

SOME CONSIDERATIONS IN ESTABLISHING  
THE BASIC WORD ORDER OF PODOKO

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The basic word order of Podoko is not obvious. The monologue perfective presents a fixed VSO order, but for the imperfective and the dialogue perfective VOS is the most frequent, though not the only, order. The position of a focused element is established for the cases where word order is not fixed. Sentences with both subject and object present in nominal form but with another element clearly in focus are then examined. These show that subject precedes object when neither is in focus, pointing to the conclusion that the basic word order is in fact VSO.

1. Introduction

In the current interest in language universals, one of the areas that comes under consideration is that of basic word order, i.e. the relative order of subject, verb, and object. There seems to be little doubt as to the existence of a basic word order for any particular language: Greenberg [1963:76] writes, "The vast majority of languages have several variant orders but a single dominant one." He lists the possible orders, mentions which of these are nonexistent or at least very rare, and then goes on to state his first "universal" principle of word order [1963:77]:

Universal 1. In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object.

This indicates that it is to declarative sentences that we should look for the basic order, and it seems to be presumed that when we do so "the dominant order" will be self-evident. Heine [1976:19], however, allows that the basic order may not always be quite so obvious, though he gives some suggestions for distinguishing it. He says that "basic order is the least marked: it has usually the highest text frequency, it tends to be used in positions of neutralization, and to have the smallest amount of morphological complexity."

It is generally recognized that the basic word order of most Chadic languages is SVO [Westermann and Bryan 1952:161]. In Podoko, a Chadic language of the Biu-Mandara branch,<sup>1</sup> the SVO order does occur, but it is very restricted. It is found in conclusion sentences at the end of a section [Swackhamer 1980:13], as shown in (1), and in purpose clauses, as shown in (2). In both cases there is a special subject pronoun (v.m., "verbal marker", will be explained in section 2):

- (1) *ngayə təla sləbɑ*<sup>2</sup> SVO  
 I cook meat  
 'and so I cooked the meat'
- (2) a *səkwada səkwə balə bura ngayə ytə sləbɑ* SVO  
 v.m. buy buy father-my salt so-that-I cook meat  
 'my father bought some salt so that I might cook the meat'

It is found in simultaneous time clauses:

- (3) *haya yə ytə sləbɑ laki, a tawi udzera* SVO  
 while I cook meat particle v.m. cry child  
 'while I am cooking the meat, the child is crying'

And it is found in certain negative constructions:

- (4) a *taka yə ytə sləbɑ la* SVO  
 v.m. f.s. I cook meat not  
 try  
 'I was not cooking the meat'

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<sup>1</sup>More specifically, Newman [1977] classifies Podoko as belonging to the A subbranch of Biu-Mandara. It is spoken in the District of Mora in the Margui-Wandala Division of the North Province of Cameroon. The research for this paper was undertaken during 1980, under the auspices of the Délégation Générale à la Recherche Scientifique et Technique (formerly ONAREST) in cooperation with the Institut des Sciences Humaines (I.S.H.) and the Centre de Recherches sur les Langues et Traditions Orales Africaines (CERELTRA) of the United Republic of Cameroon.

<sup>2</sup>Tone is not marked because it has not yet been fully analyzed. Apart from that, the transcription of all examples is phonemic. The voiceless and voiced lateral fricatives are represented by *s* and *z* respectively. *ts*, *dz*, *mb*, *nd*, *ng*, *ndz*, *kw*, *gw*, *hw*, *ngw* also each stand for a single phoneme. A raised *y* preceding a word indicates the palatalisation of that word.

(This last may not really be an example of SVO order, because *taka* may be a form of the verb 'try' rather than a fronted subject (f.s.) marker, and this construction may have developed from 'I tried not to...'.)

Westermann and Bryan [1952:161] say of Podoko: "In Paduko the Pronoun Subject follows the Verb, but the Noun Subject precedes it." However, not only do the examples already given disagree with this, but so do the examples of more normal word order which will be given later in this paper.

