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Aspects of the grammar of Kuteb

Koops, Robert George, Ph.D.

University of Colorado at Boulder, 1990

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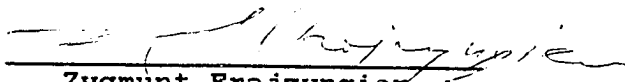
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Aspects of the Grammar of Kuteb

Thesis directed by Professor Zygmunt Frajzyngier

The thesis presents selected topics from the
grammar of Kuteb, a Niger-Congo language spoken in
Gongola State of Nigeria. This is the first time for
most of these topics to be discussed in print, the
only other broad study of Kuteb being a short sketch
of phonology and morphology by Welmers in 1948.

As a member of the Benue-Congo branch of
Niger-Congo, Kuteb illustrates the phonological,
morphological and syntactic features of that group,
including, for example, SVO word order, post-head
modifiers, prepositions, and serial verb construc-
tions, and offers as well a window on the process of
noun-prefix loss that is widespread in N-C.

As a member of the Jukunoid group within
Benue-Congo, Kuteb illustrates traits distinctive of
that group, such as a full set of nasalized vowels, a
three-level tone system and recapitulating pronouns.
These are presented, along with a discussion of
problems in the analysis and possible solutions.

The syllable structure is unusually complex for a Jukunoid language, exhibiting, in addition to the usual labial and palatal modifications of initial consonants, labiodental and velar offglides. Problematical sequences are discussed and solutions proposed.

Lexical classes are posited and defended, and the Noun Phrase is described in some detail. Then the basic argument structure is given, along with a discussion of the unique pattern of unmarked adverbial noun phrases in the predicate and the problems they present for the definition of transitivity. Arguments are advanced for the existence of the serial verb construction (SVC) which is seen as a multi-verb, single-proposition sentence in contrast to sentences such as conditional or resultative which encode multiple propositions.

Finally, the Tense/Aspect/Modal system and the referential system are presented, with examples of anaphoric and deictic morphemes.

OUTLINE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER

VIII. SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

As background to the main body of this dissertation, an assortment of topics is included here: the geographical and social context, linguistic classification, theoretical approach, history of research, orthography, sources of data, and acknowledgments.

2.0 Language, geography, and culture

The flowering of sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and folk taxonomy as independent disciplines in the past decade has highlighted a fact we have known all along, namely, that human languages have **contexts**. A person's language is like a large set of overlapping maps of the geographical and cultural environment in which its speakers live. This is not a superficial matter of labeling objects and events with nouns and verbs. It often enters into the very fabric of the grammar of the language. Take two examples of this context-relatedness from Kuteb:

A person outside his village rarely says, literally, "I am going home". He normally says, "I am going up home" and never, "down home" (even if his house is at a lower altitude) because traditionally the Kuteb people have lived on the tops or sides of mountains and made their farms below.

Again, the rules of social behavior in Kuteb society encourage gregariousness and cooperation. Idiosyncratic, nonconformist behavior is potentially dangerous. This behavioral norm has its reflection in the grammar of the language: just as the "ownership" of objects may be indicated by a suffixed possessive pronoun indicating an exclusive association between the person and the possessed object, verbs also sometimes affix the possessive pronoun, indicating actions that the subject may be doing in a unilateral and/or surprising way.[1]

To give the broadest context possible in the brief scope of this paper, I include in the introduction a description of the geographical and social background of the Kuteb people. In this regard also, the reader is encouraged to note the sample texts in the appendix which illustrate the sorts of things that Kuteb people do with their language.

A section on orthography reflects the exciting fact that in the second half of the 20th Century Kuteb is in the process of becoming a **written** language, with all that that potentially entails (Ong 1982).

2.1 Geographical, Social, and Historical Background[2]

The people known as Kuteb (or "Kutep" or "Kutev" in the literature) number around 50,000 and live mainly in what is now Takum Local Government Area of Gongola State, Nigeria. Their area covers a rough square extending east and south from Takum, the major commercial center (exactly 10° E, 7° N on the map) towards the nearby Cameroun border. The Gamana River cuts through the area on the southwest, and the Donga runs across the northeast corner.

Bordering the Camerounian mountains, the Kuteb area is typical savannah (lots of grass and small trees) dotted with hills, which, incidentally, have provided protection in recent history during interethnic warfare. The rivers and their tributaries, plus numerous springs, provide a continuous water supply, even through most of the dry season, which lasts from around October to March.

Roughly speaking, the neighbors of the Kuteb are the Jukun on the north, the Tiv to the west, the Yikuben to the south, and, to the east, the Icen, Ndoro, and an assortment of ethnic groups called

"Tigong" (or "Tigum"). While this is the general layout, there is in fact a lot of intermingling in the area, and, in addition to the above groups, there is a sprinkling of Chamba, Fulani, and Kpan communities here and there.

Takum is ruled by a Kuteb chief and a council made up of representatives of Kuteb, Tiv, and Jukun. Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba traders do a brisk business, particularly in Takum town, and there are others, too numerous to mention by name, from both inside and outside Nigeria, who have made a living for themselves in the area.

The cosmopolitan character of Takum has had its effect on the language and culture of the Kuteb people. Some of the cults currently used by practitioners of the traditional religion are imported from Jukun; at least one I saw in Lissam was reported to be from Cameroun. Politically, the Jukuns exercised a powerful influence over the Kuteb, partly by way of their control of certain cults (akwa, for example) and also through the distribution of salt. This influence is evident in heavy borrowing from the Jukun language. Likewise, there are extensive borrowings from Hausa in the common speech, some introduced by early missionaries, who chose to teach Hausa rather than

learn the panoply of local languages, and others by Hausa traders and Hausa-speaking district officials.

The Kuteb people traditionally were farmers, hunters, and fisherman, the area being rich in the resources peculiar to these trades: guinea corn, maize, millet, cassava, sweet potato, cocoa yam, groundnut, bambara nut, and a wide variety of wild game and fish. Before the oil boom in the 1970's, a number of cash crops were raised including beniseed, tobacco, and rice, while shea nuts were harvested from the forests for export. The oil palm has a revered position in the culture of the Kuteb, providing oil (both red oil from the outside of the kernel and white from the inside), wine, brooms (from the leaves), a salt substitute (from the ashes), and wood.

As for Kuteb history, local tradition says that the people scattered to their present villages from Usa Mountain on the east side of the area. The yearly Kuciceb Festival commemorates this event. Previous to the descent from Usa, the history is uncertain, and for various speculations the reader is referred to Mr. Saddi Mgbe's book, <u>Know the Story of Kutebs</u>, and K. Shimizu's dissertation on the Jukunoid languages. Mr. Mgbe's book also gives details of the clan divisions, which number ten.

2.2 Linguistic Classification

Although the classification of the languages of this area is sketchy, some fairly recent comparative work classifies Kuteb as a Jukunoid language in the Benue-Congo family. (See the Niger-Congo "family tree" in the appendix.) According to K. Shimizu (1970), who has done most of the work on this up to the present, Kuteb is closest to Yikuben, historically, and both form a branch parallel to "Central Jukunoid" comprising Icen, Kpan, and six other languages, including Jukun proper. The confirmation and refinement of these early proposals remains an opportunity for continuing research.

2.3 Orthography

The "standard orthography" used in most of this work is that used for the recently published New Testament. It is based on the speech of the towns of Lissam and Lumbu with some modifications designed to facilitate reading by those outside that area. Lissam/Lumbu seems to be more conservative than the others, as seen in the preservation of full prefixes on the nouns and the limited elision of the future marker. The major modifications making the "standard" orthography slightly "non-Lissam" are:

1) the use of **ky** which in Lissam alone is pronounced as **c** (English "ch"), and

2) the use of **by** in words like **ibyĕ** 'meat' **byãg** 'hot' which, in some subsections of Lissam, are pronounced as **ivyĕ** and **vyãg**, while other dialects have **ibyĕ**, **byãg** or **izwĕ** (idzwĕ), **zwãg** (dzwãg).

Thus it is that the Kuteb people take the first steps in that revolutionary transition from "orality" to "literacy" in their own tongue; and the written form of Kuteb begins inexorably to move away from the spoken towards a life of its own.

Except for the phonology section (where I use Lissam speech unless there are reasons for citing other forms), the current standard orthography is used.

3.0 Theoretical Approach

The descriptive apparatus used in this work has deliberately been kept to a minimum in an effort to make the data accessible to scholars from a variety of theoretical traditions. Whatever theory may be evident in the chapters that follow is unabashedly eclectic. As a translator I am confronted daily with evidence of "universal grammar"; and though I assume the general framework of a "deep structure" which is somehow close to this universal grammar and a "surface structure" which represents the phonetics of speech,

the derivation of surface forms from underlying ones does not occupy a prominent place here.

This work will deal with two kinds of meaning: lexical meaning (the meanings of individual words) and structural, or grammatical, meaning. That is, the syntactic patterns in which words are arranged themselves encode certain "meanings" (sometimes more than one, yielding ambiguity). Along with this, or perhaps part and parcel with it, is the idea that syntactic structures are **used** for discourse and pragmatic purposes.3

Thus, in the growing polarization between "formal" and "functional" linguistics, I lean towards the "functional" side. While formal systems which propose highly abstract forms may in fact "work", producing the desired surface structure, I feel they have a tendency to leave behind the realities of cognitive processing: the anchor of the "psychologically real". Thus, the reader will find frequent reference to "function" in this dissertation, not just to "structure" in and of itself.

In this regard one may raise the issue of **explanation**. While an abstract underlying structure may be neatly shown to be linked to some surface structure, and even be manipulated to "predict" a set of sentences, that does not necessarily say all that

there is to be said about the matter. One may, for example, derive a serial verb construction from two or three underlying sentences. But why should a language conjoin sentences in that way? What is the function of such conjunctions in discourse? There always seem to be further questions to ask. Granted, a linguistic theory should predict what can be said in a language, but "explanation" in terms of pragmatics, discourse, and/or diachronic processes is as important to the full description of language structures as the characterization of the relationship between any purported deep structure and the surface.4

"Functionalism" has various dimensions. Not only do I see pieces and configurations of linguistic material as having a **function** in larger pieces or configurations or "levels" of language and discourse, I also see language itself as a **functional system** in society. In this regard, the writings of Dik, Van Valin, Givón, Bybee, and others who have reacted to the excessive formalism of Chomskyian linguistics have shaped my thinking considerably.

One final and crucial aspect of my view is that the categories and constructions which one proposes for a language must be based on distinctions that come from the language itself rather than being

imposed on the language from outside, on the basis of some other language.

4.0 History of Research and Writing in Kuteb

The first record of Kuteb is found in Koelle's <u>Polyglotta Africana</u> (1854) which contains a 200-item wordlist apparently from the Atsaen or Rubur dialect.

Dr. William Welmers may be credited with doing the first serious (though very brief) analysis of the phonology and morphology of Kuteb in 1948 during a short visit. Following that, some important practical work was done by Mr. Christopher Akintse Iyaba and the late Mr. Othniel Apwende Muri, who, with the help of Miss Margaret Dykstra of the Sudan United Mission, wrote down indigenous Christian songs which were printed in a Jukun-Kuteb songbook <u>Litafi a Soo Zo</u> around 1960. Dr. Joseph Greenberg took a Kuteb wordlist in the language around that time for his own comparative studies. My own study began in 1966 and has continued off and on to the present. My wife and I learned to speak the language and helped the local church produce reading primers, collections of folk tales, a songbook (<u>Akyang Unju Kuteb</u>), and a translation of the New Testament (<u>Irá TInyang</u>). Key people in the research and writing, besides those mentioned above, were Mr. Alexander Solomon, Mr. Naboth Jatau, Mrs. Abigail Shamaki, Mr. Ayuba Akawu,

Rev. Yakubu Danbeki, Mr. Daniel Shaenpam, and Mr. Ikun F. Andenyang, to mention just a few to whom I am most grateful.

Some radio scripts are being prepared by Mr. Zakariya Andepam of Lissam, and are being read over the radio from the station in Yola. Others have been working on a Kuteb dictionary.

5.0 Sources of Data

In the body of the dissertation, Kuteb sentences with references are, in most cases, taken from tape-recorded texts produced by the Kuteb people just mentioned. In a number of cases, the tape-recorded examples were used to elicit other sentences which I recorded in notebooks. In some cases I have constructed other sentences modelled on the above. Mr. Obadiah Abomci has been very helpful recently in checking the naturalness of all the sentences in this work. A few examples have been culled from the translation of the New Testament (Irá TInyang)[5] and the primer series (Apurá).

Mention must also be made of the usefulness of a concordance of my first data base produced through the Lingistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute.[6] A second data base, compiled recently, was used to produce a word list,

which has proved useful in finding examples. Finally, a rough dictionary, prepared by Mr. Ayuba Akawu and myself, has provided some illustrative material.

6.0 Acknowledgments

A note of appreciation is in order for the helpful advice and encouragement of my committee, Drs. Barbara Fox, Dorothy Kaschube, David Rood, and Allan Taylor. I especially thank my chairman, Dr. Zygmunt Frajzyngier, who coached me at every step and who, in his inimitable Socratic style, prodded me into new ways of thinking about Kuteb grammar and other African languages.

The steady encouragement and patience of my wife Esther was a crucial component in the project. To her, and to our children Alexander, Ruth, and Jedidiah, who perhaps paid the greatest price of us all, in the form of father-time, I dedicate this work, in the hope that they may never lose their curiosity about the wonders of God's creation, including the miracle we call language.

NOTES-CHAPTER ONE

[1] See Chapter 9 note 12 for examples of the possessive pronoun in its modal function.

[2] See maps, Appendix B, for further details.

[3] See Givón (1979) Ch. 2-4 for an exposition of grammar as a by-product of deeper communicative principles.

[4] Garcia (1979) would go so far as to state that syntax per se does not even exist! I prefer Givón's more modest position, that there is a "structural level" called syntax, but in order to explain it "one must make reference...to a number of SUBSTANTIVE explanatory parameters of language". Thus, syntax is "a DEPENDENT, functionally motivated entity whose properties reflect...the properties of the explanatory parameters that motivate its rise" (Givón, 1979:82).

[5] The translators of **Irá Tínyang** were all native speakers of Kuteb, as were the contributors of stories to the **Apura** series of primers.

[6] Sponsored by Grant G5-934 of the National Science Foundation.

CHAPTER TWO

SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

1.0 Introduction: Vowels, Consonants, Tones

The unit consonant and vowel phonemes in Kuteb may be seen at a glance in the following diagrams arranged by point and manner of articulation (for consonants) and by tongue position (for vowels):

Consonants:[1]

p	t		k
mb	nd		ŋg
b			
	ts	(c)	
	ndz	(nj)	
		(j)	
f	s	(sh)	h
m	n	ny	ŋ
	r		
w		y	

Vowels:[2]

i	in	ɨ	u	un
e	en		o	on
ae	aen		a	an

Tones:[3]

low / / (unmarked)

mid /⁻/

high /´/

falling /^/

rising /ᵛ/

The segments above are taken to be single sounds even when represented by digraphs, trigraphs, etc.

2.0 Description and Distribution of Segments

We begin with an analysis based on Welmers (1948) before considering an alternative view which differs with respect to modified consonants.

2.1 Consonants

The consonants are described minimally here in groups, with words showing the basic feature contrasts. Discussion follows each group in turn.

2.1.1 Stops: Description and Discussion

The stops contrast primarily as to voicing and point of articulation, but, as the following chart shows, the regular set of voiced stops is prenasalized. The single non-prenasalized stop (b) is anomalous.

voiceless	p	t	k
voiced prenasal	mb	nd	ŋg
voiced	b		

The following words illustrate the regular contrasts in intervocalic position:

labial		alveolar		velar	
upae	fine	kutóŋ	ear	ukap	stream
umbae	child	indo	vulture	iŋgok	pig
ibae	sack				

/p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop, slightly aspirated. In final position and before a pause it is usually unreleased and sometimes slightly voiced. In word-final position before another word beginning with a vowel, /p/ is a voiced fricative [β]. /pū/ 'take', /kukūp/ 'bone'

/mb/ is a voiced prenasalized bilabial stop. /mbé/ 'receive', /mbāk/ 'pierce', /mbuptā/ 'open'

/b/ is a voiced bilabial stop, occurring only initially in syllables.[4] /ribɢ/ 'arrow', /bée/ 'write'

/t/ is a voiceless alveolar stop, slightly aspirated. /kutóŋ/ 'ear', /kitɢ/ 'calabash', /utɪ/ 'spear'

/nd/ is a voiced alveolar prenasalized stop. /nde/ 'do', /undá/ 'woman', /ndup/ 'swell up'

/k/ is a voiceless velar stop, slightly aspirated. In word-final position before pause /k/ is unreleased, and before other words beginning with a vowel it is usually voiced, with the closure relaxed to a fricative. In clusters after stops /k/ is [x] or [ɣ] according to the voicing of the previous segment. /ukap/ 'stream', /páták/ 'all', /apkɪn/ 'spirits' /ndkop/ 'weave'

/ŋg/ is a prenasalized voiced velar stop. /iŋgar/ 'grinding of teeth', /iŋgok/ 'pig'

It is appropriate to ask whether the prenasalized stops really constitute single units or might not rather be treated as clusters. I treat them as units for two reasons. First, when they occur across syllable boundaries, the nasal component stays with the stop. This is evident from the large number of single-syllable verbs beginning with prenasalized stops, such as **nde** 'do' and **mbó** 'receive'.[5] It also comes out clearly in the local version of "spoonerizing" in which **rimbwé** 'sore' is inverted to become **mbwerI** and **rinda** 'gift' comes out **ndari**. Furthermore, these stops may be labialized and palatalized, in which case treating them as CC would entail creating three-member clusters, which otherwise do not occur in the language.

If the phonemic inventory is enlarged to include a number of sounds occurring in loan words from other dialects and languages, some of the gaps in the indigenous sound system are filled. For example, the stops /d/ and /g/, used in dozens of words coming from Jukun, Hausa, and English, fill out the voiced stop series. Examples:

ludó	a game	Agabí	(a name)
adá	cutlass	gómina	governor
Adi	(a name)	gugá	pail
Dauda	(a name)	rógó	cassava
do	sweet	pógi	plot

The lateral /l/ also occurs in many borrowings, as in:

lóma	umbrella	lemó	citrus
Larabá	(a name)	Balá	(a name)
súle	10 kobo	lóbura	worker

Double stops (**kp**, **gb**, and **ŋgb**) are recorded in a few place names of Chamba origin (Kpambai, Kpambo) and in some words in other dialects. Bika and Aticwo dialects use /kp/ in words such as /kpák/ 'hard' (=Lissam /bóm/) and /gb/, as in /Gbákyá/ (a town) and /gbem/ 'gun' (=Lissam /ipìŋ/). Note also /mŋgba/ 'maize' from Bika (=Lissam **mbapwa**).[6]

A glottal stop occurs in the word **m'm** 'no' but is not listed here in the inventory of sounds as it is not considered part of the contrastive feature system.

From the preceding description, we can see that there is considerable variation in the surface form of /p/ and /k/ in final position: before pause, they are usually unreleased. In other positions they may be voiced. Word-final /p/ and /k/ are

fricatives [β] ~ [v] and [ɣ] before another word beginning with a vowel. (This explains the variety of spellings of the word "Kuteb" as "Kutep" or "Kutev" found in the literature.)

The final stops represent a problem in that the final bilabial stop can be assigned to either **p** or **b**. The final alveolar stop could be assigned to **t** or to **r**, but since it consistently surfaces as a flap in all contexts, it will be assigned to /r/.[7]

The final velar stop holds the key to the analysis of the problem, since it can only be assigned to **k**, the sound **g** being outside the native phoneme inventory. I take the final labial stop, then, as /p/ and the final velar as /k/. Both /p/ and /k/ become voiced intervocalically in sentences.

1) AyI si ritūk a.   [ayIsiritūga]~[ayIsiritūɣa]
   3   be market Q

       Is it a market?

2) AyI si kukūp a.   [ayIsikukūba]~[ayIsikukūβa]
   3   be bone Q

       Is it a bone?

3) AyI si ukūr   a. [ayIsiukūra]
   3   be crocodile Q

       Is it a crocodile?

2.1.2 Fricatives

The fricatives contrast by point of articulation as shown in the diagram below.

labial	alveolar	palatal	glottal
f	s	sh	h

/f/ is a voiceless labiodental fricative. /ifaen/ 'two', /fob/ 'reach', /fkãen/ 'flay', /ufu/ 'door'

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative. /sa/ 'take', /usɠ/ 'load', /isI/ 'downward', /ise/ 'outside'

/sh/ [ʃ] is a voiceless alveopalatal fricative. /shã/ 'seek', /ishap/ 'fat'. It will be shown below that this sound may also be analyzed as /sy/.

/h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative occurring in only a few Lissam words: /ahán/ 'thus', /ahõõ/ 'What do I care?', /hen/ (exclamation), and numerous loan words from Hausa and English.[8]

Loan words introduce a new parameter to the system, namely that of voicing. The phonemes /v/ and /z/ occur commonly in borrowings from Jukun, Hausa, and English. Examples are vóno 'bed' and personal names like Záka, Zipó, and Izó. The phoneme /v/ does occur in one subdialect of Lissam speech as a variant

of /b/ but only with labialization. (See Section 3.0 on consonant clusters).

On the phonetic level, velar fricatives occur, with both voiceless ([x]) and voiced ([ɣ]) varieties; I take them as allophones of /k/. Welmers analyzed them as allophones of /x/, and I will show another option in the discussion on clusters. The phone [ʒ] occurs as an allophone of /j/.

2.1.3 Affricates

Welmers described only palatal affricates, but I have added /ts/ and /ndz/ for reasons to be discussed below.

alveolar	palatal
ts	c [tʃ]
ndz	nj [ndʒ]
	j [dʒ]

/ts/ [ts] is a voiceless alveolar affricated stop. /kitsɩnn/ 'jealousy', /tsēn/ 'white'

/nz/ [nz] ~ [ndz] is a voiced prenasalized alveolar affricated stop occurring in a few words. /kɩnzɔ/ 'one', /unzu/ 'mouth', /nzɓa/ 'Is it so?'

Welmers treats the sequence /ts/ as two units in order to avoid setting up a series of alveolar affricates on the basis of one case (ts). He did not consider /ndz/ as an alveolar affricate, perhaps considering it a subphonemic variant of /nj/ (though **ndz** and **nj** contrast in my data). I take **ts** and **ndz** as units, because each can be modified by /w/; the unit analysis avoids setting up complex clusters which otherwise do not occur.

/c/ [tʃ] is a voiceless alveopalatal affricated stop. /acɩn/ 'medicine', /cang/ 'walk', /acɩkun/ 'beans'

/nj/ [ndʒ] ~ [nʒ] is a voiced prenasalized affricated stop with very slight stop action. /nja abyɩŋ/ 'defecate', /ɩnjā/ 'brother' /inje/ 'four'

/j/ [dʒ] ~ [ʒ] is a voiced alveopalatal affricate or fricative. The analysis is problematical because the stop, if any, is extremely light, and both are acceptable in medial position. There may be complementary distribution, the affricate form appearing only word-initially, the fricative alternating with the affricate within a word. /ujɩ/ 'rope', /jaŋ/ 'deep', /jɩm/ 'cool'

Examples of alveolar affricates (modified Welmers):

alveolar		palatal	
itsɛ	father	ice	boundary
ndzáa	question	ínjɛ̃	sprout
		jãeb	buy

In the section on consonant clusters, below, I will show that the palatal consonants can alternatively be treated as palatalized and labialized consonants, as follows:

c = ty/tsy   sh = sy

nj = ndy/nzy   j = zy/dzy

2.1.4 Resonants

The nasals contrast according to point of articulation, and also with the prenasalized stops discussed above:

labial	alveolar	palatal	velar
m	n	ny	ŋ
mb	nd	nj	ŋg

Examples:

labial		alveolar		palatal		velar	
mae	twenty	náe	lie	inyía	river	ŋaŋ	tightly
mbae	to bear	nda	give	inji	elephant	iŋgok	pig

/m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal. /mũm/ 'dig', /rimam/ 'God', /kimG/ 'potto', /imɪ/ 'what?'

/n/ is a voiced alveolar nasal. /nunn/ 'bitter', /num/ 'be tired', /kinaŋ/ 'scorpion'

/ny/ is a voiced alveopalatal nasal (see discussion on clusters below). /nyam/ 'suck', /rinyí/ 'name'

/ŋ/ [ŋ] is a voiced velar nasal occurring initially and finally in syllables. /ŋáŋ/ 'tightly', /kiŋám/ 'a name', /asaŋ/ 'years'

2.1.5 Flap and Lateral

The only native phoneme here is /r/, a voiced alveolar flap. In final position before pause it is often unreleased. /rū/ 'go', /irá/ 'word' ukúr [ukút] 'crocodile'. The voiced lateral /l/ is illustrated by the loan words /lemá/ 'citrus' and /Balá/, a personal name; cf. also the list on p. 18 above.

2.1.6 Semivowels

The two semivowels are /w/ and /y/:

/w/ is a voiced bilabial semivowel. /uwá/ 'face', /wám/ 'dry'. In some words the Bika dialect uses /w/ where Lissam uses /b/. /ribú/ 'arrow' (Ls), /iwú/ 'arrow' (B). In clusters following labial and velar consonants /w/ is a quick bilabial release of the consonant. In clusters with the palatal consonants (/c, j, sh, nj/) /w/ represents a voiced or voiceless labiodental release (cf. Section 3.0).

/y/ is a voiced palatal semivowel. After labial stops (in clusters) it is often slightly sibilant. /uyɪ/ 'needle', /upyɪ/ [upyɪ]~ [upʃi] 'slave'

2.2.0 Vowels

The vowels contrast as to the height of the tongue (high, mid, low) and as to its position forward or back in the mouth (front, central, back). They are further divided into **oral** and **nasal** vowels on the basis of the position of the velic. I deal first with the oral vowels and then the nasal vowels.

2.2.1 Oral Vowels

	front	central	back
high	i	ɨ	u
mid	e		o
low	ae		a

Examples of oral vowels in words:

utɪ	spear	kitɪp	cotton	kitṹ	dish
tɛ̃	dismiss			tõ	cook
tae	lead			tã	shoot

The vowels /i, a, u/ are found initially in words; their nasal counterparts and the vowels /e/, /ae/, and /o/ are not found initially except perhaps in ideophones, interjections, and some borrowed names. The vowel /ɨ/ is found only word-medially, and its phonemic status is uncertain (see discussion below).

/i/ is a high front unrounded vowel which laxes to [I] in closed syllables. /si/ 'to be', /utɪ/ 'spear', /isim/ 'back'

/e/ is a mid front unrounded vowel which varies to [ɛ] in closed syllables. /cep/ 'step on', /ise/ 'dance'

/ae/ [a] is a close low front unrounded vowel. /tae/ 'to lead', /pae/ 'to pay', kicáep 'sickness'

/a/ is an open low central vowel which ranges to [ə] in closed syllables. /atấ/ 'weapons', /utap/ 'open space'

/o/ is a mid back rounded vowel which varies to [ɔ] in closed syllables. /ukó/ 'duiker', /utõb/ 'heart'

/u/ is a high back rounded vowel which laxes to [U] in closed syllables. /urŭ/ 'game', /kūp/ 'eat'

/ɨ/ is a high central unrounded vowel appearing as a result of reduplication (to be discussed below) and in certain words where there is a neutralization of /u/ and /i/. /kutɨb/ 'cotton', /upɨŋ/ 'gun', /irɨm/ 'grass'

The only problem in the analysis of oral vowels is the phonemic status of the sound I have represented by /ɨ/. It occurs in closed syllables, in some noun prefixes, and with verbal reduplication. These contexts will be discussed in turn.

The Phonemic Status of [ɨ]

The limited distribution of /ɨ/ (word-medial only) makes it difficult to find clear cases of contrast between /ɨ/ and other vowels. Even the cases we have of contrast in closed syllables are not very convincing. Not all speakers have a contrast, for example, between /kisɨm/ 'knife' and /isim/ 'back'. Some alternate freely between /kisɨm/ and /kisɨm/ while others alternate between /kisɨm/ and /kisūm/. The word for 'grass', similarly, exhibits variation in some speakers between /irɨm/ and /irɨm/ or between /irɨm/ and /irūm/. It would seem likely that /ɨ/ could be taken as a conditioned variant of /u/ and/or /i/ in closed syllables. It is impossible to determine, however, whether /ɨ/ in most words has come

from /u/ or from /i/. I have therefore posited the phoneme /ɨ/ for those cases.

Neutralization of /u/ and /i/ in Noun Prefixes

Chapter 5 (on nouns), below, will introduce **ru-**, **ri-**, **ku-** and **ki-** as some of the prefixes typically found on nouns. It will be seen that the noun class system is in a process of decay, there being a reduction in both the semantics and the phonology of the prefixes. Phonologically, this reduction is shown partly by a tendency to de-stress the prefix. It has then become difficult to tell what the vowel segment in the prefix really is, especially when it precedes labial or labialized consonants. We know that the prefixes /ri-/ and /ru-/ both occur clearly in other words. Before labial and labialized consonants, however, both come out as [rɨ]. Examples of [ɨ] in noun prefixes:

rɨwén	nose	/ruwén/ or /riwén/?
rɨbwen	open	/rubwen/ or /ribwen/?
rɨkwen	mountain	/rukwen/ or /rikwen/?
rɨwáe	tallness	/ruwáe/ or /riwáe/?
rɨkõm	corpse	/rukõm/ or /rikõm/?

Unexpected help in solving this problem came from the local version of "spoonerizing". Speakers

transposed the syllables of [rɨwɛ́n] and [rɨkwen] to become: [wenrɨ́] and [kwenri]. The word [rɨwɛ́e] 'tallness' comes out [waerú]. Thus we can take these instances of [ɨ] as simple cases, either of assimilation (of /i/) to the labial or labialized consonants, or of the reduction of /u/ to /ɨ/ in unstressed position, or both.

The sound /ɨ/ in reduplicated syllables

Verbs are often reduplicated to indicate intensification or repetition. If the verb vowel is back, or the initial consonant labialized, the vowel of the copied form will be a form of **u**, as in these examples, given with the root form in parentheses:

kūkɔ́p	(kɔ́p)	sew	kūkwɛ́p	(kwɛ́p)	try
būbɔ́m	(bɔ́m)	strong	sūsū́	(sū́)	carry
tūtɔ́	(tɔ́)	cook	pupwen	(pwen)	count
fūfwɛ̃r	(fwɛ̃r)	shake	būbūnn	(būnn)	harvest
pupu	(pu)	fall	ndundkop	(ndkop)	weave
kūkūnn	(kūnn)	call	mbū́mbū́b	(mbū́b)	spill
kukur	(kur)	stir	kūkwãen	(kwãen)	scratch

If the verb vowel is front, the vowel of the copied form will normally be a form of **i**, as in:

    fɪfĕr (fĕr)   close by

    pipinn (pinn) fly

    cɪcᴁep (cᴁep) be sick

    pɪpyɪ (pyɪ)   refuse

However, when the verb vowel is low, the vowel in the copy part is raised and centralized to [ɨ]. Examples:

    kɪkᾰp   (kᾰp)   think

    sɨsa   (sa)   take

    cɨcang   (cang) walk

    fɨfap   (fap)   sour

    tɨtam   (tam)   hide

Since one can predict the quality of the vowels in the reduplicated portion of these words, it would seem reasonable to interpret them as allophones of the stem vowel in each case. However, we have already posited a phoneme /ɨ/. Why should the segments in question above not be considered cases of /ɨ/? Once again, it is impossible to choose in a non-arbitrary way whether a given instance of [ɨ] is a member of the phoneme /ɨ/ or of the phoneme /a/.

The lack of stress on the reduplicated segments and the quick transition to the stem suggest that there may not even be a full syllable involved. A study of syllabicity in Kuteb from the "bonding" perspective (Bell and Koops, forthcoming) considers

the possibility of treating the copy vowel as a transitional element rather than as a full segment. In this view the underlying form of the above words would be represented something like:

k-kap	thinking	f-fkắp	roasting
s-sa	taking	p-pkak	kneading
c-caŋ	walking	ts-tsẽn	white
f-fur	bending	b-byắk	getting hot

and phonetic rules would specify the surface structure details. The issue then becomes not only one of vowel quality but also one of syllabicity. I have not yet resolved the question finally.

2.2.2 Nasal Vowels

Like their oral counterparts, the nasal vowels contrast in terms of tongue height and position forward or backward in the mouth.

	front	back
high	in [ĩ]	un [ũ]
mid	en [ẽ]	on [õ]
low	aen [ắ]	an [ắ]

Note that the central oral vowel /i/ has no nasal counterpart.

Contrasts between oral and nasal vowels:

Front vowels: i/in, e/en,   ae/aen

kupɪ	point	pɪn	(ideophone)
uwé	face	wẽn	kill
bãe	stick to	bãen	marry

Back vowels: u/un, o/on, a/an

ukũ	mushroom	kutũkũn	tree
ukó	red duiker	kákon	stalk
ka	go	kan	divide

Contrasts among nasal vowels:

íkɪn	SPEC	kũn	creep
ikén	thing	kákon	stalk
rikaen	poison	kan	divide

Description of the Nasal Vowels:

/in/ [ɪ] is the nasalized counterpart of /i/. /pɪn/ (ideophone), /fɪn/ 'clean'

/en/ [ẽ] is the nasalized counterpart of /e/. /ikén/ 'thing', /shen/ 'spread out to dry'

/aen/ [æ̃] is the nasalized counterpart of /ae/ and quite common. /ifáen/ 'antelope', /ukwáen/ 'cough'

/an/ [ã] is the nasalized counterpart of /a/. /kan/ 'divide', /kúkãn/ 'land crab', /pwan/ 'be bald'

/on/ [õ] is the nasalized counterpart of /o/ and quite rare. /kákon/ 'stalk', /sózon/ (a name)

/un/ [ũ] is the nasalized counterpart of /u/, occurring in a few words. /arun/ 'robe', /rukun/ 'group farming', /umun/ 'flour'

Discussion of Nasal Vowels

The nasal vowels are less frequent than the oral vowels. Among the nasal vowels, the vowels /in/ [ɪ̃], /un/ [ũ], and /an/ [ã] are fairly common and /on/ [õ], very rare. The mid-front vowel /en/ [ẽ] fluctuates with /in/ [ɪ̃] across dialects. Also, some speakers use /oŋ/ [õŋ] where others use /on/ [õ].

Nasal vowels occur only in CV syllables. Thus there is no contrast between CvC and CṽC. Oral vowels in syllables ending with nasal consonants are inevitably influenced by the nasality of the final consonant, and in some cases it is difficult to tell if a word ends in a nasal vowel or in a vowel plus /ŋ/ (e.g. **rubūn** [rubũ] or **rubūng** [rubūŋ] 'spring'). This suggests that the processes of assimilation and final

-n loss are a probable source for the nasalized vowels in the language, processes that are obviously still going on.

2.2.3 Vowel Assimilation and Elision

Vowel elision in the Benue-Congo languages has recently been the focus of vigorous discussion.[9] In Kuteb, as in many other languages, it is very complex, resisting any neat and simple description. What follows is a very rough account. A great deal of careful research, preferably with instruments, is still needed.

Environments for Elision

Vowel elision may occur whenever the vowels of two words come together. It is likely that as a first step, one of the vowels assimilates (partially or completely) to the other, then the sequence is shortened. Sometimes one vowel, in effect, replaces the other. In other cases the surface vowel has features of both of the component vowels. In Kuteb, vowel elision takes place in a number of constructions, such as when a noun follows a verb:

4)   Awū tā   nkūr. [awūtākūt]
        3s   shoot crocodile

        He shot a crocodile.

5)   AtĪ tu   aser. [atĪtwaser]
        1p   find money

        We found money.

or when two nouns cooccur in a genitive construction:

        uwá ukwe [uwákwe]
        wife chief   the chief's wife

        atū   Alĭ [atwâlĭ]
        dishes   Ali   Ali's dishes

Factors in Vowel Elision

Three general factors determine the final quality of the resulting vowel:

1. Whether elision occurs at all depends on the speed of utterance. The faster the speech, the more likelihood of elision occurring.

2. Elision is influenced partly by grammar, in that vowel prefixes on nouns (a-, i-, u-) are in varying stages of attrition, depending on a variety of factors, including dialect. It is common for the prefix to be dropped or weakened medially in sentences. The result is to reinforce the effect of regressive assimilation and elision. That is, the initial vowel of a noun will change to match that of the previous vowel.

3. Some vowels are stronger than others. The vowel /a/, for example, tends to dominate others, whether it occurs first or second in the sequence. The vowel /i/, on the other hand, is weaker than others and is often dominated. The vowels /u/ and /i/ become semivowels if initial in a VV sequence.

Elision in the Associative Construction

The following display shows the pattern of one speaker's treatment of some vowel combinations. The names Ali, Umaru, and Iliya are used rather than nouns to reduce the effect of the prefix-erosion factor.

uwá Alí	[uwâlí]	Ali's wife
uwá Ilíya	[uwálíya]~[uwálíya]	Iliya's wife
uwá Umáru	[uwágmáru]~[uwɔmáru]	Umaru's wife
atɑ Alí	[atwâlí]~[atɔ̂lí]	Ali's dishes
atɑ Ilíya	[atwílíya]~?[atɑ́líya]	Iliya's dishes
atɑ Umáru	[atûmáru]	Umaru's dishes
utɪ Alí	[utyã̀lí]~?[utâlí]	Ali's spear
utɪ Ilíya	[utílíya]	Iliya's spear
utɪ Umáru	[utyũ̀máru]~?[utūmáru]	Umaru's spear

kekś Alſ	[kekâlſ]	Ali's bicycle
kekś Ilſya	[kekślſya]~[kikſlſya]	Iliya's bicycle
kekś Umśru	[kikyûmśru]	Umaru's bicycle
ukś Alſ	[ukwâli]~[ukŝli]	Ali's duiker
ukś Ilſya	[ukwſlſya]	Iliya's duiker
ukś Umśru	[ukûmśru]~[ukômśru]	Umaru's duiker
rikae Alſ	[rikalſ]	Ali's axe
rikae Ilſya	[rikślſya]	Iliya's axe
rikae Umśru	[rikâmśru]	Umaru's axe

Whatever rules apply to the above also cover cases of verb followed by noun object. Some other environments for elision are given below. Although the examples involve grammatical particles in several cases, these do not involve grammatical conditioning.

Other Environments for Elision

Other environments in which vowels are elided involve the **conditional** and **future** markers, **recapitulating** **pronouns** before and after object pronouns, and **relative** markers. Examples of each are shown below.

6) Ame a bś,   m ɠ   nda fu kśbo. [amabś...]
    1s CND come, 1s FUT give 2s penny

        If I come, I'll give you a kobo.

Compare:

Afu a bá... [afabá]
2s if come   'If you come...'

AnɪI a bá... [anǎ ba]
2p if come   'If you(pl) come...'

It is important to note that while the first vowel in the sequence gets displaced, so to speak, by the second, the tone of the first vowel is not so lost. At least at some speeds, the tones of the two vowels are retained but shortened, as in the case of **atɪ a bá** 'if we come...':

7)   Atɪ a bá --> [atǎ a bá] --> [atǎ bá]
       1p if come

            If we come...

8)   Atɪ ú bá.   --> [atɪ bá]∼[atú bá]
       1p FUT come

            We will come.

9)   á   ú   bá.   --> [á bá]
       3p FUT come

            They will come.

Note in 8) that /i/ and /u/ are of equal strength, resulting in free variation between [atɪ] and [atú]. In 9) /a/ displaces /u/; [ú bá] is unacceptable.

10)   Afu tu-fu ame bɛ̃.   [afutúfamebɛ̃]10
       2s find-2s 1s NEG

         You did not find me.

Distribution of w/y/k after Stops and Fricatives[11]

pw	*tw	kw		py	*ty	*ky	pk	tk
mbw	*ndw	ngw		mby	*ndy	*ŋgy	mbk	ndk
bw	--	--		by	--	--	bk	--
	*tsw				*tsy			
fw	*sw	--		*fy	*shy	--	fk	sk

The lines in the chart indicate gaps where we do not expect to see clusters since the voiced stops /d/ and /g/ do not exist in the system, according to this analysis. The starred symbols represent clusters we might expect to see but don't, and these will be the focus of our discussion below.

The basic issue to be addressed at this point is how the components of these sounds are related to each other in the structure of the syllable, which is formulated in terms of consonants and vowels. Within that I would like to focus on certain affricates and fricatives (tʃ, dʒ, ʒ, ʃ) which present particular problems.

3.1 Modified Consonants: CVV, CV, or CCV

In considering cases like $[p^we]$, $[mb^ye]$, etc., three possibilities are available. The sounds represent either CVV, CCV, or c^wv/c^yv. Setting aside

cases of /Ck/ for the moment, I consider arguments for each possiblity in turn, using k^wa as a case in point.

3.1.1 C + Semivowel as CVV

In favor of this would be the fact that when vowels do come together (across word boundaries), they form sequences similar to our c^w/c^y. For example, the vowel sequence C + /u/ + /a/ may become /Cwa/ in rapid speech, as in atū Alī 'Ali's dishes' [atwalʃ] mentioned above. The sequence C + /i/ likewise becomes /c^yV/ as in utī Ali [utyãlʃ].

Within words, however, there is no pattern of VV sequences on which to base our case.[12] It will be seen below that there is at least the possibility of consonant clusters, in the form of /sk/, /fk/, /p̄k/, /tk/, /ndk/, and /mbk/. We turn then to the other alternatives.

3.1.2 C + Semivowel as Single Consonant

While interpreting all cases of Cw and Cy as single C's has the advantage of reducing the variety of syllable structures to CV and V, it has other problems. Aside from the fact that it doubles the number of consonants in the language, one must explain, for example, why the newly created complex consonants (e.g. k^y, p^y) only occur initially in

syllables and never finally, as do their simpler counterparts /k/ and /p/.

Shimizu (1980:8), analyzing Jukun, which also has a large number of modified consonants, does take this approach on the grounds that it reduces complications at the level of the syllable, where his approach requires only a CV structure. The same could be done for Kuteb, but at our present stage of analysis, I see no disadvantage in positing the syllable structures as CV and CCV, etc. rather than trying to maintain a CV pattern as Shimizu does.

Possible exceptions to this are the palatals (ʃ, tʃ, dʒ~ʒ, nʒ) where both the internal unity of the sounds and external (distribution) factors favor a unit analysis: **sh, c, j, nj**).

