude nəse
[say old woman]
'Said the old woman'

da ^ytsa.
[go home]
'and went home.'

- (27) Tada mude nəsa dula.
[brew old woman beer]
'The old woman brewed some beer.'

- (28) ^yTəta taləda tə ndi dula,
[after brew-for-him brew one beer]
'When she brewed the beer,'

akə su indala.
[suddenly come-up hyena]
'the hyena came straight up.'

- (29) A du də indala laki,
[v.m. go-up go hyena part.]
'The hyena arrived.'

"Hawə na?"
[where int.]
"'Where is the beer?'"

ngə indala takina.
[say hyena to-her]
'the hyena said to her.'

'When he arrived he asked where the beer was.'

- (30) "Nga ina hənga,"
[here it here]
"'Here it is.'"

ngə mude nəsa.
 [say old woman]
 ‘said the old woman.’

- (31) *Va ndi dula.*
 [give one beer]
 ‘She gave it to him.’

- (32) *^ySəlu nga*
 [drink he]
 ‘He drank it up.’

- (33) *Kənə da həna həni da vəhwə kwədambaya.*
 [he go lie-down lie-down in field aubergine]
 ‘and went to lie down in the field of aubergines.’

- (34) *Kwəda hənə hna ^yhakənga,⁵¹*
 [while lie lie(he) there]
 ‘While he was lying there’

akə ^ytsa ^yngədə indala
 [suddenly come certain hyena]
 ‘The other hyena suddenly arrived.’

- (35) *^yTsa ndi sa kwədambaya nga təhə təha zla laki,*
 [come one to aubergine this ripe ripe again part.]
 ‘He came to those ripe aubergines again’

^ytawəlu ndi ^ytawəlu ndi kwədambaya.
 [put-up one put-up one aubergine]
 ‘and stuffed them in his mouth.’

⁵¹ Although the initial element in (34) is not *ngə*, the first clause appears to be of the same sort (Jarvis 1989.116):

Le relation d’événements simultanés est signalée par les conjonctions *haya* et *kwəda* ‘pendant que’. Dans les propositions introduites par ces conjonctions, le sujet précède le verbe....

We have seen that *ngə* is not a constant mark of the third type of Podoko clause, but word order is, namely, the SV order that appears in (34).

- (36) ^yNdakə
[id.(turn and see)]
'Aha,'

ngə ndi laki,
[say one part.]
'he looked'

a ndzi ^yngəḁə ^ytakwasə ^ylalala.
[v.m. stay certain thing id.(drip)]
'There was something dripping.'

'He looked round and saw something dripping.'

- (37) "Kayə! Mawə ^ydələ ^ytakwasə ^ymanə na?
[oh what good thing this int.]
"What's this good thing?"

- (38) Nda gəra tsari mənə la nanga.
[there-is equal good its not part.]
"It's very good."

- (39) A tapa tapə ya,"
[v.m. taste taste I]
"I'm going to taste it,"

ngə nda⁵².
[say one]
'he said.'

- (40) ^yLəmadə
[id. (lick)]

⁵² In addition to the pronouns that are partitioned between the Monologue Perfective and the Dialogue Perfective,

... il y a un autre pronom *ndi* (dérivé de nom *məndə/i* 'personne'), qui correspond à l'indéfini 'on' du français. Celui-ci ne fonctionne que comme sujet.

məndə/i produces not only the *nda* of (39) but also the *ndi* of (40) below.

‘Slurp,’

nga ndi tapa nga laki,
[say one taste he part.]
‘he tasted it.’

a nda gəra tsari mənə la.
[v.m. there-is equal good its not]
‘It was very good.’

‘So he tasted it, and it was very good.’

- (41) “A ^yzasə ^yzə ya duwa,
[v.m approach-under approach I go-up]
“‘I’m going to go up closer’”

nga-ye tapa nga ^ywala ^ywala,”
[so-that-I taste it really really]
“‘in order to really taste it,’”

ngə nda
[say one]
‘he said.’

- (42) Asədukə
[id.]
‘Thup!’

ngə ndi dəkwa nga da zadara.
[say one go-into he into bottom]
‘He went into his bottom.’

- (43) Ndərzə
[id. (squeeze)]
‘Snap!’

ngə ndi ngwadalu nga a zadara.
[say one bind-him he on bottom]
‘He got trapped in his bottom.’

