THE NOUN CLASS SYSTEM OF KOLE

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

By

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Dedicated to my parents, brothers and sisters, with all my love.
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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 |
| DPc | Determinative prefix |
| VP | Verbal prefix |
| + | Morpheme boundary |
| // | Phonological representation |
| [ ] | Phonetic representation |
| Pl | Plural |
| sg | Singular |
| → | realised as ( ) |
| V | Vowel |
| C | Consonant |
| N | Noun |
| ≀/ ⌦ (voice bilabial fricative) |
| ⌥/ ⌦ (voiceless bilabial fricative) |
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Geographical Situation

The kola 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 impenetrable 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, Kolley 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 Kolley stopped fighting and left Piti. They then decided to separate as their brother was no longer on their side.

Mbedi Kolley 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. Kolley 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 Dibanpe (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. Ardenc 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 Kale people are basically 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 Kale 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 Kale people and the Barombis, Bimbias, Bakweris, Balundus and the Botas.

It is a common occurrence to find a Kale speaker expressing a great degree of multilingualism by speaking Efik, Ibibio, Balundu and the Duala languages.

The Kale people, eventhough they understand the other afore listed languages, speak to them in their own respective languages.
Below is a chart comparing Kole to the Duala and the Bakweri languages, which proves the point that there is genetic affinity between them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kole</th>
<th>Duala</th>
<th>Bakweri</th>
<th>English gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>màřiwé</td>
<td>màiɗɓé</td>
<td>màlìvé</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mùrémà</td>
<td>mùlémà</td>
<td>nmìmà</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbóri</td>
<td>mbódi</td>
<td>mbólí</td>
<td>gòst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyórd</td>
<td>nyóld</td>
<td>nyó</td>
<td>body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dèmes</td>
<td>dèmes</td>
<td>lìhò</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itámà</td>
<td>lìmà</td>
<td>lìmà</td>
<td>jaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ìyìngó</td>
<td>ìwìngó</td>
<td>jìngó</td>
<td>cooking pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpèrì</td>
<td>kwédi</td>
<td>kpèlí</td>
<td>death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mükärará</td>
<td>mükálé</td>
<td>mòkálé</td>
<td>European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbèmù</td>
<td>bwèm</td>
<td>gbèmù</td>
<td>goodness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The kòl language has various names given by various tribes. The Efiks call it usem ìrombi "language of ìrombi", the Lundus call it motoko ìwà bosémà "language of bosémà", the kweris call it mbòsi ja bënsò "language of bënsò" and the kòl themselves call it mbòsi ja bënsò "language of bënsò". The appellation kòl is derived from the leader or founder of the clan whose name was Kòlù.

The kòl language is spoken in all the six fishing settlements (Bekenje, Ubenikang, Betika, Njengesa, 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 kola 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 speakers, after all, 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-Saharan, Afro Asiatic and Khoisan. According to Ardener, kale 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, kale and limbe. 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-balang, duala" and "bube benga" respectively by Guthrie. Under zone 6 kale appears as bekole on number 625.
1.4.3 Literature Review

It is most regrettable to note that the kola language so far has not been an object of linguistic analysis. This might be because its sister language duala 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. Duala has attracted linguists' attention and they tended to devote adequate analysis to it before breaking into new fields.

So far the little work on kola has been carried out by Ewota James, a lecturer in the Yaounde University. In this work The Phonology of Kola (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, kola 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 then 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 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 occurrence 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 were classified together, not only what, but other criteria were used to establish differences. The prefixes were then separated 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, pronominal 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAMES</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>PROFESSION</th>
<th>RESIDENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Johnson Ewe Etienne</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>General council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Isangile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bamusso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry E. Mokongo</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Municipal Administrator</td>
<td>Bamusso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emmanuel M. Mbulah</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Nightwatch</td>
<td>MIDEPECAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bamusso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nseanje Njoh Thomas</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Nursing</td>
<td>Nursing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>superintendent</td>
<td>superintendent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Limbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etongo Gabriel</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
<td>Bamusso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bamusso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief M'bola</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>Retired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>civil servant</td>
<td>Kumba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The informants were asked to translate orally from English to k31.z. Four of the informants were at Bamusso, and during working sessions before a translation was given, they often argued amongst themselves and, I am convinced, often came out with the accepted version. The data collected was partly verified through the kind assistance of Ewora Jembe who is a native speaker of the language. A written text of the history was got from Bamusso from the chief.
Major Language Zones of Cameroon

Source: Alcam
CHAPTER II

GENERAL PHONOLOGY OF K̕LE

Introduction

Although this work is based on the analysis of the various noun classes in K̕le, a brief sketch of the phonology will be necessary. 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 James Ewota's *Phonology of K̕le* (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. Tadedjeu and E. Sademboou 1984).

2.3 Phonetic Vowels

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

It is possible to have the above vowels lengthened, though ə and ɔ are not phonemic.

Below are examples:

dif "hair" müu "ghost"
maa "palm" ṣuunu "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-vowels.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{au} & \rightarrow /mù/ \rightarrow /mw/ \rightarrow -v \\
\text{bo} & \rightarrow /bò/ \rightarrow /bw/ \rightarrow -v \\
\text{me} & \rightarrow /mè/ \rightarrow /my/ \rightarrow -v \\
\text{be} & \rightarrow /bè/ \rightarrow /by/ \rightarrow -v
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Examples} & \quad /mù + ðrɪ/ \rightarrow /mòrɪ/ \\
\text{Examples} & \quad /mù + ðsɒ/ \rightarrow /mòsɒ/
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Examples} & \quad wèá \rightarrow wèáé \quad \text{"fire"} \\
\text{Examples} & \quad ðgèá \rightarrow ðgèáé \quad \text{"road"} \\
\text{Examples} & \quad mbiá \rightarrow mbiáé \quad \text{"groundnuts"} \\
\text{Examples} & \quad mbùá \rightarrow mbùáé \quad \text{"rain"} \\
\text{Examples} & \quad ngôá \rightarrow ngôáé \quad \text{"pig"}
\end{align*}
\]
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITION OF TONGUE AND LIPS</th>
<th>FRONT UNROUND</th>
<th>CENTRAL</th>
<th>BACK ROUNDED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH (CLOSED)</td>
<td>i i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIGH (MID)</td>
<td></td>
<td>e ee</td>
<td>o o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW (MID)</td>
<td></td>
<td>e ee</td>
<td>o o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW (CLOSED)</td>
<td></td>
<td>a a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2 Phonetic Consonants

The following are the phonetic consonants found in kola:

p, t, k, j, q, b, d, l, m, l, f, r, nj, nd, ny, mb, s, y, ng, w, n, kp, gb, ngb, mb
It should however be noted that /p/ a bilabial plosive is becoming quite rare in koi. It is either replaced by the voiceless labiodental /f/ or it is a cross between /p/ and /f/ becoming a voiceless bilabial fricative [o]

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fonđé</th>
<th>pónđé</th>
<th>&quot;time&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>èfùfù</td>
<td>èpùpè</td>
<td>&quot;rainy season&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móposémbé</td>
<td>mòpèmèbé</td>
<td>&quot;nose&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ndáwò</th>
<th>&quot;house&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndùtù</td>
<td>&quot;sorrow&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>màřibá</th>
<th>màřiwé</th>
<th>&quot;water&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>idèdi</td>
<td>irèrè</td>
<td>&quot;stone&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>èlèlè</td>
<td>èrèrè</td>
<td>&quot;duck&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>màřibá</th>
<th>màřiwé</th>
<th>&quot;water&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndábò</td>
<td>ndáwò</td>
<td>&quot;house&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The accompanying chart illustrates the manner and place of articulation of these consonants.
2.3 Syllable and Morpheme Structure of Nouns

Kolè 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable Pattern</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Noun Pattern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>èkè</td>
<td>market</td>
<td>VCV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>kó</td>
<td>snail</td>
<td>CV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVV</td>
<td>mbóâ</td>
<td>village</td>
<td>CVV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCV</td>
<td>mòtò</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>CVCV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The kolè noun permits initial and medial complex consonants such as ngb, 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  ngbâ  "dog"  CV
           mwâltò  "woman"  CV\_CV
           wângâ  "forest"  CVCV
           njbô  "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 Kole has an open syllable structure. Not more than three CVC structures have been registered in the Kole transcription in the text.

Examples: ṇgèn "bell" CVC
         ṇgbàn "wealth" CVC
         mbèŋ "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 ómbèrì "he looks at you" V V CV V CV
In rapid speech the above is rendered as a single word. Meanwhile it is
   à w ò mbèrì 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 in front of a stem that
begins with a vowel. The following nouns in their plural forms illustrates the process.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{m-ôñgô} & \rightarrow & \text{mè-ôngô} \\
\text{m-ôñf} & \rightarrow & \text{mè-ôñf} \\
\text{m-ôds} & \rightarrow & \text{mè-ôds} \\
\end{array}
\]
"friends" cl 3/4
"ropes" cl 3/4
"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 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 kola language makes use of four level tones. These tones are H (high), L (low), LH (low-high rising tone), HL (high-low falling tone).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>kpérí</th>
<th>&quot;death&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>èkpè</td>
<td>&quot;beg&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋgbè</td>
<td>&quot;dog&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yštà</td>
<td>&quot;reply&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following tonal systems are found in kola

ea) monosyllabic
   kó   "snail"
   mbó  "honey"

b) disyllabic
   dibé  "breast"
   ngóli "belt"
   mbóà  "village"
   ngirà "lion"

(c) trisyllabic
   kárárà "corn"
   mótutù "smoke"
   mûkëye "egg"
   mókókó "sugarcane"
   iréndé "knife"
CHAPTER 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 amalgamation of both the grammatical category and the number.

