

VERBAL MORPHOSYNTAX IN DZA, AN ADAMAWA LANGUAGE OF TARABA STATE

by

OTHANIEL, NLABEPHEE KEFAS
UJ/2017/TC/03676

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE OF NORTHERN
NIGERIA, BUKURU/UNIVERSITY OF JOS IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN LANGUAGE
DOCUMENTATION AND DESCRIPTION

SEPTEMBER, 2020

APPROVAL SHEET

THIS RESEARCH PROJECT HAS BEEN READ AND APPROVED AS MEETING THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE OF NORTHERN NIGERIA, BUKURU/UNIVERSITY OF JOS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION AND DESCRIPTION.

RESEARCH SUPERVISOR
Dr. Matthew Harley

ACADEMIC DEAN
Dr. Yosi Maton

EXTERNAL EXAMINER

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to God the creator of all beautiful things that fascinate human thinking. He formed and made all things available to man “to see what he would call them”.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge Seed Company for accepting the extension of my internship to cover the funding of my Master's studies. Lisa Powell started the process as the Seed Company internship supervisor before handing over to Lee Christenson who did his best to see things happened in a successful way. I hereby acknowledge the management and staff of the Luke Initiative for Scripture Translation (LIST) for managing the internship account well here in Nigeria. Thank you Mr. Enene N. Enene, Mr. Ezekiel Fohnren, Mr. Dasat Bitrus, my brother Longribet Gumir and all the others.

I hereby acknowledge the efforts of my internship supervisor here in TCNN Mrs. Katharine Norton. Thank you for praying with me, the counselling therapies given and the cups of coffee and cocoa tea sometimes. I acknowledge my mentors, Rev. Chuck Tessaro and Dr. Matthew Harley, for working on my growth plans as a translation Consultant in Training and as a Linguistic Consultant in Training. I hereby acknowledge specially the Director of LLACAN, Centre National De La Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) Dr. Mark Van de Valde and his colleague Dr. Dmitry Idiatov for the support they provided me during my study and most of the literature and funding I needed for this research work.

I acknowledge my teachers in TCNN, they are all good people and have impacted my life positively. I specially want to acknowledge the Head of Linguistics and Translation Department, who is also my internal examiner, Dr. Russell Norton for all the personal support he rendered me. I hereby acknowledge the non-teaching staff of the department, Margaret Mado and Josephine for tolerating me and making their work difficult at times.

I acknowledge my language consultants in the Dza community, especially His Majesty the Zaptah of Dza, Ivah Alexander Ma'aji, Mr. Haman Sule, Mr. Luka Sule, Mr. Mayafi Viladiye, Mama Ningtaku and host of others. I acknowledge the moral support of my father Mr. Bitrus Bariya Pinpin, you took me on your shoulder to see ahead of my equals. I acknowledge Pst. Yakubu Dauda, my long-time colleague at the Center for Jenjo Language Development and Bible Translation for standing with me even when things were difficult. I acknowledge my siblings, Philemon, Lucky, Gambo, Gulliver, Obephee, Midafi, Jemima, Ernest, Omega, Bamichila and

Amila. You guys are strong motivation for me to overcome almost the most difficult challenges in life. I acknowledge my parents, Mrs. Briskila and Mr. Othaniel Kefas Basore, Mr. Amos Buba Sugari for their roles in my studies.

I acknowledge my examiners for helping to refine this work, Dr. Philemon Victor Gomwalk and Dr. Lensi Nudiya Danjuma both of the University of Jos Linguistics Department. I also acknowledge Dr. Paul Cookey for his role as the recorder during my oral defense of this work.

I want to specially acknowledge my thesis supervisor, Dr. Matthew Harley. You took your time to go through the whole work patiently and helped in all ways you could to see it finished.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval Sheet.....	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents	vi
Abbreviations.....	x
Abstract	xii
CHAPTER ONE:	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background to the study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	2
1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study	2
1.4 Research Questions.....	3
1.5 Methodology.....	3
1.6 Scope and Limitations.....	4
1.7 Definition of Terms.....	5
CHAPTER TWO:	7
THE DZA PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE	7
2.1 The Dza People	7
2.1.1 Geographical Situation	7
2.1.2 History	8
2.1.3 Economy.....	10
2.1.4 Education.....	11
2.1.5 Religious Affiliations	12
2.2 The Dza Language	13
2.2.1 Linguistic Classification.....	13
2.2.2 Dialects	16
2.2.3 Language Use and Multilingualism.....	18
2.2.4 Vernacular Publication	19

2.2.5	Previous Linguistic Research on Dza	19
CHAPTER THREE:		21
PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY		21
3.1	Phonology	21
3.1.1	Vowels	21
3.1.2	Consonants	25
3.1.3	Lexical and Grammatical Tone	29
3.1.4	Phonological Processes.....	30
3.1.5	Syllable Structure	34
3.2	Orthography	35
3.2.1	Consonants	36
3.2.2	Vowels.....	37
3.2.3	Tone.....	38
3.2.4	Word Breaks.....	39
CHAPTER FOUR:.....		42
NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY		42
4.1	Noun Classes.....	42
4.1.1	Number	44
4.2	Noun Modifiers and Agreement	45
4.2.1	Determiners	45
4.2.2	Adjectives	45
4.2.3	Quantifiers and Numerals.....	46
4.2.4	Ideophones.....	49
4.2.5	Adpositions.....	50
4.3	Pronominal Forms.....	53
4.3.1	Independent Pronouns	54
4.3.2	Subject Pronouns and Verb Agreement.....	54
4.3.3	Default Pronouns	56
4.3.4	Double-Object Constructions	56
4.3.5	Possessive Pronouns	57
4.3.6	Logophoric/Evidential Pronoun	59
4.3.7	Relative Pronouns.....	60
4.3.8	Demonstrative Pronouns.....	61
4.3.9	Indefinite Pronouns	61
4.3.10	Zero marking for inanimate objects.....	62

CHAPTER FIVE:	64
VERBAL MORPHOSYNTAX	64
5.1 Morphosyntactic Verb Classes	64
5.2 Tense	67
5.2.1 Non-Past Tense	68
5.2.2 Past Tense	69
5.3 Aspect	70
5.3.1 Perfective	70
5.3.2 Imperfective	71
5.3.3 Habitual	72
5.3.4 Progressive	73
5.4 Mood	74
5.4.1 Realis and Irrealis	74
5.4.2 Imperatives	76
5.4.3 Prohibitive	77
5.4.4 Subjunctives	77
5.4.5 Interrogatives	79
5.4.6 Commissive	81
5.4.7 Deductive	82
5.4.8 Speculative Mood	82
5.5 Valence-changing strategies	83
5.5.1 Valence-increasing strategies	83
5.5.2 Valence-decreasing strategies	86
5.6 Verbal Plurality	88
5.7 Deverbal nouns	90
5.7.1 Deverbal nouns from suffixation of /-lɪ/	90
5.7.2 Deverbal nouns from prefixation of /i-/ to synthetic verbal compounds	91
5.7.3 Deverbal nouns from Circumfixation of /pɪ/ and /nɪŋ/	91
5.8 Evidentiality	92
5.9 Negation	93
5.10 Phrasal Verbs	94
CHAPTER SIX:	97
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	97

6.1	Summary	97
6.2	Conclusion	99
6.3	Recommendations.....	100
	Works Cited	102

ABBREVIATIONS

APPL	Applicative
CM	Commissive
COP	Copula verb
DED	Deductive
DEF	Definite Determiner
DET	Determiner
DIM	Diminutive
DIST	Distal Demonstrative
1	First person
GEN	Genitive marker
INDEF	Indefinite Determiner
INFIN	Infinitive
IO	Indirect Object
IRR	Irrealis
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominalizer
NP	Noun phrase
NPST	Non Past Tense
O	Object
OBJ	Object
PART	Participle
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PROX	Proximal Demonstrative
Q	Interrogative

QT	Quotative
REA	Realis
REC	Reciprocal
S	Subject
2	Second person
SG	Singular
SPEC	Specifier
SPVE	Speculative
SUB	Subject
SUBJ	Subjunctive
TCNN	Theological College of Northern Nigeria
3	Third person
V	Verb

ABSTRACT

Dza [jen] is a Niger-Congo language of the adamawa sub-branch located in one of the rural areas in the Northeast region of Nigeria. The language is said to have 100,000 speakers according to *Ethnologue*. It is spoken in about 30 villages around the town of Dza, in the plains in between the northern bank of the Benue river and the Muri mountains and immediately across on the south bank of the Benue river. The overall goal of this research was to provide describe the verbal morphosyntax of Dza. The work was carried out based on the classical form-and-function approach to linguistic research. The work shows that verbs in Dza are largely monosyllabic with many inflectional verbal categories mostly enclitics. Among the interesting discoveries made in this research is how verbal operations happen in binary systems. In tense systems, the distinction is between the past and the non-past tense; in aspect systems, the distinction is between perfective and imperfective, and lastly the realis and irrealis binary opposition in the mood systems. The work also covered the phonology and some basics of nominal morphology of Dza. It described that in Dza, tone is employed to show lexical contrast as well as grammatical contrasts between the interrogative and the declarative mood, object pronouns and possessive pronouns, perfective and imperfective (habitual) aspect and also employed as an applicative marking location, patients or instruments in arguments. On the nominal morphology, the study posited that Dza is a non-class language with rich pronominal system including a logophoric pronoun that is employed for marking evidentiality in reported discourse. The study postulated that tense and aspect of verbs determine the distribution of subject pronouns in Dza.

This study gives many examples taken from natural texts, which serve as fresh data for more studies of the Bikwin-Jen languages of the adamawa group

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Nigeria is blessed with a record of more than 500 languages. However, it is general knowledge that only little is known about many of these languages, especially the ones in remote areas and those with less population. Attached to the lack of description is the sympathy that some of these languages may eventually disappear into oblivion. An epic worthy of mention is Michael Kraus' alarm in 1992. Kraus wrote a paper entitled, "The World's Languages in Crisis". He contended that languages are disappearing fast, and something must be done or else the world will lose many of its languages without proof that they even existed. He predicted that, "the rate things are going - the coming century will see either the death or the doom of 90% of mankind's languages." (7). Here in Nigeria, in 2014, the president of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria (LAN), Prof. Chinyere Ohiri-Aniche said, about 400 Nigerian indigenous languages were endangered. She added that some languages are already extinct while about 152 languages were at the verge of becoming extinct (Vanguard). Hence, the urgency to reach the underdescribed languages especially ones that falls within the category of "endangered" languages. In the quest to save the varieties of "linguistic species", linguists across the globe have invested time and other resources to describe languages not described before, or even investigate further languages poorly studied. Nevertheless, there is still much work to do. There are languages still less studied or even unstudied. This is the case for the majority of Adamawa languages, a sub-branch of Niger-Congo. Despite typological arguments on what boundaries exist between Adamawa and related sub-branches of Niger-Congo such as Gur, little is known of these languages. In order for discussions like these to go beyond speculation, there is need for comparative studies between languages starting from the lowest sub-classifications. In order for comparative studies to take place, there is need for the description of individual languages. Thus, this study is a description of the verbal morphosyntax of Dza, an unstudied Adamawa language.

This chapter covers some preliminary issues in regards to the research. The chapter is structured into seven sections: Statement of the Problem, Purpose of the Study, Aim of the Study, Methodology, Scope and Limitations, and Definition of Terms.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The Adamawa languages are described as, “Africa’s least-known large language family” (Blench, *Adamawa-Ubangian Languages*). According to Patrick R. Bennet, the languages are “probably the most poorly documented of all the major divisions of Niger-Congo” (23). Though, since after these comments, there has been a growing interest on the Adamawa languages by renowned linguists such as Ulrich Kleinewillinghöfer and recently by PhD candidates and staff of organizations such as CNRS, SIL and others. Despite the lack of description, there have been questions on the authenticity of the group as a distinctive linguistic group. In the Adamawa languages, the North Western Adamawa has been the eye of arguments in literature questioning the authenticity of the group. The prominent languages sampled for these discussions are Tula and Waja, two out of twenty four languages of North Western Adamawa. There is a gap in knowledge of the structures of the remaining languages and how they relate with each other and other languages of the world. This gap calls for research such as this, to describe the individual languages, in order to make comparative studies possible. This research work, as far as the researcher knows, is the first advanced description of a language from the Bikwin-Jen subgroup of Adamawa. Despite that the research falls in line with the appropriate response to the alarms of language endangerment, the work is motivated by a keen interest to do linguistics for linguistics’ sake. The work set out to explore the verbal morphosyntax of Dza, analyse and describe it as a distinctive language without theoretical or typological bias.

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The overall aim of this study is to provide a good descriptive work on the verbal morphosyntax of Dza that is unbiased in terms of the trending or past formal linguistic theories. The work is not carried out with a deliberate aim to test any formal linguistic theory, neither is it carried out to formulate one. The Objectives of this research is to:

- i. Identify the morphosyntactic verb classes in Dza
- ii. Identify and describe the verbal categories in Dza such as Tense, Aspect and Mood
- iii. Describe the valence changing strategies in Dza
- iv. Describe verbal plurality in Dza

- v. Identify and describe deverbal nouns in Dza
- vi. Describe Evidentiality in Dza
- vii. Describe verbal negation in Dza
- viii. Identify and describe phrasal verbs in Dza

1.4 Research Questions

The main questions this work answered are as follows:

1. What are the various morphosyntactic verb classes in Dza?
2. What are the verbal categories in Dza?
3. What are the various valence changing strategies in Dza?
4. What are the morphosyntactic ways verbal plurality is expressed in Dza?
5. What are the morphosyntactic ways of forming deverbal nouns in Dza?
6. What morphosyntactic ways of marking evidentiality in Dza?
7. What are the morphosyntactic ways of marking verbal negation in Dza?
8. What are the various forms of Phrasal verbs in Dza?

1.5 Methodology

This research is purely a descriptive study which follows the classical form-and-function approach of describing languages. This approach is given the name basic linguistic theory (see Dixon, 3a). Dixon described that the basic linguistic theory conceived linguistics as a branch of natural science. Thus, each language is treated as a whole which has a complete linguistic system of its own. The approach, as described by Dixon is concerned with two fundamental tasks of science: description and explanation. He said, “Description deals with *how* a language is organized: for example, whether it has a system of tense or of gender, the nature of such systems, and the ways in which they fit into the overall grammatical fabric” (Dixon, 4a) while explanation seeks to inquire *why*. Thus, apart from other preliminary stages, this research followed through the following phases: the documentation phase or data collection, the analysis phase and the description and explanation phase.

The data collected for this research were gathered in two basic ways. First, the researcher had four good quality texts in his database from previous linguistic fieldwork carried out in the

Dza language area in 2015/2016. He then collected six more natural texts in the language within December 2018 to February 2019. The language consultants all came from Dza town and were chosen from different settlement locations. Their age range is 32 – 78 years. Three of the language consultants are female and five are male.

The equipment used in the fieldwork include a Zoom digital recorder and a recording system comprising a Beyerdynamic headset microphone with an iRig Pro phantom power amplifier recording directly into a computer. The recording made in the computer was done using a sound editing application known as Audacity, using a sample rate of 22,000Hz.

After collecting the data, the researcher exported individual WAV sound files into a transcription/elicitation software application known as SayMore. Upon completion of the transcription, the researcher then transferred the transcriptions into Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEx) for further elicitation and thorough grammatical analysis.

In this material, the Leipzig glossing rules were followed. Orthographic data are presented in angle brackets < >, phonetic data are presented in square brackets [], morphemic data are presented in slash brackets // while free translations are made in italics.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

This research is centred on describing the morphosyntactic features of the verbal system in Dza. Thus the work shall strive to remain within this context. This is just a piece of what should be considered a full-fledged grammatical description. Despite that morphosyntactic studies often get inter-woven with semantics, it is not within the context of this research to make detailed semantic explanations of morphemic or syntactic structures of verbs in Dza. Describing the morphosyntax of an undescribed language is often accompanied by exciting typological discussions, but since this research is itself not a typological comparative study, such discussions shall be avoided. This research is not made only for consumption of linguistic experts, thus the writer shall avoid as much as possible making the write-up too technical that a native speaker may not recognize the language.

1.7 Definition of Terms

Dza: Pronounced [dzə̀], is the endonym used to refer to the language, the people, or a town which is their language headquarters. Other times this is extended to refer to their geographical settlement area in the upper Benue valley. Their exonyms among their neighboring Bikwin-Jen is as follows; [d̥zè̀nkì] by Loo and Burak, [lèzèn] by Mak and Maghdi, [jàzèn] by Moo, Kyak and Leelau, while Munga Doso and Tha call them [lédzəm]. Among other non-Bikwin neighboring languages, the Bachama people call them [d̥zè̀né], the Yandang call them [jèzìn], the Fulbes call them [d̥zè̀nd̥zò]. However, the most widely used is the Fulbes', thus they are widely called Jen or Jenjo.

Bikwin-Jen : This is a name describing a cluster of ten North Western Adamawa Languages which include: Burak [bys], Dza (Jenjo) [jen], Kyak (Bambuka) [bka], Leelau [ldk], Loo [ldo], Maghdi [gmd], Mak (Panyam, Zo) [pbl], Moo (Gomu) [gwg], Munga Doso [mko], and Tha (Joole Manga). The languages are located in the middle of the Benue valley to the south of the Muri mountains at the border between Taraba, Adamawa and Gombe states. This cluster is named Jen in the *Ethnologue*.

Morphosyntax: “The area of interface between morphology and syntax. Morphosyntax attracts attention chiefly in cases of morphosyntactic mismatch, in which the constituent structure required by the syntax is inconsistent with the word structure required by the morphology” (Trask, 176). This research is interested in morphological features of verbs in Dza, their syntactic properties and any “morphosyntactic mismatch” associated with them.

Verb: A verb is a part of speech whose members typically signal events and actions: they constitute, singly or in a phrase, a minimal predicate in a clause: govern the number and types of other constituents which may occur in the clause: and, in inflectional languages, may be inflected for tense, aspect, voice, modality, or agreement with other constituents in person, number, or grammatical gender (Crystal 409: Givon 52 and Payne 47 as cited in GOLD)

Adamawa: is the classificatory label for about ninety languages, spoken in the central part of the sub-Saharan savannah belt (Sudan zone), in an area which stretches from the mountains bordering

the basins of the Middle Benue and the Lower Gongola in northeast Nigeria across the north of Cameroon to the east into Chad and the Central African Republic (Kleinewillinghöfer 1c).

CHAPTER TWO: THE DZA PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE

2.1 The Dza People

2.1.1 Geographical Situation

Dza is a language spoken in North East Nigeria by about 100,000 speakers according to the records of Ethnologue (see Lewis, Simons and Fennig). The people are located at the border between Gombe, Adamawa and Taraba states. In Gombe state, they are found in Balanga and Akko local government areas: while in Adamawa state they are found in Numan and Lamurde local government areas. The predominant population of Dza speakers is found in Taraba state. They are spread across seven local governments: Ardo-Kola, Bali, Gassol, Ibi, Jalingo, Karim-Lamido and Lau local government. Jalingo city has the highest population of people who consider Dza as their language of identity, perhaps more than any other town, city or village. But the concentration of people who actually speak the language is found in the traditional area of this ethnic group which comprises at least thirty (30) villages with Dza being the main town.

Villages inhabited by the speakers of the language west of Dza town include: Kanawa, Garin-Sarki, Maswe, Nwampwe, Nwamingshi, Nwada, Bīngwə, Hywe, Pulɛ, Pubu and Nwatangkə. Northward from Dza, there are villages such as: Sabon-Gari Jen, Mararaban Jen and Tiso. Toward the east, there is Njiko, Kelu, Punali, Nwabwaso, Nwatswi, Nwagyang, Nwagē, Bīngvĩ, Bantə, Boki, Gamadiyo Kanti and Garin Kuka and Bwehywambu. The villages southward include: Bwekitəpaw, Bwebaba, Bwenwabingsa, Mako and Donada.

Even though these villages are predominantly inhabited by speakers of the Dza language, in some of the villages, the speakers are mingled with other language groups. In Garin Sarki and Maswe, the Dza speakers are settled with Fulfulde (fuv) speakers. In Pubu and Sabon-Gari Jen, there are neighboring language groups such as Bambuka (bka), Mak (pbl) and Dadiya (dbd). In Punali, there are speakers of Chobo (ldp) living with the Dza people. In Dulum, there are speakers of Waja (wja) living with the Dza people. In Bantə, Boki and Gamadiyo, the Dza people live together with speakers of Bachama (bcy). In Donada, the Dza people are mingled with Yandang (yng) and Fulfulde speakers. But generally, Dza is predominantly surrounded by Adamawa languages. The exceptions include Bacama, a Chadic language from the East, and Jukunoid

languages such as Nye (bcv), Bandawa (bcv) and Lau Habe (bcv) from the south-west. Figure 1 below is a map showing Dza and neighboring languages.

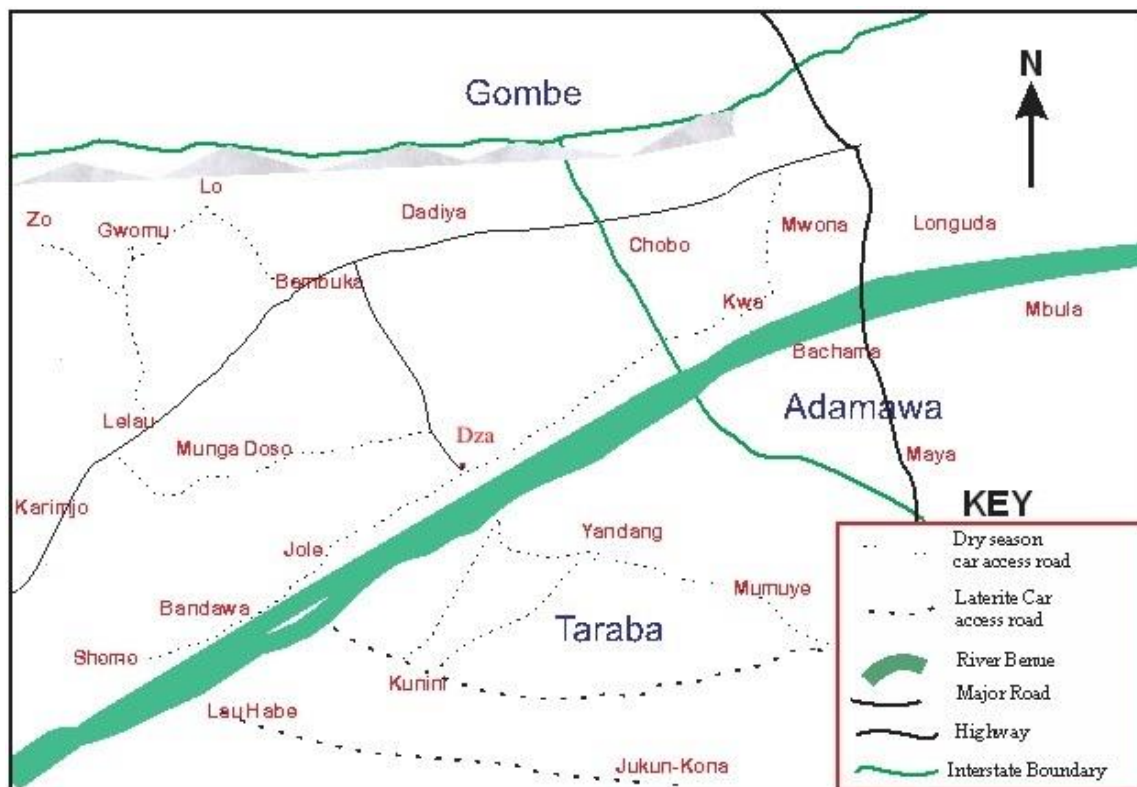


Figure 1: Dza and Neighbouring Languages

However, this research is based on data collected from the town of Dza in Karim-Lamido local government. Dza is located at the north bank of the Benue River, south of Lau, east of Numan town around the geographical coordinates $9^{\circ}22'46.5''N$ $11^{\circ}27'55.4''E$. Due to its location, the area is difficult to access from June to early November. Within that period, the easy access road to the area is via a dilapidated road from Lafiya-Lamurde and branching eight miles before Karim town. From mid-December, there is an access road from Mararaban Kunini via a ferry crossing over the Benue River to Dza town.

