THE KANURI ASSOCIATIVE POSTPOSITION:
A CASE FOR SUBORDINATION[*]

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The paper deals with the associative postposition in the Saharan
SOV language, Kanuri. A unified analysis of all of the environ-
ments in the language in which this morpheme (or its homophone)
occurs is presented. An explanation is provided for the uses of
the associative in existential predicates, phrases of accompani-
ment, noun phrase conjunction, etc. It is proposed that the
same postposition occurs as a topic marker and as a subordinat-
ing conjunction for a wide range of adverbial clauses. Its use
to mark direct object pronouns is related to its function as a
topic marker, and thus it is argued that Kanuri has no accusa-
tive case marker. The paper ends by underlining the signifi-
cance of the proposed relation between topic constructions and
certain adverbial clause constructions (including conditionals)
in Kanuri, since similar relations have recently been document-
ed for other languages.

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1. Introduction

     It is the purpose of this paper to present a linguistic description of the
full range of syntactic environments in which the Kanuri associative postposi-
tion +(C+)à occurs and to use this description to explain the seemingly in-
congruous spectrum of roles that it assumes. Because of the apparent incon-
gruity of one morpheme having all of the functions described here, earlier
treatments of Kanuri grammar have proposed instead three or four different
morphemes. Among the titles ascribed to the various morphemes, here described
as one, are those of a suffix to the noun producing derived adjectives, a con-
junction joining noun phrases, an accusative case marker, and a conditional
clause subordinator. At the level of the postpositional phrase, some of its
most obvious functions suggest its designation as a "comitative case marker",
and only in a recent treatment of Kanuri syntax did it come to be referred to
as the "associative postposition" [Hutchison 1976:12]. It will here be demon-
strated that this postposition functions not only at the level of the post-
positional phrase but also as a subordinating conjunction in an interesting
variety of subordinate clause constructions of Kanuri. The paper will con-
centrate on an effort to establish a basic meaning for the associative mor-
pheme and to show how this meaning predictably interacts with constituents in
the various syntactic environments in which it occurs. Thus all of the mean-
ings that it takes on in translation will be shown to be predictable reflexes
of its basic meaning and a given syntactic environment.

     The suggestion that these functions are all carried out by one morpheme
in Kanuri should not be surprising given the many such unseeming relationships
that have been documented in so many other languages. In Bambara, for example,
the conjunction ni 'and' has a number of comitative functions. When it in-
troduces a postpositional phrase it takes on various associative, means, and
semi-instrumental meanings. When it occurs in construction-initial position
before a clause, it functions as a subordinating conjunction translatable in
English by 'if ...'. In Hausa, the morpheme dà has all (and more) of the
comitative meanings at the phrase level, including associative, instrumental,
means, existential, and also a variety of crucial functions at the clause/
sentence level. The latter include the introduction of relative clauses, tem-

poral completive 'when' clauses, certain 'since' and 'because' type clauses, and other roles as well [Abraham 1968:153-55]. According to Abraham, at least, all of these functions are carried out by one morpheme dà .

In English, the functions of the words 'with', 'if', and 'when' are rather exclusively restricted, limited to specific syntactic environments, with little if any overlap. It should be noted, however, that the preposition 'with' does also function like a subordinator when it introduces reduced subordinated clauses with nonfinite verb forms as in 'with Sally gone, we were finally able to relax'. This is nearly synonymous with 'since Sally had gone, we were finally able to relax'. In general, however, the existence in languages like English of the subordinating conjunctions 'when' and 'if', the associative/instrumental 'with', and the correlative conjunction 'and', may contribute to the feeling of the apparent unlikelihood that these and other meanings could be handled by a single morpheme in a given language, as will be proposed here with regard to the Kanuri associative.

2. Kanuri Typology and the Phonology of the Associative

Kanuri is a Saharan language of the Nilo-Saharan family and is a strict verb-final language. With very few exceptions, the SOV order is maintained throughout, with OSV being the only permissible variant in most environments. Kanuri has a complete system of postpositions and no prepositions. Among the postpositions are those which also function as subordinating conjunctions and complementizers, always in clause or embedded sentence final position. In noun phrases, the head noun precedes, with possessives, adjectives, and determiners following, usually in that order. Thus in relative clause constructions the order is 1) head nouns, 2) relative clause, 3) determiners. Matrix sentences are normally preceded by their complements and subordinate clauses. The associative postposition will be shown to be one of the postpositions which also functions as a subordinating conjunction.

The wide range of English translations that the associative takes on as a function of different syntactic environments is comparable to that of dà in Hausa. However, Hausa dà is always phonologically autonomous and easily recognizable in all of its occurrences. In Kanuri, the inherent typological ordering and the phonology of the associative combine to make it more diffi-

cult to consistently distinguish the Kanuri associative morpheme. The pleth-
ora of suffixes and the inevitable stacking of determiners, adjectives, post-
positions, and subordinators at the end of words, phrases and clauses, make
it sometimes virtually impossible to distinguish certain morphemes. The pho-
nological shape of the associative contributes greatly to this problem.

The basic phonological structure of the associative can be depicted as
+(C+)à , but the phonetic realization of this basic form is conditioned by
the final element of the preceding morpheme. After a final consonant, the
(C+) of the associative +(C+)à assimilates to the consonant preceding it.

(1) kû   kàsâm +mà   'it is breezy today'
     today breeze ASSOC

After a front vowel the (C+) is realized as the semivowel y :

(2) njî   +à   (njîyà)   'it is raining'
     water ASSOC

After a back vowel, (C+) is realized as the semivowel w :

(3) kámú+nzə́ súró   +à   (súrówà)   'his wife is pregnant'
     wife his stomach ASSOC

After a central vowel, (C+) has no phonetic realization:

(4) yîm lâdə̀ +à   'on Sunday'
     day Sunday ASSOC

In the Standard Kanuri Orthography (SKO), the associative is written simply
as +à after any vowel, as in 2-4 above, and as +à after the assimilated
geminate consonant after any consonant final morpheme, as in 1 above. It is
always written as part of the word to which it is suffixed.

3. Syntax and Semantics of the Associative in the Simple Sentence

The underlying unity of most of the "meanings" taken on by the associa-
tive postposition is made apparent in this section. That it in some way
predicates the existence of the noun phrase it marks and usually relates
that noun phrase to some other constituent is the common characteristic of
its meaning in the simplest as well as the most highly restricted syntactic
environment described here. It is relational and in many environments de-
termines the syntactic and semantic relationship between two noun phrases.

The analysis begins with examples in which the associative occurs in sentence-final position, having the entire sentence within its syntactic scope. The discussion then proceeds to examine and relate the meanings of the associative in more restricted environments, with its progressively restricted syntactic scope reflected in its meaning. In each of the following subsections, the phrase structure of the construction type under consideration is presented schematically, and this is followed by a discussion with relevant examples.[1]

3.1. <u>The associative postposition as a predicate of existence</u>.

