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The Bamunka Noun Phrase

by
Jane Ingle

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This article concerns the Bamunka language, spoken in Ndop Central Sub-Division,
Ngoketunjia Division, in the North West Region of Cameroon
ISO 639-3 language code: bvm

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Presentation of examples and conventions used

The examples used in this paper are taken from a corpus of eleven texts and from additional data elicited directly from language informants. The texts included five folk stories, three true stories, an account of the history of Bamunka village and a description of fishing in Bamunka village.

Each example in this paper consists of four lines as follows:

Line 1: Current Bamunka orthography (Blackwell, 2011)

Line 2: Morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown

Line 3: Morpheme-by-morpheme gloss

Line 4: Free translation

The second line of each example is based on the most current orthography (Blackwell, 2011) but is broken down into individual morphemes, with some spelling adjustments, as deemed necessary to reflect the analysis.

Any syllable-final /ŋ/ represents nasalisation of the vowel. It does not represent a syllable-final consonant. For example: *fɔ̃ŋ* [fɔ̃] “chief”

Tone is marked on all syllables of the morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown. These tone markings are for surface tone and are quite tentative. Since tone was not studied in detail, I cannot be confident of their accuracy. The conventions used for marking and describing tone in this paper are as follows:

Tone mark in examples	Abbreviation in text	Meaning
ˊ	H	High
ˋ	L	Low*
ˊˋ	LH	Rising: low-high
ˋˊ	HL	Falling: high-low
ˋˊˊ	HM	Falling: high-mid
ˋˊˋ	HMH	Falling-rising: high-mid-high
ˋˊˋˊ	---	Rising-falling: low-high-mid
ˋˊˊˊ	ˋH	Downstepped high tone

*Words with low tone usually fall syllable-finally when uttered in isolation. For simplicity they are marked as low L throughout this paper.

Tone on long vowels (which are written as double vowels) is marked on the second vowel. For example: *kaá* “monkey”

Occasionally, a high tone following a low tone has a lower pitch than a high tone that precedes the low tone. This is represented using the downstep symbol [˥]. For example: *tiê-[˥]tiê* “small” (HL [˥]H). More tone analysis is needed to be able to represent this tone behaviour more accurately.

The morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown as used in the examples is also used in all tables in this paper.

Where it is necessary to show pronunciation that may not be apparent from the orthography line or from the morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown, the IPA pronunciation is shown to the right of the second example line.

A gloss is given for each morpheme. In some cases the gloss of a morpheme is unknown because it was not researched for the purposes of this paper. Such morphemes are glossed with a question mark.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations in the text and in tables:

AM	associative marker
ATTR	attribute
C	consonant
DEF DET	definite determiner
DEM	demonstrative
EMPH DEM	emphatic demonstrative
EMPH POSS	emphatic possessive
HN	head noun
INDEF DET	indefinite determiner
N1	1 st noun in associative noun phrase
N2	2 nd noun in associative noun phrase
POSS	possessive
QUANT	quantifier
REL CL	relative clause
V	vowel

Abbreviations in glosses:

1PL	1 st person plural	INCL	inclusive
1SG	1 st person singular	INDEF	indefinite determiner
2PL	2 nd person plural	INTF	intensifier
2SG	2 nd person singular	N-	homorganic nasal prefix
3PL	3 rd person plural	NEG	negative
3SG	3 rd person singular	P1	recent past tense
AM	associative marker	P2	far past tense
ANAPH	anaphoric demonstrative	PFV	perfective aspect
ANM	animate	PL	plural
C2	noun class 2, etc.	POSS	possessive
DEF	definite determiner	PROG	progressive aspect
DIST	distal demonstrative	PROX	proximal demonstrative
F	future tense	REL	relative marker
FOC	focus particle	RPTD	reported speech
IMPERS	impersonal pronoun	SG	singular
INANM	inanimate	*	ungrammatical phrase

SECTION 1 Introduction

(co-written by Chuifonmong David)

1.1 The People

The people of Bamunka live in Bamunka village in Ndop Central Sub-division, Ngoketunjia Division in the North West Region of Cameroon. They number approximately 31,000 (Lewis, et al. 2013).

They are believed to have moved in from the Tikar group in North-East Cameroon. They left Tikari after the death of their Fon (chief) following a difference of opinion during the enthronement of the new chief. Two men, two women and their mother travelled through hills, forests and across streams until they saw the land and were pleased with it. When they finally entered the land it was late in the evening, so they settled in Messi and declared the next morning a day of rest. Today the village of Bamunka is subdivided into nine quarters, ruled by one Fon, assisted by nine Quarter Heads who are answerable to the one Fon. Traditionally the Bamunka people lived on subsistence farming and tapping of palm wine. Today rice, cocoyam, plantain and maize are important cash crops. Many of the people have gained a higher level of education and are now employed in various fields such as education, medicine and the military.

1.2 The Language

The Bamunka people call themselves Məkɔ' [mákòʔ] and speak ŋgieməkɔ'kə [ŋgiě'məkòʔkə], which means "language of the Bamunka people". In this paper the name of the language will be referred to using the village name, Bamunka, as is used in the Ethnologue (Lewis, et al. 2013).

Bamunka is a South Ring Grassfields Bantu language. Its ISO 639-3 code is BVM. Ethnologue (Lewis, et al. 2013) classifies it as Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Ring, South. See figures 1 and 2 below.

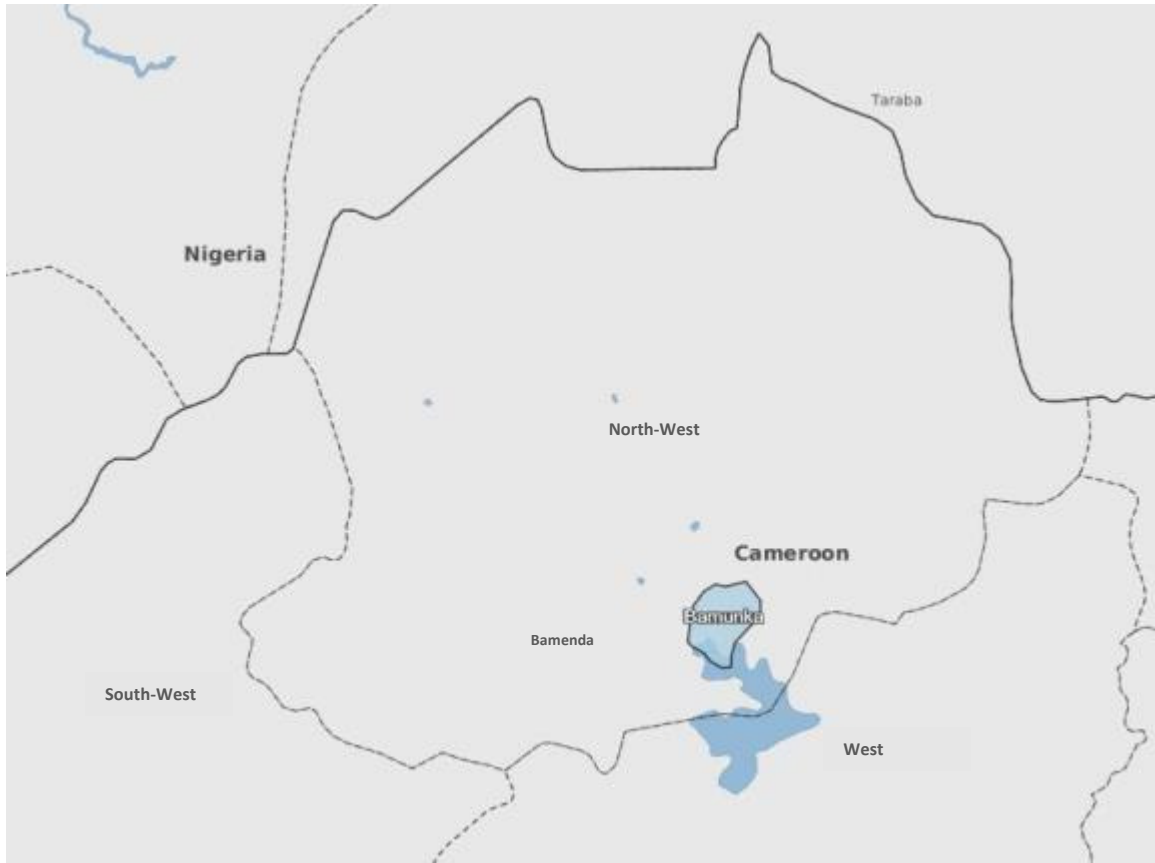


Figure 1: Location of Bamunka in the North West Region
(Courtesy of Language and Location: A Map Annotation Project. <http://llmap.org>)



Figure 2: Bamunka and neighbouring languages (SIL International 2013)

SECTION 2 Morphological Structure of the Noun

2.1 Noun stem and noun affix

A noun in Bamunka consists of a lexical stem and an affix, which is usually a suffix. The affix agrees with the noun class to which the noun belongs (see section 3).

- (1) *tyúkǎ* “tree”

tyú + *-kǎ*
noun root + c7 suffix

- (2) *ŋgò’hǎ* “stones”

ŋgò’ + *-hǎ*
noun root + c10 suffix

- (3) *bàkaá* “monkeys”

bà- + *kaá*
c2 prefix + noun root

Since Bamunka predominantly has nouns with noun class suffixes, it is different to most other Grassfields Bantu languages, which generally have noun class prefixes.

Some nouns consist only of a lexical stem with no affix.

- (4) *ŋgò’* “stone”

ŋgò’
noun root

Nouns with disyllabic stems also exist, which appear to be derived from verbs. Two examples are given below:

- (5) *ŋwǎ’-nǎ* “book” (probably derived from verb *nyǎ’* “write”)

- (6) *ntyú-nǎ-kǎ* “follower” (derived from verb *tyù-nǎ* “follow”)

This last group of nouns has not been studied further in this paper and requires further research.

2.2 A-forms and B-forms of nouns

Many nouns in Bamunka have two forms: an A-form and a B-form. Their use depends basically on whether they are in focus or out of focus and on their position in the noun phrase and in the clause.

The A-form is generally the “in focus” form. In Bamunka this is the suffixed form (which is also the citation form, as in the example (1) above).

- (7) ŋkwe-i shu'hə kə'bə
 ŋkwě̃ í shú'hə kó'-⁺bə
 mother 3SG.POSS push step-c8
 “His mother sent down a ladder.”
- (8) ɔ bɛ' bəkə
 ɔ́ bɛ́ bɔ́-kǎ
 3SG carried bed-c7
 “He carried the bed.”
- (9) Yəŋkə ndə Məkɔ' nə lɔ chɔ
 yəŋ-kǎ ndə Mákǎ' nə lǎ chò
 place-c7 REL Bamunka P2 leave there
 “the place where the Bamunka came from”

The B-form is generally the “out of focus” form. In Bamunka this is the prefixed form. It is required in locative phrases and associative noun phrases. The nouns in their A-form in examples (7) to (9) above are shown in their B-form in examples (10) to (12) below:

B-form in locative phrases:

- (10) Mbɛ kətɔŋ nə tɔ' bəkɔ'
 mbú ká-⁺tɔŋ nə tɔ' bə-kò'
 DEF C7-box ? under c8-step
 “The box is **under the ladder**”
- (11) ɔ nɛɛ ndəŋ kəbɔ
 ɔ́ nɛɛ́ ndəŋ kə-bò
 3SG lie on c7-bed
 “She was **lying on the bed**”

B-form of second noun in associative noun phrase:

- (12) yie kəyəŋ
 yíé ká-yǎŋ
 name.c9 c7-place
 “the name of the place”

Nouns also occur in their B-form following the determiner *mbú*. With other modifiers nouns occur in their A-form. Table 1 below shows examples of nouns from some of the different classes when they occur with the modifier *mbú* (in their B-form) contrasted with the same nouns when they occur with quantifiers (in their A-form):

Table 1: A-forms and B-forms

Note: All examples in tables use the morpheme-by-morpheme breakdown and the orthography line is not included (see “Presentation of examples and conventions used” on pages 8-9).

Noun class	B-form with determiner <i>mbú</i>	A-form with a quantifier
6a	<i>mbú má-nuǔ</i> DEF C6a-bird “the birds”	<i>nuó-¹má ì-tiâ</i> bird-C6a INANM-three “three birds”
7	<i>mbú ká-¹chí</i> DEF C7-day “the day”	<i>chí-ká ì-mǔ’</i> day-C7 SG-one “one day”
8	<i>mbú bá-¹chí</i> DEF C8-day “the days”	<i>chí-bá ì-buǔ</i> day-C8 INANM-two “two days”
13	<i>mbú tá-¹téŋ</i> DEF C13-palm.tree “the palm trees”	<i>téŋ-tá bǔŋmbî</i> palm.tree-C13 many “many palm trees”
19	<i>mbú há-nuǔ</i> DEF C19-bird “the bird”	<i>nuó-¹há ì-mǔ’</i> bird-C19 SG-one “one bird”

Noun classes 2, 9 and 10 have no apparent A-form/B-form distinction. Nouns from class 2 always occur in the prefixed form, even where nouns from other classes would be in their suffixed form. Nouns from class 10 always occur in the suffixed form even where the prefixed form would occur with nouns from other classes. Noun class 9 has no affix. In each case, there is still the possibility that a tonal B-form might exist. This requires further research. The apparent absence of A-form/B-form distinction with these three noun classes can be seen by showing the same comparison as in table 1 above in table 2 below:

Table 2: Noun classes with no A-form/B-form distinction

Noun class	Noun with determiner <i>mbú</i>	Noun with a quantifier
2	<i>mbú bà-kaá</i> DEF C2-monkey “the monkeys”	<i>bà-kaá bǔŋmbî</i> C2-monkey many “many monkeys”
10	<i>mbú ¹njaá-¹há</i> DEF house-C10 “the houses”	<i>njaá-¹há ì-buǔ</i> house-C10 INANM-two “two houses”
9	<i>mbú ¹téŋ</i> DEF palm.tree.C9 “the palm tree”	<i>téŋ ì-mǔ’</i> palm.tree.C9 SG-one “one palm tree”

Since Bamunka is distinct from most other Grassfields Bantu languages in having noun class suffixes rather than prefixes, it also contrasts with other Ring languages that have nouns with A and B forms. While the A-form in these languages is the

prefixed form, the A-form in Bamunka, in noun classes where there is a distinction, is the suffixed form.

The occurrence of A and B forms extends beyond the noun phrase. A detailed discussion of their history and of their use is outside the scope of this noun phrase paper.

2.3 Tone of the A-form

All A-forms have an underlyingly high tone suffix. The four most common tone melodies for A-forms are H-H, H-⁺H, HL-LH and L-LH. Examples of each are shown below:

(13) H-H *tyú-ká* “tree”

(14) H-⁺H *shú-⁺tá* “faces”

The downstep on the suffix of H-⁺H nouns (example (14) above) is caused by a floating low tone. This might be because the noun stem originally had a low tone second syllable which has now disappeared.

(15) HL-LH *ndú-mǎ* “wine”

(16) L-LH *sè-bǎ* “combs”

The LH tone of the suffix in examples (15) and (16) above might be due to spreading of low tone from the noun stem.

It is likely that other tone melodies exist for A-forms which are not present in the data available and are not discussed in this paper. There may also be further tonal complexities that require further research.

2.4 Tone of the B-form

The tone of the prefix of the B-form is usually also underlyingly high. There is a floating low tone between the prefix and the root. This can be seen in the following two examples:

(17) **A-form:** *tyú-ká* “tree” (noun class 7)

B-form in associative noun phrase:

fɔ-kətyu-kə

fɔ ⁺ká-⁺tyú ká

thing.C7 c7-tree C7.AM

“wooden thing”

(18) **A-form:** *nuʒ-⁴má* “birds” (noun class 6a)

B-form in associative noun phrase:

baa-mənuɔ-kə
baá ⁴*má-nuð* *kǎ*
fufu.c7 **c6a-bird** c7.AM
“fufu of the birds”

The reason for the floating low tone between the prefix and the root of the B-form requires further research.

In certain conditions the tone of the prefix of the B-form is low instead of high. In particular, if a noun in its B-form follows a head noun in an associative noun phrase, or a preposition, that has a HL or L or LH tone, its prefix is low. Two examples are shown below:

Example following a LH noun in an associative phrase: *suʒŋ-⁴ká* “frog”

(19) *fyii* *kəsuɔŋ*
fyĩ *kà-suʒŋ*
chest.c9 c7-frog
“chest of frog”

Example following a preposition with HL tone: *kó⁴bá* “ladder”

(20) *tɔ’* *bəko’*
tɔ’ *bà-kô’*
under c8-step
“under the ladder”

The B-form prefix is not L when it follows words with other tone patterns. The reason for low tone¹ on the prefix of the B-form in certain conditions requires a more detailed tone analysis.

SECTION 3 The Noun Class System

3.1 The noun classes

Bamunka has eight noun classes: three singular classes (7, 9 and 19) and five plural classes (2, 6a, 8, 10 and 13). A summary of the noun classes is shown in table 3 below, along with the noun affix and concord consonant and concord tone for each noun class.

¹ It is also not clear whether this low tone is actually L; it could also be M or a double downstep. This also requires further investigation.

Table 3: Noun classes in Bamunka

Bantu #	Affix	Concord Consonant	Concord Tone	Example	Gloss
2	<i>bà-</i>	<i>b</i>	H	<i>bà-kaá</i>	monkeys
6a	<i>-má</i>	<i>m</i>	H	<i>nuó-¹má</i>	birds
7	<i>-ká</i>	<i>k</i>	H	<i>tyá-ká</i>	tree
8	<i>-bá</i>	<i>b</i>	H	<i>tyá-bá</i>	trees
9	-	<i>y</i>	L	<i>nduú</i>	cup
10	<i>-há</i>	<i>h</i>	H	<i>nduú-¹há</i>	cups
13	<i>-tá</i>	<i>t</i>	H	<i>téŋ-tá</i>	palm trees
19	<i>-há</i>	<i>h</i>	H	<i>nuó-¹há</i>	bird

The class numbers used in this paper correspond with the concord numbering system used in Bantu noun class analysis with Proto-Ring and other related languages such as Babanki and Lamnso' (Hyman, 1980).

Class 1, which is found in other Grassfields languages, is not found in Bamunka, having merged with class 9. The concord consonant for class 1 in other Grassfields languages is usually [w] or otherwise another velar ([ŋ] or [ɣ]). No such velar concord consonant has been found in Bamunka. The concord consonant for any noun with no affix, including human nouns, is [y]:

- (21) tie yuə
tiě ¹y-uə
 father.C9 C9-3SG.POSS
 “their father”

Classes 10 and 19 have the same noun suffix and concord consonant. Class 10 is plural and pairs with the singular class 9. Class 19 is singular and pairs with the plural class 6a. A further difference is that class 10 has no A-form/B-form distinction (it always has a suffixed form), while class 19 has both an A-form (suffixed form) and a B-form (prefixed form). See section 2.2 for more information.

The concord consonant is often the same as the affix consonant. Class 9 has no noun affixes, but it has the concord consonant y that occurs on some modifiers (in particular the plural possessives).

All classes except class 9 have a high concord tone. With class 9 the low concord tone can be seen most clearly with the anaphoric demonstrative *ghɔ* (see section 5.1.3) and the indefinite determiner *bé'* (see section 5.2.2).

The tone of nouns from classes with A-form/B-form distinction is discussed in sections 2.3 and 2.4. The tone of nouns in the remaining noun classes (i.e. classes 2, 10 and 9) is discussed in the following sub-sections.

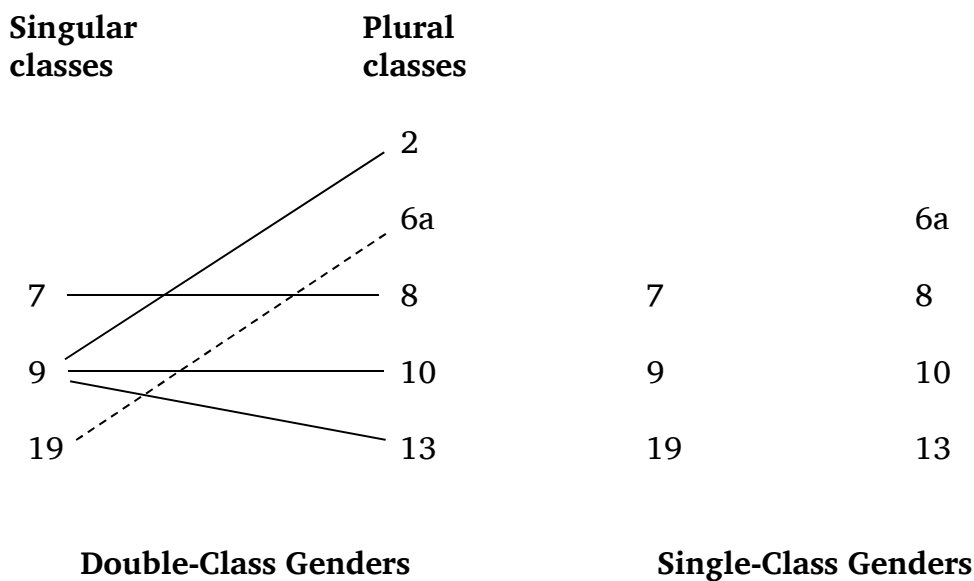
(25) *ndĩ* “cloth” (LH) *mbə ndyi*
mbú ˈndyĩ
 DEF cloth.C9
 “the cloth”

3.2 Genders

A total of 262 nouns were used for the noun class analysis. 113 gender pairs and 36 single class gender nouns were established. Class 7 is always paired with class 8, and class 19 is always paired with class 6a. Class 9 is commonly paired with classes 10 and 13, but also with class 2, which would normally be paired with class 1 in other Ring languages. Untypically, class 1 does not exist in Bamunka (as discussed in section 3.1 above), and many of the human nouns are to be found in gender 9/2.

