



Mandenkan

Bulletin semestriel d'études linguistiques mandé

57 | 2017

Numéro 57

Field Notes on Kono, a Southwestern Mande Lect of Forest Guinea

Notes de terrain sur le kono, une vari

été du groupe mandé sud-ouest,

Guinée Forestière

ПОЛЕВЫЕ ЗАМЕТКИ О КОНО, ИДИОМЕ ЮГО-ЗАПАДНОЙ ГРУППЫ МАНДЕ, ЛЕСНАЯ ГВИНЕЯ

Maria Konoshenko



Electronic version

URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/mandenkan/1092>

DOI: 10.4000/mandenkan.1092

ISSN: 2104-371X

Publisher

INALCO

ELECTRONIC REFERENCE

Maria Konoshenko, « **Field Notes on Kono, a Southwestern Mande Lect of Forest Guinea** », *Mandenkan* [Online], 57 | 2017, Online since 14 December 2017, connection on 31 January 2020. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/mandenkan/1092> ; DOI : 10.4000/mandenkan.1092

This text was automatically generated on 31 January 2020.



Les contenus de *Mandenkan* sont mis à disposition selon les termes de la Licence Creative Commons Attribution - Pas d'Utilisation Commerciale - Partage dans les Mêmes Conditions 4.0 International.

Field Notes on Kono, a Southwestern Mande Lect of Forest Guinea¹

Notes de terrain sur le kono, une vari

*été du groupe mandé sud-ouest,
Guinée Forestière*

*ПОЛЕВЫЕ ЗАМЕТКИ О КОНО, ИДИОМЕ ЮГО-ЗАПАДНОЙ ГРУППЫ МАНДЕ, ЛЕСНАЯ
ГВИНЕЯ*

Maria Konoshenko

1. Introduction

- 1 The Kono (knu) lect described here belongs to Southwestern Mande group. It is one of minority lects of the Republic of Guinea, not to be confused with Kono of Sierra Leone (kno, Kono-Vai group). Kono is spoken by ca. 90 000 people in Lola Prefecture located in the eastern part of Forest Guinea, bordering the Ivory Coast and Liberia.
- 2 Kono is a member of the Kpelle macro-language also comprising Guinean Kpelle (gkp) and Liberian Kpelle (xpe). Since their taxonomic status is somewhat controversial, I use the terms “lect”/“variety” to refer to these three language forms. However, as I demonstrate in this sketch, Kono is lexically and grammatically distinct enough to be considered a separate language. To date, no descriptions of Kono are available.
- 3 Though it is undoubtedly a Southwestern Mande lect, Kono has some phonological and syntactic properties shared with neighbouring Southern Mande languages, e.g., first vowel elision in CVLV structures and obligatory pronominal doubling of definite noun phrases.
- 4 The data presented here were collected at several sessions with two speakers of Kono, Sèni Doré (born in 1965) and Bala Bamba (born in 1956) during my field trips to the

Republic of Guinea in 2009 and 2014, where I primarily worked on Guinean Kpelle as my primary area of research. I am also very grateful to Souanan Doré and Jean Gbemou, both native speakers of Kono, as well as two anonymous reviewers for their useful comments and corrections.

- 5 Guinean Kpelle data mentioned in this paper are based on my own field materials; they pertain to the *hɔ̀ɔ̀kwèlě* variety of Guinean Kpelle spoken in Nzérékoré, the capital of Forest Guinea, which I assume to be the “basic” Guinean Kpelle dialect. All information concerning Liberian Kpelle is taken from Welmers (1962), Leidenfrost and McKey (2005). Other sources on Guinean and Liberian Kpelle are mentioned in the references.
- 6 The following are some general typological properties of Kono:
 - There are seven oral vowels and five nasal vowels.
 - There are labiovelar /kp/, /gb/, /ɲm/, labialized /kw/, /gw/, /hw/, /ɲw/ and implosive /ɓ/ consonants, among others.
 - Initial consonants make up a system of morphophonemic alternations with binary contrast for sonorants and three-way contrast for obstruents.
 - There is a binary H vs. L tone system with contextual mid tone, H tone spread, tone polarity, downstep and downdrift.
 - Basic word order is S Aux O V X.
 - There are three types of possessive constructions distinguishing between kinship terms, body parts names and free nouns.
 - There is inclusive vs. exclusive distinction in person markers.
 - TAM markers in the auxiliary slot inflect for person and number and generally co-occur with lexical subjects.

2. Segmental phonology

Table 1. Vowels

Oral			Nasal		
Front	Central	Back rounded	Front	Central	Back rounded
<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɟ</i>	<i>ɥ</i>
<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>			
<i>ɛ</i>		<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ɛ̃</i>		<i>ɔ̃</i>
	<i>a</i>			<i>ɑ̃</i>	

COMMENT: WORD FINAL /ɲ/ IS TREATED AS A VOWEL BECAUSE IT CARRIES TONE.

Table 2. Consonants

	Labial	Coronal	Palatal	Velar	Labiovelar	Labialized	Glottal
Voiceless stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>kp</i>	<i>kw</i>	

Voiced stops	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	<i>gb</i>	<i>gw</i>	
Implosives	<i>ɓ</i>						
Voiceless fricatives						<i>hw</i>	<i>h</i>
Voiced fricatives	<i>v</i>			<i>ʒ</i>			
Voiced affricates		<i>dz / z</i>					
Oral sonorants		<i>r, l</i>	<i>y</i>		<i>w</i>		
Nasal sonorants	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ɲm</i>	<i>ɲw</i>	

Comments: 1) [dz] and [z] are variants of the same phoneme.

2) /ɲm/, /nw/ and initial /ŋ/ segments only appear as a result of initial consonant alternation (2.4), they do not occur in lexical representations.

2.1. Alveolar flap /ɾ/

- 7 Kono has alveolar flap /ɾ/ occurring intervocally, represented here as *r* for typographic simplicity. Intervocalic /ɾ/ and /l/ are contrastive after word-initial labials, velars, labiovelars and labialized consonants, but only /ɾ/ occurs after word-initial coronal and palatal consonants. This restriction suggests that there are elements of consonant harmony, or “homoresonance” in Kono, which is also attested in Southern Mande languages (Le Saout 1979; Bearth 1992), but not in other Kpelle lects. In Liberian Kpelle, etymological contrast between /ɾ/ and /l/ is preserved after all initial consonants, and in Guinean Kpelle these two phonemes merged into /l/. Consider the series of cognates in Table 3; cf. also Table 4 below.

Table 3. Intervocalic /ɾ/ and /l/.

Kono	Liberian Kpelle	Guinean Kpelle	Meaning
<i>péɾé</i>	<i>péɾé</i>	<i>péllé</i>	‘house’
<i>kéɾéɲ</i>	<i>kéɾéɲ</i>	<i>kélléɲ</i>	‘burn’
<i>kéllé</i>	<i>kéllè</i>	<i>kéllé</i>	‘beat’
<i>kplá</i>	<i>kpálá</i>	<i>kpálá</i>	‘be dry’
<i>yírê</i>	<i>yíllà</i>	<i>yíllè</i>	‘dog’
<i>léré</i>	<i>léllé</i>	<i>léllé</i>	‘good’

2.2. Vowel elision in stems with intervocalic /l/

- 8 In stems with intervocalic /l/ such as CVIV, CVIVŋ, CVIVV etc., the first vowel is often dropped in Kono. CIV and similar structures are not attested in other Kpelle varieties but they are typical for neighbouring Southern Mande languages, e.g., Dan-Gwεεtaa (Vydrine & Kességbeu 2008) and Kla-Dan (Makeeva 2012). Consider the series of cognates in Table 4.

Table 4. Vowel elision in CVIV and similar structures.

Kono	Liberian Kpelle	Guinean Kpelle	Meaning
<i>klóló</i>	<i>kólóló</i>	<i>kólóló</i>	'know'
<i>kpǎ</i>	<i>kpǎlǎ</i>	<i>kpǎlǎ</i>	'drink'
<i>ɓlálá</i>	<i>ɓálá</i>	<i>ɓélálá</i>	'sheep'

2.3. Vowel shortening

- 9 CV₁V₁ stems with identical vowels, as well as stem initial CV₁V₁- structures in non-monosyllabic stems are shortened in Kono; cf. Table 5.

Table 5. CV₁V₁ shortening.

Kono	Liberian Kpelle	Guinean Kpelle	Meaning
<i>ká</i>	<i>káá</i>	<i>káá</i>	'see'
<i>hě</i>	<i>sěě</i>	<i>hěě</i>	'sit'
<i>hwèrě</i>	<i>fěērě</i>	<i>hwèlě</i>	'two'

2.4. Initial consonant alternation

- 10 As in other Kpelle lects, initial consonants make up a system of alternations in Kono.

