ZAAR GRAMMATICAL SKETCH[1]

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Hyperlinks: The reference of each example in the article can be clicked to view all its tiers in the CorpAfroAs database, and play the corresponding audio file.

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[1] This grammatical sketch of Zaar has been written as an annex to the annotated Zaar Corpus transcribed for the CorpAfroAs project (ANR-06CORP). It has been meticulously checked and corrected by Raymond Boyd. Many of his suggestions have been taken into account. The final decisions and remaining mistakes are mine..

1 Introduction

The *Zaar* live in the South of Bauchi State (Nigeria), in the Tafawa Balewa and Bogoro Local Government Areas. In the absence of a population census, a rough estimate would put their population at 150 000.

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

A *Zaar* "village" will have a scattering of the compounds typical of the Nigerian savannah. A compound (***dàn***, pl. ***dànsá***) is made up of mud huts (***vì:n***, pl. ***vi:nsá***) with grass roofs arranged in a circle and surrounded by walls that preserve the intimacy of the inhabitants. Formerly, the *Za:r* had only a religious chief, but they have recently adopted the Hausa chieftaincy system.

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

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

They moved again further south to take refuge in the hills on the east side of the plateau area. Many moved down to their present location in the plain at the foot of those hills when the area was pacified under British colonization.

Newman 1980 classifies *Zaar* in the West-B3 group of Chadic languages, with some doubts arising from the properties it shares with Angas. Four dialects can be distinguished within *Zaar*, named after the main villages or towns where they are spoken: *Bogoro* (formerly called the Lusa dialect), *Gambar Lere*, *Marti* and *Kal*. The *Kal* dialect is very close to what is generally called the *Sigidi* or *Gu:s* language (cf. Caron 2001), so much so that *Gu:s* can be considered a dialect of *Zaar*.

Most *Zaar* people of the younger generation are bilingual in Hausa-*Zaar*. They are schooled in Hausa in primary school, before learning English. The *Zaar* are Christians and use a Hausa translation of the Bible. The older generation are not sure of themselves in Hausa, whereas the younger educated elite, who often hold positions in the administration, police and education, switch comfortably between *Zaar*, Hausa and English.

1.1 General abbreviations

±D	± Depressor consonant
AP	Adjectival Phrase
F	Falling tone
H	High tone
IU	Intonation Unit
L	Low tone
M	Mid tone
NP	Noun Phrase
PosL	Possessive Link
PP	Prepositional Phrase
R	Rising tone
VP	Verb Phrase

1.2 Parts of Speech, Syntax & Indices (\rx tier)

Label (\rx)	Meaning	Associated \ge labels and/or examples
ADJ	Adjective	
ADV	Adverb	
ADV.DEICT	Deictic Adverb	here, yesterday, etc.
ADV.Q	Adverbial Question Word	
ADV.REL	Adverbial Relative	
apho	apophony	
ato	apotony	
AUX	Auxiliary	
BKL	Backchannelling	
CLICK	Click	
CONJ	Conjunction	
CSW.ENG	Codeswitching to English	
CSW.HAU	Codeswitching to Hausa	
der	derivation	
DET	determinant	ART; DET; PL; PL1
DET.DEICT	Deictic modifier	PROX; DIST
EXCL	Exclamation	
FILL	Filler	
FS	False Start	
HESIT	Hesitation	
hom	homonymy	
IDEOPH	Ideophone	
INTJ	Interjection	
N	Noun	
N.P	Proper Noun	
N.PL	Plural Noun	
N.V	Verbal Noun	
NUM	Numeral	
ONOM	Onomatopoeia	
PN	Person, Number	1S; 2PL; 3S
PREP	Preposition	to, from, etc.
PRO	Pronoun	
PRO.DEICT	Deictic pronoun	DIST; PROX
PRO.IDP	Independent Pronoun	1SG, 1PL, etc.
PRO.LOC	Locative Pronoun	ANAPH
PRO.OBJ	Object Pronoun	1SG, 1PL, etc.
PRO.POS	Possessive Pronoun	1SG, 1PL, etc.
PRO.Q	Interrogative pronoun	who, what?, etc.
PRO.REF	Reflexive Pronoun	1SG, 1PL, etc.
PRO.REL	Relative Pronoun	which, etc.
PTCL	Particle	
PTCL.ASS	Assertive Particle	FCT; VRT; Q; CTF
PTCL.NEG	Negative Particle	NEG1, NEG2, NEG3
PTCL.PRED	Predicative Particle	COP1, COP2, COP3,
PTCL.SYNT	Syntactic Particle	CAUS; REL1; REL2
PTCL.TOP	Topicalising Particle	too, even, etc.
red	reduplication	
TAM	Tense, Aspect, Mood	AOR; CNT; CONC; COND; DTF; FUT; IMM; IPFV; PFV; ITER; REC; REM; REM; SBJV
V	Verb	
V*	Irregular Verb	be; have

1.3 GLOSSING LABELS (\ge tier)

Label (\ge)	Meaning	Associated \rx labels

1	1st person	PN; PRO.IDP
2	2nd person	PN; PRO.IDP
3	3rd person	PN; PRO.IDP
ANAPH	Anaphoric	PRO.LOC
AOR	Aorist	TAM
BEN	Dative	PTCL.SYNT
CAUS	Causative	PTCL.SYNT
COND	Conditional	TAM
CONT	Continuous	TAM
COP1	Copula 1	SYNT.PTCL
COP2	Copula 2	SYNT.PTCL
COP3	Copula 3	SYNT.PTCL
COP4	Copula 4	SYNT.PTCL
CTF	Counterfactual	CONJ; TAM
CTF	Counterfactual	PTCL.ASS
DEF	Definite	DET
DET	Determined	DET
DIR	Directional	PTCL
DIST	Distal	PRO.DEICT; DET.DEICTIC
EVD	Evidential	PTCL
FCT	Factual	PTCL.ASS
FUT	Future	TAM
IMM	Immediate Past	TAM
INCH	Inchoative	PTCL
INDF	Indefinite	DET
IPFV	Iperfective	TAM
ITER	Iterative-Punctual	TAM
NEG1	Negation 1	PTCL.NEG
NEG2	Negation 2	PTCL.NEG
NEG3	Negation 3	PTCL.NEG
NMLZ	Nominalizer	-der
OBJ	Object	PN
ORD	Ordinal	PTCL
PFV	Perfective	TAM
PL	Plural	PN; PRO.IDP
PL1	Plural 1	DET
PL2	Plural 2	DET
POS	Possessive	PTCL.SYNT; PN
PROX	Proximal	PRO.DEICT; DET.DEICTIC
Q	Interrogative	PTCL.ASS
REC	Recent Past	TAM
REL1	Relative Particle 1	PTCL.SYNT
REL2	Relative Particle 2	PTCL.SYNT
REM	Remote Past	TAM
RES	Resultative	TAL
SBJ	Nominative	PN
SBJV	Sunjunctive	TAM
SG	Singular	PN; PRO.IDP
VRT	Virtual	PTCL.ASS

2 The sounds of Zaar[2]

2.1 Segment inventory

2.1.1 Consonants

glottalized		voiceless obstruents				continuants			
ɓ	*ɗ*	*p*	*t*		*k*	*m*	*n*	*(ɲ)*	*ŋ*
			ts	*(ʧ)*			*l*		
		f	*s*	*(ʃ)*			*r*		
			ɬ						
		voiced obstruents				glides			
		b	*d*		*g*	*j*	*w*	*(h)*	
				(ʤ)					
		v	*z*	*(ʒ)*	*(ɣ)*				
			ɮ						
		prenasalized obstruents							
		ᵐb	*ⁿd*		*ᵑg*				
			ⁿdz	*(ⁿʤ)*					

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

2.1.2 Vowels

short			long		
i		*u*	*iː*		*uː*
e	*ə*	*o*	*eː*	*əː*	*oː*
	a			*aː*	

2.2 Sound changes

2.2.1 Devoicing

Morpheme-final obstruents are voiceless.

2.2.2 Neutralization of velar obstruents

Although ***k*** and ***g*** are distinctive in morpheme-initial position in members of the lexical categories, this distinction is neutralized in other environments: velar obstruents followed by a voiced segment are voiceless after a voiceless segment or pause boundary and voiced after a voiced segment. Voiced velars are also continuant unless preceded by a nasal. This accounts for the variation, e.g. in the nominalizing suffix ***-kə́nì*** which derives verbal nouns:

káp-kə́nì	***ʧím-ᵑgə́nì***	***fúː-ɣə́nì***
‘getting’	‘calling’	‘saying’

2.2.3 Palatalization

Velar consonants are palatalized before a front vowel or glide. Except for liquids and implosives, abruptly released alveolar consonants are palatalized before a palatal glide. Except for laterals, alveolar consonants without abrupt release are palatalized before any nonconsonantal palatal.

[2] This section concerning phonology is based on Schneeberg (1974).

2.2.4 Glottalization

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

	sg	pl
'harvest'	***kas***	***kas-ə́n***
'shave'	***wuɬ***	***wuɬ-ə́n***
'take'	***kap***	***kaɓ-ə́n***
'drive away'	***kat***	***kaɗ-ə́n***

2.2.5 Vowel merger

Suffixation sometimes entails the merger of final vowels with the initial vowel of the suffix. The suffixed definite article modifier ***-ês*** (DEF) entails the following changes: ***u-*** + - ***e*** > ***-o-; a-*** + - ***e*** >- ***o-***. With the 1SG.POS pronoun, the suffix ***–âtn*** gives rise to the following mergers: ***u-*** + - ***a*** > ***- o-; i-*** + - ***a*** >- ***e-***.

	ART.DEF ***-ês***	1SG.POS ***-âtn***
ɬû: 'meat'	***ɬô:s***	***ɬô:tn***
ngulki 'club'	***ngulkês***	***ngulkêtn***
màrwa 'millet sp.'	***màrwôs***	***màrwâtn***

2.3 Tone system

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

Initial nonimplosive voiced obstruents have a depressor effect on tones in a some grammatical environments[3]. Let us take Verbal Nouns (N.V) suffixing ***–kánì*** as an example. All tones in the NV are L for verbs beginning with a nonimplosive voiced obstruents (+D) while the pattern is (M)HHL for verbs beginning with any other consonant (-D).

'call'	***ʧim***	***ʧímŋgánì***	***(<ʧim-kánì)***
'choose'	***bwa:***	***bwà:ɣànì***	***(<bwa:-kánì)***

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

3 Nonverbal predication

Zaar uses verbal and nonverbal clauses. In verbal clauses, the syntactic nexus is an inflected verb. The verb, as a lexical category, is defined by its inability to assume any other function than that of nexus of a sentence[4]. The verb is inflected for Tense, Aspect, and Mood (TAM). In *Zaar*, this inflection (INFL) is combined with a mark of person agreement with the subject (PN). The Inflection is therefore labelled PN.TAM in the \rx line of the corpus.

Ex 1.	Subject	INFL	Verb	Object
	ŋgaɲâ:s	***tá***	***ɗjă:***	***va:t***
	N.P	3PL.AOR	can	forge
	The Nganya can forge.			

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

Ex 2.	NP	PTCL.PRED	NP
	gín	***nə***	***ni:?***
	this	COP1	what
	What is this?		

Ex 3.	NP	PTCL.PRED	
	ma:ndá	***gàt***	***kən***
	fight\POSL	woman	COP2

[3] Cf. Hyman (73), Hyman & Schuh (1974) and Caron (2009).
[4] Creissels (95).

It is a fight about women (lit. fight\of woman)

Nouns can appear both in the predicating position, e.g. with predicative particles in nonverbal clauses, or as the argument of a verb, a preposition, etc.

3.1 Equative clauses: *nə* (COP1)

The structure is <NP_1 ***nə*** NP_2> 'NP_1 *be* NP_2'. This structure is used to identify the two terms of an equation.

Ex 4. ***Bitúrûs*** ***nə*** ***pásto=wòpm.***
Peter COP1 pastor=1PL.POS
Peter is our pastor.

When the context is explicit, NP_1 can be omitted. This is the normal situation when the NP_1 is [-human].

Ex 5. ***nə*** ***ʤòmì.***
COP1 true
It is true.

Ex 6. — ***nə*** ***nuː?*** — ***nə*** ***sə́mbâr.***
COP1 who COP1 stranger
— Who is it? — It's a stranger.

When NP_1 is [+human], it can appear as a pronoun. This pronoun is chosen from the special paradigm of subject pronouns appearing with predicative particles or nonverbal predicates.[5]

1s	***mi nə mâːr***	I am a thief
2s	***ki nə mâːr***	You (s) are a thief
3s	***ʧi nə mâːr***	He is a thief
1p	***mì nə məːráŋsə***	We are thieves
2p	***kì nə məːráŋsə***	You (p) are thieves
3p	***ʧì nə məːráŋsə***	They are thieves

3.2 Identifying clauses

3.2.1 = *kən* 'it is' (COP2)

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

Ex 7. ***maːndá*** ***gə̀t=kən.***
war.POS woman=COP2
It was a fight about women (lit. 'a fight of women').

It is used in focus constructions:

Ex 8. ***ŋaɲâːs=kən*** ***tá*** ***ʤǎː*** ***vaːt.***
Nganyas=COP2 3PL.AOR can forge
It's the Nganyas who can forge.

It can be combined with the equative ***nə***:

Ex 9. ***tá*** ***jâːn*** ***nə*** ***sáŋwaːrês=kən*** ***jáː*** ***mâs*** ***dzàŋ*** ***gíː*** ***fâː?***
then if COP1 priest=COP2 3SG.COND die day this Q
Then, what if it is the religious chief who dies on that day?

3.2.2 =*kəní*/=*kənín*/=*kəndí*

For extra emphasis, =***kən*** can suffix ***–í***, ***–ín*** (<***–ín***) or ***–dí***.
Structure: <NP=***kəní/=kəndí/=kənín***> 'here is NP'.
The three forms, very close semantically, are frequently used to identify the focus in a focus construction.
- In the form =***kəní***, ***-í*** is an operator that asserts the existence of the operand within the referential domain of the speech act.

