

Noun Classes

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Every noun in Logoori is lexically a member of some grammatical “gender”, which is a pairing of specific noun class form for singular and for plural.¹ The determination of noun class is based on the formal prefix of a noun (e.g. *iki-*), how it marks singular-plural relations (*iki-* in the singular, *ivi-* in the plural), and the pattern of agreement induced by the nouns (*ki-* when the head has the prefix *ki-*; *vi-* when the head has the prefix *vi-*); secondarily, consideration of semantic and syntactic function can influence assignment to a particular noun class. Ultimately, nouns are assigned to particular classes by reference to historical analogs in proto-Bantu, which may be rather unsatisfactory in languages like Matumbi which have substantially re-shaped the proto-language system, but which works fairly well for Logoori which preserves nearly all of the proto-Bantu distinctions (lacking cl. 19).

A particular noun class can be assigned derivationally, for example a verb stem can be made into a noun by selecting a particular noun gender and derivational affix; a noun lexically in one gender can be re-assigned to another in order to form a diminutive or augmentative. For the most part, a given singular class implies a particular plural. In nouns, class is realized by prefixing a characteristic prefix, which may be preceded by an optional “augment”. Class 1 nouns can be subdivided lexically into nouns that have no class prefix (e.g. *gūgá* ‘grandfather’) versus those which do have a prefix (*mū-sigū* ‘enemy’). Other means are employed to mark class in words agreeing with nouns – this is discussed in chapter 4. The phonologically underlying class prefixes and augments of Logoori are as follows.

¹ Some nouns only have singular or only have plural forms.

	augment	NCP
1	o	mo
2	a	va
3	o	mo
4	i	mi
5	i	ri
6	a	ma
7	i	ki
8	i	vi
9	i	N
10	i	ziN
11	o	ro
12	a	ka
13	o	to
14	o	vo
15	(o) ²	ko
16	(a)	ha
17	(o)	ko
18	(o)	mo
20	o	go
23		i ³

The typical singular-plural gender pairings of Logoori are:

1-2 3-4 5-6 7-8 9-10 11-10 12-13 20-4

Cl. 14 may be used as the plural of nouns whose singular is in cl. 7 or 11, in some instances. Most noun classes are lexically determined, but:

- cl. 1-2 is populated exclusively by nouns referring to humans
- all nouns in cl. 12-13 derive from some other class by a process of diminutivization
- save for one noun, all nouns in cl. 20 derive from some other class by a process of augmentative-formation
- Infinitives (15) and locatives (16-18) are never lexically determined.
- cl. 23 contains only place names

Numerous phonological rules affect the realization of a stem or its class prefix, see the chapters on phonology. Examples below will give the singular, plural and stem. In this chapter, nouns are cited with the augment, which can be deleted subject to certain

² An augment on the infinitive has only been attested from RO. The augment on locative classes 16-18 is not attested on ordinary locative noun constructions such as *hamogera* ‘at the river’ (**ahamogera*), but can be found in other constructions such as headless adjectival phrases like *ahíngi* ‘at many’.

³ This is the class for place names with the prefix i-, but it is not clear that this is a noun class or that it is distinct from cl. 9.

restrictions (see X). For the sake of unifying the data of this chapter, optional phonological rules affecting prefixes are not applied unless the rule is applied nearly universal (reduction of /mʊ-/ before a labial, or reduction of /r{io}r.../ to [l']).

