1. Grammaticalization as coding means within the grammatical system

Grammaticalization, as understood in this article, is the coding of some function within the grammatical system of a language. That function may be semantic, i.e. the coding of an element within one of the semantic domains expressed by the grammatical system of the language, e.g. tense, aspect, number, mood, or it may be the less frequently studied function of indicating the internal structure of the utterance. Coding the internal structure of the utterance may include marking constituent structure or indicating which other elements of the discourse, sentence, or clause a given element should be interpreted with. Grammaticalization so understood may have a variety of sources, including tone, intonation, phonological changes affecting segments, linear order, position, and lexical sources. This approach to grammaticalization is considerably broader than the one imple-
mented in majority of contemporary studies of grammaticalization (e.g. Hopper and Traugott 1993, Heine and Kuteva 2002, Introduction) The focus of this paper is the grammaticalization of the functions, with some discussion of how the means to code these functions emerged.

The purpose of this article is to describe the grammaticalization of selected functions in Chadic languages\(^2\), functions that have seldom been observed in other languages and that have been largely ignored by literature making theoretical claims but that have profound effects on the structures of languages involved. The selected grammaticalizations are important for the overall typologies of syntax and semantics. The selected grammaticalizations are: grammaticalization of non-categorial morphology whose function is to code the syntactic organization of the clause, i.e. the internal structure of the utterance; the coding of the category ‘goal’; and the coding of the domain of locative predication. Interestingly, the first and third grammaticalizations described here do not involve changes from a lexical item to a grammatical morpheme. The grammaticalization of non-categorial morphology has exploited phonological reduction to code one function and has exploited the most frequently used form in the coda of lexical items to code another function. The second grammaticalization, that of the category ‘goal’, may have a lexical item as its source. In addition to different sources, it appears that each grammaticalization had different motivations.

The paper is organized as follows. I first describe the grammaticalization of non-paradigmatic morphology, followed by the grammaticalization of the category ‘goal’ and the grammaticalization of the locative predication. The paper’s conclusion summarizes the theoretical implications of the three grammaticalizations described.

\(^2\) Chadic languages are the largest and the most diversified family within the Afroasiatic phylum. Out of some 140-160 languages, classified into three or four branches only 40 or so have descriptive grammars, in most cases one description per language.
2. Grammaticalization of non-categorial morphology

Most traditional and contemporary approaches to morphology conceive of paradigms in which a certain morpheme is associated with one or more specific functions, e.g. case marking, tense marking, or person marking. Most inflectional markers occur with only one lexical category or one specific class of lexical categories, e.g., agreement markers that may occur on nouns, adjectives, numerals, etc. Some inflectional markers indicate the relationship between two elements of the utterance. A number of Chadic languages have grammaticalized a type of morphological marking that is drastically different from the types of markers described so far in the literature on morphology and syntax. This morphological marking has the following characteristics: It is binary, i.e., it consists only of two forms; it can occur on all lexical and grammatical categories; the grammatical markers coding various functions can themselves be marked to indicate the internal structure of the clause; and the morphemes in question have no one-to-one relationship with semantic functions grammaticalized in the language.

Non-paradigmatic morphological coding in Chadic languages consists of phonological reduction to code phrase-internal position and morphological augmentation to code phrase-final position. The phonological reduction may involve the deletion of a word-final vowel or reduction of one or more word-internal vowels.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kwà} & \quad \text{kw-yî} \\
\text{goat} & \quad \text{goat-PL} & \text{(Mina, Frajzyngier et al. 2005)}
\end{align*}
\]

Word-internal vowel reduction (a \(\rightarrow\) ə):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mávà} & \quad \text{mávôr} \\
\text{guinea-corn mush} & \quad \text{(Barreteau and Le Bléis 1990: 21)}
\end{align*}
\]

In many languages, the non-reduced form constitutes the phrase-final form of the morpheme. The vowel alternation as described above has been observed in individual descriptions of Chadic languages but has always been described as an alternation between pre-
pausal and non-prepausal forms. Such analyses have missed the crucial fact that very often there is no pause of any kind after so called prepausal forms. Most important, such analyses have missed the morphological, syntactic, and functional importance of the distinctions observed.

