Chapter 6: MORPHOLOGY

This chapter deals essentially with the structure of the Bantu noun and verb. It also addresses, in a cursory way, the noun class system of some Grassfields languages of Cameroon.

I. The structure of the Bantu Noun.

Depending upon the language, the structure of the Bantu noun may be as follows:

Prefix + stem
Augment + prefix + stem
Secondary prefix + prefix + stem

These different structures will be addressed through the discussion of the various points in this section, namely, the Bantu noun prefixes, concord, the augment in Bantu languages and the secondary prefixes.

I.1. Bantu noun prefixes.

In most Bantu languages, the Bantu noun consists of a prefix and a stem. This is exemplified in the following Swahili nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swahili</th>
<th>Prefix + stem</th>
<th>Prefix + stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-tu</td>
<td>'person'</td>
<td>wa-tu 'people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c1-stem</td>
<td></td>
<td>c2-stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-ti</td>
<td>'a tree'</td>
<td>mi-ti 'trees'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c3-stem</td>
<td></td>
<td>c4-stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-ti</td>
<td>'stool'</td>
<td>vi-ti 'stools'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c7-stem</td>
<td></td>
<td>c8-stem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In these forms, m-, wa-, m-, mi-, ki-, vi- are nominal prefixes. These prefixes are grouped into singular/plural. Each prefix belongs to a specific class, depending upon its shape and the meaning it gives to the noun to which it belongs. Thus m- of m-tu 'person' is class one (c1) whereas m- of m-ti 'tree' is class 3 (c3). There is a total of 24 classes as shown in the table of nominal prefixes below. Not all the different classes are necessarily found in a given Bantu language. The numbering of these classes was proposed by Bleek (1862) and Carl Meinhof (1899, 1932).
The Bantu Noun Prefix system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>*PB</th>
<th>Zulu</th>
<th>Setswana</th>
<th>Luganda</th>
<th>*PB/Meeus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>un-</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>omu-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a sg</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>av-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a pl</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sg</td>
<td>vo-</td>
<td>oo-</td>
<td>bo-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pl</td>
<td>me-</td>
<td>imi-</td>
<td>me-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 sg</td>
<td>le-</td>
<td>le-</td>
<td>le-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>di-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 pl</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ama-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 sg</td>
<td>ke-</td>
<td>isi-</td>
<td>se-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 pl</td>
<td>vi-</td>
<td>øv-</td>
<td>øv-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>bi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8x pl</td>
<td>li-</td>
<td>izi-</td>
<td>li-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>bi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 sg</td>
<td>ne-</td>
<td>iN-</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>eN-</td>
<td>N-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 pl</td>
<td>li-ne</td>
<td>iziN-</td>
<td>iN-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 sg</td>
<td>lo-</td>
<td>lo-</td>
<td>olo-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>lu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 sg</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>aks-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 pl</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>tu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 sg/pl</td>
<td>vo-</td>
<td>uBu-</td>
<td>bo-</td>
<td>øv-</td>
<td>bu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 neut</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>uku-</td>
<td>xo0</td>
<td>ð-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 nt</td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>pha-</td>
<td>Fa-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>pa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 nt</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>xo-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>fi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 sg/pl</td>
<td>pi</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>fi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 sg</td>
<td>Go-</td>
<td>ogu-</td>
<td>gu-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>gu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 sg</td>
<td>Gi-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>zi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 pl</td>
<td>Ga-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 nt</td>
<td>Ge-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>gi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 i-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>ø-</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few notes about this table are in order. Two versions of the reconstructed ProtoBantu nominal prefixes are given. The one in the left column appears in Welmers (1973) and the one in the right column is by Meeussen. The reflexes of these prefixes are exemplified in the nominal prefixes of Zulu, Setswana and Luganda. The following are characteristics of these prefixes.

Classes 1-2 consist of personal nouns, a few other animate nouns, rarely inanimates. Classes 3-4 consist of names of trees and other plants and inanimate things. Classes 5-6 include miscellaneous objects and also augmentatives. Classes 7-8 also include miscellaneous things and also diminutives or augmentatives. Classes 7-8 also indicate the manner or the style of doing things. Classes 9-10 include most animal names, inanimate nouns and a few personal nouns. Class 11 includes objects that are generally thin and long objects; it also includes attenuatives and abstract things. Classes 12-13 include diminutives. Class 14 is a plural class and it also includes nouns for abstract things. Class 15 is the class prefix for verbal infinitives. Classes 16, 17, and 18 consist of locatives; these are not basic prefixes but they appear in the concordial system. Class 19 is a class for diminutives; e.g. Kikongo: mbéele 'knife' fi-mbéele 'small knife'. Classes 20-23 are
rare. Class 20 is a class for augmentatives or diminutives. Class 21 is a class for augmentatives and pejoratives. Class 22 has been found only in Luganda and it forms its plural in class 20 or class 5. Class 23 is another locative which, in some languages, appears in combination with the prefix of many other classes. Class 24 is a locative found in Hima (Meeussen 1967).

I.2. Concord

I.2.1. The notion of concord.

Although the form (shape) of the prefix is the primary indicator of the class number of a given prefix, a more precise determination of its number is revealed by the types of concordial affixes, i.e. dependent prefixes it patterns with in the sentence as exemplified in the following Swahili sentences.

Swahili
m-tu a-me-potea 'a person got lost'
c1-stem v1-TM-stem
wa-tu wa-me-potea 'people got lost'
c2-stem v2-TM-stem
m-zigo u-me-potea 'a packet got lost'
c3-stem v3-TM-stem
mi-zigo i-me-potea 'packets got lost'
c4-stem v4-TM-stem
n-dizi i-me-potea 'a banana got lost'
c9-stem v9-TM-stem
n-dizi zi-me-potea 'bananas got lost'
c10-stem v10-TM-stem

In these forms, c1, c2, etc. stand for class 1, class 2 noun prefixes and v1, v2 stand for verbal prefixes of class 1, 2 respectively. The verbal prefix is a concordial morpheme. Two types of classes must be posited for the prefix m- because it patterns with different concordial prefixes, namely, a- in class 1 and u- in class 3. Other kinds of concordial affixes are given in the following table. In this table, the verbal prefix is called subject prefix.

I.2.2. Concord affixes:

The following are concordial affixes with exemplifications in Swahili. The concordial affix in each sentence is re-written in the right column.

Attributive: m-tu m-moja 'one person' m-
wa-tu wa-wili '2 people' wa-
m-tu w-a Yaounde 'a person from Yaounde' w-a-
vi-tu vy-a Yaounde 'things from Yaounde' vy-a-
Demonstrative m-tu yu-1c 'that person' yu-
Relative m-tu a-li-ye-kuja 'the person who came' ye-
wa-tu wa-li-o-kuja 'people who came' -o-
vi-tu vi-li-vyo-kuja 'things that came' -vyo-
1.3. Types of nominal forms in Bantu languages.

There are two types of nominal forms: the underived nouns and the derived nouns. An underived noun comes with its own prefix. Such a prefix may be called primary prefix. Thus, in Swahili, words like m-buza (c9) 'goat', m-tu (c1) 'person', wa-toto (c2) 'children', ma-wingu (c6) clouds consist of this primary prefix and a stem. It will be shown later that such nouns may have secondary prefixes.

The derived nouns are called derived because they usually derive from verbs (deverbatives) or other nouns. The following types of derived nouns are common in Bantu. (In these forms, the name of the language is not indicated, assume that it is a PB reconstruction. These examples are taken from Meeussen 1967.)