3.1.3 C + Semivowel as Consonant Cluster

One may observe, first of all, that the phonemes /w/ and /y/ occur independently of clusters, as in /iwák/ 'fish' and /ayɓp/ 'millet'. Furthermore, when a word with a final consonant precedes a word beginning with semivowel, the two adjoining consonants form a cluster identical to those we observe at the beginnings of words. Note that in the process, the voiceless stops become voiced:

14)   Ukwap yɛ,   [ukwabye]
        monkey catch

            Monkey caught (something).

Compare:

15)   Akwã byĩr.   [ǎkwãbyĩr]
        Akwa gather

            Akwa gathered (something).

16)   Ukwap wẽn.   [ukwabwẽn]
        monkey kill

            Monkey killed (something).

Compare:

17)   Akwã bwe.   [ǎkwãbwe]
        Akwa be silent

            Akwa was silent.

Taking the above observations together with the fact that there is in the language (according to the present analysis) a pattern of two-member clusters set by the sequences /pk/, /tk/, /mbk/, /ndk/, /sk/, and /fk/, one may conclude that there are some grounds for taking /kwa/, /pya/, etc. as CCV.13

Except for tʃ, dʒ ~ ʒ, nʒ, and ʃ, Welmers (1948:2) takes the modified consonants as consonant clusters. He argues on the grounds that it greatly reduces the number of consonants in the language. Let us now consider the modified consonants in order by point of articulation.

3.2 Modified Labials

Aside from the question of the prenasalized stops discussed earlier (Section 2.1.1), the modified bilabials constitute no analytical problem, and I illustrate them here before moving on to the alveolars and velars.

c^y

py	upyí	slave	pyě	slash
mby	mbye	build	ámbyɪ	water
by	ibyě	meat	byǎk	be hot
my	myae	measure	umyím	cliff

c^w

pw	upwen	rain	pwan	worn
bw	bwe tǎk	be quiet	bwel	ball
mbw	rimbwe	swelling		
fw	fwěr	to shake	ifwen	chaff
mw	mwa	how many?		

c^k

pk	mbapkú	dog	apkín	spirits
mbk	kumbkáp	whip	umbka	sheath
bk	bkap	ideophone		

One point of interest here is how the dialects vary with regard to the palatalized stops. The labial stop + /y/ in Lissam is equivalent to an alveolar stop + /w/ in Fikyu and Jenuwa. That is:

Lissam	Fikyu		
py	tsw	pyɪ/tswɪ	refuse
by	dzw	byɪr/dzwɪr	black[14]
mby	ndzw	imbyɪ/indzwɪ	bottom

It may be useful to know that some subgroups of Lissam use /vy/ instead of /by/, and that the Fikyu forms vary freely between stop and fricative articulation (i.e. between **dzw** and **zw**).[14]

3.3 Modified Alveolars: C or CC?

The interpretation of the modified alveolar sounds (affricates and fricatives) is problematical. Let us look once again at the distribution of labialization and palatalization as per Welmers, noting both the permitted and nonpermitted sequences:

3.3.1 Alveolar Clusters with /y/ and /w/ (Welmers)

*ty	*tw	cw
*ndy	*ndw	njw
--	--	jw
*tsy		*tsw
*sy	*sw	shw

Note first of all the absence here of the alveolar series /ty ndy sy/. Welmers observes (1948:3) that the sounds tʃ, dʒ, ʃ, and ndʒ could have

been interpreted as /ty dy sy ndy/ were it not for a set of sounds [tʃ^f], [dʒ^v], [ʃ^f], and [nʒ^v], which he interpreted as labialized palatals /cw jw shw njw/. His thinking was that if [tʃ] is interpreted as /ty/, then [tʃ^f] would have to be represented /tyw/ and there is no pattern of complex clusters which would confirm such an interpretation.[15]

The issue can be approached from two directions. One may question why the series **tw ndw sw** and **ty ndy sy** do not occur, or one may inquire, "Can we account for **c nj j sh** and **cw njw jw shw** in another way?".

As stated above, Welmers started out by observing that [tʃ], [ndʒ], [dʒ], and [ʃ] could be analyzed as /ty ndy dy sy/ (just as he did in the related Jukun ("Dyukun" in his analysis). Then, instead of looking at the gap in the labialization series (the absence of **tw ndw sw zw tsw nzw**), he created a new series of palatals /c nj sh j/. Offhand, it would seem likely that somehow the phonetic strings [tʃ^f], [ndʒ^v] ~ [nʒ^v], [ʃ^f], and [z^v]~[dz^v][16] are related to the missing set /tw ndw sw zw/. Following this pattern, I now present for purposes of discussion the alveolar consonants and their modifications along with Welmers' equivalents:

Koops	Alternate	Welmers	Koops	Alternate	Welmers
ty	[tʃ]	'c'	tw	[tʃ^f]	'cw'
ndy	[ndʒ]~[nʒ]	'nj'	ndw	[ndʒ^V]~[nʒ^V]	'njw'
dy	[dʒ]~[ʒ][17]	'j'	dw	[dʒ^V]~[ʒ^V]	'jw'
sy	[ʃ]	'sh'	sw	[ʃ^f]	'shw'

This analysis avoids the creation of a palatal series (c j nj sh), a significant simplification of the phonology. Some words illustrating these clusters are given below.

3.3.2 Examples of Alveolar Clusters with /y/ and /w/

ty	itye	boundary	tw	twé	agree
	atya	shea nut		twák	sleep
dy	udyʃ	rope	dw	jwó	wash
	dyaŋ	deep		idwẽ	body
ndy	indye	four	ndw	undwu	mouth[18]
	ĩndyã	brother		ĩndwõ	one
sy	syã	want	sw	swur	awaken
	isyi	broom		swé	hatch

3.3.3 Alveolar Clusters with /y/: Discussion

Welmers' approach takes [tʃ], [ndʒ], etc. as unit consonants, and [tʃ^f], [ndʒ^V], etc. as CC, whereas the proposed alternative takes both sets as CC: ty, ndy, dy, sy; tw, ndw, ndw, sw. Although the

latter system gains by avoiding the palatal series completely, it has a couple of weaknesses. First, it requires the creation of /d/ (or /z/; see note 17). Secondly, in representing [tʃ^f] as /tw/, one wonders where the sibilant component of the sound comes from.[19]

A third point against the /CC/ analysis of these sounds will be seen when we deal with velar modifications in the next section.

3.4 Modified Velars

At the outset, the clusters /ky/ and /ŋgy/ were marked as nonoccurring because in Lissam dialects have [tʃ] where all other speakers have /ky/. For example:

Elsewhere	Lissam	
ikyʃr	itʃir	yam
ikyiŋ	itʃiŋ	flies
akyaŋ	atʃaŋ	smoke
kyaen	tʃaen	be satisfied
tɪkyʃ	tɪtʃʃ	old

The comparative evidence strongly suggests that Lissam speakers have changed from /ky/ to [tʃ] in these words. There are other words which all speakers have [tʃ]. In other words, the ky/tʃ contrast is neutralized in Lissam.

It may be recalled that I earlier suggested that [tʃ] be represented as /ty/. This will of course apply to the words with tʃ above, yielding **ityír** 'yam' **atyaŋ** 'smoke' etc. Historically, we have here a case in which two separate clusters have collapsed into a single complex consonant. The other dialects clearly tell us that at least some of Lissam's /c/~ /ty/ phonemes come from /ky/. We know from internal patterning that others cases of [tʃ] are phonemically /ty/. There is no way of knowing which direction the [tʃ] came from.

Since there is no non-arbitrary way of choosing between the possible underlying forms /ky/ and /ty/, it is reasonable to posit a unit /c/ which is neutral. The sounds [ndʒ] and [dʒ] pattern in the same way, as will be shown below.

The voiced velar cluster /ngy/ found in /íngyá/ 'brother' (Bika), surfaces as [ndʒ] in Lissam: [índʒá]. Since [ndʒ] is already a surface representative of /ndy/, synchronically we have no idea which words with [ndʒ] might have come from /ŋgy/ and which from /ndy/. It is reasonable to analyze this then as /nj/. The same analysis presumably holds true for the nasals, although our evidence for non-Lissam /ŋy/ as equivalent to Lissam /ny/ is not solid.

I have just shown that in Lissam speech there is no palatalization in the velar series. There is clear labialization, however, and I present examples as follows:

kw   kwáp   try,   ukwe   chief

ŋgw   ŋgwā   drink

ŋw   ŋwáŋrū save,   ŋwámeme very red

3.5 Summary of Distribution of Consonants

The consonants are distributed as follows:

<u>Initial in CV</u>:   every consonant

<u>Final in C(C)VC</u>:   p   r   k   m   n   ŋ

<u>In CC clusters</u>:

Cw:	pw	cw	kw	**Cy:**	py
	mbw	njw	ŋgw		mby
	bw	jw			by
	fw	shw			fy
	mw		ŋw		my
		rw			

Ck:	pk	tk
	mbk	ndk
	bk	
	fk	sk

4.0 The Standard Orthography

In the following chapters, cited forms will use the standard Kuteb orthography which differs from the above in the following ways:

1. Nasal vowels are written as **V+n**. There is no conflict between sequences of, say, $\tilde{v}$ + **d** and **v** + **nd** for two reasons: first, /d/ does not naturally occur in the language, and second, nasal vowels are restricted to word-final position except in the rare case of compound verbs (e.g. **kantã** [kãtã] 'divide') and borrowings (e.g. **káfinta** 'carpenter'). A word-internal /n/ plus C will almost always be one of the set **nd, nj,** or **ng**. Compounding will also occasionally bring together stems of $C\tilde{v}$ and NCV as in **Apwende** (a-pwen-nde), (a name). These reduce (both phonetically and orthographically) to /nd/: [apwende].

2. Word-final consonant /n/ is written as "nn", e.g. **kũnn** 'call'. In compounds, when final /n/ ("nn") stems precede stems beginning with /n/, a double "nn" is used, as in **munnáe** (munn-náe) 'be abundant', **munnji** (munn-nji) 'forget'.

3. Word-final consonant /ŋ/ is written as "ng", e.g. **asung** 'hair'.

4. Word-initial /ŋ/ with labialization is written "nw" as in **nwũnn** [ŋwũn] 'get up'.

5. Syllable-initial /ŋ/ without modification (very rare) is written "ngh", e.g. **nghāe irá** 'shout', e.g. **Anghamrá** (a name), **Kinghám** (a name).

6. Also, the final stops are written as **b**, **r**, and **g**, not **p**, **r**, **k** as in our analysis.

7. The palatals are written as **c**, **j**, **nj**, and **sh**, not as **ty**, **dy**, **ndy**, and **sy** as suggested in the alternate analysis presented above. 8. The velar modification is written as /x/ after stops, as in **txí** 'different', **ndxob** 'weave', **ipxam** 'mud', and as /k/ after fricatives, as in **kiskínn** 'morning' and **fkāefā** 'thank'.

NOTES-CHAPTER TWO

[1] The palatal series (in brackets) is posited by Welmers but can be eliminated according to an alternative analysis I present in the discussion below.

[2] Note that nasalized vowels are represented phonemically here and throughout this work by **V + n**.

[3] Tones are presented in this chart for reference only. They are described in more detail in Chapter 3.

[4] The labial consonant occurring finally is taken to be a variety of /p/ although the voiced/voiceless distinction is neutralized finally. See discussion below. The velar stop is interpreted similarly.

[5] Evidence for the unitary interpretation of **mb nd ŋg** comes from hummed versions of these verbs, which invariably have one pulse and a single tone. A double pulse or different tone would indicate syllabic nasals, which do occur in Kuteb, but contrast with the prenasalized stops.

[6] The names Kpambai and Kpambo are originally Chamba names given to the villages properly called **Atsaensi** and **Aticwo**. Lissam people tend to say **Kwambai** and **Kwambo** since they lack /kp/. The forms with **kw** are not necessarily Kuteb modifications, however. They may be Hausa adaptations of the Chamba, which have then come into Lissam speech.

The town name **Gbakya** varies freely to **Kpakya**, and I suspect that the word **gbem** may also range to **kpem**. Thus the pairing of voiceless and prenasalized stops (t-nd, k-ŋg) described earlier can be extended to include **kp-mgb**.

[7] Historical evidence suggests that the final alveolar consonant was at one time /t/: cf. PBC *ukútí 'crocodile' (Kuteb: **ukúr**).

[8] The phoneme /h/ is sometimes substituted for /s/ in **sa** 'take/put', apparently for stylistic reasons.

[9] See Bamgbose (1989); Sonaiya (1989); Akinlabi, Akiubiyi, and Oyebade (1987); Badejo (1988?) for a few recent discussions.

[10] On the other hand, in the case of the recapitulating pronoun (fu + ame, for example), the /u/ disappears completely. This may indicate stages in a development from ua to wa to aa).

[11] I use /k/ here for the velar modification. The phonetic realization of /k/ is [x] after voiceless stops, [ɣ] after voiced stops, and [k]~[x] after fricatives.

[12] I do not rule out the possibility that what we write as /w/ and /y/ has evolved from the vowels /u/ and /i/. It is just that at the present time, I see no simplification in positing, say, kua rather than kwa as a syllable structure.

[13] Rood (personal communication) observes that the occurrence in second position of only /w/, /y/, and velars is quite restricted, thus casting doubt on the interpretation of these sequences as true clusters. An alternative view is presented below.

[14] Some speakers use /vy/ or /zw/ in these words, manifesting a dialectal split between /vy/ and /zw/ that constitutes an interesting kind of metathesis. The palatalized labial sequence [vy]~[v^z] in Lissam (Asinde) becomes a labialized palatal sequence [zw]~[z^v] in Atsaen, Fikyu, and Arubur. A similar alternation occurs between /tx/ of Lissam and /sk/ of Arufun in words like txí 'dip' and txún 'insult'.

[15] Welmers takes the labial off-glide in tswa 'to rain' and a few other words as subphonemic. Thus [tsw] is not a complex cluster. The sequence [fky] in afkyáng 'fan palm' (not cited by Welmers) is a possible case of complex clustering, but it is of uncertain status because /afkyáng/ fluctuates with /afkáng/. Some dialects, I have noted, use /skwaen/ for 'laugh' where Lissam uses /skaen/.

[16] See Ladefoged (1964:31) for instrumental data on cw, jw, shw, njw.

[17] The sound [dʒ]~[ʒ] could be analyzed either as /dy/ or as /zy/. In either case (if one is taking them as clusters) one must posit a phoneme (/d/ or /z/) that otherwise does not occur. The same is true of [the labialized variety [dʒ^v]~[ʒ^v]. In this section I have chosen to take these sounds as /dy/ and /dw/, since there is already another voiced stop (b) in the language but no other case of a voiced fricative.

[18] Note that Lissam uses /nz/ [nz]~[ndz] where Fikyu and Jenuwa use /ndw/ [ndʒ^v].

[19] An alternate analysis is to consider [tʃ^f], [dʒ^v], etc. as labialized phonemes /ts/, /dz/, etc. This analysis has the added advantage of opening up /tw/ as the underlying form of [tx]. Thus one can simplify the cluster system to /Cy/ and /Cw/, at least in the aveolar stops. However, clusters with /k/ still remain in the labial series (/pk/ [px], /mbk/ [mby]), and in the fricatives (/fk/ [fx]~[fk], and /sk/ [sx]~[sk]).

CHAPTER THREE

PHONOLOGY, PART II

1.0 Introduction

In this chapter I deal with tones and some phonological processes involving changes in tones. I also present the concept of **syllable**, together with the canonical syllable shapes found in Kuteb.

As is the case in many languages (Lyons 1981:97), the syllable plays an important role in Kuteb phonology as a structure in which sequential constraints on consonants can be formulated. Furthermore, although I only touch on it here, syllables constitute the components of larger phonological units. Tonal sandhi rules, presumably operating within the domains of these larger units, are most effectively formulated in terms of syllables rather than segments.

2.0 Tone Patterns

There are three level tones in Kuteb: low (unmarked here), mid (marked with a macron), and high (marked with an acute accent). The relative intervals between these tones are indicated in the following

diagram. Note that these are lexical tones; tonal
sandhi will create more glides, but they are
non-phonemic.

```
high------  -----  ---o-  -o-o-  -o---  ----  ---  -o---
     ------  -----  -----  -----  ---o-  ----  ---  -----
mid  ---.---  ---o-  -----  -----  -----  ----  -o-  -----
low  -o--o-  -o---  -o---  -----  -----  --o-  ---  -----

        ukwe   risū   urū   kákūm  kūrãng  som  cī  bá
        chief  head   game  horse  crow    sit  eat come
```

Note that the gap between mid and high is
greater than that between low and mid.[1] Welmers (1948)
posited four tones for Kuteb, but the fourth tone
results from the operation of a non-phonemic tonal
"updrift" rule in phrases (to be discussed below). No
four-way contrast can be found among nouns or verbs in
isolation.

Some examples of minimal or near-minimal
contrasts in noun and verbs:

Nouns: <u>low tone versus mid tone</u>

    upwen rain   upwĕn bushfowl

    ricwo grindstone icwõ palmkernels

    ukwab monkey   ukwãb feast

    rikaen poison   rikãen trouble

mid tone versus high tone

iwŏg   bees   iwág   fish

acĪn   medicine   ucín   tail

kutūnn share   utūnn   intermediary

low tone versus high tone

ifaen   two   ifáen   antelope

ishaen   argument   isháen month

rikwen   mountain   rikwén judgment

iku   leprosy   ikū   mushrooms

Verbs: <u>low</u>   <u>mid</u>   <u>high</u>

si   be   sĪ   descend

mam   create   mãm finish

sha   braid   shã want

yen   cross   yãn transplant

nyang   be good   nyãng draw out   nyáng only

tso   plant   tsŏ ascend   tsó   show

bae   ignite   bãe stick to   báe   write

tur   knead   tūr cut down   túr   push

kyaen   be full   kyáen be old

kwen   be hard   kwén   learn

                     cwū die   cwū   lie down

                     tŏm send   tóm   farm

                     kŏb sew   kób   be tall

A few rare cases make it necessary to posit a
falling tone and a rising tone:2

Falling		Rising	
kɩ́nûng	bird	kurûkŭm	toad
imbô	chimpanzee	g̱bǎmsa	sickle (Juk)
kɩ́kôk	chest	kɩ́cě	bowl
ipâm	pound (money)	amɛ̌njǎ	brothers

As in the case of many languages, the domain in which a tone operates is more than one segment long. In fact, except for some cases in which certain tonal assimilation rules operate, the number of tones in a word coincides with the number of segment-sequences that have traditionally been called syllables, and a change in pitch indicates a new syllable.

The word **ákwǎm**, for example, uses two pitch levels, high and mid. **Undá** uses low and high. This is obviously not a completely foolproof way of determining the number of syllables in a string, however, since a tone may span what turns out (by other criteria) to be two or more syllables, (as in **ámá** 'also', **mámá** 'all', or **kinaŋ** 'scorpion').

Note the tone pattern on the following string:

atɩkutɛ̌bkûcǎɩpwɛ̂tɩkufxɛ̌tɩcɛ́

While tone will not give us precise syllable

boundaries, one can, on the basis of tone, isolate from the above string the following nuclei (represented by x's in the lower line):

atɪkutəbkúcäʃpwêtʃkufxətɪcä
x x x x x ?? ?? x x ? x x

In the above, what cannot be divided by tone break (kúcäʃpwê) can be divided further according to canonical segment-sequences to be discussed below.

There are, however, tone breaks that do not coincide with breaks arrived at according to segment sequences, as in the case of ʃpwêtʃ in the string above. The sequence [pwê] has a tonal discontinuity (high to low)[3] suggesting a syllable break. This anomaly will be explained in terms of tonal tactic rules presented below.

3.0 Grammatical Structure and Syllable Structure

Morphological and syntactic information also enter into the perception and segmentation of syllables, but we do not need to go deeply into that, since the criteria of tone and canonical pattern are sufficient to characterize syllables at the present level of analysis. The sentence above, divided according to grammatical and phonological criteria together, is written:

18)   AtI Kutɛb kʉ cɛ́en ipwen   tɪ   kufxen tɪ cɛ́n.
       1p Kuteb IMP do divin. PREP foot REL stumble

We Kutebs use stumbling as a means of divination.

It is useful to note in passing, however, that
the division of a string into syllables does not
necessarily coincide with division by grammatical
category (noun, verb, particle, etc.).[4] For example,
kákʉ̀m 'horse' is a single grammatical unit, but (as we
shall see) two phonological units (syllables).
Likewise, in the sentence

    m̀.nʉ́ŋ.mȁ.fù.bɛ̃   I didn't see you.

the third syllable contains the word m 'I' (a
recapitulating pronoun here) and part of the pronoun
afu. The sentence, divided with grammatical classes in
mind, is:

19)   m nʉ́ŋ-m   afu bɛ̃.
       I see-I   you NEG   I did not see you.

The fact that /m/ may act as a syllable in
itself (see below) as well as the first segment of a
consonant-vowel sequence partially accounts for the
inccngruence between grammatical class and syllable.[5]

We now examine the segments and observe how
they interact with tone to define more precisely the
peaks and boundaries of syllables.

4.0 Recurring Consonant-Vowel Sequences

Here I describe the internal structure of Kuteb syllables, and present the restricted set of segment sequences that comprise the canon of syllable shapes in Kuteb.

4.1 The Syllable Nucleus

First, there is a strong correlation between the number of prosodic units (tones) and the number of vowels in a string of speech. This leads us to surmise (following a long tradition) that vowels form the nuclei of syllables. As sentence 18 above illustrates, vowels and consonants, in general, alternate rhythmically in the speech string. However, it has long been observed in many languages that nasals may also act as syllable nuclei. Thus, in the sentence

20)   m̀kúbá.   I am coming.

the first phoneme, m, carries its own (low) tone and therefore constitutes a syllable, as do kú and bá, although we have yet to say anything about syllable boundaries.

4.2 Syllable Boundaries and Canonical Shapes

For this we may look at units spoken in isolation and analyze their beginnings and ends. For example, one finds that all consonants but /x/ may

occur initially in words, and most of them may be followed by /w, x, y/ to form clusters. Further, /m, n, ng, p, r, k/ occur at the ends of words. These then must at least sometimes be syllable-final segments. Combinations of 'final' C's plus any consonants but /w, x, y/ must be across syllable boundaries.

A few problematical sequences (like mb, ng, bw, by) make exhaustive cutting impossible. These will be dealt with after we present the recurring segment sequences arising from the unambiguous examples: N (syllabic nasal), V, CV, CVC, CCV, CCVC.

The sequence VC is not found in Kuteb. The other sequences are illustrated below:

1. N (syllabic nasal)

   m̄.m. 'no', m̄.kū.rū. 'I'm going'

2. V

   u.fu 'door', i.cing 'flies', á.kwãm 'bananas'

3. CV

   bá 'come', u.tɪ 'spear', rɪ 'speak'

4. CVC

   mūm 'dig', ri.tūk 'market', tĕr 'run'

5. CCV

   u.kwe 'chief', pyɪ 'refuse', txɪ 'draw (water)'

6. CCVC

   kwáp 'try', ku.txom 'stone', byɪr 'black'

It has been pointed out (Jespersen 1922) that syllable structure generally follows a pattern such that segments of greatest sonority are closest to the nucleus. Vowels are more sonorant than consonants. Fricative consonants are more sonorant than stops. Using a scale adapted from Ladefoged (1982:222), some common Kuteb words are shown with their sonority contours:

```
 -       -                           -       -   -
      -              -       -     -               -
    -              -       -                  -
-   -            -   -           -       -
k u t x o m      t x i r    b y a k     a c a ŋ
stone            mock       hot         smoke
```

These patterns further enable a hearer to identify syllable peaks in a large percentage of speech. However, ambiguities may still arise as to boundaries, even with clues from pitch, stress, and the canonical patterns. Three cases where such ambiguities arise involve the prenasalized stops, final nasals, and semivowels. The following pairs illustrate the sort of ambiguities that may occur:[6]

Prenasalized Stops and Final Nasals

21) Mbapxɢ mbae pɢ-wū. [mbapxɢmbaepɢwū]
    dog   delivered   The dog had pups.

22) Utum bae pɢ-wū. [utumbaepɢwū]
    rat lit PRF-3s   The rat lit (the lamp).

Modified Consonants and final Nasals

23)   Atápu nyIng. [AtápunyIŋ] 'Atapu is thin'.

24)   Apwăkunn yIr. [apwăkunyIr] 'Apwakunn tied'.

The above sets simply illustrate the fact that people need to use semantic, morphological, and syntactic information to decode the speech of others. Phonological information is not enough, as it is sometimes impossible to determine syllable and word boundaries.

5.0 Tonal Sandhi

In this section I describe some instances of the more obvious of the tonal changes occurring in Kuteb, namely tone-spreading and tonal updrift.

5.1 Tone Spreading

This phenomenon occurs in three environments: 1) where a noun object follows a verb, 2) where a verb follows a future marker, and 3) in the genitive construction.

5.1.1 Noun Objects after High- and Mid-tone Verbs

In Section 2.1 I described verbs as either high, mid, or low in tone. The majority of nouns have a low-tone prefix and a stem bearing high, mid, or low tone. The low-tone nouns are subject to a sandhi rule as follows: following a verb of mid or high tone, the

prefix pitch assimilates to the pitch of the verb, and the basic tone of the noun stem glides down from the pitch of the verb to low. The tone of the verb spreads, so to speak, onto the noun stem. For example:

umbae (low-tone noun) 'child'

nǔng (high-tone verb) 'see'

25) Ame nǔng ǔmbae. [ame nǔng mbâe]
   1s see child   I see a child.

aser (low-tone noun)   'money'

shǎ (mid-tone verb)   'seek'

26) Abǎ kǔ shǎ aser. [abǎ kǔ ʃǎ ǎsèr]
   3p IMP want money   They want money.

kufxen (low-tone noun) 'foot'

cín (high-tone verb)   'stub'(?)

27) Àwū cín kufxen. [awū cí kǔfxê]
   3s stub foot   He stubbed his toe.

What is theoretically interesting here is the **domain** of the sandhi rule. The high tone of the verb cín acts not only on the immediately adjacent syllable, converting it to high; it also acts on the noun stem, converting it to a high-low glide.[7]

A related issue here is the behavior of some common nouns which appear to follow the same sandhi rule: kínǔng 'bird' and kíkwâb 'hoe' have stems which glide from high to low. It appears that the high-tone prefixes in these words are triggering the sandhi

rule, just as if they were a future marker followed by a verb (see next section).

5.1.2 Verbs after Future Marker

Future is marked in Kuteb by an underlying segment Ꝿ which, in surface structure, is often elided with the vowel of the previous noun or pronoun (see Ch. 2 Section 2.3). The high tone of the future marker, however, is always retained. Furthermore, low-tone verbs after the future marker typically change to high-falling. For example:

28)   Abǎ Ꝿ   som iké. [abǎ Ꝿ sôm iké]
        3s FUT sit here

        They will sit here.

29)   AtI Ꝿ   tu. [atI Ꝿ tû]~[atɾ tû]
        1p FUT find

        We will find (it).

30)   Apuré Ꝿ   nde. [Apuré Ꝿ ndê]
        Apura FUT do

        Apura will do it.

5.1.3 Associative Marker[8]

A possessive pronoun is linked to the head noun by a "floating" high tone, which merges with a previous tone to form an upglide. For example:

ùkwè ´`m  ->  ùkwě `m   'my chief'
chief 1s

With nouns, however, when used in the same construction, the floating tone is often shifted to the prefix of the second noun, where it displaces the inherent low tone. Examples:

```
ùndè  ´ìcè        --> ùndè ícè   'neighbor'
person boundary

kùjwó ´rìcɪ       --> kùjwó rícɪ 'right arm'
arm     right
```

5.2 High Tone "Updrift"

In certain constructions a high-tone noun stem goes higher than it would in isolation. Three instances are illustrated here: a noun object after a high-tone verb, a quantifying noun (numeral) after a high-tone noun, and a descriptive NP:

```
awū kū tóm ritóm  ------------------tóm--
3s IMP farm farm  ------kū--tóm----------
                  --wu-----------ri-----
He's farming.     -a-------------------


andá itsóng       ----------tsóng-------
women five        ---ndá----------------
                  ---------i-----------
five women        -a-------------------


undá tɪ kucáen    ------------cáen------
woman   oldness   --nda-----------------
                  -------ti-------------
an old woman      -u---------ku---------
```

It is this pattern that led Welmers to assert that Kuteb is a four-tone language. In any set of lexical items, however, there is never more than a three-way contrast.

6.0 A Note on Larger Phonological Units

This chapter has dealt with syllables and phenomena that occur within the domain of the syllable. It is likely that with further analysis units such as "phonological words" or "phonological phrases" will be discovered. A full inquiry into this is beyond the scope of the present work. However, I would like in passing to allude to one bit of evidence for postulating the phonological word as a unit of tone-pattern placement. In the local version of spoonerism (see Ch. 2, Section 3.2.2 above), a word like **riwén** ('nose') becomes **wenrí**, retaining the low-high pattern. If this turns out to be general, it is strong evidence that there is a phonological level or plane independent of the segmental string, in which tone patterns are formulated. In other words, although, as we saw above, vowels tend to be the locus of tone placement, tones as such are not necessarily associated with specific vowels.

NOTES—CHAPTER THREE

[1] Note also the narrow gap between the syllables of **kúràng** 'crow'. This shows that the sequences of tones over words do not just follow steps in a fixed scale, but follow contours which have the phonological word as their domain.

[2] There is a low-high-low sequence on the word **ícǎng** 'riddle', but this word may be considered ideophonic and/or part of a ritual sequence:
> A. Ícǎng!
> B. Kadê!
> C. (Riddle)

It is is not considered part of the normal inventory of the language.

[3] In isolation **ipwé** is low-low tone. The change in tone is explained in Section 4.2.1.

[4] But syntactic information may be relevant to the perception of phonological units; see Lyons (1981:97).

[5] An additional case may be seen in the following set:

> utum [utum] rat
> u tu m [utum] You found me.

The above are the same syllabically but the first is one morpheme and the second, three.

[6] In the case of final stops followed by a semivowel in the next word, the stops become voiced and are structurally ambiguous with an initial labialized or palatized voiced stop:

Ukwap wĕn [ukwabwĕn] 'The monkey killed.'

Ákwǎ bwe. [ákwǎbwe] 'Akwa was silent.'

Ashwák wĕn. [ashwágwĕn] 'The snail killed.'

A sée Gwámna. [aséégwámna] 'They watched Gwamna.'

[7] This is evidence that the noun prefixes are disappearing. Even though they may be present, they are "passed over" by the tone spreading rule.

[8] See Chapter 6 Section 4.0 ff. for a description of the function of the associative construction.

CHAPTER FOUR

WORD CLASSES

1.0 Introduction

Discussions of "universal grammar" over the past two decades have rekindled interest in lexical categories or "parts of speech" and how they are arrived at.[1] My main aim in this chapter is to establish the basic elements with which the edifice of Kuteb grammar is built. One can hardly talk of grammar without reference to lexical categories, since, in my approach, syntactic structures are defined partly by reference to the lexical categories that occur in them.

In presenting my scheme for categorizing the kinds of words the reader will find in Kuteb texts, I restrict myself to using grammatical criteria rather than relying on a mixture of meaning and grammar as is common in definitions like "A noun is the name of a person, place, or thing".

This chapter gives minimal criteria and illustrations for various lexical classes. Following

chapters will go into the role of nouns (Ch. 5) and verbs (Ch. 7) in more detail.

2.0 Major Classes

The two largest classes are **nouns** and **verbs**.

2.1 Nouns

The vast majority of nouns are readily identified in Kuteb by their structure, which consists of a stem and a prefix (**a-**, **ku-**, **ki-**, **ru-**, **ri-**, etc.) as in the following:

ande	people	kutŭkū	tree
kicing	fly	ashinn	urine
risū	head	rukun	communal labor
ukwe	chief	indag	cow

The full set of regular prefixes is:

ku-	ki-	ru-	ri-	u-	i-	a-
kū-	kí-	rū-	rí-	ū-	í-	á-

In addition, a small set of nouns has **ká-** or **mba-**.

mbakŭnn chicken   kákūm horse

Note that the nouns above have at least two syllables. Three- and even four-syllable nouns are found, whereas verbs are typically monosyllabic, with a few two-syllable exceptions.

Nouns typically occupy a position before the verb in a simple sentence, i.e. in the frame

[------- VERB]

as in **Apurá bá** (Apura came). Sometimes a sentence will have two nouns, on the following pattern:

N1   VERB   N2

31)   <u>Apura</u>   ye   <u>mbawén</u>.
         Apura   catch   goat   Apura caught a goat.

It may be observed that Kuteb is thus an "SVO" language like most of its Benue-Congo kin.

Some nouns are used adverbially to designate the time, place, and manner of an action. Examples of "adverbial nouns":

íré	yesterday	iké	here
yáka	today	akwēn	there
akā	where?	ise	outside
uwae	inside	kutē	long ago
isim	behind	ísīnn	when?
rípátēn	in a prone position face up		
ribur	in a prone position face down		
ritsen	in an upright position		
ítsū	day before yesterday		
tsõwēn	day after tomorrow		
tsõkutáng	three days hence		

In this regard, also, there are anaphoric nouns that stand for locative and manner morphemes,[2] as in the sequence:

32)   Apurá tsõ   yI ritúg.
        Apura go up   to market

        Apura went to market.

33)   TI awū ka   **atáng**
        REL 3s reach   there

        When he got **there**...

        awū kūnnjí arwán-wū irá.
        3s greet friends-3s word

        he greeted his friends.

34)   Isim tI awū nde **abán**
        back REL 3s do   thus

        After he did **that**...

Further discussion of noun substitutes (i.e. pronouns) and the words **atáng** and **abán** is found in Ch. 10.

2.2 Verbs

2.2.1 Identifying Features

Morphologically, verbs differ from nouns in having no prefixes. They are typically monosyllabic, although some multisyllabic verbs occur, probably compounded from simpler verbs. Examples of verbs:

nde	do	bá	come	kur	stir
fam	drag	fūr	fold	kwáb	try
jáng	lick	jāeb	buy	kāen	roll

Syntactically, verbs characteristically occupy a position after the subject NP or pronoun and before object nouns and pronouns.[3] Examples:

35)   Ame **nûng** fu.
         1s   see   2s   I see/saw you.

36)   Afu **jãeb** mbakûnn a?
         2s   buy   chicken Q   Did you buy a chicken?

Finally, verbs are unique in being able to cooccur with verbal auxilliaries, and to reduplicate, as in the following examples:

<u>Sentences with Auxiliaries:</u>

37)   Awū kū bãe   <u>kôb</u>   irã.
         3s IMP write REIT word

         He is always writing.

38)   Awū bãe   <u>fob</u> irã.
         3s write ABIL word

         He is able to write.

39)   Awū bãe   <u>fê</u> irã yī.
         3s write FIN word REF

         He finished writing it.

40)   Awū bãe   <u>cī</u> irã ſkī.
         3s write REP word SPEC

         He wrote another thing.

<u>Sentences with Reduplication:</u>

41)   Awū kū bíbãe irã ajwõ.
         3s IMP write word arms

         He is writing right now.

42)　　　Awū kū　jwújwóm ajwó.
　　　　　3s　IMP beg　　　arms

　　　　　　He is begging right now.

43)　　　Awū kū　pípínn.
　　　　　3s　IMP fly　　　　　It is flying.

2.2.2 Functional Classes of Verbs

　　　　I distinguish five categories of verbs, although I make no claim here that there are only five. Further research is expected both to extend and to subcategorize the brief taxonomy I present here. The five are:

Equative

　　　　There is only one verb in this category, the copula **si** illustrated in the following:

44)　　　Apurá si urwán-m.
　　　　　Apura be friend-my　　　Apura is my friend.

45)　　　Ikén　ne　si kutxom.
　　　　　thing DEM be stone　　　This thing is a stone.

An equative sentence cannot form a nominalization with its complement as in the case of transitives:

46)　　　Awū mbye kusóg. =＞ kusóg tI mbye
　　　　　3s　build house　　　house REL build

　　　　　He built a house.　　house-building

47)　　　Awū si urwán-m　　*urwán-m　　tI　si
　　　　　3s COP friend-1s　　friend-1s REL is

　　　　　He is my friend.　　*my friend-being

Locative/Motion/Position

These verbs are like that above in resisting the gerundive construction, but, unlike that above, they do not require a predicate nominal. Examples:

48) Amamrá tsŏ yɪ ritúg Arúfū.
Amamra go-up PREP market Arufu

 Amamra went up to Arufu market.

49) Awū rū kutúr tɪ ɪrɛ́.
3s go bush since yesterday

 He went to the bush yesterday already.

50) Awū rū.
3s go   He went.

Stative

Like the equative and motion verbs, these verbs do not nominalize. They typically express qualities such as color, size, amount, physical dimensions, etc. They do not take objects, although nominals do appear in the predicate in a descriptive capacity.[4] Finally, statives often occur with adverbs of degree and with ideophones (each ideophone being unique to a given verb). Examples:

51) Mbapxú ne nyɪng tɪmambɛ̃.
dog   DEM thin   very

 This dog is very thin.

52) Awãen tumátur-fu byãen nwámime.
fruit tomato-2s red   very-red

 Your tomatoes are very red.

53)   *Awū rū nwᾁmime.
         3s   go very-red   ?He went redly.

54)   *Awū tsēn nwᾁmime.
         3s   white very-red   ?He was redly white.

Some other verbs in this category are:

        tsēn   be white   byāg   be hot

        byᶤr   be black   pyir   be short

        nyᶤng   be thin   rab   be rare[5]

Transitive

        This large class of verbs is marked by its
ability to nominalize by inverting the object and the
verb (see 46 above). They may be further subdivided
into those with **restricted,** or **adverbial** objects and
those with **unrestricted** objects.

        The following illustrate verbs with
unrestricted objects:

55)   Awū tu   icwūng.
         3s find mouse   He found a mouse.

56)   Awu ye   iwᾁg ifaen.
         3s catch fish two   He caught two fish.

        If the object has been mentioned just
previously, it will be expressed as a pronoun if it
is focal, or left unexpressed if it is nonfocal.

57)   Anᶤ ye   unde tᶤ riyᶘb wū a?
         2p catch man REL theft REF Q

                 Did you catch the thief?

58)   Eēn, atĪ ye   wū.
      Yes 1p catch 3s   Yes, we caught him.

59)   AnĪ tu   aser a?
      2p find money Q   Did you find money?

60)   Eēn, atĪ tu.
      Yes, 1p find   Yes, we found some.

Verbs with restricted objects, such as the following,
generally translate as intransitive verbs in English:

61)   Awū kyang ikyin.
      3s walk walk   He walked.

62)   Awū yáe kuyáe.
      3s yawn yawn   He yawned.

Verbs of Saying and Thinking[6]

In this category I include a few verbs which
are typically followed by a complementizer and an
embedded clause, as in the following:

63)   Awū rĪ bāa, awū nā kū bá.
      3s say COMP 3s IS IMP come

          He said he is coming.

64)   AtĪ táng bāa, ā nā ū   wēn tĪ.
      1p think COMP 3p IS FUT kill 1s

          We thought they would kill us.

65)   Ā kū yāng akyáng bāa, ā nā wēn icwu.
      3p IMP sing songs COMP 3p IS kill leopard

          They're singing that they killed a leopard.

3.0 Other Classes

Besides **pronouns**, to be discussed under NP in Ch. 5, there are are **adverbs**, and **quality words**, the status of which I discuss below. Then there are **prepositions, conjunctions, demonstratives,** and **particles**, which are bits and pieces of language used to mark things like negation, tense, aspect, reported speech, etc. These will all be discussed in relevant places in the following chapters.

3.1 Adverbs

Here we include a small group of words which typically occur as part of a verb phrase, and normally after an object NP or the goal of a motion verb as in:

66) Awū bá   iké cwúcwo.
     3s come here again

     He came here again.

67) M tu-m   awū kíka bē.
     1s find-1s 3s yet   NEG

     I haven't found him yet.

68) Á sáng uwae kusóg tírĪ.
     3s enter inside house then

     After that they went into the house.

These adverbs have distinctive morphology, being reduplicated like verbs but bi-tonal, in contrast to verbs. Others have the form of nouns (having a prefix), such as **ámāā** 'only', **ahán** 'thus', **átsō** 'reciprocally'.

Ideophones, characterized by unusual phonology such as an extra-high tone, optional reduplication or vowel lengthening, may be included here:

69) Awū kyang **skuuu**.　　　He walked slowly.

70) Awū kyang **kūkūbēn**.　　He walked fast.

71) Awū cwāg **nyĪm**.　　　He slept soundly.

72) Kūtūpwá-wū tsēn **pórírírí**.

　　　His cloth was very white.

73) Awu cĪ wūcĪ-wū **pitang pitang pitang**.
　　　3s eat food-3s pick　　pick　　pick

　　　He ate his food bit by bit.

A few adverbial constructions are made up from a high-tone **tí** plus a nominal or verbal root:

　　　tímambē　　　very　(cf. **mam** 'finish' **bē** 'NEG')

　　　títawé　　　first　(cf. **uwé** 'front, face')

　　　tíkife　　　fast　(cf. **fe** 'exchange')

　　　tínine　　　now　(cf. **nine** < **ne** 'DEM' ?)

Examples:

74)　　Afu bá-fu tíkife bē.
　　　2s come-2s quickly NEG

　　　　You did not come quickly.

75)   Wŭcĭ ne nyang tĭmambĕ.
        food DEM good very

        This food is really good.

76)   Nde wánde-fu tĭtawɛ́.
        do work-2s first

        Do your work first!

77)   Nde yĭ tĭnine.
        do 3 now

        Do it now!

One adverb which typically occurs with verbs of position is **tăpĭpɛ́** "crooked" as in:

78)   Awŭ tsi   tăpĭpɛ́.
        3s stand crooked   He stood crooked.

A number of other words which occur with verbs of position are the following:

        ritsin   upright   rĭpátĕn   upside down

        risáng   on the side ribur   face down7

Although they are morphologically nouns, I include them here because they function syntactically as adverbs. Examples:

79)   Awŭ náe rĭpátĕn.
        3s lie sprawled-out   He lay sprawled out.

80)   Tĭ nwŭnn ritsen!
        1p arise standing   Let us arise!

Note other adverbial nouns in the following:

81)   Awū bá   írб.
         3s   come yesterday   He came yesterday.

82)   Awū bá   ikб.
         3s   come here   He came here.

3.2 Quality Words—an Emerging Category?

In Section 2.2.2 above one may note that many quality ideas such as color, size, and physical dimension—expressed by adjectives in many languages—are expressed by stative verbs in Kuteb. Some quality ideas are not expressed by verbs, however, and I will present them here. I will also try to show that even those quality concepts that are expressed by stative verbs have alternative, derived forms which may be considered a class of words in its own right.

