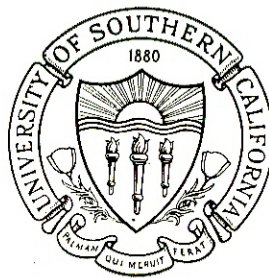


NONI GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO VERB MORPHOLOGY

BY

LARRY M. HYMAN



SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA OCCASIONAL PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS NO. 9
AUGUST 1981

PUBLISHED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90007

TO MY FRIEND
MARK BINTUM
OF NKOR

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	v
PART I: PHONOLOGY	
Chapter 1. The Sound System	1
Chapter 2. The Tone System	5
PART II: THE NOUN PHRASE	
Chapter 3. Noun Classes	7
Chapter 4. Pronouns	15
Chapter 5. Possessives	19
Chapter 6. Determiners	23
Chapter 7. Other Modifiers	26
Chapter 8. Word Order and Summary	31
PART III: VERB STRUCTURE	
Chapter 9. Verb Forms	34
Chapter 10. Progressive Aspect	41
Chapter 11. Verb Conjugation I: Introduction	51
Chapter 12. Verb Conjugation II: Main Clauses	56
Chapter 13. Verb Conjugation III: Relative Clauses	65
Chapter 14. Verb Conjugation IV: Consecutive Clauses	69
Chapter 15. Summary and Rules	73
PART IV: BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE	
Chapter 16. Word Order and Grammatical Relations	76
Chapter 17. Oblique and Adverbial Complements	80
Chapter 18. Auxiliary Verbs	87

PART V: COMPLEX SENTENCES

Chapter 19. Relative Clauses	91
Chapter 20. Sequential and Subjunctive Clauses	95
Chapter 21. Temporal and Condition Clauses	100
Chapter 22. Interrogatives and Focus	104
REFERENCES	109
ENGLISH-NONI WORD LIST	110
INDEX	120

PREFACE

The present volume, *Noni Grammatical Structure*, is the third in a series of SCOPIL publications stemming from work on the languages of the Grassfields Bantu region of Cameroon. Though not a complete grammar, this work attempts to present the major grammatical structures of an important language, which although not properly Grassfields Bantu, belongs to the closely related "Be-boid" group (Hombert 1980).

Work was carried out on Noni part time during an eleven week period in 1977 with Mark Bintum serving as principal consultant. Because of the time limitations placed on this study, the results presented here cannot be considered definitive. Nevertheless, we feel confident that the materials described herein will be of use to comparativists and future Noni scholars--cf. the promising start made by Richards (1981). Particular attention is paid to the complex verb morphology, an area which has been studied in depth only in a few languages--none Be-boid--in the area.

The grammatical sketch that follows is organized in five parts:

Part I describes the consonants, vowels and tones found in the language.

Part II describes the noun class system and the various pronouns and modifiers which occur in the noun phrase.

Part III describes verb forms, the various tenses and aspects as they occur in different clause types.

Part IV presents the syntax of the simplex clause: its word order properties, expression of grammatical relations and verbal auxiliaries.

Part V goes beyond the simplex clause to treat complex sentences involving relative, sequential, temporal and condition clauses. The section concludes with a discussion of interrogatives and focus.

Following the above 22 chapters and the references, an extended English-Noni wordlist is provided which should be of interest to comparativists and specialists of the Grassfields Bantu borderland.

This project has been made possible by a National Science Foundation grant no. BNS76-81261 which allowed travel to Cameroon as well as research at the University of Southern California. We gratefully acknowledge this support as well as the fellowship the author received from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation for work on comparative Grassfields Bantu grammar in 1979-80.

A number of persons in Cameroon greatly facilitated our study. First, Dr. Emmanuel Sounjock of the then CE.REL.T.RA (now C:R.E.A.) in Yaounde gave generously of his time and expressed great interest in our project. We thank him and the Cameroonian authorities for the research permits we were granted.

We also are very grateful to Fr. Engelbert Kofon for introducing us to his Noni language, for sharing his materials with us, and for his personal comments on an earlier--now superceded--study of the Noni noun classes (Hyman 1975).

But above all it is our friendship with Mr. Mark Bintum which made this grammar a reality. Mark was the principal Noni consultant both for the 1975 study and for this study. He gave selflessly to this project and was at times more effectively devoted to it than the author himself.

vi

We have made Mark Bintum wait too long to see the fruits of his devoted labor. For all of his giving, patience and (polite) pressure, I thank him and dedicate this book to him.

Larry M. Hyman

Los Angeles, 8/24/81

PART I: PHONOLOGY

1

THE SOUND SYSTEM

1. *Vowels*. The Noni language possesses a system of seven short and seven long vowels:

i	u	ii	uu
e	o	ee	oo
ɛ	ɔ	ɛɛ	ɔɔ
a		aa	

The above orthographic vowels are pronounced as follows:

(1) i is pronounced [i], e.g. -fí 'take'. ii is pronounced [i:], e.g. -fff [ff:] 'to be fed up with'.

(2) e is usually pronounced [ə], more rarely [e], e.g. -cé [cə] ([cé]) 'pass the night'. ee is usually pronounced [e:], although the pronunciation [ɛ:] is occasionally heard for some words, e.g. cèe [cɛ:] ([cɛ:]) 'palm-kernel'.

(3) ɛ is pronounced [ɛ], e.g. -lé [lé] 'become wet, sink'. ɛɛ is pronounced [ɛ:], e.g. -léé [lé:] 'deceive'.

(4) a is pronounced [a], e.g. -sa [sa] 'go ahead'. aa is pronounced [a:], e.g. -saa [sa:] 'to tear'.

(5) ɔ is pronounced [ɔ], e.g. -kɔ [kɔ] 'snore'. ɔɔ is pronounced [ɔ:], e.g. -kɔɔ [kɔ:] 'catch'.

(6) o is pronounced a very tense [ɔ], e.g. -dó [dɔ] 'say'. oo is pronounced [ɔ:], e.g. -doo [dɔ:] 'be numerous'.

(7) u is pronounced [ɔ], e.g. ḡūn [ḡōn] 'thatching grass'. When preceded by a stop or w, u also conditions a labio-dentalization of the consonant, e.g. -kfu [kfw] 'sift (something moist)'. Although predictable, this labiodentalization is expressed orthographically in the consonant sequences ff, kf, bv, dv, gv, mv and wv. uu is pronounced [u:], e.g. -yúú [yú:] 'be clear, to dawn'. In a few cases labio-dentalization is observed before uu, e.g. kfúú [kfw:] 'rope'.

2. *Consonants*. The following consonants are distinguished in Noni, arranged in the appropriate rows and columns. Rows: voiceless non-continuants, voiced non-continuants, voiceless fricatives, approximants, and nasals. Columns: labial, dental, palatal and velar. These consonants are presented in their orthographic representations except for š (written sh) and ɣ (written gh). They are pronounced as indicated in the following paragraphs.

	t	c	k	(?)
	b	d	j	g
	f	s	š	
	w	l	ɣ	ɣ
	m	n	ɲ	ŋ

(1) *Voiceless non-continuants*: t is pronounced [t], e.g. -tew [təw] 'prefer'. c is pronounced [tʃ], e.g. -cám [tʃám] 'chew'. k is pronounced [k], e.g. -kíé [kíé] 'laugh'.

(2) *Voiced non-continuants*: b is pronounced [b], e.g. -bóó [bó:] 'bear a child'. d is pronounced [d], e.g. -dee [de:] 'cook'. j is pronounced [dʒ], e.g. -jéw [dʒéw] 'go mad, become drunk'. g is pronounced [g], e.g. -ge [gə] 'make, do'.

(3) *Voiceless fricatives*: f is pronounced [f], e.g. few [fəw] 'to measure'. s is pronounced [s], e.g. -sée [sé:] 'tell'. The sound [ʃ] is represented orthographically as sh, e.g. -shé [ʃé] 'spend the day'.

(4) *Approximants*: w is pronounced [w], e.g. -wám [wám] 'scream'. l is pronounced [l], e.g. -léy [léy] 'enter'. ɣ is pronounced [j], e.g. -yéɲ [jéɲ] 'see'. The sound [ɣ], an unrounded velar approximant, is represented orthographically as gh, e.g. -ghew [ɣəw] 'be jealous'. It occurs relatively rarely in Noni.

(5) *Nasals*: m is pronounced [m], e.g. -ma [ma] 'tell (a riddle)'. n is pronounced [n], e.g. -nə [nə] 'to leave'. ɲ is pronounced [ɲ], e.g. -ɲá [ɲá] 'give', and is not written ny because of such oppositions as nyém [ɲjəm] 'dry season' vs. ɲəm [ɲəm] 'animal'. ŋ is pronounced [ŋ], e.g. -ŋám [ŋám] 'to pinch', and occurs rarely in syllable-initial position.

(6) *Glottal stop*: The glottal stop occurs very rarely in Noni and has been recorded in the following words: áy? 'no', mbā? 'button', cá? 'granary made of bamboo', nǝ? (name of a society), and ŋwā? (=ŋwà) 'book'. Except for 'no', all words with glottal stop appear to have been borrowed, most likely from Lamso?. ? can only appear in syllable-final position. It may appear after falling tone short vowels occurring before pause, e.g. ɲəm yé = ɲəm yé? 'this animal'.

In addition to the above, a few other consonant types occur in the language. We have already mentioned the fact that t, k, b, d, g, m and w are labiodentalized before u, e.g. /butu/ 'day' is written bvutfu and pronounced [bʷotʰu]. In addition, the labio-velar stops [kp] and [gb] occur as alternate realizations of k+w and g+w, respectively: kwen 'firewood' is realized either [kʷən] or [kpən]; gwóón 'bamboo' is realized [gʷó:n] or [gbó:n], etc. We have chosen to standardize this variation with orthographic kw and gw.

3. *Syllable structure*. The majority of Noni syllables begin with a consonantal onset, continue with a vocalic nucleus, and terminate either in \emptyset or in one of a limited set of final consonants, as summarized in the following formula:

$$(N) C_1 (G) V_1 (V_2) (C_2)$$

The *consonantal onset* may consist of up to three consonants: a non-syllabic nasal (N), a stem-initial consonant (C₁), and a w or ɣ glide (G),

e.g. -ngóy 'break' (by snapping), -ngwáy 'go sour'. The remaining source of initial consonant sequences, that involving orthographic C+f and C+v, has been analyzed as labiodental affrication. Of the consonants presented in section 2, only the glottal stop cannot initiate a syllable. The rare consonant gh occurs only in this position, while very few syllables have ŋ as their C₁ consonant. Cases of C+y are relatively rare, e.g. -fyéy 'mix'. w occurs frequently after velars in both nouns and verbs, e.g. -gwe 'fall', ŋwāw 'square granary'. It has been recorded once after sh (-shwaw 'to scratch') and after t, b and f in nouns only, e.g. twē 'witch', fwē 'pregnancy'.

NC₁ sequences have three sources:

(1) In nouns, especially (though not exclusively) in genders 1/2 and 9/10, a NC₁ sequence is often noted, e.g. ntòn/bòntòn 'pot/pots' 1/2, ndvū/ndvū 'cloth/cloths' 9/10 (but also kènşàn/bìnsàn 'net/nets' 7/8).

(2) Verbs with a first person singular subject take a homorganic nasal agreement marker (including auxiliary and consecutivized verbs), e.g. me nyemté mbinè 'I am singing and dancing' (cf. wvù yemté binè 'he is singing and dancing').

(3) A few verb stems and adverbials inexplicably begin with a NC₁ sequence, e.g. -mbyáy 'tell a lie', nt'āy 'well' (adv.).

The only syllables lacking a consonantal onset are prepositions, conjunctions and certain noun prefixes which consist of a vowel alone, e.g. ε 'if', ε- (class 6 prefix, as in ε-fòm 'fat').

The *vocalic nucleus* consists in most cases of a single short or long vowel, although some sequences of two unlike vowels are possible (see below). If there is no final consonant, both short and long vowel syllables are frequently attested, e.g. -ka 'clear one's throat', -kaa 'grind'. When there is a final consonant, long vowels are found relatively rarely, and only before m and n. Most cases of a long vowel + m involve either the -m positional extension on verbs (e.g. -jì[m 'lie down']) or the class 12 and 15 -m suffix on nouns (e.g. meēm 'oil' 15 [Bantu 6a]). Syllables ending in a long vowel + n are rare, e.g. nt'èen 'many'. In cases where a nasal is followed in the same word by a homorganic consonant + vowel, it is always assigned to the following syllable. Thus, -kaaŋkè 'be frying' (from -kán 'fry') is syllabified as -kaa.ŋkè.

In addition to the rare glottal stop discussed above, only the consonants w, y, m, n and ŋ can occur as the *final consonant* (C₂). w occurs after all vowels (although instances of uw are rare):

-jíw	'to poison'	gvùw	'chest'
-kew	'gather firewood'	-kow	'become wealthy'
-kew	'start'	-gaw	'grind'
	-kaw	'promise'	

All vowels occur before final y except i:

-kéy	'to cough'	-kfúy	'trim (tree)'
-kéy	'groan in pain'	-goy	'buy'
-káy	'shout at'	-koy	'pick (off tree)'

It should be noted that éw and éy are pronounced [Λ^w] and [Λ^y], respectively, after the velar consonants k, g and gh, e.g. [kΛ^w] 'start', [kΛ^y] 'groan in pain'.

All seven (short) vowels contrast before final m, n and ŋ:

jìm	'back'	-kúm	'to heat'
jèm	'war, grave'	-kóm	'to touch'
-kəm	'part friends forever'	-góm	'look for'
	-kám		'squeeze'
-bín	'to dance'	-kfun	'to hit'
-ben	'rise'	-kon	'to slander'
-bén	'call'	-bon	'stab'
	-kán		'scrape'
-cíŋ	'tremble'	-tíúŋ	'be inclined'
-yeŋ	'thigh'	-kóŋ	'chase'
gwéŋ	'root'	-kəŋ	'like'
	-káŋ		'fry'

em is pronounced [ʌm] after velars, e.g. [kʌm] 'part friends forever', while eŋ is pronounced [ʌŋ] after all consonants, e.g. [gʷʌŋ] 'root'

2

THE TONE SYSTEM

1. Each syllable carries contrastive tone in Noni. Three level (register) tones characterize the language: H (high), M (mid) and L (low). These three levels are represented by means of the three accent marks á, ā and à, as seen in the following examples:

b ^á fé	'fish (pl.)'	f ^w éw	'thorn'
b ^ā fē	'goats'	k ^w ēn	'firewood'
b ^à lè	'fish (sg.)'	g ^w èw	'shoulder'

In our orthography we shall propose that M tone be left unmarked, unless there is some explicit need to mark it (e.g. where there is a ML falling tone on one vowel; see below). Thus, 'goats' will be written bīe, and 'firewood' will be written kwen.

The language also makes use of a number of contour tones involving a change from one of the three tone levels to another within the same syllable. Of the six logical possibilities (LH, LM, MH, HL, MH, ML), only MH does not exist in the language. The remaining five contour tones are all found on monosyllables, as in the following noun examples:

LH:	t ^w ě	'witch'	b ^ī én	'bile'
LM:	wān	'child'	b ^ī ē	'goat'
HL:	jāy	'mistake' (=only example)		
HM:	gāy	'grazing grass'	g ^ō ō	'spear'
ML:	l ^ē w	'oath'	m ^ē m	'oil'

Except in certain class 5 nouns, the HM contour tone is rare in Noni, as is the HL tone. LH, LM and ML all frequently occur on both nouns and verbs. Finally, two nouns have been found with a complex rising-falling (LHL) tone: m^ūn 'arrow', n^ā 'heel'.

In all cases the domain of tone is the syllable. Thus, in syllables beginning with a NC sequence, the nasal always carries the phonetic pitch of the beginning point of the tone of its syllable, e.g.

[^á N]	:	mb ^á sé	'soups'	
[^ā N]	:	ndvu	'cloths'	n ^ā cōm 'drums'
[^à N]	:	n ^ā cōm	'drum'	nd ^v ū 'cloth'

The starting point of a contour tone generally seems to begin in the C₁ consonant, especially in the case of LM and LH, and especially when the C₁ is w or y, e.g. L tone [y] in both y^w 'house' and y^w 'in the house'.

Where a contour tone is realized over two vowels, we shall mark the beginning point on the first vowel and the end point on the second, e.g. b^īén 'bile'. As seen in t^wě 'witch' and jāy 'mistake' above, ^á stands for a LH rising tone and ^ā for a HL falling tone, both realized on a single vowel. As seen in other examples such as wān 'child', other contours require two

tone marks when there is only one vowel to receive them. Ideally our orthography should have the following single contour marks: \bar{a} (LM), \bar{a} (HM) and \bar{a} (ML).

2. There is no downdrift in Noni. Thus, a H-L-H or a M-L-M sequence will be realized with both H (or M) tones on the same phonetic pitch level. The following variations should however be noted:

(1) While H and L do not vary appreciably in their realization, M is optionally lowered to 'M (a lowered mid tone) in two environments: (a) when preceded by L and followed by H, and (b) when preceded by H and followed by L. That is, both L-M-H and H-M-L are likely to be realized with the M tone slightly lower than its normal level in other contexts (e.g. H-M).

(2) The LH rising tone is realized as a phonetic LM before a H or L tone or before pause. It is realized as phonetic LH only before a M tone, e.g. $f\dot{o}w\check{a}y$ [_ _] 'at the market', $f\dot{o}w\check{a}y$ $f\dot{o}me$ [_ _] - - 'at my market'. Similarly, the HL falling tone is frequently realized ML after L or after pause, although this lowering of HL to ML seems to be optional, varying within the speech of the same speaker.

(3) The LM rising tone is always realized L'M (i.e. rising to a lowered mid pitch level). Similarly, the ML falling tone is always realized as 'ML. Thus, the ending point of LM and the beginning point of ML are slightly lower, phonetically, than the M tone occurring in non-contour contexts, as summarized below:

WRITTEN	PRONOUNCED	
$y\check{e}w$	[$\check{y}\bar{a}w$]	'in the house'
$y\bar{e}w$	[$\check{y}\bar{a}w$]	'house'
$j\hat{a}y$	[$\check{y}\hat{a}y$]~[$\check{y}\bar{a}\check{y}$]	'mistake'
$\bar{e}w$	[$\bar{e}w$]	'oath'
<i>af. kwen</i>	[$k\bar{w}\bar{e}n$]	'firewood'

(4) A L-H sequence is realized L-LH (phonetic L-LM except before M) when the two syllables occur in close grammatical association, e.g. $w\acute{a}y$ 'market', but: $f\dot{o}w\check{a}y$ 'at the market' (from $f\dot{o}+w\acute{a}y$).

Aside from the above, nouns do not undergo tonal alternations in context, but rather carry their same isolation tone when preceded or followed by other tones. (There are, however, some tonal changes that take place when deriving a plural from a singular; see Chapter 3). Verbs, on the other hand, undergo various tonal alternations in different parts of their paradigm, as noted in chapters dealing with the various tense/aspects of the verb. It should be noted that in these alternations, M is sometimes related to H, sometimes to L.

PART II: THE NOUN PHRASE

3

NOUN CLASSES

Noni, like neighboring related languages, possesses a full system of noun classes, which condition agreement on modifiers and pronouns in various parts of the grammar. In this chapter singular-plural formation is outlined, followed by a treatment of pronouns and noun modifiers in subsequent chapters. The numbering used for these classes is, unless otherwise indicated, to be interpreted as representing the noun classes carrying the same numbers in Narrow Bantu. In the case of the plural class of class 11 [=Bantu class 19], and two of the locative classes, no Bantu equivalent is known. Emphasis here is on the present properties of the noun classes. A separate study on the significance of these classes for Bantu studies is available in Hombert (1980).

In the following sections each class will be given a number. A noun class is either singular or plural in nature in most cases. A singular/plural pairing is termed a *gender*.

1. *Gender 1/2*. Nouns in gender 1/2 have a \emptyset prefix in the singular, and a *bo-* prefix in the plural. Roughly two thirds of the nouns in this gender have an initial NC₁ sequence. The homorganic nasal is not interpreted as a prefix, however, since it occurs in both the singular and the plural:

WITH NASAL:	nfòŋ 'chief'	bɔnfòŋ 'chiefs'
	mbòŋ 'dwarf cow'	bòmbòŋ 'dwarf cows'
WITHOUT NASAL:	cɔŋ 'thief'	bocɔŋ 'thieves'
	bvulè 'lion'	bòbvulè 'lions'

A considerable number of human nouns fall into this gender, although most 1/2 nouns are not humans. This gender also includes many borrowings, e.g. *nàmà* 'tobacco' (English), *sáka* 'news' (Mungaka). The tone of the *bo-* prefix is generally predictable: it is normally L except in the case when the stem begins with a H tone (as in 'thieves' above). Since very few nouns begin with a H tone in 1/2, M tone *bo-* will be rare. The plural form 'chiefs' above is an exception. Other exceptions include: *bòñiìm* 'people' (sg. *wè*), *bokènè* 'women' (sg. *kwòŋ*), *bɔnfaà* 'slaves' (sg. *nfwà*). The singular/plural forms *twé/bocéw* 'witch/es', in addition to their segmental irregularity in deriving the plural from the singular, show the same tonal irregularity as 'thief/ves' above. It is interesting to note that all tonally irregular plurals of this type involve human nouns. A different kind of tonal irregularity is seen in the following examples (the only of their kind): *wànggá*/*bòwànggá* 'rabbit/s', *mún*/*bòmún* 'arrow/s'. Here we see that with the addition of the plural prefix, the tones of the singular shift position (to the right in the case of 'rabbits', to the left in the case of 'arrows').

The following nouns irregularly undergo a modification of their C₁ consonant in deriving the plural from the singular:

wè	'person'	boñiim	'people'
wān	'child'	boom	'children'
twě	'witch'	bocéw	'witches'
kwòɔn	'woman'	bòkɛnè	'women'
nfwà	'slave'	bɔnfaà	'slaves'

In all of these exceptional nouns, the singular involves a w (either as C₁ or following the C₁), which is not present in the plural (cf. PGB *ù-/bá-).

In addition to the human nouns, gender 1/2 contains a second definable group of nouns which are nominalizations derived from verbs. In all but two cases (given below), nominalizations involve a NC₁ initial:

WITH NASAL:	ntòm	'message'	pl. bònṭòm	(-tóm 'send')
	ngòw	'grinding stone'	pl. bòngòw	(-gɔw 'grind')
WITHOUT NASAL:	còŋ	'thief'	pl. bocóŋ	(-còŋ 'steal')
	kàn	'swear word'	pl. bòkàn	(-kan 'swear')

(The noun $\bar{t}ew$ 'oath' may be derived from the verb -lew 'avoid, restrict', although the tones do not appear to line up.)

2. *Gender 3/4*. Containing considerably fewer nouns than the large 1/2 gender, gender 3/4 nouns are characterized by a C₁w sequence in the singular, with the w disappearing in the plural:

twéŋ	'vine branch'	pl. téŋ
kwen	'firewood'	pl. ken
gwèè	'ceiling'	pl. gèè

The three nouns above represent the three tone patterns found on monosyllabic nouns in this gender. Only two bisyllabic 3/4 nouns have been found:

mbwesem	'green grasshopper'	pl. mbesem
ngwéŋsé	'earthworm'	pl. ngéŋsé

Only one irregular noun has been found in 3/4:

wé	'field'	pl. gè
----	---------	--------

The number 'hundred' seems once to have been a 3/4 noun:

gwéé	'hundred'	gée fé	'two hundred'
------	-----------	--------	---------------

3. *Gender 3/13*. A few class 3 nouns take their plural in class 13 (prefix ji-) instead of class 4. Of the six nouns in this gender, four involve irregularities in the plural:

REGULAR:	dweè	'bridge'	pl. jidweè
	bwāw	'rat (sp.)'	pl. jibwāw
IRREGULAR:	wáy	'market'	pl. jiwáci
	ngóy	'fire, gun'	pl. jingóci 'guns'
	kóm	'mountain'	pl. jikomè
	wvún	'tail'	pl. jiwénte

4. *Gender 5/6*. Class 5 is marked by either \emptyset or an -e suffix. Plural class 6 is marked by an ε - prefix. The following nouns represent the tonal changes that occur in going from the singular to the plural in both bisyllabic and monosyllabic nouns:

BISYLLABIC:	lówe	'bean'	pl. εiów
	temé	'axe'	pl. etem
	mbenè	'breast'	pl. embēn
MONOSYLLABIC:	núu	'knee'	pl. enú
	lá	'compound'	pl. εfa
	leè	'pumpkin'	pl. εlēh
	díe	'name'	pl. edie

In bisyllabic nouns, singular H-M, M-H and M-L correspond, respectively, to plural M-H, M-M and M-ML. In monosyllabic nouns, singular HM, H and ML (of which there is only one example) correspond, respectively, to plural M-H, M-M and M-ML. A fourth monosyllabic tonal class, M, becomes M-M in the plural.

A number of segmental irregularities are noted in nouns of this gender. Three nouns exhibit a final η in the plural (reminiscent of certain verb forms treated in Chapter 10):

góó	'spear'	pl. εgóη
gíí	'rice, guinea corn'	pl. εgíη
leè	'pumpkin'	pl. εlēη

In addition to the above, the following exceptional singular/plural alternations have been noted:

tíí	'belly'	pl. εtēw
díw	'day'	pl. εdiow
té	'stone'	pl. εta
bóó	'angle'	pl. εbow
jisé	'eye'	pl. εjise

As can be seen in some of the above examples, not all class 5 nouns end in a final -e. In some cases it appears that this suffix has assimilated to the preceding vowel (e.g. góó 'spear', from earlier *góóe). In other cases there may not have been a final -e. Note, finally, that the final vowel of nsoyí 'cooking stone' (pl. ensoy) is -i rather than -e because of a general process in Noni whereby suffixal -e becomes [i] after γ (cf. the progressive aspect formation process involving the change of -ye to -yí, rather than to -ye).

5. *Gender 5/13*. Some nouns whose singular is in class 5 take a plural in class 13, rather than in class 6.

nfóón	'leaf'	pl. jinfóón
lemè	'work'	pl. jilemè
biné	'dance'	pl. jibiné

Unlike the class 13 in gender 3/13, the 13 of 5/13 does not introduce segmental irregularities. One noun can occur in either 5/6 or 5/13:

lemé	'tongue'	pl. εlem / jilemé
------	----------	-------------------

6. *Gender 7/8*. By far the largest gender, in terms of the number of nouns belonging to it, is 7/8. Class 7 is characterized by the prefix *ke-*, which can take M or L tone. Class 8 is characterized by a like tone prefix *bi-* (sometimes realized *be-*):

kebōw	'hole, room'	pl. bibōw
kēcàw	'belt'	pl. bicàw
kebáŋ	'palm tree'	pl. bibáŋ

Approximately one third of the nouns in class 7 can be realized with the prefix *e-* (identical to class 6, but still taking class 7 agreement) instead of *ke-*. It cannot be predicted which nouns allow this alternative realization of their prefix. It seems, though, that many of the most common words fall into this category:

kebó / ebó	'hand'	ketó / etó	'ear'
kete / ete	'tree'	kegē / egē	'tooth'

Only one noun has been found which must have *e-* as its prefix:

elemé / *kelemé	'blood'
-----------------	---------

The following unexpected segmental changes occur in singular/plural formation in gender 7/8:

egē	'tooth'	pl. bigēw
efowé	'medicine'	pl. bifóó
ekelè	'bag'	pl. bikelè
elemé	'blood'	pl. biléém
ekale	'foot'	pl. bikaa
elente	'wound'	pl. bilémté

It should be noted that many of the class 7 nouns which allow *e-* as their prefix also end in what appears to be an older *-e* suffix (e.g. 'medicine', etc. in the above examples).

7. *Gender 9/10*. Nouns in gender 9/10 are characterized by a lack of a prefix (or suffix), but by tonal alternations in deriving the plural from the singular. The tonal alternations encountered in this gender are illustrated below:

jòm	'antelope'	pl. jōm
bìè	'fish (sg.)'	pl. bíé
bīē	'goat'	pl. bīe
bwě	'dog'	pl. bwé

As seen above, almost all 9/10 nouns are monosyllabic, a few exceptions being the following:

mbàsè	'vegetable'	pl. mbásé
mfumè	'caterpillar'	pl. mfumèn
cūma	'locust'	pl. cuma

When the singular has L tone, the plural can be with either ML or H tone. When the singular has LM tone, the plural has M tone, and when the singular

has LH tone, the plural has H tone. The four monosyllabic nouns above reconstruct with an earlier prefix tone (L in the singular, H in the plural) and an additional final stem tone, as follows: *'jòm/'jòm 'antelope/s', *'bìe/'bìe 'fish', *'bfe/'bfe 'goat/s', *'bwé/'bwé 'dog/s' (<PGB ì-/í-).

A little less than one third of the nouns in 9/10 begin with a NC₁ sequence, e.g.

njèè	'sheep'	pl.	njeè
nsàn	'friend'	pl.	nsán
ndvū	'cloth'	pl.	ndvu

Most animals are in the 9/10 gender, with the most common ones generally occurring *without* a homorganic nasal (e.g. 'fish', 'hen', 'dog', 'snake', 'goat'). Nouns which begin with a nasal consonant do not show a N vs. NN opposition, e.g. ñàm 'animal', pl. ñām.

The nouns cān (pl. can) and shēm 'liver, fruit (earlier: heart)' (pl. shem) clearly show that 9/10 was once characterized by an i- prefix. These nouns appear in related languages with initial [k] and [t], respectively, which have undergone palatalization in Noni (cf. the realization of the number 'three' in Chapter 7).

8. *Gender 11/12 (PGB 19/18)*. Nouns in gender 11/12 are characterized by a fe- (sometimes realized fī-) prefix in the singular, and a mun- prefix (and sometimes an additional -m suffix) in the plural:

fèmbì	'kolanut'	pl.	mùmbìm	'kola trees'
fycè	'thing'	pl.	mweēm	
fèncāw	'ring, wire'	pl.	mùncāw	

The prefix tone can be either L or M. When a noun ending in M takes a -m suffix in the plural, its M tones goes up to H:

fetene	'squirrel'	pl.	munteném
fèñḑ	'knife'	pl.	mùñḑm
feñí	'bird'	pl.	muñífm

11/12 contains many diminutivized nouns, which can come from any of the other genders (except 14/15), as seen below:

fèñḑ / mùñḑm	'knife/ves'	<	ñḑ / ñḑ	'machet/s' 9/10
fete / muntém	'stick/s'	<	kete / bete	'tree/s' 7/8
fèntèw / muntèw	'small village/s'	<	ntèw / bòntèw	'village/s' 1/2

What is interesting is that in deriving the diminutive, the same segmental irregularities found in the plural of the basic class arise:

fekenè / mukenè	<i>dim. of:</i>	kwòḑn / bokenè	'woman/women' 1/2
fewáci / muwáci	<i>dim. of:</i>	wáy / jiwáci	'market/s' 3/13
fegóḑ / mungóḑ	<i>dim. of:</i>	góḑ / egóḑ	'spear/s' 5/6

9. *Gender 14/15 (PGB 14/6a)*. Nouns whose singular are in class 14 begin with a bvū- prefix, which usually carries M tone. Relatively few class 14 nouns take a plural, although when possible, this plural is always in class 15 (prefix mōn-; suffix -m, with the same tonal changes as in class 12):

bvushíw	'face'	pl. monshím
bvudúú	'place'	pl. mondvúúm
bvuków	'ladder'	pl. munúkóm
bvulém	'fufu'	(no pl.)
bvutów	'honey'	(no pl.)
bvuléw	'intestines'	(no pl.)

Included in class 14 (and also not taking a plural) are abstract and quality nouns, most of which are derived from verbs, taking a *bvu-* prefix and an *-e* suffix:

bvudéfè	'length'	< -dēfè	'become long'
bvuféṅè	'fatness'	< -faṅ	'become fat'
bvukúfè	'shortness'	< -kúfè	'become short'
bvujiṭè	'weight'	< -jiṭè	'become heavy'

The eight days of the week also belong to this class, though with a H tone on their prefix (note also the unexpected [ʒ]):

bvútfū	'day 1'	bvúṅkaàdēh	'day 5'
bvúṅkaà	'day 2'	bvúʒíidēh	'day 6'
bvúʒí	'day 3'	bvúśów	'day 7'
bvúkēmā	'day 4'	bvúmbòn	'day 8'

Finally, it can be noted that class 14 is normally lacking from Grassfields Bantu languages.

Single class genders. In addition to the above singular/plural genders, some nouns occur in a singular class without a corresponding plural, and some occur in a plural class without a corresponding singular. The reason why a corresponding plural or singular does not exist is usually semantic (e.g. it doesn't make sense to speak of 'fatnesses'). Examples are given below:

class 1 :	bòṅ	'brain'	séw	'profit'
	ṅkǎṅ	'cornbeer'	bíièṅ	'groundnut'
2 :	(no class 2 noun exists without a class 1 singular)			
3 :	gbèṅ	'tusk'	fwéfwé	'wind'
	fwem	'chalk'	ṅgóy	'fire' (13 = 'guns')
4=10 :	fTṽ	'kidney'	bábá	'gall-bladder'
	nJTm	'smoke'	mbyáy	'lying'
5 :	(none)			
6 :	efom	'fat'	emam	'twins'
7 :	kèmbèw	'cloud'	ketó	'ear'
	kedéw	'beard'	keyí	'arm'

(an alternate word for 'ear', kèntontóṅ, has the regular plural form b̀ntontóṅ; the plural of 'arm' is irregular and suppletive: ṅkeṅkeṅ, class 4=10).

8 :	(none)			
9 :	jàṅ	'rain'	gbèw	'shoulder'
	bíén	'bile'		

- class 10 : (see class 4)
 class 11 : (none)
 class 12 : m̀̀ngāy 'strength'
 class 13 : j̀̀tā 'ribs'
 class 14 : bv̀̀yēw 'flatness' bv̀̀fèé 'intelligence'
 (quality nouns; see above)
 class 15 : m̀̀è̀m 'oil' m̀̀ngkfunyè 'pus'
 mbv̀̀m 'wine' m̀̀ngkngè 'eyebrows'
 m̀̀m 'flour' m̀̀njāh 'urine'
 (mass-liquid nouns) m̀̀nshéem 'sand'

Locative classes. In addition to the above 15 noun classes, Noni has three locative noun classes, which are numbered 16, 17 and 18. Of these, only 16 has a consistent prefix (fɔ-). All three classes vary in meaning from 'in', 'at', 'to', etc., with locative class apparently being unpredictable. These three classes are best illustrated by means of a possessive phrase:

- class 16 : f̀̀jísé fɔ wan 'the forehead of the child' (lit. at/on eye
 class 17 : èb̀̀ jɔ wan 'in the hand of the child' of child)
 class 18 : ỳ̀w dɔu wan 'in the house of the child'

The markers fɔ, jɔ and dɔu are conditioned by the locative meaning of each phrase, as seen from a comparison with the following:

- class 5 : j̀̀isé j̀̀i wan 'the eye of the child'
 class 7 : èb̀̀ ke wan 'the hand of the child'
 class 9 : ỳ̀w ỳ̀ wān 'the house of the child'

In the above examples it is seen that these locative classes are derived from other noun classes, much as the class 11 diminutive derives from other classes (e.g. kete 'tree' 7 becomes fete 'stick' = "small tree" 11). But just as some class 11 nouns do not have a basic non-diminutive correlate, some locatives do not come from basic nouns, e.g.

- class 16 : f̀̀fǎ 'on the head' (cf. ekɔ̀̀e 'head')
 f̀̀fǎ|ááŋ 'at the summit' (e.g. of a mountain, tree)
 class 17 : èm̀̀ 'in the mouth' (cf. d̀̀ow 'mouth')
 èk̀̀ 'under'
 class 18 : c̀̀n 'around the waist'

Only three cases have been found of class 18: ỳ̀w 'in the house' (cf. ỳ̀w 'house' 9/10), c̀̀n 'in the hut' (cf. c̀̀n 'hut' 9/10), c̀̀n 'around the waist'. It should be noted that while class 16 corresponds to class 16 *pa- in Bantu, no correlates exist for Noni classes 17 and 18 either in Bantu or in other neighboring languages.

In deriving a locativized noun, two possible alternate strategies can be used: (i) one can change the noun class to 16, 17 or 18, according to the noun, in which case the fɔ, jɔ and dɔu agreement markers appear; or (ii) one can maintain (at least in many cases) the original noun class identity of the non-locativized form and simply add a locative suffix (-lé after vowels, -é after consonants), e.g.

fòjēh fɔ wan fòjēh wan é 'at the child's grave'

While not every locativized form allows this second alternative, whenever a locative is not converted to class 16, 17 or 18, the locative suffix is obligatory, most frequently co-occurring with the prepositions è 'in' and yí 'on':

è ɲwà lě 'in the book' è mutù wēm ɛ 'in my car'
 yí yēw é 'on the house' yí yēw wān é 'on the child's house'

In some rare cases the locative suffix appears without a preposition, e.g.

wōh wēm 'my country' wōh wēm é 'in my country'

The prepositions è and yí and the postposition lé/é are not considered to be markers of noun classes, since they do not condition agreement markers of their own.

4

PRONOUNS

1. The independent (simplex) pronouns in Noni are as follows:

	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
<i>1st person</i>	me	bèsèn (excl) beènè (incl)
<i>2nd person</i>	wò	bèn
<i>3rd person</i> LOG	wen	bòwen
<i>class</i> 1	wvù	2 bɔ́
3	wvú	4 yí
5	jí	6 yɔ́
7	ké	8 bí
9	yí	10 yí
11	fé	12 mú
		13 jí
14	bvú	15 mɔ́
16	(fɔ́)	
17	(jɔ́)	
18	(dvú)	

The above table presents both personal pronouns as well as the independent forms of pronouns for each noun class. A few comments are in order.