In some languages, the phrase-final forms are derived through the addition of the phonological material. In Mina (Central Chadic), third-person singular and all plural pronouns, demonstratives, and anaphors derive phrase-internal forms through final vowel deletion and derive phrase-final forms through the addition of the suffix *aŋ* to stem. The vowel *a* of the suffix undergoes fronting or rounding vowel harmony, triggered by the preceding vowel. The third-person plural also reduplicates the first consonant:

(1) àndí taw-à nènèŋ/nòkóŋ/hinéŋ/ tɔ̄ŋ
3SG HAB hit-GO 1PL.EXCL/1PL.INCL/2PL

‘He hits us (INCL)/us (EXCL)/you (pl)/them.’

The phrase-internal form has no *aŋ* suffix. The pronoun has consonantal ending with an epenthetic schwa if syllable structure conditions so require:

(2) í n kɔ̀ lim-é nòk zà
3PL PREP INF see-GO 1PL.INCL EE

‘They should not see us.’

(3) káyà dìy-à wállɔ̀ tɔ̀
INTERJ (F.) put-GO help (F.) 3PL

bɔ̀ dɔ̀ tɔŋ
ASSC cook DED

‘She started to help them to cook it.’
The demonstrative mà ‘there’ and kà ‘here’ and the unspecified object wà ‘something’ derive their phrase-final forms through the addition of the suffix cíŋ.

(4) kwáykwáy-yū wà zá ỳgò hà
hyena-PL DEM COMP if 2SG
mbál-ù hà yàn á kàcíŋ
want-3SG 2SG move PRED here

‘The hyenas said to her, “If you want, you can move in here.”’

(5) èe hid-yū wà í-bò yàŋ
eh man-PL DEM 3PL:ASSC move
tò tò á màcíŋ
3PL:POSS PRED there

‘Those people moved over there.’

The phrase-final forms of demonstratives, in addition to occurring in clause-final position, are used in clause-internal position to code topicalization:

(6) ngàlɔmbɔr wàcìŋ ngàlɔmbɔr tò kwáyàŋ
story DEM story GEN squirrel

‘This story is the story of the squirrel.’

Compare the phrase-internal forms of the demonstrative wà and the adverbial kà ‘here’:
Examples from Wandala (Central Chadic; Frajzyngier in press) are used to illustrate non-paradigmatic morphological functions that are found in other Chadic languages, though other languages may use other coding means. In Wandala, all lexical items, including independent grammatical morphemes, have at least two forms, and a small class of morphemes has three forms. The large majority of lexical items have a form, labeled ‘root’, that is characterized by the absence of a word-final vowel, and another form consisting of the root + the vowel $a$. Most lexical items and grammatical morphemes exhibit the latter form in clause- or sentence-final position. Some morphemes end in the vowel $e$ in clause-final position. These morphemes may have the root with no vowel ending) or the root + $a$ form in clause-internal position:

(8) $t\dot{a}$ $s\dot{a}$ $w\dot{e}$
3PL come:GO what

‘What did they bring?’ (elicited)

Compare the phrase-final but clause-internal form $w\dot{a}$:

(9) $k\dot{a}i$ $k\dot{a}n\dot{d}âng$ $w\dot{a}$ $k\dot{a}n\dot{a}$

$k\dot{a}i$ $k\dot{a}$ $nd\dot{a}-n$ $g\dot{a}w\dot{e}$ $w\dot{a}$ $k\dot{a}$ $\acute{u}\dot{n}a$
no 2SG say-3SG TO what 2SG DEM

“‘Hey, why do you say this?’”
The phrase-final forms instruct the listener to interpret the ensuing material as belonging to a different phrase than the preceding phrase. The phrase-internal forms direct the listener to interpret the ensuing material as belonging to the same phrase as the preceding form. In the following description of the functional distinctions, I shall contrast the function of the root form with that of the root + a forms.

Some forms occur only in the root form because of the functions they encode. These include:

- Spatial specifiers and prepositions that obligatorily precede the noun or a question word, e.g. the spatial specifier ‘before’ ò and the preposition ò ‘to’:

(10) nóyáwá nè yénjátwáká pàtrònárwá
    nó ya ná á ò wáf-á
    PRES 3SG 1SG sit PRED before face-GEN

   patron-á-rwá
   boss-GEN-1SG

   ‘Here I sit in front of my boss.’

