

The Noun Class System and Noun Phrases of Latege

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GRELACO-SIL, December 2001,
Revised 2009

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Abstract

Latege is a language spoken in south-eastern Gabon, closely related to other Teke languages spoken in Congo-Brazzaville. It has a typical Bantu noun class structure with nine classes (plus two sub-classes). With the exception of a few invariable adjectives, modifiers in the noun phrase must all be marked for agreement with the head noun but this agreement is derived from a variety of different sources.

La langue latege est parlée au sud-est du Gabon et elle est proche aux autres langues tékés parlées au Congo-Brazzaville. Elle possède un système nominal typiquement bantoue avec neuf classes (plus deux sous-classes). A l'exception de certains adjectifs invariables les modificateurs nominaux dans le syntagme nominal doivent s'accorder avec le substantif principal mais ces accords sont dérivés des sources diverses.

Abbreviations and conventions used in this paper

N-	Noun class prefix, followed by a number indicating the class.
Ø-	Zero prefix.
Adv	Adverb.
Ass	Associative marker.
DemD	Distal demonstrative adjective/pronoun.
DemP	Proximal demonstrative adjective/pronoun.
Inter	Interrogative adjective/pronoun.
N	Homorganic Nasal.
P	Preposition.
Pn	Pronoun
Rel	Relative pronoun.
Fut	Future tense.
Imp	Imperative.
Inf	Infinitive.
PfvNs	Non-Specified Perfective.
ProgPs	Past progressive tense.
Pros	Prospective tense.
Prs	Imperfective present tense.
RecPfc	Recent Perfect aspect.
Fv(i)	Final vowel (of verb used intransitively in an aspect which is sensitive to transitivity).
Fv(ns)	Final vowel (of verb in an aspect which is not sensitive to the transitivity of the clause).
Fv(t)	Final vowel (of verb used transitively in an aspect which is sensitive to transitivity).
´	High tone.
`	Low tone.
ˆ	Falling tone.
˜	Falling-rising tone.

Examples. Examples usually consist of three lines. The first line gives the phonemic transcription in Latege. The following line gives the grammatical parsing, usually comprising grammatical labels plus the English translation of roots. Where the root requires two words in English these are separated by a fullstop but no space e.g. *old.person*. In both these lines hyphens are used to indicate morpheme breaks. The third line gives a free translation in English, though this is sometimes given to the left of the grammatical parsing in shorter examples.

Ndé	á-wòl-ó	Ø-bágá	là-kìmà.	<i>Latege phonemic transcription</i>
Pn3sg	3sgPrs-take-Fv(ns)	N5a-knife	N5-other	<i>Parsing in English</i>
He	takes	another	knife.	<i>Free English translation</i>

1 Introduction¹

1.1 Linguistic Classification of Latege

Latege is a member of the Teke language group which is itself a sub-group of the Bantu B languages according to Guthrie's classification (Guthrie 1971). In this system the Teke languages are classified as B.70. The table below shows the sub-classification of this group.

Language	Classification
keTege	B.71a
kaTege	B.71b
Ngangulu	B.72
geTsaayi	B.73a
iLaali	B.73b
iYaa	B.73c
eTiee	B.73e
Ndzindzu	B.74a
Ebõõ	B.74b
iTioo	B.74c
iBali	B.75
kiKukua	B.77
iFuumu	B.78a
iWuumu	B.78b

Table 0-1

It will be noticed that **Latege** is not listed in the above table. It is, in fact, to be classified with kaTege B.71b, but as my informants themselves refer to the language as Latege I have preferred to keep this name.

1.2 Geographic Location

The Teke languages as a whole are spoken by around 450,000 people from the south-eastern corner of the Gabonese Republic across much of central Congo-Brazzaville (Republic of Congo) including all the Bateke Plateaux, a small part of the Cuvette along the Alima river around Okoyo and Ewo as well as in the Pool region around Brazzaville and to the south in parts of the Lekoumou and Bouenza districts and extending across the Congo river into Congo-Kinshasa (Democratic Republic of Congo) along the Kwa river and around the Pool area.

KaTege is the form spoken in the Cuvette region of Congo-Brazzaville around Okoyo. The Latege variant of this is spoken in the neighbouring region of south-eastern Gabon on the Plateaux and continuing slightly south.

1.3 Sources

The present research was originally carried out while living in Léconi in the Haut-Ogouée province of Gabon between August 2000 and November 2001. Angelique ALOUNGA was the main language resource person with numerous others acting as informal language informants. It has since been revised several times after longer periods living in the area and with the help of various other informants.

¹ Acknowledgments: This work was initially carried out under the auspices of SIL's research agreement with GRELACO at Omar Bongo University in Libreville, Gabon and was continued subsequently in the field whilst working as a linguist/translator. I wish to thank Dr. James EMEJULU, director of GRELACO and the university authorities for making this possible. My thanks also to Dr. Myles Leitch for his helpful comments and advice.

2 Overview

Morphologically, nouns in Latege consist of a prefix plus a root. The prefixes will be discussed in greater detail below as they relate directly to the subject of noun classes. The roots are divided into 5 major syllable types²: -CV, -CV.CV, -CV:.CV, CV.CV.CV and CV.V. Of these, the disyllabic form -CV.CV is by far the largest, representing 63% of the current database. The pattern -CV:.CV represents a further 8% and -CV.V almost 5%, thus all the disyllabic forms together constitute over three-quarters of the corpus. The monosyllabic -CV covers almost 14% and the trisyllabic -CV.CV.CV almost 9%.

Latege is a tonal language with two basic tones (High and Low). However, when elision occurs between two words or when a syllable drops out for other reasons, two contrasting tones may combine and thus produce rising or falling tones. In this paper a high tone is indicated by an acute accent on a vowel (V́), a low tone is indicated by a grave accent (V̀), a falling tone by a circumflex (V̂) and a rising tone by an inverted circumflex (Ṽ).

In common with other Bantu languages Latege has a noun class system whereby each noun belongs to a specific class and all the modifiers (with the exception of a few invariable adjectives which will be discussed later) occurring in the noun phrase agree with the head noun, as does the verb of which it is the subject.

In this paper Latege is presented as having nine such classes, which, following the conventional Bantu numbering system, are numbered 1, 2, 5-10 and 14. Typically the odd numbered classes contain singular nouns and the even numbered classes plural nouns with the exception of class 14 which is singular, containing mostly abstract nouns. These singular and plural classes typically pair together as genders in the following ways: 1 with 2 or 8, 5 with 6 or 10, 7 with 8, and 9 with 6.

Class 1 has a sub-class 1a consisting of nouns which take a zero prefix rather than /o-/. Around one third of all class 1 nouns belong to sub-class 1a. Class 1a nouns form plurals only with class 2. The agreement markers throughout are identical with the main class 1.

Class 5 also has a sub-class 5a. This consists of the nouns which begin with a zero prefix and is in fact more common than class 5. Class 5 pairs with class 10 except if the noun stem begins with a prenasalised consonant, in which case it pairs with class 6 while class 5a also pairs with class 6.

The agreement markers of classes 9 and 10 almost always coalesce but since one contains singular nouns and the other plural it is not appropriate to consider them as one class. Furthermore, whereas the nasal prefix of class 10 is clearly a distinct, separable prefix which **replaces** the class 5 prefix when creating a plural, the initial nasal of class 9 is not distinct and separable and when forming the plural, the class 6 prefix is **added** onto the class 9 prefix instead of replacing it. It is for this reason I have chosen to represent the class 9 prefix as Ø- rather than N-, though it is true that all (99.96%) class 9 nouns begin with N- and that the agreement marker is often N.

In the corpus of data on which this study is based the nouns are distributed between the different classes and different pairings in the percentages as follows:

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Percentage of singular occurrences</u>	<u>Percentage of plural occurrences</u>	<u>Class pair</u>	<u>Percentage of occurrences</u>
1	24		1/2	4
1a	12		1a/2	13
2		17	1/8	22
5	10		5/6	1
5a	14		5a/6	4
6		19	5/10	20
7	22		7/8	22
8		45	9/6	14
9	14		14	
10		19		
14	4			

² There are a further six types found in the current database but all containing less than 1% of the total and almost all containing unusual long vowels which may be a result of mis-transcription.

