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The Kenyang Noun Phrase

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The purpose of this paper is to analyse the various elements of the Kenyang noun phrase including noun class, noun compliments such as associative constructions, possessives, demonstratives, relatives clauses, and attributive constructions. This paper also explores the pronominal system of Kenyang.

Dedication

To Momma Susana who taught me, “*Kenyang kepú wikirik, yě mandú.*” which is translated, ‘Kenyang is not easy; not even a little bit.’

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank God for bringing me here to Cameroon and sustaining me in every way. Without Him, I could not have found answers to this Kenyang grammatical puzzle. I also thank my three language helpers, Maria, Susana, and William, who were patient with my slow tongue and, at times my slow brain. They made my time profitable and enjoyable. Finally I would like to thank my SIL colleagues and mentors Larry Seguin and Rhonda Thwing who met with me on numerous occasions giving me advice on how to collect and organise my data and how to write a technically correct and coherent paper.

List of abbreviations

- 1p – first person plural
- 1s – first person singular
- 2p – second person plural
- 2s – second person singular
- 3p – third person plural
- 3s – third person singular
- AnPr – anaphoric pronoun
- AP – association particle
- C1, C2, etc. – class 1, class 2, etc.
- COMP – complementiser
- COP – copula
- Prog – progressive
- SM – subject marker
- SPM – superlative marker

1. Introduction	1
1.1 Background on the Kenyang Language	1
1.2 Details of My Research.....	1
1.3 Brief Overview of Kenyang Phonology	1
2. Noun Class System	3
2.1 Noun Classes	3
2.2 Gender.....	5
2.3 Concord	5
3. Noun Complements	6
3.1 Associative Noun Phrases.....	6
3.2 Possessives.....	7
3.2.1 Non-human Possessors	8
3.2.2 Placement of the Possessive.....	9
3.3 Demonstrative Constructions.....	9
3.3.1 Spatial Distinctions	10
3.3.2 Placement of the Demonstrative.....	11
3.3.3 Demonstratives as Relative Pronouns.....	12
3.4 Relative Clauses.....	12
3.4.1 Extent of Relativisation	12
3.4.2 Marking the Position of the NP-REL in the REL-CL.....	13
3.5 Attributive Phrases.....	14
3.5.1 Attributive Verbs	14
3.5.2 Attributive Nouns	14
3.5.3 Nominalisation of an Attributive Verb.....	15
3.5.4 Adjectives	15
3.6 Quantifiers	15
3.6.1 Numerals.....	16
3.6.2 Ordinal Numbers	17
3.7 Other Noun Adjuncts	18
4. Pronouns and Other Pro-forms	22
4.1 Personal Pronouns.....	22
4.2 Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns.....	22
4.3 Interrogative Pro-forms	23
4.4 Indefinite Pronouns.....	26
5. Focus	26
6. Word Order in the Noun Phrase	27
6.1 An Exception to Word Order.....	29
7. Residue	29
7.1 Noun Class Issues.....	29
7.2 The Possibility of a Definite Article	29
8. Conclusion	30

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background on the Kenyang Language

Kenyang (ALCAM classification number 881) is spoken in the Manyu division of the Southwest province of Cameroon. According to the Ethnologue, Grimes (1992:193), Kenyang has the following alternative names: Nyang, Bayangi, Banyang, Banyangi, Banjangi, and Manyang.

Kenyang is spoken by approximately 65,000 people spread across a total of 53 villages. The Ethnologue lists three dialects of Kenyang¹: Upper Kenyang (Haut-Kenyang), Lower Kenyang (Bas-Kenyang), and Bakoni (Upper Balong, Northern Balong, Manyemen, Kichwe, Kitwii, Twii, Manyeman).

The Ethnologue classifies Kenyang as Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue, Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Broad Bantu, Mamfe.

1.2 Details of My Research

This paper is based on data collected over the period of one year from September 1997 through September 1998. In that time I had a total of three language helpers: TAKU Maria originally from the upper Kenyang village of Takwai and currently residing in Mamfe; EYONG Susana originally from the lower Kenyang village of Eyangchang and currently residing in Mamfe; and ENOW William Besong originally from the lower Kenyang village of Ntenako and currently residing in Yaoundé.

1.3 Brief Overview of Kenyang Phonology

The Kenyang phonological system is comprised of 21 phonemic consonants and 9 phonemic vowels. Following are two charts – the first listing the consonants and the second listing the vowels. Both charts employ the standard Kenyang alphabet.

¹ All of the data presented in this paper is from Lower Kenyang. Lower Kenyang has the greatest number of speakers and has, therefore, been chosen by the Society for Kenyang Literature (SKL) as the standard reference dialect.

	Labials	labio-dentals	alveolars	alveo-palatals	velars	labio-velars
vl stops	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>kp</i>
vd stops	<i>b</i>		<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	<i>gb</i>
vl fricatives		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>			
vd fricatives	<i>bh</i>				<i>gh</i>	
vl affricates				<i>ch</i>		
vd affricates				<i>j</i>		
nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
liquids			<i>r</i>			
semi-vowels				<i>y</i>		<i>w</i>

Table 1: Kenyang Consonants

	front unrounded	central unrounded	back unrounded	back rounded
high	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
mid tense	<i>e</i>			<i>o</i>
mid lax	<i>ɛ</i>			<i>ɔ</i>
low		<i>a</i>		

Table 2: Kenyang Vowels

Kenyang has high and low tone, plus rising, falling and downstepped high. They are marked as follows:

High and downstepped high: ´

Low: unmarked

Rising: ˇ

Falling: ˆ

All examples in this paper are written phonemically using the Kenyang alphabet described above unless otherwise stated. I have not, however, followed the Kenyang orthographic conventions. The reason for this is that when writing orthographically, many times phonemes and/or morphemes are lost. This is particularly true of the association particle used in many noun phrase constructions.

2. NOUN CLASS SYSTEM

2.1 Noun Classes

Kenyang, being a Bantoid language, has a rich noun class system. According to Voorhoeve (1980) Kenyang has 12 noun classes. All nouns fall into one of those classes, which are distinguished by various prefixes. These noun classes correspond to various semantic domains. For example, classes 1 and 2 contain mostly nouns referring to humans and classes 9 and 10 contain mostly nouns referring to animals. The category of number (singular and plural) is also encoded by the noun class². i.e. some classes contain mostly singular nouns while others contain mostly plural nouns. These singular and plural classes pair up into what are known as genders. Most times, a gender is a pairing of a singular class with a plural class so that when a particular noun is singular it will take the prefix of the singular class within that pairing, and when it is plural, it will take the prefix of the plural class within that pairing. More will be said on this in section 2.2

As was stated above, Kenyang has 12 noun classes. Below is a list of the 12 Kenyang noun classes with examples. These classes have been assigned numbers which correspond to those used in other Bantu and Bantoid languages and are based on the noun class system of Proto-Bantu. This explains why various numbers are missing and why the singular class 19 is listed before the plural class 13. Note that the chart has been arranged according to the most common genders with the singular classes on the left and their plural partners to the right. Also note that some noun classes have sub-classes. This is due to the fact that some nouns have retained an historic form of the noun prefix. These sub-classes are listed with subscripts (ex. 1₁). There are also phonological processes at work which have created variations in the prefixes in classes 2, 6, 6a, and 8. When the root noun begins with a nasal, the initial consonant of the suffix becomes an 'm'.

² These semantic and number distinctions, although strong are not without exception. One does not have to look long to find words that do not seem to fit in the class to which they belong. For example, the word meaning 'father' is not class 1 as would be expected, but class 7. Another example is the word for 'bed' which is part of the plural class 8 although it is singular.