- Auxiliaries before verbs, e.g. the future-tense marker ð and the sequential marker ð, both of which immediately precede the verb because the auxiliary and verb belong to the same phrase:

(11) mákà nòdòbàwà ñdòwrè ð żàgàdè
    má ká fá-r nòdò bá-kà ñdòwrè ð
    HYP 2SG put-ON force say-2SG child FUT
    żàgàdè
    escape

   ‘If you apply force, the child will run away.’
• All lexical categories before the disjunction *mtù*, and the hypothetical marker *má*. That indicates that disjunction and the hypothetical marker belong to the preceding phrase:

(12)  \( \text{kàdú} \text{hù} \text{mtù} \)

\( \text{kà} \text{díw} \text{hw} \text{mtù} \)

2SG go:VENT outside or

‘Did you go anywhere?’ *hwà* ‘outside’

• Inherently transitive verbs or transitivized verbs before their objects in the perfective and perfect aspects are always in the root form:

(13)  \( \text{yò} \text{dikdì} \text{zárvà} \text{àyà} \text{anzi} \text{kíni} \)

\( \text{yò} \text{dyà-k-dyì} \text{zárva} \text{ñà} \text{anzi} \text{kíni} \)

well know-2SG-know sesame DEF C.FOC

‘“You know sesame, don’t you?”’

• Nouns before adjectives and determiners have the root form. The order head-modifier is the usual order for most modifications of nouns in Wandala:

(14)  \( \text{yé} \text{šà-k} \text{úyì} \text{cùkwà} \text{ñèùdà} \)

1SG tell-2SG story small small

‘I will tell you a short story’ (úyà ‘story’)

There exist, however structures in which the adjective precedes the noun. In such cases, the adjective has the root + a form:

(15)  \( \text{ģd} \text{zà} \text{šòyà} \text{làrúusà} \)

\( \text{ģd} \text{zà} \text{šòy-à} \text{làrúusà} \)

small story-GEN marriage

‘a short story of a marriage’
• All lexical categories before complement clauses have the root form:

(16) \[ \text{tätá, dákabè} \]
\[ \text{tá } tsà \text{ tá d-úw } k̩abè } \]
\[ 3\text{PL get up 3PL go-VENT again} \]

‘They get up, they go there again.’ (verb tsà ‘get up’)

• Verbs before adverbs have the root form. Adverbs are modifiers of verbs and their position following the verb is expected in Wandala:

(17) \[ \text{má, šá-p-tó-sè/ò} \]
\[ \text{cèkwá } ŋgùdì} \]
\[ \text{má, šá-p-tó-s} \]
\[ \text{cèkwá } ŋgùdì} \]
\[ \text{HYP find-APPL-T-find a little bit} \]

‘If she is a little bit free . . .’

The root + a forms occur in a number of syntactic environments and are exploited to code a variety of functions. Subject pronouns that precede the verb always have the vowel a. The position of the subject pronoun before the verb is a relatively new development in Wandala:

(18) \[ \text{tá kókà, tá kókà, tá kókà} \]
\[ \text{tá kókà tá kókà tá kókà} \]
\[ 3\text{PL count 3PL count 3PL count} \]

‘They count, they count, they count,’

Verbs before interrogative particle hè have the root + a form. The interrogative particle forms another phrase:

(19) \[ \text{yá } mlà-k-ú-mlà } \]
\[ \text{hè } \]
\[ 1\text{SG help-2SG-help Q} \]

‘Can I help you?’
Compare the clause-final form of the same verb:

(20)  
yà mlà-kú-mlè  
1SG help-2Pl-help

‘I helped you.’

Topicalized noun phrases which occur in clause-initial position have the root + a form:

(21)  
làkàtá tákìfyé  
làkàt-à tá kìfyé  
fellow-PL 3PL three

‘There were three friends.’

(22)  
mdò kìfyé ñánnà mdàrà  
people three DEF people-GEN-Q

‘Those three people, who are they?’

