

The particle kóó in Chamba-Daka

1. Final "interrogative" particle

1.1. The particle sá

CD has an utterance-final particle **sá**, obtained from the final negative particle **só** and the interrogative suffix **-á**. This is a classic negative interrogative particle which commits the speaker to a given alternative, and seeks the hearer's agreement. This particle is used on occasion to obtain confirmation of a negative assertion:

1)

Nòk bǒǒ, m̃ mà tē gērēn ī mó àán; ń nóó,

nòk bǒǒ m̃ mà tēē gèt + ʔ-ēn ī mót àán í nóó

1SIndep TOP 1S FUT durative go+T-INF LOC day DEM 3P say

m̃ mà nākēn tàksīn; káà, nòk gà, m̃ mā tīké/én só.

m̃ mà nāk + ʔ-ēn tàksīn káà nòk gà m̃ mà + ʔ tīkì + ʔ-ēn só

1SLog FUT do+T-INF tomorrow EXCL 1SIndep TOP 1S FUT+T wait_for+T-INF NEG

A: As for me, I'm leaving today. They say they'll do it tomorrow, but I'm definitely not waiting.

2)

ʔM mā tīké/én sá?

ʔm mà + ʔ tīkì + ʔ-ēn só-á

2S FUT+T wait_for+T-INF NEG-INTER

B: You won't wait?

More frequently, however, it is used to request confirmation of an affirmation.

3)

Kóó dōn gà, ā à sārēn pēn dōn gáa dāt nìmsí dáān.

kóó dōn gà ā mà sát + ʔ-ēn pēn dōn gáa dāt nìmsí dáān

or other TOP 2S FUT speak+INF-INF thing other LOC on song DEM

A: So perhaps you can tell us something about that song.

Dāt nìmsí dá/án sá?

dāt nìmsí dáān sá

on song DEM not_so?

B: About that song, is that not it?

When an interrogative is used to state an apparent fact, a supposition, **sá** may still be used.

4)

Nèé rà nyēm tètè béré sá?

nèé à nyēm tètè béré-è sá

person LOC home there NEG-INTER not_so?

No one is home here? It seems not [= is that not so?].

5)

Máà kēébó/ónè sá?

máà kèè + ʔ-bú-ēn-è sá

who seek+T-3P-FOC-INTER not_so?

Who on earth asked them to come!? (No one should have asked them, isn't that so?)

There is a free variant of **sá**: this is **sée** formed from negative **só** and the interrogative marker -è. The tonologically complex **sée** is, however, much less frequent. This results in a certain independence of **sá** allowing the two to be used conjointly, though redundantly, with respect to a negative assertion:

6)

`A. déèn gà, nyēēn bùm gáà jūū sée sá?

`A. déèn gà nyéén + ʔ bùm gáà jūū só-è sá

male_person DEM TOP see+T place LOC upwards NEG-INTER not_so?

A. has never been up that way, am I (not) right?

1.2. **sá** and **kóó**

Kóó may may replace **sá** in most uses. It is particularly frequent in certain set expressions:

7)

ʔN wúkì kóó, ā nyéénì kóó?

ʔn wúk-ì kóó, ʔn nyéén-ì kóó

2S hear-REAL or, 2S see-REAL or

You understand? you see? (I'm sure you do.)

Here are examples with negative and interrogative utterances:

8)

Kāā dá/án gà, í ták tẹẹ só kóó?

kāā dáān gà í ták tẹẹ só kóó

camp DEM TOP 3P roof there NEG INTER

So there is never a roof over that camp-place?

9)

`N sārà nààm yísí tōbēnè kóó?

ʔn sāt + ʔ-à nààm yísí tōp + ʔ-ēn-è kóó

1S speak+T-2S animal rope align+T-INF-INTER or

Did I tell you about setting rope traps? I think I did (= I told you about setting rope traps, did I not?).

There is a single case in which **sá** but not **kóó** has been observed, namely, in association with imperatives and injunctives, cf.

10)

Bāā lēbá/réèn sá?

báá +⁻ lēp +⁻ á- & èn sá

come+INJ buy+T-1P-INJ not_so?

[Please] come and buy it for us = Why don't you buy it for us?

Hence, neither native **sá** nor imported **kóó** is a "true" interrogative marker, if by "true" interrogative we mean one which requires the hearer to choose among two or more assertions. Both these particles are polite sollicitations of the hearer's agreement. They are semantically close to the English "question tags".

2. Modal marker

2.1. Possibility

2.1.1. Propositions

L'expression **dōn gà** (other | topicalizer) is used for 'perhaps, assuming that' in CD. (There are other, apparently synonymous expressions, for example, the propositions **nāk só**, literally '[it] did not do', and **wōō só**, literally 'it did not want'.)

11)

Dōn gà, m̄ bé wàà pōkēn nyēm wī wàà, nè-dōn mà gērēn à gàà.

dōn gà m̄ bé wàà pòk +⁻ ēn nyēm wī wàà nèé-dōn mà gèt +⁻ ēn à gàà

other TOP 2S M PROG sit+T-INF home 2SIndep TOP person-other FUT go+T-INF LOC outside

Suppose you're sitting around at home, then someone goes by right outside.

Kóó can be used interchangeably with **dōn gà**; the following example (like the preceding one and 3 above) uses the future form.

