RECONSTRUCTING BENUE-CONGO PERSON MARKING I: PROTO-BANTOID

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This paper is the first part of the complex comparative research of systems of personal pronouns and person markers in Benue-Congo languages. It aims at conducting a detailed analysis of the systems of person marking in Bantu and Bantoid languages, and reconstructing the Proto-Bantoid system of person marking, a necessary step for achieving the Proto-Benue-Congo reconstruction. This will cover both the personal pronouns, and verbal and nominal person affixes. Existing hypotheses will be verified and new ones will be proposed for the ways of transformation of the original person marking system into the systems of the present-day languages of the family.

Cet article est la première partie de la recherche complexe comparative des systèmes des pronoms personels et marques de personne en langues Benue-Congo. L'article a un objectif de conduire une analyse détaillée des systèmes des marques personelles en langues Bantoues et Bantoïdes, et puis de reconstruire le système des marques personelles pour Bantoïde commune, un pas nécessaire pour arriver à la reconstruction Benue-Congo commune. Ce va courir tous les deux les pronoms personnels independants, et les marques de personne nominales et verbales. Les hypothèses existant vont être vérifiées, et les idées nouvelles vont être proposées pour les routes de transformation du système originelle dans les systèmes des langues de la famille du present.

0. INTRODUCTION

The genetic relationship between the languages of the Niger-Congo (NC) family was first proposed by Westermann (1927) and later verified by Greenberg (1963). It is somewhat peculiar that the hypothesis called 'Niger-Kordofanian' by Greenberg was positively accepted by the mainstream linguistics and is still considered valid despite its very low, almost intuitive, level of reliable reconstruction. The NC stock of languages should rather be named a macrofamily, on a par with the other three major language phyla of Africa and some of these in Eurasia (including Nostratic) being older than 10,000 years of age, though it's hard to identify its age more exactly (Nurse 2007: 245). Some present-day 'strict' comparativists still question its validity: Campbell (1998: 312-313) identified it as an "unconfirmed proposal of distant genetic relationship", and Dixon (1997) regarded it a typological unity rather than a genetic one.

Given a great chronological depth of NC or other macrofamilies of the similar age, we cannot expect its genetic unity to be proven as strictly as we can provide it for Semitic or Indo-European. However, the critics are also encouraged by the absence of the comparative grammar of the NC languages. It is an amazement that today, fourty years after Greenberg's appeared, the state of comparative research in NC remains inadequate. The macrofamily consists of a number of rather disparate families who are themselves very old and whose comparative research is still in progress, often far from any conclusive results.

The situation is complicated by the lack of effort. Amazingly few people around the world dedicate their studies to the comparative reconstruction of NC. As a result, very few reliable comparative works appear. The most recent attempt of compiling an

etymological dictionary of Niger-Congo was made by Mukarovsky (1976-1977)[1], over thirty years ago. In the NC linguistics, we lack a general grammatical overview of the proto-language, or a basic system of phonetic correspondences solidly verified by all the stocks of the family. A paradox situation we are facing where the genetic relation of the languages of this huge family is admitted literally *ad hoc*.

This situation must be changed in order to strengthen the foundation of the NC hypothesis, and this should be done by means of the strict comparative method. In the African linguistics of the past century, a number of less reliable methods were used to reach conclusions about the prehistory of the continent's languages, which has always been under critical fire. A good description of most of these methods is found in (Olson 2004), and we can only briefly retell it here. The earliest, and probably the least reliable of them was the typological method which aimed at proposing language affinities according to their typological characteristics. However, this has been solidly proven to be unreliable, since phonetic features, morphological and syntactic structures can easily arise in a language due to regional influences and outer borrowing[2]. Using this method in morphology, including person marking, will definitely lead us nowhere, since the paradigmatic systems of this part of morphology vary greatly in NC, sometimes even within one group of dialects.

Later, the method of 'mass' or 'multilateral' comparison was introduced by Greenberg (1955) in order to initially approach the comparison between various languages, intuitively felt as genetically related. Though it is by no means a reliable weapon either, Greenberg and his followers have always admitted it could not be used exclusively, and that its result would always require verification by means of the comparative method. The 'mass comparison' or 'resemblance' was exactly the way the ideas on Proto-NC morphology are usually suggested, and this is fully understandable, since the work in this field is still at a very early stage. And though it's probably high time to deepen it, 'resemblance' will still be used in this paper as the initial method of building hypotheses, to be checked by comparative method where possible.

The third instrument in use in African linguistics has been the method of lexicostatistics with the resulting glottochronological calculations, a widespread tool for constructing classification tables for NC languages and beyond. It has been widely criticised on the general level, most recently and effectively in (Campbell & Poser 2008), but still remains a basis for many conclusions on family trees of the African languages. Lexicostatistics is clearly not applicable for the comparison and reconstruction of person marking, but its results in classification will be attracted.

The main method we will be trying to adhere to throughout the present work is the 'classical' comparative method. Traditionally, it is based on the sequence of techniques leading to the reconstruction of the proto-language: 1) comparing lexemes and morphemes close both in form and meaning; 2) building the system of regular phonetic correspondences; 3) reconstructing the proto-language system; and 4) reconstructing the paths of transformation from the proto-language to the historically witnessed tongues of the family. We will also seek to extract morphological innovations of the certain proto-language levels and borrowed morphemes which are found here and there and are sometimes possible to track.

[1] Mukarovsky's work was based on the family he himself defined as 'West Nigritic', now known as Atlantic-Congo, i.e. Niger-Congo less Kordofanian.

[2] However, note the recent defence of the typological method in the classification of Benue-Kwa in (Manfredi 2009).

The morphology of NC has been the subject of a number of successful comparative research works. The issue which attracted more attention than any others is the noun class system (Welmers 1971; De Wolf 1971; Meeussen 1976; Greenberg 1977; Demuth & al. 1985, 1986). Other morphology issues analysed so far in substantial detail are numerals, verb extensions (Hyman 2007), and verbal tense / aspect / modality markers. These works proved that the reconstruction of morphological elements can be successful for NC on the current level of knowledge and research.

The task of reconstructing the Proto-NC person marking is one of the important parts of this. The system of personal pronouns is one of the elements widely used to substantiate genetic relationships between the languages all over the world. Moreover, personal pronouns belong to the basic lexicon of any language and are preserved for a longer period than the majority of nominal or verbal lexemes. Pronouns and personal affixes act within a paradigm, and finding cognate paradigms in two languages is a solid proof of their genetic relationship: it is known that languages borrow personal pronouns quite reluctantly, but almost never borrow the whole paradigms, with maybe just a few examples of such a borrowing throughout the languages of the world.

The reconstruction of personal markers of Proto-NC could seem virtually impossible a few decades ago when the data was still extremely scarce for the majority of stocks in sub-Saharan Africa. Nowadays the state of our knowledge is much better. In the recent decades, the majority of scholars in African linguistics devoted their effort to synchronic descriptions of languages. These years allowed to collect a huge amount of data which can be properly analysed with a much higher level of probability while reconstructing the proto-language forms.

This work has already proceeded to great endeavours in some NC branch linguistics. Proto-Bantu person marking has been researched deeply starting from 1960's; more recently, a Proto-Kordofanian system was proposed by Schadeberg (1981), while Boyd (1989) did the same for Proto-Gur-Adamaua. There are good reconstructions of Proto-Ijoid (Williamson, forthcoming) and Proto-Ubangi (Moniño 1995). In 2004, 'Systèmes de marques personelles en Afrique' was published: it contained excellent reconstructions for Proto-Gur (Miehe 2004) and Proto-Atlantic (Pozdniakov & Segerer 2004). Finally, Vydrin (2006) presented a paper on Proto-South-Mande pronouns. Obviously, however, not all the branches of NC have so far enjoyed attention, and the largest of them is Benue-Congo. Our task is to fill this gap, by analysing one by one all subbranches of the Benue-Congo language family and thus reaching the PBC level of reconstruction.

The sections of the paper will be structured according to the following pattern.

1. General description of the stock.
2. Internal classification.
3. Survey of comparative research to date.
4. Current state of reconstruction of the proto-language phonetic system.
5. Current state of person marking reconstruction.
6. Reconstruction of the proto-language person marking system.

It must be noted that here, as it is widely accepted in comparative linguistics, we omit the analysis of the third person pronouns. As well as in many other languages of the world, in Benue-Congo they have syntax and origins which are different from those of the 1st and the 2nd person pronouns (called 'locutors'), and therefore a different destiny, which Benveniste (1971) once called 'non-person' and which is now more

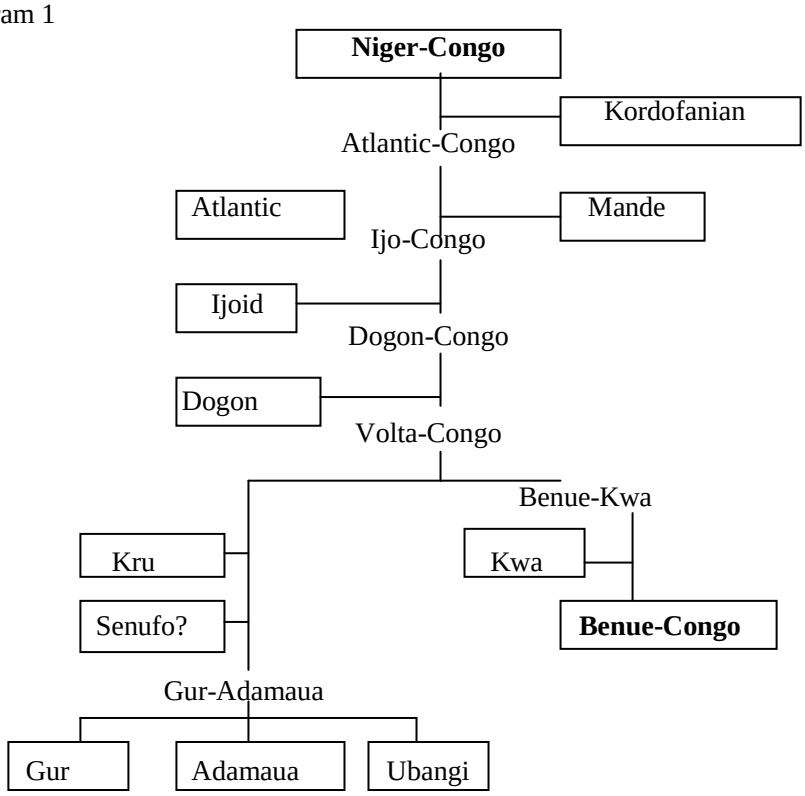
often called 'non-locutor', the view supported in African linguistics by Creissels (1993). They are acting much closer in the nominal domain, using class agreement and other nominal features. Moreover, in Niger-Congo they often carry distinct signs of their comparatively recent origin from nouns or demonstrative pronouns: cf. Zande **hɛ** 'it' < **hɛŋ** 'thing', **ko** 'he' < ***k(HV)V** 'man' (Желтов 2008: 104-105); the Ring languages of Grassfields Bantu have developed new 3rd person pronouns using the demonstratives 'this / these' (Hyman, p.c.). Within the paradigm of pronouns, however, the 3rd person markers can undoubtedly influence their 'neighbours' so we might attract the 3rd person data from time to time within the framework of the paradigmatic approach.

Benue-Congo, the unity of a number of language stocks of Nigeria and Northwest Cameroon attracted scientific attention of linguists starting from the early twentieth century. These were the languages which Johnston (1919-22) unified under the term 'Semi-Bantu' meaning a variety of dialects some of which were strikingly similar to Bantu but considered by then genetically unrelated. Johnston provided the first classification of his 'Semi-Bantu' which laid foundation for all later research. A few years later, Westermann (1927) specified Johnston's scheme and also noted the intermediary genetic position of 'Semi-Bantu' between Bantu and other NC languages, which he then called West Sudanic. Finally, it was Greenberg (1963) who proposed the classification close to the presently accepted one: he put Bantu as a subgroup within Benue-Congo rather then next to it.

Of all the NC languages, the Benue-Congo stock of families makes nearly two thirds in the total number of languages (961 out of 1514[3]). The place of Benue-Congo within the NC macrofamily proposed by Greenberg was recently justified by Williamson & Blench (2000: 18), which is universally considered relatively accurate (Schadeberg 2003: 154-155). An updated detailed picture was recently published by Guillaume Segerer (2008) and will be used as a basic classification in our present work.

[3] Hereinafter, numbers of languages are given according to Ethnologue [http://www.ethnologue.com]. However, the exact numbers for the NC macrofamily are quite hard to tell for sure, since there is still no precise line between a language and a dialect, either in the NC or in linguistics in general.

Diagram 1



One of the key issues of the external classification of Benue-Congo was the relation between Benue-Congo and Kwa questioned by Bennett & Sterk (1977). Using extensive lexicostatistics and providing a number of lexical innovations, they suggested to include Eastern Kwa languages into 'New' Benue-Congo, thus adding such languages as Nupoid, Idomoid, Yoruboid, and Igboid (altogether named as East Benue-Congo) into the latter. The boundary between the two families was discussed then at a number of events and in various articles, so nowadays it seems to be agreed finally according to the 'New' Benue-Congo approach.

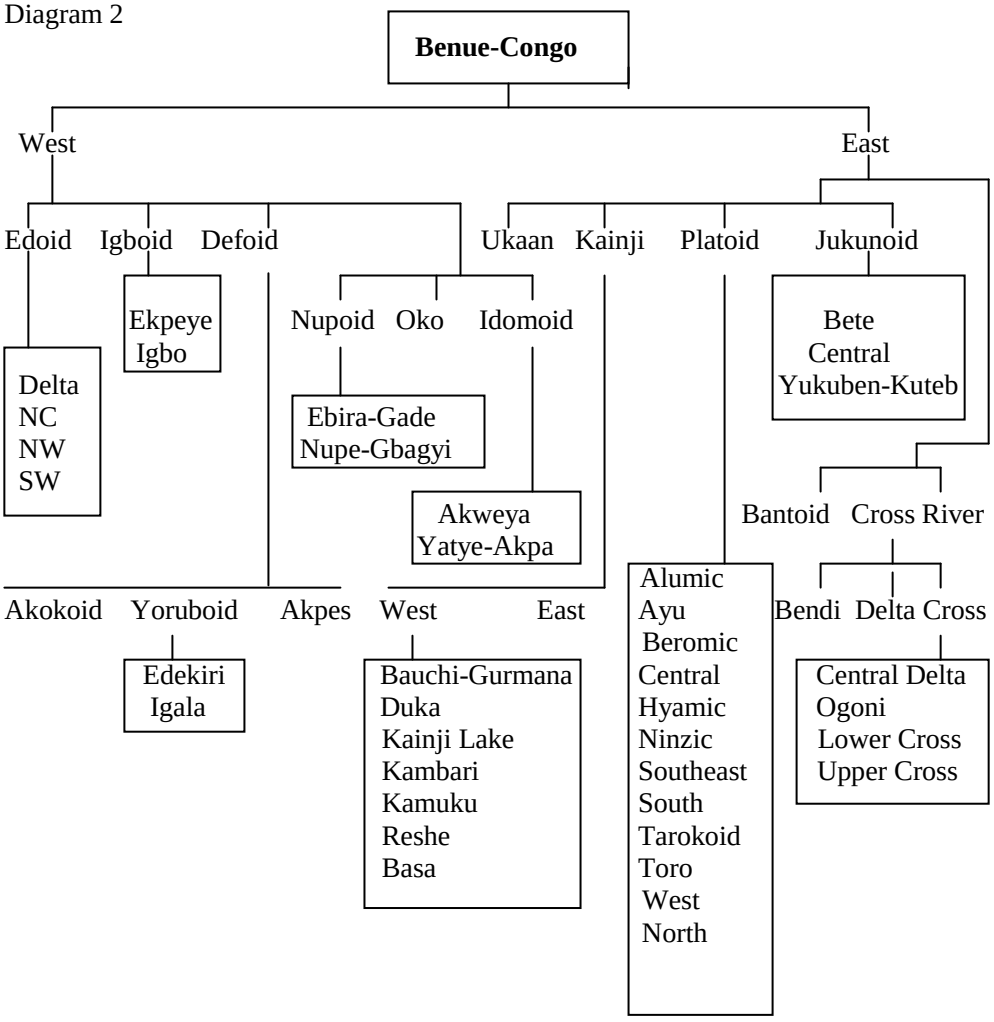
However, the problem of Benue-Congo prehistory remains an issue because, as Williamson (1989) noticed, there is not a single lexical item which may definitely be called a Benue-Congo lexical innovation, and those proposed earlier appear to have cognates outside it. Those which were proposed by Bennett & Sterk and Williamson, as she admitted herself, are never found in all the subgroups of the family. The conclusion made by Williamson (1989: 269-270) was that "Proto-Benue-Congo existed as a single language... for a very short period of time", if existed at all. It began to dissolve almost immediately, so all the innovations took place in different dialects or groups of dialects, which have then existed for a long time in isolation.

