

This volume contains articles on aspects of phonology, morphology, and syntax of Zina Kotoko, a Chadic language of far northern Cameroon. The introduction presents an overview of the language, providing background information for the articles. David Odden describes verbal tone, which involves phonological interaction between an underlying 'melody' for each tense-aspect and the presence of depressor consonants in the stem.

Berit-Anne Bals and Helene Norgaard Andreassen examine reduplication in progressive verbs and show that there are two different reduplicative constituents, whose selection depend on the presence of 'infix' object pronouns.

Mark Andrew de Vos gives an overview of noun morphology with special attention to plural formation and focus constructions. Girma A. Demeke analyzes the complex system of definiteness and agreement in DPs and shows how agreement works with different classes of nominal modifiers.

Florin Oprina gives an overview of VP syntax, analyzing relations between particular verb forms and objects constructions, negation, and aspect.

Bodil Kappel Schmidt describes the tense/aspect system with an analysis of aspectual forms as complex, complementary to 'pure' tense forms.

Anders Holmberg gives a description and analysis of prepositions and PPs as complex constructions, consisting of a Relator with a Place complement.

# Some aspects of the grammar of Zina Kotoko

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LSAL 54  
ISBN 3 89586 452 8

Cover design: ujl

**LE** **LINCOM EUROPA**  
*academic publishers*

LINCOM Studies in African Linguistics 54

# Prepositions and PPs in Zina Kotoko\*

Anders Holmberg

## 1. Introduction: the prepositions

Most adpositions in Zina Kotoko have two parts, both of which precede their complement, forming a complex preposition.

- (1) Tà kwicè àsú dé má gmá tábèl  
they cut meat DEF on table  
"They cut the meat on the table."

This is the case for all prepositions denoting location or direction. Two part prepositions are found in other Chadic languages as well, for instance Hausa and Gude (see Hoskison 1983:77). It may also be an areal phenomenon; languages as genetically diverse as Yoruba (Kwa, spoken in Nigeria), Babungo (Grassfields Bantu, spoken in North West Cameroon), and Koromfe (Gur, spoken in Upper Volta) all have complex adpositions (see Schaub 1985: 153ff., Rennison 1997). The second part of the Zina Kotoko prepositions may originally all be nouns, perhaps typically denoting body parts. Thus for instance *gmá* in (1) is probably derived from *gómáyá* 'head', and *lyá* 'behind' most certainly from *àlyá* 'back (of a person)'.<sup>1</sup> As a rough characterization, the second part of the complex preposition denotes a place, while the first part serves to relate the place to some other entity denoted by a constituent of the sentence. I will refer to the two parts as the Place and the Relator, respectively.

(2a) is a list of simple prepositions, (2b) of two part prepositions, and (2c) a list of Relators. The two part prepositions are all listed with the Relator *má*. This appears to be the citation form.

- (2) a. dà 'with'  
kó 'for, to'
- b. má jí 'in'  
má gmá 'on'  
má mwá 'under'  
má ské(w) 'near, next to (a person)'  
má zwa 'near, next to (a thing)'  
má lyá 'behind'  
má fká 'in front'  
má lwá 'among'
- c. má 'from' or null  
Ø 'to'  
ná 'to'  
a 'at'

\* Thanks to Bodil Kappel Schmidt and Peter Svenonius for their comments on the paper, and special thanks to Habi for being an excellent informant.

<sup>1</sup> That a preposition 'on' is derived from the word for head is very common cross-linguistically.

From the point of view of syntactic function, locative PPs fall into three classes: adverbial, directional, and existential. (1) is an example of an adverbial PP. The Relator in this case is always *má*. (3a,b) are examples of directional PPs.

- (3) a. Dè 'dva kàrtà dé gmá tábèl.  
he put cards DEF (to) on table  
"He put the cards on the table."
- b. Dè vátó kàrtà dé má gmá tábèl.  
he took cards from on table  
"He took the cards from the table."

In (3a) *gmá* alone signifies 'onto', i.e. 'to a position on', while *má gmá* in (3b) signifies 'from a position on'. I assume that the PP in (3a) has a phonetically unrealized Relator encoding 'to'. Sometimes the Relator for 'to' is *na* instead of null.

- (4) a. Hàri dé bú ná lwá màfù dé.  
dog DEF went to among trees DEF  
"The dog went in among the trees."

