Divergent Structure in Ogonoid Languages

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0.   Location and Demographics

The Ogonoid (Ogoni/Kegboid) language family of southeastern Nigeria (Benue-Congo, Niger-Congo) comprises five languages spoken in a contiguous area across the Niger Delta.[1] Despite shared ethnographic practices, frequent intermarriage and the immediate physical adjacency of these linguistic communities, Ogonoid languages (1) present with strikingly divergent morpho-syntactic structure. All the Ogonoid languages (except Baan) are spoken in an eponymous Local Government Area (LGA) of Rivers State; the political boundaries of each LGA largely reflect the linguistic boundaries. Baan (previously known as Ogoi) is spoken in eastern parts of Eleme LGA and western parts of Tai LGA.

(1)   Population figures for the Ogonoid languages

Language:	Gokana	Kana/Tai	Eleme	Baan
Population:	100000	200000	50000	<5000

1.   Phonology and Lexis of the Ogonoid Languages

To date, classification of the Ogonoid languages as a linguistic family–as is typically the case–has been based on 'systematic' correspondences in the phonology and lexicon of the individual varieties (2). Early classifications of the language family treated Tai as a dialect of Kana (Wolff 1964; Williamson 1985; Faraclas 1989) and in the first published comparison of the Ogonoid languages (Wolff 1964), Baan was likewise omitted, and then informally considered a dialect of Eleme.

The table in (2), based on data from Williamson (1985) and supplemented with additional material from Tai (Nwí-Bàrì 2002), illustrates the differences in the phonological realization of cognate vocabulary across the languages. Generally speaking, Tai and Kana seem to cluster together, and these less so with

Gokana. Baan and Eleme seem themselves to group together, appearing to support the initial classification of Ogonoid listed in (3), adapted from Williamson and Blench (2000:33).

(2)   Cognate vocabulary in the Ogonoid languages

	Gokana	**Kana**	**Tai**	**Baan**	**Eleme**
dance	*zòb*	*yèb*	*yèb*	*dʒee*	*dʒè*
pound	*kűmî́*	*kűm*	*kũm*	*kũũ*	*kũ̀*
sweep	*kpárí*	*kpáe²*	*kpɛɛ*	*kpari*	*kparí*
story	*lóg*	*lóó*	*lóó*	*yógi*	*èlóí*
child	*nẽn*	*nẽ̃ẽ*	*nẽ̃ẽ*	*nẽ̃ẽ*	*ɔnẽ̃*
cooking pot	*bấ*	*bấ*	*bấ*	*bấấ*	*àbấ*
tree	*té*	*té*	*té*	*té*	*èté*
wife	*va*	*wa*	*wa*	*wa*	*ɔwa*
salt	*ló̖*	*ló̖*	*ló̖*	*ǹdó̖*	*ǹló̖*
rope	*mấ*	*mấ*	*mấ*	*m̋ímấ*	*m̀m̋ímấ*

(3)   Classification of the Ogonoid family
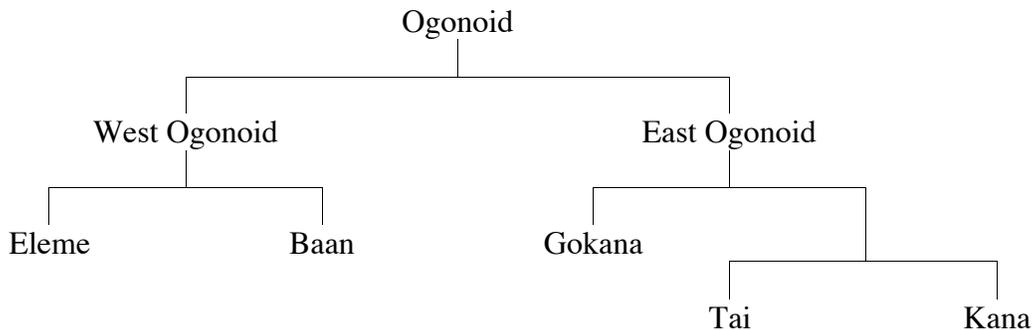
    This classification of Ogonoid is based purely on phonological aspects of lexical data rather than a systematic analysis of the languages crosswise. The comparative picture discussed in brief below is not nearly so clear when structural (morphological, syntactic) or even the ostensibly diagnostic 'phonological' data are considered. On closer examination, it is uncertain that an East Ogonoid node exists *per se*, or that Gokana and Kana actually have a special relation to one another, as opposed to simply being 'not West Ogonoid'. Further, given the paucity of data on Baan, its position within a putative West Ogonoid subgroup with Eleme has yet to be adequately determined.

