TABLE OF CONTENTS

Articles
Robert Hedinger, THE VERB IN AKɔSE .................................................. 1
Ronald P. Schaefer, MOTION IN Tswana AND ITS CHARACTERISTIC
LEXICALIZATION ......................................................................... 57
Aleksandra Steinbergs, THE ROLE OF MSC'S IN OSHIKWANYAMA LOAN
PHONOLOGY ............................................................................ 89
Hounkpatin B. C. Capo, ON THE HIGH NON-EXPANDED VOWELS IN YORUBOID . . . . . . 103

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED .............................................................. 123
CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENTS .................................................. 131
TEACHING POSITION ................................................................ 133
Advertising ............................................................................. 135
Guidelines for Contributors ........................................................ inside back cover
THE VERB IN AKOCE*

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Akoce has a comparatively complex verb morphology for a Bantu language. Underlying forms for the different morphemes making up the verb are proposed, as well as a set of segmental and tonal rules necessary to account for the surface forms. The derivation of certain verb forms is discussed. Verbs have three different forms: the "free form", the "dependent subject form", and the "dependent non-subject form". The contexts in which these are used are described. This is followed by an overview of the grammatical categories (tense, aspect, mood, negation) present in the verb and the combination of these categories in individual verb forms. Finally, meanings and usages of all verb forms are presented.

1. Introduction


To do a surface morphemic analysis is practically impossible because of the considerable historical fusion of the elements making up the verb forms. In or-

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order to be able to make generalizations as to the shape of the negative, aspect, tense, and other markers, I have chosen a more abstract analysis. Interestingly, by doing this, a verb structure very much like the one established by Meeussen for Proto-Bantu emerges.

In section 2, all the elements making up the verb structure are presented. Section 3 contains the set of rules required to derive the surface forms from the underlying forms. In section 4, the derivation of some specific verb forms is discussed. Each verb has two or three different contextually conditioned forms labelled the Independent form (I-form), the Dependent Subject form (DS-form), and the Dependent Non-Subject form (DNS-form). The contexts for these different forms are specified in section 5. Section 6 summarizes the grammatical categories involved in the verb system and section 7 gives details of the meaning and usage of individual verb forms. Appendix 1 presents in summary form the derivation of a complete set of verb forms in all tenses, aspects, etc including the underlying form, the rules necessary for the derivation, and the surface forms. To make the paper as complete as possible, appendix 2 contains a list of more marginal verb forms observed in the language but not included in this description.

2. The Structure of the Verb in Akoose

Meeussen reconstructs the Proto-Bantu verb structure as consisting of a total of eleven elements or slots: "The verb ... exhibits a clear structure with definable elements occurring in a fixed order" [Meeussen 1967:108]. He uses the following labels for the elements in the different slots:

1. Pre-initial
2. Initial
3. Post-initial
4. Formative
5. Limitative
6.1 Infix
6.2 Radical
6.3 Suffix
7. Pre-final
8. Final
9. Post-final

This seems a very long string of elements, especially when considering the verb in a Bantu language such as Akjoce. For most forms, there appears to be on first inspection simply a prefix, a verb root and a suffix.\(^1\)

\(1\) \(\text{a}+\text{pm}+\text{t}\)  'he is throwing away'
\(2\) \(\text{e}+\text{pm}+\text{t}\)  'he didn't throw away'

With some tenses, the suffix seems to be replaced by a prefix:

\(3\) \(\text{a}+\text{m}+\text{pm}\)  'he threw away'

However, with a more careful analysis, a structure very much like that proposed for Proto-Bantu appears. In fact, as will be seen, only the element labelled by Meeussen as the "infix" (6.1), which is the object prefix in pre-radical position, is completely absent in Akjoce.\(^2\)

Table 1 gives a summary of the Akjoce verb structure. In order to be able to compare the various elements with Meeussen's material, his terminology and numbering system has been included in the table (see Table 1 on following page). In the following sections, the elements in the different positions will be discussed.

2.1. The verb stem. Every verb has a stem which consists obligatorily of a root, the central lexical part, with an optional stem suffix (cf. position 6 in Table 1). The root and stem will be discussed in turn below.

2.1.1. The verb root. The verb root has the following generalized structure:

\[ C_1^w V(V)(C_2) \]

It always begins with a consonant which may be followed by a glide. It is fol-

\(^1\)Long vowels are indicated by doubling the vowel. High tone = H or ' , low tone = L or ' , falling tone = HL or ' , rising tone = LH or ' , falling from a high to a downstepped high tone = H'H or ' , downstep is indicated by the apostrophe '. Nasalization is indicated by the cedilla V.

\(^2\)Perhaps the "Pre-initial" should also be considered absent in Akjoce. We consider replacive tones as being in this position whereas Meeussen [1967:108] has kû and ka , but he does not seem to assign a slot to his "LH replacive tones.
Table 1: Akoose verb structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meeussen (1967:108)</td>
<td>Pre-initial</td>
<td>Initial</td>
<td>Post-initial</td>
<td>Formative</td>
<td>Limitative</td>
<td>Verbal base</td>
<td>Pre-final</td>
<td>Final</td>
<td>Post-final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This paper</td>
<td>Person and concord class prefix</td>
<td>Neg. marker</td>
<td>Tense marker</td>
<td>Verb stem</td>
<td>Verb root</td>
<td>Stem suffix</td>
<td>Aspect marker</td>
<td>Tense marker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akoose verbal elements</td>
<td>Y- 0_H1</td>
<td>à-se-bé-etc.</td>
<td>e- 'NEG'</td>
<td>N- 'PAST (PERF)'</td>
<td>kê- 'already'</td>
<td>plm 'throw away'</td>
<td>-e -ed -e etc.</td>
<td>-a -a etc.</td>
<td>-e -e etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See section</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.1.1</td>
<td>2.1.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
lowed by a short or long vowel (indicated by the optional second V). It may have a final consonant $C_2$ which is limited to the following: $b$, $d$, $g$, $m$, $n$, $ŋ$, and $l$ ($ŋ$ is always preceded by a short vowel). These consonants are not all of equal status and therefore different rules apply to them (cf. Rules 17-19 and 25-26 in section 3).

A few sample roots are given in (4):

(4) sú 'return' dyé 'eat'
wóg 'wash, rub on' kwèl 'cut'
síi 'grate' hyóó 'sweep'
bàam 'cower down' tyéem 'stand'

Each root can be classified as being either a high tone or a low tone root based on the inherent lexical tone:

(5) **High tone** | **Low tone**
---|---
béb 'spoil, be bad' | bèb 'tie'
hyé 'be warm, hot' | hyé 'come'
kål 'reclaim (money, etc.)' | kål 'tell a story'
lég 'leave' | lég 'stay behind'

There are no disyllabic roots. Forms like köle 'to be sick' are considered as a stem consisting of the root köl plus a suffix -e, although köl is not attested as a separate form (cf. 2.1.2 below).

2.1.2. Stem suffixes. There are a number of suffixes which occur together with the root to make up the verb stem. They may be divided into two groups for the following reasons:

a. The meanings of the suffixes of group 1 are easily identified but this is not the case with the second group.

b. The second group behaves differently morphologically from the suffixes of group 1 when put into the IMPERFECT aspect.

(6) **Group 1 suffixes**

/ _ V | elsewhere
---|---
1. -t | -ed | "causative"
2. -n | -en | "instrumental, accompanitive, reciprocal"
3. -?/-d -e "applicative"^3

1a. à+pém+t+é  he-carry-CAUS-PERF 'he made (s.body) carry'
2a. à+pém+n+é  he-carry-INSTR-PERF 'he carried with (s.thing)'
3a. à+pém+?+é  he-carry-APP-PERF 'he carried for (s.body)'

1b. pém-êd  'make carry (imperative)'
2b. pém-ên  'carry with (imperative)'
3b. pém-ê  'carry for (imperative)'

The "applicative" suffix, 3., shows two variants for the pre-vocalic forms: -? and -d .^4 The -d suffix is used with CVV roots, the -? suffix with C final roots. Compare (7) with example 3a. in (6):

(7) à+sì+i+d+é  she-grate-APP-PERF 'she grated for'

(8) **Group 2 suffixes**

-nen  'be tied with a lot of work'  cf. hàn 'tie by force'
-ned  'be good for'  cf. bòn 'be good'
-tên  'join together'  cf. bôm 'meet'
-tèd  'spoil/destroy for'  cf. bëb 'be bad'
-lèn  'listen'  cf. wög 'hear, feel'
-lèd  'smell s.thing'  cf. çüm 'stink'
-sèn  'make angry with'  cf. lìñ 'be angry'
-gèn  'help'
-med  'go without knowing the way'

The last three suffixes are relatively rare. The suffix -gèn, for example,

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^3One more suffix -êl has been observed, but only in the following two verbs: kwàgèl 'to bite' and yàgèl 'to throw'. A meaning cannot, however, be isolated for this suffix.

The Verb in Akoose

only occurs after some CVŋ roots. As indicated by the question marks, I have not been able to assign a constant meaning to these suffixes. However, they can be isolated as formatives separate from the root on the basis of the fact that the roots, in many cases, occur also without a suffix.

Verb stems containing a group 2 suffix differ from verb stems with a group 1 suffix in the following way: in the IMPERFECT (IMPF) aspect, the IMPF marker -ê? is suffixed to the verb stem containing a group 1 suffix:

(9) ă+pêm+ê?+ê?
   he-carry-APP-IMPF

'he is carrying for'

On the other hand, if there is a group 2 suffix, the IMPF is marked by a vowel change in the verb suffix.

(10) ă+wõg+làan
    he-hear-Łë:n-IMPF

'he is listening' (cf. wõg-Łë:n)

See section 2.5.2 for more details.

All the suffixes of group 2 have the structure CVC. The following question could be raised: are they indivisible units or do they consist of two separate elements? Meeussen [1967:92] says that "a verbal base can have more than one suffix...". Re-analysing these forms into two suffixes would have the advantage of reducing the total number of suffixes but raises a number of problems:

1. -l , -s , -g and -m are not attested apart from in these combinations.
2. Why would the same suffix occur twice in the same verb stem, e.g. -në:n (= -n + -ë:n , -n and -ë:n being variants of the same suffix)?
3. Why should two different suffixes occur in two different orders, e.g. -n+ëd and -t+ë:n (-ëd and -t being variants of the same suffix)?
4. These combinations of two forms do not appear to have a corresponding semantic combination.
5. By allowing for two suffixes in the verb stem, an additional slot would be added to the verb structure which Meeussen apparently has not done, although he allows for more than one stem suffix.

For the purpose of this paper, these suffixes will be considered as unitary elements.

All stem suffixes are considered toneless. Under certain conditions, they take the floating tone of position 9 or a tone is assigned by the copying rule
3 (section 3). Morphologically, all verb stems can be analysed into root plus optional suffix. However, from a semantic point of view, only some stems which are morphologically complex can be said to consist of two parts, cf. (6), examples 1b–3b. This situation can be diagrammed as in (11):

\[(11) \quad \text{pém} + \text{ed} \quad \text{morphological level} \]

\[
\text{'carry' 'cause' semantic level}
\]

Other stems cannot be semantically split.

In (12), the -e suffix has no independent semantic content. The stem as a whole means 'to be sick'.

\[(12) \quad \text{kùl} + e \quad \text{morphological level} \]

\[
\text{'be sick' semantic level}
\]

In (13), süd-ën is morphologically complex with a unitary meaning, 'to be sad or downcast' (cf. the root süd 'to get down from a height').

\[(13) \quad \text{sùd} + \text{ën} \quad \text{morphological level} \]

\[
\text{'be sad, downcast' semantic level}
\]

In this latter case illustrated by (12) and (13), we have what Meeussen [1967: 89] seems to refer to as "formal radical" and "formal suffix". In what follows, the distinction between "formal" morphemes and those which can be separated on the basis of form and meaning will not be made because it is irrelevant from the morphological point of view.

2.2. The person and concord class prefixes (subject markers). Each verb has an obligatory person/concord class prefix, except in the singular imperative (cf. position 2 in Table 1). Listed below are all the person and class prefixes of the verb. They are given in three groups based on their inherent tone patterns: high, low, and falling.

**High tone prefixes**

- bé- class 2/3rd ps. pl.
- mé-/ň- class 3 and 4
- dé-/â- class 5 and 13
The Verb in Akkose

mé- class 6
é- class 7 and 10
bó-/é?- class 8, 14 and 19

Low tone prefixes
mé-/ñ- 1st ps. sg.
wè-/è- 2nd ps. sg.
à- class 1/3rd ps. sg.
dè- 1st ps. pl. inclusive
de- class 9

Falling tone prefixes
sè- 1st ps. pl. exclusive
nè- 2nd ps. pl.
mè- logophoric (sg.) (cf. Hedinger [1984:94, 99])

Some of the prefixes have two forms, for example mé- and ñ-. The ones with the CV shape occur before vowels and syllabic nasals, the other forms elsewhere. Some of the prefixes are shared by several classes, as, for example, é- by class 7 and 10.

The prefixes have been grouped according to their tone patterns for the following reason: in appendix 1, the various verb forms have been illustrated by using one prefix from each tone class, thus giving the verbal tone pattern found with all prefixes of the same tone class.

2.3. The negative marker. When the verb is in the NEGATIVE (NEG), the person/class prefix is followed by the NEG marker -e (cf. position 3 in Table 1). This marker is underlyingly toneless. To it, under certain circumstances, a tone is assigned by the polarization rule 1 (section 3).

2.4. The tense markers. Tense is marked either by a prefix (cf. position 4 in Table 1) or by a suffix (position 8 in Table 1). There are two past markers. In the IMPF, there is a suffix -ã. It has a H tone which is changed to a L in the NEG (cf. rule 2 in section 3). In the PERFECT (PERF), there is a prefix ñ-. FUTURE (FUT) is marked by the prefix ã-. For the FUT marker, an underlying glide is posited to account for the given surface tones.
2.5. The aspect markers. There are two aspect markers which follow the verb stem (cf. position 7 in Table 1), one for the IMPF, -e? (with either H or L tone) and one for the PERF, -ë . Establishing the tones is a problem. The PERF marker -ë has a H tone in the POSITIVE (POS) and a L tone in the NEG, exactly parallel to the PAST marker -âa . An inherent H tone is therefore positioned for the -ë , which is then changed to L by the polarization rule 2 (section 3).

To establish the tone for the IMPF marker is even more difficult. The following table summarizes the problem:

Table 2: Surface tone on the IMPF marker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>positive</th>
<th>negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>-ë?</td>
<td>-ë?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>-ë?</td>
<td>-ë?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>-ë?</td>
<td>-ë?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the PRESENT (PRES), the IMPF has a L tone in the POS which changes to a H tone in the NEG. In the PAST, it has a H tone in the POS which changes to a L tone in the NEG. In the FUT, it has a H tone in both the POS and NEG. The solution chosen for this problem is the following: two forms, one with a H tone, one with a L tone, are set up. The -ë? marker with a L tone is given as the underlying form in the PRES tense, the -ë? marker with the H tone in the other two cases. Then the tone of these markers is polarized by rule 2, i.e. is changed to the opposite value in forms where the NEG marker e- immediately precedes the verb stem.

In (14) the NEG marker immediately precedes the root of the verb and therefore the tone on the IMPF marker is polarized.

(14) à + e + pîm + ë? + ?ë + âplîmëë 'he is not throwing out'

In (15) the NEG marker does not immediately precede the root of the verb; therefore, the tone on the IMPF marker remains unchanged.

(15) à + e + â + pîm + ë? + ?ë + âplîmëë 'he will not be throwing out'
2.5.1. Archaic forms of the aspect markers. Besides the above forms of both the IMPF and PERF markers, there are variant forms which occur in about a dozen verbs with the structure $C(V)e$. The IMPF marker with these verbs is $-ag$ with H or L tone distributed in the same way as indicated above for the $-e$ marker. This $-ag$ marker corresponds to $-ag$ which Meeussen reconstructed for the IMPF in Proto-Bantu [1967:110]. In the following Akoose examples, the IMPF marker is underlined:

(16) ̀adyɛ  'to eat'
(17) ̀adyǝag  'he is eating'
(18) ̀adyǝagǝa  'he was eating'

The same $C(V)e$ verbs have as a PERF marker $-edǝ$ (the first vowel being toneless), as in the following example:

(19) ̀a+dyɛ+edǝ + ̀adyɛdǝ  'he has eaten'

Comparing this $-edǝ$ and the regular form of the PERF marker $-ǝ$ with what Meeussen [1967:110] reconstructs as a "past" or "perfective" marker $*-jde$, it is plausible to reconstruct the two as having the same historical source. This is especially so in light of his remark that "variants, perhaps regional, of $-jde$ may have been such forms as $-je$, $-i$, unless these be recent phonic reductions of $-jde$" (p.111). It should be pointed out that in Meeussen's treatment, this marker is in his "final" position whereas in our treatment, we have interpreted it as a "pre-final" (position 7 in Table 1), to use Meeussen's terminology.

2.5.2. The imperfective marker as a vowel change in the stem suffix. All the aspect markers shown so far are affixes. There is, however, one exception. In verb stems with a group 2 (CVC) stem suffix, e.g. bànnen 'to sew with', the vowel (e or $ε$) changes to aa in the IMPF.

(20) ̀abànnenǝd (infinitive) + ̀ebànnenǝd  'she is sewing with'

This vowel change signalling the presence of the category IMPF can be cap-
tured by a rule like the following ( = Rule 24, section 3).

(21) \[ \{ e \} \rightarrow \hat{\alpha}a / [...root+C_C...]_{\text{IMPF}} \]

The output of this rule can then be considered as IMPF marker on a par with the suffixes -ɛʔ and -ag .

Comparing the three different forms of the IMPF marker, there is an apparent resemblance. The suffixes -ɛʔ and -ag both have a low vowel plus a post-palatal stop. Our hypothesis is that -ɛʔ developed from -ag ( ag + a? + ɛʔ ) when root plus -ag formed two syllables, but -ag was retained in those cases where root plus -ag combined to form one syllable only. Cf. the following two examples:

(22) àpémê? 'he is carrying'
(23) àkàg 'he is going'

Support for this hypothesis comes from Mboó-Baneka, a related dialect/language spoken in Nkongsamba, where the IMPF marker in post-nuclear syllables is -à [Hedinger et al. 1981:44]. Here the vowel quality was retained but the final C was lost.

(24) âbôlâ 'he is doing...'

Another resemblance exists between -ag and the long âa discussed above. Here too it is tempting to propose a historical relationship. The verb bâŋned 'to sew for' will be used to illustrate the proposed development. The following structure may be the one historically underlying the present day forms:

(25) *à+bâŋ+n+âg+ed + âbâŋnaâd

In (25), the synchronic form results from the loss of the g and a + e fusing to aa .

Certain facts speak in favour of this hypothesis. First, the Akoose word pâàn 'kitchen knife' has a dialect variant pèyàn which shows the original presence of a velar consonant in intervocalic position. Further, a + e becoming aa is attested as a synchronic process (cf. rule 22 in section 3). Thus the two processes necessary to account for the present day form from the proposed original forms are actually attested in the language.
What remains a problem with this hypothesis is the following: in the hypothesized form (25), the \(-ag\) is actually introduced into the stem, splitting up the stem suffix \(-ned\) (following our analysis) into two stem suffixes \(-n\) and \(-ed\) which, as we said earlier, has its own problems. It also means that an aspect marker preceded a stem suffix which is otherwise not the case. Aspect markers always follow the verb stem suffix. It again will have to be comparative evidence to tip the balance for or against this hypothesis.

The above hypothesis, if it turns out to be correct, might lead us to place the PERF marker \(-e\) in "final" position, i.e. our position 8, for the following reason: the PERF marker, unlike the IMPF marker, is not introduced into the stem suffix but follows it. Compare example (26) with (25) above.

(26) \(\text{âbângnédë} \quad \text{'he sewed with'}\)

This would be evidence to the effect that the PERF and IMPF aspect markers belong to different position classes, which would directly support Meeussen [1967: 110-111] provided the Akọse aspect markers are descendants of Proto-Bantu markers. For the purpose of this paper, I keep the two aspect markers in the same position.

2.6. The "already" marker. Position 5 in Table 1 contains the marker \(kê\), glossed as "already". This marker occurs in two verb forms. In the PAST PERF NEG, \(kê\) follows the PAST marker \(N\):

(27) \(\text{â+e+N+kê+N+pém+?c \rightarrow âŋkâmpē?mē \quad 'he didn't carry'}\)

(The nasal following the \(kê\) has not been observed elsewhere. It may be a reflex of the PAST marker \(N\) which in the POS immediately precedes the stem. Significantly, this "intrusive" \(N\) is absent in Dorsch's [1910/11:260-267] material on Akọse.) The second verb form which contains \(kê\) is usually translated as "...already...":

(28) \(\text{â+kê+kê+y \rightarrow âkēkē \quad 'he already went'}\)

In (28), \(kê\) clearly means "already". On the other hand, in the PAST PERF NEG, it cannot be said to have the sense of "already". A case could perhaps be made out for saying that \(kê\) synchronically marks NEG in this form. However, \(kê\) is never associated with a NEG verb form except in this case.
There appears to be a resemblance between this marker and a marker reconstructed by Meeussen for Proto-Bantu. Meeussen [1967:109] has a "limitative" -ka- (in position 5) for which he has the gloss "inceptive ('already; not yet')". This reconstructed marker may be the original marker from which the Akoose ke- has developed. Note that Meeussen [1967:108, 114] also has a NEG marker ka-. At first, it seems tempting to try to establish a link between this ka- and the ke- in the PAST PERF NEG. However, this appears an unlikely possibility since Meeussen places it in position 1 (his pre-initial) whereas in Akoose, it is in position 5.

2.7. The elements in position 1. In position 1 of Table 1 a $^{\text{H}}$ and a $^{\text{O}_{\text{O}}}$ floating tone are listed. There is no segmental element in this position. Meeussen has ku and ka here but does not set up a separate position/slot for his "LH replacive tones. The $^{\text{H}}$ tone is associated with the FUT NEG verb forms and replaces the prefix tones (cf. appendix 1 sections 5b and 6b). The $^{\text{O}}$ tone replaces the person/class prefix tone in the HORTATIVE (HORT) POS in all the DNS-forms (cf. section 5) except in the FUT NEG (cf. appendix 1).

In the second INFINITIVE (INF) form the $^{\text{H}}$ tone is realised on the prefix but without totally replacing the inherent tone (note the presence of the down-step):

\begin{equation}
^{\text{H}}+\hat{a}+w\hat{o}g \rightarrow \hat{a}^{\text{L}}w\hat{o}g
\end{equation}

' to wash'

2.8. The elements in position 9. The elements of the last position to be discussed are the following, two of them being tonal: -?€, $^{\text{H}}$ and $^{\zeta}$. It seems that no specific meaning can be assigned to them but we can summarize where each occurs.

