Grammaticalization of propositional and phrasal relators in Chadic

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Abstract: The purpose of this study is to show that different languages code different functional domains when it comes to relationships between nouns and between clauses. The scope of the present study is limited to subdomains which, when translated into the language of symbolic logic, would be represented as p & q. The study demonstrates that instead of the simple category 'nominal coordinating conjunction', some languages have grammaticalized two functional domains. The second part of the study explores the little-studied process of the grammaticalization of the sequential marker from verbs of movement. The study demonstrates that grammaticalization occurred through a discourse formula, whereby the speaker resumes the discourse at the last verb of movement, either by repeating the same verb or by using another verb of movement. The new verb of movement becomes a departing point for the narration of the subsequent event. Methodological implications for typology of grammatical categories constitute the third part of the present study.

1 The aim, scope and method of the study

The general aim of the present study is to explore the grammaticalization of the domain of the relationship between noun phrases and between clauses. The scope is restricted to subdomains which, when translated into the language of symbolic logic, would be represented as p & q. The purpose of this study is to show that different languages code different functional domains when it comes to relationships between nouns and between clauses, and that translating these relationships into the language of symbolic logic or into a natural language with different functional domains eliminates or obfuscates the distinctions actually made in the source language.

The notion of functional domain is defined in the present study as in Frajzyngier & Mycielski 1998:
(a) A functional domain $D$ is a class of expressions with a certain set of meanings $D^*$, such that $D^*$ is disjoint with $E^*$ for any domain $E \neq D$ of the same language;
(b) The expressions within domain $D$ are mutually exclusive and are constructed by the set of specific coding means $M^*(D)$;
(c) The expressions within the domain $D$ have a specific pragmatic or semantic function in common.

The description of a grammar of a language $L$ should consist of at least three components:

1. A list of functional domains $D_1, D_2, \ldots$, defined in terms of their sets of meanings $(D_1)^*, (D_2)^*, \ldots$;
2. Alternative descriptions of $D_1, D_2, \ldots$, defined in terms of their coding means $M(D_1), M(D_2), \ldots$;
3. The means of construction of expressions composed of expressions belonging to different domains of $L$.

The proposed approach is diametrically different from that taken by Stassen (2000), who postulates “a language-independent definition of the domain of the inquiry, that is a demarcation of the relevant body of facts, which can be applied to any language, regardless of its structural characteristics” (Stassen 2000: 4). Instead, I argue for a typology that involves comparing the functional domains and subdomains actually grammaticalized in specific languages rather than comparing prototypical categories that are artifacts of the linguist’s assumptions about the forms and functions of these categories. Within the proposed approach, a functional domain cannot be said to exist in a given language $L$ unless it is coded by a grammatical (rather than periphrastic) means of that language. The specific range of a given functional domain can be established only by contrasting it with other functional domains in the same language.

The application of this concept to the present study is as follows. If a language has only one means – e.g. a conjunction – of constructing a set consisting of two or more tokens of a given category – e.g. nouns – then the language must be said to have only one functional domain with regard to this type of set construction; the marker used to construct such a set does not have any other function than to construct a set. It is this function, that of set construction, that probably gave rise to the logical symbol ‘&’. However, if a language has two or more means of constructing sets of tokens from the same category –
e.g., if the language has two or more conjunctions – the functions of these different means must be discovered.

In what follows, I first illustrate the functions encoded by the system of conjunctions in Polish, then describe the functions of the system of conjunctions in Gidar, a Central Chadic language.

One advantage of having discovered the function of a form is that it allows us to better explain its grammaticalization. The final two sections of this study are devoted to a discussion of the grammaticalization of conjunctions in Gidar and the grammaticalization of propositional relators in Hdi and Mina, two other Central Chadic languages.

2 Syntactic set and semantic set

In Frązyngier 1986 and 1987, I discuss certain aspects of the conjunctions *i* and *a* in Polish. The significance of these conjunctions for the present study is that, when translated into the language of symbolic logic, both will be represented by ‘&’. Although their syntactic functions appear to be identical, I will show that the two conjunctions are quite distinct.