Less important for PBC reconstruction, but also quite substantial are the issues of the family's internal classification. Still under discussion, as we show below, is the boundary between Bantu proper and Bantoid, or 'Wide Bantu' languages. It is now commonly accepted that the Cross River languages are the closest to Bantoid, however, it remains still rather unclear whether the common 'Benue-Cross' or 'Bantoid-Cross' proto-language existed. There are a number of disputed areas on the boundaries between the stocks, especially regarding the so called 'Central Nigerian' languages of

Plateau, Kainji and Jukunoid families. However, as a lot of new materials appear about the languages of the area, the precise composition and number of subbranches of Benue-Congo is becoming clearer.

The latest classification was presented in (Williamson & Blench 2000) and further adapted in still unpublished (Blench 2004). This is based on vast data analysed by the two authors and seems reliable to date. According to it, the Benue-Congo language family is generally divided into two major branches, which in their turn include ten stocks and three apparently isolated tongues.

Diagram 2



The homeland of the Benue-Congo proto-language seems to have been situated somewhere around the mouth of the Benue river (Williamson 1989: 272), where its speakers diverged from the previous language unity over 6,000 years ago (Williamson 1988: 104). The Benue-Congo languages border with their distant Ijoid relatives in the Niger delta in the south, with Kwa, Gur and some Mande in the west, with Chadic in the north (note occasional Chadic enclaves in central Nigeria), with Adamaua in the northeast. The huge Bantu language area stretches right to the southern edge of the continent. Probably the most linguistically diverse district lies a few dozen kilometers

southwest of the confluence of the Niger and the Benue, to the west of city of Okene. Here, languages of at least three branches (Defoid, Nupoid, Edoid) and three isolates (Oko, Ukaan, and Akpes) are spoken. This would serve a nice location for a homeland.

Most general works on Benue-Congo (Williamson 1971, 1989; Cook 1971; Bennett & Sterk 1977; Blench 1989) are devoted to the issues of the family's classification rather than to the comparative analysis. There have been a few attempts to reconstruct the Benue-Congo proto-language, even despite its dubious nature as noted above. De Wolf (1971: 51) proposed the reconstructed phonetic system of what is now called West Benue-Congo. However, as Blench (2004) justly notes, he gave little justification for his reconstructions. At the same time, Blench himself proposes a phonetic system of PBC, which at present is the only reference of the kind, given below. Different from that of De Wolf's, it contains more affricates, fricatives and implosives, and treats the Benue-Congo vocalic system as '7V', instead of '5V' of De Wolf.

(1) Consonants:

	Bilabial	**Labio-dental**	**Alveolar**	**Alveopalatal**	**Palatal**	**Velar**	**Labial-velar**	**Glottal**
PLAIN								
Plosive	p b		t d		c j	k g	kp gb	
Nasal	m		n			[ŋ]		
Trill			[r]					
Fricative		f (v)	s z	ʃ ʒ				h
Approximant					y		w	
Lateral Approximant			l					
Implosive	ɓ		ɗ					

(2) Vowels:

	Front	**Central**	**Back**
	Unrounded	Unrounded Rounded	Rounded
Close	i		u
Close-Mid	e	(ə)	o
Open-Mid	ɛ		ɔ
Open		a	

(From Blench 2004.)

Most of Benue-Congo languages represent developed tonal systems, which presupposes the same for PBC. The exact number and features of this system are yet to be reconstructed, but most widespread structure contains three basic tones: high (´), low (`) and middle, not marked in this paper.

There is still no systematic reconstruction of the PBC morphology to date, though quite a number of comparative works are available on its certain branches (those will be treated below). Voorhoeve & De Wolf (1969) and De Wolf alone (1971) presented a good reconstructed noun class system. We are not aware of any reconstructions of PBC pronouns or subject markers.

Finally, although we still lack a comparative etymological dictionary for the family, the two-volumed Benue-Congo Comparative Wordlists (Williamson & Shimizu 1968; Williamson 1973) were a great step towards it, as well as the West African Language Data Sheets (Kropp Dakubu 1976-1980), also a valuable complement for both morphological and lexical data on Benue-Congo.

We will now go through the major branches of the Benue-Congo language family, gathering and systematising data to contribute to the conclusive objectives of this paper.

1. PROTO-BANTU.

Bantu languages which are a part of the Bantoid stock, are most numerous (513 languages[4]) within the Benue-Congo family and have been studied very well over the last 150 years. A number of detailed reconstructions for the PB pronominal system have been proposed in the recent fourty years, and there is not much we can do to contribute here but to compare our own analysis with the most credible of the existing reconstructions and to generate a subsequent suggestion of the consensus version.

Greenberg's view on the homeland of Bantu (Greenberg 1972: 192) is more or less accepted nowadays: this should have been the middle Benue river valley in Eastern Nigeria. The picture of deeper dialectal diversity which is observed in this area is one of the proofs of this hypothesis. The migration of the Bantu communities must have started from this area around 5,000 years ago and directed eastwards. They went out of the rainforest to the savannas of the Great Lakes region around 3,000 or 2,500 years ago, and the extremely wide subsequent migration caused by the invention of iron working around in the lacustrine area mostly went in the southern direction, to reach extreme South Africa before 500 AD (Vansina 1990: 49-54; Ehret 1998; Nurse & Philippson 2003: 165; Nurse 2007: 367-369).

Since Guthrie's fundamental classification of the Bantu languages first delivered in (1948) and in final detail in (1967-1971, vol. 3: 11-15), there have been numerous attempts to modify the proposed structure, but the original one with small modification is still in wider use (Maho 2003). It is usually said that Guthrie's classification into 15 zones and 84 groups contains little historical validity, which is in fact admitted by the author himself who mentioned that his structure is more of a referential use, than of a historical nature. As for the historical implication, the latest attempts of internal genetic classification were undertaken by Ehret (1998; 1999: 47-53), the Tervuren group (Bastin & al. 1999: 125-129), and Nurse & Philippson (2003: 173-179). They are based on both lexical grouping (the Tervuren group extensively used lexicostatistics) and the analysis of innovations in morphology. They only more or less agree that the Northwestern languages of the Bantu area, comprised (mostly) of A, B and C groups, with sometimes a contribution from northern H and others, should be emphasized as the first group to fall apart PB. Later subdivisions of the remaining stock (one of them called Savanna Bantu) are still under discussion. Therefore, the only subclassification feature that looks reliable by now is the division between Northwestern (zones A, B, C) and other Bantu languages.

The phonetic system of PB as it was posited by Meeussen (1967) and justified by Hyman (2003: 42) and Schadeberg (2003: 146) might have looked the following way:

(3)

consonants				*vowels*	
p	**t**	**c**	**k**	**ɪ**	**ʊ**
b/β	**d/l**	**j/y**	**g/ɣ**	**i**	**u**
m	**n**	**ɲ**		**e**	**o**
				a	

[4] The number varies from 440 to 680 according to different estimations (Nurse & Philippson 2003a: 2).

What is unclear for the consonant reconstruction, is a) whether the second row consisted of voiced stops or continuants, and b) whether the two palatals ***c** and ***j** were stops or affricates (or whether they were dental ***s / *z** at all). A special set of prenasalized consonants is sometimes reconstructed. As for the vowels, the '7V' scheme above seems to enjoy general consensus, with the tongue root position advanced in the higher row (+ATR) or retracted (-ATR). It is usually accepted also that languages of groups A and B modified the original PB system of phonemes quite significantly (Hyman 2003: 58).

We can estimate that personal markers of around 200-250 Bantu languages have been described so far in more or less detail, and of them, we will use over 150 languages in the present work (see Appendix). The comparative work in this field to date has been however much scarcer. The first quality comparative analysis of Bantu personal markers was done by Bleek (1862-1869) and later followed by Torrend (1891: 155-170) with a wider coverage of languages. The comparative grammar by Meinhof (1906) described regularities and peculiarities in the system of personal pronouns and reconstructed some proto-forms, although quite superficially. The PB system was under the careful look starting only from Meeussen (1965; 1967), who made an attempt to reconstruct the whole paradigm of bound personal markers of the four series: subject, object, possessive, and stressed:

Table 1.1

Person	*subject*	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed*
1sg.	***n-** ***ɲ ?**	***-n-**	***áné**	***í-n-ɛ**
2sg.	***u-**	***-ku-**	***-áó**	***o-ɛ ?**
1pl.	***tu-**	***-tu-**	***-áító**	***í-có-ɛ**
2pl.	***mu-**	***-mu-**	***-áíɲo**	***í-ɲó-ɛ**

Guthrie (1967-71, vols. 3-4) presented his reconstruction soon afterwards, briefly analysing the personal markers in his list of common Bantu stems. His research, however, lacked a detailed analysis, so he had to admit that the majority of person markers were 'hard to account for'. The collection of Guthrie's reconstructed forms is presented below.

Table 1.2

Person	*subject*	*object*	*possessive*	*independent*
1sg.	***NI- / *NY-**		***-AƉG-, *-MẸ́**	
2sg.	***Ọ̀-**	***-KỌ̀--**	***-Bɛ́**	***GỌ́ɛ́**
1pl.	***TỌ̀-**	***-TỌ́-**	***-YITỌ́**	
2pl.	***MỌ̀-**	***-MỌ́-**	***-YINỌ́**	

The reconstruction of the bound verbal personal marker paradigm, in a rather general form, was suggested by Schadeberg (2003: 151). He does not consider independent pronouns nor possessive forms:

Table 1.3

Person	*subject*	*object*
1sg.	***N-**	***-N-**
2sg.	***ʊ-**	***-kʊ-**
1pl.	***tʊ-**	***-tʊ́-**
2pl.	***mʊ-**	***-mʊ́-**

Finally, the latest research which contributed to the problem was Nurse (2007: 377) which contains a reconstruction of subject markers based on an extensive database of Bantu verb morphemes gathered by the author, and generally identical to those of the predecessors:

Table 1.4

Person	*subject*
1sg.	***nɪ-**
2sg.	***ʊ-**
1pl.	***tʊ-**
2pl.	***mʊ-**

Although a number of researchers described the systems of person marking in the Bantu languages, there has been no specific work devoted to the subject so far. Internally, there haven't been substantial analysis and/or reconstruction of personal markers in any subgroups of Bantu either. One example to note here is contained in (Hedinger 1987) which is a reconstruction of the proto-language for Manenguba, a small cluster of dialects classified as group A15 (considered by many as a Bantoid language, see below).

To consider the origins of personal markers, it is essential to analyze both independent pronouns and personal markers of the verb together, since they are very closely connected both genetically and typologically, which was observed already long ago (Werner 1919: 86). The Bantu languages are considered as 'verby', i.e. the verb occupies a central position in any syntactic construction and in the morphological system in general (Nurse & Philippson 2003a: 8). Thus, in the majority of Bantu tongues the person marker is in most cases built into the verbal form as an affix. Nurse (2007: 375) gives the following structure of the verbal form for PB:

(4) Pre-SM + **SM** + NEG2 + TA + [**OM** + [[root + extension] + FV]] + Post-FV[5]

The subject marker is thus prefixed to the verb root, while the object marker is following the subject prefix; it can also be suffixed after the verb root in some Bantu languages. Independent pronouns are mostly limited to a number of syntactic positions: in a copula (expressions like *it's me*), or in an emphatic position (where it is usually compared with French *moi*-type forms called *tonique* or stressed). In the latter case they can be used together with prepositions, classifiers or as an address (Torrend 1891: 160-169).

In many languages of the family, mostly but not exclusively Western, prefixed markers do not exist, replaced by independent pronouns. These are most languages of

[5] SM subject marker, NEG negative, TA tense & aspect, OM object marker, FV final vowel

A-B zones, some C and H zone tongues. In some of them, the independent pronoun is necessary to use in the phrase together with the subject prefix.

Since the PB language is usually reconstructed with bound markers, it is still under discussion how to treat the independent pronouns of the Northwest. Meeussen (1967) considered PB personal markers as dependent parts of an inflectional verbal form. Therefore, independent pronouns in certain Bantu tongues were considered by him an innovation. It was later suggested by Nurse & Philippson (2003: 177) that the independent subject/object pronouns could be an areal development of some of the Northwest Bantu groups (A40-A80, B20, B70, C20 etc.) accepted under the influence of some other adjacent NC language branches. Indeed, it is known that the analytical pattern where subject/object markers act independently is widespread in the so-called 'Macro-Sudan belt' from West Africa to Ethiopia north of the rainforest area, and the majority of NC language families share this feature, so Bantu languages seem a rather rare exception (together with only some Atlantic, Kordofanian, Jukunoid and few Bantoid tongues) (Nurse 2007: 242-243).

At the same time, there is an idea that Bantu could have morphologised the originally independent personal pronouns into bound verbal markers which was suggested already decades ago by Givón (1972) and supported elsewhere (Аксёнова & Топорова 1990: 150-151), most recently in (Good & Güldemann 2006). Nurse (2007: 247) sees a transition from the analytic to the synthetic structure in the Late PB period, thus suggesting a different one in Early PB.

Throughout Bantu we can identify four sets of personal markers:

- subject pronoun / verb prefix
- object pronoun / verb affix
- possessive pronoun / noun or verb suffix
- independent stressed (emphatic) subject pronoun

The following models are used for person marking throughout the family (note that no tone is applied in the chart below):

Table 1.5 [6]

	1sg.	*2sg.*	*1pl.*	*2pl.*
subject pronoun / verb prefix	**N- / ɲ- / n-** **na- / ni- / nyi- / ny- / ne- / nda- / ndi- / ngi- / nga- / ngu- / ndži-** **mɛ / mi / mbi- / mə / ma-** **i- / yi-** **k(i)- / ke-** **tsi- / ʃi- / si-**	**o- / u- / wo- / wɛ-** **go- / ɣu- / ghu- / ku-**	**ti- / to- / tu- / ta- / t- / di- / r(i)- / re- / h(i)- lo- / lu-** **sɛ- / ʃə-** **ku-** **fu-** **n(i)-**	**mu-** **bi- / bo- / bu- / ɓi- / vu- / u-** **nɛ- / ni- / no- / nu-** **lo- / l- / lu-** **o-**
object pronoun / affix	**-n- / -ni- / -nyi- / -nga- / -ngu- / -nge- / -ndi- /**	**-o- / (a)wɛ / (a)wo / -ɣo- / ɣu- /**	**-to- / -t- / -tu- -lo- / -lu- -r(i)- / -re**	**nɛ / -no- / -ne / -nu / ni / -anu / -nyo / -ɲwe /**

[6] Based on full data of Appendix.

	-ndži- **(a)mɛ / -mɛ- / -ma- / -mi- / -mbi- / -m** **-i-**	**go / -(u)gwe** **-ku- / -ko-** **-ne- / -no- / -nd-**	**-es / -is / -aso / -se / su** **-hu / (h)i-**	**nuni** **-mu- / mi / bi** **-lo- / -l- / lu / hu** **-o-**
possessive pronoun / affix	**-am(e) / -em(e) / -ɛm / -mo / -(a)mi** **-ane / -ani / -(a)ngu / -nga / -nge / -ngu** **-akwa / -ako / -(a)ka**	**-o** **-awe / -uwe / -(a)wo** **-gwo / -oge / -ɣo** **-obe, -afo** **(a)ku, -ko**	**-(a)so / -se / -(a)su / -ʃu / -is** **-ato / -it / -itu / -eto / -thu / -eru / -iru / ro-**	**-n / -in / -(a)no / -(ɛ)nu / -aɲ(o)** **/ -iɲu / -enyu** **lo-**
stressed (emphatic) pronoun	**mɛ / amɛ / ami / ame / imɛ / eme / emi** **mem / mɛn / mɛni / meno / mene / mono** **nne / nna / ini / eni / nene** **(a)nga / (a)nge**	**owe / uwe / awe / ɛwɛ / iwe / gwɛ** **wewe / wɛn(a)**	**isɛ / asɛ / (i)so / (e)su / -(V)swe / (e)se / -sis / sese / -so / tse** **hwe-** **itu / ito / -eto / -ithu / twe(ye)** **hi-** **ro-**	**mwe / (i)mi** **aɲɛ / inu / (i)no / enu / -n / -ɲwe / -nwe / -nywe / -anu / eni / ɲeɲe / -(a)ne / nuni** **hu** **lo-**

It is worth going through the forms in the chart to catch some systematic comparative data.