1.1. 1-2

All nouns in cl. 1-2 (/mʊ-, va-/) refer to humans, the following being examples.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>stem</i>	
omó'yááyɪ	avá'yááyɪ	yááyɪ	'boy'
omʊsooreeri	avasooreeri	sooreeri	'boy'
omwóúmbachi	avóúmbachi	ómbachi	'builder'
om'bó'gósó	avavó'gósó	vó'gósó	'Bukusu'
omwáana	aváana	ána	'child'
omʊsigʊ	avasigʊ	sigʊ	'enemy'
omó'ráaya	avá'ráaya	raaya	'European, westerner'
omokáána	avakáána	káána	'girl'
omʊgeni	avageni	geni	'guest'
omwíídako	avíídako	ídako	'Idakho'
omʊdoto	avadoto	doto	'infant'
omʊgí'kóyó	avagí'kóyó	gí'kóyó	'Kikuyu'
omʊgére	avagére	gére	'leper'
omʊrógoori	avarógoori	rógoori	'Logoori'
omʊjúúmbe	avajúúmbe	júúmbe	'minister (government)'
omwíí'vóri	avíí'vóri	í'vóri	'parent'
omʊʊndʊ	avaandʊ	ndʊ	'person'
omokó'róúndó	avakó'róúndó	kó'róúndó	'respected person'
omong'oodi	avang'oodi	ng'oodi	'scribe'
omwíivi	avíivi	ívi	'thief'
omʊdíriji	avadíriji	díriji	'Tiriki'
omʊgoogo	avagoogo	googo	'wife'
omokári	avakári	kári	'woman, wife'

Most kinship terms have no class prefix in the singular, though (see X) they govern cl. 1 agreement, and such nouns are traditionally referred to as cl. 1a. For most such nouns, their plural has the prefix *váá-*, to be referred to as the 2a prefix.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>stem</i>	
sééngé	vááseéngé	sééngé	'aunt (paternal)'
mboozó	váá'mbóózó ⁴	voozó	'cross-sex sibling'
daadá	váá'dáádá	daadá	'father'
baabá	váá'báábá	baabá	'father'
ísé ~ ísí	váá'ísé	ísé	'father'
guugá	vááguugá	guugá	'grandfather'

⁴ The plural may also be *vávóozo*.

góóku	vááguoku	góóku	‘grandmother’
nnya	vannya	nnya	‘mother’
mááma	váámaama	mááma	‘mother’
amwáávo	váámwaavo	amwáávo	‘same-sex sibling’
koozá	váá ¹ kóózá	koozá	‘uncle (maternal)’

These nouns do not allow the augment when the class prefix is lacking, therefore **vbaaba*, **oseenge* are unattested. The augment is also allowed in the plural since there is (or may be) a class prefix: *avááseenge* ‘aunts’, *aváá¹guugá* ‘grandfathers’, *aváá¹mbóózó* ‘c.s. siblings’. As discussed in X, plural prefixation for 2a nouns is grammatically optional when plurality of the head noun can be reconstructed from the evidence of agreement, so both *baabá vataámbi* and *váábaabá vataámbi* ‘tall fathers’ are acceptable though **gera mtáámbi*, **gera mitáámbi* (‘long river(s)’) are not allowed, meaning that this option is limited to cl. 1a-2a.

Some cl. 1a noun not in the set of kinship terms have the regular cl. 2 plural prefix, in particular *ofisá* ‘officer’, pl. *vaó¹físá* (not **vááofisá*) and *kondákta* ‘turnboy, conductor’, pl. *vákó¹ndákta* ‘conductors’. The former noun also allows a plural in cl. 6 (*maó¹físá*). Personal names might be included in cl. 1a, but the evidence for class assignment is purely based on agreement patterns (they trigger cl. 1 agreement, but have no class prefix). Some examples are as follows.

ádébr	aríviza	kisaato	mrééra
afáandi	chaanzú	makóóngu	ndoori
agooí	ichóógo	m̀boga	onzére
ajinéta	embedeedo	m̀bóóne	rigááre
akeenga	ímári	mdavadi	riháanda
ambani	juumba	mihádyá	rigéénga
ambúúndu	kasaandi	mijíide	rodéeji
amgoní	kayógira	msarya	ryaavori
andéésha	kɪdwááro	mtaange	rí ¹ hééndá
andíisi	kɪpáanji	m̀hóónja	vó ¹ gúzá

As far as form is concerned, some proper names can be identified with specific nouns, such as *vó¹gúzá*, both a name and the noun ‘seed’, likewise *ryaavori* is a name and a kind of seasonal ant. It is noteworthy that many names begin with *a-*, though otherwise names generally begin with consonants.

