14
Jukun
(Jukunoid, Central Nigeria)

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14.1 General

Some 140,000 people speak varieties of Jukun in northcentral Nigeria, along and north of the Benue River. Jukun is a rather poorly documented group, so demographic estimates may be shaky and linguistic descriptions are in general sketchy. Our analysis relies entirely on Storch's (1999, 400 pages) description of the Hone variety. The Hone number 6000-7000, having undergone a rapid demographic decline in the last forty years.

The nine oral vowels / i, ɪ, e, ɛ, a, ə, ɔ, o, u / divide into two +/- ATR sets: / i, e, a, ə, o, u / and / ɪ, ɛ, (a), ə, ɔ, (u) /. Besides vowel length resulting from various processes, most (but not all) of these vowels also occur contrastively long. There are also five nasal vowels, / ĩ, ẽ, ã, ɔ̃, ũ /.

There are three distinctive tones: high (acute accent), low (grave accent), mid (here unmarked). These can combine to give contour tones. Tones play a major role in the AM system.

14.2 Word order

Hone is strongly SVO. Interrogation, topicalisation, focus, and negation do not alter the order but use of preverbal auxiliary plus infinitive gives S AUX O V-INF, as in the following examples (see also (18b):

(1)   a   **ku-zém   bay   dáb-ì**
            he-like   dog   hit-INF
            'He'd like to hit the dog.'

       b   **ku-zém-kú   dáb-ì**
            he-like-it   hit-INF
            'He'd like to hit it.'

14.3 Verb structure

Verbs have a segmental and a tonal component. Affixal verb structure is limited:

(2)   SM + NEG + AM + root + suffix

A verb has four possible tone components: 1. lexical/root tone (see below); 2. a distinction between imperfective (high-toned) and Factative (low-toned); 3. the tone of the pre-stem AM marker(s); and 4. the imperative imposes a tone pattern of its own. The last two do not co-occur.

SM: There are three sets of SM: neutral, subjunctive emphatic, subjunctive non-emphatic[1]. All SM sets differ from the neutral SMs by changing the tone, lengthening the vowel, or adding material. The neutral SMs are tonally all mid, except the 2p, which is high. Neutral SM's and examples are in (3):

(3)   a   1s **n-/m**-, 2s **ɔ**-, 3sm **ku**-, 3sf/n **kəm**-, 1p **i**-, 2p **nə́n**-, 3p **bə**-

        b   **n-Ø-ʃíí**   **mə́ rí**   **yak**
            1s-zero-sit.FAC   in.LOC   go
            'I am going.'

        c   **i-tí-yak**
            1p-"FUT"-go
            'We will go.'

        d   **nə́n-Ø-saa**
            2p-zero-do.SBJ
            'Ye should do.'

        e   **ɔ-Ø-wurà**
            2s-zero-woman
            'You are a woman.'

        f   **ku-Ø-yak**
            3s-zero-go.FAC
            'He went.'

        g   **kú-Ø-yak**
            3s-zero-go.SBJ
            'He should go.'

NEG: **-rì-, -tì-,** (-)**ká**-. See §13.6, following.

AM (in positive forms): **-Ø-** occurs in Factative and Subjunctive; **-rì-** occurs in Imperfective, Progressive, Conjunctive, "Certain Future" (see (5)); -**ǹ -rì**- Perfect; -**nə-tí**- Habitual; -**nəm-Ø**- Factative-Habitual, -**tí**- "Uncertain Future"; **mə**- Consecutive. In negatives, -**nàn**- '(not) yet' and -**náŋ**- '(not) ever' occur (see §6, and (15)). The Conditional -**máá**- ('if, when') can co-occur on its own or preceding HAB, FUT, and CNJ (see §13.5.4). Readers will note that -**ri**- and -**ti**- occur in various functions with various tones.

