*Konstantin Pozdniakov,*

INALCO, LLACAN

Some properties of
the Atlantic noun class systems
In the Niger-Congo context

Berlin, 30.11.2018

**Some properties of
the Atlantic noun class systems
in the Niger-Congo context**

$\longrightarrow$

**Some properties of
the Niger-Congo class system
in the Atlantic context**
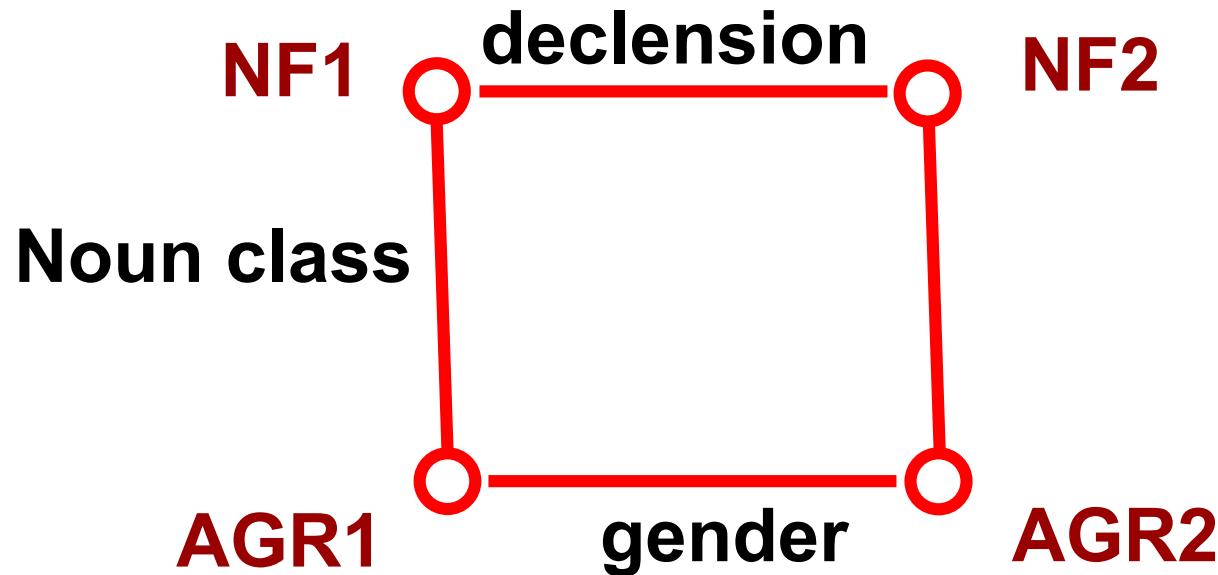
The NC canonical system:
4 sets / paradigms (4 points) plus lines

Swahili
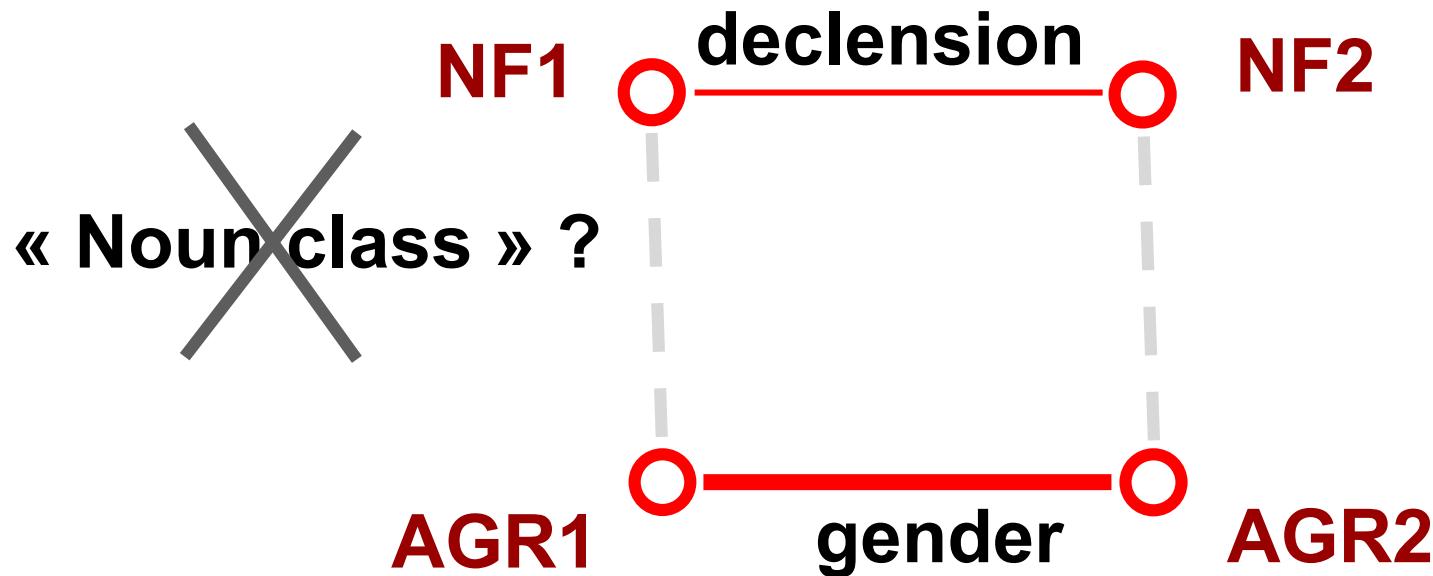
« Gender is more important than Declension »

« Noun class » ?

NF1 ○──── **declension** ────○ NF2

AGR1 ○──── **gender** ────○ AGR2
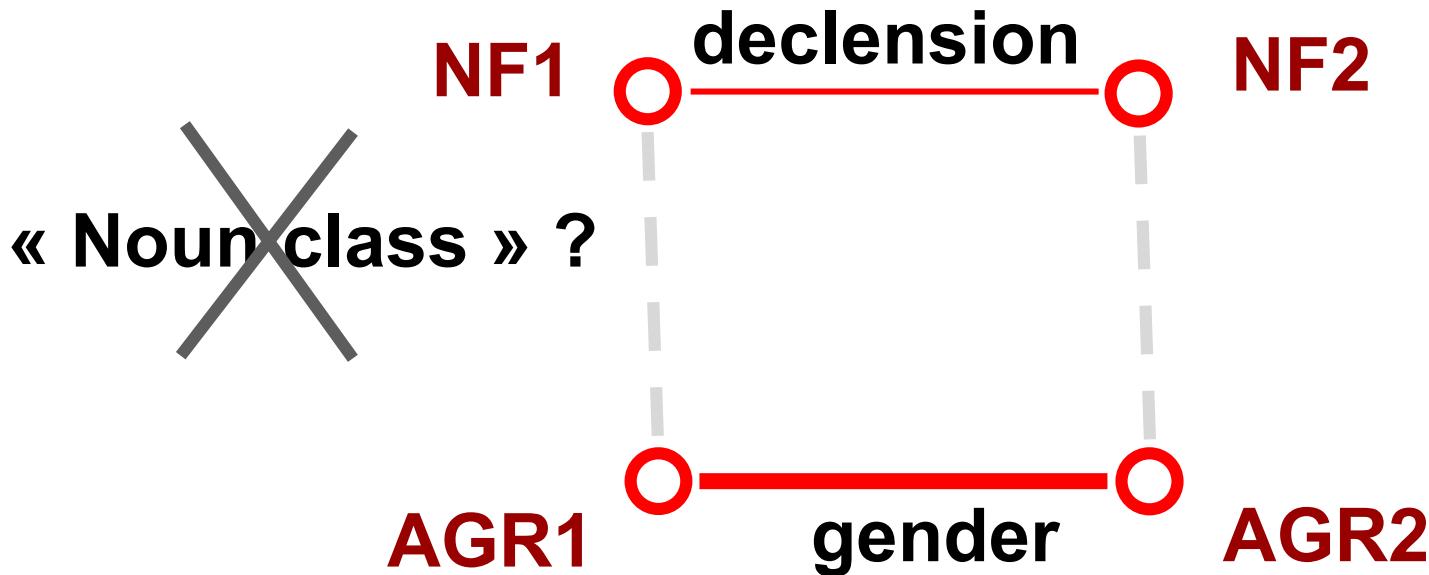
Is it different in the «philological» model?