PS: S = NP ASSOC, where normally NP = N

The constituent structure under consideration here allows for one NP, which is the subject of such a construction, and the associative postposition, which functions as the predicate. While this syntactic environment does not represent the most common use of the associative, it does reveal its basic existential meaning in a clearly unencumbered environment. The meanings that it takes on in more intricate syntactic environments can be understood on the basis of its syntactic role and meaning in this very basic context.

(5) tə̀mâ+à   'there is hope'
     hope ASSOC

(6) njî +à   'there is water, it is raining'
     water ASSOC

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[1]Throughout the paper, the following abbreviations are used in the text and in glossing the examples.

ASSOC	associative postposition	1S	first person singular
+	morpheme boundary	2S	second person singular
PS	phrase structure	3S	third person singular
NP	noun phrase	1P	first person plural
N	noun	2P	second person plural
S	sentence	3P	third person plural
SKO	Standard Kanuri Orthography	NEG	negative
ADV	adverb	DET	determiner +dó
POSS	possessive pronoun suffix	IMPER	imperative
IMPERF	imperfect verb aspect	OBJ	object
PRF	perfect verb aspect	VP	verb phrase
PST	past tense		

(7) dàlîl +là   'there is a reason'
     reason ASSOC

(8) kâusù+à   'there is heat, it is hot out'
     heat ASSOC

(9) njî +à; ránggè   ísàkànyí   'it was raining; I couldn't come'
            can/1S SEQ come/1S NG PRF

Since no constituents precede the associative postpositional phrase in exam-
ples (5-9), the existence of the associative marked noun phrase is predicat-
ed in relation to the world, nature, the universe, etc. Thus in such non-
verbal environments, the syntactic scope of the associative postposition is
the entire sentence.

     When preceded by an adverbial of time or place, associative predicates
like those in (5-9) are thereby qualified. The PS of such constructions can
be depicted as S = ADV NP ASSOC. In this environment, the existence or
presence of the associative marked NP is no longer in association with the
universe but rather related only to the time or place described by the ad-
verbial. Such constructions assert that the time or place is characterized
by the associative marked NP.

     Preceded by a time adverbial, this construction is often used to des-
cribe the weather at a given time, or any other prevalent or existing condi-
tion.

(10) kû   kákù+à   'it is cold out today'
      today cold ASSOC

(11) kómóndè kànâ +à   'there is hunger/famine this year'
      this year hunger ASSOC

(12) kû   sálà+à   wá?   'is there prayer today?'
      today prayer ASSOC Q

     Preceded by a locative expression, this construction is used to describe
something which characteristically exists in a place. Such constructions
may have a possessive connotation as is demonstrated in (13).[2]

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     [2]Lukas [1937:23] treated examples of the type included in this section
as instances of "derived adjectives".

(13) nâ +nzə̂+n kúngə́nà+à   'there is money at his place/he has
      place his at money   ASSOC   got money'

(14) ngàwùrè+nzə̂+n kánnú+à   'its tail is on fire'
      tail   its at fire ASSOC

(15) fân +nzə̂+n kàsâm+mà   'it is breezy at his house'
      house his at breeze ASSOC

(16) gə̀dí kànádí +bè+làn zánnà+à
      source patience of at paradise ASSOC

      'there is paradise at the source of patience'

Another way in which the predicates of existence here under consideration
may be qualified is by a preceding NP. The PS of such constructions can be
depicted as S = NP_x NP_y ASSOC, where NP_y + N_y (+$POSS_x$). The possess-
ive suffix which may modify N_y is coreferential with the construction-initial
NP_x. Here the associative predicate of existence asserts the existence of
NP_y in association with NP_x. Further, when $POSS_x$ occurs, the associative as-
serts the existence of NP_y either as a possession of NP_x or as a character-
istic of NP_x. This syntactic environment produces sentences describing phy-
sical sensations, (pre)occupation, ownership, or possession.

(17) a. Módù kə̀nâ+à   'Modu is hungry'
             hunger ASSOC

     b. Módù kə̀nâ+nzə́+à   'Modu is hungry'
                     his

     c. (shí) kə̀nâ+nzə́+à   '(he) he is hungry'

(18) wújìr+nyí+à   'I am on business/I have got business to do'

(19) nyâ+nzə́+à   'he has his plans/he intends to do so'

(20) cídà+ndé+à   'we have work to do/we are busy'

In environments like the above involving a noun of physical sensation or
(pre)occupation, the construction with the possessive suffix is apparently
synonymous with that without it.

In describing ownership and possession, the associative predicates the
existence of N_y with its owner NP_x. NP_x may be represented by $POSS_x$ within
NP_y. The occurrence of $POSS_x$, with or without NP_x, implies NP_x's title to
or ownership of N_y. In the following example, in the absence of $POSS_x$, tem-
porary possession is implied.

(21) (kû) Módù kèké+à   'Modu has a bicycle (today)'

In 21, permanent ownership or title is not entailed, whereas it is in examples
22 and 23.

(22) Módù kèké+nzó+à   'Modu has/owns a bicycle'

(23) kû Módù kèké+nzó+à   'Modu has his bicycle with him today'

When the coreferent antecedent NP_x is a personal pronoun, the independent
pronoun in construction-initial position becomes optional, and is normally
omitted in non-emphatic environments.

(24) kèké+nzó+à   'he has/owns a bicycle'

(25) (nyí) fâr+nóm+mà   wá?   'do you have/own a horse?'
      horse your ASSOC

(26) àwó +nóm +mà   'you own things/you are well off'
      thing your ASSOC

(27) férò ádè kwâ   +nzó +à   'this girl is married/has her husband'
      girl this husband her ASSOC

(28) kâm ádè dímì +nzó mìyâ +à 'this man owns one hundred sheep'
      man this sheep his 100 ASSOC

This same constituent structure may be used for descriptive purposes when no
question of ownership or title is involved. In such cases, the coreferent
$POSS_x$ is unnecessary and normally omitted.

(29) délá yámgà   búltù +bè +à   'the jackal has the audacity of the hyena'
      jackal audacity hyena of ASSOC

(30) kámú+nzó súró   +à   'his wife is pregnant (has a stomach)'
      wife his stomach ASSOC

3.2. The associative postpositional phrase within the noun phrase.

$$PS:\ NP_x\ =\ N_x\ N_y\ ASSOC$$

     The constituent structure of the noun phrases treated in this section
normally occurs in the environment of a verbal sentence. N_x in this struc-
ture is characteristically without any determiner element, in its role as
head noun of the noun phrase. Any noun phrase determiners occur after the
associative postposition, as do any function markers indicating the function

of the entire noun phrase in the verbal sentence. When the associative oc-
curs within a noun phrase constituent, the existence of the associative mark-
ed N_y is predicated in association with the antecedent noun N_x, and thus the
associative postpositional phrase functions attributively to describe that
head noun antecedent. The syntactic scope of the associative is clearly not
sentential in this environment and is thus limited to the realm of the noun
phrase. The implication is that of an N_x characterized by, existing with,
or possessing an N_y.

