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 follows is organized in five parts:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Los Angeles, 8/24/81
PART I: PHONOLOGY

1. THE SOUND SYSTEM

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
| & i & u & uu \\
\hline
\varepsilon & o & ee & oo \\
\varepsilon & a & aa & \\
\end{array}
\]

The above orthographic vowels are pronounced as follows:

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

2. \(e\) is usually pronounced \([\varepsilon]\), more rarely \([\varepsilon]\), e.g. \(-c\varepsilon\) \(\varepsilon\) \([c\varepsilon]\) \(\varepsilon\) 'pass the night'. \(ee\) is usually pronounced \([e:\]\), although the pronunciation \([\varepsilon:\]\) is occasionally heard for some words, e.g. \(c\varepsilon\varepsilon\) \([c\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) \(\varepsilon\varepsilon\) 'palm-kernel'.

3. \(e\) is pronounced \([\varepsilon]\), e.g. \(-l\varepsilon\) \([l\varepsilon]\) 'become wet, sink'. \(ee\) is pronounced \([e:\]\), e.g. \(-l\varepsilon\varepsilon\) \([l\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) 'deceive'.

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

5. \(o\) is pronounced \([\varepsilon]\), e.g. \(-ko\) \([k\varepsilon]\) 'snore'. \(oo\) is pronounced \([o:\]\), e.g. \(-k\varepsilon\varepsilon\) \([k\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) 'catch'.

6. \(u\) is pronounced a very tense \([\varepsilon]\), e.g. \(-d\varepsilon\) \([d\varepsilon]\) 'say'. \(oo\) is pronounced \([\varepsilon:\]\), e.g. \(-d\varepsilon\varepsilon\) \([d\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) 'be numerous'.

7. \(u\) is pronounced \([\varepsilon]\), e.g. \(\varepsilon\varepsilon\) \([\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) 'thatching grass'. When preceded by a stop or \(w\), \(u\) also conditions a labio-dentalization of the consonant, e.g. \(-k\varepsilon\varepsilon\) \([k\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) 'sift (something moist)'. Although predictable, this labiodentalization is expressed orthographically in the consonant sequences \(tf, k\varepsilon, bv, dv, gv, mv\) and \(wv\). \(uu\) is pronounced \([u:\]\), e.g. \(-y\varepsilon\varepsilon\) \([y\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) 'be clear, to dawn'. In a few cases labio-dentalization is observed before \(u\), e.g. \(k\varepsilon\varepsilon\) \([k\varepsilon\varepsilon]\) '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 \(\varepsilon\) (written sh) and \(\varepsilon\) (written gh). They are pronounced as indicated in the following paragraphs.
t c k
b d j g
f s š
w l y y
m n ŋ ŋ

(1) Voiceless non-continuants: t is pronounced [t], e.g. -tew [təw] 'prefer'. c is pronounced [tš], e.g. -cám [tšám] 'chew'. k is pronounced [k], e.g. -kšó [kšó] 'laugh'.

(2) Voiced non-continuants: b is pronounced [b], e.g. -bšó [bšó] 'bear a child'. d is pronounced [d], e.g. -dšó [dšó] 'cook'. j is pronounced [dʒ], e.g. -jšó [dʒšó] 'go mad, become drunk'. g is pronounced [g], e.g. -gšó [gšó] 'make, do'.

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

(4) Approximants: w is pronounced [w], e.g. -wám [wám] 'scream'. l is pronounced [l], e.g. -léy [léy] 'enter'. y is pronounced [j], e.g. -yén [jén] 'see'. The sound [γ], an unrounded velar approximant, is represented orthographically as gh, e.g. -ghéy [γhéy] '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. -ne [ne] 'to leave'. ñ is pronounced [n], e.g. -nó [nó] 'give', and is not written ny because of such oppositions as nyém [nýém] 'dry season' vs. ñám [nám] 'animal'. ŋ is pronounced [ŋ], e.g. -nám [nám] '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: ñé? 'no', mbó 'button', ca? 'granary made of bamboo', nfo? (name of a society), and ñwó? (=ñwó) 'book'. Except for 'no', all words with glottal stop appear to have been borrowed, most likely from Lammso?. ? can only appear in syllable-final position. It may appear after falling tone short vowels occurring before pause, e.g. ñám yé = ñám yé? 'this animal'.

In addition to the above, a few other consonant types occur in the language. We have already mentioned the fact that t, k, b, d, g, m and w are labiodentalized before u, e.g. /butu/ 'day' is written bútú and pronounced [bůtú]. In addition, the labio-velar stops [kp] and [gb] occur as alternate realizations of k+w and g+w, respectively: kwén 'firewood' is realized either [kwén] or [kwen]; gwóndón 'bamboo' is realized [gwóndón] or [gwóndón], 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 ø or in one of a limited set of final consonants, as summarized in the following formula:

\[(N) C_1 (C_2) V_1 (V_2) (C_2)\]

The consonantal onset may consist of up to three consonants: a non-syllabic nasal (N), a stem-initial consonant (C₁), and a w or y glide (G),
NC1 sequences have three sources:

1. In nouns, especially (though not exclusively) in genders 1/2 and 9/10, a NC1 sequence is often noted, e.g. nton/bonton 'pot/pots' 1/2, ndvũ/ndvũ 'cloth/cloths' 9/10 (but also kënsaŋ/bënsaŋ 'net/mets' 7/8).

2. Verbs with a first person singular subject take a homorganic nasal agreement marker (including auxiliary and consecutivized verbs), e.g. me nyemtë mpınë 'I am singing and dancing' (cf. wvu yemtë binë 'he is singing and dancing').

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

The only syllables lacking a consonantal onset are prepositions, conjunctions and certain noun prefixes which consist of a vowel alone, e.g. e 'if', e- (class 6 prefix, as in e-tam '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. -jim 'lie down') or the class 12 and 15 -m suffix on nouns (e.g. me̩m 'oil' 15 [Bantu 6a]). Syllables ending in a long vowel + n are rare, e.g. ntšen 'many'. In cases where a nasal is followed in the same word by an homorganic consonant + vowel, it is always assigned to the following syllable. Thus, -kaŋkē 'be frying' (from -kāŋ 'fry') is syllabified as -kaŋkē.

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

- jfw 'to poison'
- kew 'gather firewood'
- kew 'start'
- kaw 'promise'

All vowels occur before final y except i:

- këy 'to cough'
- këy 'groan in pain'
- këy 'shout at'

It should be noted that w and y are pronounced [əw] and [əv], respectively, after the velar consonants k, g and gh, e.g. [kəw] 'start!', [təv] 'groan in pain'.
All seven (short) vowels contrast before final m, n and q:

- jím 'back'
- jêm 'war, grave'
- kêm 'part friends forever'
- bín 'to dance'
- cîn 'tremble'
- -gêm 'root'

- kfûm 'to heat'
- km 'to touch'
- gom 'look for'
- kfun 'to hit'
- kon 'to slander'
- -bon 'stab'
- tfûn 'be inclined'
- kân 'scrape'
- kân 'fry'

em is pronounced [æm] after velars, e.g. [kâm] 'part friends forever', while
en is pronounced [æn] after all consonants, e.g. [gʷân] 'root'
2

THE TONE SYSTEM

1. Each syllable carries contrastive tone in N'oni. 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, ã and à, as seen in the following examples:

blé 'fish (pl.)'   twèw 'thorn'
ble 'goats'        kwén 'firewood'
blè 'fish (sg.)'  gwèw '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 ble, and 'firewood' will be written kwén.

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: 'twè 'witch'     blèn 'bile'
LM: wèn 'child'     bìn 'goat'
HL: jày 'mistake' (=only example)
HM: gày 'grazing grass'    g55 'spear'
ML: lèw 'oath'      meém 'oil'

Except in certain class 5 nouns, the HM contour tone is rare in N'oni, 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: mún 'arrow', nè '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.

[-addons]: mbóso 'soups'
[ndv]: ndvu 'cloths'    nòón 'drums'
[nd]: nòom 'drum'     ndvu 'cloths'

The starting point of a contour tone generally seems to begin in the C₁ consonant, especially in the case of LM and LH, and especially when the C₁ is w or y, e.g. L tone [y] in both yèw 'house' and yèw '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. blèn 'bile'. As seen in twè 'witch' and jày 'mistake' above, á stands for a LH rising tone and à for a HL falling tone, both realized on a single vowel. As seen in other examples such as wèn 'child', other contours require two
tone marks when there is only one vowel to receive them. Ideally our orthography should have the following single contour marks: ᶥ (LM), ᵇ (HM) and ᶥ (ML).

2. There is no down drift 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. ᵇ'wāy [ _ _ ] 'at the market', ᶥ'wāy tôme [ _ _ ] 'at my market'. Similarly, the HL falling tone is frequently realized ML after L or after pause, although this lowering of HL to ML seems to be optional, varying within the speech of the same speaker.

(3) The LM rising tone is always realized L'M (i.e. rising to a lowered mid pitch level). Similarly, the ML falling tone is always realized as 'M'L. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WRITTEN</th>
<th>PRONOUNCED</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ᵇ'wèw</td>
<td>[ʜwèw]</td>
<td>'in the house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵇ'wèw</td>
<td>[wèw]</td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵇ'jāy</td>
<td>[jə'v]</td>
<td>'mistake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵇ'tāw</td>
<td>[tāw]</td>
<td>'oath'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.f. kwen</td>
<td>[kwèn]</td>
<td>'firewood'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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. 'wāy 'market', but: ᵇ'wāy 'at the market' (from ᵇ'w+way).

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 13], 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 bo- prefix in the plural. Roughly two thirds of the nouns in this gender have an initial NC1 sequence. The homorganic nasal is not interpreted as a prefix, however, since it occurs in both the singular and the plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WITH NASAL:</th>
<th>nönh  'chief'</th>
<th>bonönh  'chiefs'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mbönh  'dwarf cow'</td>
<td>bömambönh  'dwarf cows'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WITHOUT NASAL:</td>
<td>cönh  'thief'</td>
<td>bocönh  'thieves'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bvlö  'lion'</td>
<td>böbvlö  'lions'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. mını 'tobacco' (English), sëka 'news' (Mungaka). The tone of the bo- prefix is generally predictable: it is normally L except in the case when the stem begins with a H tone (as in 'thieves' above). Since very few nouns begin with a H tone in 1/2, M tone bo- will be rare. The plural form 'chiefs' above is an exception. Other exceptions include: bořim 'people' (sg. wë), boken 'women' (sg. kwëh), bonfa 'slaves' (sg. nifwë). The singular/plural forms twë/bocëw '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): wënga/ bówëngä 'rabbit/s', mën/bömän 'arrow/s'. Here we see that with the addition of the plural prefix, the tones of the singular shift position (to the right in the case of 'rabbits', to the left in the case of 'arrows').
The following nouns irregularly undergo a modification of their C₁ consonant in deriving the plural from the singular:

we 'person'  boñĩm 'people'
wañ 'child'  boom 'children'
twē 'witch'  bocow 'witches'
kwōñ 'woman'  bokene 'women'
nfwa 'slave'  bonfaa 'slaves'

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

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

WITH NASAL:  ntohn 'message'  pl. bönñõm ('-ñõm 'send')
             ogwō 'grinding stone'  pl. bõngbw (-gwb 'grind')
WITHOUT NASAL:  cōñ 'thief'  pl. bocõñ ('-cón 'steal')
             kën 'swear word'  pl. bõkën ('-kën 'swear')

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

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

twõñ 'vine branch'  pl. tõñ
kwem 'firewood'  pl. kên
gweē 'ceiling'  pl. geē

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:

mbwesēm 'green grasshopper'  pl. mbesēm
ngwénsē 'earthworm'  pl. ngénsē

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

we 'field'  pl. ñè

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

gwóó 'hundred'  gée ñè 'two hundred'

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

REGULAR:  dweē ñ 'bridge'  pl. jidweē
           bwaaw ñ 'rat (sp.)'  pl. jibwaw

IRREGULAR:  wañy 'market'  pl. jiwaäí
             ngōw 'fire, gun'  pl. jingoö ci 'guns'
             kõh 'mountain'  pl. jikomè
             wvāñ 'tail'  pl. jiwānte
4. Gender 5/6. Class 5 is marked by either ø or an -e suffix. Plural class 6 is marked by an e- 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:**
- lōwe 'bean'
- temē 'axe'
- mbenē 'breast'

**MONOSYLLABIC:**
- nōu 'knee'
- lē 'compound'
- leē 'pumpkin'
- die 'name'

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

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

- gō 'spear'
- gā 'rice, guinea corn'
- leē 'pumpkin'

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

- tīi 'belly'
- dfw 'day'
- te 'stone'
- bōō 'angle'
- jisē 'eye'

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. gō 'spear', from earlier *gōgē*). In other cases there may not have been a final -e. Note, finally, that the final vowel of nsōyī 'cooking stone' (pl. ensoy) is -i rather than -e because of a general process in Nomi whereby suffixal -e becomes [i] after y (cf. the progressive aspect formation process involving the change of -ye 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.

- nfoōn 'leaf'
- temē 'work'
- binē 'dance'

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:

- temē 'tongue'
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-):

kebò 'hole, room'  pl. bibò
kècò 'belt'  pl. fidcw
kèbè 'palm tree'  pl. bidò

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

kebò / etò 'hand'  ketò / etò 'ear'
kète / etè 'tree'  kegè / égò 'tooth'

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

elemè / *kelemè 'blood'

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

ègò 'tooth'  pl. bigò
èfòwè 'medicine'  pl. bifo
èkòlè 'bag'  pl. bikèlè
èlèmè 'blood'  pl. bilèmè
èkèlè 'foot'  pl. bikakè
èlèmtè 'wound'  pl. bilèmtè

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

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

jòm 'antelope'  pl. jòm
bìlè 'fish (sg.)'  pl. bìlé
bìlè 'goat'  pl. bìlè
bwè 'dog'  pl. bwè

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

mbèsè 'vegetable'  pl. mbèsè
mfumè 'caterpillar'  pl. mfumè
çuma 'locust'  pl. çuma

When the singular has L tone, the plural can be with either ML or M 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: *'jóm'/*jóm 'antelope/s',
*'bë'/*bë 'fish', *'bë'/*bë 'goat/s', *'bë'/*bë 'dog/s' (*PGB l/-l*).

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

njëè 'sheep' pl. njëè
nsàn 'friend' pl. nsàn
ndvë 'cloth' pl. ndvë

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. nèm 'animal', pl. nèm.

The nouns càñ (pl. can) and sàhm 'liver, fruit (earlier: heart)' (pl. sàhm)
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 Nomi (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 *fI*)- prefix in the singular, and a mun-
prefix (and sometimes an additional -m suffix) in the plural:

fëmbé 'kolanut' pl. mëmbëm 'kola trees'
fëtë 'thing' pl. mwëm
fëntëw 'ring, wire' pl. mëntëw

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:

fétkë 'squirrel' pl. mëntënëm
fëfë 'knife' pl. mëfëm
fëfë 'bird' pl. mëfëm

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

fëntë / mëfë 'knife/yes' < fëntë / fëtë 'machet/s' 9/10
fëte / mëntëm 'stick/s' < këte / kete 'tree/s' 7/8
fëntëw / mëntëw 'small village/s' < nëtw / bëntëw '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:

fëkënë / mëkenë dim. of: këwë / bëkenë 'woman/women' 1/2
fëkë / mëkë dim. of: wëy / jëkë 'market/s' 3/13
fëgë / mëngë dim. of: gë / jëgnë 'spear/s' 5/6

9. Gender 14/15 (PGB 14/18a). Nouns whose singular are in class 14 be-
gin with a bëu- 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 mon-; suffix -m, with the same tonal changes as in class 12):
bvushǐw 'face'  pl. monshǐm
bvudvúu 'place'  pl. mondvúúm
bvukúw 'ladder'  pl. munjúúm
bvulém 'fufu'     (no pl.)
bvutúw 'honey'     (no pl.)
bvuléw 'intestines' (no pl.)

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

bvudéfě 'length'        < -fě 'become long'
bvufěgě 'fatness'       < -fěgě 'become fat'
bvukfěfě 'shortness'     < -fěfě 'become short'
bvujfěfě 'weight'        < -fěfě '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 [ς]):

bvúti 'day 1'    bvúnkãdě 'day 5'
bvúndi 'day 2'    bvúkúw 'day 6'
bvúrf 'day 3'     bvúslé 'day 7'
bvúmën 'day 4'    bvúmbën '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:  bò 'brain'    sáw 'profit'
         njkã 'cornbeer'  bilèn 'groundnut'

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

class 3:  gbèg 'tusk'  fwefwe 'wind'
         fwe 'chalk'    ngóy 'fire' (13 = 'guns')

class 4-10: ṭì 'kidney'  bòbò 'gall-bladder'
           njì 'smoke'   mbyèy 'lying'

class 5:  (none)

class 6:  éjìm 'fat'  émam 'twins'

class 7:  këmbèw 'cloud'  këto 'ear'
         kedèw 'beard'  keyf 'arm'

(an alternate word for 'ear', këntontòg, has the regular plural form bïntontòn; the plural of 'arm' is irregular and suppletive: njkejken, class 4-10).

class 8:  (none)

class 9:  jèn 'rain'  gbèw 'shoulder'
         bilèn 'bile'
class 10: (see class 4)

class 11: (none)

class 12: məngŋəy 'strength'

class 13: jítə 'ribs'

class 14: bvgvgw 'flatness' bvgvé 'intelligence'

(quality nouns; see above)

class 15: məngk 'oil'

mbvégh 'wine'

məngkg 'eyebrows'

məngk 'flour'

məngk 'urine'

(mass-liquid nouns)

məngk '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 (fo-). 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: fɔjíso fo wən 'the forehead of the child' (lit. at/on eye

class 17: bəbə jo wən 'in the hand of the child'

class 18: yəw dəvu wən 'in the house of the child'

The markers fo, jo and dəvu are conditioned by the locative meaning of each phrase, as seen from a comparison with the following:

class 5: jíso ji wən 'the eye of the child'

class 7: bəbə ke wən 'the hand of the child'

class 9: yəw yə wən '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. kəte 'tree' 7 becomes kəte '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: fɔfə 'on the head' (cf. ekə 'head')

fɔfəldə 'at the summit' (e.g. of a mountain, tree)

class 17: bəmə 'in the mouth' (cf. dəm 'mouth')

bəmə 'under'

class 18: c₁yn 'around the waist'

Only three cases have been found of class 18: yəw 'in the house' (cf. yəw 'house' 9/10), c₁yn 'in the hut' (cf. c₁yn 'hut' 9/10), c₁yn '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 fo, jo and dəvu agreement markers appear; or (ii) one can maintain (at least in many cases) the original noun class identity of the non-locativized form and simply add a locative suffix (-lé after vowels, -é after consonants), e.g.
føjëm ò wëm  føjëm wëm ë ’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 ë 'in' and yì 'on':

ë ñwë le 'in the book'
ì muñ wëm ë 'in my car'
yì yëw ë 'on the house'
yì yëw wëm ë 'on the child’s house'

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

wëh wëm 'my country'
wëh wëm ë 'in my country'

The prepositions ë and yì and the postposition lë/ë are not considered to be markers of noun classes, since they do not condition agreement markers of their own.
Pronouns

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

| 1st person | me | bèn (excl) |
| 2nd person | wò | bèn |
| 3rd person | LOG | wen | bòwen |
| Class 1 | wù | bò |
| 3 | wù | if |
| 5 | jī | yò |
| 7 | jì | bò |
| 9 | jí | yì |
| 11 | tì | mò |
| 14 | bì | jì |
| 16 | (fà) | mò |
| 17 | (jò) | |
| 18 | (dvò) | |

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 bènè is used when the speaker wishes to exclude the hearer, while the form bènè is used when the speaker wishes to include the hearer. As we shall see below, there is an exceptionally complex set of compound pronouns which can be used to identify the individual make-up of plural personal pronouns.

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

sg. wù dòo le wù bèn gèn fòwày 'he says that he [another] went to market'
wù dòo le wù bèn gèn fòwày 'he says that he [himself] went to market'

pl. bò dòo le bò bèn gèn fòwày 'they say they [others] went to market'
bò dòo le bòwen bèn gèn fòwày 'they say they [themselves] went to market'

In the first sentence of each set, the regular singular and plural independent pronouns are used (wù 'he' and bò 'they', respectively). The resulting meaning conveyed is that the person(s) going to the market is not the same as the speaker(s) reporting the event. In the second sentence of each set, the logophoric pronouns are used (wen 'he/she [reporting person]' and bòwen 'they [reporting persons]'). The result is that the same person(s) reporting the event personally went to the market. It is interesting to note that these pronouns
are probably borrowed from Oku, Aghem or another Ring language, where [wɔn] 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 [wɔn] 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 nɔŋ ngwè 'I have fallen'
object: wɔŋ kfrɛ me 'he is hitting me'
after prep: bɔ nɔŋ ɔŋ kɛ c me 'they have given it [cl. 7] to me'
after 'be': kɛ nɔŋ me 'it's me'

In the form 'they have given it to me' we have a class 7 object pronoun kɛ 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 dvɔ has the partitive meaning 'of it' or 'with it' as seen in comparing the following two sentences involving the verb 'to give':

bɔ nɔŋ nɔŋ me bɔ kɛngɔm 'they have given me plantains'
bɔ nɔŋ nɔŋ me dvɔ 'they have given me it'

The first sentence literally means 'they have given me with plantains'. Since dvɔ "replaces" bɔ kɛngɔm '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 bɔ + kɛ, which cannot occur with the verb 'to give'. (The form bɔ-kɛ is acceptable as a complex pronoun meaning 'they including it [cl. 7]'; see below.) The partitive meaning of dvɔ is seen in a comparison of the following sentences:

bɔ nɔŋ ɗɛ kɛ 'they have eaten it'
bɔ nɔŋ ɗɛ dvɔ 'they have eaten some' ['of it']

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

bɔ nɔŋ nɔŋ wan dvɔ 'they have given to the child too'

In this case dvɔ means 'too' (in addition to giving to someone else). Understood is that dvɔ 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, beë- (1st person), bèn-e- (2nd person), and bô- (3rd person). In the case of bèn- and bô-, we are dealing, of course, with the plural pronouns 'you pl.' and 'they'. The possible second parts are the pronouns wô 'you sg.' and bèn 'you pl.', which can be added only to bèë- (1st plural); wù 'he/she' and bô 'they', which can be added to all three first parts, and wen 'LOG sg.' and bôwen 'LOG pl.', which also can be added to all first parts. The pronoun beënè 'we [incl]' is derived from beë+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 beënëbô 'we [including you and he, she or them]'. The result is the following sixteen compound pronominal forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>beëwô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+3</td>
<td>beëwû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+3</td>
<td>bènêwû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+3</td>
<td>bôwû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+3</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+LOG</td>
<td>beëwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+LOG</td>
<td>bènêwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+LOG</td>
<td>bôwen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2+LOG</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, beëbô 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:

bô dôcô le beëbôwen bèn gôn tôwây 'they say that they and I/we went to market'
wvù dóo le bëebòwen bòt gèn fàwày 'he says that he and we [or they and I/we] went to market'

In the first example the subject of 'say' is plural and so is the compound pronoun in the lower clause. The result is that the bòwen part of the compound pronoun refers back to the subject bòt, as we would expect. In the second sentence, however, one of the possible interpretations is 'he says that he and we went to market', in which case the bòwen part is in plural form not because the subject of the verb 'say' is plural, but because the subject 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 bòe-. If not, but if there is a [2nd person], use bëen-. Finally, if there is neither a [1st person] nor a [2nd person], use bò-. (b) For number, if both parts are marked [-singular], use a singular pronoun wò, wvù or wën (according to the identity of the participant whose person may not be represented in the first part of the compound--bòt 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 bòt, e.g.

| 1 | bò-wvù | 6 | bò-eyò | 11 | bò-ët |
| 2 | bò-bòt | 7 | bò-kë | 12 | bò-më |
| 3 | bò-wvù | 8 | bò-bët | 13 | bò-ët |
| 4 | bò-yë | 9 | bò-yë | 14 | bò-bvë |
| 5 | bò-jë | 10 | bò-yë | 15 | bò-më |

The meaning of these forms is 'they including it/them' or 'with it/them'. Note that the class 6 pronoun is eyò except in subject position. Also, the floating L tone which occurs between bò 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 bò if the pronoun has H tone. Note that the pronunciation bò-bòt, bò-jë, etc. is also possible, where the L is realized on both components.