The -?€ suffix occurs in all the DNS-forms (cf. appendix 1) of the verb when POS, except in the PRES PERF and the PAST IMPF. It also occurs in the I-form and the DNS-form of the NEG except in the PAST IMPF. Its distribution is summarized in the following table:

Table 3: The distribution of the -?€ suffix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I-form</th>
<th>DS-FORM</th>
<th>DNS-FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-?€\text{\textsuperscript{1}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>-?€\text{\textsuperscript{2}}</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-?€\text{\textsuperscript{2}}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Verb in Akoose

Exceptions: 1. \(-?\hat{e}\) is not present in the positive DNS-form of the (PRES) PERF and PAST IMPF.
   2. \(-?\hat{e}\) is not present in the negative I-form and DNS-form of the PAST IMPF.

The only generalizations which can be made are the following: (a) the \(-?\hat{e}\) marks the verb in a sentence where a phrase has moved from post-verbal position to before the verb (cf. 5.1); (b) the \(-?\hat{e}\) also has something to do with the NEG in that it is suffixed to the verb in the I-form and the DNS-form when the verb is NEG, but not in the DS-FORM. Again, the exceptions accompanying Table 3 are exceptions to these generalizations. The \(\hat{e}\) marker is part of the following verb forms and is realised on the last syllable:
   a. The I-form (= DS-form) of the PAST PERF POS, FUT PERF POS, FUT IMPF POS, (but see 4.8) and the "ALREADY" form.
   b. The DS-form of the PAST PERF NEG, FUT PERF NEG, FUT IMPF NEG, (but see 4.9).
   c. The I-form and the DNS-form of the PAST IMPF NEG.
   d. The IMP PERF POS.

The marker \(\hat{e}\) is realised on the last syllable of the HORT PERF POS.

3. Derivation of Surface Forms: the Rules

In section 2, the elements which make up the verb were presented and discussed. The actual verb forms observed are, however, not simply a juxtaposition of those elements. There is considerable elision and phonological modification as the elements are placed side by side. In order to capture these processes, a number of rules have been proposed which will be discussed below. No attempt has been made to maximally formalize the rules. They are given in the order in which they apply to produce the correct result. For some of the rules this order is strictly necessary. Others could apply in a different order without changing the result. More about the order of rules will be said in section 4.

Rule 1: Prefix polarization

\[ \emptyset + - \alpha H / [\_\_] PFX + ROOT [\alpha H] \]

A prefix without inherent tone receives a tone with the opposite value from the tone on the following root. This rule operates in the vocative phrase where
the vocative marker a- takes a tone with the opposite value from the following tone:

(30) a + ngomé \( \rightarrow \) ángóm
    voc-Ngome
    'Ngome!'

(31) a + kélé \( \rightarrow \) ákél
    'Kele!'

The same rule also applies when the NEG marker e- immediately precedes the verb root:

(32) a + e + p kém + ë? + ?é
    he-NEG-throw-IMPF-...
    'he is not throwing away'

(33) be + e + wóg + ë? + ?é
    they-NEG-wash-IMPF-...
    'they are not washing'

Note that this rule assigns a H tone to the NEG marker in (32) which is necessary to account for the rising tone in the final output. In (33), a L tone is assigned which accounts for the downstep in the output.

Rule 2: NEG polarization

\[ \alpha H + - \alpha H / [ c+stem+... ] \] \( \text{NEG} \)

Condition: \( X = \) any element 7 and/or 8

In four verb forms, i.e. the (PRES) IMPF, the (PRES) PERF, the PAST IMPF and the HORT, the element following the verb stem takes a tone in the NEG opposite to the one in the POS. Below, two verb forms will be used in both the POS and NEG to illustrate Rule 2.

(34) a + p kém + ë?
    he-throw-IMPF
    'he is throwing away'
The Verb in Akoose

(35) à + e + plm + è? + ?é 'he is not throwing away'
  he-NEG-throw-IMPF-...
à + é + plm + è? + ?é Prefix polarization
à + é + plm + è? + ?é NEG polarization
. . . . . . . .
ëplmèè
other rules
surface form

(36) à + plm + é àplmé 'he threw away'
  he-throw-PERF
à + é + plm + é + ?é Prefix polarization
à + é + plm + è + ?é NEG polarization
. . . . . . . .
ëplmèè
other rules
surface form

(37) à + e + plm + é + ?é 'he did not throw away'
  he-NEG-throw-PERF-...
à + é + plm + é + ?é Prefix polarization
à + é + plm + è + ?é NEG polarization
. . . . . . . .
ëplmèè
other rules
surface form

Note that in both (35) and (37) the aspect marker following the verb stem changes tones. For other rules applying here, see appendix 1, (A7) and (A19).

Rule 3: **Tone copying**

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow \alpha H / [\_\_] STEM SFX \alpha H \]

Condition: \( X = CVC \)

This rule is needed to account for the fact that CVC stem suffixes, which have been analysed as toneless, take the same tone as the following element. Compare the following example:

(38) à + bàŋ + ned + é àbàŋnédé 'he sewed with'
  he- sew-with -PERF

Rule 4: **H tone replacement**

\[ \#H + T + \rightarrow \#\emptyset + H + \]

(\# = word break)
(T = any tone(s))

This rule says that the H tone (in position 1) replaces all the tones on the following morpheme, no trace being left of the tone(s) which have been replaced.

This rule can be observed in the HORT, (39), and in all the DNS-forms, (40), ex-
cept in the FUT NEG.

(39) ṣ + ă + wòg + ṣ → áwòg
     ...he-wash...
      
(40) ṣ + ă + wòg + e → áwògè
     ...he-wash-PERF

Rule 5: ?-deletion

? → ∅ / \( \{ \frac{CV?}{V} \} \)

Rule 5 consists of two sub-rules, both of which delete glottal stop. Applying each subrule of Rule 5 to the following examples results in the correct form:

(41) ă + e + wòg + ṣ? + ṣè
     he-NEG-wash-IMPF...
     ă + e + wòg + ṣ? + ṣè
     Rules 1 and 2
     ă + e + wòg + ṣ + ?è ?-deletion
     ă + e + wòg + ṣ + ṣè ?-deletion
     . . . . . . other rules
     èwògèè surface form

Rule 6: e-lowering

e → e / \( \{ \frac{C+a}{ε} \} \)

Rule 6 consists of two sub-rules. The first is seen in operation before the FUT marker.

(42) sè + ă + pèm + ṣ
     we-FUT-throw...
     sè + ă + pèm + ṣ
     e-lowering
     . . . . . . other rules
     sèpèm surface form

The second is seen in the (PRES) PERF NEG after the glottal stop has been delet-
ed.
The Verb in Akoose

(43) bé + e + čám + é + ?é
    they-NEG-cook-PERF-...
    bé + è + čám + è + è
    bé + è + čám + è + è

... ... ...
    bé'čámčé

'they have not cooked'

Rules 1, 2 and 5
e-lowering
other rules
surface form

Rule 7: a-deletion

a → Ø / V+___

Rule 7 deletes the vowel a in locative constructions as well as in verb forms involving the FUT marker.

(44) ā + ābd
    LOC-cloth
    ābd

'a-deletion

(45) à + à + pilm + ŋ
    he-FUT-throw-...
    à + ^ + pilm + ŋ

... ...
    śpým

'a-deletion
other rules
surface form

(46) é + â + dyé + ŋ
    cl.10-FUT-eat-...
    é + ^ + dyé + ŋ

... ...
    é'dyé

'they (cl. 10) will eat'

'a-deletion
other rules
surface form

(47) sē + â + pilm + ŋ
    we-FUT-throw-...
    sē + ^ + pilm + ŋ

'e-lowering
'a-deletion
other rules
surface form

'we will throw away'

It should be pointed out that the deletion of the vowel here and elsewhere does not delete the tone of the deleted vowel.
Rule 8: \( \varepsilon - \text{deletion} \)

\[
\varepsilon + \emptyset \left( \begin{array}{c}
/ \quad \text{aa} \\
/ \{ \varepsilon \varepsilon \} \\
/ \{ \varepsilon a \}
\end{array} \right)
\]

Rule 8 consists of two sub-rules. In the first case \( \varepsilon \) deletes before the PAST IMPF aa after the glottal stop has been deleted:

(48) \[ \text{à + čàn + ɛ? + áa} \quad \text{'she was buying'} \]
\[ \text{she-buy-IMPF-past} \]
\[ \text{à + čàn + ɛ + áa} \quad \text{?-deletion} \]
\[ \text{à + čàn + ' + áa} \quad \varepsilon \text{-deletion} \]
\[ \text{... ... ...} \quad \text{other rules} \]
\[ \text{dačánaáa} \quad \text{surface form} \]

In the second case, \( \varepsilon \) deletes following long low vowels and \( \varepsilon \varepsilon \) but not before non-low vowels (cf. Rule 20 below):

(49) \[ \text{à + kòc + ɛ} \quad \text{'he hates'} \]
\[ \text{he-hate-IMPF} \]
\[ \text{à + kòc + ?} \quad \varepsilon \text{-deletion} \]
\[ \text{àkòc?} \quad \text{surface form} \]

Rule 9: \( V - \text{deletion} \)

\[
V + \emptyset / \quad \varepsilon + \ldots \text{ROOT[}
\]

Rule 9 deletes the vowel preceding the NEG marker:

(50) \[ \text{à + è + wòg + è? + ?ɛ} \quad \text{'he is not washing'} \]
\[ \text{he-NEG-wash-IMPF-...} \]
\[ \text{à + è + wòg + ɛ + ɛ} \quad \text{Rules 1, 2, 5, 5} \]
\[ ' + è + wòg + ɛ + ɛ \quad \text{V-deletion} \]
\[ \text{èwògɛɛ} \quad \text{surface form} \]

Rule 9 also applies in the locative phrase:

(51) \[ \text{à + èdry} \quad \text{'at the river'} \]
\[ \text{LOC-river} \]
\[ ' + èdry \quad \text{V-deletion} \]
Rule 10: **N-assimilation**

\[ N \rightarrow [\text{aplace}] / ___ \ C \]

Rule 10 ensures that nasals assimilate to the place of articulation of the following consonant. The following markers undergo this rule: the PAST marker \( \ddot{N} \), the class 3 and 4 prefixes \( \dddot{N} \), and the 1st person singular prefix \( \dddot{N} \):

(52) \( \ddot{N} + \text{wog} + \text{é} \)

'I have washed'

\( \iddot{\text{wash-PERF}} \)

\( \dot{\text{wog}} + \text{é} \)

N-assimilation

Rule 11: **N-desyllabification**

\[ N \rightarrow [-\text{syll}] / (C)V___C \]

According to Rule 11, syllabic nasals in the specified context become non-syllabic without, however, deleting the tone carried by the nasal, as is apparent from the presence of the downstep in examples like (53):

(53) \( \text{bó} + \dot{\text{N}} + \text{wog} + \text{y} \)

'they washed'

\( \text{they-PAST-wash-...} \)

\( \text{bó} + \ddot{\text{N}} + \text{wog} + \text{y} \)

N-assimilation

\( \text{bó} + \ddot{\text{N}}' + \text{wog} + \text{y} \)

N-desyllabification

... ...

\( \dddot{\text{bén'}}\text{wog} \)

other rules

surface form

Rule 12: **Leftward spreading**

\[ L \rightarrow L \text{ } H / [e] \text{NEG} + [___] \text{STEM} + H \]

This rule states that the H tone spreads leftwards onto the L tone stem if it is immediately preceded by the NEG marker. It has only been found to apply in the NEG of the (PRES) IMPF and of the HORT and therefore would need to be further constrained. Its application is somewhat idiosyncratic in that it applies optionally in the I-forms, obligatorily in the DS-forms, but does not apply in the DNS-forms nor with a H tone person or class prefix.
Rule 13: Downstep

\[ H \ L \ H \rightarrow H \ 'H \]

Condition: The sequence \( H \ L \ H \) is realized only on one or two \([+\text{syll}]\) elements.

The downstep rule is very commonly observed. It is basically a simplification rule in that the sequence \( H \ L \ H \), when realized on two (or one) syllable(s) is only simplified to \( H \ 'H \) via the elimination of the \( L \) tone. The result is two \( H \) tones of which the second is slightly lower than the first.

Rule 14: \( \hat{H}L \) tone replacement

\[ \hat{H} + T + \text{STEM} \rightarrow \theta + \hat{H} + H \ L + \text{STEM} \]

Rule 14 applies in the FUT NEG forms. It says that the \( \hat{H} \) glide replaces the tone(s) of the morphemes preceding the stem.

Rule 15: Tone raising

\[ L \rightarrow H /H \{ \frac{\#}{\theta} \}_{1} \rightarrow H \]

Condition: Each tone is realized on a \([+\text{syll}]\) element.

Rule 15, which raises a \( L \) to a \( H \) tone between two \( H \) tones, applies only in three restricted syntactic environments:
The Verb in Akoose

a. In some verb-object sequences:

(57) téd mëndîb → téd mëndîb 'take the water!
take water

b. In the associative noun phrase:

(58) âhôpè dé èdîb → âhôpè dé édîb 'waterfall'
? AM river

(59) bê + plîm + é → bêplîmé 'they have thrown out'
they-throw-PERF

In (57) and (58), the tone of the noun prefix, and in (59), the tone of the verb stem becomes H.

Rule 16: Absorption

\[
T_αT_β T → T_α T_β
\]

(a) LH H → L H
(b) HL L → H L
(c) H'H H → H 'H

A contour tone followed by a tone identical to its endpoint loses its contour. There are three sub-rules, (a) to (c). In (60), the low part of the falling tone is absorbed by the following L tone.

(60) sê + plîm + é → sêplîmé 'we threw'
we-throw-PERF

Rule 17: Stop devoicing

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
  b \\
  d \\
  g
\end{bmatrix}
+ ? →
\begin{bmatrix}
  p \\
  t \\
  k
\end{bmatrix}
\]

This rule is quite general in that it is observed in different grammatical contexts. The following two examples illustrate two verbal contexts in which it applies:

(61) à + e + å + wôg + ?ê → âwôkê 'he will not wash'
he-NEG-FUT-wash-...
(62) \( \text{he-} \) \( \text{ADP-IMPF} \) \( \text{open} \) 
\[ \text{à + dàb + ? + è} \rightarrow \text{àdàpè?} \]  
'he is opening'

Rules 18a-c are very closely related as the output of one provides the input of the next.

Rule 18a: \?-metathesis
\[
\begin{bmatrix} m \\ n \end{bmatrix} + ? + \begin{bmatrix} m \\ n \end{bmatrix}
\]

Rule 18b: \?-assimilation
\[
? \begin{bmatrix} m \\ n \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} mm \\ nn \end{bmatrix}
\]

Rule 18c: \?-nasalization
\[
\begin{bmatrix} m \\ n \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} m \\ n \end{bmatrix}
\]

Rules 18b and 18c are optional in the sense that the output of all three rules varies with different speakers.

(63) \( \text{he-} \) \( \text{APPL-IMPF} \) \( \text{be sick} \) 
\[ \text{à + kù} + ? + è \rightarrow \text{àkù?lè?} \]  
\( ? \)-metathesis
\[ \text{à + kù} + l + è \rightarrow \text{àkùlè?} \]  
\( ? \)-assimilation
\[ \text{à + kùn} + l + è \rightarrow \text{àkùnlè?} \]  
\( l \)-nasalization

Rule 19: \?-to-velar assimilation
\[
? \rightarrow g/ŋ\
\]

(64) \( \text{he-} \) \( \text{APPL-IMPF} \) \( \text{lie down} \) 
\[ \text{à + nàŋ + ? + è} \rightarrow \text{ànàŋgè?} \]  
'he is lying down'

Rule 20: \text{V-shortening}
\[
\begin{bmatrix} i \\ u \\ oo \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} i \\ u \\ o \end{bmatrix} /_{\varepsilon}
\]
The Verb in Akoose

(65) bē + sī + ẽ? → bēsīẽ?  
    they-grate-IMPF  
    'they are grating'

Rule 21: Diphthong simplification

oẽ → aa

Rule 21 is optional in the sense that it applies for some speakers to the output of Rule 20.

(66) à + bōo + ẽ?  
    he-break-IMPF  
    'he is breaking'

Rule 22: e-assimilation

e → Vx / Vx] ROOT ___ (where Vx are identical)

(67) à + sū + é → àsūu  
    he-return-PERF  
    'he has returned'

Rule 23: e-deletion

e → Ø / VV] ROOT ___

Rule 23 applies both in nominal and verbal contexts. Examples (68-69) illustrate two verbal contexts:

(68) à + m̄i + é → àm̄i  
    he-swallow-PERF  
    'he has swallowed'

(69) à + ṅ̄ + k̄a + ṵ + ṫa → əŋk̄aəd  
    she-PAST-_-CAUS-...  
    line a pot  
    'she lined (the pot)'

Rule 24: Ablaut

\{e \} → aa / [...] root + C____C...] IMPF

Rule 24 has already been discussed and illustrated in 2.5.2.

Rule 25: Alveolar-stop coalescence

d + t → t
Rule 26a: \( \eta \)-weakening
\[ V \eta + \{ e \} \rightarrow V V \]

Rule 26a eliminates velar nasals between two \( V \)'s, the environment where velar nasals cannot occur.

Rule 26b: \( V \)-denasalization
\[ V V \rightarrow V V \]

Rules 26a and b are exemplified in (71), with the output of both (26a) and (26b) having been observed as surface forms.

No rule has been set up to take care of cases where two like or two unlike tones fall on the same syllabic element. In the first case the result phonetically is one level tone, in the second case, a contour tone. Also, no rules have been worked out to assign floating tones to a syllabic element. Final floating tones are "grounded" to the last syllable.

4. Discussion of Derivations of the Individual Verb Forms

In section 2 the elements making up the verb have been described. In section 3, the segmental and tone rules were discussed. In this section, the derivation of various verb forms will be considered in more detail. This will be done by looking at the forms presented in Appendix 1. In that appendix, the two verbs (simple stems) \( \text{pîm} \) 'to throw away' and \( \text{wág} \) 'to wash' are given in all the major verb forms. By choosing a low tone root and a high tone root as well as a prefix with \( L \), \( \text{HL} \) and \( H \) tones respectively, all possible underlying and surface
tone patterns have been illustrated. Not only the POS forms, but also the NEG verb forms, have been given. This was done because the category NEG is totally integrated into the verb structure. The NEG marker is present as prefix in the underlying form but in the surface form, it is completely fused with the adjacent elements.

Each verb form has two or three contextually dependent forms labelled I, DS, and DNS. These three contexts will be described in section 5. In the lefthand column, the underlying forms are laid out. The numbers at the top of each morpheme stand for the slot or elements presented in Table 1 in section 2. In the middle column, the rules necessary to derive the surface forms are indicated. Finally, in the right hand column, the surface forms of the verbs are given, i.e. the phonemic forms as actually recorded. It is on the basis of such forms that all underlying forms have been established.

4.1. The (PRESENT) IMPERFECT POSITIVE. The derivations here are quite transparent and do not need much comment. Just one comment is needed on (A2) and (A5) where there is a falling tone on the prefix. There are two alternative surface tone patterns: in (A2), the application of the absorption rule (Rule 16) is optional; in (A5), the application of the downstep rule (Rule 13) is also optional. For this reason, the rules have been put in brackets in Appendix 1.

To demonstrate how the material in Appendix 1 should be understood, the full derivation of (C5) is given below:

\[(C5) \quad \text{\texttt{y} + s\texttt{e} + \texttt{w}\texttt{og} + \texttt{e}\texttt{?} + \texttt{?}\texttt{e}} \quad \text{we are washing' (DNS-form)}
\begin{align*}
\texttt{s\texttt{e} + \texttt{w}\texttt{og} + \texttt{e}\texttt{?} + \texttt{?}\texttt{e}} & \quad 4. \text{H-tone replacement} \\
\texttt{s\texttt{e} + \texttt{w}\texttt{og} + \texttt{e} + \texttt{?}\texttt{e}} & \quad 5. \text{-deletion} \\
\texttt{s\texttt{e} + \texttt{w}\texttt{og} + \texttt{e} + \texttt{e}} & \quad 5. \text{-deletion} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
[\texttt{s\texttt{e}w\texttt{og}\texttt{e}\texttt{e}}]
\]

4.2. The (PRESENT) IMPERFECT NEGATIVE. First a note on the tone of the NEG marker. In order to be able to account for the rising tone in the surface form of (A7), the falling to downstepped H tone in (A8) and the downstep in (A12), we posited the prefix polarization rule (Rule 1) to assign a H tone to the NEG
marker e- before a L tone root, and to assign a L tone before a H tone root.

The full derivation of (A7) is given below:

(A7) \[ a + e + plm + \text{è} + ? + ?\text{è} \quad 'he is not throwing away' \]
1. Prefix polarization
\[ a + é + plm + \text{è} + ? + ?\text{è} \]
2. NEG polarization
\[ a + é + plm + \text{è} + ? + ?\text{è} \]
5. ?-deletion
\[ a + é + pl'm + \text{è} + \text{è} \]
5. ?-deletion
\[ ' + é + plm + \text{è} + \text{è} = \text{épîmêè} \]
9. V-deletion
\[ (' + é + pl'm + \text{è} + \text{è} \]
12. leftward spreading
\[ ' + é + 'plm + \text{è} + \text{è} \]
13. downstep)
\[ [é'pîmêè] \]

Note that Rules 12 and 13 are optional in (A7) and (A8), obligatory in (B7) and (B8), but they never apply in (A9), (B9), and (C7) to (C9).

4.3. The (PRESENT) PERFECT POSITIVE. The verb forms subsumed under this heading are again quite transparent. There are only two rules involved. The absorption rule (Rule 16) is optional in (A14). The raising rule (Rule 15) applies in (A15) where the L tone of the root becomes H between the two H tones.

In the DNS-forms, Rule 4 replaces the tone of the prefix by the H tone. Rule 15 replaces the L root tone by a H tone. In (C15) and (C18) Rule 4 is put in brackets to show that it applies vacuously because the tone on the prefix is already high.

4.4. The PAST IMPERFECT POSITIVE. The question immediately raised here by the underlying forms posited is why the -è? suffix has been included, since it has no manifestation in the surface form. The first, but insufficient, reason is that the category IMPF is always present in the IMPF forms. The second reason is that the -è? is clearly present in verbs with CVV roots:

(72) àsìè?åa \[ (+ à+sìi+è?+åa) \quad 'she was grating' \]

Also, some speakers in at least some verbs have it present in their pronunciation:

(73) àkùnìè?åa \[ (+ à+kùl+?+è?+åa) \quad 'he was sick' \]
This evidence seems to establish the presence of \(-e\) sufficiently as part of the underlying form.