2.1.2 History

In a brief note on the origin of the Dza people, Charles K. Meek noted, “They claim to have come from the East, from a region called Za” (519). This is the consistent oral testimony even today, whenever asked about their origin. There are lots of speculations by different individuals as to the present location of Za from which the name Dza is derived. For example, Markus Maigida Musa

wrote that the Dza people, “traced their history to Yemen” (21) while Michael Iliya Faith mentioned two places: “the Blue Nile region of the Nubian Kingdom of Southern Sudan” and somewhere “east of the present day Medina in the Middle East region” (3). This migration is said to have happened in the 6th century A.D (Faith 3). There are variant descriptions of their route to their present location. However, it is consistently told that they settled around Lake Chad with other language groups (see Kundila, par. 4). Faith posited that the people “moved southwestward and encamped in the hills between Shani and Tula” (3). Unfortunately, there are no records of dates of these movements. However, there are oral testimonies attesting a historical migration together with the other sister languages of the Bikwin-Jen language cluster. For example, Gabiri Gabiri in an oral interview mentioned that the Dza people migrated together with *e ywawə* (a name used by the Dza people to refer to the speakers of the other languages of Bikwin-Jen cluster). He explained that, while at the hill region, the Dza people broke camp with the other groups and settled down around Kiri. From Kiri, they moved south to found the historic town of Numan (corrupted pronunciation of [nɪmwú] meaning, ‘a fertile land of sorghum’). It was from Numan that the majority of their population moved west to inhabit their present place of settlement, while others remained in the Himburu (corrupted pronunciation of Nyibulu) region of Numan till date.

While living at their present location, in the expedition to conquer more lands, the Fulani Jihadist led by Hammanruwa the brother of Buba Yero the ruler of Gombe, moved southward and arrived at the Dza people. Musa described that, “The Jihadist landed in Jen in 1832 and were affectionately received” (46).

Legend has it that, the Jihadist saw the physique of this group of people, their skills of hunting as well as their hospitality as a basis for alliance. Thus, they settled among the Dza people and established a warm relationship, especially by marrying Dza women. In the social structure of Dza people, matrilineal descent grants a person strong access to the wealth of his mother’s family as well as their protection. This added more strength to the stay of the Fulani in Dza and both groups learned each other’s language. So, they used Dza as their base to attack the neighbouring people groups and employed the services of mercenaries from among the Dza people.

However, the Dza people did not allow their relationship with the Fulani to soil their relationships with the neighbouring languages, listed in Figure 1 above, who also have affinity with them through intermarriage. Moreover, the language of Dza was fancied by most of these languages including the Jukunoid groups. As result the Fulani shifted their base westwards to Bumanda and later moved north-east to Jalingo which became the headquarters of a current emirate called Muri. For protection purposes as well as relationships, the Fulani migrated to Jalingo with a good population of Dza people who remained there, and some remain unidentified among the Fulanis up until the present day.

2.1.3 Economy

The location of Dza at the Benue river bank provides diverse economic opportunities to the people. The Benue River itself provides various species of fish and other aquatic animals such as water monitor lizards, manatee, hippopotamus, crocodiles, a local specie of fresh water oyster for food and for commercial purposes. In addition to the Benue River, most clans in Dza have fish ponds which they normally harvest from February to April. Just as Musa pointed out, “Fish are caught mostly for commercial use while a little for the upkeep of the family” (51). The soil profile of the area includes a horizon of good clay for pottery. Although at present, pottery is left for the Waja people living among the Dza in Nwatswi. Formerly the area was a thick forest, home to various species of wild animals. Thus, the people used to engage in hunting. The trees provide wood for carving of mortars, pestles, stools, kitchen utensils, farm tools and musical instruments. Some of the trees such as the bosouros palm trees provide materials for weaving sleeping mats, hand fans and local sieves. But that has changed now due to, “irregular deforestation by the indigenes for shifting cultivation and bush burning” (Musa 50). The land itself is a rich soil for farming a variety of crops. Thus, farming is a general occupation for the people of Dza regardless of other professions. The crops cultivated by the Dza people include: guinea-corn, maize, millet, groundnuts, rice, beans, sesame seeds and different varieties of vegetables. The annual island appearing when the Benue River retreats after the rainy season provides a rich soil for melon-seeds, potatoes and short varieties of maize.

Wealth in the worldview of the Dza people is acquired both individually and communally but shared communally. Formally, this is measured by the quantity of farm harvest, especially the number of sheaves of guinea corn, and baskets of melon seeds harvested. These are then stored in family barns usually located somewhere in the compound. The harvest may be gathered individually, but the barn is controlled by the eldest active person in the family. Every member of that household including the females who married into other families has some access to the family wealth. Whenever there is a shortage of food in the house into which she married, she is at liberty to get some from her original household.

But today, many Dza indigenes have gone to school and are pursuing white-collar jobs as well as other vocations. As a result, the majority of the Dza populace live outside the traditional settlement area. Thus, wealth is acquired individually and controlled individually. Wealth is now measured in landed property, money, cars, wages and salaries.

2.1.4 Education

Western education came with the missionaries in 1945. Musa reported that, "Following the inauguration of the Jen Mission station in 1945 by the EUB Mission ... The S.U.M primary school was opened immediately" (68). Their goal was to teach the indigenes literacy skills to read God's word especially in Hausa in order to enrich the mission workforce in the Muri areas. Thus, "The primary school runs two programmes. The missionaries designated evening classes for adults who wanted to read... Graduates of the adult literacy classes were either posted as evangelists or to enrol in the senior primary school at Bambur" (Musa 68). On one hand, those who continued to higher levels in education were given other jobs such as teaching and hospital attendants. Immediately, western education was perceived in the Dza area as enlightenment and another means of new economic opportunity.

Not long after the missionaries established a school in the area, the government started what was then called a 'floating' school in Dza area. According to Agwaru, "The native authority sent one Mallam Maidara, a Bura native from Garkida area to start a school at Jen, Bandawa and Lau in late 1949. The school system was known as a floating school." It was called a floating school

because the teacher would spend two weeks in Dza, then travel to Bandawa to spend two weeks, from Bandawa he would proceed to Lau for another two weeks and then back to Dza via boat.

Today, there is no official record of schools in the entire area occupied by the Dza natives. Being a native speaker, the researcher made a count of more than five government senior secondary schools in the Dza area. There are three in Dza town, one in Sabon Gari, one in Donada, one in Kanawa and one in Bingvĩ. There are also numerous government junior secondary schools and primary schools in the area. The number of Dza speakers who have attended tertiary institutions is not known. Nevertheless, at least 40% of secondary school graduates have moved on to further their studies. There are about ten known Dza speakers who have doctorate degrees, more than 100 with Master's degrees and an unknown number of with first degrees, HNDs, NDs, and NCEs.

2.1.5 Religious Affiliations

In a religiously diverse world today, it is difficult to tell for sure the religious affiliations of Dza speakers, considering that majority of the people are outside the traditional settlement area, some even beyond the borders of Nigeria. However, based on the writer's observation, majority of Dza speakers attend church, followed by the population of African Traditional Religions faithfuls and a number of Muslim faithfuls. However, it is common among the Dza people that no matter the religion, people respect traditional beliefs and maintains some level of affinity to the indigeneous traditional religions. Before the advent of Christianity, Islam and other African Traditional Religions in the area, the only religion local to the Dza people was the worship of *Mə*. The Dza people "describe the Supreme Being as *Fi* and associate him with the physical sun... and they also believe in and worship a second deity whose name may be spelt 'Ma', though the vowel is neutral *Mə*" (Meek 520). The term 'associate' in Meek's comment might be asserting a case of polysemy. According to legends amongst the Dza people, the spirit of *Mə* can possess someone from the blood line of his priests and give them gifts of discernment and other spiritual powers for leadership as well as welfare of his people. Amongst those with these privileged gifts from *Mə*, there are ones who lead a life of worship to *Mə* with a high degree of sanctity. These are considered favoured and in good standing with *Mə* and as such temples were opened for the

worship of *Mə* in their names. These include the temple of *Mə* in the order of: *Kawo*, *Sintwe*, *Afi*, *Age*, *Dampang*, *Kanjo* and *Wukə* respectively.

Coupled with this religion is the worship of spirits. According to Muni, “There are specifically two spirits who earned wide respect as gods in Dza. These spirits include the spirits of *Mwə* and *Ningbwi*.” *Mwə* is a feminine spirit that is said to be found flowing on water and brought home. This spirit is represented with an adorned spear and is mostly consulted to lead in war or other dangerous expeditions. The spirit is said to chase evil spirits away from the people as well as confuse or fight invaders. The spirit called *Ningbwi* on the other hand is said to have been found in the forest in the form of a beast. The beast is said to have had a frightening voice and spit fire. It was captured and brought home and served as the god of justice. Today, despite church and mosque attendance, the majority of Dza speakers still maintain some relationships with *Ningbwi*. People still take cases to the shrine of *Ningbwi*. Decrees from the shrine of *Ningbwi* receive more adherences compared to when it comes from other religions.

Furthermore, the above religions local to Dza have their liturgy and all other aspects carried out in the language of Dza. Anyone who speaks a different language apart from Dza during religious functions must offer propitiation or else face the wrath of the gods. Christianity and Islam are mostly practiced in Hausa in the Dza area, while *Mə Wurbo* an African Traditional Religion borrowed from the neighbouring Jukunoid languages is practiced in the Wurbo language.

2.2 The Dza Language

2.2.1 Linguistic Classification

Dza and its sister languages have a complicated classification history. What we know about the classification of Dza today dates back to Joseph Greenberg’s work of 1963. He classified the language under his group 9 of a former Adamawa-Eastern group of Niger–Congo called ‘Jen’ (Greenberg 9). “Using the method he called ‘mass comparison’, Greenberg... set up an ‘Adamawa – Eastern’ branch of Niger–Congo to contain a large number of Central African languages and language groups previously treated as individual units or ‘clusters’” (Boyd 170). Prior to Greenberg, Dza was listed among the non-class isolated language groups or units. The

available linguistic data at that time was considered, “not sufficient for any classification to be made” (Westermann and Bryan 139).

A few years after Greenberg’s work was published, there were questions about this new group called Adamawa-Eastern. William J. Samarin followed each of Greenberg’s Adamawa-Eastern languages and commented on their classification. He doubted the inclusion of Jen in this group. He mentioned that, “since there is a Chadic, that is, Afroasiatic, language by the name of Jen (more accurately, Njeng) ...one is entitled to question the inclusion of Jen in this group” (Samarin 220). However, this may purely be a confusion between Dza [jen] and Njeng (=Nzanyi [nja]). Samarin made this comment due to earlier classifications that grouped Dza with Afroasiatic languages such as Bata.

Furthermore, it was not clear what Adamawa stood for, either a geographically closed group or a genetically related linguistic unit. Patrick R. Bennett and Jan P. Sterk published an article titled, *South Central Niger-Congo: A Reclassification*. Bennett and Sterk re-evaluated Greenberg’s genetic classification of languages. Generally speaking, they concurred with his grouping of languages under Niger-Congo that the languages belong together. They assert that, “A large number of lexical and grammatical similarities link these groups, including basic nominal, verbal and numeral vocabulary, precisely corresponding concord systems with cognate class markers, and identical systems of verbal derivation” (Bennett and Sterk, 248). Their concerns were about the subgrouping of some languages including Adamawa languages. They claimed, “Statistically, there is some evidence for a link between Gur and Adamawa-Eastern” (249). Their research showed that some languages assigned under Adamawa – Eastern, specifically Longuda and Tula, “show significantly higher percentages of cognacy with Moore (Gur) than with some other Adamawa-Eastern languages” (249). This became the base for their reclassification.

Bennett furthered this research, looking at the following questions: “Is there an Adamawa – Eastern? Do the various groups of the languages assigned to Adamawa – Eastern constitute a viable unit within Niger-Congo? Are they properly grouped together, and, if so, what is their relationship with the rest of Niger-Congo?” (24). Even though there were no final answers to

these questions, Bennett set up a group called Trans-Benue under the then North Central Niger-Congo to include the groups: Tula – Longuda, Burak – Jen and Yungur. In this classification, Dza is sub-classified under the Burak – Jen group (Bennett 42). This group linked together by Bennett comprises Greenberg’s group 9 called Jen and a new group called Burak (*See* Hansford, Bendor-Samuel and Standford 181 – 82). But the Burak group was renamed Bikwin by Kleinewillinghöfer in 1995, thus henceforth Bikwin – Jen.

The validity of Bennett’s Trans-Benue group as a unit was disputed by Kleinewillinghöfer (*Relationship between Adamawa and Gur languages: The case of Waja and Tula*). He demonstrated divergences between members of this group phonologically, morphologically and lexically. Nevertheless, the group is maintained and renamed “Waja–Jen”. But the Gur–Adamawa relationship debate continues. In the Glottolog, Dza is classified under a lower sub-group of Bikwin–Jen under Waja–Jen of Central Gur called Jen. The sub-group comprises Dza, Tha and Munga Dosso. The Ethnologue on the other hand classifies Dza under a big group Waja–Jen of Adamawa called Jen. The Jen group of Ethnologue comprises of all the Bikwin–Jen languages. See Figure 2 and 3 below for the Glottolog and Ethnologue classifications:

Figure 2: Classification by Glottolog

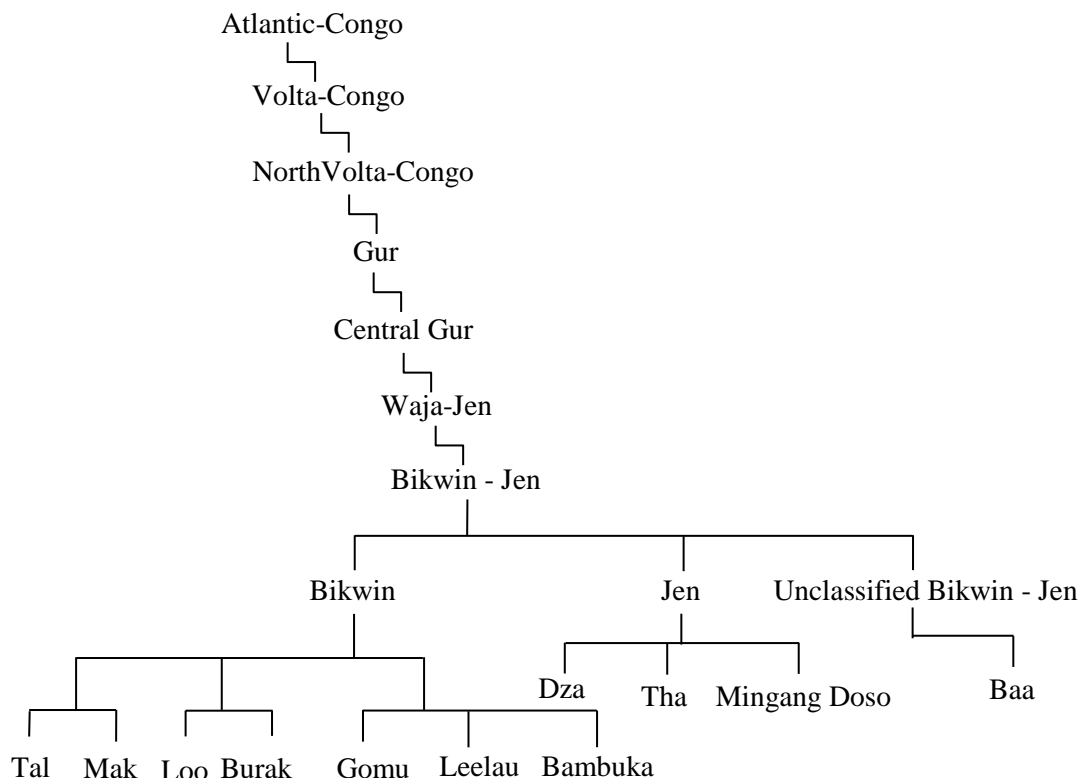
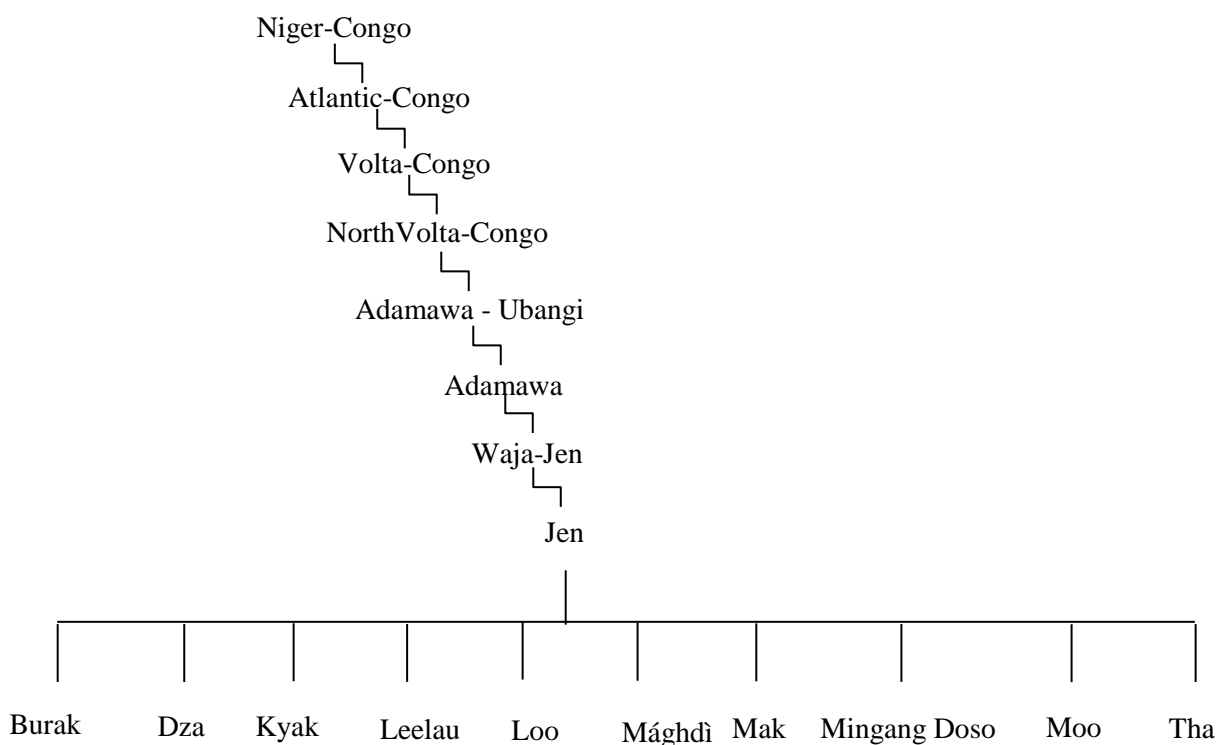


Figure 3: Classification by Ethnologue



2.2.2 Dialects

Dza town is divided into three regions: Dzakə, Ye and Nwabang. These are given Fulfulde names: Jaka, Saredo and Saretuonde and politically divided into Kachala, Kaigama and Ardido consecutively. Historically these regions used to speak different dialects. Though there was no deliberate research to investigate the existence of dialectal variations between speakers of Dza from these regions, however, the researcher has been gathering data from all these regions. At the moment it is difficult to tell apart speakers from these regions, because they speak some sort of a unified dialect of the language. Nevertheless, in earlier recordings of the language such as the Gospel Recording Network (GRN) audio files of Dza, one could tell lexical differences specifically in voicing and phoneme alternation compared to the form of the language spoken at the moment. Furthermore, in folk songs recorded by the researcher from the Dzakə region in 2018, a syntactic difference was noted compared with the current form of the language as spoken in Dza. Below are examples of the variations noted:

*GRN Recording**Present form of language*

(1) <min tsùpì be mǐnggba agā>

<min tūpì be mǐnggba akā>

[mìn tsùpì bê mǐngbá àgǎ]

[mìn tūpì bê mǐngbá àkǎ]

/mì-n tū-pì bê mǐng-gbá à-gǎ/

1.SG-NPST send-LOC with water-break spec-big

‘I will send a big flood’

*Folk song**Present form of the language*

(2) <navo>

<Na o>

[nǎvò]

[nà ô]

/nǎ vè wè/

/nǎ wè/

*mother GEN 3.SG**mother 3.SG*

On further investigation, it was discovered that the speaker recorded in the GRN audio for Dza happens to be from the Ye region. This made the researcher to inquire further the lexical differences and the following examples in Table 2.1 were gathered:

Table 2.1: Dialectal Differences in Dza

<i>Word</i>	<i>Dzakə</i>	<i>Ye</i>	<i>Nwabang</i>
<i>Guinea fowl</i>	[só]	[só]	[ʃó]
<i>Water pot</i>	[dzò]	[zò]	[tʃò]
<i>a specie of grass</i>	[kópídàŋ]	[kóbídàŋ]	[gbókádàŋ]
<i>foot</i>	[pù]	[bù]	[pù]
<i>answer (v)</i>	[kwè]	[gwè]	[kwè]
<i>person</i>	[ífi]	[ívi]	[ífi]
<i>dust</i>	[fò]	[vò]	[fò]
<i>food server</i>	[tʃɛ̃]	[tsɛ̃]	[tʃɛ̃]
<i>open (v)</i>	[bɛ̃]	[bɛ̃]	[bɛ̃]
<i>give (v)</i>	[tə]	[də]	[tə]

However, these differences are swiftly fading away. The present generation now speaks a mixture of all these dialects. There are supposed to be two other dialects from outside Jen. The first is the dialect of the language spoken by the Imburu people of Numan LGA. However, these have lost the language entirely and are speaking Bachama [bcy] at the moment. The second is the Zhinvo spoken by the Joole Nyawo, a banished Dza clan. They still speak their own dialect which shows some lexical and syntactic variations. However, no data is collected for comparison at the time of this research.

2.2.3 Language Use and Multilingualism

To the best knowledge of the researcher, no study has been done yet to describe the language use and multilingualism situation in Dza. However, the researcher as a mother-tongue speaker estimates at least 70% population of Dza speakers are trilingual, speaking Dza, Hausa and one other language. The remainder 30% are bilinguals, speaking Dza and one other language mostly Hausa.

It is common knowledge that Hausa is the language of wider communication in Northern Nigeria. In the Dza area, Hausa is used in the market, churches and mosques. Dza has its prominence in homes or at other social gatherings local to the Dza people. Furthermore, it is the official language of two African Traditional Religions: the *Ningbwi* cult and *Mə-akā* religion. English is the language of school and white collar jobs, although there are African indigenous churches such as Deeper Life, Living Faith, and Redeemed Christian Church of God who consistently use English with occasional interpretations in Dza or Hausa.

Apart from the above two big languages, Dza people interacted early with neighbouring language communities in intermarriage, religion and other sociocultural interactions which resulted in language sharing. A good example is the religion called *Mə Wurbo* alternatively called *Mə Mbaya*. According to Musa, “At about the 15th century ...the Jukun-Wurbo who are Jenjo ‘play mates’ decided to introduce them to the minor ‘Mmah’ ...called ‘Mmah Ba’aya” (35). He further explained that, “Any new member in the cult is urged to undergo a two month period of language training...” (36). The training teaches the new members *Wurbo*, the language of liturgy

as well as other forms of worship and communications of the religion. Also, when the Fulani aristocrats came and settled among the Dza people, many speakers of Dza learned Ffulde.

Furthermore, in villages inhabited by Dza as well as neighboring languages, children are raised trilinguals. An example is Pubu, a Dza village inhabited by Dza, Mak and Kyak speakers. In a sociolinguistic survey the researcher carried out in 2015, he discovered that most children and adults of that community could speak Dza, Mak and Hausa, or Dza, Kyak and Hausa. In the case where the person has gone to school, English is often added to the list.

