

LOCATIVES IN AKOJSE (BAKOSSI)

ROBERT HEDINGER

Summer Institute of Linguistics, Yaoundé, Cameroon

This article presents locative expressions in Akojse (Bantu language A.15b, spoken in Cameroon). It is divided into two parts:

The first part is a synchronic description of the locative elements and their functions: the locative marker, locative adverbs, the consecutive particle, the use of the element àtè 'in' in lexical formations, the locative interrogative pronoun, etc. Then, the concord of locative expressions is related to the general concord system, which shows evidence of the existence of locative possessive adjectives.

In the second part, the elements already described are considered from the historical point of view. A certain number of hypotheses are proposed which remain to be confirmed in the future.

Cet article présente les expressions de localisation en akojse (langue bantoue A.15b, parlée au Cameroun). Il est divisé en deux parties:

La première partie est une description synchronique des éléments de localisation et de leurs fonctions: la marque de localisation, les adverbes de lieu, la particule de consécutive, l'usage de l'élément àtè 'dans' dans des expressions lexicales, le pronom locatif interrogatif, etc. Ensuite, l'accord des expressions de localisation est mis en relation avec le système d'accord en général, ce qui met en évidence l'existence d'adjectifs possessifs locatifs.

Dans la deuxième partie, les éléments déjà décrits sont considérés du point de vue historique. Certaines hypothèses sont proposées, qui restent à être confirmées à l'avenir.

0. INTRODUCTION

C. Grégoire (1975) stressed the fact that relatively little data is available on locatives for the languages of the Bantu zone A. This paper¹ is intended to fill the gap as far as Akojse is concerned, which was classified by Guthrie (1953) as A.15b.

The paper is divided into two parts. In section 1, the material is described from a synchronic point of view. In section 2, the same material is looked at from a diachronic perspective.

1. SYNCHRONIC DESCRIPTION

1.1 THE LOCATIVE NOUN

Akɔɔse has the noun hǒm² 'place' which can be considered as a locative noun. It is never preceded by the locative marker á or wê: *á hǒm or *wê hǒm.

- (1)a. Bé pédé hǒm àhóg.... 'They arrived at a place....'
they reached place one.....
- b. bé hédé 'ndyé hǒm àhóg 'They put food in a certain
they put food place one place.'

The locative noun may be divided into prefix and root by comparing it with the following words:

- (2) hǒm 'place' (class 5) < h-ǒm
 čǒm 'thing' (class 7) < č-ǒm
 byēm (or bwēm) 'things' (class 8) < by-ēm³

This analysis of hǒm is rather weak but is based mainly on comparative and diachronic evidence (cf. section 2 below). Hǒm is thus the only noun in Akɔɔse with an h- prefix and therefore should better be considered as synchronically an unanalysable word belonging to class 5. The noun hǒm has no plural.

Beside the locative noun hǒm, there is the word à-bwóg (cl.5), pl. mè-bwóg (cl.6) which also means 'place', but which occurs far less frequently than hǒm⁴. It is sometimes used to qualify hǒm, in which case àbwóg means something like 'particular'. Cf. the following examples:

- (3) àbwóg á hóm⁵ 'the particular place'
 (4) m̀m̀èd mèbwóg mé hóm 'our particular places'

Related to àbwóg both in form and meaning (i.e. all have to do with location) are the following words:

- (5) é'bwóg 'outside' from á+èbwóg
(èbwóg (cl.5) is not attested independently)
- (6) 'mbwóg (cl.9) 'home, (my, your, etc.) place'

- (7) mbwóǵ (cl.3) 'meeting place for members of a juju society;
fear'

1.2 THE LOCATIVE MARKER

Akɔɔse has two locative markers which are placed in front of nouns: á and wê. The first marker, á is used with nouns indicating locations or time; the second marker, wê, is used with nouns referring to humans or personifications of animals to indicate a location.

