NONI GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO VERB MORPHOLOGY

BY

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To My Friend

MARK BINTUM

of Nkor

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PREFACE

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

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

The grammatical sketch that folows is organized in five parts:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Larry M. Hyman

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PART I: PHONOLOGY

1

THE SOUND SYSTEM

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

i	u	ii	uu
e	o	ee	oo
ε	ɔ	εε	ɔɔ
a		aa	

The above orthographic vowels are pronounced as follows:

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

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

(3) ε is pronounced [ε], e.g. -lέ [lέ] 'become wet, sink'. εε is pronounced [ε:], e.g. -lέέ [lέː] 'deceive'.

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

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

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

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

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

	t	c	k	(ʔ)
	b	d	j	g
	f	s	š	
	w	l	y	ɣ
	m	n	ñ	ŋ

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

(2) *Voiced non-continuants:* b is pronounced [b], e.g. -bɔ́ɔ́ [bɔ́:] 'bear a child'. d is pronounced [d], e.g. -dɛɛ [dɛ:] 'cook'. j is pronounced [dž], e.g. -jɛ́w [džɛ́ʷ] 'go mad, become drunk'. g is pronounced [g], e.g. -ge [gə] 'make, do'.

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

(4) *Approximants:* w is pronounced [w], e.g. -wǎm [wǎm] 'scream'. l is pronounced [l], e.g. -léy [léɣ] 'enter'. y is pronounced [j], e.g. -yɛ́n [jɛ́n] 'see'. The sound [ɣ], an unrounded velar approximant, is represented orthographically as gh, e.g. -ghɛw [ɣʌʷ] 'be jealous'. It occurs relatively rarely in Noni.

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

(6) *Glottal stop:* The glottal stop occurs very rarely in Noni and has been recorded in the following words: ǎyʔ 'no', mbǎʔ 'button', cǎʔ 'granary made of bamboo', nfɔ̌ʔ (name of a society), and ŋwàʔ (=ŋwà) 'book'. Except for 'no', all words with glottal stop appear to have been borrowed, most likely from Lamnsoʔ. ʔ can only appear in syllable-final position. It may appear after falling tone short vowels occurring before pause, e.g. ñàm ȳè = ñàm ȳeʔ 'this animal'.

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

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

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

The *consonantal onset* may consist of up to three consonants: a non-syllabic nasal (N), a stem-initial consonant (C_1), and a w or y glide (G),

e.g. -ŋgɔ́y 'break' (by snapping), -ŋgwáy 'go sour'. The remaining source of initial consonant sequences, that involving orthographic C+f and C+v, has been analyzed as labiodental affrication. Of the consonants presented in section 2, only the glottal stop cannot initiate a syllable. The rare consonant gh occurs only in this position, while very few syllables have ŋ as their C_1 consonant. Cases of C+y are relatively rare, e.g. -fyéy 'mix'. w occurs frequently after velars in both nouns and verbs, e.g. -gwe 'fall', ŋwāw 'square granary'. It has been recorded once after sh (-shwaw 'to scratch') and after t, b and f in nouns only, e.g. tw̄e 'witch', fw̄e 'pregnancy'.

NC$_1$ sequences have three sources:

(1) In nouns, especially (though not exclusively) in genders 1/2 and 9/10, a NC$_1$ sequence is often noted, e.g. ntɔ̀n/bɔ̀ntɔ̀n 'pot/pots' 1/2, ndv̄ū/ndv̄ū 'cloth/cloths' 9/10 (but also kènsàŋ/bìnsàŋ 'net/nets' 7/8).

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

(3) A few verb stems and adverbials inexplicably begin with a NC$_1$ sequence, e.g. -mbyáy 'tell a lie', nt̄āy 'well' (adv.).

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

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

In addition to the rare glottal stop discussed above, only the consonants w, y, m, n and ŋ can occur as the *final consonant* (C$_2$). w occurs after all vowels (although instances of uw are rare):

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

All vowels occur before final y except i:

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

It should be noted that ɛw and ɛy are pronounced [ʌʷ] and [ʌʸ], respectively, after the velar consonants k, g and gh, e.g. [kʌʷ] 'start', [kʌʸ] 'groan in pain'.

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

jìm	'back'	-kfúm	'to heat'
jèm	'war, grave'	-kom	'to touch'
-kɛm	'part friends forever'	-gɔm	'look for'
	-kám 'squeeze'		

-bín	'to dance'	-kfun	'to hit'
-ben	'rise'	-kon	'to slander'
-bɛ́n	'call'	-bɔn	'stab'
	-kán 'scrape'		

-cíŋ	'tremble'	-tfúŋ	'be inclined'
-yeŋ	'thigh'	-kóŋ	'chase'
gwɛ́ŋ	'root'	-kɔŋ	'like'
	-káŋ 'fry'		

ɛm is pronounced [ʌm] after velars, e.g. [kʌm] 'part friends forever', while
ɛŋ is pronounced [ʌŋ] after all consonants, e.g. [gʷʌ́ŋ] 'root'

2

The Tone System

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

bíé	'fish (pl.)'	fwɛ́w	'thorn'
bīe	'goats'	kwēn	'firewood'
bìè	'fish (sg.)'	gwɛ̀w	'shoulder'

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

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

LH:	twě	'witch'		bĭén	'bile'
LM:	wān	'child'		bĭē	'goat'
HL:	jây	'mistake' (=only example)			
HM:	gáy	'grazing grass'		gɔ́ɔ̄	'spear'
ML:	lēw	'oath'		mɛ̄ɛ̀m	'oil'

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

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

[ɴ́] :	mbásé	'soups'			
[n̄] :	ndvu	'cloths'		ncōm	'drums'
[ɴ̀] :	ncòm	'drum'		ndv̄u	'cloth'

The starting point of a contour tone generally seems to begin in the C_1 consonant, especially in the case of LM and LH, and especially when the C_1 is w or y, e.g. L tone [ỳ] in both yēw 'house' and yěw 'in the house'.

Where a contour tone is realized over two vowels, we shall mark the beginning point on the first vowel and the end point on the second, e.g. bĭén 'bile'. As seen in twě 'witch' and jây 'mistake' above, ǎ stands for a LH rising tone and â for a HL falling tone, both realized on a single vowel. As seen in other examples such as wān 'child', other contours require two

tone marks when there is only one vowel to receive them. Ideally our ortho-graphy should have the following single contour marks: ꝏ̀ (LM), ꝏ̋ (HM) and ā̄ (ML).

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

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

(2) The LH rising tone is realized as a phonetic LM before a H or L tone or before pause. It is realized as phonetic LH only before a M tone, e.g. fɔ̀wǎy [_ ⌐] 'at the market', fɔ̀wǎy fɔme [_ ⌐ —] 'at my market'. Similarly, the H̄L falling tone is frequently realized ML after L or after pause, although this lowering of HL to ML seems to be optional, varying within the speech of the same speaker.

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

WRITTEN	PRONOUNCED	
yěw	[yə̄ʷ]	'in the house'
yèw	[yə̀ʷ]	'house'
ĵây	[ĵâʸ]~[ĵaʸ]	'mistake'
l̄ẽw	[lə̀ʷ]	'oath'
cf. kwen	[kʷẽn]	'firewood'

(4) A L-H sequence is realized L-LH (phonetic L-LM except before M) when the two syllables occur in close grammatical association, e.g. wáy 'market', but: fɔ̀wǎy 'at the market' (from fɔ̀+wáy).

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

PART II: THE NOUN PHRASE

3

NOUN CLASSES

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

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

1. *Gender 1/2.* Nouns in gender 1/2 have a Ø prefix in the singular, and a bɔ- prefix in the plural. Roughly two thirds of the nouns in this gender have an initial NC_1 sequence. The homorganic nasal is not interpreted as a prefix, however, since it occurs in both the singular and the plural:

WITH NASAL:	nfɔ̀n	'chief'	bonfɔ̄h	'chiefs'
	mbɔ̀ŋ	'dwarf cow'	bɔ̀mbɔ̀ŋ	'dwarf cows'
WITHOUT NASAL:	cɔ̌ŋ	'thief'	bɔcɔ̌ŋ	'thieves'
	bvulè	'lion'	bɔ̀bvulè	'lions'

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

The following nouns irregularly undergo a modification of their C_1 consonant in deriving the plural from the singular:

wè	'person'	bɔñì̄m	'people'
wā̄n	'child'	bɔɔm	'children'
twǒ	'witch'	bɔcɛ́w	'witches'
kwɔɔ̀n	'woman'	bɔkɛnɛ̀	'women'
nfwà	'slave'	bɔnfaà̀	'slaves'

In all of these exceptional nouns, the singular involves a w (either as C_1 or following the C_1), which is not present in the plural (cf. PGB *ù-/bá-).

In addition to the human nouns, gender 1/2 contains a second definable group of nouns which are nominalizations derived from verbs. In all but two cases (given below), nominalizations involve a NC_1 initial:

WITH NASAL:	ntō̄m	'message'	pl. bɔ̀ntō̄m	(-tɔ́m 'send')
	ŋgɔ̀w	'grinding stone'	pl. bɔ̀ŋgɔ̀w	(-gɔw 'grind')
WITHOUT NASAL:	cɔ́ŋ	'thief'	pl. bɔcɔ́ŋ	(-cɔ́ŋ 'steal')
	kàn	'swear word'	pl. bɔ̀kàn	(-kan 'swear')

(The noun lēw 'oath' may be derived from the verb -lew 'avoid, restrict', although the tones do not appear to line up.)

2. *Gender 3/4*. Containing considerably fewer nouns than the large 1/2 gender, gender 3/4 nouns are characterized by a C_1w sequence in the singular, with the w disappearing in the plural:

twén	'vine branch'	pl. tén	
kwen	'firewood'	pl. ken	
gweè	'ceiling'	pl. geè	

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

mbwesɛm	'green grasshopper'	pl. mbesɛm	
ŋgwéŋsé	'earthworm'	pl. ŋgéŋsé	

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

wɛ́	'field'	pl. ŋɛ́	

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

gwéé	'hundred'	gée fɛ́ 'two hundred'

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

REGULAR:	dwɛè	'bridge'	pl. jidwɛè	
	bwāw	'rat (sp.)'	pl. jibwāw	
IRREGULAR:	wáy	'market'	pl. jiwáci	
	ŋgɔ̄y	'fire, gun'	pl. jiŋgɔ́ci	'guns'
	kō̄m	'mountain'	pl. jikomè	
	wvún	'tail'	pl. jiwánte	

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

BISYLLABIC:	lówe	'bean'	pl.	ɛlów
	temé	'axe'	pl.	ɛtem
	mbɛnè	'breast'	pl.	ɛmbēn
MONOSYLLABIC:	núu	'knee'	pl.	ɛnú
	lá	'compound'	pl.	ɛla
	leè	'pumpkin'	pl.	ɛlēŋ
	die	'name'	pl.	ɛdie

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

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

góɔ	'spear'	pl.	ɛgóŋ
gíi	'rice, guinea corn'	pl.	ɛgíŋ
leè	'pumpkin'	pl.	ɛlēŋ

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

tíi	'belly'	pl.	ɛtɛ́w
díw	'day'	pl.	ɛdiow
tɛ	'stone'	pl.	ɛta
bɔ́ɔ́	'angle'	pl.	ɛbow
jisé	'eye'	pl.	ɛjisɛ

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

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

nfóɔ́n	'leaf'	pl.	jinfóɔ́n
lemè	'work'	pl.	jilemè
biné	'dance'	pl.	jibiné

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

| lemé | 'tongue' | pl. | ɛlem / jilemé |

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

kebōẁ	'hole, room'	pl.	bibōẁ
kècàw	'belt'	pl.	bìcàw
kebáŋ̄	'palm tree'	pl.	bibáŋ̄

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

| kebɔ́ / εbɔ́ | 'hand' | ketɔ́ / εtɔ́ | 'ear' |
| kete / εte | 'tree' | kegē⁀ / εgē⁀ | 'tooth' |

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

εlεmέ / *kεlεmέ   'blood'

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

εgē⁀	'tooth'	pl.	bigēẁ
εfowέ	'medicine'	pl.	bifɔ́ɔ́
εkεlὲ	'bag'	pl.	bikεlὲ
εlεmέ	'blood'	pl.	bilέέm
εkalε	'foot'	pl.	bìkaa
εlεmtε	'wound'	pl.	bilέmtέ

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

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

jòm	'antelope'	pl.	jōṁ
blὲ	'fish (sg.)'	pl.	bíέ
bīē⁀	'goat'	pl.	bie
bwɔ̌	'dog'	pl.	bwέ

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

mbàsὲ	'vegetable'	pl.	mbásέ
mfumὲ	'caterpillar'	pl.	mfumὲn
cūma	'locust'	pl.	cuma

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

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

A little less than one third of the nouns in 9/10 begin with a NC_1 se-
quence, e.g.

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

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

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

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

fèmbì	'kolanut'	pl.	mùmbìm	'kola trees'
fyɛ̀	'thing'	pl.	mwēm̄	
fèncāw	'ring, wire'	pl.	mùncāw	

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

fetene	'squirrel'	pl.	munteném
fèñɔ̄	'knife'	pl.	mùñɔ́m
feñíi	'bird'	pl.	muñíím

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

fèñɔ̄ / mùñɔ́m	'knife/ves'	<	ñɔ̄ / ño	'machet/s' 9/10	
fete / muntém	'stick/s'	<	kete / bete	'tree/s' 7/8	
fèntɛ̀w / muntɛ̀w	'small village/s'	<	ntɛ̀w / bɔ̀ntɛ̀w	'village/s' 1/2	

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

fekɛnɛ̀ / mukɛnɛ̀	*dim. of:*	kwɔ̀ɔn / bɔkɛnɛ̀	'woman/women' 1/2		
fewáci / muwáci	*dim. of:*	wáy / jiwáci	'market/s' 3/13		
fegɔ́ɔ / mungɔ́ŋ	*dim. of:*	gɔ́ɔ / ɛgɔ́ŋ	'spear/s' 5/6		

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

```
bvushíw      'face'          pl.  mɔnshím
bvudvúu      'place'         pl.  mɔndvúúm
bvukɔ́w       'ladder'        pl.  muŋkɔ́m
bvulɛm       'fufu'          (no pl.)
bvutōw̄       'honey'         (no pl.)
bvulɛ̄w̄       'intestines'    (no pl.)
```

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

```
bvudéfɛ̀      'length'       <  -dēfɛ̌    'become long'
bvufáŋɛ̀      'fatness'      <  -faŋ     'become fat'
bvukfúfɛ̀     'shortness'    <  -kfúfɛ́   'become short'
bvujítɛ̀      'weight'       <  -ʃĩ́tɛ́    'become heavy'
```

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

```
bvútfū       'day 1'        bvûŋkaàdēn̄    'day 5'
bvûŋkaà      'day 2'        bvúžíidēn̄     'day 6'
bvúží       'day 3'        bvúsɔ́w        'day 7'
bvúkèmā     'day 4'        bvúmbòn       'day 8'
```

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

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

```
class 1        bɔ̀ŋ    'brain'        séw    'profit'
               ŋkǎŋ   'cornbeer'     bíìèŋ  'groundnut'

    2  :   (no class 2 noun exists without a class 1 singular)

    3  :   gbê̂ŋ   'tusk'         fwéfwé  'wind'
           fwɛm   'chalk'        ŋgɔ́y   'fire' (13 = 'guns')

  4=10 :   fīw̄    'kidney'       bábá    'gall-bladder'
           nJĩ̄m   'smoke'        mbyáy   'lying'

    5  :   (none)

    6  :   ɛfɔm   'fat'          ɛmam    'twins'

    7  :   kèmbɛ̀w  'cloud'        ketó    'ear'
           kedéw   'beard'        keyí    'arm'

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

    8  :   (none)

    9  :   jàŋ    'rain'         gbɛ̀w   'shoulder'
           bìén   'bile'
```

```
class 10  :    (see class 4)

      11  :    (none)

      12  :    mùngāy  'strength'

      13  :    jìtâ  'ribs'

      14  :    bvùyěw  'flatness'    bvùfèé  'intelligence'
                (quality nouns; see above)

      15  :    mɛèm   'oil'       mɔŋkfunyè  'pus'
                mbvūm  'wine'      mɔŋkɔŋè    'eyebrows'
                mūm    'flour'     mɔnjām     'urine'
                (mass-liquid nouns) mɔnshěém   'sand'
```

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

```
class 16 :  fɔjisé fɔ waŋ   'the forehead of the child' (lit. at/on eye
class 17 :  èbɔ̌ jɔ waŋ      'in the hand of the child'        of child)
class 18 :  yěw dvu waŋ      'in the house of the child'
```

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

```
class 5 :  jisé ji waŋ    'the eye of the child'
class 7 :  ɛbɔ́ ke waŋ    'the hand of the child'
class 9 :  yēw yì wāŋ     'the house of the child'
```

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

```
class 16 :  fɔfǎ        'on the head' (cf. ɛkɔlɛ 'head')
            fɔfǎlǎáŋ    'at the summit' (e.g. of a mountain, tree)

class 17 :  èmû         'in the mouth' (cf. dìow 'mouth')
            èkǔ         'under'

class 18 :  cìn         'around the waist'
```

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

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

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

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

è ŋwà lě 'in the book'   è mutù wèm ě 'in my car'
yí yēw é 'on the house'   yí yēw wàn̄ é 'on the child's house'

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

wɔ̄ŋ wɛ́m 'my country'   wɔ̄ŋ wɛ́m é 'in my country'

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

4

Pronouns

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

		singular		*plural*	
1st person		me		bèsèn	(excl)
				beènè	(incl)
2nd person		wɔ̀		bèn	
3rd person	LOG	wen		bɔ̀wen	
class	1	wvù	2	bɔ́	
	3	wvú	4	yî	
	5	jî	6	yɔ́	
	7	ké	8	bî	
	9	yì	10	yî	
	11	fé	12	mú	
			13	jî	
	14	bvú	15	mɔ́	
	16	(fɔ́)			
	17	(jɔ́)			
	18	(dvú)			

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

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

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

sg.	wvù dɔ̀ɔ́ lɛ wvù béɛ̀ gɛ̀n fɔ̀wǎy	'he says that he [another] went to market'
	wvù dɔ̀ɔ́ lɛ wen béɛ̀ gɛ̀n fɔ̀wǎy	'he says that he [himself] went to market'
pl.	bɔ́ dɔ́ɔ́ lɛ bɔ́ béɛ̀ gɛ̀n fɔ̀wǎy	'they say they [others] went to market'
	bɔ́ dɔ́ɔ́ lɛ bɔ̀wen béɛ̀ gɛ̀n fɔ̀wǎy	'they say they [themselves] went to market'

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

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

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

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

subject:	me nɔ́ɔ̀ ŋgwè	'I have fallen'
object:	wvù kfùnə̌ me	'he is hitting me'
after prep:	bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ ñǟ kə́ ɛ me	'they have given it [cl. 7] to me'
after 'be':	ɛ̀ nǔ me	'it's me'

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

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

bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ ñǟ me bɔ́ kèŋgɔ̀m   'they have given me plantains'
bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ ñǟ me dvú   'they have given me it'

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

bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ dìé kə́   'they have eaten it'
bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ dìé dvú   'they have eaten some' ['of it']

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

bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ ñǟ wan dvú   'they have given to the child too'

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

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

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

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

	dual		*plural*	
1+2 :	beèwɔ̀	'you sg. & I'	beènè	'you pl. & I/we'/'you sg. & we'
1+3 :	beèwvù	'he & I'	beèbɔ́	'he/they & we'/'they & I'
2+3 :	bènēwvù	'he & you sg.'	bènèbɔ́	'he/they & you pl.'/'they & you sg.'
3+3 :	bɔ́wvù	'he & he'	bɔ́bɔ́	'he/they & they'
1+2+3 :	-----		beènèbɔ́	'he/they & you sg./pl. & I/we'
1+LOG :	beèwen	'he & he LOG'	beèbɔ̀wen	'he/they & they LOG'/'you pl. & he LOG'
2+LOG :	benɛwen	'you sg. & he LOG'	bènɛbɔ̀wen	'you sg./pl. & they LOG'/'you pl. & he LOG'
3+LOG :	bɔ́wēn	'he & he LOG'	bɔ́bɔ̀wen	'he/they & they LOG'/'they & he LOG'
1+2+LOG :	-----		beènè ɛ̀bɔ̀wen	'he/they LOG & you sg./pl. & I/we'

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

bɔ́ dóó lɛ beèbɔ̀wen bɛ́ɛ́ gèn fɔ̀wǎy 'they say that they and I/we went to market'

wvù dǒó lɛ beèbɔ̀wen bɛ́ɛ̀ gɛ̀n fɔ̀wǎy 'he says that he and we [or they and
I/we] went to market'

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

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

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

1	bɔ́-wvù	6	bɔ́-ɛyɔ́	11	bɔ́-fɛ̌
2	bɔ́-bɔ̌	7	bɔ́-kɛ̌	12	bɔ́-mǔ
3	bɔ̂-wvú	8	bɔ́-bỳ	13	bɔ́-jỳ
4	bɔ̂-yí	9	bɔ́-yì	14	bɔ́-bvǔ
5	bɔ́-jỳ	10	bɔ̂-yí	15	bɔ́-mɔ̌

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

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

wvù yɛné ye yé lé   'he sees himself' (lit. he sees his body)
bɔ́ kee bìkoo bìbɔ́ɔ́lɛ́ 'they know themselves' (lit. their heads)

Occasionally a verb will allow the verb extension -ɛn with a reciprocal or
reflexive meaning, e.g. bɔ́ yɛnɛ́n é lɔ̀ 'they see each other/themselves' (see
Chapter 9).

5

POSSESSIVES

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

class	*concord*	*example*	*gloss*
1	(wù)	ntɔ̀n (wù) wā̄n	'the child's pot'
2	bɔ...lɛ́	bɔ̀ntɔ̀n bɔ wan ɛ́	'the child's pots'
3	(wu)	gwɔ́ɔ́n (wu) wan	'the child's bamboo'
4	(yi)	gɔ́ɔ́n (yi) wan	'the child's bamboos'
5	ji...lɛ́	temɛ́ ji wan ɛ́	'the child's axe'
6	ɛ	ɛtem ɛ wan	'the child's axes'
7	ke...lɛ́	kebɔ́ ke wan ɛ́	'the child's hand'
8	bi...lɛ́	bibɔ́ bi wan ɛ́	'the child's hands'
9	(yì)	bìe (yì) wan	'the child's goat'
10	(yi)	bie (yi) wan	'the child's goats'
11	fe...lɛ́	fekɔ fe wan ɛ́	'the child's cup'
12	mu...lɛ́	muŋkɔ́m mu wan ɛ́	'the child's cups'
13	ji...lɛ́	jinfɔ́ɔ́n ji wan ɛ́	'the child's leaves'
14	bvu...lɛ́	bvudvǔu bvu wan ɛ́	'the child's place'
15	mɔ...lɛ́	mɔndvúúm mɔ wan ɛ́	'the child's places'
16	fɔ	fɔ̀fǎ fɔ wan	'on the child's head'
17	jɔ	ɛ̀mû jɔ wan	'in the child's mouth'
18	dvu	yɛ̌w dvu wan	'in the child's house'

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

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

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

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

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

	my	your sg.	his/her₂	his/her₁	LOG sg.	our	your pl.	their	LOG pl.
1	wɛ̂m	wɔ̂	wɛ̂	---	wen	wèsèn	wènè	(wù)bɔ̌	bɔ̀wen
2	bɛ̂m	bôŵ	bêw	bêŋ	bɔwenɛ́	bɔ̀sɛ́sèn	bɔ̀nɛ̂n	bɔbɔ́ɔ́lɛ́	bɔbɔ̀wenɛ́
3	wɛ̂m	wɔ̂	wɛ̂	---	wen	wésén	wéné	(wù)bɔ̌	bɔ̀wen
4	yɛ̂m	yɔ̌	yɛ́	---	wen	yésén	yéné	(yî)bɔ̌	bɔ̀wen
5	dyɛ̂m	dyôŵ	dyêw	dyêŋ	jiwenɛ́	jìsɛ́sèn	jînɛ̂n	jibɔ́ɔ́lɛ́	jibɔ̀wenɛ́
6	ɛyɛ̂m	ɛyɔ́	ɛyɛ́	---	ɛwen	yɔ̀sɛ́sèn	yɔ̀nɛ̂n	ɛbɔ́/yɔbɔ́	ɛbɔ̀wen
7	kɛ̂m	kôŵ	kêw	kêŋ	kewenɛ́	kèsɛ́sèn	kènɛ̂n	kebɔ́ɔ́lɛ́	kebɔ̀wenɛ́
8	byɛ̂m	byôŵ	byêw	byêŋ	biwenɛ́	bìsɛ́sèn	bìnɛ̂n	bibɔ́ɔ́lɛ́	bibɔ̀wenɛ́
9	yɛ̂m	yɔ̀	yɛ̀	---	wen	yèsèn	yènè	(yî)bɔ̌	bɔ̀wen
10	yɛ̂m	yɔ̌	yɛ́	---	wen	yésén	yéné	(yî)bɔ̌	bɔ̀wen
11	fyɛ̂m	fyôŵ	fyêw	fyêŋ	fiwenɛ́	fìsɛ́sèn	fînɛ̂n	fibɔ́ɔ́lɛ́	fibɔ̀wenɛ́
12	mwɛ̂m	môŵ	mwêw	mwêŋ	muwenɛ́	mùsɛ́sèn	mùnɛ̂n	mubɔ́ɔ́lɛ́	mubɔ̀wenɛ́
13	dyɛ̂m	dyôŵ	dyêw	dyêŋ	jiwenɛ́	jìsɛ́sèn	jînɛ̂n	jibɔ́ɔ́lɛ́	jibɔ̀wenɛ́
14	bwɛ̂m	bôŵ	bwêw	bwêŋ	bvuwenɛ́	bvùsɛ́sèn	bvûnɛ̂n	bvubɔ́ɔ́lɛ́	bvubɔ̀wenɛ́
15	mɛ̂m	môŵ	mêw	mêŋ	mɔwenɛ́	mɔ̀sɛ́sèn	mɔ̀nɛ̂n	mɔbɔ́ɔ́lɛ́	mɔbɔ̀wenɛ́
16	fɔ me	fɔ wɔ̂	fɔ wvù			fɔ bɛ̀sèn	fɔ bèn	fɔ bɔ́	
17	jɔ me	cɔ̀ cŵ	jɔ wvù			jɔ bɛ̀sèn	jɔ bèn	jɔ bɔ́	
18	dvu me	dvu nvʊ̀	dvu wvʌ̀			dvu bɛ̀sèn	dvu bèn	dvu bɔ́	

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

wvù nɔ́ɔ̀ dîɛ́ bvulɛm bwên 'he has eaten his [own] fufu'
wvù nɔ́ɔ̀ dîɛ́ bvulɛm bwêw 'he has eaten his [s.o. else's] fufu'

This distinction is not found in the third person plural pronoun, where the corresponding sentence bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ dîɛ́ bvulɛm bvubɔ́ɔ́lɛ́ means 'they have eaten their [own or s.o. else's] fufu'.

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

wvù dóɔ́ lɛ me nɔ́ɔ̀ ndîɛ́ bvulɛm bwêw 'he says I ate his [s.o. else's] fufu'
wvù dóɔ́ lɛ me nɔ́ɔ̀ ndîɛ́ bvulɛm bvuwenɛ́ 'he says I ate his [=own] fufu'

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

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

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

(2) In the 'your sg.' and 'his/her$_2$' forms, classes 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 show a -w̰ suffix. It is exactly these classes which exhibit the lɛ́ after noun possessors; it is also these classes only which allow the distinction between 'his/her$_1$' and 'his/her$_2$'.

(3) The logophoric pronouns and the pronoun 'their' all seem to be nouns, since they involve the lɛ́ postposition (written here as part of the possessive pronoun). Thus, class 2: bɔwenɛ́ 'LOG sg.', bɔbɔ́ɔ́lɛ́ 'their', bɔbɔ̀wenɛ́ 'LOG pl.'.

(4) The forms observed in locative classes 16, 17 and 18 involve the appropriate class concord followed by the *independent* pronouns, e.g. fɔ mè, jɔ bèsèn, dvu bɔ́ etc. In this respect they are preposition-like.