(a) Noni distinguishes between exclusive and inclusive 'we'. The form *bèsèn* is used when the speaker wishes to exclude the hearer, while the form *beènè* is used when the speaker wishes to include the hearer. As we shall see below, there is an exceptionally complex set of compound pronouns which can be used to identify the individual make-up of plural personal pronouns.

(b) Noni has both a singular and a plural logophoric (LOG) pronoun. These forms (*wen* and *bòwen*, respectively) are used in reported speech, whenever a pronoun in an indirect discourse refers back to the person or persons reporting the event. Examples are contrasted with the regular or non-logophoric subject pronouns below:

- sg. wvù dòó lɛ wvù bèè gèn fòwǎy 'he says that he [another] went to market'
 wvù dòó lɛ wen bèè gèn fòwǎy 'he says that he [himself] went to market'
- pl. bɔ́ dóó lɛ bɔ́ bèè gèn fòwǎy 'they say they [others] went to market'
 bɔ́ dóó lɛ bòwen bèè gèn fòwǎy 'they say they [themselves] went to market'

In the first sentence of each set, the regular singular and plural independent pronouns are used (*wvù* 'he' and *bɔ́* 'they', respectively). The resulting meaning conveyed is that the person(s) going to the market is not the same as the speaker(s) reporting the event. In the second sentence of each set, the logophoric pronouns are used (*wen* 'he/she [reporting person]' and *bòwen* 'they [reporting persons]'). The result is that the same person(s) reporting the event personally went to the market. It is interesting to note that these pronouns

are probably borrowed from Oku, Aghem or another Ring language, where [wén] is the class 1 demonstrative pronoun meaning 'this (one)' (cf. the treatment of demonstratives and logophoric pronouns in Hyman 1979a). While Ring languages use this form for the non-logophoric meaning, Noni seems to have been first sensitized to the logophoric distinction, and then borrowed the form [wén] with the opposite meaning.

(c) The pronoun forms for classes 16, 17 and 18 (the locative classes) are given in parentheses to indicate that they are not used in subject position. They *are* however used in many of the other contexts where the other class pronouns are acceptable (e.g. as a verb complement [object]).

Except for the locative classes, then, the above forms are used as subjects and objects, after prepositions, and after the verb 'to be', as illustrated with the pronoun *me* 'I/me' below:

<i>subject:</i>	me nɔ̀ɔ̀ ngwè	'I have fallen'
<i>object:</i>	wvù kfúně me	'he is hitting me'
<i>after prep:</i>	bó nɔ̀ɔ̀ ñǎ́ ké e me	'they have given it [cl. 7] to me'
<i>after 'be':</i>	è nǔ me	'it's me'

In the form 'they have given it to me' we have a class 7 object pronoun *ké* as well as a prepositional object pronoun *me* 'me'.

The locative classes can also be used as objects with the meaning of 'to it', 'in it', etc. In addition, the class 18 pronoun *dvú* has the partitive meaning 'of it' or 'with it' as seen in comparing the following two sentences involving the verb 'to give':

bó nɔ̀ɔ̀ ñǎ́ me	bó kèngòm	'they have given me plantains'
bó nɔ̀ɔ̀ ñǎ́ me	dvú	'they have given me it'

The first sentence literally means 'they have given me with plantains'. Since *dvú* "replaces" *bó kèngòm* 'with plantains', it is best translated 'with it'. This pronoun therefore is a prepositional object, i.e. standing for a preposition plus an inanimate object from a non-locative class. In the above utterance it stands for *bó + ké*, which cannot occur with the verb 'to give'. (The form *bó-ké* is acceptable as a complex pronoun meaning 'they including it [cl. 7]'; see below.) The partitive meaning of *dvú* is seen in a comparison of the following sentences:

bó nɔ̀ɔ̀ dǐé ké	'they have eaten it'
bó nɔ̀ɔ̀ dǐé dvú	'they have eaten some' ['of it']

Finally, note the meaning of *dvú* in the following example:

bó nɔ̀ɔ̀ ñǎ́ wan dvú 'they have given to the child too'

In this case *dvú* means 'too' (in addition to giving to someone else). Understood is that *dvú* stands for 'with it', and the 'it' refers to the giving of something to someone else. It is thus not hard to see how the prepositional and partitive senses have led to this nuance.

It is interesting to note that the class 1-15 pronouns given above can be used only as independent pronouns. That is, they do not co-occur with the noun to which they refer. As we shall see in Chapter 16, the only subject-verb agreement found in Noni is the homorganic nasal prefixed to all verbs having

me 'I' as their subject. The class pronouns are found with slight tonal modifications to be used as relative clause markers: with LM tone if the relativized noun is the subject of the relative clause, or with L tone if it is not (see Chapter 19).

2. In addition to the above simplex pronouns, Noni is rich in compound pronouns. These pronouns consist of a first part, which indicates the *person* (1st, 2nd, 3rd), and a second part, which indicates *number* and the possibility of logophoric reference. The first parts are, respectively, beè- (1st person), bèn-ε- (2nd person), and bɔ́- (3rd person). In the case of bèn- and bɔ́-, we are dealing, of course, with the plural pronouns 'you pl.' and 'they'. The possible second parts are the pronouns wɔ́ 'you sg.' and bèn 'you pl.', which can be added only to beè- (1st plural); wvù 'he/she' and bɔ́ 'they', which can be added to all three first parts, and wen 'LOG sg.' and bɔ́wen 'LOG pl.', which also can be added to all first parts. The pronoun beènè 'we [incl]' is derived from beè+bèn in an irregular fashion. In exactly one situation we are able to find a pronoun with *three* parts: when there is a first, a second and a third person involved, we derive forms such as beènèbɔ́ 'we [including you and he, she or them]'. The result is the following sixteen compound pronominal forms:

	<i>dual</i>		<i>plural</i>	
1+2 :	beèwɔ́	'you sg. & I'	beènè	'you pl. & I/we'/'you sg. & we'
1+3 :	beèwvù	'he & I'	beèbɔ́	'he/they & we'/'they & I'
2+3 :	bènèwvù	'he & you sg.'	bènèbɔ́	'he/they & you pl.'/'they & you sg.'
3+3 :	bɔ́wvù	'he & he'	bɔ́bɔ́	'he/they & they'
1+2+3 :	-----		beènèbɔ́	'he/they & you sg./pl. & I/we'
1+LOG :	beèwen	'he & he LOG'	beèbɔ́wen	'he/they & they LOG'/'you pl. & he LOG'
2+LOG :	benèwen	'you sg. & he LOG'	bènèbɔ́wen	'you sg./pl. & they LOG'/'you pl. & he LOG'
3+LOG :	bɔ́wèn	'he & he LOG'	bɔ́bɔ́wen	'he/they & they LOG'/'they & he LOG'
1+2+LOG :	-----		beènè èbɔ́wen	'he/they LOG & you sg./pl. & I/we'

As can be seen, dual forms are distinguished from plural forms. By "dual" is meant that there are only two persons represented in the compound pronoun; plural compound pronouns refer to more than two persons. Appropriately, there are no dual forms for 1+2+3rd person or for 1+2+LOG, since a minimum of three people is required. What is important in the above forms is that these compounds do not reflect the *composition* of subgroups in the plural forms: they merely indicate which persons are involved in the *total* group. Thus, for example, beèbɔ́ can refer to 'he and we', 'they and we' or 'they and I'. Any combination of 1st and 3rd person pronouns yielding at least three participants is equally representable by this form. This is particularly striking in the case of logophoric pronouns, as seen in the following two sentences:

bɔ́ dɔ́ɔ́ lɛ beèbɔ́wen beè gèn fɔ́wǎy 'they say that they and I/we went to market'

wù dòò lè beèbòwen béè gèn fùwǎy 'he says that he and we [or they and I/we] went to market'

In the first example the subject of 'say' is plural and so is the compound pronoun in the lower clause. The result is that the bòwen part of the compound pronoun refers back to the subject bó, as we would expect. In the second sentence, however, one of the possible interpretations is 'he says that he and we went to market', in which case the bòwen part is in plural form *not* because the subject of the verb 'say' is plural, but because the subject wù 'he' combines to form a plural compound. Thus, we can say that each part contributes its features (person, number, logophoric reference), but that the resulting compound "jumbles" up the features and does not reflect the internal composition of the two (or three) conjoined groups.

Pronoun compounding thus works as follows: (a) For person, if there is a [1st person], use beè-. If not, but if there is a [2nd person], use bèn-è-. Finally, if there is neither a [1st person] nor a [2nd person], use bó¹. (b) For number, if both parts are marked [+singular], use a singular pronoun wó, wù or wen (according to the identity of the participant whose person may not be represented in the first part of the compound--bó is considered to be non-logophoric). If either of the components is plural, or if there are three singular components, use the plural pronouns in second position.

Finally, it should be noted that non-personal pronouns can combine with bó¹, e.g.

1	bó-wù	6	bó-eyó	11	bó-fě
2	bó-bǒ	7	bó-kě	12	bó-mǔ
3	bó-wvú	8	bó-bí	13	bó-jí
4	bó-yí	9	bó-yì	14	bó-bvǔ
5	bó-jí	10	bó-yí	15	bó-mǔ

The meaning of these forms is 'they including it/them' or 'with it/them'. Note that the class 6 pronoun is eyó except in subject position. Also, the floating L tone which occurs between bó and the following pronoun is assigned to the pronoun if it is H tone and beginning with a consonant other than w or y. In the latter case, the L is deleted if the pronoun has L tone, or it is assigned to bó if the pronoun has H tone. Note that the pronunciation bó-bǒ, bó-jí, etc. is also possible, where the L is realized on both components.

It should be noted in all of the above discussion on logophorics that the logophoric pronouns are used only in reported speech (and related constructions). There is otherwise no reflexive pronoun. Instead, either the noun 'body' or 'head' is used:

wù yené ye yé lé 'he sees himself' (lit. he sees his body)
 bó kee bíkoo bíbóólé 'they know themselves' (lit. their heads)

Occasionally a verb will allow the verb extension -en with a reciprocal or reflexive meaning, e.g. bó yenén é ló 'they see each other/themselves' (see Chapter 9).

5

POSSESSIVES

1. In Noni the possessor always follows the possessed noun. The following noun class concords are observed when the possessor is a noun:

<i>class</i>	<i>concord</i>	<i>example</i>	<i>gloss</i>
1	(wù)	ntòn (wù) wān	'the child's pot'
2	bə...lé	bòntòn bə wan é	'the child's pots'
3	(wu)	gwóón (wu) wan	'the child's bamboo'
4	(yi)	góón (yi) wan	'the child's bamboos'
5	ji...lé	temé ji wan é	'the child's axe'
6	é	etem é wan	'the child's axes'
7	ke...lé	kebó ke wan é	'the child's hand'
8	bi...lé	bibó bi wan é	'the child's hands'
9	(yì)	bìe (yì) wan	'the child's goat'
10	(yì)	bìe (yì) wan	'the child's goats'
11	fe...lé	feko fe wan é	'the child's cup'
12	mu...lé	munḱóm mu wan é	'the child's cups'
13	ji...lé	jinfóón ji wan é	'the child's leaves'
14	bvu...lé	bvudvúu bvu wan é	'the child's place'
15	mò...lé	mòndvúúm mò wan é	'the child's places'
16	fə	fòfá fə wan	'on the child's head'
17	jə	è mú jə wan	'in the child's mouth'
18	dvu	yěw dvu wan	'in the child's house'

A number of observations can be made from the above examples:

(1) The possessive markers of classes 1, 3, 4, 9 and 10 (which have either the shape [wu] or [yi]) are optionally deleted. Thus, one says either ntòn wù wān or ntòn wān 'the child's pot'.

(2) Classes 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 all involve a second possessive marker lé, which directly follows the possessor noun. As seen in the above examples, the l of this marker falls when the possessor noun ends in a consonant. Thus, compare bòntòn bə wan é 'the child's pots' with bòntòn bə wè lé 'the person's pots'. In this second example, we not only observe an l in the second possessive marker, but note also that its tone has become LH, in accordance with the tone rule discussed in Chapter 2.

(3) Concerning the locative classes 16, 17 and 18, it is often possible to have an alternate possessive construction which, instead of the markers fə, jə and dvu, employs a suffix lé, e.g. fòjèm fə wan or fòjèm wan é 'at the child's grave'. As seen in the latter example, the l of lé also falls when it is directly preceded by a consonant. This second construction is the only one possible when a locative does not transfer a noun into one of the locative classes, e.g. è fetelè fe wan é 'in the child's heart'.

2. Possessive pronouns also follow the possessed noun in Noni. A complete table is given on page 20. Besides distinguishing first, second and third person, singular and plural, Noni differentiates between coreferential 'his/her' vs. non-coreferential 'his/her' (subscripted 1 and 2, respectively),

	<u>my</u>	<u>your sg.</u>	<u>his/her₂</u>	<u>his/her₁</u>	<u>LOG sg.</u>	<u>our</u>	<u>your pl.</u>	<u>their</u>	<u>LOG pl.</u>
1	wèm	wò	wè	---	wen	wèsèn	wènè	(wù)bǎ	bòwen
2	bēm	bōw	bēw	bēŋ	bowené	bòsésèn	bònèn	bòbǎfélé	bòbòwené
3	wēm	wó	wé	---	wen	wésèn	wéné	(wù)bǎ	bòwen
4	yēm	yó	yé	---	wen	yésèn	yéné	(yì)bǎ	bòwen
5	d̄yēm	d̄yōw	d̄yéw	d̄yēŋ	j̄iwené	j̄isésèn	j̄inèn	j̄ibǎfélé	j̄ibòwené
6	eyēm	eyó	eyé	---	ewen	yàsésèn	yònèn	èbǎ/yòbǎ	èbòwen
7	kēm	kōw	kēw	kēŋ	kewené	kèsésèn	kènèn	kebǎfélé	kebòwené
8	b̄yēm	b̄yōw	b̄yéw	b̄yēŋ	biwené	bisésèn	binèn	bibǎfélé	bitòwené
9	yèm	yò	yè	---	wen	yèsèn	yènè	(yì)bǎ	bòwen
10	yēm	yó	yé	---	wen	yésèn	yéné	(yì)bǎ	bòwen
11	f̄yēm	f̄yōw	f̄yéw	f̄yēŋ	fiwené	fisésèn	finèn	fibǎfélé	fitòwené
12	m̄wēm	m̄wō	m̄wēw	m̄wēŋ	muwené	mùsésèn	mùnèn	mubǎfélé	mubòwené
13	d̄yēm	d̄yōw	d̄yéw	d̄yēŋ	j̄iwené	j̄isésèn	j̄inèn	j̄ibǎfélé	j̄ibòwené
14	b̄wēm	b̄wō	b̄wēw	b̄wēŋ	b̄wuwené	b̄vùsésèn	b̄vùnèn	b̄vubǎfélé	b̄vubòwené
15	mēm	mōw	mēw	mēŋ	mwowené	mòsésèn	mònèn	mòbǎfélé	mòbòwené
16	f̄o me	f̄o wò	f̄o wù			f̄o bèsèn	f̄o bèn	f̄o bǎ	
17	j̄o me	j̄o wò	j̄o wù			j̄o bèsèn	j̄o bèn	j̄o bǎ	
18	d̄vu me	d̄vu wò	d̄vu wù			d̄vu bèsèn	d̄vu bèn	d̄vu bǎ	

but only in classes 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 (N.B. the same classes that take *lé* when the possessor is a noun). This difference is illustrated in the following two sentences:

wù nǒǒ dìé bvulem bwêŋ 'he has eaten his [own] fufu'
 wù nǒǒ dìé bvulem bwêw 'he has eaten his [s.o. else's] fufu'

This distinction is not found in the third person plural pronoun, where the corresponding sentence *bǒ nǒǒ dìé bvulem bvubǒǒlé* means 'they have eaten their [own or s.o. else's] fufu'.

Noni also has special reported speech (or logophoric) pronouns which are used whenever the possessor is the person reporting some event. We therefore can distinguish the following:

wù dǒǒ iε me nǒǒ ndié bvulem bwêw 'he says I ate his [s.o. else's] fufu'
 wù dǒǒ iε me nǒǒ ndié bvulem bvuwené 'he says I ate his [=own] fufu'

In the second example, the logophoric possessive pronoun clearly indicates that the subject doing the reporting is also the possessor of the fufu.

The following observations can be made from the table on page 20:

(1) Tonal differences divide the noun classes into three groups (excluding the locative classes--see below): (a) classes 1 and 9, which generally begin with L tone and do not involve any suffix; (b) classes 3, 4, 6 and 10, which have H tone possessive stems and do not involve a suffix; and (c) classes 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15, which begin either M or H (depending on the pronoun) and appear to involve a L tone suffix in several forms.

(2) In the 'your sg.' and 'his/her₂' forms, classes 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 show a -w suffix. It is exactly these classes which exhibit the *lé* after noun possessors; it is also these classes only which allow the distinction between 'his/her₁' and 'his/her₂'.

(3) The logophoric pronouns and the pronoun 'their' all seem to be nouns, since they involve the *lé* postposition (written here as part of the possessive pronoun). Thus, class 2: *bōwéné* 'LOG sg.', *bǒbǒǒlé* 'their', *bǒbǒwéné* 'LOG pl.'.

(4) The forms observed in locative classes 16, 17 and 18 involve the appropriate class concord followed by the *independent* pronouns, e.g. *fǒ mè*, *jǒ bāsén*, *duvǒ bǒ* etc. In this respect they are preposition-like.

(5) Interesting variations are found in the 'our' and 'your pl.' forms. First note that the final *n* of 'our' is optional, e.g. *bǒǒm bǒsésén* or *bǒǒm bǒsésè* 'our children'. The meaning of this possessive pronoun is necessarily *exclusive* (i.e. excluding the hearer). If one wishes to indicate that the children belong to us (meaning, the speaker and the hearer), one uses the exclusive pronoun followed by the inclusive independent pronoun, i.e. *bǒǒm bǒsésè beènè* (which can also be simplified to *bǒǒm bǒsésè beènè*). The root for 'our' appears to be -esen for classes 1, 3, 4, 9 and 10, and -sesen for the remaining classes. Similarly, the root for 'your pl.' appears to be -ene for classes 1, 3, 4, 9 and 10 and -nen for remaining classes. Note that in this case class 6 does not function with 1, 3, 4, 9 and 10. Also, 'your pl.' in classes 1, 3, 4, 9 and 10 appears to have a -e suffix. In the other cases it was classes other than these which had a suffix (e.g. -w) or postposition (*lé*). In classes 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15, there has been a reduplication of the root consonant.

Because of all of the differences noted between classes 1, 3, 4, 6, 9 and 10 vs. classes 2, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15, we shall refer to the former group as *glide* classes, and the latter as CV classes. In devising this terminology we take note of the w- and y- concord of the former classes, but the CV- concord of the latter (e.g. bɔ-, ji-, bu- etc.).

The nouns *cee* 'father' (sg. & pl.) and *bwee/bòbwee* 'mother/s' have the following irregular possessives:

i cèm	'my father'		
i cò	'your sg. father'		
i cè	'his/her father'		
i cee wèsèn	'our father'	bò í cee bòsésèn	'our fathers'
i cèn	'your pl. father'	bò í cee bònèn	'your pl. fathers'
i cee bó	'their father'	bò í cee bó	'their fathers'
bwēm	'my mother'		
bwò	'your sg. mother'		
bwè	'his/her mother'		
bwee wèsèn	'our mother'	bòbwee bòsésèn	'our mothers'
bwee wènè	'your pl. mother'	bòbwee bònèn	'your pl. mothers'
bwee bó	'their mother'	bòbwee bó	'their mothers'

Notice that while these exceptional nouns appear to take class 1 concords in the singular and class 2 concords in the plural, the forms for 'their fathers' and 'their mothers' is with bó rather than with bòbóíé.

Finally, the only way to have a complex possessor pronoun is to first use one of the plural possessive pronouns, followed by a complex independent pronoun e.g.

bòḡwà	bòsésèn	beèwvù	'his and my books' (lit. our books, he and I)
bòḡwà	bònèn	bènèwvù	'his and your books' (lit. your pl. books, you and he)

6

DETERMINERS

1. Among its determiners Noni distinguishes three demonstrative pronouns: 'this/these' (near hearer), 'that/those' (near speaker), and 'that/those' (far from speaker and hearer). The forms encountered with the different noun classes are seen in the following table:

class	'this' (n.s.)	'that' (n.h.)	'that' (far)
1	wvūn	wē	wē
2	ban	ba	bōbā
3	wvun	wē	wē
4	yin	yē	yē
5	jīn	dīe	jījī
6	eyan	eya	ēyā
7	kin	kie	kīkī
8	bīn	bīe	bībī
9	yīn	yē	yē
10	yīn	yē	yē
11	fīn	fīe	fīfī
12	mvun	mwe	mūmū
13	jīn	dīe	jījī
14	bvun	bwe	bvūbvū
15	man	ma	mōmā
16	fēn	fē	fōfē
17	jan	èkē	fēfē
18	dvun	kē	fēfē

Although it is difficult to establish a single underlying form for each of the three demonstrative roots, the following can be said:

(1) The demonstrative 'this/these' can be represented as /-n/. The vowel that appears before the final -n is, except for class 16, the historical vowel of the class marker and the one found in related languages. Thus, classes 2, 6 and 15 (=PGB 6a) are characterized by an a, although in most other agreement markers the vowel of these markers is realized as o. Class 17 apparently also had an *a historically. Note also that classes 7 and 11 (=PGB 19) now show the vowel i. In other constructions these classes show variation between i and e. The concord markers are L for classes 1 and 9, M for the remaining classes.

(2) The demonstrative 'that/those' (n.s.) probably reconstructs with the vowel *-a. Except for classes 2, 6 and 15, where the concord marker also had the vowel *-a, the 'near speaker' demonstratives are realized with the vowel e today. There is no tonal difference between classes 1 and 9 and the other classes.

(3) The demonstrative 'that/those' (far) involves a reduplication process in the classes 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and the locatives. The tone is ML on the main syllable and L on the preceding reduplicated syllable if present (including the è- of class 6). Again, classes 2, 6 and 15 show a final a, while classes 7 and 11 use i instead of e. Classes 1, 3, 4, 9 and 10 appear to have a -e. Reduplicated forms lack a suffix, while class 6 has the prefix è- and also no suffix.

In the 'near hearer' column, the variant $y\acute{o}y\bar{a}$ is frequently heard as an alternative to $\acute{e}y\bar{a}$ in class 6. The only other alternatives to the above forms involve locative demonstratives. First, the form $k\bar{e}$ can be substituted for $f\acute{e}f\bar{e}$ in classes 17 and 18 ('far' column). Since the three locative adverbs are $f\acute{e}n$ 'here', $f\acute{e}$ 'there' (n.h.) and $f\acute{e}f\bar{e}$ 'there' ('far'), it is not clear where the forms $k\bar{e}$, $k\acute{e}$ and $\acute{e}k\bar{e}$ come from. Note finally, in this regard, that the demonstratives given above can acquire a locative sense by prefixing a H tone class marker to them identical in segmental shape to the independent class pronouns, as seen below:

class	'here it is/here they are'	'there it is/there they are' (n.h.)	'there it is/there they are' (far)
1	wúwvún	wúwē	wúwē
2	bóbbān	bóbbā	bóbbā
3	wúwvún	wúwē	wúwē
4	yíyín	yíyē	yíyē
5	jíjín	jíjē	jíjē
6	yóyān	yóyā	yóyā
7	kékín	kékìe	kékì
8	bfbín	bfbìe	bfbì
9	yíyín	yíyē	yíyē
10	yíyín	yíyē	yíyē
11	féfín	féfìe	féfì
12	múmún	múmwē	múmwē
13	jíjín	jíjē	jíjē
14	bvúbvún	bvúbwē	bvúbvū
15	mómān	mómā	mómā
16	fófēn	fófē	fófē
17	jójān	jókē	jókē
18	dvúdvún	dvúkē	dvúkē

In the first column the 'near speaker' demonstratives acquire LH tone in classes 1 and 9 and LM tone in the remaining classes. These compare with LM and M tone, respectively, in the simple demonstratives. The tones of the 'near hearer' demonstrative become LM for all classes, as opposed to the M tone they carry in all but the locative classes of the simple demonstratives. There is no tone change on the demonstratives in the 'far' column.

Both sets of demonstratives given above can be used either alone or after a noun, e.g. wvún 'this one', wān wvún 'this child'.

2. There is no definite article in Noni per se. There are, however, different means available to specify that a referent has already been mentioned or talked about. First, the 'near hearer' forms in the first table can be used in this capacity. Thus, *kete kīe* can either mean 'that tree near you' or 'the tree we have been talking about'. This use of the 'n.h.' demonstratives with a referential sense is common in the languages of this area. It appears to be the case that the longer demonstrative forms can only have the 'near hearer' meaning.

Another means of acquiring a definite reading is to use the form -dvú 'the one being talked about', e.g. *feñíí fédvú* 'the bird being talked about'. This form takes the same H tone class prefixes as the long demonstrative forms, i.e. *wúdvú*, *bódvú*, *wúdvú* etc. It is not clear what, if any, difference there is in using this form as opposed to the referential use of the 'near hearer' demonstratives.

There is no indefinite article in Noni. However, there are the following forms which are sometimes used for the purpose of non-definite reference:

class	'any, some, certain'	'another, a certain'
1	mù	wvúmù
2	bòmù	bómê
3	mù	wvumù
4	mî	yimî
5	jímù	jimê
6	yòmù	yómê
7	kémù	kemê
8	bímù	bimê
9	mì	yimì
10	mî	yimî
11	fémù	femê
12	mumù	mumê
13	jímù	jimê
14	bvumù	bvumê
15	mòmù	mómê

In the first column classes 1, 3, 4, 9 and 10 lack a prefix, but appear to have, at least in classes 4, 9 and 10, an -i suffix. (Classes 3, 4 and 10 may also have a H tone prefix which would account for the HL falling tone.) In the second column, a class prefix is used in all classes. While there is some overlap (and possible confusion) between the two sets of forms, they may be differentiated as indicated.

3. The forms for the interrogative determiner -lá 'which' are as follows:

1	wúlá	6	yólá	11	fólá
2	bólá	7	kélá	12	múlá
3	wúlá	8	bílá	13	jílá
4	yílá	9	yílá	14	bvúlá
5	jílá	10	yílá	15	mólá

As in the case of the other determiners, these forms are used either after a noun (e.g. mbòŋ wúlá 'which bushcow?') or alone (e.g. wúlá 'which one?').

OTHER MODIFIERS

1. *Adjectives.* There are very few true adjectives in Noni. As we shall see, most adjectives are derived from verbs. A very few are not, such as the adjective *fe* 'new' which is presented first after the verb 'to be' in the following examples:

1	ɲwà wvūn nú fwē	'this book is new'
2	bòɲwà bān nú bɔfe	'these books are new'
3	wé wvun nú fwe	'this field is new'
4	ɲé yin nú fie	'these fields are new'
5	temé jin nú jife	'this axe is new'
6	etem eyan nú yɔfe	'these axes are new'
7	kəsǎw kin nú kefe	'this bracelet is new'
8	bisǎw bin nú bife	'these bracelets are new'
9	ncòm yīn nú fīe	'this drum is new'
10	ncom yīn nú fie	'these drums are new'
11	fèñǒ fin nú fefe	'this knife is new'
12	mùñǒm mun nú mumfém	'these knives are new'
13	jingúci jin nú jife	'these guns are new'
14	bvudvúu bvun nú bvufe	'this place is new'
15	mòndvúúm man nú mòm fém	'these places are new'

It is noted in the above forms that the adjective stem carries a M tone, and that there is an obligatory class prefix: a M tone CV prefix for classes 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15; or a modification on the initial consonant in the remaining classes (with an additional initial L tone in classes 1 and 9). Historically, these irregular forms were: *ù-fe (class 1), *u-fe (class 3), *i-fe (classes 4 and 10) and *ǐ-fe (class 9).

The same forms seen above can be used attributively directly after the modified noun. Alternatively, an additional class marker occurs which creates a relative copular construction:

1	ɲwà wvú fwē	'a book which is new'
2	bòɲwà bɔ bɔfe	'books which are new'
3	wé wvú fwe	'a field which is new'
4	ɲé yí fie	'fields which are new'
5	temé jí jife	'an axe which is new'
6	etem yɔɔfe	'axes which are new'
7	kəsǎw ké kefe	'a bracelet which is new'
8	bisǎw bí bife	'bracelets which are new'
9	ncòm yí fīe	'a drum which is new'
10	ncom yí fie	'drums which are new'
11	fèñǒ fé fefe	'a knife which is new'
12	mùñǒm mú mumfe	'knives which are new'
13	jingúci jí jife	'guns which are new'
14	bvudvúu bvú bvufe	'a place which is new'
15	mòndvúúm mó mofe	'places which are new'

As seen in class 6, the expected form *etem yɔ yɔfe* 'axes which are new' must

undergo contraction to become etem yóofe. Optional contractions are also possible in the following classes:

2	bòḡwà b'óofe	8	bìs'aw b'íife	13	jingúci jíife
5	temé jíife	11	fèñ'ò f'éeife	14	bvudvúu bvúufe
7	kès'aw k'éeife	12	mùñ'òm múumfe	15	mòndvúúm m'óofe

Although the modifier 'new' seems to be unto a class of its own, which we might label "adjectives", the class is extremely limited. As seen above, the class markers carry M tone. Such is not the case with another "adjective", meaning 'great', which appears reduplicated when modifying a plural noun, but which takes H tone class markers:

mbòḡ wvúbáy	'a great bushcow'	(cl. 1)
bòmbòḡ b'óbáy(báy)	'great bushcows'	(cl. 2)

A non-reduplicated form can appear with a plural noun, but this indicates that the plural referents are to be taken as a single group, e.g. 'a great group of bushcows'.

The modifier wàè 'small' (pl. b'oom) is derived from the noun wān 'child' and therefore precedes the noun in an associative construction, e.g. wàè cān 'small monkey' (pl. b'oom b'ò cān é). Similarly, the noun-like form ḡgāy 'old' combines with wè 'person' to form the compound ḡgāy wè 'old person' (pl. ḡgāy b'òñiì). As seen in the following forms,

kwòb'n w'ũ ḡgāy wè	'old woman'	(lit. woman who is an old person)
b'òkènè b'ò ḡgāy b'òñiì	'old women'	

this form does not combine directly with other nouns.

The bulk of adjective and adjective-like notions are expressed by verbs in Noni. In the following sentences,

me ndèf'è l'ò	'I am tall'
me nj'it'è l'ò	'I am heavy'

the progressive verb forms keé-d'èf'è 'to be tall' and keé-j'it'è 'to be heavy' are used to express what would be predicate adjectives in English. The same verb forms appear in a relative construction to express what would be attributive adjectives in English:

wān wv'ũ d'èf'è	'a tall child'	(lit. a child who tall)
ḡk'è'm wv'ũ j'it'è	'a heavy load'	(lit. a load which heavies)

Similarly, consider the following expression of color terms by verbs:

f'èmb'ì f'è y'èl'è	'a red kolanut'	(<-y'èl'è 'become red')
f'èmb'ì f'è b'áá	'a white kolanut'	(<-b'á 'become white')
f'èmb'ì f'è y'ii'l'è	'a black kolanut'	(<-y'íí 'become black')

Because these are verb forms, when these modify a plural noun, they often take special suffixes, e.g.

wān wv'ũ f'àng	'a fat child'	(<-f'àng 'become fat')
b'oom b'ò f'àngk'èn	'fat children'	(<-f'àngk'èn (pl.))

2. *Numerals*. The following are the numerals 'one' through 'ten', as they appear in isolation:

māḡ	'1'	soocàn	'6'
fěé	'2'	sooshwî	'7'
tɛɛ	'3'	ñāḡ	'8'
nē	'4'	bvùùkɛ	'9'
tɪn	'5'	yoofè	'10'

The numbers '11' through '19' are obtained by placing ncòw before the numerals '1' through '9':

ncòw mwàḡ	'11'	ncòw soocàn	'16'
ncòw fěé	'12'	ncòw sooshwî	'17'
ncòw tɛ	'13'	ncòw ñāḡ	'18'
ncòw nē	'14'	ncòw bvùùkɛ	'19'
ncòw tɪn	'15'		

The 'tens' are formed by placing mbaaḡ before the numerals '2' through '9':

mbaaḡfěé	'20'	mbaansoocàn	'60'
mbaanshe	'30'	mbaansooshwî	'70'
mbaanñē	'40'	mbaanñāḡ	'80'
mbaanshen	'50'	mbaaḡbvùùkɛ	'90'

(The modifications that are observed on the numerals '1', '2', '3', '4' and '5' will be explained below.) In order to add numerals to these 'tens', the same word ncòw is used: mbaaḡfěé ncòw fěé '22' etc.

In addition, the larger numbers gwěé '100' (pl. géé) and ntfùkè '1000' round out the system. The follow exemplifies the system with the number '1978' (the year I had hoped this grammar would be finished):

ntfùkè	géé	bvùùkɛ	bó	mbaḡ	sooshwî	ncòw	ñāḡ	'1978'
1000	100	9	with	70	&	8		

As seen in this form, there is some phonetic variation in pronouncing '70'.

These numerals all appear after the noun they modify. However, there is noun class agreement on the numerals '1' through '7'. First, numeral '1':

1	mwàḡ	9	mìàḡ
3	mwāḡ	11	femwāḡ
5	jimāḡ	14	bvumwāḡ
7	kemwāḡ	15	mómāḡ

As can be seen, '1' is realized with L tone in classes 1 and 9, ML tone in the remaining singular classes (and the mass class 15). There is some variation among speakers, apparently, although the above seems to be fairly general: the initial consonant will be m- if the prefix is of the shape Cí- or Cɔ-; '1' will be realized m'āḡ in class 9; in all other cases, its form is -mwāḡ (including classes 1 and 3). We have already remarked on the Cw and Cj initial of the adjective fɛ 'new'. The same explanation holds here and in several of the other numeral forms. Thus, mwāḡ reconstructs as u-māḡ and m'āḡ reconstructs as j-māḡ. Apparently the mw- form has spread to other classes unless blocked by the nature of the class prefix.

The forms for the numerals '2' through '7' are seen in the following table:

	'two'	'three'	'four'	'five'	'six'	'seven'
2	bafée	botetè	bɔnɛ̃w	botTɪh	bɔsɔɔcàn	bɔsɔɔshwɪ̃
4	fée~fié	te ~ she	nɛ̃ ~ nɛ̃	tɪh~shɛ̃h	sɔɔcàn	sɔɔshwɪ̃
6	ɛfáá	eta	ɛnā	ɛtTɪh	ɛsɔɔcàn	ɛsɔɔshwɪ̃
8	bifée	bitetè	bɪnɛ̃w	bitTɪh	bɪsɔɔcàn	bɪsɔɔshwɪ̃
10	ffé	she	nɛ̃	shɛ̃h	sɔɔcàn	sɔɔshwɪ̃
12	muféém	muntentém	munɛ̃h	muntTɪh	musɔɔcàn	musɔɔshwɪ̃
13	jifée	jitetè	jinɛ̃w	jitTɪh	jisɔɔcàn	jisɔɔshwɪ̃
15	moféém	montentém	monɛ̃h	montTɪh	mosɔɔcàn	mosɔɔshwɪ̃

Let us consider the above forms by numeral:

(1) The numeral '2' has a root -fée which can undergo both segmental and tonal modifications. In class 10 (and optionally in class 4) it becomes fié, and in class 6 it becomes ɛfáá. It acquires a final -m in classes 12 and 15 and apparently a tonal suffix in classes 2, 8 and 13, where its H tone becomes HM. The numeral '2' can optionally be followed by the additional syllable -ten. In this case, everything stays the same, except that classes 2, 8 and 13 show H instead of HM tone:

2	baféétén	10	fféten
4	féétén	12	muféémten
6	ɛfááten	13	jiféétén
8	biféétén	15	moféémten

Unless this additional syllable is related to the numeral '5', it is not clear what its origin is.

(2) The numeral '3' has a root -te (perhaps pronounced long when enumerating). It undergoes palatalization to become she in class 10 (and optionally in class 4), and acquires an additional suffix with one of two shapes: -tè in classes 2, 8 and 13 vs. -ntém in classes 12 and 15. It is pronounced eta in class 6, with the final -a seen in demonstratives as well.

(3) The numeral '4' has a root -nɛ̃ which acquires a final -w in classes 2, 8 and 13 and a -m in classes 12 and 15. The initial consonant is palatalized to ñ in class 10, and optionally in class 4. The final vowel becomes a in class 6.

(4) The numeral '5' has a root -tɪh, which palatalizes to shɛ̃h in class 10 and optionally in class 4. As seen, the vowel quality also changes.

(5) The numeral '6' is probably a compound historically. It involves the extremely rare MH tonal contour and is characterized only by a M tone class prefix in classes 2, 6, 8, 11, 13 and 15. The same remarks cover the historical compound involved in the numeral '7'. -shwɪ̃ varies with -fwɪ̃.

Numerals higher than '7' remain invariant when modifying nouns of different classes.

It is not easy to construct ordinal numbers in Noni. The following expressions are used to express the notions 'first', 'second' and 'last':

ɔwà wvũ fwě	'the first book' (lit. book of ahead)
ɔwà wvũ bɪ	'the second book' (lit. book that follows)
ɔwà wvũ èjɛ̃m	'the last book' (lit. book of behind/back)

Among the quantifiers used in Noni are the invariant forms ntèèn 'many' and báý 'much' (= 'great'), e.g.

bòmbòṅ ntèèn	'many bushcows'	lemè báý	'much work'
ken ntèèn	'many firewoods'	meèm báý	'much oil'

The quantifier 'whole/all' has the following forms:

1	tfùu	tfuiè
2	bòcìi	bòcìlè
3	tfuu	tfulè
4	cìi	cìlè
5	jìcìi	jìcìlè
6	ecìi	ecìlè
7	kecìi	kecìlè
8	bìcìi	bìcìlè
9	cìi	cìlè
10	cìi	cìlè
11	fecìi	fecìlè
12	muncìim	muncìlém
13	jìcìi	jìcìlè
14	bvucìi	bvucìlè
15	mòcìi	mòcìlém

When used with a singular class, these forms mean 'whole', e.g. mbòṅ tfulè 'a whole bushcow'. When used with a plural class, these forms mean 'all', e.g. bòmbòṅ bòcìi 'all the bushcows'. It is not clear what the difference between the two sets of forms is. Fr. Kofon has suggested that the forms ending in -lè emphasize the *wholeness*, i.e. 'in its entirety'.

