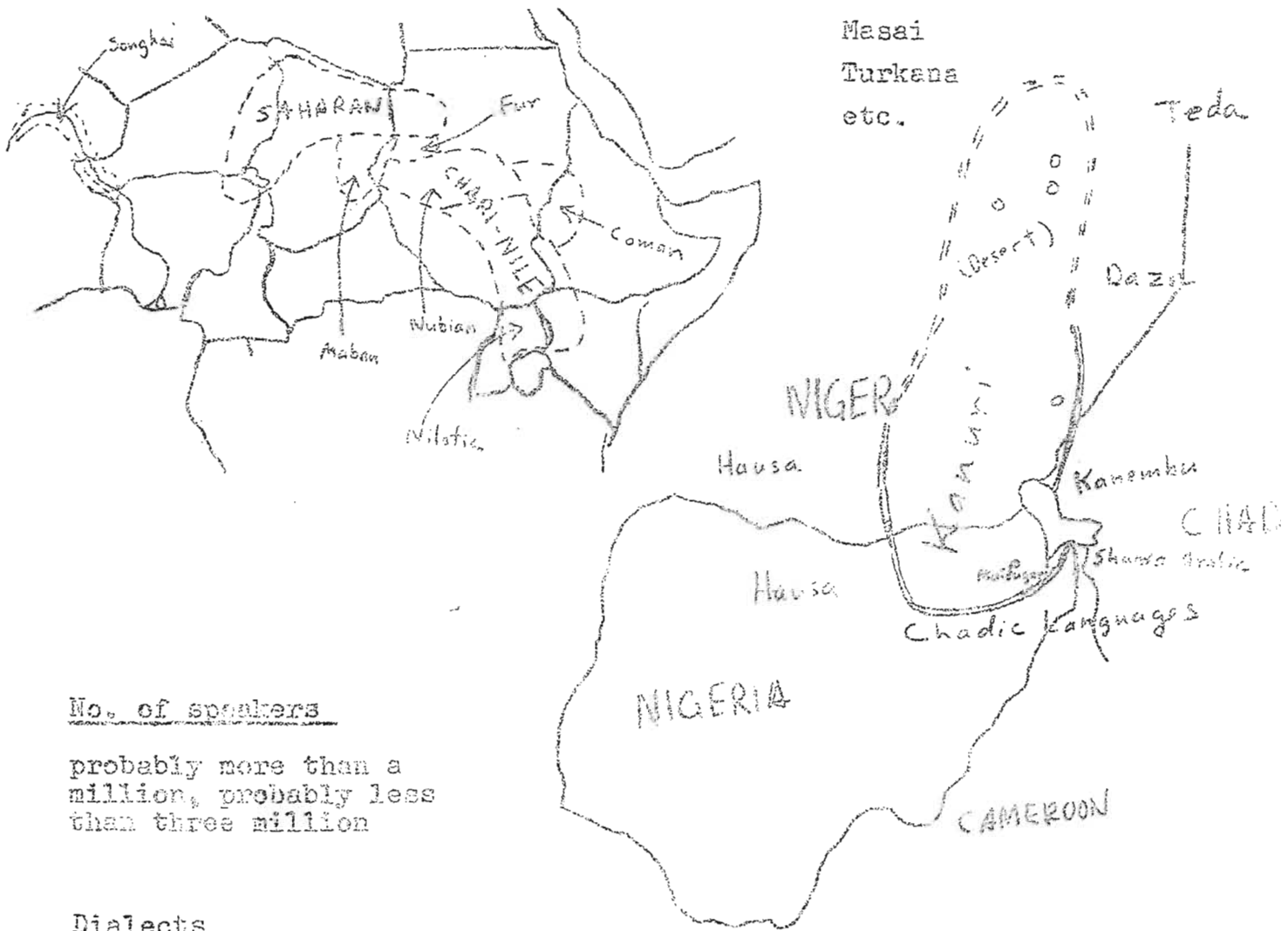
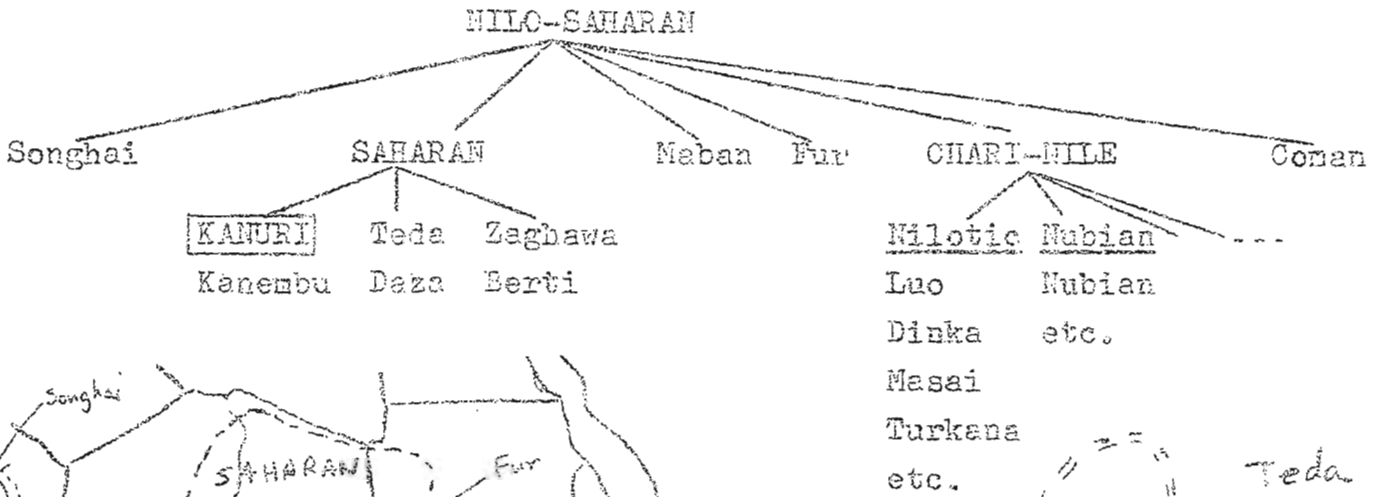


