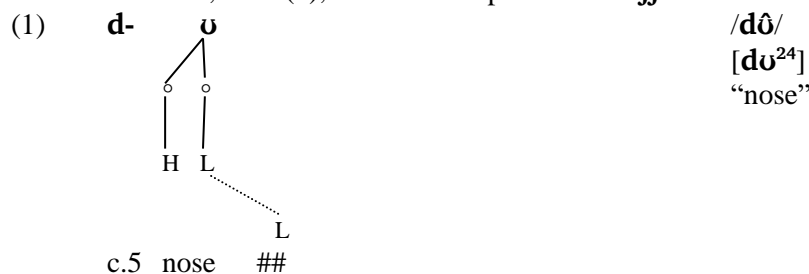


3 Nouns and their Morpheme Structure Conditions

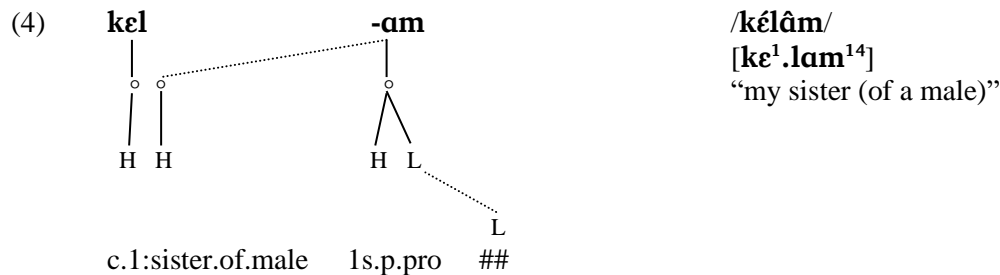
A diagnostic feature of Bantu languages is that nouns have membership in noun classes. A count noun has membership in two noun classes, since it has both singular and plural forms. One example of a count noun is /lè-jjè/ “tooth”, which is singular while being in class 5, as is indicated by the prefix of c. 5 that it bears, /lè-/. When it is plural in number, it must move to another class, which is 6 in this case, /mè-jjè/ “teeth”. Without the prefixes, /-jjè/ means neither “tooth” nor “teeth”. That being understood, I have glossed noun roots as though they were singular.

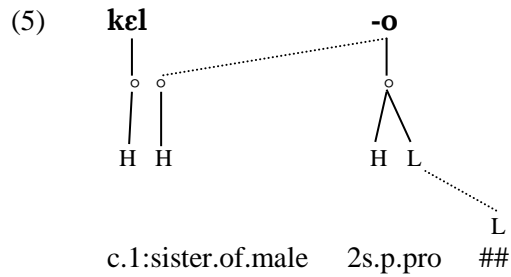
Verbal nouns, such as gerunds and infinitives, also have noun class membership. An example of this is the infinitive /lè-nù-ḍ/, “to take”, which has the prefix of c.15, /lè-/ “infinitive”.

A noun may be vowel-initial, as in (1), of which the plural is /mô/ “noses”, or it may be consonant-initial, as in (2), of which the plural is /mèjjè/ “teeth”.

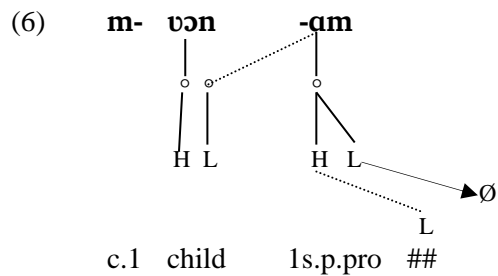


The root of a noun will have two nodes, and either two ((1), (2)) or three tones (3)-(7). There are three-tone nouns without morphological complexity, such as (3), and with morphological complexity, (4)-(7).

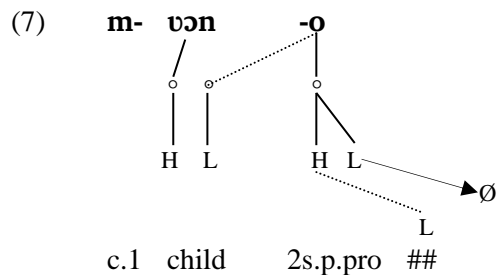




/kɛlô/
[kɛ¹.lo¹⁴]
“your (sg.) sister (of a male)”

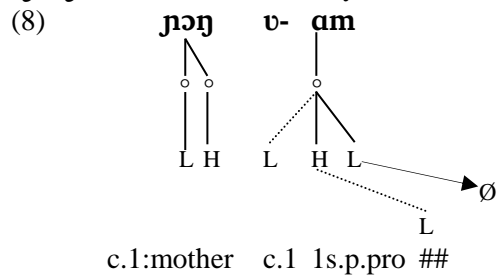


/mʊʂnăṃ/
[mʊʂ¹.nam⁴]
“my child”



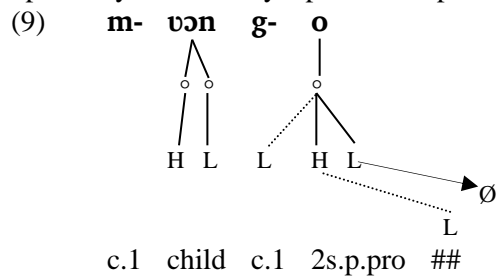
/mʊʂnô/
[mʊʂ¹.no⁴]
“your (sg.) child”

Kinship terms are of two types, from a generative point of view: those like “child” and “sister (of a male)” that can be possessed through the uniting of two stems and those like “mother” that cannot *ṇḍəṇām. The latter can only be in two words (8).



/ṇḍəṇ vām/
[ṇḍəṇ⁴¹#vam⁴]
“my mother”

Kinship terms that allow for the uniting of a noun stem and the stem of a possessive pronouns are optionally followed by a possessive pronoun with a class prefix (9)- (10).



/mʊʂn gō/
[mʊʂn¹⁴#go⁴]
“your (sg.) child”

- (10)
- kɛl**

H H



v- am

L H L → ∅

/kɛl văm/
[kɛl¹#văm⁴]
“my sister (of a male)”
- c.1:sister.of.male c.1 1s.p.pro ##

When noun stems and possessive pronoun stems are united (4)-(7), there are rules that apply so that the resultant two-stem base has no more than three tones. The second tone is associated with the second node and the third tone is associated with the third node. The second and third nodes are associated with the second syllable. If the second and third tones are the same, they are treated as being one tone and the fourth tone is associated with the third node (4)-(5). If the second and third tones differ, they are associated with the second and third nodes, respectively, and the fourth tone is deleted (6)-(7).

Multiple nouns may share a common noun stem, with the difference between these nouns being due to the noun class of each and its meaning. For example **N-ǰǒm**, in class one, means “husband”, while the same stem in class 2 means “husbands”: **bè-ǰǒm**. The root in class six has the meaning “sperm”: **mè-ǰǒm**. In class fourteen, the root acquires the meaning means “the traits or status of being a male”: **ì-ǰǒm**. For a noun to have a given meaning, it must have the class marker which is specified for that meaning. If a word is limited to having membership in a single class, this is a basis for asserting that it is a noun, regardless of its meaning. Such is the case of **lènpǒm**, “first (one)” (c.5) and its plural counterpart: **mènpǒm**, “first (ones)” (c.6). It is also the case of many notional modifiers, which are nevertheless nouns, such as **ǎǰǒm**, “old (one)” (c.3) and its plural counterpart: **mìnǰǒm**, “old (ones)” (c.4).

- (11)
- | | | |
|---|---|--|
|  |  | /bèkél bâm/
[be⁴.kel¹#bam²⁴]
“my sisters (of a male)” |
| L H H | H L | |
| c.2 sisters.of.male | c.2 1s.p.pro | ## |

The tone of the class 1a prefix remains a problem in the analysis. Normally, such a pronoun in the A-80 group has a high tone, and that is sometimes true of Njem nouns in this class, whether the following tone is high (12) or low (13). In other cases, the tone of the prefix is low, and this also occurs before high (14) and low (15) tones. I have no explanation for this variation in tone.

- (13) /á-Ntùŋ/ [a².ntuŋ⁴⁵] “type of mushroom”

- (14) /â-ljêr-mvên/ [a⁴.ljêr¹⁴.mvên²⁴] “crazy person”
 (15) /â-bàm/ [a⁴.bam⁴⁵] “Gambeya africana (tree species)”

4.1 Phonological Types of Noun Class Prefixes

There are four types of noun class prefixes which differ with respect to the features [tonal], [syllabic] and [segmental], as is seen in Table 27.

