A grammar of Moloko

Dianne Friesen
with Mana Djeme Isaac, Ali Gaston,
and Mana Samuel

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10 Clause

Moloko is an SVO language, which means that the default order of clausal constituents in a simple clause is subject, followed by verb (or predicate), and finally object.[1] Clause types in Moloko are closely related to the verb type and transitivity of the clause (see Chapter 9). In this chapter the basic structure of declarative clauses for all verb types is discussed (Section 10.1). The *na* construction can be superimposed upon the basic clause structure, changing the word order. Since the *na* construction is more complex and can involve more than one clause, *na* constructions are discussed in a separate chapter (Chapter 11). Negation, interrogative, command, and exclamatory clause structures can be further superimposed on a simple or *na*-marked clause to add a functional element (Sections 10.2–10.5). Clause combining is discussed in Chapter 12.

10.1 Declarative clauses

Moloko has two basic types of declarative clauses, depending on whether the clause contains a verb or not. The verbal clause is described in Section 10.1.1. Clauses where an existential or an ideophone is the central element are a subtype of verbal clauses. The special features of the structure of existential and ideophone clauses are discussed in Section 3.4 and Section 3.6, respectively. Nonverbal clauses are described in Section 10.1.2. These include predicate nominal, predicate adjective, and predicate possessive clauses.

There is not a lot of variation in the word order of the elements of the basic clause, but the number of grammatically explicit core participants controls the semantic roles assigned to the subject, direct object, and indirect object (see Chapter 9).

10.1.1 Verbal clause

The basic structure of Moloko verbal clauses includes the illustrated elements in the order shown in Figure 10.1. Elements whose inclusion in the clause is optional are in parentheses. The order of clause constituents for all clause types

[1] Elements can be fronted only in a special *na* construction described in Chapter 11.

is always SVO (with V and O being within the verb phrase). The verb phrase (Chapter 8) is the centre of the clause (and also its final element) and can contain information concerning the subject, direct object, indirect object, aspect, mood, direction, location, repetition, and discourse-importance of the event or state expressed by the verb (see Sections 7.3–7.5). All other elements are optional. When present, the temporal adverb gives locational information concerning the event. If a full subject noun phrase is present, it precedes the verb phrase, and any other core clause constituents follow the verb in the verb phrase (direct object, indirect object, obliques). The subject controls the subject inflections on the verb word.

(temporal noun phrase)	(subject noun phrase)	**Verb phrase**

Figure 10.1: Order of constituents for verbal clause

The first element in the clause can be a temporal noun phrase (1).

(1) **Apazan** albaya ahay tolo a ləhe.
apazaŋ albaja=ahaj tɔ-lɔ a lɪhɛ
yesterday youth=Pl 3P+PFV-go at bush
'Yesterday the youths went to the bush.'

The subject is expressed by the subject pronominal on the verb (Section 7.3.1). A coreferential noun phrase can be present for discourse functions (2 and 3). The coreferential noun phrase precedes the verb.

(2) **Hawa** ahəmay.
Hawa à-həm-aj
Hawa 3S+PFV-run-CL
'Hawa ran.'

(3) **Ne ahan** nozom na.
nɛ=ahaŋ nɔ́-zɔm na
1S=3S.POSS 3S+PFV-eat 3S.DO
'I myself ate it.'

The simplest form of the verbal clause type consists of a verb complex only. A verb complex can stand alone as a clause because, in addition to the verb stem, it contains information on grammatical relations (subject in the subject prefix, direct object and indirect object in a verb extension or suffix). The verb complex

also includes directional and (non-core) locational information and indicates aspect and mood. It is interesting that the SVO order is maintained in the affixes (s-v-o), as seen in Figure 7.2. (from Section 7.1).

The examples below are clauses consisting of just a verb complex. They all have information on the subject (from subject inflections, 4, 6, 7, 8) or the form of the imperative (5 and 9). Some have information on the direct object (6–9), indirect object (8 and 9), direction of the action (5, 7, 9), and discourse information (5).

(4) Nəhəmay.
nə̀-həm-aj
1S+PFV-run-CL
'I ran.'

(5) Dəraka alay!
dər=aka=alaj
move=on=away
'Move further over!'

(6) Nozom na.
nɔ́-zɔm na
1S+PFV-eat 3S.DO
'I ate it.'

(7) Nabah na alay.
nà-bax na=alaj
1S+PFV-pour DO=away
'I poured it away from myself.'

(8) Nəvəlan na.
nə̀-vəl=aŋ na
1S+PFV-give=3S.IO 3S.DO
'I gave it to him.'

(9) Zaw na ala!
z=aw na=ala
carry[2S.IMP]=1S.IO 3S.DO=to
'Bring it to me!'

10.1.2 Predicate nominal, predicate adjective, and predicate possessive clauses

Predicate nominal (10–12), predicate adjective (13), and predicate possessive (14 and 15) clauses lack any verb and consist of a juxtaposition of two noun phrases, in an order shown in Figure 10.2.

Subject noun phrase	Predicate noun phrase

Figure 10.2: Constituent order of predicate nominal/adjective/possessive clauses

Predicate nominal clauses typically express the notions of proper inclusion (i.e., the clause indicates that the subject is a member of the particular class of items indicated by the predicate, 10) or equation (i.e., the clause indicates that the subject is identical to the predicate, 11 and 12). In the following examples, each noun phrase is delimited by square brackets.

(10) [Mana] [zar mehere].
[Mana] [zar mɛ-hɛr-ɛ]
Mana man NOM-build-CL
'Mana [is] a builder.' (lit. Mana, building-man)

(11) [Sləmay əwla] [Abangay].
[ɬəmaj=uwla] [Abaŋgaj]
name=1S.POSS Abangay
'My name [is] Abangay.'

(12) [Zar nehe] [baba əwla].
[zar nɛhɛ] [baba=uwla]
man DEM father=1S.POSS
'The man [is] my father.'

Predicate adjective clauses consist of a subject noun phrase and a derived adjective (Section 5.3) as the predicate noun phrase. These clauses express an attribute of the subject (13).

(13) [Ndahan] [malan ga].
[ndahaŋ] [malaŋ ga]
3S largeness ADJ
'He/she [is] big.'

Predicate possessive clauses have a subject noun phrase and a possessive prepositional phrase (see Section 5.6.1) as the predicate phrase. The participant named in the possessive phrase is expressed via a full noun phrase. These clauses express that the subject noun phrase is associated with the participant named in the possessive phrase. The semantic range for the predicate possessive clauses is the same as that of any possessive or genitive construction (see Sections 3.1.2.1 and 5.4.1).

(14) [Babəza ahay nəndəye] [**anga** bahay].
[babəza=ahaj nɪndijɛ] [**aŋga** bahaj]
children=Pl DEM POSS chief
'The children here belong to the chief.' / 'The children here[are] belonging to the chief.'

(15) [Dəray ga] [**anga** ləme].
[dəraj ga] [**aŋga** lɪmɛ]
head ADJ POSS 1PEX
'The head belonged to us.'/ 'The head [was] belonging to us.'

For all three of these clause types, the subject may be marked as presupposed (see Section 11.2). For a predicate nominal construction, fronting and marking the predicate with *na* expresses equation in (16–18).

(16) [Zar mehere na], [Mana].
[zar mɛ-hɛr-ɛ] na [Mana]
man NOM-build-CL PSP Mana
'The builder [is] Mana.'

(17) [Bahay a Laway na], [Ajəva].
[bahaj a Lawaj na] [Adzəva]
chief GEN Lalaway PSP Adzava
'The chief of Lalaway [is] Adzava.'

(18) [Malan ga na], [ndahan].
[malaŋ ga] na [ndahaŋ]
largeness ADJ PSP 3S
'The biggest one [is] him.' (lit. big, him)

10.2 Negation constructions

Negation constructions are specific constructions superimposed on a clause to create negation of the entire proposition (Section 10.2.2) or negation of one element of the clause (Section 10.2.3). For both, Moloko uses a negative particle *baj* or compound at the end of the clause or noun phrase (Section 10.2.1).

10.2.1 Negative particles

The all-purpose negative is the particle *bay,* which follows the verb phrase and occurs (19–21) before any interrogative word (see Section 10.3). In the examples in this section, the negative is bolded and the negation construction is in square brackets.

(19) [Alala **bay**].
[à-l=ala **baj**]
3S+PFV-go=to NEG
'He/she didn't come.'

(20) [War ga ecen sləmay **bay**].
[war ga ɛ-tʃɛŋ ɬəmaj **baj**]
child ADJ 3S-hear ear NEG
'That child did not obey.' (lit. that child, he hears ear not)

(21) [Táazləgalay avəlo **bay**].
[táá-ɮəg=alaj avʊlɔ **baj**]
3P+POT-throw=away above NEG
'They should not throw it too high.'

In (22–24) the negative is clause-final and may have sematic scope over the entire proposition (c.f. constituent negation, Section 10.2.3). See especially (23) where it is clear that the entire proposition is being negated, and not just the information within the constituent closest to the negative. The meaning is 'don't insult a small person.' If the information in only one constituent was being negated, the meaning would have been 'insult a person who is not small.'

(22) [Tagaw ele lala **bay**].
[ta-g=aw ɛlɛ lala **baj**]
3P-do=1S.IO thing good NEG
'They do bad things to me.' / 'They don't do good things to me.'

(23) [Kárasay məze cəɗew ga **bay**].
[ká-ras-aj mɪʒɛ tʃɪɗɛw ga **baj**]
2S+IFV-minimise-CL person smallness ADJ NEG
'Don't insult one of the little people.'

(24) [Anday dəren **bay**].
[à-ndaj dɪrɛŋ **baj**]
3S+PFV-PRG far NEG
'He/she was not far.'

In (25), *bay* is not clause final but is the final element in a noun phrase within the clause. In this case, the information expressed within the noun phrase itself is negated; *ele lala **bay*** 'a bad thing.'

(25) Nde, [ele lala **bay**] kə təta aka.
ndɛ [ɛlɛ lala **baj**] kə təta aka
so thing well done NEG on them on
'So, a bad thing [was] upon them.'

When relative clauses are negated, the negative may have semantic scope over the entire relative clause (26, 27).

(26) Values, S. 6
Ele ahay [aməgəye **bay**] nəngehe pat tahata na va.
ɛlɛ=ahaj [amɪ-g-ijɛ **baj**] nɪŋgɛhɛ pat ta-h=ata na=va
thing=Pl DEP-do-CL NEG DEM all 3P-tell=3P.IO 3S.DO=PRF
'All these things that [we] are not supposed to do, they have already told them.'

(27) Kəra [aməmənjere elé **bay**] táslay na gəraw.
kəra [amɪ-mɪndʒɛr-ɛ ɛlɛ **baj**] tá-ɬ-aj na gəraw
dog DEP-see-CL eye NEG 3P+IFV-slay-CL 3S.DO ID:cut through middle
'The dog that couldn't see they slew it through the middle.'

The negative can form a compound with some adverbs. Table 10.1 shows negated and non-negated clauses with four adverbs. The negative *asabay* 'never again' is a compound of the adverb *ese* 'again' and *bay*. The evidence of phonological binding is that the adverb *ese* loses its palatalisation when it compounds with *bay* (line 1 in Table 10.1). Likewise, *fabay* (line 2 in Table 10.1) is considered phonologically bound since the word-final /n/ in the adverb *fan* 'already' is

deleted when the negative is added. These changes occur with some clitics (see Section 2.6.1.5). The other adverbs are considered to be separate phonological words since there are no other indications that the negative is phonologically bound to the adverb since the prosody of other adverbs is not affected (e.g., *kəlo* 'before,' line 3 in Table 10.1).

Table 10.1: Negation of clauses with adverbs

Line	Non-negated clause with adverb	Negated clause
1	*nóo-lo* ***ese***	*nóo-lo* ***asabay***
	1S+POT-go again	1S+POT-go again+NEG
	'I will go again.'	'I will not go again.'
2	*né-g-e na* ***fan***	*né-g-e na* ***fabay***
	1S+IFV-do-CL 3S.DO already	1S+IFV-do-CL 3S.DO already+NEG
	'I have done it already.'	'I haven't done it yet.'
3	*nə-mənjar ndahan* ***kəlo***	*nə-mənjar ndahan* ***kəlo bay***
	1S-see 3S before	1S-see 3S before NEG
	'I have seen her before.'	'I have never seen her before.'
4	*káa-z=ala* ***təta***	*káa-z=ala* ***təta bay***
	2S+POT-take=to ability	2S+POT-take=to ability NEG
	'You can bring [it].'	'You can't bring [it].'

10.2.2 Clausal negation construction

For clausal negation, there is no change in word order and no change in clause constituents apart from the addition of the clause final negative particle. A negative clause asserts that some event or state does not hold. Various types of clausal negation in Moloko are illustrated in (28–43). Each pair of examples represents a positive and a negative assertion for comparison.

The negation of an intransitive clause is illustrated in (28) and (29).

(28) Ahəmay.
a-həm-aj
3S-run-CL
'He/she runs.'

(29) Ahəmay **bay**.
a-həm-aj **baj**
3s-run-CL NEG
'He/she doesn't run.'

THe negation of a transitive clause is shown in (30–35).

(30) Amənjar Hawa.
a-mənzar Hawa
3s-see Hawa
'He/she sees Hawa.'

(31) Amənjar Hawa **bay**.
a-mənzar Hawa **baj**
3s-see Hawa NEG
'He/she doesn't see Hawa.'

(32) Akaɗ awak.
a-kaɗ awak
3s-kill goat
'He/she kills a goat.'

(33) Akaɗ awak **bay**.
a-kaɗ awak **baj**
3s-kill goat NEG
'He/she doesn't kill a goat.'

(34) Asaw sese.
a-s=aw ʃɛʃɛ
3s-please=1s.IO meat
'I want meat.'

(35) Asaw sese **bay**.
a-s=aw ʃɛʃɛ **baj**
3s-please=1s.IO meat NEG
'I do not want meat.'

The negation of existentials is shown in (36–39).

(36) Babəza əwla ahay aba.
babəza=uwla=ahaj aba
children=1S.POSS=Pl EXT
'I have children.'

(37) Babəza əwla ahay **abay**.
babəza=uwla=ahaj **abaj**
children=1S.POSS=Pl EXT+NEG
'I have no children.'

(38) Dala anaw aka.
dala an=aw aka
money DAT=1S EXT+on
'I have money.'

(39) Dala anaw aka **bay**.
dala an=aw aka **baj**
money DAT=1S EXT+on NEG
'I have no money.'

The negation of a predicate adjective is illustrated in (40–43).

(40) Ndahan zləle ga.
ndahaŋ ɣɪlɛ ga
3S richness ADJ
'He/she is rich.'

(41) Ndahan zləle ga **bay**.
ndahaŋ ɣɪlɛ ga **baj**
3S richness ADJ NEG
'He/she is not rich.'

(42) Ndahan gədan ga.
ndahaŋ gədaŋ ga
3S strength ADJ
'He/she is strong.'

(43) Ndahan gədan ga **bay**.
ndahaŋ gədaŋ ga **baj**
3S strength ADJ NEG
'He/she is not strong.'

10.2.3 Constituent negation

Most frequently, it seems that the element closest to the negative that is under the scope of negation, even though a clause-final negative marker can have scope over the whole verb phrase or even over the entire clause. To negate only one constituent in a clause, the clause is sometimes rearranged so that the constituent that is negated is placed in the clause-final position adjacent to the negation particle. Examples (44–46) show a question (44) with two responses (45–46) where each of the two ambiguous elements is negated. The subject (*Mana*) is part of the presupposition (marked off by *na* in the question, see Section 11.2). In (45) the oblique is negated and in (46) the entire predicate. The clauses were not restructured since the elements in question were already clause-final. In the following examples, the element that is negated is delimited by square brackets and the negative is bolded.

(44) Mana na, olo [a kosoko ava] ɗaw?
Mana na ɔ-lɔ [a kɔsɔkʷɔ ava] ɗaw
Mana PSP 3S-go at market in Q
'As for Mana, is he going to the market?'

(45) Ehe, olo [a kosoko ava] **bay**; olo afa bahay.
ɛhɛ ɔ-lɔ [a kɔsɔkʷɔ ava] **baj** ɔ-lɔ afa bahaj
no 3S-go at market in NEG 3S-go house of chief
'No, he isn't going to the market; rather he is going to the chief's house.'

(46) Ehe, olo [a kosoko ava] **bay**; enjé a mogom.
ɛhɛ, [ɔ-lɔ a kɔsɔkʷɔ ava] **baj** ɛ-nʒ-ɛ a mɔgʷɔm
no 3S-go at market in NEG 3S-stay-CL at home
'No, he isn't going to the market; rather he is staying at home (or going to the chief's house).'

Examples (47–50) show some restructuring when different constituents are negated. Example (47) illustrates a question and (48) to (50) illustrate three possible answers, each negating a different constituent. Normal SVO structure is maintained for all answers. The responses each use two clauses. The first clause expresses the negation of the element in final position, and the second restates the clause giving the corrected information. In each case the first clause is restructured so as to move the element to be negated to the clause-final position. The response in (48) indicates that the hearer accepts 'that Mana gave the guitar to someone,' but it was not his father. In this clause, *kəndew* 'guitar' is realised as

the 3S DO pronominal. The response in (49) indicates 'that Mana gave something to his father,' but not a guitar. In this case, the adpositional phrase *ana baba ahan* 'to his father' is replaced by the indirect object pronominal so that the negated element *kəndew* 'guitar' can be placed next to the negative.

(47) Mana avəlan kəndew ana baba ahan ɗaw?
Mana à-vəl=aŋ kɪndɛw ana baba=ahaŋ ɗaw
Mana 3S+PFV-give=3S.IO guitar DAT father=3S.POSS Q
'Did Mana give the guitar to his father?'

(48) Ehe, avəlan na [ana baba ahan] **bay**,
ɛhɛ à-vəl=aŋ na [ana baba=ahaŋ] **baj**
no 3S+PFV-give=3S.IO 3S.DO DAT father=3S.POSS NEG
avəlan na ana gəmsodo ahan.
à-vəl=aŋ na ana gʊmsɔdɔ=ahaŋ
3S+PFV-give=3S.IO 3S.DO DAT mother's brother=3S.POSS
'No, he didn't give it t*o his father*, he gave it to his mother's brother.'

(49) Ehe, avəlan [kəndew] **bay**, avəlan cecewk.
ɛhɛ à-vəl=aŋ [kɪndɛw] **baj** à-vəl=aŋ tʃɛtʃœkʷ
no 3S+PFV-give=3S.IO guitar NEG 3S+PFV-give=3S.IO flute
'No, he didn't give a *guitar* to his father, he gave him a flute.'