Examples: mọ-tọ "person" cl 1
           ìbọ-tọ "persons" cl 2

mọ- 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 seperately 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 Akpose" discusses possible criteria used to establish individual noun classes as contrastive. Below are the criteria.

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

Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cl</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>é-</td>
<td>fùmá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>béré</td>
<td>&quot;fruit&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rérè</td>
<td>&quot;duck&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Cl 8 | bê- | fùmá  | "fruits" |
|      |    | béré  | "scars"  |
|      |    | rérè  | "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 occurrence of nouns with a particular set of concurring 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 kola 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 occurs when the noun is derived from a verb. That is, to get a word like "a traveller", the kola language will construct it as "somebody who goes". Below are examples.
- mù - prefix (cl.1)
  káisè - stem (verb)   "to judge"
  ri - suffix
  mûkâsèrì   "judge"

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

- mù - prefix (cl.1)
  bêné - stem (verb)   "to own"
  ri - suffix
  mûbênerì   "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 kola 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 environments in which they occur. Secondly the frequency of occurrence of a particular prefix in class will also be considered. Below are the various classes and their prefixes with examples.

Class 1 /mü-/ 

This class has three allomorphs from the morpheme of the nominal prefix. The allomorphs are [mü], [mü], [mü]. 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 [mü] and [mü]. If [mü] 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 \( \text{/mù-}/ \) is taken as the basic allomorph, it will be more natural to see a lowering process occurring where \( u \) becomes \( o \) because one deduces that \( /mù/ \) becomes \( /\text{mo-}/ \) 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 \( /\text{mw-}/ \) one can easily see that it is the realisation of \( /\text{mù-}/ \) infront of a vowel. A prose statement of the above is that \( /\text{mù-}/ \) is realised \( /\text{mò-}/ \) infront of a consonant followed by a vowel \( o \), and \( /\text{mw-}/ \) infront of a vowel, and \( /\text{mù}/ \) elsewhere. The following are examples:

- \( /\text{mù}/ \to /\text{mw-}/ \to V \)
  
  \( /\text{mù} + \text{áñò}/ \to /\text{mw-áñò} \) "child"
  
  \( /\text{mù} + \text{áñò}/ \to /\text{mw-áñò} \) "woman"
  
  \( /\text{mù} + \text{éndérì} \to /\text{mw-éndérì} \) "traveller"

- \( /\text{mù-}/ \to /\text{mò}/ \to CV \to V \to o \)
  
  \( /\text{mù} + \text{tò}/ \to /\text{mò-tò} \) "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-tò á ñgàngà "medecine man"
Class 1(a)

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

- têtê "father"
- ñyê ("mother"
- ñgûndêri "girl"
- nyûwé "orphan"
- sàngwâmê "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 {bà-} and -bà-. 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.
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- mỳ- 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 kòlè 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 even though they have the same prefixes.

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

- /mu-/ $\rightarrow$ [mw-] / -V
  - /mu + ângâ/ $\rightarrow$ [mwângâ] "root"
  - /mu + ângâ/ $\rightarrow$ [mwângâ] "song"
  - /mu + ândê/ $\rightarrow$ [mwêndê] "foot"
  - /mu + ândî/ $\rightarrow$ [mwêndî] "news"

- /mu-/ $\rightarrow$ [m-] / -V [o]
  - /mu + ôsâ/ $\rightarrow$ [môsâ] "river"
  - /mu + ôrf/ $\rightarrow$ [môrf] "rope"
  - /mu + öngâ/ $\rightarrow$ [môngâ] "friend"

- /mu-/ $\rightarrow$ -mô- / -CV V [o]
  - /mu + kôrî/ $\rightarrow$ [môkôrî] "hill"
  - /mu + rôngî/ $\rightarrow$ [môrôngî] "sheep"
  - /mu + kôyfôyî $\rightarrow$ [môkôyfôyî] "frog"

- /mu-/ $\rightarrow$ [mun] / - else where
  - /mu + nyèrè $\rightarrow$ [munyèrè] "earth"
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 in front of stems with an initial consonant and the second one is in front 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 occur before consonants also has vowels occurring. 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/ \( \rightarrow [e] \) because it will have to pass through /i/, thus a chain /y/ \( \rightarrow /i/ \rightarrow [e] \) 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:

- \( /mè/ \rightarrow [my-] / - \emptyset \)
  \( /mè + èndè/ \rightarrow [myèndè] \) "feet"
  \( /mè + èngè/ \rightarrow [myèngè] \) "roots"
  \( /mè + ëngè/ \rightarrow [myèngè] \) "drying lines"
  \( /mè + éni/ \rightarrow [myèni] \) "fingers"

- \( /mè/ \rightarrow [mè-] / - C \)
  \( /mè + kùmbè/ \rightarrow [mèkùmbè] \) "guns"
  \( /mè + ròngi/ \rightarrow [mèròngi] \) "sheep"
  \( /mè + kòri/ \rightarrow [mekòri] \) "hills"
  \( /mè + nyèrè/ \rightarrow [mènyèrè] \) "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 if we look closely it will be realised that \(mè-\) only occurs if the following vowel is \(o\)!

Exemples are as follows:

\( /mè/ \rightarrow [mè-] / - V, V \ o \)
\( /mè + ëri/ \rightarrow [mèëri] \) "ropes"
The prefix formation of this class is very complex. There are as many as six allomorphs, \( \text{di}-, \text{d}-, \text{lî}, \text{l}, \text{\&} \) 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 \( \emptyset \) 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 \( \text{di} \) has been chosen as the basic allomorph. Now, how does \( \text{di} \) move to \( \text{ld\&} \) then to \( \text{\&lî} \) and \( \text{\&j} \)? The \( \text{\&lî} \) allomorph does not need any justification for its presence for \( \text{\&l} \) and \( \text{\&d} \) are in free variation when they occur as prefixes [di] becomes \( \text{ld} \) in front of vowels. This will further be discussed when treating class 13. [di] occurs in front of the alveolar sounds [t, s, r]. We are now left with [\&j]. How does a simple consonant [di] pass to a complex one [\&j]. Considering the other classes we notice that it is not \( \text{\&dy} \) in front of vowels.
but [d-] One can conclude that, because language is a system, instead of [dy-], kola language uses [ʃ] in front of vowels, when it is not [d-] i.e. [d] palatalised becomes [ʃ]. 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:

- /di-/ $\rightarrow$ [d] / - V
  /di + òwá/ $\rightarrow$ [dòwá] "stool"
  /di + ìsù/ $\rightarrow$ [disù] "eye"

- /dɪ-/ $\rightarrow$ [j] / - V [ə]
  /dì + às/ $\rightarrow$ [jás] "hand"
  /dì + àrábè $\rightarrow$ [jàrábè] "reply"

- /dî-/ $\rightarrow$ [li] / - C (free variants with tendency towards [dii])
  /dì + bàtò/ $\rightarrow$ [dìbàtò] "cloth"
  /dì + bongobọngó/ $\rightarrow$ [dìbōngobōngó] "knee"

- /dì-/ $\rightarrow$ [t] / - C
  /dì + sùngá/ $\rightarrow$ [ìsùngá] "tooth"
  /dì + ràrè/ $\rightarrow$ [ìrìrè] "stone"
  /dì + támá/ $\rightarrow$ [ìtámá] "jaw"
It is now necessary 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 occurred as the initial consonant of the stem.

Below are examples:

- dòkò "game"
- dìf "hair"
- lèndé "journey"
- łyndì "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 choosing a basic allomorph
is the same as that of class 2 [ba-] and [b-1].

If [m-] is chosen, there will be an insertion rule where [a] is inserted when the prefix occurs before stems with an initial vowel. Let us consider the other allomorph [ma-]. It will be said that [ma-] occurs before consonants and [m-] in front of vowels where the [a] is deleted in front 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 in front 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. Moreover ma- is the proto Bantu form for class 6 and most languages have it too.

