

THE STRUCTURE OF SENTENCES IN MENDE

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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 these word classes 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 (-__)}.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nya woli (---), "my ear" (of my own body)} \\ \text{nya woli (___), "my ear" (e.g. a cow's ear which belongs to m} \end{array} \right.$$

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 yiei, and the people are Mendebla (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. Little¹ 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

1. K. Little. The Mende of Sierra Leone. London 1951.

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 Westermann¹ 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 Westermann¹; 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,

1. D. Westermann and M. Bryan. Handbook of African Languages Pt. II. London 1952.

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. Lexically 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:

Upper Mende

Kpa Mende

pɛɛi,	house	pɛɛi
nya wɛɛi,	my house	nya bɛɛi
paa,	kill it	paa
kalii na waa,	kill that snake	kalii na baa
to mbei,	set it down here	to mbei
na lo mbei,	set that down here	na do mbei

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

For example;

<u>Upper Mende</u>		<u>Kpa Mende</u>
hiye,	get up	hije
hiya,	pound (rice)	hija
hiwi,	ant hill	higi
ndewa,	pubes	ndega

2
The Kpa Mende, with a population estimated¹ at 20 per cent of the total Mende figure, 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. kpau and kpa_kpau, "hard, tough".

1. Ethnographic Survey of Africa. West Africa Pt. II London 1950.

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 ^{of} a predominantly religious or instructional 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. In 1956 a translation of the New Testament appeared, the first book in Mende with hard covers.

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 standard¹ 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 Schoen² 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. hale welɔɛi, halewɛɛi, "medicine house". tei ji hu + -mo is sometimes written tei ji humo, and sometimes teijihumo, "a man of this town".

b) vowel length.

2. J.F. Schoen. Grammar of the Mende Language B.P.C.K. 1882.

Migeod's¹ '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 Sumner², 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 Aginsky³. 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 Crosby⁴, 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.

1. F.W.H. Migeod. The Mende Language. London.. 1908.

2. A.T. Sumner. A Handbook of the Mende Language. Freetown 1917.

3. E.G. Aginsky. A Grammar of the Mende Language. Univ. of Pennsylvania. 1935.

4. K.H. Crosby. An Introduction to the Study of Mende. Cambridge 1944.

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 bɛlɛ nyande, "a nice pair of trousers" (bɛlɛ, "trousers"; nyande, "nice"). With bɛlɛ 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 nyandei, 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 jɔɔnga 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 each¹other 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 ~~f~~^rames are selected which yield ^{these} word classes ^{demande*d* by the subsequent description of} ~~[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 ^{prefer to} ~~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 pawa² as a verb, clearly belong to the same distribution class, as may be illustrated by pairs of sentences like:

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

nges 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?

1. Crosby. 'Introduction' p. 8.

2. Ibid. p. 36.

nya halei mia, it is my medicine

nya pawei mia, it is my pay (-a > 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; mehe, "food", for example occurs in the sentences ngse mehe gbi ve nyapoi we, "I shall not give the woman any food", ye mehe lo a ji? "whose food is this?" and nya mehei mia, "it is my food", but *nga nyapoi mehe lo and *ngi nyapoi mehenga do not occur. Words like mehe 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 nya¹ and hale in the two cases. The two kinds of complex are distinguished by tone pattern:

nya hale [ˉ--], my medicine

nya hale [ˉˉˉ], treat me with medicine

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

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

nya woli [ˉˉˉ], 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 objective¹ genitival complexes, nya hale [---] and nya woli [---] subjective¹ 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. 92.

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 Nida¹, 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 Bloch² in

1. E.A. Nida. The Identification of Morphemes. Language Vol. 24 1948 p. 436.

2. B. Bloch. Studies in Colloquial Japanese II. Language Vol. 22, III pp. 200-248. Words that are alike in form
(footnote continued on p. 16)

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^a 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 kéredoma "nevertheless" and to "so saying", which appear at the beginning of clauses, are different respectively from the particles kéredoma, "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's¹ 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 verbatization or stativization 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.

1. B.J. Whorf. Language, Thought and Reality. New York 1956 p.97.

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	nje, mother
Kpana, (man's name)	Bo, (name of a town)
kolii, the leopard	bia, you (sing.)
ndopoi, the child	fandei, the cotton
ssemi, the courthouse	halei, the medicine
navoi, the money	kenya, uncle
halemci, the medicine man	pelsi, the house
nya, I	

Some of the words which substitute for nyapoi in (2) are:

mahei, the chief	kenya, uncle
Kpana, (man's name)	nje, mother
kolii, the leopard	bi, you (sing.)
ndopoi, the child	lavalei, the speaker
ngi, I	ti, they
halemci, the medicine man	humamci, 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) ~~which~~ 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	ta lo, this is he/she/it
ngi menga, I have eaten 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. semei, "court house"; fandei, "cotton"; navoi, "money".

semei menga, "the court house has eaten it" for example does not occur in ordinary speech; semei can, however, substitute for nyapoi where gulanga is substituted for menga:

nyapoi gulanga, the girl has fallen down

semei gulanga, the court house has falled down

In the frame¹ # — gulanga many more words occur than occur in initial position in 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 semei, 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 semei are accordingly grouped together, as are menga and gulanga, though each member of one group does not occur with each member of the other.²

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

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 35073 XY 2 1953, p 327. In Simon's terminology, classes of words are sought which colligate with each other, but whose members do not necessarily all collocate 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 meni gbengi lo, the girl ate it yesterday

nyapoi a me sina lo, the girl will eat it tomorrow

baa me, don't eat it

shows that menga in nyapoi 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

— -nga. 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 nyapo menga
but not *Kpanai menga. cf. nyapoi 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	pela, house
Kpana	Daru
Bo	hele, elephant
ndopo, child	Musu
hale, medicine	nyande, beauty
haa, death	ko, war

Some words that occur in the second space are:

homi, lick	kula, knock down
haa, die	nde, say, give birth to
nyande, make beautiful	pili, throw
hale, treat with medicine	nyamu, make ugly

Some words occur in the first space but not in the second
For example:

pels, house	seme, court house
nyapo, girl	Bo
Kpana	koli, leopard
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, medic i ne, treat with medicine
huma, stealing, steal
ndapi, fight (n. and v.)
ko, war, fight.

/u haa g~~z~~langa mu ma, death has fallen upon us, we have
suffered a bereavement

Kpana haanga, 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 pels-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 pels-words and hale-words occur. For example:

<u>pa lo?</u> ¹	is this a visit?	m, <u>pa lo</u> ,	yes, this is
			a visit
<u>pelsi lo?</u>	is this the house?	m, <u>pelsi lo</u> ,	yes, this is
			the house
<u>halei lo?</u>	is this the medicine?	m, <u>halei lo</u> ,	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 pels-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 pels-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 ii 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 no 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:

mahsi lo, this is the chief

mahsi 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 pals-word in -ngo e.g. nyandengo le, "it is nice"); it occurs in very emphatic replies and responses:

mahsi mia? m, mahsi 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 nyandeni 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 -i; where lo is not attached it is written -ni. Here -ni is written in all cases and lo always written separately. For example

<u>Standard spelling</u>	<u>Spelling here</u>
nyapoi mbei lo meni, the girl ate the <u>rice</u>	nyapoi mbei lo meni
nyapoi mbei meilo, the girl ate the rice	nyapoi mbei meni lo
nyapoi meni gbengi lo, the girl ate it <u>yesterday</u>	nyapoi meni gbengi lo.

2. Underscoring is used to indicate that a word is strongly emphatic or contrastive.

ngi ji meni lo, I ate this

ngi ji lo meni, I ate this

nyapoi lo Bo, the girl is in Bo

nyapoi Bo lo, 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 [grammatical] 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. Puumo lo a ji, this is an Englishman.
Puumo 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
Puumo a ngie, ti ngi Englishman, whom they
waani? 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 [grammatical] 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 mahai woma, it is behind the chief.

Words are sought which substitute for mahai 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 kenci, the old man
Three kinds of words substitute for mahci in this test sentence:

- i) hale-words
- ii) pele-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:-

ndakpei, young man	Musu,
kenci, the old man	mahci, the chief

nyapoi, the girl	ndopoisia, the children
bie, you (sing.)	tie, them
Mendebla, Mende people	ndakpei, the young men
mbowei, the knife	saleisia, proverbs
navo, money	wue, you (pl.)
halei, the medicine	ndapii, the fight

Words which occur in this position are:-

- i) pɛlɛ-words
 - ii) hale-words
 - iii) the six words nge, bie, ngie, mue, wue, tie.
- These will be called the ngie-pronouns¹.

In the test sentence nya 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 mahci 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 Kpana mu lini lo, Kpana 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 # — Kpana wu lini lo , " — Kpana you went", then waa, and it alone, can fill the position before Kpana, giving the sentence waa Kpana wu lini lo, "you and Kpana went". Again, in the test frame # — Kpana ti lini lo, " — Kpana they went", taa, and it alone, can occur , giving the sentence taa Kpana ti lini lo, "he and Kpana went". Each of the three words maa, waa, taa which occur before Kpana in these test sentences is restricted to occurrence with a particular i-pronoun after Kpana. 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 :yuli, "indeed".

Be and yuli 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 ~~be~~ an interrogative particle.

The next test sentence is :

mahɛi ii ya wani, the chief has not come

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

mahɛi ii ya wani, the chief did not come any more

mahɛi ii ye wani, the chief had not come.

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

.e.g.	mahɛi ye wani lo,	the chief had come
	mahɛi ye wama lo	} the chief was coming
	mahɛi ye lo wama.	

Yà and yá are therefore assigned to one class which contains

these two members, and ye is assigned to another class. (Ye is a hale-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 nao,	he ate it all up
i gulani lo gbun,	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 polon,	he went far away
i voni lo daun,	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 gbun and i gulani lo nao, 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 pals-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 pals-words; words like gbama, "for nothing", which substitute for gbengi, mbei, Bo in sentences like ngi ndeni lo ~~ma~~ ngi ma 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 pals-words.

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

e.g. r̄ao, gbuq̄ kpe, jele.

These will be called Ideophones.

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

e.g. i tewen̄ 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 psle-words.

e.g. gboŋ¹ < gboma, again
paun, pound (lb)
poŋ, pound (£)

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

e.g. gbuŋ, with a thud
daun, brightly
keŋ, 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 keŋ and kpe may, for

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

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 mēga nao, "I have eaten it all up", is the sentence ngi mēga ... , followed by a sign which consists of passing the front of the hand before the open mouth. The ideophone nao and this sign are both restricted to occurrence with the hale-words mē, "eat it", and kpōli, "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 ba 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 ba 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'

(Corresponding
to 'ND' in English)

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 ~~but~~ 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 pelg-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 semai bu kee ngii mahai 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 :

ke,	and	
ji,	when	
jifa	}	because
gbemaile		

The second test sentence is :

ngi lini lo semei bu koo ngi mahai 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 ngii mahai loni na in the first, and ngi lini lo semei bu and koo ngi mahai 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 :

ke, kee, ji, jifa, gbamile, koo

ine, if

o, or

famia, falo, fale, therefore

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:

mbai ke tangsi, 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 [^{needed}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 pele-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 pɛlɛ-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 pɛlɛ-word or a hale-word, on the other hand, is facilitated by the affixes which occur with these. Except for the pronouns wua and tia, which can occur with suffix -ni, all words other than pɛlɛ- and hale-words are invariable. Any affixed form is therefore immediately recognizable as either a pɛlɛ-word or a hale-word. A brief outline of the morphology of these two classes is contained in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

Pele- words and hale- words

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

eg.	g b she	-	stool	pundi	-	mosquito
	pele	-	house	kali	-	hoe
	scle	-	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 pele- 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 pele- words and hale- words respectively. The following examples further illustrate the difference in distribution of members of these two classes:

nyapo(girl): <u>pele-</u> word	nyapoi mia - that is the girl
	nyapoi gulanga - the girl has fallen down.
haa(death, : <u>hale-</u> 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): <u>hale-</u> word	halei mia - it is medicine
	halei gboyanga - the medicine is finished
	nyapoi halenga - the girl has treated it with medicine
semc(court house): <u>pele-</u> word	semci mia - that is the court house
	semci 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 nyaha 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 pɛɛ-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 pɛɛ-words or the class of hale-words, the affixes which occur with these are of considerable value; these are :

	-i	-ngā ¹	-sia	-nī ¹	-mo	-ye	-ya	ye-	-kpe
<u>pɛɛ</u> -words	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<u>hale</u> -words	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
	-ngō ¹	-nī ²	-ngā ²	-la	-ya	-ngō ²	-mɛ		
<u>pɛɛ</u> -words	x								
<u>hale</u> -words		x	x	x	x	x	x		

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 -nga, two written -ni and two written -ngo. The members of these pairs are clearly distinguished from each other both in distribution and in [grammatical] meaning.

e.g. -nga(1) pele - house hale mia -^p it is medicine
 pelenga - houses halenga mia - they are
 medicines

-nga(2) hale - treat it with medicine

ti halenga - they have treated
 it with medicine

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

 Kpanani - Kpana and others

-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 pɛlə - a house hale - medicine
pɛləi - 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 pɛlɛ and hale will be called indefinite singular, and pɛləi and halei 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 pɛlɛ, for example, seems often to denote "houseness" or "housing", the definite form pɛləi 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:

pɛləi mia	- it's a house	Indefinite	: pɛlɛ
ngului mia	- it's a tree		: ngulu
helei mia	- it's an elephant		: hele

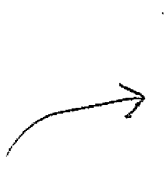
Except in a few formulae and proverbs the indefinite singular is common only:

i) as first constituent of a compound

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

ii) to denote a class of things

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

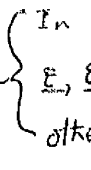
 ~~[The suffix -i causes raising of a preceding a, and fronting of a, o, u. In writing, these changes are shown only in the case of a]~~

e.g. maha	- chief	mahci
kolo	- book	kolci [kolci]
folo	- sun	folci [folei]
ngulu	- tree	ngului [nguli:]

<u>-nga</u> (1)	pela - house	hale - medicine
	pelenga - houses	halenga - medicines

Pelenga and halenga have free variants pela, 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.

