THE STRUCTURE OF SENTENCES IN MENDE

Gordon Innes
ABSTRACT

Word classes are set up by assigning to a single class those words which occur in the same test frame (or set of test frames), those frames being chosen which yield the word class demanded by classification most convenient for the subsequent description of sentence structures. This classification differs markedly from that of all Mende grammars, perhaps especially in that here no class of verbs is recognised. A phrase like nya hale (---), "treat me with medicine", which has always been described as the imperative of the verb hale, preceded by the object pronoun nya, is here regarded as a possessive complex. Also treated as a possessive complex is the phrase nya hale (---), "my medicine", which is traditionally described as consisting of the possessive pronoun nya and the noun hale. The pair nya hale (---), "treat me with medicine" and nya hale (---), "my medicine", are here held to differ in respect of the kind of possessive complex, (called here subjective and objective complexes respectively), as is shown by the difference of tone pattern, and not in respect of a difference of the word class of hale. Syntactically comparable with the pair nya hale (---) is the pair 

{ nya hale (---) }
nyawoli (---), "my ear" (of my own body)

nyawoli (---), "my ear" (e.g. a cow's ear which belongs to m

A description is given of all the types of complex, both subjective and objective, which are distinguished.

A small number of types of simple initiating sentences is recognised, and the minimum sentence of each type is described in terms of the number of contrastive positions which it contains, the relative order of these, and the word classes and complex types that occur in each. Expansions of each minimum sentence are then similarly described.
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THE STRUCTURE OF SENTENCES IN Mende

Introduction

The term Mende [Mende], or, in the earlier literature, Mendi, should strictly speaking be applied only to the country; the language is *Mende *yisi*, and the people are *Mendeble* (singular Mendemo). Europeans have applied the term to both the language and the people, and as this has now been established usage for several decades, the term will be so used here.

Apart from a small section in Liberia, the Mende-speaking area lies wholly within Sierra Leone, where the Mende constitute the largest, and the politically most important, speech community. They inhabit an area of nearly 12,000 square miles in the S.E. and S.W. Provinces of the Protectorate, and in Freetown there is also a considerable Mende community. The difficulties inherent in any attempt to take a reliable census of a preponderantly illiterate population make it impossible to determine accurately the number of Mende speakers, but various estimates have been made. Little estimated that in 1950 the Mende population as a whole numbered close on a million, including the Liberian section. There is some evidence that the Mende-speaking area is increasing, particularly on the

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coast, where Sherbro is tending to be replaced by Mende. Mende is widely understood in the non-Mende areas of Sierra Leone, especially by the educated élite who have attended Bo School, the largest, and until recently, the only, secondary school for boys in the protectorate. Boys from all parts of the protectorate come to the secondary school in Bo, the unofficial 'capital' of the protectorate, situated in the heart of the Mende area, where they learn Mende, not as a subject in the school curriculum, but from their social intercourse with Mende speakers both in the school and in the town.

Mende is classified by Westermann\(^1\) as a member of the Mande group. It is most closely akin to Loko, one of the minor languages of Sierra Leone, with only 76,000 speakers according to Westermann\(^1\); the Loko seem to have been cut off from the main body of the Mende by a wedge of Temne during the tribal warfare of the last century. The Mende have a feeling of kinship with the Loko which is often expressed in terms of an uncle-nephew relationship. Also closely related to Mende are Bandi, Loma and Kpelle, all spoken in Liberia. The etymology of the word 'Mende' is obscure,

but it seems not unlikely that it is cognate with 'Mande',
itself a cognate of 'Mali', the name of one of the
mediaeval negro empires of the Western Sudan.

The language shows a high degree of homogeneity
with no extreme dialectal variations. Two main
dialects may, however, be distinguished - Kpa Mende,
spoken in the western part of the region, and Ko Mende
or Upper Mende, spoken in the eastern part. Lexi-
cally the two dialects differ little; the main
difference lies in the consonant mutation system,
which is described in detail later; suffice it here
to mention as illustrative of the difference between
the two dialects that Kpa Mende has the alternances
p/b and t/d, where Upper Mende has p/w, t/l. For
example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Upper Mende</th>
<th>Kpa Mende</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pelel, house</td>
<td>pelel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nya welel, my house</td>
<td>nya belel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paa, kill it</td>
<td>paa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalii na waa, kill that snake</td>
<td>kalii na baa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to mbei, set it down here</td>
<td>to mbei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na lo mbei, set that down here</td>
<td>na do mbei</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A further important difference is that medial g and j
in Kpa Mende correspond to w and y in Upper Mende.
For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Upper Mende</th>
<th>Kpa Mende</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hiye,</td>
<td>get up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiya,</td>
<td>pound (rice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiwi,</td>
<td>ant hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndewa,</td>
<td>pubes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hije, get up
hija, pound (rice)
higi, ant hill
ndega, pubes

The Kpa Mende, with a population estimated\(^1\) at 20 per cent of the total Mende figure\(^2\) are distinguished in respect not only of dialect, but also of other cultural features. Most noticeably they preserve a more martial tradition than the rest of the Mende, and still take great pride in the military prowess of their war leaders of the last century; the Wunde secret society, which seems to have been an organization for toughening and training boys for military service, flourishes in the Kpa Mende area but is not found elsewhere. The meaning of the word 'Kpa' is uncertain; two possible interpretations are commonly offered by the Mende themselves:

1) 'different'. cf. ngi gba, "I am different". (kp/gb mutation). The Mende are themselves keenly aware of the linguistic and cultural differences between the two sections.

2) 'hard'. cf. kpsu and kpa,kpsu, "hard, tough".

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The Kpa Mende are considered by the others somewhat hard-hearted, more resolute and of a tougher moral fibre. This greater 'hardness' of the Kpa Mende seems to be reflected in certain cultural features particular to them notably the Wunde Society, mentioned above, initiation into which seems even now to demand the endurance of a certain amount of physical discomfort.

The Upper Mende dialect has been chosen as the literary dialect, probably because it is the larger of the two main dialects and perhaps also because the Methodist Mission, which has been most active in the production of vernacular literature, operates mostly in that dialect area. The Methodist Mission established a printing press at Bunumbu, in the Upper Mende area, which was subsequently moved to Bo, in the Kpa Mende area, but the dialect originally used is still employed. A few works, notably a translation of 'The Pilgrim's Progress', have been produced in the Kpa Mende dialect by an American mission, but apart from these, the Kpa dialect is not used for literary purposes.

An adult literacy campaign is being conducted and in support of this the Bunumbu Press has maintained a steady production of small booklets (averaging about 15 to 20 pages) on such subjects as hygiene, farming, child welfare and first aid; a few translations have been
made of stories like 'Rip Van Winkle' and 'Sorab and Rustum', as well as of several religious stories. These booklets are predominantly religious or instructonal nature, many being translations from English, and to date there is very little evidence of any original writing in Mende by native speakers; certainly nothing of literary merit has so far been produced.


The present work is based upon the Upper Mende dialect; the material for it was collected mostly in Segbwema in the Jaluahun Chiefdom, Kailahun District, and in the surrounding villages during a year's field work in 1952. The standard spelling is used throughout, except in a few cases, mostly contractions, where this obscures the structure. All departures from the standard spelling are clearly indicated.

There are several grammars of Mende, the earliest, by Schoen in 1882.

1. The spelling is not yet completely standardized; a few variant spellings are still found, most commonly in respect of:
   a) word division, especially the spelling of compounds and of complexes with suffix -mo (agent). e.g. haleWelgei, haleWelci, "medicine house". tei ji hu + -mo is sometimes written tei ji humo, and sometimes teiihumo, "a man of this town".
   b) vowel length.

Migeod's 1 'Mende Language' consists largely of word lists, useful phrases and several folk tales, but also contains some grammatical notes. The 'Handbook of the Mende Language' by Sumner 2, himself a Sherbro, gives a brief description of some of the grammatical features of the language. A work of a quite different character from these is 'A Grammar of the Mende Language' by Aginsky 3. Though now somewhat out of date in its approach, this is a work of some merit and shows a great advance upon its predecessors. A short, systematic description of the language is attempted; Aginsky was the first to recognize the importance of tone, of which earlier writers seem to have been completely unaware. The most recent grammar of the language is that of Crosby 4, a Methodist missionary, with a brief phonetic introduction by I.C. Ward. Crosby's greatest contribution was undoubtedly in respect of the tonal system, which he did much to clarify.

The works of Crosby and Aginsky are similar in approach, and both describe the language in almost identical terms. Of the two, Crosby's is by far the better known in this country; it has now been on sale both here and in Sierra Leone for over ten years, and is familiar to almost every English-speaking learner of Mende. Comment will here be confined to Crosby's grammar.

Although it is clear that Crosby knew the language well, his description of it involves considerable confusion. This may be briefly illustrated by two examples:

1) nyande is classified as an adjective, and the example given bele nyande, "a nice pair of trousers" (bele, "trousers"; nyande, "nice"). With bele nyande may be compared nyapo nyande, "a pretty girl", where nyande would be described as an adjective; this same expression is, however, in certain contexts appropriately translated 'girlish beauty, effeminate good looks' (e.g. of a young man who is good looking in a somewhat effeminate way), where nyande would presumably be described as a noun.

Compare further:

ngi nyapoi, his girl friend   hale nyande, good medicine
ngi nyandeil, his beauty   nyande hale, beauty medicine
i.e. medicine used to make a person good looking.

2) Crosby states that the element yee 'may be used as prefix and suffix in the same word (or simply as a suffix)
in order to make an adjective into a common noun with a particular reference', and gives examples:

  yeenyandeyee, the fine one       (nyande, nice)
  yeenguluyee, the wooden one
  (cf. ngulu, tree (page 9)

To the second example he adds the footnote, 'It will be objected that ngulu is not an adjective in Mende. For most purposes, however, it is as well to assume that a word can be any part of speech'. What Crosby probably had in mind when he wrote this footnote was the distribution of a morpheme like nyande; according to him this is an adjective in nyapo nyande mia a na, "that is a pretty girl", a noun in i nyaha gboto joonga ngi nyandei va, "he has had success with a lot of women because of his good looks" and nyandenga a verb in i nyandenga, "she has become pretty".

As is shown by the above quotations, a description of the language in terms of the word categories or 'parts of speech' set up by Crosby entails some confusion and self-contradiction. Here somewhat different categories, based on similarity of distribution, are established. Word classes are set up by grouping in a single class those words which substitute for each other in the same set of test frames. Clearly, the number of word classes and the membership of these will depend on the choice of test frames; for any particular purpose those test frames
will be chosen which yield the classification most satisfactory for that purpose. Here those frames are selected which yield word classes [in terms of which] sentence structure may most conveniently be described. It is not suggested that the classification set up here is the only valid one; it is the one which has been found most convenient for a particular purpose, but by using other test frames, other classifications could be made which are equally valid and some of which other investigators might find more convenient than that presented here.

The word classes set up here differ markedly from those recognized by Crosby; notably a class of words is not here distinguished which correspond to his verbs. As indicated briefly above, Crosby's classification involves a certain amount of confusion since words having substantially the same distribution are often assigned to different classes. For example, *hale* listed¹ as a noun, and *pawa*² as a verb, clearly belong to the same distribution class, as may be illustrated by pairs of sentences like:

ngë hale gbi ve nyapoi we, I shall not give the woman any medicine

ngë pawa gbi ve nyapoi we, I shall not give the woman any pay

ye hale lo a ji? whose medicine is this?

ye pawa lo a ji? whose pay is this?

---

2. Ibid. p. 36.
nya halei mia, it is my medicine
nya pawei mia, it is my pay \((-g > e \) before suffix \(-i\))

nga nyapoi hale lo, I shall treat the woman with medicine
nga nyapoi pawa lo, I shall pay the woman

ngi nyapoi halenga, I have treated the woman with medicine
ngi nyapoi pawanga, I have paid the woman

ngi hale, treat her with medicine
ngi pawa, pay her.

Words like hale and pawa are here assigned to a single class of what will be called hale-words. Another large class comprises those words which substitute for hale and pawa in the first three pairs of sentences, but not in the last three pairs; mehs, "food", for example occurs in the sentences \(ng\ae \ mehs \ ebi \ ve \ nyapoi \ we\), "I shall not give the woman any food", \(ve \ mehs \ la \ a \ ji\)?) "whose food is this? and nya mehsi mia, "it is my food", but \(nga \ nyapoi \ mehe\ la\) and \(ngi \ nyapoi \ mehenga\) do not occur. Words like mehs will be called pele-words (pele, "house").

Of those words which are here called hale-words some are listed by Crosby as nouns, some as verbs. Crosby did recognize that some words which he listed as nouns could also occur, in his terminology, as verbs (e.g. paa "a killing", and paa, "kill it"), but his categorization of a word as a noun or as a verb in any particular sentence
seems to depend on the translation. In *nya hale mia*, "it is my medicine", for example, *hale* would be called a noun, but in *nga ngi hale lo*, "I shall treat him with medicine" it would be called a verb. Compare now:

**nya hale**, my medicine

**nya hale**, treat me with medicine

The first of these is described by Crosby and others as consisting of a possessive pronoun and noun, the second of an object pronoun and verb. The analysis presented here differs markedly from that of Crosby in that *nya hale*, "my medicine", and *nya hale*, "treat me with medicine" are here held to differ grammatically not in respect of the word class to which the second word in each belongs (for *hale* in both is a *hale*-word), but in respect of the kind of complex formed by *nya* and *hale* in the two cases. The two kinds of complex are distinguished by tone pattern:

**nya hale** [~—~], my medicine

**nya hale** [---], treat me with medicine

A comparable difference is found in complexes whose second word is a *pale*-word. For example:

**nya woli** [~—~], my ear (not part of my own body, e.g. a cow's ear which belongs to me)

**nya woli** [---], my ear (part of my own body)

1. *Nya* in the first sentence is identified with *nya* in the second, as is *hale* in the first and *hale* in the second.
All four complexes are here called genitival complexes; nya hale [---] and nya woli [---] are called objective[1] genitival complexes, nya hale [---] and nya woli [---] subjective[1] genitival complexes.

The complex nya hale [---] probably means literally, not "me treat" i.e. "treat me", but "my treatment" i.e. "my being treated". Compare ngii loni a ngi waala, "I don't like killing him", where ngi is described in traditional Mende grammar as object of the infinitive waala "killing, to kill"; here ngi waala is described as a subjective genitival complex and the meaning is probably "his killing" i.e. "his being killed". All sequences described by Crosby as object and verb are here described as subjective complexes, but all subjective complexes are not such as Crosby would describe as object and verb; for example nya woli [---] "my ear" and nya kenya, "my uncle" are subjective complexes. Again, kolo gaa2 in Crosby's terms consists of the verb gaa, "read" preceded by its object kolo, "book" and would be translated 'read a book', but here it is described as a subjective compound (literally 'book-reading') with which may be compared an objective compound like kaa golo2 "reading book".

1. See p. 72.

2. For the k/g alternance in kolo/golo, kaa/gaa see Consonant Mutation, p. 76 ff.
Crosby's description of sentence structure is largely in terms of the verbal system which he sets up, but, for the reasons indicated above, the dichotomy into nouns and verbs cannot be accepted, and the verbal system he establishes has little, if any validity, for a description of the structure of sentences. This is better described in terms, not of a verbal system, but of the number of contrastive positions in each type of sentence and of the kinds of words and complexes that can occur in each position. In Chapter I the word classes are set up and in Chapter II the morphology of the two largest of these is described (words belonging to all other classes are invariable); in Chapter III are described the several kinds of complexes, both objective and subjective, which occur, and in Chapter IV it is shown how the structure of the several kinds of initiating sentences which are distinguished can be described in terms of the contrastive position in each and of the word classes and complexes which occur in each position.
CHAPTER I

Word Classes

Before proceeding to the establishment of word classes in Mende, it will be well to illustrate briefly the technique employed by an example from English, since it raises certain problems of description. The test sentences are:

a) I shall bottle it tomorrow
b) I like this bottle.

Words are sought which will substitute for bottle in these two sentences. It is found that certain words substitute for bottle in (a), but not in (b), e.g. begin, shatter, bring; these are commonly called verbs. There are certain words which substitute for bottle in (b), but not in (a), e.g. pork, door, month; these are commonly called nouns. There is a third group of words which substitute for bottle in both (a) and (b), e.g. water, ice, paint; words of this kind present some difficulty in traditional English grammars. Often there is said to be a noun bottle and a verb bottle, which occur in (b) and (a) respectively, but where the historical development of the usage of a word is known or where a word occurs much more commonly in sentences like (b) than in those like (a), it is sometimes said that a noun is being used as a verb.

The problem of description here raised for English is found also in any description of Mende, and it is therefore
relevant to consider here the several possible kinds of description which may be adopted. These may be indicated briefly:

1) Two word classes may be set up:
   a) words which occur in (a): begin, shatter, bring, water, ice, paint. These may be called verbs.
   b) words which occur in (b): pork, door, month, ice, paint. These may be called nouns.

In this classification certain morphemes (e.g. begin, pork) belong to only one class, but certain other morphemes (e.g. water, paint) belong to two classes. This classification is preferred by Nida, who expresses the view that 'the simplest and best treatment of such homophones occurring in different distributional environments is to consider them single morphemes, but with different class membership'.

2) Two classes may be set up with the same membership as in (1). But water, ice, paint are not treated as morphemes each having two-class membership; on the contrary there are morphemes water, ice, paint which belong to the class of nouns, and homophonous morphemes water, ice, paint which belong to the class of verbs.

This is the technique used for example by Bloch in


his analysis of colloquial Japanese; for him, a morpheme cannot by definition belong to two word classes. The existence of many homophonous morpheme pairs is irrelevant to the analysis.

3) Water, ice, paint may be assigned to the class of nouns (or verbs) and verbs (or nouns) corresponding to those derived by zero. This is unsatisfactory since there are no good grounds for assigning many words like water, ice etc. to one class rather than to the other.

4) Three classes may be set up:
   i) words which occur in (a) only: begin, shatter, bring
   ii) words which occur in (b) only: pork, door, month
   iii) words which occur in both (a) and (b): water, ice, paint.

These morphemes which have a distribution equal to the sum of the distribution of (i) and (ii) are assigned to a third class (iii); morphemes belonging to class (iii) may be called Neutrals. Each morpheme then belongs to only one class, as in (2) above, but the number of homophonous morpheme pairs is greatly reduced. A neutral occupying a position where it is substitutable by verbs may be said

(footnote continued from previous page)

but differ in syntactic function (i.e. belong to different word classes) are different; thus the adverbs kēredoma "nevertheless" and to, "so saying", which appear at the beginning of clauses, are different respectively from the particles kēredoma, "although" and to, "thus"; which appear after other elements without intervening pause'. p. 205.
to have verbal realization, or to be a verbal, in that position; likewise a neutral occupying a position where it is substitutable by nouns may be said to have nominal realization, or to be a nominal, in that position. Thus the neutral bottle has nominal realization in the sentence 'I like this bottle', and verbal realization in 'I shall bottle this tomorrow'. A neutral is an asyntactic lexical item, which in any particular utterance is realized as either a nominal or a verbal.

This kind of description accords with Whorf's statement that 'the lexicon of English contains two major selective divisions. One division, consisting mostly of long words and words with certain endings, contains selective verbs like 'reduce, survive, undertake, perplex...', and selective nouns like 'instrument, elephant, longevity, altruism'. A limited number of short words belong also to the groups of selective nouns and verbs, e.g. 'heart, boy, street, road, town; sit, see, hear, think'.... The other part of the lexicon, mostly the shorter words but some long ones, contains bare lexemes to which either verbation or stativation may be applied at will, e.g. 'head, hand, stand, walk...'. The lexicon of Mende, like that of English, contains two major divisions; in the first are words corresponding roughly to English nouns, and in the second words corresponding to Whorf's bare lexemes.

Words classes are here established by grouping together in a single class those words which can occupy the same set of positions in test frames. The classification produced by this method clearly depends on what sentences are chosen as test sentences. The word classes are functioning units in sentence structures and here it is sought to establish those units most convenient for the description of sentence structures. Those test sentences are accordingly selected which will give such a classification.

The first two test sentences are:

1) nyapoi lo, this is the girl
2) nyapoi menga, the girl has eaten it

Some of the words which substitute for nyapoi in (1) are:

mahsi, the chief
Kpana, (man's name)
kollii, the leopard
ndopoi, the child
samsi, the courthouse
navoi, the money
halemoi, the medicine man
nya, I
nje, mother
Bo, (name of a town)
bia, you (sing.)
fandi, the cotton
halei, the medicine
kennya, uncle
palei, the house

Some of the words which substitute for nyapoi in (2) are:
mahsi, the chief  
Kpana, (man's name)  
kolii, the leopard  
ndopoi, the child  
ngi, I  
halemoi, the medicine man

kenya, uncle  
nje, mother  
bi, you (sing.)  
lavalei, the speaker  
ti, they  
humamoi, the thief

Of the words which substitute for nyapoi in (1) many substitute for it also in (2), but some do not. A division may therefore be made into those words which occur initially in both sentences and those which occur in only one. Of the latter a small group of six members (nya, bia ta, mua, wua, tia) occurs in (1) but not in (2). A comparable group (ngi, bi, i, mu, wu, ti) occurs in (2) but not in (1). For example:

nya lo, here am I  
ngi menga, I have eaten it

ta lo, this is he/she/it  
i menga, he/she/it has eaten it

The members of both groups are pronouns; since several different series of pronouns are distinguished for which suitable traditional terms are not to hand, it is convenient to use the 3rd person singular pronoun as a label for each series. Thus the first group above will be called the ta pronouns, and the second group the i pronouns.

Of the words other than pronouns which substitute for nyapoi in (1) many do not substitute for it in (2), e.g. ssemui, "court house"; fandezi, "cotton"; navoi, "money".
ssmsi menga, "the court house has eaten it" for example does not occur in ordinary speech; ssmsi can, however, substitute for nyapoi where gulanga is substituted for menga:

nyapoi gulanga, the girl has fallen down
ssmsi gulanga, the court house has fallen down

In the frame—gulanga many more words occur than occur in initial position i.e. the second test sentence. It would be possible to set up a class of words that occur in the frame—gulanga, and a class of those that occur in the frame—menga, and so on. Such a procedure would yield a large number of classes, but these would be of little value for a description of sentence structure; that nyapoi and ssmsi, for example, both occur before gulanga, but only the former before menga in any normal utterance, is not structurally relevant. What is sought are classes of words, the members of each of which fill the same set of positions in the structure of sentences; nyapoi and ssmsi are accordingly grouped together, as are menga and gulanga, though each member of one group does not occur with each member of the other.

With the test sentence nyapoi menga, "the girl has eaten it" may be compared the sentence nyapo menga, "a

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1. The symbol at the beginning of a frame indicates that silence precedes, at the end of a frame, that silence follows.
2. See H.F. Simon Two Substantial Complexes in Standard Chinese ASORs XV 2 1953, p. 337. In Simon's terminology, classes of words are sought which correlate with each other, but whose members do not necessarily all correlate with each other.
girl has eaten it". Many comparable pairs of sentences are found:

kolii menga, the leopard has eaten it
koli menga, a leopard has eaten it
ndopoi menga, the child has eaten it
ndopo menga, a child has eaten it
halemoi menga, the medicine-man has eaten it
halemo menga, a medicine-man has eaten it.

The list could be indefinitely extended.

From a comparison of these pairs of sentences, it is clear that nyapoi may be segmented: nyapo + -i.

A comparison of sentences like:

mbei na me, eat that rice
nyapoi mani gbengi lo, the girl ate it yesterday
nyapoi a me sina lo, the girl will eat it tomorrow
baa me, don't eat it

show that menga in n yapoi menga may be segmented me + -nga.

The test sentence nyapoi menga may therefore be segmented nyapo + -i me + -nga. From this it is possible to set up the test frame

* -i -nga : the --- has --- it.

A comparatively small number of words can occur in place of nyapoi in a sentence like nyapoi menga, "the girl has eaten it", but not in first position in the test frame * -i
These are words which do not normally occur with the definite suffix -i; most of these are personal and geographical names. For example:

Kpana menga, Kpana has eaten it
but not *Kpanai menga.

Words like Kpana may be grouped with words like nyapo if the test frame is altered slightly so that the definite singular suffix -i is not obligatory with the word in first position. The fact that the suffix -i is optional in the test frame may be shown by enclosing it within brackets, and likewise for the definite article in the English translation. The test frame then is:

# (-i) -nga : (the) has it

Some words that occur in first position in this test frame are:

maha, chief
Kpana
Bo
ndopo, child
hale, medicine
haa, death

Some words that occur in the second space are:

homi, lick
haa, die
nyande, make beautiful
hale, treat with medicine

pale, house
Daru
hele, elephant
Musu
nyande, beauty
ko, war

kula, knock down
nde, say, give birth to
pili, throw

nyamu, make ugly
Some words occur in the first space but not in the second. For example:

- pels, house
- nyapo, girl
- Kpana

nyapoi menga, the girl has eaten it
Kpana ndenga, Kpana has said it
kolii paanga, the leopard has killed it

These are assigned to a single class of what will here be called *pels*-words.

Some words occur in both the first and second spaces. For example:

- haa, death, die
- nyande, beauty, make beautiful
- hale, medicine, treat with medicine
- huma, stealing, steal
- ndapi, fight (n. and v.)
- ko, war, fight.

haa gələnga mu ma, death has fallen upon us, we have suffered a bereavement
Kpana həanga, Kpana has died
halei paanga, the medicine has killed it
nyapoi halenga, the girl has treated it with medicine

These are assigned to a single class of what will be called *hale*-words.

A third class which might be expected is that of words
which occur in the second space, but not in the first, and a number of these does in fact occur. For nearly all of them, however, contexts can readily be found in which they substitute for both pele-words and hale-words. pa, "a coming, to come," for example, would not in any normal utterance occur in the first space in the frame #---(=i) --- nga, but it commonly occurs in the frame #---(=i) lo, in which both pele-words and hale-words occur. For example:

pa lo? is this a visit? m, pa lo, yes, this is a visit
palei lo? is this the house? m, palei lo, yes, this is the house
halei lo? is this the medicine? m, halei lo, yes, this is the medicine

Pa, and others like it, are accordingly assigned to the class of hale-words. There remain, however, a few pieces which occur in 2nd space in the frame #---(=i) --- nga, but not in any frame in which a pele-word occurs, that is, their distribution may be said to be roughly equal to that part of the distribution of hale-words which the latter do not share with pele-words. A small group of these could accordingly be established, but this would have little or no value for a

1. The question Pa lo?, (with linked answer m, pa lo or m -m, pa i le "no, this is not a visit", commonly occurs where the speaker wishes to ascertain whether the listener has come on a visit, and intends to remain for some time, or merely happens to be passing. The question is asked most commonly when a visit had been promised, but not date for it fixed.
description of the structure of sentences. They are conveniently treated as a sub-group of the hale-word class, though their distribution is considerably more restricted than that of most hale-words; in a full description of the language the members of this sub-group would be listed.

The test sentence nyapoi lo, "this is the girl" is again used in the establishment of another word class. Words are now sought which can substitute for lo in the test sentence. Only two substitutes are found: mia, le. The three words lo, mia, le therefore constitute a word class; these will be called emphatic particles. The particles mia and lo are both common in initiating sentences, but with a difference in connotation; mia implies distance from the speaker, lo nearness to the speaker:

mahei lo, this is the chief
mahei mia, that is the chief

The particle le does not occur in affirmative initiating sentences (except those whose first position is occupied by a derived prel-word in -ngo e.g. nyandengo le, "it is nice"); it occurs in very emphatic replies and responses:

mahei mia? m, mahei le, is that the chief? Yes, it definitely is the chief.

The next test sentence is: nga me lo, "I shall eat it". Substitutes are sought for lo in this sentence, but none
are found. On the basis of this test sentence a single-
member class could be set up which contains only lo.
A word of the same shape is found also in sentences
like.

nyapoi nyandenili lo1, the girl became pretty

nyapoi Bo.lo, the girl is in Bo.

The distribution of lo which occurs in the test sentence
nga me lo is comparable with that of lo in the other
two sentences. Compare for example the pairs:

nga me lo sina, I shall eat it tomorrow
nga me sina lo, I shall eat it tomorrow2.

ngi meni lo gbengi, I ate it yesterday
ngi meni gbengi lo, I ate it yesterday.

nga ji me lo, I shall eat this
nga ji lo me, I shall eat this.

1. The spelling here differs from the standard spelling; in it lo is written attached to the ni- form where it follows it immediately, but separately elsewhere. Where lo is attached to the ni- form, the suffix is written ã; where lo is not attached it is written -ni. Here -ni is written in all cases and lo always written separately. For example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard spelling</th>
<th>Spelling here</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nyapoi mbsi lo meni, the girl ate the rice</td>
<td>nyapoi mbsi lo meni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyapoi mbsi mbsi lo, the girl ate the rice</td>
<td>nyapoi mbsi meni lo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyapoi meni gbengi lo, the girl ate it yesterday</td>
<td>nyapoi meni gbengi lo.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Underscoring is used to indicate that a word is strongly emphatic or contrastive.
I ate this
I ate this
the girl is in Bo
the girl is in Bo.

The three words written lo in these three types of sentence are comparable in distribution; a change in the position of lo is correlated with a change of emphasis. The word lo in all the above sentences may therefore be regarded as occurrences of a single morpheme. But is this morpheme to be equated with the emphatic particle of the same shape which occurs in the test sentence nyapoi lo, "this is the girl", ? It would be possible to set up two homophonous morphemes lo, one of which constitutes a single-member class of words which occur finally in sentences like nga me lo, "I shall eat it", and another which is a member of the class of emphatic particles. But there is a certain area of common meaning between lo which occurs in nga me lo, and the emphatic particle lo. Sentences containing an emphatic particle (lo, mia, le) and those like nga me lo, "I shall eat it", may be said to be emphatic, and the corresponding sentences without lo (or mia, le) to be unemphatic. The latter are not common as independent utterances, but commonly occur as clauses in larger structures.
e.g. Puumō lo a ji, this is an Englishman.
Puumō mia a ngie, he is an Englishman.
ti ngi waani lo, they killed him.
bi nummui na loni lo, did you see the person, an Englishman, whom they killed?

Since the emphatic particle lo and the piece lo which occurs in sentences like nga me lo, and ti ngi waani lo are homophonous and also have a certain common meaning, they are regarded as occurrences of a single morpheme.