12)

Kóó í mà pōó dēen gērēn sāān báà gùr ī Mánglá.

kóó í mà pōó dēen gèt +⁻ ēn sàà +⁻ ēn bēè gùr ī Mánglá

or 2P FUT grass DEM go+T-INF stroll+T-INF M there LOC M.

Maybe you're going to conduct your hunt over there towards Mangla.

Kóó and **dōn gà** can be used conjointly. In the following example, **dōn gà** but not **kóó** is repeated before the main proposition, but this is not obligatory as (11) above (composed of a topicalized dependent and an independent proposition) shows.

13)

Í mà wá/á sāān. Kóó dōn gà, í bà í tējé í nàk pén

í mà wāā sàà +⁻ ēn kóó dōn gà í bà í tējé í nàk pén

3P FUT hand divine+T-INF or other TOP 3P AUX 3P take 3P do thing

dá/án jé gà, dōn gà, míí dōn mà nwó/rí pīrēen, mà dōōn.

dāān jé gà dōn gà míí dōn mà nwóōt pīrē +⁻ ēn mà dōó +⁻ ēn

DEM just TOP other TOP child other FUT skull return+T-INF FUT fall+T-INF

They will do a divination. For it could happen that, if they just go ahead, a boy might "turn his

neck" or "fall" (die).

The modal sense of **kóó** can be reinforced by association with other grammatical elements.

a) the interrogative

14)

Í mà wàràān jūm wú/ú ràán gà, wàtò kóó wī né-nwùrè.

í mà wát + -à-ēn jūm wūū àán gà wàtò kóó wī nèé-nwúù-è

3P FUT cut+T-2S-INF on body DEM TOP that_is or 2SIndep person-wife INTER

When they make an incision on your body, that means (they will find out whether) maybe you are a "woman".

b) the "suppositive" modal marker **bēēn** (indicating accessibility, verifiability)

In the following example, the modal proposition is completive; the final negative reinforces the first one and belongs to the governing proposition (double negation is used solely because of the length and complexity of the completive).

15)

Ín sàrèn só, nóó, kóó NàáKàménNwúù í ì bààbá mè,

í- sàt-&`èn só nóó kóó NKNw. í ì bààbá mè

2P-INJ speak-INJ NEG say or NKNw 3P with father 1SPos

í nyàá nòòní sīn, dá/á nòòní bēēn só.

í nyàá nòòní sīn dáā nòòní bēēn só

3P mother one just father one M NEG

Let no one say, Maybe [it is because] NaKamenNwu and my father have the same mother and father.

c) the "alternative" marker **dèn** 'or rather, rather than' (the attested examples involve topicalization and will be presented in due course; see 50, 60, 71).

At times, additional imported elements may appear:

16)

Kóó dà ñ wòò wárí bēēn, í dūūà rì pén bép /dá/ání

kóó dà ñ wòò wárí bēēn í dùù + -à ì pén béēp dáān-í

or if 2S want arrow M 3P forge+T-2S with thing iron DEM-EXT

Say you want an arrow, they forge it for you using that iron.

(16) shows that the sense 'for example' can easily be obtained by the use of **kóó** (or one of its variants, here the reinforced **kóókóókóó**):

17)

Ñ tāt pén pòórén, kóókóókóó à tāt yérí, nēēn-gàng pén.

ñ tāt pén pòórén kóó kóó kóó à tāt yéēt-í nēēn-gàng pén

2S shoot thing of_bush or 2S shoot bushcow-EXT preceptor-chief thing

[If] you kill a bush animal, for example a bushcow, it belongs to the chief preceptor.

Completive propositions are modalized *in situ*, cf. (70) and

18)

Máa bọ́ọ̀ dọ̀ọ̀ wúk kọ́ọ̀ nwóón àán gèt nyēm gó/ón ī mót dá/án àn.

máa bọ́ọ̀ dọ̀ọ̀ wúk kọ́ọ̀ nwóón àán gèt +⁻ nyēm góón ī mót dáán àán

who TOP listen hear or soup DEM go+T home 3SIndep LOC day DEM DEM

Each one listens and hears whether there is going to be soup at her place on that day (= if it is the soup that will reach her home...).

It must be stressed that, such cases aside and in the absence of any subordinating marker such as Hausa **ɗa** in (16) or the topicalizers discussed just below, propositions modalized by **kọ́ọ̀** are not grammatically subordinate though they may be discursively subordinate if *in context* they require some conclusion to follow.

2.1.2. Terms of propositions

The scope of the modal marker may be limited to a specific term of a proposition (a nominal or a circumstantial phrase):

19)

Lūngsèn bée kọ́ọ̀ pèn pọ́ọ̀rén dōn nàà pọ́ọ̀ àán nāk tóngtóng àn

lūngsèn bée kọ́ọ̀ pèn pọ́ọ̀rén dōn nàà pọ́ọ̀ àán nāk +⁻ tóngtóng àn

ressemble M or thing of _bush other in grass DEM do+T strong DEM

It resembles, maybe, some bush animal which is powerful.

This *in situ* limitation of scope is not natural with the native **dōn gà**. Itself a topicalization, it would normally appear in initial position, followed by a second topicalization of the modalized term which is to be within its scope.

Kọ́ọ̀ cannot apply to a verbal predicate to the exclusion of the subject (cf. GZ 46). Indeed, the CD subject indices may be treated as prefixes, though for ease of interpretation they are written here separately from the verb. **Kọ́ọ̀** must precede the subject index, and if a nominal subject precedes **kọ́ọ̀**, it must be treated as topicalized (even with Ø subject index in the case of nominal inanimate subjects and nominal animate singular subjects, see 57 below).