4.5. The PAST IMPERFECT NEGATIVE. Here both the aspect marker \(-e\) and the tense marker \(-\aa\) have an inherent H tone (cf. the POS) which is changed to L by Rule 1 to produce the correct surface tone. Cf. the following derivation of (A46).

\[
\begin{align*}
(A46) \ & a + e + wog + e? + \aa + \bar{\eta} & \text{ 'he is not washing'} \\
& a + \bar{\eta} + wog + e? + \aa + \bar{\eta} & 1. \text{Prefix polarization} \\
& a + \bar{\eta} + wog + e? + \aa + \bar{\eta} & 2. \text{NEG polarization} \\
& a + \bar{\eta} + wog + e + \aa + \bar{\eta} & 5. \text{?-deletion} \\
& a + \bar{\eta} + wog + \bar{\eta} + \aa + \bar{\eta} & 8. \epsilon\text{-deletion} \\
\end{align*}
\]

4.6. The FUTURE PERFECT and IMPERFECT. The FUT marker \(-\) is given a \(
\hat{\eta}\) glide. This was necessary to account for all the surface tone patterns. Cf. the following derivation of (A49):

\[
\begin{align*}
(A49) \ & a + \bar{\eta} + pm + \bar{\eta} & \text{ 'he will throw away'} \\
& a + \bar{\eta} + pm + \bar{\eta} & 7. \text{a-deletion} \\
& a + \bar{\eta} + pm + \bar{\eta} & 16. \text{Absorption} \\
\end{align*}
\]

4.7. The FUTURE PERFECT and IMPERFECT NEGATIVE. Note that all the surface form prefixes have a falling tone. This is accounted for by the \(
\hat{\eta}\) tone in position 1 plus the tone Rule 14. Below is given a sample derivation of (B56):

\[
\begin{align*}
(B56) \ & \hat{\eta} + s\bar{\eta} + e + \bar{\eta} + pm + \bar{\eta} & \text{ 'we will not throw away'} \\
& \hat{\eta} + s\bar{\eta} + e + \bar{\eta} + pm + \bar{\eta} & 7. \text{a-deletion} \\
& \hat{\eta} + s\bar{\eta} + e + \bar{\eta} + pm + \bar{\eta} & 9. \text{V-deletion} \\
& s + \bar{\eta} + pm + \bar{\eta} & 14. \hat{\eta}\bar{\eta} replacement \\
\end{align*}
\]

4.8. The FUTURE IMPERFECT POSITIVE. In the I-form, a final \(\bar{\eta}\) tone has been put in brackets. This is to indicate that there is no way of knowing whether this \(\bar{\eta}\) tone is really there. The only argument for its presence is one of
analogy. In the FUT PERF, there is clearly a final ~ where the DNS-form has final -1£ in the same position. Since the FUT IMPF has a final -1£ in the DNS-form, it would seem plausible that there is a ~ in the I-form.

4.9. The FUTURE IMPERF NEGATIVE.

Here we have put a ~ tone in brackets in the DS-form in final position. Again, its presence can be disputed since it can only be established by analogy with the FUT PERF POS.

4.10. The INFINITIVES. The INFINITIVES (INF) differ from the other verb forms in that the prefix À is really a noun prefix of class 5 rather than a person or concord class prefix.

5. The Distribution of the I, DS, and DNS Forms of the Verb

In previous sections, mention has been made of the fact that in each tense/aspect form of the verb (both positive and negative), there are three variant forms, their occurrence being determined by context. In this section, we will look in more detail at the contexts in which the Independent forms (I-forms), the Dependent Subject forms (DS-forms), and the Dependent non-Subject forms (DNS-forms) occur. It should be pointed out firstly that it is only verbs in the indicative mood which have three distinct forms for each basic tense/aspect. Secondly, it should be noted that in the POS forms of the verbs, the DS-form is identical with the I-form. In the NEG, however, there are three distinct forms except in the FUT where the DNS-form is identical with the I-form. Cf. Appendix 1 for the formal differences between the three forms of the verbs.

5.1. The three different grammatical contexts. The DNS-forms are required in two types of context. First, dependent clauses beginning with the following particles require the DNS-forms:

\begin{align*}
\text{nêe} & \quad \text{'as ...'} \\
\text{nê-} & \quad \text{dêa} \quad \text{'then ...'} \\
\text{ngânê} & \quad \text{'as ...'} \\
\text{héce} & \quad \text{'then ...'}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{(74) nêe àpéde} & \quad \text{à nzi}, \ldots \quad \text{'as he reached the road, ...'} \\
& \quad \text{as he-reach-PERF-(DNS) LOC road,}
\end{align*}

but, cf. (75), without particle:
The Verb in Akoose

(75) apeede a nzi 'he reached the road'
  he-reach-PERF-(I) LOC road

Second, clauses in which a phrase has been moved from a position after the verb to a position before the verb require the DNS-forms. More specifically, the DNS-forms are required in relative clauses where an element other than the subject of the relative clause is relativised, as in (76), in constructions where an element other than the subject is frontshifted for focus, as in (78), and in content questions ("wh-questions") where the question word is sentence-initial, as in (80).

(76) ... m'w m'mo a'mw'k' ... '... the wine which he is drinking ...
wine which he-drink-IMPF-(DNS) drinking ...

but cf.:

(77) a'mw'g m'w 'he is drinking wine'
  he-drink-IMPF-(I) wine

(78) e'subag c'adyagaa 'it was fufu he was eating'
fufu FOC he-eat-IMPF-PAST-(DNS)

but cf. (79) without focus:

(79) a'dyagaa e'subag 'he was eating fufu'
  he-eat-IMPF-PAST-(I) fufu

(80) nze ac'lel 'whom will he call?'
  who he-FUT-call-APPL-(DNS)

but cf.:

(81) ac'le mw'an 'he will call the child'
  he-FUT-call-APPL-(I) child

If the question word or phrase is in a position after the verb, then the I-form is required.

(82) ac'le nze 'whom will he call?'
  he-FUT-call-APPL-(I) who

The DS-forms occur in two main contexts. First, clauses beginning with nze 'if'.

(83) nze ebage we mone 'if he has not given you money...'
   if he-NEG-give-PERF-(DS) you money
but cf.:

(84) Ṇ́bágé ẹ́ wè mònè
     he-NEG-give-PERF-(I) you money

Second, clauses in which the subject is relativised, focussed and wh-questioned require the DS-forms.

(85) ...mòd ìwè ọ́kúnílé? ...
     person who he-NEG-sick-APPL-IMPF-(DS)

but cf.:

(86) mòd ọ́kúnílé
     person he-NEG-sick-APPL-IMPF-(I)

Contexts where the I-forms occur can be stated negatively. The I-forms occur in all contexts other than those specified above for the DS and DNS-forms. The major context for the I-forms is the independent clause. It is the form used for the event line in narrative.

6. The Verb and Grammatical Categories

In order to fully specify the verb forms of Akoose, the necessary grammatical categories are Tense, Aspect, Mood, and Polarity.

6.1. Tense. Tense, which makes reference to time, has three terms: PAST, FUTURE, and unmarked tense. Unmarked is sometimes interpreted as PRESENT, depending on the aspect marker or the inherent lexical meaning of the verb.

To have only one PAST and one FUT is a rather unusual tense system in a geographical area where one frequently finds further distinctions in both future and past tenses. For example, Abega [1976:24] reports three past and three future tenses for Ewondo, and Koki Ndombo et al. [1971:59, 61, 79, 101] report at least two past and two future tenses for Basaa. Both of these languages are closely related to Akoose and to each other. Anderson [1980:2-3] reports three past and three future tenses for Ngyemboon-Bamileke, and Tadadjeu [1975] (cf. Hyman [1980:227-8]) specifies even five past and five future tenses for Dschang-Bamileke. Both these languages are Grassfields Bantu languages to the north of Akoose.

6.2. Aspect. The category of aspect has two terms, PERFECT and IMPERFECT. The latter is consistently marked by the marker -c? , the former being unmarked.
However, where the unmarked tense intersects with the PERFECT aspect, the marker -ê occurs.

6.3. Mood. The category mood has the following three terms: INDICATIVE, HORTATIVE, and IMPERATIVE. HORT and IMP have to be distinguished because in the 2nd person singular there are two distinct forms, one HORT, the other IMP:

(87) dyê 'eat!' (IMP)
édyê 'you should eat' (HORT)

6.4. Polarity. This category has the terms POSITIVE and NEGATIVE. Polarity is included as a category in the description of the verb forms because the NEG marker is fully integrated into the verb structure, making it impossible to isolate a NEG marker as such.

Table 4 shows how the above categories intersect to yield the POS verb forms.

Table 4: Combinations of tense, aspect and mood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOOD</th>
<th>POSITIVE ASPECT</th>
<th>ASPECT</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>PERFECT</td>
<td>IMPERF</td>
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<td>INDICATIVE</td>
<td>N...'</td>
<td>...ê?</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>PAST IMPF</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(PRES) PERF</td>
<td>(PRES) IMPF</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>â...'</td>
<td>â...ê?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FUT PERF</td>
<td>FUT IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>FUTURE</td>
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<td>HORTATIVE</td>
<td>... '</td>
<td>... ê?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HORT PERF</td>
<td>HORT IMPF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>... '</td>
<td>... ê?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IMP PERF</td>
<td>IMP IMPF</td>
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</table>
Several sets are noteworthy. IMPF is consistently marked by -ε? (For a discussion of variant forms of this marker, see section 2.5). PAST is marked by two different markers in the PERF and IMPF, whereas FUT has the same marker in each case. HORT has a ₋ tone prefix and a ₋ tone suffix. IMP, which has no person prefix, has a ₋ tone suffix. What Table 4 does not show is the fact that all the verbs in the INDICATIVE mood have two or three contextually dependent forms, whereas HORT and IMP mood have only one form (cf. Appendix 1).

Table 5 shows the intersection of categories in the NEG. The markers already known from Table 4 are put in brackets. In this way, the elements which are "added" in the NEG are clearly seen. Note that in each case the NEG marker e- is present. Especially note the kê N which accompanies the PAST marker in the PAST PERF NEG (for a more detailed discussion, see section 2.6). The contrasts which exist in the POS non-INDICATIVE forms between PERF and IMPF, HORT and IMP are neutralized in the NEG. Where there are four forms in the POS (cf. the bottom of Table 4), there is only one form for the NEG (cf. Table 5).

Table 5: Combination of tense, aspect and mood in the negative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEGATIVE</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PERFECT</td>
<td>IMPERF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDICATIVE</td>
<td>e(N),kê N ...(') PAST PERF NEG</td>
<td>e...(ʔ?,ʔa) PAST IMPF NEG</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e... (ʔ) (PRES) PERF NEG</td>
<td>e ... (ʔ?) (PRES) IMPF NEG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>^ e (ʔ) ...(ʔ') FUT PERF NEG</td>
<td>^ e (ʔ)...(ʔ?) FUT IMPF NEG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORTATIVE</td>
<td>e ...(ʔ?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPERATIVE</td>
<td>e ...(ʔ?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. The Meanings and Usages of the Various Verb Forms

In this section we will discuss the meaning and usages we have observed of each verb form presented in Table 4.
The Verb in Akoose

7.1. The PAST PERFECT. This verb form refers to an event in the past with no effect in the present.

(88) ɗŋkɛ̀ ɑ̀ 'Tòmbèl'  'he went to Tombel'

Example (88) says that someone went to a certain place and implies that he has come back, or that he is not necessarily there any longer. In discourse, the PAST PERF is used to introduce background material.

7.2. The PAST IMPERFECT. The PAST IMPF refers to an action which was going on in the past or a habitual action in the past. This form is also used in conditional clauses.

(89) nζ̀ àkàgàa ɑ̀ 'Tòmbèl', ...  'if he had gone to Tombel, ...'

7.3. The (PRESENT) PERFECT. With verb stems referring to an action or process, the PERF form of the verb indicates a past event with an effect in the present.

(90) àdyédé  'he has eaten'

Example (90) means that someone has eaten and, by implication, is not now hungry.

This could be viewed as a recent past, but the focus is more on the effect in the present. This is clear from verbs expressing a state, such as kìn 'to be dry':

(91) ékìnè  'it is dry'

The (PRES) PERF, therefore, can refer both to the past and to the present, depending on the inherent meaning of the verb stem. This is not surprising since tense (time reference) is not marked in this verb form (accounting for why PRESENT is placed in brackets). In discourse, the PERF is often used to carry along the story line.

7.4. The (PRESENT) IMPERFECT. The word PRESENT is put in brackets here also to show that in this verb form, tense is not marked. It is by implication that this form has a present meaning. It can either refer to an action or process going on in the present,

(92) àdy̱g ndy̱d  'he is eating food'

he-eat-IMPF food
or it may refer to habitual action:

(94) ̄sɔ̃mẽ?  
he-hide-IMPF

'he hides'

which means that it is his habit to hide, but he may not be hiding at that moment.

7.5. The FUTURE PERFECT and FUTURE IMPERFECT. These two forms make reference to events in the future, the PERFECT viewing the action or process as a whole, the IMPERFECT viewing the action or process as ongoing or a habitual action. In one construction, the FUT form of the verb is used without a future meaning.

(95) ʰkɔ̃mẽ̀ ̆tẽ́ mẽ̂nûtẽ́ ɗyõ̃m bȭŋ ̆mõ̃bỵ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̃...
The Verb in Akose

(101) nyɪ̀kè nyɪ̀ɓẁn qs mendfb 'you(pl) go and fetch some water!

7.6.2. **Jussive function.** The HORT form in the first person is what is usually called "jussive", i.e. let me/us do ...:

(102) mbèl hson 'let me do the work!'
(103) dékag 'let's go!

7.6.3. **Hortative function.** The HORT form of the verb, in 3rd person plural, has the function usually called "hortative":

(104) akag 'he should go'
(105) békè bébwən mendfb 'they should go and carry water'

7.7. **HORTATIVE in indirect commands.** In addition to the usages of the HORT discussed above, there is one further important context in which it is found, viz. in sentences embedded after verbs like hɛd 'to want', ləŋ 'to tell' and hób 'to say'.

(106) ṭhɛdɛ? mɛ akag 'I want him to go'
I-want RP(lst ps sg) he-go-HORT

(RP = Reporting particle (cf. Hedinger [1984a:90]))

(107) nyɪlángé mè bân ńkag 'you(pl) told me to go'
you(pl)-told me RP(pl) I-go-HORT
### Appendix 1

#### 1a. (PRESENT) IMPERFECT POSITIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>underlying forms</th>
<th>rules</th>
<th>surface forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 6 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A1)</td>
<td>à+plm+è?</td>
<td></td>
<td>àplimè?</td>
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<td>(A2)</td>
<td>sè &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>sèplimè?/sèplimè?</td>
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<td>béplimè?</td>
</tr>
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<td>(A4)</td>
<td>à+wóg+è?</td>
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<td>àwógè?</td>
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<td>sè &quot; &quot;</td>
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**DS as I above**

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<tr>
<td>(C4)</td>
<td>&quot; à+wóg &quot; &quot;</td>
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<td>(C5)</td>
<td>&quot; sè &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>(C6)</td>
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1b. **(PRESENT) IMPERFECT NEGATIVE**

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<th><strong>rules</strong></th>
<th><strong>surface forms</strong></th>
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<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; 13</td>
<td>bë'wógée</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| DS | 2 3 6 7 | 1 2 9 12 13 | épimé? |
|    | à+e+p³m+è? |           | sèpimé? |
| (B7) | sè " " " " | " " " " " 13 | bëpimé? |
| (B8) | bë " " " " | " " " " | àwógé? |
| (B9) | à " wóg " " | " " " " | sèwógé? |
| (B10) | bë " " " " | " " " " | bë'wógé? |

| DNS | 1 2 3 6 7 9 | 1 2 4 5 5 9 | épimée |
|     | à+e+p³m+è?+?è |           | sèpimée |
| (C7) | sè " " " " | " " " " " | bëpimée |
| (C8) | bë " " " " | " " " " " | èwógée |
| (C9) | à " wóg " " | " " " " " 13 | sèwógée |
| (C10) | bë " " " " | " " " " " | bë'wógée |
| (C11) | sè " " " " | " " " " " | sèwógée |
| (C12) | bë " " " " | " " " " " | bë'wógée |
2a. (PRESENT) PERFECT POSITIVE

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DS as I above

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<td>bépîmé</td>
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### 2b. (PRESENT) PERFECT NEGATIVE

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### DS

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<td>9 10 11</td>
<td>(\text{s'enk'emp?m\ell/-p\ell\text{m\ell}})</td>
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<td>( )</td>
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\(^{1}\text{I have not assigned a position number to the "intrusive" N. Cf. section 2.6.}\)
4a. PAST IMPERFECT POSITIVE

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DS as I above

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5a. **FUTURE PERFECT POSITIVE**

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5b. **FUTURE PERFECT NEGATIVE**

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| DS | 1 2 3 4 6 9 |
| --- |       |
|   | (B55) ak \(+\ a+e+\hat{a}+\text{plm}+\hat{y}\) | 7 9 14 | épîm |
|   | (B56) " sè " " " " | " " " " | sèpîm |
|   | (B57) " bé " " " " | " " " " | bêpîm |
|   | (B58) " à " " wôg " | " " " " | ëwôg |
|   | (B59) " sè " " " " | " " " " | sèwôg |
|   | (B60) " bé " " " " | " " " " | bèwôg |

DNS as I above
6a. FUTURE IMPERFECT POSITIVE

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<td>à'wògè?</td>
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<td>(A66)</td>
<td>bé &quot; &quot; &quot; (&quot;)</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bè'wògè?</td>
</tr>
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DS as I above

<table>
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<tbody>
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<td>(C61)</td>
<td>4 5 5 7 16</td>
<td>àpìmèè</td>
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<tr>
<td>(C62)</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; 6 &quot;</td>
<td>sèpìmèè</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C63)</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bèpìmèè</td>
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</tr>
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<td>(C64)</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>à'wògèè</td>
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<tr>
<td>(C65)</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>sè'wògèè</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(C66)</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bè'wògèè</td>
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### The Verb in Akoose

#### 6b. FUTURE IMPERFECT NEGATIVE

<table>
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<tr>
<th>I</th>
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<th>rules</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 6 7 9</td>
<td>5 5 7 9 14</td>
<td>épǐmée</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A67)</td>
<td>ṭọ̀+ ?ə+e+宛+plm+?e+?e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A68)</td>
<td>&quot; sè &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>sèplmée</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A69)</td>
<td>&quot; bé &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>bèplmée</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A70)</td>
<td>&quot; à &quot; &quot; wóg &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
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<td>èwógéé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A71)</td>
<td>&quot; sè &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
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<td>sèwógéé</td>
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<tr>
<td>(A72)</td>
<td>&quot; bé &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
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<table>
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<th>7 9 14</th>
<th>épǐmée</th>
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<tr>
<td>(B67)</td>
<td>ṭọ̀+ ?ə+e+宛+plm+?e+(+p)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(B68)</td>
<td>&quot; sè &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
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<td>sèplmée</td>
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<tr>
<td>(B69)</td>
<td>&quot; bé &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
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<td>(B70)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(B71)</td>
<td>&quot; sè &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>(B72)</td>
<td>&quot; bé &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
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DNS as I above
7. **IMPERATIVE PERFECT POSITIVE**

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<td>6 9</td>
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<tr>
<td>(A73) pìlm+ţi</td>
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<td>pìlm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A74) wâg+ţi</td>
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<td>wâg</td>
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8. **IMPERATIVE IMPERFECT POSITIVE**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 7</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A75) pìlm+ţi?</td>
<td></td>
<td>pìlmé?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A76) wâg+ţi?</td>
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<td>wâgé?</td>
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9. **INFINITIVE 1**

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 6</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(A77) à+pìlm</td>
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<td>àpìlm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A78) à+wâg</td>
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<td>àwâg</td>
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10. **INFINITIVE 2**

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<td>1 2 6</td>
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<tr>
<td>(A79) à+à+pìlm</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>(A80) à+à+wâg</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>à'wâg</td>
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11. **HORTATIVE PERFECT POSITIVE**

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<td>(A81)  ṣ+  à+płm+I</td>
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<td>ápłm</td>
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<td>(A82)  &quot; sê &quot; &quot;</td>
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<td>sòpłm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A83)  &quot; bê &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>bòpłm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A84)  &quot; à+wóg &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>òwóg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A85)  &quot; sê &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>sòwóg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A86)  &quot; bê &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>bòwóg</td>
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12a. **HORTATIVE IMPERFECT POSITIVE**

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<tr>
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<td>(A87)  ṣ+  à+płm+è?</td>
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<td>(A88)  &quot; sê &quot; &quot;</td>
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<td>(A89)  &quot; bê &quot; &quot;</td>
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<td>bòpłmè?</td>
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<td>(A90)  &quot; à+wóg &quot;</td>
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<td>(A91)  &quot; sê &quot; &quot;</td>
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<td>sòwógè?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A92)  &quot; bê &quot; &quot;</td>
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<td>bòwógè?</td>
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12b. **HORTATIVE NEGATIVE**

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<td>&quot; &quot; (&quot; &quot;) 13</td>
<td>sòpłmè?/sòpłmè?</td>
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<td>(A95)  bê &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bòpłmè?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A96)  à &quot; wóg &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>òwógè?</td>
</tr>
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<td>(A97)  sê &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
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<td>sòwógè?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A98)  bê &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
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<td>bòwógè?</td>
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13. "ALREADY" FORM

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<td>(A99)</td>
<td>à+kè+plm+ù</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>àkèpým</td>
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<td>(A100)</td>
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<td>&quot;</td>
<td>sèkèpým</td>
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<td>(A101)</td>
<td>bé &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>bèkèpým</td>
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<td>(A102)</td>
<td>à &quot; wòg &quot;</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>àkè'wòg</td>
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<td>(A103)</td>
<td>sè &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>sèkè'wòg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A104)</td>
<td>bé &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>bèkè'wòg</td>
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DS as I above

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<tr>
<td>(C99)</td>
<td>ù+ à+kè+plm+ùé</td>
<td>4 16 18a (18b)</td>
<td>àkèpl?mé/-plmmé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C100)</td>
<td>&quot; sè &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; (&quot; )</td>
<td>sèkèpl?mé/-plmmé</td>
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<td>(C101)</td>
<td>&quot; bé &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; (&quot; )</td>
<td>bèkèpl?mé/-plmmé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C102)</td>
<td>&quot; à &quot; wòg &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; 13 17</td>
<td>àkè'wòkè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C103)</td>
<td>&quot; sè &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>sèkè'wòkè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C104)</td>
<td>&quot; bé &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bèkè'wòkè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2

The following less common verb forms have been observed, primarily in texts, but are not included in the description. They are included here for the sake of completeness.

á'pím 'Neutral I'
áplm 'Neutral II'
àsèpím 'Neutral negative'
á'pímmé 'Neutral DNS-form'
áplmmé 'Consecutive, Repetitive'
àpímmé 'Perfect focus' ??
ěpímmé 'He has not yet thrown away' or 'He has never thrown away'
ěpímmé 'As soon as he threw away, ...' ??
ěplmmé 'He has thrown away (DNS-form)'
ěplmmé 'He has thrown away'
ěplmmé 'He has thrown away (DNS-form)'
ěpépím 'Let him not throw away'
REFERENCES


MOTION IN TSWANA AND ITS CHARACTERISTIC LEXICALIZATION

Ronald P. Schaefer
University of Benin, Nigeria

Characteristic patterns for the lexicalization of motion in Tswana, a Southeastern Bantu language, are explored. Examination of constraints governing classes of verb roots referring to motion events reveals two of the typological patterns put forward by Talmy [1984] for the lexicalization of motion in natural language. The distinguishing feature of each pattern lies in the particular semantic elements incorporated in a main clause verb root. The fact of Motion and Manner/Cause are incorporated in the verb root when lexicalizing complex location-motion events. However, when lexicalizing complex motion events of a directional nature, as well as both locational- and directional-motion events of a less complex nature, the verb root incorporates the fact of Motion and the Path which a moving object takes.

