A SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF KULUNG LANGUAGE

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the work in this thesis titled "A Syntactic Analysis of Kulung Language" was performed by mein the Department of African Languages and Cultures, under the supervision of Professor Munir Mamman, Doctor B.S.Y. Al-Hassan and Professor Lawan Amin. The information derived from the literature has been duly acknowledged in the text and a list of references provided. No part of this work has been presented for another degree or diploma at any institution.

_____   _____

Isa Adamu Haliru   **Date**

Certification

This thesis titled "A Syntactic Analysis of Kulung Language" meets the regulations governing the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Ahmadu Bello University, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my late father Alhaji Isa Bambur (JSB) 1927-2009 may his soul rest in perfect peace, Amin.

ABSTRACT

This study is a syntactic description of **Kulung,** a member of Southern Jarawa of the Bantu group of the Benue-Congo family of the Niger-Congo phylum. The study seeks to describe those grammatical categories in **Kulung** that permits a native speaker of **Kulung** to speak and be understood by the member of the speech community. The knowledge of words and their meanings and the way they are pronounced, the syntactic environment where theyco-occur and their syntactic compositions. The objective of the study, however, is the overall explication of the knowledge **Kulung** native speaker has in relation to his/her language. This special sort of knowledge can be represented as a set of rules or principles. The study examines the nature of the rules and the elements that make them useful for describing the syntactic competence of the **Kulung** native speaker. Thus intra-sentential hierarchies, i.e. phrases and clauses as lexical composites and sentential constituencies comprised part of the data for analysis. It has been observed that two types of relations exist in the structure of human language, horizontal and vertical (precedence and dominance). Horizontally, sentence is arranged in a linear sequence in terms of occurrence, the noun precedes the verb; the verb precedes the object in the data. Vertically, structures are organized in hierarchy, phrasal categories dominate lexical categories. The noun phrase for example has the noun or pronoun as its constitutional integrity. The research report employs multiple tools, interview, participant, observation and the use of secondary sources which are the printed texts available in the language. The researcher is a native speaker also part of the data is by introspection. This study sees **Kulung** language as having a basic canonical SUBJECT-VERB-OBJECT order throughout. That SVO is the only permissible order of the basic constituents in simple declarative sentences is confirmed by data available from this study. **Kulung** is both agglutinative and synthetic language. It has no gender distinction but has constraints on the morphosyntactic features of the verb which shows agreement in number and tense. In **Kulung** empty words such as **ir:, yaba** are the properties of the verb which are markers of present and future tenses. The past tense is marked by inflection.

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Abbreviations and Definition of Operational Terms

In this study, words and group of words have been variously abbreviated in conformity with linguistic conventions.

Adj	-	adjective
Adjp	-	adjectival phrase
Adv	-	adverb
Advp	-	adverb phrase
Agr	-	agreement
Agt	-	agent
Art	-	article
Ap	-	apposition phrase
Asp	-	aspect (TAM)
Aux	-	auxiliary
CA	-	constituent analysis
Cft	-	Cleft
Comp	-	complementizer
Cop	-	copular
D.a	-	definite article
Dat.	-	dative
Det	-	determiner
Dc	-	dependent clause
Dim	-	diminutive
Do	-	direct object
ECP	-	empty category principle
F	-	Feminine
Foc	-	focus

Fsg	-	finite-state grammar
F ut	-	future
GB	-	government and binding theory
GC	-	government category
Gen	-	genitive
Gpsg	-	generalized phrase structure
Inter (rog)	-	interrogative
ICA	-	indepnednet caluse
IC	-	infinitive phrase
IO	-	indirect object
IP	-	infinitive phrase
L	-	Lexical category
M	-	masculine
M	-	modal verb
N	-	neuter
Nn	-	noun
Neg	-	negative
Np	-	noun phrase
Obj	-	object
Pred.ph	-	phrase
Past	-	passive
P1	-	plural
Pm	-	phrase marker
PoP	-	possessive Phrase.
Pos	-	possessive
PP	-	prepositional phrase
Pro	-	pronoun

Prog	-	progressive
PS	-	phrase structure
σ	-	syllable
Q	-	qualifier
S	-	sentence
SC	-	structural change
SD	-	structural description
SV	-	serial verb
Sing	-	singular
Spec	-	specifier
SVO	-	subject verb object
TG	-	transformational grammar
TGG	-	transformational generative grammar
TAM	-	tense-aspect-mood
Tns	-	tense
UG	-	universal grammar
V	-	verb
VC	-	verbal complex
V2	-	verb second
VP	-	verb phrase
WH	-	what, who, why, etc.

For a better understanding ofthe discussions ensued, the following terms are defined as follows:-

Aspect - duration of an action rather than time of an action. It indicates the action by changes in the person aspect or the verb itself. Matthews (2007)

Alienable possession - refers to things like "tools", "books", "cars", "houses" (McGregor, 2009).

Alteronym - Alternative names of a language by other people. Adamu (2004) TheFulani call the Tiv *Munci,* Yoruba call the Hausas *Gambari.* Bleambo (1990) Jukun Kona calls the Kulung *Nwurkuni.*

Autonym - A name given to a people by it members. Bleambo (1990) e.g. *Dera* (Kanakuru).

Auxiliary - A projection of the verbal phrase. Matthews (2007)

Bilingualism–Means the capability of either a person or a group to communicate in two languages (Lyons, 1981 and Olaoye, 1998).

Competence–Knowledge that a speaker has of language which enable him/her to observe grammaticality, (Chomsky, 1957).

Configurational language – Languages that can be analyzed using the schema of phrase structure grammar.

Conjoined NPs–Is noun phrase containing two independentnoun phrases joined by a conjunction. Newman (2000).

Empty Words – Empty words or structure classes belong to categories whose membership is limited. It is, therefore, better to list them rather than going to traditional definitions. Amongst the structure classes are: pronouns, prepositions, articles, ordinals (such as*mumoghwo* (first), *mutarum* (third), *mumastakya* (last)), quantifiers, demonstratives (e.g. *mini* (this), *muko* (that), *ɓani* (these), *ɓako* (those)), conjunctions, auxiliaries (model as well as non-model). Syal and Jindal (2010)

Functional Labels – Amongst the functional labels are the words that give us an idea of the function of a particular word/phrase in the structure of the sentence. These labels include terms such as **subject, object, subject complement, and object complement.** Any single sentence may have essential or nuclear part in it and some marginal elements (or adjuncts) that could be safely left out without destroying the essential sentence. Syal and Jindal (2010).

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background of the Study

Foundations of studies in African Languages are the product of the efforts of two basic groups, namely, the missionaries and the colonial administrators. Among either group were to be found anthropologist, sociologist and linguists. The enterprises of the Spanish missionaries began with the description of African Languages for the purpose of communication and evangelism. Another group, the scholarly societies, became interested in African cultures and languages; people like Henrich Barth (1821-1865) played an important role in furthering the studies of African languages.

In the 20th century many African nations that were colonized regained their independence. With the socio-political changes that have taken place in Africa, many languages emerged as national or official, major or minority languages. Subsequently, the 20th century witnessed an increased effort towards the codification of African Languages, the aim of which was not only to reduce the languages into writing but also to have their grammars described. Some of such languages in West Africa for instance are *Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, Bimoba, Twi* and *Ga.* However, there are still many African languages, most among them Nigerian, that in the 21st century, where digitalization and computer literacy are becoming the norm, have still not been described. Most of these languages are found in the North Eastern part of Nigeria and include *Piya, Kam, Yukuben, Etolo, Jukun, Fam, Kode, Yandang* and *Lo* among others. The *Kulung* language also belongs to groups of undescribed languages.

Language as the subject matter of linguistics is generally analysed fewer than four major areas, because the four forms what linguists called micro-linguistics which are Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and Semantics. Language is structurally hierarchical; this means that it is made up of units which are made up of smaller units which are also made up of still smaller units till we have the smallest indivisible unit. (Syal and Jindal 2010:19, Cipollone, Keiser and Vasishth 1998:171) At each level, there are certain rules that operate which permit the occurrence and combination of smaller units. Each level can be analyzed independently of the other. (Syal and Jindal 2010:19). By implication each area could be independent of the other. However, there are studies that combine at least two or at most all of them. In this study, despite the fact that, it is syntactic and a trailblazing study, elements of the sound system, the morphology is required for elucidations.

1.2   The Kulung Language

In the literature of the missionaries, other names have been used for the Kulung language such as Bambur and Wurkun. Wurkun is more geographical than linguistic.It is generic and a toponym for a number of tribes in the area north of the Benue River, around Karim Lamidó and Muri in Taraba State of Nigeria. McBride (1972)

The people refer to themselves as Kulung, which is a cover term for the land, people and language. The real meaning of Kulung is *tortoise*, a reptile that is known for its hard shell that serves as a protection against predators. The term Kulung according to oral tradition is a metaphorically derived allusion as symbol of protection for the Kulung people. (see McBride)

Kulung has been classified as a member of the Niger-Congo, Southern Jarawa Language family Greenberg (1963). A detailed account of Kulung early settlers is contained in the works of

McBride (1972) and Saleh (2010). These accounts trace the origin of the Kulung people to a man named Mbur who left Kona to look for a new abode. According to McBride, this journey took Mbur to the northward across the Benue River and its wide valley to some rocky ridges. After climbing the hill, Mbur discovered suitable terrain with enough water encircled by a chain of hills. The new location happened to enjoy a natural fortress. This discovery prompted Mbur to move his family from Kona to the new abode. In his company were three other young men aboutwhom it was not known whether they were his children, friends or relations.

The name of the settlement and the town was derived from the morphs *Ɓa* and *Mbur*, meaning the place of Mbur or the entire people of Mbur (Bambur). It is strongly believed that Mbur became the leader of the group. Not long after the settlement of Mbur and his companions, other settlers crossed the hills to join the pioneers. Two brothers, Sanga and Nyinlo came and settled on the Balasa ridge to the west. Similarly, some riverine people from far, up the Benue River, came and occupied the higher parts of Balasa mountains. Other people from Kona built their homes on Nzhikwano ridge some distance from Balasa, and still others settled on Gerere Mountain farther west. As time went on, many groups from different ancestries and languages converged on this location to form a homogeneous tribal unit, speaking one language.

McBride (1972:32) who consulted the elders about their origins, reports them as having said that God moulded them and gave them the language. McBride (1972:33) states that a very old blind man, who lives high on Balasa Mountain, gave substantial information on the people to him. This was Garkuwa of the Pigulum Clan. Garkuwa's narrative provided the missing link in the account. He said that his people were related to neither the Jukun nor the Peros. He pointed in the direction of a place far up the Benue River, beyond Numan as their place of origin.

According to Garkuwa, they had been driven out by wars and had come down the Benue and settled on the river bank at a place called Sobalingo, opposite Lau where they planted the silk cotton trees which are still seen around today at Bandawa. Later they moved again up towards the hills with two of their clans, the Piu and the Pigulum, settling on the top of the Balasa Mountain, and were later joined by a third clan, the Pira, located on Kwonchi hill. On the Kulung language, McBride (1972) reports that Garkuwa told him that their fathers spoke it prior to the arrival of the Jukuns and the Peros, and that the new comers learned from them through association i.e. the Kulung languge.

Further research shows that the Kulung must have come from the Mbula ethnic group, on the Benue, above Numan. Saleh (2010) reveals that there is a close linguistic affinity between the Kulung and the Mbula languages. There are numerous Kulung nouns belonging to the basic vocabulary such as: sand, earth, sky, one, two, three which have striking resemblance in form and meaning with those of Mbula. These resemblances are most likely to be genetic rather than as a result of borrowing or accident. There seems to be some evidence to proof that some groups came with the Mbula tongue, others acquired the language through association, such as intermarriages and in the process they mixed their own languages in succeeding generations, until it became a separate language of its own. There is also a strong resemblance of Kuni Kulung with the Jarawa language. But according to McBride (1972), there is no substantial evidence to back up this claim. Rather, it would seem that the people living here and speaking Kuni Kulung moved westward to the Jarawa. McBride (1972) remarked that the whole subject is one that needed much more research.

The Kulung people of Bambur were the ones that gave land to the missionaries to conduct activities in Wurkun area. Rev. C.W. Guinter made an exploration trip through these

hills looking for a place to begin a new missionary work. He visited several towns and tribes but was not welcomed. In 1923 a missionary station was established in Kulung land. The first year was preoccupied with the building project, and learning of the Kulung language. With the influx of neighbouring ethnic groups and languages the Kulung language project became no longer necessary as the entire Bible was translated into Hausa. Hausa then became a linguafranca of the area. At the moment there is no acclaimed work on the phonology of Kulung. However a book of Hymn printed in (1934) provides an insight in to the sound system of the language.

The language is primarily spoken at Bambur and her environs in Karim Lamido Local Government of Taraba State. Apart from Bambur, pockets of Kulung settlements are found in Bali, Bali Local Government Area, Iware and Tau in Ardo-Kola Local Government Area. In Gassol Local Government Area quite a number of Kulung settlements are scattered all over.

The language actually serves a complementary function in that most Kulung speakers are Kulung-Hausa bilinguals, or trilingual Kulung, Hausa and English. The language serve a communicatory purpose among native speakers and it employment is confined to the household. Even in a predominantly Kulung settlement, the Hausa language serves as a language for worship among the Christians. However, the language has so many folktales and verbal arts, like myth, tales, songs which performs many functions. The language still acts as writing a cultural reservoir owing to the fact that the folklore and rituals of the community are practiced in it.

Figure 1.1: Niger-Congo according to Blench and Williamson (1987)

```
                         Proto-Niger-Congo*
Mande ─────────────────────────┬───────────────────────── Kordofanian
                         Atlantic-Congo*
Ijoid[?]───────────────────────┬───────────────────────── Atlantic
                    Centrla Niger-Congo* [=Volta-Congo]
                               ├──────────────────────── Dogon[?]
                               │
   North-Central Niger-Congo*                    South-Central Niger-Congo*
     Kru                                          Kwa        Benue-Congo
          Gur        Adamawa-Ubangi               Nupe         Bantoid
                                                 Bassa-nge     Jukun
                                                           Southern Jarawa
                                                             Kulung
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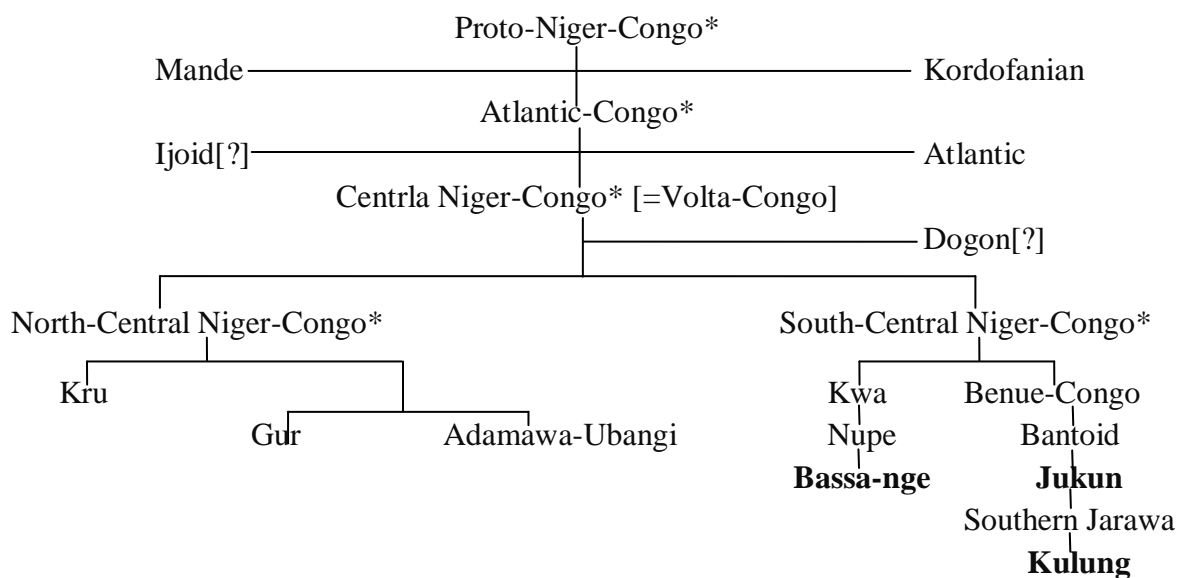
From the above classification, it has been seen that Kulung belongs to the South-Centra Niger-Congo and it is in the subgroup of Southern Jarawa.

Figure 1.2   AFRICAN LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION

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                        AFRO-ASIATIC PHYLUM
          ┌──────────┬──────────┼──────────┬──────────┐
       Chadic     Berber     Cushitic    Semetic   Ancient-Egypt
```
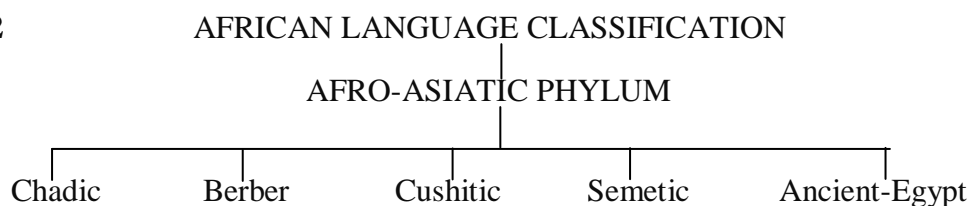
Within the Chadic family, four sub-families have been identified. Some of the sub-families consist of sub-groups A and B, as shown below:

Figure 1.3   CHADIC LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION

```
        ┌───────────────┬───────────────┬───────────────┐
   West-Chadic     Central-Chadic    East-Chadic        Masa
     /    \          /      \          /     \            │
    A      B       Biu     Mandara    A       B          Masa
 Hausa   Ngizim    A        B        kera   Dongla       Zeme
 Bole    Warji   Kilba    Kotoko    Sumari  Mokolo
 Angas   Bade    Bura      Gida      Lele   Sokoro
 Za:r            Marghi    Musgo
```

6
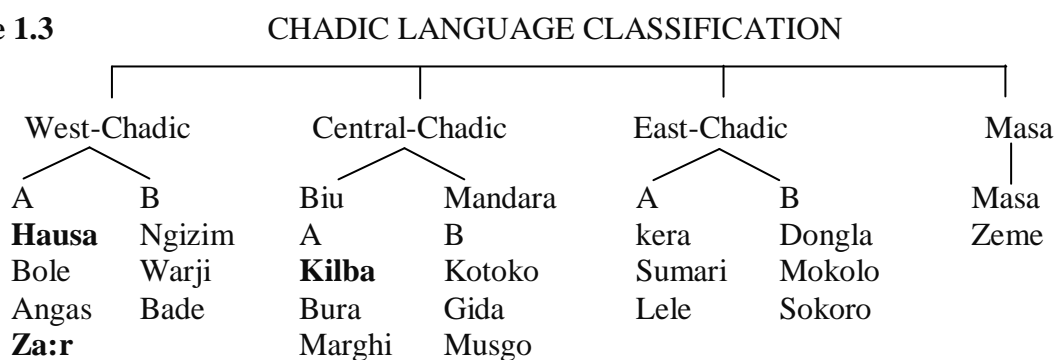
Tangale
Pero

1.3   The Kulung People

The Kulung is an ethno-linguistic entity. However, describing ethnic group in Nigeria has been a tedious venture such as between the Kuturmi and the Kadara, the Jukun and the Kuteb the Tiv and the Etolo. Before then, there has been a kind of misrepresentation on Wurkun. At one point in time, the whole linguages and the people of Wurkun district were refer to as Wurkun tribal unit speaking the Wurkun language. As if it appears that Wurkun is a language and has Wurkun native speakers. For the purpose of clarity, there is no Wurkun language and there is no Wurkun native speaker. What is obtained is Wurkun group of languages in this study; Kulung is considered an independent self-contained group. People like C.K Meek and Kirk-Greene (1969) in their various submissions subscribed Kulung as an ethnolinguistic entity.

Meek (1934:259) states that:

> Five years ago, I happened to be passing through the Wurkum district of the Northern Province of Nigeria and used the opportunity to make some ethnological inquiries. The people of the district who are located on the North Bank of the Benue River, opposite Lau, had been described by Mrs. Temple (in her notes on the tribes of Northern provinces of Nigeria) compiled from official records. Under the generic term, Wurkun (not Wurkum) merely meant the people, Wurkun and included seven distinct group of diverse origin, some speaking Bantu languages and some Sudanic. Notes and vocabularies were obtained for each group, but in this paper, a short description of one of the groups only, Viz Kulung.

In agreement with the above submission, the study regards Kulung as the cover term for the language and people in question. Thus Wurkun could be reserved as a cover term for the entire group of people living in that particular geographical area, even though it is known that some of the languages spoken in the vicinity of Kulung are not mutually intelligible though they

7

share the same cultural practices. As for their place of origin, whenever the elders are confronted with the question, the only answer, they usùally give is that they come from *Tak,* which means the East.

1.4   Kulung Dialects

The term dialect according to Matthews (2007:103), refers to any distinct variety of a language, especially one spoken in a specific part of a country or other geographical area. Traugott (1980) cited in Mu'azu (2003:18) breaks down the social definition by saying that a dialect is a subset of a language associated with a specific rhyme, social class ethnic, sex or age. It is usually identifiable at all levels of grammar. Caron (2005:5) sees dialect division as a matter of villages, towns where they are spoken. Saleh (2010:5), states that before the 20th century, the Kulung constitute a homogenous ethnic unit but were found largely as distinct units speaking the Kulung language. They are Bambur, Balasa, Banyam and Bamingun. The Kulung language is composed of a continuum of dialects with sharply definable dialect areas. These dialects are Bambur, Balasa, Banyam and Bamingun.

The Bambur dialect is regarded as the prestige because Bambur is located at the centre and the dialect of the chief.

The speakers of four dialects understand each other. In other words, there is mutual intelligibility between the speakers of the four dialects. The differences are that of pronunciation and the vowel alternation. Bambur and Balasa dialects, consider (1):

(1)	**Bambur**	**Balasa**	**Gloss**
	mésù	mesug	left hand
	míkìm	misikim	maize

bórà	bara	sometimes ago
zóng	gheri	foot
bàní	bana	here

1.5   Geographical Location of Kulung Language

The geographical area in which this Language is spoken is in Karim Lamiɗo Local Government Area of Taraba State. At the eastern part, Kulung land is bounded by Karim town and at the north-western part by Shongom Local Government Area of Gombe State. To the west, Kulung is bounded by Wukari and to the South it is bounded by Lau Local Government Area. Saleh (2010:2) states that the Kulung land is characterized by fast flowing streams originating from the hills and emptying their contents into the River Benue.

Large Kulung settlements such as Usmanu and Didango served as important river ports during the pre-colonial and colonial periods where farm produce (cash crops) such as groundnuts and cotton from the hinterland were commercially disposed of. From the foregoing, it can be comfortably assumed that the major economic activity of the Kulung people was agriculture. Apart from their traditional abode, there are pockets of Kulung settlements in Arɗo-Kola, Bali, Lau and Jalingo local government areas of Taraba State.

For the purpose of easy location of the area where this language is spoken, a Map of Nigeria showing Taraba State is **Figure: 1.4**, the Map of Taraba State showing Karim-Lamiɗo Local Government Area is **Figure: 1.5** and the Map of Karim-Lamido Local Government Area showing the areas where Kulung is spoken is **Figure: 1.6**.

Figure: 1.4: Map of Nigeria

MAP OF NIGERIA SHOWING TARABA STATE

SCALE 1:12,500,000

Figure: 1.5: Map of Taraba
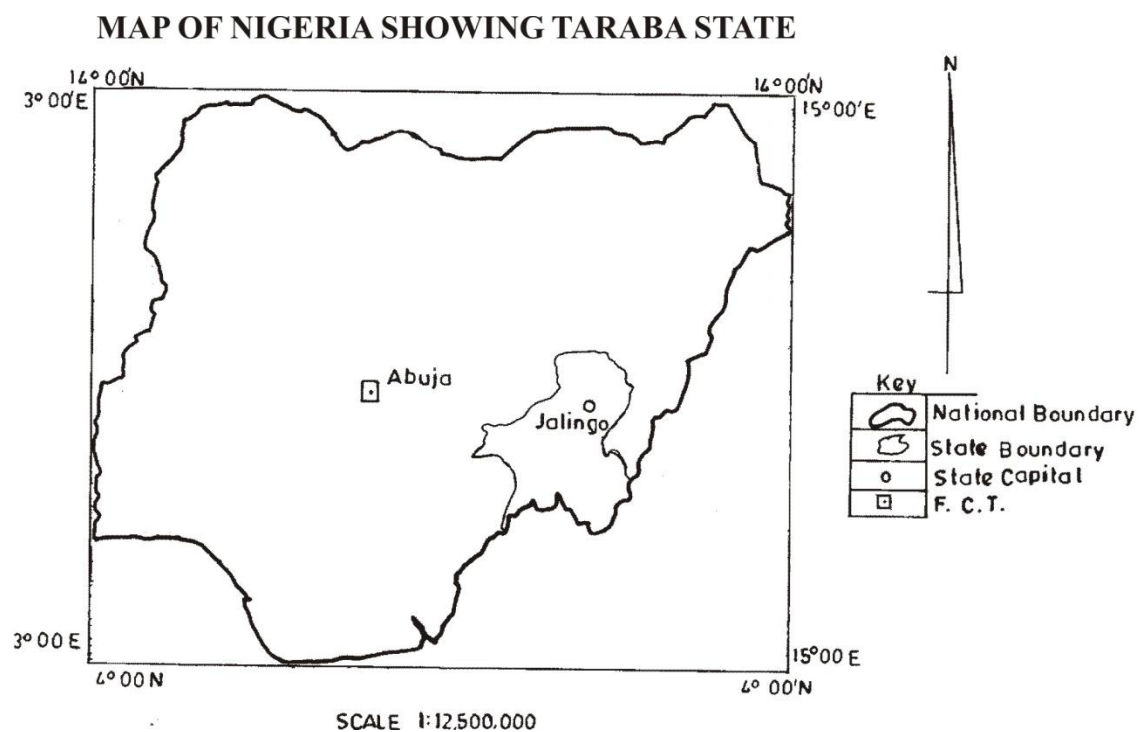
MAP OF TARABA STATE SHOWING KARIM-LAMIDO LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA
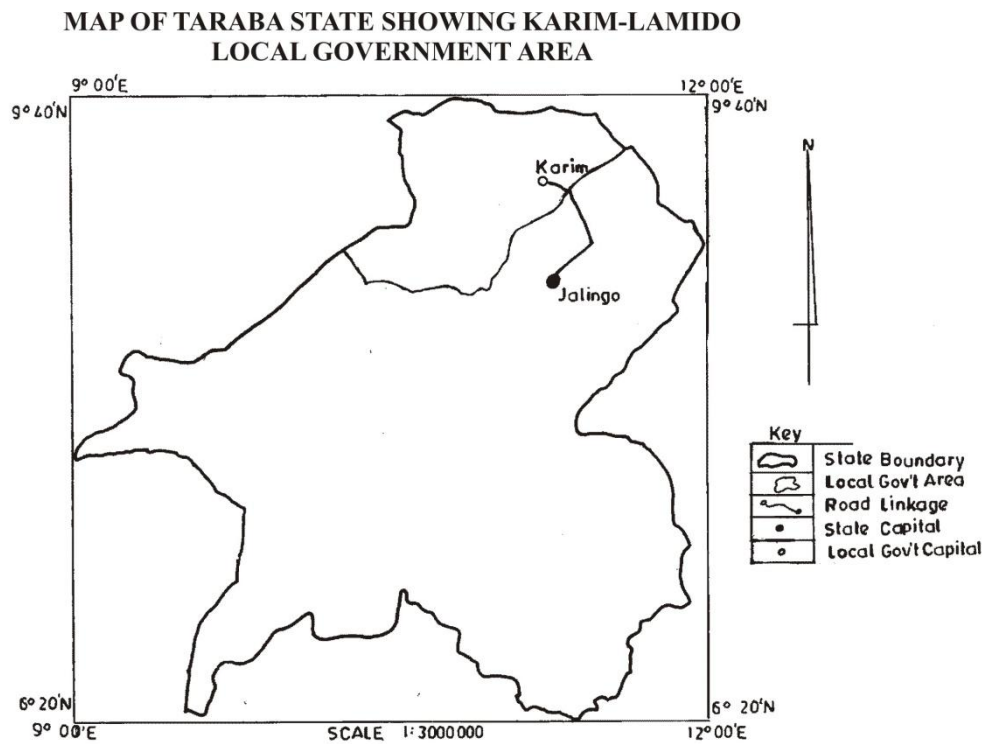
Figure: 1.6:   Map of Karim

MAP OF KARIM LAMIDO SHOWING MAJOR KULUNG
SPEAKING AREAS
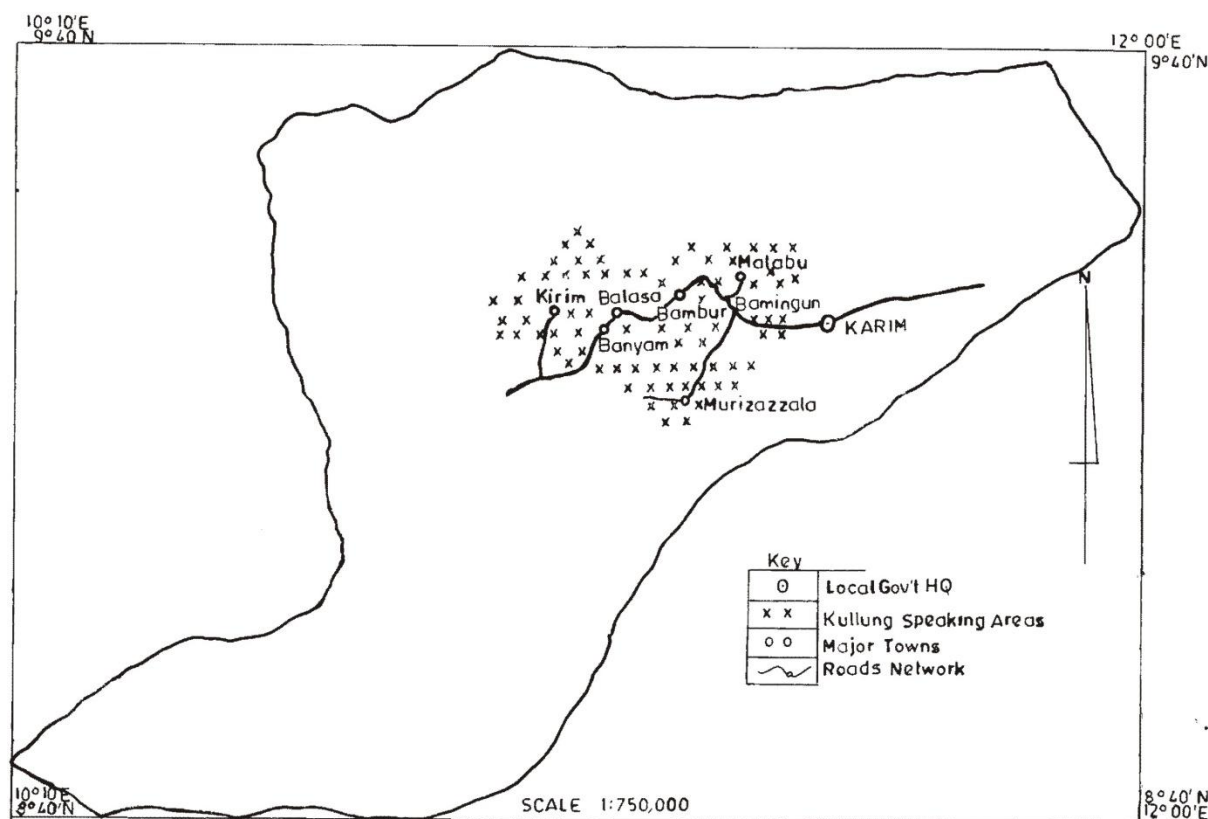
1.6   The Status of Kulung

Kulung is one of the Southern Bantiod Jarawa langagues of Nigeria. The number of the speakers is not known; a figure of 15,000 was published in 1973. According to Ethnologue (18th Edition 2015), the population figure of 40,000 has been estimated. From the rough estimated figure of 40,000, one can say that not all of the figures can speak the language. And the domain in terms of function, the language has very limited function to only the traditional worshipers. In the Churches, the Mosques, the Market Squares, the Schools all these activities are conducted in Hausa. For this reason, it is safe for one to conclude that the langaue is endangered.

Many Nigerian languages are endangered. A language dies and becomes extinct when no children learn it. Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (2007:486) As a matter of fact, Kulung lacks the

currency to compete with Hausa and English. The remote causes of its endangerment are many. One of which is the spread of Christian religion. Kuju (1999:50) sees Hausa and English the major languages of Christians worship and pastoral work. He has gone further to cite an example with the catholic mass, sermons, and other religious activities are conducted mainly in Hausa or English, even when the members of the congregation speak the same language or largely so. Kulung speakers, for fear of political isolation shift to Hausa for their day to day communicatory needs. Kuju (1999:49) maintains that:

> Accordingly, Hausa, acting as a predator language and the most successful competitor, gradually influenced and consumed some of the weaker and smaller languages. As it is the case in such circumstances, minority languages often have a low status in comparison with the majority languages.

 Kulung is at the risk to concede grounds as even family meetings among native speakers are conducted in Hausa a trend that is gaining a lot of grounds with time. Another weakening development is that the Kulung children nowadays no longer speak the language. It will take a lot of time, capital intensive and rigorous campaign for cultural revival and language solidarity among the speakers of the language to put the situation back on the horse. This is almost an impossible task.

1.7   Kulung Tone Systems

Tone according to Matthews (2007:409), is a phonetic or phonological unit belonging to set distinguished or primarily distinguished by levels of or by changes in pitch. E.g. in Kulung *nà* 'say' *ná* 'mother'. Kulung has a tree tier phonetic tone system: H (makred with and an acute accent: *á*), M (unmarked: *a*), L (marked with a grave accent: *à*).

1.8   The Sounds of Kulung

Shimizu (1980:2) states that the basic substance on which a language is built up consists of set of sounds, and this set of sounds are organized in a self-contained system. For the fact that this study is syntactic, it is traditional to start a syntactic study with a sketchy phonological background of the language. (see Schuh, 1972:6). Being a trailblazing study on Kulung language, it will not be superfluous to commence this work by casting a cursory glance at the sounds and sound system of the Kulung language. Kulung sounds can be classified using the infrastructure of Sani (2005:4-13).

1.8.1   Tentative Consonants of Kulung

Investigation reveals that there are 28 consonant sounds of Kulung as tabulated as in (2):
(2)

Phonetic Representation	Orthography
[b] e.g. bora (long time ago)	b
[ɓ] e.g. ɓori (medicine)	ɓ
[m] e.g. ma (beauty)	m
[ɸ] e.g. karak (head pad)	k
[t] e.g. tali (stone)	t
[d] e.g. dang (now)	d
[ɗ] e.g. ɗolog (frog)	ɗ
[l] e.g. lah (house)	l
[r] e.g. nzur (sheep)	r
[n] e.g. na (verb to say)	n
[ŋ] e.g. suŋ (verb to pull)	ng
[ɲ] e.g. ɲkhá:r (verb to give)	n
[s] e.g. shembe (strength)	s
[z] e.g. zong (foot)	z
[ʈ] e.g. nguri (rope)	r
[ʃ] e.g. sheme (in abundance)	sh
[dʑ] e.g. jawa (axe)	j
[k] e.g. kara (wooden bed)	y
[kj] e.g. kyàna (stigma)	ky
[kw] e.g. kwangwol (giant)	kw
[g] e.g. gara (stick)	g
[gj] e.g. gyàmɓé (karan masallaci)	gy

[gw] e.g. gwal (striker)	gw
[w] e.g. wanang (grass)	w
[ngy] e.g. ngyong (hairs)	n
[ʔ] e.g. adong (wooden spoon)	'
[ʔl] e.g. o'o (no)	'y
[h] e.g. khá:rkhá:r (specie of bird)	kh

1.8.2 Place of Articulation

Place of articulation or, point of articulation as it were, is the particular point at which the active and passive articulators meet to produce a particular consonant sound. Basically there seem to be seven (7) different places of articulation for Kulung consonants as in (3):

(3)

Bilabial - This is where the lower lip approaches or makes contact with the upper one, as in the articulation of [b], [ɓ] and [m].

Alveolar - Where the tip of the tongue approaches ormakes contact with the alveolar ridge, is in the articulation of [t], [d], [1], [r], [n], [s] and [z],.

Retroflex - Where the tip of the tongue and the back of the alveolar ridge make contact, as in the articulation of [ɖ].

Post Alveolar - Where the blade of the tongue and the back of the alveolar ridge approach one another or make contact, as in the articulation of [ʃ] [tʃ] and [dʐ].

Palatal - Where the front of the tongue and the hard palate approach one another or make contact, as in the articulation of [j] and [ɲ].

Velar - Where the back of the tongue and the soft palate or velum make contact, as in the articulation of [w], [k], [ŋ] and [g].

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Glottal -   This is the drawing together of the vocal cords thereby narrowing down the glottis or, their contact with one another thereby shutting the glottis, as in the articulation of [h] and [?] respectively.

Those consonants numbering twenty eight (28) we have just classified according to their appropriate points of articulation are known as Simple Consonants. The other seven (7) omitted, namely [np], [gb], [nm], [mp], [mv], [ngy] and [nkw] are referred to as compound letters. Unlike the simple consonants which have one level of articulation, those consonants with secondary articulation have two levels, i.e. have an additional phonetic feature over and above the basic one, as in (4):

(4)

[kw] and **[gw]** In the articulation of each of these, the back of the tongue and the soft palate/velum would primarily make contact. Besides, what is called lip rounding is added, a feature referred to as 'labialization. Each one becomes thus, a Labelled Velar.

[?j]   For this one, the two vocal cords would primarily make contact, i.e. the glottis would be shut. Then, the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate. In other words it is a Palatalized Glottal Stop consonant.

1.8.3   Manner of Articulation

It was mentioned that before any consonant can possibly be articulated, the two articulators (active and passive) must first of all either make contact or simply approach one another. Now, when they are in contact, it implies that the particular air stream involved in the particular articulation would completely be obstructed, while such obstruction would be partial otherwise. Compare for example, what happens to the air stream in the articulation of [b] and that of [s]. This question of how much obstruction the air stream faces in an articulation before it escapes is what 'manner of articulation' is all about.

Generally, we might say eight (8) different manners of articulation are found to relate to the Kulung consonants, as in (5):

(5)
Stop/Plosive - (Air stream involved: Pulmonic egressive).

The active and passive articulators block the air passage momentarily at some points before it is abruptly released to cause explosion. This blockage can occur at the following places as in (6):

(6)   The lips, as in [b]

          The alveolar ridge, as in [t] [d]

          The soft palate/velum, as in [k], [kw], [g], [gb], and [gw]

          The glottis, as in [ʔ] and [ʔj]

Implosive — (Air stream: glottalic ingressive).

When the articulators make contact and separate, the air stream sinks down the vocal tract. Consonants [ɓ] and [ɗ] are both implosives. Compare the articulation of [ɓ] and [b] on the one hand, and that of [ɗ] and [d] on the other.

Nasal — (Air stream: Pulmonic egressive)

The articulators block the air passage at some points, and at the same time the soft Palate/Velum is lowered so that the air on getting released, escapes through the nasal cavity:

At the lips, as in [m]

At the alveolar ridge, as in [n]

At the hard palate, as in [n]

At the soft palate/velum as in [ŋ]

Fricative — (Air stream: Pulmonic egressive)

The articulators simply approach one another, i.e. they do not make contact and block the air passage. As they make such approach they narrow down the air passage to the extent that the air has to force its way out thereby causing friction. Fricative consonants in Kulung are [s], [z], [ʃ] and [ɸ].

Affricate — (Air stream: Pulmonic egressive)

The articulators block the air passage for a while. However, unlike in 'stop/plosive', the air is released slowly so that friction instead of explosion is heard, as in the articulation of [dʐ].

Lateral — (Air stream: Pulmonic egressive)

The air is blocked for a while by the two articulators before it is released to escape along the side of the tongue, as in the articulation of [1].

Trill/Roll — (Air stream: Pulmomc egressive)

The active articulator strikes against the passive one at quick intervals and, the air, likewise stops and starts again, as in the articulation of [r].

Flap - (Air stream: Pulmonic egressive)

The active articulator strikes against the passive one only once before the air escapes, as in the articulation of [ɽ] as in (7):

(7)

```
        Front        Central        Back
   ii                                uu      High
     i                                u
        ee                          oo
                          ə                   Mid
        e                            o
                          a
                                              Low
```
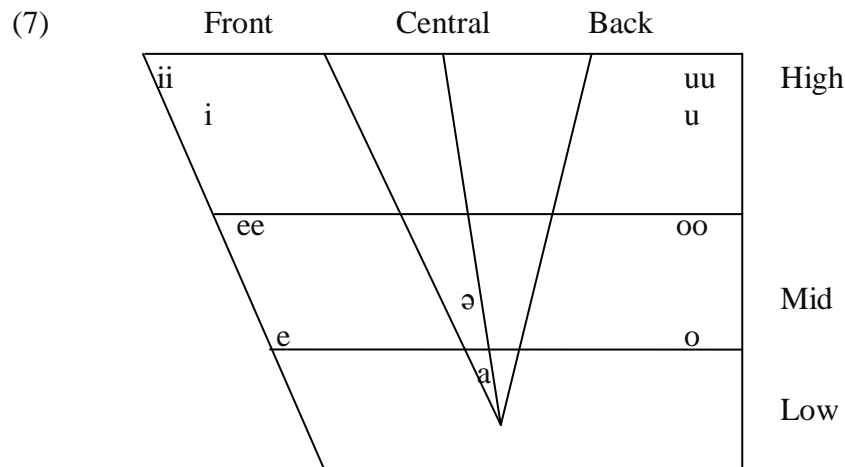
Kulung has a mid central vowel, schwa. This diagram shows position of the tongue in the articulation of monophthongs.

All those six pairs of single vowels we have been discussing and the like are referred to as monophthongs. Apart from them, however, Kulung has yet another type of vowel, the diphthong. The term diphthong simply means a union of two different vowels. In other words it is two different vowels articulated simultaneously.

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There are three different diphthongs found to operate in Kulung as in (8):

(8)   [au] as in *ntàu* (arrow)

        [au] as in *gàu* (frame of the thatch house)

        [ai] as in *ngài* (Tamarind)

        [oi] as in *mpòi* (growth on the body in the form of boil)
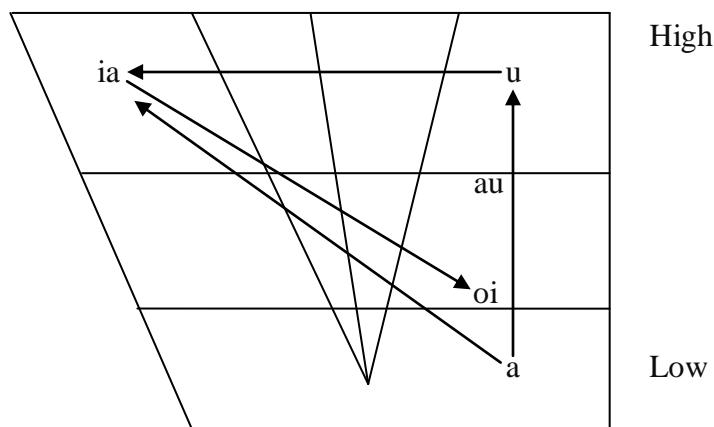
This diagram shows the movement of the tongue in the articulation of diphthongs.