- | | | |
|-----|------------------|-----------------------------|
| (8) | á ñjòŋ | 'in the planting season' |
| | á 'ndáb | 'at the house' |
| | á 'móndè | 'on Monday' |
| | á méjè̀m | 'on the cocoyam shoots' |
| (9) | wê Nzùmé | 'at Nzume's' |
| | wê Kúlè̀ | 'to Tortoise (personified)' |
| | wê à̀nè̀ mòd sǵǵ | 'to that man's father' |

Note that in two examples in (8) above a downstep⁶ appears before the first high tone of the stem. This is the case especially in nouns of classes 9 and 10, i.e. nouns which are prefix-less or have an initial non-syllabic nasal. The downstep probably comes from a former low tone prefix which has been lost. It should be noted that loan words (which are often found in classes 9 and 10) also have a downstep after the locative marker although they obviously have never had a prefix, e.g. á+tè̀blè̀ → á'tè̀blè̀. This must be a formation by analogy with other words of classes 9 and 10, e.g. á+kém → á'kém 'on the monkey'. No downstep, however, appears before nouns with high tone prefixes.

The locative marker á combines with following vowels and consonants as follows:

- i) before consonants
- | | | | |
|----------|---|---------------------|-----------------|
| á + dyón | → | á'dyón ⁷ | 'at the market' |
|----------|---|---------------------|-----------------|
- ii) before a :
- | | | | |
|-------------|---|---------|---------------|
| á + àsòngè̀ | → | ásòngè̀ | 'at the hunt' |
|-------------|---|---------|---------------|
- iii) before e :
- | | | | |
|----------|---|-------|----------------|
| á + èdíb | → | é'díb | 'at the river' |
|----------|---|-------|----------------|
- iv) before e? :
- | | | | |
|-----------|---|--------|---------------|
| á + è?lám | → | á?'lám | 'in the trap' |
|-----------|---|--------|---------------|

The marker á as such is very general in that it does not indicate movement 'to' or 'away from' etc., which is expressed in the verb.

- (10) à-dé á 'ndáb 'He is in the house.'
he-is loc. house
- (11) à-sólé á 'ndáb 'He went into the house.'
he-entered loc. house
- (12) à-bidé á ndáb 'He came out of the house.'
he-came-out loc. house

Nor does it specify spacial relations such as 'in', 'under', 'on top of', etc. To express such relations, further elements have to be added to the locative phrase. There are two different constructions used in Akɔɔse to express these further relations. In the first, in addition to the á preceding the noun, a particle follows it:

- (13) tè 'in' : á 'ndáb tè → [á'ndátè] 'in the house'
sé 'under': á ñkòg 'sé 'under the tree trunk'
mìn 'on' : á bwèl mìn 'on the tree'

In the second construction, a noun indicating a spacial relation is placed between the locative marker and the noun. The two nouns are linked by the associative marker (cf. Table 1).

- (14) è?só (cl. 14) 'face' : á è?só é? 'ndáb → [á?'só?ndáb]
 'in front of the house'
- mbíd (cl. 9) 'back' : á 'mbíd è 'ndáb → [á'mbí?èndáb]
 'behind the house'
- ñkèg (cl. 3) 'side' : á ñkèg mé èdíb → [áñkègmédíb]
 'beside the river'
- tìntê (cl. 9) 'middle' : á tìntê è 'ndáb → [átìntêndáb]
 'in the middle of the house'
- ñlééd (cl. 3) 'middle' : á ñlééd n nzàg → [á'nléédnzàg]
 'in the middle of the farm'
- pípíí (cl. 9) 'behind' : á 'pípíí è 'ndáb → [á'pípíí'ndáb]
 'behind the house'
- àbédé (cl. 5) 'behind' : á àbédé á 'ndáb → [á'bédé'ndáb]
 'behind the house'

The first three of the above nouns used to indicate spacial relations are the names of body parts.

The particles tè, 'sé and 'mîn also occur with the locative marker á without an intervening noun, when the noun is understood from the context.

(15) átè 'inside', á'sé 'under', á'mîn 'on top'

The tonal alternation of mîn to mín following á remains unexplained at this time.

Two more expressions need to be mentioned at this point.

(16) ákùù 'location higher than the speaker, (North)'
ám̀b̀è̀n 'location lower than the speaker, (South,
Europe/America)'

These expressions appear to have the structure of locative marker plus noun. However, the putative noun form is not attested apart from its occurrence in these expressions.

Finally, there is the word á'mpé 'again, also' which may have come from a locative marker plus mpé which is not attested independently.