Class 1: N-

m-fɔ 'chief'

n-ném 'husband'

Class 1₁: ta-

ta-tu 'bee'

Class 3: a-

a-ɲwá 'cat'

a-kap 'gift'

Class 3₁: N-

m-bi 'path'

n-gó 'tail'

Class 5: nɛ-

nɛ-chi 'egg'

nɛ-mbe 'star'

Class 5₁: N-

n-nyɔp 'day'

Class 7: ɛ-

ɛ-ket 'house'

ɛ-nɔk 'stick'

Class 9: N-

n-sok 'elephant'

m-mú 'dog'

Class 19: sɛ-

sɛ-nen 'bird'

sɛ-ti 'axe'

Class 2: ba- ~ ma-

ba-fɔ 'chiefs'

ma-ném 'husbands'

ba-tu 'bees'

ba-ɲwá 'cats'

ba-kap 'gifts'

ba-bi 'paths'

ba-gó 'tails'

Class 6: ba- ~ ma-

ba-chi 'eggs'

ma-mbe 'stars'

ma-nyɔp 'days'

Class 6a: ba- ~ ma-

ba-wet 'oil'

ma-nyep 'water'

Class 8: bɛ- ~ mɛ-

bɛ-ket 'houses'

mɛ-nɔk 'sticks'

Class 10: N-

n-sok 'elephants'

m-mú 'dogs'

Class 13: kɛ-

kɛ-nen 'birds'

kɛ-ti 'axes'

2.2 Gender

Kenyang has 8 commonly used genders. They are as follows³: (1,2); (3,2); (3,6); (5,6); (6a); (7,8); (9,10); and (19,13). Most Kenyang words will fall into one of these genders. Note gender (6a). As a single class gender it is comprised of only one noun class. Gender (6a) contains liquid, and mass nouns⁴ since they, by nature, cannot be pluralized (see noun class chart above for examples).

One gender listed above, although common, was overlooked by previous researchers. That gender is (3,2). This gender may have been overlooked because the noun class prefix for classes 2 and 6 are the same, so previous researchers mistakenly assumed that the gender was (3,6). It is only by looking at the agreement patterns (i.e. the concord) that the truth is found out. Below are examples of both genders (3,6) and (3,2).

Gender (3,6)

1)	<i>a-tú</i>	<i>ú</i>	<i>w-a</i>	<i>ba-tú</i>	<i>ú</i>	<i>y-a</i>
	C3-ear	AP	C3-my	C6-ears	AP	C6-my
	'my ear'			'my ears'		

Gender (3,2)

2)	<i>a-ɣwá</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>w-a</i>	<i>ba-ɣwá</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>b-a</i>
	C3-cat	AP	C3-my	C2-cats	AP	C2-my
	'my cat'			'my cats'		

If one were to look only at the plural nouns in the examples above, it would not be possible to distinguish class 6 from class 2. It is only by examining the concord markers on the possessive form 'my' that the ambiguity is cleared up. As you can see from the above example, concord is an integral part of the Kenyang noun class systems. I will now take time to describe the concord system in detail.

2.3 Concord

The Kenyang noun class system does not involve noun prefixes only. There is an entire concord system, briefly mentioned above. In Kenyang the class of a noun determines the specific forms assumed by all pronouns, adjectives, numerals, and subject markers which refer to that noun. Note the following examples:

³ The notation used for genders is the listing of the noun classes of the pairing separated by a comma and in parenthesis. The singular class will always be listed first followed by the plural class.

⁴ Most Bantu languages place mass nouns and liquids into two different classes, but Kenyang deviates from that pattern by placing liquids and masses in the same class (i.e. class 6a).

- 3) *se-nen é si sé-chí fã*
 C19-bird AP 3sp19 SM19-COP here
 'His bird is here.'
- 4) *ke-nen é ki ké-chí fã*
 C13-birds AP 3sp13 SM13-COP here
 'His birds are here.'

Notice that both the possessive and the subject marker change form according to the noun class of the head noun (i.e. the subject).

There are times when the class of the head noun is unknown to the speaker. This is particularly common in interrogative sentences (see sect 4.3). When the class of the head noun is unknown, the concord for class 7 or 8 is chosen as a default concord. Class 7 is chosen if the head noun is known to be singular, and class 8 is chosen if the head noun is known to be plural.

The remainder of this paper will deal with noun phrase elements, all of which are affected by concord.

3. NOUN COMPLEMENTS

3.1 Associative Noun Phrases

Associative noun phrases (hereafter referred to as ANP's) are comprised of two or more nouns joined by an association particle⁵ (hereafter referred to as the AP).

ANP's in Kenyang convey many types of relationships. They can convey possession, attribution, part to whole, contents, kinship, etc. Below are a few examples.

Possession

- 5) *ne-mɔt é m-mó*
 C5-cookstone AP C1-child
 'The child's cookstone'

Part to Whole

- 6) *n-kwɔp ε ne-chi*
 C9-peeling AP C5-egg
 'eggshell'

Attribution

- 7) *be-rim í ba-ɣwá*
 C8-bigness AP C2-cats
 'big-ness of the cats' (The big cats)

⁵ I have chosen to call the noun linker an association particle instead of the traditional associative marker because this linker in Kenyang has a much broader function than the associative marker does. While the associative marker is limited to linking nouns, the association particle is used not only to link nouns, but to link nouns and pronouns, as well as nouns and adjectives and nouns and possessives.

The AP itself according to Tyhurst (1985:21) is, “a vowel having the same quality at the final vowel of the first noun.” However, he qualifies his statement by saying that the form of the AP varies from dialect to dialect. He writes, “Voorhoeve (1980:275) claims that the AM consists of tone concord only and has no segmental realisation. Ittmann (1935-36:107) states that the AM is limited to qualities *ε*, *a*, and *o* depending on the quality of the preceding vowels.” I have found in my research that the AP is most often a vowel copied from the final vowel of the first noun as Tyhurst claims, but there are instances when the vowel is not copied (see example (6) above). I have not yet determined the cause for this as it is a phonological issue and therefore beyond the scope of this paper.

Tyhurst continues his description of the AP by saying that tone is assigned to the AP according to the class of the first noun. Classes 1, 6a, and 9 historically took low tone concord while all other classes took high tone, but classes 1 and 6a are moving towards taking high tone concord which leaves class 9 as the only class which consistently takes low tone. I have found that this is indeed the case in Kenyang. Some class 1 nouns take high and others low tone, and in class 6a the movement towards high tone concord is so complete that I found no examples of low tone concord. Note the following examples.

High tone AP – class 1

- 8) *n-ném-é-w-a*
C1-husband-AP-C1-my
'my husband'

Low tone AP – class 1

- 9) *m-mwere-e-w-eká*
C1-friend-AP-C1-your(p)
'your(p) friend'

High tone AP – class 6a

- 10) *ma-nyep-é-m-a*
C6a-water-AP-C1-my
'my water'

Low tone AP – class 6a

No Examples found

3.2 Possessives

Kenyang possessives are composed of two separate parts: the person marker preceded by the concord marker prefix. I will consider first the person marker:

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	-a	-esé
2nd Person	-e	-ekâ
3rd Person	-i	-ap

Table 3: Person Markers

The person markers listed above take a consonantal prefix acting as a concord marker agreeing with the class of the possessed noun. Below is a list of the possessives with their concord markers.