1.8.4   Description of Kulung Phonemes

In the description of phonemes of natural language, there are methods to play the less technical method, minimal pairs are not considered for the descriptions. However, with the number of words found in the data for this study, the description is based on the data. The consonant phonemes are the evidence for contrast as well as a description is provided. Kulung consonants are made of both ingressive (flow of air stream mechanism from outside into the oral cavity) and egressive (flow of air from the lungs into the oral and nasal cavity) as in (9).

(9)   *[P]* – voiceless bilabial slightly aspirated stop-*pinang* 'sin'

   [ɓ] –   voiced Labio-glottal- ɓori `medicine`

   [b] –   voiced bilabial stop-*bora* 'Long time a go'

   [t] –   voiceless alveolar slightly aspirated stop-*Tárùm* 'three'

   [d] –   voiced alveolar stop-*dákò* 'Mat'

   [ɗ] -   voiced alveolar glottal stop-*dóm* 'all'

   [k] –   voiceless velar slightly aspirated stop-*kolo:* 'period of ritual performance'

   [g] –   voiced velar stop-*gùró:* 'slave'

   [kp] –   Voiceless Labio-velar double stop-*kpá:rà* 'a species of grass for roofing thatch house. Kpane-Judgement'

   [gb] -   voiced Labio-velar double stop-*gbándàng* 'whip for lashing children'

   [f] -   voiceless Labio-dental fricative. *Fóghì-* 'washing'

   [v] -   voiced Labio-dental fricative-*voi*

   [l] –   lateral alveolar (sounds are made with eggressive lung air) *Lá:-*Home/House.

   [s] –   voiceless alveolar grooved fricative *shembe*-strength.

   [z] –   voiced alveolar grooved affricative *Za:r* – 'fool'

   [h] –   voiceless glottal fricative

   [j] –   voiced alveolar-palatal affricative *jàwá*-axe

   [m] –   voiced bilabial-nasal-*mèrəng-ngùn –* 'root'

   [mb] – voiced bilabial nasal-*mbárùm*-gorilla, *mbaù-*`mouse`

   [n] –   voiced alveolar syllabic nasal-*ná:*-verb to say

   [nz] – Voiced alveolar nasal fricative-*nzà:*-soup

   [ŋg] –   voiced alveolar-velar *sùng*-to pull/to smoke

   [ngy]- voiced alveolar velar stop-*ngyámnèghí* 'rotten meat'

   [r] –   voiced trilled vibrant-*nzùr* `sheep`

[w] – voiced, bilabial approximants -*wánnàng*-species of grass

[y] – voiced palatal approximants -*yónì*-rabbit

[i] – voiced, high close front unrounded-*Lílìm*-shadow

[e] – voiced mid close front unrounded-*pèngnyé:r*-open wound.

[ə] – voiced mid open front unrounded-*gəngɓè*-a species of plant for medicine

[e] – voiced mid close front unrounded vocoid –*tép*-issue.

[a] – voiced low open central unrounded vocoid-*á*-in

[o] – voiced mid close back rounded vocoid-*sóbò:* -shirt

[u] – voiced high close back rounded vocoid-*ngún*-`tree`

1.8.5 Compound Letters

In Kulung, quite a number of sounds are represented by (digraph, compound letters) as in (10):

(10)   i. secondary articulants, like; */ɓ/ɗ/*

ii. double – articulants, like; */np/gb/nm/mp/mv/*

iii. articulatory sequence like' */ngy/nkw/*

1.9   Kulung Syllables Structure

The syllable, according to Al-Hassan (1997:142):

> Is a phonotactic unit nuclear to whose constitutional integrity is the vowel. Thus a syllable may consist minimally of a vowel or in case of the so-called exceptional syllables, a syllabic consonant (i.e. a liquid or a nasal).

From the foregoing, the syllable is said to comprise three essential parts, the onset, nucleus and coda. Trask (1996:345) sees syllable as a fundamental but elusive phonological unit typically consisting of a short sequence of segments, most typically a single vowel or diphthong, possiblypreceded by one or more consonants. In this study, the notion of syllable would be seen in the light of the above as in (11):

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(11)   **Kulung**   **Gloss**

        li-khá:r   farming

        bó-nò   grass

        ghí-mán-ghà   examination

        tu-lò   sleep

        nkí-lè   blood

        mù-sù   eye

        lu-lu   nose

In Kulung, the following syllable types can be identified: CV, CVV, CVC and CVVC. CV means Consonant Vowel, CVV, Consonant Vowel, Vowel, CVC, Consonant Vowel, consonant. A CV syllable is made up of a consonantal onset plus a simple nucleus consisting of a short vowel, e.g. *Ga-nu* "crocodile". A CVV syllable is made up of a consonantal onset plus a long nucleus consisting of a long vowel or a diphthong, e.g. *naa-nii* "thunder", *bau* "knife". A CVC syllable is made up of a consonantal onset plus a simple short vowel nucleus plus a consonantal coda, e.g. *gàn-dá* "west".

All syllables begin with a consonant, just like Hausa, the words that appear or ethnographically with an initial vowel begin phonemically with a glottal stop, e.g. orthographic *Adong* "wooden spoon"= /ʔadong/. In Kulung there is the possibility of consonant clusters with complex onset or codas as in (12):

(12)   **Kulung**   **syllable**   **Gloss**

        nkwò-nóng   ccv-cvc   north

        mbó-nglòng   cv-cv   bell

        ɓáng-wú-bó   cvc-cv-cv   fear

The consonants written with digraphs, for example /nk/, /ngy/,/ng/, /mp/ and /gw/ are unitary phones. In most languages, a syllable requires a vowel. Vowels are the important parts of syllables, and often a syllable can consist of just a vowel, with no consonant, but a syllable consists of a consonant with no vowel can be found in rare cases. For example the morpheme *m* "I" stands as one consonant without an overt vowel.

For the purpose of illustrations, this study presents the following type of syllables in Kulung as in (13):

(13)   CV such as [*wò*]   =   and

        CVV such as [*lá:*]   =   house/home

        CVC such as [*Tá:k*]   =   east/eastern

        CVVC such as [*ngyó:ng*]   =   hair

        What about the m (i.e. vowelless type)?

        It is important here to realize that even though orthographically it may not be shown that words in Kulung begin with a vowel, phonetically, a glottal stop precedes the vowel.

An attempt has been made below to illustrate the tree structure of Kulung syllables in the manner of Newman, (2000:396) as in (14):

(14)   σ→CVV

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σ→CV

```
                        σ
              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
           Onset                 Rime
             │            ┌────────┴────────┐
             │         Nucleus             coda
             │            │                 │
             l            i                Null
                "eat"
```

σ→CV-CV

```
              σ                               σ
        ┌─────┴─────┐                   ┌─────┴─────┐
     onset        rime               onset        rime
       │       ┌────┴────┐             │       ┌────┴────┐
       │    Nucleus    coda           │    Nucleus    coda
       │       │         │            │       │         │
       g       a        Null   n      u                Null
```

σ→CVV-CVV

"Crocodile"

```
              σ                               σ
        ┌─────┴─────┐                   ┌─────┴─────┐
     onset        rime               onset        rime
       │            │                  │       ┌────┴────┐
       │         Nucleus               │    Nucleus    coda
       │         ┌──┴──┐               │     ┌──┴──┐      │
       gb        a     a       l       e     e    Null
```

σ→CVC-CVV-VCV

"Kill/Kick"

```
           σ                          σ                          σ
     ┌─────┴─────┐              ┌─────┴─────┐              ┌─────┴─────┐
  Onset        Rime          Onset        Rime          Onset        Rime
    │       ┌────┴────┐        │       ┌────┴────┐        │       ┌────┴────┐
    │    Nucleus    coda       │    Nucleus    coda       │    Nucleus    coda
    │       │         │        │     ┌──┴──┐     │        │       │         │
    m       u         r        p     u     u    Null      n       a        ng
```
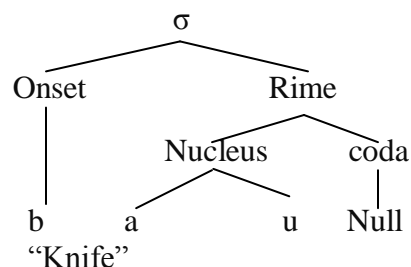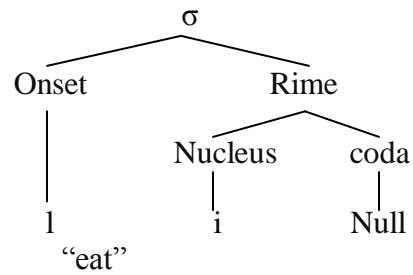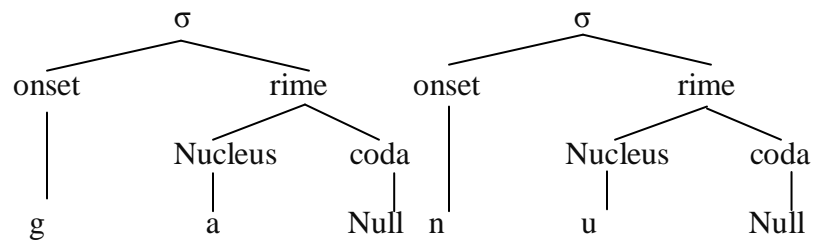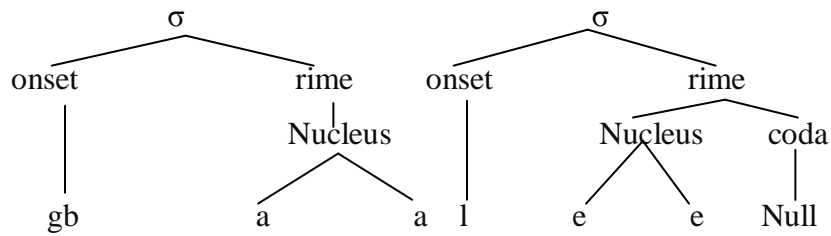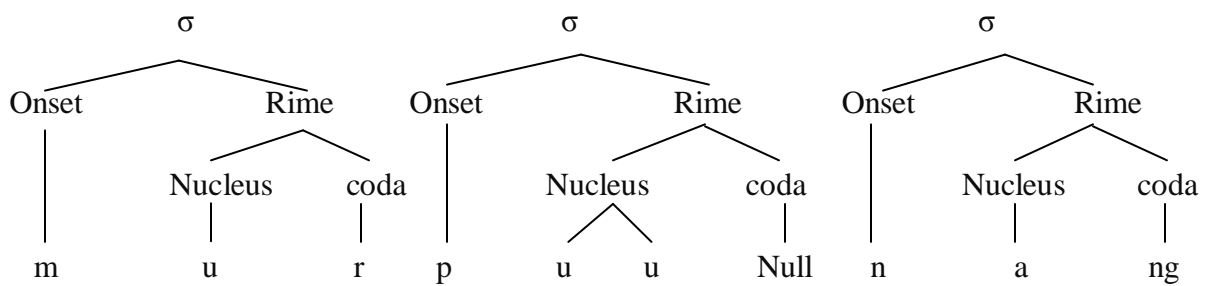
"Mur-pu-nang" Water

1.10   Kulung Morphological Typology

Kulung is an agglutinative language. This can be attested by the identification of separable affixes to the roots. Matthews (1997:12), defines agglutinating in terms of formation in which words are easily divided into separate segments with separate grammatical functions. Consider (15) below where the attachments are basically prefixals. Denham and Lobeck (2010:183), note that synthetic languages form words by affixing morphemes to a root morpheme. Affixes indicate grammatical relationships rather than the position of the words in the sentence. Kulung can be analyzed as having both synthetic and agglutinative features, (see Sapir 1997:123) as in (15):

(15)	**Stem**	**Gloss**	**Derived form**	**Gloss**
a.	*ngìbí*	stealing	*ɓángìbí*	thief
b.	*ntàn*	lies	*ɓántàn*	liar
c.	*limbi*	madness	*ɓálimbí*	Mad person
d.	*mosog*	witchcraft	*ɓámosog*	witch/wizard
e.	*mbíyà*	stinginess	*ɓámbìya*	stingy person
f.	*tábi*	blindness	*ɓátàbí*	blind person
g.	*wúbo*	fear	*ɓáwubo*	cowardice
h.	*lálà*	useless	*ɓálalà*	useless person
i.	*súkghì*	crime	*ɓásukghí*	criminal

The prefix-*ɓa* is also used to form abstract nouns. Consider the following examples as in (16)

(16)   a.   *ɓàbirà*   manhood

       b.   *ɓáyimbí*   brotherhood
       c.   *ɓámmà*   womanhood

Patronymics

The class of nouns known as patronymics denotes person or people of a particular town or clan as in (17):

(17) (a) *ɓázàiláni*   zailani man

     (b) *ɓámùtúmdàyá*   mutumdaya man

     (c) *ɓálaù*   lau man

     (d) *ɓàyola*   yola man

     (e) *ɓákànò*   kano man

     (f) *ɓátàbulo*   tabulo clan

     (g) *ɓákàsakhà*   kasakha clan

     (h) *ɓákàbakra*   bakabra clan

     (i) *ɓákàlobè*   kalobe clan

     (j) *ɓákagàl*   kagal clan

     (K) *ɓábàngaí*   bangai clan

1.11   Statement of the Problem

Many studies have been conducted on the nature of some African languages, more especially the major languages of Nigeria like, Husa, Igbo, Yoruba, Efik and Tiv. Also in the same vein, many minority languages are unchartered, especially languages in the North Eastern Nigeria, such as, *Wurbo, Zo, Lo*, Bambuka and Kulung. These languages are not been described. They have no written culture, and therefore termed as primitive. Being primitive, do not translate as having a fault in their respective grammars but due to their descriptive and analytical limitations. It was on this premise; this investigation is carried out so as to uncover the syntactic peculiarities of Kulung, thereby providing data for the complete description of the language.

1.11.1 Research Questions

This study is predicated on the following research questions:-

    i. What are those grammatical categories that are needed for the adequate description of Kulung?

ii. How productive are the functional grammatical categories in explicating the syntax of Kulung?

iii. What is the word order typology of Kulung?

iv. What are those syntactic features that are found in Kulung?

1.11.2 Aim and Objectives of the Study

This study is designed to provide answers to the research questions as follows:-

i. To determine those grammatical categories needed for the adequate description of Kulung.

ii. To determine the viability of functional grammatical categories in the description of Kulung.

iii. To determine the word order typology of Kulung.

iv. To determine those syntactic features that is found in Kulung.

1.12 Significance of the Study

This is the description of yet another African and Nigerian language in the context of the Structuralists and, in Cartesian terms, Universalist perspectives. The study offers rudimentary information which could be used in either affirming or doubting the genetic status of Kulung as a Benue-Congo and Niger-Congo along syntactic lines. By the end of the study, it would have contributed towards the general understanding of syntactic structures of Kulung and its peculiarities, vis-à-vis other related and even distant languages.

A language is like a living organism. It can grow and it can equally die. One of the survival strategies of language preservation is to commit the language into a written form. This

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study will by any standard provide a stepping stone towards the future total description of Kulung.

A study of this nature will be helpful to researchers who may wish to take on language studies in syntax. Also, the research findings will be of great benefit not only for Kulung learners of English but to other indigenous language users studying English. The research will add to the efforts already made by other researchers especially in African languages and will provide useful hints that will serve as a point of reference for future studies in other aspects of syntax in African languages. It will equally enlighten researchers on how the "descriptive theory" operates in the analysis of previously undescribed languages. The work is also envisaged to be of great value for pedagogical purposes because it has contributed to the study of Kulung grammar and will go a long way in the understanding of the structure of natural language.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0   Introduction

This chapter is divided into five sections for easy understanding and discussion. The first part of the review work will cover a general kind of review on the Niger Congo phyla. First we reviewed works on Kulung generally, followed by works on Yoruba, Bassa-nge and Jukun. Because, these have literatures related to our research area and have attracted prominent scholars. Moreso, the first four languages are Niger-Congo and they seem to have shared similar syntactic features with Kulung.

Secondly, we reviewed related works on Afro-siatic phyla (Chadic) like Hausa, Kilba, Miship, Pero and Za:r languages though, belong to different language phyla, may share similar syntactic properties with Kulung. It seems Kanuri, Language of Nilo Sahara phyla may share certain aspects of syntactic features with Kulung and this will provide the study adequate information on how to analyse the data for this study.

Thirdly, we reviewed work on the various theories of syntax starting with the traditional grammar (TG), Immediate Constituent Analysis (ICA), and Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG).

Fourthly, we reviewed the research progress of the transformational generative grammar such as phrase structure grammar, X-bar syntax, government and binding theory, minimalist programme. Lastly, the model of our analytical procedure would be based on works done on previously undescribed languages of Africa.

2.1   Kulung Language

Literature on the syntax of Kulung or the grammar of Kulung is no where to be found, we could only lay hands on the history of the people. A detailed account of Kulung early settlers is contained in the works of McBride (1972) and Saleh (2010). The account traces the origin of the Kulung people to man named Mbur who left his home in the Jukun town of Kona to look for a new place to live. This journey according to McBride took him north across the Benue River and across its wide valley to the rocky ridges which rim its Northern edge. After climbing the hill, a good place was discovered, having adequate place for building sites, availability of water and a fortress for protection against enemies. Having seen that, Mbur had taken a decision to move his family from Kona to this new world. With three other young men, he moved to the new location. It is not known whether the three young men were his children, his friends or his relations.

The name of the hill and the town was derived from *Bá* and *Mbúr*, meaning the place of *Mbúr* or the entire people of Mbur. There is no doubt as the founder; *Mbúr* automatically became the leader of the group. Not long after the discovery of Mbur, other settlers climbed the hills to join the pioneers. Two brothers, Sanga and Nyinlo came and settled on the Balasa ridge on the west. Similarly, some riverine people from far up the Benue River came and occupied the higher part of Balasa mountain. Other people from Kona built their homes on Nzhikwano ridge some distance from Balasa, and still others settled on Gerere Mountain farther west. As time went on many groups from different ancestries and languages converged to form a homogeneous tribal unit speaking one language.

McBride (1972) reports that he asked an old man about the origin of the Kulung language, the only answer he got was that God gave them the language. There was no explanation beyond that

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statement. It was also on record that a very old blind man, living high on Balasa Mountain gave substantial information on the people to McBride. He said that his people (Kulung) were not related to either the Jukun or the Peros. He pointed to a place far up the Benue River, beyond Numan as their point of origin.

According to Gerkwa, they had been driven out by wars and had come down the Benue and settled on the river bank at the place called Sobalingo, opposite Lau, planting the silk cotton trees which can still be seen there till today. (Perhaps the present Bandawa settlement where these silk cotton trees are found) Later they moved again coming up to the hills, two of their clans, the Piu and the Pigulum, settling on the top of the Balasa Mountain, and third clan, the Pira, building on Kwonchi hill.

On Kulung language, Gerkwa said their fathers spoke it prior to the arrival of the Jukuns and the Peros, and that they taught the language to them.

From the foregoing, one would be tempted to deduce that at one point in time, the people that formed Kulung came from different ethnic backgrounds before metamorphoses to homogeneous tribal unit speaking one language which is Kulung.

Further research shows that these people (the Kulung) must have come from the Mbula tribe, on the Benue, above Numan. Linguistic studies have revealed the close relationship between the Kuni Kulung and the Mbula languages. There are many Kulung nouns such as the words for sand, earth, sky, etc which have some degree of striking resemblance with Mbula. However, there is greater difference in verbs. There seems to be some evidence that shows that some groups came with the Mbula tongue, while the others learned it by association and

intermarriages, adapting it and adding words and idioms from their own languages in succeeding generations, until it became a separate language of its own.

There is also a strong resemblance of Kuni Kulung with the Jarawa language. But according to McBride there is no substantial evidence to back up this claim. But rather it would seem that people living here and speaking Kuni Kulung moved westward to the Jarawa. Mcbride remarked that the whole subject is one that needs much more research.

Saleh (2010:1) discusses the historical background of Kulung under two broad perspectives. These include; the geographical location of the Kulung people with their original habitat in Karim-Lamido LGA of Taraba State; and the brief history of the four clans that made up the Kulung tribe.

The Kulung land occupied almost half of Karim Lamido Local Government Area of Taraba State; stretching from Zasong (Mingeh) near Karim to Kirim; in the extreme North-Western part, while, it also stretches from Usmanu and Didango in the extreme South-Western part to Barkabale/Kuka in the Western part. They shared boundaries with Wukari and Lau Local Government Areas as well as Plateau and Bauchi States.

The Kulung people occupied the fringes and mountain ranges that stretch from Lafiya-Lamurde and Pire Hills in Adamawa State, Bambam Hills in Gombe State, up to the Wase Hills in Plateau state. This accounts for the rich deposits of mineral resources such as barytes, precious stones and other mineral resources scattered in the area. Apart from the rich deposits of untapped mineral resources situated here, the lower valleys (plains) tilting towards the river Benue provided rich alluvial soils for the cultivation of all varieties of cereals such as sorghum millet,

maize etc. While, the Benue basin provides a large expanse of arable land for the cultivation of rice, sugar-cane, tomatoes etc.

The Kulung land is dotted with fast flowing streams originating from the hills and emptying their contents into the River Benue. Large Kulung Settlements such as Usmanu and Didango served as important river ports during the pre-colonial and colonial periods where farm produce (cash crops) such as groundnuts and cotton from the hinterland were disposed off. The Kulung land also has fast developing commercial towns such as Bambur/Mutum-Daya, Zailani, Kirim, Usmanu, Didango etc.

Apart from their traditional homeland in Karim Lamido LGA, the Kulung people are large inhabitants in Ardo-Kola, Bali, Lau and Jalingo Local Government Areas where they have been contributing to the political and socio-economic development of these areas.

Saleh (2010:2) cited in McBride (1972) who notes that the people have evidence of their life here is in their children and their grand children, generation after generation as they increased in numbers and became the Kulung people as we know them today. And with them developed a language, a language distinctly their own the beautiful Kuni Kulung. More so, McBride (1972) went further to say that the history of these people (Kulung) was passed on in the oral way they heard, by word of mouth from father to son, from one generation to another. That the elders of the tribe are the ones best fitted to reach back today and tell us the story of our people. He authoritatively maintained that you who are Kulung have a proud history. That you came from a people whom you can honoured. Their history is their heritage. (Ira E. McBride, 1972:1)

From the above submission, one would conclude that, one of the first two Europeans Missionaries who settled in Kulung land, whose information has indeed served as bedrock on which all historical documentation could be predicated upon.

Saleh (2010:4) notes that the Kulung people as they are known today are single race and one united tribe bounded by the Kulung language. He further stated that according to oral tradition, the Kulung people belong to the Jukun family of the "Great Kwararafa Kingdom" tracing origin from the East and probably from the "Great Lake-Chad Civilization". This explains the existence of the Kulung one (1) who occupied a whole of a district in the Chad Republic today.

2.2.1   Bambur

Saleh (2010:7) gives a background on the major clans of Kulung which probably might have accounted for the dialect boundaries of the language. According to Saleh (2010), the *Bambur* clan is sub-divided into two broad groups: i. *Bansuma* and (ii) *Bangai (Bakunimur)*.

The first sub-clan *Bansuma* consists of the following:

Batabulo, Kagwong, Kangobok, Kaluabe, Kadue, Batakiri, Kabakra, Warom, Kasagha and Kakpala. The second sub-clan *Bangai (Bakunimur)* consists of the following: *Kagal, Bungun (Bajaba), Bakwanong, Kagunga, Kamanso* and *Babanglang.*

The second sub-clan occupied the immediate west- Bank of river *Mutum-Daya* covering *Gwaten, Unguwar-Baraya, Garkida, Bungun, Kagal* and the whole of Government Day Secondary School, Bambur. It also stretches south-ward, covering *Unguwar-Baka, Kparai, Tudum Wada, Selengu, Muri-nzeSSalla, Minyorong* and *Sarkin-Kudu.*

While the first sub-clan; (Bansurna) occupied the area immediately after 'Tall Missa' from GDSS westward starting with Kaluabe and ending with Warom at the extreme west. Warom and Bakereb are the boundaries between the Bambur and Balasa. The first sub-clan (Bansuma) stretches southward to cover: Bambikyang, Gbatagai, Nkalankok, Kukah, Wuro-Lacha (Lawo), Zhebzheb, Mikekeg, Morog-Nyili and Usmanu.

2.2.2 Balasa

According to Saleh (2010:10) Balasa means owners of the tongue that is Kulung. He further states that they are the only Kulung clan that does not trace decent from the neither Jukun nor the Peros. The Balasa who share common boundaries with their Bambur brothers, most often have common decision making on emergency matters such as security (military) matters and in all ramifications before communicating the outcome to the remaining two brothers. (Banyam and Bamingun). McBride (1972), as cited in Saleh (2010:10) states that the Balasa elders met in 1927 and told them that none of the Balasa people came from the Jukun. McBride (1972:10) went further to specifically states that, both Agia and Gerkuwa told him that their clan, the Pigulum, came from a place far to the East, down the Benue river, and settling first at Sobalingo (Madakan Kifi) Opposite Lau, before they moved towards the North to occupy their present abode.

The account above connects perfectly the Kulung origin from the headwaters of river Benue along with the Mbula, Bile, Bare, Tanbo and Mundang. However, as stated earlier, whether from the head waters of river Benue or from the Great Kwararafa kingdom, or even from the Great Lake Chad Civilization, the origin of the Kulung people is one. That is from the east, because even the Jukun also trace origin to the east. Most of all, they belong to one family i.e. Bantoid. Linguistically, Kulung is one of the southern Jarawa languages in Nigeria.

Saleh (2010:11) enumerates the following sub-clan of the Balasa to include: *Ka-Nyimlo, Ka-sanga, Ka-Nzumo, KaJenge, Piu, Ka-Penurn, Ka-Zerakura, Ka-Woghma, Ka-Gbárì, Ka-Gila, Ba-Kila, Balgbaba, Ba-Da, Ka-Mogha, Ka-Gare* chief Kura's clan, *Ka-Akuno, Pigulum, Ka-Madevre, and KaDoro,* (Saleh, 2010:11). The *Ba-Dah* sub-clan of *Balasa* currently occupied *Mbug-Mbílìm* which borders *Warom* the last *Bambur* settlement. Other *Balasa* settlements include: *Gangang, Loba, Kerum (Kirim), Guiwa, Didango* etc. The *Balasas* have two ruling houses in *Gangang* and *Kerum* (*kirim*).

From the foregoing, we are only interested in the linguistic varieties found among the Kulung native speakers. The Balasa from our analysis shows that is dialect of Kulung. The differences may involve all levels of linguistics analysis of a natural language.

2.2.3   Bamingun (Kwonchi)

Thirdly, Bamingun (kwonchi) clan, just like their Bambur and Banyam Brothers came from Jibu (Kona), but originally from Kpanang. Saleh (2010:11) notes that the word Bamingun simply means those living in the forest (forest dwellers or those living among trees). Though, the name of their ancestor was Kwonchi. The movement of the Kwonchi (Bamingun) people from the Kwonchi hill to the plain was because farming was easier here than on the hill tops.

McBride (1972:13) had this to say about the Bamingun (Kwonchi) clan of the Kulung tribe as narrated to him by Ngyang of the Ba Dang sub-clan of kwonchi viz:

According to Ngyang, the Kulung on Kwonchi moved here from Jibu, but came originally from Kpanang (Gateri). A number of their ancestors came here soon after Bambur was begun. Others joined them from Bambur. Later they were joined by the people called Bang (or Baang) who came from the North and settled with them on the main ridge. (McBride, 1972:13).

With regard to the transfer of Chieftaincy title from Kwonchi (Bamingun) to Bang tribe, McBride noted that it was because the colonial government dethroned Talla Kwonchi (Bamingun) who by omission or commission killed four Mallams who came from Karim to collect taxes. Hence, he was stripped off his title and imprisoned in Lokoja; where his position was given to the Bang tribe who has been ruling up to date.

Saleh (2010:12) claimed that he was opportune to be informed by his maternal grandfather Kangli-Menza, of Bungun (Bajaba) in 1978, that the land of the Kwonchi-Kulung (Bamingun) which stretches from Mutum-Daya in the extreme north to Zasong (Mingeh) near Karim was ruled by Talla Kwonchi (a Bamingun Kulung). That the Kwonchi-Kulung continued with this leadership role from pre-colonial times up to a certain point during the British colonial rule when it was transferred to the Bang tribe. That the stripping of this title was a result of integrity question between the British District Officer, and the Talla Kwonchi (Bamingun). The District Officer accused the Talla Kwonchi falsely of dereliction of duty. The Talla Kwonchi denied this allegation and challenged the District Officer to a truth contest. He dared the D.O. that, two thatch-roof-tops or Kerum-bagha (cover of barn) be brought down to cover each of them i.e. the D.O and Talla Kwonchi, and that fire be set on them. That whoever comes out alive (unhurt) from the burnt thatch roofs stand vindicated. This of course was a natural justice; but the British D.O. did not only reject this but regarded this act as gross insubordination. Consequently, the Talla Kwonchi (Bamingun) was stripped of his traditional title and banished into exile at Lokoja. After which the Sarkin Kwonchi was given to a Bang tribe who have been ruling till date.

However, the remaining Kulung clans of Bambur, Balasa and Banyam have never referred to the Sarkin Kwonchi under the Bang tribe as Talla Kwonchi, but as Talla Bang. This was because of

his imposition over greater Kulung land by the colonial masters. Hence, the palace of the last Talla Bang who died in the early 1970s was not even in Mutum-Day but about 6Km north of it (precisely at Muri Mugha). During his tenure Mutum-Daya was under Sarkin Hausawa Mal. Kadiri. When Mal. Kadiri was eventually made Sarkin-Kwonchi, he appointed his brother Mal. Hamidu as the new Sarkin Hausawa. For the first time, the palace of Sarkin-Kwonchi was moved from its original stool at Bang village (Muri-Mugha) to Mutum-Daya in the 1970s.

It should be noted however, that the Kulung and Bang through intermarriages have now become one. An average Bang man or woman can speak the Kulung language or at least can communicate with it. Hence, whether you are Bang, Kulung or any other tribe, so long you are living in Mutum Daya or any Kulung land, you are Kulung.

The Bamingun clan consists of: Ba Dang, Pena, etc. Their settlements today include towns and villages such as Mutum-Daya, Malabu, Kuka, Zasong (Mingeh) etc.

2.2.4   Banyam

Lastly, according to Saleh (2010:14), the Banyam (Nzhi-Kwano) clan, just as their Bambur brothers traced origin to Jukun. The different sub-clans of the Banyam clan either trace origin to Jukun-Kona, Jukun Wukari or Jukun-Gwana, (Kpanang). McBride (1972:12), affirmed this when he stated that in the olden days Banyam was usually called Nzhi-Kwano (or Zhi-Kwano). The people came from Kona and found protection on the hills.

The Banyam clan are the most widely spread northwestward up to the Wase Hills and part of the Bauchi Plateau. This trend it is as the result of increase in population of the people. McBride once more acknowledged this when he states that, as their numbers increased through the years, there was not enough room for them on this narrow ridge, and they began to look for

more room. That some of them moved along the ridge to the west, but most of them began to move across the valley of palms to the hill called Kerum (now Kirim). Whereas, by the end of all hostilities associated with wars, the people moved down to the foot of the mountain on the south side forming the town of Banyam, Darofai and other villages that stretches up to Zailani to the west. (McBride, 1972).

The clearest picture of the Kona-Jukun origin of the Banyam clan was given to McBride in 1927 by old chief Darofai of Darofai town along Karim-Muri road. Chief Darofai who was of the Ka-Kunga sub-clan stated that the first of their ancestors coming from Kona was Donwu who left Kona because of a quarrel with the chief there. This account is quite similar with that of the Bambur clan whose ancestor (Mbur) left Kona over a dispute.

Another sub-clan of Banyam traced their origin to Wukari. Their oldest man chief Joro of Baraya village stated that their ancestor named Kula came from Wukari and that they are pure Jukun. Their ancestors left Wukari because of misunderstanding with the Wukari chief.

The Banyam clan consists of: Ka-Kunga, Ka-Gamla etc. Their settlements today include towns and villages such as Darofai, Banyam, Kadang, Kerum (Kirim), Garu, Garin Mallam Yaro, Zailani, Kuka, Barkabale, etc. The main ruling house of the Banyam clan is at Darofai. Although at a point, they had their separate chiefs at Kerum (kirim) alongside the Balasa Chiefs.

2.3   Yoruba

This study reviewed the clause structure of Yoruba particularly Adesola (2016) starts with mono-clausal and multi-clausal sentences. An example of the Yoruba monoclausal (simple) sentences is the declarative sentence. Consider (18):

(18)   *Adé ra àpò*

Lit: Ade buy bag

Gloss: Ade bought a bag

The multi-clausal sentences could be a compound sentence conjoined with a conjunction/ disjunction (19a) or a complex sentence in which one sentence is embedded under another one (35b).

(35) a. *Adé ra àpò ṣùgbọ́n Olú kò mọ̀*

Lit: Ade buy bag but Olu NEG know

Gloss: Ade bought a bag bought Olu did not know

    b. Olú sọ pé Adé rí bàbá òun

Lit: Olu say that Ade see father him

Gloss   Olu said that Ade saw his father

The subordinator - pé 'that'- is used to introduce the embedded clause in (20b). Another subordinator in the language is kí 'that'. Consider (21):

(21)   *Olú gbà kí Adé rí bàbá òun*

Lit: Olu accept that Ade see father him

Gloss: Olu agreed that Ade should see his father

The two subordinators can co-occur in a sentence. Consider (22):

(22)   *Olú sọ pé kí Adé lọ sí Ìbàdàn*

Lit: Olu say that that Ade go to Ibadan

Gloss: Olu said that Ade should go to Ibadan

The third subordinator tí occurs mainly in relative clauses. Consider (23):

(23)   *Ọmọkùnrin tí Olú rí ní ọjà ní àná wá sí Ìbàdàn ní òní*

Lit: boy that Olu see at market at yesterday come to Ibadan? today

Gloss: the boy who Olu saw at the market yesterday has gone to Ibadan today.

It has been observed that African languages tend to have fewer adpositions than European languages, because semantic relations that are typically expressed by prepositions in the latter are often expressed by other grammatical means in the former. For example, while locatives are PPs in a language such as English, they are realised as NPs with locative morphology in most Bantu languages. Interestingly, however, in some Bantu languages, locative morphology seems to have undergone a process of degrammaticalization, and locative prefixes have become reanalyzed syntchronically as prepositions. In many other African languages, adpositions are derived from nouns referring to body parts or from verbs with locative or existential meanings. In Kulung locatives are analysed as preposition.

2.3.1   Focus Constructions

Every nominal phrase/item can be moved to the sentence initial position for focusing in Yoruba. (See Jones, 2006). Consider (24):

(24)   *Olú ra ìwé*

Lit: Olu buy book

Gloss: Olu has bought a book

        Ìwé ni Olú ra`

Lit: book be Olu buy

Gloss: It was a book that Olu bought

The focus particle in (24) is ni (Awoyale 1995, 1997).

A verbal item can also be moved in Yoruba. However it must be nominalized. Consider (25):

(25)   *Ọlọ́run jẹ́ ọba*

Lit: God be king

Gloss: God is a king

        Jijẹ́ ni Ọlọrun jẹ́ ọba

Lit: ? be God be king

Gloss: It is actually the case that God is a king

A copy of the 'moved' verb is left in-situ as in (25). A resumptive pronoun can also occur in place of the moved element in Yoruba. Consider (26):

(26)   *Adé ni a sọ̀rọ̀ nípa rẹ̀*

Lit: Ade be we talk about him

Gloss: Ade was the person who we talked about

The sentence is actually ungrammatical if the resumptive pronoun rẹ̀ is omitted in (26). (27) is excluded.

(27)   *Adé ni a sọ̀rọ̀ nípa

        Ade be we talk about

On the other hand, resumptive pronouns are not allowed at all in some contexts. For example, when the noun phrase complement of a verb is moved, a resumptive pronoun cannot occur in its place. (28a) is acceptable while (28b) is not acceptable.

(28) a Àga ni Àdìó ra̖

Lit: Chair be Adio buy

Gloss: It was a chiar that Adio bought

 (43) b * Àga ni Àdìó ra̖ á

        Chair be Adio buy it

The focus involves the fronting of an NP Adverb or Prepositional phrase in order to emphasize a constituent. This is found in many African languages including Niger-Congo. The evidence in Yoruba is enough to trigger the possibility of it existence in Kulung. The function of the focus slot is for prominence or priority. A focus slot is a distinct syntactic position located at the beginning of the sentence.

2.3.4   Logophoric Constructions

Yoruba requires that a particular pronoun be used when someone's perspective is being reported. The third person singular pronoun *o•un* has to be used if the perspective of *Olú* is being reported. In that case, *òun* must be the same person as *Olú*. On the other hand, another third person singular pronoun *o•* is not required to be the same person as *Olú*. Consider (29):

(29)   *Olú sọ pé òun wá*

Lit: Olu say that he come

Gloss: Olu said that he came

   Olú sọ pé ó wá

Lit: Olu say that he come

Gloss: Olu said that he came

Logophoricity or logophoric pronouns may equally be found in Kulung which is a member of the Niger Congo. Logophoric is a particular system of pronominal reference that exists in many African languages. These types of pronouns are used to refer to the person whose speech or ideas are reported. There therefore, typically express obligatory co-reference between the subject or object argument of an embedded clause and the subject of the matrix clause. (see Guldemann, 2003, Hagege: 1974, Hyman and Comrie, 1981)

2.4   Bassa-nge

As far as this study is syntactic, and it has exhibited degrees of commonalities with languages of the Niger Congo phylum, it then follows the review work on Bassa-nge language.

The structure of Bassa-nge will shed proper light on the nature and structures of Kulung. Mu'azu, Juma'a and Tebu, (2012) discuss major aspects of the grammar of Bassa-nge. In the study, they presented Bassa-nge sentence word order which is subject-verb object (S.V.O.) the sentences are made up of two units: a nominal phrase and a verbal phrase. The nominal phrase (NP) is made up of various types of grammatical items such as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs etc. While the verbal phrase (VP) consist of the main verb (V), noun phrase (NP), prepositional phrase (PP) etc.

In grammar, a noun phrase (abbreviated NP) is a phrase whose head is a noun or a pronoun, optionally accompanied by a modifier set. The major component of the structure of Bassa-nge sentence is the nominal phrase, like any other language, the nominal phrase is capable of occupying a subject or object position in a sentence. When it occurs at sentence initial position in a sentence and controls both gender and number agreement, it is referred to as a subject of the sentence. However, when it occurs after the verb and within a verb phrase constituent, it is term as the object of the sentence. This shows that Bassa-nge nominal phrase occurs in two positions. That is the subject NP and the object NP, as illustrated. Consider (40):

(A) Subject NP – Object NP

(40)   *Bàgí chí egí nyòngíchì chí*

      Lit. Man the eat food the

      Gloss: the man is eating the food.

```
                          S
                    ┌─────┴─────┐
                  NP₁           VP
                ┌──┴──┐      ┌───┴───┐
                N     Det    V      NP₂
                │      │     │     ┌──┴──┐
                │      │     │     N     Det
                │      │     │     │      │
              Bàgí    chí   egí  nyòngíchì  chí
              Man     the   eat   food      the
```
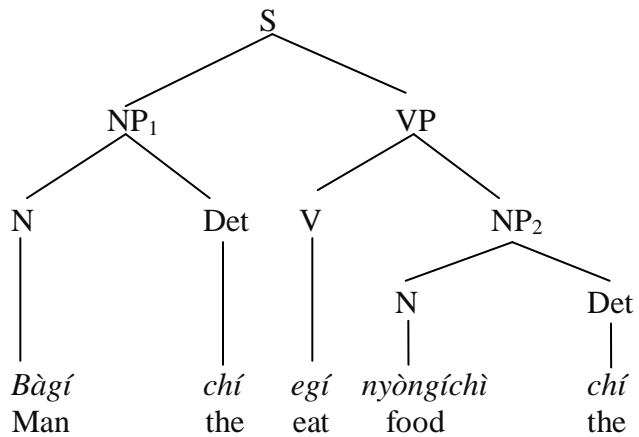
Based on the tree diagram drawn above, the following rule can be written, which shows how

constituents are constructed. Consider (41):

S → NP + VP

NP → N + Det

VP → V + NP₂

NP → N + Det

(41)   *nzàgí chí yébò dòkúndúkù chí*

Lit: lady the like sweet potatoes the

Gloss: The lady like the sweet potatoes

```
                          S
                    ┌─────┴─────┐
                  NP₁           VP
                ┌──┴──┐      ┌───┴───┐
                N     Det    V      NP₂
                │      │     │     ┌──┴──┐
                │      │     │     N     Det
                │      │     │     │      │
              Nzàgí   chí  yébò dòkúndúkù  chí
              Lady    the  like sweet potatoes  the
```
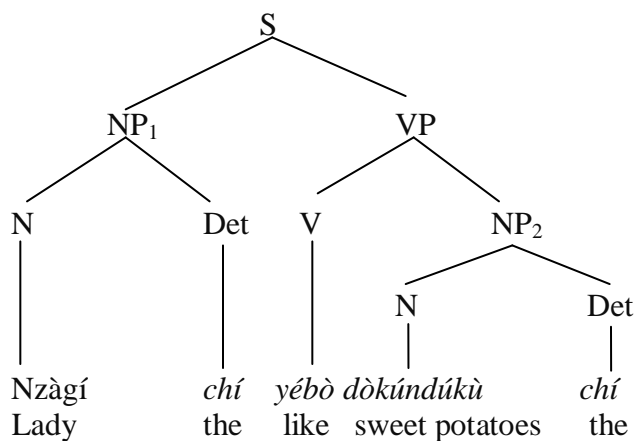
The tree diagram of the above sentence provided a rule, which indicates how each constituent can be generated.

$$S \rightarrow NP_1 + VP$$

$$NP_1 \rightarrow N + Det$$

$$VP \rightarrow V + NP_2$$

$$NP_2 \rightarrow N + Det$$

The tree diagram of example (40) and (41) show that nominal phrase can occur both at subject and object positions in Bassa-nge sentence structure. In nominal phrase, the head of every phrase can be a noun or pronoun. These elements are pillars on which all the qualifiers are assembled. Examples of Bassa-nge expanded NP's.

VP→ V (NP) (PP) (ADV)

In Bassan-nge, verb can be maximally projected as the above schema shows. In Kulung, the constituent of the verb and its capabilities are the same because the NP, PP, ADP, sometimes are optional categories. The rules can be interpreted as the verb, V that is not enclosed in brackets is obligatory element in Bassa-nge verbal phrase construction, as pointed out earlier while, and the rest of the elements that are enclosed in brackets that's nominal phrase, and prepositional phrase and adverb are all optional elements in the verbal phrase construction.

2.5   Jukun

In Jukun, the work of Ajiduku (2013) has been reviewed. Adverb clauses according to Ajiduku (2013:136), modify verbs in a clause structure. They usually state the time, manner, reason, condition, etc for which an action is undertaken. Adverb clauses answer questions like 'why?'

(*fiji ke*?), 'when?' (*ayo wani*?), 'how?'(*anini*?,), etc. The following are some adverb clauses identified.

Furthermore, the syntactic grammatical functions of adverbial clause are that of modification of verbs in the matrix clause. Any group of words that functions as an adverb in a sentence is regarded as adverbials or adjuncts. They are mainly modifiers, therefore, belongs to optional category. It has been observed that in Kulung, adverbials are also regarded as free grammatical elements that can appear at the beginning or end of the sentence and has been regarded as optional as been discussed above.

