

Chapter 6

Third person pronouns in Grassfields Bantu

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“In linguistic theory, the 3rd person has had bad luck.” (Pozdniakov n.d.: 5)

In this paper I have two goals. First, I propose a reconstruction of the pronoun system of Grassfields Bantu, direct reflexes of which are found in Eastern Grassfields, with a close look at the pronoun systems, as reflected across this varied group. Second, I document and seek the origin of innovative third person pronouns in Western Grassfields. While EGB languages have basic pronouns in all persons, both the Momo and Ring subgroups of WGB have innovated new third person (non-subject) pronouns from demonstratives or perhaps the noun ‘body’. However, these languages show evidence of the original third person pronouns which have been restricted to a logophoric function. I end with a comparison of the Grassfields pronouns with nearby Bantoid and Northwest Bantu languages as well as Proto-Bantu.

1 The problem

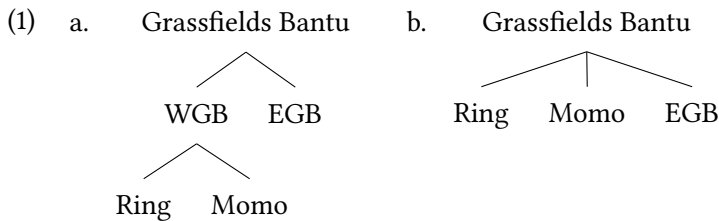
While Eastern Grassfields Bantu, like Narrow Bantu, has an old and consistent paradigm of pronouns, Western Grassfields Bantu has innovated new third person forms, often keeping the original forms as logophoric pronouns. The major questions I address in this chapter are: (i) Where do these new third person pronouns come from? (ii) Why were they innovated? (iii) What is the relation, if any,



to logophoricity? In the following sections I first briefly introduce the subgrouping of Grassfields Bantu that I will be assuming, then successively treat third person pronouns in the different subgroups: Eastern Grassfields, Ring Grassfields, and Momo Grassfields. I then consider some examples from outside Grassfields Bantu. The last section provides a brief summary and conclusion. (For a broader discussion of East Benue-Congo noun class systems, their morphological behavior, and, in particular, the place of third-person pronouns in those systems, see Good, Chapter 2 of this volume, and in particular §4 on domains of concord.)

2 Grassfields Bantu

In (1), I present two subclassifications of Grassfields Bantu, ignoring the possible inclusion of Ndemli (cf. Stallcup 1980, Watters & Leroy 1989, Piron 1995, Watters 2003).



The subgrouping of (1a) shows a split between Western Grassfields Bantu (WGB) and Eastern Grassfields Bantu (EGB), where WGB consists of two further subgroups, Ring and Momo. In (1b) these two subgroups are considered coordinate with EGB. Some of the major languages of each subgroup are identified in (2).

- (2) a. Ring: Aghem, Isu, Weh, Bum, Bafmeng, Kom, Oku, Babanki, Lamnso', Babungo, Babessi
- b. Momo: Moghamo, Metta, Menemo, Ngembu, Ngamambo, Ngie, Oshie, Ngwo, Mundani, Njen
- c. EGB: Ngemba (e.g. Mankon, Bafut), Bamileke (e.g. Yemba, Ghomala, Medumba, Fe'fe'), Nun (e.g. Bamun, Bali), North (e.g. Limbum, Adere)

Although the two subgroupings in (1) differ in whether a WGB unit is recognized, I will assume the classification in (1a) for the purpose of the present discussion.

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sion. The following table in (3) summarizes the significant differences between EGB and WGB (Stallcup 1980: 55):

(3) Eastern Grassfields Bantu	Western Grassfields Bantu
a. nasal prefix in class 1 and 3 nouns	absence of the nasal
b. no distinction between class 6 and class 6a	distinction between class 6 <i>a-</i> and class 6a <i>mə-</i>
c. nasal prefix on all 9/10 nouns	nasal prefix only on some 9/10 nouns
d. absence of classes 4 and 13; class 19 rare	presence of classes 4 and 13; class 19 frequent
e. noun prefixes all carry a /L/ tone	most noun prefixes carry a /H/ tone
f. no noun suffixes	many noun suffixes, e.g. plural <i>-tí, -sí</i>
g. class 2 or 6a generalizes to mark plural	class 10 or 13 generalizes to mark plural
h. innovation of <i>-síŋá</i> 'bird', <i>-kiá</i> 'water'	maintenance of <i>*-nòní</i> 'bird', <i>*-díbá</i> 'water'
i. maintenance of <i>-úmà</i> 'thing'	<i>*-úmà</i> is lost, other roots come in
<i>Plus:</i> maintenance of inherited 3 rd person pronouns	introduction of new 3 rd person pronouns

As seen, the differences in (3a-g) all have to do with noun classes. Significant to this chapter is the last difference, which I have added: As we shall see in the following sections, EGB languages maintain the inherited Proto-Grassfields Bantu (PGB) third person pronouns, while WGB languages have innovated new pronouns.

3 Eastern Grassfields Bantu

In this section I begin with EGB pronoun systems, since they directly reflect the reconstructions proposed by Hyman & Tadadjeu (1976) and others subsequently. In each section we need to consider subject, object and possessive pronouns. I will often illustrate the forms with human third person pronouns, i.e. singular class 1 **(m)u-*, plural class 2 **ba-*. Thus, unless otherwise noted, “third person” will refer to class 1 (sg) and class 2 (pl).

In (1) I present the human (class 1/2) subject and object pronouns in selected EGB languages:

Table 1: Class 1/2 subject & object pronouns in some EGB languages

	subject pronouns						object pronouns						
	1sg	2sg	3sg	Log	1pl	2pl	3pl	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
Mankon	<i>mà</i>	<i>ò</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>zuú</i>	<i>tì</i>	<i>nì</i>	<i>bí</i>	<i>γ̂</i>	<i>γ̂</i>	<i>γ̂</i>	<i>wúryá</i>	<i>wurɔ́</i>	<i>wá</i>
Dschang	<i>m̃àŋ̃</i>	<i>ò</i>	<i>à</i>	<i>yí</i>	<i>pèk</i>	<i>pè</i>	<i>pó</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>wu</i>	<i>yí</i>	<i>wek</i>	<i>wɛ</i>	<i>wɔp</i>
Fe'fe'	<i>Ñ</i>	<i>ò</i>	<i>à</i>	—	<i>páh</i>	<i>pèn</i>	<i>pō</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>yǎh</i>	<i>yēe</i>	<i>yaa</i>
Bangangte	<i>m̃ə</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	—	<i>bag</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>bo</i>	<i>ám</i>	<i>ó</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>yág</i>	<i>zín</i>	<i>yób</i>

In the above forms 1pl = first person plural exclusive.

As seen, the plural subject pronouns generally begin with class 2 *p-* or *b-* while the corresponding object pronouns all begin with class 1 *w-* or *y-* = class 1 (cf. the possessive forms in Table 2). As seen in the table, the subject logophoric pronoun is identical to the 3sg object pronoun *yí* in Dschang (Yemba) (Harro & Haynes 1991: 22). In Mankon, on the other hand, the subject logophoric pronoun corresponds to the distinct 3sg independent pronoun *zuú* (Leroy 2007: 209).

In Table 2 I present the class 1/2 possessive pronouns in a wide range of EGB languages, where *̃* = nasalization and *°* = a level L tone (contrasting with a L that downglides from L to a lower L before pause). For the proposed Proto-Grassfields Bantu (PGB) reconstructions, indicated below these forms, see Hyman & Tadadjeu (1976: 85).