1.2. 3-4

Some examples of nouns in the class grouping 3-4 (/mɔ-, mi-/) are as follows.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>stem</i>	
umokáádo	imikáádo	káádo	‘avocado’
umogoongo	imigoongo	goongo	‘back’
om’biri	im’biri	viri	‘body’
umógádi	imígádi	gádi	‘bread’

umó ¹ dógá	imí ¹ dógá	dógá	‘car’
umwóógo	imyóógo	ógo	‘cassava’
umodugiru	imidugiru	dugiru	‘crutch’
umojoombo	imijoombo	joombo	‘earthworm’
umogounda	imigounda	gounda	‘farm’
umollo	imillo	llo	‘fire’
umókóno	imíkóno	kóno	‘hand’
umótíwí	imítíwí	twí	‘head’
umogizi	imigizi	gizi	‘homestead’
um’bano	im’bano	bano	‘knife’
umwéeri	imyéeri	éri	‘month’
umósyóoma	imísyóoma	syóoma	‘Syzygium guineense tree’
umósúmaali	imísúmaali	súmaali	‘nail’
umogera	imigera	gera	‘river’
umori	imiri	ri	‘root’
umogoye	imigoye	goye	‘rope’
umóonyo	imyóonyo	ónyo	‘seasoning’
umó ¹ zúné	imí ¹ zúné	zúné	‘sunbird’
um’báso		báso	‘sunlight’
umó ¹ tééndé	imí ¹ tééndé	tééndé	‘thorny plant’
umusáára	imisáára	sáára	‘tree’
umféréji	imiféréji	féréji	‘water tap’
umohíga	imihíga	híga	‘year’

There are two collective nouns in this gender which only or usually appear in cl. 4 and have no singular form – some speakers have accepted the form *mwima* ‘tradition’.

mító	tó	‘legume’
mwima	ima	‘tradition’

One noun might be identified as belonging to cl. 3a-4a for BK, which has no class prefix in the singular or plural, but which induces cl. 3 and 4 agreement

abáchi	‘Uganda greenhart (<i>Warburgia ugandensis</i>)’
abá ¹ chí m ¹ táámbi	‘tall abachi’
abá ¹ chí m ¹ ítáámbi	‘tall abachis’

This agreement pattern is a speaker-specific reduction along the lines *musáára abáchi mutáámbi* → \emptyset *abáchi mutáámbi*. Other speakers treat this noun as cl. 9-10: *abá¹chí índáámbi* ‘tall abachi’.

1.3. 5-6

These classes have the prefixes /ri-, ma-/, where /ri/ often reduces before /t,d,n/ as discussed in X. Examples of this class are as follows.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>stem</i>	
irigoke	amagoke	goke	‘ash’
irigáanda	amagáanda	gáanda	‘bean’
irijonyi	amajonyi	jonyi	‘bird’
iríká	amáká	ká	‘charcoal’
iríng’ó’wáání	máng’ó’wáání	ng’ó’áání	‘crested crane’
iridíko	amadíko	díko	‘day’
irigúú’yágúúyi	amagúú’yágúúyi	gúú’yágúúyi	‘dragonfly’
iridáraamo	amadáraamo	dáraamo	‘drum (storage)’
iridáanji	amadáanji	dáanji	‘drum (storage)’
iryaanda	amaanda	anda	‘ember’
irya’ówá	amá’ówá	á’ówá	‘flower’
iddóondolizi	amadóondolizi	dóondolizi	‘Grey-Headed Sparrow’
iríng’ááng’á	má’ng’ááng’á	ng’ááng’á	‘hadada ibis’
iddú’réere	amadú’réere	dú’réere	‘megaphone’
iridá’váryá	amadá’váryá	dá’váryá	‘muddy water’
iryiita	amiita	íta	‘name’
irichúunga	amáchúunga	chúunga	‘orange’
irí’bwóoni	amá’bwóoni	bwóoni	‘potato’
irihoondo	amahoondo	hoondo	‘pumpkin’
irígodo	amagodo	godo	‘skin’
iryúuva	amúuva	úva	‘sun’
iríino	amíino	íino	‘tooth’
irígútu	amágútu	gútu	‘village elder’
iridíríisa	amadíríisa	díríisha	‘window’
iríng’ána	amang’ána	ng’ána	‘word’