	1 st s	2 nd s	3 rd s	1 st p	2 nd p	3 rd p
Class 1	<i>w-a</i>	<i>w-ε</i>	<i>w-i⁶</i>	<i>w-esé</i>	<i>w-ekâ</i>	<i>w-ap</i>
Class 2	<i>b-a</i>	<i>b-ε</i>	<i>b-i</i>	<i>b-esé</i>	<i>b-ekâ</i>	<i>b-ap</i>
Class 3	<i>w-a</i>	<i>w-ε</i>	<i>w-i</i>	<i>w-esé</i>	<i>w-ekâ</i>	<i>w-ap</i>
Class 5	<i>n-a</i>	<i>n-ε</i>	<i>n-i</i>	<i>n-esé</i>	<i>n-ekâ</i>	<i>n-ap</i>
Class 6	<i>y-a</i>	<i>y-ε</i>	<i>y-i</i>	<i>y-esé</i>	<i>y-ekâ</i>	<i>y-ap</i>
Class 6a	<i>m-a</i>	<i>m-ε</i>	<i>m-i</i>	<i>m-esé</i>	<i>m-ekâ</i>	<i>m-ap</i>
Class 7	<i>y-a</i>	<i>y-ε</i>	<i>y-i</i>	<i>y-esé</i>	<i>y-ekâ</i>	<i>y-ap</i>
Class 8	<i>b-a</i>	<i>b-ε</i>	<i>b-i</i>	<i>b-esé</i>	<i>b-ekâ</i>	<i>b-ap</i>
Class 9	<i>y-a</i>	<i>y-ε</i>	<i>y-i</i>	<i>y-esé</i>	<i>y-ekâ</i>	<i>y-ap</i>
Class 10	<i>y-a</i>	<i>y-ε</i>	<i>y-i</i>	<i>y-esé</i>	<i>y-ekâ</i>	<i>y-ap</i>
Class 19	<i>s-a</i>	<i>s-ε</i>	<i>s-i</i>	<i>s-esé</i>	<i>s-ekâ</i>	<i>s-ap</i>
Class 13	<i>k-a</i>	<i>k-ε</i>	<i>k-i</i>	<i>k-esé</i>	<i>k-ekâ</i>	<i>k-ap</i>

Table 4: Possessives

3.2.1 Non-human Possessors

The above discussion of the agreement patterns of the possessives assumes a human possessor. When the possessor is non-human, the agreement patterns break down at times. In my research, the agreement patterns in possessive phrases referring to non-human possessors held true in individual elicited phrases or sentences, but in texts there were a number of discrepancies. At times, the concord marker on the possessive seemed to agree with the possessor, although this could not be established definitively because of ambiguity in the concord markers. At other times, the concord marker clearly does not agree with either the possessed noun or the possessor. Below are examples:

- 11) *n-kĩ* *ε* *y-i*
C5-farm AP C9?-his
‘His (elephant’s C9) farm.’ (from ‘Elephant and Tortoise’ 001)
- 12) *m-mǔ* *ε* *y-i*
C1-child AP C?-his
‘His (kite’s C1) child.’ (from ‘Kite’s Child’ 002)
- 13) *n-kĩ* *ε* *w-i*
C5-farm AP C1or3-his
‘His (partridge’s C19) farm.’ (from ‘Partridge and Guinea Fowl’)

⁶ This (also 3s C3 possessive) is phonetically realised as [wʲi]. As a result the SKL has decided to represent this orthographically as *ywi*.

Examples (11) and (12) use *yi* as their possessive *y-* being the concord marker. *y-* is the concord marker for a number of classes (6,7,9, and 10) so it is unclear which class *yi* in the above examples belongs to. In example (11) it could be said that *yi* takes the *y-* concord of class 9 and therefore agrees with 'elephant,' but in example (12) no matter which of the *y-* concord classes we choose to say *yi* belongs to, it clearly disagrees with 'kite' and 'child' which are both class one and should therefore take the concord marker *w-*. Example (13) presents the same problem as example (12). The possessive takes the concord *w-* which is the concord for both classes 1 and 3, but no matter which class is chosen, *wi* clearly disagrees with both 'partridge' (C19) and 'farm' (C5).

The reasons for these deviations from the normal agreement patterns is, at present, unknown. There are a number of possibilities such as speaker error, or a default class used in narratives. Further research is needed.

3.2.2 Placement of the Possessive

The possessive can appear with or without the possessed noun. When the possessive appears with the possessed noun, it follows the noun and is joined to it by the association marker (see sect. 3.1). Below are examples:

- 14) *e-ket é y-a*
 C7-house AP C7-my
 'My house'
- 15) *ne-mot é n-i*
 C5-cookstone AP C5-his
 'His cookstone'

When the possessive appears without the possessed noun, or in a separate noun phrase from the possessed noun, it is joined to an anaphoric pronoun. This pronoun takes the form of a vowel which varies according to noun class. For classes 1, 2, 3, 6, 6a, and 9 the vowel is *a*, and for classes 5, 7, 8, 10, 19, and 13 the vowel is *ε*. Below are some examples of the possessive appearing with the anaphoric pronoun:

- 16) *a-kók ó ne chí a-w-a*
 C3-pig AP C3this COP AnPr-C3-my
 'This pig is mine'
- 17) *se-kwop é sen chí ε-y-ε*
 C19-spoon AP C19this COP AnPr-C19-your(s)
 'This spoon is yours(s)'

3.3 Demonstrative Constructions

Kenyang employs what Anderson and Keenan (1985:281) refer to as a two-term system. That is, Kenyang has only two demonstratives representing two spatial distinctions. There is one demonstrative for referents close to the speaker and another for referents far from the speaker. These demonstratives correspond roughly to the English 'this/these' and 'that/those'. Any spatial distinctions which are finer than

Kenyang's two-term system allows must be made with additional words or phrases which I will speak of more fully in section 3.3.1.

The demonstratives themselves, of course, change form according to the noun class of the head noun. They cannot be neatly divided into a demonstrative element and a concord marker, but, in looking at the vowels, one will notice that the forms corresponding to 'this/these' all contain the vowel ϵ and the forms corresponding to 'that/those' excluding classes 1 and 3 contain the vowel ɔ ⁷. The consonantal concord markers can be seen in all the forms corresponding to 'that/those,' but it is not consistent in the forms corresponding to 'this/these'. Below is a chart listing all of the demonstratives according to noun class:

	This/These	That/Those
Class 1	<i>ne</i>	<i>wũ</i>
Class 2	<i>bhén</i>	<i>bhɔ</i>
Class 3	<i>ne</i>	<i>wũ</i>
Class 5	<i>nén</i>	<i>nɔ</i>
Class 6	<i>né</i>	<i>yɔ</i>
Class 6a	<i>mén</i>	<i>mɔ</i>
Class 7	<i>né</i>	<i>yɔ</i>
Class 8	<i>bhén</i>	<i>bhɔ</i>
Class 9	<i>ne</i>	<i>yɔ</i>
Class 10	<i>né</i>	<i>yɔ</i>
Class 19	<i>sén</i>	<i>sɔ</i>
Class 13	<i>kén</i>	<i>kɔ</i>

Table 5: Demonstratives

3.3.1 Spatial Distinctions

As I mentioned above, spatial distinctions beyond Kenyang's two-term system must be made with extra words or gestures. One common method is the use of gestures in combination with the word *awu* (translated 'there') if the referent is far from the speaker or the word *fa* (translated 'here') if the referent is close to the speaker. Another common method is the use of the particles *ne* and *nɔ*. *Ne* and *nɔ* function as intensifiers of distance whether near or far. When the distance is near, *ne* is used in conjunction with the demonstrative to intensify the nearness of the referent. When the distance is far, *nɔ* is used in conjunction with the demonstrative to intensify the remoteness of the referent. It is also possible to use the particles *ne* and *nɔ* in conjunction with 'here' and 'there' to further intensify the distance whether near or far. Below is a succession of demonstrative phrases which are progressively farther away from the speaker.

⁷ The reason that classes 1 and 3 do not have the vowel ɔ is, most likely, a phonological one. The *w* is causing vowel raising.