In table 4 below, the possible singular and plural pairings (double-class genders) are shown on the left. The single-class genders that exist in Bamunka are shown on the right.

Table 4: Gender-pairing chart



3.2.1 Examples of count nouns by gender

Some examples of each double-class gender are given below.

- (26) **Gender 7/8** **Affixes: -ká/-bá**
 27 gender 7/8 pairs were found in the data. This is the main gender for general objects.

chair	<i>fóη-⁺ká</i>	chairs	<i>fóη-⁺bá</i>
bone	<i>ghuá'-ká</i>	bones	<i>ghuá'-bá</i>
cocoyam	<i>kú'-ká</i>	cocoyams	<i>kú'-bá</i>
language	<i>ηgiè-kǎ</i>	languages	<i>ηgiè-bǎ</i>
tree	<i>tyú-ká</i>	trees	<i>tyú-bá</i>

- (27) **Gender 9/2** **Affixes: -/bà-**
 27 gender 9/2 pairs were found in the data. This group includes many human nouns, since in related languages these would normally belong to gender 1/2. It also includes animals.

father	<i>tiě</i>	fathers	<i>bà-tiě</i>
cow	<i>nà'</i>	cows	<i>bà-nà'</i>
brother	<i>lìη</i>	brothers	<i>bà-lìη</i>
monkey	<i>kaá</i>	monkeys	<i>bà-kaá</i>
cap	<i>shià</i>	caps	<i>bà-shiǎ</i>

- (28) **Gender 9/10** **Affixes: -/hǎ**
 26 gender 9/10 pairs were found in the data. This gender includes many general objects, natural objects (plants, rocks, etc.) and animals.

stone	<i>ηgò'</i>	stones	<i>ηgò'-hǎ</i>
house	<i>njaá</i>	houses	<i>njaá-⁺hǎ</i>
goat	<i>bî</i>	goats	<i>bî-⁺hǎ</i>
cloth	<i>ndyĩ</i>	cloths	<i>ndyĩ-hǎ</i>
snake	<i>yò</i>	snakes	<i>yó-⁺hǎ</i>

- (29) **Gender 9/13** **Affixes: -/tǎ**
 30 gender 9/13 pairs were found in the data. This gender includes plants and food, general environment (roads, villages, etc.), some general objects and some body parts.

leg	<i>fúáη</i>	legs	<i>fúáη-tǎ</i>
palm tree	<i>téη</i>	palm trees	<i>téη-tǎ</i>
road	<i>fyiá</i>	roads	<i>fyiá-⁺tǎ</i>
egg	<i>ghǎη</i>	eggs	<i>ghǎη-⁺tǎ</i>
face	<i>shú</i>	faces	<i>shú-⁺tǎ</i>

(30) **Gender 19/6a** **Affixes: -há/-má**

This is a very small group. Only three gender 19/6a pairs were found in the data.

bird	<i>nuś-⁺há</i>	birds	<i>nuś-⁺má</i>
juju	<i>ηkáη-⁺há</i>	jujus	<i>ηkáη-⁺má</i>
nail (metal)	<i>ntyúη-⁺há</i>	nails (metal)	<i>ntyúη-⁺má</i>

The gender 19/6a noun pair *nuś-⁺há/nuś-⁺má* “bird/birds” is possibly in the process of changing to gender 7/8. The B-form (see section 2.2) of *nuś-⁺há* “bird” often has the class 7 prefix *ká-* instead of the class 19 prefix *há-*. The plural B-form *má-nuś* is still widely used, but sometimes the plural B-form *bá-nuś* with a class 8 prefix *bá-* is used.

The same change might be occurring with other gender 19/6a noun pairs. This change is commonly seen in associative noun phrases (see section 6.2.2). It can also be seen in some agreement marking, as can be seen in examples (31) and (32) below, where the anaphoric demonstrative takes class 7 agreement instead of class 19 agreement:

- (31) *ntyúη-ś-kə*
ntyúη *ghś-kə*
nail.C19 ANAPH-C7
“that nail (already referred to)”

- (32) *nuś-ś-kə*
nuś *ghś-kə~hə*
bird.C19 ANAPH-C7~C19
“that bird (already referred to)”

3.2.2 Examples of non-count nouns by gender

Examples of each single-class gender are given below.

(33) **Gender 6a** **Affix: -mə**

Nine gender 6a nouns were found in the data. Six of these are liquids:

oil	<i>ηgwó-mə</i>
wine	<i>ndú'-mə</i>
water	<i>muú</i>
brain	<i>ndíí-⁺má</i>
saliva	<i>nté-⁺má</i>
tears	<i>shú-⁺má</i>

The word for water has no suffix *-má*. However, when it is modified, any modifier takes class 6a agreement, e.g. *muú sá'nó má* “sweet water”. In a

closely related language of a neighbouring village, Babungo, the word for “water” has the same characteristics (Schaub, 1985, p. 184).

Three further single class gender 6a nouns exist which are not liquids:

firewood	<i>ηkɔ̃-mǎ</i>
fruit	<i>ntɔ̃η-má</i>
mushrooms	<i>ηgú'-¹má</i>

For these nouns a numeral classifier is needed to identify a single unit as follows (classifier is in bold text):

ntɔ̃η ¹*ká-ηkɔ̃* *ì-mǎ* “one stick of firewood”
mbyuũ *kà-ntɔ̃η* *ì-mǎ* “one piece of fruit”
mbyuũ *kà-ηgú'* *ì-mǎ* “one mushroom”²

See section 5.3.3.3 for more information about numeral classifiers.

- (34) **Gender 7** **Affix: -ká**
 The following four gender 7 nouns were found:

sand	<i>sé-ká</i>
dust	<i>buó-ká</i>
wealth	<i>fú'-kǎ</i>
brick/soil	<i>chɔ́'-ká</i>

- (35) **Gender 8** **Affix: -bá**
 The following two gender 8 nouns were found:

stomach	<i>tɔ́-¹bá</i>
wood ash	<i>bú-¹bá</i>

- (36) **Gender 9** **Affix: -**
 A fairly large number of gender 9 non-count nouns were found in the data. This includes abstract nouns³.

corn	<i>suú</i>
rainwater	<i>chyí</i>
truth	<i>shuáη</i>
money	<i>kuó</i>

² These singular forms have class 7 *ká*- prefixes (that undergo a tone change): see example (30) (gender 19/6a nouns) for more information.

³ Data collection concentrated primarily on concrete nouns. A small number of abstract nouns found in texts were added to the data.

hail	<i>vĩ</i>
fire	<i>vĩ'</i>
knowledge	<i>ndaâ</i>
ground	<i>sê</i>
grass	<i>ηkô</i>
smell	<i>lùη</i>
love	<i>ηkuù</i>
groundnut	<i>nènè</i>

(37) **Gender 10** **Affix: -há**

Six examples of gender 10 nouns were found. For all the examples below except *vĩ-há* “thatch” it is possible to identify a single unit with the numeral classifier *mbyuũ*, e.g. *mbyuũ nyuù* “one hair”. See section 5.3.3.3 for more information.

thatch	<i>vĩ-há</i>
bees	<i>yúú'-há</i>
hair	<i>nyuú-⁺há</i>
palm nuts	<i>jú-⁺há</i>
cheeks	<i>ηgò'-hǎ</i>
thread from palm frond	<i>mbuá-há</i>

(38) **Gender 13** **Affix: -tá**

The following two examples of gender 13 nouns were found. For *vyí-tá* “mosquitos” it is possible to identify a single unit with the numeral classifier *mbyuũ*, i.e. *mbyuũ ⁺vyí* “one mosquito”. See section 5.3.3.3 for more information.

nose	<i>yí-⁺tá</i>
mosquitos	<i>vyí-tá</i>

3.3 Agreement

Bamunka has two agreement systems. Either there is agreement with noun class or there is reduced agreement in animacy and number (singular or plural). Each agreement system is explained separately in the following two sections.

3.3.1 Agreement with noun class

When a noun is followed by a modifier, agreement is usually with noun class. The exception to this is quantifiers (see section 5.3). Table 5 below shows examples of agreement with noun class marked on noun modifiers.

Table 5: Noun class agreement marked on modifiers

Noun Class	Noun	Gloss	Poss. “their”	Dem. “this”	Anaph. dem. “that”
2	<i>bà-buû</i>	tigers	<i>b-uá</i>	<i>b-ɔʒŋ</i>	<i>ghô-bà</i>
6a	<i>nuó-^hmá</i>	birds	<i>m-uá</i>	<i>m-ɔʒŋ</i>	<i>ghô-mà</i>
7	<i>fóŋ-^hká</i>	chair	<i>k-uá</i>	<i>k-ɔʒŋ</i>	<i>ghô-kà</i>
8	<i>fóŋ-^hbá</i>	chairs	<i>b-uá</i>	<i>b-ɔʒŋ</i>	<i>ghô-bà</i>
9	<i>buû</i>	tiger	<i>y-uá</i> *	<i>ɔʒŋ</i>	<i>ghô</i>
10	<i>njaá-^hhá</i>	houses	<i>h-uá</i>	<i>h-ɔʒŋ</i>	<i>ghô-hà</i>
13	<i>lyuû-tǎ</i>	songs	<i>t-uá</i>	<i>t-ɔʒŋ</i>	<i>ghô-tà</i>
19	<i>nuó-^hhá</i>	bird	<i>h-uá</i>	<i>h-ɔʒŋ</i>	<i>ghô-hà</i>

* The tones of possessives with class 9 nouns change depending on the tone melody of the noun.

In Bamunka the noun suffix is often deleted and a noun class concord consonant is attached to the modifier. The following example shows deletion of the class 10 noun suffix *-há* and the class 10 concord consonant in front of the possessive:

(39) Class 10 noun *bí-^hhá* “goats”

bihə-ɔŋ
bí *h-ɔŋ*
 goat.c10 c10-1SG.POSS
 “my goats”

With class 2 nouns, which have a prefix instead of a suffix, the noun prefix is always retained when the noun is modified.

(40) Class 2 noun *bà-shiǎ* “caps”

bəshia-bɔŋ
bà-shiǎ *b-ɔŋ*
 c2-cap c2-1SG.POSS
 “my caps”

The concord consonant precedes possessives (as can be seen in example (39) above) and also the proximal and distal demonstratives (i.e. all modifiers that begin with a vowel). With all other modifiers with which there is noun class agreement a noun class concord element follows the modifier. This is either a concord suffix (example (41) below) or an associative marker (see section 6.1).

(41) Class 6a noun *ngwó-má* “oil”

ngwo-ḡ-mə
ngwó ghâ-mà
 oil.C6a ANAPH-C6a
 “that oil (already referred to)”

3.3.2 Agreement in animacy and number

In many constructions in Bamunka agreement has become simplified. With emphatic forms, with modifiers used as head nouns, and with quantifiers, agreement is with animacy and number instead of with noun class.

3.3.2.1 Emphatic forms and modifiers used as head nouns

With emphatic forms and modifiers used as head nouns there is no agreement with the class of the noun to which reference is being made. Instead, to denote singular they take the agreement markers *y-/yí* and *yá* which come from class 9. To denote plural they take the agreement markers *b-/bí* and *bá*. These plural markers come either from class 2 or 8. Some examples are shown below.

Demonstratives:

(42) *fǝ* ⁴*k-ḡǝḡ* *y-ḡǝḡ-yǎ*
 thing.C7 C7-PROX SG-PROX-SG
 “this thing” “this one”

(43) *fǝ* ⁴*b-ḡǝḡ* *b-ḡǝḡ-bǎ*
 thing.C8 C8-PROX PL-PROX-PL
 “these things” “these ones”

Possessives:

(44) *nǝáa* *y-úá* *y-úá-yá*
 house.C9 C9-3PL.POSS SG-3PL.POSS-SG
 “their house” “theirs”

(45) *nǝáá* *h-úá* *b-úá-bá*
 house.C10 C10-3PL.POSS PL-3PL.POSS-PL
 “their houses” “theirs”

Attributes:

(46) *tyú* *tiê⁴tié* *ká* *yí* *tiê⁴tié* *yá*
 tree.C7 small C7.AM SG small SG
 “small tree” “the small one”

(47) *tyú* *tiê⁴tié* *bá* *bí* *tiê⁴tié* *bá*
 tree.C8 small C8.AM PL small PL
 “small trees” “the small ones”

It is possible that these constructions once agreed with noun class, e.g. *k-uá-ká* “theirs” (class 7), *tí tié⁴tié-tá* “the small ones” (class 13), and that now only the generic singular and plural markers *y-/yí* and *yá-* and *b-/bí* and *bá-* remain.

There is possibly some overlap between the singular/plural and animate/inanimate distinction. The singular markers are often – but not always – used with nouns in their plural form. This is either because the plural noun is perceived as a singular mass rather than as a countable collection of individual objects (see gloss in example (48) below) or because it is inanimate (see gloss in example (49) below).

(48) *yìŋ-yə tɛŋtə*
y-iŋ-yǎ tɛŋ-tá
 SG-DIST-SG palm.tree-C13
 “those palm trees” (i.e. “that cluster of palm trees”)

(49) *yìŋ-yə tɛŋtə*
y-iŋ-yǎ tɛŋ-tá
 INANM-DIST-INANM palm.tree-C13
 “those palm trees”

If the plural noun is considered by the speaker to be a countable collection of individual objects, the plural markers might be used:

(50) *bìŋ-bə ndyihə*
b-iŋ-bà ndyí-há
 PL-DIST-PL cloth-C10
 “those cloths”

(51)	<i>nuɔ-tietie-mə</i>	<i>bi-tietie-bə</i>
	<i>nuɔ tié⁴tié má</i>	<i>bí tié⁴tié bá</i>
	bird.C6a small C6a.AM	PL small PL
	“the small birds”	“the small ones”

(52)	<i>njaahə-ìŋ</i>	<i>bìŋ-bə</i>
	<i>njaá h-iŋ</i>	<i>b-iŋ-bǎ</i>
	house.C10 C10-DIST	PL-DIST-PL
	“those houses”	“those ones”

For the purposes of this noun phrase paper, the agreement markers *y-/yí* and *yá-* are usually glossed as SG (singular). If, however, an animate/inanimate distinction is clearly being made they are glossed as INANM (inanimate). If both distinctions are possibly being made they are glossed as SG.INANM (singular and inanimate). The agreement markers *b-/bí* and *bé* are usually glossed PL (plural). If, however, an animate/inanimate distinction is clearly being made they are glossed as ANM (animate). If both distinctions are possibly being made they are glossed as PL.ANM (plural and animate).

3.3.2.2 Quantifiers

With most quantifiers there is no agreement with the noun (see section 5.3). Exceptionally, the numerals “one”, “two”, “three” and “five” and the quantifier “all” take a prefix *ì-* or *bə̀-* to mark animacy. These markers probably originate from classes 9 and 2.

- (53) *chibə ibuu*
chí-^hbə̀ ì-buũ
day-C8 INANM-two
“two days”
- (54) *nyaahə bə̀nchə̀ŋ*
nyaá-^hhə̀ bə̀-nchə̀ŋ
animal-C10 ANM-all
“all the animals”

Animals may be either animate or inanimate. Example (54) above is from a folk story with animal characters. The choice of the *bə̀-* prefix (animate) could be a choice of the speaker to show the animals as being more human-like (talking, reasoning, etc.). In this particular case the distinction is therefore human/non-human rather than animate/inanimate. In other contexts, choice of animacy or inanimacy for animals may vary from speaker to speaker. In example (55) below goats take inanimate agreement:

- (55) *bihə ibuu*
bí-^hhə̀ ì-buũ
goat-C10 INANM-two
“two goats”

The *ì-* prefix has to be used for singular nouns even if they are animate/human:

- (56) *woke imɔ́*
wòkè ì-mɔ́
woman.C9 SG-one
“one woman”

For the purposes of this noun phrase paper, the *ì-* and *bə̀-* prefixes on quantifiers are glossed as INANM (inanimate) and ANM (animate), except for the numeral *ì-mɔ́* “one” where *ì-* is glossed as SG (singular).

SECTION 4 Structure of the Noun Phrase

The basic order of the modifiers in a noun phrase is:

$$(DEF\ DET)\ NOUN\ (ATTR)^* \left| \begin{array}{l} (POSS)\ (DEM) \\ (INDEF\ DET)** \end{array} \right| (QUANT)\ (REL\ CL)$$

*Some attributes come before the noun. In this case they are other nouns and, grammatically, are the head noun of an associative construction (see section 5.4.4.2).

**The indefinite determiner *bé'* occurs in the same position as possessives or demonstratives, i.e. after any attribute and before any quantifier. It cannot occur together with any possessive or demonstrative in a noun phrase (see section 5.2.2).

Some example noun phrases are shown below:

(57) *mutɔ-fefe-hə-ʉə hə-ɔ̀ŋ ibuu*

NOUN	(ATTR)	(POSS)	(DEM)	(QUANT)
<i>múʰtɔ́</i>	<i>(fêfê)</i>	<i>(h-ʉə)</i>	<i>(h-ɔ̀ŋ)</i>	<i>(ibuu)</i>
farm.c10	new	c10-their	c10-these	two
“these their two new farms”				

(58) *mbu vii-i*

(DEF DET)	NOUN	(POSS)
<i>(mbú)</i>	<i>ʰvii</i>	<i>(i)</i>
the	wife.c9	his
“his wife”		

Emphatic forms of the demonstratives exist that come before the noun. There are also some quantifiers that come before the noun. When nouns have these modifiers it is not yet certain whether all of the other modifiers can still come after the noun. It is also not certain if these modifiers can occur together with the definite determiner in the noun phrase. These questions require further research.

$$\left| \begin{array}{l} (EMPH\ POSS) \\ (EMPH\ DEM) \\ (QUANT) \end{array} \right| NOUN\ (REL\ CL)$$

One example is available in which the noun is modified by the emphatic form of a possessive and can still be modified by a relative clause:

(59) yi-yə yəŋkə ndə i bu fʉə chə

(EMPH POSS)	NOUN	(RELATIVE CLAUSE)
(y-í-yá)	yâŋ-kǎ	(ndə í 'bú fʉə chə)
SG-3SG.POSS-SG	place-C7	REL 3SG F build there

“his own place in which he would build”

Nouns can also be modified by a prepositional phrase. Since prepositional phrases are not discussed in this paper they have been omitted from the above noun phrase formula.

The structure of the associative noun phrase is discussed separately in section 6.1. The way in which the associative noun phrase fits into the general noun phrase structure is complex and is not discussed in this paper.

SECTION 5 Noun Modifiers

Some of the modifiers used in the language are presented in the sub-sections that follow. It is likely that there are more modifiers than are presented here.

5.1 DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives in Bamunka distinguish two degrees of distance, proximal and distal. A third form represents “the one referred to” (the anaphoric demonstrative). The noun class suffix is deleted when the noun is followed by a demonstrative. This is also the case with most other modifiers in Bamunka. All three types of demonstrative are shown in examples (60) to (65) below.

The proximal and distal demonstratives are preceded by a noun class concord consonant (except for class 9).

Proximal:

(60) fəkə-ðŋ
 fʃ 'k-ɔŋŋ
 thing.C7 C7-PROX
 “this thing”

(61) fəbə-ðŋ
 fʃ 'b-ɔŋŋ
 thing.C8 C8-PROX
 “these things”

Distal:

(62) fəkə-ìŋ
 fʃ 'k-ĩŋ
 thing.C7 C7-DIST
 “that thing”

- (63) fɔbə-ɪŋ
 fɔ ʼbə- ɪŋ
 thing.C8 C8-DIST
 “those things”

The anaphoric demonstrative is followed by a noun class concord suffix (except for class 9).

