

THE EXPRESSION OF THE LOCATIVE SEMANTIC FUNCTION IN (WESTERN) EJAGHAM

JOHN R. WATTERS

Summer Institute of Linguistics, Yaoundé, Cameroon

*This study of locative expressions in Ejagham¹ is composed of two sections: a descriptive and a comparative section. The descriptive section includes discussions on nouns, adverbs, interrogatives, prepositions and verbs which express location. The comparative section underlines two important points 1) the correspondence between the noun ngùm 'places' and the Proto-Bantu *ku-(j)úma, and 2) correspondences between the adverbs and the interrogatives in Ejagham and locative agreements in Proto-Bantu.*

*Cette étude de l'expression de la localisation en ejagham se compose de deux sections: une section descriptive et une section comparative. La section descriptive inclut des discussions sur les noms, les adverbes, les interrogatifs, les prépositions et les verbes qui expriment la localisation. La section comparative souligne deux points importants: 1) la correspondance entre le nom ngùm 'endroits' et le proto-bantou *ku-(j)úma, et 2) des correspondances entre les adverbes et les interrogatifs en ejagham et les accords locatifs en proto-bantou.*

0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to provide a comprehensive overview of the various ways in which the locative semantic notion is expressed in Ejagham, an Ekoid Bantu language of Cameroon and Nigeria, and to link the formal expression of location with certain Proto-Bantu forms as discussed in Meeussen (1967) and Grégoire (1975). The expression of the locative semantic function in Ejagham has already been discussed to some extent in Watters (1980) and (1981). In Watters (1980), the major concern was with identifying relics of the Proto-Bantu locative noun classes rather than with identifying any formal correlates of the locative semantic function in general. As such, only the locative adverbs were discussed. By

contrast, in Watters (1981) an extensive presentation of the various formal correlates of the locative function were given. Some of these same correlates will be presented here, but in this case the presentation follows a formal rather than a semantic outline. In addition, certain supplementary facts relevant to a comparative study of the locative function in Bantu and Bantoid will also be included in this present study which have not been given before.

In section 1, the various formal means of expressing location in Ejagham are presented with data primarily from the Western Ejagham dialect. In section 2, various points of correspondence between the formal expression of location in Ejagham and its formal expression in Proto-Bantu are discussed.

1. THE SYNCHRONIC EXPRESSION OF THE LOCATIVE SEMANTIC FUNCTION

1.1 THE LOCATIVE NOUN

The locative noun has both a singular and plural form which comprise one of the rare cases of suppletion in the language. These are given in (1).

- (1) a. ϵ -j²i 'place' (class 5)
b. N-g^um 'places' (class 9)

The singular in (1)a has the class five prefix ϵ - and the root -j²i. This root does not appear to correspond in any regular sense to the Proto-Bantu root *(j)úma 'thing, place' (Meeussen 1969:22). The plural in (1)b has the class nine prefix N-, which is a homorganic nasal, and the root -g^um. This root does appear to correspond to the root *(j)úma 'thing' in Proto-Bantu and also to the root for 'thing' in Ejagham, as seen in (2).

- (2) a. ϵ -j^um 'thing'
b. i-yⁱm 'things'

The difference between the initial consonants in -g^um 'places' and -j^um 'thing' can be attributed historically to the inclusion within the root of an earlier prefix consonant. This will be discussed further in 2.

If the locative nominal serves as the head of a relative clause, then the relative pronoun is that of noun class 5 or 9, depending on whether the head noun is singular or plural. There is never a locative resumptive pronoun in a relative clause as is shown by the derivation of (3a) from (3b).

- (3) a. ε -jĩ á-ji N-jĩ a-dí-'í ɔ-rânɔ ɔb-ê
 5-place THAT-5 REL-5 3ps:PFV-eat-SF 14-fufu 14-3ps
 'that place where he ate his fufu'
- b. a-dĩ ɔ-rânɔ ɔb-ê kǎ é-jĩ á-ji
 3ps:PFV-eat 14-fufu 14-3ps at 5-place THAT-5
 'he ate his fufu at that place'

1.2 THE LOCATIVE ADVERBS

There are two sets of locative adverbs in Ejagham, one indicating specific location and another indicating general location. Within each set there is a three way distinction as to distance: 'proximate', 'distal' and 'far distal'.