2.2.4 Vernacular Publication

The first known publication of the language are short phrases transcribed by Meek in the early 1930s (530-38). Then the Global Recording Network (GRN) recorded some Bible stories and published them in the 1990s. Then the reading and writing Jenjo booklet was published with short stories and phrases in the language in 2008. In 2010, the Jenjo language development project published an alphabet chart followed by other charts in the language in 2011 such as: Counting numbers 1 – 100, The Lord's Prayer and The Nigerian National Anthem. In 2012, the Jenjo Jesus Film was recorded and published by the Campus Crusade International through the Great Commission Movement of Nigeria. There are traditional and gospel songs produced and published by various artists in the language too. At the moment, the Jenjo New Testament is consultant checked and undergoing community review.

2.2.5 Previous Linguistic Research on Dza

The earliest linguistic data available on Dza is a wordlist and some short phrases recorded by the anthropologist Charles K. Meek in the early 1930s. Meek in the second volume of his work titled, "Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria" presented a wordlist of about 102 items and 103 different phrases and sentences in the language (see Meek pp.530 -538). This data was enough for Greenberg to use for his mass comparative studies in the 1960s (compare Meek pp.530 – 538 and Greenberg pp.13-24). After Greenberg, Kleinewillinghöfer also published some wordlists comparing the Bikwin–Jen languages under his work titled "Die nordwestlichen Adamawa-Sprachen - Eine Übersicht". Dza also appears in some linguistics reference materials such as

Crozier and Blench's "An Index of Nigerian Languages" published in 1992, as well as the Ethnologue and the Glottog.

At the moment, no known published description of Dza is available in the public domain. Nevertheless, there may be various attempts by graduate and undergraduate students to describe Dza which the researcher may not know. During his undergraduate studies, the researcher carried out linguistic fieldwork and wrote up a basic phonological description, grammar sketch, and sociolinguistic report of the language, which are unpublished. These were all requirements by the TCNN Linguistics and Translation department.

CHAPTER THREE: PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

3.1 Phonology

Meek described the Dza people thus, “They are distinguished by speaking a language which has a phonology distinct from that of any of the surrounding tribes” (519). Distinct here may refer to the complexity of the phonology of Dza compared to the “surrounding tribes”. For example, in an earlier work by the author of this thesis, the phonological comparative study of the Jen language cluster, out of the forty seven (47) phonological segments realized in the synchronic inventory of consonant sounds, seventeen (17) were realized only in few languages of the cluster. Eight of those consonant sounds were found in Dza (Othaniel pp.26 – 27). Furthermore, there are phonological processes that occur in the language such as reduplication and epenthesis, elision, coalescence and nasal assimilation. This section gives some basic phonological notes on Dza.

3.1.1 Vowels

Dza has 9 oral vowels, of which 7 occur phonemically nasalized and 6 occur phonemically breathy. Tables 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 show the inventory of vowels in Dza.

Table 3.1: Oral Vowels

	<i>front</i>	<i>central</i>	<i>back</i>
close	i	ɨ	u
	e		o
mid		ə	
	ɛ		ɔ
open		ɑ	

Table 3.2: Nasalized Vowels

	<i>front</i>	<i>central</i>	<i>back</i>
close	ĩ	ĩ	ũ
mid		ẽ	
	ẽ		õ
open		ã	

Table 3.3: Breathy Vowels

	<i>front</i>	<i>central</i>	<i>back</i>
close	i̥		u̥
	e̥		o̥
mid		ə̥	
open		ɑ̥	

The contrast between the oral vowels and the nasalized vowels is clear-cut in Dza. The breathy vowels on one hand are less established. There are basically two areas that cast a shadow of doubt on the breathy vowels: they are more frequent with low tones, and the contrast between the breathy and the oral vowels is weak such that breathiness is neglected in fast speech and suffices when words are called in isolation.

However, the proposition here is that the breathy vowels are a vestigial trace of a preceding voiced consonant (Matthew Harley, personal conversation). The first argument for this proposition is that, examples of breathy vowels following voiced segments in Dza are rare. The only available instance is the voiced labio-palatal approximant /ɥ/ in the words /ɥì/ “smoke” and /ɥà/ “sickle”. Secondly, from Othaniel’s 300 comparative wordlist, cognates in other Bikwin-Jen languages have voiced consonants where Dza has a voiceless consonant followed by a breathy vowel. This follows the fact that the Ye dialect mentioned above often has a voiced consonant where other dialects have a voiceless consonant. Thus, if such consonants were originally voiced, then the breathy vowels are all that are left to distinguish the preceding consonants from their voiceless counterparts. See Table 3.4 below for examples of cognate segments in Dza and two closely related Bikwin-Jen languages: Dosso [mko] and Tha [thy].

Table 3.4: Cognate segments in Dza, Dosso and Tha

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Dza</i>	<i>Doso</i>	<i>Tha</i>
<i>answer</i> (v)	/kwə̥/	/gwə́ŋ/	/gwə̀/
<i>neck</i>	/tʃwī̥/	/dʒwim/	/jwí/
<i>snake</i>	/tsə̥/	/dzə̀/	/jə̀/
<i>grass</i>	/hū̥/	/vù/	/gù/
<i>count</i> (v)	/sḁ̀/	/zám/	-
<i>blood</i>	/ɥ̥/	-	/vi/

From the propositions made, it is clear that breathy vowels in Dza exist to make contrast between phonological segments that were originally different but now look similar due to some sort of change overtime. In which case, their presence signals the segment that underwent the change. However, it should be noted that the distinction is gradually being lost as earlier mentioned.

Table 3.5 below gives minimal pairs and triplets showing contrast between the three sets of vowels:

Table 3.5: Minimal Pairs between Oral, Nasalized and Breathy Vowels

Oral	Nasalized	Breathy
/fi/ ring	/fĩ/ plant spike	/fi̥/ maternal uncle
/pè/ surpass	- -	/pè̥/ to traverse
/hé/ to swell up	/hé̃/ all	- -
/pī/ place	/pī̃/ hoe	- -
/mà/ clay	/mà̃/ to rift off	/mḁ̀/ hunger
/kà/ to embrace	/kà̃/ to thank	/kḁ̀/ to mute
/kù/ to dust off	/kù̃/ to beg	/kù̥/ to belch
/sò/ mouth cavity	- -	/sò̥/ elephant
/tō/ odour	/tō̃/ ostrich	- -

3.1.1.1 Vowel Distribution

All the Dza vowels mentioned above occur word medially and word finally except the vowel /ĩ/ and the breathy vowels. All breathy vowels only occur word finally excluding ideophones and interjections. Furthermore, only the high unrounded front oral vowel /i/ and the open unrounded central oral vowel /à/ can occur in the word initial environment. Table 3.6 below gives example words of vowel distribution and restrictions:

Table 3.6: Vowel Distribution

	#_	C_C	_#
/i/	/ibě/ suffering	/fĩfi/ k. o. lily	/bì/ song
	/ilōŋ/ k.o calabash	/tʃitʃã/ manatee	/mì/ python
/ĩ/	- -	/ʃilipin/ glucose	ɲkĩ/ shield
	- -	/zidzɔŋ/ cricket	/ʃí/ to dry up
/i̥/	- -	- -	/kò ɸì/ k.o dove
	- -	- -	/tswàkì/ backyard

	#_	C_C	_#			
/e/	- -	/yèdžán/	k.o grass	/bē/	rope	
	- -	/tèlè/	k.o fish	/fē/	fig	
ɛ	- -	/hělí/	mockery interjection	/pè/	traverse (v)	
	- -	/hēhē/	tribute	/hēhē/	tribute	
ε	- -	/itègò/	k.o bird	/wé/	yam	
	- -	/mēmē/	lightening	/kpě/	eagle	
ē	- -	/kpělán/	tiny	/mpē/	k.o grass	
	- -	/kúbēzàŋkwè/	a type of disease	/jàbwíndè/	k.o insect	
i	- -	/mín/	water	/pī/	place	
	- -	/bìbì/	soft breath	/sí/	body	
ī	- -	-	-	/pī/	hoe	
	- -	-	-	/fī/	lust	
ə	- -	/səkóŋ/	k.o fish	/fə/	canoe	
	- -	/təŋ/	eat	/lə/	tongue	
ǝ	- -	/dzwətà/	sticky tobacco tar	/tə/	pinch	
	- -	/hùmwétwáŋ/	honey wax	/tswə/	sheabutter	
ɘ	- -	-	-	/yǝ/	tiger	
	- -	-	-	/twǝ/	cat	
a	áŋkəlèní	verbal caution	/làkpán/	k.o grass	/nva/	squerel
	- -	-	/mambû/	skink	/pā/	barn
ã	- -	/íjãfi	elder	/sã/	red soldier ant	
	- -	-	-	/vèkã/	large intestine	
ɑ	- -	-	-	/yɑ/	lion	
	- -	-	-	/nyɑ/	sickle	
u	- -	/bútji/	arrow	/tútú/	k.o beads	
	- -	/jũjũ/	tassel	/dú/	k.o fish	
ũ	- -	/gũká/	stumb	/tũ/	to send	
	- -	/sũbwí/	faint (noun)	/wùzũ/	k.o fish	
u	- -	-	-	/kũ/	belch	
	- -	-	-	/hũ/	grass	
o	- -	/tólótji/	k.o bird	/sõ/	k.o shofar	
	- -	/jìlòkwá/	cockroach	/lõ/	gruel	

	#_	C_C	_#
ɔ̃	- -	- -	/s̄ɔ̃/ <i>elephant</i>
	- -	- -	/ò/ <i>3SG.POSS.PRO</i>
ɔ	- -	/t̄ɔ̃f̄ā/ <i>k.o grass</i>	/ṁb̄ò/ <i>k.o fruit</i>
	- -	/k̄òf̄i/ <i>pawpaw</i>	/ḍz̄ib̄ò/ <i>bubble</i>
ɔ̄	- -	/s̄is̄òḍz̄w̄i/ <i>nose bleeding</i>	/k̄ò/ <i>k.o alligator</i>
	- -	- -	/ḍz̄ò/ <i>water pot</i>

3.1.1.2 Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony in Dza is another area that needs more study. The following are some surface observations of vowel harmony in Dza. It is observed that the +ATR vowels /e, o/ do not co-occur with the –ATR vowels /ɛ, ɔ/. The vowels /ə, a/ are neutral in Dza and can co-occur with either +ATR or –ATR vowels.

3.1.2 Consonants

Dza has 31 consonant phonemes. The consonant phonemes show symmetry in terms of voicing and at various places and manners of articulation. Table 3.7 below shows the inventory of consonant phonemes and some sounds in parenthesis.

Table 3.7: Inventory of Consonant Phonemes of Dza

	Labial	alveolar		palatal	labio-velar		velar	glottal		
Implosive	(b)	(d)								
Plosive	p	b	t	d	c	ɟ	k̄p	ḡb	k	g
Affricate		t̄s	ḍz	t̄ʃ	ḍʒ					
Nasal	(ṁ)	m		n		ɲ			ŋ	
Fricative	f	v	s	z	ʃ	ʒ				h
Approximant			l	(j)	j	ɰ	w			
				ɥ	ɥ					

3.1.2.1 Implosives

The implosives [b, d] are common in the Bikwin–Jen languages, but swiftly disappearing in Dza. At the moment, the contrast between the voiced bilabial plosive [b] and the corresponding bilabial

implosive [ɓ] is weak in Dza, such that it is difficult to interpret them as different phonemes. The same applies to the voiced alveolar plosive [d] and the alveolar implosive [ɗ]. In general, [b] substitutes [ɓ] in all environments but reverse is not true: there are words that are strictly [ɓ], and [ɓ] cannot substitute it. So also, [d] is a substitute of [ɗ] in all environments but [ɗ] is not a substitute of [d]. See examples below:

(3)	a.	[búʈʃĩ] ~ [búʈʃĩ]	<i>arrow</i>
	b.	*[b̥ĩ] ~ [b̥ĩ]	<i>tsetse fly</i>
(4)	a.	[dĩ] ~ [dĩ]	<i>take</i>
	b.	*[d̥ũ] ~ [d̥ũ]	<i>tickle</i>

3.1.2.2 Syllabic nasals

The voiceless bilabial nasal [m̥] occurs as a rare sound in Dza which is not yet reported in other Bikwin–Jen languages. As far as the writer knows, the sound occurs only in the root [m̥m̥ĩ] for the number 'five' and other words related to that number. Phonetically, the sound is a rare sound, but it is frequent in terms of usage.

In addition to the voiceless bilabial nasal, there are other syllabic nasals phonetically realized in Dza, but they do not contrast with other consonants and are restricted to the word initial environment. The syllabic nasals are as follows:

- (5)
- a. [m̥] in [m̥bò] *a specie of fruit*
 - b. [ŋ̥] in [ŋ̥təŋ] *a specie of fish*
 - c. [ɲ̥] in [ɲ̥ɔəŋ] *chest*
 - d. [ŋ̥] in [ŋ̥gàŋ] *curtain*

However, the writer attributes the many syllabic nasals to nasal assimilation. See section 3.1.4 below for more details.

3.1.2.3 The palatal approximants [j] and [ɟ]

The approximants column in Table 3.7 above show a beautiful voicing symmetry. However, phonemically the symmetry is distorted by the sounds [j] and [ɟ]. Generally, [j] occurs before oral vowels while [ɟ] before nasalized vowels, thus these sounds are in complementary distribution.

Below is an example in Table 3.8

Table 3.8: Complementary Distribution between /j/ and [j]

Oral Vowel		Nasalized Vowel	
[jḗ]	<i>sp. of fish</i>	[jḗ̃]	<i>animal</i>
[jà]	<i>scatter (v)</i>	[jà̃]	<i>to cross over</i>
[jí]	<i>rise (v)</i>	[jí̃]	<i>to soak</i>
*[jìḡ]	<i>haze</i>	[jìḡ̃]	<i>fish</i>
*[jḗḡ]	<i>gorila</i>	[jḗḡ̃]	<i>scorpion</i>
*[jḗḡ]	<i>leaf</i>	[jḗḡ̃]	<i>tear (v)</i>

The complementary distribution rule is as follows:

/j/ → [j] / _nasalized vowel

The three closed syllable lexical items marked with asterisks (*) in table 3.8 above are possible rare exception to the complementary distribution claimed here. They are considered near complementary distribution where [j] appears before oral vowels. Given the environment where these oral vowels occurred in these words, it is debatable that they may as well be nasalized vowels.

It should also be noted that the phonetic sound [j] occurs in words that are frequently used in the language such as meat [jḗ] and the verb to soak [jí].

3.1.2.4 Consonant Distribution

All consonant phonemes of Dza occur in word-initial position including syllabic nasals. In word-final position, only the velar nasal occurs (See Table 3.9).

Table 3.9: Consonant Distribution

	#_		V_V		_#	
	Data	Gloss	Data	Gloss	Data	Gloss
/b/	/bí/	<i>song</i>	/bíbí/	<i>fear</i>	-	-
/p/	/pì/	<i>hoe</i>	/pèpì/	<i>quickly</i>	-	-
/k/	/kḗ/	<i>tree</i>	/kùkù/	<i>bone</i>	-	-
/g/	/gḗ/	<i>deep river</i>	/ìtègḗ/	<i>k.o bird</i>	-	-
/kḗ/	/kḗpḗ/	<i>eagle</i>	/làkḗpḗ/	<i>k.o grass</i>	-	-
/gḗ/	/gḗbḗbḗ/	<i>mature</i>	/ìgḗbḗkḗ/	<i>adulterer</i>	-	-
/t/	/twí/	<i>k.o water lily</i>	/kitì/	<i>tray</i>	-	-
/d/	/dḗḡ/	<i>music</i>	/kwḗdḗ/	<i>tuwo flour paste</i>	-	-
/ts/	/tswí/	<i>hyena</i>	/dàtsḗ/	<i>k.o bird</i>	-	-

	#_		V_V		_#	
	Data	Gloss	Data	Gloss	Data	Gloss
/dz/	/d̄zè/	<i>k.o fish</i>	/d̄z̄id̄z̄i/	<i>fry pan</i>	-	-
/tj/	/t̄j̄i/	<i>cloud</i>	/bút̄j̄i/	<i>arrow</i>	-	-
/d̄z̄/	/d̄z̄ib̄ò/	<i>bubble</i>	/f̄id̄z̄è/	<i>k.o flu</i>	-	-
/m/	/m̄ó/	<i>laughter</i>	/k̄p̄ém̄éŋ/	<i>k.o grass</i>	-	-
/n/	/n̄iḡò/	<i>k.o of ant</i>	/kw̄àná/	<i>scum</i>	-	-
/ŋ/	/ŋ̄i/	<i>mill stone</i>	/l̄èŋ̄ò/	<i>relation</i>	-	-
/ŋ/	/ŋ̄ó/	<i>drive</i>	/bw̄āŋ̄ē/	<i>k.o cap</i>	/p̄īŋ̄/	<i>egg</i>
/f/	/f̄i/	<i>maternal uncle</i>	/ŋ̄d̄zw̄if̄ò/	<i>tower</i>	-	-
/v/	/v̄ēk̄ā/	<i>large intestine</i>	/iv̄à/	<i>king</i>	-	-
/s/	/s̄à/	<i>time</i>	/p̄òs̄ē/	<i>clay dish</i>	-	-
/z/	/z̄à/	<i>vulture</i>	/w̄ùz̄ù/	<i>k.o fish</i>	-	-
/ʃ/	/ʃ̄i/	<i>crocodile</i>	/k̄òʃ̄i/	<i>pawpaw</i>	-	-
/z/	/z̄id̄z̄áŋ̄/	<i>cricket</i>	/z̄iʒ̄i/	<i>falcon</i>	-	-
/ʌ/	/ʌ̄è/	<i>thorn</i>	/h̄ùʌ̄è/	<i>k.o snake</i>	-	-
/w/	/w̄é/	<i>yam</i>	/k̄ōw̄āŋ̄/	<i>k.o snake</i>	-	-
/h/	/h̄ó/	<i>buffalo</i>	/z̄ēh̄ē/	<i>k.o animal</i>	-	-
/l/	/l̄á/	<i>tongue</i>	/l̄īāŋ̄/	<i>k.o calabash</i>	-	-
/j/	/j̄ō/	<i>pig</i>	/ij̄è/	<i>woman</i>	-	-
/ɥ/	/ɥ̄ī/	<i>bird</i>	/ɥ̄iɥ̄i/	<i>to whistle</i>	-	-
/ɥ/	/ɥ̄é/	<i>root</i>	/k̄ób̄ēɥ̄á/	<i>small intestine</i>	-	-

Note that, there are clitics such as /-w/ and /-n/ which attach to words but with grammatical functions over an entire clause or sentence. Formerly, loanwords with word final consonants other than the velar nasal /ŋ/ are adapted in Dza by elision of such consonants. Table 3.10 below give some examples of domesticated loanwords are given below:

Table 3.10: Domesticated Loanwords

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Original Form</i>	<i>Domesticated form</i>
<i>handset (cellphone)</i>	[háendsèt]	[hánsè]
<i>machine (motorcycle)</i>	[m̄ə'f̄i:n]	[m̄àʃ̄i]
<i>Automobile horn</i>	[h̄ō:n]	[h̄ô]

But in recent developments especially among the educated elites, the word final consonants are maintained in loanwords even if they are not /ŋ/.

3.1.3 Lexical and Grammatical Tone

Dza is a tonal language and tone plays a function in lexical and grammatical contrast. So far, three contrastive level tones: H, M and L are clearly attested. Furthermore, there are three contour tones: HL, LH and LHL. Below are examples of the lexical tones in Dza.

Table 3.10: Lexical tonal contrast

Tone Level	Example word		Example word		Example word	
H	/tá/	<i>to cry</i>	/kú/	<i>head</i>	/ɥé/	<i>red monkey</i>
M	/tā/	<i>to press</i>	/kū/	<i>shade</i>	/ɥē/	<i>sesame</i>
L	/tà/	<i>tobacco</i>	/kù/	<i>shake of</i>	/ɥè/	<i>snail</i>
LH	/tǎ/	<i>father</i>	/kǔ/	<i>belch</i>	/ɥě/	<i>bed</i>

In Dza, tone is one of the morphological strategies for marking the contrast between the interrogative and the declarative mood, object pronouns and possessive pronouns, perfective and imperfective (habitual) aspect. In examples (6), the difference between the plain statement in ‘i’ and the question in ‘ii’ is the high-fall tone on the reduplicated verb root. While in (6) iii, the possessive pronoun in the sentence final position is marked by a mid-tone while the object pronoun in the middle of the sentence by a low tone. In the negated constructions in (6) iv and v, habituality is marked by the complex low-falling contour tone on the negation clitic /lò/. Example sentences with grammatical functions of tone are given in (6) below:

- (6) i. /mè-n tǎ-tǎ/
 2.SG-NPST go-go
 ‘You will go’
- ii. /mè-n tǎ-tǎ/
 2.SG-NPST go-go.INTER
 ‘Will you go?’
- iii. /mè-n t̃fĩ mì bê hò mĩ/
 2.SG-NPST find 1.SG with bag 1.SG.POS
 ‘You will find me together with my bag’

iv. /ò ηwá lò/
 2.SG.PFV drink NEG
 ‘He did not drink’

v. /ò-ṅ ηwá loĩ
 2.SG.PFV-NPST drink NEG.HAB
 ‘He does not drinks’

A fourth grammatical function of tone is marking locative nominal forms. See examples (6) vi below for examples:

vi. / té/ mountain /ηwĩ/ stream
 /tê/ on the mountain /ηwĩ/ in the stream

The morphological difference between the noun ‘mountain’ and the locative phrase ‘on the mountain’ in ‘vi’ above is given by the high-low contour tone as result of a floating low tone which came about by elimination of the post-positional locative suffix (-j) as a phonological rebel. See section 4.2.5 below for more.

3.1.4 Phonological Processes

In Dza, there are innate phonological processes which happen in natural speech such that at surface level, the fused exponents suggest different forms from the underlying forms. The identified phonological processes discussed in this section include reduplication, elision, nasal assimilation and syllabic nasalization.

3.1.4.1 Reduplication and Epenthesis

Reduplication of verb roots is used in Dza to mark verbal focus and also to mark future tense. This normally happens with monosyllabic roots. When that happens, the vowel of the first root is deleted and an epenthetic vowel /i/ is intuitively produced to aid pronunciation. Below are some examples:

(7) a. [bwàḏ̣wíw s'íṣ̣]
 /bwà-ḏ̣wí wē ṣ̣-ṣ̣/
 hole-nose 3.SG.POS chocked up-chocked up
 ‘his nose is chocked up’

b. [bwàd̥z̥wíw ś̥ w̥j̥]

/bwà-d̥z̥wí w̥ ś̥ j̥j̥/

hole-nose 3.SG.POSS chocked up PFV.ASS

‘his nose is chocked up’

c. [kápùw f̥f̥]

/káp-ù w̥ f̥-f̥/

frame-foot 3.SG.POSS loose-loose

‘his leg is dislocated’

d. [kápùw f̥ j̥j̥]

/káp-ù w̥ f̥ j̥j̥/

frame-foot 3.SG.POSS loose PFV.ASS

‘his leg is dislocated’

It should be noted that, the form of the epenthetic vowel can be affected by the environment it occurs in. Below is an example:

e. [bē dé w̥'wá]

/bē dé wá-wá/

rope DET break-break

‘The rope is broken’

Based on the phonetic transcription of ‘d’ above, [i]→[u]/w_w.