The marker *i* indicates that two nouns that form a syntactic set, i.e., a set that has the same function within a clause or sentence, also belong to one set in the extra-linguistic world, i.e., the universe outside of language, whether real or imagined:

(1) a teraz gołe pole i trawy
   CONJ now naked field CONJ grass:PL
   ‘and now an empty field and grasses’ (Sources)

(2) może wywiozę ją do lasu i
   may be drive out:FUT:1SG 3F:ACC PREP forest:DAT CONJ
   każę, by wąchała żywicę i igliwie.
   order:FUT:1SG SUBJ smell:3F:PAST resin:ACC CONJ needles
   ‘Maybe I will take her to the forest and tell her to smell resin and needles’ (Sources refers to electronic version of sources to Kurcz & al. 1990)

The evidence that the conjunction *i* codes a set is that it forms subsets among groups of elements having the same grammatical function, such as subject or object. In the following fragment, the conjunction *i*
is used to conjoin sets of antonyms, all of which have the grammatical function of object:

(3) fotografuję twarze chude, opasłe, młode, stare, photograph:PRES:1SG face:PL slim fat young old
    brzydkie i ładne, sympatyczne i odrażające
    ugly CONJ pretty sympathetic CONJ repulsive
    twarze pijaków i głupawych ascetów.
    face:PL drunk:PL CONJ slightly stupid ascetic:PL
    Nadęte władzą i splaszczona pokora.
    puffed up power:INSTR CONJ flattened humility:INSTR
    Twarze debilów i maniaków
    face:PL feeble minded:N:PL CONJ maniac:PL
    twarze nietknięte złem i zbrodniście.
    face:PL untouched evil:INSTR CONJ criminal:ADJ:PL

'I photograph [all kinds of] faces: slim, fat, young, old, ugly and pretty, sympathetic and repulsive. Faces of drunkards and stupid ascetics. Faces puffed up by power and flattened by humility. Faces of feeble-minded and of maniacs. Faces untouched by evil and criminal faces.' (Sources)

In contrast, the conjunction $a$ in Polish indicates that two constituents, whether nouns, adjectives, or verbs, have the same grammatical role within a given construction but belong to different sets in the extra-linguistic world:

(4) odkąd wprowadziłam do świątyni Sodomy posąg
    since introduce:PAST:1SG:F PREP temple Sodom monument
    Tamuza ofiaruje się kwiaty $a$ nie dzieci
    Tamuz:GEN offer REF flower CONJ NEG children

'Ever since I have introduced into the temple of Sodom the monument of Tamuz, flowers are offered instead of children'
(5) pojechałem na jego miejsce, tą drugą
drogi, kamienistą, błotną, polską.

'I went instead of him, on this other road, stony, muddy, and Polish. Dangerous and painful' (Sources)

The same conjunction codes an unexpected proposition and a number of related functions (Frajzyngier 1986, 1987):

(6) kto jest ślepy a kto widzący gwiazd
who be blind conj who see:part stargazer:voc

"Who is blind and who can see? Tell me, stargazer" (Sources)

Typically, the conjunction a occurs between two nouns when the nouns are preceded by the preposition między ‘between’, an inherent two set divider:

(7) musiałbym się przecisnąć między
must:past:m:hyp:1sg refl squeeze between

nim a filarami
3m conj column:pl:instr

'I would have to squeeze by between him and the columns' (Sources)

(8) coraz bardziej zaciera się
each time more erase refl

granica między snem a jawą.
border between dream:instr conj reality:instr

'More and more, the distinction between the dream and reality gets erased' (Sources)

(9) między kobietą a mężczyzną.
between woman:instr conj man:instr

'between a woman and a man' (Sources)
(10) między nią a słupem latarni
between her CONJ column lantern GEN
‘between her and the light post’ (Sources)

Thus, form i indicates that the speaker considers the two members of a conjunction to belong to different sets in the real world.

3 Nominal conjunctions in Gidar

Gidar also has more than one means of forming a set whose members have the same grammatical function within a higher construction. One is the conjunction gōm, glossed here as CONJ, and the other is dò, which is otherwise the associative marker and is glossed as ASSC. The present discussion focuses, however, on the non-associative function of dò.

The conjunction gōm indicates that the syntactic set also represents a set in some extra-linguistic world. The conjunction dò indicates that the syntactic set does not constitute a set in the extra-linguistic world. First, the evidence for the proposed functions of the two conjunctions.