The fourth possible reply to the question in (47) negates the subject. Moloko clause structure does not allow the subject to occupy the clause-final position; to specifically negate the subject of a clause (52), a predicate nominal clause structure is used. The predicate is recast as a relative clause (see Section 5.4.3) with the presupposed information that someone gave a guitar to his father marked with *na*. The nominal is the negated subject *Mana bay* 'not Mana.'

(50) Ehe, aməvəlan kəndew ana baba ahan na, [Mana] bay;
ɛhɛ amə-vəl=aŋ kɪndɛw ana baba=ahaŋ na [Mana] baj
no DEP-give=3S.IO guitar DAT father=3S.POSS PSP Mana NEG
'No, *Mana* didn't give the guitar to his father. (lit. the one that gave guitar to his father, not Mana)'

aməvəlan na, Majay.
amə-vəl=aŋ na Madzaj
DEP-give=3S.IO PSP Madzay
'The person that gave [it was] Madzay.'

Examples (51–52) show a similar restructuring of a verbal clause into a predicate nominal in order to negate the subject of a clause. A question with a verbal clause structure is shown in (51). In order to negate the subject, the clause is restructured to put all of the known information in a predicate that is a relative clause delimited by *na,* and the negated subject becomes the final nominal (52).

(51) Hawa adan ɗaf ana Mana ɗaw?
Hawa à-d=aŋ ɗaf ana Mana ɗaw
Hawa 3S+PFV-prepare=3S.IO millet loaf DAT Mana Q
'Did Hawa prepare food for Mana?'

(52) Amadan ɗaf ana Mana na, [Hawa] **bay**.
ama-d=aŋ ɗaf ana Mana na [Hawa] **baj**
DEP-prepare=3S.IO millet loaf DAT Mana PSP Hawa NEG
'The one that prepared the millet loaf for Mana [was] not *Hawa*.'

10.3 Interrogative constructions

The syntax of interrogative constructions is remarkable in that all interrogative particles except *wɛlɛj* 'which one' occur clause finally. In certain constructions, the clause itself is rearranged so that the interrogative particle can remain clause final. Interrogative constructions are superimposed on top of the other clausal construction types. Like the case for the negation construction (see Section 10.2.3), the element closest to the interrogative pronoun or question word seems most frequently under the scope of interrogation. Types of interrogative constructions include content questions (see Section 10.3.1), yes/no questions (see Section 10.3.2), tag question construction, to clarify a particular statement (see Section 10.3.3), rhetorical question constructions (see Section 10.3.4), and emphatic question constructions (see Section 10.3.5).

10.3.1 Content question construction

Information questions use interrogative pronouns which must be clause-final. The interrogative pronouns (see Section 3.1.4) each fill a slot in the clause ac-

cording to the element they each are questioning. All elements in a clause can be questioned including subject, direct object, indirect object, verb, oblique, and noun modifier. The clause structure will always be arranged such that the element questioned is clause-final. Three main clause structures are employed in order to achieve clause-final interrogative pronouns. Table 10.2. shows the interrogative forms used for content questions.

Table 10.2: Content information constructions

Construction	Structure and example
Verbal clause structure Questions clausal element	clause – interrogative word *zar a-mənjar* ***way*** man 3S+PFV-see who 'Who did the man see?'
Predicate nominal Questions subject	dependent clause marked with *na* – interrogative word *hor amə-d-əye ɗaf na* ***way*** woman DEP-make-CL millet loaf PSP who 'Who is making millet loaf?' (lit. the woman that is making millet loaf [is] who?)
Right-shifted *na* marked element Questions internal element	clause – interrogative word – right-shifted *na* marked element *Mala a-vəl=an* ***almay*** *ana məlama=ahan na* Mala 3S-give=3S.IO what DAT sibling=3S.POSS PSP 'Mala gave what to his brother?'

The first clause structure that is employed is the verbal clause structure (SVO), but with substitution of a question word. The verbal clause structure is rearranged in the same manner as for constituent negation (see Section 10.2.3) in order to position the questioned element in the clause-final position so that it is replaced by the interrogative pronoun. Information questions in verbal clauses are paired with a response in (53–65) so that the structure of the interrogative clause can be compared with that of the declarative. Examples in this section are given in pairs. The first example in the pair shows the interrogative construction. The second example is the clause with the information filled in for comparison.

The direct object is questioned in (53). The presupposed information is that the man saw someone. Note that there are no other elements that follow the direct object in the verb phrase. The interrogative pronoun fills the direct object slot (identified by square brackets).

(53) Zar amənjar [**way**]?
zar à-mənzar [**waj**]
man 3S+PFV-see who
'Who did the man see?'

(54) Zar amənjar [Mana].
zar à-mənzar [Mana]
man 3S+PFV-see Mana
'The man saw Mana.'

A noun modifier is questioned in (55). The presupposed information is that the woman made some kind of sauce, and the question seeks to find out what kind of sauce. The interrogative pronoun *weley* 'which' is within the noun phrase delimited by square brackets in the example. Even though the interrogative pronoun is inside a noun phrase, that noun phrase is clause-final so the interrogative pronoun is the final word in the clause.

(55) Hor ede [elele **weley**]?
hʷɔr ɛ-dɛ [ɛlɛlɛ **wɛlɛj**]
woman 3S-prepare sauce which
'The woman is making which kind of sauce?'

(56) Hor ede [elele kəlef].
hʷɔr ɛ-d-ɛ [ɛlɛlɛ kɪlɛf]
woman 3S-prepare-CL sauce fish
'The woman is making fish sauce.'

Example (57) questions the direct object of a subordinate clause, in this case a purpose adverbial clause (delimited by square brackets). The presupposed information is that the listener has come to do something. The interrogative pronoun *almay* 'what' is clause-final since the adverbial clause has no other elements following the direct object. Two possible responses are shown in (58)–(59).

(57) Kəlala [aməgəye **almay**]?
kə-l=ala [amɪ-g-ijɛ **almaj**]
2S+PFV-go=to DEP-do-CL what
'What have you come to do?' (lit. you have come to do what?)

(58) Nəlala [aməgəye slərele].
nə-l=ala [amɪ-g-ijɛ ɬɪrɛlɛ]
1S+PFV-go=to DEP-do-CL work
'I came to do work.'

(59) Nəlala [aməjənok].
nə̀-l=ala [amə-dzən-ɔk^{w}]
1S+PFV-go=to DEP-help-2S
'I came to help you.'

In (60), the indirect object is questioned. The presupposed information is that Mala gave a book to someone. The interrogative pronoun *way* 'who,' is located within a prepositional phrase identified by square brackets. That prepositional phrase is clause-final, so that again the interrogative pronoun is the final element in the clause.

(60) Mala avəlan ɗeləywer [ana **way**]?
Mala à-vəl=aŋ ɗɛlijwɛr [ana **waj]**
Mala 3S+PFV-give=3S.IO paper DAT who
'Mala gave the book to whom?'

(61) Mala avəlan ɗeləywer [ana Hawa].
Mala à-vəl=aŋ ɗɛlijwɛr [ana Hawa]
Mala 3S+PFV-give=3S.IO paper DAT Hawa
'Mala gave the book to Hawa.'

In (62) and (64), an oblique is questioned. The presupposed information is that the woman plans to go to market sometime. The interrogative pronoun is the temporal element in the clause in (62). While temporal noun phrases can occur clause-initially, the interrogative pronoun is again found in the clause-final position.

(62) Hor olo a kosoko ava [**epeley**]?
h^{w}ɔr ɔ-lɔ a kɔsɔk^{w}ɔ ava [**ɛpɛlɛj**]
woman 3S-go at market in when
'When is the woman going to market?'

(63) Hor olo a kosoko ava [hajan].
h^{w}ɔr ɔ-lɔ a kɔsɔk^{w}ɔ ava [hadzaŋ]
woman 3S-go at market in tomorrow
'The woman is going to market tomorrow.'

The elements within non-core adpositional phrases are questioned using the generic location question word *amtamay* 'where' (64). This generic location question word does not need to be located inside an adpositional phrase, eliminating

the possibility that the locational postposition would follow the interrogative pronoun in the clause allowing the interrogative pronoun to be clause-final. The presupposed information is that the hearer is going somewhere.

(64) Kolo [**amtamay**]?
kɔ́-lɔ [**amtamaj**]
2S+PFV-go where
'Where did you go?'

(65) Nolo [a kosoko ava].
nɔ́-lɔ [**a** kɔsɔkʷɔ **ava**]
1S+PFV-go at market in
'I went to market.'

The second clause structure that is employed for interrogative constructions is the predicate nominal. The predicate nominal structure is employed for questioning an element of a predicate nominal clause. (66–71) are example pairs where the first of each pair is a question and the second is a possible response. In (66) an aspect of the nominal is questioned with the interrogative pronoun in a prepositional phrase. The prepositional phrase is delimited by square brackets.

(66) Mogom nehe [anga **way**]?
mɔgʷɔm nɛhɛ [aŋga **waj**]
house DEM POSS who
'This house here belongs to whom?'

(67) Mogom nehe [anga Mana].
mɔgʷɔm nɛhɛ [aŋga Mana]
house DEM POSS Mana
'This house here belongs to Mana.' (the house here, belonging to Mana)

In (68) and (70), the interrogative word itself is the predicate.

(68) Mogom ango [**amtamay**]?
mɔgʷɔm=aŋgʷɔ [**amtamaj**]
home=2S.POSS where
'Where is your home?'

(69) Mogom əwla [a Laway].
mɔg^{w}ɔm=uwla [a Lawaj]
home=1S.POSS to Lalawaj
'My home is in Lalaway.'

(70) Bahay a slala aləkwəye na [**way**]?
bahaj a ɬala=alʊk^{w}øjɛ na [**waj**]
chief GEN village=2P.POSS PSP who
'The chief of your village is who?'

(71) Bahay a slala əwla na [Ajəva].
bahaj a ɬala=uwla na [Adzəva]
chief GEN village=1S.POSS PSP Adziva
'The chief of my village is Adziva.'

The predicate nominal clause is also used for questioning the subject in what would otherwise be a normal verbal clause (paralleling the case for the negative, see Section 10.2.3). The subject of what would be a verbal clause in a declarative speech act cannot be questioned using the SVO verbal clause construction in Moloko, because the clause can never be simply rearranged so that the subject is clause-final. For example, it is impossible to question the subject in (72) using the SVO verbal clause construction.[2]

(72) Hor ede ɗaf.
h^{w}ɔr ɛ-d-ɛ ɗaf
woman 3S-make-CL millet loaf
'The woman is making millet loaf.'

To question the subject (73–74), the verbal clause must be reformed into a predicate nominal interrogative construction. The clause is reformed into a noun phrase with a relative clause so that the interrogative pronoun questioning the subject can be in clause-final position.

(73) Hor amədəye ɗaf na **way**?
h^{w}ɔr amɪ-d-ijɛ ɗaf na **waj**
woman DEP-make-CL millet loaf PSP who
'Who is making millet loaf?' (lit. the woman that is making millet loaf [is] who?)

[2]Unless the emphatic question construction is used Section 10.3.5.

(74) Hor amədəye ɗaf na **weley**?
hʷɔr amə-d-ijɛ ɗaf na **wɛlɛj**
woman DEP-make-CL millet loaf PSP which
'Which woman is making millet loaf?' (lit. the woman that is making millet loaf [is] which one?)

(75) and (77) show two other predicate nominal clauses that question what would be the subject of an otherwise verbal clause. (76) and (78) are possible responses to these questions.

(75) Məze amanday aməzəme ɗaf na **way**?
mɪʒɛ ama-ndaj amɪ-ʒum-ɛ ɗaf na **waj**
person DEP-PRG DEP-eat-CL millet loaf PSP who
'Who is eating loaf?' (lit. the man that is eating millet loaf [is] who?)

(76) Mana anday ozom ɗaf.
Mana a-ndaj a-zɔm ɗaf
person 3S-PRG 3S-eat millet loaf
'Mana is eating millet loaf.'

(77) Aməzəɗe dəray na **way**?
amɪ-ʒɪɗ-ɛ dəraj na **waj**
DEP-take-CL head PSP who
'Who will win?' (lit. the one that takes the head [is] who?)

(78) Mana azaɗ dəray.
Mana a-zaɗ dəraj
Mana 3S-take head
'Mana won.' (lit. Mana took head)

The third structure for content information questions uses a right-shifted *na*-marked element (see Section 11.3). This structure is employed in cases where it is impossible for a questioned verb phrase element to be clause-final. In (79), the direct object is questioned. In this case the direct object cannot be clause-final since it is necessary to include the information *ana məlama ahan* 'to his brother,' and the prepositional phrase must follow the direct object in the verb phrase (Chapter 8). Thus in the interrogative structure, the interrogative pronoun replaces the direct object and the rest of the clause is put into a post-posed *na*-marked phrase (underlined in this example). A possible response is shown in (80).

(79) Mala avəlan **almay** ana məlama ahan na?
Mala a-vəl=aŋ **almaj** ana məlama ahaŋ n
Mala 3s-give=3s.io what dat sibling=3s.poss psp
'Mala gave what to his brother?'

(80) Mala avəlan dala ana məlama ahan.
Mala a-vəl=aŋ dala ana məlama=ahaŋ
Mala 3s-give=3s.io money dat sibling=3s.poss
'Mala gave money to his brother.'

10.3.2 Yes-No question construction

Yes/no questions are interrogative clauses which can be answered by a simple 'yes' or 'no' – they are not asking for content in the reply. Moloko uses the interrogative marker *ɗaw* at the end of what is otherwise a declarative clause to create yes/no interrogatives. Pure yes-no questions can be answered with either yes or no, but in Moloko there is often a degree of expectation to the question.[3] When a speaker asks a yes/no question (81–83), they are usually expecting an affirmative reply.

(81) Zar na ndahan baba a Mala **ɗaw**?
zar na ndahaŋ baba a Mala **ɗaw**
man psp 3s father gen Mala q
'That man, is he Mala's father?'

In (82), the speaker expects that Mana is on his way; he is asking for confirmation (but a negative response is always possible). Likewise in (83), he expects that the referent *zar ango* 'your husband' is well.

(82) Mana na álala **ɗaw**?
Mana na á-l=ala **ɗaw**
Mana psp 3s+ipv-go=to q
'Mana, is he coming?'

[3] Expectation is a central element in understanding Moloko grammar (see Section 7.4.3), as is what constitutes shared information with the hearer (see Chapter 11). Questions are constructed in Moloko with that knowledge and expectation in mind, even when seeking new information. Tag questions are discussed in Section 10.3.3.

(83) Zar ango ndahan aba **ɗaw**?
zar=aŋg^{w}ɔ ndahaŋ aba **ɗaw**
man=2S.POSS 3S EXT Q
'Is your husband well?' (part of a greeting; lit. your husband, does he exist?)

There is often an even stronger affirmative expectation when the question is negated. Compare the positive and negative pairs of questions (84–89). Some of the negated questions can be used rhetorically (see Section 10.3.4), since the speaker already knows that the answer is yes. In the examples, the interrogative markers and the negative particles are bolded.

(84) Baba ango, ndahan ava a mogom **ɗaw**?
baba=aŋg^{w}ɔ ndahaŋ ava a mɔg^{w}ɔm **ɗaw**
father=2S.POSS 3S EXT+in at home Q
'Is your father in?'

(85) Baba ango, ndahan ava a mogom **bay ɗaw**?
baba=aŋg^{w}ɔ ndahaŋ ava a mɔg^{w}ɔm **baj ɗaw**
father=2S.POSS 3S EXT+in at home NEG Q
'Is your father not in?'

(86) Ólo a kosoko ava **ɗaw**?
ɔ́-lɔ a kɔsɔk^{w}ɔ ava **ɗaw**
3S+IFV-go at market in Q
'Is he going to the market?'

(87) Ólo a kosoko ava **bay ɗaw**?
ɔ́-lɔ a kɔsɔk^{w}ɔ ava **baj ɗaw**
3S+IFV-go at market in NEG Q
'Is he not going to the market?'

(88) Məlama ango álala **ɗaw**?
məlama=aŋg^{w}ɔ á-l=ala **ɗaw**
sibling=2S.POSS 3S+IFV-go=to Q
'Is your brother coming?'

(89) Məlama ango álala **bay ɗaw**?
məlama=aŋg^{w}ɔ á-l=ala **baj ɗaw**
sibling=2S.POSS 3S+IFV-go=to NEG Q
'Is your brother not coming?'

As is the case for the negation construction (see Section 10.2.3), it could be that the entire proposition in the clause is being questioned. However, it is often the case that only the final constituent is being questioned. Often the clause is restructured when a constituent of the clause is questioned so that the constituent is in final position. In (90) the direct object is fronted and marked as presupposed (it is the topic of discussion) so that the other elements in the clause are questioned (see Section 10.3.2). See also (82) where the subject is marked as presupposed and it is whether or not he is coming that is being questioned.

(90) Awak ango na, káaslay na **ɗaw**?
awak=aŋgʷɔ na káá-ɬ-aj na **ɗaw**
goat=2S.POSS PSP 2S+POT-slay-CL 3S.DO Q
'Your goat, are you going to slaughter it?'

10.3.3 Tag question construction

Question tags can be attached at the end of what would otherwise be the construction used for a declarative clause to seek confirmation of a particular statement. In Moloko, a question tag is *kəyga bay ɗaw* 'is that not so?' The affirmative response is *kəyga* 'it is so.' The negative response is *kəyga bay* 'it is not so' with a statement to explain why the negative answer. Some rhetorical questions have a special question tag *esəmey* 'isn't that so' (see Section 10.3.4). In the examples below, what is under the scope of questioning is put in square brackets.

(91) [Kolo a Marva hajan] kəyga bay daw?
[kɔ́-lɔ a Marva hadzaŋ] **kijga baj ɗaw**
2S+IFV-go at Maroua tomorrow like that NEG Q
'You are going to Maroua tomorrow, not so?'

(92) [Apazan kolo a kosoko ava] **kəyga bay ɗaw?**
[apazaŋ kɔ̀-lɔ a kɔsɔkʷɔ ava] **kijga baj ɗaw**
yesterday 2S+PFV-go at market in like that NEG Q
'You went to the market yesterday, right?'

(93) Nə alməmar na, [avar abay] **kəyga bay ɗaw?**
nə alməmar na [avar abaj] **kijga baj ɗaw**
with dry season PSP rain EXT+NEG like this NEG Q
'In dry season, there is no rain, right?'

Other question tags are evaluative. Example (94) is a question tag asked in a context where the speaker is examining something physically (perhaps at the market as he is considering to buy it) or analysing and evaluating an event.

(94) [Səlom ga] **ɗaw**?
[sʊ̈lɔm ga] **ɗaw**
goodness ADJ Q
'[Is that] good?'