1.3 THE LOCATIVE ADVERB

There are two sets of three locative adverbs:

(17)	<u>'here'</u>	<u>'there'</u>	<u>'over there'</u>	
	hén	hê	héníí	'specific'
	wén	wê	wíníí	'general'

The forms beginning with an h are used to refer to a specific location and the forms with an initial w refer to a general location.

Hén and wén⁸ are used to refer to a location 'close to the speaker', hê and wê 'away from the speaker' and héníí and wíníí 'far from the speaker'.

This set of forms can be considered as an extension of a certain pronoun set as seen from the following examples:

(18)	<u>'this/these'</u>	<u>'that/those'</u>	<u>'that one/those over there'</u>
	'nén	nè	'níníí (class 1)
	bén	bê	bíníí (class 2)
	mén	mê	míníí (class 3)
	etc.		

These consist of two parts: a prefix plus a demonstrative stem -én, -è or -íníí. In the case of the demonstratives, the prefix

is of any of the noun classes (cf Table 1; for details see Hedinger 1980). The prefixes of the locative adverbs will be discussed in 2.2.

The difference between demonstratives and locative adverbs lies in their usage: demonstratives accompany nouns either attributively or predicatively, the choice of prefix being determined by the class of the noun.

- (19) mòd nè... 'That man....'
person that...
- (20) 'ndáb 'nén 'This is a house.'
house this

The locative adverb functions as a locative NP in the clause. The choice between the different adverbs is not controlled by noun classes but rather by the speaker who wants to specify the various notions expressed by the different locative adverbs.

- (21) è?çìn bê bàd bé-bé!áá wén.
colocashia it people they-used here.
- 'It was colocashia which the people were using here.'

In addition to the above six locative adverbs, there are the following two referring to a location already mentioned:

- (22) áhèd 'there' and áwèd 'there'

Presumably, by analogy to the locative adverbs, the difference between the two is that of specific and general, cf. (17).

- (23) Ngààsààmbè à-m-pèén mbààngé áwèd.
(name) he-PAST-brought cocoyams there.
- 'Ngaasaambe brought cocoyams there.'

áwèd, but not áhèd may be followed by átè 'inside', á'mín 'on, on top' or á'sé 'under'. This may be a semantic restriction which says that a specific locative expression (átè etc.) only tolerates the cooccurrence of the general one (áwèd).

- (24) áwèd á'tè → [áwèétè]⁹ 'in there'
 áwèd á'mín → [áwèré'mín] 'on, up there'
 áwèd á'sé → [áwèré'sé] 'down there'
- (25) nzé bé-ñ-wén nzàg è è?çìn, bé-hé
when they-PAST-plant farm of colocashia, they-put
- báá mèlín métáàn bé mbààngé áwèd átè.
few stems five of cocoyam there inside.

'When they made a colocashia farm, they planted about five stems of cocoyams in it.'

Frequently, two locative expressions are found together:

(26) $\frac{\acute{a}}{loc.}$ $\frac{'b\acute{u}m}{Bama-tree}$ $\frac{m\acute{i}n}{on}$ $\frac{w\acute{e}}{there}$

$\frac{\acute{a}k\acute{u}\acute{u}}{up}$ $\frac{w\acute{e}}{there}$

$\frac{\acute{a}t\grave{e}}{inside}$ $\frac{w\acute{e}n}{here}$

$\frac{\acute{a}w\grave{e}d}{there}$ $\frac{\acute{a}'m\acute{i}n}{on-top}$

Note that the element $w\acute{e}$ and $h\acute{e}$ have further usages described in the different sections below. Besides its function as a locative adverb, $w\acute{e}$ is used as a locative marker, as a relative pronoun and as a locative interrogative. $H\acute{e}$ is also used as a consecutive particle.

1.4 THE CONSECUTIVE PARTICLE

There is one particle $h\acute{e}$ (or $h\acute{e}^{10}$) which resembles the locative adverb $h\acute{e}$ and may be related historically to it. It always occurs at the beginning of a sentence and indicates the next step in chronological order. It is frequently glossed as 'there' and not 'then' by the native speaker.

(27) $H\acute{e}$ \acute{a} - $dy\acute{e}$ $\acute{c}\acute{o}n\acute{n}\acute{n}$. $H\acute{e}$ \acute{a} - $kw\grave{e}nt\grave{a}n$ $m\grave{e}t\acute{i}m...$
Then he-sat thinking. Then he-accepted reluctantly...

