

A Preliminary Grammar Sketch of the Makaa
Noun Modifiers and Pronouns

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4.3 NOUN MODIFIERS

Noun modifiers are those words or phrases that modify a noun. These include adjectives, participles, possessives, demonstratives, determiners, numerals, quantifiers, and interrogatives. A noun also may be modified by another noun in an associative noun phrase. In some cases, the noun may be modified by other parts of speech in place of the second noun in the associative noun phrase construction.

4.3.1 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are words that modify nouns. Adjectives either precede or follow the noun they modify; this order cannot be reversed. Adjectives do not take concord to agree with that noun; nor does a high tone occur between adjective and noun, as is common in other constructions involving nouns and noun modifiers. Adjectives are one or two syllable words. Only a few adjectives have been found and are listed in the following chart:

Chart 1: Examples of Adjectives

<i>zhwoŋ</i>	"many"	<i>zhwoŋ buè uèl</i>	"many people"
		<i>zhwoŋ i-saà</i>	"many things"
<i>ncuŋyaà</i>	"many"	<i>ncuŋyaà buè uèl</i>	"many people"
or <i>ncuŋaà</i>		<i>ncuŋaà oè kuùs</i>	"many parrots"
<i>bibiŋyaà</i>	"little"	<i>bibiŋyaà L-sésésà</i>	"little thing"
<i>ñkañ</i>	"someone else's"	<i>L-kwaš ñkañ</i>	"someone else's pencil"
		<i>ø-faèñkañ</i>	"someone else's cutlass"
<i>shuš</i>	"different"	<i>muè uèl shuš</i>	"a different person"

4.3.2 PARTICIPLES

Participles are derived from process verbs and are used to express a quality of a noun. These participles are like predicate adjectives in that they modify nouns and they follow a stative. Participles are formed from process verbs simply by adding the adjectivizer *ñkiù* to the verb stem.

Chart 2: Examples of Participles

<i>laŋ</i>	"to become hard"	<i>ñkiù + laŋ</i>	→	<i>ñkiù laŋ</i>	"hard" or "difficult"
<i>gwaè</i>	"to become far"	<i>ñkiù + gwaè</i>	→	<i>ñkiù gwaè</i>	"distant" or "long"

In the following example, the participle *ñkiù bwaàŋ* "big" describes the noun *njow* "house." The stative contains the class 3 marker *wuà* to show agreement with the noun.

1. *Njoiv wuà séè ñkiù bwaàg*
 house (C3) C3 stative adjectivizer big
Njoiv wuàséèñkiùbwaàg. "The house is big."

In another example, given below, the participle *ñkiùbwaàg* "big" describes the pronoun *nyé* "he." An infix *bul* is inserted between the adjectivizer and the verb stem, in the middle of the participle. This infix *-bul-* comes from the verb *bul* "become numerous" but means "very" in this construction. Here the stative *jii* is the abbreviated form of *jisèé* consisting of only the class 1 marker, *jii*

2. *Nyéè jii ñkiù bul bwaàg*
 he (C1) C1 adjectivizer very big
Nyéèjiiñkiùbul bwaàg. "He is very big."

3. *Nywaàg jii naè ñkiù laɗ*
 mango (C7) C7 still adjectivizer hard
Nywaàg jii naèñkiùlaɗ. "The mango (C7) is still hard."

Some words that seem to function like predicate adjectives after statives are not obviously derived from verbs; there is not a corresponding verb and they are not preceded by *ñkiù*. Some examples are *cucui* "old", related to the noun *cui* "old person" and *guɗwaàñ* "new", *cuidúgée* "empty", and *shushwaàñ* "naked", which have no related noun or verb. An example is given below. Note that when the abbreviated form of the stative is used with class 3, it becomes *wii* rather than *wuà*

4. *Kandéa wii guɗwaàñ*
 cloth (C3) STATIVE (C3) new
Kandéawii guɗwaàñ. "The cloth (C3) is new."

These same forms, like the participles, can usually occur in the qualificative associative noun phrase, such as *kandéa a guɗwaàñ* "new cloth". This type of construction will be discussed below in §4.3.8.

4.3.3 POSSESSIVES

Possessives are noun modifiers used to show possession of nouns. As modifiers, they take concord markers to agree with the head noun and indicate who possesses the noun. If the possessor is expressed as a full noun rather than as a possessive modifier, it would be joined to the possessed noun in an associative noun phrase, connected by the associative marker *mə* as will be discussed in §4.3.8.

Possessives usually occur with a head noun. Sometimes the noun is implied and not stated explicitly, and therefore the possessive occurs alone. Such a possessive appears to be a pronoun, replacing the noun, but they have the same form as the possessive modifier. Therefore, they are still considered possessive modifiers, with the head noun implied and not stated.

The possessives normally occur following the noun. They may be fronted to the position preceding the noun for a particular discourse (or pragmatic) function, namely, to indicate a change in participant or focus on a participant, or new information. The concord

is the same, whether preceding the noun or following the noun. The different forms of the possessives were listed above in the charts in §4.1.5 and are repeated here.

Chart 3: POSSESSIVES

Noun Class	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL excl.	1PL incl.	2PL	3PL
	-aĩn	-oĩb	-eà	-suà	-sheà	-iĩn	-aĩn
1	w-aĩn	w-oĩb	y-eà	wuàsuà	iũsheà	w-uĩn	w-aĩn
2	b-aĩn	bw-oĩb	b-áà	búàsuà	oàsheà	b-úĩn	b-aĩn
3	w-aĩn	w-oĩb	y-eà	wuàsuà	iũsheà	w-uĩn	w-aĩn
4	my-aĩn	my-oĩb	my-áà	míũsuà	míũsheà	m-iĩn	my-aĩn
5	d-aĩn	dw-oĩb	d-áà	dúàsuà	iũsheà	d-úĩn	d-aĩn
6	m-aĩn	mw-oĩb	m-áà	múàsuà	méàsheà	m-úĩn	m-aĩn
7	j-aĩn	qw-oĩb	j-eà	jíũsuà	iũsheà	j-iĩn	j-aĩn
8	by-aĩn	by-oĩb	by-eà	bíũsuà	iũsheà	b-iĩn	by-aĩn
9	ny-aĩn	nyw-oĩb	ny-áà	nyíũsuà	iũsheà	ny-iĩn	ny-aĩn
10	ny-aĩn	nyw-oĩb	ny-áà	nyíũsuà	iũsheà	ny-iĩn	ny-aĩn

Chart 4: Examples of Possessives

<i>L-boòg j-aĩn</i>	"my hoe" (C7)
<i>b-waĩn bw-oĩb</i>	"your (SG) children" (C2)
<i>míi-njoĩw my-áà</i>	"his houses" (C4)
<i>iĩ-laàby-eà</i>	"her glasses" (C8)
<i>L-toĩw j-iĩsuà</i>	"our (excl) goat" (C7)
<i>oèkaĩad oàsheà</i>	"our (incl) books" (C2)
<i>méè laaĩmb m-úĩn</i>	"your (PL) traps" (C6)
<i>méè kwaĩndéam-aĩn</i>	"their villages" (C6)

The first example below shows a possessive in the usual position, and the second example shows the possessive in the fronted position. The third example shows a possessive without a head noun.

5. *méè aĩgáanéà dúg L-boòg j-aĩn*
 I PROG+ NEG see hoe(C7) my(C7)

Méè aĩgáanéà dúg boòg jaĩn. "I don't see my hoe."

6. *méè kée guĩé née j-aĩn L-boòg*
 I go hoe with my(C7) hoe(C7)

woè kée née gwobé L-boòg
 you go with your(C7) hoe(C7)

Méè kée guĩé née jaĩn boòg; woè kée née gwobé boòg. "I am going to hoe with my hoe; you go with your hoe"

7. *méè aĩgáà née dúg j-aĩn*
 I PROG+ NEG with see my(C7)

Méè aĩgáanéà dúg jaĩn. "I don't see mine."

4.3.4 DEMONSTRATIVES

The demonstratives in Mékaa make a three-way spatial distinction: near to speaker *gaè* further from speaker (still in sight of speaker) *nii* and out of sight of speaker *miü*. They are noun modifiers that normally occur following the noun but can be fronted to occur before the noun. As with other noun modifiers, they may be fronted in order to focus on the noun or indicate that a new noun is now being discussed. The concord on the demonstratives is different when fronted than it is when following the noun. Thus, the chart below shows the concord after the noun on the left, and the concord before the noun on the right (as it was also listed in §4.1.5). Although the forms are given with *gaè* the concord is identical with *nii* and *miü*.

