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A grammar of Nchane: A Bantoid (Beboid) language of Cameroon
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Chapter 6

Noun phrase structure and nominal modifiers

This chapter is concerned with the structure of Nchane noun phrases. Sections 6.1 and 6.2 describe simple and complex noun phrases respectively. The distinction between “simple” and “complex” is based loosely on Dryer (2007), with simple noun phrases limited to those with non-complex heads and potentially single-word modifiers and complex noun phrases covering all other cases.

A summary of the agreement system is included in this chapter in §6.3 since the realization of agreement is an important feature of nominal modifiers, which are presented in §6.4. Some nominal modifiers can themselves serve as nominal constituents of a clause and are discussed in §6.5. The final section (§6.6) deals with noun phrase word order.

6.1 Simple noun phrases

Simple noun phrases are those involving a single noun, with or without a single-word modifier. The head of simple noun phrases is most often a lexical noun or a pronoun, both of which are illustrated in example (6.1). Noun phrases in this section are placed in square brackets while head nouns are bolded.

- (6.1) [Ø-sṵŋṵ] nǎ-á [bè] bɛ [m̄-m̄:]
 c5-oil.palm give-PROG 1PL with c6a-oil
'The oil palm tree provides us with oil...' King of Trees.1.1

Noun phrases may consist of just a head noun alone as in example (6.1), or they may include one or more nominal modifiers, which follow the head noun, as shown in (6.2) and (6.3).

- (6.2) kī já kì shì yī [Ø-tí: ch-ē] lē
 c7 leave c7 sit on c5-stomach c5-3SG.POSS APPL
'...it (the fly) left and sat on his (the man's) stomach.'
 Greedy Friends.1.15

- (6.3) n-bú [bā-mbīḡè bā-fédè]
 1SG-pick c2-smooth.stone c2-two
'...I will pick two smooth stones...' Inheritance.11

While pronouns are very common in the corpus, noun phrases with a pronominal head are rare. The types of modifiers observed modifying pronominal head nouns are limited to relative clauses and numerals, the latter of which example (6.4) illustrates.

- (6.4) [bēŋ bā-fé:] bēŋ jémè fy-ē: fī-nè
 2PL c2-two 2PL speak c19-thing c19-PROX
 ā bēŋ yē
 c18 2PL house
'...you two settle the matter (marriage) between yourselves'
 Marriage.4.4

6.2 Complex noun phrases

Complex noun phrases are characterized by a head consisting of multiple noun phrases or by modifiers consisting of more than one word. These include conjoined noun phrases and associative noun phrases, both of which are treated in the sections below. Relative clauses are also complex modifiers. However, due to the higher degree of complexity of relative clauses, they are treated separately in chapter 11 rather than here. One could argue that noun phrases consisting of a head noun and a modifying possessive pronoun are complex as well and belong in this section, since the possessive pronoun is by definition a noun. However, possessive pronouns rarely

appear as nominal heads, functioning the majority of the time adjectively. Therefore, I include possessive pronouns with nominal modifiers described in §6.4.

6.2.1 Conjoined noun phrases

Two noun phrases may be joined together with an intervening conjunction as in (6.5) and (6.6).

(6.5) bā kē bā chùg-è bā bús-è
they begin c2 wash-PROG c2 remove-PROG

[chē bē Ø-gvúnē] yéyē
c10.palm.kernel with c5-chaff separate

'...they begin to wash and separate the kernels and the chaff...'

Making Palm Oil.1.5

(6.6) Ø-sōŋō ná-á bè bē ... bī-tédè bī
c5-oil.palm give-PROG 1PL with ... c8-frond c8REL

lé jíjē [Ø-gō gē Ø-kēŋ]
COP like c4-bamboo.shaft or c4-firewood

'The oil palm tree provides us with...palm fronds that are used as (lit. like) bamboo rods or firewood...'

King of Trees.1.3

Use of the disjunctive coordinator **gē** in joining noun phrases as in (6.6) is considered undesirable by some native speakers. Nevertheless, this example illustrates identical syntactic structure as that observed for conjoined noun phrases with **bē**.

Examples (6.7) and (6.8) are taken from the same text and are rare cases of noun phrases with more than two conjoined noun phrases. These examples show that noun phrases consisting of more than two conjoined noun phrases can employ a serial strategy with a conjunction appearing only between the ultimate and penultimate noun phrases, as in (6.7), or a multiple conjunction strategy, with each set of adjacent noun phrases joined by a conjunction, as in (6.8).

(6.7) bē bájé mw-ē: mū-nē,
1PL.HORT gather c18a-thing c18a-PROX

[shí, shóŋ bē bā-nā],
c10.chicken c10.sheep with c2-cow

'“We should gather these things, the chickens, the sheep and the cows, ...”'

Inheritance.5

- (6.8) b5 gē: [shí bē shóŋ bē bā-nā],
 3PL put c10.chicken with c10.sheep with c2-cow
 ‘...they put aside chickens and sheep and cows, ...’ Inheritance.2

The scope in which conjoined noun phrases behave as single, unified phrases is somewhat limited. For example, as (6.9) illustrates, conjoined noun phrases sharing a single determiner is considered ungrammatical; both of the noun phrases must have their own determiner, as in (6.10). This constraint ensures there is no agreement confusion.

- (6.9) *[Ø-jwènsè bē Ø-kwē: wú-mū]
 c1-man with c1-woman.3SG.POSS c1-some
 ‘...a certain man and his wife ...’ (Jealous Husband.1.1)

- (6.10) [Ø-jwènsè wū-mū bē Ø-kwē: wú-mū]
 c1-man c1-some with c1-woman.3SG.POSS c1-some
 ‘...a certain man and his wife...’ Jealous Husband.1.1

However, conjoined noun phrases can license a single pronoun as observed in (6.11) and (6.12). The “shared” pronoun in the examples below is underlined.

- (6.11) [Ø-jwénsě bě Ø-kwē] jōd-è kī-fê
 c1-husband.HORT with c1-wife.3SG.POSS take-PROG c7-time
 kī bó yūg-è Ø-ñ-tēfē
 COMP(K) 3PL hear-PROG c1-NMZR-advise
 ‘The husband and wife should be taking time to be hearing advice...’
 Marriage.6.1

- (6.12) kī-lūŋ kí-mí gè bē [Ø-jwènsè wū-mū bē
 c7-year c7-some P3 COP c1-man c1-some with
 Ø-kwē: wú-mū] bō kōŋ-ē yé bá:ŋ
 c1-woman.3SG.POSS c1-some 3PL.REL love-PROG c10.body much
 ‘Some [time] ago there was a man and wife who loved each other very much.’
 Jealous Husband.1.1

Examples of this phenomenon in the corpus occur only with class 1 human nouns, for which the 3PL pronoun is appropriate. Further research would be necessary to determine if conjoined non-human referents and/or non-class 1 nouns could also share pronoun licensing. Of particular interest would be how the agreement system would handle conjoined nouns of different noun classes.

6.2.2 Associative noun phrases

Associative constructions consist of two nouns with an intervening associative marker (AM), which agrees with the head noun it follows. The structure of this noun phrase is summarized by the schema below.

N₁ AM N₂

The noun class prefix of the second noun is maintained. The tone on the associative marker varies depending on the class: low tone for class 1, high tone for classes 3, 4 and 10, and mid tone for all other classes.

The associative construction is primarily used for expressing possession when the possessor is a full noun as in (6.13)-(6.15).

(6.13) kī-jchō: kī Ø-nā
 c7-horn c7AM c1-cow
 ‘cow’s horn’

(6.14) ŋkā yī Ø-kwēsé
 c9.basket c9AM c1-woman
 ‘woman’s basket’

(6.15) Ø-bā wù bō:
 c1-pa c1AM c2.child
 ‘children’s pa’

Examples (6.13) and (6.14) clearly show that inalienable as well as alienable possession may be expressed through associative constructions. Inalienable possession may also be expressed through the possessum alone when the possessor is cognitively accessible as in (6.16).

(6.16) Ø-jwēŋ mō wù chūgè chyā:
 c1-husband RES 3SG wash c10.hand
 ‘The husband then washed (his) hands.’

Jealous Husband.11

Associative noun constructions where the N₂ is itself a possessed form lack the associative marker, as demonstrated in examples (6.17)-(6.19). Each of these has a class 1 noun as head, for which the associative marker is [wu], which was suggested in §5.3 as possibly prone to elision. It is possible that this phenomenon is limited to associative constructions with class 1 heads or even only those involving kinship terms, although the data are unavailable to confirm this hypothesis.

