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THE NOUN CLASS SYSTEM OF KƆLɛ

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of a Post-Graduate Diploma (Maîtrise) in Linguistics

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September 1989

Dedicated to my parents, brothers and sisters, with all my love.

ACKNOWLEGEMENT

I must acknowledge special indebtedness to my supervisor Dr. Carl EBOBISSE for his invaluable contribution ot the realisation of this dissertation. His indefatigable patience criticisms and unswerving devotion were encouraging especially when I was doubting and discouraged. Without his patient guidance this work would not have been acheived.

My heartfelt gratitude to Proffessor B.S. Chumbow who assisted and advised me during the writing of this work. My special thanks also goes to Dr. Chia Emmanuel and all my lecturers who were a source of unwavering support to me.

Great thankfulness to my parents Prince and Mrs V.T. ASOBO for the moral and financial aid they showered on me.

I will like to gratefully acknowledge Evelyne Monikong for the wonderful and unfailing encouragement she gave me. She was always a pillar to lean on.

Sincere thanks to all my classmates whose camaraderie was all I needed to spur me on. All my friends especially Walters Abie who was always ready to help, Popo who never stopped to say go on and Dora Mbola for being there when I needed her.

Finally to Metuge Roggy who spent sleepless nights for the typing of this work.

Thank the Lord

Irene S. Asobo

List of Abbreviations and Symbols

CL	Class
NP	Nominal prefix
NPc	Numeral prefix
AP	Adjective prefix
DP	Demonstrative prefix
PP	Possessive prefix
APs	Associative prefix
DPe	Determinative prefix
VP	Verbal prefix
+	Morpheme boundary
/ /	Phonological representation
[ ]	Phonetic representation
Pl	Plural
sg	Singular
-->	realised as
V	vowel
C	Consonant
N	Noun
β	β̄ (voice bilabial fricative)
Β	Β̄ (voiceless bilabial fricative)

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 Geographical Situation

The kɔlɛ language is a language spoken in the South West Province of Cameroon. The speakers of the language occupy six villages along the creeks of the coast namely, Betika, Njangasa, Bekanje, Ubenikang or Bekumu, Yenda and Bamusso. Bamusso has the native population and is also a sub-divisional headquarters.

According to Ardener (1956:13) these villages are surrounded by Efik fishing stations and are "bounded on the east by Lundu, by an enclave of the Lombi and by the Mboko villages". In addition to the six native villages, there are also a number of fishing settlements, scattered along the coast of Rio del Rey on the Gulf of Guinea in an area now known officially as Ida-Bato Sub-district. The surface area is flat and only broken by lagoons. It should be noted that the only means of transport between these villages is by use of a canoe since each village is surrounded by water and impenetratable swampy mangrove forest.

1.2 History

According to informed sources, the people believe they have the same origin as the Dualas. As the story

goes, the clan came from Piti. The Chief of Piti had two sons, Ngassa Mbongo and Mbedi Mbongo. Mbedi Mbongo had the following sons, Kolle Mbedi, Duala Mbedi and Bojongo Mbedi who in turn had their own sons and daughters.

Duala Mbedi decided to marry one of his relatives but the other brothers disagreed. This led to fighting amongst themselves, especially as their father and grandfather had died. Bojongo begged for peace but to no avail, so he gathered his own clansmen and they took off in the night. They went their own way and the result today is the village of Bojongo in Fako Division.

After their brother deserted them, Duala and Kolle stopped fighting and left Piti. They then decided to separate as their brother was no longer on their side.

Mbedi Kolle took his clan and moved along the coast stopping first at Poka, then travelled further to Eyenge (a place near present-day Idenau). He decided to settle there because of its accessibility to the sea, for fishing was his main occupation. But due to very strong waves, he left Eyenge for Bekanje, another fishing settlement along the coast of Idenau, where he had the same problems. So he left again, leaving behind some of his followers. He reached Mbowa 'e ndene but food was lacking since they were basically a fishing tribe. Kolle eventually abandoned the open sea and moved up the creeks where he built on a large island, which is present-day

Bamusso, known then as Dibanye (bald head), because it was seen as trees surrounded by water.

It is also held that Mr. Clause, a white, visited the area and asked to know its name. The chief said it was called "bato ba mosso" meaning "people of the creeks."

The chief then sailed around the creeks, discovering and staking ownership on the smaller islands, until he reached the sea again. Such is the reason why the speakers of the Kole language are not united under one big village but are scattered amongst the creeks in fishing settlements. Ardener (1956:21) also records the same history.

1.3 Socio-economic Background

Socially, the Kole people are of a heterogenous nature, living in their various settlements with their chief at Bamusso. They interact mainly with the Nigerians, such as the Efiks, the Ibibios, the Ibos and the Ijaws. The natives themselves are outnumbered in their own villages. They number about four hundred, meanwhile immigrants from other tribes (both from Cameroon and Nigeria) number above five thousands, thus putting the overall population between five thousand and ten thousand, according to Alcam. They share cultural aspects with their hinterland neighbours, namely the Balundus, the Barombis, the Bambokos and the

Bakweris with whom they share the elephant dance and wrestling.

At the economic level, the Kɔlɛ people are basicelly fishing orientated. All their efforts are bent on fishing which they barter on the Ekondo Titi beach at specific dates for foodstuffs such as plantain, cocoyams etc. Fishing here is done by men, women and children alike. Since the bulk of trade in this area is with Nigeria, the currency much used is the Naira, rather than the Francs. They buy clothes household utensils, tinned food, bathing materials etc. directly from Nigeria.

1.4 The Language

1.4.1 Linguistic Situation

Since the Kɔlɛ language is of the same origin as the Duala language, there is a degree of intelligibility between them. There is also a degree of intelligibility between the Kɔlɛ people and the Barombis, Bimbias, Bakweris, Balundus and the Botas.

It is a common occurence to find a kɔlɛ speaker expressing a great degree of multilingualism by speaking efik, ibibio, balundu and the duala languages.

The Kɔlɛ people, eventhough they understand the other afore listed languages, speak to them in their own respective languages.

Below is a chart comparing kɔlɛ to the duala and the bakweri languages, which proves the point that there is genetic affinity between them.

Kɔlɛ	Duala	Bakweri	English gloss
màrîwá	màdîbá	màlîvá	water
mûrémà	mùlémà	ŋmèémà	heart
mbórî	mbódî	mbólî	goat
nyórɔ́	nyólɔ̀	nyɔ́	body
dísɔ̀	dísɔ̀	líhzɔ̀	eye
ìtámà	lámà	límà	jaw
ǐyóŋgɔ́	ìwóŋgɔ́	jɔ̀ŋgɔ́	cooking pot
kpèrî	kwédî	kpèlî	death
mùkárárá	mùkálá	mɔ̀kálá	european
gbàmù	bwàm	gbàmù	goodness

The kɔlɛ language has various names given by various tribes. The Efiks call it usem irombi "language of irombe", the Lundus call it motɔkɔ ŋwa bosama "language of bosama", the kweris call it mbɔsi ja banɔkɔ "language of banɔkɔ" and the kɔlɛ themselves call it mbɔsi ja banɔ "language of banɔ". The appelation kɔlɛ is derived from the leader or founder of the clan whose name was Kolle.

The kɔlɛ language is spoken in all the six fishing settlements (Bekanje, Ubenikang, Betika, Njangasa, Bekumu, Yenda and Bamusso), but it is not the lingua franca. The reason for this is because the immigrants

who make up more than half of the population tend to speak their own respective languages such as efik, ibo, ibibio and balundu. The whole community is a melange of all these languages and the people, both indigenes and immigrants speak them interchangeably. The lingua franca is pidgin English. Both the indigenes and the immigrants use it for wider communication, thus it is a bridge across ethnic groups.

As already mentioned, of all the various languages used in this zone, the kole language does not feature as the most widely used language. Actual native speakers are few and might continue to decrease due to pressure from other languages in the community. The mother tongue has become 'contaminated' with frequent loan words from various languages and even the English language. It was a common experience, while in field to have native speakers debate whether a particular word was in their own language or the other languages in the zone.

This situation is one of concern especially to the native speakers, because there might be just a possibility that, the four hundred remaining speakers will eventually disappear. The absence of secondary schools in the vicinity send away youths in quest of knowledge to towns like Kumba and Limbe. These youths after their education do not come back to settle but remain in the towns where their knowledge

will be put to use. This accounts for the gradual dying out of the native speaker, afterall, after studying who will want to come back to start acquiring fishing skills they had long lost, not only acquire skills but face the tough competition mounted by the Nigerians in fishing and in trade.

1.4.2 Classification

Because of their similarities African languages are divided into language families, namely; Niger Kordofanian, Nilo Saharian, Afro Asiatic and Khoisan. According to Ardener, kɔlɛ is a coastal bantu language. Coastal Bantu constitutes a minor division of Benue Congo, a sub classification of the Niger Kordofanian family. He goes further to classify it under the duala-limbe group which consists of duala, mongo, pongo, oli, Bodiman, kɔlɛ and limba. However, the Alcam presents a most clear classification. It places the coastal Bantu languages under zone 6. These are languages spoken from Limbe to Campo and inland. They are classified into groups A10, A20, A30 which are "Lundu-balong, duala" and "bube benga" respectively by Guthrie. Under zone 6 kɔlɛ appears as bakɔlɛ on number 625.

1.4.3 Literature Review

It is most regretable to note that the kɔlɛ language so far has not been an object of linguistic analysis. This might be because its sister language dualɛ has been the main attraction right from when the Missionaries arrived in Cameroon and used it as a means of disseminating religion in the Coast of the Country. Dualɛ has attracted linguists' attention and they tended to devote adequate analysis to it before breaking into new fields.

So far the little work on kɔlɛ has been carried out by Ewota Jemea, a lecturer in the Yaounde University. In this work The Phonology of Kɔlɛ (D.E.S 1973) he analyses the phonological structure of the language, making an inventory of sounds and placing it in a chart, thus establishing a kind of alphabet for the language.

In 1956 Edwin Ardener published a book, Coastal Bantu of the Cameroons, which was more of a historical and sociological work than a Linguistic exploration. In it, kɔlɛ together with other coastal languages were studied from the point of view of their history, economy, geography, the degree of intelligibility between them and finally some sort of classification. In short, it was a general survey of all or most of the languages at the coast of Cameroon.

1.5 Goal and Methodology of Work

At a time when traditional societies are becoming rare and speakers are disappearing either through death or through assimilation into urban life, the continued existence of our diverse folk languages can no longer be ensured through their present oral mode of transmission. After all if we cannot save a people from extinction we can at least save their culture. And what better way than to codify language especially if we consider it as a very significant means of expressing culture.

The noun class system, which is the object of our study is a contribution and progress in linguistic science. The phonology of kole had been studied and this work does constitutes another dimension to the language. This research project, modest as it might be, is a contribution to the description of our national Languages. It lays the foundation for more exciting and detailed studies which , it is hoped, will further bring out the grammar of the language. This will eventually throw more light on the structure and rules that govern the language and finally to the establishment of the writing system of the language. Hopefully, this will be of benefit to the native speakers who will then be able to boast of knowing not only the structure and the rules but also how to write their own language.

As a matter of fact, it is hoped that a study of this language will make it possible to compare it with other languages, and this might bring about significant generalisations that will hold true for all the coastal Bantu languages of the Country.

Methodology

The study focuses on the noun class system, and to get an apt description of this system, it will be necessary to use two Linguistic theories; the structural and the generative approaches. The key notion in structuralism is that language is a system that can be broken down into smaller units, described scientifically and empirically, contrasted, compared and added up to form a whole. Given the above view, this theory seems apt in describing the noun class system because it means breaking down a noun, studying it empirically and scientifically and then adding it up to form a whole. But there is a catch. In analysing nouns, irregularities are noticed in the morphology where as theory claims that a language is systematic and regular. The solution to this problem is to postulate a deeper level where morphophonological regularities exist and a surface level where irregularities are found, but are linked to the former level by phonological rules. We are now in

the realm of the generative approach. Consequently, in this work pure structuralism is not used but knowledge is borrowed from the generative theory to fill in gaps otherwise left out.

The method herein thus consists of an analysis of nouns in terms of their respective prefixes in order to come out with the possible noun classes and corresponding prefixes that exist in the language. The concord system will then be considered to establish that chosen classes are correct and then texts to show their occurence in context.

This study required a step by step analysis of a corpus of about 1,000 words. Those that began with the same prefixes where classified together, not only that, but other criteria were used to establish differences. The prefixes were then seperated from their stems and placed in their various classes. The classes were paired into class genders be it single or double class, one class singular the other plural. To analyse the concord system, adjectives, numerals, prohominal forms were studied in the form of phrases from which the concordial prefix was then picked out. Texts were recorded, transcribed and their word for word and free translation obtained.

All the above required a journey into the field. We travelled to Kumba, from there to Ekondo Titi beach where We took an engine boat or flying boat as it is called, to Bamusso, the stronghold of the language.

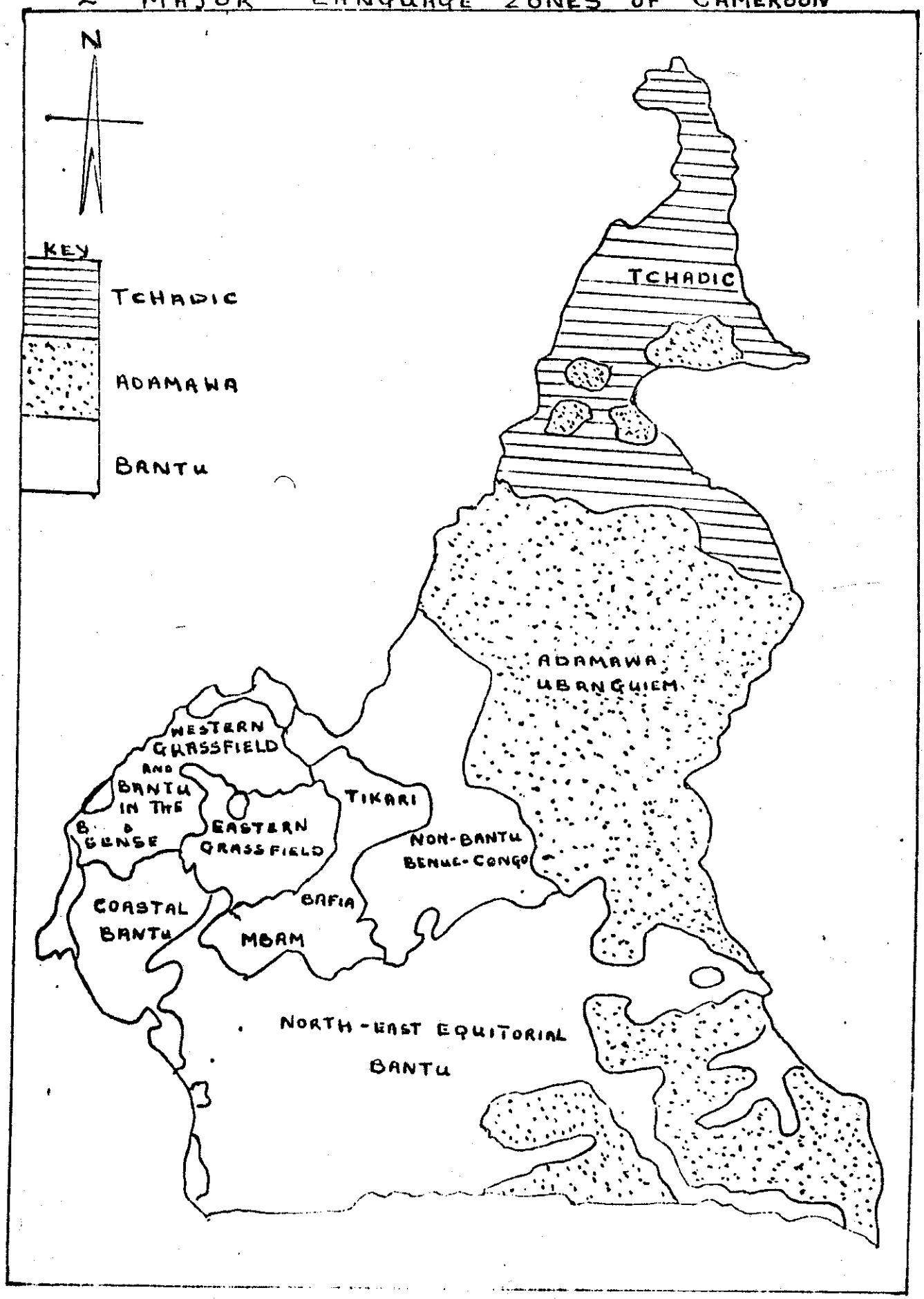
1.6 The Data Sources

This work was realised with a corpus of about 1000 words, a substantial number of phrases, a few texts collected through the help of six principal informants namely:

NANES	AGE	PROFESSION	RESIDENCE
Johnson Ewea Etienne	49	Secretary General council Isangele	Bamusso
Harry E. Mokongo	64	Municipal Administrator Bamusso	Bamusso
Emmanuel M. Mbullah	64	Nightwatch MIDEPECAM	Bamusso
Ngenje Njoh Thomas	50	Nursing superintendent	Limbe
Etongo Gabriel	52	Member of Parliament	Bamusso
Chief Mbola	60	Retired civil servant	Kumba

The informants were asked to translate orally from English to kolɛ. Four of the informants were at Bamusso, and during working sessions before a translation was given, they often argued amongst themselves and, I am c nvinced, often came out with the accepted version. The data collected was partly verified through the kind assistance of [illegible] Ewota Jemea who is a native speaker of the Language. A written text of the history was got from Bamusso from the chief.