Anaphoric:

- (64) ŋgie-ð-kə
 ŋgiě ghô-kà
 language.C7 ANAPH-C7
 “that language” i.e. “those words (referred to already)”

- (65) bɛə-ð-bə
 bɛă ghô-bà
 C2.person ANAPH-C2
 “those people (referred to already)”

The demonstratives and their agreement are shown in table 6 below.

Table 6: Demonstratives in Bamunka

Note: A syllable-final /ŋ/ represents nasalisation of the vowel and not a syllable-final consonant.

Noun Class	Concord consonant	Prox. dem. “this/these”	Dist. dem. “that/those”	Anaph. dem. “that/those referred to”
2	<i>b</i>	<i>b-ɔŋ</i>	<i>b-ɪŋ</i>	<i>ghô-bà</i>
6a	<i>m</i>	<i>m-ɔŋ</i>	<i>m-ɪŋ</i>	<i>ghô-mà</i>
7	<i>k</i>	<i>k-ɔŋ</i>	<i>k-ɪŋ</i>	<i>ghô-kà</i>
8	<i>b</i>	<i>b-ɔŋ</i>	<i>b-ɪŋ</i>	<i>ghô-bà</i>
9	-	<i>ɔŋ/ɔ</i> *	<i>ɪŋ/ɪ</i> *	<i>ghô</i>
10	<i>h</i>	<i>h-ɔŋ</i>	<i>h-ɪŋ</i>	<i>ghô-hà</i>
13	<i>t</i>	<i>t-ɔŋ</i>	<i>t-ɪŋ</i>	<i>ghô-tà</i>
19	<i>h</i>	<i>h-ɔŋ</i>	<i>h-ɪŋ</i>	<i>ghô-hà</i>

* There are two possible forms with class 9 nouns. It is not yet known whether there is low tone agreement for class 9. See section 5.1.1 below.

With class 9 there is no concord consonant on the demonstratives (see section 5.1.1). The anaphoric demonstrative is marked with low tone agreement when it modifies a class 9 noun (see section 5.1.3).

The proximal demonstrative *ɔŋ* has the same form as the first person singular possessive. The distal demonstrative *ɪŋ* has the same form as the third person singular possessive (see section 5.5 and table 14). The following differences apply:

Vowel length:

The vowels of the proximal and distal demonstratives are long and the vowels of the first person and third person singular possessives are short.

Nasalisation:

The vowel of the distal demonstrative is nasalised, whereas the vowel of the third person singular possessive is not nasalised. The vowel of the proximal demonstrative and the vowel of the first person singular possessive are both nasalised.

Tone:

The underlying tone on all proximal and distal demonstratives is HMH (whereas the first and third person singular possessives have either a level high tone or a falling tone). With some nouns the demonstrative sounds quite low but it is still a contour tone HMH. This is probably due to the influence of the tone of the noun itself. The following examples compare a H-H noun where the tone of the demonstrative starts at a high pitch and a H-^lH noun where the demonstrative starts at a lower pitch (i.e. it is downstepped):

(66) H-H noun:

ndyihə
 ndyí-há
 cloth-C10
 “cloths”

ndyihə-ðŋ
 ndyí h-ɔ̃ŋ
 cloth.C10 C10-PROX
 “these cloths”

(67) H-^lH noun:

nduuhə
 nduú-^lhá
 cup-C10
 “cups”

nduuhə-ðŋ
 nduú ^lh-ɔ̃ŋ
 cup.C10 C10-PROX
 “these cups”

The data available for the proximal and distal demonstratives are all simple noun phrases: noun + demonstrative. Once the demonstrative is followed by other clause elements the contour tone either spreads to the other clause elements and thus causes a tone change, or the contour tone is harder to hear.

(68) tɔŋkə-ðŋ
 tɔŋ k-ɔŋŋ
 box.C7 C7-PROX
 “this box”

(69) tɔŋkə-ðŋ nɔ be ighuunə
 tɔŋ k-ɔŋŋ nɔ bé yì ghúúná
 box.C7 C7-PROX ? be SG open
 “This box is open.”

A more detailed tone analysis would be required to verify this.

5.1.1 Demonstratives modifying nouns from class 9

In certain conditions, proximal and distal demonstratives that modify nouns from class 9 are non-nasalised. There are therefore two possible underlying forms for each: ɔŋŋ/ɔŋ and ðŋŋ/ðŋ (see table 6). The reasons for this difference with class 9 nouns require further research.

Since there is no concord consonant preceding demonstratives with class 9 nouns, and two vowels come together across a word or morpheme boundary, there is some vowel assimilation. Consequently, there are various surface forms of the distal demonstrative with class 9 (the form of the proximal demonstrative is unaffected).

It is not clear whether there is low tone agreement marking on proximal and distal demonstratives with class 9 nouns. This requires further investigation.

5.1.2 Demonstratives in emphatic form

Emphatic forms of the proximal and distal demonstratives exist, which precede the noun. These forms consist of a prefix plus the demonstrative root plus a suffix. There is no noun class agreement. Instead there is a generic singular prefix *y-* and suffix *-yá* and a generic plural prefix *b-* and suffix *-bá*:

Table 7: Emphatic forms of proximal and distal demonstratives

Singular	<i>y-ɔŋŋ-yá</i>	“this”
	<i>y-ðŋŋ-yá</i>	“that”
Plural	<i>b-ɔŋŋ-bá</i>	“these”
	<i>b-ðŋŋ-bá</i>	“those”

Some examples of these emphatic forms in noun phrases are shown below:

(70) yìŋ-yə fɔŋkə
 y-ðŋŋ-yá fɔŋ-^hká
 SG-DIST-SG chair-C7
 “that chair”

- (71) ỳ̀n-yə baakə
y-ɔ̀̀n-yə́ baá-ʼkə
SG-PROX-SG fufu-C7
“this fufu”
- (72) b̀̀n-bə tɛn̄tə
b-ĩn̄-bə́ tɛn̄-tá
PL-DIST-PL palm.tree-C13
“those palm trees”
- (73) b̀̀n-bə ndyihə
b-ɔ̀̀n-bə́ ndyí-há
PL-PROX-PL dress-C10
“these dresses”

Emphatic forms of demonstratives with the generic singular marker are often used with nouns in their plural form. This is because the noun is either inanimate or perceived as a singular mass or both. See section 3.3.2.1 for more information.

- (74) ỳ̀n-yə tɛn̄tə
y-ĩn̄-yə́ tɛn̄-tá
SG-DIST-SG palm.tree-C13
“those palm trees” (i.e. “that cluster of palm trees”)

The words *b-ĩn̄*, *b-ɔ̀̀n*, *y-ĩn̄* and *y-ɔ̀̀n* are shortened forms of the above emphatic forms. Speakers say they have the same meaning, although the full form is possibly slightly more emphatic. The full forms are more usual. The full forms rather than the shortened forms are currently used in writing.

- (75) ỳ̀n(-yə) baakə
y-ɔ̀̀n baá-ʼkə
SG-PROX fufu-C7
“this fufu”
- (76) ỳ̀n(-yə) ndyi
y-ĩn̄ ñdyí
SG-DIST cloth.C9
“that cloth”
- (77) b̀̀n(-bə) fɔ̀n̄bə
b-ĩn̄ fɔ̀n̄-ʼbə́
PL-DIST chair-C8
“those chairs”
- (78) ỳ̀n(-yə) tɛn̄tə
y-ĩn̄ tɛn̄-tá
SG-DIST palm.tree-C13
“those palm trees”

The particle *maá* + proximal demonstrative (described in section 5.1.4 below) also has an emphatic function. The difference might be that the emphatic form of the demonstrative is selective, while *maá* is a focus particle.

(79) **Selective function of emphatic form of demonstrative:**

Lɛ yìŋ-yə səkə
 lǎ y-iŋ-yə sə-kǎ
 take SG-DIST-SG comb-C7
 “Take *that* comb.” (i.e. from the selection of combs)

(80) **Focus particle *maá*:**

Yie kəyəŋ-mɔɔ nɔ be mu bəkia Yanjaa Buu.
 yie ká-⁴yáŋ maá ɔǎ nɔ bǎ mû bə-kiǎ Yânjaa Buú.
 name C7-place FOC PROX ? be in C2-tree Yanjaa Buu
 “The name of that particular place was ‘In the Big Trees of Yanjaa Buu’.”

However, the exact difference in meaning between the two forms is uncertain and requires further research.

Emphatic forms of demonstratives can also be used to head noun phrases to refer to a noun that is already known about. They then have the meaning “this one”, “that one”, etc. Some examples are given below:

(81) Bòŋ-bə nɔ bɛɛ
 b-ɔŋ-bǎ nɔ bɛɛ
 PL-PROX-PL ? good
 “These ones are good.”

(82) Mɔ bu lɛ yìŋ-yə
 mɔ bú ⁴lú y-iŋ-yǎ
 1SG F take SG-DIST-SG
 “I will take that one.”

The emphatic forms as head nouns would not normally be used to refer to humans, except in a derogatory sense. Instead a personal pronoun would be used.

The question word *y-ɔŋ-yǎ* “which?” has the same form as the emphatic form of the proximal demonstrative. Like the emphatic form, it also has HL LH tone, but this starts at a higher pitch and the range between H and L is greater. The tone differences are very subtle and a fuller tone analysis is needed to understand them better.

The question word *y-ɔŋ-yǎ?* “which?” can either precede the noun in the same way as the emphatic form (example (83) below) or it can occur on its own (example (84) below):

(83) Yɔŋ-yə tyɯkə?
 y-ɔŋ-yə tyú-ká
 SG-PROX-SG tree-C7
 “Which tree?”

(84) Yɔŋ-yə?
 y-ɔŋ-yə
 SG-PROX-SG
 “Which one?”

5.1.3 Anaphoric demonstrative

The anaphoric demonstrative *gh̄* is used to identify something that has already been talked about.

With nouns from class 9, *gh̄* has a preceding floating low tone, which could be viewed as a class 9 concord tone, and no agreement suffix. It is realised as ⁺HM, ⁺HL or L, depending on the tone pattern of the head noun (additional influence of a falling tone on the head noun results in L rather than ⁺H).

(85) byúú “hole” byúú-gh̄
 byúú ⁺gh̄
 hole.C9 C9.ANAPH
 “that hole (already mentioned)”

(86) ŋk̄ “grass” ŋk̄-gh̄
 ŋk̄ gh̄
 grass.C9 C9.ANAPH
 “that grass (already mentioned)”

(87) kyúú “pot” kyúú-gh̄
 kyúú ⁺gh̄
 pot.C9 C9.ANAPH
 “that pot (already mentioned)”

Where *gh̄* modifies a noun from class 6a, 7, 8, 10, 13 or 19, the noun suffix is deleted and an agreement suffix attaches to *gh̄*. The agreement suffix has low tone for all noun classes.

(88) ŋgiě-à-kə
 ŋgiě gh̄-kà
 language.C7 ANAPH-C7
 “that language” i.e. “those words (that I was saying before)”

(89) ŋgwó-à-mə
 ŋgwó gh̄-mà
 oil.C6a ANAPH-C6a
 “that oil (already mentioned)”

Where *ghɔ̄* modifies a noun from class 2, the noun prefix is retained:

- (90) *bəna'-ə-bə*
bə-nǎ' ghɔ̄-bə
 C2-COW ANAPH-C2
 “those cows (already mentioned)”

With nouns from classes other than class 9, the initial consonant [ɣ] of the anaphoric demonstrative *ghɔ̄* [ɣɔ̄] undergoes elision. Therefore the phonetic form of *ŋgiě ghɔ̄-kə* “that language” in example (88) is [ŋg'ě̄:kə] and the phonetic form of *bə-nǎ' ghɔ̄-bə* “those cows” in example (90) is [bənǎʔəbə]. With nouns from class 9 the initial [ɣ] can still be heard. Thus the phonetic form of *ŋkɔ̄ ghə* “that grass” in example (86) is [ŋkɔ̄ɣə].

5.1.4 Demonstratives combined with the focus particle *maá*

The particle *maá* is used together with the proximal demonstrative *ɔ̄ŋ* or the distal demonstrative *ĩŋ* to focus on a particular object. In this case, the meaning of the proximal and distal demonstratives changes (this is discussed in more detail later in this section). The particle *maá* follows the head noun and precedes the demonstrative. Some examples are shown below.

- (91) *fɔŋ-maa-kə-əŋ*
fɔŋ maá k-ɔ̄ŋ
 chair.C7 FOC C7-PROX
 “that particular chair”
- (92) *setə-maa-kə-ĩŋ*
sətə maá k-ĩŋ
 knife.C7 FOC C7-DIST
 “that knife (the one you asked for)”

When *maá* follows a noun from class 9, since there is no concord consonant on the demonstrative, the vowel of the particle is elided. This results phonetically in [mɔ̄:].

- (93) *yie-mɔ̄*
yie maá ɔ̄ IPA: [ɰie mɔ̄:]
 name.C9 FOC PROX
 “that name”

It is not possible for the distal demonstrative *ĩŋ* to follow the focus particle *maá* after a noun from class 9:

- **njaa-mii*
njaa maa ii
 house.C9 FOC DIST

The emphatic form [*maá* + distal demonstrative] might be used instead (see example (97) and accompanying explanation below). Whether or not this is more emphatic than the expected form is unclear.

If *maá* precedes the proximal demonstrative, it cannot refer to something near the speaker. In example (94) below, *baá* ‘*maá k-ǎŋ nɔ yɔŋ-yá* has to mean “that fufu there is mine” and cannot mean “this fufu here is mine”. The object being identified does not have to be visible (as in example (95) below).

- (94) Baa-maa-kə-ǎŋ nɔ yɔŋ-yə
baá ‘*maá k-ǎŋ* *nɔ* *y-ǎŋ-yá*.
 fufu.C7 FOC C7-PROX ? SG-1SG.POSS-SG
 “That fufu is mine.”

- (95) Laa fia-mɔɔ
laá *fíá* *maá* *ǎ*
 be.careful road.C9 FOC PROX
 “Be careful of *that* road” (i.e. be careful of that particular road, it’s dangerous)

From the perspective of the speaker, the form [*maá* + proximal demonstrative] identifies for the hearer the particular object he has in mind. The form [*maá* + distal demonstrative] focuses on something that has already been mentioned (see example (92) above). Again, the object being identified does not have to be visible. For example, the phrase *sétà maá k-ǎŋ* “that knife” (proximal demonstrative) refers to the particular knife the speaker wants to identify for the hearer, while *sétà maá k- ǎŋ* “that knife” (distal demonstrative) refers to the knife that has just been mentioned.

Therefore, the function of the two demonstratives *ǎŋ* and *ǎŋ* shifts when they are combined with *maá*. While *ǎŋ* is normally the proximal demonstrative, when combined with *maá* it identifies something further away, i.e. it acquires a distal quality. While *ǎŋ* is normally the distal demonstrative, when combined with *maá* it identifies something that has already been mentioned, i.e. it acquires an anaphoric quality. The normal anaphoric demonstrative *ghɔ* cannot be combined with the particle *maá*. A more detailed discourse study is needed to understand the precise function of *maá* combined with demonstratives.

Emphatic forms of the [*maá* + demonstrative] construction exist, which precede the noun. As is the case with other emphatic forms (see section 5.1.2) the demonstrative is preceded by the generic singular marker *y-* instead of a noun class concord consonant. Some examples are shown below:

- (96) maa yǎŋ fɔŋkə
maá y-ǎŋ *fɔŋ-‘ká*
 FOC SG-PROX chair-C7
 “that chair” (This is more emphatic than *fɔŋ* ‘*maá k-ǎŋ*.)

- (97) maa yìŋ njaa
maá y-iìŋ njáá
 FOC SG-DIST house.C9
 “that house”

Plural forms of these emphatic forms exist with the generic plural marker *b-*, for example *maá b-ɔ̀ŋ njáá-¹há* “those houses”.

These emphatic forms of [*maá* + demonstrative] can also be used to head noun phrases. In this case they have the meaning “that (particular) one”, “that one already mentioned”, etc.:

- (98) maa ỳŋ
maá y-ɔ̀ŋ
 FOC SG-PROX
 “that particular one”

- (99) maa yìŋ
maá y-iìŋ
 FOC SG-DIST
 “that one (already mentioned)”

Since the anaphoric demonstrative *ghɔ́* cannot be combined with *maá*, the emphatic form [*maá* + distal demonstrative] is used to refer to something already mentioned (as in example (97) above). The form [*maá* + distal demonstrative] can also head a noun phrase in place of a noun with the anaphoric demonstrative *ghɔ́*, as shown below:

- (100) sɯɯ-ɔ̀-kə
sɯú ghɔ́-kə
 hoe.C7 ANAPH-C7
 “that hoe (already mentioned)”

Omission of *sɯú-¹kə* “hoe”:

- (101) *maá y-iìŋ* “that one (already mentioned)”

The focus particle *maá* cannot be inserted inside an associative construction. Even if the second noun is the noun being brought into focus, the demonstrative is marked for agreement with the first noun:

- (102) tɯ-njaa-maa-kə-ɔ̀ŋ
tɯ ¹njáá ¹maá ¹k-ɔ̀ŋ
 head.C7 house FOC C7-PROX
 “that roof” or “the roof of that house”

- (103) nduu-na'-maa-hə-əŋ
 nduu ná' maá h-əŋ
 horn.C10 cow.C9 FOC C10-PROX
 “the horns of *that* cow”

The focus particle *maá* cannot be used with possessives. Instead, to bring the possessor into focus *maá* combined with the proximal demonstrative follows the possessive:

- (104) baakə-a maa kə-əŋ
 baá k-á 'maá k-əŋ
 fufu.C7 C7-2SG.POSS FOC C7-PROX
 “that *your* fufu”

*baá 'maá k-á
 fufu.C7 FOC C7-2SG.POSS

Nor can *maá* occur with an attribute. Instead, to bring the adjective into focus *maá* combined with the proximal demonstrative follows the attribute:

- (105) fəŋ-kwε'təŋ-maa-kə-əŋ
 fəŋ kwε'təŋ 'maá k-əŋ
 chair.C7 big FOC C7-PROX
 “the *big* chair”

*fəŋ maa kwε'təŋ kə
 chair.C7 FOC big C7.AM

5.1.5 Demonstratives combined with possessives

Demonstratives can occur with possessives in the same noun phrase. In this case they follow the possessive, as in the following examples:

- (106) **Proximal demonstrative with possessive:**

suukə-i kəŋ
 suú k-í k-əŋ
 tail.C7 C7-3SG.POSS C7-PROX
 “this his tail”

- (107) **Distal demonstrative with possessive:**

ŋgwomə-i mìn
 ŋgwô 'm-í mə-íŋ
 oil.C6a C6a-2PL.POSS C6a-DIST
 “that your oil”

(108) **Anaphoric demonstrative with possessive:**

nduuhə-ɔŋ-ɔ-hə
nduú *h-ɔŋ* *ghɔ-hə*
cup.C10 C10-1SG.POSS ANAPH-C10
“those my cups (already known about)”

In example (108) above, the initial consonant [ɣ] of the anaphoric demonstrative *ghɔ* [ɣɔ] undergoes elision (see section 5.1.3). Therefore the phonetic form of *nduú h-ɔŋ ghɔ-hə* “those my cups” is [ndu: hɔ: hɔ].

In class 9 there is normally no concord consonant with demonstratives. However, when preceded by a possessive the proximal and distal demonstratives have the concord consonant *y-*.

(109) **Proximal:**

lɔ'-yua-yɔŋ
lɔ' *y-uá* *y-ɔŋ*
country.C9 C9-3PL.POSS C9-PROX
“this their village”

(110) **Distal:**

kabaa-ε-yìŋ
kábaà *é* *y-ĩŋ* IPA: [kábé: jǐ:]
money.C9 3SG.POSS C9-DIST
“that his money”

Therefore, under certain conditions, the proximal and distal demonstratives with class 9 follow the same pattern as for all the other noun classes.

The anaphoric demonstrative still has no concord element with class 9 nouns.

(111) **Anaphoric:**

vaa-ε-ghɔ
vaǎ *é* *ghɔ* IPA: [vɛ: ɣɔ]
child.C9 3SG.POSS ANAPH.C9
“that his child”

5.2 OTHER DETERMINERS

5.2.1 Definite determiner *mbú*

The definite determiner *mbú* precedes the noun, which occurs in its B-form (if a B-form exists for the noun class concerned). See section 2 for discussion of B-forms and tables 1 and 2 showing noun phrases with the determiner *mbú*.

The determiner *mbú* is used to refer back to an object or person that has recently been introduced.