# KANURI STRUCTURE

prepared by Russell G. Schuh

## Classification and Location



### No. of speakers

probably more than a million, probably less than three million

### Dialects

several mutually intelligible dialects; data here are from the Yarwa dialect ("Standard Kanuri"), spoken in the area of Maiduguri, and the Manga dialect spoken in the southwestern part of the area shown on the map

Literature

Study of Kanuri dates from the mid-nineteenth century (see Koelle 1854). A few primers and other books were published in the 1930's, and re-institution of Nigerian languages as a medium of instruction in the schools has seen a resurgence of interest in publications in Kanuri. The main references on Kanuri and closely related languages are given here:

KANURI

- Benton, P.A. 1968. The Languages and Peoples of Bornu, 2 vol., with an introduction by A.H.M. Kirk-Greene. London. [Reprint of Kanuri Readings [1911], and Primer of Kanuri Grammar [1917].]
- Cyffer, N. 1973. Syntax des Kanuri. Hamburger Philologische Studien, 35. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Ellison, R.E. 1937. An English-Kanuri Sentence Book. London.
- Hutchison, J.P. n.d. unpublished draft of a dissertation on Kanuri syntax.
- Koelle, S.W. 1854a. Grammar of the Bornu or Kanuri Language. London.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1854b. African Native Literature, or Proverbs, Tales, Fables, and Historical Fragments in the Kanuri or Bornu Language. London.
- Lukas, J. 1937. A Study of the Kanuri Language. London: OUP. [Reprinted 1967 by Dawsons.]
- Noël, P. 1923. Petit Manuel français-kanuri. Paris.
- Schubert, K. 1972. Zur Bedeutung und Anwendung der Verbalparadigmen in Hausa und Kanuri. Afrika und Übersee, 55:1-49, 208-227, 267-300; 56:90-118.
- Schuh, R.G. n.d. field notes on the Manga dialect of Kanuri.

KANEMBU

- Hutchison, J.P. date? Kanembu manual, published by the Peace Corps.
- \_\_\_\_\_. n.d. unpublished French-Kanembu lexicon.
- Lukas, J. Die Sprache der Káidi-Kanembú in Kanem.

TEDA, DAZA

- Le Coeur, C. 1950. Dictionnaire ethnographique téda. Mémoires de l'IFAN, No. 9. Paris: Larose.

Le Coeur, C. and M. 1955. Grammaire et textes Teda-Daza. Mémoires de l'IFAN, No. 46, Dakar: IFAN.

Lukas, J. 1953. Die Sprache der Tubu in der zentralen Sudan. Berlin.

Phonology

Segments given in practical orthography with phonetic realization where appropriate.

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	laryngeal
stop		t	c [č]	k	
	b	d	j [j]	g	
prenas.	mb	nd	nj	ŋg	
fricative	f [ɸ]	s	sh [š]		h
		z			
nasal	m	n		(see notes)	
liquids		r			
		l			
semi-V	w		y	(w)	

- Notes: (1) f has the allophones [p] /\_\_\_c, [ɸ] elsewhere.
- (2) The prenasals are untiis only word initial. Medially, a written sequence of nasal + obstruent is always syllabified after the nasal.
- (3) l has two allophones, a flapped lateral [ɺ] occurring almost exclusively in the env. \_\_\_i, and a normal l elsewhere.
- (4) In the Yarwa dialect, there is an intervocalic n. It is not included as a phoneme because it appears only as a realization of the first person singular morpheme in certain verb aspects (lé-nin 'I will go' < \*lé-náskin). Other dialects have no intervocalic n at all (cf. Manga dialect lé-kki 'I will go').

- (5) The semi-vowel w is in a morphophonemic relationship with both labials and velars.

Principal Consonant alternations

(from Manga dialect--other dialects have rules of the same type, with some minor differences)

Intervocalic weakening of stops

			<u>2nd sg. fut.</u>	<u>3rd sg. fut.</u>	
f →	β often → w	}	'comb'	fəð-əm-i	cə-βəð-i
b →			'mount'	bə-m-i	jə-βā-i
t →	ð often → z	}	'catch'	tá-m-i	cə-ðā-i
c →			j often → y	(*dáci 'that's all' > dájí > dáyí)	
k →	γ usu. → ∅	}	'bring'	kúð-əm-i	cú-úð-i
g →			'scratch'	gám-əm-i	jə-(γ)ám-i
NB: <u>d</u> does not alternate			'sew'	dúð-əm-i	cú-dúð-i

(i) Assimilation of stops to nasals<sup>1</sup>

p →	m	}	/___n
t →	d		
k →	n		

(ii) Progressive nasal assimilation (exs. in 2nd sg. future)

n →	{	m /m	'gather'	/cáp-nè-mí/ (i) >	cám-nè-mí (ii)	[cámmóní]	
		d /d	'squeeze'	/njét-nè-mí/ (i) >	njéd-nè-mí (ii)	[njéddómí]	
		s /s	'rest'	/tús-nè-mí/		(ii)	[tússéni]
		g /n	'beat'	/bák-nè-mí/ (i) >	bán-nè-mí (ii)	[bángóní]	

There are also a number of other assimilation rules not mentioned here.

<sup>1</sup>The only place where the environment of this rule is met is in the case of verb root final consonants before a verb suffix -né-. There is no voiced/voiceless contrast in root final obstruents.