2. MAJOR LANGUAGE ZONES OF CAMEROON



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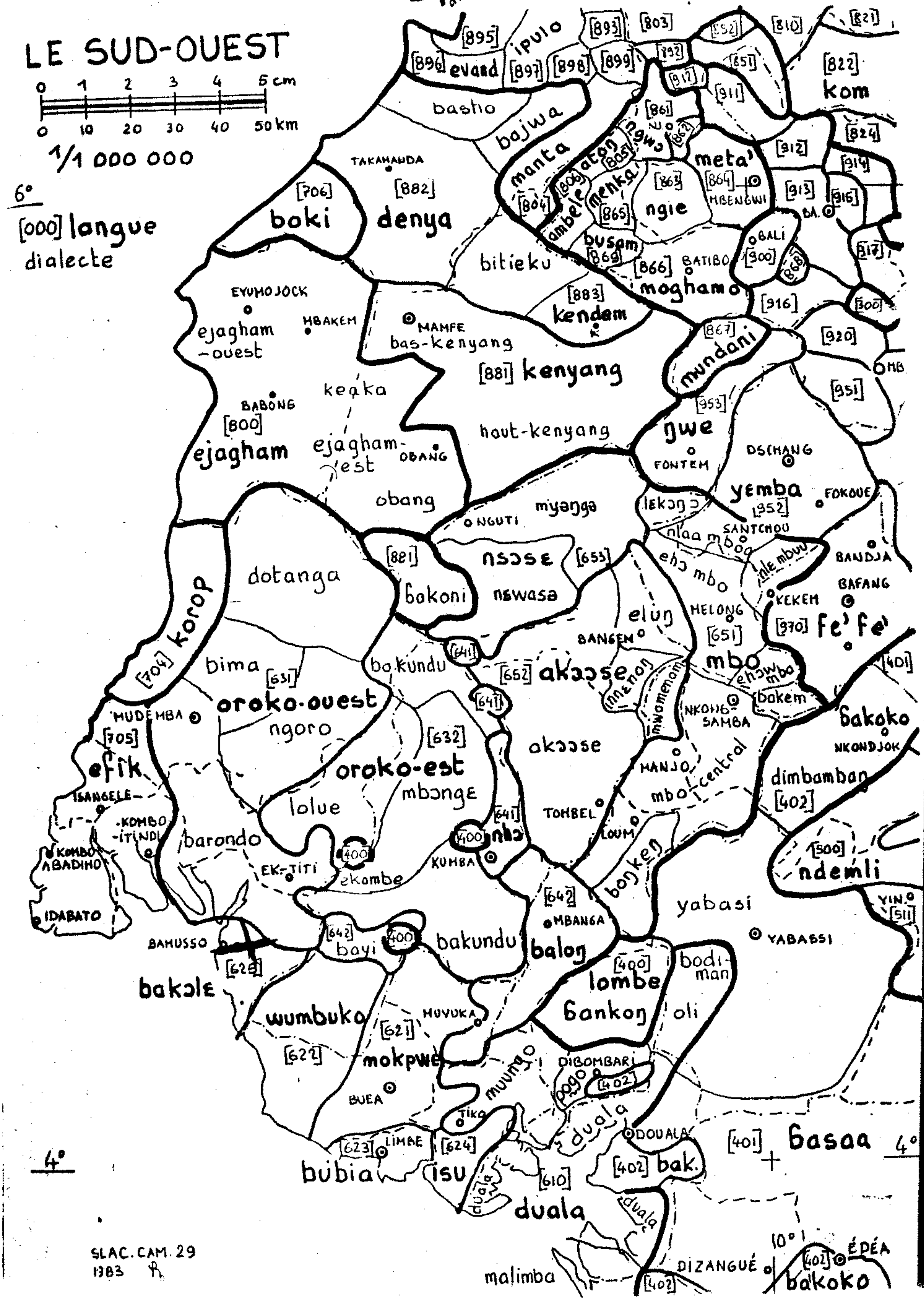
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ngoro
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oroko-est
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MUDEMBA
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ISANGELE
KOMBO-ITINDI
KOMBO ABEDIMO
IDABATO
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lolue
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duala
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DOUALA
[402] bak.
[401] Basaa
malimba
DIZANGUÉ
[402]
ÉDÉA
bakoko
SLAC. CAM. 29
1983

C H A P T E R II

GENERAL PHONOLOGY OF KOLE

Introduction

Although this work is based on the analysis of the various noun classes in Kolɛ, , a brief sketch of the phonology will be neccessary. This is because it provides the material used for the phonetic transcription of the data for the purposes of this study. Consequently, I will, , refer to Jemea Ewota's Phonology of Kolɛ (1973) The vowel system will be looked at, followed by the consonant system. Next will be the syllable and morpheme structure of the nouns and then a resumé of the tonal system. The phonetic transcription used in this work has been adopted from the General alphabet of Cameroon languages (M. Tadadjeu and E. Sadembouo 1984).

2.2 Phonetic Vowels

The following are the phonetic vowels found in kolɛ: i, e, ɛ, u o, ɔ, and a.

It is possible to have the above vowels lengthened, though it is not phonemic
Below are examples:

dìí	"hair"	mùú	"ghost"
màà	"palm"	ŋgɔ̀ɔ́	"wind"

Vowels in the morphology of a word might become semi-vowels. This is noticeable in closed and mid vowels where [e] and [u, o] become semi vowels [y] and [w] respectively. Thus the vowels have two allophones which are semi-vewels.

Rules /mù/ --→ [mw] / - v
/bò/ --→ [bw] / - v
/mè/ --→ [my] / - v
/bè/ --→ [by] / - v

There are times, when a continious sequence of two vowels occur, one vowel is dropped and the other kept.

Examples /mù + òrí/ --→ [mòrí]
/mù + òsɔ́/ --→ [mòsɔ́]

At other times when there is a continous sequence of two vewels, a glide is introduced or inserted. For a sequence of back rounded vowels u, a; o, a; a /w/ glide is interposed. For a sequence of front/front or front/back vowel e.g. e, a; e, i; a /ʲ/ glide is interposed.

Examples	wèɔ́	--→ wèʲɔ́	"fire"
	ŋgèɔ́	--→ ŋgèʲɔ́	"road"
	mbìɔ́	--→ mbiʲɔ́	"groundnuts"
	mbùɔ́	--→ mbùʷɔ́	"rain"
	ŋgòɔ́	--→ ŋgòʷɔ́	"pig"

It is important to stress here that for the sake of keeping transcription uniform with that of other Bantu languages e.g. duala the intervening glides have been omitted. Any reader who comes across such words should remember the implications.

The chart below illustrates these vowels.

POSITION OF TONGUE AND LIPS / HEIGHT OF TONGUE	FRONT UNROUNDED	CENTRAL	BACK ROUNDED
HIGH (CLOSED)	i ii		u uu
HIGH (MID)	e ee		o oo
LOW (MID)	ɛ ɛɛ		ɔ ɔɔ
LOW (CLOSED)		ə əə	

2.2 Phonetic Consonants

The following are the phonetic consonants found in kolɛ

p, t, k, j, ŋ, b, d, b, ɸ, β, m, l, f, r, nj, nd, ny, mb, s, y, ŋg, w, h, kp, gb, ŋgb mgb,

It should however be noted that /p/ a bilabial plosive is becoming quite rare in kolɛ. It is either replaced by the voiceless labio dental /f/ or it is a cross between /p/ and /f/ becoming a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ]

Examples	fóndá	póndá	"time"
	èfùfà	èpùpà	"rainy season"
	mòɸémbá	mòpémbá	"nose"

Also segments like [l], [d], [r] occur in free variation in all enviroments except in the sequence /nd/ where [d] is a distinct phoneme.

Examples	ndáwò	"house"
	ndùtù	"sorrow"

The [l] segment is fast disappearing from the language. So that a native speaker would say "korɛ" instead of "kolɛ". Similarly, /d/ becomes /r/ as in

màdíbá	màríwá	"water"
ìdàdì	ìràrè	"stone"
èlèlà	èrèrà	"duck"

In some cases /b/ and /w/ occur in free variation

màríbá	màríwá	"water"
ndábò	ndáwǒ	"house"

The accompanying chart illustrates the manner and place of articulation of these consonants.

MANNER OF ARTICULATION \ PLACE OF ARTICULATION	BILABIALS	LABIO-DENTALS	ALVEOLARS	PRE-PALATALS	PALATALS	VELARS	LABIO VELARS
VOICELESS STOPS	p		t			k	kp
VOICE	b, bw		d				gb
VOICELESS AFFRICATES							
VOICE				j			
VOICELESS FRICATIVES	o	f	s				
VOICE	B						
PRE-NASALISED STOPS	mb		nd	nj		ŋg	ŋgb
NASALS	m, mw		n		ny	ŋ	
LATERALS			l				
VIBRANTS			r				
GLIDES					y		w

2.3 Syllable and Morpheme Structure of Nouns

Kɔlɛ nouns have a basic syllable of a nucleus V and an optional C element which can either be at the onset or coda position. Thus the canonical form is (C) V (C) and the most dominant of these syllable patterns is CV. Below are the possible patterns with examples.

Syllable Pattern	Example	Gloss	Noun Pattern
V	èkà	market	VCV
CV	kɔ́	snail	CV
CVV	mbɔ́à	village	CVV
CVCV	mɔ̀tɔ̀	person	CVCV

The kɔlɛ noun permits initial and medial complex consonants such as ŋgb, nd, nj mw, bw etc. The complex consonants usually belong to the same syllable, thus no successful articulatory attempt can be made, to separate them before their syllabic peak.

Examples			
	ŋgbâ	"dog"	CV
	mwàɪ̀tɔ̀	"woman"	CV'CV
	wàŋgá	"forest"	CVCV
	njɔ̃	"tiger"	CVC

The above structures are all of the open type. There are also closed syllabled nouns existing in the language but because they are so few, one can say that kolɛ has an open syllable structure. Not more than three CVC structures have been registered in the kolɛ transcription in the text.

Examples	ŋgèn	"bell"	CVC
	ŋgbàn	"wealth"	CVC
	mbòŋ	"good/fine"	CVC

As already mentioned, the basic syllable structure is CV but there are cases where CVV is observed and in this case the boundary is CVV. This might be as a result of rapid speech where the intervening C in a CVCV structure is dropped through contraction.

Example

à ómbòéríì	"he looks at you"	V V CV V CV

In rapid speech the above is rendered as a single word. Mean while it is

à w ó mbòréríì		V CV CV CV CV
he you look		

Another process, affixation, can lead to a CV V structure. This is realised when a noun prefix that ends with a vowel is brought infront of a stem that

begins with a vowel. The following nouns in their plural forms illustrates the process.

m-ɔ̀ŋgɔ̀	-->	mè-ɔ̀ŋgɔ̀	"friends"	cl 3/4
m-ɔ̀rí	-->	mè-ɔ̀rí	"ropes"	cl 3/4
m-ɔ̀sɔ́	-->	mè-ɔ̀sɔ́	"rivers	cl 3/4

Most nominal prefixes which are morphemes have a CV structure such as classes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 13 and 14. There are V structures in classes 7 and 9. As for the concordial morphemes, classes 7 and 19 are basically V structured together with classes 9 and 10. The rest of the the classes have a CV structure. This can be seen in the table containing the nominal and the concordial morphemes at the end of the section treating the concord system.

2.1.4 Tones

The kolɛ language makes use of four level tones. These tones are H (high), L (low), LH (low-high rising tone), HL (high-low falling tone).

Examples	kpérí	"death"
	èkpà	"bag"
	ŋgbâ	"dog"
	yětà	"reply"

The following tonal systems are found in kɔlɛ

a) monosyllabic

kɔ́	"snail"
mbɔ̀	"honey"

b) disyllabic

dìbé	"breast"
ŋgɔ́li	"belt"
mbɔ́à	"village"
ngìrà	"lion"

c) trisyllabic

kárárá	"corn"
mɔ́tùtù	"smoke"
mùkèyé	"egg"
mɔ̀kɔ́kɔ́	"sugercane
ìréndè	"knife"

C H A P T E R III

NOUN CLASS SYSTEM

This section deals with the bulk of this work. As the title suggests, it treats the noun classes, prefixes, the concord system and finally the gender and semantic contents of the classes

3.1 Noun Classes

A noun class is a group of words that distinguish themselves in a language by common affixes which can be a prefix, suffix, or both. The affix is added to a stem and each affix will belong to a particular class listing 10-25, according to Guthrie (1967).

In a noun class there is an almagamation of both the grammatical category and the number.

Examples	mò-tò	"person"	cl 1
	bà-tò	"persons"	cl 2

mo- signifies both the class which is cl 1 and the number which is singular

ba- signifies class two and plurality.

There is no affixe to mark number separately from class.

In languages that have the noun class system especially Bantu, distinction in sex is not pertinent

i.e. there is no difference between masculine and feminine as in English "he" or "she".

In "Noun classes in the Grassfields Bantu Borderland" edited by Hyman (1980) Hedinger, in his paper, "The Noun class system of Akoose" discusses possible criteria used to establish individual noun classes as contrastive. Below are the criteria.

1) The occurence of nouns with a specific set of noun prefixes. A particular class will have a specific nominal prefixe plus a root.

Example:

cl 7	è-fùmś	"fruit"
	è-bárá	"scar"
	è-rèrà	"duck"
cl 8.	bè-fùmś	"fruits"
	bè-bárá	"scars"
	bè-rèrà	"ducks"

So words beginning with the prefix /e-/ will be considered as belonging to a particular class (cl 7) and the prefix /be-/ belongs to class 8.

2) The occurence of nouns with a particular set of concording elements. This is seen in the light that a particular class of nouns will have a specific set of

concordial prefix to mark the class. This aspect is discussed at length in Chapter III.

3) The pairing of a certain class with another class as singular/plural. In the above example class 7 can only pair with class 8. This criterion can of course not be applied when the singular/plural dichotomy is irrelevant i.e. for mass and abstract nouns.