Similarly, the adverbial clause of reason states the reason why an action is performed in the bound clause. Consider (42):

(42)   *[Agyo bi]*_{IC} *[Fiji waa ku mbya'u]*_{DC}

[Agyo came]_{IC} [because he wants to see you]_{DC}

*[Ku na kunde]*_{IC} *[ki chin waa abe'a jan]*_{DC}

[He is crying]_{IC} [because he misplaced his money]_{DC}

*[Ì mbu mikyin]*_{IC} *[jiji wa u bírà]*_{DC}

[We are happy]_{IC} [because you came]_{DC}

The adverb clause of time shows the time when an action takes place in the bound clause. The following are examples enumerated in Ajiduku (2013). It can only make sense when it is added to the independent clause. Consider (43):

49

(43)   *[Adda kafinta]*$_{IC}$ *[ayo waa achu iia tara]*$_{DC}$

[Adda cnterd the room]$_{IC}$ [when it was raining]$_{DC}$

[U bami]$_{IC}$ *[ayo waa a ma bírà]*$_{DC}$

[Call me]$_{IC}$ [at the time you come]

[Be bi]$_{IC}$ *[ayo waa Jiza nana]*$_{DC}$

[They came]$_{IC}$ [at the time we were sleeping]$_{DC}$

It has been observed that the expression in time is done on the hanging nature of the bound clause. They are only meaningful when they are combined with the independent clause type that expresses complete meaning.

Yet another type of adverbial clause that is been described in Ajiduku (2013), is the adverbial clause of manner. This type of clause according Ajiduku (2013), states the way and manner in which an action is performed. Consider (44):

(44)   *[Ku na danji]*$_{IC}$ *[tsadzu ku clii banchi]*$_{DC}$

[He is talking]$_{IC}$ [like a child]$_{DC}$

[Agbu tuchi]$_{IC}$ *[tsadzu ku chiri wasendo]*$_{DC}$

[Agbu sits]$_{IC}$ [as if he is the boss]$_{DC}$

[Aba na tsa bu]$_{IC}$ *[dzu pajukun]*$_{DC}$

[Dogs behave]$_{IC}$ [like human beings]$_{DC}$

Adverbial clause of manner is one of the features found in Kulung. The description of a language will rather be inadequate when no element of advabials like this are not expressed. For this reason, the information provided in Ajiduku (2013) is insightful, as it has provided the study a sense of direction.

Finally, another adverbial clause of condition has been exemplified in Ajiduku (2013). The adverb clause of condition states a condition that must be fulfilled before something happens. Consider (45):

(46)   *[U ma tsa butso,]$_{IC}$ [u ri du be]$_{DC}$*

[If you work,]$_{IC}$ [you will make money]$_{DC}$

[Ku ma hi,]$_{IC}$ [Mndi danyi ku]$_{DC}$

[If he comes,]$_{IC}$ [I will tell him]$_{IC}$

From the foregoing, this type of clause states the conditions on which something must be done before it triggers the other. These adverbials are necessary in the description of a language.

2.6   Review of Afro-Siatic

A review of related literature on Afro-Siatic languages of Africa will be insightful as the structures of Afro-Siatic languages are somehow related with the Niger Congo languages which our language of study belongs to. This study reviewed works on Hausa, Kilba, Miship, Pero and Za:r.

Review of the available literature on Hausa dwells on the scholarly work of Galadanci (1976).

2.6.1 Structure of the Hausa

Galadanci (1976) introduces the two major components of the structure of the Hausa sentence, namely the nominal phrase and the verbal phrase. He examined the structure of the nominal phrase itself, the units that can function either as subject or as direct object in the Hausa sentence.

In describing the structure of the nominal phrase in Hausa, Galadanci (1976:12) states that nominal phrase can be analysed in terms of head (Hd) and qualifier (Q). The head according to him is the nucleus of nominal phrase, the pillar against which all the qualifiers are assembled. He further states that every NP in Hausa contains a head. It may also contain one or more qualifiers, but these are, unlike the head, all optional. The head is the only obligatory element in the structure of the nominal phrase, and it can be any of the Sixteen (16) items. The head may or may not be accompanied by various qualifiers which can be either in pre-head or in post-head Positions, or both. The items which can function as qualifiers are exemplified in five keys structural analysis. Consider (47):

(47)   NP where the head is preceded by a pre-head qualifier:

wani mutum, ya saye littattafan

Here the word *mutum* (N) is the head of the NP, and is qualified in pre-head by the word *wani* (Spec.), The structure of this NP, therefore, is as follow:

NP→Spec + N

NP where the head is followed by a post-head qualifier:

mutum mai fara'a ya bar duniya

Here *mutum* (N) is the head of the NP, and is qualified in post-head by *mai fara'a* (Adj. Cx.). The structure of the NP is therefore as follows:

NP → N + Adj.Cx.

NP where the head is preceded by a pre-head qualifier and is also followed by a post-head qualifier:

wani mutum mai fara'a ya shigo gidan nan

Again, *mutum* (N) is the head and is qualified in pre-head by *wani* (Spec.) and in post-head by *mai fara'a* (Adj.Cx.). The structure of the NP therefore is as follows:

NP → Spec. + N + Adj.Cx.

NP where the head is preceded by two qualifiers and followed by another two qualifiers:

wani dogon mutum fari mai fara'a ya shigo gidan nan

Once more, mutum (N) is the head of the NP and is qualified in pre-head by two qualifiers, want (Spec.) and dogo-n (Unit.Adj.). It is also qualified in post- head by two qualifiers fart (Unit.Adj.) and mat fara 'a (Adj.Cx.). The structure of the NP is therefore as follows:

NP → Spec. + Unit. Adj. + N + Unit. Adj. + Adj. Cx.

NP where the head is qualified by more than four qualifiers, some in pre-head and others in post-head positions:

wani ɗan gajeren mutum fari dattijo mai naɗi ya shigo

In this NP there are six qualifiers, three in pre-head and three in post-head positions, all qualifying the same head, *mutum* (N). In pre-head position, the qualifiers are *wani* (Spec.), *dan*, diminutive, (Dim.), and *gajere* (Unit. Adj.).

In post-head position, the qualifiers are dan (Unit. Adj.), *dattijo* (Unit. Adj.) and *mai naɗi* (Adj.Cx.). The structure of this NP is therefore as follows:

NP → Spec. + Dim. + Unit. Adj. + N

- Unit.Adj. + Unit. Adj. + Adj. Cx.

This structure is by no means complex as the NP here is composed of more elements there by making it complex. This means in Hausa or any other African language can bear more complex NP of this nature. In Kulung, if we come across this type of complex NP structure, the Galadanci method of analysis will be instructive.

According to Galadanci (1976:140, all these qualifiers are optional elements in the structure of the NP: in some NP's therefore, there may not be a single qualifier in either position to qualify the head. In summary, Hausa NP can be schematically represented as follows.

In the light of this discussion, we can characterise the Hausa NP as follows:

$$NP \rightarrow (Q^1) + Hd^2 (+Q^3)$$

Q represents the qualifiers and Hd_2 represents the head. The figures 1, 2 and 3 indicate that there are three positions in any given NP, the pre-head, the head and the post-head positions. The parentheses enclosing the Q indicate that the items which occur in that position are optional, they may or they may not be present with the head in any given NP. The - Hd is left unenclosed, indicating that in any given NP there must be obligatory head.

For the purpose of clarity, Galadanci (1976:14) introduces frame mainly to identify NPs in Hausa. Consider (48):

(48) Ban bar $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{komai} \\ \text{kowa} \end{array} \right\}$ a gida ba, sai NP

Ba wanda + VP, sai NP

In these two frames only an NP can fit. According to him, this could act as the judge for any doubtful grammatical item in regard to its unity and validity as an NP. He further analysed NPs in the light of what was discussed so far. These analyses are very central to our work, specifically the tree diagram and the phrase structure rules that generate the sentences. Consider (49):

(49) *Bahaguwar fartanya tagagari karamin kato.*

$NP \rightarrow Q_1 + Hd_2$

$Hd_2 \rightarrow N$

$Q_1 \rightarrow$ Unit. Adj.

$N \rightarrow$ fartanya

Unit. Adj. $\rightarrow$ Bahaguwa

The tree looks as follows:

55
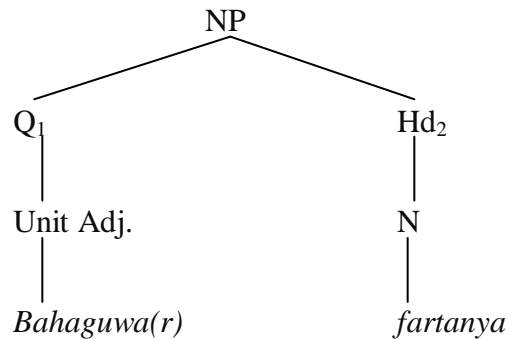
2. *Damuna maialbarka* ta fibabbar jaka

```
                    NP
          ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
         Hd₂                          Q₃
          │                            │
          N                          Adj.
          │                            │
       Damuna                     mai albarka
```
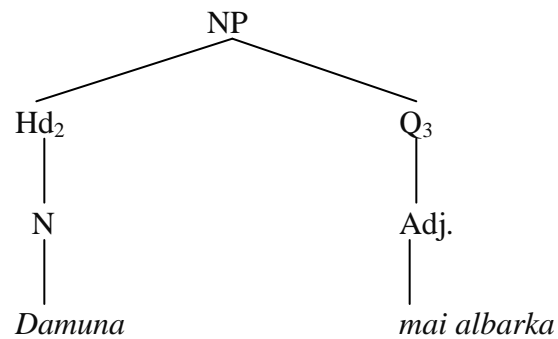
3. *Ɗan haki da ka raina* ya tsole ido.

NP → Q₁ + Hd₂ + Q₃

Hd₂ → N

Q₁ → Dim.

Q₃ → Rel.

N → haki

Dim → ɗan

Rel → da ka raina

```
                    NP
          ┌──────────┼──────────┐
         Q₁         Hd₂         Q₃
          │          │           │
         Dim         N          Rel.
          │          │           │
        ɗan         haki     da ka raina
```
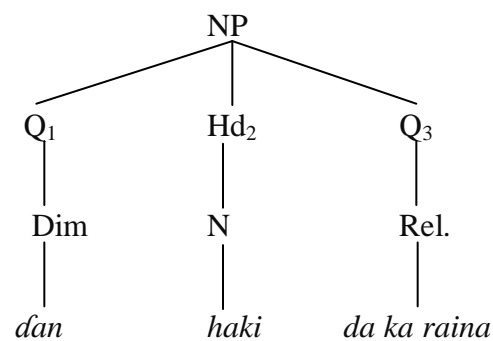
Basically in the structure of human language there are two types of relationship among the sentence elements; vertical and horizontal. Horizontally, the sequence starts with the NPs and

followed by the VP. This does not mean the NP is more important than the VP. The NP and VP are attested to be universal properties of human language.

In the light of this, Galadanci (1976:59), reformulates the representation of the verbal phrase (VP), in order to show the tense, the tense marker, the person of the PP, as well as the PP itself, the V and the NP of the verbal phrase. The VP now is represented maximally as follows:

VP → VC + NP

CV → Tense + PP + TM + V

Consider (50):

       Bala *ya kan karanta ashafa.*

       VP → VC + NP

       VC → Tense + PP + TM + V

       Tense → Hab.

       PP → 3rdP. MS

       3rdP. MS → *ya*

       TM → *kan*

       V → *karanta*

       NP → N

       N → *ashafa*

The tree can then be constructed as follows:

```
                        VP
                   ┌─────┴──────┐
                  VC            NP
          ┌────┬──┴──┬─────┐     │
        Tense  PP   TM     V     N
                │
             3ʳᵈP. Sg
          │    │    │      │      │
         Hab.  ya  kan  karanta  ashafa
```
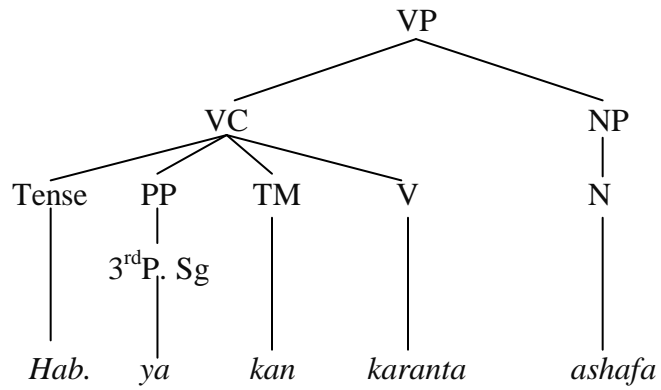
VP → VC + NP

VC → Tense + PP + TM + V

Tense → Hab.

PP → 3ʳᵈP. Sg

3ʳᵈP. Sg → ya

TM → za

V → fara

NP → N

N → hutu

```
                        VP
                   ┌─────┴──────┐
                  VC            NP
          ┌────┬──┴──┬─────┐     │
        Tense  PP   TM     V     N
                │
             3ʳᵈP. MS
          │    │    │      │      │
         FF    su   za   fara   hutu
```

58
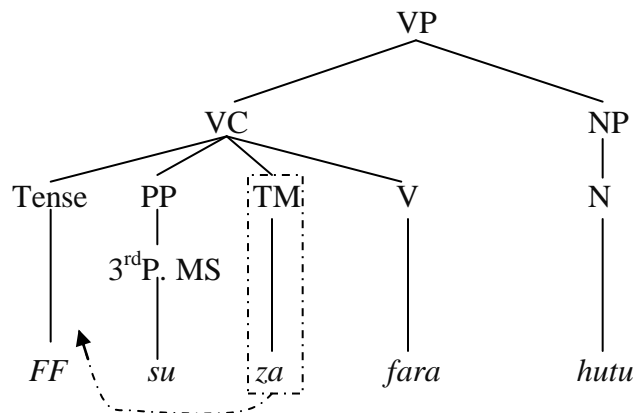
On the adjunct, Galadanci (1976:66) notes that the verbal phrase (VP) can be modified by adverbial items. Consider (51):

(51)   Simple adverb (Simp. Adv.):

(a) ya zo dasu

(b) ya ci abinci dasu

Adverbial compound (Adv. Cpd.):

(a) ya kan zo bayan-almuru

(b) ya kan ci abinci bayan-almuru

Adverbial complex (Adv. Cx.):

(a) ya kan saya a Kano

(b) ya kan sayi goro a Kano

Adverbial cluster (Adv. Cl.):

(a) za mu tsaya nan-ƙofa

(b) za mu tsaya Audu nan-kofa

In cases such as the above examples, the adverbial items according to him, are functioning in the VP as adjunct (Adjt) Once more, the introduction of an adjunct into the VP makes it necessary to revise the representation of the VP as follows:

VP → VC (+ NP) (+ Adv.)

This shows that the Adv. and the NP here are enclosed in parentheses to indicate that their presence in any given VP is optional. They may or they may not be present in any given verbal phrase. He further states that the optional nature of the NP within the VP can be seen in the above examples, where each example (a) contains no NP, but each example (b) contains an NP. Consider (52):

(52)   *ya kan tsaya Ayuba nan-kofa*

VP → VC + NP + Adv

VC → Tense + PP + TM + V

Tense → Hab.

PP → 3rdP. MS

3rdP. MS → ya

TM → kan

V → tsaya

NP → N

N → Ayuba

Adv → Adv. Cl.

Adv. Cl → nan-kofa

```
                              VP
              ┌───────────────┼───────────┐
             VC               NP          Adv
      ┌───┬────┬────┐          │           │
   Tense  PP   TM   V          N          Adv. Cl.
          │
      3rdP. MS

   Hab.   ya   kan  staya   Ayuba        nan-kofa
```

60
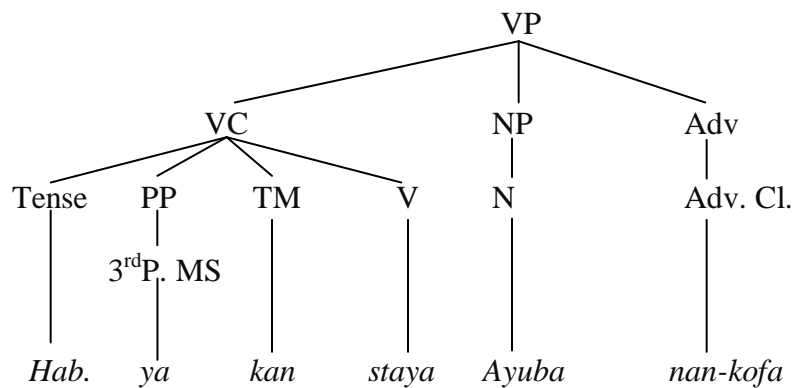
The NP and VP structures in Galadanci has provided the study the scheme of analyses and tree structures.

2.7   Kilba Language

In Kilba we reviewed the work of Mu'azu (2009) where the rules and principles for constructing sentences in natural language were accounted. In addition, all the grammatical elements that are needed for the descriptive of the Kilba have been discussed in substantial details. In this study, an attempt has been made to describe sentences and the rules governing the formation of sentences has been illustrated in various angles, that is the phrase structure rules that generate the sentences and the various sentences that are found in the language were also illustrated.

According to Mu'azu (2009:138) that the Kilba simple sentence consists of subject and object, while the word order is subject-verb-object (S.V.O). Thus Kilba sentences are made up of units: a nominal phrase and a verbal phrase. The nominal phrase (NP) is made up of various types of grammatical items such as nouns, compound nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, idiophones etc. While the verbal phrase consists of the main verb V noun phrase (NP) ,and prepositional phrase (PP). It is important to note that in Kilba it is possible to have another nominal phrase within the verbal phrase. This of course is optional. This can be represented as: VP → V + (NP) + (PP).

On the formation of rules in respect of simple sentence in Kilba. Mu'azu (2009:143) gives the simple sentence phrase structure tree diagram and phrase structure rule. After which he analyses Kilba sentence through the use of tree diagram taking into account the Chomskian theory and provide a phrase structure rule for each of the sentence used. The phenomena are provided consider (53):

(53)   *Kwa,ada terati yo mbor/vir janga*

Lit: Kwa,ada went to place reading

Gloss: Kwa,ada went to School/library

```
                              S
                  _____
                NP₁                       VP
                 |               _____
                 N              V                NP
                 |              |           _____
                 |              |         Prep         NP₂
                 |              |          |            |
                 |              |          |            N
                 |              |          |            |
              Kwa,ada         terati       yo       mbor/vir janga
              Kwa,ada         went         to       School/library
```
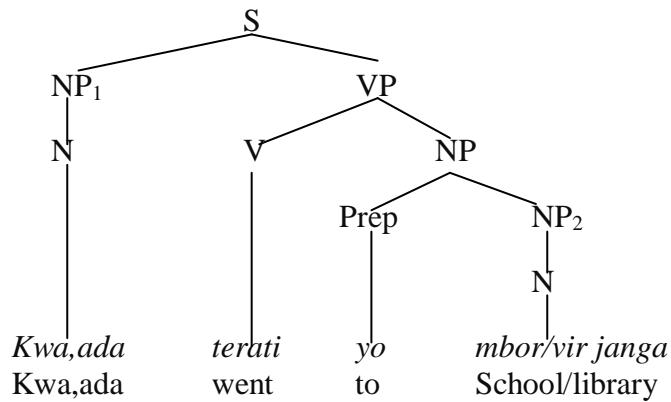
According to Mu'azu (2009), the tree diagram of the above sentence, rules can be written, which

show how each constituent can be generated, consider (54):

(54)   S → NP₁ + VP

        NP₁ → N

        VP → V + PP

        PP → Prep + NP₂

        NP₂ → N

        ndu-peru nda taguti defa nda

Lit: European the cooked food the

Gloss: The European cooked the food
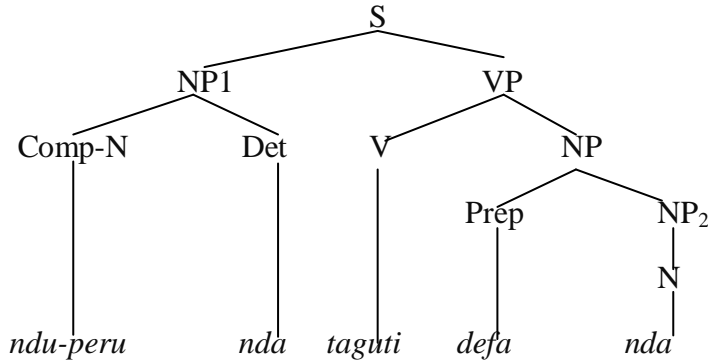
S

NP1 VP

Comp-N Det V NP

Prep NP₂

N

ndu-peru *nda* *taguti* *defa* *nda*

Based on the tree diagram of the sentence above, rules can be written, which show how each constituent can be generated. Consider (55):

(55) $S \rightarrow NP_1 + VP$

$NP_1 \rightarrow Comp - N + Det$

$PP \rightarrow V + NP_2$

$NP_2 \rightarrow N + Det$

tsefa wasika au teder nda

Lit: he/she wrote letter on table the

Gloss: he/she write letter on the table
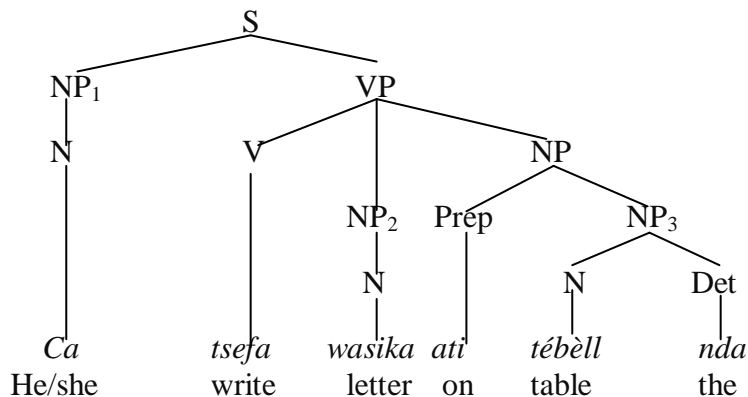
S

NP₁ VP

N V NP

NP₂ Prep NP₃

N N Det

Ca *tsefa* *wasika* *ati* *tébèll* *nda*
He/she write letter on table the

Based on the tree diagram of the above sentence, rules can be written, which show how each constituent can be generated, Consider (56):

(56) S → NP$_1$ + VP

NP$_1$ → N

VP → V + PP$_2$ + PP

NP$_2$ → N

PP → Prep + NP$_3$

NP$_3$ → N + Det

Vanyi ndu nda terau yati bor/vir tela

Lit: sepc(other/another) man the went to play-ground

Gloss: A certain man went to play-ground
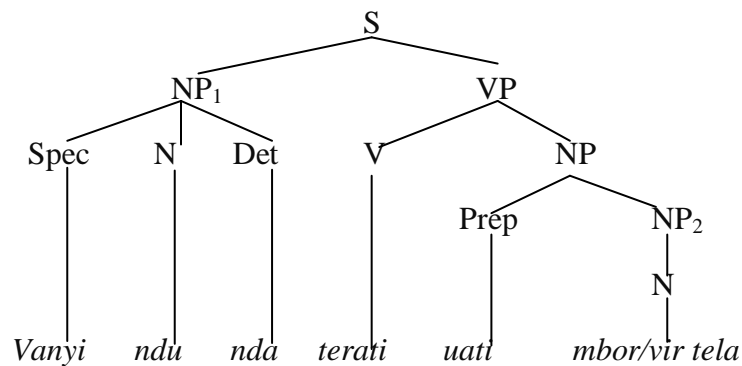
Based on the tree diagram of the sentence above, rules can be written, which show how each constituent can be generated. Consider (57):

(57) S → NP$_1$ + VP

NP$_1$ → Spec + N + Det

PP → V + PP

NP$_2$ → N

It has been observed that sentence in Kilba is generally composed of NP and the VP from our analyses above, we have seen the various grammatical elements found in both the NP and the

VP, we have also seen the phrase structure tree that generates the sentence pattern of the language. Mu'azu (2009) has provided this study the basic tool on which our analytical frame work would be anchored. This is because the analysis above is no difference with that of Galadanci (1976)

2.8   Miship Language

Miship according to Mu'azu and Isah (2010:5) is a member of Afro-Asiatic phylum. They state that the language is principally spoken in Plateau State, Nigeria. They described a sentence as an expression in natural language, where grammatical and lexical unit consists of one or more words, representing distinct and differentiated concepts, combined to form a meaningful statement, question, request, and command. They further stated that Miship sentences can be classified into three basic types namely: Simple, compound and complex sentences. Lastly, their analysis is based on Chomskian's standard theory, where the phrase structure tree would be emanated. Our analysis is expected to cover more than the structural divide as is contained in Mu'azu and Isah (2010).

Structurally, according to Mu'azu and Isah (2010) the simple sentence in Miship language do not mean simple in the sense that it is made up of simple words, but simple because it is a sentence that comprise what can be seen as an independent clause or simply a sentence that comprises of a noun phrase and a verb phrase. Basically, the simple sentence in most cases is a sentence that is made up of only one independent clause. Examples of Miship simple sentences are illustrated, in Kulung also the same sentence word from word would yield the same phrase structure tree and phrase structure rule that generate them. Consider (58):

(58)   *ās fē tə təm fè*

Lit: dog the killed sheep the

Gloss: The dog killed the sheep
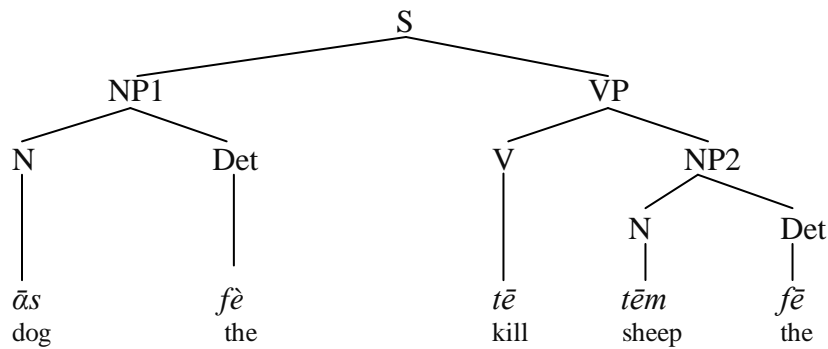
```
                        S
              ┌─────────┴──────────┐
            NP1                    VP
        ┌────┴────┐          ┌─────┴─────┐
        N        Det         V          NP2
        │         │          │        ┌──┴──┐
        │         │          │        N    Det
        │         │          │        │     │
       ās         fè        tē       tēm    fē
       dog        the       kill    sheep   the
```

The tree diagram of the sentence above provides a rule, which shows how each constituent can be generated, consider (59):

(59)   S → NP+VP

       NP$_1$ → N+Det

       VP → V+NP$_2$

       NP$_2$ → N+Det

       mbvwà rí gbálè nzùl rí

Lit: dog the kill sheep   the

Gloss: the dog killed the sheep
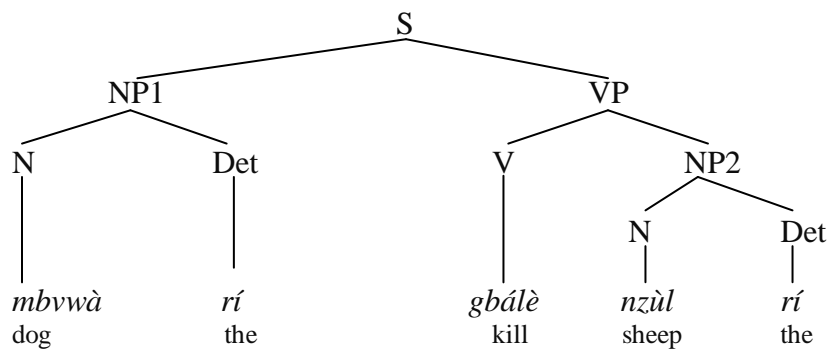
```
                        S
              ┌─────────┴──────────┐
            NP1                    VP
        ┌────┴────┐          ┌─────┴─────┐
        N        Det         V          NP2
        │         │          │        ┌──┴──┐
        │         │          │        N    Det
        │         │          │        │     │
     mbvwà        rí        gbálè    nzùl    rí
      dog         the       kill    sheep   the
```

66

The tree diagram of the sentence above provides a rule, which shows how each constituent can be generated, consider (60):

(60) S → NP+VP

NP$_1$ → N+Det

VP → V+NP$_2$

NP$_2$ → N+Det

Fatimah mpē seē ngūm

Lit: Fatimah will buy car

Gloss: Fatimah will buy a car

```
                          S
              ┌───────────┼───────────────┐
            NP₁          AUX              VP
             │          ┌──┤           ┌───┴────┐
             N        Tense            V       VP₂
             │          │                       │
             │        future                    N
             │          │        │              │
          Fatimah      mpē      seēt          ngūm
          Fatimah      will      buy           car
```
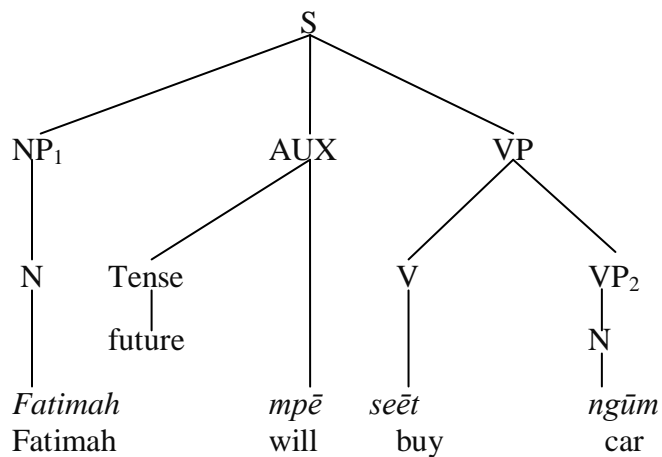
Based on the tree diagram of the above sentence above, a rule which shows how each constituent can be generated can be represented as illustrated. Consider (61):

(62) S → NP + Aux + VP

NP$_1$ → N

AUX → Tense

VP → V + VP₂

NP₂ → N

zayid pē tām dēghīn lē

Zayid is dancing in room
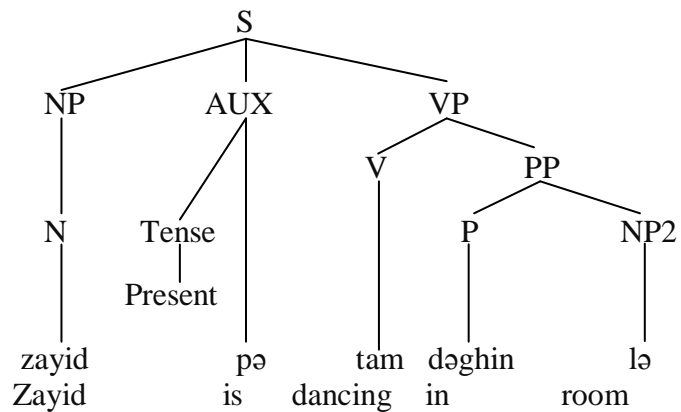
```
                         S
          ┌──────────────┼──────────────┐
         NP            AUX              VP
          │             │            ┌───┴────┐
          N           Tense          V        PP
          │             │            │      ┌──┴──┐
          │          Present         │      P    NP2
          │             │            │      │     │
        zayid          pə          tam   dəghin   lə
        Zayid          is       dancing   in     room
```

The diagram of the above sentence provides a rule, which shows how each construction can be generated. The analysis is a follows as illustrated. Consider (63):

(63) S → NP + Aux + VP

NP₁ → N

AUX → Tense

VP → V + PP

VP → P + NP₂

NP₂ → N

Ko tep fe a maan

Lit: hen black the is mine

Gloss: The black hen is mine
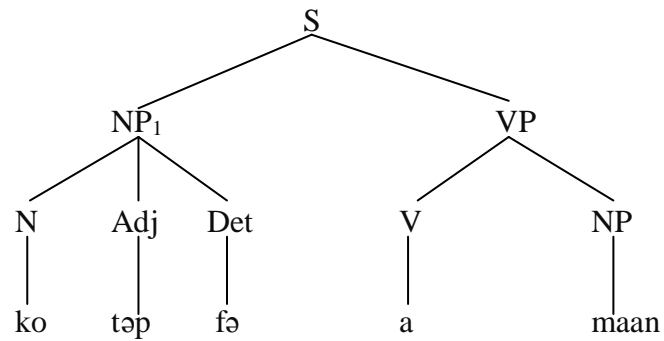
```
                        S
                       / \
                      /   \
                   NP₁     VP
                  / | \    / \
                 /  |  \  /   \
                N  Adj Det V   NP
                |   |   |  |    |
               ko  təp  fə a   maan
```

The diagram of the above sentence provides a rule, which shows how each constituent can be generated, Consider (64):

(64) $S \rightarrow NP + VP$

       $NP_1 \rightarrow N + Adj + Det$

       $VP \rightarrow P + NP_2$

       $NP_2 \rightarrow Pro$

       ni a kishkam

Lit: he is king

Gloss he is a king

```
                     S
                    / \
                   /   \
                NP₁     VP
                 |      / \
                 |     /   \
                Pro   V    NP
                 |    |     |
                 ni   a   mishkam
                 he   is  chief/king
```
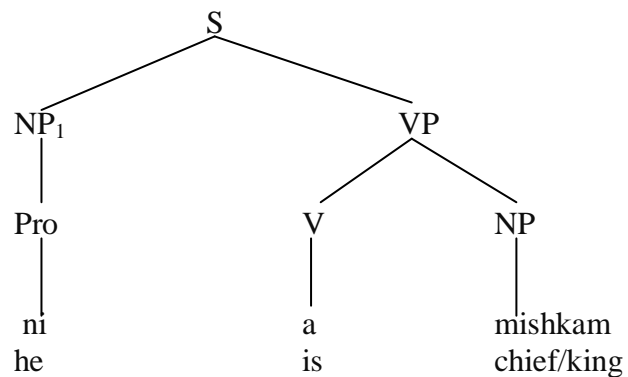
The diagram above shows that rules can be written, which illustrated how each constituent can be generated. Consider (65):

(65)   S → NP + VP

        NP$_1$ → N + Adj + Det

        VP → P + NP$_2$

        NP$_2$ → Pro

        ngutam fe muut

Lit: Dancer the died

Gloss: the dancer died
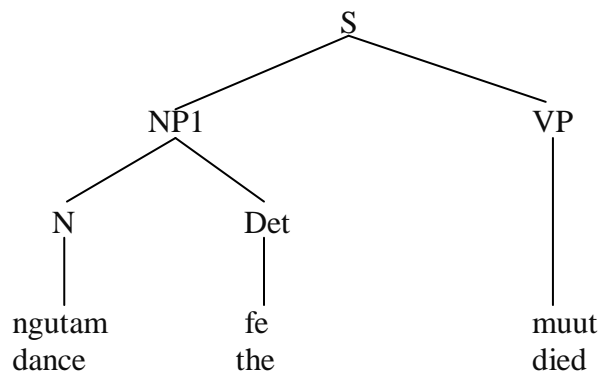
Based on the above sentence tree diagram, rules can be written, which shows how each construction can be generated, consider (66):

(66)   S → NP + VP

        NP$_1$ → N + Adj + Det

        VP → P + NP$_2$

        NP$_2$ → Pro

The above Miship analysis of simple sentences, reveals that it is possible for a noun, compound nouns and pronouns to occur as head of an NP, similarly it has also shown that determiners and adjectives can precedes a noun as subject head in an NP position and also possible for another NP to occur within, VP in Miship simple sentence.

The structures of Miship and Kulung are the same. The example above shows the same tree diagram analysis yield the same sentence type in Kulung lexical item by lexical item. And also yields the same phrase structure rule that generate the two sentences from Miship and Kulung

A compound sentence according to Mu'azu and Isah (2010:131) contains two independent clauses joined by a coordinator. The English coordinators are as follows: *for, and, nor, but, or, yet so*. Except for very short sentences, coordinators are always preceding by a comma. In the following English compound sentence, The coordinators are indented (i) I tried to speak Spanish, and my friend tried to speak English.(ii) Majeed played football, so Fatimah went shopping (iii) Zayid played football, *for* Fatimah went shopping.

They further stated that the notion of compound sentence should be construed to mean two simple sentences or two independent clauses being joined or conjoined by the use of a coordinating conjunction. Miship language according to them, also makes use of such coordination to joined two sentences together. The notion of compound sentence is related to virtually all African languages, in Kulung compound sentence are equally coordinated by the conjunction such as *náakì* (and) *wó* (and).

2.9   Pero

In Pero, the work of Frajzyngier (1989) has been reviewed. Closely related to our study is the question of serial verb construction. According to Frajzyngier (1989:250), the main condition

that triggers a serial verb construction in Pero is lack of coalescence into one lexical item of the features related to the direction of movement with features describing the manner of movement. In English the verb to 'run' can be used in both directional and non-directional sense. E.g. 'run to the Post-Office' or you should run in the morning'. The Pero construction yu *tána* lit. 'make run' has only non-directional only, such as *wáató* 'go' etc. The following is the full structure of a serial verb construction triggered by the above condition:

Subject   V   V   Locative
         [non-directional] [directional]

Note that the structure above differs from consecutive sentences by not having the consecutive marker and by not having the subject repeated before the verb It differs the purpose clause by not having another verb following *wáatò*. As in the serial constructions in other languages the first verb carries the information pertaining to the aspectual and tense distinctions. The subject of the sentence is mentioned only once, at the beginning of the first part. This together with the fact that the tense is also indicated only with the first verb provides evidence against serial verb construction being derived through some conjoining or embedding rules. It is obvious that serial verb construction should be derived through some sort of phrase structure rules in which the verb *wáatò* has the role of a grammatical morpheme marking direction rather than an independent verb of movement. Either the first or the second verb in a serial verb construction may have a ventive suffix attached. Consider (67):

(67)   *yá tánà wáatò mínà*

Lit: make run go home

Gloss: run home

        tà- yí- ii tnà wáath mínà nín-cákkà

72

Lit: Fut-make-Form B run go home Subj-3m

Gloss: 'he will run home'

Note that this is the only instance in which form B of the verb is formed through addition rather than replacement of the final vowel. Consider (68):

(68)   *yù káyò wáatò pòk-kòmbò*

Lit: make swim go edge shore

Gloss: swim to the other shore

     ní-yí- nà káyò wáat-tù piece

Lit: 1sg-make-VentCompl swim go- Vent here

Gloss: I swam from there to here

     ní-à-yítù káyò wáat-tù píecè-m
     Neg Vent   Neg

     'I did not swim here (i.e. in this direction)'

     tàrjún bàtàúurè mìJónù n-pót-tù ámb- ínà tì- pòkáayà

Lit   later European mission Cons-arriv-Ven come up-Compl Prep-west

Gloss: later on a European mission arrived from the west'

In the above sentence the verb *pót* 'arrive' cannot have source as one of its complement, and therefore, another verb is used to indicate the direction from which the mission has arrived. But even when the verb has a directional characteristic, reinforced for instance by a ventive suffix, still a serial verb construction may be used. Consider (69):

73

(69) *wáat-tù eèl- ée- nò*

Lit: come-Vent approach-PrePro-lsg

Gloss: come to me

If an object occurs in a sentence it will be placed after the first verb. The sentence, however, will have the consecutive marker n̲ occurring before the second verb. Consider (70):

(70) *tà- càɗ- áanì n- pétò- n bírà*

Lit: Fut-take-Nomin Consec-go out-Trans out

Gloss: he will take it out

> *nì-tà-cáɗù-tò n-pétò-n bírà*
> lsg   3f
>
> I will carry her out

This construction differs slightly from the serial verb constructions in Kulung language in having the consecutive marker. Kulung language does not have a conjunction marker in such constructions. These types of sentences mainly consist of more than one clause and overtly no connective intervenes between them.

2.10 Za:r

In Za:r we reviewed the work of Caron (2005:) where he states that the language is spoken in the South of Bauchi State (Nigeria), in the Tafawa Balewa and Bogoro local government areas. He further states that in the absence of a population census, a rough estimate would put their population at 150,000.

He further states that Za:r uses verbal and non-verbal clauses. According to Caron (2005:208), verbal clauses, the syntactic nexus is a verb. The verb, as a lexical category, is defined by its inability to assume any other function than that of nexus of a sentence. The verb is inflected for Aspect, Tense and Mood (TAM). In Za:r, this inflection is combined with a personal mark of agreement with the subject. In Kulung the verb is also inflected for aspect, tense and mood. The valency requirements of the verb in Za:r and with that of Kulung is the same. Consider (71):

(71)	NP (Subject)	TAM	Verb	NP (Object)
	ŋanyâ:s	*tə*	*dyǎ:*	*vá:t*
	NEG	3P.AOR	can	forge
	The Nganyas can forge.			

Caron (2005:209) states that in non-verbal clauses, the syntactic nexus is a Predicative Particle (PPrt). PPrt are not marked for Aspect, Tense and Mood. Consider (72):

(72)	NP	PPft	NP
	Gín	*nə*	*ní:?*
	this	cop	what

What is this?

	NP	PPrt
	Má:ndə gət	*kan*
	war-of woman	ID

It is a fight about women.

He further states that nouns can appear both in the predicating position (i.e. in the Continuous), or as the argument of a verb, a predicative particle, a preposition. Consider (73):

(73)   Equative clauses: nə.

According to Caron (2005:209), the structure of nonverbal clause is <NP$_1$ nə NP$_2$> = <NP$_1$ be NP$_2$>. This structure is used to identify two terms of an equation. Consider (74):

(74)   *Bitúrûs nə pástowòpm.*

Petrus is our pastur.

Yes/No-questions are marked by the -á: morpheme at the end of the sentence. Consider (75):

(75)   *Bitúrûs nə pástowà:sənà*

Is Petrus their pastor?

WH-questions can be asked about the NP$_2$, with *nì*: ('what') for [-human] and *flu*: ('who') for [+human] NP$_2$. Consider (76):

(76)   *Gìn nə nÍ:/nu:?*

Who/what is this?

The assertive particle -o: can be added to WH-questions, with an epenthetical *k [gh]* inserted. The tone of the question word changes from M to H. Consider (77):

(78)   *Gìn nə nú:/ghɔ:?*

Who is this?

When the context is explicit, the NP$_1$ can be omitted. This is the normal situation when the NP$_1$ is [-human].

- *Nə nu:?*   - *Nə səmbər.*

- Who is it?   - it's a 'stranger'[2].

When NP$_1$ is [+human), it can appear as a pronoun. This pronoun is chosen from the special paradigm of subject pronouns appearing with predicative particles, or non-verbal predicates. Consider (79):

(79)	1s	*mi nə mə:r*	I am a thief
	2s	*ki nə mə:r*	You (s) are a thief
	3s	*ci nə mə:r*	He is a thief
	1p	*mì nə mə:rəŋsə*	We are thieves
	2p	*ki nə mə:rəŋsə*	You (p) are thieves
	3p	*ci nə mə:rəŋsə*	They are thieves

Existential clauses *da,* 'there is'

The structure of the clause is <NP$_1$ *da* > <there is NP$_1$>. Consider (80):

(80) *Kafá: da, zà:m da, gà:rí da, gwàté gedî' da.*

There is rice, beans, cassava, yam potage.

(menu of a restaurant as told by the waitress).