It is this use of the associative which led previous authors to analyze
this postposition as a suffix used to derive adjectives from nouns. Nouns
marked with the associative and functioning in the syntactic environment de-
scribed here as modifiers, were described as "derived adjectives".[3] Such
observations were indeed true, especially since they were often made in ref-
erence to an obvious group of nouns having convenient adjectival counter-
parts in other languages. A typical, often-cited example is the Kanuri equiv
alent of 'hungry', which is kə̀nâ+à , the "derived adjective" form of kə̀nâ
'hunger'. Similarly, kə̀nə̂m+mà 'sleepy' is the "derived adjective" of
kə̀nə̂m 'sleep'. It was usually the case in such descriptions that this was
represented as a unique morphological process, productive for a limited set
of nouns. No unified relationship was recorded between the suffix forming
an adjective from a noun and the great variety of other environments in
which a homophonous morpheme occurred. It is clear from the following exam-
ples, showing head nouns with associative marked modifiers, that in fact any
noun can occupy the N_y position and thus take on the modifier role.

(31) tádà kə̀nâ +à   'a hungry child'
     child hunger ASSOC

(32) làshá   hêr+rà   'a peaceful evening meal'
     evening meal peace ASSOC

(33) shíllówù ngàwùrè+à   'a shooting star (with a tail)'
     star   tail ASSOC

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[3]Lukas [1937:22-23] refers to the associative phrases described in this
section as "derived adjectives" and presented a great many examples. Like-
wise Cyffer [1974:32-33] presented examples and termed them "Adjektivierte
Nominalphrase".

(34) nâ   njî   dùrò kəskê+à   'a place with/having plentiful rain-
      place water falling easy ASSOC   fall'

(35) kâm kámú+nzə́ dégə́+sò kúngə́nà+à   'a man all four of whose wives have
      man wife his four all money ASSOC money'

(36) màará súrô+n   âm   +mà   'an airplane with people inside it'
      plane inside at people ASSOC

When the associative is applied within the noun phrase to the negative
bâ 'there is/are not', the meaning is 'without' or 'not having'.

(37) kâm kənâ   bâ +à   +də́   'the man without hunger (well off)'
      man hunger NEG ASSOC DET

(38) kâm àwó   bâ +à   +də́   'the man who has nothing'
      man thing NEG ASSOC DET

(39) shí bâ +à   +də́   'the one without it/that doesn't
      it NEG ASSOC DET   have any'

(40) bə́rì núwà +nə́m bâ +à   +də́   'the meal in which you have no share'
      meal share your NEG ASSOC DET

Noun phrases having an adverbial meaning are produced with this same con-
stituent structure when the noun 'day' and/or the names of the days of the
week occur in the possible noun positions. The slightly altered PS of such
constructions can be depicted as $NP_{adv} = (N_x)\ NP_y$ ASSOC. The NP_y position
is often occupied by the name of a day of the week, in which case the head
noun yîm 'day' may be omitted in the N_x position.

(41) yîm lâdə̀ +à   ísəkìn   'I will come on Sunday'
      day Sunday ASSOC come/1S IMPERF

(42) sə́bdə̀   +à   lèjîn   'he will go on Saturday'
      Saturday ASSOC go/3S IMPERF

(43) (yîm) làtəlîn +nà   'on Monday'
       day Monday   ASSOC

(44) yîm+də́+à   'on that day'

(45) yîm fə̂r ádə̀ núnà   +à   +də́ 'on the day that this horse died'
      day horse this die/3S PRF ASSOC DET

(46) yîm də́bdò+à   ásàr   'it was in the afternoon around
           afternoon ASSOC   asar time'

(47) (dùnyâ) gə́lágə̀ +à   'next year, in a year'
       world   year   ASSOC

3.2.1. <u>The associative in noun phrases of counting and measuring</u>. The constituent structure of the noun phrases treated in this subsection is again NP = NP_x NP_y ASSOC. Here the difference in meaning results purely from lexical selection, since N_x and N_y are nouns of measurement, monetary quantity, and number. In this context, the N_x position is taken by a number or a counted noun describing money, telling time, or a measured quantity. The N_y position is taken by a number. N_y thus exists with N_x, but since it is a number, it is in addition to N_x. It is often the case that N_x describes whole measurable units and N_y the fractions or additional uneven parts of whole units.

(48) nâirà fál kówò fyúwù+à   'one naira and fifty kobo'

(49) nâirà úwù súlè ìndí+à   'five naira and two shillings'

(50) fâm ìndí súlè mèwû+n wùskû+n+nà 'two pounds and eighteen shillings'

(51) sâ mèwú míntì mèwû+n wùskû+n+nà '10:18 o'clock'

(52) sâ mèwú rétà+à   'half past ten'

In a marketing situation, this same constituent structure is used to express the notion of 'worth' in measuring piled quantities of produce, etc. Here in the modifier function, the associative postpositional phrase describes the worth of the measured quantity, which is the head noun antecedent in N_x position.

(53) ádà kártà súlè   ndàwú   +à   'how many shillings is this pile/
      this pile shilling how much ASSOC measure worth?'

(54) kártà súlè ìndí+à   'a two shilling pile/measure'

If N_y occurs in this environment without its antecedent N_x, the associative postpositional phrase may take on the function of the entire noun phrase.

(55) súlè+à   'a shilling's worth'

Genitive and possessive constructions of Kanuri involve the use of the genitive postposition +bè , as in fátò Músà+bè 'Musa's house', kártà lùwásàr+bè 'a pile of onions'. To demonstrate the inherent difference in this environment between the genitive and the associative postpositions, it should be noted that with +bè , the noun phrase kártà súlè ìndí+bè would

mean literally 'two shilling coins in a pile', whereas with the associative, kə́rtə̀ súlè ìndí+à means 'a two shillings-worth pile'. One can however use the genitive to connote 'worth' if the number is repeated, as in kə́rtə̀ súlè ìndí ìndí+bè .

Idiomatically, associative marked numbers occur in the expressions kə̀lâ fál+là 'having one head' and cî tìlⓞ́+à 'having one mouth' and take on the meaning 'at once' or 'at one blow'. Here the indirect postposition +rò is suffixed to these expressions to render them adverbial in this context.

(56) jìlwá ìndí kə̀lâ fál+là+rò   sétà
     rats two   cî tìló+à+rò   catch/3S PST

     'he caught two rats at one blow'

3.2.2. <u>The associative in "someone else" constructions</u>. Again in this sub-section, an attributive associative phrase follows a head noun antecedent within the noun phrase. Here, however, the second noun position is always filled by one of the generic human nouns kâm 'person' or its plural âm 'people'. The resulting associative phrase has a genitive-like meaning and refers to something that either belongs to another person or is an inalienable body part, in the generic sense, belonging to all people. Inside of the NP, the associative predicates a person or people to be co-existing with the head noun and thus implies that the head noun has a person associated with it, i.e. belongs to or is part of someone.

(57) fátò̀ kâm+mà   'someone's/someone else's house'
(58) shîm kâm +mà +làn   'in the presence of others/in someone
     eye person ASSOC in   else's eyes'

Because of the generic sense and application of such associative phrases, they occur frequently in the context of Kanuri proverbs.