2.1.3. Topicalization

Kọ́ọ̀ is often associated with topicalization, whereupon its scope is limited to the topicalized term. The native topicalizer is **gà**, but **máa** and **bọ́ọ̀** (both imported from Fulfulde and apparently synonymous) are more frequent with **kọ́ọ̀**. The entire modal proposition may thus be topicalized:

20)

Kọ́ọ̀ sāā mīí kú dúmèn, kú yélén gà, wī m mā sārēn só.

kọ́ọ̀ sāā mīí kù +⁺ dūmèn + &⁺ kù +⁺ yélén + &⁺ gà wī n mā +⁻ sāt +⁻ ēn só

or bird small 3S+SUB fly+SUB 3S+SUB pass+SUB TOP 2SIndep 2S FUT+T speak+T-INF NEG

Suppose some small bird flies by, you won't say anything about it.

21)

Kóó míi dōn wúú é tẹ̀ẹ̀ bọ́ọ́, í mā sārēn bēn só.

kóó míi dōn wúú é tẹ̀ẹ̀ bọ́ọ́ í mà +⁻ sát +⁻ ēn bēn só

or child other die M there TOP 3P FUT+NEG speak+T-INF down NEG

If any boy should die then, they do not announce it right away.

22)

Góōn sógà, kóó kú wúk gín bēn é òm mǎá, kù yíp tēē.

góōn sógà kóó kú wúk gín bēn é òm mǎá kù yíp tēē

2SIndIndep then or 2SInd hear drum M M back TOP 2SInd run durative

[...said,] Maybe you'll hear a drum when you've gone; just keep running.

The scope of the modal marker may also be limited by topicalization of a single element of the proposition. That element must then be preposed to the relevant proposition. Usually one of the topicalization markers is used:

23)

Gó/ón mà dēnēn tẹ̀ẹ̀n dōn àn í bà í tǎp gà, kóó nyēm

góōn mà dēnēn tẹ̀ẹ̀n dōn àn í bà í tǎp gà, kóó nyēm

3SIndep FUT shortly take+T-INF other DEM 3P AUX 3P put TOP or home

yàà téém bọ́ọ́, méém bū í mà dōp lǎkēn àn.

yàà téém bọ́ọ́, méém bū í mà dōp +⁻ lǎk +⁻ ēn àn

compound heart TOP children PL 3P FUT dance+T enjoy+T-INF DEM

So he might take (record) one that, when they play it, maybe at home, the children will have fun dancing to it.

Nevertheless simple preposition is sufficient, at times in conjunction with one of the associated markers cited above in 2.1.1:

24)

Í dōp sòòn wàà gé/éní; kóó ī jèēm bùmá,

í dōp sòòn wàà géēn-í kóó ī jèēm bùm-á

3P dance dance with 3InanIndep-EXT or LOC cult place-INTER

í dīt wàà géēn, gé/én nàkēn sùk bánén.

í dīt wàà géēn géēn nàk-ēn sùk bánén

3P stamp with 3InanIndep 3InanIndep do-FOC ring ?

People use it for dancing; for example in women's cult activities, they stamp their feet (to make noise); that is the jingle anklet.

Focalization (allowed only for the subject in CD) may also appear in topicalized propositions:

25)

Kóó gāmān bọ́ọ́...

kóó gām +⁻ à-ēn bọ́ọ́

or speak+T-2S-INF TOP

He might be one to gossip about you so that...

Such examples seem to CD equivalents of others showing borrowed Hausa relative constructions:

26)

Kóǵ dà-yékì B. nī gò ràán máá,

kóǵ dà-yékì B. nī + ̀ gò àán máá

or if-3S+REL male_person bury+REL PERF DEM TOP

mínēén mà kǎā pēēkòōn yísí bép /dēén.

mínēén-rí mà kǎá + ̀ pēē + ̀- kù-ēn yísí bēēp dēén

SLogIndep-SLog FUT pay+T go_back+T-3S-INF cloth money DEM

Supposing it is B. who actually arranges for the burial, I'll pay him back for the shroud.

2.2. Modal marker: maximality

It is remarkable that there is no formal distinction between examples such as those given above which express a possibility, usually one of a set of alternatives, and others which quite clearly express the ultimate or maximal possibility, translated in English by 'even'.

27)

Kóǵ í láá sú-/bánén bààrá, í làà bèè gǎà tètè.

kóǵ í làà + & sú-bánén bààrá í làà bèè gǎà tètè

or 3P stay+INJ moon-? two 3P stay 3PBen LOC there

Even if they have to spend two months, they stay there.

28)

Kóǵkóǵ máálàm kú nák mī sòká /mī, tò,

kóǵkóǵ mállàm kú nák + & mī sòkáā mī tò

now child DEM thus or mister 3S do+INJ child junior child yes

dá/á mè pó-mī, ò fòttí sīkòōn só.

dáā mèè póp-mī ò fòttí + ́ sī + ̀- kù-ēn só

father 1SPos uncle-child 1S be_right+T insult+T-3S-INF NEG

Even if Maalam were a small child, he is my father's nephew and I could not insult him.

29)

Kóǵ rá sǒǵ sí/ímá, á mā sōpbóōn só.

kóǵ á sǒǵ sīm-á á mà + ̀ sǒp + ̀- bú-ēn só

or 1P drink beer-INTER 1P FUT+T look_down_on+T-2P-INF NEG

Even drunk, we wouldn't despise you.

