Dott, aka zo i (Chadic, West-B, South-Bauchi):
Grammatical notes, vocabulary and text
Bernard Caron

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Zodi, aka Dott (Chadic, West-B, South-Bauchi):
Grammatical notes and vocabulary

B. CARON
Llacan*

1. Introduction

Zodi, called Dott by Shimizu (78 : 13), belongs to the Southern Bauchi group of the West Chadic-B sub-branch (SBW) of Chadic (Afroasiatic). Zodi\(^1\) is the ethnonym of a group of people living in the village of Dott, and 7 of the 11 wards ruled over by its chief. The 7 wards are: Wâkiîli, Kuleko, Galaadîma, *âbaar, Sâraâri, Çirooma, *ondî. Hausa and Fulɓe are spoken in the other wards: Kâágàddàámå, Sâlabôngari, Gôôbiràâwà and Hàrдо. They call their language jêrõm zodi, the language of the Zodis. The Zodis started converting to Islam in the 60’s, and are now mainly Muslims, with few Christians and Animists among them. The language borrows heavily to Hausa, both in the vocabulary (25% of our lexical entries) and in the grammar (conjunctions, auxiliaries, topicalization particles). However, it has retained the essential of its typical SBW character.

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\(^1\) This paper is the result of 3 field trips to the village of Dott, of 3 to 4 days each, between 1998 and 2002. I want to express my deep gratitude to the Sarkin Dott, and to the Ubandoma, Ahmed A. Domas and his family. Ahmed has been an extremely patient and gifted language assistant, and has liberally given me his time and energy, driving me around on the back of his motorcycle on the paths of numerous villages, looking for mysterious Chadic languages way beyond the Zodi area. He and his family have made my stay in his compound in Dott a real pleasure. Many thanks to Ahmed’s brother, Nuhu A. Domas, for answering my unending questions.

Transcription system: Long vowels are indicated by double letters; high (Hi=H) tone = \(\hat{u}/\dot{u}\); low (Lo=L) tone = \(u/\dot{u}\); falling tone = \(\hat{u}/\dot{u}\); rising tone = \(\hat{u}^\ddot{u}\). We have preferred to use the IPA instead of Hausa spelling conventions to transcribe Zodi sounds. i.e. Hausa \(c\) is \(\text{ʧ}\); \(j\) is \(\text{ʤ}\). However, outside the consonant chart, for the sake of legibility, we have kept the letter \(y\) to transcribe IPA \(j\).
2. Phonology

2.1 Consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>short</th>
<th>long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p̪</td>
<td>p̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t̪</td>
<td>t̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̜</td>
<td>t̜</td>
<td>t̜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ts̪</td>
<td>ts̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k̪</td>
<td>k̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k̪</td>
<td>k̪</td>
<td>k̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b̪</td>
<td>b̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d̪</td>
<td>d̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dz</td>
<td>dz̪</td>
<td>dz̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɸ</td>
<td>ɸ̪</td>
<td>ɸ̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɡ</td>
<td>ɡ̪</td>
<td>ɡ̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g̪</td>
<td>g̪</td>
<td>g̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɓ</td>
<td>ɓ̪</td>
<td>ɓ̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɗ</td>
<td>ɗ̪</td>
<td>ɗ̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̂b</td>
<td>n̂b̪</td>
<td>n̂b̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>nd̪</td>
<td>nd̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd̄z</td>
<td>nd̄z̪</td>
<td>nd̄z̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd̄g</td>
<td>nd̄g̪</td>
<td>nd̄g̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ṭ̪</td>
<td>ṭ̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ̣</td>
<td>ṭ̣̪</td>
<td>ṭ̣̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ̩</td>
<td>ṭ̩̪</td>
<td>ṭ̩̪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>n̂</td>
<td>n̪̂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̂</td>
<td>r̪̂</td>
<td>r̪̂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɗ̂</td>
<td>ɗ̪̂</td>
<td>ɗ̪̂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in Hausa, all Zodi words begin with a consonant and vowel-initial words in the transcription are preceded by a glottal stop: a, at; u, of; éhi, fowl = ʔa, ʔu, ʔéhi. The voiced lateral fricative [b̄] is absent.