1st person singular

It is obvious that the bound personal marker should be reconstructed as ***ɲi-.** The palatal character of the nasal here is seen easily. The 1st person singular subject prefix is **ɲi-** in Kwakum (A91), Punu (B43), Nande (D42), Gusii (E42), Gogo (G11), Gitonga (S62) and many others; it has shifted to ***nji-** or ***ndji-** or ***ndi-** or ***ngi-** which are all logical descendants of a palatal nasal. It could lost palatalisation in those languages where **n / ɲ** are not distinguished. Finally, it disappears initially (sometimes leaving nasality to the following vowel) in languages which never seem to lose the initial **n-** (for example, Babole C20 **ĩ-**).

The forms without a vowel are usually explained by containing the well-known African "homorganic" nasal which changes its phonological qualities according to the following consonant or other phonetic surroundings. It can therefore act as dental **n-,** palatal **ɲ-,** velar **ŋ-** or bilabial **m-.** However, in the case of vocalic surrounding the underlying nasal is usually dental or palatal, and the same goes for languages which contain the following vowel **-i-**, there can be no ***m-** or ***ŋ-** here. So, we can make a conclusion that the proto-language consonant was more exact than just an unclear homorganic nasal (see (Hyman 2003: 49-50) for a comparison with the 9/10 class noun prefix ***N-**).

The following vowel should be reconstructed as ***-i-**. Guthrie (1967-71, vol. 4: 233, 240) reconstructs ***nɪ-** or ***ny-** as variants of the 1st person subject marker. Some vocalic shifts in the modern languages of the family are not yet clear, however, the vowel change (forms like **na-, ne-**) could express some tense/aspect or mood meanings.

Forms derived from ***ɲi-** are also often used to mark the direct object. However, they are much more rarely used as possessives or stressed pronouns. Instead, the other pronominal root is used in these meanings which we reconstruct as ***me.**

Since the homorganic ***N-** would suppose ***m-** before labials, it was suggested by Guthrie that the **n-** prefixes are genetically related with **m- / me / mi,** the other widespread Bantu pronoun of the 1st person. He suggests (1967-71, vol. 3: 200) that the ***m-**forms in his (Northwest) 'PB A' have originated from an earlier PB ***ŋ-**. This hypothesis cannot be supported, both due to the above Hyman's comment, and since the distribution of the two forms in the Bantu area is morphological, not geographical.

Geographically, **me / mi** model is quite widespread in the Northwest zones A-C which border the 'Wide Bantu' area with the predominant use of ***me** as the independent subject pronoun. But **me / mi** root is witnessed also in the Eastern zones D, G and in Savanna zones H, K, R, S (see Appendix) as either an independent pronoun or a suffix marking possession or object. The **Vme-**modelled form acts as an independent pronoun and the possessive suffix, but is sometimes seen as a prefix for subject marking too. In the Northwest, a verb phrase in a number of tongues requires both the pronoun **me / mi** and the bound **n-**prefix. Therefore, we assume that **me** is a separate subject pronoun not related genetically to ***n(i)-**.

The proto-language vowel should have most probably been ***-e** or ***-ɛ**. The two dominating forms throughout Bantu are **mi** and **me/mɛ.** Guthrie reconstructs a 'PB-A', mostly a Western dialectal form in his terms, as ***MẸ́** proposing a mutation of ***E > *ɛ** under the influence of a preceding ***-a-** in possessive stems where it is common, see below (Guthrie 1967-71, vol. 4: 10, 12).

Statistically, the number of ***ɲi-**forms throughout the family is extremely high in the subject markers, lower in the object, even lower in the possessive markers, and quite rare in the independent stressed pronouns. The share of ***me** grows respectively. Since this distribution can be shown not only for the whole stock, but for most Bantu groups as well, we are most certainly dealing here with a PB morphological distribution rather than an innovation.

Processes of paradigmatic analogy have obviously done much to level this fundamental opposition of the Bantu pronominal system. In a number of tongues, ***ɲi-** appears to have replaced the original ***me**, at least we cannot see this opposition in the majority of languages of groups E, F, L, M, P, all forming Eastern Bantu. This is a common typological process in the languages of the world. Here in Bantu, the situation can partly be explained also by the removal of object markers and/or stressed pronouns as subcategories in person marking morphology.

Typologically and syntactically, possessive and emphatic pronouns are quite close to each other and to object pronouns. They all denote 'non-subject' meanings: just like in the Indo-European tongues there is an opposition of ***eg'h(om/ō)** to act in the nominative (i.e. subject) and ***me-** to mark possession (genitive), direct object (accusative), indirect object (dative etc.), and emphasis: cf. French **moi** and English **me** which are emphatic subject pronouns as well as oblique case forms of the personal pronoun. Thus, we can typologically justify the origin of the Bantu stressed pronominal forms from earlier object (or, more precisely, non-subject) pronouns.

The phonetic shape of both possessive and stressed forms in Bantu is predominantly VCV with an adopted prefixed vowel: **a-, i-,** or **e-** for independent pronouns, and **a-** for possessives. The original vowels must have been different. In the stressed pronouns, ***i-** seems a more appropriate variant for a proto-language form. This is supported by Guthrie, who put it as ***yi-**, and Meeussen with ***í-**. In possessives, the proto-language form should have been ***àme.** Meinhof (1906: 35) suggested that the prefixed vowel here originated from a demonstrative particle ***ɣa-** which

accommodated its vowel to the following vowel of the word it was attached to, with ***γ** later dropped. This view was supported by Werner (1919: 86-87). We should rather agree with a later view that this prefixed element must have been an associative marker, quite widespread across Benue-Congo, see more details in the Bantoid section below.

Both prefixes in possessive and emphatic forms tend to show the low tone, which we therefore reconstruct for PB.

Second, in a number languages throughout the family the stressed pronouns are subject to reduplication or partly reduplication (forms like ***meme, *mem**), which is typologically natural for their emphatic meaning. As we will see below, these two features can be stretched out to all pronouns, not only the 1st person singular. Another extension is ***-nV** (***mene**) again habitual all across the paradigm, and seen in Benue-Congo beyond Bantu.

Having considered this, we may reconstruct the following three sets of PB forms for the 1st person singular pronouns:

(5) ***ɲi-** subject prefix
***(à)me** non-subject pronoun (object, possessive)
***(ì)me** stressed independent pronoun

There are some other (most probably innovative) roots used for the 1st person singular pronouns in Bantu. Of them, let's mention two:

> **i- / yi-** was recently suggested by Yvonne Bastin to have a PB origin. Still, we think that it is rather a drop of the initial ***ɲ- > *y- > zero**, quite a common phonetic shift noted outside Bantu too.
>
> **ki- / kɛ-** for subject markers (zones P, S) and **-akwa** / **-ako / -k'a** for possessive markers (zones E, P, S) and **si- / ʃi- / tsi-** for subject markers are portmanteau forms, in the latter case with the negative marker (Lamba M54 **n-** positive vs. **nsi-** negative).

2nd person singular

In the 2nd person singular, it can be shown that the majority of languages of the Bantu family also tend to base their pronouns on two original roots. One of them, as is clearly seen, is ***o / *u**, a back vocalic root which is found primarily in the subject series of pronouns all across the Bantu area. The non-labialized variant is more widespread in Northwestern zones A-C, located not far from the Bantu original homeland (Watters 1989: 412) while the labialized one dominates zones F-S, which are sometimes considered more archaic. The PB reconstruction is therefore ***ʊ-** as was suggested long before the author of the present paper was born. We can only add a tone to this reconstruction: it was low, as shown in almost all Bantu zones.

For possessive and independent pronouns the most reliable models are **(V)we** realised phonetically also as **(V)gwe, (V)be**. The prefixed vowels here seem the same as in the 1st person: ***à-** for the possessive form, and ***ì-** for the stressed pronoun (though the latter is not that evident here). As for the status of the root consonant, Guthrie tends to reconstruct ***-b-** for PB which as he assumed could mutate into ***g** (1967-71, vol. 3: 31, 210, 229). This ***b,** however, according to his topograms of sound shifts (1967-71, vol. 1: 71), is supposed to be preserved as a labial stop in a number of languages and even whole language zones which, on the contrary, all show ***-w- /**

***-gw-.** The original sound of this form could have rather been an obstruent ***β** (closer even to ***w** than to ***b**) thus upholding the reconstructions of obstruents for PB. It is a fricative labiodental phoneme which can more easily generate sounds like **w, f, gw, g,** and **b** which we observe in the pronominal forms of the majority of selected Bantu tongues**.**

The object marker root almost everywhere in Bantu is **-ku-** / **-ko-**. This suffix is very peculiar since it belongs exclusively to the object set of personal markers and has no modifications. It is not used as an independent pronoun or a possessive affix: Guthrie (1967-71, vol. 3: 302) mentions some examples of possessives but admits they can hardly be connected with the verbal suffix. **ku-** sometimes denotes subject but in such cases its secondary role can be shown: it is used either dialectally with more common **u** (zones E, G), or to denote some additional syntactic meanings, including negative (see Appendix).

The PB reconstruction of ***-kʊ-** seems a consensus among the authors. Though Meeussen (1967) has ***-ku-,** it appears that the actual vowel was the second degree **-ʊ-**, so Schadeberg (2003: 151) writes it as ***-kʊ-**.

The PB origin of ***-kʊ-** seems credible even though it is not witnessed in Northwestern A-B zones, because the Northwest languages seem to have lost (or weakened to *γ) the original Bantu ***k** (cf. Guthrie 1967-70, vol. 1: 74; Nurse & Philippson 2003: 177). As for the external evidence for this object marker in other NC languages, no Benue-Congo languages outside Bantu demonstrate it.

If we accept that ***-kʊ-** was a PB form, then we need to reconstruct a model for the 2nd person singular which will be different a bit from the 1st person. Here, we have actually three roots and four basic proto-language person marking forms:

(6)

***ù-**	subject prefix
***-kʊ-**	object suffix
***(à)we**	possessive pronoun / suffix
***(ì)we**	stressed pronoun

There are more marginal roots denoting the 2nd person singular in certain languages of the Bantu family. In a number of them, a difference is leveled between the 2nd person singular and plural markers by accepting the latter one for both meanings (Grégoire 2003: 364). Some other forms might have been borrowed: e.g., Doko C **dò-** must be a loanword from some nearby Ubangi language.

1st person plural

The most widespread root for the subject and object marking is **tV-** (realized as **tu-, ti-, to-, lo-, ho-** etc.), for which the proto-form is usually reconstructed as ***tʊ-**. Guthrie explains vowel shifts by innovative changes on the periphery of the Bantu-speaking area (1967-1971, vol. 4: 226). This form is used for both the subject and the object markers, mostly when they fully coincide in form, with possessive and stressed markers formed from different roots (this situation is the most frequent one all over Bantu). If the subject marker is formed using a different root, then ***tʊ** is never found in the language. The only logical proposal here would be the original subject meaning of ***tʊ-** which was transferred later to other forms by means of analogy. There are some languages which also build their possessive suffixes and independent pronouns with a similar root, but with a different vowel: ***itu, *atu**, ***tue**, which should be mixtures with the second root below.

This second one, the most widespread model for stressed and possessive person markers, is **(V)se / swe,** which should originate from PB ***ce / *cue**. The vowel is degree one which causes frication of ***c**: cf. Luganda **ffwe** (Hyman, p.c.). This form acts mainly as an independent pronoun and is quite rarely found in the subject or object series. The most frequent models are **i-se, swe** and **be-se** for stressed independent pronouns, and **-as** or **-ase** for possessive suffixes. The Bantu plurality prefix ***ba-** (noun class 2) as the part of the independent pronoun can be reliably reconstructed on the PB level: the independent pronoun ***bè-c(u)e** is found in zones A, C, D, F, and H. The front vowel of ***bè-** can be explained by **ba- + -ì-** (Hyman, p.c.).

The phonetic nature of PB ***c** is still unclear. It is worth noting that modern Bantu languages very rarely have **c** in these forms, most have a sibilant or, under further progress, a voiced velar fricative **h**. We here tend to suggest the PB ***c** was rather a sibilant not an affricate.

The languages using both ***tʊ-** and ***c(u)e** for different meanings are frequent in most Bantu zones and are found in the same phonetic surroundings, which makes them impossible to derive from the same PB root.

Guthrie reconstructs ***cúé** (1967-71, vol. 3: 116) and ***yi̱cú** as PB independent forms. Even if the vowel for PB cannot be reliably reconstructed as ***-u-**, based on the variety of reflections, it remains the most probable variant, preserved also in the independent stressed pronouns with a final **-e.** We therefore reconstruct the following PB forms:

(7)	***tʊ̀-**	subject prefix
	***àc(u)e**	non-subject pronoun
	***(bè-)c(u)e / ic(u)e**	stressed pronoun

There are no other forms of the 1st person plural personal markers which are widespread enough to be projected to the PB level.

2nd person plural

In the 2nd person plural markers, the two variants are most widespread: namely, those with a labial consonant followed by a back vowel, and those with **n-** plus a back vowel.

The former are witnessed as subject/object affixes **bu-/bo-** (zones B, C, D, R), **bi-** (zone A), **mu-/mo-** (zones D-K, M-S). The fluctuation of vowels points at the PB ***ʊ**. As for the consonant, we tend to agree with earlier assumptions that it was ***m**.

The usage of the form ***mʊ-** is limited to subject and object prefixes, it can be rarely found in the stressed pronouns with their characteristic final ***-e**, i.e. forming ***mʊ-e > mwe** (Guthrie 1967-71, vol. 4: 17). Much more evidence backs the hypothesis that the possessive and stressed pronouns for PB were based on ***nu**. This is witnessed by forms like **nu / no / nwe** which can be seen in almost all the groups of the family.

As everywhere in the paradigm, the stressed pronouns are realized in forms ***inu** (Guthrie's ***yi̱nú**) **/ *nu-e**, or with the class 2 (plurality) prefix as ***bè-nu(e)** and the possessive must have been ***-ànu(e)**. There is very scarce evidence for the presence of this root in subject and object series of Bantu personal markers, and when found this evidence must have analogical origins.

It is noteworthy to mention the recent research by Van der Velde & Van der Auwera (forthcoming), who tend to derive PB ***nu** from a composition of the conjunction ***ni** 'and, with' + 2sg. pronoun ***u**. This hypothesis, however, seems a bit weird from a typological point of view.

As the result, we may suggest the following reconstruction:

(8)	***mʊ-**	subject prefix
	***ànu(e)**	non-subject pronoun
	***(bè-)nu(e) / ìnu(e)**	stressed pronoun

There are two more marginal roots we can identify for the 2nd person plural markers:

***du- / *lu-** for the subject series (zones A, B, C, D, H, S) – this can be a phonetic shift of an earlier ***nu**, quite frequent in other Benue-Congo languages.

***βa** for the object series (zones D-G, J, M, P) – a dialectal form seen in the Eastern languages as **wa / ba**, originating from ***ba-** plural class prefix which is also used for marking the 3rd person plural. Again, the merger of the plural pronouns in not uncommon for Benue-Congo.

We have conducted an analysis of personal markers of the first two persons in the Bantu languages. One can easily track similarities in the structure of all the four syntactic positions considered above, to make some general conclusions.

First, we may suggest that though four series of person markers can be reconstructed for PB, they were based mostly on two roots in each person/number form. The first root is reflected in the present-day subject prefixes and, to a lesser extent, in the object markers. The second root formes possessive pronouns or suffixes and stressed pronouns.

As we discussed earlier, such a distinction is best explained by postulating the two series of pronouns for the pre-PB chronological level: for denoting the subject and the non-subject (i.e. object or possession). It looks as these two pronouns differed syntactically at the time of PB or pre-Bantu: the subject marker was bound to the verb form, and the non-subject pronoun was independent. The direct object marking was either made occasionally or was not made at all. The emphatic function was expressed with the help of the non-subject pronoun which acquired the initial prefixed ***i-.** Typologically it is a common feature when independent pronouns with an emphatic meaning are morphologically based not on the older subject markers, but on non-subject forms. It should be suggested that the original meaning of the non-subject pronoun in PB can be called ‘oblique’.