30)

Kóǵ nǎkà wèè pén àán hāānī sòn /gà pát, nè-wàrí.

kóǵ nǎk + ̀-à wèè pén àán hāānī + ́ só-àán gà pát nèé-wàrí

or do+T-2S 2SBen thing DEM be_proper+T NEG-DEM TOP all person-big

Even if he behaves improperly towards you, he's [still] your elder.

31)

Kóǵ nyēnùm è gí/ín máá, sànnú bǒǵ, vīrùm só.

kóǵ nyēén + ̀- m ì gīn máá sànnú bǒǵ vīt + ̀- m só

or see+T-1S with thus TOP hello TOP call+T-1S NEG

Even when she sees me like this, she won't even say hello.

32)

Kóó wī n̄ yětsí míí só bọ́, m̄ mà sí/ím sāké/én ī lóókàsí déèn.

kóó wī n̄ yětsí + ' míí só bọ́ n̄ mà sí/ím sākì + ' -én ī lóókàsí déèn

or 2SIndep 2S circumcise+T child NEG TOP 2S FUT beer simmer+T-INF LOC time DEM

Even if you haven't had a child circumcised, you will brew beer then.

Individual terms are modalized in the maximal sense either *in situ*:

33)

ⁿN wẹ̀n wàà vī́sè/én kóó kṑbò tẹ̀ẹ̀ bẹ̀.

n̄ wẹ̀n- n̄ wàà vī́sì + ' -én kóó kṑbò tẹ̀ẹ̀ bẹ̀

2S 2SBen-BEN with ask+T-INF or kobo there NEG

You cannot ask for so much as one kobo.

or as preposed topicalized terms:

34)

Méém yērēn bū déèn mà vwātkòon;

méém yét + ' -én bū déèn mà vwāt + ' -kù-én

children circumcise+T-INF PL DEM FUT beat+T-3S-INF

kóó nyàá wẹ̀, m̄ mà tē vwātkòon.

kóó nyàá wẹ̀ n̄ mà tē vwāt + ' -kù-én

or mother 2SPos 2S FUT durative beat+FPN-3S_DOBJ-INF

The initiates will beat her; even your own mother, you would beat her just the same.

35)

ⁿAsẹ́y kóó tīm gùsì máá, í yětsì tēē.

àsẹ́y kóó tīm gùsì máá í yětsì tēē

even or under rainy_season even 3P circumcise durative

So even in rainy season, they go ahead and conduct circumcision.

2.4. Modality and negation

Interplay between the scope of the modal operator and negation is rarely observed. The sole relevant case seems to be:

36)

D. rén, sám; kóó dá/á mẹ̀ kú sāt só máá,

D. éen sám kóó dáā mẹ̀ kú sāt + ' só máá

D. THAT at_all or father 1SLogPos 3S speak+T NEG TOP

mínēén mà tē nākēn, ì tí/í mẹ̀ nòòní tàngtàng.

mínēn-rín mà tēē nāk + ' -én ì tí mẹ̀ nòòní tàngtàng

1LogIndep-1SLog FUT durative do+T-INF with self 1SLogPos one single

D. wouldn't hear of it; she said, as long as my father didn't prohibit it, I'll do it, all alone [if I have to].

In other words, where the maximal positive possibility is 'even if', the maximal negative possibility

has shifted from 'even if not' to become 'provided only that not, only if not'. This shift is not obligatory, cf.

37)

Kóó m̄ bāān bēn só, Sú/ú má, nyēm̄ mè līn tēē.

kóó m̄ bāān + ̄ bēn só Sú/ú máá nyáá + ̄-m̄ mèè lí + ̄-ēn tēē
or 1S farm+T down NEG God TOP give+T-1S 1S Ben eatT-INF durative

Even if I no longer farm, God will still give me something to eat.

3. Modal marker: universal choice quantification

3.1. The earlier situation

The preceding discussion has shown that, if **kóó** may be said to express possibility or choice, it does not allow the *hearer* to choose. It is rather the expression of the speaker's own choice among the possibles. We have seen the choice of the particular instance or example as well as the maximal choice. We may now turn to the case of universal choice expressed in English by the use of *any-* or *-ever* with an interrogative substitute (or a nominal in some cases with *any-*), or adjectivally by *any* alone.

There can be little doubt that, in CD, universal choice was originally expressed by the use of a simple interrogative substitute. Some such cases subsist in ordinary discourse:

38)

̄A vwàt máà gáà tī páá, ā mà ví/ín nyāān.

ā vwàt máà gáà tī páá ā mà vīn nyáá + ̄-ēn
2S beat anyone LOC at grounds 2S FUT goat give INF-INF

If you strike anyone there on the meeting grounds, you must pay [a fine of] a goat.

These cases are nevertheless relatively rare. The interrogative substitute is generally supported by the grammatical elements which have been cited above in 2.1.1 (e.g., the suppositive marker **bēēn**), topicalization, and/or the imported universal quantifier **pát** 'all'.

39)

̄I nóó, àán máà bū gà, í mà tē tāānbóōn.

í nóó àán máà būū gà í mà tēē tàān + ̄-bú-ēn
3P say DEM who PL TOP 1S Log FUT durative eat+T-3P-INF

They say they will eat anyone they find (= whoever they (= you) are, they will eat them (= you)).