There are a number of mass nouns which only appear in cl. 6. ⁵

amárwá	rwá	‘beer’
amaseke	seke	‘beer lees’
amarásiri	rásiri	‘blood sausage’
amaandekella	andekella	‘inconsistency’
amavururi	vururi	‘leaf trash’
amaheengere	heengere	‘mahengere’ (a dish of corn and beans)
am’béere	véere	‘milk’
amasí’rínjí	sí’rínjí	‘ringworm’
amáté	té	‘saliva’
amáazi	ázi	‘water’
ameeyo	eyo	‘yard-broom’ (a mass of leaves)

⁵ These are words which cannot have a singular. There are other nouns which are almost always encountered in the plural, but where a singular form is sensible, for example *rigáraba* ‘bean leaf’, which is considered to be a marked and uncommon form, since it generally is used to refer to bean leaves as a food, thus naturally requiring multiple leaves. Likewise *risévéeve* ‘pumpkin leaf’ is more common in the plural, same with *rika* ‘charcoal’, *rigaanda* ‘bean’. In contrast, there simply is no such form as **rite*, relating to saliva.

1.4. 7-8

Examples of classes 7-8 (/kɪ-, vi-/) are seen below. Before a vowel, the prefix /kɪ/ is pronounced [ch].

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>stem</i>	
ikíkábo	ivikábo	kábo	‘basket’
icheeyo	ivyeyo	eyo	‘broom’
ikidiing’iro	ividiing’iro	diing’iro	‘busa basket’
ekeméreméende	iviméreméende	méreméende	‘candy’
ikíbága	ivibága	bága	‘cat’
ikí ¹ míjnú	iví ¹ míjnú	míjnú	‘chick’
ekékóómbe	ivikóómbe	kóómbe	‘cup’
ikidáhiro	ividáhiro	dáhiro	‘dipper’
ikisáánda	ivisáánda	sáánda	‘dipper (gourd)’
ikí ¹ dííndí	iví ¹ dííndí	dííndí	‘drum (small)’
ikiháraato	iviháraato	háaraato	‘famine’
ekedéte	ividéte	déte	‘finger’
ichó ¹ kóryá	ivyó ¹ kóryá	ó ¹ kóryá	‘food’
icháámogizi	ivyáámogizi	ámogizi	‘front door’
icháage	ivyáage	áge	‘grain store’
ikiguru	iviguru	guru	‘hill’
ichiito	ivyiito	ito	‘market’
ikibíriiti	ivibíriiti	bíriiti	‘match’
ikíká	iviká	ká	‘moment’
ekékóóndo	ivikóóndo	kóóndo	‘monkey’
ikitungúúro	ivitungúúro	tungúúro	‘onion’
ikí ¹ fóryá	iví ¹ fóryá	fóryá	‘pan’
ikiindo	iviindo	ndo	‘thing’
ekévéere	ivivéere	ivéere	‘udder’
ikhóó ¹ ngírá	ivihóó ¹ ngírá	hóó ¹ ngírá	‘vegetable sp.’
ikiriri	iviriri	riri	‘violin’
ikigu	ivigu	gu	‘wasp’
ikisí ¹ mbííkírá	ivisí ¹ mbííkírá	sí ¹ mbííkírá	‘whydah’

1.5. 9-10

There are two main variants of cl. 9-10, those with a nasal prefix and those without such the nasal. While the augment is often omitted in other classes, it is generally not omitted in cl. 9 (it is, however, often omitted in cl. 10) – but deletion of the augment is taken up in X.