Ex 10. ***jáː=kəní! [jáːɣəní]***
3SG.IDP=COP2
Here he/she is!

The neutralization of the initial velar obstruent applies: [***àlbása=ɣəní***; ***kǎtń=ŋgəní***; ***ʧit=kəní***] 'here are onions; here are egg plants; here is *acha* (*Digitaria* sp.)'.

[5] This set of pronouns can be analysed as <PN + ***ji*** 'be'>: ***mi-ji ; kə-ji ; tə-ji ; mə̀-ji ; kə̀-ji ; tə̀-ji.***

- ***=kən-ín*** results from the suffixation of the proximal deictic ***–ə́n*** to the ***=kən*** form.

Ex 11.

dèk	***ŋgəfín***	***ɗan***	***mjă:jí***	***ʒaktí:***	
reason.POS	thing.DEF.PROX	REL	1PL.IPFV.ITER	show.3SG.OBJ.RES	
jâ:n	***ji=kən-ín***				
3SG.IDP	be=COP2-PROX				

The reason why we used to celebrate it is …

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

Ex 12.

jâ:n	***dè:-wòs***	***ɓét=kən-dí***	***tu***	***lâpm***	***za:r-o:***
3SG.IDP	reason-3S.POS	all=COP2-DIST	COMP	moon\POSL	Zaar-FCT

That's the only reason why it is called Ləpm Zaar.

3.3 Existential clauses: *ɗa* 'there is' (COP3)

The stucture of the clause is: <NP_1 ***ɗa***> 'there is NP_1'.

Ex 13.

kafá:	***ɗa***	***zà:m***	***ɗa***	***gà:rí***	***ɗa***	***gwàté***	***gedĩ***	***ɗa***
rice	COP3	bean	COP3	cassava	COP3	potage.of	yam	COP3

'There is rice, beans, cassava, yam potage.' (menu of a restaurant as announced by the waitress).

4 The TAM system

The syntactic nexus of verbal sentences is the complex combining TAM (Tense -Aspect-Mood) and PN (Person-Number[6]), cliticized to the left of the verb.

Ex 14.

kó:	***mjá:***	***sú:***	/	***kó:***	***má:***	***ɲangás***	/			
or	1SG.IPFV	want	/	or	1SG.PFV	refuse	/			
wò	***kap***	***-ni***	***ŋa:***	***mə́n***	***ɗa:***	***=mí***	//			
3SG.FUT	take	-INCH	young	people	that_of	=1PL.OBJ	//			

Whether I agree or I refuse, he will marry one of our girls. (SAY_BC_CONV_01_SP2_209-211)

Compared to the other South-Bauchi-West languages, *Zaar* has an exceptionally complex TAM system.

4.1 Aspect

	AOR	PFV	IPFV	ITER	CONC	CONT
1s	***mə***	***má:***	***mjá:***	***miji:/mji:***	***mjá:na:***	***miɣá / mjaɰ̃:***
2s	***kə***	***ká:***	***kjá:***	***kiji:/kji:***	***kjá:na:***	***kiɣá / kjaɰ̃:***
3s	***á***	***à:***	***ʧá:***	***ji:***	***ʧá:na:***	***ʧiɣá / ʧaɰ̃:***
1p	***mə́***	***mà:***	***mjă:***	***mà:ji***	***mjă:na:***	***miɣá / mjă:***
2p	***ká***	***kà:***	***kjă:***	***kà:ji***	***kjă:na:***	***kiɣá / kjă:***
3p	***tə́***	***tà:***	***ʧă:***	***tà:ji***	***ʧă:na:***	***ʧiɣá / ʧă:***

Aorist (AOR). The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***Ø***>. It has a narrative functional value, and is the default tense for impersonal verbs and verbs of perception. Verbs appear with a high tone on their first syllable in the first and second persons singular. In the third person singular and in the plural, they appear in the modified form[7].

Perfective (PFV). The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***á:***>. The form of the verb is the lexical form.

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

Iterative. The meaning is iterative in the imperfective and continuous, punctual with other TAMs. The closest equivalent is the periphrastic Hausa ***ji ta***', meaning 'keep on doing X'. The inflection follows the structure <PN + ***ji:***>. The verb appears in the lexical form.

Concomitant. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***já:*** + ***na:***>. The verb keeps its lexical form.

Continuous. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***ji*** + ***ká*** + N.V>. ***Ji+ká*** is realized [***jiɣá***]. In the monosyllabic variant, the singular / plural contrast is marked by a rising MH tone in the singular *vs*. a rising LH in the plural. It is the only place in the language where this contrast is observed. However, it seems to be unstable and tends to be replaced among younger speakers by a contrast between M in the singular and Rising in the plural.

[6] We have changed the PNG label (Person-Number-Gender) to PN (Person-Number) as *Zaar* has no grammatical gender.

[7] Cf. § 6, Verb classes

4.2 Tense

	IMM	REC	REM	FUT
1s	***mí:***	***mənáː***	***mətá***	***ma***
2s	***kí:***	***kənáː***	***kətá***	***ka***
3s	***ájí***	***ánáː***	***átâ***	***wò***
1p	***mì:***	***mə̀nàː***	***mə̀tà***	***má***
2p	***kì:***	***kənàː***	***kə̀tà***	***ká***
3p	***ʧì:***	***tə̀nàː***	***tə̀tà***	***tá***

Immediate past. The Immediate Past refers to events which occurred earlier in the same day. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***ji***>. The first syllable of the verb takes a low tone.
Recent Past. The Recent Past refers to events which occurred on the previous day. The inflection follows the pattern « PN + ***náː*** ». The verb keeps its lexical form.
Remote Past. The Remote Past refers to events which occurred more than two days ago. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***ta***>. The verb keeps its lexical form.
Future. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***a***>. The verb appears in its lexical form in the singular, and the modified form in the plural.

4.3 Mood

	SUBJ	COND	CTF
1s	***mə***	***mjáː***	***mí/míjí***
2s	***àː***	***kjáː***	***kí/kíjí***
3s	***tə***	***jáː***	***ʧí/jí/ʧíjí/tíjí***
1p	***mə +L***	***mjǎː***	***mì/mìjì***
2p	***àː + L***	***kjǎː***	***kì/kìjì***
3p	***tə + L***	***jǎː/ʧǎː***	***ʧì/ʧìjì/tìjì***

Subjunctive. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + low tone>. In the plural, a low tone is added to the first syllable of the verb.
Conditional. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***jáː***>. In the first and second persons singular, the verb takes a high tone on its first syllable. In the other persons, the verb appears in the modified form. The only difference with respect to IPRF is in 3s.
Counterfactual. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***jí***>. The verb appears in the modified form. The Counterfactual is introduced by the conjunctions ***jâːn*** or ***dàː*** (< Hausa) 'if, if only' with a counterfactual meaning.

4.4 Composition

4.4.1 Compound aspects

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

	PFV.ITER	IPFV.ITER	IPFV.CONT	PFV.CONT
1s	***máːji***	***mjáːji***	***mjáːjiɣá***	***mijiːjiɣá***
2s	***káːji***	***kjáːji***	***kjáːjiɣá***	***kijiːjiɣá***
3s	***àːji***	***ʧáːji***	***ʧáːjiɣá***	***jiːjiɣá***
1p	***màːji***	***mjǎːji***	***mjǎːjiɣá***	***míjiːjiɣá***
2p	***kàːji***	***kjǎːji***	***kjǎːjiɣá***	***kíjiːjiɣá***
3p	***tàːji***	***ʧǎːji***	***ʧǎːjiɣá***	***tíjiːjiɣá***

Perfective Iterative. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***áː*** + ***ji***>. All verbs following the ***ji*** iterative morpheme keep their lexical form. This is true for all combinations.
Imperfective Iterative. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***jǎː*** + ***ji***>.
Imperfective Continuous. The structure of the inflection is <PN + ***jǎ***ː + ***ji*** + ***ká***>. ***Ji*** + ***ká*** is realized [***jiɣá***]. The verb appears in the form of a Verbal Noun.
Iterative Continuous. The structure of the inflection is <PN + ***jiː*** + ***ji*** + ***ká***>. ***Ji*** + ***ká*** is realized [***jiɣá***]. The verb appears in the form of a Verbal Noun. This combination is not common and *Zaar* speakers usually prefer to use the Imperfective Continuous instead.

4.4.2 Tense and aspect

	FUT.ITER	FUT.CONT	REM.PFV	REM.IPFV

1s	***maji***	***majiɣá***	***má:tá***	***mətájá:***
2s	***kaji***	***kajiɣá***	***ká:tá***	***kətájá:***
3s	***wòji***	***wòjiɣá***	***à:tá***	***átajá:***
1p	***máji***	***májiɣá***	***mà:tá***	***mətàjá:***
2p	***káji***	***kájiɣá***	***kà:tá***	***kətàjá:***
3p	***táji***	***tájiɣá***	***tà:tá***	***tətàjá:***

	REM.ITER	REM.CONT	REC.PFV	REC.IPFV
1s	***mətáji***	***mətájiɣá***	***má:ná:***	***məná:já:***
2s	***kətáji***	***kətájiɣá***	***ká:ná:***	***kəná:já:***
3s	***átáji***	***átájiɣá***	***à:ná:***	***áná:já:***
1p	***mətàji***	***mətàjiɣá***	***mà:ná:***	***mənà:já:***
2p	***kətàji***	***kətàjiɣá***	***kà:ná:***	***kənà:já:***
3p	***tətàji***	***tətàjiɣá***	***tà:ná:***	***tənà:já:***

	REC.ITER	REC.CONT	IMM.IPRF	IMM.CONT
1s	***məná:ji***	***məná:jiɣá***	***má:jí***	***mí:jìɣá***
2s	***kəná:ji***	***kəná:jiɣá***	***ká:jí***	***kí:jìɣá***
3s	***áná:ji***	***áná:jiɣá***	***à:jí***	***ájjìɣá***
1p	***mənà:ji***	***mənà:jiɣá***	***mà:jí***	***mì:jìɣá***
2p	***kənà:ji***	***kənà:jiɣá***	***kà:jí***	***kì:jìɣá***
3p	***tənà:ji***	***tənà:jiɣá***	***tà:jí***	***ʧì:jìɣá***

Future Punctual. The inflection has the structure: <PN + ***a*** + ***ji*** >. The verb keeps its lexical form.
Future Continuous. The inflection has the structure: <PN + ***a*** + ***ji*** + ***ká***>. The verb is in the form of a Verbal Noun.
Remote Past Perfect. The inflection has the structure: <PN + ***á:*** + ***tá***>. The verb is in the modified form.
Remote Past Imperfect. The inflection has the structure: <PN + ***ta*** + ***já:***>. The verb appears in its lexical form in the singular, and in the modified form in the plural (cf. Imperfect).
Remote Past Punctual. The inflection has the structure: <PN + ***ta*** + ***ji***>. The verb keeps its lexical form. Lusa speakers associate this combination with the ***Ŋgòɓíjà*** dialect. They prefer to use the Recent Past Imperfect.
Remote Past Continuous. The inflection has the structure: <PN + ***ta*** + ***ji*** + ***ká***>. The verb is in the form of a Verbal Noun.
Recent Past Perfect. The inflection follows the pattern <PN +***á:*** + ***ná:***>. The verb appears in the modified form.
Recent Past Imperfect. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***ná:*** + ***já:***>. The verb appears in its lexical form in the singular, and in the modified form in the plural.
Recent Past Punctual. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***ná:*** + ***ji***>. The verbs keep their lexical form. This combination is associated with the ***Ɓógoró*** / ***Ŋgòɓíjà*** dialect by Lusa speakers. They prefer to use the Recent Past Imperfect.
Recent Past Continuous. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***ná:*** + ***ji*** + ***ká***>. The verb is in the form of a Verbal Noun.
Immediate Past Perfect. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***á:*** + ***ji***>. The first syllable of the verb receives a low tone.
Immediate Past Imperfect. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***ji:*** + ***já:***>. The verb appears in its lexical form in the singular, and in the modified form in the plural.
Immediate Past Continuous. The inflection follows the pattern <PN + ***ji*** + ***ji*** + ***ká***>. The verb appears in the form of a Verbal Noun.

4.4.3 Mood and aspect

	REC.CONT	REM.CONT
1s	***mína:***	***míta***
2s	***kína:***	***kíta***
3s	***tína: / ʧĩna:***	***títa /ʧĩta***
1p	***mìnà:***	***mìtà***
2p	***kìnà:***	***kìtà***

3p	*tìnà: / ʧînà:*	*tìtà / ʧîtà*

5 Word order

5.1 Nonverbal Clauses

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

5.2 Verbal clauses

The usual order is <S INFL V O>.

5.3 NP

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

5.4 VP

The usual VP order is VO.

5.5 Word order variation

In the Continuous, with a nominal direct object, the usual <SBJ-TAM V OBJ> can be changed to <SBJ-TAM OBJ V>:

Ex 15.

SBJ-TAM	OBJ	V		SBJ-TAM	V	OBJ
ʧă:	***rí:ʤija***	***ɓál-kánì***	=	***ʧă:***	***ɓál-kân***	***rí:ʤija***
3PL.CONT	well	dig-NMLZ		3PL.CONT	dig-NMLZ	well

They are digging a well.

Ex 16.

mə	***tú=ʃí***	***á***	***mbûkn***	***ʧĭ-kân***
1PL.AOR	meet=3PL.OBJ	at	coco_yam	eat-NMLZ

I met them quarrelling (*lit*. 'at coco-yam eating ').

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

With a pronominal direct object, the order <SBJ-TAM OBJ V> is compulsory. In this case, the locative component ***–ká*** 'at' of the TAM takes the pre-pronominal form ***-ɓas***:

Ex 17.

ɲê:s	***má:***	***ʧi-ɓas=tə***	***sú:-kân***
girl.ANAPH	too	3SG.CONT-3SG.OBJ	love-NMLZ

The girl too, she loved him.

5.6 The verb 'forget'

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

Ex 18.

la:	***wò***	***mal***	***Dənɗa.***
work	3SG.FUT	forget	Dənɗa

Dənɗa will forget.

Reference to the present state of affairs is made through the Aorist: ***lă: (<la: á) málàm (<mâl=əm)*** 'I have forgotten'.