The distinction between phrase-internal and phrase-final forms has been further grammaticalized to distinguish between the categories subject and object when noun phrases follow the question word or the negative marker. Question words and the negative marker ending in the root form indicate that the following noun phrase is the object. The root + a form indicates that the following noun phrase is the subject:

(23)  
kái kândángwà kònà  
kái kà ndá-n gò wà kà ñùnà  
EXCL 2SG say-3SG TO what 2SG DEF

‘Hey, why do you say this?’
Compare the root form, which indicates that the ensuing noun is the object:

(24) ábáŋánè kòndáŋgù kòbúunà
    á    bá ŋànnè    kò    nd-á-n    gò    w
    3SG     say 3SG    2SG    say-GO-3SG    TO    what
    kò    bwá    nà
    2PL     two     DEM

‘He says, “Why do you say the two of you?”’

(25) á bádà-ná wàr kèllù
    3SG    flatter-3SG    who    Kellu

‘Who flatters Kellu?’

(26) á bádà wàrè Nábba
    3SG    flatter    who:PB    Nabba

‘Who does Nabba flatter?’

The grammaticalization of a as a phrase-final marker may well have its origin in the phonological structure of words in Wandala. No lexical or grammatical morpheme may end in a consonant in clause-final position. There are only two vowels allowed in this position, a and e. The vowel a is by far the most frequent. The vowel e has a much more limited distribution. It occurs only with one class of verbs, all of which indicate movement away from a source. This indicates that the vowel e is a derivational marker. The vowel e is the final vowel of most adjectives and thus may be a derivational marker as well. It is also the final vowel of the question words wè ‘what’ and wàrè ‘who’. Historically, the final vowel e represents the high-front vowel i. Given the statistical prevalence of the vowel a in clause-final position, it was most likely re-analyzed as a phrase-final mark-
er, and subsequently used in clause-internal position to code the internal organization of clauses and sentences.

3. The category goal

Many Chadic languages have grammaticalized the domain ‘point of view’. Some verbs inherently represent the event from the point of view of the subject, e.g. ‘die’, while others represent the event from the point of view of the goal, e.g. ‘build’. Within the domain point of view, some Chadic languages have grammaticalized the category ‘goal’, coded as an inflectional marker on intransitive and transitive verbs. Adding the goal marker to an intransitive verb allows an object to be added to the clause, as is the case with the verbs ámbò ‘go’ and cèttò ‘stand’ in the following example:

(27)  
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
  n-ámbò-n & \text{miná-ì} & \text{pídì} & \text{cí-ta} \\
  \text{SEQ-go-GO} & \text{house-DEF} & \text{place} & \text{REL-FUT} \\
  \text{cèttò-n} & \text{kúndúl-ì} \\
  \text{stand-GO} & \text{kundul-DEF} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘And they will take it to the house where the kundul will stand.’ (lit. ‘where they will stand the kundul (a deity)’ (Pero, Frajzyngier 1989, analyses new)

In Hausa, intransitive verbs with the goal marker can be followed by locative complements without any prepositions (all Hausa examples from Frajzyngier and Munkaila 2004):

(28)  
\[
\begin{array}{lll}
  \text{yaa} & \text{faadàa} & \text{ruwa} \\
  3\text{M:PRF} & \text{fall:GO} & \text{water} \\
  \text{sun} & \text{ruugaa} & \text{daakìi} \\
  3\text{PL:PRF} & \text{rush:GO} & \text{room} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He fell in the water.’

‘They rushed into the room.’
When added to a transitive verb, the goal marker indicates that the predication has one more goal in addition to the neutral argument structure of the verb, or one more goal in addition to those overtly coded in the clause. Consider the verb *carà* ‘throw’ in Hausa. With the goal marker (the suffix *a*) the verb indicates that, in addition to the expected object, the verb also has a locative goal:

(29)  
\[
\text{yaa caràa maashìi samà}
\]
\[
3\text{M.PRF} \text{ throw:GO} \text{ spear} \text{ sky}
\]

‘He threw the spear into the sky.’

Without the goal marker, there is no implication of a locative complement or goal:

(30)  
\[
\text{yaa carà maashìi}
\]
\[
3\text{M.PRF} \text{ throw} \text{ spear}
\]

‘He threw the spear [probably on the ground].’