Note that I argue here for the possible existence of a lexical category. Whether it is justifiably called "adjective" is a separate issue involving cross-linguistic comparison,[9] an issue I shall reserve for a separate inquiry. I shall call them "quality words" for the meantime. The proposed word class differs in form and function from the other classes, as the next two sections will show.

3.2.1 Formal Features of Quality Words

The proposed quality words (QW's, from here on) are derived words and fall into two categories according to whether the stem is independent or not. They all have two syllables and can be subdivided into two groups according to pitch pattern. One set begins with a high tone, the other with mid tone, as follows:

tící	old	tísíp	fresh/moist
tíshé	new	tínyíng	young
tíwám	dry	tínyang	good

In form these words are like verbal nouns without prefixes, being built from tí or tí plus a stem (cf. VN's ItIsáng 'act of entering', Itípwen 'act of counting'). As in the case of verbal nouns, the tí jumps to high tone before low-tone (and some mid-tone) stems.

3.2.1.1 QW's based on Dependent Stems

The stems of several QW's are probably derived historically from stative verbs, although no such verbs occur independently now. No words ever intervene between tí/tí and the stem. Note:

*cí	be old (?)	*shé	be new (?)
*nyíng	be young (?)	*bí	be bad (?)
*síp	be fresh (?)		

Compare the following:

83)　　　Iwág ne wám tímambē.
　　　　　fish DEM dry very

　　　　　　　This fish is very dry.

　　　　*Iwág ne sīp tímambē.
　　　　　fish DEM fresh very

　　　　　　　This fish is very fresh.

The normal way of expressing 'This fish is fresh' is:

84)　　　Iwág ne si tísīp.
　　　　　fish DEM be fresh

　　　　The only other words that occur after **si** are
nouns and pronouns.　Words like **tísīp** and **tIwám** are
not nouns because they do not have any of the normal
prefixes (ru-, ri-, u-, i-, etc.). Nor are they verbs,
because they are bisyllabic and begin with a prefix
tI-). Both in form and in function, then, this set of
words is distinct from both nouns or verbs.

3.2.1.2. QW's based on Independent Stems
　　　　Analogous to the QW's above are those which
are based on existing stative-verb stems:

tIwám	dry	tífab	sour
tItsēn	white	tínyang	good
tIbyāen	red	tíkwen	hard

As with **tísĭp** in 84, these words may occur after the copula **si**, although in this case the result alternates freely with a verbal form, as follows:

85)   AyĬ byăen.   = AyĬ si tĬbyăen. It is red.

86)   AyĬ nyang.   = AyĬ si tínyang. It is good.

I have not been able to isolate any difference in meaning between the two forms.

3.2.2 Distribution of Quality Words

There are three contexts in which QW's occur:

1. after COP (si)

2. after N

3. after N + REL (tĬ)

We will consider each in turn.

3.2.2.1. Quality Words after COP

Sentences 84, 85b, and 86b above illustrate one context of quality words, namely (N COP --------), which, in fact, distinguishes them distributionally from sequences of tĬ + **VERB**. Note:

	NP	COP QW		NP	COP	tĬV
87)	AyĬ	si tísĭp.		*AyĬ	si	tĬrū.
	3	be fresh		3	be	going

          It is fresh.   It is going.

88) Keké-m   si tīshé.   *Awū si tĪbá
     Cycle   be new   3s be coming

              My cycle is new.   He is coming.

89) AyĪ si tĪbyāk.   *Afu si tĺpwen.
    3   be hot   2s be counting

         It is hot   You are counting.

3.2.2.2. Quality Words after N

A more frequent usage of these words is after a noun, as in the following sentences:

90)   AyĪ si irĺm tĺsĪp.
       3   be grass fresh

           It is fresh grass.

91)   Sáe anyĪsū tĺnyĪng akwēn.
       Look children young   there

          Look at those young children.

In this context, however, at least in the case of mid- and high-tone stems, an ambiguity arises between sequences of N + tĪ + verb and N + QW:

      ibyē tĪ wám   ibyē tĪwám
      meat REL dry   meat dry

        meat which is dry   dry meat

There is no way of distinguishing these constructions phonologically. In the case of low-tone verb stems, however, I have recorded the following:

        irá tínyang
        word good   good news

        irá tᴵ nyang tímambē
        word REL good very   very good news

        irá tᴵ nyang skeb mēmē
        word REL good pass all   the best news

Cf.:   irá tᴵ ame fxēn
        word REL 1s hear   the news I heard

These phrases show that when the stem is used as a verb, the relator keeps its base form. In the QW construction, however, it follows the polar tone rule which raises **tᴵ** to **tí**. I take this as evidence that **tínyang** is an independent word. By analogy, then, **tᴵwán**, 'dry', may also be considered a QW, even though in some contexts the difference between **tᴵwán** and **tᴵ wán** is neutralized.

3.2.2.3. Quality Words after tᴵ (REL)

A further piece of evidence for the existence of QW's is their behavior in attributive phrases such as the following:

        unde   tᴵ tᴵshá   (=unde tᴵshá)
        person REL new

        irá tᴵ tᴵkōng   (=irá tᴵkōng)
        word REL false

There seems to be no difference in meaning between the

constructions with and without **tɪ**. Every QW so far discovered may be used with **tɪ**.[9]

3.2.3 Discussion of Quality Phrases

It is possible that these phrases are built by analogy on the following N REL N construction:

    unde   tɪ riyɪp
    person REL theft   thief

    ibyē   tɪ kutúr
    animal REL bush   wild animal

    kutúkū tɪ ruwáe
    tree   REL tallness   tall tree

Because of the similarity of words like **tɪshá** and **tínyang** to verbal nouns, one could possibly treat them as shortened forms of verbal nouns rather than as a separate lexical category. In that case, however, one would have to explain the unusual distribution of the prefix-less VN and its aberrant structure.

Since we have already created a category of "quality words" on the basis of **tɪshá**, 'new' and **tínyɪng**, etc. (the stems of which are dependent), the simplest solution is to consider words like **tɪbyāg** members of this category when they occur after REL. Examples of quality words after REL (tɪ):

```
        N    REL   QW

    ámbyĭ tĭ tĭjĭm          cool water

    unde tĭ tĭnyang         good   person

    wŭcĭ tĭ tĭbyắg          hot   food
```

Now, if **tĭjĭm** is considered a single word in this context, one is compelled to treat it as a single word in the context N ----- unless there is other evidence that it is REL + VERB. (Such evidence would be the presence of a modal or adverb). Thus:

```
    N      QW              N   REL   V   ADV

ámbyĭ tĭjim          ámbyĭ tĭ jĭm tĭmambắ
water cool           water REL cool very

cool water           water that is very cool
```

3.2.4 Conclusion of QW discussion

The membership of **tĭjĭm** 'cool', **tĭnyang** 'good', and others like them[10] hangs mostly on the legitimacy of a separate category for words like **tĭcĭ** ('old'), **tĭshắ** ('new'), etc. If further research yields evidence against **tĭcĭ** and others as a separate class, then **tĭbyắg** would have to be taken either as a modified verbal noun or as a sequence of REL (tĭ) plus an unusual subcategory of stative verbs that only occurs in relative clauses.

NOTES-Chapter Four

[1] In traditional grammar, a noun is usually defined (at least partly) as a word which names "a person, place, or thing". Generative grammar essentially defines the major lexical categories in terms of syntax: a noun is the head of a NP, verb the head of VP and Adj the head of Adjective Phrase.

Thompson and Hopper (1984) suggest that "nouns" are "nouns" not just because they are the subjects of sentences or that they typically <u>name</u> things, but primarily because they serve to <u>manipulate</u> participants in a discourse. Using the prototype approach of Rosch, they set out all the discourse functions of nouns and verbs and arrange them in degrees of "prototypicality", the most typical (and universal) function of all being to <u>introduce</u> a participant for the first time.

Frajzyngier (1986), on the other hand, finds the basis for the categories noun, verb, and adjective in their function as encodings of propositional elements. An important component of this view is that the categories <u>adjective</u> and <u>verb</u> carry implications, namely: <u>adjective</u> implies that there are objects which possess the state or quality, and <u>verb</u> implies the existence of objects that are involved in the state or action.

[2] The reciprocal marker **átsó** could be included here as it has the form of a noun, stands in the position of an adverbial noun, and has an anaphoric function.

[3] A reversal of this order is found in the gerundive phrase, to be described in Chapter 5 on the noun phrase (Section 2.2.6).

[4] A discussion of the roles of complements, adjuncts, and objects is found in Ch. 7.

[5] A fuller list of stative verbs is given in Ch. 7, Section 2.1.

[6] Since I do not deal with complex sentences in this study, nothing further will be said about "verbi dicendi". Further examples may be found in Appendix D (complex sentences).

[7] Most of these are adverbial nouns, distinguished from "restricted objects" in their inability to form gerundive constructions (see 2.2.2 above).

[8] For a discussion of quality words in typological perspective see Dixon (1977).

[9] One may note here the case of tíbɪ 'bad', which never occurs without the preceding tɪ, as in wúcɪ tɪ tíbɪ 'bad food'. One could consider tɪtíbɪ as a unit, but in such a case it would be the only QW with three syllables.

[10] As noted above, (3.2.2.1.), only stative verbs form phrases of this kind, although the object incorporating nominalization optionally takes this pattern, as in the following example:

                iwág tɪ ye   (= iwág tɪ tɪye)
                fish catch   fish REL catch

                        fish-catching

Whether these should also be considered **N + QW** and **N REL QW** I leave for a later study.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE NOUN PHRASE

1.0 Introduction

This chapter and the next deal with nouns, expansions of nouns, and noun substitutes--anything, in fact, that can express an argument of a proposition.[1] I will follow the schema below:

1. Simple and derived nouns, pronouns, nominalizations

2. NP's with determiners:

       specifier: ÍkÍ

       referentials: wú, bǎ, yÍ

       demonstratives: ne; wúne, bǎne, yÍne

       quantifier: mɛmɛ́

       numerals

3. NP's with relator tÍ

       N tÍ N, N tÍ Num

       N tÍ + Stative Verb[2]

       N tÍ V ("gerundive")

       N tÍ S (relative clause)

4. NP's with genitive **ná**

    N (ná) pn, N ´pn

    N (ná) N, N ´N

    aná + N

5. Co-ordinate Phrases

    N tí N (tí N)

6. Appositives

To manage this large body of material conveniently, I will treat everything under the first point in this chapter, and deal with points 2-6 in the following chapter.

2.0 Simple Nominals

Following recent linguistic conventions we include here simple nouns and pronouns as "noun phrases", as in:

92)   <u>Kisung</u> rū ka byīnn <u>wū</u> tí <u>riwén</u>.
       Hare move go strike 3s PREP nose

       Hare went and hit him on the nose.

where **kisung**, **wū**, and **riwén** are all "noun phrases" (NP's from here on) even though they are not syntactically complex.

Nouns in Kuteb are of two kinds: 1) simple nouns having the noun-class prefix system inherited from Proto-Benue-Congo, and 2) derived nouns which have been created by various morphological processes.

2.1 Simple Nouns

As mentioned above (Ch. 4), nouns are identifiable by their structure, which consists typically of a single-syllable **stem** and a V- or CV-**prefix**. The stem tones are, with rare exceptions, high, mid, or low; the prefixes are mostly low, with a limited number of high ones. Examples:

unde	person	ande	people
kutúkū	tree	itúkū	trees
kúráng	crow	árâng	crows
kúkwâm	banana	ákwâm	bananas
kicing	fly	icing	flies
kínung	bird	ánung	birds
kákúm	horse(s)	urwâ	fire
indag	cow(s)	abâen	husbands
risū	head	asū	heads
ífúnn	foam	íbyâen	termites
rífên	lie	atsam	sweat

2.1.1 The Noun Class System

The prefixes are presumably the remains of a noun class system which required agreement between the noun and other elements of the grammar. If there were unifying features of the different classes in the ancient system, it is difficult to tell now except that a- nouns tend to be plurals and mass

nouns, and that the others, (except for i-) indicate singular. The i- prefix can go either way.

The semantic range of words in each group is illustrated below:

ku- words

kubunn	drum
kubwa	ambush
kucwúr	lump
kucĭn	medicine
kucí	egg
kunyá	armpit
kusang	year
kutúkū	tree

kú- words

kúráng	crow
kúbyĭ	cloud
kúkwām	banana
kúbúbŏng	bell
kúcícĕb	festival
kúkwén	priest
kúfŏb	husk
kúshwŏng	forest

ki- words

kicáeb	sickness
kicwág	sleep
kikwār	gourd
kiser	metal
kiskínn	morning
kitsĭnn	jealousy
kiráen	fufu
kinang	scorpion
kiyíku	this year

kí- words

kícíka	basket
kíkog	chest
kíkwáe	dove
kínzŏ	one
kípyir	shortness
kírátxinn	mussel
kíticwáe	bowl
kíyib	smallness
kítsig	a game

ri- words

ribam	nakedness
ribɔm	strength
rijwen	coldness
rikãen	trouble
rinwãen	salt
risãen	farm
risū	head
ritũg	market

rí- words

rífẽn	lie
rímãng	how?
ríyãe	opportunity
rípye	part
rínyangwae	gift
rícwinncɪ	end
ríkɔ̃ng	farm
ríbãe	spot

ru- words

rubūng	waterhole
rukun	groupwork
rukɔm	corpse
rukwen	mountain
rukũb	roof
rukɔm	corpse

rú- words

rúwẽ	tsetse fly
rúkɔ̃ng	false
rúkwãe	shame
rúsū	locust bean
rúpwẽ	squirrel
Rúfũn	(a clan)

u- words

ubãen	husband
ufam	rainy season
ufáng	farm home
ucin	guinea fowl
ufunn	wind
ujɪ	rope

ú- words

úcín	tale
únde	work
únwu	mosquito
úfúnn	foam
útug	taste
úcɪ	food

i- words

ibae	sack
ice	boundary
ibyē	meat, animal
icwu	leopard
ifaen	two
ifᴂb	swordgrass
inji	elephant
iyãg	bushcow
irá	word
iyém	hippopotamous

ɪ- words

ɪsá	sand
ɪte	father
ɪnjã	brother
ɪré	yesterday
ɪtsū	2 days ago
ɪmunn	swimming
ɪpúg	cudgel
ɪsóm	lice
ɪnwūnn	bedbugs
ɪya	mother

a- words

anyɪng	blood
ashinn	urine
afunn	pus
ajwó	arms
abyɪng	faeces
afxen	legs
ajwūg	blossoms
akong	odor
ayéb	millet
ayɪb	eyes

á- words

ákwãm	bananas
ámbyɪ	water
ákong	stalks
ámúmunn	leftovers
ásáng	laterite
ábyɪ	clouds
átõm	messenger
árãng	crows
ákwã	a cult
áshwõng	forest

In addition to the above, a small group of nouns beginning with **mba-** may be found:

mbakŭnn	chicken	(pl. ikŭnn)
mbapxŭ	dog	(pl. ipxŭ)
mbapwa	maize	(cf. pwa 'to grind')
mbawɛ́n	goat	(pl. iwɛ́n)

Another small set of words begins with ká-:

kákŭm	horse(s)
kácwĭn (B)	locust (=kŭcwĭn)
kákon	stalk
kácɛ̃m	Patas monkey
kámtɛ̃n	Colabus monkey

Two words are recorded with a low-tone ka- prefix:

kayǎ	sister (=mbiyǎ in Bika)
kawa (?)	a lizard

Odd nouns that do not fit any of these categories are:

Native Words

tsɔ̃wɛ̃n	2 days hence
tsɔ̃kutáng	3 days hence
tǎtu	hunter
yáka	today (=yíŋga, nyíka)
fangó	road (=fankó, fenkŭ)

Borrowed Words

rógɔ̃	cassava	bwɛ̂l	ball
góro	kolanut	hotêr	hotel
mɛ̌kɛ̌rɛ̌ntɛ̌	school	táya	tire

adúwa	prayers	tíca	teacher
waázi	preaching	fotó	picture
keké	bicycle	ónjin	engine
agwagwá	duck	máto	car

Some three-syllable words which were possibly originally morphologically complex are:

abítsé	fathers	arIbón	earth
átúpwá	clothes	itúkū	trees
ásúwá	beads	kurúkŭm	toad
kusúru	wall	kutápāen	cheek
kiyíku	this year	itumūm	lion
ícinnsú	donkey	kutúkū	tree
kumbúkūnn	hill	kútúpúg	pestle
kurItón	python	kútúkóg	kapok
itsuku	a grass	kicíka	basket
kutútong	pot	átítaen	stars
rikampxú	bat	rikamyae	gecko
apwáfxen	shoes	afxenjwín	voice

No trace of the agreement (e.g., between N and numeral, N and demonstrative) remains, and the prefixes themselves appear to be in a state of decay, there being considerable variation among the dialects.

DeWolf (1971) has done a preliminary study of the pairing of low-tone singular and plural prefixes,3 which we summarize in the form of a diagram as follows:

```
u-  ─────────────  a-
ri- ──────╱
ku- ──────
i-  ──────────────  i-
ki-
ru-
```
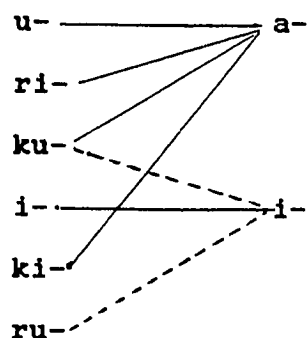
That the prefixes do indicate a singular/plural distinction, however, is shown by the association of singular nouns with the numeral one, and plural nouns with other numerals:

unde kínzõ	one person	ande itã	three people
kũkwãm kínzõ	one banana	ãkwãm inje	four bananas
kíkwab kínzõ	one hoe	ãkwab ifaen	two hoes
ribũ kínzõ	one arrow	ibũ itsóng	five arrows

2.1.2 Functional Classes of Nouns

Some languages have "gender", signalled by some affix on the noun and perhaps requiring "agreement" with similar markings on adjectives, numerals, etc. While Kuteb nouns are not marked in that way, a set of "reference words" wũ, yĩ, bã

(translated 'the one just referred to') require one to know into which of three groups a noun will fit (Ch. 9). Further study is needed to sort out precisely what the relevant qualities are (if any) for membership in each group. For the present we suggest the following:

awū, wū	singular
abǎ, bǎ	plural, invariably human
ayǐ, yǐ	mass, plural, abstract, usually inanimate and non-human

As the **bǎ-** nouns invariably refer to humans we present only the **wū-** and **yǐ-** nouns. First those referred to by **wū-/awū**:

unde	person	umbae	child
inji	elephant	ibyě	animal
kitū	calabash	uwǒg	place
kicǎeb	sickness	kusǒg	house
usǎng	python	uwǎe	hole
iyǎg	bushcow	rikaen	poison
ribén	ground	ríbyǎen	locust

Nouns referred to by **yǐ/ayǐ**:

asǒg	huts	awūm	corn
kicǎeb	sickness	anyǐ	teeth
ayéb	millet	ijwě	body
ayǎen	kernels	mbapwa	maize

upae	penalty	itũkũ	trees
irím	grass	ákwa	a cult
akũb	bones	kirãen	food
kucē	net	apwã	skin
arĩbén	clay	kiskínn	morning
ajwũg	flowers	icwo	palmnuts
ivyē	meat	urũ	game
iyãg	buffaloes	icír	yam(s)
itsab	acumen	ikén	things
ibēn	marriage	ukõb	flute
abãen	branches	kindob	oil
acĩn	medicine	wánde	work
rikaen	poison	anyĩng	blood
rógõ	cassava	kupwã · skin	
irá	word	karatũ	reading

It may be seen that the range of antecedents for **ayĩ** is wide, ranging from plurals to uncountable objects to singulars. Note, however, that most of those that are formally singular (having **ku-**, **ki-**, **u-**, **ri-** prefixes) are non-individuated nouns. Furthermore, the lists of nouns which may be coreferential with **awũ** and **ayĩ** overlap slightly. Our texts include **ámbyĩ** ('water'), **apxín** ('spirit/s'), **aser** ('money'), and **anyĩng** ('blood') with both **awũ** and **ayĩ** as anaphoric markers.

2.2 Derived Nouns

2.2.1 Names

Many proper nouns encode a complete proposition:

    Apwende (= ã + pwen + ande)
             3p count people

        (a name given during a census)

    Rimamtãnúng (= Rimam + tã + núng)
                  God   REL   know

    Andeyatsõ (= ã + ndeya + átsõ)
               3p help   RECIP

    Apũnarimam (= ã + pũ + na + Rimam)
                3p take give God

Names may also begin with a nominalizer:

    Ũrĩtébã (= ũ- + rĩ + té + bã)
                      say with 3p

Some names do not have the initial **a-**, a feature which may be dialectal. **Pxãntírimam, Sapúru, Somtínde, Ndeyatĩ, Pũnarimam** are examples. Some names begin with other nouns:

    Awúmsikwe (awúm + si + nkwe)
               g.corn is chief

    Ikyisinde (ikyi + si + unde)
               masquerade is   person

    Rimamndeyatĩ (Rimam + ndeya + tĩ)
                  God   help   us

Kurūtsi (kurū + tsi)
home   stand

(i.e. the lineage is established)

UkwesatI (ukwe + si + atI)
chief is   us

2.2.2 Nouns formed from Verb + Object

A number of processes have been used for nominalization but are not currently productive. For example, a small set of nouns is derived from the prefix rí- plus a verb plus a noun stem or verb extension. The words for 'dung beetle' and 'gift' illustrate the process:

rí turbyíng   rí- + tūr 'push' + (a)byíng 'dung'

rínyanwae   rí- + nyang 'good' + (u)wae 'inside'

These nouns sometimes sound like they begin with a mid-tone, but this may be due to tonal updrift mentioned above. In the following examples, not all the components can be identified.

rípocwū	biting fly	(ricwū = death, ghost)
rípobyáen	nightjar	(abyáen = breasts, milk)
ríkwérfe	corner	(kwēr = strike, join)
ríkamsínn	spider	(kam = squeeze)
rífunntā	total	(funn = gather)
ríkunntsIk	catfish	(kunn = shock)
rícwēnbyíng	hyena	(abyíng = dung)

rĩkantǎ	portion	(kantǎ = divide)
rĩkampxũ	bat	(ĩpxũ = dogs)

Just one noun in my data has the above structure but a different prefix:

ushitong	stirrer	(shir pull, utong 'soup')

2.2.3 Nouns of N + V structure:

I have only one case in this category so far (although there are names with this structure; see Section 2.2.1):

kujwójáng   reward   (kujwó 'arm' + jáng 'lick')

2.2.4 Nouns formed by reduplication

Some nominals of three syllables have apparently been derived via reduplication:

ábũbũnn	shells	kũbũbõng	a bell
mbũtsutsu	coucal	árĩrag	gum
kucwucwub	owl	kĩsĩsaen	an ant
ásĩskir	tiny fish	kũcĩcin	finger
kũcĩcĕb	a festival	apũpwen	sky
kikukwe	a snake	kũtũtũn	fig tree
ámũmunn	fragments	cangkonkón	instrument
kiririm	earthworm	asisaen	stars
amimyim	scars	akyikya	branches

2.4.5 Nominalizations with Prefix + tI

A number of compounds are formed by nominalizing an attributive phrase beginning with the relativizer tI. Insofar as I have been able to analyze them, the prefixes are:

ū- for singular

ā- for plural

I- for abstracts/plural

I introduce four different structures here before illustrating them one by one:

prefix + tI + V

prefix + tI + N

prefix + tI + V + N

prefix + tI + Sentence

Prefix + tI + Verb (usually stative)

There seems to be a preference here for the reduplicated form of the verb. Note also that before a low-tone verb stem the tI becomes high tone. When the stem is reduplicated, however, the low tone is realized as a falling tone.

Itínyang	the good ones	ItIkãbye	thought
ūtItútom	the light ones	ItIsI	descending
ItIfífâb	the sour ones	ItIrū	going
ūtIbIbyāen	the red one	ItIrūyé	exit (N)
ūtíndufū	the older	Itíkafe	turn (N)

ūtɪrūrŏb	the heavy one	ɪtɪndeya	help (N)
ūtɪtsɪtsēn	the white one	ɪtɪmbūbsɪ	destruction
ɪtɪbyăg	the hot one	ɪtɪpwen	counting

Prefix + tɪ + Noun

ūtɪriwăe	the tall one
ătɪrikɪm	the fat ones
ūtɪkɪpyir	the short one
ătɪribŏm	the strong ones
ătɪrukwen	the ones of the mountain
ūtɪrŭmtɪsɪb	the green one
ūtɪkundebūkăn	the yellow one
ūtɪtawé	the first one
ūtɪkucang	the original one

In the case of the abstract nouns formed from verbs, there is some variation in the prefix, ranging from **tɪ** to **itɪ** to **tɪtɪ-**. The forms with **itɪ-**, however, seem to predominate and have been taken as standard in the official orthography. For example:

ɪtɪndeya	help
ɪtɪnwángrū	salvation
ɪtɪtsikunn	the end
ɪtɪpwen	census
ɪtɪmyae	plan, measurement

Some examples of abstract nouns in context:

93)   ItĪcĪ tɪ ItĪngwā tá-yɪ bā.
         eating and drinking be-3s NEG

              There was no eating and drinking.

94)   ItĪbá-fu pāng   atáng.
         coming-2s be enough there

              Your coming is appropriate.

95)   ‾
         Ā mūm kukwae tɪ Itɪtsikunn-yɪ tá-yɪ bā.
         3p dig hole   REL stand-end-3s be-3s NEG

              They dug a bottomless hole.

2.2.6 Nominalizations with Incorporated Object[4]

     Verb-Object sequences can be nominalized by

reversing their order and inserting the relator tɪ (tɪ

before low-tone verbs), as follows:

96)   Awū ye iwág.   ⟹ iwág tɪ ye
      3s catch fish   fish REL catch

      He caught a fish.   fishing

Other common nominalizations:

      ifēb tɪ sɪb
      grass rel pull   grass-pulling

      rukúb tɪ shwū
      roof REL thatch   roof-thatching

      mbakúnn tɪ shi
      chicken REL tending chicken-tending

      ibyē   tɪ fe ·
      animal REL scare   animal-scaring (from crops)

Verbal noun phrases of this sort tend to express routine activities as is illustrated in a text on house-building, which begins with a title:

 Wánde ná kusóg tɩ mbye
 work of house REL build

 The Work of house-building

and includes the following sentence:

97) Andá ɨ́ rū uwõg ákong tɩ shã,
   women FUT go place stalks REL seek

  aróm má ɨ́ rū uwõg ifãb tɩ sɩb.
  men also FUT go place grass rel pull

   The women will go to look for (corn)stalks,
   and the men will go gather swordgrass.

Other examples of incorporating nominalizations:

98) Atɩ kɨ́ fwã-tɩ umbae kusen tɩ asɨ́ tɩ txɨ̃n bã̃.
   1p IMP warn-1p child warning abuse REL ? NEG

  We don't scold our children with insults.

99) cf. Atɩ txɨ̃n bã̃ asɨ́.
    1p ? 3p abuse We insulted them.

100) Afu mbakɨnn skeb pɨ́-fu ame tɩ ikén tɩ cɩ.
    2s chicken pass PRF-2s 1s PREP thing REL eat

   You, chicken, surpass me at eating.

2.2.7 Nominalized Possessive Pronouns[5]

These pronouns consist of a nominalizing prefix a-, the possessive marker ná, and a shortened form of the pronoun:

aná-m	mine	anátI	ours
anáfu	yours	anánI	yours
anáwū	his	anábá	theirs
anáyI	its/theirs		

Examples in Sentences:

101) Aná-m kū bá tInine ahán.
      mine IMP come now thus

       Mine (children) are just coming now.

102) Anáfu kób skeb anáwū.
      yours tall pass his

       Yours is taller than his.

2.2.8 Nominalized Specifiers

Three constructions are included here: 1) the unmarked nominalized specifier, 2) specifiers with u, i, a and 3) the words for "something" and "sometimes".

The Unmarked Nominalized Specifier: fkI[6]

The specifier fkI can stand alone as an independent nominal, as in the following:

103) Awū tu kīkwab kīnzó uwae kununn, ū rū ka
      3s find hoe one   in   home   SEQ move go

```
jâeb ÍkÍ      uwae ritÚg.
buy  SPEC     in market
```

> He found one hoe at home, and went and
> got another one in the market.

104)   Ā kÚ kūnn iwaen ÍkÍ ba sTi "apitang".
        3p IMP call beds SPEC COMP apitang

        They call some beds 'apitang'.

105)   Ivyē   tI nI wēn atáng si kó awū ámãm
        animal REL 2p kill there be only 3s alone

        rēré tI nI wēn cI   ÍkÍ fã   cI?
        or   REL 2p kill again SPEC together again

        Was it only this one that you killed or
        did you kill others?

106)   (Afu a) bá   fob wakÚnunn, afu Ú sa   ÍkÍ
        2s COND come reach home   2s FUT take SPEC

        nwūnn sI kikwēr, Ú   nwūnn ÍkÍ sI kitēn.
        pour down gourd, SEQ pour SPEC down pot

        When you reach home, you pour some
        into a gourd and some into a pot.

107)   IkÍ   tá atáng, si Yakubu; ÍkÍ   tá atáng,
        SPEC be there be Yakubu another be there

        si Bushi.
        be Bushi

        One of them was Yakubu, another was Bushi.

108)   ÍkÍ   tá atáng, â kÚ kūnn rinyí-wū sTi kutá.
        SPEC be there, 3p IMP call name-3s COMP kutá

        There is another (type of trap) they
        call "kuta".

<u>Specifiers with **u, i, a**</u>

A related set of nominals consists of a prefix, the sound /r/, and the specifier-root **ʃkɪ**:

urʃkɪ   someone/another person

arʃkɪ   some people/other people

irʃkɪ   something(s)/other things

Examples of nominalized specifiers:

109)   **Arʃkɪ**   kû jãeb ikén   tɪ tɪshé tɪnine.
some people IMP buy things REL new   now

Some people are buying new ones now.

110)   Ī nyang skeb tɪ fu shã   **irʃkɪ** tɪ tɪnyang.
3 good pass REL 2s seek another rel good

It would be better for you to look for
another one that is good.

111)   **Urʃkɪ**   rɪ té   m bãa,
a person say with 1s COMP

Someone told me that...

<u>Other Specifiers</u>

Another set of words consists of certain very common nouns with the specifier frozen onto them:

wûkɪn   a certain place

kʃkɪn   something

That these are fossilized forms is indicated by the numerous cases in the data where the live specifier is added:

112)   Awū rū ka fob wūkīn īkī.
        3s move go reach place SPEC

        He went along and reached a certain place.

113)   Kīkīn   īkī nde-yī ame bē.
        something SPEC do-3 1s NEG

        Nothing has happened to me.

One may even hear the phrase

        wani kīkīn   īkī
        SPEC something SPEC   a certain something

which begins with the specifier wani from Hausa   (in

its usual position in Hausa) and both the nominalized

and attributive specifiers follow.

2.2.9 Nominalized Demonstrative

        In this construction the prefix a- occurs with

the descriptive demonstratives wūne,   yīne, bāne to

form a word that may encode an argument in a

proposition:

114)   Awūne si anā   ayē?
        DEM   be that-of who?

        Whose is this one?

115)   Atī tu ayīne uwae kusóg.
        1p find DEM inside house

        We found these in the house.

116)   Ame som té abāne.
        1s stay with these

        I stayed with these.

The simple demonstrative **ne** 'this' occurs only after a noun. A high tone form of it, however, is sometimes used nominally, as follows:

117) **Né** si uwó-fu a ?
DEM be face-2s Q

Is this really you?

2.2.10 Nouns from the Associative Construction[7]

Other compounds are formed from the joining of two nouns (in which case the prefix of the second is lost), or a noun plus a verb. In a number of cases, one or both of the two nouns no longer occurs as a separate lexical item.

kupenjwín	windpipe	(kupen= ?; ujwín = voice)
kutácwóng	a trap	(kutá = bow; ucwóng = ?
ísábūn	sand	(ísá = sand; rubún = spring)
akáenjag	back yard	
iwóntām	sheep	(iwón = sheep/goats)
iwóntēn	goat	
kwerúbūn	dragonfly	(ukwe= chief; rubūn = spring)
kikúnyang	ring	
atútong	pots	(atú = gourds; utong = soup)
utēnse	world	(utēn = town; ise = outside)
kutsīnkén	paper	(kutsīng = leaf; ikén = thing)

3.0 Pronouns

Although the function and form of pronouns will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 9, I introduce them here as elements of the Noun Phrase. Three components are involved, namely the traditional person and number, and the factor human/non-human, the exact role of which I do not completely understand. I set them out as parameters in the following diagram:

	singular		plural		non-human
1st p.	ame/me/m	I,me	atI/tI	we,us	
2nd p.	afu/fu/u	you	anI/nI	you	
3rd p.	awū/wū/ū	he,she, him, her	abā/bā/ā	they, them	ayI/yI/I it,they, them

The distribution of the longer form and shorter forms is spelled out in Chapter 9, Section 3.1.1.

NOTES—CHAPTER FIVE

[1] And even more, since there are nouns which may represent temporal, manner, and locative elements of a proposition and as such do not encode <u>logical</u> arguments of propositions.

[2] For a discussion of the status of this construction (whether "adjective" or REL + S), see Ch. 4 Section 3.2.

[3] But note that **ici** 'eggs' attributed to me is a mistake. In Lissam, at least, the plural of **kuci** 'egg' is **aci**.

[4] The noun-incorporating construction, though written as a phrase in the standard orthography, presents a problem of analysis which goes beyond the scope of the present grammatical sketch. Three possibilities are:

iwágtíye	(one word, compound N)
iwág tíye	(two words: N + ADJ/QW)
iwág tí ye	(three words: N + REL + V)

I include it here because it functions as a single word. It could as well have been treated in the next chapter which deals with phrases. No formal distinction between "words" and "phrases" has yet been given in the present work.

[5] The examples here use **aná-** plus a pronoun. Forms with nouns (such as **aná Tití** 'that of Titi') are dealt with in the next chapter, being phrasal.

[6] The specifier is nasalized [íkĩ] in Lissam but not elsewhere [íkĩ]. The Lissam version, being more conservative, hints that the specifer may have grammaticalized from the word for 'thing' (**ikón** [iké] ikín [ikĩ]). Note the word **kínzó** 'one' (ikín zó?) and the Jukun equivalent of **íkĩ** which is **zũ** (='one').

[7] See Chapter 6 (Section 4.0) for a description of the syntax of the associative construction.

CHAPTER SIX

NOUN PHRASE (II)

1.0 Introduction

Having treated single nouns and other words and constructions which behave like nouns, I now turn to expansions of nouns into noun phrases. The variety of structures instantiated by these phrases can be roughly diagrammed as follows:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} N & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Num} \\ t\text{I} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ QW \\ \text{Num} \\ S \end{array} \right\} \\ n\text{á} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ pn \end{array} \right\} \\ QW \\ t\text{I } N \ (t\text{I } N \dots) \end{array} \right\} DET \\ \text{PREP} \qquad N \end{array} \right.$$
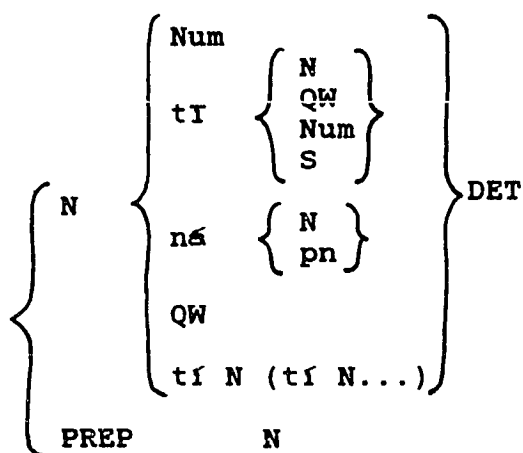
2.0 NP's with Determiners

I consider here three types of words which we shall call "determiners". They are listed as a group here because they act alike in terms of ordering with respect to other expansions. Specifically, they always come last (and are mutually exclusive), as in:

```
ande ifaen ÍkÍ
people two  SPEC        a certain two people

ande   tÍ uwé   ne
people REL front DEM    these leaders

kusóg acÍn      wū
house medicine REF     the hospital referred to

ande   tÍ iké pátóg
people REL here all    everybody here
```

The determiners are:

    2.1 the specifer ÍkÍ

    2.2 the referentials wū, bā, yÍ

    2.3 the demonstrative ne

    2.4 the words mēmē, pátóg 'all'

2.1 The Specifier [1]

Translated 'a certain', 'some', 'another', 'other' in English, this word is typically used in text in three functions:

1. introductory--introducing a main character in a narrative or a new topic in a conversation:

```
118) Úcĺn kisung-m cangcicang rū  ka ye     ukwe ÍkÍ.
     tale hare-1s  walk         move go catch chief SPEC

     My story is about a certain chief.
```

Without the specifier, this sentence would be construed as referring to the local chief.

```
119) Ande   ÍkÍ bá   kū  shā  rifab-fu tÍnene.
     people SPEC come IMP seek trail-2s now

        Some people were looking for you just now.
```

120) Íré   ame núng unde ʃkI uwae ritúg.
     yesterday 1s see person SPEC in   market

     Yesterday I saw a (specific but unnamed)
             person in the market.

Compare the following:

121) Íré   ame núng Kurutsi uwae ritúg.
     yesterday 1s   see Kurutsi   in   market

     Yesterday I saw Kurutsi in the market.

122) ?Íré   ame núng unde uwae ritúg.
     yesterday 1s see person in   market

     *Yesterday I saw person in the market.

In 121 the object is a specific person and does not need a specifier. Sentence 122 is peculiar because one expects an individuated object. In the following, a quality word specifies the referent:

123) Íré   ame núng unde **tIbyãen** uwae ritúg.
     yesterday 1s see person red   in   market

     Yesterday I saw a European in the market.

To add the specifier to **unde tIbyãen** in 123 would simply be to further individuate the referent. Other Examples:

124) A   kú   kũnn imbô   ʃkI   bãa, Péta.
     3p IMP call chimp SPEC COMP Peter

     They called one of the chimpanzees 'Peter'.

125) Báyé usir ʃkI tírI...
           day SPEC then

     Then one day...

2. Contrasting a person or object with another focal person or object in the immediate context:

126) Ayéb ſkI kû nde isháen itã, ayéb ſkI kû
     millet SPEC IMP do month   three millet SPEC IMP

   nde isháen inji, yI kû bēn atáng.
   do   month four 3 IMP ripen there

      Some millet takes three months, other
      millet takes four months to ripen.

127) Rinyí mbapxû-m ſkI   rI bãa, Birzémte.
     name dog-1s   SPEC say COMP Birzemte

      The name of another one of my dogs is
      Birzemte.

(This was spoken after one dog had already been named in the story).

128) AnI náe iké kutē rēré abíte-nI   nwûnn
     2p lie here before or   fathers-2p leave

   uwõg ſkI rū bá náe iké ne?
   place SPEC move come lie here DEM

      Did you live here long ago, or did your an-
      cestors move here from another place?

In the above, **uwõg ſkI** is contrasted with **iké**.

3. With negative (**bē**) to mean 'not any'

129) Irá-bã   ſkI tá atáng bē.

   matter-3p SPEC be there NEG

      It is none of their business.

130) Afu a   mbé-fu   undá ſkI kíka bē,...
     2s COND receive-2s woman SPEC yet NEG

      If you have not yet married (a particular
      but unmentioned woman)...

Contrast the latter sentence with:

131)   Afu a mbɔ́-fu   undá kɪ́ka bɛ̃,...
       2s IF receive-2s woman yet NEG

       If you have not yet gotten married,...

2.2 Referentials

The syntax of this set of three words is described in more detail in Chapter 9 on "referring words". Briefly, these words refer to nominals which have been mentioned previously in the discourse. They belong to the same referential system as the specifier, as may be shown by the fact that the two do not co-occur in a phrase:

       *unde ɪkɪ wū
        man SPEC REF

          *the a certain man

       *unde wū ɪkɪ
        man REF SPEC

          *a certain the man

Examples:

132)   Unde   wū si ɪnjã-m.
       person REF be brother-1s

       The man referred to is my brother.

133)   Andá bã kūr tu-bã   kirãen bɛ̃.
       women REF stir ABIL-3p food   NEG

       The women referred to can't make food.

134)   Irúm yɪ tãcɪ fangó.
       grass REF block road

       The grass referred to blocked the road.

2.3 Demonstratives

The deictic **ne**, (**ngé** in Bika) described in greater detail in Chapter 9 on referring words, occurs immediately following a simple noun, or after the head of a complex noun phrase:

unde ne	this man
anyĪsū ne	these children
irá ne	this matter
anyĪsū tĪ undá ne	these girls
urwán-fu ne	this friend of yours
ande inje ne	these four people
kusóg acĪn ne	this hospital

The word **ne** may be followed by an adverbial **ahán**[2] which could be translated as 'thus'. The addition of **ahán** does not appear to make any appreciable difference in meaning.

umbae ne ahán child DEM thus	this child	[nahán][3]
usóg ne ngé house DEM thus	this house (Bika)	

An alternate demonstrative has been formed by fusing the referentials described above with **ne**:

kusóg wūne[4]	this house
andá bãne	these women
utong yĪne	this soup

Again, there is no obvious difference between the shorter (**ne**) and longer forms of the demonstrative.

Both occur with or without the adverbial **ahén**, the selections presumably being made on the basis of style.

2.4 NP's with Numeral Attributive

A qualifying numeral in a NP follows the noun directly, before a determiner:

```
ande ifaen        two people
ande ifaen ne     these two people

ande ifaen bâ     the two people referred to

itûkū rijwĕr asū tsóngfaen   yīne
trees ten    on  five-two     these

        these 17 trees
```

As the latter phrase indicates, the numeral component is itself complex. A detailed analysis of the structure of numbers is beyond the scope of the present work.