Despite the special use of the SVO order and despite Westermann's comment on Podoko, the basic word order of Podoko is clearly verb initial. That being so, one would expect the basic word order to be VSO in accordance with Greenberg's universal principle. It is true that many sentences do have this order, but there are also, particularly in conversation, many apparently unmarked declarative sentences (that is, unmarked for focus) which present the supposedly very rare VOS order. There is no difference in morphological complexity, and it is difficult, at least at first sight, to see one order as less marked than the other. As Heine's criteria, then, offer no clear solution to establishing the basic order for Podoko, other criteria must be found. In this paper the aspectual system in narrative and conversation will be examined and then also the focus system. From this, it will become evident that the basic word order is in fact the more generally common VSO.

## 2. Aspect and Discourse

In Podoko there is a basic distinction between narrative and non-narrative. When a speaker utters a long enough sequence of sentences, he speaks in a narrative style (here called "monologue"), with its characteristic verb form and subject pronoun in the perfective aspect (referred to as "monologue perfective" or M.P.). When he is engaged in conversational exchanges (here called "dialogue") he uses a different form for the perfective (referred to as "dialogue perfective" or D.P.). This monologue-dialogue distinction is neutralised, however, when the speaker uses the imperfective aspect (Imp.). The following chart shows the aspectual and monologue-dialogue distinctions, together with their characteristic markers:

		<u>Aspect</u>	
		perfective	imperfective
<u>Discourse</u>	monologue	V pn.1	a <sup>y</sup> V pn.2 (trans. only)
	dialogue	a V pn.2	

pn.1 pronoun series 1<sup>3</sup>

pn.2 pronoun series 2<sup>3</sup>

<sup>y</sup>V palatalised verb

The M.P. is characterised by the lack of VP-initial /a/ and by the subject pronoun (when the subject is not a noun) drawn from pronoun series 1:

- (5) təla malə sləḃa 'my mother cooked meat'  
 cook mother-my meat
- (6) təla maye sləḃa 'I cooked meat'  
 cook I meat

The D.P. and Imp. by contrast have a VP-initial /a/ (though this is often deleted when the VP is not at the beginning of a sentence, e.g. when it is preceded by a conjunction or a subordinate clause), and they take a subject pronoun of series 2. The Imp. verb is palatalised if transitive. (Intransitive Imp. verbs take a final /-i/ , but intransitives are not considered here because it is the relative order of subject and object that is of interest.)

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<sup>3</sup>The complete paradigms for these pronoun series are as follows:

	<u>Pronoun series 1</u>	<u>Pronoun series 2</u>
1s.	maye	yə
2s.	ka	ka
3s.	nga	∅
1p.ex.	mananə	nanə
1p.in.	mamə	mə
2p.	kwə	kwə
3p.	məta	ta



With the D.P. and the Imp., on the other hand, new (focused) information is put in the focus slot. In Gude [Hoskison 1975:228], a VSO Chadic language, the focused element precedes the VP, but in Podoko the focus slot is immediately after the verb:<sup>4</sup>

- (13) a. a t̩əla wa sl̩əb̩ə na? 'who cooked the meat?'  
           cook who meat int.
- b. a t̩əla mala 'my mother cooked it' SUB. FOCUS  
           cook mother-my
- (14) a. a t̩əla tawə ndi na? 'what did one cook?'  
           cook what one int.
- b. a t̩əla sl̩əb̩ə nda 'one cooked meat' OBJ. FOCUS  
           cook meat one
- (15) a. a t̩əla ta wa ndi sl̩əb̩ə na? 'for whom did one cook  
           cook for whom one meat int. the meat?'
- b. a t̩əla ta bale nda 'one cooked it for BEN. FOCUS  
           cook for father-my one my father'
- (16) a. a t̩əla a tawə ndi sl̩əb̩ə na? 'with what did one  
           cook with what one meat int. cook the meat?'
- b. a t̩əla a male nda 'one cooked it with INST. FOCUS  
           cook with oil one oil'
- (17) a. a t̩əla hawə ndi sl̩əb̩ə na? 'where did one cook  
           the meat?'
- b. a t̩əla də ykwəd̩əgə nda 'one cooked it in LOC. FOCUS  
           cook in kitchen one the kitchen'

As with the M.P., an unfocused subject is pronominalised and an unfocused object is normally deleted.