1. Introduction

In Fillmore [1978] we gain appreciation for the wide variety of semantic dimensions along which sets of lexical items may differ in their underlying structural pattern. Among these dimensions our attention rests on those which have led to discussion of so-called "characteristic" lexicalization patterns [Ullmann 1957:308]. By one recent account, a characteristic lexicalization pattern is one which exhibits three important properties [Talmy 1984]. These are that the pattern be colloquial in style, rather than literary; frequent in occurrence, rather than seldom used; and pervasive, applicable across the breadth of a selected semantic domain. Investigation of such characteristic patterns within a

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1I am especially indebted to my principal Tswana informant, Sam Kotane, for his diligence during the data collection process. For their valuable comments on an earlier version of this paper I also express appreciation to an anonymous reviewer and to Russell G. Schuh. Preparation of this study was supported by NIMH Grant #MH 14644-04 administered by the University of Denver.
single domain has the potential to reveal language particular constraints governing the make up of lexical items in addition to constraints of a more universal nature.

Within this context, a potentially fruitful domain for investigation is that of motion. In a number of different papers dealing with the lexicon [Gru- 1 ber 1965, Jackendoff 1976, Talmy 1975], there is reference to the potentially unique status of the motion domain. In Talmy [1975], for example, the position taken is that those semantic structures specifying states or changes of state are derived from structures which specify motion events, whereas the converse does not hold. In a certain sense then, motion structures may be more basic than those of state or change of state. An analysis of how verbs incorporate the salient dimensions of a motion event thus seems a natural point from which to initiate analysis of the characteristic lexicalization patterns of a language.

1.1. Talmy's analysis of motion events. A recent and evolving contribution to our perspective on the lexicalization of motion events is found in Talmy [1972, 1975, 1984]. Of particular relevance is his claim that the lexicalization of motion by natural languages falls into a limited number of types. In the following we utilize this typology to illuminate a system of constraints governing the behavior of verb root forms in Tswana, a Southeastern Bantu language, and to show how they reflect, at least for Tswana, two characteristic lexicalization patterns.

Central to Talmy's perspective is the notion of a motion event, which he defines as one object moving or located with respect to another object. This event is delineated at the semantic level by a structure consisting of the elements Figure, Motion, Path, and Ground. At the surface level, these semantic elements are realized in a limited number of ways, and below we take advantage of patterns existing in English in order to illustrate and define them.

The notion Figure refers to an object moving or located with respect to another object, and Ground refers to the object serving as a frame or reference point with respect to which the Figure moves. In the English sentence, "The boy moved toward the house," the Figure object is realized by the noun boy and Ground by the noun house. Of the remaining two elements, Motion indicates that
reference is being made to a situation containing movement. In our English sentence this is realized by the verb *moved*. Finally, Path refers to the course followed or site occupied by the Figure object relative to the Ground; it is realized by the form *toward*.

The structural unit constituted by the elements Figure, Motion, Path, and Ground can also serve to delineate a more complex motion event by having adjoined to it either of the elements Manner or Cause. These latter elements specify that an act of motion is carried out in a particular manner or fashion, or is the result of another causal event respectively. For example, though the semantic structure of *the boy moved toward the house* is quite similar to that of *the boy ran toward the house*, the latter incorporates in the verb *ran* not only the element of Motion, but the Manner, e.g. *running*, in which that motion is expressed. One can thus distinguish, as we will below, a basic verb root from one semantically more complex by reference to whether it incorporates either of the elements Cause or Manner. Basic verb roots, e.g. *move*, do not incorporate these elements while complex roots incorporate either, e.g. *run*.

With respect to the linguistic expression of a motion event in Tswana, our principle task, as outlined by Talmy [1984], becomes one of discovering which semantic element or elements are incorporated in the surface level verb root. It is conceivable that a verb root in a given language could typically incorporate combinations of elements such as Figure+Motion, Motion+Path, Motion+Cause, Motion+Manner, or Motion+Ground. Based on cross-language analyses within his framework of constructs, Talmy argues that the lexicalization of a motion event is limited to only three types. Moreover, each of these types appears in a different language or language family as characteristic [Talmy 1984]. We will illustrate two of these typological patterns below but only mention the third, since it does not bear on the Tswana data.

1.2. Talmy's typological patterns. The first typological pattern is revealed by a surface level verb root which expresses motion occurring in various manners or due to various causes. The defining feature of this type is the incorporation in the verb root of the fact of motion and either its Cause or Manner, i.e. Motion+Manner or Motion+Cause. Most branches of Indo-European, except Romance, as well as Chinese rely on this as their characteristic lexicalization pattern.
For purposes of illustration, the motion events referred to by the English sentences in (1) are offered.

(1) a. The bottle rolled down the hill.
   b. The bottle blew down the hill.

Analyzing these sentences within Talmy's theoretical framework, we find that bottle specifies the Figure, hill the Ground, and down the Path, the course which the Figure object's motion follows. The verb roll in (1a) incorporates not only the fact that Motion has occurred but that it has occurred in a rolling, as opposed to say a sliding, Manner. In (1b) on the other hand, the verb blew incorporates the fact that Motion has occurred and that it is due to a Cause element of the wind blowing, rather than, for example, of the river washing.

We can tease apart the meaning constituents of these verb roots, in the fashion of Talmy, through examination of the respective paraphrase sentences in (2).

(2) a. The bottle moved down the hill, rolling the while.
   b. The bottle moved down the hill, from the wind blowing on it.

Decomposing the meaning of the erstwhile main verb in this way reminds us that the verb roll incorporates both a Motion constituent (move) and a Manner constituent (rolling), and that blow incorporates both Motion (move) and Cause (from wind blowing on it).

In contrast to this typological pattern is one where the surface verb expresses motion along various paths. The defining feature of this type is a verb root which incorporates both the fact of Motion and its Path, i.e. Motion+Path. If Manner or Cause is expressed at the surface level, it is manifested as a dependent clausal constituent, e.g. adverbial, gerundive, or participial clause. According to Talmy [1984], this clausal constituent is stylistically awkward in some languages, with the result that accompanying discourse, rather than syntactic form, is the immediate source of information pertaining to Manner or Cause. The language families which exhibit this second pattern as characteristic include Semitic, Polynesian, and from Indo-European, Romance. Taking Spanish as an example of Romance, we can illustrate the general pattern in the following
sentences,

(3) La botella cruzo el canal. (flotando)
the bottle move-across the canal floating
'the bottle floated across the canal'

Here the nominals botella and canal refer to the Figure and Ground objects respectively, while the verb root cruzo incorporates the fact of Motion (move) and its Path (across). As for the Manner constituent flotando, it is shown in parenthesis to highlight the fact that being stylistically awkward, it is deleted in Spanish. As this example indicates, Talmy's second typological pattern reveals a verb root incorporating the fact of Motion and its Path.

In the third and final lexicalization type, the surface verb expresses a kind of object or material as moving or located. The defining feature of this type is that the verb root incorporates the fact of Motion together with the Figure. Languages manifesting this pattern include the Amerindian languages Atsugewi, of Hockan stock, and Navajo. Since this pattern is not reflected in the Tswana data, we will do no more than note its existence here.2

Drawing on examples from Talmy [1984] we have seen that lexicalization patterns in the domain of motion fall into one of three types. These types, in turn, are the result of examining verb root forms for their incorporation of given semantic elements. For the purpose of review, Table 1 on the following page schematically represents the two typological patterns most relevant for this study.

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2The third typological pattern discussed by Talmy [1984] is illustrated by Atsugewi. In this pattern the fact of Motion and the Figure object are incorporated in a main clause verb root. Below we see an example where the morpheme ca specifies Manner, st'aq', Figure+Motion, and izt', Path+Ground.

w: third person
c: from wind blowing on the Figure object
st'aq': for runny material to move, e.g. guts
izt': into liquid

/ w------ca-------st'aq'-----------------izt'----------a /
blow guts move into creek

'the guts blew into the creek'
Two typological patterns for the lexicalization of motion drawn from Talmy [1984].

The Expression of Motion in Tswana.

Before devoting our attention to how particular verb roots are used to express a motion event in Tswana, we will sketch a general overview. In the first section to follow our focus is on a set of verb root forms which participate in structures specifying a complex motion event, that is, they specify either the Manner or Cause of an event. These verbs can occur in each of three categories of distributionally defined motion events, events that will be labelled location-confined, location-directed, and, simply, directional. As a motivation for these categories we offer two constraints: The Applied Extension Constraint and the Main Clause Constraint.

The Applied Extension Constraint distinguishes location-confined from location-directed motion. For the linguistic expression of location-directed motion, the applied suffix -ɠ- must occur, while for location-confined motion it must not. Nonetheless, common ground between these two categories of motion emerges when viewed from the perspective of lexicalization. Both categories are lexicalized by a verb root incorporating Motion+Manner or Motion+Cause.

The Tswana examples are here presented in line with the orthographic conventions found in Cole [1962]. The symbols which deviate most from standard phonetic symbols are g and kg, which represent voiceless velar fricative and voiceless velar affricate respectively.
The Main Clause Constraint, with respect to this same set of verbs, further suggests that locational motion, i.e. location-confined and location-directed, be distinguished from purely directional motion. This constraint reflects the fact that the verb root forms which occur in the main clause in locational structures, must, in directional structures, occur in a subordinate, participial clause. The verb root which does occur in the main clause in directional structures lexicalizes Motion+Path, with Manner being specified in the participial clause. Thus, for this first set of verb roots, not one, but two of Talmy's lexicalization patterns appear to be characteristic.

In a second section our focus is on a smaller set of verb root forms. They participate, without reference to Manner or Cause specifying elements, in structures specifying a basic as opposed to a complex motion event, and in general, neither of the constraints mentioned above applies. Instead, a form of suppletion occurs which reflects a categorization of motion events into location-directed and directional. These verbs then do not occur in structures specifying location-confined motion. In line with the notion of suppletive forms, the categories of location-directed and directional motion are lexicalized in this verb set by only one typological pattern, the same one in fact witnessed in the main clause of structures expressing complex directional motion. No new pattern is thus encountered, though we discover how one characteristic pattern is employed to lexicalize both location-directed and directional motion.

2.1. Location-confined motion with -tábóg-. To begin, our attention is directed to expressions of motion involving the verb -tábóg- meaning 'to run'. Expressions of location-confined motion with this verb, as with other verbs of its type, show a Figure object in a state of motion confined to a location, a location specified by the Ground object, e.g. the boy is running on top of the hill. A representative sample of sentences with -tábóg- is illustrated in Table II on page 64.

The principle typological feature illustrated in Table II is a verb root that incorporates the fact of Motion and its Manner. The remaining semantic constituents of a motion event are specified by individual lexical items. For instance in (II,1), the moving object, the Figure, is specified by mòsimànè
1. mò-símané ọ-tábog-à fá-gòdìmò gá-thàbà
   CL 1-boy he-run-IMP NEARBY-top LOC-mountain
   'the boy is running on top of the mountain'

2. mò-símané ọ-tábog-à fá-tìsé gá-dì-tlhàrè
   CL 1-boy he-run-IMP NEARBY-under LOC-CL 8-tree
   'the boy is running under the trees'

3. mò-símané ọ-tábog-à fá-pèlè gá-h-tìò
   CL 1-boy he-run-IMP NEARBY-front LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is running in front of the house'

4. mò-símané ọ-tábog-à fá-mòraqò gá-h-tìò
   CL 1-boy he-run-IMP NEARBY-back LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is running in back of the house'

5. mò-símané ọ-tábog-à fá-gàufl gá-h-tìò
   CL 1-boy he-run-IMP NEARBY-near LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is running near the house'

6. mò-símané ọ-tábog-à fá-gàrê gá-dì-tlhàrè
   CL 1-boy he-run-IMP NEARBY-between LOC-CL 8-tree
   'the boy is running between the trees'

7. mò-símané ọ-tábog-à fá-hètìë gá-kàgò
gà-kàgò
   CL 1-boy he-run-IMP NEARBY-outside LOC-building
   'the boy is running outside the building'

8. mò-símané ọ-tábog-à fá-tènê gá-kàgò
gà-kàgò
   CL 1-boy he-run-IMP NEARBY-inside LOC-building
   'the boy is running inside the building'

9. mò-símané ọ-tábog-à màbàpì lé-kàgò
gà-kàgò
   CL 1-boy he-run-IMP alongside and-building
   'the boy is running alongside the building'

10. mò-símané ọ-tábog-à lé-mò-rùtì'
    CL 1-boy he-run-IMP and-CL 1-teacher
    'the boy is running with the teacher'

Table II. Location-confined expressions with the verb -tábog-.
and the background against which this movement is perceived, the Ground, is specified by thàbà. Specifying one relationship between these two objects is the verb root -tåbog-, which incorporates the element Motion as well as the Manner, running, in which that motion is carried out. Last of all, the particular site, the Path, within which is confined the Figure object's motion, is specified by the form godâmò. Thus each surface level constituent realizes one of the semantic elements defining a motion event except the verb root, which in the sentences above incorporates the fact of Motion and its Manner.

In passing, it might have been noticed that various prefixes can be adjoined to the Path and Ground specifying constituents. In Table III on page 66, for instance, the marker fá-, indicating the relative nearness of the Ground object to the speaker, is prefixed to the constituent realizing the Path as is the marker kwá-, indicating a greater distance. Neither of these markers is obligatory, though the locative marker gà-, or in some instances, the conjunction marker le-, is obligatory when adjoined to the Ground constituent. Additional details concerning these markers can be found in Cole [1955] and Cole [1962].

2.2. Locational-directed motion with -tåbog-. Consonant with the typological pattern illustrated by location-confined motion, is that of location-directed motion. Expressions of location-directed motion reveal a Figure object in a state of motion directed toward a location specified by the Ground object, e.g. the boy is running to the top of the hill. A sample of illustrative sentences constructed with the verb -tåbog- is shown in Table III, page 66.

As one quickly discovers, these sentences are nearly identical in form to those in Table II. In (III,1) for instance, mòsìmàné functions as the Figure and thàbà as the Ground. The verb root -tåbog- incorporates both the fact of Motion and its Manner of occurrence, 'running'. And the form godâmò, at least on initial inspection, would appear to specify the Path. To this point, the sentences in Table II and III are identical in form.

Closer inspection, however, reveals a general constraint governing these expressions. That is, location-directed motion requires that the form -êl- be suffixed to the verb root. Let us examine the behavior of this form more carefully. For the sake of discussion, consider the two sentences in (4), with
1. mò-sìmànè ɓtábọg-èl-à kwá-gòdìmò gà-thàbà
   CL l-boy he-run-to-IMP DISTANT-top LOC-mountain
   'the boy is running to the top of the mountain'

2. mò-sìmànè ɓtábọg-èl-à kwá-tläsè gà-thàbà
   CL l-boy he-run-to-IMP DISTANT-under LOC-mountain
   'the boy is running to the bottom of the mountain'

3. mò-sìmànè ɓtábọg-èl-à fà-pèlè gà-h-tlò
   CL l-boy he-run-to-IMP NEARBY-front LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is running to the front of the house'

4. mò-sìmànè ɓtábọg-èl-à fà-mòràgọ gà-h-tlò
   CL l-boy he-run-to-IMP NEARBY-back LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is running to the back of the house'

5. mò-sìmànè ɓtábọg-èl-à fà-tlù-ng
   CL l-boy he-run-to-IMP NEARBY-house-LOC
   'the boy is running to the house'

6. mò-sìmànè ɓtábọg-èl-à mò-tlù-ng
   CL l-boy he-run-to-IMP INSIDE-house-LOC
   'the boy is running into the house'

7. mò-sìmànè ɓtábọg-èl-à fà-gàrè gà-ǀè-sàkà
   CL l-boy he-run-to-IMP NEARBY-middle LOC-CL 5-kraal
   'the boy is running to the middle of the kraal'

8. mò-sìmànè ɓtábọg-èl-à kwá-htílé gà-kàgọ
   CL l-boy he-run-to-IMP DISTANT-outside LOC-building
   'the boy is running to the outside of the building'

9. mò-sìmànè ɓtábọg-èl-à fà-tèŋg gà-kàgọ
   CL l-boy he-run-to-IMP NEARBY-inside LOC-building
   'the boy is running to the inside of the building'

10. mò-sìmànè ɓtábọg-èl-à mòséjà gà-nòkà
    CL l-boy he-run-to-IMP other side LOC-river
    'the boy is running to the other side of the river'

11. mò-sìmànè ɓtábọg-èl-à ntleńg gà-kàgọ
    CL l-boy he-run-to-IMP in the direction LOC-building
    'the boy is running in the direction of the building'

Table III. Location-directed expressions with the verb -tábọg-
the accompanying glosses as indicated.

(4) a. *mósímànē ọ-tábog-à ọdímò ạ-ثaba
    boy he-run-IMP top mountain
    'the boy is running to the top of the mountain'

b. *mósímànē ọ-tábog-êl-à ọdímò ạ-θaba
    boy he-run-to-IMP top mountain
    'the boy is running on top of the mountain'

When the form -êl- is not adjoined to the verb but the accompanying gloss conveys the notion of "to-ness", as in (4a), the sentence is judged unaccept­able. Conversely, when the form -êl- is adjoined to the verb, but the gloss does not convey the notion of "to-ness", the sentence is also judged unaccept­able. Hence (4b) is starred.

That the form -êl- does indeed convey the general notion of "to-ness" can be seen by examining (III,5) in the context of the remaining sentences. In (III,5) only the general directional element 'to' is conveyed, while the re­main­ing sentences convey this meaning in addition to a more specific course of movement, i.e. top, bottom, etc. It appears, therefore, that linguistic ex­pression of certain motion events, location-directed motion to be specific, re­quires the suffix -êl-, while expression of another kind of motion event, location-confined, does not.

Previous investigation of Tswana has noted the significance of the marker -êl-. Cole [1955:199] refers to it as the Applied Extension, further indicat­ing that it has the general significance of "action carried out... with respect to some thing or place." The form -êl- and its general meaning are thus rec­ognized in grammatical descriptions of Tswana. What we wish to highlight, nonetheless, is its obligatory occurrence with complex motion verbs and its Path specifying function in expressions of location-directed motion.

From the preceding analysis a complication arises. Having said that the form -êl- in the sentences in Table III specifies the Path element, and in­deed is necessary for grammatical well-formedness, one needs to reanalyze the constituent previously identified as specifying the Path, i.e. the form ọdímò in (III,1). This form, and others of similar grammatical standing do appear to specify the course of the Figure object's movement, which is the defining fea-
nature of a Path constituent, but they seem only to specify further the nature of that course. In light of this, we maintain that expressions of location-directed motion can employ two Path markers, the form -vê- plus one other. Thus, in (III,1) -vê- and gôđîmô each constitute Path markers.

Though Path markers other than -vê- are not required for the grammatical expression of location-directed motion, there is no reason to suspect that motion expressing sentences should be confined to only one Path marker. Talmy [1984], for instance, argues that the number of Path markers specified for a single motion event has no obvious limit. He cites in this regard sentence (5), spoken by a parent to a child in a tree house, where four Path markers are specified.

(5) Come right back down from up there.

The examples from Tswana are not so extreme. But notice that of the two Path markers which can occur in expressions of location-directed motion, only -vê- is obligatory. In recognition of this obligatory status, we will refer to the form -vê- as a Primary Path marker. Other Path markers, e.g. -pêlê, -gôđîmô, -tlâsê, etc., which occur as separate lexical items and which also occur in expressions of location-confined motion, we will designate Secondary Path markers. Thus location-confined motion is expressed only with Path markers identified as Secondary, but location-directed motion is expressed with an obligatory Path marker identified as Primary and with an optional Secondary Path marker.

As we have seen, the principle formal difference between expressions of location-confined and location-directed motion is a constraint governing the distribution of the Primary Path marker, -vê-, it being obligatory with the latter but not with the former. Despite this difference, we have discovered common ground between these two expressions of motion. That is, both manifest a verb root incorporating the fact of Motion and the Manner in which that motion occurs. It is this behavior of the verb -tôbôg- and others to follow which leads us to maintain that for Tswana, incorporating Motion+Manner in the verb root is a characteristic lexicalization pattern.
2.3. Directional Motion with -täbög-. A contrasting lexicalization pattern is revealed by sentences conveying directional motion. Emphasis here is not on the movement of the Figure object as directed to the Ground object, as in location-directed motion, nor on the Figure object's movement as circumscribed by a location relative to the Ground object, as in location-confined motion. Rather the movement of the Figure object is carried out with respect to a variety of directions other than that conveyed by simple "to-ness". For purposes of illustration and comparison, we will again limit ourselves to expressions involving the verb -täbög-, taking the sentences in Table IV on page 70 as a representative sample. The question we will ask about these sentences is where among the surface level morphemes the semantic elements defining a motion event are distributed.

The sentences in Table IV reveal a significant constraint which should not escape our notice. Note, therefore, that the clausal position of -täbög- is in contrast to the sentences shown in Tables II and III, where it occurred in the main clause. With reference to (IV,1), the verb -täbög- occurs in a participial structure, one in fact that is not obligatory if the appropriate contextual conditions are met. The participial nature of this clause, nonetheless, is formally recorded by the subject agreement marker å-, prefixed to -täbög-. In a nonparticipial clause, a main clause for example, the agreement marker employed for a Class 1 noun like mòsf'mànë would be ó-. (See Cole [1955] for further discussion). Since -täbög- does occur in a subordinate clause, and an optional one at that, the question we need to ask is which elements of a motion event are lexicalized in the main clause and which in the subordinate.

When one analyses (IV,1) for example, it is the verb root in the main clause, -tsw-, which conveys the general notion of movement, indicated by the gloss 'move', as well as its directional nature, indicated by 'out'. Other main clause verb roots shown in Table IV differ in meaning from -tsw- primarily by the nature of their incorporated directional element. These verb roots thus lexicalize both the fact of Motion and the Path which the Figure object follows. What then does the verb root in the participial clause convey? Given the semantic elements available in Talmy [1984], the verb root -täbög- in
Table IV. Directional expressions with the verb -tábóg-

Table IV would appear to convey only the Manner in which the motion event occurred, a 'running' manner. To recapitulate, the verb root in the main clause specifies the Motion and Path elements of the motion event, and the verb root in the participial clause specifies only the Manner in which that event is carried out.
Pursuing our analysis further we must recognize that the linear order of the verb roots in sentence (IV,1), for example, is constrained. They cannot be inverted, as in (6) below, and still maintain a level of grammatical acceptability.