1(NF mu) ≠ 3 (NF mu) – different numbers
1 (NF mu) = 1a (NF Ø) – the same number

SG   PL

         NF1 ○—— **declension** ——○ NF2

         Noun class

         AGR1 ○———— **gender** ————○ AGR2
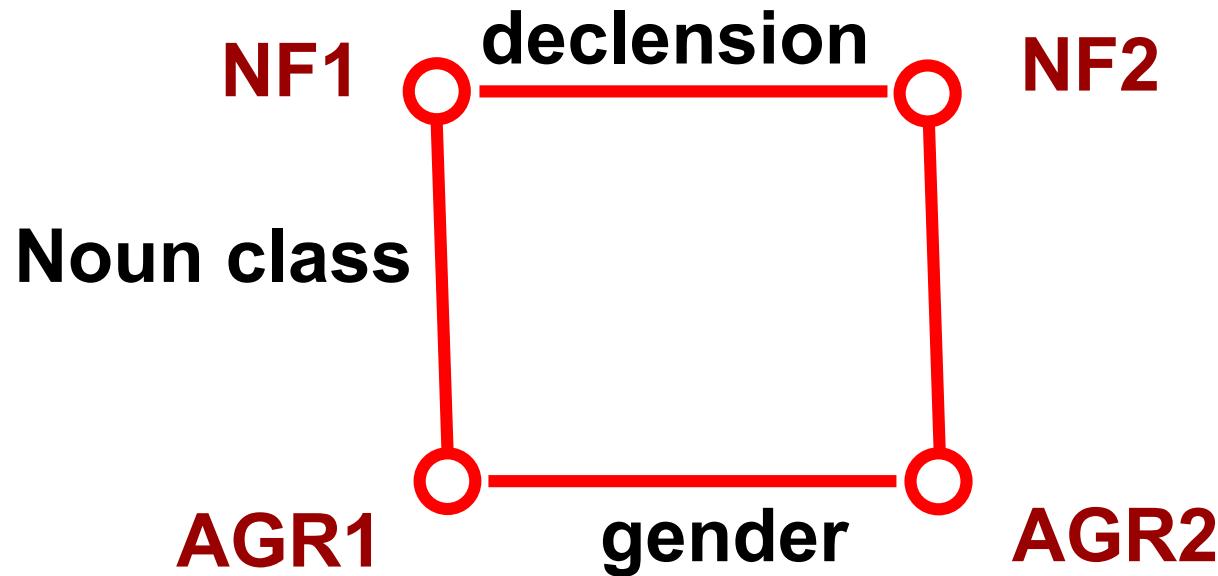
Yes, it is interesting to study
these points (paradigms) and lines separately

POZDNIAKOV, K. La classification nominale : à la croisée des paradigmes // « *Essais de typologie et de linguistique générale* **». Mélanges offerts à Denis Creissels. Paris: ENS Editions, 2010, p.p. 87-105. PDF**

Atoms and molecules

SG   PL

NF1 ○   ● **NF2**

AGR1 ○   ○ **AGR2**

Languages without genders (English)

Yoruba

SG　　　PL

NF1 ● 　　　● NF2

AGR1 ○ 　　　○ AGR2

It is not a gender system

Dagaari?
Ndut?

declension

NF1 ○————————○ NF2

AGR1 ○   ○ AGR2

Alternation : SG / PL

?

NF1 ⭕
⭕ NF2
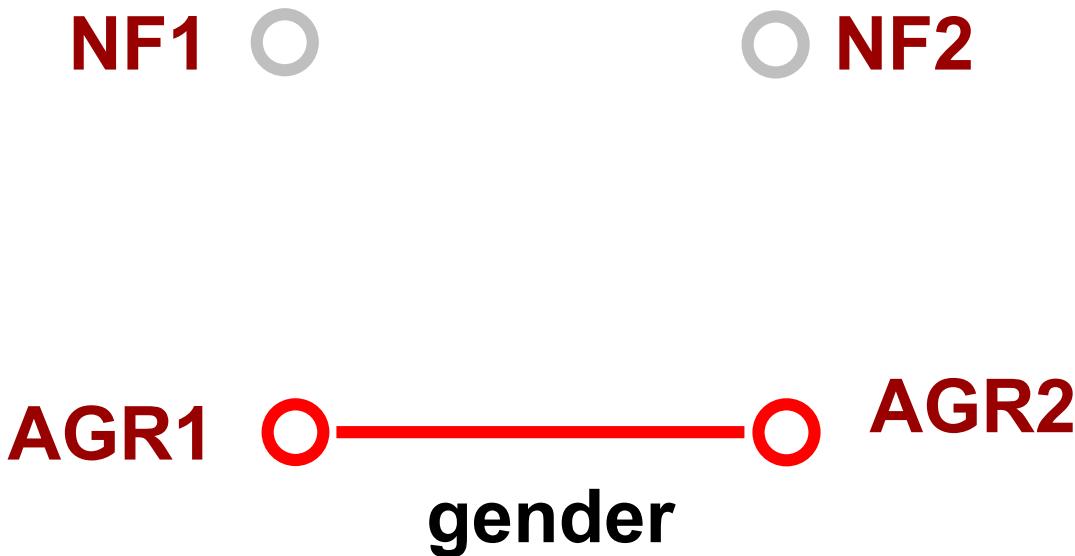
AGR1 ⭕
⭕ AGR2

?

**Badiaranke,
Spanish**

NF1 ○────────○ NF2

« Noun class » ?

AGR1 ○────────○ AGR2
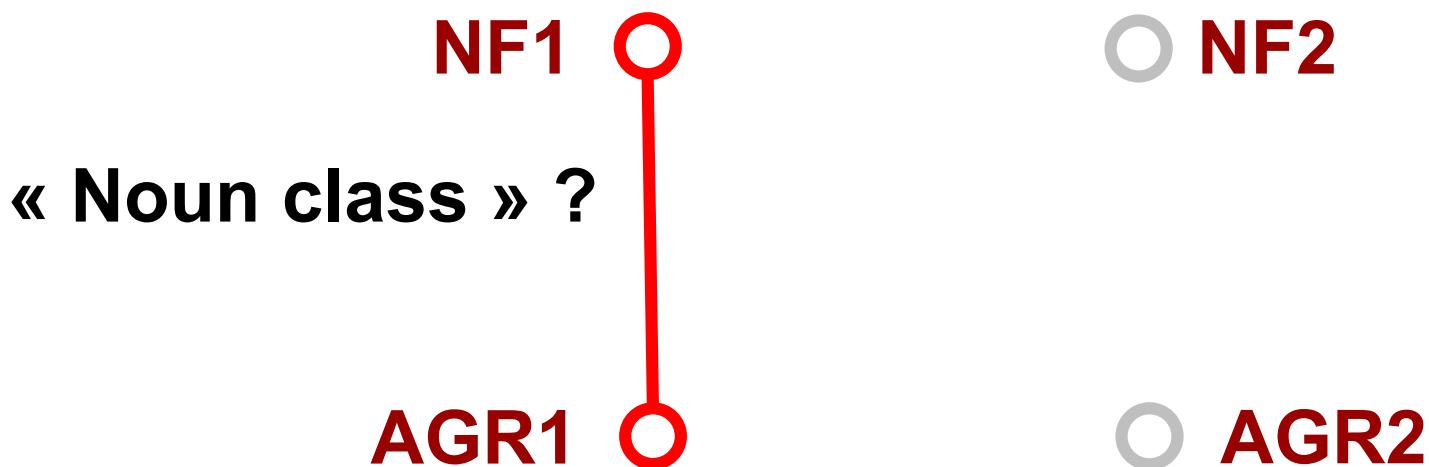
Atlantic: Badiaranke (Jaad)

	Sg.	Dét.	Pl.	Dét.
'vache '	ku-na	**k**-un	**be**-**ku**-na	**k**-un
'champ'	pə-ɗao	**p**-en	**be**-**pə**-dao	**p**-en
'antilope (sp.)'	wan-cafɛ	**w**-an	**be**-**wan**-cafɛ	**w**-an
'crocodile'	faa-tama	**f**-an	**be**-**faa**-tama	**f**-an
'forgeron'	u-saa	**w**-en	**be**-saa	**b**-en
'forgeron' (dial.)	u-saa	**w**-en	**be**-**be**-saa	**b**-en
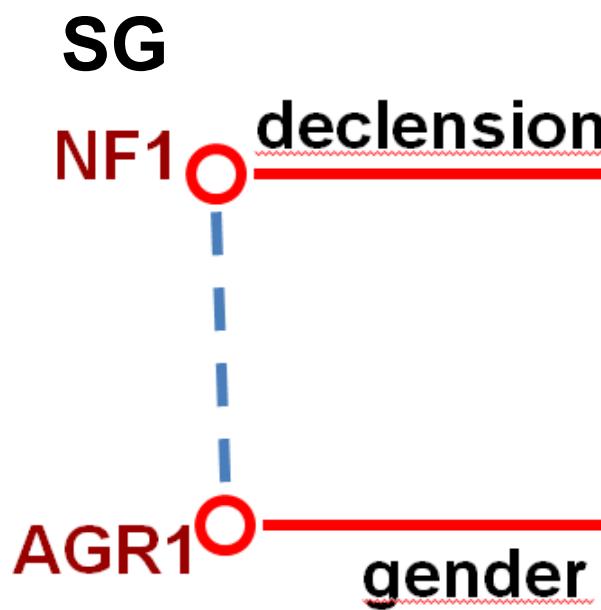
SG   PL