It is worthwhile to add here that certain nouns distinguish themselves in a particular class by being semantically correlated. It has been known that the semantic correlation of class 1 nouns is that they are human beings and it is common to find animals belonging in class 9.

Generally, the kɔlɛ noun is composed of a prefix and a stem. But in some cases, especially in class 1, there is a prefix, a stem and a suffix. This occures when the noun is derived from a verb. That is, to get a word like "a traveller", the kɔlɛ language will construct it as "somebody who goes". Below are examples.

- mù - prefix (cl.1)
  kɔ́ìsè - stem (verb) "to judge"
  ri - suffix
  mùkɔ́ìsèrì "judge"

- mù - prefix (cl.1)
  réè - stem (verb) "to teach"
  rì - suffix
  mùréèdì "teacher"

- mù - prefix (cl.1)
  bénè - stem (verb) "to own"
  rì - suffix
  mùbénèrì "owner"

It should be noted that the classification of nouns into classes is not inherent in the noun stems but rather, it is associated with the prefix. Thus a stem is unchangeable while the prefix changes according to class. The stem accepts the prefixes, which are on it, because on it's own, it is not a noun. They have to be always attached to the stem. These grammatical morphemes (prefixes) which is our focus in the next section, will be treated by means of analysis and commentaries thus bringing out basic forms and stating their distribution.

3.2 Noun Prefixes

In this section the identified noun prefixes of kɔlɛ will be treated systematically. It should however be noted that all the corresponding proto-Bantu prefixes were collected before stems with initial consonants. These prefixes are therefore bound to change, thus resulting in allomorphy, when they occur before a stem with an initial vowel. The basis then, on which a particular prefix is chosen as basic allomorph is gotten firstly from the distribution taking into consideration the enviroments in which they occur. Secondly the frequency of occurence of a particular prefix in class will also be considered. Below are the various classes and their prefixes with examples.

Class 1 /mù-/

This class has three allomorphs from the morpheme of the nominal prefix. The allomorphs are [mò-],[mù-],[mw-] A lot of problems arise here due to the fact that it is difficult to pose one of the allomorphs as basic. The main difficulty is between [mò-] and [mù-]. If [mò-] is chosen as the basic allomorph, how can we explain the process of [o] becoming [u]? One can say it is a highering process where the high-mid [o] becomes a complete high vowel [u]. This cannot be the case

because the process does not occur in all contexts where [u] is concerned, as seen from the corpus. Now if /mù-/ is taken as the basic allomorph, it will be more natural to see a lowering process occuring where [u] becomes [o] because one deduces that /mù/ becomes [mo-] when the preceeding segment resembles it. This can further be explained by the fact that the vowel of the prefixe becomes lowered in relation to that of the stem. Thus the prefix CV has V as [o] each time the root CV also has V as [o]. As for [mw-] one can easily see that it is the realisation of /mù-/ infront of a vowel. A prose statement of the above is that /mù-/ is realised [mò-] infront of a consonant followed by a vowel [o], and [mw-] infront of a vowel, and [mù] elsewhere. The following are examples:

- /mù/ --> [mw-]/ - V

  /mù + ánà/ --> [mw-ánà] "child"

  /mù + àítò/ --> [mw-àítò] "woman"

  /mù + èndéri --> [mw-èndéri] "traveller"

- /mù-/ --> [mò]/ - CV_1 V = [o]

  /mù + tò/ --> [mò-tò] "person"

It should not be that almost half of the nouns of this class are constructed from the word "mòtò" which can roughly be translated as "person of... thus

mò-t? à ŋgàŋgà "medecine man"

- /mù-/ --> [mù] / elsewhere

/mù + tínà/	--> [mù-tínà]	"elder"
/mù + kànèrì/	--> [mù-kànèrì]	"chief"
/mù + rèmbà/	--> [mù-rèmbà]	"witch"

Class 1(a)

This class is related to class 1. It treats perental relationships. No known prefix belongs to this class. Below are examples.

tátà	"father"
íyè	"mother"
ŋgùndéri	"girl"
nyùwé	"orphan"
sàngwámè	"father"

Those that have plural formation do so with class 2 which will next be examined.

Class 2 /bà-/

There are two allomorphs of the nominal prefix which are [ba-] and [b-] . Here it will not be so difficult to postulate a basic allomorph for one can clearly see that [b-] is a realisation from /bà-/ when it occurs before stems with an initial vowel. Thus /bà-/ is realised [b-] infront of a vowel, and [bà-] elsewhere. The following are examples of this class.

- /bà-/ --> [b-] / - V

/bà + èndéríì/	--> [b-èndéríì]	"travellers"
/bà + ńnà/	--> [b-ńnà]	"children"
/bà + àĭtò	--> [b-àĭtò]	"women"
/bà + ètá/	--> [b-ètá]	"beggars"

- /bà-/ --> [bà-] / elsewhere

/bà + wòrèdì/	--> [bà-wòrèdì]	"neighbours"
/bà + kárá/	--> [bà-kárá]	"Europeans"
/bà + tĭnà/	--> [bà-tĭnà]	"elders"
/bà + sàngwámè	--> [bà-sàngwámè	"fathers"
/bà + tò/	--> [bà tò	"persons"

Class 3 /mù-/

At first glance this class looks just like class 1 in terms of nominal prefix. Even the allomorphs of the morpheme are almost the same and these are [mò- mù- mw-]. Thus, it will be necessary to first postulate reasons why they are considered different classes. There are two main differences. The first is that the Bantu noun class double gender 1/2 contains personal nouns, and this is evident in kɔlɛ while 3/4 contains objects (non-personal). The second difference is that nouns of these two classes 1 and 3 take their plural from two different classes 2 and 4 respectively. Thus the semantic content and plural formation make it possible

to postulate a difference between class 1 and class 3 eventhough they have the same prefixes.

Now we look on to which of the allomorphs can be postulated as a basic allomorph. We think and as can clearly be seen, that the same process for class 1 holds true for this class. /mu-/ is realised [mw-] infront of a vowel, [mɵ] infront of the vowel [o-] and [mu-] elsewhere.

- /mù-/ --> [mw-] / - V

/mù + àŋgá/	--> [mwàŋgá]	"root"
/mù + èŋgé/	--> [mwèŋgé]	"song"
/mù + èndé/	--> [mwèndé]	"foot"
/mù + èndi/	--> [mwèndi]	"news"

- /mù-/ --> [m-] / - V [o]

/mù + òsó/	--> [mòsó]	"river"
/mù + òrí/	--> [mòrí]	"rope"
/mu + oŋgo/	--> [mòŋgó]	"friend"

- /mù-/ --> [mò-] / - CV V [o]

/mù + kòrì/	--> [mòkòrì]	"hill"
/mù + ròŋgì	--> [mòròŋgi]	"sheep"
/mù + kòyíkòyì	--> [mòkòyíkòyi]	"frog"

- /mù-/ --> [mù-] / - elsewhere

/mù + nyèrè	--> [mùnyèrè]	"earth"

/mù + rémà/	--->	[mùrémà]	"heart"
/mù + rùmbù/	--->	[mùrùmbù]	"mouth"
/mù + yá/	--->	[mùyá]	"in-law"

Class 4 /mè-/

This class is normally the plural for class 3. It has two allomorphs realised as [me-] and [my-]. The first allomorph is realised infront of stems with an initial consonant and the second one is infront of stems of an initial vowel. Which can we now choose as the basic allomorph? A complication arises because [me-] which can be said to occurr before consonants also has vowels occuring. If [my-] is chosen as basic allomorph the problem will be to decide how [y] becomes [e]. One cannot say it is a lowering process, where /y/ ---> [e] because it will have to pass through [i], thus a chain /y/ ---> /i/ ---> [e] is formed but this has not been attested in the language. As a result [my-] cannot be chosen as basic allomorph. If [mè-] is considered as basic allomorph one would take into consideration the fact that in this language high closed or mid vowels, can easily be transformed into glides, when they are followed by another vowel. The front vowels become [y] and the back vowels [w]. The prose statement of this will be that /mè-/ becomes [my-]

infront of vowels and /me-/ infront of consonants. Below are examples:

- /mè/ --> [my-] / - V

/mè + èndé/	-->	[myèndé]	"feet"
/mè + àŋgó/	-->	[myàŋgó]	"roots"
/mè + àŋgò/	-->	[myàŋgò]	"drying lines"
/mè + éni/	-->	[myèni]	"fingers"

- /mè/ --> [mè-] / - C

/mè + kùmbè/	-->	[mèkùmbè]	"guns"
/me + rɔ̀ŋgi/	-->	[mèrɔ̀ŋgi]	"sheep"
/mè + kòrì/	-->	[mekɔri]	"hills"
/mè + nyèrè/	-->	[mènyèrè]	"earth"

The analysis of this class is not finished. From the corpus it is noticed that the prefix [mè-] does also occur infront of stems with an initial vowel.

But , but if we look closely it will be realised that mé- only occurs if the following vowel is [o]! It seems as if we come back to class 3, its singular counterpart, where /m-/ is realised, if the following vowel of the root is [o]. Examples are as follows:

/mè/ --> [mè-] / - V, V [o]

/mè + òrì/	-->	[mèòrì]	"ropes"

/mè + ɔsɔ́/	---	[mèɔ́sɔ̀]	"rivers"
/mè + ɔŋgɔ́	---	[mèɔ̀ŋgɔ́]	"friends"
/mè + ɔ́nà/	---	[mèɔ́nà]	"doors"

Class 5 /dì-/

The prefix formation of this class is very complex. There are as many as six allomorphs, [dì-, d-, lî, l, ì, j-] including a zero prefix. The choice of any of these as a basic allomorph is a monumental task. In reality we will be considering, the five first allomorphs, since it will not be logical to say a Φ prefix is the basic allomorph. Most researchers often encounter this problem and they end up by choosing one or the other for various reasons. For practical and logical reasons, which will become clear as we progress, the allomorph [dì] has been chosen as the basic allmmorph. Now, how does dì- move to [d-] then to [i], [lì] and [j-], The [lì-] allomorph does not need any justification for its presence for [l] and [d] are in free variation when they occur as prefixes [dì] becomes [d] infront of vowels. This will further be discussed when treating class 15 [dì-] occurs infront of the alveolar sounds [t, s, r]. We are now left with [j]. How does a simple consonant [dì-] pass to a complex one [j]. Considering the other classes we notice that it is not [-dy-] infront of vowels

but [d-] One can conclude that, because language is a system, instead of [dy-], kole language uses [j] infront of vowels, when it is not [d-] i.e. [d] palatalised becomes [j]. Therefore, as always been the case, if a vowel of a prefix does not drop, a glide is formed. In this case, each time a vowel occurs at the initial stem position, we have [d-] and when it is to become a glide [dy-] we have [j-] as [dy-] is non-existent in the language. Below are examples:

- /dì-/ --> [d-] / - V

  /dì + òwɔ́/ --> [dòwɔ́] "stool"

  /dì + ísù/ --> [dìsú] "eye"

- /dì-/ --> [j-] / - V [ə]

  /dì + àɔ́/ --> [jàɔ́] "hand"

  /di + àrɔ́bè --> [jàrɔ́bè] "reply"

- /dì-/ --> [li] / - C (free variants with tendency towards [di])

  /dì + bàtò/ --> [dìbàtò] "cloth"

  /dì + bɔŋgobɔŋgo/ --> [dìbɔŋgobɔŋgo] "knee"

- /dì-/ --> [ì-] / - C {t, s, r}

  /dì + sùŋgɔ́/ --> [ìsùŋgɔ́] "tooth"

  /dì + rɔ́rè/ --> [ìrɔ́rè] "stone"

  /dì + tɔ́mà/ --> [ìtɔ́mà] "jaw"

- /dì-/ --→ [dì-] / elsewhere

/dì + kàkò/	--→ [dìkàkò]	"crab"
/dì + ɓùndè/	--→ [dìɓùndè]	"cup"
/dì + kpàmbà/	--→ [dìkpàmbà]	"cassava"
/dì + wúní/	--→ [dìwúní]	"okra"
/dì + bá/	--→ [dìbá]	"marriage"

It is now neccessary to say something about the zero prefix. We noticed that the nouns considered as having a zero prefix always had one of the allomorphs (prefixe) as an initial consonant. Thus the allomorphs [d-, l-, i-] all occured as the initial consonant of the stem. Below are examples·

- dòkò "game"
- dìí "hair"
- lèndé "journey"
- ìndí "anus"

The above are considered as not having a prefix on the basis that, in their plural formation, the prefix is added to what we have above thus it then becomes a stem Examples will be given when treating class 6.

Class 6 /mà-/

This class is not as complex as its singular counterpart. It has two allomorphs from the prefixal morphem [mà-], [m-]. The problem of chosing a basic allomorph

is the same as that of class 2 [bə-] and [b-].

If [m-] is chosen, there will be an insertion rule where [ə] is inserted when the prefix occurs before stems with an initial vowel. Let us consider the other allomorph [mə-]. It will be said that [mə-] occurs before consonants and [m-] infront of vowels where the [ə] is delided infront of other vowels. This is a more natural rule than the first one for as already seen, vowels are dropped or changed to glides when they occur infront of other vowels. It is more convincing than the first rule because there is no need for inserting a vowel and then introduce a low tone. Moreso mə- is the proto Bantu form for class 6 and most languages have it too. The following are examples:

- /mà-/ --> [m-] / - V

/mà + òwá/	--> [mòwá]	"stool(s)"
/mà + ìsù/	--> [mìsú]	"eyes"
/mà + ìndí/	--> [mìndí]	"anuses"

- /mà-/ --> [mà-] / - elsewhere

/mà + réndè/	--> [màréndè]	"knives"
/mà + rokò/	--> [màròkò]	"games"
/mà + sùŋgá/	--> [màsùŋgá]	"teeth"
/mà + bàtò/	--> [màbàtò]	"cloths"

Class 6 (a) / /mǎ/

The main difference between this class and cl 6

lies in their semantic contents. Class 6 which is the plural counterpart of cl. 5 and 9, has parts of the body utensils etc as semantic content while class 6 (a) has non-countable nouns, in particular , liquids. In terms of allomorphs, it has only [mà] thus, it is the basic allomorph. Below are examples:

- /mà-/ ---> [mâ-] / - C

/mà + rĭwá/	---> [màrĭwá]	"water"
/mà + ɓúrá/	---> [màɓúrá]	"oil"
/mà + yà/	---> [mâyà]	"blood"
/mà + nyàŋgà	---> [manyaŋgà]	"palm-nut-oil"

Class 7 /è-/

This class is very rich in terms of nouns, in kolɛ language In terms of prefix, it is one of the least complex of classes. This is because it has two phonetic realisationsof the prefix and this is [è-] and [èy-]. If [èy] is taken as the basic allomorph, we have to account for the passage of /èy-/ to [e-]. One can easily see that a delition process occurs when [èy-] occurs before stems with an initial consonant. Now let us consider /è-/ as the basic allomorph. We find that it is more natural (because it is a process that has been occuring in the previous classes). Thus, [ɛ̀-] becomes [èy-] infront of vowels. The following are examples of this class

- /è-/ ---> [èy-] / - V

  /è + òndí/ ---> [èyòndí] "island"

  /è + óngókòrì/ ---> [èyóngókòrì] "chameleon"

  /è + àrí/ ---> [èyàrí] "leaf"

- /è-/ ---> [è-] / - C

  /è + sùmbú/ ---> [èsùmbú] "grass"

  /è + mùnè/ ---> [èmùnè] "wave"

  /è + wàkɛ̀/ ---> [èwàkɛ̀] "chimpanzee"

  /è + fùmɔ́/ ---> [èfùmɔ́] "fruit"

  /è + kpà/ ---> [èkpà] "bag"

Class 8 /bè-/

This class is the plural counterpart of class 7 It has the same realisation in terms of prefix formation. There are two phonetic realisations [be-] and [by-]. Because it is the same phenomena as in the preceeding class we will just go straightaway and say [bè-] is the basic allomorph and [by-] is realised only when the stem has an initial vowel. Examples of this class are:

- /bè-/ ---> [by] / - V

  /bè + òndì/ ---> [byòndì] "islands"

  /bè + óngókòrì/ ---> [byóngókòrì] "chameleons"

  /bè + àrí/ ---> [byàrí] "leaves"

- /bɛ-/ ---> [bɛ-] / ___ C

/bè + tàndá/	---> [bètàndá]	"ants"
/bè + bò/	---> [bèbò]	"shells"
/bè + rèrà/	---> [bèrèrà]	"ducks"
/bè + fùfà/	---> [bèfùfà]	"dry seasons"
/bè + mùnè/	---> [bèmùnè]	"waves"
/bè + wàkɛ̀/	---> [bèwàkɛ]	"chimpanzees"

Class 9 /N-/

This class is greatly represented, in terms of nouns in kɔlɛ language. At first glance one might be tempted to say the sequence [mb-] [nd-] [ŋg] [nj-] are composed of one unit. It holds quite true that most of the above sequences are separate phonemes. It is also quite true that they occur in initial position only in this class and class ten. It is granted that the nasal sounds can not be separated from the oral ones, or it might result in a strange sound that is artificial to the language. Thus the prefix for these group of sequences is zero since the NC structure is considered as initial of the stem

To take the above stand will be assuming a morphology that is not adequate to describe the kɔlɛ noun. Consider it this way. The morphem /N-/ a non-syllabic nasale is postulated as the basic allomorph of this

class. It is homorganic when found infront of voiced segments This is then realised as a zero allomorph infront of voiceless segments, and has the [ny] realisation infront of vowels. The above is based on the fact that [d-] [b-] [j-] can be found in initial position on stems. This is true because the sounds do exist without being prenasalised in the language consequently the language has [b] [d] [j] at an initial stem position rendering /N-/ as a prefix of this class It should be noted that though these souns are separated the nasal is non-syllabic and is pronounced as homorganic with the stem consonant Thus it will be better to choose this analysis than the previous because it makes a significant generalisation about the facts of the language. It should also be noted that it is only at word initial that [mb-] and the other homorganic nasals are seperated. In word medial position they are regarded as one segment. Below are examples of this class.