(6) *mosìmané 6-tábog-à mò-tlùng á-tswà
   boy he-run-IMP INSIDE-house he-move out
   'the boy is running out of the house'

Nor is it possible to maintain grammatical acceptability by adjoining the Applied Extension to the verb in either clause, (7) and (8), or by inverting the root forms and adjoining the Applied Extension to the main verb clause, as in (9).

(7) *mosìmané 6-tswà mò-tlùng á-tábog-êl-à
   boy he-run out INSIDE-house he-run-to-IMP
   'the boy is running out of the house'

(8) *mosìmané 6-tábog-êl-à mò-tlùng á-tsw-à
   boy he-run-to-IMP INSIDE-house he-move out-IMP
   'the boy is running out of the house'

(9) *mosìmané 6-tsw-êl-à mò-tlùng á-tábog-à
   boy he-move out-to-IMP INSIDE-house he-run-IMP
   'the boy is running out of the house'

This attempted use of the Applied Extension raises another issue. The main clause verbs in Table IV, as a rule, do not adjoin with the Applied Extension -êl-. Thus there is no base form *-ralal- or *-tsal- from which the main verbs in sentences (IV,2) and (IV,3) might be derived. However the verb root in (IV,5) is composed of the root -tlog- plus the suffix -êl-. Does this square with our previous analysis of the form -êl-? Though it was used in expressions of motion directed 'to' a location in previously analyzed sentences, the appearance of -êl- in (IV,5) is not consistent with this meaning. The meaning here is motion directed 'from' rather than 'to' the location specified by the Ground object. No other sentence in Table IV refers to motion in a direction 'from' the Ground specifying object independent of other considerations. One might suspect that the verb root -tsw- in (IV,1), referring as it does to motion in a direction 'out' of the Ground object, would accept the Ap-
plied Extension. It does not, however, and this appears due to the fact that reference is not restricted to motion directed 'from' an object. That is, -tsw- refers to motion 'from' an enclosed space, i.e. 'out from inside an enclosure'. In sum, the behavior of the form -tsw- is such that it is used in constructions specifying motion which is directed either 'to' or 'from' a Ground object. In no way, however, does this behavior detract from the viability of the Applied Extension Constraint or from the fact that the verb -tšiši- patterns as other main clause verb roots in expressions of directional motion involving the complex motion verb -tšabōg-.

Returning to our main point, we have examined a constraint which in expressions of directional motion requires that verb roots of the type -tšabōg- occur in a subordinate participial clause. In light of this constraint and the elements of a motion event specified by verb roots occurring in the main clause of directional motion sentences, we suggest that for Tswana a second lexicalization pattern is characteristic. In this second pattern, the verb root lexicalizes the elements Motion+Path. The distribution of this pattern is a complement to the other pattern we claim as characteristic. That is, the lexicalization patterns Motion+Manner and Motion+Path are in complementary distribution with respect to the general distinction between locational and directional motion. Summarizing to this point, we will maintain that two lexicalization patterns are characteristic in Tswana, the conflation of Motion+Manner, and the conflation of Motion+Path.

2.4. Motion expressions with -kîbîtî-. The lexicalization patterns just surveyed are not peculiar to the verb -tšabōg-. They are widespread, being found among at least the Manner specifying verbs shown in Table V on page 73. Taking the verb -kîbîtî-, meaning 'to run with heavy footfall', as a further example, one finds evidence of both lexicalization patterns claimed to be characteristic. To this end, consider the sentences in Table VI on page 74, where one finds expressions of location-confined motion. Since the nominals functioning as Figure and Ground are carried over from earlier sentences with -tšabōg-, analysis of these sentences should be relatively straightforward. Accordingly, in the first example of Table VI, the verb root -kîbîtî- specifies the semantic elements Motion+Manner and godîmô the element Path.
1. gôkíbítìà : to run with heavy footfall
2. gôgágâbà : to crawl
3. gôgwántà : to walk in long strides
4. gôrâgôgà : to bolt
5. gôshâpà : to swim
6. gôkgôkôlôgâ : to roll
7. gôkôkôrôgà : to walk in a proud fashion
8. gôgêgêbà : to walk dragging the feet
9. gôtôtôbà : to walk in a tottering fashion
10. gôkgôpôgà : to walk quickly
11. gôkôkôbà : to walk gingerly
12. gôsfà : to flee
13. gôsfânà : to run
14. gôfôfà : to fly
15. gôpâlâmà : to ride
16. gôtshâbà : to flee
17. gôšlâ : to flow

Table V. Additional Manner specifying verbs.

Similarly lexicalized is location-directed motion, as in Table VII on page 75. Here the elements Motion and Manner are specified in the verb root. Evidence of the Applied Extension Constraint is also observed, since the form -qì- , as the designator of the Primary Path, is obligatorily suffixed to the verb root.

Reflecting an expected difference in lexicalization pattern is the expression of directional motion. As examination of the sentences in Table VIII on page 76 indicates, the different reflexes of the Main Clause constraint are evident. The verb -kíbítì- does not occur in the main clause, occurring only in the subordinate participial clause. The clausal status of this verb is again revealed by the concord marker ̀- , rather than the ̀- which occurs in main clauses. As with our earlier analysis, the semantic elements defining a complex motion event are distributed across both clauses. The verb root in the
Table VI. Location-confined expressions with the verb -kibiti-

1. mo-simane o-kibiti-à fa-godimo gá-thabá
   CL 1-boy he-run whf-IMP NEARBY-top LOC-mountain
   'the boy is running with heavy footfall on top of the mountain'

2. mo-simane o-kibiti-à fa-tlase gá-dì-tlhàrè
   CL 1-boy he-run whf-IMP NEARBY-under LOC-CL 8-tree
   'the boy is running with heavy footfall under the trees'

3. mo-simane o-kibiti-à fa-pèlè gá-h-tlò
   CL 1-boy he-run whf-IMP NEARBY-front LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is running with heavy footfall in front of the house'

4. mo-simane o-kibiti-à fa-moragò gá-h-tlò
   CL 1-boy he-run whf-IMP NEARBY-back LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is running in back of the house'

5. mo-simane o-kibiti-à fa-gàufí gá-h-tlò
   CL 1-boy he-run whf-IMP NEARBY-near LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is running with heavy footfall near the house'

In summary, the linguistic expression of a motion event with the verb -kibiti- reflects two characteristic lexicalization patterns: one in which the main clause verb root incorporates Motion+Manner and another in which it incorporates Motion+Path. Both of these lexicalization patterns appear to be characteristic for Tswana.

2.5. Motion Expressions with -gôg-. Further support for our contention that Tswana manifests two characteristic lexicalization patterns is found with another set of verbs. These verbs, among which is included -gôg- 'pull', are not examined here as extensively or in as great a number as the Manner verbs in the previous section. Nonetheless, verbs of the type -gôg- reflect the system of constraints noted at the outset. Other verbs of this type include -lé- 'to bring' and -bêlé- 'to push'. According to one recent tradition,
1. mò-sìmàné  ó-kìbìtl-êl-à kwá-gòdìmò gá-thàbà
   CL 1-boy  he-run whf-to-IMP DISTANT-top LOC-mountain
   'the boy is running with heavy footfall to the top of the mountain'

2. mò-sìmàné  ó-kìbìtl-êl-à kwá-tlàsè gá-thàbà
   CL 1-boy  he-run whf-to-IMP DISTANT-under LOC-mountain
   'the boy is running with heavy footfall to the bottom of the mountain'

3. mò-sìmàné  ó-kìbìtl-êl-à fá-pèlè gá-h-tìò
   CL 1-boy  he-run whf-to-IMP NEARBY-front LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is running with heavy footfall to the front of the house'

4. mò-sìmàné  ó-kìbìtl-êl-à fá-mòrágò gá-h-tìò
   CL 1-boy  he-run whf-to-IMP NEARBY-back LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is running with heavy footfall to the back of the house'

5. mò-sìmàné  ó-kìbìtl-êl-à fá-tìù-hg
   CL 1-boy  he-run whf-to-IMP NEARBY-house-LOC
   'the boy is running with heavy footfall to the house'

6. mò-sìmàné  ó-kìbìtl-êl-à mó-tìù-hg
   CL 1-boy  he-run whf-to-IMP INSIDE-house-LOC
   'the boy is running with heavy footfall into the house'

Table VII. Location-directed expressions with the verb -kìbìtl-
these verbs would be analyzed as reflecting a complex underlying structure
wherein two events are causally related [Fillmore 1971:46]. That is, they re­
quire us to specify not only the semantic elements of a basic motion event, i.e. Figure, Motion, Path, and Ground, but in addition, they require specifi­
cation of the element Cause.

We direct our attention now to expressions of motion with the verb -gòg-. As with earlier examples, we will focus on which semantic elements are incor­
porated in the verb root of the main clause. We begin with expressions of lo­
cation-confined motion, those in Table IX on page 77.

We first direct our notice to the fact that -gòg- occurs as the verb root
in the main clause. Assuming a certain familiarity with the Talmy framework by
now, we discover that the Figure and Ground objects in (IX,1) are specified by
Table VIII. Directional expressions with the verb -kibi\-l-.
1. mò-simànē ő-góg-á kōlōf fá-gōdǐmò gá-thàbà
   CL 1-boy he-pull-IMP cart NEARBY-top LOC-mountain
   'the boy is pulling the cart on top of the mountain'

2. mò-simànē ő-góg-á kōlōf fá-tlāsē gá-dì-tlāhàrè
   CL 1-boy he-pull-IMP cart NEARBY-under LOC-CL 8-tree
   'the boy is pulling the cart under the trees'

3. mò-simànē ő-góg-á kōlōf fá-pèlè gá-h-tlō
   CL 1-boy he-pull-IMP cart NEARBY-front LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is pulling the cart in front of the house'

4. mò-simànē ő-góg-á kōlōf fá-mòrāgq gá-h-tlō
   CL 1-boy he-pull-IMP cart NEARBY-back LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is pulling the cart in back of the house'

5. mò-simànē ő-góg-á kōlōf fá-gàuíf gá-h-tlō
   CL 1-boy he-pull-IMP cart NEARBY-near LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is pulling the cart near the house'

Table IX. Location-confined expressions with the verb -góg-

lexicalization pattern, though not identical in constituent make-up to the com-
bination Motion+Manner, is similar in typological structure. That is, both re-
fect the incorporation of the Motion element with some additional element out-
side the structural demarcation of a basic motion event. Therefore, one can
consider Motion+Manner to reflect, along with Motion+Cause, a single lexicali-
ization type. This type, as argued above, appears to be characteristic for
Tswana.

The lexicalization of Motion+Cause in the verb root is also manifest in ex-
pressions of location-directed motion. A representative sample of such sen-
tences with the verb -góg- is presented in Table X on page 78. When these
sentences are examined and compared to those in Table IX, we discover a largely
similar surface level allocation of the semantic elements delineating a motion
event. The primary difference between the sentences in Tables IX and X, and an
expected difference, is the specification of the Path constituent. It is the
Primary Path marker -q-, as defined earlier, that is suffixed to the verb
1. mò-símanè ó-góg-êl-á kólòí kwá-gòdìmò gá-thàbà
   CL 1-boy he-pull-too-IMP cart DISTANT-top LOC-mountain
   'the boy is pulling the cart to the top of the mountain'

2. mò-símanè ó-góg-êl-á kólòí kwá-tlásé gá-thàbà
   CL 1-boy he-pull-to-IMP cart DISTANT-bottom LOC-mountain
   'the boy is pulling the cart to the bottom of the mountain'

3. mò-símanè ó-góg-êl-á kólòí fá-pèlè gá-n-tilò
   CL 1-boy he-pull-to-IMP cart NEARBY-front LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is pulling the cart to the front of the house'

4. mò-símanè ó-góg-êl-á kólòí fá-mòragò gá-n-tilò
   CL 1-boy he-pull-to-IMP cart NEARBY-back LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is pulling the cart to the back of the house'

5. mò-símanè ó-góg-êl-á kólòí fá-tiù-ng gá-n-tilò
   CL 1-boy he-pull-to-IMP cart NEARBY-house-LOC
   'the boy is pulling the cart to the house'

6. mò-símanè ó-góg-êl-á kólòí mó-kàgò-ng
   CL 1-boy he-pull-to-IMP cart INSIDE-building-LOC
   'the boy is pulling the cart into the building'

Table X. Location-directed expressions with the verb -góg-

Table X. Location-directed expressions with the verb -góg- in each sentence in Table X but to none of the verbs in Table IX. In fact the Applied Extension Constraint is just as applicable to Cause verbs as to Manner verbs: -êl- is obligatory in expressions of location-directed motion but cannot occur in expressions of location-confined motion.

Though the operation of the Applied Extension Constraint differentiates location-directed from location-confined motion with verbs of the type -góg-, it is important to realize the essential unity of these categories of motion as far as lexicalization processes are concerned. That is, both are lexicalized by incorporating the constituents Motion+Cause in the verb root.

When our attention is directed to expressions of directional motion with the verb -góg-, we should find a pattern of lexicalization consistent with the Main Clause Constraint. Accordingly, the verb -góg- should not occur in
Table XI. Directional expressions with the verb -gog-

the main clause; rather, it should occur in a participial clause. In addition, the verb root which does occur in the main clause should lexicalize the elements Motion+Path, leaving the participial clause verb to specify only the element Cause. On examination, the sentences in Table XI above reflect these constraints. The verb -gog- in (XI,1), for example, occurs in a participial clause, marked by the concord prefix a-, and the main clause verb root -tsw-
is one of those which occurred in previous instances of directional motion. The latter verb, as we have indicated, incorporates Motion+Path, which leaves the verb root -gôg- to specify Cause, i.e. by pushing. Hence, verbs of the type -gôg- appear to support our contention that two lexicalization patterns are characteristic in Tswana, the lexicalization of Motion+Path, as in Table XI, and the lexicalization of Motion+Cause, as in Tables IX and X.

3. The Expression of Basic Motion Events

The final set of verbs under review manifest a more restricted range of lexicalization patterns than that previously seen. In fact, these verb roots, with one exception, lexicalize only the elements Motion and Path. To begin we will consider the verb -tsâmây- 'to walk'. In expressions of location-confined motion with this verb, as in Table XII on page 81, one finds the expected lexicalization pattern. The Figure and Ground elements are specified, as they were in previous instances of location-confined motion, by the nominals môsîmâné and thàbà, respectively, and the Path is specified by the separate form godîmô. Consistent with our earlier analysis, the verb root -tsâmây- incorporates both the fact of Motion and its Manner, 'walking'.

If one now attempts to formulate expressions of location-directed motion with -tsâmây-, one would expect the resulting sentence to show evidence of the Applied Extension Constraint, in line with the behavior of other Manner verbs like -tábôg- and -kîbîtî-. Accordingly, the verb root -tsâmây-, conflating the elements Motion and Manner, should occur as a main clause verb root with the suffix -êl- adjoined. No such evidence exists however. There is no sentence, as in (10) below, where the form -tsâmâ-êl-à occurs as the verb of the main clause.

(10) *môsîmâné ô-tsâmâ-êl-à godîmô gâ-thàbà
boy he-walk-to-IMP top LOC-mountain
'the boy is walking to the top of the mountain'

Instead, expressions of location-directed motion appropriate to the above gloss are constructed with another verb.

3.1. Motion expressions with -y-. A sample range of sentences constructed with the verb -y- are shown in Table XIII on page 82. As the glosses suggest,
1. mọ-sǐmànē ọ-tsàmày-à fà-gòdìmò gá-thàbà  
   CL 1-boy he-walk-IMP NEARBY-top LOC-mountain  
   'the boy is walking on top of the mountain'  

2. mọ-sǐmànē ọ-tsàmày-à fà-tlàsè gá-dì-thàrè  
   CL 1-boy he-walk-IMP NEARBY-under LOC-CL 8-tree  
   'the boy is walking under the trees'  

3. mọ-sǐmànē ọ-tsàmày-à fà-pèlè gá-h-tlò  
   CL 1-boy he-walk-IMP NEARBY-front LOC-CL 9-house  
   'the boy is walking in front of the trees'  

4. mọ-sǐmànē ọ-tsàmày-à fà-mòrágò gá-h-tlò  
   CL 1-boy he-walk-IMP NEARBY-back LOC-CL 9-house  
   'the boy is walking in back of the house'  

5. mọ-sǐmànē ọ-tsàmày-à fà-gàûfì gá-h-tlò  
   CL 1-boy he-walk-IMP NEARBY-near LOC-CL 9-house  
   'the boy is walking near the house'  

Table XII. Location-confined expressions with the verb -tsàmày-  

the form -y- encompasses the meaning 'walk to' and 'go to'. That is, Tswana  
does not appear to recognize a distinction at the lexical level between 'going'  
and 'walking' in expressions of location-directed motion, despite its recogni-  
tion of 'walking' in expressions of location-confined motion. The verb root  
-y-, in fact, can only occur in expressions of location-directed motion, never  
in location-confined expressions, or as we will see, directional expressions.  
Given the sentences in Table XIII and their meaning, what should strike us as  
irregular, especially given our analysis of Manner and Cause verbs, is the ab-  
sence of the Applied Extension -?l-. In the absence of this marker one would  
extpect a sentence such as (11a) below to be interpreted as in the gloss (11b)  
or (11c). The verb root -y-, nonetheless, cannot be so interpreted.  

(11) a. mòsìmànē ọ-ya fà-gòdìmò gá-thàbà  
   b. *'he is walking on top of the mountain'  
   c. *'he is going on top of the mountain'
Table XIII. Location-directed expressions with the verb -y-.

Returning to Table XIII above, we need to carefully scrutinize (XIII,1) in order to take stock of where among the surface level constituents the semantic elements of a motion event are allocated. In line with earlier analyses, the Figure and Ground objects in (XIII,1) are represented by mò-sìmànè and thàbà, respectively. The Path, at least on initial examination, seems to be represented by the form gòdîmò 'top'. It remains for the verb root -y- to specify only the fact of Motion.

A dilemma stirs in this interpretation however. First, as shown with earlier expressions of location-directed motion, the form gòdîmò was a Secondary Path marker, i.e. its meaning did not encompass the directional element suggested by the English gloss 'to'. Second, the verb root -y- does occur, as in (XIII,5), independent of any secondary Path marker and must itself convey the directional element glossed in English by 'to'.

One possible solution to this dilemma is to assume that the verb root -y- is composed of the semantic elements Motion+Path, these being glossed as 'move
1. mò-sǐmànè ó-tl-à fá-gòdímò và-thàbà
   CL 1-boy he-come to-IMP NEARBY-top LOC-mountain
   'the boy is coming to the top of the mountain'
2. mò-sǐmànè ó-tl-à fá-tlāsè và-thàbà
   CL 1-boy he-come to-IMP NEARBY-bottom LOC-mountain
   'the boy is coming to the bottom of the mountain'
3. mò-sǐmànè ó-tl-à fá-pèlè và-ñtlø
   CL 1-boy he-come to-IMP NEARBY-front LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is coming to the front of the house'
4. mò-sǐmànè ó-tl-à fá-morāqò và-ñtlø
   CL 1-boy he-come to-IMP NEARBY-back LOC-CL 9-house
   'the boy is coming to the back of the house'
5. mò-sǐmànè ó-tl-à fá-tlù-hg
   CL 1-boy he-come to-IMP NEARBY-house-LOC
   'the boy is coming to the house'

Table XIV. Location-directed expressions with the verb -tl-.

to'. This hypothesis nonetheless only encounters further difficulty, namely a
similar semantic make up must then be ascribed to the verb -tl-. This verb,
only occurring in expressions of location-directed motion, has the meaning 'to
come'.

Consider briefly in Table XIV above a sample set of sentences with the verb
-tl-. As we quickly discover, the surface level constituents in these sen­tences and those in Table XIII are identical except for the verb root. As such
our analysis of where at the surface level the semantic elements delineating
the referred to motion event are distributed would be similar to that for -y-.
The principle difficulty of that analysis was our failure to determine where
among the surface constituents the Path is specified, in particular the "to­ness" of location-directed motion.

Faced with this new dilemma, one could allow each verb, -y- and -tl-, to
incorporate the fact of Motion and its Path. To avoid identity of semantic
structure and still account for the different "directed" senses which each con-
veys, away from the speaker and toward the speaker respectively, one could further specify either the Motion or Path element. As a plausible solution, we propose that the Path element of the verb \(-y\)- be glossed as 'thither' and that of \(-t\!l\!-\) as 'hither'. We consider these as specifying, for the respective verbs, motion which is directed "to a point away from the speaker" and "to a point near the speaker". By postulating these admittedly complex specifications of Path, we are able to differentiate between the verbs \(-y\)- and \(-t\!l\!-\), while at the same time accounting for the "directional" element of their meaning. In addition, by so specifying the Path for these verbs, we account for their nonoccurrence with the Path specified by the Applied Extension \(-\&\!\!-\), which, as we saw, means 'to' or 'from'.

As an alternative, one might suggest that 'thither' and 'hither' are realizations of the Manner constituent. However, it is difficult to conceive either of these as a further specification of the Manner in which a motion event is carried out. For the present, therefore, we will consider each as a gloss for the different Paths specified by the verbs \(-y\)- and \(-t\!l\!-\).

Setting aside expressions of location-directed motion, we shift our attention to directional motion. In expressions of this type, as shown in Table XV on page 85, one finds the set of verbs which occurred in the main clause of sentences expressing directional motion with \(-t\!\!b\!\!\!\!g\!\!-\) and \(-k\!\!b\!\!t\!l\!-\). The only additional verb root found in Table XV is the verb \(-ts\!\!\!\!n\!\!-\) meaning 'to move into'. A further point to notice is that Manner or Cause is not expressed in a subordinate clause; they are not in fact expressed at all in these sentences, hence, the status of the verbs in Table XV as basic motion verbs. What is perhaps most interesting concerning these sentences is the range of the English glosses which each verb allows. In particular, each verb can be glossed with 'to move', 'to go', 'to walk', and most interestingly, 'to come'. This is a crucial point. It suggests that each verb root in Table XV refers to a type of motion which is independent of the Path notions captured by 'thither' and 'hither'. The most neutral gloss is something along the lines of the English 'to move', which does not specify a Path constituent as part of its meaning.

Beyond these points we want to take note of the larger issue which they support. These verb roots, as well as \(-y\)- and \(-t\!l\!-\), manifest a single lex-
Tswana Lexicalization

1. **mó-símané ọ-tsé-n-à**  
   CL 1-boy he-move (go, come, walk) into-IMP  
   'the boy is moving into the house'

2. **mó-símané ọ-tsw-à**  
   CL 1-boy he-move (go, come, walk) out-IMP  
   'the boy is moving out of the house'

3. **mó-símané ọ-rála-śi-à**  
   CL 1-boy he-move (go, come, walk) through-IMP  
   'the boy is moving through the doorway'

4. **mó-símané ọ-tshél-à**  
   CL 1-boy he-move (go, come, walk) across-IMP  
   CL 5-kraal  
   'the boy is moving across the kraal'

5. **mó-símané ọ-pötólóg-à**  
   CL 1-boy he-move (go, come, walk) around-IMP  
   well  
   'the boy is moving around the well'

6. **mó-símané ọ-tlóg-èl-à**  
   CL 1-boy he-move (go, come, walk) away-from-IMP  
   CL 9-house  
   'the boy is moving away from the house'

7. **mó-símané ọ-tlól-à**  
   CL 1-boy he-move (go, come, walk) over-IMP  
   mountain-DIM  
   'the boy is moving over the hill'

8. **mó-símané ọ-pálám-à**  
   CL 1-boy he-move (go, come, walk) up-IMP  
   mountain  
   'the boy is moving up the mountain'

9. **mó-símané ọ-págoğológ-à**  
   CL 1-boy he-move (go, come, walk) down-IMP  
   mountain  
   'the boy is moving down the mountain'

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Table XV. Directional expressions.