(1)	p→m/b	t→n/d	k→ŋ/g	kw→ŋw/gw	kp→ŋm/gb	hw→nv/v	h→ɲ/dz
	ɓ→m	l→n	y→ɲ	w→ŋw			

- 11 The alternation appears as a result of the voicing and nasalization of non-nasal consonants (given to the left) in *NC sequences. Lexical obstruents, e.g., /p/, alternate with nasal and non-nasal voiced alternants, e.g., /m/ and /b/. Non-obstruents, e.g., implosive /ɓ/, alternate with nasals, e.g., /m/.

- 12 This process has been morphologized for 1SG **ɲ*- and 3SG **ɲ̣*- pronominal prefixes² encoding verb and postposition complements, inalienable possessors and single arguments in stative-resultative construction (6.17). 1SG and 3SG pronouns are realized as initial consonant alternation with high in 1SG or low in 3SG tone modifying lexical tone; for further details concerning tone, cf. section 3.6.
- 13 In stems with initial lexical obstruents, the nasal alternant appears in 1SG while voiced non-nasal appears in 3SG, e.g., for lexical /h/ in *hɔŋɔ* ‘nose’: *é-hɔŋɔ* ‘your nose’, *ɲɔŋɔ* ‘my nose’, *dzɔŋɔ* ‘his nose’; for lexical /k/ in *kɔɔɔ* ‘leg’: *é-kɔɔɔ* ‘your leg’, *ɲɔɔɔ* ‘my leg’, *gɔɔɔ* ‘his leg’³. Though this requires further phonetic investigation, in stems with initial lexical non-obstruents, /b, l, y, w/, as well as those with initial lexical nasals /m, n, ɲ, ŋw/⁴, the initial nasal is pronounced slightly longer in both 1SG and 3SG forms, with high or low tone depending on the pronoun, e.g., *é-lèě* ‘your mother’ with initial lexical /l/, but *nèè* ‘my mother’ – *nèě* ‘his mother’; for lexical /ɲ/ in *ɲíni* ‘breast’: *é-ɲíni* ‘your breast’, *ɲíni* ‘my breast’, *ɲìni* ‘her breast’.
- 14 The alternation also occurs synchronically following a word final nasal /ŋ/. In this case, the /ŋ/ is deleted and the following word appears with a nasal initial consonant, e.g., *ɲíɲ kɔ̀ɔ̀* [ɲí ɲɔ̀ɔ̀] ‘tooth’, lit. ‘teeth bone’.

3. Tone

- 15 There is a binary H vs. L contrast with occasional contextual M in Kono. The two tonal elements H and L make up five basic fixed lexical patterns or melodies: /H/, /L(H)/, /LHL/, /HL/, /L/, as shown in (2) for CVCV structures (however, longer structures, e.g., CVCVCV, have no restrictions on tone combinations).
- 16 (2) /H/ *kɔɔɔ* ‘leg’
- 17 /L(H)/ *hùyǒ* ‘meat’
- 18 /HL/ *yírê* ‘dog’
- 19 /LHL/ *yɔ̀wâ* ‘axe’
- 20 /L/ *ɲàlè* ‘cat’
- 21 I adopt the following conventions in this paper. Tonal melodies are given in slashes: the /H/ melody. Tonal elements comprising tonal melodies are written without brackets: H tone. Surface realizations are given in square brackets. Hyphens mark a syllable boundary in surface representations when needed, e.g., /HL/ is realized as [H-HL] on CVCV as in *yírê* ‘dog’.
- 22 (H) represents an underlying floating H, which always follows a linked L in an /L(H)/ melody. It is marked with háček on final vowel in the orthography: *pǎ* ‘to kill’, *hùyǒ* ‘meat’, *mǎɲ* ‘hear’. Phonetically, /L(H)/ is realized as low level tone; I mark it as [L°] in the surface transcription. For the sake of clarity, the conventions for /L(H)/ are represented in (3):

(3)	Underlying:	/pa/	Orthographic:	<i>pǎ</i>	Surface:	[pǎ°]	(level L)

		L	H					
--	--	---	---	--	--	--	--	--

- 23 (L) is a floating low tone that is specific for person markers encoding alienable possession – see 3.2 and 4.1. It is marked with a ` sign after the stem.
- 24 The /HL/ pattern is realized as [H-HL] on CVCV stems and as [H-L] on CVV stems.
- 25 The following tonal rules exist in Kono: downdrift (3.1), downstep (3.2), contour simplification (3.3), tonal polarity (3.4) and H spread (3.5). I discuss the propagation of prefixal high and low tones in 3.6.

3.1. Downdrift

- 26 Downdrift is a general phonetic phenomenon whereby every next high tone is pronounced lower after a low tone and every next low tone is pronounced lower after a high tone, e.g., *Héni àà pá bɔ̀* [Héni àà pā bɔ̀] ‘Hɛni has come here’.

3.2. Downstep

- 27 Downstep occurs when high tone is pronounced lower after a low tone, which in turn, is deleted. This occurs at least in three types of phonetic environments in Kono.
- 28 First, downstep takes place after a falling contour on word final syllable [-HL] in /HL/ and /LHL/ melodies; final L of the contour is then deleted; cf. contour simplification in 3.3. This is shown in (4).
- 29 (4) -HL + /H/ → [-H] + ![H]: /yírê ká/ → [yíré 'ká] ‘to see a dog’
- 30 This type of downstep is also attested in Guinean Kpelle (cf. Konoshenko 2014).
- 31 The second type of downstep is unique to Kono; it is attested on ClV(ɲ) stems with an elided vowel (see 2.2) and bearing lexical /H/ melody. In such stems, H tone is downstepped in alternated prefixal 3sg forms described in 2.4, e.g., for lexical *klóɲ* ‘know’ in (5-6):
- 32 (5) [ɲá Héni klóɲ] ‘I know Hɛni’.
- 33 (6) [ɲá !glóɲ] ‘I know him/her’.
- 34 There is no downstep in (5), where the verb appears in its lexical form. In (6), H tone of the verb with 3sg object prefix is downstepped. I assume that this form is underlyingly /*gòlóɲ/, which is how it is actually realized in Guinean Kpelle. The downstep occurs after the first vowel is elided⁵.
- 35 Finally, downstep occurs after alienable possessive markers. Except for the 3sg marker with only linked L given in (7), they all bear linked H and presumably, floating (L) triggering downstep on the following noun with /H/, as in (8); cf. also 5.1.
- 36 (7) /ɲò bláá/ → [ɲò bláá] ‘his sheep’
- 37 (8) /ɲ` bláá/ → [ɲ' bláá] ‘my sheep’

3.3. Contour simplification

- 38 Contour simplification is a process whereby any word final (i.e., linked to word final syllable) falling sequence HL becomes [H] before another tone.
- 39 When word final -HL is followed by L, which may be /L/, /L(H)/ or /LHL/, its L is absorbed into the following L (9).
- 40 (9) -HL + /L/ → [H] + [L]: /yírê kà/ → [yíré kà] ‘saw a dog’
- 41 When followed by H - /H/ or /HL/, final L of the contour is deleted and the following H is downstepped (cf. 3.2).⁶ Since contours are always simplified before H or L, they only occur utterance finally or in isolation.

3.4. Tonal polarity

- 42 Tonal polarity is a property of resultative person markers (sections 4.3, 6.7). Their tone is always the opposite of the following tone, as shown in (10-11).
- 43 (10) [àà pá] ‘he has come’
- 44 (11) [áá hè] ‘he sat down’
- 45 The tone of adverb *nii* ‘yet’, used in negative resultative construction (6.8) and of the future marker *kɛɛ* (6.12) is the opposite of the preceding tone:

(12)	[hó	nii	pá-nî]
	2SG.B.NEG	yet	come-STAT

- 46 ‘You have not come yet’.

(13)	[hò	nii	pá-nî]
	3SG.B.NEG	yet	come-STAT

- 47 ‘(S)he has not come yet’.
- 48 Thus, both progressive and regressive polarity is attested in Kono.