The Relator in the adverbial PP in (1) does not mean 'from', but is rather a purely formal element licensing adverbial PPs in a way to be described below. This indicates that *má* is lexically ambiguous. I will, however, argue that there is only one Relator *má*, with two uses.

Finally, (5) is an example of an existential PP; the complex *a gmá*, by assumption in construction with an abstract copula, signifies 'be in a position on'. I have glossed *a* as 'at', the most neutral locative preposition in English.

- (5) Kàrtà dé a gmá tábèl.  
cards DEF (be) at on table  
"The cards are on the table."

(6) has additional examples illustrating the use of the Relators: (6a,b) are directional, (6c) existential, and (6d) adverbial.<sup>2</sup>

- (6) a. Ná rwá mwá tábèl.  
I go (to) under table  
"I go under the table."
- b. Ná gwyià hùni má mwá tábèl.  
I come out from under table
- c. Kitábi dé a mwá tábèl.  
books DEF at under table  
"The books are under the table."
- d. Tá 'dám cákára dé má mwá màfù.  
they ate chicken DEF under tree  
"They ate the chicken under a tree."

<sup>2</sup> *Mwá* also means 'house'. The original meaning from which 'house' as well as 'under' are derived could be something like 'shelter'. However, the current word for 'shelter' is not a cognate of *mwá*.

The same Relators appear with the locative wh-word *ghwinà* 'where' (Zina Kotoko has no wh-movement):

- (7) a. Tó rúrù *ghwinà*?  
you go (to) where  
"Where are you going?"
- b. Tó bra *má ghwinà*?  
you come from where  
"Where do you come from?"
- c. Ámí dé *a ghwinà*?  
water DEF at where  
"Where is the water?"
- d. Tó lábè lí dà Ádám *má ghwinà*.  
you talked PRT with Adam where  
"Where did you talk to Adam?"

They also appear with the locative adverbs meaning 'here' and 'there':

- (8) a. Ná 'dvà kàrtà dé *kí/ fiedè*.  
I put cards DEF (to) here/there  
"I put the cards here/there."
- b. Ná ginyiná *má kí* brá ná bu *fiedè*.  
I left from here and I went (to) there  
"I went from here to there."
- c. Hábí a *kí/ fiedè*.  
Habi at here/ there  
"Habi is here/there"
- d. Tá 'dam cákàrá dé *má kí/ fiedè*.  
they ate chicken DEF here/there

## 2. Is the Place a noun or a preposition?

As mentioned, the Place-words in Zina Kotoko are possibly all derived from nouns. Are they, in fact, nouns? If they are, they are clearly not prototypical nouns, since they are not constructed with determiners or, with one exception, the genitive marker *cə* (see Demeke, this volume). The exception is *fká* 'front',

- (9) Ná fín Ádám *má fká cə* mafù dé.  
I saw Adam in front GEN tree DEF  
"I saw Adam in front of the tree."

On the other hand the Place is not a prototypical preposition, either, since it needs the help of a Relator, to function as a locative preposition. A comparison with English might be instructive: (10) contains three examples of complex prepositional expressions in English.

- (10) a. We met at the back of the house.  
b. The statue is in front of the town hall.  
c. He came out from under the table.

In (10a), *back* is quite unambiguously a noun, as it takes a determiner as well as the genitive marker *of*. In (10c), most would probably agree that *under* is a preposition, since it takes neither a determiner nor genitive *of*, and furthermore, *under* occurs in other constructions without a 'Relator', as in *I saw him under the table*. In (10b), *front* cannot be constructed with a determiner, but must take genitive *of*, and furthermore, it cannot occur as a locative head (a Place) without the help of the 'Relator' *in*.

With the exception of *fká*, the Place-words in Zina Kotoko are more preposition-like than *front*, since they do not need the genitive marker. On the other hand, they are less preposition-like than *under*, since they never occur without a Relator (given that directional PPs such as (3a) are analyzed as having an empty Relator). Whether we want to classify these items as nouns or prepositions is ultimately a matter of definitions. Assume a defining characteristic of prepositions is that they are two-place predicates, denoting a relation (a spatial relation in the case of locative prepositions) between a place and an object or between a place and an event (see below). Assume that, correspondingly, a defining characteristic of a large class of nouns, including nouns meaning 'head', 'front', 'back', etc., is that they are one-place predicates, where the role assigned to the argument is Higginbotham's (1985) role R, which is often interpreted as possessor, and which is always optional. We are then led to conclude that the heads *gmá*, *mwá*, *fká*, etc. in Zina Kotoko are nouns, not prepositions, needing the help of a Relator to provide a second argument, and thus be able to denote a relation between two objects or an object and an event. Correspondingly, English *front* is a noun, since it needs the Relator *in* to provide a second argument, while *under* is a preposition, since it can manage without a Relator.

