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The Noun Phrase in Bamunka: Towards a Complexity Analysis. Ciara Browne Trinity College Dublin

Abstract

A member of the the Grassfields Bantu family, the Bamunka language of Western Cameroon is spoken by approximantely 31, 000 speakers. Having begun the process of transcribing the language into written form just six years ago the principles and intricacies of its grammatical system are becoming evident. This paper will look in particular at the noun phrase in Bamunka and draw some conclusions as to the distribution of complexity found therein.

1. Introduction

One common assumption in linguistics is that all human languages are equally complex and that when taken as a whole, no language can be called "simpler" than another (Edwards, 1994). It has been proposed that "all languages have a complex grammar: there may be relative simplicity in one respect (e.g. no word endings), but there seems always to be relative complexity in another (e.g. word-position)" (Crystal,1987:6-7) From this point of view, it is generally supposed that these differences must "even out" as one considers entire linguistic systems (ibid). This equal complexity hypothesis has come under scrutiny in recent times however, notably in McWhorter's (2001) claim that "creole grammars are the world's simplest grammars," McWhorter argues that while one language may be more complex than another in terms of a particular area of grammar there is no a prioi reason to assume that all languages ultimately "tally" in terms of areas of typologically unusual complexity (McWhorter, 2005:40). He examined these under the headings such as syntax, grammaticalsed expression and inflectional morphology (McWhorter, 2005).

We will examine the layered structure of the Bamunka noun phrase in light of a number of these aspects of linguistic complexity. The language data was collected during a field trip to the Bamunka village in the Ndop plain of Cameroon. Two native speakers acted as language informants providing a diverse range of material suitable to the relevant grammatical categories. This preliminary study¹ at the focused level of the noun phrase may prove a starting point for more in depth future research in the field of Bantu languages and complexity.

2. Bamunka and the Bantu Languages

2.1 The Bamunka language

The Bamunka language is one of 279 indigenous languages of Cameroon. Cameroon is situated in West Africa, it has a population of approximately 18 million people and its official languages are French and English. It is the second most linguistically diverse country in Africa, the first being Nigeria with approximately 450 languages. The Bamunka language is spoken in the village of Bamunka and is one thirteen languages spoken in the Ndop Plain. The Bamunka villages, one of the thirteen villages in Ndop, has a population of 200, 000 people.

¹I am indebted to Jon Blackwell of SIL for his contribution to the research, in particular for our joint work on the Adjective in Bamunka.



Figure 2.1: Map of Africa/Cameroon

The Ndop Plain, in the North West Province of Cameroon, is at an altitude of 1150 metres, surrounded by mountains which in the North rise to 1700 metres. It is approximately 30 km square and has a number of lakes. The plain has about 200, 000 inhabitants and the village of Bamunka comprising just over 30, 000 of these.



Figure 2.2: Cameroon [The Ndop plain is found in the northwest in proximity to Bamenda]

Bamunka is a part of the Niger-Congo family of the Grassfields Bantu languages. It is a minority language which is mutually understood in the various quarters in which it is spoken. It is estimated to have 31,000 speakers (Ethnologue, 2008). Bamunka remains the mother tongue in the areas which it is spoken. As families move towards the town of Ndop, however, a number of the children do not learn Bamunka as their first language (Sorsamo, 2008).

The Bamunka orthography was developed between the years 2004 and 2006. Over a period of six years a growing lexicon of words and an increasingly refined noun class system has been developed. While there is on-going work on the language, a completed grammar sketch has yet to be conducted.

The word order in Bamunka is generally SVO. As noted by Sorsamo (2008:3) morphological processes of verbs include tense and aspect marking by using auxiliary verbs and grammatical tone. In addition to past, present and future tense divisions, these may be further subdivided. For instance, six past tenses have been identified ranging from the simple past tense (ST), to the progressive past tense (PP), to the far past (P4) (actions/events that have occurred at some point in the distant past). New verbs in this language may be derived from verb roots by using various suffixes (Sorsamo:2008). Bamunka nouns are organised using a class system based on Bantu noun classification. These are expressed using different affixes which are attached to nouns and noun phrases.

2.3 The Bantu language family

2.3.1 The Bantu language group

The Bantu language group covers the area from Southern Cameroon to almost the whole of Southern Africa, including then Eastern and Central Africa. This is a family of hundreds of languages whose number of speakers is close to 240 million. Nearly one third of all Africans speak a Bantu language as their native language (Nurse, 2001). The majority of Bantu languages are tonal and many have complex tonal phonologies (Nurse and Philippson, 2003).

2.3.2 Grassfields Bantu

Grassfields Bantu (GB) is a cluster of over fifty languages spoken in the West and Northwestern Provinces of Cameroon (Watters, 2000). In terms of the external classification of the GB languages findings suggest that there is no clear boundary between traditional Bantu and GB Bantu (Henrici, 1973). It is commonly accepted however that, alongside a number of language clusters in the Cameroon-Nigeria region, GB languages are the nearest cousins of Guthrie's Bantu (Watters, 2000). The internal unity of GB is largely accepted with Stallcup (1980a:54) suggesting a 60% lexical similarity, while Piron (1995:16) claims a 41% similarity. Watters and Leroy (1989) proposed a graded division of these languages as illustrated by the following diagram. This was later supported by Piron (1995).