(112) Kaá nə ká to' mu ŋkɔ [...]
 kaá nə ká to' mu ŋkɔ⁴
 monkey P2 PROG walk in grass

gɛ daa ŋgyu byʌbɛ' nyiɛ buu mu byʌ-ghɔ
 gɛ daa ŋgyu byʌ bɛ' nyiɛ buu mu byʌ ghɔ
 go reach edge hole INDEF see tiger in hole ANAPH

Buu-ghɔ fʌʌtə ɔŋ mbɔ ɔ la kɔ suukə-i tə ɔŋ
 buu ghɔ fʌʌtə ɔŋ mbɔ ɔ la kɔ suu k-i tə ɔŋ
 tiger ANAPH beg 3SG that 3SG RPTD give tail C7-3SG.POSS to 3SG

Mbʌ kaá ghɔŋ tə ɔŋ mbɔ mbe [...]
mbʌ kaá ghɔŋ tə ɔŋ mbɔ mbe...
 DEF **monkey.c9** say to 3SG that no...

“A monkey was walking in the grass [...] when he came to the edge of a hole and saw a tiger there [...] The tiger asked the monkey to give him his tail [...] **The monkey** said no [...]”

If *mbʌ* is omitted, depending on how obvious the context is, it might seem as if a new object or person is being introduced. In this sense it functions in a similar way to the English definite article. It does not occur before the first mention of *kaa* (monkey) at the beginning, since at this point the monkey is an unknown entity that is being introduced. When it is mentioned again, however, it is *the* monkey that we already know about.

(113) Fɔŋ-yʌ yie-e ká bɛ Chəŋfɔŋ Bəkʌʌ [...]
 Fɔŋ y-ʌ yie e ká bɛ Chəŋfɔŋ Bəkʌʌ
 Fon C9-3PL.POSS name 3SG.POSS PROG be Chəŋfɔŋ Bəkʌʌ

Ndə mbʌ Chəŋfɔŋ Bəkʌʌ nə sɔ' Məkɔ' looo... [...]
 ndə **mbʌ Chəŋfɔŋ Bəkʌʌ** nə sɔ' Məkɔ' looo...
 as DEF **Chəŋfɔŋ Bəkʌʌ** P2 rule Bamunka long long time

“Their Fon’s name was Chəŋfɔŋ Bəkʌʌ [...] As **Chəŋfɔŋ Bəkʌʌ** ruled Bamunka for a long long time [...]”

If *Chəŋfɔŋ Bəkʌʌ* is mentioned again further on in the text the use of *mbʌ* is optional. It seems as if, once something has been mentioned more than once, its appearance without *mbʌ* does not give the impression of its being a new element.

The definite determiner *mbʌ* can also give emphasis to a noun, as in the following example:

⁴ Tone data is not available for examples (112) to (118). Noun classes are not indicated in the gloss unless they are relevant.

(114) Bú'ú mə kinə mbú kəchii ndə bú'ú bε chɔ
 bú'ú mə kinə mbú kə-chii ndə bú'ú bε chɔ
 1PL.INCL NEG.? know DEF C7-day REL 1PL.INCL be there

laa fe, bɔŋ kə kinə mbɔ mbú kəchii laa ndə bú'ú
 laa fe bɔŋ kə kinə mbɔ mbú kə-chii laa ndə bú'ú
 today NEG but ? know that DEF C7-day today REL PL.INCL

du' mu njaa fεŋ laa nɔ Mbikúə kəŋgieMəkɔ'.
 du' mu njaa fεŋ laa nɔ Mbikúə kə-ŋgie Məkɔ'
 sit in house here today ? Mbikúə C7-language Bamunka

“We cannot know **the actual day** (i.e. the date) that we are here today, but we know that **this day today** that we are sitting in this house is Mbikúə in the Bamunka language.”

In example (114) above *mbú* gives extra emphasis to *the actual day* and to *this day today*.

The determiner *mbú* before the noun appears to have a similar function to the anaphoric demonstrative *ghɔ* after the noun. The difference in meaning between these two determiners is unclear. The frequency of use of *mbú* may also depend on the personal preference of the speaker. A detailed discourse analysis would be needed to establish the more precise meaning and use of this determiner.

5.2.2 Indefinite determiner *bε'*

Whereas the definite determiner *mbú* identifies something specific that has already been introduced, the indefinite determiner *bε'* does the introducing of something as yet unknown. In this sense *bε'* serves the purpose of an indefinite article. Some examples are shown below.

(115) Kaá [...] gε daa ŋgyu byú-bε'
 kaa gε daa ŋgyu byú bε'
 monkey go reach edge hole INDEF
 “The monkey [...] came to the edge of **a hole**.”

(116) Nɔ bε mbi-bε' mɔ lɔ gε kəsɔ'
 nɔ bε mbi bε' mɔ lɔ gε kəsɔ'
 ? be day INDEF 1SG leave go C7-hunting
 “**One day** I set off to go hunting.”

(117) Mɔ [...] gwe daa nyiε kasinε bε'
 mɔ gwe daa nyiε kasinε bε'
 1SG come reach see net INDEF
 “I came across **a net**.”

The indefinite determiner *bɛ'* can also mean “other”, still referring to something that has not yet been introduced:

- (118) [...] ɔ nɔ' gwe nə nyaa bɛ'
 ɔ nɔ' gwe nə nyaa bɛ'
 3SG PFV come with animal INDEF
 “[...] he has come with **another animal**.”

The indefinite determiner *bɛ'* occupies the same position as the possessives and demonstratives. Since it has an indefinite quality it cannot occur together with possessives and demonstratives in a noun phrase:

HN	IND DET	POSS
*njaa	bɛ'	y-ʉə
house.C9	INDEF	C9-3PL.POSS

HN	IND DET	DEM
*njaa	bɛ'	ghɔ
house.C9	INDEF	ANAPH

Where *bɛ'* modifies a noun from class 6a, 7, 8, 10, 13 or 19, the noun suffix is deleted and an agreement suffix attaches to *bɛ'*:

- (119) chibɛ'kə
 chí bɛ'-kə
 day.C7 INDEF-C7
 “one day”

- (120) byʉʉbɛ'tə
 byʉʉ bɛ'-tə
 hole.C13 INDEF-C13
 “some holes”

Where *bɛ'* modifies a noun from class 2, the noun prefix is retained:

- (121) bəshiabɛ'bə
 bə-shià bɛ'-bə
 C2-cap INDEF-C2
 “some caps”

Like the anaphoric demonstrative *ghɔ*, the agreement suffix attached to *bɛ'* has low tone for all noun classes.

With nouns from class 9, *bɛ'* has a preceding floating low tone, which could be viewed as a class 9 concord tone, and no agreement suffix. It is realised as ¹H or L, depending on the tone pattern of the head noun (additional influence of a falling tone on the head noun results in L rather than ¹H).

- (122) *byuú* “hole” *byuube’*
byuú *’bé’*
hole.C9 C9.INDEF
“a hole”
- (123) *bî* “goat” *bibe’*
bí *bè’*
goat.C9 C9.INDEF
“a goat”
- (124) *kyuú* “pot” *kyuube’*
kyuú *bè’*
pot.C9 C9.INDEF
“a pot”

Table 8: Indefinite determiner in Bamunka

Noun Class	Class Affix	Indefinite Determiner (“certain, some”, etc.)
2	<i>bà-</i>	<i>bè’-bà</i>
6a	<i>-má</i>	<i>bè’-mà</i>
7	<i>-ká</i>	<i>bè’-kà</i>
8	<i>-bá</i>	<i>bè’-bà</i>
9	-	<i>’bé’</i>
10	<i>-há</i>	<i>bè’-hà</i>
13	<i>-tá</i>	<i>bè’-tà</i>
19	<i>-há</i>	<i>bè’-hà</i>

Emphatic forms of the indefinite determiner *bè’* exist, which precede the noun. These forms have a generic singular or plural marker *yì* or *bà* coming before the determiner and a generic singular or plural marker *yà* or *bà* coming after the determiner. Some examples are shown below:

- (125) *yibe’yə fɔŋke*
yì *bè’* *yà* *fɔŋ-’ké*
SG INDEF SG chair-C7
“another⁵ chair”

- (126) *bəbe’bə fɔŋbə*
bà *bè’* *bà* *fɔŋ-’bé*
PL INDEF PL chair-C8
“some⁶ chairs”

⁵ Since the meaning of this emphatic form is still unclear, this free translation may not be accurate.

⁶ Since the meaning of this emphatic form is still unclear, this free translation may not be accurate.

These forms are similar to adjectives used as head nouns (see section 5.4.3), except that the generic markers for *bé'* have low tone.

Emphatic forms of the indefinite determiner *bé'* can also be used to head noun phrases to refer to a noun that is already known about. They then have the meaning “a certain one”, “one of them”, “some of them”, “another one” etc.:

(127) *yibé'yə*
yì b'é' yə
 SG INDEF SG
 “one of them”

(128) *bəb'é'bə*
bə b'é' bə
 PL INDEF PL
 “some”

The first marker for the plural form is *bə* rather than *bí* that is found with adjectives used as head nouns. The reason for this is unclear. It is possibly a class 2 prefix, or a generic plural marker originating from class 2.

5.3 QUANTIFIERS

In Bamunka some quantifiers come after the noun and other quantifiers come before the noun.

5.3.1 Quantifiers after the noun

Most quantifiers do not agree with the noun they modify. With other modifiers the noun suffix is deleted and the modifier acquires an agreement suffix or is followed by an associative marker. With quantifiers that follow the noun, the noun suffix is usually retained and the quantifier is usually unmarked. Some examples are given below:

(129) *nubə buŋmbi*
nú-^hbá bŷŋmbî
 thing-C8 many
 “many things”

(130) *chəə' mənî'*
chəə' mənî'
 salt.C9 little
 “a little salt”

- (131) *bihə ntə'*
bí-^há ntá'
 goat-c10 six
 “six goats”

One quantifier *yŋŋ-yŋŋ* “much” has been found where there is agreement with the class of the head noun. The noun suffix is deleted and a marker agreeing with the class of the head noun follows the quantifier. This marker appears to be the same as the associative marker for nouns, having the same form and the same underlying H tone (see section 6.1). The same associative construction is also used for adjectives (see section 5.4.2).

- (132) *ŋgwɔ-yɔŋyɔŋ-mə*
ŋgwɔ̄ yŋŋ-^hyŋŋ ^hmá
 oil.c6a much-much C6a.AM
 “a lot of oil”

In the same way as some adjectives, the quantifier *yŋŋ-yŋŋ* is derived by reduplication of the verb stem *yŋŋ* “be much” (see section 5.4.1.1).

The quantifiers *ì-nchàŋ* and *bà-nchàŋ* meaning “all” have prefixes marking animate and inanimate agreement (see section 3.3.2.2 for more information about agreement in animacy).

- (133) **Inanimate noun:**
tyʉbə inchəŋ
tyú-bá ì-nchàŋ
 tree-c8 INANM-all
 “all the trees”

- (134) **Animate noun:**
nyaahə bəŋchəŋ⁷
nyaá-^há bà-nchàŋ
 animal-c10 ANM-all
 “all the animals”

The numerals “one”, “two”, “three” and “five” also have these generic prefixes when they modify nouns. All other numerals are unmarked when they modify nouns (see example (131) above). Numerals are described separately in section 5.3.3 below.

The quantifiers *ì-nchàŋ* and *bà-nchàŋ* can be reduplicated for emphasis. In this case they undergo a tone change:

⁷ This example is from a folk story with animal characters. In this case the distinction might be human/non-human rather than animate/inanimate, where the speaker chooses to show the animals as being more human-like (talking, reasoning, etc.).

(135) bʉə bə̃nchə̃ŋbə̃nchə̃ŋ
 bʉə̃ bə̃n-*nchə̃ŋ*-bə̃n-*nchə̃ŋ*
 C2.person ANM-all-ANM-all
 “all the people”

(136) nyaahə̃ inçə̃ŋinçə̃ŋ
 nyaá-^hhá̃ ì-*nchə̃ŋ*-ì-*nchə̃ŋ*
 animal-C10 INANM-all-INANM-all
 “all the animals”

It is possible that other quantifiers coming after the noun are reduplicated for emphasis in the same way, but this has not yet been investigated.

5.3.2 Quantifiers before the noun

Three quantifiers have been found that precede the noun:

vaădyắ “small quantity”
njǎŋ-njǎŋ “most” (derived from the verb *yôŋ* “be much”)
nchə̃ŋ-nchə̃ŋ “all” (derived from the root of the verb *chə̃ŋ-tə̃* “gather”)

It is possible that there are more quantifiers that precede the noun. The quantifiers *nchə̃ŋ-nchə̃ŋ* and *njǎŋ-njǎŋ* are derived by reduplication of a prenasalised verb stem (see section 5.4.1 for more information about reduplicated forms).

Quantifiers that precede the noun require the B-form of the noun, as shown in the two examples below:

(137) vaadyʉ́ kə̃baa
vaădyắ **kə̃-baá**
 small.quantity C7-fufu
 “a little fufu”

(138) njɔ̃ŋnjɔ̃ŋ bə̃fɔ̃ŋ
njǎŋ-njǎŋ **bə̃-fôŋ**
 much-much C8-chair
 “most chairs”

The difference in meaning between the use of *nchə̃ŋ-nchə̃ŋ* before the noun and *ì-nchə̃ŋ* or *bə̃n-nchə̃ŋ* after the noun (examples (133) and (134) above) is unclear. The following two examples apparently have the same meaning:

(139) nchə̃ŋnchə̃ŋ bʉə̃ nɔ̃ bɛ̃ ntố
nchə̃ŋ-nchə̃ŋ bʉə̃ nɔ̃ bɛ̃ ntố
 all-all C2.person ? be palace
 “All the people were at the palace”

- (140) *bʰə bə̃nchə̃ŋ nɔ̃ bɛ̃ ntô'*
bʰə̃ bə̃-nchə̃ŋ nɔ̃ bɛ̃ ntô'
 C2.person ANM-all ? be palace
 “All the people were at the palace”

Prenominal quantifiers can occur as head nouns without the noun that is being quantified. In this case they are followed by the third person singular possessive. This gives the meaning “its all”, i.e. “all of it”, etc.

- (141) *nchə̃ŋnchə̃ŋ-ɛ̃ŋ*
nchə̃ŋ-nchə̃ŋ ɛ̃ŋ
 all-all 3SG.POSS
 “all of them/it”

- (142) *njɔ̃ŋnjɔ̃ŋ-ɛ̃ŋ*
njɔ̃ŋ-njɔ̃ŋ ɛ̃ŋ
 most-most 3SG.POSS
 “most of them/it”

- (143) *vaadyʰ-i*
vaădyʰ ɪ̂
 small.quantity 3SG.POSS
 “a little of it”

The same forms can occur with words denoting sequence (see section 5.3.3.4) and diminutive and augmentative nouns (see section 5.4.4.2).

5.3.3 Numerals

5.3.3.1 Numerals one to ten

Numerals in Bamunka do not usually agree with the head noun. The numerals “two”, “three” and “five” have a prefix *ɪ̂-* or *bə̃-* depending on whether the noun is animate or inanimate (see table 9 below). See section 3.3.2.2 for more information regarding agreement in animacy with quantifiers. Animals, although they are animate nouns, can take either prefix. The speaker’s choice of animacy or inanimacy for animals is discussed in section 3.3.2.2.

- (144) **Inanimate noun:**
njaahə̃ ibuu
njaá-^hɪ̂ ɪ̂-buũ
 house-C10 INANM-two
 “two houses”

(145) **Animate noun:**

bəke bəbuu
bá-^hké bə-buŭ
C2-female ANM-two
“two women”

(146) **Animal:**

bihə bəbuu
bí-^hhá bə-buŭ
goat-C10 ANM-two
“two goats”

or

bihə ibuu
bí-^hhə ì-buŭ
goat-C10 INANM-two
“two goats”

The numeral “one” has only the prefix *ì-*, regardless of whether the head noun is animate or inanimate. The prefix *bə-* is a generic plural marker, besides being an animate marker, and cannot be used with singular nouns. See section 3.3.2.2 for more information.

(147) **Inanimate noun:**

yɔŋ imɔ'
yɔŋ ì-mɔ'
plum.tree.C9 SG-one
“one plum tree”

(148) **Animate noun:**

woke imɔ'
wɔkè ì-mɔ'
woman.C9 SG-one
“one woman”

With the nouns *vé'* “time” and *njuɔ̀* “digit” the numerals “one”, “two”, “three” and “five” do not have a prefix. The reason for this is currently unclear.

(149) *vé'* tia

vé' tiâ
time.C9 three
“three times”

There is no agreement marking of any kind on the numeral “four” or on the numerals “six” to “ten”. The numerals “one” to “ten” and their agreement markers (where applicable) are shown in table 9 below.

Table 9: Numerals “one” to “ten”

English	Inanimate agreement	Animate agreement	Numeral
“one”	ì-*	ì-*	<i>mǔ'</i>
“two”	ì-	<i>bà-</i>	<i>buĩ</i>
“three”	ì-	<i>bà-</i>	<i>tiâ</i>
“four”	-	-	<i>kwì</i>
“five”	ì-	<i>bà-</i>	<i>taâ</i>
“six”	-	-	<i>ntǔ'</i>
“seven”	-	-	<i>tákwĩitiâ*</i>
“eight”	-	-	<i>fɔŋ</i>
“nine”	-	-	<i>bòmɔ'</i>
“ten”	-	-	<i>wûŋ</i>

* Singular agreement, whether animate or inanimate

The numeral *tákwĩitiâ* “seven” is made up of the numerals *kwì* “four” and *ì-tiâ* “three”:

- (150) *tákwĩitiâ*
tá kwì ì-tiâ
to? four INANM-three
“seven”

The morpheme *tá* at the beginning is possibly the preposition “to” but this is uncertain.

5.3.3.2 Numerals above ten

The numbers above ten are formed using the word *njuð* “digit”. Its plural is *njuð-hǎ*, although this is rarely used⁸ and only its singular form is used to form numerals. However, we know from this that it is most likely a gender 9/10 noun. The word *njuð* is followed by a number between one and nine (with no agreement prefix on any digit to mark animate/inanimate or singular/plural) and then by the conjunction *nà* “and” and then by the word *wûŋ* “ten”. The *nà wûŋ* is optional for the numerals “11” to “19”. In other words, for these numerals there is a long form and a shortened form, as the following two examples show:

- (151) *njuðbuu nà wûŋ*
njuð buĩ nà wûŋ
digit two and ten
“twelve”

⁸ The phrase *njuð-hǎ nà fɔ-⁴ká* literally means “digits and something” and has the approximate meaning of “countless” or “hundreds”.

(152) *njuɔbuu*
njuɔ buĩ
 digit two
 “twelve”

The entire numeral follows the noun in the quantifier position, i.e. after any attribute, possessive or demonstrative:

(153) *bʌə njuɔbuu*
bʌə njuɔ buĩ
 c2.person digit two
 “twelve people”

(154) *mutɔ-fefe-hə-mə hə-ɔŋ njuɔbuu*
mú^htɔ fɛfɛ h-mə h-ɔŋ njuɔ buĩ
 farm.c10 new c10-3PL.POSS c10-PROX digit two
 “these their twelve new farms”

Each decade is formed from the word *wûŋ* “ten” plus a numeral from one to nine. As is the case with *njuɔ*, a numeral following *wûŋ* never has any agreement marking for animacy:

(155) *wuŋbuu*
wûŋ buĩ
 ten two
 “twenty”

(156) *wuŋtaa*
wûŋ taã
 ten five
 “fifty”

The numbers from “21” onwards are formed in the same way as from “11” to “19”, but the conjunction *nə* “and” plus the decade *wûŋ* + numeral are obligatory:

(157) *njuɔtaa nə wuŋbuu*
njuɔ taã nə wûŋ buĩ
 digit five and ten two
 “twenty-five”

The numerals from “11” to “25” and some of the decades are shown in table 10 below. The entire numeral follows the noun in the quantifier position. Some examples are shown below:

(158) *bʌə wuŋtəkwiitia*
bʌə wûŋ ^htəkwiitiã
 c2.person ten seven
 “seventy people”

(159) bələŋ wuŋtia
 bə-^lləŋ wuŋ tiā
 c2-male ten three
 “thirty men”

(160) bəə njuəbɔmɔ' nə wuŋbuu
 bəə njuə bɔmɔ' nə wuŋ buu
 c2.person digit nine and ten two
 “twenty-nine people”

Table 10: Numbers “11” to “25” and decades “30” to “70”

English	Numeral
“11”	njuə mɔ' (nə wuŋ)
“12”	njuə buu (nə wuŋ)
“13”	njuə tiā (nə wuŋ)
“14”	njuə kwì (nə wuŋ)
“15”	njuə taā (nə wuŋ)
“16”	njuə ^{nt} ntá' (nə wuŋ)
“17”	njuə təkwiitiā (nə wuŋ)
“18”	njuə ^f fɔŋ (nə wuŋ)
“19”	njuə bɔmɔ' (nə wuŋ)
“20”	wuŋ buu
“21”	njuə mɔ' nə wuŋ buu
“22”	njuə buu nə wuŋ buu
“23”	njuə tiā nə wuŋ buu
“24”	njuə kwì nə wuŋ buu
“25”	njuə taā nə wuŋ buu
“30”	wuŋ tiā
“40”	wuŋ kwì
“50”	wuŋ taā
“60”	wuŋ ^{nt} ntá'
“70”	wuŋ ^t təkwiitiā

The word for a hundred is the gender 9/13 noun *ghyuu* (plural *ghyuu-^ttá*) meaning “rope”. Multiples of hundreds are formed with the plural *ghyuu-^ttá* followed by a number from “two” to “nine”. In this case, the numbers “two”, “three” and “five” have inanimate agreement marking:

- (161) ghy^uutə itaa
 ghy^uí-¹tá ì-taâ
 hundred-c13 INANM-five
 “five hundred”

Numbers above a hundred are formed with either *ghy^uũ* (for “one hundred” – example (162) below) or *ghy^uí-¹tá* + numeral (for multiples of hundreds – example (163) below) followed by the conjunction *nà* “and” followed by any numeral.