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² Williamson (1985:434) notes that *l is lost in this citation form from Kana, but retained as [r] in the perfect verb form *è-kpár-a* 'he has swept'.

2.   Divergent Structure in Ogonoid

For the purposes of the following analysis, we limit ourselves to but a handful of the numerous features that characterize the Ogonoid languages both collectively and individually. This includes phonological features, morphological features of nouns and (in particular) verbs, and some features of noun phrase syntax. Within the domain of phonology, the types of coda restrictions exhibited among the Ogonoid languages are examined. The degree of retention of archaic noun class prefixes is also explored, as well as a range of verbal features, including systems of subject and object marking, tense and aspect encoding, use of reduplication in finite verb morphology and the presence of grammaticalized verbal negatives. Data used in the analysis comes from the available published literature on Gokana, Kana, Tai, and Baan, combined with the authors' field notes on Eleme.[3]

2.1.   Coda Restrictions

We start our discussion with a phonotactic feature that has figured prominently in the classification of the Ogonoid languages, namely the presence or absence of coda consonants. As it turns out, Eleme (and insofar as this can be determined Baan as well) indeed differs from Gokana, Kana and Tai in having lost all original final consonants. However, as seen in (5), there is actually considerable variation in the permissible coda consonants of the different 'East' Ogonoid languages.

(4)   Coda consonants in Ogonoid (Williamson 1985: 431; Nwí-Bàrì 2002)

Gokana: *b, l, g, m, n, ŋ*
Kana: *b, g, m, ŋ*
Tai: *b, m, [ŋ], [s]*[4]

According to Faraclas (1986: 40), coda-consonants are common in Cross-River languages and indeed are to be reconstructed for proto-Cross-River (which was typified by *-CVC, *-CVV and *–CVVC roots).

(5)   Coda variation in Kana and Gokana (Ikoro 1996:192)

	forest	**call**	**grass**	**town**	**reject**
Gokana:	*kɔ̀l*	*kól*	*víl*	*bɔ̃n*	*kìn*
Kana:	*kùè*	*kúé*	*ábíé*	*bũɛ̃*	*kĩ̀ĩ*

Even Kana and Gokana show considerable systematic differences in cognate lexemes despite being treated as an undifferentiated type in comparative Ogonoid

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[3] Structural data on Baan is almost entirely lacking and as such Baan does not figure heavily into the discussion below. Further research on Baan may cause some or all of the statements contained in this paper to be modified or revised accordingly.

[4] The last two are found in exactly one word each in Nwí-Bàrì (2002) which appear to either belong to some sort of loan strata or 'affective', 'ideophonic' or 'expressive' register or style.

studies (5). There is thus a tendency to restrict coda position that grows increasingly stronger from right to left in a continuum across the Ogonoid family. This can be represented by in the cline: Gokana > Kana > Tai >> Eleme.

2.2.   Noun Class Prefixes

In addition to coda restrictions in Ogonoid languages, another 'diagnostic' feature that lumps Gokana and Kana together in opposition to Eleme is the absence vs. presence of noun-class prefixes. These prefixes represent archaic features presumably inherited from Proto-Benue-Congo (6). As with coda restrictions, the correspondences among the Ogonoid languages are not nearly as straightforward as has been alleged in the literature. With noun class prefixes, there appears to be more or less the reverse hierarchy where Eleme is the most archaic and preserves the greatest amount of prefixes while Gokana has lost them (completely or nearly so). Kana on the other hand appears to preserve prefixes to a greater degree than was previously realized.