Table 27: Types of Noun Class Prefixes

Features of Noun Prefix	Example: Phonemic	Phonetic	Gloss
[–tone] [–syllabic] [–segmental]	/ɲǎŋ/	[ɲǎŋ ⁴]	“mother (c.1)”
[–tone] [–syllabic] [+segmental]	/d-îh/	[dih ²⁴]	“eye (c.5)”
[+tone] [–syllabic] [–segmental]	/L-sâ/	[sa ²⁴]	“thing (c.7)”
[+tone] [+syllabic] [+segmental]	/bî-sâ/	[bi ⁴ .sa ²⁴]	“things (c.8)”

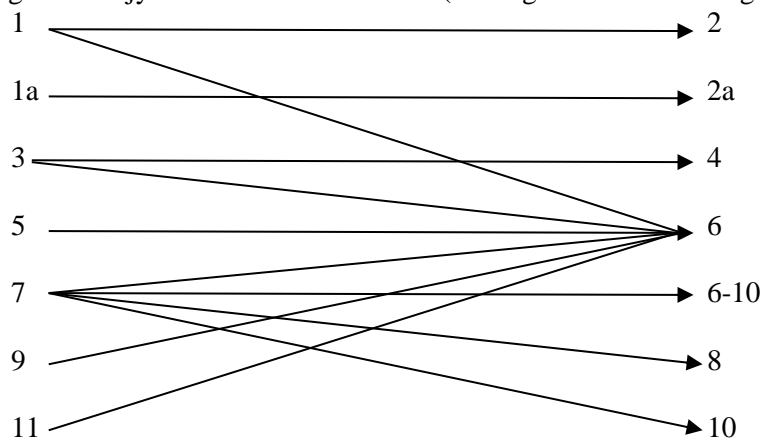
In classes 1, 2, 5 and 6 there are both vowel initial stems and consonant initial stems. The vowel initial stems have nonsyllabic prefixes (cf. (1) and (6)), and the consonant initial stems have syllabic and tonal prefixes (cf. (3) and (11)).

4.2 Paired Noun Classes

As linguists encounter Bantu languages, they assign the same numbers and letters to the noun classes they discover, following the same conventions. As was seen above, count nouns have both singular and a plural forms and therefore have membership in two classes. A mass noun or an abstract noun, on the other hand, has membership in only one class. A pair of singular and plural classes is called the noun's “gender”.

Employing these conventions, I identified sixteen noun classes in Njyem. Seven of these are for singular nouns, and are shown on the left side of diagram 7. Six classes are for plural nouns and are found on the right side of the diagram. One plural is formed of the sequence of two prefixes—those for class 6 and class 10. Three classes are for noncount nouns, these being c.6a (liquids), c.14 (abstracts) and c.15 (infinitives). The genders are indicated by lines connecting the two classes.

Diagram 7: Njyem Noun Class Genders (or Singular-Plural Pairings)



A singular noun in c.7 can have its singular counterpart in one of four classes: 6, 6-10, 8 or 10. A plural noun in c.6 can have its singular counterpart in one of six classes: 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 or 11. A plural noun belonging to any of the other classes would have its singular counterpart in only one of the singular noun classes. Similarly, it is enough to know that a singular noun is in class 1a, 5, 9 or 11 for one to also know the class of its plural counterpart. The classes used in singular/plural pairings are seen in Table 28:

Table 28: Classes Used for Count Nouns

Class	Use	Pfx	Environment	Example		Translation
1	sing.	m-	/ _ V	m-ùd	[mʊr ⁴⁵]	“person”
			/ _ S	m-vôn	[bvɔn ²⁴]	“child”
		N-	/ _ C	N-ʒôm	[ndzom ²⁴]	“husband”
		Ø-		kàná	[ka ⁴ .na ⁴]	“belt”
1a	sing.	á-/ à-		á-lònnbó	[a ¹ .lɔn ⁴ .mbɔ ⁴]	“moon”
2	plur.	bè-	/ _ C	bè-kàná	[be ⁴ .ka ⁴ .na ⁴]	“belts”
		b-	/ _ V	b-ùd	[bʊd ⁴⁵]	“people”
			/ _ S	b-vôn	[bvɔn ²⁴]	“children”
2a	plur.	bà-		bà-á-lònnbó	[ba: ⁴¹ .lɔn ⁴ .mbɔ ⁴]	“moons”
3	sing.	L-	/ _ [VL]	L-kvôn	[kvɔn ⁴⁵]	“(comb of) honey”
		Ñ-	/ _ [VD]	Ñ-bô	[mbo ²⁴]	“arm/hand”
4	plur.	mì-		mì-kvôn	[mi ⁴ kvɔn ⁴⁵]	“(combs of) honey”
				mì-N-ʒôm	[mi ⁴ .ndzom ⁴]	“old people”
5	sing.	lè-	/ _ C	lè-kí	[le ⁴ .kɪ ²]	“egg”
		d-	/ _ V	d-ìh	[dih ²⁴]	“eye”
			/ _ S	d-ʒô:	[dʒo: ²⁴]	“name”
6	plur.	m-	/ _ V	m-ìh	[mih ²⁴]	“eyes”
			/ _ S	m-ʒô:	[mʒo: ²⁴]	“names”
		mè-	/ _ C	mè-kí	[me ⁴ .kɪ ²]	“eggs”
				mè-pà	[me ⁴ .pa ⁴⁵]	“cutlasses”
				mè-bô	[me ⁴ .bo ²⁴]	“arms/hands”
				mè-dià	[me ⁴ .di ⁴ .a ⁴⁵]	“residences”
				mè-kvɔ́d	[me ⁴ .kvɔr ²]	“villages”
7	sing.	L-		L-lí	[lɪ ²]	“tree/stick”
				L-bùmó	[bu ⁴ .mo ⁴]	“piece of fruit”
				L-Npìhà	[mpi ⁴ .ha ⁴⁵]	“ear of corn”
8	plur.	bì-		bì-pjém	[bi ⁴ .pjem ⁴]	“gardens”
9	sing.	Ø		kvɔ́d	[kvɔr ²]	“village”
10	plur.	N-		Npùmó	[mpu ⁴ .mo ⁴]	“pieces of fruit”
11	sing.	ì-		ì-dià	[ɪ ⁴ .di ⁴ .a ⁴⁵]	“residence”

The twelve genders are shown below:

Classes	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Translation
c.1/2	m-ùd	b-ùd	[mʊr ⁴⁵]	[bʊr ⁴⁵]	person; people
c.1/6	pà	mè-pà	[pa ⁴⁵]	[me ⁴ .pa ⁴⁵]	cutlass; cutlasses
c.1a/2a-1a	á-bvɛ:	bà-á-bvɛ:	[a ¹ .bvɛ: ⁴]	[ba: ⁴¹ .bvɛ: ⁴]	nursing mother; nursing mothers
c.3/4-3	N-ʒôm	mì-N-ʒôm	[ndzom ⁴]	[mi ⁴ .ndzom ⁴]	old one; old ones
c.3/6	Ñ-bô	mè-bô	[mbo ²⁴]	[me ⁴ .bo ²⁴]	arm; arms
c.5/6	d-ìh	m-ìh	[dih ²⁴]	[mih ²⁴]	eye; eyes
c.7/6	L-dèk	mè-dèk	[deɾ ⁴⁵]	[me ⁴ .deɾ ⁴⁵]	staple food; staple foods
c.7/6-10	L-dífbó	mè-N-tífbó	[di ² bo ²]	[me ⁴ .nti ² .bo ²]	stream; streams
c.7/8	L-lí	bílí	[lɪ ²]	[bi ⁴ .lɪ ²]	stick/tree; sticks/trees
c.7/10	L-ʒínó	N-pínó	[dʒi ⁴ no ⁴]	[mpi ⁴ .no ⁴]	finger/toe; fingers/toes
c.9/6	kvɔ́d	mè-kvɔ́d	[kvɔr ²]	[me ⁴ .kvɔr ²]	village; villages
c.11/6	ì-ntâm	mè-ntâm	[ɪ ⁴ .ntam ²⁴]	[me ⁴ .ntam ²⁴]	net; nets

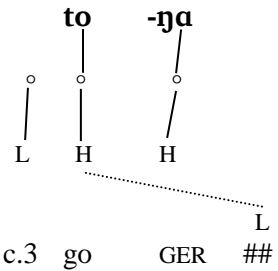
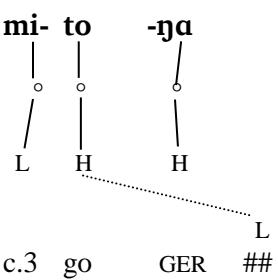
4.3 The Gerunds

The gerunds (verbal nouns or nominal verbs) may be both abstract and count nouns, and thus they deserve special attention. The gerund has noun class prefixes, c.3 for the singular (19) and c.4-3 for the plural (20), as well as a suffix: **-ŋá** after verbs ending in a vowel (19)-(22). The suffix is **-á** after verbs

An abstract representation of the gerund is also found in (17). Note that the suffix is derivational, changing the verb to a noun, which is then enrolled in classes 3 and 4.