/k/ has many allophones whose distribution is not clear: it is pronounced [k] in initial position, [γ] in intervocalic position: [bayohárka] < ba ko bárka, [he] greeted you, lit. gave you welcome, but cf. [bukáá], after. It is pronounced x when followed by a nasal: [k̃x̃] = k̃k̃u, arm, wing, branch; [kaaxni] < kaak-ni, praise-pl; cf. [makaaka?] < ma kaak Cak, thank you (lit. we+Aor, praise Perf., Hau mun gode). It is pronounced [ŋ̃] sometimes [g̃] when followed by other consonants, except in the context a _ t where it is pronounced [x̃]: [kaaxti] < kaak-ti, praising. At the end of an utterance, it is pronounced [ŋ] or [ʔ].

The tendency to labialise consonants in front of short /o/ is not as systematic as in Zaar for example: gon, here = [gwóñ-góñ], ɡ, ʡ, l, r, m, n and ʡ are palatalised in front of /u/ and /e/.

2.2 Vowels

Zodi has a six-vowel system, all of them except for /o/ occurring short and long, with no nasals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>short</th>
<th>long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>α</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>α</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>aa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pending a deeper phonological analysis, we have chosen to account for diphthongs as a sequence vowel+glide: aw ; ay ; oy ; uy ; ay. These sequences don’t appear in the stock Zodi lexicon. They occur only in loan-words from Hausa, or result from suffixation with -i(i) morphemes.

2.3 Tones

Zodi has two levels of tone (Hi, Lo), plus a rising tone (Lo-Hi) and a falling tone (Hi-Lo).

3. Verbal morphology

3.1 Verb classes

Zodi has one and two-syllable verbs, with various tone schemes:

\[\text{karánta, read}^{2}\]

---

2 Uvular stop.
3 There is 1 verb borrowed from Hausa with HHL tones:
3.2 Verb plurality

Verb plurality is not consistently marked in Zodi. Verbs and verbal nouns sometimes take a -ni suffix (with a floating Hi tone) in agreement with plural subjects or objects: pó́rkánrí, do; cícíní, eat; tóábá́t/atóábá́tíní, get up, grow up, migrate (Hau. tashí).

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 syll.</td>
<td>L (56%)</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>turn round</td>
<td>H (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 syll.</td>
<td>HL (20%)</td>
<td>kántír</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>LL (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 syll.</td>
<td>LH (6 ex.)</td>
<td>tóábá́t</td>
<td>stand up</td>
<td>HH (3 ex.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 Verbal extensions

One verbal extension was identified, elicited with Hausa grade 5 ‘causative’ verbs. It is fairly common in the small corpus we used. The form is -r with a Hi tone suffixed to CV verbs, and -adár with a Hi-Lo tone scheme suffixed to CVC verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>original vb.</th>
<th>Hausa</th>
<th>Zodi</th>
<th>derived vb.</th>
<th>Hausa</th>
<th>Zodi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>come out</td>
<td>fítá</td>
<td>tár</td>
<td>fitá (da)</td>
<td>tár</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get down</td>
<td>sauká</td>
<td>jír</td>
<td>sauká (da)</td>
<td>jír</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>climb</td>
<td>hau</td>
<td>tswár</td>
<td>hau (da)</td>
<td>tswár</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hide (int.)</td>
<td>bójé</td>
<td>ðúyár</td>
<td>bójé (da)</td>
<td>ðúyár</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get spoil</td>
<td>bátá</td>
<td>màlá́r</td>
<td>bátá (da)</td>
<td>màlá́r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pour</td>
<td>zùbá</td>
<td>ðádår</td>
<td>zùbá (da)</td>
<td>ðádår</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>zúná</td>
<td>súkdár</td>
<td>zúná (da)</td>
<td>súkdár</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some verbs have the form of a causative, without any obvious original verb to be associated with: màńdár, sell; sóndár bring; ndár, rúddár, take to.

3.4 Verbal nouns

There exists two type of Verbal Nouns (VN) in Zodi. They both have -ti suffixes but they differ by their tones. The VN appearing in non-Continuous constructions have Lo tones:

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>ð́jét</td>
<td>ð́jéttí</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put</td>
<td>wááí</td>
<td>waátti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swallow</td>
<td>tákáa</td>
<td>tákáatti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get up, etc.</td>
<td>tóábá́t</td>
<td>tóábáttí</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Continuous, the tones depend on the number of syllables of the verb.