1.5.1. N-

The following are examples of nouns with a nasal realized before the stem. The evidence that this nasal is not part of the root comes from derived classes such as augmentatives, see below.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>stem</i>	
íngógi	zíngógi	gogi	'baboon'
mzóki	zínzóki	zóki	'bee'
mboongo	zimboongo	boongo	'buffalo'
é ¹ ngókó	zí ¹ ngókó	gókó	'chicken'
índóúmba	zíndóúmba	dóúmba	'drum (big)'
enzogu	zinzogu	zogu	'elephant'
mji	iziinji	ji	'fly'
ímúri	zímúri	búri	'goat'
imbáda	zimbáda	báda	'hawk'
ingáta	izingáta	gáta	'head pad'
mzára	zinzára	zára	'hunger'
imbítí	zimbítí	bítí	'hyena'
imbá ¹ ríká	zimbá ¹ ríká	bá ¹ ríká	'jealousy'
engo	izingo	go	'leopard'
índa	zínda	dá	'louse'
ímúrí	zímúrí	búrí	'monitor lizard'
embeva	zimbeva	beva	'muroid sp.'
ínjóogo	zínjóogo	jóogo	'peanut'
í ¹ ngóróve	zí ¹ ngóróve	góróve	'pig'
índúríme	zíndúríme	dúríme	'seizure'
enzóka	zinzóka	zóka	'snake'
ínzúune	zínzúune	zúune	'Solanum incanum'
índuvagírɔ	zínduvagírɔ	duvagírɔ	'sole'
índuvati	zínduvati	duvati	'sole'
ímíimbo	zímíimbo	bíimbo	'stick'
índa	zíínda	da	'stomach'
é ¹ njééné	zí ¹ njééné	jééné	'tapeworm'
ímíízi	zímíízi	bíízi	'warthog'

1.5.2. Ø-ALLOMORPH

Some nouns do not take an overt nasal in either the singular or plural.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>stem</i>	
ibáá ¹ kóóra	zibáá ¹ kóóra	báá ¹ kóóra	'cane'
ibáákuuri	zibáákuuri	báákuuri	'bowl'
ibárási	zibárási	bárási	'horse'
ebéde	zibéde	béde	'ring'
bíícha	zibíícha	bíícha	'picture'

ibúsa		búsa	‘beer (maize)’
ibóúnda	zibóúnda	bóúnda	‘donkey’
icháái		cháái	‘tea’
ícháng’a		cháng'a	‘chang'aa’
idááywa	zidááywa	dááywa	‘rooster’
ídwáasi	zídwáasi	dwáasi	‘heifer’
ifwééza		fwééza	‘silver’
igánísa	zigánísa	gánísa	‘church’
egeengere	zigeengere	geengere	‘bell’
ihíiri	zihíiri	híiri	‘clan’
ijirichi	zijirichi	jirichi	‘bull’
ijúumbi	zijúumbi	júumbi	‘salt’
ikáháwa	zíkáháwa	káháwa	‘coffee’
epé ¹ téróoli		pé ¹ tróoli	‘petrol’
iríinga	ziríinga	ríinga	‘sickle’
itíiga	zitíiga	tíiga	‘giraffe’
itiiro	zitiiro	tiiro	‘center pole’
ivaga	zivaga	vaga	‘python’
evéembe		véembe	‘thatching grass sp.’

1.6. 11-10

Examples of this class grouping, which selects the prefixes /uru-, iziN/ are seen below. Reduction of /ro/ and assimilation to following /d,t,r/ is common.

<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>stem</i>	
oroséé ¹ ng'ééngé	iziséé ¹ ng'ééngé	séé ¹ ng'ééngé	‘barbed wire’
oroháá ¹ ngáywá	izimbáá ¹ ngáywá	háángaywá	‘cave’
orwáana		ána	‘childishness’
orovaamba	izimbaamba	vaamba	‘clan’
oddá ¹ váryá	izindá ¹ váryá	dá ¹ váryá	‘clay paste’
orovega	izimbega	vega	‘direction’
oroguuchi	izinguuchi	guuchi	‘dust’
orókó	izingó	kó	‘firewood’
orómémo	izímémo	mémo	‘flame’
orózé	izínzé	zé	‘grain drying area’
oddéru	izindéru	déru	‘grain tray’
oromillo	izimillo	millo	‘gullet’
orwíiga	izinzíiga	íiga	‘horn’
orogeendo	izing'eendo	geendo	‘journey’
oró ¹ fóungó	izimbuungó	fóungó	‘key’
orwá ¹ ásyá	izínzásya	ásya	‘kindling’
oroheni	izimbeni	heni	‘lightening’
orubááho	izimbááho	bááho	‘lumber’
oróvéere	izimbéere	véere	‘nipple’
orubááng'a	izimbááng'a	bááng'a	‘panga’