 In a large number of morphemes there is alternation between a, o, u and ε, ε, ε, i respectively; the latter occur before suffix -i, the former in all other phonetic contexts. In writing, only the alternation between a and ε is shown.

-sia pelci - the house halei - the medicine
 pelcisia - 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:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Indefinite	pelc	pelenga
Definite	pelci	pelcisia

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 pelc- 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 pelc- words occur with suffix -ni; most of these are personal names. In folk tales, -ni occurs with a few words like koli (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 pela- words which are not personal names, but which are commonly used as terms of address:

e.g. kekani - fathers. keke - 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?

veni 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 > wu~~e~~ni, tiani > tieni.

e.g. maa wu^{eni} - 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:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Indefinite	halemo	halebla
Definite	halemoi	halebleisia

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

e.g. tɕi 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

- <u>ye</u>	nya Mendeyei - my Mende one	Mende - Mendeland.
	yeCfandeyei - the cotton one	fande - cotton
	yeCfeleyei - 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.

- <u>ya</u>	mahaya - chieftaincy, of chief	maha - chief
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lavaleya - status of speaker, lavale - speaker
office of speaker.

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

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

Forms with ye- refer to something already mentioned: prefix
ye- will therefore be called the ^{anaphoric} ~~referential~~ prefix.

The ^{anaphoric} ~~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. yepɛləi - the aforementioned house pɛlə - house

yepɛləisia - the aforementioned houses

*yepɛlə and *yepɛlənga do not occur

yegbe? - which one? (of those mentioned) gbe? - what?

yeji - this one (of those mentioned) ji - this

yena - that one (of those mentioned) na - that

yemi? - which part (of a previously mentioned larger unit) mi? - where?

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 ii 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 higgengo - the chief is ill

mahci higgengoi hu - during the chief's illness

maha higgengo - 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 gbatema wai - the big printing works. kpatε - make

mu muamei - 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. 42).

The above affixes may be grouped into derivational
and inflectional affixes as follows:

<u>Derivational</u>	<u>Inflectional</u>
-mo : halemo - medicine man	-i : pelsi - the house
-ye : fandeye - cotton one	-nga(1): pelenga - houses
[ye : yepelsi - the afore-mentioned house]	-sia : pelsisia - the houses
	ye- : yepelsi - 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 it	-nga(2): ti pienga - they have done it
-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.

e.g. pelsisia - the houses

pelsisia consists of pelsi + -sia

pelsi consists of pels + -i

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

e.g. nungcisia - people

nungcisia consists of nungci + -sia

nungci consists of nunga + -i

nunga consists of nu + -nga

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

e.g. Mendeblɛisia - the Mende people .

Mendeblɛisia consists of Mendeblɛi + -sia

Mendeblɛi consists of Mendebla + -i

Mendebla consists of Mende + -bla

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

Mendeblɛi jisia - these Mende people

nungɛi nasia - those people

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

e.g. yepɛɛi - the aforementioned house pɛɛ - house

yepɛɛisia - the aforementioned houses

yenikangeisia - the aforementioned cattle nika - cow

1

These three examples have immediate constituents ye- and pɛɛi, ye- and pɛɛisia, ye- and nikangeisia 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.

- For a discussion of the theory of immediate constituents see for example
 Rulon Wells Immediate Constituents Language 23 1947 pp 81-117
 R. L. Pike Taxemes and Immediate Constituents Language 19 2 1943
 F. 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. halem*o*i - the medicine man

Immediate constituents: halemo + -i

Mendeyei - the Mende one

Immediate constituents: Mendeye + -i

ndamsi - lodging

Immediate constituents: ndama + -i

Stems consisting of a derived form in -ye, -ya, -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

mahayeisia - the chieftaincies

mahayeisia has immediate constituents

mahayei + -sia

mahayei has immediate constituents

mahaya + -i

mahaya has immediate constituents

maha + -ya

ndameisia - lodgings, places to lie down in

ndameisia has immediate constituents

ndamci + -sia

ndamci has immediate constituents

ndama + -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

higbe and -ngo

The ^{anaphoric} ~~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
fandeyei and -sia

fandeyei has immediate constituents
fandeye and -i

fandeye has immediate constituents
fande and -ye

yehalemɔi - the aforementioned doctor

yehalemɔi has immediate constituents
ye- and halemɔi

halemɔi has immediate constituents
halemɔ and -i

halemɔ has immediate constituents
hale and -mɔ

yehigbengɔisia - the sick ones

yehigbengɔisia has immediate constituents
ye- and higbengɔisia

higbengɔisia has immediate constituents
higbengɔi and -sia

higbengɔi has immediate constituents
higbengɔ and -i

higbengɔ has immediate constituents
higbe and -ngɔ

yepaalsi - the aforementioned killing

yepaalsi has immediate constituents
ye- and paalsi

paalsi 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 pela- words Kpana and ndowo and are therefore treated as derived pela- words. It is found that all forms consisting of a pela- word or hale- word root + derivational suffix are derived pela- words. Some further examples of derived pela- words consisting of hale- word root + derivational suffix are:

ndama	- place to rest, lodging	nda	- lay it down
muama	- wash place	mua	- wash
komo	- warrior	ko	- fight
pieyi	- way of doing it	pie	- do it
kutungo	- it is short	kutu	- make it short
paala	- killing it, to kill it	paa	- 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 pela- words. The derived pela- word ndamia (nda + -mia), for example, is distributionally comparable with pela in respect of

contexts like:

ndama gbi ii na - there is no lodging available

pela gbi ii na - there is no house available

ndamci ji nyandengo - this lodging is nice

pela ji nyandengo - this house is nice

mu lamci lo a ji - this is our lodging

mu wela lo a ji - this is our house

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

ngii loni a pela na - I don't like that house

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

e.g. ta lo nikisia 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. 67-72) can be substituted, but this yields sentences of a different type.

e.g. ta lo nikisia 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 pela- 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:

ta lo piema - he is doing it

ta lo wama - he is coming

ta lo kpolima - he is drinking it

But such a pair of homophonous suffixes is not distinguished here. Derived pela- words in -ma have two distinct [grammatical] 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.

e.g. ta lo ndoli gamci - he is at the dancing place
(ndoli - dance)

ta lo ndoli gama - he is dancing (ka - perform it)

ta lo ndo gbolimci - he is at the drinking place
(ndo - wine)

ta lo ndo gbolima - he is drinking (kpoli - drink it)

ta lo muamei - he is at the washing place

ta lo muama - he is washing

It seems probable that all ma- forms are in origin 'place' expressions, 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 jesiamei
 nya lo lima jesiama } - I am going for a walk
 (li - go, jesia - walk)

Derived pale- words in -ma in sentences like ta lo muamei (he is at the washing place) are substitutable by two main sub-divisions of pale- words : (1) mahu- words

(2) geographical names. together
 with a few words like
 mbei (here)
 na (there)
 miando (yonder)

e.g. ta lo muamei - 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 walei - the house for the cattle
 ti walei - their house

Likewise the indefinite singular form of a derived pale- 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 waalei - 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 gaalei - I like the reading
 of those books

In the expressions niksisia ti waamci, niksisia ti waalei,
 In the expressions niksisia ti waamci, niksisia ti waalei,

tibiisia ti mahui, koloi nasia ti gaalei, 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 nikcisia ti waamci, for example, the plural pɛɛ- word nikcisia is supported by the following complex ti waamci (their killing place).

Suffix -ngo

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

mbei gbo~~y~~ngo - 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 higbengoi - the sick chief maha wai

maha higbengonga - sick chiefs maha wanga

yehaangoi - the dead one yenyandei - the pretty one

mahsi higbengoi hu - during the chief's illness

mahsi walei bu - in the chief's house

nya higbengoi hu - during my illness

nya pokitii hu - in my pocket

Derived pɛɛ- words in -nga are comparable with monomorphemic pɛɛ-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 pɛɛ- words which can occur as initiating sentences. A comparable sub-group could be set up of those pɛɛ- words which occur as calls; this would include words like maheɪ (chief), Puumoi (whiteman), ndakpɛɪ (young man), Kpana, Musu, ndopoi (child)

Subdivisions of pɛɛ- words

The class of pɛɛ- 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 pɛɛ- 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 pɛɛ- 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						
tsisia	-	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 mahsi —, 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 pɛɛ- words also occur. For example Bo, Puu, mahu, kulo⁽¹⁾, poma⁽¹⁾ which substitute for kpela in the sentence ta lo kpela (he is near), share many of the morphological and syntactical environments of words like nyaha (woman), nyapo (girl):

- yenyapoi gulanga - the girl has fallen down
- yemahui gulanga - the top has fallen down
- yekuloi gulanga - the front has fallen down
- yepomɛi 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 pɛɛ- words other than those of this division also occur; some occur only as the second immediate constituent of a complex: wɛ, for example, occurs only in complexes like nya wɛ (for me), mahɛi wɛ (for the chief), ndopoisia wɛ (for the children). These could be assigned, not to the pɛɛ- 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. 76).

kulo, kpela which are clearly pɛɛ- words, they are grouped along with these. Thus wɛ is assigned to this division of pɛɛ- 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 pɛɛ- 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:

ta lo pɛɛi mahu - it is above the house
 ta lo pɛɛi bu - it is in the house
 ta lo pɛɛi gulo - it is in front of the house
 ta lo pɛɛi gbela - it is beside the house

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

ta lo mahu - it is on top
 ta lo mbu - it is underneath
 ta lo kulo - it is in front
 ta lo kpela - it is near
 yemahui lo a ji - this the top
 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	lolu - 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 contracted to yakpe.

e.g. nya yakpe nga pie lo - I alone shall do it

mu felekpe ma pie lo - we two only shall do it

Suffix -ngo occurs with numerals 2 to 9, but is common only with fele(2) and sawa(3):

ti veenjo or veengo - both of them <felengo
f/y mutation

ti jaango - all 3 of them <sawango
s/j mutation

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

e.g. naaningo - all 4 naani - 4

loolungo - all 5 loolu - 5

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

e.g. nyapo fele - 2 girls

nyapo felenga - 2 girls (not common)

nyapo felei jisias - these 2 girls

nyapo feleisia - 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

e.g. yefelei)
 yefeleyei) - the second one

yefeleisia)
 yefeleyeisia) - 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:

ye - who?

mi - where?

gbe - what?

lols - how many?

These are distinguished from other pals- 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 ye, gbe, mi or lols as an individual item.