<i>eket é né fá ne</i>	‘this house right here!’
<i>eket é né ne</i>	‘this house here.
<i>eket é né</i>	‘this house’
<i>eket é γɔ</i>	‘that house’
<i>eket é γɔ nɔ</i>	‘that house there.’
<i>eket é γɔ nɔ awu nɔ</i>	‘that house way over there!’

3.3.2 Placement of the Demonstrative

The demonstrative, like the possessive, can appear with or without the head noun. When it appears with the head noun, it follows the noun and is joined to it by the association particle. Below are examples:

- 18) *ε-ket é ne*
 C7-house AP C7 this
 ‘this house’
- 19) *ma-nyep é mɔ*
 C6a-water AP C6a that
 ‘that water’

When the demonstrative appears without the head noun, it takes the anaphoric pronoun prefix (*a-* or *ε-*) spoken of in relation to possessives. In addition to the anaphoric pronoun prefix, one of two particles will occur. The near demonstrative (*ne*, *bhén*, etc.) appears with the particle *né*; and the far demonstrative (*wǔ*, *bhɔ*, etc.) appears with *nó*. The exact function of *né* and *nó* are unknown at this time. At first glance they may appear to be the intensifiers mentioned above, but they cannot be for two reasons. The first and most obvious reason is that these particles both take a high tone while the intensifiers both take low tone. Secondly, when the intensifiers *ne* and *nɔ* are used, they are optional, but the *né* and *nó* spoken of here are not optional. When I said a sentence without the *né* and *nó*, my language helper said that the utterances were incomplete and ungrammatical without them. Clearly more research is needed to determine the exact function of these two mysterious particles.

Below are examples of the demonstrative appearing without the head noun:

- 20) *ε-γɔ nó*
 AnPr-C8those ?
 ‘those ones (C8)’
- 21) *a-ne né*
 AnPr-C1this ?
 ‘this one (C1)’

3.3.3 Demonstratives as Relative Pronouns

According to Keenan “relative pronouns are commonly related to demonstratives, interrogatives, or both.” (1985:150). Such is the case in Kenyang. The near demonstrative (*ne*, *bhén*, etc.) also functions as the relative pronoun. When it acts in this capacity, it takes the anaphoric pronoun prefix, but is not followed by the particle *né*. Below is an example:

22)	<i>m-mú</i>	<i>a-né</i>	<i>wɔ</i>	<i>ś-ghó</i>	<i>éyu</i>
	C9-dog	AnPr-C9this	2s	2sSM+past-see	yesterday
	‘the dog that you saw yesterday’				

3.4 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are classified as restrictive or non-restrictive. According to Keenan (1985:142) a restrictive relative clause may consist of a determiner, a common noun, and a restrictive clause. The common noun determines the (semantic) domain of relativisation, and the restrictive clause identifies a subset of the domain. For example, the English sentence, ‘The man who gave me this hat lives next door,’ contains a common noun, ‘man’ which belongs to the domain human adult male. That domain is narrowed or restricted by the clause, ‘who gave me this hat.’

A non-restrictive relative clause does not narrow a domain. It simply serves to add information. A non-restrictive relative clause is most often, but not always, used with proper nouns or with noun phrases which are the sole member of a particular domain (such as ‘my father’). An English example of a non-restrictive relative clause follows: ‘John Smith, who is quite a powerful speaker, will now give a speech.’ John Smith, being a proper noun, is the sole member of its domain. Therefore the clause, ‘who is quite a powerful speaker,’ does not narrow the domain; it simply gives additional information about John.

As far as I have been able to determine, relative clauses in Kenyang seem to always be restrictive in nature. I have never found an instance of a proper noun or a noun phrase which is the sole member of a particular domain being relativised.

The relative clause is defined by a relative pronoun which was spoken of in section 3.3 above. The relative pronoun follows the head noun and precedes the relative clause. Below is an example:

23)	<i>ε-káti</i>	<i>ε-né</i>	<i>wɔ</i>	<i>ś-ghó</i>	<i>éyu</i>
	C7-book	AnPr-C7this	2s	2sSM+past-see	yesterday
	<i>ε-chí</i>	<i>amfay</i>	<i>é-fémé</i>		
	C7SM-COP	on	C7-table		
	‘The book that you saw yesterday is on the table.’				

3.4.1 Extent of Relativisation

Determining the extent of relativisation allowed in a language is accomplished by enumerating the allowable functions of the relativised noun (NP-REL) in the relative

clause (REL-CL). In Kenyang, I found that there are few if any restrictions: the NP-REL may function in the REL-CL as the subject, direct object, indirect object, object of preposition, or as possessor (see examples in section 3.4.2).

3.4.2 Marking the Position of the NP-REL in the REL-CL

According to Keenan there are four basic ways that a language can mark the NP-REL position in the REL-CL. The position may be marked by a personal pronoun, by a special pronominal form found only in REL-CL's, by a full NP, or it may be zero marked (what Keenan calls 'gapped'). It is not uncommon for languages to use more than one method. In fact, Kenyang employs two methods: gapping and the use of personal pronouns. Personal pronouns are used only when the REL-NP functions as an object of a preposition or a possessor in the REL-CL. All other times, gapping is used. This can be explained by what Keenan and Comrie (1977) call the Accessibility Hierarchy, which is listed below:

Subject > Direct object > Indirect object > Object of adposition > Possessor

According to Keenan, REL-NP's serving functions in the REL-CL which are lower in the hierarchy are more likely to be expressed as personal pronouns than those serving functions which are higher up. Furthermore, if a REL-NP serving a function in the REL-CL which is in any position in the hierarchy is expressed as a personal pronoun, than all those serving functions below it will also be expressed as personal pronouns. By observing the following examples you will see that Kenyang supports the above mentioned hierarchy: it is only the last two positions on the hierarchy (object of preposition and possessor) which are expressed as a pronouns in the REL-CL.

REL-NP as subject in REL-CL

- 24) *n-goré a-ne ǎ-tí ba-raŋ*
 C1-woman AnPro-C1this 3sSM+Prog-sell C6-pineapples
 'the woman who is selling pineapples'

REL-NP as direct object in REL-CL

- 25) *ε-bha ε-né wɔ ǎ-sót éyu*
 C7-bag AnPro-C7this 2s 2sSM+past-take yesterday
 'the bag that you took yesterday'

REL-NP as indirect object in REL-CL

- 26) *n-goré a-ne wɔ ǎ-ché ne-raŋ*
 C1-woman AnPro-C1this 2s 2sSM+past-give C5-pineapple
 'the woman to whom you gave the pineapple'

REL-NP as object of preposition in REL-CL

- 27) *n-goré a-ne me n-dóŋ-ǎ ne yí*
 C1-woman AnPro-C1-this 1s 1sSM+past-go-? with 3s
 'the woman with whom I went'

REL-NP as possessor in REL-CL

- 28) *m-fɔ a-ne n-goré é w-i sé-ríŋí*
 C1-chief AnPro-C1this C1-wife AP C1-his 1pSM-know
 'the chief whose wife we know'

3.5 Attributive Phrases

In Kenyang there are many forms that an attributive phrase can take. The reason for this is that there are many categories of attributive words. Not all are adjectives in the traditional sense of the word. In fact, very few are. Some attributive words are verbs, others are nouns, and only a few are true adjectives. I will now discuss each in turn, describing their natures and their placement in relation to the noun phrase.