Noun class prefixes in Ogonoid, when present, usually carry a low tone or the tone is copied from the initial syllable of the root. Data from Kana shows that this is merely a tendency, not a rigid absolute, for example *á-yo* 'onion' or *á-kɔm* 'malaria' (Ikoro 1996:58). The shape of the prefix is either vowel or syllabic nasal. In Eleme the vowel is either *a*, *E* or *O* (with harmonic variants). Syllabic nasals show assimilation to the place of articulation of the following consonant.

(6)   Noun class prefixes (Faraclas 1986: 47, 50; Nwí-Bàrì 2002)

	Eleme	Baan	Kana	Gokana	Tai	Proto-Benue-Congo
tooth	*à-dáː*	*dáː*	*dáː*	*dáː*	*dáː*	*li- (sg) *à- (pl)
tree	*è-té*	*té*	*té*	*té*	*té*	*ki- (sg) *bi- (pl)
ashes	*ǹ-tɔ̃*	*ǹ-tɔ̃́*	*tɔ̃́*	*(-rù)*	*tɔ̃́*	
animal	*ǹ-nã*		*nãm*	*nɔ̃m*	*nãm*	*ì- (sg) í- (pl)
goat	*m̀-bó*	*m̀-bó*		*ból*		*ì- (sg) í- (pl)

Kana has preserved prefixes in a significantly greater number of lexemes than previously believed (7). It thus does not 'clearly' pattern with Gokana in this innovation, but rather, as with coda consonants occupies an intermediate position between the two. Tai[5] is closer to Gokana in this respect and Baan appears to be between Kana and Eleme. Thus, Kana appears to preserve a vocalic noun class marker in numeral classifiers that have been lost in Baan, suggesting the following cline for the retention of noun prefixes in Ogonoid: Eleme >> Baan Kana Tai >> Gokana.

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[5] There appear to be a small number of words that have preserved lexicalized noun class markers encoded by syllabic nasals in Tai, e.g. *m̀gbárà* 'small', *ńdè* 'type of cocoyam with heart shaped leaves' (Nwí-Bàrì 2002).

(7)   Preservation of prefixes on numeral classifiers in Kana (Ikoro 1996: 101)

	Baan	**Kana**	**Gokana**
?	*pã*	*ápã*	*pã*
skin	*kpá*	*ákpá*	*kpá*
piece	*péέ*	*ápéέ*	*péέ*
grain	*súú*	*ásúú*	*súú*

2.3.   Verb Morphology

We have now examined the two basic features that have been used to classify and sub-group the Ogonoid languages and have demonstrated that the diachronic picture is far from as clear as would be desirable. This problem is further magnified when examining structural data from these languages. In Ogonoid languages there are bound, cliticized or structurally configured sets of object and subject pronominal elements, and a range of elements encoding tense, aspect, and mood categories. Much of the details correspond across the languages, but the diachronic picture is far from clear. One of the paradoxes of Ogonoid structure is that while lexically the languages seem more or less to reflect accepted *Stammbaum* differentiation (and to an extent exhibit consistent phonological differences as well), the situation when considering equally important morphosyntactic data from a comparative/diachronic perspective is quite different. As a group of languages with no known pre-historical data, argumentation in the analysis of the historical developments in Ogonoid is subject to circularity in the reasoning that attributes structures to the proto-language. Specifically, it is not (yet?) possible in principle to distinguish between shared innovations and common archaic retentions. Given the current geographic configuration of the Ogonoid languages, the most surprising of the structural commonalities is perhaps the significant structural correlations between Gokana and Eleme (their significant differences being perhaps less surprising), as outlined below. In particular, there appear to be virtually no structural innovations in East Ogonoid, questioning its homogeneity as a group that opposes Eleme-Baan in a tree structure.