Chart 5: DEMONSTRATIVES

Noun		
Class	normal position	fronted
	N _	_ N
	<i>gaè/ nii/ miü</i>	<i>gaè/ nii/ miü</i>
1	<i>áà gaè</i>	<i>nyí# gaè</i>
2	<i>oà gaè</i>	<i>búà gaè</i>
3	<i>H-gaè</i>	<i>wuà gaè</i>
4	<i>miü gaè</i>	<i>miü gaè</i>
5	<i>H-gaè</i>	<i>dúà gaè</i>
6	<i>méà gaè</i>	<i>múà gaè</i>
7	<i>H-gaè</i>	<i>jiü gaè</i>
8	<i>iü gaè</i>	<i>biü gaè</i>
9	<i>H-gaè</i>	<i>nyí# gaè</i>
10	<i>H-gaè</i>	<i>nyí# gaè</i>

The floating H tone in classes 3, 5, 7, 9, and 10 is realized on the epenthetic vowel *ú* that is inserted when the demonstrative occurs following a closed syllable, or on the preceding vowel when the demonstrative occurs following an open syllable. Examples are as follows:

Chart 6: Examples of Demonstratives

Unmarked demonstratives:		
<i>L-boòg àgaè</i>	"this hoe" (C7)	pronounced as <i>boòg úàgaè</i>
<i>b-wań oà gaè</i>	"these children" (C2)	
<i>miü-njońw miü nii</i>	"those houses" (C4)	
<i>méè kwańd éámé-miü</i>	"those (out of sight) villages" (C6)	
<i>L-tońw ní</i>	"that goat" (C7)	pronounced as <i>tońw úà ní</i>
<i>ø-faè àgaè</i>	"this cutlass" (C9)	pronounced as <i>faàgaè</i>
Fronted demonstratives (showing focus):		
<i>biü gaè iü laàà</i>	"these glasses" (C8)	
<i>méà nii méè laàmb</i>	"those traps" (C6)	
<i>búà miü oè kańad</i>	"those (out of sight) books" (C2)	

The first example below (8) shows a demonstrative in the usual position, and the second and third examples show the demonstrative in the fronted position. The second example (9), where only the demonstrative is fronted, places an emphasis on the demonstrative. In the third example (10), the whole noun phrase is topical and fronted; the clause contains a pronoun trace, referring to the fronted noun phrase.

8. *mée* *acááíáà* *iù laàà* *iù* *-gaè*
 I not want glasses(C8) C8 PREFIX those(C8)
Méeacááíáà iù laàà iù gaè "I do not want those glasses."

9. *mée* *acááíáà* *bìù* *-gaè* *iù laàà*
 I not want C8 PREFIX those(C8) glasses(C8)
Méeacááíáà bìù gaè iù laàà "I do not want those glasses."

10. *bìù* *-gaè* *iù laàà* *mée* *acááíáà* *byée*
 C8 PREFIX those(C8) glasses(C8) I not want them(C8)
Bìù gaè iù laàà méeacááíáà byée " Those glasses, I do not want them!"

Occasionally these demonstratives are used without the head noun made explicit, but the noun is always implied. Even in this context the demonstratives are considered noun modifiers and not pronouns. For example, in *nyìù gaè mwan* "this child," the noun can be omitted; it is implied but not stated explicitly. Thus, when we find *nyìù gaè* "this one" alone, without the noun it modifies, it is still considered a noun modifier, and not a pronoun, as discussed below in §4.4. These demonstratives take the same concord as the demonstratives in the fronted position. A sentence with a demonstrative without the noun it modifies is given below.

11. *mée* *acááíáà* *bìù* *-gaè*
 I not want C8 PREFIX those(C8)
Méeacááíáà bìù gaè "I do not want those."

4.3.5 DETERMINERS

Determiner is used here to denote words that modify nouns in order to indicate the type of reference. In other words, a determiner clarifies whether the noun refers to some one (or thing) already referred to, or whether it refers to a new participant, not yet mentioned. The four determiners described here are *-lúgàà* "a" or "another", *-oñguà* "that (the aforementioned, anaphoric)", *-añ* "that (emphatic)", and *-añg* "that (with a relative clause)." We will describe each one as to how they function and where they occur. Then all the forms of the concord are presented in a chart. They are written here with an initial hyphen (-) at the beginning to show that they always occur with the concord prefix.

The determiner *-lúgàà* indicates that the noun being referred to has not been mentioned before and thus is non-anaphoric in nature. It is often used at the beginning of a story to introduce a participant. It would then be translated as "a" or "a certain". It also occurs later in a story to indicate that the speaker is referring to a new participant. Then it may be translated as "another." This determiner may also occur in pairs, in order to differentiate

two participants or things, or groups in the plural. Then it would be translated as “one..., another...” in the singular or “some..., others...” in the plural. It always occurs preceding the noun, except when the noun is implied rather than stated explicitly. The determiner *-lúgaa* is sometimes abbreviated, so that only the *-l* occurs with the concord prefix. Some examples of *-lúgaa* and the abbreviated form *-l* are given here.

12. *d-ulúgaa* *j-wov*, *d-ulúgaa* *ø-ncwémaa* *aà* *waè* *sèà dii* *ø-kwaadláa*
 one day a certain young man ASSOC here at our village
 (C5) (C5) (C5) (C5) MKR (C9)

“One day, a certain young man from our village

nyèè *aà* *kéè* *saà* *méè vééguíteà*
 he P2 go do exam(C6)
 (he) went to take an (entrance) exam.”

13. *méè* *cuúgaa* *náè* *ø-ñkuú* *maáguíteè* *g-úí* *L-saà* *ntoà*
 I am not with strength(C9) agree another(C7) thing(C7) thus
 “I cannot accept anything like this.”

14. *nyèè* *akwoáá* *béènéè* *ñgwo-lúgaa*
 she will not again be with another(C1)
 “She will not have another person.”

In the example 14 above, the determiner *ñgwo-lúgaa* “another (one)” occurs without the noun it modifies, just as demonstrative and possessive modifiers can occur without the noun, as if they were pronouns.

The determiner *-oñguà* translated as “that” or “the aforementioned,” indicates that the noun being referred to has been mentioned before. Now more is to be said about that noun. Since *-oñguà* is anaphoric (indicating old information) it occurs following the noun. Thus it contrasts with *-lúgaa* which is non-anaphoric and occurs preceding the noun. Also, *-oñguà* is a definite determiner, whereas *-lúgaa* is an indefinite determiner. The determiner *-oñguà* is illustrated in the following example.

15. *mbwoól* *w-oñguà* *lí* *bááguúlig*.
 trunk C3-this it must be kept.
 “This trunk must be kept.”

The determiner *-añ*, translated “that,” also refers to a noun that has already been mentioned, like the above *-oñguà*. Both *-oñguà* and *-añ* express definiteness, referring to a particular person or thing, in contrast to *-lúgaa* above, which is indefinite. But *-añ* is fronted; it precedes the noun because it focuses on the noun modified, emphasizing that it is the referent of that noun, and not another. This determiner also occurs following a personal subject or object pronoun to form the plural emphatic pronoun, as discussed below in §4.4. Some examples are given below.

16. *j-woiv* *biü* *méà* *baà* *báá* *méè* *d-añ* *j-woiv* *d-uid*
 day you RESUMPTIVE will follow me that day and another
 (C5) (C5) (C5)
- yü* *bí* *baà* *kéè* *lúgè* *b-wañ* *b-oñguà* *néè* *méèzhuñgúñuà*
 REL MKR you will go leave children those with curses(C6)
 (C2) (C2)

"The day that you will follow me (die), that day or another, you will leave those children with curses."

17. *biü* *ñgéè* *cúgèè* *ny-añ* *néè* *ny-áà* *ñkuñ*
 you PROG live: that (one)(C1) with his strength(C9)
- ny-añ* *néè* *ny-áè* *ñkuñ*
 that (one)(C1) with his strength(C9)

"You are living, that one in his strength, that one in his strength (each for himself)."

In the example 17 above, the determiner *ny-añ* "that (one)" occurs without the noun it modifies, just as demonstrative and possessive modifiers can occur without the noun, as if they were pronouns.

The determiner -añg, translated as "that", is used to modify a noun or pronoun that is the head of a relative clause. It functions as a definite article, referring to a specific person or group of people as opposed to another group also in the discussion. It precedes the noun which is the head of the relative clause. In rare cases the relative clause is implied and not stated explicitly. Relative clauses will be described in 7.2.

18. *méèbaà* *m-ae* *ø-wéñae* *H-gaè* *néè* *m-añg* *méà* *aà*
 marriages of hour these, and those they P2
- dúè* *béè* *yañ* *mañ* *múséè* *néè* *méñmaè* *ceñd.*
 HABIT be formerly REL MKR be with big change.

"Marriages of this time, and those that used to be, are very different."

The concord markers for these determiners are presented above in §4.1.5, Agreement Categories for Nouns, and repeated here.

Chart 7: DETERMINERS

Noun Class	"a, another" non-anaphoric (indefinite) -lúŋgàà	"that, the afore-mentioned" anaphoric (definite) -oŋguà	"that" (emphatic) anaphoric (definite) -aŋ	"that" with relative clause -aŋg
1	ŋgwoà lúŋgàà	w-oŋguà	ny-aŋ	ny-aŋg
2	boòà lúŋgàà	b-oŋguà	b-aŋ	b-aŋg
3	wuà lúŋgàà	w-oŋguà	w-aŋ	w-aŋg
4	miì lúŋgàà	my-oŋguà	my-aŋ	my-aŋg
5	duà lúŋgàà	d-oŋguà	d-aŋ	d-aŋg
6	moòà lúŋgàà	m-oŋguà	m-aŋ	m-aŋg
7	guà lúŋgàà	j-oŋguà	j-aŋ	j-aŋg
8	biì lúŋgàà	by-oŋguà	by-aŋ	by-aŋg
9	nyuà lúŋgàà	ny-oŋguà	ny-aŋ	ny-aŋg
10	nyuà lúŋgàà	ny-oŋguà	ny-aŋ	ny-aŋg

4.3.6 NUMERALS

Both cardinal numbers and ordinal numbers in Mékaaà are noun modifiers, even though they show agreement in different ways. A cardinal number shows agreement by taking the concord marker that agrees with the noun. An ordinal number shows agreement by taking the associative marker that agrees with the noun.