- (162) ghy^uũ nə nju^otia nə wu^obuu
 ghy^uí nə nju^o tiā nə wû^oη buĩ
 hundred and digit three and ten two
 “one hundred and twenty-three”

- (163) ghy^uutə itaa nə itia
 ghy^uí-¹tá ì-taâ nə ì-tiâ
 hundred-c13 INANM-five and INANM-three
 “five hundred and three”

The word for a thousand is the gender 9/10 noun *ηκόη* (plural *ηκόη-ηά*). A numeral classifier (see section 5.3.3.3 below) is needed to express “one thousand”:

- (164) mbyuu ηκόη
 mbyuĩ ηκόη
 unit.c9 thousand.c9
 “one thousand”

Multiples of thousands are formed with the plural form *ηκόη-ηά* followed by the numeral. In this case the numerals “one”, “two”, “three” and “five” sometimes do not have animate/inanimate or singular/plural agreement marking. This may vary from speaker to speaker:

- (165) ηκόηηά buu
 ηκόη-ηά buĩ
 thousand-c10 two
 “two thousand”

or

- ηκόηηά ibuu
 ηκόη-ηά ì-buĩ
 thousand-c10 INANM-two
 “two thousand”

Numbers above a thousand are formed with either *mbyuĩ ηκόη* (for “one thousand” – example (166) below) or *ηκόη-ηά* + numeral (for multiples of thousands – example (167) below) followed by the conjunction *nà* “and” followed by any numeral.

(166) mbyuu ηκῶη nə ηjuῶtaa nə wuη
mbyuĩ ηκῶη nə ηjuῶ taā nə wũη
 unit.c9 thousand.c9 and digit five and ten
 “one thousand and fifteen”

(167) ηκῶηhə itia nə ghyuũ
ηκῶη-há (i-)tiá nə ghyuĩ
 thousand-c10 (INANM-)three and hundred
 “three thousand one hundred”

In the use of complex numerals among older speakers of Bamunka some evidence of previous agreement of numerals with noun class can be seen. Instead of an inanimate agreement prefix, the numeral has a prefix agreeing with the noun class of the preceding noun *ghyuĩ-⁺tá* “hundreds”, which is in its B-form:

(168) mbyuu ηκῶη nə təghyuũ tətaa
mbyuĩ ηκῶη nə tə-ghyuĩ tə-taâ
 unit.c9 thousand.c9 and c13-hundred c13-five
 “one thousand five hundred”

This has become simplified and most people now use the A-form of *ghyuĩ-⁺tá* “hundred” and an inanimate prefix on the numeral:

(169) mbyuu ηκῶη nə ghyuũtə itaa
mbyuĩ ηκῶη nə ghyuĩ-⁺tá i-taâ
 unit.c9 thousand.c9 and hundred-c13 INANM-five
 “one thousand five hundred”

The noun class agreement on the numeral used among older speakers would still only apply to the numerals “one”, “two”, “three” and “five”. With other numerals, all speakers would use the A-form of *ghyuĩ-⁺tá* “hundreds”, with no agreement on the numeral, as in the example below:

(170) mbyuu ηκῶη nə ghyuũtə kwi
mbyuĩ ηκῶη nə ghyuĩ-⁺tá kwì
 unit.c9 thousand.c9 and hundred-c13 four
 “one thousand four hundred”

Some numbers above one hundred and above one thousand are shown in table 11 below.

Table 11: Numbers above 100 and above 1,000

English	Numeral
“103”	<i>ghyúú nà ì-tiâ</i>
“123”	<i>ghyúú nà njuò tiá nà wûŋ buĩ</i>
“503”	<i>ghyúú-¹tá ì-taâ nà ì-tiâ</i>
“523”	<i>ghyúú-¹tá ì-taâ nà njuò tiá nà wûŋ buĩ</i>
“1,001”	<i>mbyuũ ñkóŋ nà ì-mǎ’</i>
“1,015”	<i>mbyuũ ñkóŋ nà njuò taá nà wûŋ</i>
“1,100”	<i>mbyuũ ñkóŋ nà ghyúú</i>
“1,250”	a. <i>mbyuũ ñkóŋ nà t̃-ghyúú t̃-buĩ nà wûŋ taâ</i> b. <i>mbyuũ ñkóŋ nà ghyúú-¹tá-ì-buĩ nà wûŋ taâ</i>
“3,001”	<i>ñkóŋ-há (ì-)tiâ nà (mbyuũ) ì-mǎ’</i>
“3,015”	<i>ñkóŋ-há (ì-)tiâ nà njuò taá nà wûŋ</i>
“3,100”	<i>ñkóŋ-há (ì-)tiâ nà ghyúú</i>
“3,259”	a. <i>ñkóŋ-há (ì-)tiâ nà t̃-ghyúú t̃-buĩ nà njuǎ bòmǎ’ nà wûŋ taâ</i> b. <i>ñkóŋ-há (ì-)tiâ nà ghyúú-¹tá ì-buĩ nà njuǎ bòmǎ’ nà wûŋ taâ</i>

5.3.3.3 Numeral classifiers

Bamunka has numeral classifiers, which are nouns that are needed to count non-count nouns. They are also often used with count nouns.

The numeral classifier is used in an associative construction. It comes before the noun being counted, which occurs in its B-form (if there is one). This is followed by an associative marker agreeing with the numeral classifier (if an associative marker exists for the noun class of the classifier used), and then the numeral. (See section 6 for more information about the associative noun phrase.) Bamunka has sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers. An example with the mensural classifier *ñgyúú-há* “bunch” or “regime” in an associative construction is shown below:

- (171) *ñgyúú-kəyúú-hə* *ibuu*
ñgyúú ¹*ká-¹yúú* ¹*há* *ì-buĩ*
 bunch.C10 C7-plantain C10.AM INANM-two
 “two regimes of plantain”

Sortal classifiers

The most common numeral classifier is the sortal classifier *mbyuũ/mbyuú-há*, which is a gender 9/10 noun meaning “unit/units”. It has to be used to identify one single element of a non-count noun. In Bamunka, and in Grassfields Bantu languages in general, certain categories are perceived to be uncountable and are often non-count nouns. These include insects, fruits, and vegetables. Some examples are given below. There is some variation as to whether the singular or plural form is used for the noun being counted.

(172) *vyí-tá* “mosquitos” (class 13)

mbyuu vyii
mbyuũ vyĩ
unit.c9 mosquito.c9
“(one) mosquito”

mbyuu-vyii-hə itia
mbuú¹ vyí há ì-tiâ
unit.c10 mosquito.c9 c10.AM INANM-three
“three mosquitos”

or:

mbyuu-təvyii-hə itia
mbuú tá-¹vyí há ì-tiâ
unit.c10 c13-mosquito c10.AM INANM-three
“three mosquitos”

(173) *nyuú-¹há* “hair” (class 10)

mbyuu nyuu
mbyuũ nyuù
unit.c9 hair.c9
“one hair”

mbyuu-nyuu-hə ibuu
mbuú nyuù hǎ i-buũ
unit.c10 hair.c9 c10.AM INANM-two
“two hairs”

Food and plants are generally perceived as non-count nouns (i.e. the singular form represents a whole batch) and the classifier *mbyuũ/mbuú-há* is needed to count individual fruit, vegetables, trees, etc.

(174) mbyuu-γḡḡ-hə ibuu

mbyuú γḡḡ hǎ ì-buũ
unit.c10 plum.c9 c10.AM INANM-two
“two plums”

The plural form without the classifier tends to refer to several whole plants, for example, the plural form *bə-γḡḡ* refers to several plum trees rather than several plums.

The same classifier is commonly also used with count nouns. The difference in meaning when *mbyuũ/mbuú-há* is used is still unclear. Some examples are shown below.

One single item (with *mbyuũ*):

(175) *mbyuu kəghuũ imɔ'*
mbyuũ kə-ghuũ *ì-mɔ'*
unit.c9 c7-calabash bowl SG-one
“one calabash bowl”

(176) *mbyuu wəke imɔ'*
mbyuũ wəkè *ì-mɔ'*
unit.c9 woman.c9 SG-one
“one woman”

With singular count nouns, the classifier *mbyuũ* seems to be optional but generally preferred. It is possible to say either *mbyuũ nyaà ì-mɔ'* “one animal” or *nyaà ì-mɔ'* “one animal”. When the classifier *mbyuũ* is used the numeral *ì-mɔ'* “one” is usually optional but generally preferred. It is therefore also possible to say *mbyuũ nyaà* “one animal”.

More than one item (with *mbyuú-há*):

(177) *mbyuu-bəfɔŋ-hə itia*
mbyuú bə-ʼfɔŋ *ʼhá* *ì-tiá*
unit.c10 c8-chair c10.AM INANM-three
“three chairs”

(178) *mbyuu-bəke-hə bəbuu*
mbyuú bə-ʼké *há* *bə-buũ*
unit.c10 c2-female c10.AM ANM-two
“two women”

The numeral classifier *mbyuũ/mbyuú-há* can occur independently of the noun:

(179) *Mɔ kuu nyɔ mbyuuhá wuŋ*
mɔ kuu nyɔ mbyuú-há wuŋ
1SG want buy unit-c10 ten
“I want to buy ten.”

Mensural classifiers

Bamunka also has mensural classifiers, which are needed to describe a certain measurement of something that is taken from the whole. Some examples of mensural classifiers are given below:

kɔŋ-kə/kɔŋ-bə “hand/hands” (gender 7/8):

(180) *kɔŋ-ŋkwili-kə imɔ'*
kɔŋ ŋkwí'lí *ká* *ì-mɔ'*
hand.c7 banana.c9 c7.AM SG-one
“one hand of bananas”

- (181) kəŋ-ŋkwili-bə ibuu
kəŋ ŋkwí^llí bə ì-buǔ
 hand.C8 banana.C9 C8.AM INANM-two
 “two hands of bananas”

ŋgũú/ŋgũú-^hhá “bunch/bunches” (gender 9/10):

- (182) ŋgũ imə’
ŋgũú ^hŋkwí^llí ì-mə’
 bunch.C9 banana.C9 SG-one
 “one bunch of bananas”

- (183) ŋgũ-ŋkwili-hə ibuu
ŋgũú ^hŋkwí^llí hə ì-buǔ
 bunch.C10 banana.C9 C10.AM INANM-two
 “two bunches of bananas”

It is quite possible that more numeral classifiers exist, as in related languages.

5.3.3.4 Ordinal numbers

In Bamunka no numbers are used to express the position of nouns in a sequence. Instead nouns meaning “first” or “next” are used before the noun being counted. These are listed below. There are no words meaning “second”, “third”, etc.

Table 12: Classifiers denoting sequence

<i>fũəŋ/fũəŋ-^ttə</i> (gender 9/13)	“first”
<i>bĩtə-kǎ/bĩtə-tə-bǎ</i> (gender 7/8)	“next” (mainly for inanimates) Derived from the verb <i>bĩtə-tə</i> “add”
<i>ntyúŋə-kǎ/ntyúŋə-nə-bǎ</i> (gender 7/8)	“next” (mainly reserved for people) Derived from the verb <i>tyù-nə</i> “follow”

These nouns are used in an associative construction to modify the head noun, which occurs in its B-form (if it has one) and is followed by an associative marker (if there is one for the noun class concerned). The attributive nouns *vaǎ/vaá* “child/children” and *ŋkwē/bə-ŋkwē* “mother/mothers” function in the same way (see section 5.4.4.2). Some examples are shown below:

- (184) fũəŋ kətəŋ
fũəŋ ^hkə-^ttəŋ
 first.C9 C7-box
 “first box”

(185) biitə-kətəŋ-kə
biitə ká-⁺təŋ ká
 next.C7 C7-box C7.AM
 “next box”

(186) ntyunə-wo-kə
ntyúnǎ wò kǎ
 next.C7 person.C9 C7.AM
 “next person”

The singular form of *fəəŋ* is often used even if the noun being modified is in its plural form. Various responses were given by the language informant, so exactly how *fəəŋ* is used is unclear and it is not certain whether or not the plural form is much used.

(187) fəəŋ tətəŋ
fəəŋ ⁺tə-⁺təŋ
 first.C9 C13-palm.tree
 “the first palm trees”

(188) fəəŋ-bəfəŋ-tə
fəəŋ ⁺bə-⁺fəŋ ⁺tə
 first.C13 C8-chair C13.AM
 “the first chairs”

The plural form *biitə-bǎ* is readily used:

(189) biitə-bətəŋ-bə itia
biitə bǎ-⁺təŋ bǎ i-tiâ
 next.C8 C8-box C8.AM INANM-three
 “next three boxes”

As with some quantifiers (see section 5.3.2) and the attributive nouns *vaǎ/vaá* “child/children” and *ŋkwē/bə-ŋkwē* “mother/mothers” (see section 5.4.4.2), these forms can head noun phrases with the third person singular possessive in place of the modified noun. This has the meaning “its first” and “its next” i.e. “the first one” and “the next one”:

(190) fəəŋ-əŋ
fəəŋ éŋ
 first.C9 3SG.POSS
 “the first one”

(191) fəəŋtə-i
fəəŋ t-í
 first.C13 C13-3SG.POSS
 “the first ones”

(192) biitəkə-i
biitə *k-í*
 next.C7 C7-3SG.POSS
 “the next one”

(193) ntyunəkə-i
ntyúnə *k-í*
 next.C7 C7-3SG.POSS
 “his follower” (or can also mean “his subordinate”)

5.4 ATTRIBUTES

In Bamunka, as in other languages, an attribute is used to characterise a noun. Attributes can be adjectives derived from other words, particularly from verbs, as in the following examples:

(194) nyaa shuəshuə
nyáǎ *ʰshuə-shuə*
 animal.C9 strong-strong
 “strong animal”

(195) ndu'-su'nə-mə
ndú' *sù'nə* *mə*
 wine.C6a sweet C6a.AM
 sweet wine

(196) fia-ləhə-tə
fīá *lú'há* *tə*
 road.C13 slippery C13.AM
 “slippery roads”

The different ways in which adjectives are derived is explained in more detail in section 5.4.1 below.

Attributes can also be other nouns, occurring either after the noun being characterised (example (197) below) or, in some cases, before the noun (example (198) below).

(197) ŋgwo kəfyuəŋ
ŋgwô *kə-fyuəŋ*
 fowl.C9 C7-black
 “black fowl”

(198) vaŋgo'
vaǎ *ŋgò'*
 child.C9 stone.C9
 “small stone”

Nouns with an attributive function are described in more detail in section 5.4.4 below.

5.4.1 Derivation of adjectives

Many adjectives in Bamunka are derived from verbs. Either they are reduplicated verb stems or they are verbs with a verbal extension that take the position of an attributive adjective in the noun phrase. Each of these two types will now be described in turn.

5.4.1.1 Reduplicated verb stems

Example (194) above shows the adjective *shuá-shuá* “strong”, which is derived by reduplication of the verb stem *shuá* “be strong”. Some more examples are shown below.

(199) Verb *chyúú* “be sharp” Adjective *chyú-chyú* “sharp”

nyii chyúchyú
nyĩ ¹*chyúú-chyúú*
 cutlass.C9 sharp-sharp
 “sharp cutlass”

(200) Verb *dà*’ “lengthen” Adjective *dā-dā* “long”

fia-dədə-tə
fīā ¹*dā-dā* *tǎ*
 road.C13 long-long C13.AM
 “long roads”

In the following example, the verb stem is prenasalised in addition to being reduplicated. The reason for this prenasal is not yet clear.

(201) Verb *tùḡhâ* “be short” Adjective *ntúḡ-ntúḡ* “short”

njaa ntúḡntúḡ
njaâ *ntúḡ-ntúḡ*⁹
 house.C9 short-short
 “low house”

5.4.1.2 Other reduplicated forms

Other adjectives are clearly reduplicated forms but their actual origin is uncertain. They might be derived from verbs that have disappeared from the language, or they might be derived from other forms. Some examples are shown below:

⁹ The tonal change which occurs here has not been investigated.

- (202) *fē-⁺fē* “new”
 mutu fefe
mūtō fē-fē
 farm.C9 new-new
 “new farm”
- (203) *jyū-⁺jyū* “good”
 woke jyuju
wòkě jyū-jyū
 woman.C9 good-good
 “good woman”
- (204) *tiē-⁺tié* “small”
 tōŋ-tietie-bə
tōŋ tiē-⁺tié bə
 box.C8 small-small C8.AM
 “small boxes”
- (205) *kō-kō* “raw, unripe”
 jū-kəkə-kə
jū⁺ kō-⁺kō kō
 plantain.C7 raw-raw C7.AM
 “unripe plantain”
- (206) *nchūū-nchūū* “fresh”
 mbō nchyūūnchyūū
mbō⁺ nchyūū-nchyūū
 fish.C9 fresh-fresh
 “fresh fish”
- (207) *ntōŋ-ntōŋ* “trouble-making”
 wo ntōŋntōŋ
wò ntōŋ-ntōŋ
 person.C9 trouble-trouble¹⁰
 “troublemaker”
- (208) *njūū-njūū* “empty”
 kyūū-njūūnjūū-tə
kyūū njūū-njūū tǎ
 pot.C13 empty-empty C13.AM
 “empty pots”
- (209) *ndyū-ndyū* “honest, upright”
 wo ndyūndyū
wò ndyū-ndyū
 person.C9 honest-honest
 “upright man”

5.4.1.3 Verbs with verbal extensions

Many stative verbs with verbal extensions (*-hə*, *-nə*) are used to describe the characteristics of the noun in the following ways:

- a. in verb form, i.e. in predicate position
- b. in attributive form, i.e. in the position of an attribute in a noun phrase and showing agreement with the modified noun

¹⁰ The exact gloss for this word is uncertain.

c. as a head noun or verb form with a copula verb
 Further research into the verb phrase is required to establish the function of the various verbal extensions.

Some examples are shown below.

(210) *lùhà* “be slippery”

Verb form: *sê bu lùhə*
 sě *ʼbú lùhà*
 ground.C9 F be.slippery
 “the ground will be slippery”

Attributive form: *laa sê lùhə*
 laá *ʼsé* *lùhə*
 be careful ground.C9 slippery
 “Take care of the slippery ground.”

With copula: *se-à nɔ bɛ ilùhə*
 sé *ɔʃ* *nɔ* *bě* *yì* *lùʼhá*
 ground.C9 PROX ? be SG slippery
 “This ground is slippery.”

(211) *sùʼnà* “be sweet”

Verb form: *ndùʼmə-ɔŋ nɔ bu sùʼnə*
 ndùʼ *m-ɔŋ* *nɔ* *bú* *ʼsùʼnà*
 wine.C6a 3SG.POSS ? F be.sweet
 “my wine will be sweet”

Attributive form: *ɔ nɔ kɔ ndùʼ-sùʼnə-mə tə mɔ*
 ɔ *ʼnɔ* *kɔ* *ndùʼ* *sùʼnà* *má* *tə* *mɔ*
 3SG ? give wine.C6a be.sweet C6a.AM to 1SG
 “He gave me sweet wine.”

With copula: *ndùʼ mə-ɔŋ nɔ bɛ isùʼnə-yə*
 ndùʼ *m-ɔŋ* *nɔ* *bě* *yì* *sùʼnà* *yá*
 wine.C6a 3SG.POSS ? be SG sweet SG
 “My wine is sweet.”

(212) *ŋéʼnà* “be alive”

Verb form: *su-à tʼ ɲenə*
 sú *ʼɔʃ* *tùʼ* *ŋénà*
 mudfish.C9 PROX PROG be.alive
 “This mudfish is alive.”