The object marking is still an optional feature in Bantu, it is absent in a number of languages. Where it is used, it is overwhelmingly formed from the same marker as the subject form, or (in the 1st person singular) the non-subject form. In general, it seems that the syntactic domain of the present-day Bantu object markers lies somewhere in the middle between the two extremes – the subject and the non-subject – and both PB roots have been struggling for filling this field. A conclusion which can be made is that the present-day object series is an innovation, a feature which spread over the Bantu region after the proto-language was dissolved.

The object domain is really the most clumsy field in the whole system of person marking. The ‘subject – non-subject’ dual structure we just suggested is not supported by the 2nd person singular forms, where we clearly see the PB ***-kʊ-** as the object marker. It seems to be so widespread that cannot be treated as a dialectal innovation, but it is so strictly adjusted to the object series that we can hardly meet it in the other three sets of personal markers in the modern Bantu languages. The ***-kʊ-** form should be an innovation for the object series, introduced in order to distinguish subject and

object for the most important type of discourse: an address of the 1st person to the 2nd person. If we suggest right saying that the possessive pronouns used to denote a general oblique or objective meaning, then later, as their meaning shifted to possessive, a new oblique marker appeared to be necessary, especially for the 2nd person. This is how ***-kʊ-** may have appeared, and this took place already in the PB period.

The origin of ***-kʊ-** could be an external borrowing or rather a PB internal innovation made for more distinct differentiation between the subject and the object in the 2nd person singular.

Therefore, the PB pronominal system reconstructed on the basis of internal analysis, looks the following:

Table 1.6

	1sg.	*2sg.*	*1pl.*	*2pl.*
subject	***ŋi-**	***ù-**	***tù-**	***mʊ-**
object		***-kʊ-**		
possessive	***(à)me**	***(à)we**	***(à)cue**	***(à)nue**
independent	***(ì)me**	***(ì)we**	***icue / *(bè-)cue**	***inue / *(bè-)nue**

To summarize the evidence leading to this reconstruction, let's once again emphasise the strongest points:

1. Of the (generally) four series of the personal markers in the present-day Bantu languages, two pronoun roots can be reconstructed for PB. One of them was prefixed to the verb root and marked the subject, the other was independent and non-subject, i.e. marking the object and the possession. The object did not have a special series of pronouns, and the only (innovative) form which was designed specifically for the object in PB was the 2nd person singular suffixed form.
2. No phonetic environment can prove a common origin of both roots, as some authors supposed; they were clearly different in PB.
3. Possessive markers and stressed (emphatic) pronouns typologically descend from the single pronoun form with the general non-subject meaning.
4. The narrow vowel in ***bè-** versus a commonly known plurality prefix ***ba-** can be explained by an earlier contamination ***ba-ìnue** > ***be-nue** (Hyman, p.c.).

The paradigm we reconstruct as based on the opposition of two original sets is only partly supported by previous reconstructions, as seen in the charts above. Meeussen (1967) accepts this dualism for both plural pronouns, and apparently finds all three roots for the 2nd person singular. Guthrie (1967-70) accepts numerous roots for the 2nd person singular, two roots for the 2nd person plural, and tends to unify all reflexes of the 1st person plural into one original root. By doing this, both researchers build a rather chaotic paradigm, with almost no correlation between the forms within it. We would like to stress that typologically the pronominal paradigm in any language of the world is not a mere collection of reconstructed lexemes, but a single mechanism of mutually dependent components, a system which acts and changes according to its internal laws. Let's look for instance at the paradigm of one of the present-day languages of Bantu (Babole C20) which seems to be rather close to the original PB situation:

Table 1.7

Person	*subject*	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed*
1sg.	**nì-**	**àmɛ́**	**àmɛ́**	**àmɛ́**
2sg.	**ò-**	**àwɛ́**	**àwɛ́**	**àwɛ́**
1pl.	**tò-**	**bísé**	**bísé**	**bísé**
2pl.	**bò-**	**bíné**	**bíné**	**bíné**

Here we see how the forms of all four rows act according to the same pattern. Two roots are used, one for the subject, the other for the rest of the meanings. Object, possessive and stressed series coincide with each other. The same prefix is used for the singular non-subject pronouns, and another one – for the plural non-subject forms. Finally, the tone structure is unified for all subject pronouns, and the same for non-subject ones. I.e., we see numerous systematic features for the whole paradigm which, if we lacked one or two of its members, would allow us to reconstruct them quite easily.

The pattern is certainly not so precise everywhere. However, we are able to track some paradigmatic system in all modern languages, and there is no grounds to think that a kind of system was lacked in the proto-language. Unfortunately, no earlier research can present us with a logically based system rather than a set of odd lexical reconstructs.

Since the PB period, the system we reconstruct has undergone a number of significant changes, leading to its present shape in the languages of the family. The most important was the filling of the object pronoun set by either the subject bound forms or by derivatives of the independent pronoun.

The analogical levelling of oppositions within the paradigm of personal markers has also been significant. In a number of languages, all the series of pronouns are based on the same root (Basaa **mɛ** 'I, me (subj., obj.)', **mɛn** 'I (stressed)'. In the four Pove forms **tò-** 'I (subj.)', **-tó-** 'me (obj.)', **-àtó** 'my (poss.)', **ìtó** 'I (stressed)' two first are dervied from ***tʊ-,** but the two last ones are analogically produced replacing ***àcu / *ìcu**. Sometimes, forms of the singular and the plural of the same person coincided – another common typological trait for the world languages (cf. Umbundu R **ku** 'you (sg./pl. obj.)'). Finally, the vowel unification has in some cases made all pronouns sound similar, so the original vocalism disappeared.

2. PROTO-BANTOID

The number of the Bantoid languages reaches 681, altogether with the Bantu family which makes up to 75% of this total figure[7]. They are spoken in Eastern Nigeria and in most areas of adjacent Cameroon. The closest neighbours of the Bantoid-speaking people are various other Benue-Congo language speakers to the West and North (mostly Cross River, Idomoid, and Jukunoid), Adamaua speakers to the North-East, and Bantu to the East and South.

The languages of the Bantoid stock have a much shorter linguistic tradition than the Bantu family. Though some of them were first noted and recorded in the early 19th century, it took a great while since then to come to the general issues of classification, comparative research and the definition of the place the Bantoid tongues should take within the NC macrofamily. Moreover, the data for the majority of Bantoid languages

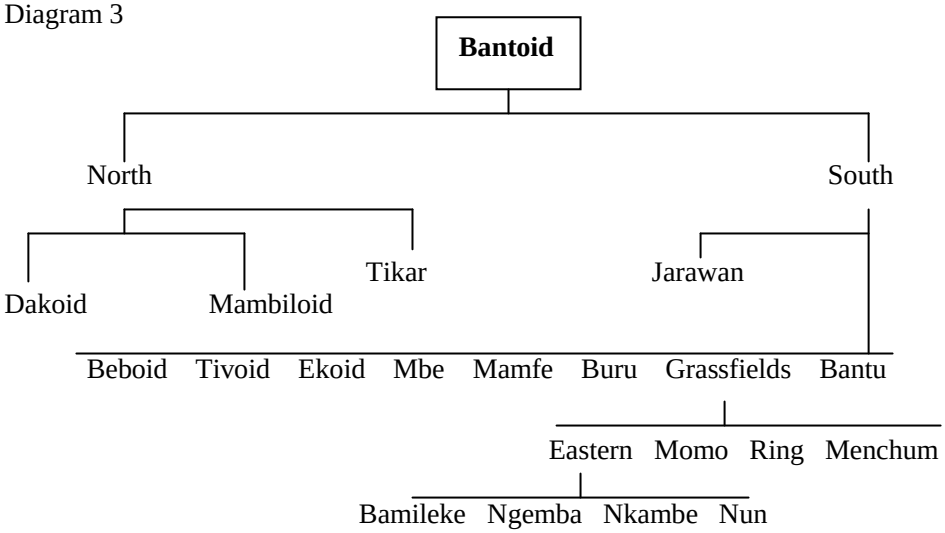
[7] In the present section, for the sake of logical sequence, we will use the term 'Bantoid' to denote all languages of this stock excluding the Bantu family unless specified.

has been slowly coming into the hands of scholars mostly in the previous two or three decades, and still many languages we only know by name. As a result, very scarce work in comparative morphology of the Bantoid languages exists.

The very term 'Bantoid', introduced by Krause (1895), was initially used to denote a number of languages of Nigeria and Cameroon which, although carrying some particular resemblances to Bantu, were genetically unrelated with the latter. Starting from Greenberg's (1963) work, where he first suggested that the Bantu languages were in fact a subbranch of the larger Bantoid family, the meaning of this name has changed accordingly. Greenberg's view is fully supported by today's mainstream African linguistics, and the only issue remains the internal structure of the family.

There have been numerous attempts to classify the Bantoid languages. Greenberg's six branches were revised by a number of subsequent amendments described well by Watters (1989: 404-413). The one which can be laid as a foundation for today's (more or less) consensus point of view was the classification chart proposed in (Williamson & Blench 2000) and only slightly challenged since then. We give this, slightly generalised, scheme in the diagram below.

Diagram 3



Alternative classifications vary in detail, but not in general. The precise boundary between South Bantoid and Bantu (or 'Narrow Bantu' or 'Bantu proper' how it is sometimes put), especially the languages of the Bantu zone A, geographically closest to the rest of the Bantoid stock, is still a matter of discussion. Some refer to Tikar as a South Bantoid language, but some consider its Bantu affiliation, as does Güldemann (2003: 184-186). In his recent works on North Bantoid (2006), Roger Blench tends to put Jarawan into the Bantu proper. Others suggested Grassfields and Ekoid to be parts of Bantu (Williamson 1971: 265). There are also some minor disputes about the internal classification of the Grassfields group, discussed in (Watters 2003).

From the other side, attempts were made to look at some Bantu tongues as actually non-Bantu Bantoid: Bennett & Sterk (1977) proposed to consider Mbam languages, earlier regarded as inclusive into Bantu A40 and A60 groups, as an independent subbranch of South Bantoid, and this was later supported by the authors of the 'Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun' (Dieu & Renaud 1983), and in some of the later classifications (Segerer 2008). There is a hypothesis of putting the Manenguba

languages of Bantu (group A15 in Guthrie's classification) as an independent sub-branch of Bantoid (Hedinger 1987), supported by Blench.

It looks as if more research is needed to draw a distinctive line between Bantu and other Bantoid stocks. But for that, one definitely needs more lexical and grammatical data, since the suggestions made so far were often based on typological similarities which, certainly, may testify both a genetic affiliation and a result of language contact and convergence.

The proximity between Bantu proper and its northwestern neighbours makes Bantoid languages a nice and reliable tool for an external comparison of the Bantu language material. So far, this advantage was underestimated by historical linguists. There is no specific Bantoid comparative grammar, and even the phonetic system of the Proto-Bantoid language is yet to be reconstructed. An amazing language diversity which is seen in the tiny Bantoid region comparing to the vast area occupied by Bantu is an obvious obstacle for a comparative research. General observations of the Bantoid languages are made in (Williamson 1971), (Watters 1989), (Hedinger 1989), (Watters & Leroy 1989), and the most recent description of the Grassfields languages is given in (Watters 2003). These works mostly consider the issues of subclassification and the lists of tongues, but briefly touch some comparative grammar issues as well. Most of the material, however, consists of wordlists and dictionaries which pay little attention to grammar or, more specifically, personal marking.

No phonetic reconstruction is available for Proto-Bantoid in the literature to date. Though a good Proto-Grassfields reconstruction is available in Elias & al. (1984), the study of the phonetic correspondences between all Bantoid tongues is still at its very early stage, one of the attempts being made by Roger Blench, whose comparative wordlists are referred to hereinafter as (Blench 2004). More detailed, though older, is the huge two-volume collection of wordlists by Williamson & Shimizu (vol. 1, 1968) and Williamson alone (vol. 2, 1973), containing basic lexicon from nearly 80 Bantoid languages.

The idea of projecting the reconstructed PB system (see the Bantu section above) to the upper Proto-Bantoid level is being opposed by some recent authors (Watters 1989: 414-415). A number of PB consonants seem to have double reflexes in both the Northwest Bantu tongues and their Bantoid neighbours, therefore pointing to a conclusion of a fortis/lenis opposition in some proto-language ancestral to Bantu, either Proto-Bantoid or even Proto-Volta-Congo (Stewart 1973). Hedinger (1987) and Watters (1989) both suggest in any case that the consonant inventory in Proto-Bantoid must have been richer than in proper Bantu. This might be true for the vocalic system as well, as Watters (1989: 415) presumes there was a nine-vowel structure for Proto-Bantoid, with two harmony sets, similar to some other more western languages of Benue-Congo. The majority of the Bantoid languages appear to have three basic tones, which are also usually reconstructed for PB.

As for the comparative morphology personal markers or personal pronouns, there is no analysis accessible by today. The pronouns of various particular languages are given in a number of synchronic description works, wordlists and dictionaries (partly unpublished) to be used in the present section. A great help is the 'West African Language Data Sheets' (Kropp Dakubu 1976-1980) containing basic morphological data on a number of Bantoid languages. Still, the number of Bantoid languages whose personal marking system has been thoroughly described to date, does not exceed fifty (out of more than 150) according to our estimations, which can only allow us to produce tentative conclusions of the data.

The general observation of the pronominal systems in the Bantoid languages demonstrate that the pronouns tend to be independent from the verb form, unlike in

Bantu. Where they are not, subject markers serve as prefixes to the verb root, and object ones as suffixes. However, in Jarawan two sets of objective pronouns either immediately follow subject markers (set 1), or a temporal affix is inserted between them (set 2). Possessive pronouns often serve as the indirect object ones. In most Bantoid tongues, there are fewer series of personal markers than in Bantu: subject and object pronouns are often identical, there is no special category of emphatic (stressed) pronouns, and languages where all the four basic meanings which are distinguished in Bantu are served by the same pronoun are not uncommon.

Independent possessive pronouns are usually formed by means of adding a class prefix, cf. in Bafut (Tamanji 2006):

(9) **fɨ-ŋkōbɨ̄ f-ā fy-ā**
19-statue 19-my 19-the
my statue, the statue of mine (the one we have been talking about)

In such a construction, possessive affixes often become highly flective and are hard to separate: e.g., in Esimbi the 2nd person singular possessive pronouns for various classes are **esi, ɔbə, ɔvu**, where the consonantal class prefix can be distinguished, but the vocalic personal element varies[8]. It is interesting to note that this model, which is common place in Bantoid, is derived from the following model:

(10) **V** (vowel assimilated by the following sound) – class prefix – possessive personal marker,

where the initial **V** is an originally independent association particle, otherwise called associative marker (AM), cognate to the Bantu ***à-** which precedes any attribute, nominal or pronominal. Compare the bound forms of Esimbi **ɛ-z-i** 'your' (sg., class 9) and Yemba **ée-j-u** id.; Esimbi **ɔ-bhə-mə** 'my' (class 2) and Yemba **ée-p-á** id., with the still free particle in Kenyang

(11) **ba-ŋwa á b-a**
2-cats AM 2-my
my cats (Ramirez 1998: 5)

which is structurally identical with a nominal construction like Oku **jɛ́m ə w-an** 'dream of a child' (Blood 1999: 6).

Another common feature of the Bantoid pronouns is the wide use of compound forms for augmented person marking. By merging two simplex pronouns, many Bantoid languages construct new pronouns for dual, inclusive and other extended meanings. These compounds sometimes make the pronominal system amazingly rich: Wiesemann (1986: viii) claims that Ghomala, a Grassfields language, has the most complex personal pronoun system, with as many as 18 forms for all the three persons. These are all Bantoid areal innovations as we see in Yemba inclusive and dual forms: **pèk + ò > pòkó** 'we two', **pèk + pɛ > ḿpɛ̀** 'we and you' (Harro & Haynes 1991: 18-19), with the same clichés in the neighbouring Grassfields and Beboid languages (Cysouw 2003: 171-181).

Overall, we can say that the diversity among the forms and the paradigms within Bantoid is far greater than in Bantu, which is understandable from a chronological standpoint, since Bantoid is a much older family.