When it is the verb that is in focus, the verb is reduplicated, thus filling the focus slot. (There are two types of reduplication, simple and complex. Both are used for verb focus, but as the simple one has other functions too, the following examples use only the complex type.)

- (18) a. a bak̩əla tawə ndi a sl̩əb̩ə na? 'what did one do with  
           do what one with meat int. the meat?'
- b. a t̩əla a ti mala 'my mother cooked it'  
           cook with cooking mother-my

<sup>4</sup>Examples given are D.P. because this has been more thoroughly analysed than the Imp.

4. Order of Unfocused Elements

While it is true that the object is generally deleted when it is presupposed information, it may on occasion be left undeleted:

- (19) a. a təla wa sləbə na? 'who cooked the meat?'  
           cook who meat int.  
       b. a təla malə sləbə 'my mother cooked the meat'  
           cook mother-my meat

This can give an important clue to the basic word order, because when the verb is in focus, the subject and object (if both are present) are presumably both out of focus and thereby in their natural order, neither of them having been shifted to the focus slot. This is what we find:

- (20) a. a ɓakəla tawə malə a sləbə na?  
           do what mother-my with meat int.  
           'what did my mother do with the meat?'  
       b. a təla a ti malə sləbə  
           cook with cooking mother-my meat  
                   V                  S          O  
           'my mother *cooked* the meat'

This example shows that when the subject and object are both present and neither is in focus the subject precedes the object. This holds good also for beneficiary and locative focus:

- (21) a. a təla ta wa malə sləbə na?  
           cook for whom mother-my meat int.  
           'for whom did my mother cook the meat?'  
       b. a təla ta bale malə sləbə  
           cook for father-my mother-my meat  
           'my mother cooked the meat *for my father*'  
       (22) a. a təla hawə malə sləbə na?  
           cook where mother-my meat int.  
           'where did my mother cook the meat?'  
       b. a təla də 'kwəfəgə malə sləbə  
           cook in kitchen mother-my meat  
           'my mother cooked the meat *in the kitchen*'

It is clear, then, that the subject precedes the object when neither is

in focus. This confirms the VSO order, as found in the M.P. and in accordance with Greenberg's first universal principle. The VOS order of (7-10) is explainable if we consider that it is the object that bears the focus when the whole sentence is new information. Hyman [1979:2] claims that "the focus of a clause tends, in the expected case, to line up with the (direct) object position". That is to say, the expected place for introducing new information is in the object. It is therefore not surprising that Podoko uses the object-focus form even when the new information is included in more than just the object. VSO is then the basic order, but object focus is very frequent in the D.P. and Imp.

##### 5. Conclusion

When the basic word order of a language is not clear, one cannot just fall back on generalisations from other languages, though of course these are not to be ignored. This paper has shown that a study of focus can contribute towards an understanding of the basic order. By establishing that the position immediately following the verb is the focus position, and by putting something other than the subject or object into this focus slot, one can find the unmarked, unfocused position of the subject and object relative to each other and to the verb.

This study may serve as a caution to linguists who are engaged in establishing the basic word order of a language. It is important to be aware of the possibility of putting the object in the focus slot when it is more than just the object that is new information. An apparently neutral declarative sentence may in fact have the object in focus position (usually before or after the verb) in order to mark itself as being entirely composed of new information. It is therefore essential to take note of the relative order of unfocused elements in a sentence where another element is clearly in focus, because it is only then that one can be sure that these elements really are out of focus. As has been shown in the case of Podoko, it may be the examination of the relative order of the unfocused elements in a sentence with focus that is the deciding factor in establishing the basic word order.