3.1.4.2 Elision

In Dza, elision is attested frequently in compound words to conform to syllable structure constraints. For example, when two vowels are adjacent in a compound, instead of resulting in a glide or vowel lengthening, one of the vowels is elided. Another scenario is where the first word of the compound is a closed syllable word, and the initial phonological segment in the next word is a vowel. The word final consonant /ŋ/ does not occur intervocalically in Dza, thus, the vowel segment is elided. Below are some examples of elision that occur in Dza:

(8) a /n̥j̥ à k̥àŋ/ → [n̥j̥k̥àŋ]

/n̥j̥ à k̥àŋ/

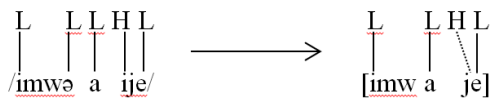
thing SPEC benignity.favor

‘goodness’

- b. ìmwə̀ à íjè/ → [ìmwàjễ]
- | | | |
|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| /ìmwə̀ | à | íjè/ |
| <i>child</i> | <i>SPEC</i> | <i>female</i> |
- ‘girl’

- c. /ífi tá jǝ́/ → [ítájǝ́]
- | | | |
|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| /ífi | tá | jǝ́/ |
| <i>person</i> | <i>shoot</i> | <i>animal</i> |
- ‘hunter’

However, it should be noted that some elided segments leave prosodic clues of their existence. Such segments leave a floating tone that spreads to the next tone bearing unit to form a glide. This is seen in example ‘(8) b’ above. Though the word initial vowel /i/ on the word female is elided, the high tone on the vowel spreads over. The tone spread is illustrated below:



3.1.4.3 Fusion

The term fusion used here refers to the phonological process where two or more distinguishable phonemic segments coalesce to give a distinct segment (Burquest 178, Trask 112, Crystal 82).

Some examples are given in (9).

- (9) a. [bènìŋ]
- | | | |
|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| /bì | à | nìŋ/ |
| <i>talk</i> | <i>SPEC</i> | <i>genuine</i> |
- ‘truth’
- b. [ò d̄zîê ní ò tsà mì lò]
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------|------------|
| /ò | d̄zî-kə | ní | ò | tsà | mì | lò/ |
| <i>3.SG.PFV</i> | <i>come(out)-APPL</i> | <i>PROX</i> | <i>3.SG.PFV</i> | <i>greet</i> | <i>1.SG</i> | <i>NEG</i> |
- ‘He did not greet me when he came out’
- c. [ò kwê ní sí wə̀ jíjĩ]
- | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|------------------|
| /ò | kú-kə | ní | sí | wə̀ | jí-jĩ/ |
| <i>3.SG.PFV</i> | <i>sit-APPL</i> | <i>PROX</i> | <i>body</i> | <i>3SG.POS</i> | <i>pain-pain</i> |
- ‘As he is now, he is sick’

- d. [ò tá jéŋ sí tǎ wǎ/]
 /ò tá jéŋ sí tǎ wǎ/
 3.SG.PFV go PFV.ASS LOC father 3.SG.POSS
 ‘He has gone to his father’

From the above examples, consistently the prosodic properties of the underlying linguistic units are maintained in the new segment as result of fusion.

3.1.4.4 Nasal Assimilation and Nasal Intrusion

In Dza, nasal sounds get affected by the environment they occur. They tend to assimilate to the places of articulation of the obstruent succeeding them. Furthermore, in compound words, when the onset consonant of the last root is a plosive or an affricate, there is an intrusion of a homorganic nasal before them. Below are some examples:

- (10) a. [pìsǐŋmpì]
 /pì-sǐŋ-pì/
 NOM- envy – NOM
 ‘jealousy’
- b. [pìgbámpì]
 /pì-gbá-pì/
 NOM1 – destroy.break – NOM1
 ‘destructive character’
- c. [nìmpùŋgà]
 /nìmpù-gà/
 goat-mane
 ‘sheep’

In examples ‘(10) a’ and ‘(10) c’ above, we see /ŋ/ →[m]/_p. While in ‘(10) b’ and ‘(10) c’ we see nasals appearing where there were no nasals initially as explained earlier. Another example of nasal assimilation is the syllabic nasals. So far, there are four syllabic nasals noted in the Dza data collected. These are [ṁ, ṅ, ŋ, ɲ]: however, only the alveolar syllabic nasal [ŋ] occurs before sonorants, e.g [ŋɲɔ] ‘sickle’. Furthermore, the low tone syllabic nasal [ṅ] occurs as the morph for the first person singular subject pronoun in Dza. All other phonetically realized syllabic nasals on the other hand occur only with homorganic obstruent. Thus, the writer made the verdict that the latter group of syllabic nasals occur as result of nasal assimilation.

This can be seen in the rule below:

$$/ŋ/ \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} m \\ \eta \\ n \end{array} \right\} / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} _bilabial\ obstruent \\ _velar\ obstruent \\ _palatal\ obstruent \end{array} \right\}$$

It should be noted most occurrence of syllabic nasals in Dza, with exception of the first person singular subject pronoun and the non-past tense marker, occur as result of nasal intrusion in nominal forms. This is widespread in Dza. However, there is no known contrast between nominal forms with an initial intrusive syllabic nasal and the forms without them.

3.1.5 Syllable Structure

There are six phonological syllable types identified in Dza. All these syllable types consist of a tone bearing unit which is either a vowel or a syllabic nasal. See table 3.12 below for the list of the six possible syllable types in Dza:

Table 3.12: Syllable Types

Syllable Pattern	Data	
V	/è /	<i>broom</i>
CV	/bá/	<i>goat</i>
CVC	/p̄ŋ/	<i>egg</i>
CCV	/kló/	<i>chief</i>
Ŋ	/ŋ/	<i>1SG. Subject pronoun</i>
VC	/áŋ.kə.lə/	<i>warning</i>

It should be noted that in all the closed syllable patterns above, except in borrowed words or with suffixation by a clitic, the only consonant that fills the coda is the voiced velar nasal /ŋ/. The syllable types V, CV and CVC occur without distributional restrictions. Thus the maximal syllable template for Dza is [CVC]^{max}. On the other hand, CCV, VC and Ŋ syllable types occur only in word-initial position.

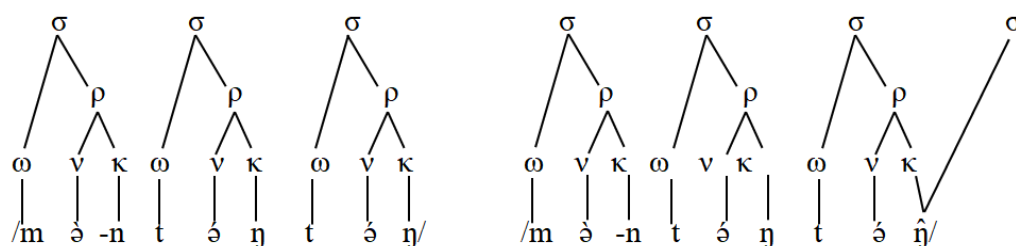
Furthermore, it should be noted, there is a rare process where floating grammatical tones can syllabify the velar nasal [ŋ] in the coda. This happens only when the sentence-final syllable has a

coda. See (11) below for example sentences using the grammatical function of tone in marking questions in Dza:

- (11) a. /mè-n tɛŋ tɛŋ/ ‘you will eat’
 b. /mè-n tɛŋ tɛŋ̂/ ‘will you eat?’

In Dza, one of the ways questions are marked morphologically is by a floating falling tone on the last tone bearing unit of the sentence final word. Thus, whenever there happens to be a change from declarative to interrogative mood, instead of the floating tone attaching to the vowel at the nucleus, it instead syllabifies the velar nasal at the coda, as shown in (12).

(12)



a. ‘You will eat’

b. ‘Will you eat?’

In example 12b above, the morphosyntactic clitic floating tone amplifies the sonority of the nasal and somehow makes the entire syllable appear as a superheavy syllable with three moras. On the other hand, it appears the tone somehow lengthens the nasal and makes it do two functions: its original function as coda and as a syllable to morphosyntactically mark the sentence as a question.

3.2 Orthography

Dza has a tentative orthography. It was proposed in 2008, with an alphabet of 42 letters. The orthography uses Roman script like the transfer languages, Hausa and English. Almost all the symbols in the transfer languages were adopted to represent corresponding phonemes in Jenjo. The unused remnant symbols are <q, r, x> from English and <ɓ, d, k> from Hausa. The sections below illustrate how the various phonemic sounds realized in Dza are represented orthographically.

3.2.1 Consonants

The consonant phonemes described in section 3.2.1 above are represented with the following graphemes in Dza orthography:

Table 3.13: Consonant Phonemes and Corresponding Graphemes in Dza

Phoneme	Grapheme	Example Word	Gloss
/b/		<bə>	see
/c/	<ky>	<kya>	teres
/d/	<d>	<du>	muscle
/d͡z/	<dz>	<dzwã>	latex
/d͡ʒ/	<j>	<jəng>	cheek
/f/	<f>	<fi>	wipe
/g/	<g>	<gã>	divert
/g͡b/	<gb>	<gbɛ>	periwinkle
/h/	<h>	<hã>	ambush
/ɥ/	<yw>	<ywa>	air
/ɥ̣/	<hyw>	<hywa>	soil
/j/	<y, hy>	<yə>	fish (sp.)
		<hyã>	animal/meat
/j̣/	<gy>	<gya>	uncultivated plant
/k/	<k>	<kã>	thank
/k͡p/	<kp>	<kpɛ>	eagle
/l/	<l>	<lo>	gruel
/m/	<m, hm>	<mə>	repair
		<bwahmi>	five
/n/	<n>	<nə>	grind
/ɲ/	<ny>	<nyi>	millstone
/ŋ/	<ng, n>	<ngə>	drive
		<nwa>	drink
/p/	<p>	<pə>	pierce
/s/	<s>	<sa>	island
/ʃ/	<sh>	<shɪ>	wing termite
/t/	<t>	<tu>	spit
/t͡s/	<ts>	<tswã>	flute (k.o)
/t͡ʃ/	<ch>	<chəng>	anthill

Phoneme	Grapheme	Example Word	Gloss
/v/	<v>	<vĩ>	write
/w/	<w>	<wə>	poison
/ʌ/	<hw>	<hwə>	fight
/z/	<z>	<za>	vulture
/ʒ/	<zh>	<zhĩ>	housefly

The orthography largely has a one to one correspondence between phonemes and graphemes. However, there are two cases of over-representation involving the velar nasal /ŋ/ and the bilabial nasal /m/. The velar nasal /ŋ/ is represented with letter <n> in word initial position when it precedes /w/, while it is written as <ng> elsewhere. Below are examples:

- (13) a. /ŋwá/ → <nwá> ‘mouth’
b. /ŋǎ/ → <ngǎ> ‘sour’

The voiceless bilabial nasal [m̥] is a rare sound in Dza. Due to its frequency of usage in words related to the number five in Dza, it is represented with the diagraph <hm> distinct from the voiced bilabial nasal /m/ which is represented with the letter <m>.

3.2.2 Vowels

As pointed out in section 3.1.1 above, the vowels in Dza are articulated as oral, nasal or breathy vowels. Table 3.13 below describes how the vowel phonemes in 3.1.4 are written in the orthography of Dza:

Table 3.13: Vowel Phonemes and Corresponding Graphemes in Dza

Phoneme	Grapheme	Sample words	Gloss
/a/	<a>	<fa>	color
/ǎ/	<a>	<hywa>	knife
/ã/	<ã>	<gã>	to divert
/ɔ/	<ɔ>	<yɔ>	pig
/õ/	<õ>	<kõ>	alligator (sp.)
/e/	<e>	<we>	antelope
/ɛ/	<ɛ>	<hywe>	tamarind
/ɛ/	<ɛ>	<wɛ>	yam
/ə/	<ə>	<fə>	canoe

Phoneme	Grapheme	Sample words	Gloss
/ə/	<ə>	<hywə>	tiger
/ẽ/	<ẽ>	<hẽ>	all
/ḍ/	<ḍ>	<sḍ>	to be dirty
/i/	<i>	<fi>	slaughter
/i̇/	<i̇>	<ki̇>	mat
/ĩ/	<ĩ>	<pĩ>	to climb
/ị/	<ị>	<fị>	pull
/ị̃/	<ị̃>	<pị̃>	hoe
/o/	<o>	<so>	guinea fowl
/u/	<u>	<pu>	tree (sp.)
/u̇/	<u̇>	<hu̇>	grass
/ũ/	<ũ>	<hũ>	shoe

In representing vowel phonemes, symbols from the transfer languages were used, in other cases, special symbols were used. Nasalized vowels are marked by a superscript tilde <~> on the vowel affected. The breathy vowels are under-represented with the graphemes of their corresponding oral vowel phonemes.

3.2.3 Tone

Lexical tones are not marked in the orthography of Dza. This decision was based on fear of complexification of the orthography with too many symbols considering vowel features such as nasalization. However, the numerous heterophonic homographs that resulted due to the absence of tone marking are making readers stumble as they read. Inasmuch as an orthography should not be complex, it is better that it has less ambiguity and helpful for fluency and accuracy in reading. Thus in this case, some minimal tone marking will help distinguish between heterophonic homographs. The writer of this thesis recommends that the most common tone in the language, the low tone, should be left unmarked while the less frequent level tones, mid and high, should be underdifferentiated and marked with an acute accent. The lexical contour tones should be marked with doubling of the vowel graphemes since vowel length is not contrastive in Dza.

As discussed in section 3.1.3 above, tone plays the grammatical functions of distinguishing between the interrogative and the declarative moods, object and possessive pronouns, perfective and imperfective (habitual) negation and marking locative nominal forms.

The grammatical function of tone in determining the contrast between the interrogative and declarative moods in Dza is handled effectively by using the question mark “<?>”. See example below:

- (14) a. /d͡ʒɛ̀nî/ <jɛnî> ‘today’
b. /d͡ʒɛ̀nî̂/ <jɛnî?> ‘is it today?’

Object and possessive pronouns are unmarked in Dza orthography. The syntactic context of constructions helps in disambiguating between the two. The object pronoun always comes after a verb, while the possessive pronoun comes after the possessed noun phrase.

The contrast between the habitual aspect and the perfective negations is also unmarked in Dza orthography. There is always some syntactic clue to disambiguate between the two aspects. In the example in 3.1.3 above, the non-past tense marker /ɲ-/ plays that function.

Nominal locative tones are also not marked. These ought to be marked since there are no syntactic supports unlike the case of possessive and object pronouns: habitual and the perfective aspects negation. This can be marked with a circumflex accent diacritic on the last TBU of the nominal form being modified.

3.2.4 Word Breaks

Orthographic words are separated by spaces in the Dza orthography. This has not been difficult since most words are either mono-syllabic or disyllabic, but there are issues with some compound words. Below are examples:

3.2.4.1 Pronouns and Verb Roots

In the Dza orthography, pronouns are written disjunctively from the verb root. The justification of this decision can be illustrated by example (15) below:

- (15) /è ò wə kú ká/
 3.PL.PFV carry 3.SG on tree

They should hang him on the tree

First, it should be noted there are restrictions caused by vowel harmony in the language as noted in 3.1.1.2 above. The –ATR vowels /ɛ, ɔ/ do not co-occur with the +ATR vowels /e, o/. Thus, writing the pronoun and the verb conjunctively in example (15) above will be a violation of this restriction. Secondly, in the distribution of vowels in 3.1 above, only the vowel /i/ occurs in the word initial position. In example 15 above, the pronoun is a vowel that is not allowed by distribution to occupy the word initial position. It should also be noted that the pronoun is substitutable by other nominal forms.

3.2.4.2 Valence Markers

In Dza, valence markers are written inconsistently. Sometimes they are attached to verb roots, other times they are written disjunctively. Below are some examples:

- (16) a. <bi tsəsə yəŋg>
 /bì tsə̀-sə jəŋ/
 1.PL.PFV separate-REC PFV.ASS
 ‘we have separated from each other’
- b. <o tsə bi sə yəŋg>
 /ò tsə̀ bì sə jəŋ/
 3.SG.PFV separate 1.PL REC PFV.ASS
 ‘he/she have separated us from each other’
- c. <sede ni o təkə ni>
 /sèdè ní ò təkə ní/
 Money PROX 3.SG.PFV give-APPL PROX
 ‘the money he gave’
- d. <sede ni o təkə ni>
 /sèdè ní ò təkə bì kəkə ní/
 Money PROX 3.SG.PFV give 1.PL APPL PROX
 ‘the money he gave us’

In a, b, c and d above, the reciprocal valence marker <sə>, and the applicative marker <kə> are written attached to the verb root when the verb is intransitive or when the subject argument is referred in the object argument slot. But when the subject refers to a different person from the object, it is written disjunctively. The object pronoun or noun phrase normally comes between the verb and the grammar valence markers. However, most valence markers in Dza are enclitics attaching to the preceding syntactic neighbour, thus in this case they should be written conjunctively with their phonological host. Same thing applies to the applicative enclitic.

3.2.4.3 Compound Words

In Dza, when an open syllable word precedes a word that starts with a vowel in a compound word, they are normally written disjunctively. Despite the space, they constitute one concept and are expected to be pronounced together, e.g. <bi aning> “truth”. The concern here is that if they were written conjunctively, readers might perceive them to be glides or other vowel sequences, whereas there is no CV.V.CVC word structure in Jenjo. In this case, hyphens can be used to link the words as compounds.

When a closed syllable word precedes a word that starts with a vowel in a compound, there is bound to be a problem with whether to write it conjunctively or disjunctively. The concern is that Dza does not allow such word structures, e.g. <ningabe> “trespass”. If this written as one word <ningabe>, there would be a temptation for readers to shift the syllable break between “n” and “g” since there is already a CVC.CV.CV word structure. The writer suggests the use of hyphen to solve this problem.

CHAPTER FOUR: NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

The label “noun” used here covers the lexical class of “words that express the most time-stable concepts... that characteristically do not vary appreciably over time” (Payne 33). This conforms to the traditional definition of noun as, “the class of words in which occur the names of most persons, places, and things” (Schachter and Shopen 5). The discussion in this section briefly covers some properties of nouns in Dza.

4.1 Noun Classes

Dza is a non-noun-class language. However, in earlier attempts, there were assumptions the writer made on some perennial noun prefixes in Dza and mistaken them to be traces of noun class systems in Dza. This claim was later discarded after realizing that most of the cases were likely noun-noun compounding where the prefixes have some semantic value attached to them. Below are the earlier assumptions:

a. **Class one carry the prefix “i-”.**

All the human related generic nouns are in this category.

(17) <i>Singular Form</i>		<i>Plural Form</i>	
/i-fì/	<i>person</i>	/è í-fì/	<i>people</i>
/i-bwì/	<i>male</i>	/è í-bwì/	<i>males</i>
/i-hè/	<i>female</i>	/è í-hè/	<i>females</i>
/i-mwà/	<i>child</i>	/è í-mwà/	<i>children</i>
/i-twé/	<i>owner</i>	/è í-twé/	<i>owners</i>
/i-và/	<i>king</i>	/è í-và/	<i>kings</i>

From (17) above, the morph /i-/ mistaken as a noun class marker is associated with the semantic value of ‘person’ with the extension of either owning something or being something. Thus, the writer takes these as a case of ‘noun-noun’ compounding. These kinds of noun-noun compounding are common in Dza. In (18) below are some clear examples of such noun-noun compounding in the language:

(18) a.	[bwàníŋ]	[bwámíŋ]	[bwàḍʒwí]	[bwàḍzwà]
	/bwà-níŋ/	/bwà-míŋ/	/bwà-ḍʒwí/	/bwà-ḍzwà/
	<i>cavity-eye</i>	<i>cavity-water</i>	<i>cavity-nose.mucus</i>	<i>cavity-fire</i>
	‘eye socket’	‘water well’	‘nostril’	‘fireplace’
b.	[níŋḍʒwì]	[níŋmè]	[níŋmwí]	[níŋté]
	/níŋ-ḍʒwì/	/níŋ-mè/	/níŋ-mwí/	/níŋ-té/
	<i>eye.seed-locustbean</i>	<i>eye.seed-corn</i>	<i>eye.seed-millet</i>	<i>eye.seed-stone</i>
	‘locust bean seed’	‘corn grain’	‘millet grain’	‘grain of stone’

There are many more examples of noun-noun compounding like these. As a matter of fact, in some cases these noun-to-noun derivations are gradually being reduced in speech. An example is maize in Dza, /níŋ-mè/ now reduced to [í-mè], /níŋ-fó/ ‘*k.o sorghum*’ is now reduced to [í-fó].

b. Class two is marked by the prefix “á-”

This includes all other human related nouns that are not part of class one above.

(19)	Singular Form	Plural Form
	/á-tǎ/ <i>father</i>	è-tǎ <i>fathers</i>
	/á-nǎ/ <i>mother</i>	è-nǎ <i>mothers</i>
	/á-jì/ <i>offspring</i>	è-jì <i>offsprings</i>
	/á-tsā/ <i>inlaw</i>	è-tsā <i>inlaws</i>

The morph /á-/ in (19) above which was earlier mistaken as a class marker is rather a direct address marker, this is used only in cases of direct address and not in other cases.

c. Class three is marked by a prefixed syllabic nasal “ŋ-”

For this supposed noun-class three in Dza, the writer could not categorically identify what semantic boundary defines the group.

(20)	Singular Form	Plural Form
	/ŋ-tsìlê/ <i>rabbit</i>	/è-tsìlê/ <i>rabbits</i>
	/ŋ-pwà-tʃí/ <i>face</i>	/è-ŋ-pwà-tʃí/ <i>faces</i>
	/ŋ-jəŋ/ <i>chest</i>	/è-ŋ-jəŋ/ <i>chests</i>
	/ŋ-gwà/ <i>shore.hill</i>	/è-ŋ-gwà/ <i>shores.hills</i>

However, the writer observed that the prefixation of the syllabic nasal happens when the preceding tone bearing unit carries a low tone. Instead of this to be a clue for a class marker, now the writer suspects this to be a sort of compensation for some disappeared phonological

opposition which instead of resulting to an extra low tone is compensated by the syllabic nasal. However, this is a hypothesis subject to further discussions.

4.1.1 Number

Corbett identified obvious candidates for number expression in languages thus, “special words, syntax, morphology and lexical means” (133). Dza has been identified already as a language that “has no noun plural formations” (Greenberg 10). Nevertheless, Dza has an alternate way of marking number which is obligatory except for some mass nouns. The distinction is a sort of singular and plural number system. In nouns or noun phrases where this distinction is made, the singular form has zero marking while the plural is marked by fronting of the third person plural STAMP morph /è/ before the noun or noun phrase it is modifying. However, in comparison with other closely related members of the Bikwin-Jen cluster such as Munga-Dosso and Tha, what is now realized as the STAMP morph /è/ may historically be a reduced form of the third person plural pronoun /lè/. Below are examples of the strategy of marking number in Dza:

- (21) a. /ɥá bwè dé ʔsá jón/
- stomach horse DEF tie PFV.ASS*
- ‘The horse is fed’
- b. /ɥá è bwè dé ʔsá jón/
- stomach 3.PL.PFV horse DEF tie PFV.ASS*
- ‘The horses are fed’
- c. /dàn dé ɡbá jón/
- drum DEF break PFV.ASS*
- ‘The drum is broken’
- d. /è dən dé ɡbá jón/
- 3.PL.PFV drum DEF break PFV.ASS*
- ‘The drums are broken’

There are other groups of nouns, especially mass nouns, where this distinction is not marked.

Below are examples:

- (22) a. /à kò ɥǎɥī dé jón hě/
- 2.SG.PFV pack sand DEF PFV.ASS all*
- ‘You (SG.) have packed all the sand’

- b. */à kò è ɥǎɥī dé jón hě /
 2.SG.PFV pack 3.PL.PFV sand DEF PFV.ASS all
 ‘You (SG.) have packed all the sands’
- c. /níj wā gbá jón hě /
 eye 3.SG.POSS break PFV.ASS all
 ‘His eyes are blind’
- d. /è níj wà gbá jón hě /
 3.PL.PFV eye 3.SG.PFV break PFV.ASS all
 ‘His eyes are blind’

4.2 Noun Modifiers and Agreement

This section discusses other word classes whose basic function is nominal modification such as determiners, adjectives, numerals, quantifiers and adpositions. The section shall outline various morphosyntactic forms of the word classes mentioned above.

4.2.1 Determiners

There are five forms in Dza which can be described as determiners. The forms are: /dé/ the definite determiner, /à-kə/ the indefinite determiner, /ní/ the proximal demonstrative, /lê/ the distal demonstrative and /à-cè/ the interrogative determiner.