(59) shîm kâm+mà+dⓞ́,   kàzáà+à   'other people's eyes, they have
     eye person ASSOC DET spear ASSOC   spears'

(60) múskò kâm+mà+yè   nâ ràámmà   zə̀gámbìnbâ
     hand   AGENT want/2S PRF scratch/3S NG IMPERF

     'another person's/someone else's hand never scratches the place you
     want'

The fact that the syntactic scope of the associative in these constructions is within the noun phrase is shown by the occurrence of the determiner in (59) and the agentive postposition +yè in (60).

As was observed with regard to the examples in 3.4.1, here also if N$_x$ does not occur, then the associative postpositional phrase may take on the function of the entire noun phrase.

(61) kâm+mà   'of or about someone else/other people'

(62) kâm+mà ngə́wù+rò mànànə́mîn   'you talk a lot of other people'
            a lot   talk/2S IMPERF

3.2.3. <u>The associative within conjoined noun phrases</u>.

PS: NP = NP$_x$ ASSOC NP$_y$ ASSOC (NP$_o$ ASSOC)

Within complex noun phrases containing a series of conjoined noun phrases, all of the conjoined constituents are marked with the associative postposition.[4] Thus, while the scope of the associative postposition is still limited to being within the noun phrase, there is no head noun/modifier relationship since all are associative-marked. The existence predicated by the associative is applied to each noun phrase and therefore equal co-existence is implied.[5]

(63) Módù+à Kàshîm+mà kàsúwù+rò lèyádà   'Modu and Kashim went to the market'
            market to go/3P PST

(64) Álì+à Shèttímà+à rókkó   lèzâi   'Ali and Shettima will go together'
            together go/3P IMPERF

(65) mátò+làn lètə́+à màará+làn lètə́+à gàdé
      car by going plane by going different

      'traveling by car and traveling by plane are quite different'

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  [4]In this environment, when the associative postposition is suffixed to two or more conjoined NPs, the SKO requires that a hyphen be used to indicate each use of the associative and that final consonant gemination not be shown. For the purposes of this paper however, I will violate the convention in order to consistently show the ASSOC as a single morpheme.

  [5]Lukas described the morpheme -à as a "correlative conjunction" used to conjoin a series of words [1937:145-146]. In his section *"Zusammengesetzte Nominalphrasen"*, Cyffer refers to the use of the associative to conjoin words as an instance of his *"kopulative Morphem"* [1974:46]. Cyffer does allude to the possible relation between his *"Adjektivierungsmorphem"* -wà and his *"kopulative Morphem"* [1974:46-47].

(66) kámú+à kwâ+à+só lèfàjîn   'he greets both women and men'
      woman man   both greet/3S IMPERF

Two or more members of an associative-conjoined series may occur together
with a plural verb form in the passive-reflexive derivation. This derivation,
with its characteristic t affix, results in intransitive meanings derived
from underlying transitive verbs. Thus in the following examples we are
again dealing with the conjoined subjects of an intransitive proposition
structurally, even though the meanings are reciprocal. If one of the noun
phrases in such a reciprocal series is a pronoun, it is normally omitted.

(67) Músà+à Fántà+à lèfàtánà   'Musa and Fanta greeted each other'

(68) Músà+à túrúiyénà   'Musa and I saw each other/we and
                                        Musa saw one another'

(69) bálì túrúiyèn   'we will see each other tomorrow'

In verbless environments, the conjoined noun phrases may be used to ex-
press relationships of similarity and difference between two noun phrases.

(70) kàánzà+à kàkkê+à gàdègàdé   'his and mine are different'

3.2.4. The associative in noun phrases expressing direction.

        PS: NP = N_x N_y (ASSOC) LOC ASSOC, where N_y is a place noun

Examples involving the above structure appear to be somewhat idiomatic in
Kanuri, while still being quite productive. In its most productive use, the
N_x position in this structure is filled by the noun kòlâ 'head'. Thus the
construction kòlâ kàsúwù+n+nà , which might literally be translated as 'a
head characterized by/having at the market' comes to mean 'towards the mar-
ket'. Some speakers consistently apply the associative postposition twice
in this environment, as is indicated by the (ASSOC) in the above schema.
They would thus prefer kòlâ kàsúwù+à+n+nà .

(71) kòlâ ndâ (+à) +n+nà?[6]   'where are you heading?/where to?'
      head where ASSOC at ASSOC

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    [6]Lukas referred to examples of this type involving the associative post-
position as instances of the "accusative suffix" [1937:20]. What Lukas and
others refer to as the "accusative case suffix" and record in the writing

(72) kə̀lâ sámì(+à)+n+nà   'upwards/towards the sky'

(73) kə̀lâ kə̀mbùrám+mìn+nà   'to the right/rightwards'

That we are here dealing with a noun phrase, and not with an oblique adverbial postpositional phrase is apparent from the examples in (74).

(74) a. kə̀lâ kàsúwù(+à)+n+nà lèngîn 'I am going towards the market'

   b. *kàsúwù(+à)+n+nà lèngîn

   c. kàsúwù+rò lèngîn   'I am going to the market'

   d. kàsúwù+mbèn lèngîn   'I am going through/via the market'

It is clear from (74b) that the combination of postpositions LOC+ASSOC do not function as normal adverbial oblique postpositions like those shown in (74c) and (74d). The use of the associative always entails association with something, and here the head noun kə̀lâ with which it is associated is not optional.

The nouns sə́dí and cídí , which both mean 'earth, ground', have each derived accreted noun forms through the affixation of the associative. Therefore the nouns sə́díà and cídíà have come to mean 'bottom, underneath'.

(75) kə̀lâ sə́díà(+à)+n+nà   'downwards/toward the bottom'

     kə̀lâ cídíà(+à)+n+nà

The directionality implied by this construction type may also be applied temporally, connoting direction in time.

(76) súwà+n tái kə̀lâ fúwù+n+à+só   'from morning onwards'
      morning grab   front   all

3.2.5. The associative postposition in participle formation.

     PS: NP = (NP$_x$) VP$_x$ ASSOC, where NP$_x$ is the subject of VP$_x$
                              and V of VP$_x$ is in the imperfect aspect

The associative postposition may be affixed to the imperfect aspect of

system as -gà is in fact phonologically and, in all of its occurrences, phonetically identical to the associative postposition being treated in this paper.

the verb to form a finite participle form.[7] This derived participle form al-
ways occurs dependently and usually describes an action which is simultane-
ous with the action of the subsequent matrix verb. The subject of the finite
participle form and that of the matrix verb are often identical. The Kanuri
imperfect aspect verb form, like all verb forms of the language, carries its
subject pronoun internally. Therefore, whether the subject of VP_x is mani-
fested independently or not in sentence-initial position, the associative
postposition, as in all of its uses here under consideration, predicates the
existence of the action of the imperfect aspect verb form, in relation to a
noun phrase, in this case its subject noun phrase. This imperfect action
thus exists or is going on simultaneously with the action of the following
matrix verb, which may be completive or imperfect. Here is the complete
paradigm for the verb bú+ 'eat':

1S	búkìn+nà ...	'(while) eating I ...'
2S	búmìn+nà ...	'(while) eating you ...'
3S	zə́wìn+nà ...	'(while) eating he/she ...'
1P	búiyèn+nà ...	'(while) eating we ...'
2P	búwì+à ...	'(while) eating you ...'
3P	záwìn+nà ...	'(while) eating they ...'