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

wvù yënyë ye yë lë 'he sees himself' (lit. he sees his body)
bò këe bikoo bikòlë 'they know themselves' (lit. their heads)

Occasionally a verb will allow the verb extension -en with a reciprocal or reflexive meaning, e.g. bò yënyë ë lë '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>class</th>
<th>concord</th>
<th>example</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(wù)</td>
<td>nton (wù) wan</td>
<td>'the child's pot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bo...lè</td>
<td>bonton bo wan è</td>
<td>'the child's pots'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(wu)</td>
<td>gwolon (wu) wan</td>
<td>'the child's bamboo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(yi)</td>
<td>gòbèn (yi) wan</td>
<td>'the child's bamboos'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>jì...lè</td>
<td>temè jì wan è</td>
<td>'the child's axe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>ëtem è wan</td>
<td>'the child's axes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ke...lè</td>
<td>kebè ke wan è</td>
<td>'the child's hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>bi...lè</td>
<td>bibi bi wan è</td>
<td>'the child's hands'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>(yi)</td>
<td>ble (yi) wan</td>
<td>'the child's goat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>(yi)</td>
<td>ble (yi) wan</td>
<td>'the child's goats'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>fe...lè</td>
<td>feko fe wan</td>
<td>'the child's cup'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>mu...lè</td>
<td>munkım mu wan è</td>
<td>'the child's cups'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>jì...lè</td>
<td>jinbòn jì wan è</td>
<td>'the child's leaves'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bùru...lè</td>
<td>bùru bùru wan è</td>
<td>'the child's place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>mo...lè</td>
<td>mondùm mo wan è</td>
<td>'the child's places'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>fo</td>
<td>fòfè fo wan</td>
<td>'on the child's head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>jo</td>
<td>ëmù jo wan</td>
<td>'in the child's mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>dûu</td>
<td>yòw dûu wan</td>
<td>'in the child's house'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 nton wù wàn or nton wàn 'the child's pot'.

(2) Classes 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 all involve a second possessive marker lè, which directly follows the possessor noun. As seen in the above examples, the lè of this marker falls when the possessor noun ends in a consonant. Thus, compare bonton bo wan è 'the child's pots' with bonton bo wè lè 'the person's pots'. In this second example, we not only observe an lè 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 fo, jo and dûu, employs a suffix lè, e.g. fòjèm fo wan or fòjèm wan è 'at the child's grave'. As seen in the latter example, the lè of lè also falls when it is directly preceded by a consonant. This second construction is the only one possible when a locative does not transfer a noun into one of the locative classes, e.g. è fetelè fe wan è '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),
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>my</th>
<th>your sg.</th>
<th>his/her₂</th>
<th>his/her₁</th>
<th>LOG sg.</th>
<th>our</th>
<th>your pl.</th>
<th>their</th>
<th>LOG pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wèm</td>
<td>wò</td>
<td>wè</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>wen</td>
<td>wèsèn</td>
<td>wènè</td>
<td>(wù)bɔ</td>
<td>bòwèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bèm</td>
<td>bòw</td>
<td>bèw</td>
<td>bèn</td>
<td>bowenè</td>
<td>bòsèsèn</td>
<td>bònèn</td>
<td>bòbɔbènè</td>
<td>bòbòwènè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wèm</td>
<td>wò</td>
<td>wè</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>wen</td>
<td>wèsèn</td>
<td>wènè</td>
<td>(wù)bɔ</td>
<td>bòwèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yèm</td>
<td>yò</td>
<td>yè</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>wen</td>
<td>yèsèn</td>
<td>yènè</td>
<td>(yì)bɔ</td>
<td>bòwèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>dyèm</td>
<td>dyòw</td>
<td>dyèw</td>
<td>dyèn</td>
<td>jiwènè</td>
<td>jísèsèn</td>
<td>jinèn</td>
<td>jìbɔbìlè</td>
<td>jìbòwènè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>eyèm</td>
<td>eyò</td>
<td>eyè</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>ewen</td>
<td>yòsèsèn</td>
<td>yònèn</td>
<td>ebɔ/yɔbɔ</td>
<td>ebòwèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kòm</td>
<td>kòw</td>
<td>kèw</td>
<td>kèn</td>
<td>kiwènè</td>
<td>kòsèsèn</td>
<td>kònèn</td>
<td>kèbɔbìlè</td>
<td>kèbòwènè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>byèm</td>
<td>byòw</td>
<td>byèw</td>
<td>byèn</td>
<td>biwènè</td>
<td>bísèsèn</td>
<td>bìnèn</td>
<td>bìbɔbìlè</td>
<td>bìbòwènè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>yèm</td>
<td>yò</td>
<td>yè</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>wen</td>
<td>yèsèn</td>
<td>yènè</td>
<td>(yì)bɔ</td>
<td>bòwèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>yèm</td>
<td>yò</td>
<td>yè</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>wen</td>
<td>yèsèn</td>
<td>yènè</td>
<td>(yì)bɔ</td>
<td>bòwèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>fìèm</td>
<td>fìòw</td>
<td>fìèw</td>
<td>fìèn</td>
<td>fìwènè</td>
<td>fìsèsèn</td>
<td>fìnèn</td>
<td>fìbɔbìlè</td>
<td>fìbòwènè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>mìèm</td>
<td>mòw</td>
<td>mwèw</td>
<td>mwèn</td>
<td>mwìwènè</td>
<td>mùsèsèn</td>
<td>mùnèn</td>
<td>mùbɔbìlè</td>
<td>mùbòwènè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>dyèm</td>
<td>dyòw</td>
<td>dyèw</td>
<td>dyèn</td>
<td>jiwènè</td>
<td>jísèsèn</td>
<td>jìnèn</td>
<td>jìbɔbìlè</td>
<td>jìbòwènè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bwìm</td>
<td>bòw</td>
<td>bwèw</td>
<td>bwèn</td>
<td>bìwènè</td>
<td>bìüsèsèn</td>
<td>bìwùnèn</td>
<td>bìvbɔbìlè</td>
<td>bìvbòwènè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>mìm</td>
<td>mòw</td>
<td>mwè</td>
<td>mwèn</td>
<td>mwìwènè</td>
<td>mùsèsèn</td>
<td>mònèn</td>
<td>mwìbìlè</td>
<td>mwòbòwènè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>fɔ mɛ</td>
<td>fɔ wò</td>
<td>fɔ wvù</td>
<td>fo</td>
<td>bèsèn</td>
<td>fɔ bìn</td>
<td>fɔ bɔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>jɔ mɛ</td>
<td>jɔ wò</td>
<td>jɔ wvù</td>
<td>jo</td>
<td>bèsèn</td>
<td>jɔ bìn</td>
<td>jɔ bɔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>dvu mɛ</td>
<td>dvu wò</td>
<td>dvu wvù</td>
<td>dvu</td>
<td>bèsèn</td>
<td>dvu bìn</td>
<td>dvu bɔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
but only in classes 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 (N.B. the same classes that take -e when the possessor is a noun). This difference is illustrated in the following two sentences:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vwù nọọ dí'e bvulem bwa'o 'he has eaten his [own] fufu'} \\
\text{vwù nọọ dí'e bvulem bwe'w 'he has eaten his [s.o.'s else's] fufu'}
\end{align*}
\]

This distinction is not found in the third person plural pronoun, where the corresponding sentence bó nọọ dí'e bvulem bvuwe've 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vwù dọọ le me nọọ ndí'e bvulem bwe'w 'he says I ate his [s.o. else's] fufu'} \\
\text{vwù dọọ le me nọọ ndí'e bvulem bvwe'nō 'he says I ate his [=own] fufu'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

3. The logophoric pronouns and the pronoun 'their' all seem to be nouns, since they involve the -e postposition (written here as part of the possessive pronoun). Thus, class 2: bowen - 'LOG sg.', bovosile - 'their', bobosilen - '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. fo me, jo bese ninja + dina 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. boom bosesen or boom bosesse '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. boom bosesse beene (which can also be simplified to boom bosesse beene). The root for 'our' appears to be -esen for classes 1, 3, 4, 9 and 10, and -esin for the remaining classes. Similarly, the root for 'your pl.' appears to be -ene for classes 1, 3, 4, 9 and 10 and -enin 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. -y) or postposition (ie). 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. bô-, ji-, byu- etc.).

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

- i cêm 'my father'
- i cô 'your sg. father'
- i cè 'his/her father'
- i cee wèsèn 'our father'
- i cèn 'your pl. father'
- i cee bô 'their father'
- bô / cee bòb'sèn 'our fathers'
- bô / cee bàñèn 'your pl. fathers'
- bô / cee bô 'their fathers'

- bwèm 'my mother'
- bwô 'your sg. mother'
- bwe 'his/her mother'
- bwee wèsèn 'our mother'
- bwee wènè 'your pl. mother'
- bwee bô 'their mother'
- bòbwee bòb'sèn 'our mothers'
- bòbwee bàñèn 'your pl. mothers'
- bòbwee bô '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 bô rather than with bòb'sèn.

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.

- bònowè bòb'sèn beèwèvù 'his and my books' (lit. our books, he and I)
- bònowè bàñèn bànèwèvù 'his and your books' (lit. your pl. books, you and he)
Determiners

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>'this' (n.s.)</th>
<th>'that' (n.h.)</th>
<th>'that' (far)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wvuñ</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>wë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ban</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>bëba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wvun</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>wë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yin</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>jin</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>jëdie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>eyen</td>
<td>eya</td>
<td>eëya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kin</td>
<td>kle</td>
<td>këkle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>bin</td>
<td>bëe</td>
<td>bëblëe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>yën</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>yin</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>fin</td>
<td>fëe</td>
<td>fëfëe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>mvun</td>
<td>mwe</td>
<td>mëmëwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>jën</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>jëdie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bvun</td>
<td>bëwe</td>
<td>bëlëwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>mëme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>fen</td>
<td>fëe</td>
<td>fëfëe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>jën</td>
<td>ëëë</td>
<td>ëëfëë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>dvun</td>
<td>ëëë</td>
<td>ëëëë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 e, although in most other agreement markers the vowel of these markers is realized as o. Class 17 apparently also had an *a historically. Note also that classes 7 and 11 (=PGB 19) now show the vowel i. In other constructions these classes show variation between i and e. The concord markers are L for classes 1 and 9, M for the remaining classes.

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

(3) The demonstrative 'that/those' (far) involves a reduplication process in the classes 2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and the locatives. The tone is M on the main syllable and L on the preceding reduplicated syllable if present (including the ë- of class 6). Again, classes 2, 6 and 15 show a final a, while classes 7 and 11 use e 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 ë- and also no suffix.
In the 'near hearer' column, the variant ɣòyè is frequently heard as an alternative to ɣéyè in class 6. The only other alternatives to the above forms involve locative demonstratives. First, the form ke can be substituted for ɣéyè in classes 17 and 18 ('far' column). Since the three locative adverbs are fe 'here', fe 'there' (n.h.) and ɣéyè 'there' ('far'), it is not clear where the forms ke, ke and ɣéyè 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>class</th>
<th>'here it is/here they are'</th>
<th>'there it is/there they are' (n.h.)</th>
<th>'there it is/there they are' (far)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wúwûn</td>
<td>wúwe</td>
<td>wúwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bâbâbâ</td>
<td>bâbâ</td>
<td>bâbâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wúwûn</td>
<td>wúwe</td>
<td>wúwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yîyîn</td>
<td>yîyè</td>
<td>yîyè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>jîjîn</td>
<td>jîjîn</td>
<td>jîjîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>yîyîn</td>
<td>yîyè</td>
<td>yîyè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kîkîn</td>
<td>kîkîn</td>
<td>kîkîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>bîbîn</td>
<td>bîbîn</td>
<td>bîbîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>yîyîn</td>
<td>yîyè</td>
<td>yîyè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>yîyîn</td>
<td>yîyè</td>
<td>yîyè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>fîfîn</td>
<td>fîfîn</td>
<td>fîfîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>mûmûn</td>
<td>mûmûn</td>
<td>mûmûn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>jîjîn</td>
<td>jîjîn</td>
<td>jîjîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bîbîn</td>
<td>bûbûn</td>
<td>bûbûn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>mûmûn</td>
<td>mûmûn</td>
<td>mûmûn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>fîfîn</td>
<td>fîfîn</td>
<td>fîfîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>jîjîn</td>
<td>jîjîn</td>
<td>jîjîn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>dûdûn</td>
<td>dûdûn</td>
<td>dûdûn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. wûn 'this one', wûn wûn '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 ke 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 -dû 'the one being talked about', e.g. fîfî fûdû 'the bird being talked about'. This form takes the same H tone class prefixes as the longer demonstrative forms, i.e. wûdû, bûdû, wûdû 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 Nuni. However, there are the following forms which are sometimes used for the purpose of non-definite reference:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>class</th>
<th>'any, some, certain'</th>
<th>'another, a certain'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mù</td>
<td>wvùmù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bomû</td>
<td>bomê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mû</td>
<td>wvûmû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mû</td>
<td>yimê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>jimû</td>
<td>jîmê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>yomû</td>
<td>yomê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>kemû</td>
<td>kemê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>bimû</td>
<td>bimê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>mû</td>
<td>yîmê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>mû</td>
<td>yîmê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>femû</td>
<td>femê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>mumû</td>
<td>mumê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>jimû</td>
<td>jîmê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bûmû</td>
<td>bûmê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>momû</td>
<td>momê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>wûlê</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>yôlê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bôlê</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>kêlê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>wûlê</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>bêlê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>yôlê</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>yôlê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>jêlê</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>yêlê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

1  nwé wvwu nu fe  'this book is new'
2  bògwá bôw nu bofe  'these books are new'
3  wè wvwu nu fe  'this field is new'
4  ngé yin nu fie  'these fields are new'
5  temé jin nu jife  'this axe is new'
6  etem eyan nu yofe  'these axes are new'
7  kòsaw kín nu kefe  'this bracelet is new'
8  bišaw bín nu bife  'these bracelets are new'
9  ncóm yín nu fie  'this drum is new'
10  ncóm yín nu fie  'these drums are new'
11  feńó fin nu fefe  'this knife is new'
12  mûšm mun nu mumfém  'these knives are new'
13  jingóci jin nu jife  'these guns are new'
14  bvdvwó bvun nü bvfue  'this place is new'
15  mondvwó man nü momfém  '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: *û-fe (class 1), *u-fe (class 3), *i-fe (classes 4 and 10) and *i-fe (class 9).

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

1  nwé wvwu fe  'a book which is new'
2  bògwá bô bofe  'books which are new'
3  wè wvwu fe  'a field which is new'
4  ngé yí fie  'fields which are new'
5  temé jí jife  'an axe which is new'
6  etem yöfe  'axes which are new'
7  kòsaw kí kefe  'a bracelet which is new'
8  bišaw bí bife  'bracelets which are new'
9  ncóm yí fie  'a drum which is new'
10  ncóm yí fie  'drums which are new'
11  feńó fé fefe  'a knife which is new'
12  mûšm mû mumfém  'knives which are new'
13  jingóci jí jife  'guns which are new'
14  bvdvwó bvun nû bvfue  'a place which is new'
15  mondvwó mû mofe  'places which are new'

As seen in class 6, the expected form stem yöfe 'axes which are new' must
undergo contraction to become etem y'sofe. Optional contractions are also possible in the following classes:

2 lóŋwà bòsofe 8 bísaw bíife 13 jingúciífífe
5 teñé jíffe 11 fènií fëeñfe 14 buvdvú buvúfe
7 kësaw këeñfe 12 múnñm múnñfe 15 mondùm mòsofe

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:

mbon wùúbay 'a great bushcow' (cl. 1)
bombon bòbày(bày) '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 wàb 'small' (pl. boom) is derived from the noun wàn 'child' and therefore precedes the noun in an associative construction, e.g. wàb cân 'small monkey' (pl. boom cân è). Similarly, the noun-like form ngày 'old' combines with wè 'person' to form the compound ngày wè 'old person' (pl. ngày boñil). As seen in the following forms,

kwoóñn wù ngày wè 'old woman' (lit. woman who is an old person)
boñiln bo ngày boñil 'old women'

this form does not combine directly with other nouns.

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

me ndèfè lò 'I am tall'
me njìlè lò 'I am heavy'

the progressive verb forms këdèfè 'to be tall' and këjìlè 'to be heavy' are used to express what would be predicate adjectives in English. The same verb forms appear in a relative construction to express what would be attributive adjectives in English:

wàn wùíl dèfè 'a tall child' (lit. a child who tall)
këm wùíl jìlè 'a heavy load' (lit. a load which heavy)

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

fëmbì lè yèeñé 'a red kolanut' (-yèe 'become red')
fëmbì lè bòd 'a white kolanut' (-bò 'become white')
fëmbì lè yiíñé 'a black kolanut' (-yìi 'become black')

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

wàn wùíl fàñ 'a fat child' (-fàñ 'become fat')
boom bò fàñkèn 'fat children' (-fàñkèn (pl.))
2. Numerals. The following are the numerals 'one' through 'ten', as they appear in isolation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mbas</th>
<th>Soucán</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'1'</td>
<td>'6'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'2'</td>
<td>'7'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'3'</td>
<td>'8'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'4'</td>
<td>'9'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'5'</td>
<td>'10'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- ncow mwaŋ '11'
- ncow fče '12'
- ncow te '13'
- ncow n'm '14'
- ncow tTh '15'
- ncow soucán '16'
- ncow sousshwi '17'
- ncow mwaŋ '18'
- ncow bvũkė '19'

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

- mbaan fče '20'
- mbaan te '30'
- mbaan n'm '40'
- mbaan tTh '50'
- mbaan soucán '60'
- mbaan sousshwi '70'
- mbaan mwaŋ '80'
- mbaan bvũkė '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 ncow is used: mbaan fče ncow fče '22' etc.

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

ntfukè gwé bvũkė bo mbaan sousshwi ncow mwaŋ '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':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mbas</th>
<th>Mbaan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 mwaŋ</td>
<td>9 mbaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mwaŋ</td>
<td>11 fentwañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 jabwaŋ</td>
<td>14 bvmwañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 kemwaŋ</td>
<td>15 mbaan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Co-; '1' will be realized mbaan 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 fče 'new'. The same explanation holds here and in several of the other numeral forms. Thus, mwaŋ reconstructs as u-maŋ and maŋ reconstructs as i-maŋ. Apparently the mwaŋ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'two'</th>
<th>'three'</th>
<th>'four'</th>
<th>'five'</th>
<th>'six'</th>
<th>'seven'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>boféé</td>
<td>botetè</td>
<td>bônew</td>
<td>botTh</td>
<td>bosoșcân</td>
<td>bosoșhwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>fêe-fêe</td>
<td>te - she</td>
<td>mè - hë</td>
<td>thšhäh</td>
<td>sosoșcân</td>
<td>sosoșhwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>sëäd</td>
<td>eta</td>
<td>ena</td>
<td>etTh</td>
<td>sosoșcân</td>
<td>sosoșhwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>biffe</td>
<td>bítetè</td>
<td>binew</td>
<td>bitTh</td>
<td>bisoșcân</td>
<td>bisoșhwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>fëe</td>
<td>she</td>
<td>hë</td>
<td>shëñ</td>
<td>sosoșcân</td>
<td>sosoșhwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>mufëm</td>
<td>muntentèm</td>
<td>munëh</td>
<td>muntTh</td>
<td>musoșcân</td>
<td>musoșhwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>jifëe</td>
<td>jivetè</td>
<td>jìnew</td>
<td>jìTh</td>
<td>jìsoșcân</td>
<td>jìsoșhwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>mofëm</td>
<td>muntentèm</td>
<td>monëh</td>
<td>muntTh</td>
<td>mosoșcân</td>
<td>mosoșhwi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Let us consider the above forms by numeral:

1. The numeral '2' has a root -fëé which can undergo both segmental and tonal modifications. In class 10 (and optionally in class 4) it becomes ffeé, and in class 6 it becomes fëë. 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 H. M. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bofééten</th>
<th>10 fëëten</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>fëëten</td>
<td>12 mufëmten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>sëëten</td>
<td>13 jifëëten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>biffeëten</td>
<td>15 mofëmten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3. The numeral '4' has a root -më 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 ŋ in class 10, and optionally in class 4. The final vowel becomes a in class 6.

4. The numeral '5' has a root -tTh, which palatalizes to shëñ 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 HM 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'. -shwë varies with -fwë.

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':

nyà wùn fëë 'the first book' (lit. book of ahead)
nyà wùn bì 'the second book' (lit. book that follows)
nyà wùn ëjëm 'the last book' (lit. book of behind/back)
Among the quantifiers used in Noni are the invariant forms ntèèn 'many' and bëy 'much' (= 'great'), e.g.

bombres ntèèn 'many bushcows' iemè bëy 'much work'
kem nèèn 'many firewoods' mèem bëy 'much oil'

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

1  tflu  tfluè
2  bocìi  bocìlè
3  tfuu  tfuèlè
4  cìi  cìlè
5  jicìlì  jicìlè
6  ecìlì  ecìlè
7  kecìlì  kecìlè
8  bicìlì  bicìlè
9  cìlì  cìlè
10  cìlì  cìlè
11  fecìlì  fecìlè
12  muncìlmì  muncìllèm
13  jicìlì  jicìlè
14  bvuclì  bvuclè
15  mocìlì  mocìllèm

When used with a singular class, these forms mean 'whole', e.g. mbòr tfluè 'a whole bushcow'. When used with a plural class, these forms mean 'all', e.g. bombres bocìlì '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  bombres boméès 'how many bushcows?'
4  kem mêè 'how many firewoods?'
6  etém emàsà 'how many axes?'
8  bite bimèè 'how many trees?'
10  bòr mêè 'how many fish?'
12  mümìm mümém 'how many birds?'
13  jiduej jimeè 'how many bridges?'
15  mèém mœmèem 'how many oils?'

As seen, the only modifications on the root mêè 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 Nomi:

   possessive:   bôngwà bën   'my books'
   demonstrative: bôngwà bëan   'these books'
   adjective:    bôngwà bôfe   'new books'
   numeral:      bôngwà botetè  '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 :   bôngwà bën ban   'these my books'
   POSS + ADJ :   bôngwà bën bôfe   'my new books'
   POSS + NUM :   bôngwà bën botetè  'my three books'
   DEM + ADJ :    bôngwà bën bôfe   'these new books'
   DEM + NUM :    bôngwà bën botetè  'these three books'
   ADJ + NUM :    bôngwà bôfe botetè  'three new books'
   NUM + ADJ :    bôngwà botetè bôfe  '' ' ''
   POSS + DEM + ADJ :   bôngwà bën ban bôfe  'these my new books'
   POSS + DEM + NUM :   bôngwà bën ban botetè  'these my three books'
   POSS + ADJ + NUM :   bôngwà bën bôfe botetè  'my three new books'
   POSS + NUM + ADJ :   bôngwà bën bôfe botetè  bôfe  '' ' ''
   DEM + ADJ + NUM :    bôngwà bën bôfe botetè  botetè  'these three new books'
   DEM + NUM + ADJ :    bôngwà bën bôfe botetè  botetè  bôfe  '' ' ''
   POSS + DEM + ADJ + NUM :   bôngwà bën ban bôfe botetè  'these my three new books'
   POSS + DEM + NUM + ADJ :   bôngwà bën ban botetè bôfe  '' ' '' ' ''

Orders other than the ones shown above are either unacceptable, not quite right, or have a different meaning, e.g. bôngwà botetè 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:

   bôngwà bôfofe    ~    bôngwà bôfe     'the new books'
   bôngwà bôbotetè  ~    bôngwà bôtètè   '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:

   bôngwà bôbotetè bôfofe  'the three books which are new'
   bôngwà bôfofe bôbotetè  '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,

bɔŋwə bɔbɔfe botetè 'three new books'
bɔŋwə botetè bɔbɔfe '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:

bɔŋwə bɔbɔfe botetè bɔfe 'the three new books' (taken together)
bɔŋwə bɔfe bɔbɔfe botetè '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.

bɔŋwə bɔm bɔbɔfe ban 'these my new books'
*bɔŋwə bɔm bɔfe ban

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

bɔŋwə boo nü bɔfe 'books which are new'

The difference between this phrase and bɔŋwə bɔbɔfe is slight, if any.