Finally, the interrogative quantifier 'how many' has the forms below:

2	bòmbòṅ bóméé	'how many bushcows?'
4	ken méé	'how many firewoods?'
6	etem emáa	'how many axes?'
8	bite biméé	'how many trees?'
10	bíé méé	'how many fish?'
12	muñim muméem	'how many birds?'
13	jídusè jiméé	'how many bridges?'
15	meèm moméem	'how many oils?'

As seen, the only modifications on the root méé occur in class 6, where the vowel is aa, and in classes 12 and 15, where a final -m is added.

8

WORD ORDER AND SUMMARY

1. With almost no exception, all modifiers *follow* the noun in Noni:

<i>possessive:</i>	bòḡwà bēm	'my books'
<i>demonstrative:</i>	bòḡwà ban	'these books'
<i>adjective:</i>	bòḡwà bɔfɛ	'new books'
<i>numeral:</i>	bòḡwà bɔtɛtɛ	'three books'

When more than one of the above four types of modifiers co-occur after a noun, the general word order is as follows:

NOUN + POSS + DEM + { ADJ / NUM }

That is, the possessor is expected to occur first after the noun, followed by any demonstrative and then, in either order, an adjective (such as 'new') and a numeral. These possibilities are illustrated below:

POSS + DEM :	bòḡwà bēm ban	'these my books'
POSS + ADJ :	bòḡwà bēm bɔfɛ	'my new books'
POSS + NUM :	bòḡwà bēm bɔtɛtɛ	'my three books'
DEM + ADJ :	bòḡwà ban bɔfɛ	'these new books'
DEM + NUM :	bòḡwà ban bɔtɛtɛ	'these three books'
ADJ + NUM :	bòḡwà bɔfɛ bɔtɛtɛ	'three new books'
NUM + ADJ :	bòḡwà bɔtɛtɛ bɔfɛ	" " "
POSS + DEM + ADJ :	bòḡwà bēm ban bɔfɛ	'these my new books'
POSS + DEM + NUM :	bòḡwà bēm ban bɔtɛtɛ	'these my three books'
POSS + ADJ + NUM :	bòḡwà bēm bɔfɛ bɔtɛtɛ	'my three new books'
POSS + NUM + ADJ :	bòḡwà bēm bɔtɛtɛ bɔfɛ	" " " "
DEM + ADJ + NUM :	bòḡwà ban bɔfɛ bɔtɛtɛ	'these three new books'
DEM + NUM + ADJ :	bòḡwà ban bɔtɛtɛ bɔfɛ	" " " "

POSS + DEM + ADJ + NUM :	bòḡwà bēm ban bɔfɛ bɔtɛtɛ	'these my three new books'
POSS + DEM + NUM + ADJ :	bòḡwà bēm ban bɔtɛtɛ bɔfɛ	" " " " "

Orders other than the ones shown above are either unacceptable, not quite right, or have a different meaning, e.g. *bòḡwà bɔtɛtɛ ban* can mean 'these Book III's', but not 'these three books'.

Both the adjective 'new' and numerals such as 'three' can be extended through an additional H tone class prefix:

bòḡwà bɔ́bɔfɛ ~ bòḡwà bɔ́fɛ	'the new books'
bòḡwà bɔ́bɔtɛtɛ ~ bòḡwà bɔ́tɛtɛ	'the three books'

The above forms have been translated with a definite article, which is the likely interpretation of extended adjectives and numerals. However, as seen in the following forms, the additional H tone class prefix appears to have an interpretation as a reduced relative clause:

bòḡwà bɔ́bɔtɛtɛ bɔ́bɔfɛ	'the three books which are new'
bòḡwà bɔ́bɔfɛ bɔ́bɔtɛtɛ	'the new books which are three'

The second example might also be translated 'the new books of which there are three'. As seen in the following pair of sentences,

bòḡwà bóbɔfɛ bɔtɛtɛ 'three new books'
 bòḡwà bɔtɛtɛ bóbɔfɛ 'three new books'

a combination of this extension with word order works to provide different emphases: when the adjective is extended and the numeral unextended, emphasis is on the modifier which directly follows the noun (just as the focus position in a sentence falls directly after the verb; see Chapter 22). However, a slightly different result is observed when the numeral is extended and the adjective unextended:

bòḡwà bóbɔtɛtɛ bɔfɛ 'the three new books' (taken together)
 bòḡwà bɔfɛ bóbɔtɛtɛ 'three of the new books'

The second example might be interpreted as 'new books, of them three'.

The interaction of word order and such extended forms is quite complex and deserves further study. In some cases the presence of the additional H tone class prefix makes an otherwise unacceptable sequence grammatical, e.g.

bòḡwà bēm bóbɔfɛ ban 'these my new books'
 *bòḡwà bēm bɔfɛ ban

While such extended forms may be regarded as reduced relative clauses, full relative clauses do occur with the verb nú 'be', e.g.

bòḡwà bɔɔ nú bɔfɛ 'books which are new'

The difference between this phrase and bòḡwà bóbɔfɛ is slight, if any.

The remaining modifiers such as ntèèn 'many', bɔmɛ 'other' (class 2) and bɔciɪ 'all' (class 2) occur in the ADJ/NUM slots, e.g.

bòḡwà bɔfɛ ntèèn 'many new books'
 bòḡwà ntèèn bɔfɛ " " "

The interrogative -mɛɛ 'how many' appears to fall in this same slot:

bòḡwà bɔfɛ bɔmɛɛ 'how many new books?'
 bòḡwà bɔmɛɛ bɔfɛ " " " "

In certain cases the extended forms are preferred when combined with these modifiers, e.g. bòḡwà bóbɔfɛ bɔmɛɛ. Because the extended adjective, numeral and other modifiers alter the word order properties of the noun phrase, the above statements should be taken as rough generalizations only.

2. In the preceding chapters we have seen that almost all noun modifiers take noun class agreements, but that these agreements can vary considerably according to whether the modifier is a possessive pronoun, demonstrative, etc. Even within the same category there is considerable variation, e.g. a tonal distinction between classes 1 and 9 and the remaining classes in the 'n.s.' demonstrative, but not in the forms for the 'n.h.' and 'far' demonstratives. A table is given on the following page which is designed to summarize the different kind of class concords found on the various modifiers.

Cl.	N. pref.	PRO	Poss. N	'his'	'this'	'another'	'new'	'1'/'4'
1	ʷ(N)-	wvù	(wù-)	wʷ-	wvù-	wvù- -ù	ʷ-	ʷ-
2	bɔ-	bɔ́	bɔ- -lé	bʷ- -w̃	ba-	bɔ-	bɔ-	bɔ- -w̃
3	w-	wvú	(wu-)	wʷ-	wvu-	wvu- -ù	w-	w-
4	∅	yí	(yi-)	yʷ-	yí-	yí- -ì	y-	(y-)
5	∅- -e	jí	ji- -lé	dyʷ- -w̃	ji-	ji-	ji-	ji- -w̃
6	ɛ-	yɔ́	ɛ-	ɛ-	ɛya-	yɔ-	yɔ-	ɛ- -a
7	ke/ɛ-	ké	ke- -lé	kʷ- -w̃	ki-	ke-	ke-	keʷ-
8	bi-	bí	bi- -lé	byʷ- -w̃	bi-	bi-	bi-	bi- -w̃
9	ʷ(N)-	yì	(yì-)	yʷ-	yì-	yí- -ì	ʷ-	ʷ-
10	ʷ(N)-	yí	(yí-)	yʷ-	yí-	yí- -ì	y-	y-
11	fe-	fé	fe- -lé	fyʷ- -w̃	fi-	fe-	fe-	feʷ-
12	mUN- -m	mú	mu- -lé	mwʷ- -w̃	mvu-	mu-	mum- -m̃	mu- -m̃
13	ji-	jí	ji- -lé	dyʷ- -w̃	ji-	ji-	ji-	ji- -w̃
14	bvu-	bvú	bvu- -lé	bvʷ- -w̃	bvu-	bvu-	bvu-	bvuʷ-
15	m(ɔN)- -m	mɔ́	mɔ- -lé	mʷ- -w̃	ma-	mɔ-	mɔm- -m̃	mɔ- -m̃
16	fɔ-	fɔ́	fɔ-	fɔ-	fɛ-			
17	(è-)	jɔ́	jɔ-	jɔ-	ja-			
18	∅	dvú	dvu-	dvu-	dvu-			

In the above table the symbol ʷ stands for labialization of the initial consonant of the noun, while the symbol y marks the palatalization of the initial consonant.

PART III: VERB STRUCTURE

9

VERB FORMS

1. Like other Bantu and Bantoid languages, the verb in Noni consists of a verb radical and one, or sometimes more suffixes. The verb radical (R) is almost always monosyllabic and can have any of the following syllable structures:

CV :	bi	'follow'	tó	'come'
CVV :	cii	'drag'	kóó	'catch'
CVC :	kfun	'hit'	tón	'refuse'
CGV :	gwe	'fall'	kwé	'die'
CGVV :	kwa	'grate'		
CGVC :	kwaw	'think'	kwén	'be sufficient'

As also seen, there is a tonal contrast in verb radicals. Verb forms will be cited with the tones they carry after the infinitive prefix *kéé-*. Thus, monosyllabic verb radicals are seen to take either a M or a H tone in the infinitive construction, e.g. *kéé-bi* 'to follow', *kéé-tó* 'to come', etc.

Verb suffixes can be one of two types: (a) *lexical* or (b) *derived*. Lexical verb suffixes are those which occur on a verb form but do not constitute a separate, meaningful part. Examples are *cók-é* 'bathe', *fúm-é* 'bake in ashes' and *tfú-sé* 'give back'. While the *-é* suffix in the first two examples does not have a meaning of its own, and while the *-sé* suffix in 'give back' does not appear to be related to the causative suffix of the same shape, these endings still function as suffixes (e.g. in progressive aspect formation; see Chapter 10). Perhaps they once did have a consistent meaning, e.g. *fum* 'bury' may be the same morpheme historically as the first syllable of *fúm-é* 'bake in ashes'. Similarly, *cow* 'soak, dip' may be related to *cók-é* 'bathe' etc.

Derived suffixes can be added with a change of meaning. Thus, the suffix *-cá* adds the meaning 'here and there' or plural action: *lc* 'seize' vs. *lc-cá* 'seize from several people'; *gaw* 'divide' vs. *gaw-cá* 'divide in several places'. Other derivational suffixes are given in the remaining sections of this chapter. In the following chapter we shall examine in detail the progressive aspect suffix which changes the aspect of a verb, e.g. *kóó* 'catch' vs. *kóó-lé* 'be catching'.

We shall see that a verb form may have more than one suffix, although this is not common. Where this most frequently arises is in the derivation of the progressive aspect (Chapter 10). We shall adopt the following terminology: the initial syllable of the verb will be termed the *radical* (R). The radical plus any unanalyzable second syllable will be termed a *base*. The base followed by any additional suffix(es) is simply referred to as the verb form. In studies of Bantu languages verb suffixes are sometimes referred to as "extensions". We shall occasionally use this term to refer to non-lexical verb suffixes. The different verb extensions that have been discovered in Noni are presented and exemplified in the following paragraphs. It is important

to note that while numerous examples have been found of verbs taking each of the suffixes to be discussed, one cannot predict with certainty which verbs will take which suffixes. Thus, each radical will have to be marked in the lexicon for the suffixes it accepts.

2. *Aspectual extensions.* The first group of verb suffixes has five members, all of which are aspectual in nature (cf. the progressive suffix in the next chapter). These are as follows:

-ce	'attenuative'	-ten	'bifurcative'
-ye	'distributive'	-RED	'frequentative'
-ken	'iterative'		

In all but the frequentative, the suffix has the shape -CV or -CVn. As will be seen, the frequentative is formed by a reduplication process. The reduplicated syllable is, however, considered a suffix.

2.1. *Attenuative -ce.* Radicals which take the -ce suffix divide into two classes semantically. The first class shows that -ce changes the meaning of the verb in such a way that the extent of the action is weakened or attenuated. Examples are as follows:

kám	'squeeze'	kámce	'squeeze a little'
ngám	'pinch'	ngámce	'pinch a little'
kfun	'hit'	kfunce	'hit a little'
cow	'soak'	cōwce	'soak a little'
gháw	'be superior'	gháwce	'be slightly superior'
fan	'become fat'	fānce	'become a little fat'

The suffixed forms can be translated 'a little', 'slightly', 'lightly' etc. In some cases the meaning 'a little from' or 'a little out of' is acquired:

séé	'cut with knife'	sééce	'cut a little out of'
saa	'tear'	saáce	'tear a little out of'
gɔw	'grind'	gɔwce	'grind a little out of'
díé	'eat'	díéce	'eat a little from'
cón	'steal'	cónce	'steal a little out of'

In several cases the attenuative suffix indicates that a "smaller job" is involved. This sometimes necessitates a different gloss for the suffixed form:

yow	'skin' (an animal)	yōwce	'peel' (a banana etc.)
saŋ	'spread to dry'	sānce	'turn on the second side to dry'
tóm	'embroider' (<'sew')	tómce	'mend' (= 're-sew')
bóm	'mould'	bómce	're-mould' (after an accident or crack)
mi	'swallow' (liquid)	míce	'swallow' (something solid)

The first example best exemplifies this change from a bigger to a smaller job. Skinning an animal is a similar task to peeling a fruit, but the proportions are much greater. The next three examples indicate a second application of a job. Because it is a re-doing, as it were, the job is by definition smaller (e.g. the drying of the second side of an object is a smaller job than the drying of the first side; the moulding of a pot the first time is a larger job than the re-moulding that takes place in a repair, etc.). The last example is intended to indicate that swallowing a liquid is a big (continuous) job, while

swallowing or gulping a solid object is a smaller (singular) job.

Approximately 70% of the attenuative verb forms attested have this meaning 'a little' etc. The remaining 30% have the meaning 'here and there' or 'little by little', both of which indicate plural action. This interpretation derives from the attenuative meaning: instead of performing an action all at once as a single event, one attenuates the action into a sequence of smaller events. This is seen in the following examples:

ñl	'defecate'	ñl̄c̄c̄	'defecate several times'
sho	'clean'	shōc̄c̄	'clean one after the other'
kom	'touch'	kōm̄c̄c̄	'touch several times'
tāŋ	'count'	tāŋ̄c̄c̄	'count one after the other'
kfúy	'trim'	kfú̄c̄c̄	'trim several things'
túy	'spit'	tú̄c̄c̄	'spit several times'
gaw	'divide, share'	gāw̄c̄c̄	'div. in several places, share w/sev. people'

The one verb soŋ 'slap' has been found with both meanings. Thus, sōh̄c̄c̄ means either 'slap a little/lightly' or 'slap several times lightly'. We suspect that more of these attenuative verb forms have the meaning 'several times lightly' rather than simply 'several times'.

2.2. *Distributive* -ye. The distributive suffix -ye indicate that several actions were involved in the event. This can mean doing one action several times (e.g. hitting someone several times) or doing several equivalent actions once [or more] each (e.g. hitting different people):

séé	'cut with a knife'	sééye	'cut several times'
báá	'uproot'	bááye	'uproot several times'
cfm	'dig'	cfm̄ye	'dig several times'
fom	'bury'	fōm̄ye	'bury several things'
tám	'smoke' (meat)	tám̄ye	'smoke several pieces of meat'
soŋ	'slap'	sōh̄ye	'slap several times'
lōw	'curse'	lōw̄ye	'curse several times'
law	'pay'	lāw̄ye	'pay several people'

Among the verbs recorded with more than one possible interpretation are:

tóm	'shoot'	tóm̄ye	'shoot sev. things, sev. times at 1 thing'
lóm	'bite'	lóm̄ye	'bite sev. times, or sev. people bite'
ŋám	'pinch'	ŋám̄ye	'pinch sev. times or people'
bōn	'stab'	bōh̄ye	'stab sev. times or several people'

It is thus possible to get a plural action marked by the distributive suffix with either (a) a plural subject, (b) a plural object, or (c) a singular subject and a singular object, but a plural verb (e.g. 'he stabbed me several times').

Because several actions are involved, the distributive meaning may develop a secondary meaning of completeness. A few such cases have been noted:

káw	'chop'	káw̄ye	'chop up completely'
saa	'tear'	saá̄ye	'tear completely' (or sev. times)
bán	'cover'	bán̄ye	'cover up completely'
yúú	'become clear'	yúú̄ye	'become clear' (water)

2.3. *Iterative -ken*. The iterative suffix *-ken* is similar to the distributive suffix in that it is used to indicate plural action. Unlike the distributive suffix, however, it is used almost exclusively with intransitive verbs:

kwé	'die'	kwékén	'die one after the other'
gwe	'fall'	gwékén	'fall several times'
bew	'belch'	béwkén	'belch several times'
kéy	'groan' (in pain)	kéykén	'groan several times'
jay	'urinate'	jáykén	'urinate several times'
nēñé	'leave'	nēñkén	'leave separately'

The key to the interpretation of this suffix is in the first and last examples. The intransitive iterative forms to the right can be used with a singular subject to indicate 'several times one after the other', or they can be used with a plural subject to indicate either 'several times one after the other' or, simply, 'separately'. Thus, consider the following sentences:

me nób	ngwè	'I have fallen'	
me nób	ngwékén	'I have fallen' (several times)	
bó	kwékéné	lò	'they are dying' (separately)
bó	kwéé	lò	'they are dying' (together)

The use of *-ken* in the second instance of 'I have fallen' indicates that the singular subject has undergone the action more than once. The iterativity of the actions is an automatic consequence of the subject's being singular. Not so in the next two sentences. When *-ken* is present (in the progressive form, in this case), iterativity is assured: the people involved are dying one by one, i.e. separately. When *-ken* is not present, however, it must be the case that they are dying as a group, i.e. together. This is more obvious in a sentence such as *bó nób gwè* 'they have fallen' (all at once, as a group) vs. *bó nób gwékén* 'they have fallen' (one by one, separately).

This notion of 'separateness' is revealed in the following iterative forms:

fíé	'become burnt'	fíékén	'become burnt in separate spots'
kaa	'grind'	kaàkén	'grind coarsely' (into separate grains)
jíím	'become extinguished'	jíímkén	'sev. becoming extinguished on their own'
díé	'eat'	díékén	'feed oneself'

Finally, note in the following examples that a handful of verbs appear to have the iterative suffix as part of their lexical form:

fúmékén	'vomit'	niànkén	'spy'
bāykén	'thunder'	coònkén	'praise'

2.4. *Bifurcative -ten*. The suffix *-ten* indicates the bifurcation or splitting in two of an object:

bón	'fold'	bóóntén	'fold in two'
saa	'tear'	saátén	'tear in two'
gaw	'divide'	gāwtén	'divide in two'
san	'split'	sāhtén	'split in two'
sóm	'cut'	sómtén	'cut in two'
go	'break fufu'	gótén	'break fufu in two'

The following verbs have a lexical suffix -ten:

cóóntén	'sharpen to a point'	sómtén	'settle a dispute'
léétén	'rest'	fómtén	'be sticky' (meat in decomposition)
jTm̄tén	'perspire'	(cf. fóm	'to be fatty' [like pork])

2.5. *Frequentative RED.* A dozen verbs or so have been found which derive the meaning of 'continuously', 'often', 'many times' by reduplicating their root syllable:

njfm	'wander about'	njfmnjfm	'wander continuously, a long time'
cém	'drip'	cémcém	'drip continuously' (e.g. rain)
lém	'slip'	lém lém	'be slippery, slip several times'
cém	'be sick'	cémcém	'be sickly'
téy	'hang up'	téytéy	'hang up several things'
jáy	'make a mistake'	jáyjáy	'make sev. mistakes, one mistake several times'

There clearly is some overlap between the frequentative in certain cases and the distributive or iterative suffixes, e.g. when expressing the notion of plural action. Since so few verbs allow reduplication of this type, those susceptible to frequentative marking must be so indicated in the lexicon.

3. *Relational extensions.* The second group of verb suffixes consists of four members, all of which have to do with expressing grammatical relations and transitivity:

-se	'causative'	-m	'positional'
-ke	'transitive'	-en	'reciprocal'

The last of these, the reciprocal extension, has a number of different (unpredictable) variants: -en, -nen, -yen and -sen. (Perhaps -ken and -ten are ultimately related, although they are extensions of a very different type in present day Noni.)

3.1. *Causative -se.* Many, if not most intransitive verbs can take a causative suffix -se to form transitive verbs:

yfi	'become black'	yfíse	'blacken'
ffé	'become burnt'	ffése	'make burn'
béé	'cry'	béése	'make cry'
bém	'be scary'	bémsé	'scare'
lém	'become injured'	lémsé	'injure'
lon	'become old'	lónsé	'make old'
fan	'become fat'	fánsé	'fatten'
kwén	'be sufficient'	kwénsé	'add to'
jífim	'become extinguished'	jímsé	'extinguish' (tr.)

Some verb radicals of the shape CV double their vowel when adding the causative suffix, while others do not. There is no way to predict this difference.

bi	'accompany'	bíse	'add to'
bí	'fly'	bífse	'make fly'
la	'become lost'	lāse	'lose'
bá	'become white'	báásé	'whiten'

cé 'spend the night'	césé 'keep sth. overnight'
cí 'restrict'	cíísé 'pass a law'

Very few transitive verbs take the causative suffix, although the following have been found:

fɔɔ 'borrow'	fɔɔsě 'lend'
sám 'borrow'	sámsé 'lend'
fɛn 'lock up'	fɛnsé 'stop s.o. from doing sth.'
daŋ 'cross'	dāhsě 'put sth. across'

3.2. *Transitive -ke*. Approximately 10-12 verbs have been found which use *-ke* as a transitive suffix:

shii 'sit, come down from'	shíikě 'bring down from'
lém 'become injured'	lémkě 'injure s.o.' (=lémśé)
sám 'borrow'	sámkě 'give out' (cf. sámsé)
jífim 'lie down'	jíTkě 'lay sth. down'
lífim 'stand' (intr.)	lékě 'stand sth. up'
ngvúúm 'kneel'	ngvúúkě 'bend, make kneel' (=ngvúśé)
yífim 'lean against'	yékě 'lean sth. against'
jífim 'become extinguished, dark'	jímkě 'extinguish, (=jífmsé) darken'

Most of these forms with *-ke* have intransitive correlates with the positional extension *-m* (see next section). Also, as indicated, variants with *-se* exist for a number of the examples (cf. Chapter 10, where a relationship is shown to exist between nonprogressive *-ke* and progressive *-se*).

3.3. *Positional -m*. The following is a complete list of verbs which have been found with the positional suffix *-m*:

jífim 'lie down'	ngvúúm 'kneel'
shífim 'hang oneself'	cífim 'be firm' ('stand on its own')
lífim 'stand'	jífim 'get dark, become extinguished'
ñífim 'hide oneself'	yífim 'lean against'

The vowel preceding this *-m* is always double, suggesting that *-m* might once have been pronounced *-me* (as it is pronounced in nearby languages such as Kom and Babanki). While the simple root does not exist by itself, it is clear that *-m* adds the meaning of 'positioning oneself'. (The sole exception is 'become extinguished', which does not refer to human beings.) As seen in 3.2, when a non-reflexive meaning is required, these verbs end in *-ke*.

3.4. *Reciprocal -en, -nen, -yen and -sen*. A number of suffixes ending in *-en* express a reciprocal meaning:

ngám 'pinch'	ngámén 'pinch each other'
kón 'chase'	kónén 'chase each other'
kɔŋ 'like'	kɔhén 'like each other'
táá 'look at'	tááyén 'look at each other'
kee 'spy'	keeyén 'spy on each other'
kíf 'call'	kífnén 'call to each other' (=kífáyén)
gay 'greet'	gáynén 'greet each other'

jáy 'make a mistake' jáysén 'mistake one for the other'

While the above examples demonstrate the reciprocal origins of these variants, the most common meaning they acquire is 'together' and even 'several times' (as in the earlier group of extensions):

béé	'cry'	bééyén	'cry one after the other'
fɔɔ	'borrow'	fɔɔyén	'borrow sev. things from sev. people'
few	'measure'	fəwsén	'measure sev. things together'
fyey	'mix'	fyəysén	'mix things together'

In fact, -én has an iterative meaning when placed after verbs with the positional suffix:

jiímén	'lie down (pl.)'	ñiímén	'hide selves'
shiímén	'hang selves'	ngvúúmén	'kneel (pl.)'
lífímén	'stand (pl.)'	cífímén	'be firm (pl.)'

Without the -én suffix, the bare positional verb would indicate that the plural subject takes its position as a group, rather than severally.

3. The above appear to be the major extensions found in Noni. There are occasional cases of unidentifiable suffixes, and many more cases of suffixes which resemble the above extensions, but which cannot be shown to have an independent meaning. Occasionally a verb will have more than one of the above suffixes. Thus, consider the following two verbs:

cé	'spend the night'	shé	'spend the day'
césé	'keep overnight'	shésé	'keep all day'
céshé	'keep sev. things overnight'	shéshé	'keep sev. things all day'

The forms céshé and shéshé derive from cé+sé+yé and shé+sé+yé. Finally, the same radical can sometimes take many different suffixes as seen below:

lem	'to slip, slide' (also = 'to work')
lɛncɛ	'slip a little'
lɛmyɛ	'slip in several places'
lɛmlɛm	'slip several times, be slippery'
lɛhsɛ	'cause to be slippery'

PROGRESSIVE ASPECT

1. In the preceding chapter it was seen that a verb radical can take a number of suffixes and that these suffixes related either to aspect or to grammatical relations. The most commonly occurring aspectual suffix is the progressive marker. Although it is believed that this marker can best be represented underlyingly as /-te/, it has so many different realizations that it is best to study this suffix by addressing its allomorphs separately. In the following sections it will be demonstrated that the different realizations of the progressive suffix can be predicted on the basis of the phonological and morphological shape of the verb form to which it is added. This verb form may either be simplex (i.e. consisting solely of a monosyllabic radical) or complex (i.e. consisting of a radical and a suffix). These two cases are illustrated in the following sections followed by a discussion of verbs whose progressive forms are irregular.

2. *Simplex verb forms.* In the case of simplex verb forms, which consist solely of a monosyllabic verb radical, the shape of the progressive suffix is determined on the basis of the last segment(s) of the radical.

2.1. *Radicals ending in a short vowel.* If a verb radical ends in a short vowel, the progressive (henceforth, PROG) form is obtained by doubling the vowel, e.g.

bi	'follow'	bìì	'be following'
ge	'make'	gèè	'be making'
lé	'sink'	leèè	'be sinking'
kfù	'sift'	kfùù	'be sifting'
fó	'itch'	foó	'be itching'
tó	'come'	toó	'be coming'
tá	'shoot'	taà	'be shooting'

As in the last chapter, verb forms are cited with the tones they carry after the infinitive prefix *kèé-*, e.g. *kèé-bi* 'to follow', *kèé-bìì* 'to be following'.

The above forms show the doubling of all seven phonological short or single vowels in Noni. In addition, the few verbs that consist of a sequence of unlike vowels should be noted as not undergoing any change in forming the PROG:

ffé	'become burnt'	fiè	'be becoming burnt'
díó	'fight'	díò	'be fighting'

The reason that the second vowel is not doubled is that this would produce a sequence of three vowels, which is not permitted within a word in Noni.

2.2. *Radicals ending in a long vowel.* When a verb radical ends in a long (=double) vowel, the PROG is obtained by adding the suffix *-le:*

cli	'drag'	cììlè	'be dragging'
bee	'cry'	bèèlè	'be crying'
dec	'cook'	dèèlè	'be cooking'
túú	'carry (on head)'	tuulè	'be carrying (on head)'

soo	'knot'	sòòlè	'be knotting'
kóó	'catch'	koólè	'be catching'
táá	'look at'	taalè	'be looking at'

2.3. *Radicals ending in -m.* When the verb radical ends in -m, the PROG form is obtained by adding the suffix -te:

cím	'dig'	címtè	'be digging'
cém	'drip'	cémtè	'be dripping'
cém	'become sick'	cémtè	'be becoming sick'
dvum	'groan'	dvùmtè	'be groaning'
tóm	'send'	tomtè	'be sending'
dóm	'pour'	dòmtè	'be pouring'
cám	'chew'	camtè	'be chewing'

2.4. *Radicals ending in -n.* When the verb radical ends in -n, the PROG form is obtained by adding the suffix -e:

bín	'dance'	binè	'be dancing'
bén	'rise'	bènè	'be rising'
bén	'call'	benè	'be calling'
kfun	'hit'	kfùnè	'be hitting'
tón	'refuse'	tonè	'be refusing'
tón	'burn'	tonè	'be burning'
tan	'lack'	tànè	'be lacking'

2.5. *Radicals ending in -ŋ.* When the verb radical ends in -ŋ, the PROG form is obtained by doubling the preceding vowel and by adding the suffix -ke:

cíŋ	'tremble'	ciíŋkè	'be trembling'
tfúŋ	'be inclined'	tfuúŋkè	'be being inclined'
kón	'chase'	koonkè	'be chasing'
yoŋ	'roast'	yóóŋkè	'be roasting'
káŋ	'fry'	kaaŋkè	'be frying'

2.6. *Radicals ending in -w.* When the verb radical ends in -w, the PROG form is obtained by doubling the preceding vowel, dropping the -w, and adding the suffix -ke:

jíw	'blacken'	jiikè	'be blackening'
few	'measure'	fèèkè	'be measuring'
léw	'dodge'	leekè	'be dodging'
cow	'soak'	còòkè	'be soaking'
gow	'grind'	gòòkè	'be grinding'
law	'pay'	lààkè	'be paying'

2.7. *Radicals ending in -y.* When the verb radical ends in -y, the PROG form is obtained by adding the suffix -te:

kéy	'cough'	keytè	'be coughing'
cey	'protect'	cèytè	'be protecting'
kfúy	'trim'	kfuytè	'be trimming'
bóy	'exit'	boytè	'be exiting'
tóy	'accuse'	tóytè	'be accusing'
kay	'tie'	kàytè	'be tying'

3. *Complex verb forms.* A complex verb form consists of a verb radical and a suffix. In all cases the resulting form is bisyllabic. In a few cases longer forms have been noted. As seen in the following sections, a slightly different set of progressive formation rules apply when the verb form has a suffix.

3.1. *Verb forms ending in +(C)en.* When the verb form ends in a suffix of the shape -en, -yen, -nen, -sen, -ken, -ten or -cen, i.e. in a suffix ending in -n, the PROG form is obtained by adding the suffix -e. In this case the same PROG suffix is found as in simplex verb forms ending in -n:

dvũm̄ɛ̃n	'rumble'	dvũmkènè	'be rumbling'
fũmk̄ɛ̃n	'vomit'	fũmkènè	'be vomiting'
jĩm̄t̄ɛ̃n	'perspire'	jĩmtènè	'be perspiring'
yã̄ns̄ɛ̃n	'be quick'	yã̄nsènè	'be being quick'
kĩc̄ɛ̃n	'contradict'	kĩc̄ìnè	'be contradicting'
táá̄ȳɛ̃n	'look at e.o.'	taayìnè	'be looking at each other'

It will be noted that in addition to the suffix -e, the PROG forms involve a vowel change in suffixes ending in -n: non-PROG +(C)en corresponds to PROG +(C)ene. In the last two examples the PROG forms end in +c̄ine and +ȳine because the consonants c and y are palatal.

3.2. *Verb forms ending in +(C)e.* When the verb form ends in +(C)e, and the optional C is not palatal, the PROG form is obtained by replacing the final -e with -e:

t̄ɛ̃l̄ɛ̃	'burst'	t̄ɛ̃l̄è	'be bursting'
k̄ɛ̃ŋk̄ɛ̃	'get'	k̄ɛ̃ŋk̄è	'be getting'
j̄ĩt̄ɛ̃	'become heavy'	j̄ĩt̄è	'be becoming heavy'
fũm̄ɛ̃	'bake in ashes'	fũm̄è	'be baking in ashes'
sh̄ĩws̄ɛ̃	'shake'	sh̄ĩws̄è	'be shaking'
ŋ̄ã̄ŋ̄l̄ɛ̃	'crawl'	ŋ̄ã̄ŋ̄l̄è	'be crawling'
l̄ɛ̃wt̄ɛ̃	'run'	l̄ɛ̃wt̄è	'be running'

It is not always easy to tell exactly where the radical-suffix boundary is if only one consonant intervenes. Thus, 'burst' could be analyzed t̄ɛ̃-l̄ɛ̃ or t̄ɛ̃-l̄-ɛ̃. In a few cases we know because of apparently related forms, e.g. fũm̄-ɛ̃ 'bake in ashes' vs. fũm̄ 'bury'.

3.3. *Verb forms ending in +ce and +ye.* When the verb form ends in +Ce, and the C is palatal, i.e. the suffix is +ce or +ye, the PROG form is derived by changing these suffixes to +c̄i and +ȳi, respectively. An intermediate stage with +ce and +ye is, of course, possible, with the e being then raised to i because of the preceding palatal consonant.

t̄óm̄c̄ɛ̃	'mend'	tom̄c̄i	'be mending'
l̄ɛ̃nc̄ɛ̃	'trample'	l̄ɛ̃nc̄i	'be trampling'
kw̄ã̄w̄c̄ɛ̃	'remember'	kw̄ã̄w̄c̄i	'be remembering'
k̄óc̄ɛ̃	'wrap up'	k̄óc̄i	'be wrapping up'
n̄ɛ̃c̄ɛ̃	'straighten'	n̄ɛ̃c̄i	'be straightening'
k̄áw̄ȳɛ̃	'chop up'	k̄aw̄ȳi	'be chopping up'
kw̄ã̄ȳɛ̃	'scrape ground'	kw̄ã̄ȳi	'be scraping ground'
sāáȳɛ̃	'tear sev. times'	s̄áaȳi	'be tearing several times'
d̄áý̄ɛ̃	'forget'	daaȳi	'be forgetting'

As seen in the last form, *daayi* 'be forgetting', verb forms of the shape CV-ye normally lengthen the vowel of the radical as -ye changes to -yi in the PROG.

3.4. *Verb forms ending in +se*. When a verb radical of the shape CV has a suffix +se, the vowel of the radical is lengthened in forming the PROG. If the radical already has a long vowel, or if the radical is of the shape CVC, the PROG aspect is marked solely by a tonal change, as indicated below:

yēsé	'sweep'	yèèsè	'be sweeping'
tfúsé	'answer'	tfuusè	'be answering'
ngvúsé	'bend sth.'	ngvuusè	'be bending sth.'
tásé	'sew'	taasè	'be sewing'
léwsé	'divert'	lèwsè	'be diverting'
dòmésé	'prod'	dòmèsè	'be prodding'
sámsé	'lend'	samsè	'be lending'
fòòsé	'lend'	fòòsè	'be lending'

3.5. *Verb forms ending in -fe*. While it is not clear whether -fe should be considered a suffix, or whether the f belongs to the radical, verb forms which end in -fe form the PROG aspect by lengthening the radical vowel, dropping the f, and adding -te:

bífé	'ask'	biltè	'be asking'
béfé	'spoil'	beetè	'be spoiling'
téfé	'advise'	teetè	'be advising'
kfúfé	'become short'	kfuutè	'be becoming short'
cófé	'chisel'	cootè	'be chiseling'
tófé	'throw down'	tootè	'be throwing down'

3.5. *Verb forms ending in -e*. When a verb form ends in -e (and the preceding consonant is not s or f), the PROG form is obtained by replacing the -e suffix with -yi:

kéwé	'roll up'	kewyi	'be rolling up'
jéwé	'plant'	jewyi	'be planting'
jámé	'speak'	jèmyi	'be speaking'
yéhé	'open'	yènyì	'be opening'
kóné	'reward'	konyi	'be rewarding'
jThé	'look at'	jlyi	'be looking at'

3.6. *Verb forms ending in -Vvm*. Verb forms ending in -Vvm, i.e. those taking the positional extension +m, form the PROG by adding -e. This differs noticeably from the -te suffix which was assigned to simplex verbs ending in -m.

jífim	'lie down'	jìimè	'be lying down'
shífim	'hang oneself'	shìimè	'be hanging oneself'
lífim	'stand'	liimè	'be standing'
ñífim	'hide oneself'	ñìimè	'be hiding oneself'
ngvúúm	'kneel'	ngvuumè	'be kneeling'

3.7. *Reduplicated verb forms*. Most of the attested reduplicated verb forms have a radical of the shape CVC. They all take a suffix -e to form the PROG aspect, rather than following the pattern established for the different CVC shapes in simplex verb forms:

gēmǧēm	'fence in'	gēmǧēmè	'be fencing in'
cēmǧēm	'be sickly'	cēmǧēmè	'be being sickly'
lēw lēw	'dodge'	lēw lēwè	'be dodging'
lāw lāw	'twinkle'	lāw lāwè	'be twinkling'
cōwǧōw	'dampen'	cōwǧōwè	'be dampening'

If the same rules had been followed as on simplex verb forms, the first and last PROG forms above would have been *gēmǧēmǧēmè and *cōwǧōwǧōwè. As indicated, these are incorrect. The one reduplicated form that has been found that does not have a CVC radical is tūtútúú 'carry(child on shoulder)', whose PROG form is tūtútúùlè, i.e. taking the suffix -le as CVV radicals normally do.