1.5 THE USE OF "átè" IN LEXICAL FORMATIONS

What is structurally and distributionally clearly a locative element $\acute{a}t\grave{e}$ 'inside, into' is frequently found in idiomatic expressions involving a verb which together with the $\acute{a}t\grave{e}$ express the meaning:

(28) $h\acute{o}b$ 'to speak' $l\grave{a}d$ 'to close'
 $h\acute{o}b \acute{a}t\grave{e}$ 'to make a noise' $l\grave{a}d \acute{a}t\grave{e}$ 'to gather'
 $l\grave{e}l$ 'to be hard, well' $d\grave{u}l$ 'to draw, pull'
 $l\grave{e}l \acute{a}t\grave{e}$ 'to be difficult' $d\grave{u}l \acute{a}t\grave{e}$ 'to think'
 $k\acute{o}m$ 'to be tired'
 $k\acute{o}m \acute{a}t\grave{e}$ 'to be surprised'

- (29) sê-làdé mím átè áhèd ké m̀ngàkè mèlǎán.
we-close wine into there even jugs three.
 'We put together at least three jugs of wine.'
- (30) yǎl è-kóm káb átè nè mèlìngá.
body it-tired antelope into with anger.
 'The antelope was surprised and angry.'
- (31) kúlè à-dùlé átè ǒǒǒǒ.
tortoise he-drew into ideophone.
 'The tortoise was thoughtful.'

1.6 THE LOCATIVE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

The interrogative pronoun used to ask for information on the location of an event, etc. is héeé (or héeé) 'where?'. Comparing this with the question word ǒǒ 'what?', an attractive analysis is to consider ǒǒ as a form consisting of the class 7 prefix and the stem -é¹¹. By analogy, héeé would be segmented into a prefix which includes an h and a stem -é. (Details as to the vowel quality and quantity, as well as the tone difference, will be dealt with in 2.3.)

Héeé is used in direct questions as in (32)a, with a less usual form of the same question exemplified in (32)b.

- (32)a. héeé é-kàké 'Where are you going?'
where you-go-IMPF
- b. è-kàg héeé 'Where are you going?'
you-go-IMPF where

In indirect questions, wê is found, as in (33)a. Compare this with (33)b.

- (33)a. wè-bíì?é wê á-díí 'Don't you know where he is?'
you-know-neg where he-is
- b. héeé á-díí 'Where is he?'
where he-is

1.7 "wê" AS RELATIVE PRONOUN

In (33)a above, the use of wê as interrogative pronoun in indirect questions was mentioned. It has in addition the following uses:

- a) Wê is used obligatorily in a relative clause instead of a relative pronoun when the head noun to which it relates has a locative function within the relative clause.

- (34) ǎ mē-pě á-nzàg-tê wê á-bèlèé òsón
 (she-said- she-will- loc-farm-in where she-do-IMPF work
 that) arrive

'She said that she would go to the farm where she is working.'

- (35) ǎ mé-kàg á-àsòngè wê á-hédé nyàm
 (he-said- he-go loc-hunting where he-look-for animals
 that)

'He said he would go hunting to look for animals.'

b) Wê is also used as relative pronoun without an antecedent locative phrase, as in the following example:

- (36) à-bìdé èkáá wê bé-lépé mé nzêd
 he-placed hand where they-told him ring

'He put his hand where they had told him the ring was.'

1.8 INFINITIVES

Akoose has two infinitives: one with a low tone prefix, as in

- (37) à-pém 'to throw'
 à-čàn 'to buy'

and one using á locative as in

- (38) á-'pém 'to throw'
 á-čàn 'to buy'

The first (low tone) infinitive is used mainly in a clause after an 'auxiliary' verb:

- (39) à-hédé mǒtò à-čàn
 he-wants car to-buy

'He wants to buy a car.'

The use of the infinitive based on the locative is to indicate purpose, in which case it occurs at the beginning of the second clause:

- (40) ì-pém-ʔè ìpàgè mbààngé á-òlò
 I-carry-also suckers of-cocoyam loc-head,

á -kèèn á-Bèkúmè
 to-take loc-Bekume

'I carried cocoyam suckers on my head to take them to Bekume.'