Important for our purposes is that the PGB possessive pronoun reconstructions directly correspond to the morphologically complex independent pronominal stems proposed for Proto-Bantu (PB) by Kamba Muzenga (2003: 215): **-a-mi-e*, **-u-br-e*, **-a-i-*, **-i-cu-e*, **-i-ɲu-e*, **-a-ba-o* (cf. Table 20). The story is quite different in the Ring and Momo subgroups, at least in the third person.

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Table 2: Class 1/2 possessive pronouns in various EGB languages

Language	class 1 *gù-						class 2 *bá-					
	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
Mankon	ɣá	ɣò	yié	wàɣá	wàŋá	wàá	bá	bô	byé	báyá	báŋá	báá
Mbui	wà	ɣò	wi°	wii°	wà°	wl°	bá	búó	bí	bíi	bá	bá
Bamenyan	wiè	ɣò	yé	wú	wô	wô	pié	pô	pé	piú	pó	pó
Babadjou	ɣà	ɣò	yé°	wó°	wèi°	ɣàp°	pâ	pô	pé	pó	péi	páp
Dschang	ɣà	wù	yi°	wàk°	wè°	wòp°	pá	pú	pí	pák	pé	póp
Ngwe	ɣà	ɣò	gyé°	wà°	wl°	wàp°	bá	bó	bé	bák	bá	bálp
Babete	á	ò	e°	wàk°	wú°	wòp°	pá	pú	pé	pák	piú	póp
Bati	á	ù	i	pò	yi	ɣàp	pá	pú	pí	pò	yi	ɣàp
Bagam	á	ò	e°	wíŋi	wúŋ°	wòp°	pá	pó	pé	piŋi	piŋ	póp
Bangang	á	ò	i°	wàk°	yi°	wòp°	pá	pú	pé	pák	pí	póp
Baloum	á	ò	i°	w ^h tú°	wè°	wòp°	pá	pú	pí	p ^h tú	pé	póp
Fomopea	á	ò	i°	wàk°	wè°	wòp°	pá	pú	pí	pák	pé	póp
Bamendjou	á	ò	i°	wàk°	wú°	wòp°	pá	pó	pí	pák	piú	póp
Baleng	á	ò	e°	wàk°	wè°	wùp°	pá	pú	pyé	pók	pé	piúp
Bandjoun	á	ò	e°	yók°	yó°	ɣàp°	pá	pū	pyá	pók	pó	páp
Batie	á	ò	e	yók°	yèè°	ɣàp°	pé	pó	pé	pók	péé	páp
Bangou	á	ù	i	yòh	yú	yòp	pē	pō	pá	pōh	piú	póp
Bangwa	é-á	ù-ò	i-è	yó	zyá	zúp	pé	pú	pí	pó	pyá	piúp
Batoufam	á	ù	i	wó	wúyá	wùp	pē	pū	pá	pó	piúyá	piúp
Fotouni	á	ò	i	yó°	yé°	ɣàp°	βá	βó	βí	βó	βé	βáp
Fondanti	á	ò	i	yó	yi	ɣàp	bá	bó	bí	yó	yi	ɣàp
Fe'fe'	á	ò	i°	yòh°	yii°	ɣàá°	bá	bô	bí	bòh	bí	bāá
Bali	á	ù	i	yú?/tú	yín	ɣàp	bá	bú	bí	bú?/tú	bín	báp
Bamun	á	ù	i	tún	áp	pá	pú	pí	piú	piún	páp	
Bapi	á	ú	í	yú?/tún	yóp	pá	pú	pí	piú?	piún	póp	
Bangangte	ám	ò	e°	yág°	zin°	yòb°	cám	có	tsá	cághá	tsíná°	cóbá°
Limbum	ɣà	ɣò	yi	yèr	yèè	ɣàb	wá	wó	ví	wér	wéé	wáb
Adere	wám	wó	wi°	-wút°	-wún°	-wó	bám	bó	bí	-wút°	-wún°	-wó

PGB: *gù-ámá *gù-ò *gù-í *gù-ítá *gù-íná *gù-ábá *bá-ámá *bá-ò *bá-í *bá-ítá *bá-íná *bá-ábá

4 Ring Grassfields Bantu

While the EGB languages provide a “baseline” for Proto-Grassfields Bantu, Ring and Momo have innovated new third person pronouns. Thus, in the Ring languages, Babanki *wén* and Aghem *wín* ‘him/her, his/her’ are quite different from the PGB 3sg *-í reconstruction. In past literature I have considered two different historical scenarios (to which we will return below):

The third person pronoun ‘his/hers’ is derived from the noun /əwén/ ‘body’ (Hyman 1980a: 245)

... the form ‘his/her’ is related to the demonstrative root -ín ‘this/these’. His-

torically, a form such as [Aghem] *nwín* ⁺*ft* ⁺*wín* ‘his/her bird’ meant ‘bird of this one’. (Hyman 1979: 29)

In other words, it is possible that the new third person pronouns came either from a noun such as ‘body’ or from the near speaker demonstrative. In order to observe the phonetic resemblances, compare in Table 3 the following Babanki and Kom pronouns and ‘near speaker’ demonstratives with their words for ‘body’: Babanki *à-wén*, Kom *ā-wūin* (Hyman 1980b, Kom notes; Jones 2001).

Table 3: Babanki and Kom pronouns and ‘near speaker’ demonstratives

	Babanki		Kom	
a.	<i>mò</i> ‘me’	<i>yès</i> ‘us’	<i>mā</i> ‘me’	<i>γλs</i> ‘us’
	<i>wù</i> ‘you sg.’	<i>γλη</i> ‘you pl.’	<i>vva</i> ‘you sg.’	<i>zì</i> ‘you pl.’
b.	<i>cl.</i> ‘him, them, it’	‘this/these’	‘him, them, it’	‘this/these’
	1 <i>wén</i>	<i>à-γèn</i>	<i>ηwēn</i>	<i>ā-wēn</i>
	2 <i>và-wé⁺n-á</i>	<i>à-vén-á</i>	<i>à-ηāná</i>	<i>ā-γèn^o</i>
	3 <i>à-wé⁺é-γá</i>	<i>à-γén-á</i>	<i>à-ηwēn</i>	<i>ā-wēn^o</i>
	5 <i>à-wé⁺é-zá</i>	<i>à-zén-á</i>	<i>ì-ηēn-ī</i>	<i>ī-γén-ì^o</i>
	6 <i>à-wé⁺é-γá</i>	<i>à-fén-á</i>	<i>à-ηkān-ā</i>	<i>ā-kán-à^o</i>
	7 <i>kà-wén(-ká)</i>	<i>à-kén-á</i>	<i>à-ηkān-ā</i>	<i>ā-kán-à^o</i>
	8 <i>à-wé⁺é-vá</i>	<i>à-vén-á</i>	<i>à-ηwēn</i>	<i>ā-wēn^o</i>
	9 <i>wén</i>	<i>à-zèn</i>	<i>ηēn</i>	<i>ā-γén</i>
	10 <i>sà-wén(-sá)</i>	<i>à-sēn-sá</i>	<i>ñsēn-sā</i>	<i>ā-sén-sà^o</i>
	13 <i>tà-wén(-tá)</i>	<i>à-tēn-tá</i>	<i>ñēn-tā</i>	<i>ā-tén-tà^o</i>
	19 <i>fà-wén(-fá)</i>	<i>à-fēn-fá</i>	<i>ñfēnfā</i>	<i>ā-fén-fà^o</i>
	6a <i>η-wéé-mà</i>	<i>à-mèn-à</i>	<i>àmēn</i>	<i>ā-mēn</i>

While phonological rules obscure some of the forms (e.g. by deleting an intervocalic [n] in some of the pronominal forms in Babanki), the phonetic resemblance of the new third person pronouns to both the demonstrative ‘this/these’ and the word for ‘body’ is striking. (The Kom form *ā-wūin* ‘body’ shows labialization into the root from the historically prior form **ú-wín*; cf. Oku, to which we now turn.)