Verb agreements: Subject agreement obligatory  
 Object (IO and DO) agreement optional for  
 1st and 2nd persons

Note: Examples marked (M) are from the Manga dialect and are drawn from my own field notes. Those marked (YQ), (YL), and (YH) are from the Yarwa dialect, or "Standard Kanuri" as spoken around Maiduguri. (YL) examples are from Lukas (1937), (YQ) examples are from Cyffer (1973), and (YH) examples are from Hutchison (n.d.). There are no significant differences in the syntax of the Manga and Yarwa dialects.

Simple Verbal Sentences

Subject, if expressed by overt noun or pronoun, is always first. Order of other NP's seems to be fairly free, though DO and IO tend to precede others.

- Subject only: (1)(M) lè-kk-ěná "I went"  
 go I perf.
- (2)(M) tááà lè-jé-nà 'the boy went'  
 boy go he perf.
- (Subject), (3a)(YQ) kámá-nzé-gà bógógòndò 'he called his wife'  
 Object: wife his d.o. he-called
- cf. (3b) kámá-nzé bógógòndò 'his wife called'  
 wife his he/she-called or 'he called his wife'
- (4)(YQ) ám ngébu-yè shí-gà sórúnà 'many people  
 people many sub.him d.o. they-saw saw him'  
 "shí"
- (5a)(M) w-à tá- m- ná } 'you caught me'  
 me d.o.catch you perf.
- = (5b) (w-à) sé-ǎá- m- ná }  
 me catch you perf.
- (6a)(M) nándí-yá tá- vyá-nà } 'we caught you (pl.)'  
 you d.o.catch we perf.
- = (6b) (nándí-yá) njá-ǎa- vyá-nà }  
 you catch we perf.

(Subject), (DO), (Indirect O.):	(7)(CY) <u>kákkádè Áudù-rò cínà</u> book A. dat. he-gave	'he gave Audu a book'
	(8)(M) <u>kúsóttò-rò màiri fèlékkénà</u> visitor dat. palace I-showed	'I showed the visitor the palace'
	(9)(CY) <u>Módu Búkòr-rò kákkádè cínà</u> M. B. dat. book he-gave	'Modu gave Bukor a book'
Instrument and DO:	(10)(CY) <u>kúnnénà-làn àbísó yíbùmin</u> money inst. everyt. you-buy	'you buy everything with money'
DO and Locative:	(11)(M) <u>cídà kàràà-n díwá</u> work bush loc. you-did	'you (pl.) did work in the bush'
Subject and Loc.:	(12)(YC) <u>âmsò kàràgà-mbên lèzánà</u> people bush loc. they-went	'some people have gone through the bush'
Subject and Comitative:	(13)(M) <u>nái yállá-njú-wá cúlúnà</u> chief fol. his com. he-exit	'the chief has come out with his followers'
Subj., Comitat., Loc. goal:	(14)(M) <u>málèm fùràá-à kúlà-rò lèyáà</u> teacher K. stud. com. farm goal they-went	'The teacher went to his farm with the Koranic students'
Dative and Locative goal:	(15)(YC) <u>wá-rò Bàná-rò léné</u> me dat. B. goal go!	'go to Bana for me!'

Non-verbal Sentences

NB: The subject case marker -yè is not possible in non-verbal sentences.

Equational:	(16)(M) <u>sí málèm</u> he teacher	'he is a teacher'
	(17)(M) <u>Áli kúblémà</u>	'Ali is a blacksmith'
	(17')(M) <u>fè indí kàyè</u> cow two mine	'the two cows are mine'
Adjectival:	(18)(YC) <u>fátò-tó kùrà</u> house def. big	'the house is big'
Locative:	(19)(YC) <u>Módu Kánò-làn</u> M. K. loc.	'Modu is in Kano'

'Have' sentences are generally expressed by what Lukas (1937:22), Cyffer (1973:32), and Hutchison (n.d.:6) call "derived adjectives". These are noun phrases with a suffixed -wà, -à, or -Cà (shape depends on preceding consonant). This suffix is nothing more than the comitative case suffix and such sentences are essentially of the form 'X (is) with-Y (i.e. 'X has Y'). If the semantic subject is a pronoun, a common way to express 'have' is a sentence of the form 'X-his-wa' (i.e. 'he has X'). Here perhaps the comitative marker is best translated 'there exists' (i.e. 'there exists his X'). A final variant for either noun or pronoun subject is to have the subject at the beginning of the sentence but to have the corresponding possessive pronoun on the possessed thing as well. I suggest that in these cases, the semantic subject is topicalized and the pronoun is a copy of it. This would therefore be a sentence with the structure of the second type.

'have' (Comitative predicate):	(20a)(YH)	<u>wú kènâ-à</u> I hunger-com.	'I'm hungry' (I (am) with-hunger)
	(20b)(YH)	<u>kènâ-nyî-à</u> hunger my com.	'I'm hungry' (there is my hunger)
	(20c)(YH)	<u>wú kènâ- nyî-à</u> I hunger my com.	'I'm hungry' (as for) me there's my hunger)
	(21a)(YH)	<u>kâm ádè bábúr-rà</u> man this m.c. com.	'this man has a motorcycle'
	(21b)(YH)	<u>bábúr-nzè-à</u> m.c. his com.	'he has a motorcycle'
	(21c)(YH)	<u>kâm ádè bábúr-nzè-à</u> man this m.c. his com.	'this man has a motorcycle'
Comparative: <sup>1</sup>	(22)(YC)	<u>dǎlá-tǎ kǎrí-rò dǎi gò</u> jackal def. dog dat. fast "be"	'the jackal is faster than the dog'

<sup>1</sup>Comparative sentences require the sentence final morpheme gò, called the "copula" by Lukas and Cyffer. This morpheme is elsewhere used only in non-verbal sentences with some focussed element (see below). Comparatives can also be expressed verbally using the verb 'surpass'.