declension

NF1 — NF2

gender

AGR1 — AGR2

Your prototype

NF1   NF2

AGR1   AGR2
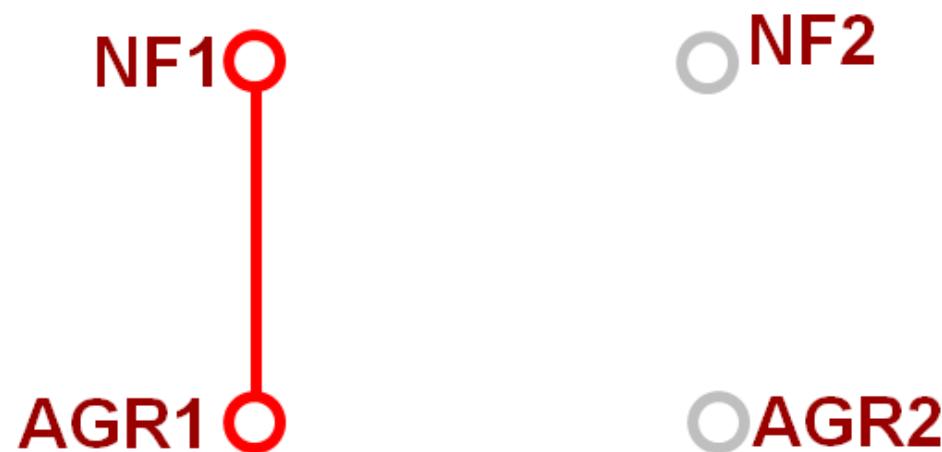
Badiaranke

Pronoun Grammatical function	weak form SUBJ and OBJ	strong f SUBJ
1.sg.	N	muŋ
2.sg.	ɪ	hɪŋ
3.sg.	ʊ	**wa**
1.pl	ja	jawa
2.pl	ma	mawa
3.pl.a	a	**awa**
3.pl.b	ba	**bawa**

(4) *Domain: Quantifier + Noun*

a. ni-baal-a   ba-muŋ
    person(G*b*)-male-PL G*b*-ALL
    'all men'

b. bola-sa   a-muŋ
    elephant(G*a*)-PL G*a*-ALL
    'all elephants'

c. ŋ   kpaga vii-ne   a-naase
    1SG have   cooking.pot(G*a*)-PL 3PL.G*a*-four
    'I have four cooking pots'

It is not an agreement !

d. ŋ   kpaga bi-se   ba-naase
    1SG have   child(G*b*)-PL 3PL.G*b*-four
    'I have four children'

The agreement classes in Russian (Zalizniak)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Masc	Masc	Fem	Fem	Neutral	Neutral
	dom	*slon*	*sten-a*	*koz-a*	*okn-o*	*chudovisch-e*
bel- 'white'	'house'	'elephant'	'wall'	'goat'	'window'	'monster'
Nomin SG	ɨj	ɨj	aja	aja	oje	oje
Accus PL	ɨje	ɨh	ɨje	ɨh	ɨje	ɨh

	Masc	Fem	Neutr
inanim	1	3	5
anim	2	4	6

Chakali ≈ Russian

SG   PL

NF1 ○──── **declension** ────○ NF2

Noun class

AGR1 ○──── **gender** ────○ AGR2
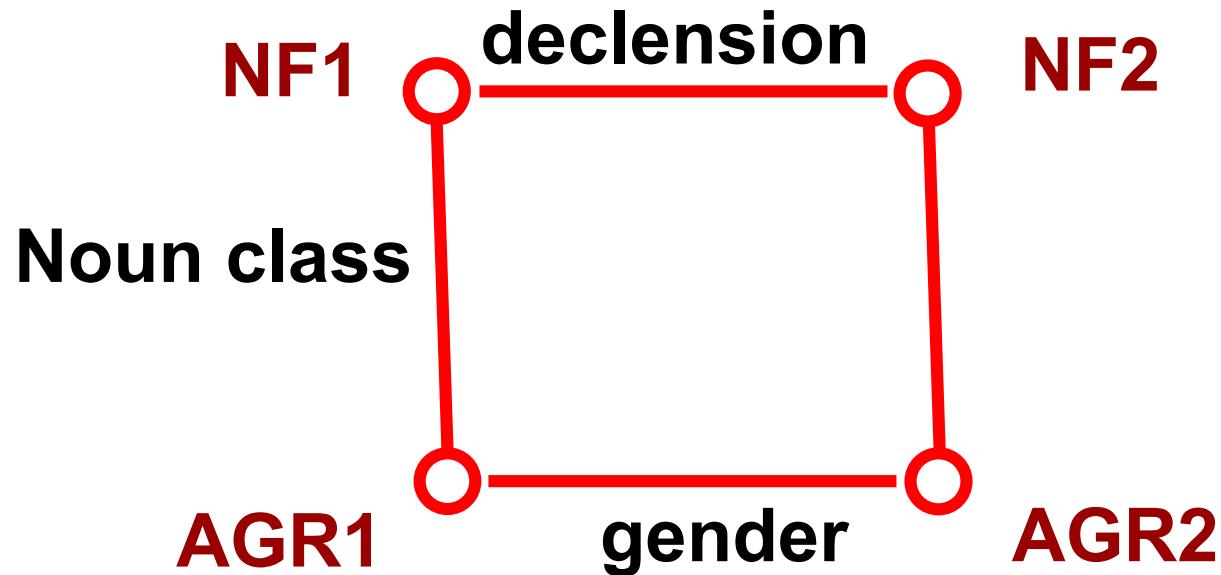
The NC canonical system:
4 sets / paradigms (4 points) plus lines.
Where are the main problems?

SG   PL

NF1 ○——declension——○ NF2

Noun class

AGR1 ○———gender———○ AGR2
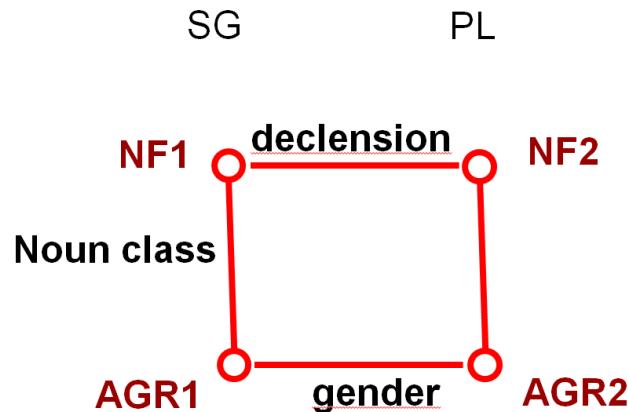
1) We have some systems where there is more than 4 points (Atlantic mutation agreement …)

2) Every line represents more than 1 paradigm

3) Every paradigm has some autonomy in classifying features

4) It is easy to separate every paradigm but how to describe their connections / links?
   How to describe a system of noun classification?

1) We have some systems where there is more than 4 points (Atlantic mutation agreement …)

SG   PL

NF1 ——declension—— NF2

Noun class

AGR1 ——gender—— AGR2
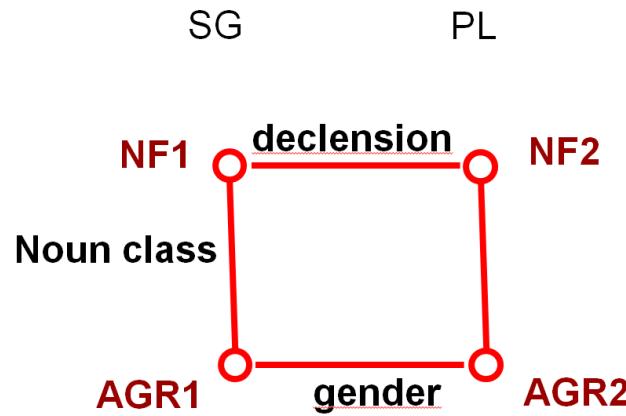
Consonant mutations

Fula :
cap(p)aat-o II / saf(f)ar-ɓe I 'moor'

ì-gwə́d / wæ̀-wə́d   / fæ̀-nkwə́d   / vù- nkwə́d

'mango' / 'mango (pl.)' / 'mango (dim.)' / 'mango (dim.pl.)'

II   I   III   III

ì-dànt   / ù- lànt   / bà-lànt   / và-ntànt

'catfish' / 'catfish (pl.)'/'catfish (augm.)' / 'catfish (augm.pl.)'