3.0 NP's with Relator tɪ[5]

The expressions in this section are marked by the presence of the relator **tɪ** (which needs to be carefully distinguished from the very similar conjunction **tɪ** 'and'). I distinguish four general types here on the basis of the nature of the attributive component:

3.1 those with a numeral as attributive component

3.2 those with a nominal attributive component

3.3 those with a verbal attributive component

3.4 those with a sentential attributive component

3.1 NP's with Numeral Attributive Component

The following examples correspond to the ordinal numbers in English:

```
unde     tɪ ifaen
person     two                    the second person

kusang tɪ rijwĕr asū itǎ
year       ten    on  three   the 13th year
```

3.2 NP's with Nominal Attributive Component

Many of these phrases are built on a set of what could be called quality nouns, such as

```
kukyǎen     oldness

riwǎe       tallness

rikɪm       fatness

kitɪnyɪng smallness
```

Examples:

```
undǎ tɪ kukyǎen          old woman

umbae tɪ riwǎe           tall child

mbawǎn tɪ rikɪm          fat sheep

anyɪsū tɪ kitɪnyɪng      small children
```

There are many other nouns, however, which may be used in an attributive function. In the following, the words **urǒm** (male), **undǎ** (female), **kununn** (home), **kutūr**

(bush), **uwé** (front, face), **rikwen** (mountain), and **Ikám** (Ikam town) are used as attributives:

mbakúnn tɪ uróm	male chicken
umbae tɪ undá	female child
mbapxú tɪ kununn	house dog
ibyé tɪ kutúr	bush animal/meat
unde tɪ uwé	leader (front person)
ande tɪ rikwen	mountain people
kusóg acɪn tɪ Ikám	Ikam hospital

The independent (nominalized) possessive pronoun (described above in Ch. 5 Section 2.2.7) is often used in this attributive construction as follows:

riwén tɪ anáwū		his own nose
nose	his	
iwaen tɪ anábā		their beds
beds	their	
icír tɪ aná Tib		Tiv yams
yams	of Tiv	

3.3 NP's with Quality Words

It was argued in Ch. 4 Section 3.2 that cases of tɪ + Stative Verb could be treated as a special class of 'quality words' unless marked for tense or negation. Whether they are treated as single words, or as clauses, they are included here as components of the Noun Phrase.

Examples of quality words in NP's follow:

    mbakúnn tɪbyɪr   black chicken
    chicken   black

    undag tɪbyāen   red cow
    cow   red

    irá tɪnyang[6]
    word good   good news

These 'quality words' may optionally occur with the relator tɪ,[7] as in the following:

    mbakúnn tɪ tɪbyɪr
    chicken   black   black chicken

    irá tɪ tɪnyang
    word   good   good news

    rinyɪ tɪ tɪshé
    name   new   new name

It is important to note that the attributive construction joins NP's, not just Nouns. For example, in the phrase

    kupwā kufxen-wū tɪ kujwó rɪcɪ.
    skin   leg-3s   REL arm eating
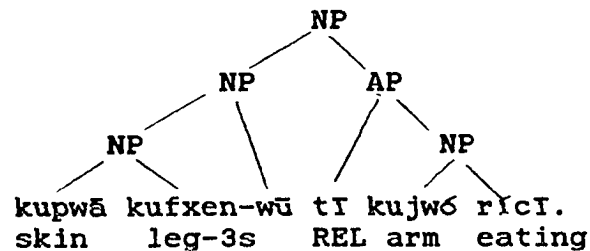
      his right shoe

the NP kupwā kufxen-wū is the head of the larger construction, the attributive being tɪ kujwó rɪcɪ. Likewise, the following consists of an NP, an adjectival attributive, and a quantifier:

```
                              NP
                          ___/ \
                      NP /      \
                  ___/ \         \
              NP /      \  AP      \
          __/ \   \    /| \         \
      NP /     \   \  / |  \         \
    _/ \        \   \/  |   \         \
   atútong  ámbyỉ-bấ  tỉ tỉshế   mễmễ
   pots     water-their REL new   all

           all their new water pots
```
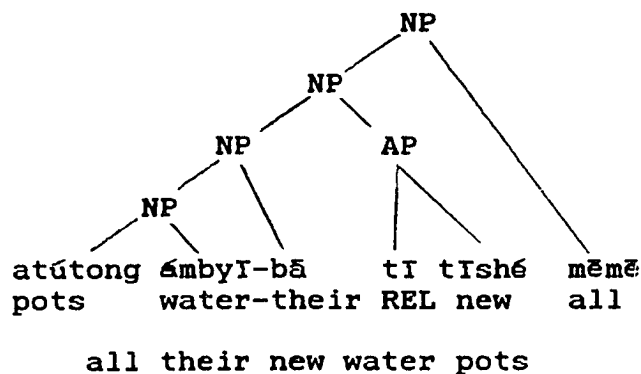
As in English, there are ambiguities, such as:

```
umbae mbapxú wūne
child  dog   this
```

> this puppy, or, the puppy of this dog

3.4 Nominals with Sentence as Attributive Element

Although even a cursory treatment of complex sentences (i.e., those with embedded or relative clauses) is beyond the scope of the present work, I cite a few examples here just to indicate that the relative clause can in fact serve as a component of the noun phrase. There are two types here: some have a full noun as head; others have a nominalized relativizer (ấtỉ/ūtỉ/ỉtỉ).

```
135) [Unde wū tỉ afu sa na   wū aser re],
      man REF REL 2s take give 3s money DEM,

        afu núng rinyí-wū a?
        2s know name-3s  Q

        Do you know the name of the man you gave
          the money to?
```

136) [Rédio tɪ awū jãeb iké] ndembéb pú-wū.
radio REL 3s buy   here spoil   PRF-3s

The radio he bought here is spoiled.

137) [Umbae tɪ kú bɛ́] si Rimamtãnúng.
Child REL IMP come is Rimamtãnúng.

The boy who is coming is Rimamtanung.[8]

Examples with the nominalized relativizer:

138) [Ātɪ kú bɛ́ ne] si anɛ́-m.
REL   IMP come DEM be POSS-1s

The ones coming are mine.

The Lissam dialect will often use **tã** as a
variant of **tɪ** (as they do also in ordinary relative
clauses):

139) Ūtã mbɛ́r kufxen ú cang fob-wū   bẽ.
REL break leg FUT walk reach-3s NEG

The one with the broken leg will not be able
to walk.

140) Ātã tsɔ̃   kɛ́kúm nwɛ́ngrū.
REL mount horse escape

Those who rode horses escaped.

141) Ītɪ wãmtɛ́g pú-yɪ, pū yɪ rū ka tẽn urwã.
REL dry-all take 3   go go burn fire

Take the completely dry ones and burn them.

142) Pū   Itínung asɛ́g   sɪ uwae ukyɪg Urɪtébã.
Take smelling smell-of go- in   bag   Uriteba.
                      raw-fish down

Put the one(s) that stink of raw fish into
Uriteba's bag.

4.0 Nominals with NA and /´/ (genitive)

I treat here first the _form_ of the genitive and the semantic relations between the component NP's, particularly as contrastive with N+tI+N. In Section 6.0 we discuss the evolution of prepositional phrases from the N ´N construction.

Genitives consist of a Head Noun followed by **ná** or / ´ / (floating high tone) and an attributive noun or pronoun[9] which limits or qualifies the head noun in some way. The **ná** may be thought of as an emphatic genitive, the non-segmental one being non-emphatic.

Phonologically, the floating high tone is realized on the previous syllable, converting the tone of that syllable to a glide from low or mid to high. (For details see Ch. 3, Section 4.2.4). In the standard orthography (used here) the tone is represented by a hyphen before pronouns and is unmarked between nouns.

In terms of meaning, one may say that while the head noun may refer to a wide set of objects, the attributive noun or pronoun narrows that set to a particular individual. Thus, **kusóg** (house) refers to all houses in the world, **kusóg-a** (my house) refers to one particular house, namely, the speaker's, and **kusóg Amamrá** refers to the one owned by (or inhabited

by) one of several people named Amamra. Likewise, **kusóg kirâen** 'house of food' refers to a subset of houses which are used for preparing food. Similarly, in the following, the second nominal limits the set of objects referred to by the first nominal; the particular semantic relationships represented by this construction will be considered later.

ayíb kurûkŭm   (eyes of toad)

awâen kupû   (fruit of kupû tree)

acang urwâ   (smoke of fire)

ufu kusóg   (door of house)

ikén ufu   (thing of door = key)

rinyí umbae   (name of child)

kicáeb rishwū   (sickness of stomach)

aser isháen   (money of month = salary)

To summarize: structurally, two sets of parameters enable us to subdivide the large set of genitival constructions. First, there are **nominal** and **pronominal** attributives. Secondly, there is the presence or absence of the contrastive marker **nâ**. Note the examples in the following chart:

N (nâ) N   kusóg (nâ) Amamrâ   Amamra's house

N (nâ) pn   kusóg (nâ) bâ   their house

In both sets, when the **ná** is absent, a high-tone link joins the two nouns. The high-tone link may possibly have evolved from the particle **ná**. Such a process has taken place in nearby Jukun (e.g., the progressive weakening of **bɓ** to **ɓ** to [´] (Shimizu 1980:54). If it did happen in Kuteb, it is strange that no intermediate form of **ná** such as **ɓ** is found in any of the dialects.

The full set of pronominal attributives is illustrated with the noun **umbae** 'child'. Note that the high tone possessive link is realized on the preceding syllable, forming mid-to-high and low-to-high glides. (The link is absorbed by preceding high-tone syllables). Following the standard orthography, I represent the tone link by a hyphen:

Simple Genitive			Contrastive Genitive	
1s	ubur-m	[ubur ´m]	ubur ná m	my hat
1p	ubur-tɪ	[ubur ´tɪ]	ubur nátɪ	our hat
2s	ubur-fu	[ubur ´fù]	ubur náfu	your hat
2p	ubur-nɪ	[ubur ´nɪ]	ubur nánɪ	your(pl) hat
3s	ubur-wū	[ubur ´wū]	ubur náwū	his/her hat
3p	ubur-bɛ̄	[ubur ´bɛ̄]	ubur nábɛ̄	their hat
3	ubur-yɪ	[ubur ´yɪ]	ubur náyɪ	its hat/their hat

Referentials and demonstratives always follow the attributive noun in the above constructions:

umbae-m **ne**	this child of mine
awá ukwe **bāne**	these wives of the chief
anyĪsū tĪ kununn **mēmē**	all the children of the home
irúm mbawén **yĪne**	this goat grass
kufur kisĪm-wū **ne**	this knife handle of his

In the genitive construction, as in the NP with **tĪ**, the head is actually an NP rather than an N. Thus, complex constructions like the following frequently occur:

```
uwáfub     Ĭyā        mbawándab wūne
co-wife of mother of girl       DEM
```

the girl's mother's co-wife

```
aser      ukwe  ná umbae     Amamrá
money of chief of child of Amamra
```

Amamra's child's tax

```
kupwā kufxen-wū tĪ  kujwó    rĬcĪ
skin of foot 2s REL arm of eating
```

his right shoe

```
ikén  tĪ náe       nasárá ĬkĪ
thing REL lie of European SPEC
```

a certain European bed

```
máto tĪ ifaen ná unde tĪ uwó wánde-wū
car  REL two  of man REL front work-3s
```

his boss' second car

Nominalized Possessive Nouns

The possessive construction described above can be nominalized as in the following examples:

143) Anáfu tá iké; aná   Tití tá aká?
      yours be here that-of Titi be where?

      Here is yours; where is Titi's?

144) Aser acÍkunn skeb pú-yÍ aná   mbapwa.
      money beans pass PRF-3s that-of maize

      Beans cost more than maize.

5.0 Discussion of N tÍ N versus N ná N

I focus here on the distribution of the two patterns N tÍ N and N (ná) N. How does a person know which set of nouns takes which pattern? For example, why do you say A but not B in the following set?

A. aci (ná) mbakúnn   egg of chicken

B. *aci tÍ mbakúnn ?

A. Ínjä Amamrá   Amamra's brother

B. *Ínjä tÍ Amamrá

A. kufxen indag   cow's foot

B. *kufxen tÍ indag

A. ubur ukwe   chief's hat

B. *ubur tÍ ukwe

Likewise, phrases that typically take tÍ are unacceptable with ná:

A. unde tɪ kubɛ̃ntɪ   truthful person

B. *unde nɑ́ kubɛ̃ntɪ

A. umbae tɪ ruwɑ́e   tall child

B. *umbae nɑ́ ruwɑ́e

A. unde tɪ kununn   householder

B. *unde nɑ́ kununn

A semantic analysis of these constructions reveals that there are distinctive relationships between the nouns in each set. The 'genitives' typically encode the following relationships:

1. N2 possesses or owns N1 (however that may be defined in the society):[10]

    kusóg Andeyabā   Andeyabā's house

    kɪ́kwâb-fu   your hoe

2. N2 is socially or biologically related to N1:

    umbae Fxɛ̃ntɪ́   Fxentı's child

    uwɑ́ Apurɑ́   Apura's wife

    abāen-nɪ   your husbands

    uyɛ̃b Tukúra   Tukura's in-law

3. N2 is part of N1:

    kufur kisɪm   handle of knife

    ucwő kufxen   ankle (of leg)

    ipāb kutúkū   root of tree

ufu kusóg	door of house
kukūb indag	bone of cow

4. N1 is located in N2:

uwáe rikwen	cave in mountain
kicáeb rishwū	stomach pain

5. N1 is made from N2:

kirāen mbapwa	maize food
kákúm aser	horse of iron (=bicycle)

The phrases with tɪ, on the other hand, are of a more general nature. One may note that tɪ is used not only with noun attributives but also with verbs (forming quality words and gerundives) and sentences. Examples:

unde	tɪ riwáe	
man	tallness	the tall man

unde	tɪ ifaen	
man	two	second man

unde	tɪ uwé	
man	front	leader

unde	tɪ bá iké	
man	come here	the man who came here

unde	tɪ byāen	
man	red	red man

iwág	tɪ ye	
fish	catch	fish-catching

So the noun phrases with tɪ are seen to be of a general attributive nature.

It is possible that the genitive construction, given its statistically prominent use in expressing ownership and social relationship, may have started with these particular relationships and grown by metaphorical extension to include other, less easily definable relationships, so that we now have expressions such as:

unzu Fulani	Fulani language (via 'mouth')
rinyí kutúkū	name of the tree
usū utong	stuff for soup
kusóg kirāen	house of food (kitchen)
aten ayíb	tears of eyes
icāen imí	cause of what?
ripye ande	half of the people
ibae ayéb	bag of millet
urāe Tiv	Tiv man
ufūg hotêr	cafe (shack of hotel)

If both of these constructions are expanding their functions to include more and more semantic relationships, it stands to reason that sooner or later their functions will overlap at some point. That seems to be the case with the following:

anyīsū andá   girls
children women

anyīsū tī andá   girls
children REL women

The recent influence of other languages (Jukun and Hausa, in particular), should not be discounted as a factor in the expansion of functions of the genitive. I have the following in my otherwise Kuteb texts:

lókacI Krísmas (H)	Christmas time
rumbú hátsí(H)	guinea corn granary
káyá líkíta (H)	stuff for doctor

6.0 Development of Prepositional Phrases from N ´N

Like many other African languages, Kuteb uses body part names to describe positional relation-ships.[11] For example, risū 'head' serves to specify the position of something on top of something else, as in:

Ámbyī tá risū tébur.
water Vloc head table

The water is on the table.

The words uwé 'face', uwae 'inside', isim 'back', ijwē 'body', are used similarly, with the following positional meanings:

uwé	in front of	isim	in back of
uwae	inside of	ijwē	into, against, about
imbyí	at bottom of	unzu	at edge of

Another locational expression, not a body part, but operating like one as an independent noun in other contexts, is **uwɔg**, 'place'. Example:

145)   Ā pū m rū yɪ uwɔg polîs.
        3p take 1s go PREP place police

They took me to the police.

While the semantic shift from 'head' to 'on' may be obvious from the use of phrases like:

risū tɛbur 'on the table'

risū irɛ yɪne 'about this matter', or even

risū kufxen-m 'about my foot',

one may ask if the construction **risū tɛbur** is structurally different from a typical Noun + Noun construction like **kusɔg ukwe** 'house of chief', or **utɪ Audu** 'Audu's spear'.

Two places to look for possible structural change resulting from the "delexicalization" of these words would be in the genitival tone linkage between the two words and in the prefix.

A phrase like **utɪ ɓudu** [utɪ'ɓudu] has a tone link between the two parts which is difficult to perceive in ordinary rapid speech. In slow, deliberate speech, it can be heard; in the same kind of situation, the tone link can also be heard in **risū**

tébur [risū' tébur].   The   tone   link   is   neutralized
completely   in   cases   of   nouns   having   high   tone   stems,
as   in   **kujwó umbae** [kujwó umbæ]   'the   child's   arm',
which   is   tonally   identical   to   the   prepositional
phrase   **imbyí rikwen** 'bottom of the   mountain'.   Thus   in
the   case   of   four   of   the   prepositions   (**risū** 'on'   **uwóg**
'at'   **ijwē** 'into,   against,   etc.',   and   **imbyí** 'at   the
bottom   of')   it   is   difficult,   if   not   impossible,   to
detect   any   loss   of   the   tonal   link   which   might   be
expected   to   occur   with   grammaticalization.

The   place   to   hear   the   tone   link   is   in   cases   of
paired   low-tone   nouns   such   as   **umbae   ukwe** [umbæ úkwe]
~[mbǽ kwe]   'child   of   chief'   or   **indag unde** [indayúnde]
~[indǎynde] 'a   person's   cow'.   Structually   identical
to   these   are   the   prepositions   **uwae** 'into'   and   **isim**
'behind'.   It   appears   that   in   the   case   of   phrases   with
isim,   e.g.,   **isim kusóg** 'behind   the   house',   the   tonal
link   has   disappeared.   In   fact,   one   can   contrast   the
following:

isǐm kusóg   the   back   (part)   of   the   house
isim kusóg   behind   the   house

In   the   case   of   **uwae** 'inside',   similarly,   the
tone   link   has   been   eroded: **uwae kutúr** 'in   the   bush',
(not   **uwǎe kutúr**)   in   normal   speech,   does   not   have   a

rising tone. Furthermore, an additional phonological change is taking place. It is frequently observed that in sequences of two low-tone nouns, the high tone of the genitive link sometimes gets shifted to the prefix of the second noun. Thus:

uwaeˊ kununn =⟹ uwae kúnunn   in the home

In some dialects, the quality of the stem vowel is changed from /ae/ to /a/ and shortened in duration, and the prefix on one or both of the nouns may be lost, yielding a kind of **wa-** clitic or prefix on several words, which we have recorded as:

wakúnunn/wǎnunn	home	wakutúr /watúr	bush
wakusóg /wasóg	house	warisãen/wasãen	farm
warúkõng	farm		

Semantically, these forms appear to be identical to their non-**wa** counterparts:

146) Awū táʼ kununn/Awū táʼ wakúnunn.
     3s be home   He is at home.

147) Awū rū kutúr/Awū rū watúr.
     3s go bush He went to the forest.

One might be tempted to point to prefix-reduction as another mark of grammaticalization. The

prefix **u-**, for example, is often dropped from the words **uwŏg** and **uwae** before nouns:

    wae ritúg   wŏg itsē-m
    in market   from father-1s

However, as prefix erosion is a phenomenon happening to all nouns[12] (especially those with a vowel prefix only), it cannot be considered solid evidence for a proposed shift of **uwae** (N) to **wae** (prep).

Following are examples of the prepositions from texts (references at right are to my database):

1. risū 'on, over' (from **risū** 'head')

148) Wū a putsáen risū ámbyÏ ne ahán
     3s if follow head water DEM thus

    If it goes along on top of the water like this...

149) Uwá-wū   tá risū kutam apúpwen.
     wife-his be head tree sky

    His wife was up in a tree.

150) Awū núng tÏ wū pwen rikwán   risū ande-wū.
     3s know REL 3s count judgment head people-his

    He knows he has to make judgments over his
    people.

2. Uwae 'in, into' (from **uwae** 'inside')

151) Kurúkŭm jwunn sÏ uwae   ámbyÏ.
     toad   fall down inside water

    The toad fell into the water.

152) Icen   pū   átsŏ sáng uwae ibae.
     g.fowl take recip enter inside sack

     The guinea fowl went together into the sack.

153) Íyã-me cwū uwae ná dūbū dãyã da darĪ tárã ....
     mama-my die inside   1000 one and 100 nine.

     My mama died in 19...

154) Ā̄ sa   rū ka jãebcĪ uwae Ikám.
     3p take go go sell   inside Ikam

     They sell them in Ikam.

3. uwó 'in front of' (from uwó 'face')

155) AtĪ tsi   uwó   ukwe atáng áwa ifaen.
     1p stand front chief there hour two

     We stood there in front of the chief
     for two hours.

156) Ame som uwó   kusóg-wū ú kū   jí wū jí.
     1s sit front house-his SEQ IMP wait 3s wait

     I sat in front of his house and waited
     for him.

157) M ū nde rímãng sa rikwón uwó ná ukwe bárã.
     1s FUT do how   take case front of chief Q

     Why should I take the case to the chief?

158) Ikón tĪ ukwe tãtu sa   tsi   uwó-wū mēmē...
     thing REL chief hunt take stand front-3s all

     The thing the hunt-leader considers best
     of all...

4. isim 'behind' (from isim 'back')

159) Mbakúnn tēr rū ka tam isim kurug.
     chicken run go go hide back granary

   The hen ran and hid behind the granary.

160) Isim asang itā   ame kafe rū bá   iké.
     back years three 1s return go come here

   After three years I came back here.

161) Isim ná Gidion, m bá   tucī umbae cwúcwo.
     back of Gideon, 1s come find child again

   After Gideon, I had another child.

Note the use of **isim** in adverbial clauses such as:

162) Isim tī abā pū kirāen bá...
     back REL 3p take fufu come

   After they brought the fufu...

163) Isim-yī tī Irá   Rimam ka bá   uwōg ná m...
     back-its REL Matter God   go come place of 1s

   After Christianity came to me... PS10

5. uwōg 'at' (from uwōg 'place')

164) Ā pū   wū rū uwōg apxín   yī.
     3p take 3s go place spirits REF

   They took him to the spirits.

165) Tī ka uwōg itúkū m tí Larabā...
     1p go place wood 1s and Laraba

   We got to the wood-place, me and Laraba...

166) Ā kū fxēn uwŏg kūkwén rukwen.
    3p IMP hear place priest rukwen

    They hear it from the rukwen priest.

167) Ā pū wū bá uwŏg   ná ukwe.
    3p take him come place of chief

    They took him to the chief.

168) Uwŏg ne ahán inji   cīnum.
    place DEM thus elephant eat-tire

    At this point the elephant gave up.

6. ijwē 'into, in, at' (from ijwē 'body')

     The   meaning   of   ijwē   as   a   preposition   is

considerably   more   difficult   to define than   that   of

other prepositions. Consider the following   examples:

169) Arŏm sū   yī ijwē icĭka.
    men carry it   baskets

    The men carry it (g. corn) in baskets.
                                      DD87

170) Awū tūb atsáng ijwē ámbyī wū.
    3s spit spit   water REF

    He spat into the water. DE242

171) Ā kū sa   kisīm shēn ijwē anyīng wū.
    3s IMP take knife wipe   blood REF

    They smear the knife with the blood. DD35

172) Awū kū cī-wū ikén ijwē anyī-wū bē.
    3s IMP eat-3s thing   teeth-3s NEG

     It (elephant) doesn't eat with its teeth.
                                      DD41

173) Ā   txí   ámbyī bá,   bá   kū sī íjwē aríbén yīne.
     3p dip water come, come IMP put   adobe DEM

    They dip water and pour it into the adobe.
                               DC133

174) Ā   sa   nwūnn sī   íjwē gárwā.
     3p take pour go-down body tin

    They pour it (liquid) into a tin. DF182

175) Ā ...   sa   sī   kimū íjwē íbae.
     3p   take give potto   sack

    They ...gave it to the potto in a sack.
                               FM27

176) Awū sa rikaen...fxēb tág pū-wū íjwē   ibū wūne.
     3s take poison wipe all prf-his body arrow DEM

    He wipes poison all over the arrow(head).
                               DC208

    Note that in the one case someone smears the

knife **íjwē** blood, and in the other, the poison is

smeared **íjwē** the arrowhead.

7. **unzu** 'edge of' (from **unzu** 'mouth')

177) Icwu   somcī   unzu kumūm   wū.
     leopard sit-guard mouth termite-mound REF
                                 FG43

    Leopard sat guarding the mouth of the termite
    mound.

178) Ande   tī kū ye   skeb iwág si ande
     people REL IMP catch pass fish be people

    tī kū náe unzu uyínn.
    REL IMP lie mouth river

    The people who catch fish the most are those
    who live along the river. SP43

7.0 Coordinate Noun Phrases

Simple conjunction of nouns is accomplished by the conjunction **tɪ** between the nouns. The normal pattern seems to require **tɪ** between each of the nouns in a series, in contrast to English, which requires a conjunction only between the last two, the rest being linked by intonation patterns. Examples:

arɔ́m tɪ andá   men and women

andá tɪ anyɪsū   women and children

afxen tɪ ajwɔ́   legs and arms

arɔ́m tɪ anyɪsū   tɪ   andá mɛ̃mɛ̃
men and children and women all

    everybody--men and children and women

amɛ̃njã̌-wū   tɪ ande tɪ   tá ribɛ́n   atáng
brothers-3s and men REL be ground there

    his brothers and the men who are present

mbū́kū tɪ icwu   tɪ   isá   tɪ itumū
hyena and leopard and jackal and lion

8. Appositives

There are two structures in which two nominals stand together without the benefit of the possessive link or the relator **tɪ**. In one, the full pronoun precedes a simple or complex NP. Examples:

anɪ andá   you women
2p   women

      abā anyɪsū   ukwe   those children of the chief
      3p children chief

      atɪ Kutēb   we Kutebs
      1p Kuteb

      ame Inji   tɪ tá ne
      1s elephent REL LOC DEM

          I, Elephant here

     Note the following unusual case of an appositive in genitival position:

      utēn-tɪ Kutēb the country of us Kutebs
      land-1p Kuteb

     In the second appositive construction, a proper noun follows another nominal:

      uyēb-m   Burma   my in-law Burma
      in-law-1s Burma

      unde tɪ uwó-tɪ   Apurá   our leader Apura
      person front-1p Apura

     A title like **Ukwe Alɪ** 'Chief Ali' may belong to this category but is probably best considered a different class consisting of titles.

NOTES—CHAPTER SIX

[1] Note that the specifier can also stand alone as a nominal (see Chapter 5, Section 2.2.7 for details).

[2] Some dialects use **men** for **ahán** 'thus' when it stands as a nominal, e.g., Ame núng ahán (B: Ame núng men) 'I know that'.

[3] The elision pattern here is the same as that described in Ch. 3, Section 4.

[4] The forms **wüne, bäne,** and **yïne** have nominal counterparts **awüne, abäne,** and **ayïne** which are described in Chapter 5, Section 2.2.9).

[5] Nominal forms of phrases with **tï** are found in Chapter 5, Section 2.2.5.

[6] The high tone on **tï** here is due to a rule which raises mid tone to high before a low-tone stem. But note: **tï tínyïɳ** 'young' **tï tíbï** 'bad', two cases in which the tone is inexplicably raised before mid.

[7] One expression with the double-**tï** pattern does not have a single-**tï** counterpart: **tï tíbï** 'bad'. See Ch. 4 for a discussion of these forms.

[8] Lissam speakers often use **tä** for **tï** in these sentences, possibly influenced by the pattern with plural pronoun subjects where the pronoun often fuses with the relativizer:

> ande   tä (tï + ä) bá
> people REL   come   the people who came

[9] Expressions with **ná** are split between Ch. 5 (nominal words) and Ch. 6 (nominal phrases). Sequences of N + possessive pronoun are included here again because of the focus on the possessive function.

[10] Our texts include **ibyé íyä-wü,** which could mean 'the meat/animal owned by his mother' but in the context actually 'his mother's flesh').

[11] The process by which body parts (and some other nouns) grammaticalize into spatial relationship markers (SRM's) or "prepositions" is described as a kind of metaphor by Heine and Reh, who have studied

this phenomenon extensively in West Africa. Our focus here is on the development of SRM's (or prepositions), but it is important to note the closely related development of locative adverbs, illustrated in the following sentences:

Awū tá **uwae**.
3s be inside   He is inside.

cf. Awū tá **ise**.
3s be outside   He is outside.

Awū tá **isim**.
3s be back   He is behind.

Awū tá **uwó**.
3s be front   He is ahead.

[12] The nouns with **u-** and **i-** prefixes have eroded more than those with **rV**-structure. The initial consonant seems to provide some resistance to the erosion process (although one may note Bika has lost the initial /r-/of **risū** 'head'). Also, there seems to be a tendency to keep the prefix at the beginning of a sentence and to drop it internally:

Isim usir ifaen awū kafe bá.
back day two   3s   return come

After two days he came back.

Ā tu   wū **sim** kusóg.
3p find 3s back house

They found him behind the house.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SIMPLE SENTENCE STRUCTURE

1.0 Introduction

In this chapter and the next I describe how verbs and nouns, noun phrases and noun substitutes are assembled into the configurations we normally call sentences. The terms "subject" and "object" will be discussed and illustrated in the light of recent literature on the topic of transitivity.

Following the lead of Z. Frajzyngier in his Grammar of Mupun (in press)[1] I divide sentences in Kuteb into **simple** and **complex**, the former being those which express a single proposition, and the latter those which express a complex proposition. Complex sentences will not be dealt with in the present work, although a short list with illustrations is included in Appendix D. Simple sentences can be subdivided into **single-verb** sentences and **multiple-verb** sentences, the latter being commonly known as "serial verb constructions" (SVC's from here).

In summary, the organization of sentence types is as follows:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{simple propositions} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{single-verb} \\ \text{multi-verb (SVC's)} \end{array} \right. \\ \\ \text{complex propositions} \end{array} \right.$$

Sentences with multi-verb predicates are treated in Chapter 8. Here I deal with the single-verb sentences, which can be subdivided according to the following criteria:

1.1 Criteria for Categorization

Our purpose here is to set out criteria for positing different basic sentence types. The type of syntactic differences which I use for criteria are: whether a constituent is actually an argument or not, what kind of an argument it is, and whether the verb participates in "noun-incorporation".

Some things we can look for in the surface structure are the following:

1. Occurrence or non-occurrence of major constituents;

2. Potential for nominalization

3. The occurrence of classes of words in particular syntactic positions;

4. Restricted versus unrestricted occurrence of lexical items in a particular syntactic position.

Morphological criteria of the kind represented by case endings in European languages do not play a role in the marking of grammatical relations in Kuteb.

Although, as I hope to show throughout the chapter, semantic and pragmatic features corroborate the categories arrived at by the above criteria, I have tried to base my categorization on syntactic facts first of all, bringing in other criteria for confirmation only.

1.2 Grammatical Relations: "Subject", "Object"

The term "subject" has been defined in various ways.[2] In transformational grammar, it is the NP not dominated by VP. Comrie sees it as the coming together of topic (a pragmatic term) and agent (a semantic term). Traditional grammar defines it as the term about which something is said. In Kuteb, I define subject simply as that NP in a simple sentence which immediately precedes the verb.

As for "object", sentences may have from 0-3 post-verbal arguments, depending on the valence of the verb (aside from oblique constituents marked by prepositional phrases). Each of these signals a grammatical role which I will illustrate in this chapter. Whether "object" is a useful name for any or all of these functions will remain to be seen.

1.3 Prepositional Phrases

Word order is not the only way of indicating grammatical and/or semantic roles in Kuteb. Another way is through the use of prepositions; and Kuteb, like many other languages, typically uses prepositional phrases to encode locative, temporal, instrument, and other "adjuncts" to sentences. See Ch. 6, Section 4.2 for examples of prepositional phrases.

1.4 Complements and Adverbial Objects

Mention was made in Ch. 4 of nouns which acted as adverbs. We present here now another set of nouns which occur as complements with a variety of verb types. The use of these complements, called "adverbial objects" (AO from here), cuts across the division of sentences into stative, locative, etc. Although AO's act in some ways like ordinary direct objects ("Unrestricted Objects" here), I use criteria developed by Hopper and Thompson to distinguish the two functions. "Subject Complement" designates the NP following an equative verb.

1.5 Overview of Single-Verb Predicates

The categories and the primary criteria for recognizing them are set out in the following chart (S = Subject; AO = Adverbial Object; LC = Locative

Complement; UO = Unrestricted Object; DAT = Dative; INS = Instrument; SC = Subject Complement):

	Arguments
1. One-NP Sentences (monovalent verbs):	
Destativizable: stative	S
Stativizable: non-stative	S
2. Two-NP Sentences (bivalent verbs)	
Intransitive (non-object-incorporating)	
Equative	S SC
Locative	S LC
Transitive (object-incorporating)	
Ordinary Transitive	S UO
Pseudo-transitive	S AO
3. Three-NP Sentences (trivalent verbs)	S DAT AO
4. Four-NP Sentences (quadrivalent verbs)	S DAT INS AO

2.0 Sentences with One Argument[3]

The following sentences are characterized by having verbs which allow only one NP which we will call the "subject" and which always precedes the verb.

2.1 Stative

In terms of semantics, stative sentences express qualities. Syntactically, as Frajzyngier (1985) has observed, a sure-fire criterion for stative verbs in a language is the existence of **destativizing** devices. As in many languages, Kuteb uses the

imperfective marker (along with reduplication) as a destativizer for inherently stative verbs. Examples:

179) Kútúpwá ne byǎen.
     cloth   DEM red   This cloth is red.

180) AyI kú bIbyǎen.
     3   IMP red   It is getting red.

In addition to the non-occurrence of object, and their ability to destativize, stative sentences exhibit other features which set them apart from locative, equative, motion, and non-stative one-argument sentences as follows:

Statives and Adjuncts

The verbs in stative sentences rarely occur with adjuncts of any kind. Example:

181) Kutxáe ne bǒm.
     trap   DEM strong

          This trap is strong.

     *Kutxáe ne bǒm   uwae kutúr.
      trap   DEM strong in bush

          This trap is strong in the bush.

     *Kutxáe ne bǒm   té me.
      trap   DEM strong with 1s

          ?This trap is strong with me.

     *Kutxáe ne bǒm   na me.
      trap   DEM strong to 1s

          This trap is strong to me.

The exception to this might be with the use of temporal
expressions, as in:

182) Kutxáe ne bõm   írέ;   yáka awū bõm-wū   bĕ.
     trap DEM strong yesterday today 3s stong-3s NEG

       This trap was strong yesterday; today it is not.

Statives and Expressions of Degree

         Statives   are   prone   to   taking   the adverbial
phrase **tímambĕ** 'very much'   and other constructions
indicating degree, whereas locatives (and other verbs)
preferably use other means for indicating repetition or
intensification of an action:

183) Umbae ne wáe **tímambĕ**.
     child DEM tall very

       This kid is very tall.

Cf.: *Awū rū yΙ Bíká tímambĕ.
     3s go to Bika much   for: He goes to Bika much.

Cf:

184) Awū kū rū **kób** yΙ   Bíká.
     3s IMP go HAB PREP Bika

       He goes to Bika a lot.

185) Lemó-nΙ   fab **páng**-yΙ.
     citrus-2p sour too-much-3

       Your oranges are too sour.

Cf.: *Awū sΙ   **páng**-wū   yΙ ufáng.
     3s go-down too-much-3s to farm.

       He goes down to the farm too much.

Statives and Ideophones

In many cases, stative verbs are modified by special words (ideophones); other verbs are not.

186) Kupwǎ rimĕnn-bǎ byǎen nwǎmeme.
skin body 3p red very (red)

Their skin was bright red.

Cf.: *Awū rū yI Bíkǎ nwǎmeme.
3s go to Bika very red

He went to Bika bright red.

187) Awū nyIng shaerrr!
3s thin very (thin)   He's very thin.

188) Kūtúpwǎ-wū tsĕn pórírírí.
cloth-his white (very!)

His cloth is very white.

189) Ãmbyī ū byǎg kwǎaaan tawó.
water FUT hot very first

The water will first get very hot.

190) Ikón wū jǎen wurwur.
thing REF shine (very shiny)

The thing was very shiny.

Statives and Reflexives

Since stative verbs do not take objects, it stands to reason that they can also not form reflexive constructions:

191) Awū ten ijwě-wu ifū.   (reflexive)
3s do body-3s injury

He injured himself.

*Awū bɔ̃m ijwẽ-wū.
3s strong body-3s

*He stronged himself.

Typical stative verbs are:

byãen	be red	byɪr	be black	tsēn	be white
kɔ̃	be much	pãng	be little	pyir	be short
wáe	be tall	bɨr	be fast	bɛ́b	be bad
jang	be deep	rwēn	be distant	nyang	be good
kɪm	be fat	byãg	be hot	jɪm	be cool
jwom	be dark	bɔ̃m	be strong	jãen	be shiny
gar	be round	tom	be light	kɔ́b	be tall
wur	be flat	nam	be soft	nyɪng	be thin
kyáen	be old	rab	be rare	kyaen	be full
munn	be full	kum	be cut off	yãen	be wide
fab	be sour	kwãr	be crooked	kpág	be hard

Stative verbs may be nominalized by prefixing
tɪ- or itɪ-, although the construction is rare:

192) Itɪbyãen ná kútúpwá ne nyang uwae-m.
     redness of cloth DEM good inside-1s

     The redness of this cloth pleases me.

Stative sentences are negativized (like all other Kuteb sentences) by putting a recapitulating pronoun after the verb and adding the particle bē at the end:

193) Kútúpwá ne tsēn-yY kíka bš.
    cloth DEM white-3 yet NEG

    This cloth is not white yet.

194) Awū kYm-wū cwúcwo bš.
    3s fat-3s again NEG

    He's not fat any more.

Stative Verbs with Adverbial NP's

Although stative verbs do not take direct objects, an adverbial NP may directly follow the verb with no preposition or other role-marker:

195) Irá   ne byãen ayíb.
    matter DEM red   eyes

    This matter is difficult.

196) Awū tsēn   utŏb.
    3s white heart   He is happy.

197) Awū fab   uwae.
    3s bitter inside   He is angry.

198) Awū wur   imbyí.
    3s flat bottom   He has a flat bottom.

Note that the adverbial NP's here refer to body parts.[4] These NP's can be thought of as expressing a kind of "location" where the quality is found.

In a few cases the adverbial noun expresses the domain in which the assertion of the verb applies.[5]

199) Awū nyang undá.
    3s good woman

    She's an ideal woman.

200) Awū bõm   unde.
     3s strong person

     He's a strong man.

201) AyI nyang ūtug.
     3   good taste

     It's tasty.

Sentences 199 and 200 may be paraphrased with an equative construction as follows:

199b)   Awū si undá tI tínyang.
        3s be woman good   She is a good woman.

200b)   Awū si unde tI ribõm.
        3s be person strong   He is a strong man.

Sentence 201 has no paraphrastic equivalent, as far as I can tell.

2.2 Other one-NP Sentences

The following are sentences with non-stative verbs, but they resemble stative sentences in not allowing an object. In the following, if an argument follows the verb, it must be introduced by a preposition:

202) AtI fxãefã.
     1p thank   We're thankful.

203) AtI fxãefã tõ   Rimam.
     1p thank PREP God   We're thankful to God.

Cf.:   *AtI fxãefã Rimam.
        1p thank God   We thank God.

204) AtI tángsom té fu.
    1p remember PREP 2s   We remember you.

Cf.:   *AtI tángsom fu.
        1p remember 2s   We remembered you.

205) Afu munnji té m.
    2s forget PREP 1s   You forgot me.

Cf.:   *Afu munnji m.
        1p forget 1s   You forgot me.

A few verbs which translate as intransitives in English must be treated as bivalent since they can occur with a patient:

206) Upwen tswa.
    Rain rained   It rained.

207) Upwen tswa tI fangó.
    rain rain 1p road   Rain caught us on the way.

208) Ucwĕ yãe.
    dawn dawn   It dawned.

209) Ucwĕ yãe m Beli.
    dawn dawn 1s Beli

    I was in Beli at dawn.

210) Ritum kyi.
    thunder thunder   It thundered.

211) Upwen kyi ritum.
    rain thunder thunder   It thundered.

It is possible that more examples of non-stative monovalent verbs will be found with further research.

3.0 Sentences with Two Arguments

This section includes sentences which have two NP's or at least have the potential for encoding two arguments.[6] When both are present in a sentence, one occurs before the verb (as in the one-argument sentences); the other occurs after the verb, in the frame

$$NP_s \; VERB \ldots \ldots$$

Sentences with the above structure fall into two categories based on their ability to incorporate the noun when they nominalize, as follows:

```
212)  Awū ye    iwág.   ==>   iwá tI  ye
      3s catch fish           fish REL catch

      He caught a fish.        fish-catching

   cf. Awū si ukwe. ==>   *ukwe  tI  si
       3s  be chief            chief REL be

       He is chief.            his being chief

   cf. Awū rū ritúk. ==>  *ritúk tI  rū
       3s go market           market REL go

       He went to market.      market-going

   cf. Awū tá kutúr. ==>  *kutúr tI  tá
       3s  be bush            bush REL be

       He is in the bush.      bush-being in
```

Those that allow object incorporation, I shall provisionally call **transitive** sentences. Those that do not will be called **intransitive**. The latter category

includes equatives and locatives. I present it first as it is smaller and less complex.

3.1 Sentences with Non-incorporating V's (Intransitive)

Equatives and Locative sentences are presented here with additional features that contrast them with other sentence types and with each other.

3.1.1 Equative Sentences

The sentences in this group consist of a nominal, the verb **si** 'to be' followed by another nominal.[7] Examples:

213)   Awū si kayā-m.
        3s be sister-1s   She is my sister.

The equative verb (or "copula") **si** cannot be nominalized and it cannot stand without a complement. The obligatory complement is a feature which sets the equative apart from the statives described earlier.

        *itĪsi-wū ukwe
          being-3s chief   his being chief

    cf. itĪbá-wū
          coming-3s   his coming

      *Awū si.
        3s be   He is.

```
cf. Awῦ rῦ.
    3s  go                    He went.
```

```
cf. Awῦ byᾶen.
    3s  be-red               He is red.
```

Examples of modifying expressions occurring in the complement position are:

```
214)    Mbapxῦ ne si tῙbyᾶen.
        dog    DEM is red        This dog is red.
```

```
215)    Unde ne  si tῙkῑpyir.
        man  DEM is short        This man is short.
```

The equative verb is used with a prepositional phrase **tᾶ + NP** to indicate possession:

```
216)    Awῦ si tᾶ itsab.
        3s  be with cleverness  He is clever.
```

Equative sentences encode a variety of semantic notions which I have yet to explore fully. Some of the patterns appearing so far are:

Person - Position/Title

```
217)    Ínjᾶ-wῦ     si ukwe  Bíkᾶ.
        brother-3s  is chief  Bika

            His brother is chief of Bika.
```

```
218)    Apurᾶ si unde    tῙ  uwᾶ-tῙ.
        Apura is person  REL front-1s

            Apura is our leader.
```

Position/Title – Person

219)   Ukwe Ikám tInine si Alí.
        Chief Ikam now   is Ali

           The chief of Ikam now is Ali.