1s	***lă: mál=àm***	I have forgotten
2s	***lă: mâl=ɣà***	you have forgotten
3s	***lă: mâl=tà***	etc.
1p	***lă: mâl=mí***	
2p	***lă: mâl=kí***	
3p	***lă: mâl=ʃí***	

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

6 Verb classes

Zaar has two verb tone classes: Middle (M) and High (H), which can be contrasted in the Perfective. The M class includes both 1- and 2-syllable verbs (M1 and M2 respectively). A variant appears with some

PN.TAMs (especially the Imperfective with plural PN) and the initial consonant of the verb is [+D][8]. For short, we call the Perfective form "lexical", and the other one "modified".

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

6.1 The defective verbs *ji* 'be' and *jir* 'have'

'Be' in *Zaar* is expressed by the word ***ji***, which can be analyzed as a defective verb. This verb is invariable and only conjugated in the Aorist[9]. The 3s ***(tə)*** and 3p ***(tə̀)*** TAMs and the verb ***ji*** merge: ***tə*** + ***ji*** > ***ʧi; tə̀*** + ***ji*** > ***ʧî***.

Ex 19.

mur	***-ês***	***ʧî***	***nàmbóŋ***
man	-ART.DEF	3S.AOR.BE	one

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

The PN is dropped when the subject is [-animate], leaving the bare ***ji*** verb. When the [-animate] subject is contextual, only the ***ji*** verb remains with the null Aorist INFL: ***(səɓrês) ji nàmbóŋ.*** 'There is only one (knife)' (*lit*. '(the knife) is one').

This type of equative sentence has various uses:

- Attributive construction with **numerals**: <NP (AOR) ***ji*** NUM> (cf. 19 above)
- **Location**: <NP (AOR) ***ji*** PP>

Ex 20.

kaɗaŋʃ-ês	***ʧî***	***kár***	***vì:n.***
dog.PL-DEF	3PL.AOR.be	behind	hut

The dogs are behind the hut.

Certain intrinsically locative NP_2 are used with a null preposition.

Ex 21.

ji	***Ø***	***vì:n***
AOR.be		hut

It is in the room.

Ex 22.

gèri	***ʧî***	***Ø***	***dí:ɮə̀ŋ***
hen	3PL.AOR.be		compound

The hens are in the compound.

The question-word is ***(té:)dô:***

1s	***mi té:dô:?***	***mí dô:?***	'where am I?'
2s	***ki té:dô:?***	***kí dô:?***	'where are you (s.)?'
3s	***ʧi té:dô:?***	***ʧî dô:?***	'where is he?'
1p	***mì té:dô:?***	***mì dô:?***	'where are we?'
2p	***kì té:dô:?***	***kì dô:?***	'where are you (pl.)?'
3p	***ʧi té:dô:?***	***ʧî dô:?***	'where are they?'

- **Possession**: the locative structure with a [+human] NP_1 and the preposition ***tá*** 'with' produces a possessive meaning:

Ex 23.

mur-ês	***ʧi***	***tá***	***kaɗaŋʃí=wôs***	***gùda:***	***mâ:j.***
man.DEF	3SG.AOR.be	with	dogs=3S.POS	unit	three

The man had three dogs.

The causative derivation[10] applied to ***ji*** produces the verb ***jír*** 'have', conjugated in the Aorist:

1s	***mə jír səɓər***	I have a knife
2s	***kə jír səɓər***	You have a knife
3s	***á jĭr səɓər***	He has a knife
1p	***má jĭr səɓər***	We have a knife

[8] [+D] = nonimplosive voiced obstruent.
[9] For its use in INFL, cf. the Continuous TAM.
[10] Cf. below (§ 6.2.2) on the causative derivation.

2p	***ká jĭr səɓər***	You have a knife
3p	***tá jĭr səɓər***	They have a knife

With a nominal subject, the Aorist TAM is dropped: ***Sónde jír màːfîn*** 'Sunday has a motorcycle.'

- **Continuous aspect**. The Continuous is a locative construction using the verb ***ji*** 'be' and the preposition ***ká*** with a Verbal Noun. The subject pronouns belong to the locative subject paradigm: <Pro + ***ji*** + ***ká*** + Verbal Noun[11]>.

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

Ex 24. ***ʧî*** ***nà*** ***məːráŋsə***
3PL.AOR.be COP1 thiefs
They are robbers.

Ex 25. ***gàːl-ès*** ***(ʧî)*** ***nə*** ***ʤìː***
cow-DEF 3SG.AOR.be COP1 black
The cow is black.

Ex 26. ***vìːn*** ***ji*** ***nə*** ***mûr***
room AOR.be COP1 hot
The room is hot.

6.2 Verbal derivation

6.2.1 Plural Verbs

Plural verbs, also called "pluractionals", mark agreement with a plural subject in the case of intransitive verbs, and repeated or distributed action in case of transitive verbs. Two plural verb forms, both glossed –PL2, exist in *Zaar*:

- an **internal plural** characterized by lengthening of the radical vowel, or replacement of this vowel by the vowel /***aː***/, resulting in a H verb: ***ʤom*** / ***ʤwáːm*** 'pile up, gather' (with a plural object); ***kír*** / ***kíːr*** 'run' (with a plural subject); ***ndʒol*** > ***ndʒwáːl*** 'leave, go' (with a plural subject); ***ʧop / ʧwáːp*** 'sting'; ***mal*** / ***máːl*** 'get lost'; ***nat / náːt*** 'tie up'; ***dat*** / ***dáːt*** 'nail down'; ***ʧim*** / ***ʧĭːm*** 'call'; ***kəp*** / ***káːp*** 'weave, plant'; ***məs*** / ***máːs*** 'die'; ***vjer*** / ***vjáːr*** 'insult'.

- an **external plural** marked by suffixation of ***–ń*** / ***–ə́n***. The internal plural ***náːt*** (pl. < ***nat*** 'tie up' alternates with the form ***naɗə̄n*** (pl. 'tie up several times or several things; (several people) tie up (sth.)'). Other examples are ***ɓət*** / ***ɓəɗə̄n*** 'move along'***; səː*** / ***səːn*** 'breathe'; ***łə*** / ***łən*** 'go'; ***wum*** / ***wumə́n*** 'feel'.

6.2.2 The causative -r

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

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

ʃiː	'get down'	***ʃíːr***	'get down with'
nda	'let in'	***ndár***	'get in with'
ta	'go up'	***tár***	'go up with'
su	'turn'	***súr***	'return'
łə	'go'	***łə́ːr***	'drive'

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

ɗiːp	'buy'	***ɗiːɓár***	'sell'
mal	'get lost'	***malár***	'spoil, scatter'
ŋgup	'kneel'	***ŋguɓár***	'kneel with'
ndʒol	'go out'	***ndʒolár***	'go out with'
paːs	'pour'	***paːsár***	'pour away'
ɓəːl	'divide, share'	***ɓəːlár***	'distribute'
ɓət	'see so. off; help out	***ɓətár***	'shift, move'
ɓup	'wait'	***ɓuɓár***	'wait for so.'

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

[11] Cf. below (§ 4.1) for the full paradigm of the Continuous aspect.

la:tsə́	'pass by'	***la:tsár***	'pass with'

A ***-lar*** suffix is added to CV monosyllabic verbs.

mbwa:	'shoot'	***mbwa:lár***	'shoot'
nda	'let in'	***ndalár***	'get in with'
ta	'go up'	***talár***	'go up with'
tu	'arrive'	***tulár***	'arrive with'
su	'turn'	***sulár***	'return'
ʃi:	'get down'	***ʃilár***	'get down with'

The ***-lar*** suffix is also used with CV***r*** and CVV***r*** verbs, giving a CV***lár*** causative.

ɮə:r	'stop, stand (intr.)'	***ɮəlár, ɮəllár***	'stop (tr.)'
kír	'run'	***kilár***	'run with'
ɮar	'split, cross'	***ɮalár***	'split, help across'

Likewise with the suffix ***-dár*** used with one verb only:

ʃin	'send'	***ʃindár***	'send'

As can be seen from the above, some CV monosyllabic verbs are associated with two different derivative suffixes, producing two variants:

nda	'let in'	***ndár, ndalár***	'get in with'
ta	'go up'	***tár, talár***	'go up with'
su	'turn'	***súr, sulár***	'return'
ʃi:	'get down'	***ʃí:r, ʃilár***	'get down with'

6.2.3 The inchoative *-ni*

This extension is used to convey the inchoative meaning of 'start doing something' or 'do something instead of something else':

Ex 27.

ɮə̀:r-ə́n!	***ɮə̀:r-ə́n-ní!***
stand.IMP-PL	stand.IMP-PL-INCH
Keep on standing (pl.)!	Stand up (pl.)!

6.2.4 The resultative –í:

Resultative aspect is indicated by the suffix ***–í:*** added to the end of the verbal group, e.g.

Ex 28.

tò:	/	***mjà:ní***	/	***lə̂p***	***já:***	***ła:***	***-í:***	/	
well	/	1PL	/	place	3SG.COND	cut	-RES	/	
tò:	***má***	***łə***	***-í:***	***ná***	***ŋamtsə́***	***nat***	***-kánì***	//	
well	1PL.AOR	go	-RES	for	wood	tie	-NMLZ	//	

Well, we, if/when the day breaks, well we go and collect wood. (SAY_BC_CONV_02_SP1_014-17)

7 Gender and number

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

'hen'	***gèri***	***gersə́***	**MH**
'dog'	***kádì***	***kaɗaŋsə́***	**MH**
'mouse'	***mbə̂p***	***mbaptsə́***	**MH**
'chief'	***gùŋ***	***guŋsə́***	**MH**
'vulture'	***kwáɗə̂k***	***kwaɗaksə́***	**MH**

A few tone patterns are irregular :

'viper'	***ʤ̀igu:rí***	***ʤigu:rínsə***
'head'	***gàm***	***gàm(t)sə́***[12]

[12] The L tone is not associated with the presence of an initial voiced consonant as can be seen from ***guŋsə́***, plural of ***gùŋ*** 'chief'.

The irregularities are proportionally quite numerous:

'woman'	***gə̀t***	***gudî***
'child'	***ŋá:***	***mə:ri***
'arrow'	***pîs***	***piská***
'guest'	***sə̂m***	***səmdə́***
'sheep'	***tə̂m***	***timsá***

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

'animal'	***dabbà***	***dabbo:bì***
'car'	***mó:ta***	***mo:to:ʧî***
'soldiers'		***so:ʤo:ʤi***
'book'	***tágàrda***	***tàgàrdu***

A good number of family nouns form their plural with the ***–(k)tə*** [-ɣtə] suffix and MH tones:

'in-law'	***ʤìt***	***ʤiʤəktə́***
'cousin'	***kúndà:***	***kundaktə́***
'mother'	***na:***	***naktə́***
'sister'	***wa:tsə́***	***watsaktə́***
'brother'	***jês***	***jestə́***

Rather than a true plural suffix, this may be a case of collective or abstract derivation. The most common sort of plural formed with the ***–sə́*** suffix is probably borrowed from neighbouring languages. The original (now exceptional) nominal plurals are restricted to a few terms related to humans (man, woman, children), plurality being expressed through the verbal INFL.

8 Nominal determination

Four suffixes establish four stages of determination:

- ***-i :*** indefinite article (ART.INDF)
- ***-es***: definite article (ART.DEF)
- ***-án***: proximal deictic (PROX)
- ***-í:***: distal deictic (DIST)

8.1 Indefinite article

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

'chief'	***gùŋ***	***gùnʤì***
'spear'	***gwa:r***	***gwa:ri***
'night'	***kávit***	***kávidî***
'work'	***la:***	***la:j***

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

'fig tree'	***gwă:m***	***gwa:mí***
'termite'	***ɬî:tn***	***ɬí:ti***
'sheep'	***tî:m***	***tí:mi***

There are cases of resyllabification:

'porcupine'	***gùsùm***	***gùsmì***

8.2 Definite article

The Definite Article (ge: DEF) is an ***-es/-os*** suffix with a F tone. The ***-es*** form is suffixed to final consonants and replaces final unreleased nasals:

'spear'	***gwa:r***	***gwa:rês***
'fig tree'	***gwă:m***	***gwa:mês***
'sheep'	***tə̂:m***	***tə́:mês***
'termite'	***ɬî:tn***	***ɬí:tês***
'night'	***kávit***	***kávidês***

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

'millet'	***màrwa***	***màrwôs***

‘orange’	***lè:mu***	***lè:mồs***

A preceding L tone prevails over the F tone of the definite article:

‘chief’	***gùŋ***	***gùnès***
‘woman’	***gə̀t***	***gə̀də̂s***
‘abandoned house’	***dàddə̀n***	***dàddə̀nès***

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

‘work’	***la:***	***lă:s***

There are cases of resyllabification:

’porcupine’	***gùsùm***	***gùsmès***

8.4 Deictics

Zaar has two degrees of deictics: proximal ***–ə́n*** ‘this’ and distal ***-í:*** ‘that’.
They are suffixed either to the noun, producing the light deictic, or to the pronominal form of the Possessive Link ***kə/gə***, producing the heavy deictic determiners (proximal ***gə́n*** and distal ***gwí:/gí:***) used with the definite form of the noun:

		heavy PROX/DIST	*light PROX*	*light DIST*
‘spear’	***gwa:r***	***gwa:rí gə́n/gí:***	***gwa:rə́n***	***gwa:rí:***
‘fig-tree’	***gwă:m***	***gwa:mí gə́n/gí:***	***gwa:mə́n***	***gwa:mí:***
‘sheep’	***tə̂:m***	***tə́:mi gə́n/gí:***	***tə́:mə́n***	***tə́:mí:***
‘termite’	***lî:tn***	***lí:ti gə́n/gí:***	***lí:tə́n***	***lí:tí:***
‘night’	***kávit***	***kávidî gə́n/gí:***	***kávidə̂n***	***kávidî:***
‘work’	***la:***	***lă:j gə́n/gí:***	***lă:n***	***la:jí:***
‘chief’	***gùŋ***	***gùŋì gə́n/gí:***	***gùŋə́n***	***gùŋə́j***
‘porcupine’	***gùsùm***	***gùsmì gə́n/gí:***	***gùsmə́n***	***gùsmí:***
‘millet’	***màrwa***	***màrwaj gə́n/gí:***	***màrwə́n***	***màrwə́j***
‘orange’	***lè:mu***	***lè:muj gə́n/gí:***	***lè:mún***	***lè:mú̀j***

8.5 Indeterminate qualification: ‘some/other’

Wón is a post-nominal determiner introducing an indeterminate qualitative specification. It is translated by ‘a, some, any, (an)other’[13], and glossed QLT (ge) and DET (rx). It is suffixed either to the noun, producing the light indefinite ***wón*** (***mur wón*** ‘someone’; ***ŋgə́tn wón*** ‘something’; ***lə̂p wón*** ‘somewhere’), or to the pronominal form of the Possessive Link ***kə/gə***, producing the heavy form ***gón*** (***bàtú:re gón*** ‘a European’), which can also be used as a pronominal form (glossed QLT and PRO).