ROOT: Roots consist of a segmental and a tonal component. Most roots are short: V, CV, CVV, CVC, or CVVC. The few longer roots are either loans, reduplicated, or

likely combinations of root and petrified extension[2]. The extensions found elsewhere in Niger-Congo are no longer active in Jukun, although segmental traces remain. Tonally these lexical patterns occur: L, LL, LH, M, MM, H, HH, HL.

Suffix: With one exception, the extensions and final vowels occurring in other Niger-Congo languages have vanished. Ignoring the frozen extensions (see fn. 2), four suffixes occur: -**è/-ɛ̀** 'imperative' (see §14.5.1); the OM (see (1b)); -**é/-ɛ́** 'negative' (see §14.6), and the new valency-changing suffixes (see §14.7.1). OM and -**é/-ɛ́** 'negative' co-occur, apparently in that order, and undergo mutual assimilation. No other combinations of these suffixes were found, so nothing can be said of their ordering.

14.4 Aspect, mood

Storch (1999:180) rolls all the AM forms, except reduplication and consecutive, discussed in this section and the next, together, and characterizes each as either perfective or imperfective/durative. Her definitions are part semantic, part tonal: perfectives represent situations as *abgeschlossen* (finished, completed) and are L-toned, whereas imperfectives represent incomplete situations and are H-toned. Two forms combine imperfective and perfective, her "Aorist-Durative" ('We were verbing') and her "Perfective-Habitual" ('We used to verb'). While not denying the possibility of dividing (T)AM forms in this way, we divide the aspectual/modal spectrum somewhat differently, using Factative and Imperfective to refer not to whole classes of categories but to individual categories.

We analyze Hone in terms of aspect, as follows. We use our terms and put our abbreviation, and her terms, where different, in brackets.

14.4.1 *Factative* (FAC, Storch's Aorist).

Tonally (L) and morphologically (-Ø-) unmarked, it represents "perfective situations, which occurred just before the time of speech or at a certain point in the past"[3]. It is mainly used in narratives, and in descriptive texts such as recipes and instructions. Linked to the FAC are the:

Factative Progressive (Aorist Durative), which is formally as the FAC but has postposed **naa** 'be (in/at)' and refers to situations ongoing at the time of reference ('was verbing').

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[2] Typical frozen extensions are seen in: **-fuu** 'open' > -**fu-n** 'untie', -**fu-k** 'hollow out'. Some stems are modified by tonal change (-**kàáp** 'hollow out', -**kaap** 'dig'), ablaut (-**gyán** 'lose', -**gyàn** 'be lost'), or changing the voice value of the initial consonant (-**bàn** 'take', -**pàn** 'seize'). None of these is productive today.

[3] Storch says that the verbs 'know, say' occur only in the Factative. Are there other such?

The Factative Habitual Formally as the FAC but with preposed Habitual -**nəm**- (so -**nəm**-Ø-), refers to actions done habitually in the past ('used to verb'). Examples of these three:

(4)   a   **ku-Ø-yak** 'He went.' (FAC)

       b   **ku-Ø-yak naa** 'He was going.' (FAC PRG)

       c   **ku-nəm-Ø-yak** 'He used to go.' (FAC HAB)

14.4.2   *Imperfective* (IPFV, Storch's Present).

Represents a situation which is not completed (abgeschlossen), carried out at the time of speech, or repeatedly, or continuously. It can include future reference (1999:187). Linked to the Imperfective are the following:

Progressive (PRG), representing an action currently being carried out. It is formally IPFV but has postposed **naa**.

Futures
Storch has two "futures", a "Certain Future" and an "Uncertain Future": we keep her terms but treat them as moods/aspects, not tenses. The Certain Future is morphologically and tonally the same as the Imperfective (see examples in (5) a,b,d,and e for small differences of detail in some persons). There is little doubt the Certain Future derived from the Imperfective. It refers to a situation just about to take place – but this is not so much a time reference as a subjective judgement, because it, the Imperfective, and the Uncertain Future are all shown referring to tomorrow. IPFV is said to refer to an act not yet begun, whereas the Uncertain Future to an act prepared but not yet begun.