10.3.4 Rhetorical question construction

In a rhetorical question, the speaker is not pragmatically asking for information. Rather, the questions can be evaluative, may carry an element of reproach, or may be a mild command. The context gives the rhetorical force. Some rhetorical questions have a special emphatic structure (see Section 10.3.5) but many have the normal interrogative structure for a content question (95–96, see Section 10.3.1). For example, the speaker is not seeking an explanation when he asks *kamay* 'why' in (95). More probably he is making a strong statement, 'the people had no reason to do this bad thing to me.' Likewise in (96), the speaker is saying that the listener will listen to no one.

(95) Məze ahay tagaw ele lala bay **kamay**?
mɪʒɛ=ahaj ta-g=aw ɛlɛ lala baj **kamaj**
person=Pl 3P-do=1S.IO thing good NEG why
'The people had no reason to do this bad thing to me.' (lit. the people did the bad thing to me why?)

(96) Values, 29
Hərmbələm na, amaɗaslava ala məze na, ndahan ese na,
Hʊ̈rmbʊ̈ləm na ama-ɗaɬ=ava=ala mɪʒɛ na ndahaŋ ɛʃɛ na
God PSP DEP-multiply=in=to person PSP 3S again PSP
'God, the one who multiplied the people, him again,'

kagas ma Hərmbələm na, asabay na,
ka-gas ma Hʊ̈rmbʊ̈ləm na asa-baj na
2S-catch word God PSP again-NEG PSP
'[if] you no longer accept the word of God,'

káagas na anga **way**?
káá-gas na aŋga **waj**
2S+POT-catch PSP POSS who
'you won't listen to anyone.' (lit. 'you will catch it [word] of whom?')

Other rhetorical questions have the same structure as a tag question (97–98, see Section 10.3.3). However either there is no expected answer or the expected answer is the opposite of that for a normal yes/no tag question. For example, during the telling of the text from which (97) is taken, when the storyteller asked the rhetorical question *lala ɗaw* '[is that] good?' the people in the audience replied *lala bay* '[it is] not good.' (even though the answer was obvious from the story). Likewise, in (98), the audience replied *səlom ga* '[it is] good' to the rhetorical question *səlom ga bay ɗaw* '[is that] not good?'

(97) Kólo kagas anga məze kək, lala **ɗaw**?
kɔ́-lɔ kà-gas aŋga mɪʒɛ kək lala **ɗaw**
2S+IFV-go 2S+PFV-catch POSS person ID:catch by throat good Q
'[If] you catch [something] belonging to someone else [and steal it], [is that] good?'

(98) Kólo ele ango, səlom ga bay **ɗaw**?
kɔ́-lɔ ɛlɛ=aŋg^{w}ɔ sʊ̈lɔm ga baj **ɗaw**
2S+IFV-go thing=2S.POSS good ADJ NEG Q
'[If] you mind your own business (lit. go to your things), [is that] not good?'

A particular question tag, *esəmey* 'isn't that so' carries an element of reproach. There is no expected answer to the question in (99). The message is a strong declaration that the speaker had already told something to the hearer.

(99) [Nahok ma fan] **esəmey**?
[nà-h=ɔk^{w} ma faŋ] **ɛʃɪmɛj**
1S+PFV-tell=2S.IO word already isn't that so
'I already told you, didn't I?'

10.3.5 Emphatic question construction

Emphatic questions do not ask for information, but rather make an emphatic statement or carry imperatival force. As such they are a sub-type of rhetorical

questions (see Section 10.3.4). The emphatic question construction uses two interrogative pronouns, a reduced emphatic pronoun within the clause in the normal slot for the element questioned, and the other a sometimes reduced pronoun at the end of the clause.

These reduced interrogative pronouns are *wa* (from *way* 'who') in (100), (102), (103), *may* and *alma* (from *almay* 'what') in (101) and (104), respectively, *malma* (from *malmay* 'what') in (105), and *meme* and *mey* (from *memey* 'how') in (106).

(100) **Wa** aməgok na **way**?
wa amə-g=ɔk na **waj**
who DEP-do=2S.IO 3S.DO who
'*What* is wrong?' / 'Stop crying!' (lit. who to do it to you, who)

(101) Kege **may** ana war ga **may**?
ka-gɛ **maj** ana war ga **maj**
2S-do what DAT child ADJ what
'*What* are you doing to the child, *what*?' / 'Stop doing that!'

(102) Cicada, S. 18
Náanjakay na **wa** [amazaw ala agwazla ana ne na] **way**?
náá-nzak-aj na **wa** [ama-z=aw =ala agʷaʁa ana nɛ na]
1S+POT-find-CL PSP who DEP-take=1S.IO =to spp. of tree DAT 1S PSP

waj
who
'*Who* can I find to bring to me this tree for me? *Who*?' / '*Someone* should be able to bring me this tree.'

(103) **Wa** andaɗay **way**?
wa a-ndaɗ-aj **waj**
who 3S-love-CL who
'Who loves whom?' / 'No one loves him.'

(104) **Alma** amədəvala okfom na **may**?
alma amə-dəv=ala ɔkʷfɔm na **maj**
what DEP-trip=to mouse PSP what
'*What* was it that made that mouse fall? *What*?' / 'What else [but a snake] makes a mouse fall?'

(105) **Malma** awəlok **may**?
malma a-wəl=ɔk^{w} **maj**
what 3S-hurt=2S.IO what
'*What* is bothering (hurting) you? *What*?' / '*Nothing* should be bothering you.'

(106) **Meme** ege **mey**?
mɛmɛ ɛ-g-ɛ **mɛj**
how 3S-do-CL how?
'*What* happened?' / 'Why did you do that?' / 'Stop the foolishness.' (lit. how did it do?)

10.4 Imperative constructions

There are several types of imperative constructions in Moloko, which are used in different situations, sometimes to express different degrees of obligation. So far six different constructions have been identified, each with a different force of exhortation. They are shown in Table 10.3. Some constructions use the imperative mood form of the verb (see Section 7.2), others use Imperfective aspect or irrealis mood or are in the form of a rhetorical question (see Section 10.3.4). Table 10.3 illustrates all of the imperative constructions for the verb /*lo*/ 'go.' The verb forms are also shown in Perfective and Imperfective aspect (lines 1 and 2) for comparison.

The imperative form of the verb is used for an immediate command (107–109, line 3 of Table 10.3). The verb is in the imperative mood (see Section 7.2) and can be preceded by a vocative. The addressee is expected to carry out the order in the immediate future as opposed to commands that demand reflection before carrying them out. In hortatory texts, imperatives are not usually found in the body of the exhortation since the hearer is expected to wait until the discourse is finished before carrying out the instructions.

(107) Lohom a mogom.
lɔh^{w}-ɔm a mɔg^{w}ɔm
go-2P at home
'Go home!'

Table 10.3: Imperative constructions

Line		2S forms	3S forms
1	Declarative, Perfective aspect	*ka-l=ala* 2S+PFV-go=to 'You came.'	*a-l=ala* 3S+PFV-go=to 'He/she came.'
2	Declarative, Imperfective aspect	*ká-l=ala* 2S+IFV-go=to 'You come.'	*á-l=ala* 3S+IFV-go=to 'He/she comes.'
3	Imperative	*l=ala* go[2S.IMP]=to 'Come (now)!'	
4	Polite request	*ká-l=ala ete ɗaw* 2S+IFV-go=to polite Q 'Please come.'	
5	Negative expectation	*ká-l=ala bay* 2S+IFV-go=to NEG 'Don't come.' (I don't expect you to come)	*á-l=ala bay* 3S+IFV-go=to NEG 'He/she is not coming.' (I don't expect him to come)
6	Hortative	*kaa-l=ala* 2S+HOR-go=to 'You come now!' (I want you to come)	*mə-l=ala* 3S+HOR-go=to 'He/she should come.' (I want him to come)
7	Adverb of obligation	*səy kə-l=ala=va* only 2S+PFV-go=to=PRF 'You must come.'	*səy mə-l=ala* only 3S+HOR-go=to 'He/she must come.'
8	Rhetorical question	*ká-l=ala bay ɗaw* 2S+IFV-go=to NEG Q 'You should come.' (lit. Are you not coming?)	*á-l=ala bay ɗaw* 3S+IFV-go=to NEG Q 'He should come.' (lit. Is he not coming?)

(108) Zəmok ɗaf.
zʊ̀m-ɔkʷ ɗaf
eat-1PIN millet loaf
'Let's eat!'

(109) Cəke.
tʃɪk-ɛ
stand[2S.IMP]-CL
'Stand up!'

The word *etey* or *ete* 'please' can be added to other clause types (110–111, line 5 in Table 10.3) to achieve a milder pragmatic imperative force than the use of the construction without the polite adverb.

(110) Nde na asaw na, gaw na **etey**?
ndɛ na a-s=aw na g=aw na **ɛtɛj**
so PSP 3S-please=1S.IO PSP do=1S.IO 3S.DO please
'So I want that you do that for me, please.'

(111) Nə́njakay yam **ete** ɗaw?
nə́-nzak-aj jam **ɛtɛ** ɗaw
1S+IFV-find-CL water please Q
'Could you please get me some water?' (lit. can I find water please)

A negated clause in the Imperfective aspect expresses a negative exhortation or statement of expectation (112–113, line 5 in Table 10.3). In second person (112), the negative expectation carries a weak hortative force. The speaker is expressing that he/she expects the addressee not to carry out the action. In third person (113) the negative expectation is not hortatory, but rather simply expresses that the speaker does not expect that the action will be performed.

(112) Kámənjar fabay.
ká-mənzār fá-bàj
2S+IFV-see already-NEG
'Don't look at it yet.' (I don't expect you to look at it).

(113) Á-mənjar fabay.
á-mənzār fá-bàj
3S+IFV-see already-NEG
'I don't think he looked at it.' (I don't expect that he looked at it).

A clause with a verb in the Hortative mood (line 6 in Table 10.3, see Section 7.4.3) concentrates on the will of the speaker – the speaker wishes the action done. This form is illustrated for 3s in (114).

(114) Mamənjar fabay.
mà-mənzār fá-bàj
2s+HOR-see already-NEG
'He/she shouldn't look at it yet.' / 'Don't let him/her look at it.' (I don't expect him/her to look at it).

An even stronger deontic form is made by the addition of an adverb of obligation (*dewele* 'obligation' (116), *səy* 'only' 115–117) preceding the clause, with the verb in Hortative mood (line 7 in Table 10.3). Imperative forms with an adverb of obligation indicate that the hearer is obligated to do something (he/she has no choice, there is no other way). These forms are used to give an order with insistence, a strong counsel.

(115) Səy koogom endeɓ.
sij kɔ̀ɔ̀-g^{w}-ɔm ɛndɛɓ
only 2P-do-2P wisdom
'You must be wise (lit. do only wisdom).'

(116) Dewele səy keege na.
dɛwɛlɛ sij kɛ̀ɛ̀-gɛ na
obligation only 2s+HOR-do 3s.DO
'You are obligated to do that.' (lit. obligation: you must only do it)

(117) Səy keege anga dewele.
sij kɛ̀ɛ̀-g-ɛ aŋga dɛwɛlɛ
only 2s+HOR-do-CL POSS obligation
'You must do that obligation.' (lit. you must only do the thing that belongs to obligation)

10.5 Exclamatory constructions

Exclamatory sentences have either an interjection at the initial position (118) or one of several exclamatory adverbs at the final position (119–122). In the examples, the interjections and exclamatory adverbs are bolded.

(118) **Kay**, nege na bay!
kaj nɛ̀-g-ɛ na baj
interj. 1S+PFV-do-CL 3S.DO NEG
'No, I didn't do it!'

(119) Apazan nok awəy Məwsa álala;
apazaŋ nɔkʷ awij Muwsa á-l=ala
yesterday 2S said Moses 3S+IFV-go=to
'Yesterday you said that Moses would come;'

macakəmbay aməlala na ndahan bay **nəy**!
matsakəmbaj amə-l=ala na ndahaŋ baj **nij**
meanwhile DEP-go=to PSP 3S NEG exclamation
'but the one that came was not him after all!'

(120) Enje bay ɗeɗen **dey**!
ɛ̀-nʒ-ɛ baj ɗɛɗɛŋ **dɛj**
3S+PFV-suffice-CL NEG truth exclamation
'It really wasn't enough!'

(121) Gaw endeɓ **dey**!
g=aw ɛndɛɓ **dɛj**
do[2S.IMP]=1S.IO brain exclamation
'Be careful!' (lit. do brain for me)

(122) Values, 50
Epele epele na me, Hərmbələm anday agas ta a ahar ava **re**!
ɛpɛlɛ ɛpɛlɛ na mɛ Hʊ̈rmbʊ̈ləm a-ndaj a-gas ta
IDin the future PSP opinion God 3S-PROG 3S-catch 3P.DO

a ahar ava **rɛ**
at hand in in spite
'In the future in my opinion, God is going to accept them [the elders] in his hands, in spite [of what anyone says]!'

11 The *na* marker and *na* constructions

Knowledge of how the particle *na* works in Moloko is foundational to understanding information flow and interpreting a Moloko text. Expectation is a concept that is fundamental for Moloko. Within the irrealis world, this concept has already been discussed (mood, see Section 7.4.3). Within the realis world, expectation is shown in other forms. One of these forms is the *na* construction or presupposition construction. Known or expected elements are marked with *na*, which is found at the right edge of the element it modifies.

A very basic knowledge of *na* can be gained from studying the example pair below. Example (1) illustrates how a person would tell another person her name during a conversation. However, if the addressee first asked the person to give her name, then 'name' will be marked with *na* in the response (2). Structurally, *na* isolates or separates some element in a clause or sentence from the rest of the clause. In (2), it separates the predicate *sləmay=əwla* 'my name' from the nominal *Abangay*. In the examples in this chapter, *na* is bolded and the element marked by *na* is underlined.

(1) Sləmay əwla Abangay.
ɬəmaj=uwla Abaŋgaj
name=1S.POSS Abangay
'My name is Abangay.'

(2) Sləmay əwla **na**, Abangay.
ɬəmaj =uwla **na** Abaŋgaj
name=1S.POSS PSP Abangay
'My name is Abangay.'

Na is a separate phonological word that positions at the end of a noun phrase (2)–(3), time phrase (33), discourse particle (34), or clause (4) that is being marked. *Na* has semantic scope over the preceding construction. When an element in a clause, or the clause itself, is marked with *na*, it is marked as being known or expected information that is somehow a prerequisite to the information that fol-

lows.[1] This structure for marking information as presupposed is a basic organisational structure with a major function in certain Moloko clause structures and discourse.[2]

(3) Həmbo **na**, anday ásəkala azla wəsekeke.
hʊmbɔ **n[redacted]** à-ndaj á-sək=ala aɮa wuʃɛkɛkɛ
flour PSP 3S+PFV-PRG 3S+IFV-multiply=to now ID:multiply
'The flour, it is multiplying *wəshekeke*.'

(4) Cicada, S. 5
Tánday tətalay a ləhe **na**,
tá-ndaj [redacted]-tal-aj a [redacted]ɛ [redacted]a
3P+IFV-PRG 3P+IFV-walk-CL at bush PSP
'[As] they were walking in the bush,'

tolo tənjakay agwazla malan ga a ləhe.
tə-lɔ tə-nzak-aj ag^{w}aɮa malaŋ ga a lɪhɛ
3P+PFV-go 3P+PFV-find-CL spp. of tree large ADJ at bush
'they went and found a large tree (a particular species) in the bush.'

Pragmatic presupposition is defined by Lambrecht (1994: 52) as "the set of presuppositions lexicogrammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered." In Moloko, *na*-marked elements indicate information that the speaker shares with the hearer in that the element has been previously mentioned in the discourse, is the expected part of the situation, is the expected outcome of an event, or is assumed to be common knowledge or a cultural assumption. *Na* -marked elements are the way that the speaker presents any information that he thinks the hearer should not be able to (or would not want to) challenge.

The partitioning that *na* produces results in the clause being split into two parts: the presupposition (followed by *na*) and the assertion. The assertion is that part of the sentence which the speaker expects "the hearer knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered" (Lambrecht 1994: 52), but not necessarily before hearing it. In the following example groups,[3] the first gives

[1] The presupposition marker and the 3S direct object pronominal (Section 7.3.3) are homophones; both function (in different ways) to mark previously identified information.

[2] Bow (1997c) called *na* a focus marker. We have found that the function of *na* is not limited to focus. In related languages, a similar particle has often been referred to as a 'topicalisation' marker, but the fronting and special marking that Levinsohn (1994) describes as topic marking is only one of the functions of this particle in Moloko.

[3] Adapted from Boyd 2002.

the normal SVO clause structure without any *na*-marked element. The rest have *na*-marked elements (underlined). In the first triplet, (5) represents a context where there is no specific presupposed information (and there is no *na* marker). Example (6) represents a situation where the presupposed information (marked with *na*) is 'I like X' and the topic of the discourse is what is liked. A context where the presupposed information is 'beans' is shown in (7).

(5) Hahar asaw.
hahar a-s=aw
beans 3s-like=1s.io
'I like beans.' (lit. beans are pleasing to me)
Presupposition: Nothing specific.

(6) Asaw **na**, hahar.
a-s=aw **na** hahar
3s-like=1s.io psp beans
'[what] I like [is] beans.'
Presupposition: I like something (X).
Assertion: X=beans.
Focus of assertion: Beans.

(7) Hahar **na** asaw.
hahar **na** a-s=aw
beans psp 3s-like=1s.io
'As for beans, I like them.'
Presupposition 1: Beans are the topic of this part of the discourse.
Presupposition 2: Beans have some attribute (X).
Assertion : X=I like them.
Focus of assertion: I like them.

The rearranging of the construction to front the presupposed information in the clause is shown by another set of examples (8–11). There is no specific presupposition (and no *na* marker) in (8) while (9) represents a situation where Hawa is presupposed – the hearer knows who she is and Hawa is the topic of discussion. Example (10) is similar to (9) except that the relative clause also indicates known information (see Section 5.4.3) so the fact that someone prepared the food is also presupposed. In (11), the presupposed information is 'someone made the food' (or 'X made the food').

(8) Hawa adan ɗaf ana Mana.
Hawa a-d=aŋ ɗaf ana Mana
Hawa 3s-prepare=3s.io millet loaf DAT Mana
'Hawa prepared millet loaf for Mana.'
Presupposition: No specific presupposition.
Assertion: Hawa prepared millet loaf for Mana.

(9) Hawa **na**, adan ɗaf.
Hawa **na** a-d=aŋ ɗaf
Hawa PSP 3s-prepare=3s.io millet loaf
'Hawa [is] the one who prepared the millet loaf for him.'
Presupposition 1: The hearer knows who Hawa is.
Presupposition 2: Hawa is the topic of this section of discourse, or Hawa did something (X).
Assertion: X= prepared the millet.