8.6 Quantification: numerals

The number system

1	***nàmbóŋ***	20	***táʃi-mbə̀ɬə̀ŋ***
2	***mbáɬəŋ***	21	***táʃi-mbə̀ɬə̀ŋ tə́ nàmbóŋ***
3	***mâ:j***	22	***táʃi-mbə̀ɬə̀ŋ tə́ mbáɬəŋ***
4	***wupsə***	30	***táʃi-mà:j***
5	***nandam***	40	***táʃi-wupsə***
6	***lim***	50	***táʃi-nàndàm***
7	***wottsə́maj***	60	***táʃi-lìm***
8	***tá:nta:n***	70	***táʃi-wottsə́-maj***
9	***tókndam***	80	***táʃi-tá:nta:n***
10	***dzúp***	90	***táʃi-tókndam***
11	***dzúp-ɬí:ti-nàmbóŋ***	100	***ku:ri***
12	***dzúp-ɬí:ti-mbáɬəŋ***	1000	***zàngú***

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

Ex 29.	***—tə́***	***fĭ:***	***zàrsə̀***	***wuri***	***kó:***	***ji***	***nàmbóŋ***	***káwêj?***
	3PL.AOR	do.RES	man.PL	how	or	be	one	only
	—tə́	***fĭ:***	***zàrsə̀***	***...***	***zàrsə̀***		***wupsə.***	
	3PL.AOR	do.RES	man.PL		man.PL		four	

[13] cf. Hausa ***wani/wata/wasu.***

—How many people were there, or was there only one?
—They were four... four people.

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

Ex 30.

nàmbóŋ=wáːsàŋ	***mbáłəŋ=wàːsàŋ***
one=3PL.POS	two=3PL.POS
one of them	two of them

8.7 Qualification

The Possessive Link (PosL[14]) is an essential component of the expression of noun qualification in *Zaar*. It is used to provide a noun with a NP, AP or ordinal numeral modifier. The structure is <NP PosL NP/AP/NUM> where PosL is ***=kə***. It has high tone after nouns with final high tone or only mid tones, low tone elsewhere. The PosL can be omitted when immediately preceded by the possessed NP[15]. The tone of the PosL is then shifted to the preceding morpheme. If the latter consists of a single level-toned monosyllable, the shifted tone is preceded by the original tone. Elsewhere, the shifted tone replaces the last tone of the morpheme. The effect of this floating tone is visible only with nouns possessing uniform M tone: ***məːri*** 'children' > ***məːrí kaɗaŋʃês*** 'the puppies'; ***kot*** 'calabash' > ***kŏt nóːno*** 'milk calabash'.

8.7.1 Possessive phrases

The PosL is used when a noun is modified by a NP: ***maːndá=ká dàn***[16] 'civil war', *lit.* 'war of house'; ***sáŋwaːrí ká mumtsá*** 'chief of masquerades'.
The PosL is also a means of producing compound words: ***mur=ká dànès***, 'head of the family', *lit.* 'man of the house'; ***mur=ká zùkn*** 'sorcerer', *lit.* 'man of medicine'.
The pronominal nature of the PosL appears in the following example where ***kə*** stands for the qualified noun, with the meaning 'that/those of X'. In its pronominal form, the PosL is accentuated and the initial /***k***/ remains unchanged.

Ex 31.

kóːdzàŋgjóː	***jáː***	***łô***	***wò***	***łán***	***ʧaː***	***ká***	***gùŋ***	***láːr***	***-dî***	***har***	***[…]***
every_day	3SG.COND	go	3SG.FUT	go.INCH	put	POS	king	take	-CTP	until	

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

8.7.2 Adjectival phrases

The PosL is used to provide a noun with an AP modifer: ***lât=ká muːri*** 'new leather'.

8.7.3 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numbers are constructed with a cardinal number in the indefinite form following the pronominal PosL: ***ká nàmbóŋi*** 'the first one'; ***ká mbáłmi*** 'the second one', etc. "First" in a temporal sense uses the words ***kéni*** 'front' (***guŋdá=ká ká kéni*** 'the first chieftaincy') or ***fáːri*** 'beginning' borrowed from Hausa (***ká fáːri=kà tákân=wàːsàŋ*** 'the first to appear').

8.7.4 Relative constructions

The relative marker is ***ɗa*** (REL1) or its variant ***ɗan*** (REL2). The structure of the relative clause modifier is: <Noun[+def] ***ɗa(n)*** ...>. The final ***-n*** assimilates to a following velar (***ɗan*** > ***ɗaŋ***) or bilabial (***ɗan*** > ***ɗam***), yielding the three variants: ***ɗan /ɗaŋ/ɗam.***
Any NP in the relative clause that is coreferential with the relativized NP is deleted. This applies to subject and direct object NPs.

Ex 32.

ɲiːˑêːs=kən-ín[17]	***ɗan***	***ʧáːji***	***kən***	***ʒà***
girl-ANAPH=COP2-PROX	REL2	IPF.ITER	carry	water

Here is the girl who carries the water.

[14] Glossed as PTCL.SYNT (\rx) and POS (\ge) in the corpus.
[15] When the possessed NP is omitted, it produces the anaphoric pronominal form of the Possessive Link, e.g. ***ká Àlí***, 'that of Ali'. Cf. 8.7.1
[16] The rule ***k*** > ***ɣ*** applies yielding *[**maːndáɣá dàn**]*.
[17] [***ɲêːskənín***].

Ex 33. ***ʒà-i=kən-ín***[18] | ***ɗan*** | ***ɲiː-êːs*** | ***(á)*** | ***lə̌ːr*** | ***túr=wôs*** | ***mə́n-dî***
water-DEF=COP2-PROX | REL2 | girl-ANAPH | 3SG.AOR | take_to | husband=3SG.POS | DAT-DIR
Here is the water that the girl took to her husband.

However, if the deleted NP is [+human], it is replaced by a resumptive pronoun.
Ex 34. ***mur-íː*** | ***ɗan*** | ***mə*** | ***jél*** | ***=tə*** | ***[...]***
man-PROX | REL2 | 1SG.AOR | see | =3SG.OBJ
This man that I saw...

If the deleted NP is a Locative, it is replaced by the resumptive locative pronoun ***=káj***:
Ex 35. ***dàn-ès=kən-ín*** | ***ɗan*** | ***ɲêːs*** | ***lə̌ːr*** | ***ʒà*** | ***=káj***[19]
house-ANAPH=COP2-PROX | REL2 | girl.ANAPH | take_to | water | =ANAPH
Here is the house that the girl brought water to.

9 Adjectives

9.1 Morphology

Adjectives are a nounlike category. They cannot be combined with a negative marker, and comparison is not expressed morphologically on the adjective (cf. 9.7 below). They have a plural and a definite form whose affixes can be combined to yield four forms. We may take the adjective 'evil' as an example:

'evil'	lexical	definite
singular	***kúskə***	***kúːʃî***
plural	***kusúŋsə***	***kusúŋʃî***

Adjectives with a plural form:

	singular	plural
'big'	***dàllák, dàllí***	***dəlláŋsə, dəlláŋʃî***
'old'	***gəːrí***	***gəːráŋsə, gəːráŋʃî***
'clipped'	***ndúri***	***ndurúŋsə, ndurúŋʃî***
'big'	***vàrì***	***vàràŋsə, vàràŋʃî***
'female'	***ʧár***	***ʧaráŋsə***
'young, small'	***ŋaː, ŋaːɲí***	***məːri, məːrí-məːrí***
'old'	***ndótsə, ndwáːtsə***	***ndwatsáŋsə, ndwatsáŋʃî***
'bad'	***kúskə***	***kusúŋsə, kusúŋʃî***

9.2 Syntax

Adjectives appear as modifiers in a NP and cannot be its head (except superficially when the head noun is elliptical). Their number feature comes from agreement with the noun they modify, whereas nouns get number from their referential function. When they operate as noun modifiers, adjectives can be simply juxtaposed to the left of the noun: <Adj N>, or appear to the right and be introduced by Possessive Link: <N=***ká*** Adj>. The PosL structure is not used with plural adjectives.

dàllá ʃiráŋ	***ndurúŋsə***[20] ***ʃakndí***	***lât=ká muːri***
'a big stick'	'short(-legged) pots'	'new leather'

The PosL can be omitted, but it leaves behind a floating tone that changes the last tone of an all-M-tone noun to Rising: e.g. ***ŋaː*** 'child'; ***ŋaː=ká ɟáːli*** > ***ŋǎː ɟáːli*** 'a lucky child' (*lit.* 'child of white').
The modified noun can be omitted leaving the PosL as head of the NP***: ká vàrì*** 'a big one'.
When they function as predicates, adjectives use the PTCL.PRED ***nə***, and optionally the verb ***ji*** 'be':

	modifier	predicate
singular	***kúskə zaːr***	***D. nə kúːʃî***
	'evil man'	'D. is evil'
plural	***kusúŋsə zàrsə***	***zàrsə ʧî nə kusúŋʃî***
	'evil people'	'people are evil'

[18] [***ʒèjɣənín***].
[19] [***ʒàɣáj***].
[20] ***ndúri*** (pl. ***ndurúŋsə***) 'shortened, abnormally short'.

9.3 Nonderived adjectives

Nonderived, "pure" adjectives in *Zaar* are no more than 25 in number. Semantically, "pure" adjectives can be subcatecorized into:

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

	singular	plural	derived form
'black'	***ʤìː***	***ʤiŋsə́***	***ʤìː-ʤìː***
'white'	***fjáːli***	***fjaláŋsə***	***fjáːli- fjáːli***
'red'	***ʒèlì***	***ʒèlàŋsə́***	***ʒèlì-ʒèlì***
'variegated'	***mbótʃi***	***mbótʃi***	***mbótʃi-mbótʃi***

Size, shape (9): ***dàdàːʃi*** / ***dàdàːs*** 'big'; ***dàllí*** / ***dàllák*** 'tall'; ***vàrì*** 'big, important'; ***ndúri*** 'abnormally short, broken, shortened'; ***ngótse*** / ***ngóʤìki*** 'large (animal)'; ***vàtì*** 'void'; ***dàltʃi*** 'shallow'; ***fóptâŋ***, 'thin'; ***wókʃi*** 'rough'.

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

Others (9): ***mbóri*** 'under-cooked (flour)'; ***gwàːmì*** 'under-cooked (meat), premature'; ***laːmi*** 'insipid'; ***máːki*** 'dirty'; ***naː-tsàːdej*** (< Hausa) 'expensive'; ***mbuní*** 'good'; ***muːri*** 'new'; ***ndwátsə*** 'old'; ***nʤúːli*** 'pure'.

9.4 Compound adjectives of colour

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

	singular	literal meaning
'blue'	***ʒàk-gàlúːra***	'water-of-blue'[21]
'dark brown'	***ʒàk-nălle***	'water-of-henna'
'yellow'	***ʒàk-raːs***	'water-of-locust-bean tree'
'green'	***ʒàk-páːtsə***	'water-of-leaf'

9.5 Verbal Adjectives

Adjectives can be derived from verbs of quality through a ***–ni*** /***–ʃi*** suffix. They only function as noun modifiers in a genitive construction: ***ɲalák*** 'be smooth' > ***ɲalákni*** > ***pŭːs ɲalákni*** 'a smooth stone'. Some Verbal Adjectives have a plural form: ***ngomdə́*** 'be crooked' > ***ngómdi*** (pl. ***ngomdáŋʃi***) 'crooked'.

9.6 Verbal Nouns

A Verbal Noun (NV) can be used as a noun modifier, in the same function as an adjective. It takes the genitive construction: ***sakát*** 'be clever' > ***sakátkə̂n***, 'cleverness': ***zăːr sakátkə̂n*** 'a clever man' (lit. 'a man of cleverness').

9.7 Comparison

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

Ex 36. ***diːla*** ***mòp*** ***záːki*** ***sakát-kə́nì=òː***
Jakal exceed Lion be_clever-NMLZ-FCT
Jakal is wiser than Lion (*lit*. Jakal exceeds Lion in wisdom).

[21] ***gàlúːra***: name of a chemical blue dye common in Northern Nigerian markets.

10 Pronouns

10.1 Independant pronouns (IDP)

	Singular	Plural
1	***mjáːni***	***mjàːní***
2	***kjáːni***	***kjàːní***
3	***jáːni***	***jàːʃĩ***

10.2 Object pronouns (OBJ)

10.2.1 Form

	Singular	Plural
1	***=əm***	***=mi***
2	***=kə***	***=-ki***
3	***=tə***	***=ʃi***

10.2.2 Tones

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

jel 'see'	Singular		Plural	
1	***àː jel=əm***	***[jeləm]***	***àː jel=mí***	***[jelmi]***
2	***àː jel=kə***	***[jelɣə]***	***àː jel=kí***	***[jelkí]***
3	***àː jel=tə***	***[jeltə]***	***àː jel=ʃĩ***	***[jelʃĩ]***

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

vər 'give'	Singular		Plural	
1	***á vər=əm***	***[vərəm]***	***á vər=mí***	***[vərmí]***
2	***á vər=kə***	***[vərɣə]***	***á vər=kí***	***[vərkí]***
3	***á vər=tə***	***[vərtə]***	***á vər=ʃĩ***	***[vərʃĩ]***

10.3 Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns have two forms, one suffixed to the PosL ***kə/gə***, and another suffixed to the possessed noun.