- (6.17) Ø-kwē Ø-mwā wū-nà
 c1-wife c1-child c1-2PL.POSS
 ‘wife [of] your child’

- (6.18) Ø-bwē Ø-jw̄:
 c1-mother c1-husband.2SG.POSS
 ‘mother [of] your husband’

- (6.19) Ø-chíjī Ø-jw̄:
 c1-father c1-husband.2SG.POSS
 ‘father [of] your husband’

In addition to possession, other semantic relationships may be expressed through associative constructions, including OBJECT-SOURCE, OBJECT-PURPOSE and some attributives. Examples (6.20)-(6.26) illustrate the range of expressions possible.

- (6.20) bā-mī bā j̄chānē
 c2-person c2AM N.
 ‘Nchane
 people’

- (6.21) á-jī ā Ø-ŋwà
 c6-eye c6AM c1-book
 ‘letters of the alphabet’

- (6.22) bī-ŋkāŋ bī ā-sōŋ
 c8-beetle c8AM c6-palm.tree
 ‘palm beetles’

- (6.23) mw-ē: mū Ø-lēmè
c18a-thing c18aAM c5-work
'tools' (lit. things of work)
- (6.24) bvū-jōŋō bvū Ø-sōŋō
c14-goodness c14AM c5-palm.tree
'importance (or benefit) of palm trees' (lit. goodness of...)
- (6.25) Ø-ŋgē wù j̄shyéŋ
c1-trouble c1AM c9.property
'land dispute'
- (6.26) Ø-mū wù j̄chè
c1-person c1AM c9.medicine
'doctor'

Associative noun phrases may be modified, with the modifier agreeing with the head noun, as in (6.27) and (6.28). The associative noun phrases are placed in brackets and the agreement elements have been bolded to facilitate the illustrations.

- (6.27) [Ø-mū **wū** j̄ō] **wú**-né
c1-person c1AM c9.god c1-PROX
'This man of God...' Marriage.3.7
- (6.28) bā gē yēyè kònè
they P3 teach about
- [**bà**-ŋchī **bā** kī-yō kī yūdē] **bā**-nē
c2-law c2AM c7-spirit c7REL clean c2-four
'...they taught about the four spiritual laws...' (lit. four laws of the spirit that is clean) Training.1.7

As seen in (6.28), the modifying noun (N_2) itself can have a modifier, with agreement controlled by (N_2). This is further illustrated in (6.29).

(6.29) bḡ: bǎ gē tḡ fwé gē bé
 c2.child c2REL P3 come front P3 P^{COP}

[bḡ: bā Ø-kwēsé wē-è]
 c2.child c2AM c1-woman c1-ANA1

'...the children who came first were the children of the woman.'

What-goes-around.7.1

Note the different syntactic structures of these associative noun phrases. The demonstrative and quantifier in (6.27) and (6.28) respectively have the associative noun phrase itself as head, while the demonstrative in (6.29) has N_2 as its head, and thus belongs to a lower level of syntactic structure. These alternative agreement realizations are summarized by the schemas in Figure 6.1.

(6.27)/(6.28) [[N_α AM_α N_β]_{ASSOCP} DEM_α]_{NP}
 (6.29) [N_α AM_α N_β DEM_β]_{ASSOCP}]_{NP}

Figure 6.1 Alternative agreement patterns of constructions with associative noun phrases.

Example (6.30) represents a rare case of apparent agreement confusion. It is clear from the textual context that the proper interpretation of this phrase is “this land problem”, although the literal reading is “the trouble of this land”.

(6.30) Ø-ḡgē wù ḡshyéḡ yē-nè wù gè kē
 c1-trouble c1AM c9.property c9-PROX c1 P3 begin

kī-fē kī
 c7-time c7REL

'This land problem began when...'

Land Dispute.3.1

It is possible that agreement confusion of this kind happens more often when the noun falsely assigned as controller of agreement is N_2 of the associative noun phrase, resulting in the closer of the two nouns being assigned control.

Associative noun phrases are observed to be recursive, at times nesting a second associative noun phrase inside the first. This phenomenon is illustrated in (6.31). Recursive associative noun phrases are not common in the data and might be limited to constructions that are in the process of lexicalization.

(6.31) b̄ b̄ kēm-é ki b̄ gē:
 3PL have-PROG COMP(K) 3PL go

[bvū-shí bvū [Ø-mù wù Ø-ɲò]] lē
 c14-face c14AM c1-person c1AM c1-god APPL

'...they have to go before the man of God.' (lit. *go to the face of the person of God*) Marriage.3.6

6.3 Agreement

This section will present a summary of the various elements that show agreement. Agreement is defined as any kind of feature which shows a correspondence between a particular noun and some other word class.

The word classes which show agreement fall into two categories:

- (1) Words taking an agreement prefix. These words can be loosely described as modifiers and include possessive pronouns, spatial demonstratives, anaphoric demonstratives, quantifiers, “some”, and numbers. The agreement prefixes are summarized in Table 6.1. A minus sign represents an unattested form. The multiple agreement forms associated with possessive pronouns are mostly due to stem shape, with vowel initial stems taking a C prefix, and consonant initial stems taking a CV prefix. Note that tone for the proximal demonstratives is either H or M, while that for the distal demonstratives is either M or L. See §6.4.1 for precise details. Also note that the initial consonant of agreement prefixes for numbers are sometimes elided when they are semivowels (i.e., [w] and [j]).

Class	Possessive pronoun	Dem spatial	Dem ANA1	Dem ANA2	Quantifier	Num
1	w-, wū-	wu-	w-	wú-	wù-/wū-	wù-
2	b-, bē-, bā-	ba-	b-	bá-	bā-, bá-	bā-
3	w-, wū-	kfu-	kw-	wú-	wū-/wú-	wū-
4	y-, yē-	che-	ch-	yí-	yī-, yí-	yī-
5	ch-, chē-	che-	chy-	chí-	chī-, chí-	chī-
6	ā-, āw-, āwū-	ka-	k-	á-	ā-, á-	ā-
7	k-, kē-	ki-	k-	kí-	kī-, kí-	kī-
8	by-, bē-	bi-	by-	bí-	bī-, bí-	bī-
9	ý-, yē-	yí-	y-	yí-	yì-, yí-	yì-
10	ý-, yé-	che-	chy-	yí-	yī-, yí-	yī-
14	bw-, bù-, bwē-, bvù-	bvu-	bw-	bvú-	bvū-, bvú-	bvū-
6a	m-, mw-, mù-, mòḡ-	ma-	m-	má-	māN-, máN-	māN-
19	fý-, fī-	fí-	fý-	fí-	fī-, fí-	fī-
18a	mw-, mū-, mwū-	mu-	mw-	mú-	mūN-, múN-	mū-
13	ch-, chē-	che-	chy-	chí-	chī-, chí-	chī-
16	f-, fē-	fē-, fə-	f-	fē-	fē-, fē-	-
18	ā-, āw-, āwē-	ya-	y-	á-	ā-, á-	-

Table 6.1 Agreement prefixes (for possessive pronouns, spatial demonstratives, anaphoric demonstratives, quantifiers and numerals).

- (2) Non-complex words. Morphologically simple words showing agreement include preverbal and postverbal pronouns, relativizers and the associative marker of associative noun phrases. These are summarized in Table 6.2. Relative clauses modifying class 18 are unattested, which is indicated in the table by a minus sign. Words enclosed by parentheses have either doubtful attestations or have extensive restrictions on distribution. Detailed descriptions of pronouns and relative clauses is given in chapters 6 and 11 respectively, while a description of associative noun phrases appears in the section prior to this one (§6.2.2).

Class	Preverbal Pro	Postverbal Pro	Relativizer ⁴⁵	AM
1	wū	wù	wu	wù
2	bā	bó	ba	bā
3	wū	wú	wu	wú
4	yī	yí	yi	yí
5	chī	chí	chi	chī
6	wō	wó	a	ā
7	kī	kí	ki	kī
8	bī	bí	bi	bī
9	yī	yì	yi	yī
10	yī, yí	yí	yi	yí
14	bvū	bvú	bvu	bvú
6a	mōŋ	mó	ma	mā
19	fī	fí	fī	fī
18a	mūŋ	mú	muŋ	mū
13	chī	yí	chi	chī
16	(fē)	(fó)	(fe)	fē
18	(ā)	(wó)	-	ā

Table 6.2 Words showing agreement (preverbal pronouns, postverbal pronouns, relativizers and associative markers).

6.4 Nominal modifiers

This section describes the following Nchane nominal modifiers: possessive pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, “some”, numerals and adjectives. Each of these modifiers consists of a stem and an agreement prefix, which expresses agreement with the head noun. These modifiers are broadly classified as determiners, as they function in determining the reference or quantity characteristics associated with the head noun. Some of the modifying word classes are observed functioning as nominal heads themselves, independent of any overt, lexical noun (see §6.5). And I assume that any determiner category may do so. However, the overwhelming function of these words is modifying and as such, they are treated primarily as nominal modifiers.