3.5.1 Attributive Verbs

Most attributive words are verbs. Attributive verbs can be recognised by their ability to take subject markers and tense/aspect markers. Their placement is not in the noun phrase, of course, but in the verb phrase. Below is an example:

- 29) *ma-ηοk ε y-i á-sáp-tí nyáká tontó*
C6-limbs AP C6-his SM3p+past-long-SPM remote past plenty
'His limbs were very long.' (from 'The Giant and his Wife Anyi')

3.5.2 Attributive Nouns

Some attributive words are nouns. Attributive nouns are perhaps not as common as attributive verbs, but I have come across a few in my studies. Below is a partial listing:

- ε-róri* – 'length' (7,8)
ε-rim – 'big-ness' (7,8)
bε-γα – 'abundance' (7,8)
m-biη – 'shortness' (9,10)
ma-ndú – 'little bit' (6a)

Observe from the above examples that attributive nouns have noun prefixes. Also note that attributive nouns most often fall into gender (7,8), but they may also fall into gender (9,10) or even gender (6a).

The attributive noun occurs first in an ANP thus taking the head noun position while the noun it describes takes the second position. However, unlike non-attributive ANP's, it is the second noun in the phrase, and not the head noun, which determines the concord that the remainder of the phrase or sentence will take. Also, the attributive noun always agrees in number with the second noun in the ANP (i.e. the noun being described). Below are examples:

- 30) *ε-rim í a-ηwá a-mot*
C7-bigness AP C3-cat C3-one
'one big cat'

- 31) *bε-róri í ba-kɔŋ bá-pay*
 C8-length AP C6-spears C6-two
 'two long spears'

3.5.3 Nominalisation of an Attributive Verb

I have found that in certain cases, it is possible for an attributive verb to be nominalised. When this occurs the resultant noun usually falls into gender (7,8). This process is not possible with all attributive verbs. More research is needed to determine which attributive verbs can be nominalised and under what circumstances. Below is an example of an attributive phrase using first an attributive verb and then the same phrase using its nominalised form:

- 32) *a-kók ǎ-chík-ítí*
 C3-pig C3SM+Prog-fat-SPM
 'The pig is very fat'
- 33) *ε-chík-ítí í a-kók*
 C7-fatness-SPM AP C3-pig
 'very fat pig'

3.5.4 Adjectives

There are a few attributive words that do not behave as verbs or nouns, and therefore are classified as adjectives. Kenyang adjectives have invariable forms. That is, they do not take concord markers, but instead, they remain constant regardless of the class of the noun they modify. At this point in my studies I have found only four true adjectives: *chu* meaning 'red', *pépép* meaning 'white', *pyo* meaning 'black', and *fu* meaning 'few' or 'some' or, 'a certain'.

The adjective is found in the noun phrase directly following the noun that it modifies. It is joined to it by an association particle. Below are examples:

- 34) *nε-kóŋ ó pyo*
 C5-spear AP black
 'black spear'
- 35) *bε-ket é pépép*
 C8-houses AP white
 'white houses'

3.6 Quantifiers

Kenyang quantifiers include numerals, the word *-nkem* meaning 'all' and the question word *-ní* meaning 'how many'⁸. These quantifiers take concord markers which agree with the class of the head noun. Below is a list of these concord markers according to noun class.

⁸ There are other words which serve a quantifying function but which are, in reality, nouns such as the word *mandu* meaning 'a little.' These quantifying nominals behave like attributive nouns (see section 3.5.2).

Class 1	<i>a-</i>	Class 7	<i>é-</i>
Class 2	<i>bá- ~ má</i>	Class 8	<i>bé ~ mé</i>
Class 3	<i>a-</i>	Class 9	<i>a-</i>
Class 5	<i>né-</i>	Class 10	<i>é-</i>
Class 6	<i>á-</i>	Class 19	<i>sé-</i>
Class 6a	<i>bá- ~ má</i>	Class 13	<i>ké-</i>

Table 6: Quantifier Concord Markers

Quantifiers follow the head noun but are not joined to it by the AP as other noun modifiers are. Below are examples.

- 36) *ǝ-bhóŋ* *bǝ* *má-ní*
 2sSM+prog.-have children(C2) C2-how many
 'How many children do you have?'
- 37) *se-nen* *sé-mot*
 C19-bird C19-one
 'one bird'
- 38) *be-nok* *mé-nkem*
 C8-sticks C8-all
 'all of the sticks'

3.6.1 Numerals

It should be noted that not all numerals take the above mentioned concord marker. The general pattern in Bantu and Bantoid languages is that the numerals one through nine take concord markers unless they are compounds, while numerals above nine do not. This pattern holds true in Kenyang. Numerals seven and nine are compounds, and therefore do not take a concord marker. Numerals ten and above remain constant regardless of the class of the head noun. Below is a listing of some of the Kenyang numerals. The class 7 and 8 concord markers are most often used when listing numbers (except for numbers 7 and 9-19). This is due to the fact that classes 7 and 8 are default classes: when a speaker is counting objects aloud, even if the class of the objects is known, the concord markers for class 7 and 8 are used.

- | | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 -- <i>é-mót</i> | 8 -- <i>me-énen</i> | 15 -- <i>ne-kú</i> |
| 2 -- <i>bé-pay</i> | 9 -- <i>nénehamot</i> | 16 -- <i>ne-kú ne a-mot</i> |
| 3 -- <i>bé-rát</i> | 10 -- <i>byó</i> | 17 -- <i>ne-kú ne é-páy</i> |
| 4 -- <i>mé-nwi</i> | 11 -- <i>byó ne a-mot</i> | 18 -- <i>ne-kú ne é-rát</i> |
| 5 -- <i>bé-tay</i> | 12 -- <i>byó ne é-páy</i> | 19 -- <i>ne-kú ne é-nwi</i> |
| 6 -- <i>bé-tándát</i> | 13 -- <i>byó ne é-rát</i> | 20 -- <i>ε-sa</i> |
| 7 -- <i>tánderámot</i> | 14 -- <i>byó ne é-nwi</i> | 21 -- <i>ε-sa nsem a-mot</i> |

30 -- *ε-sǎ nsem byó*

50 -- *bε-sa bé-pay*

100 -- *bε-sa bé-táy*

40 -- *bε-sa bé-pay*

nsem byó

200 -- *bε-sa byó*

3.6.2 Ordinal Numbers

As far as I have been able to determine, Kenyang uses relative constructions to express ordinal numbers. As for the ordinal numbers themselves, there is a special form for the ordinal numbers 'first' and 'last' but for all other ordinal numbers the cardinal form is used. The word meaning 'first' is *mbi* and the word meaning 'last' is *nsem*.

There are two basic ways to express order in Kenyang. The first is to simply state which place an object fills in a sequence of objects (i.e. where does it fall: first, second, third, etc.). With this type of construction, Kenyang most often uses the verb meaning 'to fill'. Below is an example:

- 39) *ε-káti ε-né ě-jwi bé-rát*
C7-book AnPr-C7+this C7SM+Prog-fill C8-three
'third book'

the second way Kenyang expresses order is to state what an object follows (e.g. 'the book following the second' meaning 'the third book') When this type of construction is used it is most often with the verb meaning 'to follow'. Below is an example:

- 40) *n-nywɔp ε-nén-é ně-kóŋ-ó ε-nén-é mbi*
C5-day AnPr-C5+this-? C5SM+Prog-follow-? AnPr-C5+this-? first
'second day'

Of the two methods of expressing order discussed above, I have found that the first method (using the verb 'to fill') is by far the most common. The second method (using the verb 'to follow') is most often used with the ordinal number 'second,' however, I have encountered '*εkáti ené ěkóŋó ené bepáy*' meaning 'the book following the second' (i.e. 'third book').

I have researched the use of ordinal numbers with both human and non-human referents and have also compared animate to inanimate referents. As of now, I have seen no difference in the types of constructions used in each case. For example, 'first wife' uses the same construction as 'first day' as you see below.