- /N-/ --> [m-] / - /b/

/N + bóà/	--> [mbóà]	"country"
/N + bɔ́rɪ̀	--> [mbɔ́rɪ̀]	"goat"
/N + bòtɪ́/	--> [mbòtɪ́]	"dress"
/N + bùɛ́/	--> [mbùɛ́]	"rain"

- /N-/ --> [ŋ-] / - [g]

  /N + gòndɔ̀/ --> [ŋgòndɔ̀] "groundnuts"

  /N + gbwà/ --> [ŋgbwà] "dog"

  /N + gbèré/ --> [ŋgbèré] "bush"

  /N + gòmbɛ́/ --> [ŋgòmbɛ́] "porcupine"

- /N-/ --> [n-] / - [d]

  /N + dùmbú/ --> [ndùmbú] "nest"

  /N + dɛ̀wà/ --> [ndɛ̀wò] "house"

- /N-/ --> [n] / - [j]

  /N + jèkù/ --> [njèkù] "elephant"

  /N + jɔ́h/ --> [njɔ́] "tiger"

  /N + jònji/ --> [njònji] "whale"

  /N + jàwɛ́/ --> [njàwɛ́] "bee"

- /N-/ --> [ny] / - V

  /N + àkà/ --> [nyàkà] "cow"

  /N + ɔ́rò/ --> [nyɔ́rò] "body"

  /N + èkè/ --> [nyèkè] "snail"

  /N + àmà/ --> [nyàmà] "fish"

- /N-/ --> [ø] / - C voiceless

  /N + kémà/ --> [kémà] "monkey"

  /N + kàràrà --> [kàràrà] "corn"

  /N + sùkànéri --> [sùkànérè] "beginning"

  /N + fòé/ --> [fòé] "rat"

  /N + fíndi/ --> [fíndi] "gun powder"

Class 10 /N-/

The structure of the prefix of class 10 is identical to that of class 9. It is thus difficult to say one set of nouns are class 9 and the other class 10, since the prefixes are the same. But this task is made easier if we consider the fact that class 9 is the plural of class 10. The same basic allomorph /N-/ is chosen. Below are examples.

- /N-/ --> [m] / - [b]

/N + bàmbà/	--> [mbàmbà]	"snakes"
/N + bɔ̌/	--> [mbɔ̀]	"honey"
/N + bunjɛ́/	--> [mbúnjɛ́]	"nets"

- /N-/ --> [ŋ] / - [g]

/N + gìrà/	--> [ŋgìrà]	"lions"
/N + gèɛ́/	--> [ŋgèɛ́]	"roads"
/N + gùɛ́/	--> [ŋgùɛ́]	"pigs"

- /N-/ --> [n] / - [d]

/N + dɛ́wò/	--> [ndɛ́wò]	"houses"
/N + dùmbù/	--> [ndùmbú]	"nests"

- /N-/ --> [ɲ] / - [j]

/N + jèrì/	--> [ɲjèrì]	"chins"
/N + úgù/	--> [ɲjúgù]	"navel"
/N + jàkì/	--> [ɲjàkì]	"rings"

- /N-/ --> [ny] / - V

/N + ìgó/	--> [nyìgó]	"throats"
/N + ònjó/	--> [nyònjó]	"mushrooms"
/N + śfàfè/	--> [nyśfàfè]	"armpits"

- /N-/ --> [ø] / - C voiceless

/N + kémà/	--> [kémà]	"monkeys"
/N + fòé/	--> [fòé]	"rats"
/N + tòkò/	--> [tòkò]	"calabashes"
/N + kàràrà	--> [kàràrà]	"corn"

The main difference between class 9 and 10 can only be brought out by the concord system. More details will be got from the chapter on concord.

Class 13 /dò/ or /lò/

This is a plural class even if it differs from the usual even to an odd number. This class has very few nouns The allomorphs are [lò-] and [dò]. One could be wondering what is happening. This language permits the occurence of free variation between the [d] and the [l] sounds. Infact the only situation where this is not possible, is when [d] occurs in a /nd/ sequence. All this had already been discussed at the beginning of this chapter Because [l] is fast disappearing from kole language and for convinience

sake, ɾdò] will be henceforth, used in this work, since difference between ɛdò-] and ɛlo-] causes no meaning difference. Back to the problem of chosing a basic allomorph. If we choose either ɛdo-] or ɛd-] we will be faced either with a delition or an insertion rule. of vowel to derive either of the forms. It should be very logical to follow what had been Ghosen, where the cases are the same, in the previous classes. Moreso the canonical form of a Bantu prefix is CV so why not choos ɛdo-] and say ɛd] is realised infront of a vowel. Thus the rule and following examples will illustrate the point.

- /do-/ --> ɾd-] / - V

/do + úngú/	--> ɛdúngú]	"eagles"
/do + óngó/	--> ɛdóŋgó]	"cooking pots"

- /do-/ --> ɾdo-] / - C

/dò + kúrè/	--> ɛdòkúrè]	"tortoises"
/dò + nóní/	--> ɛdònóní]	"birds"
/dò + ƀwáŋgá/	--> ɾdòƀwáŋgá]	"crayfishes"
/dò + dísè/	--> ɛdòdìsè]	"sacrifices"

Class 14 /bò-/

Contrary to other classes where singular is an odd number class 14 is a singular class. It seemed to have

reversed order with the preceeding class, only they do not pair with each other. It has three phonetic realisations of the nominal prefix. They are ɾbò-ɿ, ɾbw-ɿ, ɾb-ɿ. If ɾbw-ɿ is taken as basic allomorph the problem will be to derive ɾbo-ɿ from ɾbw-ɿ and then delete either /o-/ or /w/ from the /b/ sound This is difficult if one considers that ɾwɿ is the corresponding glide for both ɾoɿ and ɾuɿ. How can one be obtained leaving out the other? That is the question. The next allomorph is ɾb-ɿ as basic allomorph. An insertion rule is needed here to explain the fact that the form /b-/ is realised ɾb-ɿ infront of all vowels except when the first two vowels of the root resemble each other, then it is realised ɾbw-ɿ with insertion of ɾwɿ. Infront of stems with an initial consonant ɾòɿ is inserted with a low tone. If ɾbo-ɿ is considered, it occurs before consonants, infront of stems that can be said to harmonize in terms of vowels, the ɾoɿ of ɾbò-ɿ becomes a glide ɾbw-ɿ or completely drops off when it occurs elsewhere (vowels). The following are examples:

- /bò-/ --> ɾbò-ɿ / - C

/bò + sóbòjǎ/	--> ɾbòsóbòjǎɿ	"bone"
/bò + rò/	--> ɾbòròɿ	"canoe"
/bò + jǎ/	--> ɾbòjǎɿ	"gathering"
/bò + kà/	--> ɾbòkàɿ	"loft"

- /bò-/ --→ [bw-] / - V $\begin{Bmatrix} a \\ e \end{Bmatrix}$ a, e

/bò + èlè/	--→ [bwèlè]	"tree" type
/bò + èndè/	--→ [bwèndè]	"circumcision"
/bò + àngá/	--→ [bwàŋga]	"chest"

- /bò-/ --→ [b-] / - V $\begin{Bmatrix} o \\ u \\ i \end{Bmatrix}$

/bò + ìtò	--→ [bìtò]	"death"
/bò + ùràngwà/	--→ [bùrángwà]	"foofoo"
/bò + úmà/	--→ [búmà]	"grain"
/bò + òbé	--→ [bòbé]	"bad"
/bò + óŋgò/	--→ [bóŋgò]	"fear"

Class 19 /ì-/

This is a singular class that forms a pair with class 13. This class has four allomorphs for the prefix marker [ì-], [è-], [ìy-] or [ey-] which form is derived from which is the essential question. It should be noted that [èy-] and [ìy-] are grouped together This is because they occur infront of vowels and the form we choose between [ì-] and [è-] as basic allomorph will have its associated pair [èy-] or [ìy-] realised infront of a vowel. So we will be concerned here with four allomorphs [ì-], [è-], [èy-] and [ìy]. If [èy-] or [ìy-] is chosen as basic allomorph the problem will be on how we eventually arrive at either [è-] or [ì-] even if [y] is their glide correspondent.

Will it not be more natural to say that either ɛi-ɔ or ɛè-ɔ is the basic allomorph, then their glide counterpart, is introduced, in the occurence of two vowels in a continuous sequence? We hope so.. Now the problem is to choose between ɾé-ɔ and ɛi-ɔ looking at their stems we see no reason why one could be considered as basic. Also looking whether it was semantically determined gave a blind end. Then on the basis of majority occurence between the two, and the fact that the proto form is /ɸì-/ made one decide to postulate it as the basic form Thus it is ɛì-ɔ with ɾìyɔ infront of vowel as the basic allomorph.

A hypothesis that can be adopted is that the occurence of ɛe-ɔ as prefix might be, some sort of movement of the nouns of this class to class 7 where the prefix is also ɛè-ɔ. Why this hypothesis has been set up, is because in the collection of data the informants tended to debate on whether it was ɛè-ɔ or ɛi-ɔ for a noun in class 19. One fact remained clear. No matter their arguments it always turned out that, the plural prefix was ɛdò-ɔ class 13. We know this is the regular counterpart of class 19. Consequently, the noun on which ɛè-ɔ were used, were nouns that had already had the class 7 prefixal form but had not yet changed its plural form to ɛbè-ɔ class 8. If this

hypothesis is agreeable then the following are examples:

/ì-/ --> [ìy-] / - V

/è-/ --> [èy-] / - V

/ì-/ --> [è-] / - C

/ì-/ --> [i-] / - C

- /ì-/ --> [ìy, èy] / - V

/e + ógó/ --> [iyógó] "pot"

/ì + úgò/ --> [èyúgò] "eagle"

- /ì/ --> [è-] / - C

/ì + ɓògò/ --> [èɓògò] "box"

/ì + disè/ --> [èdisè] "sacrifice"

/ì + kúrè/ --> [èkúrè] "tortoise"

- /ì-/ --> [i] / - C

/ì + nɔ̀nî/ --> [inɔ̀nî] "bird"

/ì + séréré/ --> [iséréré] "grasshopper"

/ì + kèngéwèndé/ --> [ikèngéwèndé] "ankle"

Overleaf is a recapitulative table of the kolɛ noun classes and their prefixes not forgeting the distribution of the various allomorphs.

CL	PROTO-BANTU	Kɔlɛ	DISTRIBUTION	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
1	mù	mù	/mù-/ ⟶ [mw-] / - V	mw-ánà, mw-àĭtɔ̀	child, woman
			/mù/ ⟶ [mɔ̀-] / - CV, V = [o]	mɔ̀-tɔ̀	person
			/mù/ ⟶ [mù-] / elsewhere	mù-tĭnà, mù-rèmbă	elder, witch
1a	ø	ø	-	tátă, ĭyè	father, mother
2	bà	bă	/bà-/ ⟶ [b-] / - V	b-ánà, băĭtɔ̀	children, women
			/bă-/ ⟶ [bă-] / elsewhere	bărèédĭ, bă-kárá	teachers, Europeans
3	mù	mù	/mù-/ ⟶ [mw-] / V	mw-à-gá, mw-èndĭ	root, news
			/mù-/ ⟶ [mɔ̀-] / - CV, V = [o]	mɔ̀-kɔ̀rĭ, mɔ̀-rɔ̀ŋgĭ	hill, sheep
			/mù-/ ⟶ [mù-] / elsewhere	mù-nyèrè, mù-yá	earth, in-Law
4	mè	mè	/mè-/ ⟶ [my-] / - V	my-èndé, my-èni	feet, fingers
			/mè-/ ⟶ [mè-] / - V, V = [o]	mè-órĭ, mè-ósɔ̀	ropes, rivers
			/mè-/ ⟶ [mè-] / elsewhere	mè-kūmbè, mèkɔ̀rĭ	guns, hills
5	dĭ	dĭ	/dĭ-/ ⟶ [d-] / - V	d-ɔ̃wá	stool
			/dĭ-/ ⟶ [j-] / - V = [a]	j-àá, jărábè	hand, reply
			/dĭ-/ ⟶ [lĭ-] / - C(free variants)	lĭ-bătɔ̀, l-ĭndé	cloth, cocoayam
			/dĭ/ ⟶ [dĭ] / - C	dĭ-kpàmbă, dĭ-Bùndé	cassava, cup
			ø	dɔ̀kɔ̀, lèndé	games, journey

CL	PROTO-BANTU	KOLɛ	DISTRIBUTION	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
6	mà	mà-	/mà-/ ⟶ [m-] / - V	m-ɔ̀wá	stools
			/mà-/ ⟶ [mà] / elsewhere	mà-rèndé, mà-ŋgéà	journeys, roads
6a	mà	mà			
			[mà-]	mà-ɓúrá, mà-ríwá	oil, water
7	ki	è	/è/ ⟶ [èy-] / V	èy-ɔ̀ndɪ̀, èy-àrɪ́	island, leaf
			/è-/ ⟶ [è-] / elsewhere	è-bárà, è-mùnè	scar, wave
8	bɪ̀	bè	/bè-/ ⟶ [by-] / - V	by-ɔ̀ndɪ̀, by-àrɪ̀	islands, leaves
			/bè/ ⟶ [bè-] elsewhere	bè-tàndá, bè-bɔ̀	ants, shells
9	N-	N-	/N-/ ⟶ [m-] / - [b]	m-bɔ́à, m-bɔ̀rɪ̀	country, goat
			/N-/ ⟶ [ŋ-] / - [g]	ŋgɔ̀ndɔ̀, ŋgbwà	groundnut, dog
			/N-/ ⟶ [n-] / - [d]	n-dùmbú, n-dáwɔ̀	nest, house
			/N-/ ⟶ [n-] / - [j]	n-jèkù, n-jɔ́	elephant, tiger
			/N-/ ⟶ ø /- C = voiceless	kémà, fɔ̀é	monkey, rat
			/N-/ ⟶ [ɲ] / - V	ɲ-àmà, ɲàkà	fish, cow
10	N-	N-	same realisations as in 9		