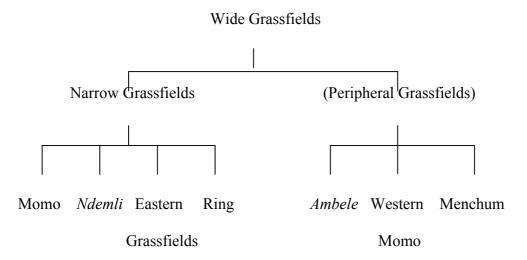


Figure 2.1: Piron's internal classification of Wide Grassfields (branch average method) (Individual languages in italics.) From Watters, 2000:5.

With regard to vowels, Elias et al (1984:41) identified seven vowels which are the most likely proto-system for Grassfields Bantu overall. Watters (2000) outlines commonalities in the system as follows. Long vowels and diphthongs are common in GB. In terms of consonants, stops usually involve the opposition between the voiceless set / p t k / and the voiced set / b d g /. Fricatives include / f s / with some varieties also using / v z γ /. Semi-vowels (glides) are almost universal. The nasal set can include /m n γ n γ . The palatal nasal / γ occurs less frequently and its phonological status is often unclear. The above consonants all occur in the initial consonant position of the syllable. In contrast, the final consonant position of syllables, and stems, limits the consonants. Rather than fifteen to twenty-five consonants, only one to eight occur in the final position (ibid:20).

Grassfields Bantu languages exhibit highly complex tone systems. They have generally been divided into a tone system of two tone levels, High (H) and Low (L) (Greenberg 1948 and Meeussen 1967:84). Verbs are divided into two classes: those with High tone and those with Low tone while nouns have been divided into four classes, all with Low tone prefixes: L-LL, L-HL, L-HL (Watters, 2000).

2.3.3 The noun class system

One distinct feature of the GB languages is its complex method of classifying nouns. Noun classes are used across the Bantu languages to categorise their nouns and allow for a clear organisation of people, things and concepts. Whereas the original Bantu class system was based on commonalities in meaning, today classes are distinguished along the lines of grammatical categorisation (SIL Cameroon, 2005). Such critieria encompass the form of a noun and its agreeing elements.

A common 'pattern of agreement' across Bantu classes would include a group of nouns with a common affix along with common modifiers. Most nouns can occur with both a singular and a plural affix. Singular and plural noun classes of the same noun root may be grouped into a pair known as 'gender paring'. Gender in the case of noun classes refers to grammatical rather than biological gender (SIL Cameroon, 2005). Bantu noun class

numbering systems have been designed to enable linguists to make general observations as to the degree to which the noun system of Bantu are similar (ibid). The following outline lists the types of nouns which are usually found within particular Bantu genders. However other types are possible and, as has been noted, nouns should not be classified in this way on the basis of meaning.

Classes	Common Types of Nouns
1/2	Names of persons
3/4	Trees
5/6	(Paired) body parts
6a	Liquids, noncountable goods
7/8	Tools, plants and things made
9/10	Animals, kinship terms
14	Abstract notions
15	Actions (verb infinitive)
19	Small things

Table 2.1: Bantu Noun Classes (SIL Cameroon, 2005)

2.4 Summary

The Bamunka language, also commonly known as 'Ngieməkɔ'kə', is spoken in the village of Bamunka in NorthWest Cameroon. A member of the Bantu family, which stretch from Southern Cameroon to Southern Africa, it will provide the data for this study of language complexity within the parameters discussed. Next we will examine the Bamunka Noun Phrase in greater depth.

3. The Noun - Layered Structure of the NP

3.1 Introduction

A common feature of the Bantu languages is its class based noun system. Nouns are grouped together on the basis of common affixes and concord consonants. This is present in the Bamunka language. Common features include the attachment of class based affixes on root nouns in order to form possessives and demonstratives. Various other aspects of the noun including number and comparison will also be discussed.

3.2 Noun class system

Bamunka has a complex system of declension in that nouns decline depending on what noun class they fall into. The noun class system used is based on that of the Bantu noun class numbering system, discussed above. There are different classes for the plural as opposed to the singular but they are also grouped together into gender pairs. A preliminary outline of the Bamunka noun class system is as follows:

Class	Affix	Concord Consonant	Concord Tone
1	Ø	Y	Falling
2	bə-	В	Level
5	Ø	Y	Level
6a	-mə	M	Level
7	-kə	K	Level
8	-bə	В	Level
9	Ø, n-	Y	Falling
10	-hə	Н	Level
13	-tə	Т	Level
19	-hə	Н	Level

Table 3.1: Bamunka Noun Class System

Nouns may be further subdivided into singular and plural classes as in Table 3.2

Singular Classes	Plural Classes
1	2
5	6a
7	8
9	10
	13
19	

Table 3.2: Singular and Plural Classes in Bamunka

Gender pairings refer to the particular pairing of a singular noun class with a plural noun class. That is to say that nouns from a specific singular class 'pair up' with nouns form a specific plural class to form a gender (SIL Cameroon, 2007). Nouns that belong to the same singular class may pair with different plural classes. This is common across Bantu languages that genders are not referred to as 'masculine' or 'feminine' but rather are identified by the

numbers of the classes that are paired together. The gender pairings in Bamunka are as follows.

Gender pairings	
1 /2	
5 / 2	
9 / 2	
7 / 8	
9 / 10	
19 / 6a	

Table 3:3 Gender Pairings in Bamunka

As mentioned previously, while nouns which fall into the same category may have similar meanings, their allocation into a particular class should not be on this basis. The justification for choosing each of the above noun classes is based on criteria such as similar affixes and concord elements.