II   I   I   III

A fragment:

i III——————— vi III

                               vi I

i I   wɑ I

i II   wɑ II

u I   wɑ III

                           u I

u III ——————— vu III

1) GENDER i I / vi I   ≠   GENDER i II / u I ;
2) GENDER u I / wɑ II,III   ≠   GENDER u III / vu III
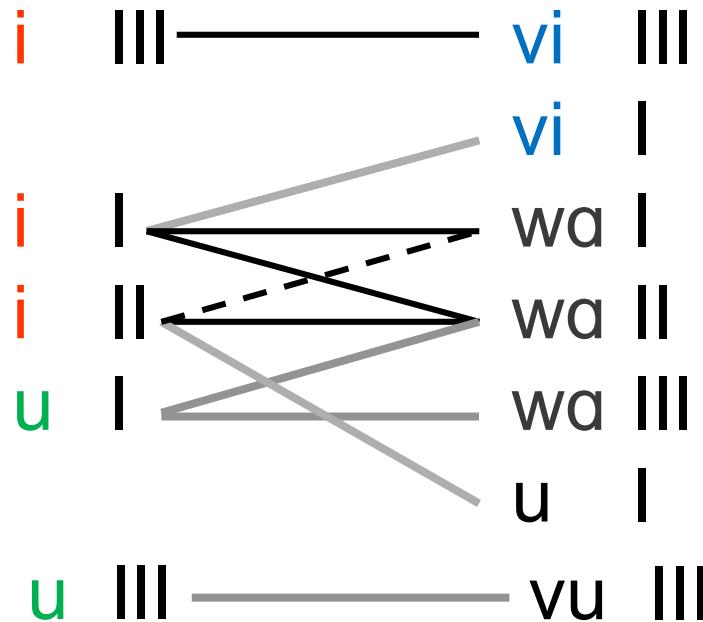
AGR with different grades form different genders

Fula

Category	grade sg	grade pl	Structure
+ human	II	I	CV
neutral	I, III	II	CV
+ diminutive	II	III	CVC'

Sereer

Category	grade sg	grade pl
+ human	II	I
neutral	I, II, III	II
+ diminutive	III	III

Mutation Grade agreement   Kobiana

a-**b**u a-**d**e   grade II agreement
Un gros ventre

u-**mb**egœr u-**nd**e   grade III agreement
Une grande plante

Ø-**f**éceũ i-**w**árax	ɛ-**p**ə́rə́ʃá ɛ-**b**árax	a-**ng**ə́s a-**mb**árax
CL^{in-I'}-lune CL^{in-I}-rouge	CL^{ɛl-II}-lèvre CL^{ɛl-II}-rouge	CL^{aŋ-III}-œil CL^{aŋ-III}-rouge
'une lune rouge'	'une lèvre rouge'	'un oeil rouge'

PL:

ɔ́-péceũ ɔ́-bárax   ɔ́-férə́ʃá   ɔ́-wárax
   'lunes rouges'   'lèvres rouges'

Two different types of agreement at the same time:
1. Prefixes
2. Grades

How to show it?
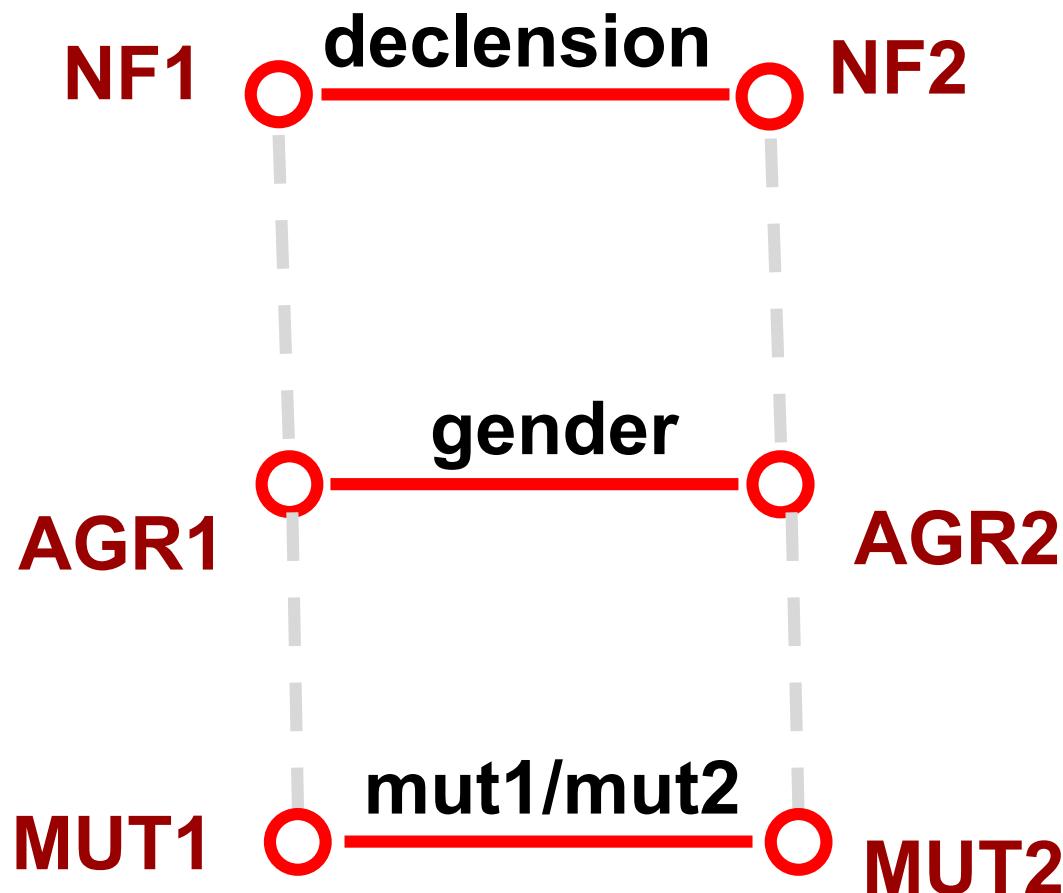
But MUT1 depends on NF1
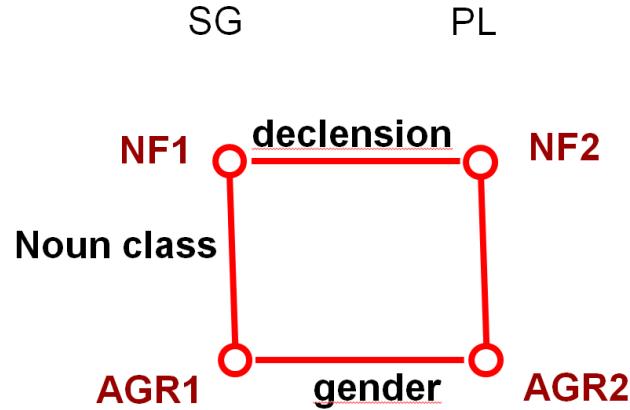
2) Every line represents more than 1 paradigm

Many agreement paradigms
but also
various paradigms of **Number**

Many agreement paradigms
but also various paradigms of **Number**
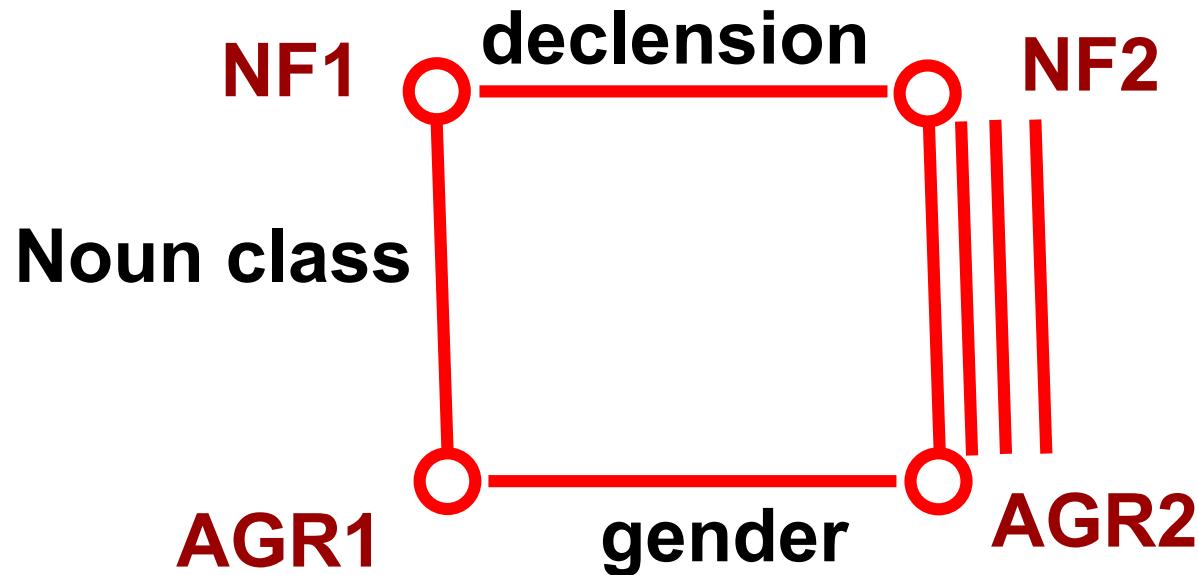
Bijogo (Segerer)
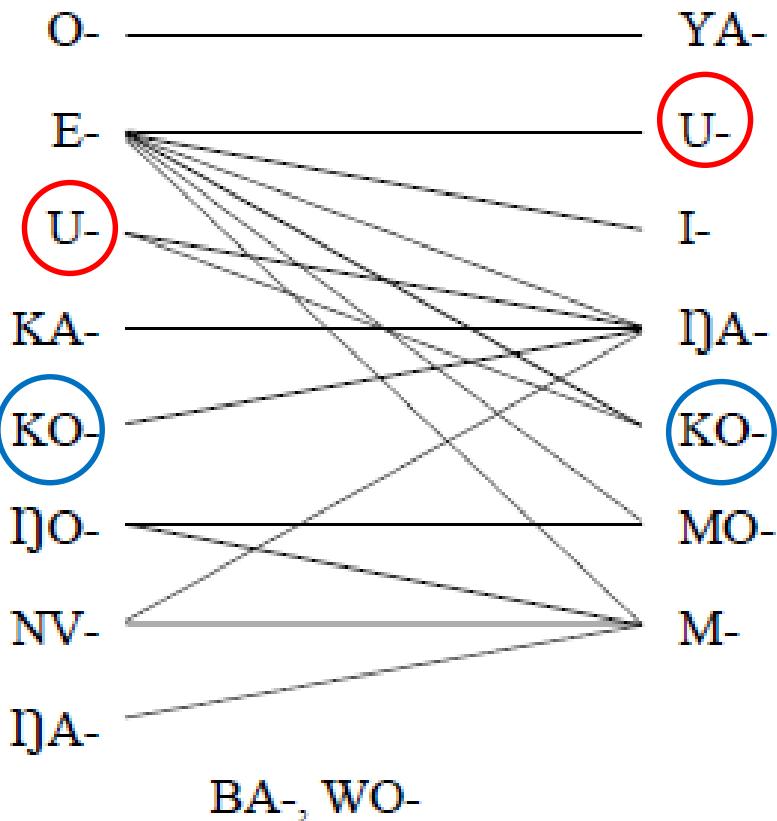
Bijogo (Segerer)

KO / E: grain de riz; in mollusque sp. ; un haricot; morceau d'igname

E / KO: emprunts, lune(s), morceau de viande - viande, beaucoup de viande; veine(s); tendon(s); nerf(s).