10.3.1 Forms with kə-/gə-

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

	singular	plural
1	***gətn***	***gwòpm***
2	***gwàː***	***gwàːn***
3	***gwòs***	***gwàːsəŋ***

10.3.2 Forms without kə-/gə-

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

	singular	plural
1	***=(a)tn***	***=wapm***
2	***=waː***	***=waːn***
3	***=was***	***=waːsən***

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

bəndə 'pot'	***nábàm*** 'butter'
bəndətn	***nábàmàtn***

F elsewhere:

túr 'husband'	***gèri*** 'fowl'
túrâtn	***gèrâtn***

Some exceptions come from resyllabification:

ngátn 'thing'	***səbər*** 'knife'	***raː*** 'heart'
ngátâtn	***səbrâtn***	***raːtn***

Only the first tone of contour tones is kept:

	kâ:m ‘ear’	***dwă:m*** ‘metal’
	ká:mâdn	***dwa:mâdn***

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

	bàndà ‘pot’	***dàn*** ‘compound’
2s	***bàndàwà:***	***dànwà:***
3p	***bàndàwà:sàŋ***	***dànwà:sàŋ***

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

	nábàm ‘butter’	***kádî*** ‘dog’	***lût*** = ‘rope’
2s	***nábàmwà:***	***kádîwà:***	***lútwà:***
3p	***nábàmwà:sàŋ***	***kádîwà:sàŋ***	***lútwà:sàŋ***

It is Falling after a H tone:

	túr ‘husband’
2s	***túrwâ:***
3p	***túrwâ:sàŋ***

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

	bùtí ‘okra’	***karí*** ‘monkey sp.’	***dwă:m*** ‘money’
2s	***bùtíwâ:***	***karíwâ:***	***dwă:mwâ:***
3p	***bùtíwâ:sàŋ***	***karíwâ:sàŋ***	***dwă:mwâ:sàŋ***

As final M tones become rising with a floating H tone, the rule applies to the resulting melody:

	ga:m ‘head’	***ra:*** ‘heart’
2s	***gă:mwâ:***	***ră:wâ:***
3p	***gă:mwâ:sàŋ***	***ră:wâ:sàŋ***

10.3.3 Exceptions

Some possessives (inherent possessions) have an irregular form:

	da: ‘father’	***na:*** ‘mother’	***jês*** ‘brother’	***wa:tsə*** ‘sister’
1s	***dà:gàtn***	***ná:gàtn***	***jésâtn***	***wa:tsatn***
2s	***dà:gwà:***	***ná:gwà:***	***jéswà:***	***wa:tsawa:***
3s	***dà:gwòs***	***ná:gwòs***	***jéswòs***	***wa:tsawos, wa:tsaʃi***
1s	***dà:gwòpm***	***ná:gwòpm***	***jéswòpm***	***wa:tsawopm***
2p	***dà:wà:n***	***nawa:n***	***jéswà:n***	***wa:tsawa:n***
3p	***dà:wà:səŋ***	***nawa:səŋ***	***jéswà:sàŋ***	***wa:tsawa:səŋ***

	kâ:m ‘friend’	***kăn*** ‘uncle’	***dàn*** ‘house’ / ***vì:*** ‘mouth’
1s	***kamsatn***	***kanâtn***	***ɗa:m dàn/vì:***
2s	***kamsa:***	***kaná:***	***ɗa:ɣə dàn/vì:***
3s	***kamsaʃi***	***kánwôs , kanáʃi***	***ɗa:tə dàn/vì:***
1s	***kamsawopm***	***kánwôpm***	***ɗa:mí dàn/vì:***
2p	***kamsawa:n***	***kánwâ:n***	***ɗa:kí dàn/vì:***
3p	***kamsawa:səŋ***	***kánwá:sàŋ***	***ɗa:ʃí dàn/vì:***

10.4 Reflexive pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	***gamatn***	***gamawopm***
2	***gama:***	***gamawa:n***
3	***gamas, gamaʃi***	***gamawa:səŋ***

10.5 The Reciprocal

The English ‘each other, one another’ is expressed by ***ɮàŋsà=wà:sàŋ*** (lit. ‘their bodies’) in *Zaar*:

Ex 37.

mán	***ʤà:-kàn***	***mó:ta***	***ɗan***	***tà:***	***sa:bá-í:***	***tá***	***ɮàŋsàwà:sàŋ***
people.POS	drive-NMLZ	car	REL	3PL.PFV	be_used-RES	with	each_other

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

10.6 The locative resumptive pronoun *káj*

Káj appears as a resumptive substitute for a locative . Its allophones are ***káʤ/ngáʤ/ɣáʤ.*** It will appear in a relative clause at the place where the relativized antecedent stood:

Ex 38.

lə̂p	***wón***	***ɗán***	***tə́***	***ɬə̂***	***=káj***	***mjáː***	***súː***
place	QLT	REL	3PL.AOR	go	=LOC	1SG.IPFV	want

mə̀	***láːp=ʃí***	***hə́ŋ-oːˌ***
1SG.SBJV	follow=3PL.OBJ	NEG2-FCT

The place they went to, I didn't want to follow them there.

Likewise in focus constructions:

Ex 39.

nə	***ŋantsə́***	***wón***	***ɗan***	***ʧə̌ː***	***dzə̌k***	***ɬu-ês[22]j***	***=káj***
COP1	tree	INDEF	REL	3PL.IPFV	slaughter	animal.DEF	=LOC

It's a tree which they sacrificed animals on.

11 Prepositions

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

á, ká, ɓas	'at'
dàgà	'from' (HAU)
ɗa	'at'
ɗan	'like'
gàmé	'with' (HAU)
kàmár	'like' (HAU)
mel	'near'
nə́	'for, towards'
tsàkàːní	'between' (HAU)
zúwa	'towards' (HAU)

Ká has three allophones: ***ká/ɣá/ŋgá***. ***Ɓas*** is the pre-pronominal form of the same morpheme in the continuous TAM marker.

Ex 40.

ɲêːs	***máː***	***ʧī***	***-ɓas***	***=tə***	***súː-kə̂n***
girl.ANAPH	too	3SG.BE	-AT	=3SG	love-NMLZ

The girl too, she loved him (*lit.* 'she was loving him').

Compound prepositions are derived from nouns, some of which are no longer in use, with the structure (***á***)+N+(***ká***) and also have an adverbial use.

gàːm	'head'	***(á) gam***	'on top of'
dùːl	'heritage'	***(á) dùl***	'on top of'
gəs	'bottom'	***(á) gəs***	'under'
dùr	'occasion'	***(á) dùr ɣə́***	'because of'
		(á) gìp	'inside'
kên	'face'	***(á) kên***	'in front of'
kâːr	'back'	***(á) kâːr***	'behind'
ʧokn	'sky'	***(á) ʧókn***	'on top of'
teː	'place'	***(á) teː***	'by, near'
làŋsə́	'side'	***(á) láŋ***	'near (road, river)'
ɮìː	'body'	***(á) ɮèj***	'in the middle of'
		(á) ɮək	'deep in the middle of'
vìː	'mouth'	***(á) vìː***	'near (road, river)'

12 Adverbs

12.1 Time

Deictic

ɗangəní	'now'
ɗálâŋsə́n, ɗálâːsə́ŋə́nə́n	'right now'
tàj dzàngíː, tàj víndíː	'the day before yesterday'
nàːjáːwón	'yesterday'
jáːwón	'today'

[22] [> ***ɬôːskáj***]

ʤǎːn	‘tomorrow’
ɗiːní	‘the day after tomorrow’
ʤìndi, tǎj ʤìni	‘last year’
ʤìnáŋán	‘this year’
ɗiːn, ɗĩːn ʤìni	‘next year’

Others

ɗaɗa, sáɗɗaɗa	‘again’
ɓaːndáŋ	‘formerly’
gàlàs	‘later’
ngaːláj	‘later on’
túntún	‘long ago’ (HAU)

12.2 Place

Deictic

ɗûːn, ɗúːni	‘here’
ɗáni, ɗân, ɗaɗân, ɗaɗáni	‘there’
ɗĩː	‘over there, far’

Others

ɓáʤàŋ	‘outside’
dùːlì	‘on top’
ɗóːngáj	‘far away’
gàːmì	‘above, uphill, up west’
gàʃî	‘under, downhill’
káːri	‘back, last’
kéni	‘in front, first’
laŋsá	‘near’
laŋfí	‘aside’
mel	‘near’
napti	‘left’
vòj	‘below’
jâːł	‘on the ground’
ʤarí	‘across’

12.3 Manner

anihí	‘really’ (HAU)
ɗaŋ	‘too’
deːdéː	‘exactly’ (HAU)
ʤòndʤòm(ì), ʃaŋtaŋ	‘truly’
mari	‘differently’
mółâk	‘quickly’
naː táːdî	‘jokingly’ (HAU)
naː zaːri	‘properly’ (HAU)
ndaːrá	‘well’
sòséj	‘completely, well’ (HAU)
tàːré	‘together’ (HAU)
ʧĩk, ʧíkáj	‘thus’
ʧĩp	‘necessarily’
tsananin	‘extremely’ (HAU)
tsán, tsəní	‘like this’
woɓát	‘suddenly, unexpectedly’

12.5 Quantitative/qualitative modulation

ájnun	‘very much, truly’ (HAU)
bét	‘all, completely’
ɓurúk	‘all’
dàmàj	‘plenty’ (HAU)

ɗeɓát	‘all’
gì:ri	‘properly’
kaɗé	‘only’ (HAU)
káp, kakáp	‘every, all’
kúrûm	‘merely’
káʃe-káʃe	‘of all sorts’ (HAU)
káwâj	‘only’ (HAU)
mondá	‘much, many’
náŋ	‘very’
ndʒwâ:tn, ndʒwátn ndʒwătn, (ŋa:) ndʒú:, ndʒwá:to	‘a little’
zalla	‘only, alone’

13 Ideophones

The greater part of adverbs are ideophones, a large class (355 items in the lexicon) set apart by its phonological and syntactic properties. Most ideophones are associated with one word (verb or adjective): ***à: ʧoptí: pés*** ‘he washed it clean’; ***á dĭ:mí: péllâŋ*** ‘he jumped up and down like a monkey’. They are frequently reduplicated: ***nə ʒèlì ndʒu:-ndʒú:*** ‘it's a bright red’; ***à: wuł ga:mí: gwalaŋ-gwalán*** ‘he shaved his head clean’.

14 External Derivation

14.1 Nominal derivation

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

Verb		Abstract noun	
kuŋ	‘get dry’	***kuŋdə́***	‘dryness’
ʔ[23]		***ʤa:kndə́***	‘dampness’
gùŋ	‘chief’	***guŋdə́***	‘chiefdom’

Other derivations are less regular:

Verb		Abstract noun	
fol	‘to slough’	***fóli***	‘snake’s slough’
kəptə́	‘to itch’	***kə́ptə***	‘chaff’[24]
kír	‘to run’	***kítâr***	‘running’
lut	‘to tear off bark of tree’	***lût***	‘bark rope’
wuł	‘to shave’	***wútka***	‘rasor’

14.2 Adjectival derivation

Adjectives can be derived from verbs of quality using ***a –ni /–ʃi*** suffix.

Verb		Adj	
ras	‘to rot’	***ráʃi***	‘rotten’
kuŋ	‘to dry’	***kúŋni (pl. kúŋʃi)***	‘dry’
fupm	‘to be tall’	***fúpni (pl. fúpmsə, fúpmʃi)***	‘long, tall’

14.3 Adverbial derivation

Some adverbs are derived from nouns using an ***–i*** suffix or through apotony.

ʧokn	‘sky’	***ʧókn***	‘above’
dù:l	‘heritage’	***dù:lì***	‘on top’
gà:m	‘head’	***gà:mì***	‘on top, uphill’
gə̀s	‘bottom’	***gə̀ʃi***	‘under, downhill’
kâ:r	‘back’	***ká:ri***	‘at the back, behind’
kên	‘face’	***kéni, kên***	‘in front, forward’
làŋsə́	‘side’	***laŋʃí***	‘aside’

[23] The original verb is unknown, but cf. the derived Verbal Adjective ***ʤá:ki*** ‘damp’.

[24] The direction of derivation is probably the reverse here, with the verb ***kəptə́***, ‘to itch’, deriving from ***kə́ptə***, ‘chaff, seed husk’, a very irritating substance.

Others are derived from verbs through reduplication:

fúpm	'be tall, long, far'	***fupm-fúpm***	'very far'
ɬja:	'be strong, hard'	***ɬja:-ɬjâ:***	'absolutely still'

15 Verb series

Series of verbs are used to introduce aspectual or modal specifications, e.g. inception, iteration, completion, capability etc. The first verb, acting as a pseudo-auxiliary[25], functions as a main verb taking the second verb and its complements as a clausal complement. There exist three types of clausal complements: (i) finite verbs (V), i.e. with TAM marking; (ii) infinitives[26], i.e. finite verbs without TAM marking; (iii) nonfinite, nominalized verbs (NV) and their possessive complements.

15.1 Finite complements

The person in the TAM of the clausal complement (second verb) repeats that of the main verb, or pseudo-auxiliary:

Ex 41.

ma	***ká:m***	***ma***	***ɬə***	***ɗa***	***námtsə***	***-i***	***háŋ***	//
1SG.FUT	be_able	1SG.FUT	go	at	bush	-INDF	NEG2	//

I cannot go into the bush again. (SAY_BC_CONV_02_SP2_010)

15.2 Infinitive complements

Ex 42.