Having examined the aspects of the Bamunka noun class system we will now go on to look at the category of case.

3.3 Case

Case is a grammatical category determined by the syntactic or semantic function of a noun or pronoun (SIL.org:2010). The following is a preliminary look at the category of case in the Bamunka language.

Nominative

This case is straightforward in its expression with the use of a determiner followed by the appropriate noun.

- (1) Mbu chu lɔŋ
 The:det mouth:N fence:N
 LIT: The mouth (of the) fence.
 The gate
- (2) Mbu wo
 The:det man:N
 The man

Genitive

The marking of the genitive case appears to be a matter of order. One noun follows the other with the context disambiguating as to whether the genitive case is being used or not.

(3) Mbu nkwe chu lon
The:det handle:N mouth:N fence:N
LIT:The handle (of the)mouth fence
The handle of the gate.

(4) Mbu tia mbu wo The:det head:N the:det man:N

The head of the man

- (5) Mbu fuŋkə tyukə
 The:det feather:N tree:N
 The leaf (of the) tree
- (6) Mbu kefun kətyu
 The:det feather:N tree:N
 The leaf (of the) tree

It is notable to see there is noun reversal in example 6 above. This phenomenon will be discussed further under section 4.9 Adjectives.

Dative

In order to indicate the noun to whom something is given, the most common method in Bamunka is to use the preposition to.

- (7) Mo ko shia-o to Sam
 I give:V:ST hat:N-my:Poss to Sam:N
 I gave my hat to Sam
- (8) Mo mo' mbu boto tə-əŋ
 I throw:V:ST the:det ball to-him:Pr
 I threw the ball to him

Accusative

(9) D kwoŋ Tom
He hit:V:ST Tom:N
He hit Tom

Ablative

- chu (10)Ma tənə mbu lon fence:N Ι stand:V:ST mouth:N near LIT:I mouth (of the) fence stood near I stood (by) the gate
- (11) O to' ghon Joe
 He walk:V:ST with Joe:N
 He walked with Joe
- (12) Mo yu no bəŋkə
 I eat:V:ST with spoon:N
 I ate with (a) spoon

It is important to note that another word, no, is used here for with. Possible reasons could include alternate usage for animate vs. inanimate nouns, though this has not been confirmed. The above observations of Case, as has been noted, are merely a preliminary look at this topic. The cases mentioned do appear to exist in the language. However it seems that in certain situations the context is used to disambiguate which case is being used as we see in the Genitive case above.

3.4 Number

The noun exists in both singular and plural form. Plurals may be formed by the attachment of an affix or in some cases an alternative word is used, as in (b), Table 3.4, below. Plural nouns must agree with the plural noun class into which they fall. For example, the plural of book (ŋwɔ'nə) in example (a) below takes the class 2 plural prefix bə. We see similar grammaticalisations in (c) and (d) below with the use of class based plural marker tə, mə and hə respectively. Example (b) illustrates a rarer case in which the plural takes a different form completely to the singular noun.

(a)	Singular ŋwɔ'nə book:N	Plural bəŋwɔ'nə PM:book:N
	book	books
(b)	wo man:N man	b u ə men:N men
(c)	fuəŋ Leg:N leg	f u əŋtə leg:PM:N legs
(d)	nuəhə bird:N bird	nuomə bird:PM:N birds

Table 3.4: Singular and Plural Bamunka Noun

3.4.1 Numerals

Both cardinal and ordinal numbers are utilized in the Bamunka language. They are not based upon the noun class system and can both precede and follow the noun in question.

3.4.1.1 Cardinal Numbers

Numbers appear to both precede and follow the noun. The numbering system does not appear to be based on class, nor does there appear to be a human/non-human distinction in this system.

Class 1

(13) Wo mo' no bε səfia
Person:N one is be:V road:N
One man is on the road

Class 2

Bətambuətə (14)bε mbuuə itia. no mu yu Doves:N he V is in sky number three There are three doves in the sky

(15) Mo no kie belin itia bε bəke
I is have:V sibling:N three be women
I have three sisters

One must specify the gender in example (15) here as the same root word is used for brother/sister.

Class 3

(16) Mbu njaa no kie chyusiitə itaa The:Det house:N is have doors:N five The house has five doors

Class 19

17) Buu buə no bε muto Two people:N is be:V field Two people are in the field

3.4.1.2 Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers exist from first to third. After that, the sentence is structured so that the number that has gone before are used to indicate the person/objects etc numeric position in the context given. Again ordinal numbers can both precede or follow the noun, the reasons for one position or the other is not clear and it may just depend on dialect or personal preference.

(18) Mbu fəŋ kəchi skul nɔ bε Mbikuə
The:Det first day school:N is be Mbikuə
The first day of school is Mbikuə.

In the above example, due to the presence of an eight day week in the village of Bamunka, the day of the week mentioned cannot be directly translated.