‘He entered into his bowels and got trapped.’

- (44) ^yTəta ngwadəalu ngwadəə ndi laki,
[after bind-him bind one part.]
‘After he caught him,’

“Mudə nəsa, ^ytəsa ^ytsə na.
[old woman come come part.]
“‘Old woman, come!’”

- (45) Ya kəsa kəsa ya maziāməna,”
[v.m. catch catch I now]
“‘I’ve caught him now!’”

ngə ndi taka mudə nəsa.
[say one to old woman]
‘he said to the old woman.’

‘The one who had caught him cried out to the old woman, “Old woman, come, I’ve caught him now!’”

- (46) “^yTəsa ^ytsə ba a ^yməkʷətsə maka
[come come part. with knife your]
“‘Bring your knife”

ka ^yndələlə kwara ba a zadara,”
[you cut-to-him neck part. on bottom]
“‘So you can cut his throat on my bottom.’”

ngə ndi.
[say one]
‘he said.’

“‘Bring your knife so that you can cut his throat on my rump,’”

- (47) “Aya,”
[alright]
“‘Alright,’”

ngə mude nəsa.
[say old woman]
'said the old woman.'

- (48) ^yTsa nga a ^yməkwətsə.
[come she with knife]
'She came with her knife.'

“‘Alright,” said the old woman and came with her knife.’

- (49) “Ka ^ypələkəsə nga na;
[let-me release-to-you it part.]
“‘Let me release him for you,’”

bi a ndela a ndəli ka,”
[perhaps v.m. cut with cutting you]
“‘Perhaps you will be able to cut him,’”

ngə ndi takina.
[say one to-her]
'he said to her.'

- (50) “Ahala. A ^ykədə ya a ^ykədi la.
[no v.m. kill I with killing not]
“‘No, I won’t kill him.’”

- (51) Sayə ba ^ydzərəla mayə ^ymanə ^ytakwasə ^yzə
[only part. see I this thing lose
kwədambayə mayə,”
aubergine my]
'before I see this thing that took my aubergines,’”

ngə mude nəsa.
[say old woman]
'said the old woman.'

“‘No, I won’t kill this thing that’s been destroying my aubergines without seeing him first,” said the old woman.’

- (52) “Ayə dəgiya a da piya ka la,”
 [(warning) v.m fut. hold you not]
 “‘But you won’t be able to hold him,’”

ngə ndi taka mudə nəsə.
 [say one to old woman]
 ‘he told her.’

- (53) “A piya piya ya,”
 [v.m. hold hold I]
 “‘I will hold him,’”

ngə kəna.
 [say she]
 ‘she said.’

- (54) ^yManə laki,
 [this part.]
 ‘Then,’

“Ayə ka ^ypələkəsə nga na,”
 [v.m let-me release-to-you it part.]
 “‘I’ll let him out for you,’”

ngə nda.
 [say one]
 ‘he said.’

“‘I’ll let him out for you then,’” he said.’

- (55) “Aya,”
 [alright]
 “‘Alright,’”

ngə mudə nəsə.
 [say old woman]
 ‘said the old woman.’

- (56) ^yDəngəla mudə nəsa zadara.
[place old woman bottom]
'She stood behind him.'

- (57) Tasa
[id. (release)]
'Thup,'

ngə ndi ^ypələləsə nga laki,
[say one release-to-her he part.]
'he released him.'

kwapə
[id.(fall)]
'Thud,'

ngə mudə nəsa da hala.
[say old woman to ground]
'the old woman was on the ground.'

'He let him out, but she fell down and rolled on the ground.'

- (58) ^yNdaka ^ydangwəɗangwangwə
[then id.(roll)]

ngə mudə nəsa da hala.
[say old woman to ground]
'Then, rollyrolly went the old woman on the ground.'

'He let him out, but she fell down and rolled on the ground.'

- (59) "Nga ma sa walakada wale ya la na na?"
[here part. past speak-to-you speak I not part. int.]
"‘There! What did I tell you?’"

ngə indala takina.
[say hyena to-her]
'The hyena said to her.'

- (60) “Bo dzirə udzərə maya,”
 [part. truth child my]
 “‘It’s true, my child,’”

ngə kəna.
 [say she]
 ‘she said.’