In Table 4 the first and second person possessives are shown for the different noun classes in Oku (from my notes). Although the second person singular

forms have the unrounded diphthong [iɛ] and final **t* has become [s] in the first person plural forms, the above pronominal forms clearly resemble those reconstructed in PGB Table 2. In addition, there is an initial underlying /ə-/ on the pronoun, corresponding to PGB *ə-CV-PRON, which however can become obscured by phonology, e.g. *kēkém əkóm* → *kēkém kóm* ‘my crab’.

Table 4: Oku 1p and 2p possessives for each Oku noun class

cl.	noun	gloss		‘my’	‘your sg’	‘our (excl)’	‘your pl’
1	<i>wān</i>	‘child’	<i>wān</i>	<i>wōm</i>	<i>vīè</i>	<i>wēs</i>	<i>wēn</i>
2	<i>γón</i>	‘children’	<i>γón</i>	<i>əγóm</i>	<i>əγiè</i>	<i>əγés</i>	<i>əγén</i>
3	<i>ēbléŋ</i>	‘bamboo’	<i>ēbléŋ</i>	<i>wóm</i>	<i>vīè</i>	<i>wés</i>	<i>wén</i>
4	<i>iléŋ</i>	‘bamboos’	<i>iléŋ</i>	<i>əγóm</i>	<i>əziè</i>	<i>əγés</i>	<i>əγén</i>
5	<i>īfóŋ</i>	‘tooth’	<i>īfóŋ</i>	<i>əγóm</i>	<i>əziè</i>	<i>əγés</i>	<i>əγén</i>
6	<i>ēsóŋ</i>	‘teeth’	<i>ēsóŋ</i>	<i>əγóm</i>	<i>əγiè</i>	<i>əγés</i>	<i>əγén</i>
7	<i>kēkém</i>	‘crab’	<i>kēkém</i>	<i>kóm</i>	<i>kīè</i>	<i>kés</i>	<i>kén</i>
8	<i>ēbkém</i>	‘crabs’	<i>ēbkém</i>	<i>wóm</i>	<i>vīè</i>	<i>wés</i>	<i>wén</i>
9	<i>ɲâm</i>	‘animal’	<i>ɲâm</i>	<i>γōm</i>	<i>ziè</i>	<i>yēs</i>	<i>yēn</i>
10	<i>ɲámsā</i>	‘animals’	<i>ɲâm</i>	<i>sóm</i>	<i>fiè</i>	<i>sés</i>	<i>sén</i>
13	<i>tābú</i>	‘kolanuts’	<i>tābú</i>	<i>tóm</i>	<i>tīè</i>	<i>tés</i>	<i>tén</i>
19	<i>fānān</i>	‘bird’	<i>fānān</i>	<i>fóm</i>	<i>fiè</i>	<i>fés</i>	<i>fén</i>
6a	<i>m̄nān</i>	‘birds’	<i>m̄nān</i>	<i>mōm</i>	<i>mīè</i>	<i>mēs</i>	<i>mēn</i>

Oku third person possessives are again quite different, as seen in the forms in Table 5 compared with those from EGB in Table 2.

As indicated, in the third person singular, Oku distinguishes both anaphoric and logophoric possessive pronouns, the latter cognate with the EGB pronominal forms seen above in Table 2. This WGB pattern was already noted by Voorhoeve:

Une comparaison entre les deux types de langues met en évidence que le pronom logophorique sg correspond avec le pronom anaphorique sg dans les langues [EGB] sans pronom logophorique. (Voorhoeve 1980: 192, describing Ngwo, a Momo language—see §5).

As also noted, instead of a uniform L tone ə-, an associative marker ‘of’ occurs between the noun and third person “pronoun”: ə- after class 1, sé- after class 10, mè- after class 6a, and é-. This follows the same pattern as in ‘Noun₁ of Noun₂’ genitive constructions in Table 6, which is greatly simplified compared to other Ring languages:

Table 5: Oku 3p possessives for each Oku noun class

cl.	noun	gloss	‘his/her’		‘their’		‘his/her (log.)’	
1	wān	‘child’	wān	wēn	wān	γēn	wān	vī
2	γón	‘children’	γón	ó wēn	γón	ó γēn	γón	èyí
3	ēbléŋ	‘bamboo’	ēbléŋ	ó wēn	ēbléŋ	ó γēn	ēbléŋ	èví
4	īléŋ	‘bamboos’	īléŋ	ó wēn	īléŋ	ó γēn	īléŋ	èzí
5	īfóŋ	‘tooth’	īfóŋ	ó wēn	īfóŋ	ó γēn	īfóŋ	èzí
6	ēsóŋ	‘teeth’	ēsóŋ	ó wēn	ēsóŋ	ó γēn	ēsóŋ	èfí
7	kēkém	‘crab’	kēkém	ó wēn	kēkém	ó γēn	kēkém	èkí
8	ēbkém	‘crabs’	ēbkém	ó wēn	ēbkém	ó γēn	ēbkém	èví
9	ɲàm	‘animal’	ɲàm	wēn	ɲàm	γēn	ɲàm	zī
10	ɲámsē	‘animals’	ɲámsē	wēn	ɲámsē	γēn	ɲámsē	èsí
13	tēbíí	‘kolanuts’	tēbíí	ó wēn	tēbíí	ó γēn	tēbíí	tí
19	fēnúń	‘bird’	fēnúń	ó wēn	fēnúń	ó γēn	fēnúń	fí
6a	mńún	‘birds’	mńún	mē wēn	mńún	mē wēn	mńún	mēmí

Table 6: Oku ‘Noun₁ of Noun₂’ genitive constructions

cl.	noun ₁ of noun ₂		cl.	noun ₁ of noun ₂	
1	wān à kékàs	‘child of slave’	2	γón ó kékàs	‘children of slave’
3	ēbléŋ ó kékàs	‘bamboo of slave’	4	īléŋ ó kékàs	‘bamboos of slave’
5	īfóŋ ó kékàs	‘tooth of slave’	6	ēsóŋ ó kékàs	‘teeth of slave’
7	kēkém ó kékàs	‘crab of slave’	8	ēbkém ó kékàs	‘crabs of slave’
9	ɲàm à kékàs	‘animal of slave’	10	ɲám sē kékàs	‘animals of slave’
13	tēyúm ó kékàs	‘eggs of slave’			
19	fēnúń ó kékàs	‘bird of slave’	6a	mńún mē kékàs	‘birds of slave’

As in other African languages, logophoric pronouns refer back to person(s) reporting indirect discourse (/yí/ → zí):

(4) a. Subj:

èb sōí gē èb gwí yè ‘he₁ says that he_j/she_j is coming’

èb sōí gē zī gwí yè ‘he₁ says that he₁ (LOG) is coming’

s/he say that PRON come PROG

b. Obj:

èb sōí gē mē ne lō yēn wīn ‘he₁ says that I saw him_j/her_j’

èb sōí gē mē ne lō yēn zī ‘he₁ says that I saw him₁ (LOG)’

s/he say that I PAST ASP see PRON

c. Poss:

èb sōi gē zī yéná kēkém á wīn ‘he_i says that he_i sees his_j crab (cl. 7)’

èb sōi gē zī yéná ēbkém á wīn ‘he_i says that he_i sees his_j crabs (cl. 8)’

èb sōi gē zī yéná kēkém àkí ‘he_i says that he_i sees his_i (LOG) crab (cl. 7)’

èb sōi gē zī yéná ēbkém àví ‘he_i says that he_i sees his_i (LOG) crabs (cl. 8)’

While the reconstructed 3sg. **-í* pronoun serves both an anaphoric and logophoric function in EGB, the innovated third person anaphoric pronouns in the Ring languages have clearly replaced the inherited **-í* forms (as will be seen again in the Momo languages in §5). But where did the new pronouns come from, and why?