CL	PROTO-BANTU	KƆLƐ	DISTRIBUTION	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
13	dù	dɔ̀	/dɔ̀-/ ⟶ [d-] / - V	d-ùŋgù, d-ɔ́ŋgɔ́	eagles, pots
			/dɔ̀-/ ⟶ [dɔ̀] / elsewhere	dɔ̀-nɔ́nɪ̀, dɔ̀-kúrè	birds, eagles
14	bù	bɔ̀	/bɔ̀/ ⟶ [bw-] / V - V {e} {a}	bw-èndè, bwǎŋgá	circumcision, chest
			/bɔ̀/ ⟶ bɔ̀-] / - C	bɔ̀-rɔ̀, bɔ̀-kà	boat, loft
			/bɔ̀/ ⟶ [b-] / - V = {u} {o}	b-ɔ̀ŋgɔ́, b-úmà	friend, grain
19	pì	ì-	/ì-/ ⟶ [è-] / - C	è-BɔŋgɔŌ	box
			/ì-/ ⟶ [ìy] / - V	èy-ùŋgú	eagle
			/ì-/ ⟶ [èy] / - V	èy-ɔ́ŋgɔ́	pot
			/ì-/ ⟶ [ì-] / - elsewhere	ì-nɔ́nɪ̀	bird

3.3 Concord System

Introduction

In the previous section, noun prefixes were discussed This section will be a presentation and discussion of the concord system, which is, the agreement between nouns and noun determiners. This is in the light that the concord phenomena is determined by the noun that it precedes. It is the noun, in relation to its class which determines the concord or the concordial affixe. If the form of the concordial affix is related to the class of the noun concerned, it therefore holds that, there exists many concordial prefixes as there exist many classes. As a result, the number of nominal classes that exist in a Language will reflect the same number of concordial affixes that exists. The importance of the concord system in a noun class system analysas is very great for it's one of the criteria used to establish the individual noun classes as contrastive i.e. the occurence of the noun with a specific set of concording elements. The following concordial elements will be presented

Numerals: Cardinal numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 How many

Possessives: my, your, his, your (pl), our and their

Demonstratives: this (near), that (far off)

Determinatives: another

Associatives:

Verbal concord

3.3.1 Numerals

1	yòkó	4	bénèí
2	bébà	5	bétánù
3	bérárò		

It is very obvious that the number "1" is singular. It will therefore concord only with the singular classes of this language. The singular classes are 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 14 and 19. In all there are seven. The class of the concord is determined by that of the noun concerned Below are examples of nouns from these classes used with the numeral 1.

cl. 1 /mù/

mù-kárá	m-òkó	"one European"
european	one	
mw-àítò	m-òkó	"one woman"
woman	one	

cl. 3 /mù-/

Like the above the morpheme /mù-/ is realised as [m-] when it precedes a stem with an initial vowel.

Below are some examples:

mù- kòrì	m-	ɔ̀kɔ́	"one hill"
hill		one	
mù- rémà	m-	ɔ̀kɔ́	"one heart"
heart		one	

cl. 5. /dì/

As already mentioned the kɔlɛ speakers tend to use [d] and [r] [l] interchangeably. So in this case the morpheme /di-/ becomes [r] which is then realised [r-] in front of a stem with an initial vowel.

Examples:

ì- támà	r-	ɔ̀kɔ́	"one cheek"
cheek		one	
dìkɔ̀kɛ̀	r-	ɔ̀kɔ́	"one dry season"
dry season		one	

cl. 7. /è/

The morpheme /è/ is semi-vowelised when it occurs before a stem with an initial vowel especially a back one. Thus /e/ --- [y] / - [o]

Examples:

è-kɔ̀rɔ́ŋgwà	y-	ɔ̀kɔ́	"one lizard"
lizard		one	

è- kpà	y- ɔ̀kɔ́	"one bag"
bag	one	

cl. 9. /N-/

It is difficult to precise the change here from a nasal to a fricative. For a temporal measure, we will say a nasal sound becomes oral. Below are examples:

n- dɑ́wò	f- ɔ̀kɔ́	"one house"
house	one	
n- gèn	f- ɔ̀kɔ́	"one bell"
bell	one	

cl. 14. /bɔ̀-/

The morpheme /bɔ-/ is realised [b-] infront of a stem with an initial vowel

Examples:

b- ɔ̀rɔ́	b- ɔ̀kɔ́	"one boat"
boat	one	
bɔ̀- kǎ	b- ɔ̀kɔ́	"one loft"
loft	one	

cl. 19. /i-/

The morpheme /i-/ like in class 7 becomes semi vowel infront of stems with an initial back vowel. Examples

i- nɔ̀ní	y- ɔ̀kɔ́	"one bird"
bird	one	

è- kúrè	y- ɔ̀kɔ́	"one toitoise"
toitoise	one	

We have come to the end of the singular classes dealing with the numeral 1. Now we are going to look at the plural classes in relation to the numeral 2, 3, 4 and 5.

cl. 2. /ba-/

The concordial prefix in this case is same with the class prefix except for the change in tone.

Examples

bà- kárá	bá- bá	"two Europeans"
European	two	
bà- àítî	bá- rárò	"three women"
women	three	
b- ánà	bá- nè	"four children
children	four	
bà-réèdî	bá- tánù	"five teachers"
teachers	five	

cl. 4. /mé-/

mè-kùrî	mé- bá	"one hill"
hills	two	
mè-kùmbè	mé-rárò	"three alligators"
alligators	three	

mè-sáŋgà	mé-nè	"four beads"
beads	four	
mèsǐŋgà	mé-tánù	"five ropes"
ropes	five	

cl. 6 /má-/

mà-támà	má-bá	"two cheeks"
cheeks	two	
mà-bàtò	má-rárò	"three cloths"
cloths	three	
mà-Bòndé	má-nè	"four cups"
cups	four	
mà-mbówà	má-tánù	"five countries"
countries	five	

cl. 8 /bé-/

bè-kùrúŋgwà	bé-bá	"two lizards"
lizards	two	
bè-kpà	bé-rárò	"three bags"
bags	three	
bè-tàndá	bé-nè	"four ants"
ants	four	
bè-támbǐ	bé-tánù	"five shoes"
shoes	five	

Cl. 10 /N-/

ngbwà	ǐ-bấ	"two dogs"
dogs	two	
ny-àkà	ǐ-rárò	"three cows"
cows	three	
m-bòrì	ǐ-né	"four goats"
goats	four	
n-jóh	ǐ-tánù	"five tigers"
tigers	five	

Cl. 13 /dó-/

dò-kúrè	dó-bấ	"two tortoises"
tortoises	two	
dò-nóní	dó-rárò	"three birds"
birds	three	
dò-séréré	dó-nè	"four crickets"
cricket	four	
dò-dìsè	dó-tánù	"five sacrifices"
sacrifices	five	

Numeral Prefixes

cl. 1	m-	cl. 2	bá	cl. 3	m-
cl 4	mé-	cl. 5	r-	cl. 6	má-
cl. 7	y-	cl. 8	bé-	cl. 9	f-
cl.10	i-	cl.13	dó-	cl.14	bó-
cl.19	y-				

HOW MANY

This is some sort of a qualification to show number, thus it will be appropriate to treat it under numeral. It should be noted that it is used only with the plural class since it is obvious that one can not be asking the number seeing it is only one.

cl. 2	b-ánà children	bá-tíŋgá how many	"how many children?"
	b-àítò women	bá-tíŋgá how many	"how many women?"
cl. 4	mè-kùrì hills	mé-tíŋgá how many	"how many hills?"
	mè-rùmbù mouths	mé-tíŋgá how many	"how many mouths?"
cl. 6	mà-támà cheeks	má-tíŋgá how many	"how many cheeks?"
cl. 8	bè-kùrúŋgwà lizards	bé-tíŋgá how many	"how many lizards?"
	bè-kpà bags	bé-tíŋgá how many	"how many bags?"
cl. 10	n-gòá pigs	í-tíŋgá how many	"how many pigs?"
	m-bòrì goats	í-tíŋgá how many	"how many goats?"

cl. 13	dò-nɔ́nì birds	dɔ́-tĭŋgɛ́ how many	"how many birds?"
	dò-kúrè tortoises	dɔ́-tĭŋgɛ́ how many	"how many tortioses?"

Prefixes	cl. 2	bɛ́-	cl. 8	bé-
	cl. 4	mé-	cl.10	ĭ-
	cl. 6	mɛ́-	cl.13	dɔ́-

3.3.2 Adjectives

The adjectival prefix is a concordial prefix because its form will depend on the type of noun that it qualifies. In kolɛ there are very few adjectives. This does not mean there are no qualifications done in the language, but adjectives in terms of adjectives in the English or french language are few. Most often than not the language makes use of verb forms to express qualification. An expression like "black shoes" in a word for word translation will come out as "shoes that blacking"

Since adjectives depend on nouns for their form and since nouns are organised in classes, adjectives are also organised in classes according to their various prefixes.

The adjectives to be used as illustration are:

big	ndénè	small	sɛ́rì

Cl. 1

mwàĭtò	nú-ndénè	"big woman"
woman	big	
mò-tò	nú-ndénè	"big person"
person	big	
mw-ánà	nú-sárì	"small child"
child	small	
mw-àĭtò	nú-sárì	"small woman"
woman	small	

cl 2

bà-àĭtò	bá-ndénè	"big women"
women	big	
bà-tò	bá-ndénè	"big persons"
persons	big	
b-ánà	bá-sárì	"small children"
children	small	
bà-réèdi	bá-sárì	"small teachers"
teachers	small	

cl. 3

mù-rùmbù	mú-ndénè	"big mouth"
mouth	big	
mù-sĭbá	mú-ndénè	"big horn"
horn	big	

mù-rùmbù mouth	mú-sárì small	"small mouth"
mù-sìbá horn	mú-sárì small	"small horn"

cl. 4

my-éndè feet	mɛ̀-ndénè big	"big feet"
mè-kèyì eggs	mé-ndénè big	"big eggs"
my-éndè feet	mé-sárì small	"small feet"
mè-kèyì eggs	mé-sárì small	"small eggs"

cl. 5

dì-bàtò cloth	dɪ́-ndénè big	"big cloth"
ì-bè breast	dɪ́-ndénè big	"big breast"
ì-sùŋgá tooth	dɪ́-sárì small	"small tooth"
dì-kàkè crab	dɪ́-sárì small	"small crab"

cl. 6

mà-súŋgà teeth	má-ndénè big	"big teeth"

mà-rárè	má-ndénè	"big stones"
stones	big	
mà-réndè	má-sárì	"small knives"
knives	small	
mà-bè	má-sárì	"small breasts"
breasts	small	

cl. 7

è-bárá	é-ndénè	"big scar"
scar	big	
èy-ôndí	é-ndénè	"big island"
island	big	
è-kà	é-sárì	"small market"
market	small	
è-fùmá	é-sárì	"small fruit"
fruit	small	

cl. 8

bè-tándá	bé-ndénè	"big ants"
ants	big	
bè-kpà	bé-ndénè	"big bags"
bags	big	
bè-fùmá	bé-sárì	"small fruits"
fruits	small	
bè-kà	bé-sárì	"small markets"
markets	small	

cl. 9

m-bòwà village	ì-ndénè big	"big village"
n-dəwò house	ì-ndénè big	"big house"
ŋ-gbwà dog	ì-sərì small	"small dog"
m-bòri goat	ì-sərì small	"small goat"

cl. 10

ŋ-gàndó caiman	é-ndénè big	"big caimans"
fèjéíkú cochroach	é-ndénè big	"big cockroaches"
n-jèkù elephant	é-sərì small	"small elephants"
ny-àkà cows	é-sərì small	"small cows"

cl. 13

dò-nəni birds	dǒ-ndéni big	"big birds"
d-ŏŋgŏ pots	dó-ndénè big	"big pots"
d-ùŋgó eagles	dó-sərì small	"small eagles"

dò-séréré	dó-sárì	"small crickets"
crickets	small	

cl. 14

bò-kǎ	bó-ndénè	"big loft"
loft	big	
bò-rò	bó-ndénè	"big boat"
boat	big	
bò-kǎ	bo-sari	"small loft"
loft	small	
bò-rò	bo-sárì	"small boat"
boat	small	

cl. 19

è-kúrè	í-ndénè	"big tortoise"
tortoise	big	
i-nɔ́ni	í-ndénè	"big bird"
bird	big	
i-séréré	i-sárì	"small cricket"
cricket	small	
ì-nɔ́ni	i-sárì	"small bird"
bird	small	

Adjectival Prefix

cl 1 nú	cl 2 bá	cl 3 mú
cl 4 mé	cl 5 dí	cl 6 má
cl 7 ḗ	cl 8 bé	cl 9 ì
cl 10 ḗ	cl 13 dǒ	cl 14 bó
cl 19 í		

Looking at the above, it is noticed that the difference from the noun prefixes and the adjectival prefixes come in the change of tones i.e. from high to low and change in the prefixes of classes 1, 9, 10.

3.3.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are also known to be determined by nouns. It serves as indicatives . In kɔlɛ there are two main types of demonstratives. This and that and its plural counterparts. If a speaker wanted to indicate something 'over there' he uses the normal construction of 'that' but 'that' is repeated after the noun again. Below is an illustration.

That woman	ɔnɛ́	mwàĭtɔ̀	
That woman over there	ɔnɛ́	mwàĭtɔ̀	ɔnɛ́

For the above reason only the following will be treated: this, that, these and those.

cl 1

The demonstratives 'this' and 'that' differ in this class in relation to the other classes. This cannot be easily explained. One can only assume that it is some sort of a change that has taken place in the language. We are sure further work on it will reveal the process which cannot be done here because of limited time.