3.5. H spread

- 49 Linked H tone of /H/ spreads on the following /L/ melody, which becomes [HL], as shown in (14). The domain of this rule is a syntactic constituent: verb phrase, noun phrase and postpositional phrase.
- 50 (14) /H/ + /L/ → [H] + [HL]: /ɓláá kà/ → [ɓláá kâ] ‘saw a sheep’⁷
- 51 However, there is no expected change after floating (H) in /L(H)/:
- 52 (15) /L(H)/ + /L/ → [L] + [L]: /wòlǒ tò/ → [wòlò tò] ‘sang a song’

- 53 H tone, either linked in /H/ or floating in /L(H)/, also affects the immediately following /L(H)/ melody, though only in the verb phrase. In this case, the tone of the verb becomes higher than flat low, but lower than high. I label it “contextual mid-tone”:⁸
- 54 (16) /H/ + /L(H)/ → [H] + [M]: /bláá hèχě/ → [bláá hēχē] ‘to take a sheep’
- 55 (17) /L(H)/ + /L(H)/ → [L] + [M]: /wòlǒ tǒ/ → [wòlò tō] ‘to sing a song’

3.6. Surface realization of 1SG and 3SG tone prefixes

- 56 1SG person prefix is marked by consonant alternation and prefixal⁹ high tone (cf. 2.4). Prefixal high tone is born by initial nasal alternant and also spreads on stem, partly replacing its tone. Prefixal H spreads vacuously on stems with initial H: kóχó ‘leg’ – [ńóχó] ‘my leg’. All /L/ stems and nouns with lexical /L(H)/ switch to /HL/: ńàmǎ ‘blood’ – [ńámâ] ‘my blood’. Verbs with lexical /L(H)/ receive contextual M. Interestingly, resultative person markers, which undergo tonal polarization (3.4), are realized with H in this case: for wǎǎ ‘wash’ [áá ńwǎǎ] ‘he washed me’, similar to [áá ńwǎǎ̀] ‘he washed him(self)’. Thus, resultative markers ignore prefixal tone and polarize against the stem tone, which functions similarly to phonological L.
- 57 3SG person prefix is marked by consonant alternation and prefixal low tone (cf. 2.4). For stems with initial lexical non-obstruents /b, l, y, w/ and nasals, prefixal low tone is realized on initial nasal alternant in 3SG form. Stems with initial lexical obstruents have non-nasal alternants in 3SG form; cf. 2.4. Prefixal low tone spreads vacuously on stems with initial L, e.g., ńàmǎ ‘blood’ – [ńàmǎ̀] ‘his/her blood’ and it changes lexical /H/ to /L(H)/: kóχó ‘leg’ – [gòχò] ‘his/her leg’. However, ClV stems with /H/ patterns are downstepped in this case (cf. 3.2).

3.7. Morphologically assigned tones as input to surface rules

- 58 Tonal rules apply on lexical tones as well as on morphologically assigned tones. For example, in (17) above, the verb tǒ ‘fall’ has lexical /L(H)/ melody. In (15) the verb is assigned a replacive /L/ tonal morpheme, completely overriding lexical tones in past construction (see section 6 on basic TAM constructions). Both lexical and – in specific constructions – grammatical melodies serve as input or underlying structure in the case of phonological operations discussed in this section. In the following, I mark underlying tones in language examples, except for forms with 1SG and 3SG prefixes and those few cases where I am unsure about underlying tones.

4. Person markers

- 59 There are several morphosyntactic types of person markers in Kono: strong pronouns (4.1), person indexes (4.2), predicative (4.3), possessive (4.4), locative (4.5) and conjunctive (4.6) person markers. The general property of all these types is the difference between exclusive and inclusive forms, which is also characteristic of Guinean Kpelle but is not attested in Liberian Kpelle.

4.1. Strong pronouns

- 60 Strong (free, emphatic) pronouns are the only type of person markers in Kono that can be regarded as pronouns *sensu stricto*. They are used in focus constructions, with copulas and as second conjuncts in noun phrase coordination (5.6).

Table 6. Strong pronouns.

1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl.excl	1pl.incl	2pl	3pl
ɲá	βíé	yà	nɔ́wá	gɔ́wá	káá	dɔ́wá

4.2. Person indexes

- 61 Person indexes encode verb and postposition complements, inalienable possessors and single arguments in stative-resultative construction (cf. 6.17); 1SG and 3SG markers are realized as initial consonant alternation with high and low tone, respectively (cf. 2.4, 3.6). They do not co-occur with full noun phrases in the same syntactic position, except for possessive construction with kinship terms (5.1), or in cases when the noun phrase has a definite marker (5.4), or the noun phrase is encoded by person index with quantifier *hɛ́nɛ́* ‘all’ (5.5), or when there are conjoint noun phrases (5.6).

Table 7. Person indexes.

1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl.excl	1pl.incl	2pl	3pl
(ɲ-)	é-	(ɲ-)	nũ-	gũ-	ká-	dũ-

4.3. Predicative person markers

- 62 Predicative person markers, often called subject pronouns, are portmanteau forms encoding person-number and TAM meanings. Historically, they appeared as a result of fusion between person markers with auxiliaries or predicative markers. Crucially, most such markers co-occur with subject noun phrases in the same clause; they function as local agreement markers if there is an overt subject noun phrase (18) and as anaphoric markers without an overt subject (19). Therefore, I label them predicative person markers rather than subject pronouns.

(18)	Gɔ́pú	aa	pá.
	Gɔpu	3SG.RES	come

63 ‘Gopu has come’.

(19)	<i>Aa</i>	<i>pá.</i>
	3SG.RES	come

64 ‘(S)he has come’.

65 In all TAM constructions where they appear, basic negative person markers do not co-occur with full lexical 3SG subjects containing no definiteness marker. In (20), a default negative marker is used that is underlyingly toneless; in (21), a basic negative person marker is used after a lexical subject with definiteness marker *-kí*. In (22), basic negative person marker is used anaphorically.

(20)	<i>HÉní</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>é-klóǵ.</i>		
	HEni	NEG	2SG-know		

66 ‘HEni doesn’t know you’.

(21)	<i>Lóhòrò-kí</i>	<i>hò</i>	<i>HÉní</i>	<i>klóǵ.</i>
	child-DEF	3SG.NEG	HEni	know

67 ‘The child doesn’t know HEni’.

(22)	<i>Hò</i>	<i>é-klóǵ.</i>		
	3SG.NEG	2SG-know		

68 ‘(S)he doesn’t know you’.

69 The difference between the uninflected default marker and 3SG marker is that the tone of the former is spread from the subject (cf. 23-24), while the latter always surfaces with low tone. Thus, the default negative marker is inherently toneless in Kono (cf. *hó* in Guinean Kpelle, *fě* in Liberian Kpelle).

(23)	<i>Pépeè</i>	<i>[hò]</i>	<i>HÉní</i>	<i>klóǵ.</i>
	Pepee	NEG	HEni	know

70 ‘Pepee doesn’t know HEni’.

(24)	Yàrà̀mɔ́	[hó]	HÉní	klɔ́j̄.
	Yaramɔ	NEG	HEni	know

71 ‘Yaramɔ doesn’t know HEni’.

72 Basic negative person markers are used with overt subjects in 3PL (25), as well as with singular noun phrases bearing a definite marker as shown above (5.4), noun phrases encoded by person index with quantifier *héné* ‘all’ (5.5) and conjoint noun phrases (5.6).

(25)	Márá̀ŋàà	dùhó	é-klɔ́j̄.
	1SG\friend.PL	3PL.NEG	2SG-know

73 ‘My friends do not know you’.

(26)	Dùhó	é-klɔ́j̄.
	3PL.NEG	2SG-know

74 ‘They do not know you’.

75 Neutral person markers (6.15) have the same rules of co-occurrence with lexical subjects.

76 Existential person markers, which are used in non-verbal predication, e.g., for localization, as well as in affirmative progressive verbal construction (6.9), do not co-occur with full noun phrases in subject position (27-28), except for noun phrases with definite markers (5.4), noun phrases encoded by person index with quantifier *héné* ‘all’ (5.5) and conjoint noun phrases (5.6).

(27)	HÉní	ká	nɔ́ɔ́	yírí-nî.
	HEni	be	sauce	cook-STAT

77 ‘HEni is cooking a sauce’.

(28)	Gá	nɔ́ɔ́	yírí-nî.
	3SG.EXI	sauce	cook-STAT

78 ‘She is cooking a sauce’.

79 It should be noted that the paradigm of existential markers is made up of person markers and two different predicators, *ká* and *nà*. Interestingly, *ká* occurs with low tone

person markers and *nà* with high tone person markers (cf. table 8). However, only the *nà* marker is used in negative progressive construction (6.10).

80 A full paradigm of predicative person markers in Kono is given in table 8.

Table 8. Predicative person markers.