Object – Attributive

220)   Kindob-fu si tIkujǎeb a?
        oil   -2s is for-sale Q

           Is your oil for sale?

221)   Anáfu si tIshé.
        yours is new

           Yours is new.

222)   Aná   kayǎ-m   si tI rikIm.
        That-of sister-1s is REL fatness

           My sister's is fat.

223)   Tása áwo   si mwa   mwa?
        dish measure is how-much how-much

           How much for a measureful?

224)   Aser tấya kiyé wū si pâm pâm.
        money tire time REF is pound pound

           Tires cost a pound each then.

Object – Possessive

225)   Rukun   tI yáka si aná   áyê?
        com-labor REL today is thing-of who

           Whose turn is it for communal labor?

226) Inyi ne ahán si aná ínjã-m.
      locust DEM   is that of brother-1s

      This locust bean tree is my brother's.

Demonstrative - Object/Person/Possessive

227) Awūne si ítȇ-fu   a?
      DEM   is father-2s Q

      Is this your father?

228) Né si uwé-fu a?
      DEM is face-2s Q

      Is this your face? (Is it really you?)

229) Unde   tī wȇn wū si awūne.
      person REL kill 3s is DEM

      The person who killed him was this one.

Object - Generic Class

230) Utxong si ibyȇ   tī kūkȏ.
      Oryx   is animal REL large

      An oryx is a large animal.

The equative verb is also used in cleft sentences such as:

231) Ī si awū tī nde ikén ne.
      3 be 3s REL do thing DEM

      It is he who did this thing.

Any of the above can be made negative by placing a recapitulating pronoun after the verb and adding bȇ at the end of the sentence:

232) Awū si-wū ukwe Bíká bě.
      3s is-3s chief Bika NEG

          He is not the chief of Bika.

233) Aná-m si-yī tĪbyǎen bě.
      mine is-3 red   NEG

          Mine is not red.

234) Rikampxū si-yī kínûng bě.
      bat   is-3 bird   NEG

          A bat is not a bird.

235) Ī si-yī awū tĪ nde ikén ne bě.
      3 be-3 3s REL do thing DEM NEG

          It was not he who did this thing.

236) Awū si-wū té itsab   bě.
      3s be-3s with cleverness NEG

          He is not clever.

3.1.2 Sentences with Locative Verbs

Like the stative and equative sentences
discussed above, these sentences do not incorporate
predicate NP's as do transitives. Further, they are
distinctive in that they contain a set of verbs which
may be followed by the preposition yĪ 'to' and a
locative noun or noun phrase,[8] as in:

237) Awū tá yĪ ritúg.   (Awū tá ritúg.)
      3s be to market.

          He is at the market.

Note the failure of the incorporation in sentence 239:

238)   Awū ye iwág.   =⇒ iwág tī ye
       3s catch fish   fish-catching

239)   Awū rū yī Bíká.   *Bíká tī rū
       3s go to Bika   Bika-going

Instead, motion verbs nominalize by prefixing itī-:

       itīrū-fu yī Bíká
       going-2s to Bika   your going to Bika

       itīnwŪnn-tī iké
       leaving-1p here   our leaving here

I include three kinds of verbs under "locative":

   The basic locative verb: tá 'to be at/in'

   Motion verbs: rū 'move', tsŏ 'go up', bá 'come'

   Postural verbs: som 'sit', tsi 'stand', náe 'lie'

3.1.2.1 Basic Locative: tá

   Examples of the simple locative verbs:

240)   Ikén íkīn tá uwae   kurug-fu.
       thing some be inside granary-2s

           There's something in your granary.

241)   Unde   tī kununn tá-wū iké bē a.
       person REL house be-3s here NEG Q

           Isn't the man of the house here?

242)   Irá   íkīn tá-yī bē.
       matter some be-3s NEG

           There's no problem.

```
243)    Súle      tá re.
        10k coin is DEM              Here's 10 kobo.


244)    M  tá-m  tĪrū.
        1s be-1s going              I'm leaving.
```

Certain restrictions make it possible to differentiate the basic locative verb from the motion verbs:

Locative and Obligatory NP

The basic locative cannot occur without an NP of some sort (except in the negative):

```
        *Awū tá.
         he  is          for: 'He exists'.


245)    cf. Awū rū.
            3s  go      He went.


246)    cf. Awū som.
            3s  sit      He sat/stayed.
```

Example of basic locative with NEGATIVE:

```
247)    ÁmbyĪ tá-yĪ bš.
        water is-3 NEG              There's no water.
```

Locative and Animacy

Motion sentences tend to take animate subjects; simple locative sentences take either animate or inanimate subjects.

```
248)    Aser  yĪ tá  akắ?
        money REF be  where?  Where is the money?


249)    Apura tá iké bš.
        Apura be here NEG     Apura is not here.
```

Locative and Deictics

Locative sentences can take the deictic expression **re** after the verb, whereas this expression cannot occur with motion sentences:

250)   Ayéb   yI tá re.
        millet REF be DEIC   Here's the millet.

251)   *Awū bá   re.
         3s   come DEIC   for: Here he comes.

Locative and Nominalization

Finally, the basic locative does not nominalize as do the other locative verbs:

        itIrū-fu Bíká
        going-2s Bika   your going to Bika

        *itItá-fu iké
         being-2s here   for: your being here.

A rarely used verb, **kū**, which remains to be investigated thoroughly, appears to have almost the same meaning as the basic locative. Examples:

252)   Awū **kū** ribén uwé   sója.
        3s   ?   ground front soldier

        He knelt in front of the soldiers.

253)   Sáe kusóg tIyáng tI **kū** akwēn.
        look house big   REL ? there

        Look at that big house over there.

Locative and Non-locative Complements

As mentioned above, locatives are characterized by taking locative complements such as prepositional phrases and adverbial nominals expressing locations. The following common expressions illustrate cases in which the basic locative takes a non-locative complement.

254)   Ame tá-m tIrū.
         1s LOC-1s going   I'm about to go.

255)   Abā tá irá   tI rI   ajwó.
         3p LOC word REL speak arms

         They are speaking right now.

Here **tIrū** and **irá tI rI** ('word-speaking') are nominals acting as complement to the locative verb. The use of **be + nominalized verb** to express progressive action is very common in the world's languages.

3.1.2.2 Sentences with Motion Verbs

As noted above, these sentences are distinguished from transitives in their contrastive nominalization patterns, and, within the category of locatives, they are distinct from the simple locative by being nominalizable and by the possibility of occurring without a locative argument. Examples:

256)   Afu ka ufáng yáka a?
         2s go farm   today Q

              Did you go to the farm today?

257)   Awū rū ritūg.
         3s go market

              He went to the market.

258)   Awū kū tsō   kitáen rikwen.
         3s IMP ascend top   mountain

              He goes up the mountain.

259)   AtI ka-tI bē.
         1p go-1p NEG

              We did not go.

Motion Verbs with Non-locative Complements

     A few cases of motion verbs occurring with adverbial nominals have been found:

260)   Awū rū tātu.
         3s go hunting   He went hunting.

261)   Awū rū fangó rikyen.
         3s go road journey   He went on a journey.

262)   Abā bá   kusóg tI mbye.
         3p come house REL build

              They came building houses.

3.1.2.3 Sentences with Verbs of Posture/Position

     Like the motion verbs, the verbs in this group often occur with NP's expressing location. Examples:

263) M náe risū ibae awūm   yī.
      1s lie on   sack g.corn REF

      I lay on top of the guinea corn sack.

264) Atī tsi   uwé   ukwe.
      1p stand front chief

      We stood before the chief.

Verbs of position may be distinguished from verbs of motion on the basis of their ability to co-occur with a class of adverbial nominals which express positions or postures, as in the following:

265) Awū tsi   ritsen.
      3s stand upright   He stood/was standing.

266) Awū náe rípátēn.
      3s lie sprawled-out   He lay sprawled out.

      *Awū rū ritsen.
       3s go upright   He went upright.

      *Awū rū rípátēn.
       3s go sprawled out   He went sprawled out.

Given the durative component of the meaning of positional verbs, one may ask how they differ from statives. The following features of statives, mentioned earlier, are relevant: statives do not use expressions of location; they often attract ideophones and expressions of degree. On all these parameters, positional verbs contrast with statives.

More examples of positional verbs:

267)   AtI som ribén.
         1p sit ground   We sat down.

268)   Awū kū nśe ribén.
         3s IMP lie ground   He is lying down.

269)   M tsi   imbyí kutūkū.
         1s stand bottom tree

                 I stood at the base of a tree.

270)   Awū som atáng lśdi ifaen.
         3s sit there week two

                 He stayed there 2 weeks.

271)   Awū nśe kusóg acIn.
         3s lie house medicine   He's in hospital.

272)   Awū bśb   ūwae ayéb   akwēn.
         3s crouch in   millet there

                 He's crouching in that millet
                 over there.

Position Verbs and Non-locative Complements

In addition to the positional nouns illustrated

in sentences 265-266, there are other adverbial nouns

occurring with position verbs, as in the following:

273)   Ufu tsi   ribwen.
         door stand open   The door stood open.

274)   Awū nśe kicśeb.
         3s lie sickness   He is ill.

275)   Awū som ribam.
         3s sit naked   He sat naked.

As in the case of stative verbs, a position verb may be bivalent. The verb **nѕe**, for example, may take a true object and undergo nominalization:

276)   Awū nѕe iyag.
         3s lie adultery   He committed adultery.

         Cf: iyag   tI nѕe
              adultery REL lie   adultery

The verb **nѕe** also occurs with transitive and causative senses:

277)   Ribăng nѕe wū kufxen.
         wound lie 3s leg

         He has a wound on his leg.

278)   Awu nѕe risū ribén té   m.
         3s lie head ground with 1s

         He submitted to me.

3.2 Sentences with Object-incorporating Verbs

3.2.1 Restricted and Unrestricted Objects

The verbs in these sentences form nominalizations which incorporate the object:

279)   Awū mbye kusóg. =⇒ kusóg tI mbye
         3s build house   house REL build

         He built a house.   house-building

The bulk of sentences in this category are "garden variety" transitive sentences like:

280)   Apurá kṹ cĪ kirãen.
        Apura IMP eat fufu   Apura is eating fufu.

281)   AtĪ ngwã ãmbyĪ.
        1p drink water   We drank water.

In addition to these, Kuteb has a large number of semantically intransitive verbs with predicate NP's which seem more like adverbial nouns than "objects", yet they nominalize like the true transitives.9 The NP's in these predicates are often abstract, sometimes cognate with the verb they follow, and in many cases obligatory. Note the nominalizations below each of the following:

282)   Awū kwáen ukwáen.
        3s cough cough   He coughed.

        ukwáen tĪ kwáen   coughing

283)   Awū rang irá.
        3s ask word   He asked a question.

        irá tĪ rang   question (N)

284)   Awū yang akyáng.
        3s sing songs   He sang.

        akyáng tĪ yang   singing

285)   Awū tēr inyae.
        3s run run   He ran.

        inyae tĪ tẽr   running

286)   Awū jwó ijwē.
        3s wash body   He bathed.

        ijwē tī jwó   bathing

287)   Awū kū jwūb irá.
        3s IMP cry word   He cried.

        irá tī jwūb   crying

Not only do these verbs incorporate the object under nominalization, in many cases the object can be modified:

288) Abã kyang ikyin ná uróm.
     3p walk walk of male

     They walked a man's walk.

Note: ikyin tī kyang ná uróm
      walk REL walk of man   a man's walk

289) Ise tī awū se ne nyang uwae ukwe tímambē.
     dance REL 3s dance DEM good inside chief very

     The dance he danced pleased the king very much.

If the verbs in these sentences nominalize just like the ordinary transitive verbs, and if the objects take modifiers like the ordinary transitive objects, how do they differ? It is here that the research of Thompson and Hopper (1980) comes in handy.

First of all, they have stated that transitivity is best thought of as a semantic property which involves not simply verbs, but the whole relationship between a verb and the arguments with

which it occurs. Important to this analysis are: the **potency** of the agent; properties of the verb, such as **telicity, punctuality,** and **volitionality**; and features of the object, such as **affectedness** and **individuation**. The latter includes components which Thompson and Hopper set out in opposites, as follows:

Individuated Objects	Non-individuated Objects
proper	common
human, animate	inanimate
concrete	abstract
singular	plural
count	mass
referential, definite	non-referential

While objects tend to have mostly one set of features or the other, no strict division can be expected to exist between "transitive" and "intransitive" sentences. Rather, there is a **scale** of transitivity such that a formally transitive sentence such as "Jerry likes chocolate" may have fewer transitive features than a formally intransitive sentence such as "Susan left".

Let us then look at some sentences in Kuteb against the background of these transitivity features.

Consider some prototypical "transitive" sentences:

290)   Awū tā   ukó.
         3s   shoot duiker   He shot a duiker.

291)   Awū jwó kekó-m.
         3s wash bike-1s   He washed my bicycle.

In the above sentences, the object is **concrete**, **singular**, **count**, and **referential** (one could follow sentence 290 with **amá ayī tēr rū** 'but it ran away').10 One may add that the objects in 290 and 291 belong to a very large, unrestricted set.

In contrast, note the type of "object" that occurs in the following:

292)   Awu tēr inyae.
         3s   run run   He ran.

293)   Awū kyang ikyin.
         3s   walk walk   He walked.

294)   Awū tsó   isīk.
         3s   go-up burp   He belched.

295)   Awū kwāen ukwáen.
         3s   cough cough   He coughed.

In these sentences the "objects" are, first of all, unaffected by the action. Furthermore, they are abstract. No particular act of running or walking is described but rather the general notion. They are also inanimate and non-referential (one cannot follow

sentence 292 with **Ayī bīr tīaambō** 'It was very fast' or 294 with **Ame fxēn yī tīnene** 'I just heard it').[11]

Many of the predicate NP's in these sentences are **cognate** or **near-cognate** nouns based on verbs which allow no other NP to follow them. The VP **kwēen ukwēen** 'cough a cough' in sentence 295 is representative. More examples follow below.

Finally, one may note the restrictedness of the "objects" in the above. The verb **taō** in the sense given in 294 has no other complement. Some of the verbs in the sentences above can take more than one NP in the object position, but in every case the collocation is very limited. The verb **kyang**, for example, may take, in addition to **ikyin** mentioned above, the following:

296)   Awū kyang yáwo.
        3s   walk wandering

        He walked around.

297)   Awū kyang tātu.
        3s   walk hunting

        He went hunting.

To summarize, we may observe two interesting features about Kuteb:

1. Kuteb predicates have, in addition to regular objects and prepositional phrases, unmarked nominals ("adverbial objects") which describe the action of the verb.

2. Kuteb verbs have a nominalization device which incorporates not only true objects, but also these adverbial objects.

Thus, though, on the basis of incorporation, we have a large category of formally "transitive" verbs having "objects", many of these unmarked NP's have an adverbial role, rather than a patient role.

The incorporating nominalization enables us to distinguish equative and stative sentences from transitives. It is not sufficient to distinguish true transitive objects from adverbial objects. Nor is the relativizability of the predicate NP adequate to make the distinction. We need to invoke pragmatic criteria such as referentiality, and semantic criteria such as specificity and abstractness, in order to distinguish the two.

Insofar as the the distinction between the "true transitives" and the "descriptive transitives" is useful, I posit two subgroups of NP-incorporating sentences as **adverbial object** (AO) and **unrestricted object** (UO) sentences. These will be illustrated in the following two sections.

3.2.2 Examples of Unrestricted-object Sentences

298)   AtI pwa   ay6b.
        1p grind millet

        We ground millet.

299)   Ā ã ye   mbakúnn tawé.
        3p HO catch chicken first

        They must catch a chicken first.

300)   Iz6 tu   mbapxú wū akã?
        Ize find dog   REF where

        Where did Ize find the dog?

301)   Ande kú   ye   iwág usháen isīn.
        people IMP catch fish season dry

        People catch fish in the dry season.

3.2.3 Examples of Adverbial-object Sentences

302)   Awū tãr inyae.
        3s run running   He ran.

303)   Ā se   ise.
        3p dance dance   They danced.

304)   Ā yāng akyáng.
        3p sing songs   They sang.

305)   Awū yáe   kuyáe.
        3s sneeze sneeze   He sneezed.

306)   Awū cwū ricwú.
        3s die death.   He died.

307) Awū nja abying.
    3s ?   feces   He defecated.

308) Abã kū kam ushwū.
    3p IMP ?   ?   They are celebrating.

As mentioned earlier, some of the above have "cognate objects", that is, nouns which are formally related to the verbs with which they occur. In the case of Kuteb, the nouns may be considered as derived from the verb by the addition of a prefix.[12] Others of this kind are:

309) Awū mbyae kumbyae.
    3s jump jump   He jumped.

310) Awū kū shinn ashinn.
    3s IMP urinate urine   He urinated.

311) Awu kū kwaēn akwãen.
    3s IMP itch itch   He itches.

312) Awū se   ise.
    3s dance dance   He danced.

313) Awū cwū ricwū.
    3s die death   He died.

314) Awū som usom.
    3s sit sitting   He sat/lived.

315) Awū bõm   ribõm.
    3s be-strong strength   He is strong.

316) Awū sẽr risẽr.
    3s grow growth   He grew.

317)   Awū kwáen   ukwáen.
         3s cough   cough   He coughed.

318)   Awū cwág   kicwág.
         3s sleep sleep   He slept.

319)   Awū bun   kubun.
         3s groan groan   He groaned.

320)   Awū bur   ubur.
         3s cover cover   He's wearing a hat.

A number of AO verbs occur with a body-part object. Examples:

321)   Awū ndub   ijwē.
         3s swell-up body   He was proud.

322)   Awū fwēr ijwē.
         3s shake body   He shook.

323)   Awū ndebáb utŏb.
         3s spoil heart   He got unhappy.

324)   Awū bēn   ayíb.
         3s ripen eyes   He got clever.

325)   Awū kyén   kufxen.
         3s stumble? foot   He stumbled.

326)   Awū kyaen rishwū.
         3s fill stomach   She is pregnant.

327)   Irá ne fur   ayíb.
         word DEM bend eyes   This matter is amazing.

328)   Awū munn   rishwū.
         3s swell stomach   His stomach swelled up.

329)   AwÜ mbÚb kunyĬ.
        3s   break tooth   He has a broken tooth.

330)   AwÜ cwÜ kujwó.
        3s   die arm   He has a withered arm.

Optionality of Object in A-O Sentences

As in the case of other transitive verbs, the object is not always expressed. With AO's however, this only happens with stylistic repetition, as in the following:

331)   AtĬ se   ise, se   se   sise.
        1p dance dance dance dance dance

        We kept on dancing and dancing.

332)   AwÜ kwáen ukwáen, kwáen, kwáen kukwáen.
        3s cough cough,   cough cough cough

        He kept on coughing and coughing.

3.2.4 Sentences with Reflexive Verbs

The two-NP sentence is the normal vehicle for expressing the notion of "reflexive". As there are few reflexive verbs, and since the objects are limited to the word ijwé plus a possessive pronoun co-referential with the subject, I consider them restricted-object sentences. Examples:

333)   Awū sáe ijwā-wū uwae síníma.
         3s   look body-3s in   cinema

              He saw himself in the cinema.

Examples from texts:

334) Ā kū kyāe ijwā-bā tsi   kū   jí ukwāb tíyāng.
     3p IMP fix body-3p stand IMP wait feast big

     They were preparing themselves for the big feast.

335) Maléka sī   bá   tsó ijwā-wū uwōg-m.
     Angel descend come show body-3s place-1s

     An angel came down and revealed himself to me.

336) Ā   pū   ítóng mbūb ijwā-bā.
     3p take ashes dump body-3p

     They dump ashes on themselves.

337) Awū tī wēn ijwā-wū.
     3s REL kill body-3s

     He killed himself.

338) Awū kū kūnn ijwā-wū bāa, umbae   ukwe.
     3s IMP call body-his, comp child of chief

     He called himself the son of a chief.

3.2.5 Ambivalent Verbs

     A number of verbs in Kuteb can be considered as
belonging to more than one group. For example, some

verbs may be both monovalent (taking one argument) and

bivalent (taking two arguments):

339) AtI **nde** ikén. (bivalent)
    1s do   thing

    We did something.

340) KíkIn   **nde**. (monovalent)
    something do

    Something happened.

341) Ā kū **cI** ritūg. (bivalent)
    3p IMP eat market

    They're having market.

342) Ritūg kū   **cI** atáng yáka. (monovalent)
    market IMP eat there today

    They're having a market there today.

343) Abā **cwé** irá-m. (bivalent)
    3p agree word-1s

    They agreed with me.

344) Urwā kū   **cwé**   ubāen rikwen. (monovalent)
    fire PROG agree side mountain.

        A fire is burning on the mountainside.

345) Awū **ngwā** ujwāb. (bivalent)
    3s drink beer

    He drank beer.

346) Ujwãb **ngwã** iké a? (monovalent)
    beer drink yet here Q

    Is there beer here?

347) Ame **mãm** pú-m wánde-m. (bivalent)
    1s finish PRF 1s work-1s

    I finished my work.

348) Wánde **mãm** pú-yĩ. (monovalent)
    Work finish PRF 3s

    The work is finished.

349) Abã kũ **kãen** gãrwã petúro. (bivalent)
    3p IMP roll drum petrol

    They're rolling petrol drums.

350) Awũ **kãen** kũ bá pãngmá rikãenbyĩng. (monovalent)
    3s roll IMP come like dung beetle

    He came rolling like a dung beetle.

351) Awũ **jĩm** urwã. (bivalent)
    3s cool fire

    He put out the fire.

352) Urwã **jĩm**. (monovalent)
    fire cool

    The fire went out.

353) Awũ **tsõ** yĩ Lupwe. (monovalent)
    3s go-up PREP Lupwe

    He went up to Lupwe.

354)   Awū **tsŏ**   kutūkū. (bivalent)
       3s   go-up tree

       He climbed a tree.

355)   Awū **rū** yɪ Káno. (monovalent)
       3s   go to Kano

       He went to Kano.

356)   Awū **rū** ijwū   risū. (bivalent)[13]
       3s   go white hair head

       He got gray hair.

357)   Awū **sɪ**   yɪ   ritūg. (monovalent)
       3s   go-down PREP market

       He went to market.

358)   Awū **sɪ**   kūtūpwá-wū. (bivalent)
       3s   put-on cloth   3s

       He put on his shirt.

359)   Awū **náe** ribán. (monovalent)
       3s   lie   ground

       He lay down.

360)   Awū **náe** risū ribán. (bivalent)
       3s   lie head ground

       He's humble.

In some cases, it is difficult to tell whether a verb is incorporating or not because the meaning of the object makes nominalization unlikely. An example is the sentence:

361) Awū **náe** kicáeb.
      3s   lie sickness

      He's ill.

Is **kicáeb** here a true object or is it adverbial? The
nominalization **kicáeb tī náe** 'being sick' is awkward
but acceptable.

       Another case involves the verb **nung** 'to smell'.
To a certain extent Kuteb is similar to English in
using a single verb 'smell' both transitively and
intransitively.   However,   whereas   the   English
intransitive 'smell' is followed by an adjective
('This soup smells delicious'.), Kuteb requires a
noun. Note the true object **fu** 'you' in 362 below and
the ambigious object/adverbial **akong** in 363:

362) Abā kū **nung** fu tī   iwén-bā.
      3p IMP smell 2s PREP noses-3p

      They smell you with their noses.

363) Ibyē ne kū **nung** akong.
      meat DEM IMP smell rotten-smell

      This meat stinks.

Cf.: ʔakong tī nung 'rotten-smell smelling'

Other examples:

364) Wūcī ne kū **nung** kucwū.
      food DEM IMP smell stale-smell

      This food smells stale.

365) Iwág ne kû **nung** aság.
 fish DEM IMP smell smell-of-raw-fish

 This fish stinks.

 *Ibyễ ne **nung**.
 meat DEM smell

 This meat smells.

4.0 Sentences with Three NPs

Some verbs may take three arguments. The order in which the two post-verbal arguments occur with respect to each other is important; it carries meaning. For example, the reversal of the order of the two post-verbal NP's in the following is ungrammatical:

366) Awû nda umbae-m kisTm.
 he gave child-1s knife   He gave my child a knife.

 *Awû nda kisTm umbae-m.[14]
 3s give knife child-1s

367a) Ame rang wû irá.
 1s ask 3s word   I asked him a question.

367b) ?Ame rang irá wû.
 1s ask word 3s

368a) AtI fã bã rinyí.
 1p name 3p name   We named them.

368b) ?AtI fã rinyí bã.
 1p name name 3p

The position immediately following the verb typically hosts a noun or pronoun which encodes the

party affected by the action of the verb ("dative").
The similarity to "indirect object of the verb" in
English will readily be seen in the following examples.
Although noun objects appear in this position
occasionally, pronouns are vastly more common, and
mostly refer to humans. This correlates with a
widespread tendency that Givón has observed in
languages, namely, that if a sentence has two objects,
one human and the other non-human, the human one will
always come first.

The second NP is typically an object or an
instrument. Hopper and Thompson have noted (1980:259)
that, in the light of the fact that "indirect objects"
are often "prototypical" objects, being definite and
animate, they "should in fact be considered transitive
O's rather than what might be called accusative O's".
I call them "dative" here.[15] Examples:

4.1 Subject + Dative + Object

369) A̅ nda Izé rinyanwae.
     3p give Ize presents

          They're giving Ize presents.

370) A̅ ú nda wū rúkwɓe tɪ wɛe.
     3p FUT give 3s shame REL shame

          They'll make him ashamed.

371) Awū kū pūtsán tī ipâm itā.
3s IMP follow 1p pound three

   We owe him three pounds (N6.00).

372) Ame ū pae nī náira ifaen.
1s FUT pay 2p naira two

   I'll pay you two naira.

373) M kū byīb Atápu ripáb náira ifaen.
1s IMP demand Atapu loan naira two

   Atapu owes me two naira.

4.2 Subject + Dative + Adverbial Nominal

Most of the adverbial nominals in these sentences express **instrument** or **body part**, as I will illustrate in the next two sections.

4.2.1 Adverbial Nominals Expressing Instrument

In English if the instrument is not lexicalized in the verb, it will usually require a preposition (e.g., he hit me <u>with</u> a stick). Note the absence of prepositions in the following:

374) Ā byīnn wū kumbáb.
3p beat 3s whip   They whipped him.

375) Ā   jwunn wū atxom.
3p throw 3s stones   They hit him with stones.

376) Mbawén ca wū ishen.
goat butt 3s horns   The goat butted him.

377) Mbapxū-fu kūb m anyī.
dog-2s   bite is teeth Your dog bit me.

It may be that originally Kuteb required a preposition also, as is suggested by the fact that paraphrases using the preposition tí are acceptable (the "b" versions below):

378a) Ā byīnn wū kumbáb.
     3p beat 3s whip   They whipped him.

378b) Ā byīnn wū tí kumbáb.

379a) Ā jwunn wū atxom.
     3p threw 3s stones   They threw stones at him.

379b) Ā jwunn wū tí atxom.

4.2.2. Adverbial Nominals Expressing Body Part

The following examples represent cases of "possessor ascension". Note the non-ascended alternatives in each case:

380a) Irá ne byãen m ayíb.
     word DEM red   1s eyes

         This matter troubles me.

380b) Irá ne byãen ayíb-m.
     word DEM red   eyes-1s

381a) Irá ne fur bã ayíb.
     word DEM fold 3p eyes

         This matter boggles them.

381b) Irá ne fur ayíb-bã.
     word DEM fold eyes-3p

382a) Abā mbŭb wŭ kunyΊ.
3p break 3s tooth

They knocked out one of his teeth.

382b) Abā mbŭb kunyΊ-wŭ.
3p break tooth-3s

383a) Awŭ tsi m utðb.
3s stand 1s heart

I'm always thinking of him.

383b) ?Awŭ tsi utðb-m.
3s stand heart-1s

The cases of possessor ascension are not limited to body parts. A few other examples are:

384a) Awŭ byangkyΊ anyΊsŭ fangó.
3s block children road

He blocked the children's way.

384b) Awŭ byangkyΊ fangó anyΊsu.
3s block road (of) children

385a) A yΊb m rédiyo.
3p steal 1s radio

They stole my radio.

385b) A yΊb rédiyo-m.
3p steal radio-1s

Like the instrumentals illustrated earlier, some sentences with body-part NP's in the predicate have alternatives using the preposition tΊ:[16]

386) Awū byĪnn me (tɪ) rishwū.
    3s   strike 1s with stomach

    He hit me in the stomach.

387) Awū pye m (tɪ) risū.
    3s cut 1s with head

    He cut me in the head.

    Given the fact that the second predicate NP
encodes either instrument or body part, one might
predict ambiguity in the case of a body part that could
be used as an instrument, such as an arm or a leg.
Such is indeed the case, as in the following:

388) Ame byĪnn wū (tɪ) kufxen.
    1s beat 3s with foot

    I hit him on the foot.

    or   I kicked him.

389) Awū rug me (tɪ) kujwɔ́.
    3s punch 1s with arm

    He hit me on the arm.

    or   He hit me with his arm.

4.2.3 Other Examples of Restricted Objects with DAT

390) Ukwe fǎ wū kusen tɪ́mambɛ̄.
    Chief ? 3s order much

    The chief really scolded him.

Cf.: kusen tɪ fǎ   scolding (N)

391) Ame fan   wū kibyãg.
    1s   scold? 3s heat

    I reprimanded him.

Cf.: kibyãg tĪ fan   reprimanding (N)

392) AtĪ fã wū rinyí.
    1p   ? 3s name

       We named him.

Cf.: rinyí tĪ fã   naming (N)

393) Abã tẽn wū ifú.
    3p   ?   3s injury

       They injured him.

394) Abã txūn wū asú.
    3p   ?   3s ?

       They insulted him.

395) AtĪ byĪb   bã akú.
    1p   demand 3p revenge

       We took revenge on them.

396) AtĪ byĪb   bã irá.
    1p   demand 3p word

       We interrogated them.

397) Abã nde wū forõ.
    3p   do 3s punishment

       They punished him.

398) AtĪ cĪ bã riká.
    1p eat 3p war

       We defeated them.

399) Abã pwen   wū rikwén.
    3p   count? 3s judgment

       They judged him.

Many reflexive sentences fall into this category, since reflexive activities involve a second predicate argument. Examples:

400) Awū kū nda ijwē-wū rikāen.
     3s IMP give body-3s trouble

     He is giving himself trouble.

401) Abā nda ijwē-bā rinyanwae.
     3p give body-3p gift

     They gave themselves gifts.

402) Afu kū tēn   ijwē-fu ifū.
     2s IMP injure body-2p injury

     You're injuring yourself.

403) Istí rang ijwē-wū irā bāa,
     Isti ask body-3s word COMP.

     Isti asked himself,...

As in the case of two-argument sentences, the reciprocal marker átsō, which is nominal in form and co-referential with the subject, stands in the true-object position, and one of the other three types of adverbial nominal can follow--instrument, body part, or qualifier:

404) Abā kū byīnn átsō kimbáb. (INSTR)
     3p IMP beat RECIP whip

     They are whipping each other.

405) Abā fan   átsō kibyāg. (MANNER)
     3p scold RECIP heat

     They reprimanded each other.

406) Ā kū ceb áˣtsŏ̄ kufxen. (INSTR/BP?)
     3p IMP tread RECIP leg

          They're stepping on each other.

407) Ā mbūb   áˣtsŏ̄ anyī. (BP)
     3p break   RECIP teeth

          They knocked out each other's teeth.

408) Atī tĕr áˣtsŏ̄ uyī. (INSTR)
     1p stab RECIP needle

          We gave each other injections.

     Many of the cognate-object constructions also allow an additional argument to be inserted, as in the following:

409) Ā fxīr wū afxīr.
     3p mock 3s mockery   They mocked him.

410) Ā skaen wū ikyaen.
     3p laugh 3s laughter   They laughed at him.

     Not all transitives can automatically insert an additional argument. In the following, an additional argument must be preceded by the verb **na** 'give', yielding a benefactive construction (see Ch. 8):

411) Ā yãng akyáng.
       3p sing songs   They sang songs.

412) Ā yãng na   tī akyáng.
       3p sing give 1p songs   They sang songs for us.

Cf.: *Ā yãng tī akyáng.

5.0 Sentences with Four NP's

Three arguments may follow the verb, although this is fairly rare, it being more usual to introduce the final NP with the preposition **tí**. When three arguments follow the verb, the order is:

DATIVE   INSTRUMENT   BODY PART

as in the following:

413a)   Awū byīnn me kujwó risū.
        3s hit   1s arm   head

      He hit me on the head with his hand.

or

413b)   Awū byīnn me kujwó tí risū.
        3s   hit 1s arm   head

in which the body-part NP is introduced by a preposition. Other examples:

414) Awū pye m adá (tí) risū.
      3s   cut 1s cutlass head

      He cut me on the head with a cutlass.

415) Ame kwēr   bā rúla (tí) risū.
      1s strike 3p ruler   head

      I struck them on the head with a ruler.

416) Aba kú cób wū ricinn uwae.
      3p IMP break 3s ?   inside

      They're waiting (hopefully) for him to die.

NOTES–CHAPTER SEVEN

[1] Frajzyngier's approach has important implications for the analysis of serial verb contructions. Whereas many writers have struggled to derive SVC's from several clauses (Sapir 1964, Williamson 1966), Frajzyngier sees the formation of SVC's as a process much like lexicalization, by which sets of verbs, each having narrow semantic scope, get joined together because of the natural collocation of the concepts involved. Just as the notions of <u>rapid bipedal action</u>, <u>movement</u>, and <u>direction</u> have been encoded in a single word in English (run), so a set of words like **tĕr** (rapid bipedal motion), **rū** 'move levelly', and **ka** 'move away from speaker' have been consolidated into an SVC **tĕr rū ka** in Kuteb.

[2] See Mithun (1988) for a recent cross-linguistic treatment of "subject".

[3] There are no zero-argument sentences in Kuteb equivalent to 'It is raining' in some languages. Imperatives like **bá** 'come!' are not considered zero-argument sentences but rather cases of subject-deletion.

[4] See B. Fox, "Body Part Syntax: Towards a Universal Characterization", in <u>Studies in Language</u> 5:323-342, 1981.

[5] These adverbial nominals can be shown to be distinct from objects by applying the nominalization test, which incorporates true objects (see Section 3.2). The corresponding transform of a stative verb plus adverbial nominal yields a structure which is interpreted as an NP plus relative clause (or QW):

A.

Awū nyang undá.
3s good woman.

She's good as a woman.

B.

undá tɪ nyang
woman REL good

a good woman
(not 'the act of
being a good woman')

```
Awū tsēn utŏb        =⇒    utŏb tI tsēn
3s  white heart            heart REL white

He is happy.               happiness
                           (not 'being happy')
```

6 There are various instances in which a second argument might not actually be expressed, the most frequent being cases in which the object of the verb has been made explicit in the previous clause. However, the object is felt to be there in the consciousness of the speaker.

7 Quality words or phrases occasionally occur in this position also:

```
Awū si tIshŏ.
3s  be new        It is new.
```

8 Motion verbs are typically followed by a locative N or NP. This does not mean that a locative phrase cannot occur in other sentences. However, in a transitive sentence the locative element is peripheral, whereas in a motion verb sentence the locative phrase is central. Dik (1980) captures this central-versus-periphery distinction explicitly in his Functional Grammar.

9 This phenomenon is not unique to Kuteb. Note Shimizu's (1980:243-246) "nominal complements of intransitive verbs" in Jukun. Terpstra (1968:99ff) lists over 120 "compound verbs" in Tiv, many of which are semantically identical to Kuteb verbs with adverbial nominals.

10 Another test of referentiality is a sentence like:

```
Ā  sa  ŏmbyI bŏ, ame ngwŏ.
3p take water come 1s  drink

They brought water and I drank some/it.
```

Compare:

```
*A  sa  ukwŏen bŏ, awū kwaen.

They brought a cough and he coughed (it).
```

Also, in the patientizing SVC (see Ch.7), where the object follows V1 and is not repeated again after V2, an AO does not succeed:

```
Awū    sa    utI jwunn ufu
3s     take  ear throw duiker
```

He took a spear and speared the duiker.

```
*Awū   sa    ukwaen    kwaen.
 3s    take  cough(N)  cough(V)
```

He took a cough and coughed.

[11] Although the objects are not referential in these sentences, the object can be made referential by a referential word. For example,

```
Ame kyang ikyin usir itā.
1s  walk  walk  day  three
```

I walked for three days.

```
Icin yI (tI ame kyang) sa na m rikāen.
walk REF  REL 1s walk  take give 1s trouble.
```

The walk I walked gave me trouble.

[12] There is nothing to indicate that it might not happen in reverse, however, i.e., that some verbs could develop from nouns by prefix-deletion.

[13] Note that this sentence nominalizes along with the adverbial NP:

```
ijwū tI rū risū
3s REL go head         getting gray hair
```

Note also the following:

```
Awū nᴂe risū ribᴇ́n. =⇒ risū tI nᴂe ribᴇ́n
3s  lie head ground     head REL lie ground
```

He is humble.   humility

[14] But note the following serial verb construction with the same basic meaning:

Awū sa kisĪm na umbae-m.
3s take knife to child-1s

He gave the knife to my child.

[15] Note by way of contrast the benefactive construction in footnote 14 above, which uses the restricted verb **na** 'give'.

[16] The more usual case has a preposition in the instrumental component, as in:

Awū kū́ pyē̄ yĪ tí adá.
3s IMP cut 3 PREP cutlass

He is cutting it with a cutlass.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

1.0 Introduction

Chapter 7 introduced simple sentences--those which express a single proposition--and the subcategory of them which contain a single verb. In this chapter we deal with sentences which express a single proposition but which contain multiple verbs. Known commonly as "serial verb constructions", these sentences have been described over the past couple of decades in a substantial body of literature[1] covering languages in West Africa, Oceana, and Southeast Asia.

The serial verb construction (SVC from here) consists, in most languages, of two or more verbs in sequence without any coordinating or subordinating word. The following are examples from Kalam (Givón 1988:15), Yatye (Stahlke, 1970), Lahu (Matisoff 1988:70) and Yoruba (Stahlke 1970):

417)   bi-nak ak spet ominal <u>dand sand</u>-ip.
        man-your DEF spade two carry leave-PRF

            The man is carrying away 2 spades.

418) àmì awá òkìtì adyú òtsi.
      I   took machete cut   tree

      I cut the tree with a machete.

419) ŋà-hi ga   gò?   chi tɔ? pi ve.
      we   had-to repeat lift out for them

      We had to lift it out for them again.

420) Mo mú gbogbo àwon omodé lo Ekó.
      I take all PL children go Lagos

      I took all the children to Lagos.

I begin the description of Kuteb SVC's with diagnostic and supplementary features, and then show how particular sets of verbs have apparently clustered to form recurring lexical groupings. My intent throughout the chapter is to demonstrate the unity of the SVC as a syntactic unit which encodes a single semantic proposition.[2]

2.0 Identification of Serial Verbs in Kuteb

As mentioned above, a serial verb construction consists of two or more verbs in sequence without any coordinating or subordinating particle. Examples:

421) Rū   ka sa   ujɪ́ bá!
      move go take rope come

      Go and fetch me a rope!

422) Awū txɪ́ ámbyɪ̄ munncɪ̄ kutútong.
      3s dip water fill   pot

      She filled the pot with water.

423)   Abā rū ka som atáng isháen ifaen.
        3p   move go sit there month two

        They went and stayed there two months.

424)   AtI rū   ka jwunn wĕn ukúr   wū.
        1p move go throw kill crocodile REF

        We took spears and killed the crocodile.

While   absence   of   coordinating   and subordinating markers is our primary diagnostic for the SVC, other characteristics also hold true:

    1. Negation sharing[3]

    2. Argument sharing

    3. Sharing of auxiliaries

Let us examine each of these in turn.

2.1 Negation Sharing

A piece of evidence used routinely (Givón 1988) to show the unity of the SVC as a grammatical construction is its behavior under negation. It will be seen from the examples below that the negative marker (recapitulating pronoun and particle bǝ) covers the entire sequence of verbs. It is impossible to negate one of the verbs without the others. Examples:

425)   Awū rū bá-wū bẽ.
            3s move come-3s NEG

                  She did not come.

     *Awū rū-wū bẽ bá.
      3s move-3s NEG come

                ?She came but didn't move.

426)   Awū tẽr ka wakúnunn.
            3s run go home

                  She ran home.

427)   Awū tẽr ka-wū wakúnunn bẽ.
            3s run go-3s home   NEG

                  She did not run home.

    *Awū tẽr-wū bẽ ka wakúnunn.
     3s run-3s NEG go home

                ?She went home but did not run.

428)   Ame yẽr wẽn-me mbapxú-fu bẽ.
            1s cut kill-1s dog-2s   NEG

                  I did not butcher your dog.

     *Ame yẽr-me bẽ wẽn mbapxú-fu.
      1s cut-1s NEG kill dog-2s

                ?I did not cut your dog but killed it.

429)   Awū sa keké-m   rū-wū yĨ ritúg bẽ.
            3s take cycle-1s go-3s to market NEG

                  He did not take my bicycle to market.

     *Awū sa-wū keké-m   bẽ rū yĨ ritúg.
      3s take-3s cycle-1s NEG go to market

                ? He did not take my bicycle but went
                to the market.

2.2 Argument Sharing

In this section I show that the **subject** of verbs in SVC's must be shared but not necessarily the objects.

2.2.1 Subject Sharing

The negative criterion discussed above dovetails with the shared-subject requirement in that negation is marked not only by the morpheme **bε̃** but also by a recapitulation of the subject pronoun:

    Awū bá-wū   bε̃.
    3s come-3s NEG   He did not come.

In an SVC there can only be one recapitulating pronoun (RP) and it always occurs after the last verb:

430)   Awū sa   mbawén bá-wū   bε̃.
        3s take goat   come-3s NEG

        He did not bring the goat.

Since there can only be one RP, and it must be coreferent with the subject of both verbs, it follows that it is impossible for a second verb to have a different subject, even if it made any sense:

    *Awū nứng abā nwứnn-wū bε̃.
     3s see 3p leave-3s NEG

     for: He did not see them leave.

*Awū nűng abǎ nwűnn-bǎ bě.
3s see 3p leave-3p NEG

for: ?He saw them not leave.

It is the shared subject requirement that allows us to reject certain sentences in our data from consideration as SVC's. The following, for example, was recorded as marginally acceptable:

431) ?AtI tu Ali kű nǎe uwae kusőg.
1p find Ali IMP lie in house

We found Ali lying in the house.