It has been observed that, in Kulung, existential clause is marked by an existential element "*yakam*" been preceded by the noun. The structure of the clause in Kulung is <NP$_1$ *yakam*><NP$_2$>

Similarly, Caron (2005:212) notes that the Za:r has two verb classes: Middle (M) and H (H), which can be observed in the Perfective. The M class includes both 1- and 2- syllable verbs. A variant appears with some TAM (sp. the plural Imperfective) and depends on the [+/—V] nature of the initial consonant of the verb: [+V] = nonimplosive voiced obstruent. For short, he calls the Perfective form "lexical", and the other one "modified". Consider (81):

(81)	Lexical (PRF)	Modified (IPRF P.)	
H	*sú:* (H)	*sŭ:* (R)	love
M$_1$ [+V]	*bwá:* (M)	*bwá:* (L)	choose
M$_2$ [+V]	*dá:mbár* (MH)	*dà:mbár* (LH)	disturb
M$_1$ [-V]	*tá:r* (M)	*tâ:r* (F)	clear
M$_2$ [-V]	*tu:ra* (MH)	*tû:ra* (MH)	push

The defective verbs *yi, 'be'* and *yir, 'have'*

Furthermore, Caron (2005:212) says the verb 'be' in Za:r is expressed by the word *yi*, which can be analysed as a defective verb. This verb is invariable and only conjugated in the Aorist with the meaning 'be'4. The 3s (ta) and 3p (tà) TAMS and the verb *yi* are assimilated: *ta + yi > ci; tə + yi > ci*. They are dropped when the subject is [- animate], leaving the bare *yi* verb.

According to him, this type of equative sentences has various uses. Attributive construction of numerals: <NP (Aor) *yi* Numeral>. Consider (82):

(82)   *Səɓrês yi nàmbóŋ.*

Lit: the knife is one

Gloss: There is only one knife

Múrês ci nàmbóŋ

Lit: the man is one

Gloss: There is only one man

When the [-animate] subject is contextual, the Aorist TAM is dropped. Consider (83):

(83)   *Yi nàmbóŋ.*

There is one

Location: <NP (Aor) yi PP>. Consider (84):

(84)   *Sà:sôs yi gìb kŏt-cópkən.*

The loofah is inside the washing bowl.

Múrês ci kên Dənɗa.

The man is in front of Denɗa.

Kaɗaŋshês cì kár vì:n.

The dogs are behind the house.

Certain intrinsically locative NP$_2$ are used with a zero preposition. Consider (85):

(85) *Yi/ci vì:n.*

It/he is in the room

Gèri ci dÍ:zləŋ.

The hens are in the compound.

The question-word is *(té:)dô* Consider (86):

(86) | 1s | *mi té:dô:?* | *mì dô:?* | Where am I? |
	2s	*ki té:dô:?*	*kì dô:?*	where are you (s.)?
	3s	*ci té:dô:?*	*cì dô:?*	where is he?
	1p	*mì té:dô:?*	*mì dô:?*	where are we?
	2p	*kì té:dô?*	*kì dô:?*	where are you (p1.)?
	3p	*cì té:dô?*	*cì dô:?*	where are they?

The questions are virtually the same in their structures. Kulung mark questions with *áyèn?* 'where?' *ábè?* 'where?' *áyàbé?* 'where are you?'

Possession: the locative structure with a [+human] NP$_1$ and the preposition *tə* 'with', produces a possessive meaning. Consider (87):

(87) *Sónde ci tə mà:shin.*

Sunday has a motorcycle.

Murês ci tə kaɗaŋshíwôs gùdá: mâ:y.

The man had three dogs

In Kulung, equative construction just like what is obtained in Za:r is expressed by NP_1 *ni* NP_2. The locative clause is realized by preposition in Kulung. But in Za:r it was expressed in a more complex manner. The question word in the other hand, are the same.

2.11   Kanuri

In Kanuri, the work of Bulakarima and Shettima (2011) is reviewed.

Bulakarima and Shettima (2011:60) divide the sentence, of Kanuri into two sentence types. They are:

   (i) Verbal sentences

   (ii) Non-verbal sentences

2.11.1 Verbal Sentences

They further state that in a verbal sentence the verb is the head of the predicate. According to them, the verb controls the events in the sentence. In such a sentence the verb has direct connection with the subject of the sentence. For instance, in the sentence *kam biska isanada konu* (the person that came yesterday died), *kam* is the subject and *konu* is the main verb of the sentence; *biska isa na* is a clause telling us more about the head noun, while -də is a referential. Without the clause, we can still understand the sentence. It is understood that *kamda konu* (the person died). The person that the sentence is talking about is already known in this context. They also stated that a verbal sentence can be complex or simple. Consider the following examples as in Bulakarima and Shettima (2011:60). Consider (88):

(88)   *Ali ku kamunzaro kùngánà cm*

        Ali will today give his wife some money

Shi isana

He/she has come

Nyi kaskaro bamin

You are climbing a tree

Dala kasaltin

Dala is bathing

Shi shiga suruna

He/she has seen him/her

In the same vein, Bulakarima and Shettima (2011:61) describe the nonverbal sentence as a sentence in which the head of the predicate is a noun. Such a noun can take a modifier or not. Note the following examples. Consider (89):

(89)   *kam biska isanada fatkema*

The person that came yesterday is a merchant

Shehu balan ba

Shehu is not in town

Shi kam ngelama

He/she is a nice person

Kamude duwu kura

The woman is a big praise singer

Fatokuraath kakke

This big house is mine

Kitawu kime munde Makkalan yiwukanada Alibe

The red book I bought in Mekka last year belongs to Ali.

All the above examples given are verb free sentences. In both the subject and the predicate part, a noun is the head. In Kulung, sentences of the type above are common as we have the equational nonverbal and the existential construction.

Finallay, Bulakarima and Shettima (2011:62) state that the two sentences, verbal and non-verbal, differ in the predicate part only. The subject part in both cases is always a noun phrase (NP) which may contain optional modifiers, just like it is obtained in Kulung. The modifiers are the determiners, the adjectives, the numerals, a relative clause, the possessive makers, etc. just like what is obtained in many languages, the sentence is devided into nominal and verbal segments whereas in the predicate part in the non-verbal sentence is also a noun phrase followed by optional modifiers. In the verbal sentence, the predicate part is always a verb phrase (VP) which may contain optional compliments. The compliments are the direct object (DO), the indirect object (10), adverbs, embedded sentences and any other post positional phrase (PP) that might come under a verb phrase. Consider (90):

(90)   *Dala kasaltin*
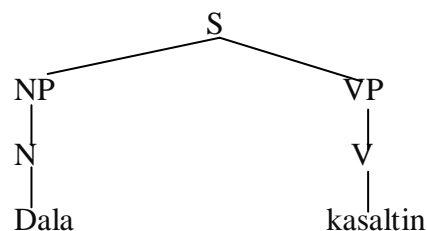
Tada biska isendae fatkema

```
                              S
              ┌───────────────┴───────────────┐
             NP                               NP
    ┌─────────┼──────────────┐                 │
    N        Mod            Mod                N
           (Rel.Cl.)        (det)
         ┌────┴────┐          │                │
        NP         VP         │                │
         │       ┌──┴──┐      │                │
         N      Adv    V      │                │
         │       │     │      │                │
  Tada (tada)  biska  isena  -de            fatkema
```

Kamude duwu kura
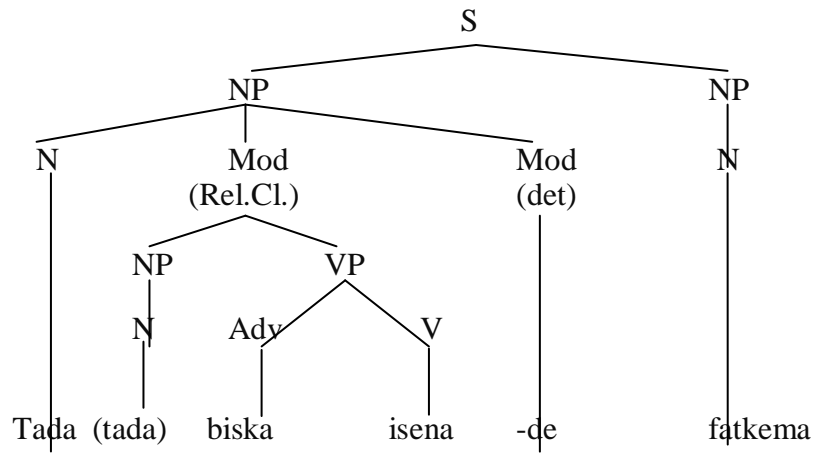
```
                           S
             ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
            NP                           NP
      ┌──────┴──────┐              ┌──────┴──────┐
      N            mod             N            mod
      │             │              │             │
    (det)         (det)          (det)         (adj)
      │             │              │             │
    Kamu           -de           duwu           kura
```

Ali ku kunena kamuzero cin

```
                              S
            ┌─────────────────┴─────────────────┐
           NP                                   NP
            │            ┌──────┬──────┬─────────┼────────┐
            N           Adv    NP             PP          V
            │            │      │        ┌──────┴───┐     │
            │            │      N       NP          P     │
            │            │      │    ┌───┴───┐      │     │
            │            │      │    N      mod     │     │
            │            │      │    │     (poss)   │     │
           Ali          ku   kunena kamu   -ze     -ro   cin
```

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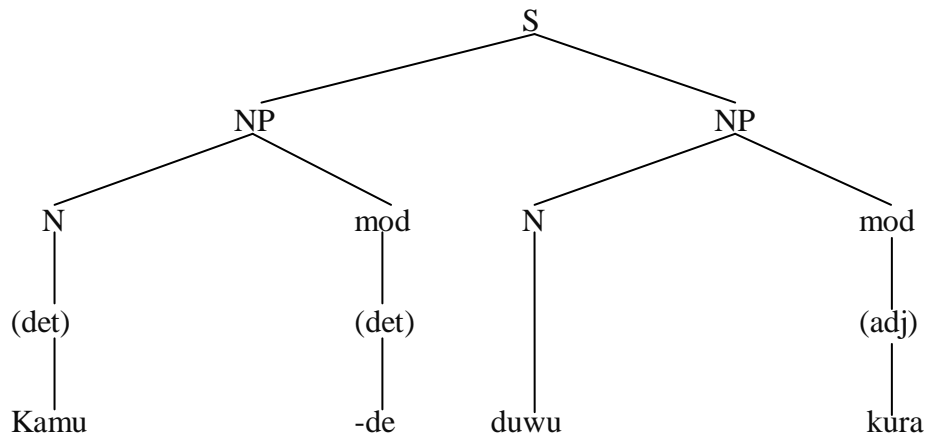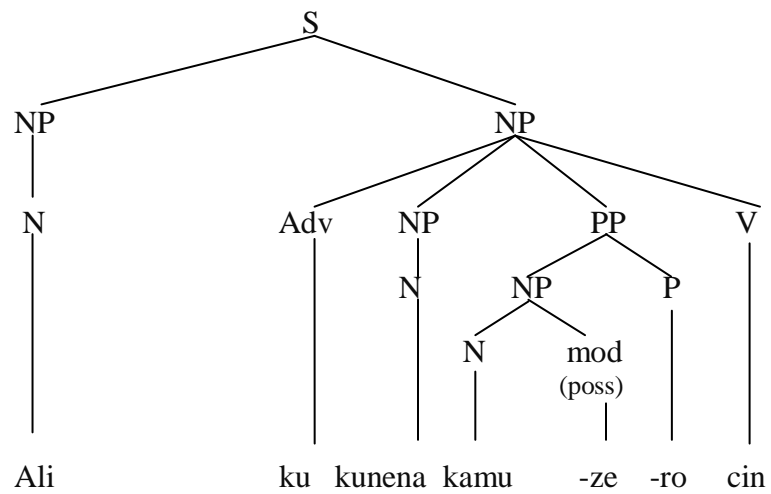
2.12   Grammatical Theories

For the purpose of this study, grammatical theories will be reviewed. Grammatical approaches such as Immediate Constituent Analysis (ICA), Phrase Structure Grammar (PSG), Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG), Government and Binding Theory (GB) and Minimalist Programme.

Immediate Constituent Analysis (ICA)

This model, according to Omachonu (2011:182), was introduced by an American linguist, Leonard Bloomfield (1887-1949) in his book entitled "Language" published in 1933. He notes that the model derived its basis from the Traditional Grammar and its validity from the syntax of word formation where every morphological construction necessarily consists of two constituents which are immediate and in construction. He further says that behind this model was the theory of root and affixes as the main principle. For instance, a word like "impossible" in English and a word like *ɓánghìbí* in Kulung could be analysed. Consider (91):

(91)

```
          X                          X
         / \                        / \
        Y   Z                      Y   Z
       im-  possible            ɓan-   ghibi
                            Lit:   Person of stealing
                            Gloss: Thief
```
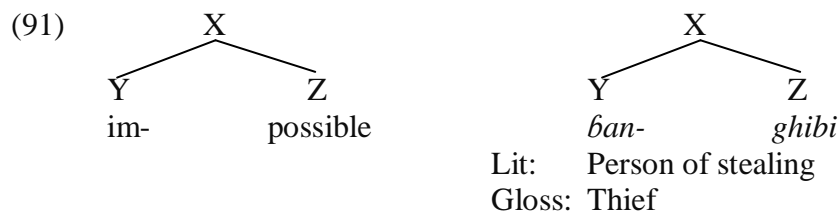
Similarly, sentences like "Poor Jane walked away" in English and "*Jane ɓangye*" in Kulung could equally be analysed or decomposed into its respective constituents. Consider (92):

(92)

```
              X                            X
             / \                          / \
            Y   Z                        Y   Z
       Poor Jane  walked away         Jane   ɓangye
                                 Lit:   Jane go away
                                 Gloss: Jane walked away
```

84
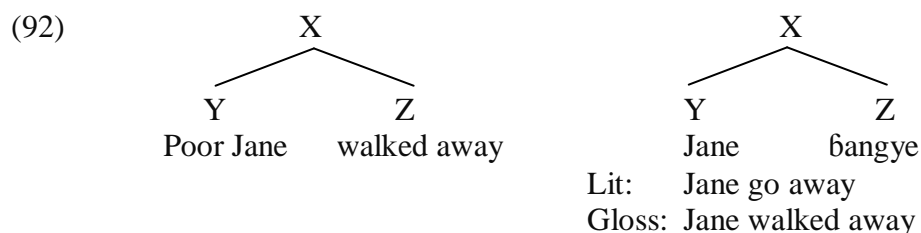
The concept of word is indispensable to the IC theory. While it is recognized that a word is not necessarily a constituent in every sequence, it is held that the concept is vital for the consideration of 'word-boundaries' (Joos, 1966:197). For the recognition of the word the phonemic and grammatical criteria formulated by Bloomfield (Joos, 1966:178) is assumed to be adequate in terms of description. Crystal (2008:104) sees constituent as functional component of a larger construction. Beyond functional component of a larger construction is the notion of nodes dominated by a single node. On this note, a sentence can be analysed into a series of constituents such as subject + predicate, or NP+VP. These units thus produced can, in turn, be analysed into further constituents. For example, Noun Phrase in English might consist of a determiner and a noun. This can be bracketed. Consider (93):

(93) $\left[\text{NP} \rightarrow \text{Det [the], N [boy]} \right]$

This constituent analysis process can be continued until no further subdivisions are possible. The major divisions that can be made within a construction at any level are known as the Immediate Constituents (ICs) of that construction. The irreducible elements resulting from such an analysis are known as the ultimate constituents (UCs) of the construction. So, in analyzing the constituent structure may be presented using brackets, each analytical decision being represented by the imposition of a pair of square brackets at the appropriate point in the construction. For example [the man [ate] [the hamburger]] this constituent structure may also be represented using labeled tree. Consider (94):

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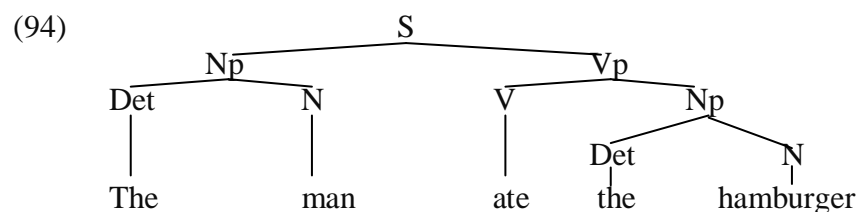
The criterion of division into constituents is to preserve the relationship between higher hierarchies and the ultimate constituents. This level of description is transparent as the phrasal categories dominate the lexical categories. However, there are observable weaknesses associated with ICA. They include amongst others:

i.   The ICA framework is restricted to only the morphological or word level analysis in especially English.

ii. In ICA, there is no any special technique to detect immediate constituents; rather appeal was made to the native speaker's intuition in detecting immediate constituents. It is therefore a rather haphazard framework relying on a mixture of semantic and quasi-philosophical criteria. This is a serious defect.

iii. ICA is a grammatical framework that cannot resolve or clear all kinds of ambiguity in the structure of human language.

For the above stated reasons, this study is not going to rely on ICA as a model of analysis.

2.12.1 Phrase Structure Grammar

According to Omachonu (2011:183), the publication in 1957 of Chomsky's Syntactic Structures (SS) marks the formal beginning of the Phrase Structure Grammar (PSG henceforth). He states that grammar deals with a system of generative rules of such a kind that will clearly assign the correct constituents structure to sentences. PSG, according to Agbedo (2000), is a rewrite grammar which aims at providing the mechanism for splitting up a given sentential structure into its constituents beginning with the immediate constituents. The essential objective of the PSG, he continues, "is to demonstrate that each higher unit of grammar contains a number of constituents which may or may not be further broken into lower immediate constituents.

Furthermore, he says that there are many different systems of grammatical rules which can be designed that will impose a constituents structure analysis upon the sentence they generate, however, restriction will made on the following rewrite system of the type which Chomsky has made familiar. Consider (95):

(95)   S → NP + AUX + VP (ADJUNCT)

NP → (Det) (ADJ) N

AUX Tense (Modal) (have) (Be) (-en) (ing)

VP → V (NP) (PP) (ADJ) (ADV)

This rewrite rule schemata (with more than two variables/elements) negates the IC structuralist position or assertion that a sentence consists of only two constituents; the subject and the predicate.

In the same vein, one of the major aims of PSG is to devise a means of clearing ambiguities in linguistic analysis. And in order to achieve this goal, the principle of analysability also known as boolean condition which in turn is based on the principle of integer was imposed. For instance, the factorization of a sentence being the largest unit of language into NP, AUX, VP and (adjunct) already gives us what the structure of a grammatical sentence should be: S → NP, AUX (adjunct).

This structure connotes the ordered sequence of units in an acceptable structure and that there are three compulsory or obligatory elements of a sentence, that is, NP, AUX and VP. Consequent upon the above, Chomsky (1957) criticized the use of fictional code 'subject" as in IC analysis and replaced it with phrasal and lexical categories (NP & N), still following the dictates of the

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principle of integer which recommends that every item be analysed, categorized and decomposed into its smallest or minimal unit of meaning without any remainder. All said, PSG could be characterized as follows (See also Agbedo, 2000:103):

i. Only one symbol is re-written at a time.

ii. The ordering of the immediate constituents of the sentence does not change in the course of re-writing subsequent constituents.

iii. The Phrase Structure (PS) Rules arc hierarchical - moving from the subordinate to different hyponyms or sub-categories.

In addition, another basic characteristic of PSG is that PS grammars are language specific, and so they are determined largely by the nature of the language(s) involved.

2.12.2 Its Strengths and Weaknesses

The weakness identified with the Immediate Constituent Analysis is the motivation for Phrase Structure Grammar. In other words, most of the weaknesses of the IC analysis are the strength of the Phrase Structure Grammar. For instance, whereas the IC analysis assumes that a sentence is made up of only two constituents - the Subject and the predicate and, therefore, could not go beyond the morphological unit of analysis. PSG recognizes three principal and compulsory elements of the sentence - NP, AUX, VP and optional Adjunct. This enables the grammar to account for a higher level of syntactic analysis and or constructions where the constituents which are interdependent are not necessarily immediate.

Again, unlike the IC framework which cannot resolve ambiguity in language, one of the major aims of PSG is to devise a means of clearing all ambiguities in linguistic analysis. This, it has achieved through the imposition of the Boolean Condition and the Principle of Analysability.

Besides, unlike the IC analysis which relies on a mixture of semantic and quasi philosophical criteria which are hazy and vague, the PSG is categorical. For example, it does not account for the existence of intermediate categories between the lexical and Phrasal. It is this particular defect on the part of PSG that brought in the X-Bar Syntax as we may see later in the course of our discussion in this chapter.

However, apart from the fact that PSG concentrates more on English than any other language, its major limitation stems from the fact that it cannot give us the minor changes or transformations needed to map the Deep Structure unto the Surface Structure. This means, it cannot change, delete, insert or rearrange units to achieve transformational goal in grammatical analysis. In other words, PSG becomes grossly deficient in that it cannot account for the predictability and infinite generation of sentences from the available finite resources in languages. For instance:

i. It cannot account for nested and winding constructions

ii. It cannot handle ambiguous sentences

iii. It cannot explain the semantic sameness of structurally unrelated sentences neither can it account for the semantic unrelated of structurally related sentences.

iv. It cannot explain or account for the differences and or relationship between active sentence and its passive counterpart or cleft and non-cleft, topicalised and non-topicalised, statement and question.

From the foregoing, PSG is only but a partial account of the grammar of any given language. Therefore, it is neither observationally nor descriptively adequate. Hence, the introduction of some kind of supplementation in the forms of transformational rules for the needed

transformation, or change from DS to SS, and this gave birth to the Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG) framework.

Besides, another major constraint of the PSG is that it is too restricted in the number of possible projections and the categories it can allow at a time. For instance, it does not account for the existence of intermediate categories between the lexical and Phrasal. It is this particular defect on the part of PSG that brought in the X-Bar Syntax.

2.12.3 Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG)

Transformational generative grammar as an approach in linguistics has two stages of development. The earlier versions deal with the rule system of grammar, while the later versions deal with principles and parameters. Malmkjær (1991:162), notes that the concept is related with linguistic models that have a mathematical structure and with a particular view of the abstract nature of linguistic study.

Chomsky (1957:4), sees linguistic description on the syntactic level is formulated in terms of constituent analysis (parsing). He described the model of the grammar as essentially more powerful than the finite state grammar. The constituent analysis is based on the derivation of:

   i.   sentence→NP+VP
   ii.   NP→ T+N
   iii. VP→Verb + NP
   iv. T →the
   v.   N→Man, ball, etc.
   vi. Verb →hit, took, etc.

Suppose that every rule is interpreted as: each rule X →Y as the instruction rewrite X as Y. This rule system is intended to generate all the grammatical sentence of English. The grammar also

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defined knowledge of language as knowledge of words, and knowledge of rules dealing with various aspect of the language. Generative grammar, has aimed at being an explanatory theory. The tenet of generative grammar, especially in the works of Chomsky since the mid 1970s (Chomsky (1973), has the idea that a single theory can serve simultaneously as a descriptive theory and as an explanatory theory.

The Generativists' inquiry, just like what is obtained in scientific investigations may at some stage be off the mark, and even completely misguided. The process of building a theory of language (or any other natural phenomenon, for that matter) is a constant process of revisiting one's ideas to accommodate new data, thereby broadening the empirical base of the theory. In view of this, it is quite possible that, over the years, the revised versions of a given theory may bear little resemblance to its earlier self. At the same time, it is also possible that a revised version might reintroduce an idea that was previously rejected on the grounds that there was not enough evidence to support it. Cook and Newson (2007:3) state that during 1970s the standard theory evolved into the Extended Standard Theory (EST) which refined the types of rules that were employed. This is in turn changed more radically into the Government/Binding (GB) Model, (Chomsky, 1981a) Government and Binding theory was the common label for this model of grammar but Chomsky himself found it misleading because it gave undue prominence to two of its many elements. Munkaila (1990:32) notes that in the current GB theory the various rules that were used in the earlier transformational approach have been drastically reduced to a single meta rule which Chomsky termed "Move-alpha". Alpha here stands for any category. Cook and Newson (2007:3). The GB Model claimed that human languages consist of principles that were the same for any grammar and parameters that allowed grammars to vary in limited ways. It is on this premise that the label of principles and parameters (P & P) theory has been adopted.

Since the late 1980s a further major model of syntax has been undergoing development, a model called the minimalist program (MP), again reflected in the title of Chomsky's publication in this framework (Chomsky, 1993) and (Chomsky, 1995a). Currently, a new model has emerged. This model is known as phases. MP concentrated on simplifying knowledge of language to invariant principles common to all languages, and, by attaching parameters to the vocabulary, making everything that people have to acquire in order to know a particular language part of the lexicon.

2.12.6 Principles and Parameters Theory (PPT)

On the principle and parameters of universal grammar we reviewed the work of Mark and Newson (2007:28) where issues of major concern in the understanding of the principles and parameters theory are articulated. The approach has provided this work a model of our analysis more specifically the rewrite rules. To understand grammatical principles and parameters means looking at certain linguistic phenomena that they account for and sketching what these notions replaced. The question which analyst may ask is how the principles and parameters theory is related to the phrase structure schema. To answer this question directly is as good as making a kind of explanation on the major assumption in linguistics since the 1930s. Mark and Newson (2007:28) state that sentences consist of phrases structural groupings of words: sentences have phrase structure. Thus the sentence (S). Consider (96):

(96) The child drew an elephant.

Breaks up into a Noun Phrase (NP) the child and a Verb Phrase (VP) drew an elephant. The VP in turn breaks up into a Verb (V) drew and a further Noun Phrase an elephant. Consider (97):

(97)

```
                          Sentence
                    ┌────────────┴────────────┐
              Noun Phrase              Verb Phrase
                   │              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                   │            Verb            Noun Phrase
                   │              │                   │
              the child         drew            an elephant
```
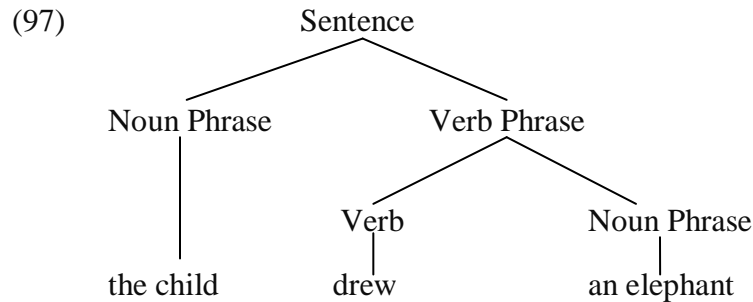
These Noun Phrases also break up into smaller constituents; the NP the child consists of a Determiner (Det or D) *the* and a Noun (N) child, while the NP an elephant consists of a Determiner *an* and an N elephant. The final constituents are then items in the lexicon. Consider (98):

(98)

```
                              Sentence
                    ┌────────────────┴────────────────┐
              Noun Phrase                      Verb Phrase
              ┌─────┴─────┐              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
         Determiner     Noun          Verb             Noun Phrase
              │           │             │           ┌──────────┴──────────┐
              │           │             │       Determiner            Noun
              │           │             │             │                 │
             the        child         drew           an            elephant
```
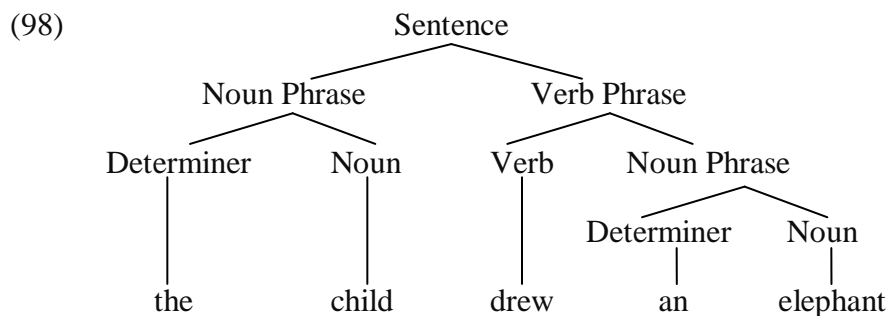
Phrase structure analysis thus breaks the sentence up into smaller and smaller grammatical constituents, finishing with words or morphemes when the process can go no further. A sentence is not just a string of words in a linear sequence but is structured into phrases, all of which connect together to make up the whole. A sentence is then defined by the phrases and lexical items into which it expands.

They provide a tree diagram such as (98) is one way to represent the phrase structure of a sentence: each constituent of the structure is represented by a node on the tree, which is labeled with its name; elements which are grouped into a constituent are linked to the node by branches. Another way of representing structure commonly found in linguistic texts is through labeled

brackets, where paired brackets are used to enclose the elements that make up a constituent and the label on the first of the pair names the constituent. Thus the structure in (98) might equally be represented as the following labeled bracketing without any change in the analysis. Consider (99):

(99)   [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ [The] [$_N$ child]]][[$_{VP}$ drew][[$_D$ an]. [$_N$ elephant]]]].

This study has adopted most labeled schema of principles and parameter theory.

According to Mark and Newson (2007:29), one of Chomsky's first influential innovations in linguistics was a form of representation for phrase structure called a rewrite rule (Chomsky, 1957), consider (100):

(100) S→NPVP

In this the 'rewrite' arrow '→' can be taken to mean 'consists of'. The rule means exactly the same as the phrase structure tree. Consider (101):

(101)   S
            ╱   ╲
         NP   VP
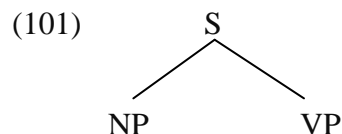
or as the bracketing consider (102):

(102)   [$_S$ NP VP]

Namely the Sentence (S) 'consists of' a Noun Phrase (NP) and a Verb Phrase (VP),

The next rewrite rule for English will then be. Consider (103):

(103) VP→V NP

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Again, this means that the VP 'consists of' a Verb (V) and an NP, as shown in the tree. Consider (104):

(104)
```
        S
       / \
      V   NP
```
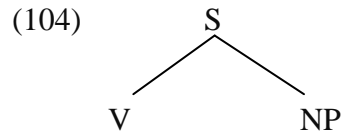
or as the bracketing. Consider (105):

(105) [$_{VP}$ NP]]

More rewrite rules like (104) and (105) can be added to include more and more of the structure of English, for example to bring in the structure of Noun Phrases. Consider (106):

(106) NP → Det N

showing that NPs consist of a determiner (Det) and a noun (N), The sentence is generated through the rewrite rules until only lexical categories like Noun or Verb are left that cannot be further rewritten. At this point an actual word is chosen to fit each category out of all the appropriate words stored in the lexicon, say child for N and draw for V.

Rewrite rules, then, take the subjective element out of traditional grammar rules. Understanding a rule like 'Sentences have subjects and predicates' means interpreting what you mean by a subject or predicate. To understand rule (105) you don't need to know what an S is because the very rule defines it as an NP and a VP; one don't need to know what an NP is because rule (ii.) defines it as a Determiner and a Noun; and you don't need to know what a Noun is because you can look up a list or a dictionary. Rewrite rules are formal and explicit, sometimes called 'generative' as we see below. Hence they can easily be used by computers. Rewrite rules can be written directly in to the computer language Prolog, so that you can type in a set of rules like

(105) and get a usable parser for generating English sentence structures (Gazdar and Mellish, 1989).

2.12.7 Modular Approach

Modules assume that the mind is structured into separate modules or components, each governed by its own principles and operating independently of others. Under this head, we study the change from a monolithic to a modular approach. This system includes a number of sub-systems or modules. Each of the modules or sub-systems consists of formulations regarding a particular aspect of language and the overall theoretical framework. The modules which are formulated by linguists in the mainstream of transformational-generative grammar are: X-bar theory, Theta theory, Government theory, Bounding theory, Binding theory, Case theory, and Control theory. We shall study these modules in detail below.

2.12.8 X-bar theory

X-bar syntax seeks to analyse sentences in two level categories: (1) word-level and (2) phrase-level. The examples of word-level categories are: noun (N), verb (V), adjective (A), adverb (Adv.), preposition (P), determiner (D), and modal (M) and those of phrase-level categories are noun phrase (NP), verb phrase (VP), adjective phrase (AP), adverb phrase (ADVP), and prepositional phrase (PP). The proviso in X-bar syntax has greatly influenced the distribution of lexical categories in the study of Kulung syntax.

According to Prasad (2009:100), Chomsky (1972) and Jackendoff (1974) argued in favour of a third-level category, intermediate between the word-level and the phrase-level. This level is such a nominal constituent which is larger than a word but smaller than a full phrase. It can be made clear with the help of a phrase, for example, The mayor of Patna. Consider (107):

(107)

```
            NP
          /    \
         D      NP
                / \
               N   PP
               |   / \
   the      mayor of   Patna
```
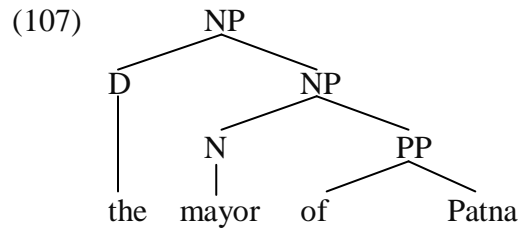
The mayor of Patna.

The question marks in the diagram indicate an intermediate type of nominal phrase larger than N but smaller than NP. Chomsky introduced the bar notations to solve such type of complications. In accordance with his theory, we can label it as N (to be read as N-bar) and the top NP as N (to be read as N-double bar). Jackendoff called it X-bar convention and used the system of prime notation. Chomsky also indicated it as N' (to be read as N-prime) in the system of notations introduced by Jackendoff. Similarly, NP may be indicated as N" (N-double prime). So, applying these two systems of notations, we can draw tree diagrams for *The mayor of Patna*. Consider (108a) and (b):

```
(108a)   NP                        (b)  NP''
        /    \                         /    \
       D      N                       D      N'
              / \                             / \
             N   PP                          N   PP
             |   / \                         |   / \
  The    mayor of   Patna        the      mayor of   Patna
```
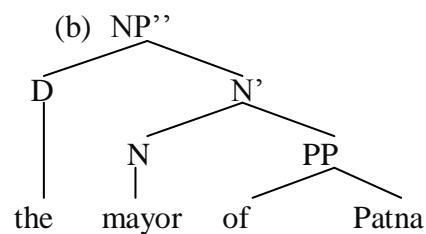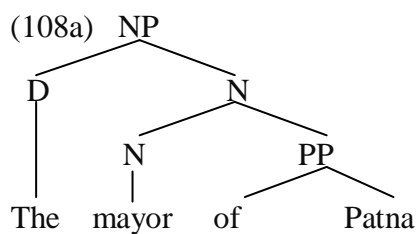
(a) N-double bar (b) N-double prime

The above tree diagrams deal with the intermediate category between the word and the phrase. This system for phrase structure can also be extended to sentences. For the analysis of a sentence under this, we apply inflectional phrase (IP), complementizer phrase (CP), spec (specifier), agreement (AGR), etc. as the components of the sentence. In this study, the intermediate

category provided by the X-bar schema has no place in our analytical framework. However, complementizer phrase and agreement phrase are part of the analysis but with modification in terms of agreement phrase because the auxiliary was not reanalyzed to capture agreement phrase per se.

2.12.9 Theta theory

It deals with the functional relationships between a predicate and its arguments. Look at the following sentences, for instance. Consider (109):

(109)   Adamu opens the door with a key.

This sentence can be analysed on the basis of the functions of different words in the sentence. Here, the function of Adamu is as an agent, the door is the theme and a key is the instrument. Consider (110):

(110)   Nitika has her mobile in her bag.

In this sentence, Nitika is the agent, her mobile is the theme and in her bag is the locative. Radford in Prasad (2009:101) has mentioned eight theta roles as: Theme, agent, experiencer, benefactive, instrument, locative, goal and source.

The theme is chiefly concerned with the object of the verb; the agent is the subject; the experiencer is the psychological state, as for example, happy, sorry etc.; the benefactive is about noun, pronoun or noun phrase which is being benefited; the instrument is the source of action, chiefly concerned with tools; the locative indicates the place where something is situated; the goal describes the entity towards which something moves; and the source is the entity from which something moves. The Theta Criterion is a principle central to Theta Theory. This is

condition on Theta role assignment a version of which is given in Munkaila (2006:13) as cited in Chomsky (1981).

> Each argument bears one and only one theta-role and each theta-role is assigned to one and only one argument.

This subtheory has no place in our analysis. However, it has provided the study a sense of direction in times of semantic features of the sentences.

2.12.10 Government Theory

According to this theory, a verb in English governs its object and a preposition its complement. But due to recent studies in transformational grammar, the notion has been much broader than before. The recent notion refers not only to the above notions of verbs and prepositions but also to the tense governing the subject and the nouns, and the adjectives governing their complements. Chomsky (1980), Lectures on Binding and Government points out that an NP is marked nominative only if it is the subject of a tensed S. Consider (111):

(111)   The villagers thought me to be brave.

        The villagers thought that I was brave.

In the first sentence, *me* is not a nominative case because it is the subject of a sentence which is not tensed. But in the second sentence, *I* is the nominative case because it is the subject of a tensed sentence. In transformational grammar, this notion is confined to verbs, prepositions and tense as well as nouns and adjectives. For example, consider (112):

(112)   John decided to stay here.

        John's decision to stay here,

        Peter considered his case sympathetically,

Peter's consideration of his case sympathetically.

In the first sentence, to stay here is the complement of the verb decided. In the second sentence, it is the complement of the noun 'decision'. Similarly, in the third sentence, his case sympathetically is the complement of the verb 'considered' whereas in the fourth sentence it is the complement of the noun 'consideration'. This subtheory is too mentalistic and somehow complex in its analyses. For this reason, Kulung is one of the African languages that are not been described. It requires a simple and straightforward phrase structure analysis for foundational study of this nature.

1.12.11 Bounding theory

In this theory, a word of a sentence may be moved to occupy some other place in the same sentence to provide a grammatical structure. This principle of transformation is known as the rule of alpha movement. There are three important items to be noted in this theory: (113) the site of extraction or the place from where a constituent is to be moved in a sentence, (114) the landing site, or the place to which it is to be moved, and (115) how far it can be moved. The following examples will illustrate this inherent property of the movement rules in English. Consider (113):

(113)   Buhari is the president of Nigeria.

The auxiliary verb of this sentence can be moved to the pre-subject position in the same clause to transform the sentence into interrogative. Consider (114):

(114)   Is Buhari the president of Nigeria?

If is replaced by will of the same sentence, it will be ungrammatical. So, the movement of a constituent should be under limited distance.

A similar observation can be made about the rule of NP-movement in the following sentence. Consider (115):

(115)   It is likely that Juli will find John guilty of this case.

The sentence will be ungrammatical if the movement of the NP Juli is beyond a certain distance. It has been observed that inversion or movement in the structure of the sentence is not common in Kulung. For this reason, this theory has no place our analytical requirements.

2.12.12 Binding Theory

This subtheory discusses the specific conditions under which NPs are interpreted as co-referential with other NPs in the same sentence. The NPs, for the purpose of this theory, can be classified into three types: (1) anaphors, (2) pronominals, and (3) referential expressions.

Anaphors. These are NPs which have no independent reference. They are mostly reflexive or reciprocal pronouns whose references are to be found in their antecedents in the same clause. Consider (116):

(116)   *Adamu* nyónglì *takardari ni mushi*

        Lit: Adamu write writing letter with his eye

        Gloss: Adamu wrote the letter himself (reflexive)

Mai wo mbasu yèrá wúrù

Lit: Mai and Mbasu loves each other

Gloss: Mai and Mbasu love themselves (reciprocal)

Pronominals. These are dummy NPs which have no independent entities. The personal pronouns can be the examples of pronominals. The pronominals are of two types: (a) those which take their reference from another NP in the sentence, and (b) those which derive their reference from the context. Consider (117):

(117)   Jacob thinks he cannot be promoted to the next class. (reference in an NP)

He is my brother. (reference in the context)

It will be proper to mention here that binding is concerned with only those NPs which function as arguments. Non-argument NPs, such as the expletive *it* and the existential *there* are beyond the scope of this theory. It has been observed that in Kulung there is existential construction. Therefore, this theory can not capture these types of sentences.

1.12.13 Case theory

This subtheory deals with the assignment of case to NPs. Prasad (2009:103) notes that there are differences between two types of case assignment: structural case and inherent case. The structural case is assigned only under government. For instance, tense governs and assigns nominative case to the subject NP, a transitive verb an accusative case to its object and a preposition an accusative case to its complement in English. Consider (118):

(118)   He invited me to dinner.

The inherent case is assigned by nouns and adjectives to their NP complements. This assignment may have two conditions: (118) the nouns and adjectives should assign theta roles and (119) they should govern their complements. They assign inherent genitive case, which is morphologically realized in the form. Consider (118):

(118)   *Adamu to be annoyed is normal

This is ungrammatical, because Adamu must be assigned a nominative case, so for the sentence to be grammatical it requires a preposition to casemark the nominal. Consider (119):

(119)   For Adamu to be annoyed is normal

2.12.14 Minimalist Programme

Development of Principles and Parameters Theory initiated by Chomsky in the early 1990s, with the aim of simplifying Government and Binding Theory as it had been in the 1980s.

According to Matthews (2007:246), a grammar is seen as relating to phonetic Forms and Logical Forms, both defined as interfaces with distinct performance systems. Both must therefore be in a form that is fully interpretable by such systems; some system of computation must establish relations between them; and the grammar of any individual language must include a lexicon specific to it. Taking these alone as strictly necessary the object has been to eliminate all other levels of representation, including in particular the earlier remnants of deep structure and surface structure, that may not be justified; and to simplify the system of computation, in all other respects, as far as possible.

For specific aspects see bare phrase structure, convergence, copying, phase, spell out. 'Minimalism' has in effect become a cover term for these and other specific revisions of the

Principles and Parameters Theory, many at a level of abstraction from the evidence far greater than had previously been achieved, or might have been thought justifiable.

Minimalist programme is not definitive in the sense that it is not yet a theory that one may base his analysis on more especially undescribed languages of Africa. The programme is still in the level of abstraction.

2.13   Theoretical Framework

This study has been anchored on the descriptive model of Galadanci (1976). This model is noted for its simplicity and versality. The structural distribution of syntactic components of the language has made it rather powerful since every analytical decision in terms of phrase structure trees has a corresponding phrase structure rules that generates them. This approach has been found to be rewarding as descriptive works on undescribed languages like Kilba, Mu'azu (2009) Miship, Mu'azu and Isah (2010) and Bassa-nge, Mu'azu, Juma'a and Tebu, (2012)

2.14   Conclusion

In this chapter, the study, first reviewed works generally on Kulung this is because there no work done on the grammar or syntax of the Language. Secondly, the study reviewed works on the Niger Congo phyla. Yoruba was reviewed where many aspects of the language that relates to the study has been analysed, Bassa-nge, is a member of the Niger-Congo. Works on the grammar of Bassa-nge was examined. And also Jukun has been reviewed.

Another group of languages which seems to have shared syntactic properties with Kulung have been reviewed. They are related works on Afro-siatic phyla (Chadic) like Hausa, Kilba, Miship, Pero and Za:r languages. It seems Kanuri, Language of Nilo Sahara phyla may share

certain aspects of syntactic features with Kulung and this will provide the study adequate information on how to analyse the data for this study.

Similarly, various theories of syntax starting from the Traditional Grammar (TG), Immediate Constituent Analysis (ICA), and Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG) were reviewed. The study also reviewed the research progress of the transformational generative grammar such as phrase structure grammar, X-bar syntax, government and binding theory, minimalist programme. Lastly, the model of our analytical procedure would be based on works that were done on previously undescribed languages of Africa.

Finally, the study is anchored on the descriptive approach of Galadanci (1976). This is because, this approach is not complex as hitherto undescribed languages of Africa specifically, Niger-Congo and Chadic languages were successfully been described using this analytical procedure, for instance, the works of Mu'azu (2009), Mu'azu and Isah (2010) and Mu'azu, Juma'a and Tebu, (2012).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1   Introduction

In this section we discussed the procedures of our research. The importance of research in development cannot be over emphasis: No development industrially, scientifically or educationally could be achieved without a research. Citing Calnan (1984) in Mu'azu (2003:63), research is an investigation directed to the discovery of some facts by careful study of a subject; and can mean a cause of critical or scientific inquiry. Research is a procedure by which an attempt is made to find verifiable Fact, the answer to a question or solution to a problem. From the foregoing, one may simply state that a research is the process of arriving at dependable solution to a problem through planned and systematic collection, analysis and interpretation of data.