- (20)
- | | | | | |
|------------|-----------|-----------|------------|--|
| mi- | N- | je | -ɲa | |
| | | | | |
| ○ | | ○ | ○ | |
| | | | | |
| L | | | H | |
| | | | | |
| | | | ○ | |
| | | | | |
| | | | L | |
- c.4 c.3 give GER ##
- /mɪɲjɛɲá/
[mɪ⁴.ndze².ɲa²]
“gifts; acts/manners of giving”

10

- (21)  **/tóŋá/**
[to².ŋa²]
“departure; act/manner of going”
- (22)  **/mìtóŋá/**
[mi⁴.to².ŋa²]
“departures; acts or manners of going”

4.4 Unpaired Noun Classes

Some nouns are neither singular nor plural, but they must nevertheless belong to classes. These include infinitives, mass nouns and abstract nouns, as is shown in Table 29.

Table 29: Njem Noun Classes for Non-Count Nouns

Class	Use	Pfx	Environment	Example	Translation
6a	liquids	mè-	/ _ C	mè-díbo	“water”
		m-	/ _ V	m-úlò	“oil” “grease”
14	abstract	ì-		ì-kúma	“wealth”
15	infinitive	lè-		lè-dzè	“to give”

4.5 Noun Classes and Semantics

There is a very loose connection between class membership and semantics, limited to weak tendencies. This is evident in the degree to which [+human] and singular nouns are found in classes 1 and 1a. Many are indeed found there, but they are also found in classes 3, 5 and 7 (23). Their plural counterparts are not only in classes 2 and 2a, but also in classes 4, 6 and 8 (24).

- (23) **m-ùd** [mɔr⁴⁵] “person” c.1
á-Npɔ̀k-lè-dè [a¹.mɔvɔʔ⁴.le⁴.de⁴⁵] “glutton” c.1a
L-sìlò [ʃi⁴.lo⁴⁵] “daughter; mature woman” c.3
lè-sjêh [le⁴.sjeh²⁴] “girl” c.5
L-Npà.ŋà [mpa⁴.ŋa⁴⁵] “albino” c.7
- (24) **b-ùd** [bɔr⁴⁵] “people” c.2
bà-á-Npɔ̀k-lè-dè [ba:⁴¹.mɔvɔʔ⁴.le⁴.de⁴⁵] “gluttons” c.1a
mì-sìlò [mi⁴.ʃi⁴.lo⁴⁵] “daughters; mature women” c.4
mè-sjêh [me⁴.sjeh²⁴] “girls” c.6
bì-Npà.ŋà [bi⁴.mpa⁴.ŋa⁴⁵] “albinos” c.8

Similarly, [−human] and singular nouns are found in classes 3, 5, 7, 9 and 11, but also in classes 1 and 1a (25), with their plural counterparts being found in classes 4, 6, 8 and 10, as well as in class 2 (26) and in the combined classes 2a-1a and 6-10 (27).

- (25) **Ngɔ̀n** [ŋɔn⁴⁵] “month” c.1
á-vàrà [a¹.va⁴.ra⁴⁵] “hoe (for peanuts)” c.1a
L-kòl [kol⁴] “vine” c.3

	lè-tínó	[le ⁴ .ti ² .no ²]	“stem” c.5
	L-sâ	[sa ²⁴]	“thing” c.7
	Nsĩ	[nsĩ ⁴]	“trail” c.9
	ì-Ntâm	[r ⁴ .ntam ²⁴]	“net” c.11
(26)	bè-Ngõn	[be ⁴ .ngõn ⁴⁵]	“months” c.2
	mì-kõl	[mi ⁴ .kol ⁴]	“vines” c.4
	mè-tínó	[me ⁴ .ti ² .no ²]	“stems” c.6
	bì-sâ	[bi ⁴ .sa ²⁴]	“things” c.8
	Npìnó	[mpi ⁴ .no ⁴]	“fingers/toes” c.10
(27)	bà-á-vàrà	[ba: ⁴¹ .va ⁴ .ra ⁴⁵]	“hoes (for peanuts)” c.2a-1a
	mè-N-ti?í	[men ⁴ .ti ⁴ .?i ⁴]	“forests” c.6-10
Abstract nouns are often found in class 6a (28) but also c.5 (29), c. 11 (30), c. 9 (31) and c. 8 (32).			
(28)	mè-bób.lán	[me ⁴ .bob ¹ .lan ²]	“persecution” c.6
	mè-ʒvòk	[me ⁴ .dʒvòʔ ⁴⁵]	“obedience” c.6
	mè-dàhbà	[me ⁴ .dah ⁴ .ba ⁴⁵]	“misery” c.6
	mè-kè:bì	[me ⁴ .ke: ⁴ .bi ⁴⁵]	“right” c.6
(29)	lè-bjêb	[le ⁴ .bjeb ²⁴]	“evil” c.5
	lè-ǰǎ:	[le ⁴ .dza: ⁴]	“distance” c.5
	lè-nsuǃ:	[le ⁴ .nsuǃ: ²]	“poverty” c.5
	lè-bòm	[le ⁴ .bom ²⁴]	“purchase” c.5
(30)	ì-cjél	[r ⁴ .tʃjel ²]	“falsehood” c.11
	ì-dvǐ:bí	[r ⁴ .dvi: ² .bi ²]	“distance” c.11
	ì-ǰǎ:	[r ⁴ .dza: ⁴]	“beauty” c.11
	ì-gvè:	[r ⁴ .gva: ⁴⁵]	“prosperity” c.11
(31)	pǐk	[piʔ ⁴⁵]	“intelligence” c.9
	Nkǒ:	[ŋko: ⁴]	“misery” c.9
	Nkvà:	[ŋkva: ⁴⁵]	“anger” c.9
	Nkùl	[ŋkul ⁴⁵]	“power” c.9
(32)	bì-ʒú-ʒú	[bi ⁴ .dzu ² .dzu ²]	“virility” c.8
	bì-mès	[bi ⁴ .mes ⁴]	“arrogance” c.8
	bì-Ndék.lá	[bi ⁴ .ndéʔ ² .la ²]	“problems” c.8
	bì-búk.lá	[bi ⁴ .buʔ ² .la ²]	“hope” c.8
	bì-Nkpálá	[bi ⁴ .mɲkpa ² .la ²]	“kidding” c.8
Mass nouns are mainly found in class 6a but also in class 8 (33).			
(33)	mè-svǐ:	[me ⁴ .svi: ⁴⁵]	“cinders” c.6a
	mè-dííbó	[me ⁴ .di ² .bo ²]	“water” c.6a
	mè-tjél	[me ⁴ .tjel ²⁴]	“saliva” c.6a
	bì-sígó	[bi ⁴ .ʃi ² .go ²]	“excrement” c.8
	bì-ʒú:lǔ/	[bi ⁴ .dzu: ² .lu ⁴]	“vomit” c.8

Note that the homorganic nasal prefix of classes 9 and 10 regularly devoices a voiced stem-initial consonant (34). They may also change the point of articulation (35).

(34)	lè-buǔk	[le ⁴ .buǔʔ ⁴⁵]	“to be big”	→	N-puǔk	[mpuǔʔ ⁴⁵]	“greatness” c.9
	L-bòm	[bom ⁴⁵]	“conclave” c.7	→	N-bòm	[mpom ⁴⁵]	“conclaves” c.10
	L-díkí	[di ⁴ .?i ⁴]	“forest” c.7	→	mè-N-díkí	[me ⁴ .nti ⁴ .?i ⁴]	“forests” c.6-10

- (35) L-jìnó [dʒi⁴.no⁴] “finger” c.7 → N-jìnó [mpi⁴.no⁴] “fingers” c.10
 L-jân [dzan²⁴] “colobus poly- → N-jân [mpjen²⁴] “colobus polyko-
 komos (sg.)” c.7 mos (pl.)” c.10

5 The Associative Construction and the Associative Marker

The associative construction (AC) is most often a grammatical and semantic union of two nouns (36). In place of the second noun one may also find an adverb, **tjêk** [tjɛ²⁴], “there” (37). The AC may also include a third word, the associative marker (AM) (38). When the AM is present, it is found between the two nouns. It is absent when the first noun is of class 1, 1a, 9 or 10 (36)-(37). It is present and preceded by a low boundary tone in (38).