Consider also the verb *cirà* ‘raise’. With the goal marker added, the verb indicates that the noun following the object is the locative goal of the event:

(31)  
\[
\text{yaa ciràa hannuu samà}
\]
\[
3\text{M.PRF} \text{ raise:GO} \text{ hand} \text{ sky}
\]

‘He raised his hand toward the sky.’

The goal marker is an independent coding means. The evidence is that the mere presence of another lexical item after the direct object does not trigger the use of the goal marker. In the following example, the lexical item *samà* ‘sky’ is interpreted as an adverb indicating general direction rather than as the goal of the predicate. The reason for this interpretation is the absence of the goal marker on the verb:
(32) yaa  cirà  hannuu  samà
3M.PRF  raise  hand  sky

‘He raised his hand upward.’

The goal marker also indicates the presence of the goal when the actual goal of the predicate is not marked otherwise, i.e. when the nominal or pronominal goal does not occur in the clause. The verb ‘give’ in Pero, as in many other languages, can have two arguments other than the subject: the person who receives and the object given. The goal marker is used when there is no direct object overtly marked in the clause:

(33) cà  míjibà  mà-pót-nà  ânjíkkò
say  stranger  COND-come-PRF  rich man
kàm  wée-nì
ASSC  thing-3M

‘They say that if a stranger comes, a rich man has things

cí-tà-múnù-n  tì  míjibà-ì
REL-FUT-give-GO  PREP  stranger-DEF

that he will give to the stranger.’

No indirect object:

(34) bátúurè  n-yé-tù  n-wát-tù  múnù-n
white man  SEQ-call-VENT  SEQ-come-VENT  give-GO
ànínì  bélòw
anini  two

‘The white man called the chief and gave him two anini [a small coin].’
The goal marker is obligatory if there is neither a direct nor an indirect object in the clause with the verb *múnù* ‘give’:

(35) \( \text{mà-béccó-kò \ cò \ gbónóy \ n-yé-tù} \)

\( \text{TEMP-sacrifice-PRF \ time \ three \ SEQ-call-VENT} \)

\( \text{ánkúndúl-ì} \)

owner of kundul-DEF

‘When they [have] sacrificed three times they will call the owner of the kundul.’

\( \text{n-cáarò-ì \ n-múnù-n \ n-àdél-ínà} \)

\( \text{SEQ-cut-CONSEC \ SEQ-give-GO \ SEQ-eat-PRF} \)

‘They cut [part of the liver] and give [it to him] and he eats it.’

If both a direct object and an indirect object occur in the clause, the subcategorization conditions of the verb ‘to give’ are satisfied, the roles of arguments are marked by the linear order and a preposition, and there is no goal marker on the verb:

(36) \( \text{mà-mù \ céer-kò \ cínná-nì \ mùmmúnù \ pídì \ tì} \)

\( \text{TEMP \ say-PRF \ part-3M \ give:PL \ place \ PREP} \)

\( \text{mól-nì} \)

brother-3M

‘When one has said his part he gives the place to his brother.’

In some languages there exists an opposition between the category point of view of the subject and the category point of view of goal. In Hdi, when the marker coding the point of view of the subject occurs with an inherently intransitive verb, the nominal argument after the verb is the subject and it is the affected argument:

(37) \( \text{bl-ú-blá \ xàsú’ù} \)

\( \text{break-SO-break \ branch} \)

‘The branch broke off.’ (SO point of view of the subject)
When the same verb occurs with the goal marker, the nominal argument that follows the verb is the object and also the affected argument:

(38)  
\begin{align*}
\text{bl-á-blà} & \quad \text{tá} & \quad \text{xàsú’ù} \\
\text{break-PVG-break} & \quad \text{OBJ} & \quad \text{branch}
\end{align*}

‘He broke off a branch.’ (Hdi, Frajzyngier with Shay 2002)

Morphemes that code the category goal in Chadic languages are phonologically similar to morphemes belonging to two categories. One category is the locative predicator or preposition, which in some languages is \(a\), or the locative preposition \(n\). The other is the third-person singular object pronoun \(n\). Either category is a likely source for the goal marker, both through similar processes: The locative predicate or the object pronoun could be attached to an intransitive verb to code transitivity or to a transitive verb to code the presence of an argument other than those for which the verb subcategorizes or an argument for which the verb subcategorizes but which is not present in the clause.