2.3.1. Object Encoding

Among the most obvious similarities and differences exhibited across the Ogonoid languages is the inflection of pronominal objects. Like many Benue-Congo languages, Ogonoid languages use a set of grammaticalized object pronominals which serve as either clitics or object).[6]

2.3.1.1. First Singular Object

The first singular object marker appears cognate across the Ogonoid languages appearing with **m* and a following front vowel, realized as non-high in Kana-Tai

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[6] These are represented as separate independent elements in Tai orthography, but we suspect they function as clitics in a manner similar to the object pronominals in Kana.

and high in Eleme. The Gokana form lacks a vowel. (Proto-Ogonoid). In any event, Kana-Tai (*-mé/-mɛ/-mE*), Eleme (*–mi*) and Gokana (*-m̋*) all have their own reflexes of a putative Proto-Ogonoid construct **mI* (8-11).

(8) Kana
 nɛ-mé kpugì
 give-1SG money
 'give me money'
 (Wolff 1964:44)

(9) Gokana
 né-m̋ kpège
 give-1SG money
 'give me money'
 (Wolff 1964:44)

(10) Eleme
 né-mi ekpìì
 give-1SG money
 'give me money'
 (Wolff 1964:44)

(11) Tai
 núm beè agara nú a beè me dòò
 NEG.1SG PST respond thing 3SG PST 1SG do
 'I did not respond to what he did to me'
 (Nwí-Bàrì 2002:44)

2.3.1.2. Second Singular Object

In contrast to first singular, the second singular object marking presents a more complex picture. At first glance, it might appear that none of the major languages had cognate forms, but it may turn out that Eleme and Gokana share the same suffix. Eleme exhibits alternations between *n* and *r* followed by nasalized vowel. Note that the second singular object suffixes in Gokana (*-nì/-ni*) and Eleme (*-rũ*), respectively, both with high vowels (13 and 14). This contrasts starkly with the Kana (12) counterparts (*-à/-a/-á*). This suggests that Gokana and Eleme either share an archaic form or innovated a new second singular object suffix that differs from that of Kana (which seems perhaps rather to reflect an element found also in Kana imperatives). Thus, Gokana and Eleme either pattern together to the opposition of Kana or all three show distinct developments.

(12) Kana
 lú sɔ̃́ m̋-kúé=à
 come when 1SG-call=2SG
 'come when I call you'
 (Wolff 1964:44)

(13) Gokana
 dù sé m=kor=nì
 come when 1SG=call=2SG
 'come when I call you'
 (Wolff 1964:44)

(14) Eleme
 m̀-ʔí-rũ
 1SG-marry-2SG
 'I married you'

2.3.1.3. 'Syntax' (or Morphophonology) of Object Encoding

One of the most striking features of Kana (as well as Tai apparently) is the placement of the object pronominal element. Emphatic pronominal and nominal objects follow the verb while clitic objects precede it (15-18). This appears to be a reanalysis of a second position clitic to a proclitic on the verb following an auxiliary. If no auxiliary is present, the object marker appears enclitic to the verb. As with all Tai forms cited herein the non-emphatic pre-verbal object elements are probably proclitic to the verb or enclitic to the auxiliary.

(15) Kana (16) Kana

m̀-weè kúé alo   *m̀-weè a-kue*

1SG-PST call 2SG   1SG-PST 2SG-call

'I called you'   'I called you'

(Ikoro 1996:208)   (Ikoro 1996:207)

(17) Tai (18) Tai

gbárà beè nè yààló irì   *à-beè-wa nè tum*

Gbara PST give coat 1PL   3SG-PST-3PL give advice

'Gbara gave us a coat'   'he gave them some advice'

(Nwí-Bàrì 2002:30)   (Nwí-Bàrì 2002:60)

2.3.2. TAM categories

When viewed from the perspective of the 'traditional' *Stammbaum* of Ogonoid, the tense/aspect/mood categories in the language family show an array of confusing correspondences. These features include marking of past action, imperatives, verbal reduplication, and negative verb constructions.