orogáda	izingáda	gáda	‘pipe (smoking)’
orogeembe	izing’eembe	geembe	‘razor’
orovarø	izimbarø	varø	‘rib’
orøkaayirø	izingaayirø	kaayirø	‘sickle’
orwímbo	izínímbo	ímbo	‘song’
orovovi	izimbovi	vovi	‘spider’
oró ¹ fúnú	izí ¹ mbúnú	fúnú	‘tether’
orovúúsi	izimbúúsi	vúúsi	‘thread’
ól ¹ lími	izíními	rími	‘tongue’
orøguza	izinguza	guza	‘vegetable’
orødáambi	izindáambi	dáambi	‘wick’
oróváha	izímbáha	váha	‘wing’
orowááya	iziwááya	wááya	‘wire’

1.7. 14

Nouns in cl. 14 (/vU-/) have no formal plural, though pluralization for some of these nouns is sensible (vø¹tá vovágá ‘3 bows’).

ovótá	tá	‘bow’
ovwóóngo	óngo	‘brain’
ovøkíindo	kíindo	‘cold wind’
ovúcháafu	cháafu	‘dirtiness’
ovúsyí	syí	‘flour’
ovwúoma	úma	‘fork-hoe’
ovwóóya	óya	‘fur’
ovwúoki	úki	‘honey’
ovógére	gére	‘leprosy’
ovwoova	ova	‘mushroom’
ovosera	sera	‘porridge’
ovwéé ¹ réfú	é ¹ réfú	‘sky’
ovúchíma	chíma	‘ugali’

Some such nouns are mass nouns (one rarely faces a single louse or flea on a chicken, or a single grain of millet), which allow a singulative in cl. 7 or 11.

eké ¹ róóró	ovó ¹ róóró	‘chicken louse’
økíduúkuurá	ovøduúkuurá	‘chicken flea’
ól ¹ ló	ovóró	‘finger millet’

Cl. 14 is also productively used as the ‘adverb class’, for example the adverb *vwaango* ‘quickly’ is the cl. 14 form of the adjective *-ango* ‘quick’, and *vødínyu* ‘hard’ is the cl. 14 form of *-dínyu* ‘difficult’.

1.8. 12-13

Class 12-13 (/ka-, tu-/), unlike other noun classes, is strictly derived. A noun in cl. 12-13 is the diminutive of a noun in some other class.⁶ The underlying lexical prefix of the base noun is removed and replaced with the appropriate cl. 12 or cl. 13 prefix. The examples below include monosyllabic stems (-*ta* ‘bow’, -*ze* ‘grain drying area’) and vowel-initial stems or ones with initial moraic consonants, since such stems sometimes require or allow retention of the lexical noun class prefix in Bantu languages. In Logoori, the lexical prefix is not retained, even with vowel-initial or monosyllabic roots.

<i>dim. sg.</i>	<i>dim. pl</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>lexical sg.</i>	<i>stem</i>	<i>lexical class</i>
akagoongo	utogoongo	‘boss’	umogoongo	goongo	1-2
akiivi	utwiivi	‘thief’	omwiivi	ívi	1-2
akáámi	utwáámi	‘chief’	omwáámi	ámi	1-2
akafenesi	utofenesi	‘jackfruit’	om’fenesi	fenesi	3-4
akagera	otogera	‘river’	umogera	gera	3-4
akóógo	utwóógo	‘cassava’	umwóógo	ógo	3-4
akallu	utollu	‘fire’	umollu	llu	3-4
akatwí	utotwí	‘head’	umotwí	twí	3-4
ákágáánda	útógáánda	‘bean’	irígáánda	gáánda	5-6
aká’bwóoni	utó’bwóoni	‘potato’	irí’bwóoni	bwóoni	5-6
akóuru	utwóuru	‘nose’	iryóuru	úru	5-6
ákású	útósú	‘hair’	írísú	só	5-6
	utórwá	‘alcohol’	amárwá	rwá	6
akáfóoyo	utófóoyo	‘rabbit’	ikifóoyo	fóoyo	7-8
akarááto	utorááto	‘shoe’	ikirááto	rááto	7-8
akiito	utwiito	‘market’	ichiito	ito	7-8
akagága	útógága	‘fence’	urugága	gága	11-10
akamémo	otómémo	‘flame’	oromémo	mémo	11-10
akíiga	utwíiga	‘horn’	urwíiga	íga	11-10
akasera	otosera	‘porridge’	ovosera	sera	14
akátá	utótá	‘bow’	uvótá	tá	14
akóóngo	utwóóngo	‘brain’	uvwóóngo	óngo	14
akátó	utótó	‘ear’	ugótó	tó	20-6