Cardinal numbers ("one" through "nine") are noun modifiers that occur following the noun. The numbers "two" through "six" take a concord marker that agrees with the noun. The numbers "one" and "seven" through "nine" also occur following the noun but without any concord marker. Any of the cardinal numbers can occur alone, with the noun implied but not explicitly stated, just as possessive and demonstrative modifiers can occur without the noun they modify, as in the following example.

19. *bwaŋ* *méè* *ŋgéè* *béè* *néè* *o-baà*
 childrenn (C2) I PROG be with two (C2)
Bwaŋ? Méèŋgéèbéènéèoèbaà "Children? I have two."

The different forms of the numbers "two" through "six" are shown in the chart below. This chart only includes plurals, and therefore does not include singular classes 1, 3, 5, 7, and 9 or class 10, which includes only mass nouns, things that are referred to in mass and not counted.

Chart 8: CARDINAL NUMBERS

Noun Class (plural only)	<i>baà</i> "two"	<i>loòl</i> "three"	<i>noá</i> "four"	<i>toòŋ</i> "five"	<i>séman</i> "six"
2	<i>oèbaà</i>	<i>oèloòl</i>	<i>oènoá</i>	<i>oètoòŋ</i>	<i>oèséman</i>
4	<i>mim-baà</i>	<i>mi-loòl</i>	<i>mi-noá</i>	<i>mi-toòŋ</i>	<i>mi-séman</i>
6	<i>méèbaà</i>	<i>méèloòl</i>	<i>méènoá</i>	<i>méètoòŋ</i>	<i>méèséman</i>
8	<i>iìbaà</i>	<i>iìloòl</i>	<i>iìnoá</i>	<i>iìtoòŋ</i>	<i>iìséman</i>

The number for "one" is *ñguàl*, taking no agreement for class; it sometimes becomes *ñguàlùà* when it is utterance final. The numbers *séman* "six" and *zañbaà* "seven" are borrowed from Ewondo. The true Mékaa numbers, *cwoòw* "six" and *téwéiù* "seven" are not used much. Unlike the borrowed *séman* "six," the true Mékaa *cwoòw* "six" does not take a concord marker. The number for "eight" is *mwoòmb* and the number for "nine" is *ibuuà*. Examples of cardinal numbers are given below:

Chart 9: Examples of cardinal numbers

<i>gwiiisheàñguàl</i>	"one plant" (C5)	<i>ì-toòw ì-tòòò</i>	"five goats" (C8)
<i>b-waàn oàbaà</i>	"two children" (C2)	<i>ì-laààìùséman</i>	"six glasses" (C8)
<i>mii-njow miù loòl</i>	"three houses" (C4)	<i>méelaàimb zañbaà</i>	"seven traps" (C6)
<i>m-iinéméànoà</i>	"four names" (C6)	<i>oèkaàaèl ì-buuà</i>	"nine books" (C2)

The larger numbers (greater than nine) are not noun modifiers, but nouns. Examples of such nouns are *wuim* "ten" (5/6), *teèl* "hundred" (3/4), and *tòshin* "thousand" (1/2). They take agreement, even in the singular, as in speaking of *ñgwoà lugaà tòshin* "another thousand." These are modified by the smaller numbers, as in the chart above, to refer to multiples. For example, "twenty" is *méawuim méabaà* literally, "two tens," and "five thousand" is *oètòshin oètòòò*; "twenty-one" is *méawuim méabaà néè ñguàl*, with the conjunction *néè* "and." The phrase "twenty-two men" would be expressed by an associative noun phrase, *buèuèl méawuim méabaà néè oèbaà* because numbers greater than nine are expressed by nouns.

More modifiers can be added to the associative noun phrase, such as in the following examples:

20. *bw-añ* *b-añ* *o-baà*
 children (C2) my (C2) two (C2)
bw-añ b-añ oàbaà "my 2 children"

21. *buèuèl* *mé-wuim* *mé-baà* *néè* *o-baà* *oàgaè*
 person (C2) tens (C6) two (C6) and two (C2) these (C2)
buèuèl méawuim méabaà néè oèbaà oàgaè "these 22 men"

The cardinal numbers are summarized in the following chart:

Chart 10: CARDINAL NUMBERS

Num.	in isolation	with agreement	example
1	<i>foŋ</i>	<i>ñguɪl</i>	<i>ø-kaɪn ñguɪl</i> "1 monkey"
2	<i>báè</i>	<i>òàbaà</i>	<i>òèkaɪn òàbaà</i> "2 monkeys"
3	<i>laà</i>	<i>òàloɪl</i>	<i>òèkaɪn òàloɪl</i> "3 monkeys"
4	<i>nán</i>	<i>òànoà</i>	<i>òèkaɪn òànoà</i> "4 monkeys"
5	<i>taɪn</i>	<i>òàtoɪn</i>	<i>òèkaɪn òàtoɪn</i> "5 monkeys"
6	<i>séman</i> (<i>cwoɔv</i>)	<i>òàséman</i>	<i>òèkaɪn òàséman</i> "6 monkeys"
7	<i>zañbaà</i> (<i>téwedi</i>)	<i>zañbaà</i>	<i>òèkaɪn zañbaà</i> "7 monkeys"
8	<i>mwoɔb</i>	<i>mwoɔb</i>	<i>òèkaɪn mwoɔb</i> "8 monkeys"
9	<i>ibuua</i>	<i>ibuua</i>	<i>òèkaɪn ibuua</i> "9 monkeys"
10	<i>ø-wuɪn</i>	<i>ø-wuɪn</i>	<i>òèkaɪn ø-wuɪn</i> "10 monkeys"
11	<i>ø-wuɪn néèñguɪl</i>	<i>ø-wuɪn néèñguɪl</i>	<i>òèkaɪn ø-wuɪn néèñguɪl</i> "11 monkeys"
20	<i>méèwuɪn méèbaà</i>	<i>méèwuɪn méèbaà</i>	<i>òèkaɪn méèwuɪn méèbaà</i> "20 monkeys"
21	<i>méèwuɪn méèbaanéè</i> <i>ñguɪl</i>	<i>méèwuɪn méèbaà</i> <i>néèñguɪl</i>	<i>òèkaɪn méèwuɪn méèbaanéèñguɪl</i> "21 monkeys"
100	<i>L-teɪl</i>	<i>L-teɪl</i>	<i>òèkaɪn L-teɪl</i> "100 monkeys"
103	<i>L-teɪl néèòèloɪl</i>	<i>L-teɪl néèòèloɪl</i>	<i>òèkaɪn L-teɪl néèòèloɪl</i> "103 monkeys"
204	<i>mii-teɪl mii-mbaanéè</i> <i>méènoà</i>	<i>mii-teɪl mii-mbaanéè</i> <i>òànoà</i>	<i>òèkaɪn mii-teɪl mii-mbaanéèòànoà</i> "204 monkeys"
1000	<i>ø-toʃhiɪn</i>	<i>ø-toʃhiɪn</i> (<i>ñguɪl</i>)	<i>òèkaɪn ø-toʃhiɪn</i> (<i>ñguɪl</i>) "1000 monkeys"
1005	<i>ø-toʃhiɪn néè</i> <i>òètoɪn</i>	<i>ø-toʃhiɪn</i> (<i>ñguɪl</i>) <i>néèòètoɪn</i>	<i>òèkaɪn ø-toʃhiɪn</i> (<i>ñguɪl</i>) <i>néèòètoɪn</i> "1005 monkeys"
6007	<i>òètoʃhiɪn òàséman</i> <i>néèzañbaà</i>	<i>òètoʃhiɪn</i> <i>òàséman néè</i> <i>zañbaà</i>	<i>òèkaɪn òètoʃhiɪn òàséman néèzañbaà</i> "6007 monkeys"

Ordinal numbers in Mékaa occur in the associative noun construction as though they are the second noun, expressing a quality of the first noun (as described in §4.3.8). They have two prefixes, *a* and the associative marker. The ordinal number expresses a quality of the first noun, such as *aèshuʃhwoŋuà* "the quality of being first." Thus ordinal numbers, like cardinal numbers, function as noun modifiers, as shown in the following chart:

Chart 11: ORDINAL NUMBERS

<i>mwaɪn aèshuʃhwoŋuà</i>	"first child"
<i>bwaɪn w-aèshuʃhwoŋuà</i>	"first children"
<i>mwaɪn aàbáèè</i>	"second child"
<i>mwaɪn aàláɪl</i>	"third child"
<i>mwaɪn aànáɪn</i>	"fourth child"
<i>mwaɪn aàtáɪn</i>	"fifth child"
<i>mwaɪn aàséman</i>	"sixth child"
<i>mwaɪn aàzañbaà</i>	"seventh child"

The ordinal number for "sixth," "seventh," "eighth," and on are identical to the cardinal numbers.