For one syllable verbs, the Verbal Noun takes a Hi tone on the first syllable. Compare the following examples contrasting continuous and non-continuous uses of the verbal nouns.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>màrábá</td>
<td>ú</td>
<td>ð́jéttí</td>
<td>taa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>greetings with coming</td>
<td>3pl.+Cont. coming</td>
<td>Welcome!</td>
<td>they are coming</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ar | gu | Tá́ba | footí | kí | mu (...)
3sg. that already (Aux.) telling 2sg. Comp. he who has already told you that (…)
because if he is telling you that (...)

- For two-syllable verbs, the -ti suffix does not alter the lexical tone of the verb in the continuous.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lexical Form</th>
<th>Non-Continuous</th>
<th>Continuous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LL barți</td>
<td>LLL bariti</td>
<td>LLL bariti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH bikát</td>
<td>LLL bikatti</td>
<td>LHL bikatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH dokál</td>
<td>LLL dokalti</td>
<td>LHL dokálti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH fífée</td>
<td>LLL fifeti</td>
<td>HLL fifeti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH góm̄iti</td>
<td>LLL góm̄iti</td>
<td>HLL góm̄iti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH kwák̄al</td>
<td>LLL kwakalti</td>
<td>HHL kwák̄alti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH sük̄át</td>
<td>LLL sukatti</td>
<td>HHL sük̄atti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Numerals

Ordinals are made with the preposition ú preceding the cardinal number, which appears in the definite form, viz. suffixed with an -u: ú rodi, second; ú maakáy, third, etc. ú kana, ú párkό, first, is an exception. kana is to be compared to Zaar kẹ̀n, face, front, forward. párkό is borrowed from Hausa.

5. Nouns

5.1 Gender

There is no morphological gender in Zódi.

5.2 Plural

In nouns, plurals are rare, lexical, and limited to humans: women (mwáti, sg. masl), children (méér, sg. wun), men (min) for example, is a collective noun. However, in the nominal system, plurality is marked in the indefinite, in deictics and relative pronouns.

5.3 Possessive NP + NP constructions

Possessive constructions in Zódi use the genitive link ú: lok ú zodí ‘king of Dot’; bán ú bas ú wun, ‘(the) house of (the) father of (the) girl’.

The genitive link ú is polyfunctional. Its use is not limited to possession, but expresses a more abstract link between two notions. It is used also for adjectival constructions(cf. infra XXX) and composition (fjöm ú zii ‘iron’, lit. ‘metal of black’; fjöm ú laari ‘copper’, lit. ‘metal of red’; peedi ú bari ‘sunlight’, lit. ‘sun of white’; tkar ú bari ‘moonlight’, lit. ‘moon of white’; rám-ú-dži ‘food’, lit. ‘thing of food’). It is used to introduce complements of nominal predicates.

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4 In the compound rám-ú-dži, the genitive link [ʔú] has lost its initial [ʔ].
(twáksi ü arám gu... ‘angry with the thing that...’ ; parti sálláma ü gádós ‘greeting his wife’, lit. ‘doing greeting of wife-his’) and of prepositional phrases : a dum ü lok ‘in front of the king’.

5.4 Definiteness

5.4.1 Definite

The -i suffix in Zoádi expresses a low level of definiteness and can be interpreted as a mark of individuation.

5.4.2 Indefinite

The indefinite determiner is galám for the singular, and džilém for the plural. It can be used pronominally :

áp! áy galám a gon!
excl. excl. some at here

Look, there’s one! (Hau : Ap! Ai ga wani nan!)

When used as a determinant, it can occur on the right of the noun :

dii ma bön arám galám ndi
Neg 1pl know thing some Neg

We don’t know anything

bukáá mbárti džilém
after day some

after a few days

or on the left. In this case, its becomes MH and it is followed by the definite (-i) form of the noun :

dii a tába pattí galám arámi gu máášám slam mbi
Neg 1sg already get some thing that spoil+1sg heart Neg

I never got anything that made me sad (lit. spoil my heart).

5.5 Quantifiers

The distributive quantifiers are kóono (pro.), everybody ; kóógee (det.), each/every (for a thing).

kóono a gyamlati.
everyone Cont laughing

Everybody is laughing.

