

# Sketch Grammar of Nɔmaándé: Sections 1-4

## 1.0 Introduction

### 1.1 *Name of the Language*

The ɔmaándé people themselves refer to their language as Nɔmaándé. Guthrie refers to the language as Mandi or Lemande. The SIL Ethnologue (p. 211) lists Nomaande (Noomaante, Numand, Lemande, Mandi, Mande, Pimenc [LEM]). Dieu and Renaud (1983: 53), in the Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun, refer to the language as numand. The neighbors of the ɔmaándé people use the administrative name for both the people, their language and their canton: Lemande. Wilkendorf will use the term Nɔmaandɛ for the language name without the tone marking for the rest of this paper.

### 1.2 *Language Classification*

Nɔmaandɛ is a narrow Bantu language and is classified by Guthrie as part of the Basa group. He numbers it as A46. Dieu and Renaud (1983: 352) classify Nɔmaandɛ in Zone 5 under the Mbam branch of the Bantu languages (NIGER-KORDOFAN, NIGER-CONGO, BENOUE-CONGO, BANTOU, MBAM, ZONE 5).

### 1.3 *Number and Geographical Distribution of Speakers*

The Nɔmaandɛ language group is found in the Centre province, in the western part of the Mbam et Inoubou department/division. It is totally contained within the Bokito sub-division. It is estimated that there are approximately 5000 Nɔmaandɛ speakers with perhaps one half living in the ɔmaandɛ area in villages and the other half living primarily in urban centers throughout Cameroon (Bokito, Bafia, Yaounde, Douala).

### 1.4 *Ethnographic Information on the Speakers*

The ɔmaandɛ people live in the forested hills to the west of Bokito in the savanna region north of the Sanaga River. Agriculture forms the basis of their livelihood. The men grow mainly cocoa as the cash crop with one of the villages also growing coffee. Tobacco has recently been introduced as a new cash crop in the area. The rest of the farming is subsistence farming done by the women. Villages are made up of several family units, divided into “quartiers”, averaging less than 400 people per village. Each village has at least one primary school where instruction is in French. When the children are not in school, their tasks include helping in food preparation, child care, and fetching water or firewood. Polygamous marriages are common, but harder economic times are now limiting this practice.

### 1.5 *Dialects and Language Varieties*

Although each of the ɔmaandɛ villages has minor variations in phonological and lexical characteristics, the speakers of Nɔmaandɛ only recognize the dialect of Nyiambaye (situated to

the northwest of all the other ɔmaandɛ villages) as being clearly distinct from the standard dialect centered in the village of Tchekos. However, the two dialects are mutually intelligible and people from Nyiambaye can easily read materials written in the standardised form of Nɔmaandɛ.

### 1.6 Language Use, Multilingualism

The ɔmaandɛ community is surrounded by other language groups on all sides: Banen, Basaa, Yangben, Elip (Nulibié), Mmaala, Nugunu, and Yambeta. However, the language area itself, within the Lemande canton, is homogenous. The only outsiders living in the ɔmaandɛ area are some of the public school teachers and the EPC clinic nurse in Tchekos. The weekly markets attended by the ɔmaandɛ are all outside the area. The pastors and priests in charge of the various chapels in the area are not ɔmaandɛ, and do not reside in the villages. Thus, the surrounding languages have little influence within the ɔmaandɛ area.

In terms of language use, Nɔmaandɛ is used predominantly in all the villages. In the domain of religious worship, both French and church languages, such as Bulu and Ewondo, play a role. Outside of the language area, French is the predominant language of wider communication. It is used in education, even in the villages, and in government administration.

### 1.7 Language Contact

Although Nɔmaandɛ has borrowed some words from its immediate neighbors (Nugunu, Bafia and Yambeta in particular), the majority of its loan words come from French or English.

Chart 1 Loan Words

FRENCH		ENGLISH	
<b>kakawɔ</b>	(cacao)	<b>hɔndɛta</b>	(one hundred)
<b>meleti</b>	(maître)	<b>windo</b>	(window)
		<b>matúa</b>	(car, vehicle)
		<b>káwɔ</b>	(cow, cattle)
		<b>kábɛnda</b>	(carpenter)
		<b>kómɛna</b>	(government)
		<b>lámése</b>	(lemons)
		<b>bílɛti</b>	(bread)
		<b>bótɛl</b>	(bottle)

### 1.8 Language Vitality

Nɔmaandɛ is still heavily used in oral communication and the interest in reading and writing their language is growing among the ɔmaandɛ people. Since 1994, Scripture portions have become available in printed form and these are beginning to be used more regularly in church services. These portions join other printed literature available in the language, including folk stories, proverbs, health and agricultural booklets, and literacy manuals.

## 1.9 *References to Previous Research*

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## **1.10 Abbreviations**

1p, 2p, 3p	plural pronoun marker
1s, 2s, 3p	singular pronoun marker
ADV	adverb
AM	associative marker
AP	associative particle
ATR	advanced tongue root
BN	benefactive suffix
c1, etc.	noun class marker
DEM	demonstrative adjective
DIR	directive prefix
DIS	distance suffix
DUR	durative/iterative suffix
EMPH	emphatic pronoun
F1	near future tense
F2	regular future tense
HAB	habitual marker
INF	infinitive prefix
LOC	locative marker
NG	negative marker
NP	noun phrase
P3	distant past tense
PART	participial suffix
PN	pronoun
POSS	possessive adjective
PR	present tense
Q	question marker
RE	reflexive prefix
REL	relative marker
T/A	tense/aspect marker
VP	verb phrase

## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Segmental Phonemes

Nɔ̃maandɛ has 14 consonant phonemes. The stops include the four voiceless stops, **p**, **t**, **c**, and **k**. The voiced stops, **b**, **d**, **j**, and **g** are allophones of the voiceless stops, appearing only after a nasal consonant. The only exception to this is **b** which is in free variation with **p**. One village will use **p** predominantly (in a non-nasal consonant environment) while another village will use **b** in the same environment. In the orthography, **b** is used for both realisations.

There are also four nasals, **m**, **n**, **ny**, and **ŋ**. There are only two fricatives and these are both voiceless, **f** and **s**. The only lateral consonant is **l**. The three semi-vowels are **w**, **y**, and **h**. In a very few words and expressions the glottal stop also appears. For example, **oó'oó**, 'goodbye' and **a cɔba bɔmbánye'o**, 'go well'.

Nɔ̃maandɛ has 7 vowel phonemes which are short, **i**, **ɪ** (written as **e** in the orthography), **ɛ**, **a**, **ɔ**, **o**, and **u**. There are also 5 vowel phonemes which are long, **ee**, **aa**, **ɔɔ**, **oo**, and **uu**. All but **uu** can occur initially, medially, and finally. The long vowel **uu** only occurs medially.

### 2.2 Suprasegmental Features

Nɔ̃maandɛ is a tonal language with two phonemic tone levels, high and low. There is only one tone per vowel but a long vowel may have two different tones, resulting in high-low and low-high tone sequences. A high tone may be lowered in certain environments, such as verbal conjugations, which results in phonemic downstep. Phonetic downdrift also occurs on the sentence level with each high tone that occurs after a low tone being lower than the preceding high tone in the sentence.