I will, however, assign *gmá*, *mwá*, *fká*, etc. to a lexical-syntactic category of their own, which I will simply call Place, which may or may not be classified as a subcategory of nouns.<sup>3</sup>

## 3. Existential PPs

I have glossed the Relator *a* as 'at', the most neutral English locative preposition. The assumption is that locative-existential sentences consist of a subject, an abstract copula, and a PP headed by the Relator *a*.

<sup>3</sup> Another possibility, following recent work by Josefsson 1997 among others, is that (a) the place-words are bare roots, and (b) roots do not belong to any lexical-syntactic category (such as noun or verb etc.). Only when the root combines with a functional category do we get a lexical-syntactic category. In the case at hand, the place-word would be a bare root which combines with a Relator to derive a preposition. In this view the complex PPs are analogous to transitive VPs in the theory where a transitive VP is a complex structure with two heads: the verb V, which encodes all the lexical, semantic features, and an abstract 'light verb' *v*, which encodes transitivity in the sense that it takes an agent argument and assigns accusative Case to the object (following Hale and Keyser 1993 and Chomsky 1995, among others). In the complex PPs in Zina Kotoko the place-head would correspond to V and the Relator would correspond to *v*. I will refrain from elaborating this hypothesis in the present paper, though, as we want to remain theory-neutral, to some degree. See Ayano 2001 for a theory of PPs as complex phrases with a functional, a lexical, and a nominal layer.

- (11) Hàri dé a lwá màfù dé.  
dog DEF (be) at among trees DEF  
"The dog is among the trees."

In property-ascribing sentences such as (12a,b) Zina Kotoko does not have a visible copula.

- (12) a. Hàri dé gwàram.  
dog DEF old  
"The dog is old."  
b. Ádàm mùshè lékól.  
Adam teacher  
"Adam is a teacher."

The sentences in (11) and (12) lack any overt expression of tense. The default interpretation is present time reference. Past time reference requires the presence of an adverbial referring to a past time (see Kappel Schmidt, this volume). An alternative analysis is that *a* is itself a copula, in the sense of an INFL-element, a sentential head. Note that the Relator *a* is also found in the possessive construction (13):

- (13) Ghiká dé a swa.  
knife DEF at my  
'The knife is mine.'

Here *a* is the only overt indicator that the construction is a sentence rather than an NP:

- (14) ghiká dé swa  
knife DEF my  
"my knife"

This suggests that *a* is, in fact, a sentential head. I will nevertheless assume that it is a Relator in the sense of a prepositional head merged as a necessary support for a Place.

Why is a Relator needed in (11) and (13) but not in (12a,b)? Following Williams 1980, assume that a syntactic predicate is a maximal projection XP of a lexical head which has an empty spec-position (either a trace or PRO). Predication, then, requires A-binding the empty spec (or controlling it, in the case of PRO) from outside XP.

- (15) DP<sub>i</sub> ... [XP e<sub>i</sub> [X° X° ...]]

Adjectives and nouns denoting properties, such as 'teacher', take an argument, in most cases a DP.<sup>4</sup> This DP can be moved to specIP, to yield the predication configuration (15). A pronoun does not take an argument. In order for a pronoun to function as possessor in a predicative possessive construction (a 'have-construction'), the prepositional Relator is needed to introduce an argument NP, which can be moved to spec IP to yield (16), an instance of the predication configuration (15).

- (16) [IP DP<sub>i</sub> I [PP t<sub>i</sub> [P° a [DP swa]]]]

<sup>4</sup> Arguably all common nouns denote properties in a wide sense (the property of being a book, or a dog, etc.). How to delimit semantically the class of nouns denoting properties in the narrow sense, like 'teacher' or 'Parisian' etc., is a question I will not try to answer here.