The following are examples:

1. /mà-/ \(\rightarrow\) [m-1] / - V
   - /mà + òwé/ \(\rightarrow\) [mòwá] "stool(s)"
   - /mà + isù/ \(\rightarrow\) [misù] "eyes"
   - /mà + indì/ \(\rightarrow\) [mindì] "anus"

2. /mà-/ \(\rightarrow\) [mà-] / - elsewhere
   - /mà + réndè/ \(\rightarrow\) [màrèndè] "knives"
   - /mà + rokò/ \(\rightarrow\) [màròkò] "games"
   - /mà + sùngà/ \(\rightarrow\) [màsùngà] "teeth"
   - /mà + bàtò/ \(\rightarrow\) [màbàtò] "cloths"

Class 6 (a) / /mà/ 

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, e.g., particular liquids. In terms of allomorphs, it has only /mə/ thus, it is the basic allomorph. Below are examples:

- /mə-/  --->  /mə-/  - C
  /mə + ṭiwá/  --->  /məɾiwá/  "water"
  /mə + ārə/  --->  /məɾəɾə/  "oil"
  /mə + yá/  --->  /məyá/  "blood"
  /mə + nyáŋə/  --->  /mənyáŋə/  "palm-nut-oil"

Class 7 /ə-/  

This class is very rich in terms of nouns, in kọọ language. In terms of prefix, it is one of the least complex of classes. This is because it has two phonetic realisations of the prefix and this is /ə-/ and /ey-. If /ey-1 is taken as the basic allomorph, we have to account for the passage of /əy-1 to /e-1. One can easily see that a deletion process occurs when /ey-1 occurs before stems with an initial consonant. Now let us consider /ə-/ as the basic allomorph. We find that it is more natural (because it is a process that has been occurring in the previous classes). Thus, /ə-1 becomes /əy-1 in front of vowels. The following are examples of this class
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 preceding class, we will just go straightaway and say /be-/ is the basic allomorph and /by-/ is realised only when the stem has an initial vowel. Examples of this class are:

- /be-/ --> [by] / - V
  /be + ondi/ --> [byondi] "islands"
  /be + ongokori/ --> [byongokori] "chameleons"
  /be + ari/ --> [byari] "leaves"
This class is greatly represented, in terms of nouns in kolë language. At first glance one might be tempted to say the sequence [mb- ] [nd- ] [ng ] [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 kolë noun. Consider it this way. The morphem /N- / a non-syllabic nasalle, is postulated as the basic allomorph of this
class. It is homorganic when found in front of voiced segments. This is then realised as a zero allomorph in front of voiceless segments, and has the [NY] realisation in front 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 sounds 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 separated. In word medial position they are regarded as one segment. Below are examples of this class.

- \(/N-/ \rightarrow [m-] / - /b/\)
  - /N + bòdè/ \(\rightarrow \) mbòdè
  - /N + bòrì\f/ \(\rightarrow \) mbòrì
  - /N + bòtìf/ \(\rightarrow \) mbòtìf
  - /N + bùdè/ \(\rightarrow \) mbùdè

"country"
"goat"
"dress"
"rain"
- \(N\) / ------ \(\eta\) / ------ \\
\(N + \text{gôndô} / \rightarrow \text{gôndô} \) "groundnuts"
\(N + \text{gbvâ} / \rightarrow \text{gbvâ} \) "dog"
\(N + \text{gbêrê} / \rightarrow \text{gbêrê} \) "bush"
\(N + \text{gômbô} / \rightarrow \text{gômbô} \) "porcupine"

- \(N\) / ------ \(n\) / ------ \\
\(N + \text{dûmbû} / \rightarrow \text{dûmbû} \) "nest"
\(N + \text{dawô} / \rightarrow \text{dawô} \) "house"

- \(N\) / ------ \(n\) / ------ \\
\(N + \text{jèkû} / \rightarrow \text{jèkû} \) "elephant"
\(N + \text{jônjô} / \rightarrow \text{jônjô} \) "tiger"
\(N + \text{jônji} / \rightarrow \text{jônji} \) "whale"
\(N + \text{jêwê} / \rightarrow \text{jêwê} \) "bee"

- \(N\) / ------ \(n\) / ------ \\
\(N + \text{ékô} / \rightarrow \text{ékô} \) "cow"
\(N + \text{ôrô} / \rightarrow \text{ôrô} \) "body"
\(N + \text{ékê} / \rightarrow \text{ékê} \) "snail"
\(N + \text{êmê} / \rightarrow \text{êmê} \) "fish"

- \(N\) / ------ \(t\) / ------ \\
\(N + \text{kêmê} / \rightarrow \text{kêmê} \) "monkey"
\(N + \text{kârârê} / \rightarrow \text{kârârê} \) "corn"
\(N + \text{sûkênêrê} / \rightarrow \text{sûkênêrê} \) "beginning"
\(N + \text{fôô} / \rightarrow \text{fôô} \) "rat"
\(N + \text{fîndî} / \rightarrow \text{fîndî} \) "gun powder"
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-/ -- [g] /-- [g]
  /N + bəmbə/ -- [məmbə] /"snakes"
  /N + bə/ -- [mbə] /"honey"
  /N + bənʃə/ -- [mbənʃə] /"nets"

- /N-/ -- [g] /-- [g]
  /N + giriə/ -- [rugiriə] /"lions"
  /N + gəá/ -- [ugəá] /"roads"
  /N + gəá/ -- [ugəá] /"pigs"

- /N-/ -- [n] /-- [d]
  /N + dəwə/ -- [ndəwə] /"houses"
  /N + dəmbə/ -- [ndəmbə] /"nests"

- /N-/ -- [n] /-- [j]
  /N + jəři/ -- [njəři] /"chinas"
  /N + úgə/ -- [njúɡə] /"navel"
  /N + jə́ki/ -- [njə́ki] /"rings"
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 /dɔ/ or /lɔ/

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 /lɔ-/) and /dɔ/. One could be wondering what is happening. This language permits the occurrence of free variation between the dɔ and the lɔ sounds. In fact the only situation where this is not possible, is when dɔ occurs in a /nd/ sequence. All this had already been discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Because lɔ is fast disappearing from kolo language and for convenience
sake, rdd\] will be henceforth, used in this work, since difference between rdo-\] and clo-\] causes no meaning difference. Back to the problem of choosing a basic allomorph. If we choose either rdo-\] or r\]-\] we will be faced either with a deletion or an insertion rule of vowel to derive either of the forms. It should be very logical to follow what had been Snoden, where the cases are the same, in the previous classes. Moreso the canonical form of a Bantu prefix is CV so why not choose rdo-\] and say r\]-\] is realised in front of a vowel. Thus the rule and following examples will illustrate the point.

- /do-/ \[→ \[d-\] / - V
  /do + ūngū/ \[→ \[dūngū\] "eagles"
  /do + ŏngō/ \[→ \[dōngō\] "cooking pots"

- /do-/ \[→ \[dō\]-\] / - C
  /dō + kūrē/ \[→ \[dōkūrē\] "tortoises"
  /dō + nōni/ \[→ \[dōnōni\] "birds"
  /dō + ŭwāngā/ \[→ \[dōwāngā\] "crayfishes"
  /dō + disē/ \[→ \[dōdisē\] "sacrifices"

Class 14 /bō-/ 

Contrary to other classes where singular is an odd number class 14 is a singular class. It seemed to have
reversed order with the preceding class, only they do not pair with each other. It has three phonetic realizations of the nominal prefix. They are \( \text{bo-}, \text{bw-}, \text{b-} \). If \( \text{bw-} \) is taken as basic allomorph the problem will be to derive \( \text{bo-} \) from \( \text{bw-} \) and then delete either \(/o-/\) or \(/w/\) from the \(/b/\) sound. This is difficult if one considers that \( \text{w} \) is the corresponding glide for both \( \text{co} \) and \( \text{u} \). How can one be obtained leaving out the other? That is the question. The next allomorph is \( \text{bw-} \) as basic allomorph. An insertion rule is needed here to explain the fact that the form \(/b-/\) is realized \( \text{bw-} \) in front of all vowels except when the first two vowels of the root resemble each other, then it is realized \( \text{bw-} \) with insertion of \( \text{w} \). In front of stems with an initial consonant \( \text{w} \) is inserted with a low tone. If \( \text{bo-} \) is considered, it occurs before consonants, in front of stems that can be said to harmonize in terms of vowels, the \( \text{co} \) of \( \text{bb-} \) becomes a glide \( \text{bw-} \) or completely drops off when it occurs elsewhere (vowels). The following are examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
/bɔ-/ & \rightarrow \text{bɔ-} / - C \\
/bɔ + sɔbɔjɛ/ & \rightarrow \text{bɔsɔbɔjɛ} \quad \text{"bone"} \\
/bɔ + rɔ/ & \rightarrow \text{bɔrɔ} \quad \text{"canoe"} \\
/bɔ + jɛ/ & \rightarrow \text{bɔjɛ} \quad \text{"gathering"} \\
/bɔ + kɛ/ & \rightarrow \text{bɔkɛ} \quad \text{"loft"}
\end{align*}
\]
This is a singular class that forms a pair with class 13. This class has four allomorphs for the prefix marker \( \text{r}- \), \( \text{c}- \), \( \text{cy}- \) or \( \text{cyey}- \) which form is derived from which is the essential question. It should be noted that \( \text{cyey}- \) and \( \text{cy}- \) are grouped together. This is because they occur in front of vowels and the form we choose between \( \text{r}- \) and \( \text{c}- \) as basic allomorph will have its associated pair \( \text{cy}- \) or \( \text{cyey}- \) realised in front of a vowel. So we will be concerned here with four allomorphs \( \text{r}- \), \( \text{c}- \), \( \text{cy}- \) and \( \text{cyey}- \). If \( \text{cy}- \) or \( \text{cyey}- \) is chosen as basic allomorph the problem will be on how we eventually arrive at either \( \text{c}- \) or \( \text{r}- \) even if \( \text{cy} \) is their glide correspondent.
Will it not be more natural to say that either ci-i or ci-e is the basic allomorph, then their glide counterpart, is introduced, in the occurrence of two vowels in a continuous sequence? We hope so. Now the problem is to choose between ci-i and ci-e 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 occurrence between the two, and the fact that the proto form is /pla/ made one decide to postulate it as the basic form. Thus it is ci-i with [iy] in front of vowel as the basic allomorph.