(19)no' kə biitə wokə Mary bε Mary:N P5 be second person:N ndoma 32 who/that leave Mary was the second person to leave

Alternatively, one could say:

Biitə wokə no' ka bε (20)Mary ndo mə P5 Second person:N be RC1 Mary one gε leave Mary was the second person to leave

(21)Мэ no' ka bε bua tia ndo gwe bon I P5 be come behind people three RC1 mə yu one eat I was the fourth person to eat

3.5 Comparison

The positive, comparative and superlative exist in Bamunka. They do not exist in all words however, such as, loud/louder/loudest or fast/faster/fastest. The latter cases are generally disambiguated by the given context of the conversation. Some commonly found examples are illustrated in table 4.5 below

(a.) guə	kwa g u ə	kɛŋ gʉə
big	Com:big	Sup:big
big	bigger	biggest
(b.) tuə'	kwa t u ə'	kຍŋ tʉə'
small	Com:small	Sup:small
small	smaller	smallest
(c.) die	kwa die	kεŋ die
heavy	Com:heavy	Sup:heavy
heavy	heavier	heaviest

Table 3.5 Positive, comparative and superlative in Bamunka

3.6 Articles

The definite and indefinite article are present in Bamunka. These have no relation to class and are the same in all noun classes. The use of mbu for definite article is optional and will be understood as such even if left out. As we will see in section 4.9, Adjectives, there is an inversion of the noun with the use of the definite article in some situations and classes.

	Indefinite	Definite	Generic
(a)	mbu bi	mb u bi	bi
	a:Indef goat	the:Def goat	goat
	a goat	The goat	goat
(b)	mbu ŋwɔ'nə	mb u ŋwɔ'nə	ŋwɔ'nə
	a:Indef book	the:Def book	book
	a book	the book	book
(c)	mbu wo	mb u wo	WO
	a:Indef man	the:Def man	man
	a man	the Def	man
(d)	mbu f u əŋ	mb u f u əŋ	f u əŋ
	a:Indef leg	the leg	leg
	a leg	the leg	leg

Table 4.6: The definite and indefinite articles.

3.7 Demonstratives

Demonstratives, this, these, that and those, are expressed in Bamunka using various suffixes attached to the noun. These affixes are determined by the class grouping of the noun in question. The Class 1 noun ŋwɔ'nə (book), for example, will take the Class 1 demonstrative suffix ɔŋ, resulting in ŋwɔ'nə-ɔŋ meaning this book. This and further class based examples are illustrated below.

Class 1 suffixes: \mathfrak{I} , \mathfrak{I} , \mathfrak{I} (this or these) \mathfrak{I} , \mathfrak{I} , \mathfrak{I} , \mathfrak{I} (that or those). These are attached to the appropriate root noun found in class 1.

- (22) Lenə ŋwɔ'nə-əŋ Look book:N-this:D Look at this book
- (23) Lεŋə ŋwɔ'nə-i Look book:N-that:D Look at that book

Class 2 suffixes: bon, bin

As with class 1 above, class 2 demonstrative suffixes attach to the root noun in question to form the appropriate demonstrative.

Class 3 suffixes: 0, 0η, ε, i, έη
(24) Lεno chusii-0
Look door:N-this:D
Look at this door

(25) Lenə chusii-i Look door:N-that:D Look at that door

The pattern of affixation onto the end of the root noun from the suitable noun class follows throughout all classes. The following is a list of the various affixes appropriate for each class.

Class 7 suffixes: kɔn, kin Class 6a suffixes: mɔn, min

Class 8 suffixes: bon, bin

In the class 8 examples we see the demonstrative affixes being used with a plural noun once again.

(26) Lenə bətambuət-bəŋ Look doves:N-these:DPl Look at these doves

(27) Lεnə bətambuətə-biŋ Look doves:N-those :DPl

Look at those doves

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Class 9 suffixes: \mathfrak{d} , \mathfrak{d} , \mathfrak{d} , \mathfrak{d} , \mathfrak{e} , \mathfrak{e} , \mathfrak{e} , \mathfrak{i} , \mathfrak{i} , \mathfrak{g}

Class 10 suffixes: hôŋ, hîŋ, hi

Again, in class 10, we see the formation of a demonstrative using the plural noun as per example (31) below.

(28) A kuu ŋgo'hə-əŋ mε? You like stones:N-these:DPl QM? Do you like these stones?

Class 13 suffixes: ton, tin

Class 19 suffixes: hôn, in

There appears to be no use of the class based suffix system in demonstrative pronouns as illustrated by the contrasting answers to the following question. The words you and yin are used to refer to this and that. Bon and bin refer to these and those.

Class 1

- (29) Be yon nwo'no ndo-a kuu?
 Be which book:N RC1-you like?
 Which book do you like
- (30) Yəŋ ŋwə'nə This:D book:N This book
- (31) Yin nwo'nə
 That:D book:N
 That book
- (32) Yiŋ-yʉ This:D-one This one
- (33) Yəŋ-yʉ That:D-one That one

Class 9

- (34) A kuu yon ngo'hə?
 You like which stone:N?
 Which stone do you like?
- (35) Mo kuu ngo'-e I like stone:N-that I like that stone
- (36) Mo kuu ngo'-o I like stone:N-this:D I like this stone

This class based system is in contrast to the following non-class based examples:

(37) Yin yu That:D one That one

(38) Yon yu
This:D one
This one

Class 2

We see the same pattern in examples (40) and (41) in the plural.

(39) Be yon bənwo'nə ndə a kuu?
Be which books:N that you like?
Which books do you like?

(40) Bon bo These:DPl ones These ones

(41) Bin bə Those:DPl ones Those ones

The outline above has illustrated the common method of forming the demonstrative in Bamunka using the root noun and a class based affix. However it also became apparent that in the case of the demonstrative pronoun this class based system is not utilised but rather that fixed affixes are used across classes.