- (36) m- ɔr kvɔr /mùr kvɔr/
 [mɔr⁴#kvɔr²]
 “person of the village”
-
- c.1 person village(c.9) ##

- (37) m- ɔr tjêk /mùr tjêk/
 [mɔr⁴#tjɛ²⁴]
 “a person thereof”
-
- c.1 person there ##

- (38) b- ɔr be kvɔr /bùr bè kvɔr/
 [bɔr⁴#be⁴#kvɔr²]
 “people of the village”
-
- c.1 person BT AM:c2 village(c.9) ##

The tonal allomorph of the AM shows class agreement with a noun of class 3 or 7 (39)-(41). Note that the AM is a high replacive tone, which displays its presence by changing the first low tone to its right to a high tone. When the node of that low tone is associated with the stem (39) or syllabic prefix of the second noun (40), the high tone of the AM is associated with the second noun.

- (39) pɔb pa /pɔb pâ/
 [pɔb⁴#pa¹⁴]
 “the sheath of a cutlass”
-
- c.3 sheath BT AM:c3 c.1:cutlass ##

- (40) **kana** **mi- tú:** **/kànà mítú:/**
[ka⁴.na⁴#mi².tu:⁴]
 “a tale of troubles”
-
- c.7 tale BT AM:c.7 c.4 troubles ##

When the low tone to the right of a high replacive tone is associated with a node that is not attached to a syllable, the resultant high tone associates with that node, and the node then associates with the preceding syllable, which is the last syllable of the first noun (41).

- (41) **kvɔn** **pjem** **/kvɔn⁴¹ pjem⁴/**
[kvɔn⁴¹#pjem⁴]
 “a plantain of the field”
-
- c.7 plantain BT AM:c.7 c.7 field ##

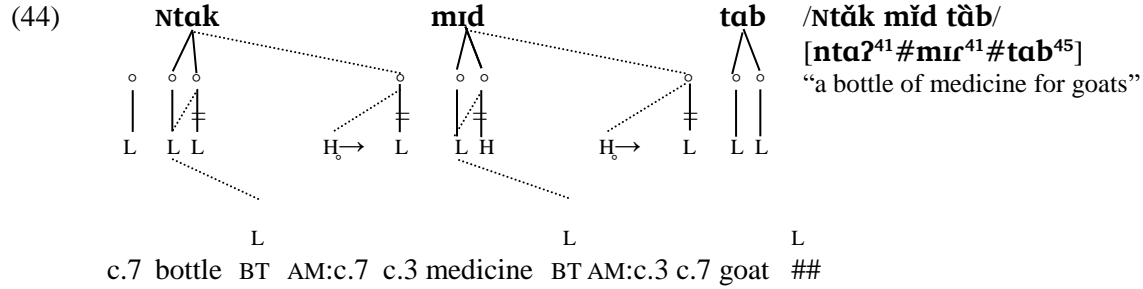
Segmental allomorphs of the AM occur following nouns of classes other than 1, 1a, 9 and 10. In such cases, the agreement between the class of the first noun and the class of the AM is apparent. In (42), the first noun and the AM agrees with it in class 8. Note that the tone of the prefix of the AM is acquired through the leftward spread of the tone in the first noun. Its pitch is that of the first noun.

- (42) **bi- se:** **bi be- npon** **/bìsé: bí bɛnpɔ́n/**
[bi⁴.sé:²#bi²#be².mpɔn¹]
 “the jobs of the disciples”
-
- c.8 job BT AM:c.8 c.2 disciple ##

Although the AM normally agrees in class membership with the first noun, there is also a generic AM, **mé-** H₀→. This allomorph of the AM does not agree in class with either noun, indicating instead that the second noun is [+human]. It is especially preferred when the second noun is in c.1a, as is the case in (43). The assignment of tone to the prefix of the generic AM is different from that of the assignment of tone to concurring associative markers. It seems to have its own high tone.

- (43) **be- ɲɔŋ** **me** **a- jibo-jibo** **/bɛɲɔŋ mé ájibòjibò/**
[be⁴.ɲɔŋ⁴#ma:¹²#dʒi¹.bo⁴.dʒi⁴.bo⁴⁵]
 “the thief’s [mothers/maternal aunts]”
-
- c.2 mother BT AM:GEN c.1a thief-DUP ##

Two associative constructions can be conjoined, whereby the second noun of the first AC is simultaneously the first noun of the second AC (44).



The low boundary tone preceding the AM expresses its influence by forcing tones on the first noun stem to spread. In (45) there is neither an AM nor a boundary tone. The absence of this tone means that the contour of the first noun, **NSI**, is not simplified: *nsr⁴¹#me⁴.di².bo².



5.1 Agreement between the First Noun and the Associative Marker

Examples of associative constructions with nouns of each class in the first noun (N^1) are found in Table 30. Two cases of class 11 are shown because historically classes 11 and 14 were united into the contemporary class 11.

Table 30: Associative Constructions

	Pfx N^1	N^1 (prefix- root)	AM	AC initiated by N^1	Gloss
1	m- c.1	/m-ʊd/	“person”	m-ʊd kvɔ́d /mʊd kvɔ́d/ [mʊr⁴¹#kvɔr²]	“a person of the village”
1a	á- c.1a	/á-bvɛ:/	“nursing mother”	á-bvɛ kvɔ́d /ábwɛ: kvɔ́d/ [a¹.bwɛ:⁴¹#kvɔr²]	“nursing mother of the village”
2	bè- c.2	/bè-tíd/	“animals”	be-H kvɔ́d cl.2 /bètíd be-H kvɔ́d/ [be⁴.tir²#be¹#di⁴.ʔi⁴]	“animals of the forest”
2a	bà- c.2a	/bà-á-bvɛ:/	“nursing mothers”	bà-á-bvɛ be-H kvɔ́d cl.2a /bàábvɛ: bè kvɔ́d/ [ba:⁴¹.bvɛ:⁴¹#be⁴¹#kvɔr²]	“nursing mothers of the village”
4	mì- c.4	/mì-N-kpāk/	“roads”	mì-H kvɔ́d cl.4 /mìNkpāk mì bíNkànà/ [mi⁴.mɿkpa⁴¹#mi⁴¹#bi¹.ŋka⁴.na⁴⁵]	“roads of the cities”
5	lè- c.5	/lè-bôm/	“purchase”	le-H kvɔ́d cl.5 /lèbôm lé mɪd/ [le⁴.bom¹#le¹#mɪr⁴]	“the purchase/sale of medicine”
6/6a	mè- c.6	/mè-kí/	“eggs”	me-H kvɔ́d cl.6/6a /mè-kí mé bí-nõn/ [me⁴.kɪ²#me²#bi¹.nõn⁴]	“birds’ eggs”

	Pfx N ¹	N ¹ (prefix- root)	AM	AC initiated by N ¹	Gloss
8	bì- c.8	/bì-lǐ/	“trees”	bi-H cl.8 bì-lǐ bì-H kwǎd /bìlǐ bí kwǎd/ [bi ⁴ .lǐ ² #bi ² #kwǎ ²]	“the trees of the village”
9		/Nsǐ/	“path”	Nsǐ mè-díbo /nsǐ mèdǐbó/ [nsǐ ⁴¹ #mè ⁴ #dǐ ² .bo ²]	“path to the water source”
10	N-	/N-bùmó/	“fruits”	N-bùmó mè-N-tíkí /mpùmó mènìkí/ [mpu ⁴ .mo ¹ #mè ⁴ #dǐ ² .bo ²]	“fruits of the forests”
11	ì- c.11	/ì-dùmò/	“end”	ì-dùmò wi-H kwǎd /ìdùmò wì kwǎd/ [ɪ ⁴ .du ⁴ .mo ⁴ #wi ⁴ #kwǎ ²]	“the end of the village”
		/ì-jǎ:/	“beauty”	wi-H cl.11 /ì-jǎ: wi-H L-Nbêh/ /ìjǎ: wí mbêh/ [ɪ ⁴ .dza: ⁴ #wi ² #mbêh ¹⁴]	“the house’s beauty”

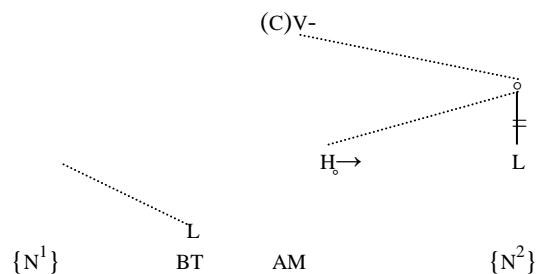
5.2 The Assignment of Tone to the Prefix of the Associative Marker

Further details about the AM are also found in (46)-(48), where it is noted that the assignment of tone is governed by ordered rules. Note that the segmental part of the AM is being characterized as the prefix of the high replacive tone, which is therefore the root of the AM. The low boundary tone is present and precedes the AM when the latter is present. It should be recalled that neither the low boundary tone nor the AM is present when the first noun is in classes 1, 1a, 9 or 10.