- (23) a. /jín dé/
 fish DEF
 ‘the fish’
- b. /jín à-kə/
 fish SPEC-INDEF
 ‘a certain fish’
- c. /jín ní/
 fish PROX
 ‘this fish’
- d. /jín lê/
 fish DIST
 ‘that fish’
- e. /jín à-cè/
 fish SPEC-INTER
 ‘which fish?’

4.2.2 Adjectives

Typically, “An adjective is a word that can be used in a noun phrase to specify some property of the head noun of the phrase” (Payne 63). In Dza, adjectives typically occupy a predicative position next to the head noun in a noun phrase. Dza has a large class of verb-like adjectives, and a second class of adjectives that do not share morphosyntactic properties with verbs. The verb-like

adjectives are discussed in chapter five. The adjectives discussed in this section are the adjectives that are not verb-like. These adjectives normally occur with an obligatory linker /à-/, the specifier morpheme, which links them with the nouns they are modifying. In this case, the specifier morpheme functions like a third person generic pronoun carrying the semantic value “one of”. Below are some examples of these adjectives modifying some nouns:

- (24)
- a. /imwə à-hàŋ/
child SPEC-little
 ‘little child’
 - b. /jàŋ-kó à-bjó/
leaf-tree SPEC-wet
 ‘green/fresh leaf’
 - c. /ɲwì à-jě/
oil SPEC-red
 ‘palm oil’
 - d. /tswə mî à-kèŋ/
friend 1.SG.POS SPEC-good
 ‘my good friend’
 - e. /tswə mî à-nĩŋ/
friend 1.SG.POS SPEC-true.genuine
 ‘my true friend’

There are few adjectives like these which are not verb-like in Dza. Nevertheless, they are augmented by numerous ideophones which function as adjectives and behave like them. While the verb-like adjectives can be intensified or modified by ideophones, these adjectives cannot.

4.2.3 Quantifiers and Numerals

Quantifiers usually “occur within the noun phrase where they indicate a quantity of the object denoted by the noun.” (Genneti 109). Syntactically, quantifiers occur after the Dza numerals and are categorized into cardinals and ordinals. The cardinals start counting from one to five, then the numbering changes. From the number six, reference is made to one. Hence six is “the sibling of one”, seven is “the sibling of two” continuously to the number ten. From the number eleven, reference is made to the number ten. The number eleven will be, ten sprang one, twelve is ten sprang two. That pattern continues to number fifteen. From sixteen, reference is made to the

number fifteen. Hence sixteen is, fifteen sprang one, seventeen is fifteen sprang two continuously to the number twenty. From the number twenty one upward to three hundred, reference is made to twenty. Thirty is twenty sprang ten. Thirty five is twenty sprang fifteen. Forty is two twenties, continuously until it reaches fifteen twenties. Table 4.1 below is a display of the cardinal number root morphemes 1 to 20.

Table 4.1: Cardinal Numbers in Dza

<i>Counting Sequence</i>	<i>Cardinal Numbers</i>	<i>Ordinal Numbers</i>
1	/tsìŋ/	/ŋwátʃí/
2	/jűŋ/	/níŋ-jűŋ/ or /níŋ-bwâŋ/
3	/tâ/	/níŋ-tâ/
4	/ŋâ/	/níŋ-ŋâ/
5	/ŋmî/	/níŋ-ŋmî/
6	/ŋí-tsîŋ/	/níŋ-ŋí-tsîŋ/
7	/ŋí-jűŋ/	/níŋ-ŋí-jűŋ/
8	/ŋí-tâ/	/níŋ-ŋí-tâ/
9	/ŋí-ŋâ/	/níŋ-ŋí-ŋâ/
10	/ŋó/	/níŋ-ŋó/
11	/ŋó-dʒí-tsîŋ/	/níŋ-ŋó-dʒí-tsîŋ/
12	/ŋó-dʒí-jűŋ/	/níŋ-ŋó-dʒí-jűŋ/
13	/ŋó-dʒí-tâ/	/níŋ-ŋó-dʒí-tâ/
14	/ŋó-dʒí-ŋâ/	/níŋ-ŋó-dʒí-ŋâ/
15	/lí/	/níŋ-lí/
16	/lí-dʒí-tsîŋ/	/níŋ-lí-dʒí-tsîŋ/
17	/lí-dʒí-jűŋ/	/níŋ-lí-dʒí-jűŋ/
18	/lí-dʒí-tâ/	/níŋ-lí-dʒí-tâ/
19	/lí-dʒí-ŋâ/	/níŋ-lí-dʒí-ŋâ/
20	/ŋú-tsîŋ/	/níŋ-ŋú-tsîŋ/

Traditionally, the roots of the cardinal numbers 2 – 5 and 10 – 19 are called together with the prefix /bwâ-/. This is linked to the traditional counting system using holes in the ground. Thus, two is /bwâ-jűŋ/, three is /bwâ-tâ/ and ten is /bwâ-ŋó/. The ordinal numbers in Dza are formed

with the addition of the morpheme /níŋ/ ‘eye’ which carries the sense of ‘point’ in this case to the cardinal numbers. Thus, second in Dza is /níŋ jǔŋ/. The only exception is the first ordinal number /ŋwá-tǔí/, literally ‘mouth-front’ but it means ‘first’.

Dza has six morphemes for describing quantity apart from numerals, /íjǎ-/ ‘great/many’, /tswà-/ ‘few’, /lókà/ ‘majority’, /ŋtǔŋ/ ‘a fraction not more than half’, /fě-/ ‘little’ and /bjóŋ-/ ‘little’. In describing quantity, the root /íjǎ-/ carries the generic inanimate noun /níŋ/ to convey the meaning ‘great number’ or ‘many things’. The roots /tswà-, /fě-/ and /bjóŋ-/ on the other hand carry a diminutive morpheme /ní/. Below are example sentences with these quantifiers:

- (25)
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. | /è | ífi | íjǎ-níŋ/ |
| | <i>3.PL.PFV</i> | <i>person</i> | <i>many-thing</i> |
| | | | ‘many people’ |
| b. | /è | ífi | tswà-ní/ |
| | <i>3.PL.PFV</i> | <i>person</i> | <i>few-DIM</i> |
| | | | ‘few people’ |
| c. | /lókà | è | ífi/ |
| | <i>majority</i> | <i>3.PL.PFV</i> | <i>person</i> |
| | | | ‘majority of people’ |
| d. | /ŋtǔŋ | è | ífi/ |
| | <i>fraction</i> | <i>3.PL.PFV</i> | <i>person</i> |
| | | | ‘half or less than of people’ |
| e. | /qà | fě-ní/ | |
| | <i>soup</i> | <i>small-DIM</i> | |
| | | | ‘small soup’ |
| f. | /ŋfà | bjóŋ-ní/ | |
| | <i>tuwo</i> | <i>little-DIM</i> | |
| | | | ‘small tuwo’ |

4.2.4 Ideophones

An ideophone is “a vivid representation of an idea in sound”, an onomatopoeic word ‘which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, smell, action, state or intensity’ (Aikhenvald 99). In Dza, ideophones are an open class functioning as subclasses of either adverbs or adjectives. The adjectives described here are ones that modify nouns whether as quantifiers or as adjectives. And because of the openness of the class in Dza, there are instances where two different forms of ideophones overlap in their semantic value. In (26) below are ideophones that function as quantifiers while (27) are examples of ideophones that function as adjectives.

- (26) a. /è ífì bə̀ŋbə̀ŋlò/ ‘many people’
b. /è ífì dzùŋdzùŋ/ ‘many people’
c. /è ífì ɲòŋŋòŋ/ ‘many people’

- (27) a. /níŋ búlwlwl/
- eye IDEO*
- ‘sexy eye’
- b. /wí kǝ́kǝ́/
- voice IDEO*
- ‘loud voice’
- c. /fà tètèt/
- field IDEO*
- ‘plain land’

Like many other languages that have them, ideophones can easily be identified in Dza by their unusually longer morphemic forms, reduplication and unusual phonology. They usually come immediately after the noun they are modifying. But when forming compound words, they occur before the head noun. See example (28) below:

- (28) a. /è ífí ðzùṅðzùṅ/
 3.PL.PFV person IDEO
 ‘many people’
- b. /k̄p̄int̄iṅ-kú/
 IDEO-head
 ‘big-headed’

4.2.5 Adpositions

Dza has two types of adpositions: prepositions and postpositions. The preposition is marked in two basic ways: (i) Directional verbs and (ii) Free prepositional forms. The postposition on the other hand is marked by a predicate locative marker (-j). These are illustrated below.

i. Directional Verbs as Prepositions

In Dza, directional verbs can be employed to function as prepositions. These are employed in directional prepositional constructions. See examples below:

- (29) a. [à wá tḗ ṅgwà]
 /à wá tḗ gwà/
 2.SG.PFV throw go shore
 ‘throw it away to the shore’
- b. [à wá wú ṅgwà]
 /à wá wú gwà/
 2.SG.PFV throw come shore
 ‘throw it to the shore (i.e location of the speaker)’
- c. [s̄iṅ à kú tḗ k̄u]
 /s̄iṅ à kú tḗ k̄u/
 shift 2.SG.PFV sit go shade
 ‘Shift and sit (away from me) under the shade’
- d. [s̄iṅ à kú wú k̄u]
 /s̄iṅ à kú wú k̄u/
 shift 2.SG.PFV sit come shade
 ‘Shift and sit (toward me) under the shade’

iii. Free Prepositional Forms

These are words which primarily function as prepositions in Dza. There are many words in this category. Some of them are polysemous with body parts. However, most forms are compiled in Table 4.2 below, each subtype with its function:

Table 4.2: Prepositional Words

<i>Form</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Function</i>	<i>Example</i>
/sí/	<i>locative</i>	location/direction	/à wú sí mì/ 2.SG.PFV come LOC 1.SG 'Come to me'
/lě/	<i>at</i>	location	/ò d̄zǎ lě lòm wè/ 3.SG.PFV buy.sell PREP Market 'He bought it from the market'
/kú/	<i>head/on</i>	location	/ò kú kú ɥě/ 3.SG.PFV sit PREP chair.LOC 'He sat on a chair'
/ɟě/	<i>beside</i>	spatial	/ò kú ɟè mī/ 3.SG.PFV sit beside 1.SG.POSS 'He sat beside me'
/t̄f̄i/	<i>in front</i>	spatial	/ò kú t̄f̄i mī/ 3.SG.PFV sit in front 1.SG.POSS 'He sat in front of me'
/t̄ɛŋ/	<i>in</i>	spatial	/ò kú t̄ɛŋ kwè mī/ 3.SG.PFV sit inside room 1.SG.POSS 'He sat inside my room'
/nà/	<i>around</i>	spatial	/ò kú nà vè mī/ 3.SG.PFV sit PREP house 1.SG.POSS 'He sat around my house'
/b̄iŋ/	<i>among</i>	location	/ò kú b̄iŋ bì/ 3.SG.PFV sit PREP 1.PL 'He sat amidst us'
/t̄swà/	<i>back</i>	spatial	/ò kú t̄swà mì/ 3.SG.PFV sit PREP 1.SG.PFV 'He sat behind me'
/ŋwá/	<i>mouth/at</i>	location	/ò kú ŋwá m̄ŋ/ 3.SG.PFV sit PREP water.LOC 'He sat at the river bank'
/bwà/	<i>under (roofed)</i>	spatial	/ò kú bwà ɥě/ 3.SG.PFV sit PREP table.APPL 'He sat under the table'
/pù/	<i>foot/beneath</i>	spatial	/ò kú pù kwè-j/ 3.SG.PFV sit PREP table.APPL 'He sat under the table'

<i>Form</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Function</i>	<i>Example</i>
			3.SG.PFV sit PREP table-LOC 'He sat under the table'
/ɲì/	bottom/underneath	spatial	/ø ò ɲì mîŋ/ zero fall under water.LOC 'It fell under water'
/ɟò/	?	spatial	/sèdè dé lè ɟò kwè-j/ money DEF exist PREP room-LOC 'The money is at the upper angle of the room'
/bê/	with	temporal	/ñ lè bê fî/ 1.SG.PFV exist PREP God 'I am with God'
/pǎ/	before	temporal	/pǎ músán wú-lí ø d̥zʷéŋ jéŋ/ PREP Musa-NPST come-PROG zero ripe ASS 'It is cooked before Musa came'
/mǎ/	by/at	temporal	/à wú mǎ bì tsɪŋ/ 2.SG.PFV come PREP metal one 'Come by one o'clock'

It should be noted that the directional prepositional morpheme /ní/ is obligatorily accompanied with a gesture demonstrating the direction referred by the speaker.

iii. The predicate locative suffix (-j)

In predicate locative constructions, the adposition type is the postposition. This is marked by the morpheme /-j/ which often gets absorbed to the noun root and is sometimes morphophonemically realized as a floating low tone. In most adpositional phrases in Dza, the predicate locative marker /-j/ is attached to the noun root to show the noun as the location of an event or of something. However, this is a phonological opposition in two ways. Its presence after other vowels suggests a glide which opposes the phonology of Dza. In the second instance, its presence results in non-canonical noun shapes such as /CVC/ and polysyllabic noun roots including borrowed words. Often, this ends in polysyllabic shapes not found in Dza. Thus, these phonological oppositions are handled in two different ways.

The first way Dza handles the opposition is by coalescence. If the vowel in a /CV/ shape happens to be the neutral vowel /ə/ and it carries a low tone, the morph /-j/ coalesces with the vowel and it is realized as /è/. But if the neutral vowel carries a high tone, a low tone open-mid back vowel /ɛ̃/ is realized. See examples below:

- (30) [tà mí lè vè]
 /tǎ mì lè vè-j/
 father 1.SG EXIST house-LOC
 ‘My father is at home’

- (31) [tà mí lè kè]
 /tǎ mì lè ké-j/
 father 1.SG EXIST tree-LOC
 ‘My father is on the tree’

The second way Dza handles this is, instead of coalescing to result in a different vowel, the predicate locative marker is elided, but leaves a floating low tone. This only occurs in cases where the vowel is not the neutral vowel /ə/. If the tone on the TBU is a high tone, this creates a falling tone. But if that TBU already carries a low tone, the floating low tone marks its presence by causing a down-step effect and finally results in breathiness on the TBU. See examples below.

- (32) [tà mí lè ɖzwè]
 /tǎ mì lè ɖzwé-j/
 father 1.SG EXIST heaven.sky-LOC
 ‘My father is in heaven’

- (33) [ò wá té dé mɪŋ]
 /ò wá té dé mɪŋ-j/
 3.SG.PFV throw stone DET1 water-LOC
 ‘He.She threw the stone in water’

- (34) . [tà mí lè sà]
 /tǎ mì lè sà-j/
 father 1SG.OBJ EXIST island-LOC
 ‘My father is on the island’

4.3 Pronominal Forms

Shopen simply described a pronoun as a “word used as a substitute for a noun or noun phrase” (24a). In Dza, a basic distinction is made between animate and inanimate nouns in that inanimate nouns are substituted with a zero morph while animate nouns are marked with various

morphological forms. In this section, the pronominal forms discussed include personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, reciprocal pronouns, relative pronouns, indefinite pronouns, logophoric pronouns and zero anaphora for inanimate nouns.

4.3.1 Independent Pronouns

By definition, independent pronouns can stand alone as the answer to a question. In Dza, there are two sets of personal pronouns: some are independent while others are not. Shopen described personal pronouns as “words used to refer to the speaker (e.g. *I, me*), the person spoken to (*you*), and other persons and things whose referents are presumed to be clear from the context” (24a). There are two sets of pronouns in Dza. The first sets are what the writer considers as STAMP morphs. STAMP morphs are morphs that encode “The syntactic role of ‘S[ubject]’ – that is, the person, number and gender properties of such an actant – in combination with categories of T[ense], A[spect], M[ood] and P[olarity]” (Anderson 513). These do not have referential status in Dza. While, the second sets are the default pronouns in Dza. These can stand alone as answer to a question. Table 4.3 below shows the two sets of personal pronouns in Dza.

Table 4.3: Personal Pronouns

	<i>Person</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
SET A	1	/ṅ/	/bì/
	2	/à/	/bà/
	3	/ò/	/è/
SET B	1	/mì/	/bì/
	2	/mè/	/bè/
	3	/wè/	/lè/

4.3.2 Subject Pronouns and Verb Agreement

As earlier stated, the Set A pronouns in table 4.3 above are STAMP morphs. They are used mainly in perfective constructions and in subjunctive constructions. At this point, the researcher has not yet figured out the reason why the perfective and the subjunctive have the same pronominal declensions. These may be cases of pure coincidence, at the same time; it is possible

that there is some historical explanation of the reason why. On the other hand, the Set B pronouns occur in imperfective constructions. Examples in (35) below illustrate the distributive properties of the subject pronouns with respect to the aspect of the verb:

- (35) a. [à tó mì jéŋ]
 /à tó mì jéŋ/
 2.SG.PFV push 1.SG PFV.ASS
 ‘You pushed me’
- b. [ɲ tó mɛ̀ jéŋ]
 /ɲ tó mɛ̀ jéŋ/
 1.SG.PFV push 2.SG PFV.ASS
 ‘I pushed you’
- c. [sì mɛ̀ ntó mì lí]
 /sì mɛ̀-n tó mì lí/
 PRES 2.SG-NPST push 1.SG PROG
 ‘You are pushing me’
- d. [sì mì ntó mɛ̀ lí]
 /sì mì-n tó mɛ̀ lí/
 REA 1.SG-NPST push 2.SG PROG
 ‘I am pushing you’

It should be noted however, that this type of agreement occurs only with the first and second person pronouns. The Set A third person singular and plural pronouns always remain as Subjects, and the Set B third person singular and plural always remain in the object position.

Also, this type of agreement happens with reflexive pronouns. Reflexive pronouns in Dza are constructions with parts of the body, head /kú/ and hand /nà/ together with Set B pronouns. However, the alternation between the parts of the body is determined by the transitivity of the verb. When the verb of the construction is a transitive verb, the marker ‘head’ is used, while if the verb of the construction is an intransitive verb, the marker ‘hand’ is used.

- (36) a. /mànú jí bê nà wā/
 Manu stand with hand 3.SG.POSS
 ‘Manu stood up by himself/herself’
- b. /mànú bê kú wā sì-n bí bí mì/
 Manu with head 3.SG.POSS REA-NPST fear fear 1.SG
 ‘Manu himself/herself is afraid of me’

4.3.3 Default Pronouns

The Set B pronouns are the default pronouns in Dza. In addition to their primary function as personal pronouns, the Set B independent pronouns are used extensively in constructions to form other pro-form types such as reflexive and reciprocal pronouns in the language. As earlier noted, reflexive pronominal constructions are either Set B pronouns with the word for ‘head’ /kú/ or with the word for ‘hand’ /nà/ in the language. Subject Pronouns and Verb agreement is discussed in 4.3.2 above with examples. Reciprocal pronominal forms on the one hand are marked by Set B pronominal forms suffixed with the reciprocity marker /-sə/. Table 4.4 below gives the Reflexive and Reciprocal pro-forms:

Table 4.4: Reflexive and Reciprocal Pro-forms from Independent pronouns

<i>Pro-form Type</i>	<i>Person</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Reflexive	1	/kú=nà mī/	/kú=nà bī/
	2	/kú=nà mē/	/kú=nà bī/
	3	/kú=nà wə/	/kú=nà bə/
Reciprocal	1	/mī-sə/	/bī-sə/
	2	/mē-sə/	/bē-sə/
	3	/wə-sə/	/lè-sə/

Example sentences with the reflexive pro-forms are given in section 4.3.2 below. Example sentence (37), illustrates how reciprocal pro-forms are used in clauses or sentences in Dza:

- (37) a. /dí ŋwádžó tsə lè-sə/
COP boundary separate 3.PL.-REC
 ‘It is boundary that separated them from each other’
- b. /ò kwə mē-sə bē ɥĩ mē/
3.SG.PFV join 2.SG-REC with sibling 2SG.POS
 ‘He caused strife between you and your brother.sister’

Other examples of how the Set B pronouns are used in constructions of other pro-forms include: double-object constructions and possessive constructions. These are discussed in 4.3.4 and 4.3.5.

4.3.4 Double-Object Constructions

Double-object constructions are marked by a locative morpheme prefixed to the Set B pronouns. Table 4.5 illustrates the forms of the locative morpheme and Set B pronouns:

Table 4.5: Indirect Object Pronominal form

<i>Person</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1	/sí-mì/	/sí-bì/
2	/sí-mè/	/sí-bè/
3	/sí-wè/	/sí-lè/

Another way which indirect objects are marked in Dza is by juxtapositioning the indirect object and the object pronoun in the following order: S V O1 O2. Examples in (38) below illustrate the two double-constructions discussed above:

- (38) . a. [à wê bê dârò dé sí mì]
 /à wú-kè bê dârò dé sí-mì/
 2.SG.SUB come-APPL with book DEF LOC-1.SG.OBJ
 ‘Bring the book to me’
- b. [ò tà mì dârò dé jéŋ]
 /ò tà mì dârò dé jéŋ/
 3.SG.PFV give 1SG.OBJ book DET PFV.ASS
 ‘He gave the book to me’
- c. [ò tà dârò dé mì jéŋ]
 /ò tà dârò dé mì jéŋ/
 3.SG.PFV give book DEF 1.SG PFV.ASS
 ‘He gave me to the book’
- d. [ò tà mì wè jéŋ]
 /ò tà mì wè jéŋ/
 3.SG.PFV give 1.SG 3.SG PFV.ASS
 ‘He gave her/him/it to me’

In constructions without the locative morpheme (sí-) such as ‘(38) b, c and d’ the IO is identified in the predicative position next to the direct object.

4.3.5 Possessive Pronouns

Possessive Pronouns in Dza are derived from Set B pronouns as earlier mentioned. However, all the low tones on the Set B pronouns become raised to mid-tone. The third person singular pronoun in Set B is the one with irregular forms, the underlying form is /wə̃/ and is used to express possession, but it often changes to a breathy close mid back rounded vowel /ò/. In addition, the plural pronouns carry an attributive possessive adjective morpheme /vè/. The most

basic forms of the Set B pronouns in possessive constructions are displayed in table 4.6 below:

Table 4.6: Possessive Pronominal forms

<i>Person</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1	/mī/	/və̀ bī/
2	/mā/	/və̀ bā/
3	/ò/	/və̀ lè/

Furthermore, the third person singular pronoun if not in the form in table 4.6 above, can also simply reduced to /-w/ or even coalesces with the vowel of the noun it possesses. Example (39) below illustrates this:

- (39) a. [ò d̄zǐ ɥǐw̄]
 /ò d̄zǐ ɥǐ-w̄/
 3.SG.PFV resemble sibling-3SG.POSS
 ‘He/she resembles his brother/sister’
- b. [ò d̄zǐ n̄]
 /ò d̄zǐ n̄-w̄/
 3.SG.PFV resemble mother-3.SG.POSS
 ‘He/she resembles his/her mother’

It should be noted that the tone glide on the possessive pronoun is somehow an intermediate form which came about due to the type of possession in this construction.