Using the negative construction, we discover that it is impossible to have separate subjects for the two verbs:

*AtI tu Ali kű nǎe-tI uwae kusőg bě.
1p find A. IMP lie-1p in house NEG

?We did not find Ali lying in the house.

*AtI tu Ali kű nǎe-wū uwae kusőg bě.
1p find A. IMP lie-3s in house NEG

?We found Ali not lying in the house.

Since the suspect sentences do not negate like normal SVC's we conclude that, if they are grammatical at all, they are not SVC's. In true SVC's, the single RP can only be coreferent with one NP. Hence the subject of the two verbs must be shared.

2.2.2 Object Sharing

We have seen above how SVC's must share the subject argument. The object argument is sometimes shared, sometimes not:

<u>SVC's with Shared Object</u>

432)   Itumū sa ukwab kūb tírī.
        Lion take Monkey eat then

        Then Lion ate Monkey.

433)   Góro, afu pū kan   na bā.
        Kola, 2s take divide to 3p

        You shared kola nuts among them.

434)   Awū yēr wēn mbakúnn.
        3s cut kill chicken

        He butchered a chicken.

<u>SVC's with Separate Objects</u>

However, often the object is not shared, as in the following, where two separate objects are expressed:

435)   Awū sa adá   pyē ukob wū.
        3s take machete cut cobra REF

            He slashed the cobra with a machete.
            (He took a machete and slashed the cobra.)

436)   Awū sa birīki mbye kusóg.
        3s take brick build house

            He built the house with bricks.
            (He took bricks and built a house.)

2.3 Sharing of Auxiliaries

The prototypical SVC shares a single set of tense, aspect, and modal words. This further supports the idea that the sequence of actions is seen as a unit. While this is a complex issue in that the interaction of particular verbs and auxiliaries is itself complex, I present here some general patterns.

2.3.1 SVC's with Shared FUTURE Marker

The future marker (ú) precedes the first verb in a series, as follows:

437)   Awū ú rū bá.
        3s FUT move come

        He will come.

        *Awū rū ú bá.

        *Awū ú rū ú bá.

438)   Anī ú yēr wēn mbakūnn tīne a?
        2p FUT cut kill chicken now Q

        Are you going to butcher the chicken now?

439)   Úcwē   ame ú sa mbakūnn ne rū   ka jaēbcī.
        tomorrow 1s FUT take hen DEM move go sell

        Tomorrow I'm going to sell this hen.

2.3.2 SVC's with Shared IMPERFECTIVE Marker

The imperfective marker kū preferably precedes the final verb in a string:

440)   Awū rū kū bá.
         3s move IMP come   He is coming.

         compare: *Awū kū rū bá.

441)   Abā nwūnn kū rū.
         3p arise IMP move

                 They were getting up and going.

         compare: *Abā kū nwūnn rū.

442)   Awū txí ámbyī kū munncī kutútong.[4]
         3s dip water IMP fill pot

                 She's filling the waterpot.

443)   Abā tóm ritóm kū rū.
         3p farm farm IMP move.

                 They went along farming.

444)   Awū yěr kū wěn mbakūnn.
         3s cut IMP kill chicken

                 They are slaughtering a chicken.

It is acceptable (though less usual) to mark
the imperfective on both verbs, but never on the first
verb only:

445)   Abā kū tóm ritóm kū rū.
         3p IMP farm farm IMP move

                 They went along farming.

446)   Awū kū yen   itūku kū kyang.
         3s IMP plant trees IMP walk

         Awū yen itūkūn kū kyang. (preferred)
         3s plant trees IMP walk

                 He walked along planting trees.

447)   AtI sI   kutúkū kú bá.
         1p descend tree   IMP come

   = AtI kú sI kutúkū kú bá.

         We were coming down from the tree.

2.3.3 SVC's with Shared PERFECTIVE Marker

An action seen as completed is marked by a
perfective marker (pú) after the last verb:

448)   Awū rū bá   pú-wū.
         3s move come PRF-3s   He has come.

         *Awū rū pú-wū bá.

         *Awū rū pú-wū bá pú-wū.

449)   Ame sa kíkwâb bá pú-m.
         1s take hoe   come

         I have brought the hoe.

Note that the perfective aspect marker
reinforces the same-subject requirement for SVC's
since the RP which follows the marker must be
coreferent with the subject of the first verb. This
rules out:

         *Awū jāe ánûng nwúnn pú-wū.
          3s drive birds arise PRF-3s

         ?He has driven the birds and they left.

         *Awū jāe ánûng nwúnn pú-yI.
          3s drive birds arise PRF-3

         ?He drove the birds and they have left.

There seems to be no limit to the number of verbs which can occur within the domain of **pú**:[5]

450)   Ame ka sa kíkwab bá pú-m.
        1s go take hoe come PRF-1s

451)   Ame rū ka sa kíkwab bá pú-m.
        1s go go take hoe come PRF-1s

452)   Ame těr rū ka sa kíkwab bá pú-m.
        1s run go go take hoe come PRF-1s

453)   Ame těr kafe   rū ka sa kíkwab bá pú-m.
        1s run return go go take hoe come PRF-1s

454)   Ame sa kíkwab bá tóm   tág pú-m   ritóm.
        1s take hoe   come farm MAX PRF-s farming

        I brought a hoe and have finished the
        farming.

2.3.4 SVC's with Shared INDIRECT SPEECH Marker

The indirect speech particle in an SVC typically precedes the first verb (or tense/aspect marker if any), although cases of repeated reported speech markers are occasionally found.

455a)   Awū rí baa, awū ná ú   rū   bá.
        3s say COMP 3s IS FUT move come

        He said he would come.

455b)   ?Awū rí baa, awū ná ú rū ná ú bá.
        3s say COMP 3s IS   FUT move come

        He said he would come. (Recorded but
        somewhat dubious).

456a)   Awū rí baa, awū ná yěr kú wěn mbakúnn.
        3s say COMP 3s IS cut IMP kill chicken

        He said he was slaughtering a chicken.

456b) ? Awū rI baa, awū nă yĕr nă kú wĕn mbakunn.
　　　 3s　say COMP 3s IS cut IS IMP kill chicken

　　　　　　　 He said he was slaughtering a chicken.
　　　　　　　 (accepted reluctantly)

456c) ?Awū rI baa, awū nă kú yĕr nă kú wĕn mbakúnn.
　　　 3s say COMP 3s　IS IMP cut IS IMP kill chicken

　　　　　　　 He said he was slaughtering a chicken.
　　　　　　　 (accepted reluctantly)

2.3.5 SVC's with Shared CONDITIONAL Marker

　　　　 In _conditional_ sentences, the conditional

marker precedes the first verb of the string:

457)　　 Afu a rū　ka sáng atáng, ă ú ye　　 fu.
　　　　 2s IF move go enter there, 3p FUT catch 2s

　　　　　 If you go enter there, you will be caught.

458)　　 Abă a sa　 ámbyI bá, ame ú nde simínti.
　　　　 3p IF take water come, 1s FUT make cement

　　　　　 If they bring water, I will make cement.

459)　　 Abă a yĕr kú wĕn mbapxú-m, ame cwé-m　 bă.
　　　　 3p IF cut IMP kill dog-1s　 1s agree-1s NEG

　　　　　 If they are slaughtering my dog, I
　　　　　 don't agree.

460)　　 AnI a sa　 ámbyI bá　 pú nI, nI rI　 té　 m.
　　　　 2p IF take water come PRF-2p, 2p tell with 1s

　　　　　 If/when you have brought the water, tell me.

3.0 Some Serial Verb Constructions

　　　　 In　 this　 section we consider some prototypical

SVC's　 which I believe should be posited as contrastive

structural units in Kuteb. These are chosen on the basis of statistical prominence. More could be added. They are roughly categorized below on the basis of the types and positions of the verbs that occur in them, and by their function in discourse.

1. Motion

2. Motion-Action

3. Co-lexicalizing

4. Instrumental

5. Patientizing

6. Comparative

3.1 Motion SVC

Four parameters define the expression of motion in Kuteb:

1. verticality,

2. direction towards or away from the speaker

(or other defined reference point),

3. manner of motion, and

4. goal or completion of the action.

A simple motion is expressed either by **rū** 'move levelly', **tsŏ** 'move up, ascend, climb', or **sĪ** 'move down, descend'. Examples:

461) Awū tsŏ   yĪ wakûnunn.
     3s ascend to home   He went (up) home.

462) Awū sī   yī ufáng.
      3s   descend to farm   He went (down) to the farm.

463) Awū rū   yī kutúr.
      3s   move to bush   He went to the wilderness.

Combinations like **rū sī**, **tsǒ rū**, and **sī rū** are unacceptable.

If a speaker is focussing on the direction of motion vis-a-vis himself, he may choose to say

464)   Awū bá   (iké).
          3s   come (here)   He came (here).

or

465)   Awū ka kutúr.
          3s   go bush   He went to the bush.

The two sets of verbs are frequently joined in SVC's as follows:

$$
\left\{
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{tsǒ} & \text{ascend} \\
\text{rū} & \text{move} \\
\text{sī} & \text{descend}
\end{array}
\right\}
\left\{
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{bá} & \text{come} \\
\\
\text{ka} & \text{go}
\end{array}
\right\}
$$

Examples:

466)   Atī rū bá   iké íré.
          1p move come here yesterday

          We came here yesterday.

467)   Ame tsǒ   ka yī Mūbi.
          1s ascend go to Mubi

          I went up to Mubi.

Compare the following unacceptable combinations:

```
*Awū bǎ tsɔ̃.
 3s  come ascend

*Awū ka tsɔ̃.
 3s  go ascend

*Awū bǎ   rū.
 3s  come move
```

A locative noun may stand between the two verbs:6

468) Awū sĪ   rikwen   bǎ.
      3s descend mountain come

      He came down from the mountain.

469) Abǎ tsɔ̃ uyínn bǎ.
      3p ascend sea come

      He came up from the sea.

470) Afu rū akǎ   bǎ?
      2s move where come

      Where did you come from?

Verbs expressing a third parameter, manner of motion,[7] necessarily precede the other two sets. Some verbs of this set are:

```
tēr      run        kyang    walk

mbyǎe    jump       kǔn      crawl

nwǔnn    get up     penn     fly
```

Examples of combinations:

471) Awū tēr rū bǎ.
      3s run move come

         He came on the run.

472)   Awū mbyae sī   bá.
         3s   jumped descend come

         He jumped down (towards speaker).

473)   Awu nwúnn rū   ka yī Gboko.
         3s   arise move go to Gboko

         He got up and went to Gbokɔ.

Other orders are not acceptable:

         *Awū rū tĕr bá.
          3s   move run come

         *Awu sī mbyae ka.
          3s   descend jump go

     Verbs from any set may be omitted, but the
relative order is always maintained:

474)   Awū tĕr rū   yī wakúnunn.
         3s   run move to home

         He ran home.

475)   Awū kyang bá   pú-wū.
         3s   walk come PRF-3s

         He has come (walking).

476)   Awū kún kú ka   yī uwŏg íyă-wū.
         3s crawl IMP move to place mother-3s

         He's crawling towards his mother.

     Finally a verb indicating the completion of the
motion (**fob** 'reach, arrive') may be added at the end of
the sequence:

477)   Awū tēr rū   ka **fob**   uwõg ínjā-wū.
         3s run move go reach place brother-3s

         He ran to his brother's place.

478)   Awū kũn   sī kumbũkunn bá **fob** wakũnunn.
         3s crawl descend hill come reach home

         He crawled down from the hill and home.

The motion verb **kafe** 'return' manifests the following order in respect to the general motion verbs.

$$
\text{kafe (turn)}
\begin{cases}
\text{tsõ (ascend)} \\
\text{rū (move)} \\
\text{sī (descend)}
\end{cases}
\begin{cases}
\text{bá (come)} \\
\text{ka (go)}
\end{cases}
$$

In an analysis of 66 cases of **kafe**, 27 occurred in series. Of these, 24 occurred first in the motion SVC. The sequences *rū kafe bá, *sī kafe ka, etc. are inadmissible.

Two patterns obtain with regard to the specific motion verbs (**tēr** 'run', **kyang** 'walk', etc.):

479)   Awū tēr kafe rū bá.   He came back running.

480)   Awū kafe tēr rū bá.   He came back running.

Although there may be a slight difference between these two, it has not been possible to determine what it is. The first of the above set seems slightly preferable.

We thus have four sets of motion verbs whose ordering is strictly controlled by syntactic rules illustrated in the following:

481)   Awū tēr kafe rū   bá.
         3s   run ret. move come

             He came running back.

482)   Awū kyang kafe sῙ   ka.
         3s   walk ret. desc.go

             He went walking back down.

483)   Awū mbyae kafe tsõ ka.
         3s   jump ret. asc. go

             He went jumping back up.

Examples of motion SVC's with aspect markers and negative:

484)   Awū si rikwen   bá   pú-wū.
         3s desc.mountain come PRF-3s

             He has come down from the mountain.

485)   Awū mbyae sῙ kú bá.
         3s   jump desc.IMP come

             He is jumping down.

486)   Awū ú kún   tsõ bá   uwae kununn.
         3s FUT crawl asc. come inside home

             He will crawl back (up) home.

487)   Awū tēr rū   bá-wū   bē.[8]
         3s   run move come-3s NEG

             He did not come running.

3.2 Motion-Action SVC

In approaching the SVC's in this section, it is important to note that in Kuteb actions are reported in strict chronological order. Thus,

488) Awū kūr kirāen bá.
      she stir fufu come.

      She prepared and brought fufu.

means that the person first prepared the **kirāen**, then came with it toward the speaker. The following, in contrast, indicates that the person first moved toward the speaker, then prepared the food:

489) Awū bá   kūr kirāen.[9]
      3s   come stir fufu

      She came and made fufu.

The SVC's involving a directional component are further elaborated below in the order:

1. Direction-Action

2. Action-Direction

3.2.1 Direction-Action SVC

These SVC's consist of a motion verb plus another verb (typically non-equative, non-stative, and non-locative). Functionally speaking, the motion verb(s) in these constructions contribute a deictic or directional element to the action involved. In terms of text structure, the motion verbs function as

scene-changers, shifting the locus of activity to a new site with respect to the speaker and/or the site of previous activity. Examples:

490)   Awū ka wēn icwu.
         3s go kill leopard

         He went and killed a leopard.

491)   AtI bá ngwã ámbyI.
         1p come drink water

         We came and drank water.

Such sequences are frequently but not necessarily preceded by the general motion verb rū 'move':

492)   Abā rū ka som Ikám.
         3p move go sit Ikam

         They went and stayed in Ikam.

493)   AnI rū bá   tu   m iké.
         2p move come find 1s here

         You came and found me here.

Examples involving aspect/negative markers:

494)   AtI bá kú txí ámbyI ámãm.
         1p come IMP dip water only

         We're only coming to dip water.

495)   AnI ka būnn pú-nI awúm a?
         2p go cut PRF-2p g.corn Q

         Have you gone and cut you⌐ guinea corn?

496)   Abā ú bá   funn BIká iké.
         3p FUT come meet Bika here

         They will come and meet here in Bika.

3.2.2 Action-Direction SVC

Like the preceding SVC, this construction involves a directional component consisting of **rū** (move), **bá** (come) or **ka** (go). Examples:

497) Awū yen itúkū kú rū.
      3s plant trees IMP go

      He went along planting trees.

498) Kūr kiräen bá tí kife, ʃya!
      stir fufu come quickly mother

      Make and bring the food quickly, Mother!

499) Abā tā   ibyē   bá.
      3p shoot animal come

      They shot and brought an animal.

A subset of action-direction SVC's consists of those which have a "prehensive" verb (referring to holding things) in the first position:

500) Awū sa   ámbyI bá.
      3s take water come   He brought water.

501) Awū pū umbae-wū ka.
      3s take child-3s go   He took his child.
                             (= He went with his child.)

502) Awū ye rikae bá.
      3s take axe   come.   He brought an axe.

Note that the verbs cannot be reversed with the same meaning:

503)   Awū bá sa ámbyī.
    3s   come take water

      He came and took water.

504)   Awū ka pū umbae-wū.
    3s   go take child his

      He went and took his child.

Examples with aspect markers and negative:

505)   Awū tõm atóm   kú   rū.
    3s   farm farming IMP go

      He went along farming.

506)   Ame skam kuter bá   pú-m.
    1s   carve mortar come PRF-1s

      I have carved and brought a mortar.

507)   Irá-fu ne ú shir   kãng rikãen bá   risū-fu.
    matter-2s FUT pull NEC   trouble come head-2s

      What you've done will surely bring you
      trouble.

508)   Atī sa kutsīnkén-fu rū-tī yī itífunn bē.
    1p take book-2s   go-1p to meeting   NEG

      We did not take your book to the meeting.

3.3 The 'Patientizing' SVC

    Givón (1988) cites examples of this type of construction in many languages under the heading of "case-marking" SVC's. In Kuteb, the prehensive verb

"marks" the following noun as the patient of the following verb. Examples:

509) A̅ sa ɪ́ya Atabibir kūb tɪrɪ.
      3p take mother Atabibir eat then

      Then they ate Atabibir's mother.

510) Abā ye m byɪnn.
      3p take 1s beat

      They beat me.

3.4 The Instrumental SVC

Another construction based on the prehensive verbs is used to describe situations involving an instrument. Like the "patientizing" SVC above, this would be included in Givón's "case-marking" SVC's.

511) Awū sa utɪ jwunn ukó.
      3s take spear throw duiker

      He speared the duiker.

512) Awū sa kisɪm yēr ibyē.
      3s take knife cut meat.

      He cut the meat with a knife.

Note that these can be paraphrased using an instrumental preposition tɪ:

513) Awū jwunn ukó tɪ utɪ.
      3s throw duiker spear

      He threw a spear at the duiker.

514) Awū yēr ibyē tɪ kisɪm.
      3s cut meat knife

      He cut the meat with a knife.

Examples of instrumental SVC with aspect or negative markers:

515)   Awū ú sa kisɪm wēn mbakúnn.
         3s FUT take knife kill chicken

              He will kill the chicken with a knife.

516)   Awū sa kisɪm kú wēn mbakúnn.
         3s take knife IMP kill chicken

              He is killing the chicken with a knife.

517)   Awū sa kisɪm wēn pú-wū mbakúnn.
         3s take knife kill PRF-3s chicken

              He has killed the chicken with a knife.

3.5 Comparative SVC

In these constructions a verb (usually but not exclusively stative) is followed by the verb **skeb** 'pass'. The construction is equivalent to the comparative form of adjectives in English. Examples:

518)   Afu wáe skeb pú-fu ame.
         2s tall pass PRF-2s 1s

              You are taller than I am.

519)   Umūn utɪb tsēn skeb abyáen indag.
         boll cotton white pass milk cow

              Cotton bolls are whiter than cow's milk.

520)   Umbae Apura tēr inyae skeb Ibí.
         child Apura run run pass Ibi

              Apura's child ran faster than Ibi.

The first sentence above includes the perfective (**pú**) which carries with it the recapitulating pronoun referring back to the subject shared by both verbs. The negative is formed, as usual, with the RP and the negative marker **bē**:

521)   Ame tŏm mbapwa kú skeb wū.
          1s farm maize IMP pass 3s

             I am farming maize more than he is.

522)   Awū tēr inyae skeb-wū Ibí bē.
          3s run run   pass-3s Ibi NEG

             He did not outrun Ibi.

523)   Afu ú kĪm skeb-fu ame bē.
          2s FUT fat pass-2s 1s NEG

             You will not be fatter than I am.

3.6 Colexicalizations

Kuteb has dozens of verb-pairs in which a verb with a very specific meaning is followed by one with a more general meaning. Some common pairs are:

yēr wēn	cut kill	slaughter
kūm wēn	beat kill	beat to death
súr wēn	press kill	squash to death
cín wēn	squeeze kill	strangle
txáe wēn	trap kill	kill by trapping
byĪnn wēn	hit kill	kill by hitting

Examples in sentences:

524)   Amamrá tā yēr wēn mbakúnn wū.
          Amamra FOC cut kill chicken REF

          It was Amamra who slaughtered the chicken.

525)   Típa   sūr wēn agwagwá-m.
          tipper press kill duck-1s

          A dump-truck ran over my duck.

The structure may be summarized as 'to do V2 by means of V1'. In some cases the resulting construction may be transitive, as in the above, or non-transitive, as in the following:

526)   Kitútong-wū pog   mbúb.
          pot-3s   burst spoil

          Her pot burst open (and was ruined).

527)   Pū   ámbyI ne yāen mbúb.
          take water DEM pour

          Dump out this water.

528)   Kusóg-m tēn mbúb.
          house-1s burn spoil

          My house burned up.

529)   Ibyē ne rwan mbúb.
          meat DEM rot spoil

          This meat is completely rotten.

530)   Ā sa   agōgō-m byInn mbúb
          3p take watch-1s hit   spoil.

          They wrecked my watch by hitting it.

There are scores of such combinations in Kuteb, not all of them fitting into neat specific-general paradigms like those above. A few other combinations are:

som jĭ	sit wait
tsi jĭ	stand wait
kūnn jĭ	call wait (='greet')
táng som	think sit (='remember')

A few involve stative verbs in the second position:

kyãe nyang	fix be-good
jwó sãen	wash be-clean
fén sãen	sweep be-clean

Examples with aspect markers and negative:

531)   Abã kūm wēn-bã wū bē.
        3p beat kill-3p 3s NEG

        They did not beat him to death.

532)   ÁmbyI yãen mbúb pū-yI.
        water pour spoil PRF-3

        The water has spilled.

3.7 The Benefactive SVC

Benefactive action is expressed in Kuteb by a serial verb construction employing the verb **na** 'give' before the benefactee:

533)   Ame sa na   wū kóbo.
        1s take give 3s kobo   I gave him a kobo.

534)   Awū jwɔ́ na   m kekɛ́.
        3s   wash give 1s bike

            He washed the bicycle for me.

Note that **na** cannot stand alone as an independent verb:[10]

        *Awū na   m kɔ́bo.
        3s give 1s kobo   for: He gave me a kobo.

This limitation in distribution might incline us to interpret **na** as a preposition or a benefactive-marking particle, or perhaps a verbal suffix indicating action directed towards a beneficiary.

A problem arises for such an interpretation when aspect or negative markers are used with the benefactive. Note the following, in which the perfective marker (**pɔ́**) and the RP separate the would-be preposition from its object.

535)   Ame sa na pɔ́-m   awū kɔ́bo.
        1s take   PRF-1s 3s kobo

            I have given him a kobo.

536)   Ame sa na-m   awū kɔ́bo bɛ̄.
        1s take   1s 3s   kobo NEG

            I did not give him a kobo.

Perhaps **na** is a verbal suffix then? Such an analysis is ruled out by the following paraphrases, in which **na** is separated from the verb **sa** by the noun object:

537) Ame sa kóbo na wū.
    1s take kobo 3s

      I gave him a kobo.

It may be recalled that the imperfective marker always occurs before the last verb in a series. So it patterns with the verb **na**:

538) Ame sa kóbo kú na wū.
    1s take kobo IMP 3s

      I am giving him a kobo.

or 539) Ame sa kú na wū kóbo.
     1s take IMP 3s kobo

Likewise, in negative and perfective sentences the **na** operates like any other verb, taking the relevant markers, including the recapitulating pronoun:

540) Ame sa kóbo na-m awū bɛ̃.
    1s take kobo 1s 3s NEG

      I did not give him a kobo.

541) Ame sa kóbo na pú-m awū.
    1s take kobo PRF-1s 3s

      I have already given him a kobo.

The aspect markers show that **na** must be treated as a verb. Though it cannot occur by itself as a verb, it does functions as a normal verb in the SVC. I therefore call it a "restricted" verb.

This is not to say, however, that **na** will remain a verb forever. Grammaticalization may push **na** in one direction or another until no verbal function is left. If, for example, alternative A below should become favored over B, **na** would move toward reinterpretation as a verbal suffix:

A. Ame sa   na pú-m   awū X.
   1s   take   PRF-1s 3s   X   I gave him/her X.

B. Ame sa   X na pú-m   awū.
   1s   take X   PRF-1s 3s   I gave him/her X.

At the present time, both seem to be perfectly well accepted.

In the case of imperfective aspect, however, there does appear to be a shift. In the following pattern, older people are inclined to use either A or B, while younger people will accept C, a version which will give support to a prepositional status for **na**:

A.   Ame sa   kū   na   wū kóbo.
        1s take IMP   3s kobo

             I am giving him a kobo.

B.   Ame sa   kóbo kū   na wū.
        1s   take kobo IMP   3s

C.   Ame kū   sa   kóbo na wū.
        1s   IMP take kobo   3s

Before discussing **na** further, I present another construction which offers the same analytical problems.

3.8 The Comaitative SVC

This construction contains the verb **tɛ** 'to be with, accompany' and operates exactly like the benefactive verb **na** above.[11] Example:

(= Awū tɛ tI rI irá.)

542) Awū rI irá tɛ   tI.
      3s say word   1p

  He spoke with us.

As in the case of **na**, the aspect markers and negative separate **tɛ** from its object, ruling out an interpretation of **tɛ** as preposition:

543) Ame rI tɛ pū-m awū.
      1s say   PRF-1s 3s

  I have already told him.

544) Ame ū rI tɛ-m awū irá yine bɛ̃.
      1s FUT say1s 3s word DEM NEG

  I will not tell him about this matter.

Likewise, the imperfective marker (**kū**) separates **tɛ** from the verb, just as it did with **ná**:

545) Ame rI kū tɛ wū tInene.
      1s say IMP   3s now

  I am telling him just now.

Aside from its non-occurrence as an independent verb, there is some evidence that **té** is evolving from verbal status to a more restricted function as a preposition. It is my impression that younger people are favoring version c) of the following set:

546a)   Awū té   tī rī irá yī.
             3s   1p say word REF

             He told us about it.

546b)   Awū rī té   tī irá yī.
             3s say   1p word REF

             He told us about it.

546c)   Awū rī irá yī té tī.
             3s say word REF   1p

             He told us about it.

Likewise, version b) of the following set may be gaining favor:

547a)   Ame rī kū té wū irá-fu.
             1s say IMP   3s word-2s

             I am telling him your message.

547b)   Ame kū   rī té wū   irá-fu
             1s IMP say   3s word-2s

             I am telling him your message.

548a)   Ame té wū nde mákántá tétsǒ.[12]
             1s 3s do   school together

             I went to school with him.

548b)   Ame nde mákántá té wū.
          1s do school   3s

          I went to school. with him.

In the case of the perfective, two competing structures are both acceptable, but version b) is more frequent in texts:

549a)   Ame som té pú-m awū.
          1s stay   PRF-1s 3s

          I have already stayed with him.

549b)   Ame som pú-m   té wū.
          1s stay PRF-1s   3s

          I have already stayed with him.

Finally, in the case of negative, which involves the RP after the last verb, though the older SVC construction (a) is still in frequent use, a prepositional structure (b) is gaining prominence:

550a)   Ame som té-m awū bē.
          1s stay   -1s 3s NEG

550b)   Ame som-me té wū bē.
          1s stay-1s   3s NEG

551a)   AtI rI té-tI awū irá bē.
          1p say -3s 3s word NEG

551b)   AtI rI-tI irá té wū bē.
          1p say-1s word   3s NEG

If my observations about frequency are correct, **tá** plus its object may grammaticalize into a prepositional phrase one day. The same could happen to **na** 'give' also.

4.0 Serial Verbs and the Sequential Conjunction

Although we have excluded discussion of complex sentences (those expressing complex propositions) in this study, it is necessary to describe one category of complex sentences very briefly in order to get a more accurate picture of the SVC.

The word **ú**, sometimes reinforced by a preceding pause, may occur between verbs to indicate two separate actions. Compare the following contrasting constructions:

552a)   Awū kafe, ú   bá.
          3s   turn   SEQ come

            He turned and came.

552b)   Awū kafe bá.
          3s   turn come

            He came back.

553a)   Awū bá,   ú   sáe m.
          3s   come SEQ see 1s

            He came and saw me.

553b)   Awū bá   sáe m.
          3s   come see 1s

            He came to see me.

554a)　　Awū sa adɛ́, ɡ́ pyḗ wū.
　　　　　3s　take cutlass, SEQ slash 3s

　　　　　　　He took a cutlass and slashed him.

554b)　　Awū sa　　adɛ́　　　pyḗ wū.
　　　　　3s　take cutlass slash 3p

　　　　　He slashed him with a cutlass.

555a)　　Abã sa ashwɡ́ kūb.
　　　　　3s take nuts eat

　　　　　　　They ate the nuts.

555b)　　Abã sa ashwɡ́, ɡ́ kūb.
　　　　　3p take nuts SEQ eat

　　　According to informants, the difference is that
the SVC represents a set of actions that occur
together, in a bunch. When they are separated with ɡ́,
it shows that there is probably a time gap between the
two actions. In the case of

556a)　　Awū sa　　ɛ́mbyI, ɡ́　bɛ́.
　　　　　3s　take water, SEQ come

for example, one informant says that the subject first
takes the water, then, as a separate action, comes
toward the speaker. In the standard SVC sentence,

556b)　　Awū sa　　ɛ́mbyI bɛ́.
　　　　　3s　take water come

however, "it is all one action". In other words, in
terms of our categorization of sentences in this

chapter and the preceding one, the SVC's represent a single proposition whereas the sentences with the sequential conjunction (ɡ̃) represent multiple propositions.

In a few cases, SVC's do not convert to sequential constructions easily at all:

557) Awū yēr wēn mbakū́nn.
      3s cut kill hen   He butchered the hen.

558) Cf.: *Awū yēr, ɡ̃ wēn mbakū́nn.

This sentence, if it means anything, would describe a situation in which a person cuts something (not the chicken) and then kills the chicken.

559) Awū byãen skeb ínjã̄-wū.
      3s red   pass brother-3s

          He is redder than his brother.

          ?Awū byãen, ɡ̃ skeb ínjã̄-wū.

Here you have the unlikely assertion(s) that someone is red and that, in some unrelated way, he is superior to his brother.

5.0 Conclusion

The earlier part of this chapter focussed on demonstrating the existence of the SVC as a grammatical construction. The sharing of arguments, aspect markers, and the negative marker were cited as evidence of the

unity of the SVC as a distinctive unit. A further
piece of evidence in this regard is the contrast with
the sequential construction, which has the specific
function of separating propositions.

A thorough study of the functions of the serial
verb construction is beyond the scope of this paper.
I hope that the above remarks and examples are enough
to show that the SVC is a functional unit in Kuteb,
contrasting with one-verb simple sentences on the one
hand, and, at a more basic level, with complex
sentences, which encode multiple propositions, on the
other.13

NOTES-CHAPTER EIGHT

[1] Ansre (1963), Stahlke (1970), Bamgbose (1973), George (1975), Awoyale (1982), Lord (1983), Givón (1988), and Matisoff (1988) are a few writers who have tackled the Serial Verb Construction.

[2] As early as 1966, Pike analyzed SVC's ("serial clauses") in Kasem, Vagala, and Igede as a special level of syntactic organization, the "clause Cluster", which is formally not a clause nor a sentence but something in between. The emphasis in the present work is on the fact that the SVC constitutes a single proposition which can be negated (see next section), just like one-verb propositions.

[3] The priority to which one gives the criteria of negation and shared arguments determines the range of sentences to be included as SVC's. In Kuteb, if negation is the primary factor, the range is smaller. This is because there are many sentences with strings of up to 6 verbs with shared arguments. However, the acceptability of negativized multi-verb sentences begins to shade off after two verbs.

e.g.   Awū rū ka shā ámbyī. (3 verbs)
         Awū rū ka shā-wū ámbyī bē. (neg)

         Awū rū ka shā ámbyī bá. (4 verbs)
?   Awū rū ka shā ámbyī bá-wū bē. (neg)

         Awū tēr rū ka shā ámbyī bá. (5 verbs)
??   Awū tēr rū ka shā ámbyī bá-wū bē. (neg)

         Awū kafe tēr rū ka shā ámbyī bá. (6 verbs)
??? Awū kafe tēr rū ka shā ámbyī bá-wū bē. (neg)

Although I present negation as secondary, I focus on the SVC's that negativize. The longer sequences of verbs may be seen as fusions of the SVC's presented here. The investigation of such fusions is an area for further study.

[4] **Awū txí ámbyī munn kū kyī kutūtong** is also possible, depending on whether the clitic **kyī** has frozen onto the verb or not. Speakers vary on this expression.

[5] The sentences that follow are only intended to illustrate the extent of the domain of **pú**. I do not discuss fused SVC's in the present work.

[6] Alternatively, these could be considered SVC's of the action-motion type (Section 3.3), which includes sentences like: **awū tā ibyē bá** he-shot-animal-come. **awū mbūb kusóg sī** he-break-house-come down.

[7] It may be observed that the verbs of motion cited here do not include the notions of movement and direction, as do many English verbs of motion. E.g., English 'He ran home' cannot be expressed as ***Awū tēr (yī) wakūnunn**. The additional verb **rū** must be included.

[8] It is unusual for a sentence with many verbs to be negated, even if it is a single proposition. Negation usually operates on single verb or at most a two-verb SVC.

[9] Note that this sentence and the previous one can be negated as single propositions:

> 599b   Awū kūr kiraēn bá-wū bē.
>   3s stir fufu come-3s NEG
>
>   She did not prepare-food and bring it.
>
> 600b   Awū bá kūr-wū kiraēn bē.
>   3s come stir-3s fufu NEG.
>
>   She did not come and prepare food.

[10] The verb **na** may be related historically to the verb nda 'to give'. Both verbs have the same tone. Incidentally, a mid-tone **nā** marks indirect speech, and, in some dialects, a falling tone **na** functions as the speech complementizer. E.g.:

> Awū rī na, awu nā kū bá.
> 3s say COMP 3S IS IMP come
>
> He said he was coming.

[11] Like **na**, the verb **tá** does not occur independently in a single-verb sentence. It may be related historically to the verb **tā** 'to dismiss' and/or to the conjunction **tí**.

[12] The word **tśtsŏ** is apparently derived from the verb **tś** plus the adverbial nominal **śtsŏ** 'reciprocally'.

[13] For examples of complex sentences, see Appendix D, p. 305.

CHAPTER NINE

TENSE, ASPECT, AND MOOD

1.0 Introduction

Tense, aspect, and mood ("T/A/M") constitute a very complex part of language in which it is often difficult to isolate exact meaning(s).[1] I venture here to set out the results of my brief research so far as a starting point for further work. It is good to recognize at the start that at this stage one can at best circumscribe the meaning in various ways and assign rough glosses like 'future', 'perfect', etc., recognizing that markers will often signal combinations of meanings and that the labels I use will probably not match the referents of those labels in other languages.

In the following very minimal account I divide Kuteb markers as follows:

tense (only one is marked)

future actions or states

aspect

"perfective" actions

"imperfective" actions

"to have ever done X"

"to do X again"

"to do X completely"

"to keep on doing X"

"to do X habitually"

mood

conditional actions and states[2]

desired actions (hortative)

reported actions and states

unexpected actions or states[3]

The following diagram illustrates roughly the position of the major T/A/M markers with respect to the verb (IS=indirect speech; IMP=imperfective; PRF= perfective RP=recapitulating pronoun; HO=hortative; FUT=future):

$$\text{IS (nÉ)} \begin{cases} \text{FUT (ɢ)} \\ \text{HORT (ɓ)} \end{cases} \text{IMP(kɢ)} \quad \text{VERB} \quad \text{PRF (pɢ)} \quad \text{RP}$$

Note that the future, hortative and imperfective markers precede the verb, while the perfective marker follows. There is evidence that the imperfective and perfective markers have evolved from verbs, and their positions in the clause reflect positional restrictions on what were probably once serial verb constructions. Five of the aspectual markers listed above show evidence of recent evolution

from verbal status. Four follow the verb directly; one preceeds the verb. Co-occurrences of the above particles will be discussed below.

The recapitulating pronoun (RP), at least in one of its functions, conveys an attitude of the speaker towards the action, and thus acts semantically as a kind of modal.

Also included here is a brief description of **imperative**, since, even though it has no overt morpheme to mark it, it involves certain changes in the verb and also follows co-occurrence restrictions with respect to other elements in the verbal complex.

What I do not cover here, but could, is the phenomenon of partial and complete verbal reduplication, which has something to do with aspect and/or mood, but it is not clear what.

In each case I deal with the formal features of the marker (assimilation, elision, and tone sandhi) and then its meaning and syntactic behavior.

2.0 Tense: Introductory remarks

Two important facts stand out concerning the use of tense in Kuteb. First, like many other African languages, and in contrast to some European languages, Kuteb does not obligatorily mark tense (e.g. past, present, future). Many sentences carry a naked verb unspecified as to the time the reported action takes place. Adverbial nominals like **ɪrɛ**

'yesterday', **ucwɛ́** 'tomorrow', **kuyákwɛ́n** 'last year', **kutɛ́** 'long ago', serve to orient the hearer to the temporal context. Furthermore, it will be seen below that even when tense markers do occur, their use as indicators of temporal details is only one of their functions.

Secondly, what we here are calling "future tense" does not mark future time in an absolute sense but rather marks whether the action referred to has not yet happened **relative to** the focal verb in the immediate context, i.e., what Lyons calls the "zero-point of the deictic context" (1977:678); cf. "tense locus" (Chung and Timberlake 1985:203). As Comrie (1986:2) notes, the "zero point" is usually the moment of speaking.

2.1 The Future Marker ɑ́

Among the T/A/M markers, ɑ́ ("FUT") stands by itself in both form and function. The perfective and imperfective markers both have a C-V shape and are probably derived historically from verbs. The future marker is a single vowel, often realized only by its tone.[4]

The function of ɠ is to signal to the hearer that the action or state encoded by the following verb has not yet happened in relation to a given temporal point in the mind of the speaker. In this thus a **deictic** category. As there is no other tense marker, ɠ may be taken to stand in contrast with "non-future". Examples below will show that **future** occasionally co-occurs with the aspect markers. That is, events marked as **perfective** and **imperfective** may take place either in the future (relative to another event) or the non-future.

2.1.1 Formal Features of Future

Future is marked with a high tone particle ɠ immediately preceding the verb. In rapid speech this particle may be fused with the final vowel of a previous noun or pronoun (see Ch. 3 for the phonological details). Examples:

560) TI ɠ bá. [tɪ bá] ~ [tɪɠ bá] ~ [tɠ bá]
    1p FUT come   We will come.

561) Ā ɠ rū. [á rū]
    3p FUT go   They will go.

562) TitI ɠ núng fu. [Titɪ núŋ fu]
    TitI FUT see 2s

       Titi will see you.

Note that in examples 560 and 561 the vowel quality of the future marker may be lost, but the tone

of the particle displaces the tone on the noun or pronoun. This is in accordance with general phonological rules in the language described in Chapter 3.

A second feature of the future marker is the tone change that it induces in low-tone verbs. After Ɠ and before a pause, a low-tone verb will glide from high to low (mid- and high-tone verbs remain unchanged):

563)　　Afu Ɠ tu.　[afƓ Ɠ tû]
　　　　2s FUT find

　　　　　　You will find it.

When another word follows, the verb simply stays high:

564)　　Afu Ɠ tu　aser.　[afɓ tɓ ásêr]
　　　　2s FUT find money

　　　　　　You will find money.

565)　　Afu Ɠ tu　Audu.　　　[afɓ Ɠ tɓ Aúdu]
　　　　2s FUT find Audu

　　　　　　You will find Audu.

2.1.2 Functions of Ɠ

The precise meaning of Ɠ requires further study. That it indicates future (or at least non-past) action is suggested by the fact that it cannot co-occur with the word írɓ 'yesterday' in a simple sentence:

566)   *Awū ɦ bɛ́   ſɾɛ́.
         3s FUT come yesterday

That it does not mean <u>absolute</u> future but

rather future in relation to something else is shown

by the following:

567) Ìtsū   awū rI tɛ́   m baa awū nã ɦ bɛ́   ſɾɛ́.
     2days   3s say with 1s COMP 3s IS FUT come yest.
      ago

          The day before yesterday he told me he would
          come yesterday.

568) Ìɾɛ́ awū rI tɛ́   m baa, awū nã ɦ bɛ́   yɛ́ka.
     Yest 3s say with 1s COMP 3s SBJ FUT come today

          Yesterday he told me he would come today.

Other examples:

569) Unde   wū ɦ   som fob-wū uwɔ̃g ne bɛ̃.
     person REF FUT live able-3s place DEM NEG

     The man will not be able to live in this place.

570) TI kutɛ̃ undufū ſkI   rI bãa,   ande ſkI nã
     long ago elder SPEC say COMP people SPEC IR

      ɦ   rū   bɛ́   tI kupwã rimɛ̃nn-bɛ̃ byɛ̃en nwɛ́meme ahɛ́n.
     FUT move come REL skin body -3p red   very   thus

          Long ago an old man said that some
          people would come who had bright red skin.

571) Ucwɛ̃   afu ɦ si ukwe.
     tomorrow 2S FUT be chief

          Tomorrow you will be chief.

572) Kutsáb tɪ kʊ bá ame ʊ tá utɛn nasárá.
week REL IMP come 1S FUT LOC land European

Next week I will be in Europe.

3.0 Aspect

As in the case of "future", it is important to remember that sentences do not obligatorily mark aspect and that the completion or non-completion of an activity or state is usually **relative** to some point specified in the context. There are two aspectual markers in Kuteb: **pʊ** 'perfective' and **kʊ** 'imperfective' or 'imperfect', and I describe them in that order:

3.1 Perfective Action Marker pʊ ("PRF")

An action or state that is complete at the time of the speech, or, in some cases, is **to be completed** at the time represented by some other verb in the context, is marked by the word **pʊ** and followed by a possessive pronoun which agrees with the subject of the clause.

3.1.1 Formal Features of "Perfective"

In requiring a recapitulating pronoun, **pʊ** acts like a verb, and this provides evidence for the idea that **pʊ** is historically derived from a verb.[5]

3.1.2 The Function of pū

I considered using the more self-evident term "completive" rather than "perfective" for pū. However, as Comrie notes (1976:16), they are not the same thing. "Completive" tends to focus on the **end** of the action, whereas "perfective" looks at the whole action as a "blob". My feeling is that the latter characterizes pū more closely.

One clue to the meaning of pū comes from the fact that it cannot co-occur with the imperfective in a simple sentence:

573) ?Awū kū bɛ́ pū-wū.
    3s IMP come PRF-3s   ?He is coming already.