### 2.3 Phonological Processes

Final vowels of nouns and verbs are not voiced. There are specific occasions when the final vowel is pronounced such as on the word at the end of a question and on any word when used in a song. Final vowels of any word are not pronounced if the following word in the phrase begins with a vowel. Only the word initial vowel of this second word is pronounced, thus forming a type of elision. For example, **na ebála** --> **nebála** (...CV + VCV... --> C + VCV...).

In addition to downstepped high tones in verbal conjugations, certain grammatical constructions cause tone perturbations due to tone spreading or floating tone rules. Two such constructions are the locative phrase and the associative (N + N) phrase. Low tone is left unmarked in all the examples. For example:

- (1a.) **wɔ-áŋa e mé-!nyífé** (underlying lexical tone: **menyífé**)  
3s - be LOC c6a-water  
'He is in the water.'
- (1b.) **hi-síŋge hí ó-!téní** (underlying lexical tone: **oténí**)  
c19-cat AMc19 c1- chief  
'the cat of the chief'

In the first example, a floating high tone in the underlying form of the locative particle attaches itself to the noun prefix of the following noun, thus displacing the lexical low tone. This low tone is then left “floating” and provokes a downstep of the following high tone. In the second example, there is a high tone spreading to the right from the class 19 associative marker, causing the low tone from the noun prefix to float and provoke downstep on the lexical high tones which occur on the second lexeme.

Advanced tongue root (ATR) type vowel harmony occurs in Nǝmaandɛ. Of the seven short vowels, there are two, **e** and **o**, which are +ATR, and three, **ɛ**, **a** and **ɔ**, which are -ATR. The vowels **i** and **u** do not seem to participate in this harmony. The harmony affects not only words and their affixes. It also affects grammatical particles in noun and verb phrases. In general, word roots are the governing category. For example:

- (2) **ombíényi** ‘nephew’ (+ATR)  
**hélɔkɔ** ‘poison’ (-ATR)  
**osúbe** ‘to hit’ (+ATR)  
**ɔlɔbɔ** ‘to stay’ (-ATR)  
**biónyía** ‘yams’ (-ATR)  
**bulaka** ‘cloth’ (-ATR)

#### 2.4 Syllable Structure

Because Scruggs analyzed **mb**, **nd**, **nj**, and **ŋg** (1983b:73-5) as consonant sequences rather than complex phonemes, more syllable types are posited for Nǝmaandɛ than might otherwise be the case. Most noun and verb roots are disyllabic: CVCV. All syllables have a vowel as their nucleus. Syllable types that have been identified are:

V      VC    VNC  
 CV    CVC  CVNC  
 NCV    NCVC

Closed syllables are always followed by at least a vowel within a word, even though this vowel syllable may be voiceless if word final. The vowel in these syllable pattern types may be long or short.

### 3. Morphology and Word Structure / Word Order

All nouns must begin with a noun class prefix, which consists of either a V or a CV syllable. Following are examples of disyllabic noun roots (the most common type):

- (3) (CVCV) **a - tana** ‘monkey’  
 c7-monkey  
 (CVNCV) **nɔ - bémbɛ** ‘tongue’  
 c11-tongue  
 (NCVCV) **ɛ - ndóŋɔ** ‘roots’  
 c6-root  
 (VCV) **hɛ - elɔ** ‘pepper’  
 c19-pepper  
 (VNCV) **hɛ - óndɛ** ‘(type of) frog’  
 c19-frog

Verb roots exist as separate words when not in the infinitive form, which is marked by the noun class 15 prefix, **o-/o-**. These roots can be either monosyllabic or disyllabic, but always contain only open syllables. For example:

- (4) a) monosyllables: CV **wé** ‘die’  
 b) disyllables: VCV **afa** ‘share’  
                   VNCV **ombo** ‘scratch’  
                   CVCV **hétí** ‘forbid’  
                   CVNVCV **kendi** ‘drive’  
                   NCVVCV **ndóli** ‘jump’

Although they are more rare, trisyllabic verb roots also occur. For example, (VCVVCV) **ofine**, ‘enter’.

### 3.1 Basic Argument Word Order

The basic argument word order in Nǎmaande is SVO within a transitive clause. For example:

- (5) **Ɛ ɲa mé mua me-nyífé**  
 1s PR 1s drink 6a-water  
 “I drink water.”

When the object is a pronoun (that is not also within a prepositional phrase), this object pronoun is placed between the subject and the verb. More precisely, it is located in the middle of the verb phrase, between the tense/aspect markers and the verb stem. For example:

- (6) **U ɲé wuúci súbé-ke**  
 3s P3 him hit-DUR  
 “He hit him.”

When two objects are present in the clause (one direct, the other indirect), the indirect object (usually an animate object) precedes the direct object (often an inanimate object) in the clause. For example:

- (7) **Ci-ínú o-se wé ke yíinjíé-k-íne o-ocó o-kime i-njijé.**  
 C9-turtle 3s-say 3s DIR give-DUR-BN c1-man c1-every c7-wisdom  
 “Turtle says that he will give wisdom to everyone.”

- (8) **Aányé ú ɲa cǎba o o-kóó-háya hi-síŋge nyi-kéŋéle e?**  
 who 3s F1 go LOC INF-DIR-put c19-cat c5-bell Q  
 “Who will go put the bell on the cat?”

It is also possible for the indirect object to be expressed in a prepositional phrase after the direct object position, whether the two objects are both animate or one is animate and the other in inanimate. For example:

- (9) **U ɲe yíinjíé o-ónó né uuyé o-ónjú.**  
 3s PR give c1-child to 3s-POSS c1-wife  
 “He gives the child to his wife.”



(10) U **ŋe yiinjíe mɔ-ɔnyé né uuyé o-ónjú.**  
3s PR give c6a-money to 3s-POSS c1-wife  
“He gives money to his wife.”

(11) U **ŋa yáahena nyɛ-ndánye a bɔ-ɔté.**  
3s PR throw c5-rock LOC c14-tree  
“He throws the rock at the tree.”

However, the normal word order of indirect object preceding direct object is also possible. For example:

(12) U **ŋa yiinjíe uuyé o-ónjú ɔ-ónó**  
3s PR give 3s-POSS c1-wife c1-child  
“He gives his wife the child.”

But in a locative example, only one rendition is possible:

(13) U **ŋa háya ɔ-ónɔmbó e tebéli.**  
3s PR place c1-young child LOC c9-table  
“He places the child on the table.”