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

/i-/ ---→  tôy-1 / - V
/e-/ ---→  tôy-1 / - V
/i-/ ---→  tô-1 / - C
/i-/ ---→  tô-1 / - C

- /i/- ---→ [ôy] / - V
/e + ôngɔ/ ---→  tôyôngɔ1 "pot"
/i + ôngɔ/ ---→  tôyúngɔŋ "eagle"

- /i/ ---→  tô-1 / - C
/i + ôngɔ/ ---→  tôbɔŋɔŋ "box"
/ê + ôngɔ/ ---→  tôdîsê1 "sacrifice"
/i + kûrɛ/ ---→  tôkûrɛŋ "tortoise"

- /i-/ ---→  tôn-1 / - C
/i + ñiŋ/ ---→  tôniŋŋ "bird"
/ê + sêrɛrɛ/ ---→  tôsêrɛrɛŋ "grasshopper"
/i + këngewendɛ/ ---→  tôkëngewendɛŋ "ankle"

Overleaf is a recapitulative table of the kɔlɛ noun classes and their prefixes not forgetting the distribution of the various allomorphs.
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<td>mū</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/mū/ → [mù-] / - CV, V = [o]</td>
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<td>ø</td>
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<td>bā</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/bā-/ → [bā-] / elsewhere</td>
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<td>mū</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>mē</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/mē-/ → [mē-] / - V, V = [o]</td>
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<td>di</td>
<td>di</td>
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<td>/di- / → [j-] / - V = [a]</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>/di- / → [ll-] / - C (free variants)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>/di/ → [dī] / - C</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>mā</td>
<td>mā-</td>
<td>/mā-/ → [m-] / - V</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>è</td>
<td>/è/ → [èy-] / V</td>
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<td>island, leaf</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/è-/ → [è-] / elsewhere</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>bi</td>
<td>bè</td>
<td>/bè-/ → [by-] / - V</td>
<td>by-ōndī, by-ārī</td>
<td>islands, leaves</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>/bè/ → [bè-] elsewhere</td>
<td>bē-tândā, bē-bò</td>
<td>ants, shells</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>/N-/ → [m-] / - [b]</td>
<td>m-bōǎ, m-bőrī</td>
<td>country, goat</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/N-/ → [ŋ-] / - [g]</td>
<td>ŋōndō̄, ŋbwā</td>
<td>groundnut, dog</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/N-/ → [ŋ-] / - [d]</td>
<td>n-dùmbū, n-dâwō</td>
<td>nest, house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/N-/ → [ŋ-] / - [j]</td>
<td>n-jëkū, n-jū</td>
<td>elephant, tiger</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/N-/ → ø / - C = voiceless</td>
<td>kēmā, fōē</td>
<td>monkey, rat</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/N-/ → [ŋ] / - V</td>
<td>n-āmā, nākā</td>
<td>fish, cow</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>same realisations as in 9.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>CL</td>
<td>PROTO-BANTU</td>
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<td>DISTRIBUTION</td>
<td>EXAMPLE</td>
<td>GLOSS</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>dů</td>
<td>dô</td>
<td>/dô-/ → [d-] / - V</td>
<td>d-ôngů, d-ôngô</td>
<td>eagles, pots</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>dů</td>
<td>dô</td>
<td>/dô/- → [dô] / elsewhere</td>
<td>do-nôni, do-kûrê</td>
<td>birds, eagles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bů</td>
<td>bô</td>
<td>/bô/ → [bw-] / V - V (e)</td>
<td>bw-ëndë, bwângâ</td>
<td>circumcision, chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bů</td>
<td>bô</td>
<td>/bô/ → bô-] / - C</td>
<td>bô-râ, bô-kâ</td>
<td>boat, loft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bů</td>
<td>bô</td>
<td>/bô/ → [b-] / - V = (u)</td>
<td>b-ôngô, b-ûmâ</td>
<td>friend, grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>/l-/ → [ë-] / - C</td>
<td>ê-Bôngô</td>
<td>box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>/l-/ → [îy] / - V</td>
<td>êy-ôngû</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>/l-/ → [êy] / - V</td>
<td>êy-ôngô</td>
<td>pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>/l-/ → [l-] / - elsewhere</td>
<td>i-nônî</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 affix. 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 analyses is very great for it's one of the criteria used to establish the individual noun classes as contrastive i.e. the occurrence 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

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<th>cl.</th>
<th>/mʊ/</th>
<th>mʊ-kárə</th>
<th>m-ə́kó</th>
<th>&quot;one European&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>/mʊ/</td>
<td>&quot;one European&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>/mʊ/</td>
<td>&quot;one woman&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like the above the morpheme /mʊ-/ is realised as "m-" when it precedes a stem with an initial vowel.
Below are some examples:

mù- kòrì m-  diseñ “one hill”  
hill one

mù- rémà m-  diseñador “one heart”  
heart one

cl. 5. /dà/

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

Examples:

ɪ- támè r-  diseñador “one cheek”  
cheek one

dikòkè r-  diseñador “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/ --- /yl/ --- /cl /

Examples:

è-kòròngwè y-  diseñador “one lizard”  
lizard 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- dówɔ  
  house
- n- gen  
  bell

cl. 14. /bɔ-/  
The morpheme /bɔ-/ is realised (b-) infront of a stem with an initial vowel

Examples:

- b- ɔrɔ  
  boat
- bɔ- kɔ  
  loft

cl. 19. /i-/  
The morpheme /i-/ like in class 7 becomes semi vowel infront of stems with an initial back vowel.

Examples:

- i- nɔnfi  
  bird
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 numerals 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

<table>
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<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>cl. 2.</td>
<td>/ba-</td>
<td>bá-</td>
<td>two European</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td></td>
<td>bá-</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bá-</td>
<td>&quot;two Europeans&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
<td>bá-</td>
<td>three women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bá-</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td></td>
<td>bá-</td>
<td>four children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bá-</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td>bá-</td>
<td>five teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bá-</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bá-</td>
<td>&quot;five teachers&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 4.</td>
<td>/mé-</td>
<td>mé-</td>
<td>one hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hills</td>
<td></td>
<td>mé-</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mé-</td>
<td>&quot;one hill&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alligators</td>
<td></td>
<td>mé-</td>
<td>three alligators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mé-</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mé-</td>
<td>&quot;three alligators&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mè-sôngò  mé-nè  "four beads"
beads  four

mè-sfagà  mé-tànù  "five ropes"
ropes  five

cl. 6  /má-/    
mè-támà  mé-bé  "two cheeks"
cheeks  two

mè-bátò  mé-ráro  "three cloths"
cloths  three

mè-Bôndé  mé-nè  "four cups"
cups  four

mè-mbòwè  mé-tànù  "five countries"
countries  five

cl. 8  /bé-/    
bè-kûrûngwà  bè-bé  "two lizards"
lizards  two

bè-kpè  bè-ráro  "three bags"
bags  three

bè-tàndé  bè-nè  "four ants"
ants  four

bè-tàmbi  bè-tànù  "five shoes"
shoes  five
### Numeral Prefixes

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<th>bá</th>
<th>Cl. 3</th>
<th>m-</th>
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<td>Cl. 5</td>
<td>r-</td>
<td>Cl. 6</td>
<td>mé-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 7</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>Cl. 8</td>
<td>bá-</td>
<td>Cl. 9</td>
<td>f-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 10</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>Cl. 13</td>
<td>dó-</td>
<td>Cl. 14</td>
<td>bó-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 19</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**HOU 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cl.</th>
<th>Word 1</th>
<th>Word 2</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>b-ánà</td>
<td>bé-tíngé</td>
<td>&quot;how many children?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>children</td>
<td>how many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b-àtò</td>
<td>bé-tíngé</td>
<td>&quot;how many women?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>women</td>
<td>how many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mè-kùrì</td>
<td>mé-tíngé</td>
<td>&quot;how many hills?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hills</td>
<td>how many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mè-rùmbù</td>
<td>mé-tíngé</td>
<td>&quot;how many mouths?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mouths</td>
<td>how many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mè-témè</td>
<td>mé-tíngé</td>
<td>&quot;how many cheeks?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cheeks</td>
<td>how many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bè-kùrùngwà</td>
<td>bè-tíngé</td>
<td>&quot;how many lizards?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lizards</td>
<td>how many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bè-kpà</td>
<td>bè-tíngé</td>
<td>&quot;how many bags?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bags</td>
<td>how many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>n-gòô</td>
<td>f-tíngé</td>
<td>&quot;how many pigs?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pigs</td>
<td>how many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m-bòrì</td>
<td>f-tíngé</td>
<td>&quot;how many goats?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goats</td>
<td>how many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Adjectives