4.3.7 QUANTIFIERS AND INTERROGATIVES

Mékaaà has two noun modifiers that denote quantity. The first is *-ásh* "every," or "each" in the singular and "all" in the plural. It always occurs following the noun and takes a concord marker to agree with the noun, as shown in the chart below.

The other quantifier is the interrogative *-náà* "how many?" This noun modifier also occurs following the noun and takes a concord marker to agree with the noun, as shown in the chart below. As its meaning implies, *-náà* only occurs in the plural noun classes 2, 4, 6, and 8, just as with the numerals.

Similar to the above quantifiers, Mékaaà has an interrogative *-áyáà* "which?" It takes the same concord marker as the quantifier *-ásh* "every" or "all." It usually occurs in the same position as the quantifier, following the noun it modifies. It can also occur preceding the noun, in order to focus on the interrogative. In this fronted position, it has the same form as in the usual position, following the noun. Its concord is also shown in the chart below.

This interrogative is also used in the phrase *bìmbiüdáyáà* "which quantity?" when asking the quantity of a mass noun in class 10, instead of using the interrogative *-náà*. The quantifier *-náà* occurs in this context because one needs to indicate which measure is used before one can specify the quantity of the mass.

Chart 12: QUANTIFIERS AND INTERROGATIVES

Noun Class	every, each, all	"how many?"	"which?"
1	<i>-ásh</i> <i>y- ásh</i>	<i>-náà</i>	<i>-áyá à</i> <i>y-áyáà</i>
2	<i>b-ásh</i>	<i>oà náà</i>	<i>b-áyáà</i>
3	<i>w-ásh</i>		<i>w-áyáà</i>
4	<i>my-ásh</i>	<i>miü náà</i>	<i>my-áyáà</i>
5	<i>d-ásh</i>		<i>d-áyáà</i>
6	<i>m-ásh</i>	<i>méà náà</i>	<i>m-áyáà</i>
7	<i>j-ásh</i>		<i>j-áyáà</i>
8	<i>by-ásh</i>	<i>iü náà</i>	<i>by-áyáà</i>
9	<i>ny-ásh</i>		<i>ny-áyáà</i>
10	<i>ny-ásh</i>		<i>ny-áyáà</i>

Some examples are as follows:

Chart 13: Examples of Quantifiers and Interrogatives

<i>L-bòòj j-ásh</i>	"each hoe" (C7)
<i>m-waà y-ásh</i>	"each child" (C1)
<i>b-waà b-ásh</i>	"all children" (C2)
<i>miì-njòw myá-ásh</i>	"all houses" (C4)
<i>oèkaàd oà náà</i>	"how many books?" (C2)
<i>méè laàmb méü náà</i>	"how many traps?" (C6)
<i>miì-njòw miü náà</i>	"all houses" (C4)

<i>boog j-áýáá</i>	"which hoe?" (C7)
<i>mwañ y-áýáá</i>	"which child?" (C1)
<i>bwañ b-áýáá</i>	"which children?" (C2)
<i>minjoṽ myà áýáá</i>	"which houses?" (C4)

<i>j-áýááboog</i>	"which hoe?" (C7) (focus on <i>which</i>)
<i>y-áýáámwañ</i>	"which child?" (C1) (focus on <i>which</i>)
<i>b-áýáábwañ</i>	"which children?" (C2) (focus on <i>which</i>)
<i>myà áýááminjoṽ</i>	"which houses?" (C4) (focus on <i>which</i>)

Each of the above can occur without the noun modified, as in the following examples.

22. *yii wéè aè dúḡ b-wañ bwoè*
 QUE MKR you P2 see children(C2) their(C2)
méè aè dúḡ b-ásh
 I P2 see all(C2)

Yii wéè aè dúḡ bwañ bwoè? Méè aè dúḡ b-ásh. "Did you see your children? I saw all (of them)."

23. *wéè ñgéè dúḡ oè kaṽaṽ wéè ñgéè jḷḷi oà náá*
 you PROG see books(C2) you PROG want how many(C2)
Wéè ñgéè dúḡ okaṽaṽ. Wéè ñgéè jḷḷi onáá? "You see the books. How many do you want?"

24. *wéè ñgéè jḷḷi b-áýáá*
 you PROG want which(
 C2)

Wéè ñgéè jḷḷi báýáá? "Which ones do you want?"

4.3.8 OTHER NOUN MODIFIERS: ASSOCIATIVE NOUN PHRASES

In Mékaaān associative noun phrase is often used to qualify a noun. An associative noun phrase is most often formed by joining a head noun and a modifying noun, and inserting the associative marker between the two nouns. This marker consists of a tonal morpheme in most singular classes, and it consists of a syllabic morpheme with high tone in the plural classes. The associative marker agrees in class with the first noun or the head noun, as shown below.

Chart14: EXAMPLES OF ASSOCIATIVE MARKER

<i>L-kaāndé</i> (C3) "clothing"	+ <i>ø-mpua</i> (C1) "rain"	→ <i>kaāndéampua</i> "rain coat"
<i>ø-mpḷi</i> (C9) "pot"	+ <i>méè juṽvo</i> (C6) "water"	→ <i>mpḷiüméjuṽvo</i> "pot used for water"
<i>miñ-jow</i> (C4) "house"	+ <i>buè uè</i> (C2) "people"	→ <i>miñjow miībuè</i> "families"

The following chart shows the associative marker that is required for the different noun classes:

Chart14: ASSOCIATIVE MARKER

Noun Class	Associative Marker
1	∅
2	oà
3	H
4	mii
5	lúà
6	méà
7	H
8	ïù
9	∅
10	∅

It is interesting to note that this associative noun phrase, which consists of a head noun and a modifying noun, is used where we in English or French would expect an adjective and noun. The head noun expresses the size, quantity, or another characteristic of the second noun. We would expect semantically that the second noun is more important and thus should be the head noun. However, the first noun is the head noun, and governs the class of the associative marker and any other concord markings that may occur in the sentence. This is a noun, even though the gloss in English is an adjective. Examples of such associative noun phrases are given below; the fifth example below shows how the first noun governs other concord markings :

Chart 15: Examples of Associative Noun Phrase

<i>∅-fwame</i> (C1) "real" + <i>L-saé</i> (C7) "thing"	→ <i>fwameàsaé</i>	"the real thing"
<i>ii-bwoòdu</i> (C8) "old" + <i>∅-kaàndé</i> (C3) "cloth"	→ <i>ii-bwoòduàiiikaàndéà</i>	"old clothes"
<i>∅-tutéli</i> (C1) "just" + <i>buèuèl</i> (C1) "people"	→ <i>tutéliibuèl</i>	"just people"
<i>oè-tutéli</i> (C2) "just" + <i>ii-kaigéà</i> (C8) "children"	→ <i>oè-tutéliiòàikaigéà</i>	"upright children"
<i>L-shiisha</i> (C7) "big" + <i>∅-cuùdu</i> (C1) "animal" + <i>j</i> (C7) - <i>oñgu</i> "that"	→ <i>shiishaècuùduàjoñguà</i>	"that big animal"

In similar examples of the associative noun phrase, where the head noun expresses the size, quantity, or another characteristic of the second noun, the head noun is actually a gerund. These gerunds do not have noun prefixes, and they do not govern concord in the rest of the sentence. Thus they are not full nouns, and do not belong to a specific noun class, although they require the same associative marker (a floating high tone) as a class 3 or 7 noun. But otherwise the construction is the same as other associative noun phrases. These gerunds are derived from monosyllabic process verb stems; they may be reduplicated and in that case they consist of two identical syllables. Examples are given in the chart below.

Chart 16: Examples of Gerunds as the head noun

<i>tag</i>	"to be tired"	<i>tag</i> + <i>ø-nyuui</i> (C9)	→	<i>tag nyuui</i>	"tired body"
<i>laɪ</i>	"to be hard"	<i>laɪ</i> + <i>ø-shi</i> (C9)	→	<i>laɪ shi</i>	"hard earth"

These associative noun phrases, involving nouns that have adjectival meaning or involving gerunds, are similar in their semantic function. They are also similar in the way the associative marker is realized. When the associative marker is not syllabic, but only a floating high tone (with classes 3 and 7), this tone is realized in the same way with both nouns and gerunds. The variations in the tone are due to the tone carried by the second noun.

When the first tone on the second noun stem is a high or high-low tone, and there is no syllabic prefix, the floating high tone coalesces with that high or high-low tone.

Chart 17: Examples of Associative Noun Phrase with high tone in second noun

<i>L-méma</i> (C7) "big" + <i>d-énd</i> (C5) "village"	→	<i>mémaèd-énd</i>	"big village"
<i>ì-méma</i> (C8) "big" + <i>m-énd</i> (C6) "villages"	→	<i>ì-mémaèìm-énd</i>	"big villages"
<i>L-shi</i> sha(C7) "big" + <i>ø-cu</i> lu(C1) "animal"	→	<i>shi</i> shaècu ^l lu	"big animal"
<i>laɪ</i> "to be hard" + <i>L-sa</i> (C7) "thing"	→	<i>laɪ saè</i>	"difficult thing"

When the second noun has a low tone syllabic prefix, the floating high tone replaces the low tone, and the low tone is deleted.