[8] Hereinafter, Esimbi forms from (Coleman, unpublished).

In the charts below, we will demonstrate pronominal forms from a chosen set of Bantoid languages of different subbranches.

1st person singular

Table 2.1

	subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / emph*
Samba-Daka (N, Dakoid)[9]	**m̀**	**m̀**	**mèè**	**nòk**
Dong (N, Dakoid)[10]	**bɔŋ**			
Mambila (N, Mambiloid)[11]	**mè**	**me**	**mo**	**me**
Vute (N, Mambiloid, Suga-Vute)[12]	**mɨ**	**mɨ**	**moò**	**mɨ**
Tikar (N)[13]	**mɔ̀**	**mɔ́, mùn**	**yɛ̃́ / yɛ̀m / bɛ̂m**	**mɔ**
Tiv (S, Tivoid)[14]	**ḿ, m̀, mé**	**-ḿ-, mó**	**-am, -ágh, -áv**	**mó**
Mesaka (S, Tivoid)[15]	**m-**	**mɨ**		**mɨ**
Esimbi (S, Tivoid?)	**me-, má-**	**imi**	**-mi, -mə, -mu**	**imi**
Naki (S, Beboid)[16]	**mí**	**mīì**		
Noni (S, Beboid)[17]	**me, N-**		**-em**	
Mbe (S)[18]	**ǹ-**	**-â, -mî / -mĭ**	**-mî**	
Kenyang (S, Mamfe)[19]	**mɛ, n- / ɲ-**	**mɛ**	**-a**	**m̀mɛ̀**
Limbum (S, Grassfields, Nkambe)[20]	**mɛ̀**	**mɛ̀**	**yá-, wá-, lá-, má-**[21]	**mɛ̀**
Bamum (S, Grassfields, Nun)[22]	**mə**	**mə, -a**	sg. **-a** (tone)	
Yemba (S, Grassfields, Bamileke)[23]	**mèŋ, N**	**mèŋ, -a**	**-a**	
Bamileke (S,	**mɛ́**	**-am, mɛ̀**	**-àm**	**mɛ̀**

[9] (Boyd 1994)
[10] (Blench 2006a)
[11] (Perrin 1980 [1973])
[12] (Thwing 1987)
[13] (Westermann & Bryan 1952: 120), (Hagege 1969), (Stanley 1991)
[14] (Arnott 1980 [1968])
[15] (Cassetta & Cassetta 1994)
[16] (Good 2005: 8-10)
[17] (Lux 2003)
[18] (Pohlig 1981)
[19] (Mbuagbaw 1998), (Ramirez 1998)
[20] (Fiore & Peck 1980 [1973])
[21] Limbum possessive prefixes are allophones, depending on the following sound.
[22] (Ward 1938), (Hombert 1980)
[23] (Harro & Haynes 1991)

	subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / emph*
Grassfields, Bamileke)[24]				
Mundani (S, Grassfields, Momo)[25]	**ma, má, n-, ǹ-**	**-(a)m**	**-(a)m, -á**	**m̀mɔ̂**
Meta (S, Grassfields, Momo)[26]	**mə**	**ɛ́mʊ́**		
Aghem (S, Grassfields, Ring W)[27]	**N, mà**	**mùɔ́**		
Lamnso' (S, Grassfields, Ring E)[28]	**m̀̃, mô:**	**mō**	**-m**	**m̀̃, mô:**
Kom (S, Grassfields, Ring C)[29]	**mà, mɨ**	**mà**	**-m, ma**	
Jarawa (S, Jarawan)[30]	**mì, mĭ** (past)	**tí** (set 1), **ní** (set 2)	**-mi, -i** (after nasals, **b, k, s**), **ànáàn / ìnáàn** (arch)	**mì**
Bwazza (S, Jarawan)[31]	**mî**			
Mbula (S, Jarawan)	**mîîm**			**mîîm**
Kulung (S, Jarawan)	**minám**			**mminám**
Duguri (S, Jarawan)	**mî**			

The following observations can be made out of the given chart.

The subject pronoun is based on ***me.** Forms in **n-**, the dental sonant, are witnessed in Grassfields and Mamfe languages, as well as in Jarawa archaic possessive pronouns. Their syntax is clear: they are used exclusively as bound subject prefixes, while forms in **mV** are often independent pronouns in the same languages used together with the prefixed markers, e.g. in Mundani (Parker 1991) or Kenyang (Ramirez 1998). In Ngomba, where subject pronouns are free, their articulation depends on the initial phoneme of the following word: **n** is used before dentals, **ŋ** before velars or a pause, and **mɔ** before nasals and labials (Satre 2004).

The possessive pronouns either have the independent form ***mV** where the vowel may sometimes differ from that of the subject form, or ***-àm** in case they are suffixed. In the former case, it is the nominal system that sometimes dictates the vocalism: e.g., in Vute, the additional lengthening or a vocalic syllable is added to possessive pronouns just like to any noun in associative form (Thwing 1987: 65). Suffixed possessive markers add the association particle ***-à-** which was already mentioned above, and have reduced their final vowel. The resulted ***-àm** was reduced to **-a** in

[24] (Voorhoeve 1980 [1972])
[25] (Parker & Durrant 1990), (Parker 1991)
[26] (Westermann & Bryan 1952: 127), (Spreda 1995)
[27] (Hyman 1979), (Butler 2008)
[28] (Grebe & Grebe 1980 [1973])
[29] (Schulz 1997), (Jones 2001)
[30] (Lukas & Willms 1961)
[31] All Bwazza, Mbula, Kulung and Duguri forms hereinafter are from (Blench 2006)

those languages (like Kenyang, Limbum, Bamum) where the final ***-m** was dropped everywhere:

(12) Tiv **ì-nyàm̀** ‘animal’**,** Bamileke **nàm**, Lamnso’ **-ɲám,** Kom **-ɲám̀**,
but Kenyang **-ɲà**;
Bamileke **bɔ̀m̀** ‘belly’, Lamnso’ **-bvə́m̀**, but Limbum **-bə**;
Tiv **í-šímá** ‘heart’**,** Bamileke **túm**, Kom **ì-tɛ́m,** but Kenyang **ɲ-tə́**;
Tiv **nɔm-bor** ‘tongue’, Bamileke **lém**, Lamnso’ **-lám,** Kom **lɛ́mí**,
but Limbum **lé,** Kenyang **-rə́**; etc. (Williamson & Shimizu [1968];
Williamson [1973]; Fiore & Peck [1980]).

Since in the majority of Bantoid languages subject pronouns are morphologically independent, the domain of stressed pronouns in the rightmost column of the chart above remains to mark emphasis. A possible morphological means for this is reduplication seen in Kenyang and Mundani. In Bantu, as we remember, it is also a very widespread construction. In many Bantoid languages, however, stressed pronouns are not used as a special series and are identical to the subject pronouns.

The object markers in Bantoid are used everywhere, but do not constitute a specific set: they are identical to either the possessive forms, or the subject forms, as is clearly seen in the chart above. The object series is seen here as an innovation, just like in Bantu proper.

To summarize, here are the forms of Proto-Bantoid 1st person markers:

(13) ***n-** subject (prefixed)
***me** non-subject (object, stressed, possessive)
***-àm** possessive

In the *2nd person singular*, we observe the following forms:

Table 2.2

	subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / emphatic*
Samba-Daka	**ñ, ā**	**à**	**wɛ̀ɛ̀**	**wīī**
Dong	**nɔŋ**			
Mambila	**wɔ**	**wɔ**	**ci**	**wɔ**
Vute	**wu**	**wu**	**woò**	**wu**
Tikar	**wǔ / ù**	**wù**	**yù / bû / sû**	**wù / ù**
Tiv	**wéa, ú, wé**	**ú, wé**	**-ou**	**wé**
Mesaka	**ì-**	**yɛ̀**		**yɛ̀**
Esimbi	**wo-**		**-**	**uvu, vu**
Naki	**wá**	**wə̄**		
Noni	**wo**		**wo, -uw**	
Mbe	**ò-**	**-wê / -wě**	**-wê**	
Kenyang	**ǒ-, ɔ́-**	**wɔ**	**-ɛ**	**wɔ**
Limbum	**wɛ̀, à**	**wɛ̀, à**	**yɔ́-, wɔ́-, lɔ́-, mɔ́-**	**wɛ̀, à**
Bamum	**o**	**-o**	**-u** (tone)	
Yemba	**ò, wù**	**wù**	**-u**	

Bamileke	**ó**	**ó, wɨ**	**ó, ò, -ò**	**wɨ**
Mundani	**à**	**wɛ̀**	**-ɛ̀**	**àwɔ̀**
Meta	**à**	**ɛwɛ̀**		
Aghem	**wò**	**wò`**		
Lamnso'	**ā, wô:**	**wò**		**ā, wô:**
Kom	**wà**	**và**	**-wà, va**	
Jarawa	**wán**	**tá** (set 1), **ká** (set 2)	**-wan, -an** (after nasals, s), **ìfɔ̀ɔ́n** (arch.)	**wán**
Bwazza	**wêì**			
Mbula	**wé**			
Kulung	**yóó**			
Duguri	**wû**			

The common models for the subject pronoun here are ***o, *u** and ***wo/we**. Both seem to correspond phonetically with the Bantu forms, which are reconstructed above as ***ʊ-** (prefixed subject marker) and ***V-we** (non-subject pronoun). There is a clear distinction in Bantoid between forms in **o** and in **u / wu / we** which cannot be traced back to the same proto-language root. More logical would be to suggest that in Proto-Bantoid there were two pronouns, one of them ***o-** (Bantu ***ʊ-,** the prefixed subject form), the other one ***wo/we** (the non-subject independent form).

Some Bantoid forms with both **o** and **a/ā** can be cognate to PB ***ʊ̀-**, according to the lexical correspondences indicated in (Blench 2004). The possessive suffix, where it is different from the subject pronoun, is ***-u** or ***-uw**, which is a reduced subject form with a homorganic associative particle in the front.

We can reconstruct Proto-Bantoid forms for the 2nd person singular pronouns:

(14) ***ò-** subject (prefixed)
***(à)wo / *we** non-subject
***-u(w)** possessive

1st person plural:

Table 2.3

	subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / emphatic*
Samba-Daka	**á**	**á**	**wǫ̀ǫ̀**	**wóó**
Dong	**vɛrɛ**			
Mambila	**bele** (dual) **vu** (incl.) **bel** (excl.)	**bele** (dual) **vu** (incl.) **bel** (excl.)	**bele** (dual) **vu** (incl.)	**bele** (dual) **vu** (incl.) **bel** (excl.)
Vute	**nɨ́m**	**nɨ́m**	**nɨ́mè**	**nɨ́m**
Tikar	**bu / bwí**	**bu / bwí**	**yɛ̀ / bɛ́ / sɛ́**	**bwí**
Tiv	**sé(a)**	**se**	**-sé-**	**sé**
Mesaka	**ì-**	**bɨ̀hɨ̀**		**bɨ̀hɨ̀**
Esimbi	**si-**	**(ə)bhəsə**		**(ə)bhəsə**
Naki	**ka̋**	**sì**		
Noni	**bese**	**beene** (incl.)	**-sese**	
Mbe	**é-**	**-(è)yě**	**-(è)yě**	

	subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / emphatic*
Kenyang	**sɛ-**	**bɛ̀sɛ́**	**-ɛsɛ́**	**bɛ̀sɛ́**
Limbum	**sɔ̀** (dual) **sèè** (incl.) **wèr** (excl.)	**sɔ̀** (dual) **sèè** (incl.) **wèr** (excl.)	**sɔ̀-** (dual) **sèè-** (incl.) **wér-, yér-, lér-, mér-** (excl.)	**sɔ̀** (dual) **sèè** (incl.) **wèr** (excl.)
Bamum	**pö, poə**		**-útə̀** (incl.), **-ǔ** (excl.) (tone)	
Yemba	**pòkó** (dual) **ḿpɛ̀** (incl.) **pèk** (excl.)	**wukɔ** (dual) **yímpɛ** (incl.) **wek** (excl.)	**-ek**	
Bamileke	**bɛ́** (incl.) **bàág** (excl.)	**jág, jágɛ́ /** **bàg, bàgɛ́**	**-ág**	
Mundani	**pá**	**wá**	**-á**	**bàá**
Meta	**tɨ̀**	**ɛ́wá**		
Aghem	**á, `sɛ̀'** (incl.) **ghàʔ'** (excl.)	**á, `sɛ̀'** (incl.) **ghàʔ'** (excl.)		
Lamnso'	**wòsò** (dual) **vèsə̄n** (incl.) **vèr** (excl.)	**wòsò** (dual) **vèsə̄n** (incl.) **vèr** (excl.)	sg. **kɛso,** pl. **vɛso** (dual) sg. **kesən**, pl. **vesən** (incl.) sg. **ker**, pl. **ver** (excl.)	**wòsò** (dual) **vèsə̄n** (incl.) **vèr** (excl.)
Kom	**ghesɨnà**[32] (incl.) **ghès** (excl.)	**ghesɨnà** (incl.)	**-s** (incl.) **ghesɨ** (excl.)	
Jarawa	**yír...-ír**	**tí...-(y)ir** (set 1), **ní...-(y)ir** (set 2)	**-ir**	**yír**
Bwazza	**sím**			
Mbula	**səm**			
Kulung	**súm**			
Duguri	**sú**			

The ***ba-*** prefix in both plural pronouns is a clear marker of noun class 2 (plural), common for both Bantu and Bantoid languages. Its initial corresponding sounds include **p-** in Yemba and Ngomba, and **v-/w-** in Lamnso' and Limbum. However, while in Bantu it is used mostly in emphatic (stressed) pronouns, in other Bantoid branches it acts in the subject forms too, again for the simple reason that the independent subject pronouns have replaced prefixes in the majority of the Bantoid languages we looked through. In Ring languages, another class 2 concord prefix ***gh-*** is used with the same function for both plural pronouns.

[32] Forms like this in Kom are often, more correctly, called 'emphatic possessives' (Blood 1999: 11).

The common root for the 1st person plural marker is ***se**. The Mesaka object/emphatic **bɨhɨ** goes back to ***bese** which is found in close Esimbi. Jarawan languages show ***su-** where the vocalism is close to Proto-Bantu ***cu-e**. However, other Bantoid groups do not seem to have this ***-u-**, apart from probably forms in **w- / v-** (Samba-Daka, Mambila), which could have undergone ***cw-** > ***w-**.

The Vute pronoun **nɨ́m** is an innovation constructed analogically according to the 2nd person plural sample and using the 1st person singular **-m**.

The vocalic subject marker **ì-** in Mesaka is the plurality marker used in all the three persons of the plural, and besides for the 3rd person singular (**ì-sɔ́hɔ́ ì-gbî vá** 'animals didn't come') (Cassetta & Cassetta 1994: 6). The use of independent pronouns in the verbal phrase is obligatory. Note that the Aghem inclusive form **á**, as was noticed long ago, corresponds with the class 2 (plural) marker **á-** (Hyman 1979), so vocalic prefixes of the plural met here and there in Bantoid seem to be non-personal by origin.

The clusivity (and duality) feature in the pronominal system of a number of Bantoid languages is a clear innovation, mostly originating its forms from the nominal domain. The Aghem form in the previous paragraph is a good example; in some other languages inclusive forms are compound by origin (e.g. Bamileke **bɛ́**), the phenomenon we discussed above, cf. Oku possessive suffixes **-ɛs** (1pl. exclusive), **-ɛso** (1st dual), **-ɛsen** (1pl. inclusive) (Blood 1999: 8).

In the Grassfields languages, the distinction is made between ***(be-)se** (as inclusive) which is derived from ***(bè)-ce,** and ***be-r-** (as exclusive). It is possible to link the exclusive form in ***-r-** in some Grassfields languages (and its cognates **bele** in Mambiloid and **vɛrɛ** in Dakoid) with **l-**forms of the 1st person plural we can find in Bantu languages of zones A-C. There, forms like Mbonge A **ló-**, Su A **li-,** Mbede B and Akwa C **le-** are used to mark the subject and, as we stated above in the Bantu section, are descending from the PB subject marker ***tʊ-** (Guthrie 1967-71, vol. 1: 72), which is otherwise completely absent from Bantoid tongues outside Bantu. The cognate forms are also seen in Basaa A **di** and Akoose A **dè**. The last case is most interesting: in Akoose **dè** means 'we exclusive' while **sê** is 'we inclusive' (Nurse 2007), so the inventory is the same as in Grassfields but the meanings are the opposite. This seems a clear proof that a) there were two 1st person plural pronouns in Proto-Bantoid, and b) Proto-Bantoid did not have clusivity.