6.4.1 Possessive Pronouns

Possessed nouns (other than those in associative noun phrases) are immediately followed by a possessive pronoun which consists of an agreement prefix and a stem. The agreement prefix expresses agreement with the head noun (or possessum), while

⁴⁵ The tone of relativizers differs depending on which clause constituent is relativized. See §12.1 for more details.

the stem encodes for person and number of the possessor. Examples (6.32) and (6.33) are given to illustrate.

(6.32)	n̄ɔ	y-àŋ	n̄ɔ	y-è
	c9.cutlass	c9-1SG.POSS	c9.cutlass	c9-3SG.POSS
	<i>'my cutlass'</i>		<i>'his/her cutlass'</i>	
(6.33)	f̄ɪŋ-ȳɔŋɛ̀	f̄ɪ-àŋ	f̄ɪŋ-ȳɔŋɛ̀	f̄ɪ-è
	c19-pig	c19-1SG.POSS	c19-pig	c19-3SG.POSS
	<i>'my pig'</i>		<i>'his/her pig'</i>	

Non-human possessors do not express possession through possessive pronouns, but rather through associative noun phrases (see for example (6.13)). A possible exception to this rule is when a non-human is personified. This can lead to a situation where pronominal reference associated with a human referent can be used for stylistic reasons.

Table 6.3 provides a summary of the possessive pronoun forms. Some variation of vowels is observed in the stems of all but the 1SG and 3PL series. This variation is especially pronounced in the 1PL and 2PL series, where the stem vowel is sometimes **e** and sometimes **a**. It is likely that this variation is at least in part free, with both forms fully accepted by speakers.

At times, there is also variation of the agreement in the paradigm resulting in less conservative reflexes than those found in the agreement paradigms of other word classes (cf. the quantifiers paradigm). The variation, particularly that of vowels, is even observed within certain series. For example, the class 2 agreement is generally **ba-**, but for 1PL it is **bə-**. Class 14 agreement for 2PL is another notable form, with the vowel appearing as **ɛ** rather than **u**.

The agreement for classes 6 and 18 in all but the 3PL series reveals a segmentally longer form than seen in other concordant word classes. The agreement for these classes is usually **(C)a**, or sometimes the phonetically similar **(C)ɔ**. But in the possessive pronoun series the underlying agreement is **awu**. This represents the only case of a disyllabic agreement prefix and is reminiscent of augments in some Bantu languages (see Katamba 2003: 107–8). Regardless of its source, it is likely a strategy adopted by the language to overcome the problem of prefixation of a vowel initial stem with a prefix that has no fundamentally associated consonant. If this hypothesis is correct, then one would need to posit that the strategy is unnecessarily extended to the plural possessive pronoun series, which do not have vowel initial stems.

Class	Person/Number					
	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
1	wàŋ	wò	wè	wūsè	wūnà	wūbō
2	bàŋ	bòŋ	bè	bēsà	bānā	bābō
3	wāŋ	wò	wē	wūsē	wūnē	wūbō
4	yāŋ	yò	yì	yēsē	yēnē	yēbō
5	chàŋ	chùŋ	chè	chēsā	chēnā	chībō
6	āwāŋ	āwò	āwì	āwūsē	āwūnā	ābō
7	kàŋ	kùŋ	kè	kēsā	kēnā	kēbō
8	byāŋ	byūŋ	byē	bēsā	bēnā	bēbō
9	yàŋ	yò	yè	yèsè	yènè	yēbō
10	yāŋ	yó	yé	yésé	yéné	yébō
14	bwāŋ	bwōŋ	bwē	bvūsā	bwēnā	bvūbō
6a	m(w)āŋ	mōŋ	mwē	mūsā	mūnā	mōŋbō
19	fyāŋ	fyōŋ	fyē	fīsā	fīnā	fībō
18a	mwāŋ	mwōŋ	mwē	mūsā	mūnā	mwūbō
13	chāŋ	chōŋ	chē	chēsā	chēnā	chēbō
16	fāŋ	fōŋ	fē	fēsā	fēnā	fēbō
18	āwāŋ	āwò	āwē	āwēsē	āwēnē	ābō

Table 6.3 Nchane possessive pronouns.

The singular possessives of certain kinship terms, all of which belong lexically to class 1, display portmanteau forms, with the possessor fused with the possessum. For example, the form for ‘my wife’ is derived from **kwēsé** ‘wife’ + **añ** ‘1SG.POSS’, resulting in the form **kwā:**. Table 6.4 gives an account of some of these words, along with their plural counterparts. The portmanteau phenomenon does not extend to the plural possessive forms, although the 3PL form is reduced, lacking an agreement prefix.

Base form ‘gloss’	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
kwēsé ‘wife’	kwā:	kwō:	kwē:	kwē wèsè	kwē wènè	kwē bó
jwēŋsé ‘husband’	jwā:	jwō:	jwē:	jōmā wèsè	jōmā wènè	jōmā bó
bwē: ‘mother’	bwā:	bwō:	bwē:	bwē wèsè	bwē wènè	bwē bó
chí: ‘father’	chíjāŋ	chíjō	chíjè:	chíjí wèsè	chíjí wènè	chíjí b

Table 6.4 Nchane possessive series of illustrative kinship terms with portmanteau members.

Identifying a base form for these kinship terms is difficult, since the core semantics of each involve the notion of possession. This allows for these base forms to be used in contexts that express a possessive relationship for which it is not overtly marked. Additionally, the base forms for ‘wife’ and ‘husband’ are disyllabic, with the ultimate syllable apparently not present in the conjugated forms. Curiously, the

opposite is observed in the word for ‘father’, with the base form monosyllabic and most of the conjugated forms displaying all of, or a portion of, the second syllable **ji**.

The plurals of these kinship terms belong to class 2 and take the prefix **bā-**. No agreement is observed in the portmanteau forms, but agreement is present in the plural possessor forms (except in the case of 3PL). To illustrate, compare examples (6.34) and (6.35).

(6.34) lé **bā-chijàŋ**
 COP c2-father.1SG.POSS
 ‘They are my fathers.’

(6.35) lé **bā-chiji bē-sà**
 COP c2-father c2-1PL.POSS
 ‘They are our fathers.’

6.4.2 Demonstratives

Two types of demonstratives are present in Nchane, both types being represented by two forms each. The exophoric set of demonstratives expresses the notion of spatial orientation. The endophoric set is used in anaphoric reference and is important to discourse organization. One of these anaphoric demonstratives, designated as ANA2, also has a unique function of encoding speaker attitude toward the participant. Both types occur immediately after the modified noun (or after the possessive pronoun if one is present). The spatial demonstratives are described first and then the anaphoric demonstratives.

Spatial demonstratives

Nchane has a bipartite system of spatial demonstratives, which identify the referent in terms of relative distance from the deictic center, which is most commonly the speaker. The proximal demonstrative has the underlying form **nē** and marks referents located near the speaker, while the distal demonstrative has the underlying form **gē** and marks referents located far from the speaker. (The distal demonstrative is subject to vowel copying, resulting in the alternate form **gā**. See §3.5 for more details.) These two demonstratives combine with a set of noun class agreement prefixes as illustrated in (6.36)-(6.39).

(6.36) wù dú, kó là **màŋ-kàlà** **mā-nē**,
 3SG say catch.IMP CE c6a-cassava.puff c6a-PROX

‘She said (with irritation), “Take this cassava puff...”.’

What-goes-around.4.9

- (6.37) já yī nàŋ **jí-nè** lē chègē
 leave.IMP from c9.meat c9-PROX APPL quickly
 ‘Go away from this meat quickly!’ Greedy Friends.1.11

- (6.38) jó bvū-kó **bvù-gē**
 take.IMP c14-ladder c14-DIST
 ‘Take that ladder (over there).’

- (6.39) jó nō **yī-nē,** nō **yì-gè** kōdē gè
 take.IMP c9.cutlass c9-PROX c9.cutlass c9-DIST sharp NEG2
 ‘Take this cutlass (near me), that cutlass (over there) is not sharp.’

While both of these demonstratives are used routinely in normal speech in exophoric reference, only the proximal demonstrative appears in the text corpus and a large majority of these occurrences are used in making anaphoric reference. For example, the phrase “this joining” in (6.40) is a reference to the act of marriage, which is mentioned earlier in the text. It cannot be construed as a reference encoding relative spatial position. Note that anaphoric reference through the proximal demonstrative may also encode special topic status (see §16.2.3 for more details).