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

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

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

í cɛ̀m	'my father'		
í cɔ̀	'your sg. father'		
í cè	'his/her father'		
í cee wèsèn	'our father'	bɔ̀ í cee bɔ̀sɛ́sèn	'our fathers'
í cèn	'your pl. father'	bɔ̀ í cee bɔ̀nɛ̂n	'your pl. fathers'
í cee bɔ́	'their father'	bɔ̀ í cee bɔ́	'their fathers'
bwɛ̄m̀	'my mother'		
bwɔ̄̀	'your sg. mother'		
bwɛ̄̀	'his/her mother'		
bwee wèsèn	'our mother'	bɔ̀bwee bɔ̀sɛ́sèn	'our mothers'
bwee wènè	'your pl. mother'	bɔ̀bwee bɔ̀nɛ̂n	'your pl. mothers'
bwee bɔ́	'their mother'	bɔ̀bwee bɔ́	'their mothers'

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

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

bɔ̀ŋwà bɔ̀sɛ́sèn beèwvù 'his and my books' (lit. our books, he and I)
bɔ̀ŋwà bɔ̀nɛ̂n bèn̄ewvù   'his and your books' (lit. your pl. books,
                                                   you and he)

6

DETERMINERS

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

class	*'this' (n. s.)*	*'that' (n. h.)*	*'that' (far)*
1	wvún	wɛ	wē
2	ban	ba	bɔ̀ bā
3	wvun	wɛ	wē
4	yin	yɛ	yē
5	jin	diɛ	jì jĩ
6	ɛyan	ɛya	ɛ̀yā
7	kin	kiɛ	kì kĩ
8	bin	biɛ	bì bĩ
9	ý̀ɾn	yɛ	yē
10	yɪn	yɛ	yē
11	fin	fiɛ	fì fĩ
12	mvun	mwɛ	mùmū
13	jin	diɛ	jì jĩ
14	bvun	bwɛ	bvùbvū
15	man	ma	mɔ̀mā
16	fɛn	fɛ̄	fɔ̀fē
17	jan	ɛ̀kɛ̄	fɛ̀fē
18	dvun	kɛ̄	fɛ̀fē

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

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

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

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

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

class	'here it is/here they are'	'there it is/there they are' (n.h.)	'there it is/there they are' (far)
1	wúwvŭn	wúwē̄	wúwē̂
2	bɔ́bān	bɔ́bā̄	bɔ́bā̂
3	wúwvūn	wúwɛ̄	wúwē̂
4	yíyīn	yíyè̄	yíye̋̂
5	jíjīn	jíjɛ̀	jíjT̄
6	yɔ́yān	yɔ́yā̄	yɔ́ya̋̂
7	kékīn	kékìɛ	kékī̄
8	bíbīn	bíbìɛ	bíbī̄
9	yíyĭn	yíyè̄	yíye̋̂
10	yíyĭn	yíyè̄	yíye̋̂
11	féfīn	féfìɛ	féfī̄
12	múmūn	múmwē̄	múmū̄
13	jíjīn	jíjɛ̀	jíjT̄
14	bvúbvūn	bvúbwē̄	bvúbvū̄
15	mɔ́mān	mɔ́mā̄	mɔ́mā̂
16	fɔ́fɛ̄n	fɔ́fɛ̀	fɔ́fe̋̂
17	jɔ́jàn	jɔ́kɛ̄	jɔ́ke̋̂
18	dvúdvūn	dvúkē̄	dvúke̋̂

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

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

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

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

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

class	*'any, some, certain'*	*'another, a certain'*
1	mù	wvúmù
2	bɔmû	bɔmê
3	mû	wvumû
4	mî	yɨmî
5	jɩmû	jɩmê
6	yɔmû	yɔmê
7	kemû	kemê
8	bɩmû	bɩmê
9	mì	yɩ́mì
10	mî	yimî
11	femû	femê
12	mumû	mumê
13	jɩmû	jɩmê
14	bvumû	bvumê
15	mɔmû	mɔmê

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

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

1	wúlá	6	yɔ́lá	11	félá
2	bɔ́lá	7	kélá	12	múlá
3	wúlá	8	bɩ́lá	13	jɩ́lá
4	yɩ́lá	9	yɩ́lá	14	bvúlá
5	jɩ́lá	10	yɩ́lá	15	mɔ́lá

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

7

OTHER MODIFIERS

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

1	ŋwà wvūn nú fwɛ̄	'this book is new'
2	bɔ̀ŋwà bān nú bɔfɛ	'these books are new'
3	wɛ́ wvun nú fwɛ	'this field is new'
4	ŋɛ́ yin nú fiɛ	'these fields are new'
5	temé jin nú jifɛ	'this axe is new'
6	ɛtem ɛyan nú yɔfɛ	'these axes are new'
7	kèsǎw kin nú kefɛ	'this bracelet is new'
8	bìsǎw bin nú bifɛ	'these bracelets are new'
9	ncòm yĪn nú fìɛ	'this drum is new'
10	ncom yin nú fiɛ	'these drums are new'
11	fèñɔ̄ fin nú fefɛ	'this knife is new'
12	mùñɔ́m mun nú mumfɛ́m	'these knives are new'
13	jiŋgúci jin nú jifɛ	'these guns are new'
14	bvudvúu bvun nú bvufɛ	'this place is new'
15	mɔndvúúm man nú mɔmfɛ́m	'these places are new'

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

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

1	ŋwà wvǔ fwɛ̄	'a book which is new'
2	bɔ̀ŋwà bɔ́ bɔfɛ	'books which are new'
3	wɛ́ wvú fwɛ	'a field which is new'
4	ŋɛ́ yí fiɛ	'fields which are new'
5	temé jí jifɛ	'an axe which is new'
6	ɛtem yɔ́ɔfɛ	'axes which are new'
7	kèsǎw kɛ́ kefɛ	'a bracelet which is new'
8	bìsǎw bí bifɛ	'bracelets which are new'
9	ncòm yí fìɛ	'a drum which is new'
10	ncom yí fiɛ	'drums which are new'
11	fèñɔ̄ fɛ́ fefɛ	'a knife which is new'
12	mùñɔ́m mú mumfɛ	'knives which are new'
13	jiŋgúci jí jifɛ	'guns which are new'
14	bvudvúu bvú bvufɛ	'a place which is new'
15	mɔndvúúm mɔ́ mɔfɛ	'places which are new'

As seen in class 6, the expected form ɛtem yɔ́ yɔfɛ 'axes which are new' must

undergo contraction to become ɛtem yɔ́ɔfɛ. Optional contractions are also
possible in the following classes:

2	bɔ̀ŋwà bɔ́ɔfɛ	8	bìsǎw bíifɛ	13	jìŋgúci jíifɛ
5	temé jíifɛ	11	fèñɔ̄ féefɛ	14	bvudvúu bvúufɛ
7	kèsǎw kéefɛ	12	mùñɔ̌m múumfɛ	15	mɔndvúúm mɔ́ɔfɛ

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

    mbɔ̀ŋ wvúbáy   'a great bushcow' (cl. 1)
    bɔ̀mbɔ̀ŋ bɔ́báy(báy) 'great bushcows'   (cl. 2)

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

     The modifier waà 'small' (pl. bɔɔm) is derived from the noun wān 'child'
and therefore precedes the noun in an associative construction, e.g. waà cān
'small monkey' (pl. bɔɔm bɔ can ɛ́). Similarly, the noun-like form ŋgāy 'old'
combines with wè 'person' to form the compound ŋgāy wè 'old person' (pl. ŋgāy
bɔñìì). As seen in the following forms,

    kwɔɔn wǔ ŋgāy wè   'old woman' (lit. woman who is an old person)
    bɔkɛnɛ̀ bɔ́ ŋgāy bɔñìì 'old women'

this form does not combine directly with other nouns.

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

    me ndèfě lɔ̀   'I am tall'
    me njìtě lɔ̀   'I am heavy'

the progressive verb forms keé-dèfè 'to be tall' and keé-jìtè 'to be heavy'
are used to express what would be predicate adjectives in English. The same
verb forms appear in a relative construction to express what would be attri-
butive adjectives in English:

    wān wvū̄ dèfě   'a tall child' (lit. a child who talls)
    ŋkěm wvū̄ jìtě 'a heavy load' (lit. a load which heavies)

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

    fèmbì fē̄ yɛɛlé 'a red kolanut'   (< -yɛ́ɛ́ 'become red')
    fèmbì fē̄ báá   'a white kolanut' (< -bá 'become white')
    fèmbì fē̄ yiilé 'a black kolanut' (< -yíí 'become black')

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

    wān wvū̄ fàŋ   'a fat child'   (< -faŋ 'become fat')
    bɔɔm bɔ̄ fàŋkɛn   'fat children'   (< -faŋkɛn (pl.))

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

mā̄ŋ	'1'	sɔɔcàn̂	'6'
fɛ́ɛ́	'2'	sɔɔshwî	'7'
tɛɛ	'3'	ñàŋ	'8'
nɛ̂	'4'	bvùùkɛ	'9'
tin	'5'	yoofè	'10'

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

ncɔ̀w mwàŋ	'11'	ncɔ̀w sɔɔcàn̂	'16'
ncɔ̀w fɛ́ɛ́	'12'	ncɔ̀w sɔɔshwî	'17'
ncɔ̀w tɛ	'13'	ncɔ̀w ñàŋ	'18'
ncɔ̀w nɛ̂	'14'	ncɔ̀w bvùùkɛ	'19'
ncɔ̀w tĩ̀h	'15'		

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

mbaaŋfɛ́	'20'	mbaansɔɔcàn̂	'60'
mbaanshɛ	'30'	mbaansɔɔshwî	'70'
mbaanñɛ̂	'40'	mbaanñàŋ	'80'
mbaanshen	'50'	mbaaŋbvùùkɛ	'90'

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

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

ntfùkè gɛ́ɛ́ bvùùkɛ bɔ́ mbaŋ sɔɔshwî ncɔ̀w ñàŋ   '1978'
1000 100   9 with 70   & 8

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

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

1	mwàŋ	9	mìàŋ
3	mwā̄ŋ	11	femwā̄ŋ
5	jimā̄ŋ	14	bvumwā̄ŋ
7	kemwā̄ŋ	15	mɔmā̄ŋ

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

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

	'two'	'three'	'four'	'five'	'six'	'seven'
2	bɔféɛ	bɔtɛtè	bɔnēw	bɔtT̄h	bɔsɔɔ́càn	bɔsɔɔshwî
4	féɛ́~fíɛ́	tɛ ~ shɛ	nē⁀ ~ ñē⁀	tT̄h~shēh	sɔɔ́càn	sɔɔshwî
6	ɛfáá́	ɛta	ɛnā⁀	ɛtT̄h	ɛsɔɔ́càn	ɛsɔɔshwî
8	biféɛ	bitɛtè	binēw	bitT̄h	bisɔɔ́càn	bisɔɔshwî
10	fíɛ́	shɛ	ñē⁀	shēh	sɔɔ́càn	sɔɔshwî
12	muféɛ́m	muntɛntɛ́m	munēm̄	muntT̄h	musɔɔ́càn	musɔɔshwî
13	jiféɛ	jitɛtè	jinēw	jitT̄h	jisɔɔ́càn	jisɔɔshwî
15	mɔféɛ́m	mɔntɛntɛ́m	mɔnēm̄	mɔntT̄h	mɔsɔɔ́càn	mɔsɔɔshwî

Let us consider the above forms by numeral:

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

2	bɔféɛ́ten	10	fíɛ́ten
4	féɛ́ten	12	muféɛ́mten
6	ɛfáá́ten	13	jiféɛ́ten
8	biféɛ́ten	15	mɔféɛ́mten

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ŋwà wvǔ fwě	'the first book' (lit. book of ahead)
ŋwà wvù bĭ	'the second book' (lit. book that follows)
ŋwà wvǔ èjɛ̌m	'the last book' (lit. book of behind/back)

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

bòmbòŋ ntèèn   'many bushcows'   lemè báy   'much work'
ken ntèèn   'many firewoods'   mɛɛm báy   'much oil'

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

1	tfùu	tfulè
2	bɔcII	bɔcIlè
3	tfuu	tfulè
4	cii	cilè
5	jicii	jicilè
6	ɛcii	ɛcilè
7	kecii	kecilè
8	bicii	bicilè
9	cìi	cilè
10	cii	cilè
11	fecii	fecilè
12	munciim	muncilɛ́m
13	jiciI	jicIlè
14	bvucIi	bvucIlè
15	mɔcii	mɔncilɛ́m

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

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

2	bòmbòŋ bɔmɛ́ɛ	'how many bushcows?'
4	ken mɛ́ɛ	'how many firewoods?'
6	ɛtem ɛmáa	'how many axes?'
8	bite bimɛ́ɛ	'how many trees?'
10	bíé mɛ́ɛ	'how many fish?'
12	muñím mumɛ́ɛm	'how many birds?'
13	jiduèɛ̀ jimɛ́ɛ	'how many bridges?'
15	mɛɛm mɔmɛ́ɛm	'how many oils?'

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

8

Word Order and Summary

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

possessive:	bɔ̀ŋwà bēm̄	'my books'
demonstrative:	bɔ̀ŋwà ban	'these books'
adjective:	bɔ̀ŋwà bɔfɛ	'new books'
numeral:	bɔ̀ŋwà bɔtɛtè	'three books'

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

NOUN + POSS + DEM + { ADJ / NUM }

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

POSS + DEM	:	bɔ̀ŋwà bēm̄ ban	'these my books'
POSS + ADJ	:	bɔ̀ŋwà bēm̄ bɔfɛ	'my new books'
POSS + NUM	:	bɔ̀ŋwà bēm̄ bɔtɛtè	'my three books'
DEM + ADJ	:	bɔ̀ŋwà ban bɔfɛ	'these new books'
DEM + NUM	:	bɔ̀ŋwà ban bɔtɛtè	'these three books'
ADJ + NUM	:	bɔ̀ŋwà bɔfɛ bɔtɛtè	'three new books'
NUM + ADJ	:	bɔ̀ŋwà bɔtɛtè bɔfɛ	" " "

POSS + DEM + ADJ :	bɔ̀ŋwà bēm̄ ban bɔfɛ	'these my new books'
POSS + DEM + NUM :	bɔ̀ŋwà bēm̄ ban bɔtɛtè	'these my three books'
POSS + ADJ + NUM :	bɔ̀ŋwà bēm̄ bɔfɛ bɔtɛtè	'my three new books'
POSS + NUM + ADJ :	bɔ̀ŋwà bēm̄ bɔtɛtè bɔfɛ	" " " "
DEM + ADJ + NUM :	bɔ̀ŋwà ban bɔfɛ bɔtɛtè	'these three new books'
DEM + NUM + ADJ :	bɔ̀ŋwà ban bɔtɛtè bɔfɛ	" " " "

POSS + DEM + ADJ + NUM :	bɔ̀ŋwà bēm̄ ban bɔfɛ bɔtɛtè	'these my three new books'
POSS + DEM + NUM + ADJ :	bɔ̀ŋwà bēm̄ ban bɔtɛtè bɔfɛ	" " " " "

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

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

bɔ̀ŋwà bɔ́bɔfɛ ~ bɔ̀ŋwà bɔ́ɔfɛ   'the new books'
bɔ̀ŋwà bɔ́bɔtɛtè ~ bɔ̀ŋwà bɔ́ɔtɛtè 'the three books'

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

bɔ̀ŋwà bɔ́bɔtɛtè bɔ́bɔfɛ 'the three books which are new'
bɔ̀ŋwà bɔ́bɔfɛ bɔ́bɔtɛtè 'the new books which are three'

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

    bɔ̀ŋwà bɔ́bɔfɛ bɔtɛtɛ̀   'three *new* books'
    bɔ̀ŋwà bɔtɛtɛ̀ bɔ́bɔfɛ   '*three* new books'

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

    bɔ̀ŋwà bɔ́bɔtɛtɛ̀ bɔfɛ   'the three new books' (taken together)
    bɔ̀ŋwà bɔfɛ bɔ́bɔtɛtɛ̀   'three of the new books'

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

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

    bɔ̀ŋwà bēm̄ bɔ́bɔfɛ ban   'these my new books'
    *bɔ̀ŋwà bēm̄ bɔfɛ ban

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

    bɔ̀ŋwà bɔɔ nú bɔfɛ   'books which are new'

The difference between this phrase and bɔ̀ŋwà bɔ́bɔfɛ is slight, if any.

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

    bɔ̀ŋwà bɔfɛ ntɛ̀ɛn   'many new books'
    bɔ̀ŋwà ntɛ̀ɛn bɔfɛ   "   "   "

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

    bɔ̀ŋwà bɔfɛ bɔmɛ́ɛ   'how many new books?'
    bɔ̀ŋwà bɔmɛ́ɛ bɔfɛ   "   "   "   "

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

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

Cl.	N. pref.	PRO	Poss. N	'his'	'this'	'another'	'new'	'1'/'4'
1	ˋʷ(N)-	wvù	(wù-)	wˋ-	wvù-	wvú- -ù	ˋw-	ˋw-
2	bɔ-	bɔ́	bɔ- -lɛ	bʼ- -ẁ	ba-	bɔ-	bɔ-	bɔ- -ẁ
3	w-	wvú	(wu-)	wʼ-	wvu-	wvu- -ù	w-	w-
4	∅	yí	(yi-)	yʼ-	yi-	yi- -ì	y-	(Y-)
5	∅- -e	jí	ji- -lɛ́	dyʼ- -ẁ	ji-	jl-	ji-	ji- -ẁ
6	ɛ-	yɔ́	ɛ-	ɛ-	ɛya-	yɔ-	yɔ-	ɛ- -a
7	ke/ɛ-	ké	ke- -lɛ́	kʼ- -ẁ	kl-	ke-	ke-	keʷ-
8	bi-	bí	bi- -lɛ́	byʼ- -ẁ	bi-	bi-	bi-	bi- -ẁ
9	ˋ(N)-	yì	(yì-)	yˋ-	yì-	yí- -ì	ˋY-	ˋY-
10	ʼ(N)-	yí	(yi-)	yʼ-	yi-	yi- -ì	Y-	Y-
11	fe-	fé	fe- -lɛ́	fyʼ- -ẁ	fi-	fe-	fe-	feʷ-
12	muN- -m	mú	mu- -lɛ́	mwʼ- -ẁ	mvu-	mu-	mum- -m̂	mu- -m̂
13	Ji-	jí	ji- -lɛ́	dyʼ- -ẁ	jl-	ji-	ji-	ji- -ẁ
14	bvu-	bvú	bvu- -lɛ́	bvʼ- -ẁ	bvu-	bvu-	bvu-	bvuʷ-
15	m(ɔN)- -m	mɔ́	mɔ- -lɛ́	mʼ- -ẁ	ma-	mɔ-	mɔm- -m̂	mɔ- -m̂
16	fɔ̀-	fɔ́	fɔ-	fɔ-	fɛ-			
17	(ɛ̀-)	jɔ́	jɔ-	jɔ-	ja-			
18	∅	dvú	dvu-	dvu-	dvu-			

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

PART III: VERB STRUCTURE

9

VERB FORMS

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

CV :	bì	'follow'	tɔ́	'come'
CVV :	cii	'drag'	kɔ́ɔ́	'catch'
CVC :	kfun	'hit'	tɔ́n	'refuse'
CGV :	gwe	'fall'	kwé	'die'
CGVV :	kwaa	'grate'		
CGVC :	kwaw	'think'	kwɛ́n	'be sufficient'

As also seen, there is a tonal contrast in verb radicals. Verb forms will be cited with the tones they carry after the infinitive prefix kèé-. Thus, mono-syllabic verb radicals are seen to take either a M or a H tone in the infini-tive construction, e.g. kèé-bì 'to follow', kèé-tɔ́ 'to come', etc.

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

Derived suffixes can be added with a change of meaning. Thus, the suf-fix -cɛ adds the meaning 'here and there' or plural action: lɔ 'seize' vs. lɔ́-cɛ̌ 'seize from several people'; gaw 'divide' vs. gāw-cɛ̌ 'divide in several places'. Other derivational suffixes are given in the remaining sections of this chapter. In the following chapter we shall examine in detail the progres-sive aspect suffix which changes the aspect of a verb, e.g. kɔ́ɔ́ 'catch' vs. kɔɔ-lè 'be catching'.

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

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

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

-cɛ	'attenuative'	-tɛn	'bifurcative'
-yɛ	'distributive'	*-RED*	'frequentative'
-kɛn	'iterative'		

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

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

kám	'squeeze'	kámcɛ́	'squeeze a little'
ŋám	'pinch'	ŋámcɛ́	'pinch a little'
kfun	'hit'	kfūncɛ̌	'hit a little'
cow	'soak'	cōwcɛ̌	'soak a little'
gháw	'be superior'	gháwcɛ̌	'be slightly superior'
faŋ	'become fat'	fāŋcɛ̌	'become a little fat'

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

sɛ́ɛ́	'cut with knife'	sɛ́ɛ́cɛ́	'cut a little out of'
saa	'tear'	saàcɛ̌	'tear a little out of'
gɔw	'grind'	gɔ̄wcɛ̌	'grind a little out of'
díé	'eat'	díécɛ́	'eat a little from'
cɔ́ŋ	'steal'	cɔ́ŋcɛ́	'steal a little out of'

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

yow	'skin' (an animal)	yōwcɛ̌	'peel' (a banana etc.)
saŋ	'spread to dry'	sāŋcɛ̌	'turn on the second side to dry'
tɔ́m	'embroider' (< 'sew')	tɔ́mcɛ́	'mend' (='re-sew')
bɔ́m	'mould'	bɔ́mcɛ́	're-mould' (after an accident or crack)
mi	'swallow' (liquid)	mīcɛ̌	'swallow' (something solid)

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

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

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

ñl	'defecate'	ñĩc̆ɛ́	'defecate several times'
·shɔ	'clean'	shɔ̄c̆ɛ	'clean one after the other'
kom	'touch'	kōm̆c̆ɛ	'touch several times'
tã́ŋ	'count'	tã́ŋc̆ɛ́	'count one after the other'
kfúy	'trim'	kfúc̆ɛ́	'trim several things'
túy	'spit'	túc̆ɛ́	'spit several times'
gaw	'divide, share'	gāwc̆ɛ̆	'div. in several places, share w/sev. people'

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

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

sɛ́ɛ́	'cut with a knife'	sɛ́ɛ́yɛ́	'cut several times'
bã́ã́	'uproot'	bã́ã́yɛ́	'uproot several times'
cîm	'dig'	cîmyɛ́	'dig several times'
fom	'bury'	fōm̆yɛ̆	'bury several things'
tã́m	'smoke' (meat)	tã́myɛ́	'smoke several pieces of meat'
soŋ	'slap'	sōŋ̆yɛ̆	'slap several times'
lɔw	'curse'	lɔ̄wyɛ̆	'curse several times'
law	'pay'	lāwyɛ̆	'pay several people'

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

tɔ́m	'shoot'	tɔ́myɛ́	'shoot sev. things, sev. times at 1 thing'
lɔ́m	'bite'	lɔ́myɛ́	'bite sev. times, or sev. people bite'
ŋã́m	'pinch'	ŋã́myɛ́	'pinch sev. times or people'
bɔn	'stab'	bɔ̄ŋ̆yɛ̆	'stab sev. times or several people'

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

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

kã́w	'chop'	kã́wyɛ́	'chop up completely'
saa	'tear'	saàyɛ́	'tear completely' (or sev. times)
bã́ŋ	'cover'	bã́ŋyɛ́	'cover up completely'
yúú	'become clear'	yúúyɛ́	'become clear' (water)

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

kwέ	'die'	kwέkέn	'die one after the other'
gwe	'fall'	gwēkέn	'fall several times'
bɛw	'belch'	bēwkɛ̆n	'belch several times'
kέy	'groan' (in pain)	kέykɛ̆n	'groan several times'
jay	'urinate'	jāykɛ̆n	'urinate several times'
nēnɛ̆	'leave'	nēnkɛ̆n	'leave separately'

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

me nɔ́ɔ̀ ŋgwè	'I have fallen'
me nɔ́ɔ̀ ŋgwèkɛ̀n	'I have fallen' (several times)
bɔ́ kwekέnέ lɔ̀	'they are dying' (separately)
bɔ́ kwέέ lɔ̀	'they are dying' (together)

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

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

ffέ	'become burnt'	ffέkɛ̆n	'become burnt in separate spots'
kaa	'grind'	kaàkɛ̆n	'grind coarsely' (into separate grains)
jlím	'become extinguished'	jímkɛ̆n	'sev. becoming extinguished on their own'
dlέ	'eat'	dlέkɛ̆n	'feed oneself'

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

fúmkɛ̆n	'vomit'	nìàŋkɛ̆n	'spy'
bāỳkɛ̆n	'thunder'	cɔɔ̀ŋkɛ̆n	'praise'

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

bɔ́n	'fold'	bɔ́ɔ́ntέn	'fold in two'
saa	'tear'	saàtέn	'tear in two'
gaw	'divide'	gāwtέn	'divide in two'
san	'split'	sāhtέn	'split in two'
sɔ́m	'cut'	sɔ́mtέn	'cut in two'
go	'break fufu'	gōtɛ̆n	'break fufu in two'

The following verbs have a lexical suffix -tɛn:

cɔ́ɔ́ntɛ́n	'sharpen to a point'	sómtɛ́n	'settle a dispute'
lɛ́ɛ́tɛ́n	'rest'	fɔ̄m̀tɛn	'be sticky' (meat in decomposition)
jᵀm̀tɛ̌n	'perspire'	(cf. fɔ́m 'to be fatty' [like pork])	

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

njᶦm	'wander about'	njᶦmnjᶦm	'wander continuously, a long time'
cɛ́m	'drip'	cɛ́mcɛ́m	'drip continously' (e.g. rain)
lem	'slip'	lɛ̄m̀lɛ̌m	'be slippery, slip several times'
cɛ́m	'be sick'	cɛ́mcɛ́m	'be sickly'
tɛ́y	'hang up'	tɛ́ytɛ́y	'hang up several things'
jáy	'make a mistake'	jáyjáy	'make sev. mistakes, one mistake several times'

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

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

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

The last of these, the reciprocal extension, has a number of different (unpredictable) variants: -ɛn, -nɛn, -yɛn and -sɛn. (Perhaps -kɛn and -tɛn are ultimately related, although they are extensions of a very different type in present day Noni.)

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

yfᶦ	'become black'	yfᶦsɛ́	'blacken'
ffé	'become burnt'	ffésɛ́	'make burn'
bɛ́ɛ́	'cry'	bɛ́ɛ́sɛ́	'make cry'
bɛ́m	'be scary'	bɛ́msɛ́	'scare'
lɛ́m	'become injured'	lɛ́msɛ́	'injure'
lon	'become old'	lōhsɛ̌	'make old'
faŋ	'become fat'	fāŋsɛ̌	'fatten'
kwɛ́n	'be sufficient'	kwɛ́nsɛ́	'add to'
jfᶦm	'become extinguished'	jfᶦmsɛ́	'extinguish' (tr.)

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

bi	'accompany'	bᵀsɛ̌	'add to'
bí	'fly'	bfᶦsɛ́	'make fly'
la	'become lost'	lāsɛ̌	'lose'
bá	'become white'	báásɛ́	'whiten'

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

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

fɔɔ	'borrow'	fɔɔ̀sě	'lend'
sám	'borrow'	sámsé	'lend'
fen	'lock up'	fēn̄sě	'stop s.o. from doing sth.'
daŋ	'cross'	dān̄sě	'put sth. across'

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

shìí	'sit, come down from'	shìỳkě	'bring down from'
lɛ́m	'become injured'	lɛ́mké	'injure s.o.' (=lɛ́msé)
sám	'borrow'	sámké	'give out' (cf. sámsé)
jìím	'lie down'	jīīkě	'lay sth. down'
líím	'stand' (intr.)	léké	'stand sth. up'
ŋgvúúm	'kneel'	ŋgvúké	'bend, make kneel' (=ŋgvúsé)
yíém	'lean against'	yéké	'lean sth. against'
jíím	'become extinguished, dark'	jímké	'extinguish, (=jímsé) darken'

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

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

jìím	'lie down'	ŋgvúúm	'kneel'
shìím	'hang oneself'	cíím	'be firm' ('stand on its own')
líím	'stand'	jíím	'get dark, become extinguished'
ñìím	'hide oneself'	yíém	'lean against'

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

3.4. *Reciprocal* -ɛn, -nɛn, -yɛn and -sɛn. A number of suffixes ending in -ɛn express a reciprocal meaning:

ŋáḿ	'pinch'	ŋámɛ́n	'pinch each other'
kóŋ	'chase'	kóŋɛ́n	'chase each other'
kɔŋ	'like'	kɔ̄ŋ̌ɛn	'like each other'
tɛ́ɛ́	'look at'	tɛ́ɛ́yɛ́n	'look at each other'
kee	'spy'	keèyɛ̌n	'spy on each other'
kíí	'call'	kíínɛ́n	'call to each other' (=kííyɛ́n)
gay	'greet'	gāȳnɛ́n	'greet each other'

jǎy   'make a mistake'   jǎysɛ́n 'mistake one for the other'

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

bɛ́ɛ́   'cry'   bɛ́ɛ́yɛ́n 'cry one after the other'
fɔɔ   'borrow'   fɔɔ̀yɛ̌n 'borrow sev. things from sev. people'
few   'measure'   fe̅wšɛn 'measure sev. things together'
fyey   'mix'   fye̅ysɛn 'mix things together'

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

jiǐmɛ̌n   'lie down (pl.)'   ñiǐmɛ̌n   'hide selves'
shiǐmɛ̌n 'hang selves'   ŋgvǔúmɛ́n 'kneel (pl.)'
lʃímɛ́n   'stand (pl.)'   clímɛ́n   'be firm (pl.)'