- 41) *ŋ-gɔré a-ne mbi*
C1-woman/wife AnPr-C1+this first
'First wife'
- 42) *n-nywɔp ε-nén-é mbi*
C5-day AnPr-C5+this-? first
'First day'

3.7 Other Noun Adjuncts

This section will be dealing with words and clitics which are clearly noun complements or 'adjuncts', but which are difficult to place into a 'grammatical class'. A noun adjunct is defined as "several classes of words that typically form phrasal constituents with nouns...these words...have clear semantic import, conveying some information about the referent of the phrasal constituent that is not expressed by the noun itself." Schachter (1985:35).

The unifying factor of all these words or clitics is that they all serve prepositional type functions, although they themselves cannot all be considered prepositions. Below is a listing of all the adjuncts with a description of their functions along with examples.

né

This adjunct is one of the few adjuncts which can be clearly defined as a true preposition. It is most often translated 'with' but it also acts as the conjunction 'and' (a common occurrence across languages). As with the English preposition 'with' this word in Kenyang can convey togetherness such as in, 'I went with her,' or it can convey an instrumental role as in, 'I cut it with a knife'. Below are examples of each usage:

- 43) *Mandem ă-chí né me*
God 3s+Prog-COP with 1s
'God is with me.'
- 44) *ń-kót mmweteya né n-gak*
1sSM+past myself with C9-knife
'I cut myself with a knife.'

á

This adjunct serves a locative function and can be roughly translated as 'on'. Below is a simple example:

- 45) *se-nen sě-chí á-m-mik*
C19-bird C19SM+Prog on-C5-ground
'A bird is on the ground.'

As you see in the above example, *á-* has been joined to the noun. I have chosen to analyse it as a clitic. There is psycholinguistic evidence as well as grammatical evidence to support this analysis. Orthographically, the Kenyang language committee has chosen to join *á-* to the noun that follows it rather than to keep them separate. Their decision reflects a close association – psycholinguistically speaking – between this clitic and the following noun. There is further evidence for calling it a clitic when we consider other preposition type locative words in Kenyang. Many of them are a combination of *á-* and a noun conveying location. I will consider these in detail below.

compound locatives using the clitic á-

Kenyang has a set of five locative words which are compound words comprised of the above mentioned clitic and a noun. They function much like prepositions in that they precede nouns and convey the location of an action just as with English prepositions (e.g. 'I put the book on the table'), But they are, in actual fact, nouns. This is clearly seen when their object is a pronoun, because the pronoun takes a possessive form and not an object form as with the preposition *ne*. Below is a listing of these five locative adjuncts along with examples of their usage.

ámbi meaning 'in front of'

- 46) *a-ŋwá* *ǎ-chí* *ámbi* *e-ket*
C3-cat C3SM+Prog-COP in front of C7-house
'The cat is in front of the house.'

ámem meaning 'inside' or 'into'

- 47) *m-fyé* *ba-kǒ* *ámem* *e-te*
1sSM+past-put C6a-beans inside C7-pot
'I put the beans into the pot.'

ámfay meaning 'on'

- 48) *e-kpa* *ě-chí* *ámfay* *be-kók* *ś* *b-a*
C7-blanket C7SM+Prog-COP on C8-bed AP C8-my
'The blanket is on my bed.'

ánsem meaning 'behind'

- 49) *fyé* *se-kwɔp* *ánsem* *n-chán*
put C19-spoon behind C9-bowl
'Put the spoon behind the bowl.'

ánten meaning 'under'

- 50) *á-ghó* *n-kap* *ánten* *é-fémé*
3sSM+past-see C3-money under C7-table
'He saw money under the table.'

Other locatives

nénti

This is a locative word which means ‘between’, but unlike the other locative words, it does not employ the clitic *á-*. It also appears to be a true preposition. When it takes a pronominal object, the pronoun is an object pronoun. Below is an example of its usage with a pronominal object.

- 51) *ε-bhá* *ě-te* *nénti* *wɔ ne me*
C7-fence C7SM+stand between 2s and 1s
‘The fence stands between you and me.’

népak and *nékú*

Both of these adjuncts are locative words meaning ‘beside’. There is a slight semantic difference between these two words. *Nékú* means simply ‘beside’ while *népak* means ‘at the side of’. *Népak* also means ‘side’ as in ‘I’m feeling a pain in my side’. In spite of the slight semantic difference, these words are used interchangeably in prepositional type constructions.

Both of these words are class five nouns rather than true prepositions. As with other nouns, when they take a pronominal object, the object takes the form of a possessive. Below are examples of the usage of each word:

- 52) *ε-ket* *é* *y-a* *ε-chí* *nékú* *ε-sye*
C7-house AP C7-my C7-COP beside C7-market
‘My house is beside the market.’
- 53) *ε-ket* *é* *y-a* *ε-chí* *népak* *ε-sye*
C7-house AP C7-my C7-COP at the side C7-market
‘My house is beside the market.’

*ndú*⁹

This locative, is by far the most versatile locative in Kenyang. It can mean ‘at’ or ‘on’. It can act as the directionals ‘to’ or ‘through.’ Below are examples of each usage.

‘at’

- 54) *Anyi* *ǎ-chí* *ndú* *ε-káti*
Anyi 3sSM+Prog-COP at school
‘Anyi is at school.’

⁹ *ndú* can also be used as a conjunction to join full clauses (i.e. sentences). When used as a conjunction it can serve as a causative marker such as in ‘he died because of sickness’ or it can mark purpose as in, ‘this oil is for cooking.’ *Ndú* in this capacity is not a NP element therefore I do not deal with it here.

'on'

- 55) *be-káti ε-bén-é ndú ε-fémé chí ε-b-a*
C8-books AnPr-C8this-? On C7-table COP AnPr-C7-my
'The books on the table are mine.'

'Through'

- 56) *fyé n-nik ndú m-bok m-bí abhán*
put C1-rope through C3-hole C3-needle
'put the thread through the needle.'

to

- 57) *Anyi ǎ-rɔŋ ndú n-ki*
Anyi 3sSM+Prog-go to C5-farm
'Anyi is going to the farm.'

ntá

This adjunct seems to function as a dative case marker. It is similar to the English preposition 'to' in, 'I gave the book to her'. It can also function as a benefactive case marker much like the English preposition 'for' in, 'I cooked it for you'. Below are examples of each usage:

- 58) *mě chyé nε-nyé ntá a-kók*
1s+Prog give C5-food to C3-pig
'I am giving food to the pig.'
- 59) *mě na ε-rísí ntá n-ném é w-a*
1s+Prog cook C7-rice for C1-husband AP C1-my
'I am cooking rice for my husband.'

The word *ntá*, although it functions like a preposition, is in reality a noun. This can be seen clearly when its object is a pronoun. When *ntá* takes a pronominal object, the pronoun is not an object pronoun as we would find with a preposition (e.g. with *nε*). Instead the pronoun is a possessive form. Below is an example:

- 60) *chyé ε-káti í yɔ ntá á y-a*
give C-book AP C7that to AP C7-my
'Give that book to me!'

4. PRONOUNS AND OTHER PRO-FORMS

4.1 Personal Pronouns

There is only one set of personal pronouns in Kenyang which function as subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, and objects of a preposition. It is only their position in the clause which allows their function to be determined. When they occur in the subject position they serve an emphatic function. The reason for this is that subject of the clause is marked in the verb phrase by an obligatory subject marker prefixed to the verb. When a personal pronoun occurs in the object position, its presence is obligatory because there is no other means of marking the object (i.e. there is no object marker in the VP as there is a subject marker).

The first and second person pronouns have only one form which remains constant regardless of the class of their antecedent. However, the third person pronouns change form according to the noun class of their antecedent. Below is a list of the personal pronouns.