Conjunctive (CNJ): formed from the Imperfective by postposing **fa** (see §14.5.2).

The Habitual (HAB) may also be linked to the Imperfective - it has -**tí**- instead of -**rí**-, for which the reason is unclear. Examples of these (for Conjunctive, see §14.5.2, below);

(5)   a   **ku-rí-yak** 'He goes, is going, will go.'   (IPFV)

       b   **n-tí-yak** 'I go, am going, will go.'   (IPFV)

       c   **ku-rí-yak naa** 'He is going.'   (PRG)

       d   **ku-rí-yak** 'He will go.'   ("Certain Future")

       e   **n-rí-yak** 'I will go.'   ("Certain Future")

       f   **ku-nəm-tí-yak** 'He goes habitually.'   (HAB)

14.4.3 Perfect

The Perfect (PFT) represents a situation completed in the past. "The result of the past situation or the state brought about by the completion of the situation is emphasized" (1999:196).

(6)   **ku-ǹ-rì-yak**   'He has gone.'   (PFT)

14.4.4 "Uncertain Future"

The "Uncertain Future" represents a not yet prepared or not yet begun future situation. Its time of completion not stated, and its range of reference may also include tomorrow.

(7)   a.   **ku-tí-yak**
           3s-"FUT"-go
           'He will go.'

     b.   **ákè**   **ku-tí-yak**   **ǹyín**   **à-kíy**
           perhaps   3s-"FUT"-go   day   tomorrow
           'Perhaps he will go tomorrow.'

       Another non-inflectional process involved in aspectual reference is reduplication. It appears in some petrified forms, where the simplex no longer exists, and in a limited set of other verbs, where the unreduplicated form still exists. In both cases, it indicates repeated, persistent, or intensive action, or it indicates middle voice meaning and at least in the second case, tonal modification accompanies the reduplication.

       More relevant to us is an active process apparently affecting many verbs, best called triplication, and also accompanied by tonal modification, described as "unsystematic". Storch calls this the Intensive, describing an action which is persistent, repeated, or thorough. (The Intensive could be a Pluractional, but there are not sufficient examples to judge.) Its exact meaning often has to do with the meaning of the lexical verb. It is shown co-occurring with the Factative and the Imperfective. Examples:

(8)   a   **n-Øsaa-saa-saa**
           1s-zero-do-do-do.FAC
           'I went to a lot of trouble, tried very hard.'

     b   **ku-Ø-dáp-dáp-dáp-kù**
           3s-zero-beat-beat-beat-3s.FAC
           'He hit him and hit him and hit him, beat him to a pulp.'

     c   **ku-dáp-kù dápdápdáp**   as preceding   (FAC)

     d   **n-tí-kyɛ́g**   **a-kyɛ́k**   **kyɛ́-kyɛ́-kyɛ́k**
           1s-IPFV-chop   PART-chop   chop-chop-chop
           'I chop everything off.'

14.5 Other categories

14.5.1   *Imperative*

The Imperative consists of suffixal /-e, -ɛ/ carrying a tone whose underlying quality is unclear. In seven of the twelve verb classes it surfaces as H, in the other five as L. The vowel undergoes harmony with the root vowel. The singular has no prefix, the plural has **nə́n**-. There is also a 1p Hortative ('Let us verb'), with prefixal **í**-. The 2s and the 1p are avoided when addressing elders. Examples:

(9)   Verb   Imperative (s then p)   "Hortative"

        -yak 'go'   **yàg-è, nə́n-yàg-è** 'Go'   **i-yàg-è** 'Let's go' (HOR)

                                                             há-á   í-yak
                                                             let-IMP we-go
                                                             'Let's go' (SBJ)

        -gaan 'roll'   **gaan-é**, **nə́n-gaan-é**
        -wu 'hide'   **wu-ú**, **nə́n-wu-ú**
        -kə̀n 'end'   **kə̀n-ɛ**, **nə́n**-**kə̀n**-**ɛ**

14.5.2   *Subjunctive (SBJ), Conjunctive (CNJ)*

The Subjunctive consists of a H-toned SM, a zero AM morpheme, no suffix, and the root keeps its lexical tone. It is the only form with a H-toned prefix. The Subjunctive and the Factative differ only tonally. Expressing as it does events that have not happened, the Subjunctive occurs in (polite) commands, wishes, and certain kinds of subordinate clause ("We want that you verb-SBJ").