When one of the objects is pronominalized, Nɔmaande shows a clear preference for pronominalizing the indirect object. It then precedes the verb stem, as stated above. For example:

(14) **Yémí o toŋie o-hónyí.**  
1s 2s show c3-road  
“Let me show you the way.” (injunctive if a statement, but subjunctive if a question)

Both objects can be pronominalized. For example:

(15) U **ŋe mí wuúci tóŋie.**  
3s P3 1s 3s show  
“He showed it to me.” (with the animate indirect object placed before the inanimate direct object)

### 3.2 Basic Noun Modifier Order

Nɔmaande basically has postnominal adjectives. But true adjectives are rare in Bantu languages, and Nɔmaande is no exception to this rule. Colors, value (such as 'bad' or 'good'), and dimensions ('big', 'small') may occur after the noun to modify it. The preferred manner of expressing such noun modifiers, however, is to insert a particle **e-/a-** (depending on vowel harmony with the adjective which follows) between the noun and the adjective. For example:

(16) **bu-laka e bu-bólótóto** 'red dress'  
c14-dress REL c14-red

Since the adjective has a noun class prefix which agrees with the head noun, it is very possible to analyze **e-** and **bu-** which follows as a relative pronoun and to view **-bólótóto**, 'red' as a verb. However, there is a verb in Nǝmaandɛ which means 'to become red': **obólótóno**. It seems best to at least call the Nǝmaandɛ term for 'red' a participle rather than a true adjective.

The other most common way of modifying a noun in Nǝmaandɛ is by affixing the class 7 prefix to the modifier and posing this as the first noun in a N + N associative noun phrase. Hence, **e-bólótóto yí bu-laka** also means 'red dress'. The following example shows both ways in which a noun can be modified:

- (17) **o-ónjú a wɔ-mbányɛ** OR **a-mbányɛ yí o-ónjú**  
 c1-woman REL c1-good c7-goodness c7 c1-woman  
 “a good woman” “a good woman”

In the plural, the class 8 prefix is used instead of class 7. For example:

- (18) **bɛ-nyéma bé ɔ-nyíá a bɛ-mbányɛ** OR **bɛ-mbányɛ bé bɛ-nyéma bé ɔ-nyíá**  
 c8-thing c8 INF-eat REL c8-good c8-goodness c8 c8-thing c8 INF-eat  
 “good food” “good food”

While the examples we have shown here are representative of the majority of noun modifiers, there are other categories of noun modifiers which are placed immediately after the noun, such as numbers and demonstratives. For a further description of Nǝmaandɛ numerals, see section 4.5. For demonstratives, see section 4.4.4. For example:

- (19a.) **ba-áná bé-fendí**  
 c2-child c2-two  
 “two children”

- (19b.) **tu-béñú tú-nyíse**  
 c13-corner c13-four  
 “four corners”

- (19c.) **o-ónjú o-ócí**  
 c1-woman c1-DEM(near)  
 “this woman”

- (19d.) **ɔ-ɔcɔ o-cienyíé**  
 c1-man c1-DEM(distant)  
 “that man (over there)”

On the other hand, possessive adjectives in Nǝmaandɛ appear normally before the noun they modify. See section 4.4.3 for a description of Nǝmaandɛ possessives. For example:

- (20) **báámé baáná** 'my children' (c2-POSS-1s + c2-children)  
**uúwé ooki** 'your house' (c3-POSS-2s + c3-house)  
**ciayé síkíne** 'his father' (c9-POSS-3s + c9-father)

If there are several noun modifiers in one clause, the order is as follows:

- (21) **cíámé e-bíle e-eee a-tátó a-sómbánó**  
c6-POSS:1s c6-palm tree c6-DEM c6-three c6-cut  
“those three cut palm trees of mine”

Scruggs (1983:29) found the basic noun phrase order to be:

**(AP-POSS) NP-noun (DEM-AP) (AP-quantity) (a-AP-attributive morpheme)**

All concords (prefix or suffix) are with the head noun. As an example of this complete schema, Scruggs gives the following example:

- (22) **ma-ame me-ébé ee-me me-nyíse a ma-áḡá**  
c6a-POSS:1s c6a-house DEM-c6a c6a-four REL c6a-big  
“These (are) my four big houses.”

### 3.3 *Nǝmaande Prepositions*

Nǝmaande uses only prepositions, no postpositions. The most common preposition is a locative particle consisting of a single vowel morpheme with low tone followed by a floating high tone. The vowel quality of this morpheme is determined by the first vowel in the immediately following noun. If that noun begins with a vowel, the prepositional vowel will be identical. If the noun begins with a CV syllable, the prepositional vowel will either be **e** or **a**, depending on the ATR value of the vowels in the noun. For example:

- |                                                           |                                                |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| (23) <b>a nyé-ndánye</b> (lexical tone: <b>nyedánye</b> ) | <b>o ó-ótú</b> (lexical tone: <b>ootú</b> )    |
| LOC c5-rock                                               | LOC c3-ear                                     |
| “on the rock”                                             | “in the ear”                                   |
| <b>e bú-útú</b> (lexical tone: <b>buutú</b> )             | <b>eé nú-úci</b> (lexical tone: <b>nuúci</b> ) |
| LOC c14-night                                             | LOC c11-stream                                 |
| “in the night”                                            | “in the stream”                                |

## 4. Grammatical Classes—“Parts of Speech”

### 4.1 *Noun*

A noun is a word denoting a person, place, thing or idea. It functions normally as the subject or the object of a clause or as the object of a preposition in a clause. Every noun belongs to one of sixteen noun classes, so a word can therefore be identified as a noun by the presence of a noun class prefix. Nouns also require concord markers in related parts of the clause which help further to identify a word as a noun.

#### 4.1.1 Structure of the noun

Nɔmaandɛ has the following noun structure: NCI marker + Noun root. See section 4.1.2 below for examples.

#### 4.1.2 Noun classes

Nɔmaandɛ has a noun class system which is typical for Bantu languages. It has sixteen classes as listed in the chart below. Class 15, which consists exclusively of verbal infinitives, is a seventeenth noun class. All noun class prefixes carry a low tone in the lexical form.

Chart 2 Noun Class Markers

Noun Classes	Noun Prefixes	Examples
1	<b>mu-/mɔ-, o-/ɔ-</b>	<b>o-ónjú</b> 'woman'
2	<b>ba-/be-</b>	<b>be-énjú</b> 'women'
3	<b>o-/ɔ-/we-</b>	<b>ɔ-hána</b> 'knife'
4	<b>i-/ɛ-</b>	<b>ɛ-hána</b> 'knives'
5	<b>nyi-/nyɛ-</b>	<b>nyi-kekú</b> 'beard'
6	<b>e-/a-</b>	<b>e-kekú</b> 'beards'
6a	<b>ma-/me-</b>	<b>me-nyífé</b> 'water' <b>mɔ-nɔŋɔ</b> 'villages'
7	<b>e-/yi-</b>	<b>e-síke</b> 'widow'
8	<b>bi-</b>	<b>bi-síke</b> 'widows'
9	<b>i-, ci-, ø-</b>	<b>ɛ-étɔ</b> 'body' <b>ɛ-kɔkɛ</b> 'chicken' <b>-kuata</b> 'pipe'
10	<b>i-, ci-, ø-</b>	<b>-kuata</b> 'pipes' <b>ɛ-kɔkɛ</b> 'chickens'
11	<b>nu-/nɔ-</b>	<b>nɔ-bémbe</b> 'tongue'
13	<b>tu-/tɔ-</b>	<b>tɔ-bémbe</b> 'tongues'
14	<b>bu-/bɔ-</b>	<b>bu-nɔŋɔ</b> 'village'
15	<b>o-/ɔ-</b>	<b>o-búme</b> 'to hunt'
16 (1 word)	<b>Ø-</b>	<b>-haála</b> 'place'
19	<b>hi-</b>	<b>hi-nonyí</b> 'bird'

These prefixes agree with the ATR of the noun stem vowels. For more examples, see section 2.3.