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

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

cɛ́   'spend the night'   shɛ́   'spend the day'
cɛ́sɛ́   'keep overnight'   shɛ́sɛ́   'keep all day'
cɛ́shɛ́ 'keep sev. things   shɛ́shɛ́ 'keep sev. things all day'
            overnight'

The forms cɛ́shɛ́ and shɛ́shɛ́ derive from cɛ́+sɛ́+yɛ́ and shɛ́+sɛ́+yɛ́. Finally, the same radical can sometimes take many different suffixes as seen below:

lem   'to slip, slide' (also = 'to work')
le̅m̀cɛ̌   'slip a little'
le̅m̀yɛ̌   'slip in several places'
lem̀lɛ̌m   'slip several times, be slippery'
le̅m̀sɛ̌   'cause to be slippery'

10

PROGRESSIVE ASPECT

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

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

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

bì	'follow'	bìì	'be following'
ge	'make'	gèè	'be making'
lɛ́	'sink'	lɛɛ̀	'be sinking'
kfù	'sift'	kfùù	'be sifting'
fɔ́	'itch'	foò	'be itching'
tɔ́	'come'	tɔɔ̀	'be coming'
tá	'shoot'	taà	'be shooting'

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

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

| fíé | 'become burnt' | fìè | 'be becoming burnt' |
| díɔ́ | 'fight' | dìɔ̀ | 'be fighting' |

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

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

cìì	'drag'	cìììè	'be dragging'
bee	'cry'	bèèlè	'be crying'
dɛɛ	'cook'	dɛ̀ɛ̀lè	'be cooking'
túú	'carry (on head)'	tuulè	'be carrying (on head)'

soo	'knot'	sòòlè	'be knotting'
kɔɔ́	'catch'	kɔɔlè	'be catching'
táá	'look at'	taalè	'be looking at'

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

cɨ́m	'dig'	cɨmtè	'be digging'
cɛ́m	'drip'	cɛmtè	'be dripping'
cɛ́m	'become sick'	cɛmtè	'be becoming sick'
dvum	'groan'	dvùmtè	'be groaning'
tɔ́m	'send'	tomtè	'be sending'
dɔm	'pour'	dɔmtè	'be pouring'
cám	'chew'	camtè	'be chewing'

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

bɨ́n	'dance'	bɨnè	'be dancing'
ben	'rise'	bènè	'be rising'
bɛ́n	'call'	bɛnè	'be calling'
kfun	'hit'	kfùnè	'be hitting'
tɔ́n	'refuse'	tonè	'be refusing'
tɔ́n	'burn'	tɔnè	'be burning'
tan	'lack'	tànè	'be lacking'

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

cɨ́ŋ	'tremble'	cɨɨŋkè	'be trembling'
tfúŋ	'be inclined'	tfuuŋkè	'be being inclined'
kɔ́ŋ	'chase'	kooŋkè	'be chasing'
yɔŋ	'roast'	yɔɔ́ŋkè	'be roasting'
káŋ	'fry'	kaaŋkè	'be frying'

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

jɨ́w	'blacken'	jɨɨkè	'be blackening'
few	'measure'	fèèkè	'be measuring'
lɛ́w	'dodge'	lɛɛkè	'be dodging'
cow	'soak'	còòkè	'be soaking'
gɔw	'grind'	gɔɔ́kè	'be grinding'
law	'pay'	lààkè	'be paying'

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

kéy	'cough'	keytè	'be coughing'
cɛy	'protect'	cɛ̀ytè	'be protecting'
kfúy	'trim'	kfuytè	'be trimming'
bɔ́y	'exit'	boytè	'be exiting'
tɔ́y	'accuse'	toytè	'be accusing'
kay	'tie'	kàytè	'be tying'

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

3.1. *Verb forms ending in* +(C)εn. When the verb form ends in a suffix of the shape -εn, -yεn, -nεn, -sεn, -kεn, -tεn or -cεn, i.e. in a suffix ending in -n, the PROG form is obtained by adding the suffix -e. In this case the same PROG suffix is found as in simplex verb forms ending in -n:

dvūm̌ěn	'rumble'	dvùmkènè	'be rumbling'
fúmkɛ́n	'vomit'	fumkènè	'be vomiting'
jl̄m̌tɛ́n	'perspire'	jl̀mtènè	'be perspiring'
yāŋsɛ́n	'be quick'	yàŋsènè	'be being quick'
kl̄cɛn	'contradict'	kl̀cìnè	'be contradicting'
táǎyɛ́n	'look at e.o.'	taayìnè	'be looking at each other'

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

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

tēlɛ̌	'burst'	tèlè	'be bursting'
kéŋkɛ́	'get'	keŋkè	'be getting'
jl̄tɛ̌	'become heavy'	jl̀tè	'be becoming heavy'
fūm̌ɛ̌	'bake in ashes'	fùm̀è	'be baking in ashes'
shl̄wsɛ̌	'shake'	shl̀wsè	'be shaking'
ŋā̀ŋlɛ̌	'crawl'	ŋàŋlè	'be crawling'
léwtɛ́	'run'	lewtè	'be running'

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

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

tómcɛ́	'mend'	tomcì	'be mending'
lɛ̄ncɛ̌	'trample'	lɛ̀ncì	'be trampling'
kwā̄wcɛ̌	'remember'	kwàwcì	'be remembering'
kócɛ́	'wrap up'	kocì	'be wrapping up'
nɛ̄cɛ̌	'straighten'	nɛ̀cì	'be straightening'
káwyɛ́	'chop up'	kawyì	'be chopping up'
kwaàyɛ̌	'scrape ground'	kwàǎyì	'be scraping ground'
saàyɛ̌	'tear sev. times'	sàǎyì	'be tearing several times'
dáyɛ́	'forget'	daayì	'be forgetting'

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

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

yēsĕ	'sweep'	yɛ̀ɛ̀sè	'be sweeping'
tfúsé	'answer'	tfuusè	'be answering'
ŋgvúsé	'bend sth.'	ŋgvuusè	'be bending sth.'
tásé	'sew'	taasè	'be sewing'
lɛ́wsé	'divert'	lɛwsè	'be diverting'
dɔ̄msĕ	'prod'	dɔ̀msè	'be prodding'
sámsé	'lend'	samsè	'be lending'
fɔɔ̌sě	'lend'	fɔ̀ɔ̀sè	'be lending'

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

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

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

kɛ́wɛ́	'roll up'	kɛwyì	'be rolling up'
jɛ́wɛ́	'plant'	jɛwyì	'be planting'
jə̄mĕ	'speak'	jə̀myì	'be speaking'
yēnĕ	'open'	yènyì	'be opening'
kónĕ	'reward'	konyì	'be rewarding'
jↄ̄ŋĕ	'look at'	jìŋyì	'be looking at'

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

jìím	'lie down'	jììmè	'be lying down'
shìím	'hang oneself'	shììmè	'be hanging oneself'
lŕím	'stand'	liimè	'be standing'
ñìím	'hide oneself'	ñììmè	'be hiding oneself'
ŋgvúúm	'kneel'	ŋgvuumè	'be kneeling'

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

gēm̌gěm	'fence in'	gèmgèmè	'be fencing in'
cěmcěm	'be sickly'	cɛmcèmè	'be being sickly'
lɛ́wlɛ́w	'dodge'	lɛwlɛ̀wè	'be dodging'
lāwlǎw	'twinkle'	làwlàwè	'be twinkling'
cōwcǒw	'dampen'	còwcòwè	'be dampening'

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

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

Verb Structure	*# Regular*	*# Irregular*
CV	39	10
CVV	30	5
CVm	32	0
CVn	22	1
CVŋ	19	0
CVw	29	5
CVy	32	1
+(C)ɛn	28	0
+(C)ɛ	14	5
+cɛ	26	0
+yɛ	6	1
+se	27	3
-fe	9	2
+e	17	9
+m	8	0
RED	9	0
	347	42

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

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

bí	'fly'	bíì/bilè	'be flying'
cí	'legislate'	cìì/cilè	'be legislating'
fɛ	'cure an invalid'	fɛ̀ɛ̀/fɛlè	'be curing an invalid'
fɛ	'chat'	fɛ̀ɛ̀/fɛlè	'be chatting'
bvu	'interrupt'	bvùù/bvùlè	'be interrupting'
kfu	'sift'	kfùù/kfùlè	'be sifting'
fo	'pour'	fòò/fòlè	'be pouring'
kɔ́	'gather up'	koò/kolè	'be gathering up'
ka	'clear one's throat'	kàà/kàlè	'be clearing one's throat'

Perhaps one can add the verb 'eat' here, which has a vowel sequence, but which fails to remain the same in the PROG:

díé   'eat'   diekènè 'be eating' (intr.)

As seen, the suffix -kɛn is added to form the PROG. By itself, díékɛ́n 'means 'feed oneself'. A PROG form díè(è) has been recorded with an object present.

4.2. *Radicals ending in a long vowel*. There are two small groups of verbs that end in VV, but which do not take -le. In the first, two verbs take -te instead:

bɔ́ɔ́   'bear a child'   bɔɔtè   'be bearing a child'
yɔ́ɔ́   'build'   yɔɔtè   'be building'

It is significant that both of these verbs are irregular in the [-focus] past tenses, where their forms are bɔke and yɔke, respectively (see Chapter 12).

The second group of irregular CVV verbs consists of three verbs ending in -ee which exhibit an ŋ followed by a -e suffix in the PROG aspect:

bɛ́ɛ́   'accept'   beŋè   'be accepting'
sɛ́ɛ́   'tell'   seŋè   'be telling'
tɛ́ɛ́   'call'   teŋè   'be calling'

These verbs are also irregular in both [+focus] and [-focus] past tenses. All of the exceptions to the normal addition of PROG -le to CVV verbs have to do with a historically lost velar which reappears (cf. class 5 in nouns in Chapter 3, section 4.)

4.3. *Radicals ending in* -n. One verb ending in -n has been found to require an additional -tɛn suffix (=our 'bifurcative' extension) in the PROG:

bɔ́n   'fold'   bontènè   'be folding'

The verb form bɔ́ntɛ́n means 'fold in two'. What is curious about this verb is that the suffixed form is required in the PROG but not in the non-PROG aspect.

4.4. *Radicals ending in* -w. Eight verbs ending in -w have been found which either require or at least allow a PROG form obtained by adding -te directly to the radical, as indicated:

jíw   'poison'   jiwtè   'be poisoning'
jɛ́w   'be mad, drunk'   jɛwtè   'be being mad, drunk'
jɔ́w   'leak'   jowtè   'be leaking'
cɔ́w   'make a click'   cowtè/cɔɔkè   'be making a click'
sɔw   'investigate'   sɔ̀wtè   'be investigating'
cáw   'pick out'   cawtè   'be picking out'
gaw   'divide'   gàwtè/gààkè   'be dividing'
táw   'become strong'   tawtè/taakè   'be becoming strong'

The difference in PROG forms between the regular and irregular radicals ending in -w may be due completely or in part to the fact that many of the irregular verbs had final labial consonants (e.g. -b in 'divide' and 'become strong'), while the regular verbs had a velar. The etymologies for many of these roots are not clear.

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

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

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

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

    cíné 'leave (sth.)'   cinyĭ 'be leaving (sth.)'
    nēhɛ̌ 'leave'   nɛnyĭ 'be leaving'
    fúlɛ̌ 'blow'   fuyĭ   'be blowing'

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

    dēfɛ̌   'become long'   dèètè/dèfɛ̀nɛ̀ 'be becoming long'
    shūmɛ̌ 'carry on pole'   shùmtè   'be carrying on pole'

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

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

    bvúyɛ́ 'burst open'   bvuytè 'be bursting open'

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

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

    dɔ́sé 'be tired'   dɔsè   'be being tired'
    cíŋsé 'make round & smooth' ciŋsènè 'be making round and smooth'

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

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

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

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

    sɛ́mɛ́ 'cease' (of rains)   sɛmtè 'cease' (of rains)

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

gwēlɛ̌	'harvest'	gwècì	'be harvesting'
kēnɛ̌	'set fire'	kɛ̀ɛncì	'be setting fire'
lēhtɛ̌	'cross (river)'	lĩ̀ĩncì	'be crossing (river)'
ŋgélɛ̌	'crunch'	ŋgecì	'be crunching'
nēlɛ̌	'straighten out'	nɛ̀cì	'be straightening out'
kɔ́lɛ̂	'wrap up'	kocì	'be wrapping up'

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

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

| bēlɛ̌ | 'thank' | bɛ̀ɛlɛ̀ | 'be thanking' |
| bɛ́lɛ̂ | 'weed, pluck' | bɛɛyì | 'be weeding, plucking' |

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

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

bāŋkɛ̌	'turn (tr.)'	bàŋsɛ̀	'be turning (tr.)'
sāŋkɛ̌	'disperse (tr.)'	sàŋsɛ̀	'be dispersing (tr.)'
lékɛ́	'stand sth.'	lewsɛ̀	'be standing sth.'
cākɛ̌	'put away'	càwsɛ̀	'be putting away'
jĩ̄kɛ̌	'lay sth. down'	jĩ̀wsɛ̀	'be laying sth. down'
shĩ̄kɛ̌	'bring sth. down'	shĩ̀wsɛ̀	'be bringing sth. down'
yékɛ́	'lean sth.·against'	yewsɛ̀	'be leaning sth. against'

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

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

all, when not in the PROG aspect.

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

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

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

t → l / # C V V + ___ e

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

$$t \rightarrow \emptyset \;/\; \# \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C \; V \; (n) \\ X + Y \end{array} \right\} + \underline{} \; e$$

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

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

$$e \rightarrow [\alpha F] \;/\; \# \; C \; [\alpha F] + \underline{}$$
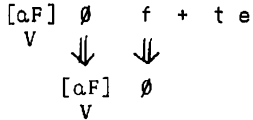$$ V$$

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

$$
\begin{array}{ccccc}
[\alpha F] & \emptyset & \left[\begin{array}{l} +back \\ \langle -nasal \rangle \end{array} \right] & + & t \quad e \\
V & & C & & \\
\Downarrow & \Downarrow & \Downarrow & & \Downarrow \\
[\alpha F] & & \langle \emptyset \rangle & & k \\
V & & & &
\end{array}
$$

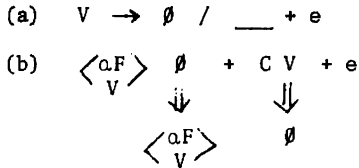the fourth rule affects radicals which end in -ŋ and -w, both of which are

[+back]. When such radicals occur in the PROG aspect, their vowel lengthens, the t of the PROG suffix becomes k (i.e. [+back]), and, if the final radical consonant is [-nasal], i.e. w, it drops. Thus, as we saw in 2.5 and 2.6, respectively, cíŋ 'tremble' becomes PROG ciiŋkè, and jíw 'blacken' becomes PROG jiikè.

5.5. *Rule 5*. The fifth rule is similar in its formalization to rule 4, but it cannot be collapsed with it:

$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
\begin{bmatrix}\alpha F\end{bmatrix} & \emptyset & f & + \ t \ e \\
\text{V} & \Downarrow & \Downarrow & \\
\begin{bmatrix}\alpha F\end{bmatrix} & \emptyset & & \\
\text{V} & & &
\end{array}
$$

When a verb radical ends in -f, the PROG form is obtained by lengthening the preceding vowel and deleting the -f. As seen in this rule, one analysis assumes that verb forms such as bífé 'ask' are actually monosyllabic underlyingly, i.e. /bíf/. Because -f cannot occur at the end of a word, -e is introduced in just such cases. Thus, it does not figure in rule 5. If it had to be included, then rule 5 would have to precede the second line of rule 2, because we would not want hypothetical /bífé+te/ to become *bifee. On the other hand, while this form must become beetè 'be asking', the two exceptional forms yéfé 'rub' and cófé 'take (out) from' in 4.9 must become yeefè and coofè in the PROG. Perhaps these have a true +e suffix. In this case, yéfé+te, for example, would first become yefee and then yeefè 'be rubbing'.

5.6. *Rule 6*. The sixth rule accounts for sequences of vowels which occur in the suffixes, e.g. -cɛ+e. Depending on how one accounts for the vowel lengthening which sometimes characterizes the verb radical (as a "compensatory process"?), rule 6 can be formalized as in (a) or (b):

(a) $\quad$ V $\rightarrow$ $\emptyset$ / ___ + e

(b)
$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
\left\langle\begin{array}{c}\alpha F\\ \text{V}\end{array}\right\rangle & \emptyset & + \ C \ V & + \ e \\
& \Downarrow & \Downarrow & \\
\left\langle\begin{array}{c}\alpha F\\ \text{V}\end{array}\right\rangle & & \emptyset &
\end{array}
$$

The formulation in (a) simply says that a (suffix) vowel drops before +e. The affected vowel will automatically be a suffix vowel, because radical vowels have already assimilated a following +e by rule 2. The formulation in (b) is designed to take care of the alternations between tfúsé 'answer' and tfuusè 'be answering' seen in 3.4. Perhaps it is the case that the radical vowel lengthens only if the sequence of suffix vowels is e+e. This would make 'be forgetting' in 3.3 an exception.

5.7. *Rule 7*. The last rule we shall consider here assimilates +e to i when preceded by a palatal consonant (c or y):

$$
\text{e} \ \rightarrow \ \text{i} \ / \ \begin{bmatrix}+\text{pal}\\ \text{C}\end{bmatrix} + \ \rule{1cm}{0.4pt}
$$
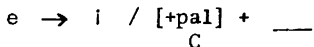
The above rules will generate the regular alternations. In addition, many of the "exceptional" PROG verb forms can be accommodated with only minor adjustments.

11

VERB CONJUGATION I: INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

kèé-kfun	'to hit'	kèé-kfùnè	'to be hitting'
kèé-tón	'to refuse'	kèé-tonè	'to be refusing'
kèé-dōm̄sě	'to push'	kèé-dɔ̀msè	'to be pushing'
kèé-cɪ́msé	'to pacify'	kèé-cɪmsè	'to be pacifying'

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

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

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

kfùnɛ̌	'hit!'	ɛ̀ kfùnè	'be hitting!'
tonɛ́	'refuse!'	ɛ̀ tonè	'be refusing!'
dɔ̀msɛ̌	'push!'	ɛ̀ dɔ̀msè	'be pushing!'
cɪmsɛ́	'pacify!'	ɛ̀ cɪmsè	'be pacifying!'

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

bìɛ̌	'follow!'	(bì 'follow')
cìɪ̀ɪ̌	'drag!'	(cìi 'drag')

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

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

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

fɔ̀ wɔ̀ kfun kɛ	'don't hit!'		fɔ̀ wɔ̀ kfùnè kɛ	'don't be hitting!'
fɔ̀ wɔ̀ tɔ́n kɛ	'don't refuse!'		fɔ̀ wɔ̀ tonè kɛ	'don't be refusing!'
fɔ̀ wɔ̀ dɔ̄m̀sɛ̌ kɛ	'don't push!'		fɔ̀ wɔ̀ dɔ̀msè kɛ	'don't be pushing!'
fɔ̀ wɔ̀ cím̀sé kɛ	'don't pacify!'		fɔ̀ wɔ̀ cìmsè kɛ	'don't be pacifying!'

The structure of these utterances is NEG + 'you sg.' + verb + NEG. As in the infinitives, tone pattern C is used for non-PROG forms, while pattern A is used for PROG forms. While the subject pronoun wɔ̀ 'you sg.' is indicated here with L tone, it can alternative be realized with LM tone, e.g. fɔ̀ wɔ̄⁻ tɔ́n kɛ 'don't refuse!'.

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

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

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

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

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

tenses have the feature specifications seen in the following table:

	P_3	P_2	P_1	P_0	F_0	F_1	F_2	F_3
[FUT]	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+
[TOD]	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
[NEAR]	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−

The first feature, FUT, distinguishes future from non-future tenses. As seen, F_0, F_1, F_2 and F_3 are all [+FUT], while P_0, P_1, P_2 and P_3 are [-FUT]. In the abbreviations for these tenses, F stands for "future", while P stands for "non-future" (i.e. either past or present, as indicated below).

Both the [+FUT] and [-FUT] tenses show four degrees of remoteness. The designation "zero" in P_0 and F_0 indicates 0 degree of remoteness from the time of speaking, while the integers 1, 2 and 3 indicate further degrees, in the order indicated. The most common time references indicated by these tenses are the following:

P_0 : present/immediate past 'to have just X'ed'
P_1 : earlier today
P_2 : yesterday or some days ago
P_3 : a long time ago

F_0 : immediate future 'to be about to X'
F_1 : later today
F_2 : tomorrow or some days from now
F_3 : a long time from now

The key to this analysis is seen in the two meanings of P_0: if the P_0 is [+PROG] it has a present tense meaning, e.g. bɔ́ kfùně lɔ 'they are hitting. If the same tense is [-PROG], it has an immediate past or present perfect meaning, e.g. bɔ́ kfŭn lɔ 'they have (just) hit'. Normally, when the PROG suffix is added to a past or future tense, we obtain the progressive 'ing' reading for that tense, e.g. 'they hit' vs. 'they were hitting', 'they will hit' vs. 'they will be hitting'. It is in the P_0 that the PROG form changes a past tense into a present tense. The past tense which is so changed is, of course, a perfect of sorts, a past tense which has a close tie to or relevance for the present. Because of this relationship between the present and the immediate past, the most major tense distinction in the language is that between [+FUT] and [-FUT] (cf. Anderson's (1979) treatment of nearby Aghem, which has certain features in common, but which differs in having a completive/non-completive aspect, rather than a progressive/non-progressive).

Following the treatment of Bamileke-Dschang by Hyman (1980), the different degrees of past and future will be distinguished by means of the features TOD and NEAR. Tenses which refer to events occurring on the same day of the discourse are [+TOD], i.e. P_0, P_1, F_0, F_1, while tenses which refer to events not occurring on the same day are [-TOD], i.e. P_2, P_3, F_2, F_3. Finally, within each of the TOD specifications there is a near vs. far variant: [+TOD, +NEAR] indicates present or immediate past or future; [+TOD, -NEAR] indicates earlier and later today; [-TOD, +NEAR] indicates some days ago or from now; and [-TOD, -NEAR] indicates a long time ago or from now.

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

which took place some weeks ago, for example, will be in the P_2 ([-TOD, +NEAR]) if the speaker chooses to regard the time point as relatively close to today; it will be in the P_3 ([-TOD, -NEAR]) if he chooses to regard the time point as not close to today, and so forth. In other words, except for the today/nontoday distinction, it would be incorrect to define tenses in terms of objective time reference.

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

    [+FOC] :   bɔ́ cí nɔ́ɔ̀ kfùn wān   'they hit a child' (P₂)
    [-FOC] :   bɔ́ cí kfùn wan   "   "   "   "   "

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

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

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

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

12

Verb Conjugation II: Main Clauses

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

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

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

    bɔ́ kfǔn lɔ̀   'they have just hit'
    bɔ́ tɔ́n lɔ̀   'they have just refused'
    bɔ́ dɔ̀msě lɔ̀ 'they have just pushed'
    bɔ́ cîmsé lɔ̀   'they have just pacified'

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

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

    bɔ́ bé kfùn lɔ̀   'they hit' (earlier today)
    bɔ́ bé tōn lɔ̀   'they refused'
    bɔ́ bé dɔ̀msè lɔ̀ 'they pushed'
    bɔ́ bé cîmsè lɔ̀   'they pacified'

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

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

    bɔ́ cî kfǔn lɔ̀   'they hit' (yesterday, some days ago)
    bɔ́ cî tɔ́n lɔ̀   'they refused'
    bɔ́ cî dɔ̀msě lɔ̀ 'they pushed'
    bɔ́ cî cîmsé lɔ̀   'they pacified'

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

    bɔ́ tɔ̀ kfǔn lɔ̀   'they hit' (a long time ago)
    bɔ́ tɔ̀ tɔ́n lɔ̀   'they refused'
    bɔ́ tɔ̀ dɔ̀msě lɔ̀ 'they pushed'
    bɔ́ tɔ̀ cîmsé lɔ̀   'they pacified'

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

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

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

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

bó nóò kfùn 'they have hit'   bó nóò dòmsè 'they have pushed'
bó nóò tōn 'they have refused' bó nóò cìmsè 'they have pacified'

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

2.2. [+FOC], P_1. This tense utilizes the auxiliary bɛ́ɛ̀, which is from bɛ́ + ɛ, and tone pattern A:

bó bɛ́ɛ̀ kfùn 'they hit' (today) bó bɛ́ɛ̀ dòmsè 'they pushed'
bó bɛ́ɛ̀ tōn 'they refused'   bó bɛ́ɛ̀ cìmsè 'they pacified'

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

bó cí nóò kfùn   'they hit' (yesterday, some days ago)
bó cí nóò tōn   'they refused'
bó cí nóò dòmsè 'they pushed'
bó cí nóò cìmsè 'they pacified'

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

bó tò nóò kfùn   'they hit' (a long time ago)
bó tò nóò tōn   'they refused'
bó tò nóò dòmsè 'they pushed'
bó tò nóò cìmsè 'they pacified'

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

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

bó bá kfun kɛ 'they haven't hit'
bó bá tón kɛ   'they haven't refused'
bó bá dōmsě   'they haven't pushed'
bó bá címsé   'they haven't pacified'

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

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

bɔ́ bé bǎ kfun kɛ   'they didn't hit' (earlier today)
bɔ́ bé bǎ tɔ́n kɛ   'they didn't refuse'
bɔ́ bé bǎ dɔ̄m̄sě kɛ   'they didn't push'
bɔ́ bé bǎ cɪ́msé kɛ   'they didn't pacify'

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

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

bɔ́ cɪ́ bá kfun kɛ   'they didn't hit' (yesterday, some days ago)
bɔ́ cɪ́ bá tɔ́n kɛ   'they didn't refuse'
bɔ́ cɪ́ bá dɔ̄m̄sě kɛ   'they didn't push'
bɔ́ cɪ́ bá cɪ́msé kɛ   'they didn't pacify'

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

bɔ́ tɔ̀ bǎ kfun kɛ   'they didn't hit' (a long time ago)
bɔ́ tɔ̀ bǎ tɔ́n kɛ   'they didn't refuse'
bɔ́ tɔ̀ bǎ dɔ̄m̄sě kɛ   'they didn't push'
bɔ́ tɔ̀ bǎ cɪ́msé kɛ   'they didn't pacify'

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

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

bɔ́ nú kfun   'they are about to hit'
bɔ́ nú tɔ́n   'they are about to refuse'
bɔ́ nú dɔ̄m̄sě   'they are about to push'
bɔ́ nú cɪ́msé   'they are about to pacify'

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

bɔ́ nú géé kfun   'they will hit' (later today; indefinite)
bɔ́ nú géé tɔ́n   'they will refuse'
bɔ́ nú géé dɔ̄m̄sě   'they will push'
bɔ́ nú géé cɪ́msé   'they will pacify'

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

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

```
bɔ́ nú bɔ́y kfun    'they will hit' (tomorrow, some days from now)
bɔ́ nú bɔ́y tɔ́n    'they will refuse'
bɔ́ nú bɔ́y dɔ̄m̄sě   'they will push'
bɔ́ nú bɔ́y címsɛ́   'they will pacify'
```

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

```
bɔ́ nú yúú kfun    'they will hit' (a long time from now)
bɔ́ nú yúú tɔ́n    'they will refuse'
bɔ́ nú yúú dɔ̄m̄sě   'they will push'
bɔ́ nú yúú címsɛ́   'they will pacify'
```

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

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

```
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ kfun kɛ     'they are not about to hit'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ tɔ́n kɛ     'they are not about to refuse'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ dɔ̄m̄sě kɛ    'they are not about to push'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ címsɛ́ kɛ    'they are not about to pacify'
```

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

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

```
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ géé kfun kɛ    'they will not hit' (later today)
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ géé tɔ́n kɛ    'they will not refuse'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ géé dɔ̄m̄sě kɛ   'they will not push'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ géé címsɛ́ kɛ   'they will not pacify'
```

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

```
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ bɔ́y kfun kɛ    'they will not hit' (tomorrow, some days from
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ bɔ́y tɔ́n kɛ    'they will not refuse'              now)
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ bɔ́y dɔ̄m̄sě kɛ   'they will not push'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ bɔ́y címsɛ́ kɛ   'they will not pacify'
```

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

```
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ yúú kfun kɛ    'they will not hit' (a long time from now)
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ yúú tɔ́n kɛ    'they will not refuse'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ yúú dɔ̄m̄sě kɛ   'they will not push'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) nǔ yúú címsɛ́ kɛ   'they will not pacify'
```

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

6.1. [-NEG], *0*. The [+PROG] P$_0$ tense has a present tense progressive meaning and will be indicated as the "0" tense. As seen in the following examples, it requires the same tone pattern B as its [-PROG] counterpart and the same lɔ̀ to make the utterance complete:

bɔ́ kfùnɛ̌ lɔ̀   'they are hitting'
bɔ́ tonɛ́ lɔ̀   'they are refusing'
bɔ́ dɔ̀msɛ̌ lɔ̀   'they are pushing'
bɔ́ cimsɛ́ lɔ̀   'they are pacifying'

6.2. [-NEG], *P$_1$*. This tense uses tone pattern A exactly as its [-PROG, -FOC] variant:

bɔ́ bɛ́ kfùnè lɔ̀   'they were (just) hitting' (earlier today)
bɔ́ bɛ́ tonè lɔ̀   'they were (just) refusing'
bɔ́ bɛ́ dɔ̀msè lɔ̀   'they were (just) pushing'
bɔ́ bɛ́ cimsè lɔ̀   'they were (just) pacifying'

6.3. [-NEG], *P$_2$*. Again, the only difference between this and its [-PROG, -FOC] variant is the presence of the PROG suffix on 'hitting' and 'refusing'. Thus, tone pattern B is used:

bɔ́ cî kfùnɛ̌ lɔ̀   'they were (just) hitting' (yesterday, some days ago)
bɔ́ cî tonɛ́ lɔ̀   'they were (just) refusing'
bɔ́ cî dɔ̀msɛ̌ lɔ̀   'they were (just) pushing'
bɔ́ cî cimsɛ́ lɔ̀   'they were (just) pacifying'

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

6.4. [-NEG], *P$_3$*. Again, tone pattern B is used exactly as in the [-PROG, -FOC] instances of the P3 tense:

bɔ́ tɔ̀ kfùnɛ̌ lɔ̀   'they were (just) hitting' (a long time ago)
bɔ́ tɔ̀ tonɛ́ lɔ̀   'they were (just) refusing'
bɔ́ tɔ̀ dɔ̀msɛ̌ lɔ̀   'they were (just) pushing'
bɔ́ tɔ̀ cimsɛ́ lɔ̀   'they were (just) pacifying'

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

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

kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) kfùnè kɛ   'they are not hitting'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) tonè kɛ   'they are not refusing'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) dɔ̀msè kɛ   'they are not pushing'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) cimsè kɛ   'they are not pacifying'

The tone pattern for all progressive negatives is A.