(10)   a. **ku-Ø-yak** 'He went.' (FAC)

          b. **kú-Ø-yak a lɔ̀k** 'He should go home.' (SBJ)

        The Conjunctive expresses "a form of possibility, in the senses of 'I certainly should, I could', but a politer command or a suggestion may also be implied ('it would be better if you...')". It is formed by placing the particle **fà** after the verb or clause finally. This particle occurs in neighboring dialects and languages in the sense of "really, absolutely, in all cases". To form the Conjunctive the particle is most often added to the Imperfective ("present") but in 3s, 2p, and 3p it can be added to the Subjunctive. Examples:

(11)   a. **n-tí-ʒìì**   **bíʒùù**   **fà**
                 1s-IPFV-eat   food   CNJ
                 'I should eat.'

b. **ku-rí-yak**   **fà**
3s-IPFV-go   CNJ
'He should go.'

c. **ákú-mìy**[4]   **tánù**   **fà**
EMPH.SBJ.3s-buy   house   CNJ
'He ought to buy a house.'

14.5.3   *Consecutive (CNS)*

If two or more actions follow each other in a temporal sequence, the first carries AM marking and the others are marked by the consecutive prefix **mè**. In all Storch's examples, the first verb is in the Factative:

(12)   **bə-Ø-ʃár**   **mè-ʃáŋ**   **dìrbɛɛ**
3p-zero-run.FAC   CNS-meet   one another
'They ran and met one another.'

14.5.4   *Conditional (CND)*

As mentioned in §14.3, the Conditional **máá** can occur as an independent conjunction (Storch 1999:198, but no examples were found), or can combine with the Habitual, both "Futures", and the Conjunctive. In most combinations it precedes the other AM morpheme. It occurs in positive and negative clauses, and the conditional clause may precede or follow the main clause. When the **maa**-clause precedes the main clause, the **máá** translates as 'if, when, whenever', but when it follows, it has different translations. It is essentially timeless. This is quite complicated and we do not deal fully with it. Some examples:

(13)   a. **ku-máá-yak**   'When 3s go….' or 'Whenever 3s went…'

       b. **áké**   **ku-máá-yak**
           IRR   3s-CND-go
           'If he went, if he were to go…'

       c. **i-yag-zè-pə́n**   **kə-máá-ŋwúŋ**
           1p-go-COMP[5]-spread.out   3s-CND-be.dry
           'We went to spread it out till it was dry.'

       d. **n-nəm-máá-sɔ́m**   **sɔ́mu**
           1s-HAB-CND-work   work
           'When I used to work...'

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[4] The emphatic subjunctive SM, one of the several subject pronouns mentioned in §14.3.
[5] According to Storch, the Completive derivational suffix (COMP) represents an action completely finished, or done to completion (rather like 'drink up').

e **bə-tì-máá-sɔ́m** **sɔ́mu mə̀ŋ**
3p-NEG-CND-work work NEG
'If they don't work/haven't worked...'

14.6 Negation

Verbal and non-verbal negation differ (and may combine). Non-verbal negation negates object or noun phrase by postposing an independent negative morpheme **mə̀ŋ**, which negates the object, or **bánə̀ŋ** which acts as a negative copula ('does not exist, is not present'):

(14) a **ká-yag(-é)** **bɛr-Kààsàà** **mə̀ŋ**
NEG-go(-NEG) Kasan Dare NEG
'Don't go to Kasan Dare.'

b **kín-áá** **bánə̀ŋ**
head-his NEG
'He is disturbed = his head not (present).'