#### 4.1.3 Gender and number

Nine of these noun classes designate singular nouns while the other seven designate plural nouns. A combination of two noun classes (one singular and the other plural) is called a gender. Thus, the same noun stem/root is found in both noun classes within a single gender.

Nɔmaande has 14 genders of two noun classes each, and seven genders of one noun class only, because certain noun classes can reoccur in various genders. The following charts show the gender system in Nɔmaande:

*Chart 3 Major Noun Genders*

Genders	Semantic classes	Examples
1/2	Humans	<b>ɔ-nóme, ba-nóme</b> 'husband'
3/4	some body parts, some insects, many objects	<b>o-oki, i-iki</b> 'house, home'
5/6	most body parts and nominalized verbs	<b>nye-káta, a-káta</b> 'hand'
6a	mass and liquid nouns	<b>mɔɔtá</b> 'ashes' <b>manɔɔ</b> 'blood' <b>makénda</b> 'strength'
7/8	types of people, some body parts, some animals, many objects	<b>a-faka, be-faka</b> 'shoulder'
9/10	many animals, objects	<b>i-ceku, i-ceku</b> 'elephant'
11/13	languages, plants, and many objects	<b>nu-húnyi, tu-húnyi</b> 'hair'
14/6a	Collectives	<b>buósé, mɔósé</b> 'day'
19/13	mostly diminutive objects and animals	<b>hi-céme, tu-céme</b> 'well'

While noun class 6a acts as its own gender for mass and liquid nouns, other noun classes can also act as genders for certain words. For example:

*Chart 4 Single Class Genders*

Class	Example
3	<b>ɔ-ścś</b> 'sun'
8	<b>bi-ité</b> 'war'
9	<b>ε-caná</b> 'hunger'
10	<b>ci-óyo</b> 'smoke'
14	<b>bɔ-nóme</b> 'riches'
15	<b>ɔ-faaya</b> 'to come'

The minor genders include the following:

*Chart 5 Minor Noun Class Genders*

3-2	<b>ɔ-tɔś. bś-tɔś</b> 'type of yam'
3-6	<b>o-otú, e-etú</b> 'ear'
9-6a	<b>ci-fbe, me-ébe</b> 'house'
9-8	<b>i-inyí, bi-inyí</b> 'mother'
14-8	<b>bu-laŋa, be-laŋa</b> 'clothes'
16-8	<b>haála, be-haála</b> 'place'

#### 4.1.4 Case

The function of a noun in a clause is not indicated by any morphological marking in the noun. It is rather indicated by word order or prepositions and will thus be discussed in section 5.5, prepositional phrase structure, and in section 6.2, word order. As concerns pronouns, a distinction is made between subject and object, but not between direct object and indirect object. These forms are found in sections 4.4.1-2.

#### 4.1.5 Concord system for nouns

Agreement between the noun and other parts of the noun phrase results in a concord system. The primary concord occurs on the noun itself in the form of the prefix, which marks the noun as belonging to a specific noun class. This is described above in section 4.1.2. Secondary concord involves all concord markers that agree with the noun. These secondary concord markers appear on noun modifiers (i.e., pronouns, adjectives, and associative markers). See the example already given of concord agreement in section 3.2.

The secondary concord system will be shown in the following sections:

- Personal pronouns - section 4.4.1-2
- Possessive adjectives - section 4.4.3
- Demonstrative adjectives - section 4.4.4
- Relative pronouns - 4.4.6
- Numbers - section 4.5
- Adjectives - section 4.2

#### 4.1.6 Nominalizing derivational processes

Nouns may be derived either from action verbs or, more rarely, from other nouns by adding various derivational affixes. The noun class 15 prefix **o-/ɔ-** precedes any verb stem to denote the infinitive. In order to denote the agent of the action of the verb in question, a form of the class 1 prefix is used, **mɔ-/mu-**. This form is distinct from the normal class 1 prefix that would be identical to the noun class 15 prefix. Where the normal class 1 prefix is used, the noun stem reduplicates. The class 2 prefix, **be-/ba-**, is used in the plural. For example:

- (24a.) **o-weékúnyi** 'to teach'                      **mu-ékúnyi** 'teacher' (pl. **be-ékúnyi**)  
          **o-búme** 'to hunt'                              **o-búmebúme** 'hunter' (pl. **be-búmebúme**)

In order to nominalize a verb to denote “the action of” or “the place where” the action occurs, the noun class 5 prefix, **nyi-/nye-**, is used in the singular, and the class 6 prefix, **e-/a-** is used in the plural. For example:

- (24b.) **o-wifnjie** 'to give'                      **nyi-ínjie** 'gift'  
          **o-limine** 'to sit'                         **nyi-limine** 'chair'  
          **ɔ-waákónéna** 'to learn'                **nye-ákónéna** 'the study of...'

The noun class 6a prefix, **ma-**, can be added to the verb stem to denote the result or object of an action. For example:

- (24c.) **ɔ-cakəna** 'to play'                      **ma-cakəna** 'game'  
**o-bíne** 'to dance'                              **me-bíne** '(a) dance'

To form the diminutive of a noun, there is a reduplication of the noun stem as well as a change of noun class to class 19 (**hi-/he-**) in the singular and to class 13 (**tu-/tə-**) in the plural. In certain cases, the non-diminutive form of the noun is already in this noun class. For example:

- (25) **hi-síŋge** 'c19-cat'                      **hi-síŋgésíŋge** 'kitten'                      **tu-síŋgésíŋge** 'kittens'  
**he-nósé** 'c19-child'                      **he-nósénósé** 'small child'                      **tə-nósénósé** 'small children'  
**ε-kóké** 'c9-chicken'                      **he-kókókóké** 'chick'                      **tə-kókókóké** 'chicks'  
**o-túmbe** 'c3-walking cane'                      **hi-túmbétumbe** 'small cane'                      **tu-túmbétumbe** 'small canes'

One other nominal derivation has been noted with a noun class prefix change from **me-** (6a) to **mu-** (?) in the following case:

- (26) **me-nyífé** 'c6a-water'  
**mu-nyífé** 'c1?-deep water'

#### 4.1.7 Noun compounding

Nɔmaandɛ compound nouns are made up of two lexemes. The most common compound nouns consist of Noun + Noun with the first noun being derived from a verb and the second noun being the object of that verb. Orthographically, these compound nouns are written as two separate words in Nɔmaandɛ.