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

bɔŋwə bɔfe ntiën 'many new books'
bɔŋwə ntiën bɔfe
" " "

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

bɔŋwə bɔfe bomëë 'how many new books?'
bɔŋwə bomëë bɔfe
" " "

In certain cases the extended forms are preferred when combined with these modifiers, e.g. bɔŋwə bɔbɔfe bomëë. 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cl.</th>
<th>N. pref.</th>
<th>PRO</th>
<th>Poss. N</th>
<th>'his'</th>
<th>'this'</th>
<th>'another'</th>
<th>'new'</th>
<th>'1'/4'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>'w(n)-</td>
<td>wvu</td>
<td>(wuu-)</td>
<td>w'</td>
<td>wvu-</td>
<td>wvu- -uu</td>
<td>'w-</td>
<td>'w-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bo-</td>
<td>bo-</td>
<td>bo- -le</td>
<td>b' -w</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>bo-</td>
<td>bo-</td>
<td>bo- -w</td>
</tr>
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<td>yo-</td>
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<td>ke- -le</td>
<td>k' -w</td>
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<td>ke-</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>bi-</td>
<td>bi- -le</td>
<td>by' -w</td>
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<td>bi-</td>
<td>bi-</td>
<td>bi- -w</td>
</tr>
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<td>'N(-)</td>
<td>y'</td>
<td>(yi-)</td>
<td>y'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>y'</td>
<td>(yi-)</td>
<td>y'</td>
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<td>fe-</td>
<td>fe- -le</td>
<td>fy' -w</td>
<td>fí-</td>
<td>fe-</td>
<td>fe-</td>
<td>fe- -a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>mun- -m</td>
<td>mū</td>
<td>mu- -le</td>
<td>mw' -w</td>
<td>mvu-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>mum-</td>
<td>mu- -m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ji-</td>
<td>ji-</td>
<td>ji- -le</td>
<td>dy' -w</td>
<td>ji-</td>
<td>ji-</td>
<td>ji-</td>
<td>ji- -w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bvú-</td>
<td>bvú</td>
<td>bvú- -le</td>
<td>bv' -w</td>
<td>bvú-</td>
<td>bvú-</td>
<td>bvú-</td>
<td>bvú-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>m(ON)- -m</td>
<td>mō</td>
<td>mo- -le</td>
<td>m' -w</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma- -m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>fō-</td>
<td>fō</td>
<td>fō-</td>
<td>fō-</td>
<td>fō-</td>
<td>fō-</td>
<td>fō-</td>
<td>fō-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>(è-)</td>
<td>jō</td>
<td>jo-</td>
<td>jō-</td>
<td>jō-</td>
<td>jō-</td>
<td>jō-</td>
<td>jō-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>dvú</td>
<td>dvú-</td>
<td>dvú-</td>
<td>dvú-</td>
<td>dvú-</td>
<td>dvú-</td>
<td>dvú-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above table the symbol 'w' stands for labialization of the initial consonant of the noun, while the symbol 'y' marks the palatalization of the initial consonant.
PART III: VERB STRUCTURE

9

VERB FORMS

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

   CV : bl 'follow'     tó 'come'
   CVV : cli 'drag'    kò Kosovo 'catch'
   CVC : kun 'hit'     tón 'refuse'
   GGV : gwe 'fall'    kwe 'die'
   CGV : kwea 'grate'  kwé 'be sufficient'
   CGVC : kwaw 'think'

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 kó-. Thus, monosyllabic verb radicals are seen to take either a M or a H tone in the infinitive construction, e.g. kó-bli 'to follow', kó-tó 'to come', etc.

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

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

We shall see that a verb form may have more than one suffix, although this is not common. Where this most frequently arises is in the derivation of the progressive aspect (Chapter 10). We shall adopt the following terminology: the initial syllable of the verb will be termed the radical (R). The radical plus any unanalyzable second syllable will be termed a base. The base followed by any additional suffix(es) is simply referred to as the verb form. In studies of Bantu languages verb suffixes are sometimes referred to as extensions. We shall occasionally use this term to refer to non-lexical verb suffixes. The different verb extensions that have been discovered in Noni are presented and exemplified in the following paragraphs. It is important
to note that while numerous examples have been found of verbs taking each of the suffixes to be discussed, one cannot predict with certainty which verbs will take which suffixes. Thus, each radical will have to be marked in the lexicon for the suffixes it accepts.

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

- ce 'attenuative'
- ye 'distributive'
- kən 'iterative'

- tən 'bifurcative'
- RE 'frequentative'

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

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

kām 'squeeze'

kāmcə 'squeeze a little'

nām 'pinch'

nāmccə 'pinch a little'

kfun 'hit'

kfuncc 'hit a little'

cəw 'soak'

cəwcc 'soak a little'

gəwə 'be superior'

gəwəcc 'be slightly superior'

tən 'become fat'

təncc '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:

sətə 'cut with knife'

sətəcc 'cut a little out of'

sə 'tear'

səcc 'tear a little out of'

gəwə 'grind'

gəwəcc 'grind a little out of'

dəə 'eat'

dəəcc 'eat a little from'

cən 'steal'

cənc 'steal a little out of'

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

yow 'skin' (an animal)

yowcc 'peel' (a banana etc.)

sə 'spread to dry'

səcc 'turn on the second side to dry'

tən 'embroider' ('sew')

tənc 'mend' ('re-sew')

bən 'mould'

bəncc 're-mould' (after an accident or crack)

mi 'swallow' (liquid)

mtə 'swallow' (something solid)

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñl</td>
<td>'defecate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shō</td>
<td>'clean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kol</td>
<td>'touch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōn</td>
<td>'count'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kfūy</td>
<td>'trim'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūy</td>
<td>'spit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaw</td>
<td>'divide, share'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nībče</td>
<td>'defecate several times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shōcče</td>
<td>'clean one after the other'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōnče</td>
<td>'touch several times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōnce</td>
<td>'count one after the other'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kfūcče</td>
<td>'trim several things'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūcče</td>
<td>'spit several times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawcče</td>
<td>'div. in several places, share w/sev. people'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sēc</td>
<td>'cut with a knife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōa</td>
<td>'uproot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cfm</td>
<td>'dig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōm</td>
<td>'bury'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēm</td>
<td>'smoke' (meat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōn</td>
<td>'slap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>'curse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law</td>
<td>'pay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēcye</td>
<td>'cut several times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōaye</td>
<td>'uproot several times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cfmye</td>
<td>'dig several times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōmye</td>
<td>'bury several things'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēmye</td>
<td>'smoke several pieces of meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōnye</td>
<td>'slap several times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lowye</td>
<td>'curse several times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lawye</td>
<td>'pay several people'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tōm</td>
<td>'shoot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōm</td>
<td>'bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nām</td>
<td>'pinch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bon</td>
<td>'stab'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōmye</td>
<td>'shoot sev. things, sev. times at 1 thing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lōmye</td>
<td>'bite sev. times, or sev. people bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāmye</td>
<td>'pinch sev. times or people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bohye</td>
<td>'stab sev. times or several people'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kāw</td>
<td>'chop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāa</td>
<td>'tear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōn</td>
<td>'cover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yūy</td>
<td>'become clear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāwyē</td>
<td>'chop up completely'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāayē</td>
<td>'tear completely' (or sev. times)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōnyē</td>
<td>'cover up completely'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yūyyē</td>
<td>'become clear' (water)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3. Iterative -ken. The iterative suffix -ken is similar to the
distributive suffix in that it is used to indicate plural action. Unlike
the distributive suffix, however, it is used almost exclusively with intrans-
itive verbs:

kwé 'die'       kwékén 'die one after the other'
gwe 'fall'       gwekén 'fall several times'
bew 'belch'      bewékén 'belch several times'
kéy 'groan' (in pain) kéyékén 'groan several times'
jay 'urinate'    jayékén 'urinate several times'
nénk 'leave'     nénkén '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 nöö ngwe 'I have fallen'
me nöö ngwekén 'I have fallen' (several times)
bó kwékén lô 'they are dying' (separately)
bó kwêlé lô 'they are dying' (together)

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

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

fílé 'become burnt'
keaa 'grind'
jílm 'become extinguished'
dًö 'eat'       fílékén 'become burnt in separate spots'
kaaékén 'grind coarsely' (into separate grains)
jílmkén 'sev. becoming extinguished on their own'
dًökén '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:

fúmkén 'vomit'
báykén 'thunder'

niýnkén 'spy'
coönkén 'praise'

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

bón 'fold'
saa 'tear'
gaw 'divide'
sân 'split'
söm 'cut'
go 'break fufu'
bóöntén 'fold in two'
saöntén 'tear in two'
gööntén 'divide in two'
sööntén 'split in two'
sööntén 'cut in two'
gööntén 'break fufu in two'
The following verbs have a lexical suffix -ten:

- csontén 'sharpen to a point'
- smotén 'settle a dispute'
- leštén 'rest'
- fomtén 'be sticky' (meat in decomposition)
- jíštén 'perspire'
  (cf. fím '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:

- njím 'wander about'
- cém 'drip'
- lem 'slip'
- cém 'be sick'
- týy 'hang up'
- jý 'make a mistake'
- njínjím 'wander continuously, a long time'
- cémcem 'drip continuously' (e.g. rain)
- lemlem 'be slippery, slip several times'
- cémcem 'be sickly'
- týytýy 'hang up several things'
- jýyjý 'make several 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'
- -ke 'transitive'
- -m 'positional'
- -en 'reciprocal'

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

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

- yif 'become black'
- fšé 'become burnt'
- běé 'cry'
- běm 'be scary'
- łém 'become injured'
- łon 'become old'
- fań 'become fat'
- kwën 'be sufficient'
- jífín 'become extinguished'
- yifșė 'blacken'
- fšésė 'make burn'
- běésė 'make cry'
- běmsė 'scare'
- łěmsė 'injure'
- łōnsė 'make old'
- fańšė 'fatten'
- kwěnsė 'add to'
- jímsė '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'
- bǐšė 'add to'
- bf 'fly'
- bǐfsė 'make fly'
- la 'become lost'
- lōšė 'lose'
- bá 'become white'
- bąšė 'whiten'
có 'spend the night'  
cósé 'keep sth. overnight'

cf 'restrict'  
cffsé 'pass a law'

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

fós 'borrow'  
fošsés 'lend'

sám 'borrow'  
sámssé 'lend'

den 'lock up'  
fehsés 'stop s.o. from doing sth.'

ďhén 'put sth. across'

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

shíl 'sit, come down from'  
shílkes 'bring down from'

ím 'become injured'  
imkés 'injure s.o.' (=fémsés)

sám 'borrow'  
sámksé 'give out' (cf. sámssé)

jǐf 'lie down'  
jís 'lay sth. down'

jís 'stand' (intr.)  
jís 'stand sth. up'

ngvú 'kneel'  
gvúkés 'bend, make kneel' (=ngusés)

yèn 'lean against'  
yènkés 'lean sth. against'

jíf 'become extinguished, darken'  
jímksé 'extinguish, (=jfmse) 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:

jíf 'lie down'  
ngvú 'kneel'

shíl 'hang oneself'  
cf 'be firm' ('stand on its own')

líf 'stand'  
jíf 'get dark, become extinguished'

nitén 'hide oneself'  
yèn '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 Bahanki). While the simple root does not exist by itself, it is clear that -m adds the meaning of 'positioning oneself'. (The sole exception is 'become extinguished', which does not refer to human beings.) As seen in 3.2, when a non-reflexive meaning is required, these verbs end in -ke.

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

nám 'pinch'  
námén 'pinch each other'

kōn 'chase'  
kōnén 'chase each other'

kōn 'like'  
kōnén 'like each other'

táá 'look at'  
tááyén 'look at each other'

kee 'spy'  
keeyén 'spy on each other'

kff 'call'  
kffén 'call to each other' (=kffyén)

gay 'greet'  
gayén 'greet each other'
jáy 'make a mistake'  jáysén 'mistake one for the other'

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

bée 'cry'  béeyén 'cry one after the other'
foo 'borrow'  fóoyén 'borrow several things from several people'
feev 'measure'  féeysén 'measure several things together'
fyeey 'mix'  fyeeyén 'mix things together'

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

jílmén 'lie down (pl.)'  nílmén 'hide oneself'
shílmén 'hang oneself'  ngvómén 'kneel (pl.)'
límmén 'stand (pl.)'  cílmén 'be firm (pl.)'

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

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

cé 'spend the night'  shé 'spend the day'
césé 'keep overnight'  shésé 'keep all day'
céshé 'keep several things'  shésé 'keep several things all day overnight'

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

lem 'to slip, slide' (also = 'to work')
leéncé 'slip a little'
leéhyé 'slip in several places'
leéhém 'slip several times, be slippery'
leéhsé 'cause to be slippery'
PROGRESSIVE ASPECT

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>PROG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bi</td>
<td>bìi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge</td>
<td>gèè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lè</td>
<td>lèè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kfu</td>
<td>kfuì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tò</td>
<td>tòò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tá</td>
<td>táá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in the last chapter, verb forms are cited with the tones they carry after the infinitive prefix ké-, e.g. ké-bì 'to follow', kër-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>PROG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fìì</td>
<td>fììè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dìì</td>
<td>dììè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>PROG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cìì</td>
<td>cììè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bìì</td>
<td>bììè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dìì</td>
<td>dììè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tìì</td>
<td>tììè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3. Radicals ending in -m. When the verb radical ends in -m, the PROG form is obtained by adding the suffix -te:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>PROG form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cmː</td>
<td>dig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmtː</td>
<td>'be digging'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmː</td>
<td>drip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmtː</td>
<td>'be dripping'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmː</td>
<td>become sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmː</td>
<td>'becoming sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dvːmː</td>
<td>groan'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dvːmtː</td>
<td>'be groaning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tːmː</td>
<td>send'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmtː</td>
<td>'be sending'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dːmː</td>
<td>pour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dmtː</td>
<td>'be pouring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cːmː</td>
<td>chew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cmtː</td>
<td>'be chewing'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>PROG form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bːnː</td>
<td>dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bːnː</td>
<td>'be dancing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bːnː</td>
<td>rise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bːnː</td>
<td>'be rising'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bːnː</td>
<td>call'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bːnː</td>
<td>'be calling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kːuːnː</td>
<td>hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kːuːnː</td>
<td>'be hitting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tːnː</td>
<td>refuse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tːnː</td>
<td>'be refusing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tːnː</td>
<td>burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tːnː</td>
<td>'be burning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tːnː</td>
<td>lack'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tːnː</td>
<td>'be lacking'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>PROG form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cːŋː</td>
<td>tremble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cːŋː</td>
<td>'be trembling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tfːŋː</td>
<td>be inclined'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tfːŋː</td>
<td>'be being inclined'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kːŋː</td>
<td>chase'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kːŋː</td>
<td>'be chasing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yːŋː</td>
<td>roast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yːŋː</td>
<td>'be roasting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kːŋː</td>
<td>fry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kːŋː</td>
<td>'be frying'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>PROG form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jːwː</td>
<td>blacken'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jːlːkː</td>
<td>'be blackening'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tːwː</td>
<td>measure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tːlːkː</td>
<td>'be measuring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lːwː</td>
<td>dodge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lːsːkː</td>
<td>'be dodging'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cːwː</td>
<td>soak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cːbːkː</td>
<td>'be soaking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gːwː</td>
<td>grind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gːbːkː</td>
<td>'be grinding'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lːwː</td>
<td>pay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lːǎːkː</td>
<td>'be paying'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical</th>
<th>PROG form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kːyː</td>
<td>cough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kːyːtː</td>
<td>'be coughing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cːyː</td>
<td>protect'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cːyːtː</td>
<td>'be protecting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kːuːtː</td>
<td>trim'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kːuːtː</td>
<td>'be trimming'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bːyː</td>
<td>exit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bːyːtː</td>
<td>'be exiting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tːyː</td>
<td>accuse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tːyːtː</td>
<td>'be accusing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kːyː</td>
<td>tie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kːyːtː</td>
<td>'be tying'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Complex verb forms. A complex verb form consists of a verb radical and a suffix. In all cases the resulting form is bisyllabic. In a few cases longer forms have been noted. As seen in the following sections, a slightly different set of progressive formation rules apply when the verb form has a suffix.

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

- důmken 'rumble'
- fūmkên 'vomit'
- jîmîn 'perspire'
- yênkên 'be quick'
- kîčkên 'contradict'
- tâyên 'look at e.o.'

- cvûmkên 'be rumbling'
- fûmkênê 'be vomiting'
- jîmînê 'be perspiring'
- yênsênê 'be being quick'
- kîčkê 'be contradicting'
- taayênê 'be looking at each other'

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

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

- têlê 'burst'
- kôkê 'get'
- jîtê 'become heavy'
- fûmê 'bake in ashes'
- shîwê 'shake'
- nêjê 'crawl'
- lôwê 'run'

- têlê 'be bursting'
- kôkê 'be getting'
- jîtê 'be becoming heavy'
- fûmê 'be baking in ashes'
- shîwê 'be shaking'
- nêjê 'be crawling'
- lôwê '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 têlê or têlê. In a few cases we know because of apparently related forms, e.g. fûmê 'bake in ashes' vs. fum 'bury'.

3.3. Verb forms ending in +ce and +ye. When the verb form ends in +ce, and the C is palatal, i.e. the suffix is +ce or +ye, the PROG form is derived by changing these suffixes to +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.

- tômci 'mend'
- lênci 'trample'
- kwôcî 'remember'
- kôcî 'wrap up'
- nêcî 'straighten'
- kâwî 'chop up'
- kâwî 'tear sever. times'
- dôcî 'forget'

- tômci 'be mending'
- lênci 'be trampling'
- kwôcî 'be remembering'
- kôcî 'be wrapping up'
- nêcî 'be straightening'
- kâwî 'be chopping up'
- kâwî 'be tearing several times'
- dôcî 'be forgetting'
As seen in the last form, daayl 'be forgetting', verb forms of the shape CV-ye normally lengthen the vowel of the radical as -ye changes to -yl 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Radical</th>
<th>PROG Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yēsē</td>
<td>yebsē 'be sweeping'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tfūsē</td>
<td>tfuusē 'be answering'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngvūsē</td>
<td>ngvuusē 'be bending sth.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāsē</td>
<td>tāsē 'be sewing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēwsē</td>
<td>lēwsē 'be diverting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dōmsē</td>
<td>dōmsē 'be prodding'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāmsē</td>
<td>sāmsē 'be lending'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fōsē</td>
<td>fōsē 'be lending'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Radical</th>
<th>PROG Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bīfē</td>
<td>bīfē 'ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bēfē</td>
<td>bēfē 'spoil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēfē</td>
<td>tēfē 'advise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kīfē</td>
<td>kīfē 'become short'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ċīfē</td>
<td>ċīfē 'chisel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tōfē</td>
<td>tōfē 'throw down'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -yl:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Radical</th>
<th>PROG Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kēwē</td>
<td>kēwē 'roll up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jēwē</td>
<td>jēwē 'plant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jēmē</td>
<td>jēmē 'speak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yēnē</td>
<td>yēnē 'open'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōnē</td>
<td>kōnē 'reward'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jThē</td>
<td>jThē 'look at'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6. Verb forms ending in -VWm. Verb forms ending in -VWm, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Radical</th>
<th>PROG Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jīm</td>
<td>jīm 'lie down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shīm</td>
<td>shīm 'hang oneself'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>līm</td>
<td>līm 'stand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṇīm</td>
<td>ṇīm 'hide oneself'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngvūm</td>
<td>ngvūm 'kneel'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Structure</th>
<th># Regular</th>
<th># Irregular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVm</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVn</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVŋ</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVw</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVy</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+(C)cn</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+(C)e</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+es</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+se</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-fe</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+e</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+m</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RED</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>347</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

- {bf} 'fly'  
- {cf} 'legislate'  
- {fc} 'cure an invalid'  
- {fc} 'chat'  
- {bv} 'interrupt'  
- {kf} 'sift'  
- {fo} 'pour'  
- {kō} 'gather up'  
- {ka} 'clear one's throat'  

- {bīl} 'be flying'  
- {cil} 'be legislating'  
- {fēlē} 'be curing an invalid'  
- {fēlē} 'be chatting'  
- {bvēlē} 'be interrupting'  
- {kfēlē} 'be sifting'  
- {fōlē} 'be pouring'  
- {kōlē} 'be gathering up'  
- {kālē} '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:

\[ \text{dfe} '\text{eat}' \quad \text{diekène} '\text{be eating}' (\text{intr.}) \]

As seen, the suffix -\text{ken} is added to form the PROG. By itself, dfe\text{ken} 'means 'feed oneself'. A PROG form dfe(b) 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 \text{w}, but which do not take -\text{le}. In the first, two verbs take -\text{te} instead:

\[ \text{boš} '\text{bear a child}' \quad \text{boostè} '\text{be bearing a child}' \]
\[ \text{yss} '\text{build}' \quad \text{yostè} '\text{be building}' \]

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

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

\[ \text{bøø} '\text{accept}' \quad \text{bëgè} '\text{be accepting}' \]
\[ \text{seøø} '\text{tell}' \quad \text{segè} '\text{be telling}' \]
\[ \text{tøø} '\text{call}' \quad \text{tegè} '\text{be calling}' \]

These verbs are also irregular in both [+focus] and [-focus] past tenses. All of the exceptions to the normal addition of PROG -\text{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 -\text{en}. One verb ending in -\text{en} has been found to require an additional -\text{ten} suffix (=our 'bifurcative' extension) in the PROG:

\[ \text{bøøn} '\text{fold}' \quad \text{bontènè} '\text{be folding}' \]

The verb form bøøn 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 -\text{w}. Eight verbs ending in -\text{w} have been found which either require or at least allow a PROG form obtained by adding -\text{te} directly to the radical, as indicated:

\[ j\text{fw} '\text{poison}' \quad j\text{jwtè} '\text{be poisoning}' \]
\[ j\text{ew} '\text{be mad, drunk}' \quad j\text{jwtè} '\text{be being mad, drunk}' \]
\[ j\text{ow} '\text{leak}' \quad j\text{jwtè} '\text{be leaking}' \]
\[ c\text{ow} '\text{make a click}' \quad c\text{awte/cockè} '\text{be making a click}' \]
\[ s\text{ow} '\text{investigate}' \quad s\text{awte} '\text{be investigating}' \]
\[ c\text{aw} '\text{pick out}' \quad c\text{awte} '\text{be picking out}' \]
\[ g\text{aw} '\text{divide}' \quad g\text{awte/gààkè} '\text{be dividing}' \]
\[ t\text{aw} '\text{become strong}' \quad t\text{awte/taakè} '\text{be becoming strong}' \]

The difference in PROG forms between the regular and irregular radicals ending in -\text{w} may be due completely or in part to the fact that many of the irregular verbs had final labial consonants (e.g. -\text{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 -ie suffix in the PROG form:

fe"y 'pass, surpass'  fe"iie 'be passing, surpassing'

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

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

ěčě 'leave (sth.)'  c"ińyę 'be leaving (sth.)'

něčě 'leave'  nėnyę 'be leaving'

fělę 'blow'  fuyę 'be blowing'

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

đęřę 'become long'  đešęđeřę 'be becoming long'

šuńčę 'carry on pole'  šuńṭę 'be carrying on pole'

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

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

bąvęje 'burst open'  bęvuyę 'be bursting open'

Perhaps this indicates that the verb should be analyzed as bęvę-ę rather than bęvę-ye. 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:

dęsę 'be tired'  dęsę 'be being tired'

cfęsę 'make round & smooth'  cfęsęne 'be making round and smooth'

In 'be tired' the vowel o 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:

yeęę 'rub'  yeęęfę 'be rubbing'

cọfę 'take (out) from'  coofę 'be taking (out) from'

4.10. **Verb forms ending in -(C)e.** 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 -y:

sęmę 'cease' (of rains)  semętę '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gwēlē</td>
<td>'harvest'</td>
<td>gwēcīl</td>
<td>'be harvesting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēnē</td>
<td>'set fire'</td>
<td>kēncīl</td>
<td>'be setting fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēntēs</td>
<td>'cross (river)'</td>
<td>lēncīl</td>
<td>'be crossing (river)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngēlēs</td>
<td>'crunch'</td>
<td>ngēcīl</td>
<td>'be crunching'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēlēs</td>
<td>'straighten out'</td>
<td>nēcīl</td>
<td>'be straightening out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōlēs</td>
<td>'wrap up'</td>
<td>kōcīl</td>
<td>'be wrapping up'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We have seen that there are two verb extensions -ye 'distributive' and -ce 'attenuative'. The PROG forms of these extensions are -yi and -ci, respectively. Most verbs which end in -(C)e (other than -se or -fe) are assigned -ye, in the PROG, which of course becomes -yi. The above six verbs, however, are assigned -ce, which becomes -ci. Note that 'be setting fire' and 'be crossing' have a -nc- sequence which causes the preceding vowel to double (as happened with V0 + ke in section 2.5 above). The change from ee to lē 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-:

- bēlē 'thank'
- bēlē 'be thanking'
- bēlē 'weed, pluck'
- bēslē '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bēlkē</td>
<td>'turn (tr.)'</td>
<td>bēnsēl</td>
<td>'be turning (tr.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēlkē</td>
<td>'disperse (tr.)'</td>
<td>sēnse</td>
<td>'be dispersing (tr.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lēkē</td>
<td>'stand sth.'</td>
<td>lēsēl</td>
<td>'be standing sth.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cēkē</td>
<td>'put away'</td>
<td>cēwsēl</td>
<td>'be putting away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jēkē</td>
<td>'lay sth. down'</td>
<td>jēwsēl</td>
<td>'be laying sth. down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shēkē</td>
<td>'bring sth. down'</td>
<td>shēwsēl</td>
<td>'be bringing sth. down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yēkē</td>
<td>'lean sth. against'</td>
<td>yēwsēl</td>
<td>'be leaning sth. against'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the PROG forms seen above involve a -se suffix, instead of the -l- 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 CVse, which then becomes CVwsē. It is hard to explain these changes, and for this reason the above group was included among the irregular, rather than regular, verbs. We saw in Chapter 9 that some of the -ke forms have alternatives with -se. Thus, we may have an imperfect merger of two extensions, rather than a natural phonological development.