(10) Hawa **na**, amadan ɗaf.
Hawa **n**[redacted] ama-d=aŋ ɗaf
Hawa PSP DEP-prepare=3s.io millet loaf
'Hawa [is] the one that prepared the millet loaf for him.'
Presupposition 1: The hearer knows who Hawa is.
Presupposition 2: Hawa is the topic of this section of discourse (a contrastive topic).
Presupposition 3: Someone (X) prepared the millet loaf.
Assertion: Hawa is the person who prepared the millet loaf.

(11) Amadan ɗaf **na**, Hawa.
ama-d=aŋ ɗaf [redacted] **n**[redacted] Hawa
DEP-prepare=3s.io millet loaf PSP Hawa
'The preparer of his millet loaf [is] Hawa.'
Presupposition: Someone (X) prepared the millet loaf.
Assertion: X=Hawa (the hearer may not know who Hawa is).

Na constructions in Moloko can be divided into five main structural types, depending on which element is presupposed and which element is the assertion. These structural types fit the main ways that *na* constructions function in Moloko discourse. The five structural types are:

1. **Presupposition-assertion construction: fronted *na*-marked clause** (Section 11.1). A whole clause is marked with *na*, separating it from the clause which follows and marking it as presupposed. These constructions function in text cohesion.

2. **Presupposition-assertion construction: fronted *na*–marked clausal element** (Section 11.2). One element in a clause is fronted and delimited by *na*, separating it from the rest of the clause and marking the fronted element as presupposed. Such constructions function in tracking participants and marking boundaries in a text.

3. **Assertion-presupposition construction: right-shifted *na*-marked element** (Section 11.3). The element that is marked by *na* is right-shifted to the end of a clause. This construction is found in concluding statements.

4. **The definite construction: *na*–marked clausal element** (Section 11.4). The element that is marked by *na* is in its normal clausal position. The definite construction functions to specify the element that is marked by *na* in the text.

5. **Presupposition-focus construction: *na* precedes the final element of the verb phrase** (Section 11.5). The final element of a clause is immediately preceded by one or more *na*-marked elements. This construction makes prominent the final element of the clause.

Note that in the examples, *na* is always glossed as PSP 'presupposition marker,' even if its more specific function in a particular utterance might be argued to be for focus or definiteness, as marking presupposition is its overall function. It is probable that the different functions of *na* overlap, since structurally, it is often difficult if not impossible in some cases to determine whether *na* is at the end of a noun phrase or a clause. It is also likely that the functions of *na* overlap with those of the 3S direct object pronominal (see Section 7.3.3) since in certain contexts, it is difficult to determine with certainty whether *na* is PSP or the 3S DO pronominal. The examples used in the text are chosen to clearly illustrate the function of *na*.

11.1 Presupposition-assertion construction: *na*-marked clause

There are two presupposition-assertion constructions depending on if the entire clause is marked with *na* or if just one clausal element is marked (see Section 11.2). The *na*-marked clause presupposition-assertion construction consists of an entire clause marked with *na* and fronted with respect to another clause (12–14). The *na*-marked clause presupposition-assertion construction functions in discourse in inter-clausal relations and is involved in discourse cohesion. The clause marked with *na* expresses presupposed or shared information, and the main clause that follows contains asserted information. The precise relation between the *na* clause and the main clause is determined by context (see Section 12.4). In the examples in this section, the *na*-marked clause is underlined.

(12) Cicada, S. 5
Tánday tətalay a ləhe **na**,
tá-ndaj t[redacted]-tal-aj a[redacted]hɛ n[redacted]
3P+IFV-PRG 3P+IFV-walk-CL at bush PSP
'[As] they were walking in the bush,'

tolo tənjakay agwazla malan ga a ləhe.
tə-lɔ tə-nzak-aj ag^{w}aʒa malaŋ ga a lɪhɛ
3P+PFV-go 3P+PFV-find-CL spp. of tree large ADJ at bush
'[As] they were walking in the bush, they went and found a large tree (a particular species) in the bush.'

(13) Tə́nday táhaya **na**, həmbo ga
tə-ndaj [redacted]á-h=aja n[redacted] hʊmbɔ ga
3P+IFV-PRG 3P+IFV-grind=PLU PSP flour ADJ
'They were grinding it, [and] the flour'

ánday ásak ele ahan wəsekeke.
á-ndaj á-sak ɛlɛ =ahaŋ wuʃɛkɛkɛ
3S+IFV-PRG 3S+IFV-multiply thing =3S.POSS ID:multiply
'was multiplying all by itself, *wəsekeke*.'

(14) Disobedient Girl, S. 36
Talay war elé háy bəlen kə ver aka **na**, ásak asabay.
talaj w[redacted]r [redacted]lɛ h[redacted]j b[redacted]ɛŋ k[redacted] v[redacted] a[redacted]a n[redacted] á-sak
ID:put child eye millet one on stone on PSP 3S+IFV-multiply

asa-baj
again-NEG
'[If] they put one grain on the grinding stone, it doesn't multiply anymore.'

A *na*-marked clause in Moloko can function adverbially, because it is marked as subordinate (in a way) to the main clause, but it gives no explicit signal as to the nature of the sematic relationship between the two clauses. The only thing it indicates is that the *na*-marked clause is presented as presupposed, and somehow relevant to the following clause. The relations that *na* clauses are employed in are temporal or logical sequence (see Section 11.1.1), simultaneous or coordinated events (see Section 11.1.2), and tail-head linking for cohesion (see Section 11.1.3).

11.1.1 Temporal or logical sequence

The default relation between a *na*-marked clause and the matrix clause in a *na* construction is that there is a sequence (temporal or logical) and the event/state expressed by the *na*-marked clause precedes the event/state in the main clause. Examples (15) and (16) are both taken from a Moloko legend (from the Leopard story,Friesen 2003) where some domestic animals are fleeing their owners because the owners are constantly killing the animals' children in order to satisfy the demands of the spirits. A reason-result construction is shown in (15).[4] A hen begins the story with her lament expressing the reason why she is fleeing. She first states, "They have killed my children," then uses a *na* construction to say that *because* they have killed her children, she is fleeing in anger. The *na*-marked clause repeats the information she just declared in the first clause. This now presupposed information ('they are killing my children') is followed by the matrix clause containing the assertion of new information (I am fleeing in anger). Connecting the two clauses in a presupposition-assertion construction influences the hearer to deduce a logical or temporal connection between the two clauses; here reason-result.

(15) Tanday taslaw aka babəza ahay va.
ta-nd-aj ta-ɬ=aw =aka babəza=ahaj=va
3P-PROG-CL 3P-kill=1S.IO =on children=Pl=PRF
'They have killed my children.'

[4] It is also an example of tail-head linking, see Section 11.1.3.

Nde, taslaw aka babəza ahay va **na**,
ndɛ t[redacted]-ɬ =a[redacted]v =[redacted]ka ba[redacted]əza =a[redacted]haj =v[redacted]a n[redacted]
so 3P-kill=1S.IO =on children=Pl=PRF PSP
'So, [because] they are killing my children,'
nəhəmay mogo ele əwla.
nə-həm-aj mɔgʷɔ ɛlɛ=uwla
1S-run-CL anger thing=1S.POSS
'I am running [in] anger.' (lit. I am running my anger thing).

Example (16) shows a temporal sequence (or perhaps another reason-result construction) from a little later in the same legend. The group of animals is joined by a dog. The dog expresses that whenever a person in the family gets sick, the family will be advised to kill a dog, because dog meat is thought to be especially good to help a sick person get stronger. The dog's speech uses a *na* construction to express this relation. The *na*-marked clause indicates the condition for the event expressed in the main clause. In this case the clause marked by *na* ('a person gets sick') is not previously mentioned in the discourse, but rather is a fact of life, a cultural presupposition.

(16) Cəje agan ana məze **na**, tawəy, "Kəɗom kəra."
tʃɪdʒɛ a[redacted]g =a[redacted] a[redacted]a m[redacted]ɛ [redacted]**a** tawij kʊɗ-ɔm kəra
disease 3S-do=3S.IO DAT person PSP 3P+said kill[IMP]-2P dog
'[If] a person gets sick (lit. sickness does to person), they say, "Kill a dog!" [for the sick person to eat].'

Examples (17) and (18) are from another legend that talks about how God used to live very close to people. However one day, a woman did something that made God angry, and so he moved far away from them. The narrator expresses the relation between God becoming angry and his moving away using a *na* construction (17) where the *na*-marked clause indicates God's anger (the reason for his leaving) and the main clause indicates the result (he went away).

(17) Hərmbəlom na ɓərav ahan atəkam alay **na**, avahay ele ahan botot.
Hʊrmbʊlɔm n[redacted] ɓ[redacted]av =a[redacted]aŋ a[redacted]təkam =a[redacted]aj **n[redacted]** a-vah-aj
God PSP heart=3S.POSS 3S-taste=away PSP 3S-fly-CL

ɛlɛ=ahaŋ bɔtɔt
thing=3S.POSS ID:flying
'God (for his part) got angry; [and so] he went away.' (lit. God, he tasted his heart, he flew his thing)

Example (18) is from the conclusion of the same legend where the narrator uses a *na* construction to express a counterexpectation. Although people may seek paradise, they won't find it because God has gone far away (because of what the woman did). In the *na* construction, the *na*-marked clause expresses what people seek, and the main clause expresses that they won't find it.

(18) Mənjokok egəne sləlay mbələm **na**, Hərmbələm enjé dəren.
mə-nzɔk-ɔkʷ ɛgɪnɛ ɬəlaj mbələm **na** Hʊrmbʊlɔm ɛ-nʒ-ɛ
1PIN-seek/find-2PIN today root sky PSP God 3S-left-CL

dɪrɛŋ
far

'[Although] today we seek paradise, God has gone far away.' (lit. we seek today the root of the sky, God has gone far away.)

Example (19) is from the Values exhortation and illustrates a reason-result connection. There is no connecting conjunction in either of the clauses; however the reader can discern that there is a logical connection between the first clause '[If] you will ever accept the word of God' (marked in five places with *na,* see Section 11.5) and the second 'whose word will you accept [then]?' (a rhetorical question, see Section 10.3.4).

(19) Values, S. 29
Hərmbələm **na**, amaɗaslava ala məze **na**, ndahan ese **na**,
Hʊrmbʊlɔm **na** ama-ɗaɬ=ava=ala ɲɪʒɛ **na** ndahaŋ ɛʃ **na**
God PSP DEP-multiply=in=to person PSP 3S again PSP

'God, the one who multiplied the people, him again'

kagas ma Hərmbələm **na**, asabay **na**,
ka-gas ma Hʊrmbʊlɔm **na** asa-baj **na**
2S-catch word God PSP again-NEG PSP

'[if] you no longer accept the word of God,'

[káagas **na** anga way]?
[káá-gas **na** aŋga waj]
2S+POT-catch PSP POSS who

'[then] you will never accept anyone's word.' (lit. whose [word] will you accept?)

11.1.2 Simultaneous events

When the verb in the *na* clause is progressive aspect, the events/states in both clauses are simultaneous. In (20) (from the Leopard story, Friesen 2003) a *na* clause indicates a presupposed event that is occuring while the event in the main clause happens.[5] The verb *anday etəwe* 'she is crying' is progressive aspect. Also see (12), (13).

(20) Atəwalay "Bababa kəlak kəlak kəlak." Anday etəwe **na**, anjakay awak.
a-tuw=alaj bababa kəlak kəlak kəlak a-ndaj ɛ-t[redacted]w-ɛ **n[redacted]** a-nzak-aj
3S-cry=away sound of hen 3S-PRG 3S-cry-CL PSP 3S-find-CL

awak
goat
'She cried, "*Bababa kəlak kəlak kəlak*." As she was crying, she found a goat.'

11.1.3 Tail-head linking for cohesion

In a discourse, the speaker will use several devices to ensure that the hearers can follow what is being said; i.e., to help track participants through the narrative, connect events, and understand logical connections. One of the ways cohesion is achieved in Moloko discourse is by the use of the presupposition marker *na* to mark presupposed (including previously-introduced) information. Cohesion is also created using a special construction that Longacre calls "tail-head repetition" (Longacre 1976: 204). In this construction, an element previously mentioned in a discourse is repeated in a subsequent sentence in order to provide a cohesive link between new information and the preceding discourse. In Moloko, a clause on the event line is first asserted and then at the beginning of the next sentence the same propositional content may be repeated almost word for word and marked at the end by *na*. Several examples are shown below. Example (21) comes from a different retelling of the Disobedient Girl text than is shown in Section 1.5. The final element of *təhaya na kə ver aka* 'they ground it on the grinding stone' is repeated in the next line and marked with *na* as the first element of the next sentence *tənday táhaya na* 'they were grinding it *na*.' In (21–26), the clause containing the element to be repeated is delimited by square brackets and the *na*-marked clause in the next sentence is underlined. The element that is repeated in both clauses is bolded.

[5] Example (20) is an example of tail-head linking (Section 11.1.3) where the example is repeated.

(21) Tázaɗ na háy, war elé háy bəlen na,
tá-zaɗ na haj, war ɛlɛ haj bɪlɛŋ na
3P+IFV-take 3S.DO millet child eye millet one PSP
'They would take one grain of millet;'

[**tə́haya** na kə ver aka].
[**tə́-h=aja** na kə vɛr aka]
3S+IFV-grind=PLU 3S.DO on stone on
'they ground it on the grinding stone.'

Tə́nday **táhaya** na,
tə́-ndaj **á-h =aja** n
3P+IFV-PRG 3P+IFV-grind=PLU PSP
'As they were grinding it,'

həmbo ga ánday ásak ele ahan wəsekeke.
hʊmbɔ ga á-ndaj á-sak ɛlɛ=ahaŋ wuʃɛkɛkɛ
flour ADJ 3S+IFV-PRG 3S+IFV-multiply thing=3S.POSS ID:multiply
'the flour was multiplying all by itself *wəshekeke*.'

Another tail-head link can be seen a little further in the same narrative in (22).

(22) [**Ánday ásakaka**].
[**á-ndaj á-sak=aka**]
3S+IFV-PROG 3S+IFV-multiply=on
'It is multiplying.'

Ánday ásakaka wəsekeke na,
á-ndaj á-sak =aka wuʃɛkɛkɛ n
3S+IFV-PRG 3S+IFV-multiply=on ID:multiply PSP
'As it is multiplying *wəsekeke*,'

ver árəhva mbaf.
vɛr á-rəh=va mbaf
room 3S+IFV-fill=PRF ID:up to the roof
'the room filled completely up *mbaf*.'

Likewise, other tail head links can be seen in (23) (from lines 3-5 in the Cicada text), (24) (from lines 9-10 in the Snake story), and (25) (from the Leopard story, Friesen 2003).

(23) Cicada, S. 3
Albaya ahay aba.
albaja=ahaj aba
youth=Pl EXT
'There were some young men.'

Cicada, S. 4
[**Tánday tətalay a ləhe**].
[**tá-ndaj tə-tal-aj a lɪhɛ**]
3P+IFV-PRG 3P+IFV-walk-CL to bush
'They were walking in the bush.'

Cicada, S. 5
Tánday tətalay a ləhe na, tolo tənjakay agwazla malan ga a ləhe.
tá-ndaj [illegible]ə-tal-aj [illegible] lɪ[illegible]ɛ nə
3P+IFV-PRG 3P-walk-CL at bush PSP
'[As] they were walking in the bush,'

tə-lɔ tə-nzak-aj agʷaɮa malaŋ ga a lɪhɛ
3P+PFV-go 3P+PFV-find-CL spp. of tree large ADJ at bush
'they went and found a large tree (a particular species) in the bush.'

(24) Snake, S. 9
Nazala təystələm əwla.
nà-z=ala tijstələm=uwla
1S+PFV-take=to torch=1S.POSS
'I took my flashlight.'

[**Nabay** cəzlarr].
[**nà-b-aj** tsəɮarr]
1S+PFV-light-CL ID:shining the flashlight up
'I shone it up *cəzlarr*.'

Snake, S. 10
Nábay na, námənjar na mbajak mbajak mbajak
ná-b-aj [illegible]a ná-mənzar na mbajak mbajak mbajak
1S+IFV-light-CL 3S.DO 1S+IFV-see PSP ID:something big and reflective
'[As] I shone [it], I was seeing it, something big and reflective *mbajak*,'

gogolvan.

gʷɔgʷɔlvaŋ
snake
'a snake!'

(25) [**Atəwalay** "Bababa kəlak kəlak kəlak."]
[**a-tuw=alaj** bababa kəlak kəlak kəlak]
3S-cry=away sound of hen
'She cried, "*Bababa kəlak kəlak kəlak*."'

Anday **etəwe** na, anjakay awak.
a-ndaj **ɛ-[illegible]uw-ɛ** n[illegible] a-nzak-aj awak
3S-PRG 3S-cry-CL PSP 3S-find-CL goat
'As she was crying, she found a goat.'

Sometimes the tail and head elements are not identical. For example, the expected (but not overtly-named) result of a previous proposition can be expressed in a subsequent clause and that result marked with *na*. Example (26) is from lines 27 and 28 of the Disobedient Girl text shown in Section Section 1.5. The first sentence (*zar ahan angala*) tells of the return of the husband. The next sentence is *pok mapalay mahay* 'opening the door,' which is an expected event when a person returns home. The *na*-marked clause in the second sentence is presupposed information since although it does not literally repeat the information in the previous sentence, it refers to information which is a natural outcome of it. The construction still provides cohesion to the text because subsequent events are linked together.

(26) Disobedient Girl, S. 27
[Embesen cacapa na, **zar ahan angala**.]
[ɛ-mbɛʃɛŋ tsatsapa na, **zar=ahaŋ à-ŋgala**]
3S-rest some time PSP man=3S.POSS 3S+PFV-return
'After a while, her husband came back.'

Disobedient Girl, S. 28
Pok mapalay mahay na, həmbo árah na a hoɗ a hay ava.
pɔk n[illegible]a-p=alaj [illegible]ahaj na[illegible] hʊmbɔ á-rax na a hʷɔɗ
ID:open NOM-open=away door PSP flour 3S+IFV-fill 3S.DO at stomach

a haj ava
GEN house in
'Opening the door, the flour filled the stomach (the interior) of the house.'

11.2 Presupposition-assertion construction: *na*-marked clausal element

The second type of presupposition-assertion construction occurs when a single clausal element is fronted and marked with *na*. *Na* marks (occurs immediately after): a) presuppositions and b) topics (including contrastive topics). In both cases the clausal element immediately preceding *na* is part of an understood presupposition. The part of the clause following *na* is the assertion which contains new information the speaker wants to communicate.

The normal order of elements in a Moloko clause (without *na*) is SVO. Figure 11.1. illustrates the constituents in a declarative clause, combining Figure 8.1. and Figure 10.1. so that the verb phrase constituents are also shown.