In order to get a fuller picture, relevant comparative data from different Ring languages are presented in Table 8 on the next page (logophors in parentheses are identical to the anaphors). As can be observed, in most of their paradigm, Ring languages have replaced the inherited third person anaphoric pronouns seen in EGB in Table 2 above. Class 2 ‘they, them’ is often derived from the singular, at least in some cases, e.g. Babanki *və-wén* ‘-ə; Babungo *və-ηwə* > *vəŋ* (?). In addition we can observe the following:

- (i) Neither ‘body’ nor ‘this/these’ provides a perfect phonetic source for the third person sg. pronoun.
- (ii) The root for ‘body’ is identical in Babanki and Lamnso’; however, class 3 ‘body’ would require new forms to be developed in the other classes (its own plural is in class 4 (Aghem, Kom), 13 (Aghem, Kom) or 6a (Mbizinaku, Bafmeng, Bum, Weh)).
- (iii) Class 1 ‘this’ is identical to the third person singular pronoun in Aghem; both it and ‘body’ work for Lamnso’.
- (iv) Neither works for Oku *wēn* (with ML tone), where the ‘word for ‘body’ is *ēbwún* and demonstratives have the vowel /i/ and L tone.

Table 7: Oku demonstratives with vowel /i/ and L tone

1	<i>vìn</i>	2	<i>yìn</i>	7	<i>kìn</i>	8	<i>vìn</i>	19	<i>fìn</i>	6a	<i>mìn</i>
3	<i>vìn</i>	4	<i>zìn</i>	9	<i>zìn</i>	10	<i>fìn</i>				
5	<i>yìn</i>	6	<i>kìn</i>	13	<i>tìn</i>						(w, y → v, ʒ / — i)

Table 8: Comparative data from different Ring languages

Language	cl.1/2 pronouns		cl.1 demonstratives			class 1 3sg.			sg. <i>logophorics</i>			
	3sg.	3pl.	'body'	'n.s.'	'n.h.'	'far'	subj.	obj.	poss.	subj.	obj.	poss.
Aghem	wín	yé	ówé	wín	vò	òvò	ò	wín	wín	é	yé	yé
Babanki	wén	vàwé ⁴ ná	àwén ⁴	àyéñ	zìá	əzì	ɣà	wén	wén		yi	yi
Babessi	yí	ñwé	ñú/ñwénà	ñwé	yí:		yí	ñá	yí:		yí	
Babungo	ñwá	vəŋ	ñwá	ñwə	ɣó ⁻	wí	ñwá	ñwá	wí		yí	(wí)
Bafmng	vēŋ	ɣəñə	ēwítŋ	vítŋ	vē ^ˈ	vít	ènvá	vèŋ	vēŋ		èzə	(vēŋ)
Bum	wūn	ɣəñV ^ˈ	ūwūn	wūnə ^ˈ	wē ^ˈ	wəksə						
Isu	'wé	ɣú~wú	úwéé	'wó	'wíy	'wíy	ù	'wé	'wé		iyé	iyé
Kom	ñwēn	əŋəná	əwūn	wēñ	ví ^ˈ	vī ^ˈ	wù	ñwēn	ñwēn		yí	ví
Lamnso ^ˈ	wūn ^ˈ	áwūné ^ˈ	wūñ	vəñ	vəy	vəsə	wù	wūñ	və ^ˈ		wūn	
Mbizinaku	wēin	əŋéin	əwóin	vəin	və ^ˈ			wēin	wēin			
Oku	wèñ	yèné	ēbwūn	vìn	vì	vū	èb	wèñ	wèñ		zì	vì
Weh	'wí	yí	úwú ^ˈ	wəñ	wí	wéí	tá ^ˈ	'wí	'wí			
Zoa	'wí	yí	úfít ^ˈ		wí	má	wóŋ					

Could this mean that the demonstrative became a pronoun in one language which had the appropriate vowel and tone, and then spread to the other languages? All of this could have diffused areally (cf. the discussion of Noni in (5) below).

Let us assume the historical derivation Dem > Pron for the present discussion. Why were the new pronouns innovated? The following observations may serve as hints:

- (i) Dem > Pron first affects Obj (object, oblique and independent pronouns), then possessive or subject in the following stages:

Stage 1: Obj : Lamnso'

Stage 2: Obj + Poss : Aghem, Babanki, Bafmeng, Kom, Oku

Stage 3: Obj + Subj : Babungo

Stage 4: Obj + Poss + Subj : no Ring language yet attested

- (ii) It is the demonstrative 'this' that is involved—vs. 'that' (near hearer) or 'that' (remote); cf §7.

- (iii) The same languages develop logophoric marking—starting first with subject position:

Stage 1: Subj : Bafmeng

Stage 2: Subj + Obj : Babungo

Stage 3: Subj + Obj + Poss : Aghem, Kom, Oku

The hypothesis that we can therefore advance is that both innovations have to do with marking co- vs. non-co-referential pronouns. As is well-known, 'this' is often an introducer of a new referent (non-coferential): *I ran into this guy and he said...* (vs. 'that': *I don't like that guy!*). In addition, non-subject (Obj) pronouns are more likely to be "new" than subjects (hence non-coreferential?). It therefore should be the case that the demonstrative would become a pronoun first in non-subject positions. Contrasting with this, logophoric pronouns are coreferential, systematically opposed to coreferential third persons, and are best suited for subject position (= most "given", referring back to the speaker).

However, at least two systems do not fit the pattern. The first, seen in Table 9, is the curious "reverse" case of Lamnso' third person singular subject: *wù* (anaphoric) vs. *wùn* (logophoric).

Table 9: Lamnso' personal pronouns including logophoric

	1sg	2sg	3sg	Log	1pl	2pl	3pl
subject	<i>m̄, mo-</i>	<i>à', wō-</i>	<i>wù</i>	<i>wùn</i>	<i>vèr'</i>	<i>vèn'</i>	<i>vé-, á</i>
object	<i>mō'</i>	<i>wò</i>	<i>wūn'</i>		<i>vēr'</i>	<i>vēn'</i>	<i>áwūnē'</i>
cl. 1 poss.	<i>wōm'</i>	<i>wò</i>	<i>vā</i>		<i>wōr'</i>	<i>wōn'</i>	<i>wōv'</i>
cl. 2. poss.	<i>vém</i>	<i>vé'</i>	<i>vá</i>		<i>vér</i>	<i>vén</i>	<i>vév</i>
	<i>-ém</i>	<i>-é'</i>	<i>-á</i>		<i>-ér</i>	<i>-én</i>	<i>-év (e → o / w ___)</i>

About these, Grebe (1982: Appendix II) says the following:

/wùn/ is used in speech quotation referring to original speaker... (Appendix II, p.23)

/vé-/ is used in contexts where the subject pronoun receives a suffix to mark tense or mood, e.g. */vé-é/* 'they-past-tense'. */á/* is used in all other contexts if the referent is impersonal, as well as for personal referents if the pronoun occurs in a relative or various other subordinate clauses. A third form, */áwūnē/* 'they' is always personal and occurs only in independent clauses (Appendix II, p.7)

