

## **Point of view of the subject: possessive subject pronouns in Wandala**

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### **1. Introduction**

#### 1.1 The scope and the goal of the study

The purpose of this study is to describe the function of possessive subject pronouns in Wandala (Central Chadic). Possessive subject pronouns which when suffixed to nouns code possessive function and when suffixed to verbs code subject function. The interest of this study is that it demonstrates (1) that possessive subject pronouns have similar function that in other Chadic and non-Chadic languages is performed by ‘Intransitive Copy Pronouns’ (ICPs), and (2) that the function of these forms is to code the point of view of the subject, a function that has not been postulated in the study of ICPs so far in Chadic or non-Chadic languages. In the remainder of the paper I shall refer to these pronouns as either ‘possessive subject pronouns’ or ‘intransitive copy pronouns’.

#### 1.2 Methodology for discovering the function of a form

The fundamental task involved in discovering the function of a given form is to find out to what functional domain the form belongs and then to find other functions belonging to this domain. The function of the given form is then described by stating its place, i.e., its sub-domain, within the larger functional domain.

The methodology for discovering the function of the form involves studying the co-occurrence and non-co-occurrence of the form with other grammatical or lexical means that may code similar or related functions. The non-co-occurrence of two grammatical or lexical means is of particular importance in methodology because it has to be explained. There are two potential explanations for non-co-occurrence: (1) the two forms are contradictory thus their co-occurrence in an utterance would make the utterance uninterpretable; or (2) the functions of the two forms are identical, thus resulting in an utterance in which the same function is coded twice. For example, if the given function is an inherent property of a lexical item, the addition of a morpheme coding the same function should be disallowed. This methodology is applied in the present study.

#### *1.3 Functions of Intransitive Copy Pronouns in Chadic*

Newman 1971, in proposing the term ‘Intransitive Copy Pronouns’, did not explicitly state the function of the forms, apart from the fact that they occur with intransitive verbs and that they copy features of the subject. Frajzyngier 1977 observed a considerable functional overlap between the intransitive copy pronouns of Chadic languages and the (short) reflexive forms of some Indo-European languages. The overlap was mainly in the fact that the ICPs of Chadic languages were best translated by short reflexive forms of Romance and Slavic languages, in the non-perfect aspectual characteristics and in

intransitive characteristics of Indo-European clauses involving short reflexive forms. Frajzyngier 1977 postulated coding the inceptive aspect as a function of the ICPs:

- (1) *nì-wát-nà*                      *pílià*    *nì-n-ì-ée-nò*  
ISG-come-COMPL    Fílià    ISG-SEQ-settle-PRE-PRO-ISG  
'I came to Fíliya and settled'
- mínì*    *kūí-jì-ée-mù*  
1PL    resist-PL-PRE-PRO-1PL  
'We will resist.' (Pero, Frajzyngier 1989)

Intransitive Copy Pronouns have been observed in West, Central, and East Chadic languages and in other languages of West Africa. Tuller 1997 attributes the presence of intransitive copy pronouns in Chadic languages to the properties of verbs. She claims that intransitive copy pronouns occur only with unaccusative verbs, i.e. with verbs whose only argument is displaced or affected. Such an argument shares some properties with objects of transitive verbs, and the intransitive copy pronouns are similar to object pronouns.

The intransitive copy pronouns occur only with intransitive verbs, but not with all intransitive verbs. As Tuller 1997 observed, in some languages, ICPs are obligatory with some verbs, in other languages they are not obligatory with any verb.

Tuller's analysis, which rests partly on the formal similarity between object pronouns and ICPs, does not account for the situation in Wandala and other languages, where ICPs are identical with possessive and not object pronouns. Although they occur with intransitive verbs, including (but not exclusively) the verb classified as 'unaccusative' in some linguistic theories. Contrary to the postulated functions of analogous forms in other Chadic languages, possessive subject pronouns in Wandala are not the result of the properties of verbs (although they occur with only one class of intransitive verbs) because their use is not obligatory. Even though ICPs in Wandala occur only in the imperfective aspect, they are not markers of imperfective or inceptive as claimed in Frajzyngier 1977, or any other aspect, because their use is not obligatory.