3 The Noun Phrase

In Latege a noun phrase consists of a noun or pronoun followed optionally by one or more determiners (demonstrative, interrogative, numeral, etc.), one or more adjectives, one or more relative phrases, one or more prepositional phrases, one or more associative phrases, or a combination of these elements. The head noun almost always occurs first in the noun phrase but the remaining elements may occur in any order (there is a tendency for associative phrases to immediately follow the head noun and relative phrases to occur towards the end of the whole noun phrase but these are merely tendencies and are by no means fixed).

Noun phrases may occur in a sentence as the subject of the verb, as objects, as obliques of time or place and in prepositional phrases.

4 Noun classes and their prefixes

Each noun class employs a primary prefix which appears on the majority of its nouns. The table below shows these prefixes plus the secondary prefixes of classes 1 and 5 as mentioned above.

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Noun Class Prefix</u>
1	o-
1a	∅-
2 ³	a-
5	la-
5a	∅-
6	a-
7	ka-
8	e- ⁴
9	∅-
10	N-
14	o-

Table 3-2

The class 10 nasal prefix causes a certain number of phonological changes to the initial consonant of the noun stem but these are wholly consistent with expected morpho-phonemic rules in Latege.⁵ These noun class prefixes are inherently toneless. In the citation form they are low but change according to syntactic context⁶. The following table shows a comparison with two other Teke languages⁷ and with Proto-Bantu.⁸

³ There is a very small set of class 2 nouns relating to kinship which sometimes retain the typical Bantu *ba* prefix and two very common class 1 nouns which form irregular class 2 plurals namely *mwāana – bāana* “child” and *mbiūrū – bārī* “person”.

⁴ There are three class 8 nouns, all without singular counterparts, which have a zero prefix.

⁵ In summary these morpho-phonemic rules are as follows: N placed before a fricative causes the fricative to become an affricate at the same place of articulation; N placed before the lateral approximant [l] causes the latter to change to the voiced plosive [d]; N placed before the labio-velar approximant [w] produces the prenasalised voiced plosive [ŋg].

⁶ Broadly speaking they have a low tone when functioning as the subject of the verb and as the object following verbs in the Prospective, Non-Specified Perfective, Imperative or Past Temporal forms in affirmative phrases and high when the object follows verbs in other aspects in affirmative phrases and in all negatives phrases regardless of the tense/aspect of the verb. When a verb in the Prospective, Non-Specified Perfective, Imperative or Past Temporal forms takes two objects, the first has a high tone prefix and the second a low tone. When the object precedes the verb the tone of the prefix is generally high except when preceding a verb in the Past Progressive and Simultaneous Past forms. Following prepositions the noun class prefix has a L tone

⁷ Boma (Ebōō, B74b) data is taken from Wesche (n.d.). Kukuya (B77) data is taken from Paulian (1975)

⁸ Proto-Bantu data is from Meeussen (1967).

Noun class	Noun Prefixes			
	Latege	Boma	Kukuya	Proto-Bantu
1	o-	ù-	mù-	mù-
1a	∅-	∅-	∅-	
2	a-	à-	bà-	bà-
5	la-	ì-	lì-	lì-
5a	∅-	∅-	∅-	
6	a-	à-	mà-	mà-
7	ka-	ì-	kì-	kì-
8	e-	ì-	bì-	bì-
9	∅-	∅-	∅-	N-
10	N-	N-	N-	N-
14	o-	ù-	bù-	bù-

Table 3-3

From this table it is clear that there is considerable correspondence across the Teke languages and all still have a clear link with Proto-Bantu. Of the three Teke languages Latege is the one which has diverged the furthest, in most cases both dropping the initial consonant and changing the vowel quality of the prefix to a more open vowel as well as coalescing class 3 with class 1 and class 4 with class 8.

As mentioned above, modifiers of the noun in Latege almost always agree with the head noun of the phrase, that is to say they must be marked to show the class of the head noun. This is done in a variety of ways as explained below.

4.1 Modifiers formed from the noun class prefix

A number of modifiers are formed using the noun class prefix as the prefix of the modifier also. In the cases of classes 1 and 5 where there are two possible noun class prefixes it is always the primary form which is used (i.e. cl.1 /o-/, cl.5 /la-/). The tone of the prefix is again underlyingly toneless and generally takes a low tone when acting adjectivally and varies according to its context when functioning as a pronoun, following the same pattern as the prefix on a noun. There are a few exceptions to this pattern which will be mentioned in the appropriate places.

4.1.1 Definite interrogative adjective/pronoun

There are two interrogative adjectives/pronouns in Latege. When trying to draw a distinction between them, one is generally described as being more definite than the other ('which?' as opposed to 'what sort of?'). In practice the two seem often to be used interchangeably but, in order to distinguish between them, I will nonetheless refer to them as 'definite' and 'indefinite'. The latter will be presented in section 5.1.1.2 below, the former is formed from the noun class prefix of the noun it is referring to plus the morpheme /-má/.

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Noun prefix</u>	<u>Interrogative adjective</u>
1	o-	omá
2	a-	amá
5	la-	lamá
6	a-	amá
7	ka-	kamá
8	e-	emá
9	Ø	má
10	N-	má
14	o-	omá

Table 3-4

As an adjective the tone of the prefix varies. When a short noun phrase is used in isolation to pose a question the prefix has a **high** tone. In the case of classes 9 and 10, whose prefixes are zero, this high tone attaches itself to the preceding noun and replaces the tone on its final syllable:

1.
 - a Là-tsùgù lá-má ?
N5-day N5-interrog which day?
 - b Ò-tí ó-má ?
N1-tree N1-interrog which tree?
 - c Ø-Mpùgú Ø-má ?
N9-village N9-interrog which village?

As an adjective in a subject noun phrase the prefix has a high tone.

2.
 - a Ò-ngébé ó-má â-bíl-á Ø-bilà ?
N1-child N1-which N1Fut-bring-Fv(t) N8^{tr}-food ?
Which child will bring the food?

As an adjective in an object noun phrase which follows the verb the prefix has a low tone. When it precedes the verb the prefix has a high tone. In the case of classes 9 and 10, whose prefixes are zero, this high tone attaches itself to the preceding noun and replaces the tone on its final syllable.

3.
 - a Ø-Mfùlà wà ò-káarí sáa-dz.á é-dzá è-mà ?
N1a-gorilla Ass1 N1-woman N1ProgPs-eat.Fv(ns) N8-food N8-interrog
What food was the female gorilla eating?

- b Ø-Mfúlà wà ò-káarí è-dzá é-mà sáa-dz.á ?
 N1a-gorilla Ass1 N1-woman N8-food N8-interrog N1ProgPs-eat.Fv(ns)
 What food was the female gorilla eating?

As an adjective in a nominal oblique (usually expressing time) which follows the verb, the prefix has a low tone but when the oblique is placed between the subject and the verb, the prefix has a high tone. In the case of classes 9 and 10, whose prefixes are zero, this high tone attaches itself to the preceding noun and replaces the tone on its final syllable

4.
 a Ø-Bàlàgà lè-sòl-ó Ø-ngùnù kà-tsúgù kà-mà ?
 N5a-man N5Fut-clear-Fv(t) N9-field N7-day N7-which
 When (which day) will the man clear the field?
 b Ø-Bàlàgà kà-tsúgù ká-má lè-sòl-ó Ø-ngùnù ?
 N5a-man N7-day N7-which N5Fut-clear-Fv(t) N9-field
 When (which day) will the man clear the field?

When the temporal oblique is split by a relative clause, the prefix has a high tone.