7.2. [+NEG], *P$_1$*. The forms for this tense are as expected, except that the tense marker is pronounced on a M tone, i.e. bə. This probably reflects the change from bɛ́ to bɛ̌, which then simplified to M. The same simplification will be noted in the P2 forms.

```
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) be kfùnè kɛ    'they were not hitting' (earlier today)
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) be tonè kɛ     'they were not refusing'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) be dɔ̀msè kɛ   'they were not pushing'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) be cìmsè kɛ    'they were not pacifying'
```

7.3. [+NEG], P_2. The forms again are regular except that the tense marker carries a M tone:

```
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) cì kfùnè kɛ    'they were not hitting'. (yesterday, some days ago)
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) cì tonè kɛ     'they were not refusing'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) cì dɔ̀msè kɛ   'they were not pushing'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) cì cìmsè kɛ    'they were not pacifying'
```

7.4. [+NEG], P_3. This tense is realized as expected, i.e. with initial kɛ́, final kɛ, and tone pattern A:

```
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) tɔ̀ kfùnè kɛ   'they were not hitting' (a long time ago)
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) tɔ̀ tonè kɛ    'they were not refusing'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) tɔ̀ dɔ̀msè kɛ  'they were not pushing'
kɛ́ bɔ́ (yà) tɔ̀ cìmsè kɛ   'they were not pacifying'
```

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

8.1. [-NEG], F_O.

```
bɔ́ nú kfùnè    'they are about to be hitting'
bɔ́ nú tonè     'they are about to be refusing'
bɔ́ nú dɔ̀msè   'they are about to be pushing'
bɔ́ nú cìmsè    'they are about to be pacifying'
```

8.2. [-NEG], F_1.

```
bɔ́ nú gɛ́ɛ́ kfùnè   'they will be hitting' (later today; indefinite)
bɔ́ nú gɛ́ɛ́ tonè    'they will be refusing'
bɔ́ nú gɛ́ɛ́ dɔ̀msè  'they will be pushing'
bɔ́ nú gɛ́ɛ́ cìmsè   'they will be pacifying'
```

8.3. [-NEG], F_2.

```
bɔ́ nú bɔ́y kfùnè   'they will be hitting' (tomorrow, some days from now)
bɔ́ nú bɔ́y tonè    'they will be refusing'
bɔ́ nú bɔ́y dɔ̀msè  'they will be pushing'
bɔ́ nú bɔ́y cìmsè   'they will be pacifying'
```

8.4. [-NEG], F_3.

```
bɔ́ nú yúú kfùnè   'they will be hitting' (a long time from now)
bɔ́ nú yúú tonè    'they will be refusing'
bɔ́ nú yúú dɔ̀msè  'they will be pushing'
bɔ́ nú yúú cìmsè   'they will be pacifying'
```

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

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

9.1. [+NEG], F_0.

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

9.2. [+NEG], F_1.

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

9.3. [+NEG], F_2.

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

9.4. [+NEG], F_3.

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

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

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

bɔ́ tɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ tōn   'they refused' (a long time ago; definite time)
bɔ́ tɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ yùú tón 'they refused' (a long time ago; indefinite time)

bɔ́ nú yúú tón   'they will refuse' (a long time from now; definite time)
bɔ́ nú tɔ̀ yúú tón 'they will refuse' (a long time from now; indefinite time)

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

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

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

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

bɔ́ shìlɛ̌ lɔ̀	'they have just come down'	(shìì 'come down from')
bɔ́ belé lɔ̀	'they have just cried'	(béé 'cry')
bɔ́ cɛlé lɔ̀	'they have just pierced'	(cɛ́ɛ́ 'pierce')
bɔ́ tulé lɔ̀	'they have just carried'	(túú 'carry on head')
bɔ́ solé lɔ̀	'they have just knotted'	(sóó 'knot')
bɔ́ fɔ̀lɛ̌ lɔ̀	'they have just borrowed'	(fɔɔ 'borrow')
bɔ́ sàlɛ̌ lɔ̀	'they have just torn'	(saa 'tear')

The above forms are in the [-FOC] P_0. It is tempting to relate this lέ suffix to the lέ found in PROG forms of CVV radicals, e.g. bɔ́ shìlìlɛ̌ lɔ̀ 'they are coming down'. However, this could not account in any general way for the following exceptions to the above pattern:

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

bɔ́ cɯ̀ lɔ̀	'they have just dragged'	(cìì 'drag')
bɔ́ kɯ̀ lɔ̀	'they have just called/hooted'	(kɯ́ɯ́ 'call by hooting')
bɔ́ fɯ̀ lɔ̀	's.o. has just tired of them'	(fɯ́ɯ́ 'to tire s.o. of sth.')
bɔ́ kǎ là	'they have just ground'	(kaa 'to grind')

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

bɔ́ mɛ̀kɛ̌ lɔ̀	'they have just carried (child)'	(mɛɛ 'carry a child')
bɔ́ gɛ̀kɛ̌ lɔ̀	'they have just put'	(gɛɛ 'put')
bɔ́ dɛ̀kɛ̌ lɔ̀	'they have just cooked'	(dɛɛ 'cook')
bɔ́ fuké lɔ̀	'they have just become satiated'	(fúú 'become satiated')
bɔ́ bɔké lɔ̀	'they have just borne a child'	(bɔ́ɔ́ 'bear a child')
bɔ́ yɔké lɔ̀	'they have just built'	(yɔ́ɔ́ 'build')

The variant bɔ́ dɛ̀lɛ̌ lɔ̀ 'they have just cooked' has also been recorded.

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

bɔ́ beŋé lɔ̀	'they have just accepted/they are accepting'	(béé 'accept')
bɔ́ seŋé lɔ̀	'they have just told/they are telling'	(séé 'tell')
bɔ́ teŋé lɔ̀	'they have just called/they are calling'	(téé 'call')

As seen in section 4.2 of Chapter 10, the forms with -ŋe are also found in the PROG. This means that the above sentences are ambiguous, as indicated, between P_0 and 0 readings. Finally, there is the following exceptional verb:

bɔ́ kɔnté lɔ̀ 'they have just caught' (kɔ́ɔ́ 'catch')

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

bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ bɔɔ̀   'they have borne a child'
bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ yɔɔ̀   'they have built'

bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ beè   'they have accepted'
bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ seè   'they have told'

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

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

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

bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ dìé   'they have eaten'   (dʼé 'eat')
bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ fʼ   'they have helped'   (fʼ 'help, take')

No explanation for this irregular tonal behavior comes to mind.

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

kèé-jìʼm   'to lie down'
kèé-shìʼm   'to hang oneself'
kèé-ñìʼm   'to hide oneself'

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

bɔ́ ŋgvuumé lɔ̀   'they are kneeling' (as a group)
bɔ́ ŋgvumé lɔ̀   'they have just knelt'

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

13

Verb Conjugation III: Relative Clauses

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

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

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

```
wè wvù bɔ́ kfǔn      'the person they have hit'
wè wvù bɔ́ tɔ́n       'the person they have refused'
wè wvù bɔ́ dɔ̀msě     'the person they have pushed'
wè wvù bɔ́ cìmsé      'the person they have pacified'
```

1.2. [-FOC], P_1. This tense also is identical to its counterpart in main clauses, i.e. it takes tone pattern A and a L tone suffixed to the verb:

```
wè wvù bɔ́ bé kfùn     'the person they hit' (earlier today)
wè wvù bɔ́ bé tōn̄     'the person they refused'
wè wvù bɔ́ bé dɔ̀msè    'the person they pushed'
wè wvù bɔ́ bé cìmsè    'they person they pacified'
```

1.3. [-FOC], P_2. This tense differs from its realization in main clauses in two ways: (a) it takes tone pattern A instead of B, and (b) it requires the suffix -lɛ̀ (realized -ɛ̀ after a consonant and optionally after a short vowel):

```
wè wvù bɔ́ cí kfùnɛ̀    'the person they hit' (yesterday, some days ago)
wè wvù bɔ́ cí tonɛ̀     'the person they refused'
wè wvù bɔ́ cí dɔ̀msɛ̀ɛ̀   'the person they pushed'
wè wvù bɔ́ cí cìmsɛ̀ɛ̀   'the person they pacified'
```

It is noted in the last two examples that se+ɛ is realized -sɛɛ.

1.4. [-FOC], P_3. This tense also has tone pattern A (rather than the B found in main clauses) and takes the same suffix as the [-FOC] P_2:

```
wè wvù bɔ́ tɔ̀ kfùnɛ̀    'the person they hit' (a long time ago)
wè wvù bɔ́ tɔ̀ tonɛ̀     'the person they refused'
wè wvù bɔ́ tɔ̀ dɔ̀msɛ̀ɛ̀   'the person they pushed'
wè wvù bɔ́ tɔ̀ cìmsɛ̀ɛ̀   'the person they pacified'
```

The P_3 marker tɔ̀ may be deleted in affirmative relative clauses, e.g. wè wvù

bɔ́ kfùnὲ 'the person they hit' (a long time ago).

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

```
wè wvù bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ kfùn      'the person they have hit' (P₀)
wè wvù bɔ́ bέὲ kfùn       'the person they hit' (P₁)
wè wvù bɔ́ cí nɔ́ɔ̀ kfùn   'the person they hit' (P₂)
wè wvù bɔ́ tɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ kfùn  'the person they hit' (P₃)
```

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

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

```
wè wvù bɔ́ bá̆ kfun kε      'the person they haven't hit' (P₀)
wè wvù bɔ́ bé bǎ kfun kε   'the person they didn't hit' (P₁)
wè wvù bɔ́ cí bá̆ kfun kε   'the person they didn't hit' (P₂)
wè wvù bɔ́ tɔ̀ bǎ kfun kε  'the person they didn't hit' (P₃)
```

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

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

```
wè wvù bɔ́ nú kfun        'the person they are about to hit' (F₀)
wè wvù bɔ́ nú géé kfun    'the person they will hit' (F₁)
wè wvù bɔ́ nú bóy kfun    'the person they will hit' (F₂)
wè wvù bɔ́ nú yúú kfun    'the person they will hit' (F₃)
```

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

```
wè wvù bɔ́ yà nú kfun kε      'the person they are not about to hit' (F₀)
wè wvù bɔ́ yà nǔ géé kfun kε  'the person they will not hit' (F₁)
wè wvù bɔ́ yà nǔ bóy kfun kε  'the person they will not hit' (F₂)
wè wvù bɔ́ yà nǔ yúú kfun kε  'the person they will not hit' (F₃)
```

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

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

```
wè wvù bɔ́ nú fɔ̂ yā̀ kfun wan kε       'the person they are not about to hit' (F₀)
wè wvù bɔ́ nú fɔ̂ yā̀ géé kfun wan kε   'the person they will not hit' (F₁)
wè wvù bɔ́ nú fɔ̂ yā̀ bóy kfun wan kε   'the person they will not hit' (F₂)
wè wvù bɔ́ nú fɔ̂ yā̀ yúú kfun wan kε   'the person they will not hit' (F₃)
```

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

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

```
wè wvù bɔ́ kfùnɛ̌      'the person they are hitting' (0)
wè wvù bɔ́ bɛ́ kfùnɛ̀   'the person they were hitting' (P₁)
wè wvù bɔ́ cí kfùnɛ̌    'the person they were hitting' (P₂)
wè wvù bɔ́ tɔ̀ kfùnɛ̌   'the person they were hitting' (P₃)
```

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

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

```
wè wvù bɔ́ yà kfùnɛ̌ kɛ      'the person they are not hitting' (0)
wè wvù bɔ́ yà bɛ̌ kfùnɛ̀ kɛ   'the person they were not hitting' (P₁)
wè wvù bɔ́ yà cí kfùnɛ̀ kɛ    'the person they were not hitting' (P₂)
wè wvù bɔ́ yà tɔ̀ kfùnɛ̀ kɛ   'the person they were not hitting' (P₃)
```

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

```
wè wvū̄ yá kfùnɛ̌ kɛ      'the person who is not hitting' (0)
wè wvū̄ bɛ́ yà kfùnɛ̀ kɛ   'the person who was not hitting' (P₁)
wè wvū̄ cí yá kfùnɛ̌ kɛ    'the person who was not hitting' (P₂)
wè wvū̄ tɔ̀ yá kfùnɛ̌ kɛ   'the person who was not hitting' (P₃)
```

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

```
wè wvù bɔ́ bá kfùnɛ̀ kɛ      'the person they are not hitting' (0)
wè wvù bɔ́ bɛ́ bǎ kfùnɛ̀ kɛ   'the person they were not hitting' (P₁)
wè wvù bɔ́ cí bǎ kfùnɛ̀ kɛ    'the person they were not hitting' (P₂)
wè wvù bɔ́ tɔ̀ bǎ kfùnɛ̀ kɛ   'the person they were not hitting' (P₃)
```

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

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

```
wè wvù bɔ́ nú kfùnɛ̀       'the person they are about to be hitting' (F₀)
wè wvù bɔ́ nú gɛ́ɛ́ kfùnɛ̀   'the person they will be hitting' (F₁)
wè wvù bɔ́ nú bɔ́y kfùnɛ̀    'the person they will be hitting' (F₂)
wè wvù bɔ́ nú yúú kfùnɛ̀    'the person they will be hitting' (F₃)
```

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

```
wè wvù bɔ́ yà nǔ kfùnè kɛ        'the person they are not about to be hitting'(F₀)
wè wvù bɔ́ yà nǔ géɓ kfùnè kɛ    'the person they will not be hitting' (F₁)
wè wvù bɔ́ yà nǔ bɔ́y kfùnè kɛ    'the person they will not be hitting' (F₂)
wè wvù bɔ́ yà nǔ yǔǔ kfùnè kɛ    'the person they will not be hitting' (F₃)
```

The second negative construction utilizes fɔ̂ yā and, again, tone pattern A:

```
wè wvù bɔ́ nǔ fɔ̂ yā kfùnè kɛ          'the person they are not about to be
wè wvù bɔ́ nǔ fɔ̂ yā géɓ kfùnè kɛ                            hitting' (F₀)
wè wvù bɔ́ nǔ fɔ̂ yā bɔ́y kfùnè kɛ   'the person they will not be hitting'
wè wvù bɔ́ nǔ fɔ̂ yā yǔǔ kfùnè kɛ        (F₁,F₂,F₃, respectively)
```

Since Noni speakers in villages such as Mbinon and Lassin are said to pro-
nounce fɔ̂ yā as fáŋé yā, we see the etymology of the first of the two nega-
tive markers from the main verb fáŋ 'refuse' (cf. Chapter 14, section 10).

14

VERB CONJUGATION IV: CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES

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

bɔ́ cí nɔ́ɔ̀ yě͞m / ɛ̀bĭn   'they sang and danced'
bɔ́ cí nɔ́ɔ̀ mɛ̀sè / ɛ̀dɛɛ̀ bɛ̀ŋkfù   'they finished cooking yams'
bɔ́ cí nɔ́ɔ̀ lewtɛ̀ / ɛ̀gēn fɔ̀wǎy   'they ran to market'
bɔ́ cí nɔ́ɔ̀ lewtɛ̀ / ɛ̀ghǎw me   'they ran faster than I'

this construction has a number of different, though related functions in Noni. In the above examples, all in the [+FOC] P_2 tense, the consecutivized verb is separated from the first main verb by a slash (/). The first sentence has a consecutive verb form ɛ̀bĭn '& danced' used simply to represent the coordination of two actions. (The second normally, but not necessarily, follows the first.) In the second sentence it is observed that the consecutive verb form ɛ̀dɛɛ̀ '& cooked' provides a complement to the verb mēsě 'finish'. In the third sentence, ɛ̀gēn '& went' is a directional verb which is required to indicate motion towards the market. The sentence literally means 'they ran and went to market'. Were ɛ̀gēn not present, the meaning would be 'they ran at the market', i.e. there would be no direction, only movement within a locality. Finally, the last sentence involves the consecutive verb form ɛ̀ghǎw '& overcame, & was superior to'. It thus literally means 'they ran and overcame me', one of the most frequent ways to express a comparative in the language. It can be noted that Noni does not use constructions with 'take' + a consecutive verb form, as has been reported in Eastern Grassfields Bantu, e.g. Bamileke-Fe'fe' (Hyman 1971).

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

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

1.1. [-FOC], P_0. As seen in the following examples, a consecutive verb following a P_0 tense takes a prefix ɛ̀ with its D tonal pattern:

bɔ́ yém lɔ̀ ɛ̀kfūn bɔɔm   'they have just sung and hit children'
bɔ́ yém lɔ̀ ɛ̀tɔ̌n bɔɔm   'they have just sung and refused children'
bɔ́ yém lɔ̀ ɛ̀dɔ̄m̀sè bɔɔm   'they have just sung and pushed children'
bɔ́ yém lɔ̀ ɛ̀cîm̀sè bɔɔm   'they have just sung and pacified children'

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

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

```
bɔ́ bé yēm ɛ̀kfūn bɔɔm    'they sang and hit children' (earlier today)
bɔ́ bé yēm ɛ̀tŏn bɔɔm     'they sang and refused children'
bɔ́ bé yēm ɛ̀dɔ̄msɛ̀ bɔɔm  'they sang and pushed children'
bɔ́ bé yēm ɛ̀cîmsɛ̀ bɔɔm  'they sang and pacified children'
```

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

```
bɔ́ cí yém ɛ̀kfūn bɔɔm    'they sang and hit children' (yesterday, some days
bɔ́ cí yém ɛ̀tŏn bɔɔm     'they sang and refused children'          ago)
bɔ́ cí yém ɛ̀dɔ̄msɛ̀ bɔɔm  'they sang and pushed children'
bɔ́ cí yém ɛ̀cîmsɛ̀ bɔɔm  'they sang and pacified children'
```

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

```
bɔ́ tɔ̀ yǒm kfūn bɔɔm    'they sang and hit children' (a long time ago)
bɔ́ tɔ̀ yǒm tón bɔɔm     'they sang and refused children'
bɔ́ tɔ̀ yǒm dɔ̄msɛ̀ bɔɔm  'they sang and pushed children'
bɔ́ tɔ̀ yǒm cîmsɛ̀ bɔɔm  'they sang and pacified children'
```

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

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

```
·bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ yēm ɛ̀kfūn bɔɔm      'they have sung and hit children' ($P_0$)
bɔ́ bɛ̀ɛ̀ yēm ɛ̀kfūn bɔɔm      'they sang and hit children' ($P_1$)
bɔ́ cí nɔ́ɔ̀ yēm ɛ̀kfūn bɔɔm   'they sang and hit children' ($P_2$)
bɔ́ tɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ yēm kfūn bɔɔm    'they sang and hit children' ($P_3$)
```

3. [-PROG, -FUT, +NEG]. After a negative (and [-PROG]) P_0, P_1, P2 or P3, the consecutive form consists of the bare verb with tone pattern C:

```
bɔ́ bǎ yém kfun bɔɔm kɛ    'they haven't sung and hit children' ($P_0$)
bɔ́ bé bǎ yém kfun bɔɔm kɛ  'they didn't sing and hit children' ($P_1$)
bɔ́ cí bǎ yém kfun bɔɔm kɛ  'they didn't sing and hit children' ($P_2$)
·bɔ́ tɔ̀ bǎ yém kfun bɔɔm kɛ  'they didn't sing and hit children' ($P_3$)
```

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

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

```
bɔ́ nú yém kfun bɔɔm        'they are about to sing and hit children' ($F_0$)
bɔ́ nú géé yém kfun bɔɔm    'they will sing and hit children' ($F_1$)
bɔ́ nú bóy yém kfun bɔɔm    'they will sing and hit children' ($F_2$)
bɔ́ nú yúú yém kfun bɔɔm    'they will sing and hit children' ($F_3$)
```

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

kɛ́ bɔ́ nú yém kfun bɔɔm kɛ	'they are not about to sing and hit children'(F
kɛ́ bɔ́ nú géé yém kfun bɔɔm kɛ	'they will not sing and hit children' (F₁)
kɛ́ bɔ́ nú bɔ́y yém kfun bɔɔm kɛ	'they will not sing and hit children' (F₂)
kɛ́ bɔ́ nú yúú yém kfun bɔɔm kɛ	'they will not sing and hit children' (F₃)

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

bɔ́ yemté kfùnè bɔɔm	'they are singing and hitting children' (O)
bɔ́ bé yemtè kfùnè bɔɔm	'they were singing and hitting children' (P₁)
bɔ́ cí yemté kfùnè bɔɔm	'they were singing and hitting children' (P₂)
bɔ́ tɔ̀ yemté kfùnè bɔɔm	'they were singing and hitting children' (P₃)

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

kɛ́ bɔ́ yemtè kfùnè bɔɔm kɛ	'they are not singing and hitting children'(O)
kɛ́ bɔ́ be yemtè kfùnè bɔɔm kɛ	'they were not singing and hitting children' (P₁)
kɛ́ bɔ́ ci yemtè kfùnè bɔɔm kɛ	" " (P₂)
kɛ́ bɔ́ tɔ̀ yemtè kfùnè bɔɔm kɛ	" " (P₃)

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

bɔ́ nú yemtè kfùnè bɔɔm	'they are about to be singing and hitting child-
bɔ́ nú géé yemtè kfùnè bɔɔm	'they will be singing and hitting ren' (F₀)
bɔ́ nú bɔ́y yemtè kfùnè bɔɔm	children'
bɔ́ nú yúú yemtè kfùnè bɔɔm	(F₁, F₂, F₃, respectively)

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

kɛ́ bɔ́ nǔ yemtè kfùnè kɛ	'they are not about to be singing and hitting
kɛ́ bɔ́ nǔ géé yemtè kfùnè kɛ	children' (F₀)
kɛ́ bɔ́ nǔ bɔ́y yemtè kfùnè kɛ	'they will not be singing and hitting children'
kɛ́ bɔ́ nǔ yúú yemtè kfùnè kɛ	(F₁, F₂, F₃, respectively)

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

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

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

bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ ye̅m ɛ̀fwɔ̌ yà̅ kfun bɔɔm kɛ   'they have sung and not hit children' (0)
bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ ye̅m ɛ̀fwɔ̌ yà̅ tɔ́n bɔɔm kɛ   'they have sung and not refused children'
bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ ye̅m ɛ̀fwɔ̌ yà̅ dɔ̅m̀sě bɔɔm kɛ 'they have sung and not pushed children'
bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ ye̅m ɛ̀fwɔ̌ yà̅ cɪ́msé bɔɔm kɛ 'they have sung and not pacified children'

bɔ́ bɛ́ɛ̀ ye̅m ɛ̀fwɔ̌ yà̅ kfun bɔɔm kɛ   'they sang and didn't hit children' (P₁)
           etc.

bɔ́ cɪ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ ye̅m ɛ̀fwɔ̌ yà̅ kfun bɔɔm kɛ 'they sang and didn't hit children' (P₂)
           etc.

bɔ́ tɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ ye̅m fwɔ́ yà̅ kfun bɔɔm kɛ   'they sang and didn't hit children' (P₃)
bɔ́ tɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ ye̅m fwɔ́ yà̅ tɔ́n bɔɔm kɛ   'they sang and didn't refuse children'
bɔ́ tɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ ye̅m fwɔ́ yà̅ dɔ̅m̀sě bɔɔm kɛ 'they sang and didn't push children'
bɔ́ tɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ ye̅m fwɔ́ yà̅ cɪ́msé bɔɔm kɛ 'they sang and didn't pacify children'

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

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

bɔ́ nǔ yɛ́m bɔ́ sàá kfun bɔɔm kɛ   'they are about to sing and not hit child-
                                  ren' (F₀)

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

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

bɔ́ yemté yà kfùnè bɔɔm kɛ   'they are singing and not hitting children'

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

15

SUMMARY AND RULES

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

	A (`R`)	B (`R´)	C (´R´)	D (´R`)
[-REL, -CNS, -PROG, -NEG]	P_0-P_3 [+FOC] P_1 [-FOC]	P_0, P_2, P_3 [-FOC], Imp	F_0-F_3	
[-REL, -CNS, -PROG, +NEG]			P_0-P_3, F_0-F_3, Imp	
[-REL, -CNS, +PROG, -NEG]	P_1, F_0-F_3 Imp	0, P_2, P_3		
[-REL, -CNS, +PROG, +NEG]	0, P_1-P_3, F_0-F_3, Imp			
[+REL, -CNS, -PROG, -NEG]	P_1-P_3 [-FOC] P_0-P_3 [+FOC]	P_0 [-FOC]	F_0-F_3	
[+REL, -CNS, -PROG, +NEG]			P_0-P_3, F_0-F_3	
[+REL, -CNS, +PROG, -NEG]	P_1, F_0-F_3	0, P_2, P_3		
[+REL, -CNS, +PROG, +NEG]	P_1-P_3, F_0-F_3	0		
[-REL, +CNS, -PROG, -NEG]			F_0-F_3, Imp	P_0-P_3
[-REL, +CNS, -PROG, +NEG]			P_0-P_3, F_0-F_3, Imp	
[-REL, +CNS, +PROG, -NEG]	0, P_1-P_3, F_0-F_3, Imp			
[-REL, +CNS, +PROG, +NEG]	0, P_1-P_3, F_0-F_3, Imp			

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It should be noted that the feature specifications [-FUT, -PROG, -NEG] are obtained from the main verb. Also, an additional statement will be needed to spell out the prefix è which characterizes the P_0, P_1 and P_2 consecutive.

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

[+FOC]   →   A

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

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

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

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

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

[-PROG]   +   { [+FUT], [+NEG] }   →   C

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

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

[-FUT]   →   B

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

PART IV: BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

16

Word Order and Grammatical Relations

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

S AUX V DO IO X

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

    bɔ́ cí ñá kèŋgɔ̀m ɛ bɔɔm fɔgɔ̀   'they gave plantains to
    they P₂ gave plantains to children yesterday   children yesterday'
    S AUX V   DO   IO   X

In the above example the [-FOC] P_2 tense is used and the X of the formula S AUX V DO IO X is represented by a temporal adverb.

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

    ɛ̀ cí ñá bɔ́ kèŋgɔ̀m ɛ bɔɔm fɔgɔ̀   *'they* gave plantains
    DS P₂ gave they plantains to children yesterday   to children yesterday'

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

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

    bɔ́ cí ñá bɔɔm bɔ́ kèŋgɔ̀m fɔgɔ̀   'they gave plantains to
    they P₂ gave children with plantains yesterday   children yesterday'

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

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

me ŋgwě lɔ̀	'I have just fallen'
wɔ̀ gwě lɔ̀	'you [sg] have just fallen'
wvù gwě lɔ̀	'he/she has just fallen'
bèsèn gwèkěn lɔ̀	'we [excl] have just fallen'
bèn gwèkěn lɔ̀	'you [pl] have just fallen'
bɔ́ gwèkěn lɔ̀	'they have just fallen'

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

me nú n̠tɔ́ n̠yúú n̠kfun wan 'I will hit a child' [a long time from now, F_3]

me n̠cí n̠ɔ́ɔ̀ n̠yēm ɛ̀n̠kfūh wān 'I sang and hit a child' [yesterday, P_2]

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

me n̠yemtɛ́ n̠yà m̠binè kɛ 'I am singing and not dancing'

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

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

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

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

bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ kfùn wān	'they have hit a child' (P_0)
yuŋsè cí nɔ́ɔ̀ dèɛ̀ kèngɔ̀m	'Yungse cooked plantains' (P_2)
me nú mbɔ́y wɔ́ mbvum̀	'I will drink wine' (F_2)

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

Chapter 4, e.g.

bɔ́ gɔ̀mtɛ̌ me	'they are looking for me'
bɔ́ gɔ̀mtɛ̌ wɔ̀	'they are looking for you [sg]'
bɔ́ gɔ̀mtɛ̌ wvù	'they are looking for him/her'
bɔ́ gɔ̀mtɛ̌ bèsèn	'they are looking for us [excl]'
bɔ́ gɔ̀mtɛ̌ bèn	'they are looking for you [pl]'
bɔ̀ gɔ̀mtɛ̌ bɔ́	'they are looking for them'

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

bɔ́ teŋéné lɔ̀	'they are calling each other'	(cf. téé 'call')
bɔ́ kɔ̀ŋɛ̌né lɔ̀	'they love each other'	(cf. kɔ̀ŋ 'love')

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

bɔ́ yɛné ye bɔ́ lɛ́	'they see themselves' (lit. they see their bodies, cl. 10)
bɔ́ kwààkɛ̌ bikoo bibɔ́ɔ́lɛ́	'they are thinking of themselves (lit. they are thinking of their heads, cl. 8)

Thus, there is no reflexive pronoun in Noni.