3.2   Area of the Study

The areas of the research are Bambur, Balasa, Banyam and Bamungun (Kwonci). The research population is made up of all the residents of four areas that formed Kulung. It is obviously not possible to get the response of the whole population from each of the research location. As such randomization process was adopted in order to get the required research sample.

These data were based on two years Fieldwork. The data were collected between June, 2010 and May, 2012. The data were collected from a large number of informants located in the four villages of Kulung land would undoubtedly enable us to describe Kulung language along syntactic line using structural and descriptive theories. However, it is important to note here that

Kulung is composed of four dialects; Bambur, Balasa, Banyan and Bamingun (Kwonci). In our analysis only Bambur dialect is employed because its centrality and spoken by over 60% of Kulung.

3.3   Description of the Research Informants

In this section, we attempt to describe our research informants or subject called sample. The description includes such information as age range of the research informant, nature of the informants' Educational background and occupation. The process of sampling makes it possible for one to make a valid description of the syntactic components of Kulung language. Selecting a given number of research informants from the above defined population as representative of that population is sampling. In other words, sample here is the set of people whose speech forms we wish to generalise the result of our syntactic enquiry. In this way, the researcher can reach a conclusion about the entire target population by studying few informants. The target population in the present research is the speakers of Bambur dialect. See Mu'azu (2003:65)

In this study, research informants were selected by means of appropriate sampling techniques not merely because the informants were available and easier to find. Here, the attempt made was simple random sampling. All the members of the target population for the present research were accessible and each member had an equal chance of being selected. In the course of our data collection, we interviewed and observed the speeches of fourty (40) Kulung informants, made up of men and women, ranging between the ages of 40-80 years. This age range is believed to be more versed in grammar of the language, than the younger generation.

The informants were drawn from different occupations. We interview/observed in equal proportion, twenty (20) men and women each. And, out of the twenty (20) men, we interviewed

eight (8) farmers, eight (8) petty traders and four (4) civil servants. Similarly, out of the twenty (20) women interviewed eight (8) farmers, eight (8) petty traders and four (4) civil servants.

Ten (10) informants were selected from each of the four villages, making a total of fourty (40) informants, But only fifteen (15) informants recorded interview were used for our data analysis. The remaining twenty-five (25) informants recorded interview was used to check the validity of the data.

Table 1.1   Places and Selected Number of Informants Men and Women

Informants' Age Range										
Locations	40-49		50 - 59		60 – 69		70 - 79		80 & above		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total
Bambur	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Balasa	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Banyan	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Bamingun	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
								GRAND TOTAL			40

3.4   Data Collection

This research adopted the multiple tools approach for collection of data. Different types of research technique were adopted in collection of the data. We gathered sufficient materials for our analysis. Several visits were paid to the informants selected in order to eliminate any possible unexpected negative reaction from them. For the purpose of this research, two preliminary methods were employed, namely; (i) field work research, through the use of structured interview questions and (ii) tape recording. This research work is in line with Bamgbose (1966) because apart from relying on the intuition of the researcher as a native speaker of Kulung, other sources were also considered. The researcher also used participant observation and printed texts available

in the language. To satisfy the demands of observational adequacy, the sentences generated on the basis of the analysis of the data were tested and accepted by the native speakers, as a correct representation of the language. As earlier stated, the researcher is a native speaker, so part of the data was by introspection as Awobuluyi in Banjo (1969) had done.

3.5   Fieldwork

This section is concerned with the description of how the primary and secondary sources for this Syntactic study were gathered. It is a description of the directly observed or witnessed occurrences and of the method employed by the research study.

In the course of data collection for our study, the researcher made several visits to the study area where the data were collected. All the locations under study were visited severally.

The Research involved observation of speech forms and conduct of interview with the native speakers of Kulung, Bambur dialect. The procedures involve face to face discussion with both male and female informants. The main aim is to elicit different types of sentences of the language, and also to identify the grammatical categories of the language. Furthermore, the researcher was forced to record some of the data which was later transcribed and analyzed. That means the sources of data collection for this research was divided into two: (I) primary source and (ii) secondary source.

3.6   The Interview

The structured interview was another technique used for our data collection. During discussions with the informants, the researcher interviewed in a purely natural way, in a manner that could not distracts the mind of the informant. That means, the naturalness of the situation

was observed. We did not manipulate our informants or pre-arrange for events to happen. In fact, the speech forms we observed and recorded would have happened even if there had not been this particular situation.

3.7   Tape Recording

The secondary source of data collection was tape recording. The interview was tape-recorded. The researcher discovered that this technique have lot of advantages because it can be played severally for correct transcription. The recorded interviewed was transcribed later and analyzed. The recorded interview could be referred to in order to avoid wrong interpretation that might occur while one is not longer in the field.

3.8   The Conduct of the Interview

The researcher used structured interview for the collection of data for this work, the data were recorded from fourty (40) informants, ten (10) from each location. The tape recording was transcribed, and later on the researcher examined the data systematically in order to avoid the analysis of ungrammatical sentences.

The Kulung speech communities are Kulung-Hausa Bilinguals. The questions were formulated in English but on administration, Hausa and English were used, because the majority of the informants were bilinguals and some are fluent English speakers.

3.9   Conclusion

In this chapter, the study was able to identify the study area, and the method used in selecting research informants. The informants were drawn from different occupations. Interviews and participant observation were used, twenty (20) men and women each, and out of the twenty (20)

men, interviewed eight (8) farmers, eight (8) petty traders and four (4) civil servants. Another is the technique used in the data collection. For the purpose of this research, two preliminary methods were employed, namely; field work research, through the use of structured interview questions and tape recording. The data are clearly divided into primary and secondary data.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

4.0   Introduction

This chapter presents the data as well as the description and analysis of the syntactic component of Kulung, where the findings are drawn.

4.1   Presentation of Data

The data for this study is made up the following:

i.   Lexical Categories

ii.   Phrasal Categories

iii.   Clausal Categories

iv.   Sentential Categories

4.2   Data Analysis

The data has been analyzed by identification and explication of what constitutes the building block of the grammatical description of Kulung. The analysis is made in the manner of grammar translation where each and every grammatical element that is needed for the adequate description of Kulung has been illustrated by means of rules which describe infinite number of grammatical sentences. These rules can be inferred from observations of the Kulung data. One simple mechanism the study recognizes is that in forming grammatical sentences, the word or lexical category come first. These lexical categories then percolate to phrasal levels. Phrases could be percolated to form a clause. A clause is part of a well-formed sentence which could also

have the constituency of a sentence. A sentence is the largest unit of syntactic analysis which

consists minimally of an overt or covert Subject and a Verb. Sentences are conventionally

classified according to their structures and functions. Consider in example (119):

(119)   Sentence

          …   Clause   …

               …   Phrase   …

                    …   Word   …
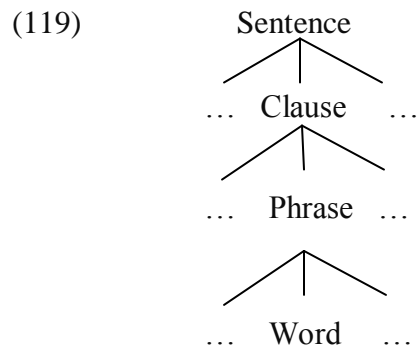
4.2.0   Identification and Analysis of Lexical Categories

The basic units of syntax are the lexemes of a language. Thus in order to succeed in the

analysis of Kulung Syntax an examination of its lexical categories as syntactic raw materials is

desirable.

4.2.1   Kulung Lexical Categories

In Kulung, nouns refer to animals, places, ideas and other entities that could be generally

referred to as things. With this observation, it is clear the noun in Kulung performs the same

function as in other languages. The noun may either be a subject or object of a given sentence.

Consider the following:

4.2.2   Common Nouns as the Names of Human Being

	Name	Gloss
(120)	*ɓábìrá*	man
	ɓámmà	woman

ɓámuǹ	child
ɓábòróh	bachelor
ɓánsònó	youngman
ɓánsàrí	young lady
ɓákùrgàk	force man
ɓámàmghí	teacher
ɓátallà	nobility
ɓábàlkpàné	judge

Noun in Sentence:

Múnsàrírì kùré: píwèh kúmbù

Lit: Lady the buy-past new calabash

Gloss: The Lady bought a new calabash

4.2.3   Common Nouns of Animal

Name	**Gloss**
(121) *mbàurí*	lizard
mbàu	rat
mvbwá	dog
mbáng	donkey
pùr	horse
mbárùm	gorilla
mbílìm	goat
kúshè	cat
ndághà:r	cow
ɗólòk	frog

4.2.4   Common Nouns of Place

Name	**Gloss**

(122)   *ngyélà*   home

        márnò   marenewa

        lágàs   lagos

        kágàl   kagal

        mfwà: farm

        bínàng   garden

        ɓámamghì   school

        bápòróh   office

4.2.5   Common Nouns of Things or Objects

	Name	**Gloss**
(123)	*jáwà*	axe
	gbərúm	chair (traditional seat)
	gàrá	stick
	kúmbù	calabash
	àdóng	wooden-spoon
	ngùrí	rope
	báu	knife
	sórò:	hoe
	ngwárò	pot
	tálì	stone
	dókwòl	cap

4.2.6   Count and Non-Count Nouns

Common nouns are further sub-divided into countable and uncountable nouns, or as some

grammarians would prefer to call them count and non-count nouns. (See Sinclair (ed) (1995:x)

4.6.7 Count Nouns

In Kulung, the method of forming a singular into a plural is rather different from the many languages. Unlike English, a singular noun attracts the (S) grammatical morpheme marker inflection for their plurality. Kulung uses determiner for indicating whether a nominal is singular or plural. However, it is treated in details under pluralization. Consider the following in (124):

Noun/Singular Determiner

(124) *lá: mínì*

Lit: home this

Gloss: this house

       mbílìm mínì

Lit: goat this

Gloss: this goat

       ngun mínì

Lit: tree this

Gloss: this tree

       mátò mínì

Lit: car this

Gloss: this car

       ɓámàmghí mínì

Lit: school this

Gloss: this school

       ɓámàmghí mínì

Lit: teacher this

Gloss: this teacher

      ɓásòrghí mínì

Lit: tailor this

Gloss: this tailor

In Kulung language it has been observed that the morpheme *mínì* stands for singular determiner as illustrated in (125):

Plural Determiner

(125)   *lá: ɓánì*

Lit: houses these

Gloss: these houses

      mbìlím ɓánì

Lit: goats these

Gloss: these goats

      ngùn   ɓánì

Lit: trees these

Gloss: these trees

      màtò   ɓánì

Lit: cars these

Gloss: these cars

      bámàmghí ɓánì

Lit: schools these

Gloss: these schools

bámàmghí ɓánì

Lit: teachers these

Gloss: these teachers

In Kulung language it has been observed that the morpheme *ɓánì* stands for plural determiner as illustrated in (126)

(126) *ɓásòrghí ɓánì*

Lit: tailors these

Gloss: these tailors

4.2.8 Non-Count Nouns

These classes of nouns are called mass nouns. As the name implies, they are not countable. Therefore, they do not attract any inflectionary device for plurality. However, they can be quantified by mass count. Consider the following in (127):

 (127) *nkàbá bùbù lúm*

Lit: rice bag ten

Gloss: ten bags of rice

    múkhà:r bùbú tárúm

Lit: salt bag three

Gloss: tree bags of salt

    mísà bùbú yínìng

Lit: corn bag four

Gloss: four bags of corn

nkíndìng bubu túngnùng

Lit: beans bag five

Gloss: five bags of beans

múgwù kwánò sámmòghó

Lit: flour plate six

Gloss: six measures of flour

mùrpúnàng gàglák tárùm

Lit: water pot three

Gloss: three pots of water

lùandé nkhárì ɓárì

Lit: big pot wine two

Gloss: two big pots of wine

4.2.9 Proper Nouns

This class of noun in Kulung belongs to the family of concrete and abstract dichotomy. Proper nouns are the names of specific people, places, objects, countries, months, days, holidays, etc. and always start with initial capital letters wherever they appear in sentence constructions. Nouns have cross referentiality when a noun is human it is automatically concrete and also countable. Consider the examples in (128):

	People		**Countries**	**States**
(128)	*Nyìnzámù*	(M)	Nigeria	Anambara
	Pènísùm	(M)	Ghana	Borno
	Bwàlsám	(M)	India	Cross-River

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Mábònnò	(F)	China	Kano
Mákùbrá	(F)	Niger	Ogun
Mábàrí	(F)		
Mánjèré	(F)		
Njèré	(M)		
Mbiùbárì	(M)		
Màdúgù	(M/F)		

Cross Referentiality

(129) *Mabárì* + proper (F)   *Njere* + Proper (M)   *tali* + improper (stone)

Mabárì + proper (F)	*Njere* + Proper (M)	*tali* + improper (stone)
+ Concrete	+ Concrete	+ Concrete
+ Human	+ Human	- Human
+ Animate	+ Animate	- Animate
+ Count	+ Count	+ Count
+ Feminine	- Feminine	- Feminine
- masculine	+ masculine	- masculine

4.2.10 Collective Nouns

Collective nouns are used to name things or persons that exit as a group and sometimes function as a team under a cover term, is used for such a group. In other words, such a group of nouns is considered as an indivisible unit. There is a kind of collective existence in the way collective nouns are perceived. In the nonlinguistic world this may imply collective responsibility. Consider the following in (130):

Noun	Gloss
(130) *kàplá*	group of people
kàplébàmánghì	group of teachers

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ngyí	a swarm of bees
ɓálà:	committee of friends
ɓágbàlbwál	football playèrs
ɓálùalùa	an army of soldiers
nzázzàlá	sand
nkàbá	rice
ɓìmbín	ants
ndóng	grasshopper
ɓámbùrúm	people

4.2.11 Summation Plurals of Nouns

Summative plural nouns are those nouns that have to do with attires or tools. Unlike in English where summative plural nouns collocate with articles that have two parts and which are joined together to give rise to what is called summative plurals. Consider the following in (207):

(131) *zòngyí shíllà ɓárì*

Lit: legs of trousers

Gloss: a pair of trousers

zòngyí kúrà ɓárì

Lit: legs shoes

Gloss: a pair of shoes

mélì sábbò: ɓárì

Lit: neck shirts

Gloss: a pair of shirts

4.2.12 Kulung Nouns

The Noun in Kulung performs two syntactic functions either as a nominative case or objective case. Sometimes it is difficult to ascertain whether a particular word is a noun or a member of another grammatical class. The following criteria would assist in the identification.

1. If a word is cliticized with definite articles, such as "*ri*" and "*di*" such a word is likely to be a noun. For example: *mun-di,* boy the (the boy), *ngun-ri* tree the (the tree).

2. If a word admits prefix "*Ɓám*" and "*Ɓa*", that word is likely to be a noun. Consider the following examples in (132):

(132)   *ɓánsàrí* – girl

       ɓámòsógh – wizard

       ɓánghìbí – thief

       ɓálàlá – useless person

3. If a word collocates with demonstrative pronouns, such words are likely to be nouns. Consider the following examples in (133)

(133)   *ɱfwá mínì*

Lit: farm this

Gloss: this farm

       ɓó: mínì

Lit: year this

Gloss: this year

lá: mínì

Lit: house this

Gloss: this house

mùn mínì

Lit: boy this

Gloss: this boy

ɓám ɓàní

Lit: boy these

Gloss: these boys

ngún mínì

Lit: tree this

Gloss: this tree

njérèmínì

Lit: road this

Gloss: this road

Mbílìm mínì

Lit: goat this

Gloss: this goat

It has been observed that the use of demonstrative in Kulung is determined by noun phrase preceeding the determiner. *mínì* is an agreement with the singular nominal or adjective.

4.2.13 Pluralization of Nouns

The number system of Kulung comprises the singular, which denotes "one" and the plural, which denotes more than one entity. Unlike in English and Hausa the plural grammatical morpheme is a prefix, "*di*"-. Consider the following examples in (134):

	Singular	**Gloss**	**Plural**	**Gloss**
(134)	*múnyìlíghì*	bird	*dìmúnyìlíghì*	birds
	ɓátállà	nobility	*dìɓátállà*	nobilities
	tèbúr	table	*dìtèbúr*	tables
	kùndà	door	*dìkùndà*	doors
	ɓálàlá	useless person	*dìɓálàlá*	useless people
	sòbbò:	shirt	*dìsobbò*:	shirts
	ghínongwó:r	bed	*dìghínongwó:r*	beds
	ɓánghìbí	thief	*dìɓánghìbí*	thieves
	múngyànà	baby	*dìmúngyànà*	babies

4.2.14 Compound Nouns

Compound nouns in Kulung are formed through the following grammatical combinations. Consider the example in (135):

(135)   nouns + nouns

noun + verb

noun + adverb

noun + adjective

Consider the following examples in (136):

(136) **Lit**   **Gloss**

a. *yóghò*:+ *ngùn*   snake of tree - python

b. *nkòk + mísà*(f)   ood of corn - food made of corn flour

verb + noun

a. *nkòr + ngún*   (cutting of tree) wood packer

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b. *lí + mbùl*   (fruit eater)

noun + adverb

a. *kù + gənleng*   (mouth of river) river bank

b. *mpóri + beng*   (sickness of raining season) cough

noun + adjective

a. *dòkól + pinna*   (cap black) black cap

b. *sóbò: + bánnà*   (shirt red) red shirt

4.2.15 Syntactic Grammatical Functions of Nouns

In all languages nouns universally perform the functions of subject, object, and complement or function appositively in a sentence. These functions are demonstrated in the following examples in (137):

The subject is in bold.

(137)   ***Yésù** ní bàshéngmè ɓámàmghí*

Lit: Jesus is good teacher

Gloss   Jesus is a good teacher.

          ***mámghì** ní bàshéngmè pòró:*

Lit: teaching is good work

Gloss   teaching is a noble profession.

          ***ɓákòmátò** bùnná à Kánò*

Lit: Drivers many in Kano

Gloss   There are many drivers at Kano.

As the object of a verb

          Mùnbíràrí gɓálè nyim

Lit**:**   man the kill-past Lion

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Gloss   The man killed a lion.

*Barau gbálè: **bwálrì***

Lit: Barau kick-past ball the

Gloss   Barau kicked the ball.

As the compliment of a subject

Mábàrí wó Màkúbrà yá pàkpóròh á gwátèn

Lit: Mabárì and Makubra are doing work at hospital

Gloss   Mabárì and Makubra are working at the hospital.

It has been observed that nounphrase can have conjoined NPs, this is a situation where two independent nounphrases joined by a conjuction as we have seen in our analysis.

4.3.0 Kulung Verbal System

A verb is described as a word which is used to indicate an action, a state of being, existence or possession. However, there are certain sentences that have no verbs in their overt structures. On the other hand, a verb may serve as an auxiliary verb in one context and as a main verb in another context. In Kulung where we have serial verbs, one verb can perform the function of an auxiliary verb while another performs the function of a main verb.

Consider the following examples in (138):

(138) *Adamu yúai lìe nkòk rì*

Lit: Adamu come eat-past food the

Gloss: Adamu came and ate the food.

Adamu kyá: gbál bwál

Lit: Adamu go-past kick football

Gloss: Adamu has gone to play football.

   Adamu yúai khà:r bí yà mòndólòng

Lit: Adamu came give-past to then money

Gloss: Adamu came and gave then money.

4.3.1   Classification of Kulung Verbs

The most distinctive property of verbs in Kulung is their inflectionary form: they have a number of inflectional forms that are permitted without overt auxiliary in some grammatical constructions. Consider the examples in (139):

(139) **Present**   **Past**
       nú   *nuái*

Gloss: drink   drank

       lí   *lie*

Gloss: eat   ate

       yú   *yùai*

Gloss: come   came

Secondly, there are verbs that functions with the help of other non lexical verbs known as auxiliary verb. Consider the binary representation of ther verb classes in Kulung as in (140):

(140)   Verb

       Lexical Verb   Auxiliary Verb
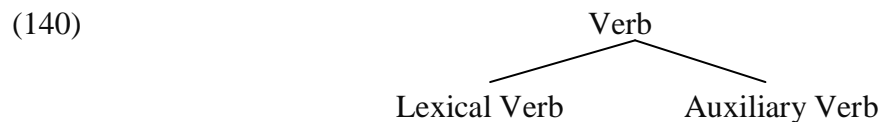
4.3.2   Lexical Verb System

The idea of a main verb is only applicable in a situation where there is more than one verb in a given sentence. The function of a verb determines whether it should be categorized as main or auxiliary. Sometimes a well known lexical verb may function as an auxiliary; therefore it has to be classified as such. Consider the in (141) serial verb constructions in Kulung:

(141)   *Likita **kúmè: pákyè** póròhrí lélè*

       AUX   MV

Lit: Doctor find-past perform-Inf work day

Gloss: The Doctor was able to perform the surgical operation today

    *Mamisa **yùai tòkyé** múrpùnáng á ní*

        AUX   MV

Lit: Mamisa come-past fetch-past water in side here

Gloss: Mamisa has fetched the water here.

    *Barau **kyà   nù** nkári á káswà*

        AUX   MV

Lit: Barau go-past to drink alcohol in market

Gloss: Barau has gone to drink alcohol at the market

4.3.3 Auxiliary Verbs in Kulung

Auxiliary verbs are those nonlexical items that help other verbs, especially lexical ones to express action or state of being. Auxiliary verbs are described as verb modifiers; they are words occurring along with the main verb to make a verbal group in a given sentence. In Kulung the

major syntactic function of the auxiliary verb is bearer of tense, aspect and negation markers.In the above examples, ***Kúmè:, yuài*** and ***kyà*** are lexical verbs but they performed the function of auxiliary verbs in the sentences. It is also important to note here that all those verbs are inflected for the past tense.

As a bearer of tense (mainly present and future tenses) these are auxiliaries that always precede the verb. Consider the following examples in (142):

(142)   *nkòr-ngún **yábà** pák pórò: yè*

Lit: Woodpecker is doing work of his

Gloss: The woodpecker is doing his work

        *Musa **yábà** lì nkòk*

Lit: Musa is-prest food

Gloss: Musa is eating food

        *ɓámɓárì **yábà** nóngtúlò:*

Lit: children the sleep-prest

Gloss: The children are sleeping

The tense in the sentences above is in the pgoressive. That is to say the action is on going at the time of reporting. Consider the following examples in (143)

(143)   *Talla **yá** kyà Yola Líɓì*

 Lit: chief will go-fut Yola tomorrow

Gloss: The chief will go to Yola tomorrow

        *Líɓì **sùa** kyá: Jos*

Lit: Tomorrow we will go-fut to Jos

Gloss: Tomorrowwe will be traveling to Jos

iri línà duá:r wo póròhri

Lit: he will eat front with work the

Gloss: he will continue with the work

The tense in the sentences above is in the future. That is to say the action is yet to be performed at the time of reporting.

4.3.4   Auxiliary Verb as Negation Markers in Kulung

Auxiliary verbs are also used in negative constructions. In forming negation from affirmative sentence the grammatical morpheme "*Yétèbá*" precedes the verb and another "*ba*" at the end of the sentence. Consider the following examples in (144):

(144)   *írì wáwùná*   Affirmative

she/he can do it

írì wáwùbá   negation

she/he cannot do it

yá: yùnná   affirmative

they will come

yá: yùbá   negation

they will not come

á: yàbá yaùi   affirmation

they are coming

á: yábà yùaibá

they are not coming

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á: pìllá   affirmation

they are back

á: pìllíbà

they are not back

It has been observed that the tone pattern of auxiliary is high in the affirmative and low in the negative. The auxiliary verbs are subject agreement markers. The singular must agree with a singular auxiliary marker, the same thing with the plural.

4.3.5 Morphological Features of Kulung Verbs

Kulung verbs can be morphologically divided into singular and plurals. There are two possible classes of verb in Kulung representing plural and singular verbs. The non-inflectional category represents the singular while inflectional categories represent the plural. Singular subjects must agree with singular verbs just as plural subject must agree with plural verb. Consider the following examples in (145):

Singular Verbs	**Plural Verbs**
(145) *Í: **liè** nyámmè*	*Á: **liá:r** nyàmmé*
He ate meat	They ate meat
*Í: **nui** múrpùnáng*	*Á: **nuá:r** múrpùnáng*
He drank water	they drank water
*Í: **gbálè:** mbàu*	*Á: **gbàlá:r** mbau*
He has killed a rat	they killed a rat
*Í: **gabè:** nanzára*	*Á: **gabá:r** nanzara*
He saw a whiteman	they saw a whiteman

Í: kpákè: misa   *Á: kpáká:r misa*

He has tied the corn   they tied a bundle of corn

Í: kúmè: móndòlóng   *Á: kumá:r móndòlóng*

He has got money   they got money

4.3.6 Transitive Verbs

A transitive verb compulsorily requires an object to complete its meaning in a sentence. In other words, a verb is said to be transitive if the action of the verb is transferred from the subject to a direct object without which the sense of the verb will be grossly incompleted. Let us consider some examples in the following sentences in (146):

	Subject	**Predicate**	**Direct Object (D.O)**
(146)	*Ngài*	*kúrè:*	*Shíllà*
Lit:	*Ngài*	buy-past	trousers

Gloss: Ngai bought a pairs of trousers

	Subject	Predicate	Direct Object
	Hámmmáyò	*ɓákyè*	*lá:*
Lit:	Hammayo	build-past	house

Gloss: Hammayo built a house

	Subject	Predicate	Direct Object
	gyánàrí	*nuài*	*mùrpúnàng*
Lit:	baby	drink-past	water

Gloss: The baby drank some water

	Subject	Predicate	Direct Object
	Mùndí	*gbálè:*	*mbaú*
Lit:	boy	kill-past	rat

Gloss: The boy killed a rat

Sóksókrí	*gbálè:*	*ngwùburí:*
Lit: Shrew-mouse	kill-past	chicken the

Gloss: The shrew-mouse has killed the chicken

Mùnbírarì	*Kúrè:*	*pùr*
Lit Man the	buy-past	horse

Gloss: The man bought a horse

Mùnbírarì	*Kúrè:*	*ɓùkló:*
Lit: Woman the	buy-past	wooden stool

Gloss: The woman bought a wooden stool

4.3.7 Intransitive Verbs

The intransitive verb does not need direct object at all. The action stops with the initiator. But for the purpose of syntactic complement, adverbials can be added as in the following examples in (147):

(147) *nánì zánè yùn*

Lit: thunder shouted yesterday

Gloss: the thunder struck yesterday.

sù tánsònó déng

Lit: we dance plenty

Gloss   we danced very well.

mvbwàrí weì yún

Lit: dog the die-past yesterday

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Gloss: the dog died yesterday.

tállàsúm píllè: Lélà:

Lit: our chief return-past today

Gloss: our chief has returned today.

múndì yá wòlwólò: wúnì tùm

Lit: Boy the is laugh-prest like fool

Gloss: the boy laughs foolishly.

4.3.8   Linking Verbs

Linking verb connects the subject with its complement, thus renaming the subject or giving it new qualities or attributes. Consider the following examples in (148):

(148)   **nì, dóbbè, yáwùní, ntèní, píllè** and **nákùní**

Consider the following examples:

*Jummai **yáwùní** mùmnùnghé bà*

Lit: Jummai like she is not enjoying her body

Gloss: Jummai seemed to be sick.

*Musa **dòbbé** ɓámàmghí*

Lit: Musa sit-past teacher

Gloss: Musa has become a teacher.

*múnbìrári**pìllè:** gìlló*

Lit: Man the turn-past vampire

Gloss: The man has become a vampire.

*nténì ndari **wúnì** gyàmnéghì*

Lit: Smell room the rotten thing

Gloss: The room smells like a rotten object

*Játàu **ní** tàllá Ɓámbùr*

Lit: Jatau is-past chief Ɓambur

Gloss: Jatau was the chief of Ɓambur

It has been observed, Kulung verbs can be classified into three syntactic categories. These are, monosyllabic and polysyllabic verbs, transitive and intransitive verb, auxiliary and linking verbs. Each an every verb performs different syntactic function as they have specific roles they play in the sentence structure.

4.3.9   Tense System of Kulung

Tense

Tense, according to Comrie (1985:9) is grammaticalised expressions of location in time. Also Downing and Locke (1992:353) defined tense as the linguistic expression of time relations when these are realized by verb forms. Tense, syntactically is a property of the verbal phrase. That is, it occurs only with the verbal segment of the sentence. Tense is not exactly the same thing as time as many people think. Rather it refers to the change that takes place in the form of verb to indicate the time or the duration. In Kulung there are three classes:

    (i)   Present

       Marker, *yábà (ba)*

(ii) Future

Marker, *írì, yá*

(iii) Past

Marker Inflection on the verb

4.3.10 Present Tense

In Kulung there are two types of present tense. These can be subdivided into simple present tense, present continuous tense. Consider the following example in (146):

(146) *Adamu yà kyá: pórò: ní nyéghè:r saɓárì kod́min*

Lit: Adamu go-prest work at iron of seven everyday

Gloss: Adamu goes to work at seven o'clock everyday.

The present tense performs the function of a state of affairs that is in progress of the time of report. Invariably it is on-going. It also performs the function of unchanging nature of things. Consider the following example in (147):

(147) *Jummai ní ɓámmà*
Lit: Jummai is woman
Gloss: Jummai is strong woman.

4.3.11 Present Continuous Tense

Present continuous tense is a repeated action which culminates into habit. Present continuous indicates an action that is going on at that moment of speaking or writing. Consider the following examples in (148):

(148)   *Adamu yábà nyónglíghì*

Lit: Adamu he writ-prest

Gloss: Adamu is writing.

        Adamu yábà lí nkòk

Lit: Adame he eat-prest

Gloss: Adamu is eating food.

        Adamu yábà nóngtùló:

Lit: Adamu he sleep-prest

Gloss: Adamu is sleeping.

        Bello yábà ɓálghì

Lit: Bello he read-prest

Gloss: Bello is reading.

        Bello yábà kòk mátò

Lit: Bello he drive-prest

Gloss: Bello is a driver.

4.3.12 Past Tense

In Kulung, all the other forms of the past are manipulated by the language.The Simple Past is used to express something that took place in the previous time. It might be in the remote

or recent past. In Kulung this tense is marked on the verb by way of inflection. Consider the following examples in (149):

	Present	**Gloss**	**Past**	**Gloss**
(149)	*lí*	eat	*liè*	ate
	nú	drink	*nuái*	drank
	pákhà	do	*pákgyè*	done
	lútó	pass	*lùtaí*	passed

Consider the following sentences in (150):

(150) *Musa liè mbái yùn*

Lit: Musa eat-past cassava yesterday

Gloss: Musa ate cassava yesterday.

         Musa nuái gótòkwó

Lit: Musa drink-past porridge

Gloss: Musa drank porridge.

         Musa pákyè pórò:rí

Lit: Musa do-past work the

Gloss: Musa has done the work.

         á: lútà:r sùm túnbukárà

Lit: They pass-past us since

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Gloss: They passed us since.

4.3.13 Future Tense

The future tense is like the past tense. All the other forms are manipulated into the future. This is the tense that shows an action or event that will take place in a time to come. It always occurs with the modals "*á:*" and "*rí*" (shall and will). Consider the following examples in Kulung as in (151):

(151) *Í: rì gòkná yí*

Lit: he/she will marry-fut

Gloss: he will marry her.

        Sùa yágnà kúní

Lit: we shall help-fut

Gloss: we shall assist him/her.

        Sùa bóllà yí

Lit: we will catch him/her

Gloss: we will arrest him/her.

4.4.0   Adjectives

Adjective is a word used to express the quality, quantity or condition of a sentential subject or object. In a nutshell, an adjective modifies or qualifies a NP in a given sentence. An adjective could describe a noun attributively or predicatively. Consider the following examples in Kulung as in (152).

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(152) *Múnsàrí ɓírà **wáɗeù** yùaí á bínì tállà*

Lit;   Lady one beautiful came to chief

Gloss: One beautiful lady came to see the chief.

       *Múnsònó ɓírà **mánàng** gógyè ɓángyèmá*

Lit: Young one handsome married old woman

Gloss: A young handsome man married an old woman.

The words in bold in the above sentences are adjectivesused to provide more information on the lady and the young man.

4.4.1   Features of Adjective

At a glance we cannot say whether a word is an adjective until the form indicate its syntactic function. In Kulung, there are many common adjectives. Consider the following examples in (153):

Kulung	Gloss
(153) *mánàng*	good one
bángnà	red one
pínnà	black one
púbnà	white one
kónnà	difficult
lúllà	bitter
gúllà	big one
núngùnáng	sweet
lòkhá:rnzálì	youth
wágnà	worm one
sábnà	tall

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kébnà		short one
ɓíbnà		urgly one

In some languages suffixes are usually found in adjective but in Kulung inflections occur for the comparative and superlative forms. Consider the following examples in (154):

	Adjective	**comparative**	**superlative**
(154)	*mánàng*	*mawánè*	*mánàngdèn*
Gloss	good	better	best
	gúllà	*gúlwánè*	*gúllàdèn*
Gloss	big	bigger	biggest
	sábnà	*sábnàwánè*	*sábnàdèn*
Gloss	tall	taller	tallest
	kónnà	*kónwánè*	*kónnàdèn*
Gloss	difficult	more difficult	most difficult
	núngùnáng	*núngùnángwánè*	*núngùnángdèn*
Gloss	sweet	sweeter	sweetest
	kébnà	*kébwánè*	*kèbnadèn*
Gloss	short	shorter	shortest
	lúllà	*lúlwánè*	*lúllàdèn*
Gloss	bitter	more bitter	most bitter

4.4.2 Types of Adjectives

Proper Adjective

These groups of adjectives are formed from proper nouns. Consider the following in bold as in (155):

(155)   *Malam Basu niɓaamerica*

Lit: teacher McBride is American

Gloss   Mr. McBride is an American.

      Mínì ní kúrà yé Ɓáchínà

Lit: this is shoe of China

Gloss: this shoe is Chinese made.

      Mínì ní ɓákùrgák yé Ɓánìgéria

Lit: this is soldier of Nigeria

Gloss: This is a Nigerian soldier

      Kófì ánàm ní Ɓàghánà

Lit: Kofi Anam is from Ghana

Gloss: Kofi Anam is a Ghanian.

4.4.3   Descriptive Adjectives

Descriptive adjectives are purposely used to described or state the qualities of persons, places, things, ideas and concepts. Descriptive adjectives explain the shape, size, colour, attitude or kind of nouns or pronouns descriptively.Consider the following examples in Kulung as in (156):

(156)   *Mùnbírà mínì mánàng*

Lit: man this handsome

Gloss: this man is handsome.

*Mùmmà múkò yáwò **kíkhà:r***

Lit   woman that have mind good

Gloss that woman is kind.

*Mùrí lá: yè Mkèppí **bángnà***

Lit: head house of Mkeppi red

Gloss: Mkeppi's house has red roof.

*John yáwò **ténnè** ɓálì*

Lit: John has strong heart

Gloss: John is brave.

4.4.4 Possessive Adjective

Possessive adjective indicates ownership or possession. It describes the thing so possessed. Consider the following examples in (157):

(157) *mùr pónà lá: sùm*

Lit: water took house our

Gloss: the flood wipes our house.

yíbè: Mbílìm yásùm

Lit: stolen goat our

Gloss our goat was stolen.

yíbè tàkádà yé

Lit: stolen book his

Gloss: his book was stolen.

pórò: sùm kón bà

Lit: work our difficult not

Gloss: our work is simple.

pórò: yé kónnà

Lit: work his difficult

Gloss: his work is difficult.

pórò: yákhà:r kón bà

Lit: work their difficult not

Gloss: their work is not difficult.

4.4.5 Demonstrative Adjectives

Demonstrative adjectives are used for specification so as to avoid confusion. These adjectives are useful in the event of several options. Consider the following examples in (158):

(158) *mínì*   this (singular)

      múkò   that (singular)

      ɓánà   these (plural)

      ɓákò   those (plural)

Consider the examples in sentences as in (159):

(159) *lá: mínì ní yàm*

Lit: house this is mine

Gloss: this house is mine.

mátò mínì ní yàm

Lit: car this is mine

Gloss: this car is mine.

Mbílìm ɓánà ní yásùm

Lit: goat these are ours

Gloss: these goats are ours.

ngórì ɓákò ní yàm

Lit: pot those are mine

Gloss: those pots are mine.

4.4.6   Interrogative Adjectives

As the name implies, interrogative adjectives are used in asking questions. Consider the following examples in (160):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(160)	*mán*?	what
	mé:?	which
	yéyèn	whose?
	ɓé:	who are those?

Consider the following examples in (161):

(161) *á: yùní man?*

Lit: you bring what?

Gloss: what did you bring?

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á: yèr mé: a mi mato ɓánà?

Lit: you want which among car these?

Gloss: which among these cars do you prefer?

lá: mínì ní yéyèn?

Lit: house this is whose?

Gloss: whose house is this?

ɓákò ní bè?

Lit: those are who?

Gloss: who are those?

4.4.7   Adjective of Quality

An adjective used to talk about the quality of a person or thing is known as Adjective of quality. Consider the following examples in (162):

(162) *Dangote ní ɓámòndólòng*

Lit: Dangote is with money

Gloss: Dangote is wealthy

         `*Yar Adua ní nɓángbàbúrùm*

Lit: 'Yar Adua was big human being

Gloss: 'Yar Adua was an influential figure

4.4.8   Adjective of Quantity

Adjectives show how much a thing is meant. In other words, they show the quantity especially of solid uncountable nouns. Consider the following examples in (163):

(163) *Talla Bámbùr gbálè: ghíbùkyí déng á mì málpèw*

Lit: Chief Bambur killed plenty resources inside malpew

Gloss: The chief of Bambur has committed resources a lot during malpew.

   Manjere líe ɓìu shìndóng wo nyàmmé

Lit: Majere eat-past yam small and meat

Gloss: Majere ate little yam with meat.

4.4.9   Numerical Adjectives

Types are divided into two: Cardinal and Ordinal. They are found in Kulung as in the following example in (164):

(164) *Tárùm yáglè ɓárì*

Lit: three is greater than two

Gloss: three supersedes two.

   bwàlè: ɓánghìbí lum lélà

Lit: caught ten thieves today

Gloss: ten thieves were arrested today.

   Barau yáwò ɓámmà saɓárì

Lit: Barau is with woman seven

Gloss: Barau has seven wives.

4.4.10 Ordinals

Ordinal indicates in what order a thing stands in relation to other members of the group. Consider the following example in (165):

(165) *Mùmóghwò* - First position

MuTárùm - Third position

Mùyínìnín - Eight position

Mùlúm - Tenth position

Í: yu muTárùm

Lit: She/he take-past third

Gloss: She/he took third position.

4.4.11 Syntactic Functions of Adjectives

Adjective phrase is a group of grammar related works where the adjective functions as the most important and obligatory element which can function a lone in the adjective phrase. The size, colour, the distance are all examples of adjective like *Mbang mótà* "big lorry", *mun mila* Any meaningful analysis of the grammar of adjective will involve their syntactic functions. Predicative adjectives modify nouns predicatively when the adjectival element occurs after the nouns in the sentence. Consider the following functions:

The predicative functions of Adjectives

Adjectives modify nouns predicatively when they occur or come after the nouns in the sentences. Consider the following examples in (166):

ngórì **pìnnírí** *khá: rè*

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Lit: pot black the broken

Gloss: the black pot has been broken.

*Múnsàrí mù **kyábnà** múkò ní yímbàm*

Lit: girl who short   that is my sister

Gloss: that short girl is my sister.

The adjectives used in the above examples modify the nouns according to the language structure.

4.4.12 Attributive Function of Adjectives

Attributive adjective modify items attributively when they pre-modifythe NP. Consider the following examples in (167):

(167)   *BBápínnè ngórì*

Lit: blackpot

Gloss: a black pot

        báshéngmè: musari

Lit: pretty lady

Gloss: the pretty lady

        báɓíbnè pórò:

Lit: badwork

Gloss: a dirty work

4.5.0   Kulung Adverbials

A word which modifies the meaning of a verb, an adjective or another adverb is known as an Adverb. Consider the following examples in (168):

(168) *Í: yá ɓálkùn kédèn-kédèn*

Lit: she/he is talking slowly slowly

Gloss: she/he talks slowly

The syntactic and grammatical function of an adverb is the modification of verbs, adjectives, other adverbs, and prepositional phrases. An adverb can be a single word, a phrase or a clause in a sentence. Any unit of language or group of words that can function as an adverb in a sentence is regarded as an adverbial or an adjunct. Consider the following Kulung words as in (169):

(169) **Kulung**   **Gloss**

     *dákhà:*r   quickly

     kódìmín,   always

     bórà: sometimes

     lélà   today

     dáng   now

4.5.1 Types of Adverbs

Adverbs are classified according to the functions they perform in sentences, that is, syntactic functions. Since the information they provide is an additional one, their use is optional. Therefore, three classes of adverbs can be identified. They are as follows: adjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts.

4.5.2 Adjuncts/Adverbs

Adjunct and adverb isthe same thing, they provide additional information to the sentences where they occur, and the use of such additional information is optional. Adjuncts answer such

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questions as, *dĭmìn?* (when) *Áyèn?* (Where) *maleng?* (How). In Kulung the following are good examples of adjuncts as in (170):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(170)	*áyèn?*	where?
	dĭmìn?	when?
	ábeì?	where?
	*léng/lénkhà:*r?	how?

4.5.3 Adverbs of Place

The point where an action takes place is referred to as adverb of place. Consider the following examples in (171):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(172)	*ánì*	here
	ákò	there
	álà:	at home
	ájínè	under
	ámì	inside

In these sentences below, the adjuncts are bold in (173):

(173)   *á: kyà níyì **alá:***

Lit: they take-past him at home

Gloss: they took him home

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*á: bwàlá bánghìbírì **ábándì***

Lit: they catch-past thief at the place

Gloss: they caught the thief there.

*Í: nìgyè yíngòsók yé **ámùrì** ghínònghwò:r*

Lit: he/she leave-past ring his/her on the bed

Gloss: he/she left his/her ring on the bed.

*á: yùa á: yákhà:r móndòlóng **ánì***

Lit: the come-past they collect money here

Gloss: they came and collected money here.

4.5.4   Adverbs of Direction

Adverb of direction adds additional information on the verb so expressed. Consider the following examples in (174):

(174) *mùnyílìghí ɓárà yá lútò níghì kyá: **tàk***

Lit: bird some are going moving to go east

Gloss: the Birds are heading towards the east.

*ɓàbúrùm ɓárà a ɓákhà:r wó **sùkhá:ɓálì***

Lit: people some go away disappointed

Gloss: the people walked away in utter disgust.

*mótàrí lùté ni ghi kyá: **kùní** nɓáng njèré*

Lit: car the move towards big road

Gloss: the car moved towards the main road.

4.5.5 Adverbs of Time

Adverbs of time or temporal adverbs tell us when the action takes place. They therefore answer the question, when? Consider the following examples in (175):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(175)	*lélà*	today
	yùn	yesterday
	níbàrí	in the morning
	nímìsá	in the afternoon
	níkùbrà	in the evening
	mélà/dáng	now

Consider the following sentences in (176):

(176) *John yèr ká mùa yí **mèlá***

Lit: John want them pay him now

Gloss: John wants them to pay him now.

　　*Talla Bambur yá píllì **lélà***

Lit: chief Bambur will return today

Gloss: the chief of Bambur will return today.

*Sù yèr kà màl póròh mínì **Líbì***

Lit: we want them finish work this tomorrow

Gloss: we want them to finish this work tomorrow.