Attributive form: su ŋɛnə nɔ bɛ mu muu
 sũ ŋɛnə ʼnɔ ʼbɛ mú muũ
 mudfish.C9 alive ? be in water. C6a
 “The live mudfish is in the water.”

With copula: su-ð nɔ bɛ iŋɛnə-yə
 sú ɔʃ nɔ bɛ yì ŋɛʼnə yá
 mudfish.C9 PROX ? be SG alive SG
 “This mudfish is alive.”

(213) **gũʼnə** “be pregnant”

Verb form: woke-ð bu gũʼ
 wòkě ɔʃ bú gũʼ
 woman.C9 PROX F be.pregnant
 “This woman will be pregnant”

Attributive form: wòke gũʼnə-ð nɔ duʼ sê
 wòké ʼgũʼnə ɔʃ nɔ dũʼ sê
 woman.C9 pregnant PROX ? sit ground.C9
 “This pregnant woman is sitting down.”

With copula: [...] mɔ la bɛ gũʼnə
 mð lá bè gũʼnə
 1SG RPTD be pregnant
 “[... that] I was pregnant.”

(214) **lúhá** “be green”

Verb form: Muu bu luhə
 muú ʼbú ʼlúhə
 water.C6a F be.green
 “The water will be green.”

Attributive form: Mɔ nɔ nyiɛ muu luhəmə
 mð nɔ nyiɛ muú lúhá má
 1SG ? see water.C6a green C6a.AM
 “I saw green water.”

With copula: Ndæu-ð nɔ bɛ iluhə.
 ndæú ɔʃ nɔ bɛ yì lúhá
 cup.C9 PROX ? be SG green
 “This cup is green.”

If the head noun is human the verb form, rather than a head noun, is used with the copula verb (see predicative adjective *gũʼnə* in example (213) above). There may be other more complex distinctions in this respect that require further research.

It is not yet clear what tense or aspect of the verb is used as the attributive and predicate adjectives. Further research into the verb phrase and tone in the verb phrase is needed to understand the tone behaviour of adjectives with verb forms.

All adjectives that have been found in the language so far are either disyllabic reduplicated forms or derived from verbs with verbal extensions. There is one attribute *kwé'tāŋ* “big” which is not a reduplicated form and does not appear to have a verb form. It is possibly a noun. However, its derivation is uncertain.

(215) *chi-kwé'tāŋ-kə*
chĩ kwé'tāŋ 'kə
 day.C7 big C7.AM
 “special day”

5.4.2 Agreement of nouns with adjectives

If the head noun is from class 6a, 7, 8, 10, 13 or 19 the noun class suffix is deleted and a marker agreeing with the class of the head noun follows the adjective. This marker appears to be the same as the associative marker for nouns (see section 6.1). It has the same form and the same underlying H tone. Some examples are shown below:

(216) *tyu-shuəshuə-kə*
tyũ shuə-shuə kə
 tree.C7 strong-strong C7.AM
 “strong tree”

(217) *nyii-shuəshuə-hə*
nyĩ shuə-shuə há
 cutlass.C10 strong-strong C10.AM
 “strong cutlasses”

There is no associative marker for adjectives modifying nouns from class 2. While the noun class suffix for the other classes is deleted, the class 2 prefix is retained. This is also the case in the associative noun phrase (see section 6.3.2).

(218) *bəkaa shuəshuə*
bə-kaā shuə-shuə
 C2-monkey strong-strong
 “strong monkeys”

There is also no associative marker for adjectives modifying nouns from class 9. Again, this is also the case in the associative noun phrase.

(219) *nyii shuəshuə*
nyĩ 'shuə-shuə
 cutlass.C9 strong-strong
 “strong cutlass”

When nouns are modified by adjectives it is not certain whether there is any tonal agreement with noun class. In example (219) above, the adjective is affected by low tone, as might be expected with class 9. However, as can be seen in examples (216) to (218) above, high tone nouns from any noun class appear to be influenced by low tone when followed by an adjective. This requires further investigation.

If the adjective is derived from a verb and verbal extension, agreement with the noun is also shown by an associative marker, and the suffix of the head noun is deleted.

- (220) *ndũ'-sũ'nə-mə*
ndũ' *sũ'nə* *mə*
 wine.C6a sweet C6a.AM
 “sweet wine”

Further tonal complexities arise with such adjectives. Overall, the tone behaviour in noun phrases with adjectives is very complex and more research is needed to understand it better, including further research into the verb phrase.

Table 13: Some adjectives and their agreement

Noun Class	Class Affix	<i>tiê-⁺tié</i> small	<i>fê-⁺fê</i> new	<i>shuá-shuá</i> strong	<i>láj-ná</i> full
2	bà-	<i>tiê-⁺tié</i>	<i>fê-⁺fê</i>	<i>shuá-shuá</i>	<i>láj-ná</i>
6a	-má	<i>tiê-⁺tié + má</i>	<i>fê-⁺fê + ⁺má</i>	<i>shuá-shuá + má</i>	<i>láj-ná + má</i>
7	-ká	<i>tiê-⁺tié + ká</i>	<i>fê-⁺fê + ⁺ká</i>	<i>shuá-shuá + ká</i>	<i>láj-ná + ká</i>
8	-bá	<i>tiê-⁺tié + bá</i>	<i>fê-⁺fê + ⁺bá</i>	<i>shuá-shuá + bá</i>	<i>láj-ná + bá</i>
9	-	<i>tiê-⁺tié</i>	<i>fê-⁺fê</i>	<i>shuá-shuá</i>	<i>láj-ná</i>
10	-há	<i>tiê-⁺tié + há</i>	<i>fê-⁺fê + ⁺há</i>	<i>shuá-shuá + há</i>	<i>láj-ná + há</i>
13	-tá	<i>tiê-⁺tié + tá</i>	<i>fê-⁺fê + ⁺tá</i>	<i>shuá-shuá + tá</i>	<i>láj-ná + tá</i>
19	-há	<i>tiê-⁺tié + há</i>	<i>fê-⁺fê + ⁺há</i>	<i>shuá-shuá + há</i>	<i>láj-ná + há~ká¹¹</i>

5.4.3 Adjectives as head nouns

An adjective can occur as a head noun when the noun itself is already known to the hearer. It is preceded by a generic singular or plural marker *yí* or *bí¹²* and followed by a generic singular or plural marker *yá* or *bá*:

¹¹ Class 19 is in transition and nouns from this class may often have a class 7 agreement marker (see examples (31) and (32) under section 3.2.1).

¹² The tone of the marker possibly varies depending on how the adjective is derived. This requires further investigation.

(221) **Singular:**

tyu-tietie-kə
tyĩ tiê-⁺tié ká
tree.C7 small-small C7.AM
“small tree”

itietie-yə
yĩ tiê-⁺tié yá
SG small-small SG
“the small one”

(222) **Plural:**

tyu-tietie-bə
tyĩ tiê-⁺tié bá
tree.C8 small-small C8.AM
“small trees”

bi-tietie-bə
bĩ tiê-⁺tié bá
PL small-small PL
“the small ones”

There is no noun class agreement on adjectives when they occur as head nouns. The markers before and after the adjective generally agree with singular and plural but might also agree in animacy. See section 3.3.2.1 for more information.

5.4.4 Attributive nouns

5.4.4.1 Attributive nouns following the noun

Words for four colours have been found in Bamunka. Three of these are attributive nouns from noun class 7:

mbuù-kǎ “red”
fɛáŋ-⁺ká “black (or dark colour)”
fyú’-⁺ká “white”

(The remaining colour attribute in Bamunka is *lúhá* “green”, which is derived from a verb. See example (214) in section 5.4.1.3 above.)

When one of these attributive nouns is used to describe the colour of a noun it follows the head noun in its B-form, i.e. in its prefixed form. This is followed by an associative marker that agrees with the class of the head noun.

(223) ŋgwo-kəmbuu-mə
ŋgwó ká-*mbuù* mǎ
oil.C6a C7-red C6a.AM
“red oil”

This is effectively an associative noun phrase. Associative noun phrases are described in more detail in section 6.

Colours remain singular even if the head noun is plural:

- (224) kyuu-kəmbuu-tə
 kyuu^í ^íká-mbuù tǎ
 pot.c13 c7-red c13.AM
 “red pots”

These attributive nouns can also occur as head nouns. As with adjectives the attributive noun is preceded by a generic singular or plural marker *yí* or *bí* and followed by a generic singular or plural marker *yá* or *bá*:

- (225) yi kəmbuu-yə
 yí ká-mbuù yǎ
 SG c7-red SG
 “the red one”

- (226) bi kəmbuu-bə
 bí ká-mbuù bǎ
 PL c7-red PL
 “the red ones”

As with adjectives used as head nouns, there is no noun class agreement. The markers before and after the attributive noun generally agree with singular and plural but might also agree in animacy. See section 3.3.2.1 for more information.

In Bamunka there are also [verb + noun] combinations that can follow the head noun to describe its purpose. This is also a kind of associative construction and the [verb + noun] combination is a compound noun that acts as noun 2 in the associative phrase. This is followed by the associative marker (if there is one, depending on the class of the head noun).

- (227) suu-ləŋ-kəndəŋ-kə
 suu^í ləŋ-^íká-ndəŋ kǎ
 hoe.c7 work-c7-farm c7.AM
 “hoe for farming”

- (228) kyuu-nuu-bəfɔ-tə
 kyuu^í nuu^í-bá-^ífɔ ^ítá
 pot.c13 cook-c8-thing c13.AM
 “cooking pots”

- (229) vaṅgo' gɔ ŋgɯ'ɯ
vaǎ-ŋgǔ' *gɔ'-ŋgǔ'*
 child.c9-stone.c9 grind-egussi.c9
 “grinding stone” i.e. “small stone for grinding egussi”

See section 6 for more information about the associative noun phrase and section 7 for more information about compound nouns.

5.4.4.2 Attributive nouns preceding the noun

Two attributive nouns from class 9 have diminutive and augmentative functions: *vaǎ* “child” (and plural *vaá* “children”) and *ŋkwē* “mother” (and plural *bà-ŋkwē* “mothers”). These nouns precede the noun they characterise. Semantically, they are modifiers preceding the head noun. Grammatically they are the head noun in an associative construction, while the noun being characterised is the associative noun. Since both attributive nouns are gender 9/2 there appears to be no associative marker. However, in example (232) the final mid tone may reflect a class 2 high tone associative marker (this needs further investigation; see also section 6.3.2).

Examples with diminutive *vaǎ* “child”

- (230) vaakətɔŋ
vaǎ *kà-tǎŋ*
 child.c9 c7-box
 “small box”

- (231) vaabəlɯɯ
vaá *bà-lɯɯ*
 child.c9 c2-stream
 “small streams”

- (232) vaabi
vaǎ *bí*
 child.c9 goat.c9
 “small goat”

If the plural is intended, the plural form *vaá* precedes the noun, which remains in its singular form:

- (233) vaábi
vaá *ʼbí*
 c2.child goat.c9
 “small goats”

The attributive noun *vaǎ* is widely used. It tends to be obligatory for some singular nouns that have the perceived general quality of being small, for example *vaǎ fyúú* “rat” and *vaǎ kənuǎ* “bird”. Many constructions with *vaǎ* + head noun are likely to be compound nouns. These are described in more detail in section 7.

Examples with augmentative *ɲkwē* “mother”

(234) *ɲkwé* *kà-tyǎ*
 mother.c9 c7-tree
 “big tree”

(235) *ɲkwē* *bî*
 mother.c9 goat.c9
 “big goat”

If the plural is intended, either the plural form *bà-ɲkwē* might be used before the noun in singular form or the adjective *kwé'táŋ* can be used after the noun in plural form. The difference in meaning is unclear.

(236) *bəŋkwē* *bî*
bà-ɲkwē *ʼbî*
 c2-mother goat.c9
 “big goats”

(237) *bi-kwé'təŋ-hə*
bî *kwé'táŋ* *ʼhə*
 goat.c10 big c10.AM
 “big goats”

These diminutive and augmentative nouns can also occur as head nouns without the noun they characterise. In this case they are followed by the third person singular possessive. This has the meaning “its child”, i.e. “the small one”, etc.

(238) *vaa-ε*
vaà *ε̂*
 child.c9 3SG.POSS
 “the small one” (“its child”)

(239) *vaa-bi*
vaâ *ʼb-í*
 c2.child c2-3SG.POSS
 “the small ones” (“its children”)

(240) *ɲkwé-i*
ɲkwé *î*
 mother.c9 3SG.POSS
 “its mother” i.e. “the big one”

- (241) bəŋkwe-bi
 bə-ŋkwē b-í
 c2-mother c2-3SG.POSS
 “its mothers” i.e. “the big ones”

The same form is possible with some quantifiers (see section 5.3.2) and words denoting sequence (see section 5.3.3.4).

5.4.5 Emphasis of attributes

Adjectives: Emphasis of adjectives is expressed using the intensifier *kèŋ* before the noun.

- (242) kəŋ təŋ kwé'təŋ
kèŋ tēŋ kwé'təŋ
 INTF palm.tree.c9 big
 “very big palm trees”
- (243) kəŋ ndu'-su'nə-mə
kèŋ ndú' sú'ná má
 INTF wine.c6a sweet c6a.AM
 “very sweet wine”

These are elicited examples. How they are used in natural language requires further research.

Attributive nouns: Emphasis of attributive nouns is expressed by reduplication:

- (244) ŋgwo kəfyuəŋkəfyuəŋ
ŋgwō kə-fyuəŋ-kə-fyuəŋ
 fowl.c9 c7-black-c7-black
 “really black fowl”

5.5 POSSESSIVES

The possessives modify the head noun to express ownership of it or a relationship to it. Some examples are given below:

- (245) suukə-i
suū k-í
 tail.c7 c7-3SG.POSS
 “his tail”
- (246) ləŋ-aŋ
ləŋ âŋ
 husband.c9 2SG.POSS
 “your husband”

(247) Fɔŋ-yu'u
 fɔŋ y-u'ũ
 chief.C9 C9-1PL.INCL.POSS
 “our chief”

(248) tɔbɔ-uɔ
 tɔ b-uɔ
 head.C8 C8-3PL.POSS
 “their heads”

The possessives and their agreement are shown in table 14 below. Possessives are preceded by a noun class concord consonant. With class 9 there is no concord consonant on the singular possessives (see section 5.5.2.1).

Table 14: Possessives in Bamunka

Note: A syllable-final /ŋ/ represents nasalisation of the vowel and not a syllable-final consonant.

Possessor								
Possessed	Noun Class	Concord consonant	1SG my	2SG your	3SG his/her	1PL* our (excl)	2PL your	3PL their
	2	<i>b</i>	<i>b-ɔŋ</i>	<i>b-ã</i>	<i>b-í</i>	<i>b-á'</i>	<i>b-íí</i>	<i>b-uɔ</i>
	6a	<i>m</i>	<i>m-ɔŋ</i>	<i>m-ã</i>	<i>m-í</i>	<i>m-á'</i>	<i>m-íí</i>	<i>m-uɔ</i>
	7	<i>k</i>	<i>k-ɔŋ</i>	<i>k-ã</i>	<i>k-í</i>	<i>k-á'</i>	<i>k-íí</i>	<i>k-uɔ</i>
	8	<i>b</i>	<i>b-ɔŋ</i>	<i>b-ã</i>	<i>b-í</i>	<i>b-á'</i>	<i>b-íí</i>	<i>b-uɔ</i>
	9	<i>y</i>	<i>ɔ̂/ɔ̂ŋ</i> **	<i>ã̂/ã̂ŋ</i> **	<i>í̂/í̂ŋ</i> **	<i>y-ã'</i> **	<i>y-íí</i> **	<i>y-uɔ</i> **
	10	<i>h</i>	<i>h-ɔŋ</i>	<i>h-ã</i>	<i>h-í</i>	<i>h-á'</i>	<i>h-íí</i>	<i>h-uɔ</i>
	13	<i>t</i>	<i>t-ɔŋ</i>	<i>t-ã</i>	<i>t-í</i>	<i>t-á'</i>	<i>t-íí</i>	<i>t-uɔ</i>
	19	<i>h</i>	<i>h-ɔŋ</i>	<i>h-ã</i>	<i>h-í</i>	<i>h-á'</i>	<i>h-íí</i>	<i>h-uɔ</i>

* The 1PL possessive has various forms (dual inclusive, plural inclusive and exclusive). However, the dual inclusive and plural inclusive are very likely complex pronouns, composed of the basic form *a'* plus another element. Since they are not simple possessive pronouns they are not included in the table.

** There are two possible forms with class 9 nouns. The tones also change depending on the tone melody of the class 9 noun.

The first person singular possessive *ɔŋ* has the same form as the proximal demonstrative and the third person singular possessive *í* has the same form as the distal demonstrative but with certain differences in length, nasalisation and tone. These differences are described in section 5.1 (see also table 6 showing the

demonstratives). Tone on possessives is also described in more detail in section 5.5.1 below.

5.5.1 Tone in possessive phrases

It is not certain whether a concord tone is present on the possessives. Examples with a limited selection of possessives were elicited. In the data available, the tone pattern of the possessive phrase with all noun classes appears to be conditioned by the tone melody of the head noun, rather than by a H or L noun class concord tone.

If the tone melody of the noun in isolation is H or H-H, then the root of the head noun in the possessive phrase has a HL tone and the H tone of the possessive itself is at a lower pitch than the previous H tone (in the examples below this is indicated with the downstep symbol ^ˀ).

H noun from class 9 and H-H noun from class 7:

(249) *téŋ* (H) “palm tree”

<i>tɛŋ-yʉə</i>				
<i>téŋ</i>	^ˀ <i>y-ʉə</i>	or	<i>téŋ</i>	^ˀ <i>y-ʉə</i>
palm.tree.C9	C9-3PL.POSS		palm.tree.C9	C9-3PL.POSS
“their palm tree”				

(250) *ghuú-ká* (H-H) “calabash bowl”

<i>ghuúkə-ɔŋ</i>	
<i>ghuú</i>	^ˀ <i>k-ɔŋ</i>
calabash.bowl.C7	C7-1SG.POSS
“my calabash bowl”	

However, with any other tone melody of the noun in citation form which is high tone with influence of low tone (HM, HMH, H-^ˀH, HL-LH) the high tone of the possessive is unaffected.

HMH noun from class 9 and H-^ˀH noun from class 7:

(251) *lyuú* (HMH) “song”

<i>lyuu-yʉə</i>	
<i>lyuú</i>	<i>y-ʉə</i>
song.C9	C9-3PL.POSS
“their song”	

(252) *tɛ̃-ká* (H-¹H) “head”

tɛ̃kə-ɔŋ
tɛ̃ *k-ɔŋ*
head.C7 C7-1SG.POSS
“my head”

The reason for the level H tone nouns acting differently from non-level H tone nouns is unclear. Examples with other possessives and more research on tone in the possessive phrase are required.

5.5.2 Possessives modifying nouns from class 9

5.5.2.1 Singular possessives with class 9

As is the case with proximal and distal demonstratives, first person singular possessives that modify nouns from class 9 are non-nasalised in certain conditions. There are therefore two possible underlying forms: *ɔŋ/ɔ̃* (see table 14).¹³

Second and third person singular possessives, which are normally non-nasalised, are nasalised in certain conditions when they modify nouns from class 9. There are therefore two possible underlying forms for each: *á/á̃ŋ* and *í/í̃ŋ* (see table 14).¹⁴

The reasons for these differences with class 9 nouns require further research.

As with the proximal and distal demonstratives, since there is no concord consonant preceding singular possessives with class 9 nouns, and two vowels come together across a word or morpheme boundary, there is some vowel assimilation. Consequently, there are various surface forms of the third person singular possessive with class 9 (the vowel sounds of the first and second person singular possessives are unaffected).

5.5.2.2 Plural possessives with class 9

Plural possessives modifying nouns from class 9 are preceded by the concord consonant *y-*. They therefore follow the same pattern as for all the other noun classes.

(253) *fyu yɛə*
fyú *y-ɛə*
compound.C9 C9-3PL.POSS
“their compound”

¹³ The underlying tone is uncertain. See note under table 14.

¹⁴ The underlying tone is uncertain. See note under table 14.