40)

̄I nàk nyá/á bé/én gà pát...

í nàk nyāā bēēn gà pát
3P do what M TOP

Whatever they do...

Though the interrogative substitute is the choice operator; its association with **pát** entails that not every occurrence of the choice operator is translatable by an English choice operator. In the following interrogative example, the distributive is preferable:

41)

Sóp /dṵṵ dá/án gà, màà pát wàà gé/énè

sóp dṵṵ dáān gà màà pát wàà géēn-è kṵṵ í kāmì

burial hole DEM TOP who all with 3INAN_INDEP-INTER or 3P gather

Does each one have his own individual hole?

3.2. Alternative forms with **kṵṵ**

In most cases, **kṵṵ** is found preposed to the choice operator, but there are no good attestations of *in situ* use. Topicalization seems to be overwhelmingly predominant, if not obligatory. It can be obtained by simple preposition.

42)

Kṵṵ nìmsí má/án pát, ò vwat tēē.

kṵṵ nìmsí máān pát ò vwat tēē

or song which all 1S beat durative

Any song, I'll play it.

When the subject is topicalized, there will be a pause.

43)

Kṵṵ màà pát, wúk vèrén.

kṵṵ màà pát wúk vèrén

or any all hear good

Everyone, whoever he may be, is happy.

Otherwise, the usual topicalizers are used:

44)

Kṵṵ nyāā sát /wàrí bé/én gà pát, í dūnglèn béēn é tē gà, wī m mà nēksēēn.

kṵṵ nyāā sát wàrí béēn gà pát í dūnglèn béēn é tē gà wī m mà nēksì + '-ēn

or what speech big M TOP all 3P err M M durative TOP 2SIndep 2S FUT repair+F-INF

Any important matter, if people are in a muddle, you can set it straight.

45)

Kṵṵ rī kàām má/án bṵṵ, í bé wàà nè-yákén sááren bū tètè.

kṵṵ rī kàām máān bṵṵ í bé wàà nè-yákén sááren bū tètè

or LOC village any TOP 3P M with person-cutting earthy PL there

Each town has its local circumciser.

46)

Kṵṵ màà máá, téém nyāngsèn màà á kàán sīn dāt.

kṵṵ màà máá téém nyāngsèn màà é kàán sīn dāt

or any TOP heart spoil+rs go M thus just all

Anyone who is unhappy is unhappy in exactly the same way [is just as unhappy as you are].

A single exception to the use of interrogative substitutes occurs when the substitute would need to be modified by a relative clause. **Pén** 'thing' is then used.

47)

Kóó pén àán wī n wōō rī túr /àán gà pát,...

kóó pén àán wī n wōō + ' ī túrī àán gà pát

or thing DEM 2SIndep 2S want+T LOC forge DEM TOP all

Anything you want from the forge...

This choice of examples is governed by the fact that it is quite rare to find a topicalized *proposition* containing a universal choice quantifier associated with **kóó** (though topicalizations of such quantifications *without* **kóó** are common). It might be assumed that some topicalized quantifications are in fact nominal propositions, cf. (39) and (44) above:

48)

`A gūt vwāsàān gáàn bēn ī kīn déenī sīn,

mà gūt + ' vwātsī-à-ēn gáàn bēn ī kīn déen-í sīn

FUT catch+T beat-2S-INF LOC down LOC buttocks DEM-EXT just

à tààké, à tààké, kóó wī máà...

à tààké à tààké kóó wī máà

LOCthere LOC there or 2SIndep who

He would grab you and beat you right there [where you gave offence], whoever you were...

and

49)

'I wúk yērēn sòòn gín gà, kóó wéé mī lérùm

í wúk yét + ' -ēn sòòn gín gà kóó wéé mī lérùm

3P hear circumcise+T-INF dance drum TOP or small child male

mī bēn é gòó gà pát, bēn é wàà tūnēnēn.

mī bēn é gòó gà pát bēn é wàà tūnēn + ' -ēn

child M M where TOP all M M with go_out+T-INF

When they hear the drum for the circumcision dance, young boys, wherever they happen to be, all start gathering.

It can nevertheless also be argued that complex noun phrases alone are involved in each of these cases. Furthermore, the only clearly attested cases of a verbal proposition involve a focalizing verb (required for an interrogative subject, hence for the choice quantifier as well), which may be said to subordinate the proposition to the subject:

50)

Kóó dēn nyá/á dōn nākmēnēn é/é dāt mǎá, góōn sát yākì nēé kēē būrì.

kóó dēn nyāā dōn nākmēn-ēn ēē dāt mǎá, góōn sát yākì nēé kēē būrì-ì

or rather what other occur-FOC M on TOP 3SIndep speak finish person 3SPos PL-EXT

Whatever else may happen afterwards, he's named all his kin.

This example also shows **kóó** followed by (compounded with) the "alternative" marker **dēn** (normally found in postverbal position), by semantic attraction or perhaps only as some sort of calque of Hausa **kóó dà** (see 16 above).

4. Modal marker: multiple choice

All the examples thus far express the speaker's choice and demand the hearer's confirmation. This solicitation may be strong, as it would be in English if someone were to say, "John arrived yesterday, unless I am wrong". In such case, his interlocutor can validly reply, "That is true", "Not at all", or "I have no idea", since his opinion is being sought. But the speaker has first stated his own supposition. The strongest solicitation (reinforced by use of the imported **àséy**) among the previous examples is expressed in (35), whose assertion (based on deduction from the preceding conversation) was in fact immediately rejected by the hearer.