ɗan	***má:***	***bà:***	***ʧá:***	***ká:m***	/	***ɗu***	***kóna***	***háŋ***	***má:***	//
as	even	NEG1	3SG.IPFV	be_able	/	beat	corner_kick	NEG2	even	//

[…] as he cannot even shoot a corner kick. (SAY_BC_CONV_03_SP1_732-3)

15.3 Nominalized complements

Ex 43.

tə́	***ndâ:***	***lá:r***	***-kánì***	***səmbár***	***-sə***	***-ɗi***
3PL.SBJ.AOR	start	bring	-NMLZ	stranger	-PL	-CTP

they started bringing guests (SAY_BC_CONV_03_SP2_040)

15.4 Stacking

The corpus has some cases of stacking with a series of more than two verbs. The example below has four:

Ex 44.

longa	/	***tə̀***	***ga:-í:***	***ɓâ***	***ɬə***	***mandá***	***fu:***
rabbit	/	3SG.SBV	leave-RES	indeed	go	do_again	tell

na:	***kâm***	***=wos***	***dǎ:r***	*//*
type_of	friend	=3SG.GEN	lizard	//

Rabbit left indeed and went and started telling his friend Lizard // (SAY_BC_NARR_01_SP1_157-9)

15.5 Serializing verbs

Below are the serializing verbs (glossed AUX) that are found in the corpus with their original lexical meaning within brackets when it differs from that of the auxiliary:

da:fá 'keep on doing' (< Hausa ***dá:fà:***); dap 'start' (< 'follow'); ***dingá*** (< Hausa ***díngà:***) 'have already'; ***ɗjá:*** (< Hausa ***ʔíjà:***) 'be able'; ***fa:rá*** (< Hausa ***fá:ɽà:***) 'start'; ***ɓan*** 'keep doing' (< 'finish'); ***ká:m*** 'be able'; ***mán, mandá*** 'start' (< 'come'); ***na:*** 'start' (< 'become'); ***nda*** 'start doing' (< 'enter'); ***nga:*** 'start'; ***rigá*** (< Hausa ***ɽígá:***) 'have already'; ***sa:ké*** (< Hausa ***sá:kè:***) 'do again' (< 'repeat'); ***ɬə*** 'go and…'; ***ʧíká*** (< Hausa ***cíkà:***) 'do a lot'

Zaar borrows heavily from the equivalent Hausa auxiliary verbs, with a few cases of suppletion, e.g. ***ɗjá:*** (< Hausa ***íjà:***), duplicating and almost superseding the original *Zaar* term ***ká:m*** 'be able', and ***fa:rá*** (< Hau ***fá:rà***) duplicating ***dap*** 'start' (*lit.* 'follow'):

Ex 45.

fè:	***káwâj***	***mà:***	***dap***	***má***	***ɲom***	***háŋ***	/
PN.TAM	merely	1PL.PFV	follow	1PL.AOR	take	NEG2	/

we haven't even started to fight […] (SAY_BC_NARR_03_SP1_559)

[25] These verbs cannot be considered auxiliaries as they are not defective, but full verbs with hardly any semantic bleaching.

[26] Cf. Newman (2000) where this term was first introduced to characterize equivalent Hausa constructions. These forms are called 'Forme Verbale Libre' by Gouffé (1979).

Ex 46.

wò	***faːrá***	***vat***	***-kə́ni***	//
3SG.FUT	start	blow	-NMLZ	//

He will start blowing. (SAY_BC_NARR_03_SP1_084)

NB: pseudo-auxiliaries borrowed from Hausa are systematically associated with the nonfinite construction. A notable exception is the verb ***ɗjáː***, very frequent in the corpus and phonologically well integrated into *Zaar* (***ʔíjàː*** > ***ɗjáː***), which uses the finite construction.

16 Complex sentences

Complexification in *Zaar* does not necessarily involve conjunctions. TAMs and their combinations can, in a paratactic succession of clauses, indicate subordination.

16.1 Parataxis and subordination

An example of a complex paratactic construction is given in (44) where the initial clause is a temporal/conditional adverbial subordinate clause with no conjunction, marked only by the Conditional TAM. The following Subjunctives indicate successive habitual actions.

Ex 47.

tòː	/	***mjàːní***	/	***lə̂p***	***jáː***		***ła:***	***-íː***	/		
well	/	1PL	/	place	3SG.COND		cut	-RES	/		
tòː	***mə́***		***łə***	***-íː***	***nə́***	***ŋamtsə́***		***nat***	***-kə́nì***	//	
well	1PL.AOR		go	-RES	for	wood		tie	-NMLZ	//	
mə́	***nat***		***ŋamtsə́***	***-ɗi***	/						
1PL.AOR	tie		wood	-CTP	/						
tòː	***mə́***	***máni***		***mə́***	***man***	/	***tsə́tn***		***-ni***	//	
well	1PL.AOR	come		1PL.AOR	come	/	sit		-INCH	//	

Well, we, if/when the day breaks, well we go and collect wood. [When] we [have] collect[ed] the wood, we come back and sit down. (SAY_BC_CONV_02_SP1_014-19)

16.2 Conjunctions: synonymy, polysemy, and polyfunctionality

Zaar conjunctions are:

- ***àmmáː*** 'but'
- ***ɓanɗaŋ*** 'all the more so if'
- ***ɗa***, ***ɗan***: 'as' (temporal)
- ***ɗan kutu***, ***ɗan kóː tu*** 'as if'
- ***jâːn*** (cf. 3sg, PRO.IDP ***jâːn***, ***jáːni***), ***ín***, ***ìdán*** (< Hausa ***ín***, ***ìdán***) 'if'
- ***kəndá***, ***hár*** (< Hausa ***hárɗ***) 'until', 'so that'
- ***kóː*** (***kuma***) (< Hausa ***kóː*** (***kúmá***) 'or'
- ***sábo: tu*** (cf. Hausa ***sábòː dà***), ***dón*** (< Hausa ***dón***, ***dòːmín***) 'because'
- ***tá***, ***kəndá***, ***séi*** (< Hausa ***sái***) 'then'
- ***túnɗan*** 'since' (causal); cf. Hausa ***tún dà***

Many are Hausa loanwords, e.g. ***séi***, ***tun***, ***ín/ìdán***, ***àmmáː***, ***kóː***, but a few are stock *Zaar* words, e.g. ***ɗa***, ***ɗan***, ***kəndá***, ***(ku)tu***, ***ɓanɗaŋ***. Among these, ***ɗa*** and ***ɗaŋ*** are highly polysemic, with semantic overlap and polyfunctionality[27]. One might suspect grammaticalization and convergence of two phonetically similar prepositions: ***ɗa*** 'at' and ***ɗan*** 'like':

DA ↓	PREP:	***ɗa*** 'at'
	COP3:	***ɗa*** 'there is'
	ADV:	***ɗa*** / ***ɗan*** 'again'
	CONJ:	***ɗa*** / ***ɗan*** 'as' (temporal)
	PTCL.REL:	***ɗa*** / ***ɗan*** 'that, which'
↑ ***DAN***	PRO.REL:	***(g)jóɗan*** 'which, who'
	ADV.REL:	***jáddijóːɗan*** 'the way that, how'
	COMP:	***ɗan kutu***, ***ɗan tu kóː*** 'as if'
	PREP:	***ɗan*** 'like'

[27] Cf. (Ex 53) for an illustration of the polyfunctionality of the word ***ɗan***.

16.3 Coordination

Although additive coordination ("X and Y") is present in the nominal system with the conjunction ***tə́***, in the case of clauses, coordination is generally obtained through parataxis. However, the discourse particle ***kúmá***, translated as 'also', may appear initially in a speech unit, and work as a linking term within the preamble:

Ex 48.

bà:	***má:***	***łə***	***te:***	***ɗáni***	***hə́ŋ***	*//*
NEG1	1SG.PFV	go	at	there	NEG2	//

kúmá	***ma***	***łə***	*/*	***ʧet***	***lə̂p***	***ká***	***kullá***	***kájá:***	***hə́n***	***-o:***	/
also	1SG.FUT	go	/	ask	place	POS	Kulla	Kaya	NEG	-FCT	/

I haven 't been there. And I won't go and ask for the place of Kulla Kaya.
(SAY_BC_CONV_03_SP1_137)

Occasionally, when the speech unit introduced by ***kúmá*** is linked intonationally with the previous one, the particle may be interpreted as a conjunction, and the whole structure as coordinating:

Ex 49.

dó:lê:	***sé:***	***mjà:***	***łə***	***nə́***	*/*	***púsduŋ***	/
seriously	up_to	1PL.COND	go	for	/	Pusdung	/

kúmá	***sé:***	***mjà:***	***łə***	***mbút***	***-í:***	//
too	up_to	1PL.COND	go	spend_night	-RES	//

We must go to Pusdung and we should spend the night there. (SAY_BC_CONV_01_SP2_231-3)

Apart from paratactic constructions without explicit coordination, oppositive and alternative coordination may use conjunctions borrowed from Hausa: a) ***àmá:*** (< Hausa ***àmmá:***) 'but':

Ex 50.

za:r	***wò***	***ɗjá:***	***kap***	***gə̀t***	*/*
human	3SG.SBJ.FUT	be_able	take	wife	/

àmá:	***tá***	***man***	***ɓəl***	***-í:***	***tə́***	***gə̀t***	***-ês***
but	3PL.SBJ.FUT	come	dig	-RES	with	wife	-DEF

kúmá	***ʧîká***	***tsə́tn***	***-kə́nì***	***tə́***	***ŋá:***	***=wos***	***áj***	//
also	3PL.SBJ.CONT	SIT	-NMLZ	with	child	=3SG.POS	eh	//

A man can marry but they may happen to divorce and she will keep her child.
(SAY_BC_CONV_03_SP2_395-6)

b) ***kó:*** (***kuma***) (< Hausa ***kó:*** (***kúmá***)) 'or'

Ex 51.

a	***ɓan***	***-i:***	***-a:***
3SG.AOR	finish	-RES	-VRT

ko:	***mə̀***	***keni***	***=kaj***	***-a:***	***sarkinpa:da***	//
or	1PL.SBJV	forward	=ANAPH	-VRT	sarkin_pada	//

Is it finished or shall we go on SarkinPada? (SAY_BC_CONV_02_SP2_089)

16.4 Complementation

Verbs expressing perception (***jel*** 'see', ***wum*** 'hear, perceive'), intellectual processes (***sô:*** 'want, like', ***jisə́ŋ*** 'know'), speech acts (***wul*** 'say'), etc. can take direct clausal complements, both finite and nominalized. (Ex 52) below shows the verb ***wum*** with a nominalized clausal complement:

Ex 52.

ʃè:	***wum***	***gwà:***	***məs***	***-kə́nì***	***gùŋ***	***-i***	*/*	***á***	***vì:***	***gə̀tn***	***-a:***	//
PN.TAM	feel	2SG.GEN	die	-NMLZ	king	-DET	/	at	mouth	1sg.pos	-VRT	//

[you] will hear from me that the chief has died (lit. 'your death of the king from my mouth')
(SAY_BC_NARR_01_SP1_644-6)

In (53), the verb ***ŋal*** 'seek' takes a series of clausal complements with Subjunctive TAMs (***mə̀***); the verb ***jel*** 'see' takes a complement clause in the Perfective (***mà:***):

Ex 53.

mjá:	***ŋal***	*/*	***mə̀***	***da:gé***	***-í:***	***XX***	***mə̀***	***jel***	/
1SG.IPFV	seek	/	1PL.SBJV	strive	-RES	XX	1PL.SBJV	see	/

màː	***fi***	***ànkó***	***=wopm***	***-íː***	/
1PL.PFV	do	similar_dressing	=1PL.POS	-DIST	/

tə̀	***pol***	***=mí***	***=kájˀ***	***á***	***raː***	//
3SG.SBV	please	=1PL.OBJ	=ANAPH	at	heart	//

I want us to try hard and see that we wear those same clothes and I would be very happy.
(SAY_BC_CONV_01_SP2_078-82)

Moreover, clausal complements can be introduced by complementizers, e.g. ***tu*** after the verb ***wul*** 'say':

Ex 54.

tòː	***má***	***dingá***	***=tə***	***jel***	***-kánì***	***má***	***wul***	***tu***	/
well	1PL.AOR	keep_on	=3S.OBJ	see	-NMLZ	1PL.AOR	say	OPN	/

kún i	***=wos***	***-án***	***á***	***ndará***	***nán***	//
boy	=3SG.POS	-PROX	3SG.AOR	be_proper	really	//

Well we have already seen him and we said that that son of his is very nice.
(SAY_BC_CONV_02_SP1_096-7)

Another example, with a similative meaning, involves the verb ***jel*** 'see' and its complementizer ***ɗan kutu*** 'as if':

Ex 55.

múr	***=waː***	***-íː***	***jel***	***ɗan***	***kutu***	/
man	=2SG.POS	-RES	see	like	AS_IF	/

ʧáː	***ʧi***	***=ʃí***	***=was***	***-íː***	***káwâj***	//
3SG.PFV	eat	=3PL.OBJ	=3SG.POS	-RES	merely	//

Your man thought that he was just fooling them. (SAY_BC_NARR_03_SP1_430-1)

16.5 Subordination

16.5.1 Time

The conjunctions are: ***ɗa*** / ***ɗan*** 'as'; ***kəndá*** 'until, before'; ***kəndá***, ***tá*** 'then' (consecutive meaning); ***túnɗan*** 'since'.

ɗan 'as'

Ex 56.

ɗan	***dzàŋ***	***gíː***	***ɗan***	***ʤâk***	/	***tà***	***mán***	***ɗúːni***	***-íː***	/
like	day	DIST	REL2	jack	/	REM	come	here	-RES	/

ɗan	***mətájáː***	***kon***	***-án***	***mə***	***fuː***	***=tə***	/
as	1SG.PFV.REM	say	-PL2	1SG.AOR	tell	=3S.OBJ	/

raː	***ɗa***	***àː***	***mán***	***wum***	***=tə***	//
heart	as	3SG.PFV	come	feel	=3S.OBJ	//

Like that day as Jack came here, when I told him, then he became angry.
(SAY_BC_CONV_01_SP2_100-4)

kəndá 'then'

Ex 57.