ò-nɛ́	mw-àĭtò	"this woman"
ò-nɛ́	mw-ánà	"this child"
à-ŋgó	mw-àĭtò	"that woman"
à-ŋgó	mw-àĭtà	"that woman"

For convinience and as a temporary measure the prefix for 'this' will be chosen as concordial prefix but much work still has to be done.

cl 2	bá-nò	b-ánà
	these	children
	bá-nò	bà-tò
	these	men
	bá-ò	b-ánà
	those	children
	bá-ò	bà-tò
	those	men
cl 3	mó-nò	mò-kùrì
	this	hill
	mó-nò	mù-nyèrè
	this	earth
	mó-ò	mò-kùrì
	that	hill
	mó-ò	mù-nyèrè
	that	earth

cl 4	mé-nè	mè-sébɑ́
	these	horns
	mé-nè	mè-kùrì
	these	hills
	mé-ò	mè-sébɑ́
	those	horns
	mé-ò	mè-kèyì
	those	eggs
cl 5	dǐ-nè	dí-sɔ̀
	this	eye
	dǐ-nè	dì-wìnì
	this	okra
	dɔ́-ò	dí-sɔ̀
	that	eye
	dɔ́-ò	dì-wìnì
	that	okra
cl 6	mɑ́-nɔ̀	mà-wìnì
	these	okras
	mɑ́-nɔ̀	mà-bàtɔ̀
	these	cloths
	mɑ́-ò	mà-wìnì
	those	okras
	mɑ́-ò	mà-bàtɔ̀
	those	cloths
cl 7	é-nè	è-kpà
	this	bag

é-nè	è-kà
this	market
yó	è-kpà
that	bag
yó	è-kà
that	market

It is worth noting that because two vowels can not occur on their own in a VV structure, one of the V becomes a semi-vowel. Thus we have /e/ --→ [y] / V - V.

cl 8	bé-nè	bè-kpà
	these	bags
	bé-nè	bè-kà
	these	markets
	bé-ò	bè-rèrà
	those	ducks
	bé-ò	by-òndi
	those	islands
cl 9	è-né	m-bòrî
	this	goat
	è-né	ŋ-gèá
	this	road
	yó	ŋ-gèá
	that	road

	yó	m-bɔ́rì
	that	goat
cl 10	í-nè	ny-àkà
	those	cows
	í-nè	n-jèkù
	those	elephants
	yó	ŋ-gìrà
	those	lions
	yó	n-jɔ́
	those	tigers
cl 13	dó-nò	dò-nɔ̀ní
	these	birds
	dó-nò	dò-yóŋgó
	these	pots
	dó-ò	dò-kúrè
	those	tortoises
	dó-ò	dò-nɔ́ni
	those	birds
cl 14	bó-nò	bò-rɔ̀
	this	boat
	bó-nò	bɔ̀-jă
	this	gathering
	bɔ́-ò	bò-rɔ̀
	that	boat

	bɔ́-ɔ̀	bɔ̀-jə̌
	that	gathering
cl 19	è-nè	ì-nɔ̀nɨ́
	this	bird
	é-nè	è-kúrè
	this	tortoise
	yɔ́	ìséréré
	that	cricket
	yɔ́	è-dɨ́sé
	that	sacrifice

One might have noticed the constant change in the stem where at times it is -nè and at times -nɔ̀. A tentative reason for this alternative might be that kɔlɛ has aspects of its sister language duala where the stem is -ne

Prefixes

cl	1	ɔ̀-	cl	2	bə́-	cl	3	mú-
cl	4	mé-	cl	5	dɨ́-	cl	6	mə́-
cl	7	é-	cl	8	bé	cl	9	è-
cl	10	í-	cl	13	dɔ́-	cl	14	bɔ́-
cl	19	è-						

3.3.4 Possessives

Here too possessives are determined by nouns. We will be treating the following possessives.

my	our
your (sg)	your (pl)
his	their

cl 1	mw-ón	àmɛ́		"my child"
	child	my		
	mw-ón	òŋgó		"your child"
	child	your		
	mw-ón	àǐ		"his child"
	child	his		
	mw-an	àsú		"our child"
	child	our		
	mw-ón	ànyú		"your child"
	child	your		
	mw-ón	àwú		"their child"
	child	their		

Notice that because there is a VV structure, one V is dropped, in favor of, another. This will further be discussed in the section where some phonological processes are treated.

cl 2	b-àáàà	bámɛ́		"my women"
	women	my		

	b-àítò	bóŋgó	"your women"
	women	your	
	b-aátò	bóí	"his women"
	women	his	
	b-aítò	bású	"our women"
	women	our	
	b-aítò	bányú	"your women"
	women	your	
	b-aito	báwú	"their women"
	women	their	
cl 3	mò-kùrì	múmé	"my hill"
	hill	my	
	mò-kùri	móŋgó	"your hill"
	hill	your	
	mò-kùrì	móí	"his hill"
	hill	his	
	mò-kùrì	mósú	"our hill"
	hill	our	
	mò-kùrì	mónyú	"your hill"
	hill	your	
	mò-kùrì	mówú	"their hill"
	hill	their	
cl 4	mè-róŋgì	mémé	"my sheep"
	sheep	my	
	mè-róŋgì	meŋgò	"your sheep"
	sheep	your	

	mè-róŋgì sheep	méɪ́ his	"his sheep"
	mè-róŋgì sheep	mésú our	"our sheep"
	mè-róŋgì sheep	ménɣú your	"your sheep"
	mè-róŋgì sheep	méwú their	"their sheep"
cl 5	ì-súŋgə̀ tooth	ɾə́mɛ́ my	"my tooth"
	ì-súŋgà tooth	ɾóŋgó your	"your tooth"
	ì-súŋgà tooth	ɾə́ɪ́ his	"his tooth"
	ì-súŋgà tooth	ɾású our	"our tooth"
	ì-súŋgà tooth	ɾə́nyú your	"your tooth"
	ì-súŋgà tooth	ɾə́wú their	"their tooth"
cl 6	mà-rèndè knives	mámɛ́ my	"my knives"
	mà-rèndè knives	máŋgó your	"your knives"

	mà-rèndè	mɛ́ɪ́	"his knives"
	knives	his	
	mà-rèndè	mɛ́sú	"our knives"
	knives	our	
	mà-rèndè	mɛ́nyú	"your knives"
	knives	your	
	mà-rèndè	mɛwú	"their knives"
	knives	their	
cl 7	è-kpà	ɛ́mɛ́	"my bag
	bag	my	
	è-kpà	ɛ́ŋgó	"your bag"
	bag	your	
	è-kpà	ɛ́ɪ́	"his bag"
	bag	his	
	è-kpà	ɛ́sú	"our bag"
	bag	our	
	è-kpà	ɛ́nyú	"your bag"
	bag	your	
	è-kpà	ɛ́wú	"their bag"
	bag	their	
cl 8	bè-kà	bɛ́mɛ́	"my markets"
	markets	my	
	bè-kà	bɛ́ŋgó	"our markets"
	markets	your	

	bè-kà	béĭ	"his markets"
	markets	his	
	bè-kà	bésú	"our markets"
	markets	our	
	bè-kà	bényú	"your markets"
	markets	your	
	bè-kà	béwú	"their markets"
	markets	their	
cl 9	ŋ-gbà	àmɛ́	"my dog"
	dog	my	
	ŋ-gbà	àŋgɔ́	"your dog"
	dog	your	
	ŋ-gbà	àĭ	"his dog"
	dog	his	
	ŋ-gbà	àsú	"our dog"
	dog	our	
	ŋ-gbà	ànyú	"your dog"
	dog	your	
	ŋ-gbà	àwú	"their dog"
	dog	our	
cl 10	m-bòrì	ámɛ́	"my goats"
	goat	my	
	m-bòrì	áŋgɔ́	"your goats"
	goat	your	

		m-bòrì	ǽǐ	"his goats"
		goat	his	
		m-bòri	ǽsú	"our goats"
		goat	our	
		m-bòrì	ǽnyṵ̀	"your goats"
		goat	your	
		m-bòrì	àwṵ̀	"their goats"
		goat	their	
cl	13	dò-yóŋgó	dǿmɛ̀	"my pots"
		pots	my	
		dò-yóŋgó	dóŋgó	"your pots"
		pots	your	
		dò-yóŋgó	dǿǐ	"his pots"
		pots	his	
		dò-yóŋgó	dósú	"our pots"
		pots	our	
		dò-yóŋgó	dónyu	"your pots"
		pots	your	
		dò-yóŋgó	dówú	"their pots"
		pots	their	
cl	14	bò-rɔ̀	bǽmɛ̀	"my boat"
		boat	my	
		bò-rɔ̀	bóŋgó	"your boat"
		boat	your	

	bɔ̀-rɔ̀	bɔ́ɪ́	"his boat"
	boat	his	
	bɔ̀-rə	bɔ́sú	"our boat"
	boat	our	
	bɔ̀-rɔ̀	bɔ́nyú	"your boat"
	boat	your	
	bɔ̀-rɔ̀	bɔ́wú	"their"
	boat	their	
cl 19	ì-nɔ́nì	ɪ́mɛ́	"my bird"
	bird	my	
	ì-nɔ́nì	iŋgɔ́	"your bird"
	bird	your	
	ì-nɔ́nì	ɣé	"his bird"
	bird	his	
	ì-nɔ́nì	ɪ́sú	"our bird"
	bird	our	
	ì-nɔ́nì	ɪ́nyú	"your bird"
	bird	your	
	ì-nɔ́nì	ɪ́wú	"their bird"
	bird	their	

In fluent speech the native speakers elide a V in a VV sequence. That is, in cases where on of the vowels does not become a semi-vowel.

Possessive prefixes

cl	1	à	cl	2	bá	cl	3	mú
cl	4	mé	cl	5	rá	cl	6	má
cl	7	á'	cl	8	bé	cl	9	à
cl	10	á	cl	13	dó	cl	14	bó
cl	19	í-						

3.3.5 Associatives

Associatives are connected to construction. That is noun in association with another (N_1 N_2). What will be treated here is an equivelent of the English apostrophy s ('s). It's form varies in relation with the first noun (N_1). Below is an illustration.

cl 1

mw-ánà	à	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's child"
child	's	woman	
mw-àĭtò	à	mò-tò	"the man's wife"
woman	's	man	

cl 2

b-ánà	bá	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's children"
children	's	women	
b-àĭtò	bá	mò-tò	"the man's wives"
women	's	men	

cl 3	mw-éndè	mú	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's foot"
	foot	's	woman	
	mù-rémà	mú	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's heart"
	heart	's	woman	
cl 4	my-éndè	mé	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's feet"
	feet	's	woman	
	mè-rémà	mé	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's hearts"
	hearts	's	woman	
cl 5	ì-sùŋgá	rá	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's tooth"
	tooth	's	woman	
	ì-tòĭ	rá	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's ear"
	ear	's	woman	
cl 6	mà-sùŋgá	má	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's teeth"
	teeth	's	woman	
	mà-tóì	má	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's ears"
	ears	's	woman	
cl 7	è-kpà	yá	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's bag"
	bag	's	woman	
	è-támbì	yá	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's shoe"
	shoe	's	woman	
cl 8	bè-kpà	bé	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's bags"
	bags	's	woman	
	bè-támbì	bé	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's shoes"
	shoes	's	woman	

cl 9	m-bòrì	yà	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's goat"
	goat	's	woman	
	ŋ-gbà	yà	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's dog"
	goat	's	woman	
cl 10	m-bòrì	yá	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's goats"
	goat	's	woman	
	ŋ-gbà	yá	mwàĭtò	"the woman's dogs"
	dog	's	woman	
cl 13	do-yòŋgó	dá	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's pots"
	pot	's	woman	
	d'ùŋgú	dá	mw àĭtò	"the woman's eagles"
	eagles	's	woman	
cl 14	bò-rɔ̀	bɔ́	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's boat"
	boat	's	woman	
	bɔ̀-kǎ	bɔ́	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's loft"
	loft	's	woman	
cl 19	ì-nɔ́ni	yá	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's bird"
	bird	's	woman	
	è-kúrè	yá	mw-àĭtò	"he woman's tortoise"
	tortoise	's	woman	

Associative prefixes

cl	1	à	cl	2	bá	cl	3	mú
cl	4	mé	cl	5	rá	cl	6	mə

cl 7	yá	cl 8	bé	cl 9	yà
cl 10	yá	cl 13	dá	cl 14	bó
cl 19	yá				

The prefixes of the associative 's in this language are the same as that of 'of'. For example:

cl 9 ŋ-géà yà mw-àítò "the road of the woman"
road of woman

cl 5 di-fondi ra mò-kùmbà "the hole of the gun"
hole of gun

3.3.6 Determinatives

As the name goes determinatives in this case are to determine whether one noun is different from another not in the sense of prefixes and classes but in the light of "other" and "which". But after looking at the data we noticed that the form "which" in kolɛ is not affected by class. That is it does not have a particular prefix marking a class, consequently it is prefixless. Let us illustrate this point.

cl 1 njùkù mw-àítò "which woman?"
which woman

cl 4 njùkù mè-kókò "which sugarcanes?"
which sugarcanes

cl 9 njùkù n-jèkù "which elephant?"
which elephant

As a result we will be looking only at the determinative "other". It is determined by the noun with which it is used. Thus it has prefixes to mark it's classes same as the nouns too

cl 1	mw-àítò	nú-féfè	"another woman"
	woman	another	
	mù-rèédi	nú-féfè	"another teacher"
	teacher	another	
cl 2	bà-tò	bá-féfè	"other persons"
	persons	other	
	bà-rèédi	bá-féfè	"other teachers"
	teachers	other	
cl 3	mò-kókò	mú-féfè	"anotner sugarcane"
	sugarcane	another	
	mù-rùmbù	mú-féfè	"another mouth"
	mouth	another	
cl 4	mè-kókò	mú-féfè	"other sugarcanes"
	sugarcanes	other	
	mè-rùmbù	mé-féfè	"other mouths"
	mouths	other	
cl 5	dì-kàkò	dí-féfè	"another crab"
	crab	another	

	dì-bòŋgɛ́	dí-fɛ́fɛ̀	"another stomach"
	stomach	another	
cl 6	mà-kàkò	má-fɛ́fɛ̀	"other crabs"
	crabs	other	
	mà-bòŋgɛ́	má-fɛ́fɛ̀	"other stomachs"
	stomachs	other	
cl 7	è-wàkɛ̀	ì-fɛ́fɛ̀	"another chimpanzee"
	chimpanzee	another	
	è-kà	í-fɛ́fɛ̀	"another market"
	market	another	
cl 8	bè-wàkɛ̀	bé-fɛ́fɛ̀	"other chimpanzees"
	chimpanzees	other	
	bè-kà	bé-fɛ́fɛ̀	"other markets"
	markets	other	
cl 9	n-jèkù	é-fɛ́fɛ̀	"another elephant"
	elephant	another	
	n-dɛ́wò	é-fɛ́fɛ̀	"another house"
	house	another	
cl 10	ny-àkà	í-fɛ́fɛ̀	"other cows"
	cows	other	
	ŋ-gìrà	í-fɛ́fɛ̀	"other lions"
	lions	other	
cl 13	dò-nɔ́nì	dɔ́-fɛ́fɛ̀	"other birds"
	birds	other	

	dò-séréré crickets	dó-féfè other	"other crickets"
cl 14	bò-rò boat	bó-féfè another	"another boat"
	bò-kǎ loft	bó-féfè another	"another loft"
cl 19	ì-yóŋgó pot	ǐ-féfè another	"another pot"
	ì-séréré cricket	ǐ-féfè another	"another cricket"

Looking at the above it is noticed that two forms are used 'another', 'other'. But it should be noted that both mean the same thing only that 'another' is for singular and 'other' is for plural. The prefixes for this determinatives are like that of adjectives.

cl 1	nú-	cl 2	bé-	cl 3	mú
cl 4	mé-	cl 5	dǐ-	cl 6	má
cl 7	i-	cl 8	bé-	cl 9	é-
cl 10	ǐ-	cl 13	dó-	cl 14	bo-
cl 19	ǐ-				

3.3.7 Verbal Concord

One might get very suprised when ~~one sees verbs~~ appearing when the topic of concern is Nouns. One

should have been suprised too when adjectives were treated. The explanation is that whenever a noun is the subject of a onjugated verb, the noun reappeares in a pronominal form before the verb. This pronoun is a personal pronoun which we call the verbal prefix because it helps in the conjuga.ion. This interests us because it depends on the form of the noun class and thus varies from class to class.