(Discourse particle) (Temporal adverb)	(Subject NP)	**Verb phrase**					
		(Auxiliary)	**Verb complex**	(Noun phrase or 'body-part')	(Adpositional phrases)	(Adverb)	(Ideophone) (Negative)

Figure 11.1: Constituents of the clause

In a presupposition-assertion construction, one (or more) of the clause or verb phrase elements is marked with *na* and fronted with respect to the subject noun phrase and the verb phrase. The fronted construction is illustrated in Figure 11.2.

(Discourse particle or temporal adverb)	Fronted element + *na*	(Subject noun phrase)	**Verb phrase**

Figure 11.2: Constituent order of Presupposition construction

The examples below show the presupposed element can be almost any element of the clause: the subject (27–28), the direct object (29–30), or an oblique (31 and 32). A discourse conjunction or temporal can also be marked as being presupposed (33–35). In each case, the fronted element is presupposed in the discourse – it is a known or culturally expected participant, location (spatial or temporal), or object. It is noteworthy that neither verbs by themselves, nor an existential word, nor 'body-part' incorporated nouns, nor ideophones can be fronted and marked as presupposed. In the following examples, the presupposed element is underlined and the presupposition marker *na* is bolded. The *na*-marked element and the assertion are marked in (27).

Na-marked element Assertion

(27) Cicada, S. 19
Kəlen bahay **na**, olo kə mətəɗe aka.
kɪlɛŋ bahaj **na** ɔ̀-lɔ kə mɪtɪɗɛ aka
then chief PSP 3S+PFV-go on cicada on
'Then the chief, he went to the cicada.'

(28) Həmbo **na**, anday ásəkala azla wəsekeke.
hʊmbɔ **na** à-ndaj á-sək=ala aɮa wuʃɛkɛkɛ
flour PSP 3S+PFV-PRG 3S+IFV-multiply=to now ID:multiply
'The flour, it is multiplying *wəsekeke*.'

(29) Ele ahay nendəye **na**, nagala kəyga bay.
ɛlɛ =a[redacted]aj n[redacted]ndijɛ **na** nà-g=ala kijga baj
thing=Pl DEM PSP 1S+PFV-do=to like this NEG
'These things, I have never done like this.'

(30) Ne **na**, kónjokom ne asabay.
nɛ **na** kɔ́-nzɔ́k-ɔ́m nɛ asa-baj
1S PSP 2P+IFV-find-2P 1S again-NEG
'[As for] me, you will never find me again.'

(31) Cicada, S. 18
Kə mahay aka **na**, námbasaka **na**, mama agwazla səlom ga lala.
kə m[redacted]haj ak[redacted] **na** ná-mbas =a[redacted]a **n**[redacted] mama ag^{w}aɮa sʊ̀lɔm ga
on door on PSP 1S+IFV-rest=on PSP mother spp. of tree good ADJ
lala
well
'By my door, I will be able to rest well; the mother tree [is] good.'

(32) Values, S. 13
A məsəyon ava **na**, ele ahay aməwəsle **na**, tege bay.
a m[redacted]sijɔŋ av[redacted] **na**[redacted] ɛlɛ =a[redacted]aj a[redacted]u-wuɬ-ɛ [redacted]a tɛ-g-ɛ baj
at mission in PSP thing=Pl DEP-forbid-CL PSP 3P-do-CL NEG
'In the church, these things that are forbidden, they don't do.'

Although the presupposition-assertion construction is structurally a clause level phenomenon, it can function in information structuring at the proposition

level both to mark a boundary in a discourse, to set topic, and in participant tracking. When a discourse conjunction or temporal adverb is marked as presupposed (33–35, see also 49 from Section 11.5), the clause as a whole marks a boundary in the discourse. Such a clause often indicates a time change or an episode boundary. Most of the episodes in the Disobedient Girl story (see Section 1.5) begin with a conjuction marked with *na* (34) or a *na*-marked temporal phrase (33, 35). All *na*-marked elements are underlined in the examples.

(33) Disobedient Girl, S. 3 (the beginning of the setting)
Zlezle **na**, Məloko ahay **na**, Hərmbələm ávəlata barka va.
ɮɛɬɛ **na** Mʊlɔkʷɔ =a[redacted]aj **na** Hʊrmbʊlɔm á-vəl=ata
long ago PSP Moloko=Pl PSP God 3S+IFV-send=3S.IO

barka=va
blessing=PRF
'Long ago, to the Moloko people, God had given to them his blessing.'

(34) Disobedient Girl, S. 9 (the beginning of episode 1)
Nde ehe **na**, albaya ava aba.
ndɛ ɛh[redacted] **n**[redacted] albaja ava aba
so here PSP young man EXT+in EXT
'And so, there once was a young man.'

(35) Disobedient Girl, S. 27 (the beginning of the dénouement)
Embesen cacapa **na**, zar ahan angala.
è-mbɛʃɛŋ ts[redacted]tsapa [redacted]a zar=ahaŋ à-ŋgala
3S-rest after some time PSP man=3S.POSS 3S+PFV-return
'After a while, her husband came back.'

The presupposition-assertion construction is also used to mark topic for participant shifts.[6] The *na*-marked element will be the main participant of the clauses that follow it, until there is another *na*-marked clause-initial element. Lambrecht (1994: 151) says,

> "what is presupposed in a topic-comment relations is not the topic itself, nor its referent, but the fact that topic referent can be expected to play a role in a given proposition, due to its status as a center of interest or matter of concern in the conversation. It is this property that most clearly distinguishes

[6] Called 'subject' in Chafe (1976).

> topic arguments from focus arguments, whose role in the proposition is always unpredictable at the time of utterance…One therefore ought not to say that a topic referent "is presupposed" but that, given its discourse status, it is presupposed to play a role in a given proposition."

Na can be thought of as a kind of spotlight, drawing attention to that already-known participant as one to which new or asserted information will be somehow related. Lines S. 12, 14, and 15 from the Disobedient Girl text are shown in (36). In S. 12, *zar ahan* 'her husband' is marked with *na*.[7] He is the subject of all of the clauses until *hor* 'the woman' is marked with *na* in S.14. Then, the woman is the subject of all the clauses until the flour is marked with *na* in S.23. *Na*-marking thus functions here in shifting the spotlight from one participant as topic to another. In these examples, only the *na*-marked participants are underlined.

(36) Disobedient Girl, S. 12
Sen ala na, zar ahan **na**, dək medakan na mənəye ata.
ʃɛŋ=ala na zar =ahaŋ **na** dək mɛ-dak=aŋ na
ID:go=to PSP man=3S.POSS PSP ID:show NOM-show=3S.IO 3S.DO

mɪ-nʒ-ijɛ=atəta
NOM-sit-CL=3P.POSS
'Then her husband instructed her in their habits.' (lit. going, her husband instructing their sitting)

(37) Disobedient Girl, S. 14-15
Hor **na**, ambəɗan aka awəy, "Ayokon zar golo."
hʷɔr **na** a-mbəɗ=aŋ =aka awij ajɔkʷɔŋ zar gʷɔlɔ
woman PSP 3S-change=3S.IO =on said agreed man HON
'The woman replied. She said, "Yes, my dear husband."'

Marking with *na* can also mark contrastive topic; i.e., a section of discourse will be 'about' that participant, instead of whatever the preceding section of discourse was about. (38), which comes from a Moloko song, marks a participant shift but also functions to contrast the speaker's situation with others just mentioned in the discourse.[8]

[7] The double *na*-marked elements *senala na* 'later' and *zar ahan na* 'her husband' function to build up tension (see Section 11.5 for further discussion).
[8] This is called 'contrastiveness' in Chafe (1976).

(38) Ndam akar ahay ténje a avəya ava.
ndam akar=ahaj tɛ-nʒ-ɛ a avija ava
people theft=Pl 3P+IFV-sit-CL at suffering in
'(On that day) thieves will be in suffering;'

Ne **na**, nénje nə memle ga.
nɛ **na** né-nʒ-ɛ nə mɛmlɛ ga
1S PSP 1S+IFV-sit-CL with joy ADJ
'[but] as for me, I will rest in joy.'

11.3 Assertion-presupposition construction: right-shifted *na*-marked element

The assertion-presupposition construction occurs when the (*na*-marked) presupposed element is placed after the main clause. This construction is found in concluding statements that explain what has happened in a discourse.[9] In (39), from the concluding lines of a narrative, the *na*-marked elements that occur in a dependent clause that occurs after the matrix clause explain the problem that the discourse deals with – the fact that cows have destroyed a field.[10]

(39) Kógom ala na memey, sla ahay na aməzəme gəvah **na**.
kɔ́-g^{w}-ɔm =ala na mɛmɛj ɬa =a[redacted]aj na[redacted] a[redacted]ɪ-ʒʊm-ɛ ga[redacted]ax **na**[redacted]
2+IFV-do-1PIN =to PSP how cow=Pl PSP DEP-eat-CL field PSP
'What are you going to do [since] the cows ate up the field?' (lit. you will do how, the cows having eaten the field)

In (40), the *na*-marked final element is a relative clause explaining the main point of the narrative – that the woman had brought a curse onto the Moloko people by what she had done.

(40) Disobedient Girl, S. 38
Metesle anga war dalay ngəndəye,
mɛ-tɛɬ-ɛ aŋga war dalaj ŋgɪndijɛ
NOM-curse-CL POSS child girl DEM
'The curse [is] belonging to that young woman,'

[9] It is also seen in some information questions Section 10.3.1.

[10] Note that the other two occurrences of *na* in this example function in focus (Section 11.5) and definiteness (Section 11.4), respectively.

amazata aka ala avəya nengehe ana məze ahay **na**.
ama-z=ata ʁaka =a[redacted]a av[redacted]ja [redacted]ɛŋgɛhɛ an[redacted]a m[redacted]ɣɛ =a[redacted]aj **na**[redacted]
DEP-take=3P.IO =on=to suffering DEM DAT person=Pl PSP
'the one that brought this suffering onto the people.'

11.4 Definite construction: *na*-marked clausal element

The Definite construction occurs when a non-fronted noun phrase is marked by *na*. Figure 11.1 (from Section 11.2) shows the default order of constituents in a clause. In the definite construction, the *na*–marked element is in its normal clausal position. In this construction, *na* functions in the realm of definiteness. Definiteness is defined by Lambrecht (1994: 79) as signalling when "the referent of a phrase is assumed by the speaker to be identifiable to the addressee." While definiteness is a separate function than presupposition, Lambrecht points out that definiteness is related to presupposition in that the definite article is a grammatical symbol for an assumption on the speaker's part that the hearer is able to identify the definite element in a sentence – the speaker presupposes that the addressee can identify the referent designated by that noun phrase.

In (41) from the *Cows in the Field* story, the *na* marker is attached to the noun *gəvah* 'field' within an adpositional phrase. This construction is simply identifying the field to be the one that the cows destroyed, definite and previously mentioned in the story, and not some other unidentified field. In the examples in this section, the *na*–marked noun phrase is underlined and the adpositional phrase is delimited by square brackets.

(41) Təzlərav ta ala va [a gəvah **na** ava].
tə-ɣərav ta=ala=va [a gəvax **na**[redacted] ava]
3P+PFV-move out 3P.DO=to=PRF at field PSP in
'They had driven them out of the field.'

Example (42) is from the Disobedient Girl story. Her house is marked as definite with *na*.

(42) Disobedient Girl, S. 26
Nata ndahan dəɓəsolək məmətava alay
nata ndahaŋ dʊɓʊsɔlʊk mə-mət=ava=alaj
and then 3S ID:collapse/die NOM-die=in=away
'And she collapsed *dəɓəsolək*, dying'

a hoɗ [a hay **na** ava].
a hʷɔɗ [a haj **na** ava]
at stomach GEN house PSP in
'inside the house.'

Likewise in (43), the noun *məsəyon* 'church' is marked as definite within the adpositional phrase *a məsəyon na ava* 'in the church.'

(43) Values, S. 3
Səwat na, təta [a məsəyon **na** ava] nəndəye na,
suwat na təta [a mʊsijɔŋ **na** ava] nɪndijɛ na
ID:disperse PSP 3P at mission PSP in DEM PSP
'As the people go home from church,' (lit. disperse, they in the mission there)

pester áhata, "Ey, ele nehe na, kógom bay!"
pɛʃtɛr á-h=ata ɛj ɛlɛ nɛhɛ na kɔ́-gʷ-ɔm baj
pastor 3S+IFV-tell=3P.IO hey thing DEM PSP 2+IFV-do-2P NEG
'the Pastor told them, "Hey! These things here, don't do them!"'

(44) is from line S. 21 of the Snake story. The *na*–marked element *gogolvan na* 'the snake' follows the verb complex in its normal position of a direct object noun phrase within the verb phrase.

(44) Snake, S. 21
Alala, nəzlərav na ala gogolvan **na** a amata ava.
a-l=ala nə-ɣərav na=ala gʷɔgʷɔlvaŋ **na** a amata ava
3S-go=to 1S+PFV-exit 3S.DO=to snake PSP at outside in
'Sometime later I took the snake outside.'

11.5 Presupposition-focus construction: *na* precedes the final element of the verb phrase

The presupposition-focus construction in Moloko makes prominent the final element of a clause.[11] *Na* precedes the final element in the verb phrase. This is the only *na* construction where the *na*-marker follows the verb complex but is not

[11] Longacre & Hwang (2012: 221) define prominence as "spotlighting, highlighting, or drawing attention to something."

clause final. In effect, all of that information that precedes the final element in the clause is marked as presupposed with *na*. The result is that the final element in the clause is highlighted in the discourse.

Example (45) is from line S. 20 of the Disobedient Girl text. The placement of *na* postverbally, just before the final element in the verb phrase (*gam* 'a lot') functions to highlight that the woman prepared *a lot* of millet. The fact that she prepared a lot of millet instead of just one grain (as she was instructed) is critical to the outcome of the story. An added effect of the *na* plus pause before the final element is to slow down the narrative just a bit, resulting in heightened attention on the final element *gam* 'a lot.' In the examples in this section, the prominent final element is bolded and the *na*-marked elements are underlined.

(45) Disobedient Girl, S. 20
Jo madala háy **na**, **gam**.
dzɔ [redacted]a-d=ala [redacted]aj [redacted]a **gam**
ID:take NOM-prepare=to millet PSP a lot
'She prepared lots of millet.'

Multiple elements in a clause or sentence that are marked with *na* will add even more prominence to the final element. This kind of construction is seen at summation points in a narrative. It is also seen in a hortatory text when the speaker is reiterating his or her argument to make an important point. The many marked elements slow down the discourse and build up tension towards the final element in the clause, thus putting even more emphasis on the focused item. In (46), the fact that the woman's habit where she came from was to grind a *large amount* of millet at a time is crucial to the story. Three *na*-marked elements (a subject noun phrase, the verb phrase, and the complement without its final element) precede the adverb *gam* 'a lot.'

(46) Disobedient Girl, S. 17
Nde hor **na**, asərkala afa təta va **na**,
ndɛ hʷɔr [redacted]a à-sərk=ala a[redacted]a tə[redacted]a =v[redacted] **na**[redacted]
so woman PSP 3S+PFV-habitually=to at place of 3P=PRF PSP
'Now that woman, she was in the habit at their house,'

aməhaya háy **na**, **gam**.
amə-h=aja [redacted]aj [redacted]a **gam**
DEP-grind=PLU millet PSP alot
'[of] grinding *a lot* of millet.'

In (47) from the Values exhortation, there are a series of six *na*-marked elements that reiterate some of the main points of argument that the speaker used. The final element *anga way* 'whose [word]' is made prominent and the effect is to cause the hearer to think about whose word the people accept (based on their behaviour).

(47) Values, S. 29
Hərmbəlɔm **na**, amaɗaslava ala məze **na**, ndahan ese **na**,
Hʊrmbʊlɔm **na** ama-ɗaɬ=ava=ala ɲɪʒɛ **na** ndahaŋ ɛʃ **na**
God PSP DEP-multiply=in=to person PSP 3S again PSP
'God, the one that multiplied the people, him again,'

kagas ma Hərmbəlom **na** asabay **na**,
ka-gas ma Hʊrmbʊlɔm **na** as-baj **na**
2S-catch word God PSP again-NEG PSP
'[if] you catch God's word no longer,'

káagas **na**, **anga way**?
káá-gas **na** **aŋga waj**
2S+POT-catch PSP POSS who
'You won't accept anyone's word!' (lit. you will catch it [word] of whom?')

In both (48) and (49), the final prominent element is *jəyga* 'all.' The effect is to emphasise the totality of the events. In (48), the fact that *all* of the field was destroyed by the cows is important to the story. In (49), the story teller is emphasising that it was important that *everyone* fought against the Mbuko. In fact, people who did not fight were beaten after the skirmish with the Mbuko ended.

(48) Waya sla ahay **na**, tozom gəvah **na**, **jəyga anga ləme zlom**.
waja ɬa =aɲaj **na** tɔ̀-zɔm gəvax **na** **dzijga aŋga lɪmɛ ɮɔm**
because cow=Pl PSP 3P+PFV-eat field PSP all POSS 1PEX five
'Because those cows, they ate *all* of that field that belonged to the five of us.' (lit. because the cows, they ate the field, all of it, belonging to us five)

(49) Nde **na**, ləme **ɗəw**, nəzləgom va **na**, **jəyga**.
ndɛ **na** lɪmɛ **ɗuv** nə-ɮʊg-ɔm va **na** **dzijga**
so PSP 1PEX also 1S+PFV-plant-1PEX body PSP all
'So, we also, we fought (lit. planted body), *all of us*.'

In (50), two *na*-marked elements leave a negative particle highlighted at the end of the clause. The fact that the storytellers did not eat the people's food was important since they would have been expected to eat.

(50) Nde kəy elé **na**, nəzəmom ele ata **na**, **bay**.
ndɛ kij ɛ[redacted]ɛ **na**[redacted] nə̀-zʊ̀m-ɔm ɛ[redacted]ɛ =at[redacted]ta [redacted]**a** **baj**
so ID:looking eye PSP 1S+PFV-eat-1PEX thing=3P.POSS PSP NEG
'So, one could see that we had *not* eaten their food.' (lit. looking, we ate their thing, not)

In the Disobedient Girl peak, four *na*-marked elements precede the expression of the most pivotal event in the narrative – the death of the girl (expressed in a clause that is bolded in 51).