The distribution of the three emphatic particles, though comparable in respect of sentences like nyapoi mia, and Kpana lo, differs in respect of sentences like nga me lo, ti ngi waani lo, where lo can occur, but not mia or le.

Sub-groups of the class of emphatic particles could be established, but as the whole class contains only three members these would have no practical value.

The next test sentence is:-

ta lo mahsi woma, it is behind the chief.

Words are sought which substitute for mahsi in this sentence. Some of these are:-

Kpana, (man's name) ti, their
bi, your (sing.) halemoi, the medicineman
kenya, uncle Jemisi, James
lavalei, the speaker Puumoi, the Englishman
mu, our nya, my
nyapoi, the girl           kensi, the old man
Three kinds of words substitute for mahsi in this test sentence:
   i) hale-words
   ii) pels-words
   iii) the six words nya, bi, ngi, mu, wu, ti. These will be called the ngi pronouns.

The first person singular ngi-pronoun (nya) has the same shape as the corresponding ta-pronoun. But as all the other pronouns of the two series are different, a simpler description is achieved by regarding these, not as occurrences of a single morpheme, but as a homophonous pair.

The next test sentence is:-
   o nyapoi? What about the girl?
In initial position in this type of sentence only o can occur, and therefore a word class is set up containing the single member o.

The next test sentence is:-
   nya longo a Kpana, I like Kpana.
Words are sought which will substitute for Kpana in this sentence. A large number of these is found, a few examples of which are:-
   ndakpci, young man           Musu,
   kensi, the old man           mahsi, the chief
nyapoi, the girl
bie, you (sing.)
Mendebla, Mende people
mbowei, the knife
navo, money
halei, the medicine

ndopoisia, the children
tie, them
ndakpe, the young men
saleisia, proverbs
wue, you (pl.)
ndapii, the fight

Words which occur in this position are:-

i) pele-words
ii) hale-words
iii) the six words nge, bie, ngie, mue, wue, tie.

These will be called the ngie-pronouns 1.

In the test sentence nga longo a Kpana (I like Kpana) no words are found which can substitute for a. A single-member class is therefore set up containing only a. The form a occurs also in sentences like mahei mia a ngie (he is the chief), nga lo lo a ngie (I shall like him), ngi loni lo a ngie (I liked him); since the ngie-pronouns occur only after a, it is clearly best to regard the form a in all these sentences as occurrences of a single morpheme.

1. In one type of analysis the pronouns nge, bie, ngie, mue, wue, tie could be treated as dimorphemic, consisting of the ngi-pronouns (nya, bi, ngi, mu, wu, ti) + -e. But -e occurs only with the ngi-pronouns, and with these only where they follow a. The description of sentence structure would be complicated by the setting up of a morpheme -e. Likewise of course the ta-pronouns (nya, bia, ta, mua, wua, tia) could be analysed as i-pronouns + a, but this would have no value for a description of sentence structure.
The next test sentence is:
maa Kpna mu lini lo, Kpna and I went

Words are sought which can substitute for maa in this sentence. It is found that maa alone can occupy this position, but if the test frame is slightly changed to # Kpna wu lini lo, "Kpna you went", then waa, and it alone, can fill the position before Kpna, giving the sentence waa Kpna wu lini lo, "you and Kpna went". Again, in the test frame # Kpna ti lini lo, "Kpna they went", taa, and it alone, can occur, giving the sentence taa Kpna ti lini lo, "he and Kpna went". Each of the three words maa, waa, taa which occur before Kpna in these test sentences is restricted to occurrence with a particular i-pronoun after Kpna. The three test sentences are structurally identical and these mutual restrictions are therefore ignored. The three words maa, waa, taa are grouped together; these will be called taa-pronouns.

The next test sentence is:
tia be ta pie lo, even they will do it

Words are sought which substitute for be in this sentence; only one is found: vuli, "indeed".

Be and vuli constitute the class of what will be called be-words.

The next test sentence is:
bia ii le, it is not you
Words are sought which substitute for $ii$ in this sentence; none is found, and $ii$ therefore constitutes a single-member class. $ii$ will be called the negative particle.

The next test sentence is:

$ta\ ye\ pie?$ how will they do it?

$Ye$ which occurs in this sentence is not substitutable by any other word, and it therefore constitutes a single-member class; $ye$ will be called an interrogative particle.

The next test sentence is:

$mahi\ ii\ ya\ weni,\ \text{the chief has not come}$

In the position occupied by $ye$ two other words are found to occur: $ya$, $ye$. These yield the sentences:

$mahi\ ii\ ya\ weni,\ \text{the chief did not come any more}$

$mahi\ ii\ ye\ weni,\ \text{the chief had not come.}$

The two words written $ya$ differ in tone; $ya$, "yet, up to now", is on a low tone, and $ye$, "henceforward, thenceforward", is on an up-glide. They may be conveniently distinguished in writing here by diacritics, thus $ya$ and $ȳa$ respectively. $Ye$ occurs in many environments where $ya$ and $ȳa$ do not substitute for it.

.e.g. $mahi\ ya\ weni\ lo,\ \text{the chief had come}$

$\{mahi\ ye\ wema\ lo\ \}$ the chief was coming

$mahi\ ye\ lo\ wama.$

$ya$ and $ȳa$ are therefore assigned to one class which contains
these two members, and ye is assigned to another class. (Ye is a hele-word, and is discussed in the next chapter).

The next test sentence is:

ba me lo, hie? you will eat it, won't you?

Words are sought which will substitute for hie in this sentence; one is found: kee. The two words hie and kee constitute a two-member class of what will be called hie-words. Of the two, hie is by far the commoner.

The next test sentence is:

mu li o, let us go

The particle o in this sentence may be replaced by hoe, but by no other word. The distribution of o and hoe differs in respect of other contexts, however; o occurs in several different kinds of frame where it is not substitutable by hoe. e.g. in calls: kpana o

in lists: nikanga o, njenga o, mbalanga o........ cattle, goats, sheep....

Generally, hoe can replace o in commands, but not in calls and lists. Two single-member classes could be set up, but it is found more convenient to assign both o and hoe to one class, though the distribution of the latter is more restricted than that of the former.

For the setting up of the next word class a somewhat
different procedure is adopted. Distributional criteria are again employed, but the basis of classification is not mutual substitutibility in a test frame (or set of frames); in this case it is the restriction of each word of the class to occurrence with only one particular hale-word (or in some cases, a small number of hale-words).

Compare for example:

- i meni lo ŋao, he ate it all up
- i gulani lo ʋuŋ, he fell down with a thud
- i teweni lo kpe, he cut it clean through
- i gbouni lo jele, it turned bright red
- i lini lo poloŋ, he went far away
- i voni lo daŋ, it shone brightly
- i pieni lo gbengi, he did it yesterday

Gbengi, which occurs in the last example, can substitute for the last word in any of the other sentences.

  e.g. i meni lo gbengi, he ate it yesterday
  i teweni lo gbengi, he cut it yesterday
  i gulani lo gbengi, he fell down yesterday.

Of the words other than gbengi which occur finally in the above examples, none can substitute for any other; i meni lo ʋuŋ and i gulani lo ŋao, for example, are meaningless.

Words which occur finally in the test sentences above may be divided into two groups:
1) words which can occur in all the test sentences.

   e.g. gbengi, yesterday
   gbama, in vain; for nothing
   mbei, here
   Bo (name of a town)

Some of these occur also in positions where they substitute for pele-words.

   e.g. foloi gbandini lo, the sun was hot
   gbengi gbandini lo, yesterday was warm
   Kpana ii nyandeni, Kpana is not nice
   mbei ii nyandeni, here is not nice
   Bo ii nyandeni, Bo is not nice.

Gbengi, mbei, Bo are pele-words; words like gbama, "for nothing", which substitute for gbengi, mbei, Bo in sentences like ngi ndeni lo ngi me gbengi/mbei/Bo, "I told him yesterday/here/in Bo", but not in sentences like gbengi gbandini lo are also assigned to the class of pele-words.

2) words each of which occurs in only one test sentence.

   e.g. yao, gbug kpe, jele.

These will be called Ideophones.

Many ideophones have certain common characteristics; several of them, for example, are onomatopoetic.

   e.g. i tewendi lo kpe, he cut it clean through
        with a single blow
i teweni lo fikifiki, he cut it with a sawing motion.

Certain phonological features are also characteristic of ideophones. Nasal vowels following non-nasal consonants are exceedingly rare in words other than ideophones, being confined to a few contracted forms and loanwords, almost all of them pele-words.

1. Nasality of vowels is shown in the standard spelling where necessary by n following the vowel.

e.g. gbọ́n, gboma, again
    paun, pound (lb)
    poŋ, pound (£)

But in ideophones the sequence oral consonant + nasal vowel is comparatively common.

    e.g. gbun, with a thud
    daun, brightly
    ken, at all (in negative sentences only)
    polon, far away.

For emphasis, ideophones are often uttered on a pitch either above or below the normal range; lengthening is also common.

    e.g. polon, "far away", may be uttered on a very high pitch, with considerable lengthening of the second vowel.

On the other hand, some ideophones like ken and kpe may, for
emphasis, have their vowel sound shortened, accompanied, inter alia, by tense articulation of the consonant.

Signs and gestures fall outside the scope of this work, but it may be relevant to mention here, without pursuing the subject, that there are a few common signs whose use seems to be comparable with that of ideophones. For example, semantically equivalent to the sentence ngi menge neo, "I have eaten it all up", is the sentence ngi menge ..., followed by a sign which consists of passing the front of the hand before the open mouth. The ideophone neo and this sign are both restricted to occurrence with the hale-words me, "eat it", and kpoli, "drink it".

A class is set up of words which can occur as one-word replies to certain kinds of questions. In reply to the question be pie lo?, "will you do it?", two words of this kind occur: m, "yes", and m-m, "no". In reply to the corresponding negative sentence bee pie?, "will you not do it?" the two words m, "yes", and mm, "no", occur. The three words m, m-m, mm are grouped together although their distribution is not the same; m occurs in reply to both affirmative and negative questions, m-m in reply to affirmative questions, and mm in reply to negative questions. In reply to the question be pie lo, hie?, "you will do it, won't you?", eye can substitute for m.
A four-member class is therefore set up which contains:

- m, yes
- m-m, no
- mm, 'agreement with a negative question'
- eye, yes.

There is a distributional difference between m, "yes", and eye, "yes"; the latter occurs more commonly in reply to sentences containing hie (or kee), but rarely in reply to sentences where hie does not occur. Eye connotes reassurance of the speaker --- "yes, all right; yes, don't worry".

  e.g. ba ji me lo? m, will you eat this? yes
       ba ji me lo, hie? eye, you will eat this, won't you? yes, of course.

For the next class words are sought which occur as single-word exclamatory utterances. Some examples of these are:

- kioo, an expression of surprise
- sioo, an expression of disagreement
- dunya, an expression of surprise.

The last of these is a pelse-word, (dunya, "world"); the others cannot be assigned to any class so far established, and are therefore assigned to a class of words which will be called Interjections.

The next test sentence is:

ngi lini lo semei bu kee ngii mhei loni na, I went
to the court house but I did not see the chief there".

Words are sought which substitute for kee in this sentence; these are:

kee, and
ji, when
jifa
gbemaile

because

The second test sentence is:

ngi lini lo semei bu koo ngi mahei lo, I went to the court house so that I could see the chief.

These two test sentences are structurally comparable in that both contain two clauses, ngi lini lo semei bu and kee ngi mahei lo in the first, and ngi lini lo semei bu and koo ngi mahei lo in the second. kee in the first sentence and those words which substitute for it do not substitute for koo in the second sentence, but they clearly have the same syntactic duty as koo; it is by means of them that two clauses are included in a larger structure. A class may therefore be set up of words by means of which clauses are included in a larger structure; for this classification it is not necessary that the clauses introduced by these words be structurally comparable. Words of this class will be called Conjunctions.

Some members of this class are:
These may be sub-divided on the basis of the type of clause which each introduces. A further important sub-group consists of those which can substitute for ke in the sentence:

mbci ke tangle, yegbe nyandengo? which is better, rice or cassava?

This sub-group has two members: ke, "and", o, "or".

This concludes the list of word classes. Those word classes have been set up which are most convenient for the subsequent description of the structure of sentences. By selecting other test frames and classifying on the basis of occurrence in other sets of positions, other classifications could have been made which were no less valid than the one made here.

Most of the classes are small, containing from one to six members, but three of them are very much larger. The class of ideophones contains several hundred members, and the two classes of pelé-words and hale-words contain several thousand members each. These two classes account for a very high proportion of the total lexicon; new members are
constantly being added to them, especially pälé-words, the number of which grows steadily as loanwords come into the language, mainly from English and Freetown Krio.

The members of the small classes can readily be listed and are easily remembered and recognized as individual items; the identification of a word as a pälé-word or a hale-word, on the other hand, is facilitated by the affixes which occur with these. Except for the pronouns wua and tie, which can occur with suffix -ni, all words other than pälé- and hale-words are invariable. Any affixed form is therefore immediately recognizable as either a pälé-word or a hale-word. A brief outline of the morphology of these two classes is contained in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 2

Psle- words and hale- words

Many of the words classified here as psle- words are listed by Crosby as nouns:

eg. gbschc - stool    pundi - mosquito
    psle - house    kali - hoe
    selc - banana    fande - cotton
    hani - thing    ngiye - hill

Many of the words here classified as hale- words are listed by Crosby as verbs:

haa - die    pawa - pay
kula - knock down    kpale - be painful
manu - forgive    ndulu - suffocate with smoke
ndewe - beat    pinde - jump

The correspondence between psle- words and nouns, and between hale- words and verbs is by no means exact. Hale, for example, which is listed by Crosby as a noun, is classified here as a hale- word, and nyande, another hale- word, is listed by Crosby as an adjective.

Those words classified by Crosby as nouns, adjectives, verbs are here arranged in 2 groups:

1) those that occur only in first position in the frame "-i" - nga

2) those that occur in both positions in this frame.
The words in (1) could well be called nouns, but the term 'verb' would be inappropriate for those in (2). These could be called for example 'neutrals', but this term is not satisfactory, since it might seem to imply a three-fold division, the third group being that of words which occur only in second position in the above test frame. But a third group is not distinguished. It is thought best to avoid the use of the terms 'noun, verb, neutral' and to use as a label for classes (1) and (2) above a typical member of each class; accordingly they are called psler-words and haler-words respectively. The following examples further illustrate the difference in distribution of members of these two classes:

nyapo(girl): psler-word
nyapoi mia - that is the girl
nyapoi gulanga - the girl has fallen down.

haa(death, : haler-word
die)
haa mia - it is death
haa gulanga mu ma - death has fallen on us, we have suffered a bereavement.

nyapoi haanga - the girl has died.

hale(medicine, treatment with medicine):
halear- word
halei mia - it is medicine
halei ghoyonga - the medicine is finished
nyapoi halenga - the girl has treated it with medicine

ssme(court house):
psler- word
ssmei mia - that is the court house
ssmei gulanga - the court house has fallen down
nyande (beauty, make beautiful) **hale-word**

nyapo nyandei mia, that is the pretty girl

ngi nyandei va mia i nyasha gboto joonga, it is because of his good looks that he has many women

nyapoi nyandenga, the girl has become pretty.

The three classes of **pele-words**, **hale-words** and ideophones are very much larger than any of the other classes, the members of which are readily recognised as individual items. Words belonging to the three large classes, though far too numerous to be all readily recognisable as individual items, are commonly identified as members of one or other of these three classes by certain characteristics of these. Many ideophones are readily recognised by certain phonological features peculiar to them, the most important of which have already been described (see page 37). For the recognition of words as members of the class of **pele-words** or the class of **hale-words**, the affixes which occur with these are of considerable value; these are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Pele-words</th>
<th>Hale-words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>X</td>
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**pele-words**

<table>
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<th>Affix</th>
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**hale-words**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Pele-words</th>
<th>Hale-words</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
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The symbol \( x \) below an affix indicates that that affix occurs with members of a particular class, but does not imply that it occurs with every member of the class.

It will be seen from the above table that there are three homophonous pairs of suffixes, viz. two suffixes written \(-\text{nga}\), two written \(-\text{ni}\) and two written \(-\text{ngo}\). The members of these pairs are clearly distinguished from each other both in distribution and in grammatical meaning.

e.g. \(-\text{nga}(1)\) pels - house hale mia - it is medicine

pelsanga - houses halenga mia - they are medicines

\(-\text{nga}(2)\) hale - treat it with medicine
ti halenga - they have treated it with medicine

\(-\text{ni}(1)\) Kpana - (man's name)

Kpanani - Kpana and others

\(-\text{ni}(2)\) hale - treat it with medicine
ti haleni lo - they treated it with medicine

A few examples will serve to illustrate the use of the affixes in the above table:

\(-i\) pels - a house hale - medicine

pelsi - the house halei - the medicine

The suffix \(-i\) has been called the Definite Singular suffix in Mende grammars and it will be so called here. The
forms *polec* and *hale* will be called indefinite singular, and *polec* and *hale* will be called definite singular forms. It may be remarked here that the use of the definite and indefinite forms in Mende does not correspond at all closely to the use of the definite and indefinite articles in English. Often a better comparison is with pairs of sentences like:

He shot lion in Kenya last year
He shot a lion last year

Man is a rational animal
I got it from a man I met yesterday

The indefinite singular form does not commonly refer to a specific, concrete object; often it seems to denote an abstract quality rather than a concrete entity - what might almost be regarded as a Platonic ideal, with the definite form denoting a concrete manifestation of this ideal. Thus *polec*, for example, seems often to denote "houseness" or "housing", the definite form *polec* being used where the referant is one particular house. It may be noted here that when asked the name of anything, a Mende informant will almost invariably give the definite form in his reply. Thus in reply to 'Gbe mia a na?' (What is that?), possible answers are:

*polec* mia - it's a house
*ngului* mia - it's a tree
*helei* mia - it's an elephant
Except in a few formulae and proverbs the indefinite singular is common only:

i) as first constituent of a compound

  e.g. hindo halei - man medicine, male secret society
  hale wcei - medicine house, hospital

ii) to denote a class of things

  e.g. tokpo lo Puwu? - is there oil palm in England
  i.e. are there oil palms in England?

  The suffix -i causes raising of a preceding a, and
  fronting of e, o, u. In writing, these changes are shown
  only in the case of a.

  e.g. maha - chief
  koloi - book
  foloi - sun
  ngului - tree

  -nga (1) pcls - house
  pcsnga - houses

  Halenga and halenga have free variants pcsa, halea. The
  forms with -a are commoner in fairly rapid speech, those
  with -nga in slower and more deliberate speech. In writing,
  both -a and -nga are common; here -nga is written in all
  cases.

  Suffix -nga will be called the Indefinite Plural suffix.
-sia  pclsi - the house  halei - the medicine
  pclcisia - the houses  haleisia - the medicines

Suffix -sia will be called the Definite Plural suffix.

It may be useful to set out here in a single table the 4 forms described above:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite</td>
<td>pclc</td>
<td>pclenga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>pclsi</td>
<td>pclcisia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the two plurals, indefinite and definite, listed above, there is a third plural which is formed with the indefinite plural suffix -nga + the definite singular suffix -i + the definite plural suffix -sia.

e.g. nyahangcisia - women  nyaha + -nga + -i + -sia
    mahangcisia - chiefs   maha + -nga + -i + -sia
    nikangcisia - cattle   nika + -nga + -i + -sia

Plurals of this kind are confined to a few pclc- words, all of which denote human beings or domestic animals.

-ni (1)  Kpana - (man's name)

Kpanani - Kpana and others, Kpana and family

Only a comparatively small number of pclc- words occur with suffix -ni; most of these are personal names. In folk tales, -ni occurs with a few words like kali (leopard), silo (spider) where these serve as personal names. (1)

1. Personification is extremely common in folk tales.
e.g. siloni - Mr. Spider and family

Suffix -ni occurs with a few personal names, but which are commonly used as terms of address:

- e.g. kskëni - fathers.
- ksks - father, paternal uncle
- paternal
- uncles.
- kenyani - maternal uncles
- kenya - maternal uncle
- mamadani - grandfathers, mamada - grandfather
- ancestors.

Suffix -ni occurs with ye (who?)

- e.g. ye mia a na? - who is that?
- yen'i mia a nasia? - who are those?

The use of the suffix -ni in phrases whose first part is a taa-pronoun may also be noted here:

- maa Kpanani - we and Kpana (cf. maa Kpana - Kpana and I
- waa Kpanani - you(pl.) and Kpana (waa Kpana - you(sing.)
- and Kpana
- taa Kpanani - they and Kpana (taa Kpana - he/she and
- Kpana

Suffix -ni occurs with the pronouns wua and tia where these are preceded by a taa-pronoun: the final vowel of wua and tia is modified by the vowel of the suffix and this is always shown in writing: wuani > wueni, tiani > tieni.

- e.g. maa wuani - you(pl.) and I
- waa tieni - you(sing.) and they
- taa tieni - he/she and they
-mo  Puu - England  hale - medicine
    Puumo - Englishman,  halemo - medicineman, doctor.
    Englishwoman.

The corresponding plural forms are Puubla, halebla. The
indefinite and definite forms, singular and plural of halemo
are:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite</td>
<td>halemo</td>
<td>halebla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>halemoi</td>
<td>haleblcia</td>
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</table>

Suffix -mo (plural -bla) occurs frequently with complexes
(for complexes see p. 88f).

    e.g. tei ji hu - in this town
          tei ji humo - citizen of this town

    Ngewo yia le - to preach the word of God
    Ngewo yia lemo - preacher

-ye  nya Mendeyei - my Mende one  Mende - Mendeland.
     yeFandeyei - the cotton one  fande - cotton
     yeFeleleyei - the second one  fele - two

Forms with suffix -ye are commonly translated in English by
a phrase containing the prop-word 'one', as in the above
examples. They occur either as the headword in a genitival
complex or with prefix ye- and always with a definite suffix,
singular or plural.

-va  mahaya - chieftaineyj, status  maha - chief
     of chief
lavaleya - status of speaker, lavale - speaker office of speaker.

Suffix -ya occurs with a very limited number of pels- words; forms with suffix -ya have the meaning of "office of - , status of - ".

ye- yenyapoi - the girl already mentioned yepelsisia - the houses already mentioned yehalei - the medicine already mentioned

Forms with ye- refer to something already mentioned: prefix ye- will therefore be called the [referential] prefix.

The [referential] prefix always co-occurs with a definite suffix, singular or plural, except in the case of those words which do not occur with a definite suffix.

e.g. yepelsi - the aforementioned house pels - house yepelsisia - the aforementioned houses

*yepels and *yepelenga do not occur

yegbc? - which one? (of those mentioned) gbc? - what? yeji - this one (of those mentioned) ji - this yena - that one (of those mentioned) na - that yemi? - which part (of a previously mentioned longer unit) mi? - where?
-ni (2)  nyande - make pretty, become pretty
nyapoi nyandeni lo - the girl became pretty
me - eat it
nyapoi meni lo - the girl ate it

Suffix -ni has a free variant -i\(^{(1)}\), this latter is commoner except in slow and deliberate speech.

-nga (2)  nyande - make pretty, become pretty
nyapoi nyandenga - the girl has become pretty,
has made it pretty.
me - eat it
nyapoi menga - the girl has eaten it

Suffix -nga has a free variant -a, the former commoner in slow and deliberate speech, the latter in quick speech. In writing, both -nga and -a are common: here -nga is written in all cases except one.\(^{(2)}\)

-la  kolo gaa - read a book  (kolo - book
tkaa - read it)
kolo gaala nyandengo - reading is nice
nya becngo a kolo gaala - I am able to read

---

1. In the standard spelling -i is written where the emphatic particle lo follows immediately; where lo does not follow immediately, -ni is written.

   e.g. i wailo gbengi - he came yesterday
   i wani gbengi lo - he came yesterday
   ii wani - he did not come.

2. See p. 13, footnote (1):
pie - do it
piela - to do it, doing it
nga gu lo a piela - I shall be able to do it
ngii loni a piela - I don't like doing it
baa lema a piela - don't forget to do it

-yi pie - do it
pieyi - the way of doing it
pieyi gbi fi na - there is no way of doing it, nothing
can be done about it.
ngii loni a pieyi na - I don't like that way of doing it.
majoo - get it, acquire it
ngii loni a navo majooyii na - I don't like that way of
getting money.
navo majooyii na ii nyandeni - that way of getting money
is not good. (navo - money)

-ngo (2) nyande - make it nice, become nice
nyapoi nyandengo - the girl is pretty
na nyandengo - that's good.

haa - die
mahci haango - the chief is dead
maha haango - a dead chief

higbe - be ill, become ill
mahci higbengo - the chief is ill
mahci higbengo hu - during the chief's illness
maha higbengo - a sick chief
kutu - shorten it
mahsi gutungo - the chief is short
maha gutungo - a short chief

-ma
pie - do it
ta lo piema - he is doing it

li - go la - lie down
ta lo lima - he is going
ta lo lima lama - he is going to lie down

yenge - work
ta lo yengema - he is working

nda - lay it down
ndama gbi ii na - there is no lodging, no place to lie down
ta lo ndama - he is laying it down

buku gbatcma wai - the big printing works. kpata - make
mu muamci - our wash place. mua - to wash
ta lo muama - he is washing.

Two [grammatical] meanings of ma- forms may be distinguished in the above examples; these may be said to be roughly (1) continuous action, (2) place of action. These are discussed at greater length below. -kpe, -ngo. These two suffixes occur only with certain numerals; their use is described below in the section on numerals (see p. 72).
The above affixes may be grouped into derivational and inflectional affixes as follows:

**Derivational**

- **-mo**: halemo - medicine man
- **-ye**: fandeye - cotton one
- **-[ye-]**: yepelei - the aforementioned house

**Inflectional**

- **-i**: pelsi - the house
- **-nga(1)**: pelenga - houses
- **-sia**: pelisia - the houses
- **ye-**: yepelei - the aforementioned house

- **-kpe**: felekpe - two only
- **-bla**: halebla - medicinemen
- **-ngo(1)**: naaningo - all four
- **-ni(1)**: Kpanani - Kpana and others
- **-la**: halela - to treat with medicine
- **-ni(2)**: ti pieni lo - they did it
- **-yi**: majooyi - way of getting
- **-ngo(2)**: nyandengo - it is good
- **-ma**: ndama - laying it down; place to lie down.

Several inflectional suffixes can occur together, the order being rigidly fixed: **-sia** occurs with a stem consisting of root + **-i**.

**Example:**

pelsisia - the houses

- **pelsisia** consists of **pelsi** + **-sia**
- **pelsi** consists of **pels** + **-i**

-sia also occurs with stems consisting of root + **-nga** + **-i**

**Example:**

nungsisia - people

- **nungsisia** consists of **nungsai** + **-sia**
- **nungsai** consists of **nunga** + **-i**
- **nunga** consists of **nu** + **-nga**

-sia occurs with stems consisting of root + -bla + -i

  e.g. Mendeblsisia — the Mende people

  Mendeblsisia consists of Mendebla + -sia
  Mendebla consists of Mende + -bla

The form Mendeblsi in this example and nungei in the
previous example occur only with suffix -sia or where
jisia (these) or nasia (those) follows:

Mendeblsi jisia — these Mende people
nungei nasia — those people

Prefix ye- occurs with stems ending in suffix -i or -sia

  e.g. yepclsi — the aforementioned house  pcle — house
  yepelisia — the aforementioned houses
  yenikangcsia — the aforementioned cattle

These three examples have immediate constituents ye- and
pcclsi, ye- and pelcisia, ye- and nikangcsia respectively;
as illustrated by these examples, the prefix ye- is always
the first immediate constituent of any structure in which
it occurs.

Two derivational suffixes cannot occur together, but
derived words can occur with inflectional suffixes; [and-
derivational] prefix ye- occurs with all derivational suffixes.

1. For a discussion of the theory of immediate constituents see for example

  Rulon Wells Immediate Constituents of Language 23 1947 pp 81—117
  R. L. Pike Taxemes and Immediate Constituents Language 19 2 1943
  E. A. Nida Morphology University of Michigan Press 1949 p 86
  C. F. Hockett A Course in Modern Linguistics New York 1958 Chap 17
All derived forms occur with the definite singular suffix -i
e.g. halemoi - the medicine man
Immediate constituents: halemo + -i

Mendeyei - the Mende one
Immediate constituents: Mendeye + -i

ndamci - lodging
Immediate constituents: ndama + -i

Stems consisting of a derived form in -ye, -va, -la, -yi,
-ngo, -ma + -i occur with suffix -sia
e.g. ma vandeyeisia - our cotton ones
vandeyeisia has immediate constituents vandeyei + -sia
vandeyei has immediate constituents vandeye + -i
vandeye has immediate constituents vande + -ye

mahaysisia - the chieftaincies
mahaysisia has immediate constituents mahaysi + -sia
mahaysi has immediate constituents mahaya + -i
mahaya has immediate constituents maha + -ya
ndamcisia - lodgings, places to lie down in
ndamcisia has immediate constituents
   ndamci + -sia

ndamci has immediate constituents
   nđama + -i

ndama has immediate constituents
   nda + -ma

Stems consisting of derived forms in -ya or -ngo occur with the plural suffix -nga.
e.g. mahayanga - chieftancies
   mahayanga has immediate constituents
      mahaya and -nga

mahaya has immediate constituents
   maha and -ya

ndopo highbengonga - sick children
   ndopo highbengonga has immediate constituents
      ndopo highbengo and -nga

ndopo highbengo has immediate constituents
   ndopo and highbengo

highbengo has immediate constituents
   higbc and -ngo

The [referential] prefix ye- occurs with all derived forms, these latter, where they are preceded by ye-, are always followed by a definite suffix.
e.g. yefandeyeisia - the cotton ones
   yefandeyeisia has immediate constituents
      ye- and fandeyeisia
fandeyeisia has immediate constituents
  fandeye and -sia

fandeye has immediate constituents
  fande and -ye

yehalemoi - the aforementioned doctor

yehalemoi has immediate constituents
  ye- and halemoi

halemoi has immediate constituents
  halemo and -i

halemo has immediate constituents
  hale and -mo

yehigbengoisia - the sick ones

yehigbengoisia has immediate constituents
  ye- and higbengoisia

higbengoisia has immediate constituents
  higbengoi and -sia

higbengoi has immediate constituents
  higbengo and -i

higbengo has immediate constituents
  higbe and -ngo

yepaalci - the aforementioned killing

yepaalci has immediate constituents
  ye- and paalci

paalci has immediate constituents
  paala and -i

paala has immediate constituents
  paa and -la
yepieyii - the aforementioned way of doing it

yepieyii has immediate constituents
ye- and pieyii

pieyii has immediate constituents
pieyi and -i

pieyi has immediate constituents
pie and -yi

Derived words enter into substantially the same syntactical and morphological constructions as monomorphemic words of the same class but inflected words do not.

e.g. halemo gbi a pie lo - any medicine man will do it
nyapo gbi a pie lo - any girl will do it

halemoi na a pie lo - that doctor will do it
nyapoi na a pie lo - that girl will do it

The distribution of halemo (hale + -mo) is substantially the same as that of nyapo, except that it has a plural in -bla.

Again compare:

humala ii nyandeni - stealing it is not good
Kpana ii nyandeni - Kpana is not good

ngii loni a humala - I don't like stealing it
ngii loni a Kpana - I don't like Kpana

ngii loni a niksi waalsi na - I don't like that slaughtering of the cow.
ngii loni a niksi lowoi na - I don't like that horn of the cow.
The derived words *humala* (*huma* + -la) and *paala* (*paa* + -la) have substantially the same distribution as the monomorphemic *pels-* words *Kpana* and *ndowo* and are therefore treated as derived *pels-* words. It is found that all forms consisting of a *pels-* word or *hale-* word root + derivational suffix are derived *pels-* words. Some further examples of derived *pels-* words consisting of *hale-* word root + derivational suffix are:

- *ndama* - place to rest, lodging
- *muama* - wash place
- *komo* - warrior
- *pieyi* - way of doing it
- *kutungo* - it is short
- *paala* - killing it, to kill it

Whether a particular affix is to be assigned to the group of derivational affixes or to that of inflectional affixes is in nearly all cases readily determined and calls for no comment. But the grouping of -ma and -ngo(2) presents some difficulty.

**Suffix -ma.**

Derived forms in -ma share much of the morphological and syntactical behaviour of monomorphemic *pels-* words. The derived *pels-* word *ndamia* (*nda* + -mia), for example, is distributionally comparable with *pels* in respect of
contexts like:

ndama gbi ii na - there is no lodging available
pelc gbi ii na - there is no house available

ndamci ji nyandengo - this lodging is nice
pelci ji nyandengo - this house is nice

mu lamci lo a ji - this is our lodging
mu wels ci lo a ji - this is our house

ngii loni a ndamci na - I don't like that lodging
ngii loni a pelci na - I don't like that house

But derived pelc- words in -ma also occur in certain contexts where they are not substitutable by a common pelc- word

e.g. ta lo nikeisia waama - he is killing the cattle
ta lo paama - he is killing it

In the positions occupied by waama and paama in these two sentences only mahu- words (see pp.49-50) can be substituted, but this yields sentences of a different type.

e.g. ta lo nikeisia gulo - he is in front of the cattle
ta lo kulo - he is in front

The sentences containing the ma- forms in the above examples may be said very approximately to express continuous action, whereas those with a mahu- word express spatial relationships. It would of course be possible to distinguish
a pair of homophonous affixes both written -ma, one a derivational suffix which occurs in derived pels- words like ndama (lodging, resting place), ndo gbolima (drinking place, public house), ndoli gama (dancing place, dance hall), and the other an inflectional suffix which occurs in sentences like:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta lo piema} & \; \text{- he is doing it} \\
\text{ta lo wama} & \; \text{- he is coming} \\
\text{ta lo kpolima} & \; \text{- he is drinking it}
\end{align*}
\]

But such a pair of homophonous suffixes is not distinguished here. Derived pels- words in -ma have two distinct meanings:

1) place of an action : ndama gbi ii na - there is no place to lie down
2) continuous action : ta lo ndama - he is laying it down

These in 1) are always definite, unless first constituent of a complex; those in 2) are always indefinite.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e.g. ta lo ndoli gama} & \; \text{- he is at the dancing place} \\
\text{(ndoli - dance)} \\
\text{ta lo ndoli gama} & \; \text{- he is dancing} \; \text{(ka - perform it)} \\
\text{ta lo ndo gbolim} & \; \text{- he is at the drinking place} \\
\text{(ndo - wine)} \\
\text{ta lo ndo gbolima} & \; \text{- he is drinking} \; \text{(kpoli - drink it)} \\
\text{ta lo muam} & \; \text{- he is at the washing place} \\
\text{ta lo muama} & \; \text{- he is washing}
\end{align*}
\]
It seems probable that all ma- forms are in origin 'place' expression, and that the definite/indefinite opposition has come to express the difference between presence without participation, and presence with participation, with the notion of participation now predominating. In a few contexts there is no significant semantic difference between definite and indefinite ma- forms.

* e.g. nya lo lima jesiamsi
  nya lo lima jesiama ) - I am going for a walk
  (li - go, jesi - walk)

Derived pec- words in -ma in sentences like ta lo muamci,
(he is at the washing place) are substitutable by two main
sub-divisions of pec- words: (1) mahu- words
  (2) geographical names, together
  with a few words like
  mbei (here)
  na (there)
  miando. (yonder)

  e.g. ta lo muamci - he is at the washing place  mua - wash
  ta lo mahu - he is on top
  ta lo kulo - he is in front
  ta lo poma - he is behind
  ta lo Bo - he is in Bo
  ta lo Puu - he is in England

Indefinite singular ma- forms occur as headword of complexes
whose first constituent is plural, but definite forms do not.
e.g. ta lo niksisia waama - he is slaughtering the cattle
    ta lo niksisia ti waamci - he is at the place where
    the cattle are
    slaughtered.

*ta lo niksisia waamci does not occur

    c.f. niksisia ti welsi - the house for the cattle
    ti welsi - their house

Likewise the indefinite singular form of a derived pels- word
in -la and of mahu- words occur as headword of a complex
whose first constituent is plural, but the definite forms
do not.

    e.g. ngii loni a niksisia waala - I don't like killing
    the cattle
    ngii loni a niksisia ti waalci - I don't like the
    killing of the cattle

    tibiisia mahu - on top of the tables
    tibiisia ti mahui - the top of the tables

    nya longo a koloi nasia gaala - I like reading those
    books
    nya longo a koloi nasia ti gaalci - I like the reading
    of those books

In the expressions niksisia ti waamci, niksisia ti waalci,
In the expressions niksisia ti waamci, niksisia ti waalci,
tibiisia ti mahui, koloi nasia ti gaalci, the initial plural
word or complex is supported by the following complex whose
Separate headings more clearly.
first constituent is the 3rd person plural pronoun, ti. In nikisia ti waamei, for example, the plural pcele-word nikisia is supported by the following complex ti waamei (their killing place).

The suffix -ngo is regarded as a derivational suffix although derived forms in -ngo occur in certain contexts where they are not substitutable by a monomorphemic word. Most importantly a ngo-form can occur as a single-word initiating sentence:

nyandengo - it is nice

A ngo-form commonly occurs as headword of a complex which constitutes a complete initiating sentence:

mahsi haango - the chief is dead
mbsi gbopngo - the rice is finished
ti nyandengo - they are nice

But it also occurs in many contexts where it is substitutable by a monomorphemic word.

e.g. maha higbengo - a sick chief cf. maha wa - a big chief
maha higbengo - the sick chief maha wai
maha higbengong - sick chiefs maha wanga
yehaango - the dead one yenyandei - the pretty one
mahsi higbengo hu - during the chief's illness
mahsi waci bu - in the chief's house
nya higbengo hu - during my illness
nya pokitii hu - in my pocket
Derived *pslc*-words in -ngw are comparable with monomorphemic *pslc*-words in respect of both syntax and morphology, except that they occur as initiating sentences and as headword of complexes which occur as initiating sentences, where they are not substitutable by a single morpheme. A sub-group would therefore be established of those derived *pslc*-words which can occur as initiating sentences. A comparable sub-group could be set up of those *pslc*-words which occur as calls; this would include words like mahci (chief), Puumai (whiteman), ndakoci (young man), Kpana, Musu, ndopoi (child).

Subdivisions of *pslc*-words

The class of *pslc*-words is the largest of all the classes which have been set up here and is the one which is growing most rapidly as the result of the introduction of loanwords into the language. The words of this class are not all identical in respect of either syntactic function or of morphology: only a comparatively small number of *pslc*-words can occur for example in the position occupied by Bo in the sentence i lini lo Bo (he went to Bo). It would be possible to sub-divide the *pslc*-words in many different ways, depending on the classificatory criteria selected, and doubtless different sub-divisions would be desirable for different purposes. Here the following sub-divisions are distinguished:
1. Those words which have no definite singular form and which suffix -sia to the indefinite singular. This sub-division contains only two members:
   ji (this), na (that)

   Compare for example:
   ta - town na - that ji - this
   tsi - the town
   tsi-sia - the towns nasia - those jisia - these

2. Words which substitute for bu in the sentence:
   ta lo pelci bu - he is in the house

   Some members of this sub-division are:
   mahu - above gulo - in front of
   wumba - on the roof of va - for
   woma - behind lenga - opposite
   gbela - near la - at the door of

   If the test frame is slightly altered, other words are added to this sub-division. If the frame is modified to ta lo mahci ---, then the following words occur in the new frame:

   yeya - in the possession of
   yaama - in the presence of
   we - far
   ma - on
The members of the sub-division differ from each other considerably in distribution. Most of them occupy positions in which other pelə-words also occur. For example Bo, Puu, mahu, kulo(1) poma(1) which substitute for kpela in the sentence ta la kpela (he is near), share many of the morphological and syntactical environments of words like nyaha (woman), nyapo (girl):

- yenya poi gulanga — the girl has fallen down
- yemahui gulanga — the top has fallen down
- yekuloi gulanga — the front has fallen down
- yepomci gulanga — the back has fallen down
- nyahamo mia — he is a married man
- Bomo mia — he is a citizen of Bo
- Puumo mia — he is an Englishman
- pomamo mia — he is a follower, disciple

But a few do not occur in positions in which pelə-words other than those of this division also occur; some occur only as the second immediate constituent of a complex: we, for example, occurs only in complexes like nya we (for me), mahci we (for the chief), ndopoisia we (for the children). These could be assigned, not to the pelə-words, but to a separate class. Since, however, they have an important area of syntactic function in common with words like mahu, poma,

---

1. The differences in shape in pairs like kulo/gulo, poma/woma, kpela/gbela are due to the operation of consonant mutation, for a description of which see below (p. y6).
**loiloo** and **kpela** which are clearly **pcls**- words, they are grouped along with these. Thus we is assigned to this division of **pcls**- words and not to a separate class, although its distribution is narrower than most of the other members of the division.

The words belonging to this sub-division of **pcls**- words are called Postpositions in the grammars. It is desirable to have a term by which to refer to these words, but 'postpositions' despite its general acceptance, does not commend itself. The term may be thought appropriate for words like **mahu**, **bu**, **gulo**, **gbela** in the sentences:

- \( \text{ta lo pcls mahu} \) - it is above the house
- \( \text{ta lo pcls bu} \) - it is in the house
- \( \text{ta lo pcls gulo} \) - it is in front of the house
- \( \text{ta lo pcls gbela} \) - it is beside the house

But in other sentences the term is inappropriate and possibly misleading:

- \( \text{ta lo mahu} \) - it is on top
- \( \text{ta lo mbu} \) - it is underneath
- \( \text{ta lo kulo} \) - it is in front
- \( \text{ta lo kpela} \) - it is near
- \( \text{yemahui lo a ji} \) - this the top
- \( \text{yembui lo a ji} \) - this the foot

It seems better therefore not to use the term 'postposition', but to take a typical member as a class label: the members
of this sub-division will accordingly be called mahu-words.

3. Those words which occur in place of fele in the sentence:

   ti fele ti wanga - two of them have come

Some words which occur in this position are:

   sawa - three       loolu - 5
   gbi - all          gbotoma - many
   puu - 10           lenga - some

In the structurally identical test frame i-i wanga, only yila (one) occurs. Words which occur in either of these test frames are grouped together. The words of this sub-division will be called Quantifiers. These are of two kinds:

1) Numerals

2) a few words like gbi (all), gbotoma (many), lenga (several)

The words of (1) and (2) differ from each other both syntactically and morphologically; those in (2) are more restricted in distribution than those of (1) and are all invariable.

Certain numerals are distinguished morphologically by the occurrence of suffixes -kpe and -ngo with them exclusively. Suffix -kpe occurs only with yila (one), fele (two) and sawa (three), with the meaning 'one only, two only, three only': *yilakpe is contrasted to yakpe.
Suffix \(-np\) occurs with numerals 2 to 9, but is common only with \(fele(2)\) and \(sawa(3)\):

\[\text{ti veenjo or veengo} \quad \text{both of them} \quad \text{< felengo}
\]

\[\text{ti jaango} \quad \text{all 3 of them} \quad \text{< sawango}
\]

In the corresponding forms for 4 and upwards there is no modification of the root.

\[\text{e.g. naaningo} \quad \text{all 4} \quad \text{naani} \quad 4
\]

\[\text{loolungo} \quad \text{all 5} \quad \text{loolu} \quad 5
\]

The numerals occur with definite singular suffix \(-i\), indefinite plural suffix \(-nga\) and definite plural suffix \(-sia\).

\[\text{e.g. nyapo fele} \quad 2 \text{ girls}
\]

\[\text{nyapo felenga} \quad 2 \text{ girls (not common)}
\]

\[\text{nyapo felei jisia} \quad \text{these 2 girls}
\]

\[\text{nyapo feleisia} \quad \text{the two girls}
\]

They occur also with the prefix \(ye\)- and with suffix \(-ye\); suffix \(-ye\) is always followed by the definite singular suffix \(-i\), which may be followed by the definite plural suffix \(-sia\).

\[\text{e.g. yefelei} \quad \text{< yefeleyei} \quad \text{the second one}
\]

\[\text{yefeleisia} \quad \text{< yefeleyeisia} \quad \text{the second ones, every second one}
\]
There is no difference in usage between the members of these pairs, to which there are corresponding pairs of free variants for all other numerals.

4. A sub-division containing the words:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ye} & - \text{who?} & \text{mi} & - \text{where?} \\
\text{gbe} & - \text{what?} & \text{lols} & - \text{how many?}
\end{align*}\]

These are distinguished from other pslc-words in that sentences in which they occur are questions although structurally identical with statement sentences: a sentence containing one of these words can be recognized as a question only by identifying \text{ye}, \text{gbe}, \text{mi} or \text{lols} as an individual item.

\text{e.g.} Jo mia a pie - it is Joe who will do it

Ye mia a pie? - Who will do it?

ti Kpana lo lolini - they called Kpana

ti ye lo lolini? - whom did they call?

fande mia a na - that is cotton
gbe mia a na? - what is that?

ta lo Bo - he is in Bo
ta lo mi? - where is he?

ti fele - they are 2
ti lols? - how many are they?

The plural of \text{ye(who?)} is formed with suffix -\text{ni}: the plural of \text{gbe} with suffix -\text{nga}: suffix -\text{mo} occurs with \text{gbe}:
gbemo mia a nyapoi na? - what nationality is that girl?

Reference prefix ye- occurs with both gbe (what?) and mi (where?)

e.g. yegbe - which one?

pelei yegbe? - which house

cf. gbe wclc? - what sort of a house?

Bo yemi? - what part of Bo?

With the words ye (who?), gbe, mi and lols may be compared the particle ye (how?); sentences containing this latter are also questions though structurally identical with statement sentences.

e.g. mahci ii pieni - the chief did not do it

mahci ye pieni? - how did the chief do it?

A class containing these five words could be set up on the basis of the statement/question opposition. But the establishment of this class would involve the use of a criterion different from that used for the establishment of all other classes and this was considered methodologically undesirable. Therefore the words ye (who?), gbe, mi, lols, which occur in positions in which pele- words occur and which also share some of the morphological characteristics of these are assigned to the class of pele- words and ye (how?) is assigned to a single-member class. The statement/question opposition is then used as a criterion for distinguishing a sub-class of pele- words. The four
members of this latter will be called interrogative \textit{pelc-} words and \textit{ve} (h-w?) will be called an interrogative particle. It is convenient to have a term by which to refer to the interrogative \textit{pelc-} words and the interrogative particle collectively, and these will accordingly be called \textit{Interrogatives}. It may perhaps be emphasized that there is not a word class of interrogatives: under the term 'interrogatives' certain members of two different word-classes are subsumed.

For the purpose of this study \textit{pelc-} words are divided into a number of sub-divisions, membership of which is determined by behaviour in respect of:

1) Consonant Mutation

2) Tonal Sandhi

The division on the basis of these two criteria is exhaustive and therefore cuts across the divisions listed above. An important and distinctive feature of the language is a system of what will here be called Consonant Mutation. The operation of this may be briefly illustrated:

\textit{pelci mia} - it's a house \hspace{1cm} \textit{fandei mia} - it's cotton
\textit{nya wclci mia} - it's my house \hspace{1cm} \textit{Mende vandei mia} - it's Mende cotton

\textit{sanii mia} - it's a bottle \hspace{1cm} \textit{mbci mia} - it's rice
\textit{ndo janii mia} - it's a wine bottle \hspace{1cm} \textit{mu hci mia} - it's our rice
The pairs pslei/wclei, fandei/vandei, sanii/janii, mbsi/bsi can be paralleled by hundreds of comparable pairs. Consonants may therefore be arranged in pairs as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{p} & \text{w} \\
\text{t} & \text{l} \\
\text{k} & \text{g} \\
\text{kp} & \text{gb} \\
\text{f} & \text{v} \\
\text{s} & \text{j} \\
\text{mb} & \text{b} \\
\text{nd} & \text{l} \\
\text{ng} & \text{w before o, u} \\
& \text{y before other vowels} \\
\text{nj} & \text{y}
\end{array}
\]

Outside this system are h and the nasal consonants (m, n, ny, y): a word having one of these as initial consonant has that initial consonant in all contexts.

e.g. halei mia - it is medicine
    nya halei mia - it is my medicine

cf. pslei mia - it is the house
    nya wclei mia - it is my house

1. The alternance k/y has been found in one morpheme: ke - cause to be, make.
    e.g. nga ke lo a psle nyande - I'll make it a nice house.
        nga ji ye lo a psle nyande - I'll make this a nice house

    The alternance k/w has been found in one morpheme: kulo - small
    e.g. yekuloi - the small one
        numu wului - the small person
nyapoi mia - it is the girl
nya nyapoi mia - it is my girl friend

The consonants in the left-hand column above will be called unmutated, and those in the right-hand column mutated; words having an unmutated initial consonant will be said to be unmutated, those with a mutated initial consonant will be said to be mutated. These terms do not imply that in a pair like pels/ wesle one form is derived from the other or that one is regarded as basic: both are of equal status. In a dictionary pels is listed, not wesle; this is because the former occurs after silence but wesle occurs only after some other word. Since 'pels' and 'wesle' have the same meaning ('house'), and their distribution is syntactically determined, their total distribution being equal to that of a morpheme like nyapo (girl), they are treated as allomorphs of a single morpheme. The syntactical environments in which pels occurs and those in which wesle occurs are listed below (Chap. 3). Here a typical example of each set of environments is selected and these two sentences are used as test sentences by a process of substitution in which a division of pels- words can readily be made into those with both unmutated and mutated forms and those with a single form.

Pels- words may first be divided into those whose initial consonant is outside the consonant mutation system
(h, m, n, ny, g), and those whose initial consonant is inside the system. Words of the latter kind are divided into 2 groups on the basis of their behaviour in respect of the two environments:

i) mair - it's (a) mair.

ii) nya - it's my mair.

The first group consists of words having an unmutated initial consonant in (i) and a mutated initial consonant in (ii).

E.g. ta/la - town
komi/gomi - honey
fale/vale - mushroom
sani/jani - bottle
mba/ba - rice
ndo/lo - palm wine
ngulo/wulo - oil

The second group consists of words having an unmutated initial consonant in both frames or a mutated consonant in both.

E.g. sigeti - cigarette
pani - pan, tin
teni - train
ke - father
kenya - mother's brother
lambo - lamp
bele - trousers
A two-fold division of pelo- words may be made into those which undergo tonal sandhi in certain syntactical environments and those which do not. The syntactical environments in which tonal sandhi occurs are listed later; here tonal sandhi is not described but is merely used as a criterion for the establishment of sub-divisions of pelo- words. Three typical environments are selected:

1) mía (-i) mia - it's (a).
2) nya (-i) mia - it's my.
3) ngi (-i) mia - it's his.

The first division consists of those words whose tone pattern in (2) and/or (3) differs from that in (1). Some examples are:

peló - house

peló mia [---_]
nya wele mia [---_] mía
ngi wele mia [---_]

nya wele mia [---_]
nya myahsi mia [---_] mía
ngi myahsi mia [---_]

ngíla - dog

ngíla mia [---_]
nya yílsí mia [---_]
ngi yílsí mia [---_]

fande - cotton

ndópo - child

ngulíi - tree

navo - money
haka - load    bcls - trousers
ssmc - court house    kali - hoe
maha - chief    gbchc - stool

From the tone patterns above it will be seen that all \(1\) pcls- words of this sub-division, whatever their tone in sentence (1) have tone pattern \([\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_]\) after nya and \([\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_]\) after ngi.

The second division is of those pcls- words which have the same tone pattern in all 3 test frames. Some examples of these are:

kenya - mother's brother    

kenya mia \([\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_]\)  
uya kenya mia \([\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_]\)  
ngi kenya mia \([\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_]\)

kpaki - shoulder    

kpaki mia \([\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_]\)  
uya kpaki mia \([\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_]\)  
ngi kpaki mia \([\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_]\)

ndewe - brother, sister    

ndewe mia \([\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_]\)  
uya ndewe mia \([\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_]\)  
ngi ndewe mia \([\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_]\)

ndia - middle    

ndi mia \([\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_]\)  
uya lici mia \([\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_]\)  
ngi lici mia \([\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_]\)

\(^1\) These examples illustrate the tone patterns of words of C.V.C.V. structure only: corresponding statements could be made for words of other phonological structures.
ngoo - older brother, sister    ndiamo - friend
hokpa - nose                   toko - hand
ngu - head                     nje - mother
ke - father                    mbolo - neck

As illustrated by the above examples, these pel- words have the same tone pattern in all 3 forms: the pronoun ngi (his, her) has tonal polarity with the following word, i.e. if the following word has initial low tone, ngi is on a high tone: if the following word has initial high tone, ngi is on a low tone.

  e.g. hokpei [ - - ] - nose
       ngi hokpei [ _ - - ] - his nose
       kpakii [ _ \ ] - shoulder
       ngi gbakii [ _ _ \ ] - his shoulder

On the criteria of consonant mutation and tone pattern in respect of the above test frames, pel- words are divided as follows:

Those pel- words whose initial consonant is outside the consonant mutation system (h, m, n, ny, ng) are divided into 2 groups:

  i) those which undergo tonal sandhi
  ii) those which do not undergo tonal sandhi

Those pel- words whose initial consonant is inside the consonant mutation system are divided into 4 groups:
1) those with consonant mutation and tonal sandhi
   e.g. ṭele - house  fande - cotton
        kali - snake  sani - bottle
        ngulo - oil  kpande - gun
        nja - water  ndo - palm wine
        koli - leopard  ta - town

   ṭelci [ - - - ]
   nya wtelci [ - - - ]

   This is by far the largest sub-division; words of this
   sub-division will be called common ṭele- words

2) those without consonant mutation, but with tonal sandhi
   e.g. lambo - lamp  Kpana - (man's name)
        bels - trousers  teni - train
        pani - pan  Kadi - (woman's name)

   pani [ - ]
   nya pani [ - ]

   Most of the words of this sub-division are proper names
   or unassimilated loanwords, mostly from English, either
   direct or via Freetown Creole (Krio)

3) those with consonant mutation, but not tonal sandhi
   e.g. kpaki - shoulder  ngu - head
        ko - stomach  toko - hand, forearm
        ngeya - /hand  mbolo - neck
Words of this sub-division almost all denote parts of the body.

4) Those without consonant mutation and without tonal sandhi

- *ke* - father  
- *ndewe* - brother, sister
  
- *kenya* - mother’s brother

- *fele* - 2
- *ngoo* - older brother, sister
  
- *nje* - mother
- *ndiamo* - friend

- *sawa* - 3
- *puu* - 10

Words of this sub-division are almost all senior kinship terms and numerals.

It may be useful to list here for reference the sub-divisions of *pela-* words which have been set up:

1) Demonstratives: *ji-* this; *na-* that

2) *Mahu-* words e.g. *mahu* - on top:
   
   - *kulo* - in front;
   
   - *kpela* - near.

3) Quantifiers: Numerals and a few words like *gbi* (all), *lenga* (some).
4) Interrogative *pole*-words

5) *pole*-words whose initial consonant is outside the consonant mutation system (h, m, n, ny, j)

6) *pole*-words with consonant mutation and tonal sandhi (Common *pole*-words)

7) *pole*-words without consonant mutation but with tonal sandhi (Loans, personal names)

8) *pole*-words with consonant mutation but without tonal sandhi (Parts of the body)

9) *pole*-words without consonant mutation and without tonal sandhi (Senior kinship, terms, numerals)

*Hale*-words are much more homogeneous than are *pole*-words and consequently fewer sub-divisions are needed here. Of those *hale*-words which have an initial consonant within the consonant mutation system a two-fold division is made into those which undergo consonant mutation in certain syntactical environments and those which do not. Two typical environments are selected and *hale*-words are assigned to one sub-division or the other according to whether they undergo consonant mutation or not.

The two test sentences are:

\[ \text{paa!} - \text{kill it!} \]

\[ \text{ngi waa!} - \text{kill him} \]

Two subdivisions are set up by a process of substitution in the positions occupied by paa/waa in these two sentences. To one sub-division are assigned those *hale*-words which
undergo consonant mutation. Some examples of these are:

- toli - call it
- ngi loli - call him
- ndewe - beat it
- kpe - look on it
- kula - knock it down
- pili - throw it

Also included in the sub-divisions are *hale*- words which do not occur in the second of these test frames, but which show alteration of initial consonant in other pairs of test frames. *Nde* (say it), for example, does not occur in the frame *ngi* - *, but occurs in the structurally comparable frame *na* - : *na.le* - say that: *nde* - say it.

The great majority of *hale*- words belong to this sub-division. A sub-division is set up of those *hale*- words which do not undergo consonant mutation. Some examples of these are:

- pawa - pay it
- pawa! - pay it!
- wini - win it
- ngi pawa! - pay him!
- wini! - win it!
- ngi wini! - beat him!

This sub-division is extremely small; the members
of it are predominantly loanwords. It may perhaps be remarked here that the vast majority of recent loans have come into the language as płe-words, and comparatively few as hale-words. Unassimilated loans in both classes do not undergo consonant mutation.

In this chapter a few sentences have been selected as test sentences for the setting up of sub-groups of płe- and hale-words on the basis of their behaviour in respect of consonant mutation and tonal sandhi. For this purpose it was sufficient to select only one kind of syntactic environment in which płe- and hale-words undergo consonant mutation and tonal sendhi. In the following chapter will be described all the syntactic environments in which words of those two classes undergo consonant mutation and tonal sandhi.

1. Pawa is almost certainly a loanword from Portugese: 'pagar' "to pay". The sound change, medial $g > w$ is common; in the Upper Mende dialect it has taken place in all words, but in Kpa Mende medial $g$ remains in some words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kpa Mende</th>
<th>Upper Mende</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>higi</td>
<td>hewa, cut up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haga</td>
<td>ndewa, pubes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndega</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 3

Complexes

The simplest type of complex is a two-member complex whose second constituent is a common pala- or hale-word. Such a complex is distinguished from a two-member sequence which is not a complex by the fact that its second constituent has a mutated initial consonant, and in many cases undergoes tonal sandhi. Compare for example:

mahəi welei (__,__), the chief's house
mahηi pclei yeyenga (__,__), the chief has bought the house

bi wului gulanga (__,__), your tree has fallen down
bi ngului gulanga (__,__), you have knocked the tree down

kolii mia ti waani (__,/__), it's a leopard that killed them
kolii mia ti pæani (__,/__), it's a leopard they killed.

The complexes mahəi welei, bi wului, ti waani in these examples are distinguished from the corresponding two-word sequences by consonant mutation and, in the case of the first two examples, also by tone pattern.

Several different kinds of complex are distinguished; complexes are grouped together on the basis of (i) first constituent, (ii) objective or subjective tone pattern.
Common **pelse-** and **hale-**words occur as second constituent of complexes whose first constituent is:

1. an indefinite singular **pelse-** or **hale-**word.

   e.g. hale wela, medicine house, hospital
   Mende vande, Mende cotton
   nyeha yia, woman *palaver*
   numu gutu, short person
   Kpens lo, Kpana's son
   ndo jani, wine bottle
   gbe jongo? how much, what price?

2. a definite singular **pelse-** or **hale-**word.

   e.g. mahci wela, the chief's house
   nyehi vande, the woman's cotton
   numui jani, the person's bottle

3. a **ngi**-pronoun.

   e.g. nya wela, my house
   bi vande, your cotton
   ti jani, their bottle
   mu jongo, our equal
   ngi gutu, his shortness
   ngi hale, his medicine

Many complexes of these three types whose second constituent is a **hale-**word occur with two tone patterns.
e.g. ti gutu (---), shorten them.

Some complexes whose second constituent is a pele-word also occur with two tone patterns.

e.g. nya woli (---) my ear
     nya woli (----) \\

     ngi woli (---) his ear
     ngi woli (----) \\

Those pele-words which occur as second constituent in complexes which have two possible tone patterns are all such as denote parts of the body.

In the first complex of each pair of examples above, the second constituent undergoes tonal sandhi; after nya, "my", and bi, "your", a disyllabic word has tone pattern (---), whatever its tone in other contexts, and after ngi, "his/her", mu, "our", wu, "your", ti, "their", it has tone pattern (--). In the second complex of each pair, the second constituent does not undergo tonal sandhi, but pronouns ngi, mu, wu, ti have tonal polarity with it.
There is a semantic difference between the members of these pairs of tonally differentiated sentences. In those complexes where the second constituent undergoes tonal sandhi, its referent is not part of the 'possessor's' own body, but where it does not undergo tonal sandhi, it does refer to the 'possessor's' own body.

The difference in meaning between the two tonally differentiated complexes \textit{ngi woli} (\_\_) and \textit{ngi woli} (\_\_\_\_) may be compared with the two meanings of the English phrase "the love of God", which can of course mean the love men have for God, or the love God has for men. Generally and very approximately it may be said that in complexes whose first constituent is a \textit{ngi}-pronoun, if the second constituent
has tonal sandhi, then the 'possessor' has complete ownership of the referent of that word; but if the second constituent does not undergo tonal sandhi, then the relationship of the 'possessor' to the 'possessed' is different. The referent of the pronoun does not own the referent of the pele- or hale-word as he may own a house, dog, gun etc.; rather is he in some way dependent upon it. Complexes of the first type (i.e. those whose second constituent undergoes tonal sandhi) will be called Objective Complexes, and those of the second type will be called Subjective Complexes. The terms 'objective' and 'subjective' are not here associated with the syntactical terms 'object' and 'subject' of a sentence; they may be said to indicate a difference in mental attitude on the part of the 'possessor' toward the 'possessed', 'objective' indicating an outward-looking attitude, and 'subjective' an inward-looking attitude. It is not surprising to find that common pele-words occur as second constituent in objective complexes, but that senior kinship terms occur in subjective complexes.

e.g. ngila (--), dog  
   keny (+), uncle  
   nya yila (--), my dog  
   nya keny (+), my uncle.

Some pele-words and hale-words (e.g. loanwords, personal names, kinship terms, numerals, words with initial h, m, n, ny, n) have the same initial consonant in all contexts. These
are regarded as second constituent in a complex when substitutable for them is a word with a mutating initial consonant which is shown by its mutated initial consonant to be second constituent of a complex.

e.g. penii mia, it is a pen
  nya panii mia, it is my pen
  
  helei mia, that is medicine
  nya helei mia, that is my medicine
  
  kenya mia, that is uncle
  nya kenya mia, that is my uncle
  
  lamboi mia, that is a lamp
  nya lamboi mia, that is my lamp

Nya panii, nya helei, nya kenya, nya lamboi are clearly complexes since they are syntactically comparable with much commoner pairs like,

  ngilei mia, that is a dog
  nya yilei mia, that is my dog
  
  pelai mia, that is the house
  nya welei mia, that is my house.

Most words with a non-mutating initial consonant are readily recognized as second constituent of an active complex by the tone pattern of the complex.
of pele- and hale-words which occur as second constituent in
each type of complex are:

**Objective Complexes**

1. hale-words; pele-words other than demonstratives, some
   mehu-words, senior kinship terms, numerals, interrogatives.
2. ditto
3. ditto
4. some mehu-words
5. some mehu-words

**Subjective Complexes**

1. hale-words; pele-words denoting parts of the body;
   demonstratives; some mehu-words; numerals; interrogative
   lole.
2. hale-words, pele-words denoting parts of the body;
   demonstratives; some mehu-words; interrogatives mi and gbe.
3. hale-words; pele-words denoting parts of the body;
   demonstratives; some mehu-words; numerals; interrogatives
   mi and gbe; senior kinship terms.
4. hale-words; some mehu-words.
5. hale-words; some mehu-words.

Some mehu-words occur in objective complexes, some
in subjective complexes, but this difference in distribution
is not correlated with any other syntactical or morphological
difference between words of this sub-division. In a complete
description of the language it would be necessary to list those *mahu*-words which occur in objective complexes, and those which occur in subjective complexes.

Senior kinship terms, demonstratives, numerals, and interrogatives occur only in subjective complexes; words denoting parts of the body occur in both objective and subjective complexes; all other *paLe*-words occur only in objective complexes.

The interrogatives *mi*, "where?", and *gbe*, "what?", and the demonstratives occur after only a few indefinite singular *paLe*-words; these are all such as do not occur with the definite singular suffix -i (e.g. personal names and senior kinship terms).

*E.g.* Kpana (man's name)  

Kpana ji, this Kpana, Kpana here  

*cf.* maha, chief  

The meaning of *mi* and *gbe* when these are second constituent of a complex is to be noticed:

*mi*, which part of the body, where about in the body?  

*gbe*, what relation?

1. Numerals with suffix -ngp occur as second constituent of objective complexes.

*E.g.* ti jaango (\(\_\_\_\) ), all three of them  

cf. ti sawa (\(\_\_\) ), three of them  

sawa (\(\_\) ), three
bi mi mia a gbels? where do you feel the pain?
bi gbë mia a nyapoi na? what relation is that girl to you?

Where a morpheme has both unmutated and mutated forms, the latter occurs as second immediate constituent of a complex, the former never in this position.

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{kula, knock it down} \]
\[ \text{ngi gula, knock him down} \]
\[ \text{pie, do it} \]
\[ \text{ji wie, do this} \]
\[ \text{faya, scatter it} \]
\[ \text{ti vaya, scatter them} \]

In the case of some hale-words the mutated form seems not to be restricted to occurrence as second immediate constituent of a complex.

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{kula, knock it down} \]
\[ \text{gula, fall down} \]
\[ \text{pie, do it} \]
\[ \text{wie, happen} \]
\[ \text{faya, scatter it} \]
\[ \text{vaya, scatter (intrans.)} \]

Crosby describes forms like \text{gula, wie, vaya} in these pairs of
examples as the intransitive forms of the verbs *kula*, *pie*, *faya* respectively. The term 'intransitive' is not defined by Crosby, but it might well be used to refer to *hale-words* which have a mutated initial consonant where they are not second constituent of a complex. Intransitive *hale-words*, so defined, have a certain area of common meaning. This treatment of pairs like *kula*, "knock it down", *gula*, "fall down", may be appropriate within the framework of a verbal system like those set up by Crosby and Aginsky, but is clearly less suitable here, and takes no account of pairs like:

- **toko**, hand
- **loko**, hand

E.g. *mehe me a loko*, eat with the fingers.

Pairs like *kula*, "knock it down", *gula*, "fall down", are not numerous; the predominant distribution pattern of unmutated and mutated forms is exemplified by a series like:

- **kula**, knock it down
- **ngi gula**, knock him down
- **Kpana gula**, knock Kpana down
- **pelzi na gula**, knock that house down

The series could be indefinitely extended.

*Gula*, "fall down", is best treated as second constituent of a complex whose first constituent is *missing*, and this complex is a member of the series *ngi gula*, *Kpana gula* etc. This treatment does of course raise certain questions of
descriptive technique, but it has been adopted here since it makes possible a simpler statement of the distribution of unmutated and mutated forms. The latter occur only as second constituent of a complex, the former never in this position. Some further examples of complexes whose first constituent is missing and whose second constituent is a hale-word are:

- luwa, be afraid
- yando, assemble (intrans.)
- le, climb
- la, lie down
- lo, stand
- lapi, fight

A few hale-words occur as second constituent of a complex whose first constituent is missing; these are all words denoting parts of the body:

- e.g. toko, hand
- loko lo numu ma, point out someone
- ngu, head
- wu hits, 'hang head', deliberate.

Complexes whose first constituent is missing are all subjective.

Some examples of objective complexes type 1 are:

- hindo hale, man medicine, i.e. male secret society.
fande loma, cotton shirt
kolu mita, iron spoon
hale wele, medicine house
Puu gbände, English gun
nyaha yia, woman palaver
Kpêna nyahêi, Kpêna's wife
Musu wele, Musu's house
Bo wele, the Bo road, the road to Bo
kenya nyahêi, uncle's wife
kê wele, father's house
kôtu wele, stone house

From these examples it may be seen that complexes of this type have two meanings, which may be characterized roughly as:

1. modification: kôtu wele, stone house
2. possession: kê wele, father's house.

Most complexes whose first constituent is an indefinite singular hale- or pêle-word have the first of these two meanings; those having the second meaning are such as have one of a comparatively short list of words as first constituent. These are:

a) personal names
b) senior kinship terms
c) the demonstratives ji, "this", and ne, "that".

These rarely, if ever, occur with the definite singular
suffix -i; ke, "father", for example, occurs with suffix -i only in the question ye lo kei le?, "who is the father?"; keny, "uncle", ji, "this", na, "that", never occur with -i.

In complexes of type 1 in which the first constituent is a member of (a), (b) or (c) above, the pronoun ngi, "his/her" may be substituted for it, without change of grammatical meaning, e.g. Kpama welei, Kpama's house
ngi welei, his house

Contrast meha welei, "royal house", where ngi cannot substitute for meha without change of grammatical meaning, Kpama welei mia, "it is Kpama's house", is an appropriate reply to ye wele mia? "whose house is it?", but not to gbe wele mia?, "what sort of a house is it?". Meha welei mia, "it is a royal/magnificent house, a house fit for a chier", on the other hand, is an appropriate reply to gbe wele mia? "what sort of a house is it?", but not to ye wele mia? "whose house is it?"; to this latter an appropriate reply would be mehei welei mia, "it is the chief's house", a type 2 complex.

The difference between the grammatical meanings of modification and possession is correlated with a difference in the division into immediate constituents (I.C's.). The division of complexes into immediate constituents is discussed in greater detail below, but here a few examples may serve to illustrate the difference division of type 1 complexes whose first I.C. is a personal name, senior kinship
term or demonstrative, and those having as first I.C. a pelg-word or hale-word other than these:

kenya welci, uncle's house
I.C's: keny and welci
welci has I.C's welc and -i

mu keny welci, our uncle's house
I.C's: mu keny and welci
mu keny has I.C's mu and keny
welci has I.C's welc and -i

Musa lomei, Musa's shirt
I.C's: Musa and lomei
lomei has I.C's lome and -i

hale welci, medicine house
I.C's: hale welc and -i
hale welc has I.C's hale and welc.

mu hale welci, our medicine house
I.C's: mu and hale welci
hale welci has I.C's
hale welc and -i
hale welc has I.C's hale and welc.

fande lomei, cotton shirt
I.C's: fande lome and -i
fande lome has I.C's
fande and lome.

The difference in meaning is correlated with a difference in tone pattern; this is described below (see page 127). Here suffice it to state that the second I.C. of a type 1 objective complex whose first I.C. is a personal name, senior kinship term or demonstrative patterns like the second I.C. of a type 2 complex.
e.g.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Type 1</strong></th>
<th><strong>Type 2</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hale wele i (--- ---), medicine house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musu wele i (--- ---), Musu's house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>levalei wele i (--- ---), the speaker's house.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Complexes of type 1, both objective and subjective, whose first I.C. is not a personal name, senior kinship term or demonstrative will be called Compounds. In compounds word order is significant.

  e.g.  

| kolu mita, | an iron spoon |
| mita golu, | spoon iron, i.e. iron used in the manufacture of spoons |
| hale wele, | medicine house |
| pels hale, | house medicine, i.e. medicine for the protection of a house. |

In compounds, as in other complexes, the second I.C. is the headword. In the above examples, the first I.C. clearly modifies the second, but in some compounds the reverse seems at first sight to be true.

  e.g.  

| nyapo nyende, | a pretty girl |
| numu leli, | a black person |
| kula gole, | white cloth |
| ssle gbou, | a ripe banana |
| nyapo nysmu, | an ugly girl |
| nyapo, | girl |
| numu, | person |
| kula, | cloth |
| ssle, | banana |
| nyapo, | girl |
ndopo mumu, a small child

Words like nyende, leli, gole, gbou, nyemu, mumu are called adjectives by Crosby, who states that in Mende adjectives follow their noun. But he does not give the criteria by which this category is distinguished, and in fact no adequate criteria can be found. The words nyende, leli etc. are hale-words; compare for example:

nyaha nyande, a pretty woman
nyaha nyandeisisa, the pretty women
i nyandenga, she has made it pretty

nyaha hale, woman medicine, i.e. women's secret society
nyaha haleisisa, the women's societies
i halenga, she has treated it with medicine.

The complexes nyapo nyande, mumu leli etc. are objective complexes, with I.C's. pele-word + hale-word, and are structurally identical with complexes like nyaha hale, "women's society". It may be noticed that the compound nyapo nyande is in some contexts appropriately translated "girlish beauty", [literally "women beauty"], for example in describing a man who is handsome in a somewhat effeminate way. It seems probable that [the literal translation of the compounds nyapo nyande, mumu leli, kule gole, sele gbou, nyapo nyemu, ndopo mumu] is something like "woman beauty, person blackness, cloth whiteness, banana ripeness, girl ugliness, child smallness".
This seems the more probable when these compounds are compared with the corresponding complexes of types 2 and 3:

nyapo nyande, girl prettiness, girlish beauty, pretty girl.

nyapoi nyande, the girl’s prettiness

ngi nyande, her prettiness

kula gole, cloth whiteness, white cloth

kulɛi gole, the cloth’s whiteness

nyapo nyamu, girl ugliness, ugly girl

nyapoi nyamu, the girl’s ugliness

cf. maha wele, a royal house, a chiefly house

mahɛi wele, the chief’s house.

Some examples of objective complexes of type 2 are:

mahɛi wele, the chief’s house

nyapoi hini, the girl’s husband

pɛle  bu, in the house

nyahɛi hale, the woman’s medicine

kulɛi jongo, the price of the cloth

tei hu, in the town

ndopoi ɛonu, the child’s axe.

The [parmatice] meaning of these complexes is [the same as] that of complexes of type 3, and of those of type 1 whose first I.C. is a personal name, senior kinship term or
demonstrative.

e.g. Type 1

Kpana wele, Kpana's house
Kadi hini, kadi's husband

Type 2

mahsi wele, the chief's house
nyapoi hini, the girl's husband

Type 3

ngi wele, his house
ngi hini, her husband

Complexes of types 2 and 3, together with those of type 1 whose first I.C. is a member of a special list, will be called Genitival Complexes. The grammatical meaning of these complexes may be said very generally to be that of possession; the order is 'possessor' before 'possessed'.

e.g. Kpana nyahci, Kpana's wife
maheisi wele, the chief's house

A plural pele- or hele-word does not occur as first I.C. of a genitival complex; "the chief's house" is in Mende maheisia ti wele. The plural pele-word maheisia, "chiefs", is supported by the following genitival complex ti wele, "their house".

Crosby gives as an example of the possessive case 1

both *mahei welei*, here treated as a genitival complex, and *maha welei*, here treated as a compound. He translates these:

- *maha welei*: the house belonging to a chief
- *mahei welei*: the house belonging to the chief.

But *maha welei* is structurally identical with *navo lomei* which he gives as an example of a compound noun, and translates 'money love'. The pair *maha welei* and *mahei welei*, with Crosby's translation, seems to contradict the statement made above about the [grammatical] meaning of compounds. It must be stressed that the translation 'the house belonging to a chief' for *maha welei* is misleading. The indefinite form of a *pelpe*-word, as already stated (see page 7), seems often to denote an abstract quality rather than a concrete entity, this latter being denoted by the definite form. *Maha*, then, in *maha welei* is not 'a chief', but rather 'chiefness, the quality of a chief', hence *maha welei* is 'a chiefly house, a royal house, a house worthy of a chief, a large and expensive house'. The referent of the complex *maha welei* may be a house belonging to anyone, not necessarily to a chief. Likewise *numu welei*, given by Crosby as an example of the possessive case, and translated 'a person's house' is of course formally a compound, and here again Crosby's translation is misleading. *Numu welei* is not 'a

---

person's house', but 'a house for human beings', as opposed for example to nika welei, "a cow shed", and ndonde welei, "a pig sty".

Little need be said about subjective complexes whose second I.C. is a pele-word; the kinds of pele-words which occur as second I.C. in a subjective complex have been listed above (page 95). It should be noticed, however, that senior kinship terms occur as second I.C. in type 3 complexes only. Compare for example:

mahsi welei, the chief's house          mahsi ngi kenya, the chief's uncle

ngi welei,  his house                   ngi kenya,  his uncle.

In mahsi ngi kenya, "the chief's uncle", mahsi, "the chief", is supported by the genitival complex ngi kenya, "his uncle". This may be compared with phrases like mahesisia ti welei, "the chiefs' house", in which mahesisia, "the chiefs", is supported by the genitival complex ti welei, "their house".

Some examples of subjective complexes whose second I.C. is a hale-word are:

**Type 1** (first I.C.: indef. sing. pele- or hale-word)

kolo gsa,  read a book                 kea, read it

ndo gboli,  drink wine                kpoli, drink it

mehe me,  eat food                    me,  eat it

ndoli ga,  perform a dance            ka, perform it

pele lo,  build a house               it, set up
**Type 2** (first I.C. : def. sing. pele- or hale-word)

- mehei loli, call the chief
- kolii wea, kill the leopard
- nyapoi gbe, look at the girl
- kolai gaa, read the book
- halei gboli, drink the medicine
- mehei me, eat the food

**Type 3** (first I.C. : a ngi-pronoun)

- nya gbe, look at me
- ngi wea, kill him
- mu loli, call us
- ti hou, catch them

**Type 4** (first I.C. : indef. pl. pele- or hale-word)

- pelenga lo, build houses
- selenga me, eat bananas
- kolonga gaa, read books
- kulange hoo, sew clothes
- bukunga gbe, look at books
- nikanga wea, kill cattle

**Type 5** (first I.C. def. pl. pele- or hale-word)

- pelesisis lo, build the houses
- seleisia me, eat the bananas
- koloeisia gaa, read the books
kuleisia hoo, sew the clothes
bukuisia gbe, look at the books
nikeisia wea, kill the cattle.

All the above examples of what are here called subjective complexes types 1 - 5 have been described in all Mende grammars as verbal phrases consisting of object + verb. Thus kolo gaa, "read a book", for example, is described as a verbal phrase consisting of the noun object kolo, "book", preceding the verb gaa, and the verb is said to undergo consonant mutation where it is preceded by an object. The word order Subject - Object - Verb is generally regarded as characteristic not only of Mende, but of the Mande group as a whole, and as constituting one of the most important syntactical features which distinguish these languages from neighbouring languages which have the order Subject - Verb - Object. Compare for example the order in Mende with that in Grebo, a member of the Kru group:

Mende

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mende</th>
<th>Grebo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hiya, pound it</td>
<td>du, pound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mba hiya, Pound rice</td>
<td>du bla, pound rice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But here mba is not described as the object of hiya; mba hiya

1. See for example D. Westermann and M. Bryen, Handbook of African Languages Part II London 1932 p44 "Word order in the simple sentence is Subject - Object - Verb:
MALINKE a soo bugu - he the horse struck
KPELLE na qalop kaa - I a man saw
MENDE ngi mahel laa - I the chief have seen".
is structurally parallel to nika woli, "cow horn", both being subjective complexes type 1. Subjective complexes type 1 have been called compounds, and this term, though appropriate for complexes like nika woli, "cow horn", may be thought inapplicable to complexes like mba hiya, "pound rice". But mba hiya probably corresponds more closely to 'rice pounding' in English than to 'pounding rice', and may be compared with English 'book keeping, fire watching'. The complexes mba hiya and nika woli are comparable not only in structure, but also in [grammatical] meaning, and both may appropriately be called compounds. Likewise ngi was, "kill him", which has always been described as a verbal phrase consisting of object pronoun + verb, is here described as a subjective genitival complex, structurally comparable with ngi wu, "his head". It should be noticed that the pronouns which occur as 'object' are identical in shape with the 'possessive' pronouns, but no significance has hitherto been attached to this fact. Ngi was is literally, not "kill him", but rather "his killing", and since the genitival complex is subjective, the meaning is "the killing done to him, the killing which he suffers", not "the killing which he does". It may be useful here to compare a pele-word in objective and subjective complexes with a hale-word in two comparable complexes:

\begin{align*}
\text{Objective} & \quad \text{Subjective} \\
\text{subjective genitival} & \quad \text{subjective genitival} \\
\text{subjective genitival} & \quad \text{subjective genitival}
\end{align*}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ngi woli ( _ _ )</em> , his ear</td>
<td><em>ngi woli ( _ _ )</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>nya woli ( _ _ )</em> , my ear</td>
<td><em>nya woli ( _ _ )</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mahei woli ( _ _ _ _ )</em> , the chief's ear</td>
<td><em>mahei woli ( _ _ _ _ )</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ngi hale ( _ _ )</em> , his medicine</td>
<td><em>ngi hale ( _ _ )</em> , treat him with medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>nya hale ( _ _ )</em> , my medicine</td>
<td><em>nya hale ( _ _ )</em> , treat me with medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mahei hale ( _ _ _ _ )</em> , the chief's medicine</td>
<td><em>mahei hale ( _ _ _ _ )</em> , treat the chief with medicine.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Complexes 3 and 4 differ in respect of tone pattern, and this difference is identical with that between complexes 1 and 2. Crosby and Aginsky would describe *hale* in 3 as a noun, and *hale* in 4 as a verb. Such a description involves either the recognition of a large number of homophonous pairs like *hale* (n) and *hale* (v), *kula* (n) and *kula* (v), the first member of each pair occurring in col. 3 and the second in col 4, or else the setting up of asyntactic lexical items like *hale, kula*, which may have nominal or verbal realization as in columns 3 and 4 respectively. Here complexe
in col. 3 are held to differ from those in col. 4 in that the former are objective and the latter are subjective, as shown by the tone patterns; they do not differ in respect of the class of the headword, which is a hale-word in both columns. Complexes in columns 1 and 2 are exactly comparable with those in columns 3 and 4 except that the headword of the complexes in columns 1 and 2 is a pele-word, and in columns 3 and 4 a hale-word.

Not all hale-words occur as headword of objective as well as of subjective complexes, and in a full description of the language it would be necessary to list those hale-words which occur as headword of both objective and subjective complexes, and those which occur as headword of subjective or objective complexes only but not of both. Likewise of course it would be necessary to list those pele-words that occur as headword of both objective and subjective complexes, those that occur as headword of subjective complexes only, and those that occur as headword of objective complexes only. Of these three sub-groups the first two are short, and it would be easier in practice to list these and to state that all other pele-words occur as headword of objective complexes only.

Since hale-words and pele-words share such a large area of both their morphology and their syntax, a case could
be made for treating them, not as separate classes, but as sub-divisions of a single class. The distribution of pele-words is more restricted than that of hale-words, but this is not a decisive argument against their being regarded as members of a single class. There are of course differences of distribution among pele-words; only a small number of them occur for example with suffix -ya, and only a few with -ni; again, only a comparatively few can occupy the position filled by Bo in the sentence i lini lo Bo, "he went to Bo". But all these are included in the class of pele-words since they all occur in the set of positions used for the establishment of this class. On page 33 above the classes of pele-words and hale-words were set up by a process of substitution in the frame —(-i) —-nfa; pele-words occur in only the first position, hale-words in both. But a different grouping could have been made; all words which occur in first position could have been grouped together, and called perhaps 'nominals'; a sub-division would then be made into those nominals which occur only in first position and those which occur in both positions.

Morphology

Objective compounds with a pele-word or hale-word as headword occur with the derivational affixes -mo, -ye, -yε, [ye].
e.g. kpala yengemo, farm worker

Puu vandeye, an English cotton one

ndolo mahaya, office of paramount chief

They occur with inflectional suffixes -i, -sia, -nea, -bla, ye-

and with combinations of these and derivational affixes

within the limits set out on pages 56-57.

e.g. kpala yengemoi, the farm worker

kpala yengemoi has I.C's kpala yengemo and -i

kpala yengemo has I.C's kpala yenge and -mo

kpala yenge is an objective compound.

yePuu vandeyei, the aforementioned English cotton one.

yePuu vandeyei has I.C's ye- and Puu vandeyei

Puu vandeyei has I.C's Puu vandeye and -i

Puu vandeye has I.C's Puu vande and -ye

Puu vande is an objective compound.

ndolo mahayei, the office of paramount chief

ndolo mahayei has I.C's ndolo mahaya and -i

ndolo mahaya has I.C's ndolo meha and -ye

ndolo meha is an objective compound.

yehale welsi, the aforementioned hospital

yehale welsi has I.C's ye- and hale welsi
hale wele i has I.C's hale wele and -i
hale wele is an objective compound.

hindo haleisia, male secret societies
hind o haleisia has I.C's hindo halei and -sia
hind o halei has I.C's hindo hale and -i
hind o hale is an objective compound.

Subjective compounds having a hale-word as headword occur with derivational suffixes -mo, -la, -yi, -ma.

e.g. numu waamo, a murderer
ndoli gala, to dance
nevo maj ooyi, a way of getting money
ndo gbolima, a drinking place

These occur with suffixes -i, -sia, -nga, -bla and [referential] prefix ye- within the limits stated on pages 56-57.

e.g. numu waamoi, the murderer
numu waamoi has I.C's numu waamo and -i
numu waamo has I.C's numu waa and -mo
numu waa is a subjective compound.

ndo gbolimeisia, the drinking places,
ndo gbolimeisia has I.C's ndo gbolimei and -sia
ndo gbolimei has I.C's ndo gbolima and -i
ndo gbolima has I.C's ndo gboli and -ma
ndo gboli is a subjective compound.
yenavo majooyii, the aforementioned way of getting money

yenavo majooyii has I.C's ye- and nevo majooyii
nevo majooyii has I.C's nevo majooyi and -i
nevo majooyi has I.C's nevo majo and -yi
nevo majo is a subjective compound.

Subjective compounds whose headword is a hale-word also occur with inflexional suffixes -ni and -nga.

*e.g.* ti kolo gaani lo, they read a book
kolo gaani has I.C's kolo gaa and -ni
kolo gaa is a subjective compound

*ti ndoli gangs,* they have danced
ndoli gangs has I.C's ndoli ga and -nga
ndoli ga is a subjective compound

Subjective compounds whose headword is an unaffixed pelc-word or a numeral with suffix -kpe or -ngo, or a hale-word with suffix -nco, occur with affixes -i, -sia, -nga, ye-.

*e.g.* numu feleisia, the two people
numu feleisia has I.C's numu felei and -sia
numu felei has I.C's numu fele and -i
numu fele is a subjective compound, with a numeral as headword.
nyaha felekpeisia, the two women only
nyaha felekpeisia has I.C's nyaha felekpei and -sia
nyaha felekpei has I.C's nyaha felekpe and -i
nyaha felekpe has I.C's nyaha and felekpe
felekpe has I.C's fele and -kpe

maha hangoi, the dead chief
maha hangoi has I.C's maha hango and -i
maha hango is a subjective compound with I.C's maha and hango
hango has I.C's hae and -ngo

yendopo higbengoisia, the sick children
yendopo higbengoisia has I.C's ye- and ndopo
higbengoisia
ndopo higbengoisia has I.C's ndopo higbengoi and -sia
ndopo higbengoi has I.C's ndopo higbengo and -i
ndopo higbengo is a subjective compound with I.C's
ndopo and higbengo
higbengo has I.C's higbe and -ngo

The difference in division into I.C's between expressions like numu waemo, "a murderer", numu waala, "murder", numu waayi, "the way of killing a person", on the one hand and numu weango, "a murdered person", on the other may be noted here.
numu waala have I.C's
numu waala (numu waa + -la) (numu, person, kill it)
numu waayi (numu waa + -yi)

The subjective compound numu waa in these examples may be replaced by the hale-word paa, "kill it", giving paamo, "a killer", peale, "killing it", paayi, "way of killing it", which have the same grammatical meaning as the corresponding original expressions.

Numu waango, "a murdered person", on the other hand, has I.C's numu and weango. If it is divided into numu waa and -ngo, and paa is substituted for numu waa, the resulting expression does not have the same grammatical meaning as the original; paango, "it is killed, it has been killed". Again, if numu haango, "a dead person", is divided into numu haa and -ngo, the expression numu haa is meaningless, but the division into numu and haango yields two meaningful parts and is clearly to be preferred (numu haamo, numu haala, numu haayi do not occur; haa, "die").

The second I.C. of an objective genitival complex may be a pelc-word (including derived pelc-words) or a hale-word; it can occur with suffixes -i, -nga, -sia, -bla, or with permitted sequences of these, but not with prefix ye-.

e.g. mahei welei, the chief's house
mahei welei is an objective complex type 2 with I.C's mahei and welei
mahei has I.C's maha and -i
welei has I.C's wele and -i

nya nikangesisia, my cattle
nya nikangesisia has I.C's nya and nikangesisia
nikangesisia has I.C's nikenesi and -sia
nikenesi has I.C's nikenge and -i
nikenge has I.C's nika and -nga

mu halemoi, our medicineman
mu halemoi is an objective complex type 3 with I.C's
mu and halemoi
halemoi has I.C's halemo and -i
halemo has I.C's hale and -mo

Kpana loi, Kpana's son
Kpana loi is an objective complex type 1, with I.C's
Kpana and loi
loi has I.C's lo and -i

The headword of a subjective genitival complex may be:

1) a pcele-word (including derived pcele-words in -vi, -la, -nga, -ma, -mo) either unaffixed or with suffixes -i, -sia, -nga, -bla, -ni within the limits set out above (page 56).

2) a hale-word, either unaffixed or with suffix -ni or -nga.

Examples of subjective genitival complexes whose headword is
unaffixed have been given above (page 109); some examples with suffixed headwords are:

i) mu kenyani, our uncles

*mu* kenyani *is a subjective complex type 3, with I.C's mu and kenyani

kenyani has I.C's kenya and -ni.

mahei higbengo (hu), (during) the chief's illness

*mahei* higbengo *is a subjective complex type 2, with I.C's mahei and higbengo.*

mahei has I.C's maha and -i

higbengo has I.C's higbe and -neo; higbengo is a derived psele-word.

nikei waalei, the slaughtering of the cow

*nikei* waalei *is a subjective complex type 2, with I.C's nikei and waalei*

nikei has I.C's nika and -i

waalei has I.C's wasla and -i

waala has I.C's waa and -la; waala is a derived psele-word.

mu muamei, our waah place

*mu* muamei *is a subjective complex type 3, with I.C's mu and muamei*
muamei has I.C's muama and -i
muama has I.C's mua and -ma; muama is a derived pele-word.

kenei gbelsi, the old man's beard
kenei gbelsi is a subjective complex type 2, with I.C's kenei and gbelsi
kenei has I.C's kene and -i
gbelsi has I.C's gbels and -i

nya woliisia, my ears
nya woliisia is a subjective complex type 3, with I.C's nya and woliisia
woliisia has I.C's wolii and -sia
wolii has I.C's woli and -i

ngi mehei loni lo, I saw the chief
mehei loni is a subjective complex type 2, with I.C's mehei and loni
mehei has I.C's meha and -i
loni has I.C's lo and -ni

iti nikei waanga, they have killed the cow
niksei waanga is a subjective complex type 2, with I.C's nikei and waanga
niksei has I.C's nika and -i
waanga has I.C's waa and -nga
mu ti was nga, we have killed them

ti waanga is a subjective complex type 2, with I.C's ti and waanga waanga

waanga has I.C's waa and -nge.

It may be noted here that derived pele-words in -la, -yi, -ngo, -ma, occur as headword of subjective, but not of objective, complexes. A phrase like 'their killing the chief', or 'their murder of the chief', is turned in lende mahl mehe waalsei ne ti pieni, "that killing or the chief (which) they did". The expression ti mehe waalsei, "the murder of their chief", is a subjective genitival complex with I.C's ti mahl, "their chief", and waalsei, "the killing"; the division into ti, "their" and mahl waalsei, "the killing of the chief", is not possible.

A subjective genitival complex whose headword is a -ngo-form with definite suffix -i does not constitute an initiating sentence; it occurs most commonly as first I.C. of a complex whose second I.C. is a mahl-word.

e.g. mahl higbengoi hu, during the chief's illness
ngi nyandengoi hu, in the days when she was pretty.

These genitival complexes (mahl higbengoi, ngi nyandengoi) are to be compared with compounds like mahl higbengoi, "the sick chief", mahl haangoi, "the dead chief". The complex mahl higbengoi hu, it may be added, commonly occurs in general statements like mahl higbengoi hu numu ee loli,
"during the illness of a chief, one does not dance". Here mahei, the definite form, occurs although its referent is not any particular chief; if the indefinite form maha is substituted for mahei, the resulting complex maha higbengoi hu would mean "in the sick chief". Mahei higbengo, "the chief is ill", can of course occur as an initiating sentence.

**Tone Patterns of Complexes.**

Objective and subjective complexes have been distinguished above (page 94) on the basis of a difference of tone pattern, and for this it was sufficient to select a few complexes whose tone patterns illustrate the objective/subjective opposition. A description of the tonal structure of the language lies outside the scope of this study, but a brief outline of the tone patterns associated with each type of complex may be given here.

Mende has two essential tone levels, high and low, which will be represented here by (\textdialect{\textgreek{^}}) and (\textdialect{\textgreek{_}}) respectively. In addition to these there are an up-glide and a down-glide, represented by (\textdialect{\textgreek{/}}) and (\textdialect{\textgreek{/}}) respectively.

The tone patterns of pelg-words and hele-words of phonological structure CVCV (where C = any consonant, and V = any vowel) are given here since this is the commonest structure. In Mende tone is associated only with the vowels,
and hence for CVCV words four tone patterns are theoretically possible, and all of these do in fact occur.

1) (---) pele, house
2) (---) fende, cotton
3) (---) ngile, dog
4) (---) bele, trousers.

of these, the first and second are common, the third less common, and the fourth comparatively rare. In addition, CVCV words containing a glide are found, but only two patterns are at all common:

5) (\_\_) hindo, man
6) (\_\_\_\_) nyeha, woman.

A few words have been found with tone pattern (\_\_), but no monomorphemic words have been found with tone pattern (\_/\_); CVCV words with two glides are exceedingly rare.

The tone pattern of the second I.C. of an objective compound is determined by the tone of the first I.C. Where the first I.C. has tone pattern (---) or (---), the second I.C. has tone pattern (---); where the first I.C. has tone pattern (---) or (---), the second I.C. has tone pattern (---). Words of tone pattern (---) fall into two groups: i) those that have tone (---) when first I.C. of an objective compound.

ii) those that have tone (---) in this position.
e.g. navo (--; money navo nyande (--; good money
tande (--; cotton tande nyande (--; good cotton
Some further examples of the tone patterns of objective compounds are:

hale wale (--; medicine house hale (--; pels (--; Mende wale (--; a Mende house Mende
maha wale (--; a royal house maha
ngila wale (--; a dog kennel ngila
hindo wale (--; a hose for men hindo
nyaha wale (--; a house for women nyaha

As illustrated by the last example, a word of tone pattern (--; in isolation has tone (--}) when first I.C. of an objective compound.

Mende hale (--; Mende medicine hale
Mende vande (--; Mende cotton tande
Mende navo (--; Mende money navo
Mende yile (--; a Mende dog ngila
Mende pels (--; Mende trousers pels
Mende nyapo (--; a Mende girl nyapo
Mende nyaha (--; a Mende woman nyaha

The second I.C. of an objective genitival complex whose first I.C. is a pels- or hale-word has tone pattern (--).  

e.g.

mahei wale (--; the chief's house pels
mahei vande (--; the chief's cotton tande
mahei navo (--; the chief's money navo
mahsi nevo (___-__), the chief's money  
   nevo (___)

mahsi ngila (___-__), the chief's dog  
   ngila (___)

mahsi bels (___-__), the chief's trousers  
   bels (___)

mahsi hindo (___-__), the chief's man  
   hindo (___)

mahsi nyaha (___-__), the chief's wife  
   nyaha (___)

The above are all examples of type 2 complexes (i.e. those whose first I.C. is definite singular), but included among genitival complexes are those of type 1 whose first I.C. is a personal name, senior kinship term or demonstrative. These latter are distinguished from compounds by tone pattern; the second I.C. of an objective genitival complex has level low tone, as in the above examples, but the second I.C. of a compound has initial high or low depending on the final tone of the first I.C. The difference in tone pattern between compounds and genitival complexes may be illustrated:

Compounds

hale wele (___-__), a medicine house

hona loma (___-__), a witch gown

Bo wele (___-__), the Bo road

Genitival Complexes

Musu wele (___-__), Musu's house

lewalei wele (___-__), the speaker's house

ke loma (___-__), father's shirt

ndakpei loma (___-__), the young man's shirt
ji wele (_--), this person's road
humamei wele (-- ---), the thief's road.

Of the above genitival complexes, those in the left hand column are of type 1, those in the right hand column of type 2.

The second I.C. of an objective genitival complex whose first I.C. is a ngi-pronoun has tone pattern (_ _) following nya, "my", bi, "your" (sing.);
( -- ) following ngi, "his, her", mu, "our", wa, "your" (pl.), ti, "their".

e.g. nya wele (_--), my house pcls(--)
nya vande (_--), my cotton fande (--)
nya yila (-- --), my dog ngila (--)
nya nyaha (-- --), my wife nya (--) ha (_\)

ngi wele (-- -), his house
ngi vande (-- --), his cotton
ngi yila (-- --), his dog
ngi nyaha (-- --), his wife.

The second I.C. of an objective complex type 4 or 5 has tone pattern ( -- ).

e.g. maheisia woma ( -- -- -- ), behind the chiefs

In subjective complexes the second I.C. does not undergo tonal sandhi.
e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngi woli (<em>-</em>), his ear</td>
<td>ngi woli (_-__), his ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngi gbaki (<em>-</em>), his shoulder</td>
<td>ngi gbaki (_-__), his shoulder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In subjective genitival complexes the pronouns *ngi*, *mu*, *wu*, *ti* have tonal polarity with the following word; pronouns *nya* end *bi* are always on a high tone.

E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngi hokpa (<em>-</em>), his nose</td>
<td>hokpa (<em>-</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngi gbaki (<em>-</em>), his shoulder</td>
<td>kpaki (<em>-</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngi loli (<em>-</em>), call him</td>
<td>toli (<em>-</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngi gulo (<em>-</em>), in front or him</td>
<td>kulo (<em>-</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In objective genitival complexes the pronouns *ngi*, *mu*, *wu*, *ti* are always on a low tone and the second I.C. undergoes tonal sandhi, whereas in subjective genitival complexes the second I.C. does not undergo tonal sandhi, but these pronouns do. Compare for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngi woli (<em>-</em>), his ear</td>
<td>ngi woli (_-__), his ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngi gbaki (<em>-</em>), his shoulder</td>
<td>ngi gbaki (_-__), his shoulder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngi hokpa (<em>-</em>), the chief's nose</td>
<td>hokpa (<em>-</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahhi gbtle (__<em>--</em>), the chief's beard</td>
<td>kpble (__<em>-</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahhi gbaki (__<em>--</em>), the chief's shoulder</td>
<td>kpaki (__<em>-</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahhi loli (__<em>--</em>), call the chief</td>
<td>toli (__<em>-</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahhi hou (__<em>--</em>), catch the chief</td>
<td>hou (__<em>-</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahhi gulo (__<em>--</em>), before the chief</td>
<td>kulo (__<em>-</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In objective complexes where, as second I.C., a CVCV word has tone pattern (_--_), a CV word has tone pattern (\); where a CVCV word has tone pattern (___), a CV word has tone pattern (_).

e.g.

Mende vande (_--_), Mende cotton
Mende ba (\--\), Mende rice

Kolu mita (___-_), iron spoon
Kolu ve (\--\), iron pot

Puu mita (___), English spoon
Puu ve (___), English pot

As second I.C. of objective complexes, monomorphic words of greater length than CVCV have the same tone patterns as CVCV words in respect of $V_1$ and $V_2$; the third and subsequent $V$'s are on low tones.

e.g. ngi welc (___), his house
ngi vakali (___--__), his paw-paw

Nya welc (___), my house
Nye vakali (___--__), my paw-paw

**Longer Complexes**

Very common are complexes, one (or both) of whose I.C.'s is itself a complex. For example, the complex nya loi welsi, "my son's house", has I.C.'s nya loi, "my son", and
"house", the former being a genitival complex with I.C.'s nya and loi.

The criteria distinguishing larger complexes from sequences which are not complexes are the same as those for complexes already described, that is, consonant mutation and tone pattern. The sequence nya loi welei, "my son's house", for example, is readily identified as a complex by the initial mutated consonants of loi and welei, and by the tone pattern:

nya loi welei (__,__,__) nya (--), "my"
ndoi (--), son
pelei (____), house

With the sentence nya loi welei gulanga, "my son's house has fallen down", may be compared the sentence nya loi pelei gulanga, "my son has knocked the house down". The sequence nya loi pelei in the second sentence is not a complex since pelei does not have a mutated initial consonant and does not undergo tonal sandhi. Compare:

nya loi pelei (__,__,__) pelei (____)
nya loi welei (__,__,__)

The sentence nya loi welei gulanga, "my son's house has fallen down", has I.C.'s nya loi welei, "my son's house", and gulanga, "has fallen down", whereas the sentence nya loi pelei gulanga, "my son has knocked the house down", has I.C.'s nya loi, "my son", and pelei gulanga, "has knocked the house
down. In the first sentence, *gulange* is second I.C. of a complex whose first I.C. is missing.

In some cases a complex is distinguished from a sequence which is not a complex by tone alone, e.g. *nya loi halei* (---), *my son's medicine halei* (---), the medicine.

In *nya loi halei*, *halei* is shown to be headword of a genitival complex by tone pattern alone, since it has an initial consonant outside the consonant mutation system. Compare:

*nya loi halei gboyonga* (---), my son's medicine is finished

*nya loi halei gboyonga* (---), my son has finished the medicine.

The first sentence has I.C.'s *nya loi halei*, "my son's medicine", and *gboyonga*, "is finished"; the second sentence has I.C.'s *nya loi*, "my son", and *halei gboyonga*, "has finished the medicine". In the first sentence, *gboyonga* is second I.C. of a complex whose first I.C. is missing.

Likewise *fande loma nyande*, "a nice cotton shirt", is identified as a complex by the mutated initial consonant and tone pattern of *loma*, and by the tone pattern of *nyande*, whose initial consonant is outside the consonant mutation system. The structurally comparable complex *fande bele nyande*, "nice cotton trousers", is identified as a complex by tone.
pattern only, since both bele and nyande have non-mutating initial consonants. Fande bele nyande is an objective complex, with I.C's fande bele and nyande, the first being itself an objective compound with I.C's fande and bele. The tone pattern is:

fande bele nyande (____) fande (___)
bele (___)
nyande (___)

All complexes, however long, are divisible into two, and only two, immediate constituents, and all are describable in terms of the two-word complexes listed above (page 94). The list given there may readily be modified so that it is valid also for complexes the first of whose I.C's is a complex, as follows:

**Objective Complexes and Subjective Complexes**

1. headword of first I.C. : indef. sing. pele- or hele-word
2. headword of first I.C. : def. sing. pele- or hele-word
3. headword of first I.C. : a nei-pronoun
4. headword of first I.C. : indef. pl. pele- or hele-word
5. headword of first I.C. : def. pl. pele- or hele-word

*e.g.* Fuu nyshei yilei, the English woman's dog
mahei nyshei yilei, the chief's wife's dog
nye nyshei yilei, my wife's dog.

Each of these is an objective complex type 2, and for this initial division it is not relevant that the first I.C. is in
one ease a type 1 complex (Puu nyahei), in another a type 2 complex (mahei nyahei), and in the third a type 3 complex (nya nyahei). For the identification of the type of complex formed by the I.C's it is necessary to consider only the headword of the first I.C. and the tone pattern of the second. Since the headword of the first I.C's Puu nyahei, mahei nyahhi and nya nyahei is in each case a definite singular pele-word, these are all first I.C's of type 2 complexes. The complexes Puu nyahei yilei, mahei nyahei yilei, nya nyahei yilei are identified as objective complexes by the tone pattern of their second I.C's.

Where the first I.C. is a single word, this is regarded as the headword of the first I.C. Thus nyahei is regarded as headword of the first I.C. of both complexes:

nya nyahei welei, my wife's house
nyahei welei, the woman's house.

The first I.C., or the second, or both may be a complex.

e.g. nya loi welei, my son's house

I.C's: nya loi and welei
nya wele nyandei, my nice house

I.C's: nya and wele nyandei
nya loi wele nyandei, my son's nice house

I.C's: nya loi and wele nyandei

To be added to the above list of complexes are complexes
of type 6, both objective and subjective. The first I.C. of a type 6 complex is a phrase the second I.C. of which is the emphatic particle 1o, and the first a pcle- or hale-word or a complex or a ta-pronoun.

e.g. nga bia lo lewe

ngi mahei lo loni, I saw the chief

ti ndopoisia lo waani, they killed the children

bile lo lewe is a subjective complex type 6, with I.C's bile lo and lewe

mahei lo loni is a subjective complex type 6, with I.C's mahei lo and loni

loni is the ni-form of the hale-word loi, allomorph of to, "see it".

mahei lo is a phrase with I.C's mahei and lo

mahei is a definite singular pale-word

lo is an emphatic particle

ndopoisia lo waani is a subjective complex type 6, with I.C's ndopoisia lo and waani

waani is the ni-form of the hale-word was, allomorph of was, "kill it".

ndopoisia lo is a phrase with I.C's ndopoisia and lo
ndopoisia is a definite plural pele-word
lo is an emphatic particle

i tibii lo ma, it is on the table
tibii lo ma is an objective complex type 6, with I.C's tibii lo and ma
tibii lo is a phrase with I.C's tibii and lo
tibii is a definite singular pele-word
lo is an emphatic particle
ma is an indefinite singular mahu-word

Some examples of the division of longer complexes into their immediate constituents are given below; in every case the division is continued until I.C's are reached each of which is a single morpheme:

nyapo nyamui na loli, call that ugly girl

nyapo nyamui na loli, is a subjective complex type 1, with I.C's nyapo nyamui na and loli
loli is a hale-word, allomorph of toli, "call it"

nyapo nyamui na is a subjective complex type 2, with I.C's nyapo nyamui and na
na is a demonstrative

nyapo nyamui has I.C's nyapo nyamu and def. sing. suffix -i

nyapoo nyamu is an objective complex type 1, with I.C's nyapo and nyamu

nyapo is a pele-word; nyamu is a hale-word
ti nya loi waanga, they have killed my son

*nya loi waanga* is a subjective complex type 2, with I.C's *nya loi* and *waanga*

*nya loi* is an objective complex type 3, with I.C's *nya* and *loi*

*loi* has I.C's *lo* and def. sing. suffix -i

*nya* is the first person singular *ngi*-pronoun

*lo* is a *pele*-word, allomorph of *ndo*

*waanga* has I.C's *waa* and -nga

*waa* is a *hale*-word, allomorph of *paa*

*nya beengo* a Mende loli gala, I can perform a *Mende* dance

*nya beengo* is a subjective complex type 3, with I.C's *nya* and *beengo*

*beengo* has I.C's *bee* and -ngo

*nya* is the first person singular *ngi*-pronoun

*bee* is a *hale*-word

*Mende loli gala* has I.C's *Mende loli ga* and -la

*Mende loli ga* is a subjective complex type 1, with I.C's *Mende loli* and *ga*

*Mende loli* is an objective complex type 1, with I.C's *Mende* and *loli*

*Mende* is a *pele*-word; *loli* is a *hale*-word, allomorph of *ndoli*; *ga* is a *hale*-word, allomorph of *ke*
bi bi yengei wienga? have you done your work?

**bi yengei wienga** is a subjective complex type 2, with I.C's **bi yengei** and **wienga**

**wienga** has I.C's **wie** and -**ngsa**

**bi yengei** is an objective complex type 3, with I.C's **bi** and **yengei**

**yengei** has I.C's **yenge** and def. sing. suffix -i

bi is the second person singular _ngi_-pronoun; *yenge* is a hale-word, allomorph of *nenge*; *wie* is a hale-word, allomorph of *pie*.

ngi Puu nyahei yilei loni lo, I saw the English woman's dog

**Puu nyahei yilei loni** is a subjective complex type 2, with I.C's **Puu nyahei yilei** and **loni**

**Puu nyahei yilei** is an objective complex type 2, with I.C's **Puu nyahei** and **yilei**

**Puu nyahei** has I.C's **Puu nyaha** and def. sing. suffix -i

**Puu nyaha** is an objective complex type 1, with I.C's **Puu** and **nyaha**

**loni** has I.C's **lo** and -**ni**

**yilei** has I.C's **yila** and -i

**Puu** is a pele-word; **nyaha** is a pele-word; **yila** is a pele-word, allomorph of *naila*; *lo* is a hale-word,
ngi ndo janiisisa yeyanga, I have bought the wine bottles.

ndo janiisisa yeyanga is a subjective complex type 5, with I.C's ndo janiisisa and yeyanga.

ndo janiisisa has I.C's ndo janiii and def. pl. suffix -sia.

ndo janiii has I.C's ndo jani and -i.

ndo jani is an objective complex type 1, with I.C's ndo and jani.

yeyanga has I.C's yeye and -nega.

ndo is a pele-word, allomorph of lo; jani is a pele-word, allomorph of sani; yeye is a hele-word, allomorph of neye.

Mba lo lima Puu lo gbolima, I am going to drink rum.

lima has I.C's li and -ma.

li is second I.C. of a complex whose first I.C. is zero (missing).

Puu lo gbolima has I.C's Puu lo gboli and -ma.

Puu lo gboli is a subjective complex type 1, with I.C's Puu lo and gboli.

Puu lo is an objective complex type 1, with I.C's Puu and lo.

li is a hele-word, allomorph of ndi; Puu is a pele-
word; lò is a pelè-word, allomorph of ndò; gboli is a hale-word, allomorph of k póli

nya wele nyandei, my nice house

nya wele nyandei is an objective complex type 3, with I.C's nya and wele nyandei

wele nyandei has I.C's wele nyande and -i

wele nyande is an objective complex type 1, with I.C's wele and nyande

nya is the first person singular ngi-pronoun; wele is a pelè-word, allomorph of pele; nyande is a hale-word.

nyapo nyandei gula lelii, the pretty girl's black cloth

nyapo nyandei gula lelii is an objective complex type 2, with I.C's nyapo nyandei and gula lelii

nyapo nyandei has I.C's nyapo nyande and -i

nyapo nyande is an objective complex type 1, with I.C's nyapo and nyande

gula lelii has I.C's gula leli and -i

gula leli is an objective complex type 1, with I.C's gula and leli

nyapo is a pelè-word; nyande is a hale-word; gula is a pelè-word, allomorph of kula; leli is a hale-word, allomorph of teli.
nya kenya wovei, my old uncle

\textit{nya kenya wovei} is a subjective complex type 3, with I.C's \textit{nya} and \textit{kenya wovei}.

\textit{kenya wovei} has I.C's \textit{kenya wova} and -\textit{i}.

\textit{kenya wova} is an objective complex type 1, with I.C's \textit{kenya} and \textit{wova}.

\textit{nya} is the first person singular \textit{ngi}-pronoun; \textit{kenya} is a member of the small sub-group of \textit{pele}-words here called senior kinship terms; \textit{wova} is a \textit{hale}-word, allomorph of \textit{ngova}.

\textit{pele wai nasia gulo}, in front of those big houses

\textit{pele wai nasia gulo} is a subjective complex type 5, with I.C's \textit{pele wai nasia} and \textit{gulo}.

\textit{pele wai nasia} has I.C's \textit{pele wai} and \textit{nasia}.

\textit{nasia} has I.C's \textit{na} and def. pl. suffix -\textit{sia}.

\textit{pele wai} has I.C's \textit{pele we} and -\textit{i}.

\textit{pele we} is an objective complex type 1, with I.C's \textit{pele} and \textit{we}.

\textit{pele} is a \textit{pele}-word; \textit{we} is a \textit{pele}-word; \textit{na} is a demonstrative; \textit{gulo} is a \textit{mahu}-word, allomorph of \textit{kulo}.

\textit{loko lo}, to point

\textit{loko lo} is a subjective complex type 1, with I.C's \textit{loko} and \textit{lo}.
loko is headword of a complex whose first I.C. is [missing].

loko is a member of the sub-group of pêle-words called parts of the body words, allomorph of toko, "fingers, hand"; lo is a hale-word, allomorph of to.

It may be noted here that Mende has no construction in which a string of modifiers precedes the headword, as in English constructions like 'the big, fat, old man'. Nor does Mende have constructions in which two modifiers are joined by a conjunction, as in the English expression 'the young and vigorous leader'. Mende has a compound ngîla wova, "an old dog", and a compound ngîla nyamu, "an ugly dog", but has no construction corresponding to 'an ugly old dog'. Compounds whose first I.C. is itself a compound are by no means rare.

e.g. fande loma nyande, "a nice cotton shirt"

( fande, cotton; ndome, shirt; nyande, nice)

This has I.C's finde loma and nyande. In three-morpheme structures of this type, the division into immediate constituents always occurs before the third morpheme, i.e. it is always the first I.C. which is a compound, not the second. The English phrase 'Mende cotton shirt' is ambiguous, since it may mean either a shirt made of Mende cotton, or a Mende shirt made of cotton; in other words, it may have immediate constituents 'Mende cotton' and 'shirt', or 'Mende' and
'cotton shirt'. In speech, these are distinguished by intonation. The complex *Mende vande loma*, on the other hand, permits of only /division: *Mende vande*, "Mende cotton", and *loma*, "shirt".

Objective compounds like *Mende vande loma*, whose first I.C. is itself a compound, are not common; much commoner are objective compounds whose first I.C. is a subjective compound with a hale-word as headword.

e.g. *mehe me gbêle i, meal time; time to eat*

*mehe me gbêle i* has I.C.'s *mehe me gbele* and -i

*mehe me gbele* is an objective complex type 1, with I.C.'s *mehe me* and *gbele*

*mehe me* is a subjective complex type 1, with I.C.'s *mehe* and *me*

*mehe* is a pele-word; *me* is a hale-word; *gbele* is a pele-word, allomorph of *kpele*.

*ndo gboli hinda*, wine drinking affair

*ndo gboli hinda* is an objective complex type 1, with I.C.'s *ndo gboli* and *hinda*

*ndo gboli* is a subjective complex type 1, with I.C.'s *ndo* and *gboli*

*ndo* is a pele-word; *gboli* is a hale-word, allomorph of *kpoli*; *hinda* is a pele-word.
la gbelei, bed time

La gbelei has I.C.'s la gbele and -i

La gbele is an objective complex type 1, with I.C.'s la and gbele

La is headword of a complex whose first I.C. is zero

La is a hale-word, allomorph of nda, "lay it down";
gbele is a pele-word, allomorph of kpele, "time".

Kali waa wulu, a stick for killing snakes

Kali waa wulu is an objective complex type 1, with I.C.'s kali waa and wulu

Kali waa is a subjective complex type 1, with I.C.'s kali and waa

Kali is a pele-word; waa is a hale-word, allomorph of paa, "kill it"; wulu is a pele-word, allomorph of ngulu, "stick, tree".

Reduplication

The behaviour in respect of consonant mutation of reduplicated forms when second I.C. of a complex is to be noticed. Reduplication, though not rare, is by no means common, and is confined to hale-words. These may be reduplicated to express:

i) Intensity (of qualities like prettiness, shortness etc.)

Nyande, pretty

Nyapo nyande, pretty girl
nyandenyande, very pretty  
nyapo nyandenyande, a very pretty girl

kutu, short

kutukutu, very short

yekutui, the short one

yekutukutui, the very short one

nyamu, ugly

nyamunyamu, very ugly

numu nyamu, an ugly person

numu nyamunyamu, a very ugly person

ii) Repeated action

tewe, cut it

tewetewe, cut it repeatedly

fembe, shake it

fembefembe, shake it repeatedly

Two features of the phonological structure of reduplicated forms are to be noted:

i) Tone pattern.

The tone pattern of most reduplicated forms is not merely a repetition of the tone pattern of the simple form.

e.g. fembe (¯⁻)  
fembefembe (⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻)

The tone patterns of reduplicated forms of hale-words of phonological structure CVCV may be set out briefly as follows:
No examples have been found of reduplication of words of tone pattern (__). 

From the above table it will be seen that the reduplicated forms of words of tone pattern (__) or (__) are the same tonally as objective compounds whose first I.C. has tone pattern (__) or (__) in isolation.

e.g.

nyamu (__), ugly

nyamunyamu (_____), very ugly

nyande (___), nice

nyandenyande (____), very nice

nyandenyandenyande (_______), very nice

Reduplicated forms, then, though in nearly all cases comparable
with objective complexes in respect of tone pattern, are
distinguished from these in respect of consonant mutation.
Where a reduplicated form occurs as second I.C. of a complex,
the initial consonant of both parts is mutated in many cases,
but in others only the initial consonant of the first part is
mutated.

*Example:*

- *fembe fembe,* shake it repeatedly
- *mbomei vembe vembe,* shake the hammock repeatedly

This has a free variant *mbomsi vembe fembe*

- *kutukutu,* very short
- *numu gutugutu,* a very short person

*But,* *popo,* cut it down repeatedly *po,* cut it down
- *ti wopo,* cut them down repeatedly
- *ti wowo* does not occur.

The tone patterns of reduplicated forms which occur as second
I.C's of objective complexes are comparable with those of
simple forms in the same environments.

*Example:*

- *kutukutu* (*_ _*_ )
- *numu gutugutu* (*_ _*_ )  c.f. *numu nyande* (*_ _*_ )
- *bale gutugutu* (*_ _ _*_ )  *bale nyande* (*_ _ _*_ )

Somewhat similar to reduplication, but to be distinguished
from it, is repetition. This differs from reduplication in
that each repetition has the tone pattern of the simple form
and that there is no structural limit to the number of times
a word is repeated.
e.g. baa fembe fembe fembe (\_\_\_), don't keep on shaking it
cf. baa fembe fembe (\_\_\_), don't keep on shaking it.

There is little difference in [grammatical] meaning between reduplication and repetition; both express either [intens.] intensity or repeated action, but repetition connotes a somewhat greater emphasis.

Where repeated forms which are within the consonant mutation system occur as second I.C. of a complex, each has a mutated initial consonant.

e.g. baa fembe fembe fembe, don't keep on shaking it
       baa mbomei vembe vembe vembe, don't keep on shaking the hammock.

In this last sentence, each form vembe is best regarded as headword of a subjective genitival complex whose first I.C. is mbomei.

The suffix -nga may occur with each repeated form, or with the last only.

e.g. ngi fembenga fembenga fembenga} I have shaken it repeatedly
       ngi fembe fembe fembenga

Other suffixes occur only after the last repetition.

e.g. ngi fembe fembe fembeni lo, I shook it repeatedly

Reduplicated forms are occasionally repeated.

e.g. Simple form : po, fell it
       tia lo poma, they are felling it
Reduplication: popo
tia lo nguluisia wopoma, they are felling the trees

Repetition of reduplicated form: tia lo nguluisia wopo wopoma, they are felling the trees

To be distinguished from complexes are three types of paratactic constructions; two of these are comparable with complexes in respect of the classes of words which occur in them, but all three are differentiated from complexes by both consonant mutation and tone pattern. The three paratactic constructions are:

1) Phrases consisting of nga-pronoun + pelg-word (including derived pelg-words).

   e.g. bi humamoi, you thief
        mu Puubla, we Englishmen
        wu Mendebla, you Mendemen

Phrases of this type are to be distinguished from type 3 complexes, the second I.C. of which undergoes consonant mutation, and, in the case of objective complexes, tonal sandhi. Compare for example:

   bi humamoi (-----), you thief
   humamoi (-----)
   bi humamoi (----), your thief
bi ndemoi (---), you liar ndemoi (---)
bi lemoi (---), your liar

Phrases like wu Mendebla etc. are often preceded by the appropriate ta-pronoun.

e.g. wua wu Mendebla, you Mendebla
mua mu Puubla, we Englishmen
ta ngi mehei, the chief himself

2) Phrases whose first member is a ta--pronoun.

e.g. maa mehei, the chief and I
waa bi loi, you and your son
taa ngi hini, she and her husband
taa nyapo nyandei, he and the pretty girl

A phrase introduced by pronoun taa can support a preceding pele- or hele-word.

e.g. mehei taa lavalei, the chief and the speaker
     taa lavalei, he and the speaker.

3) Phrases of the type:
Kensi Pode, Mr Pode
Mamai Kadi, Mrs/Miss Kadi
Mahei Gamanga, Chief Gamanga

Compare for example:
Kensi Pode, Mr Pode
kensi welei, the men's house

The first is a paratactic phrase, the second an objective
complex type 2.

Paratactic phrases of this type may consist of more than two words.

* e.g. Ndolomahsi Kenews Gamanga, Paramount Chief Kenews Gamanga

    Ndolomahsi Bai Farima Tass, P.C. Bai Farima Tass

Words which occur in this type of phrase are all *pule*-words; they may be divided into:

i) a short list of words like *Dokita*, "Doctor", *Kenei*, "Mr", *Mamei*, "Mrs /Miss", *Mehei*, "Chief". These occur initially in the phrase.

ii) personal names.
Chapter 4

The Structure of Sentences.

The first difficulty encountered in a description of the structure of sentences in Mende is that of delimiting a sentence. It has been thought best not to attempt to formulate a definition of a sentence in Mende, but to define ostensibly the several types of sentence whose structure is here described.

Preliminary to a description of these sentence types, it is necessary to establish certain groupings. All sentences are first divided into:

i) simple sentences
ii) complex sentences.

Description is here confined to simple sentences. These are divided into:

i) initiating sentences
ii) non-initiating sentences.

Initiating sentences are those which can begin a conversation; they are not dependent on any prior utterance. Non-initiating sentences cannot begin a conversation; they are dependent on some prior utterance. Non-initiating sentences occur as replies and responses; here 'reply' refers to an utterance directly elicited by a question, 'response' to an utterance evoked by a preceding statement, and often expressing comment.
on it. The difference between the two may be illustrated:

Speaker A Gbè jongo mia a na? How much is that?

Speaker B Silin fele, Two shillings

Silin fele is a reply.

A Mahsi lini lo Bo gbengi, The chief went to Bo yesterday

B M-m, i lini Daru lo, No, he went to Daru.

M-m, i lini Daru lo is a response.

Non-initiating sentences are not further considered here.

Initiating sentences are divided into:

1) minor sentences
2) full sentences.

Minor sentences are arranged in three groups:

1. Calls.

   e.g. Kpana
   ndopoi, boy
   Musu
   Kenya, uncle

These are all either personal names or words denoting persons. A call is used to attract the attention of the person to whom it is addressed; as soon as he sees that his call has achieved this, the speaker almost always follows the call with some further utterance.

The indefinite form of personal names and senior kinship terms is used in calls, the definite form of all other words.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indefinite</th>
<th>Definite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Musu</td>
<td>kenei, elderly man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kpana</td>
<td>ndakpe, young man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadi</td>
<td>ndopoi, child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A complex can occur as a call, but this is not common.

* e.g. nyapo nyandei, pretty girl

The particle _o_ commonly occurs finally in calls.

* e.g. Kpana o.

This particle imparts a somewhat friendly connotation to a call; in the speech of women it is often excessively lengthened when the person called is at some distance from the speaker.

2. Exclamations

* e.g. kioo!

    dunya!

    sioo!

The minimum form is a single word, which in speech is often uttered with considerable force, and in writing is followed by an exclamation mark. An exclamation expresses a sudden strong emotion felt by the speaker.

Two classes of words occur in exclamatory sentences:

1) interjections

2) a few *pela*-words like *dunya*, "world", *kewo", "God". The lexical meaning of these is irrelevant; *dunya*, for example, as an exclamation expresses great surprise, and the lexical meaning 'world' is irrelevant.
A few complexes occur as exclamatory sentences, of which the commonest is Ngewo va, "for God", expressive of surprise. Some longer exclamatory sentences are found.

\[
\begin{align*}
e.g. & \quad o\ ya &= \text{expressive of surprise tinged with} \\
o\ ya\ ma\ yei &= \text{dismay at learning something} \\
o\ ya\ ma\ yei\ Ngewo &= \text{unpleasant.}
\end{align*}
\]

Of the words in these examples, Ngewo is a pāle-word, the others are interjections.

It may perhaps be remarked here that, compared with English, Mende has few interjections, and very few pāle-words which can occur in exclamatory sentences. The language contains no words corresponding to the English swear words and obscene words, many of which are commonly found serving as exclamations.

3. Grouped together are a few different types of minor sentence; very few examples of each type have been found, and most of these are formulae.

The commonest group is that of greetings of the type:

- mu ngenda, good morning
- mu kpoko, good evening.

These consist of the first person plural pronoun mu and the pāle-word ngenda, "morning", or kpoko, "evening"; only two sentences of this type occur.

Other sentences which commonly occur in exchanges of greetings are bi siŋ, "thank you" (singular), and wu siŋ,
"thank you" (plural). These consist of the second person pronoun bi (sing.) or wu (pl.) + the pele-word sie, "thanks".

In an exchange of greetings, the response to mu kpoko, mu ngenda, bi sie and wu sie is fixed; in every case it consists of a sentence of identical structure, preceded by m, "yes".

E.g. A o bi gahui? How are you?
   B kaye ii Ngewo ma, All right
   A bi sie, Thank you
   B m, bi sie, Yes, thank you
   ....

   A mu kpoko, Good evening (Said on parting)
   B m, mu kpoko, Yes, good evening.

Another type of minor sentence is that exemplified by the sentence bi humamoi!, "you thief!". This consists of a paratactic phrase (see page 149) with constituents second person ngi-pronoun + pele-word.

Sentences of this type are extremely rare, but they are not formulae, as are the other sentences of this sub-group. They are abusive, and are uttered with considerable force, almost always under the strain of intense emotion.

Three kinds of full sentence are distinguished:

1. Statements e.g. ba me lo, you will eat it
2. Questions e.g. ba me lo? will you eat it?
3. Commands e.g. me, eat it.
From the first two examples it will be seen that the question *ba me lo?* contains the same three words as does the statement *ba me lo*, and these in the same order. There are, however, several features which distinguish questions from the corresponding statements, and these may conveniently be described here. The comparison of statements and questions is facilitated by the division of the latter into:

1. **yes/no questions**
2. **specific questions.**

Yes/no questions are so called because the reply to them is almost always *m", "yes", m-m", "no", or *mm* (agreement with a negative question), either as a complete utterance or introducing a longer utterance. None of these three words ordinarily occurs as a reply to a specific question.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes/no question</th>
<th>Specific question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bi keny a mie a na?  \textit{Is that} your uncle?</td>
<td>Ye mie a na? \textit{Who is that?}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bia lo lima Bo?  \textit{Are you} going to Bo?</td>
<td>Bi lima mi lo? \textit{Where are you going?}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hale weli lo a ji?  \textit{Is} this the hospital?</td>
<td>Gbe weli lo a ji? \textit{What sort of house is this?}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wu lole?  \textit{How many are you?}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. A statement not introduced by *m, m-m or* *mm* occasionally occurs as a reply to a yes/no question, e.g. *Bia lo lima sinimii hu? Bi nda binda ya a na.* Are you going to the pictures? That is none of your business.

2. They can of course occur as a reply to questions like, "What is the Mende word for 'Yes'?”
There are two kinds of yes/no questions:

1. Those which differ from the corresponding statements in respect of intonation only. These have a rising intonation on the final vowel, and the tone register of the whole utterance is usually higher than that of a statement. In writing, these are distinguished from statements by punctuation only.

   e.g. mahei mia a na. that is the chief
        mahei mia a na? is that the chief?

2. Those with final hie or kee. These have statement intonation, with pause, or potential pause, before the final morpheme.

   e.g. mahei mia a na, hie? that is the chief, isn't it?

Yes/no questions of type (2) expect agreement, those of type (1) are neutral as regards the reply expected.

Specific questions are structurally identical with statements, from which they differ only in respect of lexical items; a specific question contains an interrogative, a statement does not.

   e.g. ye mia a na? who is that?
        gbe jongo mia? how much is it?
        bi lima mi lo? where are you going?

In speech, a specific question can be recognized as a question only by identifying the interrogative word as a question-
signalling lexical item.

Grouped along with specific questions are questions like o mahsi?, "what about the chief?", o bia?, "what about you?". A sentence containing an interrogative elicits some specific piece of information, but the appropriate reply to a question like o mahsi? depends largely on the circumstances in which it is asked. Appropriate replies to o mahsi? may be, for example, ta lo fisama, "he is getting better", ii mbei, "he is not here", i ya semei bu, "he has gone to court".

Since specific questions other than those of the type o mahsi? "what about the chief?", differ from statements only in respect of lexical items, and yes/no questions only in respect of intonation or of an additional morpheme hie or kee in final position, it is unnecessary to describe the structure of the several types of question; the description of the structure of the various statement sentences below will be valid also for the corresponding questions. The structure of questions like ta ngi go lo a mehe, hie? "they will give him food, won't they?", for example, is not described here, since this may be regarded as ta ngi go lo a mehe, "they will give him food", + hie, and the structure of statements like ta ngi go lo a mehe is described below. But to questions like o mahsi? "what about the chief?", there are no corresponding statements, and the structure of these must accordingly be described here.
Sentences of this type contain two contrastive positions, the first filled by the particle ɔ, and the second by a pele- or hale-word, an objective complex whose headword is a pele- or hale-word, a subjective complex with a pele-word as headword, or a ta-pronoun.

*e.g.* ɔ mahsi? what about the chief?
  ɔ halei? what about the medicine?
  ɔ bi halei? what about your medicine?
  ɔ bi kenya? what about your uncle?
  ɔ bia? what about you?

### Statements

A considerable part of all Mende grammars is devoted to a description of the verbal system, with paradigms of the various moods and tenses. Crosby lists the following indicative tenses, and sets out a paradigm for each, both affirmative and negative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future Tense</td>
<td>nga gulalo, I shall fall</td>
<td>nges gula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present Cont-</td>
<td>{nyɑ lo gula-ama} I am falling</td>
<td>{ngii gula-ama}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inuous Tense</td>
<td>{ngi gula-ama lo}</td>
<td>{ngii gula-ama}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Tense</td>
<td>ngi gulseilo, I fell</td>
<td>ngii gulani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect Tense</td>
<td>ngi gulanga, I have fallen</td>
<td>ngii gulani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also listed are two sorist tenses and the imperative. The information is then given that the direct object precedes the verb and adverbs follow it. The sentence nga bi gulalo, "I
shall knock you down", would then be described as containing the first person singular of the future tense indicative mood of the verb *kula*, which has here a mutated initial consonant because it is preceded by the object pronoun *bi*.

Not all sentences, however, can be described in terms of the verbal system which is set up. Crosby mentions sentences like *i lols?* "how many is it?", *ti ke yakpe*, "their father one, i.e. they have the same father", *mahei mia*, "that is the chief", which are obviously not describable in terms of the verbal system. It might be thought that sentences in Mende, as in many other languages, could be divided into nominal sentences and verbal sentences, the latter describable in terms of the moods and tenses listed by Crosby, or at any rate a modified version of them. But in fact no satisfactory description of the structure of the various types of sentence found in the language can be given in terms of a traditional verbal system, however this may be modified. The division into verbal sentences and nominal sentences would complicate rather than facilitate such a description. As stated above (page 112), it is held here that a better description is obtained if the difference between for example *nya hale* (___), "my medicine", and *nya hale* (----), "treat me with medicine", is stated, not in terms of a difference in the class to which the headword belongs (noun and verb respectively according to Crosby), but in the kind of complex (objective and subjective respectively); a
of Transformations.
Discoun analysis.
comparable difference obtains in the case of pairs like
nya woli (___), "my ear", and nya woli (____), "my ear", in which
the headword is a pele-word, and which are objective and
subjective complexes respectively.

As no dichotomy is here made into verbal and non-verbal
sentences, a uniform description of all sentence types is made
possible. This may be described briefly as follows. A large
number of sentences was examined and it was found that these
could be arranged in groups on the basis of structural identity.
One group for example contains sentences like nya nyehsia mia a
nyapoi na, "that girl is my wife", nya loi lo, "this is my son",
gbe jongo mia? "how much is it?, mahej wo mia a pelei na, "that
house is the chief's". The minimum form of each sentence type
is determined, and this is described in terms of the number of
contrastive positions it contains, the relative order of these,
and the word classes and complex types which can occur in each
position. Thus for the group containing sentences like nya
nyehsia mia a nyapoi na etc., the minimum form is a sentence like
Kpana mia, "that is Kpana", which is described as containing
two positions, and the word classes and complex types that occur
in each of these are listed. The description of the minimum
sentence is followed by descriptions of longer sentences of the
same structural type, which contain additional contrastive
positions. These longer sentences are said to be expansions, or
expanded forms, of the minimum sentence, or the latter is
implied in the idea of O'Connor's kernel sentence.
sometimes said to be expanded to a longer sentence. Thus
Kpana mia a na, "that is Kpana", is said to be an expansion of
Kpana mia, "it's Kpana". Such 'expansion' terminology is
convenient for describing the relationship between one sentence
and a structurally comparable longer sentence, but it does not
imply, though it may perhaps appear to do so, that the latter is
derived from the former by the addition of some extra element.
Both are independent utterances, each of which could occur by
itself without reference to the other, but for descriptive
purposes it is extremely useful to have some device for handling
structurally comparable sentences of different length.

Two or more minimum forms (or expansions of these) are
often combined in a larger structure. For the purposes of
description it is convenient to make a distinction between
sentences comprising one minimum form (or an expansion of it),
and those comprising two or more of these. The former will
be called Simple Sentences, and the latter Complex Sentences.
The same sequence may of course occur on one occasion as a
simple sentence, and on another as part of a complex sentence.
Some examples of simple and complex sentences are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple</th>
<th>Complex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngii numui na lôni, I did not see that person</td>
<td>ngii numui na lôni ti ñgi waanga, I did not see the person they have killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti ñgi waanga, they have killed him</td>
<td>ngi luwani lo ji ngi kolii lôni,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I was afraid when I saw the leopard

I have come to see you

I went to town yesterday but I did not see the chief

The structure of simple sentences only is described here.

Eight types of simple statement sentence are distinguished; these are:

_Type 1_

Some examples of this type of sentence are:

*nya nyahem mia a na*, that is my wife
*mu walei lo*, this is our house
*hale walei mia*, that is the hospital
*kpana loi mia a ndakpe na*, that young man is kpana's son
*nya wo lo a ji*, this is mine

The minimum form of this type of sentence contains two contrastive positions, the first of which may be filled by:

1) a *pela*– or *hale*-word, definite or indefinite, singular or plural.
e.g. pele mia, that is a house
pelsei mia, that is the house
pel seisia mia, those are the houses

2) an objective complex whose headword is a pele- or hale-word; a subjective complex whose headword is a pele-word.
   e.g. hale weli mia a na, that is the hospital
        nya kenya mia, that is my uncle
        mahsi welci mia, that is the chief's house

3) a ta-pronoun.
   e.g. te mia, that's it

In second position only the emphatic particles mia, lo, le occur
   e.g. mahsi mia, that is the chief
        mahsi lo, this is the chief
        mahsi le, it is the chief

The particle mia connotes distance from the speaker, lo nearness to the speaker.
   e.g. mahsi mia a na, that is the chief (na: that)
        mahsi lo a ji, this is the chief (ji: this)

*mahsi lo a na and *mahsi mia a ji do not occur.

The particle le occurs in strongly emphatic affirmative sentences, and also in negative sentences, in which it alone of the three emphatic particles occurs. Affirmative sentences containing particle le occur rarely, if ever, as initiating sentences, but almost always as replies or responses, most commonly either contradicting a previous speaker or repeating
something which he has found it hard to believe. This last usage may be illustrated:

A. Ye mia a numui na? Who is that person?
B. Mahsi mia. It is the chief.
A. Mahsi mis? Is it the chief?
B. M, mahsi le. Yes, it is the chief.

Sentences of type 1 occur most commonly as question and linked answer.

e.g. Bi wo mia? M, nya wo mia. Is that yours?
Yes, it is mine.

Bi nyapoi lo? M, nya nyapoi mia. Is this your girl friend? Yes, she is my girl friend.

Ye mia? Nya mia. Who is it? It's me.

These examples also illustrate a feature characteristic of all question and answer exchanges in the language, namely that the linked answer is very often modelled on the question. But it should be noticed that in the second example lo occurs in the question, but mia in the answer. This is of course due to the difference in distance from the speaker connoted by these particles.

The grammatical meaning of the minimum form of type 1 sentences may be said to be identification:

mahsi mia, that is the chief

nya nyapoi lo, this is my girl friend.

In an expanded form of very common occurrence two things are identified with each other:
mahi mia a kensi na, that elderly man is chief
nya nyahi mia a nyapoi na, that girl is my wife
nya wo lo a senii ji, this bottle is mine

In expanded forms of this kind the position following the emphatic particle is occupied by a phrase whose first immediate constituent is a, and whose second immediate constituent is a word or complex of the kind listed for first position except that the ngi-pronouns occur instead of the ta-pronouns. In expanded forms ta-pronouns do not occur in first position, and the emphatic particle le does not occur in second position.

e.g. mahei mia a Kpana, Kpana is chief
nya kenyia mia a mahei, the chief is my uncle
mahi mia a nya kenyia, my uncle is chief
maha mia a ngie, he is chief
Mendebla mia a tie, they are Mendelemen

The negative is formed with the negative particle ii, which occurs before the emphatic particle le; emphatic particles mia and lo do not occur in negative sentences.

e.g. mahi ii le, it is not the chief
nya ii le, it's not me

In negative sentences where an a-phrase follows the emphatic particle le, the sequence ii le a is always pronounced yaa, end.

1. Initial 1 of le and lo is often dropped, and in the case of lo assimilation commonly occurs between o and the final vowel of the preceding word.

e.g. nya lo wama, "I am coming", > nya wama.
sentences which will be called type 1a. Some examples of these are:

nyandengo
nyandengo le  }  that is good

nya highengo a ngendesi ji
nya highengo le a ngendesi ji  }  I am ill this morning

nya gahu gboyongo
nya gahu gboyongo le  }  I am tired

ndopoi na gbiango a ngi ke
ndopoi na gbiango le a ngi ke  }  that boy resembles his father

nyapoi na nyandengo
nyapoi na nyandengo le  }  that girl is pretty

First position may be filled by a derived psele-word consisting of a hale-word stem + -ngo, or by a subjective complex whose headword is a ngi-form and whose first immediate constituent is a definite singular psele- or hale-word or complex, or a ngi-pronoun, or it may be missing; some indefinite singular psele-words occur as first immediate constituent, but only such as never (or very rarely) occur with the definite singular suffix (i.e. proper names, senior kinship terms and demonstratives). Second position may be filled only by the emphatic particle le.

The particle le does not normally occur in initiating
sentences of type 1, but is found in strongly emphatic replies and responses of this type. In sentences of type la, on the other hand, le, but not imia or lo, occurs in initiating sentences. A further important difference between sentences of type 1 and those of type la is that in the latter, but not in the former, the emphatic particle is frequently omitted. The above examples illustrate pairs of sentences the members of which differ in respect of the presence or absence of the particle le. Sentences containing le are somewhat more emphatic than the corresponding sentences without le.

A type 3 complex can support a preceding plural expression.

* e.g. nyapoisia ti nyandengo (le), the girls are pretty
   ti nyandengo (le), they are pretty

* maa Kpana mu highengo (le), Kpana nad I are ill
   mu highengo (le), we are ill.

Expanded forms of type la sentences are common in which an expression of place, time, or manner follows the emphatic particle.

* e.g. nya highengo (le) ha, I am ill today
   ti highengo (le) a ngendei ji, they are ill this morning
   ji gbatengo (le) a ngului, this is made of wood

Two of these expressions may occur together, but this is rare
except where one of them is *wa*, "very much", which always comes first.

*E.g.* nya longō (le) wa a nyapoi ji, I like this girl very much.

The negative is formed with the negative particle *ii*, which occurs before particle *le*. In negative sentences *le* is never omitted.

*E.g.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngi nyandengo} & \quad \text{she is pretty} \\
\text{ngi nyandengo le} & \\
\text{ngi nyandengo ii le}, & \quad \text{she is not pretty.}
\end{align*}
\]

Negative sentences of this type are rare; the negative is nearly always supplied by a negative sentence of type 6.

*E.g.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngi nyandengo (le),} & \quad \text{she is pretty} \\
\text{ii nyandeni,} & \quad \text{she is not pretty}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nya higbengo (le),} & \quad \text{I am ill} \\
\text{ngii higbeni,} & \quad \text{I am not ill}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mbsi gboyǒngō (le),} & \quad \text{the rice is finished} \\
\text{mbsi ii gboyoni,} & \quad \text{the rice is not finished}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nyapoisia ti nyandengo (le),} & \quad \text{the girls are pretty} \\
\text{nyapoisia tii nyandeni,} & \quad \text{the girls are not pretty}
\end{align*}
\]
Type 2

Some examples of this type of sentence are:

ngi mengo, I have eaten it
i halei gbolingo, he has drunk the medicine
ti mbei mengo, they have eaten the rice.

The minimum form of this type of sentence has two contrastive positions. In first position occur:

1. a singular pele- or hale-word or a complex having one of these as headword.
2. an i-pronoun

In second position occur:

1. a nga-form or a subjective complex having a nga-form as headword.

A plural i-pronoun in first position can support a preceding plural expression.

e.g. ndopoisia ti mbei mengo, the boys have eaten the rice.

cf. ti mbei mengo, they have eaten the rice.

In the above example the third person plural pronoun ti supports the preceding plural pele-word ndopoisia.

The kinds of words and complexes that occur in second position in a type 2 sentence are such as constitute sentences of type 1a; thus mengo, "it is eaten", halei gbolingo, "the medicine is drunk", mbei mengo, "the rice is eaten", which occur in the sentences ngi mengo, "I have eaten it", i halei gbolingo, "he has drunk the medicine", ti mbei mengo, "they
"have eaten the rice", can each occur as a complete utterance. Sentences of type 2 are to be carefully distinguished from those of type 1a, with which they may easily be confused, especially in writing. Compare for example:

- *ti mbei mango*, they have eaten the rice. Type 2.  
- *ti bei mango*, their rice has been eaten. Type 1a.

The first sentence has immediate constituents *ti*, "they", and *mbei mango*, "the rice has been eaten", whereas the second has immediate constituents *ti bei*, "their rice", and *mango*, "has been eaten". The two sentences are distinguished not only by the difference of initial consonant in *mbei/bei*, but also by tone pattern:

- *ti mbei mango* (\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_)  
- *ti bei mango* (\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_)  

*ti bei* is an objective genitival complex.

But in some cases sentences of the two types differ overtly only in respect of tone pattern, and hence in writing structural ambiguity occurs.

E.g. *ti halei gbolingo* (\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_), they have drunk the medicine. Type 2.

Immediate constituents: *ti*, "they", and *halei gbolingo*, "the medicine has been drunk".

- *ti halei gbolingo* (\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_), their medicine has been drunk. Type 1a.

Immediate constituents: *ti halei*, "their medicine", and *gbolingo*, "has been drunk".
Sentences of type 2 are extremely rare, and all those encountered have been short, consisting of two or three words each. No expanded forms have been found, and neither has a negative form.

It may be noted here that sentences of type 2 differ little in grammatical meaning from those of type 7, which are very much commoner. Thus corresponding to the type 2 sentences \( \text{n\-\text{mb}e\text{i} \text{m}e\text{n}g\text{o}} \), "I have eaten the rice", \( \text{i\_h\text{a}l\text{e}\text{i}} \text{\text{g}b\text{o}l\text{i}n\text{g}o} \), "he has drunk the medicine", are the much commoner type 7 sentences \( \text{n\-\text{mb}e\text{i} \text{m}e\text{n}g\text{o}} \), "I have eaten the rice", and \( \text{i\_h\text{a}l\text{e}\text{i}} \text{\text{g}b\text{o}l\text{i}n\text{g}o} \), "he has drunk the medicine".

Type 3

Some examples of this type of sentence are:

\( \text{w}u \text{ l}o\text{l}e? \mu\mu \text{s}a\text{w}a, \) how many are you? we are three
\( \text{n}y\text{a}p\text{o}i\text{s}i\text{a} \text{t}i \text{l}o\text{l}e? \text{t}i \text{n}a\text{n}i, \) how many girls are there?
there are four.

The minimum form of this type of sentence has two contrastive positions. In first position occur:

1. a singular p\text{c}e\text{l}e-word or h\text{a}l\text{e}-word or a complex having one of these as headword.
2. an i-pronoun.

In second position occur:

1. numerals, either unaffixed or with suffix -\text{kpe}.
2. the interrogative p\text{c}e\text{l}e-word \text{l}o\text{l}e, "how many?"

An expression in first position can support a preceding
plural expression.

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{maa } \text{Kpna } \text{mu } \text{ke } \text{yakpe, } \text{Kpna and I have the same father.} \]

\[ \text{nyapoisia ti sawa, the girls are three in number.} \]

Here the plural expressions \textit{maa Kpne} \textit{?} \textit{"Kpna and I"}, and \textit{nyapoisia}, \textit{"the girls"}, are supported by \textit{mu ke}, \textit{"our father"}, and \textit{ti}, \textit{"they"}, respectively.

The minimum form may be expanded by a 'time' expression following second position, but such expansions are not common.

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{wu lolc ha? how many are you today?} \]

\[ \text{mu naani a ngendci ji, we are four this morning.} \]

It may be noted that 'place' expressions do not occur after second position; \textit{wu lolc mbei?}, for example does not occur (\textit{mbei, "here"}). Instead the sentence \textit{wu lolc wu mbei?}, \textit{"how many of you are there here?"}, is found. This is a complex sentence, and is not further considered here.

The negative is formed with the negative particle \textit{ii}, which occurs between first and second positions of the minimum form.

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{mu ke ii yakpe, we do not have the same father.} \]

Where \textit{ii} follows an \textit{i}-pronoun, the following contractions occur:

\[ \text{ngi ii } \text{> ngii} \]
\[ \text{bi ii } \text{> bii} \]
\[ \text{i ii } \text{> ii} \]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>en-pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I with one of these as breathed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I without a complex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I or a singular particle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set out thus:

The most fully expanded form of a type 2 sentence may be

we, we not your, there are not your or we

we, we not theirs' the theirs are not theirs in number

\( \text{t} \text{t} \text{t} < \text{t} \text{t} \text{t} \<\text{t} \text{t} < \text{t} \text{t} \text{t} <\text{t} \text{t} \text{t} \)
levalei Bo lo, the speaker is in Bo
levalei lo Bo, the speaker is in Bo
mahei mi lo? where is the chief?
mahei lo mi? where is the chief?

As illustrated by these examples, pairs of sentences of type 4 occur which differ in respect of the position of the particle lo. A difference in the position of lo is correlated with a difference in emphasis; in the first member of each pair the second word or complex is strongly emphatic or contrastive.

e.g. mahsi Bo lo, the chief is in Bo
   mahsi lo Bo, the chief is in Bo.

Of these two sentences, the second may occur as an initiating sentence and also as reply to a question like mahsi lo mi?, "where is the chief?", the first in reply to a question like mahsi mi lo?, "where exactly is the chief?", or as a response contradicting a previous speaker.

e.g. A. Mahsi lo Daru ha, the chief is in Daru today
    B. M-m, mahsi Bo lo, no, the chief is in Bo.

The kind of description appropriate for sentences of types 1 - 3 must be modified for sentences of type 4. The simplest account is achieved by describing, as hitherto, those elements of the sentence other than lo, together with a statement of the places in which lo occurs. For example, the sentences mahsi lo Bo and mahsi Bo lo are regarded as
having two contrastive positions, here filled by mahei and Bo respectively, together with lo, which may occur after the expression in first or second position. The simplest description is secured by regarding lo as forming a phrase with the preceding word or complex, and such a phrase as occupying one contrastive position in the structure of type 4 sentences. Thus in mahei lo Bo, position 1 is occupied by the phrase mahei lo, and position 2 by Bo; in mahei Bo lo, position 1 is occupied by mahei, and position 2 by Bo lo. If lo were assigned to a separate contrastive position, then four positions would have to be recognized for sentences like mahei lo Bo and mahei Bo lo, with lo occurring in either position 2 or position 4:

```
  mahei lo  Bo
```

the chief is in Bo

```
  mahei  Bo lo
```

the chief is in Bo.

Such a treatment would greatly complicate the description of sentences like ngi bia lo lolini, "I called you", and nga bia lo loli, "I shall call you", and is therefore not adopted here. In the description of all sentence types in which lo can occur in any one of two or more positions, the kinds of words and complexes other than lo that occur in each position will be listed first, followed by a statement of the distribution of lo.

Sentences of this type have two contrastive positions. In the first position occur:

1. a singular pcle- or hale-word or a complex having one of these as headword.
2. a plural pele- or hale-word or complex if the complex occurs in first position.

3. an i-pronoun.

4. a te-pronoun if the complex occurs in first position.

In second position occur expressions of 'place'; these are all pele-words or complexes whose second immediate constituent is a pele-word. They may be grouped into:

a) geographical names

b) a few words like mbei, "here", miendo, "yonder", na, "there"

c) some mahu-words like kulo, "in front", mehu, "on top", poma, "behind", or a complex whose second immediate constituent is a mahu-word, e.g. pelei bu, "in the house" sokui bu, "in the corner". Also included here are complexes having as second immediate constituent the mahu-word va, "for", e.g. bi va, "for you".

d) the interrogative mi, "where?".

e) a definite singular derived pele-word in -ma, or a complex with this as second immediate constituent, e.g. muamei, "the wash place", ti waamei, "the place where they are slaughtered".

The emphatic particle lo can occur:

a) after a word or complex in first position.
   e.g. mahci lo Bo, the chief is in Bo.

b) after a word or complex in second position.
   e.g. mahci Bo lo, the chief is in Bo.
c) in the first immediate constituent of a complex in second position.

* e.g. i mehei lo va, it is for the chief.

In *i mehei lo va*, first position is filled by *i*, second position by *mehei lo va*; *mehei lo va* is a complex with immediate constituents *mehei lo* and *va*.

A word or complex in second position is strongly emphatic or contrastive where *lo* occurs after it.

A plural pronoun in first position can support a preceding plural expression.

* e.g. mahsisia ti Bo lo, the chiefs are in Bo.

Here *mahsisia* is supported by the third person plural pronoun *ti*.

A plural expression can occur in first position if *lo* follows, but not otherwise.

* e.g. mahsisia lo Bo, the chiefs are in Bo.

The *ta*-pronouns occur in first position if *lo* follows, otherwise the *i*-pronouns occur.

* e.g. ta lo Bo, he is in Bo

* i Bo lo, he is in Bo

* tia lo pelesi bu, they are in the house

* ti pelesi bu lo, they are in the house.

Partâcle *lo* occurs after the *ta*-pronouns, but not after pronouns of any other series. Thus first constituent of a complex in second position may be a *ngi*-pronoun or a phrase
consisting of ta-pronoun + lo, but not a phrase consisting of ngi-pronoun + lo.

  e.g. mbei ji lo bi va, this rice is for you
  mbei ji bia lo va, this rice is for you.
In the first example bi va is a complex type 3 having immediate constituents bi and va; bi is the second person singular ngi-pronoun, va is a mahu-word, allomorph of te, "for".

In the second example bia lo va is a complex type 6, having immediate constituents bia lo and va; bia lo is a phrase consisting of the second person singular ta-pronoun bia + the emphatic particle lo.

The minimum form of this type of sentence may be expanded by a 'time' expression following position 2.

  e.g. ta lo Bo ha, he is in Bo today
  ta lo semsi bu a ngendei ji, he is in court today
Expressions of 'place' can occur after second position, but this is rare.

  e.g. ta lo semsi bu Bo, he is in the court in Bo.
A time expression and a place expression may occur together after position 2, but this is extremely rare; the place expression comes first.

  e.g. ta lo semsi bu Bo a ngendei ji, he is in the court at Bo this morning.
The minimum form of type 4 sentences may also be expanded by
naa, "now", and ye,"How?", which occur between positions 1 and
2. When naa occurs between the two basic positions, lo occurs in position 1. Naa occurs between the two basic positions in sentences like:

nya lo naa mbei hawa fele va, I have been here for two hours.

mua lo naa Bo foo sawa va, we have been in Bo for three years.

Where ye, "how?", occurs between the two basic positions, the second of these is filled only by na, "there"; the emphatic particle lo does not occur in a sentence containing ye, "how?".

e.g. i ye na? how is it?

ti ye na? how are they?

The negative is formed with the negative particle ii, which occurs between the two basic positions; naa, "now", and ye, "how?", do not occur in negative sentences. The emphatic particle lo does not occur in negative sentences, hence there is only one negative sentence corresponding to affirmative pairs like mahsi lo Bo, "the chief is in Bo", and mahsi Bo lo, "the chief is in Bo", which differ in respect of the position of lo. Corresponding to these two affirmative sentences is the single negative sentence mahsi ii Bo, "the chief is not in Bo".

Some further examples of negative sentences of type 4 are:

mahcisia tii semsi bu, the chiefs are not in the court

tii is a contraction of ti ii; ti supports the
preceding definite plural pule-word maheisia, "the chiefs".

ngii Bo, I am not in Bo, I do not live in Bo.

ngii is a contraction of ngi ii.

levalei ii mbei, the speaker is not here

hani gbi ii na, there is nothång there

Type 5

Some examples of this type of sentence are:

nya lo lima tsi hu, I am going to town

bi ye lima? where are you going?

tie lo yengema mahei va, they are working for the chief

Kpana lo wama mbei sange, Kpana is coming here soon

ndskpeisia lo lima ndoli gema, the young men are going dancing

mue lo lima ndo gbolimei, we are going to the drinking place

nyapoisia lo totoma naa a mbei hiyala, the girls are now beginning to pound rice

mua lo namskoime a piela panda, we are trying to do it well

bi na wiema ye lo va? for whom are you doing that?

ngi piema mahci lo va, I am doing it for the chief

nya lo piema mahci va, I am doing it for the chief.

The minimum form of a type 5 sentence has two contrastive positions. In first position odcur:
1. a singular pēle- or hale-word or a complex with one of these as headword.

2. a plural pēle- or hale-word or complex where lo follows in first position.

3. an i-pronoun.

4. a te-pronoun where lo follows in first position.

Second position can be filled by an indefinite singular ma-form or by a subjective complex whose headword is a ma-form. The emphatic particle lo can occur:

1. in first position following any of the expressions listed above except those in (3).

2. in a phrase forming first immediate constituent of a subjective complex in second position.

3. following the ma-form in second position.

e.g. 1. mahei lo nikei waama, the chief is killing the cow.

   mehei lo nikei waama has immediate constituents mehei lo and nikei waama.

   mehei lo is a phrase having immediate constituents mehei and emphatic particle lo.

   nikei waama is a subjective complex type 2 having immediate constituents nikei and waama.

2. mahei nikei lo waama, the chief is killing the cow.

   mehei nikei lo waama has immediate constituents mehei and nikei lo waama.

   nikei lo waama is a subjective complex type 6 having
immediate constituents **nikse lo** and **weama**.

**nikse lo** is a phrase having immediate constituents **nikse** and **lo**.

3. **mahei nikse waama lo**, the chief is **killing** the cow.

**mahei nikse waama lo** has immediate constituents **mahei** and **nikse waama lo**.

**nikse waama lo** is a phrase having immediate constituents **nikse waama** and **lo**.

**nikse waama** is a subjective complex type 2 having immediate constituents **nikse** and **weama**.

Sentence (1) above can occur as an initiating sentence and as a reply, but sentences (2) and (3) normally occur as replies or responses only; **nikse**, "cow", in sentence (2) and **weama**, "killing", in (3) are strongly emphatic or contrastive.

The minimum form of a type 5 sentence is structurally comparable with that of a type 4 sentence, from which it differs in respect of the kind of words and complexes that can occur in second position. But in this respect also they are very similar, since second position in a type 5 sentence may be filled by an indefinite singular ma-form, and the corresponding position in a type 4 sentence by a definite singular ma-form.

e.g. **nya lo ndo gbolima**, I am drinking  *type 5*.

**nya lo ndo gbolimei**, I am at the drinking place.

*Type 4.*
tia lo ndoli gama, they are dancing. Type 5.
tia lo ndoli gamei, they are at the dancing place. Type 4.

Clearly sentences like nya\ndo\ gbolima and nya\lo\ ndo\ gbolimei could be assigned to a single sentence type, but a simpler description of expanded forms is achieved if two types are distinguished. Further, the grammatical meanings of the two types of sentence are different; sentences of type 4 express location, those of type 5 continuous action, or, less commonly, future action.

e.g. Type 4

\text{ta lo Bo, he is in Bo} \quad \text{ta lo wama, he is coming}

\text{ta lo muamei, he is at the wash place.}

Type 5

\text{ta lo muama, he is washing.}

Expanded forms of type 5 sentences are very common; several kinds of expressions modify the ma-form. These, which occur after position 2, may be grouped notionally into:

1. 'Time' expressions.

e.g. gbengi, yesterday

\text{Monde ma, on Monday}

\text{a ngendei ji, this morning}

\text{hokii na hu, last week}

\text{ge, recently}

\text{ha, today}

\text{woo, long ago}
2. 'Place' expressions.

   e.g. Bo
   tse i hu, in town
   Puu lolei hu, in England
   miando, yonder
   mbei, here
   tibii ma, on the table.

3. 'Manner' expressions.

   e.g. panda, well
   a loko, with the fingers
   wa, very much
   dauq, brightly
   heima fele, twice
   gbug, with a thud
   lele, slowly

4. 'Purpose' expressions.

   e.g. mehe va, for the chief
   mehc va, for food

Two, or more of these can occur together; the order is not fixed, but where la, "with it", or an ideophone occurs, this generally comes first.

   e.g. nya lo lima Bo sina
   nya lo lome sine Bo
   I am going to Bo tomorrow

   nya lo pieme ha bi va
   nya lo pieme bi va ha
   I am doing it for you today
There is no structural limitation on the number of expressions of time, place, etc. which can follow second position, but in practice it is found that sentences containing more than three such expressions rarely, if ever, occur. Here an upper limit of three will accordingly be assumed. Since the order of these with respect to each other is free (there is, for example, no difference of usage between the members of the above pairs of examples), they are assigned to a single contrastive position which is subdivided into three parts, a, b, and c, the order of which is not fixed relative to each other.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g.</th>
<th>Position 1</th>
<th>Position 2</th>
<th>Position 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nya lo</td>
<td>lima</td>
<td>tsi hu</td>
<td>sina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nya lo</td>
<td>lima</td>
<td>sina</td>
<td>tsi hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nya lo</td>
<td>lima</td>
<td>mbei va</td>
<td>sina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nya lo</td>
<td>lima</td>
<td>mbei va</td>
<td>tsi hu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"I am going to town for rice tomorrow".

Two expressions may form a single unit, the order within the unit being fixed though the position of the unit as a whole is not fixed with respect to the other expressions in position 3.

| e.g. | nya lo lima Bo sina a ngendi, | I am going to Bo tomorrow morning |
|      | nya lo lima sina a ngendi Bo, |

No other word order is possible. Compare now:

| nya lo lima Bo a ngendi ji, | I am going to Bo this morning |
| nya lo lima a ngendi ji Bo, |

[nye lo lima Bo sina]
In the first two examples, *síng a ngendeci*, "tomorrow morning", is, at the sentence level, a single unit. Such units are not common; some further examples are:

- *Monde me a ngendeci*, on Monday morning
- *Chengi a kpoke*, yesterday evening
- *Monde me hokii ji mi*, on Monday this week.

Type 5 sentences may be further expanded beyond position 3; following third position three other contrastive positions are distinguished. The kinds of expression that occur in each position of the most fully expanded form are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular <em>i-le</em> or half-word or complex.</td>
<td>an indefinite singular <em>ma</em>-form or a subjective complex with a <em>ma</em> as headword.</td>
<td>expressions of time, place, manner, purpose</td>
<td>an indefinite singular <em>ma</em>-form or a complex with this as headword.</td>
<td>an <em>a</em>-phrase whose second immediate constituent is a <em>la</em>-form or a complex with this as headword.</td>
<td>expressions of time, place, manner, reason.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a plural <em>i-le</em> or half-word or complex where <em>la</em> follows, an <em>i</em>-pronoun.</td>
<td>a <em>la</em>-pronoun where <em>la</em> follows.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Expressions in position 6 modify the a-phrase or ma-form in position 5, or, where position 5 is not filled, the expression in position 4. Sentences in which position 5 is filled are rare; an example is *nya lo totoma a gilila a piele*, "I am beginning to think about doing it". In position 4 only about six ni-forms occur, and all are such as denote posture; the commonest of these are:

- heini, seated
- loni, standing
- heleni, hanging
- weleni, kneeling
- lani, lying.

Some examples of expanded type 5 sentences are:

- *nya lo lima ndoli gama a kpokoi ji*, I am going dancing this evening
- *nya lo ngi gbema mehe mema a loko*, I am watching him eating with his fingers
- *mua lo lima jessiema tei hu*, we are going for a walk in town
- *nya lo namakoima a piele panda*, I am trying to do it well
- *ta lo totoma a yepela*, he is beginning to speak
- *tia lo ngi gbema lani mbomei hu*, they are watching him lying in the hammock
- *nya lo lima tei hu mbei va*, I am going to town for rice
- *nya lo lima pelsei bu mehe me va*, I am going into the house to eat
tia lo wama mbei mu waa va, they are coming here to kill us.

The emphatic particle lo may occur in position 3 or in position 4, though it is not common in the latter. Where it occurs in position 3, only one expression of time, place, etc. normally occurs. Thus in reply to the question bia lo lima Daru ha?, "are you going to Daru today?", a possible answer is m-m, ngi lima Bo lo, "no, I am going to Bo", or, m-m, ngi lima sina lo, "no, I am going tomorrow". That is, in a reply in which the 'time' is emphasized, the 'place' is not mentioned, and vice versa. But it is possible, though rare, for a sentence to contain two expressions of time, place etc., with lo following one of them. For example, in reply to the question bia lo lima Daru ha?: "are you going to Daru today?", a possible, though unlikely, answer is m-m, ngi lima Bo lo ha; ngi lima Daru sina lo, "no, I am going to Bo today; I am going to Daru tomorrow".

In a sentence containing the interrogative ye, "who?", gbe, "what?" or mi, "where?", the emphatic particle occurs immediately after the interrogative.

e.g.
bi gbe lo wiema? what are you doing?
bi na gbatema a gbe lo? what are you making that with?
bi ye lo lolima? whom are you calling?
bi gilima a ye lo? whom are you thinking about?
bi lima mi lo? where are you going?
bi piema ye lo va? for whom are you doing it?

Type 5 sentences may be further slightly expanded by the occurrence between first and second positions of one of the following words:

nee, now
ye, how?
ii, 'negative particle'

Naa occurs between positions 1 and 2 only where the former is filled by a ta-pronoun + lo.

e.g.
nya lo nna lima pelsi bu, I am now going home
ya lo nna yengema Bo, he is now working in Bo
nya lo nna piema, I am now doing it.

The difference between these three sentences and the corresponding sentences in which nna occurs in position 3 (e.g. nna lo piema nna, "I am doing it now") seems to be merely stylistic.

In a sentence containing the interrogative particle ye, "how?", the emphatic particle lo does not occur.

e.g.
bi ye piema? how are you doing it?
ti ye mbsi yilima? how are they cooking the rice?

The interrogative particle ye, "how?", is in most cases readily distinguished from the interrogative pelc-word ye, "who?", by the occurrence of the particle lo after the latter.
e.g.

ti ye tolima? how are they calling it, what are they calling it?

ti ye lo lolima? whom are they calling?

ti ye paama? how are they killing it?

In sentences 1 and 3 the interrogative particle ye, "how?", occurs between positions 1 and 2 of the basic sentence; in sentences 2 and 4 the second position is filled by the subjective complexes ye lo lolima and ye lo waama respectively; ye lo lolima is a subjective complex type 6 having immediate constituents ye lo and lolima, ye lo is a phrase having immediate constituents interrogative pelc-word ye, "who?", and the emphatic particle lo.

In sentences 2 and 4 the ma-forms have mutated initial consonants (lolima, waama) since these are the headwords of subjective complexes, the first immediate constituent of which is in each case the phrase ye lo. The ma-forms in some sentences 1 and 3, on the other hand, have unmutated initial consonants (tolima, paama) since they are not headwords of complexes. But in comparable sentences where the initial consonants of the ma-form is outside the consonant mutation system (e.g. in the ma-forms of hale-words which are loans or which have an initial nasal or h) only the presence or absence of the particle lo distinguishes the interrogative pelc-word ye, "who?", from the interrogative particle of the same shape.
e.g.

- ti ye pawama? how are they paying it?
- ti ye lo pawama? whom are they paying?
- ti ye houma? how are they seizing it?
- ti ye lo houma? whom are they seizing?

Again, only the presence or absence of lo identifies ye as the pile-word, "who?", or the particle, "how?", in the pair of sentences:

- ti ye gulama? how are they falling?
- ti ye lo gulama? whom are they knocking down?

In the first example, the interrogative particle ye, "how?", occurs between the pronoun ti in first position, and, in second position, the complex gulama, the first of whose immediate constituents is missing. Second position in the second example is filled by the complex ye lo gulama, which has immediate constituents ye lo and gulama; ye lo is a phrase consisting of the interrogative pile-word ye, "who?", and the emphatic particle lo.

The negative is formed with the negative particle ii, which occurs between positions 1 and 2 of the basic sentence; the emphatic particle lo does not occur in negative sentences.

- mahei ii wama mbei, the chief is not coming here
- tii yapema, they are not talking (tii < ti ii)
- Kpane ii lima Bo sina, Kpane is not going to Bo tomorrow.
A single negative sentence may correspond to several affirmative sentences which differ in respect of the position of the emphatic particle lo. Thus for example corresponding to the affirmative sentences,

Kpana lo niksi waama ha, Kpana is killing the cow today
Kpana niksi lo waama ha, Kpana is killing the cow today
Kpana niksi waama ha lo, Kpana is killing the cow today,

is the single negative sentence Kpana ii niksi waama ha, "Kpana is not killing the cow today".

**Type 6**

Some examples of this type of sentence are:

ngi lini lo Bo gbengi, I went to Bo yesterday
mahsi na leni lo, the chief said that
bi gbe lo wieni a mbsi? what did you do with the rice?
ti ye lo wumbuni a mahsi? whom did they elect chief?
ti lini mi lo? where did they go?

The minimum form of this type of sentence has two contrastive positions. In first position occur:

1. a singular pelc- or hale-word or complex.
2. a plural pelc- or hale-word or complex where lo follows.
3. an i-pronoun.
4. a te-pronoun where lo follows.
Second position may be filled by the ni-form or a hele-word or by a complex whose headword is a ni-form.

A plural pronoun in first position can support a preceding plural expression.

*e.g.* nyapoisia ti pieni lo,     the girls did it
ti pieni lo,                      they did it

maa Kpama mu lini lo,             Kpama and I went
mu lini lo,                       we went

Most affirmative sentences of type 6 contain the emphatic particle lo, but sentences without lo, though much rarer, do occur. A difference of grammatical meaning is correlated with the presence or absence of lo; sentences in which lo occurs elsewhere than in first position express action associated with a point or period of time completely past; those without lo describe a characteristic.

*e.g.*

    ti higbeni lo,     they fell ill
ti higbeni,         they are sickly

1. Suffix-ni is here always so written, though in speech it is usually shortened to -i, which in the standard spelling is always written where lo follows.

*e.g.* ngi lini Bo lo,     I went to Bo
    ngi lill Bo,         I went to Bo.

Here ngi lini lo Bo is written.

Suffix -ni has an allomorphc zero, which occurs only with ye, "be".

*e.g.* ngi lini 3q lo,     I went to Bo
    ngi ye Bo lo,        I was in Bo.
ti nyandeni lo, they became pretty

ti nyandeni, they are pretty

ti gutuni lo, they became short

ti gutuni, they are short.

Only a comparatively few ni-forms can occur in affirmative initiating sentences without lo; all are headwords of complexes whose first immediate constituent is [missing].

Sentences of type 6 in which lo occurs in position 1 denote a present state.

E.g., ta lo lani, he is lying

ta lo heini, he is seated

ta lo loni, he is standing.

Particle lo can occur in first position only where second position is filled by a complex whose first immediate constituent is [missing] and whose second immediate constituent is one of about six ni-forms, the commonest of which are: heini, "seated", loni, "standing", lani, "lying", welesi, "kneeling", heleni, "hanging".

Some type 6 sentences in which lo does not occur differ little, if at all, in meaning from the corresponding type la sentences:

E.g.

{ ti nyandeni } they are pretty

ti nyandengo }
i nyandeni  
ngi nyandengi  

he is handsome

ti gutuni  
ti gutungo  

they are short

i gutuni  
ngi gutungo  

he is short

The first member of each pair consists of a third person i-pronoun in first position, followed in second position by a complex whose first immediate constituent is missing, and whose second immediate constituent is a ni-form. The second member of each pair consists of a subjective complex type 3 whose first immediate constituent is a third person ngi-pronoun, and whose second immediate constituent is a ng-Form.

But in some cases there is a clear semantic difference between corresponding sentences of the two types.

E.g. ti higbeni, they are sickly
      ti higbengo, they are sick.

Expanded forms of type 6 sentences in which la does not occur are extremely rare (except negative sentences), and the following description of expanded forms is accordingly confined to sentences in which la occurs. Following position 2 of the basic sentence four contrastive positions are distinguished. The kinds of expression that occur in positions 3-6 of type 6 sentences are the same as those that occur in positions 3-6.
of type 5 sentences, and which are listed on page 187, except that to the list of expressions that occur in position 4 is to be added an a-phrase whose second immediate constituent is an indefinite singular hele-word or a complex having this as headword. This a-phrase occurs only after ye, "be, become", in position 2; after all other ni-forms in position 1, the corresponding a-phrase in position 4 consists of a + a le-form or a complex with a le-form as headword. E.g. ngi totoni lo a piela, I began to do it ngi ye¹ lo a pie, I used to do it

mu kpoyoni lo a lila Bo folo gbi ma, we stopped going to Bo every day

mu ye¹ lo a li Bo folo gbi ma, we used to go to Bo every day.

Sentences in which the emphatic particle lo occurs in first position are described above; the particle lo may also occur:

1. in second position, either following the ni-form or in a phrase which is first immediate constituent of a complex whose headword is a ni-form.

E.g. ngi mbi meni lo gbengi, I ate the rice yesterday.

1. Here ye occurs with the zero allomorph of the suffix -ni.
ngi mbei lo meni, I ate the rice

ti Kpana wumbuni ḫo a mae̱s, they elected Kpana chief

ti Kpana lo wumbuni a mae̱s, they elected Kpana chief.

2. in position 3, either following an expression of time, place, etc., or in a phrase which is first immediate constituent of a complex expressing time, place, etc.
e.g. ngi meni gbengi lo, I ate it yesterday
ti Kpana wumbuni a mae̱s lo, they elected Kpana chief

ngi pieni Kpana lo va, I did it for Kpana

3. in position 4, either following one of the expressions listed for this position, or in a phrase which is first immediate constituent of a complex.
e.g. ngi loni pelsi bu yengema lo, I remained in the house working

ngi lini na Mende yici lo ga̱ama, I went there to learn Mende

bi totoni a gbɛ lo wiela? what did you begin to do?

4. in position 6. Particle lo rarely occurs in this position; in ordinary speech it is found in this position only after an interrogative.
e.g. bi totoni a gilila a gbɛ lo? what did you begin to think about?
bi totoni a lila mi lo? where did you begin to go?

In initiating statements containing the emphatic particle \(lo\), this occurs almost always after the \(ni\)-form in second position, except where this is one of a special list (\(heini\), \(lani\), \(loni\), etc.). Where \(lo\) occurs elsewhere, the word or complex immediately preceding it is strongly emphatic or contrastive; sentences in which \(lo\) occurs elsewhere than after the \(ni\)-form in second position occur most commonly as replies and responses, but they also occur as questions. In specific questions containing \(gbe\)\(^1\), "what?", \(ye\)\(^1\), "who?", or \(mi\), "where?", the particle \(lo\) always follows the interrogative.

\[
\text{e.g.} \quad \text{bi lini mi lo gbengi?} \quad \text{where did you go yesterday?} \\
\text{ngi lini Bo lo,} \quad \text{I went to Bo} \\
\text{ngi lini lo Bo,} \quad \text{I went to Bo} \\
\text{bi lini lo Bo gbengi?} \quad \text{did you go to Bo yesterday?} \\
\text{m, ngi lini lo Bo,} \quad \text{yes, I went to Bo} \\
\text{m-m, ngi lini Daru lo,} \quad \text{no, I went to Daru}
\]

1. The interrogatives \(ye\), "who?", and \(gbe\), "what?", do not occur in first position; sentences like "Who did it?" and "What happened?" are translated in Mende, not by a simple type 6 sentence, but by a complex sentence of which the first clause is type 1 and the second type 6.

\[
\text{e.g.} \quad \text{yeni mia ti pieni?} \quad \text{who (pl.) did it?} \\
\text{cf.} \quad \text{yeni mia?} \quad \text{who are they?} \\
\text{ti pieni lo,} \quad \text{they did it.}
\]
bi totoni a gbe lo wiela? what did you begin to do?
ngi totoni lo a wimela, I began to run.

Type 6 sentences may be expanded by the occurrence of one or more words between the two positions of the basic sentence. Words which occur between positions 1 and 2 are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ye}, & \quad \text{how?} \\
\text{ii}, & \quad \text{'negative particle'} \\
\text{yà}, & \quad (\text{not}) \text{ yet} \\
\text{yà}, & \quad (\text{not}) \text{ again, thereafter, hereafter.}
\end{align*}
\]

Particle ye does not occur with any of the other three particles listed above, and it is also mutually exclusive with the emphatic particle la.

e.g. ti ye na wieni? how did they do that?
ti ye tolini? how/what did they call it?

The negative is formed with the negative particle ii, which occurs between positions 1 and 2 of the basic sentence; the particle lo does not occur in negative sentences.

e.g. Kpana ii wani, Kpana did not come
tii nya goni a mehe, they did not give me food

Particles yà and yà, which are mutually exclusive, occur only after the negative particle.

e.g. Kpane ii yà pieni, Kpane has not done it yet
Kpane ii yà pieni, Kpane did not do it any more
Kpane ii pieni, Kpane did not do it.

The tone pattern, in negative sentences, of a ni-form which
is headword of a complex whose first immediate constituent is missing is to be noted, since in this context all \textit{ni}-forms have level low tone, irrespective of their tone pattern in other contexts. This may be briefly illustrated for a CVCV word of tone pattern \((\cdots)\), e.g. \textit{kutu} \((\cdots)\), "make it short":

**Affirmative**

1) headword of a complex

whose first I.C. is \(\cdots\) \textit{ni} on a high tone \textit{gutu} level high

2) all other contexts \(\cdots\) \textit{ni} on a high tone \textit{k/gutu} level high

**Negative**

1) headword of a complex

whose first I.C. is \(\cdots\) \textit{ni} on a low tone \textit{gutu} level low

2) all other contexts \(\cdots\) \textit{ni} on a low tone \textit{k/gutu} level high

\textit{e.g.} \textit{tii} \textit{gutuni} \((\cdots\cdots)\), they are short

\textit{tii} \textit{kutuni lo} \((\cdots\cdots)\), they shortened it

\textit{tii} \textit{na gutuni lo} \((\cdots\cdots\cdots)\), they shortened that

\textit{tii} \textit{gutuni} \((\_\_\_\_\_)\), they are nor short

\textit{tii} \textit{kutuni} \((\_\_\_\_)\), they did not shorten it

\textit{tii} \textit{na gutuni} \((\_\_\_\_\_)\), they did not shorten that

Where the \textit{ni}-form has a non-mutating initial consonant, only the tone pattern shows whether, in a negative sentence,
the ni-form is headword of a complex whose first immediate constituent is [missing].

e.g.  
\[ t\text{i}i\text{ nyamuni } (\text{l}_\text{---} ), \text{ they are not ugly} \]
\[ t\text{i}i\text{ nyamuni } (\text{l}_\text{-_} ), \text{ they did not make it ugly.} \]

Of these two examples the first may also mean "they did not become ugly", that is, the single negative sentence \[ t\text{i}i\text{ nyamuni} \] corresponds to two affirmative sentences which differ in respect of \[ \text{l}_\text{o} \] :

\[ t\text{i}i\text{ nyamuni}, \text{ they are ugly} \]
\[ t\text{i}i\text{ nyamuni }\text{l}_\text{o}, \text{ they became ugly.} \]

This latter also has the meaning "they made it ugly", but in the corresponding negative sentences the two meanings are distinguished by tone:

\[ t\text{i}i\text{ nyamuni } (\text{l}_\text{___} ), \text{ they did not become ug\text{ly}, they are not ugly} \]
\[ t\text{i}i\text{ nyamuni } (\text{l}_\text{---} ), \text{ they did not make it ugly.} \]

Set out in the table below are affirmative sentences distinguished by the presence or absence of \( \text{l}_\text{o} \), and the corresponding negative sentences distinguished by tone; examples are given of ni-forms with mutating and with non-mutating initial consonants:
### Affirmative

- **ti gutuni (----)**
  "they are short"

- **ti gutuni lo (-----)**
  "they became short"

- **ti kutuni lo (-----)**
  "they made it short"

- **ti nyamuni (-----)**
  "they are ugly"

- **ti nyamuni lo (-----)**
  "they became ugly, they made it ugly"

### Negative

- **tii gutuni (\____), "they are not short, they did not become short"

- **tii gutuni (\____) "they did not make it short"

- **tii kutuni (\____) "they did not make it short"

- **tii nyamuni (\____) "they are not ugly, they did not become ugly"

- **tii nyamuni (\____) "they did not make it ugly"**

### Front Shifting

Certain 'time' expressions may be front shifted; instead of occurring in position 3, they occur before position 1. A front shifted expression is emphatic.

- **Monde ma ngi lini lo Bo, on Monday I went to Bo**
  (cf. **ngi lini lo Bo Monde ma, I went to Bo on Monday**)

- **gbengi ngi lini lo Daru, yesterday I went to Daru**
  (cf. **ngi lini lo Daru gbengi, I went to Daru yesterday**).

A 'time' expression may also be emphatic, not because it is front shifted, but because it is followed by the emphatic
particle lo.
e.g. ngi lini Bo Monde ma lo, I went to Bo on Monday
ngi lini Daru gbengi lo, I went to Daru yesterday.

There is a difference of usage between sentences in which a time expression is front shifted and those in which it is followed by lo. The former are almost always initiating sentences, whereas the latter occur either as replies to questions like migbe mia bi lini Bo? "when did you go to Bo?" or as responses contradicting a previous speaker. Front shifting is rare except in the case of the expression lowo yila ma, "once upon a time", which commonly introduces a folk tale.

e.g. lowo yila ma kena yila ye lo na..., once upon a time there was a man....

In a sentence like this, woo, "long ago", commonly occurs in position 3.

e.g. lowo yila ma kena yila ye lo na woo...., once upon a time long ago there was a man....

Where a front shifted time expression and a plural expression supported by a pronoun in position 1 both occur, the former precedes the latter.

e.g. Monde ma maa Kpane mu lini lo Bo, on Monday Kpane and I went to Bo

lowo yila ma nyaha fele ti ye lo na,, once upon a time there were two women.
In these examples *maa Kpana, "Kpana and I", and nyaha fele, "two women", are supported by the pronouns *mu, "we", and *ti, "they", respectively.

**Type 6a**

A sub-group is set up of sentences which are clearly comparable in structure with type 6 sentences, but which differ from them both in their written form and in their meaning. Some examples of these are:

- *baa pie, don't do it* (2nd p. sing.)
- *waa pie, don't do it* (2nd p. pl.)
- *ngaa ha a ndole, may I not die or hunger*
- *ngaa we lo, I would have come*
- *maa pie lo, we would have done it*
- *maa pie, let us not do it.*

Sentences of this type without *lo* are called by Crosby 'the negative aorist', and by Aginsky 'the negative hortative mood', and both give examples of affirmative and negative commands.

*E.g.* *pie, do it*       *baa pie, don't do it.*

But neither of them mentions sentences of this type where *lo* occurs; these are not common, but they are of considerable interest, since the difference in meaning between a pair like *baa pie, "don't do it", and baa pie lo, "you would have done it", is not comparable with the difference correlated with presence or absence of *lo* in pairs of
sentences of other types. Sentences like ngaa li, "let me not go", baa pie, "don't do it", may be said to have the meaning of negative command, whereas the corresponding sentences containing lo express unreal past conditions: ngaa li lo, "I would have gone", baa pie lo, "you would have done it". In pairs of sentences of other types which differ only in respect of lo, the difference of meaning may be said generally to be that between emphatic and unemphatic sentences. The letter (which do not contain lo) occur most commonly as clauses in complex sentences, e.g. ti pieni lo, they did it

ndopoisia mia ti pieni, it is the boys who did it

ngi kolii loni lo, I saw the leopard

ji ngi kolii loni ngi luwani lo, when I saw the leopard, I was afraid

nga me, I may perhaps eat it

nga me lo, I shall eat it

Forms like baa pie, "don't do it", occur also as the protasis of conditional sentences.

e.g. baa pie ngaa bi lewe lo, if you had done it I would have thrashed you

taa moli maa nde lo ti ma, if they had asked we would have told them.

The form baa pie, then, as a simple sentence is apparently negative, ("don't do it"), but as a clause it is affirmative,
("if you had done it"). This cannot be paralleled by sentences and clauses of any other type. Forms like baa pie occur commonly as protasis of conditional sentences, the apodosis of which expresses a threat, as in the first of the two examples above, and it seems likely that from its use in conditional sentences like baa pie ngaa bi lewe lo, "if you had done it I would have thrashed you", a form like baa pie came to be used alone, the apodosis remaining unsaid. Since the apodosis often expressed a threat of what would follow if the action of the protasis were carried out, the protasis, though affirmative in form, had the force of a negative command. This may be compared with English expressions like:

   Just you try!
   If you dare!
   Just you come near me!

The minimum form of sentences like ngaa_ha, "may I not die", baa pie, "don't do it", could readily be described as having two contrastive positions, in the first of which occur only the pronouns ngaa, baa, ee, maa, waa, tea, and in the second an unaffixed hale-word or a passive complex having a hale-word as headword. But in the case of sentences like baa pie, as in that of sentences of type 6 below, the standard spelling obscures the structure; the forms ngaa, baa, ee, maa, waa, tea may be further analysed, and when
this is done sentences like bea pie can be shown not to constitute a separate sentence type, but to be members of type 6.

Compare for example:

bi totoni lo a yengela, you began to work
bi totoni lo a ngengei, you began the work
bi ye lo a numu yekpe, you were a good man
bi ye lo a pie, you used to do it.

Corresponding to these are the following sentences which differ from them in respect of the position of the emphatic particle lo:

bi totoni a yengela lo, you began to work
bi totoni a ngengei lo, you began the work
bi ye a numu yekpe lo, you were a good man
*bi ye a pie lo,* you would have done it.

This last is contracted in speech and *always* in writing to bea pie lo. The forms ngaa, bea, aa, maa, waa, tsaa are taken to be contractions of ngi ye a, bi ye a, i ye a, mu ye a, wu ye a, ti ye a respectively.

Where a singular pele- or hale-word or complex occurs in first position, ye a contracts to aa. The single form aa is thus a contraction of two different sequences:

1. The sign * is used here to indicate forms which do not occur in speech or in writing, but which are postulated as the forms of which the present spoken and written forms are contractions.
1) ye a
   e.g. mahesi aa li, may the chief not go
   *mahesi ye a li

2) i ye a
   e.g. aa li, may he not go
   *i ye a li

Sentences of type 6a supply the negative of commands in all persons.
e.g. li, go (sing.) baa li, don't go
    a li, go (pl.) waa li, don't go
    mu li, let us go maa li, let us not go
    ya li, keep on going baa ye li, don't keep on going.

The form ye which occurs in the last two examples is clearly a contraction of ye a; thus ya li, "keep on going", is a contraction of *ye a li, which means literally something like "be with go", i.e. "be going". The form ya which occurs in sentences like baa ya li is to be distinguished from the particles of the same shape which occur in negative sentences type 6 (see page 202). Sentences like baa ya li, "don't keep on going, don't continue going", are rare, but clauses of this type are common in complex sentences like:
   ji wie peing baa ya li, do this before you go
   bi bi yengei gbonyon lo peing baa ya mehe me? did you finish your work before you had a meal?
The sequence ye a contracts to ye where a hele-word or complex follows, but does not contract where a psele-word or complex follows.

E.g. bas ya pie, don't keep doing it *bae ye a pie

bae ye a ndemo, don't be a liar.

Finally it may be noted that corresponding to the two sentences ngi ye lo a pie, "I used to do it", and *ngi ye a pie lo > ngaa pie lo, "I would have done it", there is the single negative sentence ngii ye a pie, "I was not in the habit of doing it", in which contraction of ye a does not occur. This latter supplies the negative of ngi ye lo a pie, "I used to do it"; the negative of *ngi ye a pie lo > ngaa pie lo, "I would have done it", is supplied by the complex sentence ngaa wa ngi pie, "I would not have done it" (we, "come").

Type 7

Some examples of sentences of this type are:

mhei wanga, the chief has come

ngi nga helei gbolina, I have drunk my medicine

mbei gboyonga, the rice is finished

njii totonga a wale, it has begun to rain

1. Baa is itself a contraction of *bi ye a (see page 210).
ngi wanga mbei mbei yeya va,  I have come here to buy rice
mu ndenga ngi ma,  we have told him.

The minimum form of this type of sentence has two contrastive positions. In first position occur:

1. a singular pales- or hale-word or complex.
2. an i-pronoun.

Second position is filled by the nga-form of a hale-word, or by a subjective complex having a nga-form as headword.

e.g. ngi pienga,  I have done it
ngi ngengei wienga,  I have done the work.

A plural i-pronoun in first position can support a preceding plural expression.

e.g. nyapoisia ti wanga,  the girls have come
ti wanga, they have come

Musu te Kpene ti wanga,  Musu and Lpene have come

1. Nga has a free variant -a, which often replaces it in rapid speech; thus ngi pienga, "I have done it", occurs in slow and deliberate speech, ngi pienga in more rapid speech. Here the suffix is written -nga in every case except one. The one exception is in the form ya, which occurs for example in mbehi ya Bo, "the chief has gone to Bo", ti ya tei hu, "they have gone to town", Kpene ya pele bu, "Kpene has gone home". In these sentences the nga-form of li, "go", might have been expected, but *linga does not in fact occur. The change *linga > *lia > *ia > ya seems highly probable, but for a synchronic description it seems best to regard the morpheme li, "go", as having allomorphs ndi and y, the latter occurring only before -a. Suffix -nga has allomorph -a; -nga and -a are free variants with all morphemes other than /li y/, with which only -a occurs.
Sentences of type 7 express a present state resulting from a past action.

*e.g.* \( \text{ngi pienga, I have done it.} \)

This is by far the commonest use of type 7 sentences, which are mostly translated by the perfect tense in English, but two other usages are to be noticed:

1) in stories and occasionally in long narratives, to express events associated with a point or period completely past. In ordinary conversation sentences of type 6 would be used.

2) to express an immediate or certain future event.

This usage is rare except in the case of the sentence \( \text{ngi ya, "I have gone"}, \) which is commonly said by a person on the point of departure; this may be compared with English "I'm off".

In expansions of this type of sentence four contrastive positions are distinguished following the nga-form; in these occur those kinds of expressions listed for positions 3 - 6 of type 5 sentences above (see page 187).

Between positions 1 and 2 only the interrogative particle \( \text{ye, "how?"}, \) can occur.

*e.g.* \( \text{ti ye pienga? how have they done it?} \)

The emphatic particle \( \text{lo} \) occurs very rarely in sentences of type 7; where it does occur, the preceding word or complex is strongly emphatic or contrastive. Particle \( \text{lo} \) may occur:
1) in a phrase which is first immediate constituent of a complex whose headword is a nga-form in position 2.
2) after an expression in the first or second position following the nga-form, or in a phrase which is first immediate constituent of a complex in one of these positions.

E.g. ti fongs tei hu lo, they have reached the town
ti wanga mbei Mende yici lo gaama, they have come here to learn Mende.

In the last example Mende yici lo gaama is a subjective complex type 6 having immediate constituents Mende yici lo and gaama.

Gaama is the ma-form of the hale-word gea, an allomorph of kea, "learn it".
Mende yici lo is a phrase having immediate constituents Mende yici and emphatic particle lo.
Mende yici has immediate constituents Mende yie and definite singular suffix -i, with vowel change a > e.
Mende yie is an objective complex type 1 (a compound), having immediate constituents Mende and yie.

The emphatic particle does not occur after the nga-form in simple sentences, but it does occur in this position in clauses which are common in sentences like:

Bi na wienga lo nga bi lewe lo, if you do that I shall thrash you
2-Lb

ngi ngengei ne wienga lo ba nya pawa lo? if I do that work, will you pay me?

bi fonga lo tei hu li bi va mahsi ma, when you reach the town, go and greet the chief

janga lo ngge li, if it rains, I shall not go.

There is no negative form of type 7 sentences; the negative is supplied by negative sentences of type 6 in which ¥a occurs after the negative particle.

e.g. bi bi yengei wienga? m-m, ngii ¥a pieni, have you done your work? no, I have not done it.

ngii ¥a mahsi loni, I have not seen the chief.

Type 8

Some examples of sentences of this type are:

nga li lo Bo sina, I shall go to Bo tomorrow

njai a wa lo sange, it will rain soon

ndakpei na a sigetii gboli wa, that young man smokes heavily

nga ngengei ji wie lo sina, I shall do this work tomorrow

nga ngengei ji wie sina lo, I shall do this work tomorrow

nyapoi nessia ta wa lo mbei folo gbì ma, those girls come here every day

be wella lo, you will bow down, you must bow down
a ndò gbòli wa, he drinks heavily
ngà nya halei gbòli lo naa, I shall drink my medicine now
ngà nya halei gbòli lo folo gbi ma, I drink my medicine every day.

Initiating sentences of this type occur both with and without the emphatic particle lo, the former being by far the commoner. These express:

1) future action; some sentences of this type express present necessity or obligation, and it seems likely that this is the basic meaning, which has in most cases become weakened to a simple future.
   e.g. ngà li lo Bo sina, I shall go to Bo tomorrow.
   ba wele lo, you must kneel, you will kneel

2) habitual action.
   e.g. ngà li lo Bo folo gbi ma, I go to Bo every day
   ngà mba me lo, I eat rice

Sentences without lo are comparatively rare; three uses may be distinguished:

1) to express an action which is characteristic of a person, or for which he is well known.
   e.g. ndakpci na a ndò gbòli wa, that young man drinks heavily
   ndopoi na a wime wa, that boy runs well, is a good runner
"phale commision" (Melikowsky)
2) in questions to which the questioner knows the answer, or to which he is not really interested in knowing the answer, but which he asks out of politeness or to avoid the tension of silence. For example, be li Bo?, "are you going to Bo?", may be said to a person whom the speaker meets on the road to Bo, and who he knows is going to Bo. The question is not intended to elicit information, but rather to express a friendly attitude toward the listener.

In replies, sentences of this type without lo sometimes occur when the speaker does not wish to give a definite answer; such a reply usually implies that the speaker feels that the question should not have been asked. For example, nga me, "I may eat it", may occur in reply to the question be gbe lo wie a mbei na?, "what will you do with that rice?", if the speaker has not decided what he will do with it, or if he does not wish to state definitely what his intentions are; it would commonly connote a feeling on the part of the speaker that what he intended to do with the rice was no concern of the questioner's. The corresponding sentence with lo, on the other hand, expresses the speaker's definite intention: nga me lo, "I shall eat it".

3) a few fixed expressions like:

be to, you see. This is commonly used where something the speaker had previously said
proves to be true,

\textit{ma lo sina}, we shall see each other tomorrow. This is very common at the end of an exchange of greetings, or of a conversation; the response is \textit{m, ma lo}, or \textit{m, ma lo sina}. It may be remarked here that the form \textit{lo} which occurs in these sentences is not the emphatic particle; it is the mutated form of the hale-word \textit{to}, "see it", which is here headword of a complex whose first immediate constituent is \textit{lo}. The standard spelling obscures the structure of sentences of this type and their structural parallelism to sentences of types 5 and 7; the forms \textit{nga, ba, a, ma, wa, ta} which occur in sentences like \textit{nga li lo}, "I shall go", \textit{ba li lo}, "you will go", \textit{a li lo}, "he will go", are described by both Crosby and Aginsky as the pronouns which occur in the future tense. It would be possible to describe the minimum form of a type 8 sentence as containing two contrastive positions, in the first of which occur the pronouns \textit{nga, ba, a, ma, wa, ta}, and in the second a hale-word or a passive complex having a hale-word as headword, followed by the emphatic particle \textit{lo}. But a description in these terms fails to reveal the structural similarity of sentences like \textit{nga li lo} to those of other types. This may be illustrated by the following pairs of sentences:
ngi Bo lo, I am in Bo  Type 4
ngi ye lo Bo, I was in Bo  Type 6
ngi piema lo, I am doing it  Type 5
ngi ye lo piema, I was doing it  Type 6
nga pie lo, I shall do it, I do it  Type 8
ngi ye lo a pie, I used to do it  Type 6

A comparison of these three pairs of sentences suggests that nga pie lo is a contraction of *ngi a pie lo. The forms nga, ba, a, ma, wa, ta are accordingly treated as contractions of the i-pronouns + a, i.e. ngi a, bi a, i a, mu a, wu a, ti a.

The single written form a represents:
1) a  
   e.g. mahci a pie lo, the chief will do it  
2) i a  
   e.g. *i a pie lo > a pie lo, he will do it.

It seems probable that a sentence like *ngi a pie lo (nga pie with roughly equivalent English categories would be lo) means literally something like "I with doing it, i.e. I am to do it, I must do it". The grammatical meaning of present obligation seems to be basic. Some sentences of type 8 do have this meaning, but much commoner is that of a simple future, which may well have developed from that of present necessity or obligation. The two meanings of obligation and habitual action expressed by type 8 sentences are distinguished in the corresponding type 6 sentences by a difference in the
position of the particle lo.
e.g. *ngi a pie lo (nga pie lo), 1) I must/shall do it
               2) I do it habitually
*ngi ye a pie lo (ngaa pie lo), I would have done it
Type 6a
ngi ye lo a pie, I used to do it. Type 6.
In speech and in writing *ngi a and *ngi ye a are always
contracted to nga and ngaa respectively. Sentences like
ngaa pie lo, "I would have done it" are described above (see
page 147).

The minimum form of a type 8 sentence has two
contrastive positions, the first of which may be filled by
a singular pele- or hale-word or complex, or by an i-pronoun,
the second by a phrase consisting of a + a hale-word or a
subjective complex having a hale-word as headword. The
sequence i-pronoun + a is always contracted, as already
described.

e.g. Position 1 | Position 2
*ngi | a pie lo, I shall do it (nga pie lo)
mahei | a wa lo, the chief will come
nya nyahei | a mbei yili lo, my wife will cook
| the rice.

A plural i-pronoun in first position can support a preceding
plural expression.

e.g. nyapoisia ta wa lo (*nyapoisia ti a wa lo), the
         girls will come.
In expanded forms of this type of sentence four contrastive positions are distinguished following position 2; the kinds of expressions that occur in these are the same as those listed for positions 3 - 6 of type 5 sentences on page 157. Some examples of expanded sentences are:

*ngi a we lo sina (nga wa lo sina), I shall come tomorrow

ndopoi a toto lo sange a yepela, the child will soon begin to talk

Kpana a li lo tsi hu mbēi yeyē va ngi kenyā va, Kpana will go to town to buy rice for his uncle

*ngi a li lo ndoli gama a kpokoi ji (nga li lo...), I shall go dancing this evening

In type 8 sentences the interrogative particle ye, "how?" occurs, not between positions 1 and 2, as it does in sentences of types 5, 6 and 7, but in position 2, between a and the hale-word or complex.

e.g. *ti a ye pie? (ta ye pie?), how will they do it?

*wu a ye toli? (wa ye toli?), what do you call it?

bi nyahēi a ye mbēi ji yili? how will your wife cook this rice?

Emphatic particle lo does not occur in a sentence in which the particle ye, "how?", occurs.

The emphatic particle lo can occur:

1) in position 2, after the haleword or complex, or in a
phrase which is first immediate constituent of the complex whose headword is a haleyword.

e.g. *ngi a ji me lo (nga ji me lo),  I shall eat this
*ngi a ji lo me (nga ji lo me),  I shall eat this.

2) after an expression in position 3, or in a phrase which is first immediate constituent of a complex in this position.

e.g. Kpana a wa sina lo,  Kpana will come tomorrow
Kpana a yenge mahsi lo va,  Kpana will work for the chief

3) after an expression in position 4, or in a phrase which is first immediate constituent of a complex in this position.

e.g. Kpana a toto sina a yengela lo,  Kpana will begin tomorrow to work
Kpana a toto a gbe lo wiela?  what will Kpana begin to do?

4) in position 6; particle lo occurs very rarely in this position, where it is confined to occurrence after an interrogative.

e.g. Kpana a namakoi a gilila a gbe lo?  what will Kpana try to think about?

In sentences containing the interrogatives ye, "who?", gbe, "what", or mi, "where?", the particle lo follows the interrogative.

e.g. *bi a li mi lo? (ba li mi lo?),  where will you go?
*bi a gbe lo wie? (ba gbe lo wie?),  what will you do?
The negative is formed with the negative particle ɨii, which occurs in position 2 between a and the hale-word or complex. In speech and in writing, the sequences Ṉgi ɨii, bi ɨii, i ɨii, mu ɨii, wu ɨii, ti ɨii, are always contracted; the written forms are Ṉgee, ływ, Ṉe, Ṉu, Ṉue, Ṉee; Ṉe is a contraction of:

1) i ɨii

   e.g. *i ɨii pie (e Ṉe pie), he will not do it

2) a ɨii

   e.g. *mahi ɨii pie (mah Ṉi e Ṉe pie), the chief will not do it.

Particle lo does not occur in negative sentences.

Some further examples of negative sentences are:

*Kpna ɨii wa mbei (Kpna e Ṉe wa mbei), Kpna will not come here

*mū ɨii pie (mus pie), we shall not do it

*ti ɨii hami gbi ve na va (təc Ṉami gbi ve na va), they will not give anything for that.

*ngi ɨii gu a piela (ṅgee gu a piela), I shall not be able to do it.

In negative sentences the particle yə can occur immediately after the negative particle.

   e.g. *ngi ɨii yə pie (ṅgee yə pie), I shall not do it any more
*maheī a ƙi yâ we:mbeis (maheī ce yâ wa mbeis), the chief will not come here again.

Correlation between pronoun in first position and preceding plural expression supported by it.

Plural pronouns of all three persons can, in first position, support a preceding plural expression, but they are correlated with certain kinds of expression. The correlations between pronouns and preceding expressions supported by them are shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supported expression</th>
<th>Supporting pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a phrase containing <strong>maa</strong>, &quot;I and&quot;</td>
<td>1st p. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a phrase containing <strong>waa</strong>, &quot;you and&quot;</td>
<td>2nd p. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a phrase containing <strong>taa</strong>, &quot;he and&quot;</td>
<td>3rd p. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a plural <strong>pale-</strong> or <strong>hale</strong>-word or complex</td>
<td>3rd p. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a phrase consisting of two or more <strong>pale-</strong> or <strong>hale</strong>-words or complexes joined by <strong>taa</strong> or <strong>ke</strong></td>
<td>3rd p. pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. maa kpana mu wanga, Kpana and I have come</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>was Kpana wu <strong>wanga</strong>? have you and kpana come?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taa Kpana ti wanga, he and kpana have come</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuyapoisia ti wanga, the girls have come</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the correlations listed above is that between the indefinite singular **pale**-word **numu**, "person",
end a second person singular pronoun. Sentences in which *numu* is supported by a following second person singular pronoun are not common; all examples encountered to date are of type 8 sentences, many of them negative, and all are general statements about the social acceptability or otherwise of certain kinds of behaviour.

*e.g.* *numu bee mehe me a loko,* one does not eat with one's fingers

*numu bee loli mabci higbengoi hu,* one must not
dance while the chief is ill.

In sentences of this kind, *numu,* it may be noted, is not in pause.

**Third person plural pronoun in first position**

Initiating sentences are common in which a third person plural pronoun occurs in position 1; in some cases the referent of the pronoun cannot readily be inferred from the situation, but often the pronoun has no specific referent.

It may be compared with 'they' in colloquial English sentences like, 'They say he died of starvation; They should do something about it'.

Sentences having a third person plural pronoun in position 1 are commonly found corresponding to English sentences containing a passive voice construction. Some
of Abra with deadroyd
"He was born"
examples are:

*ti ngi heleni lo,* they hanged him; he was hanged
*ti Kpana wumbunga a maeji,* they have elected Kpana chief

*(bi na wienga lo) ta bi yangoli lo,* (if you do that) you will be fined
*ta bi wili lo kpindi welei bu,* they will imprison you.

A third person plural pronoun may be used in this way even where the 'actor' or logical subject is clearly seen by the speaker to be singular.

*E.g. ti lo bi wui wolema?* are they cutting your hair, are you having a haircut?

This question was heard on several occasions, addressed to a person having his hair cut by one barber.

**Hiatus**

Also conveniently described here are sentences like *mahei ta, nges luwa ngi ma,* "the chief, I am not afraid of him", *Kpana ta, nga ngi gula lo,* "Kpana, I shall knock him down". Sentences of this kind are to be distinguished from those sentences like *maheisia ta wa lo sange,* "the chiefs will come soon", in which an expression is supported by a following pronoun in position 1. In sentences described in this section, the initial word or word group is in pause,
(shown in writing by a comma), and there is syntactical hiatus between it and the rest of the sentence. e.g. mahei ta, ngeè luwa ngi me, the chief, I am not afraid of him
kolii ta, ngeè luwa ma, the leopard, I am not afraid of it
ngului na ta, nga kula lo, that tree, I shall knock it down
nya, nga pie lo, I, I shall do it

The following can occur in hiatus:

1. a pelè- or hale-word or complex
2. a ta-pronoun
3. a group consisting of a pelè- or hale-word or complex followed by the appropriate ta-pronoun; this constitutes a single breath group.
4. a paratactic phrase like mua mu Puubla, "we Englishmen!
bie bi humamoi, "you thief", wue wu halebla, "you doctors".

e.g.
1) mahei, ngeè luwa ngi me, the chief, I am not afraid of him
2) mua, mu pieni lo, we, we did it
3) mahei ta, ngeè luwa ngi me, the chief, I am not afraid of him
4) bia bi humamoi, ba na le lo? you thief, do you say that?
mua mu Puubla, mua na le, we Englishmen, we do not say that.

The expression in hiatus is emphatic, often with the connotation of a somewhat contemptuous attitude on the part of the speaker toward the referent, except in the case of a ta-pronoun by itself, which carries no such connotation. The sentence mbezi ta, ngaa luwa ngi ma, "the chief, I am not afraid of him", for example, might well occur as a response to a previous speaker's assertion that the chief was a person to be feared. It connotes the speaker's contempt for the chief. Again, in the sentence mbezi ta, ngaa me; ngaa fufu lo me, "rice, I do not eat it; I eat fufu", the group mbezi ta is emphatic, with a derogatory connotation; it may be noted that fufu is also emphatic or contrastive. Compare ngaa fufu lo me, "I eat fufu", with ngaa fufu me lo, "I eat fufu".

Commands

Two types of sentence are distinguished:

**Type A**

Some examples of sentences of this type are:

*wa mbezi,* come here
*bi halei gboli,* drink your medicine
*na le gbome,* say that again
*a li mbezi gama,* go to the chief
*mbezi na me a mita,* eat that food with a spoon
*a vaya ndopoi na ma,* leave that boy alone
The minimum form of this type of sentence has only one position which may be filled by a hale-word or by a subjective complex whose headword is a hale-word.

E.g., me, eat it
mbsi na me, eat that rice

Sentences like these two examples are used for commands addressed to one person; in commands addressed to more than one person a precedes the hale-word or complex.

E.g. a me, eat it (addressed to more than one person)
a mbei na me, eat that rice
a li, go.

In the most fully expanded form of this sentence type, four contrastive positions are distinguished following the hale-word or complex; the kinds of expression which occur in these are the same as those listed for positions 3 - 6 of type 5 sentences. But an expanded form in which all four positions following the hale-word are filled, though possible and accepted by informants as correct, is unlikely ever to occur in ordinary speech. Sentences of type A are nearly all short, and it is not common for more than one expression to follow the hale-word, except where one of these is la, "with it"

E.g. wa mbei, come here
wa le mbei, bring it here
na le gboma, say that again
li pelei bu, go home
a li la semei bu, take it into the court house
hou tibii ma, take hold of the table.

Sentences of this type are commonly introduced by some appropriate term of address.

e.g. ndopoi, wa mbei, boy, come here

ndopoisia, a wa mbei, boys, come here

Puunoi, nye go a mbei, Englishman, give me rice

nyapo nyandei, na le gbome, pretty girl, say that again.

The negative of type A sentences is supplied by type 6a sentences (see page 211).

e.g. baa wa mbei, don't come here (sing.)

waa wa mbei, don't come here (pl.)

ndopoi, baa na wie, boy, don't do that

baa li na, don't go there

**Type B**

Some examples of sentences of this type are:

mu li, let us go

nyapoisia ti li mu gulo, let the girls go in front of us

ndopoi na i wa mbei, let that boy come here

z mu hei, let us sit down

Ngewo i bi bayi, God bless you

mu namskoi a piele, let us try to do it

The minimum form of this type of sentence has two
contrastive positions. In first position occur only the
1-pronouns; the third person singular pronoun 1 is on a high
tone in type B sentences, and on a low tone in all other types
of sentence. Second position can be filled by a hale-word
or by a subjective complex whose headword is a hale-word.
A third person singular pronoun can support a preceding
singular expression; a third person plural pronoun can
support a preceding plural expression.

\[\text{e.g. } \text{mahe i pie, let the chief do it} \]
\[\text{i pie, let him do it} \]
\[\text{nyapoisia ti pie, let the girls do it} \]
\[\text{ti pie, let them do it} \]

Second person pronouns do not occur in first position in
sentences of this type, but clauses of this type are common
in which a second person pronoun occurs in first position.

\[\text{e.g. } \text{nya longo bi li, I want you to go} \]
\[\text{ngi ndeni lo wu ma wu pie, I told you to do it.} \]

In these examples, bi li and wu pie are clauses of type B.

The only sentences of type B that are at all common
are such as have in first position either the first person
plural pronoun mu, or the third person singular pronoun 1
supporting the preceding pales-word Ngewo, "God".

\[\text{e.g. } \text{mu li ti hu, let us go to town} \]
\[\text{Ngewo i bi bayi, God bless you} \]
mu pie gboma, let us do it again

Ngewo i bi levui huguha, may God give you long life.

In position 1 of type B sentences, and nowhere else in the language, a distinction is made between 'we' = speaker and one listener, and 'we' = speaker and more than one listener. e.g. mu li, let us go (speaker and one listener)
a mu li, let us go (speaker and more than one listener).

It seems not unlikely that pairs of sentences like
mu li,  mu pie,
a μu li,  a μu pie,
have been formed on the analogy of pairs of type A sentences like
li, go (sing.)  pie, do it
a li, go (pl.) a pie, do it.

The distinction between 'we' = speaker and one listener, and 'we' = speaker and more than one listener, is not made in clauses of type B; these commonly occur in complex sentences like:

nya longo mu li, I want us to go
wa mu mhe me, come (sing.) let us eat
a wa mu mhe me, come (pl.) let us eat
mu lini lo mu va mahsi me, we went and greeted the chief.

The second clause in each of these examples is a type B clause.
having in first position the pronoun *mu*, "we", which refers to the speaker and any number of others.

In the fully expanded form of this type of sentence four contrastive positions are distinguished following second position; the kinds of expressions which occur in these four positions are the same as those listed for positions 3 - 6 of type 5 sentences (see page 159).

Sentences of type B, but not those of type A, can occur with yes/no-question intonation.

*E.g.*

- mu wa? should we come; may we come?
- ndi pie? should I do it; may I do it?

The negative of sentences of type B, as of type A, is supplied by sentences of type 6a (see page 111).

*E.g.*

- maa li, let us not go
  - nga' he a ndole, may I not die of hunger
  - maa ngengei ji wie, let us not do this work.

Sentences of types A and B, and also those of type 6a, commonly have particles *o* or *hoe* finally. These have the effect of 'softening' a command, and connoting a friendly attitude on the part of the speaker. There is, however, a difference of connotation between the two particles; a sentence containing *hoe* expects agreement.

*E.g.*

- baa lema, don't forget
- bas lema o, don't forget
- bas lema hoe, don't forget now.
The particle *hoe* which occurs in sentences like the last of these examples is to be distinguished from the particle *hie* which occurs in yes/no questions expecting agreement. e.g. *bse leme, hie?* you won’t forget, will you?

Particles *o* and *hoe* commonly occur only in very short sentences like:

- *mu li o,* let us go
- *bse pie hoe,* don’t do it
- *wa o,* come
- *bse na le hoe,* don’t say that

Of the two particles, *o* is the commoner, especially in sentences of types A and B.

It may be useful to set out here an example of the minimum form of each of the types of full initiating sentence described above:

**Statements**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type 1</th>
<th>mahei mia, that is the chief</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type 1a</td>
<td>nyandengo (le), it is good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 2</td>
<td>mahei mengo, the chief has eaten it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 3</td>
<td>mu fele, we are two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 4</td>
<td>mahei lo Bo, the chief is in Bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 5</td>
<td>mahei lo mema, the chief is eating it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 6</td>
<td>mahei meni lo, the chief ate it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type 6a</td>
<td>baa me, don’t eat it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Type 7 mahei mængə, the chief has eaten it
Type 8 mahei a mə lo, the chief will eat it.

Commands
Type A mə, eat it
Type B mu mə, let us eat it

Conclusion
For a description of the structure of initiating sentences, the traditional parts of speech, and especially the categories of noun and verb, which have been distinguished in all Mende grammars, are not useful. Phrases like (1) nya hæle (__) , "my medicine", and (2) nya hæle (---), "treat me with medicine", are described by earlier writers as consisting of possessive pronoun + noun, and object pronoun + verb respectively. But the difference between these two phrases is better described, not in terms of a difference in the class to which the headword belongs, but of a difference in the kind of complex, marked by a difference in tone pattern. A pair like nya hæle (__) and nya hæle (---) are here held to be syntactically comparable with a pair like nya wəli (---), "my ear, not of my own body", and nya wəli (---), "my ear, of my own body", from which they differ in that hæle and wəli belong to different word classes. From this it follows that

the structure of the various types of sentence which are distinguished is not to be described in terms of a verbal system; it can be satisfactorily described in terms of the number of contrastive positions in each type of sentence, the order of these, and of those word classes and complex types set up here which can occur in each position, as has been shown in Chapter 4 for initiating simple sentences.