	Series	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL.EXCL	1PL.INCL	2PL	3PL
Affirmative	I. Basic positive	<i>ɲá ~ ɲ</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>nǔ</i>	<i>gǔ</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>ɗǔ</i>
	II. Resultative ¹⁰	<i>naa</i>	<i>baa</i>	<i>aa</i>	<i>nwaa</i>	<i>gwaa</i>	<i>kaa</i>	<i>daa</i>
	III. Existential	<i>ɲnà</i>	<i>ɛnà</i>	<i>gá</i>	<i>nùká</i>	<i>gùká</i>	<i>kánà</i>	<i>dùká</i>
	IV. Future	<i>ɲgɛɛ</i>	<i>kɛɛ</i>	<i>wɛɛ</i>	<i>nùkɛ</i>	<i>gùkɛ</i>	<i>káká</i>	<i>dùkɛ</i>
	V. Imperative	–	<i>ø</i>	<i>ɓò</i>	–	<i>gò ~ kà gó</i>	<i>kà</i>	<i>dù</i>
	VI. Neutral	<i>ɲgɛ</i>	<i>kɛ</i>	<i>kè</i>	<i>nùkɛ</i>	<i>gùkɛ</i>	<i>káká</i>	<i>dùkɛ</i>
Negative	VI. Basic negative	<i>mó</i>	<i>hó</i>	<i>hò</i>	<i>nùhó</i>	<i>gùhó</i>	<i>káhó</i>	<i>dùhó</i>
	VII. Prohibitive	<i>máháá</i>	<i>háá</i>	<i>hàà</i>	<i>nùháá</i>	<i>gùháá</i>	<i>káháá</i>	<i>dùháá</i>
	VIII. Conditional	<i>nàà</i>	<i>bàà</i>	<i>àà</i>	<i>nwàà</i>	<i>gwàà</i>	<i>kàà</i>	<i>dàà</i>

81 The main affirmative and negative TAM constructions with predicative person markers are described in section 6.

4.4. Possessive person markers

82 Possessive person markers are used in alienable possessive construction. They function as deictic/anaphoric markers and co-occur with full noun phrases in the possessor position (cf. 5.1).

Table 9. Possessive person markers.

1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl.excl	1pl.incl	2pl	3pl
<i>ɲ`</i>	<i>wó`</i>	<i>ɲò, ɲ</i>	<i>nùá`</i>	<i>gùá`</i>	<i>káá`</i>	<i>dùá`</i>

4.5. Locative person markers

83 Locative person markers are fused with the locative postposition *ma* ‘on’. They function as deictic/anaphoric markers (30, 32) and co-occur with lexical complements, with some restrictions (29, 31).

- 84 Similarly to basic negative markers discussed in 4.3, locative person markers do not co-occur with singular full noun complements, except for noun phrases with definite markers (5.4), noun phrases encoded by person index with quantifier *hɛnɛ* ‘all’ (5.5) and conjoint noun phrases (5.6). A “default” uninflected form of the postposition is used following singular complements (29). Locative markers are optionally used with plural nouns as complements (31).

(29)	<i>Pépeè</i>	<i>wɔ́ɔ</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>Hɛní</i>	<i>ma</i> .	
	Pepee	love	be	Hɛni	on	

- 85 ‘Hɛni loves Pepee’.

(30)	<i>Pépeè</i>	<i>wɔ́ɔ</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>mà</i> .	
	Pepee	love	be	3SG.on	

- 86 ‘(S)he loves Pepee’.

(31)	<i>Pépeè</i>	<i>wɔ́ɔ</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>léɛplɛ̀ɛ̀-ɲàà</i>	<i>mà / dùmá</i> .	
	Pepee	love	be	child.PL-PL	on / 3PL.on	

- 87 ‘Children love Pepee’.

(32)	<i>Pépeè</i>	<i>wɔ́ɔ</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>dùmá</i> .	
	Pepee	love	be	3PL.on	

- 88 ‘They love Pepee’.

- 89 As with basic negative predicative and neutral person markers, the difference between the 3SG locative marker and the uninflected “default” marker is that the former always has low tone as in (33), while the tone of the latter is spread from the complement (cf. 34-35). Thus, *ma* is lexically toneless in Kono (cf. *ɓà* in Guinean Kpelle, *mà* in Liberian Kpelle).

(33)	<i>Baa</i>	<i>lɛ̀ɛ̀</i>	<i>lòhòrò-kí</i>	<i>[mà]</i> .
	2SG.RES	forget	child-DEF	3SG.on

- 90 ‘You forgot the child’.

(34)	<i>Baa</i>	<i>lɛ̀ǎ</i>	<i>Pépèè</i>	[<i>mà</i>].
	2SG.RES	forget	Pepee	on

91 ‘You forgot Pepee’.

(35)	<i>Baa</i>	<i>lɛ̀ǎ</i>	<i>Héni</i>	[<i>má</i>].
	2SG.RES	forget	HEni	on

92 ‘You forgot HEni’.

93 A full paradigm of locative person markers is given in Table 10.

Table 10. Locative person markers.

1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL.EXCL	1PL.INCL	2PL	3PL
<i>má</i>	<i>ǂíé</i>	<i>mà</i>	<i>nùmá</i>	<i>gùmá</i>	<i>kámá</i>	<i>dùmá</i>

4.6. Conjunctive person markers

94 Conjunctive person markers are used for noun phrase conjunction (see 5.6).

Table 11. Conjunctive person markers.

1SG+3	1PL+3	1+2	2+3	3+3
<i>nà</i>	<i>nwà</i>	<i>gwà</i>	<i>kà</i>	<i>dà</i>

5. Noun phrase

95 The order of nominal modifiers in the noun phrase is as follows:

96 (36) Possessor NP – possessed NP – attributive modifier – numeral/plural marker – demonstrative – definiteness marker

5.1. Possessive constructions

97 As in many other Mande languages, nouns are classified into two major groups in Kono: free and relational; the latter group comprises kinship terms and body part names. The difference between free and relational nouns is two-fold. First, relational nouns are almost always used with a possessor. Second, relational and free nouns are used with

different series of person markers encoding possessor, so-called person indexes (4.2) and possessive markers (4.4) respectively.

- 98 Inalienable possession markers used with relational nouns are person indexes that also encode verb and postposition complements, as well as single arguments in stative-resultative construction (6.17). 1SG and 3SG meanings are encoded by consonant alternation with high and low prefixal tones, respectively (cf. 2.4, 3.6).
- 99 Within relational nouns, there is a syntactic distinction between kinship terms and body part names in possessive constructions: person markers co-occur with possessors of kinship terms, but not of body part names. This yields three types of possessive constructions in Kono, given below for the nouns *bláá* ‘sheep’, *lèě* ‘mother’ and *kóχó* ‘leg’.

Table 12. Possessive constructions.

	Anaphoric possessor	Lexical possessor
Alienable (with free nouns)	<i>ηð bláá</i> ‘his/her sheep’ <i>dùá bláá</i> ‘their sheep’	<i>Héni ηð bláá</i> ‘Hení’s sheep’ <i>lééplèǵà dùá bláá</i> ‘children’s sheep’
Inalienable (with kinship terms)	<i>èě</i> ‘his/her mother’ <i>dǔlèě</i> ‘their mother’	<i>Héni èě</i> ‘Hení’s mother’ <i>lééplèǵà dǔlèě</i> ‘children’s mother’
Inalienable (with body part names)	<i>gðχó</i> ‘his/her leg’ <i>dǔkóχó</i> ‘their legs’	<i>Héni kóχó</i> ‘Hení’s leg’ <i>lééplèǵà kóχó</i> ‘children’s legs’

- 100 In non-anchoring possessive constructions, the head noun is marked with /L/ melody:

(37)	<i>màǎj</i>	<i>kðð</i>
	rice	bone _L

- 101 ‘rice grain’

5.2. Plural marking

- 102 There are two plural markers in Kono: *-ni* for kinship terms and usually *-ηaa*¹⁰ for other nouns (however, cf. (41) with *-ni* marking *ηðǔ* ‘bird’).
- 103 (38) *é-léχê-ni* ‘your elder siblings’; *yíré-ηàà* ‘dogs’; *wòǔ-ηáà* ‘songs’
- 104 Some human nouns have irregular plural forms; these are given in Table 13.

Table 13. Irregular plural forms.

Singular form	Plural form	Meaning
<i>nú / ní</i>	<i>núáà</i>	‘person’

<i>hìnènú</i>	<i>hìnàà</i>	'man'
<i>nèènú</i>	<i>nèàà</i>	'woman'
<i>lókòrò</i>	<i>l'éépléǵǵ</i>	'child'
<i>námú</i>	<i>námǵǵ</i>	'chief'
<i>dzòyómúj</i>	<i>dzówáà ~ dzòyóbláà</i>	'organizer of male initiation'
<i>máráj</i>	<i>máráà ~ máráǵǵ</i>	'friend'

- 105 Irregular plural forms may be reinforced by a regular plural marker: *l'éépléǵǵ-ǵaa* 'children'.

5.3. Demonstratives

- 106 *yà* 'this', *yàméj* 'that'

5.4. Definiteness marker

- 107 Definiteness is marked by the definite article *-kí* or sometimes *-ǵí* after vowels and *-í* after word final *-ǵ*:
- 108 (39) *yá* 'river' – *yá-kí* 'the river'; *máráj* 'a friend of mine' – *máráj-í* 'my friend' (selected among friends of other people).
- 109 NPs with a *-kí* marker are always followed by resumptive pronominals, regardless of their syntactic position, i.e., direct objects, possessors of body part names, postposition complements and single arguments in stative-resultative construction (6.17; cf. section 4 on the distribution of person markers in Kono). This is illustrated for direct object position in (40-42):

(40)	<i>Bò</i>	<i>ǵǵǵ-kí</i>	<i>ǵbè!</i>
	2SG.IMP	bird-DEF	3SG\hunt

- 110 'Hunt the bird!'