Verbal negation involves a pre-stem morpheme and a suffix. Storch distinguishes three forms of verbal negation: Imperative/Hortative/Conjunctive/Subjunctive (pre-stem **ká**-) versus Factative alone (pre-stem **-rì-**) versus "Indicative" (pre-stem **-tì-**) (Storch 1999:207), in nearly all other forms. All have in common suffixal -**é**/-**ɛ** (with assimilation to the stem vowel), which Storch says negates (the lexical content of) the verb. They differ in what precedes the stem and Storch says the pre-stem morphemes negate the modal or aspectual value of the verb[6]. While the combination of **ká** and suffix is clear, the distinction between Factative and "Indicative" is less convincing, for several reasons: 1. Factative is, after all, an Indicative, and 2. **ti** and **ri** are probably related. /rì/ has several shapes, depending on phonological or functional context: [ri, di, ti] (1999:62,63), and the vowel may drop, giving syllabic [r]. /tì/ occurs as [tə̀] in the Imperfective and Progressive (see (15j, k)). In least one context (after 1s **n**-), forms with /rì/ and /tì/ are structurally and tonally homophonous. All this suggests that the distinction between negative /rì/ and /tì/ is recent and probably derives from *rì[7]. Examples:

(15) a **ká-yag-é, nə́n-ká-yag-é**
NEG-go-NEG
'Don't go (s, then p, IMP)'

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[6] If this is true, then it is similar to many Bantu languages, where suffixal **-i** negates the lexical content whereas pre-stem morphemes are associated with denial of (T)AM values.
[7] Storch also suggests a second possibility - that /ti/ derives from older /ti/ 'say'.

b **ɔ́-ká-yag-é, í-ká-yag-é**, **nə́n-ká-yag-é**[8]
2s-NEG-go-NEG
'2s, 1p, 2p shouldn't go (SBJ)'

c **ɔ-rì-yag-é** 'You didn't go.' (FAC)
d **n-tì-yag-é** 'I didn't go.' (FAC)[9]

e **ɔ-tì-yag-é** 'You didn't go, haven't gone.' (PFT)

f **n-tì-yag-é** 'I didn't go, haven't gone.' (PFT)

g **bə-tì-yag-é**   **naa**   **P.**   **mə̀ŋ**
3p-NEG-go-NEG   PRG   P.   NEG
'They weren't going to P.' (PFT PRG)

h **nə́n**-**nàn-tì-pán-kó**   **rí**
2p-yet-NEG-catch-him   FOC
'Ye have not caught him yet.' ('not yet' Perfect)

i **ì-tì-náŋ-yag-é** 'We never go, have never gone.' (HAB)

j **ì-tə̀-f-ʒák**   **ku-pə́ne**
1p-NEG-IPFV-play   him-front
'No one bothers/will bother with him.'
(= 'We don't /won't play in front of him.')

k **ì-tə̀-f-waa**   **naa**   **zaapə̀r**   **mə̀ŋ**
1p-NEG-IPFV-drink   PRG   water   NEG
'We are not drinking water.'

l **ì-nàn-tə̀-f-waa**[10]   **zaapə̀r**   **mə̀ŋ**
1p-yet-NEG-IPFV-drink   water   NEG
'We aren't drinking water yet, won't drink water yet.'

     It is worth mentioning that Storch provides a 'negative equivalent' for nearly all positive forms, with two exceptions. One is that Subjunctive/Conjunctive/Imperative have but a single negative. The other is that her "futures" have no obvious negative – they can only be negated as in (15j) above, which supports the view that they are probably not "future tenses".

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[8] As can be seen, 2s IMP and SBJ differ by the absence versus the presence of an SM, whereas the 2p forms are identical.

[9] Storch says the Perfective negative expresses that the situation described by the negated act is completely finished: "it cannot be expanded by temporal or modal elements and is thus purely aspectual". She says it "underlies all other negated forms which express past actions and events". With stative verbs, it is rendered in German and English by a present, e.g. 'We don't like').