Nouns denoting places, such as *Paris* or *Norway*, also do not take an argument, and therefore require a prepositional Relator to be interpretable as predicates (as in *John is in Paris*). Nouns denoting body parts take an (optional) argument, denoting the 'possessor' of the body part. Together with this argument, the noun can denote a place (for instance 'my head'). This place-denoting noun phrase does not, however, take another argument, so in order to use the place-denoting noun phrase as a predicate, a Relator, which in Zina Kotoko is *a*, is required in order to introduce a second argument, which can be moved to specIP, to yield the predication configuration. Note the crucial assumption that the Zina Kotoko Place-words *gmá*, *mwá*, *fká*, etc. retain the nominal property of being strictly one-place predicates. If they had undergone a complete transition to prepositions, that is two-place predicates, there would be no need for the Relator *a* in existential-locative sentences.

When the possessor is expressed by a lexical DP, for instance a proper name, *a* is in construction with the genitive marker *cə*. As in the case of the possessive pronoun, the Relator *a* is the only overt signal of sentential status in this case.

- (17) a. Ghiká dé a cə Ádàm.  
knife DEF at GEN Adam  
"The knife is Adam's."  
b. ghiká dé cə Ádàm  
"Adam's knife"

Note that the genitive marker is not a preposition, but rather a pronoun (see Demeke, this volume). Therefore the Relator is, again, needed to construct a predication relation.

As will be shown in section 7, there is another 'have-construction' in Zina Kotoko, more common than (13) or (17), in which the possessor is the subject.

#### 4. Directional PPs

Consider again the directional PPs in (18) (= (3)):

- (18) a. Dó 'dvá kàrtà dé gmá tábàl.  
he put cards DEF (to) on table  
"He put the cards on the table."  
b. Dó vátó kàrtà dé má gmá tábàl.  
he took cards DEF from on table  
"He took the cards from the table."

The Relators *má* and 0 can also be combined with place-denoting DPs, with the meaning 'from' and 'to', respectively.

- (19) a. Hàbí brà má Ngaundere.  
Habi comes from Ngaundere  
b. Hàbí bà stó Ngaundere.  
Habi went PRT (to) Ngaundere  
c. Cə zàl lək-wítà Oslo.  
she sent letter (to) Oslo

Cases like (19b,c) support the analysis according to which there is a phonetically empty preposition in (18a), as well. The meaning 'to' is regularly encoded by a null morpheme, a phonetically unrealized Relator, in Zina Kotoko.<sup>5</sup>

Sometimes the Relator for 'to' is *na* instead of null.

- (20) a. Ná bu ná mwá tábèl dé.  
I went to under table DEF  
"I went under the table."  
b. Dó bughur ná jí líson dé.  
he jump to in river DEF  
"He jumped into the river."

The choice between *ná* and null depends neither on the Place-word nor on the object of the Place-word. Presumably it depends on a selectional feature of the verb, which may be quite idiosyncratic. Compare (20a) and (21):

- (21) Ná rwa mwá tábèl dé  
I go (to) under table DEF  
"I go under the table."

The only difference other than *na* vs. null is the verb form, two suppletive verb forms of the verb 'go'. (20a) has the past tense form *bu*, necessarily in construction with *na*, while (21) has the present tense form *rwa*, necessarily in construction with null. (18a) confirms that tense alone is not crucial: It is not the case that present tense correlates with null. I conclude that the choice between *ná* and null is due to an idiosyncratic lexical selection feature of the verb.

### 5. Adverbial locative PPs

When the locative PP is neither directional nor existential, the Relator is *ma*.

- (22) a. Ná fin Ádám má jí mashídi.  
I saw Adam in mosque  
b. Tá 'dám cákára dé má mwá mafù.  
they ate chicken DEF under tree

<sup>5</sup> Bodil Kappel Schmidt suggests that the Relatorless Place is used only when the PP is an argument. The generalization then would be that Zina Kotoko uses the Relator *a* when the PP is a predicate, *má* when it is an adjunct (as in (1)), and perhaps no Relator (rather than a null Relator) when the Place is an argument. It is true that the PP is an argument in (19b,c). But so it is in (19a). I can't think of any independent reason to classify the PP in (19a) as an adjunct, anymore than the PP in (19b). So there is a class of argumental PPs that use the relator *má*, namely those denoting direction from a place.