1.9 CONCORD

When locative expressions control concord, it is the elements from class 5 which are used. In order to be able to demonstrate this, some of the concord elements are presented in Table 1. (For a fuller description of the noun class system, see Hedinger 1980.)

Table 1:
Selection of Concording Elements

Noun class	Verb Prefix and Assoc. Marker		Demonstrative Pronouns			Emphatic Identity Adjective	Relative Pronoun	Possessive Pronouns	
								'my'	'your'
1	à	à	nè	'nén	ànè	mwě̀n	àwe	àwem	àwoŋ
2	bé	bé	bê	bén	ábé	bě̀n	ábe	ábem	áboŋ
3,4	ń	mé	mê	mén	ímé	mě̀n	íme	ímem	ímoŋ
5,13	á	dé	dê	dén	ádé	dě̀n	áde	ádem	ádoŋ
6	mé	mé	mê	mén	ímé	mě̀n	íme	ímem	ímoŋ
7	é	é	čê	čén	éčé	čě̀n	éče	éčem	éčoŋ
8,14, 19	é?	bé	bê	bén	ábé	bě̀n	ábe	ábem	áboŋ
9	è	è	nè	'nén	ènè	čě̀n	èče	èčem	èčoŋ
10	é	é	čê	čén	éčé	čě̀n	éče	éčem	éčoŋ
Loc	= class 5							áwem	áwoŋ

Notes on Table 1: The choice between the two forms of the Verb Prefix and the Associative Markers is determined by what follows the item. No stem tones are given for Relative and Possessive Pronouns because they vary according to the context.

Included at the bottom of Table 1 are what we have labelled 'Locative Possessive Pronouns'. It should be noted that they differ from the class 1 Possessives in that they express a range of meanings like 'to my, at my, from my, etc.' and have a high tone on the initial vowel. To consider that they are a combination of the locative marker containing a high tone plus the class 1 Possessives seems unlikely since class 1 concord is never used with locatives; it is always class 5 concord that is present.

Note also that when a locative possessive is present, a concord element of class 5 rather than of class 1 is required, as in (41) below. It appears more plausible to assume that they were derived from a locative class as described in 2.7.

The locative possessives may be used on their own to indicate, for example, 'at my place': á'wèm: A noun may, however, follow these locative possessives as in á'wèm 'ndáb 'to my house'.

Note that in this last example, the locative possessive takes the place of the possessive pronoun of class 9. Compare this with ècèm 'ndáb 'my house'.

Further examples for comparison are the following:

- (41) a. m'mêm ñsàl → á'wèm ñsàl
 my(3) *mouth* *from-my* *mouth*
- ádèm àbíì → á'wèm àbíì
 my(5) *breast* *from-my* *breast*

(41)a also shows that it would be ungrammatical to simply add the locative marker to the simple possessive phrase, as in (41)b.

- (41) b. *á m'mêm ñsàl 'from my mouth'
 loc *my(3)* *mouth*
- *á ádèm àbíì 'from my breast'
 loc *my(5)* *breast*

Examples (42) to (47) below are given to demonstrate the fact that the locative elements require class 5 concord. The element which controls the concord is underlined in each case.

In (42) the locative noun is preceded by a demonstrative of class 5 and followed by a class 5 verb prefix (cf. the first column in Table 1). Note the high tone as opposed to the low tone of class 1.

- (42) ádé hòm á -súúnédé mé
 that(5) *place* *it(5)-belongs-to* *him*
- 'That place belongs to him.'

In (43) the Associative Marker of class 5 links the locative noun with the following noun (cf. Table 1, second column).

- (43) hòm dé è?só 'The first place'
 place *of(5)* *face*

In (44) the verb prefix is from class 5 because the subject of the sentence is a locative phrase, that is, a noun (class 9) preceded by the locative marker.

- (44) á 'ndáb á-bóó'yéé 'Is your family well?'
 loc *house(9)* *it(5)-is-good*

In (45), where a noun of class 3 is qualified by a locative possessive, the last element dě̀n is from class 5.

- (45) á'wêm ̀̀̀̀̀̀̀ dě̀n
 from-my *mouth(3)* *itself(5)* 'From my own mouth'

In (46) the associative marker of class 5 (cf. Table 1, column 2), serves as a link between the locative word ám̀b̀̀̀̀̀̀̀ and a noun.