cl 1

mò-tò	à	dà	"the man eats"
man	he	eats	
mw-ánà	à	mádà	"the child ate"
child	he	ate	

cl 2

bà-tò	bá	dà	""the men eat"
men	they	eat	
b-ánà	bá	mádà	"the children ate"
children	they	ate	

cl 3

mù-rònɡi	mú	dà	"the sheep eats"
sheep	it	eats	
mù-rònɡì	mú	mádà	"the sheep ate"
sheep	it	ate	

cl 4

mè-rònɡì	mé	dà	"the sheep eat"
sheep	they	eat	

mè-rɔ̀ŋgì mé mádà "the sheep ate"
sheept they ate

cl 5

dǐ-sɔ̀ dǐ dìbà "the eye closes"
eye it closes

dǐ-sɔ̀ dǐ mǎdìbà "the eye closed"
eye it closed

cl 6

mà-tòí má dìbà "the ears close"
ears they close

mà-toí má mǎdìbà "ehe ears closed"
ears they closed

cl 7

è-kòróŋgwà é sáká "the lizard dances"
lizard it dances

è-kòróŋgwà é másáká "the lizard danced"
lizard it danced

cl 8

bè-kòróŋgwà bá sáká "the lizards dance"
lizards they dance

bè-kòróŋgwà bá másáká "the lizards danced"
lizards they danced

cl 9

ŋ-gbwà à nàŋgà "the dog sleeps"
dog it sleeps

ŋ-gbà	à	mánàŋgà	"the dog slept"
dog	it	slept	

cl 10

n-jèkù	à	nàŋgà	"the elephants sleep"
elephants	they	sleep	
n-jèkù	à	mánàŋgà	"the elephant slept"
elephants	they	slept	

cl 13

dò-nónì	dá	dà	"the birds eat"
birds	they	eat	
dò-nónì	dá	mádà	"the birds ate"
birds	they	ate	

cl 14

bò-rò	bó	tìmbà	"the boat returns"
boat	it	returns	
bò-rò	bó	mátímbǎ	"the boat returned"
boat	it	returned	

cl 19

ì-nɔ̀nî	á	kónɔ̀	"the bird sings"
bird	it	sings	
ì-nɔ̀nî	á	mákónɔ̀	"the bird sang"
bird	it	sang	

Prefixes

cl 1	à	cl 2	bá	cl 3	mú
cl 4	mé	cl 5	dí	cl 6	má
cl 7	á	cl 8	bé	cl 9	à
cl 10	á	cl 13	dá	cl 14	bó
cl 19	á				

3.3.8 Analysis of Concord System

Looking at the concord system the numeral, possessive adjective and verbal concord prefixesare post nominal except for the demonstrative. For example, we have,

Adj.	mw-àítò	nú-ndénè	"big woman"
	woman	big	
poss.	b-àítò	bá-mé	"my women"
	women	my	
dem	bé-nè	bè-kpà	"these bags"
	these	bags	

Most of the concordial forms agree with the nominal class of the noun that is used. The most constant of the classes are 2, 4, 6, 8, 13 and 14. Class 1 shows a lot of irregularity in prefixes ranging from m- (NPC). nú- (^{A}P) ò- (^{D}P) à- (PP). In some cases as in the associative the prefix has even died out leaving a

construction with no prefix. Example:

mw-ánà	mw-àítò	"the woman's child"
child	woman	

Fortunately, the nouns of class one, are distinguishable by the nature of their semantic content. It is the only class, that has human beings, as its semantic content, otherwise the concord system would not have been able to further establish the fact, that, a particular noun belong to class one.

For the classes with a V structure as the noun class prefix, the concord prefixes have tended to be the same. This is exemplified in class 7 and 19.

Dem	cl 7	é-nè	è-kpà
		this	bag
	cl 19	é-nè	ì-nóni
		this	bird
Poss	cl 7	è-kàróŋgwà	á-mé
		lizard	my
	cl 19	è-kúrè	í-mé
		tortoise	my

The classes with a nasal as prefix (noun cl) have the tendency of adopting the concordial prefixes of

class 7 and 19. In some cases as in the Associative concord classes 7, 9, 10 and 19 have similar prefixes.

cl 7	è-kpà	yá	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's bag"
	bag	's	woman	
cl 9	m-bóri	yà	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's goat"
	goat	's	woman	
cl 10	m-bóri	yá	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's goats"
	goats	's	woman	
cl 19	ì-nóni	yá	mw-àĭtò	"the woman's bird"
	bird	's	woman	

What will distinguish the classes in the case of 9 and 10 is the fact that the tones are different, low and high respectively. As for 7 and 19 the difference will come if we consider their plural counterparts. The former is class 8 and the latter is class 13.

3.4 Some roun-phrase Phonological Processes

When sound changes occur, because of a contiguity of morphemes, the result is a phonological process. What will interest us is the syllable structure phonological processess in general, and in particular the vowel deletion process, and major class change processes. Syllable structure processes are processes that affect the relative distribution of vowels and

consonants.

When there is a collocation of noun-possessive vowel deletion takes place. In this case there is a contiguous occurence of two vowels across word boundary, and such a case one vowel drops off. It should be noted that, when the words are in isolation, they are not deleted. This can be illustrated as follows:

mwánà	ámé	--→	mwánámé	"my child"
child	my		child my	
mwánà	ású	--→	mwánású	"our child"
child	our		child our	
mwánà	ányú	--→	mwánányú	"your child"
child	your(pl)		child your	
mwánà	áí	--→	mwánáí	"his child"
child	his		child his	

A formal statement to account for the above process is V --→ o / V -- V

Major class change process is a process where a vowel can become a semi vowel. In kole this occurs in noun-demonstrative collocation i.e. when there are two vowels in a word one vowel becomes a semi-vowel. This mostly occurs in classes where the prefix has a V structure and the concordial stem also has

a V structure. Below an example from a class with a CV prefix and that of V prefix are compared.

cl 6	má-nà	mà-wìnî
	these	okras
	má-ò	mà-wìnì
	those	okras
cl 7	é-nè	èkpà
	this	bag
	yó	èkpà
	that	bag

Thus /èó/ --→ [yó]

The prose statement is that a high front vowel becomes its corresponding glide when followed by another vowel. To put it in formal statement it is:

/e/ --→ [y] / - V

Overleaf is a recapitulative table for the concordial prefixes though not all are filled in the box.

column i	Nominal prefixes
column ii	Numeral prefixes
column iii	Adjective prefixes
column iv	Demonstrative prefixes
column v	Possessive prefixes
column vi	Associative prefixes
column vii	Determinative prefixes
column viii	Verbal prefixes

CL:	NP	NPC:	AP	DP	PP	APS:	DPe:	VP
1:	mù	m-	nú	ò	á	à	nú	à
2:	bà	bá	bá	bá	bá	bá	bá	bá
3:	mù	m	mú	mú	mú	mú	mú	mú
4:	mě	mé	mé	mé	mé	mé	mé	mé
5:	dǐ	r	dǐ	dǐ	rá	rá	dǐ	dǐ
6:	mà	má	má	má	má	má	má	má
7:	è	y	é	é	á	yá	í	á
8:	bè	bé	bé	bé	bé	bé	bé	bé
9:	N	f	ì	ì	á	yà	é	à
10:	N	í	é	é	á	yá	ï	á
13:	dò	dó	dó	dó	dó	dá	dó	dá
14:	bò	bó	bó	bó	bó	bó	bá	bó
19:	ì	y	ǐ	e	ǐ	e	yá	ǐ

3.5 Genders and their Semantic Content

Introduction

Nouns of the classes described in the previous section frequently pair as to singular and plural. This pairing is commonly refered to as gender. This singular and plural pairing of nouns is brought out

by their prefixes. When this is the case we talk of double class genders. But certain nouns for which enumeration is irrelevant, such as liquid and mass nouns, are members of one or single class gender as opposedto the double class gender. Apart from these liquid nouns we also have abstract nouns that cannot be counted These nouns cannot be considered as making a class on their own, it is very unlikely that, they may be grouped with nouns that make up a double class gender.

As concerns semantic content, in the past, the Bantu noun classes may have been based on a semantic classification of the nouns. But now, it appears a purely arbitrary system, where in no one class can nouns of only one semantic content be found. Most permanent of classes are cl 1/2, cl 6a and cl 9/10 in kolɛ

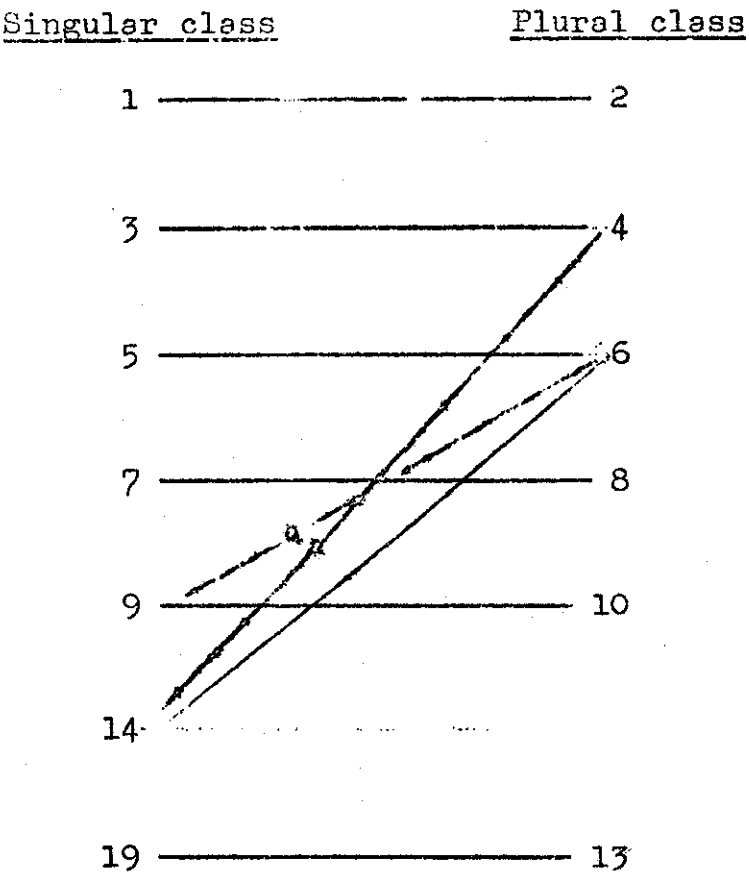
It should be noted that reconstruction of semantic content of the Bantu noun class is got from Welmers (1973).

Below are elaborate discussion of the two different genders in kolɛ and their semantic content, beginning with the double class genders.

Double class genders

From studies of the data, it has been discovered that kɔlɛ has nine double class genders. These have been displayed as follows in the accompanying table: the table class genders are indicated by lines joining two class numbers. The numbers on the left refer to singular nouns, those on the right to plural nouns.

Table for Double Class Genders



As the table shows, there are nine double class genders in kɔlɛ and they are as follows:

Double class gender 1/2
Double class gender 3/4
Double class gender 5/6
Double class gender 7/8
Double class gender 9/10
Double class gender 9/6
Double class gender 14/6
Double class gender 14/4
Double class gender 19/13

Gender 1/2 mù-/bà-

This gender is made up of nouns designating people. Below are nouns that make up this gender.

mù-kànèrì bà-kànèrì	chief(s)
mù-ròngà bà-ròngà	farmer(s)
mù-rèédì bà-rèédì	teacher(s)
mù-rèmbà bà-rèmbà	witch(es)

mù-tìnà bà-tìnà	elder(s)
mw-èndérî b-èndérî	traveller(s)

Gender 3/4 mù-/mè-

This gender is marked by a mixed classification of certain objects. Divisions are possible thus membership in this class could be characterised in the following way.

Natural objects

mò-kòrî mè-kòri	hill(s)
mw-ánjà mi-ánjà	sea(s)
m-òsɔ́ my-ɔ́sɔ̀	river(s)
mw-àŋgá my-àŋgá	root(s)

Animals, Insects

mò-rɔ̀ŋgî mè-rɔ̀ŋgi	sheep
mò-kùmbè mè-kùmbè	alligator(s)

mò-kòyɨkòyi	frog(s)
mè-kòyɨkòyi	
mw-àbɔ́rɔ́	cat(s)
my-ɔ́bɔ́rɔ́	

Body parts

mù-rémà	heart(s)
mè-rémà	
mò-ɸémbɔ́	noses
me-ɸémbɔ́	
mw-èndé	foot (feet)
my-èndé	
mò-rófù	head(s)
mè-rófù	

foodstuff

mò-ròkó	cocoayam(s)
mè-ròkó	
mò-kókó	sugar cane(s)
mè-kókó	

Human relationships

mù-kúsà	widow(s)
mè-kúsà	
m-òɔ́rì	parent(s)
mè-ɔ́rì	
mù-ɔŋgó	friend(s)
mè-ɔŋgó	

Birds and related object

mw-èmé m-emè	bat(s)
mú-mímókúbà my-émímékúbà	rooster(s)
mù-kèyí mè-kèyí	egg(s)

Miscellaneous

m-ɔ̀rí mè-ɔ̀rí	rope(s) (a type)
mù-kùmbá mè-kùmbá	gun(s)
mù-sùséri mè-sùséri	price(s)

Gender 5/6 dì/mà-

This gender is made up of nouns of various origins but the main content is parts of the body. Below are examples

ì-sùngá mà-sùngá	tooth (teeth)
d-ísù m-ísù	eye (s)
dì-bé mà-bé	breast(s)

ì-démè mà-démè	tongue(s)

Natural objects

dì-ɸòndǐ mà-fòndǐ	hole(s) / cave(s)
dì-kòkè mà-kòkè	dry season(s)
ì-rárè mə-rárè	stone(s)

Household objects and related objects

ì-nɔ̀ŋgɔ̀ mà-nɔ̀ŋgɔ̀	bed(s)
ì-rèndè mà-rèndè	knife (knives)
dì-wè mà-wè	broom(s)
lì-bàtɔ̀ mà-bàtɔ̀	cloth(s)

Plant life

dì-kpàmbà mà-kpàmbà	cassava
l-ǐndé l-ǐndé	cocoayam(s)
dì-bòkè mà-bòkè	pumpkin(s)

Miscellaneous

di-bá mà-bá	marriage(s)
-dǒkǒ mà-rǒkǒ	game(s)
-lèndè mà-rèndè	journey(s)
lì-sàŋgó mà-sàŋgó	inheritance
dì-kàkò mà-kàkò	crab(s)

Gender 7/8 è-/bè-

Nouns found in this gender are:

Animals, birds, insects

è-wàkɛ̀ bè-wàkɛ̀	chimpanzee(s)
èy-ɔ́ngòkòrí by-ɔ́ngòkòrì	chameleon(s)
è-kòrɔ́ŋgwà bè-kòrɔ́ŋgwà	lizard(s)
è-rèrà bè-rèrà	duck(s)
è-tàndà bè-tàndà	ant(s)

è-rɔ̀ki	carterpillar(s) (type)
bè-rɔ̀ki	

Plant related items

è-sùmbú	grass(es)
bè-sùmbú	
èy-àrí	leave(s)
by-àrí	
è-fùmɔ́	fruit(s)
bè-fùmɔ́	

Natural objects

èy-ɔ̀ndí	island(s)
by-ɔ̀ndí	
è-riŋgè	shadow(s)
bè-riŋgè	
è-kòmì	country
bè-kòmì	
è-mùnè	wave(s)
bè-mùnè	

Household objects

è-riŋgè	mirror(s)
bè-riŋgè	
è-wɔ́ndè	axe(s)
bè-wɔ́ndɔ̀	
è-kpà	bag(s)
bè-kpà	
è-sásá	mat(s)
bè-sásá	

Clothing and adornment

è-tɔ́mbì bè-tɔ́mbì	shoe(s)
è-sìkɔ̀n bè-sìkɔ̀n	pipe(s)

Body Part and related items

è-tɔ́ŋgɔ̀ bè-tɔ́ŋgɔ̀	shoulder(s)
è-bèrì bè-bèrì	intestine(s)
è-bɔ́rɔ́ bè-bɔ́rɔ́	scar(s)
è-wèsè bè-wèsè	rat(s)

Miscellaneous

è-kà bè-kà	market(s)
è-tomè bè-tɔ̀mè	debt(s)

Gender 9/10 N-/N-

This gender appears to be the largest of all genders containing a wide variety of nouns. The most dominant are animals. It is notable that the gender 9/10 is represented in the same way i.e no particular prefix differentiates them. Below are examples:

-kàbè -kàbè	antelope(s)
n-jèkù n-jèkù	elephant(s)

ŋ-gìrà ŋ-gìrà	lion(s)
ny-àkà ny-àkà	cow(s)
-fòè -fóè	rat(s)
m-bàmbà m-bàmbà	snake(s)
-kèmà -kèmà	monkey(s)