4.5.6 Adverbs of Manner

Adverb of manner gives clarity on how an action occurs or conducted. They answer the question "how"? Consider the following examples in (177):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(177)	*kédèn*	slowly
	*nídághà:*r	quickly
	kánòngyé	carelessly

Consider the following examples in (178):

(178) *Ngwari mag tolo: **Kánòngyé***

Lit: Ngwari put on-past cloth carelessly

Gloss: Ngwari dressed carelessly.

   *lángyò yá kénè **kédèn-kédèn***

Lit: old woman is walking slowly-slowly

Gloss: the old woman is walking slowly.

   *Á: **bóglà:** ghíllìrí*

Lit: they rush food the

Gloss: they have rushed the food.

4.5.7   Adverbs of Degree

Adverbs of degree give clarity on the degree or limit to which an action takes place. They answer the question "To what extent"? Consider the following from Kulung as in (179):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(179)	*wánè*	Very
	sùgbá	Quite

Consider the following examples as in (180):

(180)   *Nyónglòng búkyì Musa **sùgbá***

Lit: writing hand of Musa quite good

Gloss: Musa's handwriting is quite good (averagely good).

   *Jummai yáwò kíkhà:r **wánè***

Lit: Jummai is with heart good very

Gloss: Jummai is very kind.

   *Girbe yáwò pínè ɓálì **ɗèng***

Lit: Girbe is with black heart too

Gloss: Girbe is too wicked.

The words in bold are called intensifiers. They are used to qualify adjectives and sometimes adverbs to indicate the degree of action.

4.5.8 Disjuncts (Adverbs)

Disjuncts are generally a class of adverbials. According to Quirk and Greenbaum (2000:242), most disjuncts are prepositional phrases.Consider the following Kulung examples in (181):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(181)	*tálàkérì wó yámbà*	sincerely
	mátàkúllì	honestly
	ɓó yámbà yèré	hopefully
	làp	definitely
	mákìríkìrí	indiscriminately
	yámbà yèré	fortunately

Consider the following examples in (182):

(182) *Musa yábà wásù mángòrórí ní **mákìríkìrí***

Lit: Musa is plucking mangoes the indiscriminately

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Gloss: Musa is plucking the mangoes indiscriminately.

ɓo yámbà yérè *ghímàngà mù bó mínì sùa línà*

Lit: if God permit examination of year this we will pass

Gloss: by God's grace we willpass this year's examination.

làp *ní Ndí kòr ngùn mínì*

Lit: definitely it is Ndi cut tree this

Gloss: definitely, it was Ndi that cut down this tree.

4.5.9   Conjuncts (Adverbs)

Conjuncts are a class of adverbials. They introduce new idea or information to what has been said before. In this way they connect or link paragraphs. According to Quirk and Greenbaum (2000:246), are either adverb phrases or prepositional phrases. Consider the following Kulung examples in (182):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(182)	*mámàmbà*	as if it is not enough
	tébèghímù Í: línà	consequently
	Í: yèrá	however

Consider the following examples in (183):

(183) *Musa gbálè mí mfwà yé píppí,* **Í: yèrá** *wùp nágrà*

Lit: Musa clear inside farm his all, however, he needs an extension.

Gloss: Musa has cleared his farm, however, he needs expansion.

ɓánghìbí yíbà nzúgwù yé musa, **mámbà** *á: mámbà: Mbílìm yé*

Lit: thieves stole groundnut of Musa, it is not enough they catch goat his

Gloss: the thieves stole Musa's groundnut, as if it is not enough, they took away his goat.

Conjuncts in Kulung are not a very common grammatical class because Hausa has exerted a lot of influence on Kulung. The major word classes including conjuncts have been borrowed from Hausa. These include among others: *sabodahaka, kodayake* and *sai*.

4.6.0 Pronouns

Pronouns according to Choy and Clark (2011:193), are words that are used to refer to persons, places, things and ideas without repeating their names. In other words, pronouns are used in place of nouns. The Pronoun is almost a universal feature of human languages. In a Layman language, a pronoun is a word used in place of a noun. The relationship between a pronoun and a noun phrase is such that the pronoun is a derivation of the noun phrase. Pronoun copies the features of a lexical noun phrase onto a co-referential non-expandable NP. Kure and Nahum (2013:33), note that a word which pronoun replaces is known as the antecedent of the pronoun.

In Kulung, there is another form of pronoun known as logophoric pronoun. This type of pronoun is weak object pronoun. Logophoric pronoun typically expresses obligatory co-reference between the subject or object argument of an embedded clause and the subject of matrix clause. (see, Zeller 2015; Heine 2008). Logophoric pronouns are used to refer to the person whose speech or thoughts are reported. Consider these examples in (184):

(184) *Í: ná mà Í: yíbə ghí*

        3SG. M/F say that LOG. 3SG M/F stole something

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He₁ say that he₁ stole something

Í: na ma Í: yíbə ghí

3SG. M/F say that LOG. 3SG M/F stole something

He₁ say that he₂ stole something

The example in 183b shows that logophoric pronoun can be sometimes ambiguous.

4.6.1 Classification of Pronouns

The first person pronoun refers to the person speaking. Consider the following examples in Kulung:

4.6.2 First Person Pronoun

	Kulung		**Gloss**	
(189)	*m*	i	(subjective)
	mínàm	me	(objective)

First person plural

Kulung		**Gloss**	
sùm	we	(subject)
Sùm	us	(object)

In Kulung there is no clear cut difference between *sum* subjective and *sum* objective, unlike Hausa and English. Consider the following sentences in Kulung in (264):

(190) *M ɓàghám lá:rì*   (subjective)

Lit: I build house the

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Gloss: I built the house.

 á: khá:r bám   (objective)

Lit: they gave to me

Gloss: they gave it to me

In the above sentences, *"m"* is the subject of the first sentence, while *"bam"* is the object of the second sentences.

4.6.3   Second Person Pronoun

Second person pronoun is a grammatical item which refers to the addressee in a conversion. The second person pronoun is represented by *"yó:"* in both singular and plural forms. Consider the following examples in (191):

(191)   *M nàm bó: tèp mínì*

Lit: I say to you talk this

Gloss: I told you this matter.

*Tállà ná mà **yó:** nì ɓálàlà*

Lit: the chief say that you are useless person

Gloss: The chief said that you are a useless person.

bó: is the short form of *biyo* just like *zai* and *zaya* in Hausa

4.6.4   Third Person Pronoun

Third person pronoun is referring to the person or thing spoken about. The third person singular forms are considered in (192):

Kulung   **Gloss**

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(192)   *Í:*   he, she, it   (subjective)

          Í: him, her, it   (objective)

The third person plurals, consider the following examples in (193):

	Kulung	**Gloss**	
(193)	*yá:*	you	(subjective)
	yá:	you	(objective)
	yákhà:r	their's	(possessive)

There is no any form of restriction on the subjective and objective case on the third person plural in Kulung. Consider the following examples in (194):

(194) *Í: kùré: baùrí*   (subject)

Lit: he/she buy knife the

Gloss: he/she bought the knife.

      Í: rì sórrà: mpórì mínì (subject)

Lit: it will survive illness this

Gloss: it will survive this illness.

In our examples above, *Í:* (he/she) is the subject of the first sentence, while *Í:* (it) is the subject of the second. Considier the following examples in (195):

(195) *á: khà:r bí yí baùrí*

Lit: they gave to her/him knife the

Gloss: they gave him/her the knife.

      á: yákhà:r yí   (object)

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Lit: they receive-past it

Gloss: they received it.

For the purpose of cross-referencing, we can place the singular and plural forms of Kulung personal pronouns on table 1.2 below as in (196):

(196) **Table 1.2:** Distribution of Pronouns

Person	Singular						Plural					
	Subject (nominative case)		Objective case		Possessive case		Subject (nominative case)		Objective case		Possessive case	
	Kulung	Gloss	Kulung	Gloss	Kulung	Gloss	Kulung	Gloss	Kulung	Gloss	Kulung	Gloss
1st person	M	I	mìnám	Me	yám	mine	yám	mine	sum	us	yásùm	ours
2nd person	yó:	you	yó:	You	yè:	yours	yó:	they	yó:	them	yásùm	yours
3rd person	yí	he	yí	Him	yè:	his	yá:	they	yá:r	them	yákhà:	thiers
	yí	she	yí	Her	yè:	hers	yá:	they	yá:r	them	yákhà:	hers
	yí	it	yí	It	yè:	its	yá:	they	yá:r	them	yákhà:	theirs

The table above is an attempt to summarize the singular and plural forms of Kulung personal pronouns.

4.6.5   Possessive Pronouns

The possessive pronouns are used to show ownership or the possession of something. For example: *Yám* and *yásùm* (mine and ours) are possessives for first person singular and plural respectively.

The use of possessive pronouns in Kulung is considered in (197):

(197)   *m yáwò lá: yàm*

Lit: I have a house

Gloss: I have house my own.

sú yáwò lá: yásùm

Lit: we have house of our own

Gloss: we own a house.

yó: áyà wo lá:?

Lit: you are with house

Gloss: do you have a house?

4.6.6 Syntactic Functions of Possessive Pronouns in Kulung

Possessive pronouns in Kulung have various forms according to the various persons- 1st, 2nd and 3rd (plural and singular).In Kulung the possessive linkers can be separable and inseparable with the noun. Consider the following in (198):

(198) *lá: yàm* (separable)

Lit: house my

Gloss: my house.

mfwà yàm (separable)

Lit: farm my

Gloss: my farm.

tíràm (inseparable)

Lit: father my

Gloss: my father.

mámàm (inseparable)

Lit: wife my

Gloss: my wife.

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In Kulung the basic requirement for forming possessive construction is the possessive indicators. Consider the following in (199):

(199)   *yàm, yé, yákhà:r*

   yàm – 1st p.sg

   yé – 2nd p.sg

   yákhà:r – 3rd P. pl

   mgyàm – my mother

   mgyò – your mother

   mgyésùm – our mother

4.6.7 Reciprocal Pronouns

As the name implies, reciprocal pronouns are those which express meaning of mutual relation, a kind of give and take relationship. Example: *wúrù, múrìyà* (each other and one another). The notion of "each other" is that it is used between two persons. With "one another" entails more than two persons. Kure and Nahum (2013:35), put it that reciprocal pronoun is similar to the reflexive pronoun only that here, the action does not bounce back on the pronoun that serves as the subject of the sentence, but is shared by two or more people. Consider the following examples in Kulung as in (200):

(200) *Maì wo Mbásù a yèrá wúrù*

Lit; Mai and Mbasu love their body

Gloss: Mai and Mbasu love each other.

   ɓáámerécà yéar múrìyà

Lit: Americans love their head

Gloss: the Americans love one another.

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4.6.8 Relative Pronouns

The relative pronoun, like the relative clause refers to the subject of a given sentence, and introduces an adjectival or relative clause. It functions as a noun or clause and also joins two other clauses together. When a relative pronoun joins two clauses together, it replaces a noun that is previously mentioned in the sentence. This pronoun, according to Kure and Nahum (2013:36), perform the functions of a pronoun and that of a conjunction at the same time. As a pronoun, it presents a noun and serves as the subject of its own clause normally subordinate, the subject of the main clause, or the object of preposition. As a conjunction, it joins the main clause with a subordinate clause. Example of relative pronoun in Kulung is "*mù*" which is comparable to English, *who, which, whose and that* as illustrated in (201):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(201)	*mù*	who
	mù	whose
	mù	that

Consider the following in (202): examples in Kulung:

(202) *mínì ní Mùnbírà mù mámì ɓìl pásà*

Lit: this is man who his wife give-past birth to twins

Gloss: this is the man whose wife gave birth to twins.

    mínì ní mùndí mù Í: ɓùk Sánì

Lit: this is boy who he beat Sani

Gloss: this is the boy who beats Sani.

    sù gábà sùm mátòrí mù Haruna kùrrí

Lit: we see-past us car which Haruna bought

Gloss: we saw the car which Haruna bought.

M kùmán kùrárì mù shègní

Lit: I have see shoe the which get-past lost

Gloss: I have seen the shoe which got lost (with little or no changes).

4.6.9   Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are identical with relative pronouns, but they differ in terms of usage. According to Kure and Nahum (2013:36), these pronouns, are mainly used to ask questions. Interrogative pronouns include the following in (203):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(203)	*yén*	who
	yéyèn	whose
	mé:	which
	mán	what
	yén	whom

See the following sentences in Kulung as illustrated in (204):

(204) *ní yén gbàl mgwùbú mínì?*

Lit: is who kill-past chicken this?

Gloss: who killed this chicken?

mínì ní mùní yén?

Lit: this is son of who?

Gloss: whose son is this?

ámì kùrá: ɓánì a yèr mé:?

Lit: inside shoes these you like which?

Gloss: among these shoes which do you like?

4.6.10 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are pronouns used to specify the noun to which reference is made. Demonstrative pronouns have singular and plural subgroups. As illustrated in (205):

	Kulung	**Gloss**	
(205)	*mínì*	this	(singular)
	ɓánà	these	(plural)

For distant reference as demonstrated in (206):

	Kulung	**Gloss**	
(206)	*múkò*	that	(singular)
	ɓákò	those	(plural)

Consider the following sentences in (207):

(207) *Mùnbírà mínì yáwò kíkhà:r*

Lit: man this is with good heart

Gloss: this man is kind.

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ɓámbùrúm ɓákò yáwò mbíyà

Lit: People those are with misers

Gloss: those people over there are misers.

4.6.11 Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite Pronoun usually refers to things and people in a general way without being specific. They do not specify their referents. As such they refer to nothing in particular. Consider the following examples in (208):

(208)   *ɓàbúrùm ɓìkèn pìllá mákà lélà*

Lit: People some return-past mecca today

Gloss: some people have returned from mecca today.

        ɓábùrúm bùnbá kyá:r gòglárì

Lit: people few attend-past wedding the

Gloss: a few people attended the wedding

        á: yùa níyì lélà

Lit: they bring-past with him today

Gloss: they brought him today.

4.6.12 Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive pronoun refers to the subject of the sentence. It shows that the action of the verb has some effect on the person or thing that performs it. They are also called back reference pronouns. Consider the following sentences using reflexives in (209):

(209)   *dìkúsùm dà gbàl múrò wo nkàrí bà*

Lit: please do not kill yourself with alcohol not

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Gloss: please don't kill yourself with alcohol.

   gwamnori ngyoti ghìlíri ni muri

Lit: governor the serve-past food the for himself

Gloss: the Governor served himself the meal

   á: ɓàgká: báshéngmè lá: bí múrìyà

Lit: they built beautiful house for their head

Gloss: they built a beautiful house for themselves.

Consider the example in (210):

(210) The Table below demonstrated the distribution of reflexive pronoun into persons, singular and plural forms.

Persons	Kulung	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Gloss
1st person	muram	my self	"	murisum	our selves
2nd person	múrìyà	yourself	"	murisum	our selves
3rd person	Múrì	himself	"	múrìyà	themselves
	múrì	herself	"	múrìyà	themselves
	múrì	itself	"	múrìyà	themselves

4.6.13 Emphatic Pronouns

Emphatic pronouns have the same form with reflexive pronoun. That is, they are morphologically identical but differ in usage. Emphatic pronouns are used to make emphasis on the action expressed by the verb. Consider the following sentences in (211):

(212) *Tállà khá:r bàn dòkòl mínì ní **búkyì***

Lit: Chief give-past me cap this with hand his

Gloss: the chief gave me this cap himself.

   *Mgyàm yùní bàm nkòk ni **mushi***

Lit: mother my bring-past me food with eyes her

Gloss: My mother brought me food herself.

*Ɓánsàríɓárà a gbàl wálàrí ní **múrìyà***

Lit: Ladies made sound with head their

Gloss: The girls raised the alarm themselves.

4.7   Kulung Prepositions

Prepositions are a class of element whose members form the the prepositional phrase. They always preceded the noun. They are words, which show a relationship between two nouns or pronouns or between a noun and other word in sentential construction. Prepositions belong to the class of words that are purely grammatical as opposed to lexical, otherwise known as function or structure words. They belong to a close set class as their number remains static.

4.7.0   TYPES OF PREPOSITIONS

4.7.1   Simple Prepositions

The simple prepositions in Kulung are made up of function words. Consider the following examples in (212):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(212)	*á*	on, to
	mì	in, at
	nzùmí	behind
	jínè	under
	mùrí	on
	gágyì	beside
	tálàkírè	in between

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Consider the following sentences using simple prepositions as illustrated in (213):

(213)   [*Musa*] [*yámìndà*]

Lit: Musa is in room

Gloss: Musa is in the room.

        [*Musa*][*yábàkhá:r gánà a jínè ngùn*]

Lit: Musa he is giving rest at under tree

Gloss: Musa is resting under the tree.

4.7.2   Compound Preposition

A double preposition as the name implies is a combination of two simple prepositions. See the following examples in (214):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(214)	*á mì*	inside, within, among
	á nzà	outside
	á gágyì	beside
	á múrì	on top
	kóɓírà	without

4.7.3   Complex Preposition

Complex preposition consist of two or more prepositions put together. They are often combined with nouns, adjectives or adverbs, as the case may be. Also, a complex preposition may be a phrase or a prepositional complement. Consider the following examples in (215):

Prepositional Phrase (PP)

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	Kulung	**Gloss**
(215)	*á mì nda*	in the room.
	á déngèlé gádà	across the bridge.
	á mì káswà	in the market.
	á múrì njere	on the road.
	á mì ngórì	in the pot.
	á mì kíllà	in the hole.
	á mì jibi	in the pocket.
	a mi mbosog	in the jug.
	a mi cukhá:r	in the cave.

Adverbs/Prepositional + Preposition as in (216):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(217)	*á múrì ghi*	on top of
	yáwò ghi	along with
	pasuna wo	far away from
	pasuna wo	far from
	a mi ghi	inside of
	ìndíkà yi	instead of

Adjective + Preposition as in (218):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(218)	*pák kikha wó*	careful with
	sùgbálo wó	angry with
	bangwubo ye	afraid of

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4.7.4   Syntactic Functions of Preposition

Prepositions project into phrasal categories in the syntactic configuration of a language. Consider the following functions in (219):

Prepositional phrase as complement of a Verb

(219)   *su khá:r mátàkúllì **á múrì ɓákùllì***

Lit: we give – past truth to on God

Gloss: we trust in God.

Prepositional phrase as complement of Adjective in (220):

(220)   *Mùnbíràrí yá páknà **bí sùm mánàng***

Lit: man the is do-prest to us good

Gloss: the man is good to us.

4.8.0   Interjections

Interjections are words used to express strong feelings or emotions such as surprise, anger, excitement, disappointment and joy. These words are usually followed by an exclamation mark (!) but have no grammatical relationships with other words in the sentence.

Here are some examples of interjections of Kulung in (221):

(221) **Kulung**   **Gloss**

     o'o!   no

     mkyeyye!   no

     ɓangbangbam!   in dissatisfaction

     kwai!   in surprise

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ɓo:!	in disappointment
mhmm!	in regret
ɓangtalan!	in outer disappointment

Consider the following in (222):

(222) *Ɓákùllì mbongsam yó: maman bile mùnɓábìrá*

Lit: God I thank you my wife delivered baby boy

Gloss: thank god, my wife gave birth to a baby boy.

(In excitement)

ɓo: Barau mínì ní ghí mù á ya wo yi?

Lit: oh, Barau this is what you have

Gloss: oh, Barau is it the only thing you got!

(In disappointment)

ɓangbangbam, sùa yèr ghi mini ba!

Lit: no, no, we will not agree with this not

Gloss: no, no, we will not tolerate this thing

(In anger)

ɓàntálàng, dà yùní nyèm mvbwá a bani ba!

Lit: is unacceptable do not bring meat of dog here not

Gloss: it is unacceptable; do not bring dog's meat here.

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(In disgust)

4.9.0   Idiophones

Idiophones are a group of words that are unique and commonly found in most African Languages. They do not belong to the actual grammatical classes of language in the traditional sense of parts of speech. That is, they are not categorized in the same way as verbs, nouns and adjectives. They are a special group of words that are known to evoke picturesque impression of certain sensations (see Caron, 2005:236). Most of the ideophones are associated with one word (verb or adjective). Consider the following types in Kulung as illustrated in (223):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
	mbóngtòng	denotes big size
(223)	*dòghídòghí*	denotes tallness
	lurbang	denotes emptiness
	kiwang	denotes completeness
	tatas	denotes cleanness
	gwalit	denotes smallness
	buyul	denotes excessive fat
	kotong	denotes dwarfness
	leppeng	denotes hugeness

In Kulung ideophonic elements can be reduplicated. Reduplication is one of the morphological processes that are common in many African Languages. We have complete reduplication as in the following examples in (224):

(224)   **Kulung**   **Gloss**

lurbang lurbang	many empty objects
leppeng leppeng	many heavy objects
zurang zurang	all over soaked
kperəm kperəm	older by far
tatas tatas	too clean
mbongtong mbongtong	to big in multitude
koɗo koɗo	too slow
yori yori	too slim

4.9.1 Ideophones in Sentences

(225) *wa gab mushi mun múkò **Mbongtong***

Lit: see that boy's eyes very big

Gloss: the boy's eyes are too big

        *ɓábìrárí **dòghídòghí***

Lit: manthe, very tall

Gloss: a tall man.

        *á: sùng yì ká bà á: nza **lurbang***

Lit: they pull-past him and threw him outside like empty object.

Gloss: they threw him outside like a piece of paper

        *Í: twòl ngerang ngun ki ba **leppeng***

Lit: he took big log of wood and throw-past ground

Gloss: he took a big log of wood and threw it to the ground

        *Musa fog sobe **tatas***

Lit: Musa wash-past shirt his clean

Gloss: Musa washed his shirt very neat

4.10.0 Conjunctions

Conjunctions join words or a group of words together. In other words a conjunction, as a minor word classes, are used to join words, phrases, clauses and sentences together. In forming any syntactic configuration, conjunctions are needed; therefore, they are functional syntactic categories. Conjunction unlike preposition in Kulung joins two syntactic relationships between the sentence elements.

4.10.1 Classes of Conjunctions

There are two major types of conjunctions in Kulung:

i.   Coordinating conjunctions

ii.   Subordinating conjunctions

4.10.2 Coordinating conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions join words, phrases or clauses of equal grammatical status together to form compound sentences.

Consider the following coordinating conjunctions in Kulung as illustrated in (226):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(226)	*nákì*	and
	ámà	but
	kó	or
	kì	and

Sentence examples as in (227):

(228) *tèr **wó** lò:r á yèr mè:*

Lit: poverty and death you choose which

Gloss: between poverty and death which do you prefered.

         *á: yà pórò:ré **kò** á: yà tánsónòré?*

Lit: are you working? or you are dancing?

Gloss: are you working or are you dancing?

4.10.3 Subordinating Conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions connect the main clause and subordinate clauses in the sentences. As such, subordinating conjunctions are used to link one sentence within the structure of the other. They are very useful in paragraph development in that they show the relationship between ideas being expressed in complex sentences. Let us consider the following examples in Kulung asillustrated in (229):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(229)	*ɓò*	if, as if, unless
	tébèl	because
	ma, *mu*	that/ which
	anzùmí	after
	kpá:r dúà	before

Consider the examples as in (230):

(230) *Í: mùa nà yá ɓò á: málà pórò:rí*

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Lit: he pay will them if they finish work the

Gloss: he will pay them if they finish the work.

       á: yùa ní ghìlí anzùmí mùa ɓàngní

Lit: they brought food after they left

Gloss: food was served when they left.

       kórkòtó kpè: à ghímàngà tèɓèí: Í: ɓàlghí bà

Lit: Korkoto fail-past examination because he read not

Gloss: Korkoto failed his examination because he did not read.

4.11.0 Determiner

Determiners specify the range and location of nouns. They qualify nouns as adjective do. In fact, they mark the presence of nouns, that is, they announce that a noun is at the corner. Determiners are taken from different parts of speech. Although they can be used or fused with nouns, nouns can appear sometimes without them. The commonest determine in Kulung are the following: *-ri, -di* (an, a and the) these articles in Kulung come after the noun. Consider the examples in (231):

(231)   *mùndí* - boy the = the boy

          Múnsàríri - girl the = the girl

          munmini - boy this =this boy

          Múnsàrímini - girl this= this girl

Determiners are always fused to the noun they support or cliticized.

In Kulung proper nouns can collocate with a determiner in a form of affixal. Consider the following in (232):

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(232) *Mùsàrí píllè?*

Lit: Is the musa back?

Gloss   Is musa back?

    Graceri yáyèn?

Lit: where is the Grace?

Gloss: where is Grace?

    Yesuri ya píllìna

Lit: the Jesus he-fut come back

Gloss: Jesus will come back

The possessive adjectives as determiners (*yam, yásùm, ye:, yákhà:r*). Consider the following in (233):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(233)	*yam*	my
	yásùm	our
	ye:	his, her, its
	yákhà:r	their's

Demonstratives are determiners (*mini, múkò, ɓánì* and *ɓákò*). Consider the following examples in (234):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(234)	*mini*	this
	múkò	that

ɓánì	these
ɓákò	those

4.12.0 Phrase

A phrase is any syntactic unit that is not a clause but has a function as a whole with in a larger construction. Any syntactic unit which includes more than one word and is not an entire sentence: *They liked the students in Bambur*. This sentence can be represented as the combinations of NP + VP + PP. Consider the following examples in (235):

(235) NP   -   they

VP   -   liked

NP   -   the students

PP   -   in Bambur

A phrase is therefore, a grammatical entity which represents a sentence segment.

Consider the following phrases of Kulung in (236):

(236)   *mun di*

Lit: boy the

Goss: the boy.

Mùmmà ri

Lit: woman the

Gloss: the woman.

á: mfwà ri

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Lit: in farm the

Gloss: in the farm.

     á: tak

Lit: in east the

Gloss: in the east.

     á: ba yingla mato

Lit: in place where enter motor

Gloss: at the motor park.

     tébèl li dua yam

Lit: about my eating forward

Gloss: about may success.

4.12.1 Phrasal Categories

There are many types of phrases. For the purpose of our study, we are going to consider eight types of phrases, namely:

Nominal Phrase   (NP)

Verbal Phrase   (VP)

Adjectival Phrase   (AP)

Adverbial Phrase   (Advp)

Prepositional Phrase   (PP)

Predicate Phrase   (Predp)

Apposition Phrase   (APP)

Infinitive Phrase   (IP)

4.12.2 Noun Phrase

NP is a syntactic entity where the subject or the object is the head; the NP can also have articles, possessive demonstrative as it satellite. In Kulung the NP is post modify by determiner or demonstrative. It is opposed to pre-modification. Consider the following examples in (237):

(237)   *mùnmákàrántàri*

Lit: student the

Gloss: the student.

          ɓámbùrúmbárì

Lit: people the

Gloss: the people.

          tíràm

Lit: father my

Gloss: my father.

          láyàsúm

Lit: house our

Gloss: our house.

          mɓángyè Múnsàrí

Lit: big the girl

Gloss: the big girl.

          ɓálìmbí ɓánì

Lit: madmen these

Gloss: these madmen.

4.12.3 Verb Phrase

Verb phrases are made up of verbs and their satellites. The verb is the core grammatical element in the VP. In Kulung, we have singular verb and auxiliary verb. The auxiliary verb performs the function of a tense marker. In serial verb phrase a lexical verb can perform a function of an auxiliary verb. This can be represented on phrase structure analysis:

Vp – Aux+V+Np

4.12.4 Syntactic Functions of Verbal Phrase

The verb phrase performs the following functions as in (238):

(238) To express futurity

yá kyá:

Lit: go will

Gloss: will go.

To express the perfective:

málè: pórè: yé

Lit: has finish work his

Gloss: has finished.

To express ability to perform:

gbàl bwál

Lit: kick ball

Gloss: play football.

4.12.5 Adjectival Phrase

A group of words which does the work of an adjective is called an Adjectival Phrase, the most essential character is the adjective. Consider the following examples in Kulung as illustrated in (239):

(239) *àmí bápùnè twólò:*

Lit: inside white colour cloth

Gloss: in white dress.

Wó básàbnè nyòn

Lit: with long hairs

Gloss: with long hairs.

4.12.6 Adverbial Phrase

A group of words or a word which does the work of an adverb is called an adverbial phrase. The group of the words lacks the subject, predicate structure. Consider the examples in bold as illustrated in (240):

(240) *Musa píllè **yùn***

Lit: Musa return-past yesterday

Gloss: Musa has returned yesterday.

*M yèr lí nkòk **méllà***

Lit: I want eat food now

Gloss: I want to eat food now.

*nzállà yá **wùrám dĕng***

Lit: hungry is in my body plenty

Gloss: I am very hungry.

4.12.7 Prepositional Phrase

The prepositional phrase starts with a preposition and ends with a noun phrase as it object. This is the same with Hausa and other members of Chadic languages. Consider the following examples in (241):

	Kulung	**Gloss**
(241)	*á: kano*	at kano
	á: mùrí ngùn	on the tree
	á: jínè ghínònghwò:r	under the bed
	á: kùní mùr	at the river bank
	á: mì bàɓálkpànè	inside the court room

Consider the following sentences in Kulung as in (242):

(242) *á: mámbà: ɓánghìbí **á míbìnáng***

Lit: they catch thief in garden

Gloss: the thief was caught in the garden

 *Í: píllè **nì bárì***

Lit: he return-past in morning

Gloss: he returned in the morning

4.13.0 Predicate Phrase

The predicate phrase is the complement of nonverbal sentences. Equational sentence and existential sentences are good examples, of sentences that bear predicate phrase. Consider the following examples as in (243): where the predicate phrase is in bold:

(243) *Babangida **nì sójà***

Lit: Babangida is soldier

Gloss: Babangida is a soldier

       *Kírìkírì **nì mùnyílìghí***

Lit: Swallow is bird

Gloss: Swallow is a bird

       *Nkúmbùrà **nì 6álìmbi***

Lit: Nkumbura is madman

Gloss: Nkumbura is a madman

       *Musa **nì 6ábìrá***

Lit: Musa is man

Gloss: Musa is brave

4.13.1 Appositive Phrase

Apposition is indicated by the use of a noun phrase immediately after another noun phrase that refers to the same entity. This can be described as juxtaposition of two noun phrases (NPs) without the use of overt morphological connectives. The two NPs normally must agree in terms of number only in Kulung, which is not a gender language. Quirk and Greenbaum (2000:276), note that: for units to be appositives, they must normally be identical in reference or else the reference of one must be included in the reference of the other. Consider theses Kulung examples as in (244):

(244) *Tállà Bámbùr Malam Baba Jatau Kyá: Jerusalem*

Lit: chief Bambur teacher Baba Jatau go - past to Jerusalem.

Gloss: The chief of Bambur Mr. Baba Jatau has gone to Jerusalem.

Lá:súm Bambur

Lit: Our house Bambur

Gloss: Our village, Bambur.

Mámàm Fatima

Lit: Wife my Fatima

Gloss: My wife Fatima.

Yí nì sèréng, sù yá tíkyì

Lit: He-is elder, we are follow

Gloss: He is our elder and is in charge.

Consider the following examples in (245):

(245) **Baba Jatau** *Tállà Bambur*

Lit: Baba Jatau chief Bambur

Gloss: Gloss: Baba Jatau, the chief of Bambur.

Bambur mgyélà

Lit: Bambur mother of house

Gloss: Bambur headquarters of Kulung.

Ghare Tállà líkhà:r

Lit: Ghare chief farming

Gloss: Ghare the leader of Farmers.

Lá:súm Pírìbí

Lit: our house Piribi

Gloss: our village, Piribi.

Mùnbírà bírà ɓánghìbí

Lit: cartain man thief

Gloss: a certain man, a thief.

Múnsàrí bírà múnbándàghà

Lit: certain girl Fulani

Gloss: a certain Fulani girl.

Mùnbírà mínì bámèríkà

Lit: man this from America

Gloss: an American.

4.13.2 Infinitive Phrases

The term infinitive is used to refer to a nonfinite verb phrase containing a finite verb stem. The structure of an infinitive phrase (IP) Kulung is [V OBJ] N (eg; lamne nki 'to boil eggs'), where V is a finite verb stem and a direct object. Consider the following Kulung examples as in (246):

(246)   *bwòl ɓámghíbìrí kónnà wánè*

Lit: catch thief the difficult very

Gloss: to catch a thief is very difficult

        bìk mùrúk nì Í: yá pákyè

Lit: rubbing oil that she was doing

Gloss: it was lotion she was rubbing.

        kòk mátò kónnà

Lit: driving motor difficult

Gloss: to drive a vehicle is difficult

        tá nsònó ní ghì mù Í: wáwùní

Lit: dancing is what he/she know-prest

Gloss: to dance is what he/she knows

It has been observed that in Kulung there are five major phrases that are operational in Kulung. As earlier stated, the nominal and verbal prhases are attested to be universal. Others are Adjectival Phrase, Adverbial Phrase and the Prepositional Phrase. Each and every phrase is required by the valency powers of the verb. The adverbial serves sometimes as modifiers which may be optional category. The verbal and the nominal phrases are obligatory categories. However, other forms of phrases are found but with limited in patronage.

4.14.0 Clause Structure of Kulung

Hierarchically, a clause is higher than the phrase. A clause is a group of words with a subject and a predicate which may or may not stand on its own. One striking feature of a clause is that it must contain a verb and, more often than not, a subject.

4.14.1 Types of Clauses

There are two types of clauses

 I.   IndependentClause

II.   Dependent Clause

4.14.2 An Independent Clause

An independent clause is also called the main or principal clause, which expresses a complete thought and can stand on its own as a sentence. It is also called the matrix sentence. Consider the following examples in (247):

For Example:

(247)   *Maina kyá: mfwà*

Lit: Maina go-past farm

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Gloss: Maina has gone to the farm

Musa yábà lí myàmmè nà Danladi yà nú yè nkàrí

Lit: Musa he-eat-prest meat

Gloss: Musa is eating meat whie Danladi is drinking beer

The example in 246 is an independent clause, which stands alone as a sentence, while the second example in 247 consists of two main clauses joined together by a co-ordinating conjunction to form a compound sentence.

4.14.3 Dependent Clause

Dependent clause is also called a subordinate clause. A dependent clause does not express a complete thought and cannot stand on its own as a sentence. It depends on an independent clause for its meaning. A subordinate clause is also called an embedded sentence. Consider the following examples in (248):

(248) *píllè lélà*

Lit: return-past today

Gloss: -has returned today

mùn mú á tùm ní

Lit: boy the whom you send

Gloss: the boy whom you send

mùn mú á tùm ní píllè lélà

Lit: boy the whom you send return today

Gloss: the boy whom you sent has returned today

The first example is a dependent clause, which, as can be seen, but it does not express a complete thought. It therefore depends on a main clause to express a complete thought.

4.14.4 Types and functions of Subordinate Clauses

There are three types of subordinate clauses: Noun Clause, Adjectival Clause, and Adverbial Clause.

4.14.5 Noun Clause

A noun clause is a group of words which contains a subject and predicate of its own and does the work of a noun is called a noun clause. Consider the following Kulung examples as in (249):

(249) *M sháklàm má yí ní Sójà á Jos*

Lit: I know that he is soldier of Jos

Gloss: I know that he is a soldier at Jos

         ghì mún nyèrí wò yí ní ɓákrìwúrù

Lit: what I like with her is good dressing

Gloss: what I like most in her is her modesty

A noun clause can be used as:

a.   The subject of the verb
b.   The object of a transitive verb
c.   The object of a preposition
d.   In apposition to a noun or pronoun

Consider the following in (250):

(250a)   As subject of the verb

              Má tèb Í: nínyè pórò: kóyèn sháklè

       Lit: that he left work every body know

       Gloss: that he is not longer working is known to all people

(250b)   The object of a transitive verb:

              M sháklàm mà yí ní Sójà á Jos

       Lit: I know that he is soldier at Jos

       Gloss: I am aware he is a soldier serving at Jos

              M yèr sháklè níyèn pák ghímìní

       Lit: I want know is who did this.

       Gloss: I want to know who did it.

(250c)   The object of a preposition

              ghí mùn nyà ɓómè m kùmkámbà á mzùmzá

       Lit: what lam looking I did not achieved it in the world

       Gloss: I am not satisfied with what I achieved in life.

(250c)   In apposition to a noun or pronoun

              ghí míní yílè mìnám yímbàm mù má twòl gyésùm wúní ɓàbúrùm bà

       Lit: Thing this surprise me my sister took our mother with no value

       Gloss: It is surprising that my sister has'nt realized the value of our mother.

(250d)   Complement of a verb of incomplete predicate:

              M khàm mátàkúllì á múrì tènmúsù á pórò: yá yùná lí duà

       Lit: I give belief that put eyes on work brings progress.

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Gloss: I have a belief that there is success in hard work.

Í: ɓánwùbó má yà kòkná yí á pórò: kódìmín

Lit: Her fear that she will lose her work any time.

Gloss: Her fear is that she will lose her job any moment.

4.14.6 Adjective Clause

Adjective clause is a group of words which contains a subject and a predicate of its own and does the work of an adjective is called an adjective clause. An adjective clause is always introduced by relative pronoun like 'mu' examples below indicates the relative pronouns in bold. Consider the following examples from Kulung as illustrated in (251):

(251) *Múnsàríri **mù á gàbní** á káswà ní yímbàm*

Lit: girl the whom you see-past in market is my sister

Gloss: the girl **whom you saw** in the market is my sister.

*Mùnbírà **mù kúrbò ghìlí yùn** ní làm*

Lit: man who buy-past you food yesterday is friend my

Gloss: the man **who bought food for you yesterday** is my friend.

4.14.7 Adverbial Clause

A group of words which contains a subject and a predicate of its own and does the work of an adverb is called an adverbial clause. Consider the following examples in Kulung as in (252):

(252) *M yírì yèlá ánì saì á: píllò*

Lit: I will wait here until you come back

Gloss: I shall wait here till you return

bò á: shàkló lílì dìkúsùm ká nábàm

Lit: if you know name his please you tell me

Gloss: if you know his/her name please tell me

M nìng pórò:rí tébèl m gánàm wánè

Lit: I leave work the because I tire-past very

Gloss: I stopped the work because I was very tired

4.14.8 Kinds of Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clause may be classified into eight different kinds, namely:

- (a)   Adverbial clause of time

- (b)   Adverbial clause of place

- (c)   Adverbial clause of purpose

- (d)   Adverbial clause of cause

- (e)   Adverbial clause of condition

- (f)   Adverbial clause of result

- (g)   Adverbial clause of comparison

- (h)   Adverbial clause of supposition or concession

4.14.9 Adverbial Clause of Time

Adverbial clause of time is used to indicate time of the action expressed by the verb is called an adverb clause of time. Anadverbial clause of time is introduced by conjunctions like

'*mù*' (when) '*kódîmín*' (whenever) and *dàng* (now). Consider the following sentences as in (253):

(253) *Ɓálàm nùnghé mù gyàm píllìni Jalingo*

Lit: my heart sweet when my mother return-past from Jalingo

Gloss: I felt very happy when my mother returned from Jalingo.

  kódîmín yà lí ghíllì, dìkúsùm dà kíwò wúà wùrám bà

Lit: Whenever you want to eat food, please do not your mind die on my body

Gloss: whenever you want to eat, don't forget remember me I am around.

4.14.10 Adverbial Clause of Place

A clause which is used to indicate place is called an adverbial clause of place. Adverbial clause of place is introduced by '*abe*' (where) '*áyèn*' (where) *kóbè* (wherever). Consider the following examples in (254):

(254) *kóbè á: kyànné m yá tìkyó*

Lit: wherever you go I will continue to follow.

Gloss: wherever you go I will follow you.

  M kyàm á bàmú wárù ɓòróng kpánì

Lit: I visit-past the place where plane crash

Gloss: I visited the scene of the plane crash.

4.14.11 Adverbial Clause of Purpose

Anadverbial clause of purpose is used to indicate purpose of a given action denoted by the verb is called adverbial clause of purpose. Adverbial clause of purpose is introduced by word like '*tébèl*'. Consider the following examples in (255):

(256) *sù kyà mákàrántà **tébèl** kí sù sháklìghí*

Lit: we go-past school in order to know some thing

Gloss: We went to the school in order to learn.

  John yábà khá:r púnàng bì pùláwà tébèl ɓálà ká wù

Lit: John is watering flower so that they don't die

Gloss: John is watering the flowers so that they don't dry up.

4.14.12 Adverbial Clause of Reason

An adverbial clause of reason is used to indicate cause or reason of an action. An Adverbial clause of cause is always introduced by words like *'tébèl'* (because) *'mátèb'* (because of) *'wúnì'* (as). Consider the following Kulung sentences in (257):

(258) *M nìng sùng táng **tébèl** M mòm nùnghé bà*

Lit: I stop-past smoking cigarette because I am feeling not good

Gloss: I stopped smoking because of sickness.

  *Jummai yà lá: **tébèl** mùa mólòng mákànta yé bà*

Lit: Jummai is at home because pay money school her not

Gloss: Jummai is at home because her school fee was not paid.

  *Sule kyà Yola **tébèl** yínlà Sójà*

Lit: Sule go-past Yola because he want enter soldier

Gloss: Sule has gone to Yola to attend the military recruitment exercise.

4.14.13 Adverbial Clause of Condition:

An adverbial clause of condition is used to indicate condition or state of being that is not certain. The adverbial clause of condition is introduced by words like *'ɓò'* (if). Consider the following sentences in Kulung as illustrated in (259):

(259) ***bo**à: gábò: yí kà mágbì*

Lit: if you see her greet

Gloss: if you see her, greet her for me.

      ***ɓóm** kyàm à lá: M gɓálà mùndólòng*

Lit: if I go home, I spend money plenty

Gloss: if I go home I will spend a lot of money.

4.14.14 Adverbial Clause of Result or Consequence

An adverbial clause of result or consequence is used to indicate result or consequence. An adverbial clause of result is introduced by words like *'kíníyì'* (so that or for that reason). Consider the following examples in (260):

(260) *Musa kòk mámì kíníyì kí gòk Ɓánsàrí*

Lit: Musa send-past his wife away so that he is marry young girl

Gloss: Musa sent his wife away so that he gets married to a young girl

      Í: kúrè: Mbílìm yé kíníyì í: mùa mólòng ghímùrí nzálì

Lit: he sold goat his so that he can pay money of ground rent

Gloss: he sold his goat to enable hims will pay his tax.

4.14.15 Adverbial Clause of Comparison

An adverbial clause of Comparison is used to make comparison. An adverbial clause of comparison is introduced by word like '*wúnì*' (as). Consider the following examples in (261):

(261)   *Jummai yáwò 6óngwó wúnì Mámpàu*

Lit: Jummai is with brain as Mampau

Gloss: Jummai is as bright as Mampau.

Púnàng á mí wúrù yá wúnì nkílà

Lit: water inside body is as blood

Gloss: the water in the body is as essential as the blood.

Í: yáglèi yímbì mù bámmà shàklí bálkùn

Lit: he better than sister know talking

Gloss: he speaks better than his sister

4.14.16 Adverbial Clause of Supposition or Concession

An adverbial clause of supposition or concession is used to indicate supposition or concession. An adverb clause of supposition is introduced by words like '*Abamu*' (where) '*kó6ò*': (even if). Consider the following examples in (262):

(262)   *kó6ò: níngyè yí kì yíbngìbì Í: lì ghímàngà bà*

Lit: even if they allow him steal he will pass examination not

Gloss: even if he is allowed to cheat during examination he will not pass.

kóɓò: yí: nìɓánghìbí bà ɓákùrgák ɓólàyí

Lit: even if he is a thief not he is-past arrest-past by Police

Gloss: even though he is not a thief the police arrested him

4.15.0 Typology of Kulung Sentences

The sentence according to Downing and Locke (1992:275) is the highest grammatical unit on the scale of rank. Sentences are classified according to either their structures or functions.