5.
 a Kà-tsúgù ká tsúk-á é-ngébé à-mpfà ká-mà ?
 N7-day Rel7(fut) wash-Fv(ns) N8-child N6-clothes N7-which
 On which day will the children wash the clothes?
 b Ø-Mvúlà wǎ tsw-í Ø-mvá wà Ø-nkèrì ò-káarì ó-mà ?
 N1a-year Rel1(pfv) bite-Fv(ns) N1a-dog Ass1 N9-anger N1-woman N1-which
 In which year did the vicious dog bite the woman ?

-má is rarely used alone as a subject pronoun. When it is, the prefix has a low tone:

6.
 a Kà-má ká-v.à ?
 N7-what N7Pros-fall.Fv(ns)
 What is going to fall?

More commonly, when used as a pronominal subject, it combines with a ‘dummy’ class 7 or 8 pronoun. This pronoun occurs phrase initially and the -má (acting now as an adjective modifying the dummy pronoun) is placed phrase finally with a high tone on the prefix:

7.
 a Kà ké-wél-é Ø-mái ká-mà ?
 Pn7 N7Prs-annoy-Fv(ns) N1a-cat N7-which
 What is annoying the cat?
 b Bà bé-pàar-á Ø-ntsúrú é-mà ?
 Pn8 N8Prs-chase-Fv(ns) N1a-chicken N8-what
 What things are chasing the chicken?

If, as an object pronoun of the phrase, it follows the verb (which is the most standard word order), the prefix has the tone required by the verb aspect⁹ in question. When, as an object pronoun, it precedes the verb, the prefix has a high tone.¹⁰

8.
 a Bó bá-bíl-ì là-pílá là-má ? → Bó bá-bíl-ì là-má ?
 3pl 3plPfvNs-bring-PfvNs N5-basin N5-which 3pl 3plPfvNs-bring-PfvNs N5-which
 Which basin did they bring? Which (one) did they bring?
 b Bó bá-dzìl-á ká-bàamì ká-má ? → Bó bá-dzìl-á ká-má ?
 3pl 3plPrs-wait-Fv(ns) N7-white.person N7-which 3pl 3plPrs-wait-Fv(Ns) N7-which
 Which white person did they wait for? Which (one) did they wait for?
 c Ndé èdzùgí é-má kâyírìgà ? → Ndé é-má kâyírìgà ?
 Pn1sg N8-subject N8-interrog 3sgFut-teach-Fv(ns) Pn1sg N8-interrog 3sgFut-teach-Fv(ns)
 Which subjects will he teach? Which will he teach?

⁹ See 1.4 above

¹⁰ But preceding a verb in the Perfective Non-specified aspect the tone on the [-ma] becomes L

4.1.4 ‘some’

The quantifier ‘some’ is formed from the noun class prefix plus the morpheme /-ké/. For semantic reasons this only exists for plural classes.

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Noun prefix</u>	<u>‘some’</u>
2	a-	aké
6	a-	aké
8	e-	eké
10	N-	nké

Table 3-7

When used adjectivally the prefix has a low tone.

13.

- a N-kìní n-ké.
N10-corn N10-some Some corn.
- b À-nyòní à-ké
N2-bird N2-some Some birds.
- c À-ngù má à-ké
N6-machete N6-some Some machetes.

It may also be used pronominally, though this is not common. As the subject of the phrase, the prefix has a low tone. As the object following the verb, the prefix takes the tone required by the verb aspect (it is not yet attested as a preposed object) :

14.

- a Břĩ lé-wòl-ó é-lógò è-ké. → Břĩ lé-wòl-ó é-ké.
Pn1pl 1plPrs-take-Fv(ns) N8-thing N8-some Pn1pl 1plPrs-take-Fv(ns) N8-some
We take some things. We take some.
- b Mè ám-bùm-á á-nyàmà à-ké. → Mè ám-bùm-á á-ké.
Pn1sg 1sgPrs-kill-Fv(ns) N2-animal N2-some Pn1sg 1sgPrs-kill-Fv(ns) N2-some
I kill some animals. I kill some.

4.1.5 Number 1

The cardinal number one also agrees with the head noun. It is formed from the noun class prefix and the morpheme /-mó/. It can actually be used with plural nouns when they are being considered as a single group. In the single classes a second morpheme /-òtú/ is very frequently added, the final and initial vowels of the two morphemes merging to produce the single morpheme /-mòtú/ with a slight variation in class 9 (*mòntú*). It can be roughly translated as ‘only’ or ‘alone’ but this is an overtranslation.

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Noun prefix</u>	<u>‘one’</u>	<u>‘one’</u>
1	o-	omó	omòtú
2	a-	amó	
5	la-	lamó	lamòtú
6	a-	amó	
7	ka-	kamó	kamòtú
8	e-	emó	
9	Ø-	mó	mòntú
10	Ø-	mó	

Table 3-8

When used adjectivally the prefix has a low tone.

- 15.
- a Ø-Paàbí là-môtú.
N5a-wing N5-one One wing.
- b Kà-bélè kà-môtú.
N7-leg N7-one One leg.
- c Ø-Ndzó Ø-môntú.
N9-house N9-one One house.

- 16.
- a Ø-Mpèhǵí là-mó.
N5a-sand.fly N5-one One sand fly.
- b Ø-Mpíà Ø-mó.
N9-calabash N9-one One calabash.
- c È-kúbu è-mó.
N8-old.person N8-one One (group of) old people.

Both forms can be used pronominally. As the subject of the phrase, the prefix has a low tone. As the object following the verb, the prefix takes the tone required by the verb aspect:

- 17.
- a Ò-môtú Ø-kèl-é Ø-nkùmú, ò-môtú Ø-tég-è à-ndzà.
N1-one 2sgImp-cut-Fv(ns) N9-edible.leaf N1-one 2sgImp-draw-Fv(ns) N6-water
One (child) cut edible leaf, one (child) draw water.
- b Ò-mó Ø-kèl-é Ø-nkùmú, ò-mó Ø-tég-è à-ndzà.
N1-one 2sgImp-cut-Fv(ns) N9-edible.leaf, N1-one 2sgImp-draw-Fv(ns) N6-water
One (child) cut edible leaf, one (child) draw water.

Note: cardinal number 2 is dealt with in section 6.1.2.

4.1.6 Numbers 3-6

The cardinal numbers three to six also use the noun class prefixes to mark their agreement with the noun they modify with the exception of class 10 which takes a zero prefix. These naturally only apply to plural classes.

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Noun prefix</u>	<u>'three'</u>	<u>'four'</u>	<u>'five'</u>	<u>'six'</u>
2	a-	atáli	anà	atáanì	asémínyì
6	a-	atáli	anà	atáanì	asémínyì
8	e-	etáli	enà	etáanì	esémínyì
10	N-	táli	nà	táanì	sémínyì

Table 3-9

When used adjectivally the prefix has a low tone.

- 18.
- a À-tángá à-táǵi.
N6-branch N6-three Three branches.
- b È-búbí è-táǵi.
N8-lion N8-three Three lions.
- 19.
- a È-kàaná è-nà.
N8-asparagus N8-four Four asparagus.

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------|------------------|-------------|
| b | À-mbòlò
N2-carp | à-nà.
N2-four | Four carps. |
|---|--------------------|------------------|-------------|
- 20.
- | | | | |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| a | È-kàlà
N8-furrow | è-táanì.
N8-five | Five furrows. |
| b | È-móní
N8-orange | è-táanì.
N8-five | Five oranges. |
- 21.
- | | | | |
|---|---------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| a | À-kélé
N6-stone | à-sémínyì.
N6-six | Six stones. |
| b | È-kùrá
N8-packet | è-sémínyì.
N8-six | Six packets. |

All can be used pronominally. As the subject of the phrase, the prefix has a low tone. As the object following the verb, the prefix takes the tone required by the verb aspect:

- 22.
- | | | | |
|---|---------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| a | À-nà
N2-four | bá-y.ǎ.
N2Prs-come.Fv(ns) | Four (people) come. |
| b | È-sémínyì
N8-six | bé-dz.á
N8Prs-eat.Fv(ns) | Six (lions) eat. |

Note: Numbers higher than six do not mark any agreement.