If kū indicates ongoing action, then pū, by default, indicates something other than ongoing action.[6]

Of course it cannot occur with the negative, since something that has not happened cannot logically be complete:

    *Awū bɛ́   pū-wū bɛ̄.
    3s   come PRF-3s NEG

      *He has not already come.

The co-occurrence of pū and the auxiliary kɔ́b 'to do repeatedly' is not found in my data, and it is also doubtful to the informant:

*Awū nde kɔ́b pɯ́-wū   ahɑ́n.
3s   do   REP PRF-3s thus

He has already done that repeatedly.

This also strengthens the argument that **pɯ́** indicates

perfective, since repeated action is, in a sense,

"imperfective".

Finally, **pɯ́** cannot occur with the reduplicated

form of the verb, which (insofar as I can determine at

this point) indicates on-going activity.

*Awū bíbɑ́ pɯ́-wū.
3s coming PRF-3s   *He has coming.

Examples of the perfective, given with the unmarked

(non-aspectual) equivalents on the right, follow:

574) AtI bɑ́ pɯ́-tI.   AtI bɑ́.
     1p come PRF-1p   1p come

     We have come.   We came.

575) Andɑ́ kūr pɯ́-bɑ̄ kirɑ̄en.   Andɑ́ kūr kirɑ̄en.
     women make PRF-3p food   women make food

     The women have made food. The women made food.

576) Kɯ́tɯ́pwɑ́ tsēn pɯ́-wū.   Kɯ́tɯ́pwɑ́ tsēn.
     cloth   white PRF-3s   cloth   white

     The cloth has become white. The cloth is white.

577) Tí tI ame sɑ́ng-me mɑ́kɑ́rɑ́ntɑ́ kíka bɛ̄,
     since 1s enter-1s school   yet NEG

        íyɑ̄-m   cwū pɯ́-wū。
        mother-1s die PRF-3s

     Before I entered school, my mother had died.

The meaning of the above sentence would not be substantially different if it had ended:

```
...ʃyā-m      cwū.
   mother-1s die
```

The meaning of **pū** here seems to be a matter of emphasizing the relationship between the events, as in English when one might say, 'My mother had already died'. Another example:

578) Abʃtsē-tI sI   rukwen bá pū-bā ʃtawé
     fathers-1p descend mountain come PRF-3p before

```
Ukwe  AlI rū  bá  náe ukwe.
Chief Ali move come lie chief
```

Before Chief Ali became chief, our ancestors had already come down from the mountain.

Example of perfective action in future:

579) Ame ū nde tág   pū-m   wánde ne
     1s FUT do complete PRF-1s work DEM

```
tʃtawé afu ū  kafe  bá.
before 2s  FUT return come
```

I will finish this work before you come back.

In the following, note that the future marker occurs in the 'before' clause, and not in the main clause:

580) M   a   kwáb-m kwáb bḛ,
     1s COND try-1s try NEG,

     tí   tI ame ú ndetág-m   mākantā
     before REL 1s FUT do-finish-1s school

     afu si pú-fu unde tIyāng.
     2s be PRF-2s person big

        If I don't hurry, even before I finish
        secondary school you will have become an
        important man.

3.2 Ongoing Action: Imperfective ("IMP")[7]

An action or process that is still going on at
the time of the speech (or at the time of another
action in the context) is marked by the particle kú.[8]
Kú also encodes habitual action.

Here are some examples, given along with
unmarked equivalents on the right:

581) Ame kú bá.   Ame bá.
     1s IMP come   1S come

        I am coming.   I came.

582) Amamrá kú rI irá.   Amamrá rI irá.
     Amamra IMP say word   Amamra say word

        Amamra is speaking.   Amamra spoke.

Continued action relative to main clause verb:

583) Kiyé tI ame ka atáng, andá kú kūr kirāen.
     time REL 1s go there women IMP make food

        When I got there, the women were making food.

584) Anyīsū   kū   nde urū śmãm, mbapxū-fu bś kūb
     children IMP do play only, dog-2s   come bite

     umbae ne tí   kufxen.
     child DEM PREP leg

          The children were just playing, and your dog
          came and bit this child on the leg.

Examples of **kū** as habitual:

585) Atī kū kūb-tī ashwśg bĕ.
     1p IMP eat-1p snails NEG

          We do not eat snails.

586) Ikén tī atī kū tóm skeb ikś si awūm.
     thing REL 1p IMP farm pass here is g.corn.

          What we farm mostly here is guinea corn.

587) Tī kutĕ abítsĕ-tī kū tsŏ-bã apwã afxen bĕ;
     before fathers-1p IMP wear-3p skin leg   NEG

          ã kū kyang afxen ukśen śbín.
          3p IMP walk legs bare   only

               Long ago our ancestors did not wear shoes;
               they just walked barefoot.

     As was mentioned in the case of the perfective

(pū), the imperfective marker may also be used along

with the future marker, although this is rare in my

texts, and is extracted only with difficulty from my

informant. Examples:

588) Ucwē   tɪ abā ū kū tɔ́m ritɔ́m,[9]
     tomorrow REL 1p FUT IMP farm farm

        nɪ rū   ka ri irá   tɛ́ bā
        2p move go say matter with 3p

        Tomorrow when they are farming, go and talk to
        them.

589) Ucwē   ənɪ ū kū kūr kirâen asēn urwâ,
     tomorrow 2p FUT IMP make food   place fire

        atɪ ū bá   ndeya nɪ.
        1p FUT come help 2p

        You will be making food over the fire; we
        will come and help you.

3.3 Other Aspects

It may be observed that the aspect markers
above involve very general parameters with respect to
the temporal nature of events.   Some other markers
involve more specific or more finely differentiated
temporal components of events. As I will show below,
these markers may be historically related to certain
verbs. It is also significant that, while the major
aspect markers discussed above are mutually exclusive,
it is common for one of them to co-occur with one of
the aspect markers presented below.

3.3.1 To Have Ever/never Done X (EV)

This aspect marker may possibly have evolved from the verb **jɩ** 'to wait'.

590) Ame ka **jɩ**-m atáng bǎ.
      1s go EV 1s there NEG

   I have never gone there.

591) Atɩ nde **jɩ** pú-tɩ wánde ne tɩkucang akwěn.
      1p do EV PRF-1p work DEM long-ago there

   We had once done this work long before.

Note that **jɩ** cannot cooccur with the imperfective:

   *Ame ka kú **jɩ** atáng.
    1s go IMP EV there

      *I am once going there.

3.3.2 To Keep on Doing X (REIT)

The verb **tsikunn** 'to last, stay' has grammaticalized to encode the idea of 'keeping on doing' an activity. It is always used together with the imperfective (**kú**):

592) Afu tsikunn kú nde tɩ irá.
      2s REIT   IMP do 1p matter

   You keep on causing us trouble.

593) Abǎ tsikunn kú byɩnn me kimbáb.
      3p REIT   IMP beat 1s whip

   They kept on whipping me.

3.3.3 Repetitive (REP)

The idea of one-time repetition of an action is signalled by the auxiliary **kyI** (**cI** in Lissam) after the verb. The adverb **cwũcwo** often co-occurs with **kyI** but not necessarily:

594)   Ame ye kyI icwũng ĭkI   cwũcwo.
         1s catch REP rat   SPEC again

         I caught another rat.

595)   AtI bá   kyI uwõg-fu.
         1p   come REP place-2s

         We came to you again.

596)   Utsõg   jwũb kyI pũ-wũ irá   cwũcwo.
         hedgehog cry REP PRF-3s word again

         The hedgehog has cried out again.

3.3.4 To Do X Completely (MAX)

The word **tág** (labelled 'MAX' in my glosses) immediately following the verb indicates that the action is done to the fullest extent possible:

597)   Abã ngwã tág ámbyI.
         3p drink MAX water

         They drank all the water.

598)   Awũ kwan tág pũ-wũ.
         3s   dirty MAX PRF-3s

         He is completely dirty.

Another auxiliary (**f6**) seems to have almost the same function. It is quite possible that the

difference is something like that between 'They finished drinking the water' and 'They drank all the water'.[10] I have not had a chance to explore the issue further. Examples:

599)   Abā ngwā fé ɛ́mbyī.
         3p drink? water

             They finished drinking the water. (?)

600)   Atī rū fé yī   ukūnn inyīm akwēn.
         1p go   PREP edge river there

             We went right to the edge of the river.

3.3.5 To Do X Repeatedly (REIT)

Reiterative action is expressed by the word **kɔ́b** immediately following the verb. It often, but not necessarily, co-occurs with the imperfective marker **kū**:

601)   Awū kū bɛ́   kɔ́b ikɛ́.
                  3s IMP come REIT here

                  He always comes here.

4.0 Mood

In this section we explore the rudiments of some of the Kuteb expressions which "characterize the actuality of an event by comparing the event world(s) to a reference world" (Chung and Timberlake, 1985:III:241). Although "conditional" falls here, I do not discuss it because it involves complex sentences,

which I do not treat in the present work. Similarly, while the particle **nâ** 'reported speech' occurs as part of the verb complex, it is part of a construction larger than the simple sentence, so it will be left for a later study[11]. We are left, then, with "imperative" and "hortative".[12]

4.1 Imperative

The imperative consists of dropping the subject pronoun:

602)   Bá!   Come!   Rū!   Go!

In the case of second person plural, the signal of imperative is the dropping of the **a-** prefix on the pronoun, and, in the case of low-tone verbs, a tone shift from low to mid:

603)   NĪ bá! You (pl) come!

604)   NĪ rū! You (pl) go!

605)   NĪ som ikê! You (pl) sit! [nĪ sōm ìkê][13]

It may be seen that in the case of mid- and high-tone verbs an ambiguity is created in medium-fast speech, in which the a-prefix is dropped from the indicative form. Consider the sentence:

606)   NI bá.
         2p come

This could mean either 'you (pl)came' or 'you (pl) come!'

The tone on nI bá is the same in the following:

607)   NI bá íré.   You came yesterday.

608)   NI bá ucwё!   Come tomorrow!

609)   NI bá yáka.   You came today.

610)   NI bá yáka!   Come today!

It may be, however, that the imperative has a rhythm correlate such that the speed of uttering NI bá! is faster than that of the simple form. In clarifying these, the informant slows the non-imperative forms down and uses the full form of the pronoun: anī.

4.2 Hortative ("HO")

The hortative particle ā is used only with third-person subjects and conveys the notion 'let X do...' For example:

611)   Awū ā bá.
         3s HO come   Let him come.

612) AnyIsū   ā   som uwé akwёn.
     children HO   sit front there.

     Let the children sit over there.

Compare the following unacceptable combinations:

*ame ã bɛ́   Let me come.

*atī ã bɛ́   Let us come.

As in the case of the conditional marker, there is elision with the final vowel of noun and pronoun subjects, creating sets of pronoun-hortative combinations according to the following pattern:

Slow	Medium	Fast	
[awū ã bɛ́]	[wūã bɛ́]	[wã bɛ́]	Let him come!
[abã ã bɛ́]	[bãã bɛ́]	[ãã bɛ́][14]	Let them come!
[ayī ã bɛ́]	[yīã bɛ́]	[yã bɛ́]	Let it come!

The hortative particle does not co-occur with future or perfective markers, a fact that would seem to follow from the observation that if the action is being urged, it must necessarily be in the future and cannot logically be already completed. I.e., the following do not occur:

*Āwū ã   ū bɛ́.
 3s HO   FUT come

*Awū ã   bɛ́ pū-wū.
 3s HO   come PRF-3s

Elicited combinations of hortative plus imperfective may or may not be fully natural:[15]

613) ?Awū ā   kū bá.
     3s HO   IMP come

        Let him be coming!

614) ?Awū ā   kū tsŏ   keké.
     3s HO   IMP mount cycle

        Let him be riding the cycle!

615) ?Abā ā   kū ngwā.
     3s HO   IMP drink

        Let them be drinking!

616) ?Arŏm ā   kū tŏm ritŏm.
     men HO   IMP farm farming

        Let the men be farming!

617) ?AnyĪsū ā   kū nde urū.
     children HO   IMP do game

        Let the children be playing!

     A periphrastic alternative to the hortative

construction is yátā tĪ... ('Let...') as in

618) Yátā tĪ abā rĪ.
     let REL 3p speak   Let them talk!

     Sometimes   both   constructions   are   used

together, and it does not seem to make any difference

in meaning. Examples:

619) Yátā tĪ awū ā   bá.
     leave REL 3s HO come   Let him come.

Other examples of the hortative:

620) Ande tɪ ricen ā   sáng ufu ne!
     people guest H enter door DEM

     Let the guests enter this door!

621) Andá tí anyɪsū   ā   ka-bá atáng bē!
     women and children HO go-3p there NEG

     Don't let the women and children go there!

622) Awū ā si unde tɪnyang!
     3s HO be person good

     Let him be a good person!

623) Ayɪ ā si tɪrikɪm!
     3 HO be fat

     Let it be fat!

624) Ayɪ ā byāg!
     3 HO hot

     Let it be hot!

5.0 Conclusion

I have presented here the rudiments of the tense/aspect/modal system of Kuteb. In conclusion, I can only reiterate that what I have set down here is but the nose of the hippopotamus. It is hoped that further research by myself and others in years to come will correct and expand these initial impressions. In particular, I look forward to some answers to several questions in this area:

1. What is the range of function of the particle **nā** which we have glossed as 'indirect speech'?

2. Are there any situations in which **pɔ̄** can be used without the recapitulating pronoun?

3. What are the functions of verbal reduplication and verbal reiteration, as in:

625)   **Awū pípyí.**
       3s refuse   He refused.

626)   **Ā wēn wū wēn.**
       3p kill 3s kill   They killed him.

4. What is the interaction between the habitual use of **kū** and the reiterative auxiliary **kɔ́b**?

5. What is the meaning of the preverbal particle **a** (falling tone) which I occasionally hear (and which seems to involve future and/or conditional). E.g.:

     wū a bɛ́ [wɛ́a bɛ́]...
     3s   come

6. What is the full range of particles and question markers which reflect speaker attitudes? Some not dealt with here are: sentence-final **bírā**, **ɛ́rō**, **ɛ́n**, **ūbā** (or **ūwā**), **ɛ́nɛ́**.

7. What are the functions of the following post-verbal particles or suffixes (not yet analyzed):

     tā   yɛ́ tā   leave

        kan tā   divide

```
                sáen tã    release

                tǽen tã    split


    kyɪ   nji kyɪ      bury

          bur kyɪ      cover

          cwunn kyɪ  close


    ra    shwɛ̃r ra  break off

          tūr ra       push

          shir ra      pull

          ye ra        grab
```

8. What is the precise difference in function between the auxiliaries **tǽg**, **fɛ**, and **mãm**, all having to do with completion of an action?

NOTES-CHAPTER NINE

[1] See Bybee (1986) for a presentation of the inherent non-symmetrical nature of modal and aspectual morphemes. Following Lyons (1977:687), Chung and Timberlake (Shopen 1985:III:203ff), and Comrie (1976), I use a narrow definition of "tense" in which the tense marker is characterized as locating an event in time, whereas "aspect" describes the "internal temporal structure of the event" and mood refers to the actuality of the event in terms such as possibility, necessity, or desirability (Chung and Timberlake III:202).

[2] Since conditional sentences are complex, I will not deal with them in this chapter. An example may be found in Appendix D.

[3] See Ch. 1 Note 12 for examples of the recapitulating pronoun in its modal function. For further details the reader is referred to Koops and Bendor-Samuel (1971).

[4] In some of the dialects it is impossible to isolate a segment representing future, the high tone being the only bearer of the future meaning.

[5] There is no verb homophonous with the perfective particle, but there are two that are close: **pū** meaning 'take' and **pù** meaning 'fall'. Semantically, there seems to be more sense in the possibility of the word **pū** 'take' evolving into a perfective marker than 'fall'. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the RP changes a mid-tone verb to a mid-high glide. In fast speech the glide becomes a high tone.

[6] Note, however, cases where **pú**, retaining its verbal heritage, enters into a serial verb construction encoding the notion of 'to be about to':

> Awū kū bá kū pú-wū.
> 3s IMP come IMP ?-3s

>> He is about to arrive.
>> (He is already arriving.?)

> Ayɪ kū mbyir kū pú-yɪ umūng-fu.
> 3 IMP eat IMP ? 3 flour-2s

It's about to eat your flour.
(It's already eating your flour.?)

[7] **Kū** is likely to have evolved from a verb, most probably the verb **kū** which now means 'be located'.

[8] Comrie (1987) takes "imperfective" as inclusive of "progressive" and "habitual" and it is for this reason that I have chosen "imperfective" as a gloss for **kū** in Kuteb.

[9] One informant preferred the particle **a** in place of the future marker in this sentence, and a low tone **a** (conditional) in the next one (428). Both were accepted as tolerable, which may reflect more the graciousness of the informants than the nature of Kuteb grammar.

[10] This would reflect the distinction Comrie (1987) draws between "completive" (which focuses on the end point of the action) and "perfective" (which looks at the whole action as a blob).

[11] Note, however, sentences that <u>imply</u> a frame with a speech verb, such as:

Awū nā kū bá.
3s IS IMP come.

(He said) he is coming.

Abá nā ú rū-bá bē.
3p IS FUT go-3p NEG

(Someone said) they will not go.

[12] One could include here the modal use of the possessive pronoun with verbs. It is my opinion that Kuteb has grammaticalized the notion "surprise or disapproval on the part of speaker". Similar constructions are used in Jukun (Shimizu 1980) and Migili (Stoffberg 1975). A couple examples are included here to give a rough idea of what is involved. Further examples are available in Koops and Bendor-Samuel (1971).

Afu nde rímāng ngwá-fu jwūmbae ná umbae wūne?
2s do how   drink-2s kunu poss child DEM

Why did you drink this child's kunu?

Ame tā unzu iping kínzɔ̃, amá iping ndebéb-wū.
1s shot mouth gun one, but gun spoil-3s

I got off one shot but the gun jammed on me.
(or:...the gun went and jammed).

Kurūtsi tā, ú tēr rū ka nūng,
Kurutsi shoot SEQ run move go see,

asé, ī si-yī indag.
surprise 3 be-3 cow

Kurutsi shot once and ran to see, and,
lo and behold, it was a cow!

[13] A low-tone verb before pause will glide from mid to low: nī som! [nī sɔ̃m].

[14] The third person plural fast speech set is irregular in not having the C-V pattern. This is because the pronoun itself normally shortens in fast speech from abā to ā. The conditional and future also followed this elision pattern.

[15] No cooccurrences of hortative and imperfective were found in 150 pages of unelicited text. However, Kuteb students speaking English sometimes use combinations like "Let him be sitting", suggesting that this may be possible in Kuteb. Sentences 444-448 were tolerated by one informant and rejected by another.

[16] One possibility here is to consider tā as a restricted verb meaning "separate" following the pattern of the verbs na 'give' and tó 'accompany'. Similarly, kyī below could be considered a restricted verb meaning 'cover'.

CHAPTER TEN

DEICTICS, PRONOUNS, AND ANAPHORA

1.0 Introduction

Pronouns and demonstratives were introduced briefly as lexical categories in Chapter 4. In this chapter we will examine these words and other referring expressions in Kuteb, briefly sketching the form and functions of deictics (pronouns, spatial and temporal referring expressions, and demonstratives) and text reference expressions, i.e., those that refer to other elements in a text.

2.0 Deictic Reference versus Anaphora

The first division one needs to make in the Kuteb referential system is between deictic reference, which involves reference to something in the real world, and reference to elements of a text, which has traditionally been called "anaphora".[1]

3.0 Deixis: Pronouns and Demonstratives

Deixis, according to Lyons (1977), refers to "the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about,

or referred to, in relation to the spatio-temporal context..." of the utterance. Pronouns, tense markers, and demonstratives are typically the major grammatical categories through which deixis is expressed. I present here the basic pronominal system of Kuteb, not only because it is a critical component of the deictic reference system of Kuteb but also because it is the source for several apparent grammaticalizations which will form the major part of the discussion to follow.

3.1 Pronouns

The personal pronouns are presented here in traditional fashion before I go into detail on their form and function:

	singular	plural	unspecified
1st p.	ame	atɪ	
2nd p.	afu[2]	anɪ	
3rd p.	awū	abā	ayɪ

3.1.1 Form of the Pronouns

In slow speech the full pronominal forms tend to occur in almost any position in the sentence. However, normally, the following general tendencies obtain:

1. In isolation the full forms are used, as in a conversation like:

Áyē?   Who is it?

Ame   It's me.

2. Inside a sentence (i.e. after nouns and verbs), the prefix a- is dropped, leaving the set: **me/m, fu, wū, tI, nI, bā, yI**. After nouns (i.e. in genitive constructions), the pronoun will be preceded by a high tone "associative" or "possessive" marker.[3] This non-segmental morpheme is typically joined to the tone on the previous syllable, as follows:

<u>Noun +</u>	´ +	<u>Pronoun</u>			
ubur +	´ +	fu	=⟹	[ubŭrfu]	your hat
utI +	´ +	fu	=⟹	[utĭfu]	your spear
kujwó +	´ +	fu	=⟹	[kujwófu]	your arm

The two high tones in the last example merge, so that the associative link as such is not heard. This is true of all high-tone nouns followed by the pronoun. The tone link is represented in the official orthography by a hyphen.

The short pronouns with the associative link also occur after verbs, where they are called "recapitulating" pronouns. The following examples give the morphemic, phonetic, and standard representations of the data:

morphemic	phonetic	standard
afu som ´fu	[afusŏmfu]	Afu som-fu. You sat.
afu rū ´fu	[afurúfu]	Afu rū-fu. You went off.
afu kwáb ´fu	[afukwápfu]	Afu kwáb-fu. You tried.

In the case of pronouns in object position there is no particular tonal change involved:

Ā tu m.	[ã tu m]	They found me.
Ā tu fu.	[ã tu fu]	They found you (sg).
Ā tu wū.	[ã tu wū]	They found him/her/it.
Ā tu tɪ.	[ã tu tɪ]	They found us.
Ā tu nɪ.	[ã tu nɪ]	They found you (pl).
Ā tu bã.	[ã tu bã]	They found them.

Three contrasting sequences obtain, then, summarized as follows:

N ´pn: kuter-wū	his mortar
V ´pn: Awū tã-wū.	He shot (something).
V pn: Awū tã wū.	He shot it/him/her.

Before a verb in normal speech, the following set of shortened (subject) forms are used:[4]

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
singular	m	u	ū
plural	tɪ	nɪ	ã
other			ɪ

626)   M kū bá.   I'm coming.

627)   U bá iké a.   So you've come here!

628)   Ū nwúnn íré.   He left yesterday.

629)   TI fxāefā.   We're grateful.

630)   NI sáe iké.   You(p) look here!

631)   Ā kū shā imí?   What do they want?

632)   Ī nyang pú-yI.   It's/they're good!

When two pronouns are juxtaposed, as is the case when a recapitulating pronoun precedes a direct object pronoun (negative and perfective sentences with direct objects), the vowel of the first is reduced to a single consonant;[5] the second takes the full form. More examples are given in Ch. 2, Section 2.3.

633)   AnI tu-nI abā bē.   [anI tŭnabā bē]
       2p find-2p 3p NEG   You(pl) did not find them.

634)   Ame tu-m awū bē.   [ametŭmawūbē]
       1s find-1s 3s NEG   I did not find him.

635)   Awū tu-wū afu bē.   [awūtŭwafube]
       3s find 3s 2s NEG   He did not find you.

636)   AyI tu-yI ame bē.   [ayItŭyamebē]
       3 find 3 1s NEG   It/They did not find me.

3.1.2 Pronouns: Meaning

The pronouns of Kuteb encode "person" and to some extent "number". In the third person there is also a distinction between human and non-human, but this distinction is not straightforward and will be the subject of a special discussion below. The pronouns are presented here again for ease of reference:

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
sing.	**ame** I	**afu** you	**awũ** he, she, it
plur.	**atI** we	**anI** you	**abã** they
other			**ayI** it, they

Note that 'third person' is a mixed bag: **awũ** may have human or non-human antecedents; **abã** may only have human antecedents; **ayI** may only have non-human antecedents, and is not restricted as to singular or plural. Chapter Five gave an extensive list of nouns to which **yI** has been found to refer. I repeat just a few here to show the variety:

Clear Plurals:

asóg	huts	anyI	teeth
ayãen	kernels	itũkū	trees
akũb	bones	ákwãm	bananas

Singular/Plural

iyãg	bushcow(s)	iwõg	honey/bees
iwág	fish	icwo	palmnut(s)
ikyɪ́ɾ	yam(s)	ifáen	gazelle(s)

Others:

ivyē	meat	urɢ	game
itsab	cleverness	ikén	thing(s)
ibēn	marriage	ukõb	flute
kindob	oil	tárko	trap
acɪn	medicine	ijwē	body
rikaen	poison	anyɪng	blood
rógõ	cassava	irá	word
karatū	reading	ɢnde	work
kujɪmshwur	peace	ise	dance
awɢm	guinea corn	ayáb	millet
mbapwa	maize	rinyɪ	name
kirãen	food	kucē	net
upae	penalty	ákwã	a cult

It was shown in Chapter 5 that the class of antecedents for **ayɪ** ranges from plurals to uncountable objects, to singulars, and even overlaps slightly with nouns in the **awū** group. **Ayɪ** is known to occur in situations where there is no specific antecedent at all; thus it acts much like the dummy subject 'it' in English:

637) **AyI** a si ahán ame ú kafe-m   yI uwõg itsē-m.
     it if is thus 1s FUT return-1s to place father-1s

     If it is like that, I'll just go back to
     my father.

638) Abã táng bāa, ayI nã si itsē-bã   tã kú bá.
     3p think COMP it   is father 3p REL IMP come

     They thought that it was their father who
     was coming.

3.2 Demonstratives, Spatial and Temporal Deictics

In addition to the person deictics sketched above, which distinguish the speaker, the addressee, and third parties, and incorporate number of referents (singular or plural) and humanness, Kuteb has **spatial** and **temporal** deictics, and demonstratives. As the temporal deictic system makes use of elements from the spatial system,[6] by analogy, we will concentrate on the latter.

3.2.1 Spatial Deictics and Demonstratives

The basic spatial deictics are the adverbial nouns **iká** 'here' and **akwēn** 'there', which can stand alone as adjuncts in sentences. For example:

639)   Rū bá   iké!
        move come here   Come here!

640)   Tsi uwé   akwēn!
        stand front there   Stand there!

The proximal deictic/demonstrative **ne** is used in attributive position, as in:

unde	ne	kusóg ne	uwŏg ne
person	DEM	house DEM	place DEM

The expression **iké** 'here' is equivalent to **uwŏg ne** 'this place'. The latter is used both as a deictic and anaphorically in text, whereas **iké** and **akwén** are strictly deictic: **iké** is 'a place close to speaker' and **akwén** is 'a place distant from speaker'. Both are frequently modified by adverbial nominals such as **uwae** 'inside', **isim** 'behind', **isï** 'downward', **uwé** 'in front' most of which are derived from the terms for body parts. **Uwé akwén** 'there in front' is a frequent combination. Examples:

641) AnyIsū som **iké**, ande ndufū som **akwén**.
children sit here, people adult sit there

   The children sat here, and the adults sat over there.

642) Ye ibae awúm ne ka tsi isim kurug **akwén**.
take sack corn DEM go stand behind granary DEM

   Put this sack of corn behind the granary.

643) **Iké** nyang skeb pú-wū Lágos.
here good pass PRF-3s Lagos

   This place is better than Lagos.

While **ikó** and **akwён** behave syntactically and morphologically as nouns, the proximal deictic **ne** is a particle which modifies nouns referring to items close to the speaker. Examples:

644) Unde **ne** txūn m asú.
     person DEM insult 1s insult

    This person insulted me.

645) Utong **ne** nyang uwae-m.
     soup DEM good inside-1s

    I love this soup.

646) Wёn mbakúnn **ne** tíritsen.
     kill chicken DEM right away

    Kill this hen right away.

The word **ne** discussed above fuses with the third person pronouns/referentials to form a set of longer **demonstratives**, as follows:

Independent form   **Post-noun form**

awūne   this one   wūne   this

abăne   these (people)   băne   these (human)

ayīne   this/these   yīne   this/these (nonhuman)

There is no obvious difference in meaning between the shorter post-noun demonstrative (ne) and the longer ones (**wūne, yīne, băne**). Examples of demonstratives:

647) Aser   awūne skeb pú-yI aná   ayIne.
     money DEM   pass PRF-3 that of DEM

          This one is more expensive than those.

648) Umbae wūne kwáb tímambē.
     child DEM   try much

     This child tried hard.

649) AyIne si irá   tI skeb risū ukwe.
     DEM   is matter REL pass head chief.

     This is a matter that is too much for the chief.

650) Irá   yIne ndebéb m utőb.
     matter DEM spoil 1s heart

     This matter upsets me.

651) RI   té   abāne tI ā nā kafe bá ucwē.
     speak with DEM that they   return come tomorrow

     Tell these (people) to come back tomorrow.

652) Ande   bāne kú shā imí?
     People DEM IMP want what?

     What do these people want?

          There are no distal demonstratives in Kuteb to

match the above forms (i.e. corresponding to 'that'

and 'those' in English), but since contrasts often

arise in the human situation, the need is met by

paraphrastic constructions:

653) Awūne nyang.   Awū tI   (tá) uwá   akwēn báb.
     DEM one good   it REL   be front there bad.

     This one is good. That one is bad.

654) Irúm ne   wām tág. AyI tI (tá) uwá   akwēn
     grass this dry MAX 3   REL be front there

     wám-yI kíka bē.
     dry-3 yet NEG

     This grass is dried up. That over there
     is not yet dry.

Note that in the last two sentences the
locative verb **tá** is optionally present. The proximal
form of this construction (**awū tI tá ne**) is
occasionally used, and I suspect that if there is a
difference between the simple (**N + ne**) and the
paraphrastic construction (with **tI** or **tI tá**), the
latter is emphatic or focal. Examples:

        unde ne   this man

        unde tI tá ne   this very man

        unde tI (tá) uwá akwēn that man

3.2.2 Temporal Deictics

As mentioned earlier, words used to fix the
time of an utterance with respect to the moment of
speech are based on spatial reference. Thus **tInine**
may be derived from the relator **tI** + a reduplicated
form of **ne** 'this'. Other temporal expressions are:

yáka (yínga, nyíka) today

íré   yesterday

ítsū   day before yesterday

ucwē   tomorrow

tsõwēn   day after tomorrow

tsõkatáng   three days hence

yákūyā   four days hence

yíwūkan   five days hence

yíwùtén   six days hence

ísīnn   when?

kutsáb tī uwé   next week

kutsáb tī wur rū   last week

kiyíku   this year

kuyáká   next year

kuyákwén   last year

4.0 Anaphora: the Use of awū, abā, ayī in Text

While the difference between **deictic** and **anaphoric** expressions is useful for some words in Kuteb, it does not apply, at least synchronically, to the third person pronouns and what we have called demonstratives. The set **awū, abā, ayī** as well as **ne,** and combinations thereof, occur both as deictics and as intratext referring expressions. In this regard Kuteb resembles English and many other languages (cf. Anderson and Keenan (1985) p. 261).

Participants (including key objects) are introduced into Kuteb discourse in a variety of ways, the discussion of which is beyond the scope of this study. Once introduced, such participants are referred to by the appropriate pronoun (**wū, bā,** or **yī**), or by the short demonstrative (**ne**), or the long one (**wūne, bāne, yīne**), or are "understood" (zero anaphora). The choice of referring device is governed primarily by factors having to do with prominence and newness of information, a topic which we will not explore further here but simply illustrate with some examples.

A Kuteb discourse typically introduces participants with a generic name such as 'person' or 'animal' and/or a specifier **īkī** 'a certain'. Examples:

655) Ûcín kisung-m cang cicang rū ka ye ukwe **īkī**.
tale hare-1s walk walk go go catch chief SPEC

My story is about a certain chief.

656) Unde **īkī** tá atáng, rinyí-wū si Apwende.
person SPEC be there name-3s is Apwende

There was a certain person by the name of
Apwende.

657) TI ame kû kyang uwae kutûr ame tu ufûg **īkī**.
as 1s IMP walk in forest 1s meet hut SPEC

As I was walking along in the forest I found a
house.

Subsequent references to the named participant
are often in the form of a pronoun or the noun plus
(a)wū, (a)bā, (a)yI.

658) Ĭré   ame fxēn kukyáng-fu tI   afu yāng;
     Yest'y 1s hear song-2s   REL 2s sing

     ayI nyang tímambē.
     3   good very

659) Ame tu-me   fangó tI m bá   fxēn
     1s find 1s road REL 1s come hear

     akyáng-fu tI fu yāng bē.
     song   2s REL 2s sing NEG

660) Afu a cwé   irá, mamrā kyI kukyáng-fu ayI cwūcwo.
     2s if agree word make REP song-2s   REF again.

         Yesterday I heard your very beautiful song.
         I've not had a chance to hear your singing
         again. Please, sing that song of yours again.

661) Kukūnn tI uróm rI té kisung bāsi,
     chicken   male tell hare   COMP

     abā nā rū ka tūnn iwŏg.
     3p RS go go dip honey

662) Abā rū ka kwēr imbyí kutūkū uwŏg
     3p go go reach bottom tree place

     tI ā kū tūnn iwŏg atáng.
     REL 3p IMP dip honey there

663) Abā rū ka yé, iwŏg yI té apupwen.
     3p go go   honey REF be up

         The cock told the hare they ought to go dip
         honey. They went to the bottom of the tree
         where people get honey. When they arrived,
         the honey was up there.

664) KimG̃ som uwae kumūm kG̃m awū kínzõ.
    potto sit in mound only 3s one

665) Icwu   tí kisung tsi   ise.
    leopard and hare   stand outside

666) Kisung tēr inyae rū yáe pú-wū.
    Hare   run run go far PRF-3s

667) Icwu   som kyī unzu kumūm awū.
    leopard sit   mouth mound REF

    Potto sat all by himself inside the (previously)
    mentioned) termite mound. Leopard and Hare were
    on the outside. Hare had run far away, and
    Leopard sat guarding the opening of the mound.

668) Ū kyēb ákong iká. Wū a kyēb fá ákong iká
    3s cut stalks grass 3s if cut   stalks grass

    ne ahán rū bá yá, ū kū bá yīr tág yī.
    DEM   go come end, 3s IMP come tie MAX 3

669) Wū a yīr tág pú-wū ayī,
    3s if tie MAX PRF-3s 3

    ítawá wū mm bá kwēr urwá sī,
    before 3s SEQ come strike fire down

    ū sa ákong yīne bae ye ijwē urwá yīne,
    SEQ take stalks DEM light catch body fire DEM

    ū sa sa kū unzu uwáe wū,
    SEQ take take crouch mouth hole REF

    kókwá unzu kuyínn wū.
    or   mouth hive REF

    He cuts grass. When he finishes cutting the
    grass, he comes and ties it together. He ties
    it all up, then lights a fire and takes these
    stalks and lights them from the fire, then
    takes it and crouches by the hole or at the
    edge of the hive.

4.1 Spatial, Temporal, and Instrumental Anaphora

A previously-mentioned location is referred to by the word **atáng**, 'there', as in:

670) Ame rū yī ritñg. Tī m fob **atáng**...
1s go to market REL 1s reach there

I went to market. When I got there.

The same word is used as an anaphor for temporal and instrumental exprssions:

671) Ayéb ÍkĪ kG nde ishÁen itÁ, yĪ kG bĚn **atáng**.
millet SPEC IMP do month three 3 IMP ripe there

Some millet ripens in three months.

672) Ikén ne, imí tĪ anĪ kG nde **atáng**?
thing DEM what REL 2p IMP do there

What do you do with this thing?

4.2 Discussion of Text-Referring Expressions

In the above sentences, **wū/yĪ**, which we have included as 'specifiers' because they narrow the list of possible antecedents, appear to function much like the definite article in English. While we do not have the space to discuss the exact conditions on the occurrence of **wū** and **yĪ** here, we may point out that sometimes they may be useful in clarifying antecedents in text. Examples:

673) Ame núng unde   íkí uwae ritúg kiskínn ne.
    1s see person SPEC in   market morning DEM

674) Ame tí ínjã-m   som kú ngwã ujwãb atáng.
    1s and brother-1s sat IMP drink beer there

675) Ámá umbae ínjã-m
    Then child brother-1s

    rí   té tí bãsí, unde   wú nã si sója.
    tell ACC 1p COMP   person RÉP RS be soldier

676) Atí rang wú bãa,
    1p ask 3s COMP

    awü nde rímãng ítawé m   núng bãa,
    3s do how   before SEQ know COMP,

    unde   wú na si sója bárã.
    person REF RS be soldier Q

            I saw a person in the market this morning.
            My brother and I were there drinking beer,
            and my brother's child told us that **the
            person** is a soldier. We asked him how he
            knew the person was a soldier.

Here, a pronoun **wú** in line three could have been taken

as a reference to the child. To avoid the ambiguity,

the speaker uses the noun **unde**. To use the noun

alone, however, would be ungrammatical. Note the

acceptable and unacceptable patterns:

677)   Ame núng ibyé   íkí uwae kutúr.
       1s see animal SPEC in   bush

            I saw an animal in the bush.

678)   Awū kób tímambē.
         3s tall very   It was very tall.

or 678b)   Ibyē   wū kób tímambē.
         animal REF tall very

but not:

      *Ibyē   kób tímambē.
       animal tall very

The last sentence would suggest a new participant, or perhaps signal that a general reference to animals is being made. Another way of looking at it is to think of **wū** as tying the two instances of **ibyē** together.

4.3 Link between PN, DEM, and SPEC

The identity in form between the personal pronouns, demonstratives **awūne, ayīne, abāne** and the "specifiers" **awū, ayī, abā** clearly indicates a common source for these three grammatical functions. In this regard, Kuteb is similar to the Indo-European languages, in the sense that in the latter languages what are now distinguished terminologically as the definite article, the demonstrative pronouns, and the third-person pronouns are all diachronically related (Lyons, 1977, p. 646).

5.0 Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive construction in Kuteb uses the word **ijwē** 'body' plus a possessive pronoun coreferential with the subject:

679)   Awū rang ijwē-wū irá baa,
         3s ask body-3s word COMP

         He asked himself,

680)   Afu kū ten   ijwē-fu ifū.
         3s IMP injure body-2s injury

         You are injuring yourself.

681) Anī kū nde na   ijwē-nī rikāɛn ámām.
     2p Imp do give body-2p trouble only

     You are just making trouble for yourselves.

NOTES-CHAPTER TEN

[1] Frajzyngier (1988) proposes a "de dicto domain" for the operation of text-referring expressions (including hypothetical) in Mupun. Off-hand, Kuteb looks like it has a very similar system.

[2] In the Atsaensi and Atsaenskun dialects the full form of the second-person pronoun is **abi**.

[3] There is one exception to this rule, and that is the word **unda**, daughter, which does not take the associative link before a pronoun: unda-fu is [undafu] rather than the expected [undǎfu].

[4] In the standard orthography the full forms tend to be written in the subject position, the model being slow speech.

[5] This is a regular phonological process. See Ch. 3 Section 4.1.3 for further examples.

[6] This is quite common in the world's languages. According to Anderson and Keenan (Shopen 1985:297),

> In the great majority of cases, the system
> of spatial demonstratives is imported into
> the temporal domain without any particular
> modification.

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APPENDIX A: ABBREVIATIONS

Grammatical terms:

ABIL	abilitative	NEG	negative
COMP	complementizer	NP	noun phrase
COND	conditional	REC	reciprocal
COM	commitative	REIT	reiterative
DEM	demonstrative	REP	repetitive
FUT	future	RO	restricted object
HO	hortative	SEQ	sequential
IMP	imperfective	SRM	spatial relation
IS	indirect speech		marker
LOC	locative	T-A-M	tense/aspect/modal
MAX	maximative	UO	unrestricted object
N	noun	V	verb
NEC	necessity	VP	verb phrase

Pronouns

1s	1st person singular
2s	2nd person singular
3s	3rd person singular
1p	1st person plural
2p	2nd person plural
3p	3rd person plural (human)
3	3rd person plural (non-human, mass)

Dialects/Languages

Ls	Lissam (Áskãen)
L	Lumbu
B	Bika
Kpo	Kpambo (Tícwõ)
Kpi	Kpambai (Tsáensĩ)
F	Fikyu (Tsáenskun)
J	Jenuwa (Rúbúr)
K	Kunabe (Rúfũn)
H	Hausa
E	English
Juk	Jukun

MAJOR KUTEB TOWNS

THE KUTEB AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

CHADIC

PLATOID

KAINJI

KAINJI
CENTRAL PLATOID

NUPOID

PLATOID

TAROKOID

YORUBOID

IDOMOID

BANTOID

JUKUNOID

EDOID

IGBOID

CROSS RIVER

IJO

⊗ J.M.K.