Outside pronouns, there are probably more correspondences between Bantu and North Bantoid to verify this idea: cf. PB ***yʊ́tʊ**, Mambiloid (Kabri) **yeli,** Tivoid (Tiv) **íyól** 'body' etc. (Blench 2004: 105). The 'rhotacism' of **-t-** between vowels is frequent all around the Bantoid area (as well as beyond, in NC): cf. Bamum **nšot** 'mouth' – **nšor-a** 'my mouth' (Ward 1938: 433).

The Bamileke 1st person plural pronouns with a final **-k** (***be-k**) is the descendant of the same ***c** (Hyman, p.c.) as the Northern and West Grassfields **-s-,** seen elsewhere in Bamileke in a final position.

The reconstructions we can make are the following:

(15) ***(bè-)ce / *cue** subject / non-subject (inclusive):
***(be-)r** subject / non-subject (exclusive, Grassfields):

2nd person plural:

Table 2.4

	subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / emphatic*
Samba-Daka	**í**	**bú**	**bè̩è̩**	**vú, vōón**
Dong	**mɛrɛ**			
Mambila	**bene** (dual) **ben** (pl.)	**bene** (dual) **ben** (pl)	**bene**	**bene** (dual) **ben** (pl.)
Vute	**nyí**	**nyí**	**nyínè**	**nyí**
Tikar	**bí**	**bí**	**ì / bí / sí**	**bí**
Tiv	**né, néa**	**ne**	**-en, -éne-**	**né**
Mesaka	**ì-**	**bɛ̀n**		**bɛ̀n**
Esimbi		**(ə)bhənə**		**(ə)bhənə**
Naki	**bá**	**bə̄**		
Noni	**ben, yo**		**-ne(n), yo**	
Mbe	**é- .. -lî / -kì**	**-(è)nŏ**	**-(è)nŏ**	
Kenyang	**bă**	**bɛ̀kâ**	**-ɛkâ**	**bɛ̀kâ**
Limbum	**wèè**	**wèè**	**yéé-, wéé-, léé-, méé-**	**wèè**
Bamum			**-ǹn** (tone)	
Yemba	**pɛ**	**wɛ**	**-ɛ**	
Bamileke	**bí**	**jín / jínɛ́, bìn / bìnɛ́**	**-ín, -nɛ́**	
Mundani	**bɨ̀**	**wí**	**-í**	**bìá**
Meta	**mbú**	**áwú**		
Aghem	**ghɛ̀'**	**ghɛ̀'**		
Lamnso'	**vɛ̀n**	**vɛ̄n**	sg. **ken,** pl. **ven**	
Kom	**yì, zɨ̀**	**zɨ̀**	**zɨ̂, ghi**	
Jarawa	**yín...-ín**	**tá...-(y)in** (set 1), **ká...-(y)in** (set 2)	**-in**	**yín**
Bwazza	**wún**			

In the second person plural, there seems to be a mixture of various roots, but the reconstruction is easy. An obvious one is ***(be-)ne** which is seen in both main branches of the Bantoid stock. It is present in all the series and has reliable cognates in the stressed pronouns of the Bantu languages (Koonzime A **bɪn**, Babole C **bíné,** Sukuma F **βiŋwé**, Vili H **bènò**, etc.). Proto-Jarawan ***wún** (in Bwazza, Mbula, Kulung, Duguri etc.) suggests a different vocalism which may fit the Proto-Bantu ***be-nue** with a dissimilation of the vowel after the drop of the pre-final **-u-**.

Forms without the **-n-** are seen in those Bantoid languages where the nasal was dropped in the final position or intervocally, which is a common feature in Bamileke languages (cf. 'five': Williamson 1973: 426). These forms have correspondences in Bantu Northwestern zone A: cf. Basaa A **bee** 'you pl. (obj.)', Makaa A **bí**. Other of them, like in Naki, are mere pluralisations of the 2nd person singular with a plural affix: Naki **wá / wə̄** 'you sg.' – **bá / bə̄** 'you pl.' This is a frequent case in other Benue-Congo languages (cf. Cross River).

Mbe has also generalised **é-** for two plural persons, and the **-lî / -kì** suffix following the verb root in the 2nd person plural represents a continuous or occasional action respectively (Pohlig 1981: 13).

We can therefore reconstruct for Proto-Bantoid only one form:

(16) ***(bè-)ne / *nue** subject / non-subject

There is no evidence allowing us to distinguish between the two series of pronouns in the plural.

Let's now compare the Bantu system suggested earlier in this work with the Bantoid one we just proposed.

Table 2.5

	Bantu		*Other Bantoid*	
	subject	*non-subject*	*subject*	*non-subject*
1sg.	***ɲi-**	***(à)me**	***me, *n-**	***àm(e)**
2sg.	***ù-**	***(à)we**	***o**	***we**
1pl.	***tù-**	***(à)cue**	***(bè-)c(u)e**	***(bè-)c(u)e**
2pl.	***mʊ-**	***(à)nue**	***(bè-)n(u)e**	***(bè-)n(u)e**

Despite striking similarities, here are the major differences we see between the two systems in the chart.

In Bantu, there is a very clear distinction between the two series of personal markers. It lies in both syntax and meaning: a 'subject' series pronoun is overwhelmingly used as a bound form prefixed to the verb root, while the 'non-subject' series is independent in the sentence. In other Bantoid languages, where personal pronouns are mostly free, this distinction is seen only when relic prefixes are preserved. On the other hand, Bantu subject prefix roots are almost fully absent from other Bantoid tongues.

An obvious conclusion from these two facts would be to suggest that the Bantu subject series of pronouns was nearly lost in other Bantoid languages (more progressive from the morphological standpoint), replaced by the independent pronouns which acquired the function of the verb subject. The Bantu subject set might have been a chronologically earlier layer of personal markers than the non-subject set which gradually replaced the former in most Bantoid languages. Some of them who preserved prefixation together with the independent subject marking (like Mundani) still have traces of the old 'subject' series.

To highlight the difference between the two series, an interesting example can be considered from Nomaande, from Bantu A40 group. This group is often considered as belonging to 'Wide Bantu' rather than to Bantu proper, i.e. standing closer to other South Bantoid stocks. Indeed, its pronominal system is a mixture of Bantu and South Bantoid elements. In Nomaande, one verbal phrase uses two subject markers, according to the scheme below:

(17) Pronoun 1 – (Tense/Aspect) – (Pronoun 2) – Verb Root,

where Pronoun 2 is used optionally, probably for an emphatic purpose. It might be seen that Pronoun 1 corresponds with the Bantu prefixed subject markers, while Pronoun 2 – with the Bantu stressed (emphatic) pronouns (two allophones of each reflect the vowel harmony):

Table 2.6

	Pronoun 1	*Pronoun 2*
1sg.	**i / ɛ**	**mi / mɛ**
2sg.	**o / ɔ**	**o / ɔ**
1pl.	**tu / tɔ**	**su / sɔ**
2pl.	**nu / nɔ**	**nu / nɔ**

Both object and possessive pronouns of Nomaande are cognate with Pronoun 2 series and are clearly derived from them (**mi / mɛ** 'me', **-amɛ** 'my') (Taylor 1999). Thus, we can witness the process of how the two systems may co-exist together in one language. This transitional stage might have existed at some chronological point in Proto-Bantoid, but then the PB chose the prefixed form to mark the subject, while other Bantoid stocks generalised the syntactically independent pronouns.

PB did not have a distinction between exclusivity and inclusivity. As for Proto-Bantoid, we can confirm the same: though the majority of its sub-branches do show this differentiation in some of their languages, it seems to have been developed innovatively.

The reconstructed Proto-Bantoid (Bantu included) pronominal paradigm can be viewed in the chart below:

Table 2.7

	prefixed (subject)	*independent (non-subject)*
1sg.	***ɲi-**	***(à)me**
2sg.	***ù-**	***(à)we**
1pl.	***tù-**	***(bè-)c(u)e**
2pl.	***mʊ-**	***(bè-)n(u)e**

After the dissolution of the Proto-Bantoid community, the following processes appear to have taken place in PB:

1. Prefixed personal markers became the basic means of marking subject in the sentence, while the independent pronouns, which earlier denoted object, gained the emphatic meaning and were attached to the nouns to form the possessive markers.
2. The new object markers appeared as suffixed forms inserted into the verbal form between the subject marker and the verb root (or, in other cases, after the root). These new markers were usually the same as the subject markers, though could also be borrowed from the independent pronouns.
3. Among the new object markers, ***-kʊ-** was an internal Bantu innovation (or a borrowing from some indigenous language).

The other Bantoid stocks, being apparently more progressive (as it is often the case with the highly diverse languages of the 'homeland' region) have undergone different changes:

1. The prefixed series went virtually extinct, and subsequently the person is marked by the independent pronouns, which formerly denoted the 'non-subject'. Some remnants of the old bound set of markers are seen in the prefixes of the 1-2 persons singular, which are still in use in a number of languages. In quite a few tongues, they are used together with the independent pronouns: Kenyang **mɛ n-dɔ́ŋ-ɔ́** 'I went' (Ramirez 1998: 13), cf. also the Nomaande example above. Noni has got a **N-** prefix attached to every verb in a serialisation chain.
2. In most languages, there remained two series of personal pronouns. Emphatic forms are usually built by reduplication of the non-subject pronoun, and object forms are often made different from the subject by tonal variation, because of their position in the verb form or the phrase.
3. Most of Grassfields languages, as well as some other Bantoid dialects, developed a complicated system of compound pronouns to mark clusivity, duality and augmented pronoun forms. Most of them, as we noted earlier, were constructed by merging two or three simplex pronouns together. This areal trait affected Bantu as well, e.g. Northwestern zone A languages such as Makaa (Heath 2003) and Basaa (Hyman, p.c.).
4. Some innovations appeared, including new pronominal roots which are yet to be explained by historical analysis. All of them are subgroup innovations which cannot be traced back to the Proto-Bantoid level.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

excl. exclusive
incl. inclusive
p.c. personal communication
PB Proto-Bantu
PBC Proto-Benue-Congo
pl. plural
sg. singular

APPENDIX

Bantu Personal Markers

1st person singular

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
1.	Oroko A11e	**Ǹ-, nà-**	**-ǹ-**		**mba**
2.	Akoose A15	**mè / N**			
3.	Manenguba A15	***m̀-**		***-èm**	
4.	Mokpwe A22	**nà**			
5.	Duala A24	**na**			
6.	Benga A34	**mbi-**			
7.	Basaa A43	**mɛ**	**mɛ**		**mɛn**
8.	Nen A44	**mɛ**			
9.	Kpa A53	**ma / N**	**mV̀**	**-èm**	**mV̀**

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
10.	Bafia A53	**mV̀, ǹ-**	**mV̀**	**-èm**	**mV̀**
11.	Nugunu A62	**N-**			
12.	Ewondo A72a	**mə**			
13.	Bulu A74	**m, me**			
14.	Makaa A83	**mə̀**	**mə̀**	**-ám**	
15.	Konzime A84	**me**	**me, men** (emph)	**-âm**	**mɛm**
16.	Kwakum A91	**ɲi**	**-ɛ̀ɛ̀, ɲì**	**gwáámbɔ̀**	**ɲì**
17.	Kako A93	**mi / N-**			
18.	Mpongwee (Myene) B11a	**mi / my**			
19.	Kota B25	**m(a)-**			
20.	Viya B301	**mè-**		**-àmɛ́**	**mɛ́(ní)**
21.	Himba B302	**ma / mɛ / me**			
22.	Tsogo B31	**nà-**	**-má-**	**-àmí**	**mɛ́**
23.	Pinji B33	**na**		**-ayi**	**ímɛ̀**
24.	Punu B43	**nyi**			
25.	Pove (Vove) B34	**nà**	**-ní-**	**-àmɛ́**	**mɛ́(ní)**
26.	Nzebi B52	**mɛ**			
27.	Ndumu B63	**n**			
28.	Iyaa B73c	**n- / ni-**			
29.	Boma B82	**n- / na-** (with obj)			
30.	Keyanzi B85	**mɛ**			
31.	Leke C14	**i-** (pos), ´ (neg)	**N-**		
32.	Babole C20	**nì- / ĩ- / n-**	**àmɛ́**	**àmɛ́**	**àmɛ́**
33.	Mboshi C25	**í-**	**ngá**		**ngá**
34.	Bobangi C32	**na-**			
35.	Lingala C36	**na-**			**ngáí**
36.	Lingombe C41	**na-**			
37.	Doko C50	**nà-**	**-mbi-**		**mbí**
38.	Kele C55	**ne- / i-**	**-i-**	**-hă**	**eme**
39.	Mongo C61	**n- / njV-**			
40.	Nkengo C61	**ny-**	**-ny-**	**-námí**	**emi**
41.	Kela C75	**n- / nd- / ndo-**			
42.	Bushoong C83	**la-**		**ɛ́ɛm**	**mmiim**
43.	Lengola D12	**ni- / e-**	**-i-**	**-ami**	**emi**
44.	Mituku D13	**ni- / ne-**	**-n-**	**-ani**	**nŏ**
45.	Enya D14	**n-**			
46.	Kumu D23	**nɪ-**			

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
47.	Lega D25	**ni-**	**-ɪnne-**	**-áné**	**nne**
48.	Holoholo D28	**n-**	**-ǹ-**	**-ané**	**nne**
49.	Bila D30	**m(i)-**		**-mɔ, -mi**	**imɛ**
50.	Nyali D33	**mu-**			
51.	Nande D42	**nyi-**			
52.	Nyanga D43		**-n-**		
53.	Ruri E253	**(e)ni-**			
54.	Chagga E30			**-akwa**	
55.	Gusii E42	**ne- / n- / nyi-**			
56.	Kuria E43	**ni- / n-**			
57.	Kikuyu E51	**ni- / shi- / N-**			
58.	Mashami E62a			**-akwa, shi-**	**(y)éŋì**
59.	Moshi E62a	**ndʒi-**		**-ako**	**ínì**
60.	Wunjo E62b	**ngi-**			
61.	Rombo E62c	**ŋgi-**		**-akwa**	**ínì**
62.	Gweno E65	**ni- / θi-**	**-ni-**	**-akwá**	
63.	Giryama E72a	**ni-**			
64.	Duruma E72d	**ni-**			
65.	Digo E73	**n-**			**nene**
66.	Taita (Dawida) E74a	**ni-**	**-ni-**	**-apo**	**ínì**
67.	Tongwe F11	**N-, nsi-**			
68.	Sukuma F21	**n- / ná-**			**neene**
69.	Nyamwezi F22	**n-**			**neene**
70.	Nilamba F31	**n-**			**ɪne**
71.	Remi F32	**ngu- / qu-**	**-ngu- / -qu-**		
72.	Nyaturu F32	**n(e)-**			
73.	Langi F33	**n-**			
74.	Gogo G11	**ny-, n(i)-**			**ane**
75.	Casu G22	**ni-**	**-n-**		
76.	Shambala G23	**ni- / n-**			**imi**
77.	Zalamo G33	**ni-**			**niye**
78.	Ruguru G35	**n(i)-**			**ne(ne)**
79.	Mwani G403 (G44c)	**ni-**			
80.	Swahili G42	**ni- / n-**			
81.	Komoro G44d	**tsi- / ni-**			
82.	Pogolu G51	**ni- / nu-**	**-n-**		
83.	Hehe G62	**s- / nd-**			**nene**
84.	Bena G63	**ndi-**			**nene**
85.	Kinga G65	**nde-**	**-nde-**		