- (6.40) **Ø-n-tāsè** **wú-nē** lé nò wū tó bé Ø-bwē
 c1-NMZR-join c7-PROX COP like.that 3SG come with c1-mother
 kēnē bé Ø-chíjì kēnē bé bō: bá-yú
 or with c1-father or with c2-child c2-ANA2
 ‘This joining (marriage) will come through the mother, the father or THOSE children.’ Marriage.3.3

Other cases are ambiguous—the proximal demonstrative could be functioning exophorically or endophorically. This is illustrated in (6.41), where the phrase “this blind man” refers to a blind man that was seen earlier. It is possible that the blindman is still nearby at the moment of this utterance and the speaker is indicating his physical presence. Or the reference could be anaphoric, indicating the aforementioned blind man.

- (6.41) **kī-nf̄ḡ:** **kī-nē** lé kī fūŋ-sè wá bā-mī
 c7-blind.man c7-PROX COP c7 worry-CAUS already c2-person
- wèsè b̄é kī-lèḡè
 very with c7-begging

‘...this blindman has already worried people too much with begging.’

What-goes-around.3.5

As mentioned earlier, the distal demonstrative is not present in the text corpus at all, suggesting that it does not have a discourse function.

A summary of the spatial demonstratives is provided in Table 6.5.

	Proximal	Distal		Proximal	Distal
1	wúnē	wùḡē	2	bánē	bāḡā
3	kfúnē	kfùḡē	4	chénē	chēḡē
5	chēnē	chèḡē	6	kánē	kàḡā
			13	chénē	chèḡē
7	kínē	kìḡē	8	bínē	bigē
9	yínē	yìḡē	10	chénē	chēḡē
14	bvúnē	bvùḡē	6a	mánē	màḡā
19	fīnē	fìḡē	18a	mūnē	mùḡḡē
16	fēnē	fòḡē			
18	yānē	yāḡā			

Table 6.5 Nchane spatial demonstratives.

Anaphoric demonstratives

The other type of demonstrative functions primarily in anaphoric reference. That is, the demonstratives are used to refer to a participant that has been previously mentioned. These referents are most often major participants in the story. Note that other pragmatic considerations can call for the use of the second anaphoric demonstrative (ANA2), as will be illustrated later in this section.

The functional difference between the two anaphoric demonstratives is pragmatic. The first anaphoric demonstrative (ANA1), with the underlying form è, is used to mark nouns in a story that are coreferential with important participants or

props. For example, “money” (lit. “teeth”⁴⁶) in (6.42) is an important prop in a story about a house fire. The money burns up in the fire and the loss of the money was a tremendous hardship for the speaker and a source of sorrow.

- (6.42) mē gē n-tó b'é bī-gē, n-tó, j-ché,
 1SG.PRO P3 1SG-come with c8-tooth 1SG-come 1SG-sleep
- bvūchūyū, j-ǰò bī-gè **by-ē:**
 next.morning 1SG-take c8-tooth c8-ANA1
- n-lē ŋ-gè yē
 1SG-enter 1SG-put c9.house

'I brought some money (lit. teeth) and slept. The next morning, I took that money and put it in my house.' Fire.1.4-5

Similarly, the “woman” and the “blindman” in (6.43) are both major participants in the story the example comes from. And the “cow” in (6.44) is an important prop in the *Three greedy friends* text; it is present throughout the entire story.

- (6.43) **Ø-kwēsé** wē-ē káŋ-è màn-kàlà, **kì-nfɛ:**
 c1-woman c1-ANA1 fry-PROG c6a-cassava.puff c7-blindman
- ky-ē:** gēn-è kī lēg-è màn-kàlà à
 c7-ANA1 go-PROG c7 beg-PROG c6a-cassava.puff in
- Ø-kwēsé** wē-ē lē à-jū à-chī à-jū à-chī
 c1-woman c1-ANA1 APPL c18-day c18-all c18-day c18-all

'That woman continued frying cassava puffs and that blindman was always coming and begging cassava puffs from her, day after day.' What-goes-around.1.5

⁴⁶ The word for “teeth” is used here to refer to money. The source of this usage is unclear. It is possible that historically the Nchane people literally used teeth as a form of currency. Indeed, many of the “notables” in the area, when in ceremonial dress, wear necklaces strung with teeth from some large animal, an indication of the precious nature of teeth. A second hypothesis is that its use is metaphorical, standing in for something like cowrie shells, which were used for currency. Eggon (West-Plateau), spoken in Nigeria, is documented as having such a polysemy (Roger Blench pers. comm.). However, of the nearby languages, Noni is the only other language known to use “teeth” in reference to money.

(6.44) b́ó síṣē kī b́ó gū Ø-nà b́ó sé: b́ó gēsē,
 3PL decide COMP(K) 3PL buy c1-cow 3PL cut 3PL sell

lē b́ó gū Ø-nà wē-è b̄ t́ó b́é wù
 SET 3PL buy c1-cow c1-ANA1 3PL come with c1

'They arranged to buy a cow to slaughter and sell. After they bought that cow and came with it...'
 Greedy Friends.1.3-1.4

The second anaphoric demonstrative (ANA2), with the root **yú**, also marks the modified noun as referring to an important participant or prop in the story. However, ANA2 most often has the additional function of marking the referent as one that has been or will be involved in some kind of climactic event and/or one that is viewed as somehow inherently faulty or otherwise negative. The use of ANA2 is largely subjective in nature and reveals the attitude of the speaker towards the referent. The examples given in the remainder of this section illustrate some of the semantic-pragmatic uses of the demonstrative. For a fuller treatment of the anaphoric demonstratives, see Boutwell (2018). Also, see the interlinearized text provided in Chapter 17 in order to more easily observe both anaphoric demonstratives functioning within a larger discourse context.

Examples (6.45) and (6.46) illustrate ANA2 modifying a referent that was marked previously with ANA1. In both cases, the function of ANA2 is primarily pragmatic—to indicate to the hearer that a negative event connected to that referent is about to occur. For example, following the sentence in example (6.45), the cow is laid on the man, who is then killed by the cow's horn.

(6.45) n̄sá y-é chy-è:, yī bēŋ lē
 c10.friend c10-3SG.POSS c10-ANA1 c10 agree COMP

wū gīŋ fē-kū b́ó ḱó Ø-nà wú-yú
 3SG lie.down c16-down 3PL catch c1-cow c1-ANA2

b́ó túŋ wù lé w-è
 3PL throw c1 COP c1-3SG.POSS

'The friends agreed that he should sleep on the ground so they could lay that cow on him.'
 Greedy Friends.1.5

Example (6.46) is taken from a story in which rats plan to tie a bell on the tail of a cat who has been terrorizing them, in order to alert them of the cat's approach. In the very next sentence, the cat appears and begins to catch them. The association of the bell with the traumatic event is only peripheral, but it serves as a peak-marking device, increasing tension.

- (6.46) bós bēŋ lē lé kī, kī-kfūnè kí kùgē kī
 3PL agree COMP COP c7 c7-rat c7REL big c7REL
- yídè kē-ē kí lé kí shú m̄byàŋè yí-yú
 black c7-ANA1 c7REL COP c7.FUT tie c9.bell c9-ANA2

*'They agreed that it would be the fat, black rat who would tie THAT bell
 (on the cat's tail).'* Cat and Rats.1.6

There is some evidence from the text corpus that referents that produce a sound are preferentially marked by ANA2. Thus, there might be multiple factors related to the use of ANA2 with the bell in the previous example. Similarly, ANA2 is used preferentially with referents that are deemed in some way as faulty, abnormal or dangerous. This would include entities such as mentally deranged people and storms. This is particularly the case when the “negative” condition of the referent is in contrast with the “normal” condition. This is illustrated in (6.47), which provides a contrast between a woman who has changed herself into an animal and her fellow-wife who is a normal woman.

- (6.47) Ø-kwēsé wē-è jà wī mēsè, wú gē: wú
 c1-woman c1-ANA1 stand up complete 3SG go 3SG
- jō kī-chídè kē-ē, wù lēgè wù kwé bé kī
 take c7-food.mat c7-ANA1 3SG run 3SG home with c7
- Ø-kwēsé wú-yú shè j̄chùŋ à n̄àŋ lē
 c1-woman c1-ANA2 remain c?.bush in c9.animal APPL

*'The woman got up, went and took that food-mat and ran home with it.
 The (other) "woman" remained in the bush as an animal.'*

Two Wives.4.1-3

Note that ANA2 is not always used with this referent; at times this referent appears with ANA1. This suggests that there are several factors related to its use in addition to adverse quality, such as speaker preference and storytelling style.