All of the following examples have the lead noun taking the prefix **mu-**, with low tone. This is a variation of the noun class 1 prefix **ɔ-/o-**, denoting human beings. The plural form is **ba-/be-**. For example:

- (27) **mu-téjinyi bicénji** 'captain' (military) [ruler soldiers]  
**mu-tétényi étómá** 'shepherd' [guarder sheep]  
**mu-afa benyéma** 'steward' [distributor things]  
**mu-tafa baacɔ** 'biased person' [chooser people]  
**be-kendisi belumitinine** 'leaders' (Christian) [conductors believers]

Another common compound noun formation has the noun **muúfí**, 'owner' + the object that is "owned". For example:

- (28) **muúfí ooki** 'homeowner' [owner house]  
**muúfí yómbɔ** 'owner of the compound' [owner compound]  
**muúfí bɔnáká** 'one in charge of the party' [owner party]

These combinations of nouns are considered to be noun compounds for two reasons. First, there is no intervening associative marker between the two lexemes, such as in the Nomaande expression for 'family': **ciibe ce baacɔ** [house of people]. Nor are there any tonal perturbations which might signal a trace of such an associative marker. And second, while the second lexeme has retained its own class prefix, this prefix becomes a fixed part of the compound noun and no longer requires concord in any other part of the clause. The noun class requiring concord is the one for the first lexeme (**mu-**).

## 4.2 Adjectives

In Nomaande, adjectives may not exist as a distinct grammatical category except for one or two examples. The other examples of nominal modifiers may better be described as participles, as discussed earlier (section 3.2). In this section, examples will be given of possible modifiers that concord with the head noun and others that use a noun class 7 prefix on the modifier that is used in an associative noun construction as if the modifier were a noun as well. In addition, comparatives and superlatives will be described.

### 4.2.1 Agreement patterns

Each predicative and attributive modifier (whether an adjective or a participle) in Nomaande has a prefix which agrees with the noun class marker of the head noun. For example, in the predicative position:

- (29a.) **A-hóla ána e-tíkítíki**      (29b.) **Wɔ-ána ɔ-caha**  
 c7-mouse is c7-small                      3s-is c1-tall  
 “The mouse is small.”                      “He is tall.”

In the attributive position, the modifier follows the head noun with an intervening vowel, either **e** or **a**, depending on the vowel harmony. This vowel is a relativizer. For example:

- (30a.) **ɔ-sóte e ye-fúlúndúndúé**      (30b.) **ci-íbe e ci-fúlúndúndúé**  
 c3-dress REL c3-white                      c9-house REL c9-white  
 “the white dress”                              “the white house”

Verbs can also take the suffix **-ánó** to take on a modifier role. For example:

- (31) **A-tana ána na ɔ-ndána ɔ-sómb-ánó**  
 c7-monkey is with c3-tail c3-cut-PART  
 “The monkey has a cut tail.”

With a certain number of modifiers, the noun class 7 prefix is used within an associative noun construction, thus rendering the modifier into a noun. For example:

- (32a.) **a-abé yí o-ónjú**                      (32b.) **a-mbánye yé ɔ-ɔcɔ**  
 c7-bad(ness) AMc7 c1-woman                      c7-goodness AMc7 c1-person/man  
 “the bad woman”                              “the good man”



#### 4.2.2 Comparison

When speaking of equality in Nɔmaandɛ, the equative **háye**, 'like' is used. For example:

- (33a.) **Wɔ-áŋa wa-áŋá háye síkíne**  
c1-is c1-big like c9-father  
“He is just as big as (his) father.”

When speaking of comparatives in Nɔmaandɛ, the preposition + verb **ɔ ɔhɔla**, 'to exceed' is used. For example:

- (33b.) **Wɔ-áŋa wa-áŋá ɔ ɔhɔla síkíne**  
c1-is c1-big LOC to pass c9-father  
“He is bigger than (his) father.”

The superlative idea in Nɔmaandɛ is expressed in a similar way to the comparative, with **ɔ ɔhɔla**, 'to exceed', with the difference being that that noun following the comparative is always in the plural with 'all' also being added. For example:

- (33c.) **Wɔ-áŋa wa-áŋá ɔ ɔhɔla benyínyí bekime**  
c1-is c1-big LOC to pass c2-brothers c2-all  
“He is the biggest of all (his) brothers.”

#### 4.2.3 Degrees of a quality

Degrees of a quality are expressed in a manner similar to comparisons, although the superlative degree of a quality has to have a complete relative clause added to explain what it is being compared to. For example:

- (34a.) **Bɛ-nyéma ee-bi ŋo sóomo**  
c8-things DEM-c8 T/A be delicious  
“These things (food) taste good.”

- (34b.) **Bɛ-nyéma ee-bi ŋa hɔla o-sóomo**  
c8-things DEM-c8 T/A pass INF:be delicious  
“These things taste better.”

- (34c.) **Bɛ-nyéma ee-bi ŋo sóomo ɔ ɔhɔla a-bé é ná-ŋa yáme nyíaka**  
c8-things DEM-c8 T/A be delicious LOC to pass REL-c8 1s HAB-T/A 1s eat-DUR  
“These are the best things I have ever eaten.”

### 4.3 Adverbs

Nɔmaandɛ appears to have very few “true” adverbs, but rather uses other means for modifying the verb. One of these ways is through use of adverbial phrases consisting of a head noun expressing time, manner and place and a relative clause. For example:

(35) **Ekúlú ayé ...** 'when' [literally: 'time that...']

**Haála ahé ...** 'where' [literally: 'place that...']

**A nyenamá anyé ...** 'in such a way' [literally: 'in manner that...']

But Nɔmaandɛ does have a limited number of adverbs/adverbial particles which occur within the pronominal complex preceding the verb to express concepts such as 'quickly', 'first of all', 'all around', and 'once again'. The location of these adverbs within the pronominal complex is as follows:

PN1 - T/A – ADV – PN2 + VERB STEM

These adverbs are as follows:

<b>tényi</b> 'quickly'	(36a.) <b>tɔ ɲa cáɲa esú súéte</b>
<b>cáɲa</b> 'first of all'	1p T/A first 1p leave
<b>húle</b> 'all around'	“We left first.”
<b>hána</b> 'once again'	
<b>síke</b> 'suddenly'	(36b.) <b>bé ɲe síke ebú bítéme...</b>
	3p T/A suddenly 3p realize
	“They suddenly realized...”

It is possible that these rare adverbs are traces remaining from a serial verb system that is no longer productive in Nɔmaandɛ. An example of this is the adverb **síke**, 'suddenly'. There is a verb **osíke** which means 'to remain'.

### 4.4 Pronouns

The personal pronouns in Nɔmaandɛ distinguish between first, second, and third persons; and between singular and plural. In the third person, the pronouns vary according to the noun class of the lexeme being referred to. There is no distinction in Nɔmaandɛ pronouns for formal vs. informal, inclusive vs. exclusive, social rank or sex.