3.8 Possessives

As is the case with demonstratives, possessives are expressed using affixes which are attached to the noun based on the class system. The possessive affix appears to always take the form of a suffix, following rather than preceding the noun. There does not seem to be any difference along the lines of emphatic versus non emphatic possessives. Emphasis is often shown by a repetition of the demonstrative at sentence initial and final position. This is illustrated in examples (42) and (43).

(42) No nwo'nə-on no
This book:N –my:PossSg this
This is my book

(43) No bəŋwɔ'nə-bu' bə'nɔ
These books:N-ours:PossPl Pl:these
These are our books

The following are examples from various classes:

Class 1

(44) Ko ŋwŋ'nə-oŋ tə-mɛ Give book:N-my:PossSg to-me

Give me my book

In order to emphasise ownership an alternate form of possessive may be used.

(45) Anyushi-i no bε yoŋ-yu Onion:N-that:D is be my-own

That is my onion

Class 3

(46) No be fia- ε

That:D be road:N-his:PossSg

That is his road

(47) Lenə chusii-i

Look door:N-her:PossSg

Look at her door

The formula of affixation to the root noun holds for plural as well as singular classes.

Class 8

(48) Lenə tu-buə

Look heads:N-their:PossSg

Look at their heads

Class 9

(49) No bε ndyi-a no This be cloth:N-your:PossSg this

This is your cloth

This is contrasted with the plural possessive form found in the sentence.

(50) No be ndyi-i no

This be cloth:N-your:PossPl this

This is your(pl) cloth

Class 10

Here in example (54) we, again, see the double use of the plural demonstrative at the beginning and end of the clause. This may be an indication of emphasis as to the ownership of the items but this is yet unclear.

(51) No bε ηgo'hə-əη no'hə
These be stones:N-my:PossSg these

These are my stones

(52) Lenə ngo'hə-a'

Look stones:N-our:PossPl

Look at our stones

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Emphasis appears to fall on the negative aspect of a clause rather than the positive when used in contrast, see example (53).

(53) No ηwo'no ya' ka yi-yu
This:D book:N our:PossPl not his:PossSg-own
fε ka
NM not

This is our book, not his book.

We see in the following example that a difference in emphasis/contrast does not appear to play a role in the formation of possessive pronouns.

(54) Lenə nwə'nə-ən Look book:N-my:PossSg Look at my book

(55) Lenə bənwə'nə ya'

Look PM:books:N our:PossPl

Look at our books

In the plural form of the personal pronouns there is a dual inclusive/exclusive distinction. These are marked by class based suffixes attached to the root of the noun. In some cases tonal marking is used to highlight whether the speaker is referring to the inclusive or exclusive form. In other cases, however, no tonal distinction has been made and further research is required to assess whether any marking to make such a distinction is present in these cases. This lack of marking in some cases may be class based or it could be a case of the tone difference not having yet been identified. Class 3 exemplifies this with a tone distinction.

Class 3

(56) Fyia-ya'
Road:N-our:PossInc (we two)
Our road

(57) Fyia-yâ'
Road:N-our:PossExc (we two, not yours)
Our road

(58) Fyia-yʉ̃ Road:N-our:PossPL Our road

The following examples are currently without a tone distinction and relevant differences are disambiguated by the context of the conversation.

Class 9

(59) Ngo'yâ' Stone:N our:PossInc Our stone

- (60) Dgo'yâ'
 Stone:N our:PossExc
 Our stone
- (61) Dgo'yʉ̃
 Stone:N our:PossPl
 Our stone

The use of class based affixes, again, are the general rule for the formation of possessives. Alternate forms may also be used for the purpose of emphasis. Next we will look at the use and formation of another modifier of the noun in Bamunka, the adjective.

3.9 Adjectives

Adjectives are used to modify nouns. Their use is not based upon the noun class system and it appears that they usually follow the noun. They may precede the noun in some cases however. With regard to size, for example, small and big can come before the noun along with a number of other examples. The reasons for this are as yet unclear. Synonyms can be utilised for emphasis, 'small little man' for example. This may cause an adjective that usually follows the noun to precede it. This is illustrated as follows.

- (62) Vaa fia Small:Adj road:N Small road
- (63) Fia tietie
 Road:N little:Adj
 Little road
- (64) Vaa tietie fia Small:Adj little:Adj road:N Small little road

There does not appear to be any agreement in terms of class or sing/plural. The order seems to appear in a similar order to English when several are used. However there doesn't see, to be a fixed order.

- (65) Mo bon mbu fia luuho tietie
 I build:V:ST the:Def road:N green:Adj small:Adj
 I built the small green road
- (66) Mo bon mbu fia tietie luuho
 I build:V:ST the:Def road:N s mall:Adj green:Adj I
 built the small green road

In all of the following, the use of mbu for the is optional and will be understood as such even if left out. These examples illustrate the use adjectives across various classes.

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Class 1

(67) Mbu ŋwɔ'nə kəmbuu The:Def book:N red:Adj The red book

(68) Mbu nwo'nə kənduən kəmbuu The:Def book:N old:Adj red:Adj

The old red book

(69) Mbu ŋwɔ'nə kwɛ'təŋ kənduɔŋ kəmbuu The:Def book:N big:Adj old:Adj red:Adj The big old red book

It is evident throughout these illustrations that adjectival modification is not class based.