4.11. Inherently PROG verbs. The rules given above cover the majority of Noni verb forms, with the exceptions being limited in number. In addition, at least two verbs, nū(ū) 'be' and kēb/kēy 'know' are only rarely used, if at
all, when not in the PROG aspect.

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

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

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

\[ t \rightarrow l / \# C V V + \_ \_ \_ e \]

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

\[ t \rightarrow \emptyset / \# \left\{ C V \ (n) \right\} + \_ \_ \_ e \]

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

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

\[ e \rightarrow [aF] / \# C [aF] + \_ \_ \_ \_ V \]

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

\[
\begin{array}{c}
[\text{aF}] \\
\text{V} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{C} \\
\downarrow \\
[\text{aF}] \\
\text{V} \\
\downarrow \\
\emptyset \\
\downarrow \\
\emptyset \\
\downarrow \\
k
\end{array}
\]

the fourth rule affects radicals which end in -ο and -ω, both of which are
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, cf. 'tremble' becomes PROG cīŋkē, and jīw 'blacken' becomes PROG jīlkē.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
[aF] & \emptyset & f + t e \\
V & \downarrow & \downarrow \\
[aF] & \emptyset & V
\end{align*}
\]

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 bīfē 'ask' are actually monosyllabic underlyingly, i.e. /bīf/. 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 /bīfē+te/ to become *bīfee. On the other hand, while this form must become bēfē 'be asking', the two exceptional forms yōfē 'rub' and cōfē 'take (out) from' in 4.9 must become yeefē and coofē in the PROG. Perhaps these have a true +e suffix. In this case, yeōfē+te, for example, would first become yeefē and then yeefē 'be rubbing'.

5.6. Rule 6. The sixth rule accounts for sequences of vowels which occur in the suffixes, e.g. -ee+c. 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) \[ V \rightarrow \emptyset / || + e \]

(b) \[
\begin{align*}
[aF] & \emptyset & C V + e \\
V & \downarrow & \downarrow \\
[aF] & \emptyset & V
\end{align*}
\]

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 tfūsē 'answer' and tfūsē '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):

\[ e \rightarrow i / [+pal] + ___ \]

The above rules will generate the regular alternations. In addition, many of the "exceptional" PROG verb forms can be accommodated with only minor adjustments.
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. cow 'dig' vs. ców '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pattern</th>
<th>monosyllabic</th>
<th>bisyllabic</th>
<th>formula (tentative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kée-, e.g.

kée-kfun 'to hit'  kée-kfunè 'to be hitting'
kée-tón 'to refuse'  kée-tonè 'to be refusing'
kée-dómse 'to push'  kée-dómse 'to be pushing'
kée-cǐmsè 'to pacify'  kée-cǐmsè '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:

kfunè 'hit!'  € kfunè 'be hitting!'
tonè 'refuse!'  € tonè 'be refusing!'
dómse 'push!'  € dómse 'be pushing!'
cǐmsè 'pacify!'  € cǐmsè 'be pacifying!'

The PROG forms on the right have a preposed marker € (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,

bì 'follow!' (bì 'follow')
cilí 'drag!' (cilí 'drag')

this suffix takes the form -le after a CVV verb radical and the form -e after either a CV or a CVC verb radical. In many cases the imperative suffix appears to be optional, e.g. yem or ye'me 'sing!'. In a few verbs it takes an excep-
tional form (e.g. shō 'clean', shōlē '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: wō 'drink', wō '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-ē 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. cēmē 'dig!' (an instruction), both from cēm 'dig'.

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

fō wō kfun ke 'don't hit!'
fō wō kfunè ke 'don't be hitting!'
fō wō tôn ke 'don't refuse!' fō wō tônè ke 'don't be refusing!' fō wō dōmsè ke 'don't push!' fō wō dōmsè ke 'don't be pushing!' fō wō cilmè ke 'don't pacify!' fō wō cilmè ke '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 wō 'you sg.' is indicated here with L tone, it can alternative be realized with LM tone, e.g. fō wō tôn ke 'don't refuse!'.

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

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

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

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

The following three features, FUT, TOD and NEAR, define the eight distinguishable tenses or time distinctions recognized by the language. These
tenses have the feature specifications seen in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>F3</th>
<th>F2</th>
<th>F1</th>
<th>F0</th>
<th>F1</th>
<th>F2</th>
<th>F3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[FUT]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[TOD]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[NEAR]</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

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

The reason why the feature NEAR is used is because of the subjectivity that may in some cases lead a speaker to use one or the other tense. An event
which took place some weeks ago, for example, will be in the \( P_2 \) ([-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/non-today distinction, it would be incorrect to define tenses in terms of objective time reference.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[+FOC]} : & \quad \text{bò cí nốś křúm wèn} \quad \text{they hit a child} \quad (P_2) \\
\text{[-FOC]} : & \quad \text{bò cí křúm wèn} \quad \text{" " " " " ''} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 nốś which indicates even focus among the arguments of the sentence and the action of the verb. It places emphasis, if anywhere, on the fact that the action took place (cf. Watters' (1979) notion of "truth value focus" for Aghem). Because the [+FOC] variant has a foregrounding function, it is usually not found in relative clauses (but cf. Chapter 19), which are considered to have a backgrounding referential function.

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

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

II. [+PROG]
   A. [-FUT]
      1. [-NEG]
      2. [+NEG]
   B. [+FUT]
      1. [-NEG]
      2. [+NEG]

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

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

The tenses included under this heading include the $P_0$, $P_1$, $P_2$ and $P_3$. We shall continue to use the verbs $k'fun$ 'hit', $t'ôn$ 'refuse', $gômsê$ 'push' and $cîmsê$ 'pacify' to illustrate the two tone patterns on monosyllabic and bisyllabic verb forms.

1.1. [-FOC], $P_0$. As seen in the following sentences, the [-FOC] $P_0$ has a $0$ tone marker and takes tone pattern B:

$bô k'fun i3 'they have just hit'$
$bô t'ôn i3 'they have just refused'$
$bô gômsê i3 'they have just pushed'$
$bô cîmsê i3 'they have just pacified'$

The marker i3 '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 $bô$ and tone pattern A:

$bô bô k'fun i3 'they hit' (earlier today)$
$bô bô t'ôn i3 'they refused'$
$bô bô gômsê i3 'they pushed'$
$bô bô cîmsê i3 'they pacified'$

The tone pattern on monosyllabic H tone verbs such as $t'ôn$ 'refuse' is irregular. For this reason we shall consider the [-FOC] $P_1$ to be marked by a suffix with L tone, $-v$, whose tonal effect is seen only on $tôh$ (which would otherwise have been realized $tôn$ in pattern A).

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

$bô cô k'fun i3 'they hit' (yesterday, some days ago)$
$bô cô t'ôn i3 'they refused'$
$bô cô gômsê i3 'they pushed'$
$bô cô cîmsê i3 'they pacified'$

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

$bô tô k'fun i3 'they hit' (a long time ago)$
$bô tô t'ôn i3 'they refused'$
$bô tô gômsê i3 'they pushed'$
$bô tô cîmsê i3 'they pacified'$

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 tó.

2.1. [+FOC], P₀. This tense is formed with the auxiliary nôô and tone pattern A:

bó nôô kfûn 'they have hit'

bó nôô tôn 'they have refused'

bó nôô dômsê 'they have pushed'

bó nôô cîmsê 'they have pacified'

The origin of the marker nôô, which will be seen in other [+FOC] tenses, is nó 'copula, focus marker' + ó, as can be seen in the slow variant bó nú e kfûn 'they have hit'.

2.2. [+FOC], P₁. This tense utilizes the auxiliary bêe, which is from bó + ó, and tone pattern A:

bó bêe kfûn 'they hit' (today)

bó bêe tôn 'they refused'

bó bêe dômsê 'they pushed'

bó bêe cîmsê 'they pacified'

2.3. [+FOC], P₂. This tense adds nôô to the auxiliary cf seen in the [-FOC] variant. The tone pattern changes to A:

bó cf nôô kfûn 'they hit' (yesterday, some days ago)

bó cf nôô tôn 'they refused'

bó cf nôô dômsê 'they pushed'

bó cf nôô cîmsê 'they pacified'

2.4. [+FOC], P₃. This tense adds nôô to the auxiliary tô seen in the [-FOC] variant. Again the tone pattern changes to A:

bó tô nôô kfûn 'they hit' (a long time ago)

bó tô nôô tôn 'they refused'

bó tô nôô dômsê 'they pushed'

bó tô nôô cîmsê 'they pacified'

3. [−PROG, −FUT, +NEG]. Since there are no focus variants in the negative, the following non-progressive P₀ - P₃ forms correspond to both focus variants of affirmatives above:

3.1. [+NEG], P₀. In all of the non-progressive, non-future negatives the negative marker bó (variant bêe) is inserted between the tense auxiliary (if any) and the verb. In addition, ke is added at the end of the clause:

bó bó kfûn ke 'they haven't hit'

bó bó tôn ke 'they haven't refused'

bó bó dômsê 'they haven't pushed'

bó bó cîmsê 'they haven't pacified'

Since the P₀ does not use a tense auxiliary, the negative marker bó stands between the subject and the verb. The tone pattern is C in all non-progressive negative forms. Notice, finally, that ke takes the place of tó 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:

- \( b\emptyset \) \( b\emptyset \) \( b\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( m\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they didn't hit' (earlier today)
- \( b\emptyset \) \( b\emptyset \) \( b\emptyset \) \( t\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they didn't refuse'
- \( b\emptyset \) \( b\emptyset \) \( b\emptyset \) \( d\emptyset \) \( h\emptyset \) \( s\emptyset \) \( e \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they didn't push'
- \( b\emptyset \) \( b\emptyset \) \( c\emptyset \) \( m\emptyset \) \( s\emptyset \) \( e \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they didn't pacify'

Because of the unpredictable tonal alternation, we assume that there is a L tone preceding the negative marker \( b\emptyset \) 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 \( b\emptyset \):

- \( b\emptyset \) \( c\emptyset \) \( b\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( m\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they didn't hit' (yesterday, some days ago)
- \( b\emptyset \) \( c\emptyset \) \( b\emptyset \) \( t\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they didn't refuse'
- \( b\emptyset \) \( c\emptyset \) \( b\emptyset \) \( d\emptyset \) \( h\emptyset \) \( s\emptyset \) \( e \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they didn't push'
- \( b\emptyset \) \( c\emptyset \) \( b\emptyset \) \( c\emptyset \) \( m\emptyset \) \( s\emptyset \) \( e \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) '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 \( t\emptyset \):

- \( b\emptyset \) \( t\emptyset \) \( b\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( m\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they didn't hit' (a long time ago)
- \( b\emptyset \) \( t\emptyset \) \( b\emptyset \) \( t\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they didn't refuse'
- \( b\emptyset \) \( t\emptyset \) \( b\emptyset \) \( d\emptyset \) \( h\emptyset \) \( s\emptyset \) \( e \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they didn't push'
- \( b\emptyset \) \( t\emptyset \) \( b\emptyset \) \( c\emptyset \) \( m\emptyset \) \( s\emptyset \) \( e \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they didn't pacify'

4. [-PROC, +FUT, -NEG]. All future tenses are built on the future marker \( n\emptyset \) (variant \( n\emptyset \), 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 \( L \) required to make the utterances complete.

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

- \( b\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( m\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they are about to hit'
- \( b\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( t\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( t\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they are about to refuse'
- \( b\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( d\emptyset \) \( h\emptyset \) \( s\emptyset \) \( e \) \( n\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they are about to push'
- \( b\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( c\emptyset \) \( m\emptyset \) \( s\emptyset \) \( e \) \( n\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they are about to pacify'

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

- \( b\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( g\emptyset \emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( m\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they will hit' (later today; indefinite)
- \( b\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( g\emptyset \emptyset \) \( t\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( t\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they will refuse'
- \( b\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( g\emptyset \emptyset \) \( d\emptyset \) \( h\emptyset \) \( s\emptyset \) \( e \) \( n\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) 'they will push'
- \( b\emptyset \) \( n\emptyset \) \( g\emptyset \emptyset \) \( c\emptyset \) \( m\emptyset \) \( s\emptyset \) \( e \) \( n\emptyset \) \( k\emptyset \) \( e \) '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 \( b\emptyset \emptyset \) (from the main verb \( b\emptyset \emptyset \) 'exit, reach'), and the normal tone pattern C:
bò nù bòy kfun 'they will hit' (tomorrow, some days from now)
bò nù bòy tón 'they will refuse'
bò nù bòy dûmsë 'they will push'
bò nù bòy cîmsë 'they will pacify'

4.4. [-NEG], F₀₃. This tense uses the auxiliary yù (from the main verb yù 'dawn, be clear'):

bò nù yù yù kfun 'they will hit' (a long time from now)
bò nù yù tón 'they will refuse'
bò nù yù dûmsë 'they will push'
bò nù yù cîmsë 'they will pacify'

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

5.1. [+NEG], F₀." This tense is formed as indicated above. In all non-progressive future negatives the tonal pattern is C:

kè bò (yà) nù kfun ke 'they are not about to hit'
kè bò (yà) nù tón ke 'they are not about to refuse'
kè bò (yà) nù dûmsë ke 'they are not about to push'
kè bò (yà) nù cîmsë ke 'they are not about to pacify'

Although the negative marker yà is optional, as indicated by the parentheses, the tone on the future marker nù 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 nù to nù.

5.2. [+NEG], F₁." This tense follows the general pattern.

kè bò (yà) nù gêgê kfun ke 'they will not hit' (later today)
kè bò (yà) nù gêgê tón ke 'they will not refuse'
kè bò (yà) nù gêgê dûmsë ke 'they will not push'
kè bò (yà) nù gêgê cîmsë ke 'they will not pacify'

5.3. [+NEG], F₂." This tense follows the general pattern.

kè bò (yà) nù bòy kfun ke 'they will not hit' (tomorrow, some days from now)
kè bò (yà) nù bòy tón ke 'they will not refuse'
kè bò (yà) nù bòy dûmsë ke 'they will not push'
kè bò (yà) nù bòy cîmsë ke 'they will not pacify'

5.4. [+NEG], F₃." This tense follows the same general pattern, again with pre-clause kè, post-clause ke, and optional yà with tone pattern C:

kè bò (yà) nù yù yù kfun ke 'they will not hit' (a long time from now)
kè bò (yà) nù yù tón ke 'they will not refuse'
kè bò (yà) nù yù dûmsë ke 'they will not push'
kè bò (yà) nù yù cîmsë ke 'they will not pacify'

6. [+PROG, -FUT, -NEG]. Progressive verb forms utilize the PROG marking described in Chapter 10. In addition to the suffixal modifications that were enumerated, the tones of [+PROG] forms can be quite different from those of their [-PROG] counterparts.
6.1. [NEG], 0. The [+PROG] P₀ tense has a present tense progressive meaning and will be indicated as the "0" tense. As seen in the following examples, it requires the same tone pattern B as its [+PROG] counterpart and the same T3 to make the utterance complete:

bọ kfùnè T3 'they are hitting'
bọ tònè T3 'they are refusing'
bọ dòmsè T3 'they are pushing'
bọ cìmsè T3 'they are pacifying'

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

bọ bè kfùnè T3 'they were (just) hitting' (earlier today)
bọ bè tònè T3 'they were (just) refusing'
bọ bè dòmsè T3 'they were (just) pushing'
bọ bè cìmsè T3 'they were (just) pacifying'

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

bọ cf kfùnè T3 'they were (just) hitting' (yesterday, some days ago)
bọ cf tònè T3 'they were (just) refusing'
bọ cf dòmsè T3 'they were (just) pushing'
bọ cf cìmsè T3 'they were (just) pacifying'

Because dòmsè 'push' and cìmsè 'pacify' do not change in the PROG, the above sentences are ambiguous with [+PROG] and [NEG] readings.

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

bọ tò kfùnè T3 'they were (just) hitting' (a long time ago)
bọ tò tònè T3 'they were (just) refusing'
bọ tò dòmsè T3 'they were (just) pushing'
bọ tò cìmsè T3 'they were (just) pacifying'

7. [+PROG, -FUT, +NEG]. The negative of progressive non-future tenses is exactly the same as non-progressive futures: kẹ at the beginning of the clause, ke 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:

kẹ bọ (yà) kfùnè ke 'they are not hitting'
kẹ bọ (yà) tònè ke 'they are not refusing'
kẹ bọ (yà) dòmsè ke 'they are not pushing'
kẹ bọ (yà) cìmsè ke 'they are not pacifying'

The tone pattern for all progressive negatives is A.

7.2. [+NEG], P₁. The forms for this tense are as expected, except that the tense marker is pronounced on a M tone, i.e. be. This probably reflects the change from bè to bẹ, which then simplified to M. The same simplification will be noted in the P₂ forms.
ke bo (yang) be kfun ke 'they were not hitting' (earlier today)
ke bo (yang) be ton ke 'they were not refusing'
ke bo (yang) be damse ke 'they were not pushing'
ke bo (yang) be cims ke 'they were not pacifying'

7.3. [+NEG], F2. The forms again are regular except that the tense marker carries a M tone:
ke bo (yang) ci kfun ke 'they were not hitting' (yesterday, some days ago)
ke bo (yang) ci ton ke 'they were not refusing'
ke bo (yang) ci damse ke 'they were not pushing'
ke bo (yang) ci cims ke 'they were not pacifying'

7.4. [+NEG], F3. This tense is realized as expected, i.e. with initial ke, final ke, and tone pattern A:
ke bo (yang) to kfun ke 'they were not hitting' (a long time ago)
ke bo (yang) to ton ke 'they were not refusing'
ke bo (yang) to damse ke 'they were not pushing'
ke bo (yang) to cims ke 'they were not pacifying'

8. [+PROG, +PUT, -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], F0.
bo nu kfun 'they are about to be hitting'
bo nu ton 'they are about to be refusing'
bo nu damse 'they are about to be pushing'
bo nu cims 'they are about to be pacifying'

8.2. [-NEG], F1.
bo nu ge kfun 'they will be hitting' (later today; indefinite)
bo nu ge ton 'they will be refusing'
bo nu ge damse 'they will be pushing'
bo nu ge cims 'they will be pacifying'

8.3. [-NEG], F2.
bo nu bbo kfun 'they will be hitting' (tomorrow, some days from now)
bo nu bbo ton 'they will be refusing'
bo nu bbo damse 'they will be pushing'
bo nu bbo cims 'they will be pacifying'

8.4. [-NEG], F3.
bo nu yu kfun 'they will be hitting' (a long time from now)
bo nu yu ton 'they will be refusing'
bo nu yu damse 'they will be pushing'
bo nu yu cims '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] F₂ - F₃ form their negative by placing ké at the beginning of the clause, ké 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], F₀.

ké bò (yà) nū kə̀ nè ké 'they are not about to be hitting'
ké bò (yà) nū tò̀ nè ké 'they are not about to be refusing'
ké bò (yà) nū dò̀ mè ké ‘they are not about to be pushing'
ké bò (yà) nū cìnmè ké 'they are not about to be pacifying'

9.2. [+NEG], F₁.

ké bò (yà) nū gế̄́è kə̀ nè ké 'they will not be hitting' (later today; indirect)
ké bò (yà) nū gế̄́è tò̀ nè ké 'they will not be refusing' definite
ké bò (yà) nū gế̄́è dò̀ mè ké 'they will not be pushing'
ké bò (yà) nū gế̄́è cìnmè ké 'they will not be pacifying'

9.3. [+NEG], F₂.

ké bò (yà) nū bò̆́̄̄́ bò̆́̄̄́ kə̀ nè ké 'they will not be hitting' (tomorrow, some
ké bò (yà) nū bò̆́̄̄́ bò̆́̄̄́ tò̀ nè ké 'they will not be refusing' days from now)
ké bò (yà) nū bò̆́̄̄́ dò̀ mè ké 'they will not be pushing'
ké bò (yà) nū bò̆́̄̄́ cìnmè ké 'they will not be pacifying'

9.4. [+NEG], F₃.

ké bò (yà) nū yù̀̀̄̄ kə̀ nè ké 'they will not be hitting' (a long time from
ké bò (yà) nū yù̀̀̄̄ tò̀ nè ké 'they will not be refusing' now)
ké bò (yà) nū yù̀̀̄̄ dò̀ mè ké ‘they will not be pushing'
ké bò (yà) nū yù̀̀̄̄ cìnmè ké 'they will not be pacifying'

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

10. Compound P₃ and P₄. The feature system introduced in Chapter 11 treats both the P₃ and P₄ 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 P₃ marker tò can be added to the P₃ and the P₃ marker yud can be added to the P₃:

bò tò nò̀ bò tò nò̀ yù tòn 'they refused' (a long time ago; definite time)
bò tò nò̀ yù tòn 'they refused' (a long time ago; indefinite time)

bò nū yù tòn 'they will refuse' (a long time from now; definite time)
bò nū tò yù tòn 'they will refuse' (a long time from now; indefinite time)

(Although the [+FOC] variant of the P₃ is seen in the first pair of sentences, the [-FOC] is obtained by deleting nò̀ and adding tò to make the utterance complete.) The P₃ marker precedes the P₃ marker in both tenses. By combining the two a less definite time reference is interpreted: in the simple P₃ and P₃ the speaker probably knows when or approximately when the event took place.
or will take place. In the compound forms, the speaker probably does not know when or if the event did or will take place. We shall see in Chapter 18 that Noni can allow several auxiliaries to occur in sequence before the main verb.

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

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

- bó shié ié 'they have just come down' (shi 'come down from')
- bó belé ié 'they have just cried' (bé 'cry')
- bó celé ié 'they have just pierced' (cè 'pierce')
- bó tólé ié 'they have just carried' (tú 'carry on head')
- bó solé ié 'they have just knotted' (sóó 'knot')
- bó fólé ié 'they have just borrowed' (fó 'borrow')
- bó sélé ié 'they have just torn' (sé 'tear')

The above forms are in the [-FOC] P₀. It is tempting to relate this ié suffix to the ié found in PROG forms of CVV radicals, e.g. bó shié ié '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 ié:

- bó ci ié 'they have just dragged' (cì 'drag')
- bó kí ié 'they have just called/hooted' (kì 'call by hooting')
- bó ff ié 's.o. has just tired of them' (ffì 'to tire s.o. of sth.')
- bó ká ié 'they have just ground' (ká 'to grind')

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

- bó mëké ié 'they have just carried (child)' (mëk 'carry a child')
- bó gëké ié 'they have just put' (gë 'put')
- bó dëké ié 'they have just cooked' (dëk 'cook')
- bó füké ié 'they have just become satiated' (fùk 'become satiated')
- bó böké ié 'they have just borne a child' (bók 'bear a child')
- bó yöké ié 'they have just built' (yök 'build')

The variant bó dëké ié 'they have just cooked' has also been recorded.