#### 4.4.1 Subject pronouns

The subject pronouns in Nɔmaandɛ occur within a pronominal complex within the verb phrase that includes a tense/aspect marker and a grammatical tone schema spread out over the verb phrase. The order of morphemes within this verbal clause in a default situation is as follows:

PN1 - T/A - (Adv) - PN2 + (Obj. PN) + Verb

In the case of a sentence with a nominal subject, the first pronoun (PN1) is deleted unless there is a particular emphasis being given to the subject. Due to vowel harmony, each subject pronoun has two possible forms so that they will harmonize with the advanced or retracted tongue value of the verb root (+ or - ATR). The following chart lists the subject pronouns:

*Chart 6 Subject Pronouns*

	PN1	PN2
1s	<b>i / ε</b>	<b>mi / mε</b>
2s	<b>o / ɔ</b>	<b>o / ɔ</b>
3s	<b>u / ɔ</b>	<b>e / a</b>
1p	<b>tu / tɔ</b>	<b>su / sɔ</b>
2p	<b>nu / nɔ</b>	<b>nu / nɔ</b>
3p	<b>bé / bá</b>	<b>bu / bɔ</b>

For third person subject pronouns, only PN1 varies according to the noun class of the subject. The following chart gives the third person subject pronouns for the different noun classes in Nɔmaande:

*Chart 7 Noun Class Chart of Third Person Pronouns*

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
Class	Pronoun	Class	Pronoun
1	<b>u/ɔ</b>	2	<b>bé/bá</b>
3	<b>ó/ó</b>	4	<b>cí/cé</b>
5	<b>nyí/nyé</b>	6	<b>cé/cá</b>
7	<b>yí/yé, é/á</b>	8	<b>bí/bé</b>
9	<b>cí/cé</b>	10	<b>ci/ce</b>
11	<b>nú/nó</b>	13	<b>tú/tó</b>
14	<b>bú/bó</b>	8	<b>bí/bé</b>
16	<b>hé/há</b>	8	<b>bí/bé</b>
19	<b>hí/hé</b>	13	<b>tú/tó</b>
6a	<b>me/ma</b>		

The following examples show first advanced tongue root and then retracted tongue root verb roots and their effect on the pronouns:

(37a.) +ATR: **I ɲe mí hiite**

1s T/A 1s take  
“I am taking.”

-ATR: **ε ɲa mé tóma**

1s T/A 1s send  
“I am sending.”

Note that the tense/aspect marker is also affected by the value of the verb root. When there is an intervening adverb within the pronominal complex preceding the verb, PN1 agrees with the tongue root value of this adverb while PN2 continues to agree with the tongue root value of the verb root. For example:

(37b.) +ATR: (without adverb)

**Tu ɲe sú súéte**  
1p T/A 1p go  
“We left.”

(with adverb)

**Tɔ ɲa cáɲ- esú súéte**  
1p T/A first 1p go  
“We left first.”

In the second example, the second pronoun seems to have picked up the final **a** of the preceding adverb, but this vowel is transformed to +ATR in conformity to the vowel harmony rules.

However, when there is an intervening object pronoun before the verb root, the pronominal complex will agree with the tongue root value of this pronoun (in all cases but 1s and 2s). For example:

(37c.) -ATR: (without pronoun)

**Nɔ ɲa nɔ́ aamba**  
2p T/A 2p want  
“You want.”

(with pronoun)

**Nu ɲe nú beébe aamba**  
2p T/A 2p 3p want  
“You want them.”

#### 4.4.2 Object pronouns

The personal object pronouns are as follows for noun classes 1 and 2:

*Chart 8 Object Pronouns*

	Singular		Plural
1s	<b>mi / mɛ</b>	1p	<b>basó</b>
2s	<b>kuɲɲó, o / ɔ *</b>	2p	<b>banó</b>
3s	<b>wuúci</b>	3p	<b>beébe</b>

\* The second form of 2s object pronoun, **o / ɔ**, seems to occur interchangeably with **kuɲɲó**. This could be due to conditioning: formal vs. informal speech or careful vs. fast speech.

In addition to these personal object pronouns, the other noun classes have the following object pronouns:

*Chart 9 Noun Class Chart of Object Pronouns*

Singular		Plural	
Class	Pronoun	Class	Pronoun
3	<b>wuúci</b>	4	<b>cíci</b>
5	<b>nyiinyi</b>	6	<b>ceéce</b>
6a	<b>meéme</b>	6a	<b>meéme</b>
7	<b>yíyi</b>	8	<b>bíbi</b>
9	<b>cíci</b>	10	<b>cíci</b>
11	<b>nuúnu</b>	13	<b>tuútu</b>
14	<b>buúbu</b>	8	<b>bíbi</b>
16	<b>heéhe</b>	8	<b>bíbi</b>
19	<b>híhi</b>	13	<b>tuútu</b>

The object pronouns, whether they are used as direct object or indirect object pronouns, normally occur pre-verbally, although the nominal objects occur after the verb unless topicalization has taken place. For example:

(38a.) **I ɲe mí wuúci ínjie mɔ-ɔnyé**  
 1s T/A 1s 3s give c6a-money  
 “I gave him money.”

(38b.) **U ɲoo mi súbé-ke**  
 2s T/A 1s hit-DUR  
 “You hit me (repeatedly).”

(38c.) **Nu ɲe nú beébe aamba**  
 2p T/A 2p 3p want  
 “You want them.”

In order to contrast what happens to the pronominal complex when there is no intervening pronoun, the following example is given:

(38d.) **Nɔ ɲa nó aamba ba-áná**  
 2p T/A 2p want c2-children  
 “You want the children.”

#### 4.4.3 Possessive pronouns/adjectives

The possessive pronouns/adjectives take a noun class prefix that agrees with the possessed object. They have the following roots:

1s - <b>ámé</b>	1p - <b>ásó</b>
2s - <b>ówɔ</b>	2p - <b>ánó</b>
3s - <b>ayé</b>	3p - <b>abó</b>

The noun class prefixes used on these possessive pronoun/adjectives are identical to the noun class prefixes given in section 4.1.2. These possessive pronoun/adjectives may precede or follow the noun they modify, perhaps due to emphasis or other conditioning. For example:

(39a.) **yá-áyé e-kendinyi**  
 c7-3s c7-friend  
 “his friend”

(39b.) **bu-ónyía bu-ámé**  
 c14-yam c14-1s  
 “my yam”

In a similar vein, possessive pronouns have the same person pronoun stems as the possessive adjectives above, and the prefix marker will agree with the noun class of the noun being replaced by the possessive pronoun. For example:

- (40) U ŋa hálómóna a bu-áyá  
 3s T/A return LOC c14-3s  
 “She returned to her own (people/village).”

When there is a need to talk about 'to or for someone' or 'to someone's place', the preposition **ná** 'to, at' is used in Nɔmaandɛ. This preposition acts as a prefix in this context with the person pronoun stem added as in the case of possessive adjectives. For example:

- (41a.) Yó ɔɔba ná-áyá  
 3s INF-go to-3s  
 “He is going home (to his place).”

- (41b.) I me mí iinjie ná-ánó  
 1s T/A 1s give to-2p  
 “I gave (it) to you.”

#### 4.4.4 Demonstrative pronouns/adjectives

The demonstrative pronouns/adjectives in Nɔmaandɛ consist of a long vowel (either **ee-** or **oo-**) followed by a suffix which marks the noun class of the person or thing being referred to. The following chart shows the different forms for the deictic anaphoric demonstrative pronouns/adjectives (see section 4.4.7).