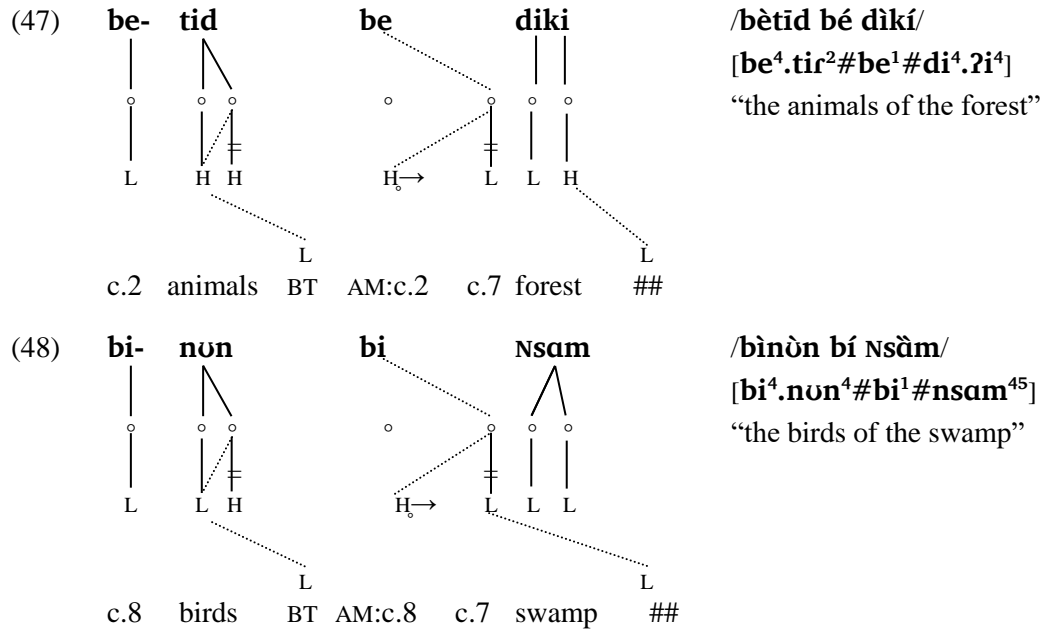
5.2.1 The Syllabic AM Followed by a Floating Low Tone

The assignment of tone and pitch to the prefix of the AM is done according to the structural description of the AC. It is helpful to think of the tone-assignment rule (46) being applied first if its structural description is met. This rule accounts for the leftward association of a floating high tone to the syllabic prefix of the AM. Language data showing the effect of this rule is seen in (47). Note that the tone and pitch of the first noun stem are not spreading to the AM prefix *[be⁴.tir²#be²#dǐ⁴.ɪi⁴].

(46) The Associative Marker when its prefix is syllabic and the following low tone is a floating tone, not associated in the lexicon with a syllable



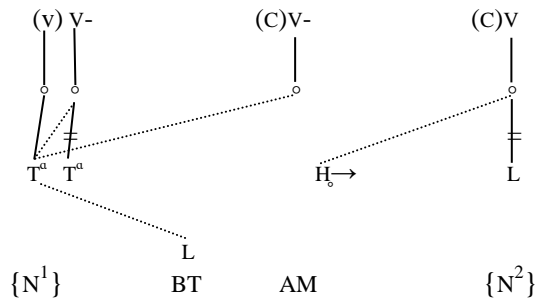
“The syllabic allomorph of the AM consists of a low boundary tone and the prefix-bearing high replacive tone, which is its stem. This high tone associates with an immediately-following node to which a low tone has previously been associated. This low tone is detached from its node and deleted. The high tone associates with this node and with the syllable to which the low tone was associated in the lexicon.”



5.2.2 The Syllabic AM Followed by a Lexically-Assigned Low Tone

The tone-assignment rule (49) is applied where the AM prefix is syllabic and where the first low tone to the right of the AM is assigned to a syllable in the lexicon. Language data showing the effect of this rule is seen in (50)-(53). Note that the tone and pitch of the first noun stem spread rightward to the AM prefix rather than leftward in the previous examples ***[be⁴.tír²#be²#dì⁴.ʔi⁴]**.

(49) The Associative Marker when its prefix is syllabic and the following low tone is associated with a syllable in the lexicon



“The syllabic allomorph of the AM consists of a low boundary tone and the prefix-bearing high replacive tone, which is its stem. This high tone associates with an immediately-following node to which a low tone has been associated with a syllable in the lexicon. This low tone is detached from its node and deleted. The high tone associates with this node and with the syllable to which the low tone was associated in the lexicon. The tone and the pitch of the AM's prefix is the same as the tone and pitch of the stem of N¹, these being assigned through tone-spreading.”

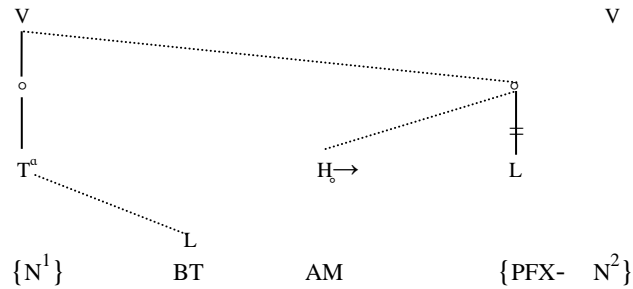
In examples (50)-(53), the low tones replaced by the high replacive tone are in the prefix of the second noun. It is shown replacing low tones within the second noun in (52)-(53). The tone and pitch of the AM prefix are determined through tone-spreading.

- (50) **be- tid be me- dibo** /bètíd bē mēdíbó/
 [be⁴.tír²#be²#me².dí¹.bo¹]
 “animals that live in the water”
- (51) **ɪ- ja: vi me- sjeh** /ɪ̀à: vù mēsǰêh/
 [ɪ⁴.dza:⁴#vi⁴#me².sjeh¹⁴]
 “the beauty of girls”
- (52) **b- ɔd be nsɪ** /bùd bè nsǐ/
 [bur⁴#be⁴#nsɪ¹]
 “the people on the path”
- (53) **me- nsɪ me b- ɔd** /mènnsǐ mè bùd/
 [me⁴.nsr⁴#me⁴#bur¹⁴]
 “the paths of people”

5.2.3 The AM with no Syllabic Prefix Followed by a Floating Low Tone

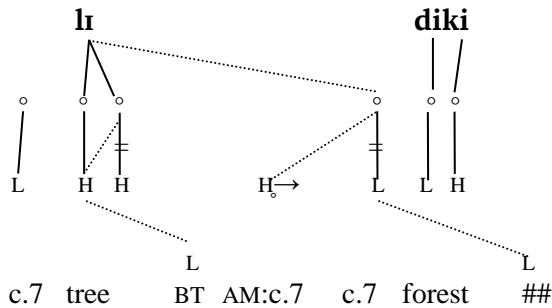
If the first noun is in class 3 or 7, the AM that shows agreement with it lacks a prefix and consists solely of the high replacive tone. This tone will replace a low tone in the tonal prefix of the second noun (55)- (56), or following noun, or a low tone in the prefix of that noun (58) or a low tone within the noun itself (59).

(54) The Associative Marker when its prefix is syllabic is absent and when N² has a tonal (nonsyllabic) prefix



“The nonsyllabic allomorph of the AM consists of a low boundary tone and the prefix-bearing high replacive tone, which is the stem of the AM. This high tone associates with an immediately-following node to which a low tone has been associated in the lexicon. This low tone is detached from its node and deleted. If that node has no vowel to be assigned with it, the high tone associates with this node and then the node associates to the left with a preceding syllable, that being the last syllable of the first noun.”