#### 1.4 Basic information about Wandala

The following information on Wandala is intended to situate the function of the ICPs within the grammatical system of the language. The verbal predicate may be followed by just one noun phrase. The inflectional forms of the verb indicate the semantic role and the grammatical relation of the ensuing noun phrase. If the verb is separated from the ensuing noun phrase by other material, such as negative marker or content question markers, the inflectional forms of these markers indicate whether the noun phrase that follows these markers is the subject or the object.

The verbal clause in Wandala may have two forms. In one, is preceded by subject pronouns consisting of the person and number marker, the vowel *a*, and a tone. The tone

on subject pronouns codes tense distinctions. The low tone is the default tone, used in past tense coding:

Table 1.1 Subject pronouns preceding the verb

Singular	Plural
1 <i>yè/yà</i>	<i>mà</i> (incl) <i>myà</i> (incl) <i>ɲà</i> (excl)
2 <i>kà</i>	<i>kwà</i>
3 <i>à</i>	<i>tà</i>

Subject pronouns that precede the verb are not prefixes as they may be separated from the verb by other elements, e.g. by the temporal adverbial *nábà* ‘then:

- (2) *tà nábà ks-t-á bàrá-m-á-tàr ɲánnà*  
 3PL then take-T-GO road-GEN-3PL DEF  
 ‘Then they took their road.’

The backgrounding aspect, which in all cases implies completion of the event, is marked by the reduplicated form of the verb and the subject pronouns in between the reduplicated parts of the verb:

- (3) *má bání áksà-r-án-tá-ksà gdzàr wá*  
 HYP since take-3PL-3SG-T-take child COMP  
 ‘Since they have taken the child, then . . .’

Verbs in Wandala can be divided into three classes on the basis of the inflectional means used to code grammatical and semantic roles:

(1) A class of intransitive verbs whose subjects are affected and non-controlling. To this class belong the verb ‘break’, ‘break into many pieces’, ‘settle (about water)’. Here is an illustration of the inherently intransitive verb *kyàbà* ‘break into many pieces’:

- (4) *à kyàbà gàhè*  
 3SG smash:PB pot  
 ‘the pot broke into many pieces’

*kyàbà-kyàbà gàhè*  
 break into many pieces-break into many pieces:PB pot  
 ‘the pot broke into many pieces’

The goal extension after the verb indicates that the ensuing argument is the object of the event under control:

- (5) *à kyàbá gàhè*  
 3SG smash:GO pot  
 ‘he smashed a pot’

An object pronoun with the goal marker added indicates that the ensuing noun phrase is the controlling subject of a transitive predication:

- (6) *à kyàbà-ná d-rúwà*  
 3SG smash-3SG:GO father-1SG  
 ‘my father broke it into many pieces’

To this class belongs the verb *tsà* ‘stop’:

- (7) *à tsà nábbà*  
 3SG stop Nabba  
 ‘Nabba stopped’

To indicate that the noun phrase that follows the verb is an object under control the goal marker *á* must be added to the verb:

- (8) *à ts-á nábbà*  
 3SG stop-GO Nabba  
 ‘he stopped Nabba’

To indicate that the noun phrase that follows the verb is a controlling subject of an event that includes an object, an object pronoun with goal marker *á* must be added to the verb:

- (9) *à tsà-n-á nábbà*  
 3SG stop-3SG-GO Nabba  
 ‘Nabba stopped him’

(2) A very large class of transitive verbs whose subject is controlling and non-affected and whose object is affected or undergoes a change of place. To this class belong verbs such as *bàlà* ‘announce’, *hdà* ‘bury’, *bàgyà* ‘find’, *fà* ‘put’, *wà* ‘bite’. In the perfective aspect, these verbs have the root form before the object and the root + *a* form before the subject:

- (10) *à wà kré*  
 3SG bite dog  
 ‘it bit a dog’

*à w-à kré*  
 3SG bite-PB dog  
 ‘a dog bit him’