(41)	<i>Bò</i>	<i>ǵǵǵ-ni-kí</i>	<i>dǵ-kpé!</i>
	2SG.IMP	bird-PL-DEF	3PL-hunt

- 111 'Hunt the birds!'

(42)	<i>Bò</i>	<i>ǵǵǵ</i>	<i>kpé</i>	<i>/ * ǵbè!</i>
------	-----------	------------	------------	-----------------

	2SG.IMP	bird	hunt	3SG\hunt
--	---------	------	------	----------

112 'Hunt a bird!'

113 In (40-41), a definite noun phrase in direct object position is doubled by 3SG (40) and 3PL (41) person prefixes. This is not possible for indefinite noun phrases as shown in (42).

114 Obligatory doubling of definite noun phrases is a very interesting syntactic property of Kono, which is not attested in other Kpelle varieties. However, it occurs in neighbouring Southern Mande languages, e.g., Dan-Gwεεta (Vydrine & Kességbeu 2008:70-71).

5.5. Quantifying expressions

115 I have collected the following quantifying words, represented here with their surface tones: *hÉné* 'all', *tòndò* 'one', *hwèrè* 'two', *hàbà* 'three', *nááj* 'four', *lóólú* 'five', *mèjdà* 'six', *mèhèrà* 'seven', *mèhàbà* 'eight', *mènááj* 'nine', *pòu* 'ten'.

116 When there is quantifier *hÉné* 'all', person indexes, but not lexical noun phrases, are doubled by resumptive pronominals, regardless of their syntactic position, e.g., direct objects (43-44):

(43)	ŋ	đi-hÉné	đi-kà	Lòràà.
	1SG.B	3PL-all	3PL-see\L	Lola

117 'I saw them all in Lola'.

(44)	ŋ	máráà	hÉné	kà	Lòràà.
	1SG.B	1SG\friend.PL	all	see\L	Lola

118 'I saw all my friends in Lola'.

5.6. Noun phrase conjunction

119 Noun phrase conjunction is encoded by conjunctive person markers (cf. section 4.6 for the full paradigm).

120 Noun phrases are conjoined with an inclusory strategy (Haspelmath 2007:33) following a 1>2>3 person hierarchy. The conjoint participant higher in the hierarchy is encoded by a conjunctive person marker, while the participant lower in the hierarchy is expressed by a full noun phrase (45) or a strong pronoun (46) following the person marker.

(45)	Nà	HÉní	nũ	pà.	
------	----	------	----	-----	--

	1SG+3	Hɛni	1EXCL.B	come\L	
--	-------	------	---------	--------	--

121 'I and Hɛni came'.

(46)	Nà	yà	βó	pà.	
	1SG+3	3SG.AUT	FOC	come\L	

122 'I and he came'.

123 First person exclusive markers distinguish between two and more than two participants, cf. (45) and (47).

(47)	Nwà	Hɛní	nǔ	pà.	
	1PL+3	Hɛni	1EXCL.B	come\L	

124 'we and Hɛni came', but *'I and Hɛni came'.

125 Other conjunctive person forms are ambiguous as to whether there are two or more participants:

(48)	Dà	Hɛní	dǔ	pà.	
	3+3	Hɛni	3PL.B	come\L	

126 'He and Hɛni came' (2) or 'They and Hɛni came' (>2)

127 Two full noun phrases are conjoined by *dà* (47).

(49)	Yàrà̀mɔ́	dà	Hɛní	dǔ	pà.
	Yaramɔ	3+3	Hɛni	3PL.B	come\L

128 'Yaramɔ and Hɛni came'.

129 All examples discussed here may also have a comitative interpretation, whereby the second participant is interpreted as accompanying the first one, e.g., 'Yaramɔ and Hɛni came' or 'Yaramɔ came with Hɛni' (in 49).

130 Similarly to noun phrases with definite markers (5.4) and person indexes with the quantifier *hɛ́nɛ́* 'all' (5.5), conjoint noun phrases are always doubled by person markers, regardless of their syntactic position, e.g., direct objects:

(50)	ŋá	[dà	Hɛní]	dǔ-kà.
------	----	-----	-------	--------

	1SG.B	3+3	Hɛni	3PL-see\L
--	-------	-----	------	-----------

- 131 'I saw him/them and Hɛni'.

6. Verb phrase

- 132 The basic word order is (S) Aux O V X. Verb phrase consists of two essential elements in Kono: Aux, which may be realized as a predicative person marker (4.3) or as an uninflected predicative marker, e.g., after a lexical subject in negative constructions (57), and V, the verb. When there is no lexical subject, Aux is always realized as a predicative person marker. In what follows, I only provide special comments for those constructions that pattern differently with and without a lexical subject, (cf. 4.3), but they are by default the same. In transitive constructions, there is also a direct object before the verb. A third argument in ditransitive construction is encoded by a postpositional phrase following the verb.¹¹
- 133 In various TAM constructions, the verb can have either lexical tone or low melody marked as /L/, which completely replaces lexical tone. In other constructions, the verb appears with lexical tone and a suffix. In this section, the basic Kono TAM constructions are described; each affirmative construction type is followed by its negative counterpart.

6.1. Affirmative stative

- 134 **Affirmative stative:** basic affirmative person markers + verb with lexical tone

(51)	Máráŋàà	dǔ	é-klɔ́j.		
	1SG\friend.PL	3PL.B	2SG-know		

- 135 'My friends know you'.

6.2. Negative stative

- 136 **Negative stative:** basic negative person markers + verb with lexical tone (default negative marker *ho* after lexical subject)

(52)	Mó	Yàrà̀mɔ́	klɔ́j.		
	1SG.B.NEG	Yaramɔ	know		

- 137 'I don't know Yaramɔ'.

6.3. Affirmative past

- 138 **Affirmative past:** basic affirmative person markers + verb with /L/

(53)	<i>Máráŋàà</i>	<i>dũ</i>	<i>é-klòj̄.</i>
	1SG\friend.PL	3PL.B	2SG-know\L

- 139 'My friends used to know you'.

6.4. Negative past

- 140 **Negative past:** basic negative person markers + verb with /L/ (default negative marker *ho* after lexical subject)

(54)	<i>Mó</i>	<i>Yàràṁɔ</i>	<i>klòj̄.</i>
	1SG.B.NEG	Yaramɔ	know\L

- 141 'I didn't know Yaramɔ'.

6.5. Affirmative habitual

- 142 1) Basic affirmative person markers + verb with -à suffix.

(55)	<i>Lóhòrò-kí</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>tǒ-à</i>	<i>yèř</i>	<i>héné.</i>
	child-DEF	3SG.B	fall-HAB	day	all

- 143 'The child falls all the time'.

- 144 2) Basic affirmative person markers + *kèâ* + verb with -*nî* suffix.

(56)	<i>Héni</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>kèâ</i>	<i>pá-nî</i>	<i>ô.</i>
	HEni	3SG	HAB	come-STAT	here

- 145 'HEni often comes here'.

6.6. Negative habitual

- 146 1) Basic negative person markers + verb with -à suffix (default negative marker *ho* after lexical subject).

(57)	<i>HÉní</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>tǒ-à.</i>
	HEni	NEG	fall-HAB

147 'HEni doesn't fall'.

148 2) Basic negative person markers + *kèâ* + verb with *-nî* suffix (default negative marker *ho* after lexical subject).

(58)	<i>HÉní</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>kèâ</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>mě-nî</i>	<i>yèř</i>	<i>héné.</i>
	HEni	NEG	HAB	rice	eat-STAT	day	all

149 'HEni doesn't eat rice every day'.

150 The semantic differences between the two pairs of affirmative and symmetric negative constructions require further clarification. Both constructions can be used with the adverbial modifier *yèř héné* 'every day'.

151 However, my consultant Bala Bamba indicated that in the first construction, the situation tends to be interpreted as generic, while the second construction refers to a sequence of regular concrete situations. This interpretation can be corroborated by the following examples:

(59)	<i>LÉéplèǵ</i>	<i>dùhó</i>	<i>tǒ-à.</i>
	child.PL	3PL.B.NEG	fall-HAB

152 'Children don't fall'.

(60)	<i>LÉéplèǵ</i>	<i>dùhó</i>	<i>kèâ</i>	<i>tǒ-nî.</i>
	child.PL	3PL.B.NEG	HAB	fall-STAT

153 'Children don't often fall'.

154 Thus (59) means that the situation doesn't take place at all, while (60) means that it occurs sometimes.

6.7. Affirmative resultative

155 **Affirmative resultative:** resultative person markers + verb with lexical tone.