2.3.2.1. Past

In past function, Kana uses an auxiliary *weè* (19), while Tai (20) and Gokana (21) appear to have virtually identical auxiliaries (*beè*) to the one found in Kana. This is indeed one of the main structural similarities between Gokana and Kana, albeit one that seems to be fully grammaticalized in Kana (23) but perhaps only partially so in Gokana (24). Although Eleme has no such past formation. it does exhibit a cognate perfect[ive] auxiliary *bere* (22) and thus this auxiliary cannot be convincingly used as the foundation for a putative East Ogonoid node.

(19) Kana (20) Tai

m̀-weè lu   *à   beè lu*

1SG-PST come   3SG PST come

'I came'   'he came'

(Ikoro 1996:202)   (Nwí-Bàrì 2002:12)

(21) Gokana (22) Eleme

m-beè fɛ bol   *a-bere ʔù*

1SG-PST kill goat   3SG-PERF die

'I killed a goat.'   'he has died'

(Wolff 1964:47)

(23) Kana (24) Gokana (25) Eleme

m̀ beè-ba nam   *m̀ ba nɔm*   *m̀ ba ǹnã̀*

1SG PST-eat meat   1SG eat meat   1SG eat meat

'I ate meat'   'I ate meat'   'I ate meat'

(Wolff 1964:41)   (Wolff 1964:41)   (Wolff 1964:42)

2.3.2.2. Progressive

Among the prefixes encoding TAM categories found throughout the Ogonoid languages is one encoding a progressive. Eleme (28) and Tai (29) have near-identical forms (*ga-/ka-*), a possible archaic feature to be attributed to Proto-Ogonoid. Kana has long *áá-*, and assuming this element is cognate with that in Eleme and Tai, it differs in that it has lost the initial consonant and is frequently fused with the subject prefix (26). Gokana (27) has a front vowel in this element (*é-*), which optionally appears with an initial voiced velar plosive (*gé-*).

(26) Kana
 áá-lú
 PROG-come
 'he is coming'
 (Wolff 1964:46)

(27) Gokana
 à é-dú
 3SG PROG-come
 'he is coming'
 (Wolff 1964:46)

(28) Tai
 à ga lu
 3SG PROG come
 'he is coming'
 (Nwí-Bàrì 2002:22)

(29) Eleme
 è-ka-dʒú
 3SG-PROG-come
 'he is coming'

2.3.2.3. Habitual

Habitual appears to be a separate development in Gokana, Kana-Tai and Eleme (30-33). In Kana-Tai, the auxiliary *wéè/wée* is found in a habitual function, while Gokana makes use of an auxiliary *ʔóro*. Eleme on the other hand uses a suffix *–a*.

(30) Kana
 m̀-wée lu
 1SG-HAB come
 'I usually come'
 (Ikoro 1996:171)

(31) Tai
 nee wée mènà
 men HAB reproduce
 'human beings reproduce'
 (Nwí-Bàrì 2002:43)

(32) Eleme
 ǹ-de-á ǹdʒa
 1SG-eat-HAB food
 'I usually eat food'

(33) Gokana
 m̀ ʔóro-bà nɔm
 1SG HAB-eat meat
 'I usually eat meat'
 (Wolff 1964:47)

Note that the auxiliary that gives rise to the Kana-Tai habitual (34) appears to be the same (although perhaps in a separate grammaticalization) to the one that underlies the Eleme perfect[ive] (35), and probably also the Kana and Gokana past auxiliaries.