Even more curious is Noni, a Beboïd (Bantoid) language spoken near Lamnso' and Oku (Hyman 1981: 15, 20), where the logophoric pronouns resemble the demonstrative forms in the Ring languages:

Table 10: Noni personal pronouns including logophoric

	1sg	2sg	3sg _j	3sg _i	Log	1pl	2pl	3pl	Log
subj/obj	<i>mē</i>	<i>wò</i>	<i>wvù</i>	—	<i>wēn</i>	<i>bèsèn</i>	<i>bèn</i>	<i>bó</i>	<i>bòwēn</i>
cl. 1 poss.	<i>wēm</i>	<i>wò</i>	<i>wè</i>	—	<i>wēn</i>	<i>wèsèn</i>	<i>wènè</i>	<i>(wù)bð</i>	<i>bòwēn</i>
cl. 2 poss.	<i>bēm</i>	<i>bōw</i>	<i>bêw</i>	<i>bēŋ</i>	<i>bō-wēn-é</i>	<i>bòsèsèn</i>	<i>bònèn</i>	<i>bòbòlélé</i>	<i>bō-bòwēn-é</i>
cl. 7 poss.	<i>kēm</i>	<i>kōw</i>	<i>kêw</i>	<i>kēŋ</i>	<i>ke-wēn-é</i>	<i>kèsèsèn</i>	<i>kènèn</i>	<i>kēbòlélé</i>	<i>kē-bòwēn-é</i>

As I have elsewhere speculated (Hyman 1981: 15-16), Noni apparently borrowed *wēn*, but got it "wrong", allowing it in subject position (as elsewhere only in Babungo) and developing a plural form *bò-wēn*, which I have not found in Ring:

6 Third person pronouns in Grassfields Bantu

(5) a. sg.:

wvù dóó lē wvù bélé gèn fᵔwǎy 'he_i says that he_j/she_j went to market' (today)
wvù dóó lē wēn bélé gèn fᵔwǎy 'he_i says that he_i (LOG.) went to market'
 s/he say that PRON PAST.FOC go to.market

b. pl.:

bó dóó lē bó bélé gèn fᵔwǎy 'they_i say that they_j went to market' (today)
bó dóó lē bᵔwēn bélé gèn fᵔwǎy 'they_i say that they_i (LOG.) went to market'
 they say that PRON PAST.FOC go to.market

Noni does not provide an exact form *wēn* 'this' > PRON, but related Naki comes closer (Good 2010):

Table 11: Noni and Naki proximate demonstratives 'this'

	Noni	Naki		Noni	Naki		Noni	Naki
1	<i>wvùn</i>	<i>wèn</i>	6	<i>ēyān</i>	<i>nān</i>	10	<i>yīn</i>	<i>yān</i>
2	<i>bān</i>	<i>bǎn</i>	6a	<i>mān</i>	<i>mān</i>	13	<i>jīn</i>	—
3	<i>wvūn</i>	<i>wǎn</i>	7	<i>kīn</i>	<i>kān</i>	14	<i>bvūn</i>	<i>wǎn</i>
4	<i>yīn</i>	—	8	<i>bīn</i>	<i>byān</i>	19	<i>fīn</i>	<i>fyān</i>
5	<i>jīn</i>	—	9	<i>yīn</i>	<i>yān</i>	18	<i>mvūn</i>	<i>mān</i>

Finally, note that Weh has generalized the associative to all possessives except first and second person singular, e.g. *ndóη/tāndóη* 'horn(s)' 9/13:

Table 12: Weh possessive pronouns and generalized associative

'my'	'your sg.'	'his/her'	'our'	'your pl.'	'their'
<i>ndóη zú⁺ ḡ</i>	<i>ndóη zu</i>	<i>ndóη à wé</i>	<i>ndóη à sà</i>	<i>ndóη à yà</i>	<i>ndóη à yú</i>
<i>ndóη tú⁺ ḡ</i>	<i>ndóη tū</i>	<i>ndóη tᵔ⁺ wé</i>	<i>ndóη tᵔ⁺ sà</i>	<i>ndóη tᵔ⁺ yà</i>	<i>ndóη tᵔ⁺ yú</i>

5 Momo Grassfields Bantu

This section will be shorter, as less material has been available to me on Momo languages than on Ring. The important observation to make is that new third person personal pronouns have been introduced (mostly different in form from the Ring pronouns), including reflexives. There is considerable variation. We start with Ngamambo, whose independent possessive pronouns are shown in Table 13.

Table 13: Ngamambo independent possessive pronouns

cl.	'mine'	'yours sg.'	'his/hers'	'ours'	'yours pl'	'theirs'
1	<i>ì-wūm</i>	<i>ì-wē`</i>	<i>wū mÁt</i>	<i>ì-wā</i>	<i>ì-wān</i>	<i>wū mǎ- mÁt</i>
2=8	<i>ṁ-búm</i>	<i>ṁ-bê</i>	<i>ṁbó mÁt</i>	<i>ṁ-bá</i>	<i>ṁ-bán</i>	<i>ṁbó mǎ- mÁt</i>
3	<i>ì-wúm</i>	<i>ì-wê</i>	<i>wú mÁt</i>	<i>ì-wá</i>	<i>ì-wón</i>	<i>wú mǎ- mÁt</i>
6=7	<i>à-zúm</i>	<i>à-bê</i>	<i>zá mÁt</i>	<i>à-zá</i>	<i>à-zón</i>	<i>zá mǎ- mÁt</i>
9	<i>ì-zúm</i>	<i>ì-zē`</i>	<i>zā mÁt</i>	<i>ì-zā</i>	<i>ì-zān</i>	<i>zā mǎ- mÁt</i>
10=13	<i>ì-túm</i>	<i>ì-tê</i>	<i>ló mÁt</i>	<i>ì-tá</i>	<i>ì-tán</i>	<i>ló mǎ- mÁt</i>
19	<i>ì-fúm</i>	<i>ì-fê</i>	<i>fó mÁt</i>	<i>ì-fá</i>	<i>ì-fán</i>	<i>fó mǎ- mÁt</i>
6a	<i>ṁ-búm</i> <i>/-úm/</i>	<i>ṁ-bē`</i> <i>/-ê/</i>	<i>ṁbā mÁt</i>	<i>ṁ-bā</i> <i>/-á/</i>	<i>ṁ-bān</i> <i>/-án/</i>	<i>ṁbā mǎ- mÁt</i>

Note the third person pronominal root */mÁt/* (< ?), whose plural form *mǎ-mÁt* has a class 2 prefix (**bǎ-*).

As seen in Table 14, the above possessive pronouns occur after a noun (the noun glosses are given in Table 15).