3.1 Coding a syntactic set that is also a semantic set

Nouns conjoined by gōm have the same grammatical role, i.e., they both function together as subjects, objects, or adjuncts. All elements of the set created by the conjunction gōm also act as one set in extra-linguistic reality. When the conjoined elements function as subjects, the verb has to have plural subject coding:

(11) áfü-t wänk gōm dìi nā
father-3F girl CONJ people GEN
mékgé à-nähá-ŋ-k nā glük
neighborhood 3M-say-PL-PRF COMP woman
nā tîmé tò glük nā tîmé tò
gen sheep COP.F woman GEN sheep COP.F

‘The father of the girl and the neighbors said, “The woman belongs to Sheep.”’
(12) tài-y őzbaŋ glá til-ti dʒ-ūulà gòbá ındàyá
PROG-3M follow trace foot-3PL assc-look pod chickpea
gôm möylo án mòz dʒ-dà-yò só dòf gàbál
CONJ ashes REL REL 3M-D.PROG-fall PREP interior bag

‘He followed their traces by looking at the chickpea pods and ashes that had fallen from inside the bag’

If there are more than two conjuncts, the conjunction gôm is used only before the last conjunct. In this respect, it behaves like a coordinating conjunction in many Indo-European languages:

(13) màmbà ná krà dàrljè time gôm hàw-kò
story GEN dog hyena sheep CONJ goat-F
‘A story of Dog, Hyena, Sheep, and Goat’

(14) à-kài-k gàbál möylo gôm gòbá ındàyá
3M-search-PRF bag ashes CONJ pod chickpea
‘He searched for a bag, ashes, and chickpea pods.’

The conjoined phrase may be the object of a preposition. The dative preposition só (which acquires high tone from the following pronoun in phrase internal position, and becomes só) codes the gender and number of the first noun, if this noun is third-person masculine or feminine singular:

(15) nà-lbàhò-k wàli só-n tìzì gôm kòzà
1 SG-buy-PRF cow DAT-3M Tizi CONJ Kiza
‘I bought a cow for Tizi and Kiza’

(16) nà-lbàhò-k wàli só-t kòzà gôm tìzì
1 SG-buy-PRF cow DAT-3F Kiza CONJ Tizi
‘I bought a cow for Kiza and Tizi’

The coding of each noun by its own dative preposition indicates that each of the members of the conjoined noun phrase is the beneficiary of a separate object:

(17) nà-lbàhò-k wàli só-t kòzà gôm só-n tìzì
1 SG-buy-PRF cow DAT-3F Kiza CONJ DAT-3M Tizi
‘I bought one cow for Kiza and one for Tizi’
3.2 Coding a syntactic set that is not a set in the extra-linguistic world

The associative preposition in Gidar is dɔ. This preposition, unlike the coordinating conjunction gɔm, is followed by a pronoun coding the gender and number of the following noun. The masculine singular is unmarked. The associative preposition can occur between two nouns:

(18) tîlim dɔ mɔliy ná wâlânglâ
    Tîlim ASSC chief GEN village
    ‘Tîlim and the chief of the village’

Unlike the nominal coordinating conjunction gɔm, the associative preposition dɔ cannot occur in constructions consisting of more than two nouns. This fact indicates that the function of the form dɔ is not merely to conjoin nouns. In fact, the inability of the form dɔ to occur in constructions with more than two nouns is consistent with its function of indicating that the speaker indicates that the two nouns do not form a set in the extra-linguistic world.

The construction noun-associative phrase can occur in the object position after the verb. However, the first noun after the verb functions as object, while the noun following the associative marker is an adjunct that just happens to occur after the object noun phrase:

(19) pày tâkâ kân ná mɔliy ná wâlânglâ
day one then TOP chief GEN village
    à-kîy-í-k wàli miçîlîn sà-n âfɔ-n ŋglâ
    3M-bring-3M-PRF cow male DAT-3M father-3M house
    dɔ-mdàgàng-ɔn wàli vàn dɔ wûtɔ-ŋi
    3M:SUBJ-bring back-3M cow DEF ASSC child-3M

    ‘One day, the chief of the village brought a bull to a father of
    the family, so that he would bring this cow back together with
    its calf’.