(61)	<i>É-léχê-ni</i>	<i>daa</i>	<i>pá,</i>	<i>dùká</i>	<i>kófi.</i>
	2SG-younger.sibling-PL	3PL.RES	come	3PLEXI	yard.LOC

156 ‘Your younger siblings have come, they are in the yard’.

6.8. Negative resultative

157 **Negative resultative:** basic negative person markers + verb with *-nî* suffix (default negative marker *ho* after lexical subject).

(62)	<i>Mó</i>	<i>nii</i>	<i>pá-nî.</i>
	1SG.B.NEG	yet	come-STAT

158 ‘I have not come yet’.

6.9. Affirmative progressive

159 **Affirmative progressive:** existential person markers + verb with *-nî* suffix (default marker *ká* after lexical subject (cf. 27, 69).

(63)	<i>Ŋnà</i>	<i>wòlǒ</i>	<i>tò-nî.</i>		
	1SG.EXI	song	throw-STAT		

160 ‘I am singing a song’.

6.10. Negative progressive

161 **Negative progressive:** basic negative person markers + *nà* + verb with *-nî* suffix (default negative marker *ho* after lexical subject).

(64)	<i>Mó</i>	<i>nà</i>	<i>wòlǒ</i>	<i>tò-nî.</i>		
	1SG.B.NEG	be	song	throw-STAT		

162 ‘I am not singing a song’.

6.11. Affirmative future

163 **Affirmative future:** future person markers + *pá* + verb with lexical tone.

(65)	<i>HÉní</i>	<i>wÈÉ</i>	<i>pá</i>	<i>klô</i>	<i>kÉ</i>	<i>ínáá.</i>
	HEni	3SG.FUT	come	work	do	tomorrow

164 'Hɛni will work tomorrow'.

165 As in many other languages, the verb *pá* 'come' is grammaticalized into a future marker, though it is still also used as a lexical item.

6.12. Negative future

166 **Negative future:** basic negative person markers + *kɛɛ* + *pá* + verb with lexical tone (default negative marker *ho* after lexical subject).

(66)	Mó	kɛɛ	pá	wááχòò	tɛ̀χě	é-pó.
	1SG.B.NEG	FUT	come	money	give	2SG-to

167 'I will not give you money'.

6.13. Imperative

168 **Imperative:** imperative person markers + verb with lexical tone.

(67)	Kà	pá!
	2PL.IMP	come

169 'You (pl.) come!'

170 Note that there may be no person marker in 2SG: (*Bò*) *pá!* 'Come!'

6.14. Prohibitive

171 **Prohibitive:** prohibitive person markers + verb with /L/.

(68)	Hàà	pà.
	3SG.PROH	come\L

172 'Let him not come'.

6.15. Neutral

173 **Neutral:** neutral person markers + verb with /L/ (default marker *ké* after lexical subject).

(69)	Héńí	ká	hìě-nî,	Yàràámó	kɛ	wòlǒ	tò.
------	------	----	---------	---------	----	------	-----

	Hɛni	be	walk-STAT	Yaramɔ	NEUT	song	throw\L
--	------	----	-----------	--------	------	------	---------

174 'Hɛni is walking, and Yaramɔ is singing a song'.

175 When there is a full noun phrase in the subject position, a predicative marker appears in its default, lexically toneless form. Its surface tone is spread from the subject. When there is no lexical subject, the 3SG anaphoric marker *kè* with low tone is used (cf. basic negative person markers (4.3) with similar distribution).

176 This construction is used in non-initial predication to encode simultaneous actions for processes and subsequent situations for single events¹².

6.16. Conditional

177 **Conditional:** conditional person markers + verb with /L/.

(70)	Níe-ni	dàà	pà,	ɲéé	bláá	tɛ̀ɣɛ̀	dũ-pó.
	elder.sibling-PL	3PL.COND	come\L	1SG.FUT	sheep	give\L	3PL-to

178 'If my elder siblings come, I will give them a sheep'.

179 Unfortunately, I have not checked negative conditional construction.

6.17. Stative-resultative

180 **Stative-resultative:** person index + verb with VOCALIC suffix + *ɓó*.

181 This construction has non-nominative argument alignment and is characteristic of South-Western Mande languages. There is no predicative marker after the lexical subject and the anaphoric subject is encoded by person indexes, which are otherwise used in various non-subject positions including direct objects (4.2).

182 The verb appears with a vocalic suffix and a predicative particle *ɓó*. The form of vocalic suffix depends on the final vowel of the verb; however, my data are not sufficient for providing a complete description here. I have only checked qualitative verbs that receive a stative interpretation in this construction. In other Kpelle varieties, dynamic verbs are also used in this construction with a resultative interpretation. For this reason, I tentatively also labelled it "stative-resultative" in Kono.

(71)	Hɛní	léré-é	ɓó.
	Hɛni	be.beautiful-STAT	PRED

183 'Hɛni is beautiful'.

184 Note that verbs with a vocalic suffix can also be used attributively:

(72)	<i>nèènû</i>	<i>léré-ε</i>
	woman	be.beautiful-STAT

185 'beautiful woman'

186 Stative-resultative construction has two negative counterparts in Kono, both with nominative alignment. The first is negative resultative (cf. 6.8 and (73) below).

(73)	<i>Héni</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>lèrè-ni.</i>
	HEni	NEG	be.beautiful-STAT

187 'HEni is not beautiful'.

188 The second negative construction is formed with *nà* copula and *à* preposition. The verb takes a person index co-referent with the subject and the vocalic suffix:

(74)	<i>Héni</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>nà</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>n:ÉRÉ-É.</i>
	HEni	NEG	be	PREP	3SG\be.beautiful-STAT

189 'HEni is not beautiful'.

(75)	<i>Níê-ni</i>	<i>dùhó</i>	<i>nà</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>dũ-léré-é.</i>
	elder.sibling-PL	3PL.NEG	be	PREP	3PL-be.beautiful-STAT

190 'My elder siblings are not beautiful'.

191 I encountered some tonal alternations on the verb in both negative constructions and therefore, they require further investigation.

192 Basic TAM constructions in Kono are summarized in Table 14 below.

Table 14. Basic TAM constructions.

Affirmative stative	Basic affirmative person markers + verb with lexical tone
Negative stative	Basic negative person markers + verb with lexical tone
Affirmative past	Basic affirmative person markers + verb with /L/
Negative past	Basic negative person markers + verb with /L/
Affirmative habitual	1) Basic affirmative person markers + verb with -à suffix 2) Basic affirmative person markers + <i>kêâ</i> + verb with -nî suffix

Negative habitual	1) Basic negative person markers + verb with -à suffix 2) Basic negative person markers + <i>kɛ̀á</i> + verb with - <i>n̂</i> suffix
Affirmative resultative	Resultative person markers + verb with lexical tone
Negative resultative	Basic negative person markers + verb with - <i>n̂</i> suffix
Affirmative progressive	Existential person markers + verb with - <i>n̂</i> suffix
Negative progressive	Basic negative person markers + <i>nà</i> + verb with - <i>n̂</i> suffix
Affirmative future	Future person markers + <i>pá</i> + verb with lexical tone
Negative future	Basic negative person markers + <i>kɛɛ</i> + <i>pá</i> + verb with lexical tone
Imperative	Imperative person markers + verb with lexical tone
Prohibitive	Prohibitive person markers + verb with /L/
Neutral	Neutral person markers + verb with /L/
Conditional	Conditional person markers + verb with /L/
Affirmative stative-resultative	Person index + verb with vocalic suffix + <i>ɔ́</i>
Negative stative-resultative	Basic negative person markers + <i>nà</i> copula + <i>à</i> + person index + verb with vocalic suffix

6.18. Comparison of TAM systems in three Kpelle varieties

- 193 As shown in 6.9, a special existential person series is used in progressive construction in Kono. This series has an extraordinarily mixed paradigm, incorporating person markers fused with two different predicators, *nà* and *ká*; cf. series III in Table 8.
- 194 In Liberian Kpelle there are two progressive constructions. In the first, a special non-past series of person markers is used, which also occurs in the future and habitual construction (76). In the second one, a non-nominative subject is used with *káá* existential predicator, cognate to *ká* in Kono (77). In both constructions, the verb appears in the infinitive form with -*i* suffix.

195 LIBERIAN KPELLE

(76)	<i>ŋā</i>	<i>pá-i.</i>
	1SG.NONPST	come-INF

196 'I am coming'.

(77)	ŋgáá	pá-ì.
	1SG\be	come-INF

197 'I am coming' (Leidenfrost & McKey 2005:67).

198 In Guinean Kpelle there is only one affirmative progressive construction, identical to the second progressive construction in Liberian Kpelle (78). Note that in transitive predications, both anaphoric subject and object are encoded by non-nominative person indexes (79).

199 GUINEAN KPELLE

(78)	Gáá	pá-ì.
	1SG\be	come-INF

200 'I am coming'.