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 ye(who?) is formed with suffix -ni: the plural of gbe with suffix -nga: suffix -mo occurs with gbe:

gbemo mia a nyapoi na? - what nationality is that girl?
 [Anaphoric
 Referential] prefix ye- occurs with both gbe (what?) and
mi (where?)

e.g. yegbe - which one?

pelei yegbe? - which house

cf. gbe wels? - 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 pele- words and ye (how?) will be called an interrogative particle. It is convenient to have a term by which to refer to the interrogative pele- words and the interrogative particle collectively, and these will accordingly be called 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 pels- 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;

pɛlɛi mia - it's a house fandei mia - it's cotton
nya welɛi mia - it's my house Mende yandei mia - it's
Mende cotton

sanii mia - it's a bottle mbɛi mia - it's rice
ndo janii mia - it's a wine bottle mu bei mia - it's our
rice

The pairs pɛlɛi/wɛlɛi, fandɛi/vandɛi, saniɪ/janiɪ, mɛɪ/bɛɪ can be paralleled by hundreds of comparable pairs. Consonants may therefore be arranged in pairs as follows:

p	w
t	l
k ¹	g
kp	gb
f	v
s	j
mb	b
nɔ̃	l
ng	(w before <u>o,u</u> (y before other vowels
nj	y

Outside this system are h and the nasal consonants (m, n, ny, ŋ): 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. pɛlɛi mia - it is the house

nya wɛlɛi mia - it is my house

-
1. The alternance k/y has been found in one morpheme: kɛ - cause to be, make.

e.g. nga kɛ lo a pɛlɛ nyandɛ - I'll make it a nice house.
nga ji ye lo a pɛlɛ nyandɛ - 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 wuloi - 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 pɛlɛ/wɛlɛ one form is derived from the other or that one is regarded as basic; both are of equal status. In a dictionary pɛlɛ is listed, not wɛlɛ; this is because the former occurs after silence but wɛlɛ occurs only after some other word. Since 'pɛlɛ' and 'wɛlɛ' 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 pɛlɛ occurs and those in which wɛlɛ 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 pɛlɛ- words can readily be made into those with both unmutated and mutated forms and those with a single form.

Pɛlɛ- 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) [#] ———(-i) mia it's (a) ——— .
 ii) nya ———(-i) mia - it's my ——— .

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 tɛi mia : nya lei mia
 komi/gomi - honey
 fale/vale - mushroom
 sani/jani - bottle
 mba/ba - rice
 ndo/lo - palm wine
 ng'ulo/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 sigetii mia : nya sigetiimia
 pani - pan, tin
 teni - train
 ke - father
 kenya - mother's brother
 lambo - lamp
 bele - trousers

A two-fold division of pele- 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 pele- words. Three typical environments are selected:

- 1) [#] —(-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:

pele- house

pelei mia [- - - - _]

nya welsi mia [- _ _ - _ _]

ngi welsi ^{mia} k [_ - _ - _ _]

nyaha - woman

nyahsi mia [_ - _ - _]

nya myahsi mia [- _ _ - _ _]

ngi nyahsi mia [_ - _ - _ _]

ngila - dog

ngilei mia [- _ - _ _]

nya yilei mia [- _ _ - _ _]

ngi yilei mia [_ - _ - _ _]

fande - cotton

ndopo - child

ngulii - tree

navo - money

haka - load	bels - trousers
sene - court house	kali - hoe
maha - chief	gbese - stool

From the tone patterns above it will be seen that all⁽¹⁾ pels- 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 pels- words which have the same tone pattern in all 3 test frames. Some examples of these are:

kenya - mother's brother	kenya mia [- _ _ _]
	nya kenya mia [- - _ _ _]
	ngi kenya mia [_ - _ _ _]

kpaki - shoulder	kpakii mia [_ \ _ _]
	nya gbakii mia [- _ \ _ _]
	ngi gbakii mia [- _ \ _ _]

ndewe - brother, sister	ndewei mia [- - - - _]
	nya ndewei mia [- - - - - _]
	ngi ndewei mia [_ - - - - _]

ndia - middle	ndisi mia [- _ - _ _]
	nya lisi mia [- - _ - _ _]
	ngi lisi 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 pele^ε- 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, pele- words are divided as follows:

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

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

Those pele- 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. pɛɛ	- house	fandɛ	- cotton
kali	- snake	sani	- bottle
ngulɔ	- oil	kpanɛ	- gun
nja	- water	ndɔ	- palm wine
koli	- leopard	ta	- town

pɛɛi [- - -]

nya wɛɛi [- _ _ -]

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

2) those without consonant mutation, but with tonal sandhi

e.g. lambo	- lamp	Kpana	- (man's name)
bɛɛ	- trousers	teni	- train
pani	- pan	Kadi	- (woman's name)

panii [- /]

nya panii [- _ /]

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	^{pal/m of} - hand	mbolo	- neck

kpakii [_ \]

nya gbakii [- _ \]

Words of this sub-division almost all denote parts of the body.

4) those without consonant mutation and without tonal sandhi

e.g. ke - father	ndewe - brother, sister
kenya - mother's brother	mbaa - comrade
fele - 2	ngoo - older brother, sister
nje - mother	ndiamo - friend
sawa - 3	puu - 10
kenya [- _]	
nya kenya [-- _]	

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 pɛɛ- words
- 5) pɛɛ- words whose initial consonant is outside the consonant mutation system (h, m, n, ny, ŋ,)
- 6) pɛɛ- words ^{with}/consonant mutation and tonal sandhi
(Common pɛɛ- words)
- 7) pɛɛ- words without consonant mutation but with tonal sandhi (Loans, personal names)
- 8) pɛɛ- words with consonant mutation but without tonal sandhi (Parts of the body)
- 9) pɛɛ- words without consonant mutation and without tonal sandhi (Senior kinship, terms, numerals)

Hale- words are much more homogeneous than are pɛɛ- 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:

paa! - kill it!
ngi waa! - 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	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 alterationⁿ of initial consonant in other pairs of test frames. Nde~~le~~ (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 loanwords¹. It may perhaps be remarked here that the vast majority of recent loans have come into the language as pɛlɛ-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 pɛlɛ- 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 pɛlɛ- and hale-words undergo consonant mutation and tonal sandhi. In the following chapter will be described all the syntactic environments in which words ~~like those~~ of those two classes undergo consonant mutation and tonal sandhi.

-
1. Pawa is almost certainly a loanword from Portuguese : '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.

e.g.

Kpa Mende

Upper Mende

higi

hiwi,

termites' nest

haga

hawa,

cut up

ndega

ndewa,

pubes.

Chapter 3

Complexes

The simplest type of complex is a two-member complex whose second constituent is a common pəls- or halə-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 :

mahēi wəlsi (__ - __ -), the chief's house

mahēi pəlsi yeyanga (__ - - - - -), the chief has bought
the house

bi wului gulanga (- - - - -), your tree has fallen down

bi ngului gulanga (- - - - -), you have knocked the tree
down

kolii mie ti waani (- - - - - / _), it's a leopard that killed
them

kolii mie ti paani (- - - - - / _), it's a leopard they killed.

The complexes mahēi wəlsi, 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 pɛɛ- and hale-words occur as second constituent of complexes whose first constituent is :

1. an indefinite singular pɛɛ- or hale-word.

e.g. hale wɛɛ,	medicine house, hospital	<u>pɛɛ</u> , house
Mende vande,	Mende cotton	<u>fande</u> , cotton
nyaha yia,	woman palaver	<u>njia</u> , word
numu gutu,	short person	<u>kutu</u> , short
Kpana lo,	Kpana's son	<u>ndo</u> , child
ndo jani,	wine bottle	<u>sani</u> , bottle
gbe jongo?	how much, what price?	<u>songo</u> , price

2. a definite singular pɛɛ- or hale-word.

e.g. mahɛi wɛɛ,	the chief's house
nyahɛi vande,	the woman's cotton
numui jani,	the person's bottle

3. a ngi-pronoun.

e.g. nya wɛɛ,	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 (_ -), their shortness

 ti gutu (_ - -), shorten them.

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

e.g. nya woli (_ -) }
 nya woli (_ - -) } my ear

 ngi woli (_ -) }
 ngi woli (_ - -) } his ear

 nya wu (_ -) }
 nya wu (_ /) } my head

 ngi wu (_ -) }
 ngi wu (_ /) } his head.

Those pəle-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.

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 pəle- 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 pəle-words occur as second constituent in objective complexes, but that senior kinship terms occur in ^{subjective} [passive] complexes.

e.g.

ngila(́_), dog	kenya(́_), uncle
nya yila(́__), my dog	nya kenya(́__), my uncle.

Some pele-words and hale-words (e.g. loanwords, personal names, kinship terms, numerals, words with initial h, m, n, ny, ŋ) 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. panii mia, it is a pan

nya panii mia, it is my pan

halei mia, that is medicine

nya halei 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 halei, nya kenya, nya lamboi are clearly complexes since they are syntactically comparable with the much commoner pairs like,

ngilei mia, that is a dog

nya yilei mia, that is my dog

pelei mia, that is the house

nye 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.

e.g. ngilei mia (_ _ _ _), that is a dog
 nya yilei mia (_ _ _ _), that is my dog

lamboi mia (_ _ _ _), that is a lamp

nye lamboi mia (_ _ _ _), that is my lamp.

The words ndo ; "child", and nyeha, "wife", it may be noticed, occur in objective complexes, in contrast with kenye, "uncle", ke, "father", nie, "mother", neoo, "older brother/sister", ndewe, "brother/sister", which occur only in subjective complexes. This difference in distribution is clearly in keeping with the semantic difference between the two types of complex.

Objective and subjective complexes of all three

types are found, giving the following six-member scheme :

Objective Complexes

1. First constituent : indef. sing. pele- or hele-word
 2. " " : def. sing. pele- or hele-word
 3. " " : a ngi-pronoun
- To be added to the list of complexes are :
4. First constituent : indef. pl. pele- or hele-word
 5. " " : def. pl. pele- or hele-word.

Not all pele-words and hele-words occur as second constituent in each of these ten complexes; in objective complexes of types 4 and 5, for example, only certain main-words can occur as second constituent. The main kinds

Subjective Complexes

1. First constituent : indef. sing. pele- or hele-word
 2. " " : def. sing. pele- or hele-word
 3. " " : a ngi-pronoun
4. First constituent : indef. plural pele- or hele-word
 5. " " : def. plural pele- or hele-word

of pəle- and hale-words which occur as second constituent in each type of complex are :

Objective Complexes

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

Subjective Complexes

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

Some mahu-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, numerals¹, 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 gbɛ, "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) cf. maha, chief

Kpana ji , this Kpana, Kpana here mahɛi ji, this chief

The meaning of mi and gbɛ when these are second constituents of a complex is to be noticed:

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

gbɛ, what relation?

1. Numerals with suffix -ngo 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 gbale? where do you feel the pain?

bi gbe 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.

e.g. kula, knock it down

ngi gula, knock him down

pie, do it

ji wie, do this

faya, scatter it

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.

e.g. kula, knock it down

gula, fall down

pie, do it

wie, happen

faya, scatter it

vaya, scatter (intrans.)

Crosby describes forms like 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-} ~~share a certain grammatical 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. mshs ms 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

pelsi 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 ^{Zero} ~~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 ^{zero} ~~[missing]~~ and whose second constituent is a hale-word are :

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

A few pale-words occur as second constituent of a complex whose first constituent is ^{zero} ~~[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 ^{zero} ~~[missing]~~ are all subjective.

Some examples of objective complexes type 1 are :

hindo hale, man medicine, ~~he~~ i.e. male secret society.

fande loma,	cotton shirt
kolu mita,	iron spoon
hale wels,	medicine house
Puu gbande,	English gun
nyaha yia,	woman palaver
Kpana nyahei,	kpana's wife
Musu welsi,	Musu's house
Bo welei,	the Bo road, the road to Bo
kenya nyehci,	uncle's wife
ke welsi,	father's house
kotu welsi,	stone house

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

1. modification : kotu welsi, stone house
2. possession : ke welsi, father's house.

Most complexes whose first constituent is an indefinite singular hale- or pale-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 na, "that".