The adjectival prefix is a concordial prefix because its form will depend on the type of noun that it qualifies. In kólè 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixes</th>
<th>cl. 2</th>
<th>cl. 4</th>
<th>cl. 6</th>
<th>cl. 8</th>
<th>cl. 10</th>
<th>cl. 13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cl. 2</td>
<td>bá-</td>
<td>mé-</td>
<td>mé-</td>
<td>bá-</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>dó-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Cl. 13 | dò-nòni | dò-tìngè | "how many birds?"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>birds</td>
<td></td>
<td>how many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Cl. 13 | dò-kùrè | dò-tìngè | "how many tortoises?"
<p>| tortoises |         | how many |                  |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cl.</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mwàftù woman</td>
<td>&quot;big woman&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nu-ndénè big</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mò-tò person</td>
<td>&quot;big person&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nu-ndénè big</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mw-ënè child</td>
<td>&quot;small child&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nu-sári small</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mw-ëftù woman</td>
<td>&quot;small woman&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nu-sári small</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bì-åftù woman</td>
<td>&quot;big women&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bá-ndénè big</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bè-tò persons</td>
<td>&quot;big persons&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bá-ndénè big</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b-änè children</td>
<td>&quot;small children&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bá-sári small</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bë-rëdëi teachers</td>
<td>&quot;small teachers&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bá-sári small</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mú-rùmbù mouth</td>
<td>&quot;big mouth&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mú-ndénè big</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mú-sibë horn</td>
<td>&quot;big horn&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mú-ndénè big</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mù-rùmbù
mouth

mù-sibá
horn

cl. 4

my-éndé
feet

mè-kèyi
eggs

my-éndé
feet

mè-kèyi
eggs

cl. 5

di-bètè
cloth

i-bè
breast

i-sùngé
tooth

di-kàkè
crab

cl. 6

mà-sùngè
teeth

má-ndénè
big

"small mouth"

"small horn"

"big feet"

"big eggs"

"small feet"

"small eggs"

"big cloth"

"big breast"

"small tooth"

"small crab"

"big teeth"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>मे-रारे मे-साति मे-कार</td>
<td>में-देने में-साति में-कार</td>
<td>big stones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मे-रेंदे निवसे मे-साति रने</td>
<td>में-साति में-साति</td>
<td>small knives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>मे-बे ब्रेस्ट्स मे-साति रने</td>
<td>में-साति में-साति</td>
<td>small breasts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>से-बारे से-साति से-कार</td>
<td>से-देने से-साति से-कार</td>
<td>big scar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>से-यान्दी से-साति से-कार</td>
<td>से-देने से-साति से-कार</td>
<td>big island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>से-कार से-साति से-कार</td>
<td>से-देने से-साति से-कार</td>
<td>small market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>से-फुमेह से-साति से-कार</td>
<td>से-देने से-साति से-कार</td>
<td>small fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>से-तैंडार से-देने से-कार</td>
<td>से-देने से-साति से-कार</td>
<td>big ants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>से-क्पार से-देने से-कार</td>
<td>से-देने से-साति से-कार</td>
<td>big bags</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>से-फुमेह से-साति से-कार</td>
<td>से-देने से-साति से-कार</td>
<td>small fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>से-कार से-साति से-कार</td>
<td>से-देने से-साति से-कार</td>
<td>small markets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td>Word 1</td>
<td>Word 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>m-bòwè v</td>
<td>i-ndènè b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>village</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n-dèwò h</td>
<td>i-ndènè b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>house</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñ-gbwè d</td>
<td>i-sàri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m-bòrì g</td>
<td>i-sàri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goat</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ñ-gèndó c</td>
<td>é-ndènè b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>caiman</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñèjèkú c</td>
<td>é-ndènè b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cockroach</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n-jèkù e</td>
<td>é-sàri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>elephant</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ny-èkè c</td>
<td>é-sàri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cows</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>dò-nòñi b</td>
<td>dò-ndènè b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>birds</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d-òngò p</td>
<td>dò-ndènè b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pots</td>
<td>big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d-ìngò e</td>
<td>dò-sàri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eagles</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 14</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cl. 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bô-kê</td>
<td>bô-ndénè</td>
<td>ë-kûrê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loft</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>tortoise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bô-rô</td>
<td>bô-ndénè</td>
<td>i-nôni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boat</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bô-kê</td>
<td>bo-séri</td>
<td>i-séréré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loft</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>cricket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bô-rô</td>
<td>bu-séri</td>
<td>i-nôni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boat</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Adjectival Prefix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cl 1</th>
<th>nú</th>
<th>Cl 2</th>
<th>bé</th>
<th>Cl 3</th>
<th>mú</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cl 4</td>
<td>mé</td>
<td>Cl 5</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>Cl 6</td>
<td>mês</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl 7</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>Cl 8</td>
<td>bé</td>
<td>Cl 9</td>
<td>ì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl 10</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>Cl 13</td>
<td>dê</td>
<td>Cl 14</td>
<td>bó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 kola 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 ñé mwàítò
That woman over there ñé mwàítò ñé

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl 2</th>
<th>bá-nô</th>
<th>b-ánà</th>
<th>these</th>
<th>children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bá-nô</td>
<td>bê-tô</td>
<td>these</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bá-ô</td>
<td>b-ánà</td>
<td>those</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bá-ô</td>
<td>bê-tô</td>
<td>those</td>
<td>men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl 3</th>
<th>mó-nô</th>
<th>mó-kùri</th>
<th>this</th>
<th>hill</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mó-nô</td>
<td>mó-nyèrè</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mó-ô</td>
<td>mó-kùri</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mó-ô</td>
<td>mó-nyèrè</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>earth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cl 4  mé-nè  mè-sóbó
these  horns
mé-nè  mè-kūri
these  hills
mé-ô  mè-sóbó
those  horns
mé-ô  mè-kèyi
those  eggs

cl 5  di-nè  di-sò
this  eye
di-nè  di-wini
this  okra
dó-ô  di-sò
that  eye
dó-ô  di-wini
that  okra

cl 6  mè-nò  mè-wini
these  okres
mè-nò  mè-bètò
these  cloths
mè-ô  mè-wini
those  okres
mè-ô  mè-bètò
those  'cloths

cl 7  é-nè  è-kpè
this  bag
It is worth noting that because two vowels cannot occur on their own in a VV structure, one of the V becomes a semi-vowel. Thus we have /e/ → [y] / V - V.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cl 8</th>
<th>bè-nè</th>
<th>bè-kpè</th>
<th>bags</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bè-nè</td>
<td>bè-kè</td>
<td>markets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bè-ô</td>
<td>bè-rèrè</td>
<td>ducks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bè-ô</td>
<td>by-ôndí</td>
<td>islands</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cl 9</th>
<th>è-nè</th>
<th>m-bòrì</th>
<th>goat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>è-nè</td>
<td>η-gèè</td>
<td>road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yô</td>
<td>η-gèè</td>
<td>road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl 10</td>
<td>f-nè</td>
<td>ny-âkà</td>
<td>cows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>those</td>
<td>n-jèkù</td>
<td>elephants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yó</td>
<td>ñ-girà</td>
<td>lions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>those</td>
<td>n-jó:</td>
<td>tigers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl 13</td>
<td>dō-nò</td>
<td>dō-noní</td>
<td>birds</td>
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<tr>
<td>these</td>
<td>dō-yongó</td>
<td>pots</td>
<td></td>
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<td>dō-ô</td>
<td>dō-kurè</td>
<td>tortoises</td>
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<tr>
<td>those</td>
<td>dō-noní</td>
<td>birds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl 14</td>
<td>bō-nò</td>
<td>bō-rò</td>
<td>boats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>bō-jä</td>
<td>gathering</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bō-nò</td>
<td>bō-rò</td>
<td>boats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>bō-ô</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
One might have noticed the constant change in the stem where at times it is -nè and at times -nô. A tentative reason for this alternative might be that kôle has aspects of ita sister language duals where the stem is -ne.