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
86.	Tuba H10A	**mono**			
87.	Vili H12	**mì- / yì- / ì-**	**kúŋ̀**	**-à-m(í)**	**mìnú**
88.	Kunyi H13				
89.	Laadi (Laari) H16f	**n- / nj- / nì- / m-**	**-m**	**-aani**	**mènó**
90.	Manyanga H16b	**ngi-**			
91.	Kongo H16	**ndi- / i-, N-**	**-N-, -ndi-**	**-àmè**	**mónó**
92.	Ntandu H16g	**n- / gi-**			
93.	Mbundu H21	**ngi-**			
94.	Suku H32	**N- / yi-**			
95.	Hungu H33	**i- / N- / ngi-**			
96.	Mbala H41	**i- / n- / ngi-**			
97.	Haya J E22	**N-**			**iŋe**
98.	Ha J D66	**n-**			**je(we)**
99.	Rwanda J D61	**na- / n-**			
100.	Ganda J E22	**n-**			
101.	Shi J D53	**ǹ-**	**ń-**		
102.	Cokwe K11	**ngu-**	**-ngu-**		
103.	Luimbi K12	**ni-**			
104.	Lucazi K13	**nji-**			
105.	Luvale K14	**ngu-**	**-ngu-**		**àmi**
106.	Lwena K14	**ngu-**	**-ngu-**		
107.	Lozi K21	**n(i)-**			
108.	Luyana K31	**(s)i-** (past), **nì-, ǹ-**	**-ni-, -N-**		**mene**
109.	Kwangari K33	**ni-**	**-nge-**		**ame**
110.	Dciriku K39	**n(i)-**	**-N-**		**amè**
111.	Mbukushu K40	**ni-**	**-ni-**		**(y)ame**
112.	Ikuhane K42	**ni-**			
113.	Kwezo L13	**ngú-**	**-ngu-**		
114.	Kete L21	**n-**			
115.	Songe L23	**n-**			
116.	Luba L30	**n-**	**-ń-**		
117.	Kanyok L32	**ná-**			
118.	Kaonde L41	**n-**			
119.	Lunda L52	**ní-**			
120.	Luwunda L53	**ni-**			
121.	Nkoya L62	**ní-**			
122.	Pimbwe M11	**n-**			
123.	Lungu M14	**ń-**			
124.	Nyika M23	**n-**			

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
125.	Safwa M25	**in-**			
126.	Ndali M301	**N-**			
127.	Nyakyusa-Ngonde M31	**ndi- / ni-**	**-ndi-**		**ʋne**
128.	Bemba M42	**na-**			
129.	Lamba M54	**n-, nsi- (neg)**			
130.	Lenje M61	**ndi-**	**-ndi-**		
131.	Ila M63	**(i)n-**	**-nd-**		
132.	Ndendeule N101	**ni-**			
133.	Tumbuka N21	**ni-**			
134.	Nyanja N30	**ndi-**			
135.	Manganja N31c	**ndi-**	**-ndi-**		
136.	Sena N44	**ndi-**			
137.	Matuumbi P13	**n(ị)-**	**-nị-**	**-aánga**	**neénga**
138.	Yao P21	**n-**	**-n-**		
139.	Mwera P22	**ngu- / ni- / na-**	**-ngu-**		
140.	Makonde P23	**ni-, nga-**	**ngu-**		
141.	Mabiha P25	**ngu-, ni-**	**-ngu-**		
142.	Makhuwa P31	**k(i)-**			
143.	Koti P311	**ki-**			
144.	Umbundu R11	**nd(ì)- / ndu- / n-**	**-ndì- / -ndu- / -n-**		
145.	Ndonga R22	**nd(i)-**	**-ndje-**		**ngame**
146.	Herero R31	**mb(i)-**	**-ndji-**	**-ándjé**	**àmì**
147.	Yeyi R41	**ndi-**	**-ndi-**		**yèmé**
148.	Shona S10	**ndi-**		**-ngù**	**ìní**
149.	Venda S20	**ndì-, -thí-**	**-N-**	**-ngá**	**ǹné**
150.	Tswana S31a	**ke- / kɪ-, n-**	**-N-**	**mê**	**nna**
151.	Sotho s. S33	**k'e, k(ì)-, n-**	**-ń-**		
152.	Zulu S42	**ngi-**		**-mi**	**mìná**
153.	Tswa S51			**-ngu**	**mìná**
154.	Tsonga S53	**ndzì-**	**-ndzì-**		
155.	Copi S61			**-ngù**	**ànì**
156.	Gitonga S62	**nyi-**	**-nyi-**	**-ngu**	**eni**

2nd person singular

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
1.	Oroko A11	**ò-**	**-ò-**		**owa**
2.	Akoose A15	**wè / è**			
3.	Manenguba A15	***wè- ?**		**-ɔ́ŋ**	
4.	Mo-kpwe A22	**ò**			
5.	Duala A24	**o-**			
6.	Benga A34	**o**			
7.	Basaa A43	**u-**	**wɛ**		**wɛn**
8.	Nen A44	**o**			
9.	Bafia A53	**wù-, ù-**	**wɔ̀**	**-ɔ́ɔ́**	**wɔ̀**
10.	Kpa A53	**wɔ̀**		**-ɔ́ɔ́**	**wɔ̀**
11.	Nugunu A62	**ɔ**			
12.	Ewondo A72a	**o**			
13.	Makaa A83	**wɔ̀**	**wò-**	**óó**	
14.	Konzime A84	**gʊa, go**	**go**	**-ô**	**-ǒn**
15.	Kwakum A91	**ɔ̀-**	**ɔ̀ɔ̀, gwɛ̀**	**gwɔ́ɔ́**	**gwɛ̀**
16.	Kako A93	**wɛ**			
17.	Mpongwee (Myene) B11a	**ò-**			
18.	Kota B25	**u**			
19.	Viya B301	**ò-**		**-ɔ̀ɔ́**	**wè(ní)**
20.	Himba B302	**ó-**			
21.	Tsogo B31	**ò-**	**-ɣó-**	**-ɔ́**	**èwè**
22.	Pinji B33	**o-**			**éwè**
23.	Pove (Vove) B34	**ò-**	**-ɣó-**	**-ɔ̀ɔ́**	**èwè**
24.	Punu B43	**u**			
25.	Nzebi B52	**u**			
26.	Iyaa B73c	**wú**			
27.	Boma B82	**ɔ**			
28.	Keyanzi B85	**né**			
29.	Boma B82	**ɣọ-**	**-ɣọ-**		
30.	Leke C14	**o-**			
31.	Mboshi C25	**nɔ, ó-**	**nɔ**		
32.	Babole C20	**ò-**	**àwɛ́**	**àwɛ́**	**àwɛ́**
33.	Akwa C22	**o-**			
34.	Bobangi C32	**o-**			
35.	Bolia C35b	**o-**	**-ko-**		
36.	Lingala C36d	**o-**	**-ko-**		**yó, yǒ**
37.	Lingombe C41	**o-**			
38.	Doko C50	**dò-**	**ɛ́**		**ɛ́**

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
39.	Kele C55	**o-**	**-ɔ-**	**-hŏ**	**ɔhɛ**
40.	Mongo C61	**o-**	**-ko-**		
41.	Nkengo C61	**u-**	**-k-**	**-náwɛ**	**wɛ**
42.	Kela C75	**o-**			
43.	Bushoong C83	**a-**		**-áa, -o**	**wɛɛn**
44.	Lengola D12	**o-**	**-né-**	**-oyi**	**owe**
45.	Mituku D13	**u-**	**-ku-**	**-abé**	**uwe**
46.	Enya D14	**o-**			
47.	Kumu D23	**ʋ-**			
48.	Lega D25	**u-**	**ugwe**	**óbé**	**ugwe**
49.	Holoholo D28	**u- / o-**	**-ku-**	**-ogé**	**gwe**
50.	Bila D30	**ɔ/ɛ, o/e**		**-kɔ**	**uwe**
51.	Nyali D33	**u-**			
52.	Nande D42	**u-**			
53.	Nyanga D43	**u-**	**-ku-**		
54.	Ruri E253	**(o)u-**			
55.	Chagga E30			**-afo**	
56.	Gusii E42	**o-/w-, gw-/kw-**	**gw-/kw-/ko-/go-**		
57.	Kuria E43	**o/u/w-**	**ku-/gu-/kw-/gw-**		
58.	Kikuyu E51	**o-**	**-kọ-**		
59.	Mashami E62a	**ku-**	**-ku-**	**-afo**	**(y)éwè**
60.	Moahi E62a	**o-/u-**	**kù-, o-/u-**	**-apfo**	**íyò**
61.	Hai E62a	**ku-**	**-ku-**		
62.	Wunjo E62b	**u-**			
63.	Rombo E62c	**u-**	**-kù- / -u-**	**-afo**	**íβè**
64.	Gweno E65	**ku- / u-**	**-ku-**	**-apfó**	
65.	Giryama E72	**u-**			
66.	Digo E73	**ʋ-**	**-kʋ-**		**βeβe**
67.	Taita (Dawida) E74a	**ku-**	**-ku-**	**-ako**	**óhò**
68.	Sagala E74b	**ku-**	**-ku-**		
69.	Tongwe F10	**u-**			
70.	Sukuma F21	**ʋ-**	**-ku-**		**βeeβe**
71.	Nyamwezi F22	**ʋ-**	**-ku-**		**βeeβe**
72.	Nilamba F31	**ʋ-**	**-kʋ-**		**ʋe**
73.	Remi F32	**u-**	**-ngu- / -qu-**		
74.	Nyaturu F32	**ʋ-**			
75.	Langi F33	**ʋ-**			
76.	Gogo G11	**u- / ku-**			**gwegwe**

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
77.	Kaguru G12	**u-**	**-ku-**		
78.	Casu G22	**u-**	**-ku-**		
79.	Shambala G23	**u-**	**-ku-**		**iwe**
80.	Zalamo G33	**u-/ ku-**			
81.	Ki-mwani G403	**u- / ku-**			
82.	Swahili G42d	**u- / w-**	**-ku-**		
83.	Komoro G44d	**u- / hu-**	**-hu-**		
84.	Pogolu G51	**gu-**	**-gu- / -gw-**		
85.	Hehe G62	**u-**			**veve**
86.	Bena G63	**u-**	**-ku-**		**veve**
87.	Kinga G65		**-ku-**		
88.	Tuba H10A	**ngé**			
89.	Vili H12	**wù- / ù-**	**-kú-**	**-ààkú**	**ndèyì**
90.	Kongo H16	**ù- / ò-**	**-kú-**	**-àkù**	**ngè, ngéyè**
91.	Laadi (Laari) H16f	**ù-**	**-kù-**	**aaku**	**ngègié**
92.	Mbundu H21	**u-**			
93.	Suku H32	**wu- / w-**			
94.	Hungu H33	**u-**			
95.	Mbala H41	**u- / gu-**			
96.	Haya J E22	**o-**	**-ku-**		**iwe**
97.	Ha J D66	**u-**	**-ku-**		**we(we)**
98.	Rwanda J D61		**ku/gu/kw/gw**		
99.	Ganda J E15	**u- / o-**	**-ku-**		
100.	Shi J D53	**ù-**	**-kú-**		
101.	Cokwe K11	**wu-**			
102.	Lucazi K13	**u-**			
103.	Luvale K14	**u-**			
104.	Lwena K14	**u-**	**-ku-**		
105.	Lozi K21	**u- / ku- (after á-)**			
106.	Luyana K31	**u-**	**-ku-**		**wene**
107.	Kwangari K33	**o-**	**-ku-**		**ove**
108.	Dciriku K39	**ɣu- / u- / w-**	**-ku-**		**oβè**
109.	Mbukushu K40	**ghu-**	**-ku-**		**(y)owe**
110.	Ikuhane K42	**u-**			
111.	Kwezo L13	**ú-**			
112.	Kete L21	**o-**			
113.	Songe L23	**o-**	**-ku-**		
114.	Luba L30	**ú-, ku-**			
115.	Kanyok L32	**ú-**			

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
116.	Kaonde L41	**u-**			
117.	Lunda L52	**ú-**			
118.	Luwunda L53	**u-**			
119.	Nkoya L62	**ú-**			
120.	Pimbwe M11	**ʊ-**			
121.	Lungu M14	**ú-**			
122.	Nyika M23	**u-**			
123.	Safwa M25	**u-**			
124.	Ndali M301	**u- / gu-**			
125.	Nyakyusa-Ngonde M31	**u- / gu- / gw-**	**-gu- / -gw- / -ku-**		**ugwe**
126.	Bemba M42	**u-**	**-ku-**		
127.	Lamba M54	**u-**			
128.	Ila M63	**u-**	**-nd-**		
129.	Ndendeule N101	**u-**			
130.	Tumbuka N21	**u-**			
131.	Nyanja N30	**u-**			
132.	Nyanja N30	**u-**			
133.	Manganja N31c	**u-**	**-ku-**		
134.	Sena N44	**u-**			
135.	Matuumbi P13	**ʊ-**	**-kʊ-**	**-aáko**	**weénga**
136.	Yao P21	**u- / mu-**	**-mu-**		
137.	Mwera P22	**u-**	**-ku-**		
138.	Makonde P23	**u-**	**-ku-**		
139.	Mabiha P25	**u-**	**-ku-**		
140.	Makhuwa P31	**u-**		**-ínyu, áa, áo**	
141.	Koti P311	**o-**			
142.	Umbundu R11	**ò-**	**-ku-**		**óvè**
143.	Ndonga R22	**u-**	**-kú-**		**ngoyé**
144.	Herero R31	**-ù-**	**-ku-**	**-óè**	**òvè**
145.	Yeyi R41	**u-**	**-kú-**		**yèwé**
146.	Shona S10	**u-**	**-ku-**	**-kò**	**ìwé**
147.	Venda S20	**ù- / w-**	**-ù- / -w-**	**ù**	**ìwè**
148.	Sotho S. S33	**ʊ / w**	**-ʊ- / -w-**		
149.	Zulu S42	**u-**	**-ku-**	**-khò**	**wèná**
150.	Tswa S51			**-ko**	**wèná**
151.	Tswana S53	**ò-**	**-go-**	**gago**	**wêna**
152.	Tsonga S53	**ù- / w-**	**-ku- / -ù- / -w-**		
153.	Copi S61			**-ko**	**awe**
154.	Gitonga S62	**u- / w-**	**ɣu-**	**-ɣo**	**uwe**

1st person plural

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
1.	Lundu A10	**si**			
2.	Oroko A11e	**ló-**	**-lò-**		**isɛ**
3.	Akoose A15	**sê** (excl), **dè** (incl)			
4.	Manenguba A15	***sî-**		***-àcí**	
5.	Mokpwe A22	**ì**			
6.	Su A23	**li**			
7.	Duala A24	**di**			
8.	Benga A34	**hu / ho**			
9.	Basaa A43	**di**	**βěs**		**βěs**
10.	Nen A44	**tú**			
11.	Bafia A53	**tì-**	**mìní**	**-ís**	**mìní**
12.	Kpa A53	**tì-**	**mìní**	**-ís**	**mìní**
13.	Nugunu A62	**de**			
14.	Ewondo A72a	**bíí**			
15.	Makaa A83	**sə̀** (excl), **shə̀** (incl)	**sə̀** (excl), **shə̀** (incl)	**sú** (excl), **shé** (incl)	
16.	Koonzime A84	**bǐs**	**bǐs**	**-ís**	
17.	Kwakum A91	**shɛ̀**	**shɛ̀**	**gwúshú**	**shɛ̀**
18.	Kako A93	**wusɛ**			**wusɛ**
19.	Mpongwe (Myene) B11a	**zu- / zw-**			
20.	Kota B25	**míni**			
21.	Viya B301	**tù-**		**-àtó**	**ìtú**
22.	Himba B302	**to-**			
23.	Tsogo B31	**tò-**	**-tó-**	**-àsó**	**wɛ́**
24.	Pinji B33	**to-**		**-aso**	**àsɛ́**
25.	Pove (Vove) B34	**tò-**	**-tó-**	**-àtó**	**ìtó**
26.	Punu B43	**tu-**			
27.	Nzebi B52	**lə-**			
28.	Ndumu B63	**le-**			
29.	Iyaa B73c	**dì-**			
30.	Boma B82	**ɛ / li-**			
31.	Keyanzi B85	**bí-**			
32.	Ngondi C11	**to-**			
33.	Leke C14	**to-**			
34.	Babole C20	**tò-**	**bísé**	**bísé**	**bísé**