Nouns conjoined by the form dɔ can have the same function within a higher linguistic construction. The conjoined nouns are also subjects of the clause, as evidenced by the third-person plural subject coding on the verb:
(20) páy tákà dák ḏá-t mbódá-t
day one woman ASSC-F in-law-3f
ā-ddó-ŋgú-k ʾbkây sɔsɛmɛ
3M-go:TOT-PL-PRF find wood

‘One day, a woman with her co-wife went to find firewood’

The same two nouns may be joined on one occasion by the conjunction gɔm and on another occasion by the associative preposition. In the following examples, taken from a narrative, the protagonists act as one set early in the story and so are conjoined by gɔm. Note that for both conjunctions the verb has the third person plural subject coding:

(21) krâ gɔm dɔrlĩŋɛ né-t ḏá-kây-án zɔgáa
dog CONJ hyena GEN-3PL 3M-search-PL thing
ā mɑŋgává lù ná úzóm tîvè tîvè bà
PREP beside meat GEN eat road road NEG

‘As for Dog and Hyena, they were not looking for something other than meat to eat on the road’

Later in the narrative, when the protagonists have become adversaries, the fact that they no longer form a semantic set is coded by the associative preposition ḏá.

(22) dɔrlĩngen ḏá krâ ndɛ né-t ḏá-kây-ŋ zɔgá
hyena ASSC dog since GEN-3PL 3M-search-PL thing
ā zà ītù nà-t bà tâ-y ɔzóm-ŋ
PREP side meat GEN-3F NEG PROG-3M eat-PL
lù sù zà ʾʔnnû-kû
meat PREP side ANAPH-DEM

‘Hyena and Dog, since they did not search for anything to eat other than meat, ate the meat from that part.’
3.3 Grammaticalization of the two conjunctions in Gidar

The nominal coordinating conjunction góm probably was grammaticalized directly from the verb góm ‘take’. The tone of this verb varies with the type of object. If the object is indefinite, the verb has high tone and its perfective suffix is low-tone schwa:

(23a) à-gómɔ-k gɔrdù à-kpɔ-ɔ-k à màkrá-nì
    3M-take-PRF knife 3M-plunge-3M-PRF PRF heart-3M

mày à-mtɔ-kà
    ASSC.PL 3M-die-PRF

‘He took a knife, plunged it into his heart, and died.’

(23b) mó-góm-n-yì ły ná tìmè kàná
    NOM-take-3M-COP meat GEN sheep then

mó-dì-n-yì à kà gēnëk
    NOM-put-3M-COP PRF on shed

‘The meat of Sheep was taken then and put on the shed.’

If the object is masculine definite, the verb has low tone and the perfective suffix is high-tone schwa:

(24) móliy à-gómɔ-k pɔ́lis ná-nì, à-tèn-k
    chief 3M-take-PRF horse GEN-3M 3M-mount-PRF

à kà-nì mày tà-y ɔddɔ-nì
    PREP on-3M ASSC.PL PROG-3M go-TOT-PL

dɔ sómbɔ màngàk à wàná vàntì
    ASSC Sombo together PREP bush DEF

‘The chief took his horse, mounted it, and went together with Sombo to the bush’

(25) àfù-t vàn à-m ná dɔf à-n ná
    father-3F DEF man COMP REL-M COMP

gómɔ-t wɔttù-w kà glik nà-n ná
    take-3F daughter-1SG as wife GEN-3M COMP
'Her father said, "The man who would take my daughter as his wife should bring enough meat for its weight to make my shed here fall down."

The development of the verb 'take' into a preposition used in forming a set is well attested in other languages (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002).

As mentioned earlier, the conjunction indicating that two elements belong to different semantic sets is identical with the associative preposition ḍà. The form ḍà has a variety of functions in contemporary Gidar, all of which involve adding an additional noun phrase to a clause:

(26) kiri-n mólí á-łá-n pák ḍà bín vání
children-3M chief 3M-burn-PL all ASSC roof DEF

'The children of the chief all burned together with the roof.'

The associative preposition may code an adverb of time:

(27) dàsō-k gó-n tó-plá-nó-k màdíyá
DEM-DEM wife-3M 3f-leave-3M-PRF ladle
ná-tà tó- móhó-k ọkkáyà-ní
GEN-3F 3f-return-PRF search-3M

'Earlier, his wife had left her ladle, [and] she returned to look for it.'