The treatment of nouns in cl. 9-10 is variable, even within a single speaker. The issue is that the root of such nouns usually appear to start with NC (e.g. *mgugi* ‘baboon’), and it is not clear whether the nasal is a class prefix, or part of the root. The diminutive of this appears either as *kagugi* (BK) or (*a*)*kangugi* (EM, EK, ML). A speaker may in fact use both forms (*kamboongo*, *kavoongo* ‘buffalo_{-dim}’ from BK; *akavítí*, *ákámbítí* ‘hyena_{-dim}’ and *akayóka* ‘snake_{-dim}’, *ótónzóka* ‘snakes_{-dim}’ from EM). Since this construction is not used frequently, there are not sufficient numbers of tokens from multiple speakers to

⁶Class 12 agreement on numerals 2-4 is used on numbers for ordinals and repetitions (‘twice, thrice...’), see X.

make it possible to say anything more specific than the fact that cl. 9-10 nouns with initial NC either retain NC in the diminutive, or drop N.

As discussed in X, cl. 9-10 nouns have a degree of ambiguity in that the NC is restricted so that C is always a voiced stop *b, d, j, g*, but by the rules of the language, that consonant could underlyingly come from, respectively, /p,b,v; t,d,l; j,ch; k,g/. In the attested N-dropping variants, surface [mb] in a cl. 9-10 noun always corresponds to [v], [nd] is [d] except in one token *akateve* ‘chair_{-dim}’ from ML, and [ng] corresponds to [g].

It was noted in 1.1 that nouns in cl. 2a have a lengthened vowel in the class prefix /va/. It is noteworthy that lengthening also applies to the cl. 12-13 prefixes.

tóobaaba	‘fathers _{-dim} ’
kááseenge	‘aunt _{-dim} ’
tóuseenge	‘aunts _{-dim} ’
kááguoku	‘grandmother _{-dim} ’
tóuguoku	‘grandmothers _{-dim} ’

1.9. 20

Almost all instances of cl. 20 are derived augmentatives, analogous to diminutives in cl. 12-13. The two known exceptions are *ogótó* ‘ear’, with the plural in cl. 6 (*amátó*), and *ogófwáávi* ‘dirtiness’, which has no plural and does not derive from a noun in some other class. Derived augmentatives have their plural in cl. 4.

<i>aug. sg.</i>	<i>aug. pl.</i>	<i>gloss</i>	<i>lexical sg.</i>	<i>stem</i>	
ogwíisuka	ímíisuka	‘Isuhha’	omwíisukha	ísukha	1-2
ogusúúngu	imisúúngu	‘white person’	omosúúngu	súúngu	1-2
ogúfé ¹ néesi	mífé ¹ néesi	‘jackfruit’	om ¹ fé ¹ néesi	fé ¹ néesi	3-4
ogú ¹ bwóoni	imí ¹ bwóoni	‘potato’	iri ¹ bwóoni	bwóoni	5-6
ógúbága	ímíbága	‘cat’	ikíbága	bága	7-8
oguvúúsi	imivúúsi	‘thread’	oruvúúsi	vúúsi	11-10
ugwóóngo	imyóóngo	‘brains’	ovwóóngo	óngo	14
ogú ¹ tá	imítá	‘bow’	ovótá	tá	14

Nouns in cl. 9-10 with initial NC have the same analytic ambiguity noted in the previous section, that the nasal of the cl. 9 form may be retained or dropped.