*Chart 10 Noun Class Chart of Demonstrative Pronouns/Adjectives*

Singular		Plural	
Class	Pronoun	Class	Pronoun
1	<b>oóčí</b>	2	<b>eébé</b>
3	<b>oóčí</b>	4	<b>eéčí</b>
5	<b>eényí</b>	6	<b>eécé</b>
6a	<b>eémé</b>	6a	<b>eémé</b>
7	<b>eéyé</b>	8	<b>eébí</b>
9	<b>eéčí</b>	10	<b>eéčí</b>
11	<b>eénú</b>	13	<b>eétú</b>
14	<b>eébú</b>	8	<b>eébí</b>
16	<b>eéhé</b>	8	<b>eébí</b>
19	<b>eéhí</b>	13	<b>eétú</b>

The cataphoric demonstrative adjectives are identical in terms of the segments, but they carry low tone throughout instead of the high tones present in the anaphoric demonstratives. Following are examples of each of these types of demonstratives:

- (42a.) Anaphoric:  
 Ɔɔcɔ oóčí ti ŋée menyí ta bɔkɔ  
 c1-man c1-DEM NG T/A know no thing  
 “This man does not know anything.”

- (42b.) Cataphoric:  
 Mɔ-ɔnyé ee-me áŋa ma-ámé  
 c6a-money c6a-DEM be c6a-1s  
 “That money is mine.”

The demonstrative pronouns/adjectives also have a three-way distance distinction in Nɔmaande, marked by the tone of the pronoun and by a suffix. The demonstrative form with rising tone means 'this' (close by), and low tones on the demonstrative mean 'that' (at some distance), and the form with an extra suffix –enyíé means 'that over there' (at an even greater distance). For example:

(43) **oóci** 'this'

**ooci** 'that'

**oocinyíé** 'that over there'

A demonstrative pronoun/adjective functions as a pronoun when it does not occur in conjunction with a noun. For example:

(44a.) **o-túmbe oó-cí**  
 c3-stick DEM-c3  
 “This is a walking stick.”

(44b.) **té cá-ŋa oo-ci-nyíé**  
 NG 3s-is DEM-c3-DIS  
 “It is not that one over there.”

#### 4.4.5 Emphatic pronouns

The emphatic pronouns in Nɔmaande are as follows:

1s <b>yaŋó</b>	1p <b>basó</b>
2s <b>kuŋó</b>	2p <b>banó</b>
3s <b>wuúci</b>	3p <b>beébe</b>

The forms of all but the first and second person singular pronouns are identical with the form of the object pronouns. The emphatic pronouns are used for topicalization and appear to the left of the main constituents of the clause. For example:

(45a.) **Beébe, bá-bóŋa na mɔɔnyé; yaŋó, ɛ te á bá na mɔɔnyé.**  
 3p-EMPH 3p-be with money 1s-EMPH 1s NG T/A be with money  
 “They are the ones with money; me, I don't have any money.”

(45b.) **Wuúci, i ŋe mí wuúci léne buéŋí.**  
 3s-EMPH 1s T/A 1s 3s like much  
 “Him, I like (him) a lot.”

They are also used to specify combinations of persons, either in the subject or object position. For example:

(45c.) **Tu ké su séŋínyínyi na yaŋó na kuŋó**  
 1p F2 1p race with me with you  
 “You and I, we will race together.”

#### 4.4.6 Relative pronouns

In Nɔmaandɛ, the relative pronouns consist of the relative marker **a-** plus a noun class concord marker which agrees with the noun class of the head noun. The relative pronoun follows the head noun and directly precedes the relative clause. Constituents that can be relativized in Nɔmaandɛ are the subject, object, locative NP, temporal NP, and possessor. An example of each is given below.

(46a.) Subject: **Ɔɔcɔ awó náŋa waá bɛ́námábákɛna bɔ́sɔ́kɔ́ baacɔ́...**  
 c1-man REL-c1 HAB 3s RE-hides c2-other c2-people  
 “The man who hides himself from other people...”

(46b.) Object:  
**Sɔ́kɔ́ a wu-mɔ́tɛ́ u ŋaá bá ne hí-íyí hi-siŋítí a-hé u ŋaá bá u ŋɔ**  
 c1-other REL c1-one 3s P3 be with c19-POSS:3s c19-strategy REL-c19 3s P3 be 3s P3

**lɔ́ŋ-ɛna bɛ-tana.**

call-BN c8-monkeys

“The other one had his strategy that he used for calling monkeys.”

(46c.) Locative:

**Ci-ínú ŋé súɛ́tɛ e e-kumbé a-yé o-ónjú o-kenyi ŋaá bá ɔ́fianénánɔ́.**  
 c9-turtle T/A go LOC c7-room REL-c7 c1-woman c1-stranger T/A be lying down  
 “Turtle went into the room where the new wife was lying down.”

(46d.) Temporal: **A-yé tɔ́ ŋa sɔ́ bɛ́túáhákɛna bulunde, tu ŋé súɛ́tɛ.**  
 REL-c7 1p T/A 1p carry (tree name) 1p T/A go  
 “When we had carried the tree (bark), we left.”

It should be noted that the temporal example demonstrates what happens in the majority of the temporal relative clause examples. The relative clause is 'headless'. The relative pronoun in this case varies between **ayé**, **ahé**, and **ahá**.

(46e.) Possessor:

**Ɔ-ɔcɔ a-wó ɔ-hɔ́sɔ́ ŋaá bɛ́-kátá a nú-áyé nu-kolí ŋé bísíɛmunyiki...**  
 c1-man REL-c1 c3-monkey T/A RE-cut LOC c11-3s c11-rope T/A fix eyes  
 “The man whose monkey cut himself in his trap looked closely...”

This last example is the only one found till now of a relativized possessor. All the preceding examples are restrictive relative clauses.

Non-restrictive relative clauses in Nɔmaandɛ are limited to those restating known information. For example:

(47) **Bandómesé awó áŋa wa-áŋá...**  
 God REL-c1 is c1-great  
 “God who is great...”

For more information on the use of relative clauses in Nɔmaandɛ narrative discourse, refer to the paper by Wilkendorf on this topic, listed in the bibliography.



#### 4.4.7 Anaphoric pronoun/adjective

In Nɔmaandɛ discourse, there is a special anaphoric pronoun/adjective which is used, although the deictic adjectives can also be used anaphorically. More study still needs to be done on the discourse level function of this special anaphoric adjective. This special usage could be a way for Nɔmaandɛ to express the concept of the definite article since the nouns thus marked have always been referred to previously. This pronoun/adjective, **-átɛ́**, takes a noun class prefix which agrees with the noun class of the referent (see section 4.1.2 on noun classes for the complete list of prefixes). For example:

(48a.) **ci-átɛ́ ɛ-nyama**  
C9-that c9-animal  
“that animal”

(48b.) **wa-átɛ́ ɔ-ɔcɔ**  
c1-that c1-person  
“that man”

(48c.) **I ti ɲée menyɪ ci-átɛ́**  
1s NG T/A know c9-that  
“I do not know that one.” (previously referred to)

This pronoun/adjective cum definite article can also be used as an independent demonstrative pronoun. For example:

(48d.) **I ti ɲée menyɪ ci-átɛ́**  
1s NG T/A know c9-that  
“I don't know that (one).”