(55)

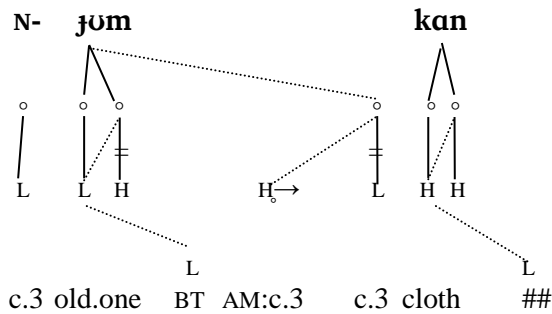


/lɪ dɪkɪ/

[lɪ²¹ # dɪ⁴.ɪ⁴]

“animals that live in the water”

(56)



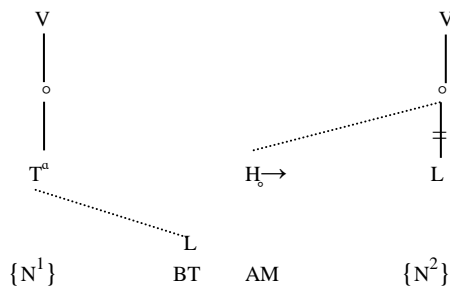
/ŋjɔ̃m k̄an/

[ndzɔm⁴¹ # kan²]

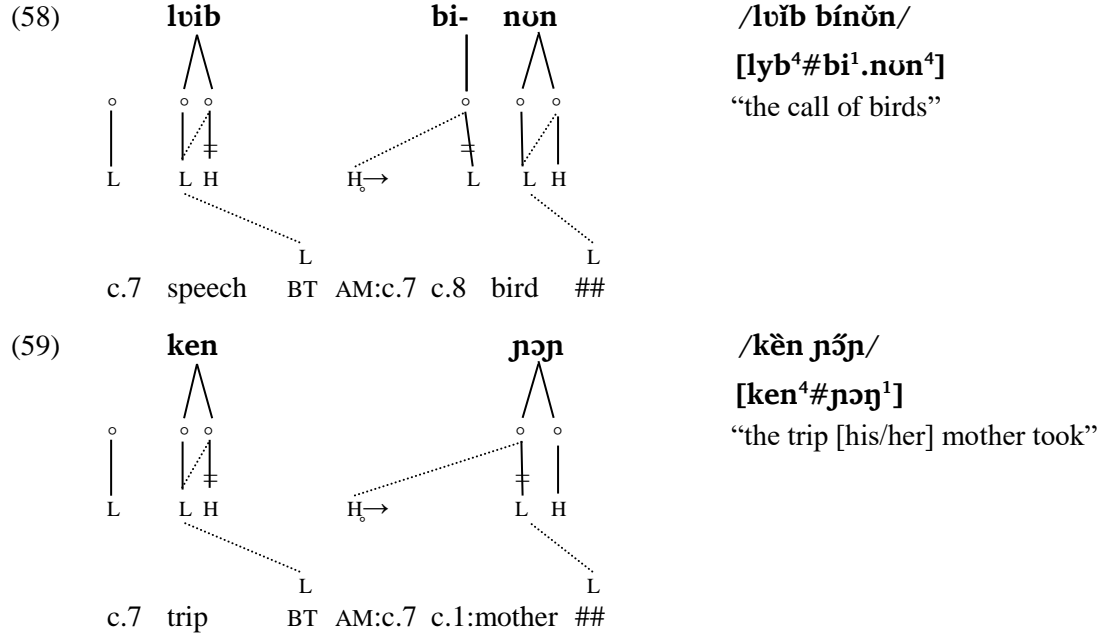
“an old piece of clothing”

5.2.4 The AM with no Syllabic Prefix Followed by a Lexically-Assigned Low Tone

(57) The Associative Marker (when prefix is absent and when N² has a syllabic prefix or no prefix)



“The nonsyllabic allomorph of the AM consists of a low boundary tone and the prefix-bearing high replacive tone, which is the stem of the AM. This high tone associates with an immediately-following node to which a low tone has been associated in the lexicon. This low tone is detached from its node and deleted. The high tone associates with this node and then with the vowel of the first noun.”



6 Conclusions

Njyem is characteristic of most Bantu languages in most respects, but I have heard Africans speak of it as more complicated than others. The flip side of this is that I have heard Njyem speakers complain of how Africans of other Bantu languages tend to speak it poorly when they make the attempt to do so. I am convinced that the reason for both these observations is that Njyem has a mid tone, which is not characteristic of Bantu languages in A-80.

As was shown in §2.2.2.1, this third toneme seems to have a small role in the definition of lexemes, there being only two lexemes that should be identified as having an underlying mid toneme—the verbal auxiliary /bē/ and the third person singular pronoun that follows /nè/ “with”: /nē/. It turns out, however, that mid plays a disproportionately large role in the grammar, since the polar opposite of a high tone is a mid tone, and polar tone rules operate within three verbal constructions.

At the same pitch as the mid toneme one finds the high tone that precedes a low boundary tone. This boundary tone precedes the associative marker.

Another circumstance for the phonetic lowering of high is dissimilation, which occurs when two high tones meet at a morpheme boundary. The first is lowered to to the level of a mid tone.

It would seem, then, that such factors as these make Njyem a challenge to learn for non-native speakers, and a challenge for linguists to describe as well. They must encounters mid pitches and determine if the pitch represents the mid toneme or rather a high toneme before a lowering environment of a grammatical character. It is to such an audience that I commit this work.

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Appendix 1: Abbreviations and Conventions Used

_____	A tone assigned at the lexical level
.....	A tone assigned by rule at the post-lexical level
◀-----	A tone assigned by a polar tone rule at the post-lexical level
“.”:	Boundary between syllables in phonetic representations of data
“#”:	Phonetic boundary between words
“##”:	Point where an utterance begins or ends
“()”:	Optional
“o”:	Node
“>”:	Is derived from
“ ” ”:	Two high tones associated with a vowel
“ ” ”:	Two low tones associated with a vowel
“1p”:	First person plural
“1s”:	First person singular
“2p”:	Second person plural
“2s”:	Second person singular
“3p”:	Third person plural
“3s”:	Third person singular
“AC”:	Associative construction
“AM”:	Associative marker
“AUG”:	Augmentive suffix to a verb
“AUX”:	Auxiliary verb, related to the copula /be/
“BT”:	A low boundary tone which precedes a noun phrase constituent
“c.”:	Noun class
“C”:	Consonant
“CONSEC”:	Consecutive
“DUP”:	Duplicated
“FOC”:	Focus marker
“FV”	Final vowel of verb
“GEN”	Generic
“GER”	Gerund: A verbal suffix that nominalizes a verb and gives it a passive meaning
“H”:	A high tone
“HORT”:	Hortative mode
“IMPV”:	Imperative mode
“L”:	A low tone
“LOC”:	Location
“mat.”:	Maternal
“M”:	A mid tone
“Mod-Hd”:	A modifier precedes its head, as is reflected by a high replacive tone
“N ¹ ”:	The first noun of the AC
“N ² ”:	The second noun of the AC
“NPH”:	Negated Present Habitual”
“←P”:	A polar tone rule affects a preceding tone, changing it to its polar opposite. The opposite of low is high and the opposite of high is mid. It associates to a node as is indicated by a dotted line.
“P ⁰ ”:	Present
“P ¹ ”:	Recent Past (earlier today)
“P ² ”:	General Past (yesterday or prior)
“PASS”	Passive

“pat.”:	Paternal
“PFX”:	Prefix
“PRF”:	Perfective
“p.pro.”	Possessive pronoun
“rel.art.”	Article after a relative clause
“rel.pro.”	Relative pronoun
“S”:	Semivowel
“SUB”:	Subordinator
“T ¹ ”:	The first tone of a stem
“T ² ”:	The second tone of a stem
“T ⁰ ”:	Any tone
“V”:	Vowel
“vd”:	Voiced
“vl”:	Voiceless

Appendix 2: “My Two Personal Words” by Pa’kel Simon De Ville

- 1 **¶Mě lě é, í tǔŋǔ Njém, mě nè mè- kǎn mè- mbá.**
 1s say FOC in inside Njyem 1s with c.6 word c.6 two
 ¶I have two things to say to Njyem people.
- 2a **Mè bé- ɟvè,**
 1s FUT die
 [First,] I will die
- 2b **í lè- sâ: m- ôd lí -gò mè.**
 in c.15 search:INF c.1 person counsel HORT 1s
 seeking someone to counsel me.
- 3 **Mè bé- báǰǰ ɟvè, à- ɟvèk.**
 1s FUT again die NEG know
 [Secondly,] I will again live and die never having known as I desire.
- 4a¹ **¶í lǰékl -ó ó, gó dì dì lí- lě nè b- ùd é,**
 3s:c.7 show FV:P⁰ FOC if:2s stay HAB HAB say with c.2 people FOC
 ¶What this teaches is that if someone tells people
- 4b **“Mí ɟvèk jíní! Mí ɟvèk!” vá, gò ó, gǒ lè- sǎl**
 1s know that:c.7 1s know if 2s FOC 2s c.15 hide:INF:CAUS
 “I know that! I know it!”, what that amounts to is that you are hiding
- 4c **sá dí tǰèk í lè- sú é, “Bě: ɟâ:, jé à- bè tǔmâ.”**
 thing stay there at c.5 profit FOC see:c.7 Dja (River) 3s:c.7 NEG be old.person
 the truth. We know this because of the proverb that says “He who says he has seen the Dja River
 is not [simply] the old person.”
- 5 **Mè bé- lě é mbǔ:nò.**
 1s FUT say FOC like:this
 This is how I will go on speaking:
- 6a **“Bè: ɟâ:, í tók tǔmâ” í lǒb é,**
 see Dja (River) 3s:c.7 FOC.NEG oldster at matter FOC
 “He who says he has seen the Dja River is not [simply] the old person” means this:

1 A panel of Njyem examined this text and requested that the double marking of the habitual aspect should be altered, as follows: / í lǰékl-ó ó, gò lě: m-ôd é, / “What this teaches is that if someone tells people.”