These rarely, if ever, occur with the definite singular

suffix -i; ke, "father", for example, occurs with suffix -i only in ^{a few sentences like} ~~the question~~ ye lo kei le?, "who is the father?"; kenya, "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. Ipana welsi, Kpana's house
 ngi welsi, his house

Contrast maha welsi, "royal house"! ~~where ngi cannot substitute for maha without change of grammatical meaning~~
Kpana welsi mia, "it is Kpana's house", is an appropriate reply to ye wels mia? "whose house is it?", but not to gbe wels mia?, "what sort of a house is it?". Maha welsi mia, "it is a royal/magnificent house, a house fit for a chief", on the other hand, is an appropriate reply to gbe wels mia? "what sort of a house is it?", but not to ye wels mia? "whose house is it?"; to this latter an appropriate reply would be mahei welsi 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 different division of type 1 complexes whose first I.C. is a personal name, senior kinship

The difference in ^{between possession and modification} ~~grammatical~~ meaning ~~between~~ 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.

Type 1Type 2

hale welai (---_--), medicine
house

Musu welai (---__-), Musu's house lavalei welai (----__-), the
speaker's house.

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 welai, medicine house
 pelai 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 nyande,	a pretty girl	<u>nyapo</u> , girl
	numu lali,	a black person	<u>numu</u> , person
	kula gole,	white cloth	<u>kula</u> , cloth
	sela gbou,	a ripe banana	<u>sela</u> , banana
	nyapo nyamu,	an ugly girl	<u>nyapo</u> , girl

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
kulsei gole, the cloth's whiteness

nyapo nyamu, girl ugliness, ugly girl
nyapoi nyamu, the girl's ugliness

cf. maha wels, a royal house, a chiefly house
mahsi wels, the chief's house.

Some examples of objective complexes of type 2 are :

mahsi welsei, the chief's house
nyapoi hini, the girl's husband
pelsei bu, in the house
nyahsei hale, the woman's medicine
kulsei jongo, the price of the cloth
tsi hu, in the town
ndopoi gonu, the child's axe.

The [grammatical] meaning of these complexes is ^{comparable with} ~~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 wela, Kpana's house
Kadi hini, Kadi's husband

Type 2

mahai wela, the chief's house
nyapoi hini, the girl's husband

Type 3

ngi wela, 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 nyahai, Kpana's wife
 mahai wela, the chief's house

A plural pela- or hale-word does not occur as first I.C. of a genitival complex; "the chiefs' house" is in Mende mahaisia ti wela. The plural pela-word mahaisia, "chiefs", is supported by the following genitival complex ti wela, "their house".

Crosby gives as an example of the possessive case¹

1. Crosby "Introduction" p 25.

both mahai welɛi, here treated as a genitival complex, and maha welɛi, here treated as a compound. He translates these :

maha welɛi : the house belonging to ~~the~~ a chief

mahai welɛi : the house belonging to the chief.

But maha welɛi is structurally identical with navo lomɛi which he gives¹ as an example of a compound noun, and translates 'money love'. The pair maha welɛi and mahai welɛi, 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 welɛi is misleading. The indefinite form of a pɛɛ-word, as already stated (see page 47), seems often to denote an abstract quality rather than a concrete entity, this latter being denoted by the definite form. Maha, then, in maha welɛi is not 'a chief', but rather 'chiefness, the quality of a chief', hence maha welɛi is 'a chiefly house, a royal house, a house worthy of a chief, a large and expensive house'. The referent of the complex maha welɛi may be a house belonging to anyone, not necessarily to a chief. Likewise numu welɛi, 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 welɛi is not 'a

1. "Introduction" p22.

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

Little need be said about subjective complexes whose second I.C. is a pɛɛ-word; the kinds of pɛɛ-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 :

mahɛi wɛɛi,	the chief's house	mahɛi ngi kenya,	the chief's uncle
ngi wɛɛi,	his house	ngi kenya,	his uncle.

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

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

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

kolo gaa,	read a book	<u>kaa</u> ,	read it
ndo gboli,	drink wine	<u>kpoli</u> ,	drink it
mehɛ mɛ,	eat food	<u>mɛ</u> ,	eat it
ndoli ga,	perform a dance	<u>ka</u> ,	perform it
pɛɛ lo,	build a house	<u>to</u> ,	set ^{it} up

Type 2 (first I.C. : def. sing. pɛlɛ- or hale-word)

mahɛi loli,	call the chief
kolii wɛa,	kill the leopard
nyapɔi gbe,	look at the girl
kolɔi gɛa,	read the book
halei gboli,	drink the medicine
mɛ ^h ɛi mɛ,	eat the food

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

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

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

pɛlɛngɛ lo,	build houses
sɛlɛngɛ mɛ,	eat bananas
kolɔngɛ gaa,	read books
kulɛngɛ hoo,	sew clothes
bukungɛ gbe,	look at books
nikangɛ waa,	kill cattle

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

pɛlɛisia lo,	build the houses
sɛlɛisia mɛ,	eat the bananas
kolɔisia gaa,	read the books

kuleisia hoo, sew the clothes
 bukuisia gbe, look at the books
 nikeisia waa, 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 whole¹, 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 :

<u>Mende</u>	<u>Grebo</u>
hiya, pound it	du, pound
mba hiya, pound rice	du bla, pound rice.

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

1. See for example D. Westermann and M. Bryan Handbook of African Languages Part II London 1952 p44 "Word order in the simple sentence is Subject - Object - Verb:

MALINKE a soo bugu - he the horse struck
 KPEILE na nalon kaa - I a man saw
 MENDE ngi mahel loa - I the chief have seen".

MB. of Caucasian
(+ Benveniste)

cf. concord of
Negative construction—
+ "passive" interpretation
of this

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 ^{the} ~~[grammatical]~~ ^{of that structure, viz. modification} meaning, and both may appropriately be called compounds. Likewise ngi waa, "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. Ngì waa 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 pels-word in objective and subjective complexes with a hale-word in two comparable complexes :

□

[Objective]

1 <u>Objective</u>	2 <u>Subjective</u>
ngi woli (_ -), his ear	ngi woli (_ - -)
nya woli (- _), my ear	nya woli (- - -)
mahai woli (_ - _), the chief's ear	mahai woli (_ - -)
3 <u>Objective</u>	4 <u>Subjective</u>
ngi hale (_ -), his medicine	ngi hale (_ - -), treat him with medicine
nya hale (- _), my medicine	nya hale (- - -), treat me with medicine
mahai hale (_ - _), the chief's medicine	mahai hale (_ - -), treat the chief with medicine.

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 ~~which~~ 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 complexes

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 pəɬ-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 pəɬ-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 pəɬ-words since they all occur in the set of positions used for the establishment of this class. On page 23 above the classes of pəɬ-words and hale-words were set up by a process of substitution in the frame * —(-i) — -nga ; pəɬ-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 pəɬ-word or hale-word as headword occur with the derivational affixes -mo, -ye, -ya, [ye].

e.g. kpala yengemo, farm worker

~~[yekpala yengemoi, the aforementioned farm worker]~~

Puu vandeye, an English cotton one

ndolo mahaya, office of paramount chief

They occur with inflectional ²suffixes -i, -sia, -nga, -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 maha and -ya

ndolo maha is an objective compound.

yehale welsi, the aforementioned hospital

yehale welsi has I.C's ye- and hale welsi

hale wela has I.C's hale wela and -i

hale wela is an objective compound.

hindo haleisia, male secret societies

hindo haleisia has I.C's hindo halei and -sia

hindo halei has I.C's hindo hale and -i

hindo 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

navo majoyi, a way of getting money

ndo gbolima, a drinking place

These occur with suffixes -i, -sia, -nga, -bla and ^{anaphoric} ~~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 navo majooyii
navo majooyii has I.C's navo majooyi and -i
navo majooyi has I.C's navo majoo and -yi
navo majoo 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 ganga, they have danced
ndoli ganga has I.C's ndoli ga and -nga
ndoli ga is a subjective compound

Subjective compounds whose headword is an unaffixed pele-word
or a numeral with suffix -kpe or -ngo, or a hale-word with
suffix -ngo, 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 haangoi, the dead chief
maha haangoi has I.C's maha haango and -i
maha haango is a subjective compound with I.C's maha
and haango
haango has I.C's haa and -ngo

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

The difference in division into I.C's between expressions like numu waamo, "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 waamo	} have I.C's	numu waa + -mo	(<u>numu</u> , person
numu waala		numu waa + -la	(<u>paa</u> , kill it
numu weayi		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", paala, "killing it", paayi, "way of killing it", which ^{are comparable in meaning with} ~~have the same grammatical meanings as~~ the corresponding original expressions.

Numu weango, "a murdered person", on the other hand, has I.C's numu and weango. ^{is not comparable in meaning with} If it is divided into numu waa and -ngo, and paa is substituted for numu waa, the resulting expression ^{is not comparable in meaning with} ~~does not have the same grammatical meaning as~~ the original ; paengo, "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 pela-word (including derived pela-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. mahsi welai, the chief's house

mahsi welai is an objective complex type 2 with I.C's
mahsi and welai

mahei has I.C's maha and -i

welēi has I.C's welē and -i

nya nikangeisia, my cattle

nya nikangeisia has I.C's nya and nikangeisia

nikangeisia has I.C's nikangei and -sia

nikangei has I.C's nikanga and -i

nikanga has I.C's nika and -nga

mu halemōi, our medicineman

mu halemōi is an objective complex type 3 with I.C's

mu and halemōi

halemōi has I.C's halemō and -i

halemō has I.C's hale and -mō

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 pēlē-word (including derived pēlē-words in -yi, -la, -ngo, -ma, -mō) 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 affix -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.

mahēi hīgbēngōi (hu), (during) the chief's illness

mahēi hīgbēngōi is a subjective complex type 2, with

I.C's mahēi and hīgbēngōi.

mahēi has I.C's maha and -i

hīgbēngōi has I.C's hīgbēngō and -i

hīgbēngō has I.C's hīgbē and -ngō ; hīgbēngō is a derived pēlē-word.

nikēi wāālēi, the slaughtering of the cow

nikēi wāālēi is a subjective complex type 2, with

I.C's nikēi and wāālēi

nikēi has I.C's nika and -i

wāālēi has I.C's wāala and -i

wāala has I.C's waa and -la ; wāala is a derived pēlē-word.

mu muamei, our wash place

mu muamei is a subjective complex type 3, with I.C's

mu and muamei

Example

muamei has I.C's muama and -i

muama has I.C's mua and -ma ; muama is a derived
pela-word.

kensi gbalei, the old man's beard

kensi gbalei is a subjective complex type 2, with
I.C's kensi and gbalei

kensi has I.C's kena and -i

gbalei has I.C's gbale 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

ii) ngi mahai loni lo, I saw the chief

mahai loni is a subjective complex type 2, with I.C's
mahai and loni

mahai has I.C's maha and -i

loni has I.C's lo and -ni

ti niksi waanga, they have killed the cow

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

niksi has I.C's nika and -i

waanga has I.C's waa and -nga

mu ti waanga, 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 -nga

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 Mende mahsi waalsi na ti pien, "that killing of the chief (which) they did". The expression ti mahsi waalsi, "the murder of their chief", is a subjective genitival complex with I.C's ti mahsi, "their chief", and waalsi, "the killing"; the division into ti, "their" and mahsi waalsi, "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 mahu-word.

e.g. mahsi higbengoi hu, during the chief's illness

ngi nyandengoi hu, in the days when she was pretty.

These genitival complexes (mahsi higbengoi, ngi nyandengoi) are to be compared with compounds like maha higbengoi, "the sick chief", maha haangoi, "the dead chief". The complex mahsi higbengoi hu, ~~it~~ may be added, commonly occurs in general statements like mahsi higbengoi hu numu ee loli,

"during the illness of a chief, one does not dance". Here mahɛi, the definite form, occurs although its referent is not any particular chief; if the indefinite form maha is substituted for mahɛi, the resulting complex maha hieɓɛngoi hu would mean "in the sick chief". Mahɛi hieɓɛngɔ, "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 92) 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 (ˉ) and (ˊ) respectively. In addition to these there are an up-glance and a down-glance, represented by (/) and (\) respectively.