5 Demonstrative adjectives and pronouns

Latege employs two sets of demonstrative adjectives, one referring to objects close to the speaker, the other referring to objects further away. Both sets of demonstrative adjectives are also used as pronouns and agree in class with the noun they are standing for. Noun modifiers always follow the head noun in Latege but demonstrative adjectives do not necessarily follow immediately after the noun they modify but may instead be placed at the end of the noun phrase even being separated by one or more temporal or conditional clauses.

5.1 Proximal demonstrative adjectives and pronouns

Latege uses a set of independent morphemes as the proximal demonstrative adjective. Although these have certain phonetic similarities with other noun modifiers and prefixes (e.g. same initial consonant in many cases) they do not seem to be clearly derived from any other set of prefixes or modifiers. On the other hand, they themselves do form the basis for two other modifiers (see below).

The proximal demonstrative adjective/pronoun is attested with all different tones (H, L, F, R) and it is as yet unclear which should be regarded as the norm nor what causes the variations, especially as a single utterance repeated by the same speaker on different occasions may produce differences in tone. It may be that it is inherently toneless or, as one informant thinks, that a low tone indicates the object referred to is very near and a high tone that it is slightly further away. (This does not, however, explain the many instances of rising or falling tones). Since a low tone is the most common, except for class 1, which is mostly attested as rising, I am here positing the low tone as the norm for classes 2-14, rising for class 1.

Noun class	Proximal demonstrative adjective/pronoun
1	wǔ
2	bà
5	fi
6	mà
7	kì
8	bì
9	yì
10	yì
14	bà

Table 4-10

23.

- a Ò-lébé wǔ.
N1-shed DemP1 This shed.
- b È-mbùlù bì.
N8-beak DemP8 These beaks.
- c Kà-bàgà ká ndé kì.
N7-richness Ass7 Pn3sg DemP7 This richness of his.

This same set is also used pronominally.

24.

- a Bó bá-dz.á Ø-ntsú. → Bó bá-dz.á wù.
Pn3pl 3plPrs-eat.Fv(ns) N1a-fish Pn3pl 3plPrs-eat.Fv(ns) DemP1
They eat a fish. They eat this one.
- b Mè án-dáar-á Ø-mpfà. → Mè án-dáar-á yì
Pn1sg 1sgPrs-wear-Fv(ns) N9-item.of.clothing Pn1sg 1sgPrs-wear-Fv(ns) DemP9
I wear an item of clothing. I wear this one.
- c Břĩ lé-wòl-ó é-lógò. → Břĩ lé-wòl-ó bì.
Pn1pl 1plPrs-take-Fv(ns) N8-things Pn1pl 1plPrs-take-Fv(ns) DemP8
We take things. We take these.

5.1.1 Modifiers formed from the proximal demonstrative adjective

5.1.1.1 Distal demonstrative adjectives and pronouns

The distal demonstrative adjective and pronoun is formed from its proximal counterpart with the addition of the morpheme /-a/. When used as an adjective or as a subject pronoun it carries high then rising tone on disyllables and a falling-rising contour on monosyllables. When it is an object pronoun or used in a prepositional phrase it has high then low tones on disyllables and a falling tone on monosyllables (it is not yet attested as a preposed object).

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Proximal demonstrative adjective/pronoun</u>	<u>Distal demonstrative adjective/ subject pronoun</u>	<u>Distal demonstrative object pronoun</u>
1	wũ	wúǎ	wúà
2	bà	bǎ	bà
5	lí	líǎ	líà
6	mà	mǎǎ	máà
7	kì	kíǎ	kíà
8	bì	bíǎ	bíà
9	yì	yíǎ	yíà
10	yì	yíǎ	yíà
14	bà	bǎ	bà

Table 4-11

In rapid speech the vowel of the proximal demonstrative is dropped in class 1 producing the form /wa/.

Similarly in class 6 the /-aa/ is sometimes pronounced short (/ma/) and it is always so in classes 2 and 14, the difference between the proximal and distal demonstrative adjectives/pronouns in these cases being purely tonal (low on the proximal and falling or falling-rising on the distal).

25.

- a Ò-mpàtà wúǎ.
N1-machete DemD1 That machete.
- b Ø-Sàmì líǎ.
N5a-story DemD5 That story.
- c È-bààmì bíǎ.
N8-white.person DemD8 Those white people.

Pronominal use:

26.

- a Břì lé-wòl-ó é-dzâ. → Břì lé-wòl-ó bíà.
Pn2pl 2plPrs-take-Fv(ns) N8-food → Pn2pl 2plPrs-take-Fv(ns) DemD8
We take food. → We take those ones.
- b Ndé á-nàm-á ká-síbì. → Ndé á-nàm-á kíà.
Pn3sg 3sgPrs-follow-Fv(ns) N7-antelope → Pn3sg 3sgPrs-follow-Fv(ns) DemD7
He follows the antelope. → He follows that one.
- c Wè á-k.á á-kùmbú. → Wè á-k.á mâa.
Pn2sg 2sgPrs-gather.Fv(ns) N6-mushroom → Pn2sg 2sgPrs-gather.Fv(ns) DemD6
You gather mushrooms. → You gather those (mushrooms).

5.1.1.2 Indefinite interrogative adjective and pronoun

The indefinite interrogative adjective/pronoun ‘which?’ is formed from the proximal demonstrative adjective plus the morpheme /-ní/.

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Proximal demonstrative adjective</u>	<u>Interrogative adjective</u>
1	wǔ	wùní
2	bà	bàní
5	lì	líní
6	mà	màní
7	kì	kíní
8	bì	bìní
9	yì	yìní
10	yǐ	yìní
14	bà	bàní

Table 4-12

27.

a	Ø-Súkà N5a-axe	líní ? Inter5	Which axe?
b	È-bàamì N8-white.person	bìní ? Inter8	Which white people?
c	Ø-Mbùgà N9-place	yìní ? Inter9	Which place?

6 Subject and object pronouns

There is a single set of pronouns used to represent both the subject and object in the noun phrase, agreeing in class with the noun it replaces.

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Subject and object pronoun</u>
1	ndé
2	bó
5	ló
6	mó
7	kó
8	dzó
9	yó
10	yó
14	bó

Table 5-13

28.

a	Ø-Mvá á-bíg-á. N1a-dog N1Prs-bark-Fv(ns) The dog barks.	→	Ndé á-bíg-á. Pn1 N1Prs-bark-Fv(ns) It barks.
b	È-kái bé-bàr-á. N8-antelope N8Prs-flee-Fv(ns) The antelopes flee.	→	Dzó bé-bàr-á. Pn8 N8Prs-flee-Fv(ns) They flee.

c	Ø-Bàlàgà	lé-bèr-é	ó-ndzàmbì.	→	Ø-Bàlàgà	lé-bèr-é	ndé.
	N5a-man	N5Prs-hit-Fv(ns)	N1-youth		N5a-man	N5Prs-hit-Fv(ns)	Pn1
	The man hits the youth.				The man hits him.		
d	Ò-káarì	á-kàal-á	Ø-súpù.	→	Ò-káarì	á-kàal-á	ló.
	N1-woman	N1Prs-stir-Fv(ns)	N5a-sauce		N1-woman	N1Prs-stir-Fv(ns)	Pn5
	The woman stirs the sauce.				The woman stirs it.		
e	Kà-kúbù	ké-dz.á	m-bónóǵó.	→	Kó	ké-dz.á	yó.
	N7-old.person	N7Prs-eat.Fv(ns)	N10-aubergine		Pn7	N7Prs-eat.Fv(ns)	Pn10
	The old person eats aubergines.				(S)he eats them.		

6.1 Modifiers related to the subject/object pronoun

Four noun modifiers are related to the subject/object pronoun. It will be noted that class 1 constitutes, at first sight, an exception. However, in reality, the exceptions occur in the subject/object pronoun set itself. Here it appears that the 3rd person personal pronoun (/ndé/ 'he/she') has replaced the pronoun form which may have been expected if the same phonological pattern were followed as for the other classes, namely /wo/. It is this anticipated but absent form which now resurfaces in combination with the appropriate morphemes to form the new modifiers.