Deictic sentences

For pronoun complements, all but first singular use bound pronouns (those used as possessive pronouns).

- (23)(M) úngò 'here it is'  
úngò wú 'here I am'  
úngò-njá 'here they are'  
úngò sɛnɔc-ní 'here is my shoe' (compare suffixed pronoun here with 2nd ex.)

- (24)(M) ákò 'here it is'  
ákò-njá 'here they are'

(The meaning difference between phrases like those in (23) and those in (24), if any, was not clear.)

- (25)(M) tǎwò-njá 'there he is'  
tǎwò kálímò 'there's a camel'

Existential sentences

Affirmative existential sentences use a sentence final word which historically is a verb, no longer in productive use. In Yarwa dialect the only forms used are singular mbéjǐ, plural mbézǎi, which are formally 3rd person sg. and 3rd person pl. verbs in the Predicative aspect (an aspect generally used to put the action of the verb in focus). The "singular" form can now be used even when referring to plurals. In Manga, the same two forms are used in the same way, but Manga also utilizes this obsolescent verb in the Perfect aspect (a more "neutral" form than the Predicative) and can even use it in other than third person. Manga frequently uses a variant of the root mé- instead of mbé-.

- (26)(M) bùni-á mbéjǎi/mbéjǐ 'there are fishes'  
 fish pl. pl. / sg.
- (27)(M) ngí mbéjónà/mbéjǐ 'there is water'  
 water perf. / predic.
- (28)(M) mékkɛnà (perfect form) 'there is me', 'I'm here'  
ménɛmmà ( " " ) 'there is you', 'you're here'

Noun Phrase Structure

Noun phrases can be schematized as follows (schema adapted from Cyffer (1973:43) with some simplification):

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
Head N	+ Poss. Fron.	+ $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Indef.} \\ \text{Adj.} \\ \text{Quant.} \\ \text{NP-be} \end{array} \right\}$	+ Rel.Cl.	+ Def. Det.	+ Case suffix

- Notes: (1) Any of the items (b)-(f) must be ordered as given. The order of items in (c) is relatively free.
- (2) N-be is a NP in genitive relation to (a). (In most environments the b of the genitive case suffix -be has weakened to y.)

- (M) fê-ní 'my cow'
- (M) fê mái-yè 'the chief's cow'

- (3) The case suffix (f) is the suffix determined by the function of the NP in the whole sentence. It is thus really a postposition governing a whole NP rather than an inflectional suffix of the type commonly found in European languages.

(29a)(M) cí búji-làn jàngékkénà 'I covered the door with a mat'

door mat inst. I-covered

(29b)(M) cí búji-ní-làn jàngékkénà 'I covered the door with my mat'

by

(29c)(M) cí búji kámú-yé- n jàngékkénà 'I covered the door with a woman's mat'

woman gen. inst.

(29d)(M) cí búji kámú-ní-yè-n jàngékkénà 'I covered the door with my wife's mat'

(30)(YC) kúlgú { gádé sháuwà } átè yíbúskénà 'I bought this other beautiful gown'

gown { sháuwà 'beaut.' } this I-bought

{ gádé 'other' (indef.) }

(31)(YC) ám { Kánò-bè yàské } rúskénà 'I saw two people from Kano'

people { yàské 'three' } I-saw

{ Kánò-bè 'K.-gen.' }

Relative clause structure

- (1) There is no relative pronoun or other marker of a relative clause.
- (2) Except for subject relatives, a pronoun copy of the antecedent (bearing the appropriate case postposition) may appear within the clause. This seems to be optional for all functions, however, total deletion always being possible.
- (3) Only two affirmative verb aspects appear in relative clauses (at least normal restrictive relatives): Perfect, indicating completed action, and Imperfect, indicating incomplete action. This is in contrast to main clauses, where six or eight aspects occur.

Subject relative

- (32)(YC) kámú kúrà bérí déjín- tó tātá-nzó bógójín  
 woman big food she-cooks def. chil.her she-calls  
 'the big woman who is cooking food is calling her child'
- (33)(YL) zaurò ágò-á líjín-sò-rò banná ngóvú sááín  
 indeed thing-pl. grow-pl.-dat.harm much they-do  
 'they do a lot of harm to things that grow'

Object relative

- (34)(YH) bano bika iwékéna- de- lan kulo-nyi sama barenin  
 hoe yes. I-bought def. inst.farm-my all I-will hoe  
 'I will hoe my whole farm with the hoe that I bought yesterday'
- (35)(YH) kámú (shí-yà) kású-làn lèfányéna- dó fân- ndè-rè ísènyi  
 woman her-d.o. mark. loc. we-greeted def. house our goal she-not-  
 'the woman whom we greeted in the marked did not come to come  
 our house'

Dative relative

- (36)(M) kám làwâr wúlékkéna-áí kám máí- yè  
 man news I-told def.man chief-gen.  
 'the man to whom I told the news is a follower of the chief'
- (37)(YH) kan kerma-na shi-ro kasuu-lan manaekena-de-(ya) ngaitena  
 man new-emph. him-dat. mark.-loc. I-speak def.-d.o. never  
rukenyi  
 I-not see in the market  
 'I had never seen the man to whom I just spoke  
 I-not see in the market'

Instrumental relative

(38)(M) béè kèská cállékkénná-ǝi sáillénná  
 axe wood I-chopped def. it-unhafted  
 'the axe with which I chopped wood became unhafted'

(39)(YH) ade bano shi-lau kulo-nyi samma baronona-de  
 this hoe it inst. farm by all I-hoed def.