The tone patterns of pele-words and hale-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) (--) pɛlɛ, house
- 2) (-) fandɛ, cotton
- 3) (-_) ngila, dog
- 4) (__) bɛlɛ, 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) (_\) nyaha, 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
 fande (_ ^), cotton fande nyande (_ ^ ^), good cotton

Some further examples of the tone patterns of objective compounds are :

hale wɛɛ (^ ^ ^ _),	medicine house	hale (^ ^);	pɛɛ (^ ^)
Mende wɛɛ (_ ^ ^ _),	a Mende house	Mende (_ ^)	
maha wɛɛ (_ ^ _),	a royal house	maha (_ ^)	
ngila wɛɛ (^ _ _),	a dog kennel	ngila (^ _)	
hindo wɛɛ (/ _ _),	a hose for men	hindo (/ _)	
nyaha wɛɛ (_ ^ _),	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	fande (_ ^)
Mende navo (_ ^ ^ _),	Mende money	navo (_ ^)
Mende yila (_ ^ ^ _),	a Mende dog	ngila (^ _)
Mende bɛɛ (_ ^ ^ _),	Mende trousers	bɛɛ (_ _)
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 pɛɛ- or hale-word has tone pattern (_ _).

e.g.

mahɛi wɛɛɛi (_ _ ^ _ _),	the chief's house	pɛɛɛ (^ ^)
mahɛi vande (_ _ ^ _ _),	the chief's cotton	fande (_ ^)

~~mahɛi navo (_ _ ^ _ _), the chief's money navo (_ ^)~~

mahsi navo (__-__), the chief's money	navo (_-)
mahsi yɛla (__-__), the chief's dog	ngila (_-)
mahsi belɛ (__-__), the chief's trousers	belɛ (__)
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~~ 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 welɛ (---_), a medicine house
hona loma (---_), a witch gown
Bo wele (--_), the Bo road

Genitival Complexes

Musu welɛ (--_), Musu's house	lavalei welɛ (----_), the speaker's house
ke loma (_-), father's shirt	ndakpei loma (---_), the young man's shirt

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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", wu, "your" (pl.), ti, "their".

e.g. nya wele (⁻ __), my house	pela (⁻)
nya vande (⁻ __), my cotton	fande (⁻)
nye yila (⁻ __), my dog	ngila (⁻)
nya nyaha (⁻ __), my wife	nyaha (⁻)
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. mahesia woma (⁻__-⁻__), behind the chiefs

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

e.g.

mahɛi hokpa (__ - ˉˉ),	the chief's nose	hokpa (ˉˉ)
mahhi gbɛɛ (__ - ˉ)	the chief's beard	kpɛɛ (ˉ)
mahɛi gbaki (__ - \)	the chief's shoulder	kpaki (\)
mahɛi loli (__ - ˉˉ),	call the chief	toli (ˉˉ)
mahɛi hou (__ - ˉ),	catch the chief	hou (ˉ)
mahɛi gulo (__ - ˉ),	before the chief	kulo (ˉ)

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

e.g.

ngi hokpa (ˉˉ),	his nose	hokpa (ˉˉ)
ngi gbaki (ˉ \)	his shoulder	kpaki (\)
ngi loli (ˉˉ),	call him	toli (ˉˉ)
ngi gulo (ˉˉ),	in front of him	kulo (ˉˉ)

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 :

<u>Objective</u>	<u>Subjective</u>	
ngi woli (ˉˉ), his ear	ngi woli (ˉˉ)	ngoli (ˉˉ)
ngi gbaki (ˉˉ), his shoulder	ngi gbaki (ˉ \)	kpaki (\)
	ngi gbaki (ˉ \)	

In objective complexes where, as second I.C., a CVCV word has tone pattern ($\bar{_}$), a CV word has tone pattern (\backslash); where a CVCV word has tone pattern ($__$), a CV word has tone pattern ($_$).

e.g.

Mende vande ($_\bar{_}$), Mende cotton

Mende ba ($_\bar{\backslash}$), Mende rice

kolu mita ($_\bar{_}$), iron spoon

kolu ve ($_\backslash$), iron pot

Puu mita ($___$), English spoon

Puu ve ($__$), English pot

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

e.g. ngi welɛ ($_\bar{_}$), his house

ngi vakali ($_\bar{__}$), his paw-paw

nya welɛ ($_\bar{__}$), my house

nye vakali ($_\bar{___}$), 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 welɛi, "my son's house", has I.C's nya loi, "my son", and

welɛi , "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 welɛi, "my son's house", for example, is readily identified as a complex by the initial mutated consonants of loi and welɛi, and by the tone pattern:

nya loi welɛi (ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ)

nya (ˉ), "my"

ndoi (ˉˉ), son

pelɛi (ˉˉˉ), house

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

nya loi pelɛi (ˉ ˉ ˉˉˉ)

pelɛi (ˉˉˉ)

nya loi welɛi (ˉ ˉ ˉ ˉ)

The sentence nya loi welɛi gulanga, "my son's house has fallen down", has I.C's nya loi welɛi, "my son's house", and gulanga, "has fallen down", whereas the sentence nya loi pelɛi gulanga, "my son has knocked the house down", has I.C's nya loi, "my son", and pelɛi gulanga, "has knocked the house

pattern only, since both bɛɛ and nyande have non-mutating initial consonants. Fande bɛɛ nyande is an objective complex, with I.C's fande bɛɛ and nyande, the first being itself an objective compound with I.C's fande and bɛɛ. The tone pattern is :

fande bɛɛ nyande (__ ^ __)	fande (_ ^)
	bɛɛ (__)
	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. pɛɛ- or hale-word
 2. headword of first I.C. : def. sing. pɛɛ- or hale-word
 3. headword of first I.C. : a ngi-pronoun
 4. headword of first I.C. : indef. pl. pɛɛ- or hale-word
 5. headword of first I.C. : def. pl. pɛɛ- or hale-word
- e.g. Puu ~~ny~~ahɛi yilɛi, the English woman's dog
 mahɛi nyahɛi yilɛi, the chief's wife's dog
 nye nyahɛi yilɛi, 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 case a type 1 complex (Puu nyahēi), in another a type 2 complex (maheī nyahēi), and in the third a type 3 complex (nya nyahēi). 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 nyahēi, maheī nyahēi and nya nyahēi is in each case a definite singular pēlē-word, these are all first I.C's of type 2 complexes. The complexes Puu nyahēi yilēi, maheī nyahēi yilēi, nya nyahēi yilēi 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 nyahēi is regarded as headword of the first I.C. of both complexes :

nya nyahēi wēlēi, my wife's house

nyahēi wēlēi, the woman's house.

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

e.g. nya loi wēlēi, my son's house

I.C's : nya loi and wēlēi

nya wēlē nyandēi, my nice house

I.C's : nya and wēlē nyandēi

nya loi wēlē nyandēi, my son's nice house

I.C's : nya loi and wēlē nyandēi

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 lo, and the first a pale- or hale-word or a complex or a ta-pronoun.

e.g. nga bia lo lewe

nga bia lo lewe, I shall beat you

bia lo lewe is a subjective complex type 6, with

I.C's bia lo and lewe

bia lo is a phrase consisting of the second person singular ta-pronoun bia and the emphatic particle lo.

ngi mahai lo loni, I saw the chief

mahai lo loni is a subjective complex type 6, with

I.C's mahai lo and loni

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

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

mahai is a definite singular pale-word

lo is an emphatic particle

ti ndopoisia lo waani, they killed the children

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 waa, allomorph of paa, "kill it".

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

ndopoisia is a definite plural pəɬ-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 pəɬ-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 pəɬ-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 pela-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 pela-word; loli is a hale-word, allomorph
of ndoli; ga is a hale-word, allomorph of ka

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 -nga

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 ngenge; wie is a

hale-word, allomorph of pie.

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

Puu nyahai yilei loni is a subjective complex type 2,

with I.C's Puu nyahai yilei and loni

Puu nyahai yilei is an objective complex type 2, with

I.C's Puu nyahai and yilei

Puu nyahai 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 pale-word; nyaha is a pale-word; yila is a

pale-word, allomorph of ngila; lo is a hale-word,

allomorph of to.

ngi ndo janiisia yeyanga, I have bought the wine bottles

ndo janiisia yeyanga is a subjective complex type 5,

with I.C's ndo janiisia and yeyanga

ndo janiisia has I.C's ndo janii and def. pl. suffix
-sia

ndo janii 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 -nga

ndo is a pale-word, allomorph of lo; jani is a

pale-word, allomorph of sani; yeye is a hale-word,
allomorph of ngeya.

nye lo lima Puu lo gbolima, I am going to drink rum

lime 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 hale-word, allomorph of ndi; Puu is a pale-

word; lo is a pɛɛ-word, allomorph of ndo; gboli is a hale-word, allomorph of kpoli

nya wɛɛ nyandei, my nice house

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

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

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

nya is the first person singular ngi-pronoun; wɛɛ is a pɛɛ-word, allomorph of pɛɛ; nyande is a hale-word.

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

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

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 lɛlii has I.C's gula lɛli and -i

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

nyapo is a pɛɛ-word; nyande is a hale-word; gula is a pɛɛ-word, allomorph of kula; lɛli is a hale-word, allomorph of tɛli.

nya kenya wovɛi, my old uncle

nya kenya wovɛi is a subjective complex type 3, with I.C's nya and kenya wovɛi

kenya wovɛi has I.C's kenya wova and -i

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

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

pɛɛ wai nasia gulo, in front of those big houses

pɛɛ wai nasia gulo is a subjective complex type 5, with I.C's pɛɛ wai nasia and gulo

pɛɛ wai nasia has I.C's pɛɛ wai and nasia

nasia has I.C's na and def. pl. suffix -sia

pɛɛ wai has I.C's pɛɛ wa and -i

pɛɛ wa is an objective complex type 1, with I.C's pɛɛ and wa

pɛɛ is a pɛɛ-word; wa is a pɛɛ-word; na is a demonstrative; gulo is a mahu-word, allomorph of kulo.

loko lo, to point

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

loko is headword of a complex whose first I.C. is
[missing] zero.

loko is a member of the sub-group of pele-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 con-
junction, as in the English expression 'the young and
vigorous leader'. Mende has a compound ngila wova, "an old
dog", and a compound ngila 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; ndoma, shirt; nyande, nice)

This has I.C.'s fande 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 ^{one} 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 gbe/ai, meal time; time to eat

mehe me gbelei 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 pale-word; me is a hale-word; gbele is a pale-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 pale-word; gboli is a hale-word, allomorph of kpoli; hinda is a pale-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}
[missing]

la is a hale-word, allomorph of nda, "lay it down";

gbele is a pɛlɛ-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 pɛlɛ-word; waa is a hale-word, allomorph

of paa, "kill it"; wulu is a pɛlɛ-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

yekutui, the short one

kutukutu, very short

yekutukutui, the very
short one

nyamu, ugly

numu nyamu, an ugly person

nyamunyanmu, very ugly

numu nyamunyanmu, 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 :

Simple form

(--)

(_ -)

(- _)

Reduplicated form

(--- _)

(_ _ -)

(- _ _)

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 ~~the~~ objective compounds whose first I.C. has tone pattern (--) or (_ -) in isolation.

e.g.

nyamu (--), uglyhale (--)nyamunyamun (--- _), very
uglyhale wele (--- _), medicine
housenyande (_ -), nicefande (_ -), cottonnyandenyan (_ _ -), very
nicefande loma (_ _ -), cotton
shirt.

ii) Consonant mutation.

The second part of the reduplicated form has the same initial consonant as the first.

e.g.

kutu, shortfembε, shake itkutukutu, very shortfembεfembε, shake it

repeatedly.

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.

e.g. fembefembe, shake it repeatedly

mbomei vembefembe, shake the hammock repeatedly

This has a free variant mbomei vembefembe

kutukutu, very short

numu gutugutu, a very short person

But, pəpə, cut it down repeatedly pə, cut it down

ti wəpə, cut them down repeatedly

ti wəwə 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.

e.g. kutukutu (---_)

numu gutugutu (---_) cf. numu nyande (---_)

bəle gutugutu (-----) bəle nyande (----)

Somewhat similar~~y~~ 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 fembefembe (/ _ _ _), don't keep on shaking it.
There is little difference in ~~grammatical~~ meaning between
reduplication and repetition; both express either ~~intensity~~
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 ngi-pronoun + pelɛ-word (including derived pelɛ-words).

e.g. bi humamɔi, you thief
mu Puubla, we Englishmen
wu Mendebɔla, you Lendemen

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 humamɔi (----), you thief humamɔi (----)
bi humamɔi (---), your thief

bi ndemai (----), you liar ndemai (---)

bi lemai (---), your liar

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

e.g. wua wu mendebla, you mendemen
 mua mu Puubla, we Englishmen
 ta ngi mahai, the chief himself

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

e.g. maa mahai, 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 hale-word.

e.g. mahai taa lavalei, the chief and the speaker
 taa lavalei, he and the speaker.