(3) A class of transitive verbs whose subject may or may not be controlling but is not affected, and whose objects is non-affected as well. To this class belong the verbs *vyà* ‘forget’ and *tàtàyà* ‘search for’, *təgà* ‘share’, ‘hold’, *ks* ‘grasp’, and *kàtà* ‘want’. These verbs code the object role of the ensuing noun phrase through the goal marker *á*:

- (11) *à kàtá kèllù mbákyà*  
 3SG want Kellu last year  
 ‘He wanted Kellu [for marriage] last year’

These verbs code the subject role of the ensuing noun phrase through the object suffix to the verb and the goal marker *á*:

- (12) *à kàtá-n-á kèllù mbákyà*  
 3SG want-3SG-GO Kellu last year  
 ‘Kellu wanted him last year’

Wandala has perfective, imperfective, stative, and backgrounding aspects. It has two tenses, past and non-past. Perfective, stative, and the backgrounding aspect all imply completion of the event.

The importance of different classes of verbs and of different aspectual distinctions is that the possessive subject pronouns can occur with only one class of verbs and only in the imperfective aspect.

## 2. Verbal constructions with possessive subject pronouns

### 2.1 The form of possessive subject pronouns

The following table represents possessive subject pronouns:

Table 2.1: Possessive subject pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
First	<i>rwà</i>	<i>myà</i> (INCL) <i>ɲgr</i> (EXCL)
Second	<i>ɲà</i>	<i>kùrè</i>
Third	<i>rà</i>	<i>tàrè</i>

The evidence that these pronouns are also possessive pronouns is provided by the following possessive constructions. Possessive pronouns are added to a noun to which the genitive marker is added. These pronouns do not differentiate between alienable and inalienable relationship:

<i>ìrè</i>	‘head’	<i>írè</i>	‘iron’
<i>ìr-à-rwà</i>	‘my head’	<i>ír-á-rwà</i>	‘my iron’
<i>ìr-à-ɲà</i>	‘your head’	<i>ír-á-ɲà</i>	‘your iron’
<i>ìr-á-rà</i>	‘his head’	<i>ír-á-rà</i>	‘his iron’
<i>ìr-á-myà</i>	‘our head’	<i>ír-á-myà</i>	
<i>ìr-á-ɲrè</i>	‘our (excl) head’	<i>ír-á-ɲrè</i>	
<i>ìr-á-kùrè</i>	‘your (pl) head’	<i>ír-á-kùrè</i>	
<i>ìr-á-tàrè</i>	‘their head’	<i>ír-á-tàrè</i>	

Possessive subject pronouns are distinct from object pronouns, although there is some resemblance, especially in the plural forms.

Table 2.2. Object pronouns in the affirmative clause

	Singular	Plural
1	- <i>yí</i>	- <i>mi</i> (INCL) - <i>ɲr</i> (EXCL)
2	- <i>a</i> , - <i>k</i> , - <i>ɲ</i>	- <i>kur</i>
3	∅ or - <i>n</i>	- <i>tr</i>

When a possessive subject pronoun is added to a verb, the verb is followed by the high tone vowel *á*, identical with the genitive marker. Given this identity I assume that the form *á* on the verb is the genitive marker and gloss it accordingly as GEN. Possessive subject suffixes co-occur with pronominal subjects preceding the verb in the indicative mood. The possessive subject pronouns can be used only with intransitive verbs of the class 1:

(13) *dàcì yá s-á-rwà*  
 then 1SG come-GEN-1SG  
 ‘I return home’

*dàcì yá d-á-rwà*  
 then 1SG go-GEN-1SG  
 ‘I return home’

*dàcì á s-á-rà*  
 then 3SG come-GEN-3SG  
 ‘he returns home’

*dàcì ká s-á-ɲà*  
 then 2SG come-GEN-2SG  
 ‘you return home’

*dàcì mí s-á-myà*  
 then 1INCL come-GEN-1INCL  
 ‘we (incl) return home’

*dàcì ɲá s-á-ɲgrè*  
 then 1EXCL come-GEN-1EXCL  
 ‘we return home’

*dàcì kwá s-á-kùrè*  
 then 2PL come-GEN-2PL  
 ‘you return home’

The possessive subject pronouns can be omitted.