Prefixes

- cl 1 3-
- cl 4 5-
- cl 7 8-
- cl 10 13-
- cl 19 14-
3.3.4 Possessives

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl 1</th>
<th>m̃w-áń</th>
<th>d̃mę́</th>
<th>&quot;my child&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>my</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m̃w-áń</td>
<td>d̃ngd̃</td>
<td>&quot;your child&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>your</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m̃w-áń</td>
<td>d̃f̃</td>
<td>&quot;his child&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>his</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m̃w-en</td>
<td>d̃s̃̃u</td>
<td>&quot;our child&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>our</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m̃w-áń</td>
<td>d̃nỹṹ</td>
<td>&quot;your child&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>your</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m̃w-áń</td>
<td>d̃w̃ṹ</td>
<td>&quot;their child&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>their</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl 2</th>
<th>b-áǹ̃ě</th>
<th>bá̃mę́</th>
<th>&quot;my women&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>my</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl 3</td>
<td>mò-kùrì</td>
<td>múmè</td>
<td>“my hill”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mò-kùrì</td>
<td>mòngó</td>
<td>“your hill”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mò-kùrì</td>
<td>mói</td>
<td>“his hill”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mò-kùrì</td>
<td>mósú</td>
<td>“our hill”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mò-kùrì</td>
<td>mònyù</td>
<td>“your hill”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mò-kùrì</td>
<td>mòwù</td>
<td>“their hill”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl 4</td>
<td>mè-ròggi</td>
<td>mémè</td>
<td>“my sheep”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mè-ròggi</td>
<td>mèngò</td>
<td>“your sheep”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause</td>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Possessor</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl 5</td>
<td>i-sungà</td>
<td>rémé</td>
<td>&quot;my tooth&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-sungà</td>
<td>rónyó</td>
<td>&quot;your tooth&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-sungà</td>
<td>ráfi</td>
<td>&quot;his tooth&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-sungà</td>
<td>rású</td>
<td>&quot;our tooth&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-sungà</td>
<td>ranyú</td>
<td>&quot;your tooth&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-sungà</td>
<td>ràwú</td>
<td>&quot;their tooth&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tooth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl 6</td>
<td>mè-rèndè</td>
<td>mémé</td>
<td>&quot;my knives&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>knives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mè-rèndè</td>
<td>mòngó</td>
<td>&quot;your knives&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>knives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl. 7</td>
<td>ë-kpà</td>
<td>ñmé</td>
<td>&quot;my bag&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ë-kpà</td>
<td>ñgo</td>
<td>&quot;your bag&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ë-kpà</td>
<td>ñí</td>
<td>&quot;his bag&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ë-kpà</td>
<td>ñsù</td>
<td>&quot;our bag&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ë-kpà</td>
<td>ñnyú</td>
<td>&quot;your bag&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ë-kpà</td>
<td>ñwá</td>
<td>&quot;their bag&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cl. 8</th>
<th>bè-kà</th>
<th>bémé</th>
<th>&quot;my markets&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bè-kà</td>
<td>béngó</td>
<td>&quot;our markets&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl 9</td>
<td>nj-gbà</td>
<td>àmèd</td>
<td>&quot;my dog&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj-gbà</td>
<td>àŋgè</td>
<td>&quot;your dog&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj-gbà</td>
<td>àf</td>
<td>&quot;his dog&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj-gbà</td>
<td>àsu</td>
<td>&quot;our dog&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj-gbà</td>
<td>ìnyù</td>
<td>&quot;your dog&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj-gbà</td>
<td>àwù</td>
<td>&quot;their dog&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cl 10</th>
<th>m-bòri</th>
<th>émè</th>
<th>&quot;my goats&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-bòri</td>
<td>àŋgè</td>
<td>&quot;your goats&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
m-bòri  sì  "his goats"
gost  his

m-bòri  ẹsù  "our goats"
gost  our

m-bòri  ụnyụ  "your goats"
gost  you

m-bòri  ọwụ  "their goats"
gost  their

c l 13  dọ-yóngọ  dọmè  "my pots"
pots  my

dọ-yóngọ  dọngọ  "your pots"
pots  your

dọ-yóngọ  dọf  "his pots"
pots  his

dọ-yóngọ  ọsù  "our pots"
pots  our

dọ-yóngọ  ọnụ  "your pots"
pots  your

dọ-yóngọ  ọwụ  "their pots"
pots  their

c l 14  bọ-rọ  bámé  "my boat"
boat  my

bọ-rọ  bọngọ  "your boat"
boat  your
In fluent speech the native speakers elide a V in a VV sequence. That is, in cases where one of the vowels does not become a semi-vowel.
Possessive prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl1</th>
<th>cl2</th>
<th>cl3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>å</td>
<td>bå</td>
<td>må</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl4</td>
<td>cl5</td>
<td>cl6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé</td>
<td>rd</td>
<td>més</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl7</td>
<td>cl8</td>
<td>cl9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å'</td>
<td>bå</td>
<td>å</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl10</td>
<td>cl13</td>
<td>cl14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å</td>
<td>dö</td>
<td>bå</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl19</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 equivalent of the English apostrophy 's ('). It's form varies in relation with the first noun \(N_1\). Below is an illustration.

**cl 1**

- mw-ånè å mw-åftò "the woman's child"
- child 's woman
- mw-åftò å mó-tò "the man's wife"
- woman 's man

**cl 2**

- b-ånè bå mw-åftò "the woman's children"
- children 's women
- b-åftò bå mó-tò "the man's wives"
- women 's men
cl 3  mw-éndë  mú  mw-âftò  "the woman's foot"
     foot  's  woman

     mú-rêmè  mú  mw-âftò  "the woman's heart"
     heart  's  woman

cl 4  my-éndë  mé  mw-âftò  "the woman's feet"
     feet  's  woman

     mè-rêmè  mé  mw-âftò  "the woman's hearts"
     hearts  's  woman

cl 5  i-sùngá  rá  mw-âftò  "the woman's tooth"
     tooth  's  woman

     i-tôf  rá  mw-âftò  "the woman's ear"
     ear  's  woman

cl 6  mè-sùngá  mé  mw-âftò  "the woman's teeth"
     teeth  's  woman

     mè-tôi  mé  mw-âftò  "the woman's ears"
     ears  's  woman

cl 7  è-kpà  yá  mw-âftò  "the woman's bag"
     bag  's  woman

     è-tàmbì  yá  mw-âftò  "the woman's shoe"
     shoe  's  woman

cl 8  bè-kpà  bè  mw-âftò  "the woman's bags"
     bags  's  woman

     bè-tàmbì  bè  mw-âftò  "the woman's shoes"
     shoes  's  woman
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cl</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>m-bòrì</td>
<td>yà</td>
<td>mw-èítò</td>
<td>&quot;the woman's goat&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goat</td>
<td>'s</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñ-gbà</td>
<td>yà</td>
<td>mw-èítò</td>
<td>&quot;the woman's dog&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goat</td>
<td>'s</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>m-bòrì</td>
<td>yà</td>
<td>mw-èítò</td>
<td>&quot;the woman's goats&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goat</td>
<td>'s</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñ-gbà</td>
<td>yà</td>
<td>mw-èítò</td>
<td>&quot;the woman's dogs&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>'s</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>do-yòngó</td>
<td>dè</td>
<td>mw-èítò</td>
<td>&quot;the woman's pots&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pot</td>
<td>'s</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d'ùngú</td>
<td>dè</td>
<td>mw-èítò</td>
<td>&quot;the woman's eagles&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eagles</td>
<td>'s</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bò-ró</td>
<td>bò</td>
<td>mw-èítò</td>
<td>&quot;the woman's boat&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>boat</td>
<td>'s</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bò-kà</td>
<td>bò</td>
<td>mw-èítò</td>
<td>&quot;the woman's loft&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>loft</td>
<td>'s</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>i-nòni</td>
<td>yà</td>
<td>mw-èítò</td>
<td>&quot;the woman's bird&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>'s</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>è-kúrè</td>
<td>yà</td>
<td>mw-èítò</td>
<td>&quot;he woman's tortoise&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tortoise</td>
<td>'s</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Associative prefixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cl</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>à</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The prefixes of the associative 's in this language are the same as that of 'of'. For example:

- cl 9 ð-géà ỳà mw-àìtò "the road of the woman"
  road of woman

- cl 14 di-fondi ra:mò-kùmbè "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 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 kòle 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-àìtò "which woman?"
  which woman

- cl 4 njùkù mè-kòkò "which sugarcanes?"
  which sugarcanes
"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 its classes same as the nouns too

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cl</th>
<th>Noun 1</th>
<th>Noun 2</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mw-sênô</td>
<td>nu-fêfè</td>
<td>&quot;another woman&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>another</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mû-rêêdi</td>
<td>nu-fêfè</td>
<td>&quot;another teacher&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>another</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bê-tô</td>
<td>bê-fêfè</td>
<td>&quot;other persons&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>persons</td>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bê-rêêdi</td>
<td>bê-fêfè</td>
<td>&quot;other teachers&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teachers</td>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mû-kôkô</td>
<td>mû-fêfè</td>
<td>&quot;another sugarcane&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sugarcane</td>
<td>another</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mû-rûmbû</td>
<td>mû-fêfè</td>
<td>&quot;another mouth&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>another</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mû-kôkô</td>
<td>mû-fêfè</td>
<td>&quot;other sugarcanes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sugarcanes</td>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mû-rûmbû</td>
<td>mé-fêfè</td>
<td>&quot;other mouths&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>mouths</td>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>di-kôkô</td>
<td>di-fêfè</td>
<td>&quot;another crab&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>crab</td>
<td>another</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cl 6 mà-kəkə mà-fefè "other crabs"
crabs other
mà-bəngə mà-fefè "other stomachs"
stomachs other
cl 7 è-wəkə i-fefè "another chimpanzee"
bhimpanzee another
e-ka i-fefè "another market"
market another
cl 8 bè-wəkə bè-fefè "other chimpanzees"
chimpanzees other
bè-ka bè-fefè "other markets"
markets other
cl 9 n-jèkə è-fefè "another elephant"
elephant another
n-dəwə è-fefè "another house"
house another
cl 10 ny-əkə i-fefè "other cows"
cows other
ŋ-girə i-fefè "other lions"
lions other
cl 13 də-nəni də-fefè "other birds"
birds other
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.