## APPENDIX

Podoko Folktale, as told by Deva Dagudza

- <sup>1</sup>Tatapera mandza. <sup>2</sup>Suta. <sup>3</sup>A nda nde yngede mudə nesa. <sup>4</sup>Bakada nga  
(story) (speak) v.m. there-is certain old woman do she
- <sup>5</sup>Yudze vəhwə mənə. <sup>6</sup>Zlɛgwakwa nga nda kwədambaye da dəfa. <sup>7</sup>Manə laki,  
little field her sow-into she pl. aubergine into it this part.
- gələ kwədambaya. <sup>8</sup>Ytata gələ gələ kwədambaya, ba dədə də, "Da ymbadə vala  
grow aubergine after grow grow aubergine when go go(he) go gather it
- yə na," ngə kənə laki, a mbadəla mbadə indala. <sup>9</sup>Ysədikə mənə zlabə  
I part. say she part. v.m. gather gather hyena tomorrow its again
- Ytsa nga zlabə. <sup>10</sup>A da ymbadə vala yə na," ngə kənə laki, a mbadəla  
come he again v.m. go gather it I part. say she part. v.m. gather
- mbadə indala. <sup>11</sup>Ba tēhə tēhə kwədambayə mənə, "Da ymbadə vala yə na,"  
gather hyena when ripen ripen aubergine her go gather it I part.
- ngə kənə laki, a mbadəla mbadə indala. <sup>12</sup>A nda gərə dzalə  
say she part. v.m. gather gather hyena v.m. there-is equal hurt-to-her
- nga akə mudə nəsə la. <sup>13</sup>A dada yə ninga," ngə kənə. <sup>14</sup>Kəsə nga yudze  
it to old woman not v.m. bush I today say she take she little
- Yvərdəngə mənə, kənə dada. <sup>15</sup>Kənə ykələ dəgwasla. <sup>16</sup>Ytawə ytawə ytawə  
axe her she bush she chop wood id.(chopping)
- Ykələ dəgwaslə mənə, Ytsa yngede indala. <sup>17</sup>A ybəkə tawə ka waka  
chop(he) wood her come certain hyena v.m. do what you you
- Yhanə na?" ngə kənə takina. <sup>18</sup>A ykələ dəgwaslə mayə ya," ngə mudə nesa.  
here int. say he to-her v.m. chop wood my I say old woman
- <sup>19</sup>Ayə Ytətənə ytawə ka ytawī na na?" <sup>20</sup>A zləgada kwədambayə mayə ya  
v.m. what cry you cry part. int. v.m. sow aubergine my I
- laki, ba kələ 'Da ymbadə vala yə na,' ngə ngayə laki, a mbadəla mbadə  
part. when every go gather it I part. say I part. v.m. gather gather
- indala." <sup>21</sup>A ybələ ymaka la. <sup>22</sup>Ba nda laki tida tə ka  
hyena v.m. difficult that not if part. brew-for-me brew you
- duli wayə laki, a ykəsəkə ykəsə ya," ngə indala takina. <sup>23</sup>A  
beer me part. v.m. catch-for-you catch I say hyena to-her v.m.
- zla yə ba ykwata ba nda ykəsi ka," ngə mudə nəsə takina.  
rejoice I part. much if catch-for-me you say old woman to-him
- <sup>24</sup>Ayə da su dasə ka na kiya na?" ngə mudə nesa. <sup>25</sup>A da du  
v.m. go come-up when you part. part. int. say old woman v.m. go go-up