Possessive subject pronouns are disallowed with transitive verbs, i.e. with verbs that can take the second argument:

(14) \**dàcì yá ndàv-á-rwà*  
then 1SG ask-GEN-1SG  
'then I asked myself'

\**dàcì yá jj-á-rwà*  
then 1SG hit-GEN-1SG  
'then I hit myself'

Given the ungrammaticality of the example (14) above, it is evident that possessive subject pronouns do not code coreferentiality of the subject and object. Note that Romance and Slavic languages do allow short, and in the case of Slavic, long, reflexive forms after these verbs. The presence of such forms after transitive verbs has often been interpreted as coding coreferentiality of the subject and object.

### 3 The function of possessive subject pronouns

#### 3.1 The hypothesis

The fact that a possessive subject pronoun can always be omitted indicates that their presence is not triggered by some other element present in the clause, be it a property of the verb, an aspect, the presence of the subject pronoun preceding the verb, or any other component of the clause. Therefore, they are an independent coding means carrying a function of their own. The following is the hypothesis regarding their function:

Possessive subject pronouns limit the scope of the event to the subject only, with no goal or any other additional interpretation. Possessive subject pronouns code thus the point of view of the subject of an inherently intransitive verb. The point of view of the subject instructs the listener to look at how the event affects the subject, relates to the subject only, to the exclusion of other participants or to the exclusion of any other circumstance (see Frajzyngier 2000).

#### 3.2 The evidence

The evidence for the proposed hypothesis consists of demonstrating what kinds of verbs the possessive subject pronouns can occur with and what kind of verbs they cannot occur with. The evidence also demonstrates that the intransitive copy pronouns can occur only in the imperfective aspect. The final piece of evidence includes comparison with the applicative extension, whose function is to a certain degree complementary with that of possessive subject pronouns.

##### 3.2.1 Arguments from intransitivity

Possessive subject pronouns occur only with the first group of verbs, i.e. with intransitive verbs whose subjects are affected, change place, or remain in place. Possessive subject pronouns cannot occur with intransitive verbs that have been transitivized through the addition of an object marker or a goal marker. Possessive subject pronouns can occur with verbs of movement only when there is no directional goal included in the sentence. Such sentences indicate that the pronouns code point of view of the subject.

(15) *dàcì yá d-á-rwà*  
 then 1SG go-GEN-1SG  
 ‘I return (home)’

*dàcì yá ts-á-rwà*  
 then 1SG rise-GEN-1SG  
 ‘then I am up’

(18) *yá-ǰàl-á-rwà*  
 1SG-leave-GEN-1SG  
 ‘I am leaving’ [telling a group of people while getting up]

*è, má ksà-rǎ-ks-á gdzà gyálè*  
 eh HYP take-ON-take-PB young girl  
*dàcìtá sàtàrè*  
*dàcì tá s-á-tàrè*  
 then 3PL come-GO-3PL:POSS  
 ‘Then if the young girl accepts, they return home.’

*mátsàtsánà bàǰàlára*  
*má tsà-ts á nábà ǰàl-á-rà*  
 HYP rise-rise 3SG then leave-GEN-3SG  
 ‘It happens that he can leave.’ [i.e. abandon the project of marriage]

*má tsà-ts yá nábà ǰàl-á-rwà*  
 HYP rise-rise 3SG then leave-GEN-3SG  
 ‘it happens that I can leave’

Compare clauses with the overt coding of the goal. Addition of the goal changes the point of view. None of these clauses contains a possessive subject pronoun

(16) *à d-á múrà/dǎlà*  
 3SG go-GO Mora/Dulo  
 ‘he returned to Mora/Dulo’ [cannot be said in Mora or Dulo]

(17) *kàdúhùm tù*  
*kà dúw hw mtù*  
 2SG go:VENT outside or  
 ‘Did you go anywhere?’