ogú ¹ dógúnyi	‘ant _{-aug} ’
ogógógí	‘baboon _{-aug} ’
ogúngúúngi	‘basket _{-aug} ’
ogomboongo	‘buffalo _{-aug} ’
ogó ¹ vóóngó	‘buffalo _{-aug} ’
ogúyíngu	‘cooking pot _{-aug} ’
ogunyíngu	‘cooking pot _{-aug} ’
ogóvóni	‘eye _{-aug} ’
ogómóni	‘eye _{-aug} ’

The last two examples potentially involve the phonological rule Ganda Law, where certain NC clusters reduce to a single nasal in case the following syllable begins with a nasal. The cl. 9 noun *nyíngɔ* could thus come from /iN-yíngɔ/ or from /iN-nyíngɔ/. Single nasal consonants in cl. 9 most often correspond to the same nasal in augmentatives and diminutives, but some examples of correspondence to at least *v*, *y* are attested.

1.10. 15

Class 15 is composed of verb infinitives – the morphology of verb inflection is explored in depth in X. Infinitives function as nouns analogous to gerunds in English, e.g. ‘good cooking’, ‘that singing’. However, they generally do not have the augment.

kóryá	‘to eat’
kúsyá	‘to grind’
koheera	‘to inhale’
kwáaha	‘to pick’
kósóora	‘to refuse’
kohiiriita	‘to snore’
komoroma	‘to speak’
kórása	‘to throw’

Some speakers optionally allow the augment in infinitives uses as nominal clauses, for example *ókórímá kóráhi* ‘good cultivating’.

1.11. 16-18

Unlike other class prefixes, the locative class prefixed combine with a lexical or derived class prefix, and do not overtly combine with the augment. This mutual exclusion is discussed in Q, and is shown to result from a phonological rule deleting the augment after a locative prefix.

haganísa	‘at a church’	16	
harɔguuchi	‘at dust’	16	
hakɪguuti	‘by a field’	16	
harokaayiro	‘at a sickle’	16	
kódarája	‘to a bridge’	17	
kumajɔungu	‘on rats’	17	
kokemoori	‘on a calf’	17	*kwekemoori
kovaandu	‘on top of people’	17	
múnánza	‘in a lake’	18	
móró ¹ jó	‘in a clay bowl’	18	
ímmlítu	‘in a forest’	18	
móllóómbi	‘in fog’	18	

Certain nouns, all place names, seem to exhibit a novel class prefix, historically recognizable as cl. 23.⁷

rvulli	‘bedroom’
rvwási	‘kitchen’
icháánzeeywe	‘Chanzeywe’
evorógoori	‘Maragoli region’
imajeengo	‘Majengo’
ivó ¹ náándí	‘Nandi’
ívó ¹ sáárí	(a clan homeland)
rvokírima	(a clan homeland)
imáavi	(a clan homeland)

These nouns very much look like nouns in cl. 9 with the Ø class prefix variant, although they often contain other class prefixes (*i-vo-lli*, *e-vo-rógoori* (cl. 14), *i-ma-jeengo* (cl. 6), *i-vu-kí-rima* (cl.14+cl.7)). The reason for considering this to be a separate noun class is that it triggers special agreement patterns, discussed in Q.

2. ‘Informal’ derived classes

The above noun classes are standard and used to some extent by all speakers. There are two additional uses of derived classes that are sometimes encountered but not considered to be ‘standard’, both carrying a deprecative connotation. Cl. 5 may also be used as an augmentative, and cl. 7 may be used as a diminutive

irivano	‘knife _{-aug2} ’
illááto	‘shoe _{-aug2} ’
rigoye	‘rope _{-aug2} ’
irí ¹ náándí	‘Nandi _{-aug2} ’
ekegoye	‘rope _{-dim2} ’
íkíkáraji	‘judge _{-dim2} ’
íkí ¹ bwóóni	‘potato _{-dim2} ’
ekeng’oombe	‘cow _{-dim2} ’

⁷ There is no agreement amongst Bantuists regarding the proto-Bantu status of this class, what the earlier prefix was, or what number should be assigned to it. This prefix is common in Lacustrine Bantu, and depending on author is referred to as class 23, 24 or 25.