Class 3

(70) Mbu chusii kəmbuu The:Def door:N red:Adj The red door

(71) Mbu chusii dədə kəmbuu The:Def door:N tall:Adj red:Adj

The tall red door

(72) Mbu chusii kwə'tən kəmbuu dədə The:Def door:N big:Adj red:Adj tall:Adj The big tall red door

Class 9

(73) Mbu ngo' kəfuən The:Def stone:N black:Adj

The black stone

(74) Mbu ngo' kəfuən tietie The:Def stone:N black:Adj small:Adj

The small black stone

There does not appear to be a specified order in the use of adjectives, however size related modifiers do tend do come before colour based modifiers as seen above.

Class 10

Here we see that plurality and, as above, class show no agreement with the adjective. As with others they can however be infixed into the noun in certain cases.

(75) Mbu bəŋwə'nə kəmbuu The:Def books:N red:Adj

The red books

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(76)Mbu bənwɔ'nə kənduəŋ kəmbuu The:Def books:N old:Adj red:Adj The old red books

In the following example the adjective kəfuən 'black' is infixed into the word bəngo'hə meaning 'stones'. This will be discussed in more detail in section 3.9.1.

(77)Mbu bəngo' kəfuənhə

The Def stones:N:Prefix-Root black:Adj-stones:Affix

The black stones

Again, in the next illustration both tietie and kəfuən, the adjectives small and black, respectively, have been infixed into the noun in question.

bango' tietie (78)Mbu The:Def stones:N:Prefix-Root small:Adi

kəfuənhə

black:Adj-stones:Affix The small black stones

Where multiple qualifiers are present, a descriptive phrase may be used to avoid ambiguity. This may be used to clarify that the second qualifier is referring to the head noun rather than the first qualifier. This is exemplified in (82) below.

(79)Мэ mbuə mbu kefuəŋ tənə stand:V:ST I beside the:Def stool:N ndə bε bəluu kwe'tən kəfuən bamboo:Adj big that it be black:Adj LIT: I stand beside the stool bamboo big that it be black I stood beside the big black bamboo stool

3.9.1 Adjective infixation into the noun

As we have seen above, the adjective may be infixed into the head noun in certain cases. The reasons for this are not fully known as of yet. However, a possible class based explanation has been observed in that classes 7 and 10, and possibly others, demonstrate this phenomenon. In such cases, adjectives which would usually follow the noun are infixed between the noun root and its suffix. As in example (80) below.

This is not the case, however, when the suffix of the noun has migrated to become a prefix. In such a case the adjectives follow or precede the noun in the usual manner. This will be discussed in further detail later.

(80)Fəŋkə:N:stood bəluu:Adj:bamboo kwe'tən:Adj:big a.

> Mэ ndə bəluu b. du' kwe'tən Ι sit:V:ST on stool:N:Root bamboo:Adj big:Adj

kə

stool:N:Affix

I sat on the big bamboo stool

3.9.2 Migration of suffix

In certain circumstances the suffix of classes 7 and 8 may migrate to become a prefix. The reasons are yet unclear but the following observations have been made.

Where the noun is the subject and does not have the definite article attached, the suffix does not migrate.

(81) Fon bəluu kə

Stool:N:Root bamboo:Adj stool:N:Suffix

Bamboo stool

Where the noun is the subject and does have the definite article attached, the suffix does migrate.

(82) Mbu nkwe kefon bəluu kəfuən The:Def big:Adj stool:N bamboo:Adj black:Adj

The big black bamboo stool

In the case of the head noun being a direct or indirect object, which is not qualified and does carry the definite article, the suffix does migrate.

(83) Mo chu' mbu kəfəŋ
I make:V:ST the:Def stool:N

I made the stool

Where the noun, is not qualified, is a direct or indirect object, and does not carry the definite article, the suffix may or may not migrate. Both are acceptable.

(84) Mo du' ndə kəfəŋ I sit:V:ST on stool:N

I sat on the stool

The case in which the noun is a direct object and is qualified by a single qualifier, the suffix does not migrate. However it appears possible for the adjective to reverse in this case.

(85) Mo chu' foŋkə luubə

I make:V:ST stool:N bamboo:Adj

I made the bamboo stool

Where the head noun is an indirect object and is qualified by a single qualifier, the suffix may or may not migrate. Either is acceptable.

(86) Mo du' ndə mbu kefən bəluu

I sit:V:ST on the:Def stool:N bamboo:Adj

I sat on the bamboo stool

Or

(87) Mɔ du' ndə mbu fɔŋ bəluu
I sit:V:ST on the:Def stool:N:Root bamboo:Adj
kə
stool:N:Aaffix
I sat on the bamboo stool

Where there is more than one qualifier either may apply. Data has yet to be compiled on the case of the direct or indirect objects without the definite article. With regard to qualifying nouns, the suffix always migrates in such cases.

We have seen that the use of adjectives is not class based in the Bamunka language. While there does appear to be a more commonly used order of adjective types at times, the reasons for this are not clear. The infixation of adjectives into the noun with the use of the definite article and the reversal of nouns when modified by an adjective in certain cases are unique features of this language. A possible area for further research would be the area of adjectival use with regard to direct and indirect objects without the definite article.

3.10 Pronouns

That data collected has focused on three forms of personal pronoun in Bamunka. These are the subject, direct object and indirect object pronouns. In some cases these are not class based while others are. Those that are class based are formed on the basis of the noun class system by attaching the relevant suffix to the root noun in question.