Payne described three types of possessability languages employ to make distinctions between nouns. These are as follows, “Type 1: possessable vs. unpossessable nouns: Type 2: inherently possessed vs. optionally possessed nouns: Type 3: alienably possessed vs. inalienably possessed nouns” (40). Dza has the type 2 distinction. In type 2 distinction, “all nouns can be possessed, but some absolutely can be” (Payne 40). The distinction in Dza is between optional and inherent possession. To mark inherent possession, some kinship terms are specially marked by a floating high tone which spreads over to the possessive pronominal and results in the pronominal forms in example (39) above. The kinship terms are:

- a. /tǎ/ ‘father’
- b. /nǎ/ ‘mother’
- c. /ɥǐ/ ‘brother.sister’ and
- d. /tswǎ/ ‘friend’

Below are examples:

Optional Possession

- (40) a. /bwè mī/
horse 1SG.POSS
 ‘my horse’
- b. /bwè bī/
horse 1PL.POSS
 ‘our horse’
- c. /bwè wā/
horse 3SG.POSS
 ‘his/her horse’

Inherent Possession

- /ɥĩ mī/
brother.sister 1SG.POSS
 ‘my brother/sister’
- /ɥĩ bī/
brother.sister 1PL.POSS
 ‘our brother/sister’
- /nà wê/
mother 3SG.POSS
 ‘his/her mother’

However, the tone is retained on the kinship terms when: a proper noun is used, when the attributive possessive adjective morpheme /vè/ is used specifically with plural pronouns in the case of ‘father’ and ‘mother’ and when there is a double possession. Examples in (41) below illustrate this:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(41) a. /bwè vè nánà/
 <i>horse POSS Nana</i>
 ‘Nana’s horse’</p> <p>b. /vè mī/
 <i>House 1.SG.POSS</i>
 ‘my house’</p> <p>b. /vè bī/
 <i>house 1PL.POSS</i>
 ‘our house’</p> <p>c. /vè fi mī/
 <i>house uncle 1.POSS</i>
 ‘my uncle’s house’</p> | <p>/ɥĩ nánà/
 <i>brother.sister Nana</i>
 ‘Nana’s brother/sister’</p> <p>/tà mī/
 <i>father 1.SG.POSS</i>
 ‘my father’</p> <p>/tã vè bì/
 <i>father POSS 1.PL.POSS</i>
 ‘our father’</p> <p>/tã fi mī/
 <i>father uncle 1.SG.POSS</i>
 ‘my uncle’s father’</p> |
|--|--|

4.3.6 Logophoric/Evidential Pronoun

Dza has a logophoric pronominal form /lì/ used in discourse reporting both for clarifying ambiguity in third person reference as well as to mark evidentiality. The form is used for both

singular and plural. Evidentiality is discussed in Chapter five below. However, when there are two third persons on stage, one is referred to by the logophoric pronoun. The other case where the logophoric pronoun is used is when a third person is quoted making reference to another person, some sort of a fourth person, then the third person is referred to using the logophoric pronoun. Examples in (42) below were taken from a true life story told in the language:

(42) [pòlí àkè tsà wú lì tǐ wə jəŋ kó ò lílá hě̀ lì é áŋkpà nà wḕ lì tò lè tǐ̀ lì wè̀] (43)

/pòlí à-kè tsã wú lì tǐ̀ wə̀ jəŋ
police SPEC-INDEF QT come LOG find 3.SG PFV.ASS

‘Another policeman said, “When they come and find him

kó ò lá-lá hě̀ lì é áŋkpà nà wə̀-j
even 3.SG.PFV refuse-refuse all LOG wear handcuff hand 3.SG-LOC

even if he refuses, they should put handcuff on his hand

lì tó-wə̀ lè tǐ̀ lì wú-kə̀/
LOG push-3.SG put front LOG come-APPL

they should push him in front and bring”

[ò tsà kǎpī̀ mḕ hě̀ lì tsì̀ pòlí à tó]

/ò_i tsã kǎ-jí mḕ hě̀ lì_k tsì̀ pòlí à tó/
3.SG.PFV QT beg-heart 2.SG.POSS all LOG tell police 2.SG.PFV go

‘He said, “Please, you should tell him to tell the police to go”

In (43) above, the logophoric pronoun refers to the police who was to arrest another person of authority. It eases the ambiguity of who was arresting who. In (43) the speaker quoted the major participant to be arrested, telling a second person to tell another person to tell the police to go. The logophoric pronoun refers to the person who was asked to tell the police to go.

4.3.7 Relative Pronouns

In Dza, the relative pronoun form is /bí/. However, it also plays a second role as a demonstrative pronoun. Its usage as a relative pronoun sometimes can easily be confused with the relative linker /ní/. Examples are given in (44) below to distinguish between the two:

(45) /dí tà mī bí tə̀ mḕ/
it.is father 3.SG.POSS RELPRO give 2.SG

- ‘It is my father who gave you’
- b. /imwè ní wú-kè ní fě tá jéŋ/
child PROX come-APPL REL return go PFV.ASS
- ‘The boy/girl who came has gone back’

4.3.8 Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronoun in Dza is a construction of a specifier morpheme /à-/ + demonstrative morpheme. However, the relative pronoun /bí/ and the 3.SG pronoun /wè/ could also function in the same construction with the specifier morpheme /à-/ as definite inanimate and definite animate demonstrative pronouns respectively. Table 4.7 displays all the constructions with their glosses.

Table 4.7: Demonstrative Pronominal Forms

<i>Form</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/à-ní/	‘this one’
/à-lê/	‘that one’
/à-bí/	‘that particular one’ (inanimate)
/à-wè/	‘that particular one’ (animate)

Examples sentences with these pronominal forms are given in (45) below:

- (46) a. /à-ní hĩ pê à-lê jéŋ/
SPEC-PROX fine pass SPEC-DIST PFV.ASS
 ‘This one is better than that one’
- b. /à-bí ʃi bə-lí/
Spec-PROX difficult see-Nom
 ‘That particular one (e.g a herb) is difficult to find’
- c. /à-wè kə ífĩ jéŋ dí bwà/
Spec-PROX cut person PFV.ASS COP death
 ‘If that particular one (e.g a snake) bites a person, it has no remedy but death’

4.3.9 Indefinite Pronouns

The indefinite pronominal form in Dza is a construction of two forms, which consists of either the noun /ífi/ - ‘person’ or the noun /nĩŋ/ - ‘thing’, plus the indefinite article /à-kè/. Table 4.8 below gives some illustrations:

Table 4.8: Indefinite Pronominal Forms

<i>Form</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/ifĩ + à-kə̀/	‘someone’
/nìŋ + à-kə̀/	‘something’

Example sentences with these indefinite pronominal forms are given in (46) below:

- (47) a. /ifĩ à-kə̀ tó mì jə́ŋ/
person SPEC-INDEF push 1.SG PFV.ASS
 ‘Someone pushed me’
- b. /nìŋ à-kə̀ pè mì jə́ŋ/
thing SPEC-INDEF pierce 1.SG PFV.ASS
 ‘Something pierced me’

4.3.10 Zero marking for inanimate objects

In Dza, inanimate nominals are marked with zero anaphora both in nominative and accusative positions. However, in genitive constructions, since it is obligatory to indicate the possessor, the third person possessive pronouns are used to mark them. See example sentences below:

- (48) [ɸì jə́ŋ]
 /ø ɸì jə́ŋ/
it rot PFV.ASS
 ‘It is rotten’
- (49) [ò dí jə́ŋ]
 /ò dí ø jə́ŋ/
3.SG.PFV take it PFV.ASS
 ‘He took it’

In both (47) and (48), if a pronominal form is supplied in place of the zero morph, it changes the construction to refer to an animate noun. However, as earlier pointed out, due to the obligatory requirement of a possessor in a genitive construction, the third person pronouns are used to represent inanimate possessors. See an example in (49) below:

- (50) [ò tsá tswà wè]
 /ò tsá ŋwá wə̃ jə́ŋ/
3.SG.PFV tie mouth 3.SG.POS PFV.ASS
 ‘He tied its/his/her mouth’

The statement in example (49) above can be an instance where a person tied a bag to avoid the spilling out its content.

CHAPTER FIVE: VERBAL MORPHOSYNTAX

Dza is a language where a large number of word forms are monosyllabic. Thus, as one takes a look at a transcribed text in Dza, there is an immediate notice of some one-to-one correspondences between words and morphemes. As such, it is easy to suggest it is an isolating language, thus, “a language with no morphology” (see Comrie 43). However, the minimal inflection and fusional morphosyntactic processes would disqualify one from making a strict judgement. In addition to these, there are other properties such as reduplication, epenthesis and tonal morphology in the study of verbal categories in Dza.

In this chapter, we shall consider the various morphosyntactic forms of verbs in Dza: their structural as well as configurational properties. Section 5.1 discusses morphosyntactic verb classes, sections 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4 are discussions on the Tense, Aspect and Mood. Section 5.5 deals with valence-changing strategies, while section 5.6 deals with verbal plurality. Section 5.7 is a discussion on deverbals nouns. Evidentiality and Negation are discussed in sections 5.8 and 5.9 respectively, while section 5.10 is on phrasal verbs.

5.1 Morphosyntactic Verb Classes

Verbs in Dza are grammatically categorized into transitive and intransitive verbs. Schachter and Shopen noted, “In all languages it is possible to subclassify verbs as transitive or intransitive on the basis of whether or not they occur with objects” however, “In some languages the transitive–intransitive distinction entails certain other grammatical distinctions” (10). Grammatically, transitive and intransitive verbs are distinguished in present continuous constructions. The transitive verbs carry the infinitive suffix /-pì/ as a progressive aspect marker, while the intransitive verbs carry the existential verb suffix /-là/ to express a kind of continuous progressive aspect. Furthermore, the two classes carry different inflectional types and affixes for deverbals. Basically the transitive verbs inflect by circumfixes while the intransitive verbs inflect by suffixes. See example sentences below:

(51) [íbwì ní sìn jêpì]
 /íbwì ní sìn jê-pì/
man PROX REA-NPST kill-INF

‘This man kills (killed and still is killing).’

(52) [íbwì ní sìn hòlê]
 /íbwì ní sìn hò-lê/
man PROX REA-NPST walk-EXIST

‘This man walks (was walking and still walking)’

(53) [kúlí vè bə̀ bə̀j jə̀j]
 /kú-lí vè bə̀ bə̀j jə̀j/
sit-NOM GEN 2.PL spoil 2.PL PFV.ASS

‘Your sitting has destroyed you’

(54) [pítúpì vè bə̀ pəlê bə̀ jə̀j]
 /pì-tú-pì vè bə̀ pəlê bə̀ jə̀j/
NOM-send-NOM GEN 2.PL help 2.PL PFV.ASS

‘Your message has helped you’

The intransitive verbs in Dza, are deverbalized only by the progressive/nominalizer suffix /-lí/ while the transitive verbs are nominalized not only with /-lí/ but with other forms as seen in 5.7.2 and 5.7.3 below. Furthermore, the transitive verbs due to their transitivity can be distinguished grammatically by their ability of being marked with a reciprocal suffix (-sə̀) as a valence decreasing strategy while the intransitive verbs do not. See table 5.1 below for a summary of the distinctions between transitive and intransitive verbs.

Table 5.1: Grammatical Distinction between Transitive and Intransitive verbs in Dza

Grammatical form	Transitive	Intransitive
/-pì/ (progressive)	+	-
/-lè/ (progressive)	-	+
/-nìj/ (dummy object)	+	-
/-sə̀/ (reciprocal)	+	-

Grammatical form	Transitive	Intransitive
/i-/ (deverbalizer)	+	-
/-lí/ (deverbalizer)	-	+
/nɨŋ- -nɨŋ/	+	-
/pɨ- -pɨ/ (deverbalizer)		

The above verb classes are however distinguished from another verb class in Dza. These are rather adjectives which behave like verbs. In Dza, they often function as ‘being’ verbs expressing states. Examples of these verb-like adjectives are given in table 5.2 below:

Table 5.2: Examples of Verb-Like Adjectives

<i>Form</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Transitivity Status</i>
/tá/	‘cold’	+
/lè/	‘hot’	-
/jǎ/	‘red’	+
/sú/	‘short’	-
/fǐ/	‘long’	-

These classes of verb-like adjectives can be nominalized, they are distinguished from regular verbs in that they cannot carry the existential verb suffix (-lè) as other state verbs do. See example sentences with this ‘class of verb’:

- (55) [d̄zwí tá mì jón dò]
 /d̄zwí tá mì jón dò/
cold cold(v) 1.SG PFV.ASS yesterday
 ‘I felt cold yesterday’

- (56) [mɨŋ dé sɨn lèlí]
 /mɨŋ dé sɨn lèlí/
water DEF REA-NPST hot-PROG
 ‘The water is getting hot’

(57) [íbwì dé sù jéŋ jí]
 /íbwì dé sù jéŋ jí/
man DEF short(v) PFV.ASS INT
 ‘The man is indeed short in statue’

(58) [sùlí mē hě̀ mḕ jéŋ]
 /sù-lí mḕ hě̀ mḕ jéŋ/
Short-NOM 2.SG.POSS suit 2.SG PFV.ASS
 ‘Your shortness (in statue) fits you well’

However, these forms function also as adjectives. They are normally linked to the noun word with the specifier morph /à/ or even occur in the predicative position. See examples below:

(59) a. [míŋ tá̃]
 /míŋ tá̃/
water cold
 ‘cold water’

b. [ífàsùlí]
 /íff à sù-lí/
Person SPEC short-NOM
 ‘Short person’

5.2 Tense

Tense is “the grammatical expression of the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered” (Payne 236). It has been argued that, “languages in most non-Bantu Niger-Congo families do not have tense contrasts” (Derek and Nurse 34). For example, in some Adamawa languages such as Doyayo, it has been reported that, “the contrast between past and present events is represented aspectually: whatever is represented as completed is normally understood to be past, and whatever is represented as incompleting is normally understood as ongoing in the present” (Hewson 5). In Baa, a neighboring Adamawa language, “Tense is not expressed by grammaticalized categories, but is understood by contextual information, e.g., time adverbials, that helps locate events in time” (Nwadigo 151).

However, the researcher observed that Dza has a binary tense system where there is a split between past and non-past events. In this binary tense system, non-past tense is marked

morphosyntactically by an enclitic /-n/ that normally attaches to the subject pronoun. Past tense on the other hand carries zero morphological marking. Furthermore, the past and non-past are distinguished by the subject pronoun agreement. The past tense agrees with what the researcher considers as STAMP morphs in table 4.3 above. While the non-past tense carry the set B pronouns which the researcher termed default personal pronouns in Table 4.3. Furthermore, the researcher observed that time adverbials are used in Dza to mark remoteness. Remoteness is identified as “one of the underlying dimensions of TMA systems” basically marking temporal distance (Dahl 120). Another grammatical system that the researcher observed that is dependent on the tense is the marking of realis and irrealis. This is discussed in section 5.4 below.

5.2.1 Non-Past Tense

The non-past tense in Dza is marked by the enclitic /n/ which usually depends on subject pronouns. It is subcategorized into present and future non-past. The basic distinction between the two non-past tenses is done using two opposite verb forms, /kú/ ‘sit’ and /jí/ ‘rise’ in the sentence initial position. The morph /kú/ marks the present non-past, while /jí/ marks the future non-past. However, this distinction is often elided and treated optional in the present form of the language.

See examples below:

- (60) [kú sòn kə ká]
 /kú sì wə-n kə ká/
PRES REA 3.SG-NPST cut tree
 ‘he is cutting down a tree’

- (61) [sòn kə ká]
 /sì wə-n kə ká/
REA 3.SG-NPST cut tree
 ‘he is cutting down a tree’

- (62) [jí òn kə ká]
 /jí ò-n kə ká/
FUT 3.SG.PFV-NPST cut tree
 ‘he will cut down tree’

- (63) [òn kə ká]
 /ò-n kə ká/
3.SG.PFV-NPST cut tree
 ‘he will cut down tree’

As seen in the examples (60) and (62) above, the present and future marking in the non-past tense constructions can be omitted. This is not always true. The future non-past is always marked in constructions with subject proper nouns and those with zero anaphora subject marking. This is illustrated below.

- (64) [dùdú jí-n təŋ nìŋ-təŋ]
 /dùdú jí-n təŋ nìŋ-təŋ/
Dudu FUT-NPST eat thing-eat
 ‘Dudu will eat food’

- (65) [jín ʋì hě́]
 /jí ø-n ʋì hě́/
FUT it-NPST rot all
 ‘It will rot completely’

Furthermore, as observed in the future non-past construction in (64) above, the non-past enclitic depended on the future marker. In the same manner, in present non-past constructions with subject proper nouns, the enclitic phonologically depends on the imperfective marker /sì/. See example below:

- (66) [dùdú sìn təŋ nìŋ-təŋ]
 /dùdú sìn-n təŋ nìŋ-təŋ/
Dudu IRR-NPST eat thing-eat
 ‘Dudu is eating food’

5.2.2 Past Tense

The past tense in Dza is marked with zero inflection on the verb. However, in most constructions, one of the easy ways to identify a past construction is the presence of the perfective cum assertive

marker /jón/ or a time adverbial in the sentence final position. See examples below for past tense constructions in Dza:

- (67) [ñ fə wə jón]
 /ñ fə wə jón/
 1.SG.PFV pay 3.SG PFV.ASS
 ‘I paid him’
- (68) [ñ fə wə dʒê]
 /ñ fə wə dʒê/
 1.SG.PFV pay 3.SG last-year
 ‘I paid him last year’
- (69) [ñ fə wə jón dʒê]
 /ñ fə wə jón dʒê/
 1.SG.PFV pay 3.SG PFV.ASS last-year
 ‘I paid him last year’

The construction in example (67) above can only be used as a supplement to example (66) in a larger text. While example (68) above is a type of construction that carries both the perfective cum assertive marker and the time adverbial to tell when the payment was done.

5.3 Aspect

Aspects are “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (Comrie, *Aspects* 3). Aspect “indicates how situations are related to some occasion internal to the ongoing discourse or text” (Timberlake 286). In Dza, there are quite a number of grammatical markings for aspects. However, like many other Adamawa languages, the “basic contrast is between a perfective and an imperfective” (Boyd 206). Aspects are primarily marked by inflectional morphemes suffixed to the verb stems in Dza. The discussion below outlines the various ways the verb stem can inflect for aspect marking.

5.3.1 Perfective

Trask described perfective aspect as “a superordinate aspectual category involving a lack of explicit reference to the internal temporal consistency of a situation” (204). A basic contrast between the perfective and the imperfective aspect is that, “the imperfective indicates a situation in progress, and ...the perfective indicates a situation which has an end” (Comrie, *Aspect* 19). In

Dza, the perfective is the unmarked form of the verb in the perfective/imperfective binary opposition. However, it was noted that assertive perfective constructions are marked with the enclitic /jéŋ/, this is more common in past constructions. Furthermore, in the subject pronouns and verb agreement system in the language, the perfective aspect carry the SET A pronouns as explained in 4.3 above. See examples below:

(70) [ò pĩ níŋpù jéŋ]
 /ò pĩ níŋpù jéŋ/
 3.SG.PFV untie goat PFV.ASS
 ‘He untied goat’

(71) [sòn pĩ níŋpù]
 /sì ò-n pĩ níŋpù/
 REA 3.SG-NPST untie goat
 ‘He unties a goat’

(72) [òn pĩ níŋpù]
 /ò-n pĩ níŋpù/
 3.SG.PFV-NPST untie goat
 ‘He will untie a goat’

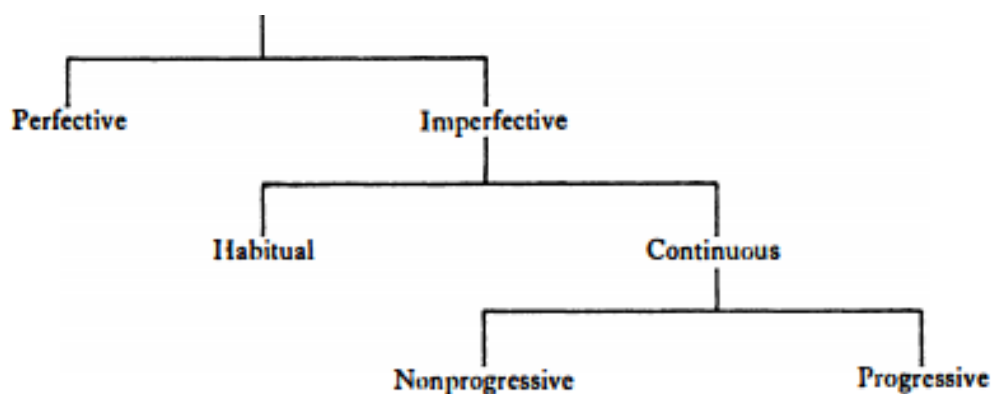
In the examples above, it should be noted that the supposed present non-past-perfective construction in (70) gives the meaning of a habitual event even though the verb form is unmarked. This agrees with the submission of Comrie in his mostly Slavonic languages analysis that, “In languages where the basic tense distinction is between past and non-past, we have strictly speaking not the possibility of a perfective present, but rather of a perfective non-past, i.e. of the perfective of the present-future” (*Aspect* 66). This is one of the cases where, “it is possible to use perfective forms to refer to situations that have internal structure” (Comrie, *Aspect* 26).

5.3.2 Imperfective

Imperfective aspect is a superordinate aspectual category that “marks an event as having some particular context-dependent internal temporal structure” (Harley 198). Morphologically, the imperfective aspect is the marked form of verbs in Dza. The imperfective aspects are marked by

suffix inflection on the verb while in other cases as independent particles, syntactically located left of the verb stem. The conception of imperfectivity as discussed in this section follows Comrie’s subdivision of imperfectivity. Comrie subdivided imperfective into habitual and continuous sub-categories. The continuous sub-category is further subdivided into nonprogressive and progressive aspects (*Aspect 25*). Table 5.3 below shows Comrie’s subdivisions of imperfectivity:

Table 5.3: Comrie’s Subdivision of imperfectivity



5.3.3 Habitual

Habitual aspect refers to the aspect category “which expresses an action which is regularly or consistently performed by some entity” (Trask 125). In Dza, this can be represented by an unmarked present non-past construction as illustrated in 5.3.1 above. Habitual aspect is marked primarily by the morph /lè/, while time adverbials can be used to aid event time reference. Dahl, in his objection to Comrie’s subcategorization of progressive under imperfectivity noted that the progressive aspect “is quite infrequently extended to habitual meaning” (93). In Dza, the present non-past progressive forms could also function as habitual markers. However, as Comrie asserted, “progressiveness is not incompatible with habituality: a given situation can be viewed both as habitual, and as progressive, and the sum total of all these occurrences is presented as being habitual” (33). In this case, since the unmarked form is a habitual construction in itself, the same construction could also be marked for progressiveness to give some kind of a “progressive habitual”. Example sentences below gives some habitual aspect constructions in Dza:

(73) [sòn pā n̄ɲ l̄ə]
 /s̄i w̄ə-n p̄a n̄ɲ l̄ə]
REA 3.SG-NPST butcher thing HAB
 ‘He butchers’

(74) [sòn p̄a n̄ɲ]
 /s̄i w̄ə-n p̄a n̄ɲ/
REA 3.SG-NPST butcher thing
 ‘He butchers’

(75) [sòn p̄a n̄ɲ lí]
 /s̄i w̄ə-n p̄a n̄ɲ lí/
REA 3.SG-NPST butcher thing PROG
 ‘He is butchering’

Example (72) above gives the default habitual construction in Dza. However, as earlier explained, the constructions in examples (73) and (74) could extend in function to give a habitual meaning. It should be noted that example (74) above could primarily function as a progressive construction without implying habituality. In this case, the function of the construction is often determined by the immediate context of the larger text or discourse.

5.3.4 Progressive

From Comrie’s subdivision of imperfectivity above, we see that the progressive aspect is an “imperfectivity that is not occasioned by habituality” which is synonymous with the continuous aspect (Comrie, *Aspect* 33-4). The progressive aspect is primarily marked by an enclitic morpheme /lí/. However, in present perfect non-past constructions, a suffix which I analyse as an existential verb suffix attaches to intransitive verbs to give the form a progressive function. See (75) and (76) below for examples of progressive aspect marking in Dza.

(76) . [sòn ḡb̄ə̀ bì lí]
 /s̄i w̄ə-n ḡb̄ə̀ bì lí/
REA 3SG.SUB-NPST beat metal PROG
 ‘He is ringing a bell’

- (77) . [ò tsì-là jè mà]
 /wə tsì-là jè mà/
 3.SG stand-EXIST beside 2.SG
 ‘He has been standing beside you’

In (76) above, the existential verb is the same morphemic form as the habitual aspect marker. However, the two are distinguished by their morphosyntactic configuration. The existential verb marker is strictly a suffix inflection on the verb stem, while the habitual aspect marker, like the progressive aspect, is an enclitic. Furthermore, the habitual aspect marker usually appears in a simple present non-past form. As we shall see in 5.5 below, the morphemic form /là/ functions as an applicative affix, marking the benefactive role in double-object constructions.