(51) Disobedient Girl, S. 26
Alala **na**, ver **na**, árah mbəf nə həmbo **na**,
a-l=ala **na**[redacted] vɛr **na**[redacted] á-rax [redacted]ɲbəf [redacted]ɔ hɒmbɔ **na**[redacted]
3S-go=to PSP room PSP 3S+IFV-fill ID:up to the roof with flour PSP
'Later, the room, it filled up to the roof with flour,'

ɗək məɗəkaka alay ana hor **na**,
ɗək mə-ɗ[redacted]k=aka=alaj ana h[redacted]r [redacted]**a**
plug NOM-plug=on=away DAT woman PSP
'[the flour] suffocated the woman,'

nata ndahan dəɓəsoləkməmətava alay a hoɗ a hay na ava.
nata ndahaŋ dʊɓʊsɔlʊkʷ mə-mət=ava=alaj a hʷɔɗ a haj
then 3S ID:collapse/die NOM-die=in=away at stomach GEN house

na ava
PSP in
'and then she collapsed *dəɓəsoləkk*, dying inside the house.'

The 3S DO pronominal *na* (see Section 7.3.3) is identical to the presupposition marker *na* and some ambiguity can be encountered in contexts where *na* immediately follows a verb that has no locational or directional extensions (which follow the DO pronominal but would precede a PSP marker). Two examples showing the ambiguity are (52–53). In (52), the underlined *na* could be interpreted as the presupposition marker since there are multiple *na*-marked elements in the clause and this final underlined *na* appears immediately before the final (presumably)

focussed element *mənjəye ata* 'their habits.' On the other hand, *na* could be the 3S DO pronominal for the verb *mədakan* 'instructing to him,' since the verb is in a construction which marks significant events (see stem plus ideophone auxiliary Section 8.2.3), so it is the event of the husband instructing his wife that is highlighted by the preceding *na*-marked elements.

(52) Disobedient Girl, S. 12
Sen ala **na**, zar ahan **na**, dək mədakan **na** mənjəye ata.
ʃɛŋ=ala **na** zar=ahaŋ **na** dək mə-dak=aŋ **na**
ID:go=to PSP man=3S.POSS PSP show NOM-show=3S.IO PSP

mɪ-nʒ-ijɛ=atəta
NOM-sit-CL=3P.POSS
'Then her husband instructed her their habits.' (lit. going, her husband, instructing to her, their sitting)

In (53) the situation is more clear. We consider the two underlined *na* markers to be the 3S DO pronominal since even though there are multiple *na*-marked elements in the clause, these underlined markers are neither at the end of the noun phrase (as they would be if they were the definite marker), nor are they immediately before the final focussed element (as they would be if this was a presupposition-focus construction). The verb and noun phrases in question are each delimited by square brackets in the example. We found no unambiguous instance of the presupposition marker *na* breaking up a verb phrase except for the purpose of isolating the final focussed element in a verb phrase (cf. integrity of the VP, Section 8.1). Thus the first underlined *na* is 3S DO for the verb *tozom* 'they eat.' It is doubling the direct object noun phrase gəvax 'field.' Likewise, we found no unambiguous instance of the presupposition marker breaking up a noun phrase in any context and so consider the second underlined *na* as 3S DO pronominal for the nominalised verb *məgəye* 'doing' within the noun phrase *məgəye na ahan* 'his doings.'

(53) Nde asa bahay a sla **na**, ndahan aka bay **na**, asa sla ahay **na**,
ndɛ asa bahaj a ɬa **na** ndahaŋ aka baj **na** asa ɬa=ahaj **na**
so if chief GEN cow PSP 3S on NEG PSP if cow=Pl PSP
'So, if the owner of the cows wasn't there, [and] that the cows'

[tozom na gəvah] **na**, ɗeɗen **na**, ndahan **na**,

[tɔ̀-zɔm na gəvax] **na** ɗɛɗɛŋ **na** ndahaŋ **na**
3P+PFV-eat 3S.DO field PSP truth PSP 3S PSP
'really destroyed the fields is true (lit. if the cows ate the field true), [then] he,'

ámənjar nə elé ahan bay **na**, [məgəye na ahan] **na** memey?
á-mənzar nə ɛlɛ=ahaŋ baj **na** [mɪ-g-ijɛ na=ahaŋ] **na**
3S+IFV-see with thing=3S.POSS NEG PSP NOM-do-CL 3S.DO=3S.POSS PSP

mɛmɛj
how
'[since] he hasn't seen it for himself, what is he supposed to do?' (lit. his doing, how)

12 Clause combining

In Moloko, clauses may combine in six ways:

- Complement clause (Section 12.1). The complement clause is an argument within the matrix clause (subject, direct object, or indirect object).
- Dependent adverbial clause (Section 12.2). A clause giving adverbial information concerning the verb in the matrix clause.
- Conjunction (Section 12.3). A clause linked to another clause by a conjunction .
- Juxtaposition (Section 12.4). Two independent clauses may be linked by juxtaposition.
- Relative clause (discussed in Section 5.4.3). Relative clauses are clauses embedded in a noun phrase within the matrix clause.
- Expectation marker (discussed in Section 11.1). One clause may be marked with *na* or other expectation marker. The *na*-marked clause contains known or presupposed information.

12.1 Complement clauses

A complement clause is a clause that is an argument in the matrix clause. Complement clauses in Moloko can contain one of three verb forms: dependent, nominalised or finite. When the complement clause has the same subject as the main clause, the complement clause has a dependent or nominalised verb form (Section 12.1.1, see also Section 7.6 and Section 7.7). When the subject of the complement clause is different than that in the main clause, the verb in the complement clause is finite and the clause has a noun phrase subject (Section 12.1.2).

12.1.1 Dependent and nominalised verb complement clauses

The complement clause is embedded in the verb phrase as a subject, direct object, or indirect object within the matrix clause. Nominalised and dependent verb forms collocate with constructions that carry different modal or aspectual values. The nominalised form collocates with constructions that represent a finished, accomplished event,[1] e.g., the nominalised form is found as a complement of *ndav* 'finish,' (1, see Section 7.6). In contrast, the dependent form is found in constructions that refer to an event that is incomplete or unachieved at the time of the matrix situation, e.g., the dependent form is found as a complement of the verb of inception *zlan* 'begin' as in (7) (see also Section 7.7). In the examples, the subject of the complement clause is indicated by Ø when it is the same as the subject of the matrix clause. The clauses are delimited by square brackets and the verb is bolded.

In (1) the nominalised form is the direct object of the matrix verb *ndav* 'finish.'

(1) [Nəndavalay [**məwəce**]].
[nə-ndav=alaj [Ø **mu-wutʃ-ɛ**]]
1S-finish=away NOM-write-CL
'I finish writing.'

A clause with the nominalised form can function as an argument of another verb. It is the subject in (2) and the direct object in (3–6). In each case, the nominalised form indicates that the event expressed by the verb is completed.

(2) [[**Məmbəɗe** ahan na], asaw].
[[**mɪ-mbɪɗ-ɛ**=ahaŋ na] a-s=aw]
NOM-remain-CL=3S.POSS PSP 3S-please=1S.IO
'I want the leftovers.' (lit. its remains pleases me)

(3) [Bahay amakay [**məzəme** sese]].
[bahaj à-mak-aj [Ø **mɪ-ʒʊm-ɛ** ʃɛʃɛ]]
chief 3S+PFV-leave-CL NOM-eat-CL meat
'The chief stopped eating meat.' (lit. the chief left the eating of meat)

[1] The situation refers to something that occurred in the past with ongoing effects to the point of reference.

(4) [Nasar [**mədəye** ɗaf] bay].
[na-sar [Ø **mɪ-d-ijɛ** ɗaf] baj]
1S-know NOM-prepare-CL millet loaf NEG
'I don't know how to make millet loaves.' (lit. I don't know the preparing of millet loaf).

(5) Disobedient Girl, S. 4
[Ávata [**məvəye** haɗa]].
[á-v=ata [**mɪ-v-ijɛ** haɗa]]
3S+IFV-spend time=3P.IO NOM-spend time-CL many
'It would last them enough for the whole year.' (lit. it will spend time for them enough time-spendings; the nominalised form of the verb 'spend time' has been lexicalized as 'year')

(6) [Ege [**məvəye** məko] ehe], [nawas háy əwla].
[ɛ-g-ɛ [**mɪ-v-ijɛ** mɔkʷɔ] ɛhɛ] [na-was haj=uwla]
3S-do-CL NOM-spend time-CL six here 1S-cultivate millet=1S.POSS
'Six years ago (lit. it did six years here), I cultivated my millet.'

In contrast, the dependent form is found in clauses where the event is incomplete or unachieved idea at the time of the matrix situation, e.g., the verb of inception *zlan* 'begin' (7 and 8) (see also Section 7.7) and *sark* habitually (9–10). The writing hasn't started in (7); the referent isn't necessarily eating at the moment of (9); the fight was just beginning at the time of (8). In each case, the dependent form is the direct object of the matrix clause.

(7) [Nazlan [**aməwəce**]].
[na-ɣaŋ [Ø **amu-wutʃ-ɛ**]]
1S-begin DEP-write-CL
'I begin to write.'

(8) [Tazlan aləme [**aməzləge** va]].
[ta-ɣaŋ =alɪmɛ [Ø **amɪ-ɣɪg-ɛ** va]]
3P-begin =1PEX.IO DEP-plant-CL body
'They started to fight us.' (lit. they started to us planting bodies)

(9) [Asarkva [**aməpəɗe** sese]].
[a-sark=va [Ø **amɪ-pɪɗ-ɛ** ʃɛʃɛ]]
3S-habitually=PRF DEP-crunch-CL meat
'He usually eats meat.' (lit. He had a habit to eat meat)

(10) Disobedient Girl, S. 17
[Hor na, asərkala afa təta va **na**,
[hʷɔr na a-sərk=ala afa təta=va **na**
woman PSP 3S-habitually=to at house 3P=PRF PSP
'The woman, she was in the habit at their house,'
[**amə́haya** háy na gam]].
[Ø **amə-h=aja** haj na gam]]
DEP-grind=PLU millet PSP lots
'[of] grinding a lot of millet.'

Dependent clauses are also found in complement clauses for verbs of desire. For example, the complement clause for the verb *s* 'please' in (11–13) expresses the unrealised object of the desire. Note that the subject of the complement clause (Ø) has the same referent as the indirect object of the matrix clause (*=aw* 'to me') in (11).[2]

(11) [Asaw [**amə́peɗe** sese]].
[a-s=aw [Ø **amɪ-pɛɗ-**ɛ ʃɛʃɛ]]
3S-please=1S.IO DEP-crunch-CL meat
'I want to eat meat.' (lit. to eat meat pleases me)

(12) [Asan [**amadata aka va** azan]].
[a-s=aŋ [Ø **ama-d=ata =aka=va** azaŋ]]
3S-please=3S.IO DEP-prepare=3P.IO =on=PRF temptation
'He wanted to tempt them.' (lit. to prepare a temptation for them pleases him)

(13) Race story[3]
[A**s**aw [**amə́gəye** ambele mbele nə moktonok]].
[a-**s**=aw [Ø **amɪ-g-ijɛ** ambɛlɛ mbɛlɛ nə mɔkʷtɔnɔkʷ]]
3S-please=1S.IO DEP-do-CL race with toad
'I want to race with the toad.' (lit. to do a race with the toad pleases me)

12.1.2 Finite complement clauses

Finite complement clauses are used with verbs that express propositional attitude, with verbs of speech, and with verbs of desire. The complement clause is

[2] Compare with (22) in Section 12.1.2 where the subject of the complement clause is different and must be specified in the clause.
[3] Friesen 2003.

the direct object of verbs expressing propositional attitude: 'know' (14), 'think' (15), 'believe' (16), 'doubt' (17), 'forget' (18), and 'worry' (19). Many of the examples in this section are elicited and therefore the first clause is followed by the presupposition marker *na* (Section 11.1). This marker indicates that the first clause contains presupposed (mutually known) information (in this case, the presupposition was established by the elicitation question).

(14) [Nasar na va, [bahay **apaɗəva** sese]].
[na-sar na =va [bahaj **à-paɗə=va** ʃɛʃɛ]]
1S-know DO =PRF chief 3S+PFV-crunch=PRF meat
'I know it, the chief ate meat.'

(15) [Nəɗəgalay na, [bahay **apaɗəva** sese]].
[nə-ɗəgal-aj na [bahaj **à-paɗə=va** ʃɛʃɛ]]
1S-think-CL PSP chief 3S+PFV-crunch=PRF meat
'I think [that] the chief ate meat.'

(16) [Nafaɗ na, [bahay **apaɗəva** sese]].
[na-faɗ na [bahaj **à-paɗə=va** ʃɛʃɛ]]
1S-place PSP chief 3S+PFV-crunch=PRF meat
'I believe [that] the chief ate meat.' (lit. I place, the chief already ate meat)

(17) [Nəkaɗ waya na, [bahay **apaɗəva** sese]].
[nə-kaɗ waja na [bahaj **à-paɗə=va** ʃɛʃɛ]]
1S-kill because PSP chief 3S+PFV-crunch=PRF meat
'I doubt [that] the chief ate meat.' (lit. I counsel that)

(18) [Acəkəzlaw a har ava [bahay **apaɗəva** sese]].
[a-tʃəkəɮ=aw a har ava [bahaj **à-paɗə=va** ʃɛʃɛ]]
3S-forget=1S.IO at body in chief 3S+PFV-crunch=PRF meat
'I forgot [that] the chief ate meat.'

(19) [Nazlaway na, [bahay **apaɗəva** sese]].
[na-ɮaw-aj na [bahaj **à-paɗə=va** ʃɛʃɛ]]
1S-fear-CL PSP chief 3S+PFV-crunch=PRF meat
'I am afraid [that] the chief ate meat.'

Indirect speech is often expressed using a complement clause with a finite verb (20–21).

(20) [Ne awəy [bahay **apaɗəva** sese]].
[nɛ awij [bahaj **à-paɗə=va** ʃɛʃɛ]]
1S said chief 3S+PFV-crunch=PRF meat
'I said [that] the chief ate meat.'

(21) [Məloko ahay baba ahay tawəy na,
[Mʊlɔkʷɔ=ahaj baba=ahaj tawij na
Moloko=Pl father=Pl 3P+said PSP
'The Moloko fathers say [that]'

[Hərmbəlom **ege** ɓərav va kə war anga məze dedelen ga aka]].
[Hʊrmbʊlɔm **è-g-ɛ** ɓərav=va kə war aŋga mɪʒɛ dɛdɛlɛŋ ga
God 3S+PFV-do-CL heart=PRF on child POSS person black ADJ
aka]]
on
'God got mad at the black people.' (lit. Creator did heart on the child that belongs to black person)

Complement clauses with irrealis verbs are embedded under matrix verbs of will and desire ('wish,' 'want,' 'hope'). (22) shows a complement of the verb *asaw* 'it pleases me.' The complement shows the object of the desire expressed in the matrix clause. The complement has a different subject than the LOC of the desire in the matrix clause. The verb is finite and its subject is made explicit.[4]

(22) Asaw na, [bahay **mapaɗay** sese].
a-s=aw na [bahaj **mà-paɗ-aj** ʃɛʃɛ]
3S-please=1S.IO PSP chief 3S+HOR-crunch-CL meat
'I want the chief to eat meat.' (lit. that the chief should eat meat pleases me).

In (22) above, the complement clause is the subject of the main verb; in (23), it is the indirect object.[5]

[4]Compare with (11) from Section 12.1.1 which shows a complement with the same subject as the location of the desire in the matrix clause.

[5]In Moloko, the indirect object uniformly expresses the semantic LOC (e.g., recipient or beneficiary, see Chapter 9). In this case, the metaphorical location of the imploring is its purpose – where the speaker wants to go with his actions towards the chief. The semantic Theme (the chief) is being persuaded to the LOC (eating meat).

(23) Nədəbakay bahay na ana [**mazom** sese].
nə-dəbak-aj bahaj na ana [**mà-zɔm** ʃɛʃɛ]
1S-implore-CL chief PSP DAT 3S+HOR-eat meat
'I persuaded the chief to eat meat.' (lit. I implored the chief to he should eat meat)

12.2 Dependent adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses give oblique information concerning the verb in the matrix clause. The adverbial clause containing a dependent verb is embedded in the main clause as the first or last element. Adverbial clauses before the matrix clause (24–26) function to express an event in progress at the time of the matrix event or situation. The entire adverbial clause is delimited by square brackets and the dependent verb is bolded in the examples. The subject of the dependent adverbial clause must be known in the context; in (24), the subject is Ø and in (25–26) the subject pronoun *ndahan* precedes the dependent clause.

(24) Disobedient Girl, S. 5
[[**Aməhaya** kə ver aka na], tázaɗ war elé háy bəlen].
[[Ø **amə-h=aja** kə vɛr aka na] tá-zaɗ war ɛlɛ haj bɪlɛŋ]
DEP-grind=PLU on stone on PSP 3P+IFV-take child eye millet one
'For grinding on the grinding stone, they would take one grain of millet.'

(25) [[Ndahan **aməcen** məbele a mbəko ahay dəreffefe na], awəy, "Almay?!"]
[[ndahaŋ **amɪ-tʃɛŋ** mɪ-bɛl-ɛ a mbʊkʷɔ=ahaj dɪrɛffɛfɛ na]
3S DEP-hear NOM-move-CL GEN Mbuko=Pl ID:movement PSP
'He, hearing the movement of the Mbuko' (lit. he to hear moving of Mbukos *dəreffefe*),
awij almaj]
said what
'he said, "What?!"'

(26) Disobedient Girl, S. 16
[[Ndahan **amandava** ɓəl na], zar ahan olo ametele
[[ndahaŋ **ama-nd=ava** ɓəl na] zar=ahaŋ ɔ̀-lɔ amɛ-tɛl-ɛ
3S DEP-sleep=in ID:some PSP man=3S.POSS 3S+PFV-go DEP-walk-CL
'After she had been there for some time (lit. she, sleeping there for some time), her husband went away'

kə dəlmete ahan aka a slam enen].
kə dılmɛtɛ=ahaŋ aka a ɬam ɛnɛŋ]
on neighbor=3S.POSS on at place another
'to walk in the neighborhood to some place.'

Adverbial clauses that occur after the main clause (27–30) occur with verbs of movement (*lo* 'go,' *njé* 'leave').[6] The dependent clause expresses the (as yet unachieved) purpose of the going; in (27) the reader does not know if the subject actually bought fish or not, although it is expected.

(27) [Olo a kosoko ava [**aməsəkwəme** kəlef]].
[ɔ-lɔ a kɔsɔkʷɔ ava [Ø **amɪ-søkʷøm-ɛ** kɪlɛf]]
3S-go at market in DEP-buy/sell-CL fish
'He/she went to the market [in order] to buy fish.'

(28) [Kəlen zar ahan na, enjé ele ahan [**amətele**]].
[kɪlɛŋ zar=ahaŋ na ɛ-nʒ-ɛ ɛlɛ=ahaŋ [Ø **amɪ-tɛl-ɛ**]]
then man=3S.POSS PSP 3S-leave-CL thing=3S.POSS DEP-walk-CL
'Then her husband left to go walking [somewhere].'