#### 4.4.8 Indefinite pronoun/adjective

There are two indefinite pronouns/adjectives used in Nɔmaandɛ narrative discourse: **ɔmɔ́tɛ́**, 'one', and **etɛ́mbí**, 'other'. These are used to introduce new participants into a story. As an indefinite pronoun, the Nɔmaandɛ word **ɔmɔ́tɛ́**, 'one', takes on the meaning of 'some' or 'someone'. It is used in a relative noun phrase consisting of Noun + REL + ncl-**mɔ́tɛ́** (noun stem of the number 'one'). The noun class prefix that concords with the class of the head noun is attached to **-mɔ́tɛ́**, 'one'. For example:

(49a.) **ɔ-ɔcɔ a wɔ́-mɔ́tɛ́**  
c1-person REL c1-one  
“someone”

(49b.) **ba-acɔ a bá-mɔ́tɛ́**  
c2-person REL c2-one  
“some people”

The word **etɛ́mbí**, 'other', also has the meaning of 'empty'. It occurs in a noun phrase of Noun + Indef. PN, connected by an associative marker. For example:

(50a.) **ɔ-ɔcɔ u etɛ́mbí**  
c1-person AMc1 other  
“another person”

(50b.) **ba-acɔ bé etɛ́mbí**  
c2-person AMc2 other  
“other people”

#### 4.4.9 Interrogative pronouns

The default position of simple interrogative pronouns is sentence-initial, but they can occur sentence-final for reasons of emphasis. The common interrogative pronouns in Nǝmaandɛ are as follows:

**Aáté** 'what?'  
**Aányé** 'who?'  
**Nyíényi** 'when?'  
**Háányɛ** 'where?'  
**Anyána** 'how?'  
**Anyiaté** 'why?'

The interrogative “why?” can also be expressed by the associative noun construction of **asana í yaáté**, literally 'affair of what'. This construction is also used for interrogatives of identification (“which?”). For example:

(51a.) **Bɔ-sóma bú yaáté ɔ ŋɔ -ʒ faaya ɔ-kɛla e**  
c14-errand c14 what 2s T/A 2s come INF-to do Q  
“Which errand did you come to do?”

For interrogatives of quantity (“how many?” or “how much?”), the interrogative adjective **ényi** follows the referent and it carries the noun prefix which agrees with the noun class of this referent. For example:

(51b.) **Bɛ-tana bi-ényi e**  
c8-monkey c8-how many Q  
“How many monkeys?”

### 4.5 Numerals

Numerals in Nǝmaandɛ can be divided into three categories: cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals, and numerals used for counting money.

#### 4.5.1 Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numbers in Nǝmaandɛ have prefixes which agree with the noun class of the head noun. The following chart only gives the default form of these numbers (classes 1 and 2). The numerals 11-14 are expressed by using 'ten and one', 'ten and two', etc., while the numerals 16-19 are expressed by using '15 and one', '15 and two', etc.

Chart 11 Cardinal Numerals

One	<b>ɔmɔ́tɛ́</b>	15	<b>buunyi</b>
Two	<b>béfendí</b>	20	<b>nyítíne</b>
Three	<b>bátátó</b>	30	<b>nyítíne na bóshátá</b> (=20 and 10)
Four	<b>bényíse</b>	40	<b>etíne éfendí</b> (=20 x 2)
Five	<b>bátáánɔ</b>	50	<b>etíne éfendí imbuke</b> <b>císhátá</b> (=40 plus 10)
Six	<b>bétíndétú</b>	60	<b>etíne átátó</b> (=20 x 3)
Seven	<b>bétíndétú nómɔ</b> (=6+1)	70	<b>etíne átátó imbuke</b> <b>císhátá</b> (=60 plus 10)
Eight	<b>bánámányɛ</b>	80	<b>etíne ényíse</b> (=20 x 4)
Nine	<b>bánámányɛ nómɔ</b> (=8+1)	90	<b>etíne ényíse imbuke</b> <b>císhátá</b> (=80 plus 10)
Ten	<b>bóshátá</b>	100	<b>etíne átáánó</b> (=20 x 5)

In consequence, the numeral 200 would be expressed by using 20 x 10, and 300 would be 20 x 15, etc. Nomaandɛ does have a unique name for the numeral 400, however (based on a system of counting all fingers and toes - 20 - and then multiplying by 20): **hɛɛɔ**, '400'. The concord of cardinal numerals with the head noun goes from 1-14, while the number '15' is invariable. But then the concord occurs again for the numerals following '15': **buunyi na ɔmɔ́tɛ́**, '16', **buunyi ne b́éfendí**, '17', **buunyi na bátátó**, '18', and **buunyi ne b́ényíse**, '19'. The numeral '20' is also invariable, but the numerals '21-29' show concord with the head noun. In the same way, the plural of '20' is also invariable and the word translated 'plus': **imbuke**, requires a class 9 concord for what follows. Therefore, concord with the head noun is no longer present. For example:

(52a.) **Yaméŋa na tu-ɔŋɔ buunyi.**

1s-be with c13-years fifteen  
 "I am 15 years old."

(52b.) **Yaméŋa ne be-nyínyí b́é-nyíse.**

1s-be with c2-siblings c2-four  
 "I have four brothers and sisters."

(52c.) **Ci-ame meemé waáŋá áŋa na tu-ɔŋɔ e-tíne é-nyíse i-imbuke cí-šhátá**  
 c9-POSS:1s c9-grandmother is with c13-years c6-twenty c6-four c9-plus c9-ten

**ne tú-nyíse.**

and c13-four

"My grandmother is 94 years old."

#### 4.5.2 Ordinal numerals

The ordinal numerals in Nomaande make use of the cardinal ones with the exception of the numerals 'first' and 'second' which are expressed as 'of front' and 'of to follow' respectively. In addition, an associative marker comes between the head noun and the ordinal numeral that agrees with the noun class of the head noun. The following chart gives the first 10 ordinal numerals for the noun classes 1 and 2.

*Chart 12 Ordinal Numerals*

first	<b>u buúse</b>	sixth	<b>u bétíndétú</b>
second	<b>u oláta</b>	Seventh	<b>u bétíndétú nóomɔ</b>
third	<b>u bátátó</b>	eighth	<b>u bánámánye</b>
fourth	<b>u bényíse</b>	ninth	<b>u bánámánye nóomɔ</b>
fifth	<b>u bátáánó</b>	tenth	<b>u bóóháta</b>

(53a.) **E-lilé yé bɔ-sóma yí bi-lilé bí-nyíse** 'the fourth angel'  
 c7-spirit AMc7 c8-errand AMc7 c8-spirit c8-four

(53b.) **o-oki ú bá-námánye nóomɔ** 'the ninth house'  
 c3-house AMc3 c4-nine (eight + one)

#### 4.5.3 Numerals for counting money

Nomaande uses the borrowed term **tóla**, 'dollar' to count money in units of five francs per "tóla". Thus, 50F would be expressed as **tóla císháta** in Nomaande (literally, '5 x 10'), and 100F would be **tóla nyitíne**, '5 x 20'. However, when dealing with units of 100F, the common term for 100 is another borrowed word: **hóndéte**, 'hundred'. With units of 1000, the borrowed word used is **tósénd**, 'thousand'. Examples for expressing other money amounts are given below:

(54) **hóndéte inyíse** 'four hundred'

**tósénd étáánó** 'five thousand'



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