(28) krà mó-bá-n dò tù ná dûtüké á-mpó
dog nom-sate-3m ASSC meat GEN hyena 3M-eat
tivé tivé a-ńjáhr-sk á mólá ná ńkïlë
road road 3M-turned toward-PRF PREP river drink water

'Dog having been sated with the meat of Hyena that he ate on the road, stopped over at a river to drink water.'
ndé á-gáp á mólpa á-so-k nkilé vani
when 3M-arrive prep river 3M-drink-prf water def
sisí-n á-m ná wá swáy dó ólyóbó ná-t
after-3M 3M-say comp fut swear assc charcoal gen-f
dák mólpa á-dá lná dá dó krà bá
center river 3M-fut meet ever assc dog neg

‘When he arrived at the river he drank the water, said that he was going to swear with the coal from the center of the river [by eating it] that he was never going to meet the dog’

The noun phrase marked by the associative preposition may indicate the manner of the event:

dörbégé-tí á-tiñó-k  ámbăr lèŋlèŋ dásó-k bó
after-3PL 3M-start-prf chew bone dem-dem also
kírti-n móliy tà-ŋ á dá-kà
children-3M chief be-3PL prep dem-dem

‘When he started chewing on the bone, at the same time the children of the chief were there.’

The associative phrase also may code a participant of an event that cannot be coded by configuration alone because of the subcategorization properties of the verb:

ígà sisí-ní dörlíjé á-lná dó krà bá
from from-3M hyena 3M-meet assc dog neg
‘It is from that time that the hyena does not meet the dog.’

timó á-róm báná dó-t hów-kà
sheep 3M-catch friendship assc-f goat-f
‘Sheep befriended a female goat.’
Whether the conjoining function developed from the associative function, as has often been reported in the literature (cf. Mithun 1988), is not at all clear. Given the fact that *dɔ* as a conjunction indicates that two elements belong to different sets in the extra-linguistic world, it is conceivable that the marker developed in the opposite direction, from the marker of coding things apart to the associative conjunction. This direction of grammaticalization is attested elsewhere: Watkins 1976 derives the English associative preposition ‘with’ from Old English ‘wither’, meaning ‘against’, which is related to Proto-Indo-European *swi* ‘apart, in half’.

Since the preposition *dɔ* takes feminine and plural object suffixes (the masculine is unmarked), it probably developed originally from a verb. However, which verb it was cannot be determined as yet.

4 Grammaticalization of sequential markers in Chadic

4.1 Introduction

The symbol ‘&’ in symbolic logic is used to represent the presumed universal function of conjoining two propositions. However, many Chadic languages have grammaticalized two subdomains of conjoining propositions, both of which would be represented symbolically by ‘&’.

The first subdomain, usually marked by asynthetic conjoining, codes an unspecified relationship between the two propositions. The second, usually marked by a sequential clause marker, codes a temporal and/or causal relationship whereby the event described in the second clause is a temporal or causal consequence of the event described in the first clause (see Frajzyngier 1996). In Frajzyngier 1996, I propose several sources for the markers of a sequential clause. In the present paper, I would like to add one more source, viz. the verb of directional motion. For the sake of providing a common gloss across languages, this verb will be glossed as ‘go’. Heine & Kuteva 2002 give examples of the grammaticalization of the verb ‘come’ into a consecutive clause marker. In the present section, I demonstrate that the sequential marker has been grammaticalized from the verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to come’ in Chadic languages. The fact that this phenomenon has been observed in several languages points to a probable areal influence, especially since the verbs involved have different phonological forms.
In Hdi, a Central Chadic language, there is a verb of directional movement *là*. It appears that the unmarked meaning of this verb is ‘go to a place lower than the place of departure’:

(33) **là-là**
    ‘He descended’

Various extensions add points of view of movement and also different spatial configurations:

(34) **là-ghù-là**
    go-D:PVS-go
    ‘He left [the place where the speaker is]’

**là-ghà-là**
    go-D:PVG-go
    ‘He arrived [at a place other than the one where the speaker is]’

(35) **tà xùl-à tsá mánusà kà là-f-i dá mókólò**
    prep back-GEN DFF then seq go-UP-1SG prep Mokolo
    ‘Afterwards I went to Mokolo.’

(36) **là à ká ndá tà tsá wù**
    go NEG 2SG toward prep DFF NEG
    ‘You did not go there?’

The verb *là* has become a grammatical marker. The evidence for its grammaticalization is provided by clauses in which the verb *là* occurs but any interpretation of directional movement is ruled out. In the following examples, the grammatical functions of the verb *là* are bolded. Participants of the event in the second clause are in the same spatial location as in the first clause:

(37) **tsghà-dà-f xáxùn tà sàni là-ghà-ní**
    put up-ALL-UP 3PL OBJ one go-D:PVG-3SG
    mbàd kà tà tsghà-dà-f-tà sàni zlíbi
    then comp seq send-ALL-UP-REF one bag
    ‘They sent up one bag, then they sent another bag.’
The exact function of the marker lá remains to be explained. This marker indicates that an event follows another event in time. The subjects of the two events may be different or the same.