Table 14: Ngamambo possessive pronouns that follow the noun

cl.	'my'	'your sg'	'his/her'	'our'	'your pl'	'their'
1	<i>kánÁ⁺ wūm</i>	<i>kánÁ⁺ wē⁺</i>	<i>kánÁ mÁt</i>	<i>kánÁ⁺ wā</i>	<i>kánÁ⁺ wān</i>	<i>kánÁ mǎmÁt</i>
3	<i>íkón wúm</i>	<i>íkón wē⁺</i>	<i>íkón mÁt</i>	<i>íkón wá</i>	<i>íkón wān</i>	<i>íkón mǎmÁt</i>
7	<i>Átsám Á zúm</i>	<i>Átsám Á zē⁺</i>	<i>Átsám Á mÁt</i>	<i>Átsám Á zá</i>	<i>Átsám Á zán</i>	<i>Átsám Á mǎmÁt</i>
9	<i>gwí⁺ zūm</i>	<i>gwí⁺ zē⁺</i>	<i>gwí mÁt</i>	<i>gwí⁺ zā</i>	<i>gwí⁺ zān</i>	<i>gwí mǎmÁt</i>
10	<i>gwí tūm</i>	<i>gwí tē⁺</i>	<i>gwí ló mÁt</i>	<i>gwí tā</i>	<i>gwí tān</i>	<i>gwí lǎ mǎmÁt</i>
19	<i>fǎkámá fúm</i>	<i>fǎkámá fē⁺</i>	<i>fǎkámá fǎ mÁt</i>	<i>fǎkámá fá</i>	<i>fǎkámá fán</i>	<i>fǎkámá fǎ mǎmÁt</i>

Shorter preposed variants exist in first and second person, but not third person, and are shown in Table 15.

Table 15: Ngamambo shorter possessive pronouns for 1sg & 2sg that precede the noun

cl.	noun		‘my’	‘your sg’	‘our’	‘your pl’
1	<i>kánÁ</i>	‘monkey’	<i>mā kánÁ</i>	<i>ē kánÁ</i>	<i>ā kánÁ</i>	<i>wā kánÁ</i>
3	<i>íkón</i>	‘hill’	<i>má kón</i>	<i>ē kón</i>	<i>á kón</i>	<i>wá kón</i>
7	<i>ātsám</i>	‘home’	<i>mÁ tsám</i>	<i>ē tsám</i>	<i>á tsám</i>	<i>zá tsám</i>
9	<i>gwí</i>	‘goat’	<i>mā gwí</i>	<i>ē gwí</i>	<i>ā gwí</i>	<i>wā gwí</i>
10	<i>gwí</i>	‘goats’	<i>túm gwí</i>	<i>tē gwí</i>	<i>tá gwí</i>	<i>tán gwí</i>
19	<i>fákámá</i>	‘crab’	<i>fúm fákámá</i>	<i>fē fákámá</i>	<i>fá fákámá</i>	<i>fán fákámá</i>

Turning to another Momo language, Ngie has a full set of sg logophoric possessive pronouns, which Watters (1980) shows preposed to the noun in Table 16. Class 4 *ɪní* is not completely certain.

Table 16: Ngie logophoric possessive pronouns

	[-LOG]	[+LOG]		[-LOG]	[+LOG]		[-LOG]	[+LOG]
1	<i>ùŋgwēn</i>	<i>ùŋgwī</i>	5	<i>ùŋgwēn</i>	<i>ɪní</i>	9	<i>ùŋgwēn</i>	<i>ɪnjī</i>
2	<i>ùŋgwēn</i>	<i>ùmbí</i>	6	<i>ùŋgwēn</i>	<i>ɪní</i>	10	<i>ùŋgwēn</i>	<i>ítí</i>
3	<i>ùŋgwēn</i>	<i>ùŋgwí</i>	7	<i>ùŋgwēn</i>	<i>ɪnjí</i>	13	<i>ùŋgwēn</i>	<i>ùfí</i>
4	<i>ùŋgwēn</i>	<i>ɪní ?</i>	8	<i>ùŋgwēn</i>	<i>ùmbí</i>	19	<i>ùŋgwēn</i>	<i>ítí</i>

Table 17 presents a comparison of four Momo pronoun systems: Ngie (Elimlech 1980; Watters 1980), Ngwo (Voorhoeve 1980), Mundani (Parker 1986; 1989), Metta (Spreda 1991; 2000; Mihás 2009). Different third person forms are innovated (*wēn*, *mát*, *ta/to*), again affecting non-subject pronouns first, sometimes only the singular (e.g. Moghamo *mát* ‘his/her’ vs. *-ɔp* ‘their’). In Table 18 I present the class 1/2 demonstratives in six Momo languages. (The Moghamo and Oshie data are due to Stallcup 1980; in addition, the ‘near hearer’ forms may also/instead mean ‘the one in question, the one referred to’.)

It appears that the new forms do not closely resemble the current demonstratives (although *n*-final forms do occur), nor does the word ‘body’ look promising as a source, except that it ends in *-t*, like *mát* (PGB **-nód*, PB **-yótó*). While the original pronominal forms show up again as logophoric *-í*, *-é* in Table 17, there also are new reflexive pronouns of the shape *ma* and *mə*. This latter development

Table 17: Momo pronoun systems: Ngie, Ngwo, Mundani, and Metta

Ngie	1sg	2sg	3sg	log	refl	1pl	2pl	3pl	log	refl
subj	<i>mā</i>	<i>ŋgwā</i>	<i>wā</i>	<i>yī</i>		<i>m̄ba</i>	<i>m̄bēna</i>	<i>m̄bī</i>	<i>m̄bi</i>	
obj	<i>ŋwū</i>	<i>yā^ʼ</i>	<i>ùŋwēn</i>	<i>yī</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>(ŋ)gwā</i>	<i>(ŋ)gwēn</i>	<i>ūŋwēn</i>	<i>ŋgwī</i>	<i>ùmā^o</i>
cl. 1 poss	<i>ùŋwū</i>	<i>ùŋgwē</i>	<i>ùŋgwēn</i>	<i>ùŋgwi</i>	<i>umā</i>	<i>ùŋgwā</i>	<i>ù-ŋgwēn</i>	<i>uŋgwi</i>	<i>uŋgwi</i>	<i>ùmā</i>
cl. 2 poss	<i>ùmbîŋ</i>	<i>ùmbiē</i>	<i>ùŋwēn</i>	<i>ùmbiē</i>	<i>umā</i>	<i>ù-mbā</i>	<i>ù-mbēn</i>	<i>umbī</i>	<i>umbī</i>	<i>ùmā</i>
Ngwo	1sg	2sg	3sg	log	refl	1pl	2pl	3pl	log	refl
subj	<i>m̄mē</i>	<i>ŋgwō</i>	<i>ŋgō</i>	<i>m̄bē</i>		<i>m̄byē</i>	<i>m̄bōn</i>	<i>àngōō</i>	<i>m̄bōō</i>	
obj	<i>āŋgú</i>	<i>awē^ʼ</i>		<i>āŋgwē</i>	<i>āmō</i>	<i>āŋgwē</i>	<i>āngōn</i>	<i>àngōō</i>	<i>āŋgōō</i>	<i>āmō^o</i>
cl. 1 poss.	<i>ŋgwā</i>	<i>ŋgwē^ʼ</i>	<i>ŋgō</i>	<i>ŋgwē</i>	<i>mō</i>	<i>ŋgwē</i>	<i>ŋgwōn</i>	<i>àngōō</i>	<i>ŋgwōō</i>	<i>āmō</i>
cl. 2 poss.	<i>mbā</i>	<i>mbyē</i>	<i>ŋgō</i>	<i>mbē</i>	<i>mō</i>	<i>mbyē</i>	<i>mbōn</i>	<i>àngōō</i>	<i>mbōō</i>	<i>āmō</i>
Mundani	1sg	2sg	3sg	log	refl	1pl	2pl	3pl	log	refl
subj	<i>mā</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ta, a, e</i>	<i>yé</i>		<i>bā</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>bō, bē, é</i>		
obj	<i>m</i>	<i>wē^ʼ</i>	<i>tō, we</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>wá</i>	<i>wí</i>	<i>wōb, be</i>		
cl. 1 poss	<i>wō</i>	<i>wē</i>	<i>é-tō</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>wá</i>	<i>wí</i>	<i>wōb</i>		
cl. 2 poss	<i>bō</i>	<i>bē</i>	<i>é-tō</i>	<i>bi ?</i>	<i>bi ?</i>	<i>bá</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>bōb</i>		
Metta	1sg	2sg	3sg	log	refl	1pl	2pl	3pl	log	refl
subj	<i>mā</i>	<i>āwō</i>	<i>wī</i>			<i>m̄bā (tī)</i>	<i>m̄bō</i>	<i>m̄bī</i>		
emphatic	<i>mō</i>	<i>āwō</i>	<i>māt</i>			<i>m̄bā</i>	<i>m̄bōnā</i>	<i>m̄māt</i>		
object	<i>āmī</i>	<i>āwē</i>	<i>āmāt</i>		<i>āwī</i>	<i>āwā</i>	<i>āwōn</i>	<i>m̄māt</i>		<i>āwōn</i>
cl. 1 poss	<i>iwúm</i>	<i>iwē</i>	<i>-māt</i>			<i>iwá</i>	<i>iwōn</i>	<i>iwōp</i>		
cl. 2 poss	<i>imbúm</i>	<i>imbē</i>	<i>-māt</i>			<i>imbā</i>	<i>imbōn</i>	<i>imbōp</i>		
Moghamo	1sg	2sg	3sg	log	refl	1pl	2pl	3pl	log	refl
cl. 1 poss	<i>iwúm</i>	<i>iwē</i>	<i>māt</i>			<i>iwá</i>	<i>iwōn</i>	<i>iwōp</i>		
cl. 2 poss	<i>imbúm</i>	<i>imbē</i>	<i>māt</i>			<i>imbá</i>	<i>imbōn</i>	<i>imbōp</i>		