The determinant kóógee is followed by a noun phrase with the -i definite suffix:

kóógee džêní
each day+def

kóógee džen nantami
each day five+def
every year
every five year

The global quantifier kúm, all, has both adjectival uses

kúm arám gu jáálém mak ...
all thing that bother+1s Perf ...

all the things that bothered me...

and pronominal uses :

mini sátála mini kírísta kúm tida mááni sóy
people+of prayer people+of Christ all 3pl+Hab gather+pl. 3pl.+pl

Muslims, Christiants, all gather.
5.6 Deictics

Zofí uses proximal and distal deictics. Pronouns and determinants are sensitive to number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>proximal</th>
<th>distal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adverbs</td>
<td>woní here</td>
<td>wáy there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determinants</td>
<td>sg (táá) goní this (cow)</td>
<td>(táá) gway that (cow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pl (táá) ñoní these (cows)</td>
<td>(táá) ñway those (cows)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>sg goní gon this one</td>
<td>gway that one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pl wúrdjoní these ones</td>
<td>wúrdjway those ones</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Adjectives

Although there are a certain number of verbs with a stative meaning, the adjectival function is relatively well developed in Zofí, with adjectives proper and participles.

6.1 Adjectives proper

Adjectives are not uncommon in Zofí, and are represented beyond the class of colour terms: bóri, white; laari, red; jùudi, blue; zií, black; bari, big; boli, sweet; dasri, ugly; dokáni, wet, unripe; limi, deep; mambari, new; findi, cold. The unusual adjective mbaa, big, is found in the expression mbaa lwaar, big spirits.

6.2 Participles

Participles are derived from verbs with the suffix -(n)iy —often pronounced -(n)ay— and a MH(M) tone scheme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ban</td>
<td>heat up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zu</td>
<td>fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kút</td>
<td>circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóyn</td>
<td>be dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mása</td>
<td>be narrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndóraŋ</td>
<td>get old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngýoö</td>
<td>ripen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusáŋ</td>
<td>remain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ros</td>
<td>rot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some participles cannot be linked to a verb: fopláŋi, void; ndзоŋi, sour; qgwakáni, crooked; soorí, evil, mad; sokí, [swoyá], honest.

6.3 Adjectival constructions

6.3.1 Attributive adjectives

The paratactic construction uses the Noun + Adjective: leemú balí, an orange (lit. lemon sweet); táá bari, a black cow (lit. cow black)


ma dal táŋlää ú limi
I+Oor cross river of deep
I crossed a deep river.

6.3.2 Predicative adjectives

Predicative adjectives use the non-verbal predicate ni⁵ (‘be’) with the order Noun + Adjective + ni:

---

⁵ This word is pronounced [ni] in sentence-final position and [na] elsewhere.
This man is ugly.

The negative uses the particle **ndi**:

> łyń ęńi ni ndì, bóńi ni
cow+def black be Neg. white be

The cow is not black, it is white.

Another construction uses **ńńi**, which is a contraction of **ń́i** (‘be’) and the genitive link **ū** (‘of’), with the order Noun + **ńńi** + Adjective:

> łyń ńńi ziśi podî ńńi bari
cow+def be+of black tree+def be+of big

The cow is black, the tree is big.

This same construction is used when the predicate is a quality expressed by a noun:

> ko ko ńńi ńńi jumped
def be+of knowledge well but 1pl Top ...

You, you are educated, well but as for us...

### 6.4 Participle constructions

#### 6.4.1 Attributive participles

There exists only a paratactic construction, with the order Participle + Noun, using the short form of the participle.

> máńdáńm ńńi bréńdi ya?
give+me dry bread Perf

Give me some dry bread!

#### 6.4.2 Predicative participles

In the affirmative, predicative participles use the non-verbal predicate **ń́i** only, without genitive link, and the word order Noun + Participle + **ń́i**. The negation uses the Negative Perfect of the corresponding verb. (cf. 8.2.3)

> bréńdi ni kokáńi bréńdi díi kókán ndí
bread+def be dry bread+def Neg dry Neg

The bread is dry
The bread is not dry

### 7. Pronominal paradigms

#### 7.1 Subject pronouns

There are three basic paradigms: Aorist, Continuous and Future.