See page 12a

Verb Morphology

Verb categories - Verbs are of two types, with the following designations from Lukas (1937):

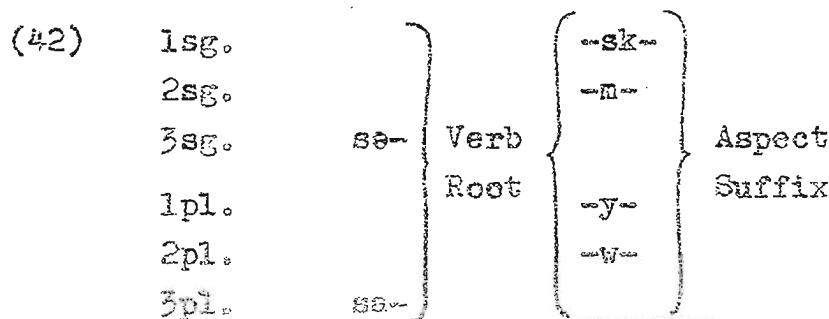
-skin verbs                      -nin verbs

These terms simply refer to the form of the suffix added to the verb root to mark first person singular imperfect, e.g. ǝi-skin 'I will do' (a -skin verb) and lé-nin 'I will go' (a -nin verb).

From a historical point of view, there is a "simple class" (the -skin verbs), and a "compound class" (the -nin verbs). The latter verbs are composed of a meaning bearing stem plus suffixes which are reflexes of a verb reconstructable as \*ne-skin (< nin in the modern Yarwa dialect) 'say, think', which is itself a -skin verb. This means of verb formation is very productive, and any stem which could have some reasonable verbal meaning can potentially be made into a -nin verb. Ennawá's Reflexes of the verb \*ne-skin is still in use as an independent verb, but it is highly defective, had been deformed through sound change, and in most uses functions more as a grammatical morpheme than a verb with an independent meaning. To get an idea of the deformations involved, compare the following three forms in the Sequential aspect (Lukas' Conjunctive, Cyffer's Konsekutiv):

(41)	<u>Yarwa (L)</u>	<u>Manga</u>		<u>Yarwa (C)</u>	<u>Manga</u>	
	ngè	ikkè	'I said'	lè-ngè	lè-ikkè	'I went'
	nèm	inè	'you said'	lè-nèm	lè-némè	'you went'
	sè	cinè	'he said'	lè-zè	lè-jè	'he went'

The form of simple verbs inflected for person and aspect is schematized as follows for the Yarwa dialect:



Go to page 13

Conjunction'and' conjunction

Noun phrases are conjoined by putting the comitative postposition -wà (> -à) after each conjunct (cf. comitative phrases such as in (13)-(14) and 'have' sentences as in (20)-(21) where only the comitative NP itself has the postposition). No other types of constituent can be conjoined in this way, which means there are no sentences corresponding to 'they sell fish in the store and on the wharf'.

- (37')(CY) kàsúgù-lèn kúlú-à bòrkó-à káibùskò 'I bought a gown and  
market loc. gown and blank. and I-bought market in the  
'I bought a gown and a blanket in the market'
- (40')(M) Áli-à Ábdù-à- rò sèlè indí indí biyáákí  
A. and A. and dat. shil. two two I-paid  
'I/ Ali and Abdu tw shillings each'  
will pay

No conjunction is required with sentences. Sentences can, however, be "'and' conjoined" by the correlatives ...yé ...yé.

- (41')(YC) kám tútù mbál sá wú Królà-à Fántà-à yáskè  
man that beer he-drank I Cola and Fanta and I-drank  
'that man drank beer (and/but) I drank Cola and Fanta'
- (42')(YL) sàndiyè zâuro shí-gâ zâgânâ-yé àvisó káikál- rò sàdín  
they well him d.o. they-obsyed-and everything correct-ly they-  
do

'or' and 'but' Conjunction

These are prefixed to the phrase or clause they govern. They appear only before that clause, not before the initial clause. There are several similar morphemes not illustrated here, all showing the same behavior.

- (43')(YC) Módúté tátà-nzè wá fèrò-nzè kàsúgù-rò sùnbótò?  
M. son his or dau. his market goal he-sent  
'did Modu send his son or his daughter to the market?'
- (44')(YC) kàrgé bá râ lèzèná? 'did he stay or has he gone?'  
he-stayed inter. or he-has gone  
part.
- (45')(YC) kákkádè átè kérmá tēlādēnyí àmmá báli kàsúgù-rò iskiyà tátēlācō  
book this now it-has-not but tom. market gal if-I-go it-will  
been sold have  
been sold  
'this book has not yet been sold, but if I go to the market tomorrow it will have been sold'

This is the conjugational pattern for -skin verbs. Since verbs are essentially stems with conjugated forms of the -skin verb \*ne-skin suffixed to them, -nin verbs can be incorporated into the schem of (42) by adding the stem to the left and supplying the appropriate reflex of \*ne- for Verb Root.

Within each of the major divisions, -skin and -nin, there are numerous sub-categories depending on tone, final root segment, and certain other factors. Lukas (1937) and Cyffer (1973) go into considerable detail on these classes.

Aspects - The fullest discussion of the semantics and syntax of the verb aspects is Schubert (1972). Both Lukas (1937) and Cyffer (1973) cover the formal details. The following is meant simply to give an idea of formal differences between aspects. Following Schubert and Cyffer, I have arranged them according to Completive Aspects (vollendeten Modi), Incompletive Aspects (unvollendeten Modi), and Aspectless (Moduslos).<sup>1</sup> For each aspect, examples are given of the verbs di-skin 'do' and le-nin 'go' in the first and third persons singular (Yarwa examples are from Cyffer).

#### Completive Aspects

Perfect: Syntactically "neutral" form for expressing completed action. Occurs to the exclusion of other affirmative completive aspects in various types of subordinate clauses (but cf. functions of the next three aspects).