	First Person	Second Person
Singular	<i>me</i>	<i>wɔ</i>
Plural	<i>besé</i>	<i>bekâ</i>

Table 7: First and Second Person Pronouns

	Third Person s	Third Person p
Class 1	<i>yí</i>	
Class 2		<i>bhó</i>
Class 3	<i>yí</i>	
Class 5	<i>nó</i>	
Class 6		<i>yó</i>
Class 6a	<i>mó</i>	
Class 7	<i>yó</i>	
Class 8		<i>bhó</i>
Class 9	<i>yó</i>	
Class 10		<i>yó</i>
Class 19	<i>só</i>	
Class 13		<i>kó</i>

Table 8: Third Person Pronouns

4.2 Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns

The reflexive pronoun in Kenyang is actually a phrase comprised of the word for 'body' (*m-mwet*) and a possessive. The possessive, however, does not agree in class

with the noun *m-mwet*, which is class one. Instead the possessive form takes the concord marker for class seven. The reason for this is unclear, but one possibility is that reflexive pronouns are not concrete possessive constructions, but rather, abstract references to one's self, and therefore the class seven concord marker is used as a default concord or perhaps as a concord used for abstract ideas. Below is a listing of all of the Kenyang reflexive pronouns.

m-mwet ε y-a – ‘myself’

m-mwet ε y-esé – ‘ourselves’

m-mwet ε y-ε – ‘yourself’

m-mwet ε y-ekâ – ‘yourselves’

m-mwet ε y-i – ‘himself’

m-mwet ε y-ap – ‘themselves’

The Kenyang reciprocal pronoun is *bâti*. This may be a noun or perhaps just a function word. Further research is needed to determine the exact nature of this pronoun. Below is an example of the reflexive pronoun in use.

- 61) *se-yiji* *bâti*
 1pSM+prog-see each other
 ‘We are looking at each other’

4.3 Interrogative Pro-forms

Kenyang has 6 basic pronouns used in interrogative constructions. A listing with explanations and examples follows.

Agha

The Kenyang interrogative pronoun, *agha* corresponds to the English pronouns who, whom, and whose. When acting as a subject (who), it takes the subject position and is focused by the use of the copula *chí* (see section 5). When acting as a direct or indirect object (whom), it is most often fronted and is put into focus¹⁰ by the use of the copula *chí*. When acting as a possessive (whose), it takes the second position in an associative noun phrase. Below are examples of each usage:

- 62) *chí agha a-ne wɔ ʃ-che ne-ray*
 COP who AnPro-C1this 2s 2sSM+Prog-give C5-pineapple
 ‘To whom will you give the pineapple?’
- 63) *chí agha á-che wɔ se-ti í sɔ*
 COP who 3sSM+past-give 2s C19-axe AP C19that
 ‘Who gave you that axe?’
- 64) *n-nem é agha wɔ ʃ-káká*
 C1-husband AP who 2sPro 2sSM+past-greet
 ‘Whose husband did you greet?’

¹⁰ In Kenyang questions the information sought for is most often put into focus but not necessarily so.

yi

yi is the Kenyang pro-form meaning 'what.' As in English, this pro-form can replace noun phrases such as in a question like, 'What did you eat?' or it can replace verb phrases such as in a question like, 'What are you doing?' When it replaces a noun phrase it can act as a subject, direct object, indirect object, or object of a preposition. Very often the question word '*yi*' is put into focus by the use of the copula *chí* in conjunction with a change in word order. Below are some examples.

- 65) *chí yi é-gú*
COP what C7SM+past-die/break
'What broke?'
- 66) *chí yi nɔ bá-ku*
COP what that 3Pl+past-do
'What did they do?'

I have found, however, that it is possible to keep the question word *yi* unfocused as can be seen in the following examples:

- 67) *yi mbu wɔ ʒ-sót-e*
what far past 2s 2sSM+past-take-?
'What did you take?'
- 68) *ʒ-kpɔt ɛ-nɔkné yi*
2sSM+prog-cut C7-tree with what
'What are you cutting the tree with?'

fá

The interrogative pro-form *fá* means 'where'. It always takes final position in the clause. Below are examples.

- 69) *né-chi í nɔ nɛ-chí fá*
C5-egg AP that 3sC5SM-COP where
'Where is the egg?'
- 70) *ʒ-fyé bá-kǒ fá*
2sSM+past C6a-beans where
'Where did you put the beans?'
- 71) *ʒ-rɔŋ fá*
2sSM+prog.-go where
'Where are you going?'

ná

The Kenyang interrogative word meaning 'how' is *ná*. As far as I have been able to determine, there are only two possible positions for *ná* in an interrogative sentence: at the beginning or at the end. When *ná* is placed at the beginning it is always in

conjunction with the particle *ne*¹¹. When *ná* is placed at the end of a sentence it is often in conjunction the copula *chí* or it may be in conjunction with a full verb phrase. Below are examples:

- 72) *ná ne be-tik*
 how with C8-work
 'How is work?'
- 73) *ε-chí ná*
 C7SM-COP how
 'How are you(s.)?'
- 74) *chóη é-na ε-rísí ná*
 FUT 2sSM-cook C7-rice how
 'How will you cook the rice?'

n-tiki

ntiki is the question word meaning 'which'. It is always the initial constituent of an associative noun phrase. The word itself is an attributive noun (see section 3.5.2) but, it is of gender (9,10) rather than the more common gender (7,8). This interrogative word can be used to modify a subject, direct object, indirect object, or object of a preposition. When modifying a subject or direct object, it falls sentence initial, and if it is modifying an object of a preposition, then it falls in the verb phrase after the preposition unless it is in focus, in which case it would fall sentence initially. Below are some examples:

- 75) *n-tiki i m-mɔ á-ché wɔ ne-raη*
 C9-which AP C1-child 3sSM+past-give 2s C5-pineapple
 'which child gave you a pineapple?'
- 76) *n-tiki i ne-chi wɔ é-nyé*
 C9-which AP C5-egg 2s 2sSM+past-eat
 'Which egg did you eat?'
- 77) *é-róη-é ne ntiki i η-gɔré*
 2sSM+past-go-? with C9-which AP C1-woman
 'Which woman did you go with?'

This question word *ntiki* has one limitation: it cannot be used to modify the possessor in a possessive construction such as in a question like, 'Which woman's husband did you greet?' Such a question in Kenyang must be worded, 'Whose husband did you greet?' (see ex. 64).

The question word 'when' is expressed in Kenyang by the phrase *n-tiki i m-pok* which means 'which time'. Below is an sample interrogative sentence using the question phrase meaning 'when'.

¹¹ The exact nature of this particle is unknown to me at present. The best possibility is that it is the preposition meaning 'with,' which, as you see in the example sentences is how I have chosen to label it, but further research is needed to determine whether this analysis is correct.

- 78) *n-tiki i m-pok chón wɔ ɔ-rɔŋ ɛ-syé*
 C9-which AP C5-time Fut. 2s 2sSM-go C7-market
 'When will you go to the market?'

4.4 Indefinite Pronouns

Kenyang indefinite pronouns can be divided into four sub-groups – human pronouns, thing pronouns, time pronouns, and place pronouns. Human indefinite pronouns employ the word *mmu* meaning 'person.' Thing indefinite pronouns employ the word *enyiŋ* meaning 'thing.' Time indefinite pronouns employ the word *mpɔk* meaning 'time.' Place indefinite pronouns employ the use of the words *nebhwét* or *mbǎŋ* both of which mean 'place.' All Kenyang indefinite pronouns are comprised of one of the above mentioned words plus one or more modifying elements. There are four possible modifying words: *fu* meaning 'some,' *ntíkí* meaning 'which,' *-nkem* meaning 'all,' and *yě* which acts as a negative particle. Below is a chart of the indefinite pronouns arranged to show the similar methods used to form the indefinite pronouns across the four sub-classes. For example, note that I have placed the words meaning 'someone' 'something' 'sometime' and 'somewhere' all in the first row. Note further, that they are all formed using the word identifying them as part of a particular sub-group plus the adjective *fu* meaning 'some.'