- 6b **m- â ntjëm, jě nè nkùl lè- ljékl -ò gó**
c.1 small:one yo.sibling 3s with power c.15 show/teach FV:INF 2s
A child is able to teach you something
- 6c **í jò gó vǎ lè é, “Mjëm, mí bǒ: buêl.**
at time sub:2s contrafactual say FOC 1s:EMPH 1s:PRF already be:born
when you might otherwise have been tempted to say, “I was born long ago.
- 7 **Mjëm, mé à- kǎ bè m- ôd lè- ljékl -à: jí.**
1s:Emph 1s:NEG NEG more be c.1 person c.15 show/teach INF:PASS Rel.art.
As for me, I am no longer a person who can be taught.
- 8 **Gò múò nsě lõem lé- jvínò í mì- kvàhá.”**
2s already then paint c.5 blackness in c.4 drinking:gourd
You are trying to make yourself ridiculous [by refusing wisdom outside yourself].”
- 9a **¶Tjêk é mé dí í lè- lè é,**
there Foc 1s:SUB stay in c.15 say:INF FOC
¶It is on account of that that I always say,
- 9b **mjëm, mè bó- jvè í lè- jî é,**
1s:emph. 1s FUT die in c.15 ask:INF FOC
“I will spend my life asking
- 9c **“Nsé lí -gò: mè ě?”**
who counsel HORT 1s. quest.
“Who is there who can give me counsel?” ”
- 10a **Mè nták bó- jvè, à- jvèk, í lè- sú é, mjëm:**
1s also FUT die NEG know in c.5 profit FOC 1s:emph.
In addition, I will also spend my life without coming to know what I ought, since I have this habit of saying,
- 10b **“Gò ó m- â ntjëm. À- buĩd -ĩ mē.**
2s FOC c.1 small yo.sibling neg leave IMPV 1s
“You are a youngster. Don’t leave me [alone].
- 11 **Gó buĩd é, mè tó ó tô -k vá, mè ní í lè- gvòklà.**
if:2s leave FOC 1s go:P⁰ FOC go AUG if 1s enter in c.5 ignorance
If you should just leave me to go however I may imagine on my own, I will just end up in total ignorance.
- 12a **Gòò lè é: ‘N- jǔm tá: m- ôd j- ôk, jě lè- jvèk,’**
2s:emph say FOC c.3 old:one oldster c.1 person c.1 this 3s c.15 know
As for you, you say, ‘This old man certainly knows this already,’
- 12b **ndù mè à- jvèk.”**
only 1s NPH know:NPH
only I don’t ever know [enough].”
- 13a **¶Nó ó, à- buĩd -ĩ gá mè, bǐn b- vó ntjëm.**
so FOC NEG leave IMPV PLUR 1s 2p c.2 small:one yo.sibling
¶Therefore, don’t leave me alone to myself, young people!
- 13b **Lí -gó: gá mè.**
counsel IMPV PL 1s
Give me the benefit of your counsel!
- 14 **Mè bé- jvè í lè- sâ: lĩ -l.**
1s FUT die in c.15 look:for:INF counselor:c.1 agent
I will spend my life looking for a counselor.
- 15 **Mè nták bó- jvè, à- jvèk é nĩ.**
1s also FUT die NEG know FOC that
Even so, I will also die never knowing [as I ought to].

- 16a **Mè nták dìbl -ò b- ôd bé dí è- jvèk bá,**
 1s also silence FV c.2 person rel.pro.:c.2 stay c.15 know rel.art.:c.2
 I also silence those who know things
- 16b **bé dí -gò: à- lê mé é, “Tá: m- ũd nĩ á lê é,**
 3p remain HORT P⁰:NEG say 1s FOC elder c.1 person:that that P² say:P² FOC
 so that they should not say, “This old man said that
- 16c **jě lè- bõ: jvèk.”**
 3s c.15 already:INF know
 he has come to know [everything] already.”
- 17 **¶Mjèm, mé á- lē mbũ:nò.**
 1s:emph. 1s:NPH NPH say:NPH like:that
 ¶As for me, I will never speak like that.
- 18 **¶Mè- kǎn mè- mbá m- âm, mé mà líg -ò ó nâ:.**
 c.6 word c.6 two c.6 my 3p:c.6 P⁰:HAB stay:behind FV:P⁰:HAB FOC there
 ¶My two words stay there. (These are my two words.)

Notes on the Text

Lines 2-3: The two mottos share a structural similarity that should be noted because it gives rise to a problem in the translation. The first begins /**mè bé-jvè**/: “I will die...” and the second concludes /**mè bé-bákǎ jvè**/: “I will again die...” Literally it seems that the speaker is talking about dying twice, but this is not his meaning. In Njyem, the expression “I will die” should be translated in English as either “I will spend my life” or “I will live and die”. He speaks to the point of how he will be at the point of death—still not knowing what he should.

Lines 4c, 6a: One can note the understated way in which the same aphorism is introduced, without any speech introducer to cause it to stand as an authority being appealed to. This is perhaps because the knowledge of aphorisms is presupposed, just as lower levels of grammar are presupposed. Aphorisms are essential elements in a discourse that hopes to convince the hearer. In this case, the aphorism is used twice, the second time with a slight modification.

1. **”Bèè jáà”, jé àbè tómâ.**

see Dja River it c.7 neg-be oldster

2. **”Bèè jáà”, í tók tómâ.**

see Dja River it c.7 neg-foc oldster

“He who says he has seen the Dja River is not always simply the old person”

In the first instance, the expression makes use of the locative verb (/be/) which is negated, giving the sense “it is not”. The meaning “always simply” is added for the English translation, since the reader would then understand that old people never say they have seen the Dja River. The second time the proverb is quoted, the negative focus marker is used (/tók/), together with the alternate form of the c.7 subject pronoun (/í/). To reflect the grammatical structure of second rendering of the aphorism, one might say “It is [anything but/other than] an old person who can say he has seen the Dja River.”

The point of the aphorism is that seeing the Dja River is an important experience that one can speak about at times with other Njyem, one that not all have shared. The truth of this is underscored by a comment I heard a government official make. Not all the Njyem have seen the ferry on the Dja River, this being the way to go into the wider world.

Line 8: The figure of speech “to cause to appear ridiculous” can only be used with regard to old people, since it is they who reflect the traditions of the past and thus are thus represented figuratively by the drinking gourd. The expression in question is:

lè- lèem lé- jwínó í mì- kvàhá

c.15 paint:INF c.5 blackness in c.4 drinking:gourd

This means that a drinking gourd, respected for its role in serving a native tisane, is being removed from daily use and service to the community by being painted black, causing people to shun it as something unclean. The old person who might use this aphorism is thus expressing his fear that he is being deprived of his respect in society, and as losing his future utility. He imagines that he will “lose face” if he takes instruction from a young person and will no longer be consulted by others. These would presumably think that he must lack the knowledge of young people, since he consults their opinions. If that is true, he must also lack the knowledge which is specific to old people. Note that there is dissimilation of the high tone in the prefix of ‘blackness’ since it is separated from another high tone by a morpheme boundary.

Line 16a: This relative clause has some interesting grammatical features.

b- òd bé dí è- jvèk bá,
 c.2 person rel.pro.:c.2 stay c.15 know:INF rel.art:c.2.

The subordinator of a relative clause is usually a high replacive tone. There is a growing relative pronoun in Njyem, /**bé**/, which makes its appearance before the tense-aspect marker /**dí**/. The latter is the finite verb of the clause, and is followed by a verb in the infinitive, /**è-jvèk**/, “to know”. Note that the form of the prefix for infinitives following /**dí**/ is /**è-**/rather than /**lè-**/. A final observation is that the relative clause ends with a relative article, /**bá**/. It agrees in class with the c.2 head noun of the relative clause, /**b-òd**/, ‘people’. The translation value of the relative article is “those in existence” rather than “the aforementioned”, which is the meaning of the regular definite article, /-**ǎ**/: (Cf. /**b-òd b-ǎ**/: ‘the aforementioned people’.)

Line 16b: The deictic, /**lnĩ**/, “that”, is irregular in Njyem as its stem tones are LHL and these tones are preserved in all contexts. This irregularity is found in all A-80 languages I have studied. In the text here, the initial high stem tone is observed associating with the preceding vowel, that of “person”. This association behavior is found in all cases where a floating high tone is found. In the following data, the first high tone of “that” is found without a syllabic prefix to which it can be associated.

m- òd nĩ

 L L H L H
 L

/mǒd nĩ/
 [mǒr⁴¹#nĩ⁴]
 “that person”

c.1 person that:c.1 ##

Note, however, in the following data that the first high tone of “that” is found with a syllabic prefix to which it can be associated.