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

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

me nɔ́ɔ̀ ŋgòy wā̄n bèŋkfǔ	'I have bought yams for the child [to eat]'
me nɔ́ɔ̀ ŋgèsè wā̄n bèŋkfǔ	'I have sold yams for the child ['s benefit]'
me nɔ́ɔ̀ ñā̄ wan bèŋkfǔ	'I have given yams for the child ['s benefit]'
me nɔ́ɔ̀ ncìlǹsè wā̄n bèŋkfǔ	'I have sent yams for the child [to eat]'
me nɔ́ɔ̀ nlèm wan wɛ́	'I have cultivated the field for the child ['s benefit]'

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

me nɔ́ɔ̀ ndɛ̀ɛ̀ wā̄n bèŋkfǔ	'I have cooked yams for the child [to eat]'
me nɔ́ɔ̀ ndɛ̀ɛ̀ bèŋkfǔ ɛ wan	(= same)

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

    me nɔ́ɔ̀ ncììnsè bèŋkfǔ ɛ wan 'I have sent yams to the child'

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

    me nɔ́ɔ̀ nlèm wɛ́ nfɔn 'I have cultivated the field for the chief ['s
                          benefit]' (lit. 'the field of the chief')

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

    me nɔ́ɔ̀ ndèè bèŋkfǔ wan ɛ́ 'I have cooked yams for the child' (i.e. in
                           his place)

Thus, to summarize, we find the following:

    V O_2 O_1 :   'O_1 for O_2's benefit'

    V O_1 ɛ O_2 :   'O_1 to/from O_2' (occasionally 'for O_2's benefit')

    V O_1 O_2 lɛ́ :   'O_1 for (in the place of) O_2'

    V O_1 'of' O_2 :   'O_1 for O_2's benefit'

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

17

Oblique and Adverbial Complements

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

    me nɔ́ɔ̀ ndɛ̀ɛ̀ wā̄n bèŋfkǔ
    me nɔ́ɔ̀ ndɛ̀ɛ̀ bèŋkfǔ ε wan

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

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

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

    me ncɔɔŋké kèŋgɔ̀m ε kwɔɔ̀n   'I am stealing plantains from the woman'
    bɔ́ ñìlě kèŋgɔ̀m ε kwɔɔ̀n   'they are hiding plantains from the woman'
    bɔ́ fíí kèŋgɔ̀m ε kwɔɔ̀n   'they are receiving plantains from the woman'
    bɔ́ gɔ̀ytě kèŋgɔ̀m ε kwɔɔ̀n   'they are buying yams from the woman'

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

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

verbs yɛ́n 'see', bì 'follow', gay 'greet', fíí 'be tired of', kom 'touch'
and cínɛ́ 'leave' require lɛ́ after their complement:

```
me nɔ́ɔ nyɛ̄n wè lɛ̆      'I have seen someone'
me nɔ́ɔ mbì wān ɛ́        'I have followed the child'
me nɔ́ɔ ŋgày kwɔ̀ɔn ɛ̆    'I have greeted the woman'
me nɔ́ɔ nfìi wan ɛ́       'the child is tired of me'
me nɔ́ɔ ŋkòm fyɛɛ̀ lɛ̆    'I have touched something'
me nɔ́ɔ ncìnɛ̀ wān ɛ́     'I have left the child'
```

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

   4. *The preposition* bɔ́. This preposition was already seen in the sen-
tence bɔ́ cí ñā̀ bɔɔm bɔ́ kèŋgɔ̀m fɔgò 'they gave plantains to the children yes-
terday', on p.76. Its literal meaning is 'with'. Thus, in this sentence,
one 'gives the children with plantains' (cf. English 'provide someone with
something'). In the following sentences it is noted that bɔ́ is used with
directional verbs (e.g. tɔ́ 'come') to mean 'take/bring something to':

```
me nɔ́ɔ ntɔ̄ bɔ́ bèŋkfǔ ɛ wɔ̀   'I have brought yams to you'
me nɔ́ɔ ntɔ̄ wɔ̀ bɔ́ bèŋkfǔ      'I have brought you yams' (for your benefit)
me nɔ́ɔ ntɔ̄ bɔ́ bèŋkfǔ wɔ̀ lɛ̆  'I have brought yams for you' (in your place)
```

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

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

```
me ntɔ́ɔ bɔ́ wān      'I am bringing the child'
me ntɔ́ɔ beè wān      'I am coming with the child'
beè wān tɔ́ɔ lɔ̀      'the child and I are coming'
```

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

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

```
me nɔ́ɔ nsɛ̀ɛ ñàm bɔ́ fèñɔ̄   'I have cut meat with a knife'
```

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

```
me nɔ́ɔ nsɛ̀ɛ ñàm dvú   'I have cut meat with it'
me nɔ́ɔ ñà̄ wvù dvǔ     'I have given him it'
```

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

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

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

```
fɔ̀wǎy fɔme       'at my market'
fɔ̀wǎy fɛn        'at this market'
fɔ̀yɛ̄wɛ́ fɔ wan   'at the compound/house of the child'
fɔ̀fǎ fɔ kwɔɔn    'on the woman's head'
```

The first two examples, fɔ̀wǎy 'at the market' and fɔ̀yɛ̄wɛ́ 'at the compound, at the house', involve locativized nouns which exist in other noun classes, cf. wǎy 'market' 3/13, yɛ̄w 'house' 9/10. The form fɔ̀fǎ 'on the head', on the other hand, exists only in class 16 (cf. also fɔ̀fǎlǎǎŋ 'at the summit [of a tree, mountain etc.]', for which no corresponding non-locative noun has been found).

As seen, the normal meaning of class 16 fɔ̀- is 'to, at'. With this meaning, these locatives often occur as complements:

```
wvù tooté ken fɔkɔ̌      'he is throwing firewood to/on the ground'
bɔ́ nɔɔ́ tɔ̄m ŋwà fɔ̀ wān é 'they have sent the book to the child'
```

It is conceivable in the second sentence that the locativized noun could mean 'for the child'. Compare the following synonymous sentences, one of which uses fɔ̀-, the other ɛ̀:

```
bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ́ tɔ̄m wan fɔ̀ bvudvǔu bwêw ǒ   'they have sent the child in his
bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ́ tɔ̄m wan ɛ̀ bvudvǔu bwêw ǒ           place'
```

Both prepositional phrases (written here with the preposition fɔ̀ and postposition lɛ́ as separate words) indicate 'for him' in the sense of 'in his stead'. It is interesting to note that while fɔ̀ is used to indicate direction toward a person, it may not required with a place name, e.g.

```
bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ́ tɔ̄m wan ŋkɔ̀  'they have sent the child to Nkor'
```

Finally, while the preposition usually indicates direction toward something or someone, it acquires the meaning 'from' after certain verbs:

```
me nɔ́ɔ́ nɛ̀ fɔ̀ wān é   'I have left the child'
wvù nɔ́ɔ́ lewtɛ̀ fɔ̀wǎy  'he has run from in the market'
```

5.2. *Class 17*. Class 17 locatives usually begin with ɛ- (with either L or M tone). Some examples with modifiers are as follows:

```
ɛjè jan       'in this road'     (jè 'road' 9/10)
ɛ̀ntɛ̌ jɔ fìɛ̀w 'inside the rat'   (ketɛ́ 'stomach' 7/8)
ɛ̀jɔ́ɔ jɔme    'in my stream'     (jɔɔ́ 'water, stream' 9/10)
```

These examples all show a preposition ɛ 'in' and, as indicated, derive from nouns found in other classes. In some cases no corresponding noun is known:

```
ɛ̀kǔ   'under'
ɛ̀múù  'in the mouth'
```

In other cases the base noun is known, but the derivation is irregular. Thus, in addition to ɛ̀ntɛ̌ 'inside', which derives from the class 7 variant ɛtɛ́ of ketɛ́ 'stomach' (see p.10), we have the following:

    ɛ̀kɛ̂   'in the bag' (ɛkɛlɛ̀ 'bag' 7/8)
    ɛ̀kɔ̂w 'in the bush' (ɛkɔ́wɛ 'bush' 7/8)

These forms both lose their final -ɛ in forming a class 17 locative (as well as undergoing tonal changes, which mark class 17 formation in other cases we have seen).

    Examples of class 17 locatives appearing as verb complements are as follows:

    bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ ñā⁻ bvulɛm ɛmǔù jɔ wan 'they have given (put) fufu in the
                                             child's mouth'
    bɔ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ bōy wâ ɛ̀wǎy jan   'they have already come out of this market'

    5.3. *Class 18.* Only three locative class 18 forms have been found in the language. These are illustrated below with modifiers:

    yɛ̌w dvume   'in my house' (yɛ̄w 'house' 9/10)
    cōn̄ dvun   'in this hut' (cōn 'hut' 9/10)
    cln̄ dvu kwɔɔ́n 'around the woman's waist'

Two of the three class 18 forms have corresponding non-locative counterparts, as indicated.

    While class 18 locatives are only three in number, their pronominal form dvú is used widely as a replacive for bɔ́ 'with' + a noun, e.g.

    wan wvù me ñaŋyí bɔ́ kɛ̀ŋkfǔ 'the child to whom I am feeding with yams'
    kɛ̀ŋkfǔ kɛ̀ me ñaŋyí wan dvú 'the yams I am feeding the child (with)'

The meaning of the second relative clause is literally 'the yams that I am feeding the child with them' (cf. section 4).

    5.4. *Other locatives.* The two most frequent locative constructions are ɛ̀...lɛ́ 'in' and yi...lɛ́ 'on'. We have seen instances of the former in section 5.2. Not all such prepositional phrases are instances of class 17, however. Instead, an option is often observed as in the following:

    ɛ̀ gwɛɛ̀ jɔ wvù 'in his ceiling' (gwɛɛ̀ 'ceiling' 3/4)
    ɛ̀ gwɛɛ̀ wvù lɛ̌   "   "   "

Either ɛ̀ is used alone and in class 17, or it is used in combination with the postposition lɛ́, and the locativized noun remains in its original class. Additional examples of locative complements with ɛ̀...lɛ́ include:

    me mbɛ́ɛ̀ mbìsè ŋkāw̄ ɛ̀ mbàsè lɛ̌ 'I added salt to the soup' (P₁)
    yɔ̄ŋ yin nú ɛ̀ ŋkǎŋ ɛ́   'these tomatoes are about to be fried'
    yɔ̄ŋ yin cí nú ɛ̀ ndɛ̀ɛ̀ lɛ̌   'these tomatoes were to be cooked'

The last two examples show that verbs can be placed in the ɛ̀...lɛ́ construction to derive a stative verbal form (lit. 'these tomatoes are in frying', etc.). As seen in the following additional examples, a nasal prefix is also required:

èngɔyí	'to be broken'	(ŋgɔ́y 'break')
ènshɔ̀lɛ̌	'to be cleaned'	(shɔ 'clean')
ènfɔ̀ɔ̀lɛ̌	'to be borrowed'	(fɔɔ 'borrow')
èngàwlɛ̌	'to be divided'	(gaw 'divide')
ènyɔyí	'to be twisted'	(yɔ́y 'twist')
èmbɔmé	'to be moulded'	(bɔ́m 'mould')
èntoné	'to be refused'	(tón 'refuse')
ènyɛ̀nèlɛ̌	'to be opened'	(yɛ̄hɛ̀ 'open')
ènĩ̀lɛ̀lɛ̌	'to be hidden'	(ñĩ̀lɛ̌ 'hide')
èŋkawyɛ̀lɛ̌	'to be chopped'	(káwyɛ́ 'chop')
èntfusèlɛ̌	'to be retaliated'	(tfúsé 'retaliate')
èmbɔɔlɛ̌	'to be given birth'	(bɔ́ɔ́ 'give birth')

As indicated, it seems most appropriate to write these forms as one word.

The second common locative is yi...lé which has the functions indicated in the following examples:

me nú ntɔ́ yi kèm̄a̅ kin é	'I will come during this week'
wvù nɔ́ɔ̀ gwè yi ɛte lé	'he has fallen from the tree'
wvù felé me yí bvudéfɛ̀ lɛ̌	'he is taller than I'
me nɔ́ɔ̀ ntɔ̄y yi wan é	'I have accused the child'

The basic meaning of yi...lé is 'on' as seen in the simple examples:

yí yèw̄ é	'on the house'
yí ɛbɔ́ lé	'on the hand'

However, the preceding sentences show that this construction can be used temporally (to indicate duration) as in 'I will come during this week' (cf. yi bilɔ̄m̀ lɛ̌ 'for years'). The second sentence can be interpreted as 'he has fallen from on the tree', while the third sentence literally means 'he surpasses me on height', cf. the following:

wvù felé me yi bvufáŋɛ̀ lɛ̌	'he is fatter than I' (bvufáŋɛ̀ 'fatness')
wvù felé me yi bvujítɛ̀ lɛ̌	'he is heavier than I' (bvujítɛ̀ 'weight')

Finally, the verb tɔ́y 'accuse' appears to require yi...lé and must be so marked in the lexicon.

Other locatives are usually derived from nouns or other locatives, e.g. èntɛ̌ lɛ́ŋ 'between' (from èntɛ̌ 'inside' [from ɛté 'stomach'] + lɛ́ŋ '?'), èjĩm 'behind' (from jĩm 'back'; but cf. èjĩm 'at the back'), etc.

6. *Adverbs.* There are a number of adverbs in Noni which occur after the verb, hence in complement position. We shall divide these into three categories: aspectual, temporal and manner adverbs.

6.1. *Aspectual adverbs.* The three adverbs considered to be in this category are wâ 'already', lɔ̀ 'just, instead', and kɛ́ 'only'. These adverbs all occur between the verb and the first post-verbal complement (e.g. the direct object, if there is one). The following sentences illustrate the use of wâ 'already' with a variety of tenses:

ntɔ̀n nɔ́ɔ̀ kwè wâ	'the pot has (already) broken' (lit. 'died')
yuŋsè cí bĬ wâ èjĬm fɔ̀wǎy	'Yungse followed (alr.) behind to market'
me ncí nɔ́ɔ̀ mɛ̀sè wâ èndɛɛ̀ bèŋkfŭ	'I finished (alr.) cooking yams'
me ndɛ̀ɛ̀lɛ̌ wâ bèŋkfŭ	'I am (already) cooking yams'

These sentences are in the P_0 [+FOC], P_2 [-FOC], P_2 [+FOC] and 0 tenses, respectively, indicating that wâ has a more general use than English 'already'.

The second aspectual adverb is the lɔ we have seen in preceding chapters. If a [-FUT, -FOC] verb is not followed by a complement of some type, lɔ is required, e.g.

bèsèn gwèé lɔ	'we are falling' [as a group]
me ntɔ́ɔ́ lɔ	'I am coming'
bèsèn gwě lɔ	'we have just fallen'
me ncí tɔ́ lɔ	'I just came, I *came*'
yuŋsè lewté wâ lɔ	'Yungse is already running'

The tense is 0 is the first two sentences, P_0 [-FOC] in the third, and P_2 [-FOC] in the fourth. The last sentence demonstrates that the adverb wâ does not count as a verbal complement, since this sentence would not be acceptable if lɔ were not present. (The wâ is thus an expansion of the verb, rather than of the verb phrase, as we have also discovered for corresponding adverbs in Aghem.)

In the above sentences, we cannot delete lɔ or else the remaining forms are ungrammatical. The lɔ which is present thus either completes the [-FUT, -FOC] verb, or, places additional focus on the verb itself. In case there is a complement, e.g. an object, lɔ is not required, e.g.

me ŋkfùně wan	'I am hitting a child'	(0)
me ŋkfǔn wan	'I have hit a *child*'	(P_0, [-FOC])
me ncí ŋkfǔn wan	'I hit a *child*'	(P_2, [-FOC])

In the 0 tense, a normal present tense sentence is obtained. In the [-FOC] P_0, P_1 and P_2, however, utterances without lɔ can only be in answer to a question, e.g. 'whom did you hit?'. They are made more independent, with focus on the verb, by including lɔ, i.e.

me ŋkfǔn lɔ wan̄	'I have just hit a child'
me ncí ŋkfǔn lɔ wan̄	'I hit a child'

If, on the other hand, lɔ is placed in a sentence which could have stood alone without it, lɔ adds the meaning 'just, instead', e.g.

me ŋkfùně lɔ wan̄	'I am just hitting a child'	(0)
me nú mbɔ́y ŋgwe lɔ wan̄	'I will instead hit a child'	(F_2)

It should be noted that where lɔ is required to complete a sentence, this occurs only in main clause affirmatives, e.g. not in relative clauses.

The final adverb presented in this section is kɛ́, which is used to mean 'only', occurring before a focused post-verbal constituent, e.g.

è nǔ kɛ́ me	'it is only I'
è lɔ́ɔ́ kɛ́ bɔ́	'only they are weaving'
wvù cǐ ñá kɛ́ ɛ me màŋ	'he gave it but to me alone'
me nú ndíé kɛ́ ɛ nùù kèŋgɔm màŋ	'I will eat but plantains alone'

The first two sentences have the subject postposed to the verb. The result is that this focused subject falls under the scope of kɛ́ 'only'. The third and fourth sentences also have màŋ 'alone, only' (<'one') which acts with kɛ́.

As seen, kɛ́ can be translated as English 'but', e.g. 'it is but I', in many cases. This marker is clearly related to the kɛ́ found in negative constructions, e.g.

wvù cǐ ñá ŋwà ɛ nùù ɛ me, kɛ́ nùù ɛ wɔ̀ kɛ 'he gave the book to me, not to you'

(The constructions just since with ɛ nùù... involve constituents which are focused; see Chapter 22.)

6.2. *Temporal adverbs*. Many of the referential time expressions resemble nouns, e.g. keséen 'now', nfèw '(in a) short time', ncèkɛ 'a long time ago', ntfùú 'tomorrow'. Others resemble prepositional phrases of the locative type seen in earlier sections of this chapter, e.g. fɔgɔ̀ 'yesterday', fɔ̀ shɛ̌ ntfùú 'day after tomorrow' (lit. at spend-the-day tomorrow), ɛ̀fɔ̌nɛ̀fɔ̄n 'often'. The class 1 noun kàŋ is used to indicate the number of times something has taken place, e.g. kàŋ mwàŋ 'once', bɔ̀kàŋ bɔfɛ́ɛ 'twice', etc. All of these temporal expressions appear after the verb (and object, if any):

me mbɛ́ɛ̀ ŋkfùncɛ̀ wā̄n bɔ̀kàŋ bɔfɛ́ɛ   'I hit the child twice'
me ntɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ ntɔ̄n wan lɔ̀m bɛ́ɛ̀   'I refused the child last year'
yuŋsè nǔ tɔ̌ nfèw càản   'Yungse will come in a short time'
yuŋsè tɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ lewtɛ̀ wǎ ncèkɛ   'Yungse ran (already) a long time ago'

Very few, if any, temporal expressions appear to belong to a separate class of adverbs.

6.3. *Manner adverbs*. The argument can also be made for manner adverbs that most resemble nouns. Typical manner adverbs are illustrated below:

yuŋsè cǐ nɔ́ɔ̀ yèm̄ ntāy   'Yungse sang well'
yuŋsè cǐ nɔ́ɔ̀ yèm̄ fɔ̌ ntèèn   'Yungse sang much'
yuŋsè cǐ nɔ́ɔ̀ lewtɛ̀ wɛɛ̀   'Yungse ran slowly'
yuŋsè cǐ nɔ́ɔ̀ lewtɛ̀ càản   'Yungse ran a little'
yuŋsè cǐ nɔ́ɔ̀ lewtɛ̀ cèkɛ̌y   'Yungse ran fast'
já wɛ̌   'stand up!'

Of the manner adverbs in the above sentences, only wɛɛ̀ 'slowly' shows a relationship to an existing non-adverb, namely wɛɛ 'be weak'. Other forms which may belong to an adverb class include ban 'please', nɛn 'thus', and tɛ̄n 'also', as seen below:

jìcɛ̌ wan ɛ́ ban   'hold the child, please!'
me ɲ́ge nɛ̀ɛ̀ ban   'what can I do!' (exclamation)
bɔ̌ nɔ́ɔ̀ diekɛ̀n tɛ̄n   'they have eaten too'
wɔ̀ dɛ̀ɛ̀lɛ̌ lɛ́ fǐ wɔ̀ jimténɛ́ nɛn   'what are you cooking that you are perspiring like this/thus?'

18

Auxiliary Verbs

1. *Verbal criteria.* The Noni language is rich in auxiliaries which precede the main verb. A particularly complex sentence containing several auxiliaries is the following:

```
me ntɔ̀ ŋge mbɛ́ɛ̀ mbvǔ nyúú ŋkfun wan  kɛ    'I had still not ever
I  P₃ do  still  again P₃   hit  child NEG     hit the child'
```

In this sentence there are five auxiliaries (with first person singular nasal agreement): ntɔ̀, ŋge, mbɛ́ɛ̀, mbvǔ and nyúú. These auxiliaries are verbs, since they meet the following criteria for verbal status:

(a) They have the same segmental and tonal structure as main verbs, i.e. they begin with a consonant and have at least one vowel, and they take the tones typical of one or another tense.

(b) They take first person singular subject agreement, as seen in the nasal prefix on each of the five auxiliaries in the preceding example.

(c) They appear in second position (after a main verb), e.g. as a consecutive.

As an example of criterion (c), consider the following sentences:

```
me ŋgɔ̀mtě ŋgéé nyɛ́n wɔ̀ lě ɛ̀bɛ̀n   'I want to see you today'
me ŋgɔ̀mtě mbɔ́y nyɛ́n wɔ̀ lě ntfùú   'I want to see you tomorrow'
```

The first clause me ŋgɔ̀mtě... 'I want' is in 0 tense. The second clause begins with the F_1 auxiliary géé in the first sentence and the F_2 auxiliary bɔ́y in the second. The difference in meaning is as indicated: the seeing will take place today vs. tomorrow. If these forms were not verbs, we would not expect them to appear in this position.

In this chapter we shall look at the various types of auxiliary verbs found in Noni. We shall demonstrate that most of them are related to still existing main verbs.

2. *Tense auxiliaries.* The following tense auxiliaries have been observed in preceding chapters (see especially Chapter 12):

form	*auxiliary meaning*	*main verb meaning (if any)*
bɛ́	P_1	?
cí	P_2	(< cɛ́ 'spend the day' ?)
tɔ̀	P_3	(< tɔ́ 'come' ?)
nú	[+FUT]	'be'
géé	F_1	(< ge 'do' ?)
bɔ́y	F_2	'exit, reach'
yúú	F_3	'to dawn'
nɔ́ɔ̀	[+FOC]	nú 'be' + ɛ

The future tense markers have a more transparent derivation than their past tense counterparts. (This is a general fact for the whole Grassfields Bantu region.) It should be recalled that P_3 tɔ̀ can also be used in the F_3 and

that F_3 yúú can also be used in the P_3 (see p.62).

    3. *The copula 'be'*. The copula verb 'be' has a number of main verb
and auxiliary functions. It occurs in infinitive form as kèé-nùù 'to be',
although in many contexts it acts like a H tone verb and has a short vowel.
(The form kèé-nùù is, of course, [+PROG].) We shall cite the copula as nú,
since this is the most common form it takes.

    3.1. *'Be' as a main verb*. As seen in the following examples, nú can
be followed (a) by a noun; (b) by an adjective; (c) by a locative; and (d)
by a prepositional verb form:

è nǔ me	'it is I'
yuŋsè nǔ cowè	'Yungse is an adult'
ŋwà wvūn nú fwè̄	'this book is new'
yuŋsè nǔ yěw	'Yungse is in the house'
yō̄ŋ yin cí nú è ŋkaŋ é	'these tomatoes were to be fried'
mú nú muféém èkè̂	'they are two [e.g. kolanuts] in the bag'

Thus, unlike other African languages, Noni has only one copula which is used
in all of the above contexts.

    3.2. *'Be' as an auxiliary*. There are at least three distinct functions
of nú as an auxiliary. The first of these, the marking of [+FUT] tenses, has
been illustrated several times. Similarly, its appearance in the nɔ́ɔ̀ marker
in [-PROG, -FUT, +FOC] tenses (except the P_1) has been noted, as has its
variant nú+ɛ, e.g.

    me nɔ́ɔ̀ ŋgwe = me nú ɛ ŋgwè   'I have fallen' [+FOC]

The copula is much more involved in focus marking in Noni than the above [+FOC]
P_0 tense would indicate (cf. Chapter 22). Thus, to mark verb complements as
focused, they are preceded by the markers ɛ nùù, e.g.

    me nyɛ̄n ɛ nùù wān é ɛjè   'I have seen a *child* in the road'
    wvù cí ñá bìŋkfǔ ɛ nùù ɛ me' 'he gave the yams to *me*'

In this construction the long vowel (=[+PROG]) variant of nú is used. Because
of the marker nú, one might wonder if this is a sequential construction (Chapter
20), i.e. 'he gave the yams and it is to me'. The following sentences would
then be the [-PROG] sequential counterpart to the above:

    me ncí nɔ́ɔ̀ ŋkèw wâ ɛ nú ndèélè bìŋkfǔ 'I started cooking yams'
    me ncí nɔ́ɔ̀ mèsè wâ ɛ nú ndèélè bìŋkfǔ 'I finished (sth.) and was cooking
    bɔ̀ŋwà bɔɔ nú bēm = bɔ̀ŋwà bɔ ɛ nú bēm 'the books which are mine'   yams'

These usages may have something to do with focus, since emphasis is on the
clause with ɛ nú (or on the bēm in the relative clause example, i.e. the books
which are *mine*, *my* books).

    The sentences with 'start' and 'finish' above hint to the last major
function of nú as an auxiliary verb: it frequently marks progressive actions:

    wvù nɔ́ɔ̀ nǔ jɛwtè   'he has been becoming mad'
    wvù nɔ́ɔ̀ nǔ yemtè bìnè 'he has been singing and dancing'
    me nú wâ ntɔ̄ lé   'I am already about to come'
    me mbé nù wâ ɛ̀ntɔ̄ lé 'I was already coming [when] ...'

In the first two sentences nú appears in the P₀ [+FOC] tense, acquiring a perfect progressive meaning. The third sentence resembles the F₀ sense of nú, except for the postposition lé and the tone pattern A on the verb. Finally, the last example has the ὲ + verb + lé construction seen on p.84. The sense of this last sentence thus is 'I was in coming [when something happened]'.

4. *Habitual aspect.* The habitual aspect is formed with the auxiliary gɛɛ (cf. gɛɛ 'put, let, store'), as seen in the following sentences:

me ŋgɛ́ɛ́ ŋgwὲ	'I fall'
yuŋsè cî gɛ́ɛ́ nùù wᾱn	'Yungse used to be a child'
bɔ́ tɔ̀ gɛ̀ɛ́ dὲὲlὲ kèŋgɔ̀m	'they used to eat plantains'
bɔ́ nú yúú gɛ́ɛ́ kfùnè bɔɔm	'they will always be hitting children'

As seen in these sentences, the main verb is always in a [+PROG] form. It is interesting to note in the first sentence that the focus adverbial lɔ̀ is not required to make the sentence complete. Although this sentence is unambiguously habitual in its meaning, the corresponding sentence with the 0 tense, i.e. me ŋgwèé lɔ̀, can either meaning 'I am falling' or 'I fall'.

5. *Other time and manner auxiliaries.* Although we shall not set up each one as a separate tense or aspect, there are many additional auxiliary verbs which refer to the time or manner in which an action takes place. A summary is provided below, followed by examples:

form	*auxiliary meaning*	*main verb meaning*
shɛ́ɛ́	'later'	'remain'
cé	'in the day'	'spend the day'
shɛ́	'in the night'	'spend the night'
bɔ́ɔ́/bvú	'again'	(< bvu 'interrupt'?)
yᾱŋsɛ̌n	'quickly'	'to be early'
já	'off and on'	'leave, stand'
mɔɔcɛ̌	'often'	'stay for short while'
bᾱynɛ̌n	'rarely'	'be rare'
yaw	'be first'	'be first'

e.g.

me nú nshɛ́ɛ́ ntɔ́	'I will come later'
me nú ncɛ̀ ŋkfun wvù	'I will hit him tonight'
me mbɛ́ nshe nyemtὲ mbinè	'I was singing and dancing all day'
yuŋsè bɔ́ɔ́ lɛwtɛ́ lɔ̀	'Yungse is running again'
kɛ́ yuŋsè nùú yᾱŋsɛ̌n kɛ	'Yungse will not come quickly'
yuŋsè cî nɔ́ɔ̀ já̄ ὲlewtὲ	'Yungse ran off and on'
yuŋsè mɔɔcî kɛ̀ tɔ̄	'Yungse often comes' (stays short but comes)
yuŋsè gɛ̌ baynὲn lɔ̀ sɛ́ tɔ́	'Yungse rarely comes' (does rarely before coming)
ὲ cî yᾱw yuŋsè ὲgēn fɔ̀wǎy	'Yungse was the first to go to the market'

It will be noted that the main verb is in one or another consecutive verb form (with tone pattern A, C or D). Some auxiliaries, on the other hand, either can or must take an infinitive, e.g.

wvù gɔ̀mtɛ̌ (kèé) tɔ́	'he wants to come'
wvù fὰὰŋkɛ̌ (kèé) tɔ́	'he refuses to come'
me ŋkɔ̀ɔ̀ŋkɛ̌ (kèé) tɔ́	'I like to come'
me ŋkeŋkɛ́ kèé nɛ	'I have to leave'

The last auxiliary verbs to be considered may ultimately be considered part of the aspectual and mood systems. In the following sentences it is seen that the auxiliary bɛ́(ɛ́) means 'still':

    yuŋsè bɛ̀ɛ́ lewtɛ́ lɔ̀   'Yungse is still running'
    bɔ́ bɛ́ɛ́ diekɛ́nɛ́ lɔ̀   'they are still eating'

The negative is formed with bɑ́(ɑ́),e.g.

    yuŋsè bɑ̀ɑ́ lewtè wɑ̂ kɛ 'Yungse is not running yet'
    bɔ́ bɑ́ɑ́ diekènè wɑ̂ kɛ   'they are not eating yet'

The presence of wɑ̂ 'already' is noted in these negatives. The form bɑ́(ɑ́) was seen to be the [-PROG, -FUT] negative marker in Chapter 12. The fact that bɛ́(ɛ́) exists (with the same vowel length alternation) suggests that bɑ́(ɑ́) is a contraction of bɛ́(ɛ́) + ya.