(18) *mádǎzǎmáláǎlà máfànámávúà*  
*má dǎ zǎ mál-á ǎlà mà*  
 1INCL go HL chief-GEN borough 1INCL  
*fá-n-m á-m vúà*  
 put:GO-3SG-IN PRED-IN body  
 ‘“Let’s go to the chief of the neighborhood, to let him know.”’

Possessive subject pronouns occur with labile verbs, i.e. with verbs whose subject can be controlling or not. With such verbs, possessive subject pronouns have affectedness of the subject rather than control in their scope:

- (19) *dàcì á gy-á-rà*  
 then 3SG cook-GEN-3SG  
 ‘it is cooking’
- dàcì á xr-á-rà*  
 then 3SG melt-GEN-3SG  
 ‘it is melting’
- dàcì á kwàd-á-rà*  
 then 3SG cook-GEN-3SG  
 ‘it is boiling’ [*kwàdã* ‘boil violently’]

Consider now inherently intransitive verb *kyà* ‘break’. Its unmarked subject is inanimate:

- (20) *à kyà gàhè*  
 3SG break pot  
 ‘a pot broke’

Inclusion of controlling and non-affected subject requires the goal marker high tone on the verb:

- (21) *à kyá gàhè*  
 3SG break:GO pot  
 ‘he broke a pot’

Representation of the event from the point of view of the affected subject with the exclusion of other participants or circumstances is coded by the point of view of the subject:

- (22) *tá ky-á-tàrè*  
 3PL break-GEN-3PL  
 ‘they disperse’
- kínà mín náwá má nábà ky-á-myà*  
 now 1INCL DEF:COM 1INCL then disperse-GEN-1INCL  
 ‘as far as we are concerned, now we can disperse’
- kínà mín náwá, kwá nábà ky-á-kùrè*  
 now 1INCL DEF:COM 2PL then disperse-GEN-2PL  
 ‘as far as we are concerned, you can disperse’

*kínà mìn nává, tá nábà ky-á-tàrè*  
 now 1INCL DEF:COM 3PL then disperse-GEN-3PL  
 ‘as far as we are concerned they can disperse’

Possessive subject pronouns can occur with the verb that does not have a subject pronoun preceding it, as is the case in the imperative mood (first verb in the following example). The importance of this fact is that it provides the evidence that possessive subject pronouns are not copies of another pronoun:

(23) *ḡàlá-ḡà ḡyà-ḡàr-ḡyà ḡá nj-á-ḡgrè*  
 go-2SG leave-1EXCL-leave 1EXCL sit-GEN-1EXCL  
 ‘go away, let us(excl) stay in peace’

The possessive subject pronouns in Wandala do not the inceptive function, as postulated for other Chadic languages in Frajzyngier 1977. Support for this hypothesis is provided by the fact that possessive subject suffixes can also occur in stative predications, functions that are incompatible with the inceptive function:

(24a) *tàbànjátàrè ànhéerànklàpírè*  
*yá bà nj-á-rwà án héer-àn-klàpí-rè*  
 1SG FOC live-GEN-1SG ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM  
 ‘I live in peace and good health’

*tàbànjátàrè ànhéerànklàpírè*  
*tà bà nj-á-tàrè án héer-àn-klàpí-rè*  
 3PL FOC stay-GEN-3PL ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM  
 ‘They lived together in peace and good health.’

*mádàddàmḡánjḡrè ányàlàhàrwà*  
*má dàddàm ḡá njá-ḡrè án*  
 HYP meantime EXCL stay-1EXCL ASSC  
*yàl-àh-á-rwà*  
 family-PL-GEN-1SG  
 ‘In the meantime, I remain with my family.’

*tàbáḡyìdàdànjárláḡ ámxùdávḡḡánnà*  
*tà báḡyì dàdà á njá-r láḡnè á-m*  
 3PL find father 3SG sit:GEN-3SG like that PRED-IN  
*xùd-á vḡḡ ḡánnà*  
 belly-GEN grave DEF  
 ‘They found the father sitting in the grave, just like that.’