	<u>Yarwa</u>	<u>Manga</u>	<u>Yarwa</u>	<u>Manga</u>
(43)	di-sk-éná	di-kk-éná	le-n-éná	le-kk-éná
	sè-d-éná	cè-d-éná	le-z-éná	le-j-éná

Emphatic (Luka's Predicative): Seems to put contrastive emphasis on the action of the verb. This aspect cannot be used if some other constituent is focussed (cf. Cyffer 1973:94). This aspect is rarely, if ever, used in the type of Manga I worked on.

(44)	di-sk-i	le-ng-i
	sè-d-i	le-j-i

Past (Schubert's and Cyffer's Historicus): Refers to a past even without relevance to the present. It is the completive aspect used in narratives (seems to contrast with the Perfect much in the same way English past contrasts with English present perfect).

(45)	ci-dé-sk-ò	ki-dú-kkò	le-gó-sk-ò	le-yá-kk-ò
	sè-d-ò	ki-dé-n-ò	le-gó-n-ò	le-yá-n-ò

<sup>1</sup>Lukas and Cyffer recognize a Dependent Past (Abhängiger Historicus) and a Dependent Future (Abhängiges Imperfect) as separate aspects. Historically, at least, these are nothing more than the Past and the Imperfect respectively used in certain types of adverbial clauses with clause final postpositions. I therefore do not include them among the basic aspects.





Noun Derivation

Derivational affixes can be divided into prefixes and suffixes. Only representatives of each are given. It should be noted that the suffixes are more numerous and more productive.

Suffixes: Agentive -ma (tone is high after a noun ending in low, low after noun ending in high; in the latter case, all tones on the noun are shifted to low)

(56)(YL) gǎngá-má 'drummer' < gǎngá 'drum'  
kǎttúgù-má 'liar' < kǎttúgù 'lie'

Place -rí (all tones of noun are shifted to low)

(57)(YL) shèhù-rí 'place of a shèhu' < shèhù 'paramount chief'

Prefixes: Abstract nouns nèm-

(58)(YL) nèm-dôí 'swiftness' < dôí 'swift'  
nèm-súnúrí 'butching' < súnúrí 'butcher'

Meaning? kě-

(59)(YL) kèléfà 'healthy' (cf. Hausa lafiya)  
kèló 'learning' < lí-sk-in 'learn'

Summary of how Kanuri simplex sentences conform to general typology of SOV languages:

Basic sentence structure - yes

- SOV order, with verb last position very strict
- negative follows the verb
- case marking by suffixes
- little evidence that V and DO form a constituent (except for subject initial requirement, other constituents before the verb are very fluid in position)
- comparative sentence have the form S V-than adj. is

NP structure - no

- head noun is always NP initial
- remainder of NP constituents follow typical SVO order (mirror image of expected SOV order)
- in appositives, proper noun precedes common, e.g.

(YC) Gúmsá, kámú Mái- bē 'Gumso, wife of the chief'  
(G. wife chief gen.)

Morphology - yes and no

- yes { - a "weak verb" combines with meaning bearing stems to form verb complexes (nia verbs)  
 - the most common and productive noun derivations are by suffixation

mixed -some person markers on verbs are suffixed, some are prefixed

- no { - noun derivation by prefixing  
 - verb derivation by prefixing

The most troublesome typological conflict is in the order of elements in the NP. This, plus the older layers of derivational morphology, suggest a shift from SVC to SOV. However, Teda is also SOV but has the same general NP structure as Kanuri. It is most probable, therefore, that the the SOV sentence order and the N-modifiers NP order are very old in this group.

Word QuestionsVerbal Sentences

Questioned constituents may be, but are not necessarily fronted. The Perfect must be replaced by the Relative Perfect, but other aspects are possible (except where universal restrictions would apply, e.g. with imperatives). According to Cyffer (1973: 125) the subject and object suffixes (-yè and -gà) are not used, but my data show examples of the object suffix on the word for 'who?'.  
 -----

Questioned subject

- (60)(M) àfi dâ jlyrò? 'what ate the meat?'  
 what meat it-ate (rel.perf.)
- (61)(M) wùndú fáǎò- rò ngàawô? 'who entered the house?'  
 who house goal he-entered (rel.perf.)

Questioned object

- (62)(M) táǎà têngáí àfi cisà? 'what did the boy catch?'  
 child male what he-caught (rel.perf.)
- (63)(M) wùndú-wá mái bóójó? 'who did the chief call?'  
 who d.o. chief he-called (rel.perf.)

Questioned dative

- (64)(M) wùndú-rò wúli kyâm? 'who did you give money to?'  
 who dat. money you-gave (past)

Questioned locative goal

- (65)(M) ŋi ndá- rò làyáàà? 'where did the people go?'  
 people where goal they went (past)

Questioned stationary locative

- (66)(M) kòlâ bújî wùndá-yè- n náphém? 'whose mat did you sit on?'  
 on mat who gen. loc. you-sat (past)

Questioned instrument

- (67)(M) àŋí-lân kèská cályâm? 'what did you chop the wood with?'  
 what inst. wood you-chopped (past)

Non-verbal Sentences

The interrogative word is generally placed sentence initial. In equational sentences and 'have' sentences my examples all have the "copula" gò (> wò or ò), but Cyffer has examples without it.

Equational sentences

- (68)(M) àŋí këmàèn nò? 'what is an elephant?'  
 what elephant copula
- (69)(CY) káŋkádè áto ndá-bè? 'whose book is this?'  
 book this who-gen.

'have' sentences

- (70)(M) wandá fòr ìndí-yè ò? 'who has two horses?'  
 who horse two com. copula

Locative predicate

- (71)(M) ndá-rân káné-ném? 'where is your wife?'  
 where loc. wife your
- (cf. ndá káné-ném? 'how's your wife?')