Deverbatives e.g. bu-dim-i 'field'; mu-dim-u 'work'
di-dim-a; 'act of working'; ci-dim-e 'worker';
m-fund-il-u 'manner of writing'
ng-end-e1-a 'reason for leaving';
  ci-end-e1-u 'manner of going'
Reduplicated stem: ka-zubu-zubu 'miserable hut'
  ka-kanda-kanda 'a small booklet'

Stem + stem:
  -dume 'male' umu-ala-lume 'masculine man' (Lamba)
onu-kuru-rume 'old male' (Herero)
  -kudu 'big, old' nyina-kulu 'his mistress' (Lamba)
tate-guru 'my grand-father' (Shona)
  -kadi 'female' im-buza-kazi 'female goat' (Nguni)
komo-ali 'female cow' (Sotho)
  -ana 'child' im-buza-ana 'small goat' (Nguni)
  mo-tho-ana 'small man' (Sotho)

1.4. The Augment in Bantu languages.

Although we have seen that a Bantu noun consists of a prefix and a stem, some Bantu languages have an initial vowel, called augment, before the prefix. The structure of such nouns is thus: augment + prefix + stem. Very often, the augment assumes different shapes in different Bantu languages. Thus, it can be:

a) a vowel similar to the vowel of the prefix.
e.g. u-mu-nu 'person' a-ba-nu 'persons' (Zulu)
b) a vowel with a lower degree of aperture if the nominal prefix is i.e. e.g. o-mu-nu 'man' o-mi-ti 'trees' (Ganda)
c) an invariable vowel.
e.g. o-mu-ndu 'man' o-va-ndu 'people' (Herero)

Note that certain languages like Ruund and Shona may have
augments only in monosyllabic stems; others will have them only in class 9 or 6.

1.5. Secondary prefixes.

Whereas the primary prefix gives to the nominal form its grammatical gender (class) and number (singular or plural), the secondary prefix adds something more lexical like: "small, big, huge, amiable, despicable, etc." This secondary prefix is thus both a grammatical and a lexical prefix.

There are two kinds of secondary prefixes:

a) a prefix that simply replaces the primary prefix.
   e.g. ka-buji 'small goat' (cf. m-buji 'goat' in Luba)
   ki-toto 'small child' (cf. m-toto 'child' in Swahili)
   uru-ntu 'hatable thing' (cf. iki-ntu 'thing' in Rwanda)

b) a pre-prefix when it is prefixed to the primary prefix.
   e.g. kaa-mu-ntu 'worthless man' (mu-ntu 'man' in Songye)
   tuu-mi-kooko 'worthless goats' (mi-kooko in Songye)

Note that such a pre-prefix imposes concord and if it does not, it is not considered a preprefix. Usually, the primary prefix becomes inert. e.g. tu-mi-sulu/tu-mu-sulu.

The most common secondary prefixes are in the following classes:

classes 1/2 and they indicate personification:
   e.g. mujaya 'young man' from jaya 'young man' in Shona;

class 3 and it indicates monstruosity:
   mu-zi-jembere 'monstruosity of an old woman' (Shona)
   mu-zi-rume 'monstruosity of a male' (Shona)

class 5 and it indicates an augmentative:
   e.g. jembere 'big woman' cf. cembere (cl 9) 'old woman'
   buka 'big beast' cf. nhuka (cl 9) 'beast'

classes 7/8 and they indicate pejorative meaning as in Shona,
   Swahili, and Rwanda; e.g. ci-kadzi 'small woman'
   cana 'small and big child'

class 11 and it indicates a pejorative augmentative. This secondary
   prefix is for example found in Shona and Rwanda; e.g. rupuka
   'animal without flesh'.

classes 12/13 and they indicate the diminutive. These secondary
   prefixes are very common in Bantu languages; e.g. ka-rume
   'small man'; ka-mu-rume 'small man' (Shona)

class 14 and it indicates abstract things. This secondary prefix is
   also very common in Bantu languages. e.g. bwana 'childhood'

class 19 and it indicates the diminutive as in Shona, Duala, Kongo;
   e.g. fi-nzo 'small cottage' in Kongo
   shi-nguruwe 'piglet' in Shona.

classes 20/22 and they indicate a depreciative as in Ganda;
   e.g. u-gunu 'despicable person' in Kinga.

To wind up this section on the structure of the noun in Bantu
languages, we discuss in more details the structure of the
Kiswahili noun through data from Karl Reynolds (m.s.) and the

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Structure of the Kinande noun (Mutaka 1994:19). The interest of the noun structure in these two languages lies in the fact that a clear distinction is drawn from primary and secondary prefixes.

1.6. On the differences between primary and secondary prefixes.

1.6.1. The structure of the Kiswahili nominal

Examine the following words that contain the primary class prefixes.

a. ki-tabu 'book'
   ki-pofu 'blind person'
   ki-akula [ch-akula] 'food'
   ki-uo [ch-uo] 'school/book'

b. ki-boko 'hippo'
   ki-gumizi 'stuttering'
   ki-oo 'toilet'

These nouns have ki- as the primary class prefix. Notice that the velar sound "k" in the (b) forms undergo palatalization when the prefix ki- precedes a vowel. In the following forms that contain a secondary prefix, also called "independent prefix" by Karl Reynolds (personal communication), the palatalization of k- does not obtain as illustrated below.

c. Primary prefix
   m-toto 'child'
   m-lima 'mountain'
   m-buzi 'goat/s'
   m-jia 'path/s'
   u-vuli 'shade'

d. Independent prefix:
   ki-toto 'infant'
   ki-lima 'hill'
   ki-buzi 'little goat'
   ki-jia 'narrow path'
   ki-vuli 'shadow'

e. ki-alimu *ch-alimu 'small teacher'
   ki-embe *ch-embe 'small mango'

The forms in the left column have a primary prefix. The ki- prefix in the right column is a secondary prefix. It marks a diminutive. Notice that the velar consonant of ki- in (e) fails to palatalize unlike the one in (b). This failure to palatalize is due to the fact that the ki- in (e) is a secondary class prefix. This distinction between the two ki- prefixes in Swahili led Reynolds to conclude that the primary prefix ki- attaches to the stem whereas the secondary prefix ki- (i.e. the independent prefix) attaches to the word.

Support for this analysis can also be deduced from the prefix ji- that attaches to the verb stem, hence to the noun stem as shown in the following data.

f. ku-lipa 'to pay'
   ku-vuna 'to collect'
   ku-sifu 'to praise'

   ku-jilipa 'to pay oneself'
   ku-jivuna 'to brag'
   ku-jisifu 'to praise oneself'

g. ma-jilipo 'repayment'
   ma-jivuno 'conceit'
   m-jisifu 'braggart'

The ji- in (f) attaches to the stem and in (g), it merely behaves
as part of the stem when a class prefix is added.

1.6.2. The structure of the Kinande noun.

The noun in Kinande consists of an augment + prefix + stem. There is a number of nouns in class 5 whose prefix have a [+ATR] high vowel. This [+ATR] feature is not underlyingly associated with the prefix vowel as there are other words in class 5 that do not have the [+ATR] vowel as shown in the following forms.

a. c-ri-lima 'work'  
c-ri-tšoku 'hail'  
c-ri-tōnda 'fruit'  
c-ri-lōk-a 'to weave'  
c-ri-sak-a 'to incise'  
c-ri-sēk-a 'to mock'

b. e-ri-bere 'breast'  
e-ri-kala 'ember'  
e-ri-sēsə 'type of grass'

c-ri-βunu 'banana'  
c-ri-sũngu 'type of rat'  
c-ri-βumba 'clay'  
c-ri-hum-a 'to hit'  
c-ri-sok-a 'to cross'  
c-ri-lir-a 'to cry'

e-ri-hembe 'horn'  
e-ri-saka 'type of rat'

e-ri-sēsə 'type of grass'

The class 5 prefix ri- in (a) is [-ATR] whereas it is [+ATR] in (b). It is proposed in Mutaka (1994) that the nouns in (b) have a floating [+ATR] that docks onto the prefix vowel. A comparison of these forms in (b) with the forms in (c) that use a secondary class prefix shows that the [+ATR] can only apply on the high front vowel of a primary class prefix. The relevant data with a secondary class prefix are illustrated below.

c. c-ki-bere 'a big breast'  
c-ki-kala 'a big ember'  
c-ki-sēsə 'a big type of grass'

c-ki-hembe 'a big horn'  
c-ki-saka 'a big kind of rat'

If the floating [+ATR] of the nouns in (b) treated all the prefixes in the same way, we would expect it to dock on the high vowel of the secondary prefix in (c) and produce such forms as *c-ki-bere, *c-ki-hembe. But it does not. Mutaka (1994) uses this failure of the [+ATR] to dock on the secondary prefix as evidence that the primary prefix and the secondary prefix are not affixed to the stem at the same stratum: [+ATR] docking applies before the secondary prefix is affixed to the stem.