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aticalization pattern. Each incorporates in the verb root the fact of Motion and its Path, a pattern of incorporation we maintain is characteristic for Tswana. In other words each of these verb roots incorporates the meaning 'move' plus
some additional Path specifier, e.g. 'thither', 'out', etc. It is within the confines of this semantic specification that verb roots encoding basic motion events manifest what appears to be a suppletion process.

4. Summary

Briefly restating our basic position, we have discovered that Tswana verbs of motion manifest two characteristic lexicalization patterns, each a reflection of a typological pattern articulated by Talmy [1984]. In two of three categories of complex motion events, the verb root incorporates the fact of Motion and its Manner/Cause, the Path being expressed either by a form affixed to the verb root in cases of location-directed motion or by a distinct lexical item in cases of location-confined motion. In the other characteristic pattern, the verb root incorporates both the fact of Motion and its Path. This pattern characterizes the lexicalization of all categories of basic motion events and combines, with a Manner/Cause verb in a participial clause, to express the directional category of complex motion events.
REFERENCES


THE ROLE OF MSC'S IN OSHIKWANYAMA LOAN PHONOLOGY*

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This paper takes its data from Oshikwanyama, a Bantu language spoken in Namibia and Angola; the paper is an investigation of the phonological incorporation processes at work in the loanwords of this language. When loanwords are taken into a language the degree to which they undergo such phonological modification varies. There appears to be a hierarchy of such modifications in Oshikwanyama, such that some always apply, others normally apply, and yet others apply rarely and in special circumstances. These modifications are often based on, though not necessarily identical to, the MSC's of the borrowing language. The modifications appear to work in terms of a hierarchy of application. The paper describes several loanword incorporation processes and delineates the modification hierarchy.

1. Introduction

This paper explores some aspects of loanword phonology as illustrated by data from Oshikwanyama, a Western Bantu language spoken in northern Namibia and southern Angola. The principal European source languages for borrowing in Oshikwanyama are English, Afrikaans, and German. The paper will investigate the relationship between the morpheme/word structure constraints of Oshikwanyama, on the one hand, and, on the other, the actual loan incorporation processes which have modified the shape of Oshikwanyama loanwords.

The degree to which a loanword is modified can vary considerably: some loanwords are hardly changed at all and may seem quite "foreign-sounding" to native speakers of the borrowing language. Other words may be so strongly modi-

*This is a somewhat revised and expanded version of a paper which I delivered at the 15th Conference on African Linguistics, March 29-31, 1984 at U.C.L.A. in Los Angeles, California.

1Oshikwanyama is classified as R.21 in Guthrie's classification, 70/2/2 by Doke.
fied that, to the native speaker, their shape is indistinguishable from that of a native word. Often, the degree to which a loanword is modified seems to depend as much on social, cultural, and historical factors as on purely linguistic ones. Thus, a loanword with few changes may be used by an educated speaker to show that he or she has a knowledge of the source language; this is particularly true if the source language has prestige of some sort. For example, a native speaker of English who knows French (or even one who doesn't, but wants to sound as if he or she does) may give a word like *genre* the pronunciation \[\mathbf{\ddot{a}a}\], while a less-educated or less pretentious speaker may use the pronunciation \[\mathbf{\ddot{e}n}\]. The degree to which a loanword is modified may also depend on the age of the loanword. If borrowing from a source language continues for a considerable period of time, the accumulated number of loanwords and continued borrowing may eventually influence the phonological system of the borrowing language to change, thus resulting in new and different borrowing strategies. For example, Latvian borrowed words from German for almost eight centuries; the two words for coffee, *kapija* and *kafija*, were both borrowed from (High) German *Kaffee*, but on two different occasions: *kapija* is the older borrowing, *kafija* is the more recent borrowing and also the standard form of the word. These two examples illustrate a change in the way in which borrowing takes place: originally Latvian had no *f* sound—thus, when the word was first borrowed, *f* was replaced by the phonetically closest obstruent, which was *p*. Later the weight of borrowings gradually introduced *f* into the inventory. By the time the word was borrowed again, *f* was a phoneme of modern Latvian.

My focus in this paper is on loanwords which have been modified, and on the source of these modification processes. Those loanwords which have not undergone any of the modification processes I will discuss are not counter-examples; they are merely loanwords which have not been completely incorporated into the native lexicon.²

²Loanwords which have not been completely incorporated into the native lexicon tend to be used by the better-educated OshiKwanyama speakers, in particular, by younger people who know French and/or English well. These kinds of loanwords (as opposed to the more completely adapted ones) tend also to be used in urban, rather than rural, settings.
2. Sound Substitution

Since borrowing and source languages most often do not have the same inventory of sounds, one obvious way in which loanwords are modified is by sound substitutions. That is, for any source language sound which the borrowing language lacks, the phonetically closest sound is substituted. The consonant inventory of OshiKwanyama\(^3\) is shown in (1)—only \( g \) is not contrastive.

\[
\begin{array}{ccccc}
\text{p} & \text{t} & \text{k} \\
\text{b} & \text{d} & \text{g} \\
\text{č} & \text{š} & \text{ž} & \text{č} & \text{š} & \text{ž} \\
\text{f} & \text{ř} & \text{x} & \text{h} \\
\text{m} & \text{n} & \text{ŋ} & \text{l} \\
\text{γ} & \text{w} \\
\end{array}
\]

Since OshiKwanyama has no \( r \) sound, \( l \) is normally substituted, as shown in (2).

(2) source language | source word | loanword in OshiKwanyama
--- | --- | ---
German | [radiyo] | [oladiyo]\(^4\) | 'radio'
English | [taya-] | [etayela] | 'tire'
Afrikaans | [frax] | [ofulaxa] | 'burden, loan'

There are some loanwords in which \( r \) has not been replaced, but they are a tiny minority and are precisely the kinds of examples I had in mind when I referred to words which seemed "foreign-sounding" to the native speaker—words which are not fully incorporated into the native system.

OshiKwanyama also has no \( s \) sound; both [\( f \)] and [\( ř \)] are phonetically close to \( s \), and either sound can be substituted for \( s \), although [\( ř \)], being

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\(^3\)The dialect shown is that of Mr. Joseph A. Taukondyo, who comes from the extreme northern part of Namibia. My sincere thanks to him for the many hours he worked with me.

\(^4\)The loanword data derive in part from the speech of Mr. Taukondyo and partially from written sources, in particular Tobias and Turvey [1965] and Tönjes [1910].
another sibilant, seems to be preferred. Some examples are shown in (3). The
last example has two pronunciations, the two forms coming from two different di­
alects, one apparently preferring [§], the other [f].

(3) Eng [sæk] [oʃako] 'sack'
Eng [vɔs] [ovelǐša] 'verse'
Eng [sɔt] [ofoloto] 'sort'
Eng [skuwɔl] [oʃikɔlɔ] 'school'
[ofikola]

3. Interaction with MSC's

Some of the most intriguing modifications in loanwords are in response to
constraints (in the borrowing language) on the occurrence of particular pat­
terns of sounds, that is, to the word and morpheme structure constraints of the
borrowing language.

One of the major constraints on sounds in Oshikwanyama is the constraint
against closed syllables, i.e. no syllable may end in a consonant. It follows
from this that all Oshikwanyama words must end in a vowel. This last appears
to be the very strongest constraint in the language: I have found not one sin­
gle loanword which ends in a consonant. Even loanwords which lack most other
signs of incorporation have acquired a final vowel. The examples in (4) are
very "foreign-sounding", yet all of them have final vowels.

(4) Eng [aɪs kɾiːm] [oayskrima] 'ice cream'
Eng [bɪlə] [obira] 'beer'
Eng [blaːkboːrd] [blaːkbolda] 'blackboard'
Eng [sɛɾəf] [ʃɛlafi] 'seraph'

The example words meaning 'ice cream' and 'beer' are foreign-sounding in
large measure because the r was not replaced by l. 'Blackboard' and 'ice
cream' contain word-internal consonant clusters, and 'seraph' and 'blackboard'
lack noun class prefixes.

Oshikwanyama has nine noun classes. The canonical form of the nominal mark­
er is an augment or pre-prefix (which is a vowel) followed by a class prefix,
although this shape is not always visible as such on the surface. The noun
class system (slightly simplified) is shown below. The class numbers at the
left, which are the numbers I shall be referring to in what follows, are the
ones assigned by Tönjes [1910] in his grammar; the equivalent Bantu class numbers are shown on the right:

1 omu-/ova- 1/2
2 omu-/omi- 3/4
3 e-/oma- 5/6
4 o(N)-/e:(N)- 9/10
5 oší-/oi- 7/14
6 olu-/omalu- (or e:(N)- ) 11/6 and 11, (or 10)
7 oku-/oma- 15/6
8 ou-/omau- 14/6 and 14
9 oka-/ou- 12/14

Examples of native words from the five classes with the largest membership are shown in (5):

(5) | singular | plural |
---|---|---|
Cl. 4 o(N)-/e:(N)- | oší | e:ší | 'fish' |
| [oñofì] | [e:ñofì] | 'star' |
| [odíla] | [e:díla] | 'bird' |
Cl. 3 e-/oma- | edína | omadína | 'name' |
| [ekombo] | [omakombo] | 'large goat' |
Cl. 5 oší-/oi- | ošíkombo | oikombo | 'goat' |
| [ošípute] | [oípute] | 'wound' |
| [ošíkwánama] |  | 'Kwanyama language' |
Cl. 1 omu-/ova- | omukongo | ovakongo | 'hunter' |
| [omulongí] | [ovaloque] | 'worker' |
Cl. 9 oka-/ou- | okakombo | oukombo | 'small goat' |
| [okambwa] | [oumbwa] | 'puppy' |

Loanword assignment to noun classes corresponds closely to the size of the noun class. That is, class 4 has the largest number of native nouns and is also the class to which most loanwords are assigned. Classes 3 and 5 are next

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5Claims about the relative number of nouns in each class are the result of a count of several hundred nouns. I used the Tobias and Turvey [1965] dictionary.
largest and many loanwords are also assigned to these classes, and so forth. In some cases semantics may also play a role. Class 1 nouns are always human. Thus, it is not surprising that loanwords referring to human beings are almost always assigned to class 1, as shown in (6):

(6) Eng \([\text{pəliys}]\) [omupolifí] 'police constable'\(^6\)
Eng \([\text{bišap}]\) [omumbišopa] 'bishop'
Eng \([\text{ingliš}]\) [ovaengelísa] 'English people'
Germ \([\text{bas}]\) [omubafa] 'bass (singer)'

Loanwords belonging to the five classes with largest membership are shown in (7).

(7) Eng \([\text{ləmp}]\) [oləmpa] 'lamp' Cl. 4
Eng \([\text{pen}]\) [opena] 'pen'
Eng \([\text{foːk}]\) [efoloka] 'fork' Cl. 3
Germ \([\text{hawfə}]\) [ehawfu] 'dune'
Afr \([\text{taːʃəl}]\) [oʃiːafuːla] 'table' Cl. 5
Eng \([\text{gowld}]\) [oʃìŋoːloːdə] 'gold'
Eng \([\text{pəliys}]\) [omupolifí] 'policeman' Cl. 1
Eng \([\text{bišap}]\) [omumbišopa] 'bishop'
Eng \([\text{powniy}]\) [okaːpοni] 'pony' Cl. 9
Eng \([\text{spə}]\) [okaʔipolo] 'spur'

Although noun class prefixes are the morphological marker of a noun, the presence of this morphological marker in loanwords seems to be somewhat less important than the phonological constraint against consonant-final words, since the former may be ignored but the latter never is.

An interesting interaction occurs between the phonological constraint against certain kinds of consonant clusters and the sound substitution processes. Native Oshikwanyama words have a constraint against all clusters except

\(^6\)Note that this word shows evidence of spelling pronunciation, as \(o\) is never pronounced in the source word. It seems likely that a number of words, such as the words for 'bishop' and 'Christmas', for example, have been created using the written form of the word. I suspect that many of these were missionary creations.
consonant plus glide and nasal plus voiced stop. This last is a deep structure constraint, since it can be violated at the surface: as a result of certain fast speech rules, nasal clusters may be broadened to include nasal plus any consonant. I will discuss nasal clusters in more detail later in the paper. First I will examine the treatment of source language clusters which contain liquids and clusters made up of obstruents. Neither type of cluster is allowed in Oshikwanyama either by deep or surface constraints.

4. Cluster Simplification

When clusters containing liquids or obstruents occur in Oshikwanyama borrowings, they are almost always eliminated. A few of the small number of examples which have not eliminated such clusters are shown in (8):

(8) Eng [blækbɔrd] [blækbɔlda] 'blackboard'
Eng [ays kwiym] [oayskrɪmA] 'ice cream'

The most common method of cluster simplification is to insert a vowel,\(^7\) as in the first five examples in (9). Occasionally one of the two consonants is deleted, particularly if the cluster was word final in the source language, as in the last three examples in (9).

(9) Eng [faJrn] [ofalama] 'farm'
Germ [karta] [okalita] 'map'
Eng [kjismes] [okilišitimiša] 'Christmas'
Germ [brot] [ombołota] 'bread'
Afr [spélt] [ošipela] 'pin'
Eng [powst] [opoša] 'post, mail'
Afr [kɔmbərs] [ošikumbafa] 'blanket'

The examples I have provided show that sounds may or may not be substituted and that clusters may or may not be simplified (but, of course, whether or not

\(^7\)Most commonly a copy of the vowel of an adjacent syllable is inserted; see 'farm' and 'bread' in (9). However, between SC clusters the vowel inserted is always i, giving [šiC]. Byarushengo [1976:82] notes a similar use of the vowel in breaking up clusters in Haya loanwords. He suggests that i is used because it is the "closest" vowel in the language. However, in the Oshikwanyama examples I suspect that a better explanation would be that this is the most "palatal" vowel and, therefore, most appropriate after [§].
substitution and simplification take place is merely an indication of the degree to which the loanword has been incorporated into the native lexicon. However, note that while unsimplified clusters of consonant plus r and consonant plus l may occur (as in (8)), simplified clusters, like those in (9), always contain the substituted l sound. Thus, while substitution of a native sound for a foreign sound does not necessarily imply cluster simplification, cluster simplification does imply sound substitution; consequently, forms such as those in (10) never occur.

(10) *[oaysikirima] *[osikola]

The implication of this is that there must be a hierarchy of loanword incorporation processes, and sound substitution is previous to—or primary with respect to—the processes which reflect constraints against consonant clusters.

5. Nasal Clusters

Finally, I will discuss the processes which modify nasal clusters. Some treatments of borrowing (see Hyman [1970], for example) have suggested that borrowing languages treat source language words as underlying forms and, therefore, that it is the synchronic phonological rules of the borrowing language which modify loanwords. We shall see that this approach is insufficient to handle the examples about to be discussed.

First, look at the distribution of stop consonants in OshiKwanyama, as shown in (11).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>intervocically</th>
<th>word initially</th>
<th>after a nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the native system of the language, the voiceless stops are all underlyingly distinct, since they all contrast in intervocalic position and in initial position. The voiced alveolar stop d is also contrastive in these environments;
however, on occasion it will alternate with ʻ. The bilabial b also is contrastive intervocally, but it is never word-initial and sometimes alternates with v. Finally, the voiced velar stop g is most restricted in its occurrence: it is found only after [ŋ]. None of the voiceless stops occur after nasals—only voiced stops may occur in this environment. When nasals and stops come together as a result of morpheme conjunction, the results are illustrated in (12): nasal plus p gives m, nasal plus t gives n, and nasal plus k gives [ŋ].

(12) native root     non-nasal precedes     nasal precedes
-put-              [olupati]   'rib'                      [e:mati]   'ribs'
-pot-              [okupota]   'to be rude'                  [omote]   'good-for-nothing'
-tan-              [okatana]   'little calf'                   [onana]   'calf'
-tungwa-           [okatungwa] 'little basket'              [onungwa] 'basket'
-kak-              [olukaku]   'shoe'                          [e:ȵaku]   'shoes'
-kwat-             [okukwata]  'to take, seize'              [onwate]   'prisoner of war'
-ving-             [oluvinge]  'horn'                          [e:mbinge] 'horns'
-vel-              [okuvela]   'to arrive'                     [embedi]   'arrival'
-ly-               [okulya]    'to eat'                         [e:ndya]   'food'
-lum-              [omulumenu] 'human male'                  [ondume]   'male' of Cl. 4 nouns

The sequence mb arises from nasal plus v, and nd comes from nasal plus ʻ. The sequence ŋg arose historically from nasal plus k although no synchronic alternations now remain.

What, then, occurs in loanwords? If the source language word has an initial voiced stop, normally the loanword is modified in one of two ways (as illustrated in (13)): either a homorganic nasal is inserted before the voiced stop, as in 'bet' and 'gold', or else the word is assigned the nasal-final form of the class 4 prefix. In the latter case the loanwords will, accordingly, have initial syllables which resemble native words of this class, such as [ombele] 'knife', [ondudu] 'hill', or [ongodi] 'rope'.

The underlying form of the prefix, in each of these cases, ends in a nasal, thus, /e:N + pati/ 'ribs', /oN + pote/ 'good-for-nothing', /oN + tana/ 'calf', etc.
(13) Eng [bet] [mbeta] 'bet, gamble' (verb)
    Eng [gowl] [ošingolodo] 'gold'
    Germ [bibel] [ombibela] 'bible'
    Eng [dam] [ondama] 'dam'
    Eng [donkiy] [ondoŋi] 'donkey'

Source language words which contain clusters of nasal plus voiceless stop are normally modified as well:

(14) Eng [stamp] [sitamba] 'stamp' (verb)
    Afr [pomp] [opomba] 'pump'
    Eng [punt] [pelenda] 'print' (verb)
    Germ [tintë] [otinda] 'ink'
    Afr [tronk] [ondolongo] 'prison'
    Eng [ink] [oinga] 'ink'

Note what happens to the (underlined) voiceless stops: they are voiced after nasals. But note, this modification cannot be the result of applying a synchronic phonological rule. OshiKwanyama has no rule that voices stops after nasals. Instead the OshiKwanyama rule would delete the voiceless stops, as in (12). If it were the synchronic phonological rule operating here, one would find forms like *[šitama] or *[oŋa], instead of [šitamba] and [oinga]. Thus, treating the source language words as underlying forms predicts an incorrect result; the actual modification which occurs is the result of an independent loanword incorporation process, which is not the same as any synchronic phonological rule. This loanword incorporation process is derived from the prohibition against nasal plus voiceless stop clusters, but since it is a particular positive response to this negative prohibition, the incorporation process must be considered a different and separate entity from the constraint. The prohibition against nasal plus voiceless stop could be expressed in a number of different ways, for example, vowel insertion between the nasal and the stop; however, the particular method that OshiKwanyama has chosen (voicing of the stop) is a language-specific loanword incorporation process. Therefore, it is evident that loanword incorporation processes need not be identical either to phonological rules or to morpheme structure constraints.
Note also that, on the surface, nasal plus voiceless stop clusters are, in fact, allowed in OshiKwanyama. Native words have them as a result of certain fast speech rules. Thus, 'tree' may be pronounced [omúti̯], [om:t̥i̯], [omt̥i̯], or even [ont̥i̯] in increasingly more casual and faster speech. However, the loanwords are modified in spite of this. It seems clear that in this case the loanword incorporation process is derived not from surface structure, as suggested by Shibatani [1973], but as a result of the deep structure constraints. Additional support for this analysis is provided by an article by Kaye and Nykiel [1979], which points out similar effects of deep phonotactic constraints on English-source loanwords in Odawa.

Lastly, consider the data in (15).

(15) Afr [papi:r] [ombapila] 'paper, letter'
Eng [pik] [ombiki] 'pick-axe'
Afr [kérk] [ongeleka] 'church'
Germ [kamel] [ongamo][:]lo] 'camel'
Afr [tr̥nk] [ondolongo] 'prison'

Although OshiKwanyama allows voiceless stops in native words to occur both in stem-initial and word-initial position, nevertheless a small number of loanwords with initial p, t, or k undergo the modification illustrated above; the word in each case is assigned the oN-form (rather than the o-form) of the class 4 prefix, even though initial op, ot, or ok are perfectly allowable sequences. However, there are no sequences of these sounds in this particular class of nouns. Thus, it is possible to find words like the adverb [opo] 'here', the pronoun [otwa] 'we', or the noun [okakadona] 'girl' (class 9), but no such sequences occur in the native nouns of class 4 because of the rule illustrated in (12), which gives m from nasal plus p, n from nasal plus t, and [ŋ] from nasal plus k. However, these initial voiceless stops could have been retained without inserting a preceding nasal if the words had been assigned to class 3 or class 5, both of which allow stem-initial voiceless stops (see, for example, 'table' in (7)). Furthermore, class 4 has no single, coherent semantic characterization; thus, the loanwords certainly did not have to be assigned to class 4 because of their meaning.

It would appear that these words were merely assigned to class 4 because this
is the class that most loanwords are assigned to; however, once in class 4, a class-specific constraint against stem-initial voiceless stops gave rise to the use of the $\text{oN-}$ form of the prefix. Note that this constraint must be of very low priority because, in fact, the majority of loanwords in this class with stem-initial voiceless stops were not assigned a nasal form of the prefix (see 'pen' in (7)). However, once the $\text{oN-}$ prefix form was assigned, the incorporation process illustrated in (14) then came into effect and voiced all of these post-nasal voiceless stops.

6. Conclusion

Four conclusions obtain from these OshiKwanyama data. First, the evidence shown in section 4 leads to the conclusion that there is a hierarchy of loanword incorporation processes in OshiKwanyama: the constraint against consonant-final words gives rise to the most important loanword incorporation process—the one which adds final vowels to all loanwords. Next the process which substitutes sounds applies, and lastly, the processes which derive from constraints against clusters, such as vowel insertion and consonant deletion, will apply.

Second, as exemplified in (14), loanword incorporation processes in OshiKwanyama are not necessarily the same as the synchronic phonological rules of the language nor are they identical to the morpheme or word structure constraints; however, the incorporation processes may certainly be (indirectly) derived from these constraints. Note that these conclusions are further supported by my work on borrowing in TshiLuba and Latvian (see Steinbergs [1981, 1982]).

Third, there are incorporation processes in OshiKwanyama which derive not from the surface structure (as Shibatani [1973] suggests), but rather from the deep structure constraints. This conclusion is further supported by the work of Kaye and Nykiel [1979].