3.10.1 Subject pronouns

These are not class based and tend to occur in sentence initial position.

(88) O chii mbu bəfə She make:V:ST the:Det food:N She made the food

Or:

(89) O chii fəbə She make:V:ST food:N She made the food

Again see the reversal of noun in example (89) above with use of the definite article.

- (90) Ba' to' gε mu njaa vyii We walk:V:ST go to house:N market:N We walked to the market
- (91) Boŋ chu' gε mε? They early go QM? Did they leave early?
- (92) O yu fəbə-əŋ She eat:V:ST food:N-my:PossSg She ate my food

3.10.2 Direct object pronouns

Unlike other Bantu languages there is no distinction made between human and non-human nouns in the use of the direct object pronoun.

- (93) (a) Jenny nyon fobo.

 Jenny buy:V:ST food:N.

 Jenny bought food
 - (b) Mo yu
 I eat:V:ST
 I ate it.
- (94) Tom no' kie bushi. Mo no'kə nyiɛ Tom P2 have cat:N. I P5 see:V Tom had a cat. I saw it.

In (95) and (96) below we see the use of a class based suffix attached to the root noun. As was mentioned, there is no human vs non-human distinction made in the formation of the pronoun.

- (95) Tom no' kie bushi. Mo no' kə nyiɛ-əŋ Tom P2 have cat:N. I P5 see:V-him Tom had a cat. I saw him (Tom)
- kie (96)Jenny ghon* Tom no bushi. Jenny and Tom P2 have cat Mэ no' kə nyiε-၁ŋ. I P5 see:V-it. Jenny and Tom had a cat. I saw it.

It is notable that the conjuction * ghon can mean and or with depending on the context.

3.10.3 Indirect object pronouns

- (97) Ko fobo to mo Give food:N to me Give me food.
- (98) Ko ntonho to mo
 Give fruit:N to me
 Give me fruit.
- (99) Mbu wo kə chluə' bəŋ
 The:Def man:N is laugh them
 The man is laughing at them.

Next, we will look at the co-ordination of NP's in Bamunka.

4.11 Co-ordination of noun phrases

Co-ordinate noun phrases consist of two or more nouns taking constitueent position in a sentence which function together in forming one phrase. In Bamunka noun phrases are co-ordinated using the conjuctions le'no and ghon. These can both mean and or with alternatively and there appears to be no distinction of usage with regard to the co-ordination of human versus non-human nouns.

- (100) Mbu bushi le'nə kwetuon mbu bu The:Def cat:N big:Adj and the:Det dog:N Tietie no' kə mbu vyii gε Small P5 the:Def market go The big cat and the small dog went to the market
- (101) Bəlun bətia le'nə bakě bəbu mbu no' gε Men:N three and women:N two P2 the:Def muto go farm:N

Three men and two women went to the farm

In example (102) below we see the use of both le'no and ghon. The meaning appears to be the same with ghon possibly emphasising the fact that the dog is accompanying John.

- (102) John le'nə bu-I no' kə ghon John and with dog:N-his P5 mbu vyii gε the:Def go:V market:N John and his dog went to the market
- (103) John le'nə Kate nɔ' kə gɛ yəŋ kwe'təŋə John and Kate P5 go:V place big John and Kate went to town

With regard to a singular subject and plural subjects both ghon and le'no can be used interchangeably as is evident below.

- (104) John ghon bətienkon-bi no kə gɛ yən kwe'tən John and friends:N-his P5 go:V place big John and his friends, went to town
- (105) Kate le'nə bəliŋ-bi tu ge mbu mutə Kate and sisters-her PRP go the:Def farm:N Kate and her sisters are going to the farm

There appears to be little, if any, difference in the meaning and use of the conjuctions ghon and le'no. Both may be used interchangeably with ghon possibly being utilized to emphasise the accompaniment of one subject with another. There is no human/non-human or singular/plural distinction made in the use of these connecting words.

3.12 Co-ordination of pronoun and noun phrase

Again, we see the use of conjuction le'no in the co-ordination of pronoun and noun phrase. Ghon does not appear to be common in this context while an alternative word for with, ba'a, is regularly used. The pronoun tends to come at the beginning of the sentence in such cases.

(106) Mo lɛ'nə Kate yu baakə I and Kate eat:V:ST fufu:N

Kate and I ate fufu

(107) Mo le'no le-on no' ko ge mbu muto
I and sister-my P5 go the:N farm:N
My sister and I went to the farm

The use of ba'a, an alternative for the conjuction with is utilsed in the following examples.

(108) Mo no' yu baakə ba'a Kate
I P2 eat:V fufu:N with Kate
I ate fufu with Kate

(109) Mo no' ko ge mbu muto ba'a I P5 go the:DEF farm:N with le-on sister-my I went to the farm with my sister

4. Description and Analysis of the phenomena

4.1 Noun

4.1.2 No.of cases

The expression of various cases in Bamunka is straightforward and relatively simple with appropriate tenses and clause structuring used which often allows the case to be disambiguated by the given context.

In the genitive case, for example, marking seems to be a matter of order. One noun follows the other with the context disambiguating as to whether the genitive case is being used or not.

(3) Mbu nkwe chu lon
The:det handle:N mouth:N fence:N
LIT:The handle (of the)mouth fence
The handle of the gate.

Bamunka does not go into the detail of other languages, such as that of Latin.