5.4 Mood

Mood or modality refers to the “grammatical category which expresses the degree or kind of reality of a proposition as perceived by the speaker” (Trask 176). One could say tense, aspect and mood make up a ternary group that describes events in utterances. Palmer distinguished the function of each member of the group thus, “Tense ...is concerned with the time of the event, while aspect is concerned with the nature of the event... Modality is concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the event”(1). The discussions below outline some various morphosyntactic ways modality is marked in Dza.

5.4.1 Realis and Irrealis

In Dza, distinction is made between realis and irrealis moods. Mithun explained, “The realis portrays situations as actualized, as having occurred or actually occurring, knowable through direct perception. The irrealis portrays situations as purely within the realm of thought, knowable only through imagination”(qtd. in Palmer 1). Realis and Irrealis dichotomy is reported among other Adamawa languages such as Baa and Mambay (Nwadigo 157 – 58: Anonby 339 – 40). The realis is unmarked while the irrealis is the marked form in Dza.

This modality dichotomy interacts with the binary tense system of the language. Tensewise, the present and future non-past tenses go together, and are marked with the same morph. But in the realis/irrealis opposition, present non-past constructions are marked for realis. Palmer noted that morphologically, “Often realis and irrealis markers are single isolated forms, whether words, clitics or affixes” (150). In Dza, the realis is marked in present non-past constructions with an enclitic /sì/ which is located syntactically left of the verb before the pronominal form in the subject argument position. See examples below:

(78) [ò tá vè jə̀ŋ]
 /ò tá vè jə̀ŋ/
3.SG.PFV go house PFV.ASS
 ‘He went home’

(79) [kú sòn tá vè]
 /kú s̀ì wə̀-n tá vè/
PRES REA 3.SG-NPST go house
 ‘He is going home’

(80) [jí òn tá vè]
 /jí wə̀-n tá vè/
FUT 3.SG-NPST go house
 ‘He will go home’

The grammatical marking for the present non-past realis can occur with other grammatical categories and together in conditional constructions. As earlier pointed out, the present non-past and the future non-past are distinguished with two verbs /kú/ ‘sit’ for the present non-past and /jí/ ‘rise’ for the future non-past. In those types of constructions, the tense markers are always sentence initial before the present realis marker /s̀ì/. In the same construction the progressive marker /lí/ could also occur. See example below:

(81) [kú sòn tá vè lí]

/kú sɪ ò-n tá vè lí/
PRES REA 3SG.SUB-NPST go house PROG
 ‘He is going home’

(82) [kú sòn tálí jón à nè mì lè]

/kú sɪ ò-n tá lí jón à nè
P.REA REA 3SG.SUB-NPST go PROG PFV.ASS 2SG.SUB tell
 mì lè/
1SG.OBJ BEN

‘When he is going, you(SG.) should tell me.’

5.4.2 Imperatives

The imperative is a type of a directive mood that indicates command, permission or advice (see Palmer 80). In Dza, the imperative mood is expressed by the simplest form of the verb with no grammatical marking. In some literature, a command, permission or advice addressed to the first person forms ‘me,’ or ‘us’ is said to be given the name hortatives, while if it is directed to a third person it is called the Jussive (Palmer 81, Aikhenvald 133). In Dza, the only difference between what Aikhenvald called the canonical imperatives and the ‘non canonical’ imperatives, i.e hortatives and Jussives, is the pronominal person marking. See example sentences below:

(83) [à lò kónà mī]

/ à lò kó-nà mī/
2.SG.PFV wash frame.wood.tree-palm 1SG.POSS
 ‘Wash my hand!’

(84) [ò lò kónà mī]

/ ò lò kó-nà mī/
3.SG.PFV wash frame.wood.tree-palm 1SG.POSS
 ‘He should wash my hand’

(85) [bì lò kónà bī]

/ bì lò kó-nà bī/
1.PL.PFV wash frame.wood.tree-palm 1PL.POSS
 ‘We should wash our hand’

5.4.3 Prohibitive

The prohibitive mood also expresses command, permission or advice like the imperative but the two differ in polarity. While the imperative influences the target audience behaviour by requesting or permitting them to act, the prohibitive influence their behaviour by requesting or permitting them not to act. These two directive moods are distinguished in Dza by the twin polarity markers /bì, jê/, where /bì/ appears in the utterance initial position and /jê/ appears in the utterance final position. This type of polarity marking for the prohibitive is also reported in Baa, a neighboring Adamawa language with the markers /bá, ñàm/ (Nwadigo 160). See examples below:

- (86) [bì bì-n lò kónà bī jê]
/bì bì-n lò kó-nà bī jê/
NEG 1.PL.PFV-NPST wash frame.wood.tree-palm 1.PL.POSS NEG
'We should wash our hand'

- (87) [bì bìn tó jê]
/bì bì-n tó jê/
NEG 1.PL.PFV-NPST go NEG
'We should not go'

- (88) [bì bìn tò lè jê]
/bì bì-n tò lè jê/
NEG 1PL.PFV-NPST give 3.PL NEG
'We should not give them'

5.4.4 Subjunctives

Subjunctives express remoteness, unreality or possibility, and are typically used in subordinate clauses with overt expressions of fear, exhortation, suggestion, wish and request (see Palmer 138 – 43). It is a mood that often appears in embedded structures (Timberlake 326). In Dza, the subjunctive constructions are marked. First, they are marked by the SET A pronouns in 4.3 above. Secondly, there are free particles such as /jê/ and /súkò/. Secondly, in addition to the particles, verb roots are repeated (though not obligatory) in conditional subordinate subjunctive constructions. See example sentences below:

(89) [á jǎ lì ɥè lí tǎ]

/á jǎ lì ɥè lí tǎ/
SUBJ ADVB LOG jump LOG go

‘Let him jump and go’ (A narrator reporting the wish of Mr. Hare in a folktale)

(90) [ɲ tʃĩ sêdè súkò]

/ɲ tʃĩ sêdè súkò/
1.SG.PFV find money PART

‘I wish I get money’

(91) [màn dī mùɲè dī súkò jǎɲ màn lí làlí]

/mè-n dī mùɲè dī súkò jǎɲ màn lí làlí/
2.SG-NPST take patience take PART PFV.ASS 2.SG-NPST
lí là-lí/
feel sweet-NOM

‘Only you could be patient, you will enjoy’

Furthermore, there is the unmarked form of subjunctives in Dza and this refers to the hortative form where the third person pronominal marking differentiates it from a canonical imperative form and also the Jussive mood. This form can be differentiated along with the binary tense system. There are past and non-past forms. The past form typically enjoins or expresses an immediate caution while the non-past form gives a sense of a bit later time. Below is an example sentence:

(92) . [bì lò kú bĩ bì tǎ]

/bì lò kú bĩ bì tǎ/
1.PL.PFV wash head 1.PL.POS 1.PL.PFV go

‘We should wash our heads and go’

Even though subjunctives typically occur in subordinate clauses, as seen in examples (90) above, they can also occur in the main clauses in Dza as demonstrated in example (91) above.

5.4.5 Interrogatives

The interrogative mood expresses questions. According to Timberlake, the interrogative forms describe “conceding lack of knowledge” (329). In Dza this is marked in various ways. The first is by a floating tone which attaches to the utterance-final tone bearing unit. Often, this is used in polar interrogatives. In addition to the floating tone, polar interrogatives can also be marked with a clitic /wà/ which appears in the sentence-final position. These are illustrated in the example sentences below:

- (93) [tà m̄ fə́ jə́ŋ̄]
/tǎ m̄ fə́ jə́ŋ̄/
father 2SG.POSS return REA.Q
‘Has your father returned?’

- (94) [tà m̄ fə́ l̄]
/tǎ m̄ fə́ l̄/
father 2SG.POSS return NEG.
Q
‘Has your father not returned?’

- (95) /à t̄ v̄ d̄ʒ̄ɛ́ní w̄/
2.SG.PFV go field today Q
‘Will you not go home today?’

In addition to these forms that could mark polar questions, Dza also use some ‘adverbial interrogatives’ which are strictly used in interrogative constructions, and of course the interrogative pronoun. The morphemic forms for the content questions include: /dó/ “when?”, /bê/ “where?”, /bá/ “what?”, /ɲú/ “how” and the construction /jə́ à ní/ “what if”. Below are some example sentences:

- (96) [à fǎ dó]
 /à fǎ dó/
 2.SG.PFV return when.Q
 ‘When did you return?’
- (97) [mè bĕ]
 /mè bĕ/
 2.SG where
 ‘Where are you?’
- (98) [à tswè ɲú]
 /à tswè ɲú/
 2.SG.PFV do how
 ‘How did you do it?’
- (99) [dí bǎ]
 /dí bǎ/
 COP what
 ‘What is it?’
- (100) [jé à ní fí tɛ̀ mè lò]
 /jé à ní fí tɛ̀ mè lò/
 SUBJ SPEC PROX God give 2.SG NEG
 ‘What if God did not give you?’

As can be seen above, subjunctives are used in interrogative constructions in Dza. Another interaction of the interrogative with other moods in Dza is the use of the commissive mood form in future interrogatives. See example sentence below:

- (101) [màn tɛ̀ mì tâ]
 /màn-n tɛ̀ mì tâ/
 2.SG give 1.SG give.Q
 ‘Would you give me?’

The construction in (100) above is a mild imperative in Dza, thus this may be an interrogative and a threat at the same time. This could mean, ‘it’s either you give me or something bad could happen’.

5.4.6 Commissive

Commissive modality is a type of deontic modality that express the speaker’s commitment to do something, either a promise or a threat. Usually, “the only difference between these seems to be whether what the speaker undertakes to do is or is not welcome to the addressee” (Palmer 72). While some languages do not have specific grammatical forms to mark commissives, others do. In Dza, commissives can be marked by the morpheme /bəŋ/ which always occupies sentence initial position and it can also be marked by reduplication of the verb stem. See examples below for commissive constructions in Dza:

- (102) [mìn d̄zǎ́ fádzwàmíŋ mī bê pùtswǎ́ mī]
 /mì-n d̄zǎ́ fǎ-d̄zwà-míŋ mī bê pùtswǎ́ mī/
1.SG-NPST buy boat-electric-water 1SG.POS with sweat 1SG.POS
 ‘I will buy my own boat with my own sweat’

- (103) [bəŋ mìn d̄zǎ́ fádzwàmíŋ mī bê pùtswǎ́ mī]
 /bəŋ mì-n d̄zǎ́ fǎ-d̄zwà-míŋ mī bê
CM 1.SG-NPST buy boat-electric-water 1SG.POS with
 pùtswǎ́ mī/
sweat 1.SG.POS
 ‘I will buy my own boat with my own sweat’ (commissiveness without a particular time)

- (104) [mìn d̄zǎ́ fádzwàmíŋ mī d̄zǎ́ bê pùtswǎ́ mī]
 /mì ñ-d̄zǎ́ fǎ-d̄zwà-míŋ mī d̄zǎ́ bê
1.SG NPST-buy boat-electric-water 1SG.POS buy with
 pùtswǎ́ mī/
sweat 1SG.POS
 ‘I will buy my own boat with my own sweat’ (commissiveness that may happen sooner)

In (102) above, the commissive modality is marked by the marker /bàŋ/ while in (103) it is marked with reduplication of the verb stem after the possessive pronoun. Example (101) on the other hand is just a plain statement.

5.4.7 Deductive

Palmer explains that, “There are three types of judgements that are common in languages, one that expresses uncertainty, one that indicates an inference from observable evidence, and one that indicates inference from what is generally known” (24). The deductive mood expresses inference from observable evidence. In Dza, this is marked grammatically by the free morph /hó/ which occurs in the sentence final position. See example sentences below:

- (105) . [nìŋtəŋ d̄zwəŋ jəŋ hó]
 /nìŋ-pĩ d̄zwəŋ jəŋ hó/
 thing-hoe ripe(v) PFV.ASS DED
 ‘farm crops must have been done’ (inference drawn from an evidence)

- (106) . [mè mwə jəŋ hó]
 /mè mwə wə jəŋ hó/
 hunger hold 3.SG PFV.ASS DED
 ‘He must be hungry’

5.4.8 Speculative Mood

Speculative mood expresses the likelihood that a proposition in an utterance is true based on some facts. In Dza, this is marked in two basic ways. One is marking with the morph /lákə/ while another is a verbal construction normally in the adjunct position before the main proposition. These are illustrated in the examples below:

(107) [lákə̀ ò tá jə̀ŋ]
 /lákə̀ ò tá jə̀ŋ/
SPVE 3.SG.PFV go PFV.ASS
 ‘He may have gone’

(108) [ŋ̀ bə̀ ní ò tá jə̀ŋ]
 /ŋ̀ bə̀ ø-kə̀ ní ò tá jə̀ŋ/
1.SG.PFV see Zero-APPL PROX 3.SG.PFV go PFV.ASS
 ‘As I see it, he might have gone’

5.5 Valence-changing strategies

Grammatical valence refers to “the number of arguments present in any given clause” while a syntactic argument of a verb “is a nominal element (including possibly zero, if this is a referential device in the language) that bears a grammatical relation to the verb (Payne 170). Thus, when we talk of valence-changing strategies in this section, we refer to the “morphosyntactic operations that adjust the grammatical valence of a clause” (Payne 170). The following discussions outline the various ways the grammatical valence of a verb can be adjusted in Dza.

5.5.1 Valence-increasing strategies

Valence-increasing strategies include morphosyntactic processes where an intransitive verb is modified such that it takes a second argument, or a monotransitive verb is modified to behave like a ditransitive verb. This is different from the ambivalency property some verbs may possess. There are two basic ways the grammatical valence of a verb can be increased in Dza: Causatives and Applicatives.

5.5.1.1 Causatives

Trask describes a causative as “a transitive construction, related to a second, simpler transitive or intransitive construction, from which it differs by the additional presence of an agent NP perceived as the direct instigator of the action expressed in the simpler construction” (38). Languages differ in how causatives operate. There are languages with morphological causatives

where two verb forms are distinguished by some causal inflection(s), in other languages “the notion of cause is wrapped up in the lexical meaning of the verb itself” (Payne 177). And the third type is the analytical causative, which are expressed by separate causative verbs, thus not considered among valence-increasing strategies. In Dza, there are no inflections on the verb for causation. However, there are verbs with two alternative forms, one a non-causative form while the other is a causative form. See the example sentences below:

(109) [ò bwí jón]

/ò bwí jón/
3.SG.PFV die PFV.ASS
 ‘He died’

(110) [à jè wè jón]

/è jè wè jón/
3.PL.PFV kill 3SG.OBJ PFV.ASS
 ‘They killed him’

(111) [ìmwè dé lwé ɣá jón]

/ìmwè dé lwé ɣá jón/
child DEF lay down PFV.ASS
 ‘The child lay down’

(112) [ò kè ìmwè dé jón]

/ò kè ìmwè dé jón/
3.SG.PFV lay child DEF PFV.ASS
 ‘He laid the child down’

From the examples above, (108) is the non-causative form while (109) is the causative form. In same vein, (110) is a non-causative form while (111) is its causative form.

5.5.1.2 Applicatives

Payne describes applicatives as “a valence increasing operation that brings a peripheral participant onto center stage by making it into a direct object” (186). He further explains that, “For verbs that already have one direct object, the applicative either results in a three-argument (ditransitive) verb, or the ‘original’ direct object ceases to be expressed” (186 – 87). Applicatives are another valence increasing strategy in Dza. The examples below show the use of the applicatives /bê/ and /kə/, which mark nouns as instruments, patients or locatives. Furthermore, the benefactive marker /lə/ changes a direct object to the benefactive object, while marking the second object as the direct object in a double construction. See examples below:

(113) [à jí bê wə níŋlwé-j jón]

/à	jí	bê	wə	níŋ-lwé-j	jón/
2.SG.PFV	raise	APPL	3.SG	eye-lay-LOC	PFV.ASS

‘You woke him from sleep’

(114) [ò gbá mə bê mi jón]

/ò	gbá	mə	bê	mi	jón/
3.SG.PFV	beat	fight(N)	APPL	1.SG	PFV.ASS

‘He fought me’

(115) [à gbá mi wə lə jón]

/à	gbá	mi	wə	lə	jón/
2.SG.PFV	beat	1.SG.PFV	3.SG	BEN	PFV.ASS

‘You beat him (for me)’

(116) [ò dī tswə sòn kə mīkə]

/ò	dī	tswə	sì	ò-n	kə	mī-kə /
3.SG.PFV	take	axe	REA	3SG.PFV-NPST	cut	3SG.OBJ-APPL

‘He took an axe and is cutting me with it’

(117) [ò tē jón]

/ò	té-ø-kə	jón/
3.SG.PFV	go-zero-APPL	PFV.ASS

‘He is gone with it’

In example (115) above, the 3SG carries the tonal locative morph as a synthetic applicative referring to the speaker as the patient while the analytic applicative /-kə/ refers to the axe as the instrument. It should be noted that the enclitic applicative form /-kə/ often gets fused with its host whether a verb or a noun. If the verb root has an open syllable shape, the vowel changes to an /ɛ/ while the low tone on the enclitic often causes a glide on the coalesced form. In the case of a closed syllable verb root, the velar nasal /ŋ/ at the coda often gets syllabified with a falling glide.

5.5.2 Valence-decreasing strategies

Dza has three basic strategies employed to decrease the valence status of a clause: reciprocals, reflexives, middle voice and word order in left cleft constructions. These are as follows:

5.5.2.1 Reciprocals

According to Payne, “A prototypical reciprocal clause is one in which two participants equally act upon each other, i.e, both are equally agent and patient” (200 – 201). Reciprocity is marked with a suffix /-sə/ in Dza. When attached to a verb, it reduces the valency of the verb in that the person in the subject argument is the same with the object argument. Below are some example sentences:

- (118) [è d̄zwúsə jəŋ]
 /è d̄zwú-sə jəŋ/
3.PL.PFV call-REC PFV.ASS
 ‘They called each other’

- (119) [bì bəsə jəŋ]
 /bì bə-sə jəŋ/
1.PL.PFV see-REC PFV.ASS
 ‘We saw each other’

5.5.2.2 Reflexives

Reflexive operates in sort of the same way with the reciprocals as a valence-decreasing strategy. However, the difference is, instead of two participants acting upon each other as explained by

Payne, now there is one participant in both the agent and the patient role. As explained in 4.3.3. above, reflexive pronouns are a constructions with the part of the body /kú/ ‘head’ and /nà/ ‘hand’. In Dza, they are also another valence-decreasing strategy. See example sentences below:

- (120) [sòn pəl̩ kú wā]
 /sì wə-n pəl̩ kú wā/
REA 3SG-NPST help head 3SG.POSS
 ‘He is helping himself’

- (121) [bì jè kú bī jəŋ]
 /bì jè kú bī jəŋ/
1.PL.PFV kill head 1PL.POSS PFV.ASS
 ‘We killed ourselves’

5.5.2.3 Middle Constructions

In middle constructions, “the patient rather than the agent is the subject” (Payne 216). This is applicable to a class of verbs called “labile verbs” which have the property of either being transitive or intransitive. See example sentences below:

- (122) [ò fé d̩zì dé jəŋ]
 /ò fé d̩zì dé jəŋ/
3.SG.PFV perforate calabash DEF PFV.ASS
 ‘He perforated the calabash’

- (123) [d̩zì dé fé jəŋ]
 /d̩zì dé fé jəŋ/
calabash DEF perforate PFV.ASS
 ‘The calabash is perforated’

- (124) [ŋ wó kəpù wə jəŋ]
 /ŋ wó kəpù wə jəŋ/
1.SG.PFV break frame-foot 3SG.POSS PFV.ASS
 ‘I broke his leg’

- (125) [kápù wā wá jǎŋ]
 /kǎ-pù wā wá jǎŋ/
frame-foot 3SG.POSS break PFV.ASS
 ‘His leg broke’

Example (121) is the transitive version while (122) is the intransitive middle construction. In the same vein, (123) is a transitive construction while (124) is the intransitive middle construction.

5.5.2.4 Word order

In Dza, another valence-decreasing strategy is object demotion where the object argument can be demoted into an adjunct position in a left cleft construction. See example sentences below:

- (126) [ò ɥì dí ɥà pǎŋǐ]
 /ò ɥì dí ɥà pǎŋǐ/
3.SG.PFV cook COP soup moringa
 ‘It is moringa soup he prepared’

- (127) [dí ɥà pǎŋǐ ò ɥì]
 /dí ɥà pǎŋǐ ò ɥì/
COP soup moringa 3.SG.PFV cook
 ‘It is moringa soup he prepared’

5.6 Verbal Plurality

The idea of verbal plurality suggests verbal number. Eulenberg describes verbal number as a derivational category which “has the general meaning of a repeated action, an action simultaneously performed by several agents, an action performed on more than one object, or various combinations of these ‘plural’ meanings” (qtd. in Corbet 245). However, he explains that this system is more wide spread in Nilo-Saharan, and Afro-Asiatic languages and marginal in Niger-Congo. Verbal plurality express one of two things or both: the number of times an action occurred and the number of participants simultaneously involved in the action either as agents or patients. In Dza, an action simultaneously performed by several agents is handled by nominal

number marking as expressed in the pronominal forms. In the case of constructions with proper nouns, we have seen that the third person plural pronominal form /è/ is used to mark plurality.

Meanwhile, in Dza, when an event occurred more than one time, it is popularly marked by adverbial expressions as Corbet pointed out (257). And there are cases where the verb root is reduplicated to show that the event occurred more than once. See example sentences below:

- (128) [sòn wádàkè pì gbá jì mī]
 /sì wə-n wádàkè pì gbá jì mī/
REA 3SG-NPST REP INFV beat child 1SG.POSS
 ‘He kept beating (more than once) my child’

- (129) [dí níŋtsè mō t́ŋ t́ŋ t́ŋ jì ɥá wə]
 /dí níŋ-tsē mō ò t́ŋ t́ŋ t́ŋ jì
COP eye-peanuts 2SG.POSS 3.SG.PFV eat eat eat fill
 ɥá wə/
stomach 3SG.POSS
 ‘It is your groundnuts (peanuts) he ate (more than once) filled his stomach’

In (128) above, the repetition of the verb expresses plurality of the event of eating, while the repetitive adverbial /wádàkè/ in (127) above gives the idea that the beating of the child happened more than once.

Furthermore, Dza uses different verb forms not suppletion (notion corrected by Corbett 258) to mark an action performed on more than one object. See examples below:

- (130) [ò dí jíŋ dé ò wáté j́ŋ]
 /ò dī jíŋ dé ò wá t́é j́ŋ/
3.SG.PFV take fish DEF 3.SG.PFV throw go PFV.ASS
 ‘He took the fish and threw it away’

- (131) [ò bwì jíŋ dé ò t́swúté j́ŋ]
 /ò bwì jíŋ dé ò t́swú t́é j́ŋ/
3SG.PFV take(PL) fish DEF 3SG.PFV throw(pl) go PFV.ASS
 ‘He took the fish (PL) and threw them away’

Compare the verbs in (129) and (130) we will see that the verb to take (also mean carry), is expressed in two different verb forms: /dì/ for singular object and /bwi/ for plural object. Likewise, the verb forms for the action of throwing are so distinguished: /wá/ to throw a single object and /tswú/ to throw plural object.

5.7 Deverbal nouns

Deverbal nouns, also known as gerunds, are nominal forms realized from verbs as result of derivational operations. Below are some various ways verbs can become nominalised.