(77) tádà kèská +bè zə́wìn+nà   nápkònò
     son tree   of eat ASSOC he sat down

     'he sat down while eating a fruit'

(78) sàasâi+à   lèyádà   'they went away running'
     run/3PASSOC go/3P PST

    It is important to note that though this structure and its meaning lend
themselves to analysis as oblique adverbial phrases, they can in fact be re-
lated to the other modifying roles played by associative postpositional
phrases if the subject noun phrase is considered the head noun of a
noun phrase modified by the participle form.

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    [7]It should be noted that Koelle [1854:31-32] did relate this participle
use of my associative postposition to its use in the formation of what he
and Lukas after him referred to as "derived adjectives".

4. Functional Relation of the Associative Postpositional Phrase to Subject
    and Verb

The syntactic environments for the associative treated in this section
are separated from those described in section 3 because they are unique and
somewhat controversial. Some of the structures already analysed are re-exam-
ined here in verbal environments. In Kanuri, the following syntactic minimal
pair is possible, differing only with regard to the (in)transitivity of the
verb.

(79) tádà+nzə́+à kádìo   'she/he came with her/his child'
(80) tádà+nzə́+à cúrò[8]   'she/he saw her/his child'

In (79) the associative marked noun phrase is the companion of the subject,
and in (80) it is the object of the verb. In (79) the associative relates
the noun phrase to a pronominal subject. In (80) the associative is an ex-
ternal function marker, relating the NP of VP to the subject of the sentence
via the verb form.

It will be demonstrated that in the environment of an intransitive verb,
an associative marked NP functions either attributively to the subject NP,
or jointly with the subject NP, in carrying out the intransitive action. It
will be argued that in the environment of a transitive verb, the morpheme
which marks NP of VP (and is homophonous with the associative) is in fact the
associative postposition and not a different accusative-marking morpheme.
Furthermore, it will be argued that even though the intransitive and transi-
tive sentences may appear to have identical surface structures, the underly-
ing constituent structure of each entails that the associative marked NP be
part of the subject NP in the intransitive environment and NP of VP in the
transitive environment.

4.1. Associative marked NP of subject NP in intransitive environments.

                    PS: NP = PP, where PP is
                                    an associative postpositional phrase

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[8]Here the associative postposition is marking the direct object of the
verb 'see'. In all other treatments of Kanuri syntax this morpheme, which is
homophonous with the associative, has not been related to it. Thus in other
treatments, and according to the SKO, it is normally written as -gà . Here
I will write it as the associative postposition, which I believe it to be.

Kanuri is not a language which may express a "transitive" notion with an intransitive verb and an associative adpositional phrase ('come with' = 'bring' etc.). A plethora of distinct transitive verbs to express 'bring', 'take', 'carry', etc. exists and are preferred.

In reference to Hausa, Parsons [1962] referred to intransitive verbs taking the associative dà before a semantic direct object as "associative intransitive verbs". Members of that subset of intransitive verbs include mântaa dà 'forget', tunàa dà 'remember', kulàa dà 'look after', and rabàa dà 'break off with/from', among many others. According to Parsons and his pair of examples cited below, in the environment of certain intransitive verbs, change in constituent order may alter the semantic role of the object of a preposition from that of presumably oblique companion of the subject to that of understood direct object. He says:

> "The difference between an associative and an ordinary intransitive
> verb extended by dà plus nominal is seen clearly in: yaa zoo dà
> dansa makaranta 'he has brought his son to school' [lit: 'he has come
> with his son to school'], but yaa zoo makaranta dà maatarsa ['he has
> come to school with his wife']" [Parsons 1962:256; translations in
> brackets mine].

Thus in languages such as Hausa one might argue that an innately oblique preposition relates an NP to an intransitive verb and results in an essentially transitive interpretation.

In Kanuri this is not possible. Such constituent order changes in Kanuri can only result in a change of emphasis, topicality, etc. but not in a change in (in)transitivity. One clear and important distinction between the Kanuri associative postposition and comitative adpositions in other languages is that it does not function as the marker of instrumentals. The locative +(là)n (Lukas' "ablative" case marker) functions as the means/instrumental marker. The associative functions to associate noun phrases, and it is this which explains its not occurring as an oblique part of the verb phrase in the intransitive context. An associative-marked NP can only bear an oblique modifying relationship to a preceding NP, not to a verb. Nevertheless it is safe to point out here that the occurrence of the associative in (80), tádànzôà cúrò 'she saw her child', is not a case of an extension of the func-

tion of the associative based on its comitative role in (79), tádànzɔ́à kádìo
'she came with her child', where it indicates the companion of the subject.

In section 3, variations on the basic structure (NP(+ASSOC)) NP+ASSOC
were examined in different contexts. We are here dealing with the same
structure, but as it occurs in the simple verbal sentence. Because NPs ex-
hibiting this surface structure may come from different underlying structures,
a slight range of ambiguity may result as is the case in (81).

(81) a.   kámú+nzɔ́ tádà+nzɔ́+à   kádìo[9]
           wife his child her ASSOC come 3S PST

           (i)   'his wife came with her child'
           (ii)   'his wife that has a child came'

     b.   kámú+nzɔ́+dɔ́ tádà+nzɔ́+à kádìo   'that wife of his came with her
                   DET   child'

     c.   kámú+nzɔ́ tádà+nzɔ́+à+dɔ́ kádìo   'his wife that has a child came'
                              DET

     d.   kámú+nzɔ́+dɔ́, tádà+nzɔ́+à+dɔ́, kádìo   'that wife of his, the one that
                   DET   DET   has a child, came'

Readings (81a, i and ii) are structurally disambiguated in (81b) and
(81c) respectively. They represent two variations on the underlying complex
noun phrase structure. In (81b) the head noun phrase is set off with a de-
terminer and is modified by the following postpositional phrase, as in NP =
NP PP, whereas in (81c), the head noun cannot be marked by a determiner
since it is functioning as the head of a restrictive relative clause con-
struction. There the associative postpositional phrase is part of the de-
terminer element of the complex NP and comes from an underlying sentential
relative clause.[10] In (81d) the pauses and determination of both parts of
the complex NP indicate an appositive non-restrictive relative clause con-

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[9]In (81a), one could argue that the implication is that the wife
"brought" her child, but only to the same degree that this is implied by its
English translation.

[10]The analysis I have presented to distinguish the underlying structure
of such pairs differs from that proposed by Cyffer [1974:32]. He treats ex-
amples like (81c) as relative clauses, just as I have proposed. However, he
considers the postpositional phrase of accompaniment in (81b) to be an ob-
lique constituent of the verb phrase, thus an adverbial constituent rather
than a modifier of the subject noun phrase as I have proposed.

struction.