4.1. Marking of all alternatives

4.1.2. Without topicalization

A different situation arises when the speaker expresses multiple possibilities. In such case, he is expressing his own uncertainty and range of choices rather than his choice of a specific likelihood. Generally, however, the speaker will attempt to exhaust the available possibilities, placing the modal marker **kóó** before each one.

51)

Kóó tāt jākì é tēē kóó bàk nyéén wé/é kèèñ béén, í nyáá góòn.

kóó tāt jākì é tēē kóó bàk nyéén wé/é kèèñ-í béén í nyáá góòn

or shoot add M durative or follow see death 3SPos-INAN M 3P give 3S_Indep

Whether he strikes the fatal blow [that kills the animal] or follows [the animal] and finds it dead, they will give him [a reward].

The exhaustion of possibilities may be specifically obtained through use of a universal choice quantification:

52)

Kóó ñ làà á dā kīrí kóó ā làà lá/ám yírùm bìi má/ání, ñ lāā lá/ám déén

kóó ñ làà é dāt kīrí kóó ā làà láām yírùm bìi máān-í ñ làà +⁻ láām déén

or 2S lie M on mat or 2S lie sleep kind kind which any-EXT 2S lie+T sleep DEM

gáà bēn sòòsèy só gà, m̄ mà tē jīm pōkēn dārí.

gáà bēn sòòsèy só gà ñ mà tēē jīm +⁻ pòk +⁻ ēn dāt-í

LOC down well NEG TOP 2S FUT durative get_up+T sit+T-INF on-EXT

If you are sleeping on your mat or sleeping any way at all, unless you are really sleeping soundly, you will get up and stay up.

The use of interrogatives in such multiple choices is strongly weighted towards true questions: the speaker is usually soliciting the hearer to provide information which he himself does not possess:

53)

Kóó nè-dōn nīm lēlìkòònè kóó gó/ón nīmēn tí/í kèèè kóó nyāā?

kóó nè-dōn nīm lēlìkòòn-è kóó góòn nīm-ēn tí kèè-è kóó nyāā

or person-other sing sing-3S-FOC-INTER or 3SIndep sing-FOC self 3SPos-INTER or how

Is someone else who is singing about her or is she singing about herself or what?

In some cases (here with an initial negative proposition), it is sufficient for an interrogative to mark the final proposition:

54)

Kóó í wūksèn só kóó mūm dōn báá é dàā bá/rá bèè tètèá?

kóó í wūksèn + ̄ só kóó mūm dōn báá é dàā + ī bārā bèè tètè-á

or 3P agree+T NEG or dispute other come M among+LOC space 3PPos there-INTER

Did they not get along or was there some argument between them?

The possibility nevertheless remains for the speaker to declare his own ignorance without any presupposition that his hearer is capable of making the proper choice on his behalf:

55)

Kóó "gàng nyāān tò má" /ràn vwàt nèé bū é sòsèy ī mót

kóó gàng nyāān tò má ān vwàt nèé bū é sòsèy ī mót

or chief horse whip DEM beat person PL M well LOC day

dééná kóó í vwārkèn é sòsèy òm jūbí, ī jèè dééná.

déén-á kóó í vwārkèn é sòsèy òm jūp-í ī jèè déén-á.

DEM-INTER or 3P hit M well cause cult-EXT LOC year DEM-INTER

[The origin of the name is unknown:] either chicken pox, known as "chief's horse whip" had struck many people or people were beating one other often in cult practices in those times.

Completive modal propositions are used for multiple choices:

56)

Sú/ú wòò, nòkūn nàà púú nyéng, kóó nākùm pén dōn só,

Sūū wòò nòk-í-m̄ nàà púú nyéng kóó nāk + ̄-m̄ pén dōn só

God want 1SIndep-EXT-1S in belly blood or do+T-1S thing other NEG

kóó bùm déén máá, jīmsì só.

kóó bùm déén máá jīmsì só

or place DEM TOP get_up NEG

God willed that, me being in the early months of pregnancy, either it did not not affect me or the spot did not swell up.

This example recalls that modalization is primarily of the *speaker's* choices, not those of the subject of the governing proposition, as additionally occurs in completives of verbs of knowing or thinking.

4.2.2. With topicalization

Topicalized multiple choice propositions are attested but infrequent:

57)

Sāā gàng tūū kóó gāān só máá,

sāā gàng tūū bà ták-ì gān sāā gàng tūū kóó gāān + ̄ só máá

net chief owner or get+T NEG TOP

kóó gó/ón nyēēnēn é só máá, gó/ón màān tākēn.

kóó góōn nyēēn + ̄-ēn é só máá góōn màā-ēn ták + ̄-ēn

or 3SIndep see+T-FOC M NEG TOP 3SIndep go-FOC stretch+T-INF

The head netter, even if he didn't take a place or didn't see the track, will nevertheless spread his net.

This example also exhibits the possibility of placing the modal marker after the nominal subject, which may be treated as topicalized with respect to the following main proposition.

Just as with single-choice modal marking, multiple-choice marking can be applied to terms of a proposition, either *in situ* or (more rarely) topicalized.

58)

Í bé wàà pǒǒ jǎāmēn bèè tètè, kǒǒ bé/é dá/á méém dǐng kǒǒ rī kūūn dǐng.