(4)	<u>Specific location</u>	<u>General location</u>
proximate	mfá	ngá
distal	áfɔ	áɔɔ
far distal	mfô	ngô

The forms in (4) can be further analyzed as follows:

- (5) a. prefix of addressee orientation
- N- 'not proximate to addressee'
 a- 'potentially proximate to addressee'
- b. locative root
- f- 'specific location'
 -g- 'general location'
- c. affixes of speaker orientation
- á plus 'proximate to speaker'
 L tone on prefix
- ɔ/ô plus 'not proximate to speaker'
 H tone on prefix (suffix tone indicates
 relative distance from
 speaker)

The synchronic analysis of the adverbs in (5) is distinct from the synchronic analysis of the demonstratives. However, there is a transparent relationship between the form and meaning of these adverbs and the form and meaning of the demonstratives, indicating that these locative adverbs derive from earlier demonstratives.

Compare the demonstratives of classes 2 and 5 shown in (6) with the locative adverbs in (4).

(6)	<u>Noun class 2</u>	<u>Noun class 5</u>
proximate	mbá	njí
distal	ába	áji
far distal	mbâ	ńjí

The difference between the adverbs in (4) and the demonstratives in (6) can be attributed to the fact that the adverbs represent an older historical stage in the development of demonstratives, while the present day demonstratives have continued to undergo various changes in the final vowels, involving partial paradigmatic leveling of the specific morphological marking as to speaker orientation. The demonstratives can be analyzed as follows:

(7) a. prefix of addressee orientation

- N- 'not proximate to addressee'
 a- 'potentially proximate to addressee'

b. concord root according to noun class

-CV

c. prefixal tone of speaker orientation

- L tone on prefix 'proximate to speaker'
 H tone on prefix 'not proximate to speaker'
 (suffix tone indicates relative distance from speaker)

The prefix of 'addressee orientation' is identical in the locative adverbs and demonstratives. However, instead of having a locative root, the demonstratives simply have a concord root. In addition, the affixes indicating 'speaker orientation' have been reduced on demonstratives to the tone of the demonstrative prefix.

It should be noted that these forms are in general found throughout the Ejagham area but in some dialects the number of forms has been reduced to fewer than the six forms shown in (4). In addition, the southern area of Eastern Ejagham (known as Obang) does not have the á- prefix on the distal forms. Instead, the forms are fô and kô rather than áfô and áqô.

It is not possible to form a relative clause with a locative adverb as the head. Instead, the locative adverb must be further modified by the propositional clause kă ɛ-jĩ 'in the place'. This is demonstrated by the relative clause in (8a) which is derived from the sentence in (8b).

- (8) a. áfɔ̌ kǎ é-jǐ n-jǐ á-dí-'í
 THERE at 5-place REL-5 3pp:PFV-eat-CF
 'there at the place where they ate'
- b. á-dǐ áfɔ̌
 3pp:PFV-eat THERE
 'they ate there'

1.3 THE LOCATIVE INTERROGATIVES

The locative interrogative has a simple form, a complex form and an adjectival form. The simple form involves the interrogative word fǎn 'where?' and can be used in both copular and verbal sentences as seen in (9).

- (9) a. é-dǐ éj-ámé é-rí' fǎn
 5-food 5-my 5-be where?
 'where is my food?'
- b. a-nam-é' bi-yu á-bi fǎn
 3ps:PFV-buy-CF 8-yam that-8 where?
 'where did she buy those yams?'

In (9a) fǎn has a high tone due to the preceding high tone of -rí' 'be'. In (9b) the 'CF' suffix is an affix required in all interrogative word questions involving the perfective verb form. Note that the locative interrogative word occurs in the same syntactic position as the locative adverbial phrase. Thus, an answer to (9b) would be that in (10).

- (10) a-nam-é' kǎ ó-gem
 3ps:PFV-buy-CF at 14-market
 'she bought (them) at the market'

The complex form of the locative interrogative is derived from the adjectival interrogative bagá-' 'which?' and the noun é-jǐ 'place': bag(a)-é-jǐ 'where?'. This complex form has a specific locative meaning, namely, 'which specific place?'. It can be substituted for fǎn in the examples in (9).

There is also a set of adjectival interrogatives which function as part of the overall noun class system. These interrogatives consist of a concord root which has a high tone, and a complex affix consisting of a low tone nasal prefix N̄ and a low tone suffix nè. Consider the forms in example (11) overleaf. The difference between this interrogative form and the two discussed above is that the forms in (11) ask 'where is that specific referent of the term located?'. An example of these adjectival interrogatives is given in (12). Note that it is always used with the copular sense 'where is ..x..?'

(11)	<u>Noun Class</u>	<u>Locative Adjectival Interrogative</u>
	1	N-nyǒ-ne
	2	N-bá-ne
	3	N-mé-ne
	5	N-jé-ne
	6	N-má-ne
	8	N-bé-ne
	9	N-nyé-ne
	14	N-bé-ne
	19	N-fé-ne

- (12) á-nôd N-neŋkáé; N-neŋkáé N-nyǒ-ne
 3pp:PFV-search 1-woman; 1-woman LOC:INT-1-LOC:INT
 'They searched for the woman. Where was that woman?'

Although the forms in (11) are adjectival they can also be used pronominally as in (13b). This is a response to (13a) which directed the person to look for the money in the house, but the speaker in (13b) has been unable to locate it, so he uses (13b). However, note that he could just as well use the general locative as in (13c).

- (13) a. N-tí á-mi N-dí' 'kǎ N-ju
 3-money that-3 3-be in 9-house
 'the money is in the house'
- b. N-mé-ne
LOC:INT-3-LOC:INT
 'where is it (the money)?'
- c. N-tí N-dí' ' fán
 3-money 3-be where?
 'Where is the money?'

1.4 THE LOCATIVE PREPOSITIONS

There are three types of locative prepositions in Ejagham: the simple preposition, the derived preposition, and the denominal preposition.

1.4.1 The simple preposition

The simple preposition kǎ is used as a general locative preposition with the various meanings 'in, at, to, on, from, etc.', but only with non-animate nouns. Consider the following examples:

- (14) a. a-rĩ kǎ N-ju
 3ps-be at 9-house
 'he is at the house'

- b. a-kí-jǐ kǎ N'-ju
3ps-CONT-go to 9-house
 'she is going to the house'
- c. a-dǔ kǎ N'-ju
3ps-come:out from 9-house
 'he came out from the house'
- d. a-kí ɔ-rân kǎ é-tí
3ps:PFV-place:keep 14-fufu on 5-tree
 'she kept the fufu on the table'

The specific locative meaning derives from the semantics of the verb with which it co-occurs. Consider the following partial list in which the preposition in the gloss is consistently represented by the one Ejagham preposition kǎ.

- (15) a. -jǐ kǎ... 'go to...'
 b. -bá kǎ... 'come to...'
 c. -rǔ kǎ... 'come out from...'
 d. -gyé kǎ... 'enter in...'
 e. -kí kǎ... 'keep on/in...'
 f. -kǎg kǎ... 'put inside...'
 g. -cíŋ kǎ... 'pass by...'

If this general locative preposition is used with an animate, non-human noun it indicates a transformation into that animal. However, such a prepositional construction cannot follow a verb of motion, nor can this preposition be used with a human object.

- (16) a. yê a-rǐ kǎ N'-jɔg
3ps 3ps-be at 9-elephant
 'he is (transformed into) an elephant'
- b. yê a-chébe kǎ N'-gbe
3ps 3ps:PFV-turn to 9-leopard
 'he turned into a leopard'
- c. *a-kí-jǐ kǎ n'-fɔŋ
3ps-CONT-go at 9-buffalo
 'he is going to the buffalo'
- d. *yê a-rǐ kǎ óbí
3ps 3ps-be at Obi
 'he is (transformed into) Obi'

This general locative preposition is also used to mark infinitive phrases for indicating purpose and also noun phrases expressing temporal concepts borrowed from English. This latter case indicates that it is probably a calque in such expressions, serving

as a copy of the locative prepositions used in English for these same temporal concepts. These concepts include reference to hours of the day, days of the week and months of the year. It should also be noted that the causal marker between clauses is identical in form to this locative preposition and may very well be thought of as the locative preposition with an extended meaning similar to *in* in English in a construction like 'I did one thing *in that* another thing was the case.'

The simple preposition mbâ, which can be used to mark indirect objects, is also used as a general locative preposition. Unlike kă, this preposition can be used with human, animate and non-animate nouns. With human nouns it means 'chez' or 'at the person's place'. If the human object of the preposition is specified by a pronoun, then the possessive pronouns of noun class 9 are used. Consider the following examples of mbâ in which it occurs with both nouns and pronouns specifying humans.

- (17) a. a-kí-jǐ mbâ N-tɛm ow-ě
 3ps-CONT-go to 1-friend 1-3ps
 'he is going to his friend's'
- b. á-rí' ' mbâ ɛy-ě
 3ps-be at 9-3ps:POSS
 'they are at his (place)'

If this preposition is used with animate, non-human nouns, it maintains the same meaning and the animate noun is interpreted as either being personified or being someone's proper name.

- (18) N-kí jǐ mbâ n-jog
 1ps-CONT-go to 9-elephant
 'I am going to Elephant's place'

If this preposition is used with non-animate nouns, whether concrete or abstract, it contrasts with kă in the following ways. First, kă is used with specific locations and definite noun phrases, while mbâ is basically used with non-specific locations and indefinite or generic noun phrases (and only in certain cases accepted with definite noun phrases). This contrast is exemplified in (19).

- (19) a. a-kí-jǐ mbâ N-sínj
 3ps-CONT-go to 9-mango
 'he is going to some mango trees'
- b. *a-kí-jǐ mbâ N-sínj á-nyi
 3ps-CONT-go to 9-mango THAT-9
 'he is going to those mango trees'

- (19) c. *a-kí-jǐ mbâ ɔ-sín (á-bi)
 3ps-CONT-go to 14-mango (THAT-14)
 'he is going to the/(that) mango tree'
- d. a-kí-jǐ mbâ a-kem (*á-ma)
 3ps-CONT-go to 6-tapping
 'he is going (palm wine) tapping'
 *'he is going to that tapping'
- (20) a. *a-kí-jǐ kǎ N-sín
 3ps-CONT-go to 9-mango
 'he is going to some mango trees'
- b. a-kí-jǐ kǎ N-sín á-nyi
 3ps-CONT-go to 9-mango THAT-9
 'he is going to those mango trees'
- c. a-kí-jǐ kǎ ɔ-sín (á-bi)
 3ps-CONT-go to 14-mango (THAT-14)
 'he is going to the/(that) mango tree'
- d. a-kí-jǐ kǎ a-kem (á-ma)
 3ps-CONT-go to 6-tapping
 'he is going (palm wine) tapping'
 'he is going to that tapping'

Secondly, while kǎ is used with proximate locations, mbâ is used with distal locations. If a person lives in the capital city and is simply returning to his house within the city, he or she would say N-kí-jǐ kǎ N-ju 'I'm going to (my) house'; but if the person is leaving the capital city to return to his or her village, they would say N-kí-jǐ mbâ N-jû 'I'm going to (my) house'.

Historically and perhaps synchronically, this preposition may derive from the noun N-bá 'road' and the associative low tone: N-bá + ` → mbâ. But it may also represent an analogical change of an areal bá meaning 'chez' to mbâ on the basis of N-bá meaning 'road' or 'way to'.

1.4.2 The derived preposition

There are two derived locative prepositions which are formed by two nouns in an associative relationship:

- (21) a. N-bá ` N-jəm → Nbá-njəm
 9-road AM 9-back
 'behind (lit: 'road-of-back')
- b. N-b(á) ` ɔ-chî → Nb(a)-ôchî
 9-road AM 14-face
 'in front (lit: 'road-of-face')

In addition, there are six derived locative prepositions which are formed from the simple preposition kă and various nouns. In most cases the basic meaning of the noun is non-locative. The only exceptions are the nouns in (22a) ε-tím, which always carries the locative meaning 'inside', and (22b) ε-ré, which always means 'outside'. Note that in each case the noun maintains its basic shape of a noun prefix and root.

- | | | | |
|---------|---|---|--|
| (22) a. | kă ε-tím
<i>at 5-inside</i> | → | k(a)-ět'ím
'inside of' |
| b. | kă é-ré
kă é-yát'ég
<i>at 5-outside/5-outside</i> | → | k(a)-ěré
k(a)-ěyát'ég
'outside of' |
| c. | kă N-jəm
<i>at 9-back</i> | → | ka-Njəm
'behind' |
| d. | kă ó-só'
<i>at 14-sky, heaven</i> | → | k(a)-žsó'
'on top of, above' |
| e. | kă ó-sédé
<i>at 14-lower:place</i> | → | k(a)-žsédé
'below, underneath' |
| f. | kă N-kpe
<i>at 9-side</i> | → | ka-Nkpe
'beside' |
| g. | kă ε-băd
<i>at 5-section, half</i> | → | k(a)-ěbăd
'to the side of' |
| h. | kă é-tíŋânti
<i>at 5-middle, center</i> | → | k(a)-étíŋânti
'in the middle of' |
| i. | kă ɔ-bôrûm
<i>at 14-hand: male</i> | → | k(a)-žbôrûm
'to the right hand of' |
| j. | kă ɔ-bôkáé
<i>at 14-hand: female</i> | → | k(a)-žbókáé
'to the left hand of' |

The vowel in parentheses in (21) and (22) is deleted, and the tonal changes indicated are regular changes within the language.

For each of the derived prepositions in (21) and (22) the object noun stands in an associative relationship with the noun of the preposition, as is demonstrated by (23).

- (23) a. yê a-rí k(a)-ět'ím í N̄-ju
 3ps 3ps-be in-5:inside AM house
 'she is inside of the house'

- (23) b. cǒŋ ka-Ńjəm i N-jû
 go:IMPER at-9:back AM 9-house
 'go behind the house!'

1.4.3 The denominal preposition

There is one denominal preposition in Ejagham. In this case, the noun N-jəm 'back' becomes the preposition N-jəm 'on the other side of' as in the expressions in (24). In each case the denominal preposition and the object noun are in an associative relationship.

- (24) a. a-rĩ N-jəm ` a-ya
 3ps-be 9-back AM 6-river
 'she is on the other side of the river'
- b. jěŋ N-jəm i N-bá á-nyi
 walk:IMPER 9-back AM 9-road THAT-9
 'walk on the other side of the road'

1.5 VERBS TO EXPRESS LOCATION

Certain locative notions are expressed primarily by verbs (or adverbs). The verbs include -kpídí 'to be near', -ráb 'to be long, far from' and -féd 'to be around something'. The verb -kpídí 'to be near' is used with the general locative preposition (1.4.1) as in (25).

- (25) a-kpídí ka Ń-ju
 3ps:PFV-be:near at 9-house
 'he is near (to) the house'

However, this verb root can be reduplicated to derive an adverbial kpídí-kpídí 'near, or close to'. It is used with the commitative and instrumental preposition na 'with' as in (26).

- (26) a-rĩ kpídí-kpídí na N-jû
 3ps-be near with 9-house
 'he is near (to) the house'

The verb root -ráb 'to be long, far from' is used with N-bá 'road' as the subject and the general locative kǎ as in (27).

- (27) a-rĩ N-bá a-ráb kǎ Ń-ju
 3ps-be 9-road 9:PFT-be:long at 9-house
 'he is far from the house'

The verb root -féd 'to be around something' is also used with the general locative kǎ as in (28).

- (28) N-nyô a-fâd k(a) ě-tí
 9-snake 9:PFT-be:around at 5-tree
 'the snake is (wrapped) around the tree'

With neither of these verb roots is it possible to derive an adverbial form by reduplicating the verb root.

1.6 EVIDENCE FOR SYNCHRONIC LOCATIVE CLASS CONCORD

There are no locative classes in Ejagham and there are no special concords, as distinct from the concords of the other noun classes, used with locative expressions. Thus, there is no evidence in the synchronic concord system for earlier locative noun classes of the Proto-Bantu form.

The general rule governing concord with locatives is that either the concord used is that of noun class 5 or it is that which agrees with the object noun. The noun class 5 concord is also used to indicate indefinite subjects. Compare the following three sentences and the subject concord used in the verb. (A table of the noun classes and their concords is given in the appendix.)

- (29) a. ε-jĩ N-jí ě-rí'ńńń
 5-place this-5 5-be fine
 'this place is fine'
- b. áfń ě-rí'ńńń
 there 5-be fine
 '(over) there is fine'
- c. ě-rí'ńńń
 5-be fine
 'it is fine'

In (29a) the verb agrees with the noun class of the subject noun ε-jĩ 'place'. In (29b) the locative adverb also takes class 5 agreement on the verb. Finally, in (29c) class 5 verb concord is used to indicate an indefinite subject 'it'.

With nouns in locative expressions, their normal concords are used even though they are locative. Compare the following expressions:

- (30) a. ɔ-bô ɔb-â 'your hand'
 14-hand 14-your
- b. k(a) ǔ-bɔ ɔb-â 'in your hand'
 in 14-hand 14-your

- (33) b. ɔ-kəm cáŋ áfɔ
 14-python NEG:EXIST there
 'the pythons are not there'

In (32a) there is no agreement between the verb and the subject. The tone is low on both the prefix and root. By contrast, in (33a) the verb and subject agree. In this case the tone of the copula varies between a H-H'H for all noun classes but 1 and 9, and L-LH for classes 1 and 9 and first and second persons. It should be noted that this distinction in the positive forms is somewhat unstable in that some speakers are not sure which form to use in a sentence like (32a) once they stop to reflect on it. But in the negative there is no such uncertainty. The uses of each of the two negative forms are well defined for and consistent throughout the entire Ejagham speaking community.

2. CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN EJAGHAM AND PROTO-BANTU

2.1 THE LOCATIVE NOUN

As mentioned in section 1.1, the noun n-gûm 'places' might be derived from the PB noun *ku-(j)úma by a four step process. First, the consonant of the prefix became fused with the root, producing an intermediate form *kúma. Secondly, by analogy to the structure of all other nouns in the language, *kúma was assigned a prefix, in this case a nasal prefix. Thirdly, the root initial consonant k assimilated to the voicing of the nasal, resulting in the voiced velar g. Finally, the root final a was deleted, a common historical process in Ejagham.

A similar process has occurred in the plural form for 'things' in certain dialects. In one area the plural is N-bîm [m̃bîm] 'things' which was probably derived through the following steps: bî-úma → bî-íma → -bîma → m̃-bîma → m̃-bîm.

However, there is a problem with deriving N-gûm 'places' with the above four step process. The problem is found in the third step: namely, that there is no evidence for a voicing of Proto-Bantu stops following a nasal prefix. The nouns N-kǒg 'fowl' and N-káé 'wife', for example, have retained their original devoiced velar stop k. Furthermore, in section 1.2 it was noted that the reflexes of the class 17 demonstratives all have a voiced velar g as concord rather than the voiceless k. This voiced velar reflex for class 17 is also found in languages outside the Ekoid group, such as in the Grassfields Bantu languages like Kom and Mankon (in this volume). This latter fact suggests that there may have been a fairly early shift in the class 17 prefix and concord from *ku to something like *gu in the northwest Bantu border area. Such an early shift would account for its distribution within the area

and its otherwise anomalous occurrence in Ejagham. If this shift is accepted then the third step in the above process would be the initial step, followed then by steps one, two and four.

Note that the origin of ε-jí 'place' as the singular form of n-gúm is not clear. However, it does bear a striking resemblance to the Mundani root a-dzi 'place'.

2.2 THE LOCATIVE ADVERBS AND INTERROGATIVES

In the presentation of the locative adverbs in section 1.2 it was noted how they parallel the forms of demonstratives in the present-day noun classes of Ejagham. This parallelism suggests that the locative adverbs derive from the demonstratives of the earlier locative noun classes 16 and 17. Those forms with the concord consonant f derive from 16 while those with g derive from 17.

Further evidence of these locative classes comes from the locative interrogative fǎn 'where?'. This form is part of a set of interrogatives: fǎn 'where?', jǎn 'what?' and nǎn 'how?'. Each of these forms appears to have derived from an interrogative root -(a)n and a class prefix, e.g. fà-. The prefixes represent classes 5 (*li- → jε-) 11 (*du- → n(u)-) and 16 (*pa- → fa). Thus, the locative class 16 is again attested in the language.

One last point on interrogatives concerns the forms like Njéne 'where is it? (class 5 item)'. This form (along with those from the other noun classes) could be segmented as follows: N-jə-ne which could derive from *N-ji-(i)ne, where the initial nasal prefix was followed by the concord element and a locative suffix. This locative suffix is reminiscent of the locative suffix -ine found among eastern Bantu languages (Meeussen 1967:103; Gregersen 1967:31-34). Although it is argued that -ine is an innovation on the part of the eastern Bantu languages and not a Proto-Bantu feature, it is significant that a morpheme of the shape ne, ne or nə with a locative meaning is frequently found in this north-west Bantu border area: for example, in Ejagham as part of the locative interrogative, in Kom as the locative associative marker before human nouns, and in Mundani as part of an interrogative locative with the ne probably carrying the sense of 'side, or place'.

2.3 THE PREPOSITIONS

In Watters (1980:121) it was suggested that the general locative preposition kǎ might have derived from a nominal construction like 'inside of _____', where 'inside' in PB is *-kàtÉ. Thus, the correspondence would be kǎ: *-kàtÉ, a correspondence which is supported by the following additional correspondences:

Proto-Bantu

-yát

-kútà

-kátà

Ejagham

-yá 'to split'

-kú 'oil'

-ká 'head pad'

As can be seen, Ejagham has undergone the loss of the final t and the final syllable ta. Semantically, it is not surprising to find the Proto-Bantu root for 'inside' serving in the place of locative class 18 since they are semantically closely related in that both include the notion of contact between two items.

The use of mbâ to mean 'chez' is similar to the form mbā 'there (anaphoric)' in Yamba (cf. Leroy, this volume), and the form bă 'chez' in Anyang (S. Abangma, personal communication). Whether these three are historically related is not yet clear.

APPENDIX

Table of Noun Classes³

and their Generalized Concords

PB Class	NP	Concord	
		Consonant	Tone
1	N-	w/ny	'
2	a-	b	'
3	N-	m	'
5	ε-	j	'
6	a-	m	'
8	bi-	b	'
9	N-	y/ny	'
14	ɔ-	b	'
19	i-	f	'

FOOTNOTES

¹The Ejagham language is spoken by about 80,000 people in Cameroon and Nigeria. The language is located within the triangle formed by Mamfe (Cameroon) at one corner and Ikom and Calabar (Nigeria) at the other two corners. The language consists of three major dialects listed in Watters (1981) as Western, Eastern and Southern Ejagham. This study specifically concerns the Western dialect, and more specifically the Etung-Ekwe sub-dialect spoken around Eyumojok (Cameroon). There are numerous Ejagham people who have made this study possible, but I would like to thank especially Patrick Etta Etta and Raphael Ayamba Nkiri of Eyumojok, and Peter Tambe-Nchinge of Mfuni for their patient help. I would also like to thank the General Delegation for Scientific and Technical Research, the Institute of Human Sciences, and the Center for Anthropological Studies and Research for permitting the research upon which this study is based.

²Tone is marked as follows: ' is high tone, ^ is falling tone, v is rising tone and " is downstepped high tone. Low tone is left unmarked, and falling-to-mid tone is indicated by a high tone followed by a downstepped high tone "'.

³The noun classes and their concord affixes are listed here for reference purposes. See Watters (1980) for more detailed discussion. These classes are numbered to correspond to the Proto-Bantu noun classes (Meeussen 1967:97-98).