5.5.3 Possessives in emphatic form

Emphatic forms of the possessives exist, which precede the noun. These forms have the same structure as the emphatic forms of the demonstratives (see section 5.1.2), consisting of a prefix plus the possessive root plus a suffix. As with the emphatic forms of the demonstratives there is no noun class agreement. Instead there is a generic singular prefix *y-* and suffix *-yá* and a generic plural prefix *b-* and suffix *-bá*:

Table 15: Possessives in emphatic form

	Singular/inanimate	Plural/animate	English
1SG	<i>y-ɔ̃ŋ-yá</i>	<i>b-ɔ̃ŋ-bá</i>	“my (own)”
2SG	<i>y-á-^hyá</i>	<i>b-á-^hbá</i>	“your (own)”
3SG	<i>y-í-yá</i>	<i>b-í-bá</i>	“his/her (own)”
1PL	<i>y-á'-yá</i>	<i>b-á'-bá</i>	“our (own)”
2PL	<i>y-íí-yá</i>	<i>b-íí-bá</i>	“your (own)”
3PL	<i>y-ɛ́á-yá</i>	<i>b-ɛ́á-bá</i>	“their (own)”

All have the tone pattern H-H except for the second person singular, which is H-^hH. The third person singular is at a higher pitch than the other emphatic forms of possessives.

Some examples of these emphatic forms in noun phrases are shown below:

- (254) *yi-yə yəŋkə*
y-í-yá ^h*yáŋ-kǎ*
 SG-3SG.POSS-SG place-C7
 “his own place”

- (255) *ya-yə bə'kə*
y-á-^hyá *bə'^h-kǎ*
 SG-2SG.POSS-SG place-C7
 “your own container”

As with the demonstratives, there are shortened forms of the above emphatic forms. Speakers say they have the same meaning, although the full form is possibly slightly more emphatic. The full forms are more usual. The full forms rather than the shortened forms are currently used in writing. A shortened form does not exist for every person. However, in the data currently available, it is not precisely clear which emphatic forms of possessives have shortened forms and which do not.

(256) *yɔŋ(-yə) nduu*
y-ɔŋ *nduu*
 INANM-1SG.POSS cup.C9
 “my own cup”

**b-íí* *ʼvaá*
 ANM-2PL.POSS C2.child
 “your own children”

Like the demonstratives, emphatic forms of possessives can also be used to head noun phrases to refer to a noun that is already known to the hearer. They then have the meaning “mine”, “yours”, etc. Some examples are given below:

(257) *Baa-maa-kə-ðŋ nɔ yɔŋ-yə.*
baá *ʼmaá* *k-ðŋ* *nɔ* *y-ɔŋ-yá.*
 fufu.C7 FOC C7-PROX ? SG-1SG.POSS-SG
 “That¹⁵ fufu is mine.”

(258) *Mbɛ njaa nɔ yuə-yə*
mbú *ʼnjaá* *ʼnɔ* *y-uá-yá*
 DEF house.C9 ? SG-3PL.POSS-SG
 “The house is theirs.”

5.5.4 Possessives in locative phrases

Locative phrases are made up of an optional preposition and the B-form of the noun. If the noun in the locative phrase has a possessor, a pronoun with the same form (but different tone) as the subject pronoun is used instead of a possessive.

(259) Example with preposition

mu bəto-mɔ
mú *bə-tɔ* *mɔ*
 in C8-stomach 1SG
 “in my stomach”

(260) Example without preposition

mɔʼ mbəʼ-ɔ
mɔʼ *mbəʼ* *ɔ*
 put shoulder.C9 3SG
 “(he) put (it) on his shoulder”

The different forms indicating possession in locative phrases are shown in table 16 below.

¹⁵ The form [*maá* + proximal demonstrative] has a different meaning to the proximal demonstrative on its own. See section 5.1.4 for more information.

Table 16: Pronouns indicating possession in locative phrases

1SG	<i>ká-tà mǎ</i>	“on my head”	1PL	<i>ká-tà bǎ’</i>	“on our heads”
2SG	<i>ká-^htá à</i>	“on your head”	2PL	<i>ká-tà biǎ</i>	“on your heads”
3SG	<i>ká-^htá ǎ</i>	“on his head”	3PL	<i>ká-tà bǎŋ</i>	“on their heads”

The use of subject pronouns to show possession in locative phrases requires further research. The locative phrase itself also requires further research.

SECTION 6 Associative Noun Phrases

6.1 General structure of the associative noun phrase

The associative noun phrase in Bamunka has the following form:

N1 + N2 + AM

N1 is the head noun, N2 is the associative noun and AM is the associative marker agreeing with the head noun. This pattern is unusual compared to the pattern followed in related languages, where the associative marker usually comes in between the two nouns in the phrase. In Bamunka the high tone noun suffix of N1 is always deleted. The AM following N2 usually has the same form as the deleted noun suffix of N1 and always has high tone. The associative marker for each noun class is shown in Table 17 below.

Table 17: Associative markers

Noun class	AM
2	-
6a	mǎ
7	kǎ
8	bǎ
9	-
10	hǎ
13	tǎ
19	hǎ

The features of the associative noun phrase vary depending on the noun class and on the specific combination of noun classes in the phrase. If N1 is from a class with no noun suffixes, there is no associative marker.¹⁶ If N2 is from a class with A-form/B-form distinction, then it occurs in its B-form. To begin with, associative noun phrases with a head noun from class 7 will be examined.

¹⁶ A tonal associative marker may exist. This requires further research.

6.2 Head noun from Class 7

An associative noun phrase with a head noun from class 7 has the basic form set out above (N1 + N2 + AM). The suffix *-ká* of Noun 1 is deleted. The associative marker for class 7 is *ká*, which follows Noun 2. Two examples are shown below. As can be seen in example (262), if Noun 2 is from a noun class with A-form/B-form distinction it occurs in its B-form.

- (261) N1: *tú-^hká* N2: *njaâ*
 head-c7 house.c9

tɯ-njaa-kə
tú ^h*njaá* ^h*ká*
 head.c7 house.c9 c7.AM
 “roof”

- (262) N1: *bò'-ká* N2: *ngwó-má*
 container-c7 oil-c6a

bɔ'-mɔŋwo-kə
bò' *má-^hngwó* *ká*
 container.c7 c6a-oil c7.AM
 “container of oil”

6.2.1 Tone of the head noun

Where the associative noun is from class 2, 9 or 10, any low tone stem of Noun 1 becomes LH and any HL stem of Noun 1 becomes H:

- (263) N1: *sò'-ká* N2: *njaâ*
 wall-c7 house.c9

sɔ'-njaa-kə
sò' ^h*njaá* ^h*ká*
 wall.c7 house.c9 c7.AM
 “wall of house”

- (264) N1: *ngiè-kǎ* N2: *ntè'-hǎ*
 language-c7 quarter-c10

ŋgie-ntə'hə-kə
ngiè' *ntè'-hà* *kǎ*
 language.c7 quarter-c10 c7.AM
 “language of village quarters”

- (265) N1: *fú'-kǎ* N2: *bà-kaá*
 wealth-c7 c2-monkey

fú'-bəkaa-kə
fú' *bà-kaá* *ká*
 wealth.c7 c2-monkey c7.AM
 “wealth of monkeys”

- (266) N1: *châŋ-kǎ* N2: *buú*
 story-c7 tiger.c9

châŋ-buu-kə
châŋ ^h*buú* ^h*ká*
 story.c7 tiger.c9 c7.AM
 “story of the tiger”

Where the associative noun is from any other noun class Noun 1 is usually unchanged. Any low tone stem of Noun 1 remains low:

- (267) N1: *ŋgòŋ-kǎ* N2: *yí'-^hká*
 leaf-c7 plantain-c7

ŋgòŋ-kəyú'-kə
ŋgòŋ *ká-^hyí'* ^h*ká*
 leaf.c7 c7-plantain c7.AM
 “plantain leaf”

Exceptionally, if the tone pattern of Noun 1 is HL LH the HL stem might become H in these other classes also. This can vary, however, as the two examples below show:

- (268) N1: *fúŋ-kǎ* N2: *nuó-^hhá*
 feather-c7 bird-c19

fúŋ-kənuó-kə
fúŋ *ká-nuò* *kǎ*
 feather.c7 c7-bird¹⁷ c7.AM
 “feather of the bird”

¹⁷ See example (273) below for explanation of the class 7 *ká-* prefix here.

- (269) N1: **chêŋ-kǎ** N2: **téŋ-tǎ**
 story-c7 palm.tree-c13

chəŋ-tətəŋ-kə
chêŋ tǎ-⁺téŋ kǎ
 story.c7 c13-palm.tree C7.AM
 “story of the palm trees”

6.2.2 Associative noun from classes with A-form/B-form distinction

If the associative noun is from a noun class with A-form/B-form distinction (i.e. class 6a, 7, 8, 13 or 19) it occurs in its B-form, i.e. it has a prefix instead of a suffix.

- (270) N1: **fǎ-⁺kǎ** N2: **tyú-kǎ**
 thing-c7 tree-c7

fə-kətyu-kə
fǎ ⁺kǎ-⁺tyú kǎ
 thing.c7 c7-tree C7.AM
 “wooden thing”

- (271) N1: **tóŋ-kǎ** N2: **sè-bǎ**
 box-c7 comb-c8

təŋ-bəse-kə
tóŋ bǎ-sè kǎ
 box.c7 c8-comb C7.AM
 “box of combs”

- (272) N1: **tóŋ-kǎ** N2: **vyí-tǎ**
 box-c7 mosquito-c13

təŋ-təvyii-kə
tóŋ tǎ-⁺vyí kǎ
 box.c7 c13-mosquito C7.AM
 “box of mosquitos”

As described earlier, it is possible that gender 19/6a is in the process of changing to gender 7/8 (see section 3.2.1). The B-form of nouns from class 19 sometimes has a class 7 prefix *kǎ-* in the associative noun phrase. This is particularly the case with *nuó-⁺hǎ* “bird”.

(273) N1: *tú-^hká* N2: *nuó-^hhá*
 head-c7 bird-c19

tə-kənuɔ-kə
tú ^h*ká-nuò* *kǎ*
 head.c7 c7-bird c7.AM
 “head of the bird”

Where Noun 2 is the plural form *nuó-^hmá* “birds” from class 6a, the B-form still has a class 6a prefix *má-*.

(274) N1: *baá-^hká* N2: *nuó-^hmá*
 fufu-c7 bird-c6a

baa-mənuɔ-kə
baá ^h*má-nuò* *kǎ*
 fufu.c7 c6a-bird c7.AM
 “fufu of the birds”

However, in two examples in the data where Noun 1 is from a different class, the B-form of *nuó-^hmá* “birds” is *bá-nuò* with a class 8 prefix *bá-*:

Class 8 N1: *sè bá-nuò* *bǎ* “combs of the birds”
 Class 9 N1: *bí ^hbá-nuǎ* “goat of the birds”

All other class 6a nouns in the data have a class 6a B-form prefix when they occur as Noun 2 in an associative noun phrase. A further example is shown below:

(275) N1: *táŋ-^hká* N2: *ŋgwó-^hmá*
 calabash-c7 oil-c6a

təŋ-məŋgwo-kə
táŋ ^h*má-ŋgwó* *ká*
 calabash.c7 c6a-oil c7.AM
 “calabash of oil”

When a Noun 1 from class 7 is followed by a Noun 2 from class 19 the associative noun phrase often does not have the expected structure N1 + N2 + AM. Because the noun class system is in transition, confusion often arises. This can be seen in the following two examples:

(276) N1: *tú-^hká* N2: *ɲkáɲ-^hhá*
 head-c7 juju-c19

Associative noun phrase:

tú ^hká ɲkáɲ há “head of juju”

Expected form:	N1	N2	AM
	* <i>tú</i>	<i>^hká-ɲkáɲ</i>	<i>kǎ</i>
	head.c7	c7-juju	c7

(277) N1: *tú-^hká* N2: *ntyúɲ-^hhá*
 head-c7 nail-c19

Associative noun phrase:

tú ^hká ^hntyúɲ há “head of nail”

Expected form:	N1	N2	AM
	* <i>tú</i>	<i>^hká-^hntyúɲ</i>	<i>ká</i>
	head.c7	c7-nail	c7

The precise origin of this different structure requires further investigation.

Where Noun 2 is from class 6a no such confusion arises and the structure of the associative phrase follows the more regular pattern N1 + N2 + AM (see examples (274) and (275) above).

When a noun occurs in its B-form in an associative noun phrase it undergoes the tone changes discussed in section 2.4, i.e. it is influenced by a floating low tone between the prefix and the root.

In example (278) below the high tone of the B-form prefix is downstepped. The root of the B-form undergoes a tone change (as discussed in section 2.4). The associative marker also undergoes a tone change, from H to LH. Tone behaviour in the associative noun phrase in Bamunka is complex and cannot be explained fully without a detailed tone analysis.

(278) N1: *baá-^hká* N2: *dyí-^hbá*
 fufu-c7 fly-c8

baa-bədyi-kə
baá ^hbá-dyì kǎ
 fufu.c7 c8-fly c7.AM
 “fufu of the flies”

6.2.3 Associative noun from class 10

There is no A-form/B-form distinction with nouns from class 10 and the only form is the suffixed form (see section 2.2). Therefore, if Noun 2 is from class 10 it has a suffix instead of a prefix.

- (279) N1: *baá-^hká* N2: *yó-^hhá*
 fufu-c7 snake-c10

baa-yɔhə-kə
baá ^h*yó-^hhá* *ká*
 fufu.c7 snake-c10 C7.AM
 “fufu of the snakes”

Some class 10 nouns are preceded by a floating low tone and others are not (see section 3.1.2 for more information). This means that with some class 10 nouns with high tone in Noun 2 position a downstep can be seen on the stem (example (280) below) while with others the high tone remains H (example (281) below):

- (280) N1: *tóŋ-ká* N2: *bú-^hhá*
 box-c7 dog-c10

tɔŋ-buhə-kə
tóŋ ^h*bú-^hhá* *ká*
 box.c7 dog-c10 C7.AM
 “box of dogs”

- (281) N1: *tóŋ-ká* N2: *yó-^hhá*
 box-c7 snake-c10

tɔŋ-yɔhə-kə
tóŋ *yó-^hhá* *ká*
 box.c7 snake-c10 C7.AM
 “box of snakes”

6.2.4 Associative noun from class 2

As with class 10, there is no A-form/B-form distinction with nouns from class 2. The only form is the prefixed form (see section 2.2). Therefore, if Noun 2 is from class 2 it remains in its prefixed form.

- (282) N1: *tyú-ká* N2: *bà-kaá*
 tree-c7 c2-monkey

tyu-bəkaa-kə
tyú *bà-kaá* *ká*
 tree.c7 c2-monkey C7.AM
 “tree of the monkeys”

If the tone of Noun 1 is H-⁺H, any H tone stem of a Noun 2 from class 2 is at a lower pitch than the H tone stem of Noun 2 in citation form. It is also at a lower pitch than the H tone stem of Noun 1 (in example (283) below this is indicated with the downstep symbol ⁺). Again, the tone behaviour here cannot be explained without a fuller tone analysis.

(283) N1: *fɔŋ-⁺ká* N2: *bà-kaá*
 chair-c7 c2-monkey

fɔŋ-bəkaa-kə
fɔŋ bə-⁺kaá ká
 chair.c7 c2-monkey c7.AM
 “chair of the monkeys”

6.2.5 Associative noun from class 9

Class 9 nouns also have no A-form/B-form distinction, and no affix. As Noun 2 in the associative noun phrase they occur with no affix.

(284) N1: *tú-⁺ká* N2: *njaá*
 head-c7 house.c9

tɯ-njaa-kə
tú ⁺njaá ⁺ká
 head.c7 house.c9 c7.AM
 “roof”

Most class 9 nouns appear to be preceded by a floating low tone, which causes a downstep on the stem when they occur as the second noun in an associative noun phrase. See section 3.1.3 for more information.

6.3 Head noun from other noun classes

6.3.1 Head noun from classes 6a, 8, 10, 13 and 19

When the head noun is from any of these classes, the associative noun phrase has the same structure as with a head noun from class 7, i.e. the suffix of Noun 1 is deleted and a high tone associative marker follows Noun 2. If Noun 2 is from a class with A-form/B-form distinction it occurs in its B-form. Some examples are shown below:

- (285) N1: *ηγωό-μά* N2: *νέ'-βά*
oil-c6a palm.nut-c8

ηγωο-βəνε'-mə
ηγωό *βά-⁺νέ'* *μά*
oil.c6a c8-palm.nut c6a.AM
“palm oil”

- (286) N1: *βῶ'-βῆ* N2: *ηγωό-μά*
container-c8 oil-c6a

βῶ'-məηγωο-βə
βῶ' *μά-⁺ηγωό* *βά*
container.c8 c6a-oil c8.AM
“containers of oil”

- (287) N1: *nduu-⁺hə* N2: *nà'*
horn-c10 cow.c9

nduu-na'-hə
nduu *nà'* *hə*
horn.c10 cow.c9 c10.AM
“horns of the cow”

- (288) N1: *τέη-τά* N2: *βί-⁺há*
palm.tree-c13 goat-c10

τεη-bihə-tə
τέη *⁺βί-⁺há* *τά*
palm.tree.c13 goat-c10 c13.AM
“palm trees of the goats”

- (289) N1: *nuó-⁺há* N2: *suóη-⁺ká*
bird-c19 frog-c7

nuo-kəsuoη-hə
nuó *⁺ká-suóη* *há*
bird.c19 c7-frog c19.AM
“bird of the frog”

Some peculiarities which occur when the head noun is from class 10 are discussed below.

1. The class 10 associative marker sometimes emerges as *bá* instead of *há*. This might be an animate marker agreeing with an animate Noun 1 (instead of agreement with noun class). The language informant was sometimes undecided whether to use *bá* or *há*.

(290) N1: *bí-^hhá* N2: *suóŋ-^hká*
 goat-c10 frog-c7

bi-kəsuoŋ-bə
bí ^h*ká-suòŋ* *bǎ*
 goat.c10 c7-frog ANM.AM
 “goats of the frog”

(291) N1: *fyíi-^hhá* N2: *bà-bǎŋ*
 chest-c10 c2-squirrel

fyii-bəbəŋ-bə
fyíi *bà-bǎŋ* *bǎ~hǎ*
 chest.c10 c2-squirrel ANM.AM~C10.AM
 “chests of the squirrel”

2. Where both nouns in the associative noun phrase are from class 10 and the head noun is an inanimate noun, the class 13 associative marker is used:

(292) N1: *njaá-^hhá* N2: *ví-^hhá*
 house-c10 thatch-c10

njaa-vihe-tə
njaá ^h*ví-^hhá* *tá*
 house.c10 thatch-c10 C13.AM
 “thatched houses”

(293) N1: *ŋgʉá-^hhá* N2: *ŋjóŋ-^hhá*
 handle-c10 axe-c10

ŋgʉə-ŋjɔŋhə-tə
ŋgʉá *ŋjóŋ-^hhá* *tá*
 handle.c10 axe-c10 C13.AM
 “handles of axes”

3. Where both nouns in the associative noun phrase are from class 10 and Noun 2 is an animate noun, then Noun 2 – which, being from class 10, would normally have no A-form/B-form distinction – might acquire a B-form with a generic animate plural prefix.

- (294) N1: *bí-^hhá* N2: *bú-^hhá*
 goat-c10 dog-c10

bi-bəbu-hə
bí ^h*bá-^hbú* ^h*há*
 goat.c10 PL.ANM-dog c10.AM
 “goats of dogs”

In cases 2 and 3 above the different markers and structure probably arise because the [h] of *há* is not readily uttered twice in succession.

Some other combinations emerged involving class 10 nouns which cannot be explained. The data collected showing some of these anomalies is limited, so no firm conclusions about them can be made.

6.3.2 Head noun from class 2

Where Noun 1 in the associative phrase is from class 2 there is no associative marker following Noun 2. The noun prefix is retained. There is possibly a high tone associative marker for noun class 2. This requires further research.

Some examples are shown below.

- (295) N1: *bà-kaá* N2: *bî*
 c2-monkey goat.c9

bəkaa bi
bà-kaá ^h*bî*
 c2-monkey goat.c9
 “monkeys of the goat”

- (296) N1: *bà-kwǒ* N2: *ngwó-má*
 c2-bag oil-c6a

bəkwo məŋgwo
bà-kwǒ *má-^hngwó*
 c2-bag c6a-oil
 “bags of oil”

6.3.3 Head noun from class 9

Where Noun 1 in the associative phrase is from class 9 there is no associative marker following Noun 2. It is not clear whether or not there is a tonal associative marker.

Some examples are shown below:

- (297) N1: *lɔŋ* N2: *chɔ'-kɔ*
 fence.c9 brick-c7

lɔŋ *kəchɔ'*
lɔŋ *+kɔ'-chɔ'*
 fence.c9 c7-brick
 “brick wall”

- (298) N1: *ŋgʉǎ* N2: *nyĩ*
 handle.c9 cutlass.c9

ŋgʉǎ *nyĩ*
ŋgʉǎ *nyĩ*
 handle.c9 cutlass.c9
 “handle of cutlass”

There are no obvious tone changes to Noun 1 other than contour tones becoming level high tones in the associative noun phrase.