(34) Kana   (35) Eleme
  m̀-weè fà   nám   *m̀-bere kɛ-a   m̀bó*
  1SG-HAB weed farmland   1SG-PERF slaughter-HAB goat
  'I used to weed farmland'   'I used to slaughter goats'
  (Ikoro 1996:171)

What appears to be cognate with the Eleme habitual marker has the function of a perfect marker in Kana (36). In Tai on the other hand (37), perfect is marked by an auxiliary in *nà*.

(36) Kana   (37) Tai
  è-fà-a   náḿ   *à   nà   táa*
  3SG.PERF-weed-PF   farm   3SG PERF finish
  'he has weeded a farm land'   'it has finished'
  (Ikoro 1996:182)   (Nwí-Bàrì 2002:56)

2.3.2.4 Plural imperative

The last TAM category to be examined here is the plural imperative. This appears to be marked by a suffixed *–i* in Gokana and Eleme (40) but in Kana by a preverbal *búí* (38) or *bí-*, the latter followed by a postverbal *–aa* (39). Once again, Gokana and Eleme pattern together in distinction to Kana.

(38) Kana   (39) Kana   (40) Eleme
  búí   dé   *bì-dɔ-aa*   *de-i*
  2PL   eat   2PL-fall-PL.IMP   eat-2PL
  'eat (PL)!'   'fall (PL)!'   'eat (PL)!'
  (Wolff 1964:46)   (Ikoro 1996:190)   (Wolff 1964:46)

2.3.3. Verbal Reduplication

Eleme stands apart from Kana and Gokana in its extensive use of verbal reduplication in finite clauses, marking functions such as future (41) and continuation (42). Note that in Kana and Gokana, reduplication forms a non-finite gerund of the verb.

(41) Eleme   (42) Eleme
  ń-dé-dé   *àŋè ka-de-dé   ǹdʒa*
  1SG-RFUT-eat   3SG PROG-RCNT-eat   food
  'I will eat'   'he is still eating'

2.3.4. Negative Verbal Constructions

Negative verbal constructions vary considerably among the Ogonoid languages. Kana uses emphatic or lengthened forms of the subject pronouns as illustrated in (43) and (44). The third person forms in Kana consist of a fusing of the negative particle *n-* and the lengthened pronominal element (45). It may be that the length-

ening in the first and second person Kana forms reflect the absorption of the *n*-element seen in third person (perhaps originally 1 > 2/3).

(43) Kana
ḿm   maa   lu-na
1SG.NEG 1SG.PROG come-REP
'I am not coming again'
(Ikoro 1996:157)

(44) Kana
ḿm=ye   kue
1SG.NEG=3SG call
'I did not call him'
(Ikoro 1996:339)

(45) Kana
naa   kúé=ye
NEG.3SG call=3SG
'he did not call him'
(Ikoro 1996: 339)

In Tai, there are *n*-marked pronominals and a negative particle depending on the conjugation (46-48). Tonal alternations are also evident in the Tai negative.

(46) Tai
m̀   ga   si
1SG PROG go
'I am going'
(Nwí-Bàrì 2002:42)

(47) Tai
nú   m   ga   si
NEG 1SG PROG go
'I am not going'
(Nwí-Bàrì 2002:42)

(48) Tai
à   náa   beè gə̀ə̀ə̀
3SG NEG.3SG PST hesistate
'he did not hesitate'
(Nwí-Bàrì 2002:22)

In Gokana (49-51), there is a whole series of *n*-pronominals in the negative (with the tonal pattern MH for Neg.Fut, HL elsewhere). Note the differences in the form of the negative pronominal based on presence (50) and absence (51) of the past auxiliary.