Other aspects (Perfect, Habitual) are marked by particles combined with the Aorist pronouns.

#### 7.1.1 Basic TAM’s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Continuous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>máá</td>
<td>ám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>úi</td>
<td>kíí</td>
<td>kyaá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>tyáá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>maa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>kon</td>
<td>kwaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>ti</td>
<td>tin</td>
<td>taa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Continuous, the verb is replaced by a Verbal Noun (cf. § 3.4).

The Future often appears with **-ni** suffixed to the verb:
They will touch the cow.

However, the same suffix can appear with other tenses, such as the Aorist used with stative verbs:

\[
\text{a ndák-ni } \text{ù bani} \quad \text{1s+Aor like-ni food of hot} \\
\text{I like hot food.}
\]

\[
\text{fùm gùnì } \text{ban-ni sooséé} \\
\text{food this hot-ni really} \\
\text{This food is too hot.}
\]

With a nominal subject, the aspect morpheme appears alone: zero (Ø) for the Aorist, a for the Continuous and ní for the Future.

\[
\text{sùkùfù } \text{Ø lwáksi ú arám gu mbakùfù a pàrti.} \\
\text{rabbit Aor. get angry of thing Comp he-goat Cont. doing} \\
\text{Rabbit got angry about what He-goat was doing.}
\]

\[
\text{mbakùfù ní tá-ní} \\
\text{he-goat Fut enter-ni} \\
\text{He-goat will enter.}
\]

### 7.1.2 Derived TAM's

#### 7.1.2.1 Perfect

The Perfect is a combination of the Aorist + CaK at the end of the Verb Phrase. The initial /C/ of the particle assimilates to the preceding consonant or becomes [h] when following a vowel. If the initial C of the particle has assimilated to a nasal, a lateral, a semi-vowel, or [h], the utterance-final /K/ is realised [h].

\[
\text{min Ø tá } [\text{hah}] \\
\text{people Aor come out Perf} \\
\text{people came out}
\]

\[
\text{ti fèé sårkín-yááki } [\text{yah}] \\
\text{they-Aor tell (traditional title) Perf} \\
\text{they told the war chief}
\]

/K/ is realised [x] when followed by a nasal (generally the negative particle ndì) :

\[
\text{bàa sày min Ø pòr maàntì } [\text{yax}] \text{ ndì.} \\
\text{Neg until people Aor do war Perf Neg} \\
\text{it doesn’t mean that people make war}
\]

It is realised [q] when followed by any other consonant or when utterance final :

\[
\text{in yaan si Ø kap paq } ^6 \text{ too } [...] \\
\text{if one that Aor take Perf well [...]} \\
\text{if one agrees, well [...]}
\]

#### 7.1.2.2 Habitual

The habitual is marked by da inserted between the Aorist subject pronouns and the verb.

\[
\text{yaan da ròs a maàntì ú tòó mat ndì} \\
\text{one Hab go at war of hand empty Neg} \\
\text{People don’t go to war empty-handed (Hau. «akan koyar da yara harbi »)}
\]

\[
\text{da can also appear with the Future :} \\
\text{sùyùy gu tìn da pòr afa} \\
\text{like this that 3p-Fut Hab do again} \\
\text{that’s the way they will go on doing (Hau. «haka ne za su yi ta yì»)}
\]

---

* When utterance final, the [q] can be replaced by the glottal stop [ʔ].
da is related to the adverb adfa, again\(^7\). This adverb often appears redundantly with the Habitual, as in the example above.

### 7.2 Other pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Object pronouns</th>
<th>Possessive pronouns</th>
<th>Nominal Predication</th>
<th>ICP</th>
<th>Independent pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>-(t)m</td>
<td>gin</td>
<td>ám</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>ám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>ké</td>
<td>gee</td>
<td>kí</td>
<td>-kí</td>
<td>kí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.</td>
<td>arí</td>
<td>gas</td>
<td>arí</td>
<td>-tí</td>
<td>arí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>góm</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>gǎŋ</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>sǎŋ</td>
<td>gəsǎŋ</td>
<td>sǎŋ</td>
<td>-sǎŋ</td>
<td>sǎŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Comments:**