Chart 18: Examples of Associative Noun Phrase with low tone noun prefix

<i>L-méma</i> (C7) "big" + <i>mu</i> èu(C1) "person"	→	<i>mémaèmu</i> èu	"big person"
<i>L-méma</i> (C7) "big" + <i>mi</i> èkwa(C4) "pencils"	→	<i>mémaèmi</i> èkwa	"big pencil"
<i>ì-mbá</i> à(C8) "inferior" + <i>mi</i> èkwa(C4) "pencils"	→	<i>ì-mbá</i> àèìmièkwa	"inferior pencils"
<i>L-mbá</i> à(C7) "inferior" + <i>mi</i> èkwa(C4) "pencils"	→	<i>L-mbá</i> àèmièkwa	"inferior pencils"
<i>laɪ</i> "to be hard" + <i>ì-sa</i> (C8) "things"	→	<i>laɪ</i> èsàè	"difficult things"
<i>tag</i> "to be tired" + <i>mu</i> èu(C1) "person"	→	<i>tag</i> muèu	"tired person"

When the second noun has a low tone noun stem and no syllabic prefix, the high tone is realized to the left, on an epenthetic vowel between the two nouns. If the first noun ends in an open syllable, the epenthetic vowel assimilates to the vowel of that noun. If the first noun or gerund ends in a closed syllable, the epenthetic vowel remains *ú*.

Chart 19: Examples of Associative Noun Phrase with low tone in second noun

<i>L-méma</i> (C7) "big" + <i>L-kwa</i> (C3) pencil"	→	<i>mémaèàkwa</i>	"big pencil"
<i>L-méma</i> (C7) "big" + <i>ø-fa</i> (C5) pigeon	→	<i>mémaèàfa</i>	"big pigeon"
<i>L-méma</i> (C7) "big" + <i>L-ju</i> uga(C7) "key"	→	<i>mémaèàju</i> uga	"big key"
<i>L-mbá</i> à(C7) "inferior" + <i>L-kwa</i> (C3) "pencil"	→	<i>mbá</i> àkwa	"inferior pencil"
<i>laɪ</i> "to be hard" + <i>L-nj</i> oond (C3) "hard trip"	→	<i>laɪ</i> úànj ^o ond	"hard trip" (walked fast)
<i>gwa</i> "to be long" + <i>ø-la</i> ng (C5) "horn"	→	<i>gwa</i> èlàng	"long horn"
<i>laɪ</i> "to be hard" + <i>ø-wa</i> ng (C1) "chimpanzee"	→	<i>laɪ</i> úèwàng	"hard chimpanzee"

However, sometimes the floating high tone replaces the first tone of the noun stem, when it is expected to be realized leftward on the epenthetic vowel. This may be dependent on the class of the noun, occurring especially with nouns in class 1,5, and 9, which have a zero prefix. In verbal constructions which include a floating high tone morpheme, that high tone is realized right on classes 1,5, and 9; it is realized left with classes 3 and 7, where a

low tone prefix (L) seems to block rightward movement. Note that the high tone in *laɪ + ø-waəŋ* (C1) can be realized left, as above, or right, as below. More research needs to be done.

Chart 20: Examples of Gerunds before low tone noun

<i>laɪ</i>	"to be hard"	<i>laɪ + ø-waəŋ</i> (C1)	→	<i>laɪ waəŋ</i>	"hard chimpanzee"
<i>gwaè</i>	"to be long"	<i>gwaè + ø-zhiüü</i> (C9)	→	<i>gwaèzhiüü</i>	"long path"

4.3.8.1 Additional uses of the Associative Construction

The associative noun phrase can be used to express a wide variety of meanings, depending on the semantics of the two nouns joined. Two special types of associative noun phrase can be formed to express specific relationships between the nouns in the phrase. When one noun possesses the other, the possessive marker *méà* is added to the associative marker, to form a possessive noun phrase. When the second noun expresses a quality of the first noun, the affix *a* is added to the associative marker to form a qualificative noun phrase. The associative marker and the possible combinations are shown in the following chart. Note that the affix *a* carries a polar tone.

Chart 21: Combinations with the Associative Marker

Noun Class	Associative Marker	Associative Marker + Possessive Marker	Affix <i>a</i> + Associative Marker
1	∅	<i>méà</i>	<i>aèor aà</i>
2	<i>oà</i>	<i>oà</i>	<i>waèor waà</i>
3	<i>H</i>	<i>méà</i>	<i>aà</i>
4	<i>müü</i>	<i>müü</i>	<i>myaèor myaà</i>
5	<i>lúà</i>	<i>méà</i>	<i>lúà aèor lúà aà</i>
6	<i>méà</i>	<i>méà</i>	<i>myaèor myaà</i>
7	<i>H</i>	<i>méà</i>	<i>aà</i>
8	<i>üü</i>	<i>iüü</i>	<i>yaèor yaà</i>
9	∅	<i>méà</i>	<i>aà</i>
10	∅	<i>méà</i>	<i>aà</i>

The possessive noun phrase indicates that the second noun possesses the first noun. Therefore, the second noun must be a proper noun or a noun indicating a person that is capable of possessing (as in *njoöv* (C7) *méàkukumaè* "house of the chief"). The high tonal morpheme of the associative marker in classes 3 and 7 coalesces with the high tone of the possessive marker *méà*. As a result, the associative marker is not evident when the first noun is in class 3 or 7. When the first noun is plural, the associative marker is replaced by the plural concord marker that the first noun requires. The forms resulting from the joining of the associative marker and the possessive marker are given in the above chart.

In the qualificative noun phrase, the second noun expresses a quality or characteristic of the first noun. For example, the second noun can give the name of a town i.e. *ñgwélaaà Mbañkwáà* "town of Mbañkwáà", or tell where a person comes from i.e. *muüel aà Mbañkwáà* "person of Mbañkwáà". The second noun can also express a characteristic i.e. *kandéaà mébwam* "dirty cloth" or "cloth that has dirt. This qualificative noun phrase differs from the associative noun phrase described above, where the first noun expresses a quality of the second noun.

This qualificative noun phrase is formed by adding the affix *a*, which carries a polar tone, after the associative marker and before the second noun. This affix is the same as the derivational prefix of class 1 nouns that have been derived from other parts of speech (such as *abyaàè* "new mother" from the verb *byaà* "to give birth", or *alaàn* "dear person" from the noun *laàn* "heart", or *aḡwaàzhuè* "person from far away" from *gwaè* "long, distant" and *zhuè* "to come from"). An example where both the associative marker and the affix are clear is *ø-jwoìw lúàèmuùs* "day (C5) of today" (meaning, "today")

The second noun, or modifier, in the qualificative noun phrase can be replaced by other parts of speech. Examples of a gerund in place of the second noun have been given above. In other cases an adverb, an ordinal numeral, or even a prepositional phrase can be used to express the quality of the head noun. The affix *a* always occurs after the associative marker and before whatever expresses the quality. This affix might be called an attributive affix, since it gives the word an attributive function.

The following examples illustrate an associative noun phrase with an ordinal numeral. They clearly show how the associative marker and the affix *a* with polar tone are combined in the qualificative noun phrase:

Chart 22: Examples of Qualificative Noun Phrase

<i>mw-añ(C1) + ø + aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	→	<i>mw-añ aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	"first child"
<i>bw-añ(C2) + oà+ aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	→	<i>bw-añ waèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	"first children"
<i>L-njoìw(C3) + H + aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	→	<i>L-njoìw aàshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	"first house"
<i>L-kwaḡ(C3) + H + aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	→	<i>L-kwaḡ aàshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	"first pencil"
<i>mii-njoìw(C4) + mii+ aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	→	<i>mii-njoìw mii aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	"first houses"
<i>j-woìw(C5) + lúà+ aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	→	<i>j-woìw lúà aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	"first day"
<i>m-woìw(C6) + méà+ aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	→	<i>m-woìw méà aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	"first days"
<i>L-saì(C7) + H + aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	→	<i>L-saàa aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	"first thing"
<i>ii-saì(C8) + iì+ aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	→	<i>ii-saày aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	"first things"
<i>ø-kwaàdédé(C9) + H + aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	→	<i>ø-kwaàdédéa aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	"first village"
<i>m-puimé(C10) + H + aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	→	<i>m-puiméa aèshuḡshwoḡguà</i>	"first fruit"
<i>mw-añ(C1) + ø + aàlál</i>	→	<i>mw-añ aàlál</i>	"third child"

The following examples illustrate an associative noun phrase with gerunds:

25. *L* *-kaàndéà* *H* *a* *fufuméè*
 C3 PREFIX cloth ASSOC MKR AFFIX white
kaàndéàa fufuméè "white cloth"
26. *mii* *-kaàndéà* *mii* *a* *fufuméè*
 C4 PREFIX cloth ASSOC MKR AFFIX white
mikaàndéàmya fufuméè "white clothes" or "clothes that are white"

Gerunds are derived from process verbs by a process involving modified reduplication and the addition of a high tone suffix. Modified reduplication (similar to that described in section §4.1.6 under the derivation of diminutives but differing from full reduplication of the verb stem, as described in §4.2.6 on the augmentative verbal extension), involves reduplication of only the tone and the onset of the first syllable of the verb stem. The

duplicate consonant is followed by an epenthetic vowel *ú*. If the initial consonant of the stem is labial, the labialization is realized by the epenthetic vowel becoming an *u*. (The verb *fuméé* "to be white" acts similarly to a verb beginning with a labialized consonant, since the vowel in *fufuméé* "whiteness" is also an *u*.) If the initial consonant of the stem is a palatal or is palatalized, the palatalization is realized by the epenthetic vowel becoming an *i* (as in *yaàg* "be serious" becoming *yíyaàg* "serious" and *yínd* "to become black" becoming *yínd*).