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

- bó bené ié 'they have just accepted/they are accepting' (bè 'accept')
- bó senné ié 'they have just told/they are telling' (sè 'tell')
- bó tené ié 'they have just called/they are calling' ( té 'call')

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

- bó konté ié 'they have just caught' (kóó '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:

bo nɔɔ bob 'they have borne a child'
bo nɔɔ yoɔ 'they have built'
bo nɔɔ beɛ 'they have accepted'
bo nɔɔ seɛ 'they have told'

What this reveals is that boɔ 'bear a child', yoɔ 'build', bɛɛ 'accept', seɛ 'tell', etc. are bisyllabic, i.e. they consist of a CV syllable followed by a V syllable. The velar consonants k and ɛ probably were once part of the verb stem, which may thus have been either CVC or, more likely, CV.CV. By treating verbs in (b) and (c) as bisyllabic, we can assign their tones as we do to verbs such as cimsɛ 'pacify', e.g. bo nɔɔ cimsɛ '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:

bo nɔɔ dlɛ 'they have eaten' (dlɛ 'eat')
bo nɔɔ fl 'they have helped' (fl '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:

kɛɛ-jɛfɛm 'to lie down'
kɛɛ-shɛfɛm 'to hang oneself'
kɛɛ-ɛfɛm '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 nguɛm 'kneel', a vowel shortening process accounts for the observed [−PROG] reading:

bo nguɛm lɔ 'they are kneeling' (as a group)
bo nguɛm lɔ 'they have just knelt'

These verbs require further investigation in the different tense/aspects.
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 ṭ to complete the clause.

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

wè wvu bɔ kfûn 'the person they have hit'
wè wvu bɔ tɔn 'the person they have refused'
wè wvu bɔ dɔmsé 'the person they have pushed'
wè wvu bɔ cṁsé 'the person they have pacified'

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

wè wvu bɔ bɛ kfûn 'the person they hit' (earlier today)
wè wvu bɔ bɛ tɔn 'the person they refused'
wè wvu bɔ bɛ dɔmsé 'the person they pushed'
wè wvu bɔ bɛ cṁsé 'they person they pacified'

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

wè wvu bɔ cɛ kfûnɛ 'the person they hit' (yesterday, some days ago)
wè wvu bɔ cɛ tɔnɛ 'the person they refused'
wè wvu bɔ cɛ dɔmsɛɛ 'the person they pushed'
wè wvu bɔ cɛ cṁsɛɛ 'the person they pacified'

It is noted in the last two examples that seɛɛ is realized -sɛɛ.

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

wè wvu bɔ tɔ kfûnɛ 'the person they hit' (a long time ago)
wè wvu bɔ tɔ tɔnɛ 'the person they refused'
wè wvu bɔ tɔ dɔmsɛɛ 'the person they pushed'
wè wvu bɔ tɔ cṁsɛɛ 'the person they pacified'

The P₃ marker tɔ may be deleted in affirmative relative clauses, e.g. wè wvu
bó kfùnè '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 wù bó nù kfùn 'the person they have hit' (P₀)
wè wù bó bē bō kfùn 'the person they hit' (P₁)
wè wù bó ci nù kfùn 'the person they hit' (P₂)
wè wù bó t̃ bō kfùn 'the person they hit' (P₃)

they take tone pattern A and do not acquire the -₁ 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 wù bó bē kfùn ke 'the person they haven't hit' (P₀)
wè wù bó bē bō kfùn ke 'the person they didn't hit' (P₁)
wè wù bó ci bō kfùn ke 'the person they didn't hit' (P₂)
wè wù bó t̃ bō kfùn ke 'the person they didn't hit' (P₃)

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

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

wè wù bó nù kfùn 'the person they are about to hit' (F₀)
wè wù bó nù gēe kfùn 'the person they will hit' (F₁)
wè wù bó nù bōy kfùn 'the person they will hit' (F₂)
wè wù bó nù yù kfùn '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 ke is not present, and (b) yā is obligatory:

wè wù bó yā nù kfùn ke 'the person they are not about to hit' (F₀)
wè wù bó yā nù gēe kfùn ke 'the person they will not hit' (F₁)
wè wù bó yā nù bōy kfùn ke 'the person they will not hit' (F₂)
wè wù bó yā nù yù kfùn ke 'the person they will not hit' (F₃)

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

The second pattern of negativizing relative future tenses is by placing f₃ yā between nù and the future auxiliary (if there is one). Again, the tone pattern is C:

wè wù bó nù f₃ yā kfùn wan ke 'the person they are not about to hit' (F₀)
wè wù bó nù f₃ yā gēe kfùn wan ke 'the person they will not hit' (F₁)
wè wù bó nù f₃ yā bōy kfùn wan ke 'the person they will not hit' (F₂)
wè wù bó nù f₃ yā yù kfùn wan ke 'the person they will not hit' (F₃)

Recall the negative imperative markers f₃ yā (f₃ yā?) seen in section 3 of Chapter 11, which also took tone pattern C. The marker f₃ apparently comes from the verb fàn 'refuse' and intensifies the negation.
6. [+PROG, -FUT, -NEG]. These tenses are equivalent to their main clause counterparts. As seen in the following examples,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wè wù bò kfunè} & \quad \text{'the person they are hitting' (0)} \\
\text{wè wù bò bè kfunè} & \quad \text{'the person they were hitting' (P1)} \\
\text{wè wù bò cè kfunè} & \quad \text{'the person they were hitting' (P2)} \\
\text{wè wù bò tò kfunè} & \quad \text{'the person they were hitting' (P3)}
\end{align*}
\]

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, -POC] 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 k₉, final k₆, and optional yā. This same construction can be used in relative clauses except, as seen above in section 5, the clause-initial k₉ is not present and the marker yā is obligatory. However, two tone patterns have been noted. First, in object relative constructions pattern A has been recorded (with some uncertainty in the O tense, whose B tone pattern should be verified):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wè wù bò yā kfunè ke} & \quad \text{'the person they are not hitting' (0)} \\
\text{wè wù bò yā bè kfunè ke} & \quad \text{'the person they were not hitting' (P₁)} \\
\text{wè wù bò yā cè kfunè ke} & \quad \text{'the person they were not hitting' (P₂)} \\
\text{wè wù bò yā tò kfunè ke} & \quad \text{'the person they were not hitting' (P₃)}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wè wù yā kfunè ke} & \quad \text{'the person who is not hitting' (0)} \\
\text{wè wù yā kfunè ke} & \quad \text{'the person who was not hitting' (P₁)} \\
\text{wè wù cè yā kfunè ke} & \quad \text{'the person who was not hitting' (P₂)} \\
\text{wè wù tò yā kfunè ke} & \quad \text{'the person who was not hitting' (P₃)}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wè wù bè bè kfunè ke} & \quad \text{'the person they are not hitting' (0)} \\
\text{wè wù bè bè kfunè ke} & \quad \text{'the person they were not hitting' (P₁)} \\
\text{wè wù bè cè kfunè ke} & \quad \text{'the person they were not hitting' (P₂)} \\
\text{wè wù bè tò bè kfunè ke} & \quad \text{'the person they were not hitting' (P₃)}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wè wù bò nú kfunè} & \quad \text{'the person they are about to be hitting' (F₀)} \\
\text{wè wù bò nú gës kfunè} & \quad \text{'the person they will be hitting' (F₁)} \\
\text{wè wù bò nú bò y kfunè} & \quad \text{'the person they will be hitting' (F₂)} \\
\text{wè wù bò nú yù kfunè} & \quad \text{'the person they will be hitting' (F₃)}
\end{align*}
\]

9. [+PROG, +FUT, +NEG]. As in the non-future progressives, there are two negative relative constructions. The first utilizes yā and assigns the expected tone pattern A:
wè wvù bò yà nù kfunè ke 'the person they are not about to be hitting' (F₀)
wè wvù bò yà nù gée kfunè ke 'the person they will not be hitting' (F₁)
wè wvù bò yà nù bòy kfunè ke 'the person they will not be hitting' (F₂)
wè wvù bò yà nù yūd kfunè ke 'the person they will not be hitting' (F₃)

The second negative construction utilizes fô jà and, again, tone pattern A:

wè wvù bò nò fô yà kfunè ke 'the person they are not about to be hitting' (F₀)
wè wvù bò nò fô yà gée kfunè ke 'the person they will not be hitting' (F₁)
wè wvù bò nò fô yà bòy kfunè ke 'the person they will not be hitting' (F₂, F₃, respectively)

Since Noni speakers in villages such as Mbinon and Lassin are said to pronounce fô yà as jàpè yà, we see the etymology of the first of the two negative markers from the main verb fàn 'refuse' (cf. Chapter 14, section 10).
VERB CONJUGATION IV: CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES

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

bọ c' nọọ yẹm / ëbịn 'they sang and danced'
bọ c' nọọ mɛsɛ / ëdeɛ bẹŋkɛ 'they finished cooking yams'
bọ c' nọọ lewɛ / ëɡɛɛ fọwày 'they ran to market'
bọ c' nọọ lewɛ / ëghǎw me 'they ran faster than I'

this construction has a number of different, though related functions in Noni. In the above examples, all in the [+FOC] P2 tense, the consecutivized verb is separated from the first main verb by a slash (/). The first sentence has a consecutive verb form ëbịn '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 ëdeɛ 'cooked' provides a complement to the verb mɛsɛ 'finish'. In the third sentence, ëɡɛɛ '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 ëɡɛɛ 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 ëghǎw 'overcame', ë was superior to'. It thus literally means 'they ran and overcame me', one of the most frequent ways to express a comparative in the language. It can be noted that Noni does not use constructions with 'take' + a consecutive verb form, as has been reported in Eastern Grassfields Bantu, e.g. Bamileke-Fe'fe' (Hyman 1971).

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

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

1.1. [-FOC], P2. As seen in the following examples, a consecutive verb following a P0 tense takes a prefix ɓ with its D tonal pattern:

bọ yẹm 15 ɓekfùn boom 'they have just sung and hit children'
bọ yẹm 15 ɓtọn boom 'they have just sung and refused children'
bọ yẹm 15 ɓcìmɛ boom 'they have just sung and pushed children'
bọ yẹm 15 ɓcìmɛsɛ boom 'they have just sung and pacified children'

The L-HL-L of 'ụ pacified' is also heard as L-H-L, i.e. ɓcìmɛsɛ boom 'ụ pacified children'. We shall continue to transcribe it with the contour tone.
1.2. [-FOC], P₃. The consecutive forms following a P₁ verb are identical to those just seen for the P₀:

bọ bè yəm ɛkfhůn bɔm 'they sang and hit children' (earlier today)
bọ bè yəm ɛtɔn bɔm 'they sang and refused children'
bọ bè yəm ɛdɔmhɛ bɔm 'they sang and pushed children'
bọ bè yəm ɛcĩmɛ bɔm 'they sang and pacified children'

1.3. [-FOC], P₂. Again, the forms are identical to the P₀:

bọ cf yəm ɛkfhůn bɔm 'they sang and hit children' (yesterday, some days ago)
bọ cf yəm ɛtɔn bɔm 'they sang and refused children'
bọ cf yəm ɛdɔmhɛ bɔm 'they sang and pushed children'
bọ cf yəm ɛcĩmɛ bɔm 'they sang and pacified children'

1.4. [-FOC], P₃. In this case the tones are the same as the above, but the prefix ɛ is not present:

bọ tɔ yəm ɛkfhůn bɔm 'they sang and hit children' (a long time ago)
bọ tɔ yəm ɛtɔn bɔm 'they sang and refused children'
bọ tɔ yəm ɛdɔmhɛ bɔm 'they sang and pushed children'
bọ tɔ yəm ɛcĩmɛ bɔm 'they sang and pacified children'

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

2. [-PROG, -FUT, -NEG, +FOC]. The [+FOC] variants of the P₀ - P₃ tenses take exactly the same consecutive verb forms as their [-FOC] counterparts, as seen in the following representative sentences:

bọ nɔɔ yəm ɛkfhůn bɔm 'they have sung and hit children' (P₀)
bọ bè yəm ɛkfhůn bɔm 'they sang and hit children' (P₁)
bọ cf nɔɔ yəm ɛkfhůn bɔm 'they sang and hit children' (P₂)
bọ tɔ nɔɔ yəm ɛkfhůn bɔm 'they sang and hit children' (P₃)

3. [-PROG, -FUT, +NEG]. After a negative (and [-PROG]) P₀, P₁, P₂ or P₃, the consecutive form consists of the bare verb with tone pattern C:

bọ bɔ yəm ɛkfhůn bɔm ke 'they haven't sung and hit children' (P₀)
bọ bè bɔ yəm ɛkfhůn bɔm ke 'they didn't sing and hit children' (P₁)
bọ cf bɔ yəm ɛkfhůn bɔm ke 'they didn't sing and hit children' (P₂)
bọ tɔ bɔ yəm ɛkfhůn bɔm ke 'they didn't sing and hit children' (P₃)

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

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

bọ nɔ yəm ɛkfhůn bɔm 'they are about to sing and hit children' (P₀)
bọ nɔ ɡɛɛ yəm ɛkfhůn bɔm 'they will sing and hit children' (P₁)
bọ nɔ bɔ yəm ɛkfhůn bɔm 'they will sing and hit children' (P₂)
bọ nɔ yʊʊ yəm ɛkfhůn bɔm 'they will sing and hit children' (P₃)
5. [-PROG, +PUT, +NEG]. The same consecutive forms with tone pattern C are found after [-PROG] future negatives as were seen after the corresponding affirmatives in section 4:

- ké bô nú yém kfun boom ke 'they are not about to sing and hit children' (\textit{F}_0)
- ké bô nú gëe yém kfun boom ke 'they will not sing and hit children' (\textit{F}_1)
- ké bô nú bôy yém kfun boom ke 'they will not sing and hit children' (\textit{F}_2)
- ké bô nú yùu yém kfun boom ke 'they will not sing and hit children' (\textit{F}_3)

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

- bô yemtè kfunè boom 'they are singing and hitting children' (0)
- bô bô yemtè kfunè boom 'they were singing and hitting children' (\textit{P}_1)
- bô ci yemtè kfunè boom 'they were singing and hitting children' (\textit{P}_2)
- bô tô yemtè kfunè boom 'they were singing and hitting children' (\textit{P}_3)

7. [+PROG, -FUT, +NEG]. In the following sentences we have left the optional negative marker \textit{ya} out:

- ké bô yemtè kfunè boom ke 'they are not singing and hitting children' (0)
- ké bô bô yemtè kfunè boom ke 'they were not singing and hitting children' (\textit{P}_1)
- ké bô ci yemtè kfunè boom ke 'they were not singing and hitting children' (\textit{P}_2)
- ké bô tô yemtè kfunè boom ke 'they were not singing and hitting children' (\textit{P}_3)

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

- bô nú yemtè kfunè boom 'they are about to be singing and hitting children' (\textit{F}_0)
- bô nú gëe yemtè kfunè boom 'they will be singing and hitting children' (\textit{F}_1, \textit{F}_2, \textit{F}_3, respectively)
- bô nú bôy yemtè kfunè boom
- bô nú yùu yemtè kfunè boom

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

- ké bô nú yemtè kfunè ke 'they are not about to be singing and hitting children' (\textit{F}_0)
- ké bô nú gëe yemtè kfunè ke 'they will not be singing and hitting children' (\textit{F}_1, \textit{F}_2, \textit{F}_3, respectively)
- ké bô nú bôy yemtè kfunè ke
- ké bô nú yùu yemtè kfunè ke

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

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

10.1. [-PROG, -FUT, +NEG]. The following sets of sentences illustrate the construction used when the main verb is affirmative, but the consecutive verb is negative. Again we see that the form (\textit{ê})f\textit{w}ô or its variant (\textit{ê})f\textit{g}ôô appears as a negative marker, although derived from the main verb 'refuse'.

\textit{Note:}
bọ nọọ yem ɛfwɔ yá kfun boom ke  'they have sung and not hit children' (0)
bọ nọọ yem ɛfwɔ yá tón boom ke  'they have sung and not refused children'
bọ nọọ yem ɛfwɔ yá ñomọ boom ke  'they have sung and not pushed children'
bọ nọọ yem ɛfwɔ yá cimse boom ke  'they have sung and not pacified children'
bọ bẹ̀  yem ɛfwɔ yá kfun boom ke  'they sang and didn't hit children' (P1)
etc.
bọ ci nọọ yem ɛfwɔ yá kfun boom ke  'they sang and didn't hit children' (P2)
etc.
bọ tọ nọọ yem ɛfwɔ yá kfun boom ke  'they sang and didn't hit children' (P3)
bọ tọ nọọ yem ɛfwɔ yá tón boom ke  'they sang and didn't refuse children'
bọ tọ nọọ yem ɛfwɔ yá ñomọ boom ke  'they sang and didn't push children'
bọ tọ nọọ yem ɛfwɔ yá cimse boom ke  'they sang and didn't pacify children'

As seen in section 1, consecutive verbs following [-PROG, -FUT, -NEG] tenses take tone pattern D and in all but the P₃ a prefix ɛ-. The negative marker ëfwa/ñyẹ shows this same alternation between ɛfwɔ in P₀, P₁ and P₂, and ëfwa 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.

bọ nú yem bọ sàá kfun boom ke  'they are about to sing and not hit children' (F₀)

The above is not a consecutive construction because the subject bọ 'they' is repeated in the second clause. The marker sàá, note, probably derives from sɛ 'before' + yá '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:

bọ yemtẹ yá kfunè boom ke  'they are singing and not hitting children'

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A ('R')</th>
<th>B ('R')</th>
<th>C ('R')</th>
<th>D ('R')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[−REL, −CNS, −PROG, −NEG]</td>
<td>$P_0$−$P_3$ [+FOC]</td>
<td>$P_0, P_2, P_3$</td>
<td>$F_0$−$F_3$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[−REL, −CNS, −PROG, +NEG]</td>
<td>$P_1$ [−FOC], Imp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$P_0$−$P_3, F_0$−$F_3$, Imp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[−REL, −CNS, +PROG, −NEG]</td>
<td>$P_1, F_0$−$F_3$, Imp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[−REL, −CNS, +PROG, +NEG]</td>
<td>$0, P_1$−$P_3, F_0$−$F_3$, Imp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+REL, −CNS, −PROG, −NEG]</td>
<td>$P_1$−$P_3$ [−FOC]</td>
<td>$P_0$ [−FOC]</td>
<td>$P_0$−$F_3$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+REL, −CNS, −PROG, +NEG]</td>
<td>$P_0$−$P_3$ [+FOC]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$P_0$−$P_3, F_0$−$F_3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+REL, −CNS, +PROG, −NEG]</td>
<td>$P_1, F_0$−$F_3$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$0, P_2, P_3$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+REL, −CNS, +PROG, +NEG]</td>
<td>$P_1$−$P_3, F_0$−$F_3$</td>
<td></td>
<td>$0$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[−REL, +CNS, −PROG, −NEG]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$F_0$−$F_3$, Imp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[−REL, +CNS, −PROG, +NEG]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$P_0$−$P_3, F_0$−$F_3$, Imp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[−REL, +CNS, +PROG, −NEG]</td>
<td>$0, P_1$−$P_3, F_0$−$F_3$, Imp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$P_0$−$P_3, F_0$−$F_3, Imp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[−REL, +CNS, +PROG, +NEG]</td>
<td>$0, P_1$−$P_3, F_0$−$F_5$, Imp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 be 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 consecutivised 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. P₂ and P₃ -lε. The first rule assigns tone pattern A and -lε to the P₂ and P₃ as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\begin{array}{c}
[-\text{FUT}] \\
[-\text{TOD}] \\
\end{array} & \rightarrow \\
A-lε / \\
\begin{array}{c}
[+\text{REL}] \\
[-\text{PROG}] \\
[-\text{NEG}] \\
[-\text{FOC}] \\
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

The tenses P₂ and P₃ are referred to with the feature specifications [-FUT, -TOD]. The tone pattern and -lε 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. P₁. A glance at the table reveals that the P₁ tense usually takes tone pattern A, whatever the cooccurring feature specifications. This fact is captured by the following rule:

\[
\begin{align*}
\begin{array}{c}
[-\text{FUT}] \\
+\text{TOD} \\
-\text{NEAR} \\
\end{array} & \rightarrow \\
A \quad \text{(except [-PROG, +NEG])}
\end{align*}
\]

2.3. P₀-P₃ consecutives. The rare tone pattern D is assigned to these consecutives when they are non-progressive and affirmative:

\[
\begin{align*}
[+\text{CNS}] \\
[-\text{FUT}] \\
[-\text{PROG}] \\
[-\text{NEG}] \\
\rightarrow \\
D
\end{align*}
\]
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 which characterizes the P0, P1 and P2 consecutive.

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

\[ [+FOC] \rightarrow A \]

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:

\[ [+PROG] + \{ [+CNS], [+FUT], [+NEG] \} \rightarrow A \]

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:

\[ [-PROG] + \{ [+FUT], [+NEG] \} \rightarrow C \]

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:

\[ [-FUT] \rightarrow B \]

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 O 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. đé 'eat', fí 'help, take') or with a definable class of verbs, those taking the -m 'positional' extension, e.g. jí 'm 'lie down'. These will have to be incorporated within the analysis somehow.
PART IV: BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

WORD ORDER AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

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

   S AUX V DO IO X

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

   bó ci ᇍā kàngōm े boom fogō '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] P₂ tense is used and the X of the formula S AUX V DO IO X is represented by a temporal adverb.

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

   è ci ᇍā bó kàngōm े boom fogō 'they gave plantains they P₂ gave they plantains to children yesterday to children yesterday'

   DS P₂

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

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

   bó ci ᇍā boom bó kàngōm fogō 'they gave plantains to they P₂ gave children with plantains yesterday children yesterday'

A different proposition is used (bó 'with' instead of è '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 ŋgwë ɪ³ 'I have just fallen'
wɔ gwë ɪ³ 'you [sg] have just fallen'
wvù gwë ɪ³ 'he/she has just fallen'
bèsən gwëkën ɪ³ 'we [excl] have just fallen'
bèn gwëkën ɪ³ 'you [pl] have just fallen'
bɔ gwëkën ɪ³ 'they have just fallen'

These examples illustrate several important points about the subject-verb relation in Noni. First, the sentence me ŋgwë ɪ³ '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 nû nɔ̃ nyû ŋkfû wən 'I will hit a child' [a long time from now, P₃]
me nɔ nɔ̃ nyëm ŋkfû wən 'I sang and hit a child' [yesterday, P₂]

These sentences show the nasal prefixes on various tense auxiliaries. The auxiliaries nɔ '+[FOC]' and nɔ '+[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 nyëntë nyà mbinè ke 'I am singing and not dancing'

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

The second interesting point about the examples 'fall' above is that a plural subject conditions a verbal suffix -KEN. This particular suffix was discussed and further exemplified in section 2.3 of Chapter 9, where it was identified as the "iterative" extension. If -KEN were absent in the examples with plural subjects, this would mean that the affected persons all fell at once, i.e. as a group. Thus, a sentence such as bɔ gwë ɪ³ '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 *bɔ gwë is ungrammatical. For this reason the verbal focus marker ɪ³ is required in the above examples. In the [+FOC] variants, however, the verb can occur finally, e.g. bɔ nɔ nɔ gwë '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.

bɔ nɔ nɔ kfü wən 'they have hit a child' (P₀)
yunsè c' nɔ nɔ dë këngəm 'Yungse cooked plantains' (P₂)
me nû mbôy wu mvuh 'I will drink wine' (P₂)

The object pronouns are identical to the subject pronouns as enumerated in
Chapter 4, e.g.

bó gómé me 'they are looking for me'
bó gómé wó 'they are looking for you [sg]'
bó gómé wó 'they are looking for him/her'
bó gómé bélé 'they are looking for us [pl]'
bó gómé bélé 'they are looking for you [pl]'
bó gómé bélé 'they are looking for them'

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

bó tegele 'they are calling each other' (cf. téé 'call')
bó kóéle 'they love each other' (cf. kó 'love')

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

bó yéne ye bó ló 'they see themselves' (lit. they see their bodies, cl. 10)
bó kwekké bikóo bimbó '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 nés ngóó wáñ bëggfo 'I have bought yams for the child [to eat]' 
me nés ngóó wáñ bëggfo 'I have sold yams for the child [''s benefit]
me nás ná wáñ bëggfo 'I have given yams for the child [''s benefit]
me nás nállá wáñ bëggfo 'I have sent yams for the child [to eat]
me nás nám wáñ në 'I have cultivated the field for the child [''s benefit]

As can be seen in the translations, indirect object wáñ '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 é, e.g.

me nés nást wáñ bëggfo 'I have cooked yams for the child [to eat]' 
me nés nást bëggfo é wáñ (= same)

These two sentences both indicate that the cooking of yams took place for the child's benefit. Normally, however, é indicates a directional recipient. Thus, contrast the sentence 'I have sent yams for the child [to eat]', given above, with the following:
me nóɔ nɔ̀nse bɔŋkũ 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 nóɔ nɔlɛm wɛ nɔn '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 ŋe unambiguously in-
dicates 'for' in the sense of 'in the place of', e.g.

me nóɔ ndɛ+t bɔŋkũ wan ɛ 'I have cooked yams for the child' (i.e. in
his place)

Thus, to summarize, we find the following:

$V \quad O_2 \quad O_1 \quad : \quad 'O_1$ for $O_2$'s benefit'

$V \quad O_1 \quad e \quad O_2 \quad : \quad 'O_1$ to/from $O_2$' (occasionally 'for $O_2$'s benefit')

$V \quad O_1 \quad O_2 \quad ŋe \quad : \quad 'O_1$ for (in the place of) $O_2$'

$V \quad O_1 \quad 'of' \quad O_2 \quad : \quad 'O_1$ for $O_2$'s benefit'

We have omitted from this summary the function of bɔ '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.
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 Ɂé. Because of the similar
semantic interpretation of 'child' in such sentence pairs as,

me nɔ̀ bì wàŋ bɛŋfɔ̄
me nɔ̀ bì bɛŋfɔ̄ e wàŋ

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 prepo-
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 IO.
In the first analysis the word order given as basic at the beginning of
Chapter 1é is violated; in the second analysis, two undifferentiated IO'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 nɔ̀ nɔŋké kɛŋbɔ̄n e kwaɔ̄n 'I am stealing plantains from the woman'
bɔ nɔ̀ nɔŋké kɛŋbɔ̄n e kwaɔ̄n 'they are hiding plantains from the woman'
bɔ fɔf kɛŋbɔ̄n e kwaɔ̄n 'they are receiving plantains from the woman'
bɔ gɔyɔŋ kɛŋbɔ̄n e kwaɔ̄n '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 prepo-
sition ɓ is used (see below).