Foodstuff

m-bă m-bă	yam(s)
m-bìá m-bìá	groundnut(s)
n-dóngò n-dóngo	pepper(s)
n-dókó n-dókó	potatoe(s)

Natural Objects

m-bóà m-bóà	village(s)
m-bàkī m-bàkì	cloud(s)

Insects

n-jàwá n-jàwá	bee(s)
-fèjékù -fèjékù	cockroach(es)

Birds

-kùmbìé -kùmbìé	kite(s)

Parts of the body

-fìkɔ̀ -fìkɔ̀	kidney(s)
-ny-ɔ́rɔ̀ -ny-ɔ́rɔ̀	body (bodies)

Household items

ŋ-gɔ́rɔ́ ŋ-gɔ́rɔ́	spoon(s)
-tòkɔ̀ -tòkɔ̀	calabash (es)
ŋ-gén ŋ-gén	bell(s)
kòndɔ́ kòndɔ́	chair(s)

One notices that most burrowed words are found in this class. Examples are:

sɔ́tì sɔ́tì	shirt(s)
táwèrì táwèri	towel(s)
wíndà wíndà	window(s)

Gender 9/6 N-/mà-

This gender has the following nouns

Animals

ŋ-gòmbɔ́ ma-ngòmbɔ́	porcupine(s)
m-bòrí ma-mbòrí	goat(s)

Man-made objects

ŋ-gèə́ mə-ŋgèə́	road(s)
n-də́wò mà-ndə́wò	house(s)
m-bèndə́ mà-mbèndə́	law(s)

Gender 14/6 bò-/mà-

The nouns in this gender are relatively few since nouns class 14 itself are rare in the kɔlɛ language. Below are examples:

bò-jă mà-jă	gathering(s)
bò-sùmúnà mà-sùmúnà	door step(s)
bó-rɔ̀ mó-rɔ̀	canoe(s)
bò-kà mà-kà	loft(s)

Gender 14/4 bò-/mà-

bw-èlè my-èlè	tree(s))(type)
bw-ĕndî my-ĕndî	circumcision(s)

Gender 19/13 ì-/dò

This gender has very few nouns. The following are examples:

Animals and birds

ì-Bwéngà dò-Bwéngà	crayfish
ì-sèréré do-sèréré	cricket(s)
è-yúŋgù do-yúŋgù	eagle(s)
ì-nóni do-nóni	bird(s)
è-kúrè dò-dúrè	tortoise(s)

Household utensils

è-yóŋgó dò-yóŋgó	cooking pot(s)
è-Bòŋgò dò-Bòŋgò	box(es)

Miscellaneous

ì-kèngéiwèndè dò-kèngéiwèndè	ankle(s)
è-dìsé dò-dìsé	sacrifice(s)

Single class gender

In the kɔlɛ language there are very few nouns that fall under the single class gender. Consequently very few classes are regarded as single class genders. The following are the analysis of these classes and their semantic content. The single class genders are:

Gender	3	Gender	8
Gender	4	Gender	9
Gender	5	Gender	14
Gender	6a		
Gender	7		

Gender 3 mù-

mú-nyáròvà	sky
mò-rísà	poverty

Gender 4 mè-

my-árím	urine

Gender 5 dì-

Natural phenomena

dì-bú	ashes
dì-tìtì	darkness
ì-sùwá	famine
ì-tánà	ripe
d-óbà	God

Related to human beings

d-ókí	deaf
d-òwá	cry
ì-yò	laughter

Gender 6(a) mà-

mà-ríwá	water
mò-βúrá	oil
mà-nyàŋgà ŋgélé	kerosine
mà-nyàŋgà	palm-nut oil
mà-yá	blood

Gender 7 è-

Illnesses

è-kórókòtó	measles
è-kósèrì	cough

Natural objects

è-wèî	sun
è-nyìngà	earthquake

Gender 8 bè-

Examples of nouns from this gender are:

bè-bòtérí	beginning
bè-wòkà	prison

Gender 9 N-

It is this gender that has most of the abstract nouns. The following are examples:

Natuaral phenomena

wèá	fire
wásè	world
m-bùá	rain
ŋ-gòsákò	drought
tòndɛ	flood
n-gǒ	wind
kpèrí	death

Foodstuff

m-bǎ	yams
n-gòndó	groundnuts
m-bìá	palm-nut
kàràrà	corn
lǒndì	rice
yàngà	salt

Miscellaneous

ny-ìsɛ̀	thirst
nj-èmé	sperm
yětɜ́	request
fíndǐ	gundpowder
tă:kɔ̀	tobacco
mímbɜ́	wine

Gender 14 bò-

bò-rî	money
bò-ŋgɔ̀	age

C H A P T E R IV

4.1 Genral Conclusion

This piece of work has been an attempt to deacribe the noun class system of kɔlɛ.

In this study we noticed many interesting facts. On phonology, the language is known to have twenty-eitht consonants - simple and complex - and seven vowels that can all be lengthened There is one central vowel, three back ones and three front ones. The vowels had the tendency of forming their semi vowel consonants when they were found in a contiguous sequence.

The tone for the noun prefixes are always low. Tone change in stems is also noticed. The most frequent ones are as follows.

- When two vowels with low tones occur, it results in one tone being dropped and the other adopted.

examples	bòèlé	--→	bwèlé	"tree"
	bòàŋgá	--→	bwàŋgá	"chest"

- When two vowels with two different tones occur, one high, one low, the high tone is retained and the low one dropped.

examples	dìísò	--→	dísò	"eye"
	dìínà	--→	dínà	"name"

- When two vowels meet and form one, the two tones of the vowels combine

examples	dìí	--→	dǐ	"hair"
	jàá	--→	jàá	"hand"

The tonal system for the concordial prefixes are more complicated. Generally, the concordial prefixes have low tones in cl 1 and cl 9 while all the other classes have high tones. It is not a common practice to find tone change because of collocation. This is because there is always an intervening prefix which helps to distinguish the two words.

example Noun - Adjective collocation

mò-tò "person"

ndénè "big"

mo-to nú ndénè "big person"

Noun - numeral collocation

mù-kárárá "European"

m-ɔ̀kɔ́ "one"

mù-kárárá mɔ̀kɔ́ "one European"

As concerns the noun class system, the nouns have been grouped in their classes according to their nominal prefixes. Kɔlɛ has fifteen classes (1, 1a, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 6a, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 19) which can further be grouped into six plural classes (2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 13) and a single mass or liquid class (6a). Each class bears a suffix. Attempts have been made to give each class its basic form except for class 19.

In bringing this work to a conclusion, we do not claim to have exhausted everything under the title. Much would have been done on the unresolved problems but there was time constraints They are suggested here for further reading.

4.2 Suggestions for Further Research

In this study, well formed rules could not be written down for the tones due to their fluctuating tendencies. A study should be undertaken based on the kolɛ tone system.

The language has been a difficult one to work on because of the various influences from other languages, starting from its sister language duala. Thus, it has not been really easy to determine the kolɛ language especially when trying to establish its own sphere without interference Consequently, much still has to be done on the language, including a revision of its phonology and a detailed morphological description not only of nouns but of verbs. The syntax is not left out. As can be forseen, it will be a long journey for kolɛ to finally reach a functional level; however, it is hoped that the journey will come to its logical end.

ILLUSTRATIVE TEXT

Mbɛ́ Harry Ekwete Mokoŋgo njɪ́ nà wɛ̀tɛ̀
I Harry Ekwete Mokongo what I talk

wɛ́nù ìsùŋgbɛ́ myàŋgɔ́ nɛ́ɛ̀ èkɔ̀mè yɛ́sú wénéé
here tell story of village our bring

énè èkàréɛ́ jèŋgù nà bàsɔ́ŋgɔ́. Bɔ̀lé yɛ́ wèbɔ̀tɛ́rɪ́
the juju jeŋgu and basoŋgo Since from beginning

bésú bé bakɔlɛ dì sɪ́ wɛ́ nè èkàré. Mùmánà mɔ̀kɔ́
our of bakɔlɛ we not have any juju. Man one

sɔ́ à màvé ánú ó mbɔ́à bá mà vɛ́rɛ́ Ikaŋ
ther he was here in village that they called Ikaŋ

dɪ́nè rɪ́nà bá mà vɛ́rɛ́ Igbàtɔŋ. A màβé ndé
other name that they called Igbàtɔŋ He was only

mɔ̀tɔ̀ à mɔ̀sɔ̀mbɔ̀. Amà βɔ̀rɛ̌ɛ́ nɛ̀ bɔ̀rɔ̀ nɛ́ tɛ̀ɛ̀
man of fish. He make this work until

búnyà wɔ́kɔ̀ we nɛ́ ndé mwɛ́njà amgbê dɔ́bɪ́rɔ́ɪ́
day one he go only sea throw net

A mɛ́ wékà nyàmà ɔ́ yɔ̀bi áŋgɔ̀tɪ̀ nà mà nèbɔ́ɔ́
He felt fish in net draw and he catch

èkɛ́rɛ́ŋgɔ̀njɛ́, à mɛ́ wô A mɛ́ ɛ́sɪ́mɪ̀ ì ɔɛ́ɛ̀ è
basket he suprise. He draw again it

vɛ́ ndé èkɛ́rɛ́ŋgɔ̀njɛ́ nà mɔ́ ɛ́ bɔ̀tɛ́ɛ́ èvèkɛ́
was only basket and he start hear

ŋgɔ̀mɔ́ ɔ́ màrɪ́wɛ́ À mɛ́ àbisɛ̀ bɔ̀rɔ̀ nɛ́ nwɛ́
drum in water, he turn back canoe and he

pàmbirànɛ̀ Wèɛ́ na pàmbirànɛ̀ à ɛnè ndé à
confused When he confused he saw only

wúsù mbɔ́à ɛ́fɛ̀ mbɔ́à yɛ́mɛ́ ɪmgbàtɔ̀ŋ à
came out village different village say Imgbatɔŋ he

èndè á mwánjá ìsá timbá bà sàká ímgbàtòŋ
went to sea not come back they search Imgbatoŋ

bá sá mòròá. Bá ma ímgbàtòŋ émà wà. Sú bàn
they didnot find. They said Imgbatòŋ he dead. Day two

ímàkòká tétè nò bùrú, mbóà éjà e ná nò
reached inside night, village stay

bá béki ndé ròkò díwárè ó rìwó ré àgbà.
they heard only game coming from water and climb.

Bá Béri ndé ímèrɛ ndé ímgbàtúŋ. sí ímgbàtúŋ
They were only show only Imgbatuŋ. Then Imgbatúŋ

áɓéré mbóà. Amá bònyámò! nàyáni èyàrà éni
called village my people' I brought thing this

kèná ò mbóà é màtìmbà yókà mònyèŋgi. Bá
then so village remain play joy

Ba mà Imgbàtúŋ à mà wá, mbá nà si wà,
they said Imgbatuŋ has died I didnot die

nàmà ɓé ndé ó màriwá óténù ndé nàmà
I was but in water inside there I

yánó ɓéní bèyàrà Báù bámì méré bámà négé
brought these things. Devils they show they I should

nàyé nú méré ényètè. mbóà èsàròrí jà
come and show you too. Village not find stay

ìsì ɓéní màròkò má mbóà. Sì á wérè mbóà
without having games of village Then he call village

á bá súmgbéá nábàm né bá ŋgámené ìwòrà.
he them talk all how they have to make

Bà bòtèá yí mèré ǫ́ámbá. Ǫ́ámbá à jéŋgú éwèrí
They started to show shrine Shrine of jéŋgù can

já mbú mébáh éwèrí já mbú mérárá ndé ǫ́ámbà
stay years two can stay years three but shrine

yə̀ mòsóŋgó èyə́ ndé ŋgòndɛ́ mòtówə́, èbánjə́
of mòsóŋgó stay only months six because

bó bəsókpà mbòsi. wɛ̀ɛ́ni bə́ béméréɛ́ éyə́rə́ yə́
them donot learn dialect When they leave thing of

ékàréə́ yɛ́sɛ̂ nəbàm' Bə́ bà mòkèsè ndóŋgó yâ
juju all together they them cut pepper of

mòsóŋgó wɛ̀ɛ́nǐ bó kəsè ndóŋgó yâ mósóŋgó
mosoŋgo when they cut pepper of mosoŋgo

òdéri nə́ còòcó oměi wə́ sǐmɛ̀ǐ cúɛ́ɛ́t cúɛ́ɛ́t
eat it còòcó shallow you sneeze cuɛɛt cuɛɛt

cúɛ́ɛ́t ŋgǐrərə́ró ó bòtéə́ bɛ́tɛ̀ mbɔ́sǐ á Mosoŋgo
cúɛ́ɛ́t times three you start talk dialect of mosoŋgo

mbɔ́sǐ à jéŋgú sɔ́ èyàrà bə́ jə́ óténi mbú
dialect of jeŋgu then something of stay there years

mébəh, èβérǐ ndə́ ə́ŋgàméni bókpə́ mbɔ́sǐ yà
two, it because they must learn dialect of

wó nə́ wéɛ́fè bèyàrà véndé bèyàrà yə́ békàré
them and other things that are things of jujus

yɔ̌ njɛ́ ékèŋgè bǐndà óténi nə́ tɛ̀tɛ̀ɛ̀
that is why they stay there for long

Bə́mà wɔ̀rə́ ɋénà nə́ tɛ̀ɛ̀ émà dòŋgəméné bə́
They make so until it reached they

wú sǐsɛ́ ɠàmbà. Yɔ́ èyàrà yɔ́ njé éróyànéréǐ,
send out shrine that thing that is brought us

jéŋgú nə́ mosóŋgó ó bàmòsɔ́ bəkɔ̀lɛ́
jéŋgú and mosoŋgo in Bamusso bakolɛ

Bò nyàmbəà, àŋgó mòtò Imgbàtúŋ àmə́ wɛ́ ndé
my country men that man Imgbàtuŋ he was only

mɔ̀tɔ̀ wà bónyàmbóà yɔ́ njé kèŋgè bònyəmbóà
man of the village that is why people of village

bá vénè oɛ́ bá Bénè mòrófò ó jéŋgú Bánɛ́
have also they have head in jeŋgu children

téi itúmbú téi ná réwú ìtɔ́tí ó jéŋgú
each people each with their beliefs in jeŋgú

òvi ó mòsóŋgò oɛ́
like in mosóŋgò also

Nòŋgèlè mbɛ́ máŋgànì wan njé nɛ́ sùkànéréɛ́
I think I have here that I end

wɛ́ nɛ́ myàŋgó
this my story

Origin of Juju in Bakolɛ

From the beginning, the kolɛ people had no secret societies One day a man called Ikaŋ or Imgbatuŋ went as he usually did, in his canoe One this fateful day he threw in his net but came out with a woven cage. He threw this back in water, and threw his net again. But the same cage reappeared He got very suprised and decided to go home.

To his astonishment he started hearing the sound of drums inside the water. He felt very confused and was in some sort of a daze. When he came back to himself, he was in a strange place. He was reassured that he was in water, and had no cause for fear They told him that they wanted him to take back to his people the idea of societies. They indicated they wanted to teach him all there was to it. He was told that there were to be two shrines built for two jujus, the mosoŋgo and the jeŋgu. The mosoŋgo was for men and the jeŋgu was for women.

The men, chosen to belong to this society have to be there for six months while the women where to stay in theirs for two or three years. They kept Imgbatuŋ for two days and sent him back in the middle of the night.

Meanwhile, the people in the village had searched and searched for him, and had given him up as dead. They had even prepared for his death celebration. The night they were all asleep, Imgbatuŋ came with sounds of drums accompanying him When the people saw him they could not belief their eyes. He then told them where he was and his message to the people.

The people then followed his instructions and when the people intended have been enshrined they were given pepper After eating and sneezing they started speaking the juju dialect. From that day, the kolɛ people had secret societies, the mosoŋgo and the jeŋgu societies.

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