Table 18: Class 1/2 demonstratives in six Momo languages

	‘near speaker’	‘near hearer’	‘remote’	‘body’			
Ngamambo	<i>ìwōō</i>	<i>m̄bōō</i>	<i>ìwē</i>	<i>m̄bé</i>	<i>ìywū</i>	<i>m̄bū</i>	<i>ipót</i>
Ngie	<i>ù-ŋwū</i>	<i>u-mbîŋ</i>	<i>ù-wā</i>	<i>u-biē</i>	<i>ù-wī</i>	<i>u-mbī</i>	<i>ipó</i>
Mundani	<i>wāā</i>	<i>bāā</i>	<i>wū</i>	<i>bū</i>	<i>wiá</i>	<i>biá</i>	<i>apót</i>
Metta	<i>wō</i>	<i>mbō</i>	<i>wē</i>	<i>mbé</i>	<i>wīn</i>	<i>mbīn</i>	<i>apót</i>
Moghamo	<i>wōn</i>	<i>m̄bōn</i>			<i>wīn</i>	<i>m̄bīn</i>	<i>ipót</i>
Oshie	<i>wāŋ</i>	<i>bāŋ</i>			<i>wī</i>	<i>bī</i>	<i>epét</i>

is quite rare in West Africa, where nouns such as ‘body’ or ‘head’ are used as a reflexive (but cf. PB **-méné* (~ **-jéné*) ‘self, same’). Thus:

The reflexive pronoun in Kenyang is actually a phrase comprised of the word for ‘body’ (*m-mwet*) and a possessive. (Ramirez 1998: 22)

However, note that the similar Momo root *-mát* is non-reflexive and non-logophoric. To conclude this section, anaphoric, logophoric and reflexive 3pl are exemplified in Ngie (Watters 1980: 48); cf. Voorhoeve (1980: 174) for Ngwo:

- (6) a. *m̄bī éyàì kwī m̄bī ékòmò ñwen*
 they[A] said that they[A] hit them[A]
 ‘they₁ said that they₂ hit them₃’
- b. *m̄bī éyàì kwī m̄bī ékòmò ñgwī*
 they[A] said that they[A] hit them[L]
 ‘they₁ said that they₂ hit them₁’
- c. *m̄bī éyàì kwī m̄bī ékòmò ùmà°*
 they[A] said that they[A] hit them[R]
 ‘they₁ said that they₂ hit themselves₂’
- d. *m̄bī éyàì kwī m̄bì ékòmò ñwen*
 they[A] said that they[L] hit them[A]
 ‘they₁ said that they₁ hit them₂’
- e. *m̄bī éyàì kwī m̄bì ékòmò ñgwī*
 they[A] said that they[L] hit them[L]
 ‘they₁ said that they₁ hit themselves₁’

Note in (6e) that the logophoric takes precedence over the reflexive form!

6 Beyond Grassfields Bantu

Perhaps if we take a look outside the Grassfields Bantu proper, there will be more hints as to where the WGB third person pronouns came from. Table 19 compares pronouns and demonstrative forms from Wider Bantu and Narrow Bantu zone A: Basaá (Hyman 2003), Tunen (Mous 2003), Akɔɔse (Hedinger 1980), Mankon (Leroy 2007), Ejagham (Watters 1981), Tikar (Stanley 1991), Bafia (Guarisma 2000). It is striking that Tunen, Mankon, Akɔɔse and Kenyang all have a final *-t* or second syllable [r] (< **d*) plus mid unrounded vowel, which is reminiscent of

Table 19: Pronouns and demonstratives from Wider Bantu and Narrow Bantu

	Basaá pron	Tunen pron	Mankon ind.pron	Akɔɔse ref.	Kenyang 'def.art.'	Ejagham ind.pron	Tikar pron	Akɔɔse 'this'	Bafia ref.
1sg	<i>mè</i>	<i>mùàḡó</i>	<i>/mè/</i>			<i>m̄mè</i>	<i>mùn</i>		
2sg	<i>wè</i>	<i>àḡó</i>	<i>/γḡ/</i>	<i>[r] = /d/</i>		<i>wà</i>	<i>wù</i>		
1pl	<i>bès</i>	<i>bʷàsú</i>	<i>/buiy'/</i>			<i>éd</i>	<i>bwiʔ</i>		
2pl	<i>bee</i>	<i>bʷànú</i>	<i>/bàn'/</i>			<i>èn</i>	<i>byin</i>		
cl. 1	<i>ḡé</i>	<i>wéy</i>	<i>zú, wérá</i>	<i>àwéré</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>yê</i>	<i>nun</i>	<i>àné</i>	<i>ànéèn</i>
cl. 2	<i>bó</i>	<i>bʷàbú</i>	<i>bó, bérá</i>	<i>áʰbéré</i>	<i>bére</i>	<i>ábɔ</i>	<i>bon</i>	<i>ábén</i>	<i>béèn</i>
cl. 3	<i>wó</i>	<i>múit</i>	<i>wérá</i>	<i>mʰméré</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>m̄mánè</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>m̄mén</i>	<i>wiin</i>
cl. 4	<i>ḡwó</i>	<i>mít</i>		<i>mʰméré</i>			<i>yon</i>	<i>m̄mén</i>	<i>méèn</i>
cl. 5	<i>jó</i>	<i>nét</i>	<i>nérá</i>	<i>áʰdéré</i>	<i>nére</i>	<i>n̄jánè</i>	<i>yon</i>	<i>ádén</i>	<i>d̄iin</i>
cl. 6	<i>mó</i>	<i>mát</i>	<i>mérá</i>	<i>mʰméré</i>	<i>mére</i>	<i>m̄mánè</i>	<i>nun</i>	<i>m̄mén</i>	<i>méèn</i>
cl. 7	<i>yó</i>	<i>yét</i>	<i>zérá</i>	<i>éʰcéré</i>	<i>re</i>			<i>écén</i>	<i>k̄iin</i>
cl. 8	<i>ḡwó</i>	<i>bét</i>	<i>tsérá</i>	<i>áʰbéré</i>	<i>bére</i>	<i>m̄bánè</i>		<i>ábén</i>	<i>b̄iin</i>
cl. 9	<i>yó</i>	<i>mét</i>	<i>zérá</i>	<i>écéré</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>ḡpánè</i>		<i>énén</i>	<i>i-néèn</i>
cl. 10	<i>yó</i>	<i>mít</i>	<i>tsérá</i>	<i>éʰcéré</i>	<i>re</i>			<i>écén</i>	<i>ȳiin</i>
cl. 13	<i>có</i>	<i>túét</i>		<i>áʰdéré</i>	<i>kére</i>			<i>ádén</i>	<i>t̄iin</i>
cl. 14		<i>búét</i>		<i>áʰbéré</i>		<i>m̄bánè</i>		<i>ábén</i>	
cl. 19	<i>hyó</i>	<i>hít</i>	<i>férá</i>	<i>áʰbéré</i>	<i>sére</i>	<i>m̄fánè</i>		<i>ábén</i>	<i>f̄iin</i>