6.1.1 'other' (definite)

The definite adjective meaning 'the other' or 'more' is formed from the subject/object pronoun (but with a low tone) plus the morpheme /-mó/.

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Subject and object pronoun</u>	<u>'other/more'</u>
1	ndé	wòmó
2	bó	bòmó
5	ló	lòmó
6	mó	mòmó
7	kó	kòmó
8	dzó	dzòmó
9	yó	yòmó
10	yó	yòmó
14	bó	bòmó

Table 5-14

29.

a	Là-pílá	lò-mó.	
	N5-basin	Pn5-the.other	The other basin.
b	Kà-bìlì	kò-mó	
	N7-owl	Pn7-the.other	The other owl.
c	Ndzǔ	yò-mó.	
	N10-peanut	Pn10-the.other	The other peanuts.

6.1.2 Number 2

Like the cardinal numbers one, and three to six, the cardinal number two is also marked to agree with the class of the noun it qualifies. It is formed from the subject/object pronoun plus the morpheme /-élè/. The final vowel /o/ of the pronoun is then reduced to the approximant /w/. This still leaves the appearance of the phoneme /b/ in the class 6 marker unexplained.

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Subject and object pronoun</u>	<u>'two'</u>
2	bó	bwélé
6	mó	mbwélé
8	dzó	dzwélé
10	yó	ywélé

Table 5-15

30.

- a À-mbòmò bw-élè.
N2-boa Pn2-two Two boas.
- b À-mpùgù mbw-élè.
N6-village Pn6-two Two villages.
- c È-ngébé dzw-élè.
N8-child Pn8-two Two children.

As with the other cardinal numbers, the number two can be used pronominally:

31.

- a Dzw-élè kà ngùlù, Ø-ngùlù sé dzw-élè.
Pn8-two P N9-side, N9-side Adv Pn8-two
Two (sticks) at one side and two at the other.

6.1.3 'all /the whole'

The quantifier 'all/the whole' is also formed from the subject/object pronoun (but with a low tone) plus the morpheme /-óri/.

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Subject and object pronoun</u>	<u>'all'</u>
1	ndé	wòóri
2	bó	bòóri
5	ló	lòóri
6	mó	mbòóri
7	kó	kòóri
8	dzó	dzòóri
9	yó	yòóri
10	yó	yòóri
14	bó	bòóri

Table 5-16

32.

- a Ø-Ngòndò wò-óri.
N1a-month Pn1-all A whole month.
- b È-móní dzò-óri.
N8-lemon Pn8-all All the lemons.

- c À-mpìbí mbò-òrì.
N6-night Pn6-all All the nights.

6.1.4 Emphatic adjective and pronoun

To express the emphatic modifier ‘-self/own’ Latege uses the subject/object pronoun plus the morpheme /mànkú/ placed after the noun being modified.

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Subject and object pronoun</u>	<u>‘him/her/it-self’ ‘his/her/its own’</u>
1	ndé	ndé mànkú
2	bó	bó mànkú
5	ló	ló mànkú
6	mó	mó mànkú
7	kó	kó mànkú
8	dzó	dzó mànkú
9	yó	yó mànkú
10	yó	yó mànkú
14	bó	bó mànkú

Table 5-17

33.

- a Ò-tángání ndé mànkú á-ùg-á.
N1-white.person Pn1 ‘self’ N1Prs-speak-Fv(ns)
The white person himself speaks.
- b À-súkà mó mànkú má-bólíg-ì.
N6-axe Pn6 ‘self’ N6PfvNs-break-PfvNs
The axes themselves broke.
- c Ò-ndzàmbí á-kòr-ó é-bìlì dzó mànkú.
N1-youth N1Prs-watch-Fv(ns) N8-owl Pn8 ‘self’
The youth sees the owls themselves.
- d À-ntsúrú bá kà-kúbù kó mànkú.
N2-chicken Ass2 N7-old.person Pn7 ‘self’
The chickens of the old person herself.

7 Relative pronoun

Once again there is a single set of pronouns used as the relative pronoun regardless of whether it is functioning as the subject or object of its own clause. When the pronoun is the subject of its own clause it has a low tone, as it does when it is the object of the clause and the subject is not named explicitly by a separate noun or pronoun. If the relative pronoun acts as the object of the clause and the subject is explicitly named, the subject follows the verb in the relative clause and the relative pronoun and verb prefix elide to produce a variety of tones which are not always readily predictable (see separate paper on the relative construction for further details).

This set can be combined with other morphemes to derive other noun modifiers.

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Relative pronoun</u> (sub)
1	wà
2	bà
5	là
6	mà
7	kà
8	bà
9	yà
10	yà
14	bà

Table 6-18

34.

- a Ndé Ø-mbùurù wà á-dz.á.
Pn3sg N1a-person Rel1 N1Prs-eat.Fv(ns)
She is the person who eats.
- b À-káarì bà bá-kùl-á é-ngébé.
N2-woman Rel2 N2Prs-give.birth.to-Fv(ns) N8-child
Women who give birth to children.
- c À-ngàyí mà má-s.á á-bàlàgà.
N6-illness Rel6 N6Prs-do.Fv(ns) N6-man
Illnesses which attack men.
- d Kà-ntu k'ǎ-súm-í bó.
N7-pineapple Rel7'3plPfvNs-buy-PfvNs Pn3pl
The pineapple which they bought.
- e È-pèlé b'ǎn-tsùk-í mè.
N8-plate Rel8'1sgPfvNs-wash-PfvNs Pn1sg
Plates which I washed.

The relative pronoun is also used where English would require a relative adverb, the pronoun agreeing as usual with its antecedent:

35.

- a Ø-Ndzó y'ǎ-p.ǒ wè.
N9-house Rel9'2sgPrs-sleep.Fv(ns) Pn2sg
The house where you sleep.
- b Ø-Ntĩ yà bá-dz.á.
N9-time Rel9 3plPrs-eat.Fv(ns)
The time when they eat.

7.1 Modifiers related to the relative pronoun

7.1.1 Associative marker

The associative marker is used to link two nouns or a noun and pronoun in a variety of relationships such as possession, attribution, function, kinship, location, part-whole. It differs from the relative pronoun only in the tone of certain classes and in that class 8 has an alternative form /bé/ and class 14 an alternative /bó/. The associative marker agrees with the head noun of the phrase.

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Associative pronoun</u>
1	wà ¹²
2	bá
5	lá
6	má
7	ká
8	bá
9	yà
10	yà
14	bá

Table 6-19

- 36.
- | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| a | Ø-Bágá
N5a-knife | lá
Ass5 | kà-tô.
N7-sharpness | Sharp knife. |
| b | Kà-bàaná
N7-skin | ká
Ass7 | Ø-ngô
N1a-leopard | Leopard's skin. |
| c | Ø-Ndzó
N9-house | yà
Ass9 | kà-vùlà.
N7-camp | House for the camp. |
| d | À-mpfà
N6-clothing | má
Ass6 | Ø-băanà.
N2a-child | Children's clothes. |

7.1.1.1 Personal possessives

Although the word order in associative clauses given above is the most common, it can be, and frequently is, changed when an associative marker and personal pronoun are used to express possession. The associative marker and personal pronoun may be moved before the noun possessed and the associative marker then sometimes dropped completely. In this case the associative marker, if present, is always used in its primary form.

- 37.
- | | | | | | |
|---|---|----------------------|---|----------------|---|
| a | À-ndúmù
N2-brother
Your brothers. | bá wè.
Ass2 Pn2sg | → | [bá]
[Ass2] | Wè à-ndúmù.
Pn2sg N2-brother
Your brothers. |
| b | Ø-Mpùgù
N9-village
Your village. | yà bé.
Ass9 Pn2pl | → | [yà]
Ass9 | Bé Ø-mpùgù.
Pn2pl N9-village
Your village. |

¹² The tone on class one is unpredictable, presumably because it is a coalescing of class 1 which, in Bantu languages, would typically have a low tone and class 3 which would typically have high tone.