í bé wàà pǒǒ jǎām + ʔ-ēn bèè tètè kǒǒ béé dáā méém dǐng kǒǒ ī kūūn dǐng

3P M PROG grass stand+T-INF 3PPos there or M father children type or LOC matriclan type

They conduct their hunts by bush fire ("waiting for the bush") either by patriclan or by matriclan.

As usual, topicalization of individual terms, one by one, requires preposition:

59)

Kǒǒ à dàā JàngPúlì máá, kǒǒ dā KúrúmJí/í máá, òn màà mèè só.

kǒǒ à dàā + ī JàngPúlì máá kǒǒ dāt KúrúmJí máá òn màà mèè só

or LOC down+LOC village TOP or on village TOP 1S go 1SBen NEG

Down to JangPuli or even up to KurumJii, I couldn't make it. [KJ lies closer than JP on the same road (the latter being down on the other side of a hill).]

But *in situ* marking may also occur within topicalized propositions:

60)

ʔAán á bānēn kǒǒ dēn bé/é yàà bārā kǒǒ ā bāān bōnō bǒǒ,

áán á bānēn kǒǒ dēn béé yàà bārā kǒǒ ī bāān bōnō bǒǒ

DEM 1P meet or rather M compound space or LOC farm road TOP

dá/á mè, é sēmén sīná?

dáā mèè é sēmén sīn-á

father 1SPos M good just-INTER

Even if we met just before in the street or on the way to farm, [she says,] is everything alright, father?

4.2. First alternative unmarked

It may be assumed that those cases of multiple choice which delete the modal marker from the first term of the series of alternatives can be attributed, mere simplification aside, to language contact, probably with French or English in the first instance, but also with local languages such as Hausa which may themselves have imported this structure from a colonial language.

61)

Méém bū í mà mūm lāsēēn kǒǒ í mà yàà bārēn.

méém bū ī mà mūm lāsì + ʔ-ēn kǒǒ í mà yàà bàt + ʔ-ēn

children PL 3P FUT mouth frighten+T-INF or 3P FUT leaf beat+T-INF

The young [boys] must cry out or make noise with branches.

Such examples are rarer than those which show marking of the first term, with the exception of set

phrases, particularly of the "tag" type: **kóó kàán bérá?** 'isn't that so? or am I wrong?'

62)

Nè-dèèn mà wūūn gà, gòngsí kèè é wàà Súū, kóó kàán bérá?

nèè-dèèn mà wúú + ⁻-èn gà gòngsí kèè é wàà Súū kóó kàán bérá

person-DEM FUT die+T-INF TOP breath 3SPos M with God or thus NEG-INTER

When that person dies, his soul will be with God, isn't that so?

This is not, however, the case with *in situ* term marking, where unmarked first terms are as frequent as, or more frequent than, marked ones.

63)

Í mà dūēn kàán kù mārò bā pōkēn bààn kóó pārà kóó nyénglí.

í mà dùù + ⁻-èn kàán kù mà-&´ò bà + ⁻pòk + ⁻-èn bààn kóó pārà kóó nyénglí

3P FUT forge+T-INF thus FACT FUT-FACT AUX+T become+T-INF hoe or axe or stick

They forge it so as to make it into a hoe or an axe or a digging stick.

The verbonominal portion of the future form is amenable to treatment in this way:

64)

Téém wèè mà gín vwārēn kóó gànggá vwārēn.

téém wèè mà gín vwàt + ⁻-èn kóó gànggá vwàt + ⁻-èn

heart 2SPos FUT drum beat+T-INF or drum beat+T-INF

Your heart will thump like a drum, vertical or double-headed.

The syntactic features of multiple choice remain applicable: rarity of topicalization and preferential use of the interrogative marker for true questions. The compound forms of **kóó**, **kóókùwá** and **kóókúamá**, are also plentiful in multiple choices with unmarked first term, often in the sense of synonymy, '*id est*'.

65)

Éēn, kù mākúm tút /jī kóókùwá júkà jī.

éēn kù mākì + -m túrī jī kóókùwá júkà jī

THAT 2SInd build+T-1SLog forge pot or bellows pot

...said, Make me a forge pot or a bellows pot.

When a compound form is used, deletion of the modal marker may even extend to all terms but the last.

66)

Bép /dá/án màà pén wàrí dōn só, nēyrà bààrá, nēyrà tárá,

béēp dáān màà pén wàrí dōn só nēyrà bààrá nēyrà tárá

money DEM go thing big other NEG naira two naira three

nēyrà nààsá kóókúamá nēyrà mūm nòòní.

nēyrà nààsá kóókúamá nēyrà mūm nòòní

naira four or also naira mouth one

Not very much money, two, three, four, maybe twenty Naira.

A choice of numbers is indeed often treated in this way, though a collective preposition is also

attested:

67)

ʔN nìm kǒǒ bààrá tá/rá gà...

n òm kǒǒ bààrá tárá gà

2S sing or two three TOP

If you could sing maybe two or three [songs]...

Modalization may be a sort of limited-scope afterthought in interrogatives:

68)

ʔI mà yětsé/én nyēm yàà téémè kǒǒ dìm kǒǒ?

í mà yětsì + ʔ-én nyēm yàà téém-è kǒǒ dìm kǒǒ

3P FUT circumcise+T-INF home compound heart-INTER or back enclosure

Do they circumcise inside a compound or outside?