In addition to bɛ́(ɛ́), the auxiliary gɛ́ (from ge 'do') can be used as part of the verbal focus system. Representative uses of ge follow:

    me mbɑ́ ŋgɛ́ ŋgwe kɛ   'I have not gone and fallen'
    wɔ́ bɛ̌ gɛ̄ ɛ̀kfūn wvù njɛ̄ lɑ̌ 'why did you go and hit him?'

The first sentence asserts that I have not fallen, while someone apparently had thought I did. As seen in the translations, this use of ge seems aptly captured by the colloquial 'to go and do something'.

It is interesting to note that bɛ́(ɛ́) 'still' closely resembles the P_1 [+FOC] auxiliary bɛ́ɛ̀, while gɛ́ 'go and do something' closely resembles the F_1 future auxiliary gɛ́ɛ́. These should not be confused, however.

The last auxiliaries to be considered here are the conditional markers bɛ́ɛ́ and nee:

  me mbèɛ́ (nèɛ́) ŋgwe ɛ wɔ̀ (nɛn) bɛ́ baa wɑ́m 'I would have fallen if you
                                      had not screamed' (P_1)
  ɛ me ncí mbèɛ́ ŋkɛŋkè begɛ̄w to me ncí nɔ́ɔ̀ 'if I had had the money, I
     ŋgɛ̀n fɔ̀wɑ̌y   would have gone to market' (P_2)

By themselves, sentences like me mbèɛ́ ŋgwe can mean 'I would have fallen', 'I almost fell' and 'I am about to fall' (i.e. I am almost falling). The additional marker nee is optional in the above sentences, although it adds greater doubt to the reality of the condition. The parenthesized word nɛn in the second clause of the first sentence means 'thus'.

PART V: COMPLEX SENTENCES

19

RELATIVE CLAUSES

1. *Subject relatives.* All relative clauses are formed in Noni by placing the relativized noun at the head of the clause followed immediately by a relative pronoun. This pronoun is segmentally identical to the pronouns described in Chapter 4. When the relativized noun is subject of its clause, the relative pronoun takes LM no matter what the noun class of the head noun, e.g.

    wan wvū̄ gwě   'the child who has fallen'
    bɔɔm bɔ̄ gwèkěné   'the children who have fallen'
    bwě yⵀ cɔɔŋké   'a dog that steals'

As we saw in Chapter 13, there are restrictions on the use of main clause tenses in relative clauses, and in some cases, the relative tenses differ from their main clause counterparts (see section 5). For example, in the example 'a dog that steals', which uses the 0 tense, the verbal focus marker lɔ̂ is not required to complete the clause as it was in the main clause.

The relative construction and relative pronoun remain identical when the verb has a complement and when it occurs in the negative:

    kwɔɔ̀n wvū̄ cí kfùnɛ̀ wān   'the woman who hit the child'
    boñi ̀ bɔ̄ géé goytè bìŋkfǔ   'the people who buy yams'
    ñām̀ yⵀ nú fɔ̂ yā̀ bɔ́y lɔ́m bɔɔm kɛ   'the animals that will not bite children'

The resulting clause can, of course, be used as subject of a larger clause (e.g. 'the woman who hit the child fell') or as object (e.g. 'I saw the woman who hit the child that fell'), and also as an oblique (e.g. 'I gave the yams to the woman who hit the child').

2. *Object relatives.* All non-subject relativized nouns take a L tone relative pronoun instead of a LM one. This is illustrated with the following clauses where the object has been relativized:

    kwɔɔ̀n wvù bèsèn cǐ kfùnɛ̀   'the woman that we hit'
    bìŋkfǔ bì boñi ̀ géé goytè   'the yams that people buy'
    bɔɔm bɔ̀ ñām̀ nú fɔ̂ yā̀ bɔ́y lɔ́m kɛ   'the children that the animals will
                                        not bite'

As seen, there is no resumptive object pronoun in the relative clause (i.e. one does not say 'the woman that we hit her').

3. *Oblique relatives.* In all other cases the relative pronoun remains L in tone, but a resumptive pronoun is required in the relative clause. Thus, consider the following relative clauses involving, respectively, the preposition ɛ 'to', the preposition bɔ́ 'with' and a possessive:

```
kwɔɔn wvù me ntomté wan ɛ wvù      'the woman that I am sending a child to'
bɔɔm bɔ me ŋgɛ̀nɛ̌ fɔ̀wǎy beèbɔ̌     'the children that I am going to market
feñíi fè me ncí nyɛnɛ̀ kebɛbɛ̀ kêw ɛ̌ 'the bird whose wing I saw'        with'
```

These relative clauses have the following structure: 'the woman that I am send-
ing a child to her', 'the children that I am going to the market with them',
and 'the bird that I saw its wing'. (Note in this last sentence that the pos-
sessive pronoun can refer to non-human referent, although it must be animate.)

The locative classes have two possible relative clause structures. First,
they can follow the direct object pattern:

```
fɔ̀wǎy fɔ̀ me ŋgɛ̌n            'at the market where I went'
ɛbɔ̌ jɔ̀ me ncí ŋgɛ̀ɛ̀lɛ̀ fɛ̀mbì  'in the hand where I put the kolanut'
yɛ̌w dvù me ncí ncelɛ̀          'in the house where I spent the night'
```

The relative pronouns fɔ̀ (class 16), jɔ̀ (class 17) and dvù (class 18) are used
exactly as any other non-subject relative pronoun, and there is no resumptive
pronoun in the relative clause. On the other hand, the following is possible:

```
wǎy wvù me ŋgɛ̌n fɔ́          'the market that I went to'
ɛbɔ̌ kè me ncí ŋgɛ̀ɛ̀lɛ̀ fɛ̀mbì jɔ́ 'the hand that I put the kolanut in'
yɛ̌w yì me ncí ncelɛ̀ dvǔ     'the house that I spent the night in'
```

In this case the basic noun is relativized (with class 3, 7 and 9 concords,
respectively) and the locative class pronoun appears resumptively in the re-
lative clause. Thus, fɔ́, jɔ́ and dvǔ mean 'to it', 'in it', etc.

This recalls the use of dvǔ as a replacive for bɔ́ prepositional phrases,
where the head noun is inanimate (see Chapter 17, section 4). As seen in
the following examples, dvǔ appears in relative clauses as a resumptive pro-
noun meaning 'with it':

```
kèŋkfǔ kè me ñaŋyí wan dvǔ   'the yams I am feeding the child'
(cf. me ñaŋyí wan bɔ́ kèŋkfǔ  'I am feeding the child yams')

fèñɔ̄ fè me nsɛɛlé ñàm dvǔ   'the knife I am cutting meat with'
(cf. me nsɛɛlé ñàm bɔ́ fèñɔ̄  'I am cutting meat with a knife')
```

The relative clauses thus literally mean 'the yams that I am feeding the child
with them' and 'the knife that I am cutting meat with it'.

4. *Uses of relative clauses*. The primary purpose of a relative clause
is to identify a referent. What is included in the relative clause is usually
shared knowledge between the speaker and hearer. Thus, when one says 'where
is the child who fell?', one assumes that the hearer knows that there is a
child who fell (but see section 5). As seen in the following example, where
the head of the relative clause is a proper name,

```
yuŋsè, wvū̄ cí gwèlɛ̀, nu wâ síin fɔ̀ yɛ̄w ɛ́ 'Yungse, who fell, is already
                                              now at home'
```

As seen from the pauses marked by commas, this kind of relative clause adds
information that the hearer may not have shared with the speaker. Noni ap-
parently can therefore allow such "non-restrictive" relative clauses.

It will be recalled from constructions seen in Chapter 7 that relative
clauses take the place of what would be adjectives is English:

```
wǎn wvū fàŋ      'a fat child'     (fàŋ 'become fat')
bɔɔm bɔ̄ fàŋkèn  'fat children'
ŋkɛ̌m wvū jìtě   'a heavy load'    (jìtè 'be heavy')
fèmbì fē yɛɛlé   'a red kolanut'   (yɛɛlè 'be red')
kwɔɔ̀n wvū dèfě  'a tall woman'    (dèfè 'be tall')
```

As seen, the LM subject relative pronouns are used.

Another use of the relative construction is in expressing indirect questions, e.g.

```
kɛ́ me ŋkeè wè wvù wɔ̀ bě yɛ̄h kɛ          'I don't know whom you saw'
kɛ́ me ŋkeè fyɛɛ̀ fè wɔ̀ bě yɛ̄h kɛ        'I don't know what you saw'
kɛ́ me ŋkeè bvudvúu bvù wɔ̀ gɛ̀ně fɔ́ kɛ  'I don't know where you are going'
kɛ́ me ŋkeè wǎn wvū gɛ̀ně kɛ             'I don't know which child is going'
```

Literally, these sentences mean 'I don't know the person you saw', 'I don't know the thing you saw', 'I don't know the place you are going to it' and 'I don't know the child who is going'. The above sentences thus have the other interpretation that a specific person/thing/place is referred to.

In addition, the following indirect questions have also been recorded:

```
kɛ́ me ŋkeè fɔ̀ wɔ̀ gɛ̀ně kɛ    'I don't know where you are going'
kɛ́ me ŋkeè sɛ́kè wɔ̀ gɛ̀ně kɛ  'I don't know when you are going'
kɛ́ me ŋkeè nù wɔ̀ nǔ gɛn kɛ   'I don't know how you will go'
```

In the first sentence fɔ̀ is of course the object relative pronoun for class 16. This sentence thus means 'I don't know to where you are going'. The forms sɛ́kè and nù seen in the following two sentences are probably also nouns, although they were not observed with a relative pronoun. (sɛ́kè also occurs in the corresponding direct question; see Chapter 22).

5. *Relative tenses.* The tense structure of relative clauses was presented in Chapter 13. There it was seen that a number of tenses have a different morphology in relative clauses from that observed in main clauses. These differences can be seen also in the table on p.73 and are summarized again as follows:

(a) In the [-PROG, -NEG, -FOC] P_1, the relative form takes an additional L tone suffix $-\check{V}$.

(b) In the [-PROG, -NEG, -FOC] P_2 and P_3, the relative form takes an additional suffix $-l\grave{\varepsilon}$, thereby changing from tone pattern B to tone pattern A.

(c) In the [+PROG, +NEG] 0 tense, the tone pattern is A in main clauses, but B in relative clauses.

(d) As indicated above, lɔ̀ is not required in relative clauses to complete the affirmative 0 and [-FOC] P_0-P_3 tenses.

Another interesting tense restriction concerns the [+FOC] variants of the P_0-P_3 tenses. When the head of the relative clause is specific (i.e. non-generic) in meaning, i.e. the speaker has a specific referent in mind, the [+FOC] variants of these tenses cannot be used in a relative clause. Consider, however, the following pairs of sentences:

```
ta wan wvū cí gwèlὲ    'look for the child who fell'      ($P_2$, [-FOC])
ta wan wvū cí nɔ́ɔ̀ gwὲ  'look for a(ny) child who fell'   ($P_2$, [+FOC])
```

```
kέ me ŋkeè wǟn wvǔ gwɛ̌ kɛ        'I don't know the child who has fallen'
kέ me ŋkeè wǟn wvǔ nɔ́ɔ̀ gwè kɛ   'I don't know any child who has fallen'
```

(The second pair involves the P_O [-FOC] and [+FOC] tenses, respectively.)

The expected or most frequent relative construction is with the first, or [-FOC] variant. In the first sentence the speaker, who assumes that the hearer knows that a child fell, tells the latter to look for this child. In the second sentence, however, the speaker tells the hearer to look for any child who may have fallen. The speaker and hearer do not presuppose that any child fell at all. In this second sentence the relative clause contains information not previously assumed by the hearer. It is for this reason that the [+FOC] variant is used. The second set of sentences works similarly: in the [-FOC] variant it is mutually accepted by speaker and hearer that a child has fallen. In the [+FOC] variant, on the other hand, it has not been assumed that any child has fallen.

The same distinction is found even when the head of the relative clause is a proper noun. Thus, compare the first sentence in section 4 with the following:

```
yuŋsè wvǔ cɨ́ nɔ́ɔ̀ gwè nu wâ sɨ́ɨn fɔ̀ yɛ̄w ɛ́   'any Yungse who fell/did fall
                                                is not at home'
```

This sentence requires a very special context in order for it to be acceptable. The preceding context must be that someone claims there is a person named Yungse, that he is at home, and that he fell. The above sentence denies the entirety of this context: there is no Yungse such that he fell and is now at home.

The use of [+FOC] tenses in relative clauses is important in determining the exact meaning of the feature specification [+FOC] itself. In related Grassfields Bantu languages (e.g. Aghem; see Watters 1979), the [+FOC] tenses cannot appear in relative clauses. Presumably their function is slightly different from that found in Noni (see also Chapter 22).

20

SEQUENTIAL AND SUBJUNCTIVE CLAUSES

1. *Conjunction in Noni*. While noun phrases can be conjoined with bɔ́ 'and, with', verb phrases and entire sentences are not conjoinable by a simple conjunction 'and'. As seen in the following two sentences,

me ncî nɔ́ɔ̀ ŋgɛ̀n fɔ̀wǎy, gɛ̀ɛ̀nɛn ɛ me ncî mba ŋgoy bèŋkfǔ kɛ
'I went to market, but I didn't buy yams'

me ŋgɔ̀mtɛ̌ kèé ŋgoy bèŋkfǔ, gɛ̀ɛ̀nɛn kɛ̌ me ŋkɛŋkè begēw̄ kɛ
'I want to buy yams, but I don't have any money'

the conjunction gɛ̀ɛ̀nɛn 'but' can introduce a second main clause--or even an imperative, as in the sentence:

gɛ̀nɛ̌ fɔ̀wǎy, gɛ̀ɛ̀nɛn fɔ̀ wɔ̌ goy fyɛ̀ɛ̀ kɛ   'go to market, but don't buy anything'

In most cases, however, the second clause must be in a special, "sequential" form if the subjects of the two clauses are not identical. (If they *are* identical, the second verb will take a consecutive form; see Chapter 14.) This even includes many instances of complement clauses. Thus, compare the following two sentences:

wvù dɔ̀ɔ́ Iɛ me ncî nɔ́ɔ̀ ŋgɛ̀n fɔ̀wǎy   'he says that I went to market'
me mbɛ̂ɛ̀ nyɛ̄n wan ɛ́ ɛ wvù (ɛ) gwè   'I saw a child fall'

Verbs of reporting and knowing use the complementizer Iɛ 'that' followed by a main clause, as in the first example. Other types of complementation, such as that following a sensory verb used to report some perception rather than knowledge (e.g. 'I saw a child fall' vs. 'I saw he was right') employ sequential forms. Thus, the ∅ form of the verb gwe 'fall' in the second example has up to now not been seen with tone pattern A except after [+FOC] nɔ́ɔ̀. As will be seen in the following section, this is the form of a sequential verb when it is [-PROG, -NEG] and follows a P_0, P_1 or P_2 in the main clause.

2. *[-PROG] sequentials*. We shall consider affirmative [-FUT] sequentials first. As seen in the following forms,

me nɔ́ɔ̀ nyēm, wān ɛ kfùn wè   'I have sung, and a child has hit someone'
me nɔ́ɔ̀ nyēm, wān ɛ ton wè   'I have sung, and a child has refused someone'
me nɔ́ɔ̀ nyēm, wān ɛ dɔ̀msè wè   'I have sung, and a child has pushed someone'
me nɔ́ɔ̀ nyēm, wān ɛ cImsè wè   'I have sung, and a child has pacified someone'

the P_0 sequential takes a verb form with tone pattern A and a marker ɛ between the subject and the verb. This ɛ is obligatory with a noun subject, but only optional with a pronominal subject (see 'I saw a child fall' above). The same sequential forms appear after [+FOC] and [-FOC] tenses--and after P_1 and P_2, as seen in the following representative sentences:

me mbɛ̂ɛ̀ nyēm, wān ɛ kfùn wè   'I sang and a child hit someone' (P_1)
me ncî nɔ́ɔ̀ nyēm, wān ɛ kfùn wè   'I sang and a child hit someone' (P_2)

As seen in the following sentences, however, the sequential forms are different when following a P3 tense:

    me ntɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ nyem̄, ɛ wan kfūn̄ wè   'I sang and a child hit someone'
    me ntɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ nyem̄, ɛ wan tɔ́n wè   'I sang and a child refused someone'
    me ntɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ nyem̄, ɛ wan dɔm̄sè wè   'I sang and a child pushed someone'
    me ntɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ nyem̄, ɛ wan cîmsè wè   'I sang and a child pacified someone'

In this case the ɛ precedes the subject and the tone pattern of the sequential verb is D, rather than A (cf. the consecutive D pattern in Chapter 14).

As seen in the following sentences, there is no negative sequential form when following a [-PROG, -FUT] tense in the main clause:

    me nɔ́ɔ̀ nyem̄, wvù bàa kfun wè   'I have sung and he has not hit anyone'
    me mbɛ̂ɛ̀ nyem̄, wvù bɛ̂ baa kfun wè   'I sang and he did not hit anyone' (P1)
    me ncî nɔ́ɔ̀ nyem̄, wvù cî bɛ́ɛ́ kfun wè 'I sang and he did not hit anyone' (P2)
    me ntɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ nyem̄, wvù tɔ̀ bɛ̀ɛ́ kfun wè 'I sang and he did not hit anyone' (P3)

The negative second clauses are identical in form to the main clause negative. Thus, these sentences literally mean 'I sang, he did not hit anyone'.

It has been pointed out that the [+FOC] auxiliary nɔ́ɔ̀ comes from the copula nú 'be' and a marker ɛ. Indeed, nú ɛ is an alternative pronunciation for nɔ́ɔ̀, e.g. wvù nɔ́ɔ̀ gwè ~ wvù nú ɛ gwè 'he has fallen'. We are now in a position to appreciate the source of this ɛ: it is in fact the sequential marker found after P_0, P_1 and P_2 main clauses. This explains why the [+FOC] P_0-P_2 tenses have a main verb with tone pattern A. (The P3 remains anomalous.)

In the following attested sequential we note that the P2 auxiliary verb cî may occur:

    me ncî mbɔ́y, wvù cɛ́ɛ̀ shɛ̀ɛ̀ ɛ̀kfūn̄ wān̄ 'when I went out he remained and
                                                    hit the child'

The form cɛ́ɛ̀ derives from cî + ɛ, and the verb 'hit' is in consecutive form with tone pattern D.

Now, both the cɛ́ɛ̀ form for the P2 and the zero form for the P0 can occur as a *main* clause, especially as an interjection:

    wan ɛ gwè   'the child has fallen'
    wan ɛ cɛ́ɛ̀ gwē̄   'the child fell'

(The tone pattern D in the second example is not readily explainable.) These sentences seem to function as interjections. They do not require nú (to create nɔ́ɔ̀) or lɔ̀ to be complete. In order to appreciate the nuance distinguishing these "main clause sequentials" from regular P0 constructions, contrast the following:

    me nɔ́ɔ̀ ŋkfùn wān̄ 'I have hit the child' (report, out of the blue)
    me ɛ ŋkfùn wān̄   'oh! I've just hit the child' (exclamation, probably an
    me ŋkfùn lɔ̀ wān̄   'I have *hit* the child'   accident/unintentional)
                        (that's why he's crying)

These sequentials are most closely related to their corresponding nɔ́ɔ̀ construction, although they seem to function as exclamations rather than neutral reports.

3. [*-PROG, +FUT*]. The [+FUT] sequentials corresponding to the [-PROG, -FUT] constructions we have just seen are illustrated below:

me nú nyém, ε wvùú kfun wè   'I am about to sing, and he is about to hit
me nú ngéé nyém, ε wvùú kfun wè 'I will sing, and he (F_1) someone' (F_0)
me nú mbóy nyém, ε wvùú kfun wè   will hit someone' (F_2)
me nú nyúú nyém, ε wvùú kfun wè   "   "   " (F_3)

The verb is always in tone class C. As in the case of the P_3, the subject
is preceded by a marker ε. This time, however, there is an additional H
tone vowel (-V̌) following and fusing with the subject. We shall see that
these forms are used also in certain subjunctive clauses.

When the future sequential clause does not have a tense auxiliary, it
is normally assumed that the action of this clause will take place during
the same time span as the action of the main clause. It is possible, however,
to put a future auxiliary in the sequential clause, e.g.

me nú nyém, ε wvùú bóy kfun wè 'I will sing, and he will (tomorrow)
  F_0 F_2 hit someone'

The negative future sequential is obtained by placing sέ ya before the
verb (and kε at the end of the clause). (sέ ya often contracts to sάά.) This
form has been found at all future tenses:

me nú nyém, wvù sάά kfun wè kε   'I'm about to sing, and he is not about
me nú ngéé nyém, wvù sάά kfun wè kε   to hit anyone' (F_0)
me nú mbóy nyém, wvù sάά kfun wè kε 'I'll sing, and he will not hit anyone'
me nú nyúú nyém, wvù sάά kfun wè kε (F_1, F_2, F_3)

The marker sέ in other contexts means 'before' (see Chapter 21). As in the
affirmative, one can put a future tense auxiliary in the negative sequential
clause (cf. me nú nyúú nyém wvù sέ yùú kfun wan kε).   ◌

4. [*+PROG*] *sequentials*. The affirmative, progressive sequential is
formed by using the [+PROG] verb form with tone pattern A. Examples follow:

yuŋgsè dìé bèŋkfǔ ε me ŋgὲnè fɔ̀wǎy 'Yungse is eating yams, and I am going
me nyemtέ ε wvù kfùnè wān   'I am singing and he   to market'
                                    is hitting a child'

The following sentence illustrates a complement clause which is a [+PROG] se-
quential (cf. section 1):

me mbέὲ nyōw ε wan beelὲ 'I heard a child crying' (over time)

(The [-PROG] is also possible, i.e. me mbέὲ nyōw ε wan ε bee 'I heard a child
cry' (punctual, short time).)

The negative progressive sequential is formed as follows:

me nyemtέ ε wvù yὰ kfùnè wān kε 'I am singing and not hitting a child'

Again it is tone pattern A, this time preceded by yὰ and having kε at the
end of the clause.

5. *Subjunctive clauses.* As a type of sequential, subjunctive clauses are considered here. There are two types:

- (a) those which cause a H tone prolongation on the subject of the clause;
- (b) those which do not cause a H tone prolongation.

We saw examples of (a) in section 3, since this construction is used as the normal sequential after a future verb in a main clause. It is not easy to differentiate the two constructions semantically, and more work will be necessary to do so satisfactorily. A hint of the problem is seen in the fact that the two appear to be interchangeable in certain contexts, e.g.

me ntɔ́ɔ́ lɛ wvùú kfun wan   ' I am coming in order for him to hit the
wvù bɛ́ɛ̀ tɔ̄ lɛ me nyɛ́n wvù lɛ̌   'he came in order that I see him'   child'

These sentences show that both subjunctives are used after a verb such as 'come' to indicate purpose. The following sentences show that both are found in the consequent clause after an 'if'-clause:

ɛ yuŋsè bɛ̌ yēm̄, ɛ́ me m̄bɩ́n 'if Yungse sang, I will dance'
ɛ yuŋsè yɛ́m lɔ̀, ɛ́ me mbɩ́n 'if Yungse sings, I will dance'

It may be that the H tone subjunctive expresses greater unreality or doubt, since it is the normal hortative, e.g.

me ŋ́gɛ̀n ɛ́ɛ̀ 'may I go?'
bèń gɛn   'you pl. go!'
gɛɛ ɛ́ me ŋ́gwe 'let me fall!'

It also has been found to express an indirect command, e.g.

wvù bɛ́ɛ̀ gày lɛ me ŋ́gɛ̀nè 'he told me to leave'
       "   wɔ̀ɔ́ gɛ̀nè   you sg.
       "   wvùú gɛ̀nè   him/her
       "   bèsèń gɛ̀nè   us
       "   bèń gɛ̀nè   you pl.
       "   bɔ́ gɛ̀nè   them
       "   wāń gɛ̀nè   the child

(The last line shows the irregular creation of a MH rising, which is normally not permitted in the language). As seen in all of the above examples, the tone pattern is C in the non-progressive, A in the progressive.

As mentioned, the ∅ subjunctive has been found to express purpose. It may be less of a hortative in nature, and more of a consequential or resultative, e.g.

me nɔ́ɔ̀ nfɔ̀n fèñɔ̄ lɛ wɔ̀ sɛ́ɛ́ ñàm dvǔ 'I have sharpened a knife for you
         = ɛ́   to cut meat with it'

As seen, there are two complementizers (lɛ and ɛ́), with ɛ́ indicating greater purpose or force (i.e. 'I sharpened a knife so that...' vs. 'I sharpened a knife in order that...'). Compare also the following:

me ncɛ̀ytɛ̌ lɛ wan dɩ́ɛ́kɛ́n 'I am waiting for the child to eat'
me ncɛ̀ytɛ̌ ɛ́ wan dɩ́ɛ́kɛ́n 'I am waiting in order for the child to eat'

Interestingly, the causative, formed with the verb ge 'make, do', takes a
sequential clause after a [-FUT] tense, but a Ø subjunctive after a [+FUT]
tense, e.g.

> me mbɛ́ɛ̀ ŋgè wan ɛ bee   'I made the child cry'
> me ŋgèé ɛ wan beelè   'I am making the child cry'
> me nú ŋge ɛ́ wan béé   'I will make the child cry'

This may be because there must be an agreement in [FUT] marking between the
two clauses. It will be noted that the Ø subjunctive is identical in tone
to the future tenses (C, if [-PROG], A if [+PROG]). In fact, the future
tenses are built on this pattern following the copula nú. Take out the nú,
and you have the Ø subjunctive.

    The negative of the two kinds of subjunctives is seen in the following
pair of sentences:

> wvù bɛ́ɛ̀ gày lɛ fɔ̀ wāń gɛn kɛ   'he told the child not to go'
> wvù kǎnɛ̌ lɛ fɔ̀ me ntɔ́ kɛ   'he is refusing that I come'

The same negative construction is observed here as was seen earlier in the
imperative (p.53). More examples of both types of subjunctives will be
seen in the discussion of condition clauses in the following chapter.

21

Temporal and Condition Clauses

1. *Temporal clauses*. Temporal clauses express events which take place either simultaneous or before or after some other event, which is reported in the main clause. A number of different constructions have been encountered. Since a lot more work remains to be done in this area, the findings presented in this chapter are intended mostly to pinpoint topics for further research.

1.1. *'While' and 'as' clauses*. The first kind of temporal clause to be considered involves actions which take place over time, but which are simultaneous with some other action. Such clauses are usually expressed with the conjunctions 'while' and 'as' in English. Note, first, in the following sentences that a simple progressive consecutive is used if the subject of the second verb is identical with the subject of the first:

me mbɛɛ́ ŋgɛ̀n fɔ̀wǎy nyemtɛ̀   'I went to market singing'
me ncí nɔ́ɔ nfí wvù bɔ́ kwen ŋgɛ̀nè fɔ̀wǎy   'I helped him with firewood
                                    going to market'

When the two subjects are different, a separate clause introduced by ɛ is required:

bɔ́ nú me̅sě̌ ɛ wɔ̀ diekɛ̀nè   'they will finish while you are eating'
bɔ́ nú me̅sě̌ ɛ wɔ̀ bɛɛ diekɛ̀nè   'they will finish while you are eating'
wvù bě mɛ̀sɛ̀ ɛ wɔ̀ bɛɛ diekɛ̀nè 'he finished while you were eating'

The first sentence has only a single [+PROG] verb, with tone pattern A. The other two sentences have bɛ́(ɛ́) 'still', which does not alter the overall meaning. As seen in these sentences, the form of the second clause stays the same after past or future main clause verbs.

If the verb is [+PROG], an alternative way of expressing such durative simultaneity is with the form sɛ́kɛ̀ 'when', e.g.

me mbɛ́ nyemtɛ̀ sɛ́kɛ̀ wvù bě kfùnè wa̅n 'I was singing when he was
                                    hitting the child'

1.2. *'When' clauses*. As just seen, sɛ́kɛ̀ can introduce a 'when' clause. Other examples are as follows:

me mbɛ́ nye̅m sɛ́kɛ̀ wvù bě kfùn wa̅n 'I sang when he hit the child'
sɛ́kɛ̀ me nyemtɛ́ fɔ̀ wɔ̀ bín kɛ   'when I sing, don't dance!'

As seen on p.93, sɛ́kɛ̀ is also used in indirect questions. It will be seen in Chapter 22 that it also is used in direct questions, e.g.

bɔ́ yemtɛ́ sɛ́kɛ́ lá 'when are they singing?'

This form probably once was a noun meaning 'time'.

Other means of expressing non-progressive simultaneity in a 'when' clause

are seen in the following sentences:

wvù nǔ dìɔ̀ tɔ̄́ ɛ́ me ndɛɛ bvuIem	'when he will come, I will be cooking fufu'
dìɔ̀ yem fɔ̀ wɔ̀ bín kɛ	'when you sing, don't dance!'
fɔ̀ wɔ̀ ɛyem bín kɛ	'when you sing, don't dance!'