7.1.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers (except 'first') are expressed using the associative marker plus the appropriate cardinal number, which is itself a class 14 noun. As the class 14 noun prefix is /o-/, the /-a/ of the associative marker elides with it leaving just the initial consonant. The tone from this elided vowel combines with that of the class 14 prefix becoming falling or low as appropriate.

38.

- | | | | |
|---|------------|----------------|----------------|
| a | Kà-tsígu | k'ò-táani. | |
| | N7-day | Ass7'N14-five | Fifth day. |
| b | Ø-Ngùmá | y'ò-táñ. | |
| | N9-machete | Ass9'N14-three | Third machete. |
| c | Ø-Nyòní | w'ò-nà. | |
| | N1a-bird | Ass1'N14-four | Fourth bird. |

8 Verb agreement

The verb in Latege is always marked with a prefix (which is sometimes Ø) to show the class of the noun which is its subject. Latege verbs have many aspects and tenses and there are a range of different concord prefixes to indicate these. As this is not intended as a verb paper I will illustrate only the two most frequently used aspect/tense concord prefix sets; that of the present imperfective and that of the non-specified perfective aspect.

8.1 Present imperfective

<u>Noun class of subject</u>	<u>Present imperfective</u>
1	á
2	bá
5	lé
6	má
7	ké
8	bé
9	yé
10	yé
14	bó

Table 7-20

39.

- | | | | |
|---|-----------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a | Ø-Vùrù | bó-ts.á. | |
| | N14-day | N14Prs-dawn.Fv(ns) | Day is dawning. |
| b | Ò-bì | á-sàar-á | ó-kái. |
| | N1-hunter | N1Prs-cut.up-Fv(ns) | N1-antelope |
| | | | The hunter is cutting up an antelope. |
| c | À-káari | bá-dz.á. | |
| | N2-woman | N2Prs-eat.Fv(ns) | The women are eating. |

The initial consonant of the prefix of classes 2, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 14 is sometimes dropped.

40.

- | | | | | |
|---|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a | È-kwá | bì | é-f.á | é-kàalà. |
| | N8-yam | DemP8 | N8Prs-come.from.Fv(ns) | N8-furrow |
| | | | | These yams come from furrows. |
| b | È-wùlí | é-s.á | Ø-nkèrì. | |
| | N8-throat | N8Prs-make.Fv(ns) | N9-pain | |
| | | | | Throats are hurting. |

8.2 Non-Specified Perfective

<u>Noun class of subject</u>	<u>Perfective</u>
1	ó-
2	bá-
5	lá-
6	má-
7	ká-
8	bé-
9	yé-
10	yé-
14	bó-

Table 7-21

41.

- a Ò-káarì ó-tsùk-ì à-mpfà.
 N1-woman N1PfvNs-wash-PfvNs N6-clothes
 The woman washed the clothes.
- b À-ndúmù bá brĩ bá-sàar-ì Ø-ntsa wúă.
 N2-brother Ass2 Pn2pl N2PfvNs-cut.up-PfvNs N1a-antelope DemD1
 Our brothers cut up that antelope.
- c À-ndzá má-tòg-î.
 N6-water N6PfvNs-boil-PfvNs
 The water boiled.

However, the initial consonant of classes 2, 6, 8, 9, and 10 may be dropped and in fact, most often is.

42.

- a À-ntsú á-káy-î.
 N2-fish N2PfvNs-dry-PfvNs
 Fish dried.
- b È-mpálă é-nyě-ì à-bĩ.
 N8-lizard N8PfvNs-lay-PfvNs N6-egg
 Lizards laid eggs.

8.3 Modifiers formed using the verb prefix

8.3.1 Adjectives

Some adjectives such as *osigi* 'living', *wĩ* 'empty' and *dzìu* 'dull' are invariable and do not show any agreement with the noun they modify. Others, however, have a concord prefix showing which noun they modify. These prefixes are broadly similar to those of the imperfective present¹³ but with a low or rising tone¹⁴. Class 1 is here an exception with the familiar /wo-/ re-appearing. In classes 9 and 10 a homorganic nasal is inserted between the prefix and the stem (unless the stem already has a stem initial nasal).

43.

- a Ø-Nkàagá wò-là.
 N1a-grandparent N1-tall
 A tall grandparent.

¹³ Many of these adjectives do in fact have a related verb, but it doesn't seem appropriate to consider them as participles since this would still leave a range of other modifiers which do not have corresponding verbs.

¹⁴ There is no obvious reason why some of these prefixes sometimes have a rising tone. The most likely explanation is that they have a floating high tone before the first syllable which fuses with the low tone of the prefix. However, there is no definitive proof of this.

- b Kà-síbì kè-bùrì.
N7-antelope N7-small
A small antelope.
- c Ø-Ndzó yè-ndzàlìgì.
N9-house N9-new
A new house.
- d À-ndìgì bǎ-kòlò.
N2-friend N2-tired
Tired friends.
- e Ø-Bágá lě-tsùgà.
N5a-knife N5-blunt
A blunt knife.

It should be noted that many concepts which are usually expressed by adjectives in English are expressed by associative and non-active complement clauses in Latege.

44.

- a Kà-kúbù ká ò-káari.
N7-old.person Ass7 N1-woman
Old woman.
- b Ò-ngébé wǔ ñǎ kà-dùsù.
N1-child DemP1 with N7-calmness
This calm is child.

8.3.1.1 Comparison

When comparing two things and declaring them equal the conjunction *mvà* 'like' is used:

45.

- a Ø-Bàlàgà lì ñǎ Ø-kùnà mvà Ø-tàarà wà ndé.
N5a-man DemP5 with N5a-solidity like N1a-father Ass1 Pn3
This man is stocky like (as stocky as) his father.

To form a comparative the verb *kavúla* 'exceed' plus the preposition *mà* 'by' is used:

46.

- a Kà-bùlú kì ká-vúl-í Ø-bùgà mà ò-là.
N7-bench DemP7 N7PfvNs-exceed-PfvNs N1a-other in N14-length
This bench is longer than the other.

Superlatives are formed in a similar manner but the noun which is the object of the verb *kavúla* is always in the plural and always modified by 'all':

47.

- a Ø-Ndzògò ó-vúl-í à-nyàmà bòórì mà ò-níni.
N1a-elephant N1PfvNs-exceed-PfvNs N2-animal N2all in N14-bigness
The elephant is the biggest animal.

8.3.2 Intensifier ('all/only')

There is a set of modifiers which is best described simply as an intensifier but which only occurs when a number is specified in the noun phrase and which, for plural classes, is sometimes translated by 'all' and for the singular classes by 'only' though these are overtranslations. This modifier is formed using the present imperfective prefix (but with rising tone) plus the morpheme /-ntsǎ/, although classes 1 and 9 do not follow this pattern. Class 14 is absent from the table as this class does not contain count nouns.

<u>Noun class of subject</u>	<u>Present imperfective</u>	<u>Intensifier ('all')</u>
1	á-	wõntsă
2	bá-	băntsă
5	lé-	lěntsă
6	má-	măntsă
7	ké-	kěntsă
8	bé-	běntsă
9	yé-	yěntsă
10	yé-	yěntsă

Table 22

- 48.
- | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| a | À-káarì
N2-woman | bă-ntsă
N2Prs-(all) | á-táǎ.
N2-three | (All) three women. |
| b | Kà-túngă
N7-basket | kě-ntsă
N7Prs-(only) | ká-mó.
N7-one | (Only) one basket. |

9 Miscellanea

9.1 'entire'

The modifier meaning 'entire' is possibly formed from the imperfective present verb prefix plus the morpheme /-tɕìnà/. Alternatively, it may be derived from the associative marker (with the variant [be] in class 8) plus this morpheme. In either case there are a few variations from the expected pattern and the prefix here is always low so it may even be considered a completely separate set. Interestingly the nasal typical of classes 9 and 10 surfaces between the prefix and the morpheme /-tɕìnà/.