As a subjective discourse tool, the effect of ANA2 is sometimes subtle and the purpose of its use not readily apparent. Such is the case in (6.48), where it functions to express a speaker comment regarding the appropriate way to enter into marriage. The speaker is giving advice about marriage to a group of young people and is saying that the agreement to marry can be made by the parents or by the children (i.e., the boy and girl) themselves. His use of ANA2 with “children” indicates the speaker’s displeasure at children arranging their own marriage, which is traditionally accomplished by the parents of the children.

(6.48) Ø-ń-tāsè wú-nē lé nò wū tó b́e Ø-bwē
 c1-NMZR-join c1-PROX COP like.that c1 come with c1-mother

kēnē b́e Ø-chíjī kēnē b́e **b̃j:** **bá-yú**
 or with c1-father or with c2.child c2-ANA2

'This joining (marriage) will come through the mother, the father or THOSE children.' Marriage.3.3

There is otherwise no negative or surprising event connected with this reference and no effect at the discourse level. The sole purpose for its use is the expression of a very subtle discouragement of this behavior and is an extreme case of its subjective use.

While ANA2 is most often associated with adverse reference, it can also be used to express the notion of intensity and/or complexity as in (6.49). This example comes from a text describing a training program for local pastors. The function of ANA2 in this example appears to indicate that the meeting consisted of multiple modules and/or that the training given through the meeting was deemed challenging by the speaker.

(6.49) **Ø-ń-shilē** **wú-yú** gè b́e kōnē bá-mī bá
 c1-NMZR-sit c1-ANA2 P3 ^PCOP about c2-person c2AM

Ø-ń-fijē jē yī Ø-ńò
 c1-NMZR-preach c9.word c9AM c1-god

'This meeting was about (or for) preachers.' Training.1.2

It is important to note that ANA1 or the distal demonstrative could be substituted for ANA2 in (6.49). However, it would be unacceptable for ANA2 to be used if the meeting was short, uninteresting and simple in content (with all other factors remaining the same).

Table 6.6 provides a summary of the anaphoric demonstratives. Note that the vowel of the ANA1 root is deleted when the prefix vowel is the low vowel /a/, followed by compensatory vowel lengthening. This is the case for classes 2, 6, 6a and 18. See §3.4 for more details. Also, a palatal glide is sometimes heard when prefixes have **ch** or **k** onsets. The glide realization is often stronger or weaker depending on who is speaking. In contrast, a glide is almost always heard with demonstratives marked with class 8 or 19 agreement.

	ANA1	ANA2		ANA1	ANA2
1	wē:	wúyú	2	bā:	báyú
3	kwē:	wúyú	4	ch(y)ē:	yíyú
5	ch(y)ē:	chíyú	6	kā:	áyú
			13	ch(y)ē:	chíyú
7	k(y)ē:	kíyú	8	byē:	bíyú
9	yē:	yíyú	10	ch(y)ē:	yíyú
14	bwē:	bvúyú	6a	mā:	máyú
19	fyē:	fíyú	18a	mwē:	múyú
16	fē:	féyú			
18	yā:	áyú			

Table 6.6 Nchane anaphoric demonstratives.

Cross-linguistic and historical observations of the demonstrative system

While Nchane presents a bipartite system of spatial demonstratives, several other Beboid languages are reported to have a tripartite system of spatial demonstratives, including Naami (Tabah 2018a), Chungmboko (Tabah 2018b), Noni (Hyman 1981) and Mungong (Boutwell 2014b). The tripartite systems include demonstratives which express a location far from the speaker and the hearer, in addition to the near-speaker and near-hearer varieties.

The near-hearer (or medial) demonstrative in some of these languages appear to be cognate with the Nchane ANA1 demonstrative. Hyman noted that the Noni near-hearer demonstrative has the dual purpose of expressing spatial orientation and definiteness, or referentiality (Hyman 1981:24). The fact that this spatial demonstrative is observed to have a discourse role further supports its cognate status with Nchane ANA1. Mungong also has clear cognates with Nchane in its demonstrative system. The distal demonstrative in Mungong is reported to be used in anaphoric reference as well (Boutwell 2014b: 10). The class 2 demonstratives of each of these language varieties is given in Table 6.7, in order to illustrate cognancy. Dedicated anaphoric demonstratives are given with a shaded background.

	Proximal	Medial (ANA1)	Distal	Anaphoric (ANA2)
(Nchane)				
Noni	bā-n	b-ā	bò-bā	bó-dvú
Mungong	bō-nō	bé-ē	b-òkō	bó-jùŋ
Nchane	bá-nē	bā-à	bā-gā	bá-yú

Table 6.7 Cognate class 2 demonstrative forms (Noni, Mungong and Nchane).

The morphology of classes 3, 4, 6 and 18 merit a few comments. When considering the complete agreement paradigms for these classes (see Table 6.1 and Table 6.2), each have agreement elements with either no consonant onset or a consonant onset with a high degree of sonorancy (i.e., a glide consonant). However, in the demonstrative paradigm, the agreement for these classes appear with consonant onsets with a lower degree of sonorancy relative to the onsets of their agreement in the remaining agreement system. For example, the agreement for class 6 most often has the form **a**. But the class 6 agreement for demonstratives is **ka**. Table 6.8 summarizes these observations.

Class	Prevailing agreement onset	Demonstrative agreement onset
3	GV	kwV
4	GV	chV
6	V	kV
18	V	yV

Table 6.8 Unique agreement onsets observed in the demonstrative paradigms of classes 3, 4, 6 and 18.

The “strong” consonant onset appearing in Nchane demonstratives curiously does not extend to the ANA2 forms. This fact suggests that ANA1 is derived from the exophoric set, as supported by the cognancy of ANA1 with the distal demonstrative of nearby languages; but it seems likely that ANA2 derived from a different source. It is unknown at this time what that source might have been. That Nchane has co-opted a spatial demonstrative to serve as a counterpart for ANA2 brings its demonstrative system in line with Diessel’s generalization of demonstrative typologies that demonstrative systems are “usually organized in paradigms of contrastive forms” (2012: 2420). With the distal (near-hearer) demonstrative taking up the task of anaphoric reference fulltime, the far distal demonstrative is generalized to mark all references that are away from the speaker. It also began to be used to make anaphoric references for non-major participants. This appears to be handled most often in the Beboid languages by the distal demonstrative.

A final observation is that the subjective and adverse nature of ANA2 has not been observed in any of the other Beboid languages, nor in other languages of the area. Although, the demonstratives of the nearby Grassfields language Bafut have been observed to be used in expressing various degrees of irritation (Mfonyam 2012). In-depth studies of the demonstrative systems of nearby languages are few in number, particularly those with attention to function beyond spatial deixis and basic anaphoric reference. I expect that similar expressions of what some have termed “emotional deixis” are present in the demonstrative systems of nearby languages, but have yet to be adequately studied. Still, the particulars of Nchane’s demonstrative system may very well be unique.

6.4.3 Quantifiers

Two dedicated quantifiers have been identified in the text corpus: **dùdē** ‘many’ and **chī** ‘all’. The form **mū** ‘some’ has multiple functions, quantification being but one. Since it has more than one use, it is treated independently in §6.4.4. Quantifiers generally immediately follow the modified noun and are always marked with noun class agreement. In this section, the noun phrase appears in brackets and the quantifier is bolded.

The quantifier **dùdē** ‘many’ is used to express that the number of the modified noun is large, but the number is not specified. When used with uncountable nouns, the meaning rendered is ‘much’. The alternative form **dùlē** is likely a dialectal variant. Examples (6.50)-(6.52) show it modifying plural nouns, while (6.53) illustrates its use with a mass noun.

(6.50) [bā-mì **bā-dùdē**]
c2-person c2-many
‘many people’

(6.51) [mw-ē: **mūn-dùlē**]
c18a-thing c18a-many
‘many things’

(6.52) [bī-lōŋ **bī-dùlē**]
c8-year c8-many
‘many years’

(6.53) [kwā **wū-dùdē**]
c3.valuable⁴⁷ c3-many
‘much money’

The entire number of a noun is expressed through the quantifier **chī** ‘all’. It follows the noun it modifies, as well as a possessive pronoun, if present, as in (6.55).

(6.54) wū tēŋ [bī-kfūnè **bī-chī**]
3SG call c8-rat c8-all
‘he called all the rats’

⁴⁷ The word **kwā** ‘valuable’ is a generic term used for things of value. It can sometimes be translated as ‘cost’ or ‘money’. It contrasts with the specific term **bī-gē** ‘teeth’, which is also used as a term for ‘money’.