Equal accompaniment, without the dependence relationship of examples like (81a), is reflected with a plural verb form and co-existing conjoined subject NPs, each marked by the associative postposition.

(82) Módù+à tádà+nzə́+à(só) kashò   '(both) Modu and his child came'
         child his all come/3P PST

In the environment of a plural verb form, if one of the coordinated NPs in the series is a pronoun and omitted, then the utterance may be ambiguous (when taken out of context) between the dependent accompaniment reading and the equal accompaniment reading. In (83a) the omitted anaphorically understood pronoun is shown in parentheses. In (83d), a singular verb form is required.

(83) a. (sàndí) tádà+nzə́+à káshò   'they came with his child'
           they

     b. (sàndí+à) tádà+nzə́+à káshò   'they and his child came'

     c. (shí+à) tádà+nzə́+à káshò   'he and his son came'
           he

     d. *(shí) tádà+nzə́+à káshò

In (84), the implication is either one of accompaniment by his wife or one of the state of having a wife, i.e. of being married.

(84) kámú+nzə́+à   lèwónò   'he went with his wife/he went married'
      wife his ASSOC go/3S PST

4.2. <u>Major constituent marking by the postpositions</u>. Though a number of authors have described what have been referred to as the "nominative" and "accusative" case suffixes of Kanuri, there has yet to appear a satisfactory scientific explanation of their nature or of when they are and are not required to mark major noun phrase constituents in verbal sentences. Koelle [1854:173-174] described the "accusative" as follows:

> "The accusative termination which seems to be often short, is as frequently omitted as it is used, because this case can generally be easily known from the context, even without distinction of form. It is especially under the following circumstances that the accusative termination can be omitted, without producing the slightest ambiguity -

> 1. When the subject is distinguished by the nominative termination - .
> 2. When the subject stands before the object and verb - ...
> 3. When the objective inflection of the verb points out the accusative - ..."

Similarly, Lukas [1937:17] introduced the "nominative" and "accusative" cases by stating,

> "The nominative and accusative suffixes (-ye , -ga) are often omitted; they must be used, however, if the word-order would otherwise cause ambiguity, i.e. if it is not clear which noun is subject and which object ..."

When discussing "word-order" and the "use of the case-suffixes" he states,

> "The nominative suffix is often omitted. The accusative suffix is often omitted, though not with personal pronouns ... But it is sometimes advisable, and sometimes even necessary to use at least one of these suffixes if (1) It would not otherwise be clear from the word-order what is subject and what is object ... (2) If the subject is followed by a qualified object, ..." [1937:149]

Cyffer referred to them both as *"Funktionsmorphem"* [1974:44-45] and presented a similar explanation, adding that the *"Funktionsmorpheme"* is always deleted "wenn das Objekt ein Interrogative-Morphem als Zentrum oder als nominale Erweiterung enthält" [1974:108]. Thus, more than a century since the time of Koelle's writing, it is still the basic tenets of his description that are used to describe the Kanuri "case" system.

I argue, however, that Kanuri does not have a case-marking system. In Hutchison [1976:22] these two "case suffixes" of Kanuri were referred to as the "agentive" and the "direct object" postpositions. It is here being proposed that a "direct object postposition" does not exist. In the following examples, direct object pronouns are obligatorily marked with the associative postposition.[11]

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[11]For the purpose of consistency and in violation of the SKO, the postposition marking these direct objects is written as the associative +(c+)à , rather than as +gà , which has been referred to as the accusative case suffix. The hypothesis that the associative is also the direct object marker would explain why we experienced so much difficulty in Nigeria teaching Kanuri school teachers and others to make the orthographical distinction among the associative +à , the direct object marker +gà , and the other

(85)   shí+à   kə̀nâ +yè cítà   'he was stricken by hunger'
       he ASSOC hunger AG grab/3S PST

(86)   sàndí+à   lèfàné   'greet them'
       they ASSOC greet/2S IMPER

If non-pronoun direct objects are substituted for the independent pronouns in
(85) and (86), it is apparent that only the fronted object in (85') below is
marked with the associative postposition, whereas it is not marked in (86').
This is because in (85') the OSV order has been selected for pragmatic rea-
sons, in violation of the canonical SOV order. There associative marking of
a (pro)noun object is paired with marking of the out-of-order subject by the
agent postposition +yè .

(85') Álì à kə̀nâ yè cítà   'Ali was stricken by hunger'[12]
(86') Músà lèfàné   'greet Musa'

The uses of the agent and associative postpositions to mark subjects and ob-
jects respectively are clearly inter-related.

     In (85) and (86) the associative postposition is not within a complex NP
in an NP modifier position but rather has as its scope an entire NP consti-
tuent. In order to explain the above tentative observations, it is necessary
to examine other such environments where the associative also sets off an en-
tire NP. In the following subsection, the use of the associative to left-
dislocate NPs is used to explain its role in marking direct objects under
certain conditions.

4.3. The semantics of the associative and left-dislocation. I hope it is
apparent that the semantic role of the associative is always a reflex of its

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ways in which the associative is written in subordinate clause constructions.
For reasons of supposed grammatical clarity, the SKO, which I helped develop,
writes what I am here proposing as one morpheme in at least four different
ways.

     [12]I would argue that the OSV order together with obligatory postposition-
al marking of both major NP constituents represents the Kanuri equivalent of
a passive construction with an expressed agent. Intransitive passives in
which a semantic object occurs as the subject are derived from transitive
verbs through the III passive-reflexive derivation of the verb [Lukas 1937:
93 ff]. In the latter environment no agent may be expressed.

syntactic position and scope, i.e. whether it stands alone or is preceded
and/or followed by another constituent. It has been observed that when pre-
ceded by a governing constituent, the scope of the associative phrase is mod-
ified and the existence predicated in association with that preceding constit-
uent. It will here be argued that elsewhere, in non-modifying roles, where
the scope of the associative postposition is the entire constituent, that the
associative-marked constituent is in some way dislocated from a following
predicate. This dislocation is related to movement toward sentence-initial
position. It will be demonstrated later in this subsection that associative-
marked object noun phrases can be explained as dislocated constituents.

The following examples demonstrate the role of the associative postposi-
tion in left-dislocating entire constituents. Constituents dislocated in
this way have often been referred to as "topicalized".

(87) a. Álì bàrèmá   'Ali is a farmer'

     b. Álì+à   bàrèmá   'As for Ali he's a farmer'
             ASSOC

(88) a. shí kàsúwù+làn   'he is at the market'
         he   market at

     b. shí+à   kàsúwù+làn   'as for him he's at the market'
             ASSOC

(89) a. nòngênyí   'I don't know'

     b. wú nòngênyí   'me I don't know (and e.g. don't ask
             I   me again)'

     c. wú+à   nòngênyí   'as for me I don't know'
             ASSOC

(90) kû+à   lèngînbâ   'as for today I won't go'
        ASSOC go/1S NEG IMPF

From the finite verb forms in (89a) and (90), it is apparent that the
Kanuri verb form carries root, aspect, and subject pronoun morphemes. The
verb is thus synthetic and sentential and can as well carry all the noun
phrase arguments of the sentence. It is clear in (89) that the subject pro-
noun is manifested independently to emphasize or topicalize it.