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Associative marker</u>	<u>Present imperfective</u>	<u>'entire'</u>
1	wà	á-	wòtɕìnà
2	bá	bá-	bàtɕìnà
5	lá	lé-	lètɕìnà
6	má	má-	màtɕìnà
7	ká	ké-	kètɕìnà
8	bé	bé-	bètɕìnà
9	yà	yé-	yàntɕìnà
10	yà	yé-	yàntɕìnà
14	bá	bó-	bòtɕìnà

Table 8-23

- 49.
- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| a | È-mòni
N8-lemon | bè-tɕìnà.
N8Prs-entire | Entire lemons. |
| b | Là-bónóǵó
N5-aubergine | lè-tɕìnà.
N5Prs-entire | The entire aubergine. |
| c | Kà-yìngà
N7-week | kè-tɕìnà.
N7Prs-entire | The entire week. |

9.2 ‘same’

The notion ‘same’ is expressed in Latege by a combination of the proximal and distal demonstrative adjectives. However, in classes 2, 6 and 14 the /-a/ ending of the proximal demonstrative adjective is changed to /-i/ seemingly to form a regular pattern with the other classes. The tone of the first segment (proximal demonstrative) remains consistently high. When the distal demonstrative part is a monosyllable (classes 2, 6 and 14) the tone is a contour fall then rise when it is used adjectivally or as subject pronoun, and a simple fall when it is an object pronoun. When the distal demonstrative part is a disyllable (all other classes) it has a high tone followed by a rising one when it is used adjectivally or as subject pronoun and a high followed by low when it is an object pronoun.

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>Proximal demonstrative adjective</u>	<u>Distal demonstrative adjective</u>	<u>‘same’ (sub)</u>
1	wũ	wúǎ	wú wúǎ
2	bà	bǎ̃	bí bǎ̃
5	ɪ	líǎ	lí líǎ
6	mà	mǎǎ	mí mǎ̃
7	kì	kíǎ	kí kíǎ
8	bì	bíǎ	bí bíǎ
9	yì	yíǎ	yí yíǎ
10	yì	yíǎ	yí yíǎ
14	bà	bǎ̃	bí bǎ̃

Table 8-24

50.

- a Ø-Ntsúrú wú wúǎ.
N1a-chicken DemP1 DemD1 The same chicken.
- b È-kúbu bí bíǎ.
N8-old.person DemP8 DemD8 These same old people.
- c À-bágá mí mǎ̃.
N6-knife DemP6 DemD6 The same knives.

In order now to express the demonstrative along with the notion ‘same’ (i.e. this/these same...), the definite ‘the other(s)’ is inserted before the proximal demonstrative adjective but the morpheme /-ómó/ now has two high tones. Clearly once again class 1 does not adhere to the regular pattern and the modifier ‘the other’ has been replaced by the class subject/object pronoun plus the morpheme /mé/ which seems to be an emphatic (object) personal pronoun (see section 6.1.4).

<u>Noun class</u>	<u>‘the other’</u>	<u>‘same’</u>	<u>‘this/these same’</u>
1	wòmó	wú wúǎ	ndé mé wú wúǎ
2	bòmó	bí bǎ̃	bómó bí bǎ̃
5	lòmó	lí líǎ	lómó lí líǎ
6	mòmó	mí mǎ̃	mómó mí mǎ̃
7	kòmó	kí kíǎ	kómó kí kíǎ
8	dzòmó	bí bíǎ	dzómó bí bíǎ
9	yòmó	yí yíǎ	yómó yí yíǎ
10	yòmó	yí yíǎ	yómó yí yíǎ
14	bòmó	bí bǎ̃	bómó bí bǎ̃

Table 8-25

- 51.
- | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|---------------|-------------|--|---------------------|
| a | Kà-bágà | kó-mó | kí kíǎ. | | |
| | N7-wall | Pn7-the.other | DemP7 DemD7 | | This same wall. |
| b | È-kòró | dzó-mó | bí bíǎ. | | |
| | N8-shrimp | Pn8-the.other | DemP8 DemD8 | | These same shrimps. |
| c | À-mvá | bó-mó | bí bǎ̃. | | |
| | N2-dog | Pn2-the.other | DemP2 DemD2 | | These same dogs. |
| d | Ò-lògù | ndé mé | wú wúǎ. | | |
| | N1-sorcerer | Pn1Emph | DemP1 DemD1 | | This same sorcerer. |

9.3 Derived nouns

9.3.1 Derivations from nouns

Of the derivational procedures used to create nouns, some are productive, some non-productive. Among the productive ones is the formation of diminutives. Diminutives can be formed from any noun where the sense permits and is done by replacing the noun class prefix with the morpheme /kě-/. The use of such diminutives is usually considered pejorative.

- 52.
- | | | | | |
|---|----------|---|--------------|--|
| a | Ò-káarì | → | Kě-káarì | |
| | N1-woman | | Dim-woman | |
| | Woman | | Little woman | |
| b | Ø-Ndzò | → | Kě-ndzò | |
| | N9-house | | Dim-house | |
| | House | | Little house | |
| c | Kà-lógò | → | Kě-logò | |
| | N7-thing | | Dim-thing | |
| | Thing | | Little thing | |

These derived diminutives become class 7 nouns, though the new prefix is clearly a variant of the usual class 7 prefix /ka-/, and take the usual class 7 agreement markers. The tone of this noun prefix is, however, always rising. Puech (1987) suggests it is in fact a fusion of the class 7 prefix /ka-/ and a prefix /i-/, this prefix then carrying the diminutive force. The plural is formed by the usual pairing with class 8 but with high tone on the prefix and replaces the whole fused prefix /kě-/.

In a similar way the name of a tree or plant is frequently derived from the fruit it produces¹⁵. In this case the noun class prefix of the fruit is replaced by the class 1 noun class prefix /o-/ and paired with class 8 /e-/ in the plural.

- 53.
- | | | | | |
|---|--------------|---|--------------------|--------------------|
| a | Kà-móní | → | ò-móní | è-móní |
| | N7-orange | | N1-orange.tree | N8-orange.tree |
| | Orange | | Orange tree | Orange trees |
| b | Là-bónójó | → | ò-bónójó | è-bónójó |
| | N5-aubergine | | N1-aubergine.plant | N8-aubergine.plant |
| | Aubergine | | Aubergine plant | Aubergine plants |

There are a few notable exceptions to this rule (/ko/ is both a banana and a banana tree and a pineapple plant is /sala la kantu/) but it is generally speaking a fully productive procedure.

A more limited and slightly less regular derivational procedure occurs when deriving a person from an abstract noun. In this case the noun class prefix of the abstract noun (usually class 14 but sometimes class 7) is removed and replaced most frequently by the class 1 prefix /o-/, but sometimes by the class 1a prefix Ø-, both paired with a class 2 plural. The final vowel may also change from /-a/ to /-i/ and the tone on the radical often changes.

¹⁵ It could, of course, be posited that the fruit is derived from the tree or plant, but in such a case it is impossible to predict which class the noun designating the fruit will be assigned to.

54.				
a	Ò-fúgá N14-poverty Poverty	→	Ò-fùgà N1-poor.person Poor person	À-fùgà N2-poor.person Poor people
b	Kà-bàgà N7-richness Richness	→	Ò-bàgì N1-rich.person Rich person	À-bàgì N2-rich.person Rich people
c	Ò-ndúmbá N14-prostitution Prostitution	→	Ø-Ndùmbà N1a-prostitute Prostitute	À-ndùmbà N2-prostitute Prostitutes

9.3.2 Derivations from verbs

A wholly productive derivational procedure involving verbs entails the derivation of the actor from the verb. The class 1 noun prefix and an /-i/ suffix are added to the root of the verb. It pairs with class 2 in the plural. This can be done to any verb where the sense permits.