The first two sentences involve the auxiliary dìɔ̀ which immediately precedes the main verb. The last sentence uses the locative marker fɔ̀ (class 16) in a new temporal sense. It may thus be interpreted as meaning 'where you sing, don't dance!'.

1.3. *'After' clauses.* 'After' clauses have been recorded with either sɛ́kɛ̀ (='when') or the auxiliary dìɔ̀, e.g.

bɔ́ nú mē'sɛ̌ sɛ́kɛ̀ bɔ́ diekɛ̀n	'they will finish after they eat'
yuŋsè nǔ dìɔ̀ dɛ̀ɛ̀ bìŋkfǔ ɛ́ njìí yɛ̀ɛ̀sɛ̌ Iɑ̃́	'after Yungse cooks yams, Nji will sweep the compound'

The distinction between 'when' and 'after' is minimized when the verb form in the former case is [-PROG]. Thus, the first sentence above could also be translated 'they will finish when they have eaten'.

1.4. *'Before' clauses.* While 'after' clauses are technically not distinct from 'when' clauses, 'before' clauses are. First note the following sentences, where the subject of the 'before' clause is identical to the subject of the main clause:

me mbɛ́ ŋgɛ̀nɛ̀ fɔ̀wǎy nyemtɛ̀ ɛ̀nsɛ̌ nyɛn wɔ̀ Iɛ̌	'I was going to market singing, when (=before) seeing you'
bɔ́ nú mē'sɛ̌ sɛ́ ɛ̀ntɔ̄́	'they will finish before coming'
bèsèn nǔ tɔ́ sɛ́ ɛ̀diekɛ̀n	'we will come before eating'

The marker sɛ́ means 'before' but as seen in the first sentence, where it takes a nasal because the subject is first person singular, it is a verb. As seen in the following sentences, sɛ́ also means 'without':

me mbɛ́ ndìè bvuIɛm sɛ́ ñàm 'he ate fufu without meat'

The same marker is used if the subjects of the two clauses are not identical:

bɔ́ nú mē'sɛ̌ ɛ wɔ̀ sɛ́ diekɛ̀n	'they will finish before you eat'
me mbɛ́ɛ̀ nyēm wvù sɛ́ kfūn wān	'I sang before he hit the child'
wvù bɛ̌ kfùn wān me nsɛ̌ nyɛ́m	'he hit the child before I sang'

Because there is no distinct 'after' construction, the examples in section 1.3 being built on 'when' clauses, 'before' clauses often are used to express 'after' by reversing the order of the actions. Thus, the last sentence can also mean 'I sang after he hit the child'. Finally, it will be noted in the following examples that the 'before' construction is sometimes translated other than with 'before' in English, e.g.

me mbɛ́ɛ̀ ŋkfùn wǎ wān wɔ̀ sɛ́ tɔ	'I had already hit the child, when you	
me nú nyɛ́m me nsɛ̌ ya mbín (kɛ)	'I will sing and not dance'	arrived'

While the first sentence could have been translated 'I had already hit the child before you arrived', the second can not mean 'I will sing before I

dance'. (The latter meaning would be expressed by me nǔ nyɛ́m nsɛ́ mbǐn̄).
Consider, on the other hand, the following sentence, which does not involve sɛ́ at all:

wɔ̀ nǔ gɛ́ tɔɔ̀ ɛ me ndɛ̀ɛ̀ wâ bǐŋkfǔ   'I will have cooked yams by the time
                                                 you are arriving'

The literal meaning of this sentence is 'you will be (doing and) coming that
I have already cooked yams'. Thus, the cooking of yams takes place before
the arriving.

    2. *Condition clauses.* Condition clauses show some variation and are
most adequately described in terms of an 'if' (or 'condition') clause pre-
ceded by ɛ, followed by a 'then' (or 'consequent') clause. The consequent
clause is introduced either by ɛ́ or to, and the condition clause apparently
can take any tense, circumstances permitting, e.g.

ɛ yuŋsè dɛ̀ɛ̀lɛ̌ bǐŋkfǔ ɛ́ me nyɛ̀ɛ̀sè lɑ̌   'if Yungse is cooking yams, I will
                                                       sweep the compound'
ɛ yuŋsè nɔ́ɔ̀ dɛ̀ɛ̀·bǐŋkfǔ to njì nɔ́ɔ̀ yèsè lɑ̌   'if Yungse has cooked the yams,
                                                       Nji has swept the compound'
ɛ yuŋsè nǔ gɛ́ dɛ̀ɛ̀lè bǐŋkfǔ to me nǔ ŋgɛ́   'if Yungse will always· cook yams,
          yɛ̀ɛ̀sè lɑ̌   I will sweep the compound'

The above sentences represent "simple conditions". The condition clause
states a proposition which may or may not be true, but on which the conse-
quent clause depends. The following sentences show that the [-FOC] variant
of [-PROG, -FUT, -NEG] tenses is expected in condition clauses:

ɛ yuŋsè dɛ̀kɛ̌ bǐŋkfǔ to njì nɔ́ɔ̀ yèsè lɑ̌   'if Yungse has cooked/cooked·
ɛ yuŋsè bɛ̌ dɛ̀kè bǐŋkfǔ to njì bɛ́ɛ̀ yèsè lɑ̌   yams, Nji has swept/swept
ɛ yuŋsè cǐ dɛ̀kɛ̌ bǐŋkfǔ to njì cǐ nɔ́ɔ̀ yèsè lɑ̌   the compound'
ɛ yuŋsè tɔ̀ dɛ̀kɛ̌ bǐŋkfǔ to njì tɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ yèsè lɑ̌   (P_0, P_1, P_2, P_3)

There is a slight difference in meaning when the [+FOC] variants are used (cf.
their presence in relative clauses, pp.93-4), e.g.

ɛ yuŋsè nɔ́ɔ̀ dɛ̀ɛ̀ bǐŋkfǔ to njì nɔ́ɔ̀ yèsè lɑ̌ 'if Yungse *has* cooked/*did*
ɛ yuŋsè bɛ́ɛ̀ dɛ̀ɛ̀ bǐŋkfǔ to njì bɛ́ɛ̀ yèsè lɑ̌   cook yams, then Nji has
ɛ yuŋsè cǐ nɔ́ɔ̀ dɛ̀ɛ̀ bǐŋkfù, etc.   swept/swept the compound'
ɛ yuŋsè tɔ̀ nɔ́ɔ̀ dɛ̀ɛ̀ bǐŋkfu, etc.   (P_0, P_1, P_2, P_3)

The emphasis is on the reality or truth of the proposition included within
the condition clause. It is thus as a result of Yungse's cooking yams that
Nji sweeps the compound. It is interesting to note that the ɛ which intro-
duces the condition clause can be deleted if the tense within it is [-PROG,
-FUT, -NEG, -FOC], e.g.

                                                        P_0
(ɛ) yuŋsè dɛ̀kɛ̌ bǐŋkfǔ ɛ́ me ndíɛ́   'if Yungse cooks yams([-FOC]),I will eat'

In this example we also observe that the [-FOC] P_0 tense is used with future
time reference. For this reason its [+FOC] variant can be used to make it
clear that a P_0 reading is intended (i.e. 'if Yungse has cooked yams'). Sim-
ilarly, as seen in the following example, the two P_1 tenses may be used
with a hypothetical or unreal sense:

(ε) yuŋsè bɵ̌ dɛɛ bìŋkfǔ to me mbɛ́ɛ̀ ndìɵ́   'if Yungse had cooked yams,
                                                   I would have eaten (them)'
ε yuŋsè bɛ́ɛ̀ dɛ̀ɛ̀ bìŋkfǔ·to njì bɛ́ɛ̀ yɛ̀sè lɵ́ 'if Yungse had cooked yams,
                                                   Nji would have swept the
                                                   compound'

Note in the first sentence that the verb dɛɛ has M tone and does not take its
irregular dɛ̀kè form seen in the P_0 example. Since dɛ̀kè is expected with the
[-FOC] P_1 tense (see p.63), and since the P_1 should assign 'cook' a L tone
as per tone pattern A (see p.74), it is likely that the bɵ́ is the conditional
auxiliary seen on p.90. In any case, there is probably a relationship be-
tween P_1 bɵ́ and the conditional auxiliary. Below it is seen again to replace
the P_1 marker (cf. the P_2 condition clause which follows):

me mbɛɵ́ (nɛ̀ɵ́) ŋgwe ε wɔ̀ (nɛn) bɵ́ baa wɵ́m   'I would have fallen if you
                                                 had not screamed' (P_1)
me ncí mbɛɵ́ (nɛ̀ɵ́) ŋgwe ε wɔ̀ (nɛn) cí bɵ́ɵ́ wɵ́m 'I would have fallen if you
                                                 had not screamed' (P_2)

Another feature of the 'if-then' construction is that the subject of the
consequent clause is often deleted if it is coreferential with the subject of
the condition clause. Thus, compare the following two sentences:

ε yuŋsè dɛ̀kɵ̌ bìŋkfǔ ɵ́ wvùɵ́ yɛ̀sɵ̌ lɵ́ 'if Yungse cooks yams, he [≠Yungse]
                                          will sweep the compound'
ε yuŋsè dɛ̀kɵ̌ bìŋkfǔ to yɛ̀sɵ̌ lɵ́   'if Yungse cooks yams, he [=Yungse]
                                            will sweep the compound'

Finally, it will be noted in different consequent clauses above that
both subjunctives seen in Chapter 20 are utilized in this construction (i.e.
the ∅ subjunctive and the -V̌ subjunctive).

22

INTERROGATIVES AND FOCUS

1. *Yes-no questions.* Yes-no questions have all of the properties of declarative sentences, i.e. the same word order, verb morphology, tone etc. These interrogatives are distinguished from their declarative counterparts by having one of two particles at the end of the sentence, e.g.

yuŋsè cǐ nɔ́ɔ̀ dὲὲ kὲŋgɔ̀m fɔgɔ̀ lɛ̌   'did Yungse cook plantains yesterday?'
yuŋsè cǐ nɔ́ɔ̀ dὲὲ kὲŋgɔ̀m fɔgɔ̀ lɛ̂   "   "   "   "   "   (P₂)

yuŋsè bέὲ dὲὲ kὲŋgɔ̀m ɛ̌   'did Yungse cook plantains?' (P₁)
yuŋsè bέὲ dὲὲ kὲŋgɔ̀m ɛ̂   "   "   "   "

The first sentence of each pair uses the question marker lɛ̌/ɛ̌, while the second sentence of each pair uses lɛ̂/ɛ̂. The first marker has also been recorded with L tone, e.g.

wvù nɔ́ɔ̀ gwὲ lὲ   'has he fallen?'
cf. wvù nɔ́ɔ̀ gwὲ ɛ̂   "   "   "

As seen in these last sentences, the variation between lɛ̌ and lɛ̂ vs. ɛ̌ and ɛ̂ is slightly different for the two markers: in general, the first marker is realized lɛ̌ after a vowel and ɛ̌ after a consonant; the second marker is realized in most cases lɛ̂ after a double vowel and ɛ̂ after a short vowel or consonant. (No explanation is offered for the form lɛ̂ in the second sentence above.)

The difference in meaning between the two question markers is subtle, but appears to rely on the expectations of the speaker. In utilizing lɛ̂, the speaker expresses surprise. Thus, in the second sentences we would have the meanings 'did Yungse cook plantains?' (understood: he wasn't supposed to, I didn't expect him to), 'has he fallen?' (understood: I'm surprised, etc.). This additional indication of surprise or unexpectedness is not present in the questions formed with lɛ̌.

Finally, it is possible to add the marker lɛ̂ to a single word, e.g. a noun, to work a question: wǎn ɛ̂ 'a child?'.

2. *Wh-questions.* Noni forms "WH" questions by placing one of several question words in the position immediately following the verb. When the question word is the subject of the sentence, the dummy subject marker ὲ is found in the initial subject position, e.g.

ὲ dὲὲlɛ̌ yεε kὲŋgɔ̀m   'who is cooking plantains?'
ὲ kfùnɛ̌ yεε wan   'who is hitting the child?'
ὲ yεnɛ́ yεε wan ɛ́   'who sees the child?'
ὲ gwɛ̌ lɛ́   'what has fallen?'

As seen, there is no question marker at the end of the sentence. (The ɛ́ seen in the third example is the lɛ́ particle required for the verb 'see' and a few other verbs; see p.81.) However, lὲ *can* be added in an echo question, e.g.

lε ὲ gwɛ̌ lɛ́ lὲ   *'what* fell?' ('you said that what fell?')

The initial marker Iɛ is the complementizer used, among other places, in reported speech; cf. Iɛ nɔ̀ 'I say' (to one person) vs. nɔɔ̀nɛ̌ (to many people) = the name of the Noni language. Thus, the above sentence means '...that *what* fell?'

The question word yɛɛ 'who(m)' has a plural form bàà. Both of these are now illustrated in object position:

        wɔ̀ kfʉ̀nɛ̌ yɛɛ   'who (sg.) are you hitting?'
        wɔ̀ kfʉ̀nɛ̌ bàà   'who (pl.) are you hitting?'

Similarly, the question word Iá 'what' has a plural form mʉ̀Iǎ, as illustrated again in object position in the following sentences:

        wɔ̀ kaaŋké Iá   'what (sg.) are you frying?'
        wɔ̀ kaaŋké muIǎ   'what (pl.) are you frying?'

Again there is no final question marker other than the WH word. The marker Iè can be added if the interrogative is an echo question, e.g

        wvʉ̀ kfʉ̀nɛ̌ ɛ nʉ̀ʉ̀ yɛɛ Iè   'he is hitting *who*?' (='you said he is hitting *who*?')

This time, however, because the question word is an object, it is placed in great focus by the preceding focus markers ɛ nʉ̀ʉ̀ (see section 3). The normal or non-contrastive way of asking a question where the WH word is other than the subject of the sentence is by placing the WH word immediately after the verb, as seen below:

        wɔ̀ gɛ̀nɛ̌ fɛ̀ɛ̀   'where are you going?'
        wɔ̀ gɛ̀nɛ̌ séké Iá   'when are you going?'
        wɔ̀ gɛ̀nɛ̌ nɛ̀ Iɛ̌   'how are you going?'
        wɔ̀ gɛ̀nɛ̌ njē͟ Iǎ   'why are you going?'
        wɔ̀ yɛné wān wú Iá Iɛ́   'which child do you see?'

The word Iá 'what' is seen in three of the above questions which are thus interpreted as 'what time are you going?', 'what reason are you going?' and 'what child do you see?'. The Iɛ́ of the 'how' question is probably the postposition seen in Chapter 17, section 3.

Questions can be made on indirect objects, objects of prepositions etc., e.g. wɔ̀ ñàá kèŋkfʉ̀ ɛ yɛɛ or (more polite) wɔ̀ ñàá kèŋkfʉ̀ ɛ nʉ̀ʉ̀ ɛ yɛɛ 'to whom are you giving the yams?'

Indirect questions consist of a generic head noun + a relative clause (see p.93). The following example of a WH word being used as an indefinite universal quantifier was recorded:

        ɛ̀ tɔ̌ yɛɛ ɛ wɔ̀ gāỳ 'whoever comes, greet him!'

3. *Focus*. In discussing the [+FOC] vs. [-FOC] variants of certain tenses, it was pointed out that the former are used in the P_0-P_3 when there is "even focus". That is, no particular element within the sentence is singled out for prominence. Such sentences have the basic subject-auxiliary-verb-object-oblique-adverbial order and are particularly appropriate for utterances made out of the blue, e.g.

        bwēm̀, yuŋsè nɔ̀ɔ́ dIɛ́ bvuIɛm bwēm̀ 'Mother, Yungse has eaten my fufu!'

This particular sentence is intended to represent how a child might report to his mother that Yungse has eaten his fufu, i.e. running to her without any previous linguistic context. Had there been any previous context such as 'why are you crying?' or 'what has happened?', the child might answer with the [-FOC] P₀ as follows:

yuŋsè díɛ́ bvulɛm bwēm̄   'Yungse has eaten my *fufu*'

In this particular case, the object 'my fufu' receives prominence, as indicated in the translation. In general, a sentence such as this last one can answer any number of questions, e.g. 'what has happened?', 'what has Yungse done?', 'what has Yungse eaten?', 'whose yams has Yungse eaten?', 'what of yours has Yungse eaten?'. In answer to each question the scope of the assertion is different. Thus, in answer to the question 'what has happened?', the assertion would be the whole proposition ('what has happened is that *Yungse has eaten my fufu*'). In answer to the question 'what has Yungse eaten?', the assertion would be the noun phrase object ('what Yungse has eaten is *my yams*').

Although all of these interpretations are possible, the constituent found immediately after the verb will be considered the *marked focus* (cf. Watters 1979) unless one of the following obtains:

(a) the [+FOC] tense is used, if there is one;
(b) the verbal focus marker lɔ́ immediately follows the verb;
(c) a constituent other than the one immediately following the verb is marked for focus (by the markers ɛ nùù).

The alternative in (a) was seen at the bottom of p.105. The other two alternatives are seen below:

yuŋsè díɛ́ lɔ́ bvulɛm bwēm̄   'Yungse has just eaten my fufu'
yuŋsè bě díè bvulɛm bwēm̄ ɛ nùù ɛ̀bɛ̀n   'Yungse ate my fufu *today*' (i.e.
                                     not yesterday)

The marker lɔ́ in the first sentence can either indicate 'just' (as indicated) or 'instead', or it can focus on the lexical meaning of the verb, e.g. 'Yungse has *eaten* my fufu' (he hasn't just cooked it, as you said). The second sentence places ɛ nùù before the adverb ɛ̀bɛ̀n 'today', contrasting it with, e.g. 'yesterday', as indicated.

A sentence with a [-FOC] P₀-P3 tense is thus incomplete unless it is an answer to a question, as seen, or unless it is changed according to (a), (b) or (c) above. This is particularly striking in the case of intransitive verbs which do not have any complement. As was seen in Chapter 12, the marker lɔ́ is required to complete these tenses as well as the 0 tense, e.g.

bèsèn yemtɛ́ lɔ́ 'we are singing'
wān gwéɛ́ lɔ́   'the child is falling'

Take off the lɔ́ and the above sentences are ungrammatical. Thus, in the 0 tense, or in [-FOC] P₀-P3, if there is no element to the right of the verb, the citation form of the sentence will necessarily involve lɔ́. If there is an object (or other complement), lɔ́ is not required in the 0 tense, e.g.

yuŋsè dɛ̀ɛ̀lɛ̌ kèŋgɔ̀m   'Yungse is cooking plantains'
yuŋsè dɛ̀ɛ̀lɛ̌ lɔ́ kèŋgɔ̀m   'Yungse is cooking plantains instead'

However, in the P_0-P_3 [-FOC] tenses, even such sentences involving a complement seem incomplete--because they place focus on the complement (and seem to be answering a question):

yuŋsè cí dὲkὅ kèŋgɔ̀m   'Yungse cooked *plantains'*
yuŋsè cí nɔ́ɔ̀ dὲὲ kèŋgɔ̀m   'Yungse cooked plantains'
yuŋsè cí dὲkὅ lɔ̀ kèŋgɔ̀m   'Yungse *cooked* plantains'
yuŋsè cí dὲkὅ ε nùù kèŋgɔ̀m 'Yungse cooked *plantains'*(not something else)

The citation form of a P_0-P_3 tense is always the [+FOC] one, because it is this form alone which does not assume a previous linguistic context.

It should be noted with respect to the above four sentences that only one focus operation can take place per sentence. Thus, if the [+FOC] variant of a tense is chosen, neither lɔ̀ nor ε nùù can co-occur with it; if lɔ̀ is present, ε nùù cannot co-occur with it, and as we shall see, if the subject is postposed after the verb, we get none of the three morphological focus markers ([+FOC] tense, lɔ̀, or ε nùù).

4. *Constituent focus*. Different constituents can be overtly marked as focused by at least three different means.

4.1. *Subject focus*. Whenever a subject is focused (e.g. in answer to a subject-WH-question, or in order to contrast the subject of a sentence, etc.), it is placed immediately after the verb. A dummy subject marker ὲ remains in the original subject position, e.g.

ὲ gwὅ njì   '*Nji* has fallen'
ὲ bὅ dὲkè yuŋsè '*Yungse* cooked (it)' (P_1)
ὲ yemtὅ wan εjè 'a *child* is singing on the road'

These sentences can answer the questions 'who has fallen?', 'who cooked (it)?' and 'who is singing on the road?', or they can contrast with another person's prior assertions 'John has fallen', 'Mary cooked (it)' and 'a woman is singing on the road'. When the postposed subject is first person singular, there no longer is any nasal agreement, cf.

me nyemtὅ lɔ̀ 'I am singing'
ὲ yemtὅ me   '*I* am singing'

What is interesting about subject-postposing is that the object may optionally be preposed to the verb, pre-empting the dummy subject marker:

ὲ dὲὲlὅ njì kèŋgɔ̀m '*Nji* is cooking plantains'
kèŋgɔ̀m dὲὲlὅ njì   '*Nji* is cooking plantains'

The second sentence has the grammatical form 'plantains are cooking Nji', and yet it is clear from the semantics that it is Nji who is cooking plantains. Both utterances can be used to answer the question 'who is cooking plantains?', although the second variant, with object preposing, implies that the question was angry (i.e. '*Nji* was cooking plantains, that's who was cooking plantains'). While the first sentence is more neutral, with 'plantains' simply repeated as previously established information, the second sentence sounds more counter-assertive. The second sentence would be particularly appropriate if contra-dicting someone's assertion 'Yungse is cooking plantains'. The following exchange demonstrates how the interpretation of such a sentence might depend on context:

```
ɛ̀ kfùně yɛɛ wan    'who is hitting the child?'
wan kfùně njì      'Nji is hitting the child'
```

The second sentence would with no context specified mean 'the child is hit-
ting Nji'. However, when following the question 'who is hitting the child?',
it takes on the opposite reading: '*Nji* is hitting the child'. While a
number of instances have been recorded with subject-object inversion in
sentences with a 0 or P₀-P₃ [-FOC] tense, inversion apparently cannot take
place if the object to be preposed is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun. We thus
find the following question-answer exchange:

```
ɛ̀ kfùně yɛɛ me    'who is hitting me?'
ɛ̀ kfùně njì (wɔ̀)  'Nji is hitting (you)'
```

The sentence wɔ̀ kfùně njì could not answer this question, since its only
meaning is 'you are hitting Nji'.

No examples were recorded where a postposed subject was preceded by
ɛ nùù, the focus marking system employed for non-subjects.

4.2. *Verb focus*. As indicated above, a verb is placed in focus by
following it by the marker lɔ̀. The meaning taken on is 'just', 'instead',
or lexical meaning of verb in focus. Thus, in answer to the following
question, the verb focus is marked as indicated:

```
wɔ̀ bě gè lǎ     'what did you do?' (P₁, [-FOC])
me mbé yēm̄ lɔ̀  'I sang'
```

4.3. *Object focus*. The object is found directly after the verb and
therefore, with the right [-FOC] verb form, and without a preceding lɔ̀, a
sentence can always be interpreted with the object in focus, e.g.

```
wɔ̀ cɪ̀ dèkě lǎ         'what did you cook?'
me ncɪ́ ndèkě bìŋkfǔ  'I cooked yams'
```

In order to make the object contrastive or counter-assertive, it is preceded
by ɛ nùù:

```
wɔ̀ cɪ̀ dèkě ɛ nùù lǎ       'what did you really cook?'
wɔ̀ cɪ̀ dèkě kèŋgɔ̀m        'you cooked plantains'
me ncɪ́ ndèkě ɛ nùù bìŋkfǔ  '(no,) I cooked (only) yams'
```

The last sentence can either be in answer to a WH-question which itself uses
ɛ nùù, or it can follow the second sentence, correcting 'plantains' with
'yams' (and preceding the answer with ǎy? 'no!'). As seen, the markers
mark the following constituent as being the only appropriate filler of that
slot (cf. kɛ́ 'only' which was seen before a focused element on p.85).

4.4. *Oblique and adverbial focus*. Other elements of the sentence are
focused by placing ɛ nùù before them:

```
bɔ́ ɲáá kèŋgɔ̀m ɛ nùù ɛ wan  'they are giving plantains to the child'
me ncɪ́ gwě ɛ nùù fɔgò       'I fell yesterday' (P₂)
```

The form ɛ nùù is a [+PROG] consecutive of the copula nǔ 'be'. The meaning
of the last sentence thus is 'I fell and being yesterday'.

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ENGLISH-NONI WORD LIST

accept	béé	bark	kebāŋ 7/8
accompany	bi...lé	basket,	ŋkàà/ŋkaà 9/10
accuse	tɔ́y	large	kèncakè 7/8
add to	kwénsé, bǐsě	kind of	gvumē 1/2
adult	cowè	bat	kelǐm 7/8
advance	sa fwě	bathe	cōkě
advice	ntēfè 1/2	be	nú nùù
advise	téfé	bead, v.	soo
after	sékè, dìɔ̀	bean	lɔ́we/ɛlɔ̃w 5/6
afternoon	ɛ mùnshioŋ	bear fruit	yɔ̃m
again	bɔ́ɔ́, bvú	bananas	lɔw
age-group	keghán 7/8	beard	kedɛ́w 7
agree	béé	beat, v.	soŋ
agreement	nsèysè 1/2	drum	kom ncòm
ahead	fwē	because	njè
all	-tfu/-cii	bed	kèntāw 7/8
already	wâ	bed, in the	èntāw 17
also	tēn	bedbug	kèŋguùn 7/8
angle	bɔ́ɔ́/ɛbɔ́w 5/6	bee	ñǐ/ñi 9/10
angry, be	tɔ́nyɛ́ shēm	beehive	ŋwàw ñi 1/2
animal	ñàm/ñām	before	sɛ́
ant	ɛgɔŋlɛ	beg	lɛ́kɛ́
antelope	jòm/jōm	behind	èjǐm
anus	ntòŋ	belch	bɛw
arm, sg.	keyǐ 7	bell	mbyēŋe/mbyeŋe 9/10
pl.	ŋkeŋkeŋ 4	bell (hunting)	kècɔlɔ́ 7/8
armpit	kèŋkamkám 7/8	belly	tǐi/ɛtɛ́w 5/6
arrange	sēysě	belt	kècàw 7/8
arrow	mǔn/bɔmûn 1/2	bend, tr.	ŋgvúsé
ascend	ben	bent, become	lɛ̃m
ashes	taan 5	between	èntě lɛ́ŋ 17
ask (for, Q)	bǐfé	bile	blɛ́n 9
assemble	bááncɛ́	bird	feñǐi/muñǐǐm 11/12
at	fɔ̀	birth, give	bɔ́ɔ́
automobile	mutù 1	bite	lɔ́m
avoid	lew	bitter, become	cɛ́wcɛ́w
a person	ji	black, become	yǐǐ
go w/out	jim	black dye	njǐw
axe	temɛ́/ɛtem 5/6	blacken, tr.	yǐǐsɛ́; intr. (n)jǐw
back	jǐm/jǐm 9/10	blackness	bvuyǐlè 14
backbone	kfum 4	blood	ɛlɛmɛ́/bilɛ́ɛ́m 7/8
bad, be	bɛ́fɛ́	blow w/mouth	fɛ́fɛ́
bag	ɛkɛlè 7/8	lips, bellows	fúlɛ́
bag, in the	èkê 17	horn	tɔ́ŋ
bake in ashes	fúmě	nose	mǐsě
ball, make	táy	boa constrictor	kōm/kom 9/10
out of fufu		body	ye 4
bamboo	gwɔ́ɔ́n/gɔ́ɔ́n 3/4	bone	ɛkufɛ 7/8
banana leaf	ncɔ̀ɔ̀	book	ŋwà 1/2
(unopened, yellow)		borrow	sám, fɔɔ

bow, n.   kènɛ̀w 7/8
box   ŋkòw 1/2
bracelet   kèshǎw 7/8
brain   bɔ̀ŋ 1
branch   tìɛw/tìɛw 9/10
    of vine   twɛ́ŋ/tɛ́ŋ 3/4
break   san
    snap   ŋgɔ́y
    shatter, tr.   yɔ́ (kill)
        intr.   kwɛ́ (die)
    fufu   gōsě
    open   tēně
breast   mbɛnè/ɛmbèn 5/6
breath   keyɔ̄y 7/8
breathe   yɔy
bridge   dwɛɛ̀ 3/13
brief, v.   tfum
broom   keyesè 7/8
bubble, v.   yɔ
build   yɔ́ɔ́, dɨ́ɔ́
bunch (guinea   kekǎm 7/8
       corn)
bundle   feyììè/munyiìɛ́m 11/12
    =dirt   yìle 5/13
burn, tr.   tɔ́n
    intr.   kɔ́ɔ́ (catch)
burnt, become   fíɛ́
burst   tēlě
    open   bvǔyɛ́, tēně
bury   dyey, doy
    with hand   fom
bush (=forest)   ɛkɔ́wɛ 7/8
bush country   ŋkwǎntɛ́/ŋkǎntɛ́ 3/4
bushcow   mbɔ̌ŋ 1/2
bust   tɔ
but   gèenɛn
buttock   kèñì 7/8
button   mbà̄ 1/2
buy   goy
buzz (bees)   kɔ
cadaver   gvǔne/ɛgvǔn 5/6
calabash   kebɛŋ 7/8
    small mimbo   ghām 1/2
calf (of foot)   nsoo 4
call   tɛ́ɛ́, bɛ́n
    from distance kìì
cane   kèmbàŋ 7/8
canerat   ntòŋ/ntṑŋ 9/10(~1/2)
carry (on head) tǔǔ
    without hands ʃēìě
    a child   mɛɛ
    on a pole   shūmě
    heavy weight fǔm
carve   sɛ́m