[10] (15h, l) are the only NEGs where a piece of the AM marking precedes the NEG morpheme.

14.7 'Be', auxiliaries, and modals

Jukun has very largely decomposed the verb stem structure it inherited from Niger-Congo and built up a new structure[11]. We thought it worthwhile to outline the apparent, and largely verbal sources for the components of the new structure. Morphemes deriving from auxiliary/modal verbs – and other sources in a couple of cases – appear in three places in the verb structure. They occur at suffix (comparable to the older extensions (§14.7.1), at AM or post-verbally (§14.7.2), and as modal verbs (§14.7.3). In all cases, the source structures still exist, with the same or a similar shape.

14.7.1　　Suffixal valence-changing morphemes

Verbal sources for suffixal (valency changing) morphemes are: **zə̀k**[12] 'take' (becomes the Completive ('do to completion') (16a)); **gyɛ̀n** 'be lost, missing' (becomes the final ('for ever'), (16b)); **yáá/yí** 'give' (becomes the Applicative ('to, for'), (16c)). These extensions, transparently derived from auxiliaries, most likely result from a serial verb sequence. Examples:

(16)　a　**hùù** 'die', **huu-zə̀** 'die out'

　　　b　**yak** 'go', **yak-gyɛ̀n** 'be gone for ever'

　　　c　**ták** 'explain', **tág-í-yá**[13] 'explain to/for'

　　　　Sources for morphemes occurring at AM or post-verbally are: -**rì** 'locative 'be, be in', which occurs in most pre-stem AM morphemes, some but not apparently all Imperfective; -**naa** 'be, be in/at, spend time' (post-verbal Progressive[14]), related to 'lie down'; -**kàŋ** 'become, come back' (Repetitive); the adverbial **nə́m** 'so, like this' (Habitual); the conjunction **máá** 'if' (Conditional). Finally, in this set there is a Consecutive morpheme **mə̀** (for which no source is suggested (see (12), in §14.5.3)).

(17)　a　-**rí** 'be (in)'　　　　**ɔ-rí-yak** 'You buy.'

　　　b　-**kàŋ** 'come back'　　**n-máá-kàŋ**[15]-**bìy**
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　1s-if-REP-come
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　'If I come again.'

　　　c　-**nə́m** 'so'　　　　　**bə-nəm-yak** 'They used to go.'

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[11] The only clearly inherited active post-radical morpheme is -è/-ɛ̀ 'imperative', possibly related to the negative suffix of the same shape but different tonality, é/-ɛ́. Both undergo vowel harmony with the root vowel. A third (mid-toned) suffix of similar shape may reflect an old (Class 5?) affix.

[12] Also occurs as a preverbal auxiliary, 'instrumental'.

[13] The post-radical [i] is epenthetic.

[14] For an alternative Progressive, said to be gradually replacing this, see (3b).

[15] The morpheme -**káŋ** behaves as a verb deriving from a serial construction, in that it is preceded by another AM marker and followed by the unmarked main verb.

d   **-naa** 'be in/at, lie'   **ku-rí-yak naa** 'She is buying.'

14.7.3   *Verbs functioning as modals*

Verbs commonly functioning as modals are: -**zàm** 'want, like' (see (1) for example), -**zuu** 'come out'/'intend', -**nyi**, 'know' and -**dán** 'be no longer able':

(18)   a. -**zuu** 'come out'   **ku-zuu**   **naa**
                           3s-intend   lie.down
                           'She intends to lie down.'

      b. -**nyi** 'know'   **ku-nyi**   **bíʒùù** **ʒùù-ì**
                           3s-know   food   eat-INF
                           'He can eat something.'

      c -**dan** 'no longer able'   **n-dán**   **yag-e**
                           1s-no longer able   walk-SBJ
                           'I can't walk any more.'

References

Storch, Anne. 1999. *Das Hone und seine Stellung im Zentral-Jukunoid*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag