The Phonology and Morphosyntax of Kol

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Abstract

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The Maka-Njem [A.80] languages of Cameroon are still very understudied

compared to the better known Bantu languages. Many variants are

endangered by virtue of their contact with both French, the language of

education and government, and more prestigious neighboring languages. In

this study, I describe one such language, Kol [A.832], focusing on its

phonology, morphology and basic syntax. In addition, Kol is compared to

neighboring (and closely related languages) and the historical development of

Kol is explored by examining sound correspondences with reconstructed

Proto-Bantu words and grammatical structures. In the course of the

description, it is shown that Kol has important consequences not only for our

understanding of Bantu descriptive and historical linguistics but also for

certain grammatical issues in general linguistic theory. An appendix includes

texts and a Kol-English lexicon.

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consented to mentor me during my time in Cameroon. I hope this study

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through the research and writing process and my friends and family for

supporting me through thick and thin. Túncêz nò bùbù!

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1 Introduction

The purpose of this work is to offer a description of Kol, a narrow Bantu language spoken in Cameroon, in the Upper Nyong division of the Eastern Province. The morphosyntax of Kol has been previously undescribed.

Bantu languages are spoken south of a line extending from Cameroon in the west across the continent to southern Somalia in the east. The Bantu language area extends down to the southern tip of Africa. There are between 400 and 500 Bantu languages. Nearly a third of Africans today speak a Bantu language as their first language (Nurse 2001).

The Kol language is spoken in eastern Cameroon, primarily around the town of Messaména. Kol speakers refer to themselves and their language as *Bɔ̀kól*. Both the language and the speakers are called *Bikele* in French. A map is given below.

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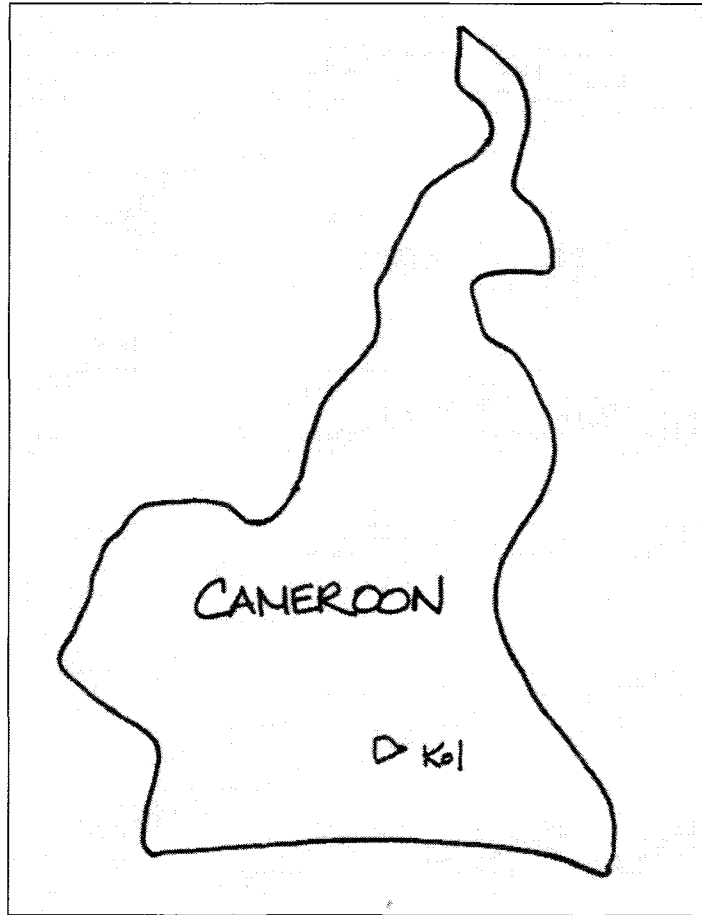
Map 1.1 Cameroon and Kol

Kol differs from many Bantu languages in that its preverbal morphemes

are words or clitics and not prefixes. Morphologically, it is of typological

interest because many of its tenses illustrate a tonal concord throughout the

verbal sequence. Additionally, while Kol has a number of proclitics and

enclitics, it also has a typologically rarer circumclitic, marking the non-past

perfective negative. Syntactically, Kol is of interest because it offers evidence

that it is one of the languages where *second position* is important, which in Kol

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is the first position within the verb. Phonologically, Kol is interesting because it has a postnasal devoicing process in its nouns, and it allows long vowels in closed syllables.

1 Background Information

1.1 THE LANGUAGE

Kol belongs to the A.80 Maka-Njem language family. The authors of the *Cameroon Linguistic Atlas* (Dieu and Renaud 1983) listed Kol as a dialect of Makaa (A.83). More recently, it has been recognized as a distinct language and has been given its own classification number of A.832 (Maho 2003).

Its *Ethnologue* (Gordon 2005) classification is as follows:

Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Northwest, A, Maka-Njem (A.80), Kol (BIW)

The Kol language area is surrounded by other A.80 languages. It is bordered by the Makaa area to the north and by Badwe'e, one of the Konzime/Njem subvarieties, to the south and east. Kol is bordered on the west by the So language area.

There are a number of Kol dialects. Speakers agree that there are at least four distinct varieties of Kol, but some report that there are as many as seven. Those who report that Kol has four distinct dialects divide the Kol language area into a western dialect, a central dialect, and two eastern dialects, as shown in the map below.

Those speakers who make further distinctions separate the central dialect into two zones using the river as their boundary. Other speakers believe that the villages in the southeastern quadrant can be further subdivided, with those along the Bidjombo road (Labba, Meba, Koum and Apadjop) forming one group and those on the southern road (Messamena village, Akoumou, and Djuebla) forming the other. Data for this study was elicited from villages in the central dialect area.
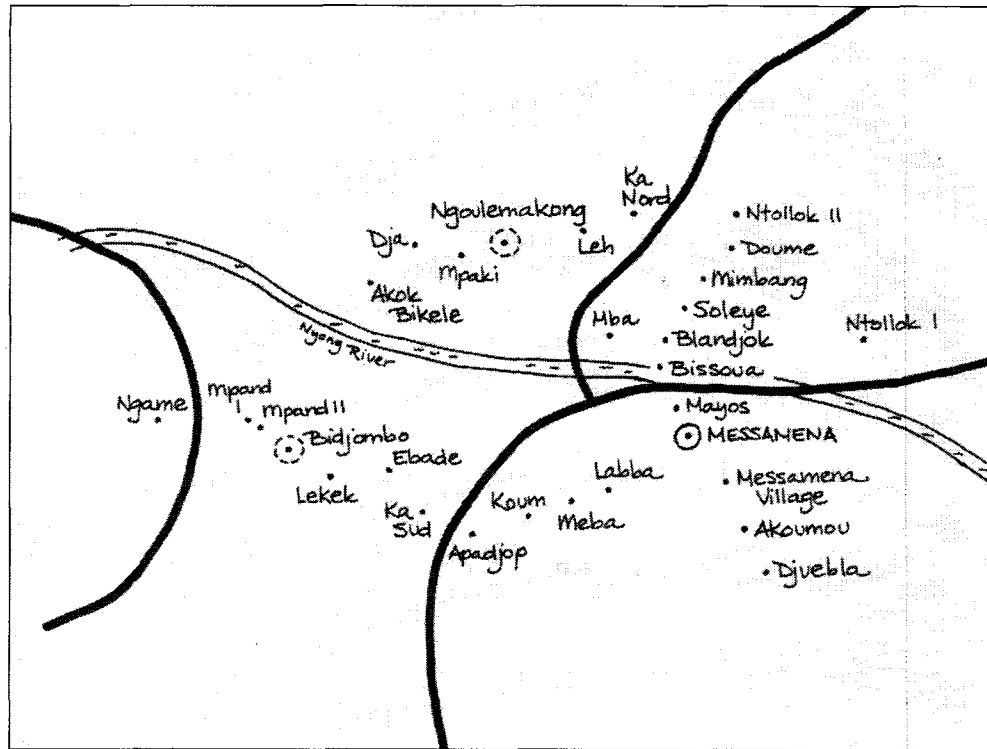
Map 1.2 Kol dialects

Kol is a SVO language. In general, Kol phrases are head-initial, e.g.

objects, other complements and adjuncts follow verbs, most noun modifiers

follow the noun, and complements of prepositions follow the preposition.

(See chapters 3 and 5 for more information.)

The Kol orthography uses 28 letters to express the 40 phonemes found

in Kol. These letters are given below.

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p, b	t, d	c, j	k, g		i	ɨ	u
f, v	s, z			h	e	ə	o
m	n	ŋ			ɛ	a	ɔ
w	l	y					

In general, the values of most orthographic symbols are consistent with the International Phonetic Alphabet. The exceptions are found in the palatal sounds. The alveopalatal affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] are represented in Kol with the letters |c| and |j| respectively. Additionally, the alveopalatal fricative [ʃ] is written as |sh| and the palatal glide [j] is written as |y|. Though the Kol orthography uses |ny| for the palatal nasal [ɲ], this study will use the IPA symbol so as to reserve Cy clusters for representing palatalization. For more information on Kol phonology, see chapter 2.

1.2 THE PEOPLE AND THEIR CULTURE

There are between 12,000 and 16,000 Kol speakers in eastern Cameroon. The Kol live in a densely-forested, hilly region which is the headwaters area of the Nyong river. One of the larger rivers divides the Kol

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language area in two, but the whole region is criss-crossed with smaller bodies of water. The waterways are still frequently used for transportation, being often more direct than the roads.

Many houses are made using wood. Wood planks are readily available since the Kol region is near an area known for its logging industry. More traditional houses made with poles and mud are also common. Roofs are either made of tin sheeting or thatched with palm leaves.

The economy in the Kol region is primarily agricultural. Families grow their own food, and there are also many coffee and cocoa plantations, though most of these are not currently being tended or harvested due to lower prices on the world market. Men clear the fields, but women are responsible for planting, weeding and harvesting. Meat comes from domesticated animals, fishing or hunting in the surrounding forest.

The Kol region was colonized by the Germans in the early 1900s. The Eastern Province took nine years to subdue; much longer than was originally anticipated (Mveng 1985:52). Colonial brick buildings can still be seen on

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the outskirts of Messaména. After World War I, this part of Cameroon became a French colony.

Unlike other people groups in Cameroon, the peoples of eastern Cameroon, including the Kol, do not have a traditional hierarchical authority structure. Communities are run by groups of elders. Specific elders have authority only as long as they can persuade people to follow them. Colonial powers assumed that the eastern people groups were like the coastal people groups and wanted to govern through local kings or chiefs. When asked to send them their chiefs, the Kol complied in that they sent someone, but this person did not necessarily have any more authority than any other adult member of the community. This set up tensions between the colonial structure and the traditional egalitarian structure. While I am unaware of any indepth anthropological studies on the Kol people, a number of articles and books have been written on the Makaa, their close neighbors (Geschiere 1982, 1993a, 1993b).

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The Kol were traditionally animists. The Catholic church arrived soon after colonization. Today a number of Protestant churches are also present in the Kol region.

Elementary schools are found in many Kol villages. However, for a secondary education, Kol children must travel to the towns of Messaména, Ayos, or Abong Mbang. Travel is not easy in the Kol region, so most children board with relatives or family friends in the bigger towns during the school year.

Marriages are exogamous. Families belong to clans, and marriages occur outside of the clan. It is also common for the Kol to marry people from other people groups. After a marriage, a wife always moves to where her husband lives, traditionally to his father's compound. If any children are born to the marriage, they belong to the father's family. That is to say, should the husband die, the children stay with his family, while the wife may stay or may go back to her family of origin.

2 Previous Research

Previous work on Kol has been limited to Kol's sociolinguistic situation (Johnson 1989) and its phonology (Begne 1980, Fokou Tamafo et al 2004).

Johnson (1989) reports that a majority of Kol speakers who participated in intelligibility testing demonstrated high levels of comprehension for both Makaa and Badwe'e. However, there were a few speakers who had very low levels of comprehension, suggesting that there may be high levels of bilingualism (vs. high levels of mutual intelligibility). Accompanying sociolinguistic questionnaires showed positive attitudes towards Kol and both of the neighboring languages (Makaa and Badwe'e). The Bokol responding to the questionnaires stated that children begin to learn the neighboring languages between the ages of 6 and 10.

Begne's (1980) phonology of Kol provides inventories of consonants, vowels & tonal phonemes as well as a discussion of phonotactics in each domain. While it contains a lot of good information, it also has some gaps.

For example, Begne, though ethnically Kol, does not give any information as to what dialect of Kol he speaks or to what level. Additionally,

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he includes basic associative phrases in his discussion of noun root shapes. In his lexicon, he glosses over the fact that there is not a one-to-one correspondence between singular and plural noun classes. Both class 5 and class 9 nouns mark their plurals in class 6. This merger and the lack of traditional noun class numbers makes his lexicon not especially useful in identifying class membership of various nouns.

The phonology sketch written by Fokou Tamafo et al (2004) was intended to be the basis for orthographic decisions. It was not intended to be an in-depth phonological study.

3 Methodology of Current Study

This current study is based on 18 months of fieldwork in the Eastern province. While for practical reasons, I did not live in the Kol language area, I made regular trips to the Kol region from the neighboring subdivision of Abong Mbang. Additional work was done with Kol speakers who traveled to visit me in either Abong Mbang or Yaounde.

Kol is primarily spoken in the Messaména arrondissement. Where the Kol language area borders the Makaa and the Badwe'e language areas, the

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variety of Kol spoken is reportedly strongly influenced by these neighboring

languages. Therefore, efforts were made to collect data only from speakers

who lived in an area where Kol speakers in general report that "good" Kol is

spoken. This area was that of the central dialect, located west of Messaména,

along the Nyong river. (A map of Kol dialects was given above in Map 1.2.)

On the map below, villages found in the central dialect area are

underlined. Data was primarily collected from speakers from four of these

villages: Bidjombo, Ebade, Leh and Ngoulemakong. These villages were

chosen due to relative ease of access from the main road.
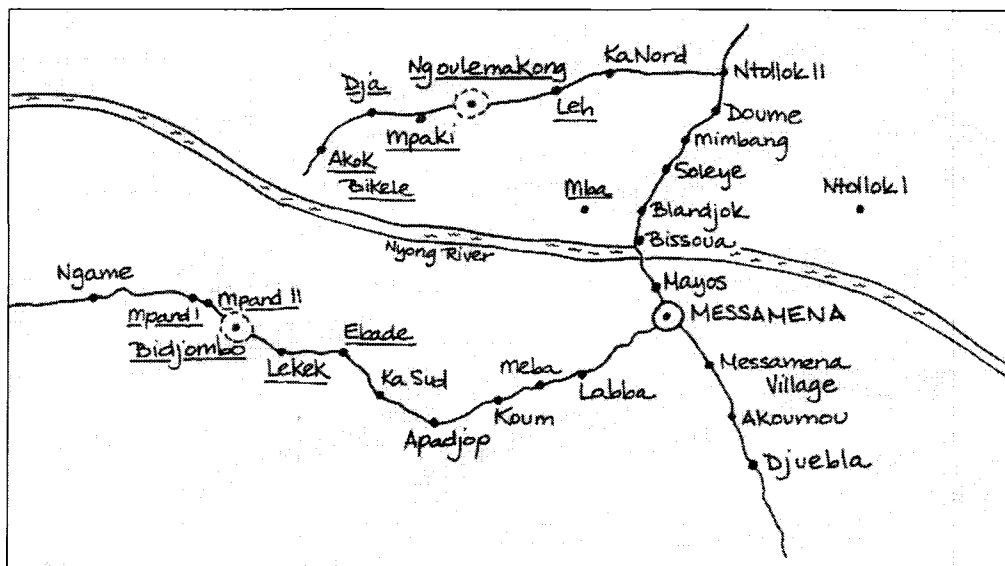
Map 1.3 Source villages

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4 Organization of current study

This current study is organized into seven chapters. Chapter two describes the phonology of Kol: its phonemic inventory, syllable structure and phonological rules. Chapter three introduces the reader to nouns, describing their internal structure as well as the structure of the noun phrase. Chapter four contains information on the elements found in Kol verb phrases, e.g. verbs, auxiliary verbs, copulas, adverbs, and tense, negation and aspect markers. Chapter five describes the syntactic structure of the verb phrase. Chapter six looks at the bigger picture of how Kol fits into the A.80 language family, i.e. its similarities and differences with its neighbors. Chapter seven will examine how Kol has changed over time by comparing Kol today with what is known about Proto-Bantu. A number of texts and a lexicon may be found in the appendices.

Examples are numbered separately in each chapter. Throughout this study, in Kol examples, the hyphen '-' is used to mark boundaries between roots and affixes, while the equal sign '=' marks the boundary between clitics

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and roots. Grammatical morphemes are glossed in small caps while lexical

ones are in lower case. Floating tones are marked by the '+' plus sign.

(1)   ɲ=ă=kw=è   náŋ...   dì   dùk.
      ɲə̀=á=kwò=è+ʜ   náŋ+ʜ   dì   dŭg
      he/she-NEG-again-NEG   more   stay   forest
      'He doesn't stay in the forest anymore.'

In all of the Kol examples, the first line given will represent the way

the speaker actually said the phrase. If morphophonological processes have

blurred the forms of the morphemes found in a particular example, the

second line will show the underlying representations of the morphemes

involved. Examples taken from texts in the appendix have a reference to the

text and its sentence number in parentheses.

Below is a list of the abbreviations used in glossing examples.

Abbreviations used to gloss grammatical morphemes are in small caps, while

those used for lexical morphemes will be in lower case.

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(2) *Abbreviations*

adj – adjective

adv - adverb

APPL - applicative

ASSOC – associative marker

att – attributive

aux – auxiliary verb

chg – change (of state)

COND – conditional

conj – conjunction

DEF – definite determiner

dem – demonstrative

det - determiner

EMPH – emphatic pronoun

F2 – distant future

FOC – focus

Fr - French

FUT – future

gen - genitive

IMP - imperative

IMPF - imperfective

INF - infinitive

INCL – inclusive

interr - interrogative

LOC - locative

loc – locative (copula)

n - noun

NEG - negative

num - numeral

OBJ - object

P1 – near past

PASS - passive

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P2 – far past

PERF – perfect

pl - plural

POSS - possessive

PRES – present

QUAL – qualificative

quant - quantifier

RECIP - reciprocal

RELCL – relative clause

spec - specific

SG – singular

SUB - subject

SUBJ – subjunctive

TAM – Tense, Aspect, Mood marker

v - verb

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2 Phonology

This chapter will provide a summary of the Kol phonological system.
In the first section below, an overview of the phonemes found in Kol will be
given. This will be followed by a discussion of ambiguous segments,
synchronic variation, and phonological rules.

1 Phonemic Inventory

Kol has 32 consonants, 8 phonemic vowels and two underlying tones,
high (H) and low (L). Below is a consonant chart for Kol.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labiovelar
stop	(p), b	t, d	c [tʃ], j [dʒ]	k, g	kp
prenasalized stop	mp, mb	nt, nd	nc, nj	ŋk, ŋg	ŋkp, ŋgb
nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
fricative	f, (v)	s, z	ʃ		
approximant		l, r	y		w

Table 2.1 Kol consonants

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The sounds {p, v, kp, ŋkp, and ŋgb} are quite rare. Most of the words

with these sounds can be identified as borrowings, particularly from Ewondo

(Begne 1980:32). Word-finally, voicing distinctions are neutralized thanks to

a rule devoicing consonants before pause. (See section 4.2.5.1.)

If borrowed words are excluded, there is only one voicing distinction in

the fricative series, at the alveolar place of articulation, unlike the stop series.

/s/ and /z/ only contrast root-initially. Additionally, /f/ is weakened to [h]

in some words for some speakers. (See section 1.1)

Kol has a nearly symmetrical vowel system, with three front vowels,

two central vowels and three back (and round) vowels.

	front	central	back
high	i	(ɨ)	u
mid	e	ə	o
low	ɛ	a	ɔ

Table 2.2 Kol Vowels.

The status of a ninth vowel, the high central vowel, is questionable, as

represented by the parentheses in the table above. It will be discussed in

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section 2.2.1. Below are words illustrating the phonemic difference between the eight vowels.

(1) *bì* 'startle, surprise'   *bù* 'be scarce'

     bé 'toilet, latrine'   *bɔ̀* 'be'   *bò* 'place'

     bɛ̀ 'sow, cultivate'   *bà* 'cut'   *bɔ̀g* 'lip'

Length is phonemic for 7 of the vowels given above, all but the schwa. Some minimal pairs are given below (from Begne 1980:47-60). It is interesting that these long vowels can occur in closed syllables, since that is typologically rare.

(2) *jî*   'ask, inquire'   *kùg*   'waist, shape'

     jìì   'cry, desire'   *kùúg*   'uncle'

     ncě   'panther, leopard'   *sɔ̂ŋ*   'vegetables (greens)'

     ncéè 'who?'   *sɔ́ɔ̀ng* 'father'

Kol has two tones, high (H) and low (L). These may combine to form the contour tones HL and LH on single vowels. LH primarily occurs in environments where a grammatical H tone has been added to a L tone syllable.

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(3)   *bà*   'a little'   adverb

      bá   'two'   numeral

      bâ   'marry'   verb

In addition to the lexical tones, Kol has other tones which carry grammatical information. Grammatical tones within the noun phrase are discussed in chapter 3, while grammatical tones within the verb phrase are discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

1.1   SYNCHRONIC VARIATION

As was mentioned above, voicing distinctions are neutralized for obstruents before pause. However, word-finally (not before pause), there is also an optional process which transforms voiced stops to voiced continuants, with the exception of /b/.

(4)   /tíd/   'animal' (7)   →   [tír]

     /è-bùg/   'holiday' (5)   →   [èbùɣ]

Fokou Tamafo (2004:11) observed that some words show variation of [g] when it is the second consonant, but not word finally. He gives a rule where [g] becomes the voiced fricative [ɣ] when it is found between two occurrences of the low central vowel [a] but stays [g] everywhere else.

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Examples are given below in (5a), followed by examples of other environments where no alternation is possible. (Examples taken from Fokou Tamafo et al (2004:11).)

(5) a.   [mpàɣá]   *from*   /mpàgá/   'route, path'

         [ŋkpáɣá]   /ŋkpágá/   'fishing pole'

     b.   bùgà   'hope'

         lîgìlɔ   'accompany'

While /b/ is not weakened to a voiced continuant before pause (it is consistently devoiced), it may be weakened between vowels when it is the second consonant.

(6)   /è-sáb/ →   [è-sáβà]   'illness' (5)

Two other sources of variation may be found within the fricative series. Some dialects have /s/ where other dialects have /ʃ/, as shown below.

(7)   ʃû   *varies with*   sû   'fish' (7/8)
     è-ʃwì   è-swè   'death' (5)
     ʃìlò   sìlò   'young woman' (1)

Additionally, the fricatives /f/ and /h/ are in free variation for many speakers.

(8)   fámɜ̀   *varies with*   hámɜ̀   'true, real'

      fá   há   HORTATIVE

2 Syllable structure and Phonotactics

Kol allows both open and closed syllables, with the following syllable

shapes being represented in the language: V, CV, CVC, and CVVC. Below are

some examples of words illustrating the different syllabic structures allowed.

There are no monosyllabic words which illustrate the V syllable type though

there are proclitics which then form V syllables at the beginning of prosodic

words.

(9)   V   á =   NEGATIVE (proclitic half of circumclitic)

             á.bâ   'vulture' (1/2)

      CV   jò   'tooth' (5/6)

             ko   'go'

      CVV   jìì   'cry, weep'

      CVC   kâŋ   'guinea fowl' (3)

             dêg   'see'

      CVVC   tóòb   'sheep'

             bììl   'trap (an animal)'

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Vowel initial words in general are quite rare. There are a number of

vowel-initial nouns, which are either borrowings or possibly examples of a 1a

class prefix a-, as shown below. There are no examples of vowel-initial verbs.

(10) ábâ   'vulture'

      âbyôlô   'traitor'

      ăbwɔmb ndəlê   'mud wasp'

      ădùŋgû   'toad'

      ădwàm   'frog'

      ăfíyò   'lemon'

      ămpígà   'dragonfly'

2.1 PHONOTACTICS

Phonotactic constraints for both consonants and vowels are discussed

in the sections below. Generalizations are made on the basis of a lexicon of

approximately 2000 entries.

2.1.1 Consonants

Kol has more phonemic consonant contrasts word-initially than it does

word-medially or word-finally.

2.1.1.1   Onsets

Most of the phonemes in Kol may occur word-initially. The exceptions

are /ŋ/ and /g/. /ŋ/ never occurs word-initially, and /g/ only occurs word-

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initially in two words, shown below. One is definitely a borrowing from English, and the other is most likely a borrowing from an A.70 trade languaeg like Ewondo ('catfish' is *ŋgol* in Fang (A.75)).

(11) gyɔ̀ndɔ̂   'catfish, mudfish'   gólòd   'gold' (from English)

Within a word, as the onset to a word-medial syllable, /g/ is common, but /ŋ/ is not. Voiceless obstruents are rarer at the beginning of a word-medial syllable than they are at the beginning of a word.

The two alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/ only contrast at the beginning of a word (or root).

(12) bì-sá   '8-thing'   *from*   /bè-sá/
      bì-zúŋ   '8-our'

More oddly, the palatal stop /j/ does not occur as the onset of a word-medial syllable (or as a coda). Only the prenasalized /nj/ occurs in those positions.

Secondary articulations, i.e. labialization or palatalization, are extremely common for word-initial consonants (C1s) and extremely rare for non-word-initial consonants (C2s). (Evidence for these being secondary

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articulations and not consonant clusters is given below in section 3.2.)

Example (13) lists all of the words with secondarily articulated C2s in my

lexicon. These may be all originally C1s. The first example is definitely a

case of reduplication, where the reduplicated consonant (now C1) has lost its

secondary articulation. The rest (except for the latter) look like examples of

reduplication, but for most of them there are no obvious bases in the lexicon.

(13) ʃúʃwóg   'in front of'   (ʃwóg = 'be in front')
     kúkwɔ́ lû   'skull of head'
     lúlwúŋ   'flute'   (lwúŋ = 'vine')
     pùpwɔ́   'pawpaw, papaya'
     mbúmbwá   'poor man, poverty'
     mpìmpyâŋ   'red pepper, hot pepper'
     sùʃwáàz   'naked'

2.1.1.2   Codas

The distinction between voiced and voiceless obstruents is neutralized

word-finally, thanks to the devoicing rule discussed in section 4.2.5.1. Word-

medially and word-finally, [r] is an allophone of /d/, as discussed above in

section 1.1.

The voiced velar consonants, both oral and nasal, are the most

common consonants word-finally. /l/ is the third most common consonant

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found at the end of words.   The palatal consonants are rarer than obstruents

at other places of articulation.

Coda Consonants							
b	57	d	39	g	147	j	1
mb	44	nd	34	ng	10	nj	20
m	69	n	46	ŋ	112	ɲ	2
		s	45				
		l	106				

Table 2.3 Coda consonants

2.1.2 Vowels

For disyllabic words, the most common vowels found in the initial

syllable (V1s) are {i, u, a} while the most common vowels found in the

second syllable (V2s) are {ə, ɔ, a}. However, the tendency is more extreme

for verbs, especially when the overall number of verbs (580) vs the total

number of nouns (1016) is taken into account. Compare the two tables

below.

	i	e	ɛ	u	o	ɔ	ə	a
V1	48	23	2	69	11	11	14	55
V2	16	20	10	28	15	40	38	81

Table 2.4 Vowel counts for nouns

	i	e	ɛ	u	o	ɔ	ə	a
V1	34	11	10	52	5	13	4	46
V2	2	2	3	2	4	65	60	50

Table 2.5 Vowel counts for verbs

For nouns, it is much more common to have the high vowels {i, u} in the first syllable than the second syllable. The mid vowels {e, ə, o} are somewhat more evenly distributed, though the central mid vowel is more commonly found in the second syllable. All of the low vowels {ɛ, ɔ, a} are much more common in second syllables than in first syllables.

For verbs, the most common vowels in the first syllables are the vowels at the three corners of the vowel space {i, u, a}, while the only vowels which are commonly found in the second syllable are the central vowels {ə, a} and the low back vowel [ɔ].

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3 Ambiguous Segments

Kol has a number of sound sequences which are ambiguous as to whether they should be analyzed as a single phonemic unit or as a series of phonemes. In this section, I will discuss the nasal plus consonant series in section 3.1, the consonant plus glide series in section 3.2 and the status of the high central vowel in section 3.3.

3.1 NC = PRENASALIZED STOP

Researchers in the A.80 language family differ as to whether NC series should be analyzed as prenasalized stops or as homorganic nasal consonant clusters. I believe that these NC series in Kol are prenasalized stops for the following reasons.

First of all, there are no clear consonant clusters in native Kol words. Below are some examples of borrowed words, containing consonant clusters.

(14) àlkôl   'alcohol'
      brík   'mud block' (Fr. *brique*)
      krístùs   'Christ'
      klìʃé   'x-ray' (Fr. *cliché*)

The only candidates for consonant clusters in Kol are the NC series

currently under discussion, or the Cw / Cy units discussed in the section

below.

Additionally, the prenasalized series contains more sounds than the

oral series. /p/ is rare in Kol, occuring primarily in borrowings and

ideophones. However, /mp/ is very common.

(15)   pààr   'threshing floor'   págá   'cane'

       pé   'totally'   pyɛ̀b   'winnow'

       pùpwɔ́   'pawpaw'   pùù   'calm'

The other piece of evidence for asserting that Kol has prenasalized

stops and not consonant clusters is from a reduplication process. In Kol, a

diminutive can be formed by reduplicating the first C of the root and inserting

a templatic vowel (usually schwa, the epenthetic vowel) between the prefixed

reduplicant and the root.

(16)   kág   'child' (7)   kəkág   'small child'

       fòg   'wisdom' (9)   fəfóg   'small wisdom'

       mwân   'son/daughter' (1)   məmwân   'small son'

       ntà   'grandchild'   ntìntà   'great grandchild'

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As can be seen in the word for 'great-grandchild', the prenasalized stop is reduplicated. This contrasts with the word for 'small son' where only the [m] is reduplicated. This is not a perfect minimal pair though since [mwân] is a complex word made up of /mw-ân/, the class 1 prefix and the root.

While neither reason for treating NC series as prenasalized stops is conclusive, together, along with the lack of clear underlying consonant clusters in native Kol words, they are indicative that NC series should be considered as a single unit and not a consonant cluster.

3.2   CONSONANT + GLIDE (CW / CY)

Also ambiguous are the sequence of consonants plus glides. These are very common in Kol, and the question is to whether these are consonant clusters, secondary articulations, or consonants followed by diphthongs.

To begin with, the consonant cluster analysis will be rejected for the same reason that it was doubted for the NC series. Kol has no other consonant clusters, which makes it unlikely that these are underlyingly consonant clusters.

The question as to whether these consonant plus glide sequences are secondary articulations or consonants plus underlying vowels is harder to

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determine. The reduplication process described above in section 2.1 suggests that [mw] does not form a single phonemic unit, since it is not reduplicated. However, as was mentioned above, [mwân] is a complex word, so there may be differing analyses depending on whether the consonant and glide series is in a single root or not.

Kol also has a productive gliding rule which will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2.1.1 below. These gliding rules show that many glides following C in complex words are underlyingly vowels. Examples are given below, with examples on the left showing gliding and examples on the right showing the underlying form of the prefixes.

(17) a. [byês]   b. [bèbá]
          /bè-êz/   /bè-bá/
          8-all   8-two

      c. [bwân]   d. [bòkól]
          /bò-ân/   /bò-kól/
          2-child, offspring ('children')   2-sister ('sisters')

Fokou Tamafo (2004:12) suggests that labialization is underlyingly a consonant followed by the high back vowel [u]. However, the synchronic

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gliding process of the nominal prefixes [Co-] to [Cw-] argue that maybe

labialization should be considered to be underlyingly a consonant followed by

the close-mid back vowel [o].

If there were any apparent co-occurrence restrictions, that would be

evidence for the contrary analysis of consonant plus glide sequences being

secondary articulations. However, almost all Kol consonants may be

labialized. Aside from the rare stops {kp, ŋkp, and ŋgb}, the only other gap in

the stop series is the palatal affricate /c/, i.e. *cw. Only the velar nasal does

not allow labialization, but /ŋ/ also does not occur word-initially. In the

approximant series /l/ is the only approximant to co-occur with labialization.

There does not appear to be a phonetic reason why /c/ should be

excluded from labialization when /nc/, /j/, and /nj/ allow it. This may be an

accidental gap in the lexicon. Below are examples of labialized consonants.

(18) pùpwɔ́   'pawpaw, papaya'   bwéyá   'everywhere'

      mpwàm   'python'   mbwɔ̂   'arm'

      fwɛ́n   'corn, maize'

      mwáz   'daytime'

      twámbá   'elder' (n)   dwôb   'day'

      ntwòmb   'fight' (n)   ndwàŋg   'valley'

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nwî	'rain' (v)		
lwâg	'bail' (v)		
		jwábə̀rà	'tangle' (v)
ncwâŋ	'mold pottery' (v)	njwǎŋ	'river'
ʃwêl	'lizard'		
ɲwὲl	'drink' (v)		
kwὲ	'help' (v)		
ŋkwêŋ	'leopard'	ŋgwâlà	'town'

Palatalization is much more restricted than labialization. The table

below shows the consonants that may be palatalized. Note that these are all

articulated toward the front of the mouth.

p, b	t, d
mp, mb	nt
m	
f	s

Table 2.6 Kol consonants allowing palatalization

These include almost all labial and alveolar consonants. The

exceptions are {nd, n, l}. The exclusion of /n/ is not surprising since a

palatalized /n/ could be confused with the palatal nasal already existing in

the Kol phonological system. The absence of /nd/ and /l/ is harder to

understand.

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(19) pyɛ̀b   'winnow' (v)   byâ   'beget (child)'

      mpyô   'dog'   mbyêl 'relative' (n)

      myɛ́g   'fish dam' (n)   fyàl   'test' (v)

      tyɛ̀l   'love' (n)   dyà   'chair, seat' (n)

      ntyé   'who?'   syê   'work' (v)

Palatalized consonants are excluded for obvious reasons. The absence

of velars can be explained on historical grounds, namely that the Proto-Bantu

voiced velar *g corresponds to synchronic {c, j} when the *g would have

occurred before front vowels. For more information, see chapter 7.

In the absence of strong co-occurrence restrictions for labialization or

palatalization and with the evidence of the existence of a regular gliding rule,

I suggest that consonant plus glide sequences are neither consonant clusters,

nor secondary articulations, but rather consonants followed by an underlying

/e/ or /o/. The mid vowels are glided to avoid vowel hiatus situations. See

section 4.2 below for more details.

3.3 THE HIGH CENTRAL VOWEL

In the summary of the vocalic phonemic inventory above, Kol was

reported to have eight vowel phonemes. However, there are at least 9

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phonetic vowels. The central vowels in particular have been analyzed differently by different linguists.

One area of debate is with respect to the epenthetic vowel (see section 4.1 for details as to where it occurs). Fokou Tamafo et all (2004) suggest that the epenthetic vowel is the high central vowel [ɨ], and that [ɨ] is therefore not a distinct vowel in Kol. Begne (1980) agrees that [ɨ] is the epenthetic vowel but also lists [ɨ] as a distinct phoneme.

In contrast to the above analyses, my own data suggests that the schwa is the epenthetic vowel and not [ɨ] as suggested by Fokou Tamafo and Begne.

However, it is also the case that the distribution of the high central vowel [ɨ] is predictable, and it is therefore not a distinct phoneme, but an allophone of /e/. [ɨ] only occurs before nasals and the alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/. This environment is a common one for vowel centralization (see section 4.2.3 for more details). Below are examples where the underlying form of the central vowel can be seen from other contexts followed by examples in (d) where the environment is suggestive that the surface [ɨ] corresponds to an underlying /e/.

(20) a. [bìmpânc   byâŋ]   'my sides'
          /bè-mpânc   bè-âŋ/
          8-side   8-my

      b. [bí   ndé]   'you were'
          /bé   ndé/
          you (pl)   be (loc)

      c. [bìsá]   'thing'
          /bè-sá/
          8-thing

      d. kwînd   *possibly from*   /kwénd/   'fish hook' (3)

          mpwîŋg   /mpwéŋg/   'problems' (10)

4 Phonological rules

In this section, I will discuss phonological processes which are found in

Kol. This section is organized by the environments in which the rules

operate. This wll be followed by a summary of the domain in which the rules

operate (lexical vs post-lexical).

4.1 AVOIDING CONSONANT CLUSTERS

As has been previously mentioned, Kol does not have clear examples of

consonant clusters within morphemes. Additionally, when the environment

for a consonant cluster arises, with two consonants meeting across a

morpheme or word boundary, an epenthetic vowel is inserted to repair the

cluster, as described in the section below.

(21) /j-ób   búŋ/   ⟶   [jóbə́ búŋ]
      7-their 7-place

      'their place' (focus on possession)

The schwa is also common as the first vowel of the relics of verb

extensions (for more on these, see chapter 4 section 1.1). This suggests that

the epenthetic vowel may be inserted between morphemes as well as between

words.

(22) ʃùləbà   'go down river'   *from*   ʃùlɔ   'descend, go down'

      jwàgərə̀ 'hear'   jwɔ́g 'hear, feel'

      jábələ̀ 'call'   jâb 'call'

4.2   VOWEL HIATUS

Kol allows CV or CVC syllables. Kol has phonemic long vowels, but

non-identical vowel hiatus situations are avoided, either by transforming one

of the vowels into a glide, or by deleting one of the vowels. The first strategy

will be discussed below in section 4.2.1, and the second strategy will be

discussed in section 4.2.2.

4.2.1 Gliding

The majority of vowel-final or vowel-initial morphemes have mid vowels. A common solution to the problem of vowel hiatus is to either transform the mid vowel into a glide (if it is a prefix) or to insert a glide between the two vowels in order to provide an onset to the second vowel.

4.2.1.1   Mid vowels become glides

As mentioned above, prefixal /e/ and /o/ become their corresponding glides (/y/ and /w/) when they occur before vowels. This is most frequently seen in class 1 nominal prefixes and in class 4, 6 and 8 concord markers. Compare the glided versions of the concord markers on the left with their non-glided versions on the right.

(23) a. [myóób]   b. [mètôn]
          /mè-óób/   /mè-tôn/
          4-which   4-five

      c. [mwêz]   d. [mòzúŋ]
          /mò-êz/   /mò-zúŋ/
          6-all   6-our (dual)

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4.2.1.2   Glide insertion

When vowel hiatus occurs across word boundaries, and one of the

vowels is a high-mid vowel [e], the palatal glide is inserted. Two examples

are given below.

(24) /bè   ó   kɔ̀ + H   yé/ ⎯⎯⎯→   [bè yó kó yé]
      you (pl) PRES go   where
      "Where are you going?"

(25) /ɲ̀ = á = wàzà = è/   ⎯⎯⎯→   [ɲǎwàzàyè]
      he/she-NEG-forget-NEG
      'He doesn't forget.'

4.2.2 Deletion

An alternative solution to the "problem" of vowel hiatus is deletion.

Surprisingly, deletion may occur in a similar environment to that of glide

insertion. Relative clauses in Kol are marked by a H boundary tone on the

left and by an enclitic on the right. When this enclitic / = è/ is hosted by a

verb which ends in the vowel [a], the final vowel of the verb is deleted, as

shown in (25).

(26) /m-ùr   bɔ̀   H + ɲ̀ = é = wàzà = è/   ⎯⎯⎯→   [mùr bɔ́   ɲíwàzè]
      1-man   be   RELCL + he-P1-forget-RELCL
      'This is the man that he forgot.'

4.3 VOWEL ASSIMILATION

Cross-linguistically, assimilation processes are very common. Kol has three active assimilation processes seen in vowels. A centralizing process targets mid vowels before nasals and alveolar fricatives, as described in 4.3.1. A raising process targets /e/ when it precedes or follows palatal consonants, as described in 4.3.2. A rounding process targets high front vowels in the environment of the labiovelar glide, as described in 4.3.3.

4.3.1 Vowel centralizing before nasals and alveolar fricatives

The mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are centralized before nasals, as shown by the examples below. Compare the phonetic forms on the right with those (minus a nasal) on the right.

(27)   a.   [bì-mpânc]   b.   [bè-kák]
         /bè-mpânj/   /bè-kág/
         8-side   8-child
         'sides'   'children'

      c.   [bə́-nè]   d.   [bó-bá]
         /bó-nè/   /bó-bá/
         2-that   2-two
         'those'   'two'

However, this centralization process is not exactly parallel for both mid

vowels. To begin with they correlate to different central vowels, with the

front mid vowel being both centralized and raised. Therefore, the mid vowels

will be discussed independently below.

4.3.1.1   Centralization of the back mid vowel

The back mid vowel [o] becomes the mid central vowel [ə] when it

appears before a nasal or a prenasalized stop.

(28) a.   [bə́-nè]   b.   [bó-bá]
            /bó-nè/   /bó-bá/
            2-that   2-two
            'those'   'two'

      c.   [mə̀-ŋgà]   d.   [mó-lôl]
            /mò-ŋgà/   /mó-lôl/
            6-this   6-three
            'these'   'three'

The back mid vowel [o] is also centralized before the alveolar and

palatal fricatives. In (29) below, the same concord prefixes shown above are

given before a modifier beginning with /s/.

(29) a.   [bə̀-sís]   b.   [mə̀-sís]
            /bò-sís/   /mò-sís/
            2-another   6-another
            'another, different'   'another, different'

Additionally, [o] is centralized before the palatal fricative, as shown by the nouns below. Compare the forms of the noun class prefixes on the left before /ʃ/ with those on the right before other consonants.

(30) a. [bə̀-ʃwɔ́]   b. [bò-wàl]
          /bò-ʃwɔ́/   /bò-wàl/
          2-friend   2-cookie
          'friends'   'cookies'

Teresa Heath notes for Makaa, a neighboring and related language, that:

> "The fricatives are not prenasalized as in neighbouring languages such as Ewondo (A70). However, when *z* and *zh* occur medially or finally, they always occur following phonetically nasalized vowels. It may be that *z* and *zh* were prenasalized historically, but now the prenasalization is reflected in nasalation of the preceding vowels." (Heath 2003a:336)

Therefore, it may be a characteristic of this language family that the alveolar and palatal fricatives pattern with nasal consonants (nasal stops and prenasalized stops).

4.3.1.2 The front mid vowel

The front mid vowel [e] becomes the high central vowel [ɨ] before

nasals or prenasalized stops, as shown by the examples below.

(31) a. [bɨ   ndé]   b. [bè   fyál]
       /bé   ndé/   /bé   fyál/
       you (pl) be (loc)   you (pl) test
       'you are'   'you test'

(32) a. [bɨ-mpânc]   b. [bè-kák]
       /bè-mpânj/   /bè-kág/
       8-side   8-child
       'sides'   'children'

As was for the case for the other mid vowel /o/, this same centralizing

process occurs before the alveolar and palatal fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/.

(33) a. [bɨ-sá]   b. [bè-kèkènà]
       /bè-sá/   /bè-kèkènà/
       8-thing   8-proverb
       'things'   'proverbs'

     c. [mə̀-ʃùk]   d. [mè-kâŋ]
       /mè-ʃùg/   /mè-kâŋ/
       4-stem, stalk   4-guinea fowl
       'stalks'   'guinea fowl' (pl)

     e. kwɨ́s
       /kwés/
       'cough'

Interestingly, this process is consistently avoided by the class 5 noun prefix è- (or lè-). Below are class 5 nouns which begin with a nasal, prenasalized stop or alveolar fricative. In none of these is the /e/ of the prefix ever centralized.

(34) lè-mpyàb   'wing'

      è-nɛ́k   'summit'

      è-ntɔ̀   'crop (of bird)'

      è-sêb   'illness'

4.3.2 Front mid vowel raising

Additionally, the front mid vowel /e/ may be raised (but not centralized) to [i] before or after palatal consonants.

(35) a. [mì-ʃùmb]   b.   [mè-lélà]
          /mè-ʃùmb/   /mè-lélà/
          4-brook, stream   4-shiver
          'brooks'   'shivers'

      c. [mì-njà]
          /mè-njà/
          4-intestine
          'intestines'

d. [bì-jwàlà]　　　　　　e. [bè-kák]
　　/bè-jwàlà/　　　　　　　/bè-kág/
　　8-banana　　　　　　　　8-child
　　'bananas'　　　　　　　　'children'

f. [ɲ-í]　　　　　　　　g. [m-é]
　　he/she-P1　　　　　　　I-P1

Again, this raising process does not apply to the class 5 prefix, even

though it contains the mid vowel /e/.

(36)　lè-ʃù　　　　　'sake'

　　　lè-ʃwì　　　　'death'

　　　lè-cônj　　　　'broom'

　　　lè-jígé　　　　'lesson'

Additionally, some speakers raise /e/ to [i] before the alveolar

fricatives. This is may be because some dialects have /s/ where others have

/ʃ/ as was noted in section 1.1. This also functions as a way for some

speakers to maintain the distinction between what would otherwise be

identical prefixes (for class 2 and class 8 or for class 4 and class 6) if both the

/o/ and /e/ centralized to the schwa.

(37)　a.　[mì-sís]　　　　　　b.　[mé-bá]
　　　　　/mè-sís/　　　　　　　　/mé-bá/
　　　　　4-another　　　　　　　　4-two
　　　　　'other ones'　　　　　　　'two'

c. [bí-zùŋ]   d.   [bé-tón]
    /bé-zùŋ/   /bé-tón/
    8-our (dual)   8-five
    'our'   'five'

However, it should be noted that these processes are optional, as

shown below.

(38) a. [bì-sá]   [bì-sá]   [bè-sá]
          /bè-sá/
          8-thing
          'things'

      b. [mì-sís]   [mè-sís]
          /mè-sís/
          4-different
          'different ones'

      c. [mì-sísìm]   [mә̀-sísìm]
          /mè-sísìm/
          4-spirit
          'bad spirit'

4.3.3 High vowel Rounding

Additionally, the vowel /i/ is rounded when it precedes or follows the

glide /w/.

(39) a. [w-úz]
　　 /w-íz/
　　 3-our
　　 'our'

b. [d-íz]
　　 /d-íz/
　　 5-our
　　 'our'

c. [w-ún]
　　 /w-ín/
　　 3-your (pl)
　　 'your (pl)'

d. [b-ín]
　　 /b-ín/
　　 2-your (pl)
　　 'your (pl)'

Interestingly, this rounding process may target a derived [i] as shown

below.

(40) a. ɲ=ú wàzà
　　 he-P1 forgot
　　 'he forgot'

b. ɲ=í bwɔ̀gɔ́
　　 he-P1 collect
　　 'he collect'

4.4 PHRASE-FINALLY

Cross-linguistically, a number of phonological processes occur at the

end of a word or sentence. In Kol, the crucial environment is at the end of a

sentence, i.e. before pause.

4.4.1.1 Devoicing

Kol obstruents are devoiced when they occur before pause.

	middle	**before pause**	**gloss**
(41)	dùg	dùk	'forest'
	-ób	-óp	'their'
	-êz	-ês	'each,all'

4.4.1.2 Phrase-final tone lowering

Intonationally, pitch is lowered at the end of phrase. The result is to have a low tone where one would expect a high or rising tone, or to have a superlow tone where one would expect a low tone.

(42) ɲ=ì   sí   ncò   bárà.
ɲ̀=é   sè+H   ncò+H   bárà+H
he/she-P1 PERF   come   greet
'He came to greet.'

(43) ɲ=ǎ   ncǝ̀   dì   dùk.
ɲ̀=á-   ncǝ̀   dì   dŭg
he/she-P2- come   stay   7-forest
'He came to stay in the forest.'

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4.5 TONE RULES

Tone rules in Kol almost always involve high tone – spreading, absorption or lowering. The only tone rule where a low tone is part of the trigger is downstep.

4.5.1 General tone association rules

Floating tones in Kol may associate to either the right or the left. Though it appears that speakers have a choice as to the direction of association, in general, associations are made in such a way as to avoid downstep (described in section 4.5.1.2) and increase the number of tonal contours.

In example (44) below, the grammatical tone (marked by a +H) associates to the right, delinking the underlying low tone. The new floating low tone merges with the following low tone. The underlying high tone at the end of the sentence is lowered due to the phrase-final tone lowering rule described above. In (45), which is unattested, the grammatical tone associates to the left. This would result in a downstepped high tone, followed by two low tones. This is apparently less optimal than the attested (44).

(44) tóòb á=j=è   dí   dùk.
     tóòb á=jì=è+H   dì   dŭg
     7-sheep NEG-be (att)-NEG stay 7-forest
     'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

(45) *tóòb á=j='é   dì   dùk.
     tóòb   á=jì=è+H   dì   dŭg
     7-sheep NEG-be (att)-NEG stay 7-forest
     'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

In the example below, the grammatical high tone associates to the left, merging with the previous high tone. If the grammatical tone had associated to the right, the result would be three high tones in a row. Again, merging the floating high tone with the high tone of the verb results in more variation in the overall tonal contour.

(46) múùz, ɲ=ó   dék   lè-kán.
     múùz   ɲ̀=ó   dég   lè-kán
     today he/she-PRES see+H 5-antelope
     'Today, he sees an antelope.'

Again, in the example below, the grammatical high tone associates to the left, docking on the epenthetic vowel. If it had associated to the right, it would have resulted in an overal H-L-L-H contour, which is apparently less optimal than the H-L-H-L contour attested below.

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(47) ɲ=ó   bwɔ̀gə́   kwàn.
     ɲ=ó   bwɔ̀gə́+H   kwàn
     he/she-PRES harvest   9-honey
     'He harvests honey.'

If a floating high tone associates to the left and the preceding tone is a low tone, it will delink the low tone and trigger downstep. This is described in the section below.

4.5.2 Downstep

In Kol, whenever there is a floating low tone between two high tones, the second high tone is lower than the first high tone. Most grammatical tones in Kol are high. In the example below, the grammatical tones marking the recent past tense (shown by +H) are added. The first tone associates to the left, delinking the underlying low tone of the verb *jì* 'be'. The resulting floating low tone triggers downstep on *jì*.

(48) ɲ=í   j'í   ncò...   kǎbò   míyɔ̀ŋ   sé   yò̌.
     ɲ̀=é   jì +H   ncò+H   kǎbò   míyɔ̀ŋ   sé   yò
     he/she-P1   be (att) come   but   1-brother PERF   die
     He was coming but his brother died. (coming to see his brother)

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Below is another example of downstep, followed by a chart of its pitch

contour. Note the drop between the tense vowel [i] and the following

syllable *kò*.

(49) ɲ = í   k'ó   bwɔ̀gə́   kwàn.
      ɲ̀ = é   kò + H   bwɔ̀g + H   kwàn + H
      he/she-P1   go   harvest   9-honey
      'He went to harvest honey.'
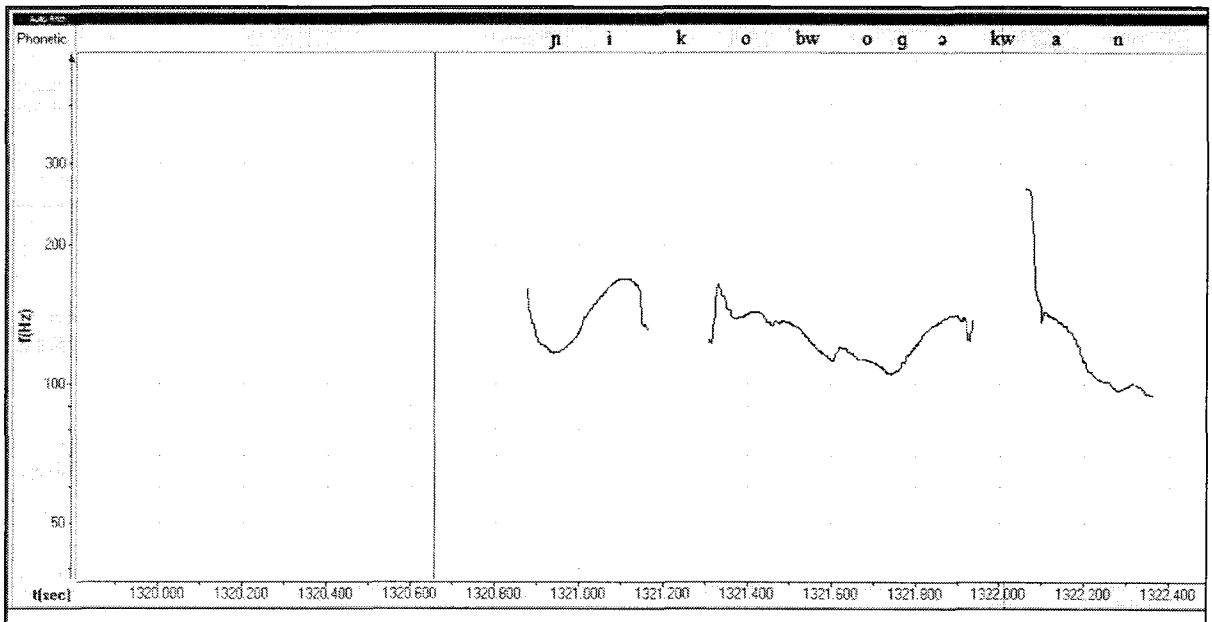
4.5.3 Optional H tone absorption rule

In general, in Kol, if two underlying H's are next to each other on the

tonal tier, the first H tone may be merged into the second. This has the effect

of reducing the number of contour tones.

Paradigms of low tone verbs show that the underlying tone of the far

past (P2) tense marker is a H tone, as shown in (49) and (50) below.

(50) mw-ân á dì dùgə́ ŋgùmbá fùm

       mw-ân á dì dǔg ŋgùmbá fùm

       1-child P2 stay 7-forest entire 3-night

       'The child stayed in the forest all night.'

(51) ɲ=ǎ ncə̀ dì dùk.

       ɲ̀=á ncə̀ dì dǔg

       he/she-P2 come stay 7-forest

       'He came to stay in the forest.'

       Similarly, the underlying tone of the prefixal portion of the non-past

negative marker is a H tone, as illustrated by the following examples.

(52) tóòb á=j=è dí dùk.

       tóòb á=jì=è+H dì+H dǔg

       7-sheep NEG-be (att)-NEG stay 7-forest

       'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

(53) ɲ=ǎ=wàzà=yè.

       ɲ̀=á=wàzà=è+H

       he/she-NEG-forget-NEG

       'He doesn't forget.'

When these H tone grammatical markers precede a H tone verbs (or

any lexically H tone morpheme), the H tones of the tense/negation may be

absorbed into the H tone of the verb. The low tone of the subject pronoun

remains on the vowel of the tense/negation marker. Examples (53) and (54)

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illustrate what happens with the underlyingly H tone of the far past marker

precedes a high tone verb. Example (54) also illustrates the schwa epenthesis

rule.

(54) mbwá làngé ɲ=à   bárà   mù̃r.
      mbwá làngé ɲ̀=á   bárà   m-ùr
      3-year last   he/she-P2 greet 1-man
      'Last year, he greeted the man.'

(55) mbwá làngé ɲ=à   bínə̀   ɲɔ̃.
      mbwá làngé ɲ̀=á   bín   ɲɔ̀
      3-year last   he/she-P2 raise him/her
      'Last year, he lifted him up.'

Below, examples (56) and (57) illustrate what happens with the H tone

of the prefixal portion of the non-past negative marker precedes a H tone

verb.

(56) ɲ=à=bárà=yè   náŋ   m-ûr.
      ɲə̀=á=bárà=è   náŋ   m-ùr
      he-NEG-greet-NEG +H   more+H   1-man
      'He doesn't greet the man anymore.'

(57) múùz,   ɲ=à=dég=é   lè-kán.
      múùz   ɲ̀=á=dég=è   lè-kán
      today   he-NEG-see-NEG +H 5-antelope
      'Today, he didn't see the antelope.'

This absorption process is optional, as may be seen by the examples

below where it fails to apply.

(58) ɲ=ǎ bárà mǔr.

ɲ̀=á   bárà   m-ùr

he-P2   greet   1-man

'He greeted the man.'

(59) ɲ=ǎ bínə̀ ɲǒ.

ɲ̀=á   bîn   ɲò

he/she-P2   raise   him/her

'He raised him.'

This process is not restricted to these two markers, but it may occur

with any H tone. Below are examples illustrating a similar process with the

near future tense marker *é* and the present tense marker *ó*.

(60) ɲ=è bwó bárà.

ɲ̀=é   bwó+H   bárà+H

he/she-FUT   F2   greet

'He will greet.'

(61) m=ò lɛŋ lòŋ m=á jôk nə̀ dêk kwár-é.

m̀=ó   lɛŋ+H   lòŋ+H   m=á   H+jwôg   nò   dêg   kwád-è.

I-PRES   tell   5-speech   I-P2   RELCL-hear   and   see   9-village-RELCL

'I tell about what I heard and saw in the village.'

The Near Past (or P1) tense marker *e* is unique in the Kol Tense-Aspect-

Mode (TAM) system in that it appears to be a polar tone, sensitive to the

underlying tone of the word on its right.

(62)   m＝è   ndé   ké   dùló   sìgá...

        ṁ＝é   ndé＋н ké＋н dùlɔ＋н sìgá

        I-P1   be (loc) Neg smoke (v) cigarette

        'I neither smoked (..nor drank).' (*Illness*.15)

(63)   ɲ＝í   bə̀   lé   ncò... kǎbò ɲ＝í   bìyà.

        ɲ̀＝é   bə̀＋н lè＋н ncò＋н kǎbò ɲ̀＝é   bìyà＋н

        he/she-P1 be IMPF come but he/she-P1- be.seized

        'He was coming but he got caught (in route).'

However, an alternative description would be that the Near Past tense

marker has an underlying H tone but that this is the only tense that requires

the normally optional H tone absorption rule.

(64)   ɲ＝í   jʼí   ncò... kǎbò míyɔ̀ŋ sé   yò.

        ɲ̀＝é   jì＋н ncò＋н kǎbò míyɔ̀ŋ sè＋н yò＋н

        he/she-P1 be(att) come but 1-brother Perf die

        'He was coming but his brother died.' (coming to see his brother)

It is more elegant to have an already existing rule be required by a

particular morphological environment than it is to posit a completely new

kind of tone in the Kol tonal system.

4.6 LEXICAL VS. POSTLEXICAL PHONOLOGY

The table below organizes the rules discussed above by the domain in which they apply.

Between morphemes	Between words and clitics	Post-lexical
Glide creation	Glide insertion	Glide insertion
	Vowel deletion	Vowel epenthesis
Vowel raising	Vowel raising	
Vowel rounding	Vowel rounding	
Vowel centralizing	Vowel centralizing	
	H tone absorption	H tone spreading
		Final tone lowering
		Final devoicing
	Downstep	Downstep

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3 Morphosyntax of the Noun Phrase

Simple noun roots in Kol may be monosyllabic or disyllabic. Nouns
longer than two syllables are derived from verbs or other nouns. Simple noun
roots have the following shapes: CV, VC, CVC, VCV, CVCV, and CVCVC. For
the examples below, most occur with a zero noun class prefix. (This is
possible for all singular classes; see section 1 below for details.) Noun class
membership is given in parentheses.

(1) **CV roots**[1]

dá	'father, ancestor' (1)
kù	'foot' (5)
ʃû	'fish' (1)

CVC roots		**VC roots**	
dìg	'bush (land), rural area' (7)	mw-ân	'child, offspring' (1)
kág	'child' (7)	m-ùr	'person, man' (1)

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[1] There are 110 CV roots, 2 CVV roots, 3 VC roots, 399 CVC roots, 38 CVVC roots, 3 VCV roots, 205 CVCV
roots, 4 CVVCV roots, 43 CVCVC roots, 1 CVVCVCV root, 58 CVCVCV roots and 2 CVCVCVCV roots in
the lexicon.

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CVCV roots

è-wàlà	'hour'	(5)
kálá	'goat'	(7)
kúbɔ̀	'chicken'	(1)

VCV roots

mw-àrá	'woman, wife'	(1)

CVCVC roots

fɘ̀fɛ̀m	'wall'	(7)
tútúl	'old man'	(3)
sísìm	'soul, spirit'	(3)

There are also roots which have been created from complex verb stems. These are primarily CVCVCV roots. Derived nouns are described in more detail in section 5.

1 Noun Classes

Kol nouns are distributed among 10 noun classes. This is a relatively small number of noun classes when compared to the amount found in some eastern Bantu languages, and many of the noun class prefixes are themselves phonologically reduced.

The table below shows the prefixes which mark each noun class, as well as the ways in which the noun classes are grouped in singular/plural pairs (or genders).

		Singular				Plural	
1	Ø	kól	'sister of man'	2	bò-	bò-kól	'sisters'
	mw-	mw-àrá	'woman'			bw-àrá	'women'
	m-	m-ùr	'man, person'		b-	b-ùr²	'men, people'
3	Ø	mbìl	'hole'	4	mè-	mè-mbìl	'holes'
5	è-, lè-	è-bùrà	'sweet potato'	6	mò-	mò-bùrà	'sweet potatoes'
	Ø	kù	'foot'			mò-kù	'feet'
	d-	d-û	'nose'		m-	m-û	'noses'
7	Ø	kág	'child'	8	bè-	bè-kág	'children'
7	Ø	bùmó	'fruit'	10	m- ³	m-pùmó	'fruits'
9	Ø	kwád	'village'	6	mò-	mò-kwád	'villages'

Table 3.1 Noun Class Prefixes (NPx) and Gender Pairings

Some speakers reduce the distinctions among the plural prefixes, saying [mə̀-] for both class 4 and class 6 noun prefixes and [bə̀-] for both class 2 and class 8. This is probably due to a reinterpretation of the mid vowel centralization rule.

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² May also appear as [bwùr], unlike the singular which never occurs as *[mwùr].

³ Class 10 is marked by a homorganic nasal prefix as well as devoicing of the initial root consonant. See section 1.6.

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There are semantic tendencies for some of the noun classes. These will

be discussed below, along with the phonological conditioning of the different

forms of the noun prefixes.

1.1 CLASSES 1/2

Nouns indicating people tend to be found in classes 1/2, though a few

nouns referring to people can be found in classes 3/4, 7/8 and 9. Below are

singular and plural pairings of Kol class 1 and 2 nouns. Singulars (class 1) are

given first, followed by their plurals, and then the gloss.

(2)	mw-àrá	bw-àrá	'woman'
	m-ùr	bw-ùr, b-ùr	'man, person'
	kól	bò-kól	'sister (to a brother)'
	mw-ân	bw-ân	'child, offspring'

However, not all nouns found in classes 1 and 2 are people. It is also

common to find animals in this gender.

(3)	kúbɔ	bò-kúbɔ	'chicken'
	ʃû	bò-ʃû	'fish'

Additionally, there a number of inanimate nouns found in class 1 with

their plurals in class 2.

(4) kwòndó   bò-kwòndó   'stripe (insignia of rank)'
     ʃùmó   bò-ʃùmó   'construction (site)'
     wàl   bò-wàl   'cookie'

Class 1 nouns which begin with a consonant are zero-marked, as shown

above. These nouns are marked by the class 2 marker *bò-* in the plural.

Before most vowel-initial roots, the class 1 marker is *mw-* and the class

2 prefix surfaces as *bw-*. For the class 2 prefix it is clear that there is an [o] in

the underlying form of the prefix which is glided before most vowel-initial

noun roots. This may also be true for class 1 nouns, but since consonant-

initial roots are zero-marked, the form /mo-/ never appears in a surface form.

(5) mw-ân   bw-ân   'child, offspring'

If the noun root begins with a [u], the class 1 prefix surfaces as *m-*, while

the vowel of the class 2 prefix is optionally deleted. If the vowel is not

deleted, then it is glided. This is shown below in example (7).

(6) m-ùr   bw-ùr, b-ùr   'man, person'

Some speakers have an additional allomorph for the class 2 prefix,

namely *[bə̀-]*. This allomorph occurs before nasals and the alveolar fricative.

(While this may not seem like a natural class cross-linguistically, it is common

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for the alveolar fricative to trigger similar changes to neighboring vowels as nasals in both Kol and at least one neighboring and closely related language. See chapter 2 for more information on Kol phonology.)

(7) sœr   bә̀-sœr   'nun' (French loan[4])

     ɲɔ̀ŋgó   bә̀-ɲɔ̀ŋgó   'mother'

     mpyó   bә̀-mpyó   'dog'

1.2 CLASSES 3/4

There is no clear semantic tendency for the nouns found in classes 3 and 4. Below are some sample nouns.

(8) mbı̀l   mè-mbı̀l   'hole'

     sı̀lò   mè-sı̀lò   'girl'

     nòŋ   mè-nòŋ   'kilometer'

Class 3 nouns are zero-marked. However, a number of class 3 nouns begin with a nasal, which may be a remnant of the historical *mu- class 3 noun prefix. The vowel of the historical prefix *mu- has been lost completely, and the nasal has assimilated in place to the initial root consonant.

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[4] This French loan still has the French vowel and not one of the eight Kol vocalic phonemes.

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(9)	mbì	mɜ̀-mbì	'type, sort'
	mbìl	mè-mbìl	'hole'
	njà	mì-njà	'intestines'
	njáb	mè-njáb	'house'
	njônd	mì-njônd	'trip'

In contrast to the consistent zero-marking of class 3, the class 4 prefix

has 3 common allomorphs: *[mè-], [m-],*and *[mɜ̀-]*. *[mè-]* occurs in the widest

number of phonological environments and will therefore be considered to be

the underlying form. In addition, for a number of nouns, the other two

allomorphs alternate with *[mè-]*.

(10)	kâŋ	mè-kâŋ	'guinea fowl'
	mìr	mɜ̀-mìr, mè-mìr	'medicine'
	njà	mì-njà, mè-njà	'intestine'
	sísìm	mì-sísìm, mɜ̀-sísìm	'bad spirit'

However, generalizations can be made as to where the latter two

allomorphs occur, namely that *[mɜ̀]-* occurs before nasals and the alveolar

fricatives, while *[mì-]* occurs before palatals (and the alveolar fricatives for

some speakers).

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1.3 CLASSES 5/6

Semantically, classes 5 and 6 are more homogenous than classes 3/4.

Many (but not all) nouns referring to body parts belong to classes 5/6

(11)	jò	mò-jò	'tooth'
	d-û	m-û	'nose'
	kù	mò-kù	'foot'

Classes 5/6 also include many nouns referring to trees and plants, as shown below.

(12)	è-bùrà	mò-bùrà	'sweet potato'
	d-úmɔ́	m-úmɔ́	'kapok tree'
	è-lə́t	mò-lə́t	'palm tree'
	è-lɔb	mò-lɔb	'blade of grass'

Additionally, the infinitives in Kol are marked with the class 5 noun prefix, and some nouns found today in classes 5/6 are derived from infinitival verbs.

| (13) | è-bá | mò-bá | 'marriage' | *pl.* 'marriages' |
| | lè-lwí | mò-lwí | 'insult' | *pl.* 'insults' |

Modifiers marking infinitives take class 5 concord markers as shown by the associative phrase example below.

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(14) ê-fyâl   lé-ʃùkúl
     INF-exit   5ASSOC-school
     'school leaving' or 'graduation'

Finally, the class 6 prefix is used to mark a number of mass nouns which have no singular counterpart.

(15) mò-díbó   'water'

     mò-ncì   'blood'

     mò-ɲòg   'wine'

However, the semantic tendencies given above still do not completely account for the members of classes 5/6, as shown below.

(16) dw-ób   m-ób   'day'

     d-ààg   m-ààg   'crab'

     d-ínɔ   m-ínɔ   'name'

     d-ɔmb   m-ɔmb   'war'

     làl   mò-làl   'ethnic area'

Phonologically there is a wide range of variation in the way that class 5 nouns are marked. They may be marked with a *d-* prefix, with a *lè-* prefix (which alternates with *è-*) or zero marked. In spite of the different noun class prefixes, these nouns all trigger the same concord marking on their modifiers, showing that they do indeed belong to the same class.

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(17) a. dw-ób   d-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́   b. è-sáb   d-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́
          5-day   5-DEF   5-illness 5-DEF
          'the day'   'the illness'

Many class 5/6 nouns begin with the alveolar consonants {d, l}. This

is not surprising since the proto noun prefix for class 5 has been reconstructed

as *di, and many *d's correspond to /l/ in Kol. (For more information on the

historical development of Kol, see chapter seven.) However, these two initial

consonants behave very differently, as shown below in (16).

(18) d-îz   m-îz   'eye'
      lû   mò-lû   'head'

[d-] functions as an allomorph of the class 5 marker for vowel-initial

roots. It always corresponds to the plural allomorph [m-] of class 6. Below is

a full list of the pertinent nouns.

(19) d-ààg   m-ààg   'crab'
      d-ínɔ̀   m-ínɔ̀   'name'
      d-îz   m-îz   'eye'
      d-ɔ́gbó   m-ɔ́gbó   'headpad'
      d-ɔ̀g   m-ɔ̀g   'nest'
      d-ɔ̀mb   m-ɔ̀mb   'war'
      d-û   m-û   'nose'
      d-ùg   m-ùg   'hornbill'

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d-úmɔ́	m-úmɔ́	'kapok tree'
d-ŭnj	m-ŭnj	'fist
d-úŋɔ̀	m-úŋɔ̀	'pelican'
d-úúg	m-úúg	'beak'
dw-ób	m-ób	'day'

However, class 5 nouns that begin with a consonant can be split into two lexical classes. In one, the synchronic noun prefix is Ø, while for the other class, the synchronic noun prefix is è (or lè). All zero-marked class 5 nouns begin with [l] as shown below.

(20)
làg	mò-làg	'horn'
làl	mò-làl	'ethnic area'
lárà	mò-lárà	'difficulty'
lɔ̂ŋ	mò-lɔ̂ŋ	'speech'
lû	mò-lû	'head'
lùt	mò-lùt	'wrinkle'
lùùg	mò-lùùg	'dew'
lwɔ̂	mò-lwɔ̂	'ear'
lwùŋ	mò-lwùŋ	'beehive'

Other class 5 nouns beginning with /l/ behave like the majority of class 5 nouns and are marked with the lè- prefix (which alternates with è-).

(21)	è-lâmb	mò-lâmb	'trap'
	è-lə́t	mò-lə́t	'palm tree'
	è-lɔ̀b	mò-lɔ̀b	'blade of grass'
	è-lúnd		'palmnut tree'
	lè-lúŋò	mò-lúŋò	'woven construction'
	lè-lwí	mò-lwí	'insult'

In addition to the zero prefix and the *d-* prefix, the class 5 marker has an additional two forms, *[lè-]* and *[è-]*, which occur with all non-liquid-initial roots. These two are in complementary distribution with each other with *[è-]* appearing after words ending in a consonant and *[lè-]* appearing after words ending in a vowel. The following examples are taken from a single folktale, about a serpent and an antelope.

(22) a.   #è-kán   mə́   ncò
            5-antelope be (chg) come
            'Antelope came.'

     b.   ɲə̀   nə̀   lè-kán
            he   with 5-antelope
            'he and Antelope'

Speakers vary as to which form they use after pause, suggesting that the choice of the underlying form varies from speaker to speaker. Speakers themselves are aware that there are two forms, though they do not seem to be

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aware of individual variation due to phonotactics. Some suggest that others are lazy and 'drop' the /l/, while others suggest that those who 'add' the /l/ are imitating the French definite article *le*. Historically, *[lè-]* is the more conservative form, being the most clearly derived from the historical prefix *di-.

It is interesting that the class 5 marker does not participate in the otherwise regular centralization (or raising) process triggered by the front mid vowel /e/.

The class 6 marker also has two allomorphs, *[mò-]* and *[mə̀-]*. As is the case for the preceding plural markers discussed, the non-reduced vowel allomorph, that is to say *mò-*, occurs in the widest number of phonological environments and is therefore the underlying form. The allomorph *mə̀-* occurs before nasals, just as was seen above with respect to the other plural marker allomorphs.

Class 6 also has some "double-marked" nouns. These appear to have belonged to class 10 at one point. (Class 10 nouns are marked with an initial

voiceless prenasalized stop.) However, these nouns are now marked with the class 6 plural marker and trigger class 6 concord.

(23) *Double-marked nouns*

bâl	mà-mpâl	'bowl'
bé	mà-mpé	'toilet, latrine'
díbә́	mә́-ntǐbә́	'brook, fountain'
dǐg	mә́-ntǐg	'bush (land)'
bɔ̀ɔg	mà-mpɔ̀ɔg	'hoe'

1.4 CLASSES 7/8

Class 7 is the default class for inanimate objects.

(24) | sá | bè-sá | 'thing' |
| fàmb | bè-fàmb | 'farm, field' |
| kèkènà | bè-kèkènà | 'story, proverb' |

However, there are some exceptions to this trend, as shown below.

(25) | kág | bè-kág | 'child' |
| sínj | bì-sínj | 'squirrel' |

Class 7 nouns are consistently zero-marked, but the class 8 noun prefix marker has three allomorphs, parallel to what was seen for class 4: *[bè-]*, *[bì-]*, and *[bә̀-]*.

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(26)	kùndá	bè-kùndá	'cultivated ground'
	ntwòmb	bè-ntwòmb, bə̀-ntwòmb	'fight'
	sá	bè-sá, bì-sá	'thing'

Begne (1980) consistently marks the plural of class 7 nouns as beginning

with *bì-*. In my corpus, the pattern for class 8 is very similar to that seen for

the class 4 noun prefix. *[bè-]* occurs in the widest number of phonological

environments (as was the case for the class 4 allomorph *[mè-]*) and will

therefore be considered to be the underlying form. *[bə̀-]* occurs before nasals

and the alveolar fricatives, while *[bì-]* primarily occurs before palatals (or for

some speakers the alveolar fricatives).

(27)	ntwòmb	bè-ntwòmb, bə̀-ntwòmb	'fight'
	míshwàn	bə̀-míshwàn	'church'
	sí	bə̀-sí	'land'
	sá	bìsá, bèsá	'thing'
	ʃwêl	bì-ʃwêl	'lizard'
	jwàlà	bì-jwàlà	'banana'

1.5   CLASS 9

Classes 9 and 10 are identical in their concord agreement. They have

been kept distinct in this analysis because class 9 nouns are singular, with

their plurals formed in class 6, while class 10 nouns are all collective nouns

(and therefore plural), primarily formed from class 7 stems.

Below are some examples of class 9 nouns with their corresponding

class 6 plurals.

(28) kwád   mò-kwád   'village'
      fòg   mò-fòg   'wisdom'

Many class 9 nouns have a prenasalized stop as their initial consonant.

This is probably a historic remnant from the Proto-Bantu class 9/10 noun

prefix which has been reconstructed as a non-syllabic homorganic nasal.

(29) mpwág   'family line, succession'
      nkèg   mə̀-nkèg   'promise'
      ndù   mə̀-ndù   'virgin'
      njì   mə̀-njì   'frontier, border'

In contrast to class 10 nouns, discussed below, class 9 nouns begin with

both voiced and voiceless prenasalized stops. However, a few of the derived

nouns which end up in class 9 show evidence of the devoicing process seen

with class 10 nouns.

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(30)   bwâg   'be big'   mpwàag   'bigness, fatness'   (9)

         dúgǝ̀   'agonize'   ntŭgǒ   'agony'   (9)

         jàm   'destroy'   ncàm   'leprosy (destroyer)'   (9)

1.6   CLASS 10

As was noted above, class 10 nouns are all plural. All class 10 nouns

begin with a voiceless prenasalized stop, which is in part a reflex of the

homorganic nasal prefix reconstructed for both class 9 and class 10 nouns in

Proto-Bantu. However, for those nouns which have a singular form, a

difference can be seen between the historic nasal prefix and the synchronic

situation in that the class 10 plural is marked both by a prenasalization and a

devoicing of the initial consonant, as shown by the example below.

(31)   *Class 7/10 nouns*

       bàanj   mpàanj   'bamboo stick'

       búúmb   mpúúmb   'palm branch'

       bùùnd   mpùùnd   'skin of fruit'

       bùmó   mpùmó   'fruit'

Some nouns contrast a countable class 8 plural and an uncountable

class 10 plural, as shown below.

(32)   class 7/8   bùùnd   'skin, shell'   bèbùùnd   *(as in eggshells)*

         class 10   mpùùnd   *(as in peanut shells)*

Oddly enough, all the class 10 nouns in my lexicon also begin with /mp/ as can be seen below.

(33) mpùmó   'fruits'

      mpwîŋg   'problems'

      mpànj   'bamboo'

      mpí   'palmnuts'

      mpìgɨbà   'suppository'

      mpyɛ̀l   'trousers'

      mpúgá   'fracture'

      mpwɔ̌j   'corn grain'

2 Pronouns

Pronouns in Kol are marked for noun class, number and person. They do not mark gender (masculine vs. feminine). Personal pronouns (first and second person) are extremely common in Kol discourse, as are third person pronouns for classes 1 and 2, with pronouns for the other classes occurring much less frequently. First and second person pronouns are reserved for human referents or for animal protaganists in folk tales and proverbs.

Coordinate noun phrases which include a pronoun (e.g he and she) require that the first pronoun be plural, to reflect the plurality of the entire

group. In these constructions, the third person pronoun is replaced by the noun *nób* meaning 'other,' *bɜ̀nób* in the plural. It is interesting that this morpheme bears a strong resemblance to the genitive stem for 'their,' i.e. *-ób*.

(34)   a.   bìzɜ́ nób   'we (dual)'
             we   other

       b.   bìzɜ́ bɜ̀-nób   'we (plural)'
             we   2-other

In the example sentence below, the narrator refers to a time when he and his wife were both gravely ill but recovered.

(35)   bw=á   ʃùŋà   bízɜ́   nób   bɜ́-b-êz.
       they-P2   discuss us   other   2-2-each, all
       'They saved both of us.' [intended 'me and her, each of us'] (*Joy.*37)

It is interesting to note that this construction does not require that the second participant also be referred to by means of a pronoun, as in the example above. In the example below, the second participant in the coordinate subject noun phrase is a full noun.

(36)   mɜ̀=   nɜ̂   "kí   náŋ nɜ̀ twò   d-úl   dw-áp
       me   that neg still and even,if 5-another 5-day

       lè-sís,   bìzɜ́   nɜ̀ mɜ̀-ɲók é   kwó   bwàmè."
       5-different we   and 4-wine   fut   again   meet
       'I said that, "Never again will wine and I meet."' (*Perils.*97)

2.1 SUBJECT PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns are common in Kol discourse. When the tense
marker immediately follows a pronoun, the pronoun cliticizes to the tense
marker, forming a single phonological unit.

(37) é-màn-é   ɲ=ĕ   bárà   m-ûr.
     on-morning-FOC he/she-F1 greet   1-person
     'Tomorrow, he will greet the man.'

When a full noun phrase (NP) is present as the subject of a clause, no
additional subject marker is required, as shown in (38) and (39). This is
evidence that these morphemes are not subject agreement markers.

(38) lè-wúg   á   bə̀   lé-byôl.
     5-hole   P2   be   in-canoe
     'There was a hole in the canoe.'

(39) mpú   é   bándà   nwî.
     7-rain FUT really fall (rain)
     'It will certainly rain.'

However, when the subject noun phrase is longer than a single noun, a
subject pronoun may also be used, as shown below.

(40) mò-kwàbəlá   mə́-nè ·   mw=ô   sé   yə̀   ɲɔ́   fòk.
     6-problem   6-that (spec) 6-PRES PERF   give   him/her 9-wisdom
     'Those problems gave him wisdom.'

(41) bì-mpáànc   by-áŋ   by = â   sè   bə̀   fùbán
      8-side (of body)   8-my   8-P2   PERF   be   (be) clean
      'My sides were clean.'

A table giving the subject pronouns is below. The first person dual is

obligatorily inclusive, referring only to the speaker and the hearer. If the

hearer is not included, the speaker must use *bìzó*, even if only referring to

himself and one other person.

	Singular	Plural
1ˢᵗ person excl.	m =	bìzó
incl.		bìzá
dual incl.		ncwə̀
2ⁿᵈ person	w =	bé
3ʳᵈ person (1/2)	ɲ =	bwó
3/4	w =	myò
5/6	dw =	mwò
7/8	jw =	byò
9/10	ɲ =	bwò
Non-ref	y =	

Table 3.2 Subject Pronouns

The last pronoun given is a non-referential pronoun. It is commonly

used in cleft constructions. An example of its use is given below.

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(42) yə́=   jì   kɔ̀nɔ̀kɔ̀ nə̀   mpú   é   nwì.
     NON-REF SUB be (att) true   that   7-rain F1   fall (rain)
     'It is certain that it will rain.'

Subject pronouns are analyzed as clitics, as syntactic words (not

affixes) who are not independent phonological words. Most subject pronouns

can be analyzed as being phonologically reduced. If they appear before the

vowel initial tense markers, they form a phonological unit with the tense

markers, as can be seen in (43). However, if subject pronouns appear before

a consonant-initial word, the regular schwa epenthesis rule applies, as shown

in (44).

(43) by=á   lè   dì   njì   lé-mò-kôk
     8SUB-P2   IMPF   stay   only   in-6-enclosure
     'They [animals] stayed only in enclosures.' (History.10)

(44) nə̀   mpwák   ɲwə́=   kó=k   ʃwôk.
     that   family.line 9SUB   go-SUBJ+H   front (of s.th.)
     '..that the family lines continues.' (History.10)

Subject agreement markers are typically prefixes, but syntactically, Kol

subject pronouns do not act like prefixes. If they were prefixes, we would

anticipate that they would have specific selectional requirements. However,

subject pronouns may appear before any element in the verbal sequence, e.g.

tense markers, verbs, adverbs, or even a prepositional phrase, as shown

below.

(45) mə̀= nò kwó ncə̀ tér lè-jwɔk bè-wàl.
  I   with again come start INF-feel 8-fear
  'I started to be afraid.'

To summarize, since subject markers can be analzyed as phonologically

reduced and do not have the strict selectional criteria of affixes, they can be

analyzed as clitics.

2.2 OBJECT PRONOUNS

Object pronouns may only appear after the verb stem. They may not

occur before the verb.

(46) tĕm bə̀ bé-dóp bwá=á sá wú m=ăncógó yîm nə̀ də̀ byò.
  even be 8-food they-P2 do there I-NEGP2 can and eat 8OBJ
  'I couldn't even eat the food that they prepared there.' (Joy.08)

	Normal		Emphatic	
	Singular	**Plural**	**Singular**	**Plural**
1ˢᵗ person	mò	bìzə́	mɛ̀	
incl		bìzá		
dual		ncwə̀		
2ⁿᵈ person	wò	bɛ̀	wɛ̀	
3ʳᵈ person (1/2)	ɲò	bwò	ɲɛ̀	bwɛ́
3/4	wò	myò	wɛ́	myɛ́
5/6	dwò	mwò	dwɛ́	mwɛ́
7/8	yò, jwò	byò	jwɛ́	byɛ́
9 or 10	ɲò	ɲò	ɲwɛ́	ɲwɛ́

Table 3.3 Postverbal Object Pronouns

Kol has an emphatic form which is in complementary distribution with the normal form for almost every class, but not necessarily for every person.

(47) bé   túgə́   lé   númbə̀   ɲɛ̌
      you (pl)   NEG   IMPF   know   him (EMPH)
      'You don't know it (the giraffe).' (*History*.07)

2.3 REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

These pronouns, which mean 'him alone' are formed by adding **mé** to the emphatic form of the object pronoun. Personal pronoun versions use a reduplicated form of the emphatic object pronoun.

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(48) m = ǎncógó náŋ lè jwógèrà mè mè mé
      I-NEGP2   still IMPF feel   me me self

I didn't feel like myself anymore.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	mè mè mé	bìzá bɛ́ mé
dual		ncwɔ́ mè
2nd person	wè wè mé	bɛ́ bɛ̀ mé
3rd person (1/2)	ɲɛ̀ ɲɛ̀ mé	bwɛ̀ bwɛ̀ mé
3/4	wɛ́ mé	myɛ́ mé
5/6	dwɛ́ mé	mwɛ́ mé
7/8	jwɛ́ mé	byɛ́ mé
9 or 10	ɲwɛ́ mé	ɲwɛ́ mé

Table 3.4 Exclusive Pronouns

2.4 LOCATIVE PRONOUN

The locative pronoun *té* is unlike the other pronouns in that it bears no resemblance to either the object pronoun stems or to the concord markers. However, it functions as a pronoun in that it replaces noun phrases referring to a location. It is invariable. Its form does not change in accordance with the noun class of the head noun in the locative noun phrase that it replaces. Below is an excerpt from a text.

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(49) Té   bó   m = á   tér   bì-syé.
         Loc   be   I-P2   start   8-work
         'That's where I started my job.'

Antecedents for the locative pronoun can be proper nouns, one of Kol's

locative nouns, or a non-locative noun modified by the locative prefix *lé-*. A

partial list of locative nouns is given below.

(50) fág   'place'   kèl   'side'

        bùŋ   'place'   tám   'middle'

        mwò   'center' ('stomach')   sí   'earth'

        wú   'there'   tû   'inside'

Kol has a distinction in its locatives meaning 'here' between a specific

location and a general location. There are two words used: *kôg* and *wôg*. The

former is used to refer to a general location, while the latter is used to refer to

a specific location and is frequently accompanied by a gesture indicating the

location referred to. Below are some examples.

(51) mà = jî   ɲʷàŋ   wó   kàn   lé-bì-sá   bízə́   ndé   lé   dêk
       I   want   take   you   story   in-8-thing   H + we   be (loc)   IMPF   see

       wók   nə́   tʃà\:àŋgà   nə̀   bə̀míjɔ̀ŋ   b-íz-é.
       here   that   now   with   2-brother   2-our-RELCL
       'I will tell you a story about something that we see here today with our
       brothers.'

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(52) "ɛ́s kə̀   mə̀= jì   nò   ŋkùl   yə̀   wógə̀ ?"
est-ce que I   be   with power   die   here (spec.)
"Will I die here?" (*Illness*.23)

Example (51) above also illustrates the locative prefix *lé-* which can be

glossed as 'in, on, or about.' Another example is given below.

(53)   "mpwàm bə̀   wók   lé-mbìl   gǎ ?"
python   be   here   LOC-hole   this
"The serpent was here in this hole?" (*Serpent*.026)

Additionally, some of these locative nouns can function as locative

particles or prepositions. One example of this is *sí* whose primary sense is

'ground, earth.' However, *sí* is also used to express 'down,' as in example (54)

and 'under' as in example (55).

(54)   mə̀= jí=k   búŋ   mə́   kó   kò   jâ   sí.
mə̀= jí=g +H   bùŋ   H+mə̀   kò   kò   jâ   sí
I   ask-SUBJ place RELCL-I go   go   lie   1-earth
'[I didn't have enough sense to] ask where I could go lie down.'
(*Perils*.36)

(55)   nə̀ mə̀= nî̃=ŋk   sì   jwòŋ.
nò   mə̀= nî̃ =g+H sí   jwòŋ
and I   enter-SUBJ 1-earth bed
'...and should I go under the bed?

3 Concord systems

Noun modifiers (such as determiners, demonstratives and possessives/genitives) agree with the class of the head noun. Kol does not have a large set of adjectives, but those that it does have do not show any concord with the head noun.

There are two large categories of concord systems which are phonologically determined. One pattern has a different prefix for every noun class (except for class 9 and class 10 which share the same concord marker). This pattern is found for all of the vowel-initial modifier stems, i.e. determiners, genitives, pronouns and the words for 'which' and 'each, all.'

The second pattern is found with all consonant-initial modifier stems. It only marks plurals (numerals and the interrogative 'how many') or marks plurals and the single class 5 (demonstratives, associative markers, and the word for 'different'). Below is a chart showing concord prefixes for those modifiers which mark every noun class. The singular class 1 exhibits the most variation. It has three different prefix possibilities with slightly different distributions. The concord markers for class 1 differ from those for class 3

only when it comes to the indefinite determiner and the interrogative 'which'.

They share the same prefix for the definite determiner, all genitives, and the

quantifier 'each, all.'

Noun Class	indefinite determiner & 'which'	definite determiner & genitives	3sg genitive & 'each, all'	Example phrase	
1	ɲ-	w-	y-	ɲúlə̀gà mwàrá	'another woman'
				ntúm wàŋ	'my brother'
				mùr yêz	'each person'
2	b-	b-	b-	bwàrá bɔ̀ŋgɔ́	'those women'
3	w-	w-	y-	myà wɔ̀ŋgɔ́	'that time'
				njáb yé	'his house'
4	mi-	mìy-	me- [my-]	mílə̀gà mə́myà	'certain times'
				mènjáb mìyɔ̀ŋgɔ́	'those houses'
				mènjáb myó	'your (sg) houses'
5	d-	d-	d-	dwób dɔ̀ŋgɔ́	'that day'
6	m-	m-	m-	mób mêz	'all the days'
7	j-	j-	j-	kág jíz	'our child'
8	be-	biy-	be- [by-]	bə̀kág byób	'their children'
9	ɲ-	ɲ-	ɲ-	ɲób kwád	'which village?'
10	ɲ-	ɲ-	ɲ-	mpùmó ɲêz	'all fruit'

Table 3.5 Concord Pattern 1 – before V-initial stems

Below is a chart showing the concord prefixes which exhibit the second

pattern, where most singular noun classes are zero-marked.

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Noun Class	demonstratives, associative markers, 'another'	numerals, how many	Example phrase
1			
2	bò-	bò-	*bwàrá bóná* 'four women'
3			
4	mè-	mè-	*mèmyà métón* 'five times' *mènjáb mìsís* 'different houses'
5	lè-		*èbùrá lèsís* 'a different potato'
6	mè-	mò-	*mòkwád màŋgà* 'those villages' *mòbùrá móníyé* 'how many sweet potatoes?'
7			
8	bè-	bè-	*bèsá bìsís* 'different things' *bèkág béná* 'four children'
9			
10			

Table 3.6 Concord Pattern 2 – before C-initial stems

4 Modifiers

Kol is an SVO language. In general, Kol phrases are head-initial. For example, objects follow verbs, and complements of prepositions follow the preposition. While most noun phrases in Kol are head-initial, there are also three modifers which precede the head. These preposed modifiers tend to

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give new information or request new information. Additionally, when

demonstratives or genitives are put in focus, they are moved from their

default position after the noun to a position before the noun.

4.1 DETERMINERS

Kol has both an indefinite and a definite determiner. The determiners

always agree with the noun class of the noun they modify. They follow the

first concord pattern described above because both stems begin with a vowel.

Class	Definite	Indefinite	Examples	
	-ɔ̀ŋgɔ́	-úlə̀gà		
1	wɔ̀ŋgɔ́	ɲúlə̀gà	ɲúlə̀gà mwàrá	'a certain woman'
2	bɔ̀ŋgɔ́	bílə̀gà	bwàrá bɔ̀ŋgɔ́	'the women'
3	wɔ̀ŋgɔ́	wúlə̀gà	wúlə̀gà mbì	'a certain type'
4	mìyɔ̀ŋgɔ́	mílə̀gà	mènjáb mìyɔ̀ŋgɔ́	'the houses'
5	dɔ̀ŋgɔ́	dúlə̀gà	dwób dɔ̀ŋgɔ́	'the day'
6	mɔ̀ŋgɔ́	mílə̀gà	mòkwád mɔ̀ŋgɔ́	'the villages'
7	jɔ̀ŋgɔ́	júlə̀gà	júlə̀gà kèkènà	'a certain proverb'
8	bìyɔ̀ŋgɔ́	bílə̀gà	bènún bìyɔ̀ŋgɔ́	'the birds'
9	ɲɔ̀ŋgɔ́	ɲúlə̀gà	ɲúlə̀gà kwád	'a certain village'
10	ɲɔ̀ŋgɔ́	ɲúlə̀gà	mpùmó ɲɔ̀ŋgɔ́	'the fruits'

Table 3.7 Kol Determiners

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The definite determiner /-ɔ̀ŋgɔ́/ is used to refer to old or given information, e.g. 'the aforementioned.' The indefinite determiner /-úlə̀gà/ is used to introduce new participants in a text, and is generally glossed as 'a certain, another.' The definite determiner always occurs after the head noun, while the indefinite determiner always occurs before the head noun.

Both determiners may be abbreviated without any change of meaning. The full form of ɲúlə̀gà for example may be abbreviated as ɲúlə̀ or ɲúl. The definite determiner may be abbreviated as bɔ̀ŋ instead of bɔ̀ŋgɔ́.

The definite determiner may be used pronominally, as shown in the following example. When this occurs, the initial vowel is lengthened, and the final vowel is deleted.

(56)   bw-ân   jì   bɔɔ̀ŋg mɔ́   míyɔ̀ŋ   w-àŋɔ́.
         2-child   be(att) 2-DEF   2-POSS 1-sibling 1-my
         'The children are my nieces and nephews.' (lit. those of my younger sibling)

This pronominal form of the definite determiner can itself be modified as shown by the examples below.

(57)   a.   ê-j-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́   j-é.
             LOC-7-DEF   7-his (BD.38)
             'in his one'

b. w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɘ́   w-o
    3-DEF   3-your
    'your one'

4.2 DEMONSTRATIVES

Kol has two demonstratives, indicating 'this' /gà, ŋgà/ and 'that' /né/.

Both demonstratives follow the head noun unless they are in focus, in which

case they are moved to before the noun as shown in (59).

(58) a. dá ŋgà   'this father' (1)

          bè-kèkènà bé-ŋgà   'these parables' (8)

      b. b-ùr bɘ́-nè   'those people' (2)

          dw-àb é-nè   'that day' (5)

(59) myâ   bwó   ncɘ̀   bwáànt   mɘ̀-bá,   ně   njùm...
      3-time they INCP   create   6-sexual.relations   that (SPEC)   husband
      'When they began an affair, **that** husband...'

As was mentioned above, demonstratives in general show fewer

concord distinctions than the determiners (or quantifiers). They all begin

with a consonant and thus follow the second concord pattern described

above, primarily marking the plural classes.

Class	this	that	Examples	
	ga, ŋgà	né		
1	gà, ŋgà	né	dá ŋgà	'this father'
2	bə̀ŋgá	bə́nè	bùr bə́nè	'those people'
3	gà, ŋgà	né	njáb né	'that house'
4	mèŋgà	mèné	mènjáb mèŋgà	'these houses'
5	léŋgá, lègà	léné, énè	dwàb énè	'that day'
6	mə́gà, mə̀ŋgà	mə̀né	mòwàrà mə́gà	'these vacations'
7	gà, ŋgà	né	kágə̀ né	'that child'
8	béŋgà	bə̀né	bèkèkènà béŋgà	'these parables'
9	gà, ŋgà	né	kwár né	'that village'
10	gà, ŋgà	né	mpùmó ŋgà	'this fruit'

Table 3.8 Kol Demonstratives.

The stem for the first demonstrative, meaning 'this,' may begin with either the voiced velar consonant [g] or the prenasalized [ŋg]. Speakers report that there is no difference in meaning between the two forms. Some speakers report that the underlying form is *only* the non-nasalized one, that those who add the velar nasal are doing it to "make the liasion" (as in French where final consonants are pronounced before vowel-initial words).

However, the centralization of the [o] of the concord marker in class 2 and

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class 6 suggests that the prenasalized allomorph is the underlying one, which

would then provide a trigger for the mid-vowel centralization rule.

(60) a.   [bə̀ŋgá]   b. bó-bá

          /bò-ŋgá/   2-two

          2-this

    c.   [mə̀gá]   d. mó-lôl

          /mò-ŋgá/   6-three

          6-this

4.3 ANOTHER, A DIFFERENT ONE

The morpheme *sís*, meaning 'another' or 'a different one,' is difficult to

categorize. Semantically, it seems to be closest to the demonstratives or the

determiners. Since it begins with a consonant, it shares the consonant-initial

concord pattern with the demonstratives (but not the determiners). It also

occurs after the head noun, as do the demonstratives and the definite

determiner. In this study, it is being kept distinct from both the determiners

and the demonstratives because it can co-occur with both sets of modifiers, as

illustrated by the examples below.

(61)   d-úl   dw-áp lè-sís

        5-a certain   5-day   5-another

        'a certain other day' (*Perils*.97)

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(62)   mpwò   nè   sís

9-accusation   9-that   9-another

'that other accusation'   (*Perils*.82)

Below is a chart illustrating the concord patterns found with *sís*. Those

classes who do not show overt concord have been excluded (classes 1, 3, 7, 9

and 10).

Class	'different'	Examples	
2	bə̀sís	bòkúbò bə̀sís	'other chickens'
4	mìsís	mènjáb mìsís	'different houses'
5	lèsís	èbùrá lèsís	'different potato'
6	mə̀sís	mòbùrá mə̀sís	'other potatoes'
8	bìsís	bèsá bìsís	'other things'

Table 3.9 Examples of *sís* 'another, a different'

4.4 GENITIVES

Kol speakers may express possession by using a modifer marked for the

person of the possessor, i.e. the genitives described in this section, or by using

a possessive associative phrase in which the possessor is expressed by means

of a full noun, as described in section 4.8.

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Genitives must also agree with the class of the noun that they are

modifying (in Kol, the possessed item), as shown in the example below.

(63) ɲ=ě   sá   jwó   lè-shú   d-àŋ.
     he-FUT do   H+7OBJ   5-sake   5-my
     'He will do it for my sake.' (*Elicitation*.46)

Class	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL excl.	1PL incl	1PL dual	2PL	3PL
	-àŋ	*-ó*	*-é*	*-éz*	*-ézà*	*-zùŋ*	*–én*	*-ób*
1	w-àŋ	w-ó	y-é	w-úz	w-úzà	wú-zùŋ	w-ún	w-ób
2	b-àŋ	bw-ó	b-é	b-éz	b-ízà	bé-zùŋ	b-ín, b-ín	b-ób
3	w-àŋ	w-ó	ɲ-ɛ́, y-é	w-úz	w-úzà	wú-zùŋ	w-ún	w-ób
4	my-àŋ	my-ó	my-é	m-íz	m-ízà	mí-zùŋ	m-ín	my-ób
5	d-âŋ	dw-ó	d-é	d-íz	d-ízà	dé-zùŋ	d-ín	d-ób
6	m-àŋ	mw-ó	m-é	m-éz, m-íz	m-ízà	mó-zùŋ	m-ín	m-ób
7	j-àŋ	jw-ó	j-é	j-íz	j-ízà	jí-zùŋ	j-ín	j-ób
8	by-àŋ	by-ó	by-é	b-íz	b-ízà	bí-zùŋ	b-ín	by-ób
9	ɲ-àŋ	ɲw-ó	ɲ-é	ɲ-íz	ɲ-ízà	ɲí-zùŋ	ɲ-ín	ɲ-ób
10	ɲ-àŋ	ɲw-ó	ɲ-é	ɲ-íz	ɲ-ízà	ɲí-zùŋ	ɲ-ín	ɲ-ób

Table 3.9 Kol Genitives

Genitives follow the first concord pattern, with markers for every class,

as shown in the table above. Genitives also have the only exception to the

phonologically-conditioning of the concord system, since the 1st person dual

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genitive begins with a consonant and yet patterns with the rest of the

genitives which are all vowel-initial.

Genitives follow the head noun as in (64) unless they are in focus, in

which case they are moved to before the noun as in (65).

(64)   ntúm wàŋ   'my brother' (1)

        ŋkwòŋ ɲɛ́   'his responsibility' (9)

        bòmpám bíz   'our ancestors' (2)

        bíyól jób   'their canoe' (7)

(65)   byâŋ béyàbɘ̀rá   *my* efforts' (8)

        jé tíé   '*his* position' (7)

        wúz mbì   '*our* manner' (3)

        bób bwán   '*their* children' (2)

Possessive constructions with a noun phrase (NP) possessor are

syntactically associative phrases. Associative phrases are constructions which

associate or link a head noun with a modifying noun. The associative marker

or connective agrees with the head noun. Kol has three different associative

phrase constructions (to be discussed in section 4.8).

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In the possessive associative phrase, the head noun is the possessed item. The possessive associative marker has a low tone when the head noun is class 1, 9 or 10, and a high tone in all other classes.

(66)   a.   míyoŋ   mə̀   njúm
               1-brother   1Poss   1-husband
               'my husband's brother'

        b.   sísìm   mə́   ncììmbé
             3-spirit   3Poss   God
             'the spirit of God,' 'the Holy Spirit'

        c.   lè-wálà   mə́   ncììmbé
             5-hour   5Poss   God
             'God's time'

4.5 QUANTIFIERS

In addition to numerals, Kol also has a modifer which can mean 'each' or 'all.' All quantifier modifiers follow the head noun.

4.5.1 'Each, all'

The quantifier -ɛ́z meaning 'each, all' begins with a vowel and therefore follows the first concord pattern, as illustrated below.

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Class	each, all	Examples	
	-êz		
1	y-êz	*mùr yêz*	'each person'
2	b-êz, bə̀bêz		
3	y-êz	*njáp yêz*	'each house'
4	my-êz		
5	d-êz	*èbùrá dêz*	'each sweet potato'
6	m-êz	*mòkwár mêz*	'all the villages'
7	j-êz	*kág jêz*	'each child'
8	by-êz	*bèsá byêz*	'everything'
9	ɲ-êz	*kwár ɲêz*	'each village'
10	ɲ-êz		

Table 3.10 Kol Quantifier 'each, all'

As illustrated by the example phrases in the table above, this modifier

means 'each' if modifying a singular noun or 'all' if modifying a plural noun.

4.5.1.1   Emphasis

The quantifier may be emphasized by reduplicating the first consonant

of the noun concord prefix.   This can be seen in (59) below, where the noun

class prefix is doubly marked in each example.

(67) a.   bízə́   nóp   bə́-b-êz

          us   other   2-2-each, all

          'both of us' (intended 'me and her, each of us') (*Joy.*37)

b.   lé   jwə̂   jí-j-êz

          7-wood 7-your 7-7-all

          'all your wood'

c.   ŋkùl   ɲ-óp   ɲí-ɲ-êz

          9-power 9-their 9-9-all

          'all their power' (*Joy.*33)

4.5.2 Numerals

In Kol, certain numerals have a different form in isolation than they do when they appear as modifiers to a noun. This is common to the whole Kol-Makaa-Konzime family.

Number	counting	w/agreement[5]	Examples:
1	fóg	ŋgúrùg, wúrùg	sá wúrùg *'one thing'* (7)
2	bè	bóbà	bwàrá bóbá *'two women'* (2)
3	lél	bólôl	ncòò lôl *'three times'* (10)
4	ná	bóná	bèkág béná *'four children'* (8)
5	tón	bótón	mèmyà métón *'five times'* (4)
6	twób	twób	bwàrá twób *'six women'* (2)
7	tábèl	tábèl	mènjáb tábèl *'seven houses'* (4)
8	mwòm	mwòm	bòkwônt mwôm *'eight months'* (2)

---

[5] Agreement in chart is for classes 1 and 2.

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9	èbú	èbú	mèntèr èbù 'nine hundred' (4)
10	èwúm	èwúm	bòntá èwúm 'ten grandchildren' (2)
11	èwúm nà fóg		
20	mòwúm màbá		
100	ntèr		
1000	tóyíŋ		

Table 3.11 Kol Numbers.

As modifiers, the numbers 2-5 agree with the head noun and occur post-nominally. Numbers 1 and 6-9 also occur post-nominally but do not show any concord. The number 10 is actually a noun and not a modifier. It therefore forms an associative phrase with the noun being counted. Associative phrases will be discussed below in section 4.8.

If the number ten is the second noun in the associative phrase, the phrase means '10,' but if the number ten is the first noun in the associative phrase, then it means 'approximately 10.'

(68) a.   bè-kàg è-wúm
            8-child   5-ten
            '10 children'

b. è-wúm é   bè-kág

    5-ten   5ASSOC 8-child

'approx. 10 children' (in French 'une dizaine d'enfants')

Below is a chart showing the concord patterns for the four numerals

which exhibit concord, i.e. numbers 2-5.

Class	Ex word	2	3	4	5
2	*bwàrá*	bóbá	bólôl	bóná	bótón
4	*mènjèb*	mébá	mélôl	méná	métón
6	*mòbùrá*	móbá	mólôl	móná	mótón
8	*bèkág*	bébá	bélôl	béná	bétón

Table 3.12 Concord for Kol Numbers

4.6 INTERROGATIVES

Kol interrogatives do not all behave the same way morphosyntactically.

The Kol interrogative meaning 'which', i.e. *-óób*, precedes the noun (and is

requesting new information) and is marked by the first concord pattern for

vowel-initial roots. The interrogative *-níyé* 'how many?' follows the noun and

is marked by the second concord pattern for consonant-initial stems.

Below is a table showing the concord patterns of the two interrogatives

which agree with the head noun.

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Class	which?	how many?	Examples
	-óób	-níyé	
1	ɲ-óób		*ɲóób mwàrá?* 'which woman?'
2	b-óób	bó-níyé	*bwàrá bóníyé?* 'how many women?'
3	w-óób		*wóób njáb?* 'which house?'
4	my-óób	mé-níyé	*mènjáb méníyé* 'how many houses?'
5	d-óób		*dóób èbùrá?* 'which sweet potato?'
6	m-óób	mó-níyé	*móób mòkwád?* 'which villages?'
7	j-óób		*jóób sá?* 'which thing?'
8	by-óób	bé-níyé	*byóób bèkág?* 'which children?'
9	ɲ-óób		*ɲóób kwád?* 'which village?'
10	ɲ-óób	níyé	*mpùmó níyé* 'how many fruit?'

Table 3.13 Kol Interrogatives

The quantifier meaning 'which' has differing tone patterns if it occurs with its head noun or stands alone as a pronoun. If it occurs with its head noun, it occurs prenominally and has a H tone (as shown in the chart above). However, if it occurs as a stand-alone question 'which one?' then it has a LH tonal melody and occurs with a final vowel *e*.

(69) wóób njáb?   'which house?' (3)   wòòbé?   'which one?'

     byóób bèkág?   'which children?' (8)   byòòbé?   'which ones?'

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While Kol does have other interrogatives, these are not words which modify a noun but rather question words which stand alone. These include the words *yé* meaning 'where', *ncé* meaning 'who' and *wô mbì* meaning 'how'. These question words remain in situ, as shown by the example below.

(70) tír   jì   yé?
      meat   be (att)   where
      'Where is the meat?'

4.7 ADJECTIVES

Kol has very few adjectives. A list is given in (63). These do not show any concord, which distinguishes them from other nominal modifiers. They occur before the noun as shown in the examples below. A number of them are derived by means of total reduplication. The source word may be a verb (as in the case of 'big') or a noun (as in the case of 'good' and 'bad'). These will be discussed in more detail in section 4.7.1 and 4.7.3 below.

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(71) **Adjectives**   **Examples**

bèdá   'big'   bèdá kwád   'big village'

bwàgbwàg   'big'   bwàgbwàg mò-kwád   'big villages'

fám   'real, true, good'   fámə́ bìjôl   'good canoe'

fúbán   'be clean'

mbápmbáp   'bad, evil'   mbápmbáp sísìm   'evil spirit'

ɲwàŋnwàŋ   'good, holy'   ɲwàŋnwàŋ lám   'sacred heart'

ntúlá   'a lot' (uncountable)   ntúlá bè-sá   'a lot of things'

bùbù   'a lot'   bùbù mè-njáb   'a lot of houses'

ŋgúmbà   'entire, whole'   ŋgúmbà fùm   'entire night'

Adjectives can also occur post-nominally, as shown in (64).

(72) bìyól   áncógó   bə̀   fáámə́.
      7-canoe NEGP3   be   good
      'The canoe wasn't in good condition.'

Dixon (2004) gives a list of the semantic types most typically
associated with members of an adjective word class. Kol adjectives fit into
the *dimension* subtype (the first in Dixon's list), the *value* subtype (third on the
list), and the *quantification* subtype (number 11 in Dixon's list). Many of the
other semantic types associated with adjectives in other languages are
associated with nouns or verbs in Kol. The various subtypes will be
discussed in the sections below.

4.7.1 Dimensions

As was mentioned above, the semantic subtype of dimension is very commonly associated with the adjective word class. This is the case for Kol, though there are also verbs which convey information about size. The second adjective listed is clearly derived from the verb *bwàg* 'be big' via a total reduplication process.

(73) *Adjectives*

bèdá	'big'	bèdá kwád	'big village'
bwàgbwàg	'big'	bwàgbwàg mò-kwád	'big villages'

Verbs

bwàg	'be big'
twágàbɔ̀	'be small'
jà	'be long, be tall, be far'

Nouns

mwâ	'small' (derived from *mwân* 'child')

Many qualities are described by verbs. In the example below, the adverb *ŋkòné* modifies *bwâg* 'to be big,' the main verb and is preceded by *ncɔ̀* the auxiliary 'come.' For more on verbs, see chapters 4 and 5.

(74) ɲô   ncɔ̀   ŋkòné   bwâg.
he/she   come   INCR   (be) big
'He became big (little by little).'

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Comparative and superlative constructions are also formed verbally,

using the verb *làŋg* 'to pass' as shown by the two examples below.

(75) mw-ân   gà   jì   bwâg   làŋg   mìyɔ̀ŋ
      mw-ân   ŋgà   jì   bwâg   làŋg   míyɔ̀ŋ
      1-child   1-this   be (att)   (be) big   pass   1-sibling (same sex)
      'This child is bigger than his brother.' (or 'her sister')

(76) mw-ân   gà   jì   bwâg   làŋ   béləgá.
      mw-ân   ŋgà   jì   bwâg   làŋg   bè-úləgà
      1-child   1-this   be (att)   (be) big   pass   8-INDEF
      'This child is the biggest.' (*lit.* 'passes any others')

In Kol, smallness can either be described using the verb *twágəbɔ̀* as

shown in example (77) below or by using an associative phrase construction

with the noun *mwâ* 'small thing' as its head noun. A plural example is given

in (78), and a singular non-human example is given in (79). This noun is

clearly derived from the word for 'child,' *mwân*, but the /n/ has been lost.

(77) mìyɔ̀ŋ   jì   twágəbɔ̀   làŋg   ɲə̀.
      míyɔ̀ŋ   jì   twágəbɔ̀   làŋg   ɲə̀
      1-sibling   be (att)   (be) small   pass   him/her
      'His brother (or her sister) is smaller than him (her).'

(78) bwá   bə́   ntòmp
      2-small   2ASSOC   7-younger
      'small children'

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(79)   mwâ   lôŋ
          1-small   5-speech
          'little story'

4.7.2 Age

Most words which fit into the semantic subtype of *age* which is

commonly associated with adjectives are nouns. These words are classified as

nouns because they have plurals, trigger concord agreement on their

modifiers and may be the heads of associative phrase constructions.

(80)   lóóŋ   'new thing, news' (5/6)

         ntòmb   'younger person' (7/8)

         lè-sês   'girl, young woman (immature, no children)' (5/6)

         sìlò   'young woman (mature, with children)' (3/4)

         ʃwànj   'young man' (3/4)

         tútúl   'old man' (3/4)

         twámbá   'elder person' (1/2)

There is also a verb *jwèm* 'to become old, to age' and a verb *ntwɔ́má* 'to

be young.'

4.7.3 Value

There are three Kol adjectives which fit into the semantic subtype of

value. However, two of these are reduplicated forms of nouns. An example of

the nouns is given in (82).

(81) *Adjectives*

fám	'real, true, good'
mbápmbáp	'bad, evil'
ɲwàŋɲwàŋ	'good, holy'

Nouns

mò-ɲwàŋ	'good things' (6)
mò-mbáb	'bad things' (6)

(82)

ɲə̀	jî	dêk	mə̀-báp	m-ɛ̂z	ndé	kók	bə́-sí,
ɲə̀	jì	dêg	mò-mbáb	m-ɛ̂z	ndé	kóg	bò-sí
he	be (att)	see	6-bad	6-all	be (loc)	here	2-ground

mə̀-ɲwàŋ	mɛ̂z	ndé	kók	bə̀-sì.
mò-ɲwàŋ	m-ɛ̂z	ndé	kóg	bò-sí
6-good	6-all	be (loc)	here	2-ground

'He sees all the bad things here on earth and all the good things here on earth.'

4.7.4 Physical property

One of Kol's adjectives, *fúbán* 'be clean,' fits into this semantic subtype.

Below is an example where this adjective is coordinated with a value adjective.

(83)

bì-mpáànc	by-áŋ	by = â	sè	bə̀	fúbán	nə̀	ɲwàŋ	ɲwàŋ.
bè-mpànc	bè-àŋ	bè = á	sé	bə̀	fúbán	nə̀	ɲwâŋ	ɲwâŋ
8-side	8-my	8Sub-P2	Perf	be	clean	and	good	good

'My sides were clean and good.' (*Illness*.30)

Other physical properties are described using nouns or verbs as shown below.

(84) *Nouns*

bùl   'rotten thing' (1/2)

díl3̀   'fullness'

mò-bwêz   'wetness' (6)

mpwògέ   'health' (9)

ntwì   'loose thing' (1/2)

tîtìm   'blind person' (3/4)

Verbs

bwâz   'be wet'

bǒl   'be bald'

kâz   'be wrinkled'

tègá   'be tired'

4.7.5 Human propensity

There are no Kol adjectives which describe character traits or what Dixon calls the "human propensity" semantic subtype. Character traits are described using either nouns or verbs.

(85)   *Verbs*

bízə́bə́   'be patient'

yág   'be unaware'

ʃwáàg   'be crazy'

ʃwààz   'be happy'

Nouns

kéŋ   'wise one'

làd   'crazy person, fool'

ŋkɔ́ŋ   'brave one'

wágə̀là   'stupid one'

There are also two nouns which are used to describe wealth, which is

neither a character trait nor a physical property. These are given below.

(86)   kúkúm   'rich man' (3/4)

        mbúmbwá   'poor man' (3/4)

4.7.6 Quantification

Three Kol adjectives fit into this semantic subtype. These are given

below.

(87)   ntúlá   'a lot' (uncountable)

        bùbù   'a lot, many'

        ŋgúmbà   'entire, whole'

Other quantifying constructions use the quantifier *-êz* 'each, all.' The adjective *bùbù* can also appear as a complement of a preposition in an adverbial construction as shown below.

(88)   y=á   nték   mә̀   nә́   bùbù.

         y=á   ntég   mә̀   nә́   bùbù

         NONREF-P2 annoy me with many

         'That bothered me a lot.'

4.8   OTHER NOUNS (IN ASSOCIATIVE PHRASES)

Associative phrases are constructions which associate, or link, a head noun with a modifying noun. The associative marker, or connective, always agrees with the first noun, the head noun, as shown in the example below.

(89)   è-wàlà   lé-míʃwàn

         5-hour   5Assoc-7-church

         'church time'

In Kol, there are three kinds of associative phrases. In possessive associative phrases, the first noun in the associative phrase refers to the possessed item and the second to the possessor. The possessive associative marker is *mә̀*.

(90) sísìm   mə́-ncììmbé
    sísìm   H + mə̀-ncèmbê
    3-spirit 3 + PossAssoc-God
    'spirit of God, God's spirit'

The second kind of associative phrases is the qualificative, or

attributive, associative phrases, where the second noun expresses a quality of

the first. This may include location or origin. The qualificative associative

marker is à.

(91) ʃwànjí   á-kwár-ê
    ʃwànjí   H + à-kwád-è
    3-young.man 3 + QualAssoc-9-village-Foc
    young man of/from the village

Finally, there is a 'basic' associative phrase, as shown below.

(92) ncùg   mó-díbɔ́
    ncùg   H + mò-díbɔ́
    7-elephant 7Assoc-6-water
    'hippopotamus'

This has been given the name 'basic' because it has the least specialized

meaning, and the least specialized associative marker. For most singular

nouns, the 'basic' associative marker is either zero or a tonal marker. The

exception is the class 5 marker.

Below is a table giving the various forms of the markers used in these

three kinds of associative phrases.

Noun Class	Basic Assoc	Possessive Assoc	Qualificative Assoc
1	Ø	mᵊ̀	à
2	bó	H + mᵊ̀	bá
3	H	H + mᵊ̀	á
4	mé	H + mᵊ̀	myá (mé + á)
5	lé	H + mᵊ̀	á
6	má	H + mᵊ̀	má
7	H	H + mᵊ̀	á
8	bé	H + mᵊ̀	byá (bé + á)
9	Ø	mᵊ̀	á
10	Ø	mᵊ̀	á

Table 3.14 Associative Markers

Below are some examples of basic associative phrases followed by

some examples of possessive associative phrases.

(93) a. twámbá mw-àrá
        1-elder   1-woman
        'old woman'

      b. bw-án bó- bíjùmp
          2-child 2Assoc- Bidjombo
          'Bidjombo children'

      c. njáb bw-ûr
        3-house H + 2-people
        'family'

      d. mè-njáb mé- bw-ûr
          4-house 4Assoc 2-people
          'families'

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e. èsáp lé ncám
   5-illness 5Assoc 9-leprosy
   'leprosy'

f. mòwúm mà tón
   5-ten 5Assoc five
   'fifty'

g. ncùg mó-díbɔ́
   7-elephant H + 6-water
   'hippopotamus'

h. bè-kág bé ʃùkùl
   8-child 8Assoc 7-school
   'school children'

i. ntú mò-cì
   9-diarrhea 6-blood
   'dysentery'

(94) a. míyoŋ mə̀ njúm
   1-brother 1Poss 1-husband
   'my husband's brother.'

b. sísìm mɔ́ ncììmbé
   3-spirit 3Poss God
   'the spirit of God,' 'the Holy Spirit'

c. lè-wálà mɔ́ ncììmbé
   5-hour 5Poss God
   'God's time'

In the neighboring language of Makaa, the forms of the possessive and qualificative markers are formed by adding the basic associative marker to the possessive and qualificative roots (*mɔ́* and *a* with polar tone[6]). In Kol

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[6] Polar to the first tone of the second noun.

however, only the qualificative associative morpheme shows concord, while

for the possessive morpheme it is only the tone of the basic associative

marker which is added. Below are the Makaa forms (Heath 2003:341).

Noun Class	Associative Marker	Associative Marker + Possessive Marker	Associative Marker + Qualificative Marker
1	ø	mə́	á
2	ó	ó	wá
3	H	mə́	á
4	mí	mí	mýa
5	lʉ́	mə́	lʉ́-á
6	mə́	mə́	mýa
7	H	mə́	á
8	í	í	ýa
9	ø	mə́	á
10	ø	mə́	á

Table 3.15 Associative Markers in Makaa

4.8.1.1   Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers in Kol are formed via qualificative associative

phrases. (For more on associative phrases, see section 4.8.) The Kol ordinal

numbers for second through fifth are based on the numbers used for counting

in isolation. The expression 'first' is derived from the word meaning 'front.'

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'First' and 'second' may describe plural head nouns, but the remaining

numbers in the series may only modify singular nouns.

Number	counting	ordinal	Examples:	
1	fóg	màshwôg	*mwàrá á màshwôg*	'first woman'
2	bè	bὲὲ	*mwàrá á bὲὲ*	'second woman'
3	lél	lêl	*mwàrá á lêl*	'third woman'
4	ná	nà	*mwàrá á nà*	'fourth woman'
5	tón	tên	*mwàrá á tên*	'fifth woman'
6	twób	twóbé	*mwàrá á twóbé*	'sixth woman'

Table 3.16 Ordinal Numbers

5 Derivational morphology

Kol has a number of derivational processes which either modify or create

nouns. Reduplication is used to create new noun stems from existing noun

stems. Additionally, nouns may be created from verbs through a number of

different processes.

5.1 NOUN TO NOUN DERIVATION

Nouns which are derived from other nouns are formed by means of

reduplication. Most of these new nouns are dimunitives, but there are

exceptions. One is given below.

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(95) ncàm   'leprosy' (9)   ncíncâm   'leper' (3)

5.1.1 Diminutive

Nouns meaning 'small x' are formed by reduplicating the initial

consonant of the base noun on its left edge. The regular epenthetic schwa

rule will insert a schwa between the two consonants, as illustrated in the

examples below.

(96) kág   'child' (7/8)   kəkág   'small child'

    fòg   'wisdom' (9)   fəfóg   'small wisdom'

    mwân   'child, offspring' (1)   məmwân   'small child'

5.2 DEVERBAL NOUNS

Kol creates both agentive nouns and result nouns from verbs. Both can

be created by using a homorganic nasal prefix or by adding a final vowel or

both. However, they each have their own unique processes as well.

5.2.1 Agentive nouns

In Kol, there are a number of different processes which may be used to

create nouns out of verbs. For creating the agent of a particular action, these

include: adding a suffix vowel, adding the suffix –lə (or –l), or adding a nasal

prefix.

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For agentive nouns which are formed by adding a suffix vowel, the most common vowel to add is –e. Below are some examples.

(97)   kwîg   'travel, walk'   kwígè   'traveler' (1)

        ɲwὲl   'drink'   ɲwὲlè   'drinker' (1)

        mwὲl   'solicit sex'   mwèlá   'boyfriend, girlfriend' (1)

Other nouns can be formed by adding the suffix –l or –lə, as shown below.

(98)   jíbə̀   'steal'   jíbə̀lə̀   'thief' (1)

        yὸ   'give'   yôl   'giver' (1)

Additionally, agentive nouns can be formed by adding a homorganic nasal prefix. This is the most common way to form agentive nouns. The agentive nasal prefix does not trigger devoicing on the following consonant. This agentive nasal prefix is probably a reflex of the class 1 prefix *mo which can still be seen prefixed to vowel-initial nouns. However, synchronically, class 1 nouns which begin with a consonant are zero-marked.

(99)   jwî   'rule over'   njwî   'king, chief' (1)

        jígə̀lè   'teach'   njígə̀lè   'teacher' (1)

It is extremely common for more than one strategy to be used at a time, as illustrated below, where in (76a), the noun is formed by both adding the

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nasal prefix mentioned above and the suffix –*l*, while in (100b), the nouns are

formed by adding the nasal prefix and the suffix vowel –*e*.

(100) a. jû   'kill'   njûl   'butcher (n)' (1)

           dì   'live, stay'   ndìl   'dweller' (1)

           jìì   'cry'   njììl   'crier' (1)

       b. bùgɜ̀   'accuse'   mbúgè   'accuser' (1)

           dùb   'paint'   ndùbé   'painter' (1)

           dúg   'row'   ndúgè   'rower' (1)

           jîg   'learn'   njígè   'learner, student' (1)

           júnà   'fight'   njúnè   'fighter' (1)

5.2.2 Result nouns

Deverbal nouns which refer to the result of the action may be formed

by changing the tonal contour, changing the final vowel of the root verb,

adding a suffix vowel, or adding a nasal prefix. Unlike the nasal prefix seen

with agentive nouns, the nasal prefix found on these nouns may devoice the

following consonant.

As mentioned above, some nouns can be formed by changing the tonal

contour of the root verb. Examples are given below.

(101) yàlà   'answer (v)'   yàlá   'response' (7)

       mbɛ̀g   'be open'   mbɛ́g   'separation' (3)

Other nouns are formed by changing the final vowel of the verb root. This is the second vowel in disyllabic roots and the first vowel in monosyllabic roots.

(102) jíbà   'steal'   jíbò   'theft' (7)

      làb   'speak'   lɔ́b   'language, word' (3)

                           lɔ̀b   'problem' (3)

      sáb   'get sick'   èsɛ́b   'illness' (5)

Deverbal nouns may also be created by adding a vowel to the end of the verb root.

(103) nûmb   'know'   númbá   'knowledge' (3)

                           númbé   'prophecy'

      cíg   'cut'   cígà   'saw'

As was the case with agentive nouns, non-agentive deverbal nouns may also be created by adding a nasal prefix. These nouns group into two classes. Those which end up in class 9 have a nasal prefix followed by a voiceless consonant, even if the initial consonant of the verb root was voiced. This is similar to the process seen synchronically for class 10 nouns and is most likely a reflex of the nasal prefix reconstructed for both class 9 and class 10 nouns. The nasal prefix for nouns which are assigned to other noun classes

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does not trigger devoicing, as shown by the last two examples given in the list below. These non-devoicing nasals may be reflexes of the Proto-Bantu class 3 prefix, reconstructed as *mo.

(104) kèg   'promise (v)'   ŋkèg   'promise (n)'
      bwâg   'be big'   mpwàag   'bigness, fatness'   (9)
      jàm   'destroy'   ncàm   'leprosy (destroyer)'   (9)

      jàgɔ̀là   'pray'   njàgɔ̀là   'prayer'   (3)
      byêl   'be born'   mbyêl   'blood relative'   (3)

As was the case for agentive nouns, more than one strategy may be used. In example (105) below, the noun is formed by both adding a nasal prefix and a suffix vowel.

(105) dèl   'bury'   ndèlà   'burial'
      jùùl   'be bitter'   njùúlɔ̀   'bitter leaf vegetable'   (3)

The noun below is formed by both adding a nasal prefix and changing the last vowel of the verb stem.

(106) bàgɔ̀là   'load (v)'   mbágɔ̀lɔ̀   'load'   (3)
       jàmb   'cook (v)'   njômb   'cook'   (1)
       jàànd   'walk'   njônd   'walking trip'   (3)

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In (107), the noun is formed by adding a nasal prefix and changing the tonal contour.

(107) bwámà 'meet'   mpwàmá 'meeting'

         bwàmbà 'follow in time' mpwàmbá descendant (pl. same)

         bwèlà 'take revenge' mpwélá 'debt' (9/6)

Additionally, there are some non-agentive nouns who do not seem to follow strictly any of the patterns given above. This may be because they are derived from related verb stems existing in the language but not found in my current corpus. For example, the word for 'sleeping mat' could be derived from the simplex verb root *bwàg*, though only the complex verb given below has been elicited (which appears to include a derivational suffix).

(108) bwàgǝbǝ̀ 'lie down'   mpwág   'sleeping mat'

         bùgǝ̀ 'accuse'   mpúgágá 'accusation' (1)

         jìì   'cry'   njìilà   'moan' (3)

Additionally, result nouns may be formed by zero-derivation or conversion, as illustrated below.

(109) njì   'mark out' njì   'border'

         ntwɔ́má 'be young' ntwɔ́má 'boy' (1)

         jùg   'suffer'   jùg   'poison'

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6 Word order within the noun phrase

As was mentioned above, most modifiers follow the noun. The exceptions are the indefinite determiner, the interrogative 'which,' adjectives, and focused demonstratives or genitives.

6.1 MULTIPLE POSTPOSED MODIFIERS

A single noun may of course be modified by more than one element at a time. Genitives consistently appear closest to the noun, while quantifier and *sís* 'another' appear on the periphery of the noun phrase. This is shown below.

(110) Head Noun   Genitive   Demonstrative   Definite Determiner
                                                 Another
                                                 Quantifier

Examples are given below.

(111) a.   ntúm   w-ăŋ   w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́
             1-brother   1-my   1-DEF

       b.   mw-án   w-àŋə́   ŋgà
             1-child   1-my   1-this

       c.   ŋkùl   ɲ-óp   ɲí-ɲ-ɛ̂z
             9-power   9-their   9-9-each

The demonstratives appear before the quantifier and *sís* 'another.'

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(112) a.   mpwò   nè   sís
             9-accusation   9-that   9-another
             'that other accusation' (*Perils*.82)

       b.   lé   nè   j-êz
             7-wood 7-this 7-all

6.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses in Kol are formed by adding a H tone to the left edge

of the embedded clause. Many relative clauses also have an enclitic $= è$ on

the right edge of the relative clause, as shown below. Unlike what is seen in

some other Bantu languages, including the closely related language Makaa,

there is no change in the tonal contour of a verbal sequence found inside of a

relative clause.

(113) bímp   bíz = é   kwàg = é
       mbímbì   bìz = é   kwàg-è
       amount   RELCL-we-FUT   put.up-RELCL
       'The amount we can put up with...'

The right edge enclitic is not obligatory, as shown by the relative

clause below which lacks it. That is to say, there is no enclitic found after

'eight,' which is the end of the embedded clause.

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(114)

m=ă	bə̀	nə̀	mw-án	á		bə̀	nə̀	bò-kwônt	mwôm
m̀=á	bò	nò	mw-ân	H+á		bò	nò	bò-ŋkùùnd	mwôm
I-P2	be	with	1-child	RELCL-P2		be	with	2-month	eight

'I had with me my child who was eight months old.'

Some of the head nouns of the relative clauses which lack a right boundary enclitic are locative nouns which have special relative clause markers in related languages (e.g. Makaa, see chapter 6 for more information).

(115)

fág	bízá	têr	bə̀	lê-dúmp
fág	H+ bìzə́	tér	bə̀	lé-dúmp
where	RELCL-we	first	be	

'...where we first were at the party...' (Perils.34)

Kol permits relative clauses to be hosted by nouns with all kinds of grammatical relations. In addition, all relative clauses in Kol are examples of gapping. That is to say, the noun within the relative clause that would have been co-referential with the head noun is deleted and not replaced with a resumptive pronoun. Below is an example of a subject relative clause.

(116)

ɲò	jì	m-ùr	ndé		lê	dùbə̀	mə́-kwíndè.
ɲò=	jì	m-ùr	H+ ndé		lè	dùb	mì-kwíndè
he/she	be (att)	1-person	RELCL-be (loc)		IMPF	fish	4-hook-RELCL

'He is someone who fishes with hooks.'

Relative clauses can also be formed from either of the two objects

allowed in Kol clauses. One is prototypically the patient while the other is

prototypically the beneficiary. In example (117), the head noun of the

relative clause below is underlyingly the patient of the embedded clause.

Again, there is no resumptive pronoun present in the relative clause.

(117) bìy-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́   m = á   têr   ɲwàŋ-é
      bè-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́   H + m̀ = á   tér   ɲwàŋ-è
      8-DEF   RELCL-I-P2 first take-RELCL
      '...what I first took....' (*Perils*.34)

In the example below, the head noun is underlyingly the beneficiary in

the embedded clause.

(118) bw-ân   m = é   jâmb   bè-dób = è
      bò-ân   H + m̀ = é   jâmb   bè-dób = è
      2-child RELCL-I-P1 prepare 8-food-RELCL
      'The children that I prepared food for....'

The head noun of the relative clause below is underlyingly a location

in the embedded clause below. This is a third semantic role possibility for

direct objects in Kol.

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(119) búŋ   m=á   b=è.
      bùŋ   H+mə̀=á   bə̀=è
      place RELCL-I-P2 be-RELCL
      '...where I was.' (*Perils*.94)

Finally, Kol also allows adjunct relative clauses. In the example below,

the head noun is underlyingly an adjunct, an optional temporal noun phrase,

in the embedded clause.

(120) m=ó   nùmb   twɔ́ŋgə̀lɔ̀ d-wóp m=á   jâmb   bwò   bè-dób=è.
      I-PRES know   think   5-day   H+I-P2 prepare them 8-food-RELCL
      'I remember the day that I prepared food for them.'

Nouns which are the heads of a relative clause can fulfill any

grammatical relation in the matrix clause. Below is an example where the

noun modified by the relative clause is the subject.

(121) bw-ân m=é   jâmb   bè-dób=è jì   bw-ân
      bò-ân   H+m̀=é   jâmb   bè-dób=è jì   bò-ân
      2-child RELCL-I-P1 prepare 8-food-RELCL be (att) 2-child
      'The children that I prepared food for are the children...."

In the example below, the head noun is the object of the main verb.

(122) m=ó   nùmb   twɔ́ŋgə̀lɔ̀ d-wóp m=á   jâmb   bwò   bè-dób=è.
      I-PRES know   think   5-day   H+I-P2 prepare them 8-food-RELCL
      'I remember the day that I prepared food for them.'

Relative clauses can also modify a noun marked with the locative

prefix *lé-* as shown below.

(123)

mɜ̀=	jî	ɲwàŋ	wó	kàn	lé-bî̀-sá	bízɔ́	ndé
mɜ̀=	jí	ɲwàŋ	wó	kàn	lé-bè-sá	H+bɪ̀zɜ̀	ndé
I	be (att)	take	you	folk.tale	LOC-8-thing	RELCL-we	be (loc)

lé	dêk	wók	nɔ́	càà-ŋgà	nɜ̀	bɜ̀-míyɔ̀ŋ	b-ízé.
lè	dêk	wôg	nò	cà-ŋgà	nò	bò-míyɔ̀ŋ	b- íz-è
IMPF	see	here	with	now-here	with	2-sibling	2-our-RELCL

'I will tell you a story about what we see today with our brothers.'
(*Serpent.*01)

It is also very common to have adjunct clauses with relative clauses

modifying temporal or locative head nouns, as shown below.

(124)

myǎ	yô=	kò	nìgò	jê	wú=í
myà	H+yò=	kò	nìgò	jê	wú=è
3-time	RELCL+7SUB	go	return	arrive	there-RELCL

'Arriving there, ...'

6.2.1 Clefting Construction

In addition to the prototypical relative clauses seen above, Kol speakers

also frequently use a construction which is a cross between a cleft

construction and a relative clause. It is not exactly like a relative clause

because, as can be seen in the example below, the head noun of the relative

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clause, which is the object of the copula is co-referential with the subject and is therefore deleted. So out of three co-referential noun phrases (the subject, the object and the object of the embedded clause), only one is overtly expressed, i.e. the subject of the matrix clause.

(125) è-kán   bɔ́   ɲ=é   dég=è.
      è-kán   bɔ̀   H+ɲ=é dêg=è.
      5-antelope be   he-P1   see-RELCL
      'It's the antelope that he saw.'

The negated version of this cleft construction makes use of the negative copula. However, in the negated version, the copula appears first, which means that of the three co-referential nouns present underlyingly, the only one which is overtly expressed is the direct object of the copula.

(126) tùgɔ́   lé-kán   ɲɔ́ ndé lé   dég=è.
      túg   lè-kán   ɲɔ̀ ndé lè   dêg=è.
      be (neg) 5-antelope he   be (loc) IMPF see-RELCL
      'It's not the antelope that he saw.'

6.2.2 Relative Clause Enclitic

Since the relative clause enclitic occurs at the right boundary of a clause, it may be hosted by a verb as shown in (127) or a noun, i.e. the direct object of the clause, as shown in (128). This morpheme may be hosted by

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members of two different parts of speech, which is morphosyntactic behavior

typical of a clitic and not a suffix.

(127) è-kán   bə   ɲ=é   dég=è.
       è-kán   bə̀   H+ɲ=é   dêg=è.
       5-antelope be   he-P1   see-RELCL
       'It's the antelope that he saw.'

(128) m=ó nùmb twɔ́ŋgə̀lɔ̀ d-wóp m=á   jâmb   bwò   bè-dób=è.
       I-PRES know think   5-day H+I-P2   prepare them 8-food-RELCL
       'I remember the day that I prepared food for them.'

While it is not obviously phonologically deficient, being a vowel and

therefore possibly something which could stand on its own, it does seem to

form a phonological word with its host. This may be seen in the way that the

enclitic = è is affected by the shape of its host, as shown below in example

(129) as well as the way that it impacts the shape of the host itself, as shown

in example (130).

(129) myǎ   yô=   kò nìgò jê   wú=í
       myà   H+yò=   kò nìgò jê   wú=è
       3-time RELCL+NONREF   go return arrive there-RELCL
       'Arriving there, ...'

Below, the presence of the enclitic causes the final vowel of the verb to
be deleted.

(130) /mw-ùr bə̀ ʜ+ɲ̀=é=wàzà=è/ ⟶ [mùr bə́ ɲíwàzè]
       1-man   be RELCL+he-P1-forget-RELCL
       'This is the man that he forgot.'

To summarize, the lack of strict co-occurrence restrictions suggests that it is not a suffix, while the phonological processes seen suggest that the clitic and its host form a single phonological word, and that the relative clause boundary marker therefore is not an independent word. Since the evidence shows that it is neither a suffix nor an independent word, then it must be a clitic.

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4 Elements of the Verb Phrase

This chapter will discuss the various elements found within the Kol verb phrase, e.g. tense markers, auxiliaries, main verbs, etc. The following chapter, chapter 5, will discuss the ways in which these elements may be combined and examine the syntax of the verb phrase.

In Kol, the verb phrase is the heart of the language. Verb phrases may be very complex, containing multiple auxiliaries, as well as tense, aspect and modal markers. All preverbal elements in Kol are independent words or clitics.

In the sections below, the Kol verb stem will be described, followed by discussions of tense, aspect, and mode markers. Section 3 will discuss auxiliaries, followed by a description of negation strategies in section 4. Section 5 will address the question of adverbs. (1) below gives the relative ordering of these preverbal elements, with the exception of adverbs which can appear between any two words.

(1)   Tense   Copula Aux   Aspect/Mode   Auxiliary   Verb

1 Verb Stem

Kol verbs may be CV, CVC or CVCV.[7] The initial consonant may be palatalized or labialized. Below are some examples of different verb root shapes.

(2) **CV roots**

bì	'startle, surprise'	kwè	'help'
sá	'act, do'	byâ	'beget'
tû	'dig'		

CVC roots

làb	'speak'	fyàl	'test'
bír	'leave to one side'	kwǐr	'save'
dêg	'see'	kwêz	'cough'

CVCV roots

dùmə̀	'fall'	cɛ̀là	'love'
bìlə́	'find after searching'		
límà	'dream'	bwámə̀	'meet'
kúŋá	'defecate'	ʃwézá	'be dry'

For many Bantu languages, it is descriptively useful to distinguish between the verb *root* (or *minimum radical*) and the verb *stem*, which consists

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[7] There are 39 CV verb roots (+14 CGV roots), 135 CVC roots (+53 CGVC roots) and 81 CVCV roots (+14 CGVCV roots), making up almost 60% of the lexicon.

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of the verb root, plus any valence-changing derivational suffixes (or *extensions*), and an inflectional final vowel marking tense or mood.

However, in Kol there are only relics remaining of the proto-Bantu extensions. There are a number of longer verbs (CVCVC etc) which appear to contain frozen relics of an extension system, but these relics are not productive. This will be discussed in section 1.1 below.

Neither does Kol have an inflectional final vowel which marks tense and aspect as many Bantu languages do. Morphemes which fill those functions are all found preverbally. Kol verbs may end in a number of different vowels, but this vowel does not change in different tense, aspect or mode constructions.

Verbs ending in different vowels are given below. The front vowel /ɛ/ is relatively rare in this position. The high vowels /i/ and /u/ and the mid front vowel /e/ primarily occur in monosyllabic verbs. These have most likely have ended up in final position due to erosion on the right edge.

(3) /i/   /u/

bì   'startle, surprise'   tû   'dig'

dì   'stay, dwell'   jû   'vomit'

jí   'ask'   kù   'fail'

jwî   'rule over'   lû   'sting'

/e/   /o/

kwè   'help'   dò   'eat'

jê   'arrive'   nìgò   'return'

ʃwè   'bleed'   jò   'climb'

fyê   'suck'   jwábò   'respect'

/ɛ/   /ɔ/

bɛ̀   'plant'   bàdǝbɔ́   'perch'

ʃúmɛ̀   'build'   mìnɔ̀   'swallow'

                                       bùbɔ̀   'roast'

                                       lwɔ̂mbɜ̀lɔ̀ 'send on errand'

/ǝ/   /a/

dùmɜ̀   'fall'   sá   'act, do'

bìlɜ́   'find after searching'   byâ   'beget'

bwámɜ̀   'meet'   cɛ̀là   'love'

kùrɜ̀   'beat (heart)'   límà   'dream'

The central vowels /ə/ and /a/ and the back vowels /ɔ/ and /o/ are all

common as the last segment in polysyllabic verbs. These vowels form a

natural class of the non-high, non-front vowels as can be seen below.

	front	central	back
high	i	(i)	u
mid	e	ə	o
low	ɛ	a	ɔ

Table 4.1 Final vowels in polysyllabic verbs.

The four vowels which are common as the last segment in

polysyllabic words are all possible reflexes of the proto-Bantu vowel *a (see

chapter 7, section 4.3 for more details). In Bantu languages with an

inflectional final vowel marking tense or mode, the final vowel –a is the most

common final vowel, generally used to mark the indicative. (Miti 2001,

Mohammed 2001)

As was noted above, the final vowel of Kol verbs does not change due

to inflectional processes. However, it may change when a deverbal noun is

derived, as was described in chapter 3, section 5.2.2.

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In general, the final vowel may not be deleted either. The one

exception to this is found in the relative clause construction, where if a verb

hosts the relative clause right boundary enclitic = è and if the verb ends in

/a/, the /a/ is deleted. It is interesting that this only occurs with the vowel

/a/, which as was alluded to above, is the most direct descendent of the most

common inflectional final vowel in the inherited proto-Bantu system. (See

chapter 3, section 6.2.1.)

1.1   EXTENSIONS

Bantu languages are well known for their valence-changing suffixes,

known as extensions. In Kol, while there are a number of verbs which appear

to contain such suffixes, these are synchronically only frozen relics. Only the

passive extension may still be productive.

	Proto-Bantu	Kol
causative	*ic-i	-ə̀zə̀, a→e
benefactive/ applicative	*-ɪd	-èà
passive	*ɪb-ʊ	-ówà

Table 4.2 Extensions in Proto-Bantu and their relics in Kol

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The passive suffix is more productive, though still relatively rare, than

the other extension candidates. However, it has a number of different forms.

One, *-ówà,* is clearly related to the passive suffix found in other Bantu

languages, like *–Vw* in Mòkpè (Kagaya 1992:29), *-w* in Swahili (Mohammed

2001:205), and *–iw* in Cinsanga (Miti 2001:91). Example sentences are given

below.

(4) tír sé d-ówà.
     tír sé dò-ówà
     meat PERF eat-PASS
     'The meat is eaten.'

(5) bìzô ncə̀ kò lê-dúmp á s-ówà-wè
     we come go to-dance (n)+H P2 do-PASS-RELCL
     'We went to the party that had been organized.' (*Perils.*11)

However, there are other passive constructions which suggest that the

underlying form of the passive may be underspecified as a glide plus the

vowel /a/. In the example below, the last word is a passive verb which has

the glide /y/ instead of /w/.

(6) ɲ=í bə̀ lé ncò... kăbò ɲ=í bì-yà.
     ɲ=é bə̀+H lè+H ncò+H kăbò ɲ-é bì-yà+H
     he/she-P1 be IMPF come but he/she-P1 seize-PASS
     'He *was* coming...but he got caught.'

Below is a complete list of passive verbs present in my corpus.

Sentences meant to elicit passive verbs mostly failed. As can be seen from the three examples above, when a passive is possible, it is the object with the semantic role of patient which becomes the new subject.

(7) dówà   'be eaten'   *from*   dò   'eat'

    sówà   'be done'   sá   'do'

    sówàwà   'be done'   sá   'do'

    bìyà   'be seized'   bì   'seize'

    númbàwà   'be known'   númb   'know'

    kégàwà   'be organized'   kég   'organize'

There are no productive causative processes. There are two words which may have reflexes of the proto-Bantu causative suffix *ic-i.

(8) ságə̀zə̀   'shake'   *from*   sá   'do'
    kwámə̀zà   'prepare'

There are also a number of words which correlate to what has been described as an ablaut causativization process in related languages. Below are some examples. This is not currently productive in Kol either.

(9) wûl   'take out'   wòl   'get up'

    bêr   'put, place'   bâr   'climb in'

    bwêd   'clothe'   bwâd   'wear clothes'

(10) bùr   mé   wòl   lê-mò-wàlà   mə́-lôl,

     b-ùr   mé   wòl   lé-mò-wàlà   H + mò-lôl

     2-person be (chg) get.up LOC-6-hour 6-POSS-6-three(3)

     'The people got up at 3 am....' (*Perils*.66)

(11) myǎ m-ûr   á bə̀ lè jí   wúl   mə̀ kwînt lé-lú = wé,

     myà H + m-ùr á bò lè jí   wûl   mə̀ kwéndè lé-lú = è

     time RELCL-1-man P2 be IMPF want remove me hook LOC-head-RELCL

     When the man wanted to take the hook out of my hair, [I told him, "While you're taking that out, time is going by."]

There are also two possible relics left from the proto-applicative suffix

*ɪd. A small set of verbs appear to have a frozen derivational morpheme –*l*.

However, these appear to have somewhat passive semantics.

(12) byêl   'be born'   *from*   byâ   'give birth'

     bwîl   'be broken'

There is another relic where the *d has been lost, but the vowel of the

applicative and the inflectional final vowel has been retained (as is common

in other Bantu languages. An example is given below.

(13) ncw = é   d-éà   nò   bwə̀.

     we (dual)-F1 eat-APPL with them

     'They will take care of us.' (lit. We will eat from them.)

Finally, there is a possible frozen element which may be a reflex of a

reflexive extension, shown below, though it differs in shape quite a bit from

the reconstructed *-an reflexive extension, which is very common in other

Bantu languages.

(14) bìz=á   túk   lê   yìg-əlà   nə   dá.
     we-P2   be (neg) IMPF pretend-RECP   with ancestor
     'We shouldn't compare ourselves to the father.' (*Ram.*42)

This is not productive, and in general to express meanings like 'himself'

or 'themselves,' Kol speakers will use the exclusive pronoun described in

chapter 3.

Another relic, possibly of the *-ʊd reversive extension, is illustrated by

the two examples below. The relationship between the two verbs seems to be

one of antonymy, or reversive.

(15) ɲ=ì   sé   dìp   lé-bɛ́.
     ɲ̀-é   sè+H   dìb+H   lè-bɛ́
     he/she-P1   already open   5-door
     'She opened the door.'

(16) ɲ=ì   sé   dìbəlò   lé-bɛ́.
     ɲ̀-é   sè+H   dìbəlò+H   lè-bɛ́
     he/she-P1   already close   5-door
     'She closed the door.'

In other pairs, a similar frozen suffix (which differs in its final vowel)

seems to mark the relationship between related intransitive and transitive

verbs.

(17) mpyó   yé   sé   bándà   dímbè   dùk.
     mpyó   é   sè+H   bándà+H   dìmbè   dùk
     1-dog P1   Perf   really   be.lost forest
     'The dog is lost in the forest.'

(18) ɲ=ì   sé   dímbèlɔ   mpyó   y-é   dùk.
     ɲ̀-é   sè+H   dìmbèlɔ+H   mpyò   y-é   dùg
     he/she-P1   PERF   lose   1-dog   1-his   forest
     'He lost his dog in the forest.'

In Kol, there are three additional frozen suffixes which when affixed to

a verb root may alter the semantics of the verb in irregular ways. The

differing semantic relationships between root and derived stem are intriguing,

as is the number of times the semantics does *not* seem to change. A listing of

related words is given below.

(19) -èlè

     jábèlè   'call back'   jáb   'call (s.o.)'

     jígèlè   'teach'   jîk   'learn'

     fyàzèlè   'examine'   fyàl   'test, examine'

     bwègèlé   'bring up'   bwèg   'bring up'

     ntɛ́gèlè   'annoy'   ntɛ́k   'annoy'

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bámbə́lə́	'shout at'		bâm	'roar'

(20) -əbə̀

jógə̀bə̀	'hear'		jwôk	'hear, feel'
bùgùbà	'prosper'		bù	'be scarce'

(21) -ə̀rə̀

jwàgə̀rə̀	'suspect'		jwôk	'hear, feel'

In summary, while synchronically Kol does not have any productive valence-changing suffixes, there is evidence that it may have in the past. These suffixes are now frozen, non-productive, and non-transparent in their semantics.

2 Tense, Aspect, and Mode

Tense, aspect and mode may be marked in Kol by auxiliaries, clitics or independent words, or by a combination of all three. Auxiliaries will be discussed in section 3. In the sections below, tense markers will be discussed first, followed by discussions of aspect and mode.

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2.1 TENSE

Kol has five absolute tenses and one relative tense. In the affirmative, there are two past tenses, a present tense, and two future tenses. The time spans that the absolute tenses cover are given below.

Aff	P2		P1	Pres	F1	F2
	Ancestors' Era	Last Year	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow	Next Year

Kol marks tense through a combination of tense morphemes and grammatical tones. Most tenses are marked by a single vowel, but two tenses, the distant future and the relative immediate past tense, combine a tense vowel with an additional tense morpheme. All of the tenses except the far past share a similar tonal contour, in that a high tone is added after every word in the verbal sequence. This will be discussed in more detail in section 2.1.7.

The tense morphemes are the first element in the verb and form a phonological word with pronominal subjects. As is to be expected, the tense vowels are all in complementary distribution with each other. In addition, they are in complementary distribution with the proclitic portion of the perfective negative marker, discussed in section 4.1.

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The absolute tenses are marked by the following morphemes:

far past (P2)	á
recent past (P1)	é + H
present	ó + H
near future(FUT)	é + H
distant future (F2)	é + bwó + H

While the recent past and the future morphems have the same

underlying shape, they trigger different phonological processes as will be

discussed in section 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 below.

The relative immediate tense is marked by the morpheme *lwándə̀bə̀*

'just' which co-occurs with either the absolute present tense vowel *ó* or the far

past tense vowel *á*.

Tense markers are not obligatory. Frequently, if the tense has been

already established, via context or previous utterances, tense will not be

overtly marked.

2.1.1 The Far Past

The far past is used to refer to events that occurred yesterday or more

distantly in the past. It is the only tense which does not exhibit tone concord.

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(22) mólú   wàzà   mpízé   ɲ=ǎ   mùr.
      H+ mò-lú   wàzà   mpìzé   ɲ̀=á   m-ùr
      6-era   forget   back   he/she-P2   1-man
      'In times past, he forgot someone.'

(23) m=ǎ   bə̀   ḿpànd   d-úlə́gá   dwábə̀.
      I=P2   be   Mpand   5-certain 5-day
      'I was at Mpand one day.'

2.1.2 The Recent Past

The recent past is used for events that occurred earlier that day or

yesterday. In the example below, the speaker is telling his wife about the

illness that hit him since he left the house that morning. The recent past, like

all other tenses in Kol, adds a grammatical high tone after every preverbal

element and the main verb, represented by H in the example below (and all

following examples).

(24) m=è   sé   númə́   kò   kúŋá   ncòò   lôl   támə̀   ncì.
      I-P1   PERF+H   also+H   go+H   defecate+H   time   3   mid   3-path
      'I had to stop three times along the way to go to the bathroom.' (Joy.12)

While the recent past and the immediate future both consist of the

front mid vowel /e/, the recent past marker undergoes raising after the

palatal nasal, as seen below and the future marker does not.

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(25)   nò   kùgú   ɲ = í   nìgó   kò   njáp.

           nə̀   kùgú   ɲ̀ = é   nìgò + H   kò + H   njáb

           with   evening   he/she-P1   return   go   house

           'Yesterday, he returned home.'

Additionally, the recent past vowel will undergo the regular rounding rule whereby /i/ becomes [u] if it neighbors the labiovelar glide /w/, as shown below.

(26)   nò   kùgú   ɲ = ú   wàzà   mûr.

           nə̀   kùgú   ɲ̀ = é   wàzà + H   m-ùr

           with   evening   he/she-P1   forget   1-man

           'Yesterday, he forgot someone.'

Finally, the recent past is the only tense wherby the normally optional H tone merger rule is required. This means that if the recent past tense vowel *é* is followed by a verb with an underlying H tone on its first syllable, the high tone of the tense vowel will merge with the H tone of the verb, allowing the underlying L tone of the subject clitic to surface. This results in an apparent polar tone. Compare (26) above with example (27) below.

(27)   nò   kùgú   ɲ = ì   bárà   mûr.

           nə̀   kùgú   ɲ̀ = é   bárà + H   m-ùr

           with   evening   he/she-P1   greet   1-man

           'Yesterday, he greeted a man.'

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2.1.3 The Immediate Past

The immediate past is used for events that just happened. It adds the additional tense morpheme *lwándə̀bə̀* 'just' to either the present tense marker *ó* as shown in (28) or the far past tense marker *á* as shown in (29). *Lwándə̀bə̀* does not occur as a main verb nor may it appear in other places in the verbal sequence as do adverbs.

(28) ɲ = ó   lwándə́bə́   bwɔ̀gə́   kwàn.

ɲ̀ = ó	lwándə̀bə̀ + H	bwɔ̀g + H	kwàn
he/she-PRES	just	harvest	9-honey

'He just harvested honey.'

(29) nə́   tùgə́   bíz = á   lwándə̀bə̀   bə̀   lê-ncɔ̀ŋ   nə̀   ncàá   ŋgə̀?

nə̀	tùg	bìz = á	lwándə̀bə̀	bò	lé-ncɔ̀ŋ	nò	ncà	ŋgà
and	be (neg)	we-P2	just	be	LOC-dance	with	now	this

'Weren't we just at the party now?' (*Perils*.77)

2.1.4 The Present Tense

The present tense is used for events that are happening at the current moment or in the immediate future. It is marked by the tense vowel *ó*, as shown below and the high tone tense concord.

(30) ɲ = ó   bwɔ̀gə́   kwàn.

he/she-PRES	harvest + H	9-honey

'He harvests honey.'

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The present tense marker is also used to express a habitual sense, when it is combined with the perfect aspect marker *sé*. This will be discussed in section 2.2.5.

In a larger discourse context, once the time of the events under discussion has been established, it is common to leave out overt tense marking. However, in isolation, this is only allowed for the present tense. It is very common for speakers to use an alternative present tense construction with the auxiliary verb *jì* 'to be (attributive). Even though this construction lacks the tense vowel, it still exhibits the tonal concord found with other present tense constructions.

(31) múùz   ɲə̀=   jí   bárà   múr.
      H+mùùz   ɲə̀   jì +H   bárà +H   m-ùr
      today   he/she   be (att) greet   1-man
      'Today, he greeted a man.'

2.1.5 The Near Future

The near future is used to refer to events which will occur later today, tomorrow, or shortly thereafter. It is marked by the tense vowel *é* which differs from the recent past marker in that it does not undergo raising to /i/ after a palatal nasal.

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(32)   émáné   ɲ=ě   bwɔ̀gɔ́   kwàn.

       tomorrow   he/she-Fut   harvest+H   9-honey

       'Tomorrow, he will harvest honey.'

2.1.6 The Distant Future

The distant future is used for events that are further away in the future,

i.e. next month or next year. It is marked by the future tense vowel *é* and the

additional tense morpheme *bwó*.

(33)   m=ě   bwó   bù   lá.

       I-F1   F2   break+H   glass

       'I will break the glass (in a month).'

The additional tense morpheme is not required if the idea of a more

distant future has been established by means of a temporal expression. In

that case, the future tense vowel will be used alone, as shown in the example

below.

(34)   ŋgúmbà   ŋkúúnd   múùz,   ɲ=ě   wàzà   m-ûr.

        ŋgúmbà   ŋkúúnd   H+múùz   ɲ=é   wàzà+H 1-man

        month   follow   today   he/she-Fut forget   1-man

        'Next month, he will forget someone.'

2.1.7 Tense tonal concord

As was mentioned above, all of the tenses except the far past share a

similar tonal contour, in that in addition to the tense marker, a H tone suffix

is added. Compare an example of a sentence in the far past in (35) with

sentences marked for other tenses in (36)-(39), namely the near past, the

present, the future, and the distant future.

(35)   ɲ=ă   bwɔ̀gə̀   kwàn.
        ɲ̀=á   bwɔ̀g   kwàn.
        he/she-P2   harvest (honey)   9-honey
        'He was harvesting honey.'

(36)   nò   kùgú,   ɲ=í   bwɔ̀gə́   kwàn.
        nò   kùgú,   ɲ̀=é   bwɔ̀g+H   kwàn.
        with   evening   he/she-P1   harvest (honey)   9-honey
        'Yesterday, he harvested honey.'

(37)   ɲ=ŏ   bwɔ̀gə́   kwàn.
        ɲ̀=ó   bwɔ̀g+H   kwàn.
        he-PRES   harvest (honey)   9-honey
        'He harvests honey.'

(38)   émáné   ɲ=ě   bwɔ̀gə́   kwàn.
        émáné   ɲ̀=é   bwɔ̀gə́+H   kwàn.
        tomorrow   he/she-FUT   harvest (honey)   9-honey
        'Tomorrow, he will harvest honey.'

(39)   ɲ=ě   bwó   bwɔ̀gə́   kwàn.
        ɲ̀=é   bwó+H   bwɔ̀gə́+H   kwàn.
        he/she-FUT   F2   harvest (honey)   9-honey
        'He will harvest honey [in a month].'

Not only is this H tone added after the verb as shown above, but it is

also added after every preverbal element in the verbal sequence (and the

main verb itself). Again, compare (40) with (41) where a H tone is added

after both the imperfective marker and the verb stem in (41) but not in (40).

(40) ɲ=ă   lè   bwɔ̀gɜ̀   kwàn.
     ɲ̀=á   lè   bwɔ̀gɜ̀   kwàn.
     he/she-P2 IMPF   harvest (honey) 9-honey
     'He was harvesting honey.'

(41) ɲ=ŏ   ˈlé   bwɔ̀gɔ́   kwàn.
     ɲ̀=ó   lè+H   bwɔ̀gɔ́+H   kwàn.
     he-PRES   IMPF   harvest (honey) 9-honey
     'He harvests honey.'

This additional H tone triggers downstep in the imperfective marker

which is underlyingly low. Specifically, the floating H delinks the underlying

L of the imperfective marker. The underlying L cannot merge with the

preceding tone because the preceding syllable is already hosting a complex

contour tone. The underlying L must remain floating and thus triggers

downstep.

Similarly, compare (42) with (43) where a H tone is added after the

auxiliary verb and the main verb in (43) but not in (42). Since the auxiliary

has an underlying L tone in (42), it surfaces with a downstepped H tone in

(43).

(42) ɲ=ǎ   ncə̀   bwɔ̀gə̀   kwàn.
     ɲ̀=á   ncə̀   bwɔ̀gə̀   kwàn.
     he/she-P2 come harvest (honey) 9-honey
     'Il est venu cueillir du miel.'

(43) ɲ=í   nc'ə́   bwɔ̀gə́   kwàn.
     ɲ̀=é   ncə̀+H   bwɔ̀gə́+H   kwàn.
     he/she-P1 come harvest (honey) 9-honey
     'He came to harvest honey.'

The grammatical H tone may be absorbed into a following lexical H tone. If there are no surrounding H tones, it delinks the tone to its left and docks there, triggering downstep if there are no merger possibilities for a floating L. Both strategies are shown below in (44). (45) is a parallel sentence in the far past (P2) tense without the grammatical H tone.

Below in (44), the floating H after the auxiliary surfaces on the final syllable of the first verb of the verbal sequence nìgò. Its underlying L tone is retracted to only appear on the first syllable. The floating H after the main verb merges with the underlying H tone of the object.

(44) nò   kùgú   ɲ=í   nìgó   kò   njáp.
     nò   kùgú   ɲ̀=é   nìgó+H   kò+H   njáb
     with evening he-P1 return go   house
     'Today he returned home.'

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(45) ɲ=á   nìgò kò njáp.
      ɲ̀=á   nìgò kò njáb
      he/she-P2 return go   house
      'He went home.'

However, it is not possible to say that it is inserted after every element

in the verb phrase, since it is not added after the direct object. Rather, the

scope of this tonal concord is only the preverbal elements and the main verb,

not the verb phrase. This interesting fact will be taken up again in chapter 5,

section 3.1.

Since all of the tenses which trigger the tonal concord are marked by

morphemes with underlying H tones, i.e. *é* (P1), *ó* (PRES), and *é* (FUT), it has

been suggested that maybe the tonal concord is not a suffixal H tone but

rather H tone spreading from the left. I have rejected this analysis because in

polysyllabic preverbal morphemes, such as the auxiliary verb *nìgò* 'return'

below, we can see that the H tone does not spread across both syllables. The

underlying L tone of the verb is maintained on the first syllable.

(46) nò   kùgú   ɲ=í   nìgó   kò   njáp.
      nò   kùgú   ɲ̀=é   nìgó+H   kò+H   njáb
      with evening he-P1   return   go   house
      'Today he returned home.'

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Additional evidence for the tense concord not being a case of tone spreading can be found in sentences which are interpreted as being in the present tense, possibly because of the tense concord, but which lack overt tense marking. In the example below, there is no present tense vowel to be a source of the H tone of the tense concord, but the tense concord is still present as can be seen by the surface high tones of the imperfective marker and the verb 'stay,' both of which have underlyingly low tones.

(47) ɲə̀= jì náŋ njì lé d'í dûk.
　　 ɲ̀= jì+H náŋ+H njì+H lè+H dì+H dùg
　　 he/she be (att) still only IMPF stay 7-forest
　　 'He still stays only in the forest.'

This is most common with the attributive copula *jì* shown above and the negative copula *túg* shown below.

(48) tóòb túgɔ́ lé dì dûk.
　　 tóòb túg+H lè +H dì+H dùg
　　 sheep be (neg) IMPF stay forest
　　 'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

2.2 ASPECT

Kol has all six of the aspectual categories commonly seen across Bantu languages (Nurse 2003). The perfective aspect is unmarked, while the

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imperfective, perfect (anterior), progressive and persistive are marked with

the morphemes shown below.

Aspect

Perfective	Ø
Perfect	sé
Imperfective	lè
Progressive	gò
Persistive	léŋ

Table 4.3 Aspect in Kol

The sixth common aspect seen across Bantu languages is the habitual.

Kol marks the habitual by a combination of the present tense vowel ó and the

perfect (anterior) marker sé.

Unsurprisingly, aspect markers may not co-occur with each other.

They are also not required to co-occur with tense markers, though if they do

that may lead to specialized semantics, as in the case of the habitual

mentioned above.

2.2.1 Perfect

The perfect, also known as the anterior, is relatively common in Kol

discourse. It is marked by the preverbal morpheme sé. The perfect refers to a

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past action with present consequences (Nurse 2003) and is frequently

translated as 'already.'

(49)   ɲ = í   jí   ncò   kábò   míjɔ̀ŋ   sé   yò.

        ɲ̀ = é   jì+H   ncò+H kábò   míjɔ̀ŋ   sé   yò

        he-P1 be (att) come   but   brother PERF die

        'He was going to come, but his brother had already died.'

Another example is given below. This sentence is interpreted as being

in the past, without overt tense marking, due to the aspectual marking.

(50)   lá   sè   bwîl.

        lá   sé   bwîl

        glass PERF be.broken

        'The glass broke.'

2.2.2 Imperfective

The imperfective is marked by the preverbal morphme *lè*. The

imperfective marks verbs as being non-punctual; instead they are activities

that occur over an undefined period of time. Below is an example marked for

the far past tense. This tense inserts no additional tonal contour, allowing the

underlying tones of the morphemes to surface.

(51)   ɲ = ă   lè   bwɔ̀gə̀ kwàn.

        ɲ̀ = á   lè   bwɔ̀g   kwàn

        he/she-P2 IMPF harvest 9-honey

        'He was harvesting honey.'

Nurse (2003) notes that the imperfective may be used to contrast background information with foregrounded information marked by the perfective. In Kol, the perfective is unmarked, but the imperfective and the perfect are occasionally used in the contrastive nature that Nurse describes. Below is an example.

(52)

mə̀=	lé	kwíz,	mə̀=	lé	númp	nə̂	m=ǎ	bə̀	mpwògέ
I	Impf	cough	I	Impf	know	that	I-P2	be	healthy

ndὲ	y=á	bə̀	nə̂	è-sáp	á	sέ	ŋkwə̀	tέr	lê-bì
while	7Sub-P2	be	that	5-illness	P2	Perf	again	start	Inf-seize

mə̀	hámə́.
me	good

'I was coughing, all the while thinking that I was in good health, though the illness had already taken hold.' (*Illness*.08)

2.2.3 Progressive

Kol also has a progressive marker, *gó*. The term 'progressive' is generally used to refer to an action which is going on when a second action begins.

(53)

ɲə̀=	jí	syὲ	bísìzà	ɲ=ò	gó	sìɲὲ	fwán.
ɲ̀=	jì+h	syὲ+h	bὲ-sìzà	ɲ̀=ó	gó+h	sìɲὲ+h	fwàn
he/she	be(att)	sing	8-song	he/she-Pres	Prog	grind	corn

'She sings while grinding corn.'

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In Kol, multiple clauses may be marked with the progressive, showing

that they are ongoing with respect to each other, as illustrated by the example

below.

(54) y = ó   gó   nî   mò-díbə́,   bɨz = ó   gó   lwâk.
      y = ó   gó + H   nî   mò-díbɔ́   bɨzɔ́ = ó   gó   lwâg
      7SUB-PRES   PROG   enter   6-water   we-PRES   PROG   empty
      'As the water was coming in, we were bailing it out.'

The progressive only occurs with the present tense, as shown above,

which may explain way Kol speakers have developed other grammaticalized

structures, using the verb kò 'go' or the copula jì 'be (attributive),' with similar

semantics to fill in the gaps. jì is discussed below in section 3.1.2, while kò is

discussed in section 3.2.2.

While it may be tempting to suggest that gó is a grammaticalization of

the verb kò 'go,' this will be rejected as a possibility for two reasons. First of

all, voicing is distinctive in Kol, unless the obstruent is in word-final position.

Speakers are unlikely to confuse /k/ and /g/ in initial position, nor is there

evidence for weakening in initial position. Secondly, and more convincingly,

the progressive markers in related languages are similar to gó but also

maintain a separate verb 'go' which in all cases begins with a voiceless stop.

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	Makaa	Kol	Nzime
progressive	ŋgə̀	gó	ŋgà
'go'	kə	kò	to

Table 4.4 Progressive in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

Additionally, there are three examples of the marker ŋgə́ in my corpus.

Since it is identical to the Makaa progressive marker, this may be another

reflex of the progressive marker. ŋgə́ also appears in contexts where, if any

tense is present, it is the present tense.

(55) bwó   ŋgə́   jágə̀lə̀, bwó   ŋgə́   jágə̀lə̀.
      they   PROG pray   they   ITER pray
      'They were praying and praying.'

(56) bwó   ŋgə́   wîîŋk   mbàp   mbàp   mísísìm.
      bwó   ŋgə́   wîîŋg   mbàp   mbàp   mè-sísìm
      they   PROG chase   bad   bad   4-bad.spirit
      'They chased [exorcised] a bad spirit.'

(57) y=ŏ   ŋgə́   bùlù   ntɛ́k   nò   kùgú.
      y=ó   ŋgə́+H   bùlù+H   ntɛ́k+H   nò   kùgú
      7SUB-PRES PROG   many   annoy   with   evening
      'Yesterday, it really bothered us.' (*Funeral*.06)

2.2.4 Persistive

Though 'persistive' is not an especially common aspect cross-

linguistically, it is found in a number of Bantu languages. It is commonly

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translated as 'still' or 'to keep doing X.' Kol also has an adverb *náŋ* meaning

'still.' It is able to co-occur with another aspect marker, e.g. the imperfective

lè, as well as negatives, unlike the the aspect marker currently under

discussion.

(58) mà-díbə́ lêŋ kwə́ nî.
6-water PERS again enter
'The water kept coming in.'

(59) ko ko ko, bwó lêŋ kó kùrò nténè
[sound made at door] they PERS go hit (with hand) like.that
'Ko ko ko, they kept on knocking.'

2.2.5 Habitual

As was mentioned above, the habitual in Kol is marked by a

combination of the present tense vowel *ó* and the perfect (or anterior) aspect

marker *sé*. It is unusual to have an anterior marker combined with non-past

tenses, though the idea in this habitual construction is that it is a regular

event which has been completed multiple times in the past but which will be

undertaken again.

(60) ɲ=ó sé bʷɔ̀gə́ kʷàn.
ɲ̀=ó sé+H bʷɔ̀g+H kʷàn
he/she-PRES PERF harvest 9-honey
'He harvests honey.' (habitually)

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(61) ɲ=o   sé   bìi   dwôm   tô   màmbú   mébá   njì   ɲ=ò
     ɲ̀=ó   sé+H   bìi+H   mè-mbú   mè-bá   njì   ɲ̀=ó
     he-PRES PERF receive care for   4-year   4-two   only   he-PRES

lé   jwóg   tyè.
lè+H   jwóg+H   tyè
IMPF   feel   sick

'He had been getting medical care for two years, but he was still sick.'

(62) myà   w=ô   sé   bùlə́   dìgəb=è,   w=ò   jî   sáŋ
     myà+H   w=ó   sé+H   bùlù+H   dìgəb=è   w=ó   jì+H   sáŋ
     time-RELCL you-PRES PERF many   sweat-RELCL you-PRES be   search

sá   mə̀=   télə́lé   ŋkʷòómìn.
sá+H   mə̀=   télə́lé   ŋkwɔ́mìn
7-thing-RELCL I   refresh   throat

'When you sweat a lot, you look for something to refresh your throat.'

2.3 MODE

The Kol language has four modal distinctions: indicative, subjunctive, interrogative and conditional. Only two of these are marked by preverbal elements, namely the subjunctive and the conditional. The indicative mode is unmarked, which is common cross-linguistically. Interrogatives are marked by the use of special question words.

2.3.1 Subjunctive

The subjunctive in Kol includes hortative and imperative constructions.

It may be marked by an enclitic $=g$ or a preverbal element *há*.

2.3.1.1 The subjunctive enclitic

The subjunctive enclitic *-g* is used to mark both hortative and

imperative forms. It is always accompanied by a grammatical H tone. If the

subject is plural, the enclitic included an additional vowel, resulting in the

form *-gá*. An example of the singular imperative, marked with the

subjunctive enclitic is given below in (63) while an example of the plural

imperative is in (64).

(63) jí-k   bwə́   nə́ə̀   jè"
      jí-g+H   bwə̀   nə̂   jè
      ask-SUBJ them   that   what?
      "Ask them what they want!"

(64) myâ   bé   bè-kèkák   ndé   ŋgà   jwábó-gá
      when you (pl) 8-small child   be (loc) this   respect-SUBJ (PL) +H

      bə̀sɔ́ŋgə̀   nə̂   bə̀ɲɔ́ŋgə̀   bín,....
      2-father   and   2-mother   2- your (pl)
      'When you children here respect your fathers and your mothers,..'

The enclitic $=g$ appears on the first element of the verbal sequence,

whatever that may be. It may appear on a main verb in (65), an auxiliary in

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(66), and the word *kwó* in (67). (*Kwò* is a challenge when it comes to

assigning parts of speech. It will be discussed in more detail in section 5 in

this chapter and in chapter 5, section 1.4.)

(65) dì = k   nó   pùù
      dì = g + H   nò   pùù
      stay-IMP   with   calm (ideophone)
      'Stay calm!'

(66) wò   bó = k   ké   fèndà   nə̀   mə̀.
      wò   bə̀ = g + H   ké   fèndà   nò   mə̀
      you (SG) be-IMP (SG) NEG   be.in.rivalry with   me
      'You must not put yourself in competition with me.'

(67) mə̀ =   túgə́   jì   nə̀   m = ò   kwó = k   bár   è-byól.
      m̀ =   tùg   jí   nə̀   m = ó   kwò = g + H   bár + H   lè-byɔ̀l
      I   be (neg) want that I-PRES again-SUBJ   climb   in-canoe
      'I don't want to get in a canoe anymore!'

2.3.1.2 *Fə̌*

The morpheme *fə̌* (or *hə̌* for some speakers) is also used to mark

imperatives or hortatives. In all the examples I have, it occurs at the

beginning of the verbal sequence, before auxiliaries, and also before the

consecutive marker *kà*. It does not co-occur with the subjunctive enclitic

described above. It is generally be translated as 'should.' Below are two

examples, one of a full clause and one of an imperative.

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(68) bw = ó   hǎ   kwìr   bə́-ɲɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́   bóp.

      bwó-ó   fǎ + H   kwìr + H   bò-ɲɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́   b-ób

      they-PRES   should   help   2-mother   their

      'They should help their mothers.'

(69) "hǎ   kà   wú."

      fǎ   kà   wú

      should   CONS   exit

      'Come out then." (*Serpent*.34)

2.3.2 Conditional

Kol primarily marks conditional clauses via subordinate conjunctions.

It has two conditional complementizers, *ŋgé* for simple conditionals and *twè*

for concessive conditionals. In addition though, there is a counterfactual

conditional marker which may be used independently of the

complementizers, or with them, as illustrated in example (70) below. This

clarifies that the situation described in the clause marked by the

counterfactual morpheme did not actually take place.

(70) myá   m = ô   twóŋgə́lá   nə̀   ŋgé   m = ǎ   mbá

      myà + H   m̀ = ó   twɔ̀ŋgə̀lɔ̀ + H   nə̀   ŋgé   m̀ = á   mbá

      time-RELCL   I-PRES   think   that   if   I-P2   COND

      kò   yə̀   lémə̀díb = ɛ́

      kò   yə̀   lé-mò-díbɔ́ = è

      go   die   in-6-water-RELCL

      'When I think that I could have died in the water...'

In this case, the narrator did not actually die, as is evidenced by the fact

that she is telling the story now, in a time past the time of the near-death

experience.

2.4 CONSECUTIVE

Kol also has a consecutive marker *kà*, which is common (both the form

and the function) in Bantu languages. In Kol, it may occur with a number of

different tenses and aspects. In discourse contexts, *kà* is generally found in

the first clause after an aside or digression. The example below is found

directly after an extended quotation.

(71)   myǎ   bízɘ́   ndê   kǎ   nìg = é,
       myà + H   bìzɘ̀   ndé   kà   nìgò = è
       3-time-RELCL we   be (loc) CONS   return-RELCL
       'When we were returning,.....'

Other clauses within that same sentence may also be marked with *kà*.

In the example below, the relative clause at the beginning is the first clause

after a digression. Both it and the main clause are marked with *kà*.

(72)   myà   m = á   sé   kà   ncɘ̀   já   n-é-njwɔ̀ŋ-è
       myà + H   m̀ = á   sé   kà   ncɘ̀   jâ   nɘ̀-lé- jwɔ̀ŋ-è
       3-time-RELCL I-P2   PERF CONS come   sleep with-LOC-bed-RELCL

èsáp	á	sé	kà	ncà	lál	númá.
è-sáp	á	sé	kà	ncà	lál	númá.
5-illness	P2	PERF	CONS	come	be.strong	also

'By the time I laid down, the illness had already hit me hard.'

(*Illness*.09)

Kà occupies an unusual place in the morphosyntax of the Kol verb.

The Kol verb is quite templatic, as will be described in chapter 5, section 1. It

allows one slot for a tense vowel, one slot for an additional tense marker (for

the immediate past or distant future), and one slot for aspectual markers. *Kà*

co-occurs with both kinds of tense markers and with aspect markers, so it may

not be classified with either of these sets of morphemes.

Additionally, *kà* resembles adverbs in having freer word order than the

rest of the preverbal morphemes. Its syntax will be discussed in more detail

in section 1.2.2. Part of this freer word order can be seen in the way that *kà*

plus the basic copula *bà* have been grammaticalized to form a conjunction

meaning 'but.' An example is given below.

(73) | kǎ bà | bw=á | ʃùŋà | bízá | nób | bá-b-êz. |
|------|--------|-------|------|-----|-----------|
| but | they-P2 | discuss | us | other | 2-2-each, all |

'They saved both of us.' [*lit*. discussed with death] (*Joy*.37)

3 Auxiliaries

Kol has a large set of full verbs which may also be used as auxiliaries. Some of these are more grammaticalized than others. These verbs have been analyzed as auxiliaries and not serial verbs or light verbs because they do not impact the argument structure of the predicate, they can be separated from the main verb, and remain affirmative while the main verb is negated. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5, section 1.5.

If a verb precedes a verb prefixed with the infinitive (or class 5) marker, as shown in the two examples below, the initial verb is *not* considered to be an auxiliary but rather the main verb of the clause.

(74) ɲ=ǎ   tér   lè-bwɔ̀gɜ̀   kwàn.
     ɲ̀=á   tér   lè-bwɔ̀g   kwàn
     he/she-P2 start INF-harvest 9-honey
     'He started to harvest honey.'

(75) m=ǎ   kwàmɜ̀zà lê-kò   wú.
     m̀=á   kwàmɜ̀zà lè-kò   wú
     I-P2   prepare   INF-go there
     'I got ready to go there.'

Occasionally, a verb, such as the verb *têr* 'to start' may occur as either an auxiliary, as will be described below, or as a verb taking an infinitival

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complement as shown above. The two constructions are distinct, both in meaning, and in syntactic structure. Infinitival complements will be discussed in chapter 5, section 2.1.2.

The verbs which may occur as auxiliaries are divided into three sections. Copula verbs will be discussed first. The next section will discuss the verbs which can occur as *phasal* auxiliaries, contributing to the aspectual reading of the clause. The verbs which add modal information will be discussed last.

3.1 COPULAR VERBS

Kol has at first glance an overabundance of copulas, with four affirmative copulas and one negative copula. However, all four affirmative copulas have different semantic functions: *ndé* is the locative copula, expressing 'to be at'; *jì* is the attributive and equative copula; *mé* is used whenever there is a change of state; and *bò* is the basic copula, with the widest and most general meaning.

The affirmative copulas occur in independent clauses as the only verb and also occur as auxiliaries. When they are functioning as auxiliaries, they appear as the first verb in a multi-verb construction. That is to say, they are

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marked for tense, while following verbs are marked for aspect and other

grammatical categories. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5,

section 1.

3.1.1 Locative Copula

The copula *ndé* is used in independent affirmative clauses to express

location. It is restricted to clauses unmarked for tense or marked for present

tense. It does not co-occur with aspectual markers.

(76) mà=á   bə̀   lè   jwák   cíè   mə̀   ndé   yàùnt.
      I-P2   be   IMPF feel   illness   I   be (loc) Yaoundé
      'While I was in Yaounde, I got sick.' (*Illness*.02)

As an auxiliary, it expresses simultaneity. It frequently occurs in

subordinate clauses which refer to an event which happened at the same time

as the event in the main clause.

(77) ɲ=ĭ   ncò   twô   ŋkà   ɲə́   ndé   lé   jwôg   tyè.
      ɲ̀=é   ncò+H   twô   ŋkà   ɲə̀   ndé   lè   jwóg   tyè
      he-P1 come   even   as   he   be (loc) IMPF   feel   sick
      'He came even though he felt sick.'

Kol also has a word *ndé* which means 'while.' Given the similarity in

semantics between simultaneity and 'while,' it is likely that these two words

are related. At this point though, it is difficult to know in which way the

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historical development went, i.e. whether *ndé* began as a conjunction and has

been reinterpreted into a copula or vice versa. An example of the conjunction

ndé is given below.

(78)

mə̀=	lé	kwíz,	mə̀=	lé	númp	nə̀	m=a&	bə̀	mpwɔ̀gɛ́
I	IMPF	cough	I	IMPF	know	that	I-P2	be	healthy

ndè	y=á	bə̀	nə̀	è-sáp	á	sé	ŋkwə̀	tér	lê-bì
while	7SUB-P2	be	that	5-illness	P2	PERF	again	start	INF-seize

mə́	hámə́.
me	good

'I was coughing, all the while thinking that I was in good health, though the illness had already taken hold.' (*Illness*.08)

3.1.2 Equative and Attributive Copula

The copula *jì* is used in independent affirmative clauses to express

equation and attribution. It primarily occurs in unmarked clauses or with the

present tense, and as the main verb never co-occurs with aspectual markers.

Below is an example of an equative clause using *jì*, followed by an example of

an attributive clause.

(79)

mwâ	lɔ́ŋ-gà	jì	lɔ́ŋ	kwár	Bìjùmp.
little	discourse-this	be	discourse	village	Bidjombo

'This little story is the story of Bidjombo village.' (*Bidjombo*.001)

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(80) ntúm   w-àŋə́   jì   bèrá
     1-brother 1-my   be (att) big
     'My brother is big.'

This copula may also be used to express location, overlapping with the

semantic function of *ndé*. Below are two comparable sentences, said by a

single speaker within one text. Both copulas are the only verb within their

clause, though *jì* is found in a simple clause, while *ndé* is in a subordinate

clause.

(81) myâ   njwúŋ   ndé   té.
     myà   H + njwúŋ ndé   té-è
     time-RELCL 9-respect be (loc) LOC-RELCL
     '[The family prospers] when respect is there.' (*Family*.09)

(82) nə̀bə̀   nə̂   njwúŋ   jì   té.
     nə̀bə́   nə̂   njwúŋ   jì   té
     because that 9-respect be   Loc
     'Because there is respect.' (*Family*.16)

This copula does not occur with the far past tense which may be due to

its historical development. In the neighboring language of Makaa, the copula

bə̀ has a distinct form *-sə̀* in the present tense. This present tense form

obligatorily agrees with the subject noun. For class 7 (the default inanimate

noun class in Makaa, as in Kol), the form is *jì-sə̀*. Modern-day Makaa speakers

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frequently drop the copula bound root in speech. If Kol has a similar history, this could have led to the reanalysis of *jì* as a distinct copula in the present tense, which could slowly be expanding morphosyntactically to occur with multiple tenses, though not the far past (yet).

The copula *jì* is also commonly used with the preposition *nò* 'with' to express possession, i.e. 'to have.' (This is also the case for the basic copula *bɔ̀* to be discussed below.)

(83) mò-wázá   jì   nò   w-úl   mbì   kwóŋ
     6-northerner be   with   3-another 3-type sorcery
     'Northerners have a different kind of sorcery.'

As an auxiliary, *jì* gives an imperfective aspectual reading. An example is given below. Interestingly, such examples are negated using a specifically imperfective strategy as seen in section 4.2.1.

(84) ɲɔ̀= jì   bándà jwóg tyè.
     ɲ̀=   jì   bándà jwóg tyè
     he   be (att) really feel sick
     'He is really feeling sick.'

The copula *jì* can also be used to express a present tense reading in the absence of the tense vowel *ó*, as shown below.

(85) mòtáŋ jî   jáp   é-cè   d-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́ nə̂   "diarrhée rouge."
     white   be(att) call 5-illness 5-DEF   that   red diarrhea (in French)
     'White people call this illness 'red diarrhea.' (actually dysentery)

However *jì* may also appear with the nonverbal imperfective marker *lè* suggesting that *jì* may contribute some more specific information to the whole clause than simply imperfective. This combination is frequently translated as 'be in the process of.'

(86) mə̀= jì   lè   sîl   lè-syé.
     mə̀= jì   lè   sîl   lè-syé
     I   be (att) IMPF finish INF-7-work
     'I am finishing working.'

3.1.3 Change of state

The copula *mé* marks a change of state. Below are two examples which contrast the use of *mé* with that of the attributive copula *jì*. As a main verb, it only co-occurs with the present tense or is found in clauses unmarked for tense.

(87) m=ò jí   ŋgwâm.
     I-PRES be (att) +H single
     'I am single.' (never married)

(88) m = ò   mé   ŋgwâm.
     I-PRES be (chg) + H   single
     'I am single.' (widowed or divorced)

As an auxiliary verb, *mé* also marks a new state. It is sometimes

translated as 'already.' Unlike the perfect marker, it does not refer to a

completed action in the past.

(89) ɲ = ò   mé   lè   syé.
     ɲ̀ = ó   mé + H   lè + H syé
     he/she-PRES be (chg) IMPF   work
     'He is already working.'

New events, or changes of state, frequently correspond to pivotal

moments in a discourse. However, *mé* is not the only way to highlight

information, so its frequency in texts varies from very low (nonexistent) to

very high. The following sentence is taken from a story where the narrator

chose to use this discourse marker as the primary way to mark storyline (or

eventline) information.

(90) mà   mé   lê   kò kúŋá   nɔ́   tìtìtì,   ɛ̌-ɲàk   mɔ́cì.
     I   be (chg) IMPF go defecate with regularity INF-defecate 6-blood
     'I was having bloody diarrhea, all the time.' (*Joy*.22)

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3.1.4 Basic Form

The copula *bò* is by far the most common of the four affirmative

copulas. It occurs with all tenses, may be marked for aspect and may be

modified by auxiliary verbs. It may express equation as in (91), attribution as

in (92), or location as in (93).

(91) twĕ   ɲ=á   bә̀   ncícâm...
      twĕ   ɲ̀-á   bò   ncícâm
      even.if   she-P2   be   leper
      'Even though she was a leper,..' (*Funeral*.18)

(92) y=á   bә̀   njùk.
      í=á   bò   njùg
      7Sub-P2   be   difficult, hard
      'It was very hard.'

(93) mè   bìz=á   bә̀   lè-mò-díbә́.
      mè   bìzә̀=á   bò   lè-mò-díbɔ́
      but   we-P2   be   in-6-water
      'But we were in the water.'

The copula *bò* is frequently pronounced as [bә̀]. Much of the time this

can be explained by the mid-vowel centralization process already described,

where [o] centralizes to [ə] before nasals and the alveolar fricatives. This is

the case for (91) and (92) above. However, some speakers also use the form

[bә̀] when this environment is not present, as seen in (93). When the

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subjunctive clitic is added though, speakers consistently use the [bo] form,

suggesting that if, for some speakers, the underlying form of this copula is

becoming [bə], the result may be a suppletive subjunctive form, as is already

the case for *ncò* 'come' (subjunctive form *ncâ-*).

If this copula is used with the preposition *nà* 'with', it may also express

possession.

(94) tèm   bə   nà   fə   ɲ-ɔɔŋgə́.
     even   be   with 9-machete   9-that
     ...even having that machete.

As an auxiliary, it adds a *stative* meaning to the verbal sequence.

(95) nəbə́   myà   w-ɔɔŋgə́   m=ă   bə   lê   syé   njáp
     nəbə́   myà   w-ɔɔŋgə́   m̀=á   bə   lé   sʲê   njáb
     because   3-time   3-DEF   I-P2   be   IMPF work   3-house

     mə́   kôl.
     mə́   kôl
     3POSS   cord
     'Because, at that time, I worked at the radio station.' (*Perils*.27)

Below is an example where three of the copulas occur, each used in a

typical way. The basic copula is used to express the beginning state, *jì* is used

imperfectively, and *mé* marks the change of state at the end.

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(96)

ɲ=á	bə̀	lé	bùlú	jwóg	tyè,	ɲ=ǎ	jì	jò,
ɲ̀=á	bə̀	lè	bùlú	jwóg	tʲè	ɲ̀=á	jì	jò
he-P2	be	IMPF	a.lot	feel	sick	he-P2	be (att)	die

nə̀	cǎgà	ɲ=ò	mé	mpwògé.
nə̀	cǎgà	ɲ̀=ó	mé	mpwògé
with	now	he-PRES	be (chg)	be.well

'He was very sick, he was dying, but now he's healthy.'

3.1.5 Negative Copula

Kol also has a negative copula *túg*. It can appear on its own as shown below or as an auxiliary. Negation strategies will be discussed in section 4. The negative copula does not co-occur with tense markers.

(97)

bìyól	né	túk	fámə́	bìyôl.
canoe	that (spec)	be (neg)	true, real, good	canoe

'...that canoe wasn't a good canoe.'

3.2 PHASAL AUXILIARIES

Kol has a number of non-copula auxiliaries. These pattern together syntactically, in that they occur after the tense markers, copula auxiliaries, and aspect markers. However, they differ in that some auxiliaries have more of an aspectual meaning, i.e. describing the nature or internal structure of the event, while others have more of a modal meaning, i.e. describing desires or

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obligations. The phasal auxiliaries described in this section fufill the aspectual functions. The modal auxiliaries will be described in section 3.3 below.

The auxiliaries described here are all undergoing grammaticalization. In some sentences, they are translated as if they were serial verbs, while in other sentences they are translated as if they were aspectual markers: inceptive for the verb *ncò* 'come,' processual for the verb *kò* 'go,' repetitive for the verb *nìgò* 'return,' and initial for the verb *tér* 'start.' It is interesting that while Kol speakers have multiple ways of describing the end of a process, using the verbs *síl* 'finish' or *dwág* 'leave, finish,' neither of these verbs have become grammaticalized in the same way as the four described in this section. They must always occur as main verbs with infinitival complements, comparable to *tér* 'start' in its main verb construction.

3.2.1 'Come' = Inceptive

The auxiliary verb *ncò* from the verb *ncò* meaning 'to come' is used as an auxiliary to mark the beginning point of a process. This is one of the most

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common auxiliaries. Below is an example of *ncò* as a main verb, followed by

an example showing *ncò* as an auxiliary with inceptive semantics.

(98) ɲ = ĕ   ncə̀   nə̀   mə̀-mìr.
ɲ̀ = é   ncə̀   nə̀   mè-mìr
he-FUT   come   with   4-medicine
'He will bring medicine.' *(Joy.18)*

(99)   myă   bíz = ó   ncə̀   bâr   ébíyólé,
myà   H + bìzə̀ = ó   ncə̀ + H   bâr + H   lé-byɔ̀l-è
3-time   RELCL-we-PRES   come   climb, ascend   LOC-canoe-RELCL
'As soon as we got in the canoe, [water began to come in].'

It can also have a purpose reading, along the lines of 'came in order to.'

An example is given below.

(100)   ɲ = ă   ncə̀   bárà   m-ùd.
ɲ̀ = á   ncò   bárà   m-ùd
he/she-P2   come   greet   1-man
'He came to greet the man.'

3.2.2 'Go' = Continuous

The verb *kò* means 'to go, leave' as a main verb but is also very

commonly used as an auxiliary to focus on the midpoint of a process. As a

main verb, Kol can be either intransitive as in example (101) or transitive as

in (102).

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(101) kùkúmá   sè   bwě   kò.

       kùkúmá   sè   bwě   kò

       chief   PERF   long.time.ago   go

       'The chief already left a while ago.'

(102) ɲ=á   nìgò   kò   njáp.

       ɲ̀=á   nìgò   kò   njáp

       he/she-P2   return   go   house

       'He went back home.'

As a transitive verb, *kò* can also be used metaphorically.

(103) mw-ǎn   sé   kò   lé-jwò.

       mò-ǎn   sé   kò   lé-jwò

       1-child   PERF   go   5-sleep

       'The child fell asleep.' (lit. went into sleep.)

Below is an example of *kò* as an auxiliary. In this case, the auxiliary

adds the idea that the subject is in the middle of a process.

(104) ɲ=ŏ   kó   bwɔ̀gɔ́   kwàn.

       ɲ̀=ó   kò+H   bwɔ̀g+H   kwàn

       he/she-PRES   go   harvest   9-honey

       'He is in the process of harvesting honey.'

In other cases, the auxiliary is less grammaticalized, maintaining its

motion verb semantics. This is parallel to what was seen with the verb *ncɔ̀*

'come.'

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(105) ɲ=ó   kò   bárà   mûr.
       ɲ̀=ó   kò+ʜ   bárà+ʜ   m-ùr
       he/she-PRES   go   greet   1-man
       'He goes to greet the man.'

Kò differs from the progressive marker *gó* in that it may occur with all

of the tenses while *gó* is restricted to present tense constructions. They are

not completely in complementary distribution since *kò* may occur in the

present tense as well, as seen in (104) and (105) above.

(106) ɲ=ǎ   kò   bwɔ̀gə̀   kwàn.
       ɲ̀=á   kò   bwɔ̀g   kwàn
       he/she-P2   go   harvest   9-honey
       'He was in the process of collecting honey.'

(107) ɲ=ě   kó   bwɔ̀gə́   kwàn.
       ɲ̀=é   kò+ʜ   bwɔ̀g+ʜ   kwàn
       he/she-FUT   go   harvest   9-honey
       'He will be in the middle of collecting honey.

3.2.3 'Return' = Repetitive

The auxiliary *nìgò* has been grouped with the phasal auxiliaries because

it also describes part of a process. The non-auxiliary verb *nìgò* means 'to go

back, to return.'

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(108)

m=ă	nûmp	nə̂	mě	nìgò	nə̀	bòʃú.
m̀=á	nûmb	nə̂	m̀=é	nìgò	nə̀	bò-ʃú
I-P2	know	that	I-FUT	return	with	2-fish

'I thought that I would come back with fish.'

The auxiliary means 'to go back to the beginning, to repeat, to do again.'

(109)

têm	bə̀	ntáŋ	bìzá	ncə̀	nìgò	kò	kwár.
tèm	bə̀	ntáŋ	bìzə́-á	ncə̀	nìgò	kɔ̀	kwád
even	be	like that	we-P2	come	again	go	village

In spite of that, we started to go back home to the village.

(110)

ɲ=é	nìgò	bárà	mûr.
ɲ̀=é	nìgò+H	bárà+H	m-ùr
he/she-FUT	return	greet	1-man

'He will regreet someone.'

It is very similar in meaning to the adverb *kwó* 'again,' described below in section 5, but the adverb and the auxiliary may co-occur with each other, giving in cases like example (111) below an iterative reading. The shades of semantic difference remain a question for further research.

(111)

ɲ=ŏ	nìgó	kwó	bínə̀	ɲó.
ɲ̀=ó	nìgò+H	kwó+H	bén+H	ɲò
he/she-PRES	return	again	raise	him/her

'He keeps raising him.'

3.2.4 Do first

The verb *tér* as a main verb means 'to start.' It requires an infinitival

complement.

(112) ɲ=ǎ   tér   lè-bwɔ̀gɔ̀   kwàn.
       ɲ̀=á   tér   lè-bwɔ̀g   kwàn
       he/she-P2   start   INF-harvest 9-honey
       'He started to harvest honey.'

The auxiliary verb *tér* means 'to do first.'

(113) bɔ̀-sə́r   bwó   mê   ncɔ̀   tér   fyàl   mə́   mɔ̀cì.
       bè-sə́r   bwó   mé   ncɔ̀   tér   fyàl   mɔ̀   mɔ̀-cì
       2-sister (nun) they   be (chg)   come   first   test (v) me   4-blood
       'The Sisters first tested my blood.' (*Joy*.24)

3.3   MODAL AUXILIARIES

In addition to the phasal auxiliaries described above, Kol also has a

number of modal auxiliaries, which express desires, obligations and

potentialities. Unlike the copula and phasal auxiliaries described above, two

of these verbs only appear as auxiliaries.

3.3.1 Optative mode (need, want)

The optative auxiliary, used to express needs and desires, is *jí* meaning

'to want.' It is related to another non-auxiliary verb *jí* meaning 'to ask.' Below

is an example of *jí* 'want' used as a main verb followed by an example of it

used as an auxiliary.

(114) w = ŏ   jí   mò-kùmà   ŋké   bè-kàbà.
       ẁ-ó   jí   mò-kùmà   ŋké   bè-kàbà
       you (sg)-PRES want   6-manioc   or   8-cocoyam
       'You want manioc or yams.'

(115) myǎ   m-ûr   á   bə̀ lè   jí   wúl   mə̀ kwînt   lélúwé,
       myà   H + m-ùr   á   bə̀ lè   jí   wûl   mə̀ kwéndè lé-lú-è
       time   RELCL-1-man P2 be   IMPF want remove me   hook   in-head-RELCL
       When the man who was rowing wanted to take the hook out of my hair,
       [I told him, "While you're taking that out, time is going by."]

3.3.2 Deontic mode (must)

The auxiliary verb *jàlànà* expresses obligation. It only occurs as an

auxiliary.

(116) é-jî   jàlànà   yə̀   bé   fòk.
       INF-ask   must   give   you (pl)   9-wisdom
       'Asking must give you wisdom.' (*Advice*.17)

3.3.3 Potential mode (can)

The potential auxiliary, translated as 'can, be able to,' is *kwóg*. The

example below shows this modal auxiliary in the negative.

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(117) m=ă=kwóg=é bâr é-byôl.

     I=Neg=can=Neg   climb   in-canoe

     'I couldn't climb in the canoe.'

3.3.4 Really

There is only one example of *bándà* as a main verb in my corpus. As a

main verb, it means 'to go well' while as an auxiliary it means 'really.'

(118) ntíbátí té nùmá nè kè bándà náŋ.

     Ntibati Loc too that Neg go.well still

     'At Ntibati too, it didn't go well.'

It is quite common as an auxiliary verb and tends to co-occur with

other auxiliary verbs. As can be seen in the two examples below, there is non

fixed order among the non-copula auxiliary verbs.

(119) bwó mê ncə̀ bándá ʃùŋà mə́.

     bwó mé+H ncò+H bàndà+H ʃùŋà+H mə̀

     they be (chg) come really discuss me

     'They saved me.' [*lit.* They really discussed me [impl. with death].]

(120) mə̀= ndâk bándà ncó bə̀ mpwógɛ́.

     m̀= ndâg bàndà ncɔ̀ bə̀ mpwógɛ́

     I there really come be healthy

     'I refound my health.' (*Illness.*28)

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4 Negation

Negation in Kol is sensitive to differences in scope, tense, and aspect.

Kol speakers may choose to a negation strategy which has scope over the

entire sentence, or they may choose to negate a smaller portion of the clause.

If the whole verbal sequence is to be negated, the negative element

must show up in the first position of the verbal sequence. If only part of the

verbal sequence is to be negated, then Kol speakers use the morpheme *ké*

which behaves like an adverb.

The example below is a command to not do something. Thus the

imperative (suffixed to the copula auxiliary *bə̀* which has a stative

interpretation) is affirmative, while the main verb is negated.

(121) w=ò   bó-k   ké   fèndà   nò   mə̀.
       you (sg) be-IMP (sg) NEG   be.in.rivalry with me
       'You must not put yourself in competition with me.'

Below is another example where the copula auxiliary *ndé*, which has a

'simultaneous' interpretation, is in the affirmative while the main verbs are

both negated.

(122) m=è ndé ké dùló sìgá ké bə̀ nê ɲwɛ̀l mə́-ɲòk.
      I -P1   be+H NEG+H smoke cigarette NEG be with drink+H 6-wine

'I neither smoked nor drank.' (*Illness*.15)

Negation in Kol is also sensitive to tense distinctions. Kol has more tense distinctions in the past in negative clauses than it does in affirmative clauses, but it has fewer distinctions in the non-past. A comparative chart is given below.

Aff	P2		P1	Pres	F1	F2
Neg	P3	P2	P1	*á....è*		F2
	Ancestors' Era	Last Year	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow	Next Year

Additionally, negation is sensitive to aspect. Imperfective sentences have fewer negation strategies available than do perfectives. Below is a chart giving the negative TAM system. These forms are based on three basic negation strategies: a circumclitic, a negative prefix and a negative copula.

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Mode	Aspect	Tense	
Indicative	Perfective	F2	àbwéyè
		PRES/F1	à= + =é
		P1	áncé + H
		P2	áncé
		P3	áncégé
	Imperfective	PRES	túg
		P1	áncé + H
		P2	áncé
		P3	áncégé
Subjunctive			ké

Table 4.5 Kol Negation

4.1 PERFECTIVE CLAUSES

In the perfective, speakers may appeal to one of three negative

strategies. The most common negation strategy for perfective clauses is the

circumclitic á....è. The circumclitic is used when the scope of the negation is

the entire clause. The circumclitic is always hosted by the first element of the

verb. The distant future is formed by combining the negative circumclitic

with the distant future marker bwó. Three of the negative tenses are

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historically derived from combining the auxiliary *ncɔ̀* 'come' with the negative circumclitic.

If a speaker does not want to negate the entire sentence, he will use the negative prefix *ké*, as shown by example (123) below.

(123) m=è   ndé   ké   dùló   sìgá   ké   bə̀ nê ɲwɛ̀l   mə́-ɲòk.
       I-P1   be+H   NEG+H   smoke   cigarette NEG   be with drink+H 6-wine
       'I neither smoked nor drank.' (*Illness*.15)

4.1.1 Non-Past Perfective Negation

Clauses in the perfective present and immediate future are negated via the circumclitic *á=...=è* on the first word of the verbal sequence. It is interesting to note that using circumclitics to mark sentential negation is not crosslinguistically unusual, being found in a number of different languages in different language families, e.g. French, Breton and Old Icelandic.

This morpheme is being analyzed as a circumclitic because it has less strict co-occurrence requirements than we might expect of an affix and relatively strict positioning. The other logical option, that these are two independent words which co-occur to mark negation, seems unlikely since there is no evidence that these markers may occur independently on their

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own. If *á* occurs alone, it is understood as being the far past tense marker *á*,

and if *è* occurs alone on a word, it will be understood as being the relative

clause boundary marker described above in chapter 3, section 6.1. While the

far past tense morpheme and the first element of the negation marker may

occur in the same position (immediately following the subject noun or

pronoun), the positioning of the second element of the negative marker and

the relative clause marker is very different.

As was mentioned above, the non-past perfective negative circumclitic

is hosted by the first word of the verbal sequence. This can be the main verb

as seen in (124) and (125). The proclitic vowel behaves like the tense vowels

in that it cliticizes to the subject pronoun, if it directly follows it, resulting in

the deletion of the vowel of the subject pronoun, as can be seen below.

(124) múùz,   ɲ = à = dég = é   lè-kán.
                 ɲ̀-á-dég-è + H   lè-kán
      today   he/she-NEG-see-NEG + H   5-antelope
      'Today, he didn't see an antelope.'

(125) émáné   ɲ = ă = wàzà = yè   mûr.
      émáné   ɲ̀-á-wàzà-è + H   mw-ùr
      tomorrow he/she-NEG-forget-NEG   1-man
      'Tomorrow, he will not forget anyone.'

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If an auxiliary is the first element in the verbal sequence, then it hosts

the circumclitic as shown below in (126) for a copula auxiliary and in (127)

for a non-copular auxiliary.

(126) tóòb   á＝j＝è   dí   dùk.
        sheep   NEG-be(att)-NEG＋H   stay＋H   Forest
        'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

(127) ɲ＝à＝níg＝é   wàzà   m-ûr.
        he/she-NEG-return-NEG＋H   forget＋H   1- man
        'He doesn't forget anyone anymore.'

The negative circumclitic may also be hosted by a morpheme marking

tense. In affirmative clauses, the relative immediate past tense marker may

host the negative circumclitic, as seen below.

(128) ɲ＝à＝lwándə́b＝é   wàzà   m-ûr.
        he/she-NEG-just-NEG＋H   forget＋H   1-man
        'He didn't just forget someone.'

This circumclitic may also appear on its own with an epenthetic

consonant. Examples for this in my database are severely restricted to cases

with the morpheme kwó, the verb tér 'start,' and the verbs meaning 'finish' sîl

and dwág.

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(129) ɲ=à=h=é   kwò   bínə̀   ɲó.
       ɲ̀=á=è+н   kwo+н   bîn+н   ɲə̀
       he-Neg   again   raise   him
       'He doesn't raise him anymore.'

4.2 DISTANT FUTURE NEGATION

The distant future is negated by adding the negative circumclitic to the

distant future tense morpheme *bwó*. In the affirmative, *bwó* must co-occur

with the immediate future tense marker *é*. However, when the distant future

is negated, the proclitic element of the circumclitic appears in the place of the

tense vowel.

(130) ɲ=à=bwé=y'é   wàzà   m-ûr.
       ɲ̀-á-bwó-è+н   wàzà+н   mw-ùr
       he/she-Neg-F2-Neg   forget   1-man
       'He will not forget anyone.'

There is a lot of variation (even among the utterances of a single

speaker) with the distant future negation. This suggests that this is either a

newer part of the speech system, or at the other end of the spectrum, a dying

part of the speech system. Below are two other forms of the negative distant

future, both given by the same speaker as example (130) above.

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(131) ɲ=à=bwé=n¹é wàzà mûr.

   ɲ̀=à=bwó=è+H wàzà+H mw-ùr

   he/she-NEG-F2-NEG forget 1-man

   'He will not forget anyone.'

(132) ɲ=à=bwé=¹é wàzà.

   ɲ̀=á=bwó=è+H wàzà+H

   he/she-NEG-F2-NEG forget

   'He will not forget.'

4.3 PAST NEGATION

Kol has more tense distinctions in the past for negative constructions than for affirmative constructions. In the affirmative, there is a two way distinction in the past (the recent past marker *é* and the far past marker *á*). However, in the negative, there is a three way distinction between the recent past, the far past, and the very far past. These will all be described below.

4.3.1 Negation in the Recent Past

The negation marker for the recent past is **ánce**. It always appears directly after the subject and before any other grammatical markers or auxiliaries. It appears to be derived from the present tense negated form of the verb *ncɔ̀* which means 'to come' as a full verb though both syllables have underlying H tones instead of the expected HL contour. This construction is

marked by the H tone tense concord, just as is the case for the affirmative

recent past tense.

(133) nò   kùgú,   ɲ=àncé   wàzà   m-ûr.
      nò   kùgú   ɲ̀=áncé+H   wàzà+H   m-ùr
      with   evening   he/she-NEGP1   forget   1-man
      'Yesterday, he didn't forget anyone.'

Negated recent past clauses imply that the negative state is not

permanent. In stories, the negative situation may have appeared permanent

at that point in the story, but the situation is reversed before the end.

4.3.2 Negation in the Far Past

The negative marker for the far past is also *áncé*, but the far past

negative construction differs from the recent past negative in that it is *not*

marked with the H tone tense concord, as can be seen by the lack of a H on

the last syllable of the verb or the first syllable of the direct object. This is

similar to the affirmative far past tense.

(134) mbwá   làŋgé,   ɲ=àncé   wàzà   mùr.
      mbwá   làŋgé   ɲ̀=áncé   wàzà   mw-ùr
      year   past   he/she-NEGP2   forget   1-man
      'Last year, he didn't forget anyone.'

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4.3.3 Negation in the Very Far Past

As has been mentioned above, there are more tense distinctions in the negative than in the affirmative for the past tenses. The negation marker for the very far past is *áncégé*. Again, it appears directly after the subject and before any other pre-stem material. It too is derived from the verb *ncà* 'to come.' The [g] may be related to the subjunctive suffix (discussed in section 3.6.1).

(135) ɲ=ăncégé   wàzà   mùr.

ɲ̀=áncégé   wàzà   mw-ùr

he/she-NEGP3   forget   1-man

'He didn't forget anyone.'

What is interesting from a tone rule perspective though is the variation found in tonal behavior at the left boundary of the verb. Below are examples using the very far past negative marker *áncégé*. In example (14) below, there is no subject pronoun, which allows the underlying H tone of the negative marker to surface on all three vowels.

(136) á-myâ,   myá   bəmpámp,   ŋkwìɲ   áncégé   lè   dí   dùk

á-myâ   myá   H+bò- mpámp   ŋkwíɲ   áncégé   lè   dì   dùg

?-time   3-time 3AM-2-ancestor leopard NEGP3   IMPF stay forest

'In the time of the ancestors, the panther didn't stay in the forest.'

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In the following example, the H tone is only associated with the last

two vowels of the negative marker. The L tone of the subject pronoun

surfaces on the first vowel of the negative marker.

(137) ɲ=àncégé   dì   dìk.
       ɲ̀=áncégé   dì   dìg
       he/she-NEGP3   stay   forest
       'He didn't stay in the forest.'

Some speakers have an alternative form *ancógó*, as shown in the

example below.

(138) myà   bíyôl   mê   j-é,   bìyól   áncógó   bə̀   fáámə́.
       3-time canoe   be (chg) arrive-RELCL   canoe   NEGP3   be   good
       'When the canoe came, it wasn't in good condition.'

4.4   IMPERFECTIVE CLAUSES

Imperfective clauses show fewer distinctions than do perfective clauses,

having only a distinction between the present (non-past) and past tenses.

4.4.1 Present (Non-Past) Imperfective

Present sentences marked with the imperfective marker *lè* may only be

negated using the negative copula *túg*, as shown below.

(139) ɲə̀   túgə́   lé   wàzà   m-ûr.
       he/she   be (NEG) +H   IMPF+H   forget+H   1-man
       'He wasn't forgetting anyone.'

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It is interesting that clauses which are not overtly marked for the imperfective may be interpreted as being imperfective as seen by the negation strategies chosen. For example, it is extremely common for speakers to choose to negate a construction of *jì* + main verb (without the imperfective marker *lè*) by means of the *túg* + *lè* negation strategy. This is illustrated by the affirmative/negative paradigm below.

(140) ŋkwíɲ   jí   dí   dûk.
       ŋkwíɲ   jì+н   dì+н   dùg
       leopard   be (att)   stay   forest
       'The leopard stays in the forest.'

(141) tóòb   túgə́   lé   dì   dûk.
       tóòb   túg+н   lè +н   dì+н   dùg
       sheep   be (neg)   IMPF   stay   forest
       'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

The use of the present imperfective negative strategy is in spite of the fact that speakers *could* negate the copula using the negative circumclitic, as shown below. This strategy though occurs relatively rarely in my corpus.

(142) tóòb   á=j=è   dì   dùk.
       tóòb   á=jì=è   dì   dùg
       sheep   NEG-be (att)-NEG   stay   forest
       'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

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4.4.2 Past Imperfective

Unlike the present imperfective described above, past imperfective clauses in the past tense are negated in the same way as past perfective clauses using *áncé* for the recent past and far past, as illustrated by the example below.

(143) ɲ=àncé   lè   bínə̀   ɲò.
       ɲ̀=áncé   lè+H   bén+H   ɲò
       he/she-NEGP2 IMPF   raise   him/her
       'He wasn't raising him.'

To negate imperfective clauses in the distant past, Kol speakers use *áncégé*, as shown below.

(144) ámyâ,   myá   bə́mpámp,   ŋkwɪ̀ɲ   áncégé   lè   dí   dùk.
       á-myà   myà   H+bò-mpámb   ŋkwíɲ   áncégé   lè   dì   dùg
       ?-time 3-time 3ASSOC-2-ancestor leopard NEGP3   IMPF stay forest
       'In the ancestors' time, the leopard didn't stay in the forest.'

4.5 PROGRESSIVE CLAUSES

Interestingly, the progressive aspect marker permits the negation strategy described for perfective clauses, even though progressive is more similar to the imperfective aspect than to the perfective aspect. Compare the affirmative and negative sentences below.

(145) ɲ=ò   gó   wàzà   m-ûr.
      ɲ̀=ó   gó   wàzà   m-ùr
      he-PRES PROG forget 1-man
      'He continues to forget someone.'

(146) ɲ=à=g=é   wàzà   m-ûr.
      ɲ̀=á=g=è   wàzà   m-ùr
      he-NEG-PROG-NEG forget 1-man
      'He doesn't continue to forget someone.'

4.6 NEGATIVE PREFIX

The negative prefix is used, as mentioned in the introduction,

whenever the speaker does not wish the negation to have sentential scope but

intends to only negate part of the construction.

(147) wò   bók   ké   fèndà   nò   mà.
      you (sg) be-IMP (sg) NEG be in rivalry with   me
      'You must not put yourself in competition with me.'

This means that the negative commonly used in subjunctive clauses –

either hortative or imperative - since it is generally the case that the speaker

does not want to negate the part of the construction which adds the

subjunctive (e.g. imperative as in the example above) element but rather the

event in question.

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Ké is also used to negate 'bare' clauses, which lack independent tense or aspect markers. In a discourse context, once the subject and tense information have been established, they do not need to be repeated until either the subject or tense changes or there is a discourse boundary. Since such clause chains are common in Kol, *ké* is the most common negation strategy in texts.

(148) mò-lú mó-bá ɲ=á kò dì bèrtwà kə́ nìgέ,
mò-lú mó-bá H+ɲ̀=á kò dì bèrtwà ké nìgò-è
6-era 6-two RELCL-he-P2 go stay Bertoua NEG return-RELCL
'During the two days that he stayed in Bertoua without returning home,'

4.7 NEGATIVE ADVERB

Kol has a negative adverb *tútú* meaning 'never.' It is not necessary for this to co-occur with any other negative markers, unlike the adverb described in the section below.

(149) mbàmpyòŋ nə̂ "tútù! mə̀= bə́ ndé jwî."
mbàmpyòŋ nə̂ tútù mə̀ bə́ ndé jwî
lion that never I be be (loc) chief, ruler
'The lion said, "Never! I am the chief here." '

4.8 NEGATIVE + ADVERB

One adverb, *náŋ*, which in isolation means 'still, yet', frequently occurs

with the negative markers. It may either co-occur with the negative copula as

illustrated in (150), or with the morpheme *ké*, as shown in (151). When

combined with these negative morphemes, the construction acquires the

meaning 'no longer,' translated in French as 'pas encore' or 'ne plus'.

(150) mè-njà á lè sá mə̀ tû wo nə̂ myɔ́ tùk náŋ.
       mè-njà á lè sá mə̀ tû wò nə̂ myə̀ tùg náŋ
       4-intestine P2 IMPF do me inside manner that 4SUBJ be (neg) still
       'I was feeling like my intestines weren't there inside me anymore.'

(151) mə̀ mé tègá kí náŋ nò ŋkùl.
       mə̀ mé tègá ké náŋ nò ŋkùl
       I be (chg) (be)tired neg still, and, with force, power
       'I was tired, had no energy.' (*Joy*.21)

5 Adverbials

The label *adverb* in this study has been restricted to a set of words

which have traditional adverbial semantics (they add temporal, locative or

manner information) and which have relatively free word order and therefore

contrast with other lexical categories which appear within the verb phrase.

As was mentioned in chapter 3, Kol also has a class of locative and temporal nouns. These may be translated as adverbs but in Kol they do not belong to this lexical class, having a different syntactic distribution.

Additionally, Kol also has prepositional phrases which may be used to express manner, temporal or locative information. These are adjuncts and will be discussed in chapter 5.

Some Kol adverbs are particularly free. These adverbs may appear outside of the verb phrase (on the left periphery of the sentence), outside of the verbal sequence (after the main verb, between objects or on the right periphery), and in multiple places within the verbal sequence.

In the examples below, the adverb *njì* occurs within the verbal sequence in (152) and outside in (153).

(152) m = è   númə́   njì   lé   lèlà.
       I-P1   also,too + H   only + H   IMPF + H   shiver,tremble
       'I kept trembling.'

(153) mə̀ = sá   kwân   njì   lê-mbègə̀lá   mə́   ncììmbé,
       m̀ =   sá   kwân   njì   lé-mbègə̀lá   H + mə̀   ncììmbé
       I   do   7-meeting only LOC-9-protection 3POSS   God
       'I participated in the meeting under the protection of God.' (*Joy*.07)

Other adverbs which have similar patterns are given below.

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(154) bá   'a little'   náŋ   'still, yet'

ndâg   'where, still'   númə́   'also'

ntáŋ   'like that'   nwà   'there'

Another class of words is very free within the verbal sequence but does

not appear to occur outside of the verbal sequence.

(155) bwè   'for a long time'   bùlù   'a lot, many'

kwò   'again'   ŋkònə́   'little by little'

ʃwàl   'immediately, directly'

In the example below, *bwè* 'for a long time' occurs before the aspect

marker in (156) and after in (157). This is typical of the words given in

(155).

(156) myá   bə́mpámp   á   bè,   ŋkwɨ̀ɲ   á   bwè
      myá   H+bò-mpámb   H+á   bə̀-è   ŋkwɨ́ɲ   á   bwè
      3-time   3ASSOC-2-ancestor RELCL-P2   be-RELCL   leopard   P2   long.time

lè   dì   dùk.
lè   dì   dùg
IMPF   stay   forest
In the ancestors' time, the leopard stayed in the forest.

(157) sá   m=ê   túk   lê   bwĕ   sá   yô.
      sá   H+m̀-é   tùg+H   lè+H   bwè+H   sá+H   yò
      7-thing RELCL-I-P1   be   IMPF   long.time do   7OBJ
      '..a thing that I didn't usually do.' (*Perils.29*)

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It is possible that instead of adverbs, these are actually verbs.

However, I have decided to classify them as adverbs because they do not

pattern like other clear verbal classes. In (156) above, if *bwè* is a verb, it

occurs in what would normally be the copula verb slot (see the following

chapter for more on the fixed order of the Kol verb), but in (157) it appears in

the non-copula auxiliary slot. While it could be an auxiliary verb, it does not

clearly pattern with either of the auxiliary classes.

Similarly for *kwò* 'again', another word which patterns with *bwè, kwò*

can appear as the object of a preposition, which is not a syntactic slot

available to verbs. Admittedly, it is also odd for adverbs to appear as the

complement of a preposition. However, there are a number of prepositional

phrases with adverbial semantics in Kol, as discussed in section 2.2 of the

following chapter. *Kwò* itself will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5,

section 1.4.

(158)

têr	dwóp	dɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɜ́,	m=ăncé	ná	kwò	lè	kò	náŋɜ́	wú.
tér	dw-ôp	d-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɜ́	m̀=áncé	nò	kwò	lè	kò	náŋ	wú
start	5-day	5-DEF	I-NEGP1	with	again	IMPF	go	still	there

'Starting that day, I didn't go there anymore.'

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It is very common to have more than one adverb in a clause. It is also

possible to have adverb stacking. That is to say, it is not necessary to spread

adverbs out throughout the clause, but in general no more than two adverbs

appear next to each other. These adverbs do not appear in a fixed order.

Below are two examples where adverbs are stacked within the verbal

sequence.

(159) m = è   númə́   njì   lé   lèlà.
       I-P1   also,too + H   only + H   IMPF + H   shiver, tremble
       'I kept trembling.'

(160) mè   m = ó   kò   númə́   ʃwàlə́   làŋ   nə̂   ncə̀   kwár."
             m̀ = ó   kɔ̀   nùmə̀   ʃwàl   làŋ   nə̂   ncə̀   kwád
       but   I-PRES   go   also   directly   happen   that   come   9-village
       '...but I'm going to leave for the village.' (Ram.35)

5 Morphosyntax of the Verb Phrase

Having described the various elements which may occur within the verb phrase in the last chapter, we now turn our attention to the way in which the verb phrase can be organized.

Kol is similar to many central, eastern and southern Bantu languages in that its verbal sequence is quite templatic. However it differs from these same languages in that the morphemes which fill the different slots of the template are independent words or clitics, and not affixes. Verbal clitics in Kol have strict positioning requirements which can be explained by referring to the crosslinguistic tendency for clitics to occur in second position.

This chapter will also discuss some exceptions to the templatic nature of the Kol verb and offer additional evidence as to why non-main verbs in Kol are analyzed as auxiliary verbs and not complex predicates (serial verbs, compound verbs or light verbs).

Complementation and adjunct patterns will be explored in section 2 and section 3 will examine aspects of Kol verbal morphosyntax in light of formal syntax. In particular, Role and Reference Grammar will offer insight

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as to the scope of the tense tonal concord, though some complications will arise when RRG predictions about operator scope are compared to the Kol patterns seen.

1 Structure within the Verb Phrase

Bantu languages, of which Kol is one, are assumed to have the minimal structure shown below (Brauner 1995, Meeuwis 1998, Miti 2001, Mohammed 2001 among others).

(1) Subject Marker – Tense – Verb Stem

This structure is illustrated by an example from Swahili, an eastern Bantu language. In addition to the categories above, Swahili also allows a preverbal object marker.

(2) ni- na-   wa-   heshimu
    I   PRES them respect
    'I respect them.' (Mohammed 2001:ii)

Many Bantu verbs are of course even more complex. (3) gives an example from Cinsenga, a Bantu language spoken in Zambia and Malawi. This language allows for an initial negative marker, followed by a subject marker, tense morpheme, object marker, verb root, derivational suffix (known

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as an *extension* in Bantu linguistics) and a final vowel. These slots are labeled

above the illustrative morphemes in the example below.

(3) | Neg | SM | Tense | OM | Verb Stem | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Root | Ext | Fv |
| si- | ni- | ka- | mu- | lil- | il- | a |
| NEG | I | FUT | him/her | cry | APPL | |

'I will not cry for him/her.' (Miti 2001:79)

The Kol verb structure is also fairly templatic in that it has a relatively

fixed ordering of the elements in the verbal sequence. A table below gives the

typical ordering of verbal units, followed by an example. In natural

discourse, it is difficult to find all slots attested in a single utterance, though

when slots are filled, they occur in the relative order given below.

Tense		Tense2		Cop Aux		Asp/Mode		Aux		Verb
é	*F1*	bwó	*F2*	bə̀	'be'	lè	IMPF	ko	'go'	
ó	*PRES*	lwándə̀bə̀	'just'	ndé	'be (loc)'	sè	PERF	ncə̀	'come'	
é	*P1*			jì	'be (att)'	mbá	COND	nìgò	'return'	
á	*P2*			mé	'be (chg)'					

Table 5.1 Ordering of Verbal Constituents.

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	Cop	**Asp**	**Aux**	**Verb**				
(4)	mə̀= mé	lê	kò	kúŋá	nə́	tìtìtì,	ĕɲàk	mə́cì.
	I	be (chg)	IMPF	go	defecate	with	regularity	INF-defecate	6-blood

'I was having bloody diarrhea, all the time.' (*Joy*.22)

Across Bantu languages, when there are construction which contain

multiple verbs, it is common for the tense to be encoded on the first verb

while aspect is encoded on the second verb (Nurse 2003). This is not the case

for Kol however, as can be seen by the example below. Here both tense and

aspect precede the auxiliary where we might expect that tense would precede

the auxiliary while the aspect marker preceded the main verb.

	Tense	**Aspect**	**Adv**	**Aux**	**Verb**				
(5)	m=è	sé	númə́	kò	kúŋá	ncòò	lôl	támə̀	ncì.
	I-P1	PERF+H	also+H	go+H	defecate+H	time	three	middle	3-path

'I had to stop three times along the way to go to the bathroom.' (*Joy*.12)

However, if the first verb is a copula auxiliary, then the expected

pattern holds. The tense marker precedes the copula, and the aspect marker

follows the copula, preceding any other verb.

(6)	myă	m-ûr	á	bə̀	lè	jí	wúl	mə̀	kwî̂nt	lé-lúw=é,
	myà	H+m-ùr	á	bò	lè	jí	wûl	mə̀	kwíndè	lé-lú=è
	time	RELCL-1-man	P2	be	IMPF	want	remove	me	hook	in-head-RELCL

When the man wanted to take the hook out of my hair, [I told him, "While
you're taking that out, time is going by."]

In parallel to the affirmative copulas, it is possible for the negative copula to appear in a multi-verb construction where it is marked for tense and the main verb is marked for aspect (and other grammatical categories).

(7)   by = ó   túgɔ́   lê   njêp.
        bè = ó   túg + H   lè + H   njèb
        8-PRES   be (neg)   IMPF   lack
        'They are not lacking.'

While many of the preverbal elements do not allow multiple exponence of the same slot, there are some exceptions. While the tense vowels and the aspect markers always appear in complementary distribution (i.e. only one may appear at a time, though it is always possible to have a clause unmarked for tense or aspect or both), the auxiliary verb slots permit that more than one occur at a time.

As was just described, it is quite common to have a clause containing both a copula auxiliary and a phasal (or modal) auxiliary. However, it is also possible to have multiple copula auxiliaries in the same sentence or multiple phasal auxilaries. An example of multiple copula auxiliaries is given below.

(8) njwúŋ bə́ ndé sá nə̀ mò-bùgùbà ncâ = k.
     njwúŋ bə̀ ndé sá nə̀ mò-bùgùbà ncò = g + H
     9-respect be be (loc) do that 6-prosperity come-SUBJ
     'Respect works to bring prosperity.' (*Family*.10)

It is also possible to have multiple non-copula auxiliaries, as illustrated

below.

(9) myă yô = kò nìgò jê wú = í
     myà H + yò kò nìgò jê wú-è
     time RELCL + 7SUB go return arrive there-RELCL
     'Arriving there, ...'

(10) bə̀sə́r bwó mê ncə̀ tér fyàl mə́ mə̀cì.
      bè- soeur bwó mé ncə̀ tér fyàl mà mə̀-cì
      2- sister (nun) they be (chg) come first test (v) me 4-blood
      'The Sisters first tested my blood.' (*Joy*.24)

Adverbs and the consecutive marker *kà* are the exceptions to the fixed

word order since they may intrude at numerous places within the verbal

sequence as will be discussed in more detail in section 1.3. This fixed word

order is not necessarily arbitrary, as will be discussed in section 3.2.

1.1   WORD-HOOD IN THE VERB PHRASE

As was mentioned above, Kol differs from the well-known Bantu

languages of central, eastern, and southern Africa in that the morphemes

which fill its templatic slots are independent words and not prefixes. (The

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morphemes in the initial tense slot may be clitics and not independent words. These are discussed in section 1.2 below.)

Evidence for the word-hood of the preverbal morphemes can be found in three different areas of the Kol grammar. These are: clitic placement, the tense concord H tone found in many tenses, and the placement of adverbs. The discussion in this section will primarily focus on the morphemes of the *Tense2* slot and on the aspect markers, since these are cross-linguistically likely to be affixes, in contrast to the auxiliary verbs which are likely to be independent words.

Non-past perfective negation in Kol, as was discussed in chapter 4, section 4.1.1, is marked by the circumclitic *á =.. = è*. This circumclitic appears on the first word of the verbal sequence, as shown below.

(11) tóòb   á = j = è   dí   dùk.
      tóòb   á = jì = è + H   dì + H   dùk.
      sheep   NEG-be(att)-NEG   stay   forest
      'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

This circumclitic may also be hosted by morphemes from the *Tense2* slot, as seen in (12) and (13), which is evidence that these morphemes have the same word status as the copula auxiliary verb seen in (11).

(12) ɲ=à=lwándɔ́b=é   wàzà   m-ûr.
      ɲ=á=lwándɔ̀bɔ̀=è+H   wàzà+H   m-ùr.
      he/she-NEG-just-NEG   forget   1-man
      'He didn't just forget someone.'

(13) ɲ=à=bwé=y'é   wàzà   m-ûr.
      ɲ̀=á=bwó=è+H   wàzà+H   m-ùr
      he/she-NEG-F2-NEG   forget   1-man
      'He will not forget anyone.'

The non-past perfective negative circumclitic may also be hosted by an aspect marker.

(14) ɲ=à=g=é   wàzà   m-ûr.
      ɲ̀=á=g=è   wàzà   m-ùr
      he-NEG-PROG-NEG   forget   1-man
      'He doesn't continue to forget someone.'

This suggests that the progressive aspect marker *gó* is also an independent word. The subjunctive clitic behaves in the same way as the negative circumclitic and so will not be discussed further here though the morphosyntax of verbal clitics is discussed in section 1.2 below.

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Another aspect of the morphosyntax of Kol which offers evidence that

preverbal morphemes are independent words is the suffixal H tone which

marks tense concord. This tonal tense concord was discussed in chapter 4,

section 2.1.7. To review, in Kol, all tenses but the far past (P2), share a tonal

contour in that every word in the verbal sequence is marked by a suffixal H

tone. This can be seen by comparing a sentence in the recent past (P1) with

its far past (P2) equivalent.

(15) nò   kùgú   ɲ=í   nìgó   kò   njáp.
     nò   kùgú   ɲ=é   nìgò+H   kò +H   njáb
     with   evening   he- P1   return   go   3-house
     'Today he returned home.'

(16) ɲ=á   nìgò   kò   njáp.
     ɲ=á   nìgò   kò   njáb
     he/she-P2 return   go   3-house
     'He went home.'

Crucially, this high tone is also suffixed to aspect markers, as can be

seen by comparing (17) and (18) below. The suffixal high tone delinks the

underlying low tone of the imperfective marker, resulting in downstep.

(17) ɲ=ŏ   lʼé   bwɔgə́   kwàn.
     ɲ=ó   lè+H   bwɔg+H   kwàn.
     he-PRES   IMPF   harvest (honey)   9-honey
     'He harvests honey (habitually).'

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(18) ɲ = ǎ   lè   bwɔ̀gɜ̀   kwàn.
      ɲ = á   lè   bwɔ̀g   kwàn
      he/she-P2   IMPF harvest (honey) 9-honey
      'He was harvesting honey.'

Finally, adverbs (and the consecutive marker *kà*) can appear in
multiple places in the verbal sequence. (See section 1.3 for more
information.) One of the places where an adverb can occur is between the
aspect marker and the following verb as illustrated in (19) with the adverb
nûmɜ́ 'also.' This would not be possible if the aspect marker was an affix,
since affixes have strict selectional criteria.

(19) m = è sé   nûmɜ́   kò   kúŋá   ncòò lôl   támɜ̀ ncì.
      I-P1 PERF + H also + H go + H defecate + H time three middle 3-path
      'I also had to go to the bathroom three times along the way.' (*Joy*.12)

To summarize, the positioning of clitics, the suffixal H tone marking
tense concord, and adverbs all give evidence that preverbal morphemes in
Kol, particularly aspect markers and the morphemes in the *Tense2* slot, are
independent words and not affixes.

1.2 CLITIC POSITIONING

As was noted in the discussion of the perfective negative circumclitic
and the subjunctive enclitic, clitics appear in very specific places in Kol. This

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is a characteristic of all of the central A.80 Bantu languages. Heath (2003)

has described the characteristic placement of the subjunctive marker (and the

nature of the tense concord) by making reference to the inflection and the

macrostem.

1.2.1 Inflection vs. the Macrostem

The inflection consists of the subject marker and the tense vowel. The

macrostem consists of everything else. This distinction is shown for Kol by

the table below. This terminology is borrowed from Mutaka and Hyman

(1990) where the macrostem was used to refer to the stem plus object prefix,

which was the domain of reduplication.

Inflection		Macrostem					
Subject	Tense	Tense2	Cop Aux	Asp/Mode	Aux		Verb

This division served two purposes. It explained where the subjunctive

enclitic could appear, i.e. on the first element of the macrostem, and it also

grouped all the elements which could be marked by the tense tonal contour

together. (This is why the grammatical H tone marking most tenses is

referred to by Heath and Heath as the Macrostem H tone.)

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However, it also created a structure which is not universally common.

It would be more elegant if Kol could be described in terms of known

crosslinguistic tendencies. In the case of the clitic placement, a possible

option would be to refer to the tendency for clitics (like the enclitic portion of

the perfective negative and the subjunctive enclitic) to occur in second

position.

This however would not resolve the second advantage of the

Inflection/Macrostem distinction, namely that of offering a concise

description of the scope of the tense tonal concord. This issue will be brought

up again in section 3.

1.2.2 Second Position

Second position effects are not usually associated with Bantu

languages. However, they are attested in a number of different language

families around the world, and therefore, a second position analysis is worth

considering for Kol.

Second position is used by different researchers to refer to either the

position after the first phonological word or after the first syntactic daughter.

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When enclitics are hosted by the main verb, the verb is either initial or

in second position, depending on whether the subject is a proclitic as shown

in (20) or a full noun as shown in (21). The clitics do not occur on the full

noun subject because nouns never host clitics.

(20) ɲ=ǎ=wàzà=yè.
       he/she-NEG-forget-NEG
       'He doesn't forget.'

(21) tóòb á=j=è   dí   dùk.
      sheep NEG-be-NEG+H   stay+H   forest
      'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

When an object or adjunct is topicalized, the verb is also in second

position, as in (22).

(22) múùz,   ɲ=à=dég=é   lè-kán.
              ɲ̀-á-dég-è+H   lè-kán
        today   he/she-NEG-see-NEG+H   5-antelope
        'Today, he didn't see an antelope.'

All the examples above are of the negative circumclitic. However,

there is another candidate for a second position clitic, i.e. the subjunctive

enclitic. The subjunctive however may occur with a tense vowel.

(23) w = ò   bó = k   ké   fèndà   nə̀   mə̀.
      w = ó   bə̀ = g + H   ké   fèndà   nò   mə̀
      you-PRES   be-IMP (SG)   NEG   be.in.rivalry   with   me
      'You must not put yourself in competition with me.'

This tense vowel appears to nullify the second position hypothesis

because in the example above, the subjunctive enclitic now appears to occur

in third position. However, it may be possible that the tense vowels are

themselves clitics. Though they are not phonologically deficient, they do

occur in complementary distribution with the proclitic half of the negative

circumclitc.

If the tense vowels are also clitics, this would result in clitics again

occurring after the first word, since both the subject marker and the tense

vowel would be clitics hosted by the first word and invisible to the syntax.

1.3   EXCEPTIONS TO THE TEMPLATIC NATURE OF THE KOL VERB

In spite of the fact that the Kol verb is relatively templatic, there *are*

words which have freer word order. In some cases, this can be directly

related to the question of scope. For example, the negative marker *kè* differs

from other negation strategies in that it is not required to appear at the

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beginning of the verbal sequence. Instead, it appears directly before the

element it is negating, as shown by the example below where the initial

copula is in the affirmative while the first main verb is negated, along with

the second clause.

(24) mè ndé   ké   dùló sìgá,   ké bà nê ɲʷɛ̀l   mə́ɲòk.
      I-P1 SIMUL+H NEG+H smoke cigarette NEG be with drink+H 6-wine
      'I neither smoked nor drank.' (*Illness*.15)

The words with the most options are the lexical class of adverbs and

the consecutive marker *kà*. The syntactic placement of adverbs will be

discussed first in section 1.2.1, followed by a discussion of the syntax of the

consecutive marker *kà*.

1.3.1 Adverbs

Adverbs differ from other verbal elements in having the most free word

order. They can appear in a number of different positions within the verbal

sequence and may also appear outside of the verbal sequence all together.

Below is an example where the adverb *númə́* 'also, too' appears as the first

element in a phrase.

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(25)

númə́	bw=á	kò	ʃwâmb	nə̂	mə̀=	jì	nə̀	ntú	mə̀-cì.
also	they-P2	go	discover	that	I	be(att)	with	9-diarrhea	6-blood

'Then they discovered that I had dysentery.' (*Joy.*27)

Adverbs may also appear between object noun phrases, as illustrated

by the adverb *njì* 'only' below.

(26)

y=á	ŋkwó	bì	mə̀	njì	lé-mpùŋə̀.
7SUB-P2	again	seize	me	only	in-10-hair

'It snagged me in the hair.'

Adverbs differ from other preverbal elements with fixed templatic slots

because they may insert themselves between any two words in the verbal

sequence. Since there are four main possible elements, i.e. the copular

auxiliary, the aspect marker, the non-copular auxiliary and the main verb,

this results in three possible adverb slots. Examples will be given of each

possibility below. The first available position for adverbs is after a copular

auxiliary and before an aspect marker. This may be seen in (27) and (28).

Example (29) also illustrates an adverb appearing in this same position,

though this example lacks a copular auxiliary.

(27)

ɲə̀=	jí	náŋ	l'é	bwɔ̀gə́	kwàn
he	be (att) +H	still+H	IMPF+H	harvest (honey) +H	9-honey

'He still collects honey.'

(28) ɲə̀= jì njí l'é bwɔ̀gə́ kwàn
    he/she be (att) + H only + H IMPF + H harvest (honey) + H 9-honey
    'He still collects honey.'

(29) m=è númə́ njì lé lèlà.
    I-P1 also,too + H only + H IMPF + H shiver,tremble
    'I kept trembling.'

The second available position for adverbs is after the aspect marker and

before the non-copular auxiliary. The fact that adverbs can appear both

before and after the aspect marker offers evidence (in addition to tonal

behavior) that aspect markers too are independent words.

(30) m=è sé númə́ kò kúŋá ncòò lôl ntámə̀ ncì.
    I-P1 PERF + H also + H go + H defecate + H time 3 middle fork
    'I also had to go to the bathroom three times along the way.' (*Joy*.12)

Finally, adverbs can occur between the non-copular auxiliaries and the

main verb.

(31) ɲ=ǎ kò númə́ jwák cìè.
    he/she-P2 go also,too hear, feel sick
    'She got sick too.' (*Joy*.36)

Adverbs may also appear after the verb, but in that position, they are

outside of the verbal sequence. This may be seen because there is no extra H

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tone found in that position; the last two words both surface with their

underlying low tones.

(32) ɲ=ě   kwó   d'í   njì   dùk.
      he-FUT again+H stay+H   only   forest
      'He will continue to stay only in the forest.'

In a number of other Bantu languages, e.g. Chichewa, adverbs may not

intrude between the verb and the direct object, unless a prononimal object

marker appears on the verb. This pronominal object marker fulfills the

valency requirement of the verb and permits freer word order in the verbal

dependents and even omission of the full NP object (Mchombo 2001).

However, as seen above in (32), Kol does allow an adverb to be inserted

between a verb and a following noun phrase. The verb 'stay' in Kol is one of a

class of intranstive verbs which has the option of being followed directly by a

locative noun. It may be that the locative noun *dùg* is an adjunct and not a

complement of the verb *dì*. However, if 'forest' was an adjunct, we might

expect that it would occur with the locative prefix. More research needs to be

done to determine the status of these locative nouns.

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1.3.2 Ka

The consecutive morpheme *kà* also has freer word order than most preverbal elements. It may for example occur before the aspect marker as in (33) or after it as in (34).

(33) myà   bìzɔ́   kǎ   lé   dì   lè-sí
      myà   bízɔ́   kà   lé   dì   è-sí
      3-time we   CONS   IMPF stay LOC-world
      '...while we are in the world, ...' (*Funeral*.21)

(34) myà   m=á   sé   kà   ncɔ̀   já   n-é-njwɔ̀ŋ-è
      myà+H   m̀=á   sé   kà   ncɔ̀   jâ   nɔ̀-lé-jwɔ̀ŋ-è
      3-time-RELCL I-P2 PERF CONS   come sleep with-LOC-bed-RELCL

      èsáp   á   sé   kà   ncɔ̀   lál   númɔ́.
      è-sáp   á   sé   kà   ncɔ̀   lál   númɔ́.
      5-illness P2   PERF CONS   come be.strong also
      'By the time I laid down, the illness had already hit me hard.'
      (*Illness*.09)

Additionally, *kà* may occur before the phasal auxiliary as above in (34) or after as below in (35).

(35) bé   nìgó   kwǒ   kà   cíndɔ̀   kɔ̀.
      bé-é   nìgò+H   kwó+H   kà+H   cènd+H   kò+H
      you (pl)-FUT return   again   CONS   other.side go
      'You will return again to the other side.'

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Kà may even occur after the main verb as illustrated by the example

below.

(36) bé   nìgò   kò   ká   bìlə̀   njwík,

     bé   nìgò   kò   kà

     you (pl) return go Cons

     'You go in the Bile Njwik region...'

This range of syntactic possibilities makes *kà* similar to the lexical class

of adverbs even though the consecutive marker is generally considered to be

part of the tense-aspect-mode (TAM) system.

1.4   EMBEDDED PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Kol prepositional phrases can express adverbial semantics, i.e.

information on time or manner. Most prepositional phrases occur after the

verb as shown in the example below.

(37) y=á   nték   mə̀   nə́   bùbù.

     y=á   ntég   mə̀   nò   bùbù

     7SUB-P2 annoy me with many

     'That really bothered me.'

However, there are some prepositional phrases which appear to be

embedded within the verbal sequence. The phrase *nò ŋkùl* 'with power'

occurs between the copula auxiliary and the main verb in the examples

below. It is frequently translated as 'can' as seen in (39).

(38) "ést- ce què mə̀ jì nò ŋkùl yə̀ wógə̀ ?"
                   mə̀ jì nò ŋkùl yə̀ wôg
                   I   be with 9-force die here
'Will I die here?' (*Illness*.23)

(39) bwɔ́ ndé nə̀ ŋkùl lêŋ nə̀ bə̀-ʃwɔ́.
      bwó   ndé nò   ŋkùl lêŋ nò   bò-ʃʷɔ́
      they be (loc) with 9-force tell with 2-friend
'They could call [them] friends.' (*Perils*.03)

This phrase also occurs outside of the verbal sequence in the expected

postverbal position. However, there are actually more examples in the corpus

of the embedded construction than the postverbal construction.

(40) twè   n-è-sáp   á   sê   jâk   nò   ŋkùl
      twě   nə̀-è-sáp   á   sé   jâk   nò   ŋkùl
      even.if that-5-illness P2 PERF (be) serious with 9-force
'..even if the illness had already hit hard...' (*Illness*.25)

The morpheme *kwò* which was mentioned in the *Adverbials* section of

chapter 4 can also occur as the object of an apparently embedded

prepositional phrase as shown by the two examples below.

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(41) têr dwóp dɔɔ̀ŋgə́, m=ăncé ná kwò lè kò náŋə́ wú.
     tér dw-ôp d-ɔɔ̀ŋgə́ m̀=áncé nò kwó lè kò náŋ wú
     start 5-day 5-DEF I-NEGP1 with again IMPF go still there
     'Starting that day, I didn't go there anymore.'

(42) mà= nò kwó ncə̀ tér lè-jwɔk bè-wàl.
     I with again come start INF-feel 8-fear
     'I started to be afraid.'

Unlike *nò ŋkùl* 'with power,' there are no examples of this prepositional phrase in a non-embedded position outside of the verb phrase. However, *kwò* is extremely common as a word on its own (classified in chapter 4 as an adverb) within the verbal sequence, and parallel to the behavior of the prepositional version, also does not occur as an adverb outside the verbal sequence though many adverbs can. Perhaps most interestingly, speakers very as to whether this word is pronounced with a prenasalized stop or an oral stop.

(43) y=á ŋkwó bì mà njì lé-mpùŋà.
     y=á kwò bì mà njì lé-mpùŋà.
     7SUB-P2 again seize me only LOC-10-hair
     It snagged me in the hair.

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(44) ɲə̀= jí   kwò   bárà.
    ɲ̀=   jì+H   kwò+H   bárà
    he   be (att) again   greet
    'He greets again.'

I suggest that this construction began as a prepositional phrase with adverbial semantics (there are many of these in Kol as will be discussed in the section on *Adjuncts* below). Once it was allowed to become embedded in the verbal sequence, the boundary between the preposition and its complement began to erode. Some speakers, such as the one who gave example (43), have collapsed the two into a single phonological word, while others have completely lost any trace of the original preposition.

It remains to be seen whether a similar process will occur with *nò ŋkùl* 'with force' or 'can,' though it is interesting that it is already much more common in my corpus than the modal auxiliary *kwóg* 'can.'

1.5   THE STATUS OF NON-MAIN VERBS

Many Kol verbal sequences contain more than one verb. I have labeled those verbs which are not the main verb (the last verb in the verbal sequence) as auxiliary verbs but up to this point have given only cursory justification of that classification. This section will provide more information as to why I

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believe the non-main verbs in Kol are auxiliary verbs and not compound

verbs, serial verbs or light verbs.

Since definitions for these terms have varied over the years and from

scholar to scholar, I will be making explicit which definitions and criteria I

am using throughout the course of this discussion. Scholars with different

criteria could of course come to different conclusions.

Bowern (2006) includes both serial verbs and light verbs in her

classification of complex predicates. She does not particularly discuss

auxiliary verbs, with the implication being where they are mentioned, that

these do not fall within the scope of complex predicates. Bowern gives the

following criteria for identifying complex predicates (2006:30).

- **event structure** – the predicate describes a single event and not

  a sequence of events

- **selection criteria** – complex predicate constructions contain

  verbs from a restricted class, unlike coordinate constructions;

  they exhibit non-compositional semantics

- **word order** – the verbs in a complex predicate cannot be separated by intervening material

- **nominalization** – the whole predicate may be nominalized

- **interrogatives** – the predicate functions as a single unit in interrogatives (particularly with respect to interrogative marking)

- **negation and temporal adverbs** – have scope over the whole predicate not just particular verbs within the predicate

According to the above criteria, the Kol verbal sequence is *not* a complex predicate. The two criteria which are problematic are *word order* and *negation*. Kol auxiliary verbs may be separated from the main verb by aspect markers, in the case of the copula auxiliaries, or by adverbs. (45) below is an example of a copula auxiliary separated from the main verb by both an adverb and an aspectual marker.

(45) ɲə̀= jí   náŋ   lᵉ́   bwɔ̀gɔ́   kwàn
      he   be (att) + H still + H IMPF + H harvest (honey) + H 9-honey
      'He still collects honey.'

Below is an example where a non-copula auxiliary is separated from

the main verb by an adverb.

(46) ɲ=ǎ   kɔ̀   númɔ́   jwák   cìè.
     he/she-P2   go   also,too   hear, feel sick
     'She got sick too.' (*Joy*.36)

Additionally, it is also possible to negate only part of the predicate, as

shown below where the first copula auxiliary is outside the scope of the

negation.

(47) m=è ndé ké   dùló   sìgá   ké   bɔ̀ nê ɲwɛ̀l   mɔ́-ɲɔ̀k.
     I-P1 be+H NEG+H   smoke cigarette NEG   be   with drink+H 6-wine
     'I neither smoked nor drank.' (*Illness*.15)

If serial verbs and light verbs are subtypes of complex predicates, and

Kol verbal sequences do not fit the criteria for complex predicates, then that

suggests that the non-main verbs seen in Kol are in fact auxiliary verbs.

Auxiliary verbs do not assign theta roles and function as the heads of

inflectional projections, not as the heads of verbal projections.

This would work for Kol since the auxiliary verbs contribute

information to the predicate about the internal structure or mode of the event

as described in chapter 4. There are no non-main verbs which impact the

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argument structure of the predicate. The argument structure is always

defined by the main verb. An intransitive verb remains intransitive even if it

is modified by an auxiliary verb as can be seen by the intransitive verb 'die' in

the example below.

(48) mə̀ mèè lé cwòŋgə̀lə̀ nə̂ mə̀ méé ncə̀ yə̀.
mə̀ mé lè twɔ̀ŋgə̀lɔ̀ nə̂ mə̀ mé ncə̀ yə̀
I be (chg) IMPF think that me be (chg) come die
'I thought that I would die.'

2 Valence and word order

Kol verbs may be intransitive, transitive or ditransitive. In addition,

they may contain additional optional clauses, or adjuncts. An example with

two intransitive verbs is given below.

(49) ɲ=í jí ncò kábò míjɔ̀ŋ sé yò.
ɲ̀=é jì+H ncò+H kábò míjɔ̀ŋ sé yò
he-P1 be (att) come but brother PERF die
'He was going to come, but his brother had already died.'

In the sections below, various complementation options will be

described in 2.1 followed by a discussion of adjunct possibilities in 2.2.

Some intransitive verbs with semantic patients (or undergoers) as their

syntactic subject may express the semantic agent by using a prepositional

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phrase, as shown below. Note though that this verb ends in /l/ which is one

of the reflexes of the frozen applicative extension. This may explain this

relatively odd syntactic patterning.

(50) lá   nè   bwîl   nà   mw-ân.
     glass this be.broken   by   1-child
     'This glass was broken by the child.'

2.1 COMPLEMENTS

Kol transitive verbs can have nominal complements, infinitival

complements or sentential complements. Each type of complement will be

discussed in its own section below.

2.1.1 Nominal Complements

Unmarked nominal complements include prototypical patients as well

as locative objects.

2.1.1.1 Direct Object

A large number of Kol verbs are transitive, requiring both a subject

noun phrase (or pronoun) and an object noun phrase. The object noun

phrases are prototypically fulfilling the semantic role of patient. An example

is given below.

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(51) ɲ=ǎ   bwɔ̀gɘ̀   kwàn.
     he/she-P2   harvest (honey)   9-honey
'He was harvesting honey.'

2.1.1.2   Locative object

Kol also has a few verbs which would in many languages be

intransitive, but in Kol always appear with a locative noun complement. The

verb *já* 'sleep' is one of these verbs. An example is given below. Note that the

noun 'hospital' is not marked with the locative prefix *lé-* or a preposition.

(52)   m=ǎ já   wàlɘ̀fírɘ̀.
       I-P2 sleep hospital
'I slept at the hospital.' (*Joy*.31)

Many other Kol nouns which can occur without an object may also

occur with a locative object. Below are two examples.

(53)   nɘ̀bɔ́   m=á   jì   yɘ̀   njwàŋ   dwǎb   d-ɔ̀ŋ.
       nɘ̀bɔ́   m̀=á   jì   yɘ̀   njwǎŋ   dwôb   d-ɔ̀ɔŋgɔ́
       because I-P2   be (att) die river   5-day   5-DEF
'...because I was dying on the river that day.'

(54)   ŋkwíɲ   jí   dí   dûk.
       ŋkwíɲ   jì+H   dì+H   dùg
       leopard   be (att) stay   forest
'The leopard stays in the forest.'

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2.1.1.3 Two object constructions

When there are two arguments which follow the verb, the animate one

occurs immediately after the verb. Frequently, the animate argument is

expressed by a personal pronoun, as in (49). This leads to the hypothesis that

maybe the parameter to consider is pronoun vs. full noun phrase, but

sentences like (50) suggest that indeed the important parameter is animacy.

(55) sá   jɔɔ́ŋgə́ á   lè   sá   mə̀   lə̀-ŋkwùnt
     sâ   j-ɔɔ́ŋgə́ á   lè   sá   mə̀   lè- ŋkwùnt
     7-thing 7-DEF   P2   IMPF   do   me   5-fear
     'That situation scared me...'. (*Illness*.20)

(56) si byìn nə̂   m=ǎ   nìgò yə̀   ncììmbé àkíbə̀ nə́ bùbù.
     sì bìen nə̂   m=á   nìgò yò   ncììmbé èkíbə̀ nò   bùlú
     so   that I-P2 return give God   thanks with a.lot
     So that I thanked God a lot. (*Illness*.29)

Bearth (2003) states that: "For three argument verbs, most Bantu

languages preferentially place the goal or beneficiary immediately after the

verb with the patient following the goal." While this is true in Kol for

inherently ditranstive verbs like 'give,' it is possible to add a beneficiary using

the *lè-fú* 'sake of' construction. This argument always occurs second as shown

in the examples below.

(57)   ɲ=ĕ   sá   jwó   lè-ʃú   d-àŋ.
       ɲ̀=é   sá+H   jwò   lè-ʃú   d-àŋ
       he/she-FUT do   7OBJ   5-sake   5-my
       'He will do it for me.' (lit. 'for my sake')

(58)   ɲ=ĕ   jù   míyɔ̀ŋ   lè-ʃú   mwàné.
       ɲ̀=é   jù+H   míyɔ̀ŋ   lè-ʃú   mwàné
       he/she-FUT kill brother 5-sake money
       'He will kill his brother for money.'

2.1.2 Infinitival Complements

Infinitival complements may consist of only an infinitive verb or of an infinitive along with its own complements. Kol allows infinitival complements to occur in the subject or object position. Kol also allows infinitival adjuncts, which will be discussed in 2.2.5.1.

2.1.2.1   Object infinitival complements

As was mentioned above, verbs may take an infinitive verb as a complement. This infinitive may appear with its own complements as in (59) and (60).

(59)   m=ă   kwàmɨ̀zà   lê-kò   wú.
       m̀=á   kwàmɨ̀zà   lè-kò   wú
       I-P2   prepare   INF-go   there
       'I got ready to go there.'

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(60) ɲ=ĕ   tér   lé-wàzà   m-ùr.

      ɲ̀=é   tér+H   lè-wàzà   m-ùr

      he/she-FUT start   INF-forget 1-man

'He will start to forget someone.'

2.1.2.2   Subject infinitival complements

Infinitive verbs can also be used as subjects, as shown by the following

examples.

(61) é-jî   jàlànà   yɜ̀   bé   fòk.

      lè-jí   jàlànà   yò   bé   fòg

      INF-ask   must   give   you (pl) 9-wisdom

'Asking must give you wisdom.'

(62) é-lɛ̂ŋ   nɜ̂   ɲɜ̀   bɜ̀   ndé   mbînt.

      lé-lɛ̂ŋ   nɜ̂   ɲɜ̀   bɜ̀   ndé   mbînt

      INF-tell that he/she be   be (loc) boss

'He says that he is the only boss.' (lit. 'Telling that he is the boss [here].'

(63) è-fwálá   tùk."

      lè-fwálá   tùg

      INF-waste.time be (neg)

'Don't waste time.' (lit. 'Time wasting isn't.')

2.1.3 Complement clauses

Kol also permits entire clauses to appear as the complement of the

verb.

(64) m = ǎ   nûmp   nɔ̂   m = ě   nìgò   nɔ̀   bòʃú.

m̀ = á   nûmb   nɔ̂   m̀ = é   nìgò   nɔ̀   bò-ʃú

I-P2   know   that I-FUT   return   with   2-fish

'I thought that I would come back with fish.'

(65) m = à = búgɔ́lá = yé   nɔ̂   mpú   é   nwì   múùz.

m̀ = á = búgɔ́lá = è   nɔ̂   mpú   é   nwì + H   mùùz

I-NEG-believe-NEG   that   rain   FUT   fall   today

'I don't believe that it will rain today.'

2.1.3.1   Reported speech

Quotations form a subset of the complement clause genre in that the

matrix verb is frequently deleted. Below is an example with the matrix verb

included followed by an example where it is deleted.

(66) m = ô   ncɔ̀   lêŋ   nɔ̂   m-ùr   á   lè   dúgɔ̀   nɔ̂

m̀ = ó   ncò + H   lêŋ + H   nò   m-ùr   á   lè   dúgɔ̀   nɔ̂

I-PRES   come   say   with   1-man   P2   IMPF   paddle   that

ɲɔ̀ =   màgé   nɔ̀   bìzɔ́   ê-dáŋ

ɲ̀ =   màg   nò   bìzɔ̀   lé-dáŋ

he   turn.off   with   us   LOC-reeds

[When we got to the middle of the river,] I said to the man who was
rowing that he turn off with us into the reeds, [so that if the canoe
starts sinking, it won't sink too far.]

Below is an example of reported speech where the speech verb has

been omitted.

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(67) ɲə̀= nə̂ "búŋ ɲ=ó lé làŋ bé."

ɲ̀= nə̂ bùŋ ɲ̀=ó lè+H làŋ+H bé

he that place he-PRES IMPF pass bathing.place

'He [the fox] said, "He normally passes by here."'

The only difference between indirect and direct reported speech is the pronouns. Compare the direct reported speech example below where the quotation includes the pronoun 'you' with the indirect reported speech example given in (66) where the quotation includes the pronoun 'he.'

(68) m=ǎ ncə̀ lɛ̂ŋ nə̀ ɲə̀ nə̂ "myà w=ó ndé

m̀=á ncò lɛ̂ŋ nò ɲə̀ nə̂ myà w=ó ndé+H

I-P2 come say with him that 3-time you-PRES be (loc)

lê wúl ně è-wàlà jî làŋ.

lè+H wûl+H nè è-wàlà jì làŋ

IMPF take.out that 5-hour be (att) pass

[When the man who rowed wanted to take the hook out of my hair,] I told him that "While you're taking that out, time is passing."

2.2 ADJUNCTS

In Kol, as in most languages, it is possible to add further information to the clause by the use of adjuncts (optional elements). These adjuncts may syntactically be nouns, adverbs, prepositional phrases, and clauses of various kinds. They serve to add additional information about the time or location of

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the event or the reason for the event. Additionally, they may serve discourse functions.

Syntactically, adjuncts also vary as to whether they may be topicalized, i.e. moved to the beginning of the sentence (its left periphery). For example, prepositional phrases marking location or manner are always found on the right periphery. Some examples are given below.

(69) nə́ bwéyá   'everywhere'   nò bùbù   'a lot, many'

      nə́ pé   'totally'   nə́ tìtìti 'regularly'

      nə́ yíŋ   'too much'

However, prepositional phrases marking time may appear either at the beginning or at the end of the sentence.

(70) nò kùgú   'yesterday, lit. with evening'
      nə́ cà   'now'

In the subsections below, adjuncts have been grouped by their function (time, location, manner, purpose, or discourse).

2.2.1 Temporal Adjuncts

Some clauses have additional information included about the time of the event. Kol speakers have a wide range of choices as to the kind of

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element used to add this information. They can use temporal nouns, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, or verb phrases, as discussed in the various sections below.

2.2.1.1   Temporal nouns

Some time expressions in Kol are single words, specifically nouns.

(71)   mùùz   'today'   fùm   'night'

       mán   'morning'   kùgú   'evening'

Evidence for these being nouns may be found in the expression 'tomorrow' émán or émáné, which is literally 'in the morning,' formed by prefixing the locative morpheme to the noun 'morning.'

(72)   é-mán-é   ɲ=ě   bwɔgɔ́   kwàn.
       Loc-morning   he/she-F1   harvest (honey) +H 9-honey
       'Tomorrow, he will harvest honey.'

Additionally, they may be modified by other nominal modifiers, as can be seen in the expression 'now' which frequently occurs with the demonstrative ŋgà. Below is an example of cà 'now' without the demonstrative and an example of cà with the demonstrative.

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(73)

mə̀=	jî	ɲwàŋ	wó	kàn	lébìsá	bízə́	ndé	lé
m̀=	jí	ɲwàŋ	wó	kàn	lé- bè-sá	bìzə̀	ndé	lé
I	want	take	you	story	LOC-8-thing	RELCL-we	be	IMPF

dêk	wók	nə́	càà-ŋgà	nə̀	bə̀míjɔ̀ŋ	b- íz-é.
dêg	wôk	nò	cà- ŋgà	nò	bò-míjɔ̀ŋ	b-íz-è.
see	here	with	now-this	with	2-brother	2-our-RELCL

'I will tell you a story on what we see today with our brothers.'
(*Serpent*.01)

(74)

é-jî	kă	jì	ncwə́	nə̀	nə́	cà
lê-jí	kà	jì	ncwə̀	nə̀	nò	cà
INF-need	CONS	be (att)	we (dual)	that	with	now

'It's necessary that the two of us...' (*Ram*.20)

These temporal nouns may be fronted as shown by the example above

or may occur postverbally, as illustrated by the example below.

(75)

mw-ân	á	dì	dùgə́	ŋgùmbá	fùm.
mò-ân	á	dì	dùg	ŋgùmbá	fùm
1-child	P2	stay	forest	entire	night

'The child stayed in the forest all night.'

2.2.1.2 Temporal Prepositional Phrases

As was mentioned above, Kol has at least two temporal prepositional

phrases. These may appear both postverbally and at the beginning of the

sentence.

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(76) nò kùgú   'yesterday, lit. with evening'

      nə́ cà   'now'

2.2.1.3   Temporal Relative Clauses

One of the most common strategies in Kol for providing temporal

information is to use a relative clause headed by the noun *myà* 'time,' as

illustrated below.

(77) myǎ   bízə́   ndê   kǎ   nìgé,
      myà + H   bìzə̀   ndé   kà   ɲìgə̀-è
      3-time-RELCL   we   be (loc) CONS   return-RELCL
      'When we were returning,......'

2.2.1.4   Temporal verb phrases

Temporal information can also be given by means of a full clause, as

seen by the introductory clause below. Interestingly, this is not an infinitival

clause, but is more of a sentence fragment, lacking both a subject and the

infinitive prefix.

(78) têr   dwóp   dɔɔ̀ŋgə́,   m = ǎncé   ná   kwò   lè   kò   náŋə́ wú.
      tér   dw-ôp   d-ɔɔ̀ŋgə́   m̀ = áncé   nò   kwó   lè   kò   náŋ   wú
      start 5-day   5-DEF   I-NEGP1   with again IMPF go   still there
      'Starting that day, I didn't go there anymore.'

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2.2.2 Locative Adjuncts

As has been mentioned elsewhere, Kol has a large number of locative

nouns which function as complements of some verbs and which also function

as the heads of locative relative clauses.

However, Kol also has a locative adverb *nwà* and a locative

prepositional phrase *nə́ bwéyá* 'everywhere.'

(79) mə̀ = è sá mə́ bè-dùŋ nwà tú

   m̀ = é sá+H mə̀ bè- dùŋ nwà tú

   I P1 do me 8-noises there inside

  'It made sounds inside of me.' (*Joy*.03)

(80) è-jé, mùr bì-nàm mə̀ jé kwɛ̀b mə́-cì nə́

   lè-jê m-ùr bì-nàm mè jê kwɛ̀b mə̀-cì nò

   INF-arrive 1-man 8-nation be (chg) arrive find 6-blood with

  bwéyá. bwéyá.

  bwéyá   bwéyá

  everywhere everywhere

  'When the man of the nations arrived, he found blood everywhere.' (In this
story, Fox, the narrator, is telling Lion about Man, who he calls *the man of
the nations*.)

2.2.2.1 *Locative Relative Clauses*

The numerous locative nouns in Kol can be the heads of relative

clauses which add additional information to a sentence.

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(81) búŋ   bízá   á   dèsì   né

       búŋ   ʜ+bìzə́   á   dèz   nè-è

       place   RELCL-we   P2   drown   that-RELCL

       'the spot where we almost drowned'

2.2.3 Manner Adjuncts

As was mentioned in the introduction to this section, manner adjuncts

in the form of prepositional phrases always occur on the right edge of the

sentence.

(82) nə́ yíŋ   'too much'   nò bùbù   'a lot, many'

       nə́ pé   'totally'   nə́ tìtìti   'regularly'

(83) bwá: lî   bè-fàmp   nə́   pé.

       bwó=á   lî   bè-fàmb   nò   pé

       they-P2   clear   8-fields   with   totally

       'They totally cleared the fields.'

2.2.4 Purpose Adjuncts

In order to express the purpose of an action, Kol speakers can either

use the auxiliary 'come,' as described in chapter 4, or they can use the noun

lè-ʃú 'sake.' This noun is also commonly used to express beneficiaries.

2.2.4.1   Purpose noun phrases

The noun *lè-ʃú* can appear as a postverbal adjunct. It can be modified

as in (84) or can appear with its own complement as in (85).

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(84)   ɲ=ĕ   sá   jwó   lè-ʃú   d-àŋ.

         ɲ̀=é   sá+ʜ jwò   lè-ʃú   d-àŋ

         he/she-FUT do   7OBJ   5-sake 5-my

         'He will do it for me.' (lit. 'for my sake')

(85)   ɲ=ĕ   jù   míyɔ̀ŋ lè-ʃú   mwàné.

         ɲ̀=é   jù+ʜ míyɔ̀ŋ lè-ʃú   mwàné

         he/she-FUT kill   brother 5-sake money

         'He will kill his brother for money.'

2.2.4.2   Purpose clause

The noun *lè-ʃú* can also be used with the subordinate conjunction *nɔ̀* to

form purpose clauses. This construction is generally translated as 'so that.'

An example is given below.

(86)   ɲɔ̀= màgé   nɔ̀   bìzɔ́   ê-dáŋ   é-ʃú   nɔ̂   ŋgé   byól

         ɲ̀=   màgè   nò   bìzɔ̀   lé-dáŋ è-ʃù   nɔ̂   ŋgé   byɔ̂l

         he   turn.off with us   LOC-reeds 5-sake that if   7-canoe

         é   kò   lémɔ̀díbɔ́   y=é   kò   ʃúk   ŋgúmbà búŋ.

         é   kò   lé-mò-díbó y=é   kò   ʃúg   ŋgúmbà bùŋ

         FUT go   LOC-6-water 7SUB-FUT go stop certain place

         'He turned off with us into the reeds so that if the canoe sank, it would

         stop at a certain point.'

2.2.5 Discourse Adjunct

In the course of telling a story or exhorting an audience, speakers can also use adjunct words or clauses in order to highlight information or make the story flow better.

2.2.5.1 Discourse linking

Infinitive clauses are also common at the beginning of sentences. In this position, they are functioning as the 'head' of a tail-to-head linkage, a common discourse strategy where the beginning of a sentence repeats the information given at the end of the last sentence. For example, a speaker could say something along the lines of "John went to the store. Having gone to the store, he bought some bread."

In Kol, such tail-to-head linkage markers mark a boundary in the discourse and begin a new paragraph. Sometimes they repeat exactly what just occurred in the previous clause, as in (87), but much of the time they are a paraphrase as in (88).

(87)	è-jé,	mùr	bìnàm	mə̀	jé	kwɛ̀b	mə́-cì	nə́
	lè-jê	m-ùr	bì-nàm	mé	jê	kwɛ̀b	mə̀-cì	nə̀
	INF-arrive	1-man	8-nation	be(chg)	arrive	find	6-blood	with

bwéyá   bwéyá.
bwéyá   bwéyá
everywhere   everywhere
'When he arrived, he found blood everywhere.'

(88) ê-ncə̀   kɛ̀l   nə̀   bìy-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́   m=á   tɛ̂r   ɲwàŋ=é
     lê-ncɔ̀   kɛ̀l   nò   bè-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́   H+m̀=á   tɛ́r   ɲwàŋ=è
     INF-come beside with 8-DEF   RELCL-I-P2 first   take-RELCL
     'Added to what I first took...."   (*Perils*.34)

3 The Verb vs. the Verb Phrase

Crosslinguistically, the verb frequently forms a constituent with its direct or primary object. Those languages which provide surface exceptions are usually head-marking languages which permit freer word order among the head's complements or modifiers.

The tonal tense concord found in Kol is interesting because its scope is only the verbal sequence and not the verb plus its direct object. This suggests that maybe the verb phrase is not a constituent in Kol. Yet, the discourse-linking adjuncts discussed above are examples of the verb forming a consitutent with its complement in that an infinitive along with its complements may appear in the head portion of tail-head linkage marking.

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One solution to this problem is to posit two constituents, one which

would include the elements of the verbal sequence and another which would

include the elements of the verbal sequence *and* its arguments.

3.1 TENSE CONCORD REVISITED

As has been previously mentioned, in all the tenses but the far past, a

grammatical H tone is suffixed to every word within the verbal sequence.

However, this tone is not added after the direct object. This is illustrated by

the example below where there is no H gone seen after 'brother.'

(89)   ɲ=ĕ   jù   míyɔ̀ŋ   lè-ʃú   mwàné.
       ɲ̀=é   jù+H   míyɔ̀ŋ   lè-ʃú   mwàné
       he/she-FUT kill   brother 5-sake   money
       'He will kill his brother for money.'

Since the Kol verbal sequence is made up of independent words and

clitics, it would be reasonable to suggest that the scope of the tense tonal

concord could be the verb phrase (VP) or inflectional phrase (IP). However,

both of these syntactic constituents would not only include the preverbal

elements and the main verb, but they would also include the direct object. A

tree is given below of the following sentence. This sentence is in the far past

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(P2) and does not therefore have tonal concord, but it demonstrates a possible

structure of the VP and TP in Kol, illustrating the problem.

(90) m-ûr   á   bə̀   lè   jí   wúl   mə̀   kwînt   lélú

m-ùr   á   bə̀   lè   jí   wûl   mə̀   kwíndè   lé-lú

1-man   P2   be   IMPF   want   remove   me   hook   in-head

'The man wanted to take the hook out of my hair.'
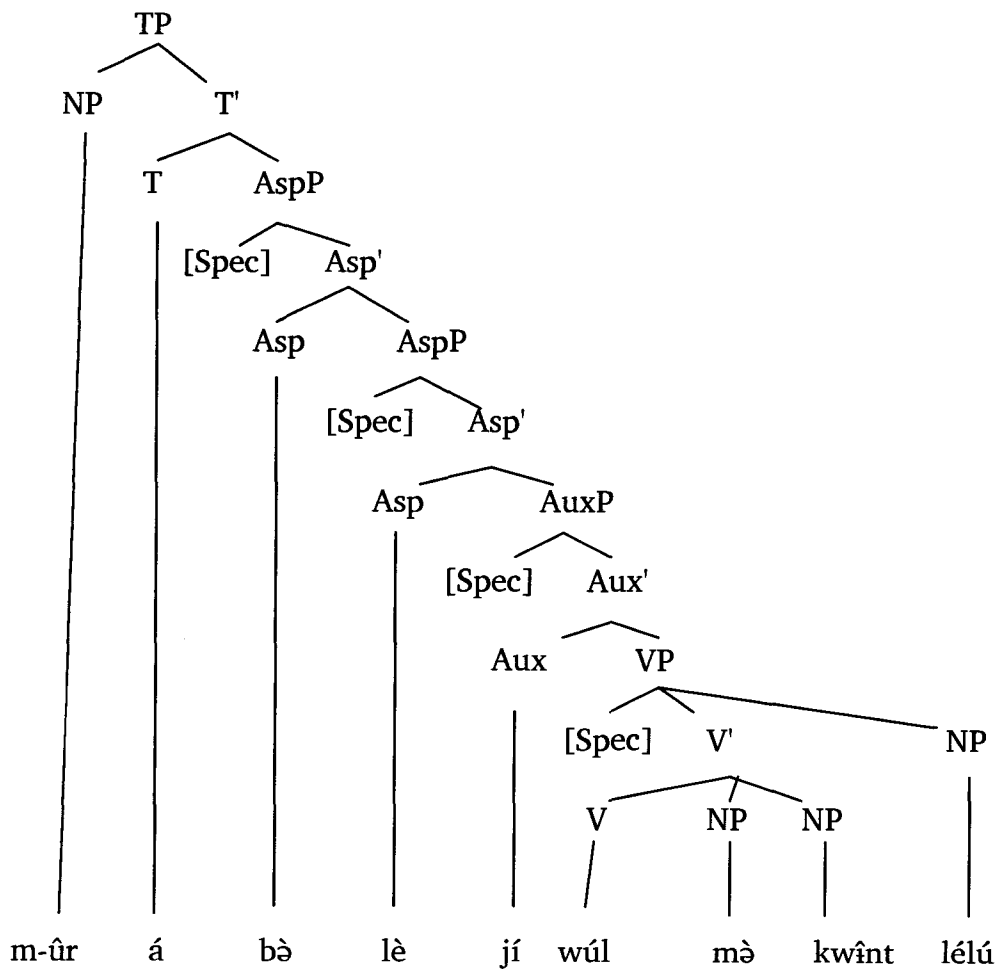
However, not all syntactic theories include a VP (or TP) constituent.

One in fact, argues explicitly against such a constituent. Instead, Role and

Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997) offers a layered clause

structure, where a clause consists of three elements: the nucleus, the core and

the periphery. The nucleus includes only the predicating element, the core

includes the predicate and its arguments (subject, object, etc.), and adjuncts

are found in the periphery.

CLAUSE

CORE	PERIPHERY
NUCLEUS	
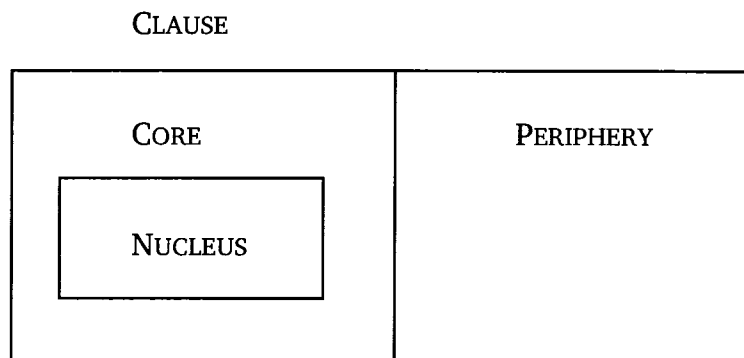
Since the tense tonal concord has scope over only the verbal sequence

and not over any of a verb's arguments (subject or objects), then the tonal

concord may be characterized as a H tone which is suffixed to every element

of the nucleus as shown below.
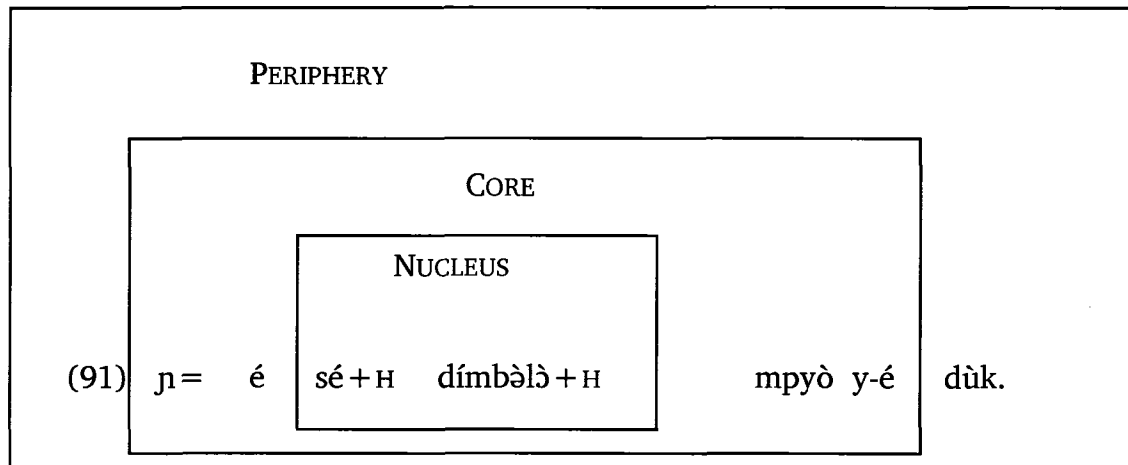
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```
                    ┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │              PERIPHERY                                │
                    │   ┌───────────────────────────────────────────────┐  │
                    │   │              CORE                             │  │
                    │   │      ┌─────────────────────────────┐          │  │
                    │   │      │         NUCLEUS             │          │  │
                    │(91)│ ɲ=  é │ sé+H    dímbɔ̀lɔ̀+H        │ mpyò y-é │ dùk.
                    │   │      └─────────────────────────────┘          │  │
                    │   └───────────────────────────────────────────────┘  │
                    └─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

(91) ɲ=ì   sé   dímbɔ̀lɔ̀   mpyó   y-é   dùk.
      ɲ̀=é   sè+H   dìmbɔ̀lɔ+H   mpyò   y-é   dùg
      he/she-P1 PERF   lose   1-dog   1-his forest
'He lost his dog in the forest.'

While positing a layered clause structure appears to solve the question

of what exactly the scope of the tense tonal concord is, it also raises some

other questions. The hypothesis above puts all verbal elements but the initial

tense vowel inside the nucleus. Van Valin and LaPolla suggest that certain

operators of a clause have scope over different elements of the layered clause

structure which may not be compatible with the amount put into the nucleus

above. This will be examined in the section below.

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3.2 OPERATORS

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:40ff) describe a class of morphemes

which they call *operators* which modify the clause. They state that a crucial

fact about operators, which include tense, aspect, mode, directional and

evidential markers among others, is that different operators modify different

parts of the layered clause structure (1997:45).

In a horizontal table below is given the crosslinguistic predictions

about operator scope (originally given as a vertical projection).

	Nucleus	**Core**	**Clause**
Operators	Aspect	Directionals	Status, negation
	Negation	Modality (root)	Tense
	Directionals	Negation	Evidentials
			Illocutionary force

Table 5.2 Scope of Operators

Compare these predictions above with the verbal template given at the

beginning of this chapter below. Here a row has been added at the top which

shows which portions of the verbal sequence are predicted to be within the

nucleus according to the tense tonal concord patternings described in the

section above.

	Nucleus				
Tense	**Tense2**	**Cop Aux**	**Asp/Mode**	**Aux**	**Verb**
é *F1*	bwó *F2*	bə̀ 'be'	lè IMPF	kò 'go'	
ó *PRES*	lwándə̀bə̀ 'just'	ndé 'be (loc)'	sé PERF	ncə̀ 'come'	
é *P1*		jì 'be (att)'	mbá COND	nìgò 'return'	
á *P2*		mé 'be (chg)'			

Table 5.4 Ordering of Kol Verbal Constituents

The aspect markers and the phasal auxiliaries offer no complications.

The phasal (non-copula) auxiliaries have for the most part a directional

component ('go, leave,' 'come' or 'go back'). Directionals and aspect markers

are predicted to have scope over the nucleus and indeed these appear closest

to the verb in the template above.

For the opposite reason, the initial tense slot also fits in with Van Valin

and LaPolla's predictions. It is predicted to be clausal, i.e. outside of the

nucleus, and that could work with what we know about the tense tonal

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concord thus far. The tense vowels in the Tense 1 slot are not necessarily the source of the tense tonal concord, and since they are all marked with an underlying H tone anyway, they do not need to be within the nucleus to explain variations in tonal behavior.

However, the morphemes found in the *Tense2* slot, some modal morphemes in Kol, and certain aspects of negation could be problematic. These will each be discussed below, beginning with the *Tense2* morphemes.

The morphemes *bwó* 'distant future (F2)' and *lwándɔ̀bɔ̀* 'immediate relative past, or just' are a challenge because Van Valin and LaPolla predict that all tense morphemes function on the clausal level, but at least *lwándɔ̀bɔ̀* needs to be within the scope of the tense tonal concord to explain its varying tonal behavior in the far past and present tense constructions.

(92) ɲ=ó   lwándɔ́bɔ́   bwɔ̀gɔ́   kwàn.
     ɲ̀=ó   lwándɔ́bɔ̀+H   bwɔ̀g+H   kwàn
     he/she-PRES just   harvest   9-honey
     'He just harvested honey.'

(93) nɔ̀ tùgɔ́   bíz=á   lwándɔ̀bɔ̀ bɔ̀ lê-ncɔ̀ŋ   nɔ̀ ncàá ŋgɔ̀?
     nɔ̀ tùg   bìz=á   lwándɔ̀bɔ̀ bɔ̀ lé-ncɔ̀ŋ   nɔ̀ ncà   ŋgà
     and be (neg) we-P2   just   be   LOC-dance with now   this
     'Weren't we just as the party now?' (*Perils*.77)

I do not have any solutions to offer to the above conundrum. This will have to be a topic for further research. It is however important to note that these tense morphemes are at the far edge of the verbal template and are relatively new innovations, since they do not have direct correlates (particularly lwándɔ̀bɔ̀) in the closely related neighboring languages. This "edge" confusion may be a result of an incomplete grammaticalization.

Modal morphemes in Kol are all problematic for different issues. Mode can be marked in Kol by auxiliaries, an enclitic or preverbal non-auxiliary words. The modal auxiliaries occur in the non-copula auxiliary slot which puts them firmly within the nucleus according to the tense concord hypothesis above while Van Valin and LaPolla theorize that modality is a core operator. One possible solution to this issue would be to suggest that the modal plus main verb constructions are examples of serial verb constructions. This has some complications of its own and will be discussed in section 3.3 below.

Mode can also be marked by the subjunctive clitic or by modal words like fǎ 'subjunctive' and mbá 'conditional.' The subjunctive clitic also appears

to occur within the nucleus but this may be an accident of its requirement to be in second position as described above. The modal words *fǎ* and *mbá* offer a potentially more serious complication. In all of my examples of the modal word *hà*, it occurs at the beginning of the verbal sequence. It is after any tense vowel, which is theorized to be at the clausal level, so the subjunctive morpheme could be at the clause level, with the nucleus starting with the main verb in (94) and the consecutive marker in (95). This would however require positing the underlying tone of the subjunctive morpheme as a rising (LH) contour which is relatively rare in Kol as a lexical tone It would be more common to have the combination of a L lexical tone and a H tense concord tone as would be the case if the subjunctive marker had an underlying L tone and was inside the nucleus and therefore marked with the H tone tense concord, as could happen in (94). However, since this is a relatively minor consideration, I will suggest that the subjunctive marker does have a LH tone and can therefore be theorized to be a the clause level and not at the nucleus level (within the scope of the tonal concord).

(94) bw=ó   hǎ   kwìr   bə́-ɲɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́   bóp.

bwó-ó   fǎ   kwìr+H   bò-ɲɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə̀   b-ób
they-PRES   should   help   2-mother   their

'They should help their mothers.'   (Sœur.20)

(95) "hǎ   kà   wú."

fǎ   kà   wú
should   CONS   exit

'Come out then."   (Serpent.34)

This leaves *mbá*, the conditional marker. This was originally placed

within the same position in the template as the aspect markers because it

never co-occurs with the aspect markers and it is always directly in front of

the phasal auxiliary verb. However, it is also true that it is never preceded by

anything but the tense vowels. Therefore, this is not actually a problem for

either of the hypotheses above. Since *mbá* is underlyingly H, there is no

direct evidence that it falls within the scope of the tense tonal concord.

(96) myá   m=ô   twóŋgə́lá   nə̂   ŋgé   m=ǎ   mbá

myà+H   m̀=ó   twɔ̀ŋgə̀lɔ̀+H   nə̂   ŋgé   m̀=á   mbá
time-RELCL   I-PRES   think   that   if   I-P2   COND

kò   yə̀   lémə̀díbɛ́

kò   yə̀   lé-mò-díbɔ́-è
go   die   in-6-water-RELCL

'When I think that I could have died in the water...'

(97)

á	mbá	bə̀	nò	wúndè	m = à	mbá	dììp	wúndè	fyál
á	mbá	bə̀	nò	wúndè	m = á	mbá	dìb	wúndè	fyál
P2	COND	be	with	window	I-P2	COND	open	window	exit

tón	fúndə̀.
tón	fúndò.
outside	flee

'If there had been a window, I would have gone out it and fled.'

Finally, there is the question of negation. Negation can appear at any level of the layered clause construction, according to Table 5.2 above, depending on its scope. Of the differing negation strategies in Kol, the negative morpheme *ké* is not problematic because it has limited scope and will fit into the same layer as whatever follows it. However, the sentential negation marked by the negative circumclitic could be an issue for this particular theory. The negative circumclitic definitely has scope over the whole clause and is therefore expected to function on the clause level. However, it is a clitic which is hosted by elements which have been hypothesized to fall within the nucleus.

The solution here may be to fall back on the nature of clitic positioning which frequently has more to do with prosodic concerns than syntax. The

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negative circumclitic occurs in second position and any tense concord which

appears on the enclitic portion could be theorized to be due to the nucleus

position of the host.

Below is a revised table based on the Kol data described above.

	Nucleus	**Core**	**Clause**
Operators	Aspect *ké* negative marker Phasal auxiliaries	*hă* subjunctive *mbá* conditional *=g* subjunctive	*á=..=è* negative Tense

Table 5.5 Scope of Kol Operators

As was mentioned above, this leaves the question of the morphemes

found in the *Tense2* slot as a subject for further research.

3.3 SERIAL VERBS

Role and Reference grammar predicts that predicates can be

coordinate, subordinate or co-subordinate at any level of the layered

structure, i.e. the nucleus, core or clause. Serial verbs are co-subordinate

constructions, but they can presumably be co-subordinate at the nucleus or

core level.

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If *ké* is a nuclear operator as hypothesized above, then the copula +

main verb construction cannot be an example of nuclear serialization since it

is possible to negate the main verb while leaving the copula in the affirmative

as shown below. If *ndé* is an auxiliary providing aspect information, then all

three elements, *ndé*, *ké*, and the main verb are all at the level of the nucleus

and offer no challenges to the theory.

(98)   m=è ndé   ké   dùló sìgá   ké   bə̀ nê   ɲwɛ̀l   mə́ɲòk.
       I -P1   be +H   NEG+H smoke cigarette NEG be   with drink+H 6-wine
       'I neither smoked nor drank.' (*Illness*.15)

However, this same example, *is* an example of core serialization, since

in the example above, each main verb introduces its own complement while

also sharing an argument, i.e. the subject. Another example is given below.

Here the conditional, theorized to be operating at the core level in Kol, has

scope over all three predicates, 'open,' 'exit,' and 'flee.'

(99)   á   mbá bə̀   nò   wúndè   m=à   mbá dììp   wúndè   fyál
       á   mbá bə̀   nò   wúndè   m=á   mbá dìb   wúndè   fyál
       P2   COND be   with window   I-P2   COND open window exit

       tón   fúndə̀.
       tón   fúndò.
       outside flee
       'If there had been a window, I would have gone out it and fled.'

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This still leaves the question of modal + verb constructions. These were an issue in the section above because mode is theoretically at least a core level operator and yet the modals are within the scope of tense tonal concord which is a reflex of the nucleus.

(100) bìz = ó   jàlànɜ̀   númp   jígɜ̀lɜ̀   bw-ân.
       bíz = ó   jàlànà+H   nûmb+H   jîgɜ̀lɜ̀+H   bɔ̀-àn
       we-PRES   must   know   teach   2-child
       'We must teach the children well.'

The modal + verb constructions do not pattern in the same way as the core serialization examples in (98) and (99). The modal auxiliaries do not occur with their own separate consitutents and indeed none of the examples in my corpus show any word intruding between the modal verb and the main verb. (This cannot be said for the phasal auxiliaries.) This is what we would expect from nuclear serialization, which would fit in with the tense concord facts, but leaves unexplained the prediction that modality is a core-level operator. This too will have to be a question for further research.

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6 Situating Kol within the A.80 language family

The internal cohesion of Guthrie's (1953) A.80 group and its

relationship to other Bantu Azone languages has been called into question

almost from the beginning. The *Linguistic Survey of the Northern Bantu*

Borderland described this group as being 'a most loosely knit and unbalanced

conglomeration of languages.' (1956:33)

The Maka-Njem (A.80) language family is located at the intersection of

three countries. A.80 languages are found in southeastern Cameroon, in the

southwestern tip of the Central African Republic and in northern Congo.
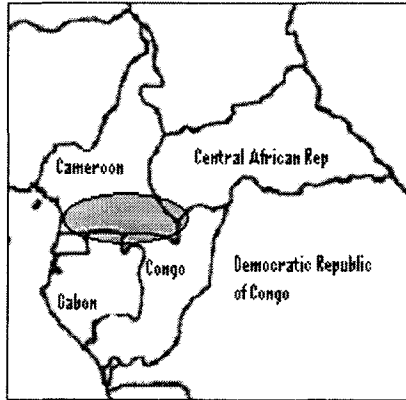
Map 6.1 A.80 languages

Sociolinguistic surveys seem to indicate that there are three language

clusters within A.80: the Coastal A.80 languages (Gyele, Kwasio, Ngumba –

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A.801-A.81), the Makaa/Kol/Konzime chain (A.83-84), and the eastern A.80

languages (Mpongmpong, Mpyemo, Bekwel – A.85-A.86).

The Gyele-Ngumba-Kwasio cluster is near the southwestern coast of

Cameroon and is separated from the other A.80 languages by the A.70

language family. Byep, Makaa, Kol and the subvarieties of Konzime form a

second cluster. Finally, a third cluster can be found in eastern Cameroon,

north Congo, and southwestern CAR, made up of Mpyemo, Mpongmpong and

Bekwel.

1. Bekwel
2. Bomwali
3. Byep
4. Gyele
5. Kol
6. Konzime,
   Badwe'e
7. Makaa
8. Mpiemo
9. Mpong-mpong
10. Ngumba,
    Kwasio
11. So
12. Ukhwejo
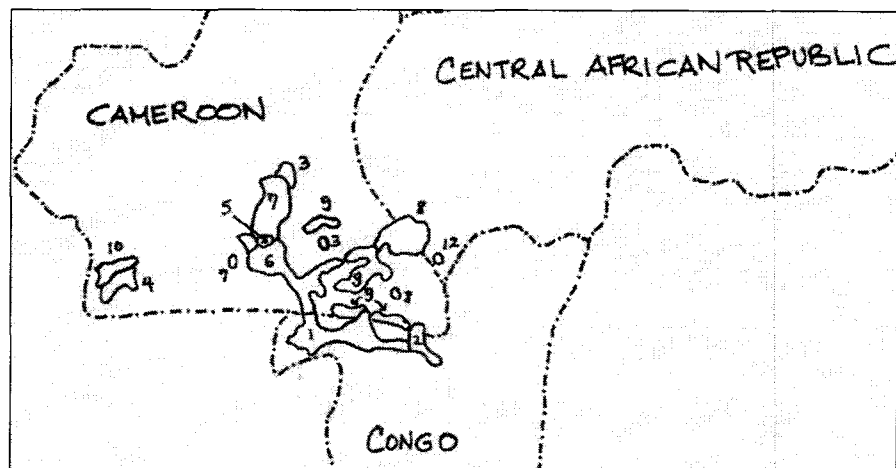
Map 6.2 Members of the A.80 Language Family

The authors of the *Linguistic Atlas of Cameroon* (ALCAM – Dieu and

Renard 1983) suggested that this third cluster was actually one language,

which they called "mpo." They identified the following speech varieties as

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being dialects of "mpo": Mpyemo, Mpompo, Medjime, Bangantou, Konabembe, Boman and Bekwel. The *Ethnologue* (Gordon 2005) identifies Medjime, Bangantou, Konabembe and Boman as all being dialects of Mpongmpong.

It is not clear to which cluster the So, Bomwali and Ukhwejo languages belong, though geographic proximity would suggest that So could be included in the Byep-Makaa-Kol-Konzime cluster, while Ukhwejo and Bomwali could be included with the Mpyemo-Bekwel-Mpongmpong cluster.

There are roughly 300,000 speakers of A.80 languages (Gordon 2005). The languages of the central cluster (the focus of this chapter) have the most speakers, with approximately 140,000 people speaking languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime chain. The eastern cluster is the next largest (with approximately 86,000 speakers), followed by the coastal cluster (with approximately 21,000 speakers).

The people of the central cluster are primarily farmers. They live in a region which is crisscrossed with rivers and streams, so waterways remain a common form of transportation. They also fish and hunt.

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This chapter will examine some of the similarities and differences between several of the languages of the middle cluster: Makaa, Kol, and the Konzime varieties (Nzime, Badwe'e and Njem). Makaa and the Konzime varieties have been the subject of more research than any of the other A.80 languages thus far (by Dan and Teresa Heath for Makaa and by Keith and Mary Beavon for the Konzime varieties). The data given for Kol is taken from my own research.

1 Sociolinguistic Situation

The sociolinguistic situation of the A.80 languages is complicated by the proliferation of dialects within languages. Just looking at the second cluster, the focus of this paper, it is important to note that Kol, Makaa and Konzime each have at least four dialects.

Language development projects for Kol and Makaa have each decided to focus their efforts on one dialect. For Makaa, this dialect is Mbwaanz. Mbwaanz was chosen because it is spoken by the largest number of Makaa speakers (almost half the total population), it is understood by speakers of all the other dialects, and it is geographically central (Heath and Heath 1982:1).

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With respect to Kol, the dialect chosen for development is also the

central dialect, labeled with the number 3 on the map below. Kol informants

reported that speakers of the central dialect spoke "good" Kol that was easy to

understand and avoided mixing with Makaa or Badwe'e. For the Konzime

varieties, Nzime and Badwe'e have both been developed (that is to say they

each have an official alphabet, literacy classes, and literature – including New

Testaments), and plans are underway to develop Njyem.
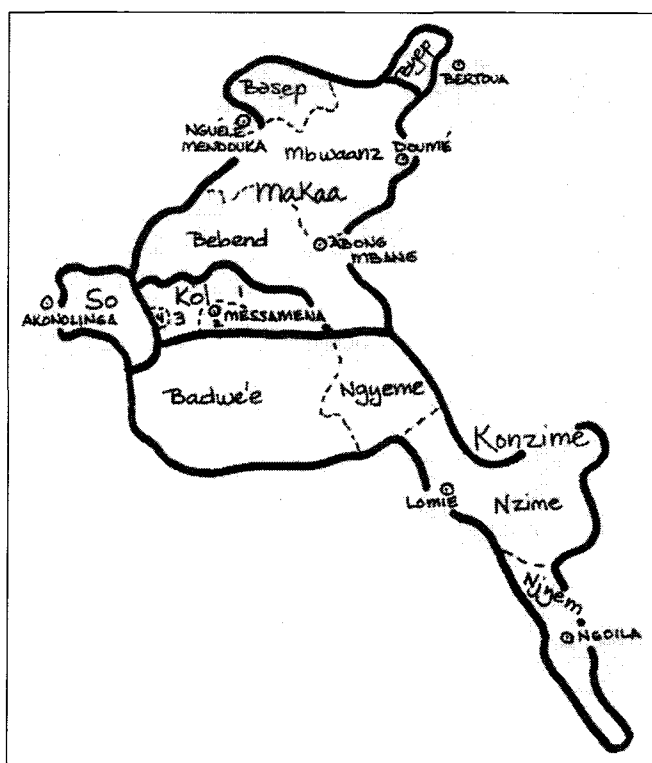
Map 6.3 The central A.80 languages

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A series of surveys in eastern Cameroon were undertaken in 1988 and 1989 by SIL. Surveyors collected Swadesh 100 word-lists and looked at the percentage of similar lexical items between particular members of the A.80 language family. In the following table, the levels of lexical similarity between certain languages are given. This table summarizes the results given in several different survey reports. Surveyors compared the central cluster languages Makaa, Kol and Byep with each other, while Mpyemo was compared to the neighboring languages of Nzime and Mpongmpong (Johnson 1989, Etter 1988, Beavon and Johnson 1989).

	Makaa	Kol	Nzime	Mpongmpong
Kol	86%			
Byep	76%	73.5%		
Mpyemo			73.5%	77.5%

Table 6.1 Levels of lexical similarity

In addition, during the course of the sociolinguistic surveys, texts were recorded and played for speakers of neighboring languages to try to determine the levels of mutual intelligibility. (This is known as recorded text testing, or RTT. Methodology for such testing is described in Casad 1974.)

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The chart below summarizes the RTT results. The number in angled brackets is the standard deviation. All of the standard deviation numbers given are relatively high, suggesting that some subjects performed better on the test due to exposure to the tested language.

Again, some cells in the table are blank because surveyors compared the central cluster languages Makaa, Kol and Byep with each other, while Mpyemo was compared to the neighboring languages of Nzime and Mpongmpong (Johnson 1989, Etter 1988, Beavon and Johnson 1989).

	Makaa	Badwe'e	Kol	Nzime	Mpongmpong
Kol	87% <15>	82% <14>			
Byep	51%		38.5%		
Mpyemo				22.1% <25>	86.8% <21>

Table 6.2 Summary of RTT results

While the levels of lexical similarity seem to be relatively high for all of the examined languages, the RTT results show a much broader variation in comprehension levels. The most interesting numbers are those for Mpyemo. While the levels of lexical similarity are only slightly higher between Mpyemo

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and Mpongmpong than between Mpyemo and Nzime, the RTT results show more variation. Speakers of Mpyemo understood much more of the Mpongmpong story than they did of the Nzime story.

It is important to note though that lexicostatistics and recorded text testing can only give indications as to what the levels of mutual intelligibility and bilingualism might be. They are not a substitute for in-depth comparative linguistic research.

Interviews with speakers of the central cluster languages suggest that these languages, at least, could be considered to form a dialect chain. Kol speakers report that their language is closest to Makaa (specifically the Bəbɛnd dialect which borders them to the north) and Badwe'e, one of the Konzime/Njem subvarieties, which borders them to the south and east. Makaa speakers agree that Kol is understood by Bəbɛnd speakers and also report that speakers of a northern Makaa dialect, Besəp, can understand Byep, the language bordering them to the north (Heath 2003a:335).

2 Phonology

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime chain are very similar in their syllable inventories but differ with respect to their phonemic inventories (sections 2.2 and 2.3 below). With respect to tone, while these languages are similar in their inventories, they differ with respect to the ways in which tones interact. See section 2.4 for a comparison of the tone rules present in these languages.

The data in this section is a summary of the information found in *Makaa (A.83)* (Heath 2003a), *A Phonology of the Makaá Language* (Heath and Heath 1982), *A Phonology of Konzime* (Beavon 1983a), and *A Phonology of Njyem* (Beavon 2005). The latter also includes a fair amount of information on Badwe'e. Further information on Badwe'e has been gleaned from *Kɔɔzime Verbal System* (Beavon 1991). The information on Kol is taken from my own fieldwork, as well as from the research of Fokou Tamafo (2004a).

2.1 SYLLABLE SHAPES

The Makaa, Kol and Konzime languages have similar syllable inventories. They all allow V, CV and CVC syllables (Heath 2003a, Beavon

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1983a, Beavon 2005). In addition, these languages all have a high percentage

of monosyllabic words. This is primarily a result of two different phenomena.

On the one hand, preverbal elements are independent words or clitics and not

a series of prefixes. This will be described below in section 4.1.

Additionally, languages of this group have consistently lost the final

vowels of stems. For nouns, this final vowel was part of the root, while for

verbs, the final vowel was an inflectional morpheme indicating tense and

aspect information. The loss of this final vowel has resulted in many

monosyllablic reflexes of historically disyllabic stems. It has also meant that

closed syllables are common, while for many Bantu languages they are rare.

In the chart below, the ProtoBantu verbal roots are generally considered to be

bound, appearing with a required final vowel. The A.80 words given do not

require any suffixes. For more information on diachronic changes in Kol, see

chapter 7.

				Konzime		
Gloss	*PB	Makaa	Kol	Nzime	Badwe'e	Njyem
'five'	*táanɔ	tòon	tón	tên	tân	tên
'chase'	*beng	wííng	wîŋg	e-pîm		
'winnow'	*pépɛt	fyàf	fyàb	e-pyὲb		

Table 6.3 Some cognates in ProtoBantu, Makaa, Kol and Konzime

2.2 VOWEL INVENTORIES

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime chain share the vowels

shown in the table below. Languages vary slightly in the phonemic status of

this subset (with respect to {ə, ɔ}), and none of the languages have only this

subset. Vowel length is phonemic for all of the languages in this cluster.

i		u
e	ə	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

Table 6.4 Common Vowel Phonemes

The Kol language has the smallest vowel inventory. It adds a high

central vowel [ɨ] to its vowel inventory. It remains unclear though whether

[ɨ] is only an allophone of [e] or whether it is a phoneme in its own right. [ə]

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is used as the epenthetic vowel wherever two consonants would meet across

morpheme boundaries.

i	ɨ	u
e	ə	o
ɛ	a	ɔ

Table 6.5 Kol Vowel Inventory

Makaa also adds a high central vowel to its phonemic inventory.

However, it is a rounded one, i.e. [ʉ]. This is the epenthetic vowel in Makaa.

While Makaa has phonetically a difference between [o] and [ɔ], these two

vowels are in free variation for at least the reference dialect. Makaa also has

a front high lax vowel [ɪ], though it lacks a back lax vowel. Additionally,

Makaa is unique in that it has a phonemic contrast in the high-mid vowels

between nasal and oral vowels, that is between [e] and [ẽ] and between [o]

and [õ] (Heath 2005).

i	ʉ	u
ɪ		
e ẽ	ə	o / ɔ õ
ɛ	a	

Table 6.6 Makaa Vowel Inventory

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The Konzime/Njem subvarieties are unique in that they all have front

rounded vowels, but they vary as to which vowels they have. Nzime has the

most, with three front rounded vowels. Badwe'e has two, and Njyem has one.

The Nzime dialect has the most vowels of any of the languages of this

chain, with 12 vocalic phonemes. It has high lax vowels ([ɪ] and [ʊ]), as well

as the three rounded vowels mentioned above. The schwa is used as the

epenthetic vowel, but it is not considered to be a phoneme. However, unlike

Makaa and Kol, it does not have a high central vowel. Nor is nasalization

phonemic. Nzime requires that its stems be harmonic with respect to their

vowels. Stems may either have all [+back] vowels or all [-back] vowels. The

low central vowel [a] is neutral and may occur with either [+back] vowels or

[-back] vowels (Beavon 1983a).

i	y		u
ɪ	Y		ʊ
e	ø	(ə)	o
ɛ		a	ɔ

Table 6.7 Nzime Vowel Inventory

Badwe'e also has 12 vocalic phonemes. Its vocalic inventory is almost

identical to Nzime's, but its third front rounded vowel is a lower-mid rounded

vowel instead of a higher-mid rounded vowel.

i	y		u
ɪ	Y		ʊ
e			o
ɛ	œ	a	ɔ

Table 6.8 Badwe'e Vowel Inventory

In contrast, Njyem has high lax vowels but no high central vowel. It

only has one front rounded phoneme. There are other front rounded

allophones, but they can all be analyzed as the combination of the unrounded

front vocalic phoneme plus [w], while [ø] contrasts with a sequence of [w]

plus [e]. (Beavon 2005:6)

i			u
ɪ			ʊ
e	ø	(ə)	o
ɛ		a	ɔ

Table 6.9 Njyem Vowel Inventory

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2.3 CONSONANT INVENTORIES

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime cluster also differ in the consonantal inventory. They all share the consonants shown in the chart below.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
stops		t	c	k	kp
	b	d	j	g	
nasals	m	n	ɲ		
fricatives		s			
		z			
lateral		l			
semi-vowels	w		y		

Table 6.10 Common set of Consonants

Researchers working in this cluster continue to debate as to whether a nasal followed by an oral consonant at the same point of articulation are one unit or two. Heath and Heath (1982) have decided that Makaa has prenasalized stops (nasal + consonant = one unit) while Beavon (1983a) has decided that Konzime has homorganic nasal consonant clusters.

Additionally, researchers debate as to the status of glides (or semi-vowels). Beavon (1983a) and Henson (chapter 2 this volume) have argued

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that glides are underlyingly vowels, while Heath and Heath (1982) argue that the glides are underlyingly consonants. The Heaths point out for Makaa that the glides do not contribute any tonal information and that analyzing them as vowels would result in an extra-long nucleus of 3 moras in some cases.

The languages of the central cluster also all share a weakening process. In Makaa, Kol and Nzime, voiced consonants become voiceless at the end of a word. It is also common for /d/ to be weakened to [r] at the end of a word. In Nzime, this weakening process for /d/ may also occur intervocalically, and is paralleled for /s/ and /k/, with /s/ weakening to [h] and /k/ to [ʔ]. (Beavon 1983a)

Below are a series of charts showing the phonetic inventories for languages of this middle cluster. As was the case for vowels, the status of particular consonants may differ from language to language. This will be noted where pertinent.

In general, it is interesting to note that languages in this cluster vary widely in their fricative subset. Makaa has the most with seven, followed by Kol with six, and Badwe'e with three, possibly four.

Glottal consonants are also analyzed quite differently (on a

phonological level) from language to language. Almost all of the languages in

the central cluster (Konzime is the only exception) have a /h/, but in Makaa

and Kol, this sound has been listed in the velar column since there is no

separate velar fricative, nor are there other glottal consonants. Badwe'e is the

only language of the cluster to have the glottal stop as a separate phoneme,

though Njyem has the glottal stop as an allophone of /k/.

The first chart, given below, shows the consonant inventory of Makaa.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
stops	b	t d	c j	k g	kp
prenasalized stops	mp mb	nt nd	nc nj	ñk ñg	
nasals	m	n	ny	ñ	
fricatives	f v	s z	sh [ʃ] zh [ʒ]	h	
lateral		l			
semi-vowels	w	y			

Table 6.11 Makaa Consonant Inventory

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The consonant inventory of Kol is given below. The consonants /p/

and /v/ in Kol have a questionable phonemic status. As independent

consonants (i.e. not preceded by a nasal) they are only found in borrowings

and ideophones. This has been one of the pieces of evidence used to suggest

that /mp/ is a single phonemic unit, since there is minimal evidence for /p/

as a phoneme on its own.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
stops	(p) b	t d	c ɟ	k g	kp
prenasalized stops	mp mb	nt nd	nc nj	ŋk ŋg	ŋkp ŋgb
nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
fricatives	f (v)	s	ʃ		
lateral		l			
semi-vowels	w	r	y		

Table 6.12 Kol Consonant Inventory

Beavon (1991:67) notes that the epenthetic consonant in Badwe'e is

/w/. Additionally, /r/ may be an allophone of /d/ and not a separate

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phoneme. As was noted for Kol, /v/ appears to be of questionable phonemic

status in Badwe'e.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar	glottal
stops	p b	t d	c j	k g	kp gb	'
prenasal. stops						
nasals	m	n		ŋ	ŋm	
fricatives	f (v)	s z				h
lateral		l				
approx.		r	y		w	

Table 6.13 Badwe'e Consonant Inventory

In contrast to Badwe'e, Beavon (1991:67) notes that the epenthetic

consonant is /b/ in Nzime. Also, he suggests that [ɲ] and [ŋ] may be

allophones of a single phoneme. As was noted for Badwe'e above, /r/ may be

an allophone of /d/ and not a separate phoneme.

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	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
stops	p b	t d	c ɟ	k g	kp gb
prenasalized stops					
nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ŋm
fricatives		s z			
lateral		l			
approx		r	y	w	

Table 6.14 Nzime Consonant Inventory

Below is the consonant inventory for Njyem. Beavon (2005:12-15)

notes that /d/ becomes [r] at the end of a word, thus [r] is considered to be

allophonic and not a separate phoneme. /ts/ and /dz/ become palatalized

(becoming the alveo-palatal fricatives) before a high vowel or the palatal

glide, as does /s/. /k/ becomes the glottal stop word-medially and word-

finally. /w/ becomes [y] or [ɣ] by fusing with [i] or [ɪ]. If there is no fusion,

before front vowels, it becomes a labio-palatal glide.

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal	labio-velar
stops	p b	t d	c = ts ɟ = dz	k g		kp gb
prenasalized stops						
nasals	m	n	ɲ			
fricatives	f	s			h	
lateral		l				
approx	w		j			

Table 6.15 Njyem Consonant Inventory

2.4 TONOLOGY

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime language chain all have underlyingly two tone systems, with high (H) and low (L) tones. These languages have both lexical and grammatical tones. These tones may be underlyingly associated with a tone bearing unit, or alternatively, be left unassociated, or floating.

Floating low tones are found in at least two different grammatical contexts. They have most likely arisen due to the loss of vowels. Floating low tones may mark noun class membership, as they do in Makaa. Noun class

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prefixes for classes 3 and 7 in Makaa are both marked by a floating low tone, where historically these are reconstructed as segmental prefixes, *mʊ- for class 3 and *kɪ- for class 7. Beavon (1991) notes that for Badwe'e, the floating L tones marking noun classes may remain unassociated. (See Table 6.18 in section 3 below for examples of noun class prefixes.)

Finally, a floating L tone may mark tense, as it does in Makaa, Nzime and Badwe'e where the recent past tense marker is a floating low tone (plus a segmental marker in Makaa).

Floating H tones are also found in at least two additional grammatical contexts. For certain noun classes, concord in an associative phrase is marked by a floating H tone. For both Makaa and Kol, classes 3 and 7 mark their concord with a floating H. This can be seen by the change in the tone of the noun class prefix of the second member of the associative phrase. Below are examples from Kol.

(1)   (a)   ncùg   módíbɔ́
            ncùg   H-mò-díbɔ́
            7-elephant   7Assoc-6-water
            'hippopotamus'

(b)   mbì   mélòp

        mbì   H-mè-lòb

        3-sort, type   3ASSOC-4-problem

        'sort of problems'

Tenses may also be marked by a floating H tone. A floating H functions

as the present tense marker in Makaa, Nzime and Badwe'e. In addition to

post-subject tense markers, in Makaa and Kol all tenses but the distant past

are marked with a tonal contour. For both of these languages, this tonal

contour includes a floating H tone suffix after each word in the verbal

sequence.

Below is a chart illustrating which Makaa tenses have this H tone suffix

(named the Macrostem H, or MacH, in Heath and Heath 1995).

Tense	Affirmative			Negative		
	tense[8]	clause mkr	MacH?	tense	clause mkr	MacH?
P2	a + H		no	a+ H	shígέ	yes
P1	ámà		yes		shígέ	yes
PRES	H		yes		a-L+H+-$έ$	yes
F1	e+H		yes		a-H+ +-$\grave{\varepsilon}$	yes
F2		b'a	yes		àbúlὲ	yes

Table 6.16 Makaa Absolute Tenses in the Indicative Mood

In Konzime, this H tone marking tense concord is different from the other floating tones in that it is a replacive H. That is to say, it can replace a preceding L tone, instead of creating a tonal contour.

Makaa and Kol have downstep (Heath & Heath 1995, chapter 2 this volume) while Nzime does not have downstep or downdrift (Beavon 1982). Njyem has surface mid tones which are formed by the interaction of high and low tones (Beavon 2005:42,45). Nzime's lack of downstep or downdrift can be explained in part by its Macrostem H tone being a replacive H. By having this floating H replace a preceding L, the environment for downstep, or midtones (as in Njyem) is bled.

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[8] The high tone occurring in the tense marker might look like a Macrostem High tone reanalyzed to occur before the Macrostem as well as after each morpheme in the Macrostem.
But this tone is not realized in the same way as the Macrostem High, and it occurs in P2 whereas the Macrostem does not.

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When discussing the tonal system of these languages, it is worth

mentioning that Makaa, Badwe'e and Njyem all have a small set of toneless

verbs. There is currently no conclusive evidence as to whether the Kol

cognate verbs are toneless or have an underlying low tone. In the absence of

such evidence, they have been analyzed as low tone verbs.

Makaa *(Heath 2003a)*		Kol		Badwe'e *(Beavon 1991)*		Njyem *(Beavon 2005)*	
		bò	'be'	be	'be at'		
zə	'come'	ncò	'come'	ze	'come'	nsye	'come'
yə	'die'	yò	'die'	jwe	'die'	jwe	'die'
yə	'give'	yò	'give'	jwe	*'give'*	je	'give'
də	'eat'	dò	'eat'	de	'eat'		
				cwe	'stumble'		
kə	'go'	kò	'go'				

Table 6.17 Toneless verbs

Beavon (1997:01) notes that: "By positing a toneless lexical form for

these verbs, one is able to account for why their surface forms are low in the

remote past tense but high in the recent past."

Finally, there is a common general oddity in both Makaa and Badwe'e,

which is the tonal stability of the morpheme meaning 'with' (*e* or *le*). It has a

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lexical low tone which is never replaced by the replacive H tones of verbal constructions (Beavon 1991:54).

3 Nominal morphosyntax

Central A.80 languages resemble each other in their noun class, pronominal systems, and relative clause constructions. Data referred to in this section may be found in *Makaa (A.83)* (Heath 2003a,b), *Anaphora, Pronouns and Reference in Konzime* (Beavon 1986), and *The relative clause in Konzime* (Beavon nd). The Kol data comes from my own research, and additional information may be found in chapter 3 of this study.

3.1 Noun Classes

Central A.80 languages are typical Bantu languages in that they do have noun classes. However, they are similar to each other (and contrast with other Bantu languages of eastern and southern Africa) in that they have relatively few noun classes (ten) and a number of these noun classes are zero-marked or marked only by a floating tone. For example, Lingala has three more noun classes (11, 14 and 15), Swahili has six more (11, 14-18), and

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Cinsanga has seven more (12-18) (Meeuwis 1998, Mohammed 2001, Miti

2001).

Class	PB	Makaa	Kol	Nzime
1	*mo-	mù-ùd 'person' n-jòŋ 'stranger' Ø-kâm 'monkey'	mw-àrá 'woman' m-ùd 'man, person' Ø-kól 'sister'	m-ʉr 'person' n-jwéela 'guard' Ø-céme 'monkey' a-bu' 'pipe'
2	*ba-	bù-ùd 'people' ò-jòŋ 'strangers' ò-kâm 'monkeys' w-àcéncénî 'stars'	bw-àrá 'women' bw-ùr 'men, people' bò-kól 'sisters'	b-ʉr 'people' o-jwéela 'guards' o-céme 'monkey's ba-abu' 'pipe'
3	*mo-	L-lâm 'heart'	Ø-mbìl 'hole'	Ø-ku 'hole'
4	*me-	mì-lâm 'hearts'	mè-mbìl 'holes'	mi-ku 'holes'
5	*i-	Ø-lùùn 'hole' d-ánd 'home village' j-wôw 'day'	è-bùrà 'sweet potato' Ø-kù 'foot' dw-ób 'day'	e-bura 'sw.potato' Ø dʉo 'day'
6	*ma-	mà-lùùn 'holes' m-ánd 'home villages' m-wôw 'days'	mò-bùrà 'sweet potatos' mò-kwád 'villages' m-ób 'days'	me-bura 'sw.potato' me-kwár 'villages' mʉo 'days'
7	*ke-	L-ká 'leaf'	Ø-kág 'child' Ø-bùmó 'fruit'	L-ká 'leaf' bumó 'fruit'
8	*bi-	ì-ká 'leaves'	bè-kág 'children'	bi-ká 'leaves'
9	*n-	Ø-fà 'machete'	Ø-kwád 'village'	m-pumó 'fruits' Ø-kwár 'village'
10	*n-	m-pùmə 'seed'	m-pùmó 'fruits'	o-lʉŋ 'ladder'

Table 6.18 Noun classes in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

Nzime may actually have one more noun class than Kol and Makaa.

The nouns which are found in its noun class 10 (according to Beavon and

Beavon 1995) are marked quite differently from class 10 nouns in Makaa and

Kol, where class 10 nouns are marked with a nasal prefix that triggers

devoicing. (Compare 'fruit' for Kol and 'seed' for Makaa in class 7 with the

plural in class 10.) The related word in Nzime is listed as a class 9 noun. In

Beavon (1986:169), he lists these same nouns as belonging to a class 11/14,

so named because its members come from proto-Bantu class 11 and proto-

Bantu class 14.

Additionally, Heath and Beavon have both noticed reflexes from the

Proto-Bantu locative classes in Makaa and Konzime, respectively. Heath

(p.c.) has noted that certain locative nouns have idiosyncratic relative clause

concord markers. Beavon (1983) noted that the Nzime dialect of Konzime

has a locative noun *kwá* which could include the locative class (class 17)

prefix *ko-*.

3.2 PRONOUNS

The central A.80 languages differ in whether or not their subject

markers are agreement markers or pronouns (as will be discussed in section

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4.2), but they make similar distinctions between 1ˢᵗ person plural inclusive, exclusive or dual. Additionally, the shapes of many of the subject markers are similar. Kol subject pronouns are clitics, as was described in chapter 3. Makaa subject markers form a prosodic unit with the following tense vowel, suggesting that they too are clitics.

(2)   /mə̀   à   kə̀/   →   [mà   kə̀]
      I   P2   go
      'I went.' (Heath 2003b:3)

Below is a chart showing subject markers in Makaa, Kol and Konzime.

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Subj	Makaa Sing	Makaa Pl	Kol Sing	Kol Pl	Nzime Sing	Nzime Pl
1st p. excl.	mə̀	sə́	mə̀	bìzó	me	bìs
incl.		shé		bìzá		mìna
dual incl.		shwə́		ncwə̀		mìna gá
2nd person	wò	bí	wò	bè	go	bìn
3rd person	nyə̀/ à[9]	bwó	ɲə̀	bwó	ɲè	bé
3/4	í	mí	w-	myə̀	wé	myé
5/6	í	í	dwó	mwə̀	lé	mé
7/8	í	í	i-, jwò	byò	yé	byé
9/10	í	í	ɲò	bwò	ɲè	ɲè
11/14	--	--	--	--	wé	--

Table 6.19 Subject markers in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

Below is a table giving the object markers for Kol and Makaa. Kol does

not allow object agreement, so all of the morphemes below are independent

object pronouns which can only appear post-verbally. Makaa has limited

object agreement (see section 4.2.2).

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[9] "nyə̀ indicates a change in action or subject; à indicates continuing action and same subject as the previous clause. nyə̀ is always used before vowels, and to introduce reported speech. nyə̀ becomes mə when occurring in non-narrative affirmative sentences and before a morpheme beginning with a consonant." (Heath 2003)

	Kol		Makaa			Nzime	
Object	**Pron**		**Pron**		**Agr**	**Pron**	
	Sing	**Pl**	**Sing**	**Pl**	**Sing**	**Sing**	**Pl**
1ˢᵗ p. excl.	mə̀	bìzó	m-ə̀	s-ə́	m-ə̀	me	bìs
incl.		bìzá		sh-é			mìna
dual incl.		ncwə̀		shw-ə́			mìna gá
2ⁿᵈ person	wò	bè	wò	bí	wò	go	bìn
3ʳᵈ person	ɲə̀	bwó	ny-ə̀	bw-ə́	ɛ̀	ɲè	bé
3/4	w-	myə	w-ə̀	my-ə̀		wé	myé
5/6	dwó	mwə	dw-ə̀	mw-ə̀		lé	mé
7/8	jwò	byò	gw-ə̀	by-ə̀		yé	byé
9/10	ɲò	bwò	nyw-ə̀	nyw-ə̀		ɲè	ɲè
11/14	--	--	--	--		wé	--

Table 6.20 Object markers in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

3.3 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses in Kol, Makaa and Nzime resemble each other in that

they have a H tone boundary marker on the left and a segmental marker on

the right. However, the right boundary markers in Makaa and Nzime agree

with the head noun, while it is invariable in Kol. The Kol markers are

enclitics, as was discussed in chapter 3.

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Class	Makaa	Nzime	Kol
1	ýɛ	ɲá	=è
2	wá	bá	=è
3	ýí	wí	=è
4	mýa	mí	=è
5	ýí	lí	=è
6	ḿa	má	=è
7	ýí	yí	=è
8	ýí	bí	=è
9/10	ýí	ɲí	=è
11/14	--	wí	--

Table 6.21 Relative Clause Markers in Makaa, Kol and Nzime

(3) mə́ bùl cɛ̀ɛl b-àŋg b-wó dɯ bùl sɛ̀y wá
  I lot H want 2-those 2-they HAB H lot H work REL MKR
  Mə bùl ɯ cɛ̀ɛl bàŋg bwó dɯ bùlɯ sɛ̀y wá. 'I admire those who work hard.'

(4) ɲò jì m-ùr ndé lê dùbə̀ mə́-kwínd = è.
  ɲò= jì m-ùr H+ ndé lè dùb mì-kwénd = è
  he/she be (att) 1-person RELCL-be (loc) IMPF fish 4-hook-RELCL
  'He is someone who fishes with hooks.'

(5) bìy-ɔ̀ɔŋgə́ m = á têr ɲʷàŋ = é
  bè-ɔ̀ɔŋgə́ H+m̀ = á tér ɲʷàŋ = è
  8-DEF RELCL-I-P2 first take-RELCL
  '...what I first took....' (*Perils*.34)

Beavon (nd:27-28) notes that in Nzime it is also possible to find an uninflected (invariable) relative marker at the right boundary of relative clauses, i.e. í. It is also possible, and indeed more frequent, to find the demonstrative nî 'that.' Beavon also notes that in Badwe'e, it is very common to have an invariable relative pronoun, which in this language is ê. This is extremely similar to the situation in Kol.

Additionally, in Makaa, the verbal contour also changes, in that an additional H tone is added to the first verbal element within the relative clause. This may be seen in (6) where the habitual marker hosts a H tone, though it is underlyingly marked with a low tone.

(6) mə́ bùl   cèɛl b-àŋg   b-wó dʉ   bùl   sɛ́y wá
     I   lot H   want 2-those 2-they HAB H lot H work REL MKR
     Mə̀ bùl ʉ cèɛl bàŋg bwó dʉ bùlʉ sɛ́y wá. 'I admire those who work hard.'

Makaa also has a special locative marker which is hosted (or affixed) to the relative clause marker whenever the head noun of the relative clause is a location. An example of this may be seen below.

(7) L-njaw   mə́ ŋgə́   jì-sə̀   yí   -d
     C3-house I   PROG C3-STATIVE C3-REL MKR LOCATIVE SUFFIX
     Njaw mə́ ŋgə́ jì yíd... 'The house where I stay...'

Kol does not have a similar suffix. Locative head nouns do not trigger

any special marking on the right edge of the relative clause.

(8) búŋ   m = á   b = è.
    bùŋ   H + mə̀ = á   bə̀ = è
    place RELCL-I-P2   be-RELCL
    '...where I was.' (*Perils*.94)

Nzime does not have such a suffix either. However, if a locative

becomes the head of a relative clause, a resumptive pronoun is required

within the relative clause (Beavon nd:28).

(9) dímé   nkwâl á   bè tɨk   lɨ́
    5-raphia.tree snail P2 be in-it 5RELCL
    'the raphia tree the snail was in'

4 Verbal morphosyntax

The languages of the central cluster, i.e. Makaa, Kol and the Konzime

varieties, have a number of morphosyntactic similarities and differences in

their verbal systems. They all have a loosely bound verbal sequence which

contrasts to that which is seen in central, eastern and southern Bantu

languages. These languages differ though in their subject and object

agreement systems, or lack of said. In addition, while they make similar

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distinctions in their tense, aspect and mood (TAM) systems, the syntax of particular constructions can be quite different. I will specifically discuss imperfective, habitual and negative constructions. I will also point out some differences in the number and function of copula verbs in the languages of this central cluster. Finally, Makaa and Kol are similar in that they have a reduced set of verbal derivational suffixes (or extensions) with, in the case of Kol, very limited productivity.

The Makaa data is primarily taken from two articles, a grammar sketch by Teresa Heath in *The Bantu Languages* (Nurse and Philippson 2003) and an article on the Tense and Aspect system of Makaa by Daniel Heath in *Tense and aspect of eight languages of Cameroon* (Anderson and Comrie 1990. The Badwe'e data is taken from an article on the Kɔɔzime verbal system in the same book by Keith H. Beavon. The Kol data is from my own field work. I am unaware of any in-depth published work on the verbal system of Nzime, though some information can be gleaned from an article published on the discourse structure of Nzime (Beavon 1984).

4.1   LOOSELY BOUND VERBAL SEQUENCE

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime cluster are similar in that

what would correspond to a single word in many Bantu languages (prefixes +

verbal root + suffixes) can be analyzed as a sequence of independent words.

Evidence for this in Kol was given in chapters 4 and 5.

However, they differ in the specific nature of the verbal sequence.

Makaa and Kol are very templatic in nature, with similar internal structures.

Konzime is also analytic but differs quite a bit from Makaa and Kol in the

ordering of its prevebal elements. These differences will be discussed in more

detail in sections 2.2.4-2.2.6 below, dealing with negative, imperfective and

habitual constructions, respectively.

Heath and Heath, in their work on Makaa, have found it helpful to

separate the verbal sequence into two parts: the Inflection and the

Macrostem. Below is a chart for Makaa (Heath 2003a:343) showing what

may occur in the Inflection vs. the Macrostem.

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Inflection		Macrostem				
subject mkr	tense mkr	clause mkr*	aspect mkr*	adverb and/or auxiliary*	object mkr	STEM*
						radical + extension(s)
		*An inflectional clitic may be added to whatever morpheme occurs first in the Macrostem				

Table 6.22 The Makaa verb

As can be seen above, the Inflection consists of the subject and the tense markers. The Macrostem consists of the verb stem (root plus any suffixes) and any other preverbal markers that may be present. These other markers may be clause markers (a counter-assertive marker or distant future marker), aspect markers, adverbs or auxiliaries.

As was noted in chapter 5, there are two primary forms of evidence which have been used to justify this division. One is that a division into Inflection and Macrostem helps to account for the positioning of certain morphemes, namely the subjunctive marker[10] and sentential negation clitic which may be hosted by the first element of the Macrostem, whatever that

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[10] Beavon states that "no formally distinct subjunctive mood exists" for Badwe'e (Beavon 1990:91) However, the imperative and hortative share the same marker –g, although they differ in their tonal contours. It is this common morpheme which I am calling the subjunctive marker. The same is true for Makaa.

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may be, as shown by the chart above. The other piece of evidence is the behavior (or positioning) of suffixal tones which mark certain tense contours. I argue for Kol, however, in chapter 5 that it is not necessary to divide the verbal sequence into these two elements but that the relevant data can be accounted for by turning to the notion of *second position* and a *tense tonal concord* whose scope is the nucleus of the clause.

Makaa resembles Kol in the behavior of its subjunctive marker, which marks both hortative and imperative constructions. This subjunctive marker may be hosted by the first element of the Macrostem. If the verb stem is the only element in the Macrostem, the subjunctive suffix will be affixed to that. However, if there is another element which precedes the main verb, it then becomes the host, as illustrated by the distant future marker (in the "clause marker" slot) in Makaa, as shown in the example below (Heath 2003b:22).

(9) bə̀ -g -a   cal   mə-ləndu
     H   H   H   L   H   L-HH
     F2 IMP PL MacH cut MacH   C6-palm tree
     Bə́gá càl mə́ləndu. '(You PL) will cut down the palm trees!'

In Badwe'e, the subjunctive suffix may appear on an auxiliary, suggesting that the suffix also appears on the first word of the Macrostem,

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whatever that may be (Beavon 1990:95-96). Both examples given, one in the imperative and one in the hortative, show the same auxiliary verb *dì* 'stay.'

Makaa and Kol also have very similar negative circumclitics, which appear on the first element of the verbal sequence. They differ in this respect though with Badwe'e. (These differences will be discussed in section 2.2.4 below.) Heath (2003a:345-6) reports that the negative circumclitic is hosted by a fixed form in the past tenses, by the distant future clause marker in the distant future, or by the first word in the Macrostem in the present and future. This positioning is identical to what was seen in Kol. Below are examples from Makaa.

(10) Mə   a-   cal   -ɛ   mə-ləndu
      L   L   L H   H   H   L HH
      I   NEG   cut + NEG NEG   MacH C6-palm tree

Mə `acálɛ m̓ə́ləndu 'I do not cut down palm trees.'

(11) Mə   abʉlɛ   cal   mə-ləndu
      L   H L   H   L   H   L HH
      I   NEG (FUT) MacH cut MacH C6-palm tree

Mə `abʉlɛ cal m̓ələndu. 'I will not cut down palm trees.'

This suggests that the notion of second position will work for Makaa, but that it may not be necessary for the Konzime varieties.

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The other form of evidence is tonal. Many tenses in languages of this cluster have a tonal contour associated with them. A common tonal contour is to have a floating H tone suffix which appears after every word in the Macrostem. (The one tense consistently *not* marked with a floating H tone is the far past.)

An example from Makaa illustrating this H tone (commonly called the Macrostem H tone or MacH) is given below (Heath 2003a:344).

(12)   Mə̀   ámə̀   nyìŋgə̌   gǔ   gwòó.
       I   P1   again + MacH   pick + MacH   c7-mushroom
       'I again picked a mushroom.'

An example from Kol illustrating the same phenomenon, but in a different tense, is given below.

(13)   ɲ = ĕ   nìgó   kò   njáp.
       he = FUT   again + H   go + H   home
       'He will return home.'

In Badwe'e, some of the tonal contours involve floating L's instead of H's. Beavon notes that up to four additional tones may be found in a single clause, since the perfective marker, an adverbial, and a serial verb (to use his terminology) may all appear before the main verb and each is marked with a

stem tone. His analysis contrasts with mine and that of the Heaths since he

suggests that the distant past is marked with floating low tones (versus our

analysis for Kol and Makaa where the far past is the only tense *not* marked

with floating high tones). Below is an example for Badwe'e (Beavon

1991:68).

(14) Be   a   si   ka   ze   fumo   mi-mbɛr
     H   H   Ø +L L+L   L+L   L+L   L   LH
     they P2   PFTV finally come build   4-house
     'It was they who then finally built houses.'

For Kol, this tense tonal concord has been analyzed in terms of Role

and Reference Grammar (RRG) as a high tone which is suffixed to every word

in the nucleus. A sample clause is repeated below from the previous chapter.
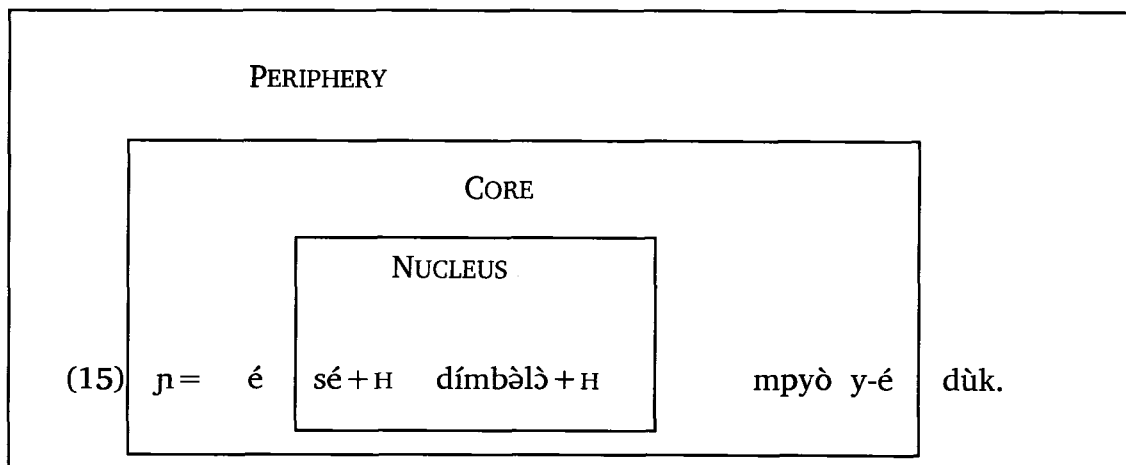
PERIPHERY

CORE

NUCLEUS

(15) ɲ=   é   sé+H   dímbǝlɔ+H   mpyò y-é   dùk.

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(15) ɲ=ì   sé   dímbɔ̀lɔ̀   mpyó   y-é   dùk.

ɲ̀=é	sè+ʜ	dìmbɔ̀lɔ+ʜ	mpyò	y-é	dùg
he/she-P1	PERF	lose	1-dog	1-his	forest

'He lost his dog in the forest.'

While this works for Kol, there are some complications when it comes

to explaining the tense tonal concords in Makaa and Konzime. In Makaa, the

progressive marker blocks the tonal concord. If it were just the case that the

H tone suffix did not appear on the progressive marker, that could possibly be

explained as a co-occurrence restriction. However, as can be seen by the

example below, the H tone suffix also does not appear on any word within the

nucleus to the right of the progressive marker (e.g. the main verb below).

The example below also offers evidence that the tense tonal concord in Makaa

cannot be a case of H tone spreading since (as was the case in Kol), the first

syllable of 'again' remains low in spite of the suffixal H immediately to its

left.

(16)
Mɔ	ku		nyiŋgɔ		ŋgɔ	waambʉlɔ	i-fambɔ
L	H+L	H	LL	H	L	HHLL	L LH
I	NEG HORT	MacH	again	MacH	PROG	clear	C8-field

Mɔ ku nyìŋgɔ̌ ŋgɔ̌ wǎambʉlɔ ìfambɔ. 'I am not again clearing the fields.'

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Badwe'e illustrates a separate complication. Beavon (1991:65-66) describes a tonal system where there are three different kinds of tones marking tense. One is found to the left of the verbal sequence in the location of the Kol tense vowels. Some tenses are marked with morphemes with overt segmental content while others are marked with morphemes consisting only of a floating tone. The second kind of tones are the "stem tones." These are roughly equivalent to the tense tonal concord described for Kol. They are floating tones suffixed to each word in the verbal sequence. However, Badwe'e differs from Kol in that some tenses have one floating tone which is suffixed to every word in the verbal sequence except the last word and a different tone which is suffixed to the last word. This is the case in the recent past (P1) sentence illustrated below where the non-final verbal sequence words have a floating high tone (+H) suffix and the main verb, the final word in the verbal sequence, has a floating L tone suffix.

(17) Be   si   ka   ze   fumo   mi-mbεr
     H   L   Ø +H L+H   L+H   L+L   H+L LH
     They P1 PERF finally come   build   4-house
     'It was they who then finally built some houses (earlier today).'

This example also illustrates the third kind of tense tones described by Beavon, namely the floating tone which marks the end of the verbal nucleus (my terms, not his). This is the H tone floating before the direct object in (17) above. This boundary tone, if present, is always a floating H tone, whereas the stem tones may be L or H or a combination thereof, as in (17).

It is possible that postulating a distinction between nucleus and core would still prove to be helpful in describing the Badwe'e system. In effect, there are floating tones on the left edge (the tense marker tones) and on the right edge. Within the nucleus there is a tonal melody which could be considered to be anchored at either internal boundary of the nucleus, with the tone on the left permitting reiteration (unlike the tone on the right). More research will have to be done though to test this hypothesis for Badwe'e.

4.2 AGREEMENT

4.2.1 Subject Agreement

Subject agreement is one of the hallmarks of a canonical Bantu language which is why the variations across the Makaa/Kol/Konzime cluster is interesting. None of these languages have obligatory subject agreement.

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In Makaa, subject agreement may occur with subjects belonging to

noun classes 3-10. However, subject agreement is not required all the time,

since it may be omitted in the middle of a discourse when the referent is

clear. Subjects belonging to classes 1 or 2 may be expressed by either a full

noun or a subject pronoun. The subject pronouns are analyzed as pronouns

(instead of subject agreement) since they usually replace the full noun and do

not co-occur with it, in contrast to what occurs with class 3-10 subjects.

(Heath 1995:27)

(18) a. mudá   kə   gúú   bwə   kúwo....
          1-woman   go   kill   them   1-chicken
          'Woman goes and kills a chicken for them.' (Heath 2002)

     b. mbwoól   w-òŋgú   í   béégulig.
         trunk   3-this   3SUBJMKR   must be kept
         'This trunk must be kept.' (Heath 2003b:12)

The subject pronouns form a phonological word with the following

tense vowel, so they are probably clitics, as was the case in Kol.

The copula in Makaa agrees with its subject when it is in the present

tense. For more on this phenomenon, see section 2.1.6 below.

Konzime has a phenomenon which resembles subject agreement, but it

is dependent upon the tense of the verb and the tone of the prefix. Beavon

(1986:185) notes that a recapitualitive pronoun is required "if the tense of the

verb is past perfective and if the concording prefix of the pronoun includes a

high tone." If the prefix is a low tone prefix, then the recapitulative pronoun

may not appear.

(19) a. B-ʉd,   bé   á   si   de.
        2-people   3p:cl.2   P2   PFTV   eat
        'Some people ate.'

     b. ɲʉ́ʉ́   m-ʉd   á   si   de
        1-certain 1-person P2   PFTV   eat
        'A certain person ate.'

     c. *ɲʉ́ʉ́   m-ʉd,   ɲe   á   si   de
        1-certain 1-person 3s:cl.1   P2   PFTV   eat

Kol shows no evidence of subject agreement. It has a full set of subject

pronouns, which appear in complementary distribution with full nouns. The

only exception to this tendency is when the subject is a complex noun phrase

(e.g. the head of an associative phrase), in which case there may be a subject

pronoun which is used recapitulatively, generally after a pause.

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(20) a.

mw-àrá	w-àŋə́	á	kò
1-woman	1-my	P2	go

'My wife went.'

b.

mpú	é	bándà	nwî.
7-rain	F1	really	fall (rain)

'It will certainly rain.'

c.

mò-kwàbə̀lá	mə́-nè	mwô	sé	jə̀	ɲɔ́	fòk.
6-obstacle	6-that(spec)	6SUBJ	already	give	him	9-wisdom

'His problems gave him wisdom.'

4.2.2 Object agreement

In Makaa, object markers may appear preverbally for certain dialects,

if the object is from noun class 1. Kol does not allow object markers to appear

preverbally. Objects are only expressed after the verb stem, either as

pronouns or as full verb phrases. Beavon does not mention object agreement

for either Nzime or Badwe'e. Below is an example sentence from Makaa

illustrating a preverbal object marker.

(21)

wò	bá	mə̀	lúlə̀	mì-cwôl.	(or wò bá lúlə̀ mə̀ mì-cwôl.)
you	F2	me	forge	4-arrows	

'You will make me arrows.' (Heath 2003b:15)

4.3 TENSE/ASPECT/MODE CONSTRUCTIONS

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime cluster also have similar Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) contrasts and morphemes. The tense and mood markers resemble each other more than the aspect markers though in all three systems, the languages have similar contrasts.

Makaa and Kol both have five distinct tense distinctions, while the Konzime varieties (Nzime and Badwe'e) only have four. This is shown in the chart below. In general, Makaa and Kol show more commonalities with each other (as do Nzime and Badwe'e) than they do with the Konzime varieties. The recent past tense shows the most variation, suggesting that this is a later innovation.

	Makaa	Kol	Nzime	Badwe'e
remote past	a + H[11]	á	á	á
recent past	` ámə̀	e+ polar tone	L	L
present	H	ó	H	H
near future	e + H	é	ó	ó
remote future	bá	é bwó		

Table 6.23 Tense in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

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[11] The Makaa remote past and near future are analyzed as being toneless morphemes followed by a floating H tone. (Heath 1995:34)

Languages of this cluster have almost the same number of aspect
contrasts, though they differ quite a bit in the way individual aspects are
marked. In Makaa and Kol, the perfective aspect is unmarked. It is interesting
that the perfective aspect markers in Badwe'e and Nzime resembles the
perfect marker in Kol. Below is an example from Badwe'e. Beavon notes that
this marker may only occur with past tenses (1991:61).

(22)   Be   si   fumo   mi-mbɛr
          H+L   H   L+L   L LH
          they-P1 PFTV build 4-house
    'They built some houses.' (earlier today)

	Makaa	**Kol**	**Nzime**	**Badwe'e**
perfective	Ø	Ø	si	si
progressive	ŋgə̀	gó	ŋgà	--
habitual	du̵	ó +sé	--	bìbé 'be' (redup.) – pres. sìsâ 'do' (redup.) -past dì ' ? ' (aux) -fut
imperfective	--	lè	lî[12]	lî[13]
perfect	mə́ + L	sé	n	chg in vowel height?

Table 6.24 Aspect in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

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[12] The imperfective in Nzime requires an auxiliary verb in the past or future tenses. (Beavon 1991)

[13] The imperfective in Badwe'e requires an auxiliary verb in the past or future tenses. This auxiliary <u>must</u> be followed by the focus marker ó, otherwise the sentences are ungrammatical. (Beavon 1991)

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Makaa is the only language of the cluster without a generic

imperfective marker, though it does have two imperfective aspects, the

progressive and habitual, which can co-occur with each other as shown in

example (9) below (Heath 2003b:23). This contrasts with Kol where the

aspect markers are in complementary distribution. In Makaa, the habitual

marker may form a gerund, suggesting that it is in fact an auxiliary verb.

(23)　Mə　a　dʉ　ŋgə　bwas　0-kwesh
　　　L　H　L　L　L　　H
　　　I　P2　HAB　PROG　be sick　C7-cough
Mə 'a dʉ ŋgə̀ bwàs kwésh. 'I often was sick with a cough

(but not all the time).'

It is interesting that for Kol, Nzime and Badwe'e, the imperfective

marker is always homophonous (or maybe identical to) the locative marker.

The syntax of the imperfective constructions differs substantially though

between Kol and the Konzime varieties, as will be discussed in section 2.2.5

below.

The habitual constructions are also very different. Makaa uses an

auxiliary verb, while Badwe'e uses a reduplicated form of a verb, and Kol

combines the present tense vowel and the perfect marker. No information is

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available as to whether Nzime has a habitual construction. More information on these constructions will be given in section 2.2.6.

The languages of this cluster are especially similar when it comes to marking mood. They all differentiate between two moods: the indicative and the subjunctive. The indicative is the default. The subjunctive is marked by a clitic consisting of a velar stop, as shown below. The subjunctive may be subdivided into two moods, the hortative and the imperative. These add different tone melodies to the verbal sequence, in addition to the subjunctive clitic which they have in common.

As was mentioned above, in Makaa and Kol, the subjunctive clitic is hosted by the first word of the verbal sequence. In Badwe'e, the subjunctive suffix may appear on an auxiliary, suggesting that the suffix also appears on the first word of the verbal sequence, whatever that may be.

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	Makaa	Kol	Nzime	Badwe'e
indicative	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
hortative	-g + H (1stV)[14]	-g + H	-k + H + L	-k[15] + H + L
imperative	-g + H (finV)[16]	-g + H	-k + H	-k + H

Table 6.25 Mode in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

Beavon (1991:68) notes that in Badwe'e, an independent sentence in the past tense must have either an aspect marker, a focus marker or be negated. This is not the case in Makaa or Kol.

4.3.1 Imperfective

Kol and the Konzime varieties resemble each other at first glance in that they both have an imperfective marker which resemble the locative prefix, *lè* in Kol and *li* in Badwe'e. However, syntactically, these two markers behave very differently. Kol's imperfective marker behaves as do all the other aspectual markers, occuring after in the template slot after the copula auxiliary and before any other verbs, as shown below.

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[14] This H tone appears on the first vowel of the first word in the Macro-stem.

[15] Badwe'e has a number of subjunctive allomorphs, but /-k/ is the most frequent. Others include: /-ke/, /-ko/, copy root vowel, /-a/, and /-ŋ/. (Beavon 1991:93)

[16] This H tone appears on the final vowel of the first word in the Macro-stem.

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(24) ɲə̀=   jì   lé   bwɔ̀gə́   kwàn.
     ɲə̀=   jì+H   lè+H   bwɔ̀g+H kwàn
     he/she   be (att) Impf   harvest 9-honey
     'He harvests honey.'

In the Konzime varieties however, the imperfective marker has an

infinitival verb as its complement as shown in (23). In the past and future

tenses in Badwe'e, it is required to occur with a copula as in (24).

(25)   Be   lɨ   e-fumo   mi-mbɛr
       H   H   L L+L   H+L LH
       they Loc   INF-build 4-house
       'They are building houses.' (Beavon 1991:63)

(26) Be   a   be   o   lɨ   e-fumo   mi-mbɛr
     H   H   Ø+L   H   H   L L+L   H+L LH
     they P2 be   Foc   Loc   INF-build 4-house
     'They were building houses.' (Beavon 1991:63)

4.3.2 Habitual Constructions

While Makaa, Kol and Badwe'e all have a habitual construction, these

constructions are formed using very different syntactic strategies. Makaa and

Badwe'e both use auxiliary verbs, though Badwe'e uses different auxiliaries

for each tense and has a special reduplicated form in the past and present

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tenses. In contrast, Kol uses an unusual tense/aspect combination (present

tense plus perfect aspect).

Makaa marks the habitual with the morpheme *dʉ* which can appear as

a gerund *dʉlə* which means 'being in the habit of.' This suggests that this

morpheme is an auxiliary verb.

(27) Mə   ba   dʉ   wɪɪŋg   o-mpyə
      L   H   L   H   H   H   L HL
      I   F2   HABIT   MacH   chase   MacH   C2-dog
      Mə b́a dʉ wíɪŋg ὸmpyɔ̀. 'I usually will chase the dogs.'(habitual)

Badwe'e also uses auxiliary verbs to form the habitual. However, it

differs from Makaa in that the past, the present and the future all use different

auxiliary verbs. The far past and the recent past both use the locative copula

be, while the present uses the verb *sâ* 'make, do,' and the future uses the

auxiliary verb *di* 'remain, stay.' The locative copula *be* and the verb *sâ* are

both reduplicated, while *di* is not (Beavon 1991:64-65).

(28) Be   a   bɨ-be   o   lɨ   e-fumo   mi-mbɛr
      H   H   L   H   H   L   L+L   H+L   LH
      they P2   RED-be   FOC LOC   INF-build   4-house
      'They used to build houses.' (in the recent past)

(29) Nye   sɨ-sa   o   fumo   mi-mbɛr
      L+H   H+H   H   L+L   H+L   LH
      he-PRES   RED-do   FOC build   4-house

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'He usually builds houses.'

(30) Nye o   di   lɨ   e-fumo   mi-mbɛr
     L   H   L+L   H   L L+L   H+L   LH
     he FUT stay LOC INF-build 4-house
'He will habitually build houses.'

Kol, unlike the other two languages, uses the present tense marker with

the perfect aspect to form habitual constructions.

(31) ɲ=ó=   sé   bwɔgɔ́   kwàn.
      ɲ̀=ó=   sé+H   bwɔg+H   kwàn
      he/she-PRES PERF   harvest   9-honey
'He harvests honey.' (habitually)

4.3.3 Negation

Makaa, Kol and Badwe'e resemble each other in that they all have what

appears to be a negative circumclitic for sentential negation. However, they

differ in the positioning of this circumclitic. For both Makaa and Kol, it

occurs in second position, but in Badwe'e it is hosted by the main verb.

Below is an example of a negated sentence in Badwe'e with an auxiliary,

followed by a negated sentence in Kol, also containing an auxiliary. These

are in different tenses, with the Badwe'e example in the recent past and the

Kol example in the present.

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(32) Be   be   a   fumo
     H+L   H   H+L   L+L
     they-   be   NEG   build
     P1
     'They did not build anything.'

(33) tóòb   á=j=è   dí   dùk.
     sheep   NEG-be(att)-NEG+H   stay+H   forest
     'Sheep don't stay in the forest.'

Though Makaa and Kol both have a negative circumclitic for indicative

sentential negation, Kol requires that a different negation strategy be used for

the present imperfective tense, namely the negative copula *túg* plus the

imperfective marker *lè* instead of the circumclitic. As was mentioned above,

Makaa does not have a specific imperfective tense marker.

(34) ɲə̀   túgə́   lé   wàzà   m-ûr.
     he/she   be (NEG) +H   IMPF+H   forget+H   1-man
     'He wasn't forgetting anyone.'

(35) ɲ=à=g=é   wàzà   m-ûr.
     ɲ̀=á=g=è   wàzà   m-ùr
     he-NEG-PROG-NEG   forget   1-man
     'He doesn't continue to forget someone.'

Additionally, the two languages have both created fixed past negative

forms by adding the circumclitic to a frozen host. In Kol, the past forms are

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based off of the auxiliary verb *ncɔ̀* 'come,' while in Makaa the past forms are

built on the counter assertive morpheme *shí*. Both Makaa and Kol insert an

extra [g] which may be related to the subjunctive morpheme. Makaa does so

in both past tense forms, while Kol only inserts a [g] in the far distant past

(P3).

TAM	Makaa	Kol	Badwe'e
F2	abúlɛ	àbwéyè	
F1	a- H + +-ɛ̀	á= + =è+H	a+ŋá+ L+H
PRES	a- L+ H +-ɛ́	á= + =è+H	H+à+L+H
P1	shígɛ	áncé +H	L+H+à+HL+H
P2	a shígɛ	áncé	á+H+à+L+H
P3		áncégé	
IMPF PRES		túg+ H	H+à+L+H
Subjunctive	kú	ké	

Table 6.26 Negation in Makaa, Kol and Badwe'e

The Badwe'e forms are made up of the tense marker (which is the same

for affirmative and negative constructions), a grammatical tone, the negative

prefix, the tonal contour added after each preverbal element, and the

grammatical tone inserted after the main verb. Negative forms in the past

also require the presence of the copula auxiliary *bè*. Below is an affirmative

sentence contrasted with a negative sentence in the same tense.

(36) | Be | a | si | fumo | mi-mbɛr |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| H | H | Ø +L | L+L | L | LH |
| they | P2 | PFTV | build | 4-house |

'It was they who then finally built houses.'

(37) | Be | a | be | a | fumo | mi-mbɛr |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| H | H | Ø +L | H+L | L+L+H | L | LH |
| they | P2 | be | NEG | build | 4-house |

'It was they who then finally built houses.'

4.4 COPULA VERBS

The languages of the Makaa/Kol/Konzime cluster also vary in the

number of copula verbs they have and in the semantics of these copulas. Kol

has the most, with five. In Kol, the copulas may co-occur with a variety of

tenses in simple sentences, and they may also appear as auxiliaries. In copular

auxiliary constructions, the auxiliary is marked for tense, while the main verb

is marked for aspect or information structure, as needed. (See chapter 4,

section 3.1 for more information.)

For Makaa, Heath (2003a:347) notes that:

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"Non-verbal clauses include both those with the copula -s̀ə and

those with the focus marker ò. Clauses with the copula as the predicate

express attribution, equation, location, or possession. In the present

perfective indicative, the copula takes a concord prefix [see Table 6.9].

Often the -s̀ə is deleted, leaving only the concord. In other TAM

constructions, the copula becomes b̀ə without concord prefix, and takes

limited TAM inflections."

Badwe'e also has a suppletive present tense form of the basic locative

copula be (which is underlyingly toneless). Beavon describes the copulas

found in Nzime in more functional terms, reporting that mû only occurs in

main and relative clauses while dí appears in subject focus constructions.

Below is a chart showing the copulas found in Makaa, Kol and Nzime, along

with their semantic or syntactic differences. For more information on Kol

copulas, see chapter 4.

Makaa	Kol	Nzime	Badwe'e
bə *'to be'*	bò	bè	be *locative*
jì-sə PRES-*cl.7*	jì *equative, attributive*		
	ndé *locative*	dí *subj. focus*	
	mé *change of state*	mû *main, rel.cl.*	mû *locative-*PRES
tùg *negative*	túg *negative*		

Table 6.27 Copula verbs in Makaa, Kol and Konzime

4.5 EXTENSIONS

In this language cluster, while there are segments which may be identified as the modern cognates of reconstructed Proto-Bantu valence-changing suffixes, also known as extensions, most of these are no longer productive. Kol, in particular, has a number of longer verbs with identifiable frozen extensions, but only the passive extension is marginally productive today. In the chart below are a few of the relics of reconstructed proto-Bantu extensions.

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	Proto-Bantu	**Makaa**	**Kol**
causative	*ic-i	-àl, a→e	-ə̀zə̀, a→e
benefactive/ applicative	*-ɪd	-yà	-èà
passive	*ɪb-ʊ	-òw	-ówà, -íyà

Table 6.28 Related extensions in Proto-Bantu, Makaa and Kol

The sound correspondences seen in the chart above are not especially

surprising, with the exception of the ablaut causative seen in Makaa and Kol,

if that is indeed inherited and not an innovation. Many Bantu languages

illustrate the weakening process seen in the passive and the deletion of the

alveolar stop seen in the applicative. It is also common for the palatal stop of

the causative to surface as an alveolar fricative. What is more noteworthy is

the non-productivity of the extensions. As was mentioned for Kol in chapter

4, there are very few examples in modern Kol of related verb roots and

derived root plus extension stems.

In this respect, Makaa differs from Kol, being perchance more

conservative in this respect. Below is a chart showing the variety of valence-

changing processes which may be identified in Makaa (Heath 1995:59).

However, as in Kol, these are not fully productive; there are also verb roots

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which may only appear with an extension; and the relationship between these

processes and Proto-Bantu is not always clear.

Passive	-òw	cìl-ə 'to write' + -òw → cìl-òw 'to be written'
Reciprocal	-là	bὲ 'to follow' + -là → bὲὲ-là 'to resemble each other'
Benefactive	-yà	dúg 'to see' + -yà → dúg-yà 'to see each other'
Reflexive	-là	cìŋg 'to be agitated' + -là → cìŋg-ù-là 'to turn self'
	-yà	cìl-ə 'to write' + -yà → cìl-yà 'to register oneself'
Causative	-àl	jìg 'to be burned' + -àl → jìg-àl 'to burn (something)'
	a→e	bwáád 'to get dressed' → bwééd 'to clothe someone else'
Resultative	-yà	+ radical vowel change
		jáámb 'to cook' + -yà → jéémb-yà 'to be cooked'
Transitive	-ə	lûl 'to purify' + -ə→ lûlə 'to forge'

augmentative:	reduplication + -úg
	à-ŋgə-lás-lás-úg 'he is only talking' (he is not expected to follow through on any action discussed)

verbs with two extensions
bwáád 'to clothe oneself' + causative + passive → bwééd-òw
cààg 'to sculpt' + causative + benefactive → cèèg-à 'to have something sculpted'
fànd 'to braid hair' + causative + benefactive → fènd-yà 'to have someone else braid your hair'

Table 6.29 Extensions in Makaa

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Additionally, Nzime has a productive "simultaneous" suffix (-ŋɔ or -ɔ) which can appear on verbs (Beavon 1984:212). This suffix appears to correspond to a remote past consecutive relative tense with third person plural human subjects in Badwe'e (Beavon 1991:82).

5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined some of the similarities and differences between the languages of the middle cluster of the A.80 language family: Makaa, Kol, Konzime, Badwe'e and Njem. These languages are primarily monosyllabic and allow closed syllables. They differ in their phonemic inventories, showing considerable variation in their vowel systems. They are all tonal, with two phonemic tones H and L.

The languages of the central cluster have similar noun class marking systems, though Nzime appears to have an additional noun class, class 11/14. Their relative clause structures are all marked by a H tone at the left edge and a morpheme on the right edge, though these differ in whether or not they show concord with the head noun.

Extensions are rare and mostly unproductive. Their tense/aspect

systems, while not the same, demonstrate strong similarities. They differ as

to whether or not their verbs agree with their arguments, either subject or

object.

The following chapter will examine how Kol has changed over time.

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7 Correspondences to Proto-Bantu

1 Introduction

This chapter will explore Kol's relationship to Proto-Bantu, both with respect to sound correspondences and grammatical systems. Section 2 below will review Kol's phonemic inventories and synchronic variation. Section 3 will then discuss consonant correspondences between Kol and Proto-Bantu, while section 4 will discuss vowel correspondences. Section 5 will compare some aspects of Kol morphosyntax with what is reconstructed for Proto-Bantu by Meeussen in his 1967 *Bantu Grammatical Reconstructions*.

1.1 SOURCES

This study is a comparison of current day forms of Kol with Proto-Bantu. The Proto-Bantu forms are taken from Meeussen's *Bantu Lexical Reconstructions*, as referenced in the 1980 reprint and on the BLR3 website.[17] The Kol data is taken from a lexicon begun by Félix Fokou-Tamafo as part of

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[17] http://linguistics.africamuseum.be/BLR3.html

his work for NACALCO[18] in Cameroon. This lexicon has been added to and amended on the basis of my own fieldwork.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

A careful comparison of Meeussen's reconstructions with the Kol lexicon resulted in approximately 450 cognate pairs. Of these, around 130 were determined to be confident matches and around 320 were classified as possible matches. Sound correspondences were determined based on these cognate pairs. The vowels of the Proto-Bantu words have been transcribed as {i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u}, instead of Meeussen's {į, i, e, a, o, u, ʉ} system, in order to facilitate comparison with the Kol lexicon.

2 Modern Kol

Today, as was described in chapter 2, Kol has 31 consonants and 8 vowels. It permits both open and closed syllables, with the following syllable shapes being represented in the language: V, CV, CVC, CVVC

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[18] NACALCO is an acronym for the National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees.

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Below is a consonant chart for Kol. The sounds {p, v, g, kp, ŋkp, ŋgb}

have a marginal status in Kol. Each only occurs initially in a few words, all of

which may be borrowed.

	labial	alveolar	postalveolar	velar	labiovelar	glottal
stop	(p), b	t, d	c [tʃ], j [dʒ]	k, g	kp	
prenasalized stop	mp, mb	nt, nd	nc, nj	ŋk, ŋg	ŋkp, ŋgb	
nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ		
fricative	f, (v)	s, z	ʃ			
approximant		y, l			w	

Table 7.1: Kol consonants

Kol has a nearly symmetrical vowel system, with three front vowels,

two central vowels and three back (and round) vowels. An additional vowel,

the high central vowel, is an allophone of the vowel /e/. (For more

information see chapter 2.)

	front	central	back
high	i	(ɨ)	u
mid	e	ə	o
low	ɛ	a	ɔ

Table 7.2: Kol Vowels.

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2.1 Synchronic Variation

Word-finally, voicing distinctions are neutralized for stops. Most C_2 stops are underlyingly voiced, and they may appear on the surface as either voiceless stops or as voiced continuants.

(1) /tíd/ 'animal' → [tít] or [tíɹ]

/è-bùg/ 'holiday' (5) → [è-buk] or [èbùɣ]

Some dialects have /s/ where other dialects have /ʃ/. This is illustrated by the variants below.

(2) ʃû 'fish' (7/8) *varies with* sû

è-ʃwì 'death' (5) è-swè

Additionally, the fricatives /f/ and /h/ are in free variation for many speakers.

(3) fámɔ̀ 'true, real' *varies with* hámɔ̀

With respect to vowels, Kol mid vowels are optionally centralized before nasals and the fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/. There is some morphological conditioning since this process is very common for the noun class prefixes marking classes 2 (bò-), 4 (mè-), 6 (mò-) and 8 (bè-) but very rare for the class 5 prefix lè-. Examples are given below.

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(4) a. [bì-mpânc]
/bè-mpânj/
8-side
'sides'

b. [bè-kák]
/bè-kág/
8-child
'children'

c. [bì-sá]
/bè-sá/
8-thing
'things'

(5) a. [bɔ́-nè]
/bó-nè/
2-that
'those'

b. [bó-bá]
/bó-bá/
2-two
'two'

c. [bɜ̀-sís]
/bò-sís/
2-another
'another, different'

d. [bɜ̀-ʃwɔ́]
/bò-ʃwɔ́/
2-friend
'friends'

Additionally, the front mid vowel /e/ may be raised (but not

centralized) to [i] before or after palatal consonants.

(6) a. [mì-ʃùmb]
/mè-ʃùmb/
4-brook, stream
'brooks'

b. [mè-lélà]
/mè-lélà/
4-shiver
'shivers'

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c. [mì-njà]
/mè-njà/
4-intestine
'intestines'

d. [bì-jwàlà]
/bè-jwàlà/
8-banana
'bananas'

e. [bè-kák]
/bè-kág/
8-child
'children'

f. [ɲ-í]
he/she-P1

g. [m-é]
I-P1

In the sections below, the correspondences between the current-day

phonemes of Kol and the reconstructed phonemes of Proto-Bantu will be

explored.

3 Consonant correspondences

The discussion of consonant correspondences below have been

organized by places of articulation, beginning at the front of the mouth and

moving towards the back. Meeussen (1965:83) notes that the occurrence of

voiceless nasalized stops is very restricted. These will be discussed where

there are correspondences, but there are not correspondences at each place of

articulation.

3.1 LABIAL CONSONANTS

3.1.1 *b

In modern-day Kol, the most common reflex of *b is a direct

correspondence, i.e. that *b stays /b/, in both C_1 and C_2 positions.

(7) *b_1 > b

*bá	'dwell, be, become'	>	bə̂	'be'
*bád	'marry'	>	bâ	'marry'
*bángá	'jaw' (11)	>	bə́ŋgô	'jaw' (7)
*bíad	'give birth'	>	byâ	'bear child'
*bîî	'excreta' (13,6)	>	mə̀-bî	'excrement' (6)
*báká	'knife' (9)	>	è-báág	'knife' (5)
*bɔ̀gà	'hoe'	>	bɔ̂ɔg	'hoe' (5) (pl. mə̀mpɔ̀ɔg)

The plural of 'hoe' is worthy of note. This appears to be a class 10

plural which has been moved to class 6. Historically, class 9 nouns formed

their plurals in class 10, while synchronically in Kol they form their plurals in

class 6. This noun and other "double-marked" nouns are discussed in chapter

3, section 1.3.

(8) *b_2 > b

*dɔ́b	'fish with a line'	>	dùb	'fish with a line'
*gùbà	'shield' (9)	>	ŋkùbɔ̀	'shield' (9)
*jíb	'steal'	>	jíbɔ̀	'steal'
*kúbà	'chicken' (9/6)	>	kúbɔ̀	'chicken' (1)

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*bòbè	'spider' (5,11)	>	bùb	'spider' (5)
*tób	'pierce'	>	túbɔ̀	'pierce ears'
*tábè	'twig, branch' (5,9)	>	lɔ̂b	'branch' (3)
*tóóbá	'six' (3)	>	twób	'six'

If *b occurs at the beginning of a verb, it becomes /w/, as shown

below.

(9)	*béd	'boil'	>	wûl	'boil (food)'
	*bèng	'drive, chase'	>	wîŋg	'drive away, chase'
	*badek	'fear, flee'	>	wàl	'fear of risk' (7)

There are a few verbs which have maintained the *b, but they are all

very common verbs (be, marry, bear children). These are shown in (7) above.

Their lexical frequency may have maintained the proto-sound.

The *b has two prenasalized reflexes /mp/ and /mb/. As has been

noted for other A-zone languages, this "double reflex" may be explained by

looking at the morphological environment (Janssens 1993). All of the words

which have /mp/ or /mb/ reflexes in their C_1 slot are nouns. The nouns with

/mp/ are all nouns which belong to proto classes 9 or 11. Class 9 is noted for

having a historic noun class prefix which was a non-syllabic homorganic

nasal. It is possible that class 11 nouns were absorbed into class 9, and then

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underwent this sound change before moving again to other classes (mostly 1 and 7). The fact that both class 9 and class 11 nouns had their plural in class 10 may have made it relatively easy for these two noun classes to merge.

As was noted in chapter 3, most NC initial words in class 9 have a voiceless consonant after the nasal. The class 10 nasal prefix still actively devoices the following consonant. This synchronic evidence makes it less surprising that *b corresponds to /mp/.

(10)	*bànjé	'rib, side' (11)	>	mpànj	'side of body' (7)
	*bɔ̀mà	'python' (9)	>	mpwàm	'python' (1)
	*búdà	'rain' (9)	>	mpú	'rain' (1)
	*búè	'gray hair' (9,11)	>	mpí	'white hair' (10)

Of the two nouns with a /mb/ C_1 reflex, one is historically class 3, and thus would have had a *mo- noun prefix marker, while the other is historically class 15. In many languages, the *mo- of class 3 (and the similar prefix in class 1) lost its vowel and became a syllabic nassal prefix.

(11)	*bɔ́kɔ̀	'arm' (15)	>	mbwó	'arm' (3) (pl. mòbwó)
	*bɔ̀mbɔ́	'bundle' (3)	>	mbùmb	'bundle' (3)

Finally, there is one noun which appears to have a /mpy/ reflex. It is not clear what is the source of the palatalization. It is a historic class 9 noun,

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and we would expect a non-palatalized pre-nasalized stop as a reflex of the

*b.

(12) *bóà   'dog' (9,12)   >   mpyó   'dog' (1)

In C_2 position, /b/ is the most common reflex of *b, as was mentioned

above. However, there is also a word with a /m/ correspondence.

(13) *gùbà   'bellows' (3)   >   kwòm   'bellows'

3.1.1.1   Summary

To summarize, the primary correspondence of *b is /b/ in both C_1 and

C_2 positions. At the beginning of a noun, *b would have corresponded to /p/

when following a nonsyllabic nasal prefix (class 9 or 10) and would have

remained /b/ when following a syllabic nasal or CV- prefix. The syllabic

nasal then became assimilated into the nominal stem, resulting in the

difference between the /mb/ and /b/ correspondences. At the beginning of

verbs, *b became /w/, except for some common verbs where *b stayed /b/.

As *b_2 *b remained /b/.

3.1.2 *p

Synchronically, there are no native voiceless bilabial stops in Kol.

There are a few words which begin with /p/, but these can all be identified as

Ewondo borrowings (Begne 1989:32). In root-initial position, the historic *p

has either been weakened to the voiceless labiodental fricative /f/, has

become voiced as in /b/, has become part of a prenasalized stop as in /mp/

or /mb/, or has been weakened and voiced as in /w/. /b/ may be found in

either the C_1 or C_2 position, but /f/, /w/, /mb/ and /mp/ only occur root-

initially.

3.1.2.1 *p in C_1 position

In order to explain the numerous correspondences of *p in C_1 position,

it is necessary to separate nominal roots from verbal roots. As the C_1 in

verbal roots, *p has the following reflexes: {f, w}.

The primary reflex of *p at the beginning of verbal roots is /f/.

(14)	*pép	'winnow'	>	fyàb	'winnow'
	*pènd	'braid'	>	fənd	'braid'
	*pooɲ	'admire'	>	fààg	'admire'
	*píp	'suck'	>	fyê	'suck'

The /w/ reflex is the easiest to describe, since there are only two examples. It appears that *p became /w/ when it occurred at the beginning of a verbal stem, followed by *a. This is very similar to the environment suggested above for the *b > w correspondence, where $*b_1$ > w in verbal stems. Since *p can become /b/ between vowels, as it does when it is in C_2 position as described below, I will suggest that this is an example of a sound change chain, where *p > b > w.

(15) *pá   'give to, gratify'   >   wá   'give, put'

    *páad   'quarrel (v)'   >   wɔ́   'quarrel'

In nominal roots, *p has the following correspondences: {w, mp, b, mb, f}. Since for *b, different reflexes occurred when following different kind of nominal prefixes, it could be important to separate nouns according to their historical class membership. The reflexes /f/, /w/, /mp/ and /b/ occur in historic class 9 nouns, while the reflexes /mb/ and /v/ only occur in class 3 nouns.

Below are the class 9 cognate pairs which have been found for nouns beginning with *p. It is interesting that all but four of these correspondences are completely missing the nasal that was historically the noun class marker.

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(The exceptions are in (20).) However, it is not that surprising, since for a

number of related languages (e.g. Ewondo), the nasal prefix was deleted

before voiceless stops (Janssens 1993:147). If this did occur in Kol, then that

suggests that the words showing the /mp/ correspondence may be

borrowings.

(16)	*pígɔ̀	'kidney' (9)	>	mbǎŋ fîg	'kidney'	
	*pókò	'mouse, rat' (1,5,9)	>	fû	'mouse' (1)	
	*pótá	'wound' (7,9)	>	fɔ́ŋ	'wound'	
	*pénjù	'cockroach' (9)	>	fînj	'cockroach' (1)	
	*pùùpà	'wind' (9)	>	fùbɔ́	'wind' (7)	
	*pómpó	'pigeon' (7, 9)	>	lè-fàb	'pigeon' (5)	
	*pempa	'night' (9)	>	fùm	'night' (3)	
(17)	*pádè	'polygamy' (9)	>	wál	'polygamy' (7)	
	*pàkò	'tree-hollow' (9)	>	è-wúg	'hole' (5)	
	*pédè	'puff-adder' (9)	>	wúrɔ̀	'puff adder' (7)	
	*púdì	'foam' (9)	>	è-wúlè̀	'foam' (5)	
(18)	*pádà	'forehead' (9,11)	>	è-bàdà	'forehead' (5)	
	*pákù	'honey' (9)	>	bwɔ́g	'harvest honey'	
(19)	*pákà	'cat' (9)	>	mpà	'wild cat' (7)	
	*pukɔ	'hair' (6)	>	mpùŋɔ̀	'hair' (10)	
	*pàpá	'wing' (5,11)	>	mpyàb	'wing' (5)	
	*póngó	'bird, eagle' (9)	>	mpàl	'eagle' (7)	

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In trying to establish conditioning for these different reflexes of *p, it is hard to know whether to look at the historical environment or the synchronic environment. It is interesting that synchronically, /w/ appears mostly before /u/, while /b/ appears mostly before /a/. However, /f/ also appears before both /u/ and /a/. Synchronically, these nouns mostly belong to the same classes, classes 5 and 7. They do not change their initial consonant when the plural mò- or bè- is added.

Looking at nouns that were historically in class 1 or 3, I was only able to find one clear cognate set for *p.

(20) *pénì 'pestle' (3)   >   mbîn 'pestle' (3)

There is also a *p > /v/ correspondence. /v/ is a marginal phoneme in Kol, so this word is probably borrowed.

(21) *pengɔ 'ebony' (3)   >   è-vîn 'ebony tree' (5)

3.1.2.2   *p in C₂ position

In C₂ position, *p consistently has a reflex of /b/.

(22) *dupek	'sharpen'		>	jàb	'sharpen (knife)'
*kápí	'paddle, oar' (9)		>	ŋkɔ̀ɔ̀b	'paddle' (9)
*kúpà	'bone' (5)		>	fɔ̀b	'fish bone' (9)

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*pàpá	'wing' (5,11)	>	mpyàb	'wing' (5)	
*pép	'winnow'	>	fyàb	'winnow'	

3.1.2.3   Summary

To summarize, *p always corresponds to the voiced bilabial stop /b/ in C₂ position. As the initial consonant of verbs, *p corresponds to /w/ before /a/, and /f/ everywhere else. As the initial consonant of nouns, *p corresponds to /mb/ after the nasal prefix of class 3, and as /f/, /w/, /b/ or /mp/ after the nasal prefix (synchronically no longer present) of class 9.

3.1.3 *m

In C₁ position, all examples of *m directly corresponds to /m/.

(23) *mea	'calm, quiet' (7)	>	myòŋ	'quiet'	
*mìd	'swallow, devour'	>	mìnɔ	'swallow'	

In C₂ position, this is also the case most of the time, as is shown below.

(24) *bɔmà	'python' (9)	>	mpwàm	'python' (1)	
*démà	'bat' (3)	>	njêm	'bat' (3)	
*kém	'call, cry (v)'	>	kêm	'scream, cry out'	
*kémà	'monkey'	>	kâm	'monkey' (1)	
*kómì	'ten' (5)	>	wúm	'ten' (5)	

However, there is one example where *m seems to correspond to /mb/. It is interesting that this is a word which also begins with a

prenasalized stop. The opposite correspondence is much more common and will be discussed below.

(25) *gɔmà 'drum' (9) > ŋkùmb 'medium drum' (9)

To summarize, *m directly corresponds to /m/ in C_1 position and most of the time directly corresponds to /m/ in C_2 position. However, there is one example of a *m > mb correspondence, as demonstrated above.

3.1.4 *mb

No roots have been reconstructed with an initial *mb. However, in the C_2 position, sometimes *mb corresponds to /mb/, sometimes it corresponds to /m/, and sometimes it corresponds to /b/. The latter two appear to be a case of simplification.

(26) *bɔmbɔ 'bundle' (3) > mbùmb 'bundle' (3)

*dámb 'cook' (v) > jâmb 'prepare food, cook'

*dímb 'get lost' > dîmb 'be lost'

*dómb 'ask for' > jwâmb 'ask, request s.th.'

*jàmbé 'god' (9) > ncìmbé 'god' (1)

*gɔmbá 'porcupine' (9) > ŋkwɔmb 'porcupine' (1)

*kɔmbɛ 'bank, shore' > kómb 'side'

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(27)	*jemba	'antbear' (9)	>	yímɔ̀	'antbear' (1)
	*dòmbò	'sibling (opp.sex)	>	ntúm	'her brother' (1)
	*comb	'be on top'	>	ʃúmə̀ló	'upper (arm)' (9)
	*dùmb	'smell'	>	nùmə̀lɔ̀	'smell'

(28)	*càmb	'leap over'	>	kâb	'jump'
	*támb	'call'	>	jáb	'call'
	*kɔ́mbɛ̀	'cup'	>	kwɔ́bɔ̀	'cup' (1)

3.1.5 *mp

As was mentioned above, there are few reconstructed words containing

voiceless prenasalized stops. Below are two correspondences. The *mp here

shows the same reflexes as *mb described above. In Kol today, voiced and

voiceless stops are neutralized at the ends of words. It may be that *mp was

neutralized with *mb once the final vowel was lost.

(29)	*pómpó	pigeon' (7, 9)	>	lè-fàb	'pigeon' (5)
	*pempa	'night' (9)	>	fùm	'night' (3)

3.2 ALVEOLAR CONSONANTS

3.2.1 *d

*d has a number of reflexes in current-day Kol. It may correspond to

{d, j, nj, l, r, n, nd or y}. The C_1 reflexes will be examined first, followed by

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those for the C_2 position. /j/ is the most common correspondence for both

nouns and verbs.

3.2.1.1 *d in C_1 position

Since morphological category may be important, below is a discussion

of the C_1 correspondences in nouns, followed by a discussion of the C_1

correspondences in verbs.

The clearest case will be dealt with first. *d corresponds to /nj/ for

nouns in noun classes which have nasals in their reconstructed singular

prefixes.

(30) *démà 'bat' (3)   > njêm 'bat' (3) (pl. mèjêm)

     *dómὲ 'husband, male' > njùm 'husband, male' (1) (pl. bòjûm)

     *dɔ̀ngà 'river' (3)   > njwăŋ 'river' (9)

     *dèdɔ̀ 'boundary' (3) > njì   'frontier' (9)

     *dà   'entrails' (11)   > njà   'intestines' (3)

Below are also three examples where *d corresponds to /j/ where there

used to be a nasal prefix. In general, historic class 11 nouns seem to have

been absorbed into class 9, maybe due to their common plural in class 10.

These nouns may have regularized their singular forms with their plural. As

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can be seen for 'bat' and 'husband' above, some singulars which begin with a

nasal synchronically do not have a nasal in their plural form.

(31) *dúdé   'shadow' (3)   >   júkəbɔ́ 'shadow'

      *démì   'tongue' (11)   >   jôm   'tongue' (7) (pl. bìjôm)

      *dèdù   'beard' (7,9,11)   >   jòl   'beard' (9) (no pl.)

Below are two examples which are both nominalizations of verbs and

therefore may have passed through a stage where they were in a class that

began with a nasal prefix. For example, in the the F and G zones, the

nominalized form of the verb 'to deceive' is a class 3 noun.

(32) *dɔ́   'sleep' (13)   >   jwò   'sleep' (5)

      *dɔ́ng   'suggest'   >   bè-jáŋ   'lies' (8)

There is also one odd occurrence where *d corresponds to /t/ after the

nasal prefix and one example where it corresponds to /s/ in a similar

environment. The first example below is parallel to what was seen for *b,

which had a number of /mp/ correspondences. However, this is the only

example of its kind (nor are there /nc/ correspondences). The latter is likely

to be a borrowing through the church languages of Bulu or Ewondo.

(33) *dòmbò   'sibling (opp.sex)   >   ntúm   'her brother' (1)

      *dímò   'spirit' (3)   >   sísìm   'spirit' (3)

The direct correspondence of *d to /d/ is found where the proto

consonant would have been between two vowels. Perhaps more importantly

though, two of these are class 5 nouns, where it is hard to know whether the

synchronic /d/ which remains is a reflex of the $*d_1$ of the root, or of the *d of

the class 5 prefix. Note that 'beak' and 'chin, jaw' lose their /d/'s in the

plural.

(34) *dongo 'beak' (3) > dúúg 'beak' (5) (pl. múúg)

   *dèdù 'chin' (7,9,11) > dɔ̂z 'chin, jaw' (5) (mɔ̂z)

   *dìbà 'pool, depth' (5) > mò-díbɔ́ 'water' (6)

The class 5 prefix is synchronically either è- or lè-, making /l/ also a

correspondence of *d, because the proto-class 5 forms are *i- (nominal prefix)

and *di- (concord prefix). This reflex also shows up in a few nouns, most of

them class 5 nouns synchronically, as shown below. Here, if the initial /l/ is

due to the class 5 prefix historically, it has been reinterpreted over the course

of time, since the plural also has /l/.

(35) *dɔ̀ng 'speak, talk' > lɔ̂ŋ 'speech' (5) (pl. mòlɔ̂ŋ)

   *dàdok 'be mad' > làd 'crazy person' (7)

   *dàdá 'palm tree' (3) > lɔ́d 'palm tree' (5) (mòlɔ́d)

   *dakɔ 'horn' > làg 'horn' (5) (pl. mòlàg)

The correspondence of *d to /y/ is very rare in nouns though there are

also a few examples of the same correspondence in verbs. When *d

corresponds to /y/ it tends to be followed by a front vowel, though this is not

enough to completely distinguish this correspondence from those given

above.

(36) *dèndé   'open pit' (5)   >   yénj   'open place, clearing' (7)

    *dàmá   'young animal'   >   yέm   'domesticated animal'

Finally, there is one cognate pair where *d corresponds to /n/. This is

a common reflex across Bantu languages, particularly where the second C is

also a nasal.

(37)   *dɔ̀mɔ̀ 'entry, mouth' (3)   >   nùm   'mouth' (3)

This might have been an example of Meinhof's rule, where by complex

nasal units are simplified when they precede another nasal. A possible series

of changes is shown below.

(38)   *NV-dɔmɔ > ndɔmɔ > nnɔmɔ > nɔmɔ > num

For verbs, *d commonly corresponds to /j/, as shown below. These

verbs tend to have non-high vowels in the reconstructed forms.

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(39) *dámb   'cook (v)'   >   jâmb   'prepare food, cook'

     *dèd   'weep, cry, wail'   >   jìì   'cry, weep'

     *dupek 'sharpen'   >   jàb   'sharpen (knife)'

     *dáad   'sleep (v.)'   >   já   'sleep (v.)'

     *dèet   'lick'   >   jâl   'lick'

     *dàmok 'early, wake up' >   jòm   'wake up'

     *dè   'be'   >   jì   'be (att.)'

     *dómb 'ask for'   >   jwâmb 'ask, request s.th'

     *dók   'vomit'   >   jû   'vomit (v)'

The direct correspondence also occurs fairly frequently. These verbs

tend to have high vowels in the reconstructed forms.

(40) *dɔ́b   'fish with a line' >   dùb   'fish with line'

     *dúg   'paddle (v.)' >   dúgɔ̀ 'paddle (v.)'

     *dùt   'pull, drag'   >   dùlə̀ 'pull'

     *dé   'eat'   >   dɔ̀   'eat'

     *dìb   'stop up'   >   dìbɔ́lê 'stop up'

     *dímb 'get lost'   >   dîmb 'be lost'

There are also a couple of examples where *d corresponds to /l/,

which is consistent with one of the nominal patterns and with the synchronic

class 5 marker.

(41)   *dɔ̀b 'speak, talk'   >   làb   'speak, talk'

     *dàg   'show'   >   lágə̀lə̀ 'show'

Additionally, *d corresponds to /y/ and /n/ in exactly the same places in verbs as it did in nouns. /y/ is a reflex of *d when *d precedes front vowels, and /n/ is a reflex of *d when the second consonant in the word is also a nasal. However, once again, this is not enough to account for why there are not more pairs with /y/ and /n/ reflexes since more than the words below would fulfill those conditions.

(42) *dɛ́d   'float, swing'   >   yôlòŋ   'swing'

     *díong   'wander'   >   yángà   'wander'

     *dèng   'measure'   >   yììg   'measure'

(43) *dùmb   'smell'   >   nùmə̀lɔ̀   'smell'

Additionally, there is one other correspondence, /t/, with only one cognate pair. There is not enough data to understand the conditioning, and it probably a borrowing since it exists alongside a word with the expected correspondence.

(44) *dò   'fight'   >   túnà   'fight with weapons'
                              júnà   'fight (v)'

3.2.1.2   *d in C₂ position

The primary correspondence of *d in a C₂ position is /l/.

(45)

*béd	'boil'	>	wûl	'boil (food)'
*kúdù	'tortoise' (9)	>	kûl	'tortoise' (7)
*túd	'forge (v)'	>	lúlɔ	'hit with a hammer'
*dɛd	'float, swing'	>	yôlòn	'swing'
*bùd	'become plentiful'	>	bùlù	'a lot, many'
*dɛdù	'beard'	>	jòl	'beard' (9)
*badek	'fear, flee'	>	wàl	'fear of risk' (7)
*cùd	'fart'	>	ɲăg ʃùl	'fart'
*púdì	'foam' (9)	>	è-wúlɛ̀	'foam' (5)
*tàd	'cut open'	>	càl	'cut down tree'

If *d is followed by a low vowel, then *d corresponds to /d/, which for many speakers is weakened to [r].

(46)

*jíd	'get dark'	>	è-yìdɛ	'darkness' (5)
*pédè	'puff-adder' (9)	>	wúdɔ	'puff adder' (7)
*gòdò	'leg' (15/6)	>	dù	'leg' (pl. mòdù) (5)
*pádà	'forehead'	>	è-bàdà	'forehead' (5)

*d can also correspond to /nd/. Words with this reflex all begin with a palatal or velar nasal. However, there are also palatal and velar initial roots which have /l/ correspondences.

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(47)	*jíd	'become black'	>	yíndê	'black'
	*kɔ́kɔ̀dà	'elbow'	>	ŋkwéndé	'elbow' (1)
	*cɛ̀d	'slip'	>	jàndɔ̀là[19]	'slip'

If the first consonant in the word is a nasal, then it seems that *d can correspond to /n/, as is illustrated below. Again, this is the only cognate pair illustrating this pattern.

(48)	*mìd	'devour, swallow'	>	mìnɔ̀	'swallow'

Finally, there are some correspondences of *d to /z/. These are all synchronically after back vowels, though it is not clear why they would be a trigger for such a weakening process (which differs from the synchronic weakening of /d/ to [r]).

(49)	*dɛ̀dù	'chin' (7,9,11)	>	dɔ̂z	'chin' (5)
	*gòd	'buy, barter'	>	kùzɔ̀	'buy'
	*mòdè	'torch, bright'	>	mòz	'torch, lamp' (3)
	*jàdí	'lightning (9)	>	njòz	'lightning' (3)

3.2.1.3 Summary

To summarize, *d_1 corresponds to /j/ after a nasal prefix and to /d/ when it occurs after a CV- prefix. The environments which led to the /l/ and

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[19] Also *sàndɔ̀là.*

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/y/ reflexes are less clear. /l/ corresponds to *d in the class 5 prefix, as well

as in a few nouns and verbs. /y/ only occurs as a reflex of *d when *d was

followed by a front vowel (in both nouns and verbs), but this vowel cannot be

the only conditioning factor. It is possible that an alveolar C_2 is the other

conditioning factor. Finally, there is one correspondence /n/ in a

conditioning environment that would be consistent with Meinhofs law.

In C_2 position, the most common reflex of *d is /l/. If *d precedes a

low vowel, it corresponds to /d/ which is weakened to [r] for many speakers.

Some words also show a *d to /z/ reflex which could also be the result of

weakening. Some words also exhibit a /nd/ reflex, but the conditioning

reflex is not clear. Finally, it may be the case that when the C_1 is nasal, a

nasal harmony is triggered, resulting in a correspondence of /n/.

3.2.2 *t

3.2.2.1   *t in C_1 position

There are three correspondences to *t at the beginning of a noun: /t/,

/d/, and /l/. The /d/ correspondence seems the easiest to explain. *t

corresponds to /d/ after the nasal prefix of class 9. It is not surprising that

there is no trace of the nasal prefix in the reflexes of the class 9 words below,

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since as has already been mentioned, the nasal was generally deleted before a

voiceless stop.

(50)　*tòìgà　'giraffe' (9)　　>　　dwâng　'giraffe' (1)

　　　*tùut　'swell (v)'　　>　　dwàl　'tumor'

It is interesting that /d/ is also a reflex for a historical class 5 noun,

since the historical prefixes for class 5 were *i and *di-.

(51)　*tàngá　'cattle post' (5)　　>　　dàŋ　'herd (cattle, sheep)'

Discovering a conditioning environment, either phonological or

morphological for /t/ vs /l/ is trickier. Both occur before the same vowels,

before the same tones, and in the same root shapes. There is also a mixing of

morphological categories. /t/ occurs in what would have historically been an

intervocalic environment (after a CV- prefix, as for class 5 nouns and the

word 'five' which agrees with the head noun it modifies and thus would have

followed several CV- concord prefixes). However, it also occurs with class 3

nouns, which would have been marked by a syllabic nasal.

(52)　*táánɔ́　'five'　　　　>　　tón　'five'

　　　*tóóbá　'six' (3)　　>　　twób　'six'

　　　*tíndí　'heel' (5)　　>　　tíndìgì　'heel'

　　　*tító　'animal' (3)　　>　　tíd　'animal' (7)

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/l/ also occurs after what would have been a nasal prefix in a number

of the historic class 3 and 9 examples below. The historically class 9 noun

with an /l/ reflex is especialy surprising.

(53) *táà   'bow' (14)   > lâ   'bow' (7)

      *tóè   'head' (3)   > lú   'head' (5) (pl. màlû)

      *tábè   'twig, branch' (5,9) > lɔb   'branch' (3)

      *té   'tree' (3)   > lé   'tree' (3)

      *tómà   'heart' (3)   > lâm   'heart' (7)

      *tátò   'three'   > lôl   'three'

      *tóè   'ear' (5)   > lwɔ   'ear' (5)

At the beginning of a verb, /l/ is the most common correspondence for

*t. It is interesting however, that for the examples below, *t only once

precedes a front vowel.

(54) *túng   'build, plait' > lúŋò   'build by weaving'

      *tèd   'sew'   > lààd   'sew'

      *túd   'forge (v)'   > lúlɔ   'hit with a hammer'

      *tóg   'bail water'   > lwɔg   'bail water'

      *tóm   'send'   > lwɔmbèlɔ   'send on an errand'

      *túm   'stab'   > lúmɔ   'stab'

      *támb   'set trap'   > lâmb   'set trap'

      *tɔ   'bite'   > lû   'sting, strike (snake)'

In fact, there are only five examples where *t precedes a front vowel, the one given above (*tèd), the three given in (55) and (56), and the first example of (58). For two of these, *t corresponds to /s/.

(55)	*téamod	'sneeze'	>	sâmbɜ̀lɔ̀	'sneeze'
	*tèk	'shake'	>	ságɜ̀zɜ̀	'shake'

For another, *t corresponds to /c/, as shown below.

(56)	*tèet	'cut'	>	cè	'cut'

However, this is an interesting semantic field to look at. To begin with, there is another proto-Bantu root, cɛɛc, also meaning 'to cut.' It is not clear which root the Kol word is related to. It may be a direct reflex *c > c, or rather *t > c. The *c root is attested in Zone C, but not in A, while the *t root is attested in Zones A, B and C. Since there are no other reflexes of *c > c or of *t > c at the beginning of a word (other than what is shown below), the origin of 'cut' remains a mystery. The /s/ at the beginning of 'cut open' is also odd in light of the rest of the semantic field.

(57)	*bɛ́d	'cut'	bà	'cut'
	*tèet	'cut'	cè	'cut'
	*tàd	'cut open'	sààl	'cut open'
			càl	'cut down tree'

		cíg	'cut'
		cígəlɔ	'cut into pieces'
*kɛ́k	'cut'	kèŋ	'cut hair'

For the fourth example of *t before a front vowel, given as the first

example below, *t corresponds to /t/. The next two examples are confusing,

since /t/ corresponds to *t in the same phonological environments as was

shown for /l/ above, namely before a back vowel.

(58) *tínd 'push' > tíndəlɔ 'push with pole (canoe)'

     *tób 'pierce' > túbɔ 'pierce ears'

     *tók 'abuse' > tûg 'insult, tease'

In fact, there are an additional two correspondences for *t before a

back vowel, /ʃ/ and /j/. There is only one example for /ʃ/, so it may be able

to be ignored, but there are three for /j/. Again, this is an area for further

research.

(59) *táng 'be first' > ʃwôg 'be in front'

(60) *tòkot 'be hot, sweat' > júŋə 'be hot (person)'

     *támb 'call' > jáb 'call'

     *tànd 'spread' > jênj 'spread (disease, fire)'

3.2.2.2 *t in C₂ position

In C₂ position, *t corresponds to /l/ when there is a final vowel and to /d/ when it is root-final synchronically, as shown below.

(61) *dùt   'pull, drag'   >   dùlə̀   'pull'

      *ját-ab   'answer'   >   yàlà   'answer (v)'

(62) *tító   'animal'   >   tíd   'animal' (7)

3.2.2.3 Summary

For *t₁, after the non-syllabic nasal prefix of class 9, *t corresponds to /d/. There are also examples where it appears that the /d/ correspondence has been influenced by noun membership in class 5. *t also corresponds to /t/ and /l/ at the beginning of nouns.

At the beginning of verbs, /l/ is the most common correspondence, though it appears to only occur before back vowels. When preceding a front vowel, *t corresponds to /s/, /t/ and /c/. Before back vowels, there are also a few correspondences of *t to /t/, /ʃ/ and /j/.

As was described above, in C₂ position, *t corresponds to /l/ when the final vowel has been preserved and to /d/ when it is root-final synchronically.

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3.2.3 *n

In nouns, adjectives and function words, the proto-alveolar nasal always corresponds to a synchronic alveolar nasal, in both C_1 and C_2 positions.

(63) $*n_1 > n$

*nà	'and, with'	>		nò	'and, with'
*nàì	'four'	>		ná	'four'
*nɛ́nɛ̀	'big'	>		nə́né	'big, important'

(64) $*n_2 > n$

*nɛ́nɛ̀	'big'	>	nə́né	'big, important'	
*jánà	'child'	>	-ân	'child, offspring' (1)	
*jínà	'name' (5)	>	dínɔ̀	'name' (5)	
*gànɔ̀	'tale' (9,11)	>	kààn	'tale' (3)	
*táánɔ́	'five'	>	tón	'five'	

In verbs, however, *n seems to correspond to /ɲ/, as shown by the three examples below. (The only verb found with a direct correspondence is the word for 'big' above, which may actually be a verb 'to be big.') In Kol, infinitives are marked with the class 5 prefix, and Meeussen notes that it may be possible to reconstruct that in proto-Bantu (1965:111). The historic class 5 prefix *i- may have conditioned palatalization of the alveolar nasal.

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(65)	*nínk	'give'	>	ɲìg	'give back'
	*nè	'defecate'	>	ɲàg	'defecate'
	*nòkod	'tear off, extract'	>	ɲà	'tear'

There is also one more verb beginning with *n which seems to have a correlate in modern-day Kol. There are no other examples with a similar /t/ correspondence.

(66)	*nùn	'be old'	>	túl	'be old'

3.2.4 *nd

There are no clear examples of *nd in C_1 position. However, in C_2 position, *nd almost always corresponds to /nd/.

(67)	*gàndó	'crocodile' (9)	>	ŋkɔ̀ndô	'crocodile' (1)
	*gɔ̀ndɛ̀	'moon' (9)	>	nkùnd	'moon' (9)
	*kándà	'cloth' (3,5,9)	>	kánd	'cloth' (7)
	*kɔ̀ndɛ̀	'banana' (5)	>	kwànd	'plantain' (7)
	*tínd	'push'	>	tíndɘ̀lɔ̀	'push with pole'
	*gɛ̀ndɔ̀	'journey' (11)	>	ŋkònd	'journey' (7)
	*tíndí	'heel' (5)	>	tíndìgì	'heel'

There are a few examples, where *nd may correspond to /nj/. This may be palatalization since the *nd is otherwise surrounded by palatals or the front vowels {i, e}. It cannot be just the vowel, since otherwise we would

expect the *nd in 'heel' to also become palatalized under the effect of the high

front vowel /i/.

(68)	*dèndé	'open pit' (5)	>	yénj	'open place, clearing' (7)
	*céndé	'squirrel'	>	sínj	'squirrel' (7)
	*tànd	'spread'	>	jênj	'spread (disease, fire)'

Finally, there is one possible example of simplification of the final

consonant. This is most likely a correspondence of *nd >nj >j. It is

common for final prenasalized stops to be simplified to a single segment,

either oral or nasal, as seen for *mb and *mp above.

| (69) | *jòndɔ | 'hammer' (9) | > | ncùùj | 'hammer' (9) |

There is also one example where *nd may correspond to /d/. This

could be seen as an example of simplification.

| (70) | *kèndó | 'palm tree' (3) | > | lè-kúdó | 'palm tree' (5) |

3.2.5 *nt

As was mentioned above, voiceless prenasalized stops are very rare.

There are two possible examples, and in both cases *nt corresponds to /d/.

| (71) | ntù | 'some' | > | m-ùd | 'person' (1) |
| | kònt | 'knock, shake' | > | kùdò | 'hit with hand' |

3.3 PALATAL CONSONANTS

3.3.1 *j

There are no examples of *j in the C_2 position, which is consistent with the synchronic lack of palatal consonants in the coda position. However there are a plethora of reflexes, many of them contradictory, for the C_1 position. These are discussed below.

3.3.1.1 *j in C_1 position

At the beginning of nouns, *j corresponds to /c/ after the nasal prefix. This is illustrated below. Since *j was voiced, the nasal prefix remains (it is only deleted before voiceless consonants).

(72) *jɔgù   'elephant' (9)   >   ncwòg   'elephant' (1)

      *jòndɔ   'hammer' (9)   >   ncùùj   'hammer' (9)

      *jàdà   'hunger' (9)   >   ncà   'hunger' (9)

      *játé   'buffalo' (9)   >   ncwɔm   'buffalo' (7)

      *jango   'gall, salt'   >   ìcɔ́ŋ   'bile or gall'

      *jango   'gall, salt'   >   ìcà   'bile or gall'

However, there are a few examples of a direct correspondence in what appears to be the same morphological environment.

(73) *jèdà   'path' (9)   >   njwɔ́ŋ   'path' (9)

      *jóbɔ   'house' (9)   >   njáb   'house' (3/4)

      *jɔgà   'fungus (edible)'   >   jwɜ̀   'mushroom' (7)

There is also one occurrence where the *j seems to have been deleted.

There is some question though, with many of the initial *j's whether they

were there at all. Janssens notes that: "The researcher has the impression

from time to time that those establishing the reconstructions posited the

existence of a voiced palatal sound in PB (*j in Meeussen, *y or *j in Guthrie)

more for reasons of economy than on the basis of definite indications"

(1993:331). The example below could just be the nasal prefix of the class 9

occurring before a vowel-initial root. It is interesting though that it is the

palatal nasal, which is the form we would expect before *j but not a expected

reflex of *n in a noun.

(74)   *jɔkà   'snake' (9)   >   ɲwâŋ   'snake' (1)

There is also one example where *j corresponds to /d/. This is

interesting because synchronically, /d/ alternates with /j/ in some dialects for

at least this word. The Kol speakers who live along the Mbama-Messaména

road say [jínɔ] while the Kol speakers who live further away from the road

say [dínɔ].

(75)   *jínà   'name' (5)   >   dínɔ   'name' (5) (pl. mínɔ)

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Finally, there are a number of minor correspondences which may all be borrowed. The word for 'cooking pot' is quite unusual, since the expected correspondence is /nc/.

(76) *jemba 'antbear'   >   yímɔ̀   'antbear'

      *jɛ̀njɛ̀ 'mane' (3)   >   sáŋ   'mane' (3)

      *jòngó   'cooking pot' (9) >   kòŋ   'cooking pot' (9)

As the initial consonant in verbs, *j corresponds to /j/ or /y/. The conditioning environment may be the following consonants. The /j/ reflexes are followed (or were followed) by labial consonants, while the /y/ reflexes are followed by alveolar consonants. However, it remains unclear why a labial consonant would maintain the proto-sound while an alveolar would condition weakening.

(77) *jíb   'steal'   >   jíbɔ̀   'steal'

      *jɔ̀d   'laugh (v)'   >   jwò   'laugh (v)'

      *jípòd   'ask (questions)' >   jí   'ask (for info)'

(78) *ját-ab 'answer'   >   yàlà   'answer'

      *jíd   'become black'   >   yíndê   'black'

Finally, one verb in Proto-Bantu has two different correspondences in modern-day Kol, neither one of which shows the /j/ or /y/ correspondences illustrated above!

(79) *jìkád 'dwell, sit, stay' > dì 'stay, remain'

> lígò 'stay, leave'

3.3.1.2 Summary

As was mentioned above, there are no examples of *j_2. *j_1 in nouns primarily corresponds to /c/ or /j/. All examples of /c/ are preceded by the class 9 nasal prefix. In verbs, *j_1 corresponds to /j/ or /y/, with the difference possibly being triggered by the following consonant.

3.3.2 *c

3.3.2.1 *c in C1 position

The primary reflexes of *c at the beginning of a noun are /s/ and /ʃ/. As was noted in the section above on synchronic variation, some dialects of Kol have /s/ where other dialects have /ʃ/. Not enough is known about this synchronic variation to know how it might have interacted with the historical evolution of *c. The /ʃ/ reflexes are always followed by a back vowel as seen in (81), while the /s/ reflexes are followed by both front and back vowels.

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(80) *cé   'earth, ground'   >   sí   'ground, earth' (7)

      *cángó   'father' (1a)   >   sɔ́ŋgə̀   'father' (1)

      *cádá   'feather' (5, 7, 11) > sà   'feather' (9)

      *céndé   'squirrel' (7)   >   sínj   'squirrel' (7)

      *cèngà   'sand' (3,5,9,11) >   sìɲɛ̀   'sand' (9) (no pl.)

(81) *cɔngɔ   'banana' (5)   >   ʃúŋɔ́   'regime of plantains' (3)

      *cúé   'fish'   >   ʃû ~ sû   'fish' (1)

      *comb   'be on top'   >   ʃúmló   'upper (arm)' (9)

      *cɔ́nì   'shame' (9)   >   ʃû   'shame' (9) (no pl.)

Finally, there are four correspondences of which there is only one or

two examples each. One, 'axe,' appears to have an incorporated nasal prefix

which may be due to its shifting classes from class 5 to class 9 which is

historically (though not synchronically) marked by a nasal prefix. The next is

the voiced equivalent of *c, /j/, and this example historically belongs to class

14 which does not exist synchronically in Kol. The other three have /k/ and

/t/ correspondences. There is not enough information to know right now

what conditioned these different reflexes.

(82) *cɔ̀ká   'axe' (5)   >   ncûŋ   'axe' (9)

      *cóngó   'poison' (14)   >   jwɔ̀g   'poison (n.)' (9)

      *cácɛ̀   'spark' (5,9,11)   >   kə́ká   'spark' (1)

      *coga   'ladle'   >   tûg   'spoon' (1)

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*còdò 'smell' (9) > tùd 'bad smell'

There are four correspondences for *c at the beginning of a verb. The most common reflex for *c at the beginning of a verb is /j/.

(83) *còk 'wash'   > jùzà   'wash'
      *còng 'suffer' > jùg   'suffer'
      *cèd 'slip'   > jàndèlà 'slip' (also sàndèlà)

The most consistent environment is found for the change *c > s, as shown below. All verbs which began with *c followed by *i synchronically begin with /s/. However, as can be seen by the last verb below, *c also changed to /s/ before *a in 'do.'

(84) *cíd 'finish'   > síl   'finish'
      *cìc 'frighten' > syègèlé 'frighten'
      *cá   'do'   > sá   'do'

This overlaps with the more common correspondence of *c to /j/ as well as two other correspondences which seem to occur in the same environment. These are illustrated below. Each of these is in complementary distribution with the /s/ correspondence before *i, but it is not clear at all what the conditioning environment is that determines whether *c corresponds to /j/, /k/ or /ʃ/.

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(85)	*còobod	'skin'	>	kúúr	'skin animal'
	*càmb	'leap over'	>	kâb	'jump'
	*càng	'meet'	>	kwênj	'assemble, meet'
	*cɛ́ɛc	'run'	>	kwêg	'run'

As was the case for nouns, /ʃ/ only appears before back vowels.

However, /k/ and /j/ also appear before back vowels.

(86)	*cɔ̀ng	'sharpen to a point'	>	ʃwênj	'sharpen'
	*cùd	'fart'	>	ɲǎg ʃùl	'fart'

3.3.2.2   *c in C_2 position

There are only three examples of c_2, as shown below. This is not

enough data to be able to draw any sort of conclusions about the

correspondences of c_2. However, it is interesting that one of these is /z/

which is the voiced correlate to one of the c_1 correspondences, /s/.

(87)	*kòcò	'parrot' (9)	>	kùùz	'parrot' (1)
	*kác-u	'dry'	>	ʃwézá, ʃwêz	'be dry'
	*kác	'coagulate'	>	kàgɔ̀rà	'coagulate, clot'

3.3.2.3   Summary

In nouns, c_1 primarily corresponds to /s/ or /ʃ/. /ʃ/ is only found

preceding back vowels, while /s/ is found preceding both front and back

vowels. In addition, there is an /nc/ correspondences which may have been caused in part by interaction with the class 9 prefix.

In verbs, *c corresponds to /s/ when it precedes *i, and to /j/, /s/, /k/, or /ʃ/ elsewhere. The correspondences /j/, /s/, /k/ and /ʃ/ occur in the same environments, but only /s/ occurs before *i.

In C_2 position, *c corresponds to /z/ or /k/, but there is not enough data to know which of these is the primary correspondence and/or what the conditioning environment is.

3.3.3 *ɲ

There are only three clear cognate sets with the palatal nasal. It appears that the *ɲ directly corresponds to /ɲ/.

(88)	*ɲɔ́	'drink (v)'	>	ɲwɛl	'drink (v)'
	*ɲam	'suck, suckle'	>	ɲâŋ	'nurse, suckle'
	*ɲàŋgó	'your mother' (1a)	>	ɲɔ̀ŋgɜ̂	'mother' (1)

3.3.4 *nj

In contrast to *j where there were no clear examples of it occurring in C_2 position, for *nj, there are no clear examples of it occurring in C_1 position. The examples showing correspondences of *nj in C_2 position are themselves not numerous (two). As was mentioned above, palatal consonants are rare as

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codas. The example below illustrates a direct correspondence between *nj

and /nj/, while the following example shows an erosion of *nj to /n/.

(89) *bànjé   'rib, side'   >   mpànj   'side of body' (7)

      *bánjá   'family'   >   bèn   'extended paternal family'

3.4 VELAR CONSONANTS

Meeussen does not reconstruct a velar nasal (1965:83). Below the

sound correspondences for *g, *k, *ng, and *nk will be discussed.

3.4.1 *g

3.4.1.1   *g in C_1 position

In the C_1 position, *g has multiple reflexes. /g/ does not occur

synchronically in C_1 position. For nominal roots, the most common

correspondence is /k/. This is true for nouns in all of the nasal prefix classes

as well as those in other classes.

(90) *gango   'grass'   >   ká   'grass, leaf' (7)

      *gùbà   'bellows'   >   kwòm   'bellows'

      *gòngò   'back'   >   kwòŋ   'back' (3)

      *gòngó   'caterpillar' (5) >   kùŋ   'caterpillar' (3)

      *gànò   'tale' (9,11)   >   kààn   'tale' (3)

      *gàndó   'crocodile'   >   ŋkòndô   'crocodile' (1)

      *gàngà   'medicine man'   >   ŋkàŋ   'medicine man' (1)

      *gùbà   'shield' (9)   >   ŋkùbò   'shield' (9)

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*gèmbóá	'bat'		>	ŋkù	'fruit bat' (7)
*gɔ̀ndɛ̀	'moon' (9)		>	ŋkùnd	'moon' (9)
*gɛ̀ndɔ̀	'journey' (11)		>	ŋkònd	'journey' (7)

There is a less common reflex, where *g corresponds to /c/. This reflex only occurs before *i, but it occurs in all classes. This corresponds to the synchronic gap of palatalization occurring with velar consonants.

(91)	*gìdá	'blood' (6)	>	cì	'blood' (6)
	*gìdɔ̀	'religious avoidance'	>	cì	'taboo' (7)
	*gì	'fly' (9)	>	ncùŋ	'fly' (1)

There are also a few isolated examples of other reflexes.

| (92) | *gɛ̀nì | 'stranger' (1) | > | njɔŋ | 'stranger' (1) |
| | *gɛ̀dì, gɛ̀dà | 'stream' (3) | > | wô | 'current' (3) |

In verbs, there are two reflexes, /k/ and /c/. It appears that /k/ is the reflex before back vowels and /c/ is the reflex before front vowels, which would parallel the noun correspondences. The one exception 'tell story' may differ because it forms a paradigm with *kààn* 'tale.'

(93)	*gò	'fall (v)'	>	kùr	'fall from high'
	*gì	'go'	>	kə̀	'go'
	*gòd	'buy, barter'	>	kùzɔ̀	'buy'
	*gàn	'tell story'	>	kɛ̀nɛ̀	'tell story'

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*gɛ̀d	'try'	>	kə̀g	'try'

(94) *gìd 'abstain from' > cì 'abstain'

3.4.1.2 *g in C₂ position

In C₂ position, *g has only one reflex, a direct correspondence /g/.

This is true for both verbs and nouns, as shown below.

(95)	*coga	'ladle'	>	tûg	'spoon' (1)
	*jɔ̀gù	'elephant' (9)	>	ncwòg	'elephant' (1)
	*pígɔ̀	'kidney'	>	mbăŋ fîg	'kidney'
	*tóg	'bail water'	>	lwɔ̂g	'bail water'
	*dúg	'stir, paddle'	>	dúgɔ̀	'paddle (v)'
	*bɔ̀gà	'hoe'	>	bɔ̂ɔ̀g	'hoe' (9) (pl. mə̀mpɔ̀ɔ̀g)

3.4.1.3 Summary

In C₁ position, the correspondences to *g seem to primarily reflect the location of the following vowel. In nouns, *g corresponds to /c/ before *i, and to /k/ everywhere else. In verbs, though with only two examples, it is impossible to tell for sure, it appears that *g corresponds to /c/ before front vowels and to /k/ before back vowels.

As was mentioned above, in C₂ position, *g has only one reflex, a direct correspondence /g/.

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3.4.2 *k

*3.4.2.1   *k in C₁ position*

The primary correspondence for *k when it is the initial C of a noun is

/k/.

(96)	*kándà	'cloth' (3,5,9)	>	kánd	'cloth' (7)
	*kúbà	'chicken'	>	kúbɔ̀	'chicken' (1)
	*kɔmbɛ	'bank, shore'	>	kómb	'side'
	*kèndó	'palm tree'	>	lè-kúdó	'palm tree' (5)
	*kídà	'tail' (3)	>	kùùnd	'tail' (3)
	*kángà	'guinea fowl' (9)	>	kâŋ	'guinea fowl' (3)
	*kémà	'monkey'	>	kâm	'monkey' (1)

However, there are also three other minor correspondences, each with

one example. It is interesting that the /c/ correspondence occurs before a

historic front vowel, but there are also front vowels represented in the

examples above.

(97)	*kíngɔ́	'neck' (9)	>	cóŋ	'neck' (9)

It is also interesting that the two labial correspondences, /w/ and /f/,

occur before labial C₂'s and before back vowels, but again, this is not

sufficient to explain this correspondence, since that is also true for some of

the /k/ examples above.

| (98) | *kómì | 'ten' (5) | > | wúm | 'ten' (5) |
| | *kúpà | 'bone' (5) | > | fɔ̀b | 'fish bone' (9) |

The primary correspondences for *k at the beginning of a verb is /ʃ/.

However, there are also two other correspondences, /s/ and /k/. It is

possible that the vowel following *k played a part in determining the

correspondences. All of the occurrences of *k corresponding to /ʃ/ shown

below are when *k is followed by a back vowel.

(99)	*kác-u	'dry'	>	ʃwézá, ʃwêz	'be dry'
	*kɔ́d-o	'be drunk'	>	ʃwégá	'be drunk'
	*káng	'threaten'	>	ʃwàŋgə̀là	'threaten'

Two out of the three examples showing the /s/ and /k/

correspondences are when *k preceded a front vowel, as shown below.

However, there is no apparent conditioning environment to determine which

of these two reflexes should emerge.

| (100) | *kɛ́ng | 'cheat, deceive' | > | sìg | 'deceive' |
| | *kɛ́m | 'call, cry' | > | kêm | 'scream, cry out' |

Finally, there is one example where *k corresponds to /s/ before a

back vowel. As was noted in the section on synchronic variation, /s/ and /ʃ/

are in dialectal variation. This may have played a role here.

(101) *kɔng   'look for, seek'   >   sáŋ   'look for'

3.4.2.2   *k in C₂ position

As a C₂, *k has three reflexes: /ŋg/, /ŋ/ and /g/. It seems logical to

suggest that the original change was *k > ŋg, followed by a simplification of

/ŋg/ to either /ŋ/ or /g/. In fact, this is what I will be proposing below for

*ng when it is in C₂ position.

It is however not clear what would have triggered (or blocked?) a

simplification of the final consonant in some words, much less why certain

words have a /ŋ/ simplification while others have a /g/. It is interesting that

there is only one example of the non-simplified /ŋg/.

(102) *tàkà   'earth, mud' (5)   >   mə̀-ndángá 'mud' (6)

(103) *cɔ̀ká   'axe'   >   ncûŋ   'axe' (9)

      *tòkot   'be hot'   >   júŋə̀   'be hot (person)'

      *kɛ́k   'cut'   >   kèŋ   'cut hair'

      *jɔ́kà   'snake' (9) >   ɲwâŋ   'snake' (1)

(104) *jìkád   'dwell, sit, stay' >   lígò   'stay, leave'

      *pàkò   'tree-hollow' (9) >   wúg   'hole' (5)

      *báká   'knife' (5)   >   è-báág   'knife' (5)

      *tók   'abuse'   >   ntɛ̀g   'abuse'

      *pákù   'honey' (9)   >   bwɔ́g   'harvest honey'

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*tók	'abuse'	>	tûg	'insult, tease'
*tèk	'shake'	>	ságèzè	'shake'

3.4.2.3 Summary

The primary correspondence of *k as the initial consonant in a noun is /k/, and the primary correspondence for *k as the initial consonant in a verb is /ʃ/. However, for both nouns and verbs, there are numerous other minor correspondences: /s/, /c/, /w/ and /f/ for nouns and /s/ and /k/ for verbs.

As a C_2, it is likely that *k changed to /ŋg/ at one stage and is now undergoing a simplification process with some words having only /ŋ/ and some words having only /g/. This is similar to the changes that *ng has undergone.

3.4.3 *ng

There is only one example of *ng in C_1 position, and it demonstrates a *ng > nk correspondene.

(105) *ngà   'as, like'   >   ŋkà   'as, like'

In C_2 position, there are a few examples of a direct correspondence, as shown below.

(106)	*bángá	'jaw' (11)	>	bóŋgô	'jaw' (7)
	*bèng	'drive, chase'	>	wîŋg	'drive away, chase'

*káng 'threaten' > ʃwàŋgə̀lə̀ 'threaten'

However, most of the examples show a simplification of the *ng to

either /ŋ/ or /g/. The conditioning for the different reflexes remains unclear.

Both correspondences occur in nouns and verbs, and both are in the same

phonological environments.

(107) *túng 'build, plait' > lúŋò 'build by weaving'

*gɔ̀ngɔ̀ 'back' > kwɔ̀ŋ 'back' (3)

*gàngà 'medicine man' > ŋkàŋ 'medicine man' (1)

*cɔngɔ 'banana' > ʃúŋɔ́ 'hand of plantains' (3)

*dɔ̀ngà 'river' (3) > njwǎŋ 'river' (9)

*gòngó 'caterpillar' (5) > kùŋ 'caterpillar' (3)

*kíngɔ́ 'neck' (9) > cóŋ 'neck' (9)

*kángà 'guinea fowl' (9) > kâŋ 'guinea fowl' (3)

*jango 'gall' (9) > ìcɔ́ŋ 'bile or gall'

*tàngá 'cattle post' (5) > dàŋ 'herd (cattle, sheep)'

*dɔ́ng 'suggest' > bì-jáŋ 'lies' (8)

(108) *cóngó 'poison' (14) > jwòg 'poison' (9)

*dongo 'beak' (3) > dúúg 'beak' (5) (pl. múúg)

*kɛ́ng 'cheat, deceive' > sìg 'deceive'

*còng 'suffer' > jùg 'suffer'

*táng 'be first' > ʃûg, ʃwôg 'be in front'

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3.4.3.1   Summary

As a C_1, the one example found shows a correspondence between *ng

and /nk/. In C_2 position, there are a couple of direct correspondences, but the

most common reflex is a simplification of *ng to /ŋ/. However, there are also

a couple of examples which suggest a simplification of *ng to /g/. The

environment which triggered a maintenance of the original sound vs. the

environments which triggered the two simplification processes remains

unclear.

3.4.4 *nk

As was mentioned above, voiceless prenasalized stops are rare. *nk

only has one correspondence.

(109) *nínk   'give'   >   ɲìg   'give back'

3.5 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES

In this section I will attempt to make generalizations over the

consonant correspondences detailed above. In order to best complement the

discussion above, which was organized around places of articulation, this

section will be organized by manner of articulation.

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3.5.1 Nasals

The nasals in Kol are all in direct correspondence with the proto-nasals. The only slight modification is that *n appears to correspond with /ɲ/ when it is the initial consonant of a verbal root. This may be due to the infinitival form, probably the class 5 marker *i- (which has been preserved in modern Kol). The high vowel could have conditioned palatalization in the following segment. Otherwise, *n corresponds to /n/ whether it is in the C_1 position or the C_2 position. The same is true for *m, which always corresponds to /m/. While there are not a lot of clear cognate sets for the palatal nasal, for the two examples that exist, *ɲ directly corresponds to /ɲ/. Meeussen does not posit a proto velar nasal.

3.5.2 Voiced NC

There is only one example found of a NC occurring in C_1 position. In this one case, *ng corresponds to /ŋk/.

However, in C_2 position, there are a number of examples. Each NC demonstrates a direct correspondence, while additionally each shows some evidence of erosion at the right edge, with simplification of the NC to either N or C. That is to say, *mb corresponds directly to /mb/, but there are also

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examples where *mb corresponds to /m/. Likewise, *nd mostly directly

corresponds to /nd/, but there is also one example where it corresponds to

/d/. Additionally, there are some examples where *nd has been palatalized

to /nj/. Again, of the two examples found for an *nj correspondence, one is

/nj/ and the other is /n/. Finally, there are a number of *ng

correspondences. The most common is /ŋ/, but there are also examples of

/ng/ and /g/.

For all of the NC's, it is not possible with the current data to determine

why erosion happened in certain cases and not others, and why in some cases

it was the C that was preserved instead of the N.

3.5.3 Voiceless NC

Meeussen notes that voiceless prenasalized stops are rare. Cognate

forms all show similar reflexes to the voiced NC's. *mp has a /b/ reflex and a

/m/ reflex, as seen for *mb. *nt has a /d/ reflex. *nk has a /g/ reflex. There

were no examples of *nc correspondences.

3.5.4 Voiced oral stops

3.5.4.1   When in C_1 position

The C_1 position is the most diverse, probably because roots in Kol can be preceded by so many different kinds of affixes. Direct correspondences between the proto voiced stops and the current day stops are most common in morphological environments which would have placed the stop in question between vowels (that is to say, at the beginning of verbs or after a (C)V- noun prefix).

It is interesting that the reflexes for *g can be completely explained by the phonological environment, i.e. whether the following vowel is front or back, while this most definitely cannot be the explanation for the various correspondences of the other three voiced stops.

To review, in nouns, *g corresponds to /c/ before *i, and to /k/ everywhere else. In verbs, it appears that *g corresponds to /c/ before front vowels and to /k/ before back vowels. This additionally explains why velar consonants do not occur synchronically with palatalization.

In contrast, the various reflexes for *b, d, j seem to be partially explained by looking at the various possible morphological environments. It

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seems to be important, for at least some correspondences, whether the C1 is

at the beginning of a noun or a verb. If it is at the beginning of a noun, then

for some voiced stops, it is important to consider the nature of the noun class

prefix. There were most likely three different types of noun class prefix. The

most widely spread would have been a (C)V- prefix (singular classes 5, 7 and

all the plural classes). These singular prefixes have all been lost in modern-

day Kol. The second type of noun class prefix would have been a non-syllabic

nasal marking classes 9 and 10 (and probably extended to class 11 due to it

having its plural in class 10). The third type of prefix would have been

originally a NV- prefix, but many Bantu languages show evidence of vowel

deletion in this prefix, resulting in a syllabic (possibly tone-bearing) nasal

prefix.

A chart is given below, showing the correspondences for *b, d, j in

these different kinds of morphological environments.

	N- (cl. 9)	NV- (cl. 1, 3)	CV- (cl. 5, 7)	verbs
*b	mp	mb	b	w
*d	j	j	d, l, y, n	j, d, l, y, n
*j	c, j	--?	j	j, y

Table 7.3 Voiced consonant reflexes

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*d has the highest number of correspondences. The correspondences /y/ and /n/ occur in both nouns and verbs. /y/ only occurs as a reflex of *d when *d is followed by a front vowel, while /n/ only occurs when the other C in the word is also a nasal. The conditioning environment for /l/ remains unclear, as does the reason for having both /j/ and /d/ as common reflexes in verbs.

It is interesting that both *b and *j have a voiceless reflex in the morphological environment of the noun class prefix for class 9. This is in effect a voicing dissimilation.

This same process is synchronically present in Kol today.[20] When a class 7 noun is pluralized as a mass noun in class 10, this process is marked by a nasal prefix. However, this nasal prefix also devoices the root-initial consonant, as shown below.

(110) cl 7/8   bùùnd   'skin, shell'   bìbùùnd   *(as in eggshells)*
      cl 10   mpùnd   *(as in peanut shells)*
      cl 7/10 bùmò   'fruit'   mpùmò   'fruits' (all kinds)

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[20] And in Makaa.

It is odd that *d completely lacks this voicing dissimilation. It is also

interesting that *d and *j, in contrast to *b and *g, have completely lost the

nasal portion of the noun class markers.

Such a voicing dissimilation in this particular morphological

environment is common in other Bantu languages, including languages of the

A.zone (Bubi A.31 and Nen A.44 among others, see Janssens 1993).

3.5.4.2   When in C_2 position

Three of the four voiced oral stops, *b, *d and *g, have direct

correspondences when they occur as the second consonant in a root. *j has

no clear correspondences as a C_2. Palatal consonants are very rare as coda

consonants in Kol today.

*b has a minor secondary correspondence of /mb/. While there is not

enough data to be sure of the conditioning environment, both of the

occurrences of /mb/ occur when the initial consonant is labialized.

The situation with *d is much more complicated. In C_2 position, the

most common reflex of *d is /l/. If *d precedes a low vowel, it corresponds

to /d/ which is weakened to [r] for many speakers. Some words also exhibit

a /nd/ reflex, but the conditioning reflex is not clear. Finally, it may be the

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case that when the C_1 is nasal, a nasal harmony is triggered, resulting in a correspondence of /n/.

3.5.5 Voiceless oral stops

3.5.5.1   When in C_1 position

When looking at the voiceless stops in the C_1 position, it is necessary to keep a clear division between verb-initial voiceless stops and noun-initial voiceless stops. There are quite different correspondences found on either side of this morphological line. However, in contrast to the voiced stops, the differing noun prefixes do not seem to correlate much with the differing correspondences.

	N- (cl. 9)	NV- (cl. 1, 3)	CV- (cl. 5, 7)	verbs
*p	f, w, b, mp	mb	--?	w, f
*t	d	t, l	d, t, l	l, s, t, c, ʃ, j
*c	nc	s, ʃ	s, ʃ	s, j, k, ʃ
*k	k	k	k,s, c, w, f	ʃ, s, k

Table 7.4 Voiceless consonant reflexes

One major difference between the voiced and voiceless stops is the impact of the vowel following the C1. For voiced stops, the phonological environment only seemed to be important for the velar stop. For voiceless

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stops, the phonological environment appears to play a role for every voiceless

stop *except* the velar stop, especially in verbs.

As the initial consonant of verbs, *p corresponds to /w/ before /a/,

and /f/ everywhere else.

In this same environment, *d primarily corresponds to /l/, though it

appears to only occur before back vowels. When preceding a front vowel, *t

corresponds to /s/, /t/ and /c/. Before back vowels, there are also a few

correspondences of *t to /t/, /ʃ/ and /j/.

In verbs, *c corresponds to /s/ when it precedes *i, and to /j/, /k/, or

/ʃ/ elsewhere. The correspondences /j/, /k/ and /ʃ/ occur in the same

environments, but each contrasts with the environment for /s/.

The phonological environment also seems to be important for *c when

it is the first consonant in a noun. This is not apparently the case for the

other three voiceless stops. Again, it is strange that *k does not seem to have

any phonological conditioning when its voiced counterpart's correspondences

could be entirely explained by reference to the phonological environment.

In nouns, c_1 primarily corresponds to /s/ or /ʃ/. /ʃ/ is only found preceding back vowels, while /s/ is found preceding both front and back vowels. In addition, there are two /nc/ correspondences which may have been caused in part by interaction with the class 9 prefix.

3.5.5.2   When in C_2 position

In general, the voiceless stops are voiced when they appear as the second consonant in a word. The only exception is possibly for *c, which has a /k/ correspondence as well as the voiced /z/ correspondence.

With respect to their manner of articulation, the bilabial stop has remained the most conservative, while the alveolar stop has undergone the most weakening. The voiceless bilabial stop *p has remained a stop, just undergoing voicing assimilation, to become the voiced bilabial stop /b/ in all cognate pairs established.

The velar stop is also fairly conservative. *k has become the prenasalized stop /ng/ in the C_2 position, which is then undergoing erosion (or simplification) to the nasal /ŋ/ or the stop /g/.

The palatal stop *c has become the voiced fricative /z/ in at least one cognate set.

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Finally, the least conservative alveolar stop *t corresponds to /l/ when

the final vowel has been preserved and to /r/ when it is root-final

synchronically.

4 Vowel correspondences

In Kol, the Proto-Bantu high vowels *i and *u and the low vowel *a

have the most direct correspondences. The proto mid vowels (*e, *ɛ, *o and

*ɔ) show a lot more variation. This may be due to a period of time when

vowel harmony was present in the system among the mid vowels. This is

common in other Bantu languages, both within and outside of the A-zone.

There are no vowel harmony processes active today in any of the languages of

the Makaa-Kol-Konzime group.

4.1 HIGH VOWELS

As was mentioned above, the high vowel correspondences are fairly

direct.

4.1.1 *i

The high front vowel *i has direct correspondences both as a V_1 and as

a V_2, as illustrated below.

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(111)	*jíd	'get dark (v)'	>	è-yìdɛ́	'darkness' (5)
	*bîì	'dung, excrement'	>	bî	'excrement' (6)
	*cíd	'finish'	>	síl	'finish'
	*mìd	'devour, swallow'	>	mìnɔ̀	'swallow'
	*tító	'animal'	>	tíd	'animal' (1)
	*jíb	'steal'	>	jíbɔ̀	'steal'

(112)	*tíndí	'heel' (5)	>	tíndìgì	'heel'

4.1.2 *u

The most common correspondence for the back high vowel *u is a

direct one, as shown below.

(113)	*búdà	'rain' (9)	>	mpú	'rain' (1)
	*bùá	'nine' (5)	>	è-bù	'nine' (5)
	*cúé	'fish'	>	ʃù	'fish' (1)
	*bùd	'become plentiful'	>	bùlù	'a lot, many'
	*dúg	'stir, paddle'	>	dúgɔ̀	'paddle (v)'
	*dùt	'pull, drag'	>	dùlɔ̀	'pull'

There is one example of *u corresponding to /o/ after a labialized

consonant. Synchronically, it is quite common to have a u ~ wo variation

after palatal stops. Below are examples from the southern Kol dialect on the

left, and examples from the central dialect on the right.

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(114)	ncùg	ncwòg	'elephant' (9)
	ncûŋ	ncôŋ	'axe' (9)
	ʃûg	ʃwôg	'front'
	-ɲùg	-ɲwòg	'wine' (6)
	jùg	jwòg	'poison' (9)

Thus, though the correspondence below is after a velar stop, this may not actually be a separate correspondence.

(115) *gùbà 'bellows' (3) > kwòm 'bellows'

However, there is also one example of *u corresponding to /a/. There are no known examples of this sort of variation synchronically.

(116) *dupek 'sharpen' > jàb 'sharpen (knife)'

There were no examples found demonstrating a cognate set for *u as a V$_2$. Synchronically, /u/ is allowed as a V$_2$ for nouns, though it is very rare for verbs.

4.2 MID VOWELS

For each of the four mid vowels, there are no clear cognate pairs for the V$_2$ position. Thus, the sections below will only look at the correspondences of the proto mid vowels in the V$_1$ position. Also, each vowel has several cognate pairs showing a direct correspondence between the proto-

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vowel and the modern-day vowel. However, for each, this direct

correspondence is only one among many other correspondences.

4.2.1 *e

The direct correspondence *e > e is quite common, as shown by the

examples below.

(117) *bédá   'pit, grave' (9)   >   bé   'thicket, pit' (9)

     *gé   'egg'   >   è-ké   'egg' (5)

     *té   'tree' (3)   >   lé   'tree' (3)

     *jàmbé   'god' (9)   >   ncìmbé   'god' (1)

     *béek   'put'   >   bêr   'put, place, set'

It is, however, also common to find cognate pairs which illustrate a

vowel raising process, resulting in a correspondence of *e > i.

(118) *bèng   'drive, chase'   >   wîŋg   'drive away, chase'

     *dèd   'shout, cry, weep' >   jìì   'cry, weep'

     *cé   'ground, earth'   >   sí   'ground, earth' (7)

     *jèká   'only'   >   njì   'only'

Much more rare are correspondences between *e and a back vowel,

though there is one example for each of the vowel heights shown above. That

is to say, in the first example below, *e has maintained its level in the vowel

system but has been moved back to correspond to the back vowel /o/. In the

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second example, *e has been raised one level (to the same level as /i/) and

moved back to correspond to the back vowel /u/.

(119)	*démì	'tongue' (11)	>	jôm	'tongue' (7)
	*béd	'boil'	>	wûl	'boil (food)'

4.2.2 *o

The proto-vowel *o also has some direct reflexes in Kol, as shown

below.

(120)	*tóóbá	'six' (3)	>	twób	'six'
	*cóngó	'bitterness, poison'	>	jwòg	'poison' (9)
	*mòdè	'torch, bright'	>	mòz	'torch, lamp' (3)

However, much more common is the correspondence *o > u, which is

an example of raising, parallel to the one seen for *e, where *e > i.

(121)	*jódò	'nose' (5)	>	dû	'nose' (5)
	*bòbè	'spider' (5,11)	>	bùb	'spider' (5)
	*coga	'ladle'	>	tûg	'spoon' (1)
	*gòdòbè	'pig' (9)	>	ŋkù	'pig' (1)
	*kòcò	'parrot' (9)	>	kùùz	'parrot' (1)
	*kómì	'ten' (5)	>	wúm	'ten' (5)
	*gòdò	'leg' (15)	>	dù	'thigh' (5)
	*pókò	'mouse, rat' (9)	>	fû	'mouse' (1)

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There is also one example of *o corresponding to /i/. This is the

inverse of one of the processes seen for *e, where *e was raised and then

moved back. In this case, *o is being raised (to the level of /u/) and then

moved front to correspond to /i/.

(122) *tòkot   'sweat'   >   dìdìk   'sweat, perspire'

Finally, there is one example, where *o seems to correspond to /ɛ/.

This would involve lowering the vowel one level and then moving it to the

front of the vowel space. There was no parallel to this process for *e.

(123) *tók   'abuse'   >   ntɛ̀g   'abuse'

4.2.3 *ɛ

The open-mid (or level 3) front vowel *ɛ also has a direct

correspondence in modern-day Kol, as shown below.

(124) *dɛ́mà   'bat' (3)   >   njɛ̂m   'bat' (3)
      *kɛ́m   'call, cry'   >   kɛ̂m   'scream, cry out'

As was the case for *e above, there are also examples of *ɛ being

moved to a back vowel. However, in this case, the vowel has also been

raised, since it corresponds to /o/ and not to the back open-mid vowel /ɔ/.

Since in three of the examples shown below, the second vowel in the word is

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a back vowel, this may be a back (or rounding) assimilation in combination with a raising process.

(125) *gɛ̀ndɔ̀   'journey' (11)   >   ŋk�ònd   'journey' (7)

      *béɛ̀dɛ̀   'breast, udder' (5)   >   bôl   'udder, breast' (5)

      *gɛ̀gɔ̀   'molar tooth' (5,7)   >   ŋkòkók   'molar tooth' (5)

      *dɛ̀dù   'beard'   >   jòl   'beard' (9)

Synchronically, there is at least one example where a word varies along this same pattern across dialects.

(126) ʃwɛ̀nj   'young man' (3) *varies with*   ʃwànj

4.2.4 *ɔ

Unlike the case for the other mid vowels, *ɔ only has one cognate pair which illustrates a direct correspondence with /ɔ /.

(127) *gɔ̀ngɔ̀   'back' (3)   >   kwɔ̀ŋ   'back' (3)

There are also a number of examples illustrating a raising process, where the open-mid vowel *ɔ corresponds to the close-mid vowel /o/. This is similar to what has been seen for *e and *o.

(128) *bɔ́kɔ̀   'arm' (15)   >   mbwó   'arm' (3)

      *dɔ́   'sleep' (13)   >   jwò   'sleep' (5)

      *pɔ́kɔ́   'one'   >   fóg   'one' (counting)

      *kɔmbɛ   'bank, shore'   >   kómb   'side'

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*tɔ́n	'drip'		>	ntóbà	'flow, drip'

Additionally, there are a number of examples which illustrate a more
drastic raising process, with *ɔ corresponding to the high vowel /u/. This
process is not parallel to anything seen for the other mid vowels.

(129) *bɔ̀mbɔ̀ 'bundle' (3)   >   mbùmb   'bundle' (3)

      *cɔ̀ká   'axe'   >   ncûŋ   'axe' (9)

      *cɔngɔ   'banana'   >   ʃúŋɔ́   'regime of plantains' (3)

      *gɔ̀ndɛ̀ 'moon' (9)   >   ŋkùnd   'moon' (9)

      *dɔ́b   'fish with a line' >   dùb   'fish with line'

      *tɔ́b-od 'bore through'   >   túbɔ̀   'pierce (ears)'

There are examples of a fronting rule, as well. Below is one example
where *ɔ has maintained its level in the vowel system, but has been moved to
the front of the vowel space, corresponding to /ɛ/. Interestingly enough, the
modern reflex is also labialized. It is possible that the rounding has been
separated out into the /w/, leaving the unrounded version, i.e. the front
vowel, behind.

(130) *ɲɔ́   'drink'   >   ɲwɛ̀l   'drink'

There are also examples showing a combination of fronting and
raising, given below. Here *ɔ has been raised one level (to the level of /o/)

and then shifted to the front of the vowel space, corresponding to /e/. Most

of these words also have an initial labialized consonant. These may be

similar examples to the reflex described above, where the rounding has been

separated out, with the added complication of a raising process. For 'elbow'

it is interesting that both synchronic vowels are /e/, which suggests that some

sort of assimilation process targeted both the *ɔ and the *a .

(131) *kɔ́kɔ̀dà	'elbow' (9)	>	ŋkwéndé	'elbow' (1)
*cɔ́b	'lack'	>	njêb	'lack'
*cɔ̀ng	'carve, sharpen'	>	ʃwênj	'carve, sharpen'

Additionally, as we saw for *ɛ, there is a correspondence of *ɔ to /a/.

Since both of these modern words also have a labialized consonant, this could

again be an unrounding process.

| (132) *bɔ̀mà | 'python' (9) | > | mpwàm | 'python' (1) |
| *kɔ̀ndɛ̀ | 'banana' (5) | > | kwànd | 'plantain' (7) |

Finally, there is one example where *ɔ corresponds to /ə/. This is

again probably an unrounding process, but it may also be a raising process,

since in the synchronic Kol system, /ə/ is on the same level as /e/ and /o/.

| (133) *jɔ̀gà | 'fungus' (14) | > | jwə̀ | 'mushroom' (7) |

4.3 Low Vowels

The low vowel *a most frequently corresponds to /a/, in both the V_1

and V_2 positions, as shown below.

(134) *bànjé   'rib, side' (11)   >   mpànj   'side of body' (7)

*gàngà   'medicine man' (1)   >   ŋkàŋ   'medicine man' (1)

*gango   'grass'   >   ká   'grass, leaf' (7)

*kándà   'cloth' (3,5,9)   >   kánd   'cloth' (7)

*táà   'bow' (14)   >   lâ   'bow' (7)

*bád   'marry'   >   bâ   'marry'

*dámb   'cook'   >   jâmb   'prepare food, cooК'

*ngà   'as, like'   >   ŋkà   'as, like'

(135) *pádà   'forehead'   >   è-bàdà   'forehead' (5)

*ját-ab   'answer'   >   yàlà   'answer (v)'

The next most common correspondence is when *a corresponds to /o/.

Interestingly, for two of the five cognate pairs shown below, the V_2 is /o/.

This V_2 has been lost for all five pairs, but before it was deleted, it may have

triggered vowel harmony on the *a_1. Otherwise, this is a raising and

rounding process; one that has raised *a two levels.

(136) *táanɔ   'five'   >   tón   'five'

*tátò   'three'   >   lôl   'three'

*càjá   'cheek'   >   kòg   'cheek' (5)

*jàdí	'lightning (9)	>	njòz	'lightning' (3)
*dàmok	'early, wake up'	>	jòm	'wake up'

This raising process probably also have occurred for the following two example words. The vowel found in the word 'be' varies between /o/ and /ə/. The second vowel in 'jaw' is /o/ while the first vowel is /ə/. However, the first vowel is before a nasal, which is a common position for /o/ and /e/ to be centralized.

(137) *bá   'dwell, be, become'   >   bə̀   'be'

       *bángá   'jaw' (11)   >   bə́ŋgô   'jaw' (7)

A similar process may have occurred for the following cognate pairs, where *a corresponds to /ɔ/. /o/ and /ɔ/ are in free variation in Makaa, and could conceivably have been in free variation in Kol at one point. This seems fairly plausible for the first example, but a big stretch for the second.

(138) *gàndó   'crocodile' (9)   >   ŋkɔ̀ndɔ̂   'crocodile' (1)

       *kápí   'paddle, oar' (9)   >   ŋkɔ̀ɔb   'paddle' (9)

There is one example where *a appears to be both fronted and raised to correspond with /e/. This cannot be a case of vowel harmony since the second vowel in the word is already identical to the first. However, it may be

a case of the following nasal raising the first vowel. Synchronically in Kol, the vowel /e/ is raised to /i/ when it precedes a vowel, as was discussed in the section on synchronic variation above.

(139) *bánjá 'family' > bèn 'extended paternal family'

Finally, there is one example where *a corresponds to /ɔ/ when it is in the V_2 position. Since it is the V_2, vowel harmony cannot be triggered by a following vowel, though since the first vowel is high and rounded, this might be a progressive vowel harmony, similar in everything but direction to the regressive vowel harmony discussed above.

(140) *kúbà 'chicken' > kúbɔ̀ 'chicken' (1)

4.4 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES

Looking at the vowel system as a whole, it may be noted that while the high vowels *i and *u have remained remarkably stable, the rest of the vowel system has undergone some major shifts.

*i and *u both have as their primary reflex the direct correspondences /i/ and /u/. *i has no other corresondences, and *u has two minor ones

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which can probably be ignored. *a has also remained fairly stable, with most

occurrences of *a corresponding to /a/ today.

The most common process to have occurred among all the vowels

(except for *i and *u) is a raising process. For the close-mid vowels, *e and

*o, their major correspondence (other than the direct one, which is fairly

numerous for *e but less so for *o) is one where they have been raised one

level, i.e. where *e > i and *o > u. There appears to be a similar process

occurring with *ɔ. One of its primary correspondences is one where *ɔ > o.

However, if /o/ and /ɔ/ are in free variation, then this process becomes moot.

*a also has two examples where *a > ə which would be a parallel pattern.

The most numerous correspondence for *ɔ though is one where *ɔ has

been raised two levels to correspond to /u/. This process could have also

occurred for *a and *ɛ, though for both of these latter proto-vowels, an

additional process co-occurs with the raising one.

The open-mid vowel *ɛ does not really have enough cognate pairs to

be able to determine which correspondence is really the primary one.

However, the one with the most examples at the moment is one where *ɛ >

o. Of the four examples, three have a back (and round) vowel as the V_2, which might explain how *ɛ was shifted to the back. The height shift (one level) could be part of an overall shift in the system where vowels were raised one height (as might have occurred for *e, *o, and *ɔ).

For the low vowel *a, the second-most common reflex is where *a corresponds to /o/. Again, for three of the five cognate pairs shown, the second vowel is a round vowel, either /o/ or /ɔ/ which means that the raising process could have been combined with a rounding assimilation. (Otherwise, a global raising process could have resulted in a mid or high central vowel, both of which do currently exist in the Kol vowel inventory.)

Finally, there is one more significant correspondence which must be mentioned. *ɔ can also correspond to /e/, /ɛ/ and /a/, which is appears to be an unrounding process since these unrounded variants primarily occur with a labialized consonant.

5 Grammatical Correspondences

In the sections below, some aspects of Meeussen's grammatical reconstructions (1967) will be compared with modern day Kol grammatical

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stuctures. Nominal morphosyntax will be discussed first followed by verbal

morphosyntax.

5.1 NOUNS

5.1.1 Noun Classes and Agreement

Synchronically, Kol has a reduced noun class set, only having classes 1-

10 from Proto-Bantu. However, within the A.80 central cluster, Heath and

Beavon have both noticed reflexes from the Proto-Bantu locative classes in

Makaa and Konzime, respectively. Heath (p.c.) has noted that certain locative

nouns have idiosyncratic relative clause concord markers. Beavon (1983)

noted that the Nzime dialect of Konzime has a locative noun *kwá* which could

include the locative class (class 17) prefix *ko-*.

1	*mo-	mò-	mwàrá	*woman*
		m-	mùr	*man, person*
		Ø	kól	*sister (to a man)*
2	*ba-	bò-	bw-àrá	*women*
			bw-ùr	*men, people*
			bò-kól	*sisters*
3	*mo-	Ø	mbìl	*hole*
4	*me-	mè-	mè-mbìl	*holes*
5	*i-	è-, lè-	èbùrà	*sweet potato*
		Ø	kù	*foot*
		d-	dwób	*day*

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6	*ma-	mò-	mò-bùrà	sweet potatoes
			mò-kù	feet
		m-	m-ób	days
7	*ke-	Ø	kág	child
			bùmó	fruit
8	*bi-	bè-	bè-kág	children
9	*n-	Ø	kwád	village
10	*n-	m-[21]	m-pùmó	fruits

Table 7.5 Correspondences between Proto-Bantu and Kol noun classes.

With respect to the noun class pairings, the proto-Bantu pairing of

classes 9 and 10 does not occur in Kol. Rather, class 9 nouns take their

plurals in class 6. Class 10 functions as a mass plural for class 7 nouns.

One of the striking aspects of Bantu morphology is the concord system.

Below is a chart comparing the Proto-Bantu subject pronoun and subject

agreement system with the subject pronouns of Kol and Makaa. The Proto-

Bantu data is taken from Meeussen 1965 (agreement system found on p.97,

pronominal system on p.98).

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[21] Plus devoicing of the root-initial consonant.

	Proto-Bantu				Kol	
Subject	**Agr**		**Pron**		**Pron**	
	Sing	**Pl**	**Sg**	**Pl**	**Sing**	**Pl**
1ˢᵗ p. excl.	n	to	i-n-ɛ	í-có-ɛ	mə̀	bìzó
incl.						bìzá
dual incl.						ncwə̀
2ⁿᵈ person	o	mo	o-ɛ	í-ɲó-ɛ	wò	bè
3ʳᵈ person	o, a	ba	o-ɛ́	bá-ɔ, gú-ɔ	ɲə̀	bwó
3/4	mo	me			w-	myə
5/6	i	ma			dwó	mwə
7/8	ke	bi			i-, jwò	byò
9/10	n	n			ɲò	bwò

Table 7.6 Subject Agreement/Pronouns in PB and Kol.

Kol does not require that verbs agree with their subject (as will be in the following section on verbs).

The central A.80 languages, including Kol, have innovated three distinctions in the first person plural: inclusive, exclusive and dual. It appears that Kol has added a plural marker to the front of the inherited Proto-Bantu pronoun form. However, this has only occurred in the first person inclusive and exclusive forms, since the dual form lacks the initial *b-* and has

a closer resemblance to the Proto-Bantu form than do the other two forms of

the first person plural.

5.1.2 Noun derivation

In Kol, there are a number of different processes which may be used to

create nouns out of verbs. Some of these seem to correspond to processes

described by Meeussen for Proto-Bantu. For more information on deverbal

nouns, see chapter 3.

In Proto-Bantu, Meeussen theorized that a final –a indicates an action.

In Kol, some nouns are created by adding a vowel, including an –a, to the

verbal stem, as shown below.

(141)	nûmb	'know'	númbá	'knowledge'	(3)
	mwèl	'solicit sex'	mwèlá	'boyfriend, girlfriend'	(1)
	cíg	'cut'	cígà	'saw'	(1)

Other deverbal nouns are formed by adding a final –a and a nasal

prefix.

(142)	dèl	'bury'	ndèlà	'burial'	(9)
	jùùl	'be bitter'	njùúlɔ̀	'bitter leaf vegetable'	(3)

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Meeussen also reconstructed an agent-creating process formed by adding an –*i* to the root. In Kol one reflex of *i is /e/, and some agentive nouns are formed by adding a –*e* suffix.

(143) kwîg   'travel, walk'   kwígè   'traveler' (1)

      ɲwèl   'drink'   ɲwèlè   'drinker' (1)

Other agentive nouns can be formed by adding the suffix –*l* or –*lə*, as shown below. This may be a reflex of the reconstructed *–*edɛ*. If this is the case, some vowels have been lost and *d has become /l/, which is a common sound correspondence in Kol. A bigger issue is that this suffix is reconstructed as creating 'a way of doing,' while in Kol it creates an agent.

(144) jíbə̀   'steal'   jíbə̀lə̀   'thief' (1)

      yò   'give'   yôl   'giver' (1)

It is extremely common for more than one strategy to be used at a time, as illustrated below, where in (76a), the noun is formed by both adding the nasal prefix mentioned above and the suffix –*l*, while in (76b), the nouns are formed by adding the nasal prefix and the suffix vowel –*e*.

(145) a. jû   'kill'   njûl   'butcher (n)' (1)

         dì   'live, stay'   ndìl   'dweller' (1)

         jìì   'cry'   njì̀l   'crier' (1)

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b.	bùgǝ̀	'accuse'	mbúgè	'accuser'	(1)
	dùb	'paint'	ndùbé	'painter'	(1)
	dúg	'row'	ndúgè	'rower'	(1)
	jîg	'learn'	njígè	'learner, student'	(1)
	júnà	'fight'	njúnè	'fighter'	(1)

Meeussen also theorized that a final *–o* to a verbal root indicates an action, an instrument, or a place. In Kol, some nouns appear to correspond to this pattern, as demonstrated below.

(146)	jíbǝ̀	'steal'	jíbò	'theft'	(9)
	bàgǝ̀là	'load (v)'	mbágǝ̀lɔ̀	'load'	(3)

5.1.3 Word Order

Meeussen (1967:117) reconstructs that proto-Bantu noun phrases had the following phrase structure: Noun (Connective) (Adjective) (Numeral). Kol agrees with this for the most part, though in Kol, adjectives may precede the noun as shown by each of the examples below.

(147)	bèdá kwád	'big village'
	bwàgbwàg mò-kwád	'big villages'
	ntúlá bè-sá	'a lot of things'
	bùbù mè-njáb	'a lot of houses'

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Indefinite determiners may also precede the noun, but determiners are not mentioned by Meeussen. Below is the post-nominal word order found in the Kol noun phrase. (See chapter 4 for more information.)

(148) Noun   Genitive   Demonstrative   Definite Determiner
                                            Another
                                            Quantifier

Meeussen suggests that demonstratives might have differed from the otherwise regular head-initial structure, with demonstratives preceding as well as following the noun. This is somewhat true in modern day Kol since demonstratives are one of the word classes which can be fronted for focus (along with possessives). Example (149) shows the default word order with the demonstratives following the nouns, while (150) shows a focus construction where the demonstrative (in bold) precedes the noun.

(149) a. dá ŋgà   'this father' (1)
           bè-kèkènà bé-ŋgà   'these parables' (8)

       b. b-ùr bɔ́-nè   'those people' (2)
           dw-àb é-nè   'that day' (5)

(150) myâ   bwó   ncɔ̀   bwáànt   mɔ̀bá,   ně   njùm...
       when   they   INCP   create   6-sexual.relations   that (SPEC)   husband
       'When they began an affair, **that** husband...'

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5.2 VERBS

5.2.1 Agreement

One of the striking differences between Kol and the Proto-Bantu system

is the lack of subject and object agreement in Kol. The subject pronouns in

Kol are completely in complementary distribution with full nouns. If a full

noun is the subject of a sentence, the verbal sequence starts with a tense

marker; the subject pronoun is not allowed, much less required as it would be

if it were actually a subject agreement marker. In the example shown below,

the subject is a class 5 noun, which is one of the few remaining classes

consistently marked by both a segmental agreement marker and concord

markers on all modifiers. We would therefore expect that if Kol required a

subject agreement marker on the verb that it would be noticeable in the

sentence below. (The subject pronoun for class 5 nouns is *dwó*.)

(151) lè-wúg   á   bə̀   lé-byôl.
      5- hole   P2   be   in-7-canoe
      There was a hole in the canoe.

However, having said that, there may be vestiges of subject agreement.

There are two forms for a class 7 subject. One, *jwò,* is a pronoun which may

appear separate from the tense morpheme. The other, *y-,* only appears bound

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with tense morphemes and is generally used as the dummy subject, as shown

below. Class 7 is the generic class for inanimate objects, and it is the only

class that shows these two forms.

(152) y=á   bə̀   nə̂   èsáp
      y=á   bə̀   nə̂   è-sáp
      7SUB-P2   be   that   5- illness, disease
      'It was an illness that.....' (*Illness*.08)

(153) m=ó   bùl   cə̀l   kèné   kèkènà   gà   nə̀bə́
      m̀=ó   bùlù   cə̀l   kèné   kèkènà   ŋgà   nə̀bə́
      I-PRES   many   love   tell   7-story   this   because

      jw=ó   jì   kèkènà   ndé   lê   yə̀   bûr   fòg=è.
      jẁ=ó   jì   kèkènà   H+ndé   lé   yɔ̀   b-ur   fòg=è
      7SUB-PRES   be   story   RELCL-be   IMPF   give   2-person   9-wisdom-RELCL
      'I really want to tell this story because it is a story which gives
      people wisdom.'

Objects only appear after a verb, either as a full noun or as a pronoun.

Object markers cannot be prefixed before the verb.

(154) ɲ=ĕ   sá   jwó   lè-ʃú   d-àŋ.
      he-FUT   do   7OBJ   5-sake   5-my
      'He will do it for me.'

5.2.2 Negation

For both Kol and Proto-Bantu, the negative marker is the first element

in the verbal sequence. However, in Proto-Bantu, this means that the

negative marker precedes the subject agreement. Since Kol does not have

subject agreement, the negative marker comes *after* the subject pronoun or

full noun.

(155) m=à=   dég=è   m-ûr.
      I-NEG-   see-NEG   1-person
      'I didn't see anyone.'

5.2.3 Tense

Meeussen (1967:113) gives a list of tense markers for Proto-Bantu as

"illustrative tries" rather than reconstructions.

Tense prefixes	Proto-Bantu	Kol
far past	á	á
recent past	a	é
present	da, Ø	ó
future	ka	é
distant future	--	é + bwó
conditional	ngá	mbá

Table 7.7 Tense markers in Proto-Bantu and Kol

Only one of the Kol tense markers, the far past marker, seems to

correspond to the proto-Bantu marker. However, Kol has a conditional

conjunction, ŋgé 'if', which may be a reflex of the proto-Bantu preverbal

conditional marker.

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5.2.4 Extensions

As was previously mentioned in chapter 4, only relics of the Proto-Bantu extensions remain in a few Kol verbs. The table below compares reconstructed extensions with the frozen Kol relics (Meussen 1967:92).

	Proto-Bantu	Kol
Passive	-ó	-ówà
Reciprocal	-an	-əlà
Benefactive/Applicative	-ed	-éà
Causative	-i, -ic	-əzə
Reversive	-od, -ok	-bà
??	-ad	

Table 7.8 Extensions in Proto-Bantu and Kol

(156) *Passive*

| sówà | 'do + passive' | sá | 'do' |
| kègàwà | 'plan + passive' | kèg | 'plan' |

Reciprocal/Reflexive

| yìgəlà | 'compare self' | yìg | 'compare, claim' |

Applicative

| déà | 'eat from' | dɔ̀ | 'eat' |

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Causative

ságəzə	'shake'	sá or ságə	'do'
wûl	'take out'	wòl	'get up'
bêr	'put, place'	bâr	'climb in'

Transitive

bɛ́ɛ́bəlɛ̀	'wound (tr.)'	bɛ̀b	'wound (intr.)'

Reversive

bùgùbà	'prosper'	bù	'be scarce'

6 Summary

This study has been an initial attempt to explore some of the ways that Kol, a Bantu language from the A.zone in the northwestern corner of the Bantu language area has changed over time from the Proto-Bantu system it inherited.

While the Kol system is reduced in many ways from the classical Bantu systems seen in eastern Africa, it is still clearly a Bantu language, complete with noun classes and complex preverbal inflectional systems.

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Appendices

Texts

1 A Deadly Sickness

told by Pierre Bengomo Mossi (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

(1)

mò=	ó	ncɔ́	lέŋ	mwáà	láŋ		ŋgà	è-sú	é-sáp
mə̀=	ó	ncə̀+H	lêŋ+H	mwâ	láŋ		ŋgà	è-ʃù	H+è-sáb
I	PRES	come	tell	small	happening		this	5-sake	5-illness

mέ	mὲ	mé	á	bò	nò	té.
mέ	mὲ	mé	á	bò	nò	té
me	me	self	P2	be	with	LOC

'I will tell this little story about an illness I had.

(2)

m=àá	bə̀	lè	jwák	cìè	mə̀=	ndé	yàùnt.
m̀=á	bə̀	lè	jwɔ̀g	tyὲ	mə̀=	ndé	
I-P2	be	IMPF	feel	illness	I	be (loc)	Yaounde

When I was in Yaoundé, I got sick.

(3)

è-sáp	d-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́	à	tér	mə̀	ntà	lè-yɔ́ŋ.
è-sáb	d-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́	á	tér	mə̀	ntà	lè-yôŋ
5-illness	5-DEF	P2	start	me	since	5-cold.weather

This illness started with the cold.

(4)

mə̀	lè	fyὲs.
mə̀	lè	fyɛ̂z
I	IMPF	neglect

I ignored it.

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(5) è-yɔ́ŋ   lè   ŋkwò   kò.

     è-yôŋ   lè   kwò   kò

     5-cold.weather   IMPF   again   go

It stayed cold.

(6) mwâ   kwís   mə́   ncə̀   nìgó   bwàmbà.

     mwá   kwéz   mé   ncə̀   nìgò   bwàmbà

     1-small   7-cough   be (chg)   come   return   follow

I got a little cough.

(7) mwâ   kwís   j-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́   á   lè   bà   mwâ   kwís   j-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́

     mwá   kwéz   j-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́   á   lè   bò   mwá   kwéz   j-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́

     1-small   7-cough   7-DEF   P2   IMPF   be   1-small   7-cough   7-DEF

     kwís   ʃwízá.

     kwéz   ʃwézá

     7-cough   (be) dry

It was a little dry cough.

(8) mə̀=   lè   kwíz   mə̀=   lè   númp   nə̂   m=àá   bà   mpwògɛ́

     mə̀=   lè   kwéz   mə̀=   lè   nûmb   nə̂   m̀=á   bà   mpwògɛ́

     I   IMPF   cough   me   IMPF   know   that   I-P2   be   1-health

     ndè   y=á   bà   nə̂   è-sáp   á   sé   ŋkwə̀   têr

     ndé   y=á   bà   nə̂   è-sáb   á   sé   kwò   têr

     while   NONREF-P2   be   that   5-illness   P2   PERF   again   start

     lè-bì   mò   hámə́.

     lè-bì   mò   fámə̀

     INF-seize   me   good

I was coughing, thinking that I was healthy, while the illness really took hold.

(9) myà   m=á   sé   kà   ncə̀   njá   n-é-njwòŋ   è-sáp   á

     myà   H+m̀=á   sé   kà   ncə̀   jâ   nə̀=lé- jwòŋ   è-sáb   á

     3-time   RELCL-I-P2   PERF   CONS   come   lie.down   with-LOC-bed   5-illness   P2

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sé	kà	ncə̀	làlé
sé	kà	ncə̀	làl
PERF	CONS	come	(be) strong

When I was lying down in bed, the illness really struck hard.

(10)
númə́	bw = á	ncò	kò	nə̀	mó	cílə́	cílə́	wàlàfírə̀.
númə́	bwó = á	ncò	kò	nə̀	mò	cílə́	cílə́	wàlə̀fírə̀
also	they-P2	come	go	with	me	quickly	quickly	hospital

Immediately, they took me to the hospital.

(11)
bwó	kà	kə̀	nə̀	mó	wàlàfírə̀.
bwó	kà	kò	nə̀	mó	wàlə̀fírə̀
they	CONS	go	with	me	hospital

They took me to the hospital.

(12)
bwó	kò	sá	bò-zǒksàmɛ̂z.
bwó	kò	sá	
they	go	do	2-test (*examens* -French)

They did tests.

(13)
bwó	kò	fyàlə́	mə́-cì	nə̀	dégə̀	mə̀-bí.
bwó	kò	fyàl	mò-cì	nò	dêg	mə̀-bî
they	go	test	6-blood	with	see	6-feces

They did blood tests and looked at my stool samples.

(14)
bwô	dégə̀	nə̀	ndè	bì-mpànc	by-áŋ	á	sé	têr
bwó	dêg	nə̀	ndé	bè-mpànc	bè-àŋ	á	sé	tér
they	see	that	while	8-side	8-my	P2	PERF	start

é-jwók	cíè
lè-jwɔ̂g	tyè
INF-feel	illness

They noticed that my sides (lungs) were already sick.

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(15)

m=è	ndé	ké	dùló	sìgá	kə́	bə̀
m̀=é	ndé+н	ké+н	dùlò+н	sìgá	ké	bə̀
I-P1	be (loc)	NEG	smoke	cigarette	NEG	be

nê	ɲwèl	mə́-ɲɔ̀k.
nò	ɲwèl	mò-ɲwòg
with	drink	6-wine

I didn't smoke cigarettes; I didn't drink.

(16)

dòctéur	m-ùr	á	kə̀	sá	mə̀	bò-zéksàmêz	á	jí	mə̀
	m-ùr	á	kò	sá	mə̀		á	jí	mə̀
doctor (Fr)	1-person	P2	go	do	me	2-test (French)	P2	ask	me

nə̂	mə̀=	jî	ɲwèl	nə̂	mə̀=	jî	dùlò	tâk.
nə̂	mə̀=	jì	ɲwèl	nə̂	mə̀=	jì	dùlò	tàg
that	I	be (att)	drink	that	I	be (att)	smoke	tobacco

The doctor who did the tests asked me if I drank or if I smoked.

(17)

mə̀	nə̂	"ə̀	ə́".
mə̀	nə̂	ə̀	ə́
I	that	no	

I said, "No."

(18)

ɲ=à	nə̂	á	jî	ndé	ntáŋ	sì bìen	nə̂
ɲ=á	nə̂	á	jí	ndé	ntáŋ		nə̂
he-P2	that	QUES	ask	be (loc)	like.that	like.that (Fr)	that

fwárà	ŋgà	(klìʃé)	bw=á	wúl	wàlàfírə̀
fwárà	ŋgà	klìʃé	bwó=á	wûl	wàlə̀fírə̀
photo	this	x-ray	they-P2	take	hospital

á	dêg	nə̂	bì-mpáànc	by-áŋ,	by=á	sé	bà	ntámə̀ ?
á	dêg	nə̂	bè-mpânc	bè-àŋ	bè=á	sé	bà	ntámə̀
P2	see	that	8-side	8-my	8-P2	PERF	little	rot

He asked why then the x-ray that they took at the hospital showed that my lungs were already a bit damaged.

(19)

númə́	bw=á	ncə̀	kò	dìl	mə̀	centre	ʒàmó	kómb
númə́	bwó=á	ncə̀	kò	dìl	mə̀			kómb
also	they-P2	come	go	dwell	me	center	Jamot	side

m=á	kò	lè	s-ówà	mè-mìr=é.
H+m̀=á	kò	lè	sá-ówà	mè-mìd=é
RELCL-I-P2	go	IMPF	do-PASS	4-medicine-RELCL

They took me to the Jamot Center to get treated.

(20)

sá	j-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	á	lè	sá	mə́	lə̀-ŋkwùnt	myà	mə́	mə̀
sá	j-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	á	lè	sá	mə̀	lè- ŋkwùnt	myà	H+mə̀	mə̀
7-thing	7-DEF	P2	IMPF	do	me	5-fear	3-time	RELCL-me	me

mé	m=á	lè	bò	mə̀	mbúk	n-é-njwòŋ	wàlàfírə̀	nə̀	mú
mé	m=á	lè	bò	mə̀	mbúg	nò-lé-njwòŋ	wàlə̀fírə̀	nə̀	mú
self	I-P2	IMPF	be	I	lie	with LOC-bed	hospital	with	reason

nə̀	wú	á	bò	m-ùr	ké	kò	cík
nə̀	wú	á	bò	m-ùr	ké	kò	cíg
that	there	P2	be	1-person	NEG	go	cross

m-ùr	ké	kò	dêk	wó.
m-ùr	ké	kò	dêg	wó
1-person	NEG	go	see	you

This situation scared me because while I was lying there in the hospital, no one could come visit me.

(21)

wò	lè	jâ	njì	wò	wò	mé	njì	bé	nà	bə̀-dwábə̀rà.
wò	lé	já	njì	wò	wò	mé	njì	bé	nò	bò-dwábə̀rà
you	IMPF	sleep	only	you	you	self	only	you	with	2-nurse

You sleep all alone, with only the nurses.

(22)

sì	bìen	m=ă	bə̀	fúndɔ	bá	mí-l	mə́-myà.
		m=á	bə̀	fúndɔ	bà	mì-úlə́gá	mè-myà
		I-P2	be	flee	little	4-another	4-time

I was quite afraid.

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(23) "ést- ce què mә̀ jì nò ŋkùl yò wógә̀ ?"

mә̀	jì	nò	ŋkùl	yò	wôg
I	be	with	force	die	here

Will I die here?

(24) bwùr bә́ njáp bwó ndé ké nûmp.

bò-ùr	bó	njáb	bwó	ndé	ké	nûmb
2-man	2-Assoc	3-house	they	be (loc)	NEG	know

My family won't know....

(25) m̀=á njì ntà m̀=á bò nò búgó nә̀ twè

m̀=á	njì	ntà	m̀=á	bò	nò	búgó	nә̀	twĕ
I-P2	only	since	I-P2	be	with	faith	that	even.if

n-è-sáp á sê jâk nò ŋkùl ncììmbә́

nә̀-è-sáp	á	sé	jâg		nò	ŋkùl	ncììmbê
that-5-illness	P2	PERF	(be) serious		with	force	God

ɲә̀ ɲә̀ mé é nìgò sá mә̀ mpwògә́.

ɲә̀	ɲә̀	mé	é	nìgò+H	sá+H	mә̀	mpwògә́.
him	him	self	FUT	return	do	me	(be) healthy

I had faith that even if the illness had already gotten bad, God himself will heal me.

(26) jwә́ bó m̀=á bándà bò jízә̀bә̀ mé-mìr=é.

jwә́	bò	m̀=á	bàndà	bò	jízә̀bә̀	mè-mìd=è
7SUB	be	I-P2	really	be	endure	4-medicine-RELCL

That's why I put up with the treatment.

(27) bw=á lè sá mә̀.

bwó=á	lè	sá	mә̀
they-P2	IMPF	do	me

They treated me.

(28)

mà	ndâk	bándà	ncò	bà	mpwògέ.
mà	ndâg	bàndà	ncò	bà	mpwògέ.
I	?	really	come	be	(be) healthy

I regained my health.

(29)

sì	bìen	nâ	m=ă	nìgò	jà	ncììmbé	àkíbà	nâ	bùbù.
		nâ	m=á	nìgò	jò	ncìmbé	àkíbà	nâ	bùbù
		that	I-P2	again	give	God	thank	with	many

So I really give thanks to God.

(30)

nà	mù	nâ	contre-examens	bw=á	kà	sâ	nâ
nò	mú	nâ		bwó=á	kò	sá	nà
with	reason	that	re-tests	they-P2	go	do	with

mà-ŋgwàgàlá	m=á	lè	sâ,	bw=á	kà	dêk	nâ
mè-ŋgwàgàlá	m=á	lè	sá	bwó=á	kò	dêg	nâ
4-prayers	I-P2	IMPF	do	they-P2	go	see	that

bì-mpáànc	by-áŋà	sé	nó kwò	bò	fúbán	nà	ɲwàŋ	ɲwàŋ.
bè-mpànc	bè-àŋ	sé	kwò	bò	fúbán	nà	ɲwâŋ	ɲwâŋ
8-side	8-my	PERF	again	be	clean	and	good	good

After they retested me, and all my prayers, they found that my
lungs were healthy and clean.

(31)

è-kál	é-sâp	kè	ná	kwà	nìgò	lík.
è-kál	H+è-sáp	ké	nò	kwó	nìgò	lígò
5-spot	5-illness	NEG	with	again	again	stay

No trace of the illness remained.

(32)

dónc	bìzó	kà	bùl	lè	fúndò	lè-ʃwì
	bìzó	ké	bùlù	lè	fúndò	è-ʃwì
thus	we	NEG	many	IMPF	fear	5-death

myà	w=ó	ndé	n-é-jwòŋ	lé-sáp=é.
myà	H+w=ó	ndé+H	nò-lé-jwòŋ	H+lè-sáp=è
3-time	RELCL-you-PRES	be (loc)	with-LOC-bed	5-illness-RELCL

Thus we shouldn't have so much fear of death when we're lying on a
sickbed.'

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2 A Funeral at Bidjombo

told by Pierre Bengomo Mossi (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

(1)　nò　　kùgú　　　bɪ̀zə̀　bə̀　mpáànt　nè,　è-ʃwì　mə̀　ɲɔ̀ŋ
　　　nò　　kùgú　　　bɪ̀zə́　bò　　　　　　né　è-ʃwì　mə̀　ɲɔ̀ŋgə́
　　　with　3-evening　we　　be　　Mpand　that　5-death　POSS　1-mother

　　　mə̀　bòkwáálà.
　　　mə̀　bòkwáálà
　　　POSS　Bokwaala
　　　'Yesterday, we were at the funeral for Bokwaala's mother at Mpand.

(2)　è-ʃwì　　d-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́　jì　　　　nə̂　　y=á　　　　　bə̀　nə̂　　bwó　sá
　　　è-ʃwì　　d-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́　jì　　　　nə̂　　y=á　　　　　bò　nə̂　　bwó　sá
　　　5-death　5-DEF　　be (att)　that　NONREF-P2　be　that　they　do

　　　ndèlá　　ntà　　　ɲ=á　　yə̀　kùgú　　　　á　　　bè.
　　　ndèlá　　ntà　　　ɲ=á　　yò　kùgú　　　　á　　　bɛ̀
　　　9-burial　since　she-P2　die　3-evening　QUAL　second
　　　They needed to bury her because she died the day before yesterday.

(3)　sá　　　　bə̀　mpwògé　　nò　　mú　　　nə̂　　mùŋ　　　áncé　　ntámə̀.
　　　sâ　　　　bò　mpwògé　　nò　　mú　　　nə̂　　múɲə̀　　áncé　　ntámà
　　　7-thing　be　1-health　　with　reason　that　3-corpse　NEGP2　rot
　　　It was a good thing because the body was not decomposed (yet).

(4)　bɪ̀zə́　kà　　　númə́　sá　mɪ́ʃwàn　　mpwògé.
　　　bɪ́zə́　kà　　　númə́　sá　mɪ́ʃwàn　　mpwògé
　　　we　　CONS　also　do　7-church　1-health
　　　We also had a good service.

(5)

njìì	sá	bùl	ká	ncò	wá	bìzə́	mò-kwábə̀là	bò
njì	sâ	bùlù	kà	ncò	wá	bìzə́	mò-kwábə̀là	bò
only	7-thing	many	CONS	come	give	us	6-difficulty	be

lòbə̀	kàmbə̀gə̀	nə̀	mú	bw-àrá	bwó	nə̀	cà	ŋgà
lòb	kàmbə̀gə̀	nò	mú	bò-àrá	bwó	nò	cà	ŋgà
3-problem	fun'l.dance	with	reason	2-woman	they	with	with	this

bwó	túgə́	bwó	myá	míʃwàn	ndé	syê	bwó
bwó	túg	bwó	myà+H	míʃwàn	ndé	syê	bwó
they	be(neg)	they	3-time	RELCL-7-church	be (loc)	7-work	they

hà	bá	bír	nə̀	míʃwàn	syê=g	bwó	lúgà	là-wálà
fã	bà	bír	nə̀	míʃwàn	syê=g	bwó	lúgà	è-wàlà
HORT	little	leave	that	7-church	work-SUBJ	they	respect	5-hour

mə́	ncììmbé.
mə́	ncììmbé
5POSS	God

The only thing that caused problems was the *kambaga* [traditional funeral dance], because the women were doing it during the service and not setting it aside to respect God's time.

(6)

njìì	kámbə̀gà	njì	kò	nə́	njɛ̀ɛ̀	sá	j=ŏ	ŋgə́
njì	kàmbə̀gə̀	njì	kò	nò	njɛ̀ɛ̀	sá	j=ó	gó
only	fun'l.dance	only	go	with	9-arrival	7-thing	7SUB-PRES	PROG

bùlù	ntɛ́gə̀	nò	kùgú.
bùlù	ntɛ́g	nò	kùgú
many	annoy	with	3-evening

The *kambaga* kept going on and really annoyed us.

(7)

bìzə́	sé	kà	númə́	làp	nò	bwò	né	bwó	há
bìzə́	sé	kà	númə́	làb	nò	bwə̀	né	bwó	hǎ
we	PERF	CONS	also	speak	with	them	that	they	HORT

nǝbò	myà	y-ês	míʃwàn	ndé	syé	lè-ʃwǐ	bwó	hà
nǝbǝ	myà	y-êz	míʃwàn	ndé	syê	è-ʃwì	bwó	hà
because	3-time	3-each	7-church	be(loc)	work	5-death	they	HORT

bîr	lòβǝ	kámbǝgà	myà	míʃwàn	mǝ	sí
bír	lòb	kàmbǝgǝ	myà	H+míʃwàn	mé	sé
leave	3-problem	fun'l.dance	3-time	RELCL-7-church	be (chg)	PERF

syê	nǝ	mú	nǝ	ncììmbǝ	ɲǝ	ɲǝ	mǝ	bò	ndê...
syê	nò	mú	nǝ	ncììmbé	ɲǝ	ɲǝ	mé	bò	ndé
work	with	reason	that	God	him	him	self	be	be (loc)

lɛ́ŋ	nǝ	m-ùr	yó=k	ŋgè	ndágǝ	nǝ	m-ùr	cìgé.
lêŋ	nǝ	m-ùd	yò=g+H	ŋgé	ndâg	nǝ	m-ùd	cìgǝ
say	that	1-person	die-SUBJ	if	?	that	1-person	live

We told them that from now on, during the funeral service, they have to stop the kambaga, because it is God himself who says when man lives or dies.

(8)	donc	è-wàlà	lé	míʃwàn	é	mò-ʃwì	bìzǝ	jí
	donc	è-wàlà	lé	míʃwàn		mò-ʃwì	bìzǝ	jí
	thus	5-hour	5ASSOC	7-church	and(Fr)	6-death	we	want

jàlànà	bùlù	nĕ	kándǝbǝ	dw-ób
jàlánà	bùlù	né	kándǝbǝ	dw-ób
must	many	that	respect	5-day

We should really respect the church time.

(9)	ká	kò	jé	númǝ	nǝ	è-ʃwì	lǝ	twámbá	mw-àrá
	kà	kò	jê	númǝ	nǝ	è-ʃwì	lé	twámbá	mw-àrá
	CONS	go	arrive	also	that	5-death	5ASSOC	1-elder	1-woman

túgǝ	náŋ	ká	bùlú	bǝ	nǝ	mǝ-cě	lè-lámǝ
túg+H	náŋ+H	kà+H	bùlù+H	bò+H	nò	mǝ-tyè	lè-lâm
be (neg)	still	CONS	many	be	with	6-pain	5-heart

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nə̀	mú	nə̂	ɲ=ǎ	sé	sá	syé.
nò	mú	nə̂	ɲ̀=á	sé	sá	syê
with	reason	that	she-P2	PERF	do	7-work

Arriving at the death of an old mother doesn't give much heart pain because she had done the work that she should do.

(10)

á	bò	nə̂	ɲə̀=	sá=gə̀	ɲ=ǎ	sé	byá	bw-án.
á	bò	nə̂	ɲə̀=	sá=g+H	ɲ̀=á	sé	byâ	bò-ân
P2	be	that	she	do-SUBJ	she-P2	PERF	bear (child)	2-child

She had already had children.

(11)

bw-án	mé	nùmə́	nə̀	b-ób	bw-ân.
bò-ân	mé	númə́	nò	b-ób	bò-ân
2-child	be (chg)	also	with	2-their	2-child

Her children had also had their children.

(12)

ɲ=ǎ	lígò	bə̀-ntá	è-wúm.
ɲ̀=á	lígò	bè-ntá	è-wúm
she-P2	stay, leave	8-grandchild	5-ten

She left ten grandchildren.

(13)

té	y=á	sé	bò	bèrà	sá.
té	y=á	sé	bò	bèdà	sâ
LOC	NONREF-P2	PERF	be	big	7-thing

That was a big thing.

(14)

é-ʃwí	d-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	yə̀	númə́	bìzə́	fógə̀	né.
è-ʃwì	d-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	yò	númə́	bìzə́	fóg	né
5-death	5-DEF	give	also	us	9-wisdom	that

This death also gives us wisdom.

(15)

myǎ	bíz=ó	ndé	dì,	bìzə́	ndé=gèé	símə̀zə̀	nə̂
myǎ	H+bìz=ó	ndé+H	dì+H	bìzə́	ndé=g+H	símə̀zə̀	nə̂
3-time	RELCL-we-PRES	be (loc)	stay	we	be (loc)-SUBJ	think	that

bìzɔ́	ndé=gé	sá	lə̀-ɲwàŋ.
bìzɔ́	ndé=g+H	sá	lè-ɲwàŋ
we	be (loc)-Subj	do	5-good

While we're living, we should think about doing good.

(16)
nə̀	mú	nə̂	mw-àrá	yə̀	nò	kùgé,	myǎ
nò	mú	nə̂	mò-àrá	yò	nò	kùgú	myà+H
with	reason	that	1-woman	die	with	3-evening	3-time-RELCL

è-sáβə	ɲ=á	bə̀	nə̀	té	è-sáp	lɔ́	ncám	tùgɔ́
è-sáb	ɲ=á	bə̀	nò	té	è-sáb	lé	ncàm	túg
5-illness	she-P2	be	with	LOC	5-illness	5ASSOC	9-leprosy	be (neg)

hám	è-sáp.
fám	è-sáb
real, good	5-illness

Because the woman who died yesterday, she had leprosy which is not a good disease.

(17)
y=ǎ	lə̀	bə̀	ákíká		bw=á	lè	wùl	bw-ùr
y=á	lè	bò	ákíká		bwó=á	lè	wùl	bò-ùd
NONREF-P2	IMPF	be	colonial.times		they-P2	IMPF	take.out	2-person

é	bw-ùr	kó	nìgó	dìlə̀	bwɔ́	j-óbə́	bùŋ	bòŋ	á
	bò-ùd	kò	nìgò	dìl	bwó	j-ób	bùŋ	bóŋ	á
and(Fr)	2-person	go	return	dwell	them	7-their	7-place	there	P2

kò	móŋgòmɔ́	kómb	m-íl	mé-ncícàm	á	bèè
kò		kómb	mè-úlə́gá	mè-ncícâm	á	
go	Mongoma	side	4-INDEF	4-leper	P2	

In colonial times, they took them away and isolated them in a leprosarium [at Mongoma] where there were other lepers.

(18)
mé	ɲ=á	bò	ncícâm	ɲ=ǎ	sé	sá	nə̂	njáp	bw-ùr
	ɲ=á	bò	ncícâm	ɲ=á	sé	sá	nə̂	njáb	H+bò-ùd
but(Fr)	she-P2	be	3-leper	she-P2	PERF	do	that	3-house	2-person

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y-é	wə́	fúk	nə́	bùbù	nə̀	mú	nə̂	ɲ=ă	kɔ̀
y-é	wə́	fúg	nò	bùbù	nò	mú	nə̂	ɲ=á	kɔ̀
3-her	3SUB	be.numerous	with	many	with	reason	that	she-P2	go

sáŋ	míyɔ̀ŋ	mə̀	njúm	mw-àrá	tíé	lómìè.
sáŋ	míyɔ̀ŋ	mə̀	njûm	mw-àrá	tíé	lómìè
look.for	1-sibling	1POSS	1-husband	1-woman	7-position	Lomie

Even though she was a leper, she worked so that her family would be numerous because she looked for a wife from Lomié for her husband's brother.

(19)

è	mw-àrá	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	ɲ=ă	sé	ncə̀	byá	númə́	bùbù
	mw-àrá	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	ɲ=á	sé	ncə̀	byâ	númə́	bùbù
and(Fr)	1-woman	1-DEF	she-P2	PERF	come	bear	also	many

njáp	bw-ùr.
njáb	H+bɔ̀-ùd
3-house	2-person

That woman came and she also had a big family.

(20)

njáp	bw-ûr	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	ɲ=ă	sé	sá	bèrà	syé.
njáb	H+bɔ̀-ùd	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	ɲ=á	sé	sá	bèdà	syê
3-house	2-person	1-DEF	she-P2	PERF	do	big	7-work

For this family, she did a big work.

(21)

ntá	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	ndé	jàlàn=ê	myà	bìzə́	kă	lè
ntà	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	H+ndé	jàlànà=è	myà	H+bìzə́	kà	lè
since	1-DEF	RELCL-be(loc)	must- RELCL	3-time	RELCL-we	CONS	IMPF

dì	le-sí	bìzó	kə̀	dêk	nə̂	twò	nə̂	bìzə́	njì	jwók
dì	lè-sí	bìzə́	kò	dêg	nə̂	twò	nə̂	bìzə́	njì	jwɔ́g
stay	INF-finish	we	go	see	that	even	that	we	only	feel

cè	twò	nə̂	bìzə́	jì	mpwògɛ́	bìzó	kə́	sá	njáp
cè	twò	nə̂	bìzə́	jì	mpwògɛ́	bìzə́	ké	sá	njáb
illness	even	that	we	be	1-health	we	NEG	do	3-house

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bw-ùr   lè-mbáp.
H + bò-ùd   lè-mbáp
2-person   5-bad.thing

Like that, while we are here finishing [life], we see that even if we're sick, even if we're healthy, we shouldn't do bad things to the family.

(22)   nà   mú   nə̂   lè-ɲwàŋ   wò   ndé   sá   njáp
        nò   mú   nə̂   lè-ɲwâŋ   H + wò   ndé   sá   njáb
        with reason that 5-good.thing RELCL-you (be) loc do 3-house

bw-ùr = è   ncììmbé yò wə̂ə̀   myánə̀,   è-sú
H + bò-ùd = è   ncììmbé yò wò   myánə̀   è-ʃú
2-person-RELCL God   give you (sg) compensation 5-sake

lé-ɲwàŋ   wò   ndé   sá   njáp   bw-ùr.
lè-ɲwâŋ   wò   ndé   sá   njáb   H + bò-ùd
5-good.thing you (sg) be (loc) do 3-house 2-person

Because God will reward you for the good that you do to your family.

(23)   è-ʃwí   d-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́ bùl   sá bìzə́ hámə́ bé-twòŋgə̀lá nò kùgú
        è-ʃwì   d-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́ bùlù sá bìzə́ fám   bè-twòŋgə̀lá nò kùgú
        5-death 5-DEF   many do we   good 8-thought   with 3-evening

mbìì   m-ùr   ndé   jàlànə̀ cìgə̀ é-njáp   bw-ùr.
mbì   H + m-ùd ndé   jàlànà cìgə̀ lé-njáb   H + bò-ùd
3-sort RELCL-1-person be (loc) must live LOC-3-house 2-person

This death has given us good thoughts on how people ought to live in families.

3 Bidjombo

told by Pierre Bengomo Mossi (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

(1)

mwâ	lɔ́ŋ-gà	jì	lɔ́ŋ	kwár	bìjùmp.
mwá	lɔ́ŋ-ŋgà	jì	lɔ́ŋ	kwád	
1-small	5-speech-here	be (att)	5-speech	9-village	Bidjombo

This little story is the story of Bidjombo village.

(2)

kwár	bìjùmp	á	bə̀	bèrà	kwár	bwûr	á	bə̀
kwád		á	bò	bèdà	kwád	H+bò-ùd	á	bò
9-village	Bidjombo	P2	be	big	9-village	RELCL-2-person	P2	be

é	cèl	nó	bùbù.
	cèlà	nò	bùbù
and (Fr)	love	with	many

Bidjombo village was a big village that people loved a lot.

(3)

y=á	bə̀	númɔ́	kwár	bw-ûr	á	bùlù	bù	nò
y=á	bò	númɔ́	kwád	H+bò-ùd	á	bùlù	bù	nò
NONREF-P2	be	also	9-village	RELCL-2-person	P2	many	many	with

mú	mè-njáp	mé	bw-ùr	mé	kwár	gà	cèlá	á
mú	mè-njáb	mé	bò-ùd	mé	kwád	ŋgà	cèlà	á
reason	4-house	4ASSOC	2-person	4ASSOC	9-village	this	love	P2

bùlə̀	bə̀	fágɔ́lá	bwó	bwó	mè.
bùlù	bò	fágɔ́lá	bwó	bwó	mé
many	be	between	they	they	self

It was also a village with a lot of people because the families of the village loved each other a lot.

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(4)

myà	bíjùmp	bìzó	á	lè	bə̀	bè-kə́kág=é
myà	H+bìjùmb	bìzó	á	lè	bò	bè-kə́kág=è
3-time	RELCL-Bidjombo	we (excl)	P2	IMPF	be	8-small.child-RELCL

bìz=á	lè	dêk	wògà	mò-ntwɔ́má	nə̀	mə̀-sês	á	lè
bìzə́=á	lè	dêg	wôg	mò-ntwɔ́má	nò	mè-sês	á	lè
we-P2	IMPF	see	here	6-boy	with	4-girl	P2	IMPF

wú	bè-bóŋ	bè-sís	nə̀	bwó	ncə̀	lè	dì	wógà
wû	bè-bóŋ	bè-sís	nə̀	bwó	ncò	lè	dì	wôg
leave	8-place	8-another	that	they	come	IMPF	stay	here

nə̀	mú	nə̀	cɛ̀lɔ́	bì-sá	á	bə̀	né	ɲwàŋə̀
nò	mú	nə̀	cɛ̀là	bè-sá	á	bò	né	ɲwâŋ
with	reason	that	love	7-thing	P2	be	that	5-good.thing

by=á	lè	syê	bíjùmp.
by=á	lè	syê	bìjùmb
8-P2	IMPF	work	Bidjombo

When we of Bidjombo were children, we saw boys and girls leaving other places and coming here because love and other good things were at Bidjombo.

(5)

dóŋk	bìjùmbə̀	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ̂	ɲ=é	sí	bə̀	bízô	kwár
	bìjùmb	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	ɲ=é	sí+H	bò+H	bìzó	kwád
thus (Fr)	Bidjombo	1-DEF	1SUB-P1	finish	be	us	9-village

ndé	ncìimb	á	yò	bè-bwárá	né	nə̀
ndé	ncìimbê	á	yò	bè-bwárá	né	nə̀
be (loc)	God	P2	give	8-blessing	that	that

ɲɔ̀	kô	ʃwúgə̀.
ɲò	kò	ʃwôg
1SUB	go	front

Thus, Bidjombo became a village that God blessed and that prospered.

(6)

dóŋk	bw-án	bó	bíjùmp	jì	bèrà	bw-ùr	nə́	cà
	bò-ân	bó		jì	bèdà	bò-ùd	nò	cà
thus	2-child	2ASSOC	Bidjombo	be(att)	big	2-person	with	now

ŋgà	n-é-mə̀-yììgə̀.
ŋgà	né-lé-mè-yììgə̀
this	with-LOC-4-government

Thus the children of Bidjombo are now important people in the
government.

(7)

dóŋk	bìzó	bw-ùr	mə́	kà	líg = è	bìzó	jì
	bìzó	bò-ùd	H + mé	kà	lígò = e	bìzó	jì
thus	we (excl)	2-person	RELCL-be (chg)	CONS	stay-RELCL	we (excl)	be (att)

jàlànà	bèlà	númə́	bì-sá	lè	syê	lé-mə̀-lú	mpíz = é.
jàlànà	bèlà	númə́	bè-sá	H + lè	syê	lé-mò-lú	mpízò = è
must	imitate	also	8-thing	RELCL-IMPF	work	LOC-6-era	back-RELCL

Therefore, those of us who remain, we must imitate what happened
in older times.

(8)

nə́	bìzə́	bágə̀là	kwár	ɲ-íz	né
nə̂	bìzə́	bàgə̀là	kwád	ɲ-iz	né
that	we	keep	9-village	9-our	that

So that we can keep our village.

(9)

nə̂	kwár	ɲ-ízé	dégè	kò	sá	bò	jì	ndì
nə̂	kwád	ɲ-iz	dêg	kò	sá	bò	jì	ndé
that	9-village	9-our	see	go	7-thing	be	be (att)	be (loc)

ʃúgə̀nə̀	ʃúgù.
ʃwógə̀nə̀	ʃwôg
go.forward	front

So that our village keeps heading forward.

(10)

bìzó	ké	nìgó	ncə́	ɲwàŋ	tíé	á	mə̀	mpízə̀.
bìzə́	ké	nìgò	ncò	ɲwàŋ	tíé	á	mé	mpízò
we	NEG	return	come	take	7-position	P2	be (chg)	back

We should not take last place.

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4 How Families Used to Be

told by Mathieu Zoula (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

(1)

é	àkəkà	njáp	bw-ùt	w=á	là	bə	kwòmbèlá
é	àkíká	njáb+H	bò-ùd	w=á	lè	bò	kwòmbèlá
and (Fr)	colonial	3-house	2-person	3SUB-P2	IMPF	be	organize

mə-mbì	mí-ŋgà	nə	bwó	nə	bətwámbá	wó	bw-ùr
mè-mbì	mè-ŋgà	nə	bwó	nò	bò-twámbá	bó	bò-ùd
4-sort	4-this	that	they	with	2-elder	2ASSOC	2-person

mè-cígó	mé-cígó.
mè-cígó	mè-cígó
4-division	4-division

In the time of the ancestors, the family was organized like that, in that there were the elders and people in divisions.

(2)

nə	w-ɔɔ̀ŋ	m-ûr	ndé	é-làp	mè-lòβ-é.
nò	w-ɔɔ̀ŋgə́	m-ùd	ndé	lè-làb	mè-lòb
with	1-DEF	1-person	be (loc)	INF-speak	4-problem

And someone dealt with problems.

(3)

nə	w-ɔɔ̀ŋ	m-ûr	ndé	é-kˠé	é-mè-lómbə́lé.
nò	w-ɔɔ̀ŋgə́	m-ùd	ndé	lè-kò	lé-mè-lómbə́lé
with	1-DEF	1-person	be (loc)	INF-go	LOC-4-errand

And someone ran errands.

(4)

nə	w-ɔɔ̀ŋ	m-ûr	ndé	é-bàgə̀là	é-kùnjí.
nò	w-ɔɔ̀ŋgə́	m-ùd	ndé	lè-bàgə̀là	lé-kwònjí
with	1-DEF	1-person	be (loc)	INF-keep, watch	LOC-cashbox

And someone was treasurer.

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(5)

nɜ	m-ùr	y-ês	jì	dènà	j-é	tíé
nò	m-ùd	y-êz	jì	dènà	j-é	tíé
with	1-person	1-each	be (att)	like	7-his	7-position

Each person had their job.

(6)

ɲɜ=	ndé	syê	é-njáp	bw-úr,	bɜ-kɜkák	nò
ɲɜ=	ndé	syê	lé-njáb	H+bò-ùd	bè-kɜkák	nò
he	be (loc)	work	LOC-3-house	2-person	8-small.child	with

j-óbɜ	tíé
j-ób	tíé
7-their	7-position

He works in the family, the children with their jobs [too].

(7)

è	m-ùr	y-ês	bàgɜlò	ŋkwóŋ	ɲ-ế.
	m-ùd	y-êz	bàgɜlà	ŋkwóŋ	ɲ-é
and (Fr)	1-person	1-each	keep, watch	9-responsibility	9-his

The small children had theirs, and each person looked after their own responsibility.

(8)

m-ùr	y-ês	njwúŋ	bó=k	é-njábɜ	bw-ût.
m-ùd	y-êz	njwúŋ	bò=g+H	lé-njáb	H+bò-ùd
1-person	1-each	respect	be-SUBJ	LOC-3-house	2-person

Each person has [should have] respect for the family.

(9)

njáp	bw-ûr	w=ó	jì	bùgùbà	bô	myâ
njáb	H+bò-ùd	w=ó	jì	bùgùbà	bò	myà
3-house	2-person	3SUB-PRES	be (att)	prosper	be	3-time

njwúŋ	ndé	té.
njwúŋ	ndé	té
respect	be (loc)	LOC

The family prospers when there is respect.

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(10)

njwúŋ	bə́	ndé	sá	nə̂	mò-bùgùbà	ncâ=k.
njwúŋ	bò	ndé	sá	nə̂	mò-bùgùbà	ncâ=g
respect	be	be (loc)	do	that	6-prosperity	come-SUBJ

Respect does in such a way that prosperity comes.

(11)

njwúŋ	bə́	ndé	cèl=é.
ndjwúŋ	H+bò	ndé	cèl=è
respect	RELCL-be	be (loc)	love-RELCL

Respect is love.

(12)

cèl	jì	è-ʃùk	é	má-bùgùbà.
cèl	jì	è-ʃùg	é	mò-bùgùbà
love	be (att)	5-stalk	5ASSOC	6-prosperity

Love is the root [stalk] of prosperity.

(13)

bìzá	njî	númp	nə̂	myǎ	cììmb	á	kwàmbə̀lò
bìzá	njì	nûmb	nə̂	myà+H	ncììmbé	á	kwàmbə̀là
we (incl)	only	know	that	3-time-RELCL	God	P2	create

njáp	bw-ûr,	y=á	kò	númə́	w=ó	célà-là=k.
njáb	H+bò-ùd	y=á	kò	númə́	w=ó	cèlà-là=g
3-house	2-person	NONREF-P2	go	also	3SUB-PRES	love-REFL?-SUBJ

We know that when God created the family, it was for them to love.

(14)

mè-njáp	mə́	bw-ûr	á	bə̀	lè	àkə́kà
mè-njáb	mé	bò-ùd	á	bò	lè	àkíká
4-house	POSS	2-person	P2	be	IMPF	colonial.times

nə̂	lùgà	lùgà	lùgà.
nə̂	lùgà	lùgà	lùgà
that	prosper	prosper	prosper

The families during the time of the ancestors prospered.

(15)

nə̀bə̀	jé?
nə̀bə́	jé
because	what

Why?

(16)

nə̀bə̀	nə̂	njwúŋ	jì	té.
nə̀bə́	nə̂	njwúŋ	jì	té
because	that	respect	be (att)	LOC

Because there is respect.

(17)

myà	bé	bè-kèkák	ndé	ŋgà	jwábó=gá
myà	H+bé	bè-kə́kág	ndé	ŋgà	jwâbɔ̀=gá
3-time	RELCL-you (pl)	8-small.child	be (loc)	this	respect-SUBJ(pl)

bə̀-sɔ́ŋgə̀	nə̀	bə̀-ɲɔ́ŋgə̀,	jwábó=gá	bə̀-twámbá	b-ín,
bò-sɔ́ŋgô	nò	bò-ɲɔ̀ŋgə̂	jwâbɔ̀=gá	bò-twámbà	b-én
2-father	with	2-mother	respect-SUBJ(pl)	2-elder	2-your (pl)

jwábó=gá	bòmíyɔ̀ŋ	b-ín,	mìyà	w-ɔ̀ɔŋgə̀
jwâbɔ̀=gá	bò-míyɔ̀ŋ	b-én	myà	w-ɔ̀ɔŋgə́
respect-SUBJ(pl)	2-sibling	2-your (pl)	3-time	3-DEF

ó	njáp	bw-ûr	ndé	kwégè	mpwógé.
ó	njáb	H+bò-ùd	ndé	kwég	mpwògé.
PRES	3-house	2-person	be (loc)	work	1-health

When you the children who are there respect your fathers and your mothers, respect your elders, respect your brothers, it is in that time that the family works well.

(18)

mè-njáp	mə́	bw-ûr	á	bò	myà	bé	ó	byêl	ŋgà,
mè-njáb	mé	bò-ùd	á	bò	myà	bé	ó	byêl	ŋgà
4-house	POSS	2-person	P2	be	3-time	you (pl)	PRES	be.born	this

sá	á	bə̀	nə̀	ɲwàŋ	ɲwàŋ,	é	bìzá	mé
sá	á	bò	nò	ɲwâŋ	ɲwâŋ	é	bìzá	mé
7-thing	P2	be	with	9-good.thing	9-good.thing	and(Fr)	we	be(chg)

ndé	ncə̀	ntámà	mé-njáp	mə́	bw-ûr	nə̀	cà	nó
ndé	ncò	ntámà	mè-njáb	mé	bò-ùd	nò	cà	nò
be (loc)	come	rot	4-house	POSS	2-person	with	now	with

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nəbŏ njwùŋ kí náŋ bò.
nəbə́ njwúŋ ké náŋ bò
because respect NEG still be

The families, when you were born, what was already good will ruin the families because there is no respect.

(19)

bìzá	jí	jàlànà	wá	njwúŋ	é-mè-njáp	mə́	bw-ûr	kí
bìzá	jì	jàlànà	wá	njwúŋ	lé-mè-njáb	mé	bò-ùd	ké
we (incl)	be (att)	must	give	respect	LOC-4-house	POSS	2-person	NEG

bó	ŋkà	bé	ndé	njì	ncôm	ncôm	ncôm.
bò	ŋkà	bé	ndé	njì	ncôm	ncôm	ncôm
be	like	you (pl)	be (loc)	only	disorder	disorder	disorder

We must put respect in the family, not like you are always in disorder.

(20)

è-jwógə̀=gá	édìà	mwâ	ntòmbə̀	númə́	mé	twòŋgə̀lò.
è-jwóg=gá+H	lé-dìyà	mwá	ntòmb	númə́	mé	twòŋgə̀lə̀
INF-hear-SUBJ(pl)	LOC-place	1-small	younger	also	be(chg)	thought

Listen also to the younger ones when they have thoughts.

(21)

m=ó	bwúnə̀	ŋkà	njáp	bw-ûr	á	lè	bò	té.
m=ó	bwúnə̀	ŋkà	njáb	H+bò-ùd	á	lè	bò	té
I-PRES	believe	like	3-house	2-person	P2	IMPF	be	LOC

I believe that it was like that that the family was organized.

(21)

njáp	bw-ûr	jì	bè-tíé	bé-tíé.
njáb	H+bò-ùd	jì	bè-tíé	bè-tíé
3-house	2-person	be (att)	8-position	8-position

The family has its positions.

(22)

m-ùr	y-ês	nə̀	ɲ-é	ŋkwɔ́ŋ	kí	kə̀	ʃùŋà
m-ùd	y-êz	nò	ɲ-é	ŋkwóŋ	ké	kò	ʃúŋà
1-person	1-each	with	9-his	9-responsibility	NEG	go	discuss

ŋkwɔ́ŋ	mə́	ɲ-úləgə́	m-ût.
ŋkwóŋ	mə́	ɲ-úləgá	m-ùd
9-responsibility	POSS	1-person	1-person

Each person has his responsibility, and he shouldn't discuss the responsibility of someone else.

(23) b = á = jwág = è?

bé = á = jwág = è
you (pl)-NEG-hear-NEG

Do you understand?

(24) m = é   tìè   né   jè?

m = é	tíé	nò	jé
I-P1	7-position?	with	what

What did I say?

5 A History of Bidjombo

told by Mathieu Zoula (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into French)

by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

(1)

bìjùmp	bé	yò	dék	ŋgà,	bìjùmp	á	bò
bìjùmb	bé	ó	dêg	ŋgà	bìjùmb	á	bò
Bidjombo	you (pl)	PRES	see	this	Bidjombo	P2	be

bèdà	kwát	têr	myà	mó	nàm	mbŭ.
bèdà	kwád	tér	myà	mó		mbú
big	9-village	start	3-time	3Assoc	7-nation	3-season

The Bidjombo that you see here was a big [and important] village since the time of Nam Mbu.

(2)

nàmb=á	têr	bò	kúkúmá	ncò	jé	myà	mó
nàm mbù=á	tér	bò	kúkúmá	ncà	jé	myà	mó
Nam Mbu–P2	first	be	3-chief	come	arrive	3-time	3Assoc

bókwáànt.

Bokwaand

Nam was the first chief until the time of Bokwaand.

(3)

b-ùd	bé	ndé	dék	mpàndɔ́	nè	m-úr
b-ùd	H+bé	ndé	dêg		né	m-ùd
1-person	RELCL-you(pl)	be (loc)	see	Mpand	that	1-person

y-ês	á	dì	wógà	bíjùmp.
y-êz	á	dì	wôk	bìjùmp
1-each	P2	stay	here	Bidjombo

The people that you see at Mpand used to live here at Bidjombo.

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(4) kúkúmá   á   mə̀   ʃwôk   á   bə̀   nàm   mbŭ.
     kúkúmá   á   bò   nàm   mbú
     3-chief   first   P2   be   7-nation 3-season
     The first chief was Nam Mbu.

(5) mpízə̀   mə́   nàm   mbŭ   bòkwáànt   elias.
     mpízò   mə́   nàm   mbú
     back   POSS 7-nation 3-season
     After Nam Mbu was Bokwaand Elias.

(6) bèjŭmbó   é   tér   kwòlə̀   ngɛ́t,   kò   jé   njwèndé,
                    tér   kò   jé
     Bidjombo   P1   start   go   arrive

     kwár   nà   nə́   byòt.
     kwár   nà   nò   byòd
     9-village by   with fullness
     Bidjombo started at Kola Nget (the hill of naughtiness) and went to
     Njwende (the swamp), and throughout the village was packed [with
     people].

(7) w=ŏ   dégéé   nə̀   tít   sá   nə̀   jèè!
     w=ó   dêg+H   nə̀   tíd   sá   nò   jèè
     you (sg)-PRES see   that 1-animal do   with 9-arrival
     You saw lots of animals!

(8) ɲ-úlə́gá   tít   ǎ   bò   wôk   bé   túg   lè
     ɲ-úlə́gá   tíd   á   bò   wôg   bé   túg   lè
     1-INDEF   1-animal P2   be   here you (pl) be (neg) IMPF

     númb   ɲě   ndwâŋk,   è   kwígə̀   wók
     nûmb   ɲɛ́   ndwâŋg   é   kwîg   wôg
     know   him(emph)   giraffe   P1   walk   here

                                                                    445

tón	nǝ̀	tón	ŋkà	bè-tóòb.
tón	nò	tón	nkâ	bè-tóòb
outside	with	outside	as	8-goat, sheep

An animal was here that you don't know, the giraffe who walked around outside like goats and sheep do today.

(9)
mǝ̀-lú	mpízò	bè-tóòb	áncé	lé	dì	ŋkà
mò-lú	mpízò	bè-tóòb	áncé	lè	dì	ŋkà
6-era	back	8-goat, sheep	NEGP2	IMPF	stay	as

by=ó	ndé	kwêk	byíŋgǝ̀lè	mè
bè=ó	ndé	kwég	byíŋgǝ̀lè	mè
8SUB-PRES	be (loc)	walk	all.over	that

In the old days, the sheep didn't do as they do now, walking all over the place.

(10)
by=á	lè	dì	njì	lé-mò-kôk,	è-fúndò	βó-ŋkwìɲ.
bè=á	lè	dì	njì	lè-mò-kôg	è-fúndò	bò-ŋkwèɲ
8SUB-P2	IMPF	stay	only	LOC-6-pen	INF-flee	2-leopard

They only stayed in the pens, out of fear of leopards.

(11)
bè-bóŋ	bé		kékák	ná	cà	nc=è
bè-bóŋ	H + bé			nò	cà	ncò=è
8-place	RELCL-you (pl)		7-small.child	with	now	come-RELCL

bé	túgǝ́...	númbǝ̀	sá	j-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́.
bé	túg	nûmb	sá	j-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́
you (pl)	be (neg)	know	7-thing	7-DEF

You the children of today, you don't know about that.

(12)
sá	bǝ̀	é-sì	ŋgà	ŋkwìɲ.
sá	bò	lé-sí	ŋgà	ŋkwèɲ
7-thing	be	LOC-earth	this	1-leopard

That was something, the leopard!

(13)

ŋkà	bé	túgé	sá	vùk	bé	ndé	sá	mè.
nkâ	bé	túg	sá	vùg	bé	ndé	sá	mè
as	you (pl)	be (neg)	do	jokes	you (pl)	be (loc)	do	this

You didn't mess around the way you do now.

(14)

bèjùmbə̀	jì	kwáré	ndé	nò	ɲwàŋ	d-ínò.
	jì	kwáré	ndé	nò	ɲwàŋ	d-ínò
Bidjombo	be (att)	9-village	be (loc)	with	good	5-name

Bidjombo is a village with a good name.

(15)

bw-ùr	bə́	mpànd	bw = á	ncə̀	bô	b-ɔ́ɔ́ŋgə̀	kò	dì	á
bò-ùd	bò		bwó = á	ncò	bò	b-ɔ́ɔ́ŋgə̀	kò	dì	
2-person	be	Mpand	they-P2	come	be	2-DEF	go	stay	at(Fr)?

mpànd	nə̀bə̀	nə̂	mpànd	bə́	móŋgwà,àl	mə́	ncə̀t
	nə̀bə̀	nə̂		bò		mə̀	
Mpand	because	that	Mpand	be	Mongwaal	POSS	Ncet

á	tér	dì.
á	tér	dì
P2	start	stay

The people of Mpand are separated because it was at Mpand that
Mongwaal, son of Ncet, first lived.

(16)

njú	b-ùd	á	ʃùŋà,	á	wûl	bə̀kól	lé-mə̀-lwà
njwî + H	b-ùd	á	ʃùŋà	á	wûl	bò-kól	lé-mò-lwà
3-chief	2-person	P2	discuss	P2	take.out	2-Kol	LOC-6-slavery

mákè,	ɲə̀	bá	bò	mòŋgwà,àl	mə́	ncə̀t.
mákè	ɲə̀		bò	mòŋgwà,àl	mə̀	
Makaa	he/she	?	be		POSS	

The chief who discussed [fought] and liberated the Kol from the slavery
of the Makaa was Mongwaal, son of Ncet.

(18)

myà	móŋgwà,àl	mə́	ncə̀	y = ĕ,	myà	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́	bə́
myá	H + mòŋgwà,àl	mé	ncò	yò = è	myà	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́	bò
3-time	RELCL-Mongwaal	be(chg)	come	die-RELCL	3-time	3-DEF	be

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mw-án	y-é	láŋgà	ɲò	ncò	ɲwàŋ	dìyà.
mw-ân	y-é		ɲò	ncò	ɲwàŋ	dìà
1-child	1-his	Langa	he	come	take	seat

When Mongwaal died, at that time, his son Langa took the position.

(19)

ě	làŋgà	ɲ = ǎ	dì	lé-dìyà	njì	ŋgùmbà	mbù.
		ɲ = á	dì	lé-dìà	njì	ŋgùmbà	mbù
and (Fr)	Langa	he-P2	stay	LOC-seat	only	entire	year

Langa was only chief for a year.

(20)

bâ	ŋgwómə̀nə̀	ncò	bə̀	nə̀	mè-lòβə́	nə̀	ɲ = á	yò
bâ	ŋgwómə̀nə̀	ncò	bò	nò	mè-lòb	nə̀	ɲ = á	yò
with	governor	come	be	with	4-problem	that	he-P2	give

ŋgwómə̀nə̀	mw-árà	ndé	nə̀	lè-sáp,	ncə̀	kìndə̀
ŋgwómə̀nə̀	mw-árà	ndé	nò	lè-sáb	ncò	kènd
1-governor	1-woman	be (loc)	with	5-illness	come	send

ɲò	lé-mò-mbùk	lúmó.
ɲə̀	lé-mò-mbùg	
him	LOC-6-prison	Lomie

He had problems with the colonial administrator because he gave the administrator a woman who had an illness, so the administrator threw him in to prison at Lomie.

(21)

wú	lúmó	bó	ɲó	kò	y = è.
wú	H +	bò	ɲə̀	kò	yò = è
there	RELCL-Lomie	be	he	go	die-RELCL

It was there at Lomié that he died.

(22)

myǎ	né	bó	bwó	ncò	ɲwàŋ	mpwám	mə̀	kàk
myà	né	bò + H	bwó	ncò	ɲwàŋ		mə̀	
3-time-	this	be-RELCL	they	come	take		POSS	

njú	b-ùd.
njwî + H	bò-ùd
1-chief	2-person

In that time, they took Mpwam, son of Kak, to be chief.

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(23)

njú	b-ùd	á	bə̀-kólò	é	wú	yè?
njwî + H	bò-ùd	á	bò-kól	é	wù + H	yé
1-chief	2-person	P2	2-Kol	P1	come.from	where

Where did the Kol chief come from?

(24)

é	wù	wók	bèjùmp.
é	wù	wôg	
P1	come.from	here	Bidjombo

Here from Bidjombo.

(25)

dóŋk	bèjùmbə̀	jì	bìzá	bwùbwàg	lígó	bìzá
		jì	bìzá	bwàg	lígó	H + bìzá
thus (Fr)	Bidjombo	be(att)	us(incl)	big	inheritance	RELCL-we(incl)

ndé	jàlànà	kándəbə̀	nə̀	bìzá	bágəl = è.
ndé	jàlànà	kándəbə̀	nò	bìzá	bàgəlà = è
be (loc)	must	respect	with	we (incl)	keep-RELCL

Thus, Bidjombo is an important heritage for us that we should respect and take care of.

(26)

nə̀bə̀	jé?
nə̀bə̀	jé
because	arrive

Why?

(27)

bèjùmbə̀	bə́	ndé	lé-ʃùgə̀	nə́	kól.
	bò	ndé	lè-ʃùg	nò	kól
Bidjombo	be	be (loc)	5-stalk	with	Kol

Bidjombo is the root of the Kol language.

(28)

è	bìzá	b-ùr	bə́	béjùmbə̀	ndé	jàlànà	làb	kól.
	bìzá	bò-ùd	bò		ndé	jàlànà	làb	kól
and	we (incl)	2-person	be	Bidjombo	be (loc)	must	speak	Kol

And we the people of Bidjombo, we should speak Kol.

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(29) hámə́ kól á kólò.
fám kól á kól
true, good Kol QUAL Kol
The real Kol of the Kol.

(30) bè bə̀ jwógè?
bé bò jwóg
you (pl) be hear
Do you understand?

(31) wôk bèjùmp bə́ nè.
wôg   bò nè
here Bidjombo be this
It's here at Bidjombo.

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6 An Invitation

told by Pierre Bengomo Mossi (of Bidjombo), transcription help and translation (into French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

(1)

bò-ntwɔ́má	bó	béjùmp	bwɔ́	jì	nó	cà	ŋgà	nê
bò-ntwɔ́má	bò		bwó	jì	nò	cà	ŋgà	nɔ̀
2-young	be	Bidjombo	they	be (att)	with	now	this	that

bw=ĕ	ncò	sá	bèrà	é-mò-wàrá	mó-ŋgà.
bwó=é	ncò+H	sá+H	bèdà	lé-mò-wàdà	mò-ŋgà
they-FUT	come	do	big	LOC-6-vacation	6-this

The young people of Bidjombo here now, they will do a big thing during this vacation.

(2)

bw=é	ncò	sá	bèrá	ʃámpìònɔ̀n	é-sú	é	βó-bùmó.
bwó=é	ncò+H	sá+H	bèdà	*championnat*	lè-ʃú	lé	bò-bùmó
they-FUT	come	do	big	championship	5-sake	5ASSOC	2-ball

They will have a sports championship.

(3)

bìz=ó	jì	nó	'ʒik'	w-úzɔ́.
bìzɔ́=ó	jì+H	nò	gic	w-éz
we-PRES	be (att)	with	GIC	1-our

We have our GIC [*Groupement d'Intervention Communautaire* or Community Intervention Organization].

(4)

mɔ̀=	bɔ́	ndé	vísdèlègé	mɔ̀	mw-ás	mɔ́	bɔ́kwàn.
mɔ̀=	bò	ndé	*vicedelegué*	mɔ̀	mò-áz	mɔ̀	
I	be	be (loc)	vice-delegate	POSS	1-twin?	POSS	Bekwan

I am the vice-delegate, me the twin of Bekwan.

(5)

mɔ̀=	bɔ́	ndé	vísdèlègé	á	'ʒík'	gáp	pám	nè
mɔ̀=	bò	ndé	*vicedelegué*	á				nè
I	be	be (loc)	vice-delegate (Fr)	QUAL	GIC	GAP	PAM	that

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è-dégè   mèsámèná   y-éz = è.

è-dêg		y-êz-è
INF-see	Messaména	1-all-RELCL

I am the vice-delegate of GIC-GAP PAM which is seen throughout the Messamena area.

(6)

dóŋk	bìz = ó	mè-táŋ	ndé	wú	flàs = í	bw = á
bìzá = ó	mè-táŋ	H + ndé	wû	flas = è	bwó = á	
thus (Fr)	we-PRES	4-white	RELCL-be(loc)	come.from	France-RELCL	they-P2

kà	lwándàbà	tíl	mà	nê	mà	ncâ = k
kà	lwándàbà	tíl	mà	nà	mà	ncâ = g + H
CONS	just	write	me	that	I	come-SUBJ

òrgànìzê	kúp.
organiser	*coupe*
organize (Fr)	cup (Fr)

Thus, we and the whites who come from France who just wrote me that I should organize a Cup [like World Cup for soccer].

(7)

ká	bò	kúp,	tùrnwá	é-ʃú	bó-ntwámá	nê	bwá
ké	bò	*coupe*	*tournois*	lè-ʃú	bò-ntwámá	nà	bwó
NEG	be	cup (Fr)	tournament	5-sake	2-young		that	they

sá	nà	bwó	níŋgà	nè	gáf	pám.
sá	nà	bwó	nîŋg	né	gáp	
do	that	they	join	that	GAP	

Not really a cup, but a tournament so that young people will join the GAP PAM.

(8)

dóŋ	m = ǎ	sé	ncò	nò	bò-bùmó.
m̀ = á	sé	ncò	nò	bò-bùmó	
thus (Fr)	I-P2	PERF	come	with	2-ball

Thus, I've come with balls.

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(9) m=ó   sé   kàp   m=á   bò   nò   bò-bùmó   tábèl.
    m̀=ó   sé   kàb   mə̀=á   bò   nò   bò-bùmó   tábèl
    I-PRES   PERF   share   I-P2   be   with   2-ball   seven

I already shared; I had seven balls.

(10) m=ô   sé   kàβé   mó-kwár   búŋ   bó-súsgrùp   bó
    mə̀=ó   sé   kàb   mò-kwád   búŋ   H+bò-*sousgroupe*   bó
    I-PRES   PERF   share   6-village   7-place   RELCL-2-subgroup(Fr)   2ASSOC

    gáf   pám   ndé.
                ndé
    GAP   PAM   be (loc)

I already gave some to villages where there are GAP PAM subgroups [teams?].

(11) dóŋ   wók   béjòmbó   mə̀=   jì   náŋ   nò
        wôg   mə̀=   jì   náŋ   nò
    thus (Fr)   here   Bidjombo   I   be (att)   still   with

    bò-bùmó   bó-bá.
    bò-bùmó   bó-bá
    2-ball   2-two

So here at Bidjombo, I still have two balls.

(12) mò=   jì   cèl   nê   é-myà   bw=á   bó-ntòmp   bó-b-êz
    mə̀=   jì   cèlà   nə̀   lé-myà   H+bwó=á   bò-ntòmb   bò-b-êz
    I   be (att)   love   that   LOC-3-time   RELCL-they-P2   2-younger   2-2-all

    mí-ʃwàànc   my-ês   é   jé   wógà   bò-jwór=è   m=è
    mè-ʃwènj   mè-êz   é   jé   wôg   bò-*joueurs*=è   mə̀=é
    4-young.man   4-all   FUT   arrive   here   2-players (Fr)-RELCL   I-FUT

    sá   kwán=é.
    sá   kwán=è
    do   7-meeting-RELCL

I would like that when all the young people, all the young men arrive, the players, that I will hold a meeting.

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(13)

mò=	lêŋ	bwó	sá	bízə́	ndé	jàlànə̀	sá	mò-wàrá
mə̀=	lêŋ	bwó	sá	H+bìzə́	ndé	jàlànà	sá	mò-wàdá
I	tell	they	do	RELCL-we	be (loc)	must	do	6-vacation

mó-ŋg=è	ndè	mbínt	myà	ŋkwóòndə̀	gó	nc=è
mò-ŋgà=è	ndé	mbénd	myà+H	ŋkwòònd	gó	ncò=è
6-this-RELCL	be (loc)	rule	3-time-RELCL	9-month	PROG	come-RELCL

mé-táŋ	bízó	bò-nóp	ndé	syê	è	jé	bwó	bwə̀nə̀
mè-táŋ	bìzə́	bò-nob	ndé	syê	é	jé	bwó	
4-white	we	2-other	be (loc)	work	FUT	arrive	they	?

ncó	kwìb	nê	tùrnwá	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́	mə́	sé	têr.
ncò	kwìb	nə̂	*tournois*	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́	mé	sé	tér
come	find	that	tournament	3-DEF	be (chg)	PERF	start

I will tell them that we must work during the vacations so that next month when the whites we work with arrive, they will find that the tournament has already started.

(14)

y=é	jì	sá	é	bùlú	vólò	bó-ntwámá	nó
y=é	jì	sá	é	bùlù	vól	bò-ntwámá	nò
NONREF-FUT	be (att)	do	and	many	help	2-young	with

bùbù	têr	nə́	mò-wàrá	kò	jê	nò	myǎ	bí-ʃùkúl
bùbù	tér	nò	mò-wàdá	kò	jé	nò	myà+H	bè-ʃùkúl
a.lot	start	with	6-vacation	go	arrive	with	3-time-RELCL	8-school

é	tér=è.
é	tér=è
FUT	start-RELCL

This will help the young people a lot from the beginning of the vacatio to the time when the schools re-start.

(15)

bwó	ndê	sâ	bé-júŋ	mè-mbì	mə̀-my-êz.
bwó	ndé	sâ	bè-júŋ	mè-mbì	mè-mè-êz
they	be (loc)	do	8-game	4-type	4-4-each, all

They will play all kinds of games.

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(16)

mò-sás	nò	mà-ʃwə̀njí	bwó	jí	jàlànà	ncŏ	é	tílə̀bə̀
mò-sɛ́s	nò	mè-ʃwə̀nj	bwó	jí	jàlànà	ncò	et	tílə̀bə̀
6-girl	with	5-young.man	they	want	must	come	and	sign.up

nê	é-ʃú	spór	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́	nə̀	mú	nə̂	bé	jí
nə̂	lè-ʃú	*sport*	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́	nò	mú	nə̂	bé	jì
that	5-sake	sport (Fr)	1-DEF	with	reason	that	you (pl)	be (att)

númbə̀	nə̂	bùmó	spór	ánʒènérálè	ɲə̀=	bó	ndé
nûmb	nə̂	bùmó	*sport*	*en general*	ɲə̀=	bò	ndé
know	that	7-ball	sport (Fr)	in general(Fr)	she/he	be	be (loc)

bùlú	làr	b-ûr.
bùlù	lààd	bò-ùd
a.lot	sew	2-person

The young woman and young men, they should come sign up for the sport because you know that sports brings people together.

(17)

ɲò=	bó	ndé	sá	númɔ́	nə̂	bò-ntwɔ́má	nə̀	mə̀-sás
ɲə̀=	bò	ndé	sá	númɔ́	nə̂	bò-ntwɔ́má	nò	mò-sɛ̂s
he/she	be	be (loc)	do	also	that	2-boy	with	6-girl

bó	kók	nə̂	bò	nə̀	mə̀-ʃwó	nò	b-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	b-úr
bò	kôg	nə̂	bò	nò	mò-ʃwó	nò	b-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	bò-ùd
be	here	that	be	with	6-friend	with	2-DEF	2-person

ndé	nò	bò-míyɔ̀ŋ	b-ɔ́ŋg	ndé	nê
ndé	nò	bò-míyɔ̀ŋ	b-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	H+ndé	né
be (loc)	with	2-sibling	2-DEF	RELCL-be (loc)	that

mò-kwár	mò-sísì.
mò-kwád	mò-sís
6-village	6-different

It works so that the young women and young men have friendships with other people and with their brothers from other villages.

(18)

dóŋ	é-mò-wàrà	mó-ŋgà	é-ʃwə̀ndà	ŋgó	nc=è
	lé-mò-wàdà	mò-ŋgà	lé-ʃwə̀ndà	gó	ncò=è
thus (Fr)	LOC-6-hour	6-this	LOC-1-week	PROG	come-RELCL

bó	m=é	sá	kwán	j-ɔ̀ɔŋgɔ́	é-léŋ	bw-án	bó	bíjùmbò
bò	m=é	sá	kwán	j-ɔ̀ɔŋgɔ́	è-lêŋ	bò-ân	bò	
be	I-FUT	do	7-meeting	7-DEF	INF-tell	2-child	be	Bidjombo

sá	bìzó	bò-nóp	b-êz	é	sâ	nê	né	mò-wàrá
sá	bìzó	bò-nób	b-êz	é	sâ			mò-wàdà
do	us	2-other	2-all	FUT	do			6-hour

mó-ŋgà	é-sú	nê	àmbìàns	nò	ànìmàʃón	bó=gə̀
mò-ŋgà	lè-ʃú		*ambience*	nò	*animation*	bò=g
6-this	5-sake		ambience	with	animation	be-SUBJ

nò	mó-wàlá	mó-ŋgà.
nò	mò-wàlà	mò-ŋgà
with	6-hour	6-this

Thus during the vacation, next week, I will hold this meeting to say to the sons of Bidjombo what we will do together so that this vacation will be filled with good times.

(19)

m=é	yò	bwó	bò-bùmó.
mə̀=é	yò	bwó	bò-bùmó
I-FUT	give	them	2-ball

I will give them balls.

(20)

bw=é	nè	lé	bò-bùmó	bìy-ɔ̀ŋgó	ké	bə̀	nə̀	bw=é
bwó=é	nè	lè	bò-bùmó	bè-ɔ̀ŋgó	ké	bò	nò	bwó=é
they-FUT	?	IMPF	2-ball	2-DEF	NEG	be	with	they-FUT

lè	jànà	byó.
lè	jànà	byó
IMPF	pay	8OBJ

They will play with the balls for free [without paying].

(21)

m=è	dâz	bwó	byó
m=é	dâz	bwó	byó
I-FUT	give.as.present	them	8OBJ

é-tùrnwá	bìzó	bà-nóp	é	s=é.
lé-*tournois* +H	bìzà	bò-nób	é	sá=è
LOC-tournament(Fr)- RELCL	we	2-other	FUT	do-RELCL

I will give them the balls as a present during the
tournament that we're doing.

(23)

dóŋ	mà=	jí	jì	nê	mò-sás	nà	mà-ʃwènc
	mà=	jí	jì	nê	mò-sés	nò	mè-ʃwènj
thus (Fr)	I	want	be (att)		6-girl	with	4-young.man

má	bìjùmp	my-ês	è	bwó	mò	bá	nà	ncò	nó	bùbù
má	bìjumb	mè-êz	é	bwó		bò	nò	ncò	nò	bùbù
6QUAL	Bidjombo	4-all	FUT	F2	?	be	with	come	with	a.lot

é-ʃú	kwán	m=é	s=é.
lè-ʃú	kwán	H+m=é	sá=è
5-sake	7-meeting	RELCL-I-FUT	do-RELCL

Thus I want that all the young woman and the young men of
Bidjombo come to the meeting that I will have.

(24)

bìzó	bà-nóp	ká	ncó	kwàmàzá	mbì	bìz=é	ncè
bìzà	bò-nób	kà	ncò	kwàmàzà	mbì	bìz=é	ncò
we	2-other	CONS	come	prepare	3-type	we- FUT	come

sá	tùrnwá	é-ʃú	nà	lé	nò
sá	*tournois*	lè-ʃú	nò		nò
do	tournament (Fr)	5-sake	with		with

bèlá	bó	súgrùp.
	bò	*sousgroupe*
	be	subgroup

We need to organize how we will do the tournament so that we can
play with other subgroups.

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(25)

m = ĕ	cèl	nə̂	súgrùp	á	bìjùmbò	ɲò =	bó = gò
m = é	cèlà	nə̂	*sousgroupe*	á	bìjùmb	ɲə̀ =	bò = g
I-FUT	love*	that	subgroup	QUAL	Bidjombo	1SUB	be-SUBJ

súgrúpò	á	mə̀	ʃwôk	'ʒic'	gáf	pám	mə̀ =
sousgroupe							mə̀ =
subgroup		first		GIC	GAP	PAM	I

ndé	vísdèlègé.
ndé	vice-delegué
be (loc)	delegate

I want the Bidjombo subgroup to be the first [best] subgroup in GAP PAM which I am a delegate of.

(26)

àkíbà	nó	bùbù.
àkíbà	nò	bùbù
thanks	with	a.lot

Thanks a lot.

7 Joy After Uncertainty

told by Benoit Mbagué (of Leh), transcription help and translation (into French) by

Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

(1)

w-úləgà	myà	m = ǎ	ncə̀	té	nə̀	mò = ó	kó
w-úləgà	myà	m̀ = á	ncə̀	té	nò	m̀ = ó	kò + H
3-INDEF	3-time	I-P2	come	LOC	with	I-PRES	go

lé-kwán,	míʃwàn	kwân,	kwár	á	kwán,
lé-kwán	míʃwàn	kwán	kwád	á	kwán
LOC-7-meeting	7-church	7-meeting	9-village	QUAL	meeting

communaute	bwó	ndé	jáp	nə̀	sacre	coeur,
	bwó	ndé	jáb	nə̀		
community(Fr)	they	be (loc)	call	that		

ɲwàŋ	ɲwàŋ	lám.
ɲwàŋ	ɲwàŋ	lâm
good	good	7-heart

One day I left to go to a church meeting in the Kwan village, for the community that they call "Sacré Cœur."

(2)

myà	m = ó	kò	jé	w-úl	támə̀	ncì = ì,	mə̀ =	náŋ
myà	H + m = ó	kò + H	jé + H	w-úləgà	tám	ncì = è	mə̀ =	náŋ
3-time	RELCL-I	go	arrive	3-INDEF	middle	3-road-RELCL	I	still

lè	k-ě,	mə̀ =	mé	tér	lè-jwógə̀	mwɔ̀	lè	ŋkònə́
lè	kò	mə̀ =	mé	tér	lè-jwóg	mwɔ̀	lè	ŋkònə́
IMPF	go-?	I	be (chg)	start	INF-feel	3-stomach	IMPF	INCR

kúŋgə̀là	mə́.
kúŋgə̀là	mə́
hurt	me

When I had arrived, during the trip, before I left again, I started to feel stomach pains.

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(3) mɔ́= è sá mɔ́ bè-dùŋ nwà tú kṛ, kṛ, kṛ.
    mɘ̀= é sá+H mɘ̀ bè-dùŋ nwà tú
    I P1 do me 8-noise there inside
My stomach made noises inside me. [sounds].

(4) mɘ̀= nɘ̂ "é kè !
    mɘ̀= nɘ̂
    I that
I said, "Uh oh!

(5) jî jòŋ náŋ mê?"
    jé jòŋ náŋ mé
    what thing still that
What is that?"

(6) myà mô kò jé kwán=è mɘ̀= jôɲɛ̀ á sá
    myà H+mɘ̀ kò jé kwán=è mɘ̀= jôɲɛ̀ á sá
    3-time RELCL-I go arrive meeting-RELCL I in spite of P2 do

míʃwàn mpwògé.
míʃwàn mpwògé
7-church 1-health
When I arrived in Kwan, I still managed to lead the meeting well.

(7) mɘ̀= sá kwân njì lê-mbègɘ̀lá mɔ́ ncììmbé, mɘ̀=
    mɘ̀= sá kwán njì lé-mbègɘ̀lá H+mɘ̀ ncììmbé mɘ̀=
    I do 7-meeting only LOC-9-protection POSS God I

lè jwók njì ŋká mwɔ̀ ndê sá m=è.
lè jwóg njì ŋká+H mwɔ̀ ndé sá m=è
IMPF feel only like-RELCL 3-stomach be (loc) do me-RELCL
I led the meeting under God's protection, since my stomach kept hurting.

(8) tĕm bɘ̀ bè-dóp bwá=á sá wú=í m=ăncé yîm nɘ̀
    tὲm bò bé-dób H+bwó=á sá wú=è m=áncé yîm nò
    even be 8-food RELCL-they-P2 do there-RELCL I-NEGP2 can with

də̀   byò.
dò   byò.
eat   8OBJ

Even the food that they cooked there, I couldn't eat it.

(9) mə̀ =   mé   nìgò   ncò,   ncə̀   jé   kwár.
     mə̀ =   mé   nìgò   ncò,   ncò   jé   kwád
     I   be (chg) return come   come   arrive 9-village

I returned, arrived back home.

(10) mə̀ =   mé   nî   njáp   mə̀ =   jáp   mw-àrá   w-àŋə́.
      mə̀ =   mé   nî   njáb   mə̀ =   jáb   mw-àrá   w-àŋ
      I   be (chg) arrive 3-house I   call   1-woman   1-my

I came back home, called my wife.

(11) mə̀ =   nə̀   ɲə̀   nə̂   "tíé   mə́   kò   kwán   mùùz-é,
      mə̀ =   nò   ɲə̀   nə̂   tíé   H + mə̀ kò   kwán   mùùz-è
      I   with   her   that   position RELCL-I   go   7-meeting today-RELCL

      ncí   nə̀   ncì   myà   mə́ =   bà   lè   k = è,
      ncì   nə̀   ncì   myà   H + mə̀ = bà   lè   kò = è
      3-path   with   3-path   3-time   RELCL-I   little IMPF   go-RELCL

      m = é   lè   jwók   ŋ̀kà   mwɔ̀   kò   nà   ntégə̀lè   mɛ́.
      m̀ = é   lè + H   jwóg + H ŋkà   mwɔ̀   kò   nò   ntég   mɛ́
      I-P1   IMPF   feel   like   3-stomach go   with   annoy   me(emph)

I told her, "Since I left for Kwan today, along the way, my stomach
has been bothering me.

(12) m = è   sé   númə́   kò   kúŋá   ncòò   lôl
      m̀ = é   sé + H   númə́ + H kò + H   kúŋá + H   ncòò   lôl
      I-P1   PERF   also   go   poop   time   three

      ntámə̀   ncì.
      tám   ncì
      middle   3-path

I also had to go to the bathroom three times along the way.

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(13) mwɔ̀   w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́   ó   ndê   ntégàlè   mɛ́.

      mwɔ̀   w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́   ó   ndé   ntég   mɛ́
      3-stomach 3-DEF   PRES   be (loc) annoy   me (emph)
      It's my stomach that's bothering me."

(14) mw-àrá   w-àɲɔ́   á   kò,   ɲɔ̀=   mé   kò   jáp   dwábɔ̀rà.

      mw-àrá   w-àɲ   á   kò   ɲò=   mé   kò   jáb   dwábɔ̀rà.
      1-woman   1-my   P2   go   she   be (chg) go   call 1-nurse
      My wife went to call the nurse.

(15) dwábɔ̀rà   mê   ncɔ̀,   jì   sá   mɔ̀-mìt.

      dwábɔ̀rà.   mé   ncɔ̀   jì   sá   mè-mìd
      1-nurse   be (chg) come   be   do   4-medicine
      The nurse came to try some medicine.

(16) mé   fámɔ̀   mɔ́-mìr   kɔ́   bò.

             fámɔ̀   mè-mìd   ké   bò
      but (Fr) good   4-medicine   NEG   be
      They didn't work.

(17) dwábɔ̀rɔ̀   nɔ̂   ɲ=ŏ   nìgó   kó   bêrtwà.

      dwábɔ̀rɔ̀   nɔ̂   ɲ̀=ó   nìgò+H   kò+H   Bertoua
      1-nurse   that he-PRES   return   go
      The nurse said that he was going to Bertoua.

(18) ɲɛ̌   ncɔ̀   nɔ̀   mɔ̀-mìr.

      ɲɛ̌   ncò   nò   mè-mìd
      he (emph) come with 4-medicine
      He will bring back some medicine.

(19) mɔ̀-lú   mɔ́-bá   ɲ=á   kò   dì   bèrtwà   kɔ́   nìg=é,

      mò-lú   mò-bá   H+ɲ̀=á   kò   dì   ké   nìgò=è
      6-era   6-two   RELCL-he-P2 go   stay   Bertoua NEG   return-RELCL

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è-cè   mé   nìgó   bùlú   ncə̀   yâk.
è-tyè   mé   nìgò   bùlù   ncò   yâg
5-illness be (chg) return   many   come   be.strong

The two days that he stayed in Bertoua before returning, the illness got worse.

(20)   è-cè   mê   lè   làl   ŋkûl.
       è-tyè   mé   lè   làl   ŋkúl
       5-illness be (chg) IMPF   be.strong 9-power

It became stronger.

(21)   mə̀=   mé   tègá   kí   náŋ   nò   ŋkûl.
       mə̀=   mé   tègá   ké   náŋ   nò   ŋkúl
       I   be (chg) be.tired   NEG   still   with   9-power

I was tired, with no energy.

(22)   mə̀=   mé   lè   kò   kúŋá   nə́   tìtìtì,   ĕ-ɲàgə̀   mə́-cì.
       mə̀=   mé   lè   kò   kúŋá   nò   tìtìtì   è-ɲàg   mò-cì
       I   be (chg) IMPF   go   poop   with   regularity   INF-poop   6-blood

I went to the bathroom all the time; I was having bloody stools.

(23)   númə́   bw=á   ncə̀   ŋkéŋg   kò   nə̀   mə̀   míʃwàn
       númə́   bwó=á   ncə̀   ŋkéŋg   kò   nə̀   mə̀   míʃwàn
       also   they-P2   come   carry   go   with   me   7-church

messamena   wàlàfírà   bə̀sœ́r.
               wàlàfírà   bò-sœ́r
Messamena   hospital   2-nun (Fr)

Then, they came to take me to the nuns' hospital at the Messamena church.

(24)   bə̀-sœ́r   bwó   mé   ncə̀   tér   fyâl   mə̀   mə̀-cì.
       bò-sœ́r   bwó   mé   ncə̀   tér   fyâl   mə̀   mò-cì
       2-nun (Fr)   they   be (chg) come   start   test   me   6-blood

The nuns tested my blood.

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(25) bwó   fyâl   mὲ   mὲ-bí.
     bwó   fyâl   mὲ   mò-bí
     they   test   me   6-poop
They took stool samples.

(26) fyὰl   á   mὲ-ncêlὲ   nὲ   bwó   dégà   sá   jú   jwó
     fyὰl   á   mò-ncêlὲ   nò   bwó   dêg   sá   H+jwó   jwó
     test   QUAL   6-urine   with   they   see   7-thing RELCL-7OBJ 7OBJ

     mé   ndé   lè   ntég=è.
     mé   ndé   lè   ntég=è
     self   be (loc)   IMPF   annoy-RELCL
They tested my urine to see what it is that was bothering me.

(27) númɔ́   bw=á   kò   ʃwâmb   nὲ̂   mὲ=   jì   nὲ   ntú   mὲ-cì.
     númɔ́   bwó=á   kò   ʃwâmb   nὲ̂   mὲ=   jì   nὲ   ntú   mò-cì
     also   they-P2   go   search   that   I   be   with   diarrhea 6-blood
Then they found that I had dysentery.

(28) mὲ-táŋ   jî   jábὲ   é-cè   d-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́   "diarrhee   rouge.'
     mè-táŋ   jì   jáb   è-tyè   d-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgɔ́
     4-white   be   call   5-illness 5-DEF   diarrhea (Fr)   red (Fr)
The whites call this illness "red diarrhea."

(29) é-bò-kól   bìzó   jì   jábὲ   dwó   nὲ̂   ntú   mὲ-cì.
     lé-bò-kól   bìzó   jì   jáb   dwó   nὲ̂   ntú   mò-cì
     LOC-2-Kol   we   be   call   5OBJ   that   diarrhea   6-blood
In Kol, we call it bloody diarrhea.

(30) w=ó   lè   ɲâk   mɔ́-cì.
     w=ó   lè+H   ɲàg+H   mò-cì.
     you-PRES   IMPF   poop   6-blood
You have bloody stools.

(31) m=ă   já   wàləfírə   kə   bín   mbwô,   kə   bín   kù.
      m=á   já   wàləfírə   ké   bén   mbwô   ké   bén   kù
      I-P2 sleep hospital   NEG lift 9-hand NEG lift 9-foot

I slept at the hospital without lifting a hand or a foot.

(32) mə=   ndé   njì   tègá   jún   ké   nò   ŋkùl.
      mə=   ndé   njì   tègá   jún   ké   nò   ŋkúl.
      I   be   only   be.tired 9-body   NEG   with   9-force

I was tired, no more energy.

(33) myêr   kòŋ   w-ɔ̀ɔŋgə́   bò-dwábə̀rà   bw=á   ncə̀   wá
      myêd   kòŋ   w-ɔ̀ɔŋgə́   bò-dwábə̀rà   bwó=á   ncə̀   wá
                   3-DEF   2-nurse   they-P2   come   take

      ŋkùl   ɲ-óp   ní-ɲ-êz,   lágə̀là   númbá   w-óp,   mbímbə̀
      ŋkúl   ɲ-ób   ní-ɲ-êz,   lágə̀là   númbá   w-ób   mbímbì
      9-force   9-their   9-9-all   show   3-knowledge 3-their 7-amount

      bôŋ   á   jíg=è.
      H+bòŋ   á   jíg=è
      RELCL-they (emph)?   P2   learn-RELCL

After that, the nurses took all their force, showed their knowledge, all
that they have learned.

(34) bwó   mé   ncə̀   bándà   ʃùŋà   mə́.
      bwó   mé   ncə̀   bándà   ʃùŋà   mə̀
      they be (chg) come   really   discuss   me

They succeeded in saving me. [lit. They really discussed me.
[implied with death].]

(35) mə̀=   mé   ncə̀   sá   mpwògé.
      mə̀=   mé   ncə̀   sá   mpwògé
      I   be (chg) come   do   1-health

I regained my health.

(36)

mw-àrá	w-àŋə́	ɲə̀=	mə́	m-ùr	á	lè	yílə̀
mò-àrá	w-àŋ	ɲə̀=	mé	m-ùd	H+á	lè	yílɔ̀
1-woman	woman	she	be (chg)	1-person	RelCl-P2	Impf	look.after

m=ĕ,	ɲ=ă	kò	númə́	jwók	è-cè.
mə̀=è	ɲ̀=á	kò	númə́	jwóg	è-tyè
me-RelCl	she-P2	go	also	feel	5-illness

My wife who was looking after me, she fell ill too.

(37)

kă	bə̀	bw=á	ʃùŋà	bìzə́	nóp	bə́-b-êz.
kà	bə̀	bwó=á	ʃùŋà	bìzə́	nóp	bə́-b-êz.
Cons	be	they-P2	discuss	us	other	2-2-all

They saved us, both of us.

(38)

dw-óp	bíz=á	á	nìgò	ncə̀	kwár=é	nə̀	bw-ân
dw-ób	H+bìz=á	á	nìgò	ncə̀	kwád=é	nò	bò-ân
5-day	RelCl-we	P2	return	come	9-village-RelCl	with	2-child

b-áŋ	nə̀	njáp	b-ûr	w-áŋ,	m-ùr	y-êz	á	bə̀	nə̀
b-âŋ	nò	njáb	H+b-ùd	w-áŋ	m-ùr	y-êz	á	bò	nò
2-my	and	3-house	2-person	3-my	1-person	1-all	P2	be	with

mə̀-ʃwòòzògò.
mò-ʃwòòzògò.
6-joy

The day that we returned to the village and my children and my family, everyone was happy.

(39)

m-ùr	y-êz	mé	ncə̀	jwìmbá.
m-ùr	y-êz	mé	ncə̀	jwìmbá
1-person	1-each	be (chg)	come	rejoice

Everyone rejoiced.

(40)

bìz=ó	mé	ncə̀	bándà	ʃwààz.
bìzə́=ó	mé	ncə̀	bándà	ʃwààz
we-Pres	be (chg)	come	really	be.happy

We were really happy.

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(41) "é   pàpá   mə̂   jé !

                     mé   jê

           papa   be (chg)   arrive

"Oh! Papa is here!"

(42) pàpá   mə̂   sá   mpwògé !"

          mé   sá   mpwògé

      papa   be (chg)   do   1-health

Papa is in good health!"

(43) mpwògé   w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́   ɲə̀=   bə́   mə̂=   ndé   nə̀   té

     mpwògé   w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́   ɲə̀=   bò   H+mə̀=   ndé   nò   té

     1-health   1-DEF   1SUB   be   RELCL-I   be (loc)   with   LOC

     kùmà   nə̀   nə́   càá-g=è.

     kùmà   nò   nò   cà-ŋgà=è

     until   with   with   now-this-RELCL

It's this good health that I still have.'

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8 The Panther and the Ram

told by Barthélemy Lefoumbou (of Leh), transcription help and translation (into French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

(1) kèkènà   á   bә̀   fágә́rá   ŋkwìn   bâ   ntwìmbè.

     kèkènà   á   bә̀   fágә́rá   ŋkwèɲ   bâ   ntwèmbè
     7-story   P2   be   between   1-leopard   and   7-sheep

'This story is about the panther and the ram.

(2) ntwìmbè   jì   tôp   ndé   wógә̀   tám   díndé.

     ntwèmbè   jì   tóòb   ndé   wôg   tám   díndé
     7-sheep   be (att)   goat   be (loc)   here (spec)   middle   courtyard

The sheep is in the courtyard.

(3) ŋkwìn   jî   dì   dìk.

     ŋkwèɲ   jì   dì   dìg
     1-leopard   be (att)   stay   7-forest

The panther stays in the forest.

(4) myá   bâ   nóp   mò   kò   bwàmә́   bw=á   kò   bwàmә́

     myà+H   bâ   nób   mé   kò   bwàmá   bwó=á   kò   bwàmá
     3-time-RELCL   and   other   be?   go   meet   they-P2   go   meet

dìk.

dìg

7-forest

When they met each other, they met each other in the forest.

(5) myá   bwó   kˡó   bwàmә́   dìg=é   bwó   kˡó

     myà+H   bwó   kò+H   bwàmá+H   dìg=è   bwó   kò+H
     3-time-RELCL   they-PRES   go   meet   forest-RELCL   they   go

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bágə̀rə́	sá	wùrùk	nə̂	bwó	sá	lè-ʃwó.
bágə̀rə̀+H	sá	wùrùg	nə̂	bwó	sá	è-ʃwó
join	7-thing	one	that	they	do	5-friend

When they met each other in the forest, they decided to join forces
and became friends.

(6)
è-ʃwó	d-òbə́,	myà	bwó		k⁺ó	k⁺ó	d⁺í,	bwó
è-ʃwó	d-ób	myà	H+bwó		kò+H	kò+H	dì+H	bwó
5-friend	5-their	3-time	RELCL-they-PRES		go	go	stay	they-PRES

k⁺ó	ʃùmə́	sá	bə̀-kól	ndé	jáp	nə̂	è-bàndà.
kò+H	ʃùmɛ̀	sá	H+bò-kól	ndé	jáb	nə̂	è-bàndà
go	build	7-thing	RELCL-2-Kol	be (loc)	call	that	5-hut

Because of their friendship, when they stayed somewhere, they
build what the Kol people call a shelter.

(7)
bwó	k⁺ó	dì	búŋ	wùrùk.
bwó	kò+H	dì+H	bùŋ	wùrùg
they-PRES	go	stay	7-place	one

They stayed in the same spot.

(8)
bwó	jì	ká	bə̀	nə̂	ʃúʃwók	nə̂	bwó
bwó	jì+H	kà+H	bò+H	nə̂	ʃúʃwóg	nə̂	bwó
they-PRES	be	CONS	be	that	in.front.of	that	they

já=g=è,	é-jì	nə̂	bwò	sâŋ=gə̀	lé	bwó
já=g=è	lè-jì	nə̂	bwó	sáŋ=gá	lé	bwó
sleep-SUBJ-RELCl	INF-be	that	they	look.for-SUBJ(pl)	5-wood	they

tíràg	kwàrə̀.
tíràg	kwàrà
light	9-fire

But before they slept, they needed to look for wood for their
fire.

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(9) ncí   á   bà   nə̂   ɲ=ò   ká   sáŋ   lè?
    ncé   á   bò   nə̂   ɲ̀=ó   kà+H sáŋ+H   lé
    who   QUES   be   that he-PRES CONS look.for   5-wood
    Who will go look for wood?

(10) ntwìmbè   á   lêŋ   nò   ŋkwìn   nə̂   "bírá,   lé   túk
     ntwèmbè   á   lêŋ   nò   ŋkwèɲ   nə̂   bír   lé   túg
     7-sheep   P2   say   with 1-leopard that   leave   5-wood be (neg)

     nə̂   sá.
     nə̂   sâ
     with 7-thing
     The sheep said to the panther, "Let it be, the wood is no big deal.

(11) m=èé   kò,   m=èé   kò   sáŋ   ncwó   lé."
     m̀=é   kò+H   m̀=é   kò+H sáŋ+H   ncwò   lé
     I-FUT go   I-FUT go   look.for   us (dual)   5-wood
     I will go and look for wood for both of us."

(12) ŋkwìn   nə̂   "éŋkùgù   ncw=ó   kò   sáŋ   lé."
     ŋkwèɲ   nə̂   éŋkùgù   ncẁ=ó   kò+H sáŋ+H   lé
     1-leopard that   together   we (dual)-PRES go   look.for   5-wood
     The panther said, "Let's go! We'll both go look for wood."

(13) myǎ   ntwìmbè   á   jê   lé-fùmbà   lé,
     myà+H   ntwèmbè   á   jê   lé-fùmbà   lé
     3-time-RELCL   7-sheep   P2   arrive LOC-dead   3-tree

     ntwìmbè   á   nìgò   ámpízə́mpíz.
     ntwòmbè   á   nìgò   ámpízə́mpíz
     7-sheep   P2   return   backwards
     When the sheep came across a dead tree, he moved backwards.

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(14) myà ɲ=á k=è, ɲ=ă wá àlú nə̀ lú y-é

myà ʜ+ɲ̀=á kɔ̀=è ɲ̀=á wá àlú nò lú

3-time ʀᴇʟCʟ-he-P2 go-ʀᴇʟCʟ he-P2 put 1-hit with 5-head 1-his

ntáŋ nó kú lə́-fùmbà pɽ̩ dùmà ʃí.

ntáŋ nò kú lé-fùmbà dùmà sí

like.that with hit ʟᴏC-dead fall 1-ground

Running towards the tree, he hit it with his head, and it fell down.

(15) myà ŋkwín mə́ dêg=è, ŋkwìn nə̀

myà ʜ+ŋkwèɲ mé dêg=è ŋkwèɲ nə̀

3-time ʀᴇʟCʟ-1-leopard be (chg) see- ʀᴇʟCʟ 1-leopard that

"ə̌ ɲ=à tér è-wá àlú ntâŋə̀ lə́-fùmbà,

ə̌ ɲ̀=á tér lè-wá àlú ntáŋ lé-fùmbà

he-P2 start ɪɴꜰ-put hit like.that ʟᴏC-dead

fùmbà ʃùgə̀là.

fùmbà ʃùgə̀là

dead fall.in.pieces

When the panther saw that, he said, "Well, he hit the tree like that and it fell down in pieces.

(16) ŋ́kà myǎ fùmbà mə́ ʃùgə̀là mè.

ŋkà myà+ʜ fùmbà mé ʃùgə̀là mè

as 3-time-ʀᴇʟCʟ dead be (chg) fall.in.pieces this

Now the tree is in pieces.

(17) á myà ɲ=é kà wə́ m=ɛ́, m=ě kꜥá

á myà+ʜ ɲ̀=é kà+ʜ wá+ʜ m=è m̀=é kà+ʜ

Qᴜᴇs 3-time-ʀᴇʟCʟ he-Fᴜᴛ Cᴏɴs put me- ʀᴇʟCʟ I- Fᴜᴛ Cᴏɴs

bò   w-ób   mbì?"

bò+h	w-óób	mbì
be	3-which	3-manner

If he did that to me, how would I be?"

(18)

númə́	bwó	ncə̀	ŋkê	lé,	ncə̀	jé	nə̀	té
númə́	bwó	ncə̀	ŋkêŋg	lé	ncə̀	jé	nò	té
also	they	come	carry	5-wood	come	arrive	with	LOC

lè-bàndà.

lè-bàndà
5-hut

Then they carried the wood back to their shelter.

(19)

númə́	ŋkwìn	mə́	ncə̀	lêŋ	nə̂	"ə́ə́	ncwó
númə́	ŋkwèɲ	mé	ncə̀	lêŋ	nə̂	ə̀	ncwó
also	1-leopard	be (chg)	come	say	that		we (dual)

sé   bə̀   nə̀   lé.

sé	bò	nò	lé
PERF	be	with	5-wood

Then, the panther said, "Well, we already wood already.

(20)

é-jí	kǎ	jì	ncwó	nə̂	nó	cà	nə̂
lè-jí	kà+h	jì+h	ncwó	nə̂	nò	cà	nə̂
INF-want	CONS	be (att)	we (dual)	that	with	now	that

ncwó   k⁺á   bə̀   nó   bə̀-dóp."

ncwó	kà+h	bò+h	nò	bè-dób
we (dual)	CONS	be	with	8-food

Now we need food."

(21)

númə́	ntwìmbè	á	lêŋ	nə̂	"m=ĕ	sé	sáŋ	lé,
númə́	7-ntwèmbè	á	lêŋ	nə̂	m̀=é	sé+h	sáŋ+h	lé
also	sheep	P2	say	that	I-FUT	PERF	look.for	5-wood

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kà   sáŋ   bə̀-dóp."

kà   sáŋ   bè-dób

CONS   look.for 8-food

Then the sheep replied, "I already went and looked for wood, go look for food."

(22) myà   ŋkwìn   mə́   ncǒ   kò   ɲ=ŏ   kò   dégə̀

      myà+H   ŋkwèɲ   mé   ncə̀   kò   ɲ̀=ó   kò+H   dêg+H

      3-time-RELCL 1-leopard be (chg) come   go   he-PRES   go   see

lé-kán.

lè-kán

5-antelope

When the panther left, he saw an antelope.

(23) è-bì   ɲ=á   kò   bì   è-kán-é   ɲà   lè-kán.

      lè-bì   ɲ̀=á   kò   bì   lè-kán   ɲà   lè-kán

      INF-seize he-P2   go   seize   5-antelope tear   5-antelope

He seized it and tore it up.

(24) ntwìmbè   dêk.

      ntwèmbè   dêg

      7-sheep   see

The sheep saw it all.

(25) númə́   ntwìmbè   á   ncə̀   lêŋ   nə̂   "ə̂: ?

      númə́   ntwèmbè   á   ncə̀   lêŋ   nə̂

      also   7-sheep   P2   come   say   that   say

Then the sheep said, "Eh?

(26) ɲə̀=   tér   ɲə̀   lè-kán   ntáŋə̀.

      ɲə̀=   tér   ɲà   è-kàn   ntáŋ

      he   first tear   5-antelope like.that

First he tore the antelope up like that.

(27) á   ŋkàmà   nə̀   mə̀   ɲ=ě   sá   mè nà?"
      á   ŋkàmà   nò   mə̀   ɲ̀=é   sá+H   mə̀
      QUES   how.many with   me   he-FUT do   me
      How much more could he do to me?

(28) númə́   ŋkwìn   á   ncə̀   lêŋ   nə̂   "ɲə̀   tér   wá   àlú
      númə́   ŋkwèɲ   á   ncə̀   lêŋ   nə̂   ɲə̀   tér   wá   àlú
      also   1-leopard P2   come   say   that   he   first put   hit

      lə́-fùmbà,   ntwìmbə̀   w=ê   á   ŋkàmà   nə̀   mè?"
      lé-fùmbà   ntwòmbè   w=é   á   ŋkàmà   nò   mè
      LOC-dead   7-sheep   you-FUT QUES   how.many with   me(emph)
      Then the panther said, "First he hit the dead tree with his head,
      how much more could the sheep do to me?"

(29) myà   yô   kà   jé   nə̂   bwó   jì   ndé
      myà   H+yò   kà   jê   nə̂   bwó   jì   ndé
      3-time RELCL-7SUB CONS   arrive that   they be (att) be (loc)

      lè-bàndà   lə́   wùrùgə́.
      lè-bàndà   lé   wùrùg
      5-hut   5ASSOC   one
      Having arrived back home, they stayed in the same shelter.

(30) númə́   ŋkwìn   á   ncə̀   té   ɲə̀   nə̂   "ə̀ə́   fǎ   bwáánt
      númə́   ŋkwèɲ   á   ncə̀   té   ɲə̀   nə̂   fǎ   bwéndê
      also   1-leopard P2   come   LOC   he   that   HORT   wait

      mə́.
      mə̀
      me
      Then the panther got up and he said, "Well, wait for me.

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(31) m=ò   gó   ncə̀-n."

m̀=ó   gó   ncə̀-né

I-PRES   PROG   come-that

I'm coming back."

(32) è-kò   ŋkwìn   á   kè   ʃwàlə́   kò.

lè-kò   ŋkwèɲ   á   kò   ʃwàl   kò

INF-go   1-leopard   P2   go   directly   go

But in going, he then left for good.

(33) myǎ   ntwìmbè   mə́   ncə̀   dêk   ncínè,   ntwìmbè

myà+H   ntwèmbè   mé   ncə̀   dêg   nténè   ntwèmbè

3-time   7-sheep   be (chg)   come   see   like.that   7-sheep

nə̀   "jám   j-ɔ̀ɔŋgə́   bó-n

nə̀   njám   j-ɔ̀ɔŋgə́   bə̀-né

that   7-moment (good)   7-DEF   be-that

When the sheep saw that, he said, "It's the perfect moment!

(34) mə̀   ká   kò   kwár   nə̀bó   myà   ɲ=ó   bì

mə̀   kà   kò   kwád   nə̀bə́   myà   H+ɲ̀=ó   bì+H

I   CONS   go   9-village   because   3-time   RELCL-he-PRES   seize

tír   ntáŋə̀   ɲə̌.

tíd   ntáŋ   ɲà

7-animal   like.that   tear

I will go to the village because he seizes animals like that and tears
them.

(35) myà̀   ɲ=é   bì   númə́   mə́   ɲ=ě   ɲà   númə́   mə̀,

myà   H+ɲ̀=é   bì+H   númə́   mə̀   ɲ̀=é   ɲà+H   númə́   mə̀

3-time   RELCL-he-FUT   seize   also   me   he-FUT   tear   also   me

mè	m=ó	kò	númə́	ʃwál	làŋ	nə̂	ncò	kwár."
m̀=ó	kò+H	númə́+H	ʃwàl+H	làŋ+H	nə̂	ncò	kwád	
but(Fr)	I-PRES	go	also	directly	happen	that	come	9-village

Since he could do the same thing to me, I'm going to leave for the village."

(36)

jw=ó	bó	ntwìmbé	ndé	kwár=é.
jẁ=ó	bò	ntwèmbè	ndé	kwád=è
7SUB-PRES	be	7-sheep	be (loc)	9-village-RELCL

That's why sheep are in the village.

(37)

jw=ó	bó	ŋkwìn	ndé	dìg=é.
jẁ=ó	bò	ŋkwèɲ	ndé	dìg=è
7SUB-PRES	be	leopard	be (loc)	7-forest-RELCL

That's why the panther is in the forest.

(38)

ntá	jí	lêŋ	nə̂	myá	bìz=á	ndé	bìz=á
ntà	jí	lêŋ	nə̂	myà	H+bìz=á	ndé	H+bìz=á
since	want	say	that	3-time	RELCL-we-P2	be (loc)	RELCL-we-P2

ndé	wôk	mè,	bìz=á	jí=gə̀	númp	nə̂
ndé	wôg	mè	bìz=á	jí=g	nûmb	nə̂
be (loc)	here	that	we-P2	need-SUBJ	know	that

sá	ndé	dá.
sâ	ndé	dá
7-thing	be (loc)	1-father

This means that since we are here now, we need to know who is the father (ancestor).

(39) dâ   jì   ncììmbé.
      dá   jì   ncììmbê
      1-father be (att) God
      The father is God.

(40) é-jì   m-ùr   ndé   nə   bìz=á   túk   nò   ŋkùl
      lè-jì   m-ùd   ndé   nə   bìz=á   túg   nò   ŋkùl
      INF-be   1-person be (loc) that   we-P2   be (neg) with   9-force

      bwə́   yìgə̀là   nə   ɲə̀.
      bwó   yìgə̀là   nò   ɲə̀
      they   compare   with   him
      That's someone that we shouldn't compare ourselves to.

(41) tèm   mwáz,   tèm   fùm,   kə́   nà   dw-óp   lə́-wúrùk,
      tèm   mwáz   tèm   fùm   ké   nò   dw-ôb   lé-wùrùk
      even 3-daytime even 3-night   NEG   with   5-day   5ASSOC-one

      bíz=é   yìg-ə̀là   nə   dê.
      bìz=é   yìg-ə̀là   nò   dá
      we-FUT   pretend-REFL with   father
      Even during the day, even during the night, not on one single day
      should we compare ourselves to the father.

(42) bìz=á   túk   lê   yìgə̀là   nə   dá.
      bìz=á   tùg   lè   yìg-ə̀là   nò   dá
      we-P2   be (neg) IMPF   pretend-REFL with   father
      We do not compare ourselves with the father.

(43) bìzá   dì   kók   bə́sí,   ɲě   dì   jwáp.
      bìzá   dì   kóg   b-sí   ɲ=é   dì   jwáp.
      we (incl) stay   here 2-ground he (emph)   stay   sky
      We stay here on earth, he stays in the heavens.

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(44)

ɲə̀	jî	dêk	mə̀-báp	m-ɛ̂z	ndé	kók	bə́sí,
ɲə̀	jì	dêg	mò-báb	m-ɛ̂z	ndé	kóg	bò-sí
he	be (att)	see	6-bad	6-all	be (loc)	here	2-ground

mə̀-ɲwàŋ	mɛ̂z	ndé	kók	bə̀sì.
mò-ɲwàŋ	m-ɛ̂z	ndé	kóg	bò-sí
6-good	6-all	be (loc)	here	2-ground

He sees all the bad things here on earth and all the good things here on earth.

(45)

kǎ bə̀	ɲ=è	jî	bwáánt	njǐ	dwáp	lə̀-wúrùk
kà bə̀	ɲ̀=é	jì	bwɛ́ndê	njì	dwôp	lè-wùrùk
only	he-P1	be (att)	wait	only	5-day	5ASSOC-one

dwáp	ɲ=é	bwə̀	cígò	kòr	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́.
dwôp	H+ɲ̀=é	bwó	cígò	kòd	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́
5-day	RELCL-he-FUT	F2	judge	decision	3-DEF

He is waiting for a single day, the day that he will come and judge all that.

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9 The Perils of Drunkenness

told by Jean SédarAtangana, transcription help and translation (into French) by

Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

(1)
mə̀=	jí	jì	lêŋ	mwâ	lɔ́ŋə̀	mɔ́	mə̀	m=á
mə̀=	jì	jí	lêŋ	mwá	lɔ̂ŋ	H+mə̀	mə̀	mé=á
I	be (att)	want	tell	little	speech	RELCL-I	I	self-P2

númb	nə̀	cìgɛ̀=ɛ̀.
nûmb	nò	cìgə̀=è
know	and	live-RELCL

'I want to tell something that I myself have seen and lived.

(2)
m=á	bò	mə̀=	ndé	jwóp	nə̀	jwóbə̀	lè	ŋkònə̌
m̀=á	bò	mə̀=	ndé	jwôb	nò	jwôb	lè	ŋkònə̀
I-P2	be	I	be (loc)	sky	with	sky	IMPF	INCR

mwâ	ŋkwô	lè	é	ŋkwó=gə̀	kò	lè	ɲáŋ.
mwá	kwò	lè	lé	kwò=g	kò	lè	
little	again	IMPF	LOC	again-SUBJ	go	IMPF	suck

I was in the air looking for life.

(3)
mə̀=	ndé	nə̀	b-ùr	bə́	cɛ̀l	mə̀,	bwɔ́
mə̀=	ndé	nò	b-ùr	H+bə̀	cɛ̀là	mə̀	bwó
I	be (loc)	with	2-person	RELCL-be	love	me	they

nə̀	ŋkùl	lêŋ	nà	bə̀-ʃwó.
nò	ŋkùl	lêŋ	nò	bò-ʃwó
with	9-force	tell	with	2-friend

I had those who love me, those one could call friends.

(4)
bìzɔ́	bə̀-nóβ=á	kwìkwêg,	m-ùr	nə̀	my-ɛ́	mɔ́-mbì.
bìzɔ́	bò-nób=á	kwîg	m-ùr	nò	mè-ɛ́	mè-mbì
we	2-other-P2	walk	1-person	with	4-his	4-sort

Them and me, we walked together, each with his own habits.

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(5)

kǎ bò	dèná	bwó	ndé	lè	lêŋ	bòkól	nə̀	wò=	kwíg
kà bò	dèná	bwó	ndé	lé	lêŋ	bòkol	nə̀	wò=	kwîg
only	like	they	be (loc)	IMPF	tell	Kol	that	you	walk

nə̀	bə̀-mpyó,	wə̀=	ɲwàŋ	bə̀-ɲâ.
nò	bò-mpyó	wò=	ɲwàŋ	bò-ɲâ
with	2-dog	you	take	2-flea

Only as one says in Kol: you walk with dogs, you will have fleas.

(6)   w=à=dég=é?

w=á=dêg=è

you-NEG-see-NEG

Don't you see?

(7)

mô=	kwîg	nə̀	bə̀-ɲwèl-è	bə́-mə́-ɲòk,	m=ô	kò	númə́
mò=	kwîg	nò	bò-ɲwèl-è	bó-mò-ɲwòg	m̀=ó	kò+H	númə́+H
I	walk	with	2-drink-NOM	2ASSOC-6-wine	I-PRES	go	also

dùmə̀	lê-ŋgwáŋgə́	é-bín	bì-ŋkwíndé.
dùmà+H	lé-ŋgwáŋ	è-bén	bè-ŋkwéndé
fall (intr)	LOC-together	5-lift	8-elbow

You walk with wine-drinkers, you will also end up with elbow-benders [alcoholics].

(8)   w=à=dég=é?

w=á=dêg=è

you-NEG-see-NEG

Don't you see?

(9)

d-úl	dw-áp	nə̀	lè-yìgé,	mw-àrá	mə̀	twámbá	w-àŋə́	nò
d-úlə́gá	dw-ôb	nò	lè-yìgé	mw-àrá	mə̀	twámbá	w-àŋ	nò
5-INDEF	5-day	that	5-sign	1-woman	POSS	1-elder	1-my	with

m-ùr	á	lè	bàgə̀là	mə̀	ŋgwàlà	yàùndé	ɲ=ǎ	bwâr
m-ùd	á	lè	bàgə̀là	mə̀	ŋgwâlà		ɲ̀=á	bwâd
1-person	P2	IMPF	keep	me	city	Yaoundé	she-P2	wear

bò-kwòndó è-fyâl lé-ʃùkúl b-ăcígókùk.
bò-kwòndó lè-fyâl lé-ʃùkùl bò-á-cígókùg
2-stripes INF-exit 5Assoc-7-school 2?-police

One day, with a sign, the wife of my elder who looked after me in Yaoundé got her stripes and graduated from the police academy.

(10)

bìzó	ncò	kò	lè-dúmp	á	s-ówàwà	nò	bók	á
bìzó	ncà	kò	lé-dúmb	á	sá-ówà	nò	bóg	á
we	come	go	LOC-party	P2	act-PASS	and	reception	P2

kègàwà.
kèg-ówà
plan-PASS

We went to the party which was planned and the reception that was organized.

(11)

bìzó	kò	sá	mə́-ʃwòòzògò	s-ówà	lé-wààŋgə́	də̀ná
bìzə́	kò	sá	mè-ʃwòòzògò	sá-ówà	lè-wààŋg	dènà
we	go	do	4-joy	do-PASS	5-song	like

bə́-dâ	bôŋ	á	lè	sê	nò	kúl	nò
H + bò-dà	bóŋ	á	lè	sá = è	nò	kúl	nò
RELCL-2-father	they(emph)?	P2	IMPF	do-RELCL	with	3-tam-tam	and

ŋkòòm.
ŋkòòmb
9-medium.drum

We rejoiced, singing like the ancestors did, with the tam-tams and drums.

(12)

bìzó	kò	ɲwàŋ	bò-fònó	nə̀	bàmîl.
bìzə́	kò	ɲwàŋ			
we	go	take	musical instruments		

We took musical instruments.

(13) myêr kwò té bè-bí-má mə́ nûmp nə̀ myà wó
     kwò té bè-bè-mé mé nûmb nə̀ myà H+wò
     again LOC you-you-self be (chg) know that 3-time RELCL-you

sé bùlə́ dìgəb=e wò jí sáŋ sá mə̀
sé+H bùlù+H dìgə̀bə̀=è wò jí sáŋ sâ mé
PERF many sweat-RELCL you want look.for 7-thing be (chg)

tɛ́lə́lé ŋkwóómìn.
tɛ́lə́lé ŋkwómìn
refresh throat

After that, you yourself know that when you have really sweated, you
look for something to refresh yourself with.

(14) m= kò ɲwàŋə́ sá mə̀ tɛ́lɛ́lé mó ŋ̀kwòómìn.
     ó
     m=ó kò ɲwàŋ sâ H+mé tɛ́lə́lé mə̀ ŋkwɔ̌mìn
     I-PRES go take 7-thing RELCL-be(chg) refresh me throat

I took something to refresh my throat.

(15) kùgú ŋgà bô by-ɔ̀ɔŋgó ndé lè ǹcààbə̀rà
     kùgú ŋgà bò bè-ɔ̀ɔŋgə́ H+ndé lè ncààbə̀rà
     3-evening this be 8-DEF RELCL-be (loc) IMPF turn.upside.down

m-ûr lú, mə̀ ndé jábə̀ nə̀ mə̀-ɲwòg=è.
m-ûd lú mə̀ ndé jáb nò mò-ɲwòg=è
1-person 5-head I be (loc) call with 6-wine-RELCL

That evening, that something was head-spinning, that which I call wine.

(16) w=à=dég=é ?
     wò=á=dêg=è
     you-NEG-see-NEG

Don't you see?

(17) dìnə́ mwâ m-ùr ndé myà ɲə̀= ndé lè kwígə̀
     dèná mwá m-ùr ndé myà ɲə̀= ndé lè kwîg
     like 1-small 1-person be(loc) 3-time he be (loc) IMPF walk

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lé-wáŋgé	ɲə=	jí	cɛ̀l	númə́	sá	dìnə́	bw-ûr	bə́
lé-wáŋgé	ɲə=	jí	cɛ̀là	númə́	sâ	dèná	bò-ùr	bó
LOC-gathering	he	want	love	also	do	like	2-person	2ASSOC

cɛ̀lə́	mə̀
cɛ̀là	mə̀
love	me

When a small [unimportant] man is in a group, he wants to do like his friends.

(18)

bə̀-ʃwó	b-ɛ́	bâ	bə̀-nóp	ndé	lè	kwîg	ndè	lé	sɛ́ɛ.
bò-ʃwó	b-é	bâ	bò-nób	ndé	lè	kwîg	ndé	lè	sá
2-friend	2-his	and	2-other	be (loc)	IMPF	walk	be (loc)	IMPF	do

His friends and others walk the same way.

(19)

m=ô	bándà	kǒ	ɲwàŋ	sá	mò-bwɛ̂s	mə̀	cóŋ.
mə̀=ó	bándà+H	kò+H	ɲwàŋ	sâ	mò-bwêz	mó	cóŋ
I-PRES	really	go	take	7-thing	6-wet	6ASSOC	9-neck

bè-sá	mə́	ntámá	lú=wí,	mə̀-ɲòk.
bè-sâ	H+mé	ntámà	lú=è	mò-ɲwòg
8-thing	RELCL-be (chg)	rot	5-head-RELCL	6-wine

I took something to wet my throat, something that rots the head, wine.

(20)

bìzó	bə̀-nóp	mə́	sé	ɲwɛ̀l	mə́-ɲòk	ntínè,
bìzó	bò-nób	mé	sé	ɲwɛ̀l	mò-ɲwòg	ntínè
we	2-other	be (chg)	PERF	drink	6-wine	like.that

Me and them, we drank wine like that.

(21)

bìzó	ncò	cíndé	búŋə́	dúmp	á	bɛ̀ɛ̀
bìzə́	ncò	cînt	bùŋ	dúmb	á	bɛ̀ɛ̀
we	come	change	7-place	dance	QUAL	second

We went to a second party location.

(22)

bìz = ó	nìgó	kò	fâg	sís.
bìzə́ = ó	nìgó + H	kò + H	fág	sís
we-PRES	return	go	place	another

We went to a different place.

(23)

myă	bìz = ó	nìgó	kò	jé	lêjínə̀	búŋə́,
myà + H	bìzə́ = ó	nìgó + H	kò + H	jé + H		bùŋ
3-time-RELCL	we-PRES	return	go	arrive	?another	6-place

bwó	kò	númə́	yàg	mə̀	wú	nə̂	"áà	kwò
bwó	kò	númə́	yàg	mə̀	wú	nə̂		kwò
they	go	also	recognize	me	there	that		again

fíyò	jànt	nə̀	bè-bìlə̀.	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	bó	mè."
	jând	nò	bè-bìlə̀	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	bò	mè
?	step	with	8-sad.news	1-DEF	be	that (pointing)

When we got to the other spot, someone recognized me saying "The guy who gives the obituaries, that's him there.

(24)

nə̀bə́	myà	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	m = á	bə̀	lè	syé	é-njáp	mə́
nə̀bə́	myà	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	m = á	bò	lè	syê	lé-njáb	mə́
because	3-time	3-DEF	I-P2	be	IMPF	work	Loc-3-house	POSS

kôlò.
kôl
cord

Because, at that point in time, I worked at the radio station.

(25)

m = ò	gó	kàlà	bw-ùr	mò-fòk	nə̀	mò-kóŋ	m-á
mə̀ = ó	gó	kàlà	bò-ùd	mò-fòg	nò	mò-kóŋ	m-á
I-PRES	PROG	send?	2-person	6-wisdom	with	6-intelligence	6-QUAL

bízə́	bə́	sí	bə̀-kólò	lè-njáb	á	mîl.
bìzə́	bə̀	sí	bò-kól	lé-njáb	á	
we	be	1-ground	2-Kol	Loc-3-house	QUAL	

I transmitted the intelligence and wisdom of the Bikele to people.

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(26)

bwó	kò	yàg	mà,	ncɔ̌	nìgó	kwó	kɛ̀ɛ̀là	mɔ́
bwó	kò	yàg	mà	ncɔ̀+H	nìgò+H	kwò+H	kɛ̀ɛ̀là+H	mà
they	go	recognize	me	come	return	again	add	me

mɔ̀-m-íl	mɔ́-ɲòk	jwáp.
mò-mò-úlɔ̀gá	mò-ɲwòg	jwáb
6-6-INDEF	6-wine	sky

They recognized me and gave me more wine [on top].

(27)

sá	m=é	tùkɔ̀	lè	bwè	sá	yô.
sâ	H+m=é	túg	lè	bwè	sá	yò
7-thing	RELCL-I-P1	be (neg)	IMPF	long.time	do	7OBJ

It was something that I was not in the habit of drinking.

(28)

y=ó	mé	kò	bò	nwǎ	nɔ̀bɔ̀	lɔ̌b	w-âŋ	jì
y=ó	mé	kò	bò	nwà	nɔ̀bɔ́	lɔ̀b	w-àŋ	jì
7SUB-PRES	be (chg)	go	be	there	because	3-word	3-my	be (att)

kò	kò	njì	nà	bè-kèkènà	"á-mpèlá-mpèlá	kà	bwè	nà
kò	kò	njì	nò	bè-kèkènà	á-mpèlá-mpèlá	kò	bwè	
go	go	only	with	8-story	?-imitation	go	long.time	

búgà	ncwògɔ̀	lè-bwóŋ."
búg	ncwòg	lè-bwóŋ
break	1-elephant	5-knee

But now, since my words always come with proverbs: "Imitation will lead to the elephant breaking his knees."

(29)

ô	ǎ-mpèlá-mpèlá	mé	ncɔ̀	sá	númɔ̀	ncwòòk	w-àŋɔ̀
ô	á-mpèlá-mpèlá	mé	ncɔ̀	sá	númɔ̀	ncwòg	w-àŋ
VOC	?-imitation	be (chg)	come	do	that	1-elephant	1-my

búgà	lè-bwóŋ.
búg	lè-bwóŋ
break	5-knee

Imitation will lead to my elephant breaking his knee.

(30) m=ó   kwó   kèlé   mə́-ɲòk   m=á   nì   ɲàné.
m=ó   kwò+H   kèl+H   mò-ɲwòg   mò-á   nî
I-PRES   again   add   6-wine   6-P2   enter
I kept adding strong wine.

(31) tíé   nə̀   tíé   lú   mə̀   jìrə̀bà   mə̀   njwâp.
tíé   nò   tíé   lû   mé   jìdə̀bà   mə̀   jwáb
7-position   with   7-position   5-head   be   spin   me   sky
At that moment, my head was spinning.

(32) è-ncə̀   kέl   nə̀   bìy-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́   m=á   térə̀   ɲwàŋ=é
lè-ncə̀   kὲl   nò   bè-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́   H+m̀=á   tér   ɲwàŋ=è
INF-come   add   with   8-DEF   RELCL-I-P2   first   take-RELCL

fág   bíz=á   tér   bò   lé-dúmp   fág   á   njwáŋmə́lɨ́nt.
fág   H+bìzə́=á   tér   bò   lé-dúmb   fág   á
place   RELCL-we-P2   first   be   Loc-dance   where   QUAL   Ndjong-Melen
I was adding to what I had originally drunk back when we were at the
first party along the edge of Ndjong-Melen [neighborhood of Yaoundé].

(33) mə̀=   mé   nà   tέ   tὲ   tέ   tὲ   tέ.
mə̀=   mé   nò
I   be (chg)   with
I couldn't control myself anymore, had no more strength.

(34) kɨ́   nə̀   ŋkùl   mə́=   bì   fògə̀   nə̂   ə́   ə̀   mə̀=
ké   nò   ŋkùl   mə̀=   bìì   fòg   nə̂   mə̀=
NEG   with   9-force   I   seize   9-wisdom   that   I

jí=k   búŋ   mə́   kò   kò   è-jâ   sí.
jí=g+H   bùŋ   H+mə̀   kò   kò   è-jâ   sí
ask-SUBJ   7-place   RELCL-I   go   go   5-sleep   1-ground
I didn't still have enough intelligence to ask where I could go lie
down.

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(35)

mà=	mé	nə̂	m=ò	nígó	nìgó	nə̀	mpízə̀
mà=	mé	nə̂	m=ó	nìgò+H	nìgò+H	nò	mpízò
I	be (chg)	that	I-PRES	return	return	with	back

kò	njwáŋmə́límt.
kò	njwáŋmə́límt
go	Ndjong-Melen

I wanted to retrace my steps, go back to Ndjong-Melen.

(36)

bə̀-ʃwó	b-âŋ	bìì	mə́	nə́	jìì	mà=	ké	bə̀	nə̀
bò-ʃwó	b-àŋ	bìì	mà	nə̂	jèè	mà=	ké	bə̀	nò
2-friend	2-my	seize	me	that	9-arrival	I	NEG	be	with

mbì	mə́=	mé	jwágà	nə̀	bwə̀.
mbì	H +mà=	mé	jwág	nò	bwə̀
3-sort	RELCL-I	be(chg)	listen	with	them

My friends stopped me just before the point where I wouldn't have been able to hear [heed?] them anymore.

(37)

mà=	ncə̀	númə́	fyâl	lé-fùmə̀	mə́	mò-wàlà	mà	lôl
mà=	ncò	númə́	fyâl	lé-fùm	mó	mò-wàlà	mà	lôl
I	come	also	exit	LOC-3-evening	3ASSOC	6-hour	POSS	three

m-á	mánè.
m-á	mán
6-QUAL	morning

I headed out into the night, at 3 o' clock in the morning.

(38)

y=ó	sé	ntàŋ	támə̀	fùm.
y=ó	sé	ntàŋ	tám	fùm
7SUB-PRES	PERF	cross	middle	3-night

It was already past midnight.

(39)

mó=	jwábə̀rà	ncí.
mà=	jwábə̀rà	ncí
I	tangle	3-path

I got muddled and lost my way.

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(40) m = à = númb = é náŋà ncí mà kò njwóŋmə́línd = é.

      m = á = nûmb = è náŋ ncí + H mà kò

      I-Neg-know-Neg still 3-path-RelCl 3Assoc go Ndjong-Melen-RelCl

I didn't know anymore which road went to Ndong-Melen.

(41) mà = mê nìgó twàgə̀bà fág á bíyímá sí.

      mà = mé nìgò twàgə̀bà fág + H á

      I be (chg) return ? where-RelCl Qual Biyima Si

I ended up going toward Biyima Si.

(42) é-kò, m = ó gó kò ŋgá, mwâ fə-fók mə́

      lè-kò m = ó gó + H kò + H ŋgà mwá fə-fòg H + mə̀

      Inf-go I-Pres Prog go this 1-small Dim-9-wisdom RelCl-I

      nìgó jì jé m-é-lú.

      nìgò jì jê mà-lé-lú

      return be (att) arrive me- Loc-head

As I was going, a remnant of wisdom came to me.

(43) mò = yàgə̀ nə́ "á kyè !

      mà = yàg nə̀

      I recognize that Excl

I realized "Uh oh!

(44) yî m = ó gó kò náŋ mê ?"

      yî m = ó gó + H kò + H náŋ mè

      where I-Pres Prog go still that

Where am I going?"

(45) mà = fâ nìgò nə̀ mpízò.

      mà = fă nìgò nò mpízò

      I Hort return with back

I need to retrace my steps (go back the way I came).

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(46)

ká	jì	nígó	nà	mpízò,	m=ó	ncó	nìgó	jwábòrà.
kà	jì	nìgò	nò	mpízò	m=ó	ncò+H	nìgò+H	jwábòrà
CONS	be (att)	return	with	back	I-PRES	come	retrun	tangle

Trying to return, I got muddled again.

(47)

èncí	lé	ɲ=ó	kò	jè	é-njáp	bó-júŋ	fág
lé-ncí	lè	ɲ=ó	kò	jé	lé-njáb	bò-júŋ	fág
LOC-3-path	IMPF	9SUB-PRES	go	arrive	Loc-3-house	2-party	where

bíz=á	nìgò	kò	óbìlì.
bìzó=á	nìgò	kò	óbìlì
we-P2	return	go	Obili

I arrived on the path that led to where we were at the party in Obili
[the second party].

(48)

é-jwábòrà,	má	jwábòrà	ŋgà,	mò	bó	mé	nó	mpwò	bòŋ
lè-jwábòrà	mò=á	jwábòrà	ŋgà	mò	bò	mé	nò		bóŋ
INF-tangle	I-PRES	tangle	this	I	be	be	with		there

lê-ncá	ê-dínd	mà	kán.
lè-ncò	lé-díndè		
INF-come	LOC-courtyard		

Since I was all muddled, I stumbled into somebody's compound.

(49)

ò	mpyó	mò	bùmbèlà	bɛ	lé-mò-wàlà	mó	lôl
	mpyó	mé	bùmbòlà		lé-mò-wàlà	mó	lôl
	1-dog	be (chg)	get.up	?	LOC-6-hour	POSS	three

m-á	mánè.
m-á	mán
6-QUAL	morning

The dog suddenly woke up, just like that, at three o'clock in the
morning.

(50)

mpyó	gó	bwámbòlò.
mpyó	gó	bwòmbòlò
1-dog	PROG	bark

He barked and barked.

(51) b-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́ b-ûr ndé lè bàgə̀là báfílá jə̀lé.

b-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́ b-ud ndé lè bàgə̀là
2-DEF 2-person be (loc) IMPF keep

The people were those who watch over government officials,

(52) bw-ùr bə́ mó-wúzá ndê bə̀ nə̀ mò-kwàŋ nò kùbĕ

bò-ùd bò mò-wázá ndé bò nò mò-kwàŋ nò kùbĕ
2-person be 6-northerner be (loc) be with 6-lance with bow

mô bùmbə̀là númə́ té lê-bàgé.

mò bùmbə̀là númə́ té lè-bààg
6SUB get.up also LOC 5-side

The men from the North with their spears and their bows, they also
quickly got up in their turn.

(53) myà bw=á jwók bə̀-mpyó lè bwámbə̀l=è, bwô têr

myà H + bwó=á jwág bò-mpyó lè bwɔmbə̀lɔ=è bwó tér
3-time RELCL-they-P2 hear 2-dog IMPF bark-RELCL they first

lêŋ nə̂ "jíbə̀lè ! jíbə̀lè ! jíbə̀lè !"

lêŋ nə̂ jîbə̀lɔ jîbə̀lɔ jîbə̀lɔ
say that thief thief thief

When they heard the dogs barking, to started to say "Thief! Thief!
Thief!"

(54) é-kònòkò, bé númp ŋgwálà yáùnt.

è-kònòkò bé nûmb ŋgwâlà yáùnd
LOC-truth you (pl) know 9-city Yaounde

Truly, you know the city of Yaoundé.

(55) lé-mò-wàlà m-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́ á bò tɛ́ bɛ̀ ʃwôk á fús sì lâl

lé-mò-wàlà m-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́ á bò té
LOC-6-hour 6-DEF P2 be Loc

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càmərûn   wús.

w-éz

Cameroon   3-our

At that time,the governor of the central province had
established strong laws.

(56) fús   sí   á   centre   á   mòmànt   mə   lâl.

(57) è-ʃù   nə   mə=   númbà   bwàgəlà   lê-bəkól.

è-ʃù   nə   mə=   nûmb   bwàgəlɔ   lé-bòkól

5-sake   that   I   know   explain   LOC-Kol

(I want to explain in Kol.)

(58) lú   á   té   á   lêŋ   nə   bwó   bí   jíbəlà,   bwó

lû   á   té   á   lêŋ   nə   bwó   bì+H   jîbəlɔ   bwó

5-head   P2   LOC   P2   say   that   they-PRES   seize   thief   they

jú = gò.

jû = gá

kill-SUBJPL

The head [governor] said that if they catch a thief, they should kill
him.

(59) mə   bə   mé   lè   ncə   jábə   nə   jíbəlà   mέ.

mə   bò   mé   lè   ncò   jáb   nə   jîbəlɔ   mé

I   be   be (chg)   IMPF   come   call   that   thief   that

I am the one being called 'thief.'

(60) hὲɛ́h   jíbəlè !

hὲɛ́h   jîbəlɔ

thief

"Thief!"

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(61) hɛ̀ɛ́h   jíbə̀lɛ̀ !
     hɛ̀ɛ́h   jîbə̀lɔ̀
             thief
     "Thief!"

(62) b-ùr   mə́   wòl   lé-mò-wàlà   mə́   lôl   mánè
     b-ùd   mé   wòl   lé-mò-wàlà   mə́   lôl   mánè
     2-person be (chg) get.out LOC-6-hour   POSS three   3-morning

     é-ncò   wà nə̀   bè-bílə̀   nə̀   mə̀-fà   nə̀   mə̀-báák.
     é-ncò   wá nò   bè-bílɔ̀   nò   mò-fà   nò   mò-báág
     INF-come put with 8-club   with 6-machete with 6-knife
     The people got up at 3 o'clock, bringing with them their clubs,
     machetes, and knives.

(63) mə̀-ɲòk   mó   mw=á   bə̀ mə̀ lé-lú=wé,   kɨ̀   mw=á
     mò-ɲwòg mó   mò=á   bò mə̀ lé-lú=è   ké   mò=á
     6-wine   6ASSOC 6SUB-P2   be me LOC-5-head-RELCL NEG 6SUB-P2

     bə̀ lé   wú   kɨ̀   mw=á   bə̀ nô mə̀ túgə̀   náŋ   lè
     bò lè   wû   ké   mò=á   bò nò mə̀ túg   náŋ   lè
     be IMPF leave NEG 6SUB-P2   be with I   be (neg) still IMPF

     númp nə̀bə̀   mə̀=   mé   fágə́rá   mə̀-fà   nò   mò-kwâŋ.
     nûmb nə̀bə́   mə̀=   mé   fágə́rá   mò-fà   nò   mò-kwàŋ
     know because I   be (chg) between 6-machete with 6-lance
     The wine which was in my head, where it went, I don't know, or how,
     but I was already between machetes and spears.

(64) bw-àrá   gó   lêŋ nə̂   "ă̆ !
     bò-àrá   gó   lêŋ nə̂
     2-woman PROG say that EXCL
     The women said, "Ah ha!

(65) bò-kúbə́   b-ízé   mə́   lè   dîmp   wógə̀,   mùùntí ngà
     bò-kúbɔ̀   b-íz   mé   lè   dímb   wôg   mùùntí ngà
     2-chicken 2-our   be (chg) IMPF lose   here   mister this

dá	ŋgà	bò	lè	ɲ-ɔ̀ɔŋgá	bó	ncə̀	jíbə̀	bízə́	bò-kúbə̀."
dá	ŋgà	bə̀	lè	ɲ-ɔ̀ɔŋgə́	bò	ncò	jíbɔ̀	bìzə́	bò-kúbɔ̀
1-father	this	be	IMPF	1-DEF	be	come	steal	us	2-chicken

Our chickens keep going missing, he is the one who has come to steal them."

(66)
mə̀=	túgə̀	númp	ŋké	mə̀=	jì	tɛ́l	sí
mə̀=	túg	nûmb	ŋké	mə̀=	jì	tɛ́l	sí
I	be (neg)	know	or	I	be (att)	organize	1-ground

ŋké	mə̀=	jì	túl	jwóp.
ŋké	mə̀=	jì	túl	jwôb
or	I	be (att)	?	sky

I didn't know anymore where I was, below or above.

(67)
fók	mə́	sé	dímbə̀	mə̀.
fòg	mé	sé	dímb	mə̀
9-wisdom	be (chg)	PERF	lose	me

Wisdom had left me.

(68)
lú	mə́	sê	ʃwàl	jwábə̀rə̀	mə̀	jwáp	nə̀	mə̀-ɲòk
lû	mé	sé	ʃwàl	jwábə̀rà	mə̀	jwôb	nò	mò-ɲwòg
5-head	be (chg)	PERF	directly	tangle	me	sky	with	6-wine

nə̀	by-áŋ	by-ɛ̂s.
nò	bè-áŋ	bè-êz
with	8-fear	8-all

My head was all muddled with wine and fear.

(69)
kò	jé	é	té,	ŋ́kà	ncììmbé	túgə̀	lé	wàzà	mwá
kɔ̀	jê	é	té	ŋkà	ncììmbé	túg	lè	wàzà	mwá
go	arrive	FUT	LOC	then	God	be (neg)	IMPF	forget	1-small

w-ɔ̀ɔŋgə́	m-ûr	ndé	lè	jáànt	lê-bə̀-tétèlé	b=ɛ́,
w-ɔ̀ɔŋgə́	mò-ùd	H+ndé	lè	jáànd	lé-bò-tétèlè	b-é=è
1-DEF	1-person	RELCL-be (loc)	IMPF	walk	LOC-2-honest	2-his-RELCL

twámbá	w-àŋə́	á	bə̀	lê	dì	fág	sí	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	óbìlì
twámbá	w-àŋ	á	bə̀	lè	dì	fág	sí	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	
1-elder	1-my	P2	be	IMPF	stay	where	1-ground	3-DEF	Obili

mə̀	ncə̀	làŋ	té.
mé	ncə̀	làŋ	té
be (chg)	come	happen	LOC

Arriving on the scene, since God does not forget those who walk
in his righteous ways, was my elder who lived on the edge of
Obili, just passing by.

(70)
ɲ=ŏ	kă	dêk	njì	b-ùr	á	ntùntùmà.
ɲ=ó	kà+H	dêg+H	njì	b-ùd	á	ntùtùmà
he-PRES	CONS	see	only	2-person	QUAL	crowd

He saw a crowd.

(71)
ɲó	kà	dêk	mə́	támə̀	mò-kwàŋə́	nà	mə̀-fə̀.
ɲə̀	kà	dêg	mə̀	tám	mò-kwàŋ	nò	mò-fà
he	CONS	see	me	middle	6-lance	with	6-machete

He saw me in the middle of spears and machetes.

(72)
ɲó=	ncə̀	bú	kómp	"àwá	(d-ínə́	bw=ú	bò	njábə̀
ɲə̀=	ncə̀	bù			d-ínɔ̀	H+bwó=é	bò	njáb
he	come	many			5-name	RELCL-they-P1	be	3-house

mə̀	ndé	bô	sàmə̀dí)	sàmə̀dí !
mə̀	ndé	bò		
me	be (loc)	be	Saturday	Saturday

He cried out, "Oh no, (they called me Samedi [Saturday])
Samedi!"

(73)
túgə́	bíz=á	lwándə̀bə̀	bə̀	lé-ncɔ̀ŋ	nà	ncàá	ŋgə̀?
túg	bìz=á	lwándə̀bə̀	bò	lé-ncɔ̀ŋ	nò	ncà	ŋgà
be (neg)	we-P2	just	be	LOC-9-dance	with	now	this

Weren't we just at the party now?

(74)

wô	kà	kò	byèk	mw-àrá	mə̀	ncé ?"
wò	kà	kò	byèg	mò-àrá	mə̀	ncé
you	Cons	go	provoke	1-woman	1Poss	who

Did you go and bother someone's wife?"

(75)

mə̀=	nə̂	"túgə̀	lóbə̀	mw-árá	mé.
mə̀=	nə̂	túg	lòb+H	mw-àrá	mé
I	that	be (neg)	3-problem	1-woman	that

I said that, "It's not women problems.

(76)

á	mw-àrá	á=j=ě	bə̀	nə̀	mò-kwàŋə́	nə̀	mə̀-fə̀.
á	mò-àrá	á=jì=è+H	bò	nò	mò-kwàŋ	nò	mò-fà
Ques	1-woman	Neg-be (att)-Neg	be	with	6-lance	with	6-machete

Women don't have spears and machetes.

(77)

w=ó	dék	ntáŋgə̀ ?
wò=ó	dêg	ntáŋ
you (sg)-Pres	see	like.that

You see?

(78)

bw=ó	sé	nìgò	ncə́	nígò	mə̀	sá
bwó=ó	sé+H	nìgò+H	ncə̀+H	nìgò+H	mə̀	sá
they-Pres	Perf	return	come	return	me	7-thing

sís	bó	mé	mpwò	nè	sís	bə̀	mə̀	mé
sís	bò	mé	mpwò	nè	sís	bə̀	mə̀	mé
7-different	be	that	9-accusation	9-that	9-another	be	I	be (chg)

nə̂	mə̀=	jì	jíbə̀lə̀."
nə̂	mə̀=	jì	jîbə̀lɔ̀
that	I	be (att)	thief

They're accusing me of something else, of being a thief."

(79)   "ɔ́ !"

"Oh !"

(80)

ɲô	ɲwàŋ	númɔ́	cílɔ́	lé-mò-kù	nɔ̀bɔ́	nè	áncógó	bɔ̀
ɲɔ̀	ɲwàŋ	númɔ́	cílɔ́	lé-mò-kù	nɔ̀bɔ́	nè	áncógó	bò
he	take	also	quickly	LOC-6-foot	because	this	NEGP3	be

jábɔ̀	nò	búŋ	mò	kò	jwábɔ̀rɔ̀	ncí	mè.
jăbɔ̀	nò	búŋ	H+mɔ̀	kò	jwábɔ̀rà	ncì	mè
far	with	7-place	RELCL-I	go	tangle	3-path	that

He took off running because the second house where we were wasn't far from the point where I lost my way.

(81)

ɲ=ó	kò	jáp	mw-àrá	á		bwâr	bò-kwòndó	wú
ɲ=ó	kò	jáb	mw-àrá	H+á		bwâd	bò-kwòndó	wú
he-PRES	go	call	1-woman	RELCL-P2		wear	2-stripes	there

nɔ̀	"ncáá	kò	cíló,	ncáá	kò	dêk!
nɔ̀	ncò	kò	cíló	ncò	kò	dêg
that	come (IMP)	go	quickly	come (IMP)	go	see

He went to call the woman who wore stripes there, saying "Come quick!

(82)

sàmɔ̀dí	bɔ́	ndé	kógà	tám	mò-kwâŋ	nɔ̀	mɔ̀-fà.
	bò	ndé	kóg	tám	mò-kwàŋ	nò	mò-fà
Saturday	be	be (loc)	here	middle	6-lance	with	6-machete

Come see Samedi in the middle of spears and machetes.

(83)

ɲ=ŏ	sé	ják	ncí	nɔ̀bɔ́	mɔ́-ɲwòk	ɲ=î
ɲ=ó	sé	jág	ncì	nɔ̀bɔ́	mò-ɲwòg	H+ɲ=é
he-PRES	PERF	(be) unaware	3-path	because	6-wine	RELCL-he-P1

ɲwèl	wóg=è."
ɲwèl	wôg=è
drink	here-RELCL

He went the wrong way because of the wine that he drank here."

(84)

mw-àrá	nè	númɔ́	mɔ́	ncɔ̀	cílɔ́.
mw-àrá	nè	númɔ́	mé	ncò	cíló
1-woman	this	also	be (chg)	come	quickly

That woman also came running.

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(85) ŋká ɲ=á   bə̀ ácígókùk nə́né njûm   ácígókùk nə́né.
     ŋkà ɲ=á   bò   ácígókùg nə́né njûm   ácígókùg nə́né
     as   he-P2 be   police   big   1-husband police   big
     Since she was a member of the police [or military] as was her husband.

(86) bwô ncə̀ lêŋ nə̀ b-ùr   bə̀-né nə̂   "mwá   b=íyò   dêk
     bwó ncò   lêŋ nò   b-ùd   bò-né   nə̂   mwá   bé=ó   dêg
     they come say with 2-person 2-this that   1-small   you-PRES see

     ŋgà, bìzó   bóŋ   jì   númbə̀ ɲə̀,   tìgə̀létí   númbə̀ ɲə̀
     ŋgà   bìzó   bóŋ   jì   nûmb   ɲə̀   tìgə̀létí   nûmb   ɲə̀
     this we (excl)   place? be (att) know   him   specifically know   him

     twò   lè-ʃùgə̀ d-ɛ́.
     twò   è-ʃùg   d-é
     even 5-stalk 5-his
     They came and told the people that "The child that you see here, we
     know him personally, as well as his origins.

(87) bìzó   bóŋ   à=h=ɛ́ jwàgə̀rə̀   ɲə̀ lé-mbì   á   né   jíbò.
     bìzó   bóŋ   á=è   jwágə̀rə̀+H   ɲə̀ lé-mbì   á   né   jíbó
     we (excl)   there NEG   suspect   him LOC-3-sort QUAL that theft
     We have never suspected him of stealing.

(88) lê-kònòkò, ɲ=ó   sé   jwábə̀rà   ncí   ŋ̀kà ní   ɲwèl
     lé-kònòkò   ɲ=ó   sé+H   jwábə̀rà+H   ncì   ŋkà   ní   ɲwèl
     LOC-truth   he-PRES PERF tangle   3-path as   enter drink

     mə́-ɲòk.
     mò-ɲwòg
     6-wine
     Truly, he got muddled because he got drunk.

(89) bìzó   númə́ bé   yə̀ ɲə̀ mə̀-ɲòk."
     bìzó   númə́ bò   yò   ɲə̀ mə̀-ɲwòg
     we (excl)   also   be   give him 6-wine
     We're the ones who gave him the wine.

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(90)

nà	myǎ	bwó	ncə̀	bîr	m=έ,	mə̀=	jì	kí
nò	myà+H	bwó	ncə̀	bíd	mə̀=è	mə̀=	jì	ké
with	3-time- RelCl	they	come	leave	me-RelCl	I	be (att)	Neg

náŋ	númbə̀	bóŋ	m=á	β=è.
náŋ	nûmb	bóŋ	H+m=á	bò=è
still	know	place	RelCl-I-P2	be-RelCl

When they let me go, I didn't know anymore where I was.

(91)

bw=á	kò	númə́	bwîk	mə̀	sí.
bwó=á	kò	númə́	bwîg	mə̀	sí
they-P2	go	also	keep	me	ground

They made me lie down.

(92)

lê-mán	á	té,	m=á	wòl.
lé-mán	á	té	m=á	wòl
Loc-3-morning	P2	Loc	I-P2	get.up

The next morning, I got up.

(93)

mə̀=	nə̂	"kí	náŋ	nə̀	twò	d-úl	dw-áp	lè-sís,	bìzə́
mə̀=	nə̂	ké	náŋ	nò	twò	d-úlə́gá	dw-ôb	lè-sís	H+bìzə̀
I	that	Neg	still	with	even	5-Indef	5-day	5-another	RelCl-we

nə̀	mə̀-ɲwòk	é	kwò	bwám=è."
nò	mò-ɲwòg	é	kwò	bwámə̀=è
with	6-wine	Fut	again	meet-RelCl

I said, "Never again will wine and I meet."

(94)

té	bə́	lôŋ	á	ncə̀	sî.
té	bò	lɔ̂ŋ	á	ncò	sí
Loc	be	5-speech	P2	come	finish

Here is the end to my story.

10 The Serpent and the Antelope

told by Barthélemy Bangbot (of Ngulmakong), transcription help and translation (into French) by Benoit Meboma Moankoen (of Leh)

(1)

mə̀=	jí	ɲwàŋ	wó	kàn	lé-bì-sá	bìzə́	ndé
mə̀=	jí	ɲwàŋ	wó	kàn	lé-bè-sá	H+bìzə́	ndé
I	want	take	you	3-folk.tale	LOC-8-thing	RELCL-we	be (loc)

lè	dêk	wók	nə́	càà-ŋgà	nə̀	bə̀-míyɔ̀ŋ	b-íz=é.
lè	dêg	wôg	nò	cà-ŋgà	nò	bò-míyɔ̀ŋ	b-íz=è
IMPF	see	here	with	now-here	with	2-sibling	2-our-RELCL

'I will tell you a story about what we see today with our brothers.'

(2)

kàn	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	á	bə̀	nə̀	m̀pwàm,	mpú	ncə̀
kàn	w-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́	á	bò	nə̀	mpwàm	mpú	ncə̀
3-folk.tale	3-DEF	P2	be	that	1-python	rain	come

nwî,	mpwàm	á	ɲwáŋə̀	mpú	lé	ncə̀	nwî,
nwî	mpwàm	á	ɲwáŋ	mpú	lè	ncə̀	nwî
fall (rain)	1-python	P2	take	rain	IMPF	come	fall (rain)

té	ɲ=ă	bə̀	lè	sáŋ	mpwó=ò:.
té	H+ɲ=á	bò	lè	sáŋ	mpú=è
LOC	RELCL-he-P2	be	IMPF	look.for	rain-RELCL

This folk tale is about a serpent who was looking for rain before the rain came.

(3)

té	ɲ=ă	bò	lè	sáŋ	jó=ò:.
té	H+ɲ=á	bò	lè	sáŋ	jwò=è
LOC	RELCL-he-P2	be	IMPF	look.for	7OBJ-RELCL

He was looking for something.

(4) té ɲ=á bə̀ lè kò ní lê-mbìl=è.

té H+ɲ=á bò lè kò nîŋk lé-mbìl=è

LOC RELCL-he-P2 be IMPF go enter LOC-hole-RELCL

He went into a hole.

(5) ɲ=ŏ kó sáŋ ntàŋ á bə̀ té, yó

ɲ=ó kò+H sáŋ+H ntàŋ H+á bò té yò+H

he-PRES go look.for 1-rat RELCL-P2 be LOC 7OBJ-RELCL

m=à=númb=é.

m=á=númb=è

I-NEG-know-NEG

If he was looking for a rat, that I don't know.

(6) myà ɲ=ó kà nî mô kò fárə̀bə̀.

myà H+ɲ=ó kà nî mé kò fárə̀bə̀

3-time RELCL-he-PRES CONS enter be ? go stuck, wedged

After he went in, he got stuck.

(7) ɲ=ô kà dêk bə́ dégə́ cíɲə̀.

ɲ̀=ó kà+H dêg+H bò+H dêg+H cíɲə̀

he-PRES CONS see be see hare

He saw a hare.

(8) ɲ=ô sè já ɲwá bò-ʃwə̀ndà bò-bá, nwà lé-mbìl

ɲ̀=ó sé já ɲwá bò-ʃwə̀ndà bò-bá nwà lé-mbìl

he-PRES PERF sleep there 2-week 2-two there LOC-3-hole

y-ê-n

y-é-né

3-his-that

He had to sleep in that hole for two weeks.

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(9) ɲ=ó   dêk   lé-kán   mà   jé.
     ɲ̀=ó   dêg+H   è-kán   mé   jê
     he-PRES   see   5-antelope   be (chg)   arrive

He saw an antelope coming towards him.

(10) ɲà=   nà   là-kán   nà   "là-kán   míyòŋ   w-àŋá,
     ɲà=   nò   è-kán   nà   è-kán   míyòŋ   w-àŋ
     he   with   5-antelope   that   5-antelope   1-brother   1-my

ô   mà=   yúm   wôk   lé-mbìlé.
ô   mà=   yúm   wôg   lé-mbìl
I   (be) stuck   here   LOC-3-hole

He said to the antelope, "Antelope my brother, here I am stuck in this hole.

(11) ncá   wúlà   mà!"
     ncâ   wûl   mà
     come (Imp)   take.out   me

Come get me out!"

(12) è-kán   má   ncò,   ncà   sá   nà   ŋgwàn   y-é
     è-kán   mé   ncò,   ncò   sá   nò   ŋgwàn   y-é
     5-antelope   be (chg)   come   come   do   with   3-paw   3-his

nà   sà   sà   sà   sà   sà.
nò   sá   sá   sá   sá   sá
with   do   do   do   do   do

The antelope came and began to dig with his paw. Dig, dig, dig, dig.....

(13) mpwàm   wúlà   ɲún.
     mpwàm   wûl   ɲûn
     1-python   take.out   9-body

The serpent got his body out.

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(14) dí dí dí dí dì, mpwàmə̀ nò lè-kán nə̂ "ŋkà
                                  mpwàm nò lè-kán nə̂ ŋkà
                                  1-python with 5-antelope that as

w=ó ndé nwǎ nè, mɛ́ jî jàk jwók ncà,
w=ó ndé+H nwà né mɛ́ jì jàg jwóg ncà
you-PRES be (loc) there that I (emph) be (att)   hear 9-hunger

m=ǒ dó wó."
m̀=ó dò+H wò
I-PRES eat you (sg)

After a time, the serpent said to the antelope, "Since you're here,
and I'm so hungry, I'm going to eat you."

(15) è-kán nò mpwàmə̀ "ɔ́ kè !
è-kán nò mpwàm
5-antelope with 1-python
The antelope said, "What!

(16) míyɔ̀ŋ w-àŋ, m=è wúlə̀ wó lè-bé.
míyɔ̀ŋ w-àŋ m=é wûl+H wò lé-bé
1-brother 1-my I-P1 take.out you (sg) LOC-9-pit
My brother, I just got you out of the hole.

(17) w=ǒ ká nìgó lɛ́ŋ nə̂ w=ǒ dó mə́
ẁ=ó kà+H nìgò+H lɛ̀ŋ nə̂ ẁ=ó dò+H mə̀
you-PRES CONS return tell that you-PRES eat me

nə̀bə́ nə̂ jè?"
nə̀bə́ nò jè
because with what
Why do you say that you're going to eat me?"

(18) ɲə̀= nə̂ "m=è jì nə̂ m=ò dó wó."
 ɲə̀= nə̂ m=é jí nə̂ m=ó dò+H wò
 he that I-P1 want that I-PRES eat you (sg)
 He said, "I want to eat you."

(19) kúl mə́ kà ncə̀ jê, wúgə̀rə̀ mpò,
 kûl mé kà ncə̀ jê
 1-tortoise be (chg) CONS come arrive

 wúgə̀rə̀ mpò.

 The tortoise came, in his way as tortoises do (ideophone).

(20) "jí ndé làŋə̀ ?"
 jé ndé làŋ
 what be (loc) happen
 "What's going on?"

(21) ɲə̀= nə̂ "m=ò gò wúl mpwàm wôk lébé ŋgà."
 ɲə̀= nə̂ m=ò gò wûl mpwàm wôg lé-bé ŋgà
 he that I-PRES PROG take.out 1-python here LOC-9-pit here
 He answered [the antelope], "I was getting the serpent out of this
 hole."

(22) "mpwàm bò wógə̀ ?"
 mpwàm bò wôk
 python be here
 "The serpent was here?"

(23) "ə̀ə́."
 "Yes."

(24) "á   jí   ndé   kă   làŋə̀?"
á   jé   ndé   kà   làŋ
QUES   what   be (loc) CONS   happen
"What happened then?"

(25) "mpwàm   nə̂   ɲ=ò   dó   mə́."
mpwàm   nə̂   ɲ=ó   dò+H   mə̀
1-python   that   he-PRES eat   me
"The serpent said that he is going to eat me."

(26) "mpwàm   bə̀   wók   lé-mbìl   gă?"
mpwàm   bò   wôg   lé-mbìl   ŋgà
1-python   be   here   LOC-3-hole   this
"The serpent was here in this hole?"

(27) "ə̀ə́."
"Yes."

(28) "mpwàm   w=ú   bə̀   wógə̀?"
mpwàm   w=é   bò   wôg
1-python   you-P1   be   here
"Serpent, you were here?"

(29) "ə̀ə́."
"Yes."

(30) "hă   kwə́   nìgò   ní,   mə̀   dégə̀   ŋkà   w=ú   b=è."
fă   kwò   nìgò   nî   mə̀   dêg   ŋkà   H+ẁ=é   bò=è
HORT   again   return   enter   I   see   as   RELCL-you-P1 be-RELCL
"Go back in so that I can see how you were."

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(31)   mpwàm   bìgə̀lə̀   ɲún,   bɪ́gə̀lə̀   bɪ́gə̀lə̀   bɪ́gə̀lə̀   bɪ́gə̀lò.

mpwàm   bìgə̀lə̀   ɲûn   bìgə̀lə̀   bìgə̀lə̀   bìgə̀lə̀   bìgə̀lə̀

1-python   enter   body   enter   enter   enter   enter

The serpent got his body back in, little by little.

(32)   "nwà   bó   w=ú   b=è?"

nwà   bò   H+w=é   bò=è

there   be   RELCL-you-P1   be-RELCL

"You were like that?"

(33)   "ə̀ə́."

"Yes."

(34)   "hǎ   kà   wú."

fã   kà   wú

HORT   CONS   come.out

"Ok, come out."

(35)   mpwàm   mə̀   ká   jì   wú,   mɓɛ́ŋ!

mpwàm   mə̀   kà   jì   wú

1-python   CONS   be   come

The serpent wanted to come out, but wham! he got stuck again.

(36)   kúl   nà   lè-kán   nə̀   "njám   j-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́   bə́   nè."

kûl   nò   è-kán   nə̀   njám   j-ɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgə́   né

tortoise   with   5-antelope   that   7-good.moment   7-DEF   be   that

The tortoise said to the antelope, "It's a good time to leave."

(37)   ǹtáŋə́   mə̀   jí   dêk   jwə́   nə́   bə̀-míyɔ̀ŋ   b-áŋ

ntáŋ   mə̀   jì   dêg   jwò   nò   bò-míyɔ̀ŋ   b-àŋ

like.that   I   be (att)   see   7OBJ   with   2-brother   2-my

nə̂ càá ŋgà.
nò cà ŋgà
with now this

I see the same thing with our brothers now.

(38) lè-bú jì mə̀ fèrá lé-mə̀-mbʉ̀k.
è-bú jì mé fèr lé-mè-mbʉ̀g
5-many be (att) be ? close LOC-4-prison

Many are shut up in prisons.

(39) nə̂ míyòŋ w-àŋ, cìk bé-ntwòmp túk lè ɲwàŋ,
nə̂ míyɔ̀ŋ w-àŋ cìg H+bè-ntwòmp túg lè ɲwâŋ
that 1-brother 1-my 7-life 7ASSOC-8-fight be (neg) IMPF (be) good

cìk bé-ntwòmp túk lè ɲwàŋ.
cìg H+bè-ntwòmp túg lè ɲwâŋ
7-life 7ASSOC-8-fight be (neg) IMPF (be) good

To my brother [I say] a life of fighting isn't good.

(40) m-ùr kə̀ jwôk.
m-ùd ké jwôg
1-person NEG hear

He doesn't hear.

(41) ɲə̀= sá ŋkà sá mə̀ jwôk bìzə́ ndê
ɲə̀= sá ŋkà H+sâ mé jwôg bìzə́ H+ndé
he do as RELCL-7-thing be (chg) hear us RELCL-be (loc)

kò kók lé-bə̀-míʃwàn=é, sà ŋkà sá mə̀
kò kóg lé-bè-míʃwàn=è sá ŋkà H+sâ mé
go here LOC-8-church-RELCL do as RELCL-7-thing be (chg)

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jwóg = ɛ̀.

jwôg = è

hear-RELCL

He acts as if he hears us at church, acting as if it is heard.

(42) ká   bwè   nə̂   ɲ = ó   nìgó   kwó   kò   sâ   bìzə́

ké   bwè   nə̂   ɲ̀ = ó   nìgò + H   kwò + H   kò + H   sâ   bìzə́

NEG   long.time   that   he-PRES   return   again   go   do   us

y = é   ká   lè   bír   nə̂   bwó   ká   kò   nə̌

y = é   kà + H   lè + H   bír + H   nə̂   bwó   kà   kò   nə̂

NONREF-P2   CONS   IMPF   leave   that   they   CONS   go   that

é-kò   lə́-mə̀-mbùk   ŋkà   bwó   ndé   kò-n

è-kò   lé-mè-mbùg   ŋkà   bwó   ndé   kò-né

INF-   LOC-4-prison   as   they   be (loc)   go-that

go

Not long after, he returns again, leaving us and going back to prison.

(43) té   bó   kàn   w-àŋ   ndê   ʃi.

té   bò   kàn   w-àŋ   ndé   sí

LOC   be   3-folk.tale   3-my   be (loc)   finish

Here is the end of my folk tale.

(44) bwó   bò   bò-mpwàm.

bwó   bò   bò-mpwàm

they   be   2-python

They are serpents.'

Kol-English Lexicon

A - a

á *mkr.* Qualificative Associative Marker (QUAL).

á *interr.* Interrogative (QUES).

á= *TAM.* Distant past (P2).

á= =è *TAM.* Perfective negative (NEG).

ábâ *n.* vulture.

âbŭl fûz *v.* be impotent.

ăbwɔmb ndɔlê *Pl:* **băbwɔmb ndɔlê.** *n.* mud wasp.

âbyôlô *Pl:* **bâbyôlô.** *n.* 1/2. traitor.

ăcé lààbê *n.* tarantula.

ăcícéné *Pl:* **băcícéné.** *n.* star.

ácígókúg *n.* police/military. *Lit:* 'cutters-

trunk'.

ădùŋgû *Pl:* **bădùŋgû.** *n.* toad.

ădwàm *Pl:* **bădwàm.** *n.* frog.

âfifî *n.* deaf mute.

ăfíyò *Pl:* **băfíyo.** *n.* lemon.

àkəkà *Alt.* [kíkà]. *n.* colonial times.

ăjâ cínd *Pl:* **băjâ cínd.** *n.* waterhole.

àlkôl *n.* alcohol (general).

àlú. *n.* hit.

ămpíga *Pl:* **bămpíga.** *n.* dragonfly.

ámpízəmpíz *adv.* backwards. *Etym:* from mpízò 'back (of something)'.

-ân *Sg:* **mwân.** *Pl:* **bwân.** *n.* 1/2. child,

son. *Etym:* *jánà (1).

ănàrâ *Pl:* **bănàrâ.** *n.* bedbug.

áncé *TAM.* Perfective past negative

(NEGP1 or NEGP2).

áncógó *TAM.* Perfective far past negative

(NEGP3).

ăndàgà *Pl:* **băndàgà.** *n.* okra.

ântəkntək *Pl:* **bântəkntək.** *n.* beggar.

-ăɲɔ̂ *Pl:* **băɲɔ̂.** *n.* bee.

-ăɲɔ̂ kwàn *Pl:* **băɲɔ̂ kwàn.** *n.* swarm.

Lit. bee honey *[Note:* no singular]

ăɲɔ̀z *Pl:* **băɲɔ̀z.** *n.* onion, garlic.

-àŋ *gen.* my.

-áŋ *Pl:* **byáŋ.** *n. 8.* fear.

ăŋkɔ̀ jíjɔ̀ *Pl:* **băŋkɔ̀ jíjɔ̀.** *n.* army ant,

soldier ant.

áŋkòŋgò *n.* free-for-all fight. *[Note:*

everyone gets involved; could become

a feud on the village or tribal level]

-àrá *Sg:* **mwàrá.** *Pl:* **bwàrá.** *n. 1/2.*

woman, wife. **mwàrá mə́ ʃwôg** *Pl:*

bwàrá bá mə̀ʃwôg. *n.* principal wife,

first wife. **mwàrá mwân** *Pl:* **bwàrá**

bó bwân. *n.* daughter-in-law. *Lit:*

'woman child'.

-ăsísìm *Pl:* **băsísìm.** *n.* demon, evil spirit.

[Note: no singular?]

âtîmtìm *v.* (be) myopic, (be) shortsighted.

ăwúbɔ̀ *Pl:* **băwúbɔ̀.** *n.* dove.

ăyìnɔ̀ ŋkwènjî *Pl:* **băyìnɔ̀ mə́ŋkwènjî.**

n. ring (finger).

áyô mpám *n.* grandmother.

B - b

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bà   *adv.* a little.

bà   *v.* cut. *Etym:* *bɛ́d 'cut, break.'

bá   *num.* two (2).

bâ   *conj.* and. *[Note:* used with human

noun phrases*]*

bâ   *v.* marry. *Etym:* *bád.

bâ   *Sg:* èbâ. *Pl:* mòbâ. *n. 5/6.* marriage

(not ceremony), sexual relations.

-bààg   *Sg:* èbààg. *Pl:* mòbààg. *n. 5/6.*

shoulder. *[Note:* also used as 'beside'*]*

-báág   *Sg:* èbáág. *Pl:* mòbáág. *n. 5/6.*

knife. *Etym:* *báká (5).

bàb   *n.* hallway, small courtyard. *[Note:*

Also used for a house built on the

outskirts of a big village.*]*

bâb   *v.* (be) bad.

bàdəbɔ̀   *v.* perch.

bàgə́bɔ̀   *n.* liver.

bàgə̀là   *v.* keep, store, watch.

Nominalization: mbègə̀lá (9)

'protection.'

bágə̀rə̀   *v.* join, put together.

bâl   *Pl:* mòmpâl [mə̀mpâl]. *n. 9/6.* bowl.

bálà   *v.* find again.

bàm   *n.* scar.

bâm   *v.* roar.

bámbà   *Pl:* mə̀bámbà *n.* grasshopper.

bámbə́lə́   *v.* shout at. *Etym:* from bâm

'to roar?'

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bán *Pl:* **mòmpán** [màmpán]. *n. 9/6.*

    buttock.

bân *Pl:* **mòbân.** *n.* difficulty.

bànd *Pl:* **màbànd.** *n.* gizzard.

-bàndà *Sg:* **èbàndà.** *Pl:* **mòbàndà.** *n.*

    5/6. hut, camp.

bándà *v.* go well.

bándà *aux.* really.

bándəlɔ *v.* invite, assemble (people).

băŋ *n.* beam, rafter.

bâr *v.* climb, ascend. *[Note:* as in a hill*]*

bárà *v.* greet.

-bàdà né mpúmb [bàra] *Sg:* **èbàdà**

    né mpúmb. *Pl:* **mòbàdà mɔ́ mpùmb.**

    n. 5/6. forehead. *Etym:* pádà (9,11).

bè= *pro.* 8subject

bè *num.* two (when counting in

    isolation).

bé *n.* potter's kiln.

bé *Pl:* **mòmpé** [màmpé]. *n. 9/6.* 1. pit.

    2. latrine, toilet, bathing place.

    3. thicket.

bé *pro.* you (pl).

bèb *v.* belch.

bèd *Pl:* **mòmpèd.** *n. 9/6.* chest.

béd *n.* ladder.

bèdà [bèrà] *adj.* big, important.

bèn *n.* extended paternal family. *Etym:*

    *bánjá 'family.'

bén [bìn] *v.* lift.

bèncìmbè *n.* army.

bènjè *v.* answer, reply.

béŋ mbáál *v.* track. *Lit.* follow traces.

bêr *v.* put, place, set. *Etym:* caus of bar?

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*béek 'put.'

bèz *v.* slaughter, kill (animal for butchering).

bìzə́ *pro.* us.

bìzə́ *pro.* we.

bìzá *pro.* we (inclusive).

bìzá *pro.* us (inclusive).

bìzó *pro.* we (exclusive).

bè *v.* cultivate, sow, plant.

bè *adj.* wrong.

bê *Pl:* **mòbê.** *n.* 9/6. door.

bêb *n.* scaffolding.

bêb *v.* wound (animal).

bèè *num.* second (ordinal number).

bèlà *v.* imitate, resemble. *Nominalization:* **mpèlá** (9) 'imitation.'

bèmb *v.* worry.

bèŋ *v.* follow.

bəjûm *Pl:* **məjûm.** *n.* gall bladder.

bəlê *n.* bread.

bəmb lwál *n.* scorpion.

bən *v.* refuse.

bə́ŋgô *Pl:* **bəbə́ŋgô.** *n.* 7/8. jaw. *Etym:* *bángá.

bəŋkòl bə́ mîz *n.* eyebrow.

bətəbɔ̀ *v.* land, alight.

bì *v.* startle, surprise.

-bî *Pl:* **mòbî.** *n.* excrement. *[Note:* no singular] *Etym:* *bîî.

bî *v.* knead.

bî mə́ mpɔ̂nj *v.* clap (hands).

bìgələ̀ *v.* enter.

bìì *v.* receive.

bìl *v.* 1. seize. 2. trap (animal or fish).

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bììlɔ́   v. catch in the act.

bìlə̀   n. sad news.

bílə̀   n. club, cudgel.

bìnd   Sg: èbìnd. Pl: mòbìnd. n. 5/6.

testicle.

bír   v. leave to one side.

bísìn   Pl: bòbísìn. n. 1/2. pot (for water).

bíyà   n. beer.

bíyà   v. (be) defeated, (be) seized. *Passive*

of bììl 'seize, trap'

bìyɛ̀z   n. disrespect.

bíyɔ́ŋ   pro. you (pl) emphatic.

bízə́bə́   v. (be) patient.

bò   v. be. Alt. bə̀. Etym: *bá.

bóg   n. reception.

bógà   v. separate (intr), become separated.

-bôl   Sg: lèbôl. Pl: mòbôl. n. 5/6. breast,

udder. Etym: *bɛ́ɛ̀dɛ̀ (5) 'teat, breast,

udder.'

bòl   Pl: mə̀bòl. n. cola nut.

bóŋ   n. 7/8. there, place.

bòŋ mə́ʃùŋ   Pl: bèbòŋ mə́ʃùŋ. n. 7/8.

cemetery. Lit. place grave.

bɔ̀g   Pl: bèbɔ̀g. n. 7/8. lip.

bɔ̆l   n. bald.

-bɔ́m   Sg: èbɔ́m. Pl: mòbɔ́m. n. 5/6. plank.

(Begne has long vowel.)

bɔ̀ɔ̀g   Pl: mòmpɔ̀ɔ̀g [mə̀mpɔ̀ɔ̀g]. n. 9/6.

hoe. Etym: *bɔ̀gà.

bɔ́ŋ   Pl: bòbɔ́ŋ. n. 1/2. agama lizard (red-

headed).

brík   n. mud block. Etym: borrowing from

English.

bù   v. (be) abundant, many.

-bù   Sg: èbù n. 5. roof, thatch. (no plural)

-bùb *Sg:* lèbùb. *Pl:* màbùb. *n. 5/6.* spider.

Etym: *bòbè (5).

bùbɔ̀ *v.* roast.

bùbù *n.* many. *[Note:* only postverbal as the object of a preposition]

bùbûl *n.* crown (of head).

bùg *Pl:* màbùg. *n.* pipe-stem.

búg *v.* break (tr). *Nominalization:* mpúgá (9) 'fracture.'

búg bwàz *n.* clod. *Lit.* break dirt.

-bûg *Sg:* èbûg. *Pl:* mòbûg. *n. 5/6.* waist, hip.

bùgɜ̀ *v.* accuse. *[Note:* implied that the one accused is innocent.] *Nominalization:* mbúgè (1) 'accuser,' mpúgágá (1) accusation.

búgɜ̀là *v.* believe, hope.

bûgɜ̀là *n.* praise.

búgó *n.* faith, hope.

bùgùbà *v.* prosper. *[Note:* Numerous descendants]

bùgùbà *Pl:* mòbùgùbà. *n. 9/6.* honor.

bùl *Pl:* bàbùl. *n.* rotten thing.

bùlɔ̀ *v.* mumble.

bùlù *adv.* many, a lot. *Etym:* *bùd 'become plentiful or numerous.'

bùmó *Pl:* bòbùmó. *n. 1/2.* ball, sports.

bùmó *Pl:* mpùmó. *n. 7/10.* fruit.

bùmó fwέn *Pl:* mpùmó fwέn. *n. 7/10.* kernel (of corn, maize) *Lit.* fruit corn.

bùmɔ́ *Pl:* màbùmɔ́. *n. 9/6.* knot.

bùmbɜ̀là *v.* get up.

bùŋ *n. 7/8.* place (specific).

bûr *v.* bubble up, boil (water).

-bùrà *Sg:* èbùrà. *Pl:* mòbùra. *n. 5/6.*

sweet potato.

búrà *v.* mix.

bûtɘbɔ *v.* incubate, set on eggs.

-bùùg *Sg:* **lèbùùg.** *Pl:* **mòbùùg.** *n. 5/6.*

melon.

búúmb *Pl:* **mpúúmb.** *n. 7/10.* branch,

frond.

bùùnd *Pl:* **mpùùnd.** *n. 7/10.* skin (of

fruit), shell.

bùùnd éké *Pl:***bìbùùnd móké.** *n. 7/8.*

eggshell.

bùùnd éwùnd *Pl:* **mpùùnd éwùnd.** *n.*

7/10. shell (of groundnut). *Lit:* 'shell

peanut.'

bùùnd kûl *Pl:* **bèbùùnd bókûl.** *n. 7/8.*

shell (of turtle). *Lit:* 'shell turtle.'

bûzɘlɔ *v.* cover.

-bwà *Sg:* **èbwà.** *Pl:* **mòbwà.** *n. 5/6.* sole.

èbwà nɔ́ kù. sole of foot

bwàànd *v.* create, found.

bwáánd *v.* wait. *Nominalization:* **mpwɔ̌nd**

(9) 'delay,' **mpwɔ́nd** 'patience'

(Begne).

bwâd [bwâr] *v.* wear clothes. *Causative*

bwêd 'to clothe' (Begne)

bwâg *v.* be big. *Nominalization:* **mpwààg**

(9) 'fatness' (Begne).

bwàgbwàg *adj.* big. *Etym:* reduplicated

form of the verb 'to be big'.

bwàgɘbɘ̀ *v.* lie down. *[Note:* related to

mpwág (9) 'bed, couchette?'*]*

bwàgɘlà *v.* explain.

bwàl *v.* dance. *Nominalization:* **mbwɔl**

(1) 'dancer.'

bwàm *v.* hoe.

bwámà *v.* meet. *Nominalization:*

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mpwàmá (9) 'meeting.'

bwàmb *n.* senile person.

bwàmb *Pl:* **bòbwàmb**. *n. 1/2.* adult.

bwàmbà *v.* follow (in time).

>   *Nominalization:* **mpwàmbá** (9)
>
>   'descendant.'

bwànd *v.* peel.

bwàŋ *Pl:* **mèbwàŋ**. *n. 3/4.* knuckle,

>   joint. *[Note:* same word used for
>
>   'wrist.']

bwàŋ lékù *n.* ankle. *Lit:* 'joint of foot'.

bwárá *Pl:* **bèbwárá**. *n. 7/8.* blessing.

bwàz *Pl:* **bèbwàz**. *n. 7/8.* dirt, soil.

bwâz *v.* be wet.

bwè *adv.* for a long time.

bwèg *v.* bring up (a child).

bwèlà *v.* take revenge. *Nominalization:*

mpwélá (9) 'debt' (Begne)?

bwéyá *adv.* everywhere.

bwə̀ *pro.* them.

bwîg *v.* keep for.

bwîg *n.* ditch.

bwò *Pl:* **mobwò**. *n. 5/6.* footprint

>   (human).

bwò *pro.* 10Subject

bwó *pro.* they.

bwó *TAM.* Distant future (F2).

bwóŋ *n. 5.* knee.

bwɔ̌ *n.* brain.

-bwɔ́m *Sg:* **èbwɔ́m** *n. 5/6.* log. (*Alt.* form

>   of **èbɔ́m** 'plank'?)

bwɔ̂bə̀lɔ̀ *v.* feel (active).

bwɔ̀g *Pl:* **mòmpwɔ̀g** [mə̀mpwɔ̀g]. *n. 9/6.*

>   mortar.

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bwɔg *v.* harvest, collect (honey from hive). *Etym:* *pákù (9) 'honey.'

bwɔg *Pl:* məbwɔg. *n.* heap.

bwɔg ébyâ *n.* womb.

bwɔm *v.* ring (bell).

bwɔmb *v.* beat (drum).

bwɔmb bəsəg *Pl:* məbwɔmb bəsəg. *n.* termite hill.

bwɔmbəlɔ *v.* bark (as dog).

Nominalization: related to **mpwɔmilɔ** (9) 'bark of dog.'

bwúnə *v.* believe. *Etym:* borrowed from Bulu.

byâ *v.* bear (child), father (child). *Etym:* *bíad.

byé *pro.* 8emphatic.

byèg *v.* injure, incite.

byêl *v.* (be) born.

byèz *v.* despise.

byɛnd *Pl:* məbyɛnd. *n.* hawk.

byə *pro.* 8object

byɔŋ *n.* bone marrow.

byíŋgəlè *adv.* all over.

byód *n.* fullness, packed (populous)

byɔl *Pl:* mɔl. *n.* canoe.

C - c

cà *adv.* now.

càag *v.* shape, carve. *[Note:* Also used to mean 'make (something)', 'compose (song),' 'light (flame, fire),' 'start

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(car).']

càl *v.* fell, cut down (tree). *Etym:* *tàd

'cut open.'

càz ndî *v.* wink (eye).

cè *v.* cut. *Etym:* *tèet 'cut.'

cè júŋ *v.* 1. be unconscious. 2. faint.

-cè *Sg:* ècè. *n.* 5. 1. illness, disease. 2. pain. *Alt.* Class 7 for some speakers. tyè, cìè.

cè élwɔ *n.* earache.

cè léjɔ *n.* toothache.

cè lû *n.* headache.

cè mwɔ *n.* stomachache, upset stomach.

cě *v.* give pain, hurt.

cênd *Alt.* [cínd] *v.* 1. exchange (of goods). 2. alter, change. 3. replace. *[Note:* borrowed from English]

cénd [cínd] *n.* other.side.of.river.

cèl *n.* love. *Etym:* nominalization of cèlà 'love.'

cèl mpɔ́ŋ *v.* make (facial) incisions, tattoo.

cèlà *v.* love. *Nominalization:* cèl (7) 'love.'

cì *v.* abstain. *Etym:* *gìd 'abstain from.'

cì *Pl:* bòcì [bɔ̀cì]. *n.* 7/8. taboo thing. *Etym:* *gìdɔ 'religious avoidance.'

-cì *Pl:* mòcì [mɔ̀cì]. *n.* 6. blood. *Etym:* *gìdá 'blood.'

cì *Pl:* bòcì [bɔ̀cì]. *n.* 1/2. in-law. *[Note:* used for father-in-law, mother-in-law, sister-in-law and brother-in-law]

cícî *adj.* (be) silent.

cíè *n.* feelings.

cìg *n.* 7. life.

cìg *v.* cut. *[Note:* could be used in the sense of 'cut across, take a shortcut']

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cìgà   *n.* saw. *Etym:* Nominalization of cìg

'cut.'

cígá   *n. 7.* question. *Etym:* Nominalization

of cígò 'decide, judge.'

cìgə̀   *v.* live, (be) alive.

cígələ̀ *v.* cut (tr), slice. *Etym:* Derived from

cìg 'cut, cut across.'

cígó   *Pl:* mècígó. *n. 3/4.* division.

cígò   *v.* decide, judge. *Etym:* Derived from

cìg 'cut, cut across?'

cìl éké   *v.* lay (eggs).

cîl   *Pl:* mə̀cîl. *n.* piece.

cìlə̀ ʃùʃùl *n.* circumcision (male).

cîləbə̀   *v.* run. *Etym:* Derived from cíló 'be

fast.'

cíló   *adv.* quickly.

cíló   *v.* be fast.

cíndə̀ *n.* high.

cíɲə̀ *n.* hare.

cìŋgəlà   *v.* go round.

cógəzó   *Pl:* mə̀cógəzó. *n.* smell of urine.

còŋ   *n.* unwanted, unexpected thing.

cóŋ   *Pl:* mòcóŋ [mə̀cóŋ]. *n. 9/6.* neck.

Etym: *kíngɔ́ (9) 'neck.'

-cɔ̂nj   *Sg:* ècɔ̂nj. *Pl:* mòcɔ̂nj [mə̀cɔ̂nj]. *n.*

5/6. broom.

cɔ́ŋ   *v.* agree.

cɔ́ŋ   *Pl:* mə̀cɔ́ŋ. *n.* command.

cɔ̀ɔl   *Pl:* bòcɔ̀ɔl [bə̀cɔ̀ɔl]. *n. 1/2.* partridge.

cúŋ   *Pl:* mòcúŋ [mə̀cúŋ]. *n. 9/6.* voice.

D - d

dà *v.* draw water.

dá *Pl.* **bòdá.** *n.* 1/2. father, ancestor. *[Note:* great-grandparents and further back are **dá**, but this may also be used as an honorific for grandfather or other.*]*

dá mpám *Pl:* **bòdá bómpám.** *n.* 1/2. grandfather.

dá lé kwàrà *n.* embers. *Lit:* 'father in flame?'.

dààg *Pl:* **mààg.** *n.* 5/6. crab.

dàl *v.* hurt. *Nominalization:* **ndòl** 'pain'.

dàŋ *n.* herd. **dàŋ bétɔ̀ɔb** herd of goats, herd of goats. *Etym:* *tàngá 'cattle pen, cattle post' (5).

dáŋ *n.* reeds. *[Note:* includes all plants that grow in or under water (as long as they are rooted under the water). Contrasts with floating water plants **èʃùŋ.***]*

dâz *n.* gift. *Etym:* borrowed from Ewondo.

dêg *v.* see.

dèl *v.* bury. *Nominalization:* **ndèlá** (9) 'burial.'

dèná *conj.* like, as.

déndé [díndé] *n.* courtyard.

dèz *Alt.* [dìz] *v.* 1. capsize. 2. drown or almost drown.

dèɲà *Pl:* **bàdèɲà.** *n.* bucket, pail.

dì *v.* remain, stay. *Etym:* *jìkád 'dwell,

sit, stay.'

dì mpúdá   *v.* cohabit (unmarried man and woman). *Lit.* stay together

dì sí   *v.* sit. *Lit.* stay ground

dìb   *v.* open (door).

dìbɔ́lɛ̂   *v.* stop up. *Etym:* *dìb 'stop up.'

-díbɔ́   *Pl:* **mòdíbɔ́**. *n.* 6. water. *Etym:* *dìbà (5).

dìg   *n.* 7/8. bush country, rural area.

dìgɔ̀bè   *v.* perspire, sweat.

dìl   *v.* dwell, inhabit, make stay. *Causative* of dì 'stay.' *Nominalization:* **ndìl** (1) 'dweller.'

dílɔ̂   *n.* fullness.

dîm   *v.* disappear.

dîmb   *v.* be lost. *Etym:* *dímb.

dímbɔ̀lɔ̂   *v.* lose (tr).

dìnɔ̀   *v.* stamp (with feet).

dínɔ̀   *Pl:* **mínɔ̀**. *Alt.* [jínɔ̀]. *n.* 5/6. name. *Etym:* *jínà (5).

dìà   *Alt.* [dìyà, dyà]. *n.* 7/8. seat, chair, place, stool. *Etym:* nominalization of dì 'stay.'

dîz   *Pl:* **mîz**. *n.* 5/6. eye.

dò   *v.* eat. *Etym:* *dé 'eat.'

dòb   *Pl:* **bèdòb**. *n.* 7/8. food.

-dɔ̀   *Pl:* **mòdɔ̀**. *n.* 6. bait. *Etym:* from **dò** 'eat.'

dɔ̀g   *Pl:* **mɔ̀g**. *n.* 5/6. nest.

dɔ́gbó   *Pl:* **mɔ́gbó**. *n.*5/6. headpad.

dɔ̀mb   *Pl:* **mɔ̀mb**. *n.* 5/6. war.

dɔ̂z   *Pl:* **mɔ̂z**. *n.* 5/6. chin, jaw. *Etym:* *dèdù (7,9,11).

dù   *Pl:* **mòdù**. *n.* 5/6. leg, thigh. *Etym:*

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*gòdò 'leg' (15/6).

dû   *Pl:* **mû**. *n. 5/6.* nose. *Etym:* *jódò (5)

'nose.'

dù kwàrà   *Pl:* **mù mó kwàrà**. *n. 5/6.*

fireplace. *Lit.* nose flame.

dùb   *v.* fish with hook and line. *Etym:*

*dɔ́b.

dùb   *v.* paint.

dùg   *Pl:* **mùg**. *n. 5/6.* hornbill.

dùg   *n. 7/8.* forest.

dúgɔ̀   *v.* paddle. *Etym:* *dúg.

dùlə̀   *v.* pull. *Etym:* *dùt 'pull, drag.'

dùlò   *v.* smoke (tobacco).

dùlɔ̀   *v.* hollow out (log).

dùmà   *v.* fall forward (intr). *[Note:* must

be touching ground initially and then

fall down/fall forward]

dùmà cɔ́ŋ   *v.* persuade.

dúmb   *n.* dance. *[Note:* dance involving

singing and loud cries of joy]

dùmɔ̀   *v.* 1. pound. 2. thresh, beat

(grain).

-dùmɔ̀   *Sg:* **èdùmɔ̀**. *Pl:* **bèdùmɔ̀**. *n. 7/8.* tip

(of something), edge.

dúmɔ́   *Pl:* **múmɔ́**. *n. 5/6.* silk-cotton

tree, kapok tree.

dǔnj   *Pl:* **mǔnj**. *n. 5/6.* fist. *[Note:* may

also refer to a minority, or a handful]

dùŋ   *Pl:* **bèdùŋ**. *n. 7/8.* noise, sound.

dúŋɔ̀   *Pl:* **múŋɔ̀**. *n. 5/6.* pelican.

dúúg   *Pl:* **múúg**. *n. 5/6.* beak, bill. *Etym:*

*dongo (3).

dúúlà   *v.* make trips back and forth.

dwábə̀rà   *Pl:* **bòdwábə̀rà**. *n. 1/2.* nurse.

dwâg   *v.* leave, stop.

dwàl   *Pl:* **mwàl**. *n.5/6.* tumor, abscess,

boil. *Etym:* *tùut 'swell (v).'

dwál   *n.* nape of neck.

dwâŋg   *Pl:* **bàdwâŋg.** *n.* 1/2. giraffe.

Etym: *tòìgà 'giraffe' (9).

dwὲ   *pro.* 5emphatic.

dwὸb   *n.* sun.

dwó   *pro.* 5emphatic.

dwôb   *Pl:* **mób.** *n.* 5/6. day.   **dwób dêz**

'always.' *Lit:* 'day each/all'

E - e

-é   *gen.* his/her.

é=   *TAM.* Recent past (P1).

é=   *TAM.* Future (FUT).

=è   *mkr.* Relative clause (RELCL).

èbù   *num.* nine (9). *Etym:* *bùá 'nine.'

èkálɔ kwɔ̀ŋ   *n.* spinal column.

èkíbà   thank you. *Alt.* àkíbà.

èmínjílá   *n.* bladder.

-én   [ín] *gen.* your (pl).

éŋkùgù   *adv.* together.

ètûg cínd   *n.* lake.

-éz   *Alt.* [íz] *gen.* 'our' (exclusive)

-ézà   *Alt.* [ízà] *gen.* 'our' (inclusive)

ɛ

-ɛ̀ mí ɲûl *Pl:* **myɛ̀ mé ɲûl** [myɛ̀ mí ɲûl]. *n. 4.* hair (of body). *[Note:* no singular]

-ɛ̀ mɘ́tíd *Pl:* **myɛ̀ mé tíd** [myɛ̀ mɘ́ tíd]. *n. 4.* fur. *Lit.* hair of animal. *[Note:* no singular]

-ɛ̂n *Sg:* **mwɛ̂n.** *n. 1.* brother. *[Note:* vocative form?]

-ɛ̂z *quant.* each, all.

ə

ə́ ɘ́ yes.

F - f

fà *Pl:* **bɘ̀fà.** *n.* machete, cutlass.

fǎ *mkr.* Hortative (HORT), should.

fâ bɘ́lùl *Pl:* **bòfâ bɘ́lùl.** *n. 1/2.* louse.

fààg *v.* admire.

-fàb *Sg:* **lèfàb.** *Pl:* **mòfàb.** *n. 5/6.* pigeon. *Etym:* *pómpó (7,9).

fábɘ̀lɔ̀ *v.* greet (with the hand).

fág *n. 9.* side. *Etym:* related to **fágɘ́rá**

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between.

fâg   *v.* be in love.

fágɔ́rá   *Pl:* **mpágɔ́rá**   . *conj.* between.

> *[Note:* some dialects use only the old
>
> singular while other dialects use only
>
> the old plural - no longer strong
>
> distinction between 'between 2
>
> people' and 'between many people.']*
>
> *Etym:* derived from **fág** 'side.'

fámɔ̀   *adj.* true, real, good.

fàmb   *Pl:* **bèfàmb.** *n. 7/8.* farm, fields.

fànd   *n.* moonlight.

fárɔ̀bɔ̀   *v.* (be) closed in. *[Note:* Possible to

> be undone - set free, unlocked,
>
> opened, etc*]*

fàz   *v.* revive.

fâz   *v.* germinate, sprout.

fé   *n.* muscle.

fég   *n. 9.* pocket.

fèndà   *v.* be, put in rivalry with.

fèndá   *n. 3.* rivalry.

fèr   *v.* ferment (alcohol).

fèr   *v.* close, shut.

fɛ́m   *n. 9.* lime, whitewash, paint.

fɛ̀ndé   *Pl:* **bòfɛ̀ndè.** *n. 1/2.* braider. *Etym:*

> nominalization of **fɔ̀nd** 'braid.'

fɛ́ndɔ̀   *v.* paint.

fɛ̂z   *v.* pick (tr), choose (tr).

fɔ̀fâ   *Pl:* **bɔ̀fɔ̀fâ.** *n.* fish-scale.

fɔ̀fɛ̀m   *Pl:* **bɔ̀fɔ̀fɛ̀m.** *n.* wall.

fɔ̀nd *v.* plait, braid (hair). *Nominalization:*

> **fɛ̀ndé** (1) 'braider,' **fònd** (9) 'braid.'
>
> *Etym:* *pènd.

-fì   *Pl:* **bèfì.** *n. 8.* ashes.

fímɔ́   *Pl:* **bɔ̀fímɔ́.** *n.* abscess.

fínà   *v.* hiss.

fînj   *Pl:* bòfînj. *n.* 1/2. cockroach. *Etym:*

*pénjù (9).

fíyò   *n.* 1. avocado.

fòg   *Pl:* mòfòg. *n.* 9/6. wisdom.

fóg   *num.* one (when counting in

isolation).

fònd   *Pl:* mòfònd. *n.* 9/6. braid. *Etym:*

nominalization of fənd 'braid'.

fòz   *n.* clitoris.

fɔb   *Pl:* màfɔb. *n.* fish bone. *Etym:* *kúpà

(5)?.

fɔbəlɔ   *v.* caress.

fɔ́ŋ   *n.* wound, sore. *Etym:* *pótá (7,9).

fɔ́ɔ́g   *Pl:* mòfɔ́ɔ́g. *n.* 9/6. track (animal).

fɔ̀rəgò   *Pl:* màfɔ̀rəgò. *n.* hoof.

fû   *Pl:* bòfû. *n.* 1/2. mouse. *Etym:* *pókò

(1,5,9).

fúbán   *adj.* (be) clean.

fùbɔ́   *n.* 7. 1. wind. 2. air (breathed).

Etym: *pùùpà (9).

fùbəlɔ́   *v.* blow.

fùbəlɔ́ kwòm   *v.* work the bellows.

fúg   *v.* be numerous.

fûgəlɔ́   *v.* ruminate, chew cud.

fùlàsí   *n.* French.

fùlɔ́   *v.* knead.

fúlú   *n.* 9. habits.

fùm   *n.* 3. night. *Etym:* *pempa.

fúm   *n.* calf of leg.

fùmb   *v.* unroot.

fûmb   *v.* harvest, dig up (yams).

fùmbà   *n.* dead tree.

fùmbí   *Pl:* bèfùmbí. *n.* 7/8. orange.

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fùmbí kàbàlá *n.* grapefruit. *Lit.* orange horse.

fùnd *Pl:* **bòfùnd.** *n. 7/8.* calabash.

fŭnd díbɔ́ *Pl:* **bèfŭnd mɔ́díbɔ́.** *n. 7/8.* river bank.

fúndɔ̀ *v.* run away, flee. *[Note:* in context may mean 'fear,' since fear is usually implicit in situations that cause one to flee*]*

fùdɔ̀ [fùrɔ̀] *v.* die.

fùwúlù *Pl:* **mɔ̀fùwúlù.** *n.* hat.

fwálá *v.* waste time.

fwárà *n.* photo.

fwêg *v.* move (intr).

fwɛ́n *Pl:* **bèfwɛ́n.** *n. 7/8.* maize, corn.

fyàb *v.* winnow. *Etym:* *pép.

fyàb *Pl:* **bèfyàb.** *n. 7/8.* shoulder blade. *[Note:* word originally collected was then said (by diff LC) to be 'chicken wing'*]*

fyábɔ̀là *Pl:* **bèfyábɔ̀là.** *n. 7/8.* fan.

fyàl *n.* test, exam.

fyâl *v.* test, examine.

fyâl *v.* bleed.

fyálà *v.* come (or go) out, exit.

fyáŋ *Pl:* **bèfyáŋ.** *n.* soup, broth. (*9/6* in Begne).

fyê *v.* suck. *Etym:* *píp.

fyêz *v.* mistrust, neglect.

G - g

=g *mkr.* Subyunctive (SUBJ).

=gá *mkr.* Subyunctive (pl).

gó *TAM.* PROG.

gólòd *n.* gold.

gyɔ̀ndɔ̂ *Pl:* bɜ̀gyɔ̀ndɔ̂. *n.* catfish.

I - i

ìcà *n.* salt. *[Note:* only pl?*]* *Etym:* *jango 'bile, salt.'

ìcɔ́ŋ *Pl:* ìcɔ́ŋ. *n.* bile, gall. *[Note:* only pl?*]* *Etym:* *jango 'bile, salt.'

J - j

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j= *pro.* 7Subject.

jà *v.* (be) long, far

jă *adv.* far

já *v.* sleep. *Etym:* *dáad.

jâ sí *v.* lie down.

já kám *n.* palate.

jàànd *v.* toddle, totter. *[Note:* walking as done by toddlers and the convalescent*]*

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jáánjé *n.* thirst.

jàb *v.* sharpen. *Etym:* *dupek. **jàb ébáág.** sharpen (knife). **jàb ékwàŋ.** sharpen, bring to point (arrow's head).

jáb *v.* call (someone). *Etym:* *támb 'call.'

jág *v.* (be) unaware of.

jâg *v.* castrate.

jágəbə *v.* lean against (intr).

jágəlà *v.* pray, ask.

jágələ *v.* receive.

jàkâz *Pl:* **bèjàkâz.** *n. 7/8.* donkey, mule. *Etym.* borrowed from English.

jàkəlɔ́ *Pl:* **mòjàkəlɔ́.** *n. 9/6.* thorn. (5/6 in Begne)

jâl *v.* lick. *Etym:* *dèet.

jàlà *v.* befit, suit.

jàlànà *v.* must. *Etym:* derived from **jàlà** 'befit, suit'?

-jàm *Sg:* **èjàm.** *Pl:* **mòjàm.** *n. 5/6.* witchcraft.

jâmb *v.* prepare (food to cook). *Etym:* *dámb.

jámbələ́ *v.* conceive.

jánà *v.* pay (for goods, services, etc.).

jând *v.* step on.

jàndò *v.* hello, welcome.

jàndəlà *n.* floor.

jàndəlà *v.* slip. *Alt.* **sàndəlà.** *Etym:* *cèd 'slip.'

-jáŋ *Pl:* **bèjáŋ** [bìjáŋ]. *n. 7/8.* lie (falsehood). *Etym:* *dɔ́ng 'suggest.'

jâŋ *v.* fry.

jè *pro.* what?

jé   *n.* place, stead.

jê   *v.* arrive.

jê lə́nùn   *Pl:* **mə̀jê mə́nùn.** *n.* flock (of
birds).

jènj   *v.* spill (moving to and from).

jênj   *v.* spread (disease, fire). *Etym:*
*tànd 'spread.'

jɛ́mb   *n.* time.

jɛ́nà   *v.* (be) generous.

jɛ̀nd   *v.* slither (snake).

jə̀jé   *prep.* up to. *Etym:* redup. form of **jê**
'arrive'.

jì   *v.* be (att). *Etym:* *dè 'be.'

jí   *v.* ask (for information). *Etym:* *jípòd
'ask questions.'

jí   *v.* need, want.

jíbò   *n. 9.* theft. *Etym:* nominalization of

jíbɔ̀ 'steal.'

jíbɔ̀   *Alt.* [jíbə̀]. *v.* steal. *Nominalization:*
jíbò (9) 'theft,' jíbə̀lè (1) 'thief.'
Etym: *jíb.

jíbə̀lè   *Pl:* **bòjíbə̀lè** *n. 1/2.* thief. *Etym:*
nominalization of **jíbɔ̀** 'steal.'

jîg   *v.* learn.

-jígé   *Sg:* **lèjígé.** *Pl:* **mòjígé.** *n. 5/6.* lesson,
learning.

jígə̀lè   *v.* teach. *Etym:* Derived from **jîg**
'learn.'

jîgə̀lɔ̀ mbwɔ̂   *v.* wave (hand as a
greeting).

jìì   *v.* cry, weep, wail. *Etym:* *dèd.

jìjâg   *Pl:* **bèjìjâg** [bìjìjâk]. *n. 7/8.* gecko.

jîl   *v.* fly.

jîl cígɔ̀   *Pl:* **bòjîl cígɔ̀** [bə̀jîl cígɔ̀]. *n.* owl.

jínà   *v.* hesitate.

-jìnɔ́ *Sg:* **èjìnɔ́.** *Pl:* **mòjìnɔ́.** *n. 5/6.* pus.

(Begne has *alt.* **èyínə̀**)

jìtíl kù *n.* cripple.

jízə̀bə̀ *v.* put up with.

jò *v.* climb. *[Note:* as in a ladder, a tree,

gripping with hands*]*

jò *Pl:* **mòjò.** *n. 9/6.* tooth.

jòb *Pl:* **mòjòb.** *n. 9/6.* shea-butter tree.

-jòb *Pl:* **mòjòb.** *n. 6.* shea-nuts.

jòg *n.* plan.

jòl *n. 9.* beard. *Etym:* *dèdù (7,9,11).

jòm *v.* wake up (intr). *Etym:* *dàmok.

jôm *Pl:* **bèjôm** [bìjôm]. *n. 7/8.* tongue.

Etym: *démì (11).

jôɲè *adv.* in spite of.

jòŋ *n.* thing. *[Note:* less commonly used

than **sâ.***]*

jɔ̀ *Pl:* **mə̀jɔ.** *n.* fang (of snake). *Etym:*

from **jò** 'teeth' or mis-spelled?.

jɔ̂mbə̀lɔ̀ lə́mbwɔ̀ *v.* (be) pregnant. *Lit:*

shaped in bowstring

jɔ̀ ŋkûl *v.* allow, permit.

jû *n.* nausea.

jû *v.* vomit. *Etym:* *dók.

jû *v.* kill, murder.

jû lə̀bâ *v.* divorce. *Lit:* 'kill marriage'.

jùg *v.* suffer. *Etym:* *còng 'suffer.'

júkə̀bɔ́ *n.* shadow. *Etym:* *dúdé (3).

jûl *Pl:* **mûl.** *n. 5/6.* baby sling.

jùlə̀ *v.* bake (in ashes).

jùlɔ̀ *v.* weed.

júlɔ́ *Pl:* **múlɔ́.** *n. 5/6.* den, lair.

-jûm *Pl:* **mòjûm** [mə̀jûm]. *n. 6.* semen.

[Note: no singular*]*

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júmbúlú   *Pl:* **mèjúmbúlú** [mìjúmbúlú].

    n. 3/4. request.

júnà   *v.* fight.

júná   *Pl:* **bèjúná**. *n. 7/8.* fight.

jùndɔ́   *n.* fog.

júŋ   *Pl:* **bèjúŋ**. *n. 7/8.* party.

jûŋ   *v.* honor.

júŋ ŋkûl   *Pl:* **bòjúŋ ŋkûl** [bə̀júŋ ŋkûl]. *n.*

    1/2. chameleon.

júŋə̀   *adj.* (be) hot (of person). *Etym:*

    *tòkot 'be hot, sweat.'

jùzà   *v.* 1. wash. 2. bathe. *Etym:* *còk

    'wash.'

jùzà bèʃúwá   *v.* wash dishes.

jùzà mèkánd   *v.* wash clothes.

júzê mán   *adv.* day after tomorrow.

jwàb   *Pl:* **bòjwàb** [bə̀jwàb]. *n.* civet cat.

jwábə̀rà   *v.* tangle.

jwâbɔ̀   *v.* respect, fear. *[Note:* stronger

    than **kándə̀bə̀***]*

jwàg   *v.* poison (a person).

jwâgə̀lɔ   *v.* polish.

jwàlà   *Pl:* **bèjwàla** [bìjwàla]. *n.* banana.

jwâm   *v.* beg (for money).

jwàmà   *n.* quarrel.

jwámb   *n.* fistfight. *[Note:* only involves 2

    people, chest-to-chest*]*

jwâmb   *v.* ask, request something

jwèm   *v.* become old (age).

jwɛ́   *pro.* 7emphatic.

jwə̀   *Pl:* **bèjwə̀** [bə̀jwə̀]. *n. 7/8.*

    mushroom. *Etym:* *jɔ̀gà (14) 'fungus

    (edible).'

jwə̀   *pro.* 7object

jwî *v.* rule over, dominate.

Nominalization: **jwî** (7) 'boss,

employer,' **njwî** (3) 'chief, ruler.'

jwî *n. 7/8.* boss. *Etym:* nominalization of

jwî 'rule over.'

jwîîg *n.* reputable person. *[Note:* someone

who is well-known for doing

good/being good, well-known good

reputation]

jwíílà *v.* kill.

jwìl *v.* be in charge.

jwìmbá *v.* have fun.

jwímbà *v.* (be) happy, joyful.

Nominalization: **mèjwímbà** (4) 'joy.'

-jwímbà *Pl:* **mèjwímbà.** *n. 4.* joy. *[Note:*

no singular] *Etym:* nominalizatino of

jwímbà 'be happy, joyful.'

jwò *v.* laugh. *Etym:* *jɔd 'laugh.'

jwò *n.* sleep. *Etym:* *dɔ.

jwó *Pl:* **bèjwó** [bìjwó]. *n. 7/8.* shoot.

jwób *n.* 1.sky. 2. heavens. 3. above.

jwòg *n. 9.* poison. *Etym:* *cóngó (14)

'poison.'

jwôg *v.* hear, feel, listen, understand. *Alt.*

jwág.

jwógàbà *v.* apply (ointment), besmear.

jwógàrà *v.* feel (passive of 'hear').

jwòŋ *Pl:* **mòjwòŋ.** *n. 9/6.* bed. *Alt.*

njwòŋ.

K - k

---

kà   *TAM.* Consecutive (CONS).

ká bə̀   *conj.* Perhaps, maybe. *Lit.*
consective be.

ká   *Pl:* bèká. *n. 7/8.* 1. grass, leaf. 2.
vegetable. *Etym:* *gango 'grass.'

ká fwɛ́n   *Pl:* bə̀ká fwɛ́n. *n.* corn husk. *Lit:*
'leaf corn'.

ká   *n.* place (nonspecific).

-kâ   *Pl:* bèkâ. *n. 8.* rubbish, garbage.

kààn   *Pl:* mèkààn. *n. 3/4.* story (tale).
Etym: *gànɔ̀ (9,11)

kàb   *v.* succeed.

kàb   *v.* share.

kàb   *adj.* (be) innocent.

kâb   *v.* jump. *Etym:* *càmb 'leap over.'

kàbà   *v.* mount (horse, camel).

kàbàlá   *Pl:* bèkàbàlá. *n. 7/8.* horse.
mwâ kàbàlá *Pl:* bwâ kàbàlá. *n. 1/2.*
colt. *Lit:* 'small horse'. myɔ́l kàbàlá.
Pl: mə̀myɔ́l mə́kàbàlá. *n. 3/4.* mare
(horse). *Lit:* 'female horse'. njúm
kàbàlá *Pl:* mènjúm mə́kàbàlá. *n.*
3/4. stallion. *Lit:* 'male horse'.

kàbə̀là   *v.* share. *Etym:* Derived from kàb
'share.'

kábə̀rà   *v.* straddle.

kàg   *n.* nasty taste in your mouth when
you wake up in the morning.

kág   *Pl:* bèkág. *n. 7/8.* child.

kâg   *v.* fasten, bind (load), pack.

kàgɔ̀lɔ̀ *v.* taste.

kágɔ̀lɔ̀ *v.* joke.

kâgɔ̀lɔ̀ *v.* embrace, hug.

kàgɔ̀rà *v.* coagulate, clot. *Etym:* *kác 'coagulate.'

kàl *Pl:* bòkòlò. *n.* 1/2. loader. *Etym:* nominalization of kálò 'load.'

-kál *Sg:* èkál. *Pl:* mòkál. *n.* 5/6. spot, speckle.

kâl *v.* hatch.

kàlà *Pl:* bèkàlà. *n.* 7/8. mat.

kálà *Pl:* bèkálà *n.* 7/8. goat.

kálàr *Pl:* bèkálàr. *n.* 7/8. book.

kálò *v.* load. *Nominalizations:* kàl (1) 'loader,' bòkòlò (2) 'loaders.'

kǎlɔ́ *Pl:* mèkǎlɔ́. *n.* 3/4. root.

kǎlɔ́ dû *n.* bridge (of nose).

kâm *Pl:* bòkâm. *n.* 1/2. monkey. *Etym:* *kémà.

kâm *v.* praise (someone).

kàmbɔ̀gɔ̀ *n.* traditional funeral dance.

kàmbɔ̀lɔ̀ *v.* forbid, prevent, protect.

-kán *Sg:* lèkán. *Pl:* mòkán. *n.* 5/6. antelope.

kánd *Pl:* bèkánd. *n.* 7/8. cloth. *Etym:* *kándà (7) 'cloth.'

kánd *Pl:* mèkánd. *n.* 3/4. clothes.

kándɔ̀bɔ̀ *v.* respect, fear.

kândɔ̀bɔ́ *v.* avoid.

kàndê *n.* strap.

kàŋ *v.* fight en masse. *Nominalization:* kéŋè (1) 'fighter.'

kâŋ *Pl:* mèkâŋ. *n.* 3/4. guinea fowl.

kâŋ *v.* grow (of plants).

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kàr *Pl:* **bə̀kàr.** *n.* basket.

kàr *v.* serve (food).

káyàŋ *Pl:* **káyàŋ.** *n.* pineapple.

kâz *v.* (be) shrivelled, (be) wrinkled, get

thin.

ké *mkr.* Negative (NEG).

-ké *Sg:* **èké.** *Pl:* **mòké.** *n.* egg. *Etym:* *gé

'egg.'

-ké mə̀ʃû. *Pl..* **mə̀ké mə̀ʃû.** *n.* 6. pimple.

[Note: no singular*]*

kèg *v.* organize, plan.

kèkènà *Pl:* **bèkèkènà.** *n.* 7/8. story,

proverb.

kèn [kìn] *v.* go in a specific direction.

[Note: implies some duration to the

'going'*]*

kèné *v.* tell story. *Etym:* related to

kèkènà 'story, proverb.' *gàn 'tell

story.'

kènd *v.* assign, send.

kéŋ *Pl:* **bèkéŋ** [bə̀kéŋ]. *n.* 7/8. baby.

kèŋ mpúŋɔ̀ *v.* cut (hair), shave. *Etym:*

*kɛ́k 'cut.'

kɛ̀ɛ̀là *v.* add. *Etym:* related to the

conjunction **kɛ̀l** 'plus.'

kèg *v.* promise.

kɛ̀l *conj.* plus.

kêm *v.* scream, cry out. *Etym:* *kɛ́m.

kèmb *v.* defend.

kéŋè *Pl:* **bòkéŋè.** *n.* 1/2. fighters. *[Note:*

most often used in the plural*]* *Etym:*

nominalization of **kàŋ** 'fight en

masse.'

kə̀g *v.* try, taste. *Etym:* *gèd 'try.'

kə́ká *Pl:* **bòkə́ká.** *n.* 1/2. spark. *Etym:*

*cácɛ̀ 'spark.'

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kə́kág *n.* 7/8. small child. *Lit:* 'redup. child'.

kə̂mb *v.* squeak.

kísìn *n.* 1/2. kitchen.

kìlkámbá *n.* big bamboo bed.

klìʃé *n.* x-ray.

kò *v.* go. *Etym:* *gì 'go.'

kò nə̀ *v.* bring, carry. *Etym:* go with.

-kòg *Sg:* èkòg. *Pl:* mòkòg. *n.* cheek. *Etym:* *càjá 'cheek.'

-kóg *Sg:* lèkóg. *Pl:* mòkóg. *n.* 5/6. mountain.

kóg *n.* here (generic.).

kól *n.* Bikele language.

kól *v.* hang up.

kól *n.* 5. voice.

kól *Pl:* bòkól. *n.* 1/2. sister. *[Note:*

opposite sex of ego (sister of a brother)*]*

kól á twámbá *n.* elder sister.

kól á ntòmb *n.* younger sister.

kôl *n.* cord.

kómb *n.* side, place. *Etym:* *kɔmbɛ.

-kònòkò *Sg:* èkònòkò. *Pl:* bèkɔ̀nɔ̀kɔ̀. *n.* 5/8. truth.

kòŋ *Pl:* bèkòŋ. *n.* 7/8. razor.

kòŋ *Pl:* mòkòŋ. *n.* 9/6. cooking pot (earthenware). *Etym:* *jòngó (9) 'cooking pot.'

kòr *n.* 3. decision. *Etym:* from 'court' (as in judicial) borrowed from English.

kɔ̂g *Pl:* məkɔ̂g. *n.* baboon.

-kɔ̂g *Sg:* èkɔ̂g. *Pl:* mòkɔ̂g. *n.* 5/6. cattle pen. *Etym:* from **kâg** meaning 'to fasten'.

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kɔ̀gə̀lɔ́ kwɔ̀ŋ *n.* spine, backbone.

kɔ̀l *Pl:* **bə̀kɔ̀l.** *n.* winnow.

-kɔ̂l *Pl:* **mòkɔ̂l.** *n. 6.* news, announcement.

kɔ̀mb étáŋ *Pl:* **mə̀kɔ̀mb.** *n.* guava.

kɔ́ŋ *n. 3.* wisdom, intelligence.

kù *Pl:* **mòkù.** *n. 9/6.* foot.

kù *v.* 1. fail. 2. be guilty.

kú *n.* hit.

kûb *v.* move (something).

kùbě *n. 7/8.* bow.

kùbə̀là *v.* move. *Etym:* borrowed from

Badwe'e.

kùbò *v.* move (intr).

kúbɔ̀ *Pl:* **bòkúbɔ̀.** *n. 1/2.* chicken. *Etym:*

kúbà. **mwâ kúbɔ̀** *Pl:* **bwâ kúbɔ̀.** *n.*

chick. *Etym:* small chicken. **myɔ́l**

kúbɔ̀ *Pl:* **mèmyɔ́l mé kúbɔ̀.** *n. 3/4.*

hen. *Lit:* 'female chicken'. **njúm kúbɔ̀**

Pl: **mə̀njúm mə́kúbɔ̀.** *n. 3/4.* rooster

(cock). *Lit:* 'male chicken'.

kûd mə́ bwɔ́ŋ *v.* kneel.

kúdà *n. 7/8.* fist.

-kúdó *Sg:* **lèkúdó.** *Pl:* **mòkúdó.** *n. 5/6.*

palm tree. *Etym:* *kèndó (3) 'palm

tree.'

kúdɔ́ *n.* drizzle.

kúg *Pl:* **mòkúg.** *n. 9/6.* grinding stone.

(5/6 in Begne)

kùgé *n. 3/4.* base of tree trunk.

kúgə̀bɔ̀ *v.* 1. bend down, stoop. 2. bow

(as in greeting).

kùgú *n. 3.* 1. evening. 2. yesterday.

kùgú àbɛ̀ *n.* day before yesterday.

kùgú sí *n.* sunset. *Lit.* evening ground

kúkúbə̀ *v.* stutter.

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kúkúm *Pl:* mèkúkúm. *n. 3/4.* rich man.

kúkúmá *Pl:* mèkúkúmá. *n. 3/4.* chief, headman.

kùkúrù *n.* pap, mushy food.

kúkwɔ́ lû *n.* skull.

kùl *Sg:* làkùl. *Pl:* bàkùl. *n. 5/8 or 7/8.* leftovers. *[Note:* sing can just be root*]*

kùl *Pl:* màkùl. *n. 3/4.* 1. storm. 2. harmattan.

kùl bítɔ̀ɔ̀b *Pl:* màkùl bítɔ̀ɔ̀b. *n.* flock (of sheep, goats).

kùl lɔ́ bíntè *Pl:* màkùl mɔ́ bíntè. *n.* herd (of cattle).

kúl *n. 7.* outside my area.

kúl *n. 3/4.* tam-tam.

kûl *Pl:* bòkûl. *n. 1/2.* tortoise, turtle. *Etym:* *kúdù (9).

-kûl *Sg:* èkûl. *Pl:* mòkûl. *n. 5/6.*

hunchback.

kùlà *n.* generation.

kùlɛ̀ *Pl:* mèkùlɛ̀. *n. 3/4.* string.

kúlə̀ *v.* provoke.

kûlə̀bɔ̀ *v.* limp, crawl.

kùm *Pl:* bèkùm. *n. 7/8.* mosquito.

kŭm *Pl:* bèkŭm. *n. 7/8.* stump.

kúmà *Pl:* mòkúma. *n 9/6.* cassava, manioc. (5/6 in Begne)

kùmà *v.* 1. reach, arrive. 2. until.

kúmə̀ *n.* peanuts. *[Note:* wùnd (7) is more commonly used.*]*

-kùn *Sg:* èkùn. *Pl:* mòkùn. *n. 5/6.* garbage dump.

kúnò *adv.* near.

kùndá *Pl:* bèkùndá. *n. 7/8.* cultivated ground.

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kùndə̀ *v.* get back at. *[Note:* eye for an eye vengeance; returning evil in the same manner*]*

-kúnj *Sg:* èkúnj. *Pl:* mòkúnj. *n. 5/6.* palm (of hand).

kùŋ *Pl:* mèkùŋ. *n. 3/4.* caterpillar. *Etym:* *gòngó 'caterpillar.'

kúŋá *v.* go to the bathroom. *[Note:* polite euphemistic way to say 'defecate'*]*

kúŋgə̀là *v.* hurt (stomach).

kùr *v.* fall from high. *Etym:* *gò 'to fall.'

kùrə̀ *v.* 1. beat 2. palpitate (of heart). 3. play instrument.

kúrɔ́ *Pl:* mòkúrɔ́. *n. 9/6.* basket. (5/6 in Begne)

kúrə̀gó *v.* slander.

kùrò *v.* hit, strike (with hand).

kùùbɔ́ *n.* movement.

kúúg *Pl:* bòkúúg. *n. 1/2.* uncle.

-kúúg *Sg:* èkúúg. *Pl:* mòkúúg. *n. 5/6.* anvil.

kùùl *Pl:* mèkùùl. *n. 3/4.* rope.

kùùnd *Pl:* mèkùùnd. *n. 3/4.* barren woman.

kùùnd *Pl:* mèkùùnd. *n. 3/4.* tail. *Etym:* *kídà (3) 'tail.'

kúúr *Pl:* bèkúúr. *n. 7/8.* 1. skin (of man). 2. hide (of animal). *Etym:* *còobod 'skin.'

kùùz *Pl:* bòkùùz. *n. 1/2.* parrot. *Etym:* *kòcò (9) 'parrot.'

kùzà *v.* sell.

kùzɔ̀ *v.* buy. *Etym:* *gòd 'buy.'

kúzɔ̀ *Pl:* mèkúzɔ̀. *n. 3/4.* widow, widower.

kwábə̀là *Pl:* mòkwábə̀là. *n. 9/6.*

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obstacle, distress.

kwád [kwár, kwát] *Pl:* **mòkwád.** *n. 9/6.*

village.

kwàg *v.* grind.

kwàg *n.* plaster.

kwâg *v.* crow (as a rooster).

kwàlá *Pl:* **bèkwàlá.** *n. 7/8.* namesake.

kwálá bê *Pl:* **bàkwálá màbê.** *n.*

doorway.

kwàlà *v.* snore.

kwàmàzà *v.* prepare.

-kwàmb *Sg:* **lèkwàmb** *Pl:* **mòkẁmb.** *n.*

5/6. virgin forest.

kwàmbàlà *v.* create.

kwàn *n. 9.* honey.

kwán *n. 7.* meeting.

kwànd *Pl:* **bèkwànd.** *n. 7/8.* plantain.

Etym: *kɔndɛ̀ 'banana' (5).

-kwàŋ *Sg:* **lèkwàŋ.** *Pl:* **mòkwàŋ.** *n. 5/6.*

1. lance (spear). 2. head or shaft of

arrow.

kwár *n. 5.* bell.

kwàrà *Pl:* **mòkwàrà.** *n. 9/6.* 1. fire,

flame. 2. burn (n). (7/8 in Begne)

kwâzàbɔ̀ *v.* (be) fast.

kwèb *v.* find.

kwég *v.* work, run. *Etym:* *cɛ́ɛc 'run.'*

kwèl *v.* borrow, lend. *Nominalization:*

kwèlá (7) 'debt.'

kwèlá *Pl:* **bèkwèlá.** *n. 7/8.* debt. *Etym:*

nominalization of **kwèl** 'borrow, lend.'

kwém *n. 7/8.* manioc leaves.

kwénd [kwínd] *Pl:* **mèkwénd.** *n. 3/4.*

hook.

kwênd *v.* make offerings to the dead.

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kwênj *v.* assemble, meet. *Etym:* *càng

'assemble, meet.'

kwêŋ *Pl:* mə̀kwêŋ. *n.* fishhook.

kwéz [kwíz] *n.* 7. cough.

kwêz *v.* cough.

kwîg *v.* walk, travel. *Nominalization:*

kwígè (1) 'traveler.'

kwîg dùbɔ́ *v.* stagger.

kwîg èbɔ̀g *v.* trip, stumble.

kwígè *Pl:* bòkwígè. *n.* 1/2. traveler.

Etym: nominalization of **kwîg**

'walk,travel.'

kwîind *v.* help emotionally.

kwìr *v.* 1. help physically, assist. 2. save

in religious contexts

kwízà *v.* prepare.

kwò *adv.* again.

-kwób *Sg:* èkwób. *Pl:* mòkwób. *n.* 5/6.

flea. *[Note:* the fleas found on dogs

and cows, bigger than the other kind

of fleas*]*

kwóg *v.* (be) able.

kwógə̀lə̀ *v.* pray.

kwòm *n.* bellows. *Etym:* *gùbà (3).

kwòmbèlá *v.* arrange.

kwòmbə̀lɔ̀ *v.* mend, repair.

Nominalizations: ŋkwómbə̀lò (9)

'repair,' ŋkwémbə̀lè (1) 'repairer.'

kwònjí *n.* cashbox.

kwòndó *Pl:* bòkwòndó. *n.* 1/2. stripe.

kwóŋ *n.* sorcery.

kwɔ̂ *v.* pick, pluck (fruit).

kwɔb *Pl:* bə̀kwɔb. *n.* mistake.

kwɔ́bɔ̀ *Pl:* bòkwɔ́bɔ̀. *n.* 1/2. cup. *Etym:*

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*kɔ́mbɛ̀.

kwɔmbəlɔ̀ ləwɔ́   *v.* settle dispute.

kwɔfí   *n.* coffee. *Etym:* borrowing.

-kwɔ́ndà   *Pl:* mòkwɔ́nda. *n. 6.* sap. *[Note:*

kwɔ̀gə̀lə̀   *v.* bite.

no singular*]*

kwɔ̀gə̀lɔ̀   *v.* strike (snake).

kwɔ̀ŋ   *Pl:* mèkwɔ̀ŋ. *n. 3/4.* back. *Etym:*

kwɔ́m   *Pl:* mə̀kwɔ́m. *n.* prisoner, slave.

*gɔ̀ngɔ̀ 'back.'

kp

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kpə̀kpà   *Pl:* bèkpə̀kpà. *n. 7/8.*

toothbrush.

L - l

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là   *v.* surround.

talk.'

lâ   *Pl:* bèlâ. *n. 7/8.* bow (hunting). *Etym:*

làbɔ́ jóp jóp   *v.* shout.

*táà 'bow' (14).

làd   *n. 7.* stupidity, crazy person. *Etym:*

lààd   *v.* sew, patch. *Etym:* *tèd.

*dàdok 'be mad.'

lààg   *Pl:* mə̀lààg. *n.* antenna.

làg   *Pl:* mòlàg. *n. 5/6.* horn. *Etym:* *dakɔ.

làb   *v.* speak, talk. *Etym:* *dòb 'speak,

lâg   *v.* accuse. *[Note:* implied that the one

accused is innocent]

lágòlè v. show, demonstrate. *Etym:* *dàg 'show.'

lál n. happening. *Etym:* nominalization of làŋ 'happen.'

làl *Pl:* mèlàl. *n. 3/4.* country, ethnic area.

làl v. 1. (be) strong, hard. 2. (be) barren (of land).

làlò kùz *adj.* (be) expensive.

lâm *Pl:* bèlâm. *n. 7/8.* heart. *Etym:* *tómà (3).

lâmb v. set (trap). *Etym:* *támb 'set trap.'

Nominalization: èlâmb (5) 'trap.'

-lâmb *Sg:* èlâmb. *Pl:* mòlâmb. *n. 5/6.* trap. *Etym:* nominalization of **lâmb** 'set trap.'

lámbòlè v. position oneself.

làŋ v. crawl (lizard).

làŋ v. happen, occur.

làŋ nò ŋkùl v. conquer, defeat. *Lit:*

'happen with force'.

lál n. happening. *Etym:* nominalization of làŋ 'happen.'

làŋg v. pass (tr). *[Note:* implies quickness, brevity]

láŋgà v. haggle, negotiate a price.

láŋgè n. print (non-human).

lárà *Pl:* mòlárà. *n. 5/6.* difficulty.

lé *Pl:* mèlé. *n. 3/4.* tree. *Etym:* *té (3).

lé *n. 7.* wood.

lè *TAM.* Imperfective (IMPF)

lêŋ *TAM.* Persistive (PERS).

lé- - *loc.* in, at, on.

lé kǎŋ *Pl:* mèlé mòkǎŋ. *n. 3/4.* mahogany tree.

lé léjwábòlò *Pl:* mèlé léjwábòlò. *n.* firewood.

lé mójwàg *Pl:* **mèlé mójwàg.** *n. 3/4.* thorn-tree.

lêg *v.* play.

lêl *num.* three (when counting in isolation).

lèlà *v.* shiver, tremble.

lélà *Pl:* **mèlélà.** *n. 3/4.* shivers.

lêb *v.* advise. *[Note:* borrowed from Ewondo] *Etym:* *déb 'advise.'

lêŋ *v.* say, tell, chat.

lêŋ bèjáŋ *v.* lie (tell lies).

lèŋgɔ́ myà *v.* spend time.

lɜbùùl *n.* ringworm.

-lɜd *Sg:* **èlɜd.** *Pl:* **mòlɜd.** *n. 5/6.* palm tree. *[Note:* also used for oil palm] *Etym:* *dàdá (3).

lɔ́g *v.* get, obtain.

lɜ̂m *Pl:* **mèlɜ̂m.** *n. 3/4.* midrib of palm-frond.

lî *v.* clear (land for planting).

lìg *n.* beeswax, bee-bread.

líg *Pl:* **bèlíg.** *n. 7/8.* inheritance.

lîgɜlɜ̀ *v.* touch.

lîgɜlɔ̀ *v.* accompany.

lígò *v.* stay, leave. *Etym:* *jìkád 'dwell, sit, stay.'

límà *v.* dream.

límɜ̀ *v.* hollow out (log).

lòb *Pl:* **mèlòb.** *n. 3/4.* affair, problem.

lôl *num.* three (3). *Etym:* *tátò.

lómbɔ́lé *Pl:* **mèlómbɔ́lé.** *n. 3/4.* errand.

lóóŋ *Pl:* **mòlóóŋ.** *n. 5/6.* news, new thing.

-lɔb *Sg:* èlɔb. *Pl:* mòlɔb. *n.* 5/6. blade (of

grass).

lɔ́b *Pl:* mèlɔ́b. *n.* 3/4. language, word.

lɔ́b *Pl:* mèlɔ̀b. *n.* 3/4. branch (of tree).

Etym: *tábè.

lɔ́ŋ *Pl:* mòlɔ́ŋ. *n.* 5/6. speech, discourse.

Etym: *dɔ̀ng 'speak, talk.'

lú *Pl:* mòlú. *n.* 5/6. time, era.

lû *Pl:* mòlû. *n.* 5/6. head. *Etym:* *tóè

(3).

lû *v.* 1. sting. 2. strike (snake). *Etym:*

*tɔ́ 'bite.'

lùd *Pl:* mòlùd. *n.* 5/6. wrinkle (on skin).

lùgà *v.* prosper. *[Note:* material prosperity

(lots of possessions, good harvest)*]*

lúgà *v.* respect, honor.

lûl *n.* smithing.

lûl mɘlûl *Pl:* bòlûl mɘlûl. *n.* 1/2.

blacksmith.

lúlɔ̀ *v.* hit with a hammer. *Etym:* *túd

'forge (v).'

lúlwúŋ *Pl:* bɘlúlwúŋ. *n.* flute.

lúmɘ̀ *v.* throw out.

lúmɔ̀ *v.* stab. *Etym:* *túm 'stab.'

lúmɔ́ *Pl:* bèlúmɔ́. *n.* 7/8. maggot (in

rotten meat).

lúmbɔ̀ *v.* dive.

-lúnd *Sg:* èlúnd. *n.* 5. palmnut palm tree.

[Note: may also be used to refer to the

regime of palmnuts the palm tree is

producing*]*

lúŋ *v.* weave. *Etym:* *túng 'build, plait.'

lúŋè *Pl:* bòlúŋè. *n.* 1/2. builder (by

weaving). *Etym:* nominalization of

lúŋɔ̀ 'build by weaving.'

lúŋɘ̀ *v.* fence in.

lúŋə̀   *n.* wickerwork.

lúŋə̀là   *n.* fence.

lúŋò   *v.* build by weaving. *Etym:* *túng 'build, plait.' *Nominalizations:* lúŋè (1) 'builder by weaving,' lèlúŋò 'construction by weaving.'

-lúŋò   *Sg:* lèlúŋò. *Pl:* mòlúŋò. *n.* construction (by weaving).

-lùùg   *Pl:* mòlùùg. *n. 6.* dew. *[Note:* no singular*]*

-lwá   *Pl:* mòlwá. *n. 6.* slavery.

lwâl   *v.* shell (groundnuts).

lwándə̀bə̀   *TAM.* Immediate past, just.

lwâŋ   *v.* whistle, blow (horn), blow (of wind).

lwâŋ   *Pl:* bèlwâŋ. *n. 7/8.* green mamba.

lwéndə́lá   *adj.* (be) full.

lwèrèm   *n.* danger.

lwə̀lɔ̀   *Pl:* bòlwə̀lɔ̀. *n. 1/2.* duck.

-lwí   *Sg:* lèlwí. *Pl:* mòlwí. *n. 5/6.* insult. *Etym:* nominalization of lwî 'insult.'

lwî   *v.* insult. *Nominalizations:* lèlwí (5) 'insult,' lwíyè (1) 'insulter.'

lwíyè   *Pl:* bòlwíyè. *n. 1/2.* insulter. *Etym:* nominalization of lwî 'insult.'

lwô   *v.* show.

lwɔ̂   *v.* lead, guide.

lwɔ̂   *Pl:* mòlwɔ̂. *n. 5/6.* ear. *Etym:* *tóè (5).

lwɔ́g   *v.* show.

lwɔ̂g   *v.* empty, bail. *[Note:* This verb may be used for a style of fishing primarily done by women, building a small dam and then catching the fish on plates.*]* *Etym:* *tóg 'bail water.'

lwɔ̂m mùr   *n.* giant.

lwɔ́məló   *Pl:* mèlwɔ́məló. *n.* 3/4.

messenger.

lwɔ́mb   *v.* order (someone to do

something).

lwɔ́mbə̀lɔ̀   *v.* send (something to

someone or someone to do

something). *Etym:* Derived from *tóm

'send.'

lwɔ́ndə̀lɔ̀   *v.* fill.

lwɔ̀ŋg   *Pl:* bə̀lwɔ́ŋg. *n.* crest, comb

(rooster).

lwùŋ   *Pl:* mòlwùŋ. *n.* 5/6. beehive.

lwúŋ   *Pl:* mèlwúŋ. *n.* 3/4. vine.

M - m

ṁ=   *pro.* I.

mààn   *Pl:* bèmààn. *n.* 7/8. crotch (of tree).

májìg   *n.* magic.

màg   *v.* turn off.

màgə̀lɔ̀   *v.* accept, receive.

màn   *Pl:* məmàn. *n.* crossroads,

intersection.

mán   *n.* 3. morning, tomorrow.

mân ŋkúndɔ   *n.* 3. sunrise.

mànà   *n.* copper.

mâŋ   *n.* 9. ocean, sea. *[Note:* no plural*]*

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mè= *pro.* 4subject

mè *dem.* this (pointing).

mé *pro.* self.

mé *v.* be (change of state).

mé *dem.* that (pointing).

mètáŋɘ́ *n.* administration.

mὲ *pro.* me (emphatic)

mὲm *v.* admit (to a wrong).

mὲŋ mɘ̀mpὲ *Pl:* bòmὲŋ bɘ̀mɘ́mpὲ. *n.*

1/2. potter.

mɘ̀ *mkr.* Possessive Associative Marker.

(POSS)

mɘ̀jâmb *n.* evening meal.

mɘ̀kà *n.* Makaa.

mɘ̀mà *Pl:* bèmɘ́mà. *n.* 7/8. insect.

mɘ́mâ *v.* yawn.

mɘ̀mírɘ̀ *n.* joy.

mɘ̀mùmɔ̀ mɘ́ ŋkùnd *n.* full moon.

mɘ̀ncánc mɘ́ ŋkùnd *n.* new moon.

mɘ̀njíl sí *v.* (be) seated.

mɘ̀tánà mwɔ̀ *n.* hail.

mɘ̀túŋgà *n.* elephantiasis.

mí *n.* jackal.

mìd *Pl:* mèmìd. *n.* 3/4. medicine.

mìnɔ̀ *v.* swallow. *Etym:* *mìd.

mìnjà *v.* urinate.

mìɲìmbɘ̀là *v.* whisper.

mìrà *v.* smile.

míʃwàn *Pl:* bèmíʃwàn [bɘ̀míʃwàn]. *n.*

7/8. church.

míyɔ̀ŋ *Pl:* bòmíyɔ̀ŋ. *n.* sibling, cousin.

[Note: same sex to ego*]*

míyɔ̀ŋ ntòmb *n.* younger sibling. *[Note:*

same sex to ego*]*

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míyɔ̀ŋ twámbá   *n.* elder sibling. *[Note:*
same sex to ego]*

mɔ̀   *Alt.* mɔ̀. *pro.* me.

mɔ̀z   *n. 3.* lamp, torch. *Etym:* *mɔ̀dè
'torch, bright.'

mɔ́m   *Pl:* bòmɔ́m. *n. 1/2.* aunt.

mú   *n.* reason.

múlɔ̀   *v.* grunt (from effort), growl.

múŋ   *Pl:* mèmúŋ [mìmúŋ]. *n. 3/4.* eel.

múŋɔ̀   *Pl:* mèmúŋɔ̀ [mɔ̀múŋɔ̀]. *n. 3/4.*
corpse.

múŋɔ̀   *v.* hum.

mùùntí   *n.* mister.

mùùz   *n.* today.

mw=   *pro.* 6subject.

mwá   *Pl:* bwá. *n. 1/2.* little, small. *Etym:*
from mwân 'child'.

mwâ ɲùl   *Pl:* bwá bɔ́ ɲùl. *n.* orphan.

mwâgɔ̀lɔ̀   *v.* harvest, husk (corn).

mwâm mɔ̀lwómbɔ̀ló   *Pl:* bwâm
mɔ̀lwómɔ̀ló. *n.* servant.

mwàz   *Pl:* mèmwàz [mìmwàz]. *n. 3/4.*
shrimp.

mwáz   *n. 3.* daytime.

mwâz   *Pl:* mòmwâz [mɔ̀mwâz]. *n. 9/6.*
twin.

mwèlá   *Pl:* bòmwèlá [bɔ̀mwèlá]. *n.
1/2.* boyfriend, girlfriend. *Etym:*
nominalization of **mwèl** 'issue sexual
invitation'.

mwɛ́   *pro.* 6emphatic.

mwèl   *v.*court, issue a sexual invitation.
Nominalization: **mwèlá** (1) 'boyfriend,
girlfriend.'

mwôm   *num.* eight (8).

mwɔ *Pl:* **mèmwɔ**. *n. 3/4.* stomach

(internal).

my= *pro.* 4subject.

myà *Pl:* **mèmyà** [mìmyà] *n. 3/4.* time,

era.

mìmyà mí myêz *adv.* often. *Lit.* every

day.

-myàb *Sg:* **èmyàb**. *n. 5.* chicken wing.

myágəlà *v.* pray.

myàn *n.* madness, folly.

myánà *n. 9.* payment.

myànj *Pl:* **mèmyànj** [məmyànj]. *n. 3/4.*

bag.

myàz *v.* abandon.

myɛ́ *pro.* 4emphatic.

myɛ́g *Pl:* **məmyɛ́g**. *n.* fish dam.

myɔ́l *Pl:* **mèmyɔ́l** [məmyɔ́l]. *n. 3/4.*

female.

myɔ̀ŋ quiet. *Etym:* *mea (7).

Mb - mb

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mbá *TAM.* Conditional (COND).

mbàg *Pl:* **məmbàg**. *n.* shrew.

mbágəlɔ *Pl:* **mèmbágəlɔ** [məmbágəlɔ].

n. 3/4. load, burden.

mbàkələ *n.* herd (cattle, sheep).

mbál *n. 3.* trace.

mbàmpyɔ̀ŋ *Pl:* **mèmbàmpyòŋ**

[məmbàmpyòŋ]. *n. 3/4.* lion.

mbànj *Pl:* **mèmbànj** [məmbànj]. *n. 3/4.*

money, silver.

mbàŋ *Pl:* **mèmbàŋ** [mìmbàŋ]. *n. 3/4.*

1. stone, pit. 2. swelling.

-mbàŋ mɔ́jòb *Pl:* **mèmbàŋ mɔ́jòb.** *n. 4.*

shea-nuts.

mbăŋ jî *Pl:* **mbăŋ jî.** *n. 3.* palm nut.

mbàŋ ébìnd *Pl:* **mèmbàŋ mɔ́bìnd.** *n. 3.*

testicle.

mbăŋ fîg *n.* kidney. *Etym:* *pígɔ̀ (9).

mbăŋ mí ŋkên *n.* blight, rust.

mɓàŋgà *v.* shiver. *Etym:* borrowed from

So.

mbàŋgá *Pl:* **mèmbàŋgá** [mìmbàŋgá]. *n.*

3/4. coconut palm.

mbéb *n.* passing-through.

mbèg *v.* (be) open.

mbègɔ̀lá *n. 9.* protection. *Etym:*

bàgɔ̀là 'keep, store, watch.'

mbênd *n.* disreputable person. *[Note:*

someone who is infamous, well-

known for causing trouble*]*

mbéyà mwàrá *Pl:* **mèmbéyà bwàrá.**

n. 3/4. groom. *[Note:* spouse of

woman*]*

mbéyá mùrûm *Pl:* **mèmbéyá bùrûm.**

n. 3/4. bride. *[Note:* spouse of man*]*

mbéég *v.* (be) different.

mbég *n. 3.* separation.

mbèz *adv.* nothing, in vain.

mbɔ́mbɔ́ŋ *Pl:* **mèmbɔ́mbɔ́ŋ**

[mɔ̀mbɔ́mbɔ́ŋ]. *n. 3/4.* hill.

-mbɔ̀ŋgé *Sg:* **èmbɔ̀ŋgé.** *Pl:* **mòmbɔ̀ŋgé.**

n. 5/6. bell.

mbì *Pl:* **mèmbì** [mɔ̀mbì]. *n. 3/4.* sort,

type.

mbí mpâmb *n.* grandparent.

mbìl *Pl:* **mòmbìl** [mɔ̀mbìl]. *n. 9/6.* tuft,

lock (of hair).

mbìl *Pl:* **mèmbìl.** *n. 3/4.* hole in earth.

mbìl bèsâ *v.* (be) rich (in things).

mbímbì *n. 7.* amount.

mbîn *Pl:* **màmbîn.** *n. 3/4.* pestle. *Etym:*

*pénì (3).

mbòl màmpɔg *Pl:* **bòbòl màmpɔg.** *n.*

1/2. farmer. *Lit:* 'sower of seed

(semeur des semences)'.

mbɔnd *Pl:* **màmbɔnd.** *n.* crevice.

mbɔŋ ńcûg *Pl:* **mèmbɔŋ mé ncûg**

[mímbɔŋ míncûg]. *n. 3/4.* elephant's

tusk.

mbû *Alt.* mbwá. *Pl:* **mèmbû** [mìmbû]

n. 3/4. year, season.

mbú bàmpú *n.* rainy season. *Lit:*

'season of rains'.

mbú ncâ *n.* drought, famine. *Lit:* 'season

hunger'.

mbùg *Pl:* **mòmbùg** [màmbùg]. *n. 9/6.*

prison.

mbúg *v.* lie down.

mbúgè *Pl:* **bòbúgè.** *n. 1/2.* accuser.

Etym: nominalization of **bùgà**

'accuse.'

mbúl ncûg *Pl:* **mèmbùl mé ncùg**

[mìmbùl míncùg]. *n. 3/4.* elephant's

trunk.

mbúlɔ *Pl:* **màmbúlɔ.** *n.* in-law.

mbùmb *Pl:* **mèmbùmb** [mìmbùmb]. *n.*

3/4. bundle. *Etym:* *bɔmbɔ.

mbùmbà bíyèz *n.* skeleton. *Lit:* 'bundle

bones'.

mbúmbwá *Pl:* **mèmbúmbwá**

[mìmbúmbwá]. *n. 3/4.* poor man.

mbúŋ *v.* kick.

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mbwèzá   *n.* wet thing. *Etym:*

    nominalization of **bwâz** 'be wet.'

mbwànd mwân   *Pl:* **mèbwànd mébwân**

    [màbwànd màbwân]. *n. 3/4.* fetus.

mbwó   *Pl:* **mòbwó.** *n. 9/6.* arm, hand.

    Etym: *bókò (15).

mbwò   *n.* bowstring.

mbwòb   *n. 3/4.* wire, thread.

mbwòl   *Pl:* **bòbwòl.** *n. 1/2.* dancer. *Etym:*

    nominalization of **bwàl** 'to dance.'

mbyêl   *n. 3/4.* relative.

Mp - mp

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mpà   *Pl:* **bàmpà.** *n. 1/2.* wild cat.

mpàl   *Pl:* **bòmpàl** [bàmpàl]. *n. 1/2.* eagle.

    Etym: *póngó (9).

mpám   *Pl:* **bòmpám** [bàmpám]. *n. 1/2.*

    ancestor.

mpàmb   *Pl:* **bàmpàmb.** *n.* spitting cobra.

-mpánâ   *Sg:* **èmpánâ.** *Pl:* **bàmpánâ.** *n.*

    5/8. small of back.

mpándá   *n.* way.

mpànj   *Pl:* **bèmpànj** [bìmpànj]. *n. 7/8.*

    side (of body), breastbone, rib. *Etym:*

    *bànjé (11).

mpànj   *n. 10.* bamboo.

mpánj   *n.* shelter.

mpánj màlûl   *n.* forge. *[Note:* shelter of

    blacksmith*]*

mpànjèl   *Pl:* **bòmpànjèl** [bàmpànjèl]. *n.*

    1/2. cattle egret.

mpê *Pl:* **màmpê.** *n. 9/6.* cooking pot (marmite).

mpê tàg *Pl:* **màmpê mátàg.** *n. 9/6.* tobacco pipe. *Lit:* 'pot tobacco (marmite tabac)'.

mpêd *Pl:* **bèmpêd** [bìmpêd]. *n. 7/8.* harp.

mpèl *Pl:* **bàmpèl.** *n.* butterfly.

mpèlá *n. 9.* imitation. *Etym:* nominalization of **bèlà** 'imitate.'

mpéndé *Pl:* **mòmpéndé** [màmpéndé]. *n. 9/6.* law, rule.

mpí *n. 10.* white hair. *Etym:* *búè (9,11).

mpí *n. 10.* palmnuts.

mpíl *Pl:* **màmpíl.** *n.* charcoal.

mpìmbà *n. 9.* anger.

mpìmpyâŋ *n. 1.* red pepper, hot pepper.

mpízò *n.* back (of something).

mpòg *n.* fox.

mpòg *Pl:* **màmpòg.** *n.* seed.

mpú *Pl:* **bòmpú** [bàmpú]. *n. 1/2.* rain. *Etym:* *búdà (9).

mpúdá *adv.* (be) together.

mpúgá *n. 9/6.* fracture. *Etym:* nominalization of **búg** 'break.'

mpúgágá *Pl:* **bòpúgágá.** *n. 1/2.* accusation. *Etym:* nominalization of **bùgà** 'accuse.'

mpùl *n.* gazelle.

mpúmá sál *n.* stone, gravel.

mpùŋ *n. 9.* flood.

mpùŋà *Pl:* **mpùŋà.** *n. 10.* hair (of head). *[Note:* no singular*]*

mpùŋgá *Pl:* **mpùŋgá.** *n. 10.* earring.

mpúrùm *adv.* (be) same.

mpùùg *Pl:* **bòmpùùg** [bə̀mpùùg]. *n. 1/2.*

squirrel. *[Note:* lives in holes in trees;

eats snakes; tufted tail; loud cry;

bigger than **sínj***]*

mpwààg *n. 9.* fatness. *Etym:*

nominalization of **bwâg** 'be big.'

mpwág *n. 9.* family line.

mpwág *n. 9.* bed, couchette. *Etym:*

nominalization of **bwàgə̀bə̀** 'lie

down.'

mpwàm *Pl:* **bòmpwàm** [bə̀mpwàm]. *n.*

1/2. python. *Etym:* *bɔ̀mà (9).

mpwàmá *n. 9.* meeting. *Etym:*

nominalization of **bwàmá** 'meet.'

mpwàmbá *Pl:* **mpwàmbá.** *n. 10.*

descendants. *Etym:* nominalization of

bwàmbà 'follow.'

mpwélá *Pl:* **mòmpwélá.** *n. 9/6.* debt.

Etym: nominalization of **bwèlà** 'take

revenge.'

mpwə̌nd *n. 9.* delay. *Etym:*

nominalization of **bwáánd** 'wait.'

mpwə́nd *n. 9.* patience. *Etym:*

nominalization of **bwáánd** 'wait.'

mpwîŋg *n. 10.* problems, annoyances.

mpwò *n. 9.* accusation.

mpwògé *n. 1.* health.

mpwòmb *Pl:* **mòmpwòmb**

[mə̀mpwòmb]. *n. 9/6.* face.

mpyà *Pl:* **mə̀mpyà.** *n.* cowrie shell.

-mpyàb *Sg:* **lèmpyàb.** *Pl:* **mòmpyàb**

[mə̀mpyàb]. *n. 5/6.* wing. *Etym:*

*pàpá (5,11).

mpyânj *v.* grow.

mpyèl *Pl:* **mpyèl.** *n. 10.* trousers.

mpyêm *Pl:* **mə̀mpyêm.** *n.* yam.

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mpyó   *Pl:* **bòmpyó**. *n.* *1/2*. dog. *Etym:*

     *bóà (9,12). **mwâ mpyó**   *Pl:* **bwá**

bámpyó. *n.* pup. *Lit:* 'small dog'.

mpyóŋ   *n.* disrespect.

N - n

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ná   *num.* four (4). *Etym:* *nàì 'four.'

nàdəbɔ̀   *v.* try.

nàm   *Pl:* **bènàm** [bìnàm]. *n.* *7/8.* nation.

nàmbà   *v.* feel (active).

nàndəlɔ̀   *v.* tighten.

náŋ   *adv.* still, yet.

né   *dem.* that.

nég   *v.* scapegoat.

nèyà   *n.* poison (on arrow).

nêg   *adv.* now. *Etym:* borrowed from

     Makaa.

-nég   *Sg:* **ènɛ́g**. *Pl:* **mànɛ́g**. *n.* *5/6.*

summit, highest point.

nə̂   *conj.* that.

nəbə́   *conj.* because.

nəné   *adj.* big, important. *Etym:* *nénè

     'big.'

nî   *v.* enter, go in.

níbɔ̀ mə́mpyàb *v.* flap the wings.

nìgò   *v.* go back, return.

nîŋg   *v.* enter, join.

-níyé   *interr.* how many?

nò   *Alt.* [nə̀]. *conj.* and, with. *Etym:* *nà

     'and, with.'

nó mìdìdì   *adj.* (be) shy.

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nó yíŋ *adv.* too much.

nób *Pl:* bònób. *n.* 1/2. other.

nòŋ *Pl:* mènòŋ. *n.* 3/4. kilometer.

nɔ́g *n.* vagina.

nùm *Pl:* mènùm. *n.* 3/4. mouth. *Etym:*

*dɔmɔ̀ (3).

númɘ́ *adv.* also, too.

nùmɘlɔ̀ *v.* smell. *Etym:* *dùmb.

nûmb *v.* 1. know (something or someone).

2. divine, prophesy.

nûmb sâ *v.* know how to.

númbá *n.* 3. knowledge.

númbá *Pl:* mɘnúmbá. *n.* acquaintance.

númbὲ *n.* prophecy.

nùn *Pl:* bènùn. *n.* 7/8. bird. bènŭn bé

kwár. *n.* fowl. *Lit:* 'birds of the

village'.

-núŋɔ́ lɘ́ díbɔ́ *Sg:* ènúŋɔ́ lɘ́ díbɔ́. *Pl:*

mònúŋɔ́ mɘ́díbɔ́ [mɘ̀núŋɔ́ mɘ́díbɔ́].

n. 5/6. spring.

nwà *adv.* there.

nwâg *Pl:* mònwâg [mɘ̀nwâg]. *n.* 9/6.

mango tree.

nwî *v.* fall (rain).

Nc - nc

ncà *n.* 9. hunger. *Etym:* *jàdà (9)

'hunger.'

ncààbɘ̀rà *v.* turn upside down.

ncàm *n.* leprosy. *Lit.* destroyer.

ncàm à kàg   *n.* breakfast. *Lit:* 'destroyer

of mouth nastiness'.

ncàmb   *Pl:* **bèncàmb.** *n.* 7/8. marsh.

-ncáŋ   *Sg:* **lèncáŋ.** *Pl:* **mɔ̀ncáŋ.** *n.* 5/6.

balafon.

-ncé   *interr.* who.

-ncêlə̀   *Pl:* **mɔ̀ncêlə̀** [mɔ̀ncêlə̀]. *n.* 6.

urine.

ncél   *n.* 9/6. brideprice (for bride's family)

(5/6 in Begne).

-ncélɛ̀   *Pl:* **mɔ̀ncélɛ̀** [mɔ̀ncélɛ̀]. *n.* 6. tears.

[Note: no singular*]*

ncə̀l fwɛ́n   *n.* silk, hair (of maize).

ncì   *Pl:* **mèncì** [mɔ̀ncì]. *n.* 3/4. 1. path. 2.

fork (in path).

ncícâm   *Pl:* **mèncícâm.** *n.* 3/4. leper.

ncìimbé   *n.* God (supreme being). *Etym:*

jàmbé (9). **mwâ ncìimbé**   *n.* god,

fetish (spirit). *Lit:* 'little god'.

ncìmbè   *Pl:* **bèncìmbè.** *n.* 7/8. soldier.

ncíncɔ́ŋ   *Pl:* **mòncíncɔ́ŋ** [mɔ̀ncíncɔ́ŋ]. *n.*

9/6. enemy.

ncìndɔ̀   *Pl:* **bə̀ncìndɔ̀.** *n.* island.

ncíŋgà   *Pl:* **bèncíŋgà.** *n.* 7/8. cat. **mwâ**

ncíŋgà   *Pl:* **bwá bə̀ncíŋga.** *n.* kitten.

Lit: 'child cat'.

ncɔ̀   *v.* come.

ncɔ̀ lêŋ   [ncə̀ lêŋ]   *v.* announce. *Lit:*

'come say'.

-ncóg   *Sg:* **èncóg.** *n.* 5. cry, sound.

ncôm   *v.* (be) in disorder.

ncóŋ   *adj.* (be) jealous.

ncòò   *n.* 10. time (countable).

ncɔ̀mb   *Pl:* **mə̀ncɔ̀mb.** *n.* flower.

ncɔ̀n   *Pl:* **mə̀ncɔ̀n.** *n.* music.

ncɔ̀ŋ *Pl:* **mə̀ncɔ̀ŋ**. *n. 9/6.* 1. dance, feast.

3. funeral (at occasion of death).

ncɔ̀ŋ *n.* dancer. *Etym:* related to noun

ncɔ̀ŋ (9) 'dance'.

ncɔ̀ɔ̀l *Pl:* **bə̀ncɔ̀ɔ̀l**. *n.* pangolin, scaly

anteater.

-ncúlɛ̀ *Pl:* **mòncúlɛ̀** [mə̀ncúlɛ̀]. *n. 6.*

earwax. *[Note:* no singular*]*

ncùmə́ *n.* peg.

ncùŋ *Pl:* **bòncùŋ** [bə̀ncùŋ]. *n. 1/2.* fly.

Etym: *gì (9) 'fly.'

ncûŋ *n. 9.* axe. *Etym:* *cɔ̀ká (5) 'axe.'

ncùùj *n. 9.* hammer. *Etym:* *jòndɔ̀ (9)

'hammer.'

ncwàmbə̀ló *n.* paddle, pole. *[Note:*

long, used to propel canoes*]*

ncwâŋ *n.* mold (pottery).

ncwə̀ *pro.* us (dual).

ncwó *pro.* we (dual).

ncwòg *Pl:* **bòncwòg**. *n. 1/2.* elephant.

Etym: *jɔ̀gù

ncwòg mə́díbɔ́ *Pl:* **bòncwòg mə́díbɔ́**.

n. 1/2. hippopotamus. *Lit:* 'elephant

water'.

ncwɔ́ njì njì *adj.* border on.

ncwɔ̀m *Pl:* **bèncwɔ̀m**. *n. 7/8.* buffalo.

Etym: *játé (9) 'buffalo.'

Nd - nd

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ndâg *adv.* really?

ndàmbà *n. 9.* rubber.

-ndáŋgá *Pl:* **mòndáŋgá** [mə̀ndáŋgá].

n. 6. mud. *[Note:* no singular] *Etym:*

*tàkà (5) 'earth, mud, marsh.'

ndé *v.* be (loc).

ndèlá *n. 9.* burial. *Etym:*

nominalization of **dèl** 'bury.'

ndíl *v.* sit.

ndìl dìg *Pl:* **bòdìl bó dìg** [bə̀dìl bə́dìg]. *n.*

1/2. bush dweller. *Lit:* 'dweller forest'.

Etym: nominalization of **dìl** 'dwell.'

ndòl *n.* pain. *Etym:* nominalization of **dàl**

'hurt'.

ndù *Pl:* **mə̀ndù.** *n.* virgin.

ndùbé *n.* painter. *Etym:* nominalization

of **dùb** 'paint.'

ndúgè *n.* rower. *Etym:* nominalization of

dúgɔ̀ 'paddle, row.'

ndùndù *n. 3.* needle.

ndwàŋg *n.* valley.

Nj - nj

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njà *Pl:* **mènjà** [mìnjà]. *n. 3/4.* intestines.

Etym: *dà (11).

njáb *Pl:* **mènjáb** [mìnjáb]. *n. 3/4.* house.

   Etym: *jóbɔ̀ (9) 'house.'

njáp bûr *Pl:* **mènjáp bûr.** *n. 3/4.* family.

   Lit. house people.

njàgɔ̀lɔ̀ *Pl:* **mènjàgɔ̀lɔ̀.** *n. 3/4.* prayers.

njám *n. 7.* moment (good).

njàŋ *n.* birdlime (adhesive to catch birds).

njêb *v.* lack. *Etym:* *cɔ́b 'lack.'*

njékɔ́lá *Pl:* **mènjékɔ́lá.** *n. 3/4.*

   initiation (male).

njékɔ́lá mwàrá *Pl:* **mènjékɔ́lá bwàrá.**

   n. 3/4. initiation (female). *Lit:*

   'initiation woman'.

njèè *n. 9.* 1. arrival. 2. until *Etym:*

   nominalization of **jê** 'arrive.'

njèlè *n. 3/4.* flame.

njêm *Pl:* **mèjêm.** *n. 3/4.* bat. *Etym:*

   *dɛ́mà (3).

njì *v.* mark out, peg out (ground).

njì *Pl:* **mònjì** [mɔ̀njì]. *n. 9/6.* frontier (of

   ethnic area). *Etym:* *dèdɔ̀ (3).

njî fàm *Pl:* **mònjî mó fàm** [mɔ̀njî

   mɔ́fàm]. *n. 9/6.* boundary (of field).

njì *adv.* only. *Etym:* *jèká 'only.'*

njígè *Pl:* **bòjígè.** *n. 1/2.* student. *Etym:*

   nominalization of **jîg** 'learn.'

njígɔ̀lè *Pl:* **bòjígɔ̀lè.** *n. 1/2.* teacher. *Etym:*

   nominalization of **jígɔ̀lè** 'teach.'

njììl *Pl:* **bòjììl.** *n. 1/2.* crier. *Etym:*

   nominalization of **jìì** 'cry, weep.'

njíndè *n.* machete handle.

njìɲɛ́ *Pl:* **mènjìɲɛ́** [mìnjìɲɛ́]. *n.* bamboo.

njômb *n.* cook. *Etym:* nominalization of

   jâmb 'to prepare food'.

njòmbɔ́lò *Pl:* **mòjòmbɔ́lò** [mɔ̀jòmbɔ́lò].

   n. 9/6. sorcerer (male).

njòmbɔ́lò mwárá   *Pl:* **mòjòmbɔ́lò**

    bwárá [màjòmbɔ́lò]. *n. 9/6.* witch

    (female). *Lit:* 'sorceror woman'.

njônd   *Pl:* **mènjɔ̀nd** [mìnjɔ̀nd]. *n. 3/4.*

    trip. *Etym:* from **jând** 'step on'?

njóŋ   *Pl:* **bòjóŋ**. *n. 1/2.* guest, visitor,

    stranger. *Etym:* *gènì (1) 'stranger.'

njòz   *Pl:* **mènjòz** [mìnjòz]. *n. 3/4.*

    lightning. *Etym:* *jàdí (9).

njù   *n.* chisel.

njùg   *adj.* difficult, hard.

njúl   *Pl:* **bòjúl**. *n. 1/2.* killer. *[Note:* add

    'people' to clarify if 'murderer'*]*

njûl bètíd   *Pl:* **bòjûl bètíd**. *n.* butcher.

njûm   *Pl:* **bòjûm** [bàjûm]. *n. 1/2.* male

    (sex), husband. *Etym:* *dómè.

njúm   *Pl:* **mènjúm**. *n. 3/4.* male

    (animal).

njûm sìlɔ̀   *Pl:* **bàjûm bɔ́ mɔ́sìlɔ̀**. *n. 1/2.*

    son-in-law. *Lit.* husband

    young.woman

njúnè   *Pl:* **bòjúnè**. *n. 1/2.* fighter. *Etym:*

    nominalization of **júnà** 'fight.'

njwǎŋ   *n. 9.* river. *Etym:* *dɔ̀ngà (3).

njwî   *Alt.* [njù] *n. 3/4.* head, king, chief.

    Etym. Nominalization of **jwî** 'rule

    over, dominate'

njwɔmbɔ̀   *Pl:* **mònjwɔmbɔ̀** [mànjwɔmbɔ̀].

    n. 9/6. bottle.

njwɔ́ŋ   *Pl:* **mènjwɔ́ŋ** [mànjwɔ́ŋ]. *n. 3/4.*

    path, road. *Etym:* *jèdà (9) 'path?'

njwúŋ   *n.* respect.

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Nt - nt

ntà   *conj.* since.

ntà   *Pl:* bòntà [bə̀ntà]. *n. 1/2.* grandchild.

-ntág   *Pl:* mèntág *n. 4.* joy, happiness.

Etym: borrowed from Ewondo.

ntámà   *v.* rot, decompose.

ntàndà   *n.* bean.

ntàŋ   *Pl:* bòntàŋ [bə̀ntàŋ]. *n. 1/2.* rat.

ntàŋ   *v.* cross.

ntàŋ díbɔ́   *v.* cross river. *Lit:* 'cross water'.

ntáŋ   *adv.* like that.

ntáŋ nɔ̂   *adv.* then.

ntè   *Pl:* bèntè [bìntè]. *n. 7/8.* ox, cow.

myɔ́l ntè   *Pl:* mèmyɔ́l béntè. *n. 3/4.* cow. *Lit:* 'female cow'. mwâ myɔ́l ntè

Pl: bwâ mèmyɔ́l béntè. *n.* heifer. *Lit:* 'small female cow'. mwâ njúm ntè

Pl: bwâ mènjúm béntè. *n.* calf. *Lit:* 'small male cow'. njúm ntè *Pl:* mìnjúm ntè. *n. 3/4.* bull. *Lit:* 'male cow'.

ntég   *v.* punish.

ntégə̀lè   *n.* accent.

ntégə̀lè   *v.* annoy, disturb.

ntélé   *Pl:* bə̀ntélé. *n.* penalty, punishment.

nténè   *adv.* like that. *Etym:* nta + -ne.

ntèd   *n.* hundred (100).

ntèg   *v.* abuse. *Etym:* *tók 'abuse.'

ntég   *v.* annoy.

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ntèmbèlà   *v.* (be) slow.

-ntènd   *Pl:* **bèntènd** [bìntènd]. *n.* 8.

spider's web. *[Note:* no singular*]*

ntí   *n.* sister.

ntìg   *v.* give, send in response to a request.

ntìntá   *n.* great grandchild. *Etym:* redup

form of ntà 'grandchild'.

ntóbà   *v.* flow, drip. *[Note:* related to

word for 'dysentery'*]* *Etym:* *tɔ́n

'drip.'

ntòmb   *n.* 7/8 or 1/2. younger. *[Note:*

Variation between speakers in class

membership.*]*

ntómb   *v.* stagger.

-ntɔ̀   *Sg:* **èntɔ̀.** *Pl:* **mɔ̀ntɔ̀k.** *n.* 5/6. crop (of

bird).

ntú   *n.* dysentery. *[Note:* extreme

diarrhea - either the kind with blood

or one that doesn't stop*]*

ntúbá   *Pl:* **mòntúbá** [mɔ̀ntúbá]. *n.* 9/6.

sword.

ntúd   *Pl:* **mɔ̀ntúd.** *n.* tusk (of warthog).

ntùg   *Pl:* **bɔ̀ntùg.** *n.* stopper, plug.

ntùgɔ̀jù   *Pl:* **bɔ̀ntùgɔ̀jù.** *n.* bud.

ntúlá   *adj.* many, a lot (uncountable)

ntúm   *n.* brother. *[Note:* opposite sex of ego

(brother of a sister)*]* *Etym:* *dòmbò

(1,5).

ntùmɔ̀   *Pl:* **mòntùmɔ̀** [mɔ̀ntùmɔ̀]. *n.* 9/6.

big drum, talking drum.

ntúná   *Pl:* **bètúnà.** *n.* 7/8. fight with

weapons. *Etym:* Nominalization of

túnà 'to fight.'

ntúnè   *Pl:* **bòtúnè.** *n.* 1/2. fighter. *Etym:*

Nominalization of **túnà** 'to fight.'

-ntúŋɔ́   *Sg:* **èntúŋɔ́.** *Pl:* **mɔ̀ntúŋɔ́.** *n.* 5/6.

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bump.

ntútə́gú   *Pl:* **mòntútə́gú** [mə̀ntútə́gú]. *n.*

9/6. hump (of cow).

ntùtùmà   *Pl:* **bə̀ntùtùmà**. *n.* crowd.

ntwàr   *v.* (be) alone.

ntwɛ́rə̀   *adj.* surprised.

ntwì   *Pl:* **bòntwì** [bə̀ntwì]. *n.* 1/2. 1. lazy

person. 2. loose, slack things.

ntwòmb *Pl:* **bèntwòmb**. *n.* 7/8. fight.

ntwèmbè *Pl:* **bèntwèmbè** [bìntwìmbè].

n. 7/8. sheep. *Alt.* [ntwòmbè]. **mwá**

ntwòmbè *Pl:* **bwá bíntwòmbè**. *n.*

lamb. *Lit:* 'little sheep'. **njúm**

ntwòmbè *Pl:* **mìnjúm mìntwòmbè**.

n. 3/4. ram. *Lit:* 'male sheep'.

ntwôŋ   *n.* 3/4. scarf.

ntwɔ́má   *Pl:* **bòntwɔ́má** [bə̀ntwɔ́mɔ́]. *n.*

1/2. boy.

ntwɔ́má   *adj.* (be) young.

ɲ

ɲ=   *pro.* 9subject.

ɲ̀=   *pro.* he/she.

ɲà   tear (tr). *Etym:* *nòkod 'tear off,

extract.'

ɲâ   *Pl:* **bèɲâ**. [bə̀ɲâ, bìɲâ] *n.* 7/8.

fingernail, claw.

ɲâ   *Pl:* **bòɲâ**. [bə̀ɲâ] *n.* 1/2. flea. *[Note:*

the kind found on poultry and

manioc, very small and fast*]*

ɲàg   *v.* defecate. *Etym:* *nè 'defecate.'

ɲăg ʃùl   v. break wind, fart. *Etym:* *cùd

'fart.'

ɲâm   v. milk (cows, goats).

ɲâŋ nə́ bôl   v. nurse, suckle (baby) (tr).

Etym: *ɲam 'suck, suckle.'

-ɲáŋ   *Pl:* mòɲáŋ̀ [màɲáŋ̀]. *n. 6.* milk.

[Note: no singular] *Etym:*

nominalization of ɲáŋ 'suckle'?

ɲáz   v. move, convulse.

ɲèg   v. bare, show (teeth).

ɲème   v. (be) alone.

ɲə̀   *pro.* him/her.

ɲíbə̀ nə́ bán   v. spank (child).

ɲìg   v. return (give back) (tr).

ɲìmə̀zɔ̀   v. stir.

ɲɔ̂mbə̀lɔ̀   *Pl:* mòɲɔ̂mbə̀lɔ̀ [màɲɔ̂mbə̀lɔ̀].

n. 9/6. armpit.

ɲɔ̀ɔŋgó   *Pl:* bòɲɔ̀ɔ̀ŋgó. *n. 1/2.* mother.

Etym: *ɲàŋgó (1a) 'mother.'

ɲɔ̀ŋgô   *n.* channel.

ɲùlâm   *adj.* (be) kind.

ɲún   *Pl:* mòɲún [màɲún]. *n. 9/6.* body.

ɲwádə̀bɔ̀   v. squat.

ɲwàŋ   v. please, satisfy.

ɲwàŋ   v. take.

ɲwàŋ   *n. 5/6.* good things.

ɲwâŋ   *Pl:* bòɲwâŋ [bə̀ɲwâŋ]. *n. 1/2.*

snake. *Etym:* *jɔ́kà (9) 'snake.'

ɲwàŋɲwàŋ   *adj.* good.

ɲwè   *pro.* 9emphatic, 10emphatic.

ɲwèl   v. drink. *Nominalizations:* ɲwèlé (1)

'drinker,' ɲwèlə̀gà (7) 'drink.' *Etym:*

*ɲɔ́ 'drink.'

ɲwèlé   *Pl:* bə̀ɲwèlé. *n. 1/2.* drinker.

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Etym: nominalization of ɲwɛ̀l 'drink.'

-ɲwɔ̀g *Pl:* mòɲwɔ̀g [mə̀ɲwɔ̀g]. *n. 6.*

ɲwɛ̀ləgà *Pl:* bèɲwɛ̀ləgà. *n. 7/8.* drink.

wine. *[Note:* no singular*]* **mòɲwɔ̀g**

Etym: nominalization of ɲwɛ̀l 'drink.'

mó lə́nd *n. 6.* palm wine. *Lit:* 'wine of

ɲwə̀ *pro.* 9subject.

palm'.

ɲwógə̀zə̀ *v.* tickle.

ŋg

ŋgà *dem.* this.

ŋgwàndò *n. 3.* manioc, cassava.

ŋgàr *Pl:* mə̀ŋgàr. *n.* market.

ŋgwáŋ *adv.* together. *[Note:* old. *]*

ŋgé *conj.* if.

ŋgwómə̀nə̀ *n.* sous-prefet.

ŋgwàgə̀lá *n. 9/6.* prayers. *Etym:*

ŋgwɔ̀g lwɔ̂ *Pl:* mə̀ŋgwɔ̂ mə́lwɔ̂. *n.* deaf

borrowed from Ewondo.

person.

ŋgwâlà *Pl:* mòŋgwâlà [mə̀ŋgwâlà]. *n.*

ŋgwɔ̂ŋ *n.* climbing rope.

9/6. town.

ŋgùlɔ̂ *n.* dust.

ŋgwâm *Pl:* mèŋgwâm [mə̀ŋgwâm]. *n.*

ŋgúmbà *adj.* entire, whole.

3/4. bachelor, spinster.

ŋgúŋgà *Pl:* mə̀ŋgúŋgà. *n.* box.

ŋgwàn *n. 3.* paw.

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ŋgb

ŋgbàŋ *Pl:* bə̀ŋgbàŋ. *n.* crow.

ŋk

ŋkà *conj.* then, as. *Etym:* *ngà 'as, like.'

ŋkàb *n.* goiter.

ŋkàg *Pl:* bèŋkàg [bə̀ŋkàg]. *n. 7/8.* eyelid.

ŋkàm *adj.* right, (be) correct.

ŋkàmà *interr.* how many?

ŋkànjà *Pl:* mə̀ŋkànjà. *n.* fin.

ŋkàŋ *Pl:* bòŋkàŋ [bə̀ŋkàŋ]. *n. 1/2.*

medicine man, trad healer, diviner.

Etym: *gàngà 'medicine man.'

ŋkàzà *Pl:* bə̀ŋkàzà. *n.* weaver-bird.

ŋké *conj.* or.

ŋkêŋ *v.* carry.

ŋkêŋ mwân nê kwɔ̀ŋ *v.* carry (child) on back. *Lit:* 'carry child with back'.

ŋkêŋ nɔ́ lû *v.* carry on head. *Lit:* 'carry with head'.

ŋkêŋ nɔ́ mə̀bwɔ̂ *v.* carry in arms. *Lit:* 'carry with hands'.

ŋkê ɲûl *v.* boast, brag.

ŋkě ɲûn *v.* (be) eager, (be) zealous. *Lit.* boast body.

ŋkèg *Pl:* mòŋkèg [mə̀ŋkèg]. *n. 9/6.* promise. *[Note:* Nominalization of kèg

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'promise'*]*

ŋkɛ̀l *n.* shin.

ŋkɛ̀ŋ *n.* wise one.

ŋkòb *n.* same side.

ŋkòkóg *Pl:* mòŋkòkóg [màŋkòkóg]. *n.*

9/6. molar tooth. *Etym:* *gɛ̀gɔ̀ (5,7)

'molar tooth.'

ŋkòl *Pl:* bàŋkòl. *n.* eyelash.

ŋkòlo *Pl:* mòkòlo. *n.* 9/6. load.

ŋkònə́ *adv.* little by little.

ŋkònd *Pl:* bèŋkònd [bàŋkònd]. *n.* 7/8.

journey. *Etym:* *gɛ̀ndɔ̀ (11) 'journey.'

ŋkóŋ *n.* 7. courage.

ŋkòòmb *Pl:* màŋkòòmb. *Alt.* [ŋkùmb]. *n.*

9/6. medium drum. *Etym:* *gɔ̀mà (9).

mwâ ŋkùmb *Pl:* bwâ ŋkùmb. *n.*

small drum. *Lit:* 'small drum'.

ŋkɔ́l *Pl:* bòŋkɔ́l [bàŋkɔ́l]. *n.* 1/2. gun.

ŋkɔ́l jwoᵽ *n.* thunder. *Lit:* 'gun sky'.

ŋkɔ̀ndô *Pl:* bòŋkɔ̀ndô [bàŋkɔ̀ndô]. *n.*

1/2. crocodile. *Etym:* *gàndó (9).

ŋkɔ́ŋ *v.* (be) brave, courageous,

powerful.

ŋkɔ̀ɔ̀b *Pl:* mòŋkɔ̀ɔ̀b [màŋkɔ̀ɔ̀b]. *n.* 9/6.

paddle. *[Note:* short and flat*]* *Etym:*

*kápí (9).

ŋkù *Pl:* bèŋkù [bàŋkù]. *n.* 7/8. fruit bat.

Etym: *gɛ̀mbóá 'bat.'

ŋkù *Pl:* bòŋkù [bàŋkù]. *n.* 1/2. pig. mwâ

ŋkù *Pl:* bwá bóŋkù. *n.* piglet. *Lit:*

'small pig'. myɔ́l ŋkú *Pl:* mèmyɔ́l

méŋkú. *n.* 3/4. sow. *Lit:* 'female pig'.

Etym: *gòdòbɛ̀ (9) 'pig.'

ŋkŭ dìgî *Pl:* bòŋkŭ dìgî. *n.* 1/2.

warthog, boar. *Lit:* 'pig forest'.

ŋkù lyêndà *n.* rainbow.

ŋkùbɔ̀ *Pl:* bɔ̀ŋkùbɔ̀. *n.* shield. *Etym:*

*gùbà.

ŋkúg *Pl:* mɔ̀ŋkúg. *n.* upper grinding

stone.

ŋkùl *Pl:* mùkúl. *n. 9/6.* force, power.

ŋkûl *Pl:* mòŋkûl [mɔ̀ŋkûl]. *n. 9/6.* cane

rat, cutting grass, grass cutter.

ŋkùmb *Pl:* bèŋkùmb [bɔ̀ŋkùmb]. *n. 1/2.*

monitor lizard.

ŋkúmbɔ̀lɔ̀ *n.* diarrhea.

ŋkùnd *n. 9.* moon. *Etym:* *gɔ̀ndè (9).

ŋkùnd *n.* scaffolding.

ŋkùndà *n.* granary.

ŋkùŋ *Pl:* mèkùŋ [mɔ̀kùŋ]. *n. 3/4.* arrow.

ŋkùŋkùb *Pl:* bɔ̀ŋkùŋkùb. *n.* umbilical

cord.

ŋkúd [ŋkúr] *Pl:* mèŋkúd [mɔ̀ŋkúr] . *n.*

3/4. cloud.

ŋkùùb *Pl:* mòŋkùùb [mɔ̀ŋkùùb]. *n. 9/6.*

quiver.

ŋkùùnd *Pl:* mèŋkùùnd [mìŋkùùnd]. *Alt.*

[ŋkwóònd] *n. 3/4.* month.

ŋkúúr *Pl:* bèŋkúúr [bìŋkúúr]. *n. 7/8.*

bark (of tree).

ŋkwâl *Pl:* bòŋkwâl [bɔ̀ŋkwâl]. *n. 1/2.*

snail.

ŋkwàŋ *Pl:* mɔ̀ŋkwàŋ. *n.* cartridge.

ŋkwàŋg *Pl:* bèŋkwàŋg. *n. 7/8.* fish trap.

ŋkwéndé *Pl:* bòŋkwéndé [bɔ̀ŋkwéndé].

n. 1/2. elbow. *Etym:* *kɔ́kɔ̀dà (9).

ŋkwèɲ [ŋkwìɲ] *Pl:* bòŋkwèɲ [bɔ̀ŋkwìɲ].

n. 1/2. leopard.

ŋkwèɲê *Pl:* bɔ̀ŋkwèɲê. *n.* centipede,

millipede.

ŋkwémbɔ̀lè *Pl:* bòkwémbɔ̀lè. *n. 1/2.*

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repairer. *Etym:* nominalization of

kwòmbɔ̀lɔ̀ 'mend, repair.'

ŋkwênj *n.* 7. metal. *[Note:* also used for

iron*]*

-ŋkwòb *Sg:* **lèŋkwòb.** *Pl:* **mɔ̀ŋkwòb.** *n.*

5/6. shoe.

ŋkwómbɔ̀lò *Pl:* **mòkwómbɔ̀lò.** *n.* 9/6.

repair. *Etym:* nominalization of

kwòmbɔ̀lɔ̀ 'mend, repair.'

ŋkwóŋ *Pl:* **mèŋkwóŋ.** *n.* 3/4.

responsability, social status.

ŋkwɔ́ *Pl:* **mɔ̀ŋkwɔ́.** *n.* handle (round).

[Note: Used for pot handles, the sides

of plates, etc.*]*

ŋkwɔ̀g *Pl:* **mòŋkwɔ̀g** [mɔ̀ŋkwɔ̀g]. *n.* 9/6.

sugar cane.

ŋkwɔ̀mb *Pl:* **bòŋkwɔ̀mb** [bɔ̀ŋkwɔ̀mb]. *n.*

1/2. porcupine. *Etym:* *gòmbá (9).

ŋkwɔ̀mbɔ̀lɔ̀ *v.* plan.

ŋkwɔ́mìn *n.* voice box, larynx, Adam's

apple, throat.

ŋkwɔ̀ŋ *n.* pity.

ŋkwùnd *n.* terror. *[Note:* extreme fear*]*

ŋgb

ŋkpágá *Pl:* **mòŋkpágá** [mɔ̀ŋkpágá]. *n.*

9/6. fishing line.

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O - o

ó= *TAM.* Present (PRES).	**-ób** *gen.* their.
-ó *gen.* your (sg).	**-óób** *interr.* which?

ɔ

-ɔ́ɔ́ŋgɔ́ *det.* Definite (DEF).	Aforementioned.

P - p

---

pàár *n.* threshing-floor.	**pùpwɔ́** *n. 7.* pawpaw, papaya.
pága *n.* cane.	**pùù** *n.* calm.
pé *adv.* totally.	**pyὲb** *v.* winnow, throw in air (grain).

S - s

---

sà   *Pl:* **mòsà** [màsà]. *n.* 9/6. feather.

     Etym: *cádá (5,7,11) 'feather.'

sá   *v.* act, do.

sá béjúŋ   *v.* 1. play games. 2. entertain,

     amuse.

sà kwár   *v.* plunder (a town). *Lit:* 'do

     village'.

sá məmwəlà   v. be engaged, be

     betrothed. *Lit.* do fiancés.

sâ mpwògé   *v.* get well, heal. *Lit:* 'do

     health'.

sâ   *Pl:* **bèsâ** [bìsâ]. *n.* 7/8. 1. thing. 2.

     belongings (in plural).

sâ nə́ bâb bâb   *n.* evil, badness. *Lit:*

     'thing with bad'.

sàal   *v.* 1. cut open. 2. chop into pieces.

     Etym: *tàd 'cut open.'

sáb   *v.* get sick.

-sâb   *Sg:* **èsâb**. *n.* 5/6. illness, disease.

     Etym: borrowed from Baywe'e?

sâdé   *n.* Saturday.

sàgbɔ̀   *v.* (be) restless, (be) unsettled.

ságəzə̀   *v.* shake. *Etym:* *tèk 'shake.'

     Synchronically linked to *sá* 'do.'

sâl   *v.* peel.

sàmb   *Pl:* **bèsàmb** [bìsàmb]. *n.* 7/8. rape.

sámbá   *n.* row.

sâmbəlɔ̀   *v.* sneeze. *Etym:* *téamod

     'sneeze.'

sàndəla   *v.* slip.

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sànjà *Pl:* **mèsànjà**. *n. 3/4.* thumb piano.

sáŋ *v.* look for. *Etym:* *kɔng 'look for, seek, hunt.'

sáŋ *Pl:* **mèsáŋ** [mə̀sáŋ]. *n. 3/4.* mane. *Etym:* *jènjɛ̀ (3) 'mane.'

sáŋgá *Pl:* **mə̀sáŋgá**. *n.* necklace.

sé *TAM.* Perfect (PERF).

sèl *v.* bail out (canoe. boat).

sèn *n. 1/2.* nail.

séŋgé *Pl:* **mèséŋgé**. *n. 3/4.* gift.

sês *Sg:* **lèsês**. *Pl:* **mə̀sês**. *n. 5/6.* girl, young woman. *[Note:* Immature, without children. For some speakers in class 3/4.]

sêzə̀lɔ̀ *v.* evade.

-sə̀g *Pl:* **bèsə̀g** [bə̀sə̀g]. *n. 8.* termite. *[Note:* no singular]

sí *Pl:* **bèsí** [bə̀sí]. *n. 7/8.* 1. world, ground, land. 2. underneath, below, down. *Etym:* *cé (9) 'ground, earth.'

sí bêb *v.* hurt oneself.

sí yò *v.* (be) dead. *Lit:* 'finish die'.

sìg *v.* deceive. *Etym:* *kɛ́ng 'cheat, deceive.'

sìgá *n.* cigarette.

sìgɔ̀ *v.* saw (wood).

síl *v.* finish. *Etym:* *cíd 'finish.'

síləbà *Pl:* **bə̀síləbà**. *n.* metal pot.

sìlò *Pl:* **mèsìlò**. *n. 3/4.* 1. girl. 2. daughter.

sîlɔ̀ *v.* approach.

síməlà *v.* groan (with pain).

síməzə̀ *v.* think, remember. *Etym:* borrowed from Makaa.

sîn *Pl:* **mòsîn** [mə̀sîn]. *n. 9/6.* point.

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sínã   n. end.

sínj   Pl: bèsínj [bìsínj]. n. 7/8. squirrel.

[Note: makes a nest; lives in trees;

smaller than mpùùg] Etym: *céndé

(7) 'squirrel.'

sìɲè   n. 9. sand. Etym: *cèngà 'sand.'

sís   adj. another.

sísìm   Pl: mèsísìm [mòsísìm]. n. 3/4. soul,

spirit (of living person).

sísìm múŋ   Pl: mèsísìm mèmúŋ [mòsísìm

mèmúŋ]. n. 3/4. spirit (of dead

person) (invisible).

sísɔ̂g   Pl: mòsísɔ̂g [mòsísɔ̂g]. n. 9/6.

hiccup. (7/8 in Begne)

síyé   n. end. Etym: from si 'finish'.

sìyêŋg   v. get together.

síyèŋg   v. heap up.

sìzà   Pl: bèsìzà [bòsìzà]. n. 7/8. song.

sìzɔ́   Pl: mèsìzɔ́ [mìsìzɔ́]. n. 3/4.

tendon, vein.

sì   TAM. Contraexpectation. Etym:

Borrowed from Makaa?

sŏg   n. lung.

sôl mònòm   Pl: bòsôl bó mònòm [bòsôl

bɔ́ mònòm]. n. 1/2. prostitute.

-sòmbòlò   Pl: mòsòmbòlò [mòsòmbòlò].

n. 6. curse. [Note: no singular]

sɔ́ŋgò   Pl: bòsɔ́ŋgò. n. 1/2. father. Etym:

*cángó (1a) 'father.'

syè   v. spit.

syě   v. sing.

syê   v. work.

syê   n. 7/8. work.

syègòlé   v. frighten. Etym: *cìc

'frighten.'

ʃ

ʃêzɛ̀ v. reyoice.

ʃìlò n. 3/4. young woman. [Note: Mature, grounded, with children]

ʃù v. pour.

-ʃù Sg: èʃù. n. 5. sake.

ʃû n. 9. shame. Etym: *cɔ́nì (9) 'shame.'

ʃû v. empty. [Note: Only used for non-liquids, as in emptying the trash. For liquids see 'empty, bail.']

ʃû Pl: bòʃû. n. 1/2. fish. Alt. sû. Etym: *cúé (9) 'fish.'

ʃùbɘ̀ Pl: mòʃùbɘ̀ [mɘ̀ʃùbɘ̀]. n. 9/6. jigger. (5/6 in Begne, with an /s/)

ʃûd n. 7/8. cotton.

-ʃùg Sg: èʃùg. Pl: mòʃùg [mɘ̀ʃùg]. n. 5/6. stem, stalk (of corn, millet, etc.).

-ʃùg lé Sg: èʃùg lé. Pl: mòʃùg lé [mɘ̀ʃùg lé]. n. 5/6. trunk (of tree).

ʃúg v. cease, stop.

ʃûg Pl: bòʃûg [bɘ̀ʃûg]. n. 1/2. ant. [Note: includes flying ants]

ʃùgɘ̀là v. fall in pieces.

ʃùgɘ̀zɘ̀ v. strain.

ʃûkɘ̀là ncɔ́ adv. after.

ʃùkùl Pl: bèʃùkùl [bɘ̀ʃùkùl, bìʃùkùl]. n. 7/8. school.

ʃùl v. unload.

ʃûl ɲwâŋ n. venom (of snake).

ʃúlɘ̀ v. rub.

ʃùlɔ́ v. descend, go down.

-ʃûm *Sg:* èʃûm. *Pl:* mòʃûm [məʃûm]. *n.*
5/6. bracelet, ankle ring, bangle.

ʃùmè *Pl:* bòʃùmè. *n.* 1/2. builder. *Etym:*
from ʃùmè 'build.'

ʃùmè *v.* build. *Nominalization:* ʃùmè (1)
'builder,' ʃùmó (1) 'construction.'

ʃúməló mbwɔ́ *Pl:* məʃúmló mə́mbwɔ́.
n. arm (used for both upper arm and
forearm). *Etym:* *comb 'be on top.'

ʃùmó *Pl:* bòʃùmó. *n.* 1/2. construction.
Etym: from ʃùmè 'build.'

ʃúmɔ́ *Pl:* mèʃúmɔ́ [mìʃúmɔ́]. *n.* 3/4. cane,
walking stick.

ʃùmb *Pl:* mèʃùmb [mìʃùmb].*n.* 3/4.
brook, stream.

-ʃúmb *Pl:* mòʃúmb [məʃúmb]. *n.* 6.
intestinal worm. *[Note:* no singular]

ʃúmb ébwàz *Pl:* mèʃúmb ébwàz

[mìʃúmb ébwàz]. *n.* 3/4. earthworm.
Lit: 'worm LOC-earth'.

ʃùn *Pl:* mèʃùn [mìʃùn]. *n.* 3/4. flesh.

ʃùŋ *Pl:* mòʃùŋ [məʃùŋ]. *n.* 9/6. grave.
Alt. ʃwòŋ.

-ʃùŋ *Sg:* èʃùŋ. *Pl:* mòʃùŋ [məʃùŋ]. *n.* 5/6.
floating water plants.

ʃúŋ *Pl:* məʃúŋ *n.* bulb, tuber.

ʃúŋà *v.* discuss.

ʃúŋɔ́ kwànd *Pl:* mèʃúŋɔ́ kwànd [məʃúŋɔ́
kwànd]. *n.* 3/4. regime (of plantains).

ʃùʃwâz *adj.* (be) naked.

ʃúʃwóg *n.* in front of, before. *Etym:*
Reduplicated form of the noun ʃwóg
'front of something'.

ʃùùg *Pl:* məʃùùg. *n.* waterfall.

ʃúwá *Pl:* bèʃúwá. *n.* 7/8. plate.

ʃùzəgɔ́ *v.* congratulate.

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ʃwá   *n.* axe handle.

ʃwá   *Pl:* bòʃwá [bəʃwá]. *n. 1/2.*

winnow.

ʃwáàg   *v.* be (crazy).

ʃwààz   *v.* (be) happy.

ʃwàb   *v.* hide.

ʃwàl   *adv.* directly, just.

ʃwàmb   *v.* uncover, discover.

ʃwànə̀   *v.* load (rifle).

ʃwàŋgə̀lə̀   *v.* threaten. *Etym:* *káng

'threaten.'

ʃwè   *v.* bleed.

ʃwè   *Pl:* mòʃwè [məʃwè]. *n. 9/6.*

mourning.

ʃwégá   *v.* be drunk. *Etym:* *kɔ́d-o 'be

intoxicated.'

ʃwênj   *v.* carve, sharpen. *Etym:* *còng

'sharpen to a point.'

ʃwêz   *v.* smoke, dry. *Etym:* *kác-u 'dry.'

ʃwézá   *v.* (be) dry. *Alt.* ʃwízà. *Etym:*

*kác-u 'dry.'

ʃwêl   *Pl:* bèʃwêl [bìʃwêl]. *n. 7/8.* lizard.

ʃwêm   *n. 9.* nasal mucus, snot.

ʃwêm   *v.* deny.

ʃwènj   *Pl:* mèʃwènj [məʃwènj]. *n. 3/4.*

young man. *Alt.* ʃwáànj.

ʃwə̀ndà   *Pl:* bòʃwə̀ndà. *n. 1/2.* week.

ʃwì   *v.* wither (plant).

-ʃwì   *Sg:* èʃwì. mòʃwì. *n. 5/6.* death.

-ʃwí njà   *Sg:* éʃwí njà. *Pl:* mòʃwí njà

[məʃwí njà]. *n. 5/6.* leech.

ʃwìyé   *Pl:* bòʃwìyé [bəʃwìyé]. *n. 1/2.*

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hunter. *Etym:* nominalization of ʃwò

'hunt.'

ʃwò   *v.* hunt. *Nominalizations:* ʃwìyé (1)

'hunter,' **ʃwòmb** 'hunt.'

ʃwó   *n. 1.* friend.

ʃwó dîz   *n. 1.* pupil (of eye). *lit.* friend eye

-ʃwó   *Sg:* lèʃwó. *n. 5.* friendship.

ʃwô   *v.* undress.

ʃwôg   *n.* front (of something). *Etym:*

*táng 'be first.'

ʃwógə̀nə̀   *v.* go forward.

ʃwógʃwóg   *adj.* very far.

ʃwɔ̂mə̀nə̀   *v.* grumble, complain.

ʃwɔ̂mə̀nə̀   *Pl:* bòʃwɔ̂mə̀nə̀   *n. 1/2.*

complaint.

ʃwòmb *n.* hunt. *[Note:* includes hunting

and fishing*] Etym:* nominalization of

ʃwò 'hunt.'

ʃwòòzògò   *Pl:* mòʃwòòzògò

[mə̀ʃwòòzògò]. *n. 9/6.* joy. *Etym:*

nominalization of **ʃwààz** 'be happy'.

ʃwùùmb   *n. 3.* creek.

T - t

---

tá   *Pl:* mètá. *n. 3/4.* nephew, niece.

tâb sí   *v.* rise up (intr).

tâb tə́tə̀lê   *v.* stand.

tábὲl   *num.* seven (7).

tád   *n. sm.* bamboo bed.

tàg   *Pl:* bòtàg. *n. 1/2.* tobacco.

tàg   *n.* fertile soil.

tàgə́kùz   *adj.* (be) inexpensive.

tàlà *v.* appease, pacify.

tàm bɔ́ ʃû *n. 7/8.* pool.

tàm mɘdíbɔ́ *n. 7/8.* well.

tám *n.* middle. *[Note:* used for midnight

when combined with night and noon

when combined with daylight*]*

támɘ̀ mwáz *n.* noon. *Lit:* 'middle

daylight'.

táŋ *Pl:* **mètáŋ**. *n. 3/4.* white man.

-tàŋgɘnɔ̀ *Sg:* **ètàŋgɘnɔ̀**. *Pl:* **mòtàŋgɘnɔ̀** .

n. 5/6. bridge, ford.

tádà [tárà] *v.* itch.

té *pro.* Locative (LOC).

té ripen, become ripe.

tê *v.* to pull.

tê kù *v.* to step. *Lit.* pull foot/leg.

tê mɘ́sà *v.* pluck (chicken) *Lit.* pull

feathers.

tègá *v.* (be) tired.

tér *v.* start, begin.

tér *aux.* first.

têr sâ *adv.* before.

tétèlê *n.* honest ways, righteousness.

tél *v.* set up, organize.

-télɛ̀ *Pl:* **mòtélɛ̀**. *n. 6.* saliva.

télɔ́lé *v.* refresh.

tèm *adv.* even.

tíbɔ̀ *v.* trample.

tíd *Pl:* **bòtíd**. *n. 1/2.* 1. animal. 2. meat.

3. stupid person (by analogy with

French *bête* 'animal' also used for

stupid people). *Etym:* *tító (3).

tìè *n.* low.

tíé *Pl:* **bètíé**. *n. 7.* position, height.

tìgɔ̀létí   *adv.* specifically.

tììlɔ̀   *v.* tether (sheep, goats).

-tíl   *Sg:* ètíl. *Pl:* mòtíl. *n.* 5/6. penis.

tíl   *v.* write.

tílɔ̀bɔ̀   *v.* sign up. *Etym:* derived from tíl

'write.'

tìlɔ̀   *v.* tie (knot).

tíndìgì   *n.* heel. *Etym:* *tíndí (5).

tìndɔ̀là   *v.* wipe off (excreta).

tíndɔ̀lɔ̀   *v.* push with pole (canoe, boat).

Etym: *tínd 'push.'

tíràg   *v.* light (fire).

tîtìm   *Pl:* mètîtìm. *n.* 3/4. blind person.

tìtìtì   *n.* regularity.

tón   *num.* five (5). *Etym:* *táánɔ́.

tón   *n.* outside.

tóòb   *Pl:* bètóòb. *n.* 7/8. sheep, goat.

[Note: generic term for both sheep and goats*]*   **mwá tóòb ǎ kɔ́ká**   *Pl:* **bwá bètóòb bǎ kɔ́ka.** *n.* kid. *Lit:* 'child goat/sheep.   **myɔ́l tóòb ǎ kɔ́ká** *Pl:* **mèmyɔ́l bètóòb bǎ kɔ́ká.** *n.* 3/4. she-goat, nanny goat. *Lit:* 'female goat/sheep'.   **mwâ njúm tóòb** *Pl:* **bwâ mènjúm bétóòb.** *n.* lamb, kid (male). *Lit:* 'child male goat/sheep'.   **tóòb ǎkɔ́ká** *Pl:* **bètóòb bǎkɔ́ká.** *n.* 7/8. he-goat, billy goat.

tóyíŋ   *n.* thousand (1000).

tɔ̂ŋ   *Pl:* mòtɔ̂ŋ. *n.* 9/6. price.

-tù   *Sg:* ètù. *Pl:* mòtù. *n.* cocoyam, taro.

tû   *v.* dig.

tû   *n.* inside.

túbɔ̀ lɔ̀lwɔ̀   *v.* pierce (ears). *Etym:* *tɔ́b.

tùd   [tùr] *n.* 9/6. bad odor, smell. *Etym:*

*còdɔ (9) 'smell.'

-tùd *Sg:* **ètùd.** *Pl:* **mòtùd.** *n.* *5/6.* raffia palm stalk.

túg *v.* be (neg).

-túg *Sg:* **lètúg.** *Pl:* **mòtúg.** *n.* *5/6.* insult, teasing.

tûg *Pl:* **bòtûg.** *n.* *1/2.* spoon, ladle. *Etym:* *coga 'ladle.'

tûg *v.* insult, tease. *[Note:* as between maternal uncles and their nephews] *Etym:* *tók 'abuse.'

tŭg lécèl *v.* hate. *Lit:* 'be (neg) love'.

tùgà *Pl:* **bètùgà.** *n.* *7/8.* cloth worn by woman.

túl *v.* set oneself.

túl/ tútúl *v.* (be) old (not young). *Etym:* *nùn 'be old.'

tùmátù *Pl:* **bòtùmátù.** *n.* tomato. *Etym.*

Borrowed from English.

tùn *n.* *7/8.* room.

tûn *v.* bless.

túnà *v.* fight. *Etym:* *dò.

túncêz *n.* sacrifice. (Also used for 'thank you.')

túndà *v.* attack.

túŋ *Pl:* **mòtúŋ.** *n.* *9/6.* suffering.

-túŋɔ̂ *Sg:* **ètúŋɔ̂.** *Pl:* **mòtúŋɔ̂.** *n.* *5/6.* hump (of hunchback).

tùrə̀ ndî *v.* wink (eye).

tútù *adv.* never.

tútúl *Pl:* **mə̀tútúl.** *n.* old man.

tùzĕl *v.* blink.

twâd *v.* move away, migrate.

twâg *v.* leave for good.

twâl ncánj *n.* kingfisher.

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twámbâ   *Pl:* bòtwámbâ. *n.* 1. elder. 2.

    firstborn.

twámbá mwàrá   *Pl:* bòtwámbá bó

    bwàrá. *n.* 1/2. old woman.

twámbə̀lɔ̀   *v.* peck (tr).

twànə́ jwàŋ   *n.* heron.

twàrə̀lɔ̀   *v.* cackle (like a chicken).

twè   *conj.* even if.

twèg   *v.* cook.

twèrà   *Pl:* mètwèrà. *n.* 3/4. shivers. *Eytm:*

    nominalization of **twérà** 'be startled.'

twérà   *v.* (be) startled, (be) shocked.

    Nominalization: **twèrà** (3) 'shiver.'

twîg   *v.* pick up, collect.

twîɲ   *v.* advise. *Nominalization:* **mòtwíɲə̀**

    (6) 'advice.'

-twíɲə̀   *Pl:* mòtwíɲə̀. *n.* 6. advice. *Etym:*

    nominalization of **twîɲ** 'advise.'

twób   *num.* six (6). *Etym:* tóóbá.

twôl   *Pl:* mòtwôl. *n.* 9/6. navel. (5/6 in

    Begne)

twòŋgə̀lá   *Pl:* mètwòŋgə̀lə̀. *n.* 3/4.

    thought. *Etym:* nominalization of

    twɔ̀ŋgə̀lɔ̀ 'think.'

-twɔ̀kə̀bà   *Pl:* mètwɔ̀kə̀bà mə́ fùm. *n.* 4.

    ghost (visible apparition). *[Note:* no

    singular]

twɔ̀ŋgə̀lɔ̀   *v.* 1. think, reflect. 2.

    remember.

tyâ   *n.* 1. tax.

U - u

-úlə́gá   *det.* Indefinite (INDEF). A certain, another.

-ùd   *Sg:* mùd. *Pl:* bwùd. *n.* 1/2. person.

-ùd kwád   *Sg:* mùd kwád. *Pl:* bùd kwád. *n.* 1/2. inhabitant, resident. *Lit:* 'person village'.

-ùd ndé nə̀ ɲɔ̀m   *Sg:* mùd ndé nə̀ ɲɔ̀m. *Pl:* bùd ndé nə̀ ɲɔ̀m. *n.* 1/2. important person.

-ùd sâ   *Sg:* mùd sâ. *Pl:* bùd bó bésâ. *n.* 1/2. owner.

-ùrûm   *Sg:* mùrûm. *Pl:* bùrûm. *n.* man (male).

-ùrûm á jî yíndê   *Sg:* mùrûm á jî yíndê. *Pl:* bùrûm bá jî yíndê. *n.* 1/2. black man. *Etym:* *jíd 'get black, become black.'

ùtâŋ   *n.* strength.

V - v

və̀kə̀lɔ̀   *v.* draw (picture).

-vîn   *Sg:* èvîn. *Pl:* mòvîn. *n.* ebony tree. *[Note:* rare as singular*]*

vólà   *v.* help. *Etym:* borrowed from Center province languages (Ewondo? Bulu?).

vólán *n.* help.

vùg *n.* jokes.

vúndə̀ *n.* window.

W - w

w = *pro.* 3subj.

wà *n.* hunt.

wá *v.* give, put.

-wàaŋg *Sg:* lèwàaŋg. *n.* 5. song. *[Note:*

songs sung in a group, with a lot of

noise, hand-clapping, etc. Usually

occur at a **dúmb** 'dance.'*]*

wàdà [wàrà] *v.* rest.

wàdá [wàrà] *Pl:* mòwàdá. *n.* 9/6. rest,

vacation.

wágə̀là *v.* (be) stupid.

wàl *Pl:* bèwàl. *n.* 7/8. fear of risk. *Etym:*

*badek.

wàl *Pl:* bòwàl. *n.* 1/2. cookie, biscuit.

wál *Pl:* bòwál. *n.* 1/2. 1. fellow-wife. 2.

polygamy. *Etym:* *pádè (9).

-wàlà *Sg:* èwàlà. *Pl:* mòwàlà. *n.* 5/6.

hour.

wàlàfírà *n.* 1/2. hospital.

wámb *Pl:* bə̀wámb. *n.* harvest iron.

wâmb *v.* stalk, chase.

wâmbə̀lɔ̀ *v.* sweep.

-wáŋ *Pl:* mòwáŋ. *n.* 6. fat.

wáŋgé *n.* gathering.

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wàzà *v.* forget.

wázá *Pl:* mòwázá. *n. 9/6.* northerner.

wê *v.* grow up.

wèb *v.* comb.

-wèb *Sg:* èwèb. *Pl:* mòwèb. *n. 5/6.*

comb.

wènjé *Sg:* èwènjé. *Pl:* mòwènjé. *n.*

5/6. cocoon.

wéyà *v.* argue.

wὲ *pro.* you (singular) (emphatic)

wέ *pro.* 3emphatic.

-wênj *Sg:* èwênj. *Pl:* mòwênj. *n. 5/6.*

stork (marabou).

wɔ̂l *v.* wrap up.

wɔ́z *v.* heap up.

wììnj *v.* untie, loosen.

wîìŋg *v.* chase, drive away. *Etym:*

*bèng.

wîmb *v.* want, desire.

wò *pro.* you (sg obj).

wò= *pro.* you (sg sub).

wò *n.* manner.

wó *interr.* which?

wô *Pl:* mèwô. *n. 3/4.* current (river,

stream). *Etym:* *gὲdì, gὲdà (3)

'stream.'

wô mbì *interr.* how? *Lit.* which type

wô myá *interr.* when? *Lit.* which time

wôg *n.* here (specific).

wòl *v.* get out, get up.

wómàn *Pl:* màwómàn. *n.* 1. robe

(man's gown). 2. shirt.

-wɔ́ *Sg:* lèwɔ́. *Pl:* mòwɔ́. *n. 5/6.*

argument, quarrel

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wɔ̂z *v.* escape.

wú *n.* there.

wû *v.* leave (place). *Etym:* related to
wul? take out?

-wûd *Sg:* **èwûd**. *Pl:* **mòwûd**. *n. 5/6.*
hunting net, fishing net.

-wúg *Sg:* **lèwúg**. *n. 5.* hole. *Etym:*
*pàkò (9).

wúgəlú *adj.* (be) empty.

wûl *v.* boil over, boil (food). *Etym:*
*béd.

wûl *v.* take out (from container).

-wúlè *Sg:* **èwúlè**. *n. 5.* foam. *Etym:*
*púdì (9).

wúləgá myà *adv.* sometimes, olden

times. *Lit:* '3-INDEF 3-time'.

-wúm *Sg:* **èwúm**. *Pl:* **mòwúm**. *n. 5/6.*
ten (10). *Etym:* *kómì (5).

wúmɔ̀ *Pl:* **mèwúmɔ̀**. *n. 3/4.* reputation.

wúmɔ̀ *v.* bear fruit.

wùnd *Pl:* **bèwùnd**. *n. 7/8.* groundnut,
peanut.

wúrɔ̀ kɔ̀g *Pl:* **bòwúrɔ̀ kɔ̀g**. *n. 1/2.* puff
adder. *Etym:* *pédè (9).

-wúrɔ̀ mə́ lə́nd *Pl:* **mòwúrɔ̀ mə́ lə́nd**.
n. 6. curdled milk, cottage cheese.
[Note: no singular]

wùrùg *num.* one (1). *Alt.* ŋgùrùg

wùz *Pl:* **bèwùz**. *n. 7/8.* abdomen
(external).

wùzà *v.* throw away

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Y - y

y = - *pro.* Non-referential subject. *Etym:* Derived from class 7 subject agreement.

yàbə̀rá *Pl:* bèyàbə̀rá. *n. 7/8.* attempt.

yàg *v.* recognize.

yàg *n.* potter's clay.

yâg look out.

yâg *v.* (be) serious, difficult.

yágə̀bə̀ *v.* keep watch. *Etym:* derived from yâ 'look out.'

yàgə̀lò *n.* potter. *Etym:* from yàg 'potter's clay'.

yàlà *v.* answer, reply. *Etym:* *ját-ab 'answer.'

yàlá *Pl:* bèyàlá [bìyàlá]. *n. 7/8.* response. *Eytm:* Nominalization of yàlà 'answer, reply.'

yàŋ *Pl:* mèyàŋ. *n. 3/4.* paint.

yàŋg *Pl:* bèyàŋg. *n. 7/8.* rattle (musical instrument).

yáŋgà *v.* wander. *Etym:* díong 'wander.'

yé *interr.* where? *Alt.* yí

yénj *Pl:* bèyénj. *n. 7/8.* open place, clearing. *Etym:* *dèndé (5).

yênyén *n.* light.

yéz *n.* dry season. *[Note:* also means 'hot weather', 'daylight', 'sunshine', 'sun']

yĕ nùm *v.* kiss.

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yém *n.* domesticated animal. *Etym:*

    *dàmá.

yὲpə̀dà *v.* breathe.

yὲpə̀dà *n.* breath.

yὲsə̀bɔ̀ *v.* (be) courageous, (be) brave,

    (be) valiant.

yὲz *Pl:* **bὲyὲz** [bìyὲs]. *n.* 7/8. bone.

yə̀g *n.* 7/8. clay.

yə̀kə̀lɔ̀ *v.* draw (picture).

yə̂m *v.* blow nose.

yî *v.* borrow, hire.

-yìdέ *Sg:* **èyìdέ.** *n.* 5. darkness. *Etym:*

    *jíd 'get dark (v).'

yìg *v.* claim.

yîgə̀lè *Pl:* **bòyîglè.** *n.* 1/2. master.

yìig *v.* measure. *Etym:* *dèng 'measure.'

-yììgə̀ *Pl:* **mèyììgə̀.** *n.* 4. government.

yílὲ *n.* 7/8. smoke.

yìlə̀ *v.* incubate, set on eggs.

yîlɔ̀ *v.* 1. watch. 2. look after, care for

    (someone).

yîm *v.* (be) able.

yímɔ̀ *n.* aardvark, antbear.

yìnɔ́ *n.* 7. finger.

yìnɔ́ kù *n.* 7. toe. *Lit:* 'finger foot'.

yìnɔ́ sɔ́ŋgɔ̂ *n.* 7. thumb. *Lit:* 'finger

    father'.

yínjà *v.* become.

yìtə̀bà *v.* turn round (intr).

yîz *v.* dry up, evaporate.

yò *pro.* 7object.

yò *n.* whetstone.

-yo *Sg:* **lèyó.** *Pl:* **mòyó.** *n.* 5/6. tears.

yò *v.* die. *Alt.* **yə̀.**

yò   v. give. *Alt.* yà.

yò dɔb   v. feed (animals). *Lit.* give food

yò mbêz/ yò ntáŋ   v. give as present.

Lit. give for nothing (in vain) / give

like that.

yôl   *Pl:* bòyôl. *n.* 1/2. giver. *Etym:*

nominalization of yò 'give.'

yôlòn   v. swing. *Etym:* *déd 'float,

swing.'

-yôŋ   *Sg:* èyôŋ. *n.* cold weather.

-yɔ̂   *Pl:* mòyɔ̂. *n.* 6. wailing, ululation (at

funeral) (n). *[Note:* no singular]

yɔ́g   v. (be) fierce.

yɔ̂g   v. serve.

yúm v. (be) stuck. *[Note:* Not possible to

get undone (without extreme

action): blocked, condemned]

ywâg   v. swim.

Z - z

-zùŋ-   *gen.* 'our' (dual)