Balant (Creissels)
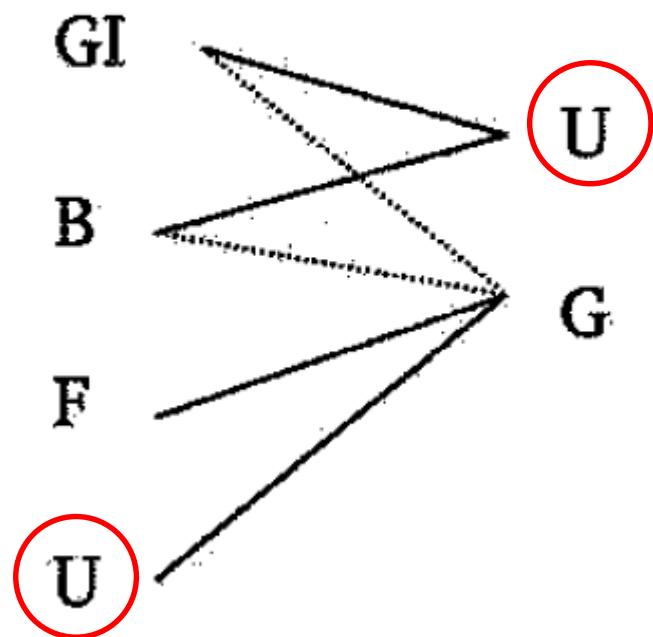
Yesterday
Vere (Ulrich)

U ———————— **N**

N ———————— T

Basari (Perrin)

	SG	PL	SG	PL
	ɔŋ-III SG	ɔŋ-III PL	ɔl-I SG	ɔl-I PL
préfixe	ɔ- (o-)	ɔ- (o-)	ɔ- (o-)	ɔ- (o-)
défini	-ɔŋ	-ɔŋ	-ɔl	-ɔl
dém.	ɔŋɔ́	ɔŋɔ́	ɔlɔ́	ɔlɔ́
relatif	ɔnd	ɔnd	ɔr	ɔr
	ɔ-ngáw̃-ɔŋ 'le gros lit'	*ɔ-mban-ɔŋ* 'les cheveux'	*ɔ-sél-ɔl* 'la soif'	*ɔ-ɟamb´-ɔl* 'les éléphants'

Different paradigms !

Les classes nominales dans les langues atlantiques

Edité par
Denis Creissels & Konstantin Pozdniakov

Rüdiger Köppe Verlag · Köln
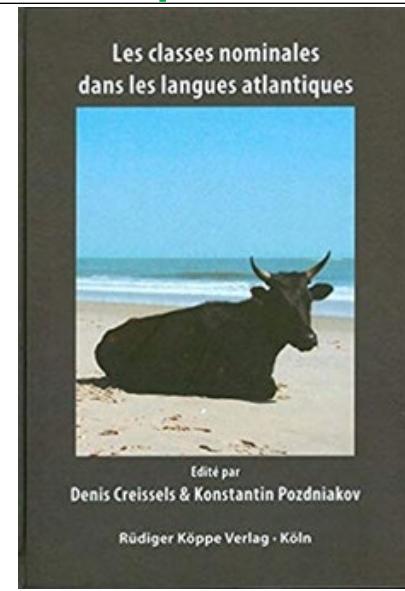
Complex structure of Number

SG $\longrightarrow$ PL $+$

$+$

$+++$ SINGL. $\longleftarrow$ PL COLL. $++$

Singulatif ← PL. COLL.   Fula

SG	PL	SEM	CLP	CLS	SG
holɓundere(re)	kolɓule	cheville	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
yitere	gite	œil	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
wattere	batte	trace	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
wuɓɓere	guɓɓe	poing	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
wuucere	buuce	poumon	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
goro(ore)	gorooje	noix de cola	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
huyƴere	kuyƴe	noyau ; noix	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
ruɓɓere	duɓɓe	noix de rônier	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
nyaaƴere	nyaaƴe	perle	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
seedere	ceede	cauri ; monnaie	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
toɓɓere	toɓɓe	goutte	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
waalere	gaale	grain, pépin	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
ƴulɓere	ƴulɓe	braise	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
dabi(ire)	dabiije	punaise	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
feccere	pecce	part; partie	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
soppere	coppe	morceau	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
haatannde	kaatane	pierre de foyer	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde

Triads

Bainounk (Cobbinah)

Table (111) *Triadic noun class paradigms (n=94)*

Paradigm			Domain	Type frequency
Singular	Count plural	Unlimited plural		
bu-	i-	di-	FRUITS	26
bu-	i-	ba-	TUBERS/GROUND GROWING PLANTS	6
bu-	i-	ja-	ANIMALS	12
gu-	ha-	ba-	SMALL FRUITS, SMALL OBJECTS	19
gu-	ha-	ja-	GRASSY PLANTS, PLANT PARTS, BODY PARTS	26
ran-	ñan-	ja-	AMPHIBIANS	5

Preprefixation

- Locative noun classes

- « ba-k » group of Atlantic

- Swahili ki- ji- tu   and not *ki- tu
            CL7+CL5-person   CL7-person
            'midget'
              < ji-tu 'giant'

- Fula (the next slide)

2 affixes in SG

Fula

SG	PL	SEM	CLP	CLS	SG
holɓundere(re)	kolɓule	cheville	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
yitere	gite	œil	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
wattere	batte	trace	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
wuɓɓere	guɓɓe	poing	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
wuucere	buuce	poumon	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
goro(ore)	gorooje	noix de cola	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
huyŷere	kuyŷe	noyau ; noix	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
ruɓɓere	duɓɓe	noix de rônier	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
nyaayŷere	nyaayŷe	perle	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
seedere	ceede	cauri ; monnaie	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
toɓɓere	toɓɓe	goutte	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
waalere	gaale	grain, pépin	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
ŷulɓere	ŷulɓe	braise	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
dabi(ire)	dabiije	punaise	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
feccere	pecce	part; partie	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
soppere	coppe	morceau	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde
haatannde	kaatane	pierre de foyer	ɗe	nde	ɗe-nde

Transnumerals

Singularia tantum ≠ Pluralia tantum

14 bu SG

15 ku SG

6 ma PL
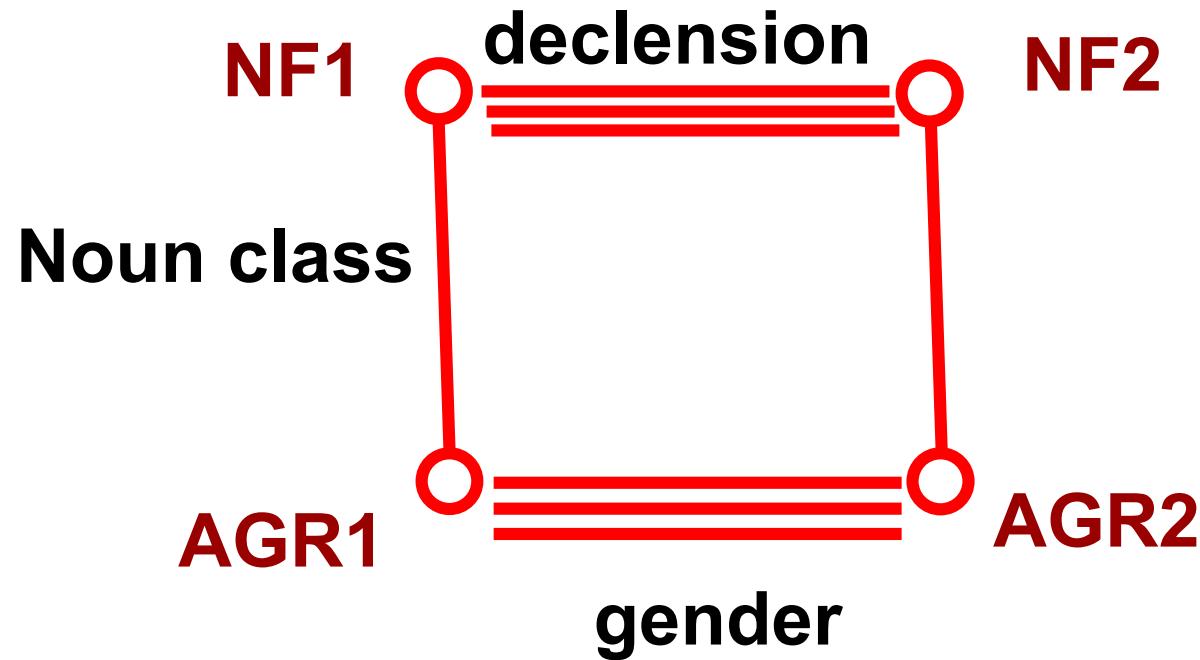
Various paradigms of Declension and Gender

Specific marking of humans (sometimes animated)

1) Specific tone (Bantu, Tenda) – NF', AGR

2) Binary opposition « humans ± » (Wolof) – NF', AGR

3) Preprefixes (Bak) – NF'

4) Specific agreement (Atlantic, Limba) - AGR

5) Specific opposition in the mutation grades (North Atlantic) – AGR.MUT

6) Special structure of Human Pl collective (suffix) etc.