1.7. The Grassfields Bantu languages of Cameroon: Notes on their noun class systems.

The nominal class prefixes that have been presented in the first section of this chapter apply to narrow Bantu languages. The Grassfields Bantu languages of Cameroon present a much simplified noun class system. To help the student form a general idea of the class system of these languages, we give here samples of such noun classes in some of these languages and relevant data for their establishment. But before giving these noun classes, some general remarks on these languages that have been pointed out by Watters & Leroy (1989:442) about the correspondence of southern Bantoid and
Narrow Bantu are in order here.

1.7.1. General remarks on Grassfields Bantu languages.

Classes 1 through 10 are found in many languages. Class 4 is absent in Mbam-Nkam, Ekoid, and Esimbi but present in Ring, Momo, Mbam, and Beboid. Class 6a is found in Esimbi, Ekoid, Nyang, Momo, Menchum, Ring Beboid, and Mbam. Relics of an *a- instead of *ki- are found as the noun prefix of class 7 in all Mbam-Nkam, all of Momo, some of Ring and Beboid (Noni), and some Bantu Zone A languages. Class 11 is present in Mbam, class 12 in Mbam and Beboid. Class 13 is absent in Mbam-Nkam and Ekoid. The exponent of class 13 shows up as ti- in Esimbi, Momo, Ring, and Menchum, but as tu- in Beboid and Mbam. Classes 14 and 15 are generally absent in the entire Grassfields area, but present elsewhere, though Fe-Fe-Bamileke has the reflex of the earlier 15/6 Proto-Bantu pairing.

The locative classes 16 to 18 are generally absent throughout the whole area. Relics of these classes may be found in the locative pronouns. However restricted locative agreement is found in some Mbam-Nkam, Momo, and Ring languages. Class 19 as singular class is generally attested in every subgroup.

They further point out that the following features characterize Southern Bantu languages:

i. the emergence of nasal prefixes in noun classes 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, and 10; these nasal prefixes are fully developed in Narrow Bantu;

ii. the beginning convergence of noun classes 6 and 6a, which are fully merged into one class in Narrow Bantu;

iii. the presence of a nasal class as the plural for class 19, a feature not found in Narrow Bantu nor in Northern Bantoid.


As they further point out, the initial two-way split in Bantoid has been maintained on the basis of two lexical innovations: *bom 'mouth', which defines the Northern Bantoid branch and *-kadi 'woman', which defines Southern Bantoid, including Bantu. (cf. Watters, J. 1989. "Bantoid Overview" in B-S (ed.) p. 413.)

1.7.2. The noun class in some Grassfields Bantu languages.

The following table adapted from Hombert (1976) and Dieu & Renaud (1983) presents the family tree of the Grassfields Bantu languages and locates the languages whose noun classes are sketchily presented in this section.
Family tree of Grassfields Bantu languages.

Grassfields Bantu

Western Grassfields

Ring
Menchum
Kom
Lamnso

Mbum

Mono
Lower
Mundani

Ngie
Oshie
Ngamambo

Mbam-Nkam

Nkambe
Nun
Ngemba
Bamileke

Mankon
Ngwe

Ngie (Hombert 1976)

This table of noun classes in Ngie aims to show that there may be several prefixes in a class and that different classes may have similar prefixes but to distinguish the different classes, the possessive marker has been found as the best test to help distinguish different classes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>'my'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. i-</td>
<td>ìtä  'friend'</td>
<td>ōngū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ā'bu  'lady'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ūfän 'chief'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wā 'person' (also analyzable as w-ā)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. i-</td>
<td>ìtä 'friends'</td>
<td>ōmbūn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ā'bu 'ladies'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ūfän 'chiefs'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bā 'persons' (also analyzable as b-ā)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ū-</td>
<td>ūkōn 'bed'</td>
<td>ōngū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. i-</td>
<td>ūkōn 'beds'</td>
<td>īnī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. i-</td>
<td>ūkōn 'bean'</td>
<td>īnī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ā-</td>
<td>ākōn 'beans'</td>
<td>īnī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ū-</td>
<td>āwū 'bone'</td>
<td>īnī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ū-</td>
<td>ūwū 'bones'</td>
<td>ōmbū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. ī-</td>
<td>ībē 'dog'</td>
<td>īnī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bē 'dog'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. i-</td>
<td>ībē 'dogs'</td>
<td>ītīn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bē 'dogs'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. i-</td>
<td>ĩkf 'floors'</td>
<td>ītīn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. ū-</td>
<td>ūbē 'knife'</td>
<td>ēfūn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a. ū-</td>
<td>ūnē 'water'</td>
<td>ōmbūn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As pointed out by Hombert (1976), the class genders in Ngie are the following: 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 5/13, 7/8, 9/10, 19/13, 6a.

Ngamambo (Asongwed & Hyman 1976)

In addition to showing the noun class prefixes, the following table aims to point out the necessity of isolating the consonant and the tone concord that correspond to a given class. A much detailed analysis of the Grassfields languages shows that, for any given
class, the initial consonant of the concordial affix (e.g. possessive marker) for the dependent words related to the head noun is the same. In some Grassfields languages, the tone may also help distinguish prefixes that would otherwise appear to be similar segmentally.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Noun prefix</th>
<th>Consonant/tone concord</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. 1</td>
<td>ḏ-, (w-)</td>
<td>w e.g. fôn 'chief'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 2</td>
<td>mö-, (b-)</td>
<td>mb mëfôn 'chiefs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg. 3</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>w übën 'breast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 6</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>z übën 'breasts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6a</td>
<td>mb ünë (bridge) pl. mänë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg. 7</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>z xo 'arm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 8</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>mb übò 'arms'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg. 9</td>
<td>ḏ-, N-</td>
<td>z mbap 'giant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 10</td>
<td>ḏ-, N-</td>
<td>t mbap 'giants'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 13</td>
<td>ḏ-</td>
<td>t lejë 'flies'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg. 19</td>
<td>fe-</td>
<td>f fejë 'fly'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The noun class of the remaining languages, i.e. Mankon, Kom, Oshie, Lamso, and Ngeve have been established on the basis of the data that are provided after the presentation of each language. Our aim of presenting them here is to offer the possibility for students of Grassfields languages to improve on them and, most importantly, to inspire students to work out the noun class systems of other Bantu languages.

Mankon

The following table summarizes the noun class system of Mankon, a Grassfields Bantu language of Mbam-Nkam that belongs to the Ngemba group (Williamson 1971, Leroy 1977).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>PB prefix</th>
<th>Nominal Prefix</th>
<th>Possessive Prefix &quot;my&quot;</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(a)</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>ḏ-</td>
<td></td>
<td>lùpû spoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>N-</td>
<td></td>
<td>m-fô chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>bô-</td>
<td></td>
<td>bî-lùpû spoons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bî-fô chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3(a)</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td></td>
<td>1l'f ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>N-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngânë root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>di-</td>
<td>nî-</td>
<td></td>
<td>nîlwi noses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>mî-</td>
<td></td>
<td>mîlwi noses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td></td>
<td>âlîngë chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>bi-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td></td>
<td>âlîngë chairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋbëvô dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋbëvô dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>fô-</td>
<td></td>
<td>fënsanë broom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following chart shows class pairing for the singular and the plural forms. The firm line indicates the majority of cases whereas the dotted line indicates the class pairing for a few words in these classes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Noun class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.a</td>
<td>̀a-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>b4-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.b</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.a</td>
<td>̀i-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>m4-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.b</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>nì-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>ò-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>òi-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following words exemplify the data used for establishing the noun class system of Mankan.