- (6.55) [mw-ē: mw-āŋ **mūp-chī**]
 c18a-thing c18a-1SG.POSS c18a-all

'all my things'

While this quantifier is most often associated with plural nouns, it can also modify singular nouns, where it indicates the entirety of the modified noun as illustrated in (6.56) and (6.57).

- (6.56) [kī-tē **kī-chī**]
 c7-tree c7-all

'the whole tree'

- (6.57) Ø-sōŋō lé kī-tē kī tēmē jīshēŋ
 c5-palm COP c7-tree c7REL strong c9.property

yì jìchànè lē bé à-wé [à-wōŋ **ā-chī**]
 in N. APPL with c18-up c18-world c18-all

'The palm is an important property tree in Nchane and to all the world.'
 King of Trees.1.1

It is common for the quantifier to appear stranded outside of the noun phrase as in (6.58) and (6.59). It appears that quantifier stranding always occurs when the modified noun is in subject position and there is no object (i.e., intransitive constructions).

- (6.58) [mw-ē: mū lēmè mū bēlíkīlā mú
 c18a-thing c18aAM work c18aAM builder c18aREL

mē gē ŋ-kémé] gē fyé **mūp-chī**
 1SG.PRO P3 1SG-have P3 burn c18a-all

'The builders tools that I had all burnt.'

Fire.5.4

- (6.59) lē fí dó fí jù nō, [bō: bā-ā]
 SET c19 SIT c19 cop(N) like.that c2.child c2-ANAL

gē kwē-yè **bā-chī**
 P3 die-DISTR c2-all

'As it was so, those children all died (one after the other).'

What-goes-around.10.1

- (6.60) [yē] gē fyé **yi-chī**
 c9 p3 burn c9-all
 ‘...it (my house) completely burned.’

Fire.5.2

The example below is likely a grammaticalized construction, where the noun and quantifier are repeated to express a durative situation.

- (6.61) Ø-kwēsé wē-ē káŋ-è màŋ-kàlà, kì-fɛ:
 c1-woman c1-ANA1 fry-PROG c6a-cassava.puff c7-blind.man
 ky-ē: gēn-è kī lēg-è màŋ-kàlà à
 c7-ANA1 go-PROG c7 beg-PROG c6a-cassava.puff in
 Ø-kwēsé wē-ē lē, [à-jū **a-chī**] [à-jū **a-chī**]
 c1-woman c1-ANA1 APPL c6-day c6-all c6-day c6-all

‘That woman continued frying cassava puff and that blind man was always coming and begging cassava puff from her, day after day.’

What-goes-around.1.5

While the quantifier routinely appears as a nominal modifier, it also appears in the possibly lexicalized time adverbial compound **sēgè-chī** ‘always’, combining with the time adverb **ségè** ‘when’. This is illustrated in example (6.62).

- (6.62) bǒ gēn-è fē bō lē **sēgè-chī**
 3PL.HORT go-PROG at 3PL APPL when-all

‘They (the husband and wife) should visit them (their parents) all the time...’

Marriage.6.2

6.4.4 “Some”

The determiner **mū** ‘some’ is observed as having three functions. One function is as an indefinite quantifier. A second function is as a specific indefinite determiner. In this function, it is used with non-referential nouns, especially when introducing participants of a story, where it is translatable as ‘a certain one’. Finally, it is also used in expressing contrastive reference, where ‘other’ is an appropriate translation. Each of these uses are described in this section. In all usages, the canonical position of the determiner is following the modified noun and the determiner takes agreement marking based on its nominal head. When the vowel of the agreement prefix is [i], the vowel of the determiner variably harmonizes with it.

As a quantifier, **mũ** is used with plural nouns to express an indefinite quantity. The quantity may be either unknown or unimportant. The quantifier function rarely appears in the text corpus. Examples (6.63) and (6.64) were both elicited for the purpose of illustration.

- (6.63) [bā-mī **bá-mũ**]
 c2-person c2-some
 ‘some people’

- (6.64) ná mē [bī-bē: **bí-mī**]
 give.IMP 1SG.PRO c8-calabash c8-some
 ‘Give me some (a few) calabashes.’

Example (6.65) shows the quantifier combining with the modifier **shēgē** ‘small’, with the resultant meaning of ‘small amount’.

- (6.65) wū ná mē [bī-gē **bī-mī** shēgē shēgē]
 3SG give 1SG.PRO c8-tooth c8-some small small
 ‘...he (God) gave me a little money.’ Fire.42

No quantifier with a dedicated meaning of ‘small amount’ or ‘few in number’ has been identified. Thus, this quantifier-adverb combination might be one of the primary means for making these kinds of expressions.

The most common use of **mũ** in the text corpus is as a specific indefinite determiner, observed often in presentational constructions at the beginning of stories, and often with singular nouns. Examples (6.66) and (6.67) are both the first sentences of stories and are presenting a major or minor participant.

- (6.66) [kì-nfē: **kí-mú**] gē jēŋ-í
 c7-blind.man c7-some P3 walk-PROG
 ‘A certain blind man was walking around.’ What-goes-around.1.1

- (6.67) [Ø-jwēnsé **wū-mũ**] gē bé yú, wū kémè
 c1-man c1-some P3 ^PCOP on.it c1REL have
 bī-kēsé bā-fédè
 c2-woman c2-two
 ‘There was a man who had two wives.’ Two Wives.1.1

Time expressions sometimes include **mū**, as in (6.68)-(6.70).

- (6.68) [kī-lūŋ **kí-mí**] gē bē
 c7-year c7-some P3 ^PCOP
 ‘Some years ago,’ Jealous Husband.1.1

- (6.69) [kī-fē **kí-mú**] lé yī kī-lūŋ lé jíchfùgè
 c7-time c7-some COP in c7-year APPL thousand
 bē Ø-gí: bvùgē m̄bāŋbvùgē n̄chò bvūsōshwí
 and c4-hundred nine ninety plus seven
 ‘Sometime in 1997,’ Training.1.1

- (6.70) lē kī-nfē: kē-ē dó kī tō-ò [Ø-jú **chí-mí**]
 SET c7-blind.man c7-ANA1 SIT c7 come-PROG c5-day c5-some
 ‘As that blind man was coming one day,...’ What-goes-around.2.1

A third sense of this word form is “other” or “another” and usually establishes a contrast between the referent and the other members of the set to which it belongs. For example, in (6.71) the second **táj wúmù** is contrasting with the first one.

- (6.71) [Ø-táj **wú-mù**] lé byèŋ bú yú. bē chī,
 c1-time c1-some COP c9.fish exit on.it 1PL pull
 [Ø-táj **wú-mù**] lé byèŋ bú-dé gè yú gè
 c1-time c1-some COP c9.fish exit-COMPL NEG2 on.it NEG2
 ‘Some times, (after pulling) a fish would come out on it (the fishing line).
 We pulled other times and no fish came out on it.’ Fishing.1.8-9

Similarly, the two occurrences of **múmú** in (6.72) constitute a contrast between the ‘things’ which were rescued from the burning house and those which were not. The determiners in this case are serving a pronominal function, referring to the topicalized noun phrase “things in the house”.

- (6.72) [mw-ē: mŭ yē kwè], **mŭ-mŭ** bā bŭsè,
 c18a-thing c18aREL on home c18a-some they remove
- mŭ-mŭ** fyē
 c18a-some burn

'Some of the things in the house they removed, other things burned.'

Fire.5.1

The determiner in (6.73) is ambiguous without context. In an out-of-the-blue utterance, the interpretation would likely be as an indefinite quantifier—'I want a few calabashes'. However, if the speaker first states that the calabashes that he bought yesterday were damaged and unusable, then the interpretation would be contrastive—'I want other calabashes' or 'different calabashes'.

- (6.73) ñ-gō:n-é bī-bē: bī-mī
 1SG-want-PROG c8-calabash c8-some

'I want some (a few) calabashes.'

or

'I want other (or different) calabashes.'

The word **mŭmŭ** 'some/another person' is a fused form of the noun phrase **mŭ wŭ-mŭ**. The class 1 agreement marker **wŭ** is dropped and the noun **mŭ** 'person (c1)' fuses with the bare stem of the determiner **mŭ**, as illustrated in (6.74).

- (6.74) Ø-táŋ wŭ bā m̄bŭn-é, **Ø-mŭ-mŭ**
 c1-time c1REL they foam-PROG c1-person-some
- kól-è à kī-ntī lē
 catch-PROG in c7-bowl APPL

'As they are foaming,⁴⁸ someone else is collecting [the foams] in a bowl.'