Finally, as exemplified in (15), OshiKwanyama has a loanword incorporation process that derives from a constraint which does not even hold across the phonology of the language, but which is specific only to a particular class of nouns.
REFERENCES


ON THE HIGH NON-EXPANDED VOWELS IN YORUBOID*

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A current debate going on among Yoruba linguists is the existence and phonological status of the high non-expanded vowels. Indeed while Igala, Igbekele, and many Yoruba dialects exhibit a seven-vowel system, other Yoruba dialects exhibit a nine-vowel system (including ɨ and ə), both types showing however interesting vowel co-occurrence restrictions. Given this situation, some scholars argue that proto-Yoruba and proto-Yoruboid had a nine-vowel system with cross-height vowel harmony, while others claim that they had a seven-vowel system. The present paper reviews both positions and suggests another alternative; in particular it shows how cross-height vowel harmony came about in Yoruboid.

1. Introduction

1.1. The Yoruboid language complex. In this paper the term Yoruboid is used to refer to a compact language complex including Yoruba, Igbekele, and Igala. According to Hoffmann [1976] as amended by Williamson [1982, 1983], the Yoruboid complex is a major branch of the Yoruboid-Akokoid unit of the Benue-Congo division of the Volta-Congo languages. It is a member of the so-called (old) Kwa languages [Greenberg 1963] but not of the (new) Kwa [Stewart, to appear]. In terms of actual genetic relationship, Yoruba, Igbekele, and Igala (with their more or less long tradition of writing) are not, strictly speaking, three sister

*This article is a revised and expanded version of the first part of a paper read at the fourth annual conference of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria (University of Benin, July 20-23, 1983). I am indebted to many colleagues who commented on it, particularly Ben Elugbe, Kay Williamson, and Ola-sope Oyelaran. As it is, the paper is based on data discussed in Oyelaran [1973] and Akinkugbe [1978], data which are not supplied here. I am, of course, fully responsible for any interpretation as well as any deficiency. All proper nouns (glossonyms and anthroponyms) are spelt in the standard Yoruba orthography, but without tone markings, while a modified I.A.I alphabet is used elsewhere.
languages. According to Akinkugbe [1976:16], a more accurate picture can be depicted by the following diagram:

![Yoruboid family tree](image)

Note that, according to Akinkugbe [1976:3-8], CY [Central Yoruba] consists of the Ife, Ijesa, and Ekiti dialects; NEY [North-eastern Yoruba] comprises the dialects of Yagba, Gbede, Ijumu, Ikiri, etc.; SWY [South-western Yoruba] includes Tsabę with Ketu and Ife (Togo) dialects; NWY [North-western Yoruba] is made up of Oyo, Egba (Abéokuta, Ilaro, etc.), and Oṣun (Oṣogbo, Ogbomoso, Ede, etc.) areas; whereas SEY [South-eastern Yoruba] comprises Ondo, Owo, Ijebu, and dialects spoken in and around Okitipupa (Ikalẹ, Ilaje, Ijo-Apọlẹ, etc.).

1.2. The problem. Studies in Yoruboid dialectology have revealed some interesting vowel co-occurrence restrictions which some authors, e.g. George [1973], interpret as relics of certain earlier vowel harmony rules. Another interesting element of comparative Yoruboid studies is that some present-day Yoruba dialects, e.g. Ijesa, Irun, Ifaki, and Ekiti, exhibit a nine-vowel system (if tones and nasality are not taken into consideration) and display cross-height vowel harmony. Other Yoruba dialects, e.g. Ikalẹ, Ilaje, Tsabę, Ukarẹ, 'Standard' Yoruba [SY], etc., as well as Iṣẹkiri and Igała exhibit some vowel co-occurrence restrictions, but have a seven-vowel system (if tones and nasality are not taken into consideration). This situation has led to two conflicting positions as to the vowel system of proto-Yoruba and proto-Yoruboid. On the one hand, Oyelaran [1973, 1977], among others, claims that proto-Yoruba (and presumably proto-Yoruboid) did not have a nine-vowel system, nor the classic cross-height vowel harmony. On the other hand, Akinkugbe [1978], among others, argues that proto-Yoruba and proto-Yoruboid had them.
1.3. **Expanded and equivalents.** Thus the problem centers on the existence and phonological status of \( \ddot{a}, \ddot{o}, \ddot{u}, \) i.e. the high non-expanded vowels, also referred to as the [-ATR] or [-tense] or [+covered] high vowels\(^1\) in proto-Yoruboid as well as in the so-called nine-vowel present-day Yoruba dialects. The purpose of this paper is to make a contribution to the debate by reviewing past positions and suggesting an alternative hypothesis, taking full advantage of the nasal vowels.

2. **Background Information**

We shall present successively oral vowels, nasal vowels, patterns of vowel co-occurrence restrictions, and the cross-dialectal correspondence series.

2.1. **Oral vowels.** As far as oral vowels are concerned, Yoruboid dialects are divided into two typological groups, viz. the seven-vowel dialects and the nine-vowel dialects.

(a) The Yoruboid dialects having a seven-vowel system include Iṣẹkiri, Igala and many Yoruba dialects, e.g. Ikale, Ilaje, Ijọ-Appọ, Tsabe, Ukare, Yagba, Gbẹdẹ, Ifumu, Ikiri, etc. The system is made up of \( \ddot{a}, \ddot{e}, \ddot{e}, \ddot{a}, \ddot{o}, \ddot{o}, \ddot{u} \).

(b) The Yoruboid dialects having a nine-vowel system are found among Yoruba dialects only, viz. Ijesa, Irun, Ekiti, Ifaki. The system is made up of \( \ddot{a}, \ddot{e}, \ddot{e}, \ddot{a}, \ddot{o}, \ddot{o}, \ddot{o}, \ddot{u} \).

2.2. **Nasal vowels.** In respect of nasal vowels, the system varies from one dialect to another.

(a) Yoruba dialects such as Ijesa, Irun, Ekiti, and Ifaki have the following six-vowel system: \( \ddot{a}, \ddot{e}, (\ddot{e}), \ddot{o}, \ddot{o}, \ddot{u} \). Note that this group includes all the so-called nine-vowel dialects and that some of them do not have \( \ddot{e} \).

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\(^1\)We do not intend to discuss in this article the adequacy or otherwise of the feature labels adopted by different Yoruba scholars to refer to these vowels, especially [expanded] [Lindau 1978; Akinkugbe 1978], [tense] [Courteney 1968; Fresco 1970; Oyelaran 1973]; [advanced tongue root] [Oyelaran 1977; Stewart 1983]; and [covered]. We have given preference to [expanded] simply because it seems the latest. In any case, it is useful to know how these labels correspond to one another.
(b) Iṣẹkiri and Yoruba dialects such as Ikalẹ, Ilaje, Ijo-Apọ̀, etc., have the following five-vowel system: ṭ ẹ ọ ṣ ǔ.

c) Yoruba dialects such as Tsabẹ, Ukarẹ, SY, etc., have the following four-vowel system: ṭ ẹ ṣ ǔ.

d) Yoruba dialects such as Yagba, Gbẹdẹ, Ijumu, Ikiri, etc., have the following three-vowel system: ṭ ọ ǔ.

e) Present-day Igala has no nasal vowels.²

Note that none of the Yoruboid dialects described so far is shown to have ŋ or ō.

2.3. **Vowel co-occurrence restrictions.** Although we take into consideration, for the purpose of presenting the vowel harmony grades, both oral and nasal vowels, our reference to dialect types is based on oral vowels only. Thus we talk of seven vowel and nine-vowel dialects.

(a) In the seven-vowel dialects, vowels fall into two sets:

- **set 1**: i ṭ e a (ā) o u ǔ
- **set 2**: i ṭ ẹ (ē) a (ā) o ọ u ǔ

Thus, to mention oral vowels only, i a u are neutral in that they belong to both sets; however, a as a stem vowel takes a set 2 vowel as prefix. Note also that in Igala there are a few VCV nouns showing co-occurrence between o and ẹ.

(b) In the nine-vowel dialects, vowels fall into two sets:

²Armstrong [1965, personal communication] reports the occurrence of one nasal vowel in Igala, viz. ŋ (which he alternatively notes as ŋ^n). It occurs in a small but quite important group of morphemes, most of which have Yoruba cognates that also have ŋ, e.g., ẹn 'thing' and ẹjẹn 'food'. It seems that synchronically this Igala ŋ is better analysed as a syllabic nasal ŋ or a NV structure. Note, moreover, that Igala does exhibit nasalised vowels, but only after a nasal consonant; and because of this restriction, its nasalized vowels are treated as underlying oral vowels (see data in Akinkugbe [1978], as reinterpreted by me).
Thus, to comment on oral vowels, only a is neutral in that it belongs to both sets. Note that in the nine-vowel dialects, ɪ and ɔ never occur in stem-final position (a fortiori in word-final position) whereas ɨ and ɔ may occur in such a position. Hence ɨ and ɔ are considered as "autonomous" phonemes whereas ɪ and ɔ are not.

2.4. Vowel correspondences in Yoruboid stems. A decisive factor in our present discussion is the systematic vowel correspondence series that one finds across Yoruboid dialects. For more consistency, we shall restrict ourselves to stems for two reasons: (i) in the prefix and other non-final positions, vowels are often subject to various phonological rules; (ii) vowels in the prefix position usually constitute a sub-set of the vowels occurring in stems. The correspondence series (in Table 1 on the next page) are taken from Akinkugbe [1978]; however, instead of her reconstructions, we simply identify the columns as 1a...7a (for oral vowels) and 1b...7b (for nasals). Note that for the nasal set, Akinkugbe [1978] has two additional columns in which one finds vowel sequences in proto-Yoruba and proto-Yoruboid (rows excluded by us from the table). Similarly, for the oral set, she has two additional columns in which one finds *ɨ and *ò in proto-Yoruba and proto-Yoruboid without reflexes in any of the present-day dialects (with which our own table deals). We set aside these four columns and concentrate on the fourteen columns presented in Table 1.

3. The Controversy: Seven vs. Nine Vowels in Proto-Yoruba and Proto-Yoruboid

Given the background information just presented, we can now approach the controversy, highlighting the arguments advanced by each camp and making preliminary evaluation of them as we proceed.

3.1. Main arguments for a nine-vowel system. Five main arguments have been put forward to defend the thesis that proto-Yoruboid had a nine (oral) vowel system (including *ɨ and *ò) with the classic cross-height vowel harmony. A sixth one, provided by Adetugbọ [1967], would put an end to the controversy as it shows that some Central Yoruba dialects do have oral phonemic ɨ and ɔ occurring in stem-final position; unfortunately his data have not been confirmed and
Table 1: Vowel correspondences in Yoruboid stems [Akinkugbe 1978]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORAL VOWELS</th>
<th>NASAL VOWELS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a 2a 3a 4a 5a 6a 7a</td>
<td>1b 2b 3b 4b 5b 6b 7b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igala</td>
<td>i e e a o o u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isękiri</td>
<td>i e e a o o u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikalé</td>
<td>i e e a o o u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilajẹ</td>
<td>i e e a o o u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ijọ-Apọi</td>
<td>i e e a o o u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gbẹdẹ</td>
<td>i e e a o o u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ijumu</td>
<td>i e e a o o u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikiri</td>
<td>i e e a o o u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yagba</td>
<td>i e e a o o u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukarę</td>
<td>i e e a o o u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SY</td>
<td>i e e a o o u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsabẹ</td>
<td>i e e a o o u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ifẹ(Togo)</td>
<td>i e e a o o u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ijọṣa</td>
<td>i e e a o o u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irun</td>
<td>i e e a o o u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

are therefore ignored in this paper.

Argument 1: Bamgboye [1967] argues that a dialect with nine vowels is more complex than one with seven; therefore, the former should be more archaic than the latter. He then concludes that proto-Yoruba (and presumably proto-Yoruboid) had *l and *o. However, it is now generally admitted that complexity is not measured in terms of inventories of sounds, but in terms of how generalised the observed patterns within a language/dialect are and the number, nature and power of the rules required to account for them [Fromkin 1971]. In this regard, the so-called nine-vowel dialects, with their generalised vowel harmony rule (see below, section 4.4), are less complex than the so-called seven-vowel dialects of Yoruboid.

Argument 2: The major argument advanced by Akinkugbe [1978] is as follows:
because */i/ and */ɔ/ have to be postulated for proto-Yoruba and proto-Yoruboid (on the basis of columns 2b and 6b of Table 1 on facing page), then one should assume that their oral counterparts */ʌ/ and */o/ also existed at those stages of the language complex, because nasal vowels usually constitute a sub-set of the oral vowels. It is pertinent to observe that the postulation of the nasals, */i/ and */ɔ/, is not unquestionable and that it is not, in any case, the only plausible hypothesis in respect of columns 2b and 6b. If one thinks of alternatives, then the argument becomes invalidated.

**Argument 3:** Stewart [1983] claims that the most likely source of ɛ,ɔ : ɨ,ʊ (columns 2b and 6b of Table 1) is */i/,*/ɔ/ because ɨ,ʊ are highly marked, and consequently both of the sound changes posited, namely */i/,*/ɔ/ > ɛ,ɔ and */i/,*/ɔ/ > ɨ,ʊ are highly plausible phonetically. This argument is only irresistible on the surface. Its basic defect is that from a correspondence series involving nasal vowels, Stewart [1983] switches over to oral vowels to advocate phonetic plausibility for rules which, evidently, do not affect oral vowels. At a theoretical level, it might also be possible to think that ɨ,ʊ can be seen as the intermediary stage in a development *ɛ,*ɔ > ɨ,ʊ > ɨ,ʊ as Guthrie [1967] does.

**Argument 4:** To give more weight to argument 2, Akinkugbe [1978] also invokes the fact (?) that so many present-day (old) "Kwa" languages operate an eight, nine, or even ten vowel system; she adds that Stewart [1971] has even suggested that the latest common ancestor of the (old) "Kwa" languages probably operated a ten-vowel system. This argument takes for granted that the existence of ɨ and ʊ must be a genetic characteristic of the "Kwa" languages, which need not be the case. It also takes for granted proto-Volta-Congo reconstruction (arrived at without Yoruboid) and now tries to "mould" proto-Yoruboid to conform to it, instead of looking for substantive comparative data, the prima facie condition of any conclusion having genetic implication or interpretation. This argument is therefore weak, to say the least.

**Argument 5:** Akinkugbe [1978] also advances that the fact that the present-day nine-vowel dialects of Yoruboid have phonemic ɨ and ʊ without (clearly) phonemic ɨ and ʊ is an indication of a transition stage from a clear nine-
vowel system to a seven-vowel system by reduction. This argument does not carry much weight because in the process of historical change, one normally expects the nasal vowels (marked as they are according to Chomsky and Halle [1968]) to disappear before their oral counterparts.

3.2. Main arguments for a seven-vowel system. Three main arguments have been put forward to defend the thesis that proto-Yoruboid had a seven (oral) vowel system.

Argument 1: The most crucial of the arguments, as emphatically stated by Oyelaran [1973, 1977], is that present-day Yoruboid (in fact, Yoruba) dialects with \( i \) and \( o \) do not have them in stem-final position and so these vowels could as well be interpreted as conditioned variants of \( /i/ \) and \( /u/ \) (when the stem-final vowel is non-expanded). Akinkugbe [1978], a champion of the nine-vowel system interpretation, has no serious objection against this synchronic analysis. There is, however, the fact that \( \tilde{\imath} \) and \( \tilde{o} \) are attested in stem-final position and contrast with \( \imath \) and \( \tilde{u} \) on the one hand, and \( \tilde{s} \) (and \( \tilde{e} \)) on the other. Now Oyelaran's [1973, 1977] interpretation of these \( \tilde{i}, \tilde{o} \) as deriving from \( *\varepsilon, *\delta \) is not satisfactory in that, even if the diachronic raising rule were attested, it simply states the origin of present-day \( \tilde{i} \) and \( \tilde{o} \) but does not deny their phonemicity. We shall come back to it below.

Argument 2: Another argument used by both Fresco [1970] and Oyelaran [1973, 1977] is that the present-day nine-vowel dialects have innovated \( i, i, o, o \) by greatly simplifying the vowel co-occurrence restrictions, i.e. extending the fea-

3Her position on this issue is as follows:

In terms of phonetic analysis, one may want to regard \( i \) and \( o \) as allophones of \( /i/ \) and \( /u/ \) respectively... The above phonemic analysis is, however, rejected on the following grounds. Since vowels, by the universal markedness convention, are marked for nasalisation (Chomsky and Halle [1968]), a system which has underlying nasal vowels without their non-nasal counterparts is counter-intuitive. (p.76)

Note that Oyelaran [1973] and the present writer (see below) use the same argument of markedness to invalidate the phonemicity of \( \tilde{i} \) and \( \tilde{o} \).

4The raising rule mentioned here is stated as P-B by Oyelaran [1973:165; 1977:7] as follows:
tural specification [-expanded] which was restricted to, and redundant with, the feature specification [+low] to high vowels also (in Oyelaran's specification reproduced below, Table 2a). Akinkugbe [1978] agrees basically that the Ijẹṣa-type nine-vowel system is less complex than the seven-vowel system, but argues that the crucial point is the process that has brought about the complexity. We do not see, however, how she has proved the process that has brought about the complexity; rather we see the issue of the direction of change as a crucial one, as long as one can explain or point out the motivation, as we shall attempt below.

**Argument 3:** In his 1977 paper, trying to explain how the nine-vowel system came about in Yoruboid, Oyelaran states that the nine-vowel dialects are mainly eastern dialects which have maintained contact with the Edoid languages and Igbirra (clearly attested cases of nine-vowel or ten-vowel languages/dialects with cross-height vowel harmony) for millenia; it is certainly through this contact that the feature [expanded] has been "acquired". This explanation is quite acceptable. In fact, Stewart, who once wrote that "it can never be shown that the member with the harmony acquired it, and it can nearly always be shown that the member without the harmony lost it" [1976:8], now admits that "it is cer-

---

**P-B: Nasal vowel raising**

\[
\begin{array}{c}
+\text{syl} \\
+\text{low} \\
+\text{nas} \\
+\text{back} \\
+\text{front}
\end{array} \rightarrow [+\text{high}]
\]

He comments thus: "P-B has been shown to recapitulate a historical change in the language... In short the so-called phonemes ĩ and ō result from changes recounted by P-B. Hence they have no oral counterparts" [Oyelaran 1973:179] (my emphasis, H.C.). Unfortunately, by talking of underlying forms instead of protoforms, Oyelaran [1973, 1977] seems to suggest that P-B is a synchronic rule, but he does not justify it.

5In the seven (oral) vowel system, Oyelaran [1973] specifies /ɛ a ɔ/ as [+low] and admits that, according to Stewart [1969, 1971], "all three vowels a ɛ ɔ are inherently non-advanced tongue root" [1973:160]. This implies that all other vowels, viz. /i e o u/ are [-low] and [+expanded]. See below, Tables 2a and 2b.
tainly wrong to exclude the possibility that some Kwa languages might some day be shown to have acquired CHVH [cross-height vowel harmony]" [1983:33].

In all, it seems as if the seven (oral) vowel system thesis is more acceptable than the nine (oral) vowel system thesis. We shall now go on to prove this with our own interpretation of the data at hand.

4. In Search of a More Acceptable Hypothesis

4.1. Another look at the vowel correspondence series. Let us consider more carefully the vowel correspondence series presented in Table 1 (section 2.4 above). When one applies all known criteria to the oral set, one cannot but postulate */i* *e* *ɛ* *a* *ɔ* *ʊ*/* for columns 1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, 6a and 7a respectively, as Akinkugbe [1978] has done. For the nasal set, Akinkugbe's [1978] reconstruction of */ɪ/ and */ʊ/ for columns 1b and 7b is unquestionable. For columns 3b and 5b, we agree with her reconstructing */ɛ/ and */ɔ/ respectively: dialects showing ɛ and ɔ have denasalised the proto-Yoruboid vowels whereas those showing ɪ and ũ have raised the proto-Yoruboid vowels, through mergers. For columns 4b, Akinkugbe [1978] reconstructs understandably */ɔ/; Igala has denasalised the proto-Yoruboid vowel whereas those dialects showing ɔ have rounded and backed the proto-Yoruboid vowel. The columns that interest us most here are 2b and 6b. While Akinkugbe [1978] reconstructs them as */ɪ/ and */ʊ/ respectively, our surmise is that reconstructing them as */ɛ/ and */ɔ/ is more plausible.

4.2. Justifying our */ɛ/ and */ɔ/ . Having accepted */ɛ/ and */ɔ/ as the sources of columns 3b and 5b, and */ɪ/ and */ʊ/ as those of columns 1b and 7b, it is no longer tenable to trace columns 2b and 6b to either */ɛ/ and */ɔ/ or */ɪ/ and */ʊ/. By postulating */ɪ/ and */ʊ/ for columns 2b and 6b, Akinkugbe [1978] assumes that the proto-phonemes must have been retained unchanged by at least one present-day dialect such as Ijesa. She admits, however, that there is no (direct) evidence for reconstructing oral */ɪ/ and */ʊ/ , and she should logically arrive at a proto-Yoruboid vowel system made up of seven oral vowels and seven nasal vowels as follows:

/*i* /*e* /*ɛ* /*a* /*ɔ* /*u*/
/*ɪ* /*ɛ* /*a* /*ɔ* /*ʊ*/.

/*i* /*e* /*ɛ* /*a* /*ɔ* /*u*/
/*ɪ* /*ɛ* /*a* /*ɔ* /*ʊ*/.
Note the doubly curious imbalance shown by this system in that (i) */e/ and */o/ are without nasal counterparts whereas */i/ and */o/ are without oral counterparts and (ii) the nasal vowels do not constitute a subset of the oral vowels. One obvious way out is to postulate the sources of columns 2b and 6b as */ê/ and */ô/ respectively. We thus have a symmetric vowel system for proto-Yoruboid as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
/*i & *e & *ë & *a & *o & *u/ 
/*\ddot{i} & *\ddot{e} & *\ddot{ë} & *\ddot{a} & *\ddot{o} & *\ddot{u}/ 
\end{align*}
\]

In addition to the symmetry argument, nothing prevents the occurrence of */ê/ and */ô/ . These vowels are attested in other West African languages such as Basila, Giseda, Lelemi, Adele, Likpe, Santrokofí, Akpafu, Avatime, Nyangbo, Bowili, Ahlo, Kebu, and Animere, all belonging to the Central Togo (old Togo Remnant) languages as described by Heine [1968]; and Uvwie [Umukoro 1968], Agbon [Kelly 1969], and Epie [Thomas and Williamson 1967] of the Edoid complex; and Ika [Elugbe 1969], Qhúhú [Green and Igwe 1963], Qgba [Olorí, n.d.], and Ikwerre [Williamson 1970] of the IgboID complex. Moreover, if one admits that nasal vowels derive diachronically from *CVN and *CNV structures (see Hyman [1972] and Williamson [1973]), it becomes clear that nothing will prevent */e/ and */o/ from occurring in the V position of these structures [Capo 1983]. If one admits our reconstruction, then the diachronic rules to be posited to account for the reflexes are perfectly plausible. The dialects showing ê and ô have simply lowered */ê/ and */ô/ (in terms of the matrix of Table 2a below) through mergers; those showing î and ŭ have simply raised */ê/ and */ô/ through mergers; those showing î and ô have retained proto-Yoruboid */ê/ and */ô/ as we shall show in section 4.3 below.