JUKUNOID IN THE
BENUE CONGO FAMILY

KM
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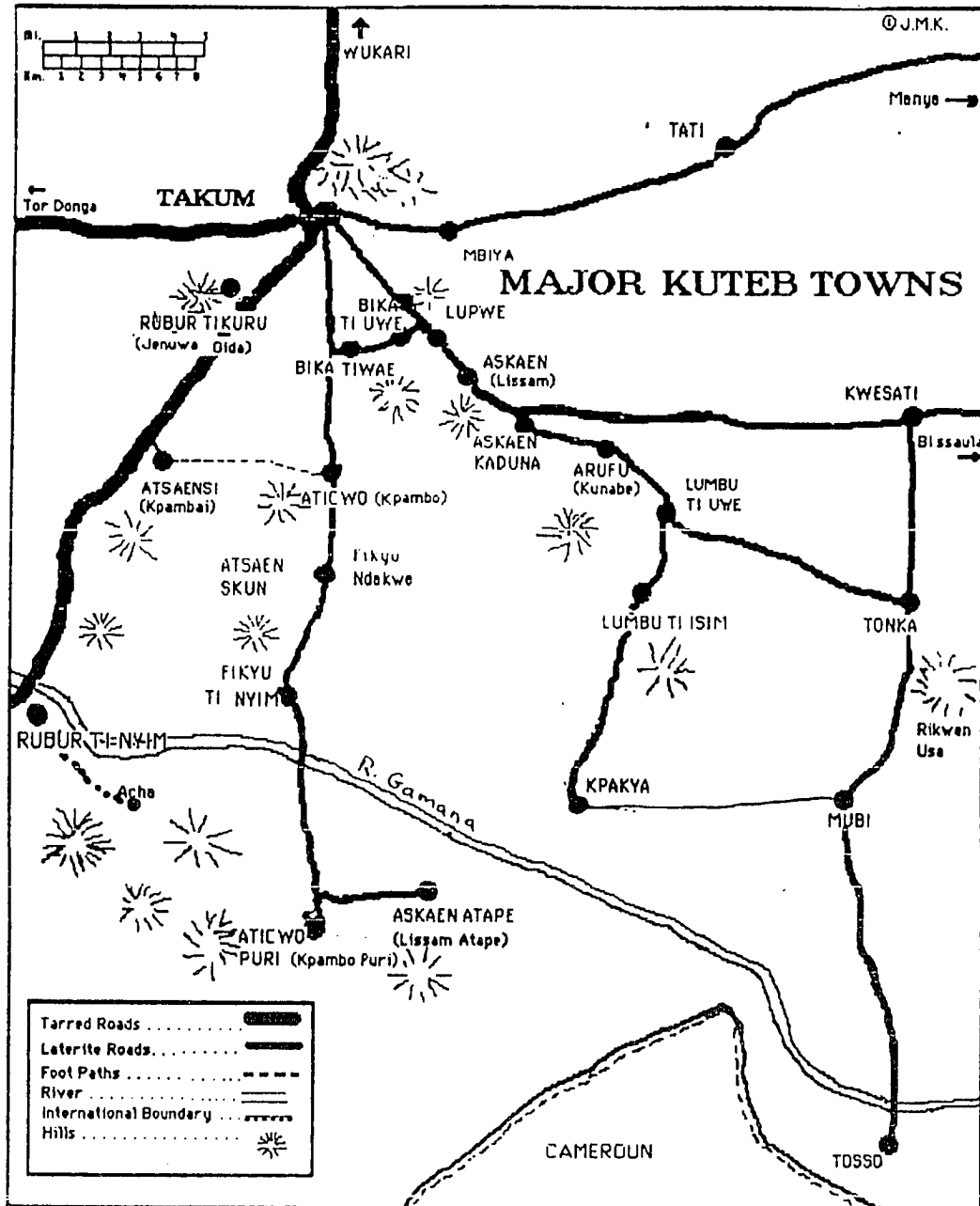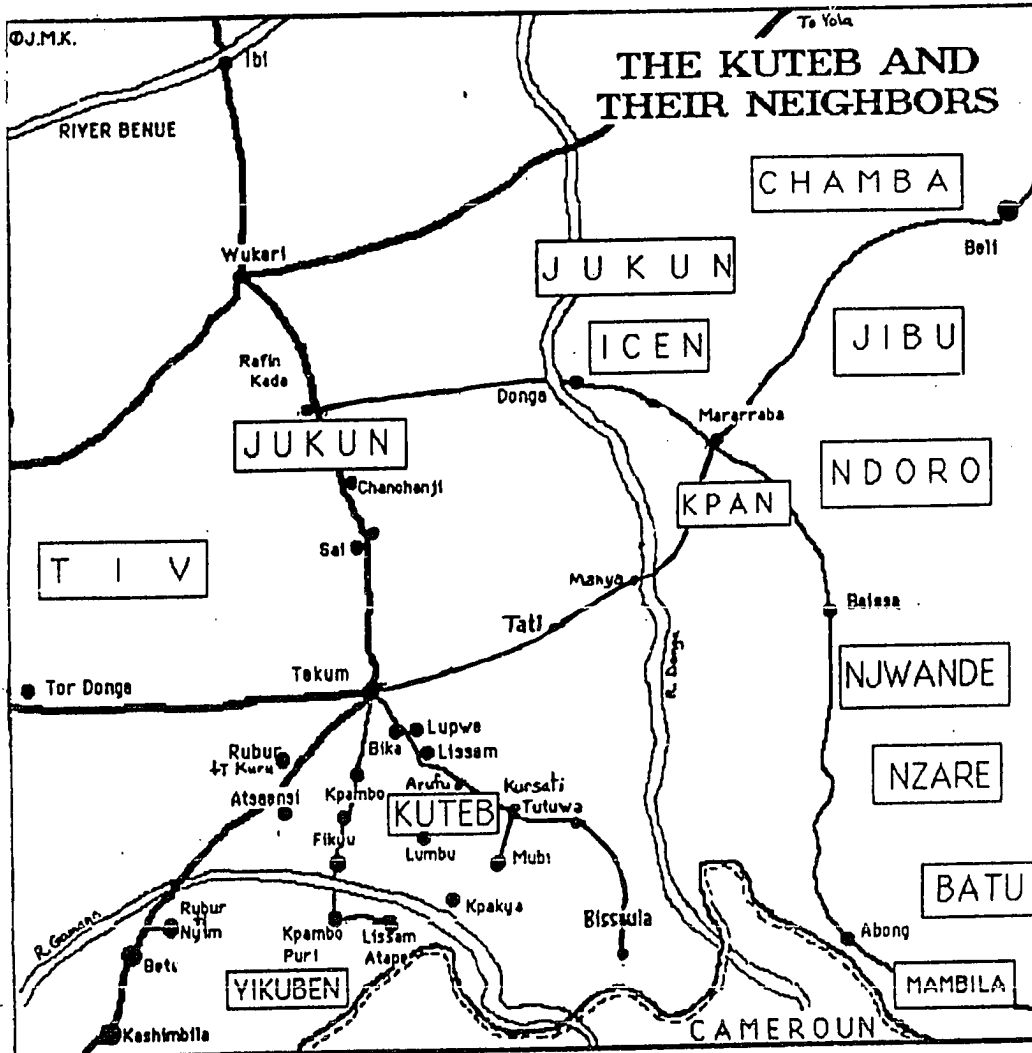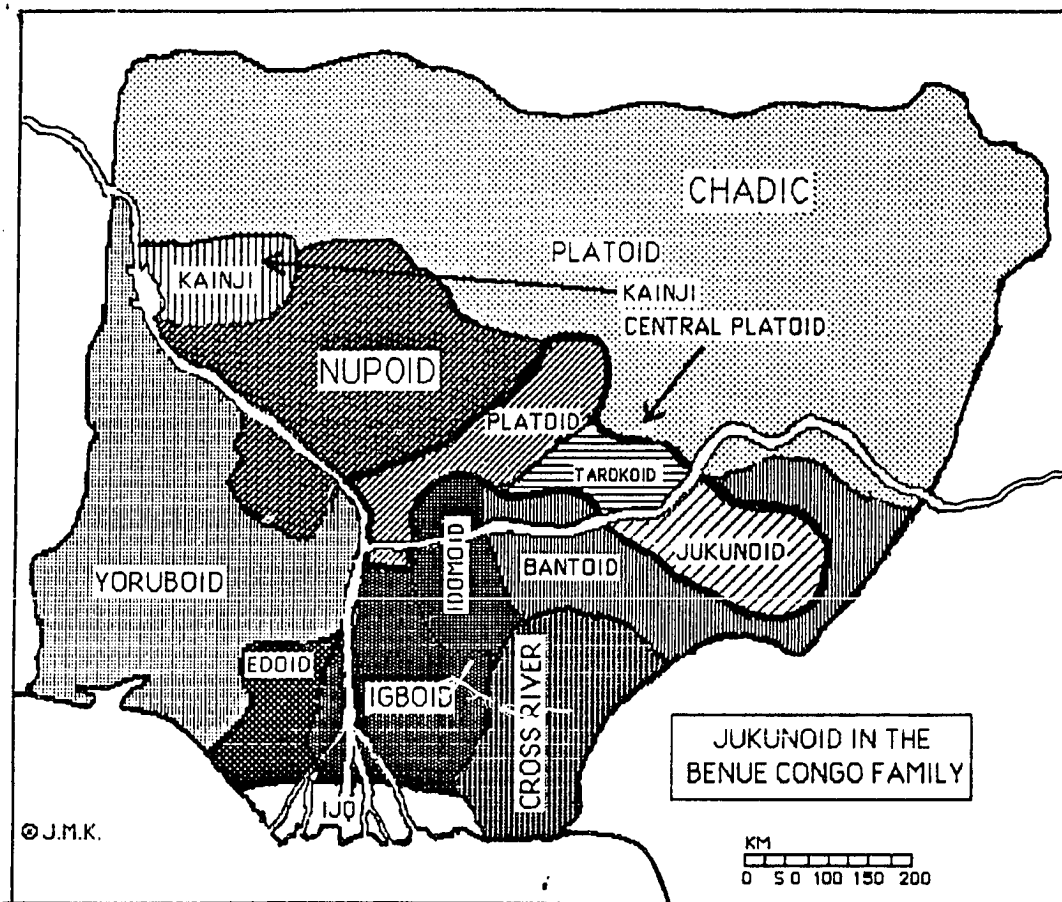
APPENDIX C:

CLASSIFICATION OF NIGER-CONGO LANGUAGES

The present classification of Niger-Congo (Blench 1987)

Niger-Congo
— Kordofanian
Mande
Atlantic-Congo
Atlantic
— Ijoid
Volta-Congo

Kru   (New) Kwa   (New) Benue-Congo

Adamawa-Ubangi

Nyo   Left Bank

Gur   Adamawa   Ubangi

Yoruboid -Akokoid   Edoid   Ukaan   Igboid   Cross River   Idomoid   Bantoid

Nupoid   Ogori   Akpes

Platoid   Vute   Fam   Samba Daka   Tivoid

Mambiloid   Bantu

Kainji   Central Platoid

Wide   Narrow

Plateau   Tarokoid   Jukunoid

Appendix D: Complex Sentences

Chapters 7 and 8 introduced sentences expressing single propositions. The examples below illustrate sentences containing multiple propositions. They consist of clauses joined by coordinating or subordinating conjunctions. The list is not exhaustive; no argumentation is offered, and no attempt is made to explore the variations and limitations of the structures given. Included are:

1. relativized sentences

2. sentences with verba dicendi

3. purpose sentences

4. reason sentences

5. conditional sentences

6. counterfactual conditional sentences

7. adversative sentences

1. Relativized sentences

Subject Relativized

```
Unde    tI bá  si ínjã-m.
person REL come be brother-1s
```

   The person who came is my brother.


```
Umbae tI ndebéb kisIm-fu nwũnn pú-wũ.
child REL spoil knife-2s arise PRF-3s
```

   The child who spoiled your knife has gone.

```
Irá  tǐ  anǐ rǐ  ǐré        txǐ.
word REL 2p speak yesterday different
```

What you said yesterday was different.

Object Relativized

```
A  tsáb-bā    ande   tǐ kú shi iként bē.
3p choose-3p people REL IMP herd thing NEG
```

They did not choose shepherds.

```
Anǐ cǐ pú-nǐ kirāen tǐ ame kūr  na   nǐ a?
2p eat PRF-2p food   REL 1s make give 2p Q
```

Did you eat the food I made for you?

```
Awū núng-wū uwōg tǐ awū kú  rū yǐ   atáng bē.
3s know-3s place REL 3s IMP go PREP there NEG
```

He did not know where he was going.

Complement Relativized

```
Awūne si unde   tǐ afu núng wū ǐré        a?
DEM    be person REL 2s see  3s yesterday Q
```

Is this the person you saw yesterday?

Topic Relativized

```
Indag tǐ awū wēn  ne, anǐ nde imǐ tǐ   ucǐn-wū?
cow   REL 3s kill DEM, 2p do what PREP tail-3s
```

This cow he killed, what did you do with
its tail?

Other

```
Kiyé tǐ afu bá,  ame tá-m  iké  bē.
time REL 2s come 1s  be-1s here NEG
```

When you came I was not here.

```
Atǐ tu  bā uwōg tǐ  afu rǐ té   tǐ.
1p find 3p place REL 2s say PREP 1p
```

We found them where you told us.

2. Sentences expressing speech and thought

In these sentences the quotation (including mental speech) is introduced by the complementizer **bǎa** or **bǎsīi**. Both direct and indirect speech are used, the latter being marked by **nǎ** before the verb. Some dialects use **nǎa** as a complementizer.

```
Awū rī bǎa, awū nǎ ū   wēn  inji itsóng.
3s say COMP 3s   IS FUT kill elephant five
```

He said he would kill five elephants.

```
Atī táng bǎsīi, afu nǎ nwúnn pú-fu.
1p  think COMP   2s  IS arise PRF-2s
```

We thought you had already left.

```
Mbūkū rang Kisung bǎa, afu tǎ tɪ    ikś a?
hyena ask  Hare  COMP   2s  be still here ?
```

Hyena asked Hare, "Are you still here?"

3. Purpose Sentences

These sentences are marked by the relativizer **tɪ** or **ikyǎen tɪ** at the beginning of the purpose clause:

```
Awū bǎ  tɪ  wū jǎeb ikśn ritúg.
3s come REL 3s buy thing market
```

He came to buy something in the market.

```
Abǎ kú tēb    wū ikyǎen tɪ ǎ  tu   aser śmǎm.
3p IMP praise 3s PURP   REL 3p find money only
```

They're just praising him for the money.

        AtI tsδ   yI ufáng ikyāen tI tI shā usú   tātu.
        1p go up to farm PURP REL 1p seek stuff hunting

        We went to the farm to look for hunting
equipment.

4. Reason Sentences

        The   marker   of   reason   clauses   is   **ikyāen iaí**

"because of what?" as in the following:

        Awū tsδ rináe íkyāen imí ame txūn   wū asú.
        3s mount anger REASON   1s insult 3s insult

        He got angry because I insulted him.

        cf.:   Ikyāen imí tI afu byInn wū kimbáb?
               REASON what REL 2s beat 3s whip

               Why did you whip him?

5. Conditional Sentences

        These   sentences   are   marked   by   the particle **a**

before   the   verb.   **AsitI** may   precede   the   subject

optionally:

 (AsitI) awū a bá,   ame ú rI   té   fu.
  COND   3s COND come, 1s FUT speak PREP 2s

        If he comes, I'll tell you.

 (AsitI) icwūng a   sáng atáng, ikén ne ú ye wū.
  COND   mouse COND enter there thing DEM FUT catch 3s

        If a mouse enters it, this thing will catch
            him.

```
(Asitī) afu a    kū shā, ā  ū  yá   yī tā.
 COND   2s COND IMP want, 3p FUT leave 3
```

   If you wish, they will let it/them go.

6. Counterfactual Conditions

   These are marked by the phrase **ábāa** (possibly from **ā** 'they' + high tone + **baa** 'COMP'). It seems sometimes that these sentences also involve an underlying high tone between the pronoun and the verb which is realized as a tone change on the pronoun:

```
Ábāa awū nā cī, awū (awú?)tu kujwójáng íkī.
CCOND 3s IS come 3s        find reward  some
```

   Had he won, he would have gotten a prize.

```
Ábāa ame nā núng ahán, ame (amé?) jāeb-m bē.
CCOND 1s IS know thus   1s        buy-1s NEG
```

   Had I known that, I wouldn't have bought (it).

7. Adversative

   These sentences have **amá** or **amáa** 'but' (c.f. Hausa **ammá**) between the two clauses. Apparently, contrastive clauses were originally simply juxtaposed, as in the second example.

```
Abā bá, amáa ame núng-m abā bē.
3p come but  1s  see-1s 3p  NEG
```

   They came but I did not see them.

```
Abā bá, ame núng-m abā bē.
3p come 1s  see-1s 3p NEG
```

   They came but I didn't see them.

Appendix E

Kuteb Text FT2 The Boy Who Refused to Marry

by Naboth Jatau, Sabon Gida Lissam

1   Ucín kisung-m cang ci-cang rū ka ye   umbae íkīn.
     tale hare-1s walk walk   go go catch child SPEC

     My story is about a certain child.

2   Umbae wū   nyang tímambã.
     child REF good very

     The child was very good-looking.

3   Awū rī bãa awū nã ú   mbé-wū undá bã.
     3s say COMP 3s IS FUT take-3s woman NEG

     He said he would not marry.

4   Iyã-wū   tí íte-wū   rī   bãsii
     mother-3s and father-3s say COMP

     His mother and his father said

5   awū nã mbé kãng   undá, awū shaen-wū.
     3s REP take necessary woman 3s   refuse-3s

     he had to marry, but he refused.

6   Ā rī bãa, awū a   mbé-wū undá bã,
     3p say COMP 3s   COND take-3s woman NEG

     They said that if he does not marry,

7   ayī nã nyang-yī bã.
     3   IS good-3   NEG

     it is not good.

8   Ā rī rī rī, ayī skeb-yī   risū tírī.
    3p say say say 3   surpass-3 head   then

    They talked and talked, and it was finally too
      much.

9   Umbae wū cwé   bāsii awū nā ú   mbé undá tírī,
    child REF agree COMP 3s IS FUT take woman then

    The boy said he would marry,

10 amá awū nā ú   mbé-wū undá áhán ámén bē,
    but 3s IS FUT take-3s woman thus only NEG

    but he would not marry just anybody,

11 sédé mbawándab tā a   kūnn pú-wū rinyí-wū títawé.
    unless girl   REL if call PRF-3s name-3s first

    only a girl who first calls his name.

12 Awū nwúnn utēn atáng basii
    3s arise land there COMP

    He left that country saying

13 awū nā ú   ka náe uwōg íkīn.
    3s IS FUT go lie place SPEC

    he would go stay in another place.

14 Uwōg wū tī wū ú   ka náe atáng ne   ahán,
    place REF REL 3s FUT go lie there DEM thus

    The place he went to,

15 awū tsikunn tī kú rī baa,
    3s REIT   REL IMP say COMP

    he kept on saying,

16 mbawándab tā   náng pú-wū rinyí-wū ú   kūnn
    girl   REL know PRF-3s name-3s SEQ call

    the girl who knows his name and says it

17 nã si mbawandab tī awū nã ū   mbé.
    IS is girl   REL 3s IS FUT take

    is the girl he will marry.

18 Awū rū ahán ú   ka sa   kununn,
    3s go thus SEQ go take home

    So he went and made a home...

19 ú   sa   mbye uwōg   íkīn, kusóg kwáno tī apupwen.
    SEQ take build place SPEC house metal REL above

    in another place -- a metal-roofed two-story
       building.

20 Kusóg wū nyang tímambē.
    house REF good very

    The house was beautiful.

21 Umbae wū kú náe kununn wū.
    child REF IMP lie home   REF

    The boy was living in the house.

22 Usir íkīn tírī, anyīsū   andá inje,
    day SPEC then children women four

    One day, four girls

23 nde wūcī tā   ā nã pū   rū kaá na wū atáng.
    make food PURP 3p IS take go go give 3s there

    made food to take to him there.

24 Abíya-bā   pū   na   bā shinkāfā tí acīkunn,
    mothers-3p take give 3p rice   and beans

    Their mothers gave them rice and beans,

25 ú   ye   mbakúnn wēn, na   bā.
    SEQ catch hen   kill give 3p

    caught and killed hens for them

26 Ā tŏ tǎg yī nyǐnyang ahǎn.
    3p cook all 3 well well thus

    They cooked it all up very nicely.

27 Wǔcī nyang, si-yī tītīrī bǎ.
    food good is-3 speaking NEG

    The food was unspeakably good.

28 Ā pū ǎtǔpwǎ, cǎe tǎg anyīsū bā.
    3p take clothes fix all children REF

    They took clothes and fixed up the girls.

29 Anyīsū ǎndab nyang pyǎs!
    children girl good very

    The girls were gorgeous.

30 Tírī, ǎ rī bāa ǎ nǎ rū-bǎ tírī.
    Then 3p say COMP 3p IS go 3p then

    Then, they said they were leaving.

31 Ā ye ícin rū ahǎǎǎn ka fob atǎng,
    3p catch journey go thus go reach there

    They started their journey and went on and on,
        and reached the place,

32 ǔ ka kwěr kujwǒ ufu kusǒg.
    SEQ go strike hand door house

    and knocked on the door.

33 Umbae wū tǎ uwae kusǒg, ǔ cwǎ irǎ.
    child REF is in house SEQ answer word

    The boy was at home, and answered.

34 Awū rī baa, ǎyē bǎrǎ.
    3s say COMP who? Q

    He said, who is it?

35 Ā rī baa, nā si abā.
3p say COMP IS be 3p

They said it was they.

36 Awū rī bāa ā nā sáng bá.
3s say COMP 3p IS enter come

He said they should come in.

37 Ámá ā sáng ka yé   uwae kusóg wū,
Then 3p enter go altogether in   house REF

They entered the house,

38 ú ka pū   wúcī ne na   umbae wū.
SEQ go take food DEM give child the

and gave the food to the boy.

39 Umbae wū ci, ú   cī mām   wúcī,
child REF eat SEQ eat finish food

The boy ate, and finished eating the food,

40 ú bá   tu bā.
SEQ come find 3p

and came and found them.

41 Ā som kú nde urú kú tsag akāen-bā.
3p sit IMP make game IMP tell troubles-3p

They sat and played and chatted.

42 Ā nde ikén ne ndende tírī,
3p do thing DEM do   then

They were doing these things,

43 usir tē   kú pú-wū.
day set IMP PRF-3s

the sun was about to go down.

44 AnyĪsū andá bā rĪ té umbae wū bāsii
   children women REF say with boy REF COMP

   The girls said to the boy,

45 'AtĪ kafe rū-tĪ tírĪ bē
   1p return go-1p then NEG

   'We're going back now, lest

46 atĪ a ka-tĪ kununn fife bē,
   1p COND go-1p home quickly NEG

   if we don't get home soon,

47 abíya-tĪ ú fwān irá'.
   mothers-1p FUT scold word

   our mothers will scold us.

48 Umbae wū rĪ bāa to, 'NĪ tsira
   child REF say COMP okay 2p stand

   The boy said, 'okay, wait

49 tĪ m shā kíkĪn na nĪ
   PURP 1s seek thing give 2p

   so I can find something for you

50 tĪ nĪ sa rū ka na abíyā-nĪ bárābē'.
   REL 2p take go go give mothers-2p if-not!

   to take to your mothers'.

51 Awū rū ka kwāen awāen itúkū tĪtínyang,
   3s go go pluck fruits tree good

   He went and plucked some very nice fruit,

52 ú pū bá sĪ bā ijwē kíce-bā.
   SEQ take come give 3p in dish-3p

   and came and put them in their dishes for them.

53 AnyĪsū &ndab bā tē   wū bǎsii
   children girl REF dismiss 3s COMP

   The girls bade farewell saying

54 ā   nā rū-bā tírī.
   3ph IS go 3p   then

   they were going.

55 Awū rI bāa ā nā ka-bā nyɨnyang.
   3s say comp 3p 1s go-3p well

   He said they should go well.

56 Abā cɨcang rū ka fob fangó.
   3p walk   go go reach road

   They walked along to the main road.

57 Ā sa   awãen ikέn ne ahέn kɢ rū fangó.
   3p take fruit thing DEM thus IMP go road

   They took the fruit and were going along.

58 Am& awãen itɢkū mbaw&ndab kínzō n&e ise.
   but fruit tree   girl   one lie outside

   The fruit of one girl lay exposed.

59 Awū burcī nyang-wū ayī bē.
   3s cover well-3s   3   NEG

   She hadn't covered it well.

60 Abā itā   tī tsɨtsí ne ahέn bēn   ayíb
   3p three REL remain DEM thus ripen eyes

   skeb pɢ-bā wū.
   pass PRF-3p 2s

   The other three girls were more clever than she.

61 Ā núngye awāen itúkū yɪ, ú rɪ basii, kayā,
   3p see fruit tree REF SEQ say COMP sister

They saw the fruit and said, 'Sister,

62 afu pū ikɛ́n ne ahɛ́n kaɛ́ nde imí?
   2s take thing DEM thus go do what

what are you going to do with these things?

63 Pū yɪ bɛ́ tɪ tɪ cɪ,
   take 3 come PURP 1p eat

Bring them so we can eat,

64 tɪ atɪ a cɪ mām pú-tɪ nɛ́,
   PURP 1p COND eat finish PRF-1p DEM

and when we finish eating,

65 atɪ ú pū anɛ́tɪ bɛ́ tɪ tɪ cɪ yɪ ɛ́mɛ́.
   1p FUT take ours come PURP 1p eat 3 also

we'll bring ours to eat too'.

66 Mbawɛ́ndab wū núng-wū bē,
   girl   REF know-3s NEG

The girl did not know,

67 ú yera anɛ́wū na bā tírɪ.
   SEQ take hers give 3p then

and gave her (fruit) to them.

68 Ā pū ikɛ́n yɪ pū cɪ mām fɛ́.
   3p take thing 3 take eat finish completely

They took (the fruit) and consumed them all.

69 Awū rɪ bāsii Kayā-m
   3s say COMP sister-1s

She said, 'My sisters,

70 nɪ   pū anánɪ bá   tɪ   tɪ cɪ-tɪ tírɪ áró.
   2p take of-2p come PURP 1p eat-1p then ?

   Now bring yours so we can eat'!

71 Ā   rɪ bāsii, awū kú mam-wū irá-wū rímāng bárā,
   3p say COMP 3s IMP create-3s word-3s how? Q

   They asked, why is she creating a story?

72 ú pū bá-wū   bē, awū ú som-wū bē bárā.
   3s take come-3s NEG 3s FUT sit 3s NEG Q

   she did not bring any (fruit) shouldn't she
   just sit there?

73 Ā nã ú   pū   anábã nã bá-bã   bē.
   3p IS FUT take theirs IS come-3p NEG

   They said they would not give her any of theirs.

74 Mbawándab wū bwētág,   ú   tã aten ayíb bxab.
   girl   REF be still, SEQ cry tears eye plenty

   The girl kept quiet and started to cry.

75 Amá ã   fxēn-bã irá tɪtɪrū yɪ kununn.
   Then 3p hear-3s word going to home

   Then they started off for home.

76 Ā sɨsa rū ka fob   kununn.
   3p go   go go reach home

   They went along and reached home.

77 Anyɪsū   andá bān pū   awãen itúkū nábã
   children women DEM take fruit tree their

   The other girls took their fruit

78 rū ka na   abíya-bã
   go go give mothers-3p

   to their mothers.

79   Abā kū ci kū shwam tétsō.
     3p IMP eat IMP enjoy together

     eating and enjoying themselves together.

80   Awūne má shănum ikén
     This also lack thing

     As for this one, there was nothing

81   tī wū nā ú sa na íya-wū.
     REL 3s IS FUT take give mother-3s

     for her to take to her mother.

82   Ucwōfam-yī tírī, ā rī bāa ā nā ú rū cī
     next day-3 then 3p say COMP 3p IS FUT go REP

     The next day, they said they would go back

83   tí uwōg umbae wū cwúcwo.
     back place child REF again.

     to the boy's place again.

84   Abíya anyīsū andá bā itā ne
     mothers children women REF three DEM

     The three girls' mothers

85   cāe wúcī nyang skeb tīkucang
     fix food good pass the first

     prepared food even better than the first time,

86   ú pū átúpwá tā nyang skeb tī kucang,
     and take clothes REL good pass the first

     and took clothes that were better than the first,

87   ú pū na anyīsū.
     SEQ take give children

     and gave them to the kids.

88 Mbawándab ne rɪ té íya-wū   bāsii,
    girl   DEM say with mother-3s   COMP

    This girl said to her mother,

89 íya-wū   nā pū   na   wū átúpwá tɪ wū nā rū,
    mother-3s IS take give 3s clothes REL 3s IS go

    her mother should give her clothes so she could
go,

90 tí wúcɪ ámá.
    and food also

    and food too.

91 Íya-wū   rɪ bāsii,
    mother-3s say COMP

    Her mother said,

92 'Afu tí mbawándab tɪ ukáen   ra.
     2s ? girl   REL uselessness ?

    'You worthless girl!

93 Íré   afu cāefā   m,
    Yesterday 2s deceive 1s

    Yesterday you deceived me,

94 m   byɪr   ikén na fu,
    1s collect thing give 2s

    I gathered things for you,

95 Afu pū   rū ka tenji,
    2s take go go destroy

    you went off and destroyed them.

96 ú   sa   kíkɪn ʃkɪn bá na-fu   ame bā.
    2s take thing SPEC come give-2s 1s NEG

    You brought me nothing.

97 Yáka ne ahán cwúcwo afu cãefã   m   bãsii,
   today DEM thus again 2s deceive 1s COMP

   Now today again you're deceiving me saying

98 wé ame nã byīr   ikén na fu
   ?   1s IS collect thing give 2s

   I'm supposed to collect things for you

99 tī   fu nã sú   rū cī cwúcwo
   PURP 2s IS carry go REP again

   so you can carry them again

100 tī   fu pū ikén-m   rū kaá tenji.
    PURP 2s take things-1s go go destroy

    and go off and destroy my things.

101 Ame ú   pū   kíkīn íkīn na-m   afu bē.
    1s   FUT take thing SPEC give-1s 2s NEG

    I will not give you anything.

102 Wándab wū tã   aten ayíb bxab,
    girl   REF throw tear eyes plenty

    The girl started to cry.

103 ú   cīnum,
    SEQ eat-tire

    She gave up,

104 ú   rū ka kwãen awãen utongcáeb ubãen kupwe
    SEQ go go pluck fruits okra   side wall

    went back and plucked some okra behind the house.

105 ú   bá   jwag yī tõ   urwã.
    SEQ come heat 3 cook fire

    and cooked it on the fire.

106 Isim-yɪ tɪ utong yɪ bɛ́n   pú-yɪ,
   after-3 REL soup REF ripen PRF-3

   After the soup was hot,

107 awū sa kindob tɪ́ rinwāen tɪ́ akwen sɪ atɛ́ng
   3s take oil and salt   and potash down there

   she put oil and salt and potash into it,

108 ú   ye   yɪ tsi ribɛ́n, ú   sa kutsúkwēr tŏ.
   SEQ take 3 stand ground, SEQ take pot   cook

   and set it aside, and put the big pot on the fire.

109 Kutsúkwēr cɛ́b, awū kur kirāen
   pot   boil 3s stir fufu

   When the pot boiled, she made fufu

110 ú   pāen sɪ   kíce, ú   jwɔ́ ijwē-wū,
   SEQ put down bowl, SEQ wash body-3s

   and put it into a bowl, bathed,

111 ú   pū ɛ́túpwɛ́-wū tɪtɪcɪ́ sɪ,
   SEQ take clothes-3s old   down

   put on her old clothes,

112 ú   yesú, ú   rū tɪ   wū kaɛ́ tu anyɪsū andɛ́ bāne
   SEQ carry SEQ go PURP 3s go find children women DEM

   took the food and went to find the other girls,

113 tɪ   ā nā pūtsɛ́en ɛ́tsŏ rū.
   PURP 3p IS follow RECIP go

   so they could go together.

114 Anyɪsū   andɛ́ bā, abā sɛ́e-bā tɪ́   fangɔ́ tɪrwēn,
   children women REF 3p look-3p PREP road far

   The other girls, they looked from a distance,

115 kú   tūb   atsáng bāsii,
    IMP spit saliva COMP

    spitting and saying,

116 ci! afu kú bá   tī   fu ye   tī ndebéb úbā?
    !   2s IMP come PURP 2s catch 1p spoil Q

    Hey! Are you coming to spoil us, is that it?

117 Putsaen-fu atī bē!
    follow   2s 1p NEG

    Don't follow us!

118 Cang icin-fu   kínzó rikāen-fu.
    walk journey-2s one   aloneness-2s

    Walk by yourself!

119 Mbawándab wū   cīnum, kú   cang náwū tí isim tí isim.
    girl   REF tire   IMP walk hers   back   back

    The girl gave up and walked behind the rest of
       them.

120 Abāne kú   rū uwé,
    DEM   IMP go front

    These girls were going ahead,

121 ā rū aháán ka fob   uwae uyang wūkī.
    3p go thus   go reach in   stream place-SPEC

    they went along and reached a certain stream.

122 Undá kucáen kú   kú   jwó ijwā.
    woman oldness bend down IMP wash body

    An old woman was bending over, bathing herself.

123 Awū rī té   bā bāsii,
    3s say with 3p COMP

    She said to them,

124 'AnyĪsū-m! nĪ rū bᴂ turra na m isim'.
    children-1s 2p go come scrub give 1s back

'My children! Come scrub my back for me'.

125 Ā rĪ bāsii 'Kí! Afu undᴂ kucᴂen ne,
    3p say COMP ! 2s woman oldness DEM

They said, 'Hey, you old woman,

126 afu kú rĪ-fu irᴂ-fu rímāng?
    2s IMP say-2s word-2s how?

why do you talk like that?

127 Afu núng-fu uwõg tĪ atĪ kú rū yĪ atᴂng bᵊ̄ a?
    2s know 2s place REL 1p IMP go to there NEG Q

Don't you know where we're going?

128 AtĪ ú pū ajwᴂ-tĪ ndebᴂb rimenn-fu
    1p FUT put hands 1p spoil body 2s

Would we dirty our hands on your body

129 títawᴂ mm kú rū yi ūwõg
    first SEQ IMP go to place

before we go to the place

130 tĪ atĪ kú rū yĪ atᴂng úbā.
    REL 1p IMP go to there Q

to where we're gong?

131 AtĪ ú nde fob-tĪ itso ikᴂn yĪne bᵊ̄'.
    1p FUT do reach-1p kind thing DEM NEG

We couldn't do anything like that',

132 Ā tub atsᴂng rū ka si,
    3p spit saliva go go go-down

They spit,

133 ú   ye   icin-bă,   ú   yafe undă wū,
   SEQ take journey-3p SEQ pass woman REF

   and resumed their journey passing by the woman

134 ú   fxēn irá   tīrū.
   SEQ hear word of going

   and went right on.

135 Undă wū rī bāa, anyīsū-m,   'NI ka-nī nyinyang.
   woman REF say COMP children-1s, 2p go-2p well

   The woman said, my children, go well!

136 AnI a   si-nI riyăen awúm
   2p   COND be-2p kernel gcorn

   If you think you're so beautiful,

137 nI ka-nI nyanyang án'!
   2p go-2p well   ?

   just go your way'!

138 Umbae tI undă wūne tírI, kú   bá náwū   isim.
   child REL woman DEM then   IMP come poss-3s back

   This other girl was coming behind.

139 Awū rū ahán bá   fob uwae uyăng atáng.
   3s go thus come reach in   stream there

   She went along and reached that stream.

140 Undă wū tI kucáen wī kú tí   uwae uyăng
   woman REF REL oldness REF be still in   stream

   atáng kú ȷ̇wó ijwā.
   there IMP wash body

   The old woman was still there in
     the stream, bathing.

141 Awū rI bāsii, 'Yākā,
    3s say COMP   daughter

    She said, 'Daughter,

142 sI   bá   turra na   m isim,   bē a?'
    come down come scrub give 1s back   NEG Q

    Come down and scrub my back, won't you'?

143 Mbawándab wū pū   kirāen-wū ayIne tsika,
    girl   REF take food-3s   DEM   stand

    The girl set down her food,

144 ū sI   ahááán bá   tu   undá wū,
    SEQ go down thus   come find woman REF

    went right down to the woman,

145 ū   tur   tág na   undá kucáen wū isim,
    SEQ scrub all give woman oldness REF back

    and scrubbed her whole back

146 tI ijwē-wū mēmē, ū   pāen tág wū risū.
    with body-3s all, SEQ plait all 3s head

    and her whole body, and plaited her hair.

147 TírI awū tē   wū bāa,
    then 3s   dismiss 3s COMP

    Then she bade farewell, saying

148 'Īyā,   m kū   rū-m tírI'.
    mother   1s IMP   go 1s then

    'Mother, I'm going now'.

149 Undá wū rang wū bāsii,
    woman REF ask 3s say COMP

    The woman asked her,

150 'Yākā,   afu kú rū yĪ   akā?'
    daughter 2s IMP go to   where

    'Daughter, where are you going?'

151 Awū rĪ bāsii,
    3s say COMP

    She said

152 awū nā kú   rū yĪ   kununn umbae íkĪn
    3s IS IMP go S3n home   child SPEC

    she was going to the house of a certain boy

153 tĪ nā kú akwēn ne
    REL IS be there DEM

    which is over there

154 tĪ nā rĪ bāsii,
    REL IS say COMP

    who said

155 mbawándab tĪ nā a kūnn pú-wū   rinyí-wū ítawé
    girl   REL IS if call PRF-3s name-3s before

    only the girl who calls his name

156 awū na ú   mbé wándab wū,
    3s IS FUT take girl   REF

    he will marry her,

157 'né m kú rū atáng'.
    DEM 1s IMP go there

    that's where I'm going.

158 Undá tĪ kucáen wū rang wū bāsii,
    woman REL oldness REF ask 3s COMP

    The old woman asked her,

159 'Yằkā,   afu núng pú-fu   rinyí umbae wū a?'
    daughter 2s know PRF-2s name child REF Q

    'Daughter, do you know the name of the boy?'

160 Awū rī bāsii   'Iyéē.
    3s say COMP no

    She said, 'No,

161 Ame núng-m rinyí umbae wū hē'.
    1s know 1s name   child REF NEG

    I do not know the boy's name'.

162 Undá tī kucáen rī   bāsii,
    woman REL oldness speak COMP

    The old woman said,

163 'Rinyí umbae wū si ShĪbang.
    name   child REF is Shibang

    'The name of the boy is Shibang'.

164 Afu a   ka pú-fu ne,
    2s COND go PRF-2s DEM

    When you get there,

165 afu a   kūnn wū bāa ShĪbang né,
    2s COND call 3s COMP Shibang DEM

    if you call him 'Shibang'

166 si rinyí umbae wū bárābē'.
    is name child REF ?

    it is his name'.

167 Mbawándab rī bāsii 'Íyā, m fxāefā pú-m'.
    girl   say COMP mother 1s thank PRF-1s

    The girl said, 'Mother, thank you'.

168 Awū tae undá tī kucáen wū tsŏ uwae uyǎng
    3s lead woman REL oldness REF go-up in stream

    She led the old woman up out of the stream,

169 tsŏ bá yī ukāense,
    go-up come to bank

    up onto the bank

170 ú bá ye kirāen-wū ayīne sú,
    SEQ come take fufu-3s DEM carry

    came and took her food,

171 ú sa ahán rū ka fob anyīsū andá abā
    SEQ go thus go go reach children women REF

    and went along and reached the other girls,

172 tī rū uwá rū ka som, ú tá umbae wū som
    REL go front go go sit, SEQ with boy REF sit

    who had gone and were sitting with the boy,

173 kú nde urú-bā kú tsag akaen-bā tírī.
    IMP do game-3p IMP tell troubles-3p then

    playing and chatting.

174 Awū ka kwētsi ufu kusog átáng ú rī bāsii,
    3s go stand door house there SEQ say COMP

    She went and stood at the door and said,

175 'Gáfára! Ubāen-m Shībang! M bá pú-m!'
    excuse side 1s Shibang 1s come PRF-1s

    'Excuse me! My husband, Shibang! I have come'!

176 Umbae wū tsēn utŏb,
    child REF white heart

    The boy was happy.

177 ú tɵyɛ́ abãne tã uwae kusóg atáng
   SEQ leave DEM ? in   house there

   He left these other girls in the room

178 ú bɛ́ wángye mbawándab wū ú rI bāsii,
   SEQ come embrace girl   REF SEQ say COMP

   and came and embraced this girl, saying,

179 'Súko uwá-m! Súko! Né si uwá-fu a?
   hello wife-1s hello DEM be face-2s Q

   Greetings, Wife! Hello! Is this really you?'

180 Awū rI bãsii, mm'.
   3s say COMP   yes

   She said, 'Yes'.

181 TírI umbae wū sáng ka jãe   rū yɛ́ tág
   then child REF enter go drive go out all

   Then the boy went in and drove all these others

   abãne mẽmẽ ūwae kusóg atáng, ú rI baa,
   DEM   all in   house there SEQ say COMP

   out of the house and said

182 ã nã rū yI ise
   3p IS go to outside

   they should go out

183 tI ã nã yá   kusóg nã tã na   uwá-wū
   PURP 3p IS leave house IS   give wife-3s

   they must go outside and leave the house for his
     wife.

184 AnyIsū   andá bã cInum, ú rū yɛ́ ise,
   children women REF eat-tire SEQ go out outside

   The girls were defeated, went out,

185 ú   tenpū   ísān-bā kú rū yī kununn.
   SEQ collect pots-3p IMP go to home

   collected their pots and were going home.

186 Umbae wū sáng   ka tu   uwá-wū.
   child REF enter go meet wife-3s

   The boy went in and found his wife.

187 Ā   som kú   nde urú   kú   tsag akāen-bā.
   3p sit IMP do   game IMP tell troubles-3p

   They sat and played and chatted.

188 Né tī ā   rī bāsii,
   DEM REL 3p say COMP

   That is why it is said,

189 kó   unde   a   béb rímāng uwae utēnse iké,
   even person COND bad how   in   world here

   No matter how bad a person is here in this world,

190 afu nā sáerū-fu   awū bē, icāen imí,
   2s IS despise-2s 3s NEG   because

   do not despise him,

191 afu si-fu Rimam-wū tī nā sa   wū súnn   ise   bē.
   2s be-2s God-3s   REL IS take 3s appear world NEG

   because you aren't God who created him.

192 Anyīsū   andá   íkīn nā ahán nde ahán
   children women SPEC IS thus do thus

   Some girls did that,

193 ú   shānum tītínyang uwóg undá kucáen,
   SEQ lack   goodness place woman oldness

   and failed to get a blessing from an old woman

194 ú   shānum má   urόm mēmē tī   ā ú bāen.
    SEQ lack   also male all   REL 3s FUT marry

    and also failed to get husbands to marry.

195 Umbawándab tī abā kú txí   wū txí,
    girl   REL 3p   IMP despise 3p despise

    The girl whom they despised,

196 tī   bá   tu   itínyang uwōg undá kucáen,
    it-is come find blessing place woman old

    she it was who got the blessing of the old woman

197 ú bá   tu urόm tī awū ú   bāen fā tí   atáng.
    SEQ come find man REL 3s FUT marry together there

    and got a man to marry as well.

198 Icāen imí risū tī náe ribén náwū té undá kucáen
    because   head REL lie ground hers   woman oldness

    Because it was her obedience to the old woman

199 tī sa na   undá kucáen kūnn rinyí umbae wū tsδ.
    REL put give woman oldness call name child REF up

    which caused the old woman to reveal the boy's name.

200 Ámá   awū rū ka kūnn   tímbweyī tí umbae wū kú   shā.
    then 3s   go go call   just as   child REF IMP want

    And she went and called it just like the boy
      wanted.

201 Uwae   umbae wū má   nyang;
    inside child REF also good

    And the boy was happy

202 awū ka kafe   uwá   umbae wū.
    3s go become wife child REF

    she became the boy's wife.

203 Umbae wu má   ka kafe   ubāen-wū   tírī.
    child REF also go become husband-3s then

And the boy became her husband.

204 Ūcín kisung-m   tsikunn pú-yī.
    tale hare-1s   stand   PRF-3

My tale ends there.