Possessive subject pronouns are also used with the stative predicate *hígà* ‘be happy’:

- (25) *má bàní bàd̄əm mírámyà mándiyámyà*  
*má-á bàní bàd̄əm ír-á-myà mà án*  
 HYP-PRED concern all head-GEN-1INCL 1INCL ASSC  
*dìy-á-myà*  
 knowledge-GEN-1INCL  
*wá šágrónà máhí gámyà*  
*wá šágrà únà má híg-á-myà*  
 COM well DEF 1INCL happy-GEN-1INCL  
 “‘Because we have all of this knowledge, it is good. As far as we are concerned,  
 we are happy.’”

### 3.2.3 Evidence for the non-completion characteristics

Possessive subject suffixes occur only in the imperfective aspect. This fact is important, as possessive subject pronouns are partially in complementary distribution with the applicative extension *v*, whose use always implies the completive aspect. The applicative extension cannot be used in the imperfective with any of the following verbs.

- (26) *dàcì á mts-á-rà*  
 then 3SG die-GEN-3SG  
 ‘he is dying’
- dàcì yá nj-á-rwà*  
 then 1SG sit-GEN-1SG  
 ‘then I am just sitting [without making noise]’

The possessive subject pronouns are disallowed with aspects that indicate the completion of the event:

- (27) *\*tà nj-í-njà \*tàrè án héer-àn-klàpí-rè*  
 3PL live-live 3PL ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM  
 ‘they lived in peace and good health’

Compare with the original grammatical sentence without the possessive subject pronoun:

- (28) *tà nj-í-njà án héer-àn-klàpí-rè*  
 3PL live-live ASSC peace-ASSC-health-NOM  
 ‘They lived in peace and good health’

### 3.2.4 Directional verbs and possessive subject pronoun

The evidence that possessive subject pronouns code point of view of the subject to the exclusion of all other points of view is provided by the fact that once the possessive subject pronouns is used with a directional verb, the directional verb must be repeated before the locative complement in order to code the goal of movement:

- (29) *dàcì yá s-á-rwà s-á múrà*  
 then 1SG come-GEN-1SG come-GO Mora  
 ‘then I return to Mora.’

#### 4. Possessive subject pronouns and the applicative extension

The evidence for the point of view of the subject function of possessive subject pronouns is provided by their relationship with the applicative extension in Wandala. The applicative extension *v* can be realized as [v], [f], or [p]. The applicative extension codes point of view of an argument. If the verbal piece does not have an object pronoun, the applicative extension codes the point of view of the subject. A given intransitive verb can occur with or without the applicative extension, just as it can occur with or without the possessive subject pronoun:

- (30) *à bɣyà nákwà*  
3SG fall stone  
'the stone fell'
- à bɣyì-và nákwà*  
3SG fall-APPL stone  
'the stone fell'

The use of the applicative extension, unlike the possessive subject pronoun, implies completion of the event:

- (31) *à ɣyì-và sártà*  
3SG reach-APPL:PB time  
'The time has arrived.' [indirect means for saying 'he/she is dead']
- dàcì à nábà bàdzà-f-hè*  
then 3SG then spoil-APPL-PNCT  
'then it got spoiled'

The applicative extension can co-occur with reduplicated form of the verb coding the backgrounding aspect .

- (32) *mbrà-và-mbrà yàwè*  
boil-APPL-boil water  
'the water boiled'
- ɣyá-p-ɣyè*  
mature-APPL-mature  
'it has matured'
- šá-p-tà-šà*  
find-APPL-T-find  
'find oneself'

The applicative extension, unlike the possessive subject pronoun, can co-occur with a direct object noun. The extension still codes point of view of the subject:

- (33) *ká yè-n-và gdz-á-ŋà*  
 2SG refuse to give-3SG-APPL child-GEN-2SG  
 ‘You refuse to [give] your child.’

If the applicative extension follows an object pronoun the applicative represents the point of view of the argument represented by the pronoun preceding the applicative extension. Here the object pronoun represents the indirect object:

- (34) *à škw-àk-vú wè*  
 3SG buy-2SG-APPL what  
 ‘what did he buy for you?’