3.3.7 Verbal Concord

One might get very suprised when observing appearing when the topic of concern is Nouns. One
should have been surprised too when adjectives were treated. The explanation is that whenever a noun is the subject of a conjugated verb, the noun reappears in a pronominal form before the verb. This pronoun is a personal pronoun which we call the verbal prefix because it helps in the conjugation. 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 médà "the child ate"
child he ate

cl 2
bà-tò bá dè "the men eat"
men they eat

b-mànà bá médà "the children ate"
children they ate

cl 3
mù-ròngi mú dà "the sheep eats"
sheep it eats

mù-ròngi mú médà "the sheep ate"
sheep it ate

cl 4
mào-ròŋgi mé dà "the sheep eat"
sheep they eat
mà-rongi  mé  módà  "the sheep ate"
sheep  they  ate

cl 5

dí-sò  dí  dibè  "the eye closes"
eye  it  closes
dí-sò  dí  módibè  "the eye closed"
eye  it  closed

cl 6

mà-toí  mé  dibè  "the ears close"
ears  they  close
mà-toí  mé  módibè  "the ears closed"
ears  they  closed

cl 7

e-kóröngwà  é  sáká  "the lizard dances"
lizard  it  dances
e-kóröngwà  é  mósáká  "the lizard danced"
lizard  it  danced

cl 8

bè-kóröngwà  bá  sáká  "the lizards dance"
lizards  they  dance
bè-kóröngwà  bá  mósáká  "the lizards danced"
lizards  they  danced

cl 9

ŋ-gowà  è  nàngà  "the dog sleeps"
dog  it  sleeps
91

cl 10

91

cl 13

91

cl 14

91
3.3.8 Analysis of Concord System

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

Adj. \( mw - \) ëtô nd-ndéné "big woman"
woman big

poss. b-ëtô bâ-mé "my women"
women my

dem bê-nê bê-kpê "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), nû- (4P) ë- (DP) ë- (PP). In some cases as in the associative the prefix has even died out leaving a
construction with no prefix. Example:

\[
\begin{array}{ll} 
\text{mw-ánè} & \text{mw-áftò} \\
\text{child} & \text{woman} \\
\end{array}
\]

"the woman's child"

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  ĝ-nè  ĝ-kpè
this bag

cl 19  ĝ-nè  i-nóni
this bird

Poss cl 7  ĝ-kòòngwè  ĝ-mè
lizard my

cl 19  ĝ-kúrè  í-mé
turtle 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 yà mw-èftò "the woman's bag"
   bag 's woman

cl 9 m-bóri yà mw-èftò "the woman's goat"
   goat 's woman

cl 10 m-bóri yà mw-èftò "the woman's goats"
   goats 's woman

cl 19 i-nóni yà mw-èftò "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 noun-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 processes 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
When there is a collocation of noun-possessive vowel deletion takes place. In this case there is a contiguous occurrence 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:

mwânê  ámbé  -->  mwânmé  "my child"
child  my  child my

mwânê  âsú  -->  mwânsú  "our child"
child  our  child our

mwânê  ânýý  -->  mwânsnýý  "your child"
child  your(pl)  child your

mwânê  âfi  -->  mwânsfí  "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 kôlê 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl 6</th>
<th>mě-nà</th>
<th>mè-wini</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>these</td>
<td>okras</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl 7</th>
<th>é-nè</th>
<th>èkpà</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>bag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus /é/ → /ý/.

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

/e/ → /ý/ → 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 |
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 referred 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 opposed to 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 kola.

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 kola and their semantic content, beginning with the double class genders.
Double class genders

From studies of the data, it has been discovered that kolc 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular class</th>
<th>Plural class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As the table shows, there are double class genders in kalé and they are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Double class gender</th>
<th>1/2</th>
<th>3/4</th>
<th>5/6</th>
<th>7/8</th>
<th>9/10</th>
<th>9/6</th>
<th>14/6</th>
<th>14/4</th>
<th>19/13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Gender 1/2  

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

- mû-kânèri: chief(s)
- bè-kânèri
- mû-rôngè: farmer(s)
- bè-rôngè
- mû-rêédi: teacher(s)
- bè-rêédi
- mû-rêmô: witch(es)
- bè-rêmô
Gender 3/4  mù-/mê-

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-köri  hill(s)

mè-köri

mw-öngâ  sea(s)

mi-öngâ

m-ösâ  river(s)

my-ösâ

mw-àngâ  root(s)

my-àngâ

**Animals, Insects**

mò-röngi  sheep

mè-röngi

mò-kùmbë  alligator(s)

mè-kùmbë
mō-kōyikōyi  frog(s)
mē-kōyikōyi  cat(s)
mw-ēbārē
my-ēbārē

Body parts
mū-rēmē  heart(s)
mē-rēmē
mō-ōmēbā  noses
me-ōmēbā
mw-ēndē  foot (feet)
my-ēndē
mō-rofū  head(s)
mē-rofū

Foodstuff
mō-rokō  cocoayam(s)
mē-rokō
mō-kōkō  sugar cane(s)
mē-kōkō

Human relationships
mū-kusā  widow(s)
mē-kusā
m-ōrī  parent(s)
mē-ōrī
mū-ngō  friend(s)
mē-ngō
Birds and related object

mw-èmè
mè-èmè
mù-mìmòkùbè
my-émìmèkùbè
mù-kèyì
mè-kèyì

Miscellaneous

m-òrì
mè-òrì
mù-kùmbè
mè-kùmbè
mù-sùsèrì
mè-sùsèrì

Gender 5/6 dì/mè-

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

i-sùngè
mè-sùngè
d-ìsù
m-ìsù
dì-bé
mè-bé

tooth (teeth)
eye (s)

brest(s)
i-démbé                  tongue(s)
mà-démbé

**Natural objects**

di-fòndì                  hole(s) / cave(s)
mà-fòndì

di-kòké                   dry season(s)
mà-kòké

i-róre                   stone(s)
mà-róre

**Household objects and related objects**

i-nãngô                   bed(s)
mà-nãngô

i-rèndè                   knife (knives)
mà-rèndè

di-wè                     broom(s)
mà-wè

li-bàtô                   cloth(s)
mà-bàtô

**Plant life**

di-kpèmbè                 cassava

mà-kpèmbè

l-ìndé                    cocoyam(s)
l-ìndé

di-bòkè                    pumpkin(s)
mà-bòkè
Miscellaneous

di-bë
mà-bë
-đëkë
mà-rëkë
-łëndë
mà-rëndë
li-sàngë
mà-sàngë
di-kâkë
mà-kâkë

marriage(s)
game(s)
journey(s)
inheritance
crab(s)

Gender 7/8 è-/bè-

Nouns found in this gender are:

Animals, birds, insects
è-wëkë
bë-wëkë
èy-öngökôrì
by-öngökôrì
e-kôrónygwë
bë-kôrónygwë
è-rêrô
bë-rêrô
è-tëndë
bë-tëndë
chimpanzee(s)
chameleon(s)
lizard(s)
duck(s)
ant(s)
Natural objects

- eroki
- be-eroki

Plant related items

- e-sumbu
- be-sumbu
- ey-erif
- by-erif
- e-fumé
- be-fumé

Natural objects

- ey-ondif
- by-ondif
- e-ringè
- be-ringè
- e-komi
- be-komi
- e-munè
- be-munè

Household objects

- e-ringè
- be-ringè
- e-wondè
- be-wondè
- e-kpè
- be-kpè
- e-sasè
- be-sasè
**Clothing and adornment**

- á-támbí  
  shoe(s)
- bë-támbí
- d-áškòn  
  pipe(s)
- bë-síkòn

**Body Part and related items**

- d-tóngò  
  shoulder(s)
- bë-tóngò
- d-bëri  
  intestine(s)
- bë-bëri
- d-bérë  
  scar(s)
- bë-bérë
- d-wësë  
  rat(s)
- bë-wësë

**Miscellaneous**

- d-kà  
  market(s)
- bë-kà
- d-tóìë  
  debt(s)
- bë-tóìë

**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  
  antelope(s)
- kàbè
- n-jëkù  
  elephant(s)
- n-jëkù
### Natural Objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Wolof</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foodstuff</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-bë́</td>
<td>yam(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-bë́</td>
<td>groundnut(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-dòngò</td>
<td>pepper(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-dòngò</td>
<td>potato(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Natural Objects</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-bò̀</td>
<td>village(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-bò̀</td>
<td>cloud(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Insects</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-jèwà</td>
<td>bee(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-jàwò</td>
<td>cockroach(es)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Birds</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kùmbìë</td>
<td>kite(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Parts of the body
- fikì – kidney(s)
- fikì
- ny-ôrø – body (bodies)
- ny-ôrø

Household items
- ñ-gõrd – spoon(s)
- ñ-gõrd
- tòkè – calabash (es)
- tòkè
- ñ-gen – bell(s)
- ñ-gen
- kôndø – chair(s)
kôndø

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

sõtì – shirt(s)
sõtì
tàwèrì – towel(s)
tàwèrì
windà – window(s)
windà

Gender 9/6 N-/mò-

This gender has the following nouns

Animals
- ñ-gombè – porcupine(s)
- me-ngombè
- m-bòrì – goat(s)
me-mbòrì
Man-made objects

ŋ-gēs  road(s)
me-ngēs
n-dáwô  house(s)
mándáwô
m-bëndâ  law(s)
mámbëndâ

Gender 14/6 bô-/mâ-

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

bô-jē  gathering(s)
mâ-jē
bô-sûmûnâ  door stop(s)
mâ-sûmûnâ
bô-râ  canoe(s)
mâ-râ
bô-kâ  loft(s)
mâ-kâ