(38) mbàd' kà-'á kà w-i-g-in-tà kà
then COMP-3SG SEQ take.PL-AWAY-INV-3REF SEQ
lá-ghw-í difà-ná-tà zwàn-à-ní
go-D:SO-REF hide-3REF child:PL-GEN-3SG

‘He took his children and hid them.’

(39) kà lá-ghá tsà tsìmòk-xà-ní yá mbdà-p-tà
SEQ go-D:PVG DEF enemy-PL-3SG DEM replace-OUT-REF
tsà kditx-á-nì yá ndá vùvù'ìkwá kditx
DEF donkey-GEN-3M DEM ASSC small donkey

‘And his enemies replaced his donkey with a smaller one.’

4.2 The path of grammaticalization

4.2.1 Hdi

The grammaticalization of the verb ‘go’ into a sequential marker could be viewed as resulting from the inherent lexical properties of the verb and the inherent semantic properties of the sequence of events, such that the verb is construed as particularly appropriate for encoding the desired properties of the events. This type of reasoning lies behind most metaphor-based explanations of grammaticalization. A closer look at the grammatical uses of the verb lá in Hdi, however, points to a different process. In many examples, the verb lá in its grammatical function is preceded by a lexical use of the same verb in the same sentence or paragraph. Moreover, lá in its grammatical function takes the same extensions and the same subject coding as lá in its lexical function. It would appear, therefore, that the grammatical function represents a resumption, as it were, of the situation described in the preceding clause. Compare the lexical and grammatical functions in the following examples:
(41) lá-ghà pákaw ghúvi kà yà
  go-D:PVG hyena thus SEQ go-OUT
  díngá-f-tà tsá mbízà yà
  put on fire-UP-REF DEF bean dish DEF

‘After Hyena went, he put the bean dish on the fire.’

(42) mbàd kà kri kà lá-b-i
  then COMP dog SEQ go-OUT-REF

‘Then Dog got out [from an enclosed space].’

lá-ghà pákaw ghúvi kà mná-n-tà kri
  go-D:PVG hyena SEQ tell-3-REF dog
  yàgh-kà dá ńgh-ū dá sígà yà
  should not-2SG PURP look-3-PRP pot DEF
  kà-'á mná-ná-tà
  COMP-3SG tell-DEM-REF

‘And Hyena said to Dog, “Do not look inside this pot”, he told him.’

It is very possible that, over time, the repeated form of the verb ‘go’ is first used with other sequential markers as in example (42) above, and that eventually it came to stand alone as the marker of sequential clause.

Another potential source of grammaticalization lies in clauses where movement is involved but where the verb lá with its extensions, if any, is followed by another verb. In this case, the verb lá functions as an auxiliary verb, which eventually is treated as a sequential marker:
4.2.2 Mina

The explanation proposed for Hdi appears to be valid also for Mina, a Central Chadic language that is spoken several hundred kilometers south of Hdi and that has a very different grammatical structure from Hdi. The verb ‘go’ in Mina is ndà, ndà when followed by the distal extension (h)à. This verb has both the lexical function ‘go’ and the grammatical function of sequential marker. As in Hdi, the two functions often co-occur within the same clause. The explanation is as follows: The verb ndà ‘go’ is repeated so as to resume the narrative at the preceding point, whose event has been completed. As in Hdi, the sequential clause and the preceding clause may have the same or different subjects. If the subjects are the same, there is no overt coding of the subject in the sequential clause, provided the sequential clause has a non-reduplicated verb:

\[(44) \text{ábà ndà ngò̀n wütà} \]
\[\text{then go-D:SO 3SG village} \]
\[\text{‘Then she returned to her village’} \]

\[\text{ndà yá ngúl ngò̀n á hiy} \]
\[\text{go-D:SO call husband 3SG PREP room} \]
\[\text{‘and called her husband into the room’} \]

If the sequential contains a reduplicated verb, the subject must be coded between the reduplicated forms of the verb:

\[(45) \text{zágiyi tíl ndò bòt i bòtì-hà-w gàd bò} \]
\[\text{courtiers go go take 3PL take-D:SO-3SG push ASSC} \]

\[\text{wál wà tā̀y} \]
\[\text{WOMAN DEM DEM} \]
\[\text{‘The courtiers went and brought it [the calabash] with the woman’} \]
Different subjects:

(46) ḥi ndɔ lũ-ũ-ŋ mɔ ndɔ-hɔ
   2pl. go say-obj-3sg subj go-d:so
   'Go tell him to come here.'

ndɔ yá i y-ũ
   go call 3pl. call-3sg
   'and they called him'

Evidence for the grammaticalization of *ndɔ* as the sequential marker is provided by the fact that it can be used without any previous use of *ndɔ* in its lexical function, although it is preceded by another verb of movement. The movement interpretation for the form *ndɔ* is ruled out:

(47) hɔs ndɔ dɛw kɔ
   arrive go stay aff
   'He arrived and stayed.'

The distinction between the use of the form *ndɔ* without extensions and the form with the distal extension provides another piece of evidence for the grammaticalization of the sequential marker from the verb 'go'. The sequential marker has the distal extension only when the event starts elsewhere and culminates at the deictic center. The unmarked form, i.e., the form without distal extension, is used when the sequential event has its culmination away from the deictic center:

(48) zèb zèb á zèb-ũ ndɔ dzẹŋ wàl ngɔn nákähɔ
   follow follow 3sg follow-3sg go find wife 3sg dem
   'He followed [the footsteps] and found his wife' [at the place where the wife went]
(49) kɔ ndɔ zɔ fii ndɔ dzɔŋ zɔvɔŋ-yii i mɔr rɔ
INF go be all go find guinea fowl-PL 3PL graze D.HAB
‘Each time she went, she found guinea fowl grazing’
[at the place where she went]

The unmarked form of the verb is also used when the event takes place entirely at a deictic center, without previous movement away from it:

(50) bɔt ɔ bɔt kɔyɔ ɔ hɔ mɔl kɔ
start 3SG start INTERJ 2PL catch AFF
‘He started yikes! stop (PL) him’

sɛy ndɔ mɔl wɔl wɔ mɔl kɔ
so go catch woman DEM catch AFF
‘So the woman stopped it.’

The form with the distal extension is used when the sequential event starts elsewhere and culminates at the deictic center:

(51) dzɔŋ ɔ dzɔŋ-ɔ mɔ ɔ gjɔˈdɔn nɔkɔ wɔhɔŋ
find 3SG find-D:SO REL GEN single DEM DEM
nd-ɔ nɔz ɔ nɔz kɔ nɔ lɑy tɔŋ
go-D:SO throw 3SG throw AFF PREP place DEM

‘He found the one sesame seed of those [that were counted] and threw it into its place [in the bag].’ [the place where the sesame seed was found is different from the place where the bag was]

The following example contains three instances of the sequential marker. In the first, the unmarked form is used, since the event takes place outside of the deictic center. In the second, the form with the distal marker is used, since the event culminates at the deictic center. The third instance is in the unmarked form because the event takes place entirely at the deictic center. The first sentence of the fragment provides the necessary background for understanding the subsequent two sentences:
(52) wàl wù á ndí tàl ngòn dàp á ndí
wife DEM 3SG HAB walk 3SG only 3SG HAB

tàl ngòn dàp á dàmù
walk 3SG still PREP bush
‘The wife would still take walks in the bush.’

sèy ndò dzà á dzàŋ-á kòdàm á dàmù
so go find 3SG find-D:SO calabash PREP bush
‘Then she found a calabash in the bush.’

ndà dèb á dèb-ù ndò lw-á ngùl ngòn
go:D:SO bring 3SG bring-3SG go tell-OBJ husband 3SG
‘She brought it and told her husband’

There is yet another function of the sequential marker ndò, and that is the coding of the sequential event as realis, i.e., an event that actually takes place or has taken place:

(53) sèy tìl á dàmù ndò zàŋ cìŋ
so leave PREP bush go find father.3SG

à zà váy ndò wùtà
3SG COMP daddy go house

‘Then he went into the bush, found his father and said: Daddy, return home!’