(49) Gokana
néɛ̀   mɔn   ɛ̀
NEG.1PL see 3SG
'we did not see him'
(Wolff 1964:48)

(50) Gokana
náà   beè-mɔn   im
NEG.3SG PST-see 1SG
'he did not see me'
(Wolff 1964:48)

(51) Gokana
náɛ̀   mɔn   im
NEG.3SG see 1SG
'he did not see me'
(Wolff 1964:48)

Eleme presents a more complex historical picture. Like the other languages, there appears to be a *n prefix (often realized, as is generally the case in Eleme, as *r* plus nasalized vowel) preceding the pronominal subject elements in the verbal complex in at least some paradigms. In the past, as in (52) and (53), and habitual (54) forms, there is a reduplication of the stem; in the negative future and negative progressive, a negative modal or irrealis inflection is found (55). The past and present are distinguished both tonally (MH in the past, HM in the habitual) and by the presence (past) or absence (habitual) of the negative 'particle' *(*n/r)* element found across the Ogonoid languages in negative verb formations.

(52) Eleme
rɪ̃ɪ̃   m̀-be-bé   òbe
NEG 1SG-RNEG-fight fight
'I didn't fight'

(53) Eleme
ró-be-bé-i   òbe
NEG.2-RNEG-fight-2PL fight
'you didn't fight'

(54) Eleme   (55) Eleme

   m̀-bé-be   *òbe*   *ré   ḿ-bá-be*   *òbe*

   1SG-RNEG-fight fight   NEG 1SG-MOD.NEG-fight   fight

   'I don't fight'   'I will not fight'

3.   Comparative Ogonoid revisited

In summary, we offer the following table showing a range of structural similarities and differences across four members of the Ogonoid language family.

(56)   Partial Summary of Comparative Ogonoid Structural Features

	Eleme	**Kana**	**Tai**	**Gokana**
Syllable codas	-	+	+	+
Noun class prefixes	+[7]	±[8]	-?	-[9]
Verbal reduplication	+	±	-	-
Negative verb	+	-	-	+
Past auxiliary	-/+	+	+	±
Plural imperative suffix	+	-	-	+
Object in A/SVC	+	-	-	+
1SG subject	+	-	?	+
***g*-progressive**	+	-	+	+

   Eleme clearly differs from the 'East' Ogonoid languages in a number of ways, but this is not to be understood that Kana and Gokana form a coherent whole in opposition to Eleme. Among the salient features found in Eleme that characterizes this language vis-à-vis its attested sister languages is the complete lack of coda consonants, the relatively common if lexicalized occurrence of noun class prefixes and the use of reduplication in negative and other finite verbal clauses. Kana differs from Eleme and Gokana in its system of object marking in auxiliary and serial verb constructions and in the formation of plural imperatives. Kana, Gokana and Eleme all differ in progressive auxiliary/prefix and instrumental verbal suffix allomorphy, the system of future marking, 2nd singular object marker (although see above for arguments that Gokana and Eleme may pattern together here) and in negative formations. Conversely, Kana, Gokana and Eleme all show the same structure in 1st singular object marking (the form of the marker not its placement) and subject marking. Gokana differs from the rest of Ogonoid in having no trace of reduplication or emphatic/prosodic lengthening in negatives and the near complete lack of even vestigial noun class prefixes. Also, Tai differs from Kana in preserving the *g*-initial progressive marker and in its perfect[ive] construction. Finally, what little is known of Baan suggests that it differs from Eleme in that it

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[7] Vestigial noun class prefixes in very small number of forms.
[8] Remnant forms with noun class prefixes occur to small degree.
[9] Noun class prefixes in perhaps a half-dozen total words.

has no syllabic nasal noun class prefixes preserved, only vocalic ones. In summary, the details of the actual internal relationships of the Ogonoid subgroups of Benue-Congo languages remain a subject for further research.

Abbreviations

1	first-person	**PERF**	perfect	**RCNT**	continuous
2	second-person	**PF**	perfective		(reduplication)
3	third-person	**PL**	plural	**REP**	repetitive
HAB	habitual	**PROG**	progressive	**RFUT**	future (reduplication)
IMP	imperative	**PRTCL**	particle	**RNEG**	negative (reduplication)
MOD	modal	**PST**	past	**SG**	singular
NEG	negative				

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