3) Phrases of the type :

Kensi Fode, Mr Fode
 Mamci Kadi, Mrs/Miss Kadi
 Mahai Gamanga, Chief Gamanga

Compare for example :

Kensi Fode, Mr Fode
 kensi welsi, the man'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. Ndolomahesi Kenewa Gamanga, Paramount Chief

Kenewa Gamanga

Ndolomahesi Bai Farima Tass, P.C. Bai Farima

Tass

Words which occur in this type of phrase are all pele-words; they may be divided into :

i) a short list of words like Dokita, "Doctor",

Kensi, "Mr", Mamei, "Mrs /Miss", Mahesi, "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 ostensively 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 Gbe 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.

e.g.	<u>Indefinite</u>	<u>Definite</u>
	Musu	kenɛi, elderly man
	Kpana	ndakpɛi, young man
	Kadi	ndopoi, child

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.

2) a few

Two classes of words occur in exclamatory sentences:

1) interjections

2) a few pele-words like dunya, "world", Ngewo, "God". The lexical meaning of these is irrelevant; ~~the lexical meaning of these is irrelevant~~ ~~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.

e.g.	o ya	} expressive of surprise tinged with dismay at learning something unpleasant.
	o ya ma yei	
	o ya ma yei Ngewo	

Of the words in these examples, Ngewo is a pela-word, the others are interjections.

It may perhaps be remarked here that, compared with English, Mende has few interjections, and very few pela-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 pela-word ngenda, "morning", or kpoko, "evening"; only two sentences of this type occur.

Other sentences which commonly occur in exchanges of greetings are bi sig, "thank you" (singular), and wu sig,

"thank you" (plural). These consist of the second person pronoun bi (sing.) or wu (pl.) + the pɛɛ-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 + pɛɛ-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~~ to them is almost¹ 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 ordinarily² occurs as a reply to a specific question.

e.g.	<u>Yes/no question</u>	<u>Specific question</u>
Bi kenya mia a na?	Is that your uncle?	Ye mia a na? Who is that?
Bia lo lima Bo?	Are you going to Bo?	Bi lima mi lo? Where are you going?
Hale welsi lo a ji?	Is this the hospital?	Gbe welsi lo a ji? What sort of house is this?
		Wu lols? How many are you?

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 hinda 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 question:

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. mahai mia a na. that is the chief
mahai mia a na? is that the chief?

2. Those with final hie or kse. These have statement intonation, with pause, or potential pause, before the final morpheme.

e.g. mahai 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 lime 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 mahɛi?, "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 mahɛi? depends largely on the circumstances in which it is asked. Appropriate replies to o mahɛi? may be, for example, ta lo fisama, "he is getting better", ii mbei, "he is not here", i ya semɛi bu, "he has gone to court".

Since specific questions other than those of the type o mahɛi? "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 kɛɛ 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 mɛhɛ, 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 mɛhɛ, "they will give him food", + hie, and the structure of statements like ta ngi go lo a mɛhɛ is described below. But to questions like o mahɛi? "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 o, and the second by a pɛlɛ- or hale-word, an objective complex whose headword is a pɛlɛ- or hale-word, a subjective complex with a pɛlɛ-word as headword, or a ta-pronoun.

e.g. o mahɛi? what about the chief?
 o halei? what about the medicine?
 o bi halei? what about your medicine?
 o bi kenya? what about your uncle?
 o 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:

	<u>Affirmative</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Future Tense	nga gulalo, I shall fall	ngɛɛ gula
Present Continuous Tense	{ nya lo gulama } I am falling { ngi gulama lo }	{ ngii gulama { ngii gulama
Past Tense	ngi gulsilo, I fell	ngii gulani
Perfect Tense	ngi gulanga, I have fallen	ngii gulani

Also listed are two aorist 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 lole? "how many is it?", ti ke yakpe, "their father one, i.e. they have the same father", mahsi 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

cf. Transformations.
Discourse 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 pale-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 nyahei mia a nyapoi na, "that girl is my wife", nya loi lo, "this is my son", gbe jongo mia? "how much is it?", mahei 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 nyahei 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

Good - I like the idea from the
implications of Chomsky's ~~ideas~~
"kernel" sentences.

? "transformational" rules
or "expansion"

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:

<u>Simple</u>	<u>Complex</u>
ngii numui na loni, I did not see that person	ngii numui na loni ti <u>ngi</u> waanga, I did not see the person they have killed
ti ngi waanga, they have killed him	ngi luwani lo ji ngi kolii loni,

ngi koli loni lo gbengi,
I saw a leopard yesterday

ngi wanga mehe va, I
have come for food

ngi lini lo tei hu gbengi,
I went to town yesterday

ngii mahai loni, I did
not see the chief

I was afraid when I saw the
leopard

ngi wanga ngi bi lo, I have
come to see you

ngi lini lo tei hu gbengi kee
ngii mahai loni na, 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 nyahai mia a na, that is my wife

mu welsi lo, this is our house

hale welsi mia, that is the hospital

kpana loi mia a ndakpei 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 pele- or hale-word, definite or indefinite, singular
or plural.

e.g. pɛlɛ mia, that is a house
 pɛlɛi mia, that is the house
 pɛlɛisia mia, those are the houses

2) an objective complex whose headword is a pɛlɛ- or hale-word; a subjective complex whose headword is a pɛlɛ-word.

e.g. hale wɛlɛi mia a na, that is the hospital
 nya kenya mia, that is my uncle
 mahɛi wɛlɛi mia, that is the chief's house

3) a ta-pronoun.

e.g. ta mia, that's it

In second position only the emphatic particles mia, lɔ, le occur

e.g. mahɛi mia, that is the chief
 mahɛi lɔ, this is the chief
 mahɛi le, it is the chief

The particle mia connotes distance from the speaker, lɔ nearness to the speaker.

e.g. mahɛi mia a na, that is the chief (na : that)
 mahɛi lɔ a ji, this is the chief (ji : this)

*mahɛi lɔ a na and *mahɛi 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. Mahci mia. It is the chief.

A. Mahci mia? Is it the chief?

B. M, mahci 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:

mahci 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:

mahɛi mia a kɛɛi na, that elderly man is chief
 nya nyahɛi mia a nyapɔi na, that girl is my wife
 nya wo lo a sanii 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. mahɛi mia a Kpana, Kpana is chief
 nya kenya mia a mahɛi, the chief is my uncle
 mahɛi mia a nya kenya, my uncle is chief
 mahɛi mia a ngie, he is chief
 Mendebɛla mia a tie, they are Mendemen

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. mahɛi 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 yaa¹, and

1. Initial l of le and lo is often dropped, and in the case of lo assimilation commonly occurs between ɔ and the final vowel of the preceding word.

e.g. nya lo wama, "I am coming", > nyaa wama.

is written ya a.
e.g.

mehci i*l* le, it is not the chief

*mehci i*l* le a ne, "that is not the chief", is pronounced

mehci yae ne, and written mehci ya a ne.

This spelling is bad, and seems due to a realization that
a occurs in these expanded forms, but a failure to recognize
the spoken form ya as a contraction of i*l* le a.

Sentences of type 1, both affirmative and negative, may
be expanded by an expression of place or time following the
a-phrase, though such expansions are not common.

e.g. mehci mia a na miendo, that is the chief over
there,

gebe mia a na bi yeya? what is that in your
hand?

No sentences of this type have been found which contain both
a time expression and a place expression.

The most fully expanded form of a type 1 sentence has

five positions:

1	2	3	4	5
pele- or hale-word, complex with <u>apele-</u> or hale-word as headword ta-pronoun	negative particle <u>il</u>	emphatic particles <u>le</u> , <u>mie</u> , <u>le</u> .	a-phrase (1st I.C. :a 2nd I.G. : <u>pele-</u> or <u>hale-word</u> or complex, <u>mele-pronoun</u>	'time' expression 'place' expression

Type 1a.

It is convenient to distinguish a sub-group of type 1

sentences which will be called type 1a. Some examples of these are:

nyandengo	}	that is good
nyandengo le		

nya highengo a ngendei ji	}	I am ill this morning
nya higbengo le a ngendei ji		

nya gahu gboyongo	}	I am tired
nya gahu gboyongo le		

ndopoi na gbiango a ngi ke	}	that boy resembles his father
ndopoi na gbiango le a ngi ke		

nyapoi na nyandengo	}	that girl is pretty
nyapoi na nyandengo le		

First position may be filled by a derived pɛlɛ-word consisting of a hale-word stem + -ngo, or by a subjective complex whose headword is a ngo-form and whose first immediate constituent is a definite singular pɛlɛ- or hale-word or complex, or a ngi-pronoun, or ^{zero}~~it may be missing~~; some indefinite singular pɛlɛ-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 1a, 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 1a 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
ti nyandengo (le), pretty
they are pretty

maa Kpana mu hɔgbengo (le), Kpana nad I are
ill
mu hɔgbengo (le), we are ill.

Expanded forms of type 1a sentences are common in which an expression of place, time, or manner follows the emphatic particle.

e.g. nya higrbengo (le) ha, I am ill today
 ti higrbengo (le) a ngendai 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 longo (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. ngi nyandengo }
 ngi nyandengo le } she is pretty

 ngi nyandengo ii le, she is not pretty.

Negative sentences of this type are rare; the negative is nearly always supplied by a negative sentence of type 6.

e.g.

ngi nyandengo (le), she is pretty

ii nyandeni, she is not pretty

nya higgengo (le), I am ill

ngii higgbeni, I am not ill

mbei gbeyongo (le), the rice is finished

mbei ii gbeyoni, the rice is not finished

nyapoisia ti nyandengo (le), the girls are pretty

nyapoisia tii nyandeni, the girls are not pretty

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 pela- or hale-word or a complex having one of these as headword.

2. an i-pronoun

In second position occur:

1. a ngo-form or a subjective complex having a ngo-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 pela-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 mengo, they have eaten the rice. Type 2.

ti bei mengo, their rice has been eaten. Type 1a.

The first sentence has immediate constituents ti, "they", and mbei mengo, "the rice has been eaten", whereas the second has immediate constituents ti bei, "their rice", and mengo, "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 mengo (ˉ ˥ ˉ)

ti bei mengo (ˉ ˥ ˉ)

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 (ˉˉˉˉ ˉ), they have drunk the
medicine. Type 2.

Immediate constituents : ti, "they", and
halei gbolingo, "the medicine has been drunk".

ti halei gbolingo (ˉ ˥ ˉ), 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~~^{have similar} ~~[little in grammatical]~~^{is} meaning from those of type 7, which are very much commoner. Thus corresponding to the type 2 sentences ngi mbei mengo, "I have eaten the rice", i halei gbolingo, "he has drunk the medicine", are the much commoner type 7 sentences ngi mbei menga, "I have eaten the rice", and i halei gbolinga, "he has drunk the medicine".

Type 3

Some examples of this type of sentence are:

wu lolɛ? mu sawa, how many are you? we are three
nyapoisia ti lolɛ? ti naani, 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 pɛɛ-word or hale-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 -kpe.
2. the interrogative pɛɛ-word lolɛ, "how many?"

An expression in first position can support a preceding

plural expression.

e.g. maa Kpana mu ke yakpe, Kpana and I have the same
father.

nyapoisia ti sawa, the girls are three in number.
Here the plural expressions maa Kpana? "Kpana and I", and
nyapoisia, "the girls", are supported by mu ke, "our father",
and ti, "they", respectively.

The minimum form may be expanded by a 'time' expression
following second position, but such expansions are not common.

e.g. wu lole ha? how many are you today?

mu naani a ngendei ji, we are four this morning.
It may be noted that 'place' expressions do not occur after
second position; *wu lole mbei?, for example does not occur
(mbei, "here"). Instead the sentence wu lole wu mbei?, "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 ii,
which occurs between first and second positions of the
minimum form.

e.g. mu ke ii yakpe, we do not have the same father.
Where ii follows an i-pronoun, the following contractions
occur:

ngi ii > ngii

bi ii > bii

i ii > ii

mu ii > mu i

wu ii > wu i

ti ii > ti i

e.g. nyapoisia ti i sewe, the girls are not three in number
mu neani, we are not four, there are not four of us.

The most fully expanded form of a type 3 sentence may be

set out thus:

1	2
a singular <u>pele-</u> or <u>hale-</u> word, or a complex with one of these as headword. an <u>i</u> -pronoun	neg. particle <u>ii</u>

Restriction: the negative particle ii and the interrogative
lole are mutually exclusive.