5.7.1 Deverbal nouns from suffixation of /-lí/

In Dza, whenever verbs are suffixed with the morph /-lí/, it changes them to gerunds. It should be noted though: this same form can be understood as an imperfective participle and is the frequent citation form of verbs in Dza. This type of deverbal noun refers to event ideas. Table 5.4 below gives some verbs and their deverbal forms as nouns:

Table 5.4: Deverbal forms from suffixation of /-lí/

<i>Verb</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Deverbal form</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/kú/	‘sit’	/kú-lí/	sitting
/bwi/	‘die’	/bwi-lí/	‘dying’
/hò/	‘walk’	/hò-lí/	‘walking’
/là/	‘exite’	/là-lí/	‘excitement’

(132) [bwílí vè tǎ vè lē tǎ lè síbí jǎŋ]

/bwi-lí vè tǎ vè lē tǎ lè sí-bí jǎŋ/
die-NOM GEN father GEN 3PL.POS give 3PL.POSS body-fear PFV.
ASS

‘The death of their father shocked them’

- (133) [lálí lè sìn míḍwí bì hě́]
- /là-lí lè sìn míḍwí bì hě́/
- excite-NOM EXIST REA-NPST wait 1.PL all*
- ‘Excitement awaits us all’

5.7.2 Deverbal nouns from prefixation of /i-/ to synthetic verbal compounds

These are noun forms derived from verbs with some sort of object argument. The object arguments are often dummy objects that refer to some generic things while others are specific. This type of deverbal nouns refer to humans. See table 5.5 for examples and the sentences below:

Table 5.5: Deverbal Nouns from Prefixation of /i-/

Verb	Gloss	Nominalized form	Gloss
/tá/	‘shoot’	/i-tá-nìŋ/	‘blacksmith’
/lè/	‘sing’	/i-lè-bí/	‘singer’
/ḍḗ/	‘buy/sell’	/i-ḍḗ-nìŋ/	‘buyer/seller’
/ḍwí/	‘possess’	/i-ḍwí-hù/	‘hunter’

- (134) [ítábwí dé wú jéŋ]
- /i-tá-bwí dé wú jéŋ/
- NOM-shoot-spear DEF come PFV.ASS*
- ‘The soldier came’

- (135) [à ḍzwú mì ílèbí dé lè]
- /à ḍzwú mì í-lè-bí dé lè/
- 2.SG.PFV call 1.SG NOM-sing-song DEF BEN*
- ‘Call the singer for me’

5.7.3 Deverbal nouns from Circumfixation of /pì/ and /nìŋ/

Transitive verbs can be nominalised by circumfixation of either of the morphs /pì/ or /nìŋ/. This form is semi-analytic. The infinitive form of verbs in Dza is marked by the postpositioning of the

morph /pì/. On the other hand, /nìŋ/ is a regular dummy object in Dza. It is likely this type of deverbal forms are somehow similar to the first type, where a synthetic form already exist before the coincidental prefixation of a similar form. Table 5.6 below give some example words and example sentences follow afterwards:

Table 5.6: Deverbal Nouns from Circumfixes /pì/ and /nìŋ/

Verb	Gloss	Nominalized form	Gloss
/tá/	‘shoot’	/nìŋ-tá-nìŋ/	‘shooting’
/d̄z̄ó/	‘buy/sell’	/nìŋ-d̄z̄ó-nìŋ/	‘business’
/tú/	‘send’	/pì-tú-pì/	‘message’
/j̄ó/	‘despise’	/pì-j̄ó-pì/	‘despisal’

- (136) [pìj̄ópì dé pè ŋwá j̄óŋ]
 /pì-j̄ó-pì dé pè ŋwá j̄óŋ/
NOM-despise-NOM DEF pass mouth PFV.ASS
 ‘The scorn is too much’

- (137) [ò lí nìŋgb̄òníŋ dé j̄óŋ]
 /ò lí nìŋ-gb̄ó-nìŋ dé j̄óŋ/
3.SG.PFV hear.feel thing-beat-beat DEF PFV.ASS
 ‘He felt the beating’

5.8 Evidentiality

Evidentiality “refers to a closed set of obligatory choices of marking information source” (Aikhenvald 139). In Dza reported discourse, the reporter can distinguish between what he received directly from another source verbatim from what he himself saw or experienced. This is consistent in natural texts in Dza, nevertheless this is not an obligatory marking. This is marked

by the use of the logophoric pronoun /li/ for both singular and plural constructions. See example sentences below:

(138) [ivè tsã mã vè li tú ífi sí mè bí à lá pì tólâ]

/ivè	tsã	mã	vè	li	li	tú	ífi	sí	mè
<i>king</i>	<i>qt</i>	<i>like</i>	<i>GEN</i>	<i>LOG</i>	<i>LOG</i>	<i>send</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>LOC</i>	<i>2.SG</i>
à	lá	pì	tólâ/						
<i>2SG.PFV</i>	<i>refuse</i>	<i>INFIN</i>	<i>go-PROG.Q</i>						

‘The king said, in his position he sent a person to you and you refused coming?’

(139) [ivè tsã mã ò ò tú ífi sí mè bí à lá pì tólâ]

/ivè	tsã	mã	wè	ò	tú	ífi	sí	mè
<i>king</i>	<i>qt</i>	<i>like</i>	<i>3.SG</i>	<i>3SG.SUB</i>	<i>send</i>	<i>person</i>	<i>LOC</i>	<i>2.SG</i>
à	lá	pì	tólâ/					
<i>2.SG.PFV</i>	<i>refuse</i>	<i>INFIN</i>	<i>go-PROG.Q</i>					

‘The king said, in his position he sent a person to you and you refused coming?’

In these examples above, the difference is the choice of the third person pronominal forms. In the construction where the logophoric pronoun is used, it indicates that the reporter was there when the king was making the statement. So, he is not reporting hearsay. In example (138), the validity of the source is vague, and could be just hearsay. However, this is a clear cut example of a sentence where the logophoric pronoun functions as an evidential marker. There are cases where more than one participant is reported using the third person reference. In those cases, the logophoric pronoun could also be employed as a device to ease participant tracking.

5.9 Negation

Negation refers to the verbal category that grammatically reverses the presupposition expressed in a clause or sentence when marked. Dza has a number of negative markers. Earlier in section 5.5.3, we have seen how a pair of negation markers /bi, jê/ were used for the prohibitive mood. Furthermore, Dza has polar interjections, an affirmative /ó:/ and a negative /óhǒ/. In the same vein, the existential verb /lâ/ has its own negative counterpart /vèŋ/. Apart from these, Dza also

has some negation markers that are distinguished within the binary tense system of the language. Past constructions in Dza are negated by the morph /lò/. It also appears in the clause or sentence final position. Future non-past constructions on the other hand are marked by an enclitic /-w/ which attaches to the last word in a clause or sentence. When the last word is a closed syllable word, it normally turns to a floating tone and syllabifies the velar nasal /ŋ/, since that is the only consonant that can occupy the coda position in Dza. The present non-past is somehow a combination of the past negation /lò/ and the future non-past negation marked by the falling floating tone. See example sentences below:

- (140) [ò wú lò]
 /ò wú lò/
 3.SG.PFV come NEG
 ‘He did not come’
- (141) [ò wûw]
 /ò wú-w/
 3SG.PFV come-NEG
 ‘He will not come’
- (142) [míŋ sìn wú lǽ]
 /míŋ sìn-n wú lǽ/
 Water REA-NPST come NEG
 ‘Water is not pumping’

5.10 Phrasal Verbs

“A phrasal verb is “a lexical verb...which consists of a simple verb combined with one or more particles, the meaning of the whole being typically unpredictable from the meanings of its constituent elements” (Trask 208). In Dza, these are predominantly state verbs often derived from verb-noun compounding. However, there are phrasal verbs of the verb-adverb derivation also in Dza. Phrasal verbs carry all the properties of a normal lexical verb. See examples of phrasal verbs in table 5.7 below:

Table 5.7 Phrasal Verbs example

Phrasal verb	Gloss	Components
/tsó-kì/ <i>tie-mat</i>	‘mourn’	V-N
/pǎ-ŋí/ <i>pin-pain</i>	‘grieve/sorrow’	V-N
/tsá-ŋí/ strengthen- heart	‘brave/endure’	V-N
/fí-ŋwá/ <i>do-word</i>	‘deceive’	V-N
/tsì-ŋá/ <i>put-down</i>	‘stop’	V-Adv
/ŋò-pì/ <i>pursue-place</i>	‘follow’	V-N
/tswè-bì/ <i>do-word</i>	‘love’	V-N
/gbó-ŋó/ <i>beat-pot</i>	‘shiver’	V-N
/jò-bì/ retell-talk	‘chat/discuss’	V-N
/tsá-ŋwá/ strengthen- mouth	‘deny’	V-N
/wó-tsá/ breat-feather	‘pretend’	V-N
/pè-tjì/ heap-?	‘disappear’	V-N

It should be noted that there are collocational serial verbs in Dza often taken as verbal compounds. While this group of phrasal verbs behave as distinct lexical items carrying the same arguments, the serial verbs behave as two different lexical items, each carrying its subject argument at least. Examples of such serial verbs include /hù d̥zì/ ‘arrive/appear’ literally ‘surface

and appear’, /mwè ná/ ‘turn back’ literally ‘hold turn’, /pǎ dǐ/ ‘go out’ literally ‘move (into some entrance) and appear (out)’. The phrasal verbs above can be deverbalized but the serial verbs deverbalize separately. See example sentences with phrasal verbs below:

- (143) [ò nǎpì mì jǎŋ]
 /ò nǎ-pì mì jǎŋ/
 3SG.PFV follow-place 1.SG PFV.ASS
 ‘He followed me’

- (144) [sí wǎ sìn gbǎfǎlí]
 /sí wǎ sìn gbǎ-fǎ-lí/
 body 3SG.POSS REA-NPST beat-pot-PROG
 ‘His body is shivering’

- (145) [òn tsǎkítsǎ]
 /ò-n tsǎ-kì-tsǎ/
 3SG.PFV-NPST tie-mat-tie
 ‘He will mourn’

- (146) [tsílǎyá vǎ lè pǎlè lè jǎŋ]
 /tsì-lí à-yá vǎ lè pǎlè lè jǎŋ/
 stand-NOM SPEC-down GEN 3.PL help 3.SG PFV.ASS
 ‘Their stopping helped them’

In the example (144) above, in case of verbal reduplication, it is the verb root component that gets reduplicated. In same vein, when being deverbalized as in (145) above, the nominalizer inflects on the verb root component. Gerunds derived from these kinds of phrasal verbs are usually complex structures which often end up as longer structures than the canonical monosyllabic word structures.

CHAPTER SIX:

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Summary

Dza is a language spoken in North East Nigeria by about 100,000 speakers according to the records of the *Ethnologue*. The people are located at the border between Gombe, Adamawa and Taraba states. In a brief note on the origin of the Dza people, Charles K. Meek noted, “They claim to have come from the East, from a region called Za” (519). In the Glottolog, Dza is classified under the sub-group of Bikwin–Jen under Waja–Jen of Central Gur while the *Ethnologue* classified it under a sub-group of Niger-Congo called Adamawa. The Adamawa languages are described as, “Africa’s least-known large language family” (Blench, *Adamawa-Ubangian Languages*). According to Patrick R. Bennet, the languages are “probably the most poorly documented of all the major divisions of Niger-Congo” (23).

The purpose of this research is to provide an adequate description of the verbal morphosyntax of Dza, an Adamawa language of Taraba State. The work is meant to provide a reference material good enough to give a glimpse of the verbal morphosyntactic features of the Bikwin-Jen languages and how they relate with other languages. The research basically followed the classical form-and-function approach to accomplish the above task.

The researcher pointed out, Dza in its phonology has 9 oral vowels, of which 7 occur phonemically nasalized and 6 occur phonemically breathy. It has 31 consonant phonemes. The consonant phonemes show symmetry in terms of voicing and at various places and manners of articulation. Furthermore, the language is a tonal language and tone plays a function in lexical and grammatical contrast. The research went on to illustrate the three contrastive level tones: H, M and L are clearly attested. The research also outlined the following as phonological processes in Dza: reduplication and epenthesis, elision, fusion and nasal assimilation.

The research also contributed on the nominal morphology of Dza where it was mentioned that there are five forms in Dza which can be described as determiners. The forms are: /dɛ/ the definite determiner, /à-kə/ the indefinite determiner, /ní/ the proximal demonstrative, /lê/ the distal

demonstrative and /à-cè/ the interrogative determiner. Other aspects of Dza nominal morphology discussed included, adjectives, quantifiers and numerals, ideophones, adpositions and pronominal forms. It was pointed out that Dza has both postpositions and prepositions. The postposition is marked by a predicate locative which other times functions as an applicative as illustrated in 5.5.1 while prepositions are marked by lexical words. The pronominal forms of Dza include a zero marking for non-animate objects and a logophoric pronoun used for participant tracking and in other times for evidential marking.

In chapter five, various verbal grammatical categories were discussed. Table 6.1 below is a summary of the various grammatical forms and their functions:

Table 6.1: Verbal Grammatical Categories, Forms and Functions

<i>S/No</i>	<i>Grammatical Form</i>	<i>Morphem Type</i>	<i>Function</i>
1	/-n/	enclitic	Non-Past Tense Marker
2	/kú/	free clitic	Present Non-Past Marker
3	/jí/	free clitic	Future Non-Past Marker
4	/-là/	enclitic	Habitual Aspect Marker
5	/-lí/	enclitic	Progressive Aspect Marker
6	/lè/	free clitic	Existential Verb
7	/pì-/	proclitic	Infinitive Verb form marker
8	/sì/	free clitic	Present Non-Past Realis Marker
9	/jéŋ/	free clitic	Assertive Perfective Marker
10	/bì, jê/	circumfix	Prohibitive Mood Marker
11	/á/	free clitic	Subjunctive Mood Marker
12	/súkò/	free clitic	Subjunctive Mood marker
13	/wâ/	free clitic	Interrogative Mood Marker
14	/bèŋ/	free clitic	Commissive Mood Marker
15	/hó/	free clitic	Deductive Mood Marker
16	/bê/	free clitic	Applicative/valence increasing agent
17	/-là/	enclitic	Benefactive/ valence increasing agent
18	/-kè/	enclitic	Applicative/ valence increasing agent
19	/-sà/	enclitic	Reciprocal Aspect Marker/Valence decreasing agent
20	/wédàkè/	particle	Repeatative/Marking verbal plurality

<i>S/No</i>	<i>Grammatical Form</i>	<i>Morphem Type</i>	<i>Function</i>
21	/-lĩ/	suffix	Intransitive Verb Deverbalizer
22	/i-/	prefix	Transitive Verbs Deverbalizer
23	/nĩŋ/	circumfix	Transitive Verbs Deverbalizer
24	/pĩ/	circumfix	Transitive Verbs Deverbalizer
25	/lĩ/	preform	Logophoric/Evidential Pronoun
26	/lò/	particle	Past Negation
27	/-w/	enclitic	Future Non-Past Negation
28	/lõ/	particle	Present Non-Past Negation
29	/ʉèŋ/	free form	Negative Existential Verb
30	/ó:/	free form	Affirmative Interjection
31	/óhõ/	particle	Negative Interjection

6.2 Conclusion

As seen in the data presented in this research, verb roots in Dza are predominantly monosyllabic and the language is more analytic than it is synthetic. Dza is largely an isolating language with minimal inflectional as well as fusional morphology. Tense, Aspect and Mood markers are mostly enclitics while a few are free forms. The TAM enclitics can easily fuse with their phonological hosts. In addition to the morphemic forms outlined in Table 6.1 above, there are other morphosyntactic operations which are vital in understanding Dza verbal category. These include:

- i. The use of a floating low tone for marking locatives.
- ii. The falling tone glide is used on verb arguments as applicative to mark them as patients as illustrated in section 5.5.1.2.
- iii. It was also noted that tone is one of the morphological strategies for marking the contrast between the interrogative and the declarative mood, object pronouns and possessive pronouns, and perfective and imperfective (habitual) aspects.
- iv. Verb root reduplication and epenthesis is used in marking future non-past commissive mood and also verbal focus.

- v. Middle constructions are employed as valence decreasing strategies, so also left cleft constructions.

Dza has a binary system in almost all its verbal grammatical categories. In tense, the binary opposition is between past and non-past tense, where the past is the form with zero marking. In aspects, the opposition is between perfective and imperfective aspect, where the perfective is the unmarked form. In mood system, the binary opposition is between realis and irrealis moods. In this case, the present non-past constructions are each marked for realis. The future non-past tense constructions on the other hand are unmarked, hence the irrealis mood.

However, it was noted that in other Adamawa languages such as Ba [kwb] and Doyayo [dow], tense is either represented aspectually or by means of contextual information such as time adverbials (Hewson 5, Nwadigo 151). Nevertheless, there are some similarities such as the perfective and imperfective opposition as reported by Boyd (206), the realis and irrealis dichotomy and similar valence-changing strategy (Nwadigo 138 – 39).

6.3 Recommendations

This research has been interesting but challenging at the same time. Since this is the first study of its kind in the language, it took longer to make decisions on the functions of various forms of verbal categories. However, it has helped in yielding results that could impact the language development work in Dza in the following ways:

- i. The phonology and nominal morphology of Dza highlighted in this research is just a scratch on the surface. There is need for a more elaborate study in that regard.
- ii. The study was restricted to morphosyntactic categories as earlier mentioned. Semantics was not given much attention. Semantics and morphosyntax go together in describing a complete grammar of a language.
- iii. Tone is a major aspect of the language. Apart from its lexical contrast function it also plays grammatical functions. Nevertheless, tone could be doing lot more than what was

highlighted in this thesis. Thus, there is need for further study on the grammatical function of tone especially as it relates to tense.

- iv. This study did not have a section on clause structure. This is also important in the study of the verbal morphosyntaxs of Dza.
- v. Mood is an interesting area to study further in Dza. There seems to be more than what the researcher presented here.
- vi. There seems to be structural shift in the language. As a native speaker, the researcher often came across forms that are foreign in the language due to heavy borrowing of lexical items from Hausa by storytellers. This calls for language documentation as well as socio-linguistic studies in the language.
- vii. Valence markers, as they relate to pronouns syntactically has been troubling in the written form of the language. However, the researcher recommended that pronouns should be written disjunctively while valence markers should be written conjunctively as recommended in the orthography section in chapter three.
- viii. Other interesting feature of the language to study include discourse reporting in natural texts of the language.

WORKS CITED

- Agwaru, Ismaila. Western Education in Dza Nlabephee Kefas Othaniel. 16. April 2015.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. The Art of Grammar. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Anderson, Gregory D. S. „STAMP morphs in the Macro-Sudan Belt.“ Diversity in African Languages: Selected Papers from the 46th Annual Conference on African Linguistics. Berlin: Language Science Press, 2016. 513-539.
- Anonby, Erik John. Phonology and morphology of Mambay (Niger-Congo, Adamawa). PhD Thesis. Leiden, 2008.
- Bennett, Patrick R. „Adamawa-Eastern: Problems and Prospects.“ Dihoff, Ivan R. Ed. Current Approaches to African Linguistics. Vol. 1. Holland: Foris Publications, 1983. 23 - 49.
- Bennett, Patrick R. og Jan P. Sterk. „SOUTH CENTRAL NIGER-CONGO: A RECLASSIFICATION.“ Studies in African Linguistics. Volume 8, Number 3 December 1977: 241 - 273.
- Blench, Roger. Adamawa-Ubangian Languages. 2017. 16. April 2017
<<http://www.rogerblench.info/Language/Niger-Congo/AU/AU.htm>>.
- Blench, Roger M. Atlas of Nigerian Languages Edition III. Cambridge: Kay Williamson Educational Foundation , 2012.
- Boyd, Raymond. „Adamawa - Ubangi.“ Bendor-Samuel, John Ed. The Niger-Congo Languages. Lanham: University Press of America, 1989. 178 - 215.
- Chelliah, Shobhana L og Willem J de Reuse. Handbook of Descriptive Linguistic Fieldwork. London: Springer, 2011.
- Comrie, Bernard. Aspect. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- . Language Universals and Linguistic Typology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- . Tense. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Corbett, Greville G. Number. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Creissels, Denis, o.fl. „Africa as a morphosyntactic area.“ A Linguistic Geography of Africa. Ritstj. Bernd Heine og Derek Nurse. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 86 - 150.
- Croft, William. Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theory in Typological Perspective. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- . Verbs: Aspect and Causal Structure. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Crozier, David H. og Roger M. Blench. An Index of Nigerian Languages. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1992.
- Crystal, David. An encyclopedia Dictionary of Language and Languages. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.
- Dahl, Osten. Tense and Aspect Systems. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985.

- Dimmendaal, Gerrit Jan. Historical Linguistics and the Comparative Study of African Languages. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2011.
- Dixon, R. M. W. Basic Linguistic Theory. B. I. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- . Basic Linguistic Theory. B. II. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- . Basic Linguistic Theory. B. III. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Geneti, Carol. How Languages Work. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Givón, Talmy. Syntax: A functional-typological introduction. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1984.
- GOLD. Verbal. 2008. 19. July 2019 <<http://linguistics-ontology.org/gold/2008/Verbal>>.
- Greenberg, John H. The Languages of Africa. Bloomington: Indiana University, 1963.
- Hammarström, Harald, Robert Forkel og Martin Haspelmath. Glottolog 3.0. Jena: Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History., 2019.
- . Glottolog 3.0. Jena: Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History., 2017.
- Hansford, Keir, John Bendor-Samuel og Ron Stanford. An Index of Nigerian Languages (Studies in Nigerian Languages No. 5). Ghana: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1976.
- Harley, Matthew W. A Descriptive Grammar of Tuwuli. Unpublished, 2005.
- Haspelmath, Martin. Argument indexing: a conceptual framework for the syntactic status of bound person forms. 2012.
- Kleinewillinghöfer, Ulrich. Bikwin-Jen - Comparative Wordlist (Swadesh 100). 1995/2015. 16. April 2017.
- Kleinewillinghöfer, Ulrich. „Die nordwestlichen Adamawa-Sprachen - Eine Übersicht.“ Seibert, Uwe. Ed. Afrikanische Sprachen zwischen Gestern und Morgen. Frankfurter: Afrikanistische Blätter 8, 1996. 80-103.
- . „Relationship between Adamawa and Gur languages: The case of Waja and Tula.“ Gur Papers I 1996: 25-45.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons og Charles D. Fennig, Ethnologue: Languages of the World. Eighteenth edition. Dallas: SIL International, 2019.
- Meek, Charles K. Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria. B. II. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1931.
- . Tribal Studies in Northern Nigeria. Vol. II. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1931.
- Mel'c'uk, Igor. Aspects of the Theory of Morphology. Ritsjtj. David Beck. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006.
- More than 400 Nigerian indigenous languages are endangered. 26. February 2014. 18. December 2018 <<https://www.vanguardngr.com/2014/02/400-nigerian-indigenous-languages-endangered/>>.
- Musa, Markus Maigida. The Missionary Enterprise in Jen, an Example of Reaching the Outreach places. Jos: Amana, 2009.

- Nwadigo, Mirjam Möller. „Baa Grammar Sketch.“ PhD Thesis. 2018.
- Othaniel, Nlabephee Kefas. A Phonological Comparative Study of the Jen Language Cluster. B.A Thesis. Jos: Unpublished, 2017.
- . Jenjo Phonology Write-up. TCNN B.A Linguistics Fieldwork Report. Jos: Unpublished, 2016.
- Palmer, F. R. Mood and Modality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Payne, Thomas E. Describing morphosyntax. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Samarin, William J. „Adamawa - Eastern.“ Sebeok, Thomas A. Current Trends in Linguistics: Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa. Paris: Mouton, 1971. 213-244.
- Schachter, Paul og Timothy Shopen. „Parts-of-speech systems.“ Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Ritstj. Timothy Shopen. B. I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 1-60.
- Schadeberg, Thilo C. The Talodi Group : A Survey of Kordofanian Volume Two. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1981.
- Shopen, Timothy. Language Typology and Syntactic Description. 2nd. B. III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- . Language Typology and Syntactic Description. 2nd. B. I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Timberlake, Alan. „Aspect, tense, mood.“ Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Ritstj. Timothy Shopen. B. III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 280-332.
- Trask, R. L. A Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Van Valin, Robert D og LaPolla Randy J. Syntax: Structure, meaning and function. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Westermann, Dietrich og M. A. Bryan. Handbook of African Languages Part II: Languages of West Africa. Glasgow: Oxford University Press, 1952.