4.1.3 Number

The formation of the plural is more complex in Bamunka than in others, such as English or French, in that there are a variety of plural markers which are utilized based on the noun class in question.

The following two examples are taken from Table 4.4.

(a) Class 1: ŋwɔ'nə Class 2: bəŋwɔ'nə
Book:N
book
PM:book:N
books

Furthermore, in some cases, the plural of a noun may involve using an alternate word.

(b) Class 1: wo Class 2: buə Man:N men:N

The expression of number may be viewed as simple in with regard to the formation of cardinal numbers. Cardinal numbers are straightforward in that they can precede or follow the noun and are not class based.

The expression of ordinal numbers is more complex in that they exist from first to third. After this however the sentence must be restructured so that the number that have gone before are used to indicate the ordinal position of the person/object etc in question.

4.1.4 Definiteness

Bamunka makes a distinction between entities, which are specific and indefinable in two ways, using the definite and indefinite article mbu and mbu. The definite and indefinite articles in Bamunka could also be termed as simple in comparison to other languages such as French and Spanish in that they are not gender based but rather the respective mbu and mbu are the same in all situations.

4.1.5 Gender

A number of languages such as English have no grammatical gender however there are some traces to be found such as are observed in the suffixes —er and ess in waiter/waitress. While Bamunka does not have a grammatical gender in the sense of masculine/feminine, we will see in the following section that the gender categories of Bamunka are based on a complex noun class system.

4.1.6 Declension

This refers to the inflection of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives in categories such as case, number, and gender. This is not prominent in all languages.

We see clear evidence of complexity in Bamunka's Bantu based noun class system. Bamunka has a more complex system of declension in that nouns decline depending on what noun class they fall into. The noun class system used is that of the Bantu noun class numbering system. With ten classes of noun, based on commonalities in affixes and concords consonants, which include people, things and concepts this is a highly complex area of the language in question. Single and plural classes exist and these may be further grouped into gender pairings as we saw in *section 3.2*. The formation of clauses, sentences, possessives and demonstratives are all influenced by this noun class system.

Section 3.7 illustrates the formation of various demonstratives based on this system. The following two examples contrast the use of different demonstratives affixes based on the class that the noun in question falls into.

Class 1

(22) Lenə ŋwɔ'nə-əŋ Look book:N-this:D Look at this book

Class 3

(24) Lenə chusii-ə Look door:N-this:D

Look at this door

This is again highlighted in the class based formation of possessives, section 4.8, in Bamunka. See the comparison between the following singular and plural examples.

(45) No nwo'nə-ən no
This book:N –my:PossSg this
This is my book

(46) No bəŋwɔ'nə-bu' bə'nɔ
These books:N-ours:PossPl Pl:these
These are our books

5. Evaluation

With regard to grammatical complexity two notable headings suggested by McWhorter (2005) are that of syntax and inflectional morphology. We will now examine the Bamunka Noun Phrase through the lens of these categories.

5.1 Syntax

Having looked at the noun in Bamunka under various headings we do see some level of balance. The area of case and definiteness, *sections 3.3* and *3.6*, appear relatively straightforward and simple. The depth of detail that is found in other languages, such as Latin, was not seen here. A higher level of complexity is clearly seen in the area of noun classes. The formation of demonstratives and possessives using class based affixes exemplifies this. The formation of the plural is also more complex than that of other languages such as English in that it involves class based morphological change unlike English which would use the common affixes of 's' and 'es' across nouns with the exception of a minority. The formation of ordinal numbers beyond the third involves restructuring of the sentence thus heightening the difficulty level. In the area of word order the SVO pattern is generally seen in the definite clause, however when it comes to interrogatives or expressing the topic of a sentence using fronting or dislocation we see increased levels of complexity. It is therefore evident that we see both simplicity and complexity across various areas, indicating a general balance in complexity thus far.

5.2 Inflectional morphology

While we have seen a degree of complexity in number in *section 5.1* above there is simplicity to be found here also in that there is not a high degree of inflection found in the formation of numbers. Cardinals numbers are straightforward in that they can precede or follow the noun and are not class based. The expression of comparison, as per *table 3.5*, is also simple in terms of morphology in that with the same comparative and superlative markers are used in

all cases. As discussed in section 8.2.1.5 the class based morphological changes see in the Bamunka noun indicate a high degree of complexity when compared with other languages such as French or English in this area. With regard to declension, McWhorter (2005:46) notes that "inflection also complexifies a grammar when it encodes distinctions between noun classes or verb classes". In light of these headings an introductory look at the Noun Phrase in Bamunka appears to support a general 'tallying' of complexity as supposed by the invariance of complexity hypothesis.

6. Conclusion

This study aimed to examine the layered structure of the Noun Phrase in Bamunka with specific reference to the theme of grammatical complexity. Language complexity has become an area of increasing interest and indeed controversy in recent years. Upon examination of the Bamunka data it would appear that there is a 'balancing out' of complexity in this aspect of the language. This lends support to the findings of adherents to the invariance of complexity hypothesis such as Jackendoff (1993) and Bane (2007). These findings do not negate McWhorter's (2005) strong argument that some languages may indeed be simpler than others in terms of grammatical complexity as the language in question is not a creole nor was it very recently developed to the author's knowledge. A more in depth study of Bamunka, along with a comparison of Bamunka with other Bantu languages and those outside of the Bantu family, as suggested by Nichols (2009), may give further insight into the complexity of this language and the strength of the invariance of complexity argument as a whole.

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