Similarly, in neutral, unmarked environments, it is natural with a tran-
sitive verb for first and second person objects to be manifested only as af-

fixes to the finite verb form with the comparable third person object forms
having no overt marking. The independent pronoun objects are therefore ex-
cluded from the normal anaphoric conditions of an utterance.

(91) a. rúkə́nà   'I saw it/him/her'
         see/1S PRF

     b. shí+à rúkə́nà   'him/her/it I saw (him/her/it)'

(92) a. nzú+rúkə́nà   'I saw you'
         OBJ

     b. nyí+à (nzú+)rúkə́nà   'you I saw (you)'
         you

     Thus, the use of the associative applies here to constituents which are
moved leftward out of their normal, typologically-predicted position. The
required use of the associative postposition to mark independent pronoun di-
rect object can be perhaps understood in this light. According to the pres-
ent analysis, the associative marked direct objects not because it is an ac-
cusative case marker, but rather because the independent occurrence of the
object represents a dislocation from its neutral position "inside" the finite
verb form. Non-pronoun subjects and direct objects are normally not marked
by any postposition when they occur in their neutral positions. Either may
be associative-marked when left-dislocated.

     In Chafe [1976] are described the cognitive statuses that nouns can have
in discourse, depending upon the "packaging" given them by the speaker for
the purposes of the utterance context. In Kanuri, a constituent that is dis-
located and marked by the associative postposition is marked as having a ref-
erent that carries one or more of Chafe's six statuses: (1) givenness, (2)
contrastiveness, (3) definiteness, (4) subject, (5) topic, and (6) point of
view/empathy. The semantic reasons for the use of the associative to left-
dislocate are based in these statuses, especially the statuses givenness,
contrastiveness, and point of view/empathy.

5. Left Dislocation and the Case for Subordination

     It has been shown that the associative postposition is used in conjunc-
tion with left-dislocation of noun phrase constituents for the purpose of
contrastive focus and for other semantic reasons. It was observed that the

occurrence of OSV order represents a case of left-dislocation in which a dis-
located direct object must be marked with the associative, reflecting its se-
mantic prominence. Further, in Kanuri as in many other languages, subordin-
ated adverbial clauses represent another instance of left-dislocation. In
sentence-initial position, the existence predicated by the associative post-
position in marking such constituents may be interpretable not only with the
contrastive focus "as for" type of reading, but also with a "given" reading
or a conditional "if" type of reading. The associative marks whatever pre-
cedes it as a real or unreal given in the utterance context, to be followed
by the new information based on that given in the following main predicate.
A conditional interpretation establishes the scene just as does NP topicaliz-
ation. In Kanuri there is no overt syntactic distinction between the two so
that in sentence-initial position the structure NP+ASSOC (,) may be inter-
preted in either way as in the following example.

(93) nyí+à (,)   àbí   dímìn?   'as for you(,) what will/would you do/
      you ASSOC   what do/2S IMPERF   are you doing?
                                       if it were you(,) what would you do?'

For some speakers the dislocative pause (represented in parentheses by the
comma) is optional and often excluded for the topicalized NP reading and con-
sistently included for the conditional 'if' reading. In both readings of
(93) the associative predicates the existence of the dislocated subject pro-
noun as the given antecedent to the following predicate, whether it be inter-
preted as an NP topic or a hypothetical conditional.

The postpositional subordinator of "conditional" clauses of Kanuri (which
is homophonous with the associative) has been analyzed as a distinct "condi-
tional" morpheme in other treatments of Kanuri syntax [Lukas 1937:159-160].
The present analysis proposes that one morpheme, the associative postposition,
also occurs as the subordinator of conditional clauses.

Kanuri is not the first language for which a significant syntactic and
semantic relation between topic constructions and adverbial clause construc-
tions has been proposed. In his treatment of Ngizim syntax, Schuh justified
treating topicalized noun phrases together with sentence level adverbs not
only because of their syntactic similarity but also due to their "semantic

commonality", since both construction types "state antecedent conditions to
the main clause, bring into the foreground some aspect of the main clause,
or both" [Schuh 1972:323]. Thompson [1977:32-38] wrote that in many lan-
guages both adverbial clauses and topics:

(1)   are sentence-initial;

(2)   need not be an argument of the main predication;

(3)   perform the discourse dependent role of linking an antecedent to
      a main clause;

(4)   (à la Chafe [1976]) set a "spatial, temporal or individual frame-
      work within which the main predication holds";

(5)   are definite.

As a subordinator of adverbial clauses the associative subordinates all
"conditional" clauses, as well as generic "when/whenever" clauses, and
"given that/since" clauses which have been referred to as "absolutive" or
"circumstance" clauses. When an entire clause is set off by the associative
and the contrastive focus reading is therefore not possible, the semantic
distinctions between, for example, a "given" real clause and a "given" un-
real clause are determined by the structure of the clause and/or the aspect
of the verb within the clause. In general, associative-subordinated clauses
are of the following structure:

CLAUSE + ASSOC MAIN PREDICATE = if/when/given + CLAUSE (then) MAIN PREDICATE

5.1. <u>Associative subordination of sentential adverbial clauses</u>. Associative-
subordinated non-verbal clauses are interpreted either as hypothetical or
counterfactual conditional clauses. In the absence of overt counterfactual
marking, the following example may be interpretable in either way when taken
out of context.

(94) shí mâi+à   wú yé gàlìwùngîn
      he king ASSOC I too get rich/1S IMPERF

      a. 'if he is king I too will become rich'

      b. 'if he were king I too would become rich'

The adverbial noun câ referring to a former, no longer existent state, or
to one that is contradicted by present reality, may precede the associative-

subordinated clause as the overt marker of the counterfactual condition as
shown in (95). Its occurrence may be duplicated in the main clause or
matched by kùwá 'by now'.

(95) câ shí mâi+à (câ/kùwá) wú yé gàlìwùngə́nà
                                get rich/1S PRF

   'if he were/had been king I too would have gotten rich by now'

In (96a) the same subordinate clause has been marked as nominalized and real/
definite in the utterance context through the application of the determiner
+də́ , followed by the associative. This determiner plays a significant role
in associative subordination both for non-verbal and verbal clauses. As a
marker of definiteness or identifiability, it may identify a constituent as
a resumptive topic in a conversation or discourse. Its occurrence in rela-
tive clause-final position has led some to refer to it as a relative pronoun,
rooted in a demonstrative just as is the English relative 'that'. Associa-
tive-subordinated clauses in which +də́ occurs in clause-final position be-
fore the subordinator are factive adverbial clauses and lend themselves to
interpretation in English as "given that" or "since (it is true that)"
clauses. The determiner +də́ never occurs in counterfactual clauses.