Specific tone (Bantu, Tenda) for Animated +

	Noun	Agr.
1	*mʊ̀	*ʊ̀
1a	Ø	*ʊ̀
3	*mʊ̀	*gʊ́
5	*ì	*lí
7	*kì	*gí
9	*Ǹ	*jì
11	*lʊ̀	*lʊ́
12	*kà	*ká
14	*bʊ̀	*bʊ́
15	*kʊ̀	*kʊ́

Specific marking of dimensional classes

1) Preprefixes (Bantu) – NF' : Swahili *mto* 'river' – *ki-ji-to* 'small river', *mtu* 'person' > *ki-ji-tu*

2) Specific oppositions AGR.MUT in Genders - AGR.MUT (Sereer)

3) No Genders (Bijogo) – NF, AGR (CL BA – Pejoratif SG-PL

4) Special agreement (Wolof) – AGR

5) Specific NF structure (Fula) – NF

   etc.

Patterns and Developments in the Marking of Diminutives in Bantu

Hannah GIBSON,
Rozenn GUEROIS
and
Lutz MARTEN
*University of Essex and SOAS,
University of London, United Kingdom*

Preprefixes for dimensional classes (Bantu)

Kimbundu (H21, Quintão 1934: 18)

di-tadi	'stone'	(class 5)
ma-tadi	'stones'	(class 6)
ka-di-tadi	'small stone'	(class 12 + class 5)
tu-ma-tadi	'small stones'	(class 13 + class 6)

Bemba (M42, Hoch n.d.: 96–99)

umu-ntu	'person'	(class 1)
aka-mu-ntu	'small person'	(class 12 + class 1)

Herero (R30, Kavari and Marten 2009: 169–171)

o-ru-vyó	'knife'	(class 11)
o-**ka**-rú-vyó	'small knife'	(class 12 + class 11)
o-**u**-tú-vyó	'small knives'	(class 14 + class 13)
o-mu-tí	'tree'	(class 3)
o-**ka**-mu-tí	'small tree'	(class 12 + class 3)

Rangi (F33, Gibson 2012): classes 12/19

vi-ryo	'millet'	(class 8)
fi-vi-ryo	'small millet'	(class 19 + class 8)

Rombo (E623, Shinagawa 2014, p.c.): classes 12/8

ki-du	'ear'	(class 9)
ka-ki-du	'small ear'	(class 12 + class 7)
fi-ki-du	'small ears'	(class 8 + class 7)

Bembe (D54, Iorio 2011: 50): *i-* (class 5) and *tʊ-* (class 13)

mi-tʃwe	'heads'	(class 4)
tʊ-mi-tʃwe	'small heads'	(class 13 + class 4)

Sena (N44, Mozambique)

m-peni	'knife'	(class 3)
ci-m-peni	'small knife'	(class 7 + class 3)
pi-mi-peni	'small knives'	(class 8 + class 4)
ka-m-peni	'small knife'	(class 12 + class 3)

m-buzi	'goat'	(class 9)
ci-m-buzi	'goat kid'	(class 7 + class 9)
pi-m-buzi	'goat kids'	(class 8 + class 10)
ka-m-buzi	'goat kid'	(class 12 + class 9)

Ronga (S54, Bachetti 2006: 63–64)

yi-ndlu	'house'	(class 9)
xi-yi-ndlw-ana	'small house'	(class 7 + class 9 + -ana)
swi-yi-ndlw-ana	'small houses'	(class 8 + class 9 + -ana)

Fula dimensional sub-systems (an innovation)

Diminutives	sg	pl
	II … ngum (Est) (dim. intensive)	
	II … ngel (FJ,Center)	
	II … kal (partitive)	III … kon ~ koñ ~ kol ~ koy
	II … kel (FJ) (dim. intensive)	
	II … kun (FJ)	
	II … kol (offsprings)	

Augmentatives		
Eastern dialects	III … nga III … ngi (Ansongo)	III … ko
Others	II … ngal II … ngil ~ ngii (FJ)	II … •e / •i (~ le / li)

Tableau 13. Supercatégories en sereer – K. POZDNIAKOV & G. SEGERER , *idem.*

catégorie	deg. sg	deg. pl
humains	II	I
	I	II
neutre	II	II
	III	II
diminutifs	III	III

Is the agreement sets are the determinative criteria in a class system description?

Maybe, but it could not be an absolute criterion

2 points:

1) Wolof example – the next slide
2) Landuma example

Indefinite

Wolof

K	B	W	M	G	J	L	S	Ñ	Y
ak	ab	aw	am	ag	–	–	–	–	ay

K	B	W	M	G	J	L	S	Ñ	Y
ak	ab	aw	am	ag	ab	ab	ab	ay	ay
ak	ab	aw	am	ag	ab	ab	as	ay	ay

*A**b** saatu*   *su gàtt* 'a shot knife'
Indef knife   rel short
*A**s** tuq*   *su ràpp* 'an old little mortar'
Indef l.mortar rel worn

Two different classes S? **!**

Indefinite

Wolof

K	B	W	M	G	J	L	S	Ñ	Y
ak	ab	aw	am	ag	–	–	–	–	ay

K	B	W	M	G	J	L	S	Ñ	Y
ak	ab	aw	am	ag	ab	ab	ab	ay	ay
							as		

dim.

Moreover:

koog gi / ag koog 'a spoon' / *as koog* 'a little spoon'

16 SG classes instead of 8?!

(cf. Russian 6 agreement classes)

Landuma: initial consonants

p	t	c	k
f		s	h
b	d	j	gb
m	n	ɲ	ŋ
w	l	y	

(18)

Noun + definite article

'sweet potato'	butɛtɛ **bi**	'fire'	**n**ɛnc **ni**
'sand'	**c**əsənc **ci**	'journey'	**ɲ**ʌmʌnɛ **ɲi**
'hand'	**d**ʌkand **di**	'mat'	**ŋ**ar **ŋi**
'flour'	**f**ʌriŋ **fi**	'fireplace'	**p**ʌkʌ **pi**
'secret'	**gb**undo **gbi**	'hair'	**s**əfon **si**
'freedom'	**h**ɛri **hi**	'finger'	**t**ʌlər **ti**
'onion'	**j**ʌbʌ **ji**	'clothes'	**y**ʌc **yi**
'maize'	**k**əbabu **ki**	'stone'	ʌsar **ŋi**
'week'	**l**ɔkuŋ **li**	'school'	ɛkɔl **ŋi**
'water'	**m**ʌnc **mi**		

SG   PL

NF1 —— **declension** —— NF2

Noun class

AGR1 —— **gender** —— AGR2

3) Every paradigm has some autonomy in classifying features

Bantu B20 (Koya, Ndambomo, Mwesa …)