Exceptionally, interrogative marking may be used to support the modal sense in the case of terms topicalized by simple preposition:

69)

Nèèn gàngá kǒǒ nèèn-jàng-gūmá kǒǒ nèèn gbāāná

nèèn gàng-á kǒǒ nèèn-jàng-gūm-á kǒǒ nèèn gbāān-á

preceptor chief-INTER or preceptor-throw-potash-INTER or preceptor officer-INTER

kǒǒ kǎbààná kǒǒ nèèn-sàà-pǒǒrí, góòn bũ í màān vwāsàān.

kǒǒ kǎbàng-á kǒǒ nèèn-sàà-pǒǒ-í góòn bũ í mà-én vwātsì-à-én

or ?-INTER or preceptor-stroll-grass-EXT 3SIndep PL 3P FUT-FOC beat-2S-INF

The head preceptor, the salting preceptor, the bell-ringing preceptor, or the hunting preceptor, these are the ones who will beat you.

5. Complex utterances

Given the variety of possible uses of **kǒǒ**, it is not unusual to find combinations of them in a single utterance:

70)

ʔA wòò nyīn dènéèn kǒǒ dōn gà, ā à wāāwéēn sārēn

á wòò nyíí + ʔ-én dènéèn kǒǒ dōn gà ā mà wāāwì + ʔ-én sát + ʔ-én

1P want know+T-INF IRR or other TOP 2S FUT be_able+T-INF speak+T-INF

pén dōn dā nè-bũ dá/án kǒǒ dā dá/á kèè.

pén dōn dāt nèé-bũ dáān kǒǒ dāt dáā kèè

thing other on person-PL DEM or on father 3SPos

It would help if we knew if perhaps you can tell us something about those people or about her father.

Kǒǒ is here found both as the modal marker of a completive proposition and as the marker of multiple choice between circumstantial phrases.

6. The gender factor

Men, particularly educated men, speak in this way rather frequently (though this is an extreme example):

71)

Kú má bándà géēn máá, kóó dèn í mà nèksé/én ī káwè máān

kú má bándà géēn máá kóó dèn í mà nèksì + ' -ēn ī káwè máān

also except 3InanIndep TOP or rather 3P FUT prepare+T-INF LOC village any

kóó bōnō nèksēēn béēn kóókú má wāwrò bé/éní,

kóó bōnō nèksì + ' -ēn béēn kóókú má wāwrò béēn-í

or road prepare+T-INF M or well M-EXT

sāāmēn wókī kóókú má pámpò wókī.

sāām + ' -ēn wókī-í kóókú má pámpò wókī-í

find+T-INF water-EXT or pump water-EXT

Besides [Fulfulde and Hausa grammatical items, CD pronoun], they could [alternative **dèn**] make, in some village or other [Hausa noun, CD interrogative as choice quantifier], maybe [**kóó** for possibility, modal **béēn** for shared eventuality] make a road or dig a well [**kóó kú má** for equivalence, one as good as the other], get water, I mean [**kóó kú má** for equivalence], pump water.

Women (whatever their level of education) speak in this way (but rarely):

72)

Kúllúm déy ī gégéfi, ī Pōlà gégéfi kóókú má m̀ mà

kúllúm déy ī gégéfi ī Pōlà gégéfi kóókú má m̀ mà

always indeed LOC side LOC village side or 1S FUT

sārāān ǹ nóón, ī Yáám, ī gégéfi ràán DààJèrà

sát + ' -à-ēn m̀ nóó ī Yáám ī gégéfi àán DààJèrà

speak+T-2S-INF 1S say LOC patriclan LOC side DEM river

mūm àán gà, lán sí bèè gà, páng bèè Yáám būū.

mūm àán gà lán sí bèè gà páng bèè Yáám būū

edge DEM TOP cooperation 3PPos TOP take_path M patriclan PL

Invariably around here, around Pola side [starting in Hausa, only CD locative **ī**], or let me say [in CD], in Yaam country, on the side [retaining the Hausa lexical item] which is [known as] DààJèrà River Bank, their **lán sí** links them to the Yaam clan.

7. Final remarks

The notion of "possibility" must be nuanced to provide for the expression of the possible or the virtual as opposed to the real on the one hand, and the expression of speaker's and/or hearer's uncertainty on the other. **Kóó** lies within the province of the latter.

Uncertainty is related to choice: it involves either not knowing what to choose or doubting whether a given choice is correct.

The peculiarity of **kóó** which must contribute to its usefulness is its ability to federate within the meaning range of a single morpheme a wide variety of choice situations. It is thus able to draw into its sphere, perhaps in some sense to "govern", a variety of preexisting choice markers. Indeed,

it already does this in Hausa by compounding with *kuma* and *kuwa*.

Among the most important morphemes expressing choice are the interrogative substitutes and the "yes-or-no" interrogative markers. These markers must already have had a dual function in CD before any introduction of **kóó**. Hence, the use of any interrogative element does imply that a question is being asked, and it is possible to ask a question without recourse to an express interrogative. It seems that interrogation is essentially discursive rather than lexical or syntactic. This phenomenon seems to be particularly evident in CD, more so, perhaps, than in other languages (such as Zande).

Choice is also frequently seen to be *de dicto* in sense: it expresses the equivalence of two expressions ("or I might say") and the relation of the particular to the general ("for example, to be specific"). This may account for its association with terms meaning 'also'.

Raymond Boyd
CNRS-LLACAN
January 2009