Class 1/2: a. lù?ú spoon bi-lù?ú spoons
           siné bird bi-sìnà birds
           föré rat bi-fòrë rats
           m-foś chief bi-foś chiefs
           m-ù child b-ù children
           m-ângyë woman b-ângyë women
           n-u person b-à people
           n-yârë thief

Class 3/6 a. ò-bhë sin mì-bhë sins
           ò-sà?à case mì-sà?à cases
           ò-lë ant mì-lë ants
           ò-gàgë gun
           m-bàngë kernel
           n-tómë heart mì-ntëmë hearts
           n-tëwë nose mì-tëwë eyes
           n-këwë arm mì-këwë arms
           n-ngàmë plantain

Class 7/8 ò-lañë chair ò-lañë chairs
           ò-kàñë pan ò-kàñë pans, dishes

Class 9/10 m-bì goat ò-bì goats
           ò-làkë monkey ò-làkë monkeys
           n-dà house n-dà houses

Class 19/10 ò/kë small bed
           ò/nsàë broom nsàë brooms
           ò/kìnaë bean mì-kùnà beans
           ò/nsàë broom mì-nsàë brooms
           ò/nañë book ò/nañë books
           ò/kañë promise ò/kañë promises
           ò/kañë leg (bird) mì-kàgó legs (of a bird)
Also called Itanikom by its native speakers, i.e. the language of the Kom people, Kom is a Grassfields Bantu language of the Ring subdivision of Western Grassfields (Hombert 1976:3). Of particular interest in this language is the existence of a suffix in class 10 and an infix in class 8 that are not observed in Proto-Bantu. Its noun class system is schematically presented in the following table.

The noun class system of Kom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Number</th>
<th>PB prefix</th>
<th>Nominal Prefix/suffix</th>
<th>Possessive &quot;my&quot;</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(a)</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>w-</td>
<td>-wūm</td>
<td>w-ūl man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-nēmā</td>
<td>w-ūlwi woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w-ūlūnnē</td>
<td>w-ūlūlūnnē man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gō-li♭</td>
<td>gō-li♭ persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gō-lūnnē</td>
<td>gō-lūnnē men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>ge-</td>
<td>-gōm</td>
<td>mī-tām guavas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>-mēm</td>
<td>1-wūm egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>di-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>-yēmī</td>
<td>ā-wūm eggs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>-kōmā</td>
<td>ā-lān cocoyam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>a♭-</td>
<td>-wūm</td>
<td>1-iwan cocoyams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>bi-</td>
<td>i♭-</td>
<td>-yēm</td>
<td>bē dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>0/--s♭</td>
<td>-sēms♭</td>
<td>bī-s♭ dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>t♭-</td>
<td>-tēmt♭</td>
<td>tī-ngōm plantains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ā-fīn there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>f♭-</td>
<td>fēmūn♭</td>
<td>fī-tām guava</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 8 is very interesting in that its nominal prefix ʕ- is a vowel without a consonantal onset and the consonant following it is labialized. In other words, it could be said that, in addition to the nominal prefix ʕ- this class has a [+round] feature infix that is inserted after the first consonant of the root.

Class 10 also shows some peculiarity in that it has a suffix. This suffix -s♭ is presumably the same morpheme that appears as a suffix in the possessive adjective sēms♭ 'my'. The prefixes of classes 13 and 19 also appear as suffixes in the possessive marker: e.g. tēm-ťi 'my parcels' (cl 13), fēm-ūn 'my knife' (cl 19).

We have grouped the locative forms under class 16 with the nominal prefix a-, assuming that it derives from the PB locative prefix pa-where the consonantal onset has been lost. This class contains words like the following: ā-ff 'there', ā-fīn 'here', ā-nōdō 'in the house'.

It should also be observed that there are two kinds of possessive adjectives used for class 1. The monomorphemic words like wūl 'person' and wī 'wife' use the possessive marker wūm 'my' whereas the other forms use nēmā 'my' as in wūlwi nēmā 'my woman', wūlūnnē nēmā 'my man, wūlfelni nēmā 'my worker'.

The following words exemplify the data used for establishing the
noun class system of Kom.

Class 1/2: 
- wūl: person
- wī: wife
- wūl-wī: woman
- wūl-lūnmē man

Class 19/4: 
- fĩ-nūi: knife
- fĩ-tūm: guava
- fĩ-lūm: net

Class 5/6: 
- ī-wūm: egg

Class 7/8: 
- ā-bā́: yam
- ā-lān: cocoyam
- ā-bāyn: fufu

Class 9/10: 
- m-fī: rope
- ndōn: potato
- mbvē: goat
- bī: dog

Class 13: 
- ī-ngōm: plantain
- ī-bū́: parcel

Class 16: 
- ā-fī: there
- ā-ngō: in the house

Oshie

The following table summarises the noun class system of Oshie, a Grassfields Bantu language of the Momo subdivision of Western Grassfields (Hombert 1976:3).

The noun class system of Oshie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Number</th>
<th>PB prefix</th>
<th>Nominal Prefix</th>
<th>Possessive &quot;my&quot;</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>we-</td>
<td>mū-</td>
<td>wē-yī woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>bc-</td>
<td>būmū-</td>
<td>bē-yī women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>né-</td>
<td>ā-yāt tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>būmū-</td>
<td>ū-yāt trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>di-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>nī-</td>
<td>ī-tēk stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>tān̄-</td>
<td>ā-tēk stones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>mū-</td>
<td>ā-wū bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>bi-</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>tān̄-</td>
<td>ū-wū bones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>né-</td>
<td>ā-bōk dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bū́i-</td>
<td>bōi goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kāwū-</td>
<td>kawu cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>tān̄-</td>
<td>ī-bōk dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ū-kāwū-</td>
<td>ū-kawu cows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>fūmū-</td>
<td>ū-bēk knife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Oshie, the possessive marker precedes the noun as in the following examples:
a. mǔ yì my woman (from mǔ we-yì)
bǔmǔ yì my women (from bǔmǔ bę-yì)
b. nê yát my tree (from nê a-yat)
bǔmǔ yát my trees (from bǔmǔ u-yat)
nǐ têk my stone (from nĩ i-têk)
tâna têk my stones (from tâna a-têk)
mų wū my bone (from mų a-wu)
tâna wū my bones (from tâna u-wu)
nê bök my dog (from nê a-bök)
tâna bök my dogs (from tâna i-bök)

The following are illustrative examples that have been used for establishing the noun class system of Oshie.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>wê-yi</td>
<td>wê-nóm</td>
<td>bê-yi</td>
<td>wê-nóm men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wê-t</td>
<td>bê-t</td>
<td>wê-t people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>â-yát</td>
<td>â-nãŋ</td>
<td>ü-yát</td>
<td>â-nãŋ cocoymams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>â-tën</td>
<td>ü-tën</td>
<td>â-tën chairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>â-fök</td>
<td>ü-fök</td>
<td>â-fök leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>â-wök</td>
<td>ü-wök</td>
<td>â-wök legs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/6</td>
<td>i-kön</td>
<td>i-kîŋ</td>
<td>a-kön</td>
<td>i-kön beans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i-têk</td>
<td>a-têk</td>
<td>i-têk stones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/8</td>
<td>â-wũ</td>
<td>â-sã</td>
<td>ü-wũ</td>
<td>â-sã bones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>â-fârĩ</td>
<td>ü-fârĩ</td>
<td>â-fârĩ scissors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/10</td>
<td>â-bök</td>
<td>i-bök</td>
<td>i-bök</td>
<td>i-bök dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>â-yû</td>
<td>i-yû</td>
<td>i-yû</td>
<td>i-yû eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>â-bên</td>
<td>i-bên</td>
<td>i-bên</td>
<td>i-bên breasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>búĩ</td>
<td>i-buí</td>
<td>i-buí</td>
<td>i-buí goats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kâwũ</td>
<td>ü-kâwũ</td>
<td>ü-kâwũ</td>
<td>ü-kâwũ cows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dûgô</td>
<td>c-dûgô</td>
<td>c-dûgô</td>
<td>c-dûgô snakes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19/6</td>
<td>ô-bék</td>
<td>a-bék</td>
<td>a-bék</td>
<td>a-bék knives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ô-nën</td>
<td>a-nën</td>
<td>a-nën</td>
<td>a-nën birds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lamnso

The following table summarises the noun class system of Lamnso, a Grassfields Bantu language of the Ring division (Watters & Leroy 1989:435)

The noun class system of Lamnso

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>PB prefix</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Prefix/suffix</td>
<td>&quot;my&quot;</td>
<td>-wêm</td>
<td>lûmèn man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(a)</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>-wôm</td>
<td></td>
<td>lûm husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nàn happiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>-môm</td>
<td>a-lûm husbands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mă-</td>
<td>mă-</td>
<td></td>
<td>mă-nûdźev water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following words have been used to establish the noun class system of Lamnso.

Class 1/2  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kɪ-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bɪ-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 1/8  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɲ-</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲ-/ -sɪ</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table summarises the noun class system of Ngwe, a Grassfields Bantu language spoken in Fontem, Lembalem Division, in the southwest province of Cameroon.

The noun class system of Ngwe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Number</th>
<th>PB prefix</th>
<th>Nominal Prefix</th>
<th>Possessive &quot;my&quot;</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(a)</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>ɞ-</td>
<td>ɞ-</td>
<td>mbɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ɛɛ</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>mɛŋwɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dĩ-</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>lɑ̃-lɑ̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>mɑ-ɔh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ɛ-kɛndɔn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>bɪ-</td>
<td>bɛ-</td>
<td>bɛ-</td>
<td>ɛ-tů</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>ɛ-mnɛh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>m-bʊnɛh eggs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We would also like to point out that, in Ngwe, certain words allow the prefixation of bɛ- as a secondary prefix as in the following words:

a. ɛ-mnɛh eyes  
   bɛ-ɛ-mnɛh [bɛmɛn]h eyes (= so many eyes)
m-buè breasts  bè-m-buè breasts  (so many breasts)

The pre-prefix bè- in these cases adds more emphasis on the plurality of the objects.

The possessive marker follows the noun in Ngwe. Notice that it helps subdivide the nouns into three different classes. The possessive marker for class 7 shows some alternations between ajè and je as exemplified below.

b. à-té jé my tree  c. à-söh ajè my soap
   à-tû jé my head  à-lôn ajè my yam
   à-lî jé my blood  à-tès ajè my hut
   à-tëtë jé my playground  à-kûè ajè my cocoyam
   à-fû jé my medicine  à-fès ajè my wind
   à-fû jé my leaf

d. à-të sènî ajè my mango tree  (also: à-të sènî lìjè)
   à-të pòpò jè my papaya tree  (also: à-të pòpò ajè)

In the following table, we present the pairing of classes between the singular and the plural forms. The firm line indicates the majority of cases whereas the dotted line indicates the class pairing for a few words in these classes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Noun class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.a</td>
<td>ì-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>bà-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>mc-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>ma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>lc-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>bë-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Së-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following words exemplify the data used for establishing the noun class system of Ngwe.

Class 1/2  mèngwi  woman  bà-ngwì  women
  ówà  mother  bà-ówà  mothers
  mbë  father  bà-mbë  fathers
  òhndì  grandmother  bà-òhndì  grandmothers
  (from òh 'mother' and ndì 'grandparent')

Class 1/8  kûnỳà  pig  bè-kûnỳà  pigs
  è-wë  elephant  bè-è-wë  elephants
  ndùn  husband  bè-ndùn  rat moles
  ndùn  basket  bè-ndùn  husbands
  tòn  basket  bè-tòn  baskets

Class 5/8  lë-mbër  banana  bè-mbër  bananas
  lë-lôn  radio  bè-lôn  radios
  lë-lûè  spoon  bè-lûè  spoons
  lë-tà  trap  bè-tà  traps
  lë-làng  pineapple  bè-làng  pineapples
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lē-vēn</td>
<td>tortoise</td>
<td>bē-vēn</td>
<td>tortoises</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>lē-kāŋ</td>
<td>pot</td>
<td>bē-kāŋ</td>
<td>pots</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>lē-tōŋ</td>
<td>ear</td>
<td>bē-tōŋ</td>
<td>ears</td>
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<tr>
<td>lē-sōŋ</td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>bē-sōŋ</td>
<td>teeth</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>navel</td>
<td>bē-tōŋ</td>
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<td>nose</td>
<td>bē-rō</td>
<td>noses</td>
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<tr>
<td>lē-bēm</td>
<td>stomach</td>
<td>ē-mbēm</td>
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<td>ē-re</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ē-mīh</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>ē-mbūŋ</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lā-bwē</td>
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<td>ē-mbōw</td>
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<td>tree</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>ē-tētē</td>
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<td>ē-tētē</td>
<td>playgrounds</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bē-nkāp</td>
<td>money</td>
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<td>bē-n-tsā</td>
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</tr>
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<td>bē-n-zē</td>
<td>roads</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>horn</td>
<td>bē-n-dōn</td>
<td>horns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>fowl</td>
<td>bē-ngēp</td>
<td>fowls</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bē-m-diá</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>bē-m-diá</td>
<td>houses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.8. Adjectives.

1.8.1. Commonly found adjectives.

Adjectives are not numerous in Bantu languages. They can be monosyllabic e.g.

- le 'long'
- bi 'bad'
- -ngi 'other'
- ke 'small'

or polysyllabic. e.g.

- jima 'whole'
- kulu 'old'
- -nene 'big'
- -ine 'even'
- -pofu 'blind'
- -bishi 'green'
- -tupi 'small'
- -nunu 'old'
- -ke 'small'.

Note that adjectives have prefixes like nouns as exemplified in the following Swahili forms:

m-tu m-kubwa 'big person'
c1-person c1-big
wa-tu wa-kubwa 'big people'
ki-tu ki-kubwa 'big thing'
As shown in these examples, the adjective has a similar nominal class prefix as the noun it qualifies.

1.8.2. ProtoBantu adjectives.

These are further reconstructed PB adjectives:

- dai 'long'
- pokú 'blind'
- dijo 'heavy'
- kée 'small'
- néne 'big'
- bii 'bad'
- biči 'fresh'
- toó 'small, young'
- piá 'new'
- gíma 'entire'
- tádí 'long'
- tūpú 'rain'
- ipí -kúpi 'short'
- káčī 'female'

Examples of reflexes of these adjectives are: -pofu 'blind' (Swahili), mo-lai 'long' (Lingala), jito 'heavy' (Swahili), -lito 'heavy' (Kinande). fupí 'short' (Swahili), etc.

1.8.3. Adjectives in Kivunjo-Chaga

In Kivunjo-Chaga (Moshi 1993:141-158), certain adjectives look like verbs. The following paradigms show this. (The following abbreviations are used: c1 = nominal class 1, v1 = verbal class 1)

1. m-ndu m-solro 'a male person'
   c1-person c1-male
   wa-ndu wa-sulri 'noble people'
   c2-person c2-noble
   ha-ndu ha-fui
   c16-place c16-short 'a close location'

In (1) the adjectives have their regular class prefixes as is the case in most other Narrow Bantu languages. In (2), the adjectives use verbal prefixes just like verbs as in (3).

2. m-ndu o-lreelree 'a frivolous man'
   c1-person v1-silly words
   wa-ndu wo-lreelree 'frivolous men'
   c2-person v2-silly words
   m-zri u-nganyi 'a big tree'
   c3-tree v3-big
   i-mba lyi-nganyi 'big ear of corn'
   c5-maize v5-big
   me-mba gha-nganyi 'big ears of corn'
   c6 v6-big
   ki-te ki-fanyi 'a dirty dog'
   c7-dog v7-dirty
   shi-te shi-fanyi
   c8 v8-dirty
   umbe i-nganyi 'a big cow'
   c9(∅)-cow v9-big
   umbe tsi-shimbi 'fat cows'
c10(♂) v10-fat

3. m-ndu o-olroka 'a man stands'
c1-person v1-stand
wa-ndu wo-olroka 'men stand'
c2-person v2-stand
m-zri u-olroka 'a tree stands'
c3-tree v3-stand
i-mba lyi-olroka 'an ear of corn stands'
c5-maize v5-stand
me-mba gha-olroka 'ears of corn stand'
c6 v6-stand
ki-te ki-olroka 'a dog stands'
c7-dog v7-stand
shi-te shi-olroka
c8 v8-stand
n-guku i-olroka 'a hen stands'
c9-hen v9-stand
n-guku tsi-olroka 'hens stand'
c10-hen v10-stand

In (4), it is shown that, to mark the comparison, adjectives use both the nominal prefix and the verbal prefix. The verbal prefix precedes the nominal prefix.

4. m-ndu a-m-leshi 'taller person'
c1-person v1-c1-tall
m-li u-m-titi 'smaller arrow'
c3-arrow v3-c3-small
me-mba gha-me-li 'whiter corn'
c6-corn v6-c6-white
n-umba i-ngi-iwu 'blacker house'
c9-house v9-c9-black

I.9. Other nominal forms that should be examined:

Pronominal forms such as: the substitutive, the possessive, the connective, the demonstrative, the numeral, the precessive, the determinative, and the presentative (i.e. forms like: voici qui, voilà qui in French, that is, this is the one who, that is the one who...).

Examples of the presentative in Luba:
mukaji nyêeu 'that is the woman'
bantu mbàaba 'voici les gens' (these are the people)
mukaji nyàna 'voilà la femme' (that is the woman)
bantu mbàabo 'voilà les gens' (those are the people)

The determinatives include terms such as "other, much, even, all, each, only, how much, which one".

The precessive, which is found in Rundi, is like the demonstrative with a different structure. Its function is to act as an antecedent to

More extensions can be used in a single verb as in Kinde (Hyman 1993:3)

imb-ir-an-is-j-bu-a 'be caused to sing for each other'

In this form, imb- is the radical meaning 'sing', -ir- is the applicative, -an- the reciprocal, -is- and -j- the causative,
-bu- the passive morpheme: -a is the final inflectional morpheme.

It should also be noted that, in a complex verbal form of the sort illustrated in (3) the extensions are only used in the main verb.

3.a. tu-li-kuwa tu-na-tum-an-a we were sending each other
   SM TM ST SM TM RT EXT FV
   we be we send e.o.
   b. tu-ko tu-na-kul-ish-an-a we are making each other eat
   SM ST SM TM RT EXT EXT FV
   we be we eat CAUS e.o.

As shown in these Swahili examples, a complex verb consists of two morphological words: the auxiliary verb form whose structure is Subject Marker-Tense Marker-Stem (e.g. tu-li-kuwa) and the main verb whose structure is also Subject Marker-Tense Marker-Stem (e.g. tu-na-tum-an-a). Here the Stem consists of the Root (RT) + Extensions (EXT) + Final Vowel (FV). Only the stem of the main verb can include the extensions as the reciprocal -an- in (3.a), the causative -ish- and the reciprocal -am- in (3.b).

A similar situation also obtains in Kinande as illustrated below:

4.a. tů-lwā tů-kā-lim-ir-a we were working for
   SM be SM TM RT EXT FV
   we be we work for
   b. tu-a-nā-byā tū-kā-som-es-er-j-a
   SM TM be SM TM RT EXT EXT EXT FV
   we be we sew CAUS APPL CAUS
   'we were used to causing (some one) to

Whereas the example in (4.a) is like the Swahili examples where the Applicative extension -ir- is only used in the Stem, the example in (4.b) illustrates two points. First, that in a complex verb form, the auxiliary may have more than one tense marker (cf. -a- and -an-): secondly, that two forms of the causative extension (i.e. -es- and -ij-) may be used in a single verbal stem. In these forms, these causative extensions are separated by the applicative (APPL) extension (-er-).

Finally, it should be noted that a change in the order of extensions in a Bantu verb stem can cause change in meaning, as pointed out by Hyman (1993:7), more particularly, citing Guthrie (1962:220) with the following examples in Kongo:

5. -fing- 'curse'
   -fing-is-an- 'cause one another to curse'
   -fing-an-is- 'cause to curse one another'

Here, -is- is the causative and -an- is the reciprocal extension.
III. Verbal Extensions.*

African languages, especially languages of the Bantu group, have a number of verbal extensions, that is, verbal suffixes which are added to the root resulting in a new verb stem. Verbal extensions fall into two main groups, namely:

(i) productive verbal extensions
(ii) non-productive verbal extensions.

The productive verbal extensions to which meanings can be attributed include tense/aspect/mood (TAM) markers on the one hand and suffixes which affect verb valency on the other hand. By contrast, the non-productive extensions can formally be isolated as suffixes but cannot be attributed any meaning and, in most cases, do not have any syntactic consequences.

. Productive verbal extensions.

These comprise suffixes that mark tense/aspect/mood (TAM) and suffixes that affect verb valency. A suffix belonging to either of these groups can be attributed a meaning and a particular function.

1.1. Extensions that affect verb valency.

The addition of an extension to a verb root can change verb valency by necessitating either the addition of a complement such as object (direct/indirect), instrument, locative, benefactive, etc. or the reduction of one or more complements.

1.1.1. Valency-increasing extensions.

The following extensions which have a valency-increasing effect are regularly attested in African languages.

a. Causative

In a large majority of cases, the causative has the meaning "to cause or to make somebody do something" or "to cause something to become something different." Generally, the causative has the effect of changing monovalent verbs (verbs that take a single argument) to bivalent verbs. Specifically, when added to intransitive verbs, the causative suffix adds a subject which functions as the agent and the inherent subject becomes the object. (Here and elsewhere, P2 = recent past, IMPF = imperfective, CAUS = causative, FV = final vowel, sx = suffix.)

(1) a. Akpọọct (-nt/-nt)
   (i) wọb 'to laugh' wọb-t 'cause to laugh'
   (ii) mod a wọbštẹ? mwaŋ
        The man is making the child laugh'

b. Bafut (-sa)

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(6) Akpọọct (-d/-d/
   (i) cāñ 'to buy' cāñ-at 'send to'
   (ii) cāñ'e mā mbọt 'buy me the dress'
        buy+APPL+IMP me dress

e. Separative

The separative verbal suffix expresses the meaning of an object coming from a certain source, being separated from another with which it formally had a relationship. This suffix is however not as productive as the others. (SEP = separative.)

(7) Akpọọct (-e/-e)
   (i) tēt 'to take' tēr-tn 'take from'
(1) Native Mindaka

take(SEP+IMP) water child
'take water from the child'

(7) Passive

In some African languages, passivity is marked by a verbal suffix. The addition of the passive morpheme usually modifies the meaning of the verb as well as the verb valency. With regard to verb valency, the grammatical subject which is the agent of the action becomes the syntactic object. (PST = past, PASS = passive)

(8) Swahili (-u-)

nyumbo i-li-jeng-u-a na wanakijiji
house it-PST-build-PASS-FV by villagers
'The house was built by villagers.'

One can observe from the foregoing discussion that in Akoose, the notions of instrumental, accompaniment, applicative and separative are expressed through the use of verbal extensions. In Grassfields Bantu languages, on the other hand, these notions are expressed by prepositions which are positioned immediately after the verb and before the following noun phrase. Given the Akoose examples, one might be tempted to conclude that what is termed preposition in Grassfields Bantu languages is in fact a verbal suffix, given that this element immediately follows the verb. However, as the following examples involving a prepositional phrase (PP) focus show, the preposition moves along with the entire PP to the sentence initial position. (F2= future)

(9) Bafut

(i) Sůů ká wá nĩ nwi
Suh F2 cut with cutlass
'Suh will slaughter (it) with a cutlass'

(ii) a mā nĩ nwi nū
It is with cutlass that Suh F2 cut
'Suh will slaughter (it)'

(iii) Sůů ká wá mbā nĩ nwi
Suh F2 cut meat with cutlass
'Suh will slaughter the animal with a cutlass'

If it were the case that the nī is stranded at the original site in (ii) after the movement of the NP, one could be tempted then to think that the nī is a verb suffix. The fact that it moves along with the NP shows that it is not. Again, in (iii), we notice that nī can be separated from the verb by the theme NP mbā "animal." This is a strong proof that nī is not a verbal extension since it is usually not normal for suffixes, which are often dependent morphemes (bound morphemes) to be separated from their stems.

1.1.2. Valency-decreasing extensions.

The extensions discussed in the foregoing sections have the effect
of increasing the verb valency. In this section, we examine extensions which characteristically reduce verb valency. In a vast majority of languages, this category of extensions is very limited in number. The few cases attested include:

a) Reciprocal

The reciprocal suffix modifies the meaning of the verb by adding the idea of reciprocity. When suffixed to verb roots, the reciprocal suffix indicates that the action inherent in the verb is received by more than one element. In addition to functioning as the goal(s) of the action, these elements also act as the agents of the same action. The addition of this extension has the effect of decreasing verb valency. Inherently transitive verbs become transitive as the subjects of the verb (agents of the action) also function, at the same time, as the objects (goals/reipients of the action). Usually, the subject becomes plural as two (or more) participants in the action are at the same time agent of their own action and goal/recipient of the other's action.

(10) a. Bafut (-na)
   (i) Suu kɔŋ̪e Bi 'Suh loves Bin'
   (ii) Suu bɔ Bi kɔŋ̪e
        Suh and Bin love+REC
        'Suh and Bin love each other'

b. Akoose (-en (the c deletes in front of a vowel))
   (i) kɔɔ 'to hate' kɔɔ-n 'hate each other'
   (ii) Senze nɛŋɔmɛ bɛ kɔɔnɛ
        Senze and Ngome they hate+REC+PERF
        'Senze and Ngome hate each other'

c. Tuki (-na)
   (i) Mbara a dīŋgām Pūtā
        Mbara he love+IMP Puta
        'Mbara loves Puta'
   (ii) Mbārā nā Pūtā vā dīŋgānām
        Mbara and Puta they love+REC+IMP
        'Mbara and Puta love each other'

b) Spontaneous/stative/derived intransitive

The spontaneous verbal extension characteristically modifies the meaning of a verb and reduces the verb valency. When suffixed to verbs, it modifies the meaning by indicating that the action suggested by the verb is capable of taking place without the intervention of any discernible agentive force. This suffix, like the reciprocal, has the quality of turning transitive verbs into intransitives. Usually, the subject (agent) of the transitive is deleted and the object (theme) becomes the syntactic (not grammatical) subject. The action which is received by the syntactic subject (i.e., the grammatical object) thus seems to be initiated by some invisible agent. (Here F0= future, SPON = spontaneous.)
(11) Bafut (-ŋo)

(i) Süu ká küm ndá yá
   Suh F0 demolish house the
   'Suh will demolish the house'

   ndá yá ká kümŋá
   house the F0 crumble+SPON
   'the house will crumble'

(ii) nō yá ká zhwì nú yì
    snake the F0 peel skin his
    'the snake will cast off its skin'

    nú nō yá ká zhwìŋá
    skin snake the F0 peel+SPON
    'the snake's skin will peel off'

2. Non-productive verbal extensions

In addition to the category of verbal extensions here termed productive, African languages make use of another set of extensions which are non-productive. This category of verbal extensions is so called mainly because they do not have any repercussions on verb valency and in most cases cannot be attributed any specific meaning or function. These two reasons logically call to question the raison d'être of these extensions. It is possible that they are used simply for stylistic effects. It could also be assumed that in languages with dialectal differences, non-productive verbal extensions are used to mark differences between the various dialects. This seems to be the case in Akoose which comprises two dialects: Mwetug and Mwanenye. These two varieties consistently make use of a set of non-productive verbal extensions of CVC structure. In the Mwetug variety however, the suffix vowel is [ɤ] while in the Mwanenye variety, the suffix vowel is a long [a] as shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb root</th>
<th>Mwetug variety</th>
<th>Mwanenye variety</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñwāk</td>
<td>ñwāɡ̃n</td>
<td>ñwâɡ̃n</td>
<td>'to resemble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēem</td>
<td>sēem̃n</td>
<td>sēem̃n</td>
<td>'to examine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwaglé</td>
<td>nkwagl̃n</td>
<td>nkwagl̃n</td>
<td>'to bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laat</td>
<td>laat̃n</td>
<td>laat̃n</td>
<td>'to unite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wēm</td>
<td>wēmt̃n</td>
<td>wēmt̃n</td>
<td>'to think'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is worth noting that the meaning of the verb root (i.e. without the extensions) is identical with the meaning of the same verb used with either of two forms of the extensions. Speakers of the Akoose language presumably use the two different forms of the non-productive verbal extensions simply to mark the difference between the Mwetug and the Mwanenye varieties.

IV. Tense, aspect and mood
There is quite a range of variation found in tense, aspect and mood systems across the languages of the world. Whereas in some languages these notions are grammaticalized (i.e. marked by bound morphemes which constitute an integral part of the verb), in some they are lexicalized (i.e. marked by independent/free morphemes). In both cases, the range of the elements as well as the morphological and syntactic positions of the morphemes differ from language to language. In this section, attention is focused only on those instances where tense, aspect and mood are marked by verbal extensions.

1. Tense

Tense can be considered as the relationship between the form of the verb and the time of the action or state it describes (Richards et al. 1985). In view of the fact that in languages like English most tenses are marked by grammatical categories, Comrie (1986) defines tense as “grammaticalized location in time.” Studies in the domain of tense have shown that even when a language prefers grammaticalized tense, instances of lexicalization can still be attested. In English for instance, the past tense is grammaticalized while the future tense is lexicalized.

In most African languages, tense is lexicalized with the various time divisions marked by different independent morphemes. Marking tense through the use of bound morphemes is attested in very few languages. In some of such languages, the tense marker is a superfix (a tone) while in others it is an infix. In Swahili for instance, tense is marked by an infix which occurs to the right of the subject marker while in Akoose, the past tense is marked by a low tone and the future is marked by a high tone. Time adverbials then specify the exact time of the action. (PST = past, FUT = future, PRS = present.)

(1) a. Swahili: present: -na-, past: -li-, future: -ta-

(i) Tabu a-na-ogopa 'Tabu is frightened'
Tabu he-PRS-have fear
(ii) jogoo a-li-wika mara tatu
rooster he-PST-crow times three
'the rooster crowed three times'
(iii) rafiki zangu wa-ta-panga nyumba hii
friends my they-FUT-rent house this
'my friends are going to rent this house'

b. Akoose

(i) dyé 'to eat'
(ii) Ngome à ndyé 'Ngome ate'
Ngome he eat+PST
(iii) Ngome à dyé 'Ngome will eat'
Ngome he eat+FUT

However, since these cases do not constitute instances of verbal extensions in the sense of the explanation given at the
beginning of this section, they will not be discussed in any detail.

2. Aspect

While tense is concerned with time relations, that is, relating the time of the situation referred to to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking, aspect deals with the manner in which verbal action is experienced in terms of progression or completion. In other words, aspect is concerned with the duration of an action: complete or incomplete, perfective or imperfective.

In a vast majority of African languages, aspect is marked by verbal suffixes. Each of these verbal suffixes expresses the manner in which the action inherent in the relevant verb is experienced. Types of aspect marked by verbal suffixes attested in African languages include:

(a) Perfective

The perfective aspect expresses the notion of completion. It indicates that the action suggested by the verb was indeed carried out and as of the moment of speaking, the action had come to an end. The notion of the perfective can better be conceived in terms of its opposition with the imperfective which rather indicates that the action suggested by the verb is still going on. Comrie (1985) distinguishes various types of the perfective, two of which are relevant here. These are:

(i) Result.

The perfective of result marks a situation in which the present state is the result of some past action.

(1) Akoose (-e)
    Ngôme à wône môtê
    Ngome he wash+PERF dresses
    'Ngome has washed the dresses' (The present state i.e. the cleanliness of the dresses is as a result of Ngome's action).

(ii) recent past.

The perfective of recent past indicates that the present relevance of the past situation referred to is one of temporal closeness, that is, the past situation is very recent.

(2) a. Bafut
    Sûh mânsîmë míji myà
    Suh finish+PERF food the
    'Suh has just finished the food'
    b. Akoose (-de)
    Ngôme à dyêde 'Ngome has just eaten'
    Ngome he eat+PERF

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(b) Imperfective

The imperfective aspect, as opposed to the perfective, is concerned with the internal temporal structure of an action or a state. It generally marks actions or situations which constitute a habit or which are in progress. In many African languages, the imperfective aspect is marked by a free morpheme whose form varies with tense and mood. In languages that are highly inflectional like Swahili and Akose, the imperfective is marked by a verbal inflection. In Akose for instance, the imperfective aspect which expresses progression in an action is marked by a verbal suffix which generally occupies the verb final position.

(3) Akose (-قة)
   (i) chūk 'to play'
   (ii) Ngôme à chūقت futbol
        Ngome he play+IMPF football
        'Ngome is playing football'

(c) Attenuative

The attenuative aspect expresses the manner in which some action is realized by indicating that the intensity of the action weakens, only part of an entire action is realized or the action lasts for a very short period of time. The attenuative aspectual marker can be suffixed to both transitive and intransitive verbs.

(4) Bafut (-τə)
   (i) nɔτɛ 'to press'
       nɔτɛ məŋɔrɨ wà 'press the mango a little'
       press+ATT mango the
   (ii) nɔ 'to drink'
       nɔtɛ məlɨ régime 'drink the wine a bit'
       drink+ATT wine the
   (iii) yaɛɛ 'to cry'
       yaɛɛtɛ mə fə mbə yà
       cry+ATT I give meat your
       'cry a little (for a short time) so that I can give you meat'

(d) Repetitive

The repetitive aspect has the effect of modifying the meaning of the relevant verb by indicating that the action inherent in the verb can be repeated or done by several people at the same time. This suffix thus has the meanings: "several times," "time and again," "one after the other," etc. (Here, REP = repetitive.)

(5) Bafut (-ka/-τə)
   wɔ 'to fall'    sɔnɔ 'to pull out'
   (i) Suh ƙə wɔkə mɛŋjɨ
       Suh P2 fall+REP road
       'Suh fell several times on the way'
(ii) bè byá wòkë sâané
   people the fall+REP field
   'The people are falling (one after the other) on the way.'
(iii) sùù sôntë mënsânyâ
     Suh pull+REP brooms the
     'Suh is pulling out the brooms one after the other'

The -kë suffix is used with intransitive verbs while the -to suffix is used with transitive verbs. Both however have the same meanings.

(e) Quantitative

The quantitative aspect indicates that the object of the verb is plural or that many objects are affected by the action inherent in the verb. The presence of this suffix therefore gives the meanings: "many" or "several." (QUAN = quantitative.)

(6) Bafut (-kô/-to)
   bènô 'to hang (dresses)' tønnô 'to tether'
   bâpë 'to dress (wounds)'
   (i) bèntë tsè?è já 'hang the dresses'
       hang+QUAN dresses the
   (ii) tîntô mëf já 'tether the goats'
       tether+QUAN goats the
   (iii) bâpëkë làpë já 'dress the wounds'
       dress+QUAN wounds the

(f) Simultaneous

The simultaneous aspect expresses the meaning of "together" or "at the same time." Thus this verbal suffix indicates that the action suggested by the relevant verb is realized or received by different objects at the same time. (Here, SIM = simultaneous.)

(7) Bafut (-nô)
   dûmë 'to groan' më?â 'to bleat'
   (i) bîlwin byá dûmnë
       old the groan+SIM
       'the old (men) are groaning (at the same time)'
   (ii) mëf já më?â
       goats the bleat+SIM
       'the goats are bleating (at the same time)'

(g) Distributive

When the distributive suffix is added to a verb root, it modifies the meaning of the verb in many different ways. It could indicate that: (1) several similar actions are done at different times, (2) the same action is done by different objects or groups at the same time. This suffix therefore expresses the meanings "separately," or "one after the other," or "at different times." As regards the last meaning, we observe that the distributive aspect is very similar to the repetitive. The difference however
lies in the fact that, with the repetitive, the action is continuous while with the distributive, there is a pause between the first execution of an action and the subsequent execution of the same action. (DIS = distributive.)

(8) Bafut (-kə)
   mūʔū 'to sprout'  ghōó 'to be sick'
   (i) ān'ān wā mūʔūkə mūm nsoò
   'the corn is sprouting (at several places) in the farm'
   (ii) ālāʔā yā ghōóŋkə nā fībā
   'village the sick+DIS with fever
   'several people in the village are sick of fever'

(h) Random

What is here dubbed the random aspect (for want of a better term) modifies a verb by adding three different meanings to it. These meanings are: "on several parts," "randomly," and "roughly." When the suffix denotes randomness, it shows that the action is done irregularly. When it denotes "several parts," it indicates that the action inherent in the verb affects several parts of the same object, and when it denotes "roughly," it shows that the action is done without much care. (RAN= random.)

(9) Bafut (-lə)
   tsūʔū 'to till (soil)'  lōō 'to bite'  yēʔe 'to sweep'
   (i) Bī kī tsūʔūlō nsoò wā
   'Bih P2 till+RAN farm the
   'Bih tilled the soil randomly'
   (ii) Bī kī jōölē Sūū
   'Bih P2 bite+RAN Suh
   'Bih bit Suh on several spots'
   (iii) Bī kī yēʔeʃə nō yā
   'Bih P2 seeop+RAN house the
   'Bih swept the house roughly'

3 Mood

Generally mood refers to the speaker's attitude towards what he saying, i.e. the speaker's subjective attitudes and opinions vis-à-vis his utterances. In many languages across the world, mood comprises a number of categories. These include: indicative, imperative, monitory, optative/intentional, obligation, possibility, necessity, etc. The various moods are marked, in a vast majority of languages, by an independent lexical item which is usually positioned either at sentence initial position or at preverbal position. Verbal affixes are employed to mark mood in a very limited number of languages and in such languages, only a small number of the categories of mood listed above can be marked by affixes. The lone case observed so far where a verbal extension seems to mark mood is in Ngamambo. In this language the imperative mood, which expresses an order or a command, is marked by a suffix vowel which, following specific rules, harmonizes with the root.
vowel.

(1) Ngamambo
džük 'to eat'    dzüga 'eat'
zën 'to vomit'   zena 'vomit'

In many African languages, the imperative mood is marked by tone. In the case of Ngamambo discussed above, it is not very clear whether the suffix vowel actually marks the imperative. If it does, then it does so in conjunction with the high tone on the verb.

Notes:

* This section on verbal extensions and the one on tense, aspect and mood have been contributed by Pius Tamanji. I simply edited them.

1. We wish to particularly thank Swiri Roseta for the data on Mankon, Mindum Emmanuela and Nayah Felicitas for the data on Kom, Flora Ageko Bolima for the data on Oshie, Fidelian Berinyui for the data on Lamnso and Judith Foretia and Jane Bejuamendem for the data on Ngwe.

2. The letter "w" here stands for the semi-vowel "u" of the International Phonetic Alphabet.