4.15.1 Structural Classifications of Sentence

Bloomfield (1933) sees the sentence as an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form. The sentence is one of the largest units of linguistic analysis. A unit of language that can stand alone and make sense is a sentence or any grammatical combination that expresses a complete thought is a sentence. Subject and a predicate are the two slots of the sentence. Sentences are classified structurally into types such as simple, compound and complex types. Sentences can also be classified according to their functions.

4.15.2 Simple Sentences

A Simple sentence comprises of subject and a predicate, that is, it is a sentence which consists of a main clause. Consider the following examples in Kulung as in (263):

(263) *Adamu nuái púnàngri*

Lit: Adamu drink- water the

Gloss   Adamu has dank the water.

mvbwá gbálè mbaùrí

Lit: Dog kill-past rat the

Gloss: The dog has killed the rat.

David gbálè: Goliath

Lit: David kill Goliath

Gloss: David killed Goliath.

Musa kyá: Egypt:

Lit: Moses go Egypt

Gloss: Moses goes to Egypt.

nánì zánè

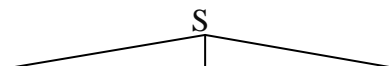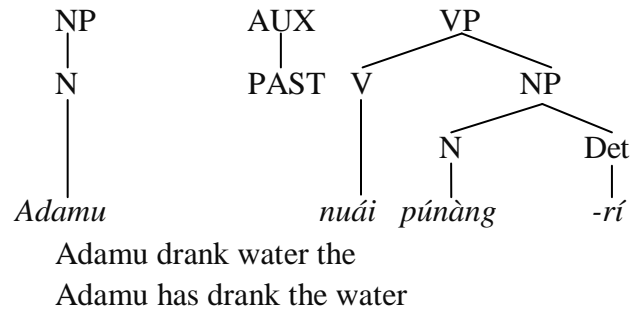Lit: thunder shout.

Gloss: the thunder sounded

tálì túréghì

Lit: stone vomit

Gloss: volcano erupted

The sentences above comprise of names (subject) and what was said about them, the action or state of being. Configurationally, the noun occurred before the predicates. The two major components are syntactically arranged according to the word order of the language. The arrangements of these words are not arbitrary. It defines the systematic relationship within the structure. Consider the following examples in (264):

(264)   *Adamu nuái púnàngrí*

S

```
      NP              AUX        VP
      |                |      ╱    ╲
      N              PAST  V       NP
      |                    |    ╱    ╲
      |                    |   N      Det
      |                    |   |      |
   Adamu              nuái púnàng    -rí
```

Adamu drank water the
Adamu has drank the water

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram.

S→ NP + AUX + VP
NP → N
N → *Adamu*
AUX → Tense
VP → V + NP
V → *nuái*
NP$_2$ → N + Det
N → *púnàng*
Det→ *-rí*

    Musa *kyá: Egypt:*

```
                          S
               ╱          |          ╲
             NP          AUX          VP
             |            |        ╱     ╲
             N           Past     V       NP
             |                    |       N
             |                    |       |
           Musa                 kyá:    Egypt:
```

Moses go Egypt
Moses has gone to Egypt
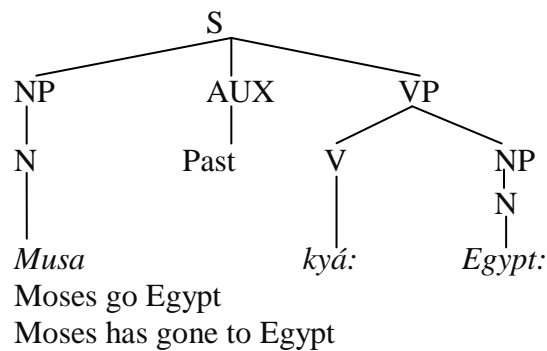
Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram.

S→ NP + VP
NP → N
N → *Musa*
AUX → Past
VP → V + NP
V → *kyá:*
NP$_2$ → N
N → *Egypt*

```

**4.15.3 Compound Sentence**

Compound sentence is a combination of two main clauses that are linked by a coordinating conjunction. Consider the following sentences in Kulung as in (265):

(265)  *Mbùló nè wó gáshì mbùló*

Lit:    rainfall with ice block

Gloss:  it rained and ice dropped.



*Barau nù múr pòllá kí John nù múr bísà*

Lit:    Barau drink water but John drink tea hot

Gloss:  Barau drank water but John drank tea.

*mámì Musa má: wánè kí kyá: mákànta bà*

Lit:    wife of Moses beautiful too but she go school not

Gloss:  Moses's wife is too beautiful but she is not educated.

*Í: ɓìp wánè kì yáwò móndòlóng*

Lit:    he ugly too but he has money

Gloss:  he is too ugly   but he is rich.

*Í: kpá: duà ɓák lá: ki Í: gog bámmà*

Lit:    he place in front build house and before he marry

Gloss:  he first built a house before he got married.

*Musa kyá: mfwà kÍ: Í: píllè ɓák:*

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Lit:     Moses go-past farm but he came back

Gloss:  Moses has gone to the farm but he is back now.

Consider the following graphic representation of compound sentences in (266):

(266)   *Musa kyá: mfwà kÍ: Í: píllè ɓák:*



Moses has gone to the farm but he is back now

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram.

S→ S + Conj + S

S → NP + VP

NP → N

N → *Musa*

VP → V + NP

V → *kyá:*

N → *mfwà*

Conj → *kÍ:*

S → NP + VP

NP$_2$ → Pro.

Pro. → *Í:*

VP → V + AdP

V → *píllè*

AdP → Adv

Adv → *ɓák:*


   *Mùndí kyá: mákànta ki Í: píllè, ɓák:.*

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```
                              S
                ┌─────────────┼─────────────┐
                S   Conj   S
          ┌─────┴─────┐   │   ┌─────┴─────┐
         NP   VP   │   NP   VP
          │   ┌──┴──┐   │   │   ┌──┴──┐
          N   V   NP   │   Pro.   V   Advp
          │   │   │   │   │   │   │
          │   │   N   │   │   │   adv
          │   │   │   │   │   │   │
        Mùndí   kyá: mákànta ki   Í: píllè ɓák:
```

boythe go-past school but he return now

the boy has gone to the school but heisback now.

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram.

S→ S + Conj + S

S → NP + VP

NP₁ → N

N → *Mùndí*

VP → V

V → *kyá:*

NP → N

N → *mákànta*

Conj + S

Conj → *kÍ:*

S → NP₃ + VP

NP₂ → Pro.

Pro. → *Í:*

VP → V + AdP

V → *píllè*

AdP → Adv

Adv → *ɓák:*

## 4.15.4  Complex Sentence

A complex sentence is commonly formed by linking the main clause with the subordinate clause using a subordinate conjuction such as *mu*, *tébèl*, and *má:*.In Kulung the complex sentence simply means that the sentence has only one independent clause and at least one dependent clause. The examples below will be clear by the indication of Dependent Clause as DC and Independent Clause as IC. Consider the following example in (267):

(267)          DC                              IC

       [*m wáwù kyá: mfwàri bà*]  [*tébèl*] *nzálà yá wùrám*]]

Lit:     I did go farm not because hungry is in body my

Gloss:  I was unable to go to the farm because I was hungry.

               DC                    IC

        [*ghì mù á: ná nì*] [*ní mátàkúllì bà*]

Lit:     something which you say-past, is true not

Gloss:  what you said, is not true

       In a complex structure, there are no limits of the number of embedded sentences that can be strung together. One indication of this is that all languages have embedded sentences. This means that they have sentences within other sentences as illustrated in (268):

(268)   *M wáwù kyá: mfwàri rí bà tébèl nzálà yá wùrám*

Lit:    I did go farm not because hungry is in body my
Gloss:  I was unable to go to the farm because I was hungry.

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram.

S→ S + Conj + S

S → NP + Aux + VP + Neg

N → *M*

Aux → Tense

$VP_1$ → V + Np

V → V + V

V → *wáwù*

V → *kyá:*

$NP_2$ → N + Det

N → *mfwà*

Det → *rí*

Neg → *bá*

Conj → *tébèl*

S → $NP_3$ + VP

$NP_2$ → N

N → *nzálà*

VP → V + NP

V → *yá*

NP → N

N → *wùrám*

## 4.15.5  Phrase Structure Rules

Phrase Structure Rules that generates sentence types are:

1.  **Simple Sentence**
    S→ NP + AUX + VP
    NP → N
    N →
    AUX →
    VP → V + NP

V →

NP$_2$ → N + Det

N →

Det→

## 2. Compound Setence

S→ S + Conj + S

S → NP + VP

NP$_1$ → N

N →

VP → V

V →

NP → N

N →

Conj + S

Conj →

S → NP$_3$ + VP

NP$_2$ → Pro.

Pro. →

VP → V + AdP

V →

AdP → Adv

Adv →

## 3. Complex Setence

S→ S + Conj + S

S → NP + Aux + VP + Neg

N →

Aux →

VP$_1$ → V + Np

V → V + V

V →

V →

NP$_2$ → N + Det

N →

Det →

Neg →

Conj →

S → NP₃ + VP

NP₂ → N

N →

VP → V + NP

V →

NP → N

N →

## 4.15.6  Serial Sentences

These types of sentences mainly consist of more than one clause and overtly no connective intervenes between them. Consider the following examples in Kulung as in (269):

(269)  [*bò Í: yèrè*] [*bó Í: mínè*] [*suà lí nà*] [*suà nù ná*]

Lit:      if he like if he refuse we shall eat we shall drink

Gloss:  whether he likes it, or not, we will eat and drink.

[*Bello yà na na bí*] [*kì kyà Bambur*] [*Kì mágbì Tàllá*]

Lit:      Bello he will tell him to go Bambur to greet chief

Gloss:  Bello will tell him to go to Bambur and greet the chief.

[*Nì bárì ìrí dùsúmùl*] [*Í: lí ghíllì*] [*Í: kyà bá pórò:*]

Lit:      in morning he will bath he eat food he go to work

Gloss:  in the morning, he takes his birth, eat break fast, before he goes to work.

[*ɓámàmghí yábà yùai*] [*kì khá:r bì wún gbándàng*]

Lit:      teacher the is coming to give you lashes

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Gloss: the teacher is coming to give you some lashes

### 4.15.7 Consecutive Sentence

This type of sentence is made up of serial sentence which consists of non-past plus subjunctive. Consider the following examples in (270):

(270)  [*làp Mábàrí yà na na bí*] [*suà gábnà ghí mù írì páknà*]

Lit:    surely Mabárì will say to him we shall see something he will do

Gloss:  Certainly Mabárì will tell him, we shall see what he will do.


[*mísà bírà yà wáwùbá dùngè bà*] [*kà lìklíkhà bà*]

Lit:    one day you will bedn not you till not

Gloss: One day you will not be able to bend down and work on the farm.

[*Í: rí bùmnà yí*] [*kì gógyì*] [*kì kìní yì á lá:khà*]

Lit:    he will look after her he will marry her he will take her to home his

Gloss:  He will court her to marry and take her to his people.

[*Yà kyà: kàsúwà*] [*kà lí myàmmè*] [*kà nú nkàrí* ] [*kà bùm bámmà*]

Lit:    they will go market they eat meat they drink alcohol they look after women

Gloss: They will go to the market, to eat meat, drink beer and look after women.

### 4.15.8 Cumulative Sentence

These types of sentences are made up of serial sentences which consist of clauses of the same tense. Consider the following examples from Kulung as illustrated in (271):

(271)  [*Kódìmín Musa yábà yùaí*] [*kì yà yìb bí sùm ghí*] [*nà sú mòrkùní sùm*]

Lit:    Always Moses is coming he to steal something use keep quiet always

Gloss: Moses is always stealing our goods and we are keeping quite.

[*sù kyà sùm*] [*sù kòkkhá sùm yá*] [*kìsù pìllá sùm*]

Lit:    we have to-past we drive-past thand quiet and com-past we

Gloss: We have driven them away, we just came back.

[*Kódîmín Bello yà mí bálghì*] [*Í: yà mí Nyónglòng*]

Lit:    always Bello is inside reading and he is inside writing

Gloss: All the times Bello is reading and writing at the same time.

## 4.15.9 Multiple Sentences

This type of sentence consists of more than one clause, combining the features of more than one type of sentence. Consider the following examples in (272):

(272) [*sù nú gòtwóghwó lélà ní bárì*], [*sùa lí mbài ní ísà*] [*kí*] [*sù lí nkòk ní dúgwù*]

Lit:    We drink-past porridge today in morning, we will eat in afternoon cassava and in night we eat food

Gloss: we took porridge as breakfast, in the afternoon we will take cassava and in the night we eat food.

*[Manu ní bátàbí] [kí yì ní ɓálìmbi], [kí yì ní kúlò:] ámà [Í: wàwè twúngyèl ɗèng]*

Lit:    Manu is blind person and he is mad, he is cripple he knows how to sing well

Gloss: Manu is blind, he is mad and he is a cripple but he can sing very well.

*[bálghì kónnà] [liklíkhà:r má kónnà] ná [nghíbì má kónnà]*

Lit:    reading something is difficult farming is also difficult and steeling is also difficult

Gloss: Acquiring knowledge is difficult, so also is farming and stealing is also as difficult as others.

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*[bó: wò bó: yá yùní mánzà á ní nà kúrò] [nà kúr ɓiú] [nà fwá á lá:khá:r]*

Lit:    year in year out they bring-past millet here to sell they buy-past yam they go back to their home

Gloss:  For years, they use to bring millet here and sell in order to buy yam and go back to their villages.

## 4.16.0 FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF SENTENCES

## 4.16.1 Declarative Sentence

Declarative sentence is a statement in which the subject is always present and generally precedes the verb. Consider the following examples in (273):

(273)  *Maina yá kènná mfwà lélà*

Lit:    Maina will go farm today

Gloss:  Maina will be going to farm today.

        *Gorbe gbálè: nzùmmó*

Lit:    Gorbe kill – past buffalo

Gloss:  Gorbe has killed a buffalo.

        *Musa yùaí mú ɓárì á ghímàngárí*

Lit:    Musa come-past second in examination the

Gloss:  Musa came second in the examination.

## 4.16.2 Interrogative Sentence

Interrogative Sentence in Kulung is mainly a statement in the form of question. They are marked by question mark at the end of the sentence. Just like what is obtained in other languages, question in Kulung are marked by three criteria. Consider the following examples in (274):

(274)   Wh – element, rising intonation and Yes or No.

Wh – Questions

*ní yén?*

Lit:      is who?

Gloss:  who is that?

*á: yà màkkún wò yén?*

Lit:      you are greeting with who?

Gloss:  who are you greeting?

Rising intonation, consider the folliwng examples in (275):

(275)   *Lílò: ní màn?*

Lit:      your name is what?

Gloss:  what is your name?

*Yà kènná káswà?*

Lit:      you will go market?

Gloss:  will you go to the Market?

**Yes or No Question**

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In Kulung there are questions that requires yes or no as their answers (*mm* and *o'o*) as illustrated in (276):

(276)   *Yà línà nyàmmé?*

Lit:    you eat meat

Gloss: will you eat meat?

In affirmation: *mm* (Yes)

In negation: *o'o* (no)

Gloss: *Yà kènná mfwà Líbì?*

Lit:    you go farm tomorrow?

Gloss: will you go to the farm tomorrow?

In affirmation: *mm* (Yes)

In negation: *o'o* (no)

### 4.16.3 Imperative Sentence

Imperatives are sentences primarily used to instruct someone to do (or not to do) something. We can recongnize two main types of imperatives:

i.   Imperative without a subject.

ii.  Imperative with a subject

Consider the following as demonstrated in (277a) – (277b):

(277a) *pùró áni!*                      (277b) *wa pùró áni!*

Lit:    out here!                       Lit:    you out here!

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| | |
|---|---|
| Gloss: get out! | Gloss: you should get out of here! |
| *téllà ánì!* | *ó wà téllà ánì* |
| Lit:     stand here! | Lit:     you stop here |
| Gloss: stop here! | Gloss: you should stop here? |
| *mòr kúnò!* | *wà mòr kúnò!* |
| Lit:     stop your mouth! | Lit:     you stop your mouth |
| Gloss: Keep quiet! | Gloss: you should keep quiet |
| *méllè!* | *wà méllè!* |
| Lit:     swallow! | Lit:     you swallow! |
| Gloss: swallow it! | Gloss: you should swallow! |

### 4.16.4 Rather Construction

Rather Construction in Kulung is indicated by the particle **ìndíkà,** plus an NP. These sentences occur only in the affirmative.In Kulung, the particle "Ìndíkà" clause is often accompanied by a connective prepositional phrase. Consider the following examples in (278):

(278)   **ìndíkà** *yó: wó yí*

Lit:     better you than him

Gloss: you are better than him.

    **ìndíkà** *Bala á múrì Sabo*

Lit:     better   Bala than Sabo

Gloss: Bala is better than sabo.

    **ìndíkà** *ɓángyèmá á múrì Ɓánsàrí*

Lit:     Better a middle aged woman than a lady

Gloss:  a middle aged woman is better than a lady.

    ***ìndíkà*** *ɓálìkhá:r á múrì ɓámànghí*

Lit:     better a farmer than a teacher

Gloss:  a farmer is better than a teacher.

    ***ìndíkà*** *píwaì á mùrí yákhànè*

Lit:     better new one than an old one

Gloss:  new one is better than an old one.

    ***ìndíkà*** *Sójà á múrì pólìs*

Lit:     better a soldier than a police man

Gloss:  a soldier is better than a police man.

    ***ìndíkà*** *ɓámmà á múrì ɓábìrá*

Lit:     better a girl than a boy

Gloss:  a girl is better than a boy.

## 4.16.5 Emphatic Construction

Topicalization and focus both involve fronting a constituent in order to give it prominence. Sentence → Topic → S (where S is the comment) S' → [Focus] S' is the sentence from which the focus is extracted) S → Subj, Aux, Predicate. In Kulung the structures of topicalization and focus are the same. Consider the following graphic representation of topic and focus constructions in (279):

(279)                    S

Topic                                    S,

tùmkíla múr        kàm          Focus                    S

                              ni        Ayuba      yáglè        kòyén


*tùmkíla múr kàm ní Ayuba yáglè kòyén*

Lit:    digging of water hole indeed is Ayuba exceed everyone

Gloss:  as for digging well, it Ayuba who is the best.


For the purpose of this study, the illustrations would be consentrated on focus construction. Focus in Kulung involves the fronting of an NP Adverb or Prepositional phrase in other to emphasize a constituent. A focus slot is a distinct syntactic position located at the beginning of the sentence. Consider the following examples in (280):

(280)  **<u>Sentence</u>**                                    **<u>Gloss</u>**

*m gàb yén*?                                        Who did you see?

*ní Talla.*          Focused            It's the Emir I saw.

*m gàb Talla.*    Non-Focused       I saw the Emir.

*ní Musa][yábà tòng nzhèmmèták]*         It is Musa that is blowing the horn.

*ní [mbìlìmrì] [débɓàa lí nì]*              It's a goat that the Hyena ate.

*[Musa] ni mastakyà yá:khá:*              Musa is the youngest among them.

*ní Musa yábà tòngh nzhèmmèták*

```
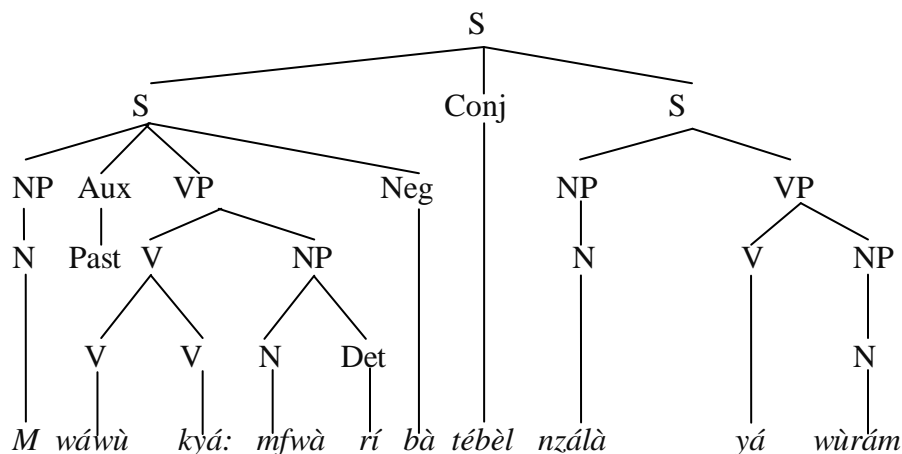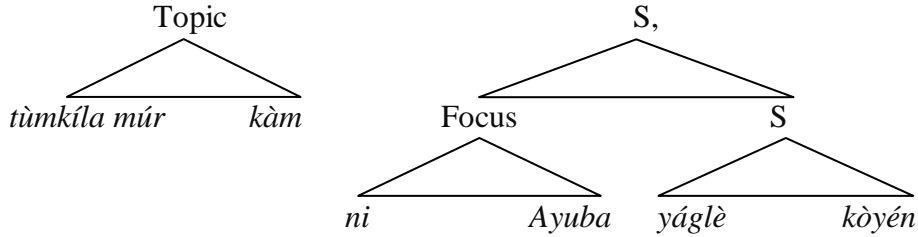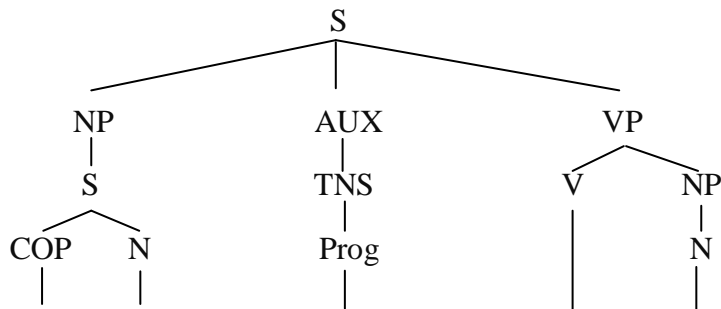                        S
          ┌─────────────┼─────────────┐
         NP            AUX            VP
          │             │          ┌───┴───┐
          S            TNS         V       NP
        ┌─┴─┐           │          │        │
      COP   N          Prog        │        N
        │   │           │          │        │
```

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ní	*Musa*	*yábà*	*tòng*	*nzhèmmèták*

Lit: is musa blowing horn the. Gloss: It is Musa that is blowing the horn

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram.

$S \rightarrow NP + Aux + VP$

$NP_1 \rightarrow S$

$S \rightarrow Cop + N$

$Cop \rightarrow ní$

$N \rightarrow Musa$

$Aux \rightarrow TNS + Prog$

$TNS \rightarrow Prog$

$Prog \rightarrow yábà$

$VP_2 \rightarrow V + NP$

$V \rightarrow tòng$

$NP \rightarrow N$

$N \rightarrow nzhèmmèták$

ní mblílìmri débbàa línì

Lit :   is goat the Hyena eat-past   Gloss: It was the goat that the Hyena ate

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

$S \rightarrow NP + VP$

$NP \rightarrow S$

$S \rightarrow COP + N + Det$

$COP \rightarrow nì$

N → *mbílìm*

Det → *-rí*

V → S

S → NP + Aux + VP

NP → N

N → *débɓàà*

Aux → TNS + GP

VP → V

V → *línì*

It has been observed that the focus construction in Kulung resembles the English cleft sentence. The copula *nì* can be translated to mean the cleft frame in English [it is] or [it was]. The copula *nì* stands for the focus marker (281) clearly show how the focus marker places the focus constituent at the sentence initial position for priority.

(281)
Sentence	**Lit**	**Gloss**
[Musa] ní [Talla]	Musa is chief	Musa is the chief

S→*Tálì túréghì*

```
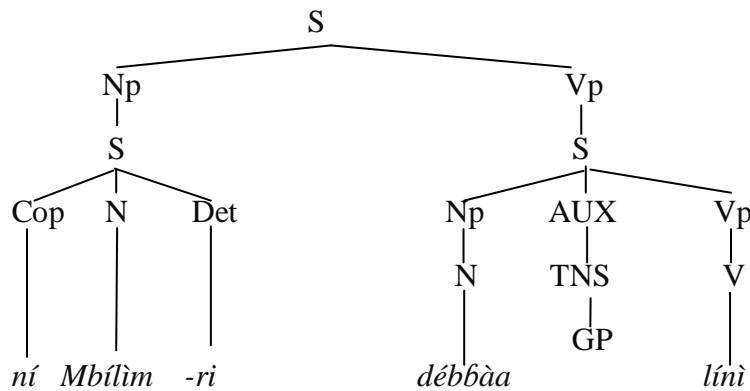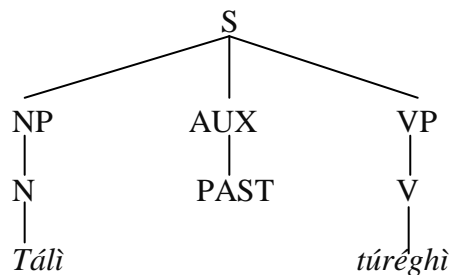              S
     ┌────────┼────────┐
    NP       AUX       VP
     │        │         │
     N       PAST       V
     │                  │
   Tálì              túréghì
```

Lit: Stone vomit-past
Gloss: Volcanic erupted

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + AUX + VP

NP → N

N → *Tálì*

Aux → TNS + PAST

VP → V

V → *túrèghí*

Fron the forgoing, focus involves fronting of an NP, adverb, or prepositional phrase, in order to emphasize constituent. The focus slot is a distinct syntactic position located at the beginning of the sentence.

4.17.0 Equational Sentence Constructions

Equational sentences are nonverbal, even though they usually translate as English copular sentence. The core structure is X COP Y, where X is the subject NP, Y is a Predicate nominal or adjective. This type of construction corresponds to Kulung copular construction. Consider the following in (282):

(282)   **<u>Sentence</u>**   **<u>Lit</u>**   **<u>Gloss</u>**

Np+   cop+   Np
[Kírìkírì]   ní   [mùnyílìghí]   Swallow is bird   A Swallow is a bird
   ↓   ↓   ↓
   X   COP   Y

 Np+   cop+   Np
[Musa]   ní   [6ámósòk]   Musais wizard   Musa is a wizard
   ↓   ↓   ↓
   X   COP   Y

Np+   cop+   Np
[Audu]   ní   [gúrò]   Audu is slave   Audu is a slave
   ↓   ↓   ↓
   X   COP   Y

 Mámì ní mùn 6ámun shìndóng   His wife is a small girl.
          ↓
  Np+ COP+AdjP

Analysis

Musa ní ɓámòssòk

```
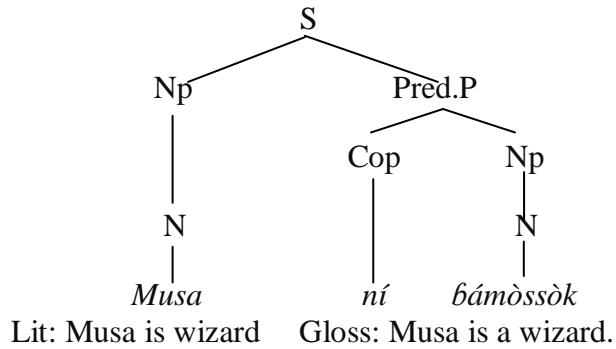                        S
              _____
            Np                    Pred.P
            |                 _____
            |               Cop            Np
            N                |              |
            |                |              N
            |                |              |
          Musa              ní          ɓámòssòk
```

Lit: Musa is wizard   Gloss: Musa is a wizard.

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + Pred.P

NP → N

N → *Musa*

Pred.P → Cop + NP

Cop → *ní*

NP → N

N → *ɓámossòk*

[Kìríkìrí] ní [mùnyílìghí]

S →X + COP + Y

```
                        S
            _____|_____
          Np           COP          Pred.P
          |             |             |
          |             |             Np
          N             |             |
          |             |             N
          |             |             |
        Kìríkìrí        ní        mùnyílìghí
```

Lit: Swallow is bird   Gloss: A Swallow is a bird.

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + Cop + Pred.P

NP → N

N → *Kìríkìrí*

Cop → *ní*

Pred.P

NP → N

N → *mùnyílìghí*

[Màmí] ní [mún ɓàmún shíndòng]

```
                        S
          ┌─────────────┴──────────────┐
         Np                        Pred. Adjp
      ┌───┴────┐                        │
      N       Pos.    Cop             Adj.P
      │        │       │        ┌───────┼───────┐
      │        LK      │       Dim      N      Adj
      │        │       │        │       │       │
     Mà        mí      ní      mún    ɓàmún   shíndòng
```

Lit: Wife his is little young small   Gloss: His wife is a small girl.

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + Cop + Pred.Adjp

NP → N + Pos.

N → *mà*

Pos. → LK

LK → m*í*

Cop → *ní*

Pred.Adjp→ Dim + N + Adj

Dim → *mún*

N → *ɓàmún*

Adj → *shíndòng*

It has been observed that Kulung language has a special grammatical item, called a copula, which serves to link elements of a sentence, especially two noun phrases. The copula is a

ligament that joins two noun phrases. This is typical with equational constructions. The copula is projected directly under the sentence node. Consider the following examples in (283):

(283) *Kìríkìrí ní mùnyílìghí*

Lit: swallow is bird.

Gloss: swallow is a bird.

      Musa ní ɓàmossòk.

Lit: Musa is wizard

Gloss: Musa is a wizard.

It has been observed that the structure of equational sentences in Kulung is X – Cop – Y where X stands for any nominal category and cop stands for Copula. The Y stands for another nominal category. The copula links two nominal elements of the sentence.

S→X COP Y.

4.17.1 Existential Sentence Constructions

Kulung effects existential construction by placing the noun before the existential element. Consider the following examples in (284):

(284) *Múrpúnàng yákàm*

Lit: water there is.

Gloss: there is water.

      Noun + Ext Element

      Nzálà yàkàm a Lagos

Lit: hungry there is at lagos

Gloss: there is hunger in Lagos.

Noun + Ext. Element + PP

Múrényí: yákàm

Lit: water of honey there is

Gloss: There is honey.

Noun + Ext. element

Súyà kàm a mí tèprí

Lit: we are in the talk

Gloss: We are involved in the matter.

Noun+Ext.Adv+PP

Analysis

Múrpúnàng yàkám

S ⟶ Noun+ Ext.element

Lit: there water   Gloss: There is water

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + Pred. NP

NP → N

N → *Múrpúnàng*

Pred.NP → Ext. element

Ext. element → *yàkám*

Nzálà yákàm á Lagos.

S—————►Noun + Ext Element + PP

Lit: hungery there is at Lagos   Gloss: There is hunger at Lagos

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + Pred. P

NP → N

N → *Nzálà*

Pred.P → NP + PP

Ext. element → *yàkám*

PP → P + NP

P → *á*

NP → N

N → *Lagos*

Yógwòh yákàm ámì néggyèh.

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```
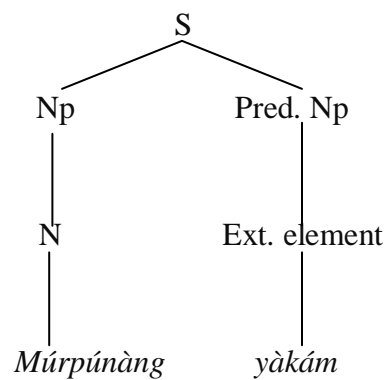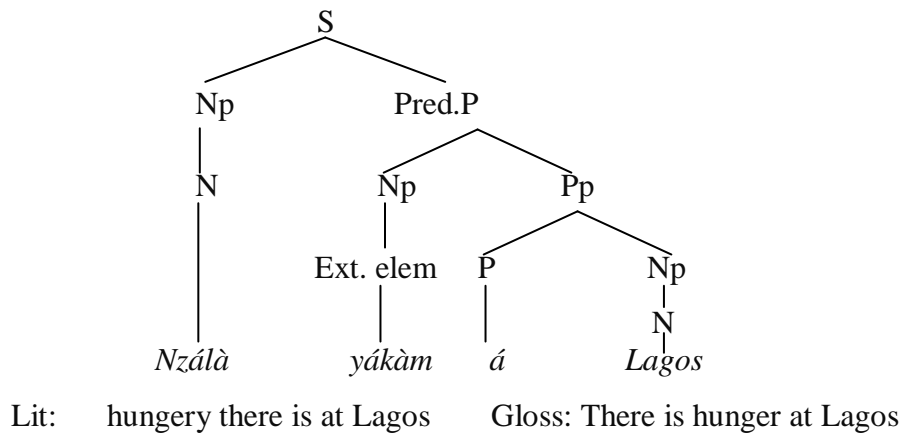        N              Pred. Np
                    Ext. element    Pp
                                 P      N


     Yògwóh        yàkàm    ámì      néggyèh
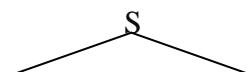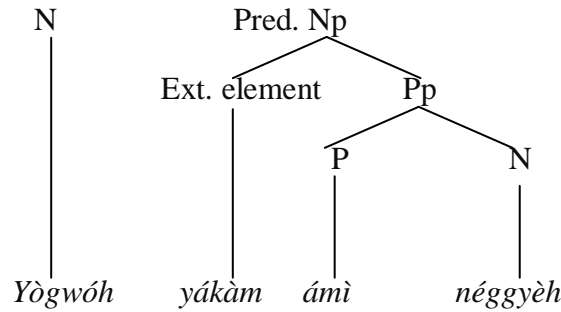
Lit:     Snake thereis inside sea     Gloss:  There is snake in the ocean
```

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + Pred. P

N → *Yògwóh*

Pred.P → Ext. element + PP

Ext. element → *yàkám*

PP → P + NP

P → *ámì*

NP → N

N → *néggyèh*

It has been observed that in Kulung, the grammatical rules of existential constructions place constraint on the order of grammatical elements. The noun here precedes the existential element. Below is the schematic representation of the structure: NP + EXT.ELM + PP: Consider the structures in (284). One viable observation may be that Kulung Hausa bilinguals may transfer the structure of Kulung into Hausa, so as to produce these ungrammatical strings in Hausa as: *rúwà àkwái* or *mátsàlá àkwái*, instead of *àkwái rúwà* and *àkwái mátsàlá*.

4.17.2 "Have" Sentence Constructions

Affirmative 'have' sentences are formed with an associative predicate headed by the preposition *yáwò* 'with'. The 'have' sentence also indicates simple possession in Kulung. Consider the following examples in (285):

(285) *[Mairo]* Np *yáwò [nyénggòsók]* Np

Lit: mairo she is having ring

Gloss: Mairo has a ring.

        [Mùndí] Np *yáwò [pènsúr]* Np

Lit: boy the is having pencil

Gloss: The boy has a pencil.

        [Musa] Np *yáwò [láh nákì mátò]*Np

Lit: Musa is having house and car

Gloss: Musa has a house and a car.

        [Ngòmnátí] yáwò mùndólòng dèn]

Lit: government is having money plenty

Gloss: the government has plenty money.

        [Talla Ɓamɓur] yáwò pùr]]

Lit: chief of Bambur he is having horse

Gloss: the chief of Bambur has a horse.

Analysis

        [Talla] [Bambur yáwò pùr]]

```
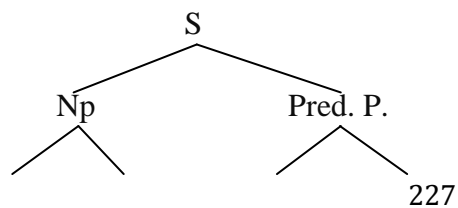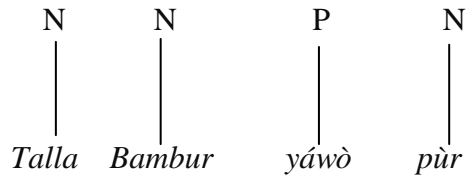              S
           ╱     ╲
         Np      Pred. P.
        ╱  ╲     ╱  ╲
```
                        227

```
       N         N          P         N
       |         |          |         |
     Talla    Bambur      yáwò       pùr
```

Lit: chief of Bambur he is having horse Gloss: The chief of Bambur has a horse

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + Pred.P

NP → N + N.

N → *Talla*

N → *Bambur*

Pred.P → P + N

P → *yáwò*

N → *pùr*

[Mairo] [yáwò nyínggòssòk]].

```
                      S
                   /     \
                 Np      Pred.Phr.
                  |       /    \
                  N      P      N
                  |      |      |
                Mairo   yáwò  nyínggòssòk
```

Gloss: Mairo has a ring.

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + Pred.P

NP → N

N → *Mairo*

Pred. P → P + N

P → *yáwò*

N → *nyínggòssòk*

        [Musa] [yáwò lá: nákì mátò]]

```
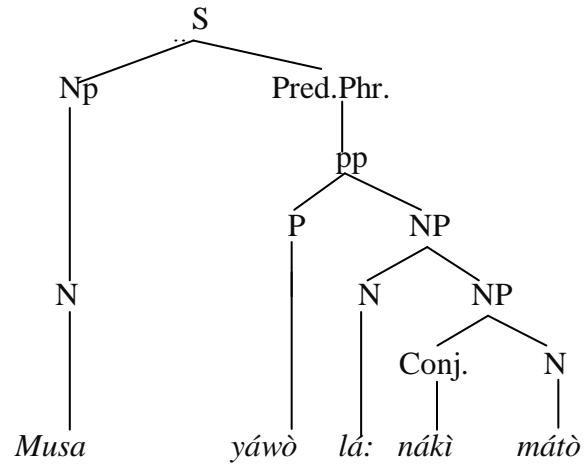                      S
              ┌───────┴───────┐
             Np            Pred.Phr.
              │                │
              N               pp
              │          ┌─────┴─────┐
              │          P          NP
              │          │       ┌───┴───┐
              │          │       N      NP
              │          │       │    ┌──┴──┐
              │          │       │  Conj.   N
              │          │       │    │     │
            Musa       yáwò    lá:  nákì   mátò
```

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → Pred.P

NP → N

N → *Musa*

Pred.P → PP

PP → P + NP

P → *yáwò*

NP → N + NP

N → *lá:*

NP → Conj. + N

Conj. → *nákì*

N → *mátò*

It has been observed that, affirmative "have" sentences are formed with a continuous TAM plus an associative predicate headed by the preposition *"yáwò"* (with). In Kulung language, this type of construction is nonverbal and hence non-tensed.

[Talla] [Bambur yáwò pùr]]
[Mairo] [yáwò Nyínggòssòk]].
[Musa] [yáwò lah nákì mátò]]

4.17.3 Negation

The term 'negation' presupposes that there exists an opposition term which is positive. As a universal feature, negation has a very wide concept which seems to encompass all forms of desirable and undesirable utterances. It typically expresses the contradiction of some or all of a sentence meaning. In any human language, sentences have truth value — true or false. On truth-value, Lyons (1977:169) says, as adopted from Tarski, ". . . a proposition is true if and only if it denotes or refers to a state of affairs which actually exists in the world that the proposition purports to describe". Here, the study considers Tarski's position very useful. For he says, "snow is white" is true only if "snow is white" (Lyons 1977:169). Further examples such as:- (1) "Ade came" is true if and only if there is a person called Ade and he did the act of "coming". This can also be negated by saying: (2)"Ade did not come" if and only if it is true that Ade did not come. Consider the following examples in Kulung as illustrated in (286):

(286) *Musa Yétèbá lìklíkhà à*

Lit: Musa he is farming not

Gloss: Musa does not usually farm.

Ɓámɓárì li nkòk à

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Lit: children eat food not

Gloss: the children didn't eat food.

m kyà káswà bà

Lit: I go market not

Gloss: I will not go to the market.

Sùa mùa yá lélà bà

Lit :   we pay them today not

Gloss: we will not pay them today.

Dàhwún ɓàl léptèrí bà

Lit: you read letter the not

Gloss: do not read the letter.

Analysis

Musa yétèbá Liklíkhà:r bà.

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + Aux + VP + Neg

NP → N

N → *Musa*

Aux → Neg

Neg → *yétèbá*

VP → V

V → *Liklíkhà:r*

Neg → *bà*

Ɓámɓárì lí nkòk bà.

```
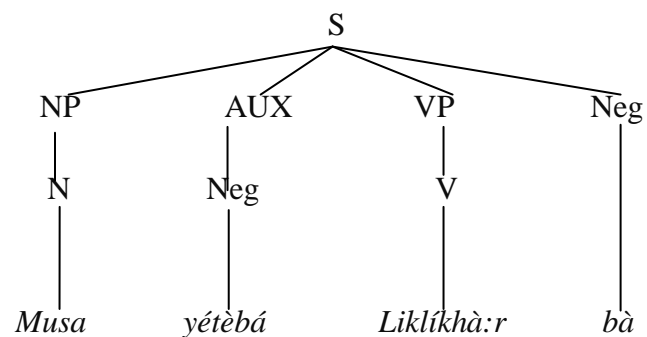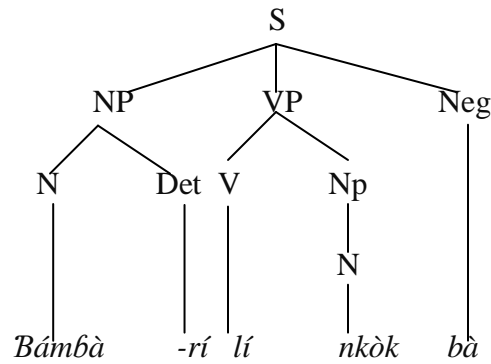                          S
            ┌─────────────┼──────────────┐
           NP            VP             Neg
         ┌──┴──┐       ┌──┴──┐           │
         N    Det     V     Np           │
         │     │      │      │           │
         │     │      │      N           │
         │     │      │      │           │
       Ɓámɓà  -rí     lí    nkòk         bà
```

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + VP + Neg

NP → N + Det

N → *Ɓámɓà*

Det → *-rí*

VP → V + NP

V → *lí*

NP → N

N → *nkòk*

Neg → *bà*

It has been observed that the researcher was able to find out that Kulung makes use of negation markers to establish the contradiction of sentences and their meanings. Negation can be reflected

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in virtually all affirmative sentences. In Kulung sometimes we have double negators appearing in sequence. Consider the following examples in (287):

(287) *Dà yù bà.*   Do not come

   O'odà yù bá.   No, do not come

In Kulung, declrative sentences are negated by inserting the negators *dà* at the beginning of the sentence and *ba* at the end of it. *Dà_____bà̩.* Just like negation in Hausa which is also an SVO language. Whereas in Hausa, for example to negate a affirmative sentence in (288):

(288) *Yàrán sún cí àbíncí*

Lit;   children the eat-past food

Gloss: the children have eaten food

To negate the above proposition, we insert the negation markers in their proper places as in (289):

(289) *Yàrán bàsú cí àbíncí bà*

Lit;   children the do not eat food

Gloss: the children have not eaten (food)

   Kà zó nán!

Lit: you come here!

Gloss: you should come here!

   Kà dà ká zó nón!

Lit: do not you come here!

Gloss: do not come here!

4.17.4 Indirect Object Constructions

Indirect object (IO) is the entity for which an action is performed as opposed to the direct object which is "acted upon" by the action of the verb. Indirect object constructions in Kulung are introduced by overt markers 'bi' before nouns and pronoun. Consider the following examples in (290):

(290)   *[Musa] Kúrè: bí [Audu shíllà]]*

Lit: Musa buy-past for Audu trouser

Gloss: Musa has bought a trouser for Audu.

        [Binta] gbálè bí [mùn mvbwá yè mbàu]].

Lit: Binta kill-past for small dog her rat

Gloss: Binta has killed rat for her poppy.

        [Ngwamnati] kúrèh bi [бapórè: mato]].

Lit: government buyt-past for worker her cars

Gloss: the government bought vehicles for its workers.

        [Mami] malam lame bi [malam nkinding]].

Lit: wife of malam cook-past for malam beans

Gloss: mallam's wife has cooked beans for her husband.

        [Kuboh-nzálì] túmè: bí [yógkwò kíllà]].

Lit: sauirel of groung dig-past for snake hole

Gloss: the squirel has dug a hole for the snake.

[Bello] nkyé: bí [Musa móndòlóng]].

Lit: Bello give-past for Musa money

Gloss: Bello gave Musa money.

Analysis:

[ngwámnnàtí] kúrè: bí [ɓapórè: mátò]].

The Government bought vehicles for workers.

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + AUX + VP

N → *ngwámnnàtí*

AUX → TNS + Past

TNS → Past

VP → V + NP

V → *kúrè:*

NP → IO + N + N

N → *bí*

N → *ɓapórè:*

N → *mátò*

[Binta] gbálè: bì [mún mvbwá yé mbaù]].

Binta has killed a rat for her poppy

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + AUX + VP

N → *Binta*

AUX → TNS + Past

TNS → Past

VP → V + NP

V → *gbálè:*

NP → IO + Dim + POP

IO → *bì*

Dim → *mún*

POP → N + LK + N

N → *mvbwá*

LK → *yé*

N → *mbaù*

Musa kúrè: bì Audu shilla.