XX	***tòː***	***á***	***man***	***-i***	/	***kəndá***	***mjə̌ː***	***tsə́tn***	***-ni***	***=kəní***	/
XX	well	3SG.AOR	come	-SPCF	/	then	1PL.IPFV	sit	-INCH	COP2	/

mə́	***fi***	***gjaː***	***ŋaː***	/	***kàlàːʧi***	//
1PL.AOR	do	PL3	small	/	breakfast	//

Well, she arrives / then we sit down we take a little breakfast (SAY_BC_CONV_02_SP1_030-3)

túnɗan 'since'

Ex 58.

túnɗan	***mə***	***ngúp***	***bàː***	***máː***	***ɬə***	***teː***	***ɗáni***	***háŋ***	***//***
since	1sg.aor	start	neg1	1sg.pfv	go	at	there	neg2	//

Since I was born, I have never been there. (SAY_BC_CONV_03_SP1_137)

16.5.2 Causality

The conjunctions are: ***dón***, ***sábòːtu*** 'because'; ***túndà*** / ***túnɗan*** 'since'. They are borrowed from Hausa and have undergone a degree of convergence with the stock *Zaar* conjunction ***ɗan*** and the complementizer ***tu***, i.e. Hausa ***tún dà*** > *Zaar* ***túnɗan***; Hausa ***sábòː dà*** > *Zaar* ***sábòːtu***.

sábò:tu 'because'

Ex 59.

jə̀ddà	***ɗan***	***mjá:***	***sú:***	/	***ngə́tn***	***-ês***	***=kəndí***	***sábò:tu***	/
how	REL2	1SG.IPFV	want	/	thing	-DEF	=COP2	because_of	/
bà:	***mjá:***	***sú:***	/	***mə̀***	***dingá***	***ɗu***	***-kə́nì***	***wurɓa***	//
NEG1	1SG.IPFV	want	/	1SG.SBJV	keep_on	kill	-NMLZ	money	//

That's what I want, because I don't want to waste money. (SAY_BC_CONV_03_SP1_078-81)

túndà 'since'

Ex 60.

tunda	***à:***	***da:gé***	***=káj***	/	***ɓas***	***=mə***	***káwêj***	/			
since	3SG.PFV	strive	=ANAPH	/	POS	=1SG.OBJ	merely	/			
tu	***ʧá:***	***sú:***	***=mí***	***-í:***	/	***ín***	***já:***	***fa:rá***	***-í:***	/	
OPN	3SG.PFV	love	=1PL.OBJ	-RES	/	if	3SG.COND	start	-RES	/	
tò:	***shi***	***ke***	***nan***	/	***ma***	***ɗjá:***	***ma***	***kap***	***=tə***	***-í:***	//
well	3.SG	be	there	/	1SG.FUT	be_able	1SG.FUT	take	=3S.OBJ	-RES	//

Since he is serious about me, saying that he loves me, well, < that's it >, I can marry him. (SAY_BC_CONV_01_SP2_275-81)

16.5.3 Purpose

Purpose is mainly expressed through an adverbial clause in the Subjunctive, without a conjunction.

Ex 61.

á	***wul***	***tu***	***tò:***	/	***fi***	***-ə́n***	***-ɗi***
3sg.aor	say	comp	well	/	do	-prox	-dir
ŋa:	***laplap***	/	***tə̀***	***mor***	***=tə***	/	
small	heavy	/	3sg.aor	please	=3s.obj	/	
tə̀	***jú#***	***##***	***júkn***	***vì:***	***-ês***	***-í:***	***ɓâ***	//
3sg.aor	fs	##	fill	mouth	-def	-res	indeed	//

he said, well, pour plenty [of honey] so that it should soothe him [and] f… fill his mouth. (SAY_BC_NARR_01_SP1_085-90)

The Subjunctive can be reinforced by borrowing the Hausa conjunction ***dón***:

Ex 62.

tò:	/	***ká***	***nger***	***=tə***	/	***dón***	***vòràŋ***	***-i***	/
well	/	2PL.FUT	cut	=3S.OBJ	/	because	blood	-INDF	/
tə̀	***na:***	***ɓas***	***=mə***	//					
3SG.SBV	remain	POS	=1SG.OBJ	//					

Well, kill it so that the blood will stay on me. (SAY_BC_NARR_02_SP1_105-8)

16.5.4 Condition

Depending on the context, conditional clauses in *Zaar* can have a conditional ('if…') or a temporal ('when…') meaning. They are characterized by a specific "conditional" TAM (glossed COND) appearing in the protasis.

TAM alone

Ex 63.

éj	/	***kjá:***	***mán***	/	***ká***	***mán***	***fi***	***ma:ndə***	/	***tə́***	***kúni***	***=âtn***	//
indeed	/	2SG.COND	come	/	2PL.FUT	come	do	fight	/	with	boy	=1SG.POS	//

Well if you come, you will fight with my boyfriend. (SAY_BC_CONV_01_SP1_071-4)

This Conditional TAM can be reinforced or replaced by the 3s PRO.IDP ***jâ:n*** used as a conjunction, or by the conjunction ***ín / ìdan*** borrowed from Hausa. The two conjunctions (***jân*** and ***ín/ìdan***) can be combined.

jân

Ex 64.

wéj	***á***	/	***áj***	***jâ:n***	***tá***	***fi***	***-ni***	***ma:ndə***	***tə́***	***kúni***	***=atn***	/	***ba***	***damuwa***	//
EVD	EH	/	indeed	if	3PL.FUT	do	-INCH	fight	with	boy	=1SG.POS	/	no	problem	//

I said, eh ... well, if he fights with my boy, < no problem >. (SAY_BC_CONV_01_SP1_076-8)

TAM + ***ín***

Ex 65.

ʧá:	***sú:***	/	***ín***	***já:***	***gamá***	***pé:pa***	***-í:***			
3SG.PFV	want	/	if	3SG.COND	finish	exam	-RES			
tə̀	***ɬə***	***tə́***	***pé:pa***	***mai***	***kjau***	/	***tə̀***	***ɬə***	***tu***	***gə̀t***	//
3SG.SBV	go	with	exam	with	good	/	3SG.SBV	go	get	wife	//

He wants, when he finishes the exams, (and) if he gets good results, to go and get a wife.
(SAY_BC_CONV_01_SP1_107-11)

ín* + *jâːn

Ex 66.

wéj	***állâː***	***tòː***	***/***	***ín***	***jâːn***	***nə***	***kúni***	***=ân***	***nda***
EVD	god	well	/	if	if	COP1	boy	=1SG.POS	enter
tá		***fi***	***maːndə***	***ʧím***	***=tə***	***ba***	***damuwa***		//
3PL.SBJ.FUT		do	fight	with	=3S.OBJ	no	problem		//

I said, in the name of God, if my boy comes and they fight, < no problem >.
(SAY_BC_CONV_01_SP1_090-2)

16.5.5 Hypothesis

Hypothesis, or counterfactual condition, is expressed in the protasis by a specific TAM, the Counterfactual (CTF). The protasis is preceded by the counterfactual conjunction ***dàː*** 'if' borrowed from Hausa:

Ex 67.

dàː	***mìː***	***ŋal***	***=tə***	***gjaː***	***ŋaː***	***gèri***	***-sə***	***mə́n***	***tá***
CONJ	1PL.CTF	look_for	=3S.OBJ	PL3	small	chicken	-PL	BEN	then
wò	***pol***	***=ʃí***	***=káj***	***mop***	***-oː***	//			
3SG.FUT	please	=3PL.OBJ	=ANAPH	surpass	-FCT	//			

If we had looked for some chickens for them, then they would have been most happy.
(SAY_BC_CONV_02_SP2_056)

Ex 68.

á	***ndará***	***/***	***dàː***	***kîː***	***laːtsə́***	***-ês***	***-íː***	***kàm***	***dón***	***/***
3SG.SBJ.AOR	be_proper	/	CTF	2SG.CTF	pass_by	-DEF	-RES	indeed	because	/

It would have been better if you had moved on indeed because […] (SAY_BC_CONV_03_SP2_104-5)

16.6 Relative clauses

The relativizer is ***ɗa/ɗan*** and its compounds: ***jóːɗan*** 'which'; ***gjóːɗa(n)***, '(the one) who'; ***jánda***, ***jáddijóːɗan*** 'the way in which'[28].

Ex 69.

dəˇːr	***ɗa***	***á***	***kat***	***/***	***kəkərʧi***	***kəkərʧi***	***kəkərʧi***	/	
lizard	REL1	3SG.AOR	drive_away	/	shuffle	shuffle	shuffle	/	
łə	***-ə́n***	***nda***	***-íː***	***gìr***	***ngála***	***ɗa***	***lâːr***	***-i***	***ɗaɗân***	***ndzwə̌ːt***	//
GO	-PROX	enter	-RES	hole	crab	at	river	-INDEF	again	quick	//

Lizard who was plodding along, shuffle shuffle shuffle, managed to slip into Crab's burrow.
(SAY_BC_NARR_01_SP1_285-7)

Ex 70.

tàː	***jel***	***łûː***	***-sə***	***/***	***ɗan***	***tàː***	***məˇːs***	***ɗaɗân***	/
3PL.PFV	see	meat	-PL	/	REL2	3PL.PFV	die\PLC	there	/
ɗa	***tàː***	***ras***	***ɗa***	***jâːł***	***-i***	*** //***			
REL1	3PL.PFV	rot	AT	earth	-INDF	//			

They saw the animals that had died there (and) that had been rotting on the ground.
(SAY_BC_NARR_02_SP1_318-21)

jóːɗan (PRO.REL)

Ex 71.

dúk	***ngɔ́tn***	***jóːɗan***	***jel***	***wò***	***fi***	***deːdéː***	***káwêj***	***/***	***tá***	***wò***	***fi***	//
all	thing	which	see	3SG.FUT	do	exact	merely	/	then	3SG.FUT	do	//

All the things that he thinks will be good for him, he will then do them. (SAY_BC_CONV_01_SP2_183-4)

gjóːɗan (PRO.REL)

Ex 72.

bàː	***ʧi***	***tə́***	***gjóːɗan***	***wò***	***teːmaké***	***=ʃí***	***hə́ŋ***	/
NEG1	3SG.SBJ.BE	with	those_who	3SG.FUT	help	=3PL.OBJ	NEG2	/

He doesn't have anyone who will help him. (SAY_BC_CONV_01_SP2_257)

jáddijóːɗan (ADV.REL)

Ex 73.

mjàː	***łə***	***-íː***	***má***	***łə***	***paŋ***	***má***	***jel***	***jáddijóːɗan***	***wò***	***ngap***	/
1PL.COND	go	-RES	1PL.FUT	go	inspect	1PL.FUT	see	how	3SG.FUT	hold	/

When we go, we will have a look and see how it turns out. (SAY_BC_CONV_01_SP2_062)

[28] Cf. § 8.7.4.

17 Information structure

17.1 Assertion and Question

Let us consider assertion as a general category divided into assertion on the one hand, corresponding to factual statements (both affirmative and negative) and nonassertion on the other, corresponding to virtual statements (question, condition). Factual and Virtual statements all follow the same syntactic pattern, with no specific auxiliary or word order assigned to either. The difference appears at the end of the utterance, either through intonation (rising contour for exclamation, falling contour for assertion and questions) or through negative and assertive particles appearing there.

17.1.1 Negation

The original *Zaar* negation is expressed through the particle ***hán*** (NEG2) added to the end of the utterance, though before sentence-final adverbs.

Ex 74.

tôː	***mə***	***jisə́ŋ***	***gə̀tn***	***hán***	***ɗan***	*//*
well	1SG.AOR	know	1SG.POS	NEG2	again	//

Well, I don't know. (SAY_BC_NARR_01_SP1_648)

Hausa negative particles have found their way into *Zaar*: ***bàː*** (NEG1) for all utterances and ***kát*** (NEG3 < Hausa ***káɗá***) for negative injunction.

Ex 75.

kát	***mə̀***	***naː***	***mə́n***	***ɗamtsə́***	***háŋ***	*//*
neg3	1pl.sbjv	become	people	selfishness	neg2	//

Let's not get selfish. (SAY_BC_NARR_02_SP1_472)

17.1.2 Assertive particles

The three assertive particles ***–oː*** / ***–aː*** / and ***–eː*** are optionally cliticized at the end of an utterance to emphasize certain types of assertion:

-oː (Factual, glossed FCT) is added at the end of factual statements (positive or negative assertions)

Ex 76.

á	***wul***	***tu***	***mjáːni***	*/*
3SG.AOR	say	COMP	1SG	/

bàː	***máː***	***jel***	***gə̀tn***	***ngə́tn***	***wón***	***hán***	***-oː***	*//*
NEG1	1SG.PFV	see	3SG.POS	thing	some	NEG2	-FCT	//

She said, as for me, I didn't see my own. (SAY_BC_NARR_01_SP1_662-3)

-aː (Virtual, glossed VRT) is added to Y/N questions and the apodoses of conditionals:

Ex 77.

á	***ɓán-íː***	***-aː***	*//*
3SG.AOR	finish-RES	-VRT	//

Is it finished? (SAY_BC_CONV_02_SP1_150)

Ex 78.

mə̀	***kap***	***ngas***	***-aː***	*/*	***à̀fóː***	*//*
1SG.SBJV	take	angas	-VRT	/	Afo	//

Shouldn't we marry Angas people, Afo? (SAY_BC_CONV_01_SP2_133-4)

-eː (Question, glossed Q) is added to WH-Questions.

The *Zaar* question words are: ***níː*** 'what?'; ***núː*** 'who?'; ***gjòː*** 'which one?'; ***wuriː*** 'how?'; ***dzàngjóː*** 'when?' (lit. 'which day?'); ***ɗôː*** 'where?'; ***ná nî***: 'why ?'

Ex 79.

tá	***níː***	***tu=kə***	***á***	***dàtə̂pm***	***-eː***	*//*
then	what	meet=2SG.OBJ	at	way	-Q	//

Then, what happened to you on the road? (SAY_BC_CONV_03_SP2_209)

Ex 80.

nə	***níː***	*/*	***á***	***zupm***	***=mə***	***mə́n***	*/*	***á***	***gamkên***	***-íː***	***-eː***	*//*
COP1	what	/	3SG.AOR	squat	=1SG.OBJ	BEN	/	at	forehead	-RES	-Q	//

What is it that landed on my forehead here? (SAY_BC_NARR_02_SP1_173)

Ex 81.