- ya <sup>Y</sup>useda." <sup>25</sup>"Aya," nge mudə nesa. <sup>26</sup>Nge mudə nəsə da <sup>Y</sup>tša. <sup>27</sup>Tada  
I tomorrow alright say old woman f.s. old woman go home brew  
mudə nəsə dula. <sup>28</sup><sup>Y</sup>Təta taləda tə ndi dula, akə su  
old woman beer after brew-for-him brew one beer suddenly come-up  
indala. <sup>29</sup>A du də indala laki, "Hawə na?" nge indala takina. <sup>30</sup>"Nga  
hyena v.m. go-up go hyena part. where int. say hyena to-her here  
ina henga," nge mudə nesa. <sup>31</sup>Va ndi dula. <sup>32</sup><sup>Y</sup>Səlu nga. <sup>33</sup>Kənə da  
it here say old woman give one beer drink he he go  
həna həni də vəhwə kwədambaya. <sup>34</sup>Kwədə hənə hənə <sup>Y</sup>hakənga,  
lie-down lie-down in field aubergine while lie lie(he) there  
akə <sup>Y</sup>tša <sup>Y</sup>ngədə indala. <sup>35</sup><sup>Y</sup>Tša ndi sa kwədambayə nga təhə təha zla  
suddenly come certain hyena come one to aubergine this ripe ripe again  
laki, <sup>Y</sup>fawəlu ndi <sup>Y</sup>fawəlu ndi kwədambaya. <sup>36</sup>Ndakə nge ndi laki,  
part. put-up one put-up one aubergine id.(turn and see) say one part.  
a ndzi <sup>Y</sup>ngədə <sup>Y</sup>takwasə <sup>Y</sup>lalala. <sup>37</sup>"Kayə! Mawə <sup>Y</sup>dələ <sup>Y</sup>takwasə <sup>Y</sup>manə na?  
v.m. stay certain thing id.(drip) oh what good thing this int.  
<sup>38</sup>Nda gərə tsari mənə la nanga. <sup>39</sup>A tapa tapə ya," nge nda.  
there-is equal good its not part. v.m. taste taste I say one  
<sup>40</sup><sup>Y</sup>Ləmadə nge ndi tapa nga laki, a nda gərə tsari mənə la.  
id.(lick) say one taste he part. v.m. there-is equal good its not  
<sup>41</sup>"A <sup>Y</sup>zəsə <sup>Y</sup>zə ya duwa, ngayə tapa nga <sup>Y</sup>wala <sup>Y</sup>wala,"  
v.m. approach-under approach I go-up so-that-I taste it really really  
nge nda. <sup>42</sup>Asədükə nge ndi dəkwa nga da zadara. <sup>43</sup>Ndərzə nge ndi  
say one id. say one go-into he into bottom id.(squeeze) say one  
ngwadalu nga a zadara. <sup>44</sup><sup>Y</sup>Təta ngwadalu ngwadə ndi laki, "Mudə nesa, <sup>Y</sup>tša  
bind-him he on bottom after bind-him bind one part. old woman come  
<sup>Y</sup>tšə na. <sup>45</sup>Ya kəsə kəsə ya mazlaməna," nge ndi taka mudə nesa.  
come part. v.m. catch catch I now say one to old woman  
<sup>46</sup><sup>Y</sup>Tša <sup>Y</sup>tšə ba a <sup>Y</sup>məkwtəsə maka ka <sup>Y</sup>ndələlə kwara ba a zadara,"  
come come part. with knife your you cut-to-him neck part. on bottom  
nge nda. <sup>47</sup>"Aya," nge mudə nesa. <sup>48</sup><sup>Y</sup>Tša nga a <sup>Y</sup>məkwtəsa. <sup>49</sup>"Ka  
say one alright say old woman come she with knife let-me  
<sup>Y</sup>pələkəsə nga na; bi a ndəla a ndəli ka," nge ndi takina.  
release-to-you it part. perhaps v.m. cut with cutting you say one to-her  
<sup>50</sup>"Ahala. A <sup>Y</sup>kədə ya a <sup>Y</sup>kədi la. <sup>51</sup>Sayə ba <sup>Y</sup>dzərəla mayə <sup>Y</sup>manə  
no v.m. kill I with killing not only part. see I this  
<sup>Y</sup>takwasə <sup>Y</sup>zə kwədambayə mayə" nge mudə nesa. <sup>52</sup>"Ayə dəgiya a da piya  
thing lose aubergine my say old woman (warning) v.m. fut. hold  
ka la," nge ndi taka mudə nesa. <sup>53</sup>"A piya piyə ya," nge kəna. <sup>54</sup><sup>Y</sup>Manə  
you not say one to old woman v.m. hold hold I say she this  
laki, "Ayə ka <sup>Y</sup>pələkəsə nga na," nge nda. <sup>55</sup>"Aya," nge  
part. v.m. let-me release-to-you it part. say one alright say