the Momo pronoun *mát*. Additional Tunen forms from Mous (2003: 301) reveal an [n], including *wàn* 'that one' (cl.1) which looks more like the Ring pronoun seen in §4. Also to be considered is Tunen *mél* 'body', where the final [l] likely reconstructs as *d, hence strikingly similar again to Momo *mát*.

When comparing all of these forms to Proto-Bantu we see just how widespread *d and *n are in these forms. Thus, Guthrie offers the Common Bantu forms *-nɔ́, *nó 'this', *dá, *dé, -díá 'that' and Meeussen (1967) has *-nóò 'this', -ó 'that (not here)', *-díá 'that' (remote). There are, however, other forms (see Weier 1985). The PB independent and possessive pronouns reconstructed by Kamba Muzenga (2003: 215) are given in Table 20. As seen, these are of considerably lesser help in explaining the third person pronominal forms in WGB. For proposed reconstructions of Proto-Bantoid 1st and 2nd person pronouns, see Babaev 2008: 161.

7 Summary and conclusion

In the previous sections we have seen that EGB languages have kept their pronouns largely intact, descending directly from pronouns reconstructed for Proto-Bantu and likely Proto-Bantu-EGB. On the other hand, WGB languages have changed their pronoun systems in several ways:

Table 20: Proto-Bantu independent and possessive pronouns (Kamba Muzenga 2003: 115)

	independent pronouns		possessive pronouns	
	sg	pl	sg	pl
1st person	* <i>a-a-mi-e</i>	* <i>a-i-cu-e</i> * <i>a-i-cv-e</i>	* <i>-a-ngu-Ø</i> * <i>-a-nga-Ø</i>	* <i>-i-tu-Ø</i> * <i>-i-v-Ø</i>
2nd person	* <i>a-u-bi-e</i>	* <i>a-i-ju-e</i> * <i>a-i-jv-e</i>	* <i>-a-ku-o</i>	* <i>-i-nu-Ø</i> * <i>-i-nv-Ø</i>
3rd person	* <i>a-i-ju-e</i> * <i>a-i-jv-e</i>	* <i>a-a-ba-o</i>	* <i>-i-ndi-e</i> * <i>-i-ndi-e</i> * <i>-a-ka-e</i> * <i>-a-ku-e</i>	* <i>-a-ba-o</i>

- (i) New third person anaphoric pronouns have been innovated from two different shapes which appear to reconstruct as **-én* in Ring vs. **-ád* in Momo.
- (ii) Where kept, the original third person pronouns have become restricted as logophorics.
- (iii) A subset of Momo languages have also introduced reflexive third person pronouns.
- (iv) In some languages the new pronouns resemble the demonstrative ‘this’, in others the noun ‘body’. This is hardly surprising as demonstratives are often used as pronouns in African languages (cf. Creissels 1991: 215-220):

Mundani: “Demonstratives Used as Emphatic Pronouns. Independent pronouns can be formed from certain dependent demonstrative modifiers.... The independent demonstratives are used in a range of grammatical functions: direct object, complement of the verb ‘to be’, and as the second element in an associative construction.” (Parker 1989: 146)

Ejagham: “...the Eastern Ejagham dialect has different forms for the 3ps pronoun for the various noun classes. These forms are identical to the ‘distal’ demonstratives used in the dialect.” (Watters 1981: 355)

This fits in exactly with what is known about the diachronic development of new third person pronouns elsewhere in the world:

Most languages allow their demonstrative pronouns to be used as anaphoric pronouns. (Bhat 2004: 184)

... demonstratives are primarily the source of third-person forms. (Siewierska 2004: 249)

The expected derivation of demonstrative > third person pronoun contrasts with observed diachronic sources of first and second person pronouns:

Whereas the known sources of first- and second-person markers tend to be nominals denoting human relationships [e.g. ‘master’, ‘lord’], those of the third person are typically words such as ‘thing’, ‘human’, ‘man’, ‘person’ or ‘body’. (Siewierska 2004: 248)

Although ‘body’ is specifically mentioned as a possible nominal source of third person pronouns, it would fit this second pattern if ‘body’ were the source of the new third person pronouns in WGB.

Although we have focused on two likely sources of the new pronouns in WGB, demonstratives and the noun ‘body’, Siewierska (2004: 257) mentions a third potential development:

Another not uncommon way in which new person markers may develop is from conjugated auxiliary verbs in periphrastic constructions. (Siewierska 2004: 257)

Consider in this context the Kom reduplicative present vs. the “locative present” (cf. *wɛ̀n* ‘this (cl.1)’, *ɣɛ̀n* ‘these (cl.2)’) in (7).

- (7) a. *wù n̄ zũɣũ* ‘he is eating’
ɣə́ n̄ zũɣũ ‘they are eating’
b. *wù wɛ̀n zũ* ‘he’s here eating, here he is eating’ (cf. *fɛ̀n* ‘here’)
ɣə́ ɣɛ̀n zũ ‘they’re here eating, here they are eating’
c. *wù v̄ĩ zũ* ‘there he is eating’ (*v̄ĩ* ‘that [near hearer]’)

Basic present progressive is expressed by reduplicating the verb in (7a). In (7b) the near-speaker demonstrative root *-ɛn* is used to give a sense of locative proximity of the action. (The initial [f] of the form *fɛ̀n* ‘here’ is cognate with the PB

locative class 16 prefix **pa-*) (7c) shows that other demonstratives can become involved in this construction. Since *wù* and *ɣá* are not the independent pronouns in Kom, it is unlikely that (7b) should be interpreted as ‘he this-one eats’ etc., rather ‘he here eats’. If correct, this would mean that in addition to potential multiple sources, multiple functions of the SAME source may give rise to new third person pronouns. In some WGB languages there are other grammatical markers having the shape *Cɛn*, including the above imperfective *wɛn*, *ɣɛn*, (etc.), invariant perfective *mɛn*, and an invariant definite marker *tɛn* (cf. Oku *tɛ̀n* ‘inanimate third person object pronoun’). While such speculations are non-conclusive, it is hoped that the above survey will aid further research in unraveling the interesting history of third person pronouns in Grassfields Bantu and environs.

Acknowledgements

This is a revised version of a paper originally presented at the Niger-Congo Personal Pronouns Workshop, St. Petersburg, Sept. 13-15, 2010. I would like to thank the editor and an anonymous reviewer for helpful comments on the original manuscript.

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