- (61) “Ayə bakavadə kənə ya maziaməna na kiya na?”
 [v.m. do how I now part. part. int.]
 “‘What am I to do now?’”

ngə kəna.
 [say she]
 ‘she said.’

- (62) “Sayə zia ka ^ybərdəsə ti ^yngədə dula.
 [only again you repeat brew other beer]
 “‘Just brew another lot of beer.’”

- (63) Ləkwətu nga-yə da mba ^ykəsəkə nga na,”
 [then so-that-I fut. can catch-for-you it part.]
 “‘So that I can catch him for you,’”

ngə indala takina zlabə.
 [say hyena to-her again]
 ‘the hyena told her again.’

“‘Just brew another lot of beer and I’ll be able to catch him for you again.’”

- (64) “Aya,”
 [alright]
 “‘Alright,’”

ngə kəna.
 [say she]
 ‘she said.’

- (65) Tada nga duli zla_{ba}.
[brew she beer again]
'She brewed some more beer,'
- (66) ^yTsa indala nga kwətəra.
[come hyena that one]
'and the hyena came.'
- (67) ^ySəlu nga.
[drink he]
'He drank it,'
- (68) Həna nga də wəhwə kwədambayə zla_{ba}.
[lie-down he in field aubergine again]
'and went to lie down in the field of aubergines again.'
- (69) ^yDangəla nga zadara
[place he bottom]
'He positioned his rump'
- ngə duli nga ya_{bi} saha də zadara
so-that beer that drip down-from in bottom
^ylalalalalalala.
id.(drip)]
'so that the beer should drip down from it.'
- (70) ^yTsa ndi zla_{ba} laki,
[come one again part.]
'The other hyena came again'
- tapa nda.
[taste one]
'and tasted it.'
- (71) "Kayə! ^yManənga ^ytakwasə ^ymənə sa kəsi ^ykəsə zla_{ba}
[oh this thing this past catch-me catch again
dəgiyə,"
part.
"This is the thing that caught me before."

ngə nda.
[say one]
he said.'

- (72) Ba tapa tapə nda,
[part. taste taste one]
'He tasted it;'

tsara.
[good]
'it was good.'

- (73) Ba tapa tapə nda,
[part. taste taste one]
'He tasted it;'

tsara.
[good]
'it was good.'

- (74) "A ^yzasə ^yzə ya du zla laki,
[v.m. approach-under approach I go-up again part.]
"I'm going up closer again;"

nda gəra tsari mənə la."
[there-is equal good its not]
"it's so good."

- (75) Asədukə
[id.]
'Oof,'

ngə ndi dəkwa nga zla laki,
[say one go-into he again part.]
'he got in him again,'

ndərzə
[id.(squeeze)]
'Squish,'

ngə ndi ngwəḍalu nga a zadara.
 [say one bind-him he on bottom]
 ‘he caught him in his bowels.’
 ‘He entered into his bowels and got caught again.’

- (76) “Ya kəsa kəsa ya mazlaməna na.
 [v.m. catch catch I now part.]
 “‘I’ve caught him now!’”

- (77) ^yTsa ^ytsə ba a ^yməkwətsə maka,”
 [come come part. with knife your]
 “‘Come with your knife!’”

ngə ndi taka mudə nəsa.
 [say one to old woman]
 ‘called the captor to the old woman.’

- (78) Ngə mudə nəsa ^ytsa ba a ^yməkwətsə mənə.
 [f.s. old woman come part. with knife her]
 ‘The old woman came with her knife.’

- (79) ^yNdələlə mudə nəsa kwara akə indala kənga.
 [cut-to-him old woman neck to hyena that]
 ‘The old woman cut the throat of that hyena.’

‘She came with her knife and cut the throat of that hyena.’

- (80) ^yNdaka kəsa ndi mazlaməna indala
 [then catch one now hyena]
 ‘So they caught him now’

ha ^yratsəla meta indala.
 [until cut they hyena]
 ‘and cut him into pieces.’

- (81) A gwatasarə ^yndaka mudə nəsa akə
 [v.m. find thus old woman to
 kwəḍambayə mənə.
 aubergine her]

‘That’s how the old woman rescued her aubergines.’

- (82) Ha kəna ^ymbaɖawə nga mazlaməna.
 [until she gather it now]
 ‘Now she can pick them.’

- (83) Ozi**ɖ**azla tətəla.
 [tail]
 ‘The end.’