	SG	PL	
Human	1	2	Animated
Animal	9		
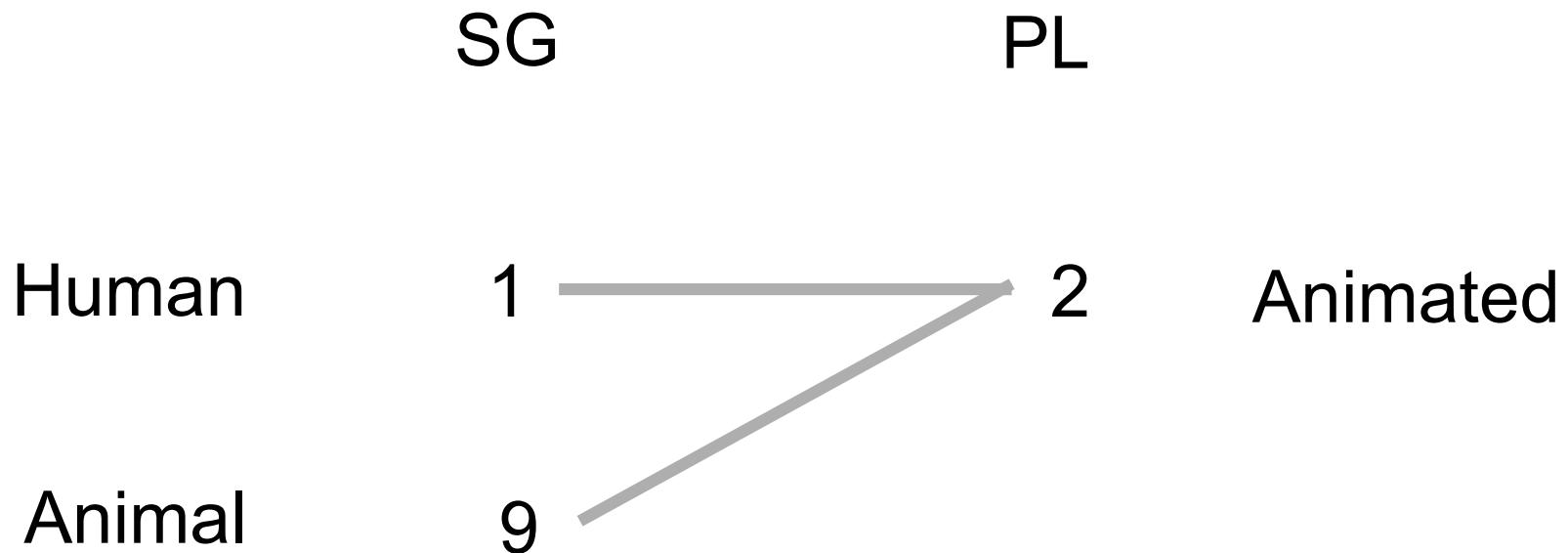
Koya (Medjo Mvé)
CL 9 / CL 2

fíὲ / bá-fìὲ	poisson	ngíyà / bà-ngíyà	gorille
kʸέmà / bà-kʸέmà	singe	ngómbà / bà-ngómbà	porc-épic
kúdʸὲ / bá-kùdʸὲ	tortue	ngóngù / bà-ngóngù	lion
kùyà / bá-kùyà	chimpanzé	ngóyà / bà-ngóyà	sanglier
ɲádì / bá-ɲàdì	buffle	nkʸéŋà / bà-nkʸéŋà	scorpion
ndzíŋὲ / bà-ndzíŋὲ	araignée	pò / bá-pò	souris, rat
nzíὲ / bà-nzíὲ	panthère	ngámbὲ / bá-ngàmbὲ	araignée

No animals in CL 9 / CL 10
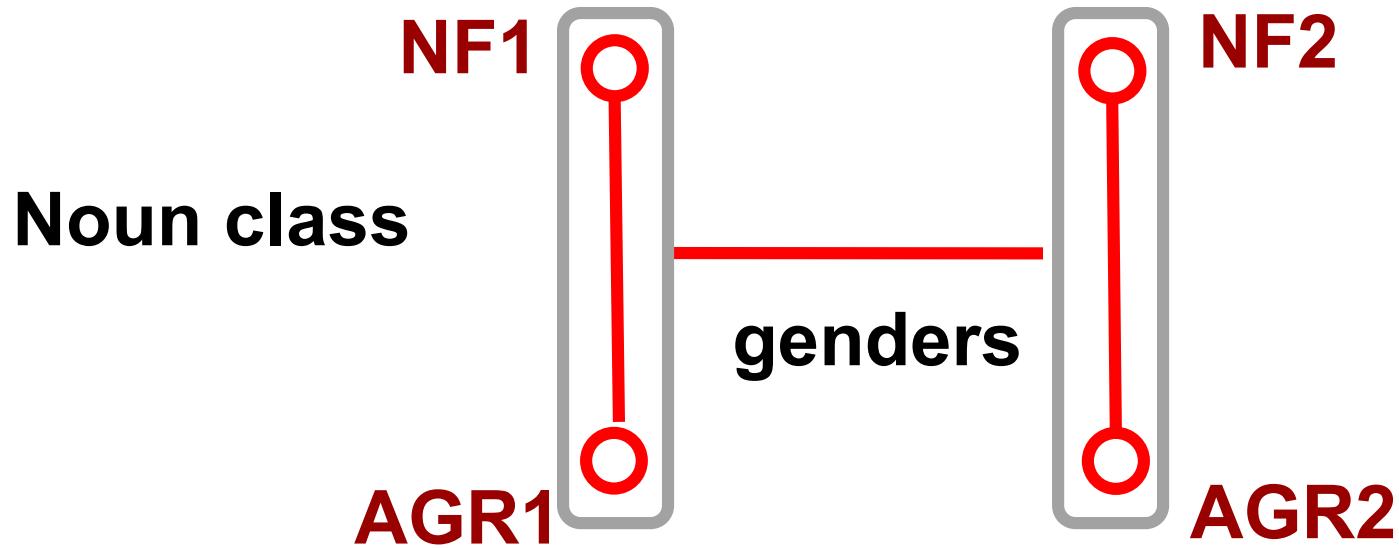
Konyagi (Santos)

<u>Singulier</u>　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　<u>Pluriel</u>

1 - a[1] I ——————————————————— **2** - və I

3 - æ III ——————————————————— **4** - væ III

5 - i II

　　a - i II , i II

　　b - i III , i II[2] ——————————————— **6** - vi III , vi II

7 - i I ~ ø I

　　a - i I , i I ——————————————— **8** - vi I

　　b - i I ~ ø I , i I ~ ø I

　　c - ø I , ø I ~ i I　　　　　　　　　 **9** - u I ~ wu I

　　d - ø II , ø I ~ i I

10 - u I - **11** - wæ I

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 12 - wæ II

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 　　a - wæ II , wæ II

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 　　b - wæ III , wæ II

13 - u III ——————————————— **14** - vu III

15 - fæ I

16 - fæ III

17 - xV II

　　a - xu II ~ [xwə] II , xu II

　　b - xu III

　　c - xæ II

18 - bəI ——————————————— **19** - va III

20 - ga III

21 - sV

　　　　　<u>Classes non appariées</u>

　　　　　22 - æ I

　　　　　23 - ỹa ~ (ỹ) æ I

　　　　　　　a - yæ I ~ ỹæ I

　　　　　　　b - ỹa I ~ ỹæ I

　　　　　24 - xæ I ~ kæ I ~ xæ II ~ kæ II

— 　appariements réguliers

-- 　appariements possibles ·

---

[1] Les classificateurs sont structurellement non intonés.

[2] i III, i II. Lire ainsi : i III : marques du nom / i II : marques d'accord.

Bayot(Diagne)

Keerak (Segerer)

AGR	SG	TR	PL		NF SG	NF TR	NF PL
X					Ø		Ø
*1(a)	u-, a-				MU-	MU-	
*2			ba-		X		BA-
*3	gu-						MI-
*4			gi-				
*15/17	ku-	ku-			KU-	KU-	
*5	di-				DI-		
*6		ga-	ga-			MA-	MA-
*14	bu-	bu-			BU-	BU-	
*7	ki-				KI-		
*8			bị-				Bị-
*9	ji-				X		
*10			jị-		N-		N-
*11	du-				DU-		
*12	ka-				KA-		
*13			tu-				TU-
*19	pị-				Pị-		
*16		pa-				PA-	
*18		mu-			X		

Note: X = no independent counterpart in the other class type.

Figure 8: Gender system (left) vs. declension system (right) of Proto-Bantu.

Questions:

X

MU-

N-
X

MU-` NF SG
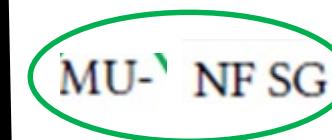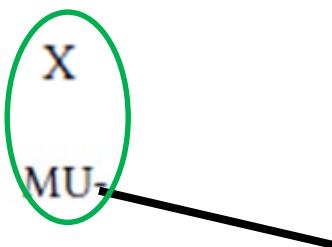
What are we doing? If we describe a system:

			trans	NF	2	4	6	8	10	13
	NF				*bà	*mì	*mà	*bì	*Ǹ	*tὺ
		AGR			*bá	*gí	*gá	*bí	*jí	*tύ
trans							+			
NF										
1	*mὺ	*ὺ		1=3	+					
1a	Ø	*ὺ			+					
3	*mὺ	*gύ		1=3		+				
5	*ì	*lí					+			
7	*kì	*gí						+		
9	*Ǹ	*jì							+	
11	*lὺ	*lύ					+		+	
12	*kà	*ká								+
14	*bὺ	*bύ	+				+			
15	*kὺ	*kύ	+				+			

If we make a typology:

			trans	NF	2	4	6	8	10	13	HUM	DIM
	NF				*bà	*mì	*mà	*bì	*Ǹ	*tʋ̀		
		AGR			*bá	*gí	*gá	*bí	*jí	*tʋ́		
trans							+					
NF												
1	*mʋ̀	*ʋ̀		1=3	+						+	
1a	Ø	*ʋ̀			+						+	
3	*mʋ̀	*gʋ́		1=3		+						
5	*ì	*lí					+					
7	*kì	*gí						+				+
9	*Ǹ	*jì							+		+	
11	*lʋ̀	*lʋ́					+		+			
12	*kà	*ká								+		+
14	*bʋ̀	*bʋ́	+				+					
15	*kʋ̀	*kʋ́	+				+					
HUM												
DIM												