mudə nəsə. <sup>56</sup>YDəngəla mudə nəsə zadara. <sup>57</sup>Tasə nge ndi <sup>Y</sup>pələləsə  
 old woman place old woman bottom id.(release) say one release-  
 nga laki, kwapə nge mudə nəsə da hala. <sup>58</sup>YNdaka <sup>Y</sup>dangwədangwangwə  
 to-her he part. id.(fall) say old woman to ground then id.(roll)  
 nge mudə nəsə da hala. <sup>59</sup>"Nga ma sa walakada wələ ya la na  
 say old woman to ground here part. past speak-to-you speak I not part.  
 na?" nge indala takina. <sup>60</sup>"Ba dzirə udzərə maya," nge kəna. <sup>61</sup>"Aye  
 int. say hyena to-her part. truth child my say she v.m.  
 bakavadə kəna ya mazlaməna na kiya na?" nge kəna. <sup>62</sup>"Sayə zla ka  
 do how I now part. part. int. say she only again you  
<sup>Y</sup>bərdəsə ti <sup>Y</sup>ngəfə dula. <sup>63</sup>Ləkweṭu ngayə da mba <sup>Y</sup>kəsəkə nga na,"  
 repeat brew other beer then I fut. can catch-for-you it part.  
 nge indala takina zlaḅa. <sup>64</sup>"Aya," nge kəna. <sup>65</sup>Tada nga duli zlaḅa.  
 say hyena to-her again alright say she brew she beer again  
<sup>66</sup>YTsə indala nga kwətera. <sup>67</sup>Ysəlu nga. <sup>68</sup>Həna nga də vəhwə kwədambayə  
 come hyena that one drink he lie-down he in field aubergine  
 zlaḅa. <sup>69</sup>YDəngəla nga zadara nge duli nga yabi saha də zadara  
 again place he bottom so-that beer that drip down-from in bottom  
<sup>Y</sup>lalalalalalala. <sup>70</sup>YTsə ndi zlaḅa laki, tapa nda. <sup>71</sup>"Kayə! <sup>Y</sup>Manənga  
 id.(drip) come one again part. taste one oh this  
<sup>Y</sup>takwasə <sup>Y</sup>manə sa kəsī <sup>Y</sup>kəsə zlaḅa dəgiyə," nge nda. <sup>72</sup>Ba tapa  
 thing this past catch-me catch again part. say one part. taste  
 tapə nda, tsara. <sup>73</sup>Ba tapa tapə nda, tsara. <sup>74</sup>"A <sup>Y</sup>zasə  
 taste one good part. taste taste one good v.m. approach-under  
<sup>Y</sup>zə ya du zla laki, nda gərə tsari mənə la." <sup>75</sup>Asədükə nge  
 approach I go-up again part. there-is equal good its not id. say  
 ndi dəkwa nga zla laki, ndərzə nge ndi ngwadalu nga a zadara.  
 one go-into he again part. id.(squeeze) say one bind-him he on bottom  
<sup>76</sup>"Ya kəsə kəsə ya mazlaməna na. <sup>77</sup>YTsə <sup>Y</sup>tsə ba a <sup>Y</sup>məkwtəsə  
 v.m. catch catch I now part. come come part. with knife  
 maka," nge ndi taka mudə nəsə. <sup>78</sup>Nge mudə nəsə <sup>Y</sup>tsə ba a <sup>Y</sup>məkwtəsə  
 your say one to old woman f.s. old woman come part. with knife  
 mənə. <sup>79</sup>YDələlə mudə nəsə kwara akə indala kənga. <sup>80</sup>YNdaka kəsə ndi  
 her cut-to-him old woman neck to hyena that then catch one  
 mazlaməna indala ha <sup>Y</sup>ratsəla mətə indala. <sup>81</sup>A gwatsarə <sup>Y</sup>ndaka mudə  
 now hyena until cut they hyena v.m. find thus old  
 nəsə akə kwədambayə mənə. <sup>82</sup>Ha kənə <sup>Y</sup>mbadawə nga mazlaməna. <sup>83</sup>Dzibazla  
 woman to aubergine her until she gather it now  
 fətəla.  
 tail

Translation

<sup>1</sup>I'm going to tell you a story.

<sup>2</sup>"Speak!"