Focussed constituentsVerbal sentences

As with questioned constituents, Perfect must be replaced by Relative Perfect. If the focussed constituent is a pronominal subject, the independent pronoun plus a suffix -nâ appears sentence initial. Other constituents, when focussed, are placed sentence initial, but in fact it appears as if the presence of the Relative Perfect alone

shows that something is focussed but with some vagueness as to what it is.

Focussed Subject

- (72)(M) wá-má dáyál tákkò 'it was I who caught the monkey'  
I emph. monkey I-caught (rel.perf.)
- (73)(M) Álì fážò-rò ngàwô 'it was Ali who entered the house'  
A. house goal he-entered (rel.perf.)

Focussed direct object

- (74)(M) kéri bángòkò 'it was a dog I beat'  
dog I-beat (rel.perf.)

Focussed indirect object

- (75)(M) wú-rò Álì wúli s-iyò 'it was me Ali gave money to'  
me dat. A. money me-he-gave (rel.perf.)

Non-verbal Sentences

Focussed subjects of non-verbal sentences add the suffix -ná. The copula gò is required. (I have no examples of focussed predicates in non-verbal sentences).

Focussed subject of equational sentence

- (76)(M) tóžé-ná kènáén nò 'that's an elephant'  
that emph. elephant copula

Focussed subject of locative

- (77)(CY) Módù-ná Kánò-lán gò 'Modu is in Kano'  
M. emph. K. loc. copula

Yes-No Questions

Usually a sentence final interrogative marker bá (cf. the negative marker bá) is used with all types of sentences, though intonation alone suffices.

- (78)(CY) àgò lágá fànsámá bá? 'did you hear something?'  
thing indef. you-heard int. part.
- (79)(M) Yúsífú fážò-lán wá? 'is Yusufu home?'  
Y. house loc. int. part.

Negation

Cyffer (1973:180) says the Past is ~~also~~ negated with gənyí which would also have been historically sentence level negation (see negation in non-verbal sentences)  
 (YC) ɕiládóko gənyí 'did not sell'  
 I ~~strongly~~ <sup>strongly</sup> (past) not

Verbal Sentences

Two aspects, Perfect and Future, have negatives formed with a suffix -ní: Negative Perfect and Negative Future (see above in discussion of aspects). The Imperfect is negated with a sentence final word bá. Lukas (1937:68) says this negative is also used with the Perfect, but in Manga this was not used. Historically, I believe the bá is sentence level negation, though Cyffer (1973:180) implies that ~~this is now expressed with gənyí~~ (see negation of non-verbal sentences). Imperatives and hortatives are negated by using the Negative Perfect preceded by wánté (sg.), wándógó (pl.). These are historically singular and plural imperatives of a verb no longer used. In Manga, wánté can be used with singular or plural complements.

Negative perfect

(80)(YC) kírà-nsá bélé átè-ro ísè-nyí 'their leader did not come  
 big their town this goal he-not-come to this town'

Negative imperfect

(81)(YL) kām ráksè kàttúgù kám-zé-nyí-gá ávíná dávi-gá sèdin há  
 man he-can lie "tell"-he-not-"if" nothing bad do. he-does not  
 'if a man can't tell a lie, he does nothing bad'

Negative imperative

(82)(M) { wándé } lè-nēm-mí 'don't go (sg.)!' (cf. lèné 'go!')  
 { \*wándóó }  
 "don't" go-you-not  
 (83)(M) { wándé } lè-nūw-wí 'don't go (pl.)!' (cf. lènéó 'go!')  
 { wándóó }  
 "don't" go-you-not

Non-verbal Sentences

Equational and locative predicates - S-final gənyí

Existential and 'have' sentences - S-final bá or bágò (bá + copula)

(84)(M) sí málèm èní 'he is not a teacher'  
 he teacher not

(85)(YC) { sàndí-má } kàsùgùwú gənyí (\*gò) { 'it is not they who are' } busi-  
 { sàndí } { 'they are not' } nenessmen'  
 { they-emph. } businessmen not  
 { they }

(86)(M) kálò-njú kúrúú-n gèni, kàrángi-n 'his farm is not far,  
farm his far loc. not near loc. it is near'

(87)(M) ngí bǎǎ 'there's no water'  
water there-is-not

(88)(M) kúwí-ní bǎǎ 'I don't have a chicken'  
chicken-my there-is-not

Reflexives and Reciprocals

many sentences which in English would use reflexives use the Intensive derivation (see section on verb derivation and morphology)

Reflexives (both true reflexives and emphatics) use the word kèlá 'head' or rò 'life'; reciprocals use the word kámá 'companion'.

(89)(example from Benton 1968) wa kèlá-ni leagin 'I'm going myself'  
I head my I-go

(90)(YC) zǎurò kámá-nzà-gà sàràgènd 'they love each other  
well companion their d.o. they-love very much'

Sentential Complements

This is an extremely complex subject in Kanuri. The following is but the briefest outline of the existing types of complement constructions.

Complements with postpositions: Most verbs require the dative postposition, -rò, at the end of complement sentences. Equi-NP deletion is possible for at least some verbs, in which case the verbal noun replaces the conjugated form of the verb. NP's within the complement retain their various case markings and the complement is marked in the same way as a complement with a tensed verb (cf. 92). See also (100) and (101).

(91)(YL) sávà-nyí fân-nyí-rò íshia-rò tèmǎnǎ  
friend my house my goal he-come-dat. I-think  
'I expect that my friend will come to my house'

(92)(YL) sǎndí-gà dǎpté-rò zǎurò ngè nǎpténd  
them d.o. prevent dat. well he-tried  
(v.n.)  
'he tried hard to prevent them'

(93)(YL) shí-rò táíírívà gǎdé wǎgǎzégín-rò rízá  
him dat. danger another it-happen dat. he-feared  
'he feared that another danger would happen to him'

The verb 'say' takes complements with the direct object postposition, -gà.