Type 4

Some examples of this type of sentence are:

bi hini semei bu lo, your husband is in court¹

bi hini lo semei bu, your husband is in court

Kpana mbei lo, Kpana is here

Kpana lo mbei, Kpana is here

1. Underscoring is used to indicate that a word has strong
emphatic or contrastive force; in speech this would be
indicated in English by, *inter alia*, increased force,
often accompanied by greater loudness.

3	4
a numeral, <u>lole</u> ?	a 'time' expression

lavalei Bo lo, the speaker is in Bo

lavalei lo Bo, the speaker is in Bo

mahai mi lo? where is the chief?

mahai 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. mahai Bo lo, the chief is in Bo
 mahai 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 mahai lo mi?, "~~where~~" "where is the chief?", ~~the~~ the first in reply to a question like mahai mi lo?, "where exactly is the chief?", or as a response contradicting a previous speaker.

e.g. A. Mahai lo Daru ha, the chief is in Daru today
 B. M-m, mahai 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 mahai lo Bo and mahai Bo lo are regarded as

having two contrastive positions, here filled by mahɛi and Bo respectively, together with lɔ, which may occur after the expression in first or second position. The simplest description is secured by regarding lɔ 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 mahɛi lɔ Bo, position 1 is occupied by the phrase mahɛi lɔ, and position 2 by Bo; in mahɛi Bo lɔ, position 1 is occupied by mahɛi, and position 2 by Bo lɔ. If lɔ were assigned to a separate contrastive position, then four positions would have to be recognized for sentences like mahɛi lɔ Bo and mahɛi Bo lɔ, with lɔ occurring in either position 2 or position 4 :

mahɛi	lɔ	Bo	
mahɛi		Bo	lɔ.

the chief is in Bo

the chief is in Bo.

Such a treatment would greatly complicate the description of sentences like ngi bia lɔ lolini, "I called you", and nga bia lɔ loli, "I shall call you", and is therefore not adopted here. In the description of all sentence types in which lɔ can occur in any one of two or more positions, the kinds of words and complexes other than lɔ that occur in each position will be listed first, followed by a statement of the distribution of lɔ.

Sentences of this type have two contrastive positions. In the first position occur:

1. a singular pɛlɛ- or hale-word or a complex having one of these as headword.

2. a plural pəle- or hale-word or complex if lo occurs in first position.

3. an i-pronoun.

4. a ta-pronoun if lo occurs in first position.

In second position occur expressions of 'place'; these are all pəle-words or complexes whose second immediate constituent is a pəle-word. They may be grouped into:

a) geographical names

b) a few words like mbei, "here", miando, "yonder",
na, "there"

c) some mahu-words like kulo, "in front", mahu, "on top",
poma, "behind", or a complex whose second immediate
constituent is a mahu-word, e.g. pəlei bu, "in the house"
sokui hu, "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 pəle-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. mahai lo Bo, the chief is in Bo.

b) after a word or complex in second position.

e.g. mahai Bo lo, the chief is in Bo.

c) in the first immediate constituent of a complex in second position.

e.g. i mahēi lō va, it is for the chief.

In i mahēi lō va, first position is filled by i, second position by mahēi lō va; mahēi lō va is a complex with immediate constituents mahēi lō and va.

A word or complex in second position is strongly emphatic or contrastive where lō occurs after it.

A plural pronoun in first position can support a preceding plural expression.

e.g. mahēisia ti Bo lō, the chiefs are in Bo.

Here mahēisia is supported by the third person plural pronoun ti.

A plural expression can occur in first position if lō follows, but not otherwise.

e.g. mahēisia lō Bo, the chiefs are in Bo.

The ta-pronouns occur in first position if lō follows, otherwise the i-pronouns occur.

e.g. ta lō Bo, he is in Bo

i Bo lō, he is in Bo

tia lō pēlei bu, they are in the house

ti pēlei bu lō, they are in the house.

Particle lō 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 fa, "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 semei 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 semei 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 semei 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 :

mahsisia tii semsi bu, the chiefs are not in the court

tii is a contraction of ti ii; ti supports the

preceding definite plural pals-word mahaisia, "the chiefs".

ngii Bo, I am not in Bo, I do not live in Bo.

ngii is a contraction of ngi ii.

lavalei ii mbei, the speaker is not here

hani gbi ii na, there is nothing there

Type 5

Some examples of this type of sentence are :

nya lo lima tai hu, I am going to town

bi ye lima? where are you going?

tia lo yengema mahai va, they are working for the
chief

Kpana lo wama mbei sange, Kpana is coming here soon

ndekpaisia lo lima ndoli gama, the young men are going
dancing

mua lo lima ndo gbolimsei, we are going to the drinking
place

nyapoisia lo totoma naa a mbei miyala, the girls are
now beginning to pound rice

mua lo namakoime a piela panda, we are trying to do it
well

bi na wiema ye lo va? for whom are you doing that?

ngi piema mahai lo va, I am doing it for the chief

nya lo piema mahai va, I am doing it for the chief.

The minimum form of a type 5 sentence has two
contrastive positions. In first position occur:

1. a singular pele- or hale-word or a complex with one of these as headword.
2. a plural pele- or hale-word or complex where lo follows in first position.
3. an i-pronoun.
4. a ta-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. mahēi lo nīkēi waama, the chief is killing the cow.

mahēi lo nīkēi waama has immediate constituents mahēi lo and nīkēi waama.

mahēi lo is a phrase having immediate constituents mahēi and emphatic particle lo.

nīkēi waama is a subjective complex type 2 having immediate constituents nīkēi and waama.

2. mahēi nīkēi lo waama, the chief is killing the cow.

mahēi nīkēi lo waama has immediate constituents mahēi and nīkēi lo waama.

nīkēi lo waama is a subjective complex type 6 having

immediate constituents nikɛi lɔ and waama.

nikɛi lɔ is a phrase having immediate constituents nikɛi and lɔ.

3. mahɛi nikɛi waama lɔ, the chief is killing the cow.

mahɛi nikɛi waama lɔ has immediate constituents mahɛi and nikɛi waama lɔ.

nikɛi waama lɔ is a phrase having immediate constituents nikɛi waama and lɔ.

nikɛi waama is a subjective complex type 2 having immediate constituents nikɛi and waama.

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; nikɛi, "cow", in sentence (2) and waama, "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 lɔ ndɔ gbolima, I am drinking type 5.

nya lɔ ndɔ gbolimeɪ, I am at the drinking place.

type 4.

tia lo ndoli gama, they are dancing. Type 5.

tia lo ndoli gamci, they are at the dancing place.

Type 4.

Clearly sentences like nya/ndo gbolima and nya lo ndo gbolimci 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	Type 5
	ta lo Bo, he is in Bo	ta lo wama, he is coming
	ta lo cuamei, he is at the wash place.	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
 Monde ma, on Monday
 a ngendei ji, this morning
 hokii na hu, last week
 ge, recently
 ha, today
 woo, long ago

2. 'Place' expressions.

e.g. Bo

tei hu, in town

Puu lolsi 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

daun, brightly

heima fele, twice

gbun, with a thud

lele, slowly

4. 'Purpose' expressions.

e.g. mahai va, for the chief

meha 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 lima 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.

e.g.	Position 1	Pos. 2	Position 3		
			a	b	c
	nya lo	lima	tei hu	sina	mbei va
	nya lo	lima	sina	tei hu	mbei va
	nya lo	lima	mbei va	sina	tei hu
	nya lo	lima	mbei va	tei hu	sina

"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	ngendai,	} I am going to Bo tomorrow morning
	nya lo	lima	sina	a	ngendai	Bo,	

No other word order is possible. Compare now:

nya lo	lima	Bo	a	ngendai	ji,	} I am going to Bo this morning
nya lo	lima	a	ngendai	ji	Bo,	

~~[nya lo lima Bo sina]~~

nya lo lima Bo sine } I am going to Bo tomorrow.
 nya lo lima sine Bo }

In the first two examples, sine a ngendei, "tomorrow morning", is, at the sentence level, a single unit. Such units are not common; some further examples are:

Monde ma a ngehdei, On Monday morning
 gbengi a kpoko, yesterday evening
 Monde ma hokii ji hu, on Monday this week.

Type 5 sentences may be further expended 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 expended form are:

1	2	3	4	5	6
singular <u>pele-</u> or <u>hale-word</u> or complex. a plural <u>pele-</u> or <u>hale-word</u> or complex where <u>lo</u> follows. an <u>i</u> -pronoun. a <u>te</u> -pronoun where <u>lo</u> follows.	an indefinite singular <u>me</u> -form or a subjective complex with a <u>me</u> -form as headword.	expressions of time, place, manner, purpose	an indefinite singular <u>me</u> -form or a complex with this as headword. an <u>g</u> -phrase whose second immediate constituent is a <u>le</u> -form or a <u>vi</u> - form or a complex having one of these as headword. one of a short list of <u>ni</u> -forms. a complex whose first immediate constituent is an indef. sing. <u>hale-word</u> /complex and whose second immediate constituent is <u>ye</u> , "for".	an <u>g</u> -phrase whose second immediate constituent is a <u>le</u> -form or a complex with this as headword. a <u>me</u> -form or a complex with this as headword	expressions of time, place, manner, reason.

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 piela, "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 mama a loko, I am watching him
eating with his fingers

mua lo lima jesiama tsi hu, we are going for a walk in
town

nya lo namakoima a piela 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 tsi hu mbei va, I am going to town for rice
nya lo lima pelai 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 :

naa, 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 naa lima pelsi bu, I am now going home

ta lo naa yengema Bo, he is now working in Bo

nya lo naa piema, I am now doing it.

The difference between these three sentences and the corresponding sentences in which naa occurs in position 3 (e.g. nya lo piema naa, "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 mbei yilima? how are they cooking the rice?

The interrogative particle ye, "how?", is in most cases readily distinguished from the interrogative pɛlɛ-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?

ti ye lo waama? whom are they killing?

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 pəlg-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 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 pəlg-word ye, "who?", from the interrogative particle of the same shape.

ti ye lo houma? whom are they seizing?

ti ye lo gulama? whom are they knocking down?

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.

e.g. mahsi ii wama mbei, the chief is not coming here
tii yspema, they are not talking (tii < ti ii)
Kpane ii lima Bo sina, Kpane is not going to Bo
tomotrow.

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 nikɛi waama ha, Kpana is killing the cow today

Kpana nikɛi lo waama ha, Kpana is killing the cow today

Kpana nikɛi waama ha lo, Kpana is killing the cow today,

is the single negative sentence Kpana ii nikɛi 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

mahɛi na leni lo, the chief said that

bi gbe lo wieni a mɛɛi? what did you do with the rice?

ti ye lo wumbuni a mahɛi? 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 pɛɛɛ- or hale-word or complex.
2. a plural pɛɛɛ- or hale-word or complex where lo follows.
3. an i-pronoun.
4. a tɛ-pronoun where lo follows.

e.g. ngi lini Bo lo, I went to Bo
 ngi ye Bo lo, I was in Bo.

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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 or complexes whose first immediate constituent is ^{zero}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 ^{zero}missing and whose second immediate constituent is one of about six ni-forms, the commonest of which are: heini, "seated", loni, "standing", lani, "lying", weleni, "kneeling", heleni, "hanging".

Some type 6 sentences in which lo does not occur differ little, if at all, in meaning from the corresponding type 1a sentences:

e.g.

ti nyandeni }
ti nyandengo } they are pretty

i nyandeni	}	he is handsome
ngi nyandengo		

ti gutuni	}	they are short
ti gutungo		

i gutuni	}	he is short
ngi gutungo		

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 ^{zero}~~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 ngo-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 higgengo, they are sick.

Expanded forms of type 6 sentences in which lo does not occur are extremely rare (except negative sentences), and the following description of expanded forms is accordingly confined to sentences in which lo 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 189, 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 hale-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 position² the corresponding a-phrase in position 4 consists of a + a la-form or a complex with a la-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 mbai 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 a mahsi, they elected Kpana
chief

ti Kpana lo wumbuni a mahsi, 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 mahsi 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 yisi lo gaama, I went there to
learn Mende

bi totoni a gbe 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 gbe 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 gbe¹, "what?", ye¹, "who?", or mi, "where?", the particle lo always follows the interrogative.

e.g. bi lini mi lo gbengi?	where did you go yesterday?
ngi lini Bo lo,	I went to <u>Bo</u>
ngi lini lo Bo,	I went to Bo
bi lini lo Bo gbengi?	did you go to Bo yesterday?
m, ngi lini lo Bo,	yes, I went to Bo
m-m, ngi lini Daru lo,	no, I went to <u>Daru</u>

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.

e.g. yeni mia ti pien? who (pl.) did it?
 cf. yeni mia? who are they?
 ti pien lo, 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 :

ye, how?

ii, 'negative particle'

yà, (not) yet

yǎ (not) again, thereafter, hereafter.