<sup>3</sup>There was a certain old woman. <sup>4-5</sup>She made her little field and sowed aubergines in it. <sup>6</sup>The aubergines grew. <sup>7</sup>When the aubergines had grown, she said, "I'm going to pick them," but the hyena had already picked them. <sup>8</sup>The next day he came again. <sup>9</sup>"I'm going to pick them," she said, but the hyena had already picked them. <sup>10</sup>When her aubergines had ripened she said that she was going to pick them, but the hyena had already picked them. <sup>11</sup>The old woman was very upset. <sup>12</sup>"I'm going to the bush today," she said. <sup>13</sup>She took her little axe and went to the bush. <sup>14-16</sup>She was chopping her wood. A certain hyena came and said to her, "What are you doing here?" <sup>17</sup>"I'm chopping my wood," said the old woman. <sup>18</sup>"Why are you crying?" <sup>19</sup>"I sowed some aubergines, and every time I go to pick them the hyena has already picked them." <sup>20</sup>"That's no problem. <sup>21</sup>If you brew me some beer I'll catch him for you," said the hyena to her. <sup>22</sup>"I'll be very happy if you do catch him for me," she replied. <sup>23</sup>"When will you come up?" <sup>24</sup>"I'll come tomorrow." <sup>25-26</sup>"Alright," said the old woman, and went home.

<sup>27</sup>The old woman brewed some beer. <sup>28</sup>When she had brewed the beer the hyena came straight up. <sup>29</sup>When he arrived he asked where the beer was. <sup>30</sup>"Here it is," said the old woman. <sup>31-33</sup>She gave it to him, he drank it up and went to lie down in the field of aubergines.

<sup>34</sup>While he was lying there the other hyena suddenly arrived. <sup>35</sup>He came to those ripe aubergines again and stuffed them into his mouth. <sup>36</sup>He looked round and saw something dripping. [The beer was dripping from the rump of the other hyena.] <sup>37</sup>"What's this good thing? <sup>38</sup>It's very good. <sup>39</sup>I'm going to taste it," he said. <sup>40</sup>So he tasted it, and it was very good. <sup>41</sup>"I'm going to go up closer in order really to taste it," he said. <sup>42-43</sup>He entered into his bowels and got trapped. <sup>44-45</sup>The one who had caught him cried out to the old woman, "Old woman, come, I've caught him now! <sup>46</sup>Bring your knife so that you can cut his throat on my rump." <sup>47-48</sup>"Alright," said the old woman, and came with her knife. <sup>49</sup>"Let me release him for you. Perhaps you will be able to cut him," he said to her. <sup>50-51</sup>"No, I won't kill this thing that's been destroying my aubergines without seeing him first," said the old woman. <sup>52</sup>"But you won't be able to hold him," he told her. <sup>53</sup>"I will hold him," she said. <sup>54</sup>"I'll let him out for you then," he said. <sup>55</sup>"Alright," said the old woman. <sup>56</sup>She stood behind him. <sup>57-58</sup>He let him out, but she fell down and rolled on the ground. <sup>59</sup>"There! What did I tell you?" the hyena said to her. <sup>60</sup>"It's true, my child," she said. <sup>61</sup>"What am I to do now?" <sup>62-63</sup>"Just brew another lot of beer and I'll be able to catch him for you again." <sup>64</sup>"Alright," she said.

<sup>65-66</sup>She brewed some more beer and the hyena came. <sup>67-68</sup>He drank it and went to lie down in the field of aubergines again. <sup>69</sup>He positioned his rump so that the beer should drip down from it. <sup>70</sup>The other hyena came again and tasted it. <sup>71</sup>"This is the thing that got me caught before," he said. <sup>72</sup>He tasted it; it was good. <sup>73</sup>He tasted it; it was good. <sup>74</sup>"I'm going up closer again, it's so good." <sup>75</sup>He entered into his bowels again and got caught.

<sup>76</sup>"I've caught him now! <sup>77</sup>Come with your knife!" called the captor to the old woman. <sup>78-79</sup>She came with her knife and cut the throat of that hyena. <sup>80</sup>So they caught him now and cut him into pieces. <sup>81</sup>That's how the old woman rescued her aubergines. <sup>82</sup>Now she can pick them. <sup>83</sup>The end.

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