(96) a. shí mâi+də́+à   wú yé gàlìwùngîn 'given (the fact) that/since he
              DET ASSOC   is king I too will become rich'
     b. *câ shí mâi+də́+à wú yé gàlìwùngîn

   Associative-subordinated verbal clauses may similarly have a hypothetical,
counterfactual, and a real factive interpretation, depending upon which as-
pect of the verb occurs within the clause and whether or not the clause is
factually marked with the determiner +də́ . Certain verb aspects and clause
structures may also lend themselves to interpretation as predictive, generic,
and absolutive/circumstance clauses.

   The interaction of the meaning of the associative with the structure of
the subordinated clause and its verb aspect is clear from the following ex-
amples. It is apparent that what in other languages is carried out through
the variation of subordinators is effected in Kanuri by variation of verb
aspect.

(câ) IMPERFECT ASPECT CLAUSE (+DET) ASSOC[13]

sùlúyìn+nà njî súwúdé	'if he is going out he should bring back water'
câ sùlúyìn+nà njî súwúdìn	'if he were going out he would bring back water'
sùlúyìn+dé+à fân+ndé+rò íshìn	'since he is going out he will come to our house'

(câ) NEGATIVE COMPLETIVE CLAUSE (+DET) +ASSOC

sùlúwùnyí+à fátòn fàndémìn	'if he hasn't gone out you'll find him at home'
câ sùlúwùnyí+à kùwá cídàndé tàmònyénà	'if he hadn't gone out we would have finished our work by now'
sùlúwùnyí+dé+à kèléwà gènyí	'since he hasn't come out something is wrong'

(câ) PERFECT CLAUSE (+DET) +ASSOC

sùlúwùnà+à kámú+nzé+rò wòtíyà+dé yé	'if he has gone out give the letter to his wife'
câ sùlúwùnà+à kùwá fân+nyí+rò nàzégénà	'if he had gone out he would have reached my house by now'
sùlúwùnà+dé+à lènyêndé yàyé kál	'since he has gone out we might as well go'

(câ) PAST TENSE CLAUSE +ASSOC

cúlúwò+à àré wú+rò gùllé	'as soon as/when/if he comes out come and tell me'
câ cúlúwò+à kùwá kàsúwù+làn cúrúkò	'had he gone out I would have seen him in the market by now'

VERB EMPHASIS COMPLETIVE +ASSOC[14]

sùlúyí+à nâ+ném+rò lèjìn	'when he goes out he goes/will go to your place'

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[13]It should be pointed out that subordinate clauses marked as nominalized, etc. by the determiner +dé only occur in those verb aspects which may occur in relative clauses, i.e. the imperfect, the negative imperfect, the perfect, and the negative completive. For a discussion of this cf. Hutchison [1976:72-73].

[14]This aspect of the verb, i.e. the verb emphasis completive (Lukas' predictive) plus the associative postposition, is referred to by Lukas as the "Dependent Future" [Lukas 1937:71] and is written by Lukas and in the SKO with

(câ) NOUN EMPHASIS COMPLETIVE +ASSOC

shí+má sùlúwò+à gùllé ísá   'if/when HE comes out/has come out tell
                                   him to come here'

câ shí+má sùlúwò+à kùwá túrúiyénà 'if HE had come out we would have seen
                                   each other by now'

5.2. <u>The relation between topics and conditional clauses</u>. In an important
article, Haiman [1978] suggested that conditional clauses and topics may be
related in a great many languages. He established the following definitions
for each:

> "A conditional clause is (perhaps only hypothetically) a part of the
> knowledge shared by the speaker and his listener. As such, it constitutes
> the framework which has been selected for the following discourse" (p.583).

> "The topic represents an entity whose existence is agreed upon by the
> speaker and his audience. As such, it constitutes the framework which
> has been selected for the following discourse" (p.585).

Haiman argues that topics, like conditional clauses, are presuppositions of
their sentences, and subsequently that presuppositions are "reducible to pre-
suppositions of existence" (p.586).

The Kanuri evidence provides indubitable support for the Haiman hypothesis.
Both topics and conditional clauses of Kanuri are marked syntactically through
left dislocation, their existence being predicated by the associative post-
position. There is no overt syntactic marker in Kanuri to distinguish a left
dislocated NP interpreted as contrastively focused from the same constituent
interpreted conditionally. The fact that these construction types, as well
as the complete spectrum of non-verbal and verbal clauses (cf. 5.1) are all
designated for their respective roles through marking by the same associative
postposition, clearly documents their syntactic and semantic similarity in
Kanuri.

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the suffix +yà . Lukas treats +yà as another morpheme distinct both from
the conditional +gà , the **accusative** +gà , and the "derived adjective suf-
fix" +(C+)à . **Here** I have written this form of associative subordination as
+à , since I propose it is the same **associative morpheme**.

6. Conclusion

It has been the purpose of this paper to demonstrate first of all that there is only one morpheme +(C+)à in the Kanuri language, instead of the three or more different morphemes that have traditionally been proposed. Second, I have tried to show how a single morpheme with the basic meaning that has been described for the associative postposition, could feasibly carry out all of the functions ascribed to the (traditionally proposed) different homophonous morphemes.

I have suggested that the associative asserts the existence of a constituent which it marks and that the semantics of this predication is everywhere determined by the syntactic position and role of the constituent it marks, both with regard to order and syntactic hierarchy. When nothing precedes and nothing follows an associative-marked constituent, the existence of that constituent is asserted in relation to the world as shown in 3.1. When preceded by a governing constituent (whether a subject noun phrase as in 3.1 or the head noun of a complex NP as in 3.2), then the existence of the associative-marked constituent is predicated in relation to the preceding governing constituent in a modifying function. In the environment of an intransitive verb, it was shown that the associative-marked constituent exists with the subject of the verb either as its companion or as its modifier in a relative clause construction as described in 4.1. In the environment of a transitive verb, it was shown that direct object pronouns and non-pronouns are obligatorily marked with the associative postposition when left-dislocated, either leftward out of their canonical position within the finite verb form, or leftward from pre-verb position past the subject NP to OSV position, as in 4.2. It was shown that any NP can be left-dislocated and marked with the associative to mark it as a topic in sentence-initial position, as in 4.3.

Finally, it was shown that there are environments in which a left-dislocated constituent may be interpreted either as a topicalized NP or as a condition on the following main predicate (cf. 5). The lack of any overt syntactic marker in Kanuri to distinguish these two interpretations was used to introduce the role of the associative postposition as subordinator of a wide range of subordinate clause types (cf. 5.1), among them what have tradition-

ally been referred to as "conditional" clauses. Finally, the fact that (left-)
dislocated conditionals and topics are both enveloped in the wide range of
functions of the associative postposition was shown to be significant in
light of recent documentation of similar relationships in other languages
(cf. 5.2). It is hoped that the proposed unity of the seemingly incongruous
spectrum of functions of the associative postposition in Kanuri may contri-
bute to the reconsideration of the status of morphemes of this type and the
constructions in which they occur in other languages.

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