Some-one	<i>mmu-ú-fu</i>	Some-thing	<i>enyiŋ-í-fú</i>	Some-time	<i>mpɔk-ɔ-fu</i>	Some-where	<i>nebhwét-é-fu</i>
Any-one	<i>yěntiki-mmu</i>	Any-thing	<i>yěntiki-nyŋ</i>	Any-time	<i>yěntiki-mpɔk</i>	Any-where	<i>yěntiki-nebhwét</i>
Every-one	<i>bǔ-mankem</i>	Every-thing	<i>menyiŋ-menkem</i>	All the time	<i>mpɔk-nkem</i>	Every-where	<i>mbǎŋ-nkem</i>
No one	<i>yě-mmu</i>	No-thing	<i>yě-enyiŋ</i>	Never	<i>yě-mpɔk</i>	No-where	<i>yě-nebhwét</i>

Table 9: Indefinite Pronouns

5. FOCUS

Kenyang has two methods of focusing information. The first is the use of the particle *ké*. This particle is placed after the word or phrase which is in focus. In addition, the word or phrase is fronted. Note the following examples:

- 79) *n-goré á-che me n-kú*
 C1-woman 3sSM+past-give 1s C9-dress
 'The woman gave me a dress.'
- 80) *n-kú ké n-goré á-che me*
 C9-dress FOC C1-woman 3sSM+past-give 1s
 'It was a dress that the woman gave me.'

The first example is not a focused construction and therefore the word order is not disturbed. In the second, *n-kú* ('dress') is focused and is therefore placed in initial position creating a cleft construction.

The second method used in focus constructions is the use of the copula *chí*. When *chí* is used it is placed before the focused word or phrase, and, the word or phrase may or may not be fronted. Note the following example:

- 81) *mě* *na* *chí* *ε-rísi*
 1s+Prog. cook COP C7-rice
 'It is rice that I am cooking.'

It is possible to employ both of the above mentioned methods in one sentence to make the focused phrase more emphatic. Note the following example.

- 82) *chí* *mε* *kε* *m-bhóŋ-ó*
 COP 1s FOC 1sSM-have-?
 'It is I who owns it.'

6. WORD ORDER IN THE NOUN PHRASE

Kenyang is a head initial language. The head noun is generally first in the noun phrase. All other modifying elements follow the head noun in the order shown in the chart below along with examples. The first row of the chart gives the word order sequence – it includes all the possible noun phrase elements. Each subsequent row is an example displaying word order using different combinations of noun phrase elements. To the far right I give a free translation of each phrase.

Noun	AP	Noun	AP	Adj.	AP	Poss.	Rel-cl	Dem.	Quant.	Num.	Free translation
<i>Be-r'íri</i> 'length'	<i>i</i>	<i>ba-ky</i> 'spears'	<i>ś</i>	<i>py</i> 'black'						<i>bá-pay</i> 'two'	'two long black spears'
<i>be-ket</i> 'houses'	<i>é</i>			<i>pépep</i> 'white'	<i>é</i>	<i>b-a</i> 'my'			<i>me-nkem</i> 'all'	<i>byś</i> 'ten'	'all my ten white houses'
<i>be-káii</i> 'books'	<i>i</i>					<i>b-a</i> 'my'	<i>e-dhén chu</i> 'which are red'			<i>be-rat</i> 'three'	'my three books which are red'
<i>be-rím</i> 'big-ness'	<i>i</i>	<i>ba-ḡwá</i> 'cats'	<i>á</i>			<i>b-a</i> 'my'		<i>no</i> 'those'		<i>bá-pay</i> 'two'	'those my two big cats'
<i>be-káii</i> 'books'	<i>i</i>						<i>e-dhén-e' chu</i> 'which are red'	<i>bo</i> 'those'	<i>me-nkem</i> 'all'		'all those books which are red'

Table 10: Word Order of the NP

6.1 An Exception to Word Order

In discourse it is possible to place the relative pronoun before the noun. When it is in this position it appears with the anaphoric pronoun (see section) and it functions much like a definite article: it marks a noun as being previously mentioned. Following is an example from the Kenyang folktale "Tortoise and Pig":

- 83) *A-ne n-goré a-kem-e yí bé*
AnPr-C1this C1-wife 3sSM-say-? 3s COMP
'The wife (previously mentioned) told him that...'

7. RESIDUE

7.1 Noun Class Issues

In the course of my research I found it strange that class 1 and class 3 seem to have the same concord system across the board. I question whether class 1 and class 3 are indeed separate classes. A possible explanation is that they were once different classes, and that their difference was evidenced by tonal differences (much like classes 9 and 10). Perhaps because of gradual loss of tonal distinctions (similar to the loss of tonal distinction in the C1, C6a, and C9 AP spoken of in sect 3.1), class 1 and 3 are indistinguishable. More research is needed to determine whether class 3 is a class of its own.

When researching nouns with a nasal prefix, I had trouble separating the nouns which fall into class 3₁ from those which fall into class 1. I also had trouble separating 3₁ from class 5₁. This was partly due to the apparent collapsing of class 1 and class 3 into one class (spoken of above), but this was also due to inconsistency among speakers. When placing any given noun into a phrase to determine its concord, some speakers used class 3 concord while others used class 5 concord. This may have been due to dialectal differences or generational differences or both.

The collapse of class 1 and class 3 into one class, the loss of low tone concord in classes 1 and 6a, and the inconsistent use of concord among speakers seems to indicate that the Kenyang noun class system is slowly disintegrating. More research is clearly needed to determine whether this is indeed the case.

7.2 The Possibility of a Definite Article

Late in my research I came across what appears to be a definite article, but I have not been able to explore that possibility because the form is rarely used. This possible article, which I will hereafter refer to simply as a noun adjunct, changes form according to the noun class of the head noun. Below is a chart giving all forms of this noun adjunct:

Class 1	<i>re</i>	Class 2	<i>bere</i>
Class 3	<i>re</i>		
Class 5	<i>nére</i>	Class 6	<i>re</i>
Class 6a	<i>mére</i>		
Class 7	<i>re</i>	Class 8	<i>bére</i>
Class 9	<i>re</i>	Class 10	<i>re</i>
Class 19	<i>sére</i>	Class 13	<i>kére</i>

Table 11: Possible Definite Article

After finding this adjunct, I turned to past researchers to help determine its exact nature, but I found very little information. Only one past researcher, Joan Achere Bakia, had come across this in her studies. She classifies it as an article, but gives no evidence to support her interpretation, nor does she offer any information or examples of this adjunct's function. She simply says, "*re* is rarely used in this dialect." (1988:6).

This adjunct, as I mentioned above, changes form according to the noun class of the head noun. It is joined to the noun by an AP. In terms of word order, it occupies the same place as the demonstrative (directly following the head noun). Furthermore, this adjunct never appears in conjunction with the demonstrative, i.e., it is ungrammatical to say, *eket é ye re* meaning 'this house'.

This adjunct is an 'old information' marker. Much as the definite article 'the' in English marks a noun as being previously mentioned so this adjunct marks a noun as being previously mentioned. However, not every previously mentioned noun takes this marker. There seems to be some further semantic criteria that determine when a noun takes this adjunct. A possible interpretation is that it is used as an emphatic form to focus a previously mentioned noun.

8. CONCLUSION

In this paper I have given a preliminary analysis of the Kenyang noun phrase. In the course of my research I looked at the noun class system including concord. I then moved on to various types of noun phrases including the associative noun phrase, possessives, demonstratives, relatives, attributive phrases, and prepositional phrases. I also explored the Kenyang pronominal system looking at personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns, and indefinite pronouns.

It is my hope that this work will be useful to linguists and translators in the future, and would help to preserve the Kenyang language for future generations.

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