4. *Exceptions.* Despite the fact that the above statements cover the majority of Noni verbs, there are exceptions in the way in which certain verbs form the PROG. These exceptional verbs may (as indicated) optionally follow the appropriate rule, or in other cases, must be exceptions. The following table gives an idea of the relative numbers of regular vs. irregular verbs according to their phonological and morphological structure:

Verb Structure	# Regular	# Irregular
CV	39	10
CVV	30	5
CVm	32	0
CVn	22	1
CVŋ	19	0
CVw	29	5
CVy	32	1
+(C)en	28	0
+(C)e	14	5
+cē	26	0
+yē	6	1
+sē	27	3
-fē	9	2
+ē	17	9
+m	8	0
RED	9	0
	<hr/> 347	<hr/> 42

Thus, out of a corpus of 389 verbs, only 42 are irregular, i.e. approx. 10%. These exceptional verbs are discussed in the following sections.

4.1. *Radicals ending in a short vowel.* There are nine verbs whose radical ends in a short vowel which can *optionally* take a -le suffix to form the PROG. Alternatively they can undergo the regular rule and lengthen their vowel:

bí	'fly'	bì /bì è	'be flying'
cí	'legislate'	cì /cì è	'be legislating'
fē	'cure an invalid'	fèè/fè è	'be curing an invalid'
fē	'chat'	fèè/fè è	'be chatting'
bvu	'interrupt'	bvùù/bvù è	'be interrupting'
kfu	'sift'	kfùù/kfù è	'be sifting'
fo	'pour'	fòd/fò è	'be pouring'
kó	'gather up'	kòd/kò è	'be gathering up'
ka	'clear one's throat'	kàd/kà è	'be clearing one's throat'

4.5. *Radicals ending in -y*. One verb ending in -y exceptionally loses the -y and takes a -le suffix in the PROG form:

féy 'pass, surpass' fele 'be passing, surpassing'

Because this verb takes exceptional tones in several tenses, it may be analyzable as fei, in which case it becomes exceptional to a different rule.

4.6 *Verb forms ending in -(C)e* (where C ≠ palatal). Several verbs end in -(C)e but do not convert this to -(C)e, as seen earlier. First, there are three verbs which replace -ε with -yí:

cíne	'leave (sth.)'	cinyí	'be leaving (sth.)'
nēñé	'leave'	nēnyí	'be leaving'
fúlé	'blow'	fuyí	'be blowing'

As seen in 'be blowing', l drops out before y. Two more irregular verbs ending in -ε are seen below:

dēfě	'become long'	dèètè/dèfènè	'be becoming long'
shūmě	'carry on pole'	shūmtè	'be carrying on pole'

The first verb can optionally follow the rule for verbs ending in -fe or can convert itself to dēfěn and then become dēfènè. The second verb drops its -ε and then takes -te, as radicals with final -m do by rule.

4.7. *Verb forms ending in -ye*. One verb ends in -ye but drops the -ε and adds -te (as in 'carry on pole' in the last group):

bvúyé 'burst open' bvuytè 'be bursting open'

Perhaps this indicates that the verb should be analyzed as bvúy-é rather than bvú-yé. The -ε then drops exceptionally, causing the verb to take the -te suffix in the PROG.

4.8. *Verb forms ending in -se*. The following two verbs end in -se, but do not follow the general pattern seen earlier:

dósé	'be tired'	dosè	'be being tired'
cíñsé	'make round & smooth'	cíñsènè	'be making round and smooth'

In 'be tired' the vowel ɔ should double in the PROG, but doesn't. In 'make round and smooth', an -n is first added and then the PROG -e by general rule.

4.9. *Verb forms ending in -fe*. Two verbs ending in -fe have been found which instead of undergoing the general pattern (lengthening of radical vowel, dropping of f, adding of -te), lengthen their radical vowel and keep the f:

yéfé	'rub'	yeefè	'be rubbing'
cófé	'take (out) from'	coofè	'be taking (out) from'

4.10. *Verb forms ending in -Ce*. There are a number of exceptional verbs ending in -(C)e (where C ≠ s or f). One verb ends in -e but does not acquire the expected -yí:

sémé 'cease' (of rains) semtè 'cease' (of rains)

Instead, the -e drops and -te is assigned by general rule. In six other verb forms, -ci is found instead of -yi in the PROG:

gwēlě	'harvest'	gwēcì	'be harvesting'
kēhě	'set fire'	kēcì	'be setting fire'
lāhtě	'cross (river)'	līncì	'be crossing (river)'
ngéłě	'crunch'	ngēcì	'be crunching'
nēlě	'straighten out'	nēcì	'be straightening out'
kólě	'wrap up'	kocì	'be wrapping up'

We have seen that there are two verb extensions -ye 'distributive' and -ce 'attenuative'. The PROG forms of these extensions are -yi and -ci, respectively. Most verbs which end in -(C)e (other than -se or -fe) are assigned -ye, in the PROG, which of course becomes -yi. The above six verbs, however, are assigned -ce, which becomes -ci. Note that 'be setting fire' and 'be crossing' have a -nc- sequence which causes the preceding vowel to double (as happened with Vη + ke in section 2.5 above). The change from ee to ii cannot be explained in 'be crossing'. Finally, 'be harvesting', 'be crunching', 'be straightening out' and 'be wrapping up' all lose their l in the PROG forms.

Now note the following two irregular verbs, also having an internal -l-:

bēlě	'thank'	bēcì	'be thanking'
béłě	'weed, pluck'	bēcì	'be weeding, plucking'

Although these two verbs are identical except for tone, they are different even with respect to their irregularities in the PROG. 'Thank' exceptionally lengthens its radical vowel and keeps -le in the PROG, while 'weed, pluck' changes -e to -yi, but drops its -l- and lengthens the radical vowel. In this regard it is like 'be blowing' in section 4.6, except that this latter form does not lengthen its radical vowel.

Finally, there are several verbs ending in the 'transitive' extension -ke, whose PROG forms are derived as seen below:

bāhķě	'turn (tr.)'	bāņsě	'be turning (tr.)'
sāhķě	'disperse (tr.)'	sāņsě	'be dispersing (tr.)'
lěķě	'stand sth.'	lěwsě	'be standing sth.'
cāķě	'put away'	cāwsě	'be putting away'
jīķě	'lay sth. down'	jīwsě	'be laying sth. down'
shīķě	'bring sth. down'	shīwsě	'be bringing sth. down'
yěķě	'lean sth. against'	yěwsě	'be leaning sth. against'

All of the PROG forms seen above involve a -se suffix, instead of the - seen in the non-PROG forms. If the radical has the structure CVC, -ke is simply dropped. If not, we substitute -se for -e, yielding an intermediate structure CVķse, which then becomes CVwsē. It is hard to explain these changes, and for this reason the above group was included among the irregular, rather than regular, verbs. We saw in Chapter 9 that some of the -ke forms have alternatives with -se. Thus, we may have an imperfect merger of two extensions, rather than a natural phonological development.

4.11. *Inherently PROG verbs.* The rules given above cover the majority of Noni verb forms, with the exceptions being limited in number. In addition, at least two verbs, nù(ù) 'be' and keē/kēy 'know' are only rarely used, if at

all, when not in the PROG aspect.

5. *The rules.* It is a very striking feature of Noni that the PROG suffix has so many different realizations. Some of these different realizations have to do with the substitution of one suffix for another in forming the PROG. Thus, as seen in 3.5, the suffix *-ye* is substituted for the non-PROG suffix *-e* in PROG formation. To this *-ye* is added the true PROG suffix, which causes *-ye* to become first *-ye* and then *-yi*, as described. Similarly, in 4.10, we saw that *-se* is substituted for *-ke* in forming the PROG aspect.

In this section the different realizations of the PROG suffix are accounted for, informally, by a sequence of ordered rules. We begin with the assumption that the PROG suffix can be represented by the form */+te/*. The rules which now follow apply in the order given, but affect *only* the PROG suffix. Because of this last restriction it is clear that these are really *morphologized*. Thus, the following rules represent only an abstract account of these phenomena, one which is believed to capture the historical processes which have led to alternations observed.

5.1. *Rule 1.* The first rule changes *+te* to *+le* when preceded by a CVV verb radical:

$$t \rightarrow l / \# CVV + _ e$$

5.2. *Rule 2.* The second rule deletes the *t* of the PROG suffix in three different environments:

$$t \rightarrow \emptyset / \# \left\{ \begin{array}{l} CV(n) \\ X+Y \end{array} \right\} + _ e$$

In the first line between braces in the environment of rule 2 the *t* of the PROG suffix is deleted after a verb radical of the shape CV or CVn. In the second line the *t* is deleted whenever the verb form contains a morpheme (+) boundary (the X and Y variables stand for non-null elements). This internal + boundary can be either a radical-suffix boundary or the boundary which occurs between the two parts of a reduplicated verb. It should be noticed here that because rule 1 precedes rule 2, the reduplicated verb *túútúú* 'carry (child on shoulder)' has the PROG form *tuútùùlè*, rather than **tuútùùè*.

5.3. *Rule 3.* The third rule takes the output CV+e from rule 2 and assimilates the PROG +e to the preceding single vowel of the verb radical:

$$e \rightarrow [aF] / \# C \underset{V}{[aF]} + _$$

5.4. *Rule 4.* Rules 4 and 5 are written transformationally. As seen in the following formulation,

$$\begin{array}{ccc} [aF] & \emptyset & \left[\begin{array}{l} +back \\ <-nasal> \end{array} \right] & + & t & e \\ \underset{V}{\downarrow} & & \underset{C}{\downarrow} & & & \\ [aF] & & <\emptyset> & & & k \\ \underset{V}{\downarrow} & & & & & \end{array}$$

the fourth rule affects radicals which end in *-ŋ* and *-w*, both of which are

VERB CONJUGATION I: INTRODUCTION

1. *Tone patterns.* In this and the following three chapters Noni verb forms will be described and illustrated as they appear in different tenses, in different constructions, and when negated. We shall refer to these different forms as conjugations, noting that this term covers tense, aspect, mood and polarity (negative vs. affirmative) as these features are realized in main vs. relative vs. consecutive clauses (in Chapters 12, 13 and 14, respectively).

As a preliminary to the study of tense, aspect etc. it is necessary to point out a few features of the tone system as it applies to verb forms. In Chapter 2 it was seen that Noni has a basic three-level tone system with L, M and H tone. Various contours are also allowed. It has already been demonstrated (in Chapter 9) that verb radicals show a two-way tonal opposition. In simplex verb forms this opposition has been represented as one between M and H tone, e.g. *cōw* 'dig' vs. *cōw* 'make a click'. In addition to this *lexical* tonal contrast, each verb form takes one of *four* tone patterns. We shall refer to these four patterns as A, B, C and D. Thus, in order to predict the tones of a given verb in a given conjugation, we need to know (a) its lexical tone, and (b) its grammatical tonal class (A, B, C or D). We shall adopt the convention of referring to the class of verbs having the lower lexical tones as L tone verbs, and those having the higher lexical tones as H tone verb. Thus, 'dig' is a L tone verb, while 'make a click' is a H tone verb. The realization of the different verb tones can now be summarized in the following table:

pattern	monosyllabic		bisyllabic		formula (tentative)
	L	H	L	H	
A	L	LM	L-L	M-L	'R'
B	LH	H	L-H	M-H	'R'
C	M	H	ML-H	H-H	'R'
D	ML	H	ML-L	HL-L	'R'

The patterns are numbered in order of frequency, with pattern A being the most common. As can be seen, tentative formulas have also been proposed. Since there are only four patterns, it is reasonable to propose a two-way tonal contrast occurring both pre- and post-radically, as indicated. Thus, pattern A consists of a pre-radical L, the radical tone (either L or H) and a post-radical L, and so forth. These formulas remain tentative as an abstract analysis of the tonal system of verbs, although considerable support is available also from noun tones (though not without problems).

In the above table we have distinguished monosyllabic vs. bisyllabic verb forms. The reason for this is clear: the same pattern will have a different realization according to the number of syllables in the complete verb form (=the verb radical, any lexical or grammatical suffixes, including the PROG suffix, if present). In cases where the verb form has more than two

syllables, the second tone goes on the second and all subsequent syllables.

It will be noted from this table that in three of the patterns (B, C and D), a monosyllabic H tone verb will appear as H tone, but that in the corresponding bisyllabic forms, three distinct tonal patterns are observed (respectively, M-H, H-H and HL-L). This is due to the fact that tonal contours are limited in Noni. In pattern B, the monosyllabic H tone pattern should have been MH, while in pattern D it should have been HL. While HL is only rarely permitted in Noni, MH is virtually unattested in the language. (There is some question as to whether it can occur in the numeral 'six'.) While patterns B, C and D merge on monosyllabic H tone verbs, they are of course distinguished on monosyllabic L tone verbs. All of these patterns will be exemplified in the following sections and chapters.

2. *Citation forms: the infinitive.* It is customary to establish a citation form for verbs. While in nouns we have simply cited the singular form, the choice for a citation form in verbs is not as obvious. In the preceding chapters we have cited the verb forms with the tones they take after the infinitive prefix *kèé-*, e.g.

<i>kèé-kfun</i>	'to hit'	<i>kèé-kfùnè</i>	'to be hitting'
<i>kèé-tón</i>	'to refuse'	<i>kèé-tonè</i>	'to be refusing'
<i>kèé-dòmṣé</i>	'to push'	<i>kèé-dòmṣè</i>	'to be pushing'
<i>kèé-címṣé</i>	'to pacify'	<i>kèé-címṣè</i>	'to be pacifying'

The above examples include monosyllabic L and H tone verbs followed by L and H bisyllabic verbs. As seen, the non-progressive forms on the left take pattern C, while the progressive forms on the right take pattern A. Thus, although we have cited the tonal contrast between monosyllabic verbs as one between M and H, e.g. *kfun* 'hit' vs. *tón* 'refuse', these citation forms actually represent the realization of this tonal contrast when occurring with pattern C.

Throughout our description of the verb conjugations we shall continue to use the infinitive tones for the purpose of citing verb forms. We shall also continue to use the above four simplex and complex verb forms to illustrate all of the tonal patterns in each tense, construction etc.

3. *Imperatives.* In some languages the second person singular imperative offers the least marked (i.e. affixless) verb form. As seen in the following examples, this is not the case in Noni:

<i>kfùnṣ</i>	'hit!'	<i>è kfùnè</i>	'be hitting!'
<i>toné</i>	'refuse!'	<i>è tonè</i>	'be refusing!'
<i>dòmṣṣ</i>	'push!'	<i>è dòmṣè</i>	'be pushing!'
<i>címṣé</i>	'pacify!'	<i>è címṣè</i>	'be pacifying!'

The PROG forms on the right have a preposed marker *è* (found also in some consecutives; see Chapter 14) followed by the PROG verb forms with the expected tone pattern A. The non-PROG forms, however, have tone pattern B and a suffix if the verb form is monosyllabic. As seen in the following forms,

<i>bìé</i>	'follow!'	(<i>bì</i> 'follow')
<i>cìììé</i>	'drag!'	(<i>cìì</i> 'drag')

this suffix takes the form *-é* after a CVV verb radical and the form *-e* after either a CV or a CVC verb radical. In many cases the imperative suffix appears to be optional, e.g. *yem* or *yemé* 'sing!'. In a few verbs it takes an excep-

tional form (e.g. *shó* 'clean', *shòǎ* 'clean!'). However, it cannot be present if either (a) the verb form has more than one syllable; or (b) a monosyllabic CV verb belongs to the H tone class. In the latter case the imperative verb carries a M tone: *wó* 'drink', *wò* 'drink!'. Since these suffixless imperative forms carry M tone, it is necessary to first assign the suffix, to derive a pattern B hypothetical form *wò-é* and then delete the suffix (cf. the optional variants of 'sing!' given above. Finally, there is some evidence that in cases where the suffix is optional, the suffixed variant has a weaker imperative force, e.g. *cém* 'dig!' (a command) vs. *cémé* 'dig!' (an instruction), both from *cém* 'dig'.

Negative imperative forms are considerably more complex than their affirmative counterparts:

<i>fò wò kfun</i> <i>ke</i>	'don't hit!'	<i>fò wò kfùnè</i> <i>ke</i>	'don't be hitting!'
<i>fò wò tón</i> <i>ke</i>	'don't refuse!'	<i>fò wò tonè</i> <i>ke</i>	'don't be refusing!'
<i>fò wò dǒmsě</i> <i>ke</i>	'don't push!'	<i>fò wò dòmè</i> <i>ke</i>	'don't be pushing!'
<i>fò wò címsé</i> <i>ke</i>	'don't pacify!'	<i>fò wò címsè</i> <i>ke</i>	'don't be pacifying!'

The structure of these utterances is NEG + 'you sg.' + verb + NEG. As in the infinitives, tone pattern C is used for non-PROG forms, while pattern A is used for PROG forms. While the subject pronoun *wò* 'you sg.' is indicated here with L tone, it can alternatively be realized with LM tone, e.g. *fò wò tón* *ke* 'don't refuse!'.

Other imperatives (e.g. 1st and 2nd person pl.) use tone pattern C as well, e.g. *bèñ kfun* 'hit!' (you pl.), *bǎ tón* 'let's refuse!'. The latter form appears to be derived from *béewò* 'you and I' + *tón*. Notice the lack of the imperative suffix in these forms, as in the negatives.

4. *Overview of the system.* The exact realization of the different verb forms are of course affected by considerations of tense, aspect, mood and polarity. In addition, there are significant differences in the realizations of the different tenses etc. in main vs. relative vs. consecutive clauses. For this reason, the treatment of verb conjugations is presented in three separate chapters, with one chapter devoted to each clause. The affirmative and negative forms are given for each tense, as are the progressive and non-progressive. We shall have need, therefore, of the following features:

REL :	relative/non-relative
CNS :	consecutive/non-consecutive
PROG :	progressive/non-progressive
NEG :	negative/affirmative
FUT :	future/non-future
TOD :	today/non-today
NEAR :	near/far
FOC :	"even" focus/"uneven" focus

The first two features, REL and CNS, define the three constructions which will serve as the basis for the following three chapters: Chapter 12 will deal with main clauses, which are [-REL, -CNS], Chapter 13 with relative clauses, which are [+REL, -CNS], and Chapter 14 with consecutive clauses, which are [-REL, +CNS]. (The fourth feature combination, [+REL, +CNS], does not exist.) The feature specification [+NEG] refers to negative polarity, while [-NEG] refers to affirmative polarity. The feature PROG is addressed below.

The following three features, FUT, TOD and NEAR, define the eight distinguishable tenses or time distinctions recognized by the language. These

tenses have the feature specifications seen in the following table:

	P ₃	P ₂	P ₁	P ₀	F ₀	F ₁	F ₂	F ₃
[FUT]	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
[TOD]	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
[NEAR]	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-

The first feature, FUT, distinguishes future from non-future tenses. As seen, F₀, F₁, F₂ and F₃ are all [+FUT], while P₀, P₁, P₂ and P₃ are [-FUT]. In the abbreviations for these tenses, F stands for "future", while P stands for "non-future" (i.e. either past or present, as indicated below).

Both the [+FUT] and [-FUT] tenses show four degrees of remoteness. The designation "zero" in P₀ and F₀ indicates 0 degree of remoteness from the time of speaking, while the integers 1, 2 and 3 indicate further degrees, in the order indicated. The most common time references indicated by these tenses are the following:

- P₀ : present/immediate past 'to have just X'ed'
- P₁ : earlier today
- P₂ : yesterday or some days ago
- P₃ : a long time ago
- F₀ : immediate future 'to be about to X'
- F₁ : later today
- F₂ : tomorrow or some days from now
- F₃ : a long time from now

The key to this analysis is seen in the two meanings of P₀: if the P₀ is [+PROG] it has a present tense meaning, e.g. b³ k³ũn³ l³ 'they are hitting'. If the same tense is [-PROG], it has an immediate past or present perfect meaning, e.g. b³ k³ũn³ l³ 'they have (just) hit'. Normally, when the PROG suffix is added to a past or future tense, we obtain the progressive 'ing' reading for that tense, e.g. 'they hit' vs. 'they were hitting', 'they will hit' vs. 'they will be hitting'. It is in the P₀ that the PROG form changes a past tense into a present tense. The past tense which is so changed is, of course, a perfect of sorts, a past tense which has a close tie to or relevance for the present. Because of this relationship between the present and the immediate past, the most major tense distinction in the language is that between [+FUT] and [-FUT] (cf. Anderson's (1979) treatment of nearby Aghem, which has certain features in common, but which differs in having a completive/non-completive aspect, rather than a progressive/non-progressive).

Following the treatment of Bamileke-Dschang by Hyman (1980), the different degrees of past and future will be distinguished by means of the features TOD and NEAR. Tenses which refer to events occurring on the same day of the discourse are [+TOD], i.e. P₀, P₁, F₀, F₁, while tenses which refer to events not occurring on the same day are [-TOD], i.e. P₂, P₃, F₂, F₃. Finally, within each of the TOD specifications there is a near vs. far variant: [+TOD, +NEAR] indicates present or immediate past or future; [+TOD, -NEAR] indicates earlier and later today; [-TOD, +NEAR] indicates some days ago or from now; and [-TOD, -NEAR] indicates a long time ago or from now.

The reason why the feature NEAR is used is because of the subjectivity that may in some cases lead a speaker to use one or the other tense. An event

which took place some weeks ago, for example, will be in the P₂ ([-TOD, +NEAR]) if the speaker chooses to regard the time point as relatively close to today; it will be in the P₃ ([-TOD, -NEAR]) if he chooses to regard the time point as not close to today, and so forth. In other words, except for the today/non-today distinction, it would be incorrect to define tenses in terms of objective time reference.

The last feature which will be used in the following chapters is FOC. In main clauses only, and only among [-FUT] tenses, there is a distinction between "focused" and "non-focused" verb forms. While this distinction will come up in later chapters, it can be illustrated by means of the following sentences:

[+FOC] : b⁵ c¹ n⁵⁵ k⁵ f⁵ w⁵ 'they hit a child' (P₂)
 [-FOC] : b⁵ c¹ k⁵ f⁵ w⁵ " " " " "

Both sentences report the same event with the same time reference. However, the internal focus structure is different. The first sentence is neutral, and could be uttered out of the blue. The second sentence appears only in answer to a question (e.g. 'whom did they hit?'). The [+FOC] variant has the auxiliary n⁵⁵ which indicates even focus among the arguments of the sentence and the action of the verb. It places emphasis, if anywhere, on the fact that the action took place (cf. Watters' (1979) notion of "truth value focus" for Aghem). Because the [+FOC] variant has a foregrounding function, it is usually not found in relative clauses (but cf. Chapter 19), which are considered to have a backgrounding referential function.

In the following chapters the different conjugations will be presented in the following order:

- I. [-PROG]
 - A. [-FUT]
 - 1. [-NEG]
 - a. [-FOC]
 - b. [+FOC]
 - 2. [+NEG]
 - B. [+FUT]
 - 1. [-NEG]
 - 2. [+NEG]
- II. [+PROG]
 - A. [-FUT]
 - 1. [-NEG]
 - 2. [+NEG]
 - B. [+FUT]
 - 1. [-NEG]
 - 2. [+NEG]

This is done first for main clauses ([-REL, -CNS]) in Chapter 12; then for relative clauses ([+REL, -CNS]) in Chapter 13; and then for consecutive clauses ([-REL, +CNS]) in Chapter 14. A summary is provided in Chapter 15.

VERB CONJUGATION II: MAIN CLAUSES

1. [-PROG, -FUT, -NEG, -FOC]. In this chapter we shall present the verb conjugations for main clauses. We shall follow the outline given at the end of Chapter 11 and therefore begin with non-progressive, non-future, affirmative tenses. Since these show a focus distinction, as alluded to in the previous chapter, we shall begin with the [-FOC] variants.

The tenses included under this heading include the P_0 , P_1 , P_2 and P_3 . We shall continue to use the verbs *kfun* 'hit', *tón* 'refuse', *dòmśé* 'push' and *címsé* 'pacify' to illustrate the two tone patterns on monosyllabic and bisyllabic verb forms.

1.1. [-FOC], P_0 . As seen in the following sentences, the [-FOC] P_0 has a \emptyset tense marker and takes tone pattern B:

bó kǔ̀n lǎ 'they have just hit'
 bó tǒn lǎ 'they have just refused'
 bó dòmśé lǎ 'they have just pushed'
 bó címsé lǎ 'they have just pacified'

The marker *lǎ* 'just' is required in order to make these sentences complete. The same will be seen in the other [-FOC] tenses in main clauses.

1.2. [-FOC], P_1 . This tense utilizes the auxiliary *bé* and tone pattern A:

bó bé kǔ̀n lǎ 'they hit' (earlier today)
 bó bé tǒh lǎ 'they refused'
 bó bé dòmśè lǎ 'they pushed'
 bó bé címsè lǎ 'they pacified'

The tone pattern on monosyllabic H tone verbs such as *tón* 'refuse' is irregular. For this reason we shall consider the [-FOC] P_1 to be marked by a suffix with L tone, $-V$, whose tonal effect is seen only on *tǒh* (which would otherwise have been realized *tǒn* in pattern A).

1.3. [-FOC], P_2 . This tense utilizes the auxiliary *cí* (probably from the main verb *cé* 'spend the night') and tone pattern B:

bó cí kǔ̀n lǎ 'they hit' (yesterday, some days ago)
 bó cí tǒn lǎ 'they refused'
 bó cí dòmśé lǎ 'they pushed'
 bó cí címsé lǎ 'they pacified'

1.4. [-FOC], P_3 . This tense utilizes the auxiliary *tǎ* (from the main verb *tǎ* 'come') and tone pattern B:

bó tǎ kǔ̀n lǎ 'they hit' (a long time ago)
 bó tǎ tǒn lǎ 'they refused'
 bó tǎ dòmśé lǎ 'they pushed'
 bó tǎ címsé lǎ 'they pacified'

Note that the LH tone on the verb in 'they refused' is the result of the tone

rule referred to in Chapter 2 whereby a H tone becomes LH in close conjunction with a preceding L. We shall see a number of applications of this rule in the verb forms in this and successive chapters.

2. [-PROG, -FUT, -NEG, +FOC]. The above four non-progressive affirmative tenses have [+FOC] counterparts which are complete and cannot cooccur with *lò*.

2.1. [+FOC], P_0 . This tense is formed with the auxiliary *nóò* and tone pattern A:

<i>bó</i> <i>nóò</i> <i>kfùn</i>	'they have hit'	<i>bó</i> <i>nóò</i> <i>dòm̀sè</i>	'they have pushed'
<i>bó</i> <i>nóò</i> <i>tòn</i>	'they have refused'	<i>bó</i> <i>nóò</i> <i>cím̀sè</i>	'they have pacified'

The origin of the marker *nóò*, which will be seen in other [+FOC] tenses, is *nú* 'copula, focus marker' + *ε*, as can be seen in the slow variant *bó nú ε kfùn* 'they have hit'.

2.2. [+FOC], P_1 . This tense utilizes the auxiliary *béè*, which is from *bé+ε*, and tone pattern A:

<i>bó</i> <i>béè</i> <i>kfùn</i>	'they hit' (today)	<i>bó</i> <i>béè</i> <i>dòm̀sè</i>	'they pushed'
<i>bó</i> <i>béè</i> <i>tòn</i>	'they refused'	<i>bó</i> <i>béè</i> <i>cím̀sè</i>	'they pacified'

2.3. [+FOC], P_2 . This tense adds *nóò* to the auxiliary *cí* seen in the [-FOC] variant. The tone pattern changes to A:

<i>bó</i> <i>cí</i> <i>nóò</i> <i>kfùn</i>	'they hit' (yesterday, some days ago)
<i>bó</i> <i>cí</i> <i>nóò</i> <i>tòn</i>	'they refused'
<i>bó</i> <i>cí</i> <i>nóò</i> <i>dòm̀sè</i>	'they pushed'
<i>bó</i> <i>cí</i> <i>nóò</i> <i>cím̀sè</i>	'they pacified'

2.4. [+FOC], P_3 . This tense adds *nóò* to the auxiliary *tò* seen in the [-FOC] variant. Again the tone pattern changes to A:

<i>bó</i> <i>tò</i> <i>nóò</i> <i>kfùn</i>	'they hit' (a long time ago)
<i>bó</i> <i>tò</i> <i>nóò</i> <i>tòn</i>	'they refused'
<i>bó</i> <i>tò</i> <i>nóò</i> <i>dòm̀sè</i>	'they pushed'
<i>bó</i> <i>tò</i> <i>nóò</i> <i>cím̀sè</i>	'they pacified'

3. [-PROG, -FUT, +NEG]. Since there are no focus variants in the negative, the following non-progressive P_0 - P_3 forms correspond to both focus variants of affirmatives above:

3.1. [+NEG], P_0 . In all of the non-progressive, non-future negatives the negative marker *bá* (variant *báá*) is inserted between the tense auxiliary (if any) and the verb. In addition, *ke* is added at the end of the clause:

<i>bó</i> <i>bá</i> <i>kfun</i> <i>ke</i>	'they haven't hit'
<i>bó</i> <i>bá</i> <i>tón</i> <i>ke</i>	'they haven't refused'
<i>bó</i> <i>bá</i> <i>dòm̀sè</i>	'they haven't pushed'
<i>bó</i> <i>bá</i> <i>cím̀sè</i>	'they haven't pacified'

Since the P_0 does not use a tense auxiliary, the negative marker *bá* stands between the subject and the verb. The tone pattern is C in all non-progressive negative forms. Notice, finally, that *ke* takes the place of *lò* in completing the above sentences.

3.2. [+NEG], P_1 . This tense follows the above rule except that the negative marker is realized with a LH tone:

bó bḗ bá kfun ké	'they didn't hit' (earlier today)
bó bḗ bá tón ké	'they didn't refuse'
bó bḗ bá dḥmsḗ ké	'they didn't push'
bó bḗ bá címsḗ ké	'they didn't pacify'

Because of the unpredictable tonal alternation, we assume that there is a L tone preceding the negative marker bá in just this tense. This L tone should be compared with the L which was postulated after the main verb in the [-FOC] affirmative P_1 .

3.3. [+NEG], P_2 . This tense follows the normal pattern C with bá:

bó cí bá kfun ké	'they didn't hit' (yesterday, some days ago)
bó cí bá tón ké	'they didn't refuse'
bó cí bá dḥmsḗ ké	'they didn't push'
bó cí bá címsḗ ké	'they didn't pacify'

3.4. [+NEG], P_3 . This tense is also regular. The negative marker is realized LH because of the preceding L tone of the tense auxiliary tò:

bó tò bá kfun ké	'they didn't hit' (a long time ago)
bó tò bá tón ké	'they didn't refuse'
bó tò bá dḥmsḗ ké	'they didn't push'
bó tò bá címsḗ ké	'they didn't pacify'

4. [-PROG, +FUT, -NEG]. All future tenses are built on the future marker nú (variant núú, which may mark emphasis). This marker is derived from the copula verb 'be' of the same form. There are no focus variants in the future tenses, nor is lḗ required to make the utterances complete.

4.1. [-NEG], F_0 . This tense uses the future marker nú without any further tense auxiliary. In this and all other non-progressive future verb forms, the tone pattern is C:

bó nú kfun	'they are about to hit'
bó nú tón	'they are about to refuse'
bó nú dḥmsḗ	'they are about to push'
bó nú címsḗ	'they are about to pacify'

4.2. [-NEG], F_1 . This tense uses the auxiliary géé (probably from the main verb ge 'make, do'):

bó nú géé kfun	'they will hit' (later today; indefinite)
bó nú géé tón	'they will refuse'
bó nú géé dḥmsḗ	'they will push'
bó nú géé címsḗ	'they will pacify'

While the F_1 expresses future actions later in the same day, it expresses a less definite future than the F_0 tense. In general the time distinctions blur somewhat more in the future than in the past tenses.

4.3. [-NEG], F_2 . This tense uses the auxiliary bóy (from the main verb bóy 'exit, reach'), and the normal tone pattern C:

bó nú bǒy kfun	'they will hit' (tomorrow, some days from now)
bó nú bǒy tón	'they will refuse'
bó nú bǒy dǒmsě	'they will push'
bó nú bǒy címsé	'they will pacify'

4.4. [-NEG], F_3 . This tense uses the auxiliary yúú (from the main verb yúú 'dawn, be clear'):

bó nú yúú kfun	'they will hit' (a long time from now)
bó nú yúú tón	'they will refuse'
bó nú yúú dǒmsě	'they will push'
bó nú yúú címsé	'they will pacify'

5. [-PROG, +FUT, +NEG]. All future and/or progressive verb tenses form their negatives by placing ké at the beginning of the clause and ke at the end of the clause. In addition, the marker yà can optionally appear immediately after the subject.

5.1. [+NEG], F_0 . This tense is formed as indicated above. In all non-progressive future negatives the tonal pattern is C:

ké bǒ (yà) nú kfun ke	'they are not about to hit'
ké bǒ (yà) nú tón ke	'they are not about to refuse'
ké bǒ (yà) nú dǒmsě ke	'they are not about to push'
ké bǒ (yà) nú címsé ke	'they are not about to pacify'

Although the negative marker yà is optional, as indicated by the parentheses, the tone on the future marker nú is LH even when yà is not present. This would seem to indicate that it is present underlyingly and is deleted optionally after it has changed nú to nǔ.

5.2. [+NEG], F_1 . This tense follows the general pattern.

ké bǒ (yà) nǔ géé kfun ke	'they will not hit' (later today)
ké bǒ (yà) nǔ géé tón ke	'they will not refuse'
ké bǒ (yà) nǔ géé dǒmsě ke	'they will not push'
ké bǒ (yà) nǔ géé címsé ke	'they will not pacify'

5.3. [+NEG], F_2 . This tense follows the general pattern.

ké bǒ (yà) nǔ bǒy kfun ke	'they will not hit' (tomorrow, some days from
ké bǒ (yà) nǔ bǒy tón ke	'they will not refuse' now)
ké bǒ (yà) nǔ bǒy dǒmsě ke	'they will not push'
ké bǒ (yà) nǔ bǒy címsé ke	'they will not pacify'

5.4. [+NEG], F_3 . This tense follows the same general pattern, again with pre-clause ké, post-clause ke, and optional yà with tone pattern C:

ké bǒ (yà) nǔ yúú kfun ke	'they will not hit' (a long time from now)
ké bǒ (yà) nǔ yúú tón ke	'they will not refuse'
ké bǒ (yà) nǔ yúú dǒmsě ke	'they will not push'
ké bǒ (yà) nǔ yúú címsé ke	'they will not pacify'

6. [+PROG, -FUT, -NEG]. Progressive verb forms utilize the PROG marking described in Chapter 10. In addition to the suffixal modifications that were enumerated, the tones of [+PROG] forms can be quite different from those of their [-PROG] counterparts.

6.1. [-NEG], 0. The [+PROG] P₀ tense has a present tense progressive meaning and will be indicated as the "0" tense. As seen in the following examples, it requires the same tone pattern B as its [-PROG] counterpart and the same l̂ to make the utterance complete:

bó kfùné l̂ 'they are hitting'
 bó toné l̂ 'they are refusing'
 bó dòmśé l̂ 'they are pushing'
 bó címsé l̂ 'they are pacifying'

6.2. [-NEG], P₁. This tense uses tone pattern A exactly as its [-PROG, -FOC] variant:

bó bé kfùné l̂ 'they were (just) hitting' (earlier today)
 bó bé toné l̂ 'they were (just) refusing'
 bó bé dòmśé l̂ 'they were (just) pushing'
 bó bé címsé l̂ 'they were (just) pacifying'

6.3. [-NEG], P₂. Again, the only difference between this and its [-PROG, -FOC] variant is the presence of the PROG suffix on 'hitting' and 'refusing'. Thus, tone pattern B is used:

bó cí kfùné l̂ 'they were (just) hitting' (yesterday, some days ago)
 bó cí toné l̂ 'they were (just) refusing'
 bó cí dòmśé l̂ 'they were (just) pushing'
 bó cí címsé l̂ 'they were (just) pacifying'

Because dòmśé 'push' and címsé 'pacify' do not change in the PROG, the above sentences are ambiguous with [+PROG] and [-PROG] readings.

6.4. [-NEG], P₃. Again, tone pattern B is used exactly as in the [-PROG, -FOC] instances of the P₃ tense:

bó t̂ kfùné l̂ 'they were (just) hitting' (a long time ago)
 bó t̂ toné l̂ 'they were (just) refusing'
 bó t̂ dòmśé l̂ 'they were (just) pushing'
 bó t̂ címsé l̂ 'they were (just) pacifying'

7. [+PROG, -FUT, +NEG]. The negative of progressive non-future tenses is exactly the same as non-progressive futures: ké at the beginning of the clause, ké at the end of the clause, and yà optionally just after the subject.

7.1. [+NEG], 0. Since there is no auxiliary in the 0 tense, the optional yà appears directly before the verb:

ké bó (yà) kfùné ké 'they are not hitting'
 ké bó (yà) toné ké 'they are not refusing'
 ké bó (yà) dòmśé ké 'they are not pushing'
 ké bó (yà) címsé ké 'they are not pacifying'

The tone pattern for all progressive negatives is A.