(94)(YL) ngáltémé kám- yè nánté-nyí-yè wú-gà lórúshí-gà gúlzányí  
 never person subj.staying-my-subj.√ it-harmed-do.o he-not-  
 ne-dp. say

'never has anyone said that my staying has harmed me'

Complements to nouns take the genitive postposition.

(95)(YL) hávár Rávi-yè shí-gà kádújin- bè  
 news Rabi subj.him-do.o he-follows gen.

'the news that Rabi was following him'

Sequential verb forms: The basic use of the sequential is to indicate actions in a series, in which case all verbs but the last are in the sequential (see 96). The sequential is now also used in numerous constructions where this literal translation gives way to a verb + complement sense. Interestingly the "higher" semantic verb is sometimes the "main" verb (97), sometimes the sequential (98), depending on factors not clear to me.

(96)(M) fér-làn jípcê lèjé férú kèská-yè- n. { nápkým }  
 { nápci }  
 horse loc.he-dismount he-go gan. loc. { he-sat (past) }  
 (sequ.) (sequ.) { he-sit (imperfect) }

'he { dismounted } from the horse, { went } and { sat } at  
 { will dismount } { will go } { sit }  
 the base of the tree'

(97)(YH) gumaje adè dinze dazenyi 'this shirt hasn't com-  
 shirt this it-get-old it-not-stop pletely worn out'  
 (sequ.) (neg.perf.)

(98)(YH) bika ranngè lenenyi 'I wasn't able to go  
 yes. I-be-able I-not-go yesterday'  
 (sequ.) (neg.perf.)

The verb nin (see discussion of verb morphology) in the sequential is used as a complementizer to mean something like 'saying that, with the intention that'.

(99)(M) kémbô-njú májî cinè fâ- njé-làn kilúú  
 food his he-see nin house his loc.he-exited  
 (imperf.)(sequ.) (past)

'he went out of his house saying he would seek food'

Second person singular sequential complements: A bizarre use of the sequential is to use a second person singular sequential form when there is an equi-subject. Hutchison (n.d.) says of these constructions, "In all such data that has been observed, a second person singular Consecutive [- sequential] verb form is followed by a personless, tenseless and aspectless verbal noun or other non-finite form."

(100)(YH) mato yawum Makka-ro leta-ro raekena  
 car buy Mecca goal go dat. I-want  
 (2nd sg.sequ.) (v.n.) (perf.)  
 'I want to buy a car and go to Mecca'

(101)(YH) Yarwa-n cida lenem fando-ro (wu-ro) mowonjin ba  
 Y. loc.work go get dat. me dat. it-be-possible not  
 (2nd sg.sequ.) (v.n.) (imperfect)  
 'it will not be possible (for me) to go and find work in Yarwa'

Adverbial Clauses

Reason and purpose phrases - These use the postposition -ro or the word nanká-ro. They are the only type of constituent which follows the main verb in neutral sentences.

(102)(M) lékkéna w-â ráséna nanká-ro 'I left because he  
 I-went me do. he-me-abused "because" abused me'

(103)(M) báram-bô jéjána ngi táptá-ro 'they went to the well  
 well goal they-went water draw dat. to draw water'  
 (v.n.)

(104)(M) báram-bô léjána sândi-ro ngi támmákki-ro  
 water goal they-went them dat. water I-draw dat.  
 (imperf.)  
 'they went to the well so that I might draw water for them'

Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses are formed by using what Lukas and others refer to as the Dependent Future. This is in fact the Imperfect with a postposition identical to the direct object postposition (-gá). There is no formal difference in Kanuri between 'when' and 'if' in this type of clause. These clauses must appear S-initial.

(105)(M) ngi yáky-â, lékki 'when I have drunk the water  
 water I-drink-"if" I-will-leave I will leave'  
 (imperfect)

'when ... then' sentences

To express sentences of the type 'when X had taken place, then Y took place' a form called the Dependent Past is used. This is in fact the past plus the postposition -zâ. Therefore, such sentences are perfectly parallel to conditional sentences: the latter refer to not yet completed events, the former to completed events, but the relations between the two classes are the same.

(106)(M) ngî kyákky-â, lèyèkkè 'when I had drunk the water, I left  
 water I-had-drunk-"when" I-left (past)

by Lukas

Other temporal adverbial phrases

A large variety of temporal clauses of the type which in English use subordinating conjunctions such as 'before', 'after', 'until', 'since', etc. are expressed in Kanuri by relative clauses with certain temporal nouns as antecedents and with one of the postpositions -â or -rò (which postposition is used is a complex question which cannot be gone into here). Hutchison (n.d.:18) gives a chart showing how the interplay of choice of antecedent to the clause, choice of verb aspect, and choice of postposition renders a wide variety of temporal clause meanings. The following are only representative examples:

(107)(YH) kawu nji yakin-de- { rò } beri bukin  
 day water I-drink def.p.p. food I-eat  
 (imperfect) (imperfect)  
 'before I drink water I will eat food' (lit: the day on which I will drink water ....)

(108)(YL) wátè ndúná fâx átè-rò zâvâvî kâvî wâltèskinsô-n  
 "don't" nobody horse this goal he-not- day I-will-return-det.-p.p.  
 mount (imperf.)  
 'nobody should mount this horse until I get back'

(109)(YH) kawu na ate kolnena-te- n ago laga kuttu wagasena ba?  
 day place this I-left def. p.p. thing any bad it-happened int.  
 (perf.) (perf.) part.  
 'since I left this place has anything bad happened?'