- (299) N1: *kʉĩ* N2: *baá'-kɔ*
 stirring stick.c9 fufu-c7

kʉĩ *kəbaa*
kʉĩ *+kɔ'-baá*
 stirring stick.c9 c7-fufu
 “fufu stick”

If the associative noun is from a noun class with A-form/B-form distinction, and the head noun from class 9 has a HL, L or LH tone, the prefix of the B-form associative noun is low. This can be seen in example (300) below. As discussed in section 2.4, the low tone prefix of the B-form requires further research.

- (300) N1: *njaâ* N2: *chɔ'-kɔ*
 house.c9 brick-c7

njaa *kəchɔ'*
njaâ *kɔ'-chɔ'*
 house.c9 c7-brick
 “house of mudbricks”

Where both nouns in the associative phrase are from class 9, since there are so many possible combinations of tone melodies, there is a large number of different resulting tone melodies for the associative phrase. This makes the associative phrase difficult to analyse. Since there are so many tonal complexities, it is not possible to establish whether there is a tonal associative marker for class 9 without a fuller tone analysis.

In general, associative noun phrases in Bamunka are difficult to analyse because of various problems that arise in eliciting reliable examples, as follows:

1. Since many of the elicited examples are unnatural phrases the language informant can become confused. Often they appear to perceive the final particle in the phrase as the plural marker of Noun 2 instead of an associative marker, even though the plural marker for Noun 2 is already present, or they might regard singular nouns in the requested phrase as plural and vice versa. Then various possibilities for the same phrase will be offered.
2. Different language informants might be assigning different noun classes to certain nouns, and might even be applying different tone rules, resulting in different tone melodies and markers for the associative noun phrase. In particular, if there is used to be a further noun class in addition to class 9, different language informants may well be treating certain nouns as either class 9 or another class.
3. Certain combinations of noun classes give varying results with different speakers (e.g class 10 + class 10; class 7 + class 19).
4. There may be dialect variation between different quarters of the village, resulting in different results from different speakers.

6.4 Associative noun phrase with modifiers

When a modifier follows an associative noun phrase, and the modifier has a marker agreeing with the class of the head noun, the associative marker is redundant. The following two examples of associative noun phrases have a head noun from class 13. In example (301) there are no modifiers and the class 13 associative marker *tə* follows the associative noun (in this case a [verb + noun] compound – see section 7.3). In example (302) the same associative noun phrase is modified by the indefinite determiner *bɛ'*, which has a class 13 agreement suffix *-tə*. This marker has low tone, and therefore clearly belongs to the indefinite determiner (see section 5.2.2). The associative marker for class 13, which has high tone, has been lost.

(301) kyuu-nuu-bəfɔ-tə
kyuu nuu-bə-fɔ 'tə
 pot.C13 cook-C8-thing C13.AM
 “cooking pots”

(302) kyuu-nuu-bəfɔ-bɛ'tə
kyuu nuu-bə-fɔ bɛ'-tə
 pot.C13 cook-C8-thing INDEF-C13
 “some cooking pots”

6.5 Relationships expressed in associative constructions

Table 18: Relationships in associative constructions

Relationship	Example	English Gloss
part-whole	sɔ'-njaa-kə sɔ' 'njaá 'ká wall.c7 house.c9 C7.AM	“wall of house”
product-material	lɔŋ bəlɯɯ lɔŋ 'bá-'lɯú fence.c9 c8-bamboo	“bamboo fence”
quantification	bə'-məndu'-kə bá' 'má-ndù' kǎ remainder.c7 c6a-wine C7.AM	“the rest of the wine”
general-specific	bi ke bí 'ké goat.c9 female.c9	“female goat”
container-contents	bɔ'-məŋgwo-bə bɔ' má-'ŋgwó bá container.c8 c6a-oil C8.AM	“bottles of oil”
object-purpose	kyɯɯ-nuu-bəfɔ-tə kyɯú nuú-bá-'fɔ 'tá pot.c13 cook-c8-thing C13.AM	“cooking pots”
kinship	vaa fɔŋ vaǎ fɔŋ child.c9 chief.c9	“child of the chief”
owner-owned	njaa woke njaá wòkǎ house.c9 woman.c9	“woman’s house”

SECTION 7 Compound Nouns

More research may be required to determine whether a construction is a compound noun or a noun phrase/associative noun phrase. No examples of a [noun + noun] construction have been found where the associative marker is absent (where there would normally be an associative marker for the noun class concerned) to confirm that it is a compound noun. Since the tone of the associative noun phrase is very complex, it is also very difficult to know whether there are tonal anomalies that might determine a compound noun. Below some examples are given of combinations of elements in Bamunka that are possibly compound nouns.

7.1 Noun + noun

Many associative noun phrases that are commonly used might be compound nouns.

- (303) *ghuufuu*
~~*ghuú-*~~ *fuǔ*
 spear.c9 gun.c9
 “bullet”

- (304) *Chilɔ'kə*
chí *ʼlɔ'* *ʼkə*
 day.c7 village.c9 c7.AM
 “Country Sunday”

7.1.1 Attributive noun + noun

There are many associative constructions that are formed with the diminutive noun *vaǎ* (plural *vaá*) (see section 5.4.4.2). Many of these are clearly perceived to be a single concept and are therefore possibly compound nouns.

Table 19: Compound nouns formed with diminutive *vaǎ* (plural *vaá*)

<i>vaabələŋ</i> <i>vaǎ</i> <i>ʼbá-ləŋ</i> child.c9 c2-male “boy”	<i>vaakətyu</i> <i>vaǎ</i> <i>kə-tyǔ</i> child.c9 c7-tree “stick”
<i>vaabəke</i> <i>vaǎ</i> <i>ʼbá-kě</i> child.c9 c2-female “girl”	<i>vaanŋo'</i> <i>vaǎ</i> <i>ŋgò'</i> child.c9 stone.c9 “(small) stone”
<i>vaakənuɔ</i> <i>vaǎ</i> <i>kə-nuɔ</i> child.c9 c7-bird “bird”	<i>vaabəlɯ</i> <i>vaá</i> <i>bə-lɯ</i> c2.child c2-stream “(small) streams”
<i>vaafyuu</i> <i>vaǎ</i> <i>fyuí</i> child.c9 rat.c9 “rat”	<i>vaakəghɔ</i> <i>vaǎ</i> <i>kə-ghô</i> child.c9 c7-hand “finger”

7.2 Noun + noun + noun

More than two nouns can be strung together to form more complex associative noun phrases. Some of these are possibly compound nouns.

- (305) fəŋmbəŋmbi
fəŋ mbəŋ mbî
chief.c9 creator.c9 earth.c9
“Lord”

7.3 Verb + noun

The [verb + noun] construction is often used to express the occupation of a person. The B-form of the noun is used (if a B-form exists for the noun class concerned). These constructions are compound nouns.

- (306) mə'kəsə'
mə' kə-sə'
shoot c7-hunting
“hunter”

- (307) ləʊməndə'
ləʊ mə-ndə'
tap c6a-wine
“wine tapper”

7.4 Noun + [verb + noun]

The [verb + noun] compound noun in 7.3 above also serves as an attributive noun in an associative noun phrase, as discussed in section 5.4.5. In the same way that the independent [verb + noun] compound noun expresses the occupation of a person, the same compound noun in an associative noun phrase describes the purpose of the head noun. Some such associative phrases that are commonly used are possibly compound nouns.

- (308) fə-səŋmə-kə
fə sə-ŋmə kə
thing.c7 wash-tooth.c9 c7.AM
“toothbrush” (“thing for cleaning teeth”)

7.5 Combinations of compound nouns

In the following two examples two compounds are put together to make a larger compound with the form [noun + noun] + [verb + noun]:

- (309) vaakətyə nyə' ŋwə'nə
vaă kə-tyé nyə'-ŋwə'nə
child.c9 c7-tree write-book.c9
“pencil” (“stick for writing”)

- (310) vaʌŋɡo' ɡɔ ŋɡu'u
 vaǎ-ŋgǎ' ɡɔ-ŋgǎ'
 child.C9-stone.C9 grind-egussi.C9
 “grinding stone” (“stone for grinding egussi”)

Further combinations also exist, but so far only one or two examples have been recorded. These are shown in sections 7.6-7.8 below.

7.6 Noun + adjective

- (311) wokwe'təŋ
 wǒ ʔkwé'tǎŋ
 person.C9 big
 “leader”

7.7 Noun + verb

- (312) fɔyubə
 fɔ̃ yú bá
 thing.C8 eat C8.AM
 food

This example looks like another associative construction, with the verb *yú* “eat” serving as the associative noun.

7.8 Preposition + noun

- (313) mutɔ
 mǔ tɔ̃
 in farm¹⁸.C9
 “farm”

- (314) muŋkɔ
 mǔ ŋkɔ̃
 in grass.C9
 “bush”

¹⁸ The gloss for this morpheme is uncertain.

SECTION 8 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses occur very frequently in Bamunka as noun modifiers. The relative clause is the last component in the noun phrase, i.e. it comes after the head noun and after any other modifiers.

Relative clauses are introduced in Bamunka by means of the relativiser *ndà*. The relativiser does not vary according to the class of the head noun. It has the same form regardless of the class of the head noun. This can be seen in the following examples, where the head noun is from a different noun class in each case:

- (315) *bi'bə ndə Nyii kie tə ba' la*
bí'-'bá ndà Nyĩ kiè tə bǎ' lá
 blessing-C8 REL God.C9 have to 1PL ?
 “blessings that God had for us”
- (316) *ŋkə'mə-ɔŋ ndə mə kə saa*
ŋkɔ' m-ɔŋ ndà mǔ kə saá
 wood C6a-1SG.POSS REL 1SG P1 split
 “my wood that I split”
- (317) *wo ndə ɔ tɔ' yitə bɔŋ nɔ*
wɔ ndà ɔ tɔ' yítə bɔŋ 'nɔ
 person.C9 REL 3SG PROG kill 3SG FOC
 the one who was killing them

The order of the constituents in the relative clause is same as the order of the constituents in an independent clause.

If the subject of a clause is relativised, a resumptive pronoun occurs inside the relative clause. Being the subject, this pronoun immediately follows the relativiser, i.e. it is the first constituent in the relative clause.

- (318) *bəə buŋmbi ndə bɔŋ be bənjɔŋgwuɔŋ*
bəə bũŋmbí ndà bɔŋ bé bə-njúŋgwuɔŋ
 C2.person many REL 3PL be C2-fisherman
 “many people who are fisherman”
- (319) *ŋɔ ndə i gwu shɛ-mɔ*
ŋɔ ndà í gwũ shê mǔ
 pepe.C9 REL 3SG.INANM fall eye.C9 1SG
 “pepe that has got into my eyes”

If the direct object of a clause is relativised, there is usually no resumptive pronoun inside the relative clause.

(320) lyuu ndə ɔ tɛ' yuɔ
lyúú *ndà* *ɔ* *tɛ'* *yuɔ*
song.c9 REL 3SG PROG sing
 “the song that he was singing”

(321) bi'bə ndə Nyii kie tə ba' la
bí'-'bá *ndà* *Nyĩ* *kiè* *tə* *bǎ'* *lá*
 blessing-c8 REL God.c9 have to 1PL ?
 “blessings that God had for us”

However, if the direct object of the relative clause is human, there is usually a resumptive pronoun at the end of the relative clause:

(322) mbɛ Fɔŋ-ghɔ ndə bə ya ɔ
mbú *Fɔŋ* *ghɔ* *ndà* *bá* *yǎ* *ɔ*
 the **Fon.c9** ANAPH REL IMPERS hold 3SG
 “that Fon whom they enthroned”

(323) vaabələŋ ndə ɔ kə kwəŋ ɔŋ
vaǎbəlɔŋ *ndà* *ɔ* *kə* *kwəŋ* *ɔŋ*
boy.c9 REL 3SG P1 hit 3SG
 “the boy that he hit”

If the indirect object of a clause is being relativised and the indirect object is human, a third person pronoun is necessary at the end of the relative clause.

(324) woke ndə mɔ kɔ ŋwɔ'nə tə ɔŋ
wòkě *ndà* *mɔ* *kɔ* *ŋwɔ'nə* *tə* *ɔŋ*
 woman.c9 REL 1SG give book.c9 to 3SG
 “the woman I gave the book to”

(325) woke ndə mɔ gie tə ɔŋ
wòkě *ndà* *mɔ* *giè* *tə* *ɔŋ*
 woman.c9 REL 1SG speak to 3SG
 “the woman I greeted”

If an inanimate noun being relativised is part of a locative or instrumental phrase, then a locative pronoun – usually *chɔ* “there” – serves as a resumptive pronoun coming at the end of the relative clause.

- (326) a. Bəŋ bu chi kəyəŋ ghə
Bəŋ ¹*bú* ¹*chí* *ká-yəŋ* *ghə*
 3PL F stay C7-place ANAPH
 “They would stay in that place.”
- b. yəŋkə ndə bəŋ bu kaa chə
yəŋ-kə *ndə* *bəŋ* ¹*bú* ¹*kaá* *chə*
 place-C7 REL 3PL F rest **there**
 “the place where (in which) they would rest”
- (327) a. Mə ge mbəə mbə njaa-ghə
mə *gɛ* *mbəə* *mbú* *njaá* *ghə*
 1SG go body the house.C9 ANAPH
 “I went up to that house.”
- b. njaa ndə mə kə ge chə
njaá *ndə* *mə* *kə* *gɛ* *chə*
 house.C9 REL 1SG P1 go **there**
 “the house that I went to”

If the locative or instrumental phrase had a preposition, this is deleted in the relative clause.

- (328) a. ɔ bu fəə njaa ndəŋ yi-yə yəŋkə
ɔ ¹*bú* *fəə* ¹*njaá* ***ndəŋ*** *y-í-yá* *yəŋ-kə*
 3SG F build house.C9 **on** SG-3SG.POSS-SG place-C7
 “He would build in his own place.”
- b. yi-yə yəŋkə ndə i bu fəə chə
y-í-yá *yəŋ-kə* *ndə* *í* ¹*bú* *fəə* *chə*
 SG-3SG.POSS-SG place-C7 REL 3SG F build **there**
 “his own place in which he would build”
- (329) a. ɔ nə du' ndəŋ kəfəŋ
ɔ ¹*nə* *dú'* ***ndəŋ*** *kə-fəŋ*
 3SG ? sit **on** C7-chair
 “He is sitting on the stool.”
- b. fəŋkə ndə ɔ du' chə
fəŋ-kə *ndə* *ɔ* *dú'* *chə*
 stool-C7 REL 3SG sit **there**
 “the stool he is sitting on”

(330) a. ɔ̃ nə tɕ' sitə lə' nə setəkə
 3SG ? PROG slice yam.C9 **nə** sétà-kǎ
 “She is slicing the yam with a knife.”

b. setəkə ndə ɔ̃ tɕ' sitə lə' chə
 sétà-kǎ ndà ɔ̃ tɕ' sí'tá lá' **chə**
 knife-C7 REL 3SG PROG slice yam.C9 **there**
 “the knife she is using to slice the yam”

Alternatives to *chə* are sometimes used. If the preposition of the locative phrase being relativised is *mú* “in” (or “in” is implied without use of a preposition), the locative pronoun *múŋgə* “inside” might serve as the resumptive pronoun in the relative clause:

(331) a. Bəŋ ve' muu mu kəbɔ'
 bəŋ 'vé' muú **mú** kà-bə'
 3PL pour water.C6a **in** C7-container
 “They pour water into the container.”

b. bə'kə ndə bə ve' muu chə
 bə'-kǎ ndà bə vé' muú **chə**
 container-C7 REL IMPERS pour water.C6a **there**
 “the container they pour water into”

or

bə'kə ndə bə ve' muu múŋgə
 bə'-kǎ ndà bə vé' muú **'múŋgə**
 container-C7 REL IMPERS pour water.C6a **inside**
 “the container they pour water into”

If the noun being relativised is part of an instrumental phrase with the preposition *nə* “with”, the preposition might be retained in the relative clause and followed by the demonstrative pronoun *y-ɔ̃ŋ* serving as the resumptive pronoun:

(332) setəkə ndə ɔ̃ tɕ' sitə lə' nə yɔ̃ŋ
 sétà-kǎ ndà ɔ̃ tɕ' sí'tá 'lá' **nə** **y-ɔ̃ŋ**
 knife-C7 REL 3SG PROG slice yam.C9 **with** SG-PROX
 “the knife she is using to slice the yam”

If a noun being relativised is part of a temporal phrase, the locative pronoun *chə* “there” is usually present as a resumptive pronoun at the end of the relative clause:

- (333) a. Bɔŋ kaa ndəŋ chi-ð-kə
bɔŋ 'kaá **ndəŋ** *chi* *ghô-kə*
 3PL rest **on** day.C7 ANAPH-C7
 "They rested on that day."
- b. *chikə* ndə bɔŋ kaa *chə*
chí-ká *ndà* *bɔŋ* *kaà* **chô**
 day-C7 REL 3PL rest **there**
 "the day that they rested"
- (334) a. Ba' nɔ gwe lɔ' Məkɔ' ŋgɛ'-ghɔ
bà' *nɔ* *gwě* *lɔ'* *Mákò'* **ŋgá'** *ghò*
 1PL ? come village.C9 Bamunka **year.C9** ANAPH
 "We came to Bamunka in that year."
- b. *ŋgɛ'mbi* ndə ba' gwe lɔ' Məkɔ' *chə*
ŋgɛ'mbí *ndà* *bá'* *gwě* *lɔ'* *Mákò'* **chô**
 year.C9 REL 2PL come village.C9 Bamunka **there**
 "the year that we came to Bamunka"

If the noun being relativised has a possessor, the possessive phrase is simply resumed in the relative clause in the relevant position, depending on whether it is the subject or object of the relative clause:

(335) **Subject of relative clause**

bu ndə ŋwɔ-ɛŋ tɛ' chi mu njaa fii
bû *ndà* **ŋwɔ** 'éŋ *tɛ'* *chí* *mû* *njaá* *fii*
 dog.C9 REL **owner.C9** 3SG.POSS PROG stay in house.C9 there
 "the dog whose owner lives in that house"

(336) **Object of relative clause**

woké-è ndə mɔ chɔ'hə ŋwɔ'nə-i le
wòké *eě* *ndà* *mɔ* *chò'há* **ŋwɔ'ně** *í* *lé*
 woman.C9 DIST REL 1SG borrow **book.C9** 3SG.POSS FOC.DIST
 "that woman whose book I borrowed"

Many relative clauses in Bamunka are closed with the particle *lé* or *nɔ*. These give focus to the head noun. Some examples are shown below.

- (337) *ŋgie-ð-kə* ndə mɔ ká gie le
ŋgiě *ghô-kə* *ndà* *mɔ* *ká* *giè* **lé**
 language.C7 ANAPH-C7 REL 1SG PROG say **FOC.DIST**
 "those (very) words that I was saying before"

- (338) *yəŋkə* ndə mɔ se' le
yəŋ-kě *ndà* *mɔ* *sè'* **lé**
 place-C7 REL 1SG choose **FOC.DIST**
 "the place that I chose"

(339) wô ndə ɔ tɕ' yitə bɔŋ nɔ
 wɔ̌ ndà ɔ tɕ' yítá bɔ̌ŋ 'nɔ
 person.C9 REL 3SG PROG kill 3PL FOC.PROX
 “the one who was killing them”

(340) yəŋkə-əŋ ndə bə tii nə Nto'nchəŋ nɔ
 yəŋ k-əŋ ndà bə tíi nə Ntô'ncháŋ 'nɔ
 place.C7 C7-PROX REL IMPERS call with Nto'nchəŋ FOC.PROX
 “this place that they call Nto'nchəŋ”

The particle *lé* tends to have a distal quality, while the particle *nɔ* tends to have a proximal quality, although it is not certain if this is always the case. The two further examples below show the contrast between *lé* and *nɔ*:

(341) lɔ'-è ndə mɔ tɕ' chi chɔ le
 lɔ' ɛ̌ ndà mɔ tɕ' chí 'chɔ 'lé
 village.C9 DIST REL 1SG PROG live there FOC.DIST
 “that village where I stay”

(342) lɔ'-ə ndə mɔ tɕ' chi chɔ nɔ
 lɔ' ə̌ ndà mɔ tɕ' chí 'chɔ 'nɔ
 village.C9 PROX REL 1SG PROG live there FOC.PROX
 “this village (here) where I stay”

The exact function of the particles *lé* and *nɔ* is unclear and requires further research. They are possibly only used when the hearer already has prior knowledge of the head noun, or when the speaker at least assumes this. There may also be other particles that close the relative clause (e.g. *lâ*) which require further research.

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