After the verb stems undergo this modified reduplication, the tonal suffix is added. This suffix is usually a high-low sequence on the final vowel, whether the final vowel is the final vowel of the verb root (as in *fufuméé* "being white") or the epenthetic vowel *é* added after the verb stem ending in a consonant (*bubwaàg* "being big"). When the verb stem has a high tone, this suffix does not appear, as if its high tone coalesces with the high stem tone (*yíyaàg* "being serious"). Some more examples are given in the following chart.

Chart 23: Examples of Derivation of Gerunds

<i>bwaàg</i>	"to become big"	→	<i>bubwaàg</i>	<i>L-njoiv aìbubwaàg</i>	"big house (C3)"
				<i>míi-njoiv míi-aìbubwaàg</i>	"big houses (C4)"
<i>lal</i>	"to become hard"	→	<i>lúlaléé</i>	<i>L-nywaàg aìlúlaléé</i>	"hard mango (C7)"
<i>fuméé</i>	"to become white"	→	<i>fufuméé</i>	<i>L-kaàndéaafufiméé</i>	"white cloth (C3)"
<i>tii</i>	"to become red"	→	<i>tútiíi</i>	<i>L-kaàndéaàtútíi</i>	"red cloth (C3)"
<i>télaè</i>	"to become cold"	→	<i>tútélaè</i>	<i>méjuivoiméaàtútélaè</i>	"cold water (C6)"
<i>yaàg</i>	"to become serious/difficult"	→	<i>yíyaàg</i>	<i>L-saàaèyíyaàg</i>	"serious thing"
<i>gwaè</i>	"to become long"	→	<i>guḡwaèè</i>	<i>L-njoònd aìguḡwaèè</i>	"long trip (C3)"
<i>taḡ</i>	"to become weak, to tire"	→	<i>tútaḡéé</i>	<i>iì-kaḡéaìiàtútaḡéé</i>	"tired children (C8)"

Some process verbs in the perfect aspect seem to have an adjectival function, in that they express a quality of a noun. This is seen in the following example:

27. *L* *-nywaàg* *ií* *méa* *lal*
 C7 PREFIX mango C7 PRONOUN PERFECT become hard
L-nywaàg, iíméàlal. "The mango has hardened/is hard."

Even though it has an adjectival function, this is a conjugated verb and not a participle.

The following example illustrates an associative noun phrase with an adverb, joined to the head noun by the affix *a* that occurs in qualificative noun phrases:

28. *L* *-mbáè* *a* *mpéè*
 C3 PREFIX door AFFIX behind
L-mbáèaèmpéè "back door"

The following example illustrates an associative noun phrase with a prepositional phrase:

29. *buè* *-uèl* *oà* *a* *kuinéè* *Zámbií*
 C2 PREFIX people ASSOC MKR AFFIX without God

pronouns) often take the place of the noun they replace. Some pronouns (especially emphatic, co-ordinate and restrictive pronouns) are used along with the noun or a pronoun, in order to clarify or focus on the person or thing referred to. Each of these pronouns is described below.

We do not recognize other types of pronouns in Mékaaà such as possessive or demonstrative pronouns. Possessives and demonstratives markers do exist; they occur as noun modifiers. However, these modifiers occur with a head noun rather than replacing it as a pronoun would. For example, in *mwaiñ w-añ* "my child," *w-añ* "my" is a modifier of the noun *mwaiñ* "child." Sometimes the noun is omitted but is always implied. The form of the modifier remains the same, whether the noun is present or implied, as in *A ji-sé waiñ* (lit. "he C1-copula my (child)" or "He is mine."). Thus the modifiers are not considered pronouns even though they seem to substitute for noun phrases in certain contexts, as if they were pronouns. (If these modifiers were pronouns where the noun is implied or omitted in a headless noun phrase, we would have a set of modifiers and a set of pronouns, with the identical form.) These modifiers are discussed in §4.3.3- 4.3.4. Some other modifiers, such as determiners *-lúgáà* "another" and *-añ* "that," numerals, quantifiers, and interrogatives (discussed in §4.3.5 - 4.3.7), can also occur without the nouns they modify.

Mékaaà does not have reflexive or reciprocal pronouns either. The idea of reflexivity or reciprocity is expressed by a verbal extension *-a* or *-ya*, as in *dúg-yaè* "to see each other." This is described in §4.2.7, as a relational extension in the verb stem.

The interrogatives forms, *zéà* "who" for humans and *jiù* "what" for non-humans, function similarly to pronouns, since they refer to nouns other than themselves, albeit unknown. But, they are actually nouns, since they take noun class prefixes and they require concord markers in related parts of the clause. Thus they are not described in this section, but in section §6.4.2 below.

All the pronouns are marked for person, number and the noun class of the referent. These personal pronouns distinguish between first, second and third person, with no distinction as to the sex of the person. In number, pronouns usually distinguish only between singular and plural. Among the first person pronouns a distinction is also made between dual and plural, and between inclusive and exclusive. These distinctions that occur in pronouns are also made in possessives (discussed in 4.3.3).

Singular personal pronouns generally belong to class 1 and dual and plural to class 2, since these classes include most nouns denoting humans. Exceptions occur where a noun denoting a human falls into a class other than class 1 or 2. Examples are *kaigéi*(7,8) "child", and *mbaagulé* (3/4) "guardian." Similarly, *añcuncumabuud* (1) "crowd of people" refers to many people but is in class 1, a singular class. When these nouns, which are not in class 1 or 2 as expected, are referred to by a pronoun, the pronoun agrees in class with the noun. But the Mékaaà seem uncomfortable using pronouns from other classes to refer to people. Therefore, as soon as possible, a synonymous noun of class 1 or 2 is used or implied, so that the pronouns of that class can be used.

Subject pronouns are pronouns that function as subject of the clause. Subject pronouns may replace the noun that functions as subject of the clause, or both the pronoun and the noun can occur together in order to clarify the reference or to show emphasis. The pronouns are illustrated in the following sentences:

35. *Ncúñ* *baà* *ncii* *bwoà* *aà* *béè* *ošhwá*
 fly(C1) and gorilla(C1) they(C2) P2 be friends(C2)
Ncúñ bañcii bwoà aà béè ošhwá "The fly and the gorilla, they (C2) were friends."

36. Bwoà dúà jii kúŋ ñguàŋ
 they(C2) HABIT live place(C7) one
Bwoàdúàjii kúŋ ñguàŋ. "They (C2) lived in the same place."
37. Méè fwoà kéè shwaàw
I (C1) first go hide
Méèfwoàkéèshwaàw. "I (C1) am going to hide first."
38. Mpwòmbuà ii dúè káà néè mišh
 face (C9) it (C9) HABIT be wise through eyes(C6)
Mpwòmbuàii dúèkàànéèmišh. "The face (C9) (it) becomes wise through the eyes. (One learns through observation)"

Object pronouns are used as the object of an action verb or object of a preposition or postposition. In some dialects, when the object of a verb refers to a noun of class 1, it may occur as a marker in the verb, instead of as a pronoun following the verb. Object markers are described above in 4.2.1, on the verb structure.

Examples of the object pronoun are given in the following sentences:

39. woè baà méè micwoŋ
 you F2 me(C1) arrows(C4)
Woèluàéméèmicwoŋ. "You will make me arrows."
40. woè kéè nyéà -dii aè dúà woè fumbaŋ njii mišh
 you go his LOC he HABIT you answer only eyes(C6)
kuà laš
 NEG speak
Woèkéènyéàdii àèdúàwoèfumbaŋ njii mišh, kuàlaš. "You go to his house, he answers you only with his eyes, he doesn't talk."

Different forms of the subject and object pronouns are listed in the chart below.