It may be noted that even a language like English employs two prepositions in some directional expressions, as in *He emerged from under the table*. It may be significant that the preposition *from* is never omitted, or left implicit, in a directional PPs while *to* often is, on the reasonable (yet controversial) assumption that the directional expressions in (i) and (ii) are underlyingly complex in the same way as their counterparts in Zina Kotoko.

(i) He came down from (\*on) the table.

(ii) He went (\*to) under the table.

This indicates that the unmarked member of the pair {to, from} is 'to'. This is quite obviously the case in Zina Kotoko

- c. Tá kwicè àsú dé má gmá taból  
they cut meat DEF on table  
"They cut the meat on the table."

Again this extends to wh-questions and the locative proforms 'here/there':

- (23) a. Ádám gáhé hláfó má ghwiná.  
Adam caught fish where  
"Where did Adam catch fish?"  
b. Má 'dám cákára dé má kí.  
we ate chicken DEF here

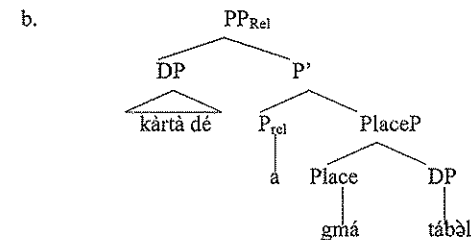
Insofar as directional PPs are generally, perhaps always, argumental (with verbs such as *put*, *take*, *go*, *come*, *give*, *send*, *sell*, *steal*, etc. etc.), the generalization can also be stated as follows: When the locative PP is an adverbial (an adjunct), the Relator is *má*.

Clearly *má* does not mean 'from' in these examples. However, I defer to the next section the question whether there are two lexical items *má* or just one.

### 6. The structure of complex PPs

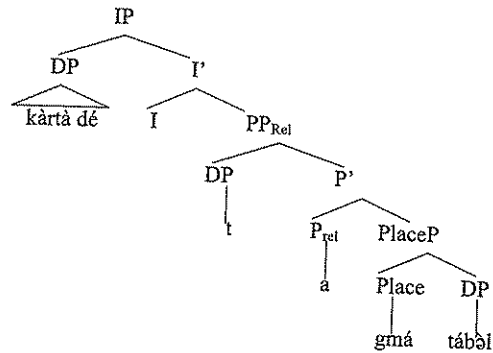
Consider first existential PPs, arguably the simplest case.

- (24) a. Kàrtà dé a gmá tábèl.  
cards DEF on table



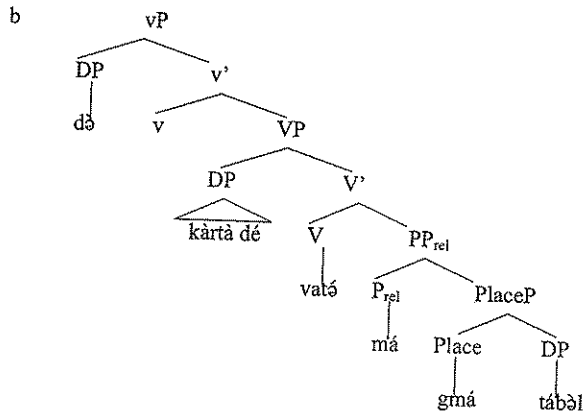
As discussed, the second head of the complex PP belongs to a category of its own, called Place, which is unlike a noun in that it takes a direct argument with no need for a genitive marker (with one exception, namely *fká* 'front'), but like a noun and unlike a preposition in that it does not take a second argument. A second argument is introduced with the help of the Relator *a*. A second argument is needed for the sentence to express a spatial relation between two objects, more precisely, an object and a place (syntactically encoded as a PlaceP). The DP functioning as the second argument is merged as a specifier of *a*, but moves to specIP (where I in this case is null). I assume that the sentential head I contains a phonetically unrealized tense-feature which receives the default interpretation Present.

(25)



Consider next the slightly more complicated case of directional PPs:

- (26) a. Də vátš kàrtà dé má gmá tábəl.  
he took cards DEF from on table



The directional PP is itself an argument of a verb, in this case *vátš* 'take', which takes a PP headed by *má* 'from' as argument. In addition the verb takes an object argument and, together with the transitivizer head *v*, an agent (see Chomsky 1995: 315f.). Given the underlying structure (26b), the surface word order is derived by movement of V to *v*. I suggest that, at some level of representation, the verb and the preposition it selects form a complex predicate 'take-from', denoting a relation between an agent (the taker), an object (the thing taken), and a place. Given the structure (26b) this complex predicate can, in fact, be formed by abstract incorporation of *má* into *vátš* (under Baker's 1988 theory of incorporation). In this way the argument structure which *má*, as a Relator, has can be satisfied, if the incorporation has the effect of unifying the argument structure of the verb and that of the Relator, so that the object (*kàrtà dé* in (26b)) is assigned its role by *vátš* and *má* jointly.