7.2. [+NEG], P₁. The forms for this tense are as expected, except that the tense marker is pronounced on a M tone, i.e. be. This probably reflects the change from bé to b̂é, which then simplified to M. The same simplification will be noted in the P₂ forms.

ké bós (yà)	be kfùnè ke	'they were not hitting' (earlier today)
ké bós (yà)	be tonè ke	'they were not refusing'
ké bós (yà)	be dòm̀sè ke	'they were not pushing'
ké bós (yà)	be cimsè ke	'they were not pacifying'

7.3. [+NEG], F_2 . The forms again are regular except that the tense marker carries a M tone:

ké bós (yà)	ci kfùnè ke	'they were not hitting' (yesterday, some days ago)
ké bós (yà)	ci tonè ke	'they were not refusing'
ké bós (yà)	ci dòm̀sè ke	'they were not pushing'
ké bós (yà)	ci cimsè ke	'they were not pacifying'

7.4. [+NEG], F_3 . This tense is realized as expected, i.e. with initial ké, final ke, and tone pattern A:

ké bós (yà)	tò kfùnè ke	'they were not hitting' (a long time ago)
ké bós (yà)	tò tonè ke	'they were not refusing'
ké bós (yà)	tò dòm̀sè ke	'they were not pushing'
ké bós (yà)	tò cimsè ke	'they were not pacifying'

8. [+PROG, +FUT, -NEG]. Future progressives also take tone pattern A in all cases. As seen in the following paradigms, everything remains identical to the non-PROG forms except for tone. The verb, of course, takes the expected PROG form as predicted by Chapter 10.

8.1. [-NEG], F_0 .

bós nú	kfùnè	'they are about to be hitting'
bós nú	tonè	'they are about to be refusing'
bós nú	dòm̀sè	'they are about to be pushing'
bós nú	cimsè	'they are about to be pacifying'

8.2. [-NEG], F_1 .

bós nú	gée kfùnè	'they will be hitting' (later today; indefinite)
bós nú	gée tonè	'they will be refusing'
bós nú	gée dòm̀sè	'they will be pushing'
bós nú	gée cimsè	'they will be pacifying'

8.3. [-NEG], F_2 .

bós nú	bóy kfùnè	'they will be hitting' (tomorrow, some days from now)
bós nú	bóy tonè	'they will be refusing'
bós nú	bóy dòm̀sè	'they will be pushing'
bós nú	bóy cimsè	'they will be pacifying'

8.4. [-NEG], F_3 .

bós nú	yúú kfùnè	'they will be hitting' (a long time from now)
bós nú	yúú tonè	'they will be refusing'
bós nú	yúú dòm̀sè	'they will be pushing'
bós nú	yúú cimsè	'they will be pacifying'

It is recalled that the PROG and non-PROG forms of 'push' and 'pacify' are identical except for tone.

9. [+PROG, +FUT, +NEG]. Like the non-PROG future tenses, [+PROG] $F_0 - F_3$ form their negative by placing *ké* at the beginning of the clause, *ke* at the end, and (optionally) *yà* immediately after the subject. Unlike the [-PROG] negative future tenses, which take tone pattern C, these tenses take tone pattern A.

9.1. [+NEG], F_0 .

ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ kfùnè ke 'they are not about to be hitting'
ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ tonè ke 'they are not about to be refusing'
ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ dɔ̀msè ke 'they are not about to be pushing'
ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ cɔ̀msè ke 'they are not about to be pacifying'

9.2. [+NEG], F_1 .

ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ géé kfùnè ke 'they will not be hitting' (later today; in-
ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ géé tonè ke 'they will not be refusing' definite)
ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ géé dɔ̀msè ke 'they will not be pushing'
ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ géé cɔ̀msè ke 'they will not be pacifying'

9.3. [+NEG], F_2 .

ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ bóy kfùnè ke 'they will not be hitting' (tomorrow, some
ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ bóy tonè ke 'they will not be refusing' days from now)
ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ bóy dɔ̀msè ke 'they will not be pushing'
ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ bóy cɔ̀msè ke 'they will not be pacifying'

9.4. [+NEG], F_3 .

ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ yúú kfùnè ke 'they will not be hitting' (a long time from
ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ yúú tonè ke 'they will not be refusing' now)
ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ yúú dɔ̀msè ke 'they will not be pushing'
ké bɔ́ (yà) nǔ yúú cɔ̀msè ke 'they will not be pacifying'

In all of the above forms the future marker *nú* has a LH tone because it is preceded by underlying *yà*, which optionally deletes by rule.

10. *Compound P₃ and F₃*. The feature system introduced in Chapter 11 treats both the P_3 and F_3 as [-TOD, -NEAR]. The claim inherent in this feature system is that these two distant tenses constitute a natural class, i.e. they share semantic properties. Significant confirmation of this claim is derived from the fact that the P_3 marker *tɔ́* can be added to the F_3 and the F_3 marker *yúú* can be added to the P_3 :

bɔ́ tɔ́ nɔ́ tɔ́n 'they refused' (a long time ago; definite time)
bɔ́ tɔ́ nɔ́ yúú tɔ́n 'they refused' (a long time ago; indefinite time)
bɔ́ nú yúú tɔ́n 'they will refuse' (a long time from now; definite time)
bɔ́ nú tɔ́ yúú tɔ́n 'they will refuse' (a long time from now; indefinite time)

(Although the [+FOC] variant of the P_3 is seen in the first pair of sentences, the [-FOC] is obtained by deleting *nɔ́* and adding *ɔ́* to make the utterances complete.) The P_3 marker precedes the F_3 marker in both tenses. By combining the two a less definite time reference is interpreted: in the simple P_3 and F_3 the speaker probably knows when or approximately when the event took place

or will take place. In the compound forms, the speaker probably does not know when or if the event did or will take place. We shall see in Chapter 18 that Noni can allow several auxiliaries to occur in sequence before the main verb.

11. *Irregular verbs.* There are a number of verbs which are irregular in one or the other verb paradigm. Since we have addressed the question of irregular PROG forms in Chapter 10, the irregular forms which require discussion here are those occurring in [-PROG] tenses.

11.1. *CVV radicals.* CVV radicals undergo obligatory vowel shortening in [-PROG, -FUT, -FOC] tenses. The most common pattern is for the CVV syllable to shorten to CV and add *lé*. 18 such verbs were elicited with this pattern, of which 7 are cited for illustrative purposes:

bó shìlě lǎ	'they have just come down'	(shìj 'come down from')
bó bēlé lǎ	'they have just cried'	(bēé 'cry')
bó cēlé lǎ	'they have just pierced'	(cēé 'pierce')
bó tulé lǎ	'they have just carried'	(túú 'carry on head')
bó solé lǎ	'they have just knotted'	(sósó 'knot')
bó fǎlě lǎ	'they have just borrowed'	(fǎo 'borrow')
bó sàlě lǎ	'they have just torn'	(saa 'tear')

The above forms are in the [-FOC] P₀. It is tempting to relate this *lé* suffix to the *lé* found in PROG forms of CVV radicals, e.g. bó shìlě lǎ 'they are coming down'. However, this could not account in any general way for the following exceptions to the above pattern:

(a) Four verbs have been found which shorten their vowel but do not take *lé*:

bó cǐ lǎ	'they have just dragged'	(cǐi 'drag')
bó kǐ lǎ	'they have just called/hooted'	(kǐf 'call by hooting')
bó fǐ lǎ	's.o. has just tired of them'	(fǐf 'to tire s.o. of sth.')
bó kǎ lǎ	'they have just ground'	(kaa 'to grind')

(b) Six verbs shorten their vowel and take a suffix *ke*:

bó mēkě lǎ	'they have just carried (child)'	(mēe 'carry a child')
bó gēkě lǎ	'they have just put'	(gēe 'put')
bó dēkě lǎ	'they have just cooked'	(dēe 'cook')
bó fūkě lǎ	'they have just become satiated'	(fúú 'become satiated')
bó bōkě lǎ	'they have just borne a child'	(bōs 'bear a child')
bó yōkě lǎ	'they have just built'	(yōs 'build')

The variant bó dēlě lǎ 'they have just cooked' has also been recorded.

(c) Three verbs have been found which shorten their vowel and take *-ŋe*:

bó bēŋé lǎ	'they have just accepted/they are accepting'	(bēé 'accept')
bó sēŋé lǎ	'they have just told/they are telling'	(sēé 'tell')
bó tēŋé lǎ	'they have just called/they are calling'	(tēé 'call')

As seen in section 4.2 of Chapter 10, the forms with *-ŋe* are also found in the PROG. This means that the above sentences are ambiguous, as indicated, between P₀ and 0 readings. Finally, there is the following exceptional verb:

bó kǎnté lǎ	'they have just caught'	(kǎs 'catch')
-------------	-------------------------	---------------

It is significant to note that H tone verbs of groups (b) and (c) are also tonally exceptional. Instead of having LM tone in tone pattern A, they show a ML pattern:

bó nǒǒ bǒǒ 'they have borne a child'
 bó nǒǒ yǒǒ 'they have built'
 bó nǒǒ beè 'they have accepted'
 bó nǒǒ seè 'they have told'

What this reveals is that bǒǒ 'bear a child', yǒǒ 'build', béé 'accept', séé 'tell', etc. are *bisyllabic*, i.e. they consist of a CV syllable followed by a V syllable. The velar consonants k and ŋ probably were once part of the verb stem, which may thus have been either CVC or, more likely, CVCV. By treating verbs in (b) and (c) as bisyllabic, we can assign their tones as we do to verbs such as címsé 'pacify', e.g. bó nǒǒ címsé 'they have pacified'.

11.2. *Tonal exceptions.* We have accounted for the tonal irregularities of the verbs in (b) and (c) in a principled way. A few additional verbs show other tonal irregularities.

First, the following two verbs have LH instead of LM in tone pattern A:

bó nǒǒ díé 'they have eaten' (díé 'eat')
 bó nǒǒ fí 'they have helped' (fí 'help, take')

No explanation for this irregular tonal behavior comes to mind.

The second set of tonal irregularities concerns L tone verbs having the -m 'positional' extension (Chapter 9, section 3.3). Where other verbs show tone pattern C, these verbs show tone pattern B:

kàé-jífm 'to lie down'
 kàé-shífm 'to hang oneself'
 kàé-ńífm 'to hide oneself'

It may be that verbs of the form CVVm are actually inherently progressive, i.e. 'to be lying down', etc. The following recorded pair of sentences shows that at least for the verb ngvúúm 'kneel', a vowel shortening process accounts for the observed [-PROG] reading:

bó ngvuumé lǒ 'they are kneeling' (as a group)
 bó ngvumé lǒ 'they have just knelt'

These verbs require further investigation in the different tense/aspects.

13

VERB CONJUGATION III: RELATIVE CLAUSES

Some tenses are realized differently according to whether they occur in a main vs. relative clause. For this reason, relative clause tenses are treated in a separate chapter. The differences which are found may be tonal and/or segmental. Although the sentences cited below are all object relativized, relative clause tenses are uniform whatever the type of relative clause. (As seen in Chapter 19, subject relatives involve a LM tone relative pronoun, while all other relative constructions utilize a L tone relative pronoun.) In describing the various tenses as they occur in relative clauses, we shall follow the same outline as in the preceding chapter.

1. [-PROG, -FUT, -NEG, -FOC]. The [-FOC] variants of these tenses are much more frequently attested in relative clauses than their [+FOC] variants. Significantly, they do not require ɔ̃ to complete the clause.

1.1. [-FOC], P₀. This tense does not differ from its realization in main clauses. Thus, the following examples show tone pattern B:

wè wvù bɔ̃ kfũn	'the person they have hit'
wè wvù bɔ̃ tɔ̃n	'the person they have refused'
wè wvù bɔ̃ dɔ̃msɛ̃	'the person they have pushed'
wè wvù bɔ̃ cɔ̃msɛ̃	'the person they have pacified'

1.2. [-FOC], P₁. This tense also is identical to its counterpart in main clauses, i.e. it takes tone pattern A and a L tone suffixed to the verb:

wè wvù bɔ̃ bé kfũn	'the person they hit' (earlier today)
wè wvù bɔ̃ bé tɔ̃n	'the person they refused'
wè wvù bɔ̃ bé dɔ̃msɛ̃	'the person they pushed'
wè wvù bɔ̃ bé cɔ̃msɛ̃	'they person they pacified'

1.3. [-FOC], P₂. This tense differs from its realization in main clauses in two ways: (a) it takes tone pattern A instead of B, and (b) it requires the suffix -lè (realized -è after a consonant and optionally after a short vowel):

wè wvù bɔ̃ cí kfùnè	'the person they hit' (yesterday, some days ago)
wè wvù bɔ̃ cí tonè	'the person they refused'
wè wvù bɔ̃ cí dɔ̃msɛ̃è	'the person they pushed'
wè wvù bɔ̃ cí cɔ̃msɛ̃è	'the person they pacified'

It is noted in the last two examples that se+ɛ̃ is realized -sɛ̃ɛ̃.

1.4. [-FOC], P₃. This tense also has tone pattern A (rather than the B found in main clauses) and takes the same suffix as the [-FOC] P₂:

wè wvù bɔ̃ tɔ̃ kfùnè	'the person they hit' (a long time ago)
wè wvù bɔ̃ tɔ̃ tonè	'the person they refused'
wè wvù bɔ̃ tɔ̃ dɔ̃msɛ̃è	'the person they pushed'
wè wvù bɔ̃ tɔ̃ cɔ̃msɛ̃è	'the person they pacified'

The P₃ marker tɔ̃ may be deleted in affirmative relative clauses, e.g. wè wvù

bó kfunè 'the person they hit' (a long time ago).

2. [-PROG, -FUT, -NEG, +FOC]. These tenses do not differ from their counterparts in main clauses. Thus, as seen below,

wè wvù bós nób kfun	'the person they have hit' (P ₀)
wè wvù bós bée kfun	'the person they hit' (P ₁)
wè wvù bós cí nób kfun	'the person they hit' (P ₂)
wè wvù bós tób nób kfun	'the person they hit' (P ₃)

they take tone pattern A and do not acquire the -lè suffix seen in [-PROG, -FUT, -NEG, -FOC] P₂ and P₃ relatives. Their specific function in relative clauses is discussed in Chapter 19.

3. [-PROG, -FUT, +NEG]. These tenses are identical with their main clause counterparts. As seen in the following examples,

wè wvù bós bá kfun ke	'the person they haven't hit' (P ₀)
wè wvù bós bé bǎ kfun ke	'the person they didn't hit' (P ₁)
wè wvù bós cí bá kfun ke	'the person they didn't hit' (P ₂)
wè wvù bós tób bǎ kfun ke	'the person they didn't hit' (P ₃)

they thus take bá in the P₀, P₂ and P₃ or bǎ in the P₁. (The LH tone on the underlying bá in the P₃ is conditioned by the preceding L of tób.) They all have clause-final ke and tone pattern C, as in main clauses.

4. [-PROG, +FUT, -NEG]. The future tenses F₀-F₃ appear exactly as in main clauses, i.e. with tone pattern C:

wè wvù bós nú kfun	'the person they are about to hit' (F ₀)
wè wvù bós nú géé kfun	'the person they will hit' (F ₁)
wè wvù bós nú bóy kfun	'the person they will hit' (F ₂)
wè wvù bós nú yúú kfun	'the person they will hit' (F ₃)

5. [-PROG, +FUT, +NEG]. There are two patterns of negation in relative future tenses. One is identical to the main clause except (a) clause-initial kè is not present, and (b) yà is obligatory:

wè wvù bós yà nú kfun ke	'the person they are not about to hit' (F ₀)
wè wvù bós yà nú géé kfun ke	'the person they will not hit' (F ₁)
wè wvù bós yà nú bóy kfun ke	'the person they will not hit' (F ₂)
wè wvù bós yà nú yúú kfun ke	'the person they will not hit' (F ₃)

As in the main clause, the tone pattern is C and the clause ends with ke.

The second pattern of negativizing relative future tenses is by placing fò yà between nú and the future auxiliary (if there is one). Again, the tone pattern is C:

wè wvù bós nú fò yà kfun wan ke	'the person they are not about to hit' (F ₀)
wè wvù bós nú fò yà géé kfun wan ke	'the person they will not hit' (F ₁)
wè wvù bós nú fò yà bóy kfun wan ke	'the person they will not hit' (F ₂)
wè wvù bós nú fò yà yúú kfun wan ke	'the person they will not hit' (F ₃)

Recall the negative imperative markers fò yà (fò yà?) seen in section 3 of Chapter 11, which also took tone pattern C. The marker fò apparently comes from the verb fǎŋ 'refuse' and intensifies the negation.

6. [+PROG, -FUT, -NEG]. These tenses are equivalent to their main clause counterparts. As seen in the following examples,

wè wvù b'ó k'fùně	'the person they are hitting' (0)
wè wvù b'ó bé k'fùně	'the person they were hitting' (P ₁)
wè wvù b'ó cí k'fùně	'the person they were hitting' (P ₂)
wè wvù b'ó tò k'fùně	'the person they were hitting' (P ₃)

the P₁ continues to be distinguished from the 0, P₂ and P₃ tenses in taking tone pattern A instead of tone pattern B. This same pattern was observed in Chapter 12 in the affirmative [-PROG, -FOC] and [+PROG] tenses in sections 1 and 6, respectively (see also the summary in Chapter 15).

7. [+PROG, -FUT, +NEG]. These tenses cause some confusion. In main clauses the negatives of non-future progressive tenses all took tone pattern A. The main clause construction consisted of initial k'ɛ́, final k'ɛ, and optional yà. This same construction can be used in relative clauses except, as seen above in section 5, the clause-initial k'ɛ́ is not present and the marker yà is obligatory. However, two tone patterns have been noted. First, in object relative constructions pattern A has been recorded (with some uncertainty in the 0 tense, whose B tone pattern should be verified):

wè wvù b'ó yà k'fùně k'ɛ	'the person they are not hitting' (0)
wè wvù b'ó yà bé k'fùně k'ɛ	'the person they were not hitting' (P ₁)
wè wvù b'ó yà cí k'fùně k'ɛ	'the person they were not hitting' (P ₂)
wè wvù b'ó yà tò k'fùně k'ɛ	'the person they were not hitting' (P ₃)

In subject relative constructions, however, the marker yà has H tone and the overall tone pattern is A for P₁ and B for 0, P₂ and P₃:

wè wvū yá k'fùně k'ɛ	'the person who is not hitting' (0)
wè wvū bé yà k'fùně k'ɛ	'the person who was not hitting' (P ₁)
wè wvū cí yá k'fùně k'ɛ	'the person who was not hitting' (P ₂)
wè wvū tò yá k'fùně k'ɛ	'the person who was not hitting' (P ₃)

As a further complication, an alternative negative construction is available using the b'á negative marker seen in section 3:

wè wvù b'ó b'á k'fùně k'ɛ	'the person they are not hitting' (0)
wè wvù b'ó bé b'á k'fùně k'ɛ	'the person they were not hitting' (P ₁)
wè wvù b'ó cí b'á k'fùně k'ɛ	'the person they were not hitting' (P ₂)
wè wvù b'ó tò b'á k'fùně k'ɛ	'the person they were not hitting' (P ₃)

As observed, this construction imposes tone pattern A on all four tenses.

8. [+PROG, +FUT, -NEG]. As in main clauses, future progressives take tone pattern A:

wè wvù b'ó nú k'fùně	'the person they are about to be hitting' (F ₀)
wè wvù b'ó nú géé k'fùně	'the person they will be hitting' (F ₁)
wè wvù b'ó nú b'óy k'fùně	'the person they will be hitting' (F ₂)
wè wvù b'ó nú yúú k'fùně	'the person they will be hitting' (F ₃)

9. [+PROG, +FUT, +NEG]. As in the non-future progressives, there are two negative relative constructions. The first utilizes yà and assigns the expected tone pattern A:

wè wvù b̄s̄ yà n̄ k̄fùnè k̄e 'the person they are not about to be hitting' (F₀)
 wè wvù b̄s̄ yà n̄ ḡéé k̄fùnè k̄e 'the person they will not be hitting' (F₁)
 wè wvù b̄s̄ yà n̄ b̄óy k̄fùnè k̄e 'the person they will not be hitting' (F₂)
 wè wvù b̄s̄ yà n̄ yúú k̄fùnè k̄e 'the person they will not be hitting' (F₃)

The second negative construction utilizes f̄s̄ yā̄ and, again, tone pattern A:

wè wvù b̄s̄ n̄ f̄s̄ yā̄ k̄fùnè k̄e 'the person they are not about to be
 wè wvù b̄s̄ n̄ f̄s̄ yā̄ ḡéé k̄fùnè k̄e hitting' (F₀)
 wè wvù b̄s̄ n̄ f̄s̄ yā̄ b̄óy k̄fùnè k̄e 'the person they will not be hitting'
 wè wvù b̄s̄ n̄ f̄s̄ yā̄ yúú k̄fùnè k̄e (F₁, F₂, F₃, respectively)

Since Noni speakers in villages such as Mbinon and Lassin are said to pronounce f̄s̄ yā̄ as f̄án̄é yā̄, we see the etymology of the first of the two negative markers from the main verb f̄án̄ 'refuse' (cf. Chapter 14, section 10).

VERB CONJUGATION IV: CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES

The term "consecutive" refers to verb conjunction without an overtly expressed subject. As seen in the following examples,

bó cí nǒb yēm / èbŷn	'they sang and danced'
bó cí nǒb mēsà / èdèè bènǵfù	'they finished cooking yams'
bó cí nǒb lewtè / ègēh fòwáy	'they ran to market'
bó cí nǒb lewtè / èghǎw me	'they ran faster than I'

this construction has a number of different, though related functions in Noni. In the above examples, all in the [+FOC] P₂ tense, the consecutivized verb is separated from the first main verb by a slash (/). The first sentence has a consecutive verb form èbŷn '& danced' used simply to represent the coordination of two actions. (The second normally, but not necessarily, follows the first.) In the second sentence it is observed that the consecutive verb form èdèè '& cooked' provides a complement to the verb mēsà 'finish'. In the third sentence, ègēh '& went' is a directional verb which is required to indicate motion towards the market. The sentence literally means 'they ran and went to market'. Were ègēh not present, the meaning would be 'they ran at the market', i.e. there would be no direction, only movement within a locality. Finally, the last sentence involves the consecutive verb form èghǎw '& overcame, & was superior to!'. It thus literally means 'they ran and overcame me', one of the most frequent ways to express a comparative in the language. It can be noted that Noni does not use constructions with 'take' + a consecutive verb form, as has been reported in Eastern Grassfields Bantu, e.g. Bamileke-Fe'fe' (Hyman 1971).

In the following sections we shall simply assume the context 'to sing' followed by a consecutive verb form, e.g. 'they sang and hit', 'they are singing and hitting'. Since this does not sound complete, we may add the object boom 'children' to complete the sense. We shall follow the same outline for the presentation of verb forms as in previous chapters. However, it is important to note that the binary verbal features refer to the tense, aspect and polarity of the *main* verb that precedes the consecutive form. In the last sections of this chapter we shall see examples where the feature specification [+NEG] refers exclusively to the consecutive clause.

1. [-PROG, -FUT, -NEG, -FOC]. These tenses all take a special consecutive verb form carrying tone pattern D.

1.1. [-FOC], P₀. As seen in the following examples, a consecutive verb following a P₀ tense takes a prefix è with its D tonal pattern:

bó yēm lǒ èkfuñ boom	'they have just sung and hit children'
bó yēm lǒ ètǒn boom	'they have just sung and refused children'
bó yēm lǒ èdǒhǵè boom	'they have just sung and pushed children'
bó yēm lǒ ècǐmsè boom	'they have just sung and pacified children'

The L-HL-L of ' & pacified' is also heard as L-H-L, i.e. ècǐmsè boom '& pacified children'. We shall continue to transcribe it with the contour tone.

1.2. [-FOC], P_1 . The consecutive forms following a P_1 verb are identical to those just seen for the P_0 :

bó bé yém èkfuḥ boom	'they sang and hit children' (earlier today)
bó bé yém ètón boom	'they sang and refused children'
bó bé yém èdòm̄sè boom	'they sang and pushed children'
bó bé yém ècím̄sè boom	'they sang and pacified children'

1.3. [-FOC], P_2 . Again, the forms are identical to the P_0 :

bó cí yém èkfuḥ boom	'they sang and hit children' (yesterday, some days ago)
bó cí yém ètón boom	'they sang and refused children'
bó cí yém èdòm̄sè boom	'they sang and pushed children'
bó cí yém ècím̄sè boom	'they sang and pacified children'

1.4. [-FOC], P_3 . In this case the tones are the same as the above, but the prefix è is not present:

bó tò yém kfuḥ boom	'they sang and hit children' (a long time ago)
bó tò yém tón boom	'they sang and refused children'
bó tò yém dòm̄sè boom	'they sang and pushed children'
bó tò yém cím̄sè boom	'they sang and pacified children'

In the second sentence we note that the consecutive verb form tón 'è refused' does not have the rising tone seen in the preceding examples. From this we safely conclude that the L of the prefix è- causes the H of 'è refuse' to become a LH rising tone.

2. [-PROG, -FUT, -NEG, +FOC]. The [+FOC] variants of the P_0 - P_3 tenses take exactly the same consecutive verb forms as their [-FOC] counterparts, as seen in the following representative sentences:

bó nòò yém èkfuḥ boom	'they have sung and hit children' (P_0)
bó bée yém èkfuḥ boom	'they sang and hit children' (P_1)
bó cí nòò yém èkfuḥ boom	'they sang and hit children' (P_2)
bó tò nòò yém kfuḥ boom	'they sang and hit children' (P_3)

3. [-PROG, -FUT, +NEG]. After a negative (and [-PROG]) P_0 , P_1 , P_2 or P_3 , the consecutive form consists of the bare verb with tone pattern C:

bó bá yém kfun boom ke	'they haven't sung and hit children' (P_0)
bó bé bá yém kfun boom ke	'they didn't sing and hit children' (P_1)
bó cí bá yém kfun boom ke	'they didn't sing and hit children' (P_2)
bó tò bá yém kfun boom ke	'they didn't sing and hit children' (P_3)

In this case the consecutive verb forms take the same tonal pattern as the main verb. The negative marker ke comes at the end of the clause.

4. [-PROG, +FUT, -NEG]. After a [-PROG] affirmative future tense, the consecutive verb again takes a tone pattern C, like the main verb:

bó nú yém kfun boom	'they are about to sing and hit children' (F_0)
bó nú géé yém kfun boom	'they will sing and hit children' (F_1)
bó nú bóy yém kfun boom	'they will sing and hit children' (F_2)
bó nú yúú yém kfun boom	'they will sing and hit children' (F_3)

5. [-PROG, +FUT, +NEG]. The same consecutive forms with tone pattern C are found after [-PROG] future negatives as were seen after the corresponding affirmatives in section 4:

ké bǒ nú yém kfun bɔɔm ke	'they are not about to sing and hit children' (F ₀)
ké bǒ nú géé yém kfun bɔɔm ke	'they will not sing and hit children' (F ₁)
ké bǒ nú bǒy yém kfun bɔɔm ke	'they will not sing and hit children' (F ₂)
ké bǒ nú yúú yém kfun bɔɔm ke	'they will not sing and hit children' (F ₃)

6. [+PROG, -FUT, -NEG]. All [+PROG] tenses take a [+PROG] consecutive verb form with tone pattern A. Since there are no divergences from this pattern, we shall continue to illustrate these tenses with the verb 'to hit' only.

bǒ yemté kfùné bɔɔm	'they are singing and hitting children' (0)
bǒ bé yemté kfùné bɔɔm	'they were singing and hitting children' (P ₁)
bǒ cí yemté kfùné bɔɔm	'they were singing and hitting children' (P ₂)
bǒ tǒ yemté kfùné bɔɔm	'they were singing and hitting children' (P ₃)

7. [+PROG, -FUT, +NEG]. In the following sentences we have left the optional negative marker yà out:

ké bǒ yemté kfùné bɔɔm ke	'they are not singing and hitting children' (0)
ké bǒ be yemté kfùné bɔɔm ke	'they were not singing and hitting children'
ké bǒ cí yemté kfùné bɔɔm ke	" " (P ₂)
ké bǒ tǒ yemté kfùné bɔɔm ke	" " (P ₃)

8. [+PROG, +FUT, -NEG].

bǒ nú yemté kfùné bɔɔm	'they are about to be singing and hitting children'
bǒ nú géé yemté kfùné bɔɔm	'they will be singing and hitting children' (F ₀)
bǒ nú bǒy yemté kfùné bɔɔm	
bǒ nú yúú yemté kfùné bɔɔm	(F ₁ , F ₂ , F ₃ , respectively)

9. [+PROG, +FUT, +NEG].

ké bǒ nú yemté kfùné ke	'they are not about to be singing and hitting children' (F ₀)
ké bǒ nú géé yemté kfùné ke	
ké bǒ nú bǒy yemté kfùné ke	'they will not be singing and hitting children'
ké bǒ nú yúú yemté kfùné ke	(F ₁ , F ₂ , F ₃ , respectively)

10. Since the above forms show one subject held constant for two (or potentially more) verbs, the consecutive construction is strictly speaking not a clause in its own right. (The sequential construction, treated in Chapter 20, involves a change of subject and therefore does constitute a clause.) However, because it can have certain independent properties, we will continue to refer to it as a clause. In reality we have a succession of *verb phrases*.

One such independent property is negation. In all of the above examples involving negation, the negative marking was conditioned by the first or main verb, but carried through the sentence. In the following subsections we shall consider cases where only the consecutive verb phrase is negative.

10.1. [-PROG, -FUT, +NEG]. The following sets of sentences illustrate the construction used when the main verb is affirmative, but the consecutive verb is negative. Again we see that the form (è)fwó or its variant (è)fáǵé appears as a negative marker, although derived from the main verb 'refuse'.

bó nǒǒ yēm èfwǒ yā kfun boom ke	'they have sung and not hit children' (0)
bó nǒǒ yēm èfwǒ yā tón boom ke	'they have sung and not refused children'
bó nǒǒ yēm èfwǒ yā dǒmsè boom ke	'they have sung and not pushed children'
bó nǒǒ yēm èfwǒ yā cǐmsé boom ke	'they have sung and not pacified children'
bó bēè yēm èfwǒ yā kfun boom ke	'they sang and didn't hit children' (P ₁)
etc.	
bó cí nǒǒ yēm èfwǒ yā kfun boom ke	'they sang and didn't hit children' (P ₂)
etc.	
bó tǒ nǒǒ yēm fwǒ yā kfun boom ke	'they sang and didn't hit children' (P ₃)
bó tǒ nǒǒ yēm fwǒ yā tón boom ke	'they sang and didn't refuse children'
bó tǒ nǒǒ yēm fwǒ yā dǒmsè boom ke	'they sang and didn't push children'
bó tǒ nǒǒ yēm fwǒ yā cǐmsé boom ke	'they sang and didn't pacify children'

As seen in section 1, consecutive verbs following [-PROG, -FUT, -NEG] tenses take tone pattern D and in all but the P₃ a prefix è-. The negative marker fwǒ/fǎné shows this same alternation between èfwǒ in P₀, P₁ and P₂, and fwǒ in P₃. It therefore is clearly a verb to take this verb prefix. Perhaps these sentences once meant 'they sang and refused to hit children'. Note that the consecutive verbs appear in tonal pattern C.

10.2. [-PROG, +FUT, +NEG]. If the non-progressive tense is future, a sequential construction must be used, e.g.

bó nú yēm bó sǎá kfun boom ke 'they are about to sing and not hit children' (F₀)

The above is not a consecutive construction because the subject bó 'they' is repeated in the second clause. The marker sǎá, note, probably derives from sé 'before' + yà 'negative'.

10.3. [+PROG, +NEG]. Since very little material was collected of this type, our discussion will have to be restricted to the 0 tense, for which forms like the following were noted:

bó yemté yà kfùnè boom ke 'they are singing and not hitting children'

This construction with yà and PROG verb forms taking tone pattern A can probably be generalized to any of the [+PROG] tenses.

15

SUMMARY AND RULES

1. The tonal patterns seen in the preceding chapters are summarized in the following table:

	A ('R')	B ('R')	C ('R')	D ('R')
[-REL, -CNS, -PROG, -NEG]	P ₀ -P ₃ [+FOC] P ₁ [-FOC]	P ₀ , P ₂ , P ₃ [-FOC], Imp	F ₀ -F ₃	
[-REL, -CNS, -PROG, +NEG]			P ₀ -P ₃ , F ₀ - F ₃ , Imp	
[-REL, -CNS, +PROG, -NEG]	P ₁ , F ₀ -F ₃ Imp	0, P ₂ , P ₃		
[-REL, -CNS, +PROG, +NEG]	0, P ₁ -P ₃ , F ₀ - F ₃ , Imp			
[+REL, -CNS, -PROG, -NEG]	P ₁ -P ₃ [-FOC] P ₀ -P ₃ [+FOC]	P ₀ [-FOC]	F ₀ -F ₃	
[+REL, -CNS, -PROG, +NEG]			P ₀ -P ₃ , F ₀ - F ₃	
[+REL, -CNS, +PROG, -NEG]	P ₁ , F ₀ -F ₃	0, P ₂ , P ₃		
[+REL, -CNS, +PROG, +NEG]	P ₁ -P ₃ , F ₀ -F ₃	0		
[-REL, +CNS, -PROG, -NEG]			F ₀ -F ₃ , Imp	P ₀ -P ₃
[-REL, +CNS, -PROG, +NEG]			P ₀ -P ₃ , F ₀ - F ₃ , Imp	
[-REL, +CNS, +PROG, -NEG]	0, P ₁ -P ₃ , F ₀ - F ₃ , Imp			
[-REL, +CNS, +PROG, +NEG]	0, P ₁ -P ₃ , F ₀ - F ₃ , Imp			

In the above table the imperative (Imp) has been included, although we have not exemplified all of its properties (e.g. imperative + consecutive verb). We have not included the *bé* negatives found in progressive relatives.

Looking over this distribution, a number of recurrent patterns become evident. It is not clear how these patterns should be accounted for. The following questions arise:

(1) Should we assign patterns, e.g. A-D, or pre- and post-posed floating tones, e.g. 'R', 'R', 'R', and 'R'?

(2) Should these patterns and/or floating tones be grouped into semantic classes (e.g. realis vs. irrealis)?

(3) Should the rules be conditioned directly by the above tense, aspect and polarity features, or by the constructions in which the different feature combinations occur?

This last question is particularly interesting. Most tenses in Noni involve auxiliary verbs which of course combine with a following main verb. Now the question arises as to the nature of the construction holding between each auxiliary and main verb combination. Consider, for example, the fact that [-PROG] future consecutives are characterized by tone pattern C. At the same time, however, [-PROG] futures have this tone pattern in *main* clauses. Since the future tenses employ verbal auxiliaries, one might argue that the main verb is in a *consecutivized* form, and therefore, that tone pattern C is, basically, a consecutive tone pattern.

We shall not attempt to resolve the difficulties arising in these different approaches. Rather, we shall present one set of rules assigning patterns on the basis of the features REL, CNS, PROG, NEG and the tense features. These may serve as a first attempt and perhaps a basis for further investigation.

2. *The rules.* The above table indicates several general patterns. It also has exceptions. In presenting the following set of ordered rules, it has been decided that exceptional tone assignments should come earliest, followed by the more general rules. It is not claimed that these rules are definitive, especially since some tenses are left out (e.g. tones in sequential clauses). It is interesting, however, that once the exceptions are accounted for by specific rules, so much can be predicted by referring to the class features.

2.1. P_2 and P_3 -le. The first rule assigns tone pattern A and -le to the P_2 and P_3 as follows:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-FUT} \\ \text{-TOD} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \text{A-le} / \begin{bmatrix} \text{+REL} \\ \text{-PROG} \\ \text{-NEG} \\ \text{-FOC} \end{bmatrix}$$

The tenses P_2 and P_3 are referred to with the feature specifications [-FUT, -TOD]. The tone pattern and -le suffix are assigned only in relative clauses where the two tenses are non-progressive, affirmative and non-focused. Note that the L tone found on the suffix is part of the tone pattern, rather than belonging directly to the suffix.

2.2. P_1 . A glance at the table reveals that the P_1 tense usually takes tone pattern A, whatever the cooccurring feature specifications. This fact is captured by the following rule:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-FUT} \\ \text{+TOD} \\ \text{-NEAR} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \text{A} \quad (\text{except } [-\text{PROG}, +\text{NEG}])$$

2.3. P_0 - P_3 consecutives. The rare tone pattern D is assigned to these consecutives when they are non-progressive and affirmative:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{+CNS} \\ \text{-FUT} \\ \text{-PROG} \\ \text{-NEG} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \text{D}$$

It should be noted that the feature specifications [-FUT, -PROG, -NEG] are obtained from the main verb. Also, an additional statement will be needed to spell out the prefix $\dot{\text{e}}$ which characterizes the P₀, P₁ and P₂ consecutive.

2.4. [+FOC]. As seen in the table, all [+FOC] verb forms receive tone pattern A:

[+FOC] → A

2.5. *Tone pattern A.* At this point three rules remain to assign the general cases of tone patterns A, C and B. These will be given in this slightly reordered way.

The first general rule assigns tone pattern A whenever the feature specification [+PROG] combines with any of the following: [+CNS], [+FUT] or [+NEG]. This rule is presented informally as follows:

[+PROG] + { [+CNS], [+FUT], [+NEG] } → A

Thus, a consecutive progressive, a future progressive or a negative progressive tense will automatically receive tone pattern A. Some feature combinations will, of course, have more than one of the required features, e.g. the verb tenses which are [+CNS, +PROG, +FUT, +NEG], which have all four!

2.6. *Tone pattern C.* The general rule for the assignment of tone pattern C is as follows:

[-PROG] + { [+FUT], [+NEG] } → C

Any tense which is either [-PROG, +FUT] or [-PROG, +NEG] will receive tone pattern C at this point.

2.7. *Tone pattern B.* Since this is the last rule, we have the possibility of stating this last tone assignment as applying "elsewhere". However, because the remaining forms constitute a natural class, namely [-FUT], we shall state this rule as follows without further comment:

[-FUT] → B

3. *Exceptions.* Further refinements may be needed as more data are incorporated. Most of the potential exceptions have been accounted for by the specific rules which precede the last three rules. However, we have not account for either the relative progressive negatives with bá, or the 0 relative progressive negative which has B rather than the expected A tone. This latter tense may thus have to be considered an exception. Finally, recall from page 64 that there are some tonal irregularities that have either to do with specific verb forms (e.g. díé 'eat', fí 'help, take') or with a definable class of verbs, those taking the -m 'positional' extension, e.g. jífm 'lie down'. These will have to be incorporated within the analysis somehow.