Likewise, in (29), the reader does not know if the young men actually succeed at bringing back the tree (and indeed the story reveals that they do not succeed, Section 1.6).

(29) Cicada, S. 16
[Kəlen albaya ahay tolo [**amazala** agwazla na]].
[kɪlɛŋ albaja=ahaj tɔ-lɔ [Ø **ama-z=ala** agʷaɮa na]]
then young men=Pl 3P-go DEP-take=to spp. of tree PSP
'Then the young men went to bring back the tree [to the chief].'

A lengthened prefix vowel in the dependent form in an adverbial clause can also express mood (the desire of the speaker, see Section 7.4.3). The lengthened prefix vowel, bolded in (30), expresses potential actions which are not yet complete or even expected, but they are desired by the speaker.

[6] We have not found clause-final adverbial clauses with other verbs.

(30) [Bahay ata ahay ɗəw tólo dəren [amaakəwala ele məzəme]].
[bahaj=atəta=ahaj ɗuw tɔ́-lɔ dɪrɛŋ [Ø amaa-kuw=ala ɛlɛ
chief=3P.POSS=Pl also 3P+IFV-go far DEP+POT-seek=to thing

mɪ-ʒʊ̀m-ɛ]]
NOM-eat-CL

'Their chiefs also, they will have to travel far in order to find something to eat [in a famine].'

12.3 Clauses linked by conjunctions and conjunctive adverbs

The verbs in clauses connected by a conjunction or conjunctive adverb are always finite. The conjunction or adverb specifies the relationship between the two linked clauses. Conjuctions can be either subordinating or coordinating. Clauses subordinated by a conjunction can be divided into two types, depending on whether the subordinate clause follows or precedes the main clause (discussed in Sections 12.3.1 and 12.3.2, respectively). Coordinating conjunctions link clauses that are not syntactically dependent on one another (Section 12.3.3). Conjunctive adverbs also function to link clauses (Section 12.3.4). Table 12.1 shows the characteristics of all of the conjunctions and conjunctive adverbs in Moloko.

12.3.1 Adverbial clauses introduced by a subordinating conjunction

When an adverbial clause introduced by a subordinating conjunction follows the main clause, the adverbial clause supplies new information to the discourse. The different subordinate conjunctions specify the relationship between the new information and the matrix clause. Subordinating conjunctions include *bəyna* 'because,' *waya* 'because,' and *kəwaya* 'because,' (all involved in reason-result constructions) and *ha* 'until.' Sentences in Moloko do not normally have multiple subordinate clauses. In the examples, each of the subordinate clauses is delimited by square brackets.

Bəyna[7] 'because' (31–34) is used in result-reason clause constructions that link only two clauses. The clause subordinated by *bəyna* demonstrates the proof for the statement in the matrix clause.

[7] *Bəyna* 'because' may be a compound of the negative *bay* and the presupposition marker *na*.

Table 12.1: Subordinating and coordinating conjunctions

	Conjunction	Function
Subordinate conjunction Introduces an adverbial clause following the matrix clause.	*bəyna* 'because'	Demonstrates the proof for the statement in the matrix clause
	waya 'because'	Indicates the reason for something described in the previous clauses
	kəwaya 'because' / 'that is'	Introduces clauses (or noun phrases) that give the reasoning of the speaker with regard to the situation expressed in previous clauses.
	ha 'until'	Expresses a literal or metaphorical boundary that marks the end of the activity or situation expressed in the matrix clause.
Conditional conjunction Introduces a conditional clause that precedes the matrix clause.	*asa…na* 'if…PSP'	Condition is presupposed or a real possibility
	asa…ɗəw 'if…also'	Condition presents a new possibility.
	ana asa …na 'to if…PSP'	Condition presents a strong expectation to be fulfilled.
	azana asa …na 'maybe if…PSP'	Condition might be fulfilled.
Coordinate conjunction Links independent clauses	*nata* 'and (then)'	Marks a clause which contains the most pivotal event in a narrative.
	azləna 'but'	Contains an element of counterexpectation with something in the previous clause.
Conjunctive adverb Functions to relate clause to mainline events.	*kəlen* 'next'	Indicates the next mainline event. Often follows a digression
	ndɛ 'therefore'	Marks conclusive statements.
	macəkəmbay 'meanwhile'	Marks information off the main event line.

(31) Snake, S. 19
Nəngehe na, Hərmbələm aloko ehɛ, [**bəyna** anjakay nok
nɪŋgɛhɛ na Hʊrmbʊləm=alɔkʷɔ ɛhɛ [**bijna** à-nzak-aj nɔkʷ
DEM PSP God=1PIN.POSS here because 3S+PFV-find-CL 2S
'This one here, our God [is really] here [with us], because it found you'

ha a slam məndəye ango ava].
ha a ɬam mɪ-nd-ijɛ=aŋgʷɔ ava]
until at place NOM-sleep-CL=2S.POSS in
'even in your bed (lit. all the way to the place of your lying).'

(32) Náavəlaləkwəye səloy [**bəyna** kogom va slərele gam].
náá-vəl=alʊkʷøjɛ sʊlɔj [**bijna** kɔ-gʷ-ɔm =va ɬɪrɛlɛ gam]
1S+POT-give=2P.IO coin because 2-do-2P =PRF work much
'I will give you money because you have done a lot of work.'

(33) Nazala məlama əwla a lopəytal ava
nà-z=ala məlama=uwla a lɔpijtal ava
1S+PFV-take=to sibling=1S.POSS at hospital in
'I took my brother to the hospital'

[**bəyna** dəngo awələn].
[**bijna** dʊŋgʷɔ a-wəl=aŋ]
because throat 3S-hurt=3S.IO
'because his throat was hurting.'

(34) Cicada, S. 14
Ɗeɗen bahay, agwazla ngəndəye ágasaka ka mahay ango aka,
ɗɛɗɛŋ bahaj agʷaɮa ŋgɪndijɛ á-gas=aka ka mahaj=aŋgʷɔ aka
truth chief spp. of tree DEM 3S+IFV-get=on on door=2S.POSS on
'True, chief, it would be pleasing if that particular tree would be by your door,'

[**bəyna** agwazla ga səlom ga; aɓəsay ava bay].
[**bijna** agʷaɮa ga sʊlɔm ga aɓəsaj ava baj]
because spp. of tree ADJ good ADJ blemish EXT NEG
'because this tree is good; it has no faults.'

A clause subordinated by *waya* 'because' (35–36) indicates the reason for something that is described in the previous clauses. The preceding clauses function to give a context for the statement in the *waya* clause. In (35) (from S. 7–8 of the

Disobedient Girl story Section 1.5) the *waya* clause provides an explanation for the events in the preceding paragraph. S. 7 gives the result (one grain of millet would give enough food for a family) and S. 8 gives the reason behind it (because the millet multiplied while the flour was being ground).

(35) Disobedient Girl, S. 7
War elé háy bəlen fan na,
war ɛlɛ haj bɪlɛŋ faŋ na
child eye millet one yet PSP
'Just one grain of millet,'

ánjata pew ha ámbaʃ ese.
á-nz=ata pɛw ha á-mbaʃ ɛʃɛ
3S+IFV-suffice=3P.IO enough until 3S+IFV-remain again
'it sufficed for them, even to leaving leftovers.'

Disobedient Girl, S. 8
[**Waya** a məhaya ahan ava na,
[**waja** a mə-h=aja=ahaŋ ava na
because at NOM-grind=PLU=3S.POSS in PSP
'Because, during its grinding,'

ásak kə ver aka nə məsəke].
á-sak kə vɛr aka nə mɪ-ʃɪk-ɛ]
3S+IFV-multiply on grinding stone on with NOM-multiply-CL
'it would really multiply on the grinding stone.' (lit. multiply with multiplying)

Another result-reason construction with *waya* is shown in (36) (from part of a story not illustrated in this work). The clause subordinated by *waya* explains the reason why the speaker didn't know how to proceed. It was important in the story that the speaker had already visited the subprefect.

(36) Nasar həraf ele nəngehe asabay
nà-sar həraf ɛlɛ nɪŋgɛhɛ asa-baj
1S+PFV-know medicine thing DEM again-NEG
'I didn't know how to resolve the problem (lit. I never knew the medicine for this particular thing),'

[**waya** nəlva afa səwpərefe].
[**waja** nə̀-l=va afa suwpɪrɛfɛ]
because 1S+PFV-go=PRF at house of subprefect
'because I had already been to the subprefect [and he didn't help me].'

The demonstrative *ndana* in the phrase *waya ndana* refers the hearer to the previously-mentioned clauses to discover the reason behind the statement introduced by *waya ndana*. In the reason-result construction shown in (37) (from the Disobedient Girl story), S. 34 states that God had gotten angry because of the girl that disobeyed. The *waya ndana* clause in S. 35 identifies that the information in S.34 is the reason for the statement in S. 35; it was because of God's anger that God took back his blessing from the Moloko.

(37) Disobedient Girl, S. 33
Hərmbələm ága ɓərav va kəwaya war dalay na,
Hʊrmbʊ̀lɔm á-ga ɓərav=va kuwaja war dalaj na
God 3S+IFV-do heart=PRF because of child girl PSP
'God got angry because of that girl,'

amecen sləmay baj ngəndəye.
amɛ-tʃɛŋ ɬəmaj baj ŋgɪndijɛ
DEP-hear ear NEG DEM
'that one who was disobedient.'

Disobedient Girl, S. 35
[**Waya** ndana Hərmbələm ázata aka barka ahan va].
[**waja** ndana Hʊrmbʊ̀lɔm á-z=ata=aka barka=ahaŋ=va]
because DEM God 3S+IFV-take=3P.IO=on blessing=3S.POSS=PRF
'Because of that previously-mentioned [event], God had taken back his blessing from them.'

The conjunction *kəwaya* 'because' / 'that is' (38–39, reproduced here from 37) introduces clauses (or noun phrases) that explaination the situation expressed in previous clauses. *Kəwaya* introduces the conditional construction in (38) (from the Disobedient Girl story S. 3-4) that gave the reasoning behind the blessing that the Molokos experienced in the past.

(38) Disobedient Girl, S. 3
Zlezle na, Məloko ahay na, Hərmbələm ávəlata barka va.
ɮɛɬɛ na Mʊlɔkʷɔ=ahaj na Hʊrmbʊlɔm á-vəl=ata
long ago PSP Moloko=Pl PSP God 3S+IFV-send=3S.IO

barka=va
blessing=PRF
'Long ago, to the Moloko people, God had given his blessing.'

Disobedient Girl, S. 4
[**Kəwaya** asa təwasva nekwen kəygehe ɗəw],
[**kuwaja** asa tə̀-was=va nɛkʷɛŋ kijgɛhɛ ɗuw]
that is if 3P+PFV-cultivate=PRF little like this also
'That is, even if they had only cultivated a little [millet] like this,'

ávata məvəye haɗa.
á-v=ata mɪ-v-ijɛ haɗa
3S+IFV-spend time=3P.IO NOM-spend time-CL a lot
'it would last them enough for the whole year.'

In the conclusion of the same story (39), *kəwaya* introduces a noun phrase with a relative clause that gives the reason for God's anger.

(39) Disobedient Girl, S. 33
Hərmbələm ága ɓərav va
Hʊrmbʊlɔm á-ga ɓərav=va
God 3S+IFV-do heart=PRF
'God got angry (lit. did heart)'

[**kəwaya** war dalay amecen sləmay bay ngəndəye].
[**kuwaja** war dalaj amɛ-tʃɛŋ ɬəmaj baj ŋgɪndijɛ]
because child female DEP-hear ear NEG that
'because of that girl, that one who was disobedient.'

The clause introduced by *ha* 'until' expresses a literal or metaphorical boundary that marks the cessation of the activity or situation expressed by the matrix clause (40,[8] 41).

[8]From the Race story, Friesen 2003.

(40) Kərcece ahəmay ahəmay ahəmay
kɪrtʃɛtʃɛ a-həm-aj a-həm-aj a-həm-aj
giraffe 3S-run-CL 3S-run-CL 3S-run-CL
'The giraffe ran and ran and ran'

[**ha** ayaɗay ndele pəs pəssa].
[**ha** a-jaɗ-aj ndɛlɛ pəs pəs=sa]
until 3S-tire-CL ID:completely tired=ADV
'until he was completely tired out.'

In (41), the second clause begins with *ha* 'until' and gives adverbial information to the matrix clause concerning how long that one grain of millet will satisfy their hunger.

(41) Disobedient Girl, S. 7
War elé háy bəlen fan na, ánjata pew
war ɛlɛ haj bɪlɛŋ faŋ na á-nz=ata pɛw
child eye millet one already PSP 3S+IFV-suffice=3P.IO enough
'One grain of millet, it sufficed for them'

[**ha** ambaɗ ese].
[**ha** a-mbaɗ ɛʃɛ]
until 3S-remain again
'even to leaving leftovers.' (lit. until it remained again)

12.3.2 Conditional construction

The subordinating conjuction *asa* 'if' intoduces a condition on the realisation of the event expressed by the main clause. The construction is *asa* plus the conditional clause. The end of the subordinate clause is delimited by the presupposition marker *na* or the particle *ɗəw* 'also.' Which marker is employed depends upon speaker assessment. If the presupposition marker *na* delimits the condition (42–44), the clause is neutral with respect to whether the speaker expects the condition to be fulfilled or not. In the examples of this section, both the subordinating conjunction and presupposition or 'unexpected' information marker are bolded, and the subordinate clause is delimited by square brackets.

(42) [**Asa** kége akar **na**], náaɓok.
[**asa** kɛ́-g-ɛ akar na] náá-ɓ=ɔkʷ
if 2S+IFV-do-CL theft PSP 1S+POT-beat=2S.IO
'If you steal, I will beat you.'

(43) [**Asa** ások njəwelek **na**], kándaɗay elele kəlen.
[**asa** á-s=ɔk^{w} nʒuwɛlɛk na] ká-ndaɗ-aj ɛlɛlɛ kɪlɛŋ
if 3S+IFV-cut=2S.IO spp. of leaf) PSP 2S+IFV-like-CL sauce then
'If you like this kind of leaf, you will like this sauce.'

(44) [**Asa** taɓan va ana məze **na**],
[**asa** tà-ɓ=aŋ =va ana mɪʒɛ na]
if 3P+PFV-hit=3S.IO =PRF DAT person PSP
'If someone has gotten beaten,'

ləkwəye na, gom ala sərtəfka medekal aləkwəye.
lʊk^{w}øjɛ na g-ɔm =ala sərtfka mɛdɛkal=alʊk^{w}øjɛ
2P PSP do[IMP]-2P =to certificate medical=2P.POSS
'make a medical certificate for him.' (lit. do for him your medical certificate)

When the subordinated clause is delimited by *ɗəw* 'also' (45–46), the meaning of *asa* shifts to more of a concessive idea.

(45) Disobedient Girl, S. 4
[**Asa** təwas va nekwen kəygehe **ɗəw**],
[**asa** tə-was=va nɛk^{w}ɛŋ kijgɛhɛ **ɗuw**]
if 3P+PFV-cultivate=PRF little like this also
'Even if they had only cultivated a little [millet] like this,'

ávata məvəye haɗa.
á-v=ata mɪ-v-ijɛ haɗa
3S+IFV-spend time=3P.IO NOM-spend time-CL many
'it would last them enough for the whole year.'

(46) [**Asa** məze ahay təcahay ele **ɗəw**], Hərmbəlom ecen asabay.
[**asa** mɪʒɛ=ahaj tə-tsah-aj ɛlɛ **ɗuw**] Hʊrmbʊlɔm ɛ-tʃɛŋ asa-baj
if person=Pl 3P-ask-CL thing also God 3S-hear again-NEG
'Even if people ask for anything, God doesn't hear anymore.'

Normally the subordinated clause is followed by the main clause (42–47), however the clause expressing the condition can be right-shifted in some contexts (48). The *asa* clause is always delimited by *na*.

(47) Disobedient Girl, S. 13
[**Asa** asok aməhaya **na**],
[**asa** à-s=ɔk^{w} amə-h=aja na]
if 3S+IFV-please=2S.IO DEP-grind=PLU PSP
'If you want to grind,' (lit. if grinding pleases to you)

kázaɗ war elé háy bəlen.
ká-zaɗ war ɛlɛ haj bɪlɛŋ
2S+IFV-take child eye millet one
'you take only one grain.'

(48) Gəbar anday agaw [**asa** bahay apaɗay sese **na**].
gəbar a-ndaj a-g=aw [**asa** bahaj à-paɗ-aj ʃɛʃɛ na]
fear 3S-PROG 3S-do=1S.IO if chief 3S+PFV-crunch-CL meat PSP
'I am afraid that the chief ate meat.' (lit. fear is doing me if the chief ate meat)

Other particles co-occurring with the conjunction *asa* 'if' can modify its force. Clauses subordinated by the dative marker plus 'if' *ana asa* have a strong expectation that the condition will be fulfilled (49), while clauses subordinated by *azana asa* 'maybe if' carry the expectation that the condition might be fulfilled, rendering the subordinating clause to have almost a temporal meaning (50).

(49) [**Ana asa** kege akar bay **na**], náɓok bay.
[**ana asa** kɛ̀-g-ɛ akar baj na] ná-ɓ=ɔk^{w} baj
DAT if 2S+PFV-do-CL theft NEG PSP 1S+IFV-beat=2S.IO NEG
'If you don't steal [and I don't expect you to steal], I won't beat you.'

(50) [**Azana asa** tanday təzlaɓay ele memey **na**],
[**azana asa** ta-ndaj tə-ɟaɓ-aj ɛlɛ mɛmɛj na]
maybe if 3P-PROG 3P-pound-CL thing how PSP
'When something is being pounded,' (lit. if perhaps they are pounding something,)

tə́zləgalay avəlo bay.
tə́-ɟəg=alaj avʊ̀lɔ baj
3P+IFV-throw=away high up NEG
'the baton is not thrown too high.' (lit. they don't throw the baton too high)

12.3.3 Coordinate constructions

Coordinate constructions consists of two independent clauses linked by a coordinate conjunction. The coordinating conjunction specifies the way that the clauses are connected. They include *nata* 'and then' and *azləna* 'but.' In (51–55), the conjunction is bolded and the coordinate clause is delimited by square brackets.

Nata 'and then' marks the clauses which contain the most pivotal events in a narrative. Two clauses from the Cicada narrative are marked with *nata* (51). These two clauses mark the peak event of the cicada's success at transporting the tree for the chief. One clause in the peak of the Disobedient Girl narrative is marked with *nata* (52). This marked peak event is the death of the girl, the result of her disobedience.