Appendix II

Mirativity in Podoko

Designating certain places in a Podoko narrative as worthy of audience participation (and attention) suggests a kind of Mirativity (DeLancey 1997, 2012 & Aikhenvald 2012). Mirativity and Mirative are now old notions, which at their broadest describe some kind of startle reflex. *Startle* is most commonly based on what is known by interlocutors and the degree of shock of discovery (DeLancey 2012.533):

I will use the term MIRATIVITY to refer to the semantic category ... [“of new or unassimilated information which can manifest itself in one way or another in linguistic expression”], and MIRATIVE to refer to the crosslinguistic phenomenon ... [“which regularly finds expression in languages as a grammatical category”]. (And MIRATIVE CONSTRUCTION or form will refer to a form or construction in the particular language under discussion.)

Aikhenvald (2012.473) contributes this:

The grammatical category labelled “mirative” across languages subsumes the following values:

- (i) sudden discovery, sudden revelation or realization;
- (ii) surprise;
- (iii) unprepared mind;
- (iv) counterexpectation;
- (v) new information.

Each of these can be defined with respect to (a) the speaker, (b) the audience (or addressee), or (c) the main character.⁵³

⁵³ Mirativity of this sort is (was) clearly present in Bella Coola *su* and other particles (Saunders & Davis 1975, 1976, 1978, 1979). Since the term ‘mirativity’ had not yet been invented, the semantic parameter was called Expectableness, that had three values: Unexpected to Hearer, Unexpected to Speaker, and Expected. 20+ years later, “Its [mirativity’s] semantic domain is ‘expected knowledge’ ... or ‘the status of knowledge’” (Aikhenvald 2012.474).

The use of Dialogic in the description of Podoko is not the classic Mirativity in two ways. First, it does not depend on new information in a way distinct from any other utterance. There is only a small piece of the language displayed in our Podoko narrative, but where there are instances of potential Mirativity, they appear confined to the EVENT by virtue of the use of FOCUS. Mirativity elsewhere does not show such constraints.

Second, the Podoko phenomenon is not a ‘category’. Recall Davis’s (2015.86) description of the Fourth Wall:

Only after the standardization of the fourth-wall illusion would its breakage provoke a shock effect upon theatergoers.

It is only after the Monologic has had the opportunity to create its own world that the Dialogic can break it. The Dialogic grammar that marks a rupture in the Monologic world appears elsewhere — outside the context of the Monologic — and the semantics of rupture (and potentially, Mirativity) is appropriately absent. It is the *juxtaposition* of the two styles that looses a rush of personal involvement creating ‘the shock effect’. There is no grammatical ‘category’ or ‘construction’ in Podoko dedicated to expressing this semantics, which follows from distinctive *usage* of the semantics of two contrasting morphosyntaxes.⁵⁴

The effect of Monologic/Dialogic is an aspect of the organization of a Podoko narrative; some part, but probably not all of it, will be cast in the Monologic. It is the potential for using the Dialogic in the midst of Monologic that constitutes a means for manipulating the presentation of narrative content.

DeLancey (2012.542-543) discusses “Mirativity in Narrative,” but the introduction of “narrative” is still not the use of the Podoko Monologic/Dialogic:

Here the narrative serves to mark the information as new to the speaker now, from the perspective of the speaker as a participant in the narrative who was at the time unaware of it.

⁵⁴ DeLancey (2012.534) asks:

Mirativity, then, is a robust and familiar phenomenon. The question for typologists is, to what extent do we find this semantic category expressed in languages by dedicated grammatical constructions?

The answer from Podoko would seem to be “Not here,” at least not at this place in its grammar.

‘Narrative’ serves as the matrix for distributing information so that the content in question “was new information, unknown to him at this point in the narrative.” The crux here is still information, who knows what, when, and whether they may be expected to know or have known. ‘Narrative’ Mirativity here has nothing to do with the organization of the ‘narrative’ itself. It uses it.

In addition to (i) - (iv) above, Aikhenvald (2012.474) adds:

Mirative may have further discourse functions. The mirative ... marks “the main point of the story” ... the mirative can be used in narratives to mark the surprising and focal points of a narrative ... The ways in which miratives are used in actual discourse is a matter for further typological investigation.

It is, but the interplay between the Podoko Monologic and Dialogic seems more about the creation of an isolated, reified world ... and its rupture.

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