The use of the applicative extension alone codes the completive aspect.

- (35) *àtává wúdrkà nó ágdzà gyálè kìnìtyáptyè*  
*à t̄à-vá wúdr kà*  
 3SG mature-APPL situation (K) NEG  
*nó ágdzà gyálè kìnì t̄yá-p-t̄yè*  
 PRES young girl C.FOC mature-APPL-mature  
 ‘It has reached a situation, that if the girl has matured (biologically),’

*àbìná màgyávgyèn màgàyáŋrùwà*  
*à b-ìná má gyá-v-gyè-n*  
 3SG say-3SG HYP cook-APPL-cook-pause  
*màgày-á-ŋrè wá*  
 hungry rice-GEN-1EXCLCOM  
 ‘He said, “If our hungry rice is cooked . . .’

The default subject of the verb *gyà* ‘cook’ is controlling and not affected:

- (36) *má gyà-gyà mrúwà*  
 HYP cook-cook mother:1SG  
 ‘if my mother cooked’

Possessive subject pronouns are in certain degree in complementary distribution with the applicative extension in that they occur with non-completive aspect while the applicative extension occurs only with completive aspect. Possessive subject pronouns can have only the subject of intransitive verb in their scope, while the applicative extension can have the subject of intransitive or a transitive verb in its scope. The applicative extension can also have the direct or indirect object in its scope. The complementarity of the two markers is an indicator that they code similar function in different aspects. Finally, the evidence that the functions of the two markers overlap is provided by the fact that they cannot co-occur with the same verbal piece. The non-co-occurrence of two forms can be caused either by the fact that their meanings overlap or by the fact that their meanings are mutually contradictory.

## 6. Conclusions

The purpose of this paper was to describe the function of possessive subject pronouns in Wandala. It has been shown that the use of these pronouns is not determined by any other element in the clause, including the verb. Hence, the possessive subject pronouns carry an independent function. It has been further determined that they code point of view of the subject in an intransitive predication in the non-completive aspect. They contrast with the applicative extension, which can code the point of view of the subject or of another argument in intransitive or a transitive predication in the completive aspect.

Intransitive copy pronouns in Wandala (and other Chadic languages) overlap partially with the short reflexive of some Western European languages, in that both code point of view of the subject. Unlike short reflexives of IE languages, the intransitive copy pronouns in Chadic cannot imply coreferentiality of subject and object.

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\* The work on Wandala has been supported over the years by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Science Foundation, the Charles and Jane Butcher Foundation, and the University of Colorado. The most recent work has been supported by the National Science Foundation Grant Nr. 0439940. I am very grateful to the Wandala speakers

for their understanding and patience during sessions that sometimes must have been tedious to them: Seini Aji Alhaji, Oumaté Mahamat, Ali Mahamat, and especially Ramadan Abba (*ràmàdànà nábbà*), with whom I worked during the last two seasons of the field work.

I am most grateful to Seini Boukar Lamide for his hospitality on many occasions in N'Djamena and assistance with a number of logistic arrangements, not the least of which involved getting to Maroua and going back. To Erin Shay I am most grateful for her substantive and editorial comments. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for the mistakes and errors of facts or interpretation.

## **Abbreviations**

1 First-person  
2 Second-person  
3 Third-person  
AFF Affected  
APPL Applicative  
AR Arabic  
ASSC Associative  
C.FOC Contrastive focus  
COM Comment marker  
COMP Complementizer  
CONJ Conjunction  
DAT Dative  
DEF Definite  
DEM Demonstrative  
DEST Destintive  
EP Epenthetic  
EX Existential  
EXCL Exclusive  
F Fula (Fulfulde)  
FOC Focus marker  
FUT Future  
GEN Genitive  
GO Goal  
H Hausa  
HL Human locative  
HYP Hypothetical  
IMP Imperative  
IN Inner space  
INCL Inclusive  
INTENS Intensifier  
L.A. Locative anaphor  
M Masculine  
NEG Negative  
NOM Nominalizer  
ON Extension 'on'  
PAST Past