PART IV: BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

16

WORD ORDER AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

1. *Basic word order.* Noni is a typical SVO language whose unmarked word order is:

S AUX V DO IO X

In a Noni sentence with neutral focus (see below), the subject (S) will precede the auxiliary (AUX), which in turn precedes the main verb (V). After the verb will come the direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO) followed by any additional adverbials or prepositional phrases (e.g. locatives, temporals). An example of a neutral sentence with all of the above elements is the sentence

bó	cí	ńá	kèngòm	ε	bóom	fógò	'they gave plantains to
they	P ₂	gave	plantains	to	children	yesterday	children yesterday'
S	AUX	V	DO		IO	X	

In the above example the [-FOC] P₂ tense is used and the X of the formula S AUX V DO IO X is represented by a temporal adverb.

Noni sentences have been observed to diverge from this pattern in two different situations. First, a focused subject is postposed immediately after the verb:

è	cí	ńá	bó	kèngòm	ε	bóom	fógò	'they gave plantains
DS	P ₂	gave	they	plantains	to	children	yesterday	to children yesterday'

In this sentence the subject bó 'they' occurs immediately after the verb, indicating that it is focused (as, for example, in response to the question 'who gave plantains to children yesterday', or as a contrast to someone else giving plantains to children yesterday). The initial subject position remains basic, however, as seen by the obligatory dummy subject (DS) marker è which appears in this position. Everything else remains the same (i.e. the DO precedes the IO which precedes the time adverbial).

The second divergence concerns the indirect object relation. A limited number of Noni verbs, e.g. 'to give', allow an alternative construction as seen in the sentence

bó	cí	ńá	bóom	bó	kèngòm	fógò	'they gave plantains to
they	P ₂	gave	children	with	plantains	yesterday	children yesterday'

A different preposition is used (bó 'with' instead of ε 'to') and the word order of 'plantains' and 'children' is reversed. One could maintain, however, that in this last sentence the DO is 'children' and the indirect (or "oblique") object is 'plantains' (cf. section 4).

2. *The subject relation.* As seen in the preceding examples, the subject is expected to be initial in its clause, although it may be postposed immediately after the verb if it is to be focused. The subject pronouns are exactly as given at the beginning of Chapter 4. The six primary human subject pronouns are illustrated with the intransitive verb *gwe* 'fall' below:

me ngwě lɔ̀	'I have just fallen'
wò gwě lɔ̀	'you [sg] have just fallen'
wvù gwě lɔ̀	'he/she has just fallen'
bèsèn gwèkɛ̀n lɔ̀	'we [excl] have just fallen'
bèn gwèkɛ̀n lɔ̀	'you [pl] have just fallen'
bó gwèkɛ̀n lɔ̀	'they have just fallen'

These examples illustrate several important points about the subject-verb relation in Noni. First, the sentence *me ngwě lɔ̀* 'I have just fallen' shows a homorganic nasal on the verb. This nasal must appear on *all* verbs (including auxiliaries) when the subject is *me* 'I', e.g.

me nú nɛ́tɔ̀ nyúú nkfun wan	'I will hit a child' [a long time from now, F ₃]
me nɛ́f nɔ̀b nyēm ènkfùh wàn	'I sang and hit a child' [yesterday, P ₂]

These sentences show the nasal prefixes on various tense auxiliaries. The auxiliaries *nɔ̀b* '[+FOC]' and *nú* '[+FUT]' do not take a nasal prefix, although they begin with a nasal. Otherwise all verbs take 1st person singular subject-verb agreement and all auxiliaries taking this agreement are verbs. The second example above shows that this agreement process even extends into consecutive clauses. The example

me nyemté nyà mbìnè ke	'I am singing and not dancing'
------------------------	--------------------------------

shows nasal agreement not only on the main verbs 'sing' and 'dance', but also on the negative morpheme *yà*. This suggests that the latter form is also a verb, at least when used consecutively as in the example.

The second interesting point about the examples 'fall' above is that a plural subject conditions a verbal suffix *-ken*. This particular suffix was discussed and further exemplified in section 2.3 of Chapter 9, where it was identified as the "iterative" extension. If *-ken* were absent in the examples with plural subjects, this would mean that the affected persons all fell at once, i.e. as a group. Thus, a sentence such as *bó gwě lɔ̀* 'they have just fallen' would be appropriate if the falling people had been tied together and then fell.

Finally, [-PROG, -FUT, -FOC] verb forms require a verbal complement. A sentence such as **bó gwě* is ungrammatical. For this reason the verbal focus marker *lɔ̀* is required in the above examples. In the [+FOC] variants, however, the verb can occur finally, e.g. *bó nɔ̀b gwě* 'they have fallen'.

3. *The direct object relation.* The direct object (DO) occurs immediately after the verb and is not marked by any preposition, e.g.

bó nɔ̀b kfùn wàn	'they have hit a child' (P ₀)
yungse cí nɔ̀b dèè kèngòm	'Yungse cooked plantains' (P ₂)
me nú mbóy wó mbvuñ	'I will drink wine' (F ₂)

The object pronouns are identical to the subject pronouns as enumerated in

Chapter 4, e.g.

bó gòmtě me	'they are looking for me'
bó gòmtě wò	'they are looking for you [sg]'
bó gòmtě wvù	'they are looking for him/her'
bó gòmtě bèsèn	'they are looking for us [excl]'
bó gòmtě bèn	'they are looking for you [pl]'
bó gòmtě bó	'they are looking for them'

It was seen in Chapter 9, section 3.4, that an extension of the shape -Cen is sometimes used to express reciprocal actions, e.g.

bó tənéné lò	'they are calling each other'	(cf. tée 'call')
bó kòḡéné lò	'they love each other'	(cf. kòḡ 'love')

This extension is more rarely used for reflexive actions. Instead, the nouns ye 'body' and ekolè 'head' (pl. bíkoo) appear in object position for this purpose:

bó yané ye bó lé	'they see themselves'	(lit. they see their bodies, cl. 10)
bó kwààkě bíkoo bíbóólé	'they are thinking of themselves'	(lit. they are thinking of their heads, cl. 8)

Thus, there is no reflexive pronoun in Noni.

4. *Indirect objects.* There are a number of ways in which Noni can express recipient and benefactive relations to the verb. Although these are typically referred to as "indirect objects" in English, as in "John bought Mary a new car" (where "Mary" would be an indirect object), we shall use this term to refer only to such objects which, as in the English example, do not take a preposition. To continue the parallel, "Mary" would not be an indirect object, but rather an "oblique" object in the sentence "John bought a new car for Mary".

Defining indirect objects in this way, there are relatively few instances of a verb taking two noun complements, neither of which requires a preposition. Some examples are as follows:

me nòò ngòy wān bènḡkfǔ	'I have bought yams for the child [to eat]'
me nòò ngèsè wān bènḡkfǔ	'I have sold yams for the child [s benefit]'
me nòò nā wan bènḡkfǔ	'I have given yams for the child [s benefit]'
me nòò ncìlìnsè wān bènḡkfǔ	'I have sent yams for the child [to eat]'
me nòò nlèm wan wé	'I have cultivated the field for the child [s benefit]'

As can be seen in the translations, indirect object wān 'child' in these examples represents the person for whose benefit an action is carried out. This notion of "benefactee" can occasionally be realized also by the preposition *ε*, e.g.

me nòò ndèè wān bènḡkfǔ	'I have cooked yams for the child [to eat]'
me nòò ndèè bènḡkfǔ <i>ε</i> wan	(= same)

These two sentences both indicate that the cooking of yams took place for the child's benefit. Normally, however, *ε* indicates a directional recipient. Thus, contrast the sentence 'I have sent yams for the child [to eat]', given above, with the following:

me nɔ̀ɔ̀ nɔ̀l̀nsè bèŋkfũ ɛ wan 'I have sent yams to the child'

Also, the meaning of 'for someone's benefit' is expressible through a possessive construction, e.g.

me nɔ̀ɔ̀ nɔ̀l̀m wé nɔ̀n 'I have cultivated the field for the chief ['s benefit]' (lit. 'the field of the chief')

As we shall see in the next chapter, the postposition lɛ́ unambiguously indicates 'for' in the sense of 'in the place of', e.g.

me nɔ̀ɔ̀ ndèè bèŋkfũ wan é 'I have cooked yams for the child' (i.e. in his place)

Thus, to summarize, we find the following:

- | | | | | |
|---|----------------|----------------|----------------|--|
| V | O ₂ | O ₁ | : | 'O ₁ for O ₂ 's benefit' |
| V | O ₁ | ɛ | O ₂ | :'O ₁ to/from O ₂ ' (occasionally 'for O ₂ 's benefit') |
| V | O ₁ | O ₂ | lɛ́ | :'O ₁ for (in the place of) O ₂ ' |
| V | O ₁ | 'of' | O ₂ | :'O ₁ for O ₂ 's benefit' |

We have omitted from this summary the function of bɔ́ 'with', which was seen with the verb 'give' at the beginning of this chapter. The different uses of this preposition will be seen in Chapter 17.

OBLIQUE AND ADVERBIAL COMPLEMENTS

1. *Definitions.* In the preceding chapter we distinguished between direct and indirect objects. However, so-called indirect objects were seen to be of at least two types: (a) a noun or noun phrase appearing directly after the verb without a preposition or postposition; or (b) a noun or noun phrase appearing after a potentially present direct object and marked by either the preposition ϵ or the postposition $\acute{\epsilon}$. Because of the similar semantic interpretation of 'child' in such sentence pairs as,

me nɔ́ɔ́ ndèè wān bɛŋfkú
me nɔ́ɔ́ ndèè bɛŋfkú ϵ wan

both of which mean 'I have cooked yams for the child's benefit', it is tempting to identify both instances of 'child' as "indirect objects". In this semantic approach the difference between an unmarked and a prepositionally marked noun (phrase) is ignored.

In this chapter we shall consider only the latter type of noun phrase, i.e. one marked with either a preposition such as ϵ , or by a postposition. The two interpretations of the first sentence are that it is a sentence with the structure S AUX V IO DO, or a sentence with the structure S AUX V DO DO. In the first analysis the word order given as basic at the beginning of Chapter 16 is violated; in the second analysis, two undifferentiated DO's are postulated. While we tend toward the second analysis; what will be critical for the present discussion is simply whether a noun phrase is *oblique* or not. It will be considered oblique in just the cases where a preposition or postposition is required. After exemplifying the major oblique relations recognized by Noni, we shall consider the various adverbials and particles which occur in post-verbal position in the sentence.

2. *The preposition ϵ .* We have already seen a number of instances of this preposition. Most of the examples translate ϵ as 'to'. Depending on the semantics of the verb, however, this preposition can mean 'from':

me ncoŋké kɛŋgɔ̀m ϵ kwɔ̀ɔ̀n	'I am stealing plantains from the woman'
bɔ́ ñíílé kɛŋgɔ̀m ϵ kwɔ̀ɔ̀n	'they are hiding plantains from the woman'
bɔ́ fíí kɛŋgɔ̀m ϵ kwɔ̀ɔ̀n	'they are receiving plantains from the woman'
bɔ́ gòyté kɛŋgɔ̀m ϵ kwɔ̀ɔ̀n	'they are buying yams from the woman'

The last sentence is ambiguous and can also mean 'they are buying yams for the woman's benefit'. Although ϵ can indicate 'to' and 'from' it is, strictly speaking, not a directional preposition. Thus, a sentence such as the first above does not necessarily mean that you are stealing plantains from the place where the woman is, or from her person. For this purpose the preposition $fò$ is used (see below).

3. *The postposition $\acute{\epsilon}$.* This postposition has the meaning 'for' in the sense of 'in the place of' or 'in someone's stead'. It is realized $\acute{\epsilon}$ after a vowel, $\acute{\epsilon}$ after a consonant. It is most definitely related to locative $\acute{\epsilon}$ (see p. 14 and below), which may appear with other prepositions or alone. In addition to the 'for' interpretation of this postposition, the

verbs yēn 'see', bi 'follow', gay 'greet', fíí 'be tired of', kom 'touch' and cíné 'leave' require lé after their complement:

me nɔ́ɔ̄ nyēn wè lé	'I have seen someone'
me nɔ́ɔ̄ mbì wān é	'I have followed the child'
me nɔ́ɔ̄ ngà y kwòón ɛ̄	'I have greeted the woman'
me nɔ́ɔ̄ nfi wan é	'the child is tired of me'
me nɔ́ɔ̄ nkòm fyeè lé	'I have touched something'
me nɔ́ɔ̄ ncínè wān é	'I have left the child'

But for this postposition the nouns wè 'person', wān 'child', kwòón 'woman' and fyeè 'thing' would be direct objects in the above sentences. Perhaps the lé marking indicates a kind of indirect object that is lexically conditioned by the verb. Thus, one 'sees to someone', 'touches to something' etc.

4. *The preposition bó.* This preposition was already seen in the sentence bó cí nǎ́ bóm bó kèngòm fògò 'they gave plantains to the children yesterday', on p.76. Its literal meaning is 'with'. Thus, in this sentence, one 'gives the children with plantains' (cf. English 'provide someone with something'). In the following sentences it is noted that bó is used with directional verbs (e.g. tó 'come') to mean 'take/bring something to':

me nɔ́ɔ̄ ntɔ́ bó bènkfú ɛ̄ wò	'I have brought yams to you'
me nɔ́ɔ̄ ntɔ́ wò bó bènkfú	'I have brought you yams' (for your benefit)
me nɔ́ɔ̄ ntɔ́ bó bènkfú wò lé	'I have brought yams for you' (in your place)

The prepositional phrase bó bènkfú 'with yams' co-occurs with the three-way opposition we saw on p.79.

This use of bó may be termed 'comitative'. In conjoining two humans, the following distinct possibilities have been noted:

me ntɔ́ɔ̄ bó wān	'I am bringing the child'
me ntɔ́ɔ̄ beè wān	'I am coming with the child'
beè wān tɔ́ɔ̄ ló	'the child and I are coming'

The first sentence indicates that I am carrying the child, i.e. that he is not walking along side of me. The second sentence indicates that I am leading, but that the child is walking on his own. Finally, the last sentence represents a true coordination of two noun phrases: the child and I are coming as equals. It is noted that the second and third sentences employ compound pronouns as described in Chapter 4. Thus, perhaps bó 'with' comes from bó 'they'.

The other major use of bó is in an instrumental sense, as seen in the following sentence:

me nɔ́ɔ̄ nsèè ñàm bó fèñbɔ́	'I have cut meat with a knife'
-----------------------------	--------------------------------

When the comitative or instrumental phrase involves a potential pronoun, the form dvú substitutes for bó + a noun:

me nɔ́ɔ̄ nsèè ñàm dvú	'I have cut meat with it'
me nɔ́ɔ̄ ñà wvú dvú	'I have given him it'

There is no corresponding form for human referents. The form dvú is of course related to locative class 18.

5. *Locative complements.* We examined the locative classes 16-18 on pp. 13-14. These and other locative constructions are further illustrated in the following subsections.

5.1. *Class 16.* This locative class involves the locative prefix fò- 'to, at', which occasions the appropriate noun class agreements seen below:

fòwǎy fɔme	'at my market'
fòwǎy fɛn	'at this market'
fòyɛwé fɔ wən	'at the compound/house of the child'
fòfǎ fɔ kwɔ̀n	'on the woman's head'

The first two examples, fòwǎy 'at the market' and fòyɛwé 'at the compound, at the house', involve locativized nouns which exist in other noun classes, cf. wáy 'market' 3/13, yēw 'house' 9/10. The form fòfǎ 'on the head', on the other hand, exists only in class 16 (cf. also fòfǎ!ááŋ 'at the summit [of a tree, mountain etc.]', for which no corresponding non-locative noun has been found).

As seen, the normal meaning of class 16 fò- is 'to, at'. With this meaning, these locatives often occur as complements:

wù tooté ken fòkǒ	'he is throwing firewood to/on the ground'
bó nǒbò tòm ɣwà fò wǎn é	'they have sent the book to the child'

It is conceivable in the second sentence that the locativized noun could mean 'for the child'. Compare the following synonymous sentences, one of which uses fò-, the other è:

bó nǒbò tòm wan fò bvudvúu bwēw ɛ	'they have sent the child in his
bó nǒbò tòm wan è bvudvúu bwēw ɛ	place'

Both prepositional phrases (written here with the preposition fò and post-position lé as separate words) indicate 'for him' in the sense of 'in his stead'. It is interesting to note that while fò is used to indicate direction toward a person, it may not be required with a place name, e.g.

bó nǒbò tòm wan ɣkò 'they have sent the child to Nkor'

Finally, while the preposition usually indicates direction toward something or someone, it acquires the meaning 'from' after certain verbs:

mé nǒbò nè fò wǎn é	'I have left the child'
wù nǒbò lewtè fòwǎy	'he has run from in the market'

5.2. *Class 17.* Class 17 locatives usually begin with e- (with either L or M tone). Some examples with modifiers are as follows:

ɛjè jan	'in this road'	(jè 'road' 9/10)
ènté jɔ fìèw	'inside the rat'	(keté 'stomach' 7/8)
èjǒbò jome	'in my stream'	(jǒbò 'water, stream' 9/10)

These examples all show a preposition e 'in' and, as indicated, derive from nouns found in other classes. In some cases no corresponding noun is known:

èkǔ	'under'
èmú	'in the mouth'

In other cases the base noun is known, but the derivation is irregular. Thus, in addition to èntě 'inside', which derives from the class 7 variant été of keté 'stomach' (see p.10), we have the following:

èkê 'in the bag' (ekelè 'bag' 7/8)
èkôw 'in the bush' (ekôwe 'bush' 7/8)

These forms both lose their final -e in forming a class 17 locative (as well as undergoing tonal changes, which mark class 17 formation in other cases we have seen).

Examples of class 17 locatives appearing as verb complements are as follows:

bó nób ñā̄ bvulem èmú jò wan 'they have given (put) fufu in the
child's mouth'
bó nób bōy wā̄ èwáy jan 'they have already come out of this market'

5.3. *Class 18.* Only three locative class 18 forms have been found in the language. These are illustrated below with modifiers:

yēw dvume 'in my house' (yēw 'house' 9/10)
cōñ dvun 'in this hut' (cōñ 'hut' 9/10)
cīñ dvu kwōñ 'around the woman's waist'

Two of the three class 18 forms have corresponding non-locative counterparts, as indicated.

While class 18 locatives are only three in number, their pronominal form dvú is used widely as a replative for bó 'with' + a noun, e.g.

wan wvú me ñanyí bó kèñkfú 'the child to whom I am feeding with yams'
kèñkfú kè me ñanyí wan dvú 'the yams I am feeding the child (with)'

The meaning of the second relative clause is literally 'the yams that I am feeding the child with them' (cf. section 4).

5.4. *Other locatives.* The two most frequent locative constructions are è...lé 'in' and yí...lé 'on'. We have seen instances of the former in section 5.2. Not all such prepositional phrases are instances of class 17, however. Instead, an option is often observed as in the following:

è gweè jò wvú 'in his ceiling' (gweè 'ceiling' 3/4)
è gweè wvú lé " " "

Either è is used alone and in class 17, or it is used in combination with the postposition lé, and the locativized noun remains in its original class. Additional examples of locative complements with è...lé include:

me mbéè mbìsè ñkàw è mbàsè lé 'I added salt to the soup' (P1)
yōh yin nú è ñkǎñ é 'these tomatoes are about to be fried'
yōh yin cí nú è ndèè lé 'these tomatoes were to be cooked'

The last two examples show that verbs can be placed in the è...lé construction to derive a stative verbal form (lit. 'these tomatoes are in frying', etc.). As seen in the following additional examples, a nasal prefix is also required:

èngɔyí	'to be broken'	(ngóy 'break')
ènsɔ́lě	'to be cleaned'	(sho 'clean')
ènfòòlě	'to be borrowed'	(fɔɔ 'borrow')
èngàwlě	'to be divided'	(gaw 'divide')
ènyoyí	'to be twisted'	(yóy 'twist')
èmbómé	'to be moulded'	(bóm 'mould')
èntoné	'to be refused'	(tón 'refuse')
ènyènèlě	'to be opened'	(yèhě 'open')
èñlělě	'to be hidden'	(ñlě 'hide')
èngkawyèlě	'to be chopped'	(kawyé 'chop')
èntfusèlě	'to be retaliated'	(tífúsé 'retaliate')
èmbòólě	'to be given birth'	(bòó 'give birth')

As indicated, it seems most appropriate to write these forms as one word.

The second common locative is yi...lě which has the functions indicated in the following examples:

me nú ntó yi kēmā kin é	'I will come during this week'
wvù nòò gwè yi ète lě	'he has fallen from the tree'
wvù felé me yi bvudéfè lě	'he is taller than I'
me nòò ntòy yi wan é	'I have accused the child'

The basic meaning of yi...lě is 'on' as seen in the simple examples:

yí yèw é	'on the house'
yí ebó lě	'on the hand'

However, the preceding sentences show that this construction can be used temporally (to indicate duration) as in 'I will come during this week' (cf. yi bilóm lě 'for years'). The second sentence can be interpreted as 'he has fallen from on the tree', while the third sentence literally means 'he surpasses me on height', cf. the following:

wvù felé me yi bvufánè lě	'he is fatter than I' (bvufánè 'fatness')
wvù felé me yi bvujítè lě	'he is heavier than I' (bvujítè 'weight')

Finally, the verb tóy 'accuse' appears to require yi...lě and must be so marked in the lexicon.

Other locatives are usually derived from nouns or other locatives, e.g. èntě léŋ 'between' (from èntě 'inside' [from été 'stomach'] + léŋ '?'), èjím 'behind' (from jím 'back'; but cf. èjím 'at the back'), etc.

6. *Adverbs.* There are a number of adverbs in Noni which occur after the verb, hence in complement position. We shall divide these into three categories: aspectual, temporal and manner adverbs.

6.1. *Aspectual adverbs.* The three adverbs considered to be in this category are wá 'already', ló 'just, instead', and ké 'only'. These adverbs all occur between the verb and the first post-verbal complement (e.g. the direct object, if there is one). The following sentences illustrate the use of wá 'already' with a variety of tenses:

ntòn nòò kwè wá	'the pot has (already) broken' (lit. 'died')
yungse cɛ bɪ wá èjím fòwá	'Yungse followed (alr.) behind to market'
me ncí nòò mèsè wá èndeè bèŋkfú	'I finished (alr.) cooking yams'
me ndèèlě wá bèŋkfú	'I am (already) cooking yams'

These sentences are in the P₀ [+FOC], P₂ [-FOC], P₂ [+FOC] and 0 tenses, respectively, indicating that wâ has a more general use than English 'already'.

The second aspectual adverb is the lɔ̀ we have seen in preceding chapters. If a [-FUT, -FOC] verb is not followed by a complement of some type, lɔ̀ is required, e.g.

bèsèn gwéé lɔ̀	'we are falling' [as a group]
me ntɔ̀ lɔ̀	'I am coming'
bèsèn gwě lɔ̀	'we have just fallen'
me nɔ́ tɔ̀ lɔ̀	'I just came, I <i>came</i> '
yungse lewté wâ lɔ̀	'Yungse is already running'

The tense is 0 in the first two sentences, P₀ [-FOC] in the third, and P₂ [-FOC] in the fourth. The last sentence demonstrates that the adverb wâ does not count as a verbal complement, since this sentence would not be acceptable if lɔ̀ were not present. (The wâ is thus an expansion of the verb, rather than of the verb phrase, as we have also discovered for corresponding adverbs in Aghem.)

In the above sentences, we cannot delete lɔ̀ or else the remaining forms are ungrammatical. The lɔ̀ which is present thus either completes the [-FUT, -FOC] verb, or, places additional focus on the verb itself. In case there is a complement, e.g. an object, lɔ̀ is not required, e.g.

me ŋkfúně wan	'I am hitting a child' (0)
me ŋkfún wan	'I have hit a <i>child</i> ' (P ₀ , [-FOC])
me nɔ́ ŋkfún wan	'I hit a <i>child</i> ' (P ₂ , [-FOC])

In the 0 tense, a normal present tense sentence is obtained. In the [-FOC] P₀, P₁ and P₂, however, utterances without lɔ̀ can only be in answer to a question, e.g. 'whom did you hit?'. They are made more independent, with focus on the verb, by including lɔ̀, i.e.

me ŋkfún lɔ̀ wān	'I have just hit a child'
me nɔ́ ŋkfún lɔ̀ wān	'I hit a child'

If, on the other hand, lɔ̀ is placed in a sentence which could have stood alone without it, lɔ̀ adds the meaning 'just, instead', e.g.

me ŋkfúně lɔ̀ wān	'I am just hitting a child' (0)
me nú mbóy ngwe lɔ̀ wān	'I will instead hit a child' (P ₂)

It should be noted that where lɔ̀ is required to complete a sentence, this occurs only in main clause affirmatives, e.g. not in relative clauses.

The final adverb presented in this section is ké, which is used to mean 'only', occurring before a focused post-verbal constituent, e.g.

è nú ké me	'it is only I'
è lòó ké bɔ́	'only they are weaving'
wù cɔ́ nǎ ké ε me màn	'he gave it but to me alone'
me nú ndíé ké ε núù kàngòm màn	'I will eat but plantains alone'

The first two sentences have the subject postposed to the verb. The result is that this focused subject falls under the scope of ké 'only'. The third and fourth sentences also have màn 'alone, only' (<'one') which acts with ké.

As seen, *ké* can be translated as English 'but', e.g. 'it is but I', in many cases. This marker is clearly related to the *ké* found in negative constructions, e.g.

wvù cǐ nǎ ɲwà ε nùù ε me, *ké* nùù ε wò ke 'he gave the book to me,
not to you'

(The constructions just since with *ε nùù...* involve constituents which are focused; see Chapter 22.)

6.2. *Temporal adverbs.* Many of the referential time expressions resemble nouns, e.g. *keséen* 'now', *nfèw* '(in a) short time', *ncèke* 'a long time ago', *ntfùú* 'tomorrow'. Others resemble prepositional phrases of the locative type seen in earlier sections of this chapter, e.g. *foɔ̀* 'yesterday', *fò shé ntfùú* 'day after tomorrow' (lit. at spend-the-day tomorrow), *èfónèfòñ* 'often'. The class 1 noun *kàṅ* is used to indicate the number of times something has taken place, e.g. *kàṅ mwàṅ* 'once', *bòkàṅ bɔ́fée* 'twice', etc. All of these temporal expressions appear after the verb (and object, if any):

me mbéè ɲkfùncè wān bòkàṅ bɔ́fée 'I hit the child twice'
me ntò nòò ntòñ wan ìdm béé 'I refused the child last year'
yungse nú tó nfèw cààn 'Yungse will come in a short time'
yungse tò nòò lewtè wà ncèke 'Yungse ran (already) a long time ago'

Very few, if any, temporal expressions appear to belong to a separate class of adverbs.

6.3. *Manner adverbs.* The argument can also be made for manner adverbs that most resemble nouns. Typical manner adverbs are illustrated below:

yungse cǐ nòò yēm ntāy 'Yungse sang well'
yungse cǐ nòò yēm fò ntèèn 'Yungse sang much'
yungse cǐ nòò lewtè wèè 'Yungse ran slowly'
yungse cǐ nòò lewtè cààn 'Yungse ran a little'
yungse cǐ nòò lewtè cèkěy 'Yungse ran fast'
já wé 'stand up!'

Of the manner adverbs in the above sentences, only *wèè* 'slowly' shows a relationship to an existing non-adverb, namely *wèe* 'be weak'. Other forms which may belong to an adverb class include *ban* 'please', *nen* 'thus', and *tēh* 'also', as seen below:

ǰicǎ wan é ban 'hold the child, please!'
me ɲge nèè ban 'what can I do!' (exclamation)
bó nòò diekèn tēh 'they have eaten too'
wò dèèlě lá fì wò jimténé nen 'what are you cooking that you are
perspiring like this/thus?'

18

AUXILIARY VERBS

1. *Verbal criteria.* The Noni language is rich in auxiliaries which precede the main verb. A particularly complex sentence containing several auxiliaries is the following:

me ntò nge mbéè mbvũ nyúú nkfun wan ke 'I had still not ever
I P₃ do still again P₃ hit child NEG hit the child'

In this sentence there are five auxiliaries (with first person singular nasal agreement): ntò, nge, mbéè, mbvũ and nyúú. These auxiliaries are verbs, since they meet the following criteria for verbal status:

(a) They have the same segmental and tonal structure as main verbs, i.e. they begin with a consonant and have at least one vowel, and they take the tones typical of one or another tense.

(b) They take first person singular subject agreement, as seen in the nasal prefix on each of the five auxiliaries in the preceding example.

(c) They appear in second position (after a main verb), e.g. as a consecutive.

As an example of criterion (c), consider the following sentences:

me ngòmtě ngéé nyén wò lě èbèn 'I want to see you today'
me ngòmtě mbóy nyén wò lě ntfúú 'I want to see you tomorrow'

The first clause me ngòmtě... 'I want' is in 0 tense. The second clause begins with the F₁ auxiliary géé in the first sentence and the F₂ auxiliary bóy in the second. The difference in meaning is as indicated: the seeing will take place today vs. tomorrow. If these forms were not verbs, we would not expect them to appear in this position.

In this chapter we shall look at the various types of auxiliary verbs found in Noni. We shall demonstrate that most of them are related to still existing main verbs.

2. *Tense auxiliaries.* The following tense auxiliaries have been observed in preceding chapters (see especially Chapter 12):

form	auxiliary meaning	main verb meaning (if any)
bé	P ₁	?
cí	P ₂	(< cé 'spend the day' ?)
tò	P ₃	(< tó 'come' ?)
nú	[+FUT]	'be'
géé	F ₁	(< ge 'do' ?)
bóy	F ₂	'exit, reach'
yúú	F ₃	'to dawn'
nóó	[+FÖC]	nú 'be' + e

The future tense markers have a more transparent derivation than their past tense counterparts. (This is a general fact for the whole Grassfields Bantu region.) It should be recalled that P₃ tò can also be used in the F₃ and

that F₃ yúú can also be used in the P₃ (see p.62).

3. *The copula 'be'*. The copula verb 'be' has a number of main verb and auxiliary functions. It occurs in infinitive form as kèé-nùú 'to be', although in many contexts it acts like a H tone verb and has a short vowel. (The form kèé-nùú is, of course, [+PROG].) We shall cite the copula as nú, since this is the most common form it takes.

3.1. *'Be' as a main verb*. As seen in the following examples, nú can be followed (a) by a noun; (b) by an adjective; (c) by a locative; and (d) by a prepositional verb form:

è nú me	'it is I'
yungse nú cowè	'Yungse is an adult'
ɲwà wvũn nú fwē	'this book is new'
yungse nú yěw	'Yungse is in the house'
yɔ̃h̃ yin cí nú è ɲkan é	'these tomatoes were to be fried'
mú nú muféém èkè	'they are two [e.g. kolanuts] in the bag'

Thus, unlike other African languages, Noni has only one copula which is used in all of the above contexts.

3.2. *'Be' as an auxiliary*. There are at least three distinct functions of nú as an auxiliary. The first of these, the marking of [+FUT] tenses, has been illustrated several times. Similarly, its appearance in the nòó marker in [-PROG, -FUT, +FOC] tenses (except the P₁) has been noted, as has its variant nú+ɛ, e.g.

me nòó ɲgwe = me nú ɛ ɲgwè 'I have fallen' [+FOC]

The copula is much more involved in focus marking in Noni than the above [+FOC] P₀ tense would indicate (cf. Chapter 22). Thus, to mark verb complements as focused, they are preceded by the markers ɛ nùú, e.g.

me nyēn ɛ nùú wān é ɛjè 'I have seen a *child* in the road'
wvù cí nǎ bíɲkfú ɛ nùú ɛ me' 'he gave the yams to *me*'

In this construction the long vowel (= [+PROG]) variant of nú is used. Because of the marker nú, one might wonder if this is a sequential construction (Chapter 20), i.e. 'he gave the yams and it is to me'. The following sentences would then be the [-PROG] sequential counterpart to the above:

me nci nòó ɲkèw wà ɛ nú ndèèlè bíɲkfú 'I started cooking yams'
me nci nòó mèsè wà ɛ nú ndèèlè bíɲkfú 'I finished (sth.) and was cooking
bòɲwà bɔɔ nú bēm = bòɲwà bɔ ɛ nú bēm 'the books which are mine' yams'

These usages may have something to do with focus, since emphasis is on the clause with ɛ nú (or on the bēm in the relative clause example, i.e. the books which are *mine*, *my* books).

The sentences with 'start' and 'finish' above hint to the last major function of nú as an auxiliary verb: it frequently marks progressive actions:

wvù nòó nú jèwtè 'he has been becoming mad'
wvù nòó nú yemtè bínè 'he has been singing and dancing'
me nú wà ntɔ̃ lé 'I am already about to come'
me mbé nú wà èntɔ̃ lé 'I was already coming [when] ...'

In the first two sentences *nú* appears in the P₀ [+FOC] tense, acquiring a perfect progressive meaning. The third sentence resembles the F₀ sense of *nú*, except for the postposition *lé* and the tone pattern A on the verb. Finally, the last example has the *è* + verb + *lé* construction seen on p.84. The sense of this last sentence thus is 'I was in coming [when something happened]'.

4. *Habitual aspect.* The habitual aspect is formed with the auxiliary *geé* (cf. *geé* 'put, let, store'), as seen in the following sentences:

<i>me ngéé ngwè</i>	'I fall'
<i>yungse cí géé núú wān</i>	'Yungse used to be a child'
<i>bó tó géé dèè è kèngòm</i>	'they used to eat plantains'
<i>bó nú yúú géé kfùnè bóm</i>	'they will always be hitting children'

As seen in these sentences, the main verb is always in a [+PROG] form. It is interesting to note in the first sentence that the focus adverbial *lò* is not required to make the sentence complete. Although this sentence is unambiguously habitual in its meaning, the corresponding sentence with the 0 tense, i.e. *me ngwèé lò*, can either mean 'I am falling' or 'I fall'.

5. *Other time and manner auxiliaries.* Although we shall not set up each one as a separate tense or aspect, there are many additional auxiliary verbs which refer to the time or manner in which an action takes place. A summary is provided below, followed by examples:

<i>form</i>	<i>auxiliary meaning</i>	<i>main verb meaning</i>
<i>shéé</i>	'later'	'remain'
<i>cé</i>	'in the day'	'spend the day'
<i>shé</i>	'in the night'	'spend the night'
<i>bóó/bvú</i>	'again'	(< <i>bvu</i> 'interrupt'?)
<i>yāhsēn</i>	'quickly'	'to be early'
<i>já</i>	'off and on'	'leave, stand'
<i>mòócé</i>	'often'	'stay for short while'
<i>bāynēn</i>	'rarely'	'be rare'
<i>yaw</i>	'be first'	'be first'

e.g. <i>me nú nshéé ntó</i>	'I will come later'
<i>me nú ncé nkfun wvú</i>	'I will hit him tonight'
<i>me mbé nshe nyemtè mbinè</i>	'I was singing and dancing all day'
<i>yungse bóó ewté ló</i>	'Yungse is running again'
<i>ké yungse núú yāhsēn ke</i>	'Yungse will not come quickly'
<i>yungse cí nób jā èlèwtè</i>	'Yungse ran off and on'
<i>yungse mòócé ké tó</i>	'Yungse often comes' (stays short but comes)
<i>yungse gé baynèn ló sé tó</i>	'Yungse rarely comes' (does rarely before coming)
<i>è cí yāw yungse ègēh fòwá</i>	'Yungse was the first to go to the market'

It will be noted that the main verb is in one or another consecutive verb form (with tone pattern A, C or D). Some auxiliaries, on the other hand, either can or must take an infinitive, e.g.

<i>wvú gòmǎ (kèé) tó</i>	'he wants to come'
<i>wvú fàànké (kèé) tó</i>	'he refuses to come'
<i>me nkòònké (kèé) tó</i>	'I like to come'
<i>me nkènké kèé ne</i>	'I have to leave'

The last auxiliary verbs to be considered may ultimately be considered part of the aspectual and mood systems. In the following sentences it is seen that the auxiliary bé(é) means 'still':

yungse bèé lewté ló 'Yungse is still running'
 bó bèé diekéné ló 'they are still eating'

The negative is formed with bá(á), e.g.

yungse bàá lewtè wá ké 'Yungse is not running yet'
 bó bàá diekènè wá ké 'they are not eating yet'

The presence of wá 'already' is noted in these negatives. The form bá(á) was seen to be the [-PROG, -FUT] negative marker in Chapter 12. The fact that bé(é) exists (with the same vowel length alternation) suggests that bá(á) is a contraction of bé(é) + ya.

In addition to bé(é), the auxiliary gé (from ge 'do') can be used as part of the verbal focus system. Representative uses of ge follow:

me mbá ngé ngwe ké 'I have not gone and fallen'
 wò bé gē èk'ũh wvũ njē lǎ 'why did you go and hit him?'

The first sentence asserts that I have not fallen, while someone apparently had thought I did. As seen in the translations, this use of ge seems aptly captured by the colloquial 'to go and do something'.

It is interesting to note that bé(é) 'still' closely resembles the P₁ [+FOC] auxiliary bèé, while gé 'go and do something' closely resembles the F₁ future auxiliary géé. These should not be confused, however.