Chart 24: SUBJECT AND OBJECT PRONOUNS

Noun Class	Person	SUBJECT PRONOUN	OBJECT PRONOUN -éè
1	1	<i>méè</i>	<i>m-éè</i>
	2	<i>woè</i>	<i>woè</i>
	3	<i>nyéè/ aè</i>	<i>ny-éè</i>
2	1(excl)	<i>séà</i>	<i>s-éà</i>
	(incl)	<i>sheà</i>	<i>sh-éà</i>
	(DU)	<i>shwéà</i>	<i>shw-éà</i>
	2	<i>bìi</i>	<i>bìi</i>
	3	<i>bwoà</i>	<i>bw-éè</i>
	3	<i>iù</i>	<i>w-éè</i>
4		<i>mìi</i>	<i>my-éè</i>
5		<i>iù</i>	<i>dw-éè</i>
6		<i>méà</i>	<i>mw-éè</i>
7		<i>iù</i>	<i>gw-éè</i>
8		<i>iù</i>	<i>by-éè</i>
9		<i>iù</i>	<i>nyw-éè</i>
10		<i>iù</i>	<i>nyw-éè</i>

Note that the distinction between the third person singular (class 1) subject pronouns (*nyéè* and *aè*) is related to discourse. Briefly, the first, *nyéè* indicates a change in action or subject, and the second, *aè* indicates continuing action and the same subject as the previous clause. In addition, *nyéè* is always used with certain structures such as reported speech. The following paragraph in chart form illustrates these features in part.

Chart 25: Paragraph showing Third Person Singular Subject Pronouns

<i>Kuù muséè cii néà "Mboè guùgàà saà iùcu gáà néè ñkuù béentoà Maa méefwoà kéédúg."</i>	"The turtle then said, "No, it can't be like that. I need to go and see for myself."
<i>Aémuséè zéènda àg ñwa èmékì iùméséman.</i>	He (A) went and took six eggs.
<i>Aémuà kéewòòs woàbii</i>	He (A) went to the owl's place.
<i>Nyéèmuà yìl mwéèkwa àm'úùl.</i>	Then, he (Nyéè) took them out of his bag.
<i>Aémuà bwiiùg shiù</i>	He (A) put them down.
<i>Nyéènéèbii néà "Dúgàèkì iù woèludéèmémicwoù, dúgàè kwoà, dúgàè zúñ, dúgàè faè dúgàè nyùlúgáà faè"</i>	He (Nyéè) said to the owl, "With this egg, you are to weld arrows, this one, a lance, this one, an ax, this one, a cutlass, this one, another cutlass."

The first occurrence of *Nyéè* marks a change in action, in that he has now reached the owl's place and here he begins setting his action into effect. It might also be related to the fact that the owl (*bii*) was just mentioned in the previous clause, and the reference is now

back to turtle. The word “then” in the English translation expresses this change in action. The second occurrence of *Nyéís* is used to introduce reported speech.

Examples of the subject and object pronouns are given here:

41. nyéé *mušéé* *zéá* *jíl* bwéé
 he (3SG) then began (INCEPTIVE) seat them (3PL)
 “He then had them sit down.”
42. *vaáí* *ni,* *dwéá* *oà* *jù* *aà* *wóòš...*
 way (C5) that, it(C5) COPULA it (C7) P2 happened...
 “In that way, that is how it (dummy subject marker) happened...”
43. *bjù* *zéá* *jìù* *wa* *shìù*
 you (2PL) begin (INCEPTIVE) stay here ground
 “You come and stay here.”
44. *shwéá* *ñgéá* *ké*
 we(1DU) PROG go
 “We two are going.”

An emphatic pronoun is formed by adding an emphatic morpheme to the subject pronoun. This form of the pronoun is used to focus on or to point out a participant, in contrast to other participants. It occurs in left-dislocation structures, i.e., in sentence initial position, extracted from the clause itself. The emphatic morpheme consists of the suffix *-áè* in the singular and the determiner *b-añ* “that” (described in §4.3.5) in the plural. Some examples follow:

45. *nyéé* *-áè* *méá* *caí* *méá lénduá*
 he EMPHATIC PERFECT cut down palm trees(C6)
Nyááméácaí *méá lénduá* “He cut the palm trees down.”
46. *Séá* *b-añ* *séá* *méá* *baá* *kéé* *makiíd*
 We that we PERFECT F2 go market(C7)
Séábañ, *séáméábaákéémakiíd*. “We will go to the market.”
47. *méé* *-áè* *a* *byaá* *bjù* *coá* *bw-añ* *mé-wuúim* *méá loóí*
 I EMPH P2 give you surpass children(C2) tens(C6) three(C6)
 ATIC birth
Máéa *byaáblicooábwañ* *méwuúim* *méá loóí*. “I bore you, more than 30 children.”
48. *Nyiúga* *ñkwambéá* *nyéé* *-á* *miinyoñúá* *woé*
 this(C1) porcupine it(C1) EMPHATIC brother(C1) your(C1)
oà *nyé* *átláá* *naá*
 COPULA he(C1) eat+ NEG here
Nyiúga *ñkwambéá* *nyáé* *miinyoñúáwo* *oányé* *átláánaá* “As for this porcupine, your brother will not eat it.”

In addition, Mékaaà uses co-ordinate pronouns to indicate that two parties (named A and B for this description) are involved in an action, or that the party in focus, A, is accompanied by B.

The co-ordinate pronoun consists of a plural pronoun and a suffix. The plural pronoun is in the same person (first, second, or third) as party A. The first person plural pronoun can be inclusive or exclusive, depending on whether the hearer is included or not. The suffix is either *-naà* (dual), when parties A + B include two people, or *-noñ* (plural), when parties A + B include more than two people total. This suffix was formed by fusing the preposition *néè* "with" with the class 1 prefix *a-* or the class 2 prefix *o-*. The co-ordinate pronoun is usually followed by a noun or object pronoun identifying party B. This can be omitted when it is obvious from the context who party B is.

The following chart shows the different forms and the combinations they indicate:

Chart 26: Co-ordinate pronouns

Pronoun	combinations involved	
	party A	+ party B
(exclusive) <i>sénaà</i>	1SG	3SG
(exclusive) <i>sénoñ</i>	1SG	3PL
	1PL	3SG
	1PL	3PL
(inclusive) <i>shénaà</i>	1SG	2SG
(inclusive) <i>shénoñ</i>	1SG	2PL
	1PL	3SG
	1PL	3PL
<i>biinaà</i>	2SG	3SG
<i>biinoñ</i>	2PL	3SG
	2SG/PL	3PL
<i>bénaà</i>	3SG	3SG
<i>bénoñ</i>	3SG	3PL
	3PL	3SG
	3PL	3PL

The co-ordinate pronoun occurs in the subject or the object position. In examples 49 and 50 below, it occurs as the subject of the clause.

49. sé -noñ bw-ain ku mpuá déè
 we PLURAL children(C2) NEG well eat
Sénoñ bwain ku mpuá déè "I and the children do not eat well."

50. m-uúèl nyéà èà baà wusaè oèkòbì búin,
 person(C1 he(C1) certainl F2 forget sisters(C your(C
) y 2) 2)
bli -noñ báágyaè m-uúèl w-oñguà nyéè èà baà mpuá méè
 you PLURAL separate person(that(C1) he(C1) certainly F2 know me
 (C2) C1)

Muúèl, nyéè èà baà wusaè okòbì búin, bliñoñ báágyaè muúèl woñguà nyéè èà baà mpuá méè "The person (any of you my sons) who forgets your sisters, if you and they separate, that person will know me (my punishment)."

The co-ordinate pronoun often occurs with the subject noun or pronoun, but in left-dislocation, i.e., in sentence initial position, extracted from the clause itself, as shown in examples 51 to 54 below:

51. séà -naà Zhañ séà aiméè kéè fambéà
 we(C2) DUAL John we(C2) P1 go field
Sénaà Zhañ, séà aiméè kéè fambéà "I and John, we went to the field."

52. séà -noñ bwéè séà aiméè kéè fambéà
 we(C2) PLURAL they(C2) we(C2) P1 go field
Sénoñ bwéè séà aiméè kéè fambéà "I and they, we went to the field."

53. béà -naà Zhañ bwoà aiméè kéè fambéà
 he(C1) DUAL John they(C2) P1 go field
Bénaà Zhañ bwoà aiméè kéè fambéà "He and John, they went to the field."

54. Zhañ béà -noñ oèmiinyoñúà báà bwoà aiméè kéè fambéà
 John he(C1) PLURAL brothers(C2) his(C2) they P1 go field
 (C2)
Zhañ bénoñ oèmiinyoñúà báà bwoà aiméè kéè fambéà "John and his brothers, they went to the field."

The co-ordinate pronoun may occur in place of the object pronoun, following the verb, as in example 55 or it may occur in right dislocation (not in place of the object pronoun) as in example 56 below:

55. méè àè dúg bli -naà Zhañ
 I P2 see you(C2) DUAL John
Méè àè dúg bli naà Zhañ. "I saw you and John."

56. *méè* *aè* *yéè* *bwéè* *i-dúúv* *béà* *-noñ* *b-uñlaà* *báà*
 I P2 give them(C2 food(C8) him(C PLURAL women(C his(C2)
) 1) 2)

Méèaàyéèbwéèidúúv, bénoñ buñlaábáà " I gave them food, him and his wives."