Note that *má* cannot directly relate an object and a place the way *from* can in expressions such as *the bus from Ngaundere*. The closest counterpart to this expression in Zina Kotoko is (27):

- (27) Wátir yí Ngaundere brám.  
bus GEN Ngaundere came  
"The bus from Ngaundere/the Ngaundere bus has arrived."

The same holds true of the Relator 0 'to'.

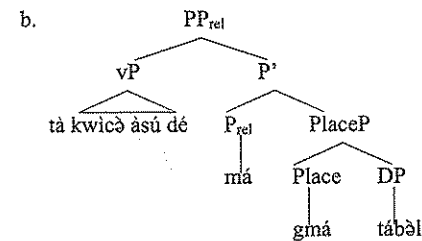
- (28) Wátir yí Ngaundere b́s sné  
Bus GEN Ngaundere went PRT  
"The bus to Ngaundere/the Ngaundere bus has left."

It looks like these Relators can express the meanings 'from, and 'to', respectively only in construction with verbs of the right kind. The suggestion here is that they must be abstractly incorporated in the verbs in question.

This may indicate that *má* and null are underspecified Relators (as suggested by Peter Svenonius, personal communication). If so, this might explain why *má* appears in adverbial PPs, where apparently it serves a purely formal function, not contributing to the meaning of the expression, or at most contributing with a general locative meaning (redundantly, given that the Place is locative as well). The directional prepositions *má* and null/*má* would be assigned their specification by the selecting verb: 'to' if selected by such verbs as *dva* 'put' or *zál* 'send', but 'from' if selected by verbs such as *vátš* 'take' or *brá* 'come'. When it heads an adverbial PP, *má* is not selected at all, hence would remain unspecified.

Consider (29), an example of an adverbial PP:

- (29) a. Tá kwicè àsú dé má gmá tábəl  
they cut meat DEF on table  
"They cut the meat on the table."



The preposition in adverbial PPs relates an individual to an event (see Parsons 1990, Barbiers 1995, Nilsen 1999). (29) can be paraphrased as 'They cut the meat, and this event took place on the table'.<sup>6</sup> Following Kayne 1994, Barbiers 1995 and Nilsen 1999, I assume that this is mapped quite directly into syntactic structure in that the preposition takes a DP as complement and a vP (the exponent of an event) as specifier. The complete derivation of (25) must then include raising of the subject to specIP and the verb to I. The typical order, the adverbial PP following the vP, follows directly under this analysis. The Relator is required here because the Place in Zina Kotoko is a noun-like one-place predicate, in need of a Relator to license the event argument.

<sup>6</sup> As expected (25) is vague as regards whether they were on the table when they cut the meat or whether just the meat was on the table, the latter interpretation preferred, in this case, for pragmatic reasons.

In adverbial PPs the Relator is always *má*, regardless of the choice of Place. This indicates that *má* itself does not contribute any meaning. A not implausible hypothesis is that *má* contributes nothing but the formal property of taking a vP argument. The locative interpretation would then derive exclusively from the Place. Alternatively *má* has a general locative feature.

It is cross-linguistically common that ablative expressions undergo a change where they become locative expressions.<sup>7</sup> MacKenzie 1978 discusses a number of such cases of 'ablative-locative transfer', from the Romance, Germanic, and Slavonic languages, as well as from Hebrew and the two Austronesian languages Fijian and Sonsorol-Tobi. See also Bennett 1989 on South Slavonic. Thus for instance the French locative prepositions *dans*, *devant*, *dessus*, and *dessous* are all originally complex prepositions. This strongly suggests that *má* at one point was a purely directional Relator meaning 'from', which, at some point in the history of Kotoko, underwent ablative-locative transfer in contexts where it is not selected. As a result there are now two morphemes *má*. One is a Relator with the meaning 'from' (or ablative), which must be selected by a directional verb with compatible features. The other, I propose, is an expletive Relator, with the property of taking a vP specifier as its only distinguishing feature. In this view, ablative-locative transfer is not substitution of a locative feature for an ablative feature, but merely the loss of the ablative feature. The locative interpretation of the PP derives exclusively from the Place.