The last auxiliaries to be considered here are the conditional markers bèé and nee:

me mbèé (nèé) ngwe ε wò (nen) bé baa wám 'I would have fallen if you
 had not screamed' (P₁)
 ε me nci mbèé nkeŋkè begēw to me nci nòò 'if I had had the money, I
 ngèn fòwǎy would have gone to market' (P₂)

By themselves, sentences like me mbèé ngwe can mean 'I would have fallen', 'I almost fell' and 'I am about to fall' (i.e. I am almost falling). The additional marker nee is optional in the above sentences, although it adds greater doubt to the reality of the condition. The parenthesized word nen in the second clause of the first sentence means 'thus'.

PART V: COMPLEX SENTENCES

19

RELATIVE CLAUSES

1. *Subject relatives.* All relative clauses are formed in Noni by placing the relativized noun at the head of the clause followed immediately by a relative pronoun. This pronoun is segmentally identical to the pronouns described in Chapter 4. When the relativized noun is subject of its clause, the relative pronoun takes LM no matter what the noun class of the head noun, e.g.

wan wvũ gwě	'the child who has fallen'
boom bõ gwèkěné	'the children who have fallen'
bwě yĩ coonké	'a dog that steals'

As we saw in Chapter 13, there are restrictions on the use of main clause tenses in relative clauses, and in some cases, the relative tenses differ from their main clause counterparts (see section 5). For example, in the example 'a dog that steals', which uses the 0 tense, the verbal focus marker ló is not required to complete the clause as it was in the main clause.

The relative construction and relative pronoun remain identical when the verb has a complement and when it occurs in the negative:

kwòòñ wvũ cí kfùné wāñ	'the woman who hit the child'
boñiì bõ géé goytè bĩnkfũ	'the people who buy yams'
ñāñ yĩ nú fõ yā bõy lóm boom ké	'the animals that will not bite children'

The resulting clause can, of course, be used as subject of a larger clause (e.g. 'the woman who hit the child fell') or as object (e.g. 'I saw the woman who hit the child that fell'), and also as an oblique (e.g. 'I gave the yams to the woman who hit the child').

2. *Object relatives.* All non-subject relativized nouns take a L tone relative pronoun instead of a LM one. This is illustrated with the following clauses where the object has been relativized:

kwòòñ wvũ bèsèn cí kfùné	'the woman that we hit'
bĩnkfũ bì boñiì géé goytè	'the yams that people buy'
boom bõ ñāñ nú fõ yā bõy lóm ké	'the children that the animals will not bite'

As seen, there is no resumptive object pronoun in the relative clause (i.e. one does not say 'the woman that we hit her').

3. *Oblique relatives.* In all other cases the relative pronoun remains L in tone, but a resumptive pronoun is required in the relative clause. Thus, consider the following relative clauses involving, respectively, the preposition ɛ 'to', the preposition bó 'with' and a possessive:

kwòòn wvù me ntómte wan ε wvù	'the woman that I am sending a child to'
bòóm bò me ngèné fòwáy beèbǔ	'the children that I am going to market with'
fèñfi fè me nci nyenè kebebè kèw ǔ	'the bird whose wing I saw'

These relative clauses have the following structure: 'the woman that I am sending a child to her', 'the children that I am going to the market with them', and 'the bird that I saw its wing'. (Note in this last sentence that the possessive pronoun can refer to non-human referent, although it must be animate.)

The locative classes have two possible relative clause structures. First, they can follow the direct object pattern:

fòwáy fò me ngǔn	'at the market where I went'
èbǔ jò me nci ngèèlè fèmbì	'in the hand where I put the kolanut'
yèw dvù me nci ncelè	'in the house where I spent the night'

The relative pronouns fò (class 16), jò (class 17) and dvù (class 18) are used exactly as any other non-subject relative pronoun, and there is no resumptive pronoun in the relative clause. On the other hand, the following is possible:

wáy wvù me ngǔn fò	'the market that I went to'
èbǔ kè me nci ngèèlè fèmbì jǔ	'the hand that I put the kolanut in'
yèw yì me nci ncelè dvù	'the house that I spent the night in'

In this case the basic noun is relativized (with class 3, 7 and 9 concords, respectively) and the locative class pronoun appears resumptively in the relative clause. Thus, fò, jǔ and dvù mean 'to it', 'in it', etc.

This recalls the use of dvù as a replative for bǔ prepositional phrases, where the head noun is inanimate. (see Chapter 17, section 4). As seen in the following examples, dvù appears in relative clauses as a resumptive pronoun meaning 'with it':

kènkfǔ kè me ñanyí wan dvù	'the yams I am feeding the child'
(cf. me ñanyí wan bǔ kènkfǔ)	'I am feeding the child yams'
fèñǔ fè me nseelè ñàm dvù	'the knife I am cutting meat with'
(cf. me nseelè ñàm bǔ fèñǔ)	'I am cutting meat with a knife'

The relative clauses thus literally mean 'the yams that I am feeding the child with them' and 'the knife that I am cutting meat with it'.

4. *Uses of relative clauses.* The primary purpose of a relative clause is to identify a referent. What is included in the relative clause is usually shared knowledge between the speaker and hearer. Thus, when one says 'where is the child who fell?', one assumes that the hearer knows that there is a child who fell. (but see section 5). As seen in the following example, where the head of the relative clause is a proper name,

yungse, wvù cí gwèlè, nu wá sfin fò yèw é 'Yungse, who fell, is already now at home'

As seen from the pauses marked by commas, this kind of relative clause adds information that the hearer may not have shared with the speaker. Noni apparently can therefore allow such "non-restrictive" relative clauses.

It will be recalled from constructions seen in Chapter 7 that relative clauses take the place of what would be adjectives in English:

wān wvū fāŋ	'a fat child'	(fāŋ 'become fat')
boom bō fāŋkèn	'fat children'	
ŋkēm wvū jìtè	'a heavy load'	(jìtè 'be heavy')
fembì fè yeelè	'a red kolanut'	(yeelè 'be red')
kwoòn wvū dèfè	'a tall woman'	(dèfè 'be tall')

As seen, the LM subject relative pronouns are used.

Another use of the relative construction is in expressing indirect questions, e.g.

ké me ŋkeè wè wvù wò bē yēh ke	'I don't know whom you saw'
ké me ŋkeè fyeè fè wò bē yēh ke	'I don't know what you saw'
ké me ŋkeè bvudvúu bvù wò gèné fò ke	'I don't know where you are going'
ké me ŋkeè wān wvū gèné ke	'I don't know which child is going'

Literally, these sentences mean 'I don't know the person you saw', 'I don't know the thing you saw', 'I don't know the place you are going to it' and 'I don't know the child who is going'. The above sentences thus have the other interpretation that a specific person/thing/place is referred to.

In addition, the following indirect questions have also been recorded:

ké me ŋkeè fò wò gèné ke	'I don't know where you are going'
ké me ŋkeè sékè wò gèné ke	'I don't know when you are going'
ké me ŋkeè nù wò nǔ gen ke	'I don't know how you will go'

In the first sentence fò is of course the object relative pronoun for class 16. This sentence thus means 'I don't know to where you are going'. The forms sékè and nù seen in the following two sentences are probably also nouns, although they were not observed with a relative pronoun. (sékè also occurs in the corresponding direct question; see Chapter 22).

5. *Relative tenses.* The tense structure of relative clauses was presented in Chapter 13. There it was seen that a number of tenses have a different morphology in relative clauses from that observed in main clauses. These differences can be seen also in the table on p.73 and are summarized again as follows:

- In the [-PROG, -NEG, -FOC] P₁, the relative form takes an additional L tone suffix -V̄.
- In the [-PROG, -NEG, -FOC] P₂ and P₃, the relative form takes an additional suffix -lè, thereby changing from tone pattern B to tone pattern A.
- In the [+PROG, +NEG] 0 tense, the tone pattern is A in main clauses, but B in relative clauses.
- As indicated above, lǝ is not required in relative clauses to complete the affirmative 0 and [-FOC] P₀-P₃ tenses.

Another interesting tense restriction concerns the [+FOC] variants of the P₀-P₃ tenses. When the head of the relative clause is specific (i.e. non-generic) in meaning, i.e. the speaker has a specific referent in mind, the [+FOC] variants of these tenses cannot be used in a relative clause. Consider, however, the following pairs of sentences:

ta wan wvū cǐ gwèlè	'look for the child who fell'	(P ₂ , [-FOC])
ta wan wvū cǐ nǝǝ gwè	'look for a(ny) child who fell'	(P ₂ , [+FOC])

ké me ŋkeè wān wvū gwě ke 'I don't know the child who has fallen'
 ké me ŋkeè wān wvū nōō gwè ke 'I don't know any child who has fallen'

(The second pair involves the P₀ [-FOC] and [+FOC] tenses, respectively.)

The expected or most frequent relative construction is with the first, or [-FOC] variant. In the first sentence the speaker, who assumes that the hearer knows that a child fell, tells the latter to look for this child. In the second sentence, however, the speaker tells the hearer to look for any child who may have fallen. The speaker and hearer do not presuppose that any child fell at all. In this second sentence the relative clause contains information not previously assumed by the hearer. It is for this reason that the [+FOC] variant is used. The second set of sentences works similarly: in the [-FOC] variant it is mutually accepted by speaker and hearer that a child has fallen. In the [+FOC] variant, on the other hand, it has not been assumed that any child has fallen.

The same distinction is found even when the head of the relative clause is a proper noun. Thus, compare the first sentence in section 4 with the following:

yunṣè wvū cí nōō gwè nu wā sfin fò yēw é 'any Yungse who fell/did fall
 is not at home'

This sentence requires a very special context in order for it to be acceptable. The preceding context must be that someone claims there is a person named Yungse, that he is at home, and that he fell. The above sentence denies the entirety of this context: there is no Yungse such that he fell and is now at home.

The use of [+FOC] tenses in relative clauses is important in determining the exact meaning of the feature specification [+FOC] itself. In related Grassfields Bantu languages (e.g. Aghem; see Watters 1979), the [+FOC] tenses cannot appear in relative clauses. Presumably their function is slightly different from that found in Noni (see also Chapter 22).

SEQUENTIAL AND SUBJUNCTIVE CLAUSES

1. *Conjunction in Noni.* While noun phrases can be conjoined with bó 'and, with', verb phrases and entire sentences are not conjoinable by a simple conjunction 'and'. As seen in the following two sentences,

me nci n̄s̄ò ngèn fòwǎy, gèènen ε me nci mba ngoy bèn̄kfũ ke
'I went to market, but I didn't buy yams'

me ngòm̄tě kèé ngoy bèn̄kfũ, gèènen ké me n̄kɛn̄kè begēw̄ ke
'I want to buy yams, but I don't have any money'

the conjunction gèènen 'but' can introduce a second main clause--or even an imperative, as in the sentence:

gèně fòwǎy, gèènen fò wǎ goy fyeè ke 'go to market, but don't buy anything'

In most cases, however, the second clause must be in a special, "sequential" form if the subjects of the two clauses are not identical. (If they *are* identical, the second verb will take a consecutive form; see Chapter 14.) This even includes many instances of complement clauses. Thus, compare the following two sentences:

wvù d̄òò lε me nci n̄s̄ò ngèn fòwǎy 'he says that I went to market'
me mbéè nyèn wan é ε wvù (ε) gwè 'I saw a child fall'

Verbs of reporting and knowing use the complementizer lε 'that' followed by a main clause, as in the first example. Other types of complementation, such as that following a sensory verb used to report some perception rather than knowledge (e.g. 'I saw a child fall' vs. 'I saw he was right') employ sequential forms. Thus, the ∅ form of the verb gwè 'fall' in the second example has up to now not been seen with tone pattern A except after [+FOC] n̄s̄ò. As will be seen in the following section, this is the form of a sequential verb when it is [-PROG, -NEG] and follows a P₀, P₁ or P₂ in the main clause.

2. [-PROG] *sequentials.* We shall consider affirmative [-FUT] sequentials first. As seen in the following forms,

me n̄s̄ò nyēm, wān ε kfùn wè 'I have sung, and a child has hit someone'
me n̄s̄ò nyēm, wān ε ton wè 'I have sung, and a child has refused someone'
me n̄s̄ò nyēm, wān ε d̄òmsè wè 'I have sung, and a child has pushed someone'
me n̄s̄ò nyēm, wān ε cimsè wè 'I have sung, and a child has pacified someone'

the P₀ sequential takes a verb form with tone pattern A and a marker ε between the subject and the verb. This ε is obligatory with a noun subject, but only optional with a pronominal subject (see 'I saw a child fall' above). The same sequential forms appear after [+FOC] and [-FOC] tenses--and after P₁ and P₂, as seen in the following representative sentences:

me mbéè nyēm, wān ε kfùn wè 'I sang and a child hit someone' (P₁)
me nci n̄s̄ò nyēm, wān ε kfùn wè 'I sang and a child hit someone' (P₂)

As seen in the following sentences, however, the sequential forms are different when following a P₃ tense:

me ntò nòò nyēm, ε wan kfūh wè	'I sang and a child hit someone'
me ntò nòò nyēm, ε wan tòn wè	'I sang and a child refused someone'
me ntò nòò nyēm, ε wan dōmsè wè	'I sang and a child pushed someone'
me ntò nòò nyēm, ε wan cīmsè wè	'I sang and a child pacified someone'

In this case the ε precedes the subject and the tone pattern of the sequential verb is D, rather than A (cf. the consecutive D pattern in Chapter 14).

As seen in the following sentences, there is no negative sequential form when following a [-PROG, -FUT] tense in the main clause:

me nòò nyēm, wvù bàà kfun wè	'I have sung and he has not hit anyone'
me mbéè nyēm, wvù bé baa kfun wè	'I sang and he did not hit anyone' (P ₁)
me nci nòò nyēm, wvù cí báá kfun wè	'I sang and he did not hit anyone' (P ₂)
me ntò nòò nyēm, wvù tò báá kfun wè	'I sang and he did not hit anyone' (P ₃)

The negative second clauses are identical in form to the main clause negative. Thus, these sentences literally mean 'I sang, he did not hit anyone'.

It has been pointed out that the [+FOC] auxiliary nòò comes from the copula nú 'be' and a marker ε. Indeed, nú ε is an alternative pronunciation for nòò, e.g. wvù nòò gwè ~ wvù nú ε gwè 'he has fallen'. We are now in a position to appreciate the source of this ε: it is in fact the sequential marker found after P₀, P₁ and P₂ main clauses. This explains why the [+FOC] P₀-P₂ tenses have a main verb with tone pattern A. (The P₃ remains anomalous.)

In the following attested sequential we note that the P₂ auxiliary verb cí may occur:

me nci mbóy, wvù céè sheè èkfūh wān 'when I went out he remained and hit the child'

The form céè derives from cí + ε, and the verb 'hit' is in consecutive form with tone pattern D.

Now, both the céè form for the P₂ and the zero form for the P₀ can occur as a *main* clause, especially as an interjection:

wan ε gwè	'the child has fallen'
wan ε céè gwè	'the child fell'

(The tone pattern D in the second example is not readily explainable.) These sentences seem to function as interjections. They do not require nú (to create nòò) or ló to be complete. In order to appreciate the nuance distinguishing these "main clause sequentials" from regular P₀ constructions, contrast the following:

me nòò nkfùn wān	'I have hit the child' (report, out of the blue)
me ε nkfùn wān	'oh! I've just hit the child' (exclamation, probably an accident/unintentional)
me nkfùn ló wān	'I have <i>hit</i> the child' (that's why he's crying)

These sequentials are most closely related to their corresponding nòò construction, although they seem to function as exclamations rather than neutral reports.

3. [-PROG, +FUT]. The [+FUT] sequentials corresponding to the [-PROG, -FUT] constructions we have just seen are illustrated below:

me nú nyém, ε wvùú kfun wè	'I am about to sing, and he is about to hit
me nú ngéé nyém, ε wvùú kfun wè	'I will sing, and he (F ₁) someone' (F ₀)
me nú mbóy nyém, ε wvùú kfun wè	will hit someone' (F ₂)
me nú nyúú nyém, ε wvùú kfun wè	" " " (F ₃)

The verb is always in tone class C. As in the case of the P₃, the subject is preceded by a marker ε. This time, however, there is an additional H tone vowel (-V̄) following and fusing with the subject. We shall see that these forms are used also in certain subjunctive clauses.

When the future sequential clause does not have a tense auxiliary, it is normally assumed that the action of this clause will take place during the same time span as the action of the main clause. It is possible, however, to put a future auxiliary in the sequential clause, e.g.

me nú nyém, ε wvùú bóy kfun wè	'I will sing, and he will (tomorrow)
F ₀	F ₂ hit someone'

The negative future sequential is obtained by placing sé ya before the verb (and ke at the end of the clause). (sé ya often contracts to sáá.) This form has been found at all future tenses:

me nú nyém, wvù sáá kfun wè ke	'I'm about to sing, and he is not about
me nú ngéé nyém, wvù sáá kfun wè ke	to hit anyone' (F ₀)
me nú mbóy nyém, wvù sáá kfun wè ke	'I'll sing, and he will not hit anyone'
me nú nyúú nyém, wvù sáá kfun wè ke	(F ₁ , F ₂ , F ₃)

The marker sé in other contexts means 'before' (see Chapter 21). As in the affirmative, one can put a future tense auxiliary in the negative sequential clause (cf. me nú nyúú nyém wvù sé yúú kfun wan ke).

4. [+PROG] sequentials. The affirmative, progressive sequential is formed by using the [+PROG] verb form with tone pattern A. Examples follow:

yungse díé bèṅkfú ε me ngèné fòwáy	'Yungse is eating yams, and I am going
me nyemté ε wvù kfùnè wān	'I am singing and he to market'
	is hitting a child'

The following sentence illustrates a complement clause which is a [+PROG] sequential (cf. section 1):

me mbéé nyōw ε wan beelè	'I heard a child crying' (over time)
--------------------------	--------------------------------------

(The [-PROG] is also possible, i.e. me mbéé nyōw ε wan ε bee 'I heard a child cry' (punctual, shorttime).)

The negative progressive sequential is formed as follows:

me nyemté ε wvù yà kfùnè wān ke	'I am singing and not hitting a child'
---------------------------------	--

Again it is tone pattern A, this time preceded by yà and having ke at the end of the clause.

5. *Subjunctive clauses.* As a type of sequential, subjunctive clauses are considered here. There are two types:

- (a) those which cause a H tone prolongation on the subject of the clause;
 (b) those which do not cause a H tone prolongation.

We saw examples of (a) in section 3, since this construction is used as the normal sequential after a future verb in a main clause. It is not easy to differentiate the two constructions semantically, and more work will be necessary to do so satisfactorily. A hint of the problem is seen in the fact that the two appear to be interchangeable in certain contexts, e.g.

me ntóó lɛ wvúú kfun wan 'I am coming in order for him to hit the
 wvú bɛ̀ɛ̀ t̄ɔ́ lɛ me nyén wvú l̄ɔ́ 'he came in order that I see him' child'

These sentences show that both subjunctives are used after a verb such as 'come' to indicate purpose. The following sentences show that both are found in the consequent clause after an 'if'-clause:

ɛ yun̄sɛ̀ bɛ̀ yəm̄, ɛ́ me mb̄f̄n 'if Yungse sang, I will dance'
 ɛ́ yun̄sɛ̀ yəm̄ l̄ɔ́, ɛ́ me mb̄f̄n 'if Yungse sings, I will dance'

It may be that the H tone subjunctive expresses greater unreality or doubt, since it is the normal hortative, e.g.

me ɣgèn ɛ̀ɛ̀ 'may I go?'
 bɛ̀n̄ gen 'you pl. go!'
 geɛ́ ɛ́ me ɣgwe 'let me fall!'

It also has been found to express an indirect command, e.g.

wvú bɛ̀ɛ̀ gày lɛ me ɣgènɛ̀ 'he told me to leave'
 " w̄ɔ́ gènɛ̀ you sg.
 " wvúú gènɛ̀ him/her
 " bɛ̀sɛ̀n̄ gènɛ̀ us
 " bɛ̀n̄ gènɛ̀ you pl.
 " b̄ɔ́ gènɛ̀ them
 " w̄n̄ gènɛ̀ the child

(The last line shows the irregular creation of a MH rising, which is normally not permitted in the language). As seen in all of the above examples, the tone pattern is C in the non-progressive, A in the progressive.

As mentioned, the Ø subjunctive has been found to express purpose. It may be less of a hortative in nature, and more of a consequential or resultative, e.g.

me n̄ɔ́ n̄f̄n̄ f̄ɛ̀n̄ lɛ w̄ sɛ́ɛ́ n̄m̄ dv̄ú 'I have sharpened a knife for you
 = ɛ́ to cut meat with it'

As seen, there are two complementizers (lɛ and ɛ́), with ɛ́ indicating greater purpose or force (i.e. 'I sharpened a knife so that...' vs. 'I sharpened a knife in order that...'). Compare also the following:

me nc̄ɛ̀yt̄ɛ̀ lɛ wan díékén 'I am waiting for the child to eat'
 me nc̄ɛ̀yt̄ɛ̀ ɛ́ wan díékén 'I am waiting in order for the child to eat'

Interestingly, the causative, formed with the verb *ge* 'make, do', takes a sequential clause after a [-FUT] tense, but a \emptyset subjunctive after a [+FUT] tense, e.g.

me mbéè ngè wan ε bee 'I made the child cry'
 me ngèé ε wan beelè 'I am making the child cry'
 me nú nge é wan béé 'I will make the child cry'

This may be because there must be an agreement in [FUT] marking between the two clauses. It will be noted that the \emptyset subjunctive is identical in tone to the future tenses (C, if [-PROG], A if [+PROG]). In fact, the future tenses are built on this pattern following the copula *nú*. Take out the *nú*, and you have the \emptyset subjunctive.

The negative of the two kinds of subjunctives is seen in the following pair of sentences:

wvù béè gày lε fò wāń gen ke 'he told the child not to go'
 wvù kǎǎ lε fò me ntó ke 'he is refusing that I come'

The same negative construction is observed here as was seen earlier in the imperative (p.53). More examples of both types of subjunctives will be seen in the discussion of condition clauses in the following chapter.

TEMPORAL AND CONDITION CLAUSES

1. *Temporal clauses.* Temporal clauses express events which take place either simultaneous or before or after some other event, which is reported in the main clause. A number of different constructions have been encountered. Since a lot more work remains to be done in this area, the findings presented in this chapter are intended mostly to pinpoint topics for further research.

1.1. *'While' and 'as' clauses.* The first kind of temporal clause to be considered involves actions which take place over time, but which are simultaneous with some other action. Such clauses are usually expressed with the conjunctions 'while' and 'as' in English. Note, first, in the following sentences that a simple progressive consecutive is used if the subject of the second verb is identical with the subject of the first:

me mbéè ngèn fòwǎy nyemtè	'I went to market singing'
me nci nòò nfi wù bǎ kwen ngènè fòwǎy	'I helped him with firewood going to market'

When the two subjects are different, a separate clause introduced by *ε* is required:

bǎ nú mēsě ε wò diekènè	'they will finish while you are eating'
bǎ nú mēsě ε wò bée diekènè	'they will finish while you are eating'
wù bǎ mèsè ε wò bée diekènè	'he finished while you were eating'

The first sentence has only a single [+PROG] verb, with tone pattern A. The other two sentences have *bé(é)* 'still', which does not alter the overall meaning. As seen in these sentences, the form of the second clause stays the same after past or future main clause verbs.

If the verb is [+PROG], an alternative way of expressing such durative simultaneity is with the form *sékè* 'when', e.g.

me mbé nyemtè sékè wù bǎ kfùnè wān	'I was singing when he was hitting the child'
------------------------------------	---

1.2. *'When' clauses.* As just seen, *sékè* can introduce a 'when' clause. Other examples are as follows:

me mbé nyēm sékè wù bǎ kfùn wān	'I sang when he hit the child'
sékè me nyemté fò wò bín ké	'when I sing, don't dance!'

As seen on p.93, *sékè* is also used in indirect questions. It will be seen in Chapter 22 that it also is used in direct questions, e.g.

bó yemté séké Iá	'when are they singing?'
------------------	--------------------------

This form probably once was a noun meaning 'time'.

Other means of expressing non-progressive simultaneity in a 'when' clause

are seen in the following sentences:

wvù nǔ dǐò t̄ó é me ndeε bvulem	'when he will come, I will be cooking fufu'
dǐò yem fò wò bín ke	'when you sing, don't dance!'
fò wò eyem bín ke	'when you sing, don't dance!'

The first two sentences involve the auxiliary dǐò which immediately precedes the main verb. The last sentence uses the locative marker fò (class 16) in a new temporal sense. It may thus be interpreted as meaning 'where you sing, don't dance!'.

1.3. *'After' clauses.* 'After' clauses have been recorded with either sékè (= 'when') or the auxiliary dǐò, e.g.

bó nú mēśě sékè bó diekèn	'they will finish after they eat'
yungse nǔ dǐò dèè bɪŋkfú é njíí yèèsě lá	'after Yungse cooks yams, Nji will sweep the compound'

The distinction between 'when' and 'after' is minimized when the verb form in the former case is [-PROG]. Thus, the first sentence above could also be translated 'they will finish when they have eaten'.

1.4. *'Before' clauses.* While 'after' clauses are technically not distinct from 'when' clauses, 'before' clauses are. First note the following sentences, where the subject of the 'before' clause is identical to the subject of the main clause:

me mbé ngèné fòwáɣ nyemtè ènsé nyen wò lě	'I was going to market singing, when (=before) seeing you'
bó nú mēśě sé ènt̄ó	'they will finish before coming'
bésèn nǔ tó sé èdiekèn	'we will come before eating'

The marker sé means 'before' but as seen in the first sentence, where it takes a nasal because the subject is first person singular, it is a verb. As seen in the following sentences, sé also means 'without':

me mbé ndiè bvulem sé ñám 'he ate fufu without meat'

The same marker is used if the subjects of the two clauses are not identical:

bó nú mēśě ε wò sé diekèn	'they will finish before you eat'
me mbéè nyém wvù sé kfún wán	'I sang before he hit the child'
wvù bé kfún wán me nsé nyém	'he hit the child before I sang'

Because there is no distinct 'after' construction, the examples in section 1.3 being built on 'when' clauses, 'before' clauses often are used to express 'after' by reversing the order of the actions. Thus, the last sentence can also mean 'I sang after he hit the child'. Finally, it will be noted in the following examples that the 'before' construction is sometimes translated other than with 'before' in English, e.g.

me mbéè ŋkfún wá wán wò sé tó	'I had already hit the child, when you arrived'
me nú nyém me nsé ya mbín (ke)	'I will sing and not dance'

While the first sentence could have been translated 'I had already hit the child before you arrived', the second can not mean 'I will sing before I

dance'. (The latter meaning would be expressed by *me nú nyém nsé mbìñ*). Consider, on the other hand, the following sentence, which does not involve *sé* at all:

wò nú gé tóò é me ndèè wá bìnkfũ 'I will have cooked yams by the time you are arriving'

The literal meaning of this sentence is 'you will be (doing and) coming that I have already cooked yams'. Thus, the cooking of yams takes place before the arriving.

2. *Condition clauses.* Condition clauses show some variation and are most adequately described in terms of an 'if' (or 'condition') clause preceded by *é*, followed by a 'then' (or 'consequent') clause. The consequent clause is introduced either by *é* or *to*, and the condition clause apparently can take any tense, circumstances permitting, e.g.

é yunse dèèlè bìnkfũ é me nyèèsè lá 'if Yungse is cooking yams, I will sweep the compound'
é yunse nòò dèè bìnkfũ to nji nòò yèsè lá 'if Yungse has cooked the yams, Nji has swept the compound'
é yunse nú gé dèèlè bìnkfũ to me nú ngé yèèsè lá 'if Yungse will always cook yams, I will sweep the compound'

The above sentences represent "simple conditions". The condition clause states a proposition which may or may not be true, but on which the consequent clause depends. The following sentences show that the [-FOC] variant of [-PROG, -FUT, -NEG] tenses is expected in condition clauses:

é yunse dèkè bìnkfũ to nji nòò yèsè lá 'if Yungse has cooked/cooked yams, Nji has swept/swept the compound'
é yunse béè dèkè bìnkfũ to nji béè yèsè lá
é yunse cí dèkè bìnkfũ to nji cí nòò yèsè lá
é yunse tò dèkè bìnkfũ to nji tò nòò yèsè lá (P₀, P₁, P₂, P₃)

There is a slight difference in meaning when the [+FOC] variants are used (cf. their presence in relative clauses, pp.93-4), e.g.

é yunse nòò dèè bìnkfũ to nji nòò yèsè lá 'if Yungse has cooked/did cook yams, then Nji has swept/swept the compound'
é yunse béè dèè bìnkfũ to nji béè yèsè lá
é yunse cí nòò dèè bìnkfũ, etc.
é yunse tò nòò dèè bìnkfũ, etc. (P₀, P₁, P₂, P₃)

The emphasis is on the reality or truth of the proposition included within the condition clause. It is thus as a result of Yungse's cooking yams that Nji sweeps the compound. It is interesting to note that the *é* which introduces the condition clause can be deleted if the tense within it is [-PROG, -FUT, -NEG, -FOC], e.g.

(é) yunse dèkè bìnkfũ é me ndfé 'if Yungse cooks yams ([-FOC]), I will eat'
P₀

In this example we also observe that the [-FOC] P₀ tense is used with future time reference. For this reason its [+FOC] variant can be used to make it clear that a P₀ reading is intended (i.e. 'if Yungse has cooked yams'). Similarly, as seen in the following example, the two P₁ tenses may be used with a hypothetical or unreal sense:

- (ε) yuŋsè bé deé bɪŋkfũ to me mbéè ndìé 'if Yungse had cooked yams,
I would have eaten (them)'
ε yuŋsè béè dèè bɪŋkfũ to nji béè yèsè lá 'if Yungse had cooked yams,
Nji would have swept the
compound'

Note in the first sentence that the verb deé has M tone and does not take its irregular dèkè form seen in the P₀ example. Since dèkè is expected with the [-FOC] P₁ tense (see p.63), and since the P₁ should assign 'cook' a L tone as per tone pattern A (see p.74), it is likely that the bé is the conditional auxiliary seen on p.90. In any case, there is probably a relationship between P₁ bé and the conditional auxiliary. Below it is seen again to replace the P₁ marker (cf. the P₂ condition clause which follows):

- me mbéè (nèè) ŋgwe ε wò (nen) bé baa wám 'I would have fallen if you
had not screamed' (P₁)
me nci mbéè (nèè) ŋgwe ε wò (nen) cí báá wám 'I would have fallen if you
had not screamed' (P₂)

Another feature of the 'if-then' construction is that the subject of the consequent clause is often deleted if it is coreferential with the subject of the condition clause. Thus, compare the following two sentences:

- ε yuŋsè dèkě bɪŋkfũ é wvùú yèsě lá 'if Yungse cooks yams, he [≠Yungse]
will sweep the compound'
ε yuŋsè dèkě bɪŋkfũ to yèsě lá 'if Yungse cooks yams, he [=Yungse]
will sweep the compound'

Finally, it will be noted in different consequent clauses above that both subjunctives seen in Chapter 20 are utilized in this construction (i.e. the ∅ subjunctive and the -V subjunctive).

INTERROGATIVES AND FOCUS

1. *Yes-no questions.* Yes-no questions have all of the properties of declarative sentences, i.e. the same word order, verb morphology, tone etc. These interrogatives are distinguished from their declarative counterparts by having one of two particles at the end of the sentence, e.g.

yungse cŷ nɔ́ɔ dɛ̀ɛ̀ kɛ̀ngɔ̀m fɔ̀gò lě́	'did Yungse cook plantains yesterday?'
yungse cŷ nɔ́ɔ dɛ̀ɛ̀ kɛ̀ngɔ̀m fɔ̀gò lế	" " " " " (P ₂)
yungse bɛ̀ɛ̀ dɛ̀ɛ̀ kɛ̀ngɔ̀m ẽ́	'did Yungse cook plantains?' (P ₁)
yungse bɛ̀ɛ̀ dɛ̀ɛ̀ kɛ̀ngɔ̀m ế	" " " "

The first sentence of each pair uses the question marker lě́/ě́, while the second sentence of each pair uses lế/ế. The first marker has also been recorded with L tone, e.g.

wvù nɔ́ɔ gwè lè́	'has he fallen?'
cf. wvù nɔ́ɔ gwè ế	" " "

As seen in these last sentences, the variation between lě́ and lế vs. ẽ́ and ế is slightly different for the two markers: in general, the first marker is realized lě́ after a vowel and ẽ́ after a consonant; the second marker is realized in most cases lế after a double vowel and ế after a short vowel or consonant. (No explanation is offered for the form lế in the second sentence above.)

The difference in meaning between the two question markers is subtle, but appears to rely on the expectations of the speaker. In utilizing lế, the speaker expresses surprise. Thus, in the second sentences we would have the meanings 'did Yungse cook plantains?' (understood: he wasn't supposed to, I didn't expect him to), 'has he fallen?' (understood: I'm surprised, etc.). This additional indication of surprise or unexpectedness is not present in the questions formed with lě́.

Finally, it is possible to add the marker lế to a single word, e.g. a noun, to work a question: wǎn ế 'a child?'.
 wǎn ế 'a child?'

2. *Wh-questions.* Noni forms "WH" questions by placing one of several question words in the position immediately following the verb. When the question word is the subject of the sentence, the dummy subject marker è́ is found in the initial subject position, e.g.

è́ dɛ̀ɛ̀lě́ yɛɛ kɛ̀ngɔ̀m	'who is cooking plantains?'
è́ kfùné yɛɛ wan	'who is hitting the child?'
è́ yené yɛɛ wan é́	'who sees the child?'
è́ gwě lá	'what has fallen?'

As seen, there is no question marker at the end of the sentence. (The é́ seen in the third example is the l'é́ particle required for the verb 'see' and a few other verbs; see p.81.) However, lè́ can be added in an echo question, e.g.

lɛ̀ è́ gwě lá lè́ 'what fell?' ('you said that what fell?')

The initial marker *le* is the complementizer used, among other places, in reported speech; cf. *le nò* 'I say' (to one person) vs. *ncòně* (to many people) = the name of the Noni language. Thus, the above sentence means '...that *what* fell?'

The question word *yeε* 'who(m)' has a plural form *bàà*. Both of these are now illustrated in object position:

wò kfuně yeε 'who (sg.) are you hitting?'
wò kfuně bàà 'who (pl.) are you hitting?'

Similarly, the question word *lá* 'what' has a plural form *mùlǎ*, as illustrated again in object position in the following sentences:

wò kaanké lá 'what (sg.) are you frying?'
wò kaanké mùlǎ 'what (pl.) are you frying?'

Again there is no final question marker other than the WH word. The marker *lè* can be added if the interrogative is an echo question, e.g.

wvù kfuně ε nùù yeε lè 'he is hitting *who*?' (= 'you said he is hitting *who*?')

This time, however, because the question word is an object, it is placed in great focus by the preceding focus markers *ε nùù* (see section 3). The normal or non-contrastive way of asking a question where the WH word is other than the subject of the sentence is by placing the WH word immediately after the verb, as seen below:

wò gèně feè 'where are you going?'
wò gèně séké lá 'when are you going?'
wò gèně nè lé 'how are you going?'
wò gèně njē lá 'why are you going?'
wò yené wān wú lá lé 'which child do you see?'

The word *lá* 'what' is seen in three of the above questions which are thus interpreted as 'what time are you going?', 'what reason are you going?' and 'what child do you see?'. The *lé* of the 'how' question is probably the postposition seen in Chapter 17, section 3.

Questions can be made on indirect objects, objects of prepositions etc., e.g. wò ñàá kènkfú ε yeε or (more polite) wò ñàá kènkfú ε nùù ε yeε 'to whom are you giving the yams?'

Indirect questions consist of a generic head noun + a relative clause (see p.93). The following example of a WH word being used as an indefinite universal quantifier was recorded:

è tǒ yeε ε wò gāy 'whoever comes, greet him!'

3. *Focus*. In discussing the [+FOC] vs. [-FOC] variants of certain tenses, it was pointed out that the former are used in the P₀-P₃ when there is "even focus". That is, no particular element within the sentence is singled out for prominence. Such sentences have the basic subject-auxiliary-verb-object-oblique-adverbial order and are particularly appropriate for utterances made out of the blue, e.g.

bwēm, yunṣè nòò dīé bvulem bwēm 'Mother, Yungse has eaten my fufu!'

However, in the P₀-P₃ [-FOC] tenses, even such sentences involving a complement seem incomplete--because they place focus on the complement (and seem to be answering a question):

yungse cɿ dɛ̀kɛ̀ kɛ̀ngɔ̀m	'Yungse cooked <i>plantains</i> '
yungse cɿ nɔ̀ɔ̀ dɛ̀ɛ̀ kɛ̀ngɔ̀m	'Yungse cooked <i>plantains</i> '
yungse cɿ dɛ̀kɛ̀ lɔ̀ kɛ̀ngɔ̀m	'Yungse <i>cooked</i> <i>plantains</i> '
yungse cɿ dɛ̀kɛ̀ ɛ̀ nùù kɛ̀ngɔ̀m	'Yungse cooked <i>plantains</i> ' (not something else)

The citation form of a P₀-P₃ tense is always the [+FOC] one, because it is this form alone which does not assume a previous linguistic context.

It should be noted with respect to the above four sentences that only one focus operation can take place per sentence. Thus, if the [+FOC] variant of a tense is chosen, neither lɔ̀ nor ɛ̀ nùù can co-occur with it; if lɔ̀ is present, ɛ̀ nùù cannot co-occur with it, and as we shall see, if the subject is postposed after the verb, we get none of the three morphological focus markers ([+FOC] tense, lɔ̀, or ɛ̀ nùù).

4. *Constituent focus*. Different constituents can be overtly marked as focused by at least three different means.

4.1. *Subject focus*. Whenever a subject is focused (e.g. in answer to a subject-WH-question, or in order to contrast the subject of a sentence, etc.), it is placed immediately after the verb. A dummy subject marker ɛ̀ remains in the original subject position, e.g.