carving   nsēm 1/2
castigate   sɔŋ
catch   kɔ́ɔ́
    from air   ka
caterpillar   kèmbeŋmbɛ́ŋ 7/8
    edible type mfumɛ̀/mfumɛ̀n 9/10
cave   fwɛŋ/fɛŋ 3/4
cease   lɔ́
    of rains   sɛ́mɛ́
ceiling   gwɛɛ̀/gɛɛ̀ 3/4
chair (=bed)   kèntāw 7/8
chalk   fwem 3
change   kɔ́mɛ́n
    into   bɛ́y
charcoal   kèkâ 7/8
chase   kɔ́ŋ
chat   fɛ
cheek   kediàw 7/8
chest   gvùw/gvǔw 9/10
chew   cǎm
chief   nfɔ̀n 1/2
child   wān/bɔɔn 1/2
chin   kenáŋ 7/8
chisel, n.   kèncofe 7/8
    v.   cɔ́fɛ́
choose   cǎw
chop   kǎw, gwɔ
church   cɔ̄
claw   kawè/ɛkāw 5/6
clay   mbɔ̌m 1/2
clean, v.   shɔ
clear, be   yǔǔ
    grass   kāsě
    off   kwaa
    throat   ka
click, make a cɔ́w
cloth   ndvū/ndvu 9/10
cloud   kèmbèw, keyɛkè 7
cock   nyēm shèè/nyem shɛ́ɛ́ 9/10
cocoyam   kekoò 7/8
cold, be   lɛɛ̀
coldness   kèntɔ̀n 7/8
color, v.   cɔn
comb, v.   saa
come   tɔ́
command, v.   wǎmɛ́n
compound   lǎ́/ɛla 5/6
contradict   kīcɛ́n
cook, v.   dɛɛ
    fufu   key
cornbeer   ŋkǎŋ 1
cough   kɛ́y
count   tǎ̄ŋ
country   ketɔ́m 7/8, wɔ̄ŋ̀ 3

courtyard	lô kfulέŋ 4	drink, v.	wố
cover, v.	bổŋ	drip	cέm
cowhorn	ketốŋ 7/8	drive away	kốŋ
cowry (=tooth)	kegē 7/8	drown, intr.	lέ + jɔ̀ɔ̀
crab	ɛkamɛ 7/8	drum	ncòm/ncōm 9/10
crawl	ŋāŋlέ	drunk, be	jέw
cricket	ndὲὲŋkúù 1/2	dry, become	yốm
cross (road, pit)	daŋ	dust	kebvū 7/8
river	lēŋtě	ear	ketố 7, kèntoŋtốŋ 7/8
crossing, foot-	kelίίncɛὲ 7/8	ear, in the	ὲntoŋtốŋ
crunch	ŋgélέ	early, be	yāŋsĕn
cry	bέέ tɔŋ kwè	earthworm	ŋgwέnsέ/ŋgέnsέ 3/4
cut (w/knife)	sέέ	eat	dίέ
e.g. rope	sốm	egg	gέe/ɛgέ 5/6
in two	san	eight	ñàŋ
tree, flower	kfuy	either...or	nɔ̀ɔ̀...nɔ̀ɔ̀
loose	kwaŋ	elephant	kìyɔ̀ɔ̀ 7/8
to measure	cέy	embroider	tốm
out	kwέy	enter	lέy
cutlass	ñɔ̄/ñɔ 9/10	entertain	tέw
cup	fekɔ/muŋkốm 11/12	equal, be	kwέntέn
cure, v.	fɛ	evening	ὲklegùù~kegùù 17
curse, v.	lɔw	exchange	kốmέn
dance, n.	binέ 5/13	excrement	còo/coo 9/10
v.	bίn	exit, v.	bốy
dark, get	jίίm	explain	nēlě
dash, v.	māwcĕ	extinguish	jίmsέ
dawn, v.	yúú	eye	jisέ/ɛjisɛ 5/6
day	dίw 5/6, bvutfu 14	eyebrows	mɔŋkɔnὲ 15
death	kwè/kwe 9/10	face	bvushίw/mɔnshίm 14/15
debt	fìɔ̄/fiɔ̀ 9/10	faint, v.	gwe kèŋgwè
deceive	lέέ	fall	gwe
deep, become	sìlyĕn	fan, v.	fúlέ
defeat	ghốw	farewell, say	kɛm
defecate	ñi	farm, at the	wēñĕ
delay, v.	dvuy	fart, n.	ñίi 5/13
depart	gɛn	fat, n.	ɛfɔm 6
descend	bɔw, shii	fat, become	faŋ, kow
dew	ŋgwi 4	father	cee 1/2
die	kwέ	fatness	bvufốñὲ 14
dig	cɔw sɔw cίm	fatty, be	fốm
dip	cɔw	fault, n.	nje
dirt	ylie 5/13	fear, n.	jàŋ 9
disperse, intr.	sāŋkĕ	v.	fan
dispute, n.	nsāw 1/2	feather	gvunè/ɛgvūñ 5/6
divert	lέwsέ	feed	ñốñέ
divide	gaw	fence	ketāŋ 7/8
dodge	lέw	fence in	gem
dog	bwě/bwέ 9/10	field	wέ/ŋέ 3/4
door	diow fwέsέ	fight, n.	bvudìòw/mɔndiòm 11/12
dove	kembembɛ 7/8	v.	dio (+bvudìòw)
down	kὲcinὲ	figtree	keŋgvūm 7/8
drag	cii	find	bốŋ
draw (water)	goòfĕ	fine, n.	kejốw 7/8

finish	mēsě, ká
fire	ŋgóy 3
fire, set	kēné
fireplace	kètaŋtɛ 7/8
firewood	kwen/ken 3/4
firm, be	cíím
first, be	yaw
fish	blè/blé 9/10
fishscale	ŋgāw/ŋgaw 9/10
fishtrap	kèntfùm 7/8
five	tⁱñ
flap (wings)	soŋ
flash (lightening)	law
flatness	bvùyěw 14
flea	fembām 11/12
float	léy
flour	mūm 15
fly, n.	bvūm/bvum 9/10
fly, v.	bí
fold	bón
follow	bí...lé
food (things to eat)	byɛɛ bí dien 8
fool, v.	léésɛn
foot	ɛkalɛ/bikaa 7/8
forehead	fɔjisé 16
forest	ɛkɔ́wɛ 7/8
forge	tfúy
forget	dáyɛ̀
four	nɛ̄
friend	nsààn/nsáán 9/10
frightening, be	bém
frog	kèshàm 7/8
fruit	shēm/shem 9/10
fry	káŋ
fufu	bvulɛm 14
full, become	yíŋsɛn
gall bladder	bábá 4
gather, fetch	kew
up	kó
get	kɛ́ŋkɛ́
gift	ñǎ 1/2
give	ñá
as dash	māwcɛ̌
sth. spoiled	káynén gɔw
to dancers	fēñě
back	tfúsé
go	gɛn
to farm	la
goat	blè/bie 9/10
god	ñɔ̀ 1/2
good, be	jeè
gorilla	febɔ́w/mumbɔ́w 11/12
granary	cáʔ 1/2
square	ŋwāw 1/2

grass, grazing	gáy/ɛgáy 5/6
thatching	yūn/yun 9/10
grasshopper, type	kèkwakwa 7/8
white	kèsewsè 7/8
green	mbwesem/mbesem 3/4
grasslands	ŋgèy 1/2
grate	kwaa
grave	jèm/jém 9/10
greet	gay...lé
each other	gāynén
grind	gɔw, kaa
groan	dvum, kɛ́y
ground	nshɛ̄/nshɛ 9/10
ground, on the	fɔ̀kɔ̌ 16
groundnuts	bílèŋ 1
grow up	táw
grow (of roots)	yíém
brown, be	kɔ́
guinea corn	gíi/ɛgíŋ 5/6
gun	ŋgóy/jíŋgɔ́ci 5/13
habitually	gèɛ́
hair	yūw/yuw 9/10
hand	kebɔ́ 7/8
handle, make	téy
hang up	téy
on shoulder	féy
oneself	shlím
hard, become	tɛ́mɛ́
harm, do to	lɔ̀w kènlɔ̄w
harness, v.	sɔ́ɔ́
harvest, v.	gwēlě
hat	kefɔ́ 7/8
hawk	ndòŋ 1/2
he	wvù
head	ɛkɔlɛ/bikoo 7/8
head, on the	fɔ̀fǎ 16
headdress	kènsèé 7/8
headpad	cān/can 9/10
headrest	mbwaàn 1/2
heap, v.	kɔ́ɔ́ncɛ́
in mounds	maw
hear	yɔ́w
heart	fetelè/muntelèm 11/12
heat, v.	kfúm
heavy, become	ʃītě
heel	ncíⁱ/bɔncí 1/2
height	bvudéfè 14
help, v.	fí
hen	shèè/shéé 9/10
here	fɛn
hiccup	shíéwshíéw 9/10
hide sth.	ñíⁱlɛ̀
oneself	ñìlím
hip	kèncemte 7/8

hit (hammer)	kfun		knife	fèñɔ̄/mùñɔ̌m 11/12
things together	kwáẃ		knot, v.	sɔ́ɔ́
hoe, n.	jìw/jíw 9/10		know	kèè~kèy
hold	ji, kéŋkɛ́		kolanut	fèmbì/mùmbìm 11/12
hole	kebōẁ 7/8		labor, be in	lɔ́m
large, tree	fwɛŋ/fɛŋ 3/4		lack	tan
honey	bvutōẁ 14		ladder	bvukɔ̌w/mɔŋkɔ̌m 14/15
honor, n.	ŋgvūm 1/2		ladle	kènsɔ̀mè 7/8
v.	wvúm		lake	mámásɛ́
hoof	kekɔ̄ỳ 7/8		lame person	ntɛ̀ŋè 1/2
hook	fèncāẁ 11/12		language	diɛw
house	yēẁ/yew 9/10		laugh, v.	kfɛ́
how	nɛ̀, nù		law	ncī̀ 1/2
hundred	gwéɛ́ɛ́/gɛ́ɛ́ 3/4		lay sth. down	jī̀kě
hunger	jèŋ 9		eggs	tɔ́fɛ́
hunt, v.	la bvugɔ́m		leaf	nfɔ́ɔ́n 5/13
hunting	bvugɔ́m 14		leak, v.	jɔ́w
hurt	ton		lean against	yɛ́ɛm
husband	doy/bɔ̀le 1/2		leave	já, nɛ
hut	còn/cɔ́n 9/10		sth.	cínɛ́, cínɛ́...lɛ́
hut, in the	cōn 18		left (side)	ŋkɔ̀ŋkɔ̀
hyena	kúlá 1/2		legislate	cí
I	me		lend	sámsɛ́, fɔɔ̀sɛ̌
if	ɛ		leopard	bìa/bia 9/10
illness	kèncɛ̄m 7/8		let	gɛɛ
imitate	bēŋɛ̀n, few		lie, tell a	mbyáy (+mbyáy)
in	ɛ̀, yi...lɛ́		lie down	jìIm
incite	bɛ́ysɛ́		light, be (wt.)	yáytɛ́n
inclined, be	tfúŋ		like, as	diɛw ɛ́...lɛ́, kɛdlɛ
inform	tfum		lick	lɛ́
inheritance	bvushɛw 14		lion	bvulè 1/2
injured, be	lɛ́m		listen	yɛ́kɛ́
inside	ɛ̀ntɛ̌ 17		little	(wan) càản
instead	lɔ̀		far	ncɛ̀ njɔɔlɛ́
intelligence	bvùfɛ́ɛ́ 14		liver	shēm/shem 9/10
intelligent, be	fɛ́ɛ́sɛ́n		load	ŋkɛ̌m 1/2
interrupt	bvu		lock up	fen~flen
intestines	bvulɛ̄ẁ 14		locust	cùma 9/10
invalid	ŋkàwlɛ̀ 1/2		long, become	dèī̀ě
investigate	sɔw		look	tɛ́ɛ́
invite	kaw		after	tɛ́ɛ́ fɔ́
iron	ketfu 7/8		at	jī̀ŋě
itch, v.	fɔ́		loosen (ground)	cēwsě
jealous, be	ghɛw		lose (to leprosy)	kfūyě
jigger (=salt)	ŋkāw/ŋkaw 9/10		lost, get	la
journey	ghanɛ́ 5/13		louse	fensɛsè/munsɛsèm 11/12
judge, v.	sáw		love, v.	kɔŋ
juju (kind)	ŋkɔ̀w 1/2		lower, tr.	shī̀kě
jump over	daŋ		lying (falsehood)	mbyáy 4
just, adv.	lɔ̀		mad, be	jɛ̀w
kidney	fī̀w 4		maggot	yɪn/yɪn 9/10
kill	yɔ́		maize	nfūne~nfōŋe/bɔnfuŋe 1/2
knee	núu/ɛnú 5/6		make	ge
kneel	ŋgvúúm		man	dìɛmsɛ̌n/bɔlemsɛ̀ 1/2

many	ntèèn	nine	bvùùkɛ
market	wǎy/jìwǎci 3/13	no	ǎy?
Nkor day 1	bvútfū	nose	ndfé 5/13
day 2	bvûŋkaà	not	kɛ́...kɛ
day 3	bvúzhí	now	keséen
day 4	bvúkèmā	numerous, be	doo
day 5	bvûŋkaàdēn	oath	lēw~nlèw 1/2
day 6	bvúzhíIden	often	ɛ́fɔ̀nɛ̀fɔ̄n
day 7	bvúsɔ́w	oil	mɛ̀ɛm 15
day 8	bvúmbòn	old	ŋgǎy
marriage	kèntaashɛ̂ 7/8	old, become	lon
masculinity	bvulɛmsɛ̀ 14	on	yi...lɛ́
mat	ghām 4, kejínɛ̀ 7/8	once	kàŋ mwàŋ
matter	sǎka 1	one	mān̄
mausoleum	fúm 4	only	kɛ́, mān̄
me	me	open, v.	yēnɛ̌
measure, v.	few	open, break	san
medicine	ɛfowɛ́/bifoo 7/8	or	nɔ̀ɔ
medicine man	ŋgàŋ 1/2	outdo	ghǎw
meet	tásén	owl	kèŋkfù 7/8
message	ntōm̄ 1/2	pacify	lɔ́wcɛ́, cĩmsɛ́
milk, n.	ɛmbēn̄ 6	pack	bǎǎncɛ́
milk, v.	kǎm	pain, n.	nsàsè, nlòcè 1
millipede	kèŋgɔ̀ŋsɛ̀ 7/8	pain, v.	lōcɛ̌
mistake	jây 1/2	palace	ntɔ̄w 1/2
mistake, make	jǎy	pale, become	yɔ́m
mix	fyey, fyēysɛ̄n	palm-kernel	cèe/cee 9/10
money	kwaw	palmnut	bíáŋ/bíáŋ 9/10
monkey	càn/can 9/10	palmtree	kebáŋ 7/8
moon	kwee/kee 3/4	wild	duun 5
morning	ɛntáŋ ɛntáŋ 17	partridge	gwè/gwɛ́ 9/10
mortar	ndvúu 5/13	pass, v.	fɛ́y
mosquito	bem 4	pay	law
mother	bwee 1/2	pebble	cōw/cow 9/10
mould, v.	bɔ́m	peck, v.	jɔ́w
mountain	kōm̄/jikomɛ̀ 3/13	peel	yun
mouth	dìow/dɛw	penis	jòw/jɔ́w 9/10
mouth, in the	èmû 17	pepper	nsōse 1
much	ntèèn	person	wè/bɔñìì(m) 1/2
mud	kencaà	perspiration	njìmtèn 1
mushroom (kinds) kèmfulàŋ, kèjèmtê 7/8		perspire	jĩmtɛ̌n
nail, n.	keŋkantɛ̀ 7/8	pestle	ketfúw 7/8
nail, v.	tǎ	pick	kɔy
nakedness	kèclmte 7	up	bɔ́ŋ
name, n.	dle 5/6	piece, v.	kɔ́
name, v.	co	pierce	bon, cɛ́ɛ́
narrow, be	dɔɔsè	pig	ŋkɔ́nyàŋ 1/2
navel	cèm̄ 9/10	pinch	ŋǎm
near, put	bēncɛ̌	pipe	kèlǎŋ 7/8
neck	kèndɔ̀ŋ 7/8	pit	kèntokɛ̀ 7/8
net	kènsàŋ 7/8	place	bvudvúu/mɔndvúũm 14/15
new	-fɛ	plait	lo
news	sǎka	plant, v.	jɛ́wɛ́
night	ɛntáŋ 17	by suckers	yíɛ́

plantain	kèngòm 7/8	relative	kfū 5/13
plaster, v.	yéfě	remain	shἐἐ
platform	ketáálé 7/8	behind	mεy
play, v.	dvúm(+ndvūm)	remember	kwāwcě, kómé
please, adv.	ban	remove	bvúsé
pluck	bἐlé	from fire	fásé
poison, n.	njĭw 9	from heap	cófé
v.	jĭw	report, v.	shómsé, fēwcě
poor, be	fófǎ	resemble	fĭésἐn
pot	ntòn 1/2, nshaàn 9/10	rest, v.	lἐἐtἐn
pound, v.	kfun	restrict	lew
pour	dɔm fo	by fon	cĭ
poverty	kefofè, kètân 7	retaliate	tfúsé
powder, v.	kfum, ców	return	kásé
praise, n.	ncɔɔnkἐn 1/2	revive	kāmsě
v.	cɔɔnkἐn	reward, v.	kóné
prefer	tew	ribs	jìtâ 13
pregnancy	fwe 5	rice	gĭl/εgĭn 5/6
press, v.	mɔy	ridge	kwen/ken 3/4
priest	fádà	right (not wrong)	len
prod	dɔmsě	ring, n.	fèncāw
profit	sἐw	v.	jεm
promise, n.	nkàw	ringworm	ncāgùgù 1/2
v.	kaw	ripe, become	yἐἐ
protect	cεy	rise	ben
pull	goófě	road	jè/jé 9/10
pumpkin	leè/εlēn 5/6	roast, v.	yɔn
pupil (of eye)	ñɔ wù jisé	rock	kembaàn 7/8
pus	mɔnkfunyè 15	rod	bwēm/bēm 3/4
push	dɔmsě	roll up	kἐwé
down	dɔmě, bāsě	room	kebōw 7/8
put	gεε, tóm	root	gwἐn/gἐn 3/4
sth. away	cākě	rope	kfù 1/2
in mounds	maw	rotten, become	fɔ
on stick	soo	round, become	dĭἐn
quarrel, v.	wáá	and smooth	cĭnsé
quick, be	yānsἐn	rub	yéfé
quill	fwēw/fēw 3/4	rule over	sáw
rabbit	.wǎnga/bɔwàngā 1/2	rumble	dvūmἐn
rain	jàn 9	run	léwtἐ
ram	keyáw 7/8	sacrifice, n.	ncēsé 1/2
raphia palm	bĭòw/bĭów 9/10	saliva	ntĭán 4
rare, be in	bāynἐn	salt	nkāw 9
rat (small edible)	fènkâw 11/12	sand	mɔnshἐἐm 15
edible fieldrat	shòn/shon 9/10, fyὲw/	satiated, be	fúú
(types)	fyēw 9/10, bwāw 3/13,	savannah	ngèy 1/2
	fèngùù/mùngùúm 11/12	savannah, in the	èntfùn 17
houserat	ncènkòn 1/2	say	dó
giant	cèe/cee 9/10	scar	kelalásé 7/8
reach	bóy	scarce, become	sey
red, become	yἐἐ	scare away	káy
redness	bvuyεlè 14	scatter	táwsé tἐmsé
refuse	tón, kan, fán	scrape	kán
regret	kómé	scratch self	kómé

scratch s.o.	shwaw	slave	nfwàà/bɔnfaà 1/2
scream	wǎm	sleep, n.	ñíi 5
search for	gɔm	v.	lɛ́fɛ́
among things	tɛ́m	sleeping place (chief)	kècɛ́è 7/8
season, hunting	nyèm	sleepy, be	yɛw
planting	mɔdvuùm	slide, slip	lem
rainy	bvudaàm	slowly	wɛ̀ɛ̀
clearing	fwɛ	small	tɛ́lɛ̀, waà/bɔɔm
see	yɛ́n...lɛ́	small, be	dɔɔsè
seed	ŋgɔ̀w/ŋgɔ̄w 9/10	smell, intr.	sǎm
seize	lɔ	tr.	ŋúúŋkɛn
sell	gēsě	smoke, n.	njĪm 4
send	tɔ́m, cĺĺnsɛ́	v.	bĺ
separate (fibers)	son	meat	tǎm
set trap	tɛ́lɛ́	snail	kèmbà 7/8
gum trap	lǎw	snake	yɔ̄/yɔ 9/10
settle dispute	sɔ́mtɛ́n	boa	kɔ̄m/kom 9/10
seven	sɔɔshwĺ	short, fat	kefɛ́ 7/8
sew	tǎsɛ́	snap, v.	ŋgɔ́y
shake, intr.	shĪw, cĺŋ	snore	kɔ
tr.	ka, jɛm	snot	kemfemtèn 7/8
shame	kèŋwumɛ̌n 7	soak	cow
sharp, be	kɔ̌ɔ́	soft, make	yey
sharpen	tǎsɛ́n, fɔn	soil	nshɛ̄/nshɛ 9/10
to a point	cɔ́ɔ́ntɛ́n	song	ŋkèè 1/2
she	wvù	sore	kèŋkɔken 7/8
sheep	njèè/njeè~bɔnjeè 1/2~9/10	sorrow	shen
shield	kèbâw 7/8	soul	keyɔ̄y 7/8
shirt	kekɔ̂m 7/8	soup	nshĺɛw
shiver	cĺŋ	sour, become	ŋgwǎy
shoot	tǎ, tɔ́m	speak	jēmɛ̌
short, be	kfûfɛ́	spear	gɔ́ɔ/ɛgɔ́ŋ 5/6
shortness	bvukfûfɛ̀ 14	spend the day	shɛ́
shoulder	gwɛ̀w 9	spend the night	cɛ́
shout at	kǎy	spit	tɔ́y
show, v.	doŋ	split	wǎy
shut	fǎá	firewood	sānɛ̌
sick, become	cɛ̌m	spoil	bɛ́fɛ́
sides, take	bēyɛ̌n	spoon	kèntàsè 7/8
sift	yēkɛ̌n	spread to dry	tɛ́nɛ́
sth. moist	kfu	sprinkle	miàw (+mĺǎw)
sigh w/disgust	shɔ́m	spy, v.	kee, niàŋ̣kɛ̌n
silent, become	cĺfɛ́	squeeze	kǎm
sing	yɛ́m (+ŋkèè)	together, intr.	fǎcɛ́
sink	lɛ́ (+jɔ́ɔ́)	squirrel	fetene/muntenɛ́m 11/12
sip	fɔ́w	stab	bɔn
sister	jèmè/jɛ́mè 9/10	stammer	bɛ̌w
sit	shĭi	stamp, v.	cĺn
six	sɔɔcàn	stand, v.	lĺĺm
skin, n.	jèw/jɛ̄w	up, intr.	jǎ
v.	yow	sth. up	lɛ́kɛ́
put on drum	daa	star	jɔ̌n/jɔ́n 9/10
slander	kon	start	kɛw
slap	soŋ, tǎm	a tune	yaw

start to cultivate	baŋ		then, therefore to	ɛ̂
startled, be	jǎ		there	fèfê 16
stay for short time	mɔɔcɛ̌		thief	cɔ́ŋ/bɔcɔ́ŋ 1/2
steal	cɔ́ŋ		thigh	yèŋ/yeŋ 9/10
stem of sth.	nsōn/nson 9/10		thing	fyɛɛ̀/mwɛɛ̀m 11/12
stick	fete/muntɛ́m 11/12		think	tam, kwaw
stick poles in ground	tɔ́m		thorn	fwɛ̂w/fɛ̂w 3/4
sticky, be (meat)	fɔ̄mtɛ̌n		porcupine	ŋgāw/ŋgaw 9/10
still, yet	bɛ́ɛ́		thousand	ntfùkè
stomach	ketɛ́ 7/8		three	tɛɛ
stone	tɛ/ɛta 5/6		throat	sèw~sìw/sɛ́w 9/10~1/2
cooking	nsoyí/ɛnsoy 5/6		throne	kàwlà
grinding	ŋgɔ̀w 1/2		throw (lance)	tfúmɛ́
stool	kèkɔwtè 7/8		away	laŋ
carved	kèndvunshɛ̂ 7/8		down	tɔ́fɛ́
store, v.	gɛɛ		thunder, v.	bāykɛ̌n
straight, become	nɛ̄lɛ̌		thus	nɛn
stream	fencanca/muncancɛ́m 11/12		tick	ŋgèmlè 1/2
strong, become	tɛ̄mɛ́, tǎw		tie together	yílɛ́
stump	kèŋkfùytè		up	kǎy
stupidity	keyɔ́ŋ 7		time	kefēw
suck	yǎm		short while	nfèw
suffering	ŋgāw 1/2		long ago	ncèkɛ
sufficient, be	kwɛ̂n		one time, etc.	kàŋ
sugarcane	ŋwaŋwǎ 1/2		tired, be	dɔ́sɛ́
summit, at the	fɔ̀fǎlǎǎŋ 16		of sth.	fíí...lɛ́
sun	díw		to (recipient)	ɛ
surpass	fɛ́y		(direction)	fɔ̀ 16
swallow	mì		tobacco	nàmà 1/2
swear (truth)	kan		today	èbèn
swear word	kàn		together	ntaashɛ́
sweep	yɛ̄sɛ̌		tomato (garden egg)	yɔ̀ŋ/yɔ̄ŋ 9/10
sweet, be	yekè		tomorrow	ntfùú
swell	ben		day after	fɔ̀ shɛ̌ ntfùú
swim	sam		tong	kefǎsɛ́ 7/8
swing, v.	njɛ́y		tongue	lemɛ́/ɛlem~jilemɛ́ 5/6~13
table	ketǎálɛ́ 7/8		tonight	entǎŋ èbèn
tail	wvún/jiwǎnte 3/13		too	tēŋ, dvú
of cow	kesǎn 7/8		tooth	kegē 7/8
take	fí, jɔ		tortoise	kèbɔŋàlɛ̌ 7/8
teach	yɛ́yí		touch	kom...lɛ́
tears	mīsèm 4		trample	lēncɛ̌, cín
tear, v.	saa		trap	ketǎm 7/8
bamboo	tan		fish	kèntfùm 7/8
tell	sɛ́ɛ́, gay...lɛ́		travel	lɛn
story	fɛ		tree	kete 7/8
riddle	ma		tremble	cíŋ
ten	yoofè		tribe	ketɔ́m 7/8
termite	ŋgɔ̄w/ŋgɔw 9/10		trouble	ŋgɛ̄w
testify	shɔ́msɛ́		turn	bāŋkɛ̌
thank	bɛ̄lɛ̌		over	bay
that, conj.	lɛ, ɛ́, ɛ		twist	yɔ́y
thatch, v.	sǎŋ		two	fɛ́ɛ́
them, they	bɔ́		umbrella	kèbâw 7/8

uncle (maternal)	lomsé 1/2		when	sékè, dlɔ, séké lǎ (Q)
under(neath)	èkǔ		where	fɛè
untie	fay		which	lǎ
up	wě		white, be	bǎ
uplift	bay		White man	bàlà
uproot	báǎ		why	njēˋ lǎ
urinate	jay		who	yɛɛ
urine	mɔnjām̄ 15		whole	-tfu/-cii
us (excl)	bèsèn		widen	koòsě
us (incl)	beènè		wife	kwɛ/bɔkɛnɛ̀ 1/2
vagina	kené/ɛken 5/6		wildcat	kejinɛ̀ 7/8
vegetable	mbàsè/mbáṡé 9/10		wind	fwefwe 3
vein	gwɛ̂ŋ/gɛ̂ŋ 3/4		wine	mbvūm 15
village	ntɛ̀w 1/2		wing	kebɛbɛ̀ 7/8
waist, around	cl̄n		wipe	shɔ
wake s.o. up	kām̄sě		wire	fèncāw 11/12
walk	lɛn		witch	twě/bɔcɛ̌w 1/2
wander about	la		with	bɔ́
wander out	njɨ̂m		with it	dvǔ
want	gɔm		without	sɛ̌
war	jèm 9/10		woman	kwɔɔ̀n/bɔkɛnɛ̀ 1/2
wash (self)	cōk̀ě		work, n.	lemè 5/13
water	jɔɔ̀~dlɔ̀/jɔɔ̀ 9/10		v.	lem
we (excl)	bèsèn		wound	ɛlɛmtɛ 7/8
we (incl)	beènè		wrap up	kɔ́lé~kɔ́cɛ́
weak, be	wɛɛ		wring	kǎm, tɔ́y
wealthy, become	kow		write	sǎ̄ŋ
weave	lo		yam	kèŋkfǔ 7/8
weed, n.	namēˋ		year	kelōm̄~kelōŋ̄ 7/8
v.	bɛ́lé		yesterday	fɔgò
week	kèmā˄ 7/8		day before	kefwé
weight	bvuɟ ɨ̀tɛ̀ 14		you sg.	wɔ̀
well, adv.	ntāȳ		you pl.	bèn
well, get	bɔ́nɛ̂n, tɛ́mé		young	(wān̄) cààn
wet, become	lɛ̂ (+jɔɔ̀)			
what	lǎ/mùlǎ			

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