Gender 14/4 bô-/mâ-

bw-élê  tree(s) (type)
mâ-élê
bw-čndî  circumcision(s)
mâ-čndî

Gender 15/13 i-/dô

This gender has very few nouns. The following are examples:
### Animals and birds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Bole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>crayfish</td>
<td>i-Bwèngè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cricket(s)</td>
<td>dò-Bwèngè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eagle(s)</td>
<td>i-sèrèrè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird(s)</td>
<td>do-sèrèrè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tortoise(s)</td>
<td>è-yùngù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do-yùngù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-nòni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>do-nòni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>è-kùrè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dò-dùrè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Household utensils

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Bole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cooking pot(s)</td>
<td>è-yòngò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dò-yòngò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>box(es)</td>
<td>è-Bòngò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dò-Bòngò</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Miscellaneous

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Bole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ankle(s)</td>
<td>i-kèngèiwèndè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dò-kèngèiwèndè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacrifice(s)</td>
<td>è-dìsè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dò-dìsè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Single class gender

In the kòle 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gender 3  mà-
  mà-nyārōvā  sky
  mà-risā  poverty

Gender 4  mè-
  my-èrīm  urine

Gender 5  dī-
  Natural phenomena
    dī-bu  ashes
    dī-titi  darkness
    i-suwá  fa mine
    i-tēnā  ripe
    d-ōbā  God

  Related to human beings
    d-ūfī  deaf
    d-ōwō  cry
    i-yō  laughter

Gender 6(a)  mà-
    mà-riwā  water
    mà-ḥūrā  oil
    mà-nyāngā  ngéló  kerosine
    mà-nyāngā  palm-nut oil
    mà-yō  blood

Gender 7  ë-
  Illnesses
    ë-kōrkōtō  measles
    ë-kōsērį  cough
Natural objects
è-wèi sun
è-nyingè earthquake

Gender 8 bè-
Examples of nouns from this gender are:
bè-bôtèrfi beginning
bè-wòkè prison

Gender 9 N-
It is this gender that has most of the abstract nouns.
The following are examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Natural phenomena</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wèá           fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wósè            world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-bùs           rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-gòskò         drought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tòndé           flood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-gö            wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpèrfi          death</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foodstuff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-bá               yams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-gòndó          groundnuts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-bié            palm-nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kàràrè           corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lòndi             rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yàngè             salt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Miscellaneous

ny-isè  thirst
nj-àmè  sperm
yètò  request
ffindf  gundpowder
tā:kJò  tobacco
mimbá  wine

Gender 14  bò-

bò-ri  money
bò-ngò  age
4.1 General Conclusion

This piece of work has been an attempt to describe the noun class system of Kole.

In this study we noticed many interesting facts. On phonology, the language is known to have twenty-eight 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  bôélô → bwêlô  "tree"
  bôângô → bwângô  "chest"

- When two vowels with two different tones occur, one high, one low, the high tone is retained and the low one dropped.
  examples  diâsô → diâsô  "eye"
  diînô → dinô  "name"

- When two vowels meet and form one, the two tones of the vowels combine.
  examples  diî → di  "hair"
  jēsô → jēsô  "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-káráé "European"
m-ùkó "one"
mù-káráé mòkó "one European"

As concerns the noun class system, the nouns have been grouped in their classes according to their nominal prefixes. Kòle has fifteen classes (1, 1a, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 6a, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 19) which can further be grouped into three plural classes (2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 13) and a single mass or liquid class (6a). Each class bears a suffix. Attemps 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 kole 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 duals. Thus, it has not been really easy to determine the kole 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 foreseen, it will be a long journey for kole to finally reach a functional level; however, it is hoped that the journey will come to its logical end.
Mbá Harry Ekwete Mokongo njí nà wètè
I Harry Ekwete Mokongo what I talk

wàNdù isùngbà myànggò nà èkòmè yéṣù wènèdù
here tell story of village our bring

ènè èkàräè jèngù nà bèṣòngò. Bùlè yá wè̀bòtò̀rì
the juju jengu and besongo Since from beginning

bèsù bè bòkòlu di sì wè nè èkàräè. Mùmènè mòkò
our of bòkòlu we not have any juju. Man one

sò à mèvè ènu à mbò̀là bè mà vè̀rè Ikà̀gù
ther he was here in village that they called Ikà̀gù

dìnè rìnè bè mà vè̀rè Igbà̀tò̀n. À mà̀gò ndè
other name that they called Igbà̀tò̀n He was only

mòtò à mồsòmbò. À mà̀gò ndè bò̀rò̀ nà tè̀cè
man of fish. He make this work until

bùnyà wòkò we nà ndè mwànjà amgbè dò̀bì̀rò̀f
day one he go only sea throw net

A mà wèkà nyàmè à yòbì ángòtì nà mà nè̀bò̀
He felt fish in net draw and he catch
èkàrà̀ngò̀njà, è mà wò. À mà sò̀mì i osè à
basket he suprise. He draw again it

vè ndè èkàrà̀ngò̀njà nà mú à bò̀tè̀ à̀vèkè
was only basket and he start hear

ò̀mgò̀ sà m̀è̀rifò̀s̀ à mà á̀bì̀sè bò̀rò̀ nà nù́
drum in water, he turn back canoe and he

pè̀mbírè̀nè̀ Wè̀e nè pè̀mbírè̀nè̀ à sà̀nè ndè à
confused When he confused he saw only

wà̀sù mbò̀là è̀rè̀ mbò̀là yé̀mè̀ Igbà̀tò̀n à
came out village different village say Igbà̀tò̀n he
They went to see not come back they search Imgbatun

Bé sé mòrdá. Bé ma Imgbatun èmè wà. Si bàn they didnot find They said Imgbatun he dead. Day two

Imèkòka tétè nò bùru, mbô èjè e ná ná

reached inside night, village stay

bè bêkì ndé ròkò dìwàrè ɔ rìwò rà ègbà.

they heard only game coming from water and climb.

Bé Béri ndé ìmèrè ndé Imgbatun. si ìmgbatun

They were only show only Imgbatun. Then Imgbatun

dèrè mbô. Amé bònyòmò!; nàyáni ìyèrà énì
called village. my people' I brought thing this

kènè ɔ mbô è mètimbè yòkè mónyèngì. Bè

then so village remain play joy

Bâ mè Imgbatun à mà wà, mbà ná si wà,

they said Imgbatun has died I didnot die

nàmè Bé ndé ɔ màriwà ɔtènù ndé nàmè

I was but in water inside there I

yàmè Bènì bàyàrè Bàù bámi méèrè bámè négè

brought these things. Devils they show they I should

nàyé ɲi méérè ènyètè. mbô èsàrèrè já

come and show you too Village not find stay

ìsì Bènì mèròkò mà mbô. Si ɔ wèrè mbô

without having games of village Then he call village

s bè sùmgbès nàbàm nè bè ìgàmìné èwòrè.

he them talk all how they have to make

Bà bòtà yì mèrè ìsámbà. ìsámbà à jèngù èwèrì

They started to show shrine Shrine of jèngù can

jò mbù mèbàh èwèrì jà mbù méèrò nàdè ìsámbà

stay years two can stay years three but shrine
ys mósongó ëyá ndé ngándé mótówá, ébánya
of mósongó stay only months six because
bó básókpè mbósi. wéni bá bámré ëyáré yá
them donot learn dialect when they leave thing of
ekárés yésè nábém' Bó bá mòkèsè ndóngó yá
juju all together they them cut pepper of
mósongó wéni bó kásè ndóngó yá mósongó
mosongo when they cut pepper of mosongo
èdérì na còòcò oméi wá sìméi cuèét cuèét
est it còòcò shallow you sneeze cuèét cuèét
cuèét ñgïráró o bótè sè mbósi à Mosongo
cuèét times three you start talk dialect of mosongo
mbósi à jëngù ñs ëyáré bò jé étènì mbu
dialect of jëngu then something of stay there years
mèbhé, ègéri ndé èngàméni bökpa mbósi yá
two, it because they must learn dialect of
wó na wàdfè bëyäré vëndé bëyäré yá bëkrè
them and other things that are things of jujus
yó njé ëkëngé bëndë étènì ná tètè
that is why they stay there for long
Bámè wàrà ëjëna ná tètè èmè dôngàméni bá
They make so until it reached they
wà sìsè ëjëmbè. Yó ëyäré yó njé ëróyàmrèrèfì,
send out shrine that thing that is brought us
jëngù ná mósongó ò bámòsò bëkàlè
jëngù and mosongo in Bamusso bëkàlè
Bò nyàmbèà, èngó mòtó ëmgbàtuñ èmè wé ndé
my country men that man ëmgbàtuñ he was only
mòtó wà bónyàmbò à yó njé këngé bónyàmbò
men of the village that is why people of village
Origin of Juju in Bekole

From the beginning, the kola people had no secret societies. One day a man called Ikey or Imgbetu 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 surprised 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 juju, the mosongo and the jeggu. The mosongo was for men and the jeggu was for women.
The men, chosen to belong to this society have to be there for six months while the women have to stay in theirs for two or three years. They kept Imgbatug 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, Imgbatug came with sounds of drums accompanying him. When the people saw him they could not believe 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 kola people had secret societies, the mosongo and the jeggu societies.
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