```
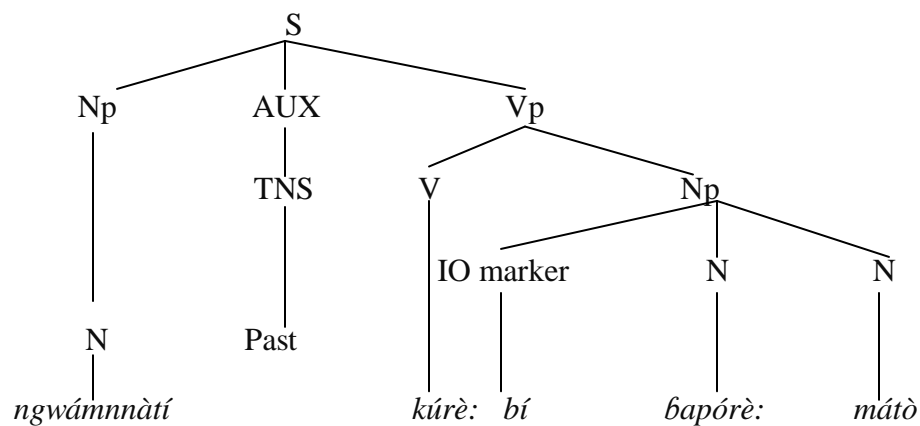        Np        AUX              Vp
        |                         /    \
        |         TNS        V            Np
        |          |         |          / | \
        N         Past       |    IO marker  N    N
        |          |         |        |      |    |
      Musa        Past     kúrè:     bì   Audu  shilla
```

Musa has bought a trouser for Audu.

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + AUX + VP

N → *Musa*

AUX → TNS + Past

TNS → Past

VP → V + NP

V → *kúrè:*

NP → IO + N + N

N → *bí*

N → *Audu*

N → *shilla*

4.17.5 Quantifier Constructions

A quantifier is a broad grammatical category that refers to any word level or phrase that expresses quantity in terms of number (cardinal or ordinal numbers) for count nouns and non-count nouns, or in terms of measurements, viz: capacity, distance, weight and monetary value. Considerr the following examples in (291):

(291)   *Ɓámbùrúm **bùnná** á Ɓambur*

Lit: peole many at Bambur

Gloss: there are many people at 'Bambur.

Tùngnùng *yáglè* **Tárùm**

Lit: five is more than three

Gloss: Five supercedes three.

*Musa kúrè: màtó **bárì**.*

Lit: Musa buy-past cars two

Gloss   Musa has bought two cars.

*Mùrúk súbbè á nzàli **púlúlú**.*

Lit: oil pour-past on ground

Gloss: The oil has spíllèd all over the ground.

*Bíssàrí líe bònnòrí **dóm**.*

Lit :   fire the eat-past grasses the all

Gloss : The fire has consumed all the grasses.

Analysis

Bíssàrí líe bònnòrí dóm.

```
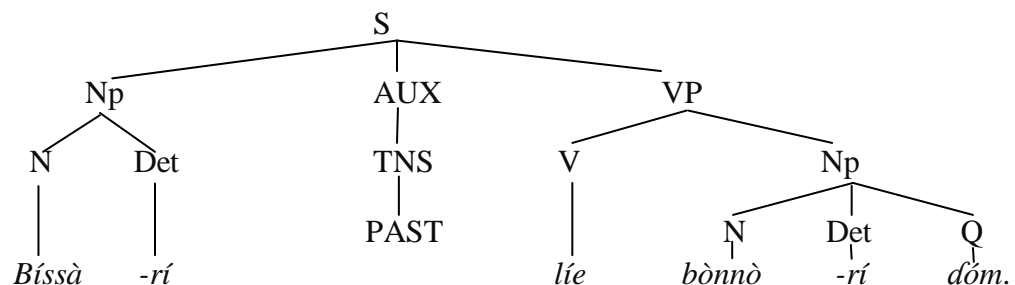                          S
           ┌──────────────┼──────────────────┐
          Np             AUX                 VP
        ┌──┴──┐           │          ┌────────┴────────┐
        N    Det         TNS         V                Np
        │     │           │          │        ┌───────┼───────┐
        │     │          PAST        │        N      Det      Q
        │     │           │          │        │       │       │
      Bíssà  -rí                    líe     bònnò    -rí     dóm.
```

Lit: Fire the eat-past grasses tha all Gloss: The fire has consumed all the grasses

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + AUX + VP

NP → N + Det

N → *Bíssà*

Det → *-rí*

AUX → TNS + Past

TNS → Past

VP → V + NP

V → *líe*

NP → N + Det + Q

N → *bònnò*

Det → *-rí*

Q → *dóm*

Bámbùrúm bùnná á Bambur.

```
                        S
              _____/ _____
            Np                    Pred.
             |              _____/  \_____
             N             Q              PP
             |             |           __/  \__
             |             |          P        NP
             |             |          |         |
             |             |          |         N
             |             |          |         |
          Bámbùrúm      bùnná        á       Bambur
```

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Lite: People many in Bambur   Gloss: There are many people at Bambur

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + Pred.P

N → *Ɓámbùrúm*

Pred.P → Q + PP

Q → *bùnná*

PP → P + NP

P → *á*

NP → N

N → *Ɓambur*

Tùngnùng yáglè Tárùm

```
                          S
                    ┌─────┴─────┐
                   Np           VP
                    │       ┌────┴────┐
                    Q       V         Np
                    │       │         │
                    │       │         Q
                    │       │         │
                Tùngnùng  yáglè    Tárùm
```

Lit: Five more three   Gloss: Five supersede three.

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + VP

NP → Q

Q → *Tùngnùng*

PP → V + NP

V → *yáglè*

NP → Q

Q → *Tárùm*

It has been observed that in Kulung, the quantifier element is regarded as a sub-category of adjectives because they follow the nouns rather than precede them. It is also important to mention here that quantifiers can be divided into two major types viz: closed-system quantifiers and the open class qunatifiers, examples are as follows:

Closed-system quantifiers: Consider the following examples in (292):

(292) | **Kulung** | **English** |
|---|---|
| *bùnná* | many |
| *bùnbá* | few |
| *shìndóng* | little |

The open class quantifiers are: Consider the following examples in (293):

(293) | **Kulung** | **English** |
|---|---|
| *Píppíp/dɔ̀m* | All |
| *Bàlghí* | Number |
| *Déng-déng* | A great deal |

4.17.6 Relative Clause Constructions

Relative clause construction occurs in Kulung. This clause modifies the head of a noun phrase and typically includes a pronoun of other element whose reference is linked to it. E.g. in *Múnsàríri mù á: gàbní á káswà yùn,* a relative clause *mù á: gàbní* modifies *Múnsàrí* within this clause, *mù* is a relative pronoun. Examples from Kulung are given in (294): where the relative clauses are in brackets. Consider the following examples from Kulung.

(294) *Múnsàrí [mù á: gàbní á kàsúwà yùn] ní mùní talla*

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Lit: girl the [which you see-past market yesterday] is daughter of chief

Gloss: the girl [which you saw in the market yesterday] is the chief's daughter

   bau [mù Í: Kùbní yì Yánì]

Lit: knife that he stab-past him with is here

Gloss: the knife [which he used in stabbing him is here].

   Mbílìm [mù Bello kùrrí fárè]

Lit: goat which Bello buy-past escape-past

Gloss: the goat [which Bello bought has escaped].

   Lá:rì [mù Adamu ɓàgní dùré yùn]

Lit: house the which Adamu build-past collapse-past yesterday

Gloss: the house [which Adamu built has collapsed yesterday].

It has been observed that the relative clauses in Kulung are marked by relativizer *mù*. First, our examples in (294) shows that the relative clause may follow the head noun, as in (295): or else it may begin with a word like *mù* which is comparable to *who*, *which* or *that* in English.

 (295)   **Kulung**   **Gloss**

   mù   -   which

   mù   -   that

   mù   -   who

4.17.7 Kulung Serial verb Constructions

Many African languages coordinate sentences by means of the so-called consecutive construction, which is used to express a succession of events that chronologically follow each

other. The first verb determines the tense, while the following verb (or series of verbs) is formally marked as sequential, subsecutive or narrative (Carlson 1 992; Creissels 2000; Hyrnan 1971; Watters 2000). Kulung essentially demonstrates serial verb construction.

Verb serialization essentially strings verbs together in a sequence in which the verbs are in succession. Longtau (2008:160) reports that: the Tarok Language has a sequence of two or more verbs without any overt connective word between them. Consider the following forms in Kulung as in (296):

(296)   *Musa yù wùp kúndàrí kì twòl kónghwò:r*

Lit: Musa came open (the) door the and take-PAST spear

Gloss: Musa came, opened the door and took spear.

          Jummai yuài twòléh bísà ánì

Lit: Jummai come take-PAST fire here

Gloss: Jummai came and took embers here.

          Á: yuá:r gbàlá: kùshèrí

Lit: they come to kill cat the

Gloss: they come to kill the cat.

          Í: kyá: bwòl nzhì

Lit: he go-past catch fish

Gloss   he has gone to catch fish.

Alben kyá: nù nkàrí à káswà

Lit: m sg go-PAST drink beer in market

Gloss: Albert has gone to the market to drink beer

       Í: kyá: lí búrèdí wó nkábà

Lit: he go-PAST eat bread and rice

Gloss: he has gone to eat bread and rice

Analysis

Musa yù wùb kúndàrí kí twòl kónghwò:r

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + Aux + VP

NP → N

N → *Musa*

Aux → Past

VP → SV + S

SV → V + V

V → *yù*

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V → *wùb*

S → NP + Conj. + VP

NP → N + Det

N → *kúndà*

Det → *-rí*

Conj →*kí*

VP → V + NP

V → *twòl*

NP → N

N → *kónghwò:r*

Jummai yùai twòle: bísà ani

Phrase structure rule for the above tree diagram

S → NP + Aux + VP

NP → N

N → *Jummai*

Aux → Past

VP → SV + NP

V → V + V

V → *yuài*

V → *twòle:*

S → N + Adv

V → *bísà*

N → *ánì*

It has been observed that in Kulung, Kanuri and Yoruba are SVC languages. In justifying this claim the structures in (296) show verb serialization. The serial verb construction, SVC is a phenomenon found in many African languages, Kulung has a sequence of two verbs without any overt connective word between them. They share the same subject and the same object. There is evidence that the two verbs in a serial construction belong to a single predicate and so are in single clause rather than two separate clauses.

4.18   Summary of Findings

The study has uncovered the following, based on the analysis of the data in this chapter. Kulung is strictly a fixed word order language. In a simple declarative sentence in Kulung, the subject precedes the verb and the object follows it, e.g. [*kùshèrí*] [*lei*] [*mbaùrí*]. The cat devoured the rat. Kulung is referred to as an SVO language (where S refers to Subject, V to Verb, and O to the Object).

a. [*Adamu*]s *[nuái]*v *[múrpùnáng]*o   Adamu drank water

b. [*mbvwá*]s *[gáblè]*v *[Mbílìm]*o   The dog killed the goat

c. *[Mbílìm]*s *[lìe]*v *[mísà]*o   The goat ate the corn

d. *[ɓákùrgák]*s *[bwàlái]*v *[yì]*o   The police arrested him

Kulung is said to be head-initial language. One interesting fact about Kulung is that within phrasal categories the head of the phrase is consistently placed before its modifiers and

complements. The head of the phrase is the central, obligatory member of the phrase. It is important to note here that in Kulung where AUX occurs in a VP, it is the head of the VP. E.g.

    e.   [VP *yábà lí Nyàmé*]   is eating meat

    f.   [PP *ámì púnàng*]   in the water

    g.   [AP *básàbnè ngúrì*]   long rope

    h.   [NP *Talla Bambur*]   chief of Bambur

Prepositional Phrase (PP) consists of a preposition plus an NP or an adverb, e.g. *ami ndá: mini* and *ájínè ngun mangoro.* PPs have the same functions as adverbs for modifying predicates. Just like in many languages, *Kulung* prepositional phrase can be transitive or intransitive. Where a preposition collocates with a noun phrase to form a prepositional phrase (PP) takes an NP object as a complement. Consider the following paradigm:

ami ndá: mini

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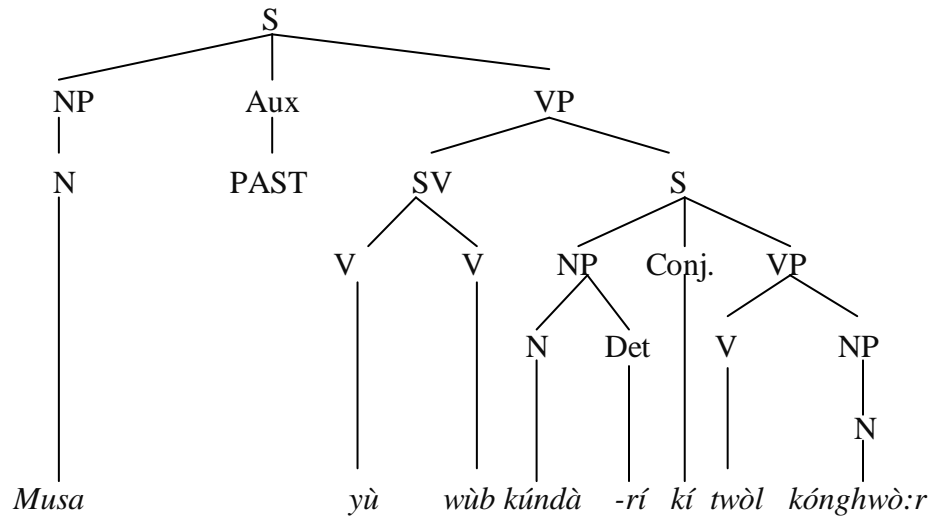            PP
         /      \
        P        NP
        |       /   \
              N       D
        |     |       |
       ámì   ndà    mínì
     inside room this
     inside this room
```

ájínè ngun mangoro

```
            PP
         /      \
        P        NP
        |       /   \
              N       N
        |     |       |
       ájínè ngùn  mángòró
     under tree mango
     under the mango tree
```

```
 ámì            PP
             /      \
            P        NP
            |        |
           ámì        Ø
       Í: yà ámì
       he among
       he is among
```

In Kulung the preposition can be both transitive and intransitive, e.g.

    a.   [*Í: yà mí ndà;*] he/she is inside the room (Transitive)

b. [*Í: yà mí*] he/she is among (Intransitive)

Gender is the grammatical classifications of entities into masculine and feminine. In Kulung there is no gender distinction. The 3rd person pronoun, *yi* stands for both sexes.

  a. [*yé*] his/her

  b. [*yí*] him/her

  c. [*yí*] it

  d. [*yó*] his'^s/her'^s

The Copular Subject (CS) element remains rigid, *ni*, with no gender and number variation.

  a. [*ní Malam Musa*] it's Mr. Musa

  b. [*ní Malama Halima*] it's Mrs. Halima

  c. [*ní dìɓámálàm*] they are teachers

  d. [*ní ɓásèréng*] he/she is an elder

Kulung has only three grammaticalized expressions of location in time. They are:

  i.   Past tense (is marked by inflection of the verb)

  ii. Present tense (is marked by auxiliary *yábà* "*yá*")

  iii. Future tense (is marked by modal auxiliary *írì* "*yá*")

In Kulung there is evidence of verb serialization. Verb serialization essentially strings verbs together in a sequence in which one verb is subordinate, e.g.

```
      V      V
a.   yù    wùp          (came and opened)
      V      V
b.   yuá:r gbàlá:        (came and killed)
```

Kulung like many other languages has Relative clause construction. This clause modifies the head of a noun phrase and typically includes a pronoun of other element whose reference is linked to it. E.g. in *Múnsàríri mù á:gàbní a kàsúwà yùn,* a relative clause *mù á: gbánì* modifies

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Múnsàrí within this clause, *mù* is a relative pronoun. Some typical examples in Kulung are given below:

Múnsàrí [mu á: gàbní a kàsúwà yùn] ní múnì talla

Lit: girl the [which you see-past market yesterday] is daughter of chief

Gloss: the girl [which you saw in the market yesterday] is the chief's daughter

bau [Mu Í: Kobni yi Yánì]

Lit: knife that he stab-past him with is here

Gloss: the knife [which he used in stabbing him is here].

In Kulung, the determiner element collocates with the proper noun. This is not obtainable in English as we have Adamu *rí*, Zaria *rí*, Abuja *rí*, the Adamu, the Zaria and the Abuja. Sequencially the noun precedes the determiner.

```
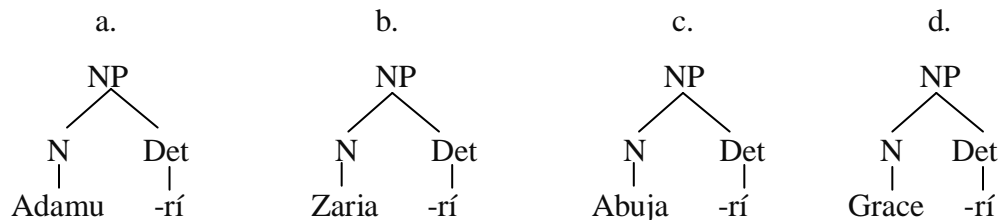        a.                  b.                  c.                  d.
       NP                  NP                  NP                  NP
      /  \                /  \                /  \                /  \
     N    Det            N    Det            N    Det            N    Det
     |     |             |     |             |     |             |     |
   Adamu  -rí          Zaria  -rí          Abuja  -rí          Grace  -rí
```

4.19   Conclusion

Basically in this chapter, the study analyzes the structure of sentences starting from the word level to the intrasentential levels. The sentence being one of the highest hierarchies of linguistic analysis was presented and analyzed into various categories. Typology of sentences, structural and functional classification constitutes the analytical requirement of this study. Emphatic and non-emphatic sentences, indirect object constructions, negation and equational

sentence formed part of the study. Sentence constructions like, existential construction, rather construction, have sentence constructions have been analyzed.

The second important feature of Kulung which is central to syntax is that Kulung make infinite uses of finite set of rules or principles. The observation of such rules led us to our descriptive tools of the Language. A language is a system for combining its parts in infinitely many ways. One piece of evidence of the system can be observed in word-order restrictions. If a sentence is an arrangement of words and we have four words such as:

Kúrè:, Mùndí, bàu, yùn

Bought boy the knife yesterday

With these four words, many sentences will be made and those sentences must naturally obey the rules underpinning the Language. Another observable relationships within the trees in the study, is that lexical categories are dominated by phrasal categories, it has been discovered that relationships between words and phrases exist in a tree diagram. The commonest among descriptive linguists is labeled brackets or labeled tree diagram in which each relevant constituent has a label showing its category. Our analytical trees include word classes and phrase classes, labels such as V, VP, PP, P, NP and so on, showing what dominates that label is a PP or P or an NP. This shows that the same information can be shown in labeled brackets. For example, the PP *ámì, ndá: mínì*, which is proved to be a constituent as follows:

[PP [P *ámì*] [NP *ndá: mínì*]]

Lit: inside room this

Gloss: inside this room.

These brackets are read this way: the whole constituent is a PP, since this is the label on the outermost brackets. The PP comprises two main constituents, a preposition *ámì* (inside) and an NP (room this) this room.

```
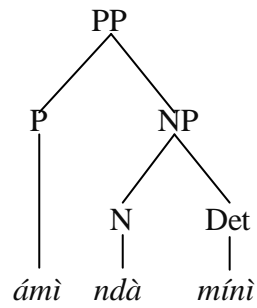              PP
             /  \
            P    NP
            |    / \
            |   N   Det
            |   |    |
          ámì  ndà  mínì
```

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0   Introduction

This is the concluding chapter of the study. It deals with the summation of the entire work, recommendations and its contributions to knowledge.

5.1   Summary

The main thrust of this study has been the description of the essential elements of Kulung Syntax, a member of Southern Jarawa of the Bantu group of the Benue-Congo family of the Niger-Congo phylum. The study has been partly motivated by the enduring works of Schuch, (1972), Galadanci (1976), Newman (2000), Bulakarima and Shetthima (2011), and Mu'azu, (2003). The study provides a description of rudimental structure of Kulung via the descriptive model of Galadanci (1976).

Chapter one, is the introductory part of the work that offers a general background to the work. It projects some brief socio-linguistic particulars of the Kulung language and a brief history of the people. The geographical location where Kulung is spoken has been described using the maps of Nigeria and Taraba State. And in Taraba, the location of Karim-Lamido Local Government Area is spotted. The family tree of the Niger-Congo languages has been shown in figure 1.1, and also the family tree of Chadic of the Afro-Siatic langauges has been shown for opportunistic comparison in figure 1.2.

Sociolinguistically, Kulung has been described here as an endangered language. The phonetic-cum-alphabetic feature of Kulung has been tackled in this chapter, showing that the language has such uncommon segments as co-articulated labio-velars, palatal, velar nasals and serial phonetic

formations such as /ngy/ and /nkw/. At the higher segmental level the language is shown to have CV, CVV, CVC and CVVC syllabic formations that graduate into an agglutinative morphology that exhibits synthetic tendencies.

Finally in chapter one, Statement of the Research Problems, Aim and Objectives, Scope of the Study and Significance of the Study were discussed.

Chapter two acts as a foregrounding surveying the primitive concepts and the descriptive model of this study has been dicussed. The concept of the sentence and its constituents, the clause, the phrase and their word categories have been also discussed using the infrastructures of available literatures related to this study. Niger-Congo languages such as Yoruba, Bassa-nge and Jukun, while langueges of Afro-Siatic family such as Hausa, Kilba, Miship, Pero and Za:r. In this chapter, the study, first reviewed works generally on Kulung this is because there is virtually no work done on the grammar or syntax of the Language. Secondly, the study reviewed works on the Niger Congo phyla. Yoruba was reviewed where many aspects of the language related to the study has been analysed. The works of Adesola (2016) has been instructive. Another member of Niger-congo is Bassa-nge. Works on the grammar of Bassa-nge was examined particularly Mu'azu, Juma'a and Tebu, (2012). And also in Jukun the work of Ajiduku (2013) is related to the study.

Another group of languages which seems to have shared common syntactic properties with Kulung have been reviewed. They are related works on Afro-siatic phyla (Chadic) like Hausa, Galadanci (1976). In Kilba, Mu'azu (2009) has substantially described the structure of Kilba nominal phrase. It has been observed that the head of even nominal phrase can be a noun, a compound noun or pronoun. These elements are the pìllárs on which all the qualifiers are

assembled. This may be common with languages which are SVO. The example in Kilba is the maximal projection of the NP. It has been observed that sentence in Kilba is generally composed of NP and the VP. The grammatical elements found in both the NP and the VP has also been the phrase discussed in Mu'azu (2009). The work has provided this study the analytical procedures common in the grammatical description of undescribed languages.

In Miship, Mu'azu and Isah (2010), the first step in the review of this work on Miship resolves around what are the grammatical categories that form what constitute a sentence in Miship. In the work of Mu'azu and Isah (2010), an insight on the syntax of Miship has been provided. According to Mu'azu and Isah (2010) in Miship there are basic sentence types that perform similar functions, and take similar forms just like in the languages of the world. These are the declarative, interrogative and imperative. The declarative according to Mu'azu and Isah (2010:120) is used for making announcement, stating conclusions, making claims and relating stories. They further state that the interrogative elicits a verbal response from the addresses and is used to gain information. The imperative serves to make requests, to give orders and to make suggestions.

They further stated that the notion of compound sentence should be construed to mean two simple sentences or two independent clauses being joined or conjoined by the use of a coordinating conjunction. Miship language according to them, also makes use of such coordination to joined two sentences together. The notion of compound sentence is related to virtually all African languages, in Kulung compound sentence are equally coordinated by the conjunction such as *náakì* (and) *wó* (and).

In Pero, the work of Frajzyngier (1989) has been reviewed. Frajzyngier (1989:253) gives the rundown of sentences that have another sentence as a complement of the verb. According to him, the types and forms of complements are to a large degree determined by semantic features of the main verb but also by some other factors such as person, aspect, and tense. He further states that semantic functions of the sentences have been grammaticalized.

According to him in Pero, there are two types of verbs that require obligatory sentential complement. One type is represented by verbs describing a stage of the action. The second types are verbs which require an optative complement. The two groups have nothing in common and the fact that they are described under the same condition is due solely to the requirement that their complements be sentential. Perhaps the only connection between them is that they are in complementary distribution: while the first group may not have an optative complement the second group may allow only the optative complement. This makes the Pero language special.

In Za:r, the work of Caron (2005:) where he states that the language is spoken in the South of Bauchi State (Nigeria), in the Tafawa Balewa and Bogoro local government areas. He further states that in the absence of a population census, a rough estimate would put their population figure at 150,000.

He further states that Za:r uses verbal and non-verbal clauses. According to Caron (2005:208), verbal clause has the verb as the nexus. The verb, as a lexical category, is defined by its inability to assume any other function than that of nexus of a sentence. The verb is inflected for Aspect, Tense and Mood (TAM). In Za:r, this inflection is combined with a personal mark of agreement with the subject. In Kulung the verb is also inflected for aspect, tense and mood. The valency requirements of the verbs in Za:r and with that of Kulung are the same.

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Similarly, Caron (2005:212) notes that the Za:r has two verb classes: Middle (M) and H (H), which can be observed in the Perfective. The M class includes both 1- and 2- syllable verbs. A variant appears with some TAM (sp. the plural Imperfective) and depends on the [+/—V] nature of the initial consonant of the verb: [+V] = non implosive voiced obstruent. For short, he calls the Perfective form "lexical", and the other one "modified". This is also instructive.

In Kanuri, the work Bulakarima and Shettima (2011) is reviewed. According to their analysis, the sentence structure or word-order of Kanuri is subject object verb. This is how the language orders or groups its syntactic elements. Despite the basic arrangement (i.e. SOV) the language has another arrangement which is permitted though with case marking. This arrangement is object subject verb (OSV) arrangement. The most important syntactic feature of the Kanuri syntax is that the verb is always final in the sentence preceded by its subject and object. In all the two arrangements the verb is in the final position, on this presmise Galadanci's model of approach is adopted.

Finallay, Bulakarima and Shettima (2011:62) state that the two sentences, verbal and non-verbal, differ in the predicate part only. The subject part in both cases is always a noun phrase (NP) which may contain optional modifiers, just like it is obtained in Kulung. The modifiers are the determiners, the adjectives, the numerals, a relative clause, the possessive makers, etc. just like what is obtained in many languages, the sentence is divided into nominal and verbal segments whereas in the predicate part in the non-verbal sentence is also a noun phrase followed by optional modifiers. In the verbal sentence, the predicate part is always a verb phrase (VP) which may contain optional compliments. The compliments are the direct object (DO), the indirect object (10), adverbs, embedded sentences and any other post positional phrase (PP) that might come under a verb phrase.

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Similarly, various theories of syntax starting from the Traditional Grammar (TG), Immediate Constituent Analysis (ICA), and Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG) were reviewed. The study also reviewed the research progress of the transformational generative grammar such as phrase structure grammar, X-bar syntax, government and binding theory, minimalist programme. Lastly, the model of our analytical procedure would be based on works that was done on previously undescribed languages of Africa.

On the theoretical models of syntactic description, the various approaches to the study of syntax on the descriptive/structural approach are cited as the theoretical hinge of the dissertation.

Chapter three is the technical food store of the work. The research methodology including source and method of data collection and analysis have been discussed. The areas of the research are Bambur, Balasa, Banyam and Bamungun (Kwonci). The research population is made up of all the residents of four areas that formed Kulung. However, randomization was used to select the informants.

Furthermore, an attempt was made to describe the research informants or subject called sample. The description includes such information as age range of the research informant, nature of the informants' Educational background and occupation. On the collection of the data, this research adopted the multiple tools approach for collection of data. Different types of research technique were adopted in collection of the data.

Similarly, on the description of how the primary and secondary sources for this Syntactic study were gathered. The directly observed or witnessed occurrences and of the method employed by the research study. On the conduct of the interview, structured interview was another technique

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used for the data collection. During discussions with the informants, the researcher interviewed in a purely natural way, in a manner that could not distracts the mind of the informants.

Finally, the secondary source of data collection was tape recording. The interview was tape-recorded. The researcher discovered that this technique have so many advantages because it can be replayed severally for correct transcription. The data were recorded from fourty (40) informants, ten (10) from each location. The tape recording was transcribed, and later on the researcher examined the data systematically with the help of some secondary school teachers who are native speakers in order to avoid the analysis of ungrammatical sentences.

Chapter four represents the power house of the work because the data were presented and analyzed in relative details based on Kulung lexical categories such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Adverbs, prepositions and their subcategorial placements have been equally dealt with. Other details that have been taken care of pertaining to the lexical categories are cross-referentiality, collectivity, summation and determiner role, for instance in order to account for the NP in Kulung.

Moreso, Verbs, their satellites and subcategorizations have been dwelt upon, with tense marking as shown in this chapter. The syntactic functions of the verbal, the adjectival, and adverbial, prepositional, predicate, appositive, and infinitive phrases have all been discussed in relative details.

A typology of Kulung clause along the descriptivisit line of analysis has also been undertaken, with the outcome that Kulung could be indicated with the universal dyad of dependent and subordinate clauses. Subordinate clauses have been forth divided into Noun

clauses, Adjectival clauses, Adverbial clauses and their subtypes indicated. The structural and functional types of clauses have also been taken into consideration.

The crux of the matter in this work, the sentence, has been given ample attention in this chapter. The internal structures of the simple, compound, complex and compound-complex sentences have been scrutinized in this chapter, via the employment of labeled graphs or tree diagrams. In addition, a more rigorous scrutiny of the Kulung sentential structures has shown that the language has serial, consecutive, cumulative and multiple sentences at the structural level. From the functional angle, Kulung has been shown in this chapter to contain declarative, interrogative and imperative sentence. Other extra-ordinary structural features of the Kulung sentence such as the 'rather' construction and emphatic construction have also been taken into account. Others are the equational, existential, 'have', indirect object and quantifier constructions, all of which seem to call for special attention given their peculiar nature in Kulung.

Finally, this study has demonstrated that Kulung is a fixed word order language with a SVO manifestation and head-initial manifestations. Peculiarity, the auxiliary seems to have multiple functions, heralding the occurrence of the verb; the other function is bearer of present and future tenses. All in all, Kulung is a language worthy of further investigations.

5.2   Conclusion

Kulung as a minority language has the potentiality of providing insights into the nature of African languages. The descriptive method employed in this study has clearly demonstrated it viability in the description of African languages that are not described. The data for this study are mainly from Kulung with other languages cited for opportunistic comparisons. This is to show

how the structures are accounted for syntactic peculiarities. What makes a language different from another language is its structure and internal order of grammatical elements. Serial verb construction is one of the syntactic peculiarities of African languages.

Finally, the study was able to provide answers raised in relation to the grammatical categories needed for the adequate description of Kulung language. This was done by serial illustrations. Other important categories were also examined. These were functional categories needed for the description of the language. The study determined the correct word order typology of Kulung. The features that are common to all languages were examined with those features that are exclusively African.

5.3. Recommendations

The information provided in the study will help language planners, historical linguists, sociolinguists and comparative linguists in the furtherance of research on the data used in the study so as to affirm or discard claims made already in the structure of African languages.

5.4. Contribution to Knowledge

This study has contributed to knowledge in the following ways:-

1. Providing an insight into the study of African languages not previously been described. It has clearly demonstrated that the language is systematic and rule governed. The study has staged a move towards the adequate description of Kulung which may be one of the survival strategies of language preservation.

2. The study has stimulated fresh grounds in the study of a language that has very scanty literary works. It has also provided sociolinguistic information on the language and its status, in terms of endangerment.

3. Although Niger-Congo languages are beginning to be relatively well documented, little was known about many languages of the family among which Kulung is one of such languages. Filling the gap with a description as exhaustive as possible will improve the understanding of the evolution of Niger-Congo languages.

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KULUNG VERSION OF THE TEXT: ƁÁMU DOBNI ƁATÍKYÌ YESU

Niyén ni bashangme guroye yamaba ami mzùmzá? Yakenoi ni Yesu. A yèro sa wáwùna pákyè wúnì yi wa? Baibul ma su kanghi pip ghi mu Í: línà ki Í: yukle sum tébèl su dob ɓatíkyì

A shàkló ghi mu yami ɓo: a dabbo ɓatíkyì Yesu? Ghi bùnná ami tep mini. Mumoghwo:r ɓong sai su kanghi ghi mu Í: línà. Na Kuni mini ma mámbà ɓong sai su yèrásum pip ghi mu Í: na bi sum.

Ɓámbùrúm bùnná ma a khá:r matakuli á múrì Yesu. A yèro pibkhá:r ni ɓatíkyì Yesu? O'o ɓìkèn ni ɓatíkyì ba, ya kènná a ndaduwa ama buna ami ya na shàklí ghi mu Yesu ya mamme bá: Ni matkuli, kere ni ɓatíkyì mu ya wakni tébèl na pák poro: wo yi na ni ɓatíkyì.

Mera su ɓálkùn ámùrì ɓatíkyì Yesu, ni ya a nzumza. ɓámu kpwadwa dob ɓatíkyì Yesu ni Philip. Philip kyénne ki yugli layye Nathaniel ɓìkèn lílì ni Bartholomew mu gàbní yi dobna a jínè ngum muiɗa mu Nathanael yuá: bini Yesu ba, Yesu na bi ma bana pene ani ni munbírà ɓira yawo báshéngmè ɓálì, muni ɓaisrael ɗèngɗèng. Tep mini yílè Nathanael ki Í: yugli Yesu ma bana shàklí maleng?

Muiɗa mu Philip yukliyo, na a dobna a jínè ngun katankyéi, mu Yesu na bi tep mini yílè Nathanael, pák maleng mu Yesu shàklíni ban mu Í: Yánì, ki Nathanael na ma yo ni muni yámbà, lang yo ni Talla ye ɓalsra'ila, Ɓìkèn a kpadwa dobbe ɓatíkyì Yesu wo dulo moghow a duaye Philip nákì Nathanael.

Ni ɓei Yesu yabayukle ka dob ɓatíkyì? ɓánì ni Andrew wo yímbì Peter wo John nákì yímbì James. A zumi kúrò ɓari, ɓánì yining a fwá gyakhar porakha:r ba bwál nzhi, misa ɓira mu Yesu ya lute a kuni nigye: Galilee, ki gab Peter nákì Andrew a yaba sob taru. Ki Yesu yukli ya ma ɓana ku ka bi tíkyì mua a kenkene shindong ki Yesu gab James nákì John. A yà mí wárù wo tiri ya a yaba mur raga ghi bwál zhi. Yes yugli ya.

ENGLISH VERSION OF THE TEXT: THOSE WHO BECAME JESUS' DISCIPLES.

Who is the great servant of God that ever lived? You are right, Jesus Christ. Do you think that we can be like him? Well, the Bible says that he set the example for us to follow. And he invites us to be his disciples.

Do you know what it means to be a disciple of Jesus? It means many things. First, we must learn from him. But that is not enough. We must also believe what he says. If we do, we will do what he tells us.

Many people say that they believe in Jesus. Do you think all of them are his disciples? No, most of them are not. They may go to church, but they don't learn from him. Only those who follow Jesus' example are his disciples.

Let's talk about some of those who were Jesus' disciples when he was a man on earth. One of the first to become a disciple is Philip. Philip goes to find his friend Nathanael (also called Bartholomew), whom you see sitting under a tree. When Nathanael comes to Jesus, Jesus says: 'See, here is an honest man, a true son of Israel.' Nathanael is surprised and asks: 'How do you know me?'

"Before Philip called you, while you were under the fig tree, I saw you,." Jesus says. Nathanael is amazed that Jesus knew exactly where he was, so Nathanael says: "You are the Son of God, you are King of Israel."

Others became disciples of Jesus the day before Philip and Nathanael did.

Whoh is Jesus calling to be his disciples?

These are Andrew and his brother Peter as well as John and perhaps John's brother James. After a while, however, these four go back to their fishing business. Then one day while Jesus is walking beside the Sea of Galilee, he sees Peter and Andrew letting down a fishing net into the sea. Jesus calls to them: "Come after me."

Going a little farther, Jesus sees James and John. They are in a boat with their father, fixing their fishing nets.

Simple Sentences

Mumma mínì ní gyàm
Lit: Woman this is mother my
Gloss: This woman is my mother

Lá: ri dure:
Lit: house the destroyed
Gloss: Te house has collapsed

Lá: mini ní yàm
Lit: house this is mine
Gloss: This house is mine

Yamba wo poreh
Lit: God with work his
Gloss: God's work

Yámbà year ɓarum nzumza
Lit: God love people world
Gloss: God loves all the people on earth

Yesu wube mushi bandole
Lit: Yesu open eyes blindman
Gloss: Jesus cussed the believed from blindness

Ngwubu be: nki
Lit: Hen laid egg
Gloss: The hen laid an egg

Musa kúrèh dokwol pinna
Lit: Musa buy-past cap black
Gloss: Musa has bought a black cap

Adam kóbè Bápínnè shilla
Lit: Adamu put on black colour trouser
Gloss: Adamu wore a black trouser

Munbíràri; níngyè nu nkar
Lit: man the stop drink alcohol
Gloss: The man has stop drinking

Jawa yam ɓunne
Lit: axe my break
Gloss: My axe is broken

A kokhá:r yi a póròh
Lit: They sent him away in work
Gloss: He was dismissed from work

Baibul ni tébèl yámbà
Lit: Bible is talk of God
Gloss: The bible is the words of God

Kachak bole debba
Lit: Trap catch-past hyena
Gloss: The trap has caught a Hyena

Compound Sentence

     Musa kyá: mfwà ama Í: píllè mela

Lit: Musa go farm and he come back now

Gloss: Musa has gone to the farm but he is back now

     Maina kúrèh mato na Hammayo bak agye lá:

Lit: Musa buy-past car and Hammayo

Gloss   Musa bought a car but Hammayo built a house

     Í: sabna na tiri kibna dèng

Lit: he tall and father his short very

Gloss: He is tall but his father is too short

     Í: kyà póròh na maman kyà kaswa

Lit: I go wrk and wife my go market

Gloss: He has gone to work but his wife has gone to the market

     Í: yaba bálghì na mami yaba twu: ngyel

Lit: he is reading and wife his sing song

Gloss: He is reading while his wife is singing

     John yawoghi na woyímbì nong ni zalla

Lit: John is with something and his brother sleep with hunger

Gloss: John is rich but his brother use to stay without ford

     Tun ɓara ɓara Í: ya póròh ama Í: bak lá: ba

Lit: Since before before he is working and he buld house not

Gloss: Far too long he has been working but he has no house

     Í: yawo móndòlóng ama Í: bíràwo munbamun

Lit: He have money but he have no small boy

Gloss: He is rich but he has no son

     Í: yaghe: ama Í: gogyé bànsari

Lit: He old but he marry-past gilr

Gloss: He is old but he married a young girl

     Í: bib wánè ama ki gogyé bànsari wadew

Lit: He ugly much but he marry-past beautiful girl

Gloss: He is very ugly but he married a beautiful girl

     Bamburum yèr matakili ba ama a yèr ntan

Lit: People like truth not but they like lies

Gloss: People don't like the truth but they cherish falsehood

     Bamburum biken yèr póròh ba ama ayèr momnungo

Lit: People some like work not but they like enjoyment

Gloss: Some people don't like work but they like enjoyment

     Ya wop yámbàre ko ya wop shetan?

Lit: You worship God or you worship Satan?

Gloss: Are you going to worship God or you will worship Satan?

     Yi ni ba binna na mani ni mánzàrà

Lit: He is black and wife his white woman

Gloss: He is a black man but he married a white woman

     Í: yawo mato na Í: kengye póròh ni zong

Lit: He has car and he go work with leg

Gloss: He has a car but he goes to work on foot

Complex Sentences

Ya gog ɓamma ɓari ba ɓo a dobbO ɓákammusu

Lit: You marry wife two not if you become Christian

Gloss: One will not marry two wives if he becomes a Christian

Ya nu nkàrí ba ɓo a dobbo ɓabarkuda

Lit: You drink alcholo not if you become Muslim

Gloss: One will not drink alcohol if he becomes a Muslim

Ɓo m kùmán móndòlóng na m gogna bámmà

Lit: If I get money that I marry woman

Gloss: If I have money I will marry a wife

Ɓo m malam mákànta na kumna póròh

Lit: If I finish school that get work

Gloss: If I finish my studies I will be employed

Ɓo m yakhàm takma na kura mato

Lit: If I collect loan I ful buycar

Gloss: If I take loan I will buy a car

Ɓo musa kye a gwaten na wuriya tenna

Lit: If Musa go hospital his body ful ftrong

Gloss: If Musa will go to the hospital he will be cured

Yámbà na ma bo a ɓommo ya kumna

Lit: God say thatif you look for you will find

Gloss: God says if you seek you will find

Yesu na ma bo a bangho:r yámbà na ya shaklínà ghi

Lit: Jesus say that if you fear God you will know something

Gloss: Jesus says if one fears the lord he will be bless

Musa na bi baisaraila bo a wop yámbà ba nay a gábnà ngwu

Lit: Moses say to Irraelites if the did not worship Godthewill se hardship

Gloss: Moses told the Israelites that if they do not worship God the will suffer.

Ɓo ɓara dobbe ndangsang na ɓamburum gabi ndangsang

Lit: If some behave useless people will take him useless

Gloss: If one regards himself to be nobody, he will be regarded as nobody

Ɓo bó: mini kore na iri fwána a mákànta

Lit: If year finsh he will go back school

Gloss: At the end of this year's will go back to school

Mìnám ma munam bo yámbà yare Iri dobbna hi bamanghi

Lit: By special grace of God my son will become a teacher too.

Ɓo yámbà yèrè Iri dobna bamondolong gungu

Lit: By God acceptance he will beome rich future

Gloss: By God grace he will become rich too

Na ma bo kasha ghi Í: ri kurra pur

Lit: Say that if harvest something he will buy-past horse

Gloss: Dangánà said he will buy a horse after harvest.

Ma dungu Í: gule Í: gokgye Gabíràn

Lit: When she grow she mary Gabriel

Gloss: That when she grows, she will marry Gabriel

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