Now the reason why */ê/ and */ô/ have shifted in most dialects is that the lowering of the velum accompanying nasalisation would have both a physical effect on tongue position and an acoustic effect on the vowel sound itself; thus,

---

6The reference to other West African languages here has no genetic implication. We are simply arguing that no segment structure condition (or morpheme structure condition) prevents the occurrence of ê and ô, contrary to a claim made by Hyman [1972].
ë and ò are rather unstable. This leads us to the argument of markedness. As already noted, Stewart [1983] states that i and o are more marked than e and o. If an indirect way of measuring markedness is the relative frequency of the segments in the languages of the world, this statement cannot be disputed. By the same argument, however, we are in a position to say that, as far as nasal vowels are concerned, i and o are less marked than ë and ò.

Going through the vowel inventories of languages/dialects presented by Williamson [1973], some nine and ten (oral) vowel languages/dialects such as Grebo [Innes 1967], Akan [Schachter and Fromkin 1968], Baoulé (Vogler as cited by Hyman 1972) have i and o without ë and ò; others such as Epie [Thomas and Williamson 1967], Ìka [Elugbe 1969], Òhùhù [Green and Igwe 1963], Kalabari, Nembe, and Kolokuma [Williamson 1969] have both i,ò and ë,ò; whereas only Basila [Heine 1968] has ë,ò but not i,ò.

4.3. Another interpretation of the nine-vowel dialects. As said above, in the so-called nine-vowel dialects of Yoruboid, i and ò are autonomous phonemes because they occur in stem-final position and as such may contrast with i and û as well as ë (and é). However, at the level of underlying representation, we would like to treat them as phonetic realisations of /ë/ and /ò/ for the same reasons as those advanced for proto-Yoruboid. Now the question is why /ë/ and /ò/ should be realised as [i] and [o]. We have already pointed out the unstable nature of [ë] and [ò]. For this reason, in most cases /ë/ and /ò/ are realised as [e] and [o] by a synchronic lowering rule, or sometimes as [i] and [u] by a synchronic raising rule (see Williamson [1973]; Capo [1983, to appear]). Where the lowering rule applies, the contrast between /ë/ and /e/ on the one hand and /ò/ and /o/ on the other is lost. Similarly, where the raising rule applies, the contrast between /ë/ and /i/ on the one hand and /ò/ and /u/ on the other is lost. Now suppose that a language/dialect does not lose the three-term contrast /ë/~/ë~/ë/~i/ and /ò/~/ò~/ò/~u/~, and yet, its speakers are faced with the unstable nature of [ë] and [ò]; then they may realise /ë/ and /ò/ as [i] and [o] since, as we think, [ë,ò] are more complex/marked than [i,ò]. This is how, internally and spontaneously, i,ò could have emerged in the so-called nine-vowel dialects of Yoruboid in stem-final position without i,ò (their oral counterparts) also emerging. We thus
hold the view that synchronically, present-day Yoruboid dialects having [ᵻ,ᵻ] as stem-final vowels at the phonetic level, actually have /e,ɔ/ at the level of underlying representation.

4.4. On the acquisition of cross-height vowel harmony. We have seen that most present-day Yoruboid dialects have a seven (oral) vowel system. We have also argued that this seven (oral) vowel system must be traced back to proto-Yoruboid. This system is fully specified by the following matrix (Table 2a) argued for by Oyelaran [1973:159-60].

Table 2a: Matrix specifying the Yoruboid oral vowels [Oyelaran 1973:159]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>ε</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>front</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One could add two other features, viz. [rounded] and [expanded] to those in Table 2a, but they are redundant in that they do not play unique roles. Indeed [arounded] ↔ [aback], and [aexpanded] ↔ [-alow] as one can see in Table 2b.

Table 2b: Feature specification of the vowels of the seven-vowel Yoruboid dialects, including redundant features [Capo]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>ε</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>front</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rounded</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expanded</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One could also use a different specification, such as the one used by Fresco [1970] and Courtenay [1968]; in that system [expanded] and [rounded] are no longer superfluous, as can be seen in Table 3 on the next page.
Table 3: Feature specification of oral vowels of the seven-vowel Yoruboid dialects based on Fresco's [1970] matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expanded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(We assume, of course, that the nasal counterparts differ only in respect of the feature of nasality.)

As observed above (section 2.3), these seven vowel dialects operate some vowel co-occurrence restrictions. In particular, the pairs [e,o] and [ε,ɔ] are mutually exclusive, whereas [i,u,a] are neutral. The restriction can be accounted for by a vowel harmony rule which is assimilatory in nature. Using Oyelaran's [1973] matrix of Table 2a, this rule can be stated as SPR_{1a}.

\[
\text{SPR}_{1a} : \left[ \begin{array}{c} +\text{syl} \\ -\text{high} \\ -\text{low} \end{array} \right] + \left[ -\text{low} \right] / X \left[ +\text{syl} \right] + \left[ +\text{low} \right]
\]

Using the matrix of Table 2b, we can replace [low] with [expanded], and SPR_{1a} can be re-written as SPR_{1b}.

\[
\text{SPR}_{1b} : \left[ \begin{array}{c} +\text{syl} \\ -\text{high} \\ +\text{exp} \end{array} \right] + \left[ -\text{exp} \right] / X \left[ +\text{syl} \right] + \left[ -\text{exp} \right]
\]

(Note that SPR_{1b} will also be the version based on Table 3.)

---

7 It is actually my view that we are not dealing with proper vowel harmony rule(s), but with assimilation rule(s) except that the vowels involved may be separated by a consonant. Most Yoruba scholars agree that the type of "vowel harmony" discussed here operates regressively. In this regard, Fresco [1970:23] states that underlying vowel prefixes are necessarily /l u e o a/ (note that Yoruba has no suffixes); since the "harmony" can be stem-internal, I would like to suggest that only the same vowels (and their nasal counterparts) also occur in stem non-final position, while all the seven vowels of the language (and their nasal counterparts) may occur in stem final position. This hypothesis, which can only be understood in a non-autosegmental approach as used throughout this paper, explains the formulation of the rule(s).
Since SPR\textsubscript{1a} is exactly the same as SPR\textsubscript{1b}, we can see that harmony based on [expanded] is already at work, except that it is co-terminous with vowel height here, restricted as it is to [-high] vowels.

We have shown above (section 4.3) how [expanded] starts playing a unique role when some dialects like Ijẹṣa, Irun, Ifaki, and Ekiti realise their /ē/ and /ō/ as [ᵉ] and [ᵐ] through a synchronic (raising) rule now stated as SPR\textsubscript{2}.

\begin{align*}
\text{SPR\textsubscript{2}:} & \quad [\text{-exp}] \quad \rightarrow \quad [\text{+high}] \\
& \quad [\text{-high}]
\end{align*}

With the innovation of SPR\textsubscript{2} specific to the so-called nine-vowel dialects, [expanded] becomes pertinent in that, without it, [ᵉ] and [ᵐ] cannot be uniquely specified. In fact, at the systematic phonetic level, we now have high as well as non-high expanded and non-expanded vowels. With the addition of the two vowels [ᵉ] and [ᵐ], the so-called nine-vowel dialects generalise the proto-Yoruboid vowel harmony rule (retained by the so-called seven-vowel dialects) SPR\textsubscript{1b} to read SPR\textsubscript{3}.

\begin{align*}
\text{SPR\textsubscript{3}:} & \quad [\text{+syl}] \quad \rightarrow \quad [-\text{exp}] / \_ X [\text{+syl}] \\
& \quad [-\text{exp}]\quad [\text{-exp}]
\end{align*}

In view of the fact that, apart from /a/, all vowel prefixes in Yoruboid are underlyingly [+expanded], i.e. /i e u o/ (see footnote 7), we now expect in that position [i e u o a] on the one hand and [i e o o a] on the other (and eventually in the stem non-final position also their nasal counterparts).

It is necessary, at this juncture, to state emphatically that the vowel harmony rules are phonological rules, in fact assimilation rules. In the nine-vowel dialects in particular, SPR\textsubscript{3} is crucially ordered after SPR\textsubscript{2}. This way, we can argue that the cross-height vowel harmony shown by Ijẹṣa, Ifaki, Irun, and Ekiti might have been acquired "spontaneously", the prolonged contact with Edoid and Igbirra languages being only a catalyst. This hypothesis also indicates that the vowel harmony rule SPR\textsubscript{3} may change anytime from now to a morpheme structure condition while SPR\textsubscript{2} becomes a diachronic rule. At this time it would not be strange to see some Yoruboid dialects developing underlying ᵉ and ᵐ in
stem-final position (perhaps through "borrowing"). These properly established nine (oral) vowel dialects will definitely confirm that a nine vowel dialect/language may derive from a seven-vowel proto-language. That could have possibly been the case with the unconfirmed data reported by Adetugbọ [1967] in respect of some Central Yoruba dialects.

5. **Concluding Remarks**

An attempt has been made to show that

(i) proto-Yoruboid had a fourteen-vowel system made up of seven oral vowels and their nasal counterparts,

\[
/\text{*i} \text{*e} \text{*ɛ} \text{*a} \text{*ɔ} \text{*o} \text{*u}/ \text{ and } \text{/*ɪ} \text{*ɛ} \text{*ɛ} \text{*ɔ} \text{*ɔ} \text{*ʊ} \text{*ʊ}/;
\]

(ii) the so-called nine-vowel Yoruboid dialects have in fact seven underlying vowels, \(/\text{i e e a c o u}/;

(iii) in the same dialects, the stem final \(\text{ᵻ} \) and \(\text{ᵢ} \) are phonetic realisations of \(/\text{e}/ \) and \(/\text{ʊ}/;

(iv) in the same dialects, the non-final \(\text{i}, (\text{ᵦ}), (\text{ᵦ}), (\text{ᵦ}), (\text{ɛ}), (\text{ɔ}) \) are predictable variants of \(/\text{i} (\text{ᵦ}) \text{ᵦ} (\text{ᵦ}) \text{ɛ} \text{ɔ}/ \) through a cross-height vowel harmony rule developed "spontaneously" or perhaps "acquired" from the neighbouring Edoid and Igbirra languages.

The implications of the present hypothesis as well as the problems it raises are yet to be fully explored.
REFERENCES


PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED


The introductory sections describe the methods and conditions under which Ge'ez, the traditional liturgical language of Ethiopia is taught, as well as ecclesiatical titles one can attain in the study of the language. The major part of the book is in three sections: biblical and other liturgical texts, proper names from the lexicon of Dillmann, and tables of verb forms, pronouns, derived nouns and numerals. The texts present the Ethiopian script with Romanized transliteration on the facing pages. The other materials also have both transliterations. The transliterations are based on recordings made from the pronunciation of several Ethiopian savants. There is an index of the words from the texts in traditional Ethiopian alphabetical order. The book concludes with French translation of the texts.


Six papers by A. Coupez, Y. Cadiou, L. Nkusi, S. Bizimana, Fr. Jouannet, F.X. Bangamwabo, and G. Mbadimana. [Translated from the book notices]: The authors' objective is to lay out a certain number of mechanisms tied to Kinyarwanda syntax and morphology ... . Their concern has been to bring out the specificity of Kinyarwanda, underlining the originality in solutions to problems that every language must face and to show that under an often complex semiology relatively simple and coherent systems are operating.


Obolo is a Tano-Congo language, spoken in Nigèria in the southeastern corner of the Niger Delta. This grammar is intended in part for use by educated speakers of Obolo and hence avoids technical language and formalism. It is, however, fully tone marked. The sections are Introduction, The Sound System of Obolo, Nouns and Noun Phrases in Obolo, and Verbs and Verb Phrases. The grammar includes the main features of phonology and morphology, and the final chapter discusses basic syntactic patterns, but complex syntactic issues are not raised.

124 Studies in African Linguistics 16(1), 1985

[From the back cover description]: Basing her study on evidence from the Kaceecereere dialect of Southern Zaria in Northern Nigeria, Mary McIntosh reveals some of the principles that underlie Fulfulde (or Fula) verbal morphology. By discussing morphological issues, she establishes certain new categories and principles for Fulfulde. The book contrasts the structure of Fulfulde sentences with and without a verb and then considers the morphology of the verbal complex—that is, the verbal root and its dependants. A hierarchy of suffixes is established in order to account for the subtle variations in verbal morphology; and the different ways of realising semantic-syntactic properties are categorised and exemplified. Finally, sentences with a topic are syntactically and morphologically contrasted with those containing a focussed constituent.


This study takes up the issue of the genetic relations of Songhai—whether, according to Greenberg, it is a member of the Nilo-Saharan family, or, following the earlier hypothesis of Delafosse, it is related to the Mande languages. Some 700+ lexical comparisons and various morphological comparisons with Saharan and Mande languages show that no clear picture emerges. The final hypothesis is that present day Songhay, being as uniform as it is over its entire extent and given what is known of its use as a trade language, may be the modern descendant of a creole. At this time, given the conflicting picture of lexical and morphological data, we cannot say with certainty what the genetic affinity of the pre-creole ancestor might have been.


[From the publication notice]: The assumption stemming from numerous previous studies is that the Swahili represent an alien Arab-Muslim culture divorced from the cultures of their Bantu-speaking African neighbors. The authors argue that the Swahili are an African people, born of that continent and raised on it. Their culture is thus a dynamic synthesis of African and Arabian ideas within an African historical and cultural context.


A translation into German of the former Nigerian president's didactic poem about Nigeria. Shagari wrote this poem while a schoolteacher in Sokoto as a way to stimulate interest among students in Nigeria as a nation. Jungraithmayr provides an introduction with background information
Publications Received

on the poem and notes on words, names, etc. unfamiliar to the European setting.

Publications of Verlag J.J. Augustin


A comparative work on the "Plateau Branch" of the Benue-Congo languages. It is based mainly on the author's field research, but also includes data from previous research. An Introduction provides background on classification and previous research. The comparative sections are Phonology, the Nominal System (both noun classes and lexical roots), and Verbal Stem Extensions (Erweiterungen). A concluding chapter provides a reconstruction of 109 proto-Plateau lexical roots and comparisons with reconstructed roots for more distant branches in Niger-Congo, a reconstruction of the noun class system, and a reconstruction of verbal extensions.


A descriptive grammar of Lamang, a Central Chadic language spoken on the border between northeastern Nigeria and northern Cameroon. The Phonology section concentrates particularly on analysis of the vowel system, with extensive analysis of tones as well. The Morphology section discusses personal pronouns, nouns, verbs, qualitatives, and expressives. Particularly detailed (approximately a third of the entire grammar) is the description of the verbal system, which encompasses about 15 extensions and 15 "aktionsarten", the latter organized by Wolff in a hierarchical structure by mood and aspect. The final section covers syntax, including both noun phrase and simple sentence syntax as well as complex sentences, questions, focus, topicalization, and conjunction.

Publications of ILCAA


This is a presentation of and commentary on four 19th century manuscripts from the Wandala, a Central Chadic speaking people of northern Cameroon. The volume includes reproductions of the original manuscripts. Following an introduction on field methodology and previous work, there are four main sections: French translations of the manuscripts with notes, presentation of oral tradition from living Wandala elders, bibliography and appendix of title lists, and the Arabic manuscripts themselves.

A reconstruction of the history of the peoples of "Foumbina", the name given by the Fulbe to the peoples of the basin of the upper Benue in northern Cameroon. The book synthesizes oral tradition with other facts to reconstruct pre-nineteenth century history of these peoples, i.e. their history before Fulbe hegemony.


A semantically classified vocabulary list of the Beni Amer dialect of Tigre, spoken in the frontier region of the Red Sea between Ethiopia and Sudan. There is an English alphabetical index to the Tigre word list.

Publications of SELAF


[From the résumé]: This dictionary is intended first of all for the peoples of the Mzab and also for other Berber-speaking peoples of the Maghreb, as well as for specialists in the Berber language and for linguists in the field of Hamito-Semitic languages. Practically speaking, it is the first dictionary to appear of this particular variant of the Berber language of the Mzab. It includes much more than the vocabularies so far published, which already date from a great many years. It is presented according to the modern method which uses classification by the roots of words. This new contribution to the inventory of the Berber language will also be of interest to the historians of Ibadhism and to those who study the ancient culture which vitalized this region in the past, a past which is still little known.


[From the publication notice]: The Bafuliru (bãfûlîrû) live in the Uvira zone of South Kivu, a province in Eastern Zaire in the Great Lake region. The Bafuliru speak Kifuliru (kifûlîrû). The variety studied here is that of Lemera, a village in the North-East of the Uvira zone. Guthrie classified this language as D64 and Lolemi in the group J (J54) which comprises a number of languages of zones D and E of Guthrie's classification. The phonological analysis follows the principles of A. Martinet. An argumentation in several chapters precedes setting of syllabic structure. The first chapter presents the distribution of consonant elements and the second a paradigmatic analysis of them as distinctive units.
Chapter III which deals with vowel units is not structured in the same way, the distributional analysis of vowels is not so complex as to require a whole chapter. Chapter IV deals with prosody in which it is proved that the numerous phonetic pitches may be reduced to two distinctive tones.


[From the publication notice]: Rwanda's sociolinguistic background and the place occupied by French in this nation which is on the extreme oriental fringes of the francophone area in Africa is quite original. French which was introduced by the Belgians is related to the nationally spoken language Kinyarwanda in a very particular way due to a situation exceptional for Africa: Rwanda (with Burundi) is the only francophone African country in which only one mother tongue is spoken by the entire population. In his introduction the author recalls the historical setting of the social organisation which has conditioned and permitted the use of a French vocabulary in this part of the African continent. A practical, alphabetically listed glossary with analysis of those French lexical items spoken in Rwanda shows a school level knowledge of French. Norms acquired in school persist in the French commonly spoken in this country and check any possibilities of lexical creation. The lexical deviation (less than a thousand) from standard French is similar to that found in any regionally spoken French in France.


[From the résumé]: Shimaore, a Bantu language of Mayote Island, makes up together with Nzuanese a dialect subset of Comorian, quite separate from the Ngazidja-Mwali subset. Generally considered (Guthrie, passim) as part of G 40 "Swahili" group, Comorian can be clearly distinguished from "Standard" Kiswahili (based upon Zanzibar's Kiunguja), with which it shares an important Arabic lexicon; there is, however, no intercommunication. Both at the phonemic and the morpho-syntactic levels (verbals and dependent nominals) Shimaore tends to evidence traits reminiscent of some continental Bantu languages (from Mozambique especially) as well as of the Northern dialects of Zone G. This work attempts a description of Shimaore drawing its inspiration from the methods of Guthrie's school as revised and adapted at the Bantu seminar of INALCO. The grammatical description is illustrated by two folktales translated and commented in close co-operation with informants from Mayote and Mozambique.
Publications from Undena


[From the résumé]: As a grammatical feature, inflection is most significant in the earlier, synthetic phases of ancient Egyptian. The present study focusses on the Pyramid Texts, as representative of the earliest well-documented phase of the language. For the verb, the study of inflection is the identification of written forms, in the different verb-classes, that have the same grammatical value. To that end, the verbs of the Pyramid Texts are here grouped into classes by root (Appendix 1: §§724-56), and all occurrences of their written forms within these classes are collected (Appendix 2: §§757-840). Part I of the text (§§13-211) provides the catalogue of morphologically significant forms within each class; Part 2 (§§212-723) identifies the inflected forms of the verbs and describes their conjugation, on the basis of syntactic environments. A major result of this study is the identification of a synthetic future tense within the suffix-conjugation; this tense also lies at the base of the suffix participle, and is the probable origin of the negativ-al complement. The description of the verb that emerges here supports the synthetic origin of the Egyptian verbal system, and provides a base against which the development from Old to Middle Egyptian can be measured more accurately.


[From the résumé]: *A Dictionary of Nigerian Arabic* (English-Nigerian Arabic) provides material on the present state of Nigerian Arabic studies and gives evidence of a dialect change in a diachronic span of nearly 50 years. This particular dialect reflects the confluence of Eastern and Western Arabic (Lake Chad to Kano). The dictionary lists approximately 6000 lexemes with some illustrative sentences, many of which are found in the author's unpublished texts in the language. *A Dictionary of Nigerian Arabic* is geared to be of use to the specialist in comparative Arabic dialectology and to the general linguist interested in Afroasiatic data from a synchronic point of view as well as to the Africanist dealing with linguistic diffusion and borrowing.


[From the résumé]: The present grammar comprises two parts: the first part consists of a concise descriptive grammar of the Mansa dialect of the Tigre language; the second part contains a selection of new Tigre texts. The motivation for the present work is the state of research of the Tigre language; practically none of the grammatical works of the earlier period of Tigre studies are of descriptive value to the student of
Tigre, some of them being linguistic curiosities of primarily historical value, while others were written by people who lacked skill or qualification for the task.


This book is "an examination of the syntax of ancient Egyptian questions introduced by jn and jn-jw, and the examples for the most part, are from Old, Middle, and early part of the New Kingdom. Since information from the later stages of the languages bears some relationship to earlier material, a discussion of questions from these periods is included in the Appendix" (Preface, p. iii). Descriptive chapters on the constructions in question are followed by a chapter with "Conclusions concerning Jn and Jn-Jw" and "The interpretations of questions as conditions", an appendix with diachronic interpretations, an index of citations, and a bibliography.

**Periodicals**

**JOLAN** [Journal of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria].

"JOLAN is the journal of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria (LAN). LAN is the largest national linguistic body in Africa, with over two hundred members. It was founded in 1980 to reflect the high level of interest and professionalism of linguistics in Nigeria, and the journal was developed to serve LAN's two constituencies: scholars of Nigerian languages as well as the international community of linguists."

For subscription information from outside Africa, write to Publications Officer, African Studies Center, Boston University, 270 Bay State Road, Boston, MA 02215, USA.

**Bulletin de l'Institut d'Études et de Recherches Interethniques et Interculturelles (IDERIC), No.1, Juin 1984.** (IDERIC, Université de Nice, 33, Boulevard de la madeleine, 06000 Nice, FRANCE.)

Summary of research in progress, meetings and seminars, and publications of the members of IDERIC.


*The Nigerian Language Teacher* contains a news section which reports on past and coming events. The Centre welcomes news reports of both coming and past events, including information on workshops, seminars, curriculum development projects, programs on orthographies and terminology of any Nigerian language and language/cultural activities.

[From the introductory editorial]: This news-letter is meant to keep in touch all those who are interested in Swahili as communication; as a language with a function in a society. That society is changing historically and demographically, and the language is changing with it. This news-letter will contain anything that the readers want it to contain, unless it starts to get too big, when we may have to prune it. It will be as good as the material we receive from you, the readers. So send us your news, personal and professional, and we will pass it on. Send us your views, too, and we will publish or note them.
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