Making Palm Oil.1.7

⁴⁸ This example is from a text explaining how to make palm oil, which is used for cooking, as a lubricant, and for skin care. The palm nuts are put into a stone trough and pounded with large tree limbs, which releases the oil from the nuts. Water is then added to "wash" the pounded nuts, followed by vigorously agitating the oil-water mixture with a small stick. This "foaming" action creates a layer of floating foam containing most of the oil, which is collected in a bowl and cooked to drive out the water.

The syntactic behavior of this determiner is not completely understood beyond the fact that it follows the head noun. However, example (6.75) shows the determiner modifying nouns in a coordinate noun phrase, where each noun is modified by a separate determiner. In contrast, the coordinate noun phrase licenses a single relativizer, behavior consistent with its analysis as a single grammatical unit. It is not known if this behavior represents a common restriction against the determiner modifying coordinate noun phrases or if there are pragmatic reasons for the behavior in this particular case.

- (6.75) kī-lūŋ kí-mí gē bé [Ø-jwènsè wū-mū] bé
 c7-year c7-some P3 ^PCOP c1-man c1-some with
- [Ø-kwē wú-mū] bō kōŋ-è yē bāŋ
 c1-wife.3SG.POSS c1-some 3PL.REL love-PROG c9.body much

'Some years ago, there was a man and wife who loved each other very much.'

Jealous Husband.1.1

The fused form **mùmù** 'someone else' has been observed to co-occur with the anaphoric 1 demonstrative (see §6.6 for an example), and the indefinite specific determiner appears in one example with a number that is serving as a predicate. Otherwise, co-occurrences of the determiner and other demonstratives or quantifiers are unattested.

6.4.5 Numbers

The form of the numbers 1-10 are relatively unremarkable, with the exception of the number 7, which is morphologically complex, consisting of the number 6 plus **shwē**, whose meaning is unknown (see example (6.76)). I assume that the complex is additive in nature.

- (6.76) bvū-sō 'six'
 c14-six
- bvū-sō-shwē 'seven'
 c14-six-??

It is likely that these two numbers have lexicalized class 14 agreement, since the neighboring Noni language has similar forms for these numbers, but without the **bv** at the beginning (cf. **s̄:chàn** ‘six’ and **s̄:shwî** ‘seven’ (Hyman 1981: 28)).⁴⁹ The number 9 also may have lexicalized class 14 agreement, with the assumed agreement element also present in the number 9 of Mungong, Noni and Chung.

The numbers 11-99 are phrasal, being formed through the connective **j̄chò** ‘plus’, which joins the number in the ten’s position with the number in the one’s position. While the numbers 1-5 in single digit numbers appear without agreement marking, in these complex numbers they are marked with agreement, even in citation form. Thus, when appearing without a modified noun, they are marked with gender 19/18a agreement, as seen in (6.77).

(6.77)	yúfè	j̄chò	f̄i-mímyā	<i>‘eleven’</i>
	ten	plus	c18a-one	
	yúfè	j̄chò	mùnŋ-fé:	<i>‘twelve’</i>
	ten	plus	c18a-two	
	m̄bāŋ	shē	j̄chò f̄i-mímyā	<i>‘thirty-one’</i>
	tens	three	plus c19-one	
	m̄bāŋ	shē	j̄chò mùn-tēdē	<i>‘thirty-three’</i>
	tens	three	plus c18a-three	

As these examples illustrate, the number 1 has class 19 agreement marking, which usually denotes that the head noun is singular rather than plural in number, in spite of the fact that the complex number as a whole expresses plurality. Note that the number 1 is subject to vowel copying and other phonological processes described in §3.5.

Unlike in their citation forms, the numbers 1-5, as single digit numbers as well as in the one’s position of complex numbers, are marked with agreement when modifying a noun, while numbers 6-10 are not marked with agreement in either case. Examples (6.78) and (6.79) show the numbers 1 and 4 agreeing with their head nouns, which precede the numbers.

⁴⁹ The Mungong forms for “six” and “seven” are similar to those of Nchane and Noni, while the Beboid languages Kemedzung, Naki, Sari and Naami all show no formal connection between these numbers. Rather, a subtractive strategy is observed for the number “seven”, which is derived from “eight” (i.e., 8 – 1), and the form for “six” is completely unique. Meanwhile, Chungmboko (also Beboid) numbers 6-10 all appear to be formally independent from each other.

- (6.78) $\bar{j}ch\bar{a}n\bar{e}$ $g\bar{e}$ $j\bar{e}-m\bar{e}$ [$j\bar{e}$ $y\bar{i}-m\bar{i}m\bar{y}\bar{a}$]
 N. P3 speak-PROG c9.language c9-one

'The Nchane (people) spoke one language.'

History.4.2

- (6.79) [$b\bar{a}-jch\bar{i}$ $b\bar{a}$ $k\bar{i}-y\bar{o}$ $k\bar{i}$ $y\bar{u}d\bar{e}$ $b\bar{a}-n\bar{e}$]
 c2-law c2AM c7-spirit c7REL clean c2-four

'four spiritual laws'

Training.1.7

Examples (6.80) and (6.81) illustrate the numbers 2 and 4 in the one's position of complex numbers agreeing with their head nouns.

- (6.80) [$\bar{a}-g\bar{i}j$ $y\bar{u}f\bar{e}$ $j\bar{c}h\bar{o}$ $\bar{a}-f\bar{a}$:]
 c6-egg ten plus c6-two

'twelve eggs'

- (6.81) [$b\bar{i}-y\bar{o}$ $m\bar{b}\bar{a}j$ $f\bar{i}y\bar{e}$ $j\bar{c}h\bar{o}$ $b\bar{i}-n\bar{e}$]
 c8-elephant tens two plus c8-four

'twenty-four elephants'

As (6.82) shows, the number 1 in complex numbers agrees with the singular form of the head noun, rather than the head noun itself, which is plural in number. This follows the pattern observed in citation forms in (6.77).

- (6.82) [$b\bar{i}-y\bar{o}$ $m\bar{b}\bar{a}j$ $f\bar{i}y\bar{e}$ $j\bar{c}h\bar{o}$ $k\bar{i}-m\bar{i}m\bar{y}\bar{a}$]
 c8-elephant tens two plus c7-one

'twenty-one elephants'

- (6.85) gwí: 'one hundred'
c3.hundred
- Ø-gí:-fě: 'two hundred'
c4.hundred-two
- gwí: bé fy-ē: fī-mímyà 'one hundred and one'
c3.hundred with c19-thing c19-one

As the example for the number 101 shows, the number in the hundred's position is joined to the smaller numbers with the conjunction **bé**. However, the conjunction **ḵchò** is observed rather than **bé** when the number is modifying a noun. It is not known if this is a formal distinction between the citation and adjectival forms, or if it represents an artifact of data collection. However, it does reveal the similarity in function and meaning of these two connecting words.

An additional item of interest is that the citation form shows that a head nominal, the generic 'thing', appears to the left of the number 1, for which it licenses agreement. This agreement was pointed out for the examples in (6.77), although no generic noun appeared in those examples. Likewise, no generic noun appears to the left of the number 1 in complex numbers in adjectival form, as was pointed out for (6.82), yet the number 1 agrees with the singular form of the head noun. The presence of the generic noun "thing" in the citation form of 101 then provides a possible clue as to why the number 1 in complex numbers agrees with the singular counterpart of the head nominal. For example, perhaps the source phrase for 'one hundred and one cows' is **bà-nà gwí: ḵchò Ø-nà wù-mùmwa** (c2-cow c3.hundred plus c1-cow c1-one).

Numbers in the thousand's position are treated as nouns belonging to gender 1/2. Smaller numbers follow the thousand numbers and are joined together with the connective **bé** 'with' as above with the hundred numbers.

- (6.86) Ø-ḵchfùgè 'one thousand'
c1-thousand
- bà-ḵchfùgè bā-fě: 'two thousand'
c2-thousand c2-two
- Ø-ḵchfùgè bé Ø-gí: bvūgē mbāḵ bvūgē ḵchò bvū-sō-shwē
c1-thousand with c4-hundred nine tens nine plus c14-six-??
- '1997' (the year)

The numbers for hundreds and thousands never agree with the head noun, but maintain their fundamental markings for genders 3/4 and 1/2 respectively.

Numbers may function as a predicate adjective, following a copula as in (6.87).

(6.87) mē ñ̄-fē kwē yī Ø-kī
 1SG.PRO 1SG-make c9.death c9REL c4-month

lé **yúfē** **ḵchò** **yī-fé:**
 COP ten plus c4-two

'I am having a death celebration in December.' (lit. *death that month is twelve*)

Finally, (6.88) shows that numbers may be reduplicated. The reduplicated number follows the head noun and functions to express repetition. In this example, it co-occurs with a verb marked with the Distributive suffix, and presumably clarifies that four people were chosen from each church, rather than only four people in total being chosen from all the churches.