- 3 kinship terms (baa, husband; kon, son; fënsi, mother’s brother) have a special genitive paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Possessive pronouns</th>
<th>uncle</th>
<th>husband</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg.</td>
<td>-nǔ</td>
<td>fënũ</td>
<td>baanũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg.</td>
<td>-nìŋge</td>
<td>fënũgũ</td>
<td>baanũgũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg.</td>
<td>-nũs</td>
<td>fënũs</td>
<td>baanũs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>-nũmá</td>
<td>fënũmá</td>
<td>baanũmá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>-nũŋgãn</td>
<td>fënũŋgãŋ</td>
<td>baanũŋgãŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>-nũsãŋ</td>
<td>fënũsãŋ</td>
<td>baanũsãŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- ICP’s are suffixed to the verb, with frequent consonant assimilation. The 1st person singular is marked by a Hi tone on the last syllable of the verb.

NB : the 3rd person singular -të which, with the Continuous tyâ, is the only survival of the common Chadic personal mark, under the form of the feminine pronoun. Elsewhere, the 3rd person mark is replaced by the word arí, which is to be compared to the word arám, thing.

- The Dative does not have a specific paradigm, but is only marked in the 3rd person by a -if suffixed to the verb. It replaces the Direct Object 3rd person singular pronoun arí, and the 3rd person plural pronoun sãŋ, becomes Lo :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Continuous</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>to sündarũi ya?</td>
<td>taa sündarũi</td>
<td>tã sündarũi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>to sündarũi sãŋ ya?</td>
<td>taa sündarũi sãŋ</td>
<td>tã sündarũi sãŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>they brought (it) to him</td>
<td>they are bringing (it) to him</td>
<td>they will bring (it) to him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. **Syntax**

8.1 **Verbless sentences**

8.1.1 **Identification**

Identification is expressed either with a zero predicate:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{name} & \text{1s.poss} & \text{Equ} & \text{Musa Zailani} \\
\text{jin} & \text{gin} & \text{Ø} & \text{mûsã} & \text{zeylânĩ̇.}
\end{array}
\]

My name is Musa Zailani.

or with the non-verbal predicates ni or sãŋ :

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{jin} & \text{gor} & \text{Ø} & \text{mûsã} & \text{zeylânĩ̇.} \\
\text{name} & \text{1s.poss} & \text{Equ} & \text{Musa Zailani} & \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{or with the non-verbal predicates ni or sãŋ :}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{jin} & \text{gor} & \text{Ø} & \text{mûsã} & \text{zeylânĩ̇.} \\
\text{name} & \text{1s.poss} & \text{Equ} & \text{Musa Zailani} & \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{or with the non-verbal predicates ni or sãŋ :}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{jin} & \text{gor} & \text{Ø} & \text{mûsã} & \text{zeylânĩ̇.} \\
\text{name} & \text{1s.poss} & \text{Equ} & \text{Musa Zailani} & \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{or with the non-verbal predicates ni or sãŋ :}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{jin} & \text{gor} & \text{Ø} & \text{mûsã} & \text{zeylânĩ̇.} \\
\text{name} & \text{1s.poss} & \text{Equ} & \text{Musa Zailani} & \\
\end{array}
\]

7 The relation with the polysemic adfa of location is not clear (cf XXX)
Dauda Musa is the King of Dott.

8.1.2 Location
Location typically uses the non-verbal ni and prepositional phrases beginning with a, at : a bo(t), on top of ; a gas, under ; a dalśn, across ; a káá, behind ; a dum, a kanaa, in front ; aasi, inside ; a ndáñ, outside ; a bii, near, etc.

kwálbá naa (<ni+a) bat téébur
cup (<be +at) top table
The cup is on the table

8.1.3 Existence, location & possession
The non-verbal predicate ada is highly polysemic. From a basic locative meaning, depending on the semantic properties of the NP’s it is associated with, it will express existence, location or possession :

Existence :

ee yanzú ada
eyes Yanzu Loc
Yes, there’s Yanzu

súktí ú dofor ládabí ada
staying of formerly respect Loc
In older days, there was respect.