Particle ye does not occur with any of the other three particles listed above, and it is also mutually exclusive with the emphatic particle lo.

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

tii < ti ii

Particles yà and yǎ, which are mutually exclusive, occur only after the negative particle.

e.g. Kpana ii yà pieni, Kpana has not done it yet

Kpana ii yǎ pieni, Kpana did not do it any more

Kpana ii pieni, Kpana 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 ^{zero}~~[missing]~~ is to be noted, since in this context all 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 (``), e.g. kutu (``), "make it short", :

Affirmative

1) headword of a complex

whose first I.C. is

^{zero}~~[missing]~~ -ni on a high tone gutu level high

2) all other contexts -ni on a high tone k/gutu level high

Negative

1) headword of a complex

whose first I.C. is

^{zero}~~[missing]~~ -ni on a low tone gutu level low

2) all other contexts -ni on a low tone k/gutu level high

e.g. ti gutuni (````), they are short

 ti kutuni lo (````-), they shortened it

 ti na gutuni lo (````-), they shortened that

 tii gutuni (\ _ _ _), they are not short

 tii kutuni (\ `` _), they did not shorten it

 tii na gutuni (\ `` _), they did not shorten that

Where the 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 [^{zero}missing].

e.g. tii nyamuni (___), they are not ugly
 tii nyamuni (\--_), 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 tii nyamuni corresponds to two affirmative sentences which differ in respect of lo :

 ti nyamuni, they are ugly
 ti nyamuni lo, 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:

 tii nyamuni (___), they did not become ugly, they
 are not ugly
 tii nyamuni (\--_), they did not make it ugly.

Set out in the table below are affirmative sentences distinguished by the presence or absence of lo, 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

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.

e.g. 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~~ may also be emphatic, not because it
 is front shifted, but because it is followed by the emphatic

particle 10.

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 kema 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 Kpana mu lini lo Bo, on Monday Kpana
 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~~ ~~grammatical~~ 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 of 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 ~~grammatical~~ 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 ~~grammatical~~ 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 ~~grammatical~~ meaning may be said generally to be that between emphatic and unemphatic sentences. The latter (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, aa, maa, waa, taa, 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 8 below, the standard spelling obscures the structure; the forms ngaa, baa, aa, maa, waa, taa may be further analysed, and when

this is done sentences like baa 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 lo¹, you would have done it.

This last is ^{commonly} ~~always~~ contracted in speech and ^{always} ~~also~~ in writing to baa pielo. The forms ngaa, baa, aa, maa, waa, tse are

taken to be contractions of ngi ye a, bi ye a, i ye a, mu ye a,
 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 pale- 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. mahai aa li, may the chief not go

*mahai 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 ya 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 ^{in a word-for-word translation would be} ~~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 pein baa ya li, do this before you go

bi bi yengei gboyoni lo pein baa ya mehe me? did you
finish your work before you had a meal?

nga ji wie lo pein ngaa ya li tsi hu, I shall do
this before I go to town.

The sequence ye a contracts to ya where a hale-word or complex follows, but does not contract where a pele-word or complex follows.

e.g. baa ya pie, don't keep doing it *baa¹ ye a pie
 baa 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" (wa, "come").

Type 7

Some examples of sentences of this type are :

mahai wanga, the chief has come
ngi nya halei gbolinga, I have drunk my medicine
mbei gboyonga, the rice ^{is finished.} ~~has gone done~~
njsi totonga a wala, 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 pale- or hale-word or complex.
2. an i-pronoun.

Second position is filled by the nga¹-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 tae Kpana ti wanga, Musu and Kpana 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 piea 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 mahai ya Bo, "the chief has gone to Bo", ti ya tai hu, "they have gone to town", Kpana ya palei bu, "Kpana 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. 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 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 189).

Between positions 1 and 2 only the interrogative particle ye, "how?", can occur.

e.g. ti ye pienga? how have they done it?

The emphatic particle lo occurs very rarely in sentences of type 7; where it does occur, the preceding word or complex is strongly emphatic or contrastive. Particle lo may occur:

ngi ngengei na 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

njsei wange lo ngee 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 yè occurs after the negative particle.

e.g. bi bi yengei wienga? m-m, ngii yè pienì, have

you done your work? no, I have not done it.

ngii yè 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

njsei 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 nesi^a ta wa lo mbei folo gbi ma, those
girls come here every day

ba wale lo, you will bow down, you must ⁷bow down

a ndo gboli wa, he drinks heavily

nga nya halei gboli lo naa, I shall drink my
 medicine now

nga nya halei gboli 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. nga li lo Bo sina, I shall go to Bo tomorrow.
ba wele lo, you must kneel, you will kneel

2) habitual action.

e.g. nga li lo Bo folo gbi ma, I go to Bo every day
nga 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 the person, or for which he is well known.

[illegible]

"fake communion" (Malinovsky)

- 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.¹ For example, ba 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 ba 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:

ba to, you see. This is commonly used

where something the speaker had previously said

¹ This use of language is of course an example of what Malinowski has called 'phatic communion'; see B. Malinowski *Supplement I* in Ogden and Richards *The Meaning of Meaning* London Tent. Ed. 1936 315

proves to be true.

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 m, ma lo, or m, ma lo sina. It may be remarked here that the form lo which occurs in these sentences is not the emphatic particle; it is the mutated form of the hale-word to, "see it", which is here headword of a complex whose first immediate constituent is ^{zero} ~~missing~~.

The standard spelling obscures the structure of sentences of this type and their structural parallelism ~~and~~ to sentences of types 5 and 7; the forms nga, ba, a, ma, wa, ta which occur in sentences like nga li lo, "I shall go", ba li lo, "you will go", 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 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 lo. But a description in these terms fails to reveal the structural similarity of sentences like nga li lo to those of other types. This may be illustrated by the following pairs of sentences :

ngi Bo lo, I am in Bg 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. mahai a pie lo, the chief will do it

2) i a

e.g. *i a pie lo > a pie lo, he will do it.

v. word-for-word translation of

It seems probable that a sentence like *ngi a pie lo (nga pie lo) *with roughly equivalent English categories would be* ~~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 207).

The minimum form of a type 8 sentence has two contrastive positions, the first of which may be filled by a singular pels- 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)
	mahsi	a wa lo, the chief will come
	nya nyahsi	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 ⁷ 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 187. Some examples of expanded sentences are :

*ngi a wa 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 mbei yeya va ngi kenya 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 nyahai a ye mbei 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 hale word.

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 mahai 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
Kpane 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?

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*bi a kpate a gbe lo? (ba kpate a gbe lo?), what
will you make it with?

The negative is formed with the negative particle ii, which occurs in position 2 between a and the hale-word or complex. In speech and in writing, the sequences ngi a ii, bi a ii, i a ii, mu a ii, wu a ii, ti a ii, are always contracted; the written forms are ngɛɛ, bɛɛ, ɛɛ, muɛ, wuɛ, tɛɛ; ɛɛ is a contraction of :

1) i a ii

e.g. *i a ii pie (ɛɛ pie), he will not do it

2) a ii

e.g. *mahɛi a ii pie (mahɛi ɛɛ pie), the
chief will not do it.

Particle lo does not occur in negative sentences.

Some further examples of negative sentences are :

*Kpana a ii wa mbei (Kpana ɛɛ wa mbei), Kpana will not
come here

*mu a ii pie (muɛ pie), we shall not do it

*ti a ii hani gbi ve na va (tɛɛ hani gbi ve na va), they
will not give anything for that.

*ngi a ii gu a piela (ngɛɛ gu a piela), I shall not be
able to do it.

In negative sentences the particle yá can occur immediately after the negative particle.

e.g. *ngi a ii yá pie (ngɛɛ yá pie), I shall not do it
any more

*mahei a ii yǎ wembei (mahei ɛɛ yǎ wa mbei), 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 :

<u>Supported expression</u>	<u>Supporting pronoun</u>
a phrase containing <u>maa</u> , "I and"	1st p. pl.
a phrase containing <u>waa</u> , "you and"	2nd p. pl.
a phrase containing <u>taa</u> , "he and"	3rd p. pl.
a plural <u>pale-</u> or <u>hale-</u> word or complex	3rd p. pl.
a phrase consisting of two or more <u>pale-</u> or <u>hale-</u> words or complexes joined by <u>taa</u> or <u>ke</u>	3rd p. pl.
e.g. maa Kpana mu wanga, Kpana and I have come waa Kpana wu wanga? have you and kpana come? taa Kpana ti wanga, he and Kpana have come Musu ke Kpana ti wanga, Musu and kpana have come nyapoisia ti wanga, the girls have come	

In addition to the correlations listed above is that between the indefinite singular pale-word numu, "person",

and 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.

[illegible]

numu bee loli mahsei 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
without antecedent.

Initiating sentences are common in which a third person plural pronoun occurs in position 1; in some cases ^{the}~~is~~ referent of the pronoun ~~can~~ 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

cf Abara em dgarōyd
"He was born"

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graph TD; dgaroyd[dgarōyd] --- him[him]; dgaroyd --- they[they]; dgaroyd --- bear[bear];
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Also conveniently described here are sentences like mahsi ta, nge 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 mahesia 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,

mua mu Puubla, mus 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 mahsi ta, nge 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 mbei ta, nge me; nga fufu lo me, "rice, I do not eat it; I eat fufu", the group mbei ta is emphatic, with a derogatory connotation; it may be noted that fufu is also emphatic or contrastive. Compare nga fufu lo me, "I eat fufu", with nga fufu me lo, "I eat fufu".

Commands

Two types of sentence are distinguished :

Type A

Some examples of sentences of this type are :

wa mbei, come here

bi halei gboli, drink your medicine

ne le gboma, say that again

a li mahsi gama, go to the chief

mehsi 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

 mbei 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

 we la mbei, bring it here

 na le gboma, say that again

 li pelai bu, go home

 a li la semai 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
 Puumoi, nye go a mbei, Englishman, give me rice
 nyapo nyandei, na le gboma, 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
 a mu hei, let us sit down
 Ngewe i bi bayi, God bless you
 mu namekoi a piele, let us try to do it

The minimum form of this type of sentence has ~~15~~ two

contrastive positions. In first position occur only the i-pronouns; the third person singular pronoun i 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.

e.g. mahei i pie, let the chief do it
 i pie, let him do it
 nyapoisia ti pie, let the girls do it
 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.

e.g. nya longo bi li, I want you to go
 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 i supporting the preceding pɛɛg-word Ngewo, "God".

e.g. mu li tci hu, let us go to town
 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 mu li, a mu 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 mehe me, come (sing.) let us eat
e wa mu wehe 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 ¹⁸⁹~~224~~).

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?

 ngi 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 211).

e.g. maa li, let us not go

 ngaa ha 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

 baa lema o, don't forget

 baa 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. bee lema, hie? you won't fo^rget, will you?

Particles o and hoe commonly occur only in very short sentences like:

mu li o, let us go

baa pie hoe, don't do it

wa o, come

baa 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

Type 1 mahai mia, that is the chief

Type 1a nyandengo (le), it is good

Type 2 mahai mango, the chief has eaten it

Type 3 mu fele, we are two

Type 4 mahai lo Bo, the chief is in Bo

Type 5 mahai lo mama, the chief is eating it

Type 6 mahai meni lo, the chief ate it

Type 6a baa me, don't eat it

Type 7	mahsi menga,	the chief has eaten it
Type 8	mahsi a me lo,	the chief will eat it.

Commands

Type A	me,	eat it
Type B	mu me,	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.¹ Phrases like (1) nya hale (ˉ__), "my medicine", and (2) nya hale (ˉˉˉ), "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 hale (ˉ__) and nya hale (ˉˉˉ) are here held to be syntactically comparable with a pair like nya woli (ˉ__), "my ear, not of my own body", and nya woli (ˉˉˉ), "my ear, of my own body", from which they differ in that hale and woli belong to different word classes. From this it follows that

1. Cf. R. H. Robins *Noun and Verb in Universal Grammar* *Language* 28, 3
1952 p 289.

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.

*needs to be fuller - simply
repeats what is in summary at beginning*

Mention Brown's article on Brown & Yule