ɗangəní	***-ə́n***	*/*	***tá***	***fi***	***wuriː***	*/*	***tá***	***ʧi***	***ɬûː***	***-ə́n***	***-eː***	*//*
now	-PROX	/	3PL.FUT	do	how	/	3PL.FUT	eat	meat	-PROX	-Q	//

Now, how will they eat that meat? (SAY_BC_NARR_02_SP1_338-40)

17.2 Topicalization

As can be expected of oral corpora, topicalization is very common in our *Zaar* data.
The universal order "Topic – Comment" prevails, with topics often ending in topicalizing particles borrowed from Hausa: ***má:*** 'too'; ***kúmá*** 'as well'; ***fá:*** 'indeed', etc.

Ex 82.

nàmbóŋ=wôpm	***kúmá***	***à:***	***məfí:***	***ɗa***	***ɗú:ni***	/
one=1PL.POS	too	3SG.PFV	die-DEF	at	here	/

And one of us died here. (SAY_BC_NARR_02_SP1_342)

Adverbials can be left-dislocated, as part of the preamble of the utterance, e.g. ***kó:dzàngjó:*** 'every day, any day' in (80), with ***kúmá*** as a TOP particle:

Ex 83.

kə́	***jisə́n***	***la:=kə́***	***sə̀já:sa***	***kúmá***	/
2PL.SBJ.AOR	know	work=POS	politics	too	/
kó:dzàngjó:	***ŋ̀kə́***	***dàtôpm***	//		
every day	3PL.SBJ.CONT	way	//		

You know the work of politics too, every day they are on the road. (SAY_BC_CONV_03_SP2_139-40)

17.3 Focus

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

Ex 84.

nə	***mjà:ní***	***ɗan***	***à:***	***kon***	***sə̂m=wôpm-í:-o:***
COP1	1PL	REL2	3SG.PFV	say	name=1PL.POS-DEF-FCT

We are the ones whose name he called. (SAY_BC_CONV_02_SP2_221)

18 Intonation

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

(a) Declination;
(b) Intonemes, which are divided into:
- Initial intonemes: Setp-down (!) and Step-up (¡).
- Final intonemes: Fall, (↓), Rise (↑), Level (→) and High-Rise (↑↑).

18.1 Declination

For both tone and non-tone languages, declination has been presented as a universal tendency due to physiological constraints[29], linked to the energy used to expel pulmonic air through the vocal organs. This creates the background for a "neutral" intonation against which variations of pitch by the speaker can be interpreted as meaningful patterns of deviations.
This is noticeable sp. in High tones. The highest tone in an IU is the first High tone of this unit. Each following High tone is pronounced lower than the preceding one. In example (85), the first three High tones read at 251 (*á*), 249 (*mí*) and 243 (*ŋá:*) respetively, with the last High tone of the utterance (*lí*) reading at 172. The same declination is observed in the final Low tones reading at 175 (*mə̀*) and 169 (*jè*).

[29] The phenomenon of declination has to be distinguished from downstep. Downstep occurs in some tone languages and is set off by a succession of High and Low tones. It results in the automatic lowering of a High tone following a Low tone. As a consequence, in a succession of High-Low-High tones, the second High is pronounced with a lower pitch than the first one, resulting in what has been called terraced-level tone languages (Clements 1979). On the other hand, declination is a gradual, progressive lowering of F_0 occurring over an utterance, whatever the succession of tones, and can be observed even in utterances with both all-High or all-Low tones. As stated by (Ladd 1996), "(…) F_0 tends to decline over the course of phrases and utterances, both in tone languages and in languages like English or Dutch." (p. 73ff.) , and "[...] even when nothing is 'happening' phonologically in the contour, F_0 continues to go down slightly [...]" (p. 18)

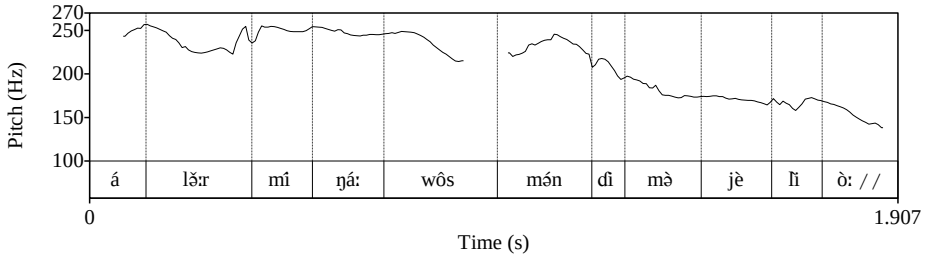
Utterance-final Falls are added to declination, e.g. the lexically Mid tone of the last syllable of the paratone (*oː*) which bears the utterance-final Fall from 161 (lower than the preceding Low tone) to 140 Hz.[30]

Ex 85.

á	***láːr***	***=mí***	***ŋáː***	***=wôs***
3SG.AOR.SBJ	bring	=1PL.OBJ	son	=3SG.POS

mán	***-dì***	***mà***	***jel***	***-i***	***-oː***
BEN	-DIR	1PL.AOR.SBJ	see	-SPCF	FCT

He has brought his son for us to see. (SAY_BC_CONV_02_SP2_029)

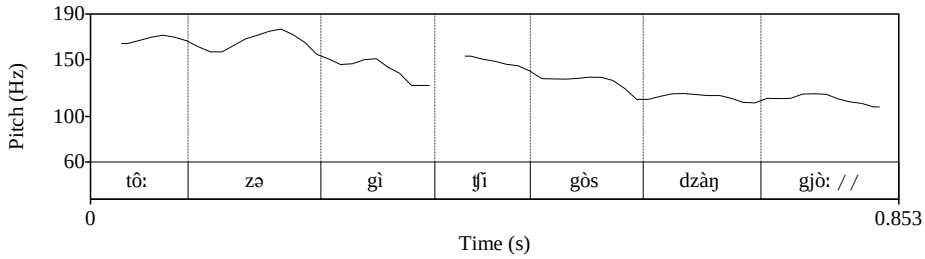


This is representative of the canonical declarative intonation of Zaar. The same intonation pattern is found in WH-Questions, as in example (86):

Ex 86.

tòː	***zəgì***	***ʧì***	***gòs***	***dzàn***	***gjòː***	***//***
well	Ziggy	3SG.SBJ.be	3SG.POS	day	which	//

Well, Ziggy, his own, which day (was it)? (SAY_BC_CONV_03_SP1_703)



To compensate for declination, each IU starts with an initial pitch reset, also called 'declination reset' (Ladd 1996:2792.2)

Apart from those exceptions, declination helps identify the limit of speech units through pitch reset. Against this general background, intonemes operate both at the initial of IUs (affecting the whole of the unit) and at the end of paratones, in what Bearth (1998) calls 'peripheral intonation'.

18.2 Intonemes

18.2.1 Initial: step-up and step-down

Initial lowering (Step-down, noted !) or raising (Step-up, noted ¡) consist in a noticeable change in the register of an intonation unit compared to the preceding one. This initial pitch adjustment creates a break in the gradual lowering of the pitch induced by declination. Both Step-up and Step-down are associated with specific functions: Step-up is associated with topicalisation, emphasis of adverbials and emotional statements. Step-down is associated with parenthesis and comments following a (stepped-up) topic.

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

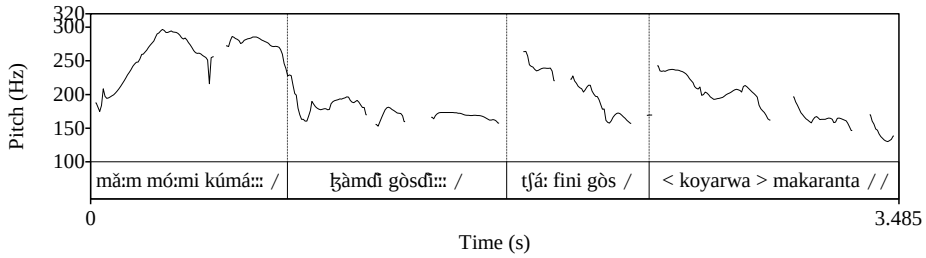
Ex 87.

maːm	***ká***	***móːmi***	***kúmá***	***-ːːː***	***/***	***ɮam***	***-dì***	***gòs***	***-dì***	***-ːːː***	***/***
mum	POSL	Momi	also	-LENGTH	/	return	-CTP	3SG.POS	-CTP	-LENGTH	/

[30] This final lowering explains why the assertive particle *oː* has been transcribed with a Low tone by the language assistant.

ʧáː	***fi***	***-ni***	***gòs***	***/***	***<***	***koyarwa***	***makaranta***	***>***	***//***
3SG.IPFV	do	-INCH	3SG.POS	/	<	teaching	school	>	//

As for Momi's mum, the place where she goes, what she does, is to teach children in school. (SAY_BC_CONV_02_SP1_023-26)



18.2.2 Final intonemes

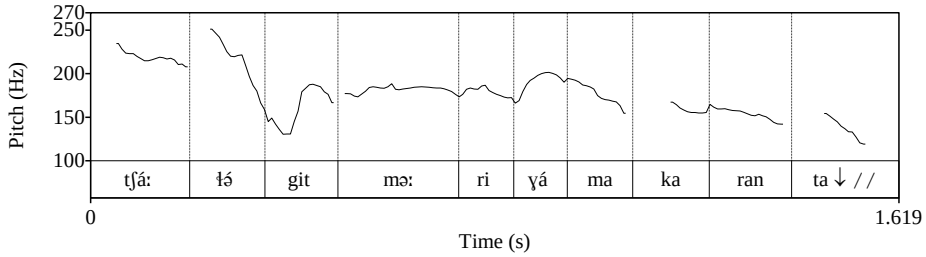
These terminal intonemes are the Fall, the Rise, the Level, and the High Rise.

The **final Fall** (transcribed with the sign "↓" in the annotation) consists in a distinctive lowering of the pitch at the end of the paratone. It characterises canonical assertions and Wh-questions. In Zaar, contrary to what avails e.g. in French and other Afro-Asiatic languages e.g. Hausa (Newman 2000: 613) and Bole (Schuh, Gimba & Ritchart 2012:236), it is found at the end of Y/N-Questions as well.

Ex 88.

ʧáː	***ɬə***	***git***	***məːri***	***ká***	***makaranta***	***//***
3SG.IPFV	go	show	children	at	school	//

She goes to teach children in the school. (SAY_BC_CONV_02_SP1_028)

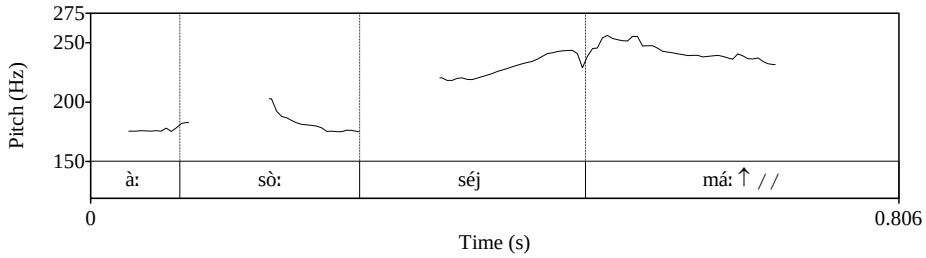


The **final Rise** (transcribed ↑) is mostly associated with exclamation, such as can be seen on example (89) and here in example (11), where the final high tone on *máː* is measured at 255,5 Hz while the second syllable of *soːséj*, the paratone nucleus, peaks 12 Hz below at 243,6 Hz only:

Ex 89.

àː	***sòːséj***	***máː***	***//***
ah	quite	even	//

Ah quite so !

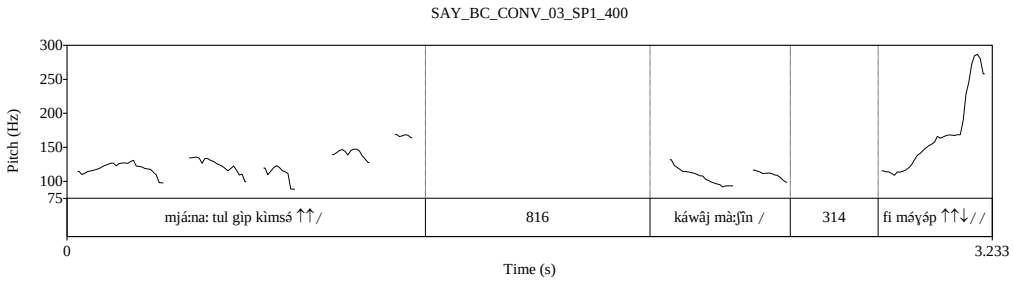


The **Level intoneme** (transcribed →) cancels declination. It is often associated with lengthening and induces the only (rare) cases of plateau realization of flat tones. This intoneme can be observed twice in example (4), at the end of the first two IU's. The intonation of this example can now be transcribed as follows: *măːm móːmi kúmáːːː →/ !ɮàmdî gòsdîːːː →/ ʧáː fini gòs / < koyarwa > makaranta ↓//*. As is the case here with the first two IU's, the Level intoneme often identifies the limit and relationship between a topic and a comment. It is also associated with hesitation, e.g. in example (87).

The **High Rise** (transcribed ↑↑) is characterised by a sharp rise of F_0 to a level beyond the speaker's usual range of high tones. It is associated with e.g. emphasis on negation, ideophones and assertion particles. It can be followed by a Fall when occurring at the end of a paratone. In Example (90), we have two occurrences of this intoneme. The first High Rise occurs at the end of an intonation unit, but paratone-internally. It is borne by the last syllable of the word *kìmsə́*. The second High Rise occurs at the end of the paratone, and is followed by a Fall.

Ex 90. ***mjá:na: tul gìp kì =mə -sə /***
1SG.CONC arrive inside 2PL.SBJ =1SG.OBJ -PL /

káwâj mà:ʃîn / fi mə́kə́p //
merely motorbike / do stop //
[...] we had just entered Kimseh when the motorcycle stopped. (SAY_BC_CONV_03_SP1_400-4)



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

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