Location :

ám a ban rap gu ám ada
1sg 1sg know place Rel 1sg Loc
(only) I know where I am

Possession :

ám ada ú 'yerám würđu […]
1sg Loc of friend Rel+pl.
I have friends who […]

tí ada ú wúni galám
3pl Loc of young some
they have a small (one)

lok ada ú vee ndi
king Loc of tail Neg
the king doesn't have a tail

8.2 Negation
Negation is marked by the particle ndí/mbí at the end of the phrase or the sentence.

8.2.1 Non-verbal sentence
yee miní si ada ndí maní si doŋ sóŋi
see people+3s. how many Foc Loc Neg how many Foc return 3pl.
He saw how many of his people were not there, how many had come back.

8.2.2 Verbal sentence
ú ban yaan da rós a maangti ú tôo mat ndí
2sg+Aor know one Hab go at war with hand empty Neg
One doesn’t go to war empty-handed.
8.2.3 Perfect

In the Perfect, the discontinuous negation dii ... ndi replaces the Affirmative Perfect mark Cak.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dii ti pat gálbá a bòt ma ndi} \\
\text{Neg 3pl.+Aor get victory at top 1pl. Neg}
\end{align*}
\]

They have not overcome us.

8.2.4 Hausa loanwords

The negative marker baa (borrowed from Hausa) is often used at the beginning of negative phrases and sentences.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{baa ní bákí ú bari ndi} \\
\text{Neg Ident. Festival of big Neg}
\end{align*}
\]

It is not a big festival.

In the same way, kafa is borrowed from Hausa for the negation of the subjunctive uses of the Aorist:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dón káda mini kán øróm gášę ndi} \\
\text{because Neg people+def take thing 3sg.+Poss Neg}
\end{align*}
\]

So that people don’t take his things.

8.3 Focus

The focused element is fronted, preceded by the identification predicate ní, and followed by the topic particles si for subjects and gu³ for other functions. With circumstantial complements (place, time, manner, cause) there appears the resumptive location particle afa.

Non-focused sentence :

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wúni wu ńgin asi gaa} \\
\text{child+def. pour milk into calabash}
\end{align*}
\]

The girl poured milk into a calabash.

Focused subject

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ní wúni si wu ńgin asi gaa} \\
\text{Ident. child Foc pour milk into calabash}
\end{align*}
\]

It’s the girl that poured milk into the calabash.

Focused object

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ní ńgin gu wúni wu asa gaa} \\
\text{Ident. milk Rel child+def. Pou into calabash}
\end{align*}
\]

It’s milk that the girl poured into the calabash.

Focused circumstancial

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ní asi gaa gu wúni wu ńgin afa} \\
\text{Ident. into calabash Rel child+def. Pour milk Pro}
\end{align*}
\]

It’s into the calabash that the girl poured milk.

8.4 Question

8.4.1 Yes/no questions

Yes/No questions have the same syntactic structure as declarative sentences. They are characterised by a falling intoneme at the end of the sentence, which is perceived only when the sentences finishes with a Hi tone, and a lengthening of final vowels.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(kóó) ú pár mákárántá hak?} \\
\text{(or) 2s.+Aor do school Perf}
\end{align*}
\]

Did you go to school?

³ gu is also the relative complementiser (cf. infra).
When the sentence is not in the Perfect, **aa** or **ee** is added to the last word:

kí **ada** ú 'yerímaa
2sg. Poss of friend+Quest
*Did you have friends?*

koda **bani** wurbí, wauto sadáâkéé?
2pl.+Hab. Give+pl. money that is dowry+Quest
*Did you use to give money, that is a dowry?*

---

### 8.4.2 Wh- questions

Zodi questions words are: **nen**, *what*; **noo**, *who*; **gee**, *which one*; *geegoy* (< **gee**+**goo**, *'day'*+**def**), *when* (lit. *which day*); **maní**, *how many*; **nómi**, *how*; **shép nin** / *sherém nin*, *why*. The same falling intoneme is used with Wh questions and yes/no questions. Questions words appear either in situ, or in a focus construction.