The restrictive pronoun is used to indicate that the person referred to is acting alone, not accompanied by others, or that the person himself is acting, not someone else in his place. The restrictive pronoun at first glance seems to be the morpheme *-máñwoà* preceded by the object pronoun. However it is analyzed as the stem *-máñwoà* with a class prefix or concord marker, as shown in the chart below. This prefix resembles the object pronoun, except that the prefix for class 6 is *méà* rather than the object *mwéè*. Also, the prefix has a high tone in classes 2 to 10, whereas the object pronoun has a low tone in all classes. This restrictive pronoun is regarded as one word by speakers, not as the object pronoun plus the word *máñwoà*. The stem *-máñwoà* is sometimes shortened to *-máà* in colloquial speech.

Chart 27: RESTRICTIVE PRONOUNS

Noun class	Person	restrictive pronoun	noun class	restrictive pronoun
		<i>máñwoà</i>		<i>máñwoà</i>
1	1SG	<i>méè máñwoà</i>	3	<i>wéè máñwoà</i>
1	2SG	<i>woè máñwoà</i>	4	<i>myéè máñwoà</i>
1	3SG	<i>nyéè máñwoà</i>	5	<i>dwéè máñwoà</i>
2	1PL(EXCL)	<i>séà máñwoà</i>	6	<i>méà máñwoà</i>
2	1PL(INCL)	<i>sheà máñwoà</i>	7	<i>gwéè máñwoà</i>
2	1PL(DUAL)	<i>shwéè máñwoà</i>	8	<i>byéè máñwoà</i>
2	2PL	<i>bli máñwoà</i>	9	<i>nywéè máñwoà</i>
2	3PL	<i>bwéè máñwoà</i>	10	<i>nywéè máñwoà</i>

The restrictive pronoun indicates that the person himself is acting, not someone else in his place, when it occurs initially in the sentences, as in examples 57-59 below. The restrictive pronoun indicates that the person is acting alone when it occurs following the verb, as in example 60 below.

57. *méè máñwoà* *Ntaè* *méè* *oà* *aiméè* *byaà* *bli* *yáà*
 myself(C1) Nta I(C1) COPULA P1 give birth you(C2) REL MKR
Méè máñwoà Nta è méè o à aiméè bya à bli yá à " It is I myself, Nta, who bore you."

58. *bli máñwoà* *méà* *bwey* *mpuè* *néà*
 yourselves(C2) PERFECT long know that
béè *dúà* *cii* *sheà* *-dli* *mékaaà* *néà*
 they(C2) HABIT say we(C2) LOC Mékaaà that
Bli máñwoà méà bwey mpuè néà béè dúà cii sheà dli mékaaà néà " You yourselves have long known that we Mékaaà say that..."

59. nyéemáíwoà nyéé aiméé kéé ñgwéla
 himself(C1) he(C1) P1 go town
Nyéemáíwoànyééaiméékééñgwéla. "He himself went to town."
60. nyéé aiméé kéé ñgwéla nyéemáíwoà
 he(C1) P1 go town himself(C1)
 Nyééaiméékééñgwéla nyéemáíwoà "He went to town by himself."

Another pronoun, the resumptive pronoun *méà* may function as part of the subject. It occurs between the subject (noun or pronoun) and the verb. It seems to be used only with classes 1 and 2. More research needs to be done to determine how and when it is used.

In the following examples, the pronoun *méà* is translated as "who" and refers back to the preceding subject pronoun. It resumes or picks up the reference again after the focus marker *òà*

61. *Kaì shuléè méòòà méànyìngéézéèbaìd.* "Come down, it's me who is going to climb up again."
62. ... *woòòà méànyìngéézéèbaìd.* "... it's you (sg) who is going to climb up again."
63. ... *nyéòòà méànyìngéézéèbaìd.* "... it's he who is going to climb up again."
64. ... *séàòòà méànyìngéézéèbaìd.* "... it's we who are going to climb up again."
65. *blìòòà méànyìngéézéèbaìd.* "... it's you (pl) who are going to climb up again."
66. ... *blìòòà blì méànyìngéézéèbaìd.* "... it's you (pl) who are going to climb up again." (this form is heavy, but acceptable)
67. ... *bwoòòà méànyìngéézéèbaìd.* "... it's they who are going to climb up again."

In following examples, the same morpheme *méà* occurs immediately following the first and second person subject pronouns in the plural. In fact, it seems obligatory, yet it does not seem to add any meaning (that is not in the third person plural or in the singular which do not have the *méà*). Some of these examples follow.

68. *Blì méà duàkéeshikuì.* "You (pl) usually go to school."
69. *Blì méà kaì baà baà ànyà èimwoòòà binùd, ... bwoòòà baàshì ñgé buñgé blì* "If you will separate from your brotherhood, they will succeed in breaking you."
71. *Jaèsheà méà zéè baà ànyà è méèjii néèmpimbéè..* "When we(incl) come to separate, I am angry..."
73. *Shwéà méà zéè baà èòòò shwéà* "We two come be friends (let's us two be friends)."

The resumptive pronoun and perfect marker *méà* are often confused, since they are homophonous, and they can occur in the same position (but never together). However, in example 65 above, the pronoun *méà* occurs preceding the conditional marker *kaì* and the future marker *baà*. If this *méà* was the perfect marker, it would have followed the conditional marker *kaì* and the future marker *baà* not preceded them. The resumptive pronoun occurs immediately following the first and second person plural pronouns. The perfect marker occurs following the tense and clause markers if there are any.

The *méà* in example 70 below shows the perfect marker, in contrast to the resumptive pronoun in example 64 above.

74. *Séáméádéé* We have eaten. (Perfect construction)

4.5 ADVERB

Words that modify verbs are commonly known as adverbs. Many adverbs occur as part of the verbal unit, described in 4.2.4.6 on adverbs and auxiliaries. A few adverbs occur after the verb stem, even at the end of the utterance, perhaps showing that they function more on the clause level than on the verb phrase level. Examples include *náǎǎ* "just, now," (or *kunékunéé* in some dialects), and *kúíkúí* "quietly".

Some words, that follow verbs and seem to express the place of the action in an adverbial way, are actually prepositions with the object of the preposition implicit. For example,

Aíngéézéempúš. "He is coming late.

Aíngéézéempúšééboóúgábásh. "He is coming after all the others."

Bwoǎngéélešhaènaèmpuimbáǎlí toón. "They are talking there outside of the door."

Bwoǎngéélešhaè toón. "They are talking outside."

Other words, such as *shíü* "down, below," *gwaǎw* "up, above," *shwoǎ* "in front of," and *cuüè* "inside" indicate directions, whereas other words such as *waè* "here" and *kaè* "there" indicate location. The small word *déé* after these locations puts emphasis on the location.

Woèbwiüǎg iñkwǎnz shíü "You put the iron down."

A jii waè déé "He is here."

A jii kaè déé "He is there."

The prefix *ñkiü* on a process verb results in an adjectival construction, with a copula, e.g. *njoǎw wušé ñkiü bwaag* "the house is big," or an adverbial construction, after an action verb, e.g. *Nyé amé dé ñkiü bulya* "He ate a lot." Also *ñkiü+* can prefix an adverb or auxiliary in the verbal unit, as in *Nyé ji ñkiü bul bwaag* "He is very, very big." This prefix *ñkiü* also has an element of focus in the meaning.

A few adverbs seem to be derived from verbs; they occur after stative verbs in the same position as predicate adjectives. The examples are shown in the following chart.

Chart : Examples of Adverbs after stative verbs

<i>kud</i>	"to bend over"	<i>lĩĩjĩũkukudĩĩ</i> <i>méẽngéékyey kũkudĩĩ</i>	"the tree (C7) is bent over" "I'm walking, bent over"
<i>cud</i>	"empty"	<i>Njow wĩũcudũgée</i>	"The house is empty."
<i>cwaĩg</i>	"for nothing"	<i>Méeméakéjand ntoicwaĩg.</i>	"I left for nothing."
<i>ciĩgũciĩg</i>	"little"	<i>ĩĩméalũg ciĩgũciĩg</i>	"a little was left"
<i>mbaĩdam</i>	"flat"	<i>nyéé aiméé shĩĩnéé bée</i>	"it ended up being flat"
<i>baĩdaĩ</i>		<i>mbaĩdaĩmbaĩdaĩ</i>	
<i>kĩĩng</i>	"to tilt"	<i>boĩmbuadũakũkũĩngĩĩ</i>	"the board (C5) is tilted"

4.6 PREPOSITIONS and POSTPOSITIONS

Makaa has a few prepositions and one postposition. The most common preposition is *néa* "with" which also functions as the conjunction "and." The most common postposition is the affix *-d* (or *-dĩũ* after a consonant) "at the place of," indicating location. This postposition occurs along with adverbs that specify the location more closely, such as *shĩĩ* "down" and *gwaĩw* "up."

Other prepositions have already been mentioned above in the discussion of adverbs above, in 4.5. These include *mpũsée* "after," *mpéũũgáé* "between, among"

Aĩ ngéé zéé mpũsée boĩũũgáé bášh. "He is coming after all the others."

Prepositions			
<i>néa</i>	"with"		
<i>mpũsée</i>	"after"	<i>Aĩ ngéé zéé mpũsée boĩũũgáé bášh.</i>	"He is coming after all the others."
<i>mpéũũgáé</i>	"between, among"		
<i>woa</i>	"at the house of"		
<i>shuushwoĩg</i>	"before"		
Postpositions			
<i>-d / -dĩũ</i>			