- (46) ám̀b̀̀̀̀̀̀̀ dé bèkàálé 'Europe, America'
 down *of(5)* *whitemen*

In (47) the locative adverb hě̀n calls for the class 5 relative pronoun as well as the class 5 verb prefix.

- (47) hě̀n á'dé ń dyé nén á-bóó bwàmbí
 here *where(5)* *I* *stay* *it(5)-is-good* *very*
 'It's very good here where I am staying.'

2. NOTES ON DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENTS

2.1 THE LOCATIVE NOUN

The locative noun hóm in Akɔɔse is a reflex of the class 16 *pà- noun prefix plus the stem *-(j)úmà (Grégoire 1975:115). (cf. čóm 'thing' < *ki- + *-(j)úmà). In Akɔɔse, the h is clearly a reflex of PB *p̄ which is demonstrated by words such as:

- (48) *-póógó 'one' > -hóg 'one' (cf. póg 'one, class 9')
 (49) *-pínà 'pus' > -hín 'pus'
 (50) *-pépò 'cold' > -héb 'cold, air'
 wind'

The h in all the other forms of locatives are likely to come from some PB cl. 16 form. The only point to be clarified is from which particular element they are derived: from the noun prefix, the demonstrative, etc.? Before going into this question further, the origin of the w will be discussed.

As described in section 1. there are several locative elements containing a w. Assuming that these forms are derived from one of the three PB classes 16, 17 or 18, it would appear that w is a reflex of *k_u. There are two possible derivations.

- (51)a. *k > ø (just leaving the u of ku which in turn becomes w)
 b. *k > w (with w + u then becoming w)

It is perhaps neither necessary nor possible to determine whether (51)a or (51)b has taken place since both can be illustrated in Akɔɔse.

Often PB *k > k as shown by the following examples:

	<u>PB</u>		<u>Akɔɔse</u>	
(52)	*-kúndè	>	kón	'bean'
(53)	*-kímá	>	kém	'monkey'
(54)	*-kíngó	>	-kón	'neck'
(55)	*-kúdí	>	kúí/kòí	'tortoise'

But there is also evidence for PB *k > w :

(56)	*-kú-	>	-wé	'to die'
(57)	*-kúm- 'be renowned'	>	-wúmé (7)	'respect, honour'
(58)	*-kómb	>	-wóm	'to scratch'

Example (56) could be taken either as *k > ∅ or *k > w.

Having shown that it is a plausible hypothesis that the locative forms with h and w are reflexes of PB classes 16 and 17, it is another matter to be able to establish the putative parts of some of the forms.

The locative noun hóm as already described above is a reflex of the class 16 locative prefix *pà- with low tone plus the noun stem -(j)úmá. This is the only case where the present day form can be attributed to a low tone prefix. In all other cases, the Akɔɔse form must be derived from a high tone pronoun or prefix.

The words listed in section 1.1 with the root -bwóg (i.e. àbwóg, é'bwóg, 'mbwóg and mbwóg) may all be derived from what Guthrie reconstructs as CS192 *-bugà 'village' (PB-A).

2.2 THE LOCATIVE ADVERBS: "hén" and "wén" etc.

The locative adverbs in (59) below are derived from class 16 *pa and class 17 *kú plus demonstrative pronoun stems. The vowel difference between the two sets of adverbs (59) is clearly attributable to the low vowel of *pá.

(59)	hén	hê	héníí
	wén	wê	wíníí

2.3 THE LOCATIVE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

Similarly, for the locative interrogative hěě, it is possible to posit *pá plus a stem *-í (Meeussen 1967:103). Here too the vowel quality is a reflex of the *a. Tone also poses no problem once a high tone form of pá is assumed.

(Note that Meeussen (1967:103) posits a low tone prefix *pà-.)

2.4 THE LOCATIVE PARTICLE "wê"

The locative particle wê (locative marker, indirect interrogative pronoun, etc.) should perhaps be derived from

(60) *kú + -è (?) > wê

i.e. from a class 17 pronoun plus a stem -è, without being able to identify the origin of the stem.

2.5 THE LOCATIVE MARKER

According to Grégoire (1975:121), the locative marker á is a reflex of the class 16 demonstrative *pá via the loss of the initial consonant, rather than a reflex of the class 16 nominal prefix which has a low tone. One question should be raised here: is it possible to establish plausibly for Akɔɔse that the *p has been lost? Grégoire suggests that some nominal prefixes have lost the initial consonant before C-initial stems. This is supported by material from class 7 and perhaps class 8.

(61) class 7 PB *ki- čy-àá 'leaf(7)'
è-lém 'domestic animal(7)'

(62) class 8 PB *bɨ- by-àá 'leaves(8)'
è?-lém 'domestic animals(8)'

In class 5 also, there is a V- prefix before C- initial stems but whether this can be said to be a reflex of PB *le- is another question:

(63) class PB *le- dy-òm 'parcel(5)'
à-bàà 'liver(5)'

In all other classes, the initial C of the nominal prefix has not been deleted.

2.6 THE LOCATIVE ADVERBS: "áhèd" AND "áwèd"

The initial consonants of the two locative adverbs áhèd and áwèd correspond to the Proto-Bantu locative classes as follows:

- (64) PB (16) *pà- : h
 PB (17) *kù- : w

For the origin of the stem -èd the following proposal is made. -ed appears to be related to the pronoun stems -èdé and -èdè (Hedinger 1980:18 and 20) which mean something like 'that particular' and 'the one already mentioned'. These stems are similar both formally and semantically and it can therefore be assumed that they developed from a common original form by either acquiring or dropping a final vowel. In order to be able to establish the common proto-form, more comparative evidence would be needed.

2.7 THE LOCATIVE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

The initial consonant of the locative possessives corresponds to the class 17 Proto-Bantu prefix consonant as follows:

- (65) PB (17) *kù- : w

Dorsch suggested (1910/11:255) that it is the class 1 possessives which are used to indicate locations, apparently by adding the locative marker to the class 1 possessives. This is not an impossible hypothesis. However, an explanation would still have to be found as to why it is the class 1 possessives which have been chosen when it would have been equally likely that the locative marker had simply been added to the possessive pronoun of the class required by the noun. Cf. (41). This has to be explained especially in the light of the fact that class 1 concord is never used for locatives.

CONCLUSION

Several of the hypotheses made in part 2 as to the origin of certain locative elements are clearly still tentative. It is hoped that, as more data becomes available from related languages in Zone A, support for or evidence against these hypotheses may be found.

FOOTNOTES

¹ I would like to express my thanks to the Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes Anthropologiques, to the Institut des Sciences Humaines and the Délégation Générale à la Recherche Scientifique et Technique of the United Republic of Cameroon under whose auspices research was carried out. I also would like to express my appreciation to Mr. G. E. R. Metuge, who assisted us in the study of his language, to Jacqueline Leroy and John Watters for making suggestions on the paper, and to my wife for typing the paper.

² The following tone marking conventions have been used: High tone: ' , Low tone ` , Rising tone: ˇ , Falling tone: ^ , Downstep feature (i.e. high tones after downstep are slightly lower than preceding high tones): ' , tone falling from a high to a downstepped high tone: ˆ .

A cedilla under a vowel sign indicates nasalization: ɸ̃ , except in part 2 where it is also used in reconstructed Proto Bantu (PB) morphemes.

³ Note that the change of o to e after the by- prefix can be attributed to the palatal semivowel y.

⁴ In a set of texts, hõm occurs 43 times, àbwóq 4 times - once in the singular, 3 times in the plural.

⁵ In the associative NP a low tone or downstep feature always becomes a high tone or disappears if it is preceded by a high tone associative marker and is followed by a high tone.

⁶ A more abstract analysis would be to use a floating low tone instead of a downstep.

⁷ The rising tone on monosyllabic words always becomes a downstepped H after the locative marker.

⁸ The vowel difference between hén/wén etc. is discussed in 2.2 below.

⁹ The d is elided here but not in the next two expressions.

¹⁰ Two different tone patterns found on the consecutive marker appear to be freely interchangeable. The more complex tone may be due to the fact that after the consecutive marker hê, the tone on the verb prefix is always replaced by a H tone.

¹¹ The low tone part of čě is believed to come from the low tone prefix PB kí- (cf. Meeussen 1967:103).