4. Grammaticalization of locative predication and locative predicator

Many Chadic languages have grammaticalized a domain of locative predication that is formally distinct from other predications. The fundamental property of locative predication in languages that make this distinction is that both the predicate and the complement must be either inherently locative or overtly marked for the locative function. Whether a predicate or complement is inherently locative or not in a given language is revealed by whether or not additional markers must be used to code the locative function. Typical inherently locative predicates are directional verbs of movement and stative verbs indicating presence in a location. Typical inherently locative complements are toponyms and nouns designating ‘home’, ‘village’, and ‘town’. In Mina, a language that has grammaticalized the domain of locative predication, when both the predicate and the complement
are inherently locative, no other morphemes are deployed to code locative predication, and the predication consists simply of the apposition Predicate Complement (examples Frajzyngier et al. 2005):

(39) yá í-bó ndó tótn bíŋ
call PL-ASSC go 3PL.POSS room

‘They went into the room.’

A locative predication whose predicate is not inherently locative must be marked by the particle á. This particle marks a non-locative predicate as having a locative function. The particle á follows the direct object, if any. The verb yà ‘call’ is inherently non-locative. The nouns bín ‘room, hut in a compound’, and ídá ‘house’ are inherently locative:

(40) nd-á yà ngùl ngá bíŋ
go-GO call husband 3SG PRED room

‘And [she] called her husband into the room.’

When the predicate is locative but the complement is non-locative, the complement must be marked for its locative role. This is done by the preposition n, whose function is to mark a non-locative noun as a locative complement:

(41) minjée mbó mò mármăr kó nàz-á
now boy REL pasture INF abandon-GO
kw-yíì zó nò láy
goat-PL EE PREP field

‘Now the shepherd left the goats in the field.’

If neither the predicate nor the complement is inherently locative, the locative predication is marked by the locative predicator á and the preposition n, marker of the locative complement:
(42) séy wàl wàcíŋ kúl skù à dál-áhà
so woman DEM able NEG 3SG make-GO

séy dāb ìi dāb á nè lùptál
so take 3PL take PRED PREP hospital

kò hùrgè tàŋ
INF cure DED

‘This woman was not well, she was sick. So she was brought to a hospital for treatment.’

The locative predicator á and the preposition n are also used to code the addressee of the verb of saying.

(43) hà ì kò lùw-á-ŋ zín á
2SG PREP INF say-GO-3SG then PRED

nè ví
PREP who

‘Who are you going to tell it to?’

The importance of the domain of locative predication in some Chadic languages is that its form depends on the inherent properties of predicates and complements. Compare this to English, where locative predication is coded by prepositions regardless of whether the predicate or the complement is inherently locative or not: (nouns that are + animate require additional marking if they are to be used as locative complements) (examples from the London-Lund corpus):

Non-locative predicates:
‘I’ll be at home’
‘I can spend the whole of that time on those two papers.’

Potentially locative predicates:
‘and you send them through to me in Loughton’
‘it may have come from the same source again’
The interest of grammaticalization of the locative predication in Chadic languages is that there is no clear motivation why the domain of locative predication is different from other domains and why the structure of the domain should be the way it is. The motivation cannot be cognitive, as other languages have different structures for locative predication. The motivation cannot be lexical, as different constructions involved in the predication have different forms.

5. Conclusions
The importance of the first grammaticalization described in this paper is that it has created a morphological means for coding functions that have not been described before. The ultimate source of these grammaticalizations lies in phonological alternations involving lexical items and grammatical morphemes. The importance of the second grammaticalization is that its emergence explains why the grammatical systems of Chadic languages have not grammaticalized the category passive. The importance of the third grammaticalization is that it provides the evidence that grammaticalization may involve the emergence of a functional domain rather than an individual construction. The formal properties of various constructions within the domain depend on the properties of lexical items chosen for the predicate and the locative complement.
**Abbreviations**

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
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