If we work on Atlantic languages:

			MUT	trans	NF	2	4	6	8	10	13	HUM	DIM
	NF												
		AGR											
MUT													
trans													
NF													
1													
1a													
3													
5													
7													
9													
11													
12													
14													
15													
HUM													
DIM													

If we search for the best graphical representation :
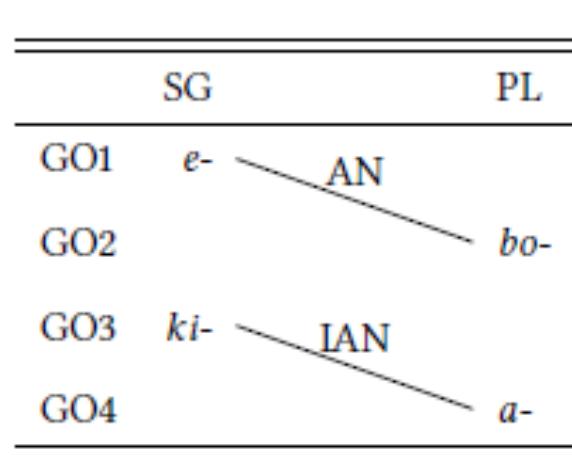
Figure 11: Gender system of Gonja (based on Painter 1970).

```
SG                    PL

GO1  e- ————— bo-  GO2

GO3  ki- ————— a-    GO4
```

If we search for the best graphical representation :


```
          GEND + DECL.
            SG              PL
trans+  15  ku
         5   di  ─────────  ma  6  trans+
trans+  14  bu
         7   ki  ─────────  bi   8
```
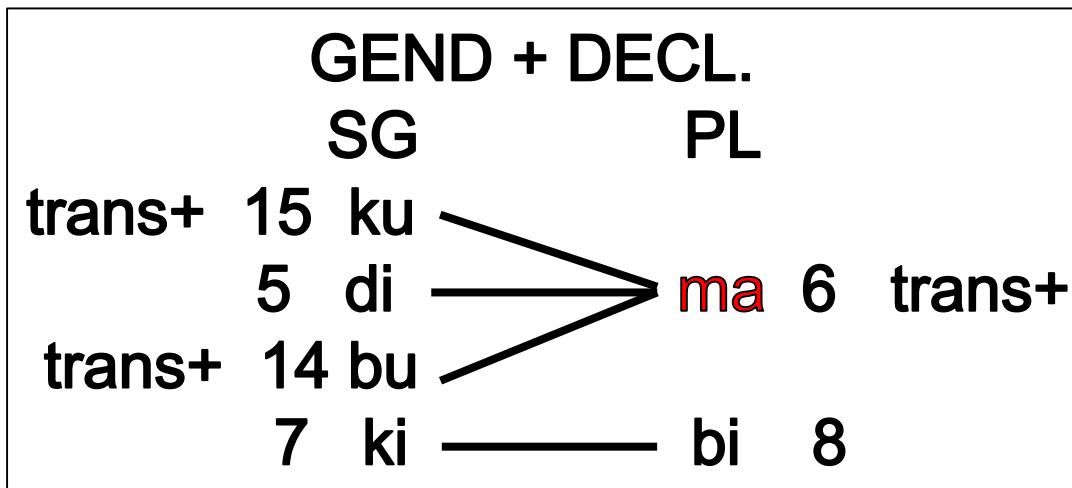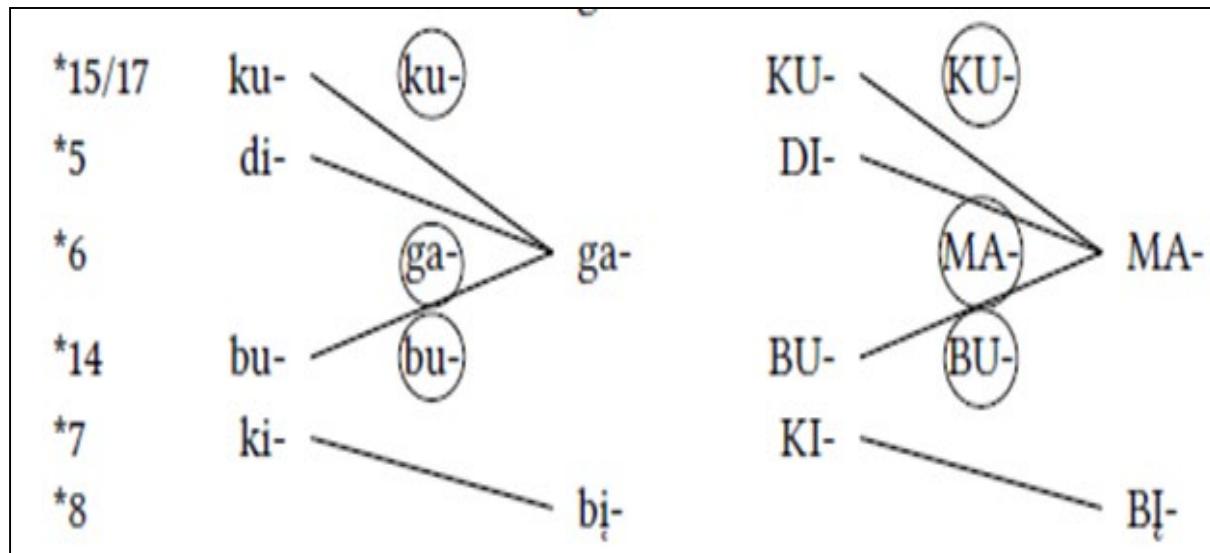
Proto-Bantu

	Noun	Agr.
1	*mʊ̀	*ʊ̀
1a	Ø	*ʊ̀
3	*mʊ̀	*gʊ́
5	*ì	*lí
7	*kì	*gí
9	*Ǹ	*jì
11	*lʊ̀	*lʊ́
12	*kà	*ká
14	*bʊ̀	*bʊ́
15	*kʊ̀	*kʊ́
16	*pà	*pá
17	*kʊ̀	*kʊ́
18	*mʊ̀	*mʊ́
19	*pì	*pí

	Noun	Agr.
2	*bà	*bá

	Noun	Agr.
4	*mì	*gí
6	*mà	*gá
8	*bì	*bí
10	*Ǹ	*jí

	Noun	Agr.
13	*tʊ̀	*tʊ́

Proto-Bantu

If we reconstruct

« Prototypical » is an ambiguous term:

1) diachronical
2) synchronical
3) « pseudo-prototypes »

A « prototypical » bird – sparrow –

Proto-birds
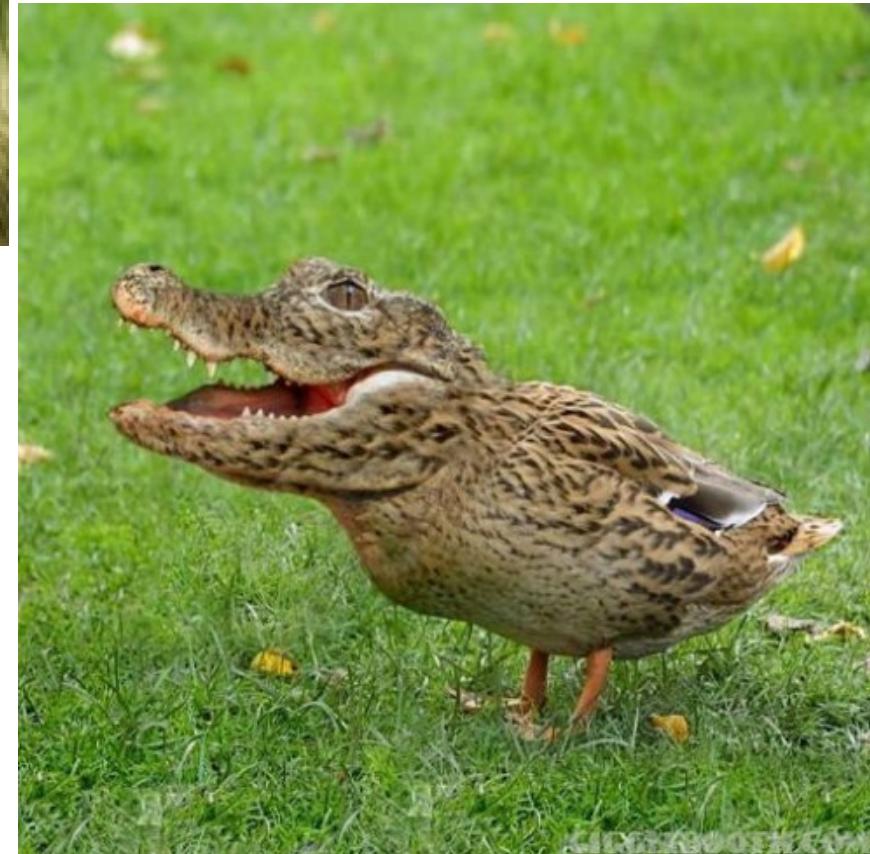
The problem is what is the « prototypical » diachronically –

Proto-Bantu or some Atlantic-like systems?

What was the NC noun system look like?

Special workshop?