(6.88) chī-chó chí wōḡ wū misàyé lē gē
 c13-church c13AM c3.country c3AM M. APPL P3

bā-yè [bā-mī **bā-nē** **bā-nē**]
 choose-DISTR c2-person c2-four c2-four

'The churches of the Misaje area chose four people each.' Training.1.5

Table 6.9 below presents a partial list of Nchane cardinal numerals in citation form, along with the numbers as they appear when modifying a noun.

	Number	Gender 1/2 ('cow')
1	mēmà	nà wūmūmwā
2	fé:	bàna bāfé:
3	tēdé	bàna bātēdé
4	nē	bàna bānē
5	tēŋ	bàna bātēŋ
6	bvūsō	bàna bvūsō
7	bvūsōshwē	bàna bvūsōshwī
8	ŋā	bàna ŋā
9	bvùgê	bānā bvùgê
10	yúfè	bàna yúfè
11	yúfè òchò fimímyà	bàna yúfè òchò wūmūmwā
12	yúfè òchò mūmfé:	bàna yúfè òchò bāfé:
13	yúfè òchò mūntédé	bàna yúfè òchò bātédé
14	yúfè òchò mūnê	bàna yúfè òchò bānê
15	yúfè òchò mūntêŋ	bàna yúfè òchò bātêŋ
16	yúfè òchò bvūsō	bàna yúfè òchò bvūsō
17	yúfè òchò bvūsōshwē	bàna yúfè òchò bvūsōshwē
18	yúfè òchò ŋā	bàna yúfè òchò ŋā
19	yúfè òchò bvùgê	bàna yúfè òchò bvùgê
20	m̄bāŋ fíyè	bàna m̄bāŋ fíyè
21	m̄bāŋ fíyè òchò fimímyà	bàna m̄bāŋ fíyè òchò wūmūmwā
22	m̄bāŋ fíyè òchò mūmfé:	bàna m̄bāŋ fíyè òchò bāfé:
100	gwí:	bàna gwí:
101	gwí: bé fíyè fimímyà	bàna gwí: òchò wūmūmwā
200	gí:fé:	bàna gí:fé:
1000	òchfùgè	bàna òchfùgè
2000	bànchfùgè bāfé:	bàna bànchfùgè bāfé:

Table 6.9 Partial list of Nchane numbers.

Ordinal numbers are very limited and are not number based. They involve the use of the words **fwē** 'front', **bī** 'follow' and **jiŋ** 'back' appearing in relative clauses. (6.89)-(6.91) illustrate **fwē** and **bī** in ordinal expression.

- (6.89) màŋ-kàlà m̄ā **fwē** m̄ā-à
 c6a-cassava.puff c6aREL front c6a-ANA1

'that first cassava puff'

What-goes-around.4.1

- (6.90) k̄i-m̄ā k̄í **fwē** l̄ē
 c7-week c7REL front APPL

'the first week'

Training.1.7

- (6.91) kì-mā kí bī f5 lē
 c7-week c7REL follow there APPL
'the second week' (lit. *the week that followed there*) Training.1.8

The word 'follow' is usually understood in context as indicating that the modified noun is following some other like entity in a sequence. Therefore, it has a generalized meaning of "the follower", and only expresses the notion of "second" when following the "first".

When two like-entities are presented as a contrastive pair, the word **jíŋ** can be used to refer to the non-first noun, sometimes interpreted as "the second", as in (6.92). It is probably more correct, however, to consider this expression as "the last one". In fact, it is likely that the words for 'front' and 'back' are iconic representations of 'first' and 'last' respectively. Unfortunately, the data corpus contains no examples of **jíŋ** with a clear "last" reading.

- (6.92) Ø-kwēsé wū fwē b'é wū ā-jíŋ
 c1-woman c1REL front with c1REL c18-back
'the first wife and the second one' Two Wives.1.2

While not common, these words functioning as ordinal numbers may co-occur with numbers, as illustrated in (6.93).

- (6.93) bā-mī bá bā-nē bá fwē
 c2-person c2REL c2-four c2REL front
'the first four people' Training.1.9

6.4.6 Adjectives

The two words **fēŋ** 'new' and **kēgē** 'ancient' form a very small class of adjectives identified through elicitation methods, since they do not appear in the text corpus. Example (6.94) shows that adjectives follow the modified noun and are marked with noun class agreement.

- (6.94) kwēŋ wú-kwēgē tē:m-é kwà
 c3.firewood c3-ancient strong-PROG c3.value
'Very old firewood is expensive.'

Adjectives are distinguished from attributive verbs (described in §9.6) by several formal characteristics. First, unlike attributive verbs, adjectives require a

copula in simple property type expressions like “X is Y”. This is illustrated with the adjectives in examples (6.95) and (6.96).

- (6.95) kī-bē: **lé** [kī-fēŋ]
 c7-calabash COP c7-new

‘The calabash is new.’

- (6.96) kī-tē **lé** [kī-kēgē]
 c7-tree COP c7-ancient

‘The tree is ancient (or very old).’

A second formal distinction is that attributive verbs have the capacity for verbal affixation such as the Progressive suffix. Adjectives may not take any verbal suffixes. Furthermore, they are not candidates for class 14 abstract noun derivation, which is a productive process for attributive verbs.

Finally, adjectives are affected by high back vowel copying similar to that seen in numbers when “modifying” class 1 and class 3 nouns, as illustrated in (6.97), as well as (6.94) above. Note that the adjective appears as a predicate adjective in (6.97), but a nominal modifier in (6.94).

- (6.97) Ø-ŋwā gē bé **wū-fwēŋ**
 c1-book P3 ^PCOP c1-new

‘The book was new.’

The occurrence of high back vowel copying suggests phonological incorporation of the agreement element and supports the analysis that these words are nominal modifiers similar to numbers rather than verb-like words like the attributive verbs.

6.5 Nominal modifiers as pronouns

As pointed out in the introduction to §6.4, several of the nominal modifier word classes are observed in the data functioning as pronouns. They appear in the subject and object positions, although, because of the small number of examples, it is impossible to be certain that there are no syntactic restrictions on any given nominal modifier word class. The examples below demonstrate their pronominal use, including possessive pronouns (6.98)-(6.99), the proximal demonstrative (6.100), “some” (6.101)-(6.102), and numbers (6.103).

(6.98) ↑(yē yì mē gè jì-ché-é yì lē),
 c9.house c9REL 1SG.PRO P3 1SG-stay-PROG on APPL

yì jù **y-àŋ**, jì mē gè
 c9REL COP(N) c9-1SG.POSS c9REL 1SG.PRO P3

jì-ché-é yè lé kībè, jī gē fyé jì-chī
 1SG-stay-PROG on APPL actually c9 P3 burn c9-all

'The house in which I was staying, which was mine and in which I was actually staying, completely burned.' Fire.5.2

(6.99) ŋgú kfú-nē wū yīdī lé **w-àŋ**
 c3.gun c3-PROX c3REL black COP c3-1SG.POSS

'This black gun is mine.'

(6.100) bā: bā-ā gè bé bō tó, wū já bǒ
 c2.child c2-ANA1 P3 ^PCOP 3PL come 3SG give 3PL

màn-kàlà mā-ā mǎn-tēdé, wū já **wú-nē**,
 c6a-cassava.puff c6a-ANA1 c6a-three 3SG give c1-PROX

wū já **wú-nē**
 3SG give c1-PROX

'Those children came and he gave them those three cassava puffs; he gave to each one.' (lit. he gave to this one and he gave to this one)
 What-goes-around.7.8

(6.101) mw-ē: mú yē kwè, **mú-mú**
 c18a-thing c18aREL on home c18a-some

bā būsè, **mú-mú** fyē
 they remove c18a-some burn

'The things in the house, some were removed, others burned.' Fire.5.1

- (6.105) [Ø-mū-**mū** **wé-ē**] kē wù bēd-è
 c1-person-some c1-ANA1 begin 3SG cry-PROG

'That other man started crying...'

Greedy Friends.1.16

- (6.106) bō: bā-ā gè bé bō tó, wū ná bǒ
 c2-child c2-ANA1 P3 ^PCOP 3PL come 3SG give 3PL

[màŋ-kàlà **mā-ā** **mān-tēdé**], wū ná wú-nē,
 c6a-cassava.puff c6a-ANA1 c6a-three 3SG give c1-PROX

wū ná wú-nē
 3SG give c1-PROX

'Those children came and he gave them those three cassava puffs; he gave to each one.' (lit. *he gave to this one and he gave to this one*)

What-goes-around.7.8