3. The postposition Ɂé. This postposition has the meaning 'for' in
the sense of 'in the place of' or 'in someone's stead'. It is realized Ɂé
after a vowel, ɓé after a consonant. It is most definitely related to loca-
tive Ɂe (see p. 14 and below), which may appear with other prepositions or
alone. In addition to the 'for' interpretation of this postposition, the
verbs yen 'see', bi 'follow', gay 'greet', ffe 'be tired of', kom 'touch' and cine 'leave' require le after their complement:

me nɔɔ nyen we le 'I have seen someone'
me nɔɔ mbɔ wɔɔ le 'I have followed the child'
me nɔɔ ngay kwɔɔɔɔ le 'I have greeted the woman'
me nɔɔ nfi wɔɔ le 'the child is tired of me'
me nɔɔ gɔɔm fye le 'I have touched something'
me nɔɔ ncine wɔɔ le 'I have left the child'

But for this postposition the nouns we 'person', wɔɔ 'child', kwɔɔɔɔ 'woman' and fye 'thing' would be direct objects in the above sentences. Perhaps the le 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 bɔ. This preposition was already seen in the sentence bɔ cf mɔ boom bɔ kɛŋbɔm ɔɡɔ 'they gave plantains to the children yesterday', on p.76. Its literal meaning is 'with'. Thus, in this sentence, one 'gives the children with plantains' (cf. English 'provide someone with something'). In the following sentences it is noted that bɔ is used with directional verbs (e.g. tɔ 'come') to mean 'take/bring something to':

me nɔɔ ntɔ bɔ bɛŋkfu e ɔɔ 'I have brought yams to you'
me nɔɔ ntɔ wɔ bɔ bɛŋkfu 'I have brought you yams' (for your benefit)
me nɔɔ ntɔ bɔ bɛŋkfu le 'I have brought yams for you' (in your place)

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

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

me ntɔɔ bɔ wɔɔ 'I am bringing the child'
me ntɔɔ bɛ bɔ wɔɔ 'I am coming with the child'
bebe wɔɔ tɔɔ le 'the child and I are coming'

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

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

me nɔɔ nɔsɛ nɔm bɔ fɛŋɔ 'I have cut meat with a knife'

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

me nɔɔ nɔsɛ nɔm dvɔ 'I have cut meat with it'
me nɔɔ na wɔɔ dvɔ 'I have given him it'

There is no corresponding form for human referents. The form dvɔ 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 fọ- 'to, at', which occasions the appropriate noun class agreements seen below:

- fọwày fome 'at my market'
- fọwày fen 'at this market'
- fọjącọ fọ wan 'at the compound/house of the child'
- fọfọ fọ kwoan 'on the woman's head'

The first two examples, fọwày 'at the market' and fọ诜 'at the compound, at the house', involve locativized nouns which exist in other noun classes, cf. wày 'market' 5/13, yè w 'house' 9/10. The form fọfọ 'on the head', on the other hand, exists only in class 16 (cf. also fọfọ '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 fọ- is 'to, at'. With this meaning, these locatives often occur as complements:

- wụ wọtọ ken fọkọ 'he is throwing firewood to/on the ground'
- bọ nọ fọm ọm wa fọ wọn o '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 fọ-, the other ṣ:

- bọ nọ fọm wan fọ bvwụvwu bvwẹw ọ 'they have sent the child in his
- bọ nọ fọm wan ọ bvwụvwu bvwẹw ọ 'place'

Both prepositional phrases (written here with the preposition fọ and post-position ṣ as separate words) indicate 'for him' in the sense of 'in his stead'. It is interesting to note that while fọ is used to indicate direction toward a person, it may not required with a place name, e.g.

- bọ nọ fọm wan ọkọ '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 nọ ọ fọ wọn ọ 'I have left the child'
- wụ me bvwụ bvwẹy ọ 'he has run from in the market'

5.2. Class 17. Class 17 locatives usually begin with e- (with either L or M tone). Some examples with modifiers are as follows:

- ejè ọpọ 'in this road' (jè 'road' 9/10)
- eńtọ jọ fłew 'inside the rat' (kẹlẹ 'stomach' 7/8)
- eńọ jọme 'in my stream' (jọbọ 'water, stream' 9/10)

These examples all show a preposition e 'in' and, as indicated, derive from nouns found in other classes. In some cases no corresponding noun is known:

- ẹkọ 'under'
- ẹmọ 'in the mouth'
In other cases the base noun is known, but the derivation is irregular. Thus, in addition to ēntē 'inside', which derives from the class 7 variant ētō of ketē 'stomach' (see p.10), we have the following:

ēkē 'in the bag' (ēkēlē 'bag' 7/8)
ēkōw 'in the bush' (ēkōwē 'bush' 7/8)

These forms both lose their final -e in forming a class 17 locative (as well as undergoing tonal changes, which mark class 17 formation in other cases we have seen).

Examples of class 17 locatives appearing as verb complements are as follows:

bō nōs hā bulem ēmbū āc wan 'they have given (put) fufu in the child's mouth'
bō nōs bōy wā ēwāy jan 'they have already come out of this market'

5.3. Class 18. Only three locative class 18 forms have been found in the language. These are illustrated below with modifiers:

yēw dvumē 'in my house' (yēwē 'house' 9/10)
cōn dvun 'in this hut' (cōnē 'hut' 9/10)
cīn dvu kwaon '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 dvū is used widely as a replacive for bō 'with' + a noun, e.g.

wan dvū me ūnyī bō kēnkō 'the child to whom I am feeding with yams' kēnkō kē me ūnyī wan dvū '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 ē...lē 'in' and yī...lē '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:

ē gwekē jō dvū 'in his ceiling' (gwekē 'ceiling' 3/4)
ē gwekē dvū lē " "

Either ē is used alone and in class 17, or it is used in combination with the postposition lē, and the locativized noun remains in its original class. Additional examples of locative complements with ē...lē include:

me mbeč mbsē gkōw ē mbāsē lē 'I added salt to the soup' (P1)
yōn yin nō ē nkōn ē 'these tomatoes are about to be fried'
yōn yin cf nō ē ndēč lē 'these tomatoes were to be cooked'

The last two examples show that verbs can be placed in the ē...lē 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:
The second common locative is yi...lè which has the functions indicated in the following examples:

me nú ntô yi kàna-kin é 'I will come during this week'
wù nôs gwe yi ẹtè lè 'he has fallen from the tree'
wù felé me yi buváfè lè 'he is taller than I'
me nôs ntôy yi wan é 'I have accused the child'

The basic meaning of yi...lè is 'on' as seen in the simple examples:

yi yèw é 'on the house'
chi lè '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 bìlèh lè 'for years'). The second sentence can be interpreted as 'he has fallen from the tree', while the third sentence literally means 'he surpasses me on height', cf. the following:

wù felé me yi buváfè lè 'he is fatter than I' (buváfè 'fatness')
wù felé me yi bùvújè lè 'he is heavier than I' (bùvújè 'weight')

Finally, the verb tọ́y 'accuse' appears to require yi...lè and must be so marked in the lexicon.

Other locatives are usually derived from nouns or other locatives, e.g. èntè lèn 'between' (from èntè 'inside' [from èntè 'stomach'] + lèn '?'), èjím 'behind' (from èjím 'back'; but cf. èjím 'at the back'), etc.

6. Adverbs. There are a number of adverbs in Moni which occur after the verb, hence in complement position. We shall divide these into three categories: aspectual, temporal and manner adverbs.

6.1. Aspectual adverbs. The three adverbs considered to be in this category are wá 'already', lò 'just, instead', and kè 'only'. These adverbs all occur between the verb and the first post-verbal complement (e.g. the direct object, if there is one). The following sentences illustrate the use of wá 'already' with a variety of tenses:

ntòn nó só kwé wá
yungse cf bì wá èjím fowày
me ncf nàsè mèbá wá èndè ìbènkñá
me ndèlè wá bènkñá

'the pot has (already) broken' (lit. 'died')
'Yungse followed (alr.) behind to market'
'I finished (alr.) cooking yams'
'I am (already) cooking yams'
These sentences are in the P₀ [+FOC], P₂ [-FOC], P₂ [+FOC] and 0 tenses, respectively, indicating that wâ has a more general use than English 'already'.

The second aspectual adverb is the lâ we have seen in preceding chapters. If a [-FUT, -FOC] verb is not followed by a complement of some type, lâ is required, e.g.

bèsèn ñwëé lâ 'we are falling' [as a group]
me nòò lâ 'I am coming'
bèsèn ñwë lâ 'we have just fallen'
me nòò tô lâ 'I just came, I came'
yunge ñwëtë wâ lâ 'Yungse is already running'

The tense is 0 if the first two sentences, P₀ [-FOC] in the third, and P₂ [-FOC] in the fourth. The last sentence demonstrates that the adverb wâ does not count as a verbal complement, since this sentence would not be acceptable if lâ 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 lâ or else the remaining forms are ungrammatical. The lâ 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, lâ is not required, e.g.

me ñkënn wë 'I am hitting a child' (0)
me ñkënn wâ 'I have hit a child' (P₀, [-FOC])
me nò ñkënn wë 'I hit a child' (P₂, [-FOC])

In the 0 tense, a normal present tense sentence is obtained. In the [-FOC] P₀, P₁ and P₂, however, utterances without lâ 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 lâ, i.e.

me ñkënn lâ wë 'I have just hit a child'
me nò ñkënn lâ wë 'I hit a child'

If, on the other hand, lâ is placed in a sentence which could have stood alone without it, lâ adds the meaning 'just, instead', e.g.

me ñkënnë lâ wë 'I am just hitting a child' (0)
me nò ññbô ñwë lâ wë 'I will instead hit a child' (P₂)

It should be noted that where lâ 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 kë, which is used to mean 'only', occurring before a focused post-verbal constituent, e.g.

ë nô kë me 'it is only i'
ë ñòô kë bô 'only they are weaving'
ñvù çì ñô kë e me màn 'he gave it but to me alone'
me nò ññfô kë e núù ñgàm màn 'I will eat but plantains alone'

The first two sentences have the subject postposed to the verb. The result is that this focused subject falls under the scope of kë 'only'. The third and fourth sentences also have màn 'alone, only' ('one') which acts with kë.
As seen, के can be translated as English 'but', e.g. 'it is but I', in many cases. This marker is clearly related to the के found in negative constructions, e.g.

वृ कि ना गाई न नू आ नूं आ मे के नूं आ वृ के 'he gave the book to me, not to you'

(The constructions just since with नू... involve constituents which are focused; see Chapter 22.)

6.2. Temporal adverbs. Many of the referential time expressions resemble nouns, e.g. keśe 'now', n锋 '(in a) short time', nćeke 'a long time ago', n锋 'tomorrow'. Others resemble prepositional phrases of the locative type seen in earlier sections of this chapter, e.g. fe'ero 'yesterday', टा शे ने 'day after tomorrow' (lit. at spend-the-day tomorrow), टा फोन शे 'often'. The class I noun के is used to indicate the number of times something has taken place, e.g. के मूङ शे 'once', हॅकन बोफे 'twice', etc. All of these temporal expressions appear after the verb (and object, if any):

मे म् बेछ न्कु न्चे वृ के बोफे 'I hit the child twice'
मे ने नो न्तो न्नन वृ लोम बेछ 'I refused the child last year'
युंगे नू ने न्तो न्नन गाढ 'Yungse will come in a short time'
युंगे नू ने न्दो ले नू न्दे '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:

युंगे नू नो न्दो वे न्दे 'Yungse sang well'
युंगे नू नो न्दो फे न्दे 'Yungse sang much'
युंगे नू नो न्दो ले न्दे 'Yungse ran slowly'
युंगे नू नो न्दो ले न्दे 'Yungse ran a little'
युंगे नू नो न्दो ले न्दे 'Yungse ran fast'
जा ने 'stand up!'

Of the manner adverbs in the above sentences, only ले 'slowly' shows a relationship to an existing non-adverb, namely ले 'be weak'. Other forms which may belong to an adverb class include बन 'please', नन 'thus', and ते 'also', as seen below:

जी ले ने नो बन 'hold the child, please!'
मे ने नो नो बन 'what can I do!' (exclamation)
बो नो नो ने 'thel have eaten too'
वृ ने नो ने नू नू 'what are you cooking that you are
perspiring like this/thus?'
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:

\[
\text{me ntō gge mbē mbū nyū ŋkfūn wān ke 'I had still not ever} \\
I P_2 \text{ do still again } P_3 \text{ hit child NNG hit the child'}
\]

In this sentence there are five auxiliaries (with first person singular nasal agreement): ntō, gge, mbē, mbū and nyū. 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:

\[
\text{me ngōmtē ngēe nyēn wō lē tōbēn 'I want to see you today'} \\
\text{me ngōmtē mbōy nyēn wō lē ntfūlù 'I want to see you tomorrow'}
\]

The first clause me ngōmtē... 'I want' is in 0 tense. The second clause begins with the F_1 auxiliary gēe in the first sentence and the F_2 auxiliary bōy 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>auxiliary meaning</th>
<th>main verb meaning (if any)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bē</td>
<td>P_1</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cī</td>
<td>P_2</td>
<td>(&lt;cī 'spend the day' ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tā</td>
<td>P_3</td>
<td>(&lt;tā 'come' ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nū</td>
<td>[+FUT]</td>
<td>'be'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gēe</td>
<td>F_1</td>
<td>(&lt;gēe 'do' ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōy</td>
<td>F_2</td>
<td>'exit, reach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yūū</td>
<td>F_3</td>
<td>'to dawn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nōō</td>
<td>[+FOC]</td>
<td>nō 'be' + e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tō can also be used in the F_3 and
that $F_3$ you 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 këe-nuù 'to be', although in many contexts it acts like a H tone verb and has a short vowel. (The form këe-nuù is, of course, [+PROG].) We shall cite the copula as nuù, since this is the most common form it takes.

3.1. 'Be' as a main verb. As seen in the following examples, nuù can be followed (a) by a noun; (b) by an adjective; (c) by a locative; and (d) by a prepositional verb form:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{è nù me} & \quad \text{it is I} \\
yungse nù cowè & \quad \text{Yungse is an adult} \\
wè wùn nù fèe & \quad \text{this book is new} \\
yungse nù yèw & \quad \text{Yungse is in the house} \\
yaw yin ci nù è nkañ è & \quad \text{these tomatoes were to be fried} \\
mù nù mufèm èkè & \quad \text{they are two [e.g. kolanuts] in the bag}
\end{align*}
\]

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 nun as an auxiliary. The first of these, the marking of [+FUT] tenses, has been illustrated several times. Similarly, its appearance in the nùs marker in [-PROG, -FUT, +FOC] tenses (except the $P_1$) has been noted, as has its variant nuù⁺, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{me nùs ogwe } & = \text{me nù è ogwe } \quad \text{I have fallen} \ [+FOC] \\
\text{nuù ci nù bëñkëfë è nù è me} & \quad \text{he gave the yams to me}
\end{align*}
\]

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 è nùù, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{me nyèn è nùù wàñ è èjè } & \quad \text{I have seen a child in the road} \\
wù ci nù bëñkëfë è nù è me & \quad \text{he gave the yams to me}
\end{align*}
\]

In this construction the long vowel (= [+PROG]) variant of nuù is used. Because of the marker nùù, 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{me nci nùù nèkèw wà è nù nòèbëlè bëñkëfë } & \quad \text{I started cooking yams} \\
\text{me nci nùù nèbëè wà è nù nòèbëlè bëñkëfë } & \quad \text{I finished (sth.) and was cooking} \\
\text{bëñkë wòbò nù bëñh = bëñkë bò è nù bëñh } & \quad \text{the books which are mine} \ yams
\end{align*}
\]

These usages may have something to do with focus, since emphasis is on the clause with è nù (or on the bëñh 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 nù as an auxiliary verb: it frequently marks progressive actions:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wù nùs nù jëwë } & \quad \text{he has been becoming mad} \\
wù nùs nù yëktë bëñë & \quad \text{he has been singing and dancing} \\
\text{me nù wò ntsë lë } & \quad \text{I am already about to come} \\
\text{me mbë nù wè èntsë lë } & \quad \text{I was already coming [when] ...'}
\end{align*}
\]
In the first two sentences nú appears in the P₀ [+FOC] tense, acquiring a perfect progressive meaning. The third sentence resembles the P₀ sense of nú, except for the postposition ló and the tone pattern A on the verb. Finally, the last example has the ḳ + verb + ló 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 gëe (cf. gëe 'put, let, store'), as seen in the following sentences:

me ngëe ngëe 'I fall'
yungse gëe nú u wën 'Yungse used to be a child'
bë tò gëe dëkë lëngbëm 'they used to eat plantains'
bë nú yëng gëe fëng bóm '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 ló 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 ngëe ló, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>form</th>
<th>auxiliary meaning</th>
<th>main verb meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shëë</td>
<td>'later'</td>
<td>'remain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cé</td>
<td>'in the day'</td>
<td>'spend the day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shë</td>
<td>'in the night'</td>
<td>'spend the night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bëó/bvë</td>
<td>'again'</td>
<td>('bvë 'interrupt'?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yachën</td>
<td>'quickly'</td>
<td>'to be early'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jë</td>
<td>'off and on'</td>
<td>'leave, stand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mësëcë</td>
<td>'often'</td>
<td>'stay for short while'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bëynën</td>
<td>'rarely'</td>
<td>'be rare'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaw</td>
<td>'be first'</td>
<td>'be first'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e.g. me nú nshëë ntó 'I will come later'
    me nú nce nkfun wë 'I will hit him tonight'
    me mëbë nshë nyemtë mbënë 'I was singing and dancing all day'
    yungse bëó lewtë ló 'Yungse is running again'
    kë yungse nú yachën ke 'Yungse will not come quickly'
    yungse cë nlo jë lewtë 'Yungse ran off and on'
    yungse mësëcë kë tó 'Yungse often comes' (stays short but comes)
    yungse gë bëynën ló së tó 'Yungse rarely comes' (does rarely before coming)
    ḳ cë yëw yungse egëh fëng bëóy '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.

wë wëntë (këë) tó 'he wants to come'
wë wëntë (këë) tó 'he refuses to come'
me nkëë (këë) tó 'I like to come'
me nkëë (këë) ne '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 bē(ə) means 'still':

yungse bē' bē lewtē lə  'Yungse is still running'
bē bē' diekēnē lə  'they are still eating'

The negative is formed with bē(ə), e.g.

yungse bē' bē lewte wā' ke  'Yungse is not running yet'
bē bē' diekēnē wā' ke  'they are not eating yet'

The presence of wā 'already' is noted in these negatives. The form bē(ə) was seen to be the [-PROG, -FUT] negative marker in Chapter 12. The fact that bē(ə) exists (with the same vowel length alternation) suggests that bē(ə) is a contraction of bē(ə) + ya.

In addition to bē(ə), the auxiliary gē (from ge 'do') can be used as part of the verbal focus system. Representative uses of ge follow:

me mbē gē ngwe ke  'I have not gone and fallen'
wā bē' gē ekčin wū nje lə  '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 bē(ə) 'still' closely resembles the P₁ [+FOC] auxiliary bē, while gē 'go and do something' closely resembles the F₁ future auxiliary gē. These should not be confused, however.

The last auxiliaries to be considered here are the conditional markers bē' and nee:

me mbē(ə) ngwe e wā (nēn) bē' bea wēm  'I would have fallen if you had not screamed' (P₁)
e me nci mbē' nje nkēnē bēgēw to me nci nōb bōgēw  'if I had had the money, I would have gone to market' (P₂)

By themselves, sentences like me mbē ngwe can mean 'I would have fallen', 'I almost fell' and 'I am about to fall' (i.e. I am almost falling). The additional marker nee is optional in the above sentences, although it adds greater doubt to the reality of the condition. The parenthesized word nēn 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 \( \wedge \) \( \wedge \) gwè "the child who has fallen"
boom bo \( \wedge \) \( \wedge \) gwè kë "the children who have fallen"
bwè \( \wedge \) \( \wedge \) cocønkè "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 \( \wedge \) 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:

kwoòn \( \wedge \) \( \wedge \) of kfùnè wàñ "the woman who hit the child"
boñìl 55 \( \wedge \) \( \wedge \) gëgë goytè blynkfu "the people who buy yams"
ñëh \( \wedge \) \( \wedge \) nù fò ña bóy löm boom ke "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:

kwoòn \( \wedge \) \( \wedge \) bësên of kfùnè "the woman that we hit"
blnkfù bì boñìl gëgë goytè "the yams that people buy"
boom bo ñëh nù fò ña bóy löm ke "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 \( \wedge \) to, the preposition bo \( \wedge \) with and a possessive:
kwočt wvú me ntomdé wan è wvú
boom bèle me ngéné fóway bëbélé
feñié fá me ncf nyanë kebélé kêw ë
'the woman that I am sending a child to'
'the children that I am going to market'
'the bird whose wing I saw' with'

These relative clauses have the following structure: 'the woman that I am sending a child to her', 'the children that I am going to the market with them', and 'the bird that I saw its wing'. (Note in this last sentence that the possessive pronoun can refer to non-human referent, although it must be animate.)

The locative classes have two possible relative clause structures. First, they can follow the direct object pattern:

fóway fá me ngén
ebélé jë me ncf ngélé lémbl
yëw dvú me ncf neélé
'at the market where I went'
in the hand where I put the kolanut'
in the house where I spent the night'

The relative pronouns fá (class 16), jë (class 17) and dvú (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:

wvú wvú me ngén fá
ebélé kë me ncf ngélé lémbl jë
yëw yë me ncf neélé dvú
'the market that I went to'
'the hand that I put the kolanut in'
'the house that I spent the night in'

In this case the basic noun is relativized (with class 3, 7 and 9 concords, respectively) and the locative class pronoun appears resumptively in the relative clause. Thus, fá, jë and dvú mean 'to it', 'in it', etc.

This recalls the use of dvú as a replacive for bèle prepositional phrases, where the head noun is inanimate (see Chapter 17, section 4). As seen in the following examples, dvú appears in relative clauses as a resumptive pronoun meaning 'with it':

kënkfú kë me ñayél wan dvú
(cf. me ñayél wan bèle kënkfú)
'the yams I am feeding the child'
'I am feeding the child yams'

fëbél fë me nseélé ñám dvú
(cf. me nseélé ñám bèle fëbél)
'the knife I am cutting meat with'
'I am cutting meat with a knife'

The relative clauses thus literally mean 'the yams that I am feeding the child with them' and 'the knife that I am cutting meat with it'.