(51) Cicada, S. 25
[**Nata** olo],
[**nata** ɔ̀-lɔ]
and then 3S+PFV-go
'And then he went,'

Cicada, S. 26
albaya ahay tolo sen na,
albaja=ahaj tɔ-lɔ ʃɛŋ na
youth=Pl 3P-go ID:go PSP
'The young men went,'

albaya ahay weley təh anan dəray na, abay.
albaja=ahaj wɛlɛj təx an=aŋ dəraj na abaj
youth=Pl which ID:put DAT=3S.IO head PSP EXT+NEG
'None of the young men could lift it.' (lit. whichever young man put his head [to the tree in order to lift it], there was none)

Cicada, S. 27
[**Nata** mətəde təh anan dəray ana agwazla ngəndəye].
[**nata** mɪtɪdɛ təx an=aŋ dəraj ana ag^{w}aɮa ŋgɪndijɛ]
and then cicada ID:put on head DAT=3S.IO head DAT spp. of tree DEM
'And then the cicada put his head to that tree.'

(52) Disobedient Girl, S. 26
Alala na, ver na árah mbəf nə həmbo na,
a-l=ala na vɛr na á-rax mbəf nə hʊmbɔ na
3S-go=to PSP room PSP 3S+IFV-fill ID:up to the roof with flour PSP
'Later, the room, it filled to the roof with flour,'

ɗək məɗəkaka alay ana hor na,
ɗək mə-ɗək=aka=alaj ana hʷɔr na
plug NOM-plug=on=away DAT woman PSP
'it suffocated the woman,'

[**nata** ndahan dəɓəsolələk məmətava alay a hoɗ a hay na ava].
[**nata** ndahaŋ dʊɓʊsɔlʊkʷ mə-mət=ava=alaj a hʷɔɗ a haj
then 3S ID:collapse/die NOM-die=in=away at stomach GEN house

na ava]
PSP in
'and then she collapsed *dəɓəsolələk*, dying inside the house.'

Azləna[9] 'but' indicates that the clause that follows will contain an element of counter-expectation to something in the previous clause (53–55).

(53) Disobedient Girl, S. 10 - 11
Olo azala dalay. [**Azləna** war dalay ndana cekəzlere ga].
à-lɔ à-z=ala dalaj [**aɣəna** war dalaj ndana tʃɛkɪɣɛrɛ
3S+PFV-go 3S+PFV-take=to girl but girl female DEM disobedience

ga]
ADJ
'He went and took a wife, but the girl [was] disobedient.'

(54) Avəyon agan va gəɓar ana Abangay. Ahəman alay nekwen.
avijɔŋ a-g=aŋ =va gəɓar ana Abaŋgaj a-həm=aŋ =alaj nɛkʷɛŋ
airplane 3S-do=3S.IO =PRF fear DAT Abangay 3S-run=3S.IO =to little
'The airplane made Abangay afraid (lit. did fear to her), [so] she ran away a little.'

[9] *Azləna* 'but' may be a compound of *azla* 'now' and the presupposition marker *na*.

[**Azlәna** na me, ləme nata babəza ahay na,
[**aɮәna** na mɛ lɪmɛ nata babəza=ahaj na
but PSP opinion 1PEX and children=Pl PSP
'But on the other hand, I and the children,'

ko məbele nekwen ɗəw, nobəlom bay].
kʷɔ mɪ-bɛl-ɛ nɛkʷɛŋ ɗuw nɔ-bʊl-ɔm baj]
even NOM-move-CL little also 1S-move-1PEX NEG
'we didn't budge even a little (lit. even a little movement we didn't move).'

(55) Nahan ana hor əwla ne awəy majaw ala yam
na-h=aŋ ana hʷɔr=uwla nɛ awij mà-dz=aw =ala jam
1S-tell=3S.IO DAT wife=1S.POSS 1S said 3S+HOR-help=1S.IO =to water
'I told my wife to bring me water'

aməbele; [**azlәna** acahay bay].
amɪ-bɛl-ɛ [**aɮәna** a-tsah-aj baj]
DEP-wash-CL but 3S-obey-CL NEG
'to wash; but she didn't obey me.'

12.3.4 Adverbial clauses with conjunctive adverbs

Conjunctive adverbs are adverbs that function to connect clauses within a larger discourse. They include *kəlen* 'next,' *nde* 'therefore,' and *macəkəmbay* 'meanwhile.' With the exception of *kəlen*, conjunctive adverbs are clause-initial. The examples give some of the surrounding context so that their function can be demonstrated. Many of the examples are from the Disobedient Girl story or the Cicada story. In order to study the larger context for the examples, the stories themselves can be found in Section 1.5 and Section 1.6, respectively. The clauses with conjunctive adverbs are delimited by square brackets.

Kəlen 'next' indicates a subsequent mainline event that often follows a digression (often reported speech). This conjunction can either be clause-initial (57) or follow the first argument in the clause (56).

(56) Cicada, S. 5–6
Tánday tə́talay a ləhe na,
tá-ndaj tə́-tal-aj a lɪhɛ na
3P+IFV-PROG 3P+IFV-walk-CL at bush PSP
'[As] they were walking in the bush,'

təlo tənjakay agwazla malan ga a ləhe.
tə̀-lɔ tə̀-nzak-aj agʷaɮa malaŋ ga a lɪhɛ
3P+PFV-go 3P+PFV-find-CL spp. of tree large ADJ to bush
'they went and found a large tree (a particular species) in the bush.'

[Albaya ahay ndana **kəlen** təngalala ma ana bahay].
[albaja=ahaj ndana **kɪlɛŋ** tə̀-ŋgala=ala ma ana bahaj]
youth=Pl DEM then 3P+PFV-return=to word DAT chief
'Those young men then took the word (response) to the chief.'

Clauses S. 7 and 8 are shown in (57). *Kəlen* functions to signal to the hearer that the events in S. 8 are part of the event line (the reported speech in S. 7 was a digression from the event line).

(57) Cicada, S. 7
Tawəy, "Bahay, mama agwazla ava a ləhe na, malan ga na,
tawij bahaj mama agʷaɮa ava a lɪhɛ na malaŋ ga na
3P+said chief mother spp. of tree EXT at bush PSP large ADJ PSP
'They said, "Chief, there is a mother-tree in the bush, a big one,'

agasaka na ka mahay ango aka aməmbese."
à-gas=aka na ka mahaj=aŋgʷɔ aka amɪ-mbɛʃ-ɛ
3S+PFV-get=on PSP on door=2S.POSS on DEP-rest-CL
'[and] it would please you to have that tree at your door, so that you could rest under it."'

Cicada, S. 8
[**Kəlen** albaya ahay ndana tolo].
[**kɪlɛŋ** albaja=ahaj ndana tə̀-lɔ]
next youth=Pl DEM 3P+PFV-go
'Then those young men went.'

A conclusion in a discourse or a concluding remark may be introduced by the conjunctive adverb *nde* 'so.' Example (58) shows S. 32–34 from the conclusion of the Disobedient Girl narrative. *Nde* introduces the concluding comments concerning the way that the present-day situation for the Molokos has changed from the way it was before the actions of the disobedient girl. Example (59) is from the Leopard story (Friesen 2003) and *nde* marks the clause within the hen's speech where she makes her concluding decision of what she should do. *Nde* marks a concluding statement in an instruction in (60).

(58) Disobedient Girl, S. 32–34
[**Nde** ko ala a ɗəma ndana ava pew]! Məloko ahay tawəy,
[**ndɛ** kʷɔ=ala a ɗəma ndana ava pɛw] Mʊlɔkʷɔ=ahaj tawij
so until=to at time DEM in enough Moloko=Pl 3P+said
'So, ever since that time, it's done! The Molokos say,'

"Hərmbələm ága ɓərav va kəwaya war dalay na,
Hʊrmbʊlɔm á-ga ɓərav=va kuwaja war dalaj na
God 3S+IFV-do heart=PRF because of child girl PSP
'"God got angry because of that girl,'

amecen sləmay bay ngəndəye.
amɛ-tʃɛŋ ɬəmaj baj ŋgɪndijɛ
DEP-hear ear NEG DEM
'that one that was disobedient.'

Waya ndana Hərmbələm ázata aka barka ahan va."
waja ndana Hʊrmbʊlɔm á-z=ata =aka
because DEM God 3S+IFV-take=3P.IO =on

barka=ahaŋ=va
blessing=3S.POSS=PRF
'Because of that, God had taken back his blessing from them."'

(59) Tanday taslaw aka babəza ahay va.
ta-ndaj ta-ɬ=aw =aka babəza=ahaj=va
3P-PROG 3P-kill=1S.IO =on children=Pl=PRF
'They were killing more of my children.'

[**Nde** taslaw aka babəza ahay va na,
[**ndɛ** ta-ɬ=aw =aka babəza=ahaj=va na
so 3P-kill=1S.IO =on children=Pl=PRF PSP
'So [since] they killed more of my children,'

nəhəmay mogo ele əwla].
nə-həm-aj mɔgʷɔ ɛlɛ=uwla]
1S-run-CL anger thing=1S.POSS
'I ran away because of my anger (lit. I ran my anger thing).'

(60) Nahok na va, kége akar bay.
nà-h=ɔk^{w} na=va ké-g-ɛ akar baj
1S+PFV-tell=2S.IO 3S.DO=PRF 2S+IFV-do-CL theft NEG
'I already told you, don't steal,'

[Asa bay na], náaɓok.
[asa baj na] náá-ɓ=ɔk^{w}
again NEG PSP 1S+POT-beat=2S.IO
'if not, I will beat you.'

[**Nde** azləna kagəva akar] náaɓok azla.
[**ndɛ** aɣəna kà-gə=va akar] náá-ɓ=ɔk^{w} aɣa
so but 2S+PFV-do=PRF theft 1S+POT-beat=2S.IO now
'But you have gone and stolen, so I will beat you now.'

Macəkəmbay 'meanwhile' indicates that the information in the clause marked in this way occurred off the main event line. Example (61) is from the Race story (Friesen 2003). The clause with *macəkəmbay* marks what the toad had done before the race – he had secretly invited his brothers to line the race route so that there would always be a toad ahead of the giraffe. The giraffe ran faster than the toad, but when he stopped running and called out to see how far behind him the toad was, one of the toad's friends ahead of him would call to him, making him run so hard that he collapsed, thereby losing the race.

(61) Paraw tədəya məhəme, ɓərketem, ɓərketem, ɓərketem.
paraw tə-d=ija mɪ-hɪm-ɛ ɓɪrkɛtɛm ɓɪrkɛtɛm ɓɪrkɛtɛm
ID:sudden start 3P-prepare=PLU NOM-run-CL ID:run ID:run ID:run
'*Paraw*, they started the race, running *birketem, birketem, birketem.*'

Kərcece enjé təf na, awəy, "Moktonok nok amta?"
kɪrtʃɛtʃɛ ɛ-nʒ-ɛ təf na awij mɔk^{w}tɔnɔk^{w} nɔk^{w} amta
giraffe 3S-leave-CL ID:far PSP said toad 2S where
'The giraffe went far away [along the race route]. He said, "Toad, where are you?"'

Moktonok awəy, "Ne ko ehe." Awəy, "Wa alma?!"
mɔk^{w}tɔnɔk^{w} awij nɛ k^{w}ɔ ɛhɛ awij wa alma
toad said 1S no matter here said what what
'A toad said, "I am way over here." [The giraffe] said, "What on earth?!" (lit. he said, "What what")'

[**Macəkəmbay** moktonok na, abək ta aya va
[**matsəkəmbaj** məkʷtənɔkʷ na a-bək ta=aja=va
meanwhile toad PSP 3S-invite 3P.DO=PLU=PRF
'Meanwhile, the toad, he had already invited'

məlama ahan ahay jəyga].
məlama=ahaŋ=ahaj dzijga]
brother=3S.POSS=Pl all
'all his brothers.'

12.4 Juxtaposed clauses

Many clauses in a Moloko discourse are independent and are not linked grammatically to a preceding or following clause by a connector or by the presupposition marker *na*. The semantic nature of the connection between these unmarked, juxtaposed clauses is inferred from the context.[10] A juxtaposed clause can simply re-express the thought in the first clause. In (62), the second clause restates in the negative that God is near. In (63), the second clause makes more precise the general instruction in the first clause. In (64), the second clause expands on what the speaker sees about the chief. In the examples in this section, each clause is delimited by square brackets and the juxtaposed clause is bolded.

(62) [Ndahan bəfa], [**anday dəren bay**].
[ndahaŋ bəfa] [**a-ndaj dɪrɛŋ baj**]
he ID:close 3S-PROG far NEG
'So, he was close, he was not far.'

(63) [Makay war]; [**mapaɗay sese ahan**].
[mak-aj war] [**mà-paɗ-aj ʃɛʃɛ=ahaŋ**]
leave[2S.IMP]-CL child 3S+HOR-crunch-CL meat=3S.POSS
'Leave the child alone; let him eat his meat.'

[10] The presupposition marker *na* aids in making a connection between two clauses, because it makes it explicit that the first (*na*-marked) clause is known information. *Na* constructions have already been discussed in Section 11.1.

(64) [Nəmənjar bahay]; [**ndahan aka ozom sese**].
[nə-mənzar bahaj] [**ndahaŋ aka á-zɔm ʃɛʃɛ**]
1S-see chief 3S on 3S+IFV-eat meat
'I see the chief; he is eating meat.'

Example (65) is from S. 8–10 in the peak episode of the Snake story. There is a series of three juxtaposed independent clauses. The second is a restatement of the first. The third follows chronologically.

(65) Snake, S. 8
[Mbaɗala ehe na, nabay oko],
[mbaɗala ɛhɛ na nà-b-aj ɔkʷɔ]
then here PSP 1S+PFV-light-CL fire
'Then, I turned on a light,'

Snake, S. 9
[**nazala təystələm əwla**],
[**nà-zaɗ=ala tijstələm=uwla**]
1S+PFV-take=to torch=1S.POSS
'I took my flashlight,'

Snake, S. 10
[**nabay cəzlarr**].
[**nà-b-aj tsəɮarr**]
1S+PFV-light-CL ID:shining the flashlight up
'I shone it up *cəzlarr*.'

Two juxtaposed clauses can express a logical or chronological sequence. A temporal (or logical) sequence from the Cicada fable is seen in (66). The two clauses are the chief's command to bring the tree to his door. First (clause 1), the people are to bring the tree and next (clause 2), they are to place it by his door.

(66) Cicada, S. 9
[Káazəɗom anaw ala agwazla ndana ka mahay əwla aka].
[káá-zʊɗ-ɔm an=aw =ala agʷaɮa ndana ka mahaj=uwla aka]
2P+POT-take-2P DAT=1S.IO =to spp. of tree DEM on door=1S.POSS on
'You will bring that previously mentioned tree to my door for me.'

[Káafəɗom anaw ka mahay əwla aka].
[káá-fʊɗ-ɔm an=aw ka mahaj=uwla aka]
2P+POT-put-2P DAT=1S.IO on door=1S.POSS on
'You will put it down by my door.'

Example (67) is a longer temporal sequence from the peak of the Snake story (S. 13–18). S. 13 links to the preceding discourse with a *na*-marked clause, but the rest of the clauses (S. 14–18) are juxtaposed. There are no conjunctions or discourse particles to indicate how the clauses are linked. These juxtaposed clauses are a fast-moving temporal sequence (with a narrator's interjection in S. 16): he takes his spear (S. 13), hears the penetration (S. 14–15), the snake falls (S. 17), he clubs it to death (S. 18).

(67) Snake, S. 13
[Ne mbət məmbete oko əwla na].
[nɛ mbət mɪ-mbɛt-ɛ ɔkʷɔ=uwla na]
1S turn off NOM-turn off-CL light=1S.POSS PSP
'I turned off my light.'

[Kaləw nazala ezlere əwla].
[kàluw nà-zaɗ=ala ɛɮɛrɛ=uwla]
ID:take quickly 1S+PFV-take=to spear=1S.POSS
'Quickly I took my spear.'

Snake, S. 14-15
[Mək ava alay]. **[Mecesle mbəraɓ]**.
[mək=ava=alaj] [mɛ-tʃɛɬ-ɛ mbəraɓ]
ID:penetrate=in=to NOM-penetrate-CL ID:penetrate
'Penetration *mək*! It penetrated, *mbəraɓ*!'

Snake, S. 16
[Ele a Hərmbələm, ele ga ajənaw ete
[ɛlɛ a Hʊrmbʊlɔm ɛlɛ ga à-dzən=aw ɛtɛ
thing GEN God thing ADJ 3S+PFV-help=1S.IO also
'God helped me also'

kəl kəl kə ndahan aka].
kəl kəl kə ndahaŋ aka]
exactly on 3S on
'[that the spear] went exactly on him'

Snake, S. 17
[Ádəɗala vbaɓ a wəyen ava].
[á-dəɗ=ala vaɓ a wijɛŋ ava]
3S+IFV-fall=to ID:falling on ground at ground on
'and he fell on the ground *vbaɓ*.'

Snake, S. 18
[Ne dəyday məkəɗe na aka].
[nɛ dijdaj mɪ-kɪɗ-ɛ na=aka]
1S ID:approximately NOM-kill-CL 3S.DO=on
'I clubbed it to death (approximately).'

Two clauses linked by juxtaposition can also express a comparison (68–69). The first clause is a predicate-adjective clause (see Section 10.1.2) including the attribute being compared. The second clause establishes the comparison by means of the verb *dal* 'pass.'

(68) [Kəra malan ga], [**adal pataw**].
[kəra malaŋ ga] [**a-dal pataw**]
dog largeness ADJ 3S-pass cat
'The dog is bigger than the cat.' (lit. the dog [is] big, it is greater than the cat)

(69) [Ne mədehwer ga], [**nadal nok**].
[nɛ mədœhʷœr ga] [**na-dal nɔkʷ**]
1S old person ADJ 1S-pass 2S
'I am older than you.' (lit. I old person, I surpass you)

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A grammar of Moloko

Mana Samuel, Mana Djeme Isaac, and Ali Gaston have been involved in their communities in linguistics, language development and translation. They are Moloko speakers and between them they also speak French, Fulfulde, Guiziga, Muyang, and Hausa. Together with the Moloko Language and Translation committees they have produced several books in the Moloko language. Dianne Friesen, a linguist with SIL International, joined them in 1999, studied the language, and helped in producing the books. Together they produced this grammar. It came out of hours spent at friends' houses hearing and recording stories, hours spent listening to the tapes and transcribing the stories, then translating them and studying the language through them. Time was spent together and with others speaking the language and talking about it, translating resources and talking to people about them. Grammar discoveries were made in the office, in the fields while working, and at gatherings. In the process, the four have become more and more passionate about the Moloko language and are eager to share their knowledge about it with others.

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