(79)	Gáá	dèyě-ì.
	1SG\be	3SG\cut-INF

201 'I am cutting it'.

202 Future person markers, presumably fused with the verb *ké* 'do', form a separate series in Kono (6.11). No such series is attested in other Kpelle varieties. In both Liberian and Guinean Kpelle, future construction is derived from progressive construction by adding the infinitive form of the verb *pá* 'come'.

203 LIBERIAN KPELLE

(80)	ŋā	pá-ì	pá-ì.
	1SG.NONPST	come-INF	come-INF

204 'I will come'.

(81)	ŋgáá	pá-ì	dā	kórí-ì.
	1SG\be	come-INF	3SG\some	look_for-INF

205 'I will look for some' (Leidenfrost & McKey 2005:69).

206 GUINEAN KPELLE

(82)	<i>Gáá</i>	<i>pá-ì</i>	<i>Pépeè</i>	<i>tólú-ì.</i>
	1SG\be	come-INF	Pepee	call-INF

- 207 'I will call Pepe'.
- 208 Another salient feature contrasting Kono with the other Kpelle varieties is the lack of affirmative and negative habitual (or non-past) person markers.
- 209 To sum up, the Kono TAM system differs considerably from TAM systems in Liberian and Guinean Kpelle.

7. Greetings

- 210 (83) *Bàà núj / nújô?* – 'Good morning!' Lit. 'You (sg.) have woken up?', addressing a single person.
- 211 (84) *É yíi kpèèè?* – 'Good morning!' Lit. 'You (sg.) have slept well?', addressing a single person.
- 212 (85) *Kàà núj / nújô?* – 'Good morning!' Lit. 'You (pl.) have woken up?', addressing more than one person.
- 213 (86) *Ká yíi kpèèè?* – 'Good morning!' Lit. 'You (pl.) have slept well?', addressing more than one person.
- 214 (87) *É tógâ!* – 'Good afternoon!', addressing a single person.
- 215 (88) *Ká tógâ* – 'Good afternoon!', addressing more than one person.
- 216 (89) *É túyó kpèèè?* – 'Good afternoon!' Lit. 'You (sg.) have spent the day well?', addressing a single person.
- 217 (90) *Ká túyó kpèèè?* – 'Good afternoon!' Lit. 'You (pl.) have spent the day well?', addressing more than one person.
- 218 (91) *É māmá é hèyè!* – 'Thank you!', addressing a single person.
- 219 (92) *Ká māmá ká hèyè!* – 'Thank you!', addressing more than one person.

8. Swadesh lists for Kono, Guinean Kpelle and Liberian Kpelle

- 220 In this section, 100-word Swadesh lists for the three Kpelle varieties are provided¹³. When the lexemes are etymologically identical in the three idioms, they are given in plain type. Lexemes that are identical in Guinean Kpelle and Kono, but are distinct from those in Liberian Kpelle, are given in italic. Lexemes that are identical in Liberian Kpelle and Kono, as opposed to those in Guinean Kpelle, are given in bold. When a Kono lexeme is different from a lexeme common for Guinea and Liberian Kpelle, it is underlined. When the three varieties have three distinct forms, they are given in bold italic.

Table 15. Collection of 100-word Swadesh lists for the three Kpelle varieties

221 When analysing the data, I largely followed recommendations in Kassian et al. (2010), also discussed in Vydrin (2013). The results of pairwise cognate comparisons of the Kpelle varieties are given in Table 16.

Table 16. Pairwise cognate comparisons.

	Kono	Liberian Kpelle
Guinean Kpelle	90	94
Kono		89

222 As shown in Table 16, Kono is the most divergent variety, sharing 90% of cognates with Guinean Kpelle and 89% with Liberian Kpelle. Such discrepancy parallels some specific grammatical properties attested in Kono, which are discussed in sections 5 and 6. Hence, though it is not the goal of this sketch to suggest an appropriate taxonomic label, Kono may be considered a separate language, at least on linguistic grounds.

Abbreviations

- 223 AUT - free pronoun
- 224 B - basic person markers
- 225 COND - conditional person marker
- 226 DEF - definite

- 227 EXCL – exclusive
- 228 EXI – existential person marker
- 229 FOC – focus
- 230 FUT – future marker
- 231 H – high
- 232 HAB – habitual
- 233 IMP – imperative person marker
- 234 L – low
- 235 LOC – locative form
- 236 NEG – negative marker
- 237 NEUT – neutral person marker
- 238 NONPST – non-past tense
- 239 PL – plural
- 240 PRED – predicative particle
- 241 PROH – prohibitive person marker
- 242 RES – resultative person marker
- 243 SG – singular
- 244 STAT – stative marker

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bearth, Thomas. 1992. La pertinence latente. A propos du traitement des liquides et de la nasalisation dans les langues dites « sans consonnes nasales ». *Verbum* 15: 4, pp. 203-218.
- Casthelain Jules. 1952. *La langue guerzé: Grammaire et dictionnaire*. (Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Afrique noire, 20). Dakar : I.F.A.N.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2007. Coordination. In: Shopen, Timothy (ed.). *Language typology and syntactic description, vol. II: Complex constructions*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-51.
- Kassian Alexei, Starostin George, Dybo Anna & Chernov Vasily. 2010. The Swadesh wordlist. An attempt at semantic specification. *Journal of Language Relationship* 4, pp. 46-89.
- Konoshenko Maria. 2008. Tonal systems in three dialects of the Kpelle language. *Mandenkan* 44, pp. 21-42.
- Konoshenko Maria. 2010. Indirect object marking in Kpelle: Dative pronominals and postpositional agreement. In: Konstantin Pozdniakov, Valentin Vydrin, Alexander Zheltov (eds.). *Personal pronouns in Niger-Congo languages: International workshop. St. Petersburg, September 13-15, 2010. Abstracts and papers: Working materials*. St. Petersburg, pp. 52-56.

- Konoshenko Maria. 2014. The syntax of tone in Guinean Kpelle. *Proceedings of the fortieth annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. February 7-9. Berkeley.
- Lassort P. 1952. *Grammaire guerzé*. (Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Afrique noire, 20.) Dakar : I.F.A.N.
- Leidenfrost T.E. & McKay J.S. 2007. *Kpelle-English dictionary with a grammar sketch and English-Kpelle finderlist*. Moscow (USA) : Palaverhut Press.
- Leger J. 1975. *Dictionnaire guerze*. Nzérékoré.
- Le Saout, J. 1979. *Notes sur la phonologie du Gouro (zone de Zuénoula)*. Nice : C.E.P.L.A.N.
- Makeeva, Nadezda. 2012. *Grammatičeskij stroj jazyka kla-dan v tipologičeskom kontekste rodstvennyx jazykov [A grammar of Kla-Dan and the typology of Mande languages]*. PhD thesis. Institute of linguistics, Moscow.
- Vydrine Valentin. 2014. Goo, neizvestnyj jazyk mande [Goo, an unknown Mande language]. In: A. Zheltov (ed.). *Antropologija i lingvistika. Materialy peterburgskix ekspeditsij v Afriku*. SPb: MAE RAN. pp. 67-127.
- Vydrine Valentin, Kességbeu Mognan A. 2008. *Dictionnaire Dan – Français (dan de l'Est) avec une esquisse de grammaire du dan de l'Est et un index français-dan*. St Pétersbourg: Nestor-Istoria.
- Welmers William. 1969. The morphology of Kpelle nominal. *Journal of African Languages* 8: 2, pp. 73-101.
- Welmers William. 1962. The phonology of Kpelle. *Journal of African Languages* 1:1, pp. 69-93.
- Westermann Diedrich. 1921. *Die Kpelle, ein Negerstamm in Liberia*. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Westermann Diedrich. & Melzian Hans J. 1930. *The Kpelle language in Liberia. Grammatical outline, colloquial sentences and vocabulary*. Berlin: Reimer.

NOTES

1. This paper is written with financial support from the Russian Humanitarian Science Foundation, project 14-04-00488 “Language contact in Africa”.
2. In Liberian and Guinean Kpelle, these alternations also mark definiteness, but there is no such marker in Kono; cf. 5.4.
3. Alternants for obstruents are always the same for 1SG and 3SG prefixes in Guinean Kpelle and as such, these forms are only differentiated by tone, e.g., *é-húŋó* ‘your nose’, *zúŋó* ‘my nose’, *zùŋó* ‘his nose’; *é-kóŋó* ‘your leg’, *góŋó* ‘my leg’, *gòŋó* ‘his leg’. However, in Liberian Kpelle, a nasal appears with an alternated consonant in 1SG form yielding a three-way contrast. The difference may be represented as C₁- for lexical consonant, NC₂- for 1sg, C₂- with low tone for alternated consonant, e.g., *í-hūā* ‘your nose’, *ńzūā* ‘my nose’, *zūā* ‘his nose’; *í-kóó* ‘your leg’, *ńgóó* ‘my leg’, *gòó* ‘his leg’.
4. Other nasals – /ŋm/, /nv/ and word initial /ŋ/ – are never lexical; they only occur as a result of the alternation.
5. Surprisingly, CLV(ŋ) stems behave differently as opposed to stems with no elision such as *kéréŋ* ‘burn’: prefixal low tone is spread on its entire stem yielding /L(H)/ melody: [náá gèrèŋ] ‘I have burnt it’, rather than the expected [*gèrèŋ]. I have no explanation for this discrepancy at present.