ɛ̀ gwě njì	'Nji has fallen'
ɛ̀ bɛ̀ dɛ̀kɛ̀ yungse	'Yungse cooked (it)' (P ₁)
ɛ̀ yemté wan ɛ̀jè	'a <i>child</i> is singing on the road'

These sentences can answer the questions 'who has fallen?', 'who cooked (it)?' and 'who is singing on the road?', or they can contrast with another person's prior assertions 'John has fallen', 'Mary cooked (it)' and 'a woman is singing on the road'. When the postposed subject is first person singular, there no longer is any nasal agreement, cf:

me nyemté lɔ̀	'I am singing'
ɛ̀ yemté me	'I am singing'

What is interesting about subject-postposing is that the object may optionally be preposed to the verb, pre-empting the dummy subject marker:

ɛ̀ dɛ̀ɛ̀lɛ̀ njì kɛ̀ngɔ̀m	'Nji is cooking <i>plantains</i> '
kɛ̀ngɔ̀m dɛ̀ɛ̀lɛ̀ njì	'Nji is cooking <i>plantains</i> '

The second sentence has the grammatical form 'plantains are cooking Nji', and yet it is clear from the semantics that it is Nji who is cooking plantains. Both utterances can be used to answer the question 'who is cooking plantains?', although the second variant, with object preposing, implies that the question was angry (i.e. 'Nji was cooking plantains, that's who was cooking plantains'). While the first sentence is more neutral, with 'plantains' simply repeated as previously established information, the second sentence sounds more counter-assertive. The second sentence would be particularly appropriate if contradicting someone's assertion 'Yungse is cooking plantains'. The following exchange demonstrates how the interpretation of such a sentence might depend on context:

è kfuně yee wan 'who is hitting the child?'
 wan kfuně njì 'Nji is hitting the child'

The second sentence would with no context specified mean 'the child is hitting Nji'. However, when following the question 'who is hitting the child?', it takes on the opposite reading: 'Nji is hitting the child'. While a number of instances have been recorded with subject-object inversion in sentences with a 0 or P₀-P₃ [-FOC] tense, inversion apparently cannot take place if the object to be preposed is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun. We thus find the following question-answer exchange:

è kfuně yee me 'who is hitting me?'
 è kfuně njì (wò) 'Nji is hitting (you)'

The sentence wò kfuně njì could not answer this question, since its only meaning is 'you are hitting Nji'.

No examples were recorded where a postposed subject was preceded by ε nùù, the focus marking system employed for non-subjects.

4.2. *Verb focus.* As indicated above, a verb is placed in focus by following it by the marker lò. The meaning taken on is 'just', 'instead', or lexical meaning of verb in focus. Thus, in answer to the following question, the verb focus is marked as indicated:

wò bě gè lǎ 'what did you do?' (P₁, [-FOC])
 me mbé yem lò 'I sang'

4.3. *Object focus.* The object is found directly after the verb and therefore, with the right [-FOC] verb form, and without a preceding lò, a sentence can always be interpreted with the object in focus, e.g.

wò cǐ dèkě lǎ 'what did you cook?'
 me ncí ndèkě bìŋkfǔ 'I cooked yams'

In order to make the object contrastive or counter-assertive, it is preceded by ε nùù:

wò cǐ dèkě ε nùù lǎ 'what did you really cook?'
 wò cǐ dèkě kèngòm 'you cooked plantains'
 me ncí ndèkě ε nùù bìŋkfǔ '(no,) I cooked (only) yams'

The last sentence can either be in answer to a WH-question which itself uses ε nùù, or it can follow the second sentence, correcting 'plantains' with 'yams' (and preceding the answer with ǎy? 'no!'). As seen, the markers mark the following constituent as being the only appropriate filler of that slot (cf. ké 'only' which was seen before a focused element on p.85).

4.4. *Oblique and adverbial focus.* Other elements of the sentence are focused by placing ε nùù before them:

bó nǎá kèngòm ε nùù ε wan 'they are giving plantains to the child'
 me ncí gwě ε nùù fagò 'I fell yesterday' (P₂)

The form ε nùù is a [+PROG] consecutive of the copula nú 'be'. The meaning of the last sentence thus is 'I fell and being yesterday'.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, Stephen C. 1979. "Verb structure". In Hyman (1979b), Part II, 73-136.
- Hombert, Jean-Marie. 1980. "Noun classes of the Beoid languages". In L. M. Hyman (ed.), *Noun Classes in the Grassfields Bantu Borderland*, 83-98. *Southern California Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 8. Los Angeles: University of Southern California.
- Hyman, Larry M. 1971. "Consecutivization in Fe'fe'". *Journal of African Languages* 10.29-43.
- Hyman, Larry M. 1975. "Noni (Misaje group)". Appeared (1980) in L. M. Hyman and J. Voorhoeve (eds.), *Les Classes Nominales dans le Bantou des Grassfields*, 259-274. *L'Expansion Bantoue*, Vol. I. Paris: Société d'Etudes Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France.
- Hyman, Larry M. 1979a. "Phonology and noun structure". In Hyman (1979b), Part I, 1-72.
- Hyman, Larry M. (ed.). 1979b. *Aghem Grammatical Structure*. *Southern California Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 7. Los Angeles: University of Southern California.
- Hyman, Larry M. 1980. "Relative time reference in the Bamileke tense system". *Studies in African Linguistics* 11.227-237.
- Richards, Russell M. 1981. "Les langues des GRASSFIELDS du Cameroun: Bibliographie critique avec notes sur la langue noni". Mémoire pour le D.E.A. Université de Nice.
- Watters, John Robert. 1979. "Focus in Aghem: a study of its formal correlates and typology". In Hyman (1979b), Part III, 137-197.

ENGLISH-NONI WORD LIST

accept	béé	bark	kebā̀n̄ 7/8
accompany	bi...lé	basket,	ŋkaà/ŋkaà 9/10
accuse	tóy	large	kèncakè 7/8
add to	kwénsé, bT̄sě	kind of	gvumē 1/2
adult	cowé	bat	kelfm 7/8
advance	sa fwě	bathe	cōkě
advice	ntāfè 1/2	be	nú nùù
advise	téfé	bead, v.	soo
after	sékè, diò	bean	lòwe/èlòw 5/6
afternoon	ε múnshion	bear fruit	yóm
again	bóò, bvú	bananas	lòw
age-group	keghán 7/8	beard	kedēw 7
agree	béé	beat, v.	soŋ
agreement	nsèysè 1/2	drum	kom ncòm
ahead	fwě	because	ŋjè
all	-tfu/-cii	bed	kèntāw 7/8
already	wá	bed, in the	èntāw 17
also	tēn	bedbug	kènguùn 7/8
angle	bóò/εbów 5/6	bee	ñT̄/ñi 9/10
angry, be	tónyé shēm	beehive	ŋwāw ñi 1/2
animal	ñām/ñām	before	sé
ant	egōŋlε	beg	léké
antelope	jóm/jóm	behind	èjīm
anus	ntòn	belch	bew
arm, sg.	kyf 7	bell	mbyēne/mbyene 9/10
pl.	ŋkenkeŋ 4	bell (hunting)	kécóis 7/8
armpit	kèŋkamkám 7/8	belly	tfi/etēw 5/6
arrange	sēysé	belt	kécaw 7/8
arrow	mún/bòmún 1/2	bend, tr.	ngvúsé
ascend	ben	bent, become	lém
ashes	taan 5	between	èntě lēŋ 17
ask (for, Q)	bífé	bile	biēn 9
assemble	bááncé	bird	feñfi/muñfm 11/12
at	fò	birth, give	bóò
automobile	mutú 1	bite	lóm
avoid	lew	bitter, become	cówcéw
a person	ji	black, become	yff
go w/out	jim	black dye	ŋjfw
axe	temé/etem 5/6	blacken, tr.	yffsé; intr. (n)jfw
back	jím/jím 9/10	blackness	bvuyilè 14
backbone	kfum 4	blood	elémé/biléém 7/8
bad, be	béfé	blow w/mouth	féfé
bag	ekelè 7/8	lips, bellows	fúlé
bag, in the	èké 17	horn	tōŋ
bake in ashes	fumé	nose	mT̄sé
ball, make	táy	boa constrictor	kóm/kom 9/10
out of fufu		body	ye 4
bamboo	gwóón/gwóón 3/4	bone	ekufe 7/8
banana leaf	ncóò	book	ŋwá 1/2
(unopened, yellow)		borrow	sám, fco

bow, n.	kènèw 7/8	carving	nsēm 1/2
box	ḡkòw 1/2	castigate	sòḡ
bracelet	kèshāw 7/8	catch	kṣṣ
brain	bòḡ 1	from air	ka
branch	tìew/tìew 9/10	caterpillar	kèmbèḡmbèḡ 7/8
of vine	twéḡ/téḡ 3/4	edible type	mfumè/mfumèn 9/10
break	san	cave	fwèḡ/fèḡ 3/4
snap	ḡḡṣy	cease	lṣ
shatter, tr.	yṣ (kill)	of rains	sēmé
intr.	kwé (die)	ceiling	gwèè/geè 3/4
fufu	ḡṣṣé	chair (=bed)	kèntāw 7/8
open	tēhè	chalk	fwem 3
breast	mbènè/embèḡ 5/6	change	kómén
breath	keyṣy 7/8	into	béy
breathe	yoy	charcoal	kèkà 7/8
bridge	dwèè 3/13	chase	kòḡ
brief, v.	tfum	chat	fe
broom	keyesè 7/8	cheek	kediàw 7/8
bubble, v.	yo	chest	gvùw/gvúw 9/10
build	yṣṣ, dfṣ	chew	cām
bunch (guinea corn)	kèkām 7/8	chief	nṣòn 1/2
bundle	feyllè/munyllém 11/12	child	wān/boom 1/2
=dirt	yile 5/13	chin	kenáḡ 7/8
burn, tr.	tón	chisel, n.	kèncofe 7/8
intr.	kṣṣ (catch)	v.	cófé
burnt, become	ffé	choose	cāw
burst	tèlè	chop	kāw, gwo
open	bvúyè, tēhè	church	cō
bury	dyey, doy	claw	kawè/ekāw 5/6
with hand	fom	clay	mbòm 1/2
bush (=forest)	ekṣwè 7/8	clean, v.	sho
bush country	ḡkwánté/ḡkánté 3/4	clear, be	yúú
bushcow	mbòḡ 1/2	grass	kāsè
bust	tṣ	off	kwaa
but	gèenen	throat	ka
buttock	kèñl 7/8	click, make a	cṣw
button	mbā 1/2	cloth	ndvū/ndvu 9/10
buy	goy	cloud	kèmbèw, keyekè 7
buzz (bees)	ko	cock	nyēm shèè/nyem shéé 9/10
cadaver	gvúne/egvún 5/6	cocoyam	kekòò 7/8
calabash	kebeḡ 7/8	cold, be	lèè
small mimbo	ghām 1/2	coldness	kèntòn 7/8
calf (of foot)	nsòo 4	color, v.	con
call	téé, bèn	comb, v.	saa
from distance	kff	come	tṣ
cane	kèmbàn 7/8	command, v.	wāmén
canerat	ntòn/ntòḡ 9/10 (~1/2)	compound	lṣ/εla 5/6
carry (on head)	túú	contradict	kṣcén
without hands	jé'lé	cook, v.	dèè
a child	mèè	fufu	key
on a pole	shumé	cornbeer	ḡkánḡ 1
heavy weight	fúm	cough	kéy
carve	sém	count	téḡ
		country	ketóm 7/8, wòḡ 3

courtyard	lǎ kfulɛŋ 4	drink, v.	wó
cover, v.	bán	drip	cóm
cowhorn	ketón 7/8	drive away	kón
cowry (=tooth)	kege 7/8	drown, intr.	lɛ + jòò
crab	ekame 7/8	drum	ncóm/ncóm 9/10
crawl	ŋāŋlɛ	drunk, be	jɛw
cricket	ndɛɛŋkúú 1/2	dry, become	yóm
cross (road, pit)	daŋ	dust	kebvú 7/8
river	lɛntɛ	ear	ketó: 7, kɛntɔŋtɔŋ 7/8
crossing, foot-	keiffnceɛ 7/8	ear, in the	ɛntɔŋtɔŋ
crunch	ngéle	early, be	yaŋsɛn
cry	bɛɛ tón kwɛ	earthworm	ngwɛŋsɛ/ngɛŋsɛ 3/4
cut (w/knife)	sɛɛ	eat	dɛ
e.g. rope	sóm	egg	gɛe/egɛ 5/6
in two	san	eight	nāŋ
tree, flower	kfuy	either...or	nòò...nòò
loose	kwaŋ	elephant	klyòò 7/8
to measure	cɛy	embroider	tóm
out	kwɛy	enter	lɛy
cutlass	nò/nò 9/10	entertain	tɛw
cup	feko/muŋkóm 11/12	equal, be	kwɛntɛn
cure, v.	fɛ	evening	ɛklegùù~kɛgùù 17
curse, v.	lɔw	exchange	kómɛn
dance, n.	bínɛ 5/13	excrement	còo/coo 9/10
v.	bín	exit, v.	bóy
dark, get	jɛfm	explain	nɛlɛ
dash, v.	māwɛɛ	extinguish	jɛmsɛ
dawn, v.	yúú	eye	jisɛ/ejise 5/6
day	dɛw 5/6, bvufu 14	eyebrows	mɔŋkɔŋɛ 15
death	kwɛ/kwɛ 9/10	face	bvushɛw/mɔnshɛm 14/15
debt	fìò/fiò 9/10	faint, v.	gwe kɛŋgwɛ
deceive	lɛɛ	fall	gwe
deep, become	silyɛn	fan, v.	fúle
defeat	gháw	farewell, say	kem
defecate	ní	farm, at the	wɛnɛ
delay, v.	dvuy	fart, n.	nfi 5/13
depart	gen	fat, n.	ɛfom 6
descend	bɔw, shii	fat, become	fan, kow
dew	ngwi 4	father	cee 1/2
die	kwɛ	fatness	bvufánɛ 14
dig	cow sow cɛm	fatty, be	fóm
dip	cow	fault, n.	nje
dirt	yile 5/13	fear, n.	jàŋ 9
disperse, intr.	sāŋkɛ	v.	fan
dispute, n.	nsāw 1/2	feather	gvunɛ/egvūn 5/6
divert	lɛwsɛ	feed	nāŋɛ
divide	gaw	fence	ketāŋ 7/8
dodge	lɛw	fence in	gem
dog	bwɛ/bwɛ 9/10	field	wɛ/ŋɛ 3/4
door	diow fwɛsɛ	fight, n.	bvudiòw/mɔndiòw 11/12
dove	kembembe 7/8	v.	dio (+bvudiòw)
down	kècinɛ	figtree	kengvūm 7/8
drag	cii	find	bón
draw (water)	godɛ	fine, n.	kejów 7/8

finish	mēsē, ká	grass, grazing	gáŷ/egáŷ 5/6
fire	ngóŷ 3	thatching	yún/yun 9/10
fire, set	kéné	grasshopper, type	kèkwakwa 7/8
fireplace	kétante 7/8	white	késewse 7/8
firewood	kwen/ken 3/4	green	mbwesem/mbesem 3/4
firm, be	cffm	grasslands	ngèy 1/2
first, be	yaw	grate	kwaa
fish	bìè/bfè 9/10	grave	jèm/jém 9/10
fishscale	ngāw/ngaw 9/10	greet	gay...lé
fishtrap	kéntfùm 7/8	each other	gāynèn
five	tTn	grind	gow, kaa
flap (wings)	soŋ	groan	dvum, kèy
flash (lightening)	law	ground	nshè/nshe 9/10
flatness	bvùŷw 14	ground, on the	fòkò 16
flea	fembām 11/12	groundnuts	bflèn 1
float	léŷ	grow up	tāw
flour	mum 15	grow (of roots)	yfém
fly, n.	bvum/bvum 9/10	grown, be	kó
fly, v.	bf	guinea corn	gfí/egfñ 5/6
fold	bón	gun	ngóŷ/jingóci 5/13
follow	bl...lé	habitually	gèé
food (things to eat)	byeè bf dien 8	hair	yūw/yuw 9/10
fool, v.	léésén	hand	kebó 7/8
foot	ekale/bikaa 7/8	handle, make	téy
forehead	fòjisé 16	hang up	téy
forest	ekōwe 7/8	on shoulder	féy
forge	tfúy	oneself	shifm
forget	dáyé	hard, become	témé
four	nē	harm, do to	lōw kènìōw
friend	nsàan/nsàan 9/10	harness, v.	sóó
frightening, be	bém	harvest, v.	gwelè
frog	kèshām 7/8	hat	kefó 7/8
fruit	shēm/shem 9/10	hawk	ndòŋ 1/2
fry	kán	he	wvù
fufu	bvulem 14	head	ekole/bikoo 7/8
full, become	yfnsén	head, on the	fòfá 16
gall bladder	bábá 4	headdress	kènsèé 7/8
gather, fetch	kew	headpad	cān/can 9/10
up	kó	headrest	mbwaan 1/2
get	kèŋké	heap, v.	kóóncé
gift	nā 1/2	in mounds	maw
give	nā	hear	yōw
as dash	māwcé	heart	fetelè/muntelèm 11/12
sth. spoiled	káynèn	heat, v.	kfúm
to dancers	fèhé	heavy, become	jTfè
back	tfúsé	heel	ncŷ/bòncf 1/2
go	gen	height	bvudéfè 14
to farm	la	help, v.	ff
goat	bìe/bie 9/10	hen	shèè/shéé 9/10
god	nò 1/2	here	fèn
good, be	jeè	hiccup	shìéwshíéw 9/10
gorilla	febōw/mumbōw 11/12	hide sth.	nTlè
granary	cá? 1/2	oneself	nifm
square	ŋwāw 1/2	hip	kèncemte 7/8

hit (hammer) kfun
 things together kwáw
 hoe, n. jìw/jíw 9/10
 hold jì, kénkè
 hole kebōw 7/8
 large, tree fwēŋ/fēŋ 3/4
 honey bvutōw 14
 honor, n. ngvūm 1/2
 v. wvūm
 hoof kekōy 7/8
 hook fēncāw 11/12
 house yēw/yew 9/10
 how nè, nù
 hundred gwéé/géé 3/4
 hunger jèn 9
 hunt, v. la bvugóm
 hunting bvugóm 14
 hurt ton
 husband doy/bòle 1/2
 hut cōn/cón 9/10
 hut, in the cōh 18
 hyena kúlá 1/2
 I me
 if e
 illness kēncēm 7/8
 imitate bēŋēn, fēw
 in è, yì...lé
 incite bēysé
 inclined, be tfúnj
 inform tfum
 inheritance bvushew 14
 injured, be lēm
 inside èntě 17
 instead lō
 intelligence bvùfèé 14
 intelligent, be féésēn
 interrupt bvū
 intestines bvulēw 14
 invalid nkàwlè 1/2
 investigate sow
 invite kaw
 iron ketfu 7/8
 itch, v. fō
 jealous, be ghēw
 jigger (=salt) nkāw/nkaw 9/10
 journey ghané 5/13
 judge, v. sāv
 juju (kind) nkōw 1/2
 jump over danj
 just, adv. lō
 kidney ftw 4
 kill yō
 knee núu/enu 5/6
 kneel ngvūm

knife fēñb /mùñm 11/12
 knot, v. sōó
 know kèè-kèy
 kolanut fēmbì/mùmbim 11/12
 labor, be in lóm
 lack tan
 ladder bvukōw/mōŋkóm 14/15
 ladle kēnsòmè 7/8
 lake māmásé
 lame person ntènè 1/2
 language diēw
 laugh, v. kfé
 law ncɿ 1/2
 lay sth. down jɿkè
 eggs tófé
 leaf nfóón 5/13
 leak, v. jōw
 lean against yfēm
 leave já, nē
 sth. cfné, cfné...lé
 left (side) nkòŋkò
 legislate cf
 lend sámsé, fòòsè
 leopard bìa/bia 9/10
 let gēē
 lie, tell a mbyáy (+mbyáy)
 lie down jìfm
 light, be (wt.) yáyten
 like, as diēw é...lé, kedié
 lick lá
 lion bvulè 1/2
 listen yéké
 little (wan) cààn
 far ncè njòolé
 liver shēm/shem 9/10
 load nkēm 1/2
 lock up fen-fien
 locust cūma 9/10
 long, become dāfě
 look táá
 after táá fō
 at jɿhě
 loosen (ground) cēwsé
 lose (to leprosy) kfūyě
 lost, get la
 louse fensesè/munsesèm 11/12
 love, v. kōŋ
 lower, tr. shɿkě
 lying (falsehood) mbyáy 4
 mad, be jēw
 maggot yɿn/yfn 9/10
 maize nfūne-nfōŋe/bònfune 1/2
 make ge
 man diēmsēn/bòlemsè 1/2

many	ntèèn	nine	bvùùke
market	wáy/jiwáci 3/13	no	áy?
Nkor day 1	bvútfú	nose	ndíé 5/13
day 2	bvúŋkaà	not	ké...ke
day 3	bvúzhí	now	keséén
day 4	bvúkèṁā	numerous, be	doo
day 5	bvúŋkaàdèh	oath	jéw~ntèw 1/2
day 6	bvúzhíiden	often	éfónèfón
day 7	bvúsòw	oil	mèém 15
day 8	bvúmbòn	old	ngāy
marriage	kèntaashé 7/8	old, become	lon
masculinity	bvujèmè 14	on	yí...lé
mat	ghām 4, kejínè 7/8	once	kàn mwàn
matter	sáka 1	one	mañ
mausoleum	fúm 4	only	ké, māñ
me	me	open, v.	yèhé
measure, v.	few	open, break	san
medicine	efowé/bifoo 7/8	or	nòò
medicine man	ngàn 1/2	outdo	gháw
meet	tásén	owl	kèŋkfú 7/8
message	ntóm 1/2	pacify	lòwcé, címsé
milk, n.	embèh 6	pack	bááncé
milk, v.	kám	pain, n.	nsāsè, nlòcè 1
millipede	kèngònsè 7/8	pain, v.	lòcè
mistake	jáy 1/2	palace	ntòw 1/2
mistake, make	jáy	pale, become	yóm
mix	fyey, fyèysèn	palm-kernel	cèe/cee 9/10
money	kwaw	palmut	bián/bfán 9/10
monkey	cān/can 9/10	palmtree	kebāñ 7/8
moon	kwèe/kee 3/4	wild	duun 5
morning	entán entán 17	partridge	gwè/gwè 9/10
mortar	ndvúu 5/13	pass, v.	fáy
mosquito	bem 4	pay	law
mother	bwee 1/2	pebble	còw/cow 9/10
mould, v.	bóm	peck, v.	jów
mountain	kóm/jikomè 3/13	peel	yun
mouth	dìow/dèw	penis	jòw/jów 9/10
mouth, in the	èmú 17	pepper	nsòse 1
much	ntèèn	person	wè/bòñiì(m) 1/2
mud	kencaà	perspiration	njìmtèn 1
mushroom (kinds)	kèmfúlàn, kèjèmté 7/8	perspire	jìmtèn
nail, n.	kèŋkanté 7/8	pestle	ketfúw 7/8
nail, v.	tá	pick	koy
nakedness	kècímte 7	up	bóŋ
name, n.	díe 5/6	piece, v.	kò
name, v.	co	pierce	bòn, céé
narrow, be	dòcsè	pig	ŋkònyàn 1/2
navel	cèṁ 9/10	pinch	ŋám
near, put	bèncé	pipe	kèlāŋ 7/8
neck	kèndòŋ 7/8	pit	kèntokè 7/8
net	kènsāŋ 7/8	place	bvudvúu/mòndvúum 14/15
new	-fe	plait	lo
news	sáka	plant, v.	jéwé
night	entán 17	by suckers	yíé

plantain	kèngòm 7/8	relative	kfú 5/13
plaster, v.	yéfé	remain	shéé
platform	ketáálé 7/8	behind	mey
play, v.	dvúm(+ndvúm)	remember	kwāwǎcǎ, kómé
please, adv.	ban	remove	bvúsé
pluck	bélé	from fire	fásé
poison, n.	njfw 9	from heap	cǒfé
v.	jfw	report, v.	shómsé, fēwǎcǎ
poor, be	fǒfǎ	resemble	ffésén
pot	ntòn 1/2, nshaàn 9/10	rest, v.	léétén
pound, v.	kfun	restrict	lew
pour	dòm fo	by fon	cǎ
poverty	kefofè, kètân 7	retaliate	tfúsé
powder, v.	kfum, cǒw	return	kásé
praise, n.	ncòògkèn 1/2	revive	kāmsé
v.	còògkèn	reward, v.	kóné
prefer	tew	ribs	jítá 13
pregnancy	fwe 5	rice	gfí/egfí 5/6
press, v.	moy	ridge	kwén/ken 3/4
priest	fádà	right (not wrong)	len
prod	dǒmsé	ring, n.	fěncaw
profit	séw	v.	jem
promise, n.	gkàw	ringworm	ncágùgù 1/2
v.	kaw	ripe, become	yéé
protect	céy	rise	ben
pull	goofé	road	jé/jé 9/10
pumpkin	leè/eleè 5/6	roast, v.	yǒ
pupil (of eye)	nò wù jisé	rock	kembaàn 7/8
pus	mògkfunyè 15	rod	bwēm/bēm 3/4
push	dǒmsé	roll up	kéwá
down	dǒmé, bāsé	room	kébōw 7/8
put	geé, tòm	root	gwéñ/géñ 3/4
sth. away	cāké	rope	kfú 1/2
in mounds	maw	rotten, become	fǒ
on stick	soo	round, become	díéñ
quarrel, v.	wáá	and smooth	cǐnsé
quick, be	yānsén	rub	yéfé
quill	fwēw/fwēw 3/4	rule over	sáw
rabbit	wànga/bòwàngá 1/2	rumble	dvūmǎn
rain	jàn 9	run	léwté
ram	keyáw 7/8	sacrifice, n.	ncésé 1/2
raphia palm	blów/blów 9/10	saliva	ntfán 4
rare, be	bāyñn	salt	gkāw 9
rat (small edible)	fènkāw 11/12	sand	monshéém 15
edible fieldrat	shòñ/shon 9/10, fyèw/	satiated, be	fúú
(types)	fyèw 9/10, bwāw 3/13,	savannah	ngéy 1/2
	fèngúú/mùngúúm 11/12	savannah, in the	èntfùn 17
houserat	ncèñkòn 1/2	say	dó
giant	cèe/cee 9/10	scar	kelalásé 7/8
reach	bóy	scarce, become	sey
red, become	yéé	scare away	káy
redness	bvuyelè 14	scatter	táwsé témse
refuse	tón, kan, fán	scrape	kán
regret	kómé	scratch self	kómé

scratch s.o.	shwaw	slave	nfwàà/bonfaà 1/2
scream	wám	sleep, n.	nfi 5
search for	gom	v.	léfé
among things	tém	sleeping place (chief)	kécéè 7/8
season, hunting	nyém	sleepy, be	yew
planting	mòdvuùm	slide, slip	lem
rainy	bvudaàm	slowly	wèè
clearing	fwe	small	téìè, waà/bòom
see	yén...lé	small, be	doosè
seed	ngòw/ngòw 9/10	smell, intr.	sám
seize	lò	tr.	ngúngkén
sell	gèsè	smoke, n.	njTm 4
send	tóm, cffnsé	v.	bí
separate (fibers)	son	meat	tám
set trap	téìé	snail	kembà 7/8
gum trap	láv	snake	yò/yò 9/10
settle dispute	sómten	boa	kóm/kom 9/10
seven	sooswí	short, fat	kefé 7/8
sew	tásé	snap, v.	ngóy
shake, intr.	shiw, cín	snore	kò
tr.	ka, jem	snot	kemfemtén 7/8
shame	kèngwumén 7	soak	cow
sharp, be	kòs	soft, make	yey
sharpen	tásén, fon	soil	nshè /nshè 9/10
to a point	còsntén	song	ngkèè 1/2
she	wvù	sore	kèngkòken 7/8
sheep	njèè/njèè-bonjèè 1/2-9/10	sorrow	shen
shield	kébâw 7/8	soul	keyòy 7/8
shirt	kekóm 7/8	soup	nshìew
shiver	cín	sour, become	ngwáy
shoot	tá, tóm	speak	jémé
short, be	kfúfé	spear	gòo/egón 5/6
shortness	bvukfúfé 14	spend the day	shé
shoulder	gwèw 9	spend the night	cé
shout at	káy	spit	tóy
show, v.	don	split	wáy
shut	fásá	firewood	sāné
sick, become	cém	spoil	béfé
sides, take	bèyén	spoon	kéntàsè 7/8
sift	yèkén	spread to dry	téné
sth. moist	kfu	sprinkle	miàw (+miàw)
sigh w/disgust	shóm	spy, v.	kee, niàngkén
silent, become	cífé	squeeze	kám
sing	yém (+ngkèè)	together, intr.	fácé
sink	lé (+jòò)	squirrel	fetene/muntenóm 11/12
sip	fów	stab	bón
sister	jèmè/jémè 9/10	stammer	béw
sit	shii	stamp, v.	cín
six	soocàn	stand, v.	lffm
skin, n.	jèw/jèw	up, intr.	já
v.	yow	sth. up	léké
put on drum	daa	star	jón/jón 9/10
slander	kon	start	kew
slap	son, tám	a tune	yaw

start to cultivate	ban	then, therefore	to é
startled, be	jà	there	fəfə 16
stay for short time	mòccě	thief	cɔŋ/bɔccɔŋ 1/2
steal	cɔŋ	thigh	yěŋ/yen 9/10
stem of sth.	nson/nson 9/10	thing	fycě/mwecem 11/12
stick	fete/muntəm 11/12	think	tam, kwaw
stick poles in ground	tóm	thorn	fwěw/fěw 3/4
sticky, be (meat)	fɔmtěn	porcupine	ngāw/ngaw 9/10
still, yet	běě	thousand	ntfúkě
stomach	keté 7/8	three	tee
stone	te/eta 5/6	throat	sěw-sìw/sěw 9/10-1/2
cooking	nsoy/ensoy 5/6	throne	kàwlà
grinding	ngòw 1/2	throw (lance)	tfúmě
stool	kékowtè 7/8	away	laŋ
carved	kəndvunshě 7/8	down	tófě
store, v.	gee	thunder, v.	bāyken
straight, become	nělě	thus	nen
stream	fencanca/muncancám 11/12	tick	ngemlè 1/2
strong, become	témě, táw	tie together	yílě
stump	kəŋkfúytè	up	káy
stupidity	keyóŋ 7	time	kefəw
suck	yám	short while	nfěw
suffering	ngāw 1/2	long ago	ncàkə
sufficient, be	kwěn	one time, etc.	kàn
sugarcane	ngawwá 1/2	tired, be	dɔsě
summit, at the	fɔfálaáŋ 16	of sth.	fff...lě
sun	díw	to (recipient)	ɛ
surpass	fěy	(direction)	fɔ 16
swallow	mi	tobacco	nàrà 1/2
swear (truth)	kan	today	èbèn
swear word	kàn	together	ntaashě
sweep	yěsě	tomato (garden)	egg yòŋ/yɔŋ 9/10
sweet, be	yekè	tomorrow	ntfúú
swell	ben	day after	fɔ shě ntfúú
swim	sam	tong	kefásě 7/8
swing, v.	njěy	tongue	lemě/elem-jilemě 5/6-13
table	ketáálě 7/8	tonight	entán èbèn
tail	wvún/jiwánte 3/13	too	těŋ, dvú
of cow	kesán 7/8	tooth	kegě 7/8
take	ff, jɔ	tortoise	kəbɔnàlě 7/8
teach	yěy	touch	kom...lě
tears	mísem 4	trample	lěncě, cfn.
tear, v.	saa	trap	ketám 7/8
bamboo	tan	fish	kəntfúm 7/8
tell	sěě, gay...lě	travel	len
story	fe	tree	kate 7/8
riddle	ma	tremble	cfn
ten	yocfè	tribe	ketóm 7/8
termite	ngòw/ngow 9/10	trouble	ngěw
testify	shómsě	turn	bāŋkě
thank	bělě	over	bay
that, conj.	le, é, ɛ	twist	yɔy
thatch, v.	sán	two	fěě
them, they	bɔ	umbrella	kəbáw 7/8

uncle (maternal)	lomsé 1/2	when	sékè, diò, séké lá (Q)
under(neath)	èkũ	where	fɛè
untie	fay	which	lá
up	wě	white, be	bá
uplift	bay	White man	bàlà
uproot	báá	why	njē lá
urinate	jay	who	yɛɛ
urine	mɔnjām 15	whole	-tfu/-cii
us (excl)	bèsèn	widen	koòsě
us (incl)	beènè	wife	kwe/bòkenè 1/2
vagina	kené/èken 5/6	wildcat	kejìnè 7/8
vegetable	mbàsè/mbásé 9/10	wind	fwefwe 3
vein	gwéŋ/géŋ 3/4	wine	mbvũm 15
village	ntèw 1/2	wing	kebebè 7/8
waist, around	clī	wipe	sho
wake s.o. up	kāmsě	wire	fèncāw 11/12
walk	len	witch	twé/bocéw 1/2
wander about	la	with	bó
wander out	njīm	with it	dvú
want	gɔm	without	sé
war	jəm 9/10	woman	kwòòn/bòkenè 1/2
wash (self)	còkě	work, n.	lemè 5/13
water	jòò~diò/jòò 9/10	v.	lem
we (excl)	bèsèn	wound	ɛlɛmte 7/8
we (incl)	beènè	wrap up	kóíé~kócé
weak, be	wɛɛ	wring	kám, tóy
wealthy, become	kow	write	sáŋ
weave	lo	yam	kèŋkfú 7/8
weed, n.	namē	year	kelòm~kelōŋ 7/8
v.	béíé	yesterday	fɔgò
week	kēmā 7/8	day before	kefwé
weight	bvuɟftè 14	you sg.	wò
well, adv.	ntāy	you pl.	bèn
well, get	bónén, témé	young	(wān) cààn
wet, become	lè (+jòò)		
what	lā/mùlǎ		

INDEX

- abstract nouns, 13
- adjectives, 26-27, 92-93
- adverbs, 84-86
- articles, 24-25
- aspect, 35-38, 41-50, 90
 - habitual, 89
 - progressive, 41-50, 52, 59-62, 67, 71, 72, 97, 100
- auxiliaries, 87-90, 101
 - tense, ch. 12, 87, 89, 96, 97
- causatives, 38-39, 44, 99
- comparatives, 69, 84
- complementizers, 95, 98-99, 105
- condition clauses, 90, 98, 102-103
- conditional mood, 90, 103
- conjunction
 - nouns, 81, 101
 - pronouns, 17-18
 - sentences, 95
- consonant system, 1-2
- copula, 88
- demonstratives, 23-24
- determiners, 23-25
- diminutives, 11
- directional verbs, 69, 82
- focus
 - adverbs, 108
 - auxiliary ([+FOC]), 55, 57, 66, 70, 88, 90, 93-94, 102, 105-106
 - direct object, 85
 - (within) noun phrase, 32
 - oblique objects, 85, 108
 - subject, 76, 85, 104, 107
 - verb, 56, 63, 77, 85, 90, 91, 93, 106, 108
- grammatical relations, 76-79
- imperatives, 52-53, 98
- infinitives, 52, 89
- instrumentals, 81, 92
- interrogatives, 25, 30, 104-105
 - indirect questions, 93
- labialization, 8, 26, 28
- labiodentalization, 1, 3
- locative classes, 13-14, 16, 19, 21, 82-83, 92
- locative pre- and postpositions, 14, 82-84
- nasal-consonant sequences, 3, 7, 8, 11, 77, 87
- negation, 53, 57-58, 59, 60-61, 62, 66, 67-68, 70, 71-72, 90, 97, 99
- noun class concords, chs. 4-8; summary, 33
- noun class forms, 7-14
 - irregular, 8, 9, 10, 11
- numerals, 28-29
- objects
 - direct, 76, 77, 80, 91
 - indirect, 76, 78, 80
 - oblique, 16, 76, 80, 81, 83, 91-92
- partitive, 16
- palatalization, 26, 28, 29
- possessives
 - nouns, 19, 79
 - pronouns, 19-22, 92
- pronouns
 - compound, 17-18
 - independent, 15-18, 78, 98
 - logophoric, 15, 17-18, 21
- quantifiers, 30, 86

- reciprocals, 13, 39, 43, 78
- references, 109
- reflexives, 18, 39, 78
- relative clauses, 26, 27, 32, 65-68, 83, 91-94
- reported speech, 15, 17-18, 21, 95, 98, 105
- sequential clauses, 88, 95-97
- statives, 84
- subjects, 76, 77
- subject-verb (nasal) agreement, 3, 77, 87
- subjunctives, 98, 103
- syllable structure, 2-4
- temporal clauses, 100-102
- tone patterns (verbs), 51-52
 - irregular, 64, 75
 - rules, 74-75
 - summary, 73
- tone spreading, 6, 19
- tone system, 5-6, 51-52, 73, 74-75
- verb extensions, 35-40, ch. 10
 - attenuative, 35-36, 43
 - bifurcative, 37-38
 - causative, 38-39, 44
 - distributive, 36, 43
 - frequentative, 38, 44-45
 - iterative, 37, 77
 - positional, 39, 44, 64
 - reciprocal, 18, 39-40
 - transitive, 39, 48
- verb forms, 34-40 (and following chapters)
 - irregular, 45-48, 63-64, 75
- verb radicals, 34-35
- verb reduplication, 38, 44-45
- verb tenses
 - compound, 62
 - consecutive clauses, 69-72
 - main clauses, 56-64, 96
 - overview, 53-55, 73
 - relative clauses, 65-68, 93-94
 - vowel system, 1
 - word list, 110-119
 - word order
 - noun phrase, 31-32
 - sentence, 76, 107-108
 - subject-object inversion, 108