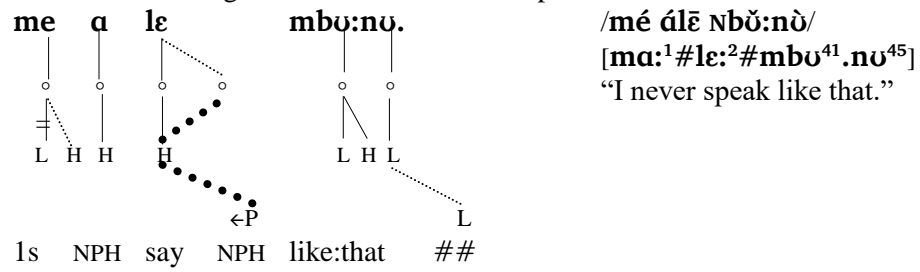
b- òd be- nĩ

 L L H L H
 L

/bǒd bēnĩ/
 [bǒr⁴#bē¹nĩ⁴]
 “those people”

c.2 person c.2 that ##

Line 17: “I never speak like that” is a characteristic use of the negative habitual. Note that there is a polar tone that turns the lexical tone of “say” from high to low. It is a mid pitch because of the rule that makes a generated low tone mid in pitch.



Appendix 3: Table of Concords for Njyem

classes	1	1a	2	2a	3	4	5/15	6/6a	7	8	9/10	11/14
Nouns in class with different semantic types												
an object	kàná <i>belt</i>	á-Ndàgà <i>gumbo sauce</i>	bè- kàná <i>belts</i>	bè-á- Ndàgà <i>gumbo sauce</i>	L-kǎn <i>cloth</i>	mì-kǎn <i>clothes</i>	lè-kǐ <i>egg</i>	mè-kǐ <i>eggs</i>	L-sâ <i>thing</i>	bì-sâ <i>things</i>	Nsuŋ: <i>ax</i>	ì-kú má <i>riches</i>
a place		á-lònnbó <i>moon</i>		bè-á- lònnbó <i>moons</i>	Ñbêh <i>house</i>	mì-Nbêh <i>houses</i>	lè-bàhà: <i>yard</i>	mè- bàhà: <i>yards</i>	L-pjëm <i>garden</i>	bì- pjëm <i>gardens</i>	kuód <i>village</i>	ì-dù mò <i>end</i>
a person	m-òd <i>person</i>	á-Ntím <i>blind person</i>	b-òd <i>people</i>	bè-á- Ntím <i>blind people</i>	Ñbêl <i>sick person</i>	mì-Nbêl <i>sick people</i>	lè-gvâh <i>twin</i>	mè- gvâh <i>twins</i>	L-jàṇà <i>girl- friend</i>	bì-jàṇà <i>girl- friends</i>		ì-Nkǎn <i>someone else's²</i>
before vowel or semivowel	m		b				d	m				
before consonant	ø, n	à, á	bè	bè	L, LN	mìN, mì	lè	mé	L	bì	ø, N	ì-

² This noun may be the only noun of this class referring to a person.

classes	1/1a	2/2a	3	4	5/15	6/6a	7	8	9/10	11/14
adjective	svîh	bèsvîh	svîh	mìsvîh	lèsvîh	mèsvîh	svîh	bìsvîh	svîh	ìsvîh
associative marker	∅	be-H→	H→	mì-H→	le-H→	me-H→	H→	bi-H→	∅	vi-H→
ordinal number “second”	Nbá		Nbá		lèNbá		Nbá		Nbá	vínbá
cardinal number “two”		bèbá		mìNbá		mèNbá		bìbá	Nbá	
cardinal number “one” (“same” for plural nouns)	Ngvód	bènpuvód	Ngvód	mìNpuvód	lègvód	mèNpuvód	gvód	bìNpuvód	Npuvód	Ngvód
relative article	ɲó	bá	ví	mí	lí	má	jí	bí	ɲó	ví
second object ³	ɲǎ	bá	vá	mjá	lá	má	já	bjá	ɲǎ	vá
demonstrative, near to speaker	ɲô	bâ	vî	mî	lî	mâ	jî	bî	ɲô	vî
demonstrative, far from speaker before “?”	ɲókǎ	bákǎ	vígǎ	mígǎ	lígǎ	mákǎ	jígǎ	bígǎ	ɲókǎ	vígǎ
demonstrative in view	ɲĩ	bénĩ	ɲĩ	mínĩ	lénĩ	ménĩ	ɲĩ	bínĩ	ɲĩ	vínĩ
demonstrative in view (/ _ noun)	ɲínĩ	bínĩ	vínĩ	mínĩ	línĩ	mínĩ	jínĩ	bínĩ	ɲínĩ	vínĩ
definite article	vǎ:	bǎ:	vǎ:	mǎ:	lǎ:	mǎ:	jǎ:	bjǎ:	ɲǎ:	vǎ:
a certain, another, other (/ _ noun)	ɲǔ:	bǔ:	vǔ:	mǔ:	lǔ:	mǔ:	jǔ:	bjǔ:	ɲǔ:	vǔ:
the other definite one	ɲíhǎ:	bíhǎ:	víhǎ:	míhǎ:	líhǎ:	míhǎ:	jíhǎ:	bíhǎ:	ɲíhǎ:	víhǎ:
which definite one? (/ _ noun) 4	vâ:	bâ:	vâ:	mǎ:	lâ:	mâ:	jâ:	bjâ:	ɲâ:	vâ:
each, every	ìvêh	bébjêh	íuvêh	mímjêh	léljêh	mémjêh	íjêh	bíbjẽh	ìvêh	íuvêh
how many?		bèníé		mìníé		mèníé		bìníé	níé ⁵	
which [in terms of order]?	níé		níé		lèníé		níé		níé ⁵	ìníé
my	vám	bâm	vâm	mǎm	lâm	mâm	jâm	bjâm	ɲâm	vâm
your (sg.)	gô	bô	gô	mǎô	lô	mô	jô	bjô	ɲô	gô
his/her/its	vé	bé	vé	mǎé	lé	mé	jé	bjé	ɲé	vé
our (excl.)	víhí	bíhí	víhí	míhí	líhí	míhí	jíhí	bíhí	ɲíhí	víhí
our (incl.)	víná	bíná	víná	míná	líná	míná	jíná	bíná	ɲíná	víná
your (pl.)	vín	bín	vín	mín	lín	mín	jín	bín	ɲín	vín
their	vǎ:	bǎ:	vǎ:	mǎ:	lǎ:	mǎ:	jǎ:	bjǎ:	ɲǎ:	vǎ:
emphatic pronoun	ɲìè	bìè	vìè	mìè	lìè	mìè	jìè	bìè	ɲìè	vìè

³ This pronoun is used for the second object of a verb. The first object may be either a pronoun or a noun phrase. **Mè á bē í buǐd ɲé mjá.** “I caused him to wear them.” The second object agrees with a noun such as /mì-kǎm/, “clothes” c.4.

⁴ This interrogative pronoun is used before a noun, usually at the beginning of a sentence.

⁵ This is used after a noun. It has the sense of “which?” before singular nouns and “how many?” before plural nouns. It has both usages before nouns of c.9/10, where one finds both singulars and plurals. It is used in the case of c.9 nouns, which are singular as “which?” and in the case of c.10 nouns in the sense “how many?”

classes	1/1a	2/2a	3	4	5/15	6/6a	7	8	9/10	11/14
subject pronoun, narrative past ⁶	ɲɪ:	bɪ:	vɪ:	mɪ:	lɪ:	mɪ:	ʝɪ:	bɪ:	ɲɪ:	vɪ:
subject pronoun, recent past	ɲè	bê	vê	mjê	lê	mê	ʝê	bjê	ɲè	vê
subject pronoun, present perfect	ɲɪ́	bɪ́	vɪ́	mɪ́	lɪ́	mɪ́	ʝɪ́	bɪ́	ɲɪ́	vɪ́
subject, before nè “with”	ɲě	bé	vé	mjé	lé	mé	ʝé	bjé	ɲě	vé
object, 3rd person	ɲè	bé	vé	mjé	lé	mé	ʝé	bjé	ɲè	vé
object, after nè “with”	nē	bé	vé	mjé	lé	mé	ʝé	bjé	nē	vé

⁶ This pronoun is used before the auxiliary verb /**nsè**/, derived from /**lè-nsjè**/ “to come”. The action indicated by the main verb is a past event reported in chronological order.