6. This process is not usually labelled “contour simplification”, but I mention it here because it is functionally similar to the previous one, i.e., L absorption
7. Verbs in (14) and (15) get underlying /L/ in Affirmative Past construction – cf. 3.7, 6.3.
8. What seems to happen here is L plateauing between two floating (H) tones, so the resulting tone is contextual M. The same tonal change yielding a contextual mid tone is attested in *tɔŋɔnààlɔ̀i* dialect of Guinean Kpelle described in (Konoshenko 2008). In *hɔ̀ɔ̀kwèlɛ̀* dialect, which I later chose as representative of Guinean Kpelle and described in (Konoshenko 2014), /L(H)/ changes to /H/ in such environment.
9. The term “prefixed” is etymologically rather than synchronically adequate because there are no segmentable pre-stem markers in 1SG and 3SG, but they can be reconstructed as 1SG *ɲ- and 3SG *ɲ- prefixes. However, I use this term because H in 1SG and L in 3SG spread from the left word boundary and do not replace the stem tone completely, in contrast with the replacive /L/ pattern (cf. 3.7).
10. I am not sure about the underlying tones of these markers, which may have surface forms [-nì] / [-nì] and [-ɲàà] / [-ɲàà]. More data are needed to discover how tonal rules work in these cases. Surface tones are represented in (38).
11. As demonstrated in Konoshenko (2014), postpositional phrases are clause adjuncts in Guinean Kpelle and are therefore outside verb phrases. I assume this to also be the case in Kono, though I have not applied relevant tests to check whether this is true.
12. This construction is labelled “neutral” in Kono by analogy with an identical construction in Guinean Kpelle. In Guinean Kpelle, the “neutral” construction is opposed to so-called “consecutive” construction. While the latter is only used to mark subsequent but not simultaneous events, the former can be used for both types of events; hence, it is labelled “neutral”.
13. For the sake of uniformity, I have modified the orthography in Liberian Kpelle data taken from Leidenfrost & McKey (2005).

ABSTRACTS

Kono (knu) is a Southwestern Mande lect of the Republic of Guinea, not to be confused with Kono of Sierra Leone (kno, Kono-Vai group). It is a member of the Kpelle macro-language together with Guinean Kpelle (gkp) and Liberian Kpelle (xpe). This paper is a brief description of Kono based on the author’s field notes collected in the Republic of Guinea in 2009 and 2014. I discuss segmental and tonal phonology of Kono as well as its basic morphology and grammatical constructions. 100-word Swadesh lists for Kono, Guinean and Liberian Kpelle are also provided. As I demonstrate in this sketch, Kono is lexically and grammatically distinct enough to be considered a separate language. Some phonological and grammatical phenomena in Kono, e.g. consonant harmony, first vowel elision in CVLV structures and obligatory pronominal doubling of definite noun phrases, suggest that, unlike other Kpelle lects, Kono has undergone a strong contact influence from Southern Mande.

Kono (knu) est un parler mandé-sud-ouest de la République de Guinée, à ne pas confondre avec le kono de la Sierra Leone (kno, groupe Kono-Vai). Il est membre de la macro-langue kpelle conjointement avec le guéré (kpelle de la Guinée, gkp) et le kpelle du Libéria (xpe). Cet article est une brève description de Kono sur la base des notes de terrain de l’auteur recueillies dans la

République de Guinée en 2009 et 2014. Je décris la phonologie segmentale et tonale de kono ainsi que sa morphologie de base et des constructions grammaticales. Des listes Swadesh de 100 mots sont aussi données pour le kono, le guéré et le kpelle du Libéria. Comme je le démontre dans cette esquisse, le kono est lexicalement et grammaticalement assez différent pour être considéré comme une langue indépendante. Certains phénomènes phonologiques et grammaticaux en kono, par exemple, l'harmonie consonantique, l'élimination de la première voyelle dans les structures CVLV et le doublement pronominal obligatoire des syntagmes nominaux définis, suggèrent que, contrairement à d'autres parlers kpelle, le kono a subi une forte influence des langues mandé-sud.

НА ИДИОМЕ КОНО (knu) ГОВОРЯТ В РЕСПУБЛИКЕ ГВИНЕЯ, ОН ОТНОСИТСЯ К ЮГО-ЗАПАДНОЙ ГРУППЕ МАНДЕ, В ОТЛИЧИЕ ОТ КОНО (kno) ИЗ СЪЕРРА ЛЕОНЕ (ГРУППА КОНО-ВАИ). КОНО ВХОДИТ В МАКРОЯЗЫК КПЕЛЛЕ ВМЕСТЕ С ГВИНЕЙСКИМ КПЕЛЛЕ (gkp) И ЛИБЕРИЙСКИМ КПЕЛЛЕ (xpe). СТАТЬЯ ПРЕДСТАВЛЯЕТ СОБОЙ КРАТКОЕ ОПИСАНИЕ ИДИОМА КОНО НА ОСНОВЕ ПОЛЕВЫХ МАТЕРИАЛОВ АВТОРА, СОБРАННЫХ В РЕСПУБЛИКЕ ГВИНЕЯ В 2009 И 2014 ГГ. В СТАТЬЕ ДАНЫ СВЕДЕНИЯ О СЕГМЕНТНОЙ ФОНОЛОГИИ И ТОНАЛЬНЫХ ПРАВИЛАХ, БА ЗОВОЙ МОРФОЛОГИИ, ОСНОВНЫХ ГРАММАТИЧЕСКИХ КОНСТРУКЦИЯХ КОНО. ТАКЖЕ ПРИВЕДЕНЫ СТОСЛОВНЫЕ СПИСКИ СВОДЕША ДЛЯ КОНО, ГВИНЕЙСКОГО И ЛИБЕРИЙСКОГО КПЕЛЛЕ. ПОКАЗАНО, ЧТО ЛЕКСИЧЕСКИ И ГРАММАТИЧЕСКИ КОНО ДОСТАТОЧНО СИЛЬНО ОТЛИЧАЕТСЯ ОТ ДРУГИХ ИДИОМОВ КПЕЛЛЕ И МОЖЕТ СЧИТАТЬСЯ ОТДЕЛЬНЫМ ЯЗЫКОМ. БОЛЕЕ ТОГО, НЕКОТОРЫЕ ФОНОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ И ГРАММАТИЧЕСКИЕ ОСОБЕННОСТИ КОНО, НАПРИМЕР, КОНСОНАНТНАЯ ГАРМОНИЯ, ЭЛИЗИЯ ПЕРВОГО ГЛАСНОГО В СТРУКТУРАХ CVLV И ОБЯЗАТЕЛЬНОЕ МЕСТОИМЕННОЕ ДУБЛИРОВАНИЕ ОПРЕДЕЛЕННЫХ ИМЕННЫХ ГРУПП, ПОЗВОЛЯЮТ ПРЕДПОЛОЖИТЬ, ЧТО, В ОТЛИЧИЕ ОТ ДРУГИХ ИДИОМОВ КПЕЛЛЕ, КОНО ПОДВЕРГАЛСЯ ЗНАЧИТЕЛЬНОМУ КОНТАКТНОМУ ВЛИЯНИЮ СО СТОРОНЫ ЮЖНЫХ МАНДЕ.

INDEX

Mots-clés: langues mandé-sud-ouest, langues mandé-sud, alternance de consonnes, harmonie consonantique, règles tonales, constructions possessives, constructions TAM, liste Swadesh, salutations, contact linguistique

motsclesru ЮГО-ЗАПАДНЫЕ МАНДЕ, ЮЖНЫЕ МАНДЕ, ЧЕРЕДОВАНИЯ, ГАРМОНИЯ СОГЛАСНЫХ, ТОНАЛЬНЫЕ ПРАВИЛА, ПОСЕССИВНЫЕ КОНСТРУКЦИИ, ВИДО-ВРЕМЕННЫЕ КОНСТРУКЦИИ, СПИСКИ СВОДЕША, ПРИВЕТСТВИЯ, ЯЗЫКОВЫЕ КОНТАКТЫ

Keywords: Southwestern Mande, Southern Mande, consonant alternation, consonant harmony, tonal rules, possessive constructions, TAM constructions, Swadesh list, greetings, language contact

AUTHOR

MARIA KONOSHENKO

Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow

mb_konoshenko@il-rggu.ru