This will also account for (30) (compare (27)). Ablative *má* must be selected by a directional verb.

- (30) \*Wàtír má Ngaundere bràm.  
bus from Ngaundere came.

## 7. Simple prepositions

The preposition *dà* 'with' is used as an instrumental preposition:

- (31) Dè 'dàm dà fnáni. (instrumental)  
he ate with hands

Just like English *with*, *dà* is also used as a comitative preposition:

- (32) Dè 'dàm dà Ádàm. (comitative)  
he ate with Adam

It is also used as a possessive marker; This is the unmarked sentential possessive construction (compare (13)).

- (33) Falmàtà dà wàtír. (possessive)  
Falmata with car  
"F. has a car."

The simple prepositions in Zina Kotoko are regular prepositions, taking two arguments, either an event and an individual, as in (31) and (32), or two individuals, as in (33). The derivation of (33) is similar to the derivation of existential-locative constructions, except that in this case there is no need for a Relator. The subject is the underlying specifier of the preposition, moved to specIP, where I has an abstract Tense feature assigned Present as a default value.

<sup>7</sup> Thanks to David Bennett for drawing my attention to this phenomenon.

- (34) [<sub>IP</sub> Falmàtà I [<sub>PP</sub> t [<sub>P'</sub> dà wàtír]]]

The preposition *kə* is a benefactive preposition, corresponding to 'for' in some of its uses. It is optionally doubled by a benefactive pronoun.<sup>8</sup>

- (35) Dè zàl (náná) lakwíta kə Ádàm. (benefactive)  
he sent for.him letter to Adam
- (36) Dè jàgò (nára) kə Hàbí.  
he cooked for.her for Habi
- (37) Falmàtà jam (náná) kə Ádàm nanke dó jàgò cákára.  
Falmata asked for.him for Adam that he cook chicken  
"Falmata asked Adam to cook chicken."

Compare (35) with (17c), repeated here as (38): In (35) the preposition is benefactive, in (38) the (phonetically unrealized) preposition is directional.

- (38) Dà zàl lakwíta Oslo.  
he sent letter Oslo  
"He sent a letter to Oslo."

## Summary

Zina Kotoko has a small set of simple prepositions and a larger set of complex prepositional expressions made up of two heads, a Place and a Relator. The Place is a noun-like category crucially taking only one argument. Therefore it requires a Relator in order for the complex to denote a relation between an individual and a place (in the case of existential PPs), or an event and a place (in the case of adverbial PPs), or in order to form a complex predicate together with a verb, and thus denote a relation between an agent, an individual, and a place (in the case of directional PPs).

The two uses of the form *má*, one where it occurs in construction with verbs such as *vata* 'take' and *bra* 'come' in the sense 'from', and one where it occurs as a generalized head of adverbial PPs, was claimed to be the result of a language change whereby the ablative feature of the directional Relator *má* 'from' is lost in unselected contexts, an instance of a process which in the literature has been called ablative-locative transfer.

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<sup>8</sup> The benefactive pronoun is made up of *ná*, presumably a cognate of the directional Relator *ná*, plus a pronoun.

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## Pronouns

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In this article we will give an overview of the pronominal patterns in Zina Kotoko. The overview includes descriptions of the various personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, relatives and pronouns in conjunctions and disjunctions.

### 1. Subject pronouns

- (1) *ná skwal nsi*  
I want.PRES egg  
'I want an egg'

*tò kwicə cākára de*  
you.FEM cut.PAST chicken DEF  
'You cut the chicken'

*kə zəkə cākára de*  
you.MASC kill.PAST chicken DEF  
'You killed the chicken'

*də ləbə ləbə*  
he tell.PAST story  
'He told a story'

*cə gəli-gəli fi*  
she RED-lie.PROG PRT  
'She is lying'

*má wurgi ghikà*  
we buy.PRES knife  
'We buy a knife'

*má wurgi-wurgi ghikà*  
we RED-buy.PROG knife  
'We are buying a knife'

*wá vəl ryəl*  
you.PL give.PAST money  
'You gave money'