4. Uses of relative clauses. The primary purpose of a relative clause is to identify a referent. What is included in the relative clause is usually shared knowledge between the speaker and hearer. Thus, when one says 'where is the child who fell?', one assumes that the hearer knows that there is a child who fell.(but see section 5). As seen in the following example, where the head of the relative clause is a proper name,

yungse, wvú cf gwélé, nu wà sín fá yëw ë 'Yungse, who fell, is already now at home'

As seen from the pauses marked by commas, this kind of relative clause adds information that the hearer may not have shared with the speaker. Noni apparently can therefore allow such "non-restrictive" relative clauses.

It will be recalled from constructions seen in Chapter 7 that relative clauses take the place of what would be adjectives is English:
wān wvu fān 'a fat child' (fān 'become fat')
boom bō fānkēn 'fat children'
nēkēn wvu jītē 'a heavy load' (jītē 'be heavy')
fēmbi fē yeele 'a heavy load' (yeele 'be red')
kwān wvu dēfē 'a tall woman' (dēfē 'be tall')

As seen, the LM subject relative pronouns are used.

Another use of the relative construction is in expressing indirect questions, e.g.

kē me nēkē wē wvu wō bē yēh ke 'I don't know whom you saw'
kē me nēkē fye fē wō bē yēh ke 'I don't know what you saw'
kē me nēkē byuē vū vū wō gēnē fō ke 'I don't know where you are going'
kē me nēkē wān wvu gēnē ke 'I don't know which child is going'

Literally, these sentences mean 'I don't know the person you saw', 'I don't know the thing you saw', 'I don't know the place you are going to', 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:

kē me nēkē fō wō gēnē ke 'I don't know where you are going'
kē me nēkē sēkē wō gēnē ke 'I don't know when you are going'
kē me nēkē nū wō nū gen ke 'I don't know how you will go'

In the first sentence fō 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 sēkē and nū seen in the following two sentences are probably also nouns, although they were not observed with a relative pronoun. (sēkē also occurs in the corresponding direct question; see Chapter 22).

5. Relative tenses. The tense structure of relative clauses was presented in Chapter 15. 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] P1, the relative form takes an additional L tone suffix -v.

(b) In the [-PROG, -NEG, -FOC] P2 and P3, the relative form takes an additional suffix -tē, 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, tē is not required in relative clauses to complete the affirmative 0 and [-FOC] P0-P3 tenses.

Another interesting tense restriction concerns the [+FOC] variants of the P0-P3 tenses. When the head of the relative clause is specific (i.e., non-generic) in meaning, i.e. the speaker has a specific referent in mind, the [+FOC] variants of these tenses cannot be used in a relative clause. Consider, however, the following pairs of sentences:

ta wān wvu cī gwēlē 'look for the child who fell' (P2, [-FOC])
ta wān wvu cī nō gēwē 'look for a(n) child who fell' (P2, [+FOC])
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:

*yungße wvúcf nọọ gwé nu wà sfín fo yéw ó* "any Yungse who fell/did fall is not at home"

This sentence requires a very special context in order for it to be acceptable. The preceding context must be that someone claims there is a person named Yungse, that he is at home, and that he fell. The above sentence denies the entirety of this context: there is no Yungse such that he fell and is now at home.

The use of [+FOC] tenses in relative clauses is important in determining the exact meaning of the feature specification [+FOC] itself. In related Grassfields Bantu languages (e.g. Aghem; see Watters 1979), the [+FOC] tenses cannot appear in relative clauses. Presumably their function is slightly different from that found in Noni (see also Chapter 22).
SEQUENTIAL AND SUBJUNCTIVE CLAUSES

1. Conjunction in Noni. While noun phrases can be conjoined with bɔ 'and, with', verb phrases and entire sentences are not conjoinable by a simple conjunction 'and'. As seen in the following two sentences,

me ncf nɔɔ nɛn fɔwɔy, ɡebɛnen e me ncf mba ngoy bɛŋkfũ ke 'I went to market, but I didn't buy yams'
me ngɔntɛ kɛɛ ngoy bɛŋkfũ, ɡebɛnen ɡe me nɔɔŋkɛ beqɛɛ ke 'I want to buy yams, but I don't have any money'

the conjunction gebɛnen 'but' can introduce a second main clause--or even an imperative, as in the sentence:

ɡɛnɛ fɔwɔy, gebɛnen fɔ wɔ goy fyeɛ ke 'go to market, but don't buy anything'.

In most cases, however, the second clause must be in a special, "sequential" form if the subjects of the two clauses are not identical. (If they are identical, the second verb will take a consecutive form; see Chapter 14.) This even includes many instances of complement clauses. Thus, compare the following two sentences:

wɔ di bɔ le me ncf nɔɔ nɛn fɔwɔy 'he says that I went to market'
me mbɛɛ ɲɛn wɛn ɛ e wɔ (e) gwe 'I saw a child fall'

Verbs of reporting and knowing use the complementizer le '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] nɔɔ. As will be seen in the following section, this is the form of a sequential verb when it is [-PROG, -NEG] and follows a P0, P1 or P2 in the main clause.

2. [-PROG] sequentials. We shall consider affirmative [-FUT] sequentials first. As seen in the following forms,

me nɔɔ ɲɛn, wɛn ɛ kʃʊn wɛ 'I have sung, and a child has hit someone'
me nɔɔ ɲɛn, wɛn ɛ tɔn wɛ 'I have sung, and a child has refused someone'
me nɔɔ ɲɛn, wɛn ɛ dɔmsɛ wɛ 'I have sung, and a child has pushed someone'
me nɔɔ ɲɛn, wɛn ɛ cimsɛ wɛ 'I have sung, and a child has pacified someone'

the P0 sequential takes a verb form with tone pattern A and a marker e between the subject and the verb. This e is obligatory with a noun subject, but only optional with a pronominal subject (see 'I saw a child fall' above). The same sequential forms appear after [+FOC] and [-FOC] tenses--and after P1 and P2, as seen in the following representative sentences:

me mbɛɛ ɲɛn, wɛn ɛ kʃʊn wɛ 'I sang and a child hit someone' (P1)
me ncf nɔɔ ɲɛn, wɛn ɛ kʃʊn wɛ 'I sang and a child hit someone' (P2)
As seen in the following sentences, however, the sequential forms are different when following a P₃ tense:

me ntok nɔɔ nyɛm, ɛ wɛn kɔfɛn wɛ 'I sang and a child hit someone'
me ntok nɔɔ nyɛm, ɛ wɛn tɔn wɛ 'I sang and a child refused someone'
me ntok nɔɔ nyɛm, ɛ wɛn dɔmsɛ wɛ 'I sang and a child pushed someone'
me ntok nɔɔ nyɛm, ɛ wɛn cimɛ wɛ '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 nɔɔ nyɛm, wvù bɔɛ kfuɛn wɛ 'I have sung and he has not hit anyone'
me mbeɛt nyɛm, wvù bɛ bae kfuɛn wɛ 'I sang and he did not hit anyone' (P₁)
me nɛf nɔɔ nyɛm, wvù cɛ bɛɛ kfuɛn wɛ 'I sang and he did not hit anyone' (P₂)
me ntok nɔɔ nyɛm, wvù tɔ bɛɛ kfuɛn wɛ '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 nɔɔ comes from the copula nú 'be' and a marker e. Indeed, nú e is an alternative pronunciation for nɔɔ, e.g. wvù nɔɔ gwɛ - wvù nú e gwɛ 'he has fallen'. We are now in a position to appreciate the source of this e: it is in fact the sequential marker found after P₀, P₁ and P₂ main clauses. This explains why the [+FOC] P₀-P₂ tenses have a main verb with tone pattern A. (The P₃ remains anomalous.)

In the following attested sequential we note that the P₂ auxiliary verb cɛ may occur:

me nɛf mbɔy, wvù cɛɛ jɛɛ kfuɛn wɛn 'when I went out he remained and hit the child'

The form cɛɛ derives from cɛ + e, and the verb 'hit' is in consecutive form with tone pattern D.

Now, both the cɛɛ form for the P₂ and the zero form for the P₀ can occur as a main clause, especially as an interjection:

wan e gwɛ 'the child has fallen'
wan e cɛɛ gwɛ '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 nɔɔ) or iɔ to be complete. In order to appreciate the nuance distinguishing these "main clause sequentials" from regular P₀ constructions, contrast the following:

me nɔɔ nkufɛn wɛn 'I have hit the child' (report, out of the blue)
me e nkufɛn wɛn 'oh! I've just hit the child' (exclamation, probably an accident/unintentional)
me nkufɛn iɔ wɛn 'I have hit the child' (that's why he's crying)

These sequentials are most closely related to their corresponding nɔɔ 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, e wvú̑ kfun wè 'I am about to sing, and he is about to hit
me nú ngêe nyém, e wvú̑ kfun wè 'I will sing, and he (F1) someone' (F0)
me nú mbôy nyém, e wvú̑ kfun wè 'will hit someone' (F2)
me nú nyú̑ nyém, e wvú̑ kfun wè " " " (F3)

The verb is always in tone class C. As in the case of the F3, the subject is preceded by a marker e. This time, however, there is an additional H tone vowel (¬) 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, e wvú̑ bôy kfun wè 'I will sing, and he will (tomorrow)
F0 F2
hit someone'

The negative future sequential is obtained by placing sê ya before the verb (and ke at the end of the clause). (sê ya often contracts to sô.) This form has been found at all future tenses:

me nú nyém, wvù sô̏ kfun wè ke 'I'm about to sing, and he is not about
me nú ngêe nyém, wvù sô̏ kfun wè ke to hit anyone' (F0)
me nú mbôy nyém, wvù sô̏ kfun wè ke 'I'll sing, and he will not hit anyone'
me nú nyú̑ nyém, wvù sô̏ kfun wè ke (F1, F2, F3)

The marker sê 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 nyú̑ nyém wvù sê yú̑ kfun wan ke).

4. [+PROG] sequentials. The affirmative, progressive sequential is formed by using the [+PROG] verb form with tone pattern A. Examples follow:

yungse dî̑ bêkô̏ e me ngênê fô̏ wây 'Yungse is eating yams, and I am going
me nyemtê e wvû kô̏ nê wâ̅n 'I am singing and he is hitting a child'

The following sentence illustrates a complement clause which is a [+PROG] sequential (cf. section 1):

me mbê̑ nyô̑ w e wan bê̑lê 'I heard a child crying' (over time)

(The [−PROG] is also possible, i.e. me mbê̑ nyô̑ w e wan e bee 'I heard a child cry' (punctual, short time).)

The negative progressive sequential is formed as follows:

me nyemtê e wvu yâ kô̏ nê wâ̅n ke 'I am singing and not hitting a child'

Again it is tone pattern A, this time preceded by yâ and having ke at the end of the clause.
5. **Subjunctive clauses**. As a type of sequential, subjunctive clauses are considered here. There are two types:

(a) those which cause a H tone prolongation on the subject of the clause;
(b) those which do not cause a H tone prolongation.

We saw examples of (a) in section 3, since this construction is used as the normal sequential after a future verb in a main clause. It is not easy to differentiate the two constructions semantically, and more work will be necessary to do so satisfactorily. A hint of the problem is seen in the fact that the two appear to be interchangeable in certain contexts, e.g.

```
me nbò le wvùt kfun wan 'I am coming in order for him to hit the
wvù bèt tò le me nyèn wvù lè '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:

```
e yungse bè yèn, è me ròfèn 'if Yungse sang, I will dance'
e yungse yèn ìsò, è me mbùn '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 ñgèn èt 'may I go?'
bèn gèn 'you pl. go!'
gè 'ì le me ñgwè 'let me fall!'
```

It also has been found to express an indirect command, e.g.

```
wvù bèt gèy è 'ì le me ñgènè 'he told me to leave'
" wòs gènè you sg.
" wvùt gènè him/her
" bòkèn gènè us
" bèn gènè you pl.
" bò gènè them
" wàfèn gènè the child
```

(The last line shows the irregular creation of a MH rising, which is normally not permitted in the language). As seen in all of the above examples, the tone pattern is C in the non-progressive, A in the progressive.

As mentioned, the Ø subjunctive has been found to express purpose. It may be less of a hortative in nature, and more of a consequential or resultative, e.g.

```
me nọ̀d nton tèn à le wò sè è nàm ìwà 'I have sharpened a knife for you
to cut meat with it'
```

As seen, there are two complementizers (le and è), with è 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 nçètò è le wòn ìfèkèn 'I am waiting for the child to eat'
me nçètò è wòn ìfèkèn '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 ∅ subjunctive after a [+FUT] tense, e.g.

me mbèè ngè wan è beè 'I made the child cry'
me ngèè è wan bēèlè 'I am making the child cry'
me nul go ge è wan bēè '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 ∅ 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 nū. Take out the nū, and you have the ∅ subjunctive.

The negative of the two kinds of subjunctives is seen in the following pair of sentences:

wvù bèè ghy è fò wān gèn ke 'he told the child not to go'
wvù kàñè è fò me ntò ke 'he is refusing that I come'

The same negative construction is observed here as was seen earlier in the imperative (p.33). More examples of both types of subjunctives will be seen in the discussion of condition clauses in the following chapter.
TEMPORAL AND CONDITION CLAUSES

1. Temporal clauses. Temporal clauses express events which take place either simultaneous or before or after some other event, which is reported in the main clause. A number of different constructions have been encountered. Since a lot more work remains to be done in this area, the findings presented in this chapter are intended mostly to pinpoint topics for further research.

1.1. 'While' and 'as' clauses. The first kind of temporal clause to be considered involves actions which take place over time, but which are simultaneous with some other action. Such clauses are usually expressed with the conjunctions 'while' and 'as' in English. Note, first, in the following sentences that a simple progressive consecutive is used if the subject of the second verb is identical with the subject of the first:

me mbé ngèn fów y nyèmtè  'I went to market singing'
me ncf nöö nöf wù bë kwen ngèn fów y  'I helped him with firewood going to market'

When the two subjects are different, a separate clause introduced by e is required:

bô nè mèñë e wò dièkènè  'they will finish while you are eating'
bô nè mèñë e wò bë biec dièkènè  'they will finish while you are eating'
wù bë mèñë e wò biec dièkènè  'he finished while you were eating'

The first sentence has only a single [+PROG] verb, with tone pattern A. The other two sentences have bë(e) 'still', which does not alter the overall meaning. As seen in these sentences, the form of the second clause stays the same after past or future main clause verbs.

If the verb is [+PROG], an alternative way of expressing such durative simultaneity is with the form sékè 'when', e.g.

me mbé nyèmtè sékè wù bë kfunè wàñ  'I was singing when he was hitting the child'

1.2. 'When' clauses. As just seen, sékè can introduce a 'when' clause. Other examples are as follows:

me mbé nèëh sékè wù bë kfun wàñ  'I sang when he hit the child'
sékè me nyèmtè fo wò bìn ke  'when I sing, don't dance!'

As seen on p.93, sékè is also used in indirect questions. It will be seen in Chapter 22 that it also is used in direct questions, e.g.

bô yèmtè sékè lâ  '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:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{wvù nù diò tò̀ è me ndëè bvulém} \quad \text{\textquoteleft when he will come, I will be cooking fufu\textquoteright} \\
\text{diò yem fò wò bín ke} \quad \text{\textquoteleft when you sing, don't dance!\textquoteright} \\
\text{fò wò eyem bín ke} \quad \text{\textquoteleft when you sing, don't dance!\textquoteright}
\end{array}
\]

The first two sentences involve the auxiliary diò which immediately precedes the main verb. The last sentence uses the locative marker fò (class 16) in a new temporal sense. It may thus be interpreted as meaning 'where you sing, don't dance!'.

1.3. 'After' clauses. 'After' clauses have been recorded with either sèkè (=\textquoteleft when\textquoteright) or the auxiliary diò, e.g.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{bò nú mèò sèkè bò diekèn} \quad \text{\textquoteleft they will finish after they eat\textquoteright} \\
\text{yungse nù diò dèk bìngfù nì ljìjì} \quad \text{\textquoteleft after Yungse cooks yams, Njì will sweep the compound\textquoteright}
\end{array}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{mo mbè ngbè nèwìjì nyemè nè ngèn wò lè} \quad \text{\textquoteleft I was going to market singing, when (=before) seeing you\textquoteright} \\
\text{bò nú mèò sè èntò} \quad \text{\textquoteleft they will finish before coming\textquoteright} \\
\text{bèènè nù tò sè èdiekèn} \quad \text{\textquoteleft we will come before eating\textquoteright}
\end{array}
\]

The marker sè 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, sè also means 'without':

\[
\text{mo mbè ndòlè bvulém sè nàm \quad \text{\textquoteleft he ate fufu without meat\textquoteright}}
\]

The same marker is used if the subjects of the two clauses are not identical:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{bò nú mèò è wò sè diekèn} \quad \text{\textquoteleft they will finish before you eat\textquoteright} \\
\text{me mbèè nèyèm wòì sè kìfùn wèèn} \quad \text{\textquoteleft I sang before he hit the child\textquoteright} \\
\text{wòì bèè kìfùn wèèn me nèè nèyèm} \quad \text{\textquoteleft he hit the child before I sang\textquoteright}
\end{array}
\]

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.

\[
\text{me mbèè nìkìfùn wèèn wòì sè tòì} \quad \text{\textquoteleft I had already hit the child, when you arrived\textquoteright} \\
\text{me nú nèèm me nèè yà mbèè (ke)} \quad \text{\textquoteleft I will sing and not dance\textquoteright}
\]

While the first sentence could have been translated 'I had already hit the child before you arrived', the second can not mean 'I will sing before I
dance'. (The latter meaning would be expressed by me nú nyɛm nɛɛ mbɔn). Consider, on the other hand, the following sentence, which does not involve nɛɛ at all:

wɔ nú gɛ toɔɛ me nɔɛɛ wɔ bɔnfɔu 'I will have cooked yams by the time you are arriving'

The literal meaning of this sentence is 'you will be (doing and) coming that I have already cooked yams'. Thus, the cooking of yams takes place before the arriving.

2. Condition clauses. Condition clauses show some variation and are most adequately described in terms of an 'if' (or 'condition') clause preceded by e, followed by a 'then' (or 'consequent') clause. The consequent clause is introduced either by e or to, and the condition clause apparently can take any tense, circumstances permitting, e.g.

e yunsɛ dɛɛ bɔnfɔu e me nyɛsɛ lɛ 'if Yungse is cooking yams, I will sweep the compound'

e yunsɛ nɔŋ dɛɛ bɔnfɔu to nji nɔŋ yɛsɛ lɛ 'if Yungse has cooked the yams, Nji has swept the compound'

e yunsɛ nɔŋ gɛ dɛɛ bɔnfɔu to me nɔŋ ngɛ 'if Yungse will always cook yams, I will sweep the compound'

The above sentences represent "simple conditions". The condition clause states a proposition which may or may not be true, but on which the consequent clause depends. The following sentences show that the [-FOC] variant of [-PROG, -FUT, -NEG] tenses is expected in condition clauses:

e yunsɛ dɛɛ bɔnfɔu to nji nɔŋ yɛsɛ lɛ 'if Yungse has cooked/cooked yams, Nji has swept/swept the compound'

There is a slight difference in meaning when the [+FOC] variants are used (cf. their presence in relative clauses, pp.95–94), e.g.

e yunsɛ nɔŋ dɛɛ bɔnfɔu to nji nɔŋ yɛsɛ lɛ 'if Yungse has cooked/did cook yams, then Nji has swept/swept the compound'

e yunsɛ nɔŋ dɛɛ bɔnfɔu, etc.

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 e which introduces the condition clause can be deleted if the tense within it is [-PROG, -FUT, -NEG, -FOC], e.g.

(ɛ) yunsɛ dɛɛ bɔnfɔu e me nufɛ 'if Yungse cooks yams([-FOC]), I will eat'

In this example we also observe that the [-FOC] Po tense is used with future time reference. For this reason its [+FOC] variant can be used to make it clear that a Po reading is intended (i.e. 'if Yungse has cooked yams'). Similarly, as seen in the following example, the two P1 tenses may be used with a hypothetical or unreal sense:
(e) yunse be de binkfu to me mbbe nde
    'If Yungse had cooked yams, I would have eaten (them)'

e yunse be de binkfu to nji bbe yeso la
    'If Yungse had cooked yams, Nji would have swept the compound'

Note in the first sentence that the verb de be has M tone and does not take its irregular de be form seen in the P0 example. Since de be is expected with the [-FOC] P1 tense (see p.63), and since the P1 should assign 'cook' a L tone as per tone pattern A (see p.74), it is likely that the be is the conditional auxiliary seen on p.90. In any case, there is probably a relationship between P1 be and the conditional auxiliary. Below it is seen again to replace the P1 marker (cf. the P2 condition clause which follows):

me mbbe (nee) ngwe e wo (nen) be baa wam
    'I would have fallen if you had not screamed' (P1)

me ncf mbbe (nee) ngwe e wo (nen) cf bea wam
    'I would have fallen if you had not screamed' (P2)

Another feature of the 'if-then' construction is that the subject of the consequent clause is often deleted if it is coreferential with the subject of the condition clause. Thus, compare the following two sentences:

e yunse de be binkfu e vuua yeso la
    'If Yungse cooks yams, he [#Yungse] will sweep the compound'

e yunse de de binkfu to yeso la
    '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 Ø subjunctive and the -V subjunctive).
INTERROGATIVES AND FOCUS

1. Yes-no questions. Yes-no questions have all of the properties of declarative sentences, i.e. the same word order, verb morphology, tone etc. These interrogatives are distinguished from their declarative counterparts by having one of two particles at the end of the sentence, e.g.

\[ \text{yungse cy nɔɔ dɛɛ kɔŋɔm fɔɡɔ lɛ 'did Yungse cook plantains yesterday?'} \]
\[ \text{yungse cy nɔɔ dɛɛ kɔŋɔm fɔɡɔ lɛ } \quad \text{(P2)} \]
\[ \text{yungse bɛɛ dɛɛ kɔŋɔm ɛ } \quad \text{ 'did Yungse cook plantains?' (P1)} \]
\[ \text{yungse bɛɛ dɛɛ kɔŋɔm ɛ } \]

The first sentence of each pair uses the question marker ɻɛ/ɻɛ, while the second sentence of each pair uses ɻɛ/ɻɛ. The first marker has also been recorded with L tone, e.g.

\[ \text{wɔɔ nɔɔ gwɛ lɛ 'has he fallen?'} \]
\[ \text{cf. wɔɔ nɔɔ gwɛ ɛ } \quad \text{ " " " } \]

As seen in these last sentences, the variation between ɻɛ and ɻɛ vs. ɛ and ɛ is slightly different for the two markers: in general, the first marker is realized ɻɛ after a vowel and ɛ after a consonant; the second marker is realized in most cases ɻɛ after a double vowel and ɛ after a short vowel or consonant. (No explanation is offered for the form ɻɛ 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 ɻɛ, 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 ɻɛ.

Finally, it is possible to add the marker ɻɛ to a single word, e.g. a noun, to work a question: \[ \text{wɔɔ ɛ } \text{'a child'}! \]

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 ɛ is found in the initial subject position, e.g.

\[ \text{ɛ dɛɛ ɻɛ yɛɛ kɔŋɔm 'who is cooking plantains?'} \]
\[ \text{ɛ kfuŋɛ yɛɛ wɛn 'who is hitting the child?'} \]
\[ \text{ɛ yɛɛ ɻɛ wɛn ɛ 'who sees the child?'} \]
\[ \text{ɛ gwɛ lɛ 'what has fallen?'} \]

As seen, there is no question marker at the end of the sentence. (The ɛ seen in the third example is the ɻɛ particle required for the verb 'see' and a few other verbs; see p.81.) However, ɻɛ can be added in an echo question, e.g.

\[ \text{ɻɛ ɛ gwɛ ɻɛ lɛ 'what fell?'} \quad \text{('you said that what fell?') } \]
The initial marker le is the complementizer used, among other places, in reported speech; cf. le nô 'I say' (to one person) vs. no'nô (to many people) - the name of the Noni language. Thus, the above sentence means '...that what fell?'

The question word yèe 'who(m)' has a plural form bàà. Both of these are now illustrated in object position:

wô kûnê yèe 'who (sg.) are you hitting?'
wô kûnê bàà 'who (pl.) are you hitting?'

Similarly, the question word lè 'what' has a plural form múlâ, as illustrated again in object position in the following sentences:

wô kaâkô lè 'what (sg.) are you frying?'
wô kaâkô múlâ 'what (pl.) are you frying?'

Again there is no final question marker other than the WH word. The marker lè can be added if the interrogative is an echo question, e.g.

wvû kûnê e nû yèe lè 'he is hitting who?' (=you said he is hitting who?)

This time, however, because the question word is an object, it is placed in great focus by the preceding focus markers e nû (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:

wô gênô ðîk 'where are you going?'
wô gênô ðe kô lè 'when are you going?'
wô gênô nê lè 'how are you going?'
wô gênô nje lè 'why are you going?'
wô yèenô wên wô lè lè 'which child do you see?'

The word lè '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 lè 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. wô nôk kànkôfû e yèe or (more polite) wô nôk kànkôfû e nû e yèe '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:

ê tê yèe e wô gây '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 P3-P3 when there is 'even focus'. That is, no particular element within the sentence is singled out for prominence. Such sentences have the basic subject-auxiliary-verb-object-oblique-adverbial order and are particularly appropriate for utterances made out of the blue, e.g.

bweh, wânsô nô dî bûulem bweh '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] Po as follows:

```
yungse dië bvulem bwám '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 lɔ immediately follows the verb;
(c) a constituent other than the one immediately following the verb is marked for focus (by the markers e nùù).