#### 8.4.2.1 In situ constructions

*Between a mother’s joy and a father’s, which one is the best?*

médí gee manú?
wife 2s.+Poss how many
*How many wives do you have?*

ú wómmí námi goo gu ti [...]?
2s.+Aor feel+Pl. how day that 3pl.+Aor
*How did you feel the day that they [...]?*

wúm koní yépni mááxáí ayo?
child boy buy+pl. pancake+def. where
*Where did the boy buy the pancake?*

---

#### 8.4.2.2 Focus construction

In the focus construction, the question word comes first in the sentence, followed by the focus markers: **si** to question subjects, and **gu** to question the other syntactic functions. Circumstantial complements are characterised by the resumptive pronominal mark **ada**, followed by either the definite suffix -i or the question mark -oo

#### 8.4.2.2.1 Subject

gyee **si** fot tómtú?
which one Foc exceed pleasure+Quest
*Which one is the best?*

manú **si** más kí?
how many Foc die 2sg+Quest
*How many [children] did you lose? (lit. died on you)*

#### 8.4.2.2.2 Object

nén gu wúm koní cí?
what Rel child boy eat+Quest
*What did the child eat?*

#### 8.4.2.2.3 Circumstancials

geegwey / ayo / námi / shyáp nin gu yep mááxáí **ada** / **adaw**?
when / where / how / why Rel buy pancake **ada**+def. / **ada** + Quest
*When / where / how / why did he buy pancake?*

nóo gu ko fot súktí ko kóódaw?
who Rel 2sg. exceed staying 2sg. 2sg.+**ada**+Quest
*Who did you most stay with?*
8.5 Complex sentences

8.5.1 Relative clauses

The relative pronouns are gu for singular and würđu for plural pivot nouns.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{too sày} & \text{kon wùnì} \\
\text{well then} & \text{child boy+def.} \\
\text{pi} & \text{do thing} \\
\text{arím} & \text{Rel.} \\
\text{gu} & \text{Cont.} \\
\text{a ndákåti} & \text{wanting}
\end{array}
\]

Well, then the child did what he wanted.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{sày méé} & \text{mat würđu tì} \\
\text{then children girl Rel.+pl.} & \text{pat mâni} \\
\text{3pl.+Aor take} & \text{men+def.}
\end{array}
\]

Then, the girls who had found a husband did not return.

8.5.2 Subordination

Subordination can be unmarked, with subordinate clauses as a mere topic interpreted as a condition, cause or temporal clause according to the context. Conjunctions can be either of Zodzi origin (gu / sûgu, when ; nze gu, before ; bukàá, after ; shep, because, so that ; köögu, although) or borrowed from Hausa (say, then ; kafìn, before ; tun, since ; don, because, so that). We will just illustrate this with conditionals.

Except for the 1st person singular, the condition (generally with a temporal meaning) is marked by si9 appearing between the subject and the verb of the protasis. The verb is generally in the Perfect, more rarely in the Continuous.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{sàn si} & \text{doo sàg nàk, to} \\
\text{3pl. Foc follow} & \text{3pl Perf well}
\end{array}
\]

If they follow them, then [...]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{sày gòò si} & \text{sloo wák,} \\
\text{then day Foc cut} & \text{Perf [...]
\end{array}
\]

Then, if the day breaks, [...]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{lòk si} & \text{sùk kàk, sày} \\
\text{king Foc sit down Perf} & \text{then [...}
\end{array}
\]

If the king sits down, then [...]

In, borrowed from Hausa, is often added to the beginning of the protasis.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ín bâkì fwäk-fwäk si} & \text{tìjet tåk} \\
\text{if festival fwäk-fwäk Foc} & \text{arrive Perf}
\end{array}
\]

If the fwäk-fwäk festival falls on the day of the dok-parsi festival, then [...]

If the verb of the protasis is in the 1st person singular, the condition is expressed by a specific form of subject pronoun : ámàa:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ámàa pat min nàk a bât maaŋti, sày} \\
\text{1s+Cond find people Perf at top fight then [...}
\end{array}
\]

If I find people fighting, then [...]

The protasis can also be a non-verbal clause.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ín bàa ni dëgën fwäk-fwäk nòdì, to sày} \\
\text{Neg it is day fwäk-fwäk Neg well} & \text{then [...}
\end{array}
\]

If it is not the day of fwäk-fwäk, well, then [...]

---

9 It is difficult not to relate this si to the Focus marker. This poses an interesting problem for general linguistics which, since Haiman, tends to consider conditionals as topics.
Counterfactuals are introduced by the saŋ particle:

saŋ yāáni dīi pat karaatú ndi áy [...]
Count. People+anaph. Neg get education Neg excl. [...]  

If people hadn’t got any education, well [...]  

9. References