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
35.	Akwa C22	**le-**			
36.	Mboshi C25	**bísí**	**bísí**		**bísí**
37.	Bobangi C32	**lo-**			
38.	Lingala C36d	**to-**	**-lo-**		**bísó**
39.	Lingombe C41	**lo-**			
40.	Doko C50	**ò-**			
41.	Kele C55	**to-**	**-tɔ-**	**-só**	**esú**
42.	Mongo C61	**to-**			
43.	Nkengo C61	**t-**	**-t-**	**-nísó**	**ísó**
44.	Kela C 75	**to-**			
45.	Bushoong C83	**ta-**		**-íit**	**bíit**
46.	Bolia C35b	**to-**			
47.	Lengola D12	**tu-**	**-tú-**	**-asú**	**júe**
48.	Mituku D13	**tu-**	**-tú-**	**-ịtú**	**bịtê**
49.	Enya D14	**t-**			
50.	Kumu D23	**bɪ-**			
51.	Lega D25	**tu-**	**bíswé**	**-ítú**	**bíswé**
52.	Holoholo D28	**tu-**	**-tu-**	**-etú**	**beetwĕ**
53.	Bila D30	**βɪ- / βi-**		**-sú**	**βésú**
54.	Nyali D33	**ki-**	**-su, usú**		**usú**
55.	Nande D42	**tu-**			
56.	Nyanga D43	**tu-**			
57.	Ruri E253	**(e)ci-**			
58.	Chagga E30			**-ehu**	
59.	Gusii E42	**to-/tw-**			
60.	Kuria E43	**to-/tu-/tw-**			
61.	Kikuyu E51	**to-**			
62.	Kamba E55	**ti-, to-**			
63.	Mashami E62a	**lu-**	**-lu-**	**-eru**	**(e)ésè**
64.	Moshi E62a	**lu-**	**-lu-**	**-eðu**	**só**
65.	Rombo E62c	**ðu-**	**ðú-**	**-eðu**	**só**
66.	Wunjo E62b	**lu-**			
67.	Gweno E65	**fu-**			
68.	Gweno E65	**fu-**	**-fú-**	**-erú**	
69.	Giryama E72	**fu-** (excl), **hu-** (incl)			
70.	Niyka E72	**hu-**			
71.	Digo E73	**kʊ-**			**sese**
72.	Taita (Dawida) E74a	**ði-**	**-ði-**	**-eðu**	**ísì**
73.	Tongwe F11	**nsi-** (neg)			

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
74.	Sukuma F21	**tʊ-**			**βiiswe**
75.	Nyamwezi F22	**tʊ-**			**iswe**
76.	Nilamba F31	**kʊ-**			**isye**
77.	Nyaturu F32	**qʊ-**			
78.	Langi F33	**tʊ-**			
79.	Gogo G11	**ci- / ku-**			**ase**
80.	Kaguru G12	**tsi-**			
81.	Casu G22	**to-**			
82.	Shambala G23	**tu- / ti-**			
83.	Bondei G24	**ti-**			
84.	Zigula G30	**ti-**			
85.	Zaramo G33	**tu-**			**ishwi**
86.	Ruguru G35	**tu-**			**twe(twe)**
87.	Mwani G403	**ti-**			
88.	Swahili G42	**tu-/tw-**			
89.	Komoro G44d	**ri-**			
90.	Pogolu G51	**tu-**			
91.	Hehe G62	**tu-**			**hwehwe**
92.	Bena G63	**tu-**			**nefwe**
93.	Kinga G65	**ti-, tu-**			
94.	Tuba H10A	**béto**			**béto**
95.	Vili H12	**bès, tù- / t-**	**-tú-**	**-ììtú**	**bèsò**
96.	Kongo H16	**tù-**	**-tù-**	**-ètò**	**yétò**
97.	Manyanga H16b	**tu-**			
98.	Laadi (Laari) H16f	**tù-**	**-tù-**	**-ètò**	**yétò**
99.	Mbundu H21	**tu-**			
100.	Suku H32	**tu-**			
101.	Hungu H33	**tu-**			
102.	Mbala H41	**du-**			
103.	Haya J E22	**le-, tu-**			**icwe**
104.	Ha J D66	**tu-**			**twe(bwe)**
105.	Rwanda J D61	**tu- / du-**			
106.	Ganda J E22	**tu-**			
107.	Shi J D53	**rhu-**			
108.	Cokwe K11	**tu-**			
109.	Lucazi K13	**tu-**			
110.	Luvale K14	**tu-**	**-tu-**		**ètu**
111.	Lwena K14	**tu-**			
112.	Lozi K21	**lu-**			
113.	Luyana K31	**tù-**	**-tù-**		**aci**

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
114.	Kwangari K33	**tu-**	**-tu-**		**ose**
115.	Dciriku K39	**tu- / tw-**	**-tu- / -tw-**		**(a)twè**
116.	Mbukushu K40	**tu-**			**yatwe**
117.	Ikuhane K42	**tu-**			
118.	Kwezo L13	**dú-**			
119.	Kete L21	**cwu-**			
120.	Songe L23	**tu-**			
121.	Luba L30	**tu-**	**-tu-**		
122.	Kanyok L32	**tú-**			
123.	Kaonde L41	**tu-**			
124.	Lunda L52	**tu-**			
125.	Luwunda L53	**tu-**			
126.	Nkoya L62	**tú-**			
127.	Pimbwe M11	**tʊ-**			
128.	Lungu M14	**tú-**			
129.	Safwa M25	**tu-**			
130.	Ndali M301	**tu-**			
131.	Nyakyusa-Ngonde M31	**tʊ-/tw-**			**ʊswe**
132.	Bemba M42	**tu-**			
133.	Lamba M54	**tu-**			
134.	Ila M63	**tu-**			
135.	Ndendeule N101	**ti-**			
136.	Tumbuka N21	**ti-**			
137.	Nyanja N30	**ti-**			
138.	Manganja N31c	**ti-**			
139.	Sena N44	**ti-**			
140.	Nyungwe N	**ti-**			
141.	Matuumbi P13	**tʊ-**	**-tʊ-**	**ɟɟ́tʊ**	**tweénga**
142.	Yao P21	**tu-**	**-tu-**		
143.	Makonde P23	**tu-**	**-tu-**		
144.	Makhuwa P31	**n(i)-**		**íhu**	
145.	Koti P311	**ni-**			
146.	Umbundu R11	**tù-**	**-tù-**		**étù**
147.	Ndonga R22	**tu-**	**-tu-**		**tsé**
148.	Yeyi R41	**ti-**	**-ti-**		**yetshwe**
149.	Herero R31	**tù-**	**-tu-**	**-étù**	**ètè**
150.	Shona S10	**ti-**		**-ìðù**	**ìsú**
151.	Venda S20	**re- / r(i)-**	**r(i)-**	**-shú**	**rìṇé**
152.	Tswana S31a	**re-**	**-re-**	**rona**	**rona**

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
153.	Sotho S. S33	**r(ì)-**	**r(ì)-**		
154.	Zulu S42	**si-**		**-ìthù**	**thìná**
155.	Tswa S51			**-iru**	**hìná**
156.	Tsonga S53	**h(ì)-**			
157.	Copi S61			**-thú**	**athu**
158.	Gitonga S62	**h(i)-**	**h(i)-**	**-thu**	**ethu**

2nd person plural

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
1.	Akoose A15	**nyê** (excl), **bé** (=3pl)			
2.	Manenguba A15	***nyî-**		***-ànyí**	
3.	Mo-kpwe A22	**è**			
4.	Duala A24	**lọ-**			
5.	Benga A34	**o...ni**			
6.	Basaa A43	**ni**	**βee**		**βee**
7.	Nen A44	**nú**			
8.	Bafia A53	**βì-**	**βìsí**	**-ín**	**βìsí**
9.	Kpa A53	**ló-, -ni, βì-**	**-lo-**	**-ín**	**βìsí**
10.	Nugunu A62	**nɔ**			
11.	Ewondo A72a	**mií**			
12.	Makaa A83	**bí**	**bí**	**-ín**	
13.	Koonzime A84	**bɪn**	**bɪn**		
14.	Kwakum A91	**nɛ̀**	**nɛ̀**	**gwuń**	**dìnɛ̌**
15.	Kako A93	**wunɛ**			**wunɛ**
16.	Lundu A		**-ni-**		
17.	Wori A	**nʊ-**			
18.	Bulu A	**mi-**			
19.	Mpongwee B11a	**nw-**			
20.	Viya B301	**nù-**		**-ànó**	**ìnú**
21.	Himba B302	**no-**			
22.	Tsogo B31	**nò-**	**-nó-**	**-àŋó**	**àŋɛ́**
23.	Pinji B33	**no-**		**-aŋo**	**àŋɛ́**
24.	Vove B34	**nò-**	**-nó-**	**-ɛ̀nú**	**ìnó**
25.	Punu B43	**du-**			
26.	Nzebi B52	**lə-**			
27.	Iyaa B73c	**dì-**			
28.	Boma B82	**bɔ-**	**-bɔ-**		

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
29.	Ngondi C11	**lọ-**			
30.	Leke C14	**o-**			
31.	Babole C20	**bò-**	**bíné**	**bíné**	**bíné**
32.	Mboshi C25	**bíní**			
33.	Ngiri C31b		**mi**		
34.	Bobangi C32	**bʊ-**	**-bʊ-**		
35.	Lingala C36	**bo-**			
36.	Bolia C35b	**lo-**			
37.	Lingombe C41	**bo-, o-...-ni**			
38.	Doko C50	**ò-**	**nú, núní**		**nú, núní**
39.	Kele C55	**bo-**	**-ɔ-**	**-nó**	**enú**
40.	Mongo C61	**lo-**			
41.	Nkengo C61	**l-**	**-l-**	**-nínyó**	**ínyó**
42.	Kela C75	**do-**			
43.	Bushoong C83	**bu-**		**-íin**	**-bwiin**
44.	Lengola D12	**nu-**	**-né-**	**-anú**	**ɲúe**
45.	Mituku D13	**mu- / mo-**	**-mú-**	**-ịnú**	**mịnê**
46.	C-enya D14	**b-**			
47.	Kumu D23	**bʊ-**			
48.	Lega D25	**mu-**	**biŋwé**	**-íŋú**	**bíŋwé**
49.	Holoholo D28	**mu- / mo-**	**-mu-**	**-enyú**	**beenywě**
50.	Bila D30	**bɔ- / bɛ-**		**-nú**	**βénú**
51.	Nyali D33	**ni-**			
52.	Nande D42	**mu-**			
53.	Nyanga D43	**mu-**			
54.	Ruri E253	**(o)mu-**			
55.	Chagga E30			**-anu**	
56.	Gusii E42	**mo- / mw-**	**-ba-**		
57.	Kuria E43	**mo- / mu- / mw-**	**-ba-**		
58.	Kamba E55	**mʊ-**	**-mʊ-**		
59.	Mashami E62a	**mu-**	**mu-**	**-aɲ**	**(y)énì**
60.	Moshi E62a	**mu-**	**-mu-**	**-enu**	**-ɲó**
61.	Rombo E62c	**mu-**		**-enu**	**ɲó / ɲwé**
62.	Wunjo E62b	**m(u)-**			
63.	Gweno E65	**m-**	**-ḿ-**	**-eŋú**	
64.	Giryama E72	**mu-**			
65.	Nika E72	**mu-**	**-ba-**		
66.	Digo E73	**mʊ-**			**ɲeɲe**
67.	Taita (Dawida)	**m- / mu-**	**-mu-**	**-eɲu**	**íɲù**

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
	E74a				
68.	Pokomo E71	**mu-**	**-mu-**		
69.	Tongwe F10	**mu-**			
70.	Sukuma F21	**m-**			**βiŋwé**
71.	Nyamwezi F22	**mu-, m-**	**-wa-**		**iŋwé**
72.	Nilamba F31	**mʊ-**	**mʊ-**		**iɲe**
73.	Nyaturu (Rimi) F32	**mʊ́-**	**-mʊ́-**		
74.	Langi F33	**mʊ-**			
75.	Gogo G11	**mu-**			**aɲe**
76.	Casu G22	**mu-**			
77.	Shambala G23	**mu- / m-**			**iɲwi**
78.	Zalamo G33	**mu-**	**-wa-**		**mwemwe**
79.	Ruguru G35	**m(u)-**			**mwe(mwe)**
80.	Mwani G403	**mu-**			
81.	Swahili G42	**m(w)-**	**-wa-**		
82.	Komoro G44d	**hu-**	**-hu-**		
83.	Pogolu G51	**m(u)-**	**-mu-**		
84.	Iki-hehe G62	**mu-**			
85.	Hehe G62	**mu-**	**-mu- / -wa-**		
86.	Bena G63	**mu-**			
87.	Ki-tuba H10A	**beno**			
88.	Vili H12	**(bè-)n, l- / lù-**	**-lù-**	**-ìì-nú**	**bè-nò**
89.	Kunyi H13	**du-**			
90.	Kongo H16	**lù-, nù-**	**-lù-**	**-ènò**	**yénò**
91.	Manyanga H16b	**lu-**			
92.	Laadi (Laari) H16f	**lù-**	**-lù-**	**eeno**	**bèènó**
93.	Ki-mbundu H21	**nu-**			
94.	Ki-suku H32	**lu-**			
95.	Di-Hungu H33	**nu-**			
96.	Gi-mbala H41	**nu-**			
97.	Haya J E22	**mu-**	**-mu-**		**iɲwe**
98.	Ha J D66	**mu-**			**mwe(mwe)**
99.	Rwanda J D61	**mu-**	**-mu-, -ba-**		
100.	Ganda J E22	**mu-**	**-ba-**		
101.	Shi J D53	**mu-**	**-mu-**		
102.	Cokwe K11	**nu-**			
103.	Luvale K14	**mu-**	**-mi-**		**ènu**
104.	Lucazi K13	**mu-**			
105.	Lozi K21	**lu-**			

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
106.	Luyana K31	**mu-**	**-mi-**		**anyi**
107.	Kwangari K33	**mu-**	**-mu-**		**one**
108.	Dciriku K39	**mu- / mw-**	**-mu- / -mw-**		
109.	Mbukushu K40		**-mu-**		**(y)amwe**
110.	Ikuhane K42	**mu-**			
111.	Kwezo L13	**mú-**			
112.	Kete L21	**m-**			
113.	Songe L23	**nu-**			
114.	Luba L30	**nu-**	**-nu-**		
115.	Ciin-kanyok L32	**nú-**			
116.	Kaonde L41	**mu-**			
117.	Lunda L52	**mú-**			
118.	Uru-wund L53	**u-**			
119.	Shi-nkoya L62	**mú-**			
120.	Pimbwe M11	**m(ʊ)-**			
121.	Lungu M14	**mú-**			
122.	Nyika M23	**mu-**			
123.	Safwa M25	**mu-**			
124.	Ndali M301	**mu-**			
125.	Nyakyusa-Ngonde M31	**mʊ- / mw-**	**-ba-**		**umwe**
126.	Bemba M42	**mu-**	**-mu-**		
127.	Lamba M54	**mu-**			
128.	Ila M63	**mu-**			
129.	Ndendeule N101	**mu-**			
130.	Tumbuka N21	**mu-**			
131.	Nyanja N30	**mu-**			
132.	Nyungwe N43	**mu-**			
133.	Sena N44	**mu-**			
134.	Matuumbi P13	**mʊ-**	**-mʊ-**	**-ịịnʊ**	**mweénga**
135.	Yao P21	**mu- / m-**	**-wa- / -mu-**		**vaŋamwe**
136.	Mwera P22	**mu-**			
137.	Makonde P23	**mu-**	**-mu-**		**mwepo**
138.	Mabiha P25	**mu-**	**-mu-**		
139.	Koti P311	**mu-**			
140.	Makhuwa P31	**mu-**	**-mu-**		
141.	Umbundu R11	**bu- / vù-**	**-ku-**		**énè**
142.	Ndonga R22	**mu-**	**-mu-**		**né**
143.	Herero R31	**mù-**	**-mu-**	**-éṇù**	**èṇè**
144.	Yeyi R41	**ni-**	**-ni-**		**yènwé**

		subject	*object*	*possessive*	*stressed / independent*
145.	Shona S10	**mu-**		**-ŋ̀ɲù**	**ìmí**
146.	Venda S20	**n(ì)-**	**n(ì)-**	**-ìnwí**	
147.	Tswana S31a	**lo-**	**-lo-**	**lona**	**lona**
148.	Sotho S. S33	**l(ì)-**	**-l(ì)-**		
149.	Zulu S42	**mu-**	**-ni-**	**-ìnù**	**nìná**
150.	Tswa S51			**-inu**	**ŋwìná**
151.	Tsonga S53	**m(i)-**	**mì-**		
152.	Copi S61			**-nu**	**anu**
153.	Gitonga S62	**mu- / mw-**	**-mu / -mw-**	**-nu**	**anu**

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