If the second clause codes the purpose of the preceding clause, it is coded by the infinitive marker rather than the sequential marker:

(54) sèy tìl á dàmù kò zàŋ cìŋ
so leave PREP bush INF find father.3SG

‘When he went into the bush for the purpose of finding his father ...’ (elicited)

The realis function and the sequential function are most likely related. In all gathered texts, the aspect of sequential clause is always completive, hence coding the realis nature of the event:
5 Conclusions

It has been shown that, in the domain of propositional relators, instead of the simple category ‘nominal coordinating conjunction’, some languages have grammaticalized two functional domains. While both domains have to do with forming a set of items having the same function within a clause or a sentence, i.e., within the higher syntactic unit, only one form indicates that the members of the syntactic set are also members of a set in the extra-linguistic world. The other form indicates that the members of the syntactic set belong to two different sets in the real world. The two conjoining forms have different syntactic properties, as one of them can be used with more than two members of the set while the other can be used with only two members of the set. These syntactic constraints are consistent with the semantic functions of the forms.

The second part of the present study explored the little-studied process of the grammaticalization of the sequential marker from verbs of movement. It has been shown that grammaticalization occurred through a discourse formula, whereby the speaker resumes the discourse at the last verb of movement, either by repeating the same verb or by using another verb of movement. The new verb of movement becomes a departing point for the narration of the subsequent event.
The methodology proposed in the present study that one must discover for each language the functional domains that it encodes, raises questions about the nature of typological research within the proposed approach. I propose that a typology should begin by exploring the functional domains coded by natural languages instead of assuming the existence of a domain and then trying to determine how it is coded. The next step is to discover the subdomains, if any, within the functional domain in question. If languages L1 and L2 both have a functional domain D and if the subdomains of these domains comprise exactly the same functions, then L1 and L2 may be said to encode the same functional domain. This is quite different from assuming that L1 and L2 encode the same function because certain constructions are translated the same way into English or into the language of symbolic logic. A typological study whose point of departure consists of the categories actually coded in natural languages is more difficult than the one that assumes the prior existence of categories, but it has the considerable advantage of not obfuscating the categories existing in individual languages.

Notes

1 Work on this paper was supported by a Grant Nr. 9514401 from the National Science Foundation. The data on Gidar were gathered over a period of many years in Cameroon. Over the many seasons of fieldwork, I have benefited from the hospitality of ORSTOM now IRD in Maroua and the Institut de Recherche Agricole pour le Développement (IRAD) also in Maroua. I would like to express my thanks to IRD and to the successive directors of the IRAD, Seiny Boukar Lamide and Dr. Abba Dalil. For fuller information on languages discussed in the present study the reader is referred to Frajzyngier with Shay 2002 for Hdi. Frajzyngier, Johnston with Edwards 2005 for Mina, and Frajzyngier in press for Gidar. I am most grateful to Erin Shay who read a previous version, offered her friendly criticism and suggested numerous substantial and stylistic revisions. I alone am responsible for all errors and mistakes.

2 I cannot assert whether the inherent meaning of this verb is related to the fact that at present Hdi live at an elevation higher than any of the surrounding populations. Such an interpretation could be possible only under the assumption that 'going' meant going away from the community.
Abbreviations

1 INF Infinitive
2 INSTR Instrumental
3 INTERJ Interjection
ADDR LOC Locative
ADJ M Masculine
AFF N Noun
ALL NEG Negation
ANAPH NOM Nominalizer
ASSC OBJ Object
ATT OBL Oblique
C OUT Extension coding movement
CAUS out
COM PART Partitive
COMP PAST Past
COND PL Plural
CONJ PO Potential object
CONT POS Point-of-view of subject
COP POSS Possessive
COP PRED Predicator
D PRF Perfective
Dep PRP Preposition
DEF PRO Pronoun
DEF PROG Progressive
DEM PURP Purpose
DIMIN PVG Point of view of the goal
D:SO PVS Point of view of the subject
DUB Q Question
DUB QUANT Quantifier
EE REF Referential
END REL Relative marker
EP REM Remote previous mention
EXCL SEQ Sequential
F SG Singular
F. or FUL SO Source orientation
FOR SPEC Spatial specifier
FOR SQ Specific question marker
FREQ STAT Stative marker
FUT SUBJ Subjunctive
GEN TOP Topic marker
GO TOT Totality
H Haua
HAB TQ Question about the truth
HAB INDEF Indefinite human subject
HAB HONORIFIC
HAB HYPOTHETICAL
HAB IMPER Imperative
HAB IN Movement in
HAB INN Inner space
HAB INCL Inclusive
HAB INDEF Indefinite human subject
HAB VOC Vocative