The alternative in (a) was seen at the bottom of p.105. The other two alternatives are seen below:

```
yungse dië lɔ bvulem bwám 'Yungse has just eaten my fufu'
yungse bë dië bvulem bwám e nùù èbèn 'Yungse ate my fufu today' (i.e. not yesterday)
```

The marker lɔ 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 e nùù before the adverb èbèn 'today', contrasting it with, e.g. 'yesterday', as indicated.

A sentence with a [-FOC] Po-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 lɔ is required to complete these tenses as well as the 0 tense, e.g.

```
bènèn yemté lɔ 'we are singing'
wèn gweé lɔ 'the child is falling'
```

Take off the lɔ and the above sentences are ungrammatical. Thus, in the 0 tense, or in [-FOC] Po-P3, if there is no element to the right of the verb, the citation form of the sentence will necessarily involve lɔ. If there is an object (or other complement), lɔ is not required in the 0 tense, e.g.

```
yungse dëliè kàngbom 'Yungse is cooking plantains'
yungse dëliè lɔ kàngbom 'Yungse is cooking plantains instead'
```
However, in the Po-P3 [-FOC] tenses, even such sentences involving a complement seem incomplete—because they place focus on the complement (and seem to be answering a question):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yungse ci dêkê kêngôm} & \quad \text{'Yungse cooked plantains'} \\
\text{yungse ci nôs dê kêngôm} & \quad \text{'Yungse cooked plantains'} \\
\text{yungse ci dêkê lô kêngôm} & \quad \text{'Yungse cooked plantains'} \\
\text{yungse ci dêkê è nùu kêngôm} & \quad \text{'Yungse cooked plantains'} \text{(not something else)}
\end{align*}
\]

The citation form of a Po-P3 tense is always the [+FOC] one, because it is this form alone which does not assume a previous linguistic context.

It should be noted with respect to the above four sentences that only one focus operation can take place per sentence. Thus, if the [+FOC] variant of a tense is chosen, neither lô nor è nùu can co-occur with it; if lô is present, è nùu 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, lô, or è nùu).

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 è remains in the original subject position, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{è gwe njî} & \quad \text{'Njî has fallen'} \\
\text{è be dêkê yungse} & \quad \text{'Yungse cooked (it)'} \quad \text{[P1]} \\
\text{è yemtê wan ejê} & \quad \text{'a child is singing on the road'}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{me nyemtê lô} & \quad \text{'I am singing'} \\
\text{è yemtê me} & \quad \text{'I am singing'}
\end{align*}
\]

What is interesting about subject-postposing is that the object may optionally be preposed to the verb, pre-empting the dummy subject marker:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{è dêkê njî kêngôm} & \quad \text{'Njî is cooking plantains'} \\
\text{ê kêngôm dêkê njî} & \quad \text{'Njî is cooking plantains'}
\end{align*}
\]

The second sentence has the grammatical form 'plantains are cooking Njî', and yet it is clear from the semantics that it is Njî 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. 'Njî was cooking plantains, that's who was cooking plantains'). While the first sentence is more neutral, with 'plantains' simply repeated as previously established information, the second sentence sounds more counter-assertive. The second sentence would be particularly appropriate if contradicting someone's assertion 'Yungse is cooking plantains'. The following exchange demonstrates how the interpretation of such a sentence might depend on context:
è kfony yee wan 'who is hitting the child?'
wan kfony njì 'Njì is hitting the child'

The second sentence would with no context specified mean 'the child is hitting Njì'. However, when following the question 'who is hitting the child?', it takes on the opposite reading: 'Njì is hitting the child'. While a number of instances have been recorded with subject-object inversion in sentences with a 0 or P0-P3 [-FOC] tense, inversion apparently cannot take place if the object to be preposed is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun. We thus find the following question-answer exchange:

è kfony yee me 'who is hitting me?'
è kfony njì (wà) 'Njì is hitting (you)'

The sentence wà kfony njì could not answer this question, since its only meaning is 'you are hitting Njì'.

No examples were recorded where a postposed subject was preceded by è 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 ìb. 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:

wà bë gô là 'what did you do?' (P1, [-FOC])
me mbô yëjì bông '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 ìb, a sentence can always be interpreted with the object in focus, e.g.

wà cì dëkë là 'what did you cook?'
me ncf nôkë bënjfë 'I cooked yams'

In order to make the object contrastive or counter-assertive, it is preceded by è nùù:

wà cì dëkë è nùù là 'what did you really cook?'
wà cì dëkë kôngm 'you cooked plantains'
me ncf nôkë è nùù bënjfë '(no,) I cooked (only) yams'

The last sentence can either be in answer to a WH-question which itself uses è nùù, or it can follow the second sentence, correcting 'plantains' with 'yams' (and preceding the answer with tà, 'no!'). As seen, the markers mark the following constituent as being the only appropriate filler of that slot (cf. kë '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 è nùù before them:

bâ nàa kôngm è nùù è wan 'they are giving plantains to the child'
me ncf gwë è nùù tòbë 'I fell yesterday' (P2)

The form è nùù is a [+PROG] consecutive of the copula nù 'be'. The meaning of the last sentence thus is 'I fell and being yesterday'.
REFERENCES


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brain
branch
of vine
break
snap
shatter, tr. yë (kill)
intr. kwë (die)
  fufu
open
tënë
breast
mbënë/embën 5/6
breath
këy 7/8
breathe
doë 3/13
bridge
bfum
broom
keyesë 7/8
bubble, v.
yo
build
yës, dës
bunch (guinea corn)
kekâm 7/8
bundle
feylië/munyilëm 11/12
=dirt
burn, tr.
tën
intr.
kës (catch)
burnt, become
fë
burst
bvëyë, tënë
bury
cyëy, doy
with hand
from
bush (=forest)
ekëwë 7/8
bush country
këwëntë/kantë 3/4
bushcow
mbën 1/2
bust
të
but
geënë
buttock
kenë 7/8
button
mbë 1/2
buy
kë
buzz (bees)
gvëna/gvën 5/6
cadaver
keënë 7/8
small mimbo
gham 1/2
calf (of foot)
nsco 4
call
tëë, bëñ
from distance
këf
of
këmbëw
canerat
ntë/në 9/10 (-1/2)
carry (on head)
të
without hands
fëlë
a child
mëc
on a pole
shumë
heavy weight
fëm

  carving
castigate
  catch
  from air
caterpillar
  edible type
cave
cease
of rains
ceiling
chair (=bed)
chalk
change
into
charcoal
chase
chat
cheek
chest
chew
chief
child
chin
chisel, n.
choose
chop
church
claw
clay
clean, v.
clear, be
grass
off
throat

click, make a
cloth
cloud
cock
coconut
cold, be
coldness
color, v.
comb, v.
come
command, v.
compound
contradict
cook, v.
fufu
key
cornbeer
wtë
cough
count
country
këtëm 7/8, wën 3
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>courtyard</td>
<td>TVs≤ kfulen 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cover, v.</td>
<td>bān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cowhorn</td>
<td>kētōn 7/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cowry (tooth)</td>
<td>kege 7/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crab</td>
<td>sēkan 7/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crawl</td>
<td>nān'ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cricket</td>
<td>nāčenkwà 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cross (road, pit)</td>
<td>dōg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river</td>
<td>lāhētē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crossing, foot</td>
<td>keffīnuoce 7/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crunch</td>
<td>jīgē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| cry | bōg tōn kwē-
| cut (w/ knife) | sēlē |
| e.g. rope | sōm |
| in two | sān |
| tree, flower | kūfūy |
| loose | kwān |
| to measure | cīy |
| out | kwē y |
| cutlass | nōʊ/mō 9/10 |
| cup | feko/muńkōm 11/12 |
| cure, v. | fē |
| curse, v. | lōw |
| dance, n. | bīn 5/13 |
| v. | bīn |
| dark, get | jīfēn |
| dash, v. | mańwē |
| dawn, v. | yōu |
| day | dīw 5/6, buftu 14 |
| death | kwe/kwe 9/10 |
| debt | flō/flō 9/10 |
| deceive | lēlē |
| deep, become | sīlyēn |
| defeat | ghāw |
| defecate | ni |
| delay, v. | dvuy |
| depart | gēn |
| descend | bow, shii |
| dew | ngw 4 |
| die | kwē |
| dig | cow cow cīm |
| dip | cow |
| dirt | yīle 5/13 |
| disperse, intr. | sān'kē |
| dispute, n. | nsēwē 1/2 |
| divert | lēwēsē |
| divide | gaw |
| dodge | lēw |
| dog | dwē/bwē 9/10 |
| door | diōw flwōsē |
| dove | kemblemē 7/8 |
| down | kēcǐnē |
| drag | cīl |
| draw (water) | gōćē |
| drink, v. | wō |
| drip | cēm |
| drive away | kōn |
| drown, intr. | lē 1/2 |
| drum | nōm/nōm 9/10 |
| drunk, be | jēw |
| dry, become | yōm |
| dust | kebū 7/8 |
| ear | kētō 7, kēntōn 7/8 |
| ear, in the | ēntōntōn |
| early, be | yān'sēn |
| earthworm | nēngsē/nēngsē 3/4 |
| eat | dfē |
| egg | gēa/egē 5/6 |
| eight | nān |
| either...or | nō...nō |
| elephant | kīyō 7/8 |
| emboider | tōm |
| enter | lēy |
| entertain | tēw |
| equal, be | kwēntēn |
| evening | ēklegō-u-kegō 17 |
| exchange | kōmēn |
| excrement | cōo/coo 9/10 |
| exit, v. | bōy |
| explain | nēlē |
| extinguish | jīmsē |
| eye | jīse/ejīse 5/6 |
| eyebrows | mōnkoń 15 |
| face | būshīw/mōnshīm 14/15 |
| faint, v. | gwe kēngwē |
| fall | gwe |
| fan, v. | fūlē |
| farewell, say | kem |
| farm, at the | wānē |
| fart, n. | nī 5/13 |
| fat, n. | efo 6 |
| fat, become | fan, kōw |
| father | cē 1/2 |
| fatness | buvānē 14 |
| fatty, be | tōm |
| fault, n. | nje |
| fear, n. | jān 9 |
| v. | fan |
| feather | gvuńe/egvuń 5/6 |
| feed | nāné |
| fence | kētān 7/8 |
| fence in | gēm |
| field | wē/wē 3/4 |
| fight, n. | būdīw/mondīm 11/12 |
| v. | ēn̕ |}

The natural text includes terms from the language of the document, with both English and Chinese translations.
finish
fire
fire, set
fireplace
firewood
firm, be
first, be
fish
fishscale
fishtrap
five
flap (wings)
flash (lightening) law
flatness
flea
float
flour
fly, n.
fly, v.
fold
follow
food (things to eat) byeè bì dièn 8
fool, v.
foot
forehead
forest
forge
forget
four
friend
frightening, be bèm
frog
fruit
fry
fufu
full, become
full bladder
gather, fetch
get
gift
give
as dash mawcè
sth. spoiled kàynèn gow
to dancers fàhè
back
go
to farm lā
goat
god
good, be
gorilla
granary
square

grass, grazing gòy/góy 5/6
thatching yún/yun 9/10
garshopper, type kékwakwa 7/8
white kèsèwè 7/8
green mbwesem/mbesem 3/4
grasslands ngèy 1/2
grate kwàa
grace jèm/jèm 9/10
greet gay...lå
each other gayènèn
ground gow, kaa
groan dvüm, kýè
ground nshé/nshe 9/10
ground, on the fàkò 16
groundnuts bìèg 1
grow up tòw
grow (of roots) yèm
grown, be kò
guinea corn gô/yófc 5/6
gun ngèy/jìngècì 5/13
habitually gée
hair yùw/yuw 9/10
hand këbò 7/8
handle, make tèy
hang up tèy
on shoulder tèy
oneself sììfè
hard, become tènè
harm, do to lòw kènìlòw
harness, v. sókè
harvest, v. gwàlè
hat kèfò 7/8
hawk ndùn 1/2
he wùwù
head ekale/bikoo 7/8
head, on the fàfà 16
headaddress kënsè 7/8
headpad cân/can 9/10
headrest mbwààn 1/2
heap, v. kòncè
in mounds maw
hear yòw
heart fètelè/muntelèm 11/12
heat, v. kfiùm
heavy, become jùtìè
heal nc'ù/tòncè 1/2
height bùvùètè 14
help, v. ff
hen sheè/shèè 9/10
here fen
hiccup shlèwshèw 9/10
hide sth. jìlè
oneself jìlè
hip kèncemè 7/8
hit (hammer)  kfun
  things together  kwâw
hoe, n.        jîw/jîw 9/10
hold          jî, kâkê
hole          kobôw 7/8
large, tree    fwêg/fen 3/4
honey         bvuâtôw 14
honor, n.      nîgîm 1/2
  v. wûwûm
hoof           kexây 7/8
hook          fêncôw 11/12
house         yêw/yew 9/10
how           nê, nû
hundred       gîwê/gëgê 3/4
hunger         jêg 9
hunt, v.       la bvuôtô
hunting       bvuôtôm 14
ton           dôy/bôle 1/2
husband       çôñ/çôn 9/10
husk          çôñ 18
hut, in the    kûlă 1/2
hyena         î
if            e
illness       kênçêm 7/8
imitate       bêhêm, faw
  è...ê...ê
incite        bûtôwê
inclined, be   tûôñ
inform         tfm
inheritance   bvuôshew 14
injured, be    lêm
inside         êntê 17
instead       lê
intelligence  bvuôkê 14
intelligence, be  fašên
interrupt     bvuô
intestines    buôtôw 14
invalid        ñkôwîlê 1/2
investigate   swô
invite         kaw
iron           kelô 7/8
itch, v.       fô
jealous, be    ghuw
jigger (=salt) ñkôw/ñkaw 9/10
journey       ghanô 5/13
judge, v.      ñkôw 1/2
juju (kind)    dan
jump over      ñê
just, adv.     ñê
kidney         ñÔw 4
kill           yô
knee           nôù/nûñ 5/6
kneel          nôwôm
knife         fênô/mûnôm 11/12
knot, v.        sôô
know          keê-kêy
know          fêmôl/mûnôlî 11/12
labor, be in   lêm
lack           tan
ladder        bvuô/kêmôñêm 14/15
ladle         ñkômêñêm 7/8
lake           mêmôjê
lame person    ntêñêm 1/2
language       ñêw
laugh, v.      klô
law            nôt 1/2
lay sth. down  jôkê
eggs           tômô
leaf           nkôñôn 5/13
leak, v.       jôw
lean against   ylêm
leave          jô, ne
  sth.         cînê, cînê...ê
left (side)    nkôñkô
legislate      cî
lend           sâmô, fôôsê
leopard        bîa/bîa 9/10
let            gêc
lie, tell a    mbyêm (+mbyêm)
lie down       jîm
light, be (wt.) yôtêñ
like, as       dêw ê...ê, kêdê
lick           lê
lion           bûlê 1/2
listen         yêkê
little         (wan) çàm
far            ncê nôôkê
liver          shêm/shêm 9/10
load           ñkêm 1/2
lock up        fêñ-fêñ
locust         cûmë 9/10
long, become    dêfê
look
  after       têfô fô
at            jôô
loosen (ground) cëwûsê
lose (to leprosy)  kûyê
lost, get      lê
louse          fênsô/ñmûsôsêm 11/12
love, v.       knô
lower, tr.     shôtê
lying (falsehood) mbyêm 4
mad, be        jôw
maggot        ylô/ylô 9/10
maize         mfûnô/ñfône/bôñfûne 1/2
make           gê
man            dûmêñô/bôlêmôñê 1/2
scratch s.o.  shwaw
scream  wáwm
search for  gom
among things  tém
season, hunting  nyám
planting  módvûm
rainy  bwudaём
clearing  ñwe
see  yén...lé
seed  ngâw/ngâw 9/10
seize  lo
sell  gesé
send  tôm, çfnñé
separate (fibers)  son
set trap  téélé
settle dispute  lû
seven  sooñshñi
sow  tásé
shake, intr.  shìw, çfn
tr.  ka, jem
shame  kênwùñ 7
sharp, be  kô
sharpen  tásñ, fám
she  vû
sheep  njië/ñjië-bôngôcë 1/2-9/10
shield  këbàw 7/8
shirt  ke+kô 7/8
shiver  cîg
shoot  tâ, tôm
short, be  kôfõ
shortness  bîukûfê 14
shoulder  gwêw 9
shout at  kày
show, v.  dôw
shut  fô
sick, become  bêçoñ
sides, take  yêñ
sift  fû
sth. moist  shôm
sigh w/disgust  çfnñé
silent, become  wàm
sing  yêm (+ñkêê)
sink  lë (+ñjâô)
sip  fôw
sister  jêmë/jêmë 9/10
sit  shì
six  soocân
skin, n.  jëw/jëw
v.  yow
put on drum  daa
slander  kon, tám
slave  nwêw/bôngôcë 1/2
sleep, n.  mëñ 5
v.  lôñ
sleeping place (chief)  kôkôcë 7/8
sleepy, be  ysw
slide, slip  lêm
slowly  wêñ
small  tôñ, wàñ/boom
small, be  doosë
small, intr.  sâm
tr.  pûsoñkôñ
smoke, n.  njëm 4
v.  bî
meat  tôñ
snail  kêmô 7/8
snake  yô/yô 9/10
boa  kôm/kôm 9/10
short, fat  kôfê 7/8
snap, v.  ngôy
snore  ko
snot  kemfêmô 7/8
soak  yw
soft, make  yëw
soil  nshô/nshô 9/10
song  nêkô 1/2
sore  kômôkôñ 7/8
sou  kôôy 7/8
soup  nshôw
sour, become  ngôy
speak  jêmë
spear  gôñ/gôñ 5/6
spend the day  shè
spend the night  çô
split  tûy
split  wày
firewood  sànê
spoil  bêñ
spoon  kôntôñ 7/8
spread to dry  tôñë
sprinkle  miwî (+mìwî)
syr, v.  keë, niñkôñ
squeeze  kâm
together, intr.  tâñç
squirrel  fotëñ/muntàñêm 11/12
stab  bôn
stammer  bëw
stamp, v.  çfn
stand, v.  lîfè
up, intr.  jà
sth. up  lêñ
star  jôn/jôn 9/10
start  këw
a tune  yaw
start to cultivate bén
startled, be já
stay for short time mọcẹ
steal cọn
stem of sth. nson/nson 9/10
stick fẹte/muntẹm 11/12
stick poles in ground tọm
sticky, be (meat) fọmọn
still, yet bẹ̀
stomach kẹ̀tẹ̀ 7/8
stone te/eta 5/6
cooking grinding nsoap/ensoy 5/6
stool kékọtẹ̀ 7/8

carved kẹ̀ndụnshẹ̀ 7/8
store, v. ẹ̀
straight, become nẹ̀lẹ̀
stream fencanca/muncancam 11/12
strong, become tẹ̀mẹ̀, taw
stump kẹ̀nfüntẹ̀
stupidity kẹ̀yọ̀n 7
suck yäm
suffering ngwọ̀ 1/2
sufficient, be kuwọ̀
sugarcane ọgwọ̀ 1/2
summit, at the sun ọfajàn 16
surpass fọy
swallow mi

sweat (truth) kan
sweat word kẹ̀n
swipe yẹ̀kẹ̀
sweet, be ben
swell sam
swim njẹ̀
swing, v. kwọ̀/jiwànte 3/13

table ketělẹ̀ 7/8
tail kwọ̀/jiwànte 3/13

take ff, jo

teach yẹ́yí
tears mTẹm 4

tear, v. saa

tan bamboo

tell sẹ̀, gay...16

tell story fẹ̀
ten ma

termite ìgọw/ìgọw 9/10
testify ọmọmọ̀
thank bẹ̀lẹ̀

that, conj. ẹ̀, ẹ̀, è

then, therefore to è

there fẹ̀fẹ̀ 1/6
thief cọn/bocọn 1/2
thigh yẹ̀n/yẹ̀n 9/10
thing fọtẹ/ọwọ́ẹ̀m 11/12
think tẹm, ọwọ́ẹ̀
thorn fọtẹ/ọwọ́ 3/4
porcupine ìgọw/igọw 9/10
thousand ntfúkẹ̀
three tẹ̀
throat sẹ́w-ọ́wẹ́kẹ́ọ́ 9/10-1/2
thrones kawẹ̀
throw (lance) tẹ́mẹ̀
away lẹ̀

down tọ́fẹ̀
thunder, v. bẹ̀yẹ̀n

thus nẹ̀
tick nẹ̀mié 1/2

tie together ýlẹ̀
up kẹ̀y̆
time kẹ̀fẹ̀
short while nẹ̀w

long ago ọcọ̀kẹ̀
one time, etc. kẹ̀n
tired, be dẹ̀sẹ̀
of sth. fff...lẹ̀
to (recipient) è
(direction) fọ̀ 1/6
tobacco nàmà 1/2
today èbẹ̀
together ntaashẹ̀
tomato (garden egg) yẹ̀n/yẹ̀n 9/10
tomorrow ntfúd,
day after fọ̀ sẹ̀ ntfúd
tong kẹ̀fẹ̀ 7/8
tongue lẹ̀mẹ́/lẹ̀mẹ́jilemẹ́ 5/6-13
tonight ẹ́ntẹ̀ ọ́bẹ̀n
too tẹ̀n, dẹ̀
tooth kẹ̀gẹ̀ 7/8
tortoise kẹ̀ọ̀naàlẹ̀ 7/8
touch kon...16

trap kẹ́tọ́m 7/8

table fish kẹntùm 7/8

table travel lẹ̀n
tremble ketẹ́ 7/8
tree cọ̀
tribute ketẹ́m 7/8

trouble ìgọ̀w

turn bẹ̀jkẹ̀
over bay
twist yẹ̀y

two fẹ̀

umbrella kẹ̀báw 7/8
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uncle (maternal)</td>
<td>lomše 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>underneath</td>
<td>čēkšù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>untie</td>
<td>fay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up</td>
<td>we'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uplift</td>
<td>bāy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uproot</td>
<td>bēsè</td>
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<tr>
<td>urinate</td>
<td>jay</td>
</tr>
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<td>urine</td>
<td>monjām 15</td>
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<td>us (excl)</td>
<td>bēsēn</td>
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<tr>
<td>us (incl)</td>
<td>beēnē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vagina</td>
<td>kēnē/eken 5/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vegetable</td>
<td>mbāsē/mbāsē 9/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vein</td>
<td>gwēn/gēn 3/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village</td>
<td>nte'w 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waist, around</td>
<td>ciŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wake s.o. up</td>
<td>kāmsē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walk</td>
<td>ičn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wander about</td>
<td>la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wander out</td>
<td>njēm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>want</td>
<td>gom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>war</td>
<td>jēm 9/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash (self)</td>
<td>cokkē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>jēdē/dō/joō 9/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (excl)</td>
<td>bēsēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (incl)</td>
<td>beēnē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weak, be</td>
<td>weś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wealthy, become</td>
<td>kōw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weave</td>
<td>lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weed, n.</td>
<td>mame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.</td>
<td>bēlé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>week</td>
<td>kēmā 7/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weight</td>
<td>bvūjftē 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well, adv.</td>
<td>ntāy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well, get</td>
<td>bōnēn, tēmē</td>
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<tr>
<td>wet, become</td>
<td>le (†jēdē)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>lā/mulā</td>
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<tr>
<td>when</td>
<td>sēkē, diō, sēkē lā (Q)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
<td>fēc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which</td>
<td>lā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white, be</td>
<td>bā</td>
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