55.				
a	-dzàndz- work Work	→	Ò-dzàndz-ì N1-work-Actor Worker	À-dzàndz-ì N2-work-Actor Workers
b	-lòg- bewitch Bewitch	→	Ò-lòg-ì N1-bewitch-Actor Witch	À-lòg-ì N2-bewitch-Actor Witches
c	-yírìg- teach Teach	→	Ò-yírìg-ì N1-teach-Actor Teacher	À-yírìg-ì N2-teach-Actor Teachers

There are two other derivations from verbs which are rather more unusual but appear to be fully productive as far as semantics allows.

The first expresses the idea of an action completed a certain number of times (which must be specified). In the singular it becomes a class 5a noun and consists simply of the verb stem plus the class 5a noun prefix (Ø-). In the plural the class 10 nasal prefix is added with the usual phonological changes which that engenders in Latege.

56.					
a	Ndé	mì-s.á	Ø-sá	là-mó.	
	Pn3sg	3sgRecPfc-do.Fv(t)	N5a-do	N5-one	He has done once.
b	Mè	mâan-dàg-á	wè	Ø-làgà	là-mó.
	Pn1sg	1sgNsPfc-say-Fv(t)	Pn2sg	N5a-say	N5-one I have told you once.
c	Bó	ámì-dz.á	n-dzâ	Ø-táani.	
	Pn3pl	3plRecPfc-eat.Fv(t)	N10-eat	Ø-five	They have eaten five times.
d	Bří	là màa-s.á	n-tsâ	Ø-táfi.	
	Pn1pl	1plRecPfc-do.Fv(t)	N10-do	Ø-three	We have done three times.

The second expresses the idea of an action badly done and is formed by adding the prefix /é-/ (class 8 noun prefix or class 8 non-specified perfective prefix) to the perfective stem of the verb and doubling it without the prefix.

57.				
a	Kà-làgá	é-làg-ì	làg-ì.	
	Inf-speak	N8PfvNs-speak-PfvNs	speak-PfvNs	Speak any old way.
b	Kà-sá	é-s.î	s.î.	
	Inf-do	N8PfvNs-do.PfvNs	do.PfvNs	Do any old thing.

9.4 Compound nouns

Compound nouns are created by simply placing two nouns (including their class prefixes) in sequence together (in the orthography a hyphen is placed between them, in this text I am using “=” to differentiate it from the morpheme break). The two nouns are treated as one grammatical unit belonging to the noun class of the first noun. Consequently any modifier relating to the compound noun agrees with the first noun. In the plural only the prefix of the first noun changes. In some compound nouns the second noun in the pair is in the singular form, in others in the plural.

58.

a		
Singular	Plural	Proximal Demonstrative
Ø-Nyàmà = Ø-ndzálí N1a-animal = N9-river Hippopotamus	A-nyàmà = Ø-ndzálí N2-animal = N9-river Hippopotami	Ø-Nyàmà = Ø-ndzálí wǔ. N1a-animal = N9-river DemP1 This hippopotamus.
Ø-Mwǎanà = kà-dzù N1a-child = N7-mortar Pestle	Ø-Bǎanà = kà-dzù N2a-child = N7-mortar Pestles	Ø-Mwǎanà = kà-dzù wǔ. N1a-child = N7-mortar DemP1 This pestle.
Ø-Ngâ = Ø-mpùgù N1a.proprietor = N9.village Village chief	A-ngâ = Ø-mpùgù N2.proprietor = N9.village Village chiefs	Ø-Ngâ = Ø-mpùgù wǔ. N1a.proprietor = N9.village DemP1 This village chief.

Sometimes the compound is simply the reduplication of one noun so that distinct meanings for the two parts can't be given. The same rules of agreement and pluralisation apply.

b

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	<u>Proximal Demonstrative</u>
Ø-Dzùmǎ = Ø-dzùmà N5a-species.of.medicinal.plant	A-dzùmǎ = Ø-dzùmà N6-species.of.medicinal.plant	Ø-Dzùmǎ = Ø-dzùmà lì. N5a-species.of.medicinal.plant DemP5
Ø-Tàbí = Ø-tàbí N5a-impatience Impatience		Ø-Tàbí = Ø-tàbí lì N5a-impatience DemP5 This impatience.

This is not a fully productive method of creating compounds, i.e. it is not permissible to simply place any two nouns in sequence to form a compound noun. More frequently an associative phrase is used to express a concept where a compound may be expected.

59.

a		
Ø-Tàará wà ò-lúmì. N1a-father Ass1 N1-husband Father-in-law (of wife)	À-tàará bà ò-lúmì. N2-father Ass2 N1-husband Fathers-in-law (of wife)	
Ò-nywà wà ø-yúlù. N1-entry Ass1 N5a-nose Nostril	È-nywà bà ø-yúlù. N8-entry Ass8 N5a-nose Nostrils	

10 Appendix: Summary table of agreement markers

	Noun Prefix	Interrogative	'other' (indefinite)	'much/many'	'some'	Number 1		Number 3	Number 4	Number 5	Number 6
1	o-	o-má	o-kìmà			o-mó	o-môtú				
1a	Ø-										
2	a-	a-má	a-kìmà	a-lílàgà	a-ké	a-mó		a-táli	a-nà	a-táani	a-sémínyì
5	la-	la-má	la-kìmà	la-lílàgà		la-mó	la-môtú				
5a	Ø-										
6	a-	a-má	a-kìmà	a-lílàgà	a-ké	a-mó		a-táli	a-nà	a-táani	a-sémínyì
7	ka-	ka-má	ka-kìmà	ka-lílàgà		ka-mó	ka-môtú				
8	e-	e-má	e-kìmà	e-lílàgà	e-ké	e-mó		e-táli	e-nà	e-táani	e-sémínyì
8a	Ø-										
9	Ø-	Ø-má	n-kìmà	n-ďíndàgà		Ø-mó	Ø-môtú				
10	N-	Ø-má	n-kìmà	n-ďíndàgà	n-ké	Ø-mó		Ø-táli	Ø-nà	Ø-táani	Ø-sémínyì
14	o-	o-má	o-kìmà	o-lílàgà							

	Proximal demonstrative	Distal demonstrative	Interrogative	Subject/object Pronoun	'other'(definite)	Number 2	'all/whole'	'him/her/it-self'
1	wũ	wúǎ	wùní	ndé	wòmó		wòòrì	ndé mànkú
2	bà	bǎ	bàní	bó	bòmó	bwélè	bòòrì	bó mànkú
5	fi	líǎ	finí	ló	lòmó		lòòrì	ló mànkú
6	mà	mǎǎ	màní	mó	mòmó	mbwélè	mbòòrì	mó mànkú
7	ki	kíǎ	kíní	kó	kòmó		kòòrì	kó mànkú
8	bi	bíǎ	bíní	dzó	dzòmó	dzwélè	dzòòrì	dzó mànkú
9	yì	yíǎ	yíní	yó	yòmó		yòòrì	yó mànkú
10	yì	yíǎ	yíní	yó	yòmó	ywélè	yòòrì	yó mànkú
14	bà	bǎ	bàní	bó	bòmó		bòòrì	bó mànkú

	Relative pronoun	Associative marker	Imperfective present	Perfective	'all/only'	'Entire'	'same'
1	wà	wà	á-	ó-	wòntsǎ	wòtsìnà	wú wúǎ
2	bà	bá	bá-	bá-	bàntsǎ	bàtsìnà	bí bǎ
5	là	lá	lé-	lá-	lèntsǎ	lètsìnà	lí líǎ
6	mà	má	má-	má-	màntsǎ	màtsìnà	mí mǎ
7	kà	ká	ké-	ká-	kèntsǎ	kètsìnà	kí kíǎ
8	bà	bá	bé-	bé-	bèntsǎ	bètsìnà	bí bíǎ
9	yà	yà	yé-	yé-	yèntsǎ	yàntsìnà	yí yíǎ
10	yà	yà	yé-	yé-	yèntsǎ	yàntsìnà	yí yíǎ
14